Some Offices and Titles in the Early Sinhalese Kingdom

Senāpati

In Ceylon, as in India, the Senāpati was the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. In the Mauryan Empire he was also a member of the Emperor’s inner Council of four. In Vedic times the leader of the army was called the Senāni. In Ceylon there was only one Senāpati at one time in the early period.

The earliest reference to a Senāpati in the Ceylon Chronicles occurs in connection with the war between Paṇḍukābhaya and his ten uncles: when a decisive battle became imminent, the latter appointed a Senāpati to command their forces.

The Emperor Asoka bestowed on the Prince Mahāriṭṭha, the Chief Minister and principal Envoy of King Devānaṁpiya Tissa, the honorary dignity of a Senāpati in the Mauryan army. Dighasandana was the Senāpati of Devānaṁpiya Tissa and he built in the Mahāvihāra the Dīghasandasesanāpati Pariveṇa which became “the home of renowned men”.

The Chronicles do not specify which one of the ten paladins of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya was his Senāpati, but the Koravakgala (Situlpavva) inscription supplies this omission. The inscription reads:—DEVANAPIYA RAJA ABAYAŚA SENAPATI PARUMAKA M(I)TAŚA LENĖ AGATA ANAGATA CATUDIṢA ŚAGAṢA. Paranavitana proposes the identification of King Devanapiya Abaya with Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya and Senāpati M(i)ta with the most famous of his commanders, Nandimitta. The text of the Vāḷalługoda inscription is:—ŚAGAṢA DINE, ŚENAPITI PARUMAKA PUṢADEVAHA JITAYA UPAŚIKA NAGAYA LENĖ TIṢA MAHARAJAḤA ŚENAPITIYA AGIDATAHA BARIYAYA. Paranavitana identifies Senāpati Parumaka Puṣadeva with Phussadeva, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi’s paladin, and Tiṣa Maharaja with Saddhā Tissa. Evidently, Phussadeva succeeded Nandimitta as Senāpati. Agidata (P. Aggidatta), Saddhā Tissa’s Senāpati, was the son-in-law of Senāpati Phussadeva.

1. The period covered by this paper is the period of the Mahāvaṁsa.
3. Ibid., 95.
4. M. (Mahāvaṁsa) 10, 64 to 71.
6. M. 15, 212 to 213.
SOME OFFICES AND TITLES IN THE EARLY SINHALESE KINGDOM

The Mahakaccatkodi inscription of about the 2nd century B.C. gives the name of a Senapati’s son but not that of the Senapati himself. An inscription at Kudimbigala of the same period reads:—GAMIKA NAGA PUTE GAMIKA TIŞA KARIPITE IMA LEŅA SENAPATI (TI)VAYA ŠAĞAŠA DINE; the Senapati was the donor of the cave but entrusted its construction to the local Village Headman.

King Khallatana was killed by the Senapati named Mahārattaka who was himself quickly overpowered and slain by the King’s younger brother, Vattagāmanī Abhaya. Four of the five Darnilas who displaced Vattagamani Abhaya on the throne were Senapatis in succession and each of them gained the throne by killing the ruler under whom he served.

A Senāpati of the end of the 1st century B.C. is mentioned in an inscription at Hittaragamahinna:— SENAPATI ASALAYAHA MARUMANAKA MAHARAKA ABAYAHA LEŅE. A Lambakaṇṇa was Senapati of King Subha, and his nephew, Vasabha, afterwards became King. The Senapati of Gajabahuka Gāmaṇi was his brother-in-law who later became King under the name Mahallaka Nāga.

A 2nd century inscription at Mihintale mentions the Maha Senavita named Nakaya. The Nelugala inscription, dated in the reign of Kanittha Tissa, names the King’s Commander-in-Chief, Senapati Ahali. Sirināga (afterwards Sirināga I), the King’s brother-in-law, was Senapati: he raised rebellion, overthrew the King and ascended the throne. The Senapati named Mūlanāga built a Vihāra which bore his name. Samghatissa was Senapati of King Vijayakumārika and became King by assassinating the Ruler. King Samghatissa’s Senapati and successor was Samghabodhi. A 6th century inscription at Tissamahārāma has the form Seneviraja which later became Senevirat (Pāli, Senapati-rāja).

