MONETARY TRANSACTIONS IN ANCIENT SRI LANKA

A Thesis submitted to the Pondicherry University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
HISTORY

By

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled, **"MONETARY TRANSACTIONS IN ANCIENT SRI LANKA (6th B.C.E. TO 1017th C.E.)"** submitted to the Department of History, Pondicherry University for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in History is a record of original work done by V. D. N. SHARMALEE GUNAWARDANA during the period of her study (2010-2013) under my supervision and guidance. It is further certified that the thesis has not formed the basis for the award of any Degree, Diploma, Associateship, Fellowship or similar title.

This is also certify that the thesis represent the independent work of the candidate.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled **"MONETARY TRANSACTIONS IN ANCIENT SRI LANKA (6th B.C.E. TO 1017th C.E.)**" being submitted to the Pondicherry University, in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History in the Department of History, Pondicherry University is a bonafide work done by me under the guidance of **Dr. K. RAJAN**, Professor, Department of History, Pondicherry University and that it has not previously formed on the basis for the award of any Degree, Diploma, Associateship, Fellowship or any other similar title of any candidate of any University or Institution.

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V. D. N. SHARMALEE GUNAWARDANA

Contents

Abbreviations

A.S.C.A.R	Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Annual Report
Dham.Aṭṭ	Dhammasaṅghanippakaraṇaṭṭakathā (Atthasālinī)
Dīgha.Aṭṭ	Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā (Sumaṃgalavilāsinī)
Div.	Divyāvadāna
DV	Dīpavaṃsa
EI	Epigraphia Indica
EZ	Epigraphia Zeylanica
IC	Inscriptions of Ceylon
J.R.A.S.(C.B.)	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society Ceylon Branch
Kud.Aṭṭ	Khuddakapāṭhāṭṭhakathā (Paramatthajōtikā)
Maj.Aṭṭ	Majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathā (Papaṃchasūdanī)
Mhb.	Mahābhārata
MV	Mahāvaṃsa
Nid.Aṭṭ	Niddēsaṭṭhakathā (Saddhammapajjōtikā)
Sa. Pa.	Samantapāsādikā
S.A.S.R.S	Sri Lanka and the Silk Road of the Sea
Sa. Vatṭu	Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa
Seehala.	Ithāpäraṇi Siṃhala Baṇakathā (Seehalawatthuppakaraṇa)
Su.Aṭṭ	Sutthasaṅgahaṭṭhakathā (Paramatthajōtikā)
Thū.v	Thūpavaṃsa
Vimā.Aṭṭ	Vimānavatthu Aṭṭhakathā (Paramattha Dīpanī)
Vina.Aṭṭ	Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā)

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CHAPTER – I
INTRODUCTION

Sri Lanka is an island in the Indian Ocean, covering an area of 65,610 km² (25,332 square miles), lying between 5°55' and 9°51' North latitudes and 79°42' and 81°52' Eastern Longitudes (Map. 1). Sri Lanka is located 880 kilometers (547 miles) north of the equator, off the southern tip of India, and has maximum length of 432 kilometers (268 miles) and a maximum width of 224 kilometers (136 miles). The total coastline is 17,000 kilometers. The width of the intervening sea between India and Sri Lanka at the narrowest point (Adams's Bridge) being about 32 kilometers (20 miles). Sri Lanka was formerly known as Ceylon.

Ancient names for Sri Lanka

The oldest references to Sri Lanka are found scattered in the *Mahābhārata* compiled between the 4th century B.C.E. and the 4th century C.E. (Winternitz 1972:454-475) and the *Rāmāyaṇa* compiled between 3rd century B.C.E. and 2nd century C.E. (Winternitz 1972:500-517). Aśokan inscriptions have referred to the island as *Tambapaṇṇi*, (Bellana 2000:31) while according to the tradition preserved in the *Mahāvaṃsa* the name *Lanka-dīpa* goes at least as far back as the time of Gautama Buddha (*MV* 1950:xv). The Tirupparankunram Brāhmī inscription also mentions the house-holder of Sri Lanka with an expression *"iḷa-kuṭumpikaṉ"* (Mahadevan 2003:152).

The *Simhala-dvīpa,* with its wider use, had found its way into the records of the Greeks, who considered it as an alternative to the earlier name *Taprobanê*. In this, they are supported by a Sanskrit Buddhist work, the *Divyāvadāna*, which narrated how *Tamradvīpa* became *Simhaladvīpa* on being conquered by *Simhala,* the son of an Indian merchant (*Div*. 1980:152; Weerakkody 1997:25).

The term *Simhala* is used in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta and in a copper plate grant of the Western Chalukya king, Pulakeśin I (543-566 C.E.) issued during 13th regional year of the Śaka era (Rasanayagam 1926:230). An inscription dated to the 3rd century **C**.E. at Nāgarjuna-koṇḍa in the Kriśna valley of Andhra

Pradesh records the word taṃbapaṃṇi dīpa and the dedication of a *cētiyaghara* to the fraternities. The early 5th century C.E. account of Fah-Hian also calls the island "the kingdom of the lion" reflection of the same name, while the *Mahāvaṃsa* which is usually placed in the 5th century C.E., has preserved the local myth connecting the Sinhala race with the lion.

The commonest name in the Greek tradition to Sri Lanka is *Taprobanê*. This is the common name for the island in almost all Greek and Roman notices which spread through a period of more than eight hundred years, from the end of the fourth century B.C.E. to the middle of the sixth century C.E. and beyond. Other names, such as *Palaisimoundou, Salike* and *Sieladiba* are only given by Greek authors as alternatives to *Taprobanê*. Latin authors, on the other hand, from first to last, know the island only under its classical name, *Taprobanê* (Weerakkody 1997:17).

Roman authors like Pliny (23/24-79 C.E.) quoting the envoys from *Taprobanê* who, according to him, visited Rome during the reign of the emperor Claudius, gives *Palaesimundum* as the name of the capital city as well as of a river nearby, but according to the author of the *Periplus*, it was the name for the whole island (Weerakkody 1997:20).

Significance of its geographical location

Sri Lanka popularly known as the "Pearl of the Indian Ocean" is situated in the Indian Ocean in the midway between the East and West (Map. 2). The island mentioned as "Tāmra" in the *Mahābhārata* may be Sri Lanka in its original form (*Mhb* 2.28:46). Likewise, the *Divyāvadāna* also refers to a certain *Tāmradvīpa* (*Div* 1886:525). This denotes that Sri Lanka was known at one time as *Tambapaṇṇi* (Skt. Tāmraparṇī). Cosmas Indicopleustes (Indian Navigator), the Egyptian monk who wrote the *Christian Topography* in the 6th century C.E. says that the Greeks called it *"Taprobane"* and the Indians *"Sielediba"* (may be *Sihaladīpa*) (Weerakkody 1997:133-144, and also 17-25).

The result of the central position in the middle of the Indian Ocean is well described by Cosmas. "This is the great Island in the Ocean, lying in the Indian sea, called *Sielediba* by the Indians and *Taprobanê* by the Greeks. There the stone called

hyacinth is found. It lies further on than the land of pepper, around it there are many small islands, all with fresh water and coconuts: all of them are for the most part with deep water close in. The great island, so the natives say, is 300 gaudia, i.e. 9000 miles, in length and the same in breadth. There are two kings in the island, confronting one another, one of whom is in possession of the hyacinth country, and the other has the other part, where the market and the harbor are: and the market is a big one" (Weerakkody 1997:245).

"From the whole of India, Persia, and Ethiopia the island, acting as intermediary, welcomes many ships, and likewise dispatches them. From regions of the interior, i.e. *Tzinista* and other markets, it imports silk, aloes, cloves, clove-wood, sandal wood, and all the native products. And it re-exports them to the people of the exterior, i.e. to Male, where pepper grows, and to *Calliena,* where copper is produced, and sesame wood and clothes of various sorts for this too is a big centre of trade. Similarly to *Sindou*, where musk, costus root and spikenard come from, and Persia, Himyarite country and to Adulis. In return it gets the produce of each of the afore – mentioned markets, and passes them on the people of the interior, and at the same time exports its own native products to each of these markets" (Weerakkody 1997:245).

From the second century, when the island first became familiar to the Greek and the Arab sailors, it has been a port of call and an emporium of the sea-bone trade between the West and the East (Weerakkody 1997:1-17). Due to the strategic geographical location of the island in mid-Indian Ocean connecting both East and West in the international maritime trade, Sri Lanka received the continuous attention of the traders (Map. 3).

Physical formation of the island

As Senaka Bandaranayaka (1990A:9) correctly points out: "Sri Lanka's historical formation has been profoundly affected by three significant factors; its island character, its position at the centre of the Indian Ocean and its location at the southern extremity of the South Asian subcontinent" (Map. 4).

Certain knowledge of the physical (Map. 5) and climatic conditions (Map. 6) of Sri Lanka is necessary to understand the role played by these rivers in the development of both international and inland trade. Sri Lanka's location between 6 and 10 degrees north of the Equator, close to the Indian subcontinent, gives it a predominantly monsoonal and tropical climate (Map. 7 & 8). The central highland massif in the south central part of the island, rises above 2000 meters, intercepts moisture –laden monsoon winds and irrigates the headwaters of all Sri Lanka's major rivers. The unequal rainfall pattern, which is determined by the strong South West monsoon (May-August) and the weak North- West monsoon (November –February) divides the Island into Wet and Dry Zones (O. Bopearachchi 1997: xii).

Sri Lanka has an extensive network of rivers and streams that drains a total of 103 distinct natural river basins (Map. 9). However, today the island has only a few permanent rivers. The southwestern region's "wet zone" is characterized by numerous rivers that arise in the high mountains of the central part of the island. The rivers flow in a radial pattern towards the sea. Most of these rivers are short. The longest rivers are the Mahawäli Gaňga (335 kilometers) and the Aruvi Āru (170 kilometers). The names of rivers with the length are mentioned here (Map. 10).

Mahawäli Gaňga	335 km
Aruvi Āru	164 km
Kalā Oya	148 km
Kälaṇi Gaňga	145 km
Yān Oya	142 km
Däduru Oya	142 km
Walawē Gaňga	138 km
Māduru Oya	135 km
Maha Oya	134 km
Kalu Gaňga	129 km
Kirindi Oya	117 km
Kumbukkan Oya	116 km
Mänik Oya	114 km
Gin Gaňga	113 km

As it is in India, the most important ancient capitals of Sri Lanka too were inland, but each had one port on the coast. Mānthai, the most active port in ancient Sri Lanka is located close to the Aruvi Āru river (Malvatu Oya or Kadambha Nadī) which linked the port to the inland capital of Anurādhapura. Likewise, the geographical situation of the ancient capital of Polonnaruwa on the banks of the Mahaväli Gaňga, which flows to the sea at Gōkaṇṇa, is not a coincidence (Brohier 1935:12; Bopearchchi 2008A:3). In the same way, Tissamahārāma, Sri Lanka's ancient city in the south, blossomed due to its location on the left bank of the Kirindi Oya which connected the town to the ancient port of Kirinda (Bopearchchi 2008A:4) (Map. 11).

It is significant that ancient ports like Toṇḍi, Muziṟis (Muciri), Porakad (Bacare), Kolkho (Koṟkai) and Poduke (Putucceri) were situated either on the banks or at the mouth of the rivers. The famous Early Historic ports like Toṇḍi, Muciṟi, Koṟkai, Aḷagaṉkuḷam, Kāvēripaṭṭiṉam and Arikamēḍu are located on the mouth of the river Poṉṉaṉi, Periyār, Tāmaraparaṇi, Vaigai, Kāvēri and Ariyaṅkuppam respectively. Likewise Dharanikōṭa and Vijayāpuri at the Kriśna River are well known sites of this nature (Deloch 1980&1985 also see Nagaswamy 1991; Bopearchchi 2008A:3). All the three Tamil capital cities were inland towns, but each had one or several marts on the coast. For Karūr, the capital city of the Cēra kings, situated at the Amarāvatī River, the main port was the Muciṟi, and for Uraiyur, the capital city of the Chōla kings, the main port was the Kāvēripaṭṭiṉam, also called Kāvēripūmpaṭṭiṉam, in the Kāvēri delta. For Madurai the capital city of the Pāṇḍyas, a direct river connection along the Vaigai led to Sāliyūr (modern Aḷagaṇkuḷam) near Rāmeśvaram (Karttunen 1995:85; Bopearchchi 2008A:3).

The location of emporia along rivers must have facilitated transactions with the interior regions. Archaeological data obtained from excavations and surface explorations provide much needed evidence for the international contacts established between the Western and the South Asian traders on the regional trade network between South India and Sri Lanka.

Similarly most of the rivers in the Wet Zone are perennial and the flow of the water is sluggish in the lowlands where the gradient is light. Thanks to these climatic

and physical conditions, the rivers of the Wet Zone facilitate inland navigation for a distance of between ten and seventy kilometers, according to the physical conditions of the coastal fringe. Claudius Ptolemy mentions five rivers, for which he locates both the mouth and the source in each instance. The island has five navigable rivers. However one cannot deny the reputation of the island, even in the time of Pliny, as having navigable rivers where the inland trade activity took place. Bopearachchi's recent explorations at the estuaries and lower parts of all the navigable rivers in the Western and Southern coast of the island from the *Daduru-oya* to the *Walawe*, enable us not only to confirm the written testimony of Pliny, Ptolemy and Palladius, but also to ascertain the existence of early settlements at the banks of the rivers (Bopearachchi 1997:xii-xiii).

Most of the river mouths and estuaries that Osmund Bopearachchi has explored are large and deep enough for a large craft to enter, and the rivers are navigable without great difficulty between ten and fifty kilometers from the sea. He has further calculated the navigable distance for each river. However, it should be noted that the construction of modern tanks for irrigation purposes and also deforestation have drastically reduced the water level of the rivers. The devastating effects of deforestation of the hill country for the commercial plantation of coffee and the tea, from the middle of the last century, today most of them are not navigable. Thus, the river systems of Sri Lanka played a vital role in the development of trade.

Chronological Frame Work

The geographical location of the island, landscape, natural wealth, river system, congenial socio-political environment and many other such factors accelerated the trade and trade mechanism supplemented with monetary transactions from the time of 6th century B.C.E. down to the advent of Colonial establishments. Keeping in view of the vast period, the attention is focused on the study of the monetary transaction in the Anurādhapura period which runs from the 6th B.C.E. to 1017 C.E. until Rāja Rāja Chola's invasion marking the end of the Anurādhapura period.

Scope of the study

Within the research, it is expected to study the role of the traders, the rulers and the monks, with regard to the monetary transactions in ancient Sri Lanka. It is deemed to study all the aspects, pertaining to the monetary transaction, in ancient Sri Lanka. The proposed research theme has never been treated so far in its totality.

Aims and Objectives of the Study

1. To evaluate facts and evidences, recorded in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, *Dīpavaṃsa*, in other literary sources and the foreign records particularly of foreign traders and travellers on the monetary transactions in Sri Lanka.
2. To collect and analyze evidences from inscriptions belonging to the Anurādhapura period.
3. To evaluate the authenticity of the evidences, recorded in the Chronicles, foreign records and inscriptions with numismatic and archaeological sources.
4. To evaluate the circulation of foreign currencies in Sri Lanka.
5. To analyse the general features depicted on the indigenous coinage.
6. To evaluate the role of monks and monasteries in the usage of coins.

Previous Studies

Most of the work related to this area has been researched by O. Bopearachchi. Specially, he has focused his attention on the international trade and the trade between South India and Sri Lanka. The *"Some Observation on Roman Coins found in recent Excavations at Sigiriya"* (1990), *"Recent discoveries of ancient foreign coins, hitherto unknown in Sri Lankan context"* (1995), *"Sea borne and inland trade of ancient Sri Lanka"* (1995), *"Archaeological evidence on changing patterns of international trade relations of Ancient Sri Lanka"* (1998), *"The Maritime Silk Roads: Trade relations between Central Asia and Sri Lanka form the evidence of recent excavations"* (1997/8), *"Ruhuna an Ancient Civilization Re-visited Numismatic and Archaeological evidence on inland and maritime trade"* (1999),

"Earliest inscribed coins, moulds, seals and sealings from Tissamaharama" (2000), *"Archaeological Evidences on shipping Communities of Sri Lanka*" (2002), *"The Pleasure Gardens of Sigiriya: A new approach"* (2006), *"Circulation of Roman and Byzantine gold coins in Sri Lanka*" (2006), *"Tamil Traders in Sri Lanka and Sinhalese Traders in Tamil Nadu"* (2008) and *"Andhra-Tamil-Nadu and Sri Lanka: Early Buddhist Sculptures of Sri Lanka*" (2012) gave the basic knowledge of the trade that existed internationally. The *"Pearls and Chank diving of South Indian Coast"*, compiled by N. Athiyaman (2000) is used to understand pearl fisheries and their role in trade, particularly in the Gulf of Mannar.

The works of H. W. Codrington's *"Ceylon Coins and Currency"* (1924), R. A. L. H. Gunawardana's *"Robe and Plough Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Medieval Sri Lanka*" (1979), S. Bandaranayaka, L. Dewaraja, R. Siva and K. D. G. Wimalaratna's *"Sri Lanka and the Silk Road of the Sea"* (1990) provided us with basic knowledge. As far as the role of the monks in the monetary transactions are concerned the work of R. A. L. H. Gunawardane's *"Robe and Plough Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Medieval Sri Lanka*" remains the best contribution ever made in this field of studies. However, new archaeological and epigraphical evidences with the new analytical studies have provided new insight into this study and also enlarged the scope of this study.

Literary Sources

In this work, the Chronicles of Sri Lanka translated into English by W. Geiger such as *The Mahāvaṃsa, the Great Chronicle of Ceylon,* published by Oxford (1912); the *Cūḷavaṃsa*, Part I, published by the Asian Educational Services, New Delhi (1992); and the *Dīpavaṃsa* translated by H. Oldernberg and published by the Asian Educational Services, New Delhi (1992); the *Dīpavaṃsa*, □āṇavimala Thēra Kiriellē published by the M. D. Gunasena Publishers of Colombo (1959); the *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* ed. M. Asbhatissa, published in Colombo (1883) and The *Thūpavaṃsa*, translated into English by S. Gamlath and published by the Godage publishers in Colombo (1994) are used as they are considered as most important literary sources for this study.

According to the written records like the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Dīpavaṃsa* history of Sri Lanka may have begun from the arrival of the prince Vijaya circa 6th B.C.E. Although the history begins from the 6th century B.C.E., the literary sources were not recorded till the 4th century C.E. However, it is now believed that the *Seehalawatthuppakaraṇa* was written in the 3rd or the 4th century C.E. If this is acceptable, it should be considered as the oldest historical book in Sri Lanka. The first Chronicle, the *Dīpavaṃsa* was written between the 4th and 5th C.E., while the *Mahāvaṃsa* was written a century later in the 5th or 6th C.E. The authors of these Chronicles belonging to the Mahā Vihāra of the orthodox tendency and they have exaggerate the works of some kings who have been sympathetic towards the Mahā Vihāra while those like Mahāsēna who were ardent supporter of the Mahāyāna were criticized. It is also necessary to bear in mind that most of the accounts of these authors are subjected to usual exaggerations. The authors of these Chronicles of the 4th and the 5th centuries impose their values and partial judgments over the events that have taken place in the 6th century B.C.E.

The latter part of *Mahāvaṃsa* has been published in the West under the title *Cūḷavaṃsa.* The Chronicle is translated into English in 3 vols (Gombrich and Obeyesekere 1988). The *Mahāvaṃsa,* composed by monks under royal patronage, tends to see Buddhism from above and to be concerned with its fortunes at the state level (Gombrich and Obeyesekere 1988:5). Therefore, one has to be extremely careful when using the information given by the chroniclers in between the 6th and 3rd B.C.E. The archaeological findings give us more authentic data to study this period.

Besides, the *Aṭṭhakatās*, (commentaries) have been translated in to Pāli by the Buddhgōsha thēro (monk) in the 5th century C.E. Those works like *Dhammasaṅghanippakaraṇaṭṭhakathā*: *Atthasālinī* (2008); *Niddēsaṭṭhakathā*: *Saddhammapajjōtikā* (2008); *Vinayaṭṭhakathā*: *Samantapāsādikā* (2004); *Udānaṭṭhakathā*: *Paramatthadeepanī* (2008); *Sutthasaṅgahaṭṭhakathā*: *Paramatthajōtikā* (2008); *Majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathā*: *Papaṃchasūdanī* (2008); *Kuddakapāṭhāṭṭhakathā*: *Paramatthajōtikā* (2008); *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā:* Sumaṅgalavilāsinī vol. i, (2008); *Suttanipātaṭṭhakathā*: *paramatthajōtikā* (2008);

Vimānavatthu Aṭṭhakathā: *Paramattha Dīpanī* (2008) and V*inayaṭṭhakathā*: *Samantapāsādikā* (2009) provided valuable evidences on contemporary society.

Furthermore the primary sources like, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* translated from the Greek & annotated by W.H. Schoff (1912), and also by Lional Casson (1989), the works of the Onesicritus, Megasthenes, Eratosthenes, Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, Palladius, Cosmas Idnicopleustes translated by D. P. M. Weerakkody (1997) have been used to understand the depth of foreign trade.

Apart from the Greek and Latin sources, the Chinese sources are of great help. Travels of Fah-Hien and Sung-Yun (400 C.E. and 518 C.E.) translated by Samuel Beal (1993) have been used in this study.

Some information also can be gathered from the Indian epics like *Mahābhārata* translated by Chandra Roy (1912) and *Milidapanho* edited by the V. Treascens (1962).

Epigraphy

Sri Lanka is known for the abundance of epigraphical sources. Some of the important works are S. Paranavitana's *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, vol. I (1970) and vol. II (1983); *Epigraphia Zeylanica* vols. I & II edited and translated by D. M. D. Z. Wickremasinghe and published by Oxford University Press (1912); *Epigraphia Zeylanica* vol. III, published by the Oxford University Press (1933); *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. VI, edited by Uduwara Jayantha published by the Government Press, Sri Lanka (1991), *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. VII edited by S. Karunaratne and published by the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon (1984); *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. V edited and translated by S. Paranavitana and C.E. Godakumbura and published by the Government Press, Ceylon (1965). As far as the Tamil inscriptions are concerned I. Mahadevan's *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest times to the Sixth Century A.D.* published by Cre-A, Chennai (2003) is used to understand the Brāhmī inscriptions. Also consulted a few articles compiled by S. Pathmanathan (2000), N. Karashima (2000) and Malini Dias (2000).

Archaeological evidences

The archaeological excavations were conducted for the past 120 years from the times of Colonial rule in Sri Lanka. Most of the excavations are generally sporadic without any control on stratigraphy. However, stratigraphical excavations were conducted in recent years, and among them following digs have a direct relationship with our study. The excavations conducted in the citadel of Anurādhapura by S.U. Deraniyagala (1992) and R. Coningham (1999 and 2006); at Māntai by J. Carswell (1990); at Tissamahārāma by H. J. Weisshaar and W. Wijeyapala (1992-3) and at Kälaṇiya, Panirendrāwa and Ridiyagama by Osmund Bopearachchi (1997) are some of the excavation works changed the perspectives of Sri Lankan studies.

We have also consulted the archaeological evidences of South India, for example, *Archaeological Explorations in Dharmapuri District* (1990); *Archaeological Explorations in North Arcot Region* (1992); The *Koḍumaṇaḷ Excavations - Report* (1996), *Archaeological Excavations at Porunthal* (2009) by K. Rajan. Besides these, the excavation reports of Koṟkai, Kāvēripaṭṭinam, Arikamēḍu, Aḷagaṇkuḷam, Koḍumaṇal, Paṭṭanam and Karūr are also consulted for this study.

Coins

The earliest coins found in Sri Lanka are punch-marked coins, and they were found in hundreds, either in hoards at archaeological sites or as stray finds. These coins belong to the middle and late Mauryan periods. A large number of *karshapaṇa* found in Sri Lanka may have first entered in circulation during the reign of Aśoka (Bopearachchi 1997:xvi). As Codrington (1924:16) correctly suggested that the absence of these coins of any symbol which can be attributed to Sri Lanka alone, indicates that the genuine punch –marked coins found in the island were imported from India. Epigraphical and literary sources are not short of references to payments of thousand of *karshapaṇa* by king on different occasions, such as the construction of religious monuments and donations to the monastic communities (Bopearachchi 1997: xvi). The discovery of many terracotta moulds with *karshapaṇa* imprints, in the excavation at Gedigē Anurādhapura and many other places shows that some of these coins were produced in Sri Lanka. The moulds that the O. Bopearachchi was able to

examine are identical to the ones found in Haryānā in North India. As in India, Sri Lankan mint masters may have made these coins by casting methods, instead of the original punching technique, during a period when no more *karshapaṇa* were issued.

The earliest epigraphical evidence to the circulation of the *karshapaṇa* in the island dates back to the end of the 3rd century B.C.E. The inscription of Mampita Vihāra (Kägalla District in the Wet Zone) written in early Brāhmī script referring to *karshapaṇas* indicates that trade even in early days was not barter alone (Paranavitana 1970:no:1205).

Material Evidences

The material evidences like ceramics, beads, metal objects, forest products like ivory and sea products like pearl found in archaeological context played a supportive role for understanding the various dimensions of internal and external trade. All these artifacts are important to understand the dynamics of the trade. They will be discussed in this chapter under the exported and the imported items.

Trade items

The production of trade items like gemstones, spices, forest products, pearls, steel and other related objects requires technical skills. For instance, gemstones need a comprehensive mineral zone and highly specialized artisans; spice production needs a controlled environment; pearl fishing needs specialized divers and favorable sea conditions where pearl oysters can grow; steel production requires a specialized technical know-how (Rajan 2011:183).

As all these items were potential trade goods during the early historic times, an attempt is made here to understand the level of their industrial production. It was the king who decided the price of the items of royal consumption such as elephants, horses, jewels and gold (*The Jātaka; Taṇḍulanāli Jātaka*, 1990:294-318p). The Indian and classical literary sources refer to Sri Lankan exports, especially pearls, precious stones and textiles. They had a good Indian market.

I. Pearls

Pearl (*mutthu* in Tamil) is considered as the queen among the jewels (N. Athiyaman 2000:1). The *Mahāvaṃsa* says that the king Vijaya consecrated the daughter of the Pāṇḍu king with solemn ceremony, as his queen; and he bestowed wealth on his ministers. Every year he sent to his wife's father a shell – pearl worth twice hundred thousand pieces of money (*MV* 1950. 7:72-73). The Sri Lankan products such as precious stones, pearls, chanks, turtle shell and cloth had been in demand from a very early time (Gunawardana 1990:31).

The *Mahāvaṃsa* refers to eight kinds of pearls, presented to the Emperor Aśoka by the King Dēvānampiyatissa (circa 250-210 B.C.E.). The eight kinds of pearls are horse-pearl, elephant-pearl, waggon- pearl, myrobalan pearl, bracelet pearl, ring pearl, kakūdha fruit pearl and common pearl. The Pāli literature *Abhidhānappadīpikā* also reports these eight types of pearl as quoted in *Mahāvaṃsa* (Childers 1976:1061). Devaraj and Ravichandran say about one million chanks of different varieties are collected each year in the Gulf of Mannar region in recent years (1991:102). According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* following the demise of the king Mutaseewa, at the time of the consecration of the king Dēvānaṃpiyatissa, these pearls found from the ocean and laid upon the shore in heaps (*MV* 1950. 11:14,15).

The king Duṭṭhagāmanī (circa 161-137 B.C.E.) seemed to have decorated his hall with pearls, it may prove the existence of pearl fishing in the Gulf of Mannar (*MV* 1950. 78:207; K. Rajan 2011:183). In a Westerly direction from the city, at a distance of five yōjanas, near the landing place of Ūruvela, pearls in size like to great myrobalan fruits, mingled with coral, six waggon loads, came forth to the dry land. The king was alerted about a fisherman who piling up in a heap pearls together with corals in a vessals (*MV* 1950. 28:36-37).

Megasthenes (3rd B.C.E.) says that Taprobane (Sri Lanka) is separated from the main land by a river and the inhabitants are called Palaigonoi, and their country is more productive of gold and large pearls than India (Crindle 1972:62). As recorded by the Fah-Hian, in the north of the royal city (Anurādhapura) a great tower with the height of 470 feet had been adorned with gold, silver, and every precious substances (Beal 1993:150-151). Further it is mentioned that at Abhayagiri (the mountain without

fear), where 5,000 priests dwelled, there was a hall of the Buddha, which is covered with gold and silver, engraved work, conjoined with all the precious substances. In the midst of this hall was a figure of the Buddha which is of about 22 feet in height. The entire body glitters and sparkles with the seven precious substances (Beal 1993:151). Further it had been recorded that in the right hand, a pearl of inestimable value is found (Beal 1993:151).

Yuwan Chwang (645 C.E) mentions a Sri Lankan tūpa having on its top a brilliant light from the pearl during the clam nights (Athiyaman 2000:26). Iban Khurdadbeh (844-888 C.E.) mentions the established pearl fishery of Sri Lankan coast (Sastri 1972:120). The two Arab writers called Suleiman and Abu Ziad (916 C.E.) mention about the pearl and chank fishery of Sri Lanka. Alberuni (1030 C.E.) states that earlier there were pearl banks in the bay of Serandip (Sri Lanka), but at the time of his visit they had been abandoned (Athiyaman 2000:26).

Though, the pearls were available in the Persian Gulf, a richer source was in the Gulf of Mannar at the tip of the peninsular India, facing the coast of Sri Lanka. This region also has one of the most productive chank fisheries in the world (Ray 1994:14). The chief sources of pearls were located in South India and Ceylon (Verma 2009:73). Pearls from the Pāṇṭiya kingdom were famous from ancient times and are mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Arthaśāstra* and also in the *Periplus. Mānguḷam inscription*, the earliest Tamil Brāhmī inscription datable to 3rd century B.C.E. in South India, provides evidence of the state control over pearl-fishery and trade even from this early date. An inscription from Kīḷavaḷavu (2nd century B.C.E.) refers to Toṇṭi the Pāṇṭiya port on the East Coast, which was involved in pearl fishery and trade from early times (Mahadevan 2003:123).

The occurrence of chank and pearl shell remaining all along the North Western Sri Lanka and in Jaffna peninsula indicates an exchange network from the Southern and South Western coast of India to the coastal Sri Lanka (Seneviratne 1985:522; Ray 1994:14). Sūkaratittha or Hūrātoṭa (Kayts) and Ūruvela at the mouth of the Kalā Oya all were intimately associated with the pearl and chank fisheries. Evidence shows that huge quantities of pearl oysters have been collected from the

Gulf of Mannar of India and Sri Lankan region even before the Christian era and is continued up to this century with short interruptions (Athiyaman 2000:8).

When comparing to the south Indian epigraphy, the Māṅguḷam Brāhmī inscription no. 03, belonged to the 2nd B.C.E. is of great significance. The superintendent of pearls and kāviti of the merchant guild of Veḷḷaṟai, caused to be given the cave (Mahadevan 2003:318-319). He was presumably a minister or a high official (as indicated by his title kāviti), entrusted with the responsibility of superintending pearl fisheries (Mahadevan 2003:123). In the *Arthaśāstra*, pearls and chank are described as highly valued products of the Indo- Sri Lankan straits (Ray 1994:19).

II. Textiles

Goods such as textiles, gold, pearls, gems and perfume were of high taxation. The *Rājataraṃganī,* a Kaśhmir Chronicle illustrates the fact that smooth cotton clothes had been exported to India where the consort of the king Mirikula of Huna clan was the recipient (Gunasinha 1961:181). It is mentioned that the silk clothes, brought by the Indian traders were purchased by the Persian traders in Sri Lanka.

III. Gems

The *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions the effect of Dēvānampiyatissa's merit, the gems of sapphire, beryl and ruby found in Sri Lanka *(MV* 1950. 11:16-17). From the northerly direction from the city, in a cave opening on the Peḷirāpikagāma tank, four gems had found. A hunter having seen the above reported to the king (*MV* 1950. 28: 36-37). The *Dīpavaṃsa* also mentions that, because of the merits of Dēvānampiyatissa, the gems were found in Malaya (*DV* 1992. 11:20). The main income of the kings in the Rōhaṇa kingdom was the gem trade. This is one of the main reasons why Sri Lanka is known as "*Rathnadeepa"*.

At the time queen Vihāra Mahādevi bore a son named Duṭṭagāminī seven ships laden with gems have arrived to the island (*MV* 1950. 22:60-61). The slab inscription no:1 of Mahinda IV mentions that the beautiful "Denā Vehera" shone with gems of various kinds (*EZ* 1912. vol. i: 227).

The Fah-Hian the Chinese monk who visited Sri Lanka in the 5th century, recorded that most of the people in Sri Lanka produced precious stones and pearls. Further it is recorded that, the king sent a guard to protect the place. If any gem is found, the king used to claim three out of ten of its value (Beal 1993:148). The *maṇi* (gem) is a famous one in Buddhist formulae, e.g. in the well known Thibetan invocation, "Oṃ maṇi padmē, Hum!". Although generally it is rendered by the English "pearl", it probably carbuncle (Beal 1993:148).

The finding of two rings of Greek style in the ancient Greek city of Ai Khanum is of great significance in this regard, because each of them was mounted with a precious stone, only attested in Sri Lanka; one with a blue sapphire and the other with a star ruby (Bopearachchi & Flandrin 2005:209; Bopearachchi 2006:43).

One of the biggest industrial sites, actively involved in gemstone production and steel industry in South India is Koḍumaṇal. The terracotta figuring of Mediterranean, Roman coins and a shard of rouletted ware have been unearthed from this place (Rajan 2011:192). Besides, several inscribed potsherds accounting more than 300 were reported at Koḍumaṇal. Most of them carry personal names. Among them, a few sherds carry names of Sinhala origin thereby indicating their close relationship. The site Aḷagaṉkuḷam has also yielded such evidences. Kāvēripattinam is one of the sites in Tamil Nadu met with potsherd engraved in Brāhmī script with Prākrit language.

IV. Elephants

Strabo and *Megasthenes* mention that elephant tusks, turtle shells as well as elephants were sent to India from Sri Lanka. It is understood that the king had a monopoly on the collection of taxes from the elephants, pearls and gems and many other mur. Among the taxes, incurred by the foreign trade, a tax called "*Hathipathi"* may have existed and it had been collected by trading the elephants (Siriwardana 1961:201). This particular tax had apparently been collected when exporting of elephants.

V. Beads

Hundreds of beads, made of crystal, glass, stone, ivory, bone, shell and clay and above all semiprecious and precious stones were found at Ridiyagama and *Kälaṇiya*. Among the beads of semiprecious and precious stones, carnelian, lapis lazuli, rock crystals, agate and amethysts were found in hundreds (Bopearachchi 2008a:10-11).

The discovery of unperforated beads together with fragments of semiprecious stones confirms beyond doubt, the existence of a bead making industry at Ridiyagama, Tissamahārāma and Giribāwa (Bopearachchi 2008a:12). The presence of raw glass, unfinished beads, remains of melting furnaces and alumina sand source at Giribawa and its proximity, enable us to think of this site as glass producing workshop (Bopearachchi 2008a:12).

Beads constitute an important class of finds in most of the South Indian sites. These sites include Amarāvati, Dhulikaṭṭa, Kōtaliṅgala, Peddabaṅkūr and Yelēswarm (in Andhra Pradesh), Arikamēḍu (Pondicherry), Kañchipuram, Appukallu, Tiruvāmāthūr, Kāraikāḍu, Mallapāḍi, Perūr, Thāṇḍikuḍi, Porunthal, Koḍumaṇal , Karūr, Uṟaiyūr and Aḷaganṉkuḷam (in Tamil Nadu). Among the sites, Koḍumaṇal is one of the best known sites for gem stone industry (Rajan 1997:79). Some of these sites, especially the Tamil Nadu sties, have yielded coins (both Roman and indigenous) ceramics and especially beads, similar to those reported from Mānthai, Anurādhapura, Kälaṇiya, Ridiyagama, Tissamahārāma and other early sites of Sri Lanka. The beads from Ridiyagma are very similar, in colour and shape, to the types, recovered from four five major sites of South India, Arikamēḍu, Kāraikādu, Uṟaiyūr, Koḍumaṇal and Aḷaganṉkuḷam (Nagaswamy 1991: 247-254; Bopearachchi 2008a:12). The glass bead making industry at Arikamēḍu was large and productive (Francis 1987:29). The majority of the beads found here are spheroid or pear-shaped similar to those from Ridiyagama. The Lug-collared beads are identical to the ones from Ridiyagama (Bepearachchi 1999: 16; Bopearachchi 2008a:13). Recently, glass re-working furnace along with several thousands of glass beads were recovered at Porunthal in Tamil Nadu (Rajan 2010:82-102).

It is now clear that most of the beads, collected in the excavations or from the surface explorations at Ridiyagama, Kälaṇiya and Giribāwa are also attested in all the important settlement sites of South India. The conclusion to be drawn from these discoveries is that they belonged to the same trade network (Bopearachchi 2008a:14).

VII. Variety of timber

It appears that Sri Lanka provided certain essential facilities for mariners. A wide variety of timber, used for making frames, planking, masts, spars and oars of boats and ships was available in Sri Lanka, particularly in the Southwestern parts of the Island. Domba (*calophyllum inophyl-lum*), valued for its flexibility and the kos (*Ar-tocarpus heterophyllus*) was also among the varieties of wood, available in Sri Lanka which were in demand among the shipwrights (Gunawardana 1990:31).

VIII. Products from the Coconut tree

Coconut oil was perhaps another product which was in demand at the ports. The ropes used to tie up the planking had to be oiled regularly, once in about four to six months (*The Sindbad Voyage* 1982:68). One of the earliest instances of a coconut plantation, mentioned in an inscription is from a record, set up by *Usāvadāta* at Nasik in Western India. (The inscription is dated in the year 42 of an unspecified era. If it was the Śaka era, the date would be equivalent to 120 C.E. (*EI* 1905-6: vol. viii:82-84). In Sri Lanka, the first reference to a coconut plantation (*naḍira arabe*) is in an inscription from the reign of Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga (9-21 C.E.) found at Mihintalē (*IC* 1983:32). In the 5th and the 6th centuries, there are references to extensive coconut plantations, some of which were owned by monasteries (Gunawardana 1979:54-58; 1990:31).

The Saṃgam literature Paṭṭiṉappālai mentions that food products (*īḻathu uṇavu*) were imported from Sri Lanka at the port of Kāvēripaṭṭaṉam. But by the end of the 9th century "The people of Serandib pay attention to the cultivation of coconut," Al Idrisi noted. He further recorded that Arab ships from Oman and Yeman used to come to this Island and to other Islands in its vicinity to obtain rope, trunks of coconut

trees, for mats and timber for planking as also to place orders for ships which were constructed there (Gunawardana 1990:31).

Imported Items

There are several items imported from India in exchange of goods. Items which were imported were carnelian, intaglios, lapis lazuli, gold, silver, copper, glass, beads, different kinds of less valuable gems, high quality pottery, liquor and horses.

I. Carnelian

Carnelian belonging to the chalcedony group is not found in Sri Lanka and was certainly imported from Gujarat, where, according to the archaeological evidence, it was produced without interruption from Harappan times down to the early historic period. Even today, the local industries are known for gem stone industry. It is well known that the reddish colour of carnelian is artificially produced by heating dull brown stones with a high iron content (Bopearachchi 2006:42).

The number of carnelian beads, collected as surface finds at Ridiyagama exceeds one hundred. In addition, the perforated beads from Ridiyagam are similar to the ones, found at the Ibbankatuwa megalithic cemetery dated back to 770-395 B.C.E. (Bopearachchi 2006:42).

Two of the commodities in demand among the megalithic communities would have been carnelian and horses. Carnelian and etched carnelian beads occur extensively in Megalithic burials, only in Peninsular India but also in Sri Lanka as well. It is however, likely that carnelian, in worked and unworked forms is found in the third century B.C.E. at Anurādhapura in Sri Lanka.

The presence of early historic Black-and-Red ware and North Indian carnelian beads both at Ridiyagama and at the megalithic cemetery of Ibbankatuwa is not accidental (Bopearachchi 2006:42). The most interesting discovery in this respect is a carnelian blank. The same type of carnelian blanks was also found in the recent Jētavanārāma excavations (Ratnayaka 1990:45-49). The majority of intaglios and carved jewels from the Jētavanārāma project were carnelian. One carved carnelian

seal, depicting a figure holding a globe is certainly an imitation of Roman prototype (Ratnayaka 1990:50).

II. Intaglios

In addition to the coins, the findings of carnelian and lapis lazuli beads and intaglios, not only at Māntai and Anurādhapura but also from the recent excavations and explorations at Ridiyagama, is of greatest significance, because both categories of stones were certainly imported to the island from North India and Afghanistan (Bopearachchi 2006:42). The author of the *Periplus* mentions on three occasions that these stones were exported from Barygaza (*Periplus* 48-51). The intaglios, depicting a seated wild bora, unearthed from Akurugoda (Tissamahārāma), is also important in this context (Bopearchchi and Wickremesinhe 1999:124; Bopearachchi 2006:43).

III. Lapis lazuli

The second category of beads which deserves our attention is those made from lapis lazuli, because the only known source for this material in antiquity was Badakshan (in northern Afghanistan). The author of the *Periplus* mentions lapis Lazuli among the products, exported from Barbaricum. This precious material doubtless travelled along the sea route to reach the southern coast of Sri Lanka. Hema Ratnayake has also observed that on a painted slab, belonging to one of the frontispieces (*vāhalkada*) of the Jētavana stūpa, there are traces of lapis lazuli underneath the line of geese (Ratnayake 1993:84). He dates it to the 3rd century C.E., to the reign of king Mahāsēna, who built this feature of the stupa.

IV. Horses

Sri Lanka's location and its wealth and resources were also the promptings, behind many of foreign invasions. The two Damiḷas, Sēna and Guttaka, sons of a freighter who brought horses hither, conquered the king Sūratissa, at the head of a great army and reigned both (together) twenty-two years justly (*MV* 1950. 21:10-11). As mentioned in the Sri Lankan Chronicles, Tamils came to the island as horse

traders. The king Gajabāhu had built a big hall for the horses in the city (*MV* 1950. 35:122).

In *Āvāmadāyikā Vimāna Vaṇṇanā* in the *Vimānavatthu Aṭṭhakathā (Paramattha Dīpanī)* when a dhamma word explained the following example has been given. The gruel dāna is worth than one hundred *kahavaṇu*, one hundred horses belonging to the clan of Aśwarata, one hundred chariots and the jewelleries of one hundred thousand women (*Vimā.Aṭṭ* 2008:127, 227). This may give some indications on the trade of horses. The high breed of horses belonged to the *Aśwarata.* One story in the *Vērañja Kāṇḍa* in the *Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā)* mentions that the horse traders have come from the Uttarāpatha in India with the five hundred horses. It is further mentioned that the Uttarāpatha is good for breeding horses (*Vina.Aṭṭ* 2009:162).

Strabo on the authority of Megasthenese, states that during the Mauryan period there was a royal monopoly on the ownership of horses (Crindle 1887:88-89). There was an active private trade in horses, though unlike other commodities, it was the king who decided the price of the animal (*Taṇḍulanāli Jātaka*).

The horse was not a common possession and only a few chiefs are described as possessing horses and chariots (Gurukkal 1989:159-176, Ray 1994:39). The *Arthaśāstra* describes that the best quality of horses as those from Kāmbōja, Siṇdhu, Aratta and Vanayu Kāmbōja, identified with the Qandahar region of Afghanistan, continued as a major supplier of horses up to the Pāla period (Ray 1994:38).

The depiction of the Sinhala legend in cave xvii at Ajantā, shows that three ships, carrying an army to Sri Lanka, which include riders on elephants and horses. Owing to the spatial constraints, very little structural detail has been shown in the paintings, what is significant; nevertheless is the transportation of horses and elephants on the maritime route, both to Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia (Ray 1994:39).

In this context one has to recall the occurrence of ornaments adorned on horses unearthed in a megalithic grave in Mahārāśtra datable to B.C.E. Likewise, horse stirrups were recovered from a transected cist at Koḍumaṇal and Porunthal in association with large number of antiquities particularly semi-precious stone beads.

V. Gold

The story of the Mahādēva Upāsaka reveals the way he embarked to Swarnabūmi to obtain the gold (*Seehala* 1958:82). The *Mahāvaṃsa* says a that a ship, filled with vessels of gold has arrived and the people announced it to the king (*MV* 1950. 21:64). There are two opinions on the aspect of Swarṇabūmi. Ian Glover felt that Thailand is known for high tin bronze which is considered equal to gold. However, several gold objects were recovered from Harappan sites and also in megalithic graves of south India. It is better to recall that several Neolithic sites of south India found closer to ancient gold mines.

Thus, the analysis of import and export items of Sri Lanka clearly points to the continuous maritime trade interaction with India, West and South East Asia from the time of Iron Age. The evidences are more visible in Early Historic times. The spread of language like Prākrit, script like Brāhmī, religion like Buddhism and other cultural item that encountered in Sri Lanka and in India particularly in South India has to be seen in this background.

The organization of Trade Network in Ancient Sri Lanka

Ancient Ports in Sri Lanka

The pattern of monsoon winds and oceanic currents appear to have generally worked in favour of the Sri Lankan ports and helped to enhance their importance in the trade between South and Southeast Asia. During the Northeast monsoon, the combined effect of winds and surface currents would have been most favorable for navigation from the Malacca Straits to Sri Lanka and South India, than travelling to ports, like Tāmralipti. Similarly, the patterns of winds and currents, during the Southwestern monsoon would have been ideal for Eastward travel from Sri Lanka towards the Northern end of the Malacca straits (Gunawardana 1990:34).

The list of ports in the *Mahāniddēsa* seems to have pointed out the importance of Sri Lanka, as a halting place in one of the sea routes between India and Southeast Asia (Vallee and Thomas 1916:154-155; Gunawardana 1990:27). P. Wheatley has recognized three main routes, linking South and Southeast Asia (Wheatley 1966:44).

1. The sea route, taken by Fah-Hian, linked Sri Lanka with the Malacca Strait.
2. The second route, linked Kie-Tcha in the Malayan Peninsula with Tāmralipti.
3. The third sea route from Southeast Asia to India which hugged the coastline from the Malayan peninsula to the Eastern India (Gunawardana 1990:32-33).

The Suppāraka Jātaka mentions of a ship which left the Western coast of India and was carried by a storm, across six different seas: the Khuramālin, Dadhimālin, Aggimālin, Kuśamālin, Nalamālin and the Vaḷabhāmukha (Fausboll 1963: vol. iv: 134-143). It seems that the early South Asian navigators understood that there were different oceans. On the basis of the colour of the water, they might have differentiated the Ocean. For example: the Western part of the Indian Ocean was called the Erythraean Sea (Red sea) while the Southern part of the Indian Ocean was called the Mare Prasodum (Green sea) by the Greek writers (Toussaint 1966:4.5; Gunawardana 1990:25). Sri Lankan texts, such as the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Sahassavatṭuppakaraṇa* refer to the sea around the island as “Goṭhasamudda” (Gunawardana 1990:25).

The port of Mahātittha

The port Mānthai is situated at a very strategic position at the Northwest tip of the island and of the closest point to the Indian subcontinent is known as Mahātittha (Pāli), Māntōṭṭam (Tamil) or Mātota (Sinhalese) (Bopearachchi 1997:x; Nicholas 1990:272) It has been argued that the only navigable seaway between the Gulf of Maṉṉār and the Palk Strait was the Maṉṉār passage, and it must have been much deeper in antiquity than in recent times. D. P. M. Weerakkody (1997) has discussed in detail as the existence of the popular traditional sea route that commected Mannar straits and Adam's Bridge for a long period. However it is very difficult to believe that the passage through the Mannar Straits was the only route known to Mariners in Ancient times (Bopearachchi 1997: x).

The ancient port of Mahātittha (Māntota / Māntai) was the main harbour that played a dynamic role in the Silk Route. The main port of Country's export and import economy were organized by it. The Mahātitha and Jambukōla could be introduced as two ancient sea ports in Sri Lanka which were used in the foreign trade. The exact period of time, in which these two sea ports were operated cannot be clearly stated. Mahātitta is the port, which *Mahāvaṃsa* states initially. This particular port, as it is stated in the *Mahāvaṃsa,* had been more prominent and of great use during the process of trade, carried out with India. It could be noted that this port would have been used even before the arrival of Aryans into Sri Lanka.

The location of Thirukethiśwarm Dēvālaya demonstrates its age-old history. The ancient city of this Dēvalaya comprised of 300 acres in extent. And also, a main road, excavated from the said city is 40 feet in width. The Roman pottery and the coins, unearthed in this premises, demonstrate that it had been an ancient sea port. Even Cosmus had also reported the significance of this particular sea port. Sundaramurthi Nayanar, a Hindu and saint lyric who lived in the 6th century C.E. has mentioned that it is a port where many ships were able to be anchored.

The port Mahātittha was involved with trading, done with the Western and the Eastern coasts of peninsular India. When the *Samantapāsādika* was written in the fifth century C.E., the practice of taking ships from Mahātittha to sail upto Tāmralipti or Suvaṇṇabhūmi was quite well-known. The most frequently mentioned Indian ports,

are called Kāvēripaṭṭana and Kaṇṭhakasōla-paṭṭana (Gunawardana 1990:26). Most probably, the traders who embarked from the port of Mahātittha, disembarked at the port of the Kāvēripaṭṭana. It is illustrated in the *Samantapāsādika*, that it was quite usual for people to take ships to Tāmralipti from Mahātittha (*Samantapāsādika* 1967:808).

The *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions that, Vijaya and 700 followers disembarked at Mahātittha; for that very reason itself, the landing place is known as Mahātittha (*MV* 1950. 7:58). As mentioned in Chronicles in Sri Lanka, the first migrant group to the Island from India was Vijaya and his seven hundred companions. They disembarked the shores of Tambapaṇṇi near the port of Mahātittha.

Further, it is mentioned that, during the period of the king Dappula IV (924-935 C.E.) a Paṇḍu king, with the fear of the Cōḷa king, left his country and disembarked at the port of Mahātittha. As mentioned in, the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the king Dappula IV gave him an abundant income, while granting him with a dwelling situated outside the town (*MV* 1950. 53:5-7).

Modern Māntai, on the mainland, opposite Mannār, now a buried city, has exchanged merchandise and also taken away the pearls, precious stones, cinnamon, elephants and other products of Ceylon (Ray 1959:9). Pliny's specific reference to the ships of Taprobane carrying 3000 amphorae (Weerakkody 1997: 226) in contrast with the Roman Vessels, capable of carrying over 10,000 amphorae, shows that the navigation through the straits of Mannār was undertaken not by the Romans but by the Sri Lankans (Bopearchchi 2008A:4)

Ūruvelapaṭṭana

The most important port site on the West Coast next to Mānthai is Ūruvelapaṭṭna situated at the mouth of Kalā Oya. Sudarshan Seneviratne (1990: 121-140) shows in one of his recent studies how a variety of resources moved from the montane zone via the upper Kalā Oya region in order to reach the production consumption centres in the agrarian plains and the port towns of the littoral. He further draws attention to the fact that the area around Kalāväva became an extremely important link with distribution centers, market towns, corporate bodies or guilds,

because of location precisely on two important routes, that one leading to Anurādhapura and Mānthai along the Malwatu Oya and the other to Ūruvelapaṭṭna along the Kalā Oya.

The port of Gōkaṇṇa

It is referred to as Gōkaṇṇa in Pāli or Gōkarṇa in Sanskrit. The port of Trincomalee is considered to be (ancient Gokaṇṇa) one of the largest and safest natural harbours in the modern world (Fig. 1.1).

The circulation of currents in the northern parts of the Bay of Bengal were favorable for voyages from Tāmralipti to the ports in Southeast Asia, specially the port of Gōkaṇṇa (Brohier 1935 :12). The sea, off Trincomalee was of sufficient depth at all times to be navigable for small vessels.

It was through this port itself that the delegates of king Dēvānampiyatissa had also visited the court of Emperor Aśoka in the 3rd century B.C.E. According to *Mahāvaṃsa*, this port had been linked to the city of Anurādhapura.

Trincomalee played an important role as an active sea port, because the Mahaväli river which flows to the sea at Gōkaṇṇa (Fig. 1.2). There is sufficient evidence to show that it was known as early as the 4th century to C.E., to merchant who reached the island from the East. The ancient port site of Lankapaṭṭana (Illaṅkathuṟai) is also situated at the estuary of one of the distributaries of the river Mahaväli. It is believed that princess Hēmamāli and her husband, Prince Dantha on the instructions of her father king Guhasīva hide the tooth relic of the Buddha in her hair ornament and set sail from Tāmralipti, port at the mouth of the river Ganges, and landed in Sri Lanka at the port of Lankapaṭṭana during the reign of King Kirthi Sri Mēghavarṇa (301-328 C.E.) R. L. Brohier was correct to assume that the section of the Mahaväli Gaňga between the island of Kālinga in Polonnaruwa and the sea off Trincomalee was of sufficient depth at all times to be navigable for small vessels.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* says during the reign of the *Kitsirimēgha* (555 -573 C.E.), there came a famine. A certain man, clad in the robe of a bhikkhu, while been skilled in magic spells in order to get alms, wanted to beg food from everybody. When the merciful *Mahānāga* saw him, he had pity on him and his upper garment was given.

Eventually, he got food. The beggar took Mahānāga to Gōkaṇṇa in order to make him wealthy (*MV* 1950. 41:75-81). Perhaps one may think that the beggar might have introduced some kind of a foreign trade for Mahānāga to be wealthy. The port Gōkaṇṇa became a flourishing harbour from the eleventh century, when the royal capital was transferred from Anurādhapura to Polonnaruwa.

The port of Godawāya

The ports in the south were particularly convenient meeting places for mariners, arriving in the island from both the Eastern and Western parts of the Indian Ocean. In an inscription, belonging to either the 1st or the 2nd century C.E., found in the Godawāya mentions, that a sea port called Godapwata, situated in the delta of the river Walawē (Fig. 1.3). As stated in this particular inscription, "Suka," a tax, collected in this port was donated for the maintenance of the Godapavata Vihāraya. Even as early as in the second century, the port of Godapavata in the Hambantoṭa district was yielding an income to the kings of Anurādhapura in the form of the custom duties collected there (Paranavitana 1983 vol. ii:101) (Fig. 1.4). With the passage of time, the ports in the southern and the eastern parts of the Island became more important in the trade with Southeast Asia. O. Bopearachchi and his team have been found a ship wreck near the sea port of Godavāya very recently.

The port of Jambukōlapaṭṭana

The port of Jambukōla which modern Kaṉkēsaṉthuṟai had been the port which was used by the people who travelled up to the port of Tāmralipti situated at the mouth of the river Gañges of North India (Fig. 1.5).

The Tambapaṇṇi is found between Svaṇṇabhūmi and Suppāraka in the *Mahāniddēsa* while Kōlapaṭṭana, has been found between Ālasnada and Suvaṇṇabhūmi in the *Milindapañña* (Treascens 1962:36). Rhys Davids who translated the latter text thought that Kōlapaṭṭana was probably located in the Coromandel Coast (Davids 1894: vol.36:269). Nilakanta Sastri has identified Kōlapaṭṭana with Kāvēripaṭṭana (Sastri 1935:32). However, since no port by the name of Kōlapaṭṭana is known in South India, it appears much more plausible to identify

Kōlapaṭṭana with Jambu-Kōlapaṭṭana, the northern Sri Lankan port, located in the Jaffna peninsula (Gunawardana 1990:27).

As mentioned in *Mahāvaṃsa,* the envoys who were sent to Emperor Aśoka by the Dēvānampiyatissa embarked at Jambukōla and disembarked at the port of Tāmralipta within seven days. This shows that the ships had taken seven days to reach from the port of Jambukōlapaṭṭana to the port of Tāmralipta. It is further mentioned that another seven days had gone by for them to reach at the Tāmralipta to the city of the Pātalīputra (*MV* 1950. 11:23-24).

To invite the princes Sangamitta the prince Ariṭṭha went to Dambakōlapaṭṭana to sail to the Pälalup Nuwara in India (*Vina. Aṭṭ* 2009:75). The princes Saṅghamittā landed at the Jambukōlapaṭṭana with the sacred Bō tree (*Vina. Aṭṭ* 2009:80). The port of Jambukōlapaṭṭana witnessed the handing over of the sacred Bo-tree sapling by *therī* Saṅghamittā to the king Dēvānampiyatissa. *Mahāvaṃsa* says the king Dēvānampiyatissa came to the Jambukōlapaṭṭana with the great *thēro* Mahinda and together with the other thēras to welcome the sacred Bo-tree. It is further mentioned that the sacred Bo-tree arrived in Sri Lanka within a week (*MV* 1950. 19:28).

The other ancient ports in Sri Lanka

Dondora (Devinuwara) and Nilvalātittha (Mātara) at the Nilwala Gaňga, Mahāvālukāgāma (Wäligama) at the Polwatta Gaňga, Bhīmatittha (Bentota) at the Benthoṭa Gaňga, Gimhatittha (Gintota) at the Gin Gaňga, Kālatittha (Kalutara) at the Kalu Gaňga, Wattala at the Kälaṇi Gaňga, and Salavāthoṭa (Chilaw) at the Deduru Oya are some of the ports attested in different literary sources of the medieval period. It is quite well known that after the decline the Chōḻa Empire, the Pāṇḍyans made several attempts to control the trade along the Western coast line of Sri Lanka during the reign of King Bhuvanekabāhu I (1284-1291 C.E.) by conquering the ports of Chilaw, Negambo, Wattala and Colombo. Likewise, literary works of the medieval times refer to the revival of commercial activities connected with the Southwestern coast of the island. O. Bopearachchi firmly believes that these commercial centers functioned as ports even prior to this period (Bopearachchi 1997:xi).

The *Mahāvaṃsa* says the King Vijaya's brother Sumitta's son Paṇḍuvāsudēva came with thirty two sons of the ministers. They landed at the mouth of the Mahakaṇadarā river. When the people saw those people, they received them with due respect (*MV 1950.* 8:12). This shows that there was a port near to the river of Mahakaṇadarā in the 5th B.C.E. They came to Sri Lanka as monks. Sometimes in the early period traders might have visited disguising themselves as monks due to security reasons. *Dīpavaṃsa* says a finely constructed city was situated near the Kadambaka river (*DV 1992.* 15:39). The location of emporia along the rivers must have facilitated the transaction with the interior regions (Bopearachchi 2008A: 2).

According to the *Mahāvaṃsa,* the Ūruwela alias Kaites, situated in the West coast is another important international port involved in the exportation of pearls.

Methodology

The literary, epigraphical and archaeological sources in relation to monetary transactions have been collected. These physical sources or material evidences are placed in a proper chronological frame to understand the change in nature of monetary transactions. These accumulated data are analyzed to evaluate the role of rulers, traders and monks in monetary transitions. The inter and intra relations between these three stack holders are viewed to understand the authority in holding the economic transactions together. The mutual and acceptable relationships are studied to understand the complexities involved in these transactions. The ports, port towns, trade and religious centers, capital cities, trade routes and their interrelationship with in a society are discussed in the back ground of internal and external trade.

Scheme of Chapters

Keeping in view of the available resources, the present work is divided into five chapters inclusive of introduction and conclusion.

I. Introduction

II. The Role of the Traders in the Monetary Transactions

III. The Role of the Rulers in the Monetary Transactions

IV. The Role of the monks in the Monetary Transactions

V. Conclusion

The Dimensions of these monetary transactions differ over a period of time due to various cultural processes to understand these changes each chapter is divided into three periods keeping in view of the major changes in the state and society.

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

These periods covers the early established settlements in the island. However, prior to this period there are very clear evidences on Iron Age megalithic culture in Sri Lanka, quite close to the patterns in south India. As the archaeologists have shown very clearly, there were close cultural relationships existed between south India and Sri Lanka. The available megalithic monuments, black-and-red ware, graffiti marks, etc suggest its close relationship with main land. It was during this period Indian traders and Indo-European language speaking people colonized the island (Perera 2010:1-10).

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

The most important event in Sri Lankan history is the introduction of Buddhism by thēra Mahinda during the course of the 3rd century B.C.E.. The first Sri Lankan king to be converted to the new religion was Devanampiyatissa who maintained very close relationships with the great Mauryan emperor Aśoka. Apart from the Chronicles, we have a great number of inscriptions written in early Aśokan Brahmi to reconstruct the history of this early period. The period between the 3rd century B.C.E. to the 5th century C.E. is also characterized by struggles between the Mahā Vihāra, the seat of the Thēravāda Buddhism and the Abayagiri Vihāra, the seat

of Mahāyanism. Apart from that, the relationships between Sri Lanka and South India have developed in a friendly manner as well as in the form of conquests.

During this period, the trade networks, both internal and external, placed on a firm foot and the whole trade networks of Indian Ocean particularly with India are integrated and the both are well established

3. From the 5th C.E to 10th C.E.

This period marks the period of political consolidation. Till the advent of Chōla in 1017 C.E., Sri Lanka was under the control of local rulers. The Chronicles, Vinaya commentaries and archaeological findings help us greatly to write the history of this period.

This thesis comprises five chapters including the introduction and conclusion. In the introductory chapter, ancient names for Sri Lanka, significance of its geographical location, physical formation of the island, chronological frame work, scope of the study, aims and objectives of the study, previous studies, literary sources, epigraphical sources, archaeological evidences, coins and material evidences are explained. Furthermore the Sri Lankan products like pearls, textiles, gems, elephants, beads, variety of timbers and products from the coconut tree are discussed under the sub topic of the trade items. Under the topic of imported items the semi-precious stones, carnelian, intaglios, lapis lazuli, horses and gold are explained. The ancient ports in Sri Lanka such as Mahātittha, Ūruvelapaṭṭana, Gōkaṇṇa, Godawāya, Jambukōlapaṭṭana and the other ancient ports in Sri Lanka, methodology and the scheme of chapter are discussed.

The second chapter is “The role of the traders in the monetary transactions in ancient Sri Lanka”. In this chapter, the proto-historic Sri Lanka, ancient city of Anurādhapura, maritime trade and role of traders, monsoon winds, Tamil traders in Sri Lanka, Sri Lankan traders in South India, trade relations with foreign countries, the trade with Kāmbōja, Śakas, Bharata, Gandhāra and Persia are discussed. Furthermore, system of barter and the monetary transactions, trade guilds like *vanija, niyamatana (nigama)* various professions, coins, categorization of wealthy people, taxes, trade relations, internal and external trade are explained.

In the third chapter, the rulers and their political authority or control over the trade in the particular geographical zone are discussed. The interrelationship between other organs of the state like traders and monks are discussed based on the material, numismatic, epigraphical and archaeological sources. The co-existence of monetary transactions and barter system, minting of coins, circulation of approved coins, mortgages and other loan forms are discussed.

In the fourth chapter, the donations made by rulers, members of the royal family, *parumukas*, *gamikas,* Brahmins, professionals, skilled works and traders to the monks and monasteries are discussed. The donations made to the monk by the monks and nuns also discussed. The establishment and maintenance of the monastery and other social and religious activities of the monastery and monks are discussed. The role of monetary transactions in these activities are mainly focused.

In the concluding chapter, the salient features of the monetary transactions that encountered in the period between 6th century B.C.E. and 10th century C.E. are consolidated to give a co-herent picture on the nature of society and the role of coins and currencies in their daily life.

CHAPTER – II
THE ROLE OF THE TRADERS IN MONETARY TRANSACTIONS IN ANCIENT SRI LANKA

FROM THE 6th TO 3rd B.C.E.

The trade in Sri Lanka can mainly be seen as that of internal and external trade. The details of the internal trade and external trade can be obtained from the chronicles, *Vinaya* commentaries, inscriptions, coins, foreign accounts and other archaeological evidences. It is widely accepted that trade is considered as one of the indicators for the existence of the state. Trade and traders played an important role in the formation of inter and intra regional networks and also served as a catalyst for the territorial expansions, during the early historic period (Rajan 2011:181).

Proto-historic Sri Lanka

Proto-historic Sri Lanka was more closely linked with South India. In the excavations, conducted at Gedigē in Anurādhapura, Mahāttha, Pomparippu, Kantaroḍai and Ibbankatuwa, substantial quantities of potsherds were found which were parallel to the Iron Age and early historical wares of South India such as rouletted ware and Megalithic Black and Red ware (Bopearachchi 2008a:6). A comparative study carried out by K. Rajan and O. Bopearachchi on post firing graffiti marks unearthed at Koḍumaṇal and Ridiyagama revealed the close relation that existed between Tamil Nandu and Sri Lanka (Bopearachchi 2008a:7). Several symbols both in simple or composite form are attested with the evidences unearthed at in Koḍumaṇal, Ridiyagama and Kälaṇiya (Bopearachchi 2008a:7). Various scholars have classified these symbols as portter's marks, owner's marks or as clan marks. S. Seneviratne has identified a few of these symbols as clan or family symbols (Seneviratne 1984:237-306). K. Rajan identified the graffiti marks, attested in the megalithic burials at Koḍumaṇal as clan symbols, but he made it clear, based on statistical analyses, that graffito found in the habitation had other meanings as well (Rajan 1997:79-80; Bopearachchi 2008a:8). However, the occurrence of the identical individual or composite graffiti marks both in Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu sites, enable

us to presume without much of a risk that there was a continuous cultural and trade contacts between these two regions (Bopearachchi 2008a:7).

Ancient city of Anurādhapura

The *Dīpavaṃsa*, the first chronicle of Sri Lanka, written between the 4th and the 5th century C.E stated that the city of Tammennā, was established by prince Vijaya in the 6th century B.C.E. The Tambapaṇṇi was the first town in the Laṅkādīpa; where the king Vijaya resided and governed his kingdom (*DV* 1992. 9:30, 31). The town of Tambapaṇṇi was built by Vijaya on the south the bank of the river (*DV* 1992. 9: 34).

Dīpavaṃsa uses the word "*patubhedanaṅ*", it also says that the traders from four directions came to this place and they opened their parcels there (*DV* 1959. 9: 34-35). The meaning of this term can be found in the *Mahā Parinibbāna Sūtra Varṇanā* in the *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī).* It narrates the importance of the capital city for the commercial activities. As mentioned in it the place where the goods are tied and untied is called the "*patubhedanaṅ*". As the particular goods are not available elsewhere, it could be found at the "patubhedanaṅ" (*Dīgha. Aṭṭ* 2008: 476) (Map. 12).

The Vijaya's minister Upatissa established Upatissa nagara which had well organized markets (*DV* 1992. 9:36). It was near the bank of the river Gambīra, a tributary of the river Malwatu. As mentioned in the *Thūpavaṃsa* the giant Suranimala has purchased the fragrant from the market, situated near the city of Anurādhapura (*Thū.*v 1994:151). These are a few yet important evidences of the different activities of traders, during the period prior to the introduction of Buddhism.

FROM THE 3rd B.C.E. - 5th C.E.

Maritime Trade and the Role of Traders

A. Monsoon Winds

Sri Lanka maintained very close cultural, political and trade relations with South India. Tamil traders were very active in Sri Lanka from the 4th century B.C.E. to 11th century C.E. International trade networks were such, Tamil traders played an

intermediary role connecting two lands. Lionel Casson (1991: 8-11) has convincingly shown that, at the time of the Periplus the starting point for ships leaving Egypt for India, was the ports of Myos, Hormos and Berenice. It is now believed that the goods to be exported were brought via the Nile and from there, transported across the desert by camel or donkey to the corresponding ports. The proper time to leave Egypt for India was July. Making use of the South West monsoon winds, the ships, sailed though the Gulf of Aden and reached the ports of the west coast of India in September or in October. The return journey had to be scheduled for the month of November taking advantage of the North East monsoon winds. Merchants hardly had a month to sell their goods and load their ships with new merchandise. Sailors may have not continued their voyage up to Sri Lanka, for risk of missing the North-East winds which assured their return journey. It was certainly more profitable for the merchants to buy the Sri Lankan products from the Indian markets, rather than spending a year on the island waiting for the next North East monsoon. During this period, the South Indian traders may have played the intermediary role between the Roman traders and the Sri Lankans (Bopearachchi 2008A:4). The material evidence suggests that Arikamēḍu and Kāvēripaṭṭinam had such Roman settlements. Likewise, the Tamil traders would have also made a visit to Red Sea ports. The recent findings of Tamil Brahmi inscribed potshards yielding Tamil merchant's names like *"kaṇaṉ"* and "*cātaṉ*" from Red sea ports at Myos, Hormos (Qusier al Qadim) and paṉai oṟi and Kōṟpūmaṉ at Berenike reveal the dimension of this maritime trade (Mahadevan 1998:17-19).

In the Indian literature, the earliest reference to Sri Lanka is in Kautilya's Arthaśastra in which the Island is mentioned under the name of "Pārasamudra" (beyond the Ocean). Although, a few local sites are associated with incidents in the lives of the characters of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Indian epic occupies an unimportant place in the folklore and legends of Sri Lanka (Ray 1959:16).

"Among the Indians, it goes by the name of "*Sielediba"*, but the Pagans call it *"Taprobane*". As its position is central, the Island is a great resort of ships from all parts of India, and from Persia and Ethiopia, and in like manner it dispatches many of its own to foreign ports (Kosmas)" (Gunawardana 1990:25). Fah-Hian travelled from

Sri Lanka in a merchant vessel which carried about 200 Indian and Sri Lankan merchants.

The *Seehalawaṭṭuppakaraṇaya*, the oldest existing literary source, written in the 3rd or the 4th century C.E., states that the traders of Sri Lanka had sailed from Mahākoṇḍa and landed at Kāvēripaṭṭana in India and from there they had further been to North India and China. A story says that, to worship the Bō-tree in the Uttarāpatha, nearly sixty monks from the down South in Sri Lanka (Rōhanadēsha) had entered Anurādhapura and embarked the journey from the Mahākoṇḍa and disembarked at the Kāvērapaṭṭana (*Seehala* 1958:35). The port Mahākoṇḍa is hither to unknown. This might be the port of Mahātittha (Mānthai). As mentioned, most of the monks might have used this route to visit the Bō-tree (*Seehala* 1958:37,39).

As per Ray, three major routes in South India can be seen, two of them, along the rivers Kaveri and Vaigai, and the third overland, connecting the Pudukottai Megalithic sites via Tiruchirapalli and Salem to Karṇataka. In addition to that there was a coastal network between sites in Tami Nadu and Sri Lanka, and a second somewhat later route, linking the Malabar Coast with Gujarat (Ray 1994:17). K. Rajan has drawn the existence of the trade routes in Tamil Nandu based on epigraphical sources like Tamil Brahmī cave inscriptions and inscribed potsherds; natural resources like iron ore, semi-precious stones, forest products; archaeological sites like Arikamēḍu, Kāvēripaṭṭinam, Alagankulam, Koṟkai, Paṭṭanam on the coast and Tagadur, Koḍumaṇal, Porunthal, Thandikudi, Karūr and Uṟaiyūr in the inland; ceramic evidences like Arritine, Amphora, TGP and NBP and numismatic evidences like Roman coins, Punch – Marked coins. The existence of port towns, trade centers and industrial cities along the ancient trade routes further confirms its existence.

B. Sri Lankan Traders in South India

The availabilities of the epigraphical and literary evidence to understand the active role played by the Tamil merchants in the early phase of Sri Lanka's history is numerous. A recent study, undertaken by I. Mahadevan has revealed the existence of a number of inscribed potsherds in the Prakrit (old Sinhalese) language written in the Brāhmī script, found at or near the ancient sea ports, along the east coast of India

(Mahadevan 1996a:287-315). The ten inscribed potsherds, published by I. Mahadevan, bearing Prakrit Brāhmī script were reported from the ancient trade centers like Koḍumaṇal, Arikamēḍu and Aḻagaṉkuḷam (Mahadevan 1996b:55-65; Rajavelu 1999:154; Bopearachchi 2008a:15).

As I. Mahadevan himself emphasizes, in his remarkable article, "the recent discoveries in Tamilnadu of the Sinhala-Prakrit inscriptions on pottery from the port cites of Arikamēḍu, Aḻagaṉkuḷam and Kāvērippūmpṭṭiṉam on the East coast and further inland at Koḍumaṇal, provide evidence of the presence of the Sinhalese traders in Tamilnadu in the same period, when the Tamil traders were active at Anurādhapura and Tissamahārama in Sri Lanka" (Bopearchchi 2008a:21).

The expression *"iḻa-kuṭumpikaṉ"* at Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam (no. 55, 1st century C.E.) has been connected with *"Īḻam"*, the Jaffna region of Sri Lanka. However, it is preferable to regard *"īḻa-kuṭumpikaṉ"* as a 'householder of the family of toddy – drawers (īḻavar)' as personal names in this inscription betray the influence of Kaṇṇada, pointing to Karṇātaka rather than Sri Lanka (Mahadevan 2003:152). The personal name "caiyaḷaṉ" occurring in an inscription from Muttuppatti (no.57, 1st century C.E.) has been interpreted as one, belonging to Sri Lanka; cf. Skt. Saiṁhaḷaka-'one from siṁhala (Sri Lanka)'. However, other interpretations are also possible deriving the name from Skt. siṁha 'lion' or "sahya" (Ta. Caiyam) 'the Sahyādri' (Mahadevan 2003:152). The Tamil country, with its long coastlines, carried on extensive trade during the Caṅkam Age with Rome and the Mediterranean countries in the west and with Sri Lanka and Southeast Asian countries in the East (Mahādēvan 2003:163).

As I have mentioned earlier *Mahāvaṃsa* records the attack of the two Damiḷas, Sena and Guttaka during the 2nd Century B.C.E. As mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* they were horse traders. They conquered the king Sūratissa, at the head of a great army and reigned both together twenty-two years justly (*MV* 1950. 21:10-11). Although *Dīpavaṃsa* refers to the invasion, it is not cleared that they were Tamil horse traders (*DV* 1992. 18:207). However, Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka had maintained that close contacts since proto-historic times, due to their geographical proximity. From the early period onwards, the South Indian mercantile communities

like *Vanijha, Sattu, Aiyavole, Nāṉādesis* and *Tisai Āiyirattu Aiñūṟṟuvar* and their medieval, associated military communities like *Vīrakkoṭiyār* and *Vēḷaikkārar* in different periods, played an important role in the economic and political history of the island (Bopearchchi 2008a:1).

C. Tamil Traders in Sri Lanka

Two Brāhmī inscriptions in Periyapuḷiyaṉkuḷam in the Northern Province of Sri Lanka speak of a Tamil Merchant called householder "*Viśaka*" (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no. 48:71; *IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 356:28; *IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 357:28) (Fig. 2.1). In a contemporary inscription at Anurādhapura the word "*Dameḍa*" occurs (Paranavitana 1940:34) and these inscriptions probably contain the earliest epigraphically references to Drāviḍa. It is interesting to note that the Anurādhapura inscription mentions of a ship's captain, *navika* among the Tamil householders. Thus, the early inscriptions of Sri Lanka refer to Dravidians as merchants and sailors (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no. 48:71).

Perhaps, the most evocative inscription in this context is the one from Akkarai Pattu of the Kuduvil in the Ampāra district. It says "The cave of the merchants who are the citizens of Dighavapi, of the sons of…..and of the wife Tissā, the Tamil". As S. Paranavithana correctly observed, "Dīghavāpī, given as the place of residence of these brothers, was a seat of royalty in Rōhaṇa, second in importance to Mahāgāma only, and the place might well have attracted merchants from foreign countries who practiced their own customs" (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 480:37) (Fig. 2.2).

The inscription, found in the Anurādhapura: rock Boulder in Abhayagiri area, mentions a Tamil monk called Ilubarata (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 94:7) (Fig. 2.3). These evidences lead to think that these Tamilians arrived in Sri Lanka as traders and some of the traders have settled and got used to the culture in Sri Lanka and they became monks. Similarly, there is a story in the *Visuddhimagga* about a person from eastern India who took ship to Sri Lanka and became a monk at the Mahā Vihāra (*Visuddhimagga* 1920. vol. i:312).

The most important discovery made in recent years, to confirm beyond any doubt, is the existence of Tamil traders on Sri Lankan soil, came from the southern coast of Sri Lanka. Hary Falk and O. Bopearachchi recently published a group of

locally, issued inscribed coins, hitherto unknown in a Sri Lankan context, which can be dated at least to a thousand years (O. Bopearachchi, Falk & Wickremesinhe 2000: 117-134). On the basis of the paleography, these coins can be fixed without much of risk between the second century B.C.E. and the second century C.E. (Bopearchchi 2008a:18).

However, the discovery of coin moulds at Akurugoda (Bopearachchi & Wickremesinhe 1999. no. B. 1:61) far away from the central political and administrative centers like Anurādhapura is conclusive evidence that the coins in question were locally produced. The absence of the title "*raja*" or "*mahāraja*" on these coins is significant in this context. Instead of the title "*raja*", they find titles such as "*gapati*", "householder" (no. A. 7 & 8) or barata "lord" (no. A.1). (These numbers correspond to the catalogue of the book: Bopearachchi & Wickremesinhe 1999:51-60). Many other coins are even without such titles (e.g. A. 6, 9, 10) as if ordinary people issued some of those coins. It seems that local rulers, lords, householders and even individuals were involved in these monetary activities. The finding of coins, issued by lords and householders as well as individuals on the one hand and on the other, the discovery of coin moulds, money boxes and hoards (Bopearachchi & Wickremesinhe 1999:98) at the same site make us to think that monetary transactions were particularly developed in these areas. The issuing of coins in their own names written in their own script in Tamil, account for the fact that the Sinhalese and the Tamil merchants were actively involved in trade in the southern coast of Sri Lanka (Bopearachchi 2008a:21) (Map. 13).

D. Trade Relations with Foreign Countries

Thūpavaṃsa mentions of the very first day of the birth of Prince Duṭugämuṇu, seven ships full of gold arrived at the port (*Thū.v* 1994:145). Unfortunately the author has not mentioned the name of the port. It is further mentioned on the merit of the prince one baby elephant from the Jaddhantha Lake of Himalaya came here and it was left aside by the mother elephant near the bank of the river (*Thū.v* 1994:145). This evidence shows us that there were foreign trade relations during the 2nd century B.C.E. As a result of this seven ships full of gold might have come to Sri Lanka and

an elephant from India might have been imported to Sri Lanka during this period. Further it is mentioned that another ship full of golden pots arrived at the port (*Thū.v* 1994:146). Leaving aside the usual exaggeration one many deduce form these epigraphical evidence, gold was imported to Sri Lanka from India.

During the period of king Duṭugämuṇu (161-137 B.C.E.) before the construction of Mahāthūpa, gold and copper immerged (*Thū.v* 1994:182-183). As well as the pearls and corals immerged (*Thū.v* 1994:184). The four kinds of gem occurred (*Thū.v* 1994:185). The king Dutugemunu had to spend a considerable amount of money on the construction of the Mahāthūpa. Therefore one can think that he gained money for the construction by selling these resources or he might have gained a profit by foreign trade.

D. i. The trade with Kāmbōja

The Island involved in trading with Kāmbōja. The Āňḍyāgala inscription in the Anurādhapura district mentions about a mariner who travelled to the "Bhojakaṭa". This place can be the Kāmbōja (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 105:8: "*Bhojakaṭakasa nāvikasa padagaḍini*") (Fig. 2.4). The name "Kabojha" has an ethnogenic significance. "It has thus to be accepted as historical fact that some Kamboja people had found their way to Sri Lanka, and were living as a distinct social group, constituted into a corporation in the second century B.C.E.," says Paranavithāna, and he identifies Kāmbōja, not with the country of that name in further India, but with, "the extreme North-Western area of the Indo-Aryan world, in what is to-day the borderland of Afghanistan and Pakistan" With this and other Indian literary and epigraphical evidence he says that the original Sinhalese came from the North-West, although there were later arrivals from the North-East (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii:53).

The presence of lapis lazuli on the southern coast of Sri Lanka cannot be an isolated event, because epigraphical evidence bears witness to the fact that this area had close relationships with the regions of Afghanistan (Bopearachchi 2006:44). The word "Kaboja" occurs as a proper name in three inscriptions from Koravakgala (Situlpavuva) in the Hambantota district, on the South Eastern part of the Island, in the ancient Rōhaṇa (Paranavithana 1970: no. 622) (Fig. 2.5). S. Paranavithana

believed that Kabojha, Kābojhīya and Kabojhika are to be connected with the ethnic name Kāmbōja, which occurs in Sanskrit and Pāli literature as well as in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Kābojhīya, being equivalent to the derivative term Kambojiya and Kabojika to Kambojika (Bloch 1950:103,130).

We are lucky to find three inscriptions regarding "*Kabojha*" in Situlpavuva Koravakgala cave inscriptions in the Hambantoṭa district.

1. The cave of Gamika Kabojaha (*E Z* 1984. vol. vii: no. 03:52; *IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 622:47).
2. The cave of Gamika Kabojhi, son of Gamika Śiva (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii: no. 04:53; *IC* 1970. vol. i: no. 623:47) (Fig. 2.6).
3. The cave of the female lay-devotee Sumanā, daughter of the village - councilor Kamboja, son of the village-councilor Siva (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 625:47).

The significant feature that can be identified in these inscriptions is the traders who came from Kāmbōja to Sri Lanka have settled in Sri Lanka and some of them have become the leaders of village and have donated caves to the monks. "Gamika" is used as a royal title in ancient Sri Lanka.

The Bōvattegala cave inscription in Pānama Pattu in the Ampāra district speaks of a great corporation of Kambojīyas. As mentioned in the members of the great corporation of Kambojīyas have given cave to the monks of the four quarters, the present and the absent (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 553:42) (Fig. 2.7). Here, the words "Kabojhiya mahapugiyana" mean the great corporation of Kabojhiya. The traders who came from Kabōja might have established this corporation. The Kaduruväva inscription in the Kurnāgala district also mentions of another corporation belonging to the Kabojas (*IC* 1970. vol. i: no. 990:77: *"Goṭa Kabojhi[ya]ha parumaka"*). These inscriptions indicate that the Kambojas had organized themselves into Corporations, which mean that they were certainly engaged in trade (Fig. 2.8).

According to the *Seehalawatthuppakaraṇa*, the oldest Sinhalese book exsisted so far mentions, that there was a village called "Kāmbōjagāma" in the Rōhaṇa Danawwa situated in the southern part of Sri Lanka (*Seehala* 1958:8). One can surmise that the people or the traders who came from Kāmbōja might have been settled here. The story of the lay devotee of Kāmbuja reveals, that there was a person

called Kāmbuja in the Dīgāyugrāma. As well, the king Saddhāyissa has granted a janapada to him (*Seehala* 1958:88).

The Kāmbōjas are often mentioned together with Yonas (Yavanas), Gandhāras and Śakas. The Kabojas were a native population of Arachosia in the extreme West of the Mauryan empire, speaking a language of Iranian origin. The finds on the southern coast of the Island of lapis lazuli from Northern Afghanistan and various coins of Soter Megās, Kaniśhka II, Vasudēva II and posthumous Hermaios all from Bactria and Northwest India, and the references to the Kambojas of Arachosia, compel us to believe that there were close relationships between Sri Lanka and the communities of Central Asia and Northwest India (Bopearachchi 2006:44).

D. ii. The trade with Śakas

S. Pranavithana (*IC* 1970:xci) did not exclude the possibility of the presence of Śakas on the Island. His starting point was the inscription in Brāhmī script, known as Anurādhapura Rock Ridge West of the Lankārāma stūpa (*IC* 1970. no:96) (Fig. 2.9) which refers to "the flight to steps of Uttara, the Mruṇḍīya ("*Muriḍi-ūtaraha śeni*"). Since the epithet 'Muridi' is prefixed to the name 'Utara' (Skt. Uttara), Paranavithana believed that Muriḍi is a derivative of Muruda, which is the same as Muruṇḍa in the compound Śaka-Muruṇḍa that occurs in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta. S. Know referring to the same inscription argued that "*muruṇḍa*" is almost certainly a Śaka word meaning 'master', 'lord' and he argued that the word *"muruṇḍa"* has become synonymous with Śaka, when applied to royalty (Bopearachchi 2006:45).

D. iii. The trade with Bharata

The word "Bharata" has been translated as a "royal messenger" by Parker. But, it is probably a Vēdic survival, originally indicating the land from which the users of the epithet came, and later taken to be an honorific title (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no. 23:62). Nearly six Brāhmī inscriptions have been found out in which the word of Bharata was mentioned. One can surmise that the people who used the name of the Bharata might have migrated from North India. During the Rigvēdic period, the clan of Bharata existed between the river tributaries of Saraswathī and Druśadwathī.

The Brāhmī inscription of Erupotāna in Kilakkumalai, in the south of the Vavuniyā district speaks of a person called Bharata tissa (*IC* 1970:no. 335) (Fig. 2.10). The three Brāhmī inscriptions in the Periya-Puliyaṅkuḷam in the Kiḷakkumalai Paṭṭu, south of the Vavuniyā district, speak of three persons called Barata-Utara (*IC* 1970:no. 349) (Fig. 2.11), Barata-Ṡumanaha (*IC* 1970:no. 359) (Fig. 2.12) and Barata-Ahaliya (*IC* 1970:no. 361) (Fig. 2.13). It is interesting to note that in the citadel of Anurādhapura, as in India, fine Grey Ware and Northern Black Polished Ware were found in successive strata (Deraniyagala 1992:712). Likewise, most of the finest imported ceramics of this period, found in Sri Lanka were from North India (Bopearachchi 2006:39). This shows that there was a solid trade relation between North India and Sri Lanka.

D. iv. The trade with Gandhāra

Apart from the coins, beads and intaglios, the contacts between Sri Lanka and the Gandhāra region are revealed by other pieces of archaeological evidence from recent excavations at various sites. A fragment of a Gandhāra Buddha statue in schist, still unpublished, was unearthed from the excavations at Jētavanārama. Most of the identified Hellenistic and Greek influenced pottery has been found from the citadel of Anurādhapura, and from the recent excavations at Kälaṇiya (Bopearachchi 1999:20-30).

The Brāhmī inscription in Moṭṭayakallu in Akkarai Paṭṭu of the Ampāra district speaks of a Jāvaka leader, donation of a cave to the monks (*IC* 1970:no. 487) (Fig. 2.14). The Eruṇukuliya rock cave of the Northern Western Province, written from the right to the left, with normal letters mentions a wife of a Javana called *Ruki*. As mentioned, she has given a *karisa* of the rice-field to the monks (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no. 73:85).

Onesicritus of Astypaleia, a commander of Alexander's fleet was the first Greek to write about Taprobane (Sri Lanka) and he certainly accessed the information from the Indians who were in contact with the navigators sailing to Sri Lanka (Bopearachchi 2006:38). The material evidences suggest that trans-oceanic voyages between the ancient Tamilakam and Mediterranean go back to the pre-Augustus

period (Rajan 2011:191). The earliest geographical accounts by the Western writers, based upon the second-hand information are as is to be expected, largely fabulous. The size of Sri Lanka was greatly exaggerated and the belief prevailed among the Greeks and the Romans till as late as the first century that Sri Lanka extended westward nearly to the African coast. But there were some accurate observations, interspersed in these fabulous accounts, notably the duration of the sea voyage from the mouth of the Gaňges to Sri Lanka, the sallow seas between South India and Sri Lanka and the stormy weather, experienced during the South West monsoon (Ray 1959:16). The Greek writer Onesikritos, who came to India with Alexander had noticed certain sailing vessels, used on the route from Sind to Sri Lanka (Gunawardana 1990:26).

D.v. The trade with Persia

Sri Lanka's maritime commerce began to develop by leaps and bounds once trade links were established with the Persian Gulf (Grenet 1996:67-9; Bopearachchi 2006: 38). Cosmas bears witness to the presence of Persian traders in Sri Lanka in the 5th century. According to a description in his Christian Topography, Sri Lanka played an important role in transmitting merchandise between the East and the West, a role once performed by Western India (Bopearachchi 2006:39). The comments that Procopius made on the problems of the Eastern trade suggest that Persians and Ethiopians went only as far as Sri Lanka where they awaited for the arrival of cargoes of silk and other merchandise from further East (*History of the wars* 1961:193). The ships from the western sector of the Indian Ocean and those from the Eastern sector were now meeting in Sri Lanka (Gunawardana 1990:31).

Cosmas (XI, 13-15) demonstrating the central position that the island held in international commerce, said "This is the great island in the Ocean, lying in the Indian sea, called Sielediba by the Indians and Taprobanê by the Greeks… From the whole of India, Persia and Ethiopia the island, acting as intermediary, welcomes many ships and likewise despatches them. From regions of the interior, i.e. Tzinista and other markets, it imports silk, aloes, cloves, clove-wood, sandal wood and all the native products. And it re-exports them to the people of the exterior, i.e. to Male, where

pepper grows and to Calliena, where copper is produced, and sesame wood and clothes of various sorts for this too is big centre of trade-, similarly to Sindou, where musk, costus root and spikenard come from, and to Persia, Himyarite county and to Adulis, In return it gets the produce of each of the afore-mentioned markets, and passes them on to the people of the interior, and at the same time exports its own native products to each of these markets" (Weerakkody 1997:245).

The uninterrupted trade contacts of Sri Lanka with Persia, Central Asia and Northwest India are revealed by the recent finds of Sasanian ceramics, bullae and coins at Māntai, Anurādhapura and Tissamahārāma. S. U. Deraniyagala (1992b:713) reported that pale blue "Sasanian", glazed ware appeared for the first time at the Anurādhapura citadel excavations as forerunner to the darker blue glazed varieties of middle historic times. The excavations at the Jētavanārāma, yielded Partho-Sasanian and Indo –Sasanian ware (Ratnayaka 1990:45). J. Carswell (1990:26), published a baked-clay bulla, typical of the 6th and 7th centuries C.E., from excavations at Māntai with three seal impressions on it: a two humped Bactrian camel, a Persian inscription and a Nestorian cross. One cannot avoid drawing a pararall between the Nestorian Cross on the Sasanian bulla and the stone corss now, kept in the Anurādhapura Museum (Fig. 2.15). Persian Nestorian Christians were responsible for the increasing trade activities between the Sasanian emperor and the Island.

In publishing three coins of Sasanian king Yezdigerd I (397-417 C.E.) Codrington put forward the hypothesis that occasional finds of small copper coins among the "third brass" provide evidence of the dealings by Persians on the Island (Codrington 1924:30). Bopearachchi has added three more Sasanian coins hitherto unknown in the Sri Lankan context. All of them bear the same obverse and the reverse types (Bopearachchi 1995A:135)

Obv. Bust to r. surmounted by crescent.

Rev. Fire altar with flames and two attendants.

The first coin is of Xusrô I (531-579 C.E.) of the year 16 mint AYR:

The second is of Hormized IV (579-590 C.E.), of the year 10, mint BBA;

The third is of Xusrô II (591-628 C.E.), of the year 6 (Bopearachchi 2006:47).

Since then, four more Sasanian coins have been reported from the Southern coast of the Island, especially of Shapur II, Kavad, Hormized IV and Xusro (Bopearachchi & Wickremesinhe 1999:75-6. Pl. 15. G. 16-19). One Kuśhano-Sasanian coin of Piroz II of Gandhāra type and of Shapur II of the Taxila type were unearthed from the excavations at the Jētavanārāma in Anurādhapura. An agate intaglio, found at Akurugoda recalls a Sasanian prototype in its depiction of a scorpion seen from above (Bopearachchi & Wickremesinhe 1999: 125 pl.15. G. 14; Bopearachchi 2006:47).

The Roman historian Pliny's account supports the view that the Sri Lankan ship-building industry was flourishing at an even earlier times. These are the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* by an unknown author, *the Geographia* of Ptolemy which is based on earlier works and the reports of observers, and the *Topographia Christiana* of Cosmas Indicopleustes. The map of the Island that accompanies the work of Ptolemy is, however, a later addition based on details, supplied by the book. Yet it is probably the earliest map of the island (Weerakkody 1997:245).

Pliny (24-79) and the author of the Periplus had access to more reliable information about Sri Lanka than the earlier writers. Pliny relates that in the time of Claudius Ceasar (41-54) (The Roman emperor at the time was more probably Augustus) a freedom of Annius Plocomus, while casting off Arabia, was carried by the winds and after drifting for fifteen days made land at the haven of Hippuros in Taprobane, where he went ashore and was hospitably entertained by the king at the capital, Palaesimundus for six months. The freedman then returned to Rome bringing with him four Sinhalese ambassadors led by one Rachias (Ratiya or Ratika, occurring frequently in Sinhalese inscription of the first to the third centuries and signifying the administrators of a district.) who were sent by the Sinhalese king to establish direct commercial contacts with Claudius (Ray 1959:16). The direct trade between the West and Ceylon began towards the end of the first century and developed rapidly thereafter (Ray 1959:17). The history of navigation in the Indian Ocean begins relatively early in the western coast of the Indian sub continent (Maloney 1970:vol. xxix, no, 606). Ptolemy calls Sri Lanka "the island of Taprobane which was formerly

called simoundou and now Salike" and he adds that "the inhabitants are commonly called Salai" (Ray 1959:17).

D.vi. The trade with the China

The Silk Route was a silken thread that kept the Western World and China, bound in goodwill (S. A. S. R. S. 1990A:21). The Silk Route linked cultures of Rome and China and of the countries in between. The Chinese writer Li Chao has, in his book entitled T'ang Kuo Sih Pu, mentioned the technological ability that Sri Lanka has and the largest ships that came to China were from Sri Lanka. Fah-Hian recorded that the shipped himself on board a great merchant vessel, which carried about two hundred men (Beal 1993:166).

System of Barter and the Monetary Transactions

In account of the chronicles, the trade as a form of living during the Anurādhapura period had been considered as a reputed occupation. As per Fah-Hian there was a very wealthy community of merchants, living in attractive mansions inside the citadel of Anurādhapura. As recorded by Fah- Hian, it is believed that the Aryans who established the settlements had visited the Island in the caliber of traders. It has been accepted that the traders from across the world have always visited the Island. According to the Fah- Hian's record, the early inhabitants of the island, namely the *"Yakkha"* had left their goods on the sea shore with the prices, affixed with the goods, and the traders had come to the ashore where the relevant value was paid, prior the goods were bought (Beal 1993:149). Fah-Hian's account does not categorically state as to how money was paid and how the value of the goods, were marked. Perhaps it might speak of an era where money was not yet known.

Whilst evaluating the *vinaya* commentaries and chronicles, we can identify the barter system as well the monetary transactions in ancient Sri Lanka. The Buddhagōsha thēro who came to Sri Lanka around the 5th century C.E. translated the *Sinhla Atuwa* into Pāli. When explaining the word *dhamma,* has taken goats, as an symbol. This makes us to think that there was a system of barter. A person has exchanged two goats with a goat which had wool (*Vina. Aṭṭ* 2009:283). The story of

Haṅkāla in the *Seehalawattuppakaraṇa* says that she gave her elder son as a worker to a rich family and in return received a cow. Having obtained the milk from that cow, she prepared the gruel for the saṅgha and sold the rest of the milk and bought the rice. (*Seehala* 1958:80). These information make us to think there was a system of barter as well as the monetary transactions in ancient Sri Lanka, at least during early period.

Vanija

Several terms are used to denote a merchant: a vanija (general trader); a seṭṭhi (financier); and a sārthavāha (caravan leader) (Ray 1994:37). Where in India or Sri Lanka C. W. Nicholes, states that the word *"Vanija"* which is found in the Brāhmī inscriptions means of commerce in English and as such, it is understood that it has got a direct resemblance to the above said English word of "commerce". The word *"vanija"* is used in many of the Brāhmī inscriptions in Sri Lanka. As stated in the cave inscriptions, there were traders who called themselves *vanija*, and it is reported that they had donated the caves to the monks before the Common Era. These details enable us to think that the traders were in a wealthy position in the society and they were able to donate the caves, to the monks.

The Bambaragas talāva cave inscription in Pānama Pattu of the Ampāra district mentions a cave of the merchant chief Tissa (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 515:40:*"Parumaka vaṇijha Tiśaha leṇe śagaśa"*) (Fig. 2.16). The word "*parumaka*" is the old Sinhalese form of Sanskrit *"pramukha*", Pāli "*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, and thus played a vital role in introducing settled agricultural life and the elements of Indo-Aryan culture, including the Sinhalese language to this Island (*IC* 1970:ixxiv). Here the word *"Tissa"* can be taken as a title of a name of a local leader who used the same title.

The Maṅḍagala cave inscription in the Yāla Game Sanctuary in Māgam Pattu of the Hambantoṭa district, North East of Yāla mentions that the cave of the merchant Sumana given to the monks (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 585:45: *"Vaṇijha Śumanaha leṇe śagaśa"*) (Fig. 2.17). The Situlpavuva Dekundara Väva cave inscription in Māgam Pattu of the Hambantoṭa district; ten miles East of Kataragama speaks of the cave of

Kasaka and of Siva, the merchants (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 660:49: *"Kaśakaśa ca vanica Śivaśa leṇe*") (Fig. 2.18). The Vilbā Vihāra cave inscription in the Kuruṇägala district mentions that the cave of the merchant Tissa has been given to the Saṅgha (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 897:70: "*Vaṇica Tisaha leṇe śagaśa*"). The Haňdagala cave inscription in the Anurādhapura district stipulates about a superintendent of trade (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 1128:89: "*Sidha paṇadaka Cuḍa Haṇeyaha puta Majaka Abaha leṇe saga niyate*") (Fig. 2.19). As mentioned in the above inscription, the cave of Maňjuka Abhaya, the son of Cuḍa Haṇeya, the superintendent of trade has been dedicated to the Saṅgha.

The *Vāṇija Sūtra* in *Suttasaṅgahaṭṭhakathā (Paramatthajōtikā)* the word "*vāṇija*" has been described as trade, under which four type of *vanijas* are mentioned as they go as follows.

1. Sattha vaṇijjā -The traders of weapons
2. Satta vaṇijjā -The traders of slaves
3. Maṅsa vaṇijjā -The traders of meat
4. Visa vaṇijjā -The traders of poisons

Further, it is advised not to engage with these kinds of trade (*Su. Aṭṭ* 2008:64). The *Tiṅsaka Varṇnā* in *Vinayaṭṭha kathā (Samantapāsādikā)* says that "*pattavaṇijja*" means the traders who trade the bowls in the village. *"Amattikāi"* means the vessels. *"Amattikayō"* means the person who sells the vessels. "Amattikāpaṇa" means the market where potteries are sold (*Vin. Aṭṭ* 2004:171). The word "*sattō"* means the traders who go by caravans (*Vina. Aṭṭ* 2009:286). The term "*gahapati"* can be gathered from Prakrit inscriptions, which have specifically associated with the merchant classes and prosperous landowning gentry who were the supporters of the Buddhist and the Jaina religions (Mahādēvan 2003:124).

A good number of stories in the *Rasavāhini* gives account of traders who went abroad involved in trade activities. Although the *Rasavāhini* is written in the 12th century, it is based on facts from the older books (Paranavithana 1959:235-240). According to the *Rasavāhini* a trader called "*Nadndi"* was engaged in foreign trade (Paranavitana 1959:219). The *Rēvatī Vimāna Varṇanā* in the *Vimānavatthu Aṭṭhakathā (Paramattha Dīpanī)* mentions that a trader called Nandi went on foreign

trade and returned with the profit (*Vimā. Aṭṭ* 2008:270). The *Sērissaka Vimāna Varṇanā* in the *Vimānavatthu Aṭṭhakathā* further mentions as to how the traders went on foreign trade (*Vimā. Aṭṭ* 2008:399).

Guilds

As mentioned in the Brahmi inscriptions in Sri Lanka, there were well organized guilds of traders. These guilds have donated some caves to the monks. S. Paranvithana says the word "*Puga*" is treated as a collective noun to mean the members of the guild (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no. 35:66). *"Puga"* can be a organization of the local traders.

Nine Brahmi inscriptions mentioning the guild of traders have been identified. The *Väla ellu goḍa* cave inscription in the Ūva province mentions a cave, donated by the guild of traders (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no. 09:55; *IC* 1970. vol. i. no.726:55: *"Pugiyana leṇe śagaśa dine*") (Fig. 2.20).

There were some trade guilds which were established by their own different names before the 1st century C.E. In some cave inscriptions the name of the chief of the guild is also mentioned. According to the Avukana cave inscription in the Anurādhapura district a person called *"Pussa"*, is mentioned as the president of the guild (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 1152:91) (Fig. 2.21). In the very same inscription, it is mentioned that the three categories of revenue have been given to the saṅgha. This evidence leads us to think that these revenues have been collected by the guild itself and donated to the saṅgha ("*Pukana leṇe paḍagma Data jeṭha tipati dina Pusa Mahata vare"*).

The Gaṇēkande Vihāra cave inscription in the Kurṇāgala district mentions a trade guild called *"Sidaviya"*. Here the name of the president and the vice president of the guild are also mentioned (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 1198:96: "*Sidaviya pukana leṇe catu disika sagasa cara Tise jeṭe Kabara Nake anu jeṭe*") (Fig. 2.22). As mentioned in the foresaid inscription, journeyman *"Tissa"* became the president and the blacksmith *"Nāga*" became the vice president. Therefore, this is a good evidence for the guild of a combination of different kind of trades.

The Galgēkoṭuva cave inscription in the Ūva Province mentions the name of the chief of the trade guild "*Paḍuguta*" (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no. 35. 66: "*Pugana leṇe Paḍugute jheṭe*"). Karunākallu cave inscription in the Northern Central Province mentions a trade guild called "*Dipikula*" (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no.19: 60; *IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 320: 25: "*Dipikulikana pukiyna [le]ṇe śagaśa*") (Fig. 2.23). The Gōnagala cave inscription mentions of another name of trade guild, called "*Maḍukasaliya*" (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 662: 50: "*Maḍukaśaliya pugiyana leṇe śagaśa*") (Fig. 2.24). The Veherakema inscription in the Hambantoṭa district mentions of a corporation of the weavers. The striking evidence of this is, that there were different guilds for different employments as it is in the modern day (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 696a:52) (Fig. 2.24). Therefore, it is evident that there were guilds for combination of different kinds of trade as well separate trade guilds.

The *Vērañja Kāṇda* in the *Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā)* mentions people who sell grain together appointing two persons to measure the grain and to encash money. The person who comes to buy grain at first has to pay *kahavaṇu* and receive a token, after that he has to go to the person who measures grain (*Vina. Aṭṭ* 2009:162). This shows that the trade guilds also have some agreements and it was well organized recalling some present day practises. The Brāhmī inscription in Māṅguḷam (no. 06) in South India mentions a merchant guild Veḷḷarai nigamam (a guild (*nigamam*) of Veḷḷarai) in the 2nd B.C.E. (Mahadevan 2003:323). E. Senart says the guilds also acted as banks (1905-6:88).

Niyamatana (nigama)

It is believed that in ancient Sri Lanka, there existed a system which is similar to that of the present day banking system in order to deposit money and grain, and this particular financial institution is introduced as "Niyamatana". The inscriptions of Tōnigala and Labuätabädigala clearly provide with further information, related to this particular practice. As these inscriptions are studied, it is understood that in this particular place of Niyamatana, not only the grain but also the money had been deposited, and with the interest of the said, a ceremony called "*Ariyavaṃsa*" was conducted at the temples.

The *Kāma sūtra Niddēsa Vaṇṇanā* in *Mahāniddēsaṭṭhakatā* says that "nigama" means the place where we can see the markets (*Nid.Aṭṭ* 2008:17). The words "nigama" and "nagara" have come into being from the word "gāma" (*Vina.Aṭṭ* 2009:286). Numismatic data would suggest that power was held by some form of urban corporate body also referred to by the term *"nigama"* (Ray 1994:20). The Two inscriptions at Māṅguḷam of South India (nos. 3&6, ca. 2nd century B.C.E.) refer to the merchant guild *"nikama"* (<Pkt. nigama) at veḷ-aṟai (Veḷḷaṟai), identified with the modern village of Veḷḷarippaṭṭi near Māṅguḷam (Mahadevan 2003:141). A pottery inscription from Koḍumaṇal, knows as a place of manufacture of gems and steel, reads *"ni kā ma"* (nikama) which indicate that merchant guilds were established at several industrial and trade centers in the ancient Tamil country (Mahadevan 2003:141).

S. Paranavitāna has dated the Tōṇigala rock inscription to the third year of Śrīmegahavarṇṇa (303-331 C.E.). The word *Tōṇi* means 'a boat' or 'a trough'; and the name is given to this rock on account of some boat-shaped water-holes which are to be seen there. As such water-holes are very common on rocks in the dry regions of Sri Lanka, the word Tōnigalas is frequently met with as a place name (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii:172) (Fig. 2.25). The king Mēghavarṇa was the contemporary of the great Indian emperor Samudragupta and is best known in history as the monarch in whose reign the 'Tooth Relic' was brought to Sri Lanka. The contents of the inscription afford us some information about the economic conditions in Sri Lanka during the fourth century . It records that a certain minister deposited some quantities of grain and beans C.E. with a guild in the northern quarter of the city with the stipulation that the capital should remain unspent and the interests should be utilized for providing meals to the monks of the Yahisapavata monastery during the *vassa* season of every year. The interest on the deposited quantity of grain is specially mentioned, and this works out at the rate of 50 per cent, in the case of paddy and 25 per cent, in the case of beans. The interest on paddy was to be collected at three different harvests of the year. The record also enumerates the different kinds of provisions that had to be supplied of the feeding of the monks; and as it was customary to supply the monks with the richest available food. We can learn from this record the nature of the menu of a well-

to-do person in Sri Lanka during the fourth century. It is noteworthy that among the different dishes enumerated, fish or meat does not find a place (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii: 177).

It mentions [lines 2-6] two *hakaḍas* (cartloads) and ten *amaṇas* of paddy, six *amaṇas* of *udi* and ten *amaṇas* of beans were deposited neither be spent nor decreased, by Devaya the son of Sivaya, a member of the Council of Ministers, residing at the village of Kaḍubala, with the assembly of the merchants' guild at Kaḷahumana situated in the northern quarter of the city; and were granted for the purpose of conducting the holy *vassa* in the new monastery of Yahisapavaya (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii: 178:lines 2-6). Foresaid, two *hakaḍas* and ten *amaṇas* of paddy, the interest at the principal harvest (*piṭadaḍa hasa*), the interest at the secondary harvest and the interest at the intermediate harvest, twenty-five amaṇas of paddy. Of the foresaid six *amaṇas* of *udi*, the interest is one *amaṇa* and two *pekaḍas o*f beans (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii. 178:Lines 6-10). Of the above mentioned deposit, the capital should be left unspent and from the interest received, the expenses for two and a half *hakaḍas* of boiled rice, *atarakaja*, dishes taken with *atarakaja,* curd, honey, sweets, seasame, butter(?), salt, green herbs, and turmeric should be given at the refectory of the monastery (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii: 178:lines 10-14).

[Line 2] *Niyamatanