

# Pre-State Chieftains And Servants of the State: A Case Study of Parumaka <sup>1</sup>

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The *parumaka* are the single largest lay group mentioned in the early Brahmi stone inscriptions of Sri Lanka. Notices recording their endowments (mainly in the form of drip-ledge cave shelters donated to the non-city dwelling Buddhist monks) occur in large numbers and spread over a wide area within the Island approximately covering a period of three centuries (B.C. 2nd century to 1st/2nd century A.D.). <sup>2</sup> This study is an attempt to trace the emergence of the *parumaka* group during the Proto Historic period as pre-State clan chieftains and their subsequent status as a primary segment of the socio-political elite incorporated within the early state of Sri Lanka. In this total scenario the most crucial development was the structural transformation of the *parumaka* group from one epoch to another, <sup>3</sup>

The significance and the intensity of the 'historical problem' concerning the *parumaka* is reflected in the wide range of views expressed about the antecedents, functional role, and the qualitative status of this group within the socio-political structure of Early Historic Sri Lanka. <sup>4</sup> In this conglomeration of views, one stream of modern historiography actually faced a 'conceptual crisis' in its attempt to unfold the antecedents of culture dynamics associated with the 'beginnings of civilization' in Sri Lanka. The adherence to a basic premise of 'cultural

1. This article incorporates some supplementary themes emanating from a forthcoming study titled *The Political Ecology of Pre-State Chiefdoms: A Cross-Regional Study*. The present study was originally read at the *Conference of the 11th International Association of Historians of Asia*, Colombo. 1-5. August 1988.
2. Inscription number indicated otherwise, is from S. Paranavitana, *Inscriptions of Ceylon Vol. 1*, Colombo, Archaeological Survey, 1970.
3. Sudharshan Seneviratne - *Social Base of Early Buddhism in South East India and Sri Lanka, c. 3rd century B. C. - 3rd century A. D.* Ph.D. dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1985, Chapter III.
4. For a comprehensive summary of these views see H. Ellawala, *Social History of Early Ceylon*. Colombo, Department of Cultural Affairs, 1969; Tilak Hettiarachchy, *History of Kingship in Ceylon*. Colombo, Lake House, 1972; C. W. Nicholas, "Some Offices and Titles in the Early Sinhalese Kingdom". *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. VIII, No. ii. 1950, pp. 116-128; Lakshman S. Perera, *Institutions of Ancient Ceylon from Inscriptions (2 Vols.)* Ph. D. dissertation. University of Ceylon, 1949; S. K. Sitrapalam, "The title Parumaka found in Sri Lankan Brahmi Inscriptions - A Reappraisal". *Sri Lanka Journal of South Asian Studies*, No. 1 (New Series), 1986/87 pp. 13-25. (Published in 1988).

implantation' either from north India or south India, underlining a donor-recipient interaction and the crude compartmentalization of language-cultural zones along racial lines, diluted any intellectual credibility associated with this school of thought. More often this school of thought tends to isolate the *parumaka* group in its intra-societal interaction. This methodological fallacy is essentially a consequence of the failure to grasp the significance of sub-stratum dynamics related to institutional formation. While on the one hand this school of thought underplays the vertical and horizontal transformations the *parumaka* underwent as a social group, it fails, on the other hand, to recognize the existence of this group within interacting and overlapping techno-cultural phases distributed in time and space (Table 1).

To some extent this situation has been remedied due to empirical and interpretative work conducted both in archaeological and historical studies in the last two decades. These studies brought into focus, not only the importance of the external dynamic but also the crucial significance of the internal dynamic in the process of institutional formation.<sup>5</sup> It is therefore imperative that the origin, relative status and the functional role of the *parumaka* be viewed beyond the narrow confines of a monolithic techno-cultural milieu and a single chronological context. The emergence and the structural transformation of the *parumaka* group therefore is organically linked to the transition from a non-complex to a complex society. This also entails a study of the resident community-ecosystem symbiosis, dynamics of community movement and techno-cultural synthesis, processes of acculturation, the vertical interaction between the Great Tradition (represented by decision-making groups in society) and the Little Tradition (represented by sub-stratum techno-cultural groups) and its dialectical contradictions related to continuity and change. Elsewhere, we have demonstrated the

5. For some recent studies see W. Begely, "Excavations of Iron Age Burials at Pomparrippu, 1970". *Ancient Ceylon*, No. 4, 1981, pp. 49-95; Siran Deraniyagala, "The Citadel of Anuradhapura 1969; Excavations in the Gedige Area". *Ancient Ceylon*, No. 2, 1972, pp. 48-169; R. A. L. H. Gunawardena, "Social Function and Political Power: A Case Study of State Formation in Irrigation Society" in Henri J. M. Claessen and Peter Shalinik ed. *The Study of the State*. The Hague, Mouton, 1981, pp. 133-154; "Prelude to the State: An Early Phase in the Evolution of Political Substitutions in Ancient Sri Lanka". *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 1 and 2, 1982, pp. 1-39. (Published in 1985); P. V. B. Karunatilaka, "Early Sri Lankan Society - Some Reflections on Caste, Social Groups and Ranking" *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities*, Vol. IX, Nos. 1 and 2, 1983, pp. 108-143. (Published in 1986). Ponnampalam Raghupathy, *Early Settlements in Jaffna: An Archaeological Survey*, Madras, T. Raghupathy, 1987; Sudharshan Seneviratne, "The Archaeology of the Megalithic-Black and Red Ware Complex in Sri Lanka" *Ancient Ceylon*; No. 5, 1984, pp. 237-307; "The Baratas: A Case of Community Integration in Early Historic Sri Lanka" in A. P. B. Amarasinghe and S. J. Sumanasekera Banda ed. *Festschrift 1985 - James Thevatasan Rutnam*. Colombo, UNESCO, 1985, pp. 49-56.

MAP 1

- PARUMUKA INSCRIPTIONS  
(FIGURE INDICATES NO. OF PARUMUKA  
AT EACH SITE)
- EXTENDED BURIAL
- ▽ URN BURIAL
- CAIRN CIRCLE
- CIST BURIAL
- ⌈⌋ DOLMEN
- ⊗ BLACK & RED WARE SITES

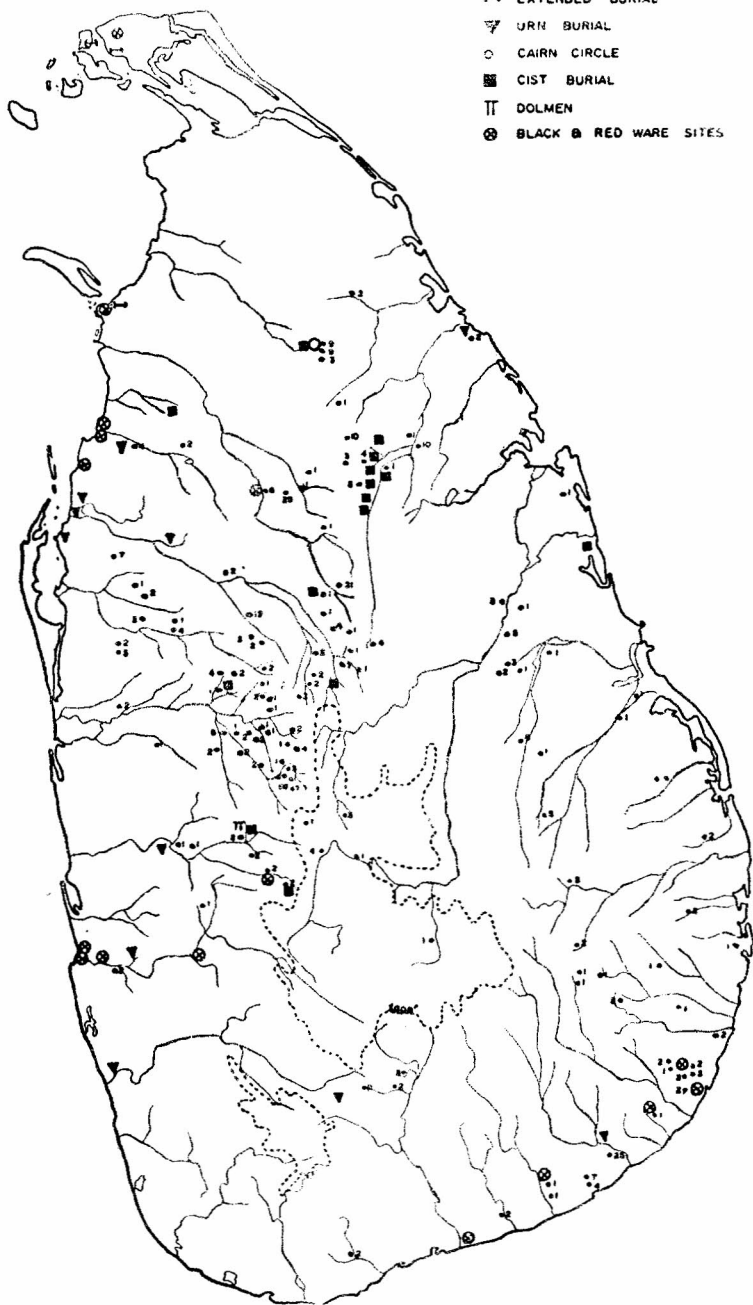


TABLE 1

<i>Chronology</i>	<i>Technology</i>	<i>Dominant Culture</i>	<i>Primary Institutional Structure</i>
Pre 6th Century B.C. (Pre History)	Stone Age (Mesolithic)	'Balangoda Culture'	Hunting, gathering, fishing; tribal society.
7th to 4th/3rd Century B.C. (Proto Historic)	Iron Age	Megalithic- BRW	Swidden and plough agriculture, small tanks, pastoral activity, limited crafts. clan-based villages, household economy, chiefdoms.
3rd Century B.C. to 2nd/3rd Century A.D, (Early Historic)	Iron Age	Indo-Aryan	Urbanization, hydraulic civilization, the script and coinage in use, the emergence of craft and commercial guilds, long-distance trade, stratified society, state formation.

Sudharshan Seneviratne, (1985)

use of this conceptual framework in understanding transitional institutional structures associated with pre-State societies in south central Asia.<sup>6</sup>

## II

In order to understand the nature of the *parumaka*, one has to take cognizance of their origins along with their functional role and evolution as a socio-cultural group.

Perhaps one of the major problems confronting the historian is the question posed about the region of origin and the cultural antecedents of the *parumaka* in Sri Lanka. Attempts made by Goldschmidt to equate the *parumaka* with the *brāhminya* and those of Paranavitana to identify the (*pramukha* > *pamuka* > *pamokkha*) > *parumaka* as leaders (*jetthaka*) of corporate bodies (*śrēṇi*) of north India, who established the earliest settlements in Sri Lanka, essentially point to a north Indian (regional), Indo-Aryan (linguistic and cultural) and *varṇa* (socio-ritual) affiliation.<sup>7</sup>

The basic premise of the hypothesis advanced by Paranavitana concerning the antecedents of the *parumaka* group is questionable. It is a fact that the *parumaka* group did conduct commercial activities during the Early Historic period. However, Paranavitana's assumption that they were the descendents of guild leaders from north India who 'colonized' this island, does not stand on firm ground. In the first instance, as recent studies indicate, the very introduction of 'elements of civilization' to Sri Lanka from north India is now open to question. Further to this, if, as Paranavitana argues, guild leaders did function in Sri Lanka as early as the 6th century B. C., then it is also possible to assume the existence of a development commercial vortex, money economy and corporate organizations in association with production distribution - units and an urban infrastructure. Archaeological evidence indicates anything but rich material remains from pre-1st century B. C. habitation strata. Nor do the earliest inscriptions indicate the existence of a well institutionalized society or a developed guild system. There is in fact only a solitary inscription mentioning a *parumaka* in association with a corporate body (No. 990). Better developed hierarchically organized corporate bodies emerged in the post - 1st century B. C. context in Sri Lanka. The indigenous development of such institutions was a gradual one rather than as introductions from north India.

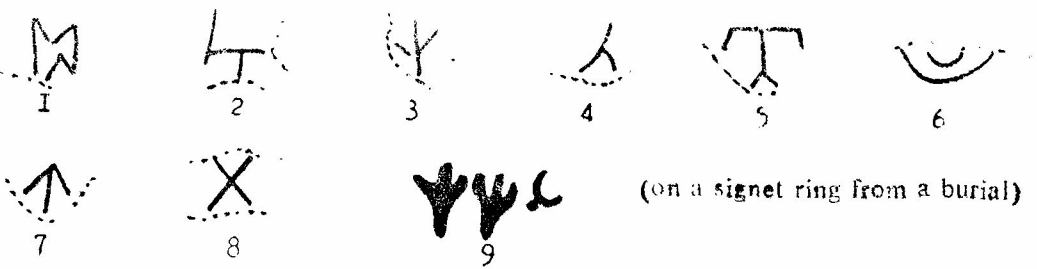
6. Sudharshan Seneviratne - "Kalinga and Andhra: The Process of Secondary State Formation in Early India", in *The Study of the State*, 1981, pp. 317-338; "Pre State to State Societies: Transformations in the Political Ecology of South India with special reference to Tamilnadu". Paper presented at the Seminar on the State in Pre-Colonial South India, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1989.
7. P. Goldschmidt - "Notes on Ancient Sinhalese Inscriptions". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Ceylon Branch*, Vol. 6, 1979, p. 2.; S. Paranavitana, "The Royal Titles of the Early Sinhalese and Origin of Kingship". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland*, 1936, pp. 447-449.

**PLATE I**

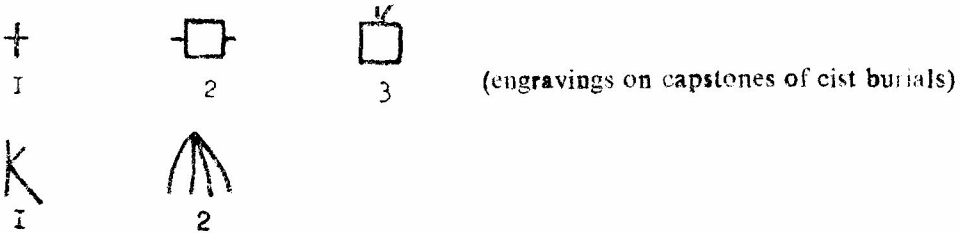
Post-firing graffiti symbols on pottery  
(Black and Red Ware, Red Ware)

(Not to scale)

**Anaikoddai**



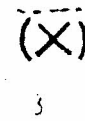
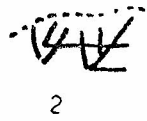
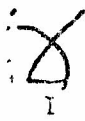
**Ibbankatuwa**



**Kantadorai**



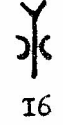
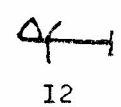
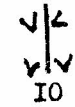
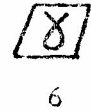
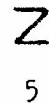
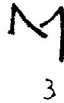
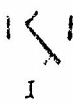
**Karainagar**



**Kollankanatta**



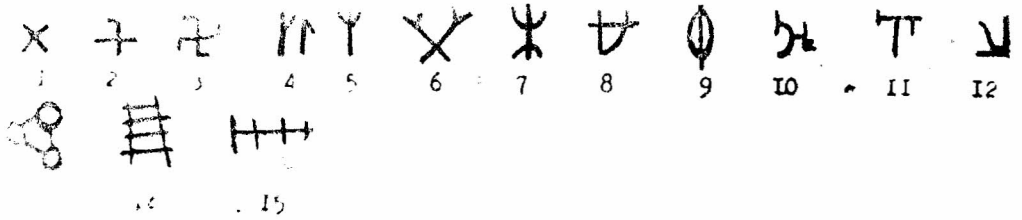
**Pomparippu**



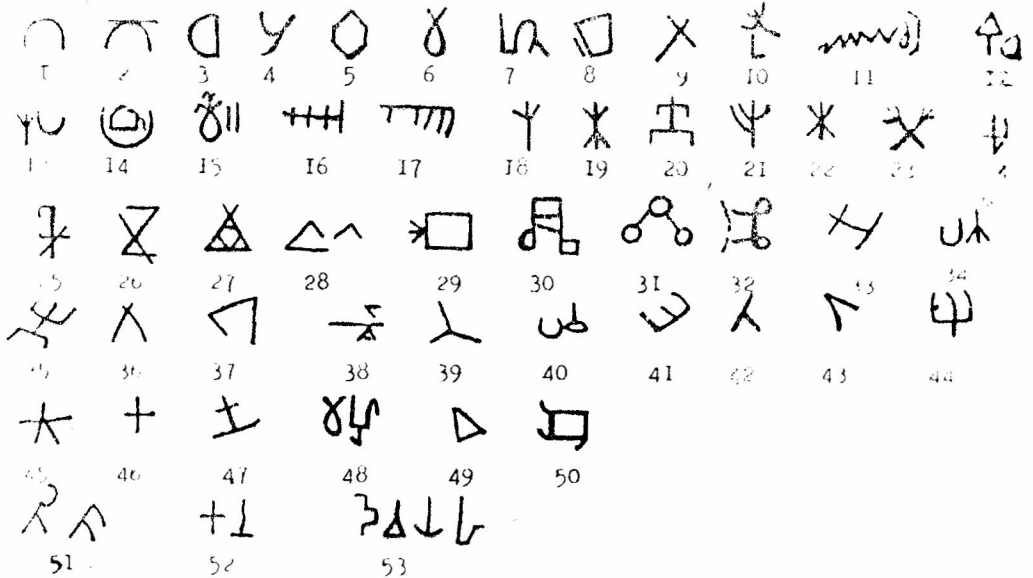
**References**

1. P. Raghupathy 1987
2. *ASAnR* 1957; *ASAdR* 1965-66; W. Begley 1981; S. Deranigala 1972
3. Raj Somadeva (Pers. com.)

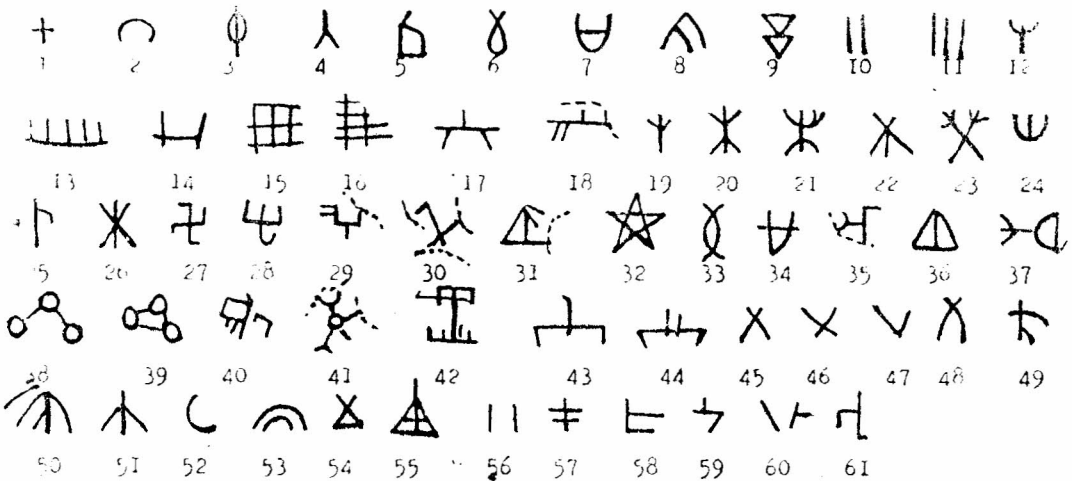
PROTO HISTORIC (Black and Red Ware, Red Ware)



EARLY HISTORIC (BRW, RW)



UNSTRATIFIED (BRW, RW)



Reference

S. Deraniyagla 1972; Field note books 1984, 1986.

As early as 1892 Bell pointed out to a possible link between the terms *parumaka* and *perumakan*<sup>8</sup>. The latter refers to petty chieftains of Tamilaham featured in the south Indian Sangam text. Paranavitana did not accept this equation or its historical context,<sup>9</sup> though recent studies based on linguistic, historical and cultural evidence reaffirmed Bell's view.<sup>10</sup> The very fact that the female form of *parunaka* is represented in the Brahmi inscriptions as *parunaka!* (i. e. *peru+maka!*), points to a Dravidian female termination, clearly indicating a non Indo-Aryan basis for these terms.<sup>11</sup>

It is quite likely that some segments of the *parumaka* group, who perhaps represent the earliest political elite during the Early Iron Age, had their origins in the Megalithic BRW\* complex emanating from Peninsular India. This was the earliest techno-cultural matrix formed in Sri Lanka during the Early Iron Age prior to any dominant impact of the northern Indo-Aryan culture. It is therefore reasonable to assume that certain elements of political leadership and authority that prevailed in Proto Historic south India may have had considerable influence upon the evolution of the pre-State political structure of Sri Lanka during the Early Iron Age.<sup>12</sup>

It may be noted that in the south Indian context terms denoting leadership viz. *perumakan* (*peru + makan*) and its derivative *peruman* were associated with pre-State lineage-based societies. The etymological meanings of the Dravidian word *makan* are son, husband, exalted person and warrior (DED 3768). In the same manner the prefix *peru* (*per* 'large' > *peru* 'to be large', 'great') conveys meanings such as big, large, powerful and greatness. Some of the etymological meanings associated with *peruman* are elder and elder brother (DED 3613). Among certain resident kin groups, if the leadership was associated with the head of the local descent group, the term *makan* (son) may have well implied the rank designation 'descendent of the clan/lineage ancestor'. In this connection it is useful to take note of the megalithic burials in Peninsular India representing clan graves associated with ancestor worship. Thus, where leadership was claimed through descent, the epithet *perumakan* may have carried the meaning 'great descendent/scion/son'. These pre-State societies were also associated with

8. H. C. P. Bell - *The Report on the Kegalla District*. Colombo, Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, 1892, p. 69.

9. S. Paranavitana, *op. cit.*, 1970, p. lxxiv.

10. A. Velupillai - "Tamil Influence in Ancient Sri Lanka with special reference to Early Brahmi Inscriptions". *Journal of Tamil Studies*, Vol 17, 1980, pp. 8-18. For a summary of views see S. K. Sitrapalam, "The Brahmi Inscriptions of Sri Lanka: the need for a fresh analysis", in K. Indrapala ed., *James Thevithasan Rutnam Felicitation Volume*, Jaffna, Archaeological Society of Jaffna, 1980, pp. 85-95; S. K. Sitrapalam, *op. cit.*, 13-25; D. J. Kanagaratnam, *Tamils and Cultural Pluralism in Ancient Sri Lanka*, Colombo, Ananda Press (not dated); Sudharshan Seneviratne, *op. cit.*, 1985.

















11. . Velupillai, *op. cit.*; Sitrapalam, *op. cit.* p. 91.









\* Black and Red Ware.

12. Sudharshan Seneviratne, *op. cit.*, 1985; "Kalinga and Andhra: the process of secondary state formation in Early India", in Henri J. M. Claessen and Peter Skalnik ed. *The Study of the State*. The Hague, Mouton, 1981, pp. 317-338.

**PLATE 2**

**NON-BRAHMI SYMBOLS ON PARUMAKA INSCRIPTIONS.  
A COMPARATIVE CHART**

No.	SYMBOL	SRI LANKA - MEGALITHIC	PENINSULAR INDIA - MEGALITHIC
1		APC	SAN
2		APC	TN
3		APC/POMP/KOL	TN
4			
5		AN	BK
6			BK
7			AM (Early Historic)
8		POMP/AN	ALG
9		POMP	SAN
10		POMP	
11		APC/POMP	HYD
12		APC	ALG/KOR
13		APC	SAN
14			HYD
15		APC	AD/ALG/TN
16			AD

No.	SYMBOL	SRI LANKA - MEGALITHIC	PENINSULAR INDIA - MEGALITHIC
17		APC/POMP	ALG
18			RGP
19			ALG/TN
20			BK
21		APC	SH
22			TN
23			TN
24			

#### List of sites

AD-Adichchanallur; ALG-Alagarai; AM-Amaravati; AN-Annaikodda i

APC-Anuradhapura Citadel; BK-Bakhera; HYD-Hyderabad; KOL-Kollankanatta;

KOR-Korkai; POMP-Pomparippu; RGP-Rangpur, SAN-Sanur; SH-Salihundam;

TN-T. Narasipur

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A complete catalogue of the comparative symbols found in association with the Brahmi inscriptions, Early Historic coins, Proto and Early Historic pottery, cave and rock engravings/paintings and traditional cattle brandmarks of Peninsular India and Sri Lanka, edited by Sudharshan Seneviratne and Piyatissa Senanayake, is currently under preparation.


warfare in an effort to sustain their economies and in order to accumulate prestige items and also to demonstrate personal valour in a highly competitive situation. *Perumakan*, within such a context, may have implied 'great warrior and exalted person', which was an essential qualification for leadership, a situation that may be equated with the 'big man' status.<sup>13</sup> In view of this, if the epithet title *parumaka* did derive from the Dravidian *perumakan*, then it may prove useful to have a cross-regional perspective, especially about the pre-state political formation in south India, to ascertain the developments in Sri Lanka during the Early Iron Age.


There appears to be a relatively strong body of inscriptional and archaeological evidence linking the *parumaka* group to the Proto Historic Megalithic BRW context in Sri Lanka and also to the south Indian techno cultural context.

In the first instance the distribution pattern indicates that the *parumaka* inscriptions have a close physical bearing to the Megalithic - BRW sites in Sri Lanka (Map 1). It is perhaps more convincing to compare particular post-firing graffiti symbols on the megalithic ware with the non-Brahmī symbols found on the earliest Brahmī inscriptions (Map 2). A total of 49 non-Brahmī symbols are found on the inscriptions and 29 of these are associated with inscriptions situated north and west of the river Mahaweli, the region that may have witnessed the earliest Megalithic-BRW settlements. Further to this, parallel non-Brahmī symbols occur in a dual context. Some of the non-Brahmī symbols associated with the *parumaka* inscriptions (in some cases inscriptions of non-*parumaka* groups as well), do occur as post-firing graffiti symbols from the earliest levels of the Proto Historic habitational deposits and from the Megalithic burials in Sri Lanka.<sup>14</sup> The parallel forms are also found

13. *Ibid.*, p. 320.


14. In this connection it is important that we record some internal evidence from the Megalithic context. The bronze signet ring found within the extended burial at Anaikkottai,

Jaffna Peninsular, had one line depicting megalithic pictograms  and the

line below it  (*Kōveta* i. e. literally 'king'). See P. Ragupathy, *op. cit.*, 119,

199-204. Similarly, in 1984 surface explorations at Ibbankatuwa, North Central Province,

revealed three pictograms  on three separate cist cap stones. In 1988,

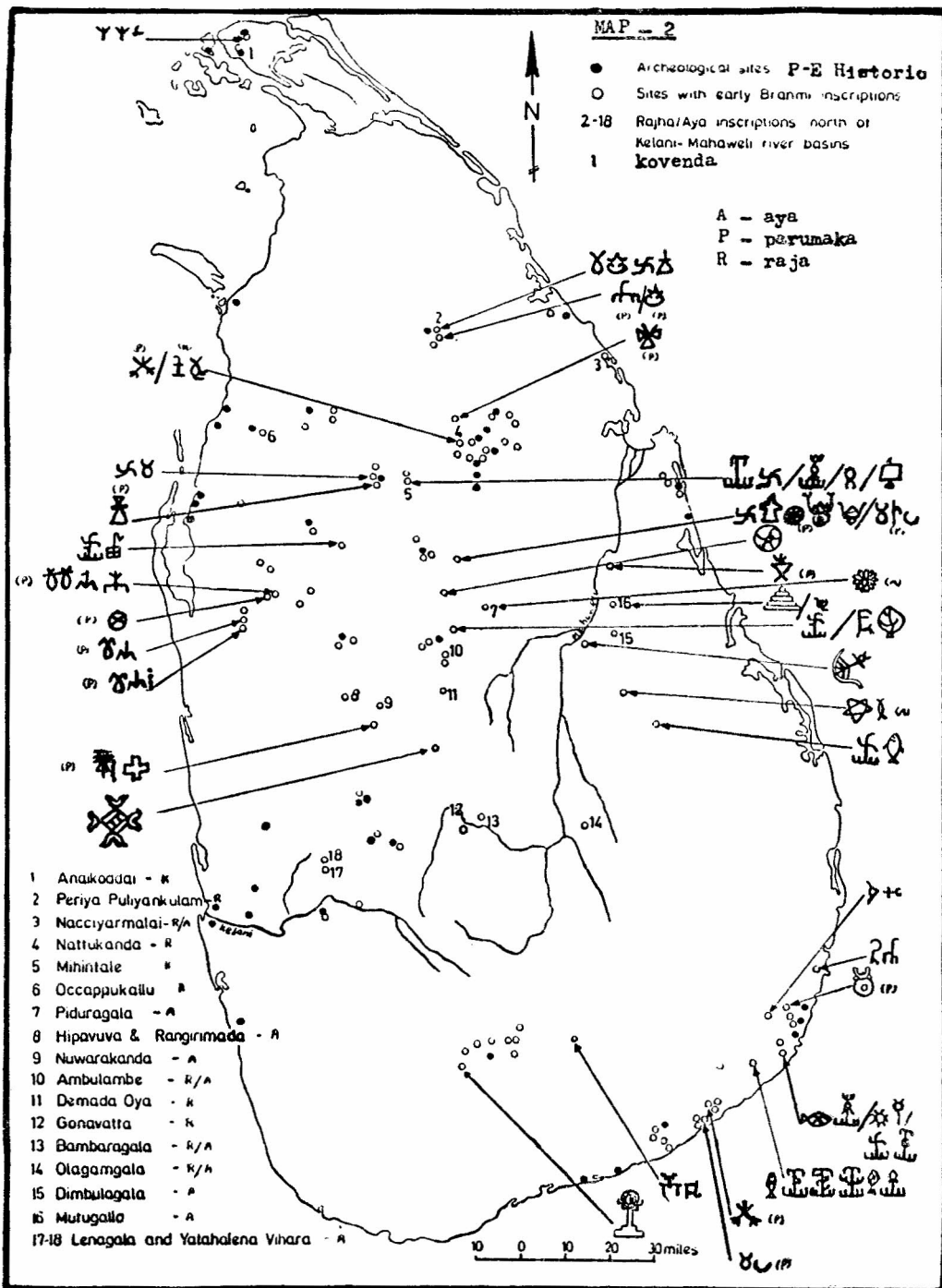
the cist carrying the symbol  on its cap stone was excavated. The cap stone itself

was large and the excavation revealed two large burial pots along with other offering pots of BRW. The large pots carried, among other things, carnelian beads and a gold fillet. Judging by the size of the cap stone, central location and grave goods, this may be identified as a 'special burial' belonging to an important person. Also see Sudharshan, Seneviratne, *op. cit.*, 1984, pp. 294-298.

MAP - 2

- Archeological sites P-E Historic
- Sites with early Brāmi inscriptions
- 2-18 Raja/Aya inscriptions north of Kelani-Mahaweli river basins
- 1 kovenda

A - aya  
P - perumaka  
R - raja

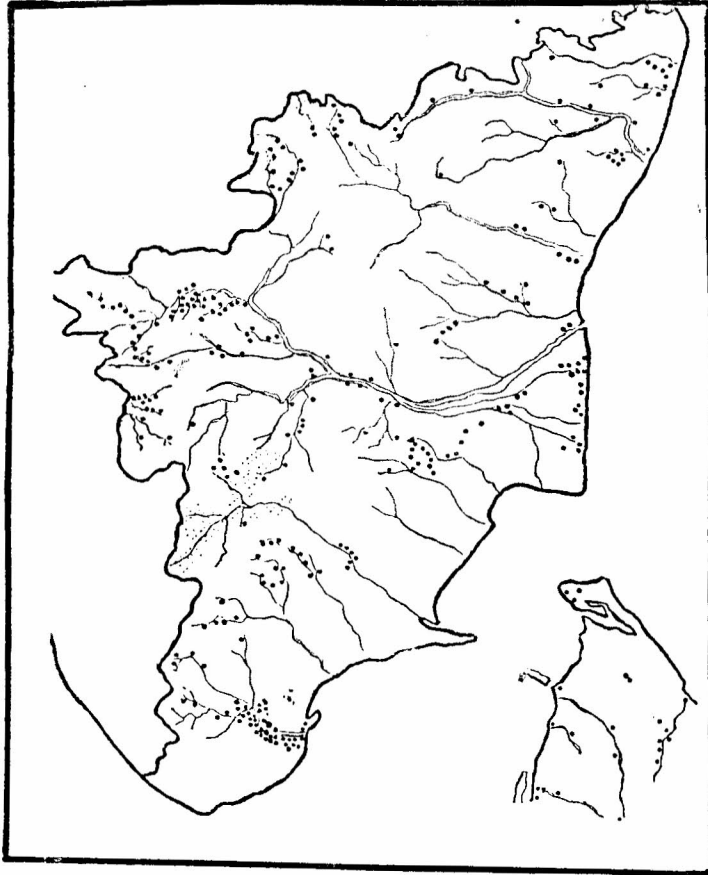


- 1 Anakoada - K
- 2 Periya Pulyankulam - R
- 3 Nacciyarmalai - R/A
- 4 Nattukanda - R
- 5 Mihintale - K
- 6 Occappukallu - A
- 7 Piduragala - A
- 8 Hipavuva & Ranginmada - A
- 9 Nuwarakanda - A
- 10 Ambulambe - R/A
- 11 Demada Oya - K
- 12 Gonavatta - K
- 13 Bambaragala - R/A
- 14 Olagamgala - R/h
- 15 Dimbulagala - A
- 16 Mutugalla - A
- 17-18 Lenagala and Yatahalena Vihara - A

MAP 3 TAMILNADU

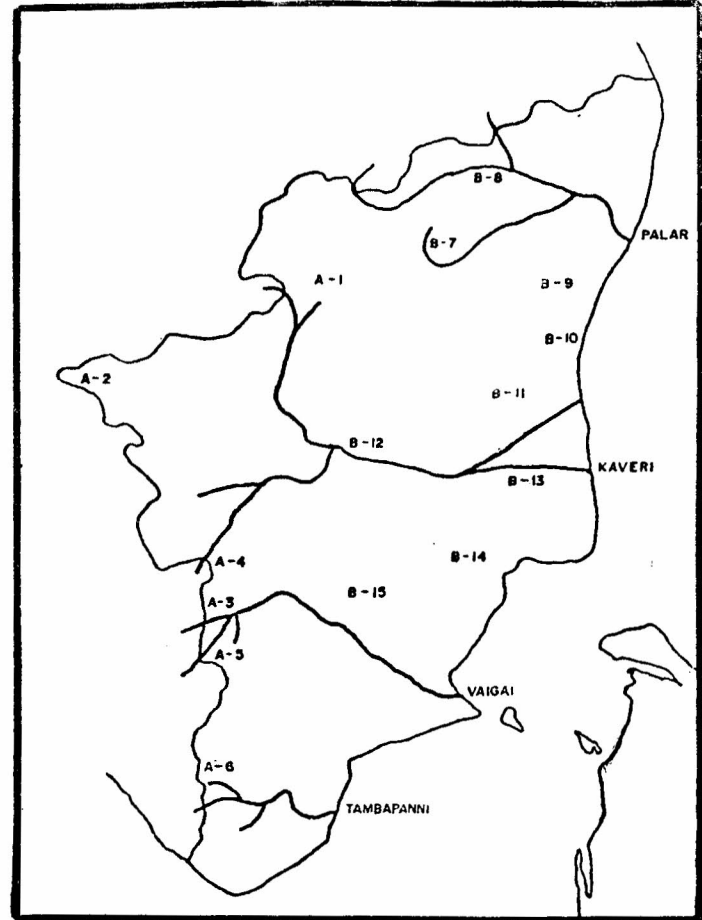
(A)

- MEGALITHIC-BLACK AND RED WARE SITES
- ⊕ AREAS WITH HIGH INTENSITY



(B)


VĒLIR CENTRES DURING THE EARLY HISTORIC PERIOD



in the subsequent Early Historic levels (Plate 1). Interestingly enough, the identical symbols and their variations occur within the Proto Historic habitation layers and burial sites as post-firing graffiti marks in Peninsular India (Plate 2). Techno-cultural homogeneity implicit in this situation is very obvious. In our view, these represent clan and family symbols of the Early Iron Age communities.

It is not altogether impossible that some of the *parumaka* may have belonged to the Vēṭir of South India. The historical antiquity of the Vēṭir extends well into the pre-Sangam period. It is now suggested that the Vēṭir, along with the Andhaka, Vṛṣṇi and Cedi (ancestors of Kharavela of Mahāmeghavāhana-kula in Kalinga) are descendents of the Yādava of western India.<sup>15</sup> These studies also indicate the remarkable coincidence between the Chalcolithic-BRW bearing sites in north India and north Deccan and the Yādava lineage-regions on the one hand and the Iron Age Megalithic-BRW burials (especially urns, cairn circles and pit burials) and Vēṭir controlled regions of Tamizhnam on the other (Map 3 and Table 2). The Yādava represented segmentary lineage groups and they seem to have functioned within a matrilineal structure and probably belonged to a non-Indo-Aryan culture stream. The Vēṭir themselves belonged to segmentary lineage groups and the power authority (and wealth?) passed through mother-right. They considered the lineage or the descent group as an extremely important legitimating factor in rank status. Thus, the Vēṭir often used the suffix *maṅ* or *mān*, e. g. Adigamān, Vēṭāvikōmān, *perumakan* Pēkan and proudly announced their preceding generations (e. g. 49 preceding generations of Irunkōvél). They branched into several segments and called themselves Āy (Āvi, Āviyar). Adigamān, Oymān, Vēṅmān, etc. The cross-cousin marriage system was an important cementing factor in the self-perpetuation of this segmentary structure.

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects associated with the Vēṭir is the social exclusiveness attributed to this group in the Sangam texts. They called themselves 'ancient families/house' (*mudukudī, veṭ mudu makkal*) vis a vis the *vampa* Vēntar (new/upstart crowned kings) i. e. Cōṭa, Cēra and Pāṇḍya. In doing so, the Vēṭir traced their lineage back several generations and to their ancestral 'home' Tuvurai or Dvārakā/Dvārasamudra. It is interesting to note the association of the sacrificial pot (*taḍavu*) with sage Agasti and Vēṭir and its linkage to the burial tradition on the one hand and the Andhaka (Āndhra) as well as the Yādava of Dvārakā on the other. The Harappan pictograms prominently feature the jar symbol,<sup>16</sup>

and one meaning attributed to the Harappan symbol  is the 'jar-bearer'

viz. *śara* (jar) + *vahana* ≡ Sātavāhana<sup>17</sup> i.e. the Andhaka.

15. For a well-compiled write-up see, Romila Thapar, "Puranic Lineages and Archaeological Cultures", *Puratattva*, No. 8, 1975-76, pp. 86-98; R. Champakalakshmi, "Archaeology and Tamil Literary Tradition", *Puratattva*, No. 8, 1975-76, pp. 110-122.

16. Iravatham Mahadevan - *The Indus Scripts: Text, Concordance and Tables*, New Delhi, Archaeological Survey of India, 1977.

17. Iravatham Mahadevan, "Study of the Indus Script through Bi-lingual Parallels", in Gregory L. Possehl ed. *Ancient Cities of the Indus*, New Delhi, Vikas, 1979, pp. 265-267.

TABLE NO: 2

Number	Sangam Site	Chieftain/Clan	Type of Megaliths	Approximate site	Modern Location	District
A 1	Tagadūr	Adigamāṇ (?)	Vēṭir Urns/Other types	Dharmapuri Taluk	Dharmapuri	Dharmapuri
A 2	Kuṇṇūr		Vēṭir Urns/Other types	Cocnoor	Nilgiris	Nilgiris
A 3	Kōḍai	Porunaṇ	Vēṭir Urns	Kodaikanal	Madurai	Madurai
A 4	Podiyil (Avināṅkuḍi)	Āviyar	Vēṭir Stone circles/Dolmens	Palani	Madurai	Madurai
A 5*	Aḷumbil	Mānavīral - Vēṭi	Urns	Kambam valley (?)	Madurai	Madurai
A 6	Vēṇāḍu/ Nāñjilnāḍu	Āy Āṇḍiran	Vēṭir Urns/Cairn circles	Venad	(Kerala/Tamilnadu)	(Kerala/Tamilnadu)
B 7*	Sēṅṅamā	Nanna	Vēṭir Cairn circles	Payyampalli (?)	North Arcot	North Arcot
B 8	Vēḷūr	Oviyar	Vēṭir Urns/Stone circles	Vellore	North Arcot	North Arcot
B 9	Oymānāḍu	Oviyar	Vēṭir Dolmens	Tindivanam	South Arcot	South Arcot
B 10	Virai	Oviyar	Vēṭir Urns/habitation	Pondicherry	Pondicherry	Pondicherry
B 11	Tirukkeyilūr		Vēṭir Dolmens	Tirukkoyilur, Kollur, Devanur	South Arcot	South Arcot
B 12	Uṇṇaiyūr and Piḍavūr	Vēṭir (Ialer)	Cōḷas Urns/Cists/habitation	Uraiyur, Perur, Allur	Tiruchrappalli	Tiruchrappalli
B 13	Alundūr		Vēṭir Urns/habitation	Teralundur	Thanjavur	Thanjavur
B 14	Koḍumbai/ Koḍumbalūr	Irungo - Vēṭi	Urns/Other types	Pudukkottai area	Pudukkottai	Pudukkottai
B 15*	Parambunāḍu	Pāri	Vēṭir Urns	Madurai-Melur Taluka	Madurai	Madurai
C 16	Puhār		Urns/habitation	Kaveripattinam	Tanjore	Tanjore
C 17	Kuḍandai	Cōḷa	Urns/habitation	Nandamedu Kumbakonam (Solamaligai)	Tanjore	Tanjore
C 18	Vallam	Cōḷa	habitation (?)	Vallam	Tanjore	Tanjore
C 19	Tenūr	Pāṇḍya	Urns	Teni/Tenur	Madurai	Madurai
C 20	Ayirai	Pāṇḍya	Urns	Kalugumalai	Tirunelveli	Tirunelveli
C 21	Koṟkai-Kāyal	Pāṇḍya	Urns/habitation	Korkai-Kayal	Tirunelveli	Tirunelveli


\* Our additions to the Tables of sites.

Group A . Vēṭir of the peripheral highlands.


Group B : Vēṭir of the lowlands (riverine plains and coastal)

I am grateful to Professor R. Champakalakshmi (CHS/JNU) for making available the original script containing the table of sites. This table did not appear in *Puratattva* No. 8, 1975-76 : 110-122), due to an error on the publisher's part. We have arranged the numbers in geographical sequence.

The socio-ritual aspect of the Vēḷir is closely linked with burial tradition associated with ancestor worship and the cult symbol representing the *vēl*



(spear/trident ) , which is the symbol of Murukan i. e. god of war. The



high incidence of tridents and spears placed as offerings in burials and the occurrence of this symbol as post-firing graffiti from the Proto Historic context in Peninsular India is extremely significant. Interestingly enough, while the Harappan

symbol  is supposed to mean 'lance bearer',<sup>18</sup> the Yādava coins of the earliest

period carry the legend *āyudhajīvi saṅgha* (lit 'weapon-bearing clan') and depict the spear/trident-wielding god of war, Kārttikeya.<sup>19</sup> Significantly, the etymological meaning of the term *vēl* and its derivatives convey meanings associated with elitism exclusiveness, great man, sacrifices, offering, earth/mud or land (agriculture), hero Murukan.<sup>20</sup> We have identified these pre-state chieftains as the earliest agrarian elite in South India.<sup>21</sup>

In Sri Lanka too a series of early Brahmi inscriptions carry the name *Veḷa*.

The Brahmi  is read as *Velu* by Paranavitana. However, the letter  is

read as  in south Indian Brahmi inscriptions,<sup>22</sup> and we read  as

*Vēḷ* > *Veḷa* and not *Velu*. The *parumaka* in fact form the single largest group (12/22) having the name *Veḷa*, which quite obviously indicated the lineage and socio-cultural identity of some *parumaka* chieftains. The occurrence of a personal name in some cases along with the *parumaka* and *Veḷa* identity is a case in point, e.g. *parumaka veḷḷa s'umana puta parumaka veḷḷa* (No 647).

In further study of the cultural antecedents of the *parumaka Veḷa* group we may note the following. An early Brahmi inscription from Ritigala records the following, viz. *parumaka kutaragaya veḷaha lene* (No, 250). Paranavitana explains the term *kutaragaya* as the 'holder of the vase', a functionary associated with the sacred bo-tree.<sup>23</sup> The association between the Vēḷir and the jar may be noted in this connection. At Mullegama in north west Sri Lanka, a *parumaka* inscription carries

18. *Ibid.*, p. 266. Mahadevan suggests the following, viz. arrow/lance i. e. *s'aliya* + bearer i. e. *vahana* = *s'aliya-vāḷi nu* > *s'ali-vāhana* or lance bearer, another name for the Andhaka.


19. M. K. Sharan - *Tribal Coins: a Study*. New Delhi, 1972; John Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*. New Delhi, Oriental Reprint, 1936 (1975 re-print).


20. Sudharshan Seneviratne, *op. cit.*, 1985, pp. 692-698. Appendix V 'A Note on the Vēḷir'.

21. Sudharshan Seneviratne, *op. cit.*, 1981, pp. 322.

22. See Iravatham Mahadevan - *Corpus of the Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions*. Madras, Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology, 1966.



23. S. Paranavitana. *op. cit.*, 1970, p. xciii.

the following symbols  (No. 1074). If we combine the first

symbol  with the other two, then we have the representations of the jar and

the lance bearer , two attributes associated with the Veṭṭir. Another

series of early Brahmi inscriptions from Tonigala and Paramakanda, not too far from

Mullegama, carry the jar and man symbol combination  or 

(Nos. 1051-54) Some of these inscriptions associated with the above, symbols mentioned a place by the name Tavirikiya-nagara, located in that region. Parana-vitana considers Tavirikiya as a variation of Dvārakiya or Dvārakā.<sup>24</sup> Dvārakā is the traditional habitation associated with the Yādava, the lineage ancestors of the Veṭṭir. These inscription-bearing sites are located close to the urn-burial site at Pomparippu, where the Megalithic pottery at the burial carry these symbols.<sup>25</sup> It is not altogether impossible that some of the Veṭṭira found in north Sri Lanka were the descendants of the Veṭṭir who arrived with their clans (bringing with them traditions about the jar and Dvārakā) under pressure from the Pāṇḍya, who apparently consolidated their proto-state in the Vaigai-Tambapannai region at a relatively early date.<sup>26</sup> On the basis of Map 3(B) and Table 2, one is compelled to question the non-occurrence of Veṭṭir groups south of the river Vaigai by the Early Historic period, though the upper Vaigai and the Tambapanni plains have profuse occurrence of urn, cairn/stone circles and BRW habitation sites.

### III

The spread and the evolution of the *parumaka* group forms the next important component in this study.

A relatively rapid growth in the associated forms of political institutions, leadership and authority in Sri Lanka was facilitated due to certain internal and external factors. The direct leap from the Mesolithic to the Early Iron Age, the intrusive culture from a more developed cultural context and an integration of autochthonous groups into the new socio-economic complex, the early inauguration of permanent settlements and paddy cultivation, the relatively rapid encroachment upon regions of mineral resources and the establishment of a network of communications linking the central hills with the settlements in the plains, and finally with the coast, facilitated in the formation of rudimentary political

24. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1051-52.

25. ASAnR, 1957, p. 13, Nos. 6-9.

26. Sudharshan Seneviratne, *op. cit.* 1985; p. 386.

institutions. However, it is important to bear in mind the uneven development of such formations in time and space.

The Early Iron Age (Proto and Early Historic period) may be identified as the Formative Period in the history of Sri Lanka. On the one hand there is for the first time a coincidence between the cultural zone and physical zone, and on the other the formation of recognizable social, political, economic and religio-cultural institutions.<sup>27</sup>

One of the most interesting developments that took place during the Proto Historic period was the emergence of micro eco-zones. Each zone became the primary habitat for a clan-based community thriving on a multi-resource broad spectrum subsistence economy. By the end of the Proto Historic period and the initial phase of the Early Historic period there was the emergence of specialized economics utilizing localized resources. It appears that these micro eco-zones had gradually evolved an interacting socio-economic network by the beginning of the Early Historic period. Another interesting feature noticeable during the Early Historic period is the gradual emergence of macro eco-zones, incorporating several micro eco-zones. Those macro zones, having development-oriented pre-conditions leading to a positive interaction between man and his environment, were able to sustain developed forms of institutional structure, and complex societies. The formation of the early state in Sri Lanka integrating several pre-existing clan-based chiefdoms occurred precisely within such macro zones. The evolutionary process of the *parumaka* group must be understood within the above developmental context.<sup>28</sup>

The spread of the *parumaka* group appears to have operated through two mechanisms, viz. the physical movement and acculturation.

In our view, the introduction of the epithet *parumaka* was from south India, and community movement from Peninsular India did take place at an early date to Sri Lanka. Some of those who arrived belonged to clan groups under the leadership of the Vējir chieftains, and introduced the Megalithic-BRW techno-cultural complex to Sri Lanka around the 7/6 century B. C.

The dynamics of the initial physical movement may have taken place as sporadic and seasonal visits to the coastal regions, most probably in search of

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-73.

28. These aspects have been brought into focus in the following studies: Sudharshan Seneviratne. "The Locational Significance of Early Iron Age Sites in Intermediary Transitional Eco-systems: A case study of the Upper Kala-Oya region, north central Sri Lanka". Paper presented at the *Seminar on Ecological History of India* (in press) Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, March 1988; "Iron Technology in Sri Lanka: A Preliminary Study of Resource, Use and Production Techniques during the Early Iron Age" *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities*, Vol. XI, 1985, pp. 129-178 (Published in 1987); "Mica Zones and the Early Iron Age Sites in Sri Lanka", *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities*, Vol. XII, 1986, pp. 121-132. (Published in 1988).

marine-littoral resources e. g. chank, pearl, etc. (Map-4). Instability, conditioned by political strife and environmental changes, are other important factors leading to migrations. Such movements may have led to more regular visits and seasonal camps and ultimately to permanent habitations. Conversely, we do not adhere to the view that there was a mass influx of people from the Megalithic context in south India to Sri Lanka. Our own studies and those of the physical anthropologists indicate that there was acculturation, community integration and techno-cultural adaptations between the intrusive Iron Age communities and sections of the indigenous Mesolithic community.<sup>29</sup> This community and techno-cultural synthesis not only took place in the coastal regions but also in the interior regions and had a strong impact on the institutional structure of the formative period.

Physical movement represented the penetration of the Early Iron Age culture to the hinterland from the marine-littoral ecological zones. It is quite likely that the *perumakan/parumaka* chieftains gave leadership and direction to the subsistence economy and community movement of such groups. The objective apparently was to reach the extensive fertile agrarian tracts in the north central plains and particular raw material yielding areas in the hinterland plains. The demographic factor, i.e. population pressure within the micro eco-zone as a mechanism triggering-off migration cannot be ruled out.<sup>30</sup> Clan groups headed by the *parumaka* most obviously provided a convenient social mechanism to this process of segmentation. The early settlement zones in the hinterland areas are associated with the Megalithic-BRW sites with which the *parumaka* inscriptions maintain a close physical proximity. These Proto Historic sites are not only situated in close proximity to marine-littoral eco-systems and the fertile Red and Brown Earth zones, but they have a very close bearing to certain micro-regions possessing mineral resources with prestige value (Map 4).

In order to elaborate our suggestion, we may indicate the following. For instance, the locational pattern of Proto and Early Historic sites in north west Sri Lanka indicates a clear bearing to oceanic resources found in lagoons. In addition, some of these sites in north west Sri Lanka are associated with resource zones having iron, stone, mica, quartz, chert and even chalcedony and opal (e. g. Kal-arū basin).<sup>31</sup> The megalithic sites of Karambambulam and Machchagama are located less than 10 miles north of the massive deposit of apatite at Eppawala. Similarly, the cist burial sites of Mamaduwa and the middle Yan Oya burial complex are in close proximity to the large deposit of mica at Kabitigollewa. This particular region is described as a gold-bearing region in the early texts,<sup>32</sup> and recent geological investigations proved this correct.

29. For a summary of such views, see Sudharshan Seneviratne, *op. cit.*, 1984, pp. 283-286 *op. cit.*, 1985, pp. 129-178 on technological aspects.

30. Sudharshan Seneviratne, *op. cit.*, 1985, pp. 173-189.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 378; W. Begley, *op. cit.*, pp. 69. 71. 75.

32. *Mahāvamsa*, xxviii. 13-15.

**MAP - 4**

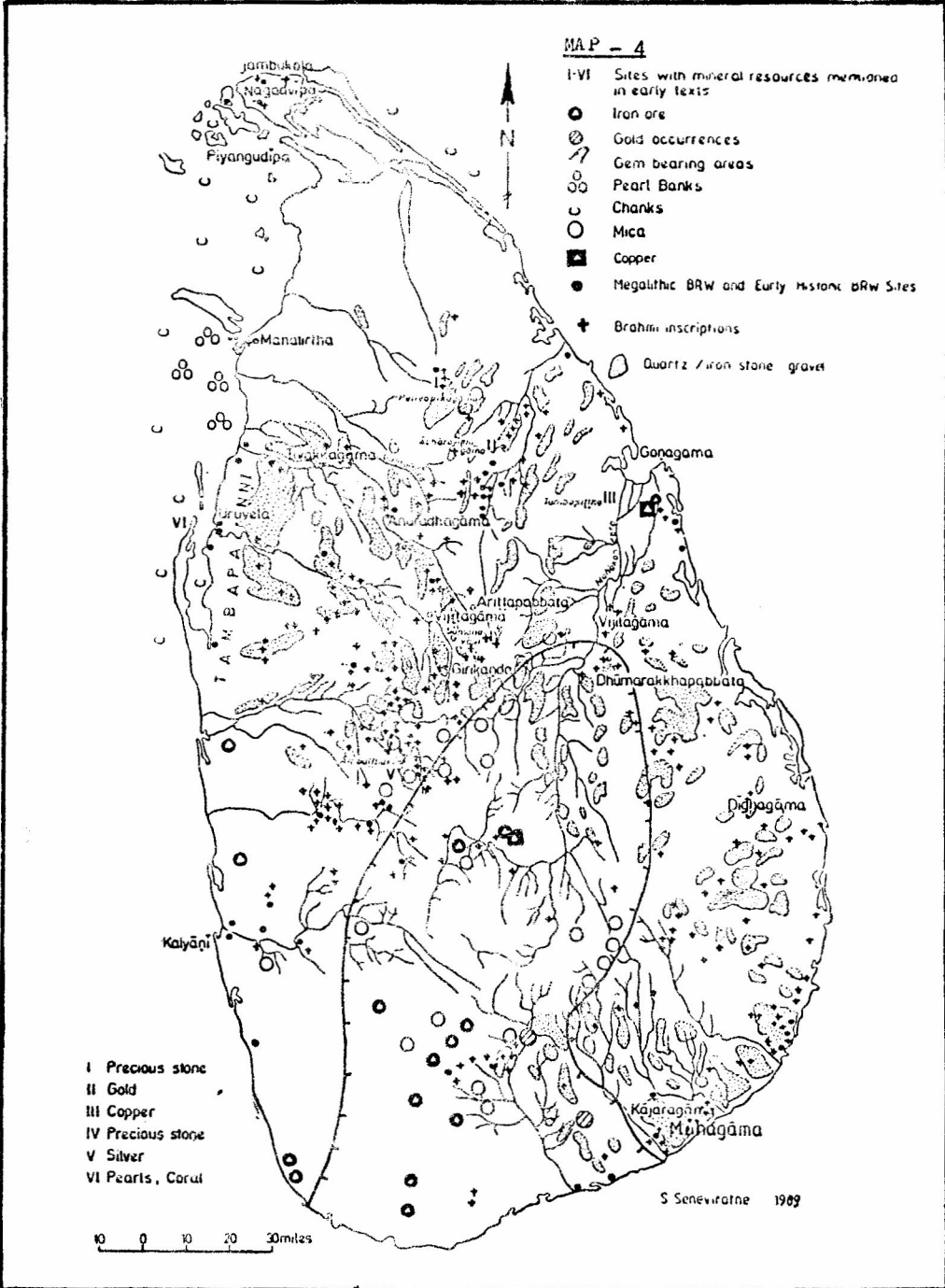
I-VI Sites with mineral resources mentioned in early texts

- Iron ore
- ⊙ Gold occurrences
- ⊙ Gem bearing areas
- Pearl Banks
- Chanks
- Mica
- Copper
- Megalithic BRW and Early Historic BRW Sites
- + Brahmi inscriptions
- Quartz / Iron stone gravel

- I Precious stone
- II Gold
- III Copper
- IV Precious stone
- V Silver
- VI Pearls, Coral

10 0 10 20 30 miles

S. Seneviratne 1969



These two Megalithic zones in the subsequent period came to house two powerful *parumaka* families. Further east, from Kurunekallu, an early Brahmī inscription mentions a *parumaka* Tabara Veḷ/a (No. 319). It is possible that *Tambakāra*, lit, Coppersmith > Tabara Veḷ/a had some association with working or control over copper. This site is located less than 15 miles (as the crow flies) on the route connecting the lower Mahaweli river with its estuary. The massive copper-magnetite deposit at Seruwila is situated in the deltaic region of this river.

We also hold the view that the *parumaka* may have been the earliest agrarian elite of Sri Lanka, when greater emphasis was put on wet cultivation over limited scale subsistence agriculture, more specifically in the agrarian eco-zone in the Red and Brown Earth soil region. The high intensity of both Proto and Early Historic sites in this soil region is a case in point. It is therefore possible to suggest that the *parumaka* may have given direction in extending agriculture. The early Brahmī inscriptions from Ritigala and Sigiri (north central Sri Lanka) mention the personal name Naguli in association with two *parumaka* chieftains (Nos. 260, 869). Naguli derives from *lāngali* > *naguli* i. e. 'plough-bearer'.<sup>33</sup> Another inscription, again from Ritigala records the founding of Ariṭṭha-Mahāgāma by four *parumaka* brothers (No. 269). This situation can be projected to the pre-existing Proto Historic context where the *parumaka* chieftains actually initiated and directed agricultural activity and founded permanent habitations in the primary agrarian region. Unless they had commenced producing a surplus in agriculture, it may not have been possible to sustain the non-producing monks residing within the drip-ledge cave shelters by the 3rd/2nd century B. C.<sup>34</sup>

A striking feature related to the distribution pattern of the *parumaka* inscriptions is their occurrence in areas of attraction as well as in areas of relative isolation. This is possibly related to the second mechanism of the spread of the *parumaka* through a process of acculturation. Judging by the occurrence of the early Brahmī inscriptions, the Early Iron Age culture had already penetrated the peripheral lower montane region, to reach the major repositories of mineral resources. This process may have led to greater interaction between the Mesolithic and the Early Iron Age cultures. Kitulgala, Karadupona and Ravana-ella, all entry-points to the lower hills, yielded Early Historic BRW in association with Mesolithic stone tools. It is quite apparent that the Iron Age culture elements absorbed the Mesolithic people to their fold, where the latter not only borrowed the technology (e.g. pottery and iron), but also other elements of the Iron Age institutional structure as well. Hence, it can be assumed that certain Mesolithic clan chieftains themselves took upon the term *parumaka* (which suited the clan organization of their band-level of society) as well as the Megalithic burial practice coinciding with their own concepts of ancestor worship. The occurrence of burial sites at Nalla, Gal-atara and at

33. Sudharshan Seneviratne, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

34. Sudharshan Seneviratne, *op. cit.*, 1984, p. 294.

Padavigampola, all situated on the middle and upper reaches of the Maha-oya may not be a coincidence after all. In the vicinity of Gal-atara and Padavigampola there are *parumaka* inscriptions (No. 801; page vi).<sup>35</sup> In addition, the area around Gal-atara contains relatively large resources of mica and amethyst. The cist burial site at Ibbankatuwa has a similar locational significance.<sup>36</sup>

#### IV

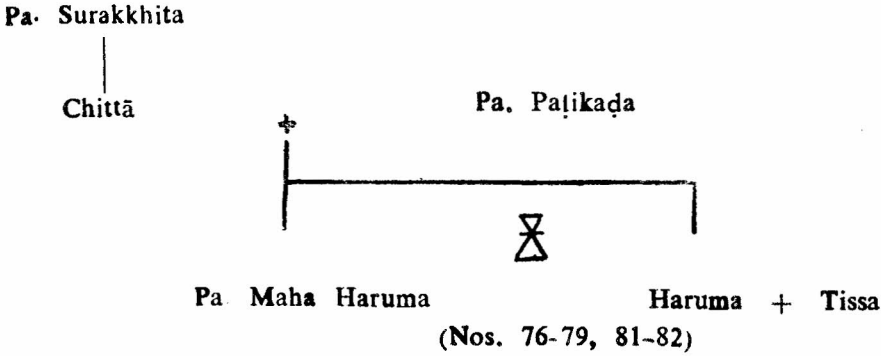
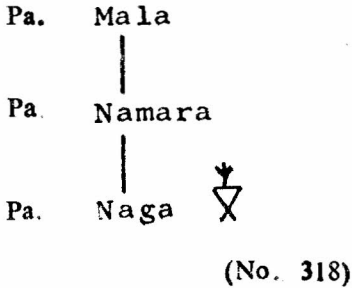
The evolution of the *parumaka* as a socio-political group is a more complex one. The problem actually revolves around two inter-related aspects, viz. their actual position as a status group and their sphere of authority.

The meanings attributed to the term *parumaka* (and its source word *perumakan*) and the association of these individuals (or their ancestors) with the Megalithic burials, may indicate their authority over clan groups, occupying micro ecological zones - thus their control over limited geo-political zones. The general distribution pattern of the *parumaka* inscriptions in fertile pockets, areas yielding raw material, along coastal zones and routes linking different ecological zones, may reflect the pre-existing situation during the Proto Historic period. By the 3rd century B. C. the *parumaka* were recognized as one of the leading elite groups in society, and economically they had sufficient surplus production to stand out as the chief patrons of the *Sangha*. This they announced by making endowments of drip-ledge cave shelters to the latter. We may therefore assume that some degree of resource accumulation through the acquisition of the surplus was in existence. The mechanism of resources movement, linking the politically powerful lineage group and the resident community composed of the clan groups, may have led to this situation.


It is possible to suggest that the method of succession followed by the early *parumaka* may reflect the authority of the lineage group over the resident clan group/s. There is evidence to show that succession to the title was by the eldest son. For example, we come across the names of *parumaka* Paḷikada's sons as Maha Haruma and Haruma (Nos. 78, 81, 82). The inscriptions clearly attribute the title *parumaka* to Maha Haruma, whereas Haruma is not assigned with any title. It may be assumed that certain other inscriptions indicating the linear succession (at times going up to three generations) by sons, may reflect that the principle of primogeniture was in operation. However, as different technological groups had adapted this title/epithet after having undergone a process of acculturation, one is not sure whether this was the general practice of that time.

35 The Brahmi inscription at Asmadala, near Gal-atara, mentions one *parumaka* Tis'a, daughter of *parumaka* Dusajha. S. Paranavitana, *op. cit.* 1970, p. vi.

36. Sudharshan Seneviratne, 'The Locational Significance of the Ibbankatuwa Megalithic Burial Site'. Paper presented at the *First National Archaeological Congress*, Colombo, SLFI November 1986.

*Surakkhita-Paṭikaḍa lineage (Vessagiriya, Anuradhapura)\***Mala lineage (Kandakadu)*

\* Pa - *parumaka*, Pk - *parumaka!*

In some cases the daughters took up this title as well. There is an excellent example in the case of Pusa (daughter of *parumaka* S'ata Nas'ata), who is known in the inscriptions as the holder of the epithet *parumaka* and also the carrier of the (lineage?) symbol  (No 331). Similarly, we have the cases of

*parumaka!* Dipani, the daughter of *parumaka!* Naguli (No. 260) and of *parumaka!* Tisa, the daughter of *parumaka* Dusajha.<sup>37</sup>

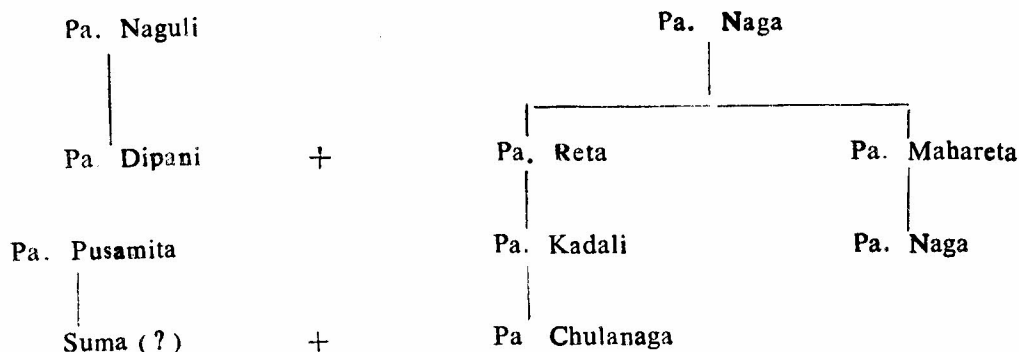
While the inscription of *parumaka!* Pu'sa is situated adjacent to the Mamaduwa burial complex, *parumaka!* Tisa has her inscription near the Gal-atara burial site. It may have been the practice for a female to take up this title, provided she happened to be the eldest or the only off-spring. In any event, this is not

37. S. Paarnavitana, *op. cit.*, 1970, p. vi.

opposed or contradictory to the norms of succession to power and property transmitted through the mother. This form of succession apparently received strength from the cross-cousin marriage followed by the *parumaka* group. Significantly, in the *parumaka* inscriptions, the sister's son and son-in-law are known by the term *baginiya* (Skt *bhāgineya*/ Pali *bhāgineyya* as well as *marumakana* (Drav. *marumakay*) (Nos. 148, 294, 1202). It may be assumed that in a dominantly clan system, where the lineage group held sway over the resident community, the above form of succession to the title may have been in force.

In the process of segmentation, the founding of intermediary and local sub-lineages could not be avoided. The taking up of this title by more than one son was perhaps a natural process under such circumstances. The elder member of the resident community (household group) consisting of the extended kin group may have been recognized as the *parumaka*. It is possible that we may have a situation in relation to the Naga-Naguli lineage group.

*Naga-Naguli lineage (Marakkal Ulpota)*



(Nos. 260/266)

During the second phase, the *parumaka* group tends to become more complex in their composition. The occurrence of a large number of *parumaka* inscriptions indicating only first and second generation *parumaka* clearly reflect a proliferation of this title holders during the post 3rd/2nd century B. C., who may be distinguished from the descendants of the lineage chieftains of the Proto Historic period. A larger group of first and second generation *parumaka* also points to a situation where individuals seeking status were now beginning to acquire this title as a prestige symbol. The new holders of this title may have emerged from clan groups recently absorbed to the Iron Age culture from the backward

Mesolithic techno-cultural groups<sup>38</sup> An inscription from south east Sri Lanka records the endowment of a *parumaka* Milaka Pusa, the son of *parumaka* Naga (No. 631) Paranavitana derives *milaka* from Skt. *mleccha* > Pāli *millakkha* (No. 119). Alternately, they may have been individuals assigned with the rank status of *parumaka*, perhaps by a political authority. To elaborate, there are instances when the father carried the title and the son had no title (No. 11), and conversely, the son was the title holder while the father had no title at all (No. 25) The gradual transformation of this title from a lineage to an official one, in turn implied that the earlier principles of succession to the title could not be implemented with much effort. For example, an inscription dateable to the 1st century B.C./A.D. records that all four sons of a *mahānātya*, named Bamadata, held the title *parumaka* (No. 269).

We cannot rule out that some of the local chieftains, called *rajha* (*raja*) and *aya* in the early Brahmī inscriptions, had their origins in the Proto Historic *parumaka* group. It is possible that in some cases a clan leader politically more powerful or who had more resources than the other chieftains in the same eco-zone, may have taken up the title *rajha* or *aya* in an effort to display a mark of rank distinction indicating superior status over the rest. We have identified possible traits of this situation at least in two micro eco-zones e.g. lower Modaragam-aru and upper Parangi-aru.<sup>39</sup> It is interesting to note that a similar process prevailed in Andhra during the post Maurya - pre Sātavāhana period<sup>40</sup>

## V

In our view, economic and political factors may be shown as the basis of the impetus to this structural complexity of the *parumaka* group during this phase.

First, we may take up the economic factor. It may not be an exaggeration to state that the post 2nd/1st century B. C. commercial vortex clearly brought great economic benefits to the *parumaka* groups, who were already entrenched in strategic sectors of the economy. For instance, we may quote *parumaka*

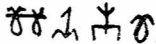
38. An inscription from Situlpavva, south east Sri Lanka, mentions *parumaka* Calu from Vanakagama (No. 650). If *vana* is taken to be forest, then the location of this village may have been with a forest. Another inscription records the region/place of residence of *parumaka* Cuḍa-Ayimara as Ayibara-pavata (*pabbata* i. e. mountain/hill) (No. 958). It may be speculated that the *parumaka* having Mundari-sounding personal names may have originally belonged to the Mesolithic culture, e.g. names such as Pola, Naguli, Ruvala, Raki, etc. In addition, there are other personal names of the *parumaka* that do not belong to the Indo-Aryan group of languages, e.g. Bagali, Palikada, Mala, Naga, Namara, Hadaka, Nugaya, Sigara Malu, Paḷakana Sata, Haruma, Ayimara, Cuḍa, Poṭimasa, Palaya, S'bili, Kaḍali, Uba, Paḍa, etc. On one occasion, the name of one *parumaka*, Siri, is written as Tiri, and conversely the Dravidian personal name Udiyan is Prakritized as Uttiya and Uti in the Brahmī inscriptions. Sudharshan Seneviratne, *op. cit.*, 1985, p. 376.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 404-406.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 249-251.

Tabara Veļja (No 319) and *parumaka* Taba Tisa (No. 750), who were associated with mining, working or trading in copper.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, the personal name Cuḍa Cuḍi taken up by several *parumaka* chieftains (Nos. 44, 203, 266, 407, 358, 684, 856, 1015, 1042, 1033) may reflect their control over gem-bearing areas or trade associated with mineral stone.<sup>42</sup>

In addition to their control over resources, it is fairly clear that the *parumaka* controlled labour in particular areas related to craft and commercial sectors. For instance, *parumaka* Gopala headed the *gothi koboja* (No. 990). *Koboja* were a community who had organised themselves into a corporate body i. e. *gotha*. The *Mahāvamsa* (xxiii. 4-6) records that *senāpati* Mita of Eļāra (the maternal uncle of *parumaka* Nadimita of the inscriptions), controlled a village of workers i. e. *kaṃmaniagāna*. Another *parumaka* is mentioned as the *bojhika* of Bama-nagara (No. 1037) and it clearly establishes control over centres having full-time specialists and exchange points. Therefore it is not surprising that administrative functions such as *nagara guttika* (burgomaster) and *pura kamata* (officer-in-charge of city affairs) are associated with the *parumaka* (Nos. 230, 1002). In another inscription, a *parumaka* is called a *toṭa-bojhaka* (No. 860) i. e. ferry-crossing, implying their control over means of conveyance and communication.

The *parumaka* group directly involved themselves in trade and commerce. An inscription from south east Sri Lanka mentions one *parumaka* *Vanijha* Tissa (No. 515). From north west Sri Lanka we come across the powerful *parumaka* clan (who display the symbols ) where a member of this group, *parumaka* Tisa is called *duta-navika* (envoy-mariner) and *kaṇiyata* (navigator) (Nos. 1053-55).<sup>43</sup> We may note that in another inscription, *parumaka* Utara, a member of this clan, records the term *kaderi*, which is probably associated with

41. A *parumaka* Taba Tisa is mentioned in an early Brahmi inscription from Mavaragala. Less than five miles from this site, slag remains having traces of copper were found by Coomaraswamy at Koka-gala. *ARMS* 1907, pp. 8-9. It is recorded that a chieftain named Tamba was defeated at the village Tamba by *Outt* hagāmaṇi in the course of his campaign. *Mahāvamsa* xxv-14-15.

42. In the Dravidian group of languages, *Cudakam* / *Cuda* means 'bracelet, sacred eleocarpus bead enclosed in gold hung around the neck in a gold band, (DED 2246). *Sud-am* in Sumerian is 'lustrous-gem'. A. Sathasivam, *Sumerian. A Dravidian Language*. California, Berkeley, 1965, p. 56; No. 463. A *parumaka* Narayagutha was the *bojhika* of Piyaka-pas'ana (No. 171). This inscription is associated with a mineral stone yielding red on adjacent to the burial complex of the middle Yan-o-ya and Mamaduwa. Piyaka-pas'ana may refer to a variety of mineral stones i.e. *pasana* (*pasana*). Large quantities of carnelian, an imported variety of semi-precious stone from south Deccan that had much prestige value, emerged from the cist burials of Ibbankatuwa during the 1988 excavation. Sudharshan Senaviratne, *op. cit.*, 1984, pp. 276-277.

43. Merchants were often employed as envoys. It is recorded Tissa included a *setthi* among the group of envoys he despatched to As'oka. *Mahāvamsa* II. 26.

maritime activity. This particular region has direct access to the primary chank and pearl yielding areas in the Gulf of Mannar. A second inscription from Maligatenna mentions another navigator (*kañiyata*, *parumaka* Maha Asoka (No. 977a). A later Brahmī inscription speaks of a *parumaka* who undertook journeys to Bhārukachcha (No 1183). which was the primary port town in western India, linked to the long distance trade network <sup>44</sup>

In addition, the growth in the agrarian base in the post 3rd century had a direct bearing upon the expansion of the *parumaka* group. The location of certain *parumaka* in fertile pockets and their ability to control resident communities during the Proto Historic period, gave their successors an additional advantage during the Early Historic period. This is especially true during the post 2nd/1st century B. C. period, when private ownership developed in land and when the primary producer was directly subordinated by the ruling class, who also controlled the surplus.

The following evidence may substantiate the above assumption. While one early Brahmī inscription mentions the place of residence of a *parumaka* as Anurādhagāma (No. 706), another *parumaka* is called the *bujhika* of Maṭukagama (No. 807). It may be assumed that the four *parumaka* brothers who founded the village settlement Mahā Ariṭṭhagāma (No. 269) may have had the right over the produce and labour as well. Their ability to mobilize labour from such resident villages, most obviously gave the *parumaka* the opportunity to build and own reservoirs or tanks (*vāpi* > *vavi*). An inscription clearly mentions one *parumaka* Tissa as a *vavi haṇika* (*vāpi-swāmika*) i. e. lord or owner of a reservoir (No. 1200). It is evident that with the growth of private property and with the greater elaboration of the principles of inheritance, individual ownership of the *parumaka* over strategic resources consolidated itself to a greater extent. Apparently this situation was developing from the 1st century B. C. as we came across the term *paravaṇi* (*paraveṇi*) i. e. inherited share, in an early *parumaka* inscription (No. 298). It is therefore not surprising that by the beginning of the early Christian era, according to inscriptional evidence, the *parumaka* had become the single largest group privately owning reservoirs (Nos 1051-52, 1200, 1130, 1132, 1198, 1151, 1153, 1200. <sup>45</sup>

It is reasonable to assume that the uneven development in the distribution of resources may have witnessed certain *parumaka* individuals holding more than one reservoir, village or extensive tract of paddy lands. The earlier mentioned *parumaka* *duta-navtku* gifted a reservoir along with a monastery to the clergy (Nos. 1051-52), Another *parumaka* donated a reservoir to the sangha (No. 1225). In a third case, an inscription (dated to c 40 B.C.) mentions that a *parumaka* donated shares in a tank

44. Long distance trade with western India is confirmed by another inscription from north west Sri Lanka, recording the endowment made by a *navika* (mariner) from Bhojakata (No. 105).

45. S. Paranavitana - *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Vol II (i), 1983, No. 5.

and also shares in a paddy field,<sup>46</sup> while another early *parumaka* inscription records the endowment of a village (No. 251)

The control over water, which was extremely crucial to dry zone paddy cultivation, may have greatly enhanced the control the *parumaka* wielded over the primary producer. It is precisely the capital accumulated from agricultural surplus, revenue from water control over raw material, that gave them an advantageous access to commercial ventures. In this connection *parumaka duta-navika* is a case in point. This surplus in their control gave the *parumaka* the opportunity to indulge in the luxury of conspicuous consumption, expressed mainly through endowments of drip-pledge cave shelters, monasteries and *stūpas*. The same *parumaka* who donated a village, is said to have spent coins numbering ten-thousand (*dasa-sahasā-daraya*) to construct a cave shelter (No. 251). Inscriptions of the 1st century A.D. mention the affluent Vahiṅ lineage who were politically powerful and had much surplus wealth, enabling donations such as revenue from two tanks, interior fields (of one tank<sup>47</sup>), 60 measures (*kāriṣa*) of land, one reservoir, one *vihāra* and cave shelters to the monks (Nos. 1202, 1205, 1231).<sup>47</sup> Thus, it is not incorrect to term the *parumaka* as the earliest and the primary agrarian elite during the Early Historic period.

The emergence of the *parumaka* as the primary agrarian elite and their extended economic interest in commercial activity leading to greater economic affluence had interesting political implications (Table 3). It is possible to make several observations on the basis of this Table indicating the designation held by the *parumaka*. First, they were the largest single group who held bureaucratic positions at the upper level, though certain non-*parumaka* individuals also held such positions.<sup>48</sup> All offices, with the exception of one *baḍagarika*, were held by one family in the latter Brahmi inscriptions. In the case of this particular family, each individual often held more than one office. Secondly, there is a large group of *parumaka* in the inscriptions, who are associated with revenue collection (*ayaka*) and storage (*baḍaga-ika*) of the surplus. One *parumaka* very specifically mentions his father as a *ganaka* i.e. accountant (Nos. 212-213). A significant number held high military (*senāpati*) and civil administrative positions. Thirdly, the *parumaka* served both in the independent political units as well as in the main political centres at Anurādhapura and at Mahāgāma. A higher concentration however is with the main political centres. Finally, the administrative structure appears to be less complex, which is apparent from the limited designations associated with the Early Historic period.

46. *Ibid.*

47. S. Paranavitana "Brahmi inscriptions in caves at Kaduruveva". *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. 5 (iii), 1965, pp. 410-418.

48. It is not always easy to make out the *parumaka* and non-*parumaka*. For instance, later Brahmi inscriptions have the following - *Baḍakarika parumaka Sangha puta parumaka Utiya . . .*" (No. 1109), *. . . baḍarika Sangha puta Utiya . . .* No. 1110).

TABLE 3


*Civil and Military Administrative Designations held by the Parumaka*

Senapati (Senāpati)	4
Mahamata (Mahāmātya)	1
Maha Amati (Mahā Amātya)+	1*
Amati (Amātya)+	3
Maha-dora-tana (Great Chamberlain)+	1*
Dora Kani (Chamberlain)	1*
Rupa-vapara (Dealer in coined money)+	1*
Kanapeḍika (Record Keeper)+	1*
Badagarika (Bhāndāgārika)	4 + 1*
Ayaka (Revenue Collector)	4
Duta (navika) (Envoy - Mariner)	1
Nagaraguta (Mayor)	1
Pura Kamata (Officer-in-Charge of City Affairs)	1
Tanaka (Sthānika) (Officer-in-Charge of Ward / City / District)	1
Sivika-adeka (Superintendent of Palanquins)	2
As'a-adeka (Superintendent of Horses)	1
Adakachaka (Adyaksaka?) (Superintendent)	1
Batakaraka (Superintendent of the Kitchen)	1
As'aruya (Horseman)	1

\* From later Brahmi inscriptions

+ Individuals from the same lineage group.

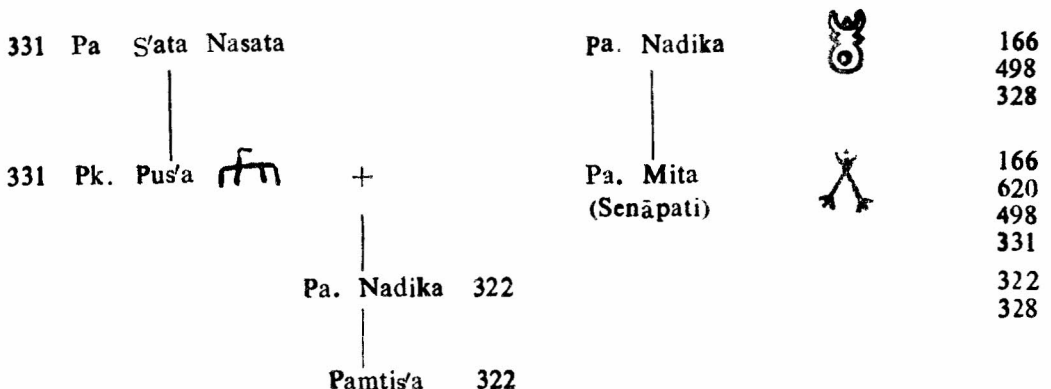
In view of this, it is possible to suggest that the crystalization of the Early State of Sri Lanka (a process initiated largely from the south east by the Gamani lineage), may have resulted in the quantitative expansion of the *parumaka* group. First, the *parumaka* who were the descendants of the old elite families were absorbed in a subordinate position to the newly evolving state structure, for the convenience of administration and to neutralize political opposition. Secondly, this title was used as a convenient status assigned to elevate and absorb newly emerging elite groups to the state structure. The situation we have therefore is the gradual subordination of the original *parumaka* groups and the introduction of new *parumaka* as the servants of the state.

A study of the Sāta Naṣata - Nadika lineage group may confirm the above assumption. In fact *senāpati* Mita may be identified with *senāpati* Nandimitra, a commander of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* (xxiii. 4-15). The inscriptions indicate that *parumaka* Mita's donative records carrying the symbol  are found in the north (at Nāṭṭukanda) and in the south east (at Situlpavuva) (Nos 166, 620). *Mahāvamsa* records that Mita was born and grew up in a village east of Anurādhapura, called Kammantagāma (lit. 'village of workers') near Chittapabbata (xxiii. 4-15). This may be identified with an area adjacent to Nāṭṭukanda, which is close to Yan-oya Megalithic burial complex. The *Mahāvamsa* (xxiii. 5-6) also records that Mita was named after his maternal uncle, who controlled the above-mentioned *Kammantagāma* and was also a commander in the army of the invader, Eḷāra. All this may indicate that this powerful *parumaka* family controlled the middle Yan-oya around the 2nd century B.C. It is important to note that the route connecting the north central plain with the rich copper-magnetite repository at Seruwila in the east had necessarily to traverse the middle Yan-oya region. Mita's father Nadika has engraved a *nandipada* on his inscription, which may associate him with his craft and commercial groups.

It is evident that the combination of these two families concentrated much wealth in the hands of this group. Their socio-economic and political affluence was further enhanced when Mita contracted a marriage alliance with another ancient *parumaka* family, which lived in the north, associated with the Mamaduwa burial complex. *Parumaka* Puṣ'a, a chieftainness in her own right, and her family probably controlled the vital junction connecting the Jaffna peninsula with the north central region and resources such as mica, mineral stones and gold bearing areas in this region. In their effort to encroach upon the northern nuclear region militarily, the Gamaṇi lineage could not overlook this family and therefore obtained Mita's services in the capacity of a *senāpati*.

The *Mahāvamsa* narration very clearly records that the rulers of Mahāgāma (i. e. Gamaṇi lineage), in their effort to consolidate power in the geo-physical area south of the Mahaweli, depended heavily upon the agrarian elite of south east

*Sāta Naṣata - Nadika Lineage*



Sri Lanka. The emergence of a developed agrarian economy in the south east coincided to a great extent with the chiefdoms controlled by the Gamaṇi lineage. The *Mahāvamsa* (xxiv. 2-3, 58) mentions that this family personally undertook the task of expanding agriculture.

On the basis of the *Mahāvamsa*, *Sihassavatthupparāṇa* and *Rasavāhinī*, it is suggested that, while *setthi*, *vessa*, *kuṭumbika* / *gahapati* and *issara* in early Sri Lanka had overlapping and allied meanings, there was a simultaneous emergence of a strong and powerful agrarian elite known as *Mahākūṭa* or *Kulagha*, who are described as ‘*adlho mahādhanō mahābhogō*’ i. e. holders of great wealth and possessions.<sup>49</sup> Duṭṭhagāmaṇī’s father recruited one member from each *Mahākūṭa* family to command the frontier (*Mahāvamsa* xxiii, 16-19). A cursory examination of certain *parumaka* inscriptions (stating titles) in south east Sri Lanka, recording second or third generation members of the lineage, indicate that the earliest or the latest members were associated with the Gamaṇi lineage group as their subordinates in the military and civil administration.

1. Pa. Sumana (*Baḍakarika* of Pita Maharajha)
  - Pa. Cema (No. 625)
2. Pa. Veṭṭasumana
  - Pa. Veta
  - Pa. Puṣadeva (*Ayaka* of Devanapiya rajha Tisa) (Nos. 647, 703)
3. Pa. Puṣadeva (*senapati*)
  - Nagā + Agidata (*senapati* of Tisā Maharajha) (Nos. 704-725)
4. Pa. Abaya (*senapati*)
  - Pa. Puṣadeva
  - Pa. Abaya (Nos. 665, 654)

We may therefore conclude that certain members of the agrarian elite were drawn into service under the Gamaṇi lineage group and assigned the rank of *parumaka*. An inscription from south east Sri Lanka refers to one *parumaka* Deva, the son of *gapatī* (*gahapati*) Avirada (No 630), while a second inscription, from Vevala near Sigiriya, also records a *parumaka*, who identifies his father

49. H. Ellawala, *Social History of Early Ceylon*. Colombo, Department of Cultural Affairs, 1969 pp. 48-49, 76-78; Tilak Hettiarachy, *History of Kingship of Ceylon*. Colombo, Lake House, 1972, pp. 77-80.

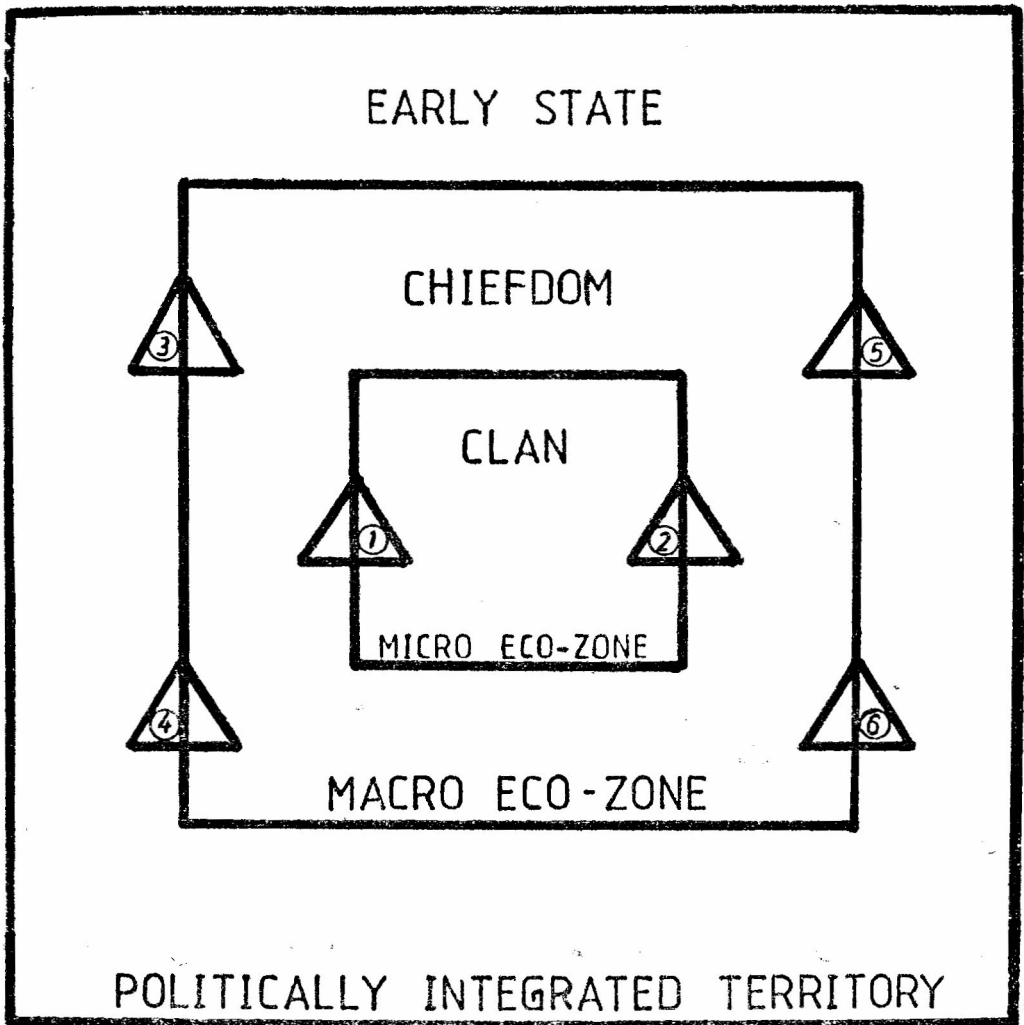
as a *gahapati*<sup>50</sup> This clearly points to the socio-economic origins of these two *parumaka*. The literary texts also call Nandimitta a member of *Kulaggha* (*Sahassa*, p. 92), while the early inscriptions call him a *parumaka* and a *senapati* of Devanapiya rajha Abaya (No. 620). Veḷusumana, another commander of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, was born in Kuḍumbiyāṅgaṇa in the south east Sri Lanka and his father is called a *kutumbika* in the texts (*Mahāvamsa* xxiii. 68). An inscription (again from south east Sri Lanka) of *parumaka* Pus'adeva the *ayaka* (accountant) of Devanapiya rajha Tisa (identifiable with Mahācūḷi Mahātissa, the grand nephew of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi) records the name of his grandfather as *parumaka* Velas'umana (Nos. 647, 703).<sup>51</sup> The latter may be identified with *senapati* Veḷusumana in the literary texts, who served under both Kāvantissa and Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.<sup>52</sup>

In this manner there was an incorporation of the old elite under the hegemony of the 'first dynasty' and the integration of the new elite into the state structure by designating rank status to them. The crystallization of the Early State did not undermine the relative economic affluence of the *parumaka*, but on the contrary enhanced it. In fact, almost all inscriptions recording the ownership of reservoirs by the *parumaka* are concentrated in the districts of Anuradhapura and Kurunegala, where political authority of the 'first dynasty' was best established. The kings of the 'first dynasty' seem to have supplemented the income of the *parumaka*. The texts record that Duṭṭhagāmaṇi gifted a tract of land in western Sri Lanka as a *bhōgagāma* to *senapati* Nandimitta (*Sahassa*, p. 28). It can be suggested that the foothold the *parumaka* had in units of production (e. g. *Kamnantagāma*, *pugi*, *bhogagāna*, *nagara*) and control over primary resources (e. g. reservoirs, raw material), may have prompted the rulers of the 'first dynasty' reach the primary producer and localized resources via the *parumaka* by obtaining their services in the capacity of *ayaka* (revenue collector), *baḍakarika* (treasurer) and even city and district administrators (Table 3). The continued dependence upon them in these areas may have encouraged the hereditary succession to such offices by the *parumaka*. For instance, an inscription at Mihintale, Anuradhapura reads "Baḍakarika *parumaka* Tisa puva baḍakarika *parumaka* Maga..." (No. 22). A later Brahmī inscription from the north, records a series of offices such as *amātiya*, held for nearly three generations by the powerful *parumaka* Vahiṭṭi lineage group (Nos 1202, 1205, 1231). We may assume that the *parumaka* placed themselves as a vital link in the downward penetration of authority and the upward movement of resources and the surplus production.

50. S. Ranawella, "Report on Epigraphy", in Senake Bandaranayake ed. *Sigiriya Project: First Archaeological and Research Report* (January-September 1982). Colombo, Central Cultural Fund. 1984, p. 211, No. 29.

51. C. E. Godakumbura, "Akurugoda Slab-inscription of Pussadeva". *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol. V (ii), pp. 315-317.

52. An inscription in south east Sri Lanka records genealogy from grandfather to grandson as, *parumaka* Aiymara > *parumaka* Cūḍi Tissa > *parumaka* Cūḍi Tissa (No. 684). The *Mahāvamsa* (xxiii. 49-54) mentions another *senapati* of Duṭṭhagamani as Gothaimbara. If *got'ra* derives from *goṣṭha* i. e. guild, Aiymara may have had origins from a commercial background.



1. Intrusive Proto Historic Clan Chieftains
2. Acculturated Mesolithic Clan Chieftains
3. Pre State Clan Chieftains
4. Incorporated Mesolithic Clan Chieftains
5. Incorporated Members of Elite Agrarian Families
6. Incorporated Members of Craft & Commercial Families

The conclusive emergence of a class society in the post 2nd century B. C. further enhanced the strength of the *parumaka*, who secured for themselves a position immediately below royalty. On the one hand this was achieved through lineage, now converted into a class position. The newly recruited *parumaka* probably used their economic strength to stabilize their class position, thus themselves in the upper rungs of the newly emerging class hierarchy during the Early Historic period (Table 4 on Socio-Economic Affiliates).

It is extremely significant that royalty found it fit to have matrimonial ties with *parumaka*. The *Brāhmaṇa-parumaka* connection is also an interesting one. The *Brāhmaṇa* mentioned in the early inscriptions had matrimonial ties only with royalty and with the *parumaka*.<sup>53</sup> There appears to have been certain *Brāhmaṇa* individuals who entered royal services and were designated with the *parumaka* title. However, this assumption is tentative as inscriptions are not too clear about the *Brāhmaṇa-parumaka* affiliation. We give below instances where these two terms occur in association with each other (Nos. 130, 296, 812, 838, 1045, 1136).

1. *Parumaka Bama puta Parumaka Ti'sa...*(No. 130).
2. *Parumaka baḍihara Mita puta Parumaka Bamaṇa Utiya...*(No. 296),<sup>54</sup>
3. *Parumaka S'uri putaha Bamaṇa Datakaha lene...*(No. 812).<sup>55</sup>
4. *Parumaka Bamaṇa Tis'aha lene...*(No. 838)
5. *S'agas'a Bamaṇa Megali puta Parumaka Majhima Dataha...*(No. 1045).
6. *Parumaka Bamaṇaha puta danukaya Gutaha ..*(No. 1136 - Later Brahmi inscription).<sup>56</sup>

In some cases the father is known as a *Brāhmaṇa* and in certain other inscriptions the son is called thus. However, no inscription mentions it as the *jāti* status of both, whereas the title lineage affiliation *parumaka* is indicated in association with father and son. It is tempting to question whether the status of a *Brāhmaṇa* was acquired in certain cases, especially by the *parumaka*, who were attempting to give their class exclusiveness a ritual status as well. This pattern was not unknown in Andhra and Tamilnadu during the Early Historic period. As for the rest, with the exception of the *gamika*, who are again associated with the village level administration (themselves being an exclusive group within the agrarian elite), the others, viz. *gahapati*, *Barata / Bata* and *as'a* are also associated with the agrarian and commercial elite, which may account for their connections with the *parumaka* group.<sup>57</sup>

53. According to the Bambaragala inscription. Pocanirajha Naga married the daughter of *Brāhmaṇa* Kojhra (No. 814).

54. *Baḍihara* is explained as a variation of *baḍakarika*, i. e. treasurer.

55. According to Paranavitana's translation S'uri and Data are father and son. We prefer to consider them as two separate individuals making a joint donation.

56. *Danukaya* is translated as the maker of bows.

57. Sudharshan Seneviratne, *op. cit*5891., . "The Baratas...."

TABLE 4

*Socio-economic groups affiliated to the Parumaka.*

Kin affiliates	Social affiliates
Maharaja : Father-in-law (994)	1051-52
Aya : Son-in-law (655)	
Abi : Daughter (305, 655)	
Wife (994)	
Brāhmaṇa: Grandfather (1045)	83, 812
Father (130, 1045, 1136)	
Son (296)	
Bata :	121, 126, 190, 321, 531-32, 636, 671 746, 755, 771, 772, 776, 1069, 1097 1180.
Gamika : Father-in-law (578)	153, (3 <i>gamika</i> ). 323, 337.
Wife (853)	952*
Gahapati : Father (630)	
Father (Ranawella <i>op. cit.</i> p. 211, No. 29)	
As'a	529.

\* A newly discovered early Brahmi inscription from Ranāgiriya temple at Melsiripura, (Kurunegala District), by my Colleague Piyatissa Senanayake, records a joint donation by one *parumaka* Tis'a and *gamika* Siva (Pers. Com.)

It is not incorrect to assume that the strategic location of the *parumaka* in the political economy of the Early Historic period may have resulted in their gradual but total social exclusiveness by the beginning of the Christian era: The later Brahmi inscriptions do not indicate the *parumaka* in joint donations with other social groups, with the exception of a *Bata* in one instance (No. 1180), and in another fragmentary inscription, the son of the ruling king, the son of a *parumaka*, the son of an *amātya* and the son of a merchant *vanika* who made a joint donation.<sup>58</sup> Precisely during this period, one can also witness the emergence of powerful *parumaka* families such as the *Vasitti* (*Vās'istha*) lineage group, who had a near monopoly of certain vital administrative, political and financial positions for almost three generations. It is suggested that his lineage group was probably responsible for undermining the 'first dynasty' by virtue of their political and economic strength. Paranavitana also suggests that this group may have been *Brāhmins* (Table 5).<sup>59</sup>

Another interesting feature is the relative decrease in the number of *parumaka* individuals mentioned in the later Brahmi inscriptions. It is possible that, as Hettiarachchy suggests, the nobility largely represented by the *parumaka* may have gradually come to be by another name.<sup>60</sup> Most probably, in a new economic context, which began to evolve in the post 1st/2nd century A.D., the term *parumaka* may have lost its significance or meaning. During this period we find the emergence of a new group of rural administrators at the provincial level, known as the *ratiya* (*ratthika*) or the *rachiya* of Pliny,<sup>61</sup> all of the first generation.

58. S. Paranavitana - *op. cit.*, 1983, pp. 6-7, No. 5.

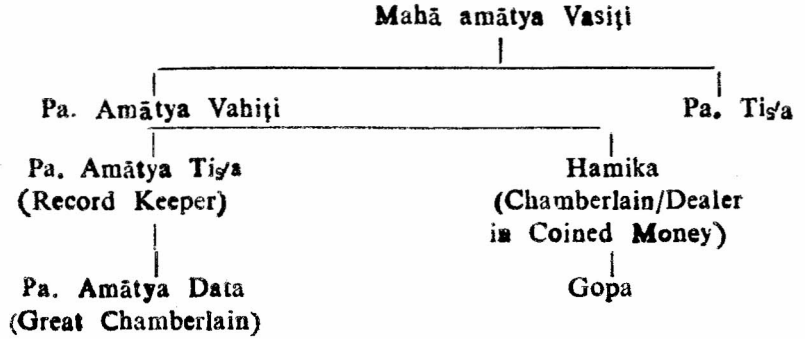
59. Paranavitana - *op. cit.*, 1965, pp. 417-418. Significantly, the office title of *amātya* was always passed on to the eldest son in this lineage group.

60. Tilak Hettiarachchy - *op. cit.* p. 75.

61. J. W. McCrindle - *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, Westminster 1901, p. 104

TABLE 5

The *Vasūti* lineage.<sup>62</sup>



Endowments made to the *Sangha*:

1. Two categories of revenue from the tanks of Datavi and Karajavi.
2. Two interior fields of the tank at Kaṭaka nagara.
3. 60 *kāriṣa* of land.
4. Pehakara *vāpi* (in the District Badagaṇa).
5. One *vihāra*.
6. Three rock-shelters.

Another group, known as the *kulina*, emerged simultaneously and they are equated with the earlier *Mahākula* and *Kulageha*.<sup>63</sup> It is possible that in the post Christian era, sections of the *parumaka* and their descendants may have occupied the positions of the large landowning group, though one is uncertain about their actual strength in the administrative structure during this period. We may assume that the *parumaka* (or their descendants) may have continued to hold bureaucratic positions at the upper level, while the expanding state structure probably recruited a new segment of officers for the lower administrative posts. It is significant that even without the common use of the term *parumaka* denoting the nobility, the ruling kings of this time took up the title *Maparumaka* (*Mahāparumaka*), which may have some bearing on their authority over the nobility.<sup>64</sup>

62. For details see S. Paranavitana, *op. cit.*, 1965, pp. 415-418; 1970, Nos. 1202, 1205, 1231, 1983, pp. 54-56, No. 39.

63. Tilak Hettiarachchy, *op. cit.*, p. 79. It is also pointed out that by A. D. 450 the *kulina* were the nobility who possessed land in lieu of services. See A. P. Buddhadatta, "Some Corrections of Geiger's *Cūlavamsa* Translation". *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. 8 (2) 1950, p. 99. Not only did this group give strong support to the monarchy, Dātusena, who captured power in A. D. 460 is referred to as a descendant of a *kuṭumbika* family. W. Geiger ed. *The Cūlavamsa*. xxxviii. 14.

64. Tilak Hettiarachchy, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-59. It is suggested that the prefix *ma* is Dravidian and it conveys the meaning 'great'. S. K. Sitrapalam, *op. cit.*, 1986-87, p. 17.

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

- ARMS** - **Administrative Report, Mineralogical Survey of Ceylon,**
- ASAnR** - **Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report.**
- DED** - *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, ed T. Burrow  
et M.B. Emeneau. Oxford, 1961.
- Mv** - *The Mahāvamsa* ed. W. Geiger. London, 1958  
(Pali Text Society edition)
- Sahassa** - *Sahassavatthupparāṇa*, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta.  
Colombo, Ananda Book Co., Ambalangoda, 1959.