The command of the army placed in the hands of the Senapati immense power which he could use to his own advantage to the extent of bringing about the downfall of the King. The holder of this most powerful position in the

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10. 8 miles, S.S.W. of Pāna in Pāna Pattu, Batticaloa District.
11. M. 33, 33 to 34.
12. M. 33. 54 to 61.
15. M.T. 480. In the Habassā inscription (E.Z. IV. 217) he is styled Uvaraja.
17. M. 36, 21 to 23.
18. M. 36, 35.
19. M. 36, 63.
20. M. 36, 72.
State had, necessarily, to be a person high in the King's confidence. Not infrequently, he was a member of the royal family.

**Nagaraguttika**

The title *Nagaraguttika* means the Guardian or Protector of the city. The *Arthasastra* mentions the *Nāgaraka*, the officer-in-charge of the capital city, and defines his duties and the regulations which he was required to enforce. In the Mauryan Empire, the *Nāgaraka* was the "Mayor" of a City. According to the *Mahāvamsa*, the office of *Nagaraguttika* was first instituted by Pañḍukabhaya who appointed his eldest uncle to it and "handed over the government (of the capital) to him for the night-time: he became the *Nagaraguttika*: from that time onwards there were *Nagaraguttikas* in the capital". There is no further reference to the office in the Ceylon Chronicles.

It would appear, therefore, that only Anurādhapura had a *Nagaraguttika* and not the other nagaras, several of which are mentioned in the Chronicles and early inscriptions. There appears also to be no external parallel for the limitation of the *Nagaraguttikas*’ functions to the "night-time". An inscription of 2nd or 1st B.C. at Virandagoda24 records the donation of a cave to the *Saṅgha* by a *Nagaraguttika* :-NAKARAVUDIKA BARANIGUTAHA LEṆE AGATA ANAGATA CATU(DIṢA) ŚAGAṢA.

**Amacca, Ameti**

The *Arthasastra* defines the qualifications and qualities of the Chief Minister (*Mahāmātya*, Pāli *Mahāmacca*) and Ministers (*Amāṭya, Amacca*). In Pāli literature officials styled *Mahāmatta* are mentioned as supervising the collection of the tithes on crops: they are also stated to have been Ministers of Justice, War, etc. and to have held the office of Chief Minister. In the Mauryan Empire, *Mahāmatas* were superior officials functioning as ministers, administrators of provinces, and in special capacities. Only two epigraphical references have been found so far in Ceylon to *Mahāmatas*. The first records the foundation of the village of Arita by the 3 sons, all *Parumakas*, of *Mahamata* Bamadatta. The other, a pre-Christian cave record at Uddakandara, reads :-LEṆE ŚAGAṢA MAHĀMATA TISAḤA LEṆE ŚAGAṢA.

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23. M. 10, 80 to 82.
25. *Arthasastra*, Cap. IX.
28. E.Z. I, 150 to 152.
29. Near Tissamahārāma.
SOME OFFICES AND TITLES IN THE EARLY SINHALESE KINGDOM

Vijaya had at least five Ministers (Amacca), one of whom was his Chaplain (Purohitaj. They governed during the interregnum preceding the arrival of Pañduvasudeva. Devānampiya Tissa’s Chief Minister (Mahāmacca) was his nephew Mahāriḷṭha. Duṭṭhagamani Abhaya had a Minister named Tissa: his Ministers were distinct from his 10 commanders.

In exile, Vaṭṭagāmanī Abhaya had 8 Ministers. One of them named Tissa founded the Uttaratissārāma or Tissārāma. Inscriptions at Nuvara-kanda, the ancient name of which was Tisapavata Mahavihāra (P. Tissapabbata Mahāvihāra), record the construction of some of its earliest caves by the Gamika (Village Headman) Kaṇatiṣa who was a Minister (Amati) of Gamiṇi Abaya Pita Maharaja (Vaṭṭagāmanī Abhaya): in all probability the Chronicle and the inscriptions refer to the same Minister and the same benefaction. An inscription at Kaduruvēva gives the names of 5 generations of Ametiś (Ministers), the first the Chief Minister of Mahācūḷi Mahātissa and the last a Minister of Mahādāṭhikamahānāga:—DEVANIPI TISA MAHARAJAHA NAVASI-(TA) NAMA MAHA AMETIYAPUTE PARUMAKA TISA NAMAPUTE PARUMAKA VAHAṬIMADE NAMA ETA AMETAHAPUTE PARUMAKA KANAPETIKETISANAMA ETA AMETA(HA)PUTE PARUMAKA DATA AMATI NAMA MAHAŅAKARAJAHAMAHADATANAPÂTI VITA DINE. This is probably a very exceptional case of the office of Minister having been held by members of one family down to the great-great-grandson, through 6 reigns and over a period of about 100 years. An inscription of the 1st century B.C. at Paramākanda records the grant of a cave by Ameta Vahītimata. Another of the same period at Dematagala names Amatiya Baraya as the joint donor of a cave. One of Bhatikabhaya’s Ministers was Ameta Malitayaw and another was a Brāhmaṇa.

In the pre-Christian period, therefore, we have references in the Chronicles to Ministers from the time of the first King, Vijaya, onwards: though the Chief Minister is not specifically mentioned till the reign of Devānampiya Tissa, there is no reason to assume that the office did not exist earlier. The inscriptions of

30. M. 7, 43 to 45.
31. M. 8, 4 to 5.
32. M. 11, 10 ; 16, 10.
33. M. 24, 20 to 27.
34. M. 33, 68 to 71.
35. M. 33, 91 ; D. 19, 20.
36. C.J.S. II, 126 to 128.
39. In the Yāla Strict Natural Reserve.
40. A.C.I. 34, revised.
the pre-Christian period include two references to Mahamatas (not mentioned in the Chronicles), one to the Maha Ameti, and six to Ametis. Their grants were caves, a thūpa and fields.

Epigraphical references to Maha Ameti and Ameti become far more numerous in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd centuries A.C. An inscription of the 1st century at Avukana Vihāra records the grant of a tank by an Ameti:—

SI(DDHAM) VAYAVAḌA TISAHA PUTI BAHURAVAMATI KALUBAHA VAVI SAGA DIṆI. Another inscription of the same period at Ilukvāva reads:—SIDDHAM Symbol AMITIYA MAHĀJĀṆUKA SAGAYA DINE KABURAKA VAVIYA CETIYA DINE. Grants made by Ametis during this period include tanks, fields, money (Kahavaṇas) and water-rights and revenues of tanks and irrigation channels. Several of the technical terms used in connection with these grants (mataramaji-baka, dakabaka, dakapati, bojiyapatī, bakapati, dopati, mahapati) have not yet been satisfactorily explained.

In the 2nd century an Ameti was Rohana-bojika, the governor of Rohana. King Vasabha’s Ameti named Isigaraya was governor of Nakadiya (Nāgadiya, the Jaffna peninsula). Another of his ministers was governor of the eastern coast (Pajinakarakujambini). Some ministers, therefore, were provincial administrators.

The inscribed slabs of the late 2nd century at Dakhkhiṇa Vihāra, Anurādhapura, mention the Ametiya named Maha Bamaṇaya: at all times Brāhmaṇas held high office at the King’s Court. Vohārika Tissa’s Minister, Kapila, was entrusted with the investigation of the authenticity of the Vaitulya Pīṭaka and gave his decision that it was not true doctrine.

Sirisamghabodhi’s Treasurer (Bhāṇḍāgārika) was the Minister Gēṭhabhaya who afterwards became king. Ministers had their own Treasurers.

The title Ameti-paheja occurs in a 4th century inscription and Paranavittana has suggested that Paheja is probably equivalent to Pāli, Pārisajja, and that it means a ‘Councillor’. Its significance in association with Ameti is not clear. Some persons were Pahejas who were not Ametis. The Rasnakavāva inscription of the 1st century contains the phrase, TOJANAHINAKEHI MA TISAHA MAṆU PAHEJA BIKU SAGAHA ATANI CATAL(I)SA
SOME OFFICES AND TITLES IN THE EARLY SINHALESE KINGDOM

KAVENAGATI TUMAHASANAPATI DINI. Another reference of the same period to a Paheja occurs in a mutilated inscription at Uddhakandara. In a 4th century inscription at Katugampolagama, an Ameti's son is styled Paheja. The title Paheja also occurs in 3 or 4 inscriptions of the 5th century, but not in association with Ameti.

There seems to be no doubt but the office of Ameti originated when Kingship was first established in Ceylon. It was not hereditary but, doubtless, the Ministers were generally chosen from the noble families. Some Ministers, like the Mahāmmattas of the Mauryan Empire, were provincial administrators. A Gamika (Village Headman) was of sufficiently high degree to be Ameti in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya. Some Parumakas were Ministers.

Parumaka

References to the title Parumaka (usually rendered into English as 'Chieftain') are numerous in the early inscriptions of Ceylon. Its absence in the Ceylon Chronicles becomes, therefore, the more conspicuous. Wickremesinghe was undecided as to its etymology, whether from Skt. Paramaka or Skt. Pramukha. Paranavitana's view is that Parumaka is identical with Skt. Pramukha and Pāli, Pamukha or Pāmokkha, and that in Pāli literature it denoted the nobility as well as the president of a guild or corporation. The nature and extent of the authority of the Pāmokkha over the guilds in uncertain and the distinction between him and the Jeḷḷhaka is not clear.

Our inscriptions include 35 to 40 instances where the son of a Parumaka is not designated Parumaka. In 4 instances the son is designated Parumaka while the father is not:—(i) GUTA PUTAHA PARUMAKA PURAHA LEṆE AGATA (ANA)GATA CATUDIŚA ŠAGAŠA; (ii) GAPATI AVIRADA PUTA PARUMAKA DEVAHA LEṆE; (iii) PARUMAKA BAKINIYA VELAHA LEṆE AHALI PUTA PARUMAKA DATĀHA LEṆE ŠAGAŠA; and (iv) GAṆAKA CALIŠIŠA PUTA PARUMAKA TIṆAHA LEṆE. In the second of these inscriptions the Parumaka's father was a Gapati (householder) and in the fourth a Gaṇaka (accountant). In 76 inscriptions father and son are both styled Parumaka: considering, however, that there are about 40

52. See note 29.
53. C.J.S. II, 110; E.Z. IV, 128.
54. E.Z. I, 17.
57. A.S.C.A.R. 1911-12, 96, Cave No. 19, revised.
58. At Situlpavva, in the Yala National Park.
59. At Handagala Vihāra, near Horovopotāna, N.C.P.
60. At Maha Aḷagamuva Vihāra, near Kākirāva, N.C.P.
inscriptions where this rule does not obtain, and, particularly, the Situlpavva inscription of a Parumaka who was the son of a Gapati,61 one may conclude somewhat confidently that the title Parumaka was not hereditary.

A King’s daughter married a Parumaka.62 A Parumaka was the grandfather of a Princess:—ABI UPALAYA AYAKA PARUMAKA ŠUMANA PUTA PARUMAKA TIŠAHA LEŅE.63 The Senapatis of Duṭṭhagāmāṇi Abhaya and Saddhā Tissa were Parumakas.64 The 3 sons of a Mahamata were Parumakas,65 Parumakas were Ministers.66 A Parumaka commanded the company of the King’s palanquin-bearers:—MAHARAJAŠI GAMANI ABA-YASA SIVIKA ADAKA PARUMAKA MAJIMAŠA (LE)NE AGATA ANAGATA.67 The King’s Treasurer (Badakarika) was a Parumaka:—(i) PITA MAHARAJAHA BAĐAKARIKA PARUMAKA ŠUMANA PUTA PARUMAKA CEMAŠA LEŅE RAJA TIŠAHA RAJJIYAŠI NIYATE AGATA ANAGATA CATUDIŠA ŠAGASA;68 (ii) MAHARAJAHA PAŅITA BAĐAKARIKA PARUMAKA ŠUMANAHABA.69 There are other inscriptions of Parumakas who held the office of Badakarika but it is not expressly stated that they were Bađakarikas to the King.70

There are a few epigraphs in which Parumakas figure as owners of tanks (vavi Hamika):—(i) GOKANEGAMAKA VAVI HAMIKA PARUMAKA TISAHñ LEŅE ŠAGASA;71 (ii) ANULAPI VAPI HAMIKA PARUMAKA MAHA VETALAYA LEŅE ŠAGHASA;72 (iii) NAKOĐAPIKA VAPI HAMIKA PARUMAKA MAHADATAHA PUTA PARUMAKA DIGADA-TAHA LEŅE ŠAGHASA;73 and (iv) KAĻABUTAKA VAVI HAMIKI PARUMAKA DASAKAHA LEŅE ŠAGAYA NIYATE.74 These are not the only instances of private ownership of tanks at this period. The Tōnigala

61. The combination Gapati Parumaka does not occur anywhere.
63. At Balaharuvakanda, in Vāḷlavāya Kōralē, Ķva.
64. See notes 7 and 8.
65. E.Z. I, 152.
66. See note 37.
67. At Kurnburulena. C.J.S. II, 194. The King was probably Vattagāmāṇi Abhaya.
68. See A.S.C.A.R. 1934, para 71(iii) for the identification of the Kings.
69. At Tārava Mayilāva in Vanni H.P., Kurunāgalā District.
70. In A.S.C.A.R. 1911-12, 94, Cave No. 2 ; 96, Cave No. 16 ; and 98, Caves Nos. 4, 5 and 6, Bađakarika has been erroneously rendered Bādakajhuka and mistranslated. A sixth inscription at Mihintalē reads:—BAĐAKARIKA PARUMAKA ŠAGAHA PUTA PARUMAKA UTIYA VIVANA LEŅE CATUDISIKA ŠAGAYE NIYATE. An inscription at Bambaramastalāva in Pānana Pattu, Batticaloa District, reads:—PARUMAKA BAĐAKARIKA NAGA KULAHĀ CA GOTIMATAHA CA LEŅE.
72. At Handagala Viha, near Horovopotāna, N.C.P.
73. Ibid.
74. At Avukana Viha, N.C.P.
SOME OFFICES AND TITLES IN THE EARLY SINHALESE KINGDOM

The inscription, for example, records the grant of a tank to a Vihāra by a Parumaka.75 Vavi hamika appears to have been used in the foregoing inscriptions as a mark of distinction; perhaps, the private ownership of a tank was uncommon and enhanced the Parumaka’s status.

Three inscriptions describe the Parumaka as Bhojaka of a locality:—

(i) MAṬUKAGAMA BUJIKE PARUMAKA TIṢA(GU)TAYA LEṆE ;76
(ii) GAṬIKA BOJIYANA PARUMAKA GOPALAHEDA BARIYA UPASIKA CITAYA LEṆE ŚAGAṢA ;77 and (iii) PIYAKAPAṢANĀ BOJIKI PARUMAKA NARAYAGUTAHĀ LEṆE ŚAGAṢA.78 Maṭukagama was a village, Gaṭika was a village or local area, and Piyakapasana was the hill now called Galkanda. In the first of these inscriptions the Parumaka was Gāma-bhojaka of Maṭukagama but not the Gamika or Village Headman. (There is no epigraphical record of a Parumaka also being a Gamika, or vice versa). The Gāma-bhojaka in Ceylon did not signify the Gamika.

Some Brāhmaṇas bore the title Parumaka:—(i) PARUMAKA BAMAṆA TIṢAHA LEṆE ŚAGAṢA DINE ;79 (ii) PARUMAKA BAMAṆAHA PUTA DATAKAYAGUTAHA LEṆE ŚAGAṢA ;80 (iii) ŚAGAṢA BAMAṆA MEGALI PUTA PARUMAKA MAṆIMA PUTA DATAHA LEṆE ;81 and (iv) PARUMAKA BĀḌIHARAMITA PUTA PARUMAKA BAMAṆA UTIYA LEṆE AGATA ANAGATA CATUDIṢA ŚAGAṢA.82 The King’s Purohita or “Chaplain” was always a Brāhmaṇa: Brāhmaṇas held office as the King’s teacher and as Ministers and they were a wealthy and influential class in the early period.83

Of more than usual interest are the following inscriptions in which the title Parumaka was borne by women:—(i) PARUMAKA MAHATIṢA PUTA PARUMAKA AYIMARAHA LEṆE JAYA ŚADI ŚADAYA PARUMAKA ŠUPAṬAMA JITA PARUMAKA LUŠOṆAYA ;84 (ii) PARUMAKA PUṢADEVĀṢĀ JAYA PARUMAKA LAŠOṆAYA LEṆE NAGAYAṆA RAJAYAḤI KĀṬE ŚAGAṢA ;85 (iii) PARUMAKA MITA JAYA PARUMAKA SATANĀṢATA JITA PARUMAKA LUPUṢAYA LEṆE AGATA (A)-

75. A.I.C. 1.
76. At Dambulla Vihāra.
77. At GaḷgiriyaṆakānda in Hīriyāla, H.P., Kurunāgala District.
78. At Gaḷkandēgama in Hurulu Palāṭa, N.C.P.
79. At Dambulla Vihāra.
80. At Handagala Vihāra.
83. Pre-Buddhist Religious Beliefs, by S. Paranavitana, J.R.A.S. (C.B.), 31, No. 82, 321.
84. At Situlpavva, in the Yāḷa National Park.
NAGATA CATU ŠAGAŠA;\textsuperscript{86} (iv) PARUMAKA LAŠUMANAYA CA PARUMAKA ŠAMUDAHA CITA TERAHA CA LEŅE ŠAGAŠA;\textsuperscript{87} (v) PARUMAKA DATA JITA PARUMAKA BAGINIYA NADIKAŠA JAYA PARUMAKA LAŠUMANAYA LEŅA AGATA ANAGATA CATUDIŠA ŠAGAŠA DINE;\textsuperscript{88} (vi) the Mādagama inscription;\textsuperscript{89} and (vii) the Sangamu inscription.\textsuperscript{90} Three of the ladies were daughters as well as wives of Parumakas: six were wives of Parumakas. Residentially, they were widely separated, so that this was no local peculiarity. It is difficult to conceive that in these 7 instances the title Parumaka signified the presidency of a guild or corporation, or conferred territorial or administrative jurisdiction: probably, it was only titular.

The epigraphical evidence fully justifies Paranavitana’s view that “there were probably many hundreds of them (Parumakas) at the same time”.\textsuperscript{91} It also shows that the title was not hereditary although it was borne by an upper class or nobility from whom were drawn the higher officials of the kingdom. Men who were not the sons of Parumakas could be elevated to that rank. The title did not necessarily imply territorial jurisdiction or authority. The social degrees below the King appear to have been: (i) Princes and Princesses, (ii) Parumakas, or the nobility and (iii) Gamikas, the village chiefs, a lesser degree of nobility.

Though the title Parumaka went out of use in the inscriptions in the early part of the 1st century A.C., strangely, the King’s title, Ma Parumaka came into use about 150 years afterwards. Grants to temples made by Parumakas included tanks and fields: one Parumaka built a thūpa.

**Bhaṇḍāgārika, Baḍakarika**

The Bhaṇḍāgārika (lit. ‘houser of goods’) in Pāli literature was not confined to the custody of money and it is possible that his duties extended to other goods and not only to the King’s exchequer: how far the office coincided with that of a modern Treasurer is not known.\textsuperscript{92} Asoka’s Bhaṇḍāgārika was in charge of the Imperial treasury and storehouse.\textsuperscript{93}

Devānampiya Tissa’s Treasurer (Bhaṇḍāgārika) was one of the envoys sent by the King to the court of Asoka.\textsuperscript{94} Inscriptions in which 2 Royal Trea-

\textsuperscript{86} A.S.C.A.R. 1905, 44, No. 6, revised.
\textsuperscript{87} At Virandagoḍa, A.S.C.A.R. 1911-12, 69.
\textsuperscript{88} At Brakmanayagamakanda, near Horovopotana, N.C.P.
\textsuperscript{89} C.J.S. II, 221, No. 719.
\textsuperscript{90} C.J.S. II, 223, No. 732.
\textsuperscript{91} J.R.A.S. July, 1936, 462.
\textsuperscript{92} C.H.I., 206.
\textsuperscript{93} Asoka and his Inscriptions, by B. M. Barua, 172.
\textsuperscript{94} M. 11, 20 to 21.
SOME OFFICES AND TITLES IN THE EARLY SINHALESE KINGDOM

surers (Baḍakarika) are named have already been quoted. Other Treasurers who were Parumakas and may have been Royal Treasurers are mentioned in inscriptions at Mihintalē and Bambaragastalāva. A GamiKa was a Baḍaka-rika :-BAḌAKARIKA GAMIKA ANUḌIYA JITA UPAŚIKA TĪṢAYA LEṆE. A Minister had his own Treasurer so had a GamiKa. The son of a Parumaka was Baḍakarika :-PARUMAKA MITA PUTA BAḌAKARIKA DATAHA. The Minister, Goṭhābhaya, was the King’s Treasurer thus, one of the Ministers held the office of Royal Treasurer in the 3rd century. Ministers and high officials had their own Treasurers. Baḍakarikas were, therefore, of different grades. Grants made by Baḍakarikas included fields and irrigation revenues.

Gāmika, Gamika

In the Manavadharmasāstra the head of one village is called the Grāmika. In Pāli literature and in the Mahāvaśīsa, Gāmika is also used in the sense of ‘villager’ or ‘resident of a village’. There is much uncertainty as to the differences in office and functions between the Gāma-bhojaka, Gāmāṇi and Gāmika in the Mauryan Empire. The Ceylon epigraphs leave one in no doubt that Gāmika as used in them meant the Village Headman. In most of these inscriptions he is described as the son of a Gāmika, but there is a sufficient number of exceptions to show that the office usually, but not always, passed from father to son.

A Gāmika was a Minister of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya. Gamikas had their own Baḍakarikas. A Gāmika held the office of Baḍakarika, perhaps that of the King’s Treasurer. A Gāmika was the maternal grandfather of a Prince. A Gāmika’s daughter married a Parumaka :-GAMIKA VAHAṬA JITA PARUMAKA PUṢADEVA JAYA LEṆE UPAŚIKA ŚIVAYA LEṆE. The Gāmika was not a Village Headman in the present-day sense but a member of the lower segment of the nobility.

95. See notes 68 and 69.
96. See note 70.
97. At Mihintalē.
98. C.J.S. II, 216.
100. At Situlpavva.
102. Manu, VII, 123.
103. M. 23, 66.
104. See note 36.
105. See notes 36 and 99.
106. See note 97.
107. C.A. III, 209, Cave No. 4.
108. At Dambulla Vihāra.
In a few inscriptions the village over which the Gamika was chief is mentioned:—(i) BATA NAGAHA LEÑE ŠAGAŠA MATAŁA GAMИKA PUTA GAMИKA TIŠAHA LEÑE;¹⁰⁹ (ii) KAŅAYUTA GAMИKA ABAYA PUTA GAMИKA ŠUMANAŠA LEÑE MAHAŠUDAŠANE ŠAGAŠA;¹¹⁰ (iii) KAŅAYUTA GAMИKA ŠUMANAŠA BARIYA UPАŠIKA TIŠAYA LEÑE ŠAGAŠA;¹¹¹ (iv) DАNATEKA GAMИKA PUTA GAMИKA TIŠAHA JAYA UPАŠIKA MAGILAYA LEÑE ŠАGIKE;¹¹² (v) MUKА LU GAMИKA ŠUMА ŠA PUTA IDАBUTIYE LEÑE AGATA ANAGATA CATУDIŠA ŠAGAŠА DИNE DАNU ACIRIYАHA;¹¹³ (vi) the Nāṭṭunkanda inscription;¹¹⁴ and (vii) the Mutugala inscription.¹¹⁵

The use of Gamika in inscriptions ceases more or less contemporaneously with the cessation of Parumaka early in the first century A.C. The inscriptions supply no evidence as to what designation took its place: it can be confidently assumed that the office was not abolished.

Gaņaka

Paranavitana renders the word Gaņaka as ‘Accountant’ but he points out that other possible renderings are:—leader of a gana, an astrologer, an overseer and a member of a corporation.¹¹⁶

A Gaņaka’s son was a Parumaka.¹¹⁷ A Gamika’s son was a Gaņaka:—GAMИKA ŠATAKA PUTA GAŅAKA NUGUYА JITAYA DARАKATIŠAYE LEÑE ŠAGAŠА PADITITE VAPI CA KARАPIТА М(U) RАGАМА МУ…¹¹⁸. A Gaņaka was also a Gapati (householder):—GАPАTI GAŅAKАŠА VЕMARУKАNА ЬIVAŠА LEÑE ŠAGА(ŠА).¹¹⁹ In the following inscription the mention of the village suggests that the Gaņaka named was Gaņaka of that village:—ПAŚАNADАRIYАGАMAMAŚI GAŅАKA TIŠА PUTА GAŅАKA TIŠАHA LEÑE.¹²⁰ Other epigraphical references to Gaņakas do not exceed 3 or 4. It would appear that the office of Gaņaka was inferior to that of Raďakarika.

¹⁰⁹. At Handagala Vihāra.
¹¹⁰. At Vihāregala, in Pānамa Pattu.
¹¹¹. Ibid.
¹¹². At Bambaramahela, near Kahaṭagasdilgiliya, N.C.P.
¹¹³. Nuvarakanda in Vanni, H.P., Kurunāgala District.
¹¹⁵. C.A. III, 212, Cave No. 11.
¹¹⁷. See note 60.
¹¹⁸. At Maṇḍagala, in the Yāla Strict National Reserve.
¹¹⁹. At Magul-maha-Vihāra, in the Yāla National Park.
¹²⁰. At Situlpavva.
SOME OFFICES AND TITLES IN THE EARLY SINHALESE KINGDOM

Raṭika or Raṭiya

Raṭṭhika-bhojaka as used in Asoka’s and Khāravela’s inscriptions meant a chief who administered and derived his revenues from a district or division.121 In Pāli literature Raṭṭhika signified a high dignitary of the state: in Ceylon, Raṭika or Raṭiya was the officer administering a territorial division called a Raṭa.122 Pliny’s ‘Rachias’ was very probably a Raṭiya.

The earliest epigraphical use of Raṭika is in an inscription of early 1st A.C. at Galabāva which commences:—(S)DDHAM RAṬIKA UTALAYAHA VIHARA.123 A mutilated inscription of the same century at Ridivihāra terminates with the words:—RAṬIKA DATAHA TUBE. The Vāllagala inscription of approximately the same period records a gift to the cetiya by the Raṭika in charge of Paṇahapahana (‘ 50 rocky hills’) district.124 An inscription at “Line”—malai125 of the reign of Kaniṭṭha Tissa (167-186) reads:—SIDDHAM MAĪ(L)IṬIṢA MAHARAJI ṆAKAMULAYAHA HUVAHAKA BUJAṆAKALAH ṬAṬIYA HATA-DA-YA KIRAVIKA (DARA)MARAYA (DARA)KAḌA VAVI GAṆAVAYA RA-MA KOṬU DAKAPATIYA KARA KAḌAYA SIPAVATA VEHERAHĪ BOTAGEHI DIṆI MAHAPAKA VAṬA. This Raṭiya administered the Huvahaka District, called Huvācakanṭika in the Mahāvaṃsa,126 a part of the Province now called Īva. The form Raṭika changed to Raṭiya sometime in the 2nd century. The Periyakaḍu inscription127 of the reign of Sirināga I (189-209) records a grant by the son of the Raṭiya Soṇaya. The 3rd century inscriptions at Burutankanda,128 Badagiriya,129 and Kimbulāgala130 are records of donations by Raṭiyas. References to Raṭiyas are more frequent in the inscriptions of the 4th and 5th centuries, a period outside the scope of this paper. The office of Raṭika or Raṭiya was established, judging by the epigraphical evidence, early in the 1st century A.C. This was the time when the order of Parumakas was beginning to pass away. No Raṭika has the additional title Parumaka. The evidence does not, however, lend any support to a conclusion that Raṭika was a new name for Parumaka. Donations made by Raṭikas or Raṭiyas included thūpas, tanks, fields, water revenues, paddy and money.

121. Asoka and his Inscriptions, by B. M. Barua, 83.
122. E.Z. III, 252.
124. C.J.S. II, 126, No. 528.
125. Near Arugam Bay.
126. M. 34, 90.
129. A.I.C. 68.
It should be added, in conclusion, that the main object of this paper is to present the historical and epigraphical material in a collated form so that further research on the precise meaning and functions of these ancient offices and titles may be facilitated.

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