

The Role of the Monks in shaping the early economy of Anuradhapura. 3rd B.C.E. to the 5th C.E.

Dr. Nadeesha Sharmalee Gunawardhana

Department of History,
University of Kelaniya,
Sri Lanka

From the 6th to the 3rd B.C.E.

There is no evidence for the role of the monks in monetary transactions in ancient Sri Lanka during this period because the Buddhism was introduced to the island in the 3rd century B.C.E., during the time of the Emperor Aśoka.

From the 3rd B.C.E. to the 5th C.E.

By evaluating the inscriptions, chronicles and the records kept by the foreigners as well as the *Vinaya* commentaries it is possible to understand the role played by the monks in the monetary transaction in the ancient Sri Lanka. It is a well known fact that unlike Brāhmanism, Buddhism looked favourably upon trade activities. As revealed by epigraphic and literary evidences, the earliest donors and important patrons of the Buddhist establishment of South Asia were caravan merchants and wealthy seafaring traders (O. Boppearachchi, forthcoming article: 2014). Buddhism registers a significant presence in the coastal towns, while Jainism is confined to the inland centers, both in the political and commercial centers and on trade routes (R. Champakalakshmi 1996:101).

The spread of Buddhism from the Indian subcontinent to the Southeast Asia is closely connected with the growth of trade routes by merchants, travelling monks and teachers. A *purvayoga* text, found among the new Gadhāri scrolls presumably from Hadda (Afghanistan), now in the British Library studied by Timothy Lenz says that in a previous birth, the Buddha was a merchant, who set out on the great ocean with supplies collected by him (T. Lenz 2003: 150).

The great fraternity of monks, guided by the Buddha's sermon, starting with the invocation "*carathabhikkhavēcārikam*" (Go forth, O Bhikkhus, for the well-being of the

many) went from village to village, spreading the message of the *dharma*. Although, Fah-Hian's description about the "Deccan and the pigeon monastery" was based on hearsay, as he did not visit the mainland of South India and boarded a ship from Tamralipta to Sri Lanka. It is known from various sources that many Buddhist monks from South India and Sri Lanka went to China by sea and settled there (K. A. N. Sastri 2007: 23). For many centuries, the overland and sea routes were used simultaneously. Many travelers, including monks and merchants, chose to travel by land one way and by sea on the return. Fah-Hian's journey can be cited as an example here, as he reached India through the land route but boarded a vessel at Tāmaralīpta for his return from India (V. K. Verma 2009: 73).

The early Buddhist texts, particularly the *VinayaPiṭaka* and the *SūtraPiṭaka*, contain vivid accounts of the Journeys, undertaken by the Buddhā and his followers on their missions to preach, and thus are a valuable source for the study of early land routes (H. P. Ray 1994: 21). Several trade routes, which were used by the monks, could be identified. The central route, extended from Rājagṛha to Srāvastī with several branch routes joining it (B. N. Chaudhury 1969: 8-9). Another major highway connected Taxilā which was a prominent seat of learning to Rājagṛha. The Southern route or *dakṣiṇāpathais* mentioned in the *Vinayapīṭaka* as one of the routes followed by merchants on their way to the "Eastern Country" (*PurathīmaJanapada*) and further details of the route from Pratiṣṭhāna or Paithān to Srāvastī via Māhismatī and Ujjainī occur in the *Suttanipāta* (H. P. Ray 1994: 21).

From Aśoka's time, the religious and cultural intercourse between the Buddhist establishment of Sri Lanka and those of Northern, Central and Southern India had been maintained uninterruptedly. An inscription of the 2nd or the 3rd century at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa in the Kṛṣṇa Valley records a foundation of a monastery named Sihala-Vihāra and the dedication of a cetiyagṛha to the fraternities of Tambapanni-dīpa (C. W. Nicholas 1959: 17).

Teachings of the Buddhā say that "*pubbahāsi*" (be first to receive the other with a smile) "*pubbabhasi*" (first to talk courteously to the others). Most probably these qualities may have been attracted the visitors to the Sri Lankan harbours. Some donors of the caves, the earliest dwellings of the Buddhist monks, were *nāvikas* (mariners) or *vanijha* (traders).

Donations by *Parumukas*

As mentioned in the early Brāhmī inscriptions in Sri Lanka the various types of professionals have granted caves to the monks. Among them, most of the caves have been donated by the people who bore the title of the *parumuka*. In our inscriptions, mention is made of several hundreds of *parumakas*, either as the donors themselves, or as related to the donors; some of them held high offices of the state. The word *parumaka* is the old Sinhalese form of Skt. *pramukha*, *pamukha* or *pāmokkha*. It is most likely that these *parumakas* were the descendants of the Indo-Aryan pioneers who established village settlements in various parts of the island during the early days of its colonization by the immigrants from North India. They played a vital role in introducing a settled agricultural life and the elements of Indo-Aryan culture, including the Sinhalese language to this Island (IC 1970:lxxiv). The word *parumuka* comes nearly in 374 Brāhmī inscriptions belonging to the 3rd century B.C.E. to the 1st century C.E. Among them, nearly 244 caves have been donated by the *parumakas* to

the Buddhist monks. This shows parumakas were wealthy to donate caves to the Saṅgha during this period.

Donations by *Gāmika*

The word *gāmika* is the equivalent of Skt. *grāmika* and Paligāmika (IC1970:lxxxivii). A *gāmikaw* was the chief of a village. The word *gamika* comes nearly under 71 Brāhmī inscriptions belonging to the 3rd century B.C.E. to the 1st century C.E. The *gāmikas* have also donated caves to the monks.

Donations by Royal and Ordinary Women

When comparing to the India the woman in Sri Lanka enjoyed much freedom in the religious activities. As mentioned in the Brāhmī inscriptions, the women were privileged to donate the caves to the monks. The Mihintalē Brāhmī inscription in the Anurādhapuradistrict mentions of a cave of the female lay-devotee Varnadattā, the sister of the wife of the great king Devanapiya (IC 1970.vol. i.no.02:1). Bambarahela cave in the North Central Province speaks of a cave, donated by a female lay devotee, called Magila (EZ 1984. vol. vii.no.13:57). This shows that not only women belonging to the royal family, but also the ordinary women have given the donations to the Saṅgha.

When evaluating the Brāhmī inscriptions read so far, nearly 128 caves have been donated by the ladies to the monks. This shows that there was a freedom in the society for them, as well as the women were in a good economic position to make donations for the monks. The male lay devotees have been granted nearly 80 caves to the monks. It is a less proportion than that of the donations of women.

Donations of Nuns

The nuns have also donated caves to the Saṅgha. The two Brāhmī inscriptions of Mihintalē speak of caves given by two nuns. One of them has been given by a nun called Tissā to the Saṅgha (IC 1970. vol. i. no. 08: 1) and the other one has been given by a nun called the Savera, daughter of Tissa, the king of Kanagama (IC 1970. vol. i. no.14: 2). The Vessagiri Brāhmī inscription in the Anurādhapuradistrict speaks of a cave of a nun, Yahasini, given to the Saṅgha of the four quarters, present and absent. (IC 1970. vol. i, no.89:7). The Brāhmī inscription at Brāhmanayāgama mentions a cave of a nun Sumanā (IC 1970. vol. i.no.161b:13). The Brāhmī inscription in Dambulla speaks of a cave of a nun by the name of [Ma] cchakkhā, given to the Saṅgha. It has granted an income of money worth of half a hundred to this cave (IC 1970. vol. i.no.857:66). The Dāgamainscription mentions a nun Revatī, the daughter of the village councilor Mittapāla (IC1970. vol. i.no.969:76). These inscriptions show that these nuns were wealthy enough to donate caves. Nearly twelve caves studied so far have been donated by the nuns to the Saṅgha during the period of 3rd B.C.E to the 1st C.E.

Donations by Brāhmaṇas

Another interesting feature that can be seen is the fact that the Brāhmanas also have donated the caves to Saṅgha. The MahaĀlgamuva inscription speaks of a cave given by a Brāhmana to the Saṅgha (IC 1970. vol. i. no. 228: 18). The Maṇḍagala Brāhmī inscription

speaks of the cave of the Brāhmana Summa given to the Sangha (*IC* 1970.vol. i. no. 589: 45)(Fig. 4.1). The two Brāhmī inscriptions of Piccandiyāva speak of a cave given by the Brāhmana Gobūhti, the teacher and the physician of the great king DevanapiyaGāmaniTissa (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no.1059,1060:83).S.Paranavithāna felt that most probably, this very particular person must be the king Dēvānampiyatissa(250-210B.C.E.).The *VērañjaKānda* in the *Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā)*, a Brāhmana in Vērañja has donated robes similar to Kasī cloths worth of three thousand. Further it is mentioned that he donated a five hundred thousand, worth of robes to five hundred *Bhikkhus*. Also the same Brāhmana has donated thousand worth of oil for *Bhikkhus* to apply on the body(*Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā)* 2009: 187). This shows that the Brāhmana have contributed for the upliftment of Buddhism even in India.

Donations by Monks to the Brotherhood

There are instances where the monks themselves have donated caves to the brotherhood. Most of the monks who have donated the caves belong to a higher rank. The KadurvāvaBrāhmī inscription talks of a cave, dedicated by the elder Datta, a professor of the *Vinaya*(*IC* 1970.vol. i. no.1207:98).The MulgirigalaBrāhmī inscription speaks of a cave given by the reciter of the *MajjhimaNikāya* to the Sangha (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no.708:53). The GōnagalaBrāhmī inscription speaks of a cave, given by the reciter of the *SamyuttaNikāya* to the Sangha of the four quarters present and absent (*IC* 1970.vol. i.no.666:50). The BambaragastalāvaBrāhmī inscription in the Eastern Province talks of a cave given by an exponent of the *Vinaya* to the Sangha (*EZ*1984. vol. vii, no.56:76; *IC* 1970.vol. i. no.1178: 94). The MiyuṅgunaVeheraBrāhmī inscription mentions of a cave, given by the reciter of the Ekottarika (Anguttarāgama) to the Sangha (*IC* 1970. vol. i.no.407:32). Most probably this can happen, because all these reciters have been paid by the monastery itself which also, mentioned in the tablets of Mahinda IV (956-972 C.E.) at Mihintalē. Therefore, these high ranking monks were rich enough to donate the caves to the Sangha.The *HiriSūtraVarṇanā in the Suttanipātaṭṭhakathā (paramatthajōthikā)* has explained about eight types of hermits. Among them, “saputtabhariyā” is meant by person who became a clergy with his family and engaged with the farming and trading (*SuttanipātaṭṭhaAttakathā (paramatthajōthikā)* 2008: 333).

Donations by Professionals

The Brāhmi inscriptions belonging to the 3rd and the 1st C.E. reveal, the economical activities, existed during this period. There were different kinds of professionals and most of them have donated the caves to the Sangha. I have identified nearly 51 professions which are in the Brāhmī inscriptions. The distinguished feature that can be identified is that the caves have been donated by all these professionals. The professionals, lived during this period are as follows.

- 1.Merchants =*vanija* (*IC*1970: no. 515, no. 585, no. 591,no. 660, no. 897)
- 2.Officer in Charge of Store House =*badakarika* (*IC*1970:no. 245, no. 629, no. 916, no. 1035, no. 1109, no. 1110, no. 1192)
3. Mariner = *nāvika* (*IC* 1970: no. 977a)

4. Physician=*veja*(IC1970: no. 676, no. 1059, no. 1214)
5. Accountant=*ganaka* (IC 1970: no. 212,no. 576, no. 580, no. 619, no. 673, no. 679, no. 729, no. 1070)
6. Chief Accountant=*mahagaṇaka* (IC1970: no. 419)
7. Weaver=*pehekāra* (Pāli:*pesakāra*,Skt:*peśakara*) (IC1970: no. 931a, no. 1160)
8. Lawyers =*voharanakaha* (Skt: *vyavahāra*) (IC1970: no. 1122)
9. Painters = *citakara*(IC1970: no. 1119)
10. Teachers = *acariya* (Skt:*ācāryya*) (IC1970: no. 229, no. 604, no. 744, no. 748, no. 753, no. 803, no. 991, no. 1060)
11. Astrologer=*nakatika* (IC1970: no. 941)
12. Poet=*kavi* (IC1970: no. 1141)
13. Architect=*vaḍakara* (IC1970: no. 634, no. 657,no. 657, no. 1092)
14. Dancers=*naṭaor naḍa* (IC1970: no. 910, no. 642, no. 1005, no. 1010, no. 642)
15. The body guard of the king (cavalryman) =*aṇīkaṭṭha* (Skt:*anīkastha*) (IC1970: no. 77, no. 77, no. 931a, no. 1099, no. 606)
16. Trainer of horses =*asāruya* (Pāli:*assāroha*, Skt:*aśvāroha*) (IC1970: no. 355, no. 1158)
17. Trainer of war elephants=*ati-acariya* (Pāli:*hatthācariya*) (IC1970: no. 112, no. 494,no. 993)
18. Archers =*danu-gaya* or *danu-ga* (Pāli: *dhanuggāha*, Skt:*dhanurgrāha*) (IC 1970: no. 925)
19. Goldsmith=*tuladara* or *taladara*(IC1970: no. 80, no. 593)
20. Coppersmith=*tabalara* (Pāli:*Tambakāra*, Skt:*tāmraakāra*) (IC1970: no. 350, no. 319, no. 351)
21. Tinsmith=*topaśa* (IC1970: no. 370)
22. Lapidary=*maṇikara* (IC1970: no. 74, no. 185b, no. 209, no. 546, no. 807, no. 1033)
23. Ironsmith=*kabara* (Skt: *karmmāra*, Pāli:*kammāra*) (IC1970: no.161d, no. 301, no.720, no. 1049a)
24. Potters =*kubakara*(Skt. and Pāli: *kumbhakāra*) (IC1970: no. 807)
25. Worker in ivory = *daṭika* (IC 1970: no. 807)
26. Businessman=*vāpara*(Skt: *vyāpārin*) (IC970: no. 1205, no. 1186)
27. Dealer in tamarind=*abala-vābara* (IC1970: no. 1186)
28. Record keeper=*kaṇapedika*(IC1970: no. 1202)
29. Revenue collector=*ayaka* (IC1970: no. 429, no. 471, no. 647, no. 761, no. 958)
30. Maker of the bows = *danukaya* (IC 1970: no. 1136)
- 31.Stone mansion=*śila-paśaṇe* (IC1970: no.1089)
32. Proprietor of the tanks=*vapi-hamika* (IC 1970: no. 1129, no. 1130, no. 1132, no. 1210, no. 1200, no. 1217, no. 1218)
33. Charge of city affairs=*pura-kamṭa* (IC1970: no. 1002)
34. Professor=(*vinaya*)*dara*(IC1970: no. 1178, no. 1207)
35. Superintendent of trade=*paṇadaka* (IC 1970: no.1128)
36. Reciter=*bāṇaka* (IC1970:no. 1061)
37. Superintend of the royal kitchen=*Parumaka-batakaraka* (IC1970: no. 507)

38. Ferrykeepers=*toḍika* (IC1970: no. 309, no. 860)
39. Commander in chief=*śenapatiparumaka* (IC1970: no. 620, no. 665, no. 724, no. 725, no. 1013, no. 1161)
40. Storekeeper=*kotagarika*(IC1970: no. 214, no. 215, no. 226)
41. Minister=*mataha* (IC1970: no. 997, no. 1205, no. 1231, no. 1064, no. 1192, no. 797)
42. Burgomaster=*nagaragutiya* (IC1970: no. 230, no. 1219)
43. The master of the monastery=*viśara-śamikaśa* (IC 1970: no. 896c)
44. Superintendent of the Mint=*gapatirupadaka* (IC1970: no. 940)
45. Irrigation officer=*aṇaṇika* (IC1970: no. 846)
46. Superintendent of Palanquins=*śivikaadekaha* (IC1970: no. 896a, no. 896b)
47. Envoy=*dutakaha* (IC1970: no. 131, no.259)
48. Envoy mariner=*dutanavikaha* (IC1970: no. 1054, no. 1055, no. 1183, no. 1131)
49. Superintend of roads=*pakara-adeka* (IC1970: no. 69)
50. Director of the cooperation=*gana-codaka* (IC1970: no. 86)
51. Officer who collected the dues from the farmers who used the water =
vapihamika (EZ 1984: vol. vii. no.68: 82; IC 1970: vol. i.no.1129 :89).

Income for the Maintenance of the Monasteries

It is clear that the monasteries needed a notable income to cover their expenses such as the essential requirements for the fellow brotherhood, performances of its rituals and maintenances of the monastic buildings. As mentioned in the Brāhmī inscription found in Avukana, all the income from the pasture land of the tank of Si Dinaha has been dedicated to cave dwellers (IC 1970. vol. i.no.1150:91). According to the Kotalakimbiyāva inscription the shares in the tank have been given as an endowment of the cave (IC 1970.vol. i.no.1197:96)

The *DvatthiṅsākaraVarṇanā* in the *Kuddakapātāṭṭhakathā* (*Paramatthajōthikā*) mentions the eighteen categories of vihāras, among them in this research, three of them are important. They are

1. Temples situated near the roads.
2. Temples associated with the paddy fields.
3. Temples associated with the coastal areas(*Khuddakapātāṭṭhakathā* (*Paramatthajōthikā*2008: 31).

These temples might have been received a good income from the roads, paddy fields and coastal areas.

Donations of Paddy fields to the Monastery

The BillāvegalaBrāhmī inscription mentions that a lay devotee named Tissa, has been granted a half of a *karisa* of a field for the benefit of the *caitya* of the monastery(IC 1970.vol. i.no.1118:88).

The GallenaVihāraBrāhmī inscription says that a person called BakineyaMataya has donated a half of *karisa* of a land at the dam of the Aba canal and a field named Avulada in the Yasisa range of the fields. (IC 1970. vol. i. no.1215:98).

The Jētavanārāma inscription belonging to the king KanittaTissa(164 – 192C.E.) reveals the donation of a tract of field called *Upala* and eight *karīsasto* the monastery called Utara-Mahā-Cēta(*EZ* 1912. vol. i. 256:Lines 2-4).

Donations of villages to the Monastery

The Brāhmī inscription in RitigalaNāulpota mentions the chief Uba has donated a cave together with the village, having spent ten thousand in the reign of the great king Tissa (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no.251:20). When a cave was donated alone with a village, the income derived from the village was also given to the maintenance of the cave or the monastery.

Monks and Their Relationship with other Foreign Monks

When the foundation of the Mahāthūpa was laid, ninety six *kōtis*(10 millions) of Bhikkhus have come to Sri Lanka of its ceremony (*Thūpavaṃsa*1994:188-189). Although this figure is highly exaggerated we may at least deduce that for this ceremony the Buddhist representatives from various regions of the East and the West have participated. This may showed the strength of the wide seaborne international links which Sri Lanka had with the world of that time. As stipulated in the *Mahāvāṃsa*, *Wansattapakāsini* and *Tūpavaṃsa* those Bhikkhus can be categorized as follows(*Mahāvāṃsa*1950. 29:30-34; *Thūpavaṃsa*1994: 188-189).

Place	Chief thēro	monks
Near RajagahaNuvara	IndraguttaThēro	84000
BaranāsNuvaraIsipathanVihara	DhammasēnaThēro	12000
SevāthNuvaraJēthavanaVihāra	PiyadassīThēro	60000
Near VishalaMahanuvara	BuddarakkirthaThēro	18000
MahavanaVihāra		
KosabēNuvaraGōshithārāma	DahmmarakkithaThēro	30000
UdēniNuvaraDhakkinagiriVihāra	MahādammarakkithaThēro	40000
PālalupNuvaraĀsōkārāma	MittinnaThēro	160000
Gandhāradēsha	UttinnaThēro	280000
Mahāpallawabōga	MahādēvaThēro	460000
YōnraṭaĀlasandāNuvara	YōnakaDhammarakkita	30000
Near Viṇḍya	UttaraThēro	80000
MahābōdhimaṇḍalaVihāra	Chittagutta	30000
VanavāsīBōgaVihāra	ChandaguttaThēro	80000
KēlāsaMahāVihāra	SooriyaguttaThēro	96000

Though, the above mentioned numbers seem to be an exaggeration, we may assume that a considerable number of foreign Bhikkhus had participated in the opening ceremony of the Mahāthūpa. When referring to the delegation from ĀlasandāNuvara headed by YōnakaDhammarakkita or YōnaMahādhmmarakkitha, OsmundBopearachchi (2006: 38) admits that the name of the Buddhist monks and the number of monks of the delegation were of course subject to the usual exaggeration, but one cannot ignore the fact that there was a

certain knowledge about the important Buddhist community in the Greek territories at that time.

Monks and Monetary Transactions

During the king Bhātikābhaya's (140 – 164C.E.) period, a thēro, called Ābhidhammikagōdatta solved a dispute between two monks. In this dispute, the accused thēro said that the sculpture of the thālithat he made was worth of a *massa* or *unumassa*(*Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā*2009:294).

The *TiṅsakaVarṇanā* in *Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā)* advised the monks in the Situlpavva the ways of obtaining money. It is mentioned that the monks should not ask the farmers to bring cloths or gruel from the *kahavaṇu* which was to be donated to the monastery (*Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā)*2004:151).It says that the people have donated money by dipping inside the rice or sweets without the knowledge of the monks (*Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā)*2004:165). It is mentioned that an incident where the monk who was gone for begging food, the cloths tight with two *kahavaṇus*fixed at the two corners of the cloth has been given to a monk (*Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā)*2004:165). According to the Buddhist doctrines using money by the monks is considered as a sin. Therefore, having noticed it people used to give money without informing to the monks.

The *TiṅsakaVarṇanā* in *Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā)* says how to accept a *kahavaṇu* and how to purchase a bowl from that *kahavaṇu*to a monk (2004:167-168).

Monks and Taxes

The Jētavanārāma inscription belonging to the king KanittaTissa,(164 – 192C.E.) reveals the donations given to the monastery called Utara-Mahā-Ceta. It is mentioned that the monastery has been exempted from all recognized taxes (*EZ* 1912. vol. i:256:Lines1-2)The same king offered a tax free concessions on the income derived from the water of the great tanks situated in Majata-gamana-kiriya. This income has been used for the repairs of the buildings (*EZ* 1912. vol. i. 256:Lines5-6). The king KanittaTissa granted a tax free facility on the income derived from the water of tank Viṣaḷagamika in Vihār-Bijakia and the AbhayagiriMahā-Vihāra (*EZ* 1912. vol. i. 256. Lines: 9-12).The king has also granted the same facility on the income derived from the water and the income, enjoyed by the bhōjika, as an endowment for the maintenance of the 'Great Refection' at the great Abhayagiri Monastery (*EZ* 1912.vol. i. .256:Lines. 12-14). He has further dedicated two kinds of income for the purpose of effecting repairs of the buildings (*EZ* 1912. vol. i. 257:Lines. 14-16).

The Pīligama rock inscription in the Uva Province mentions, the providing of the water-tax to the monastery at Pahanabena (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no.83,107-108).

The Brāhmī inscription found in the Nācciyārmalai in the Eastern Province mentions of a canal made by the villagers of Aba is given to the Sangha. The dedication of the canal to the sangha may have meant that the dues from the users of the canal were given to the benefit of the monks (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no.44:69-70; *IC* 1970. vol. i.no.370:30).

Donations of Coined Money to the Monasteries

The Jētavanārāma inscription belonging to the king KanittaTissa,(164 – 192C.E.) reveals the proving of money for oil and offerings at the Utara-Mahā-Ceta (EZ 1912. vol. i. 256:Lines 2-4).

The Pīligama rock inscription in the Uva Province mention the donation of twenty five *kahāpaṇas* for the purpose of conducting the Ariyavansa ceremony at the monastery at *Pahanabeṇa*(EZ 1984. vol. vii. no.84:108-109). The ordinary people in Sri Lanka were sacred to use the properties which belonged to the monastery. They thought consuming the property belonged to the monasteries were considered as great sin.

Laymen and Monks

One story in the *Seehalavattupakaraṇaya* says that if a person used the grain, belonged to the monks, he or she would become a *prētha*(*Seehala* 1958: 36). A *prētha* means the person whose spirit is not in a good place, after the death. Therefore the people scared to use the properties belonged to the monastery. They thought it is a sin.

Summery

According to the Buddhist doctrines using money by the monks is considered as a sin. But the monks had to use money to cover their expenses such as the essential requirements for the fellow brotherhood, performances of the rituals and the maintenances of the monastic buildings.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

*Dāṭhāvaṃsa*1883 (ed.), M. Asbhatissa., Colombo.

Dhammasaṅganippakaraṇaṭṭhakathā (Atthasālinī) 2008 (trans.), G. S. Welagedara., Buddhist Cultural Society, Dehiwala.

Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakatha (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī) 2008 (trans.), D. Gunasekara& P. L. K. Perera., vol. i, Buddhist Cultural Center in Dehiwala.

*Dīpavaṃsa*1959 *ÑānavimālaThēra*, Kiriellē., M. D. Gunasēna Publishers, Colombo.

*The Dīpavaṃsa*1992 H. Oldernberg., Asian Education Services, New Delhi, Madras.

Divyāvadāna 1980 Andre and Filliozat., London.

EpigraphiaZeylanica 1984 (ed.), SaddhamangalaKarunaratne., vol. vii, Archaeological Survey of Ceylon.

Epigraphia Zeylanica 1912 (ed. and trans.), D. M. D. Z Wickremasinghe., vol. i, vol. ii, Oxford University Press.

Inscriptions of Ceylon 1970 S. Paranavithāna., Archaeological Survey of Ceylon.

Inscriptions of Ceylon 1983 S. Paranavithāna., vol. ii, Archaeological Department, Colombo.

Ithāpārani Sinhala Baṇakathā (Seehalawattuppakaraṇa) 1958 Buddhaddattathēro, Polwattē., Anula Printers in Maradāna.

Jataka 1963 Fausboll, V., vol. iv, Luzac, London.

Khuddakapātāṭṭhakathā (Paramatthajōthikā) 2008 (trans.), Vijayakitthithēro, Medauyangoda., Buddhist Cultural Center, Dehiwala.

Mahāvamsa part I & II 1967 (trans.), Sumangala Tera and Devarakshitha Batuwanthudāwe., Rathanākara bookshop, Wella Avenue, Colombo.

The Mahāvamsa or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon 1950 W. Geiger., Ceylon Government Information Department, Colombo.

The Mahāvamsa the Great Chronicle of Ceylon, 1912 (trans.), W. Geiger., Oxford.

Sahassavattuppakaraṇa 1956 (ed.), A. P. Buddhaddatta., Anula Press, Colombo.

Samantapāsādikā 1967 (ed.), J. Takakusu & M. Nagia., vol. iv, Pāli Text Society, London.

Suttanipātaṭṭha Attakathā (paramatthajōthikā) 2008 J. P. N. L. Ranjith., Buddhist Cultural Center, Dehiwala.

Thūpavamsa 1994 (trans.), S. Gamlath., Godage Publishers, Colombo 10.

Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā) 2004 (trans.), vol. ii, Dhammakusalathēra, Ambalangoda., Royal Asiatic Society.

Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā) 2009 Dhammakusalathēra, Ambalangoda., Buddhist Cultural Center in Dehiwala.

Secondary Sources

Begley, V., 1967 "Archaeological exploration in northern Ceylon", *Bulletin of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania*, ix, 4 Summer, pp.21-29

Begley, V., 1970 "Excavations at Pomparippu", part I, *Ancient Ceylon*, May pp. 53-95.

Bopearachchi, O., 1995 B "Sea borne and inland trade of ancient Sri Lanka" First result of the Sri Lanka - French exploratory program *South Asian Archaeology*, 1995, Colombo, pp.285-299.

Bopearachchi, O., 1997/8 "The Maritime Silk Roads: Trade Relations Between Central Asia and Sri Lanka from the Evidence of Recent Excavations", *Silk Road, Art and Archaeology*, 5, pp. 269-295.

Bopearachchi, O., 1997 "introductory note", Weerakkody, D. P. M., *Taprobanê: Ancient Sri Lanka as known to Greeks and Romans*, Turnhout, pp ix-xxii.

Bopearachchi, O., 1998 "Archaeological Evidence on Changing Patterns of International Trade Relations of Ancient Sri Lanka", in *Origin, Evolution and Circulation of Foreign Coins in the Indian Ocean*, (ed.), Bopearachchi, O., & Weerakkody, D. P. M., New Delhi, pp. 133-178.

Bopearachchi, O. Falk, H & Wickremesinhe, R., 2000 "Earliest inscribed coins, moulds, seals and sealings from Tissamahārāma (Sri Lanka)" *Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 117-134.

Bopearachchi, O., 2002 "Archaeological Evidences on shipping Communities of Sri Lanka", *Ships and the Development of Maritime Technology in the Indian Ocean*, (ed.), Parkin, D. & Barnes, R. Routledge, C. London. pp. 92-127.

Bopearachchi, O. & Rajan, K., 2002 "Graffiti Marks of Kodumanal (India) and Ridiyagama (Sri Lanka) A comparative Study", *Man and Environment* xxvii (2), pp. 97-105.

Bopearachchi, O., 2006 "The Pleasure Gardens of Sigiriya: A new approach" Godage Book Emporium, Colombo 10.

Bopearachchi, O., 2006B "Coins" in R. Coningham (éd.), *Anurādhapura: The British- Sri Lankan*

Excavations at AnurādhapuraSalgahaWatta 2, British Archaeological Reports (BAR), Oxford, pp. 7-26.

Bopearachchi, O., 2008A, *Tamil Traders in Sri Lanka and Sinhalese Traders in Tamil Nadu*, International centre for Ethnic Studies, Colombo.

Chakravarti, R., 2007 *Trade in Early India*, New Delhi.

Chakravarti, R., 2007 *Trade and Traders in Early Indian Society*, New Delhi.

Chakravarti, U., 1987 *The Social Dimensions of Early Buddhism*, Delhi.

Champakalakshmi, R., 1996 *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization South India 300-B.C. to A.D.1300*, Oxford University Press, Delhi.

Chaudhary, B. N., 1969 *Buddhist Centers in Ancient India*, Calcutta.

Codrington, H. W., 1924 *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, A. C Richards, Colombo.

Gunawardana, R. A. L. H., 1979 *Robe and Plough Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Medieval Sri Lanka.*, University of Arizona Press, Arizona.

Gunawardana, R. A. L. H. & Sakurai, Y., 1981“Sri Lankan Ships in China: A note on a Passage in a Chinese Literary Work from the Period of the Tang Empire, *The Sri Lanka journal of Humanities*, vol. vii, Colombo.)

Gunawardana, R. A. L. H., 1990 “Seaways to Sielediba: Changing Patterns of Navigation in the Indian Ocean and Their Impact on Pre-colonial Sri Lanka”, *Sri Lanka and the Silk Road of the Sea*, (ed.), S. Bandaranayaka, L. Dewaraja, R. Siva and K. D. G. Wimalaratna, Colombo.

Jayarajan, P. M., 1983 *Sinhala AkārādiyeParināmayaPilibandaIthihāsaya*, Gunasena, Colombo 11.

Lenz, T., 2003 *A new Version of the GandhārīDharmapada and Collection of Previous-Birth Stories*,

Gandhāran Buddhist Texts 3, University of Washington Press, Seattle and London.

Mahadevan, Iravatham, 1966 "Corpus of the Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions", in *Seminar on Inscriptions*,

R. Nagasamy, (ed.), Tamil Nadu State Archaeology Department, Madras, pp.1-12.

Mahadevan, Iravatham, 1994 "Ancient Tamil Contacts Abroad: Recent Epigraphical Evidence",

Journal of the Institute of Asian Studies, vol.12, no.1, pp.136-155.

Mahadevan, Iravatham., 1996 "Old Sinhalese inscriptions from Indian Ports: New Evidence for

Ancient India – Sri Lanka Contacts", *Journal of the Institute of Asian Studies*, xiv, pp. 55-65.

Meera, Abraham., 1988 *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India*, Manohar, New Delhi.

Moti, Chandra., 1977 *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India*, New Delhi.

Nicholas, C.W., 1959 "Geological and Geographical Background of Ceylon History",

History of Ceylon, (ed.), N. Attygalle, W. J. F. Labrooy, S. Natesan, C. W. Nicholas, S.

Paranavitana, Ceylon University Press, Colombo, pp. 1-17.

Prickett, M., 1990 "Sri Lanka's foreign trade before 600A.D.: archaeological evidence" in

Asian
panorama: *Essays in Asian History, past and present*, (ed.), K. M. De Silva, S. Kirbamuna
and C.R. De Silva, pp. 151- 180.

Rajan, K., 1994 *Archaeology of Tamil Nadu (Kongu Country)*, Book India Publishing Company, Delhi.

Rajan, K., 1996A "Early maritime activities of the Tamils", *Tradition and Archaeology*,
pp.97-108

Rajan, K., and OsmundBopearachchi, 2002A "Graffiti Marks of Kodumanal (India) and Ridiyagama (Sri Lanka) – A Comparative Study", *Man and Environment*, Journal of Indian Society for Prehistoric and Quaternary Studies, Deccan College, Pune, vol.27, no.2, pp.98-105.

Ray, H. P., 1994 *The Winds of Change, Buddhism and the Maritime Links of Early South Asia*,

Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Sastri, K. A. N., 2007 *A History of South India from Pre Historic Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar*,
Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Verma, V. K., 2009 *Trade between Early Historic Tamil Nadu and China*, 16th
Issue, Ramjas College, Delhi University, Delhi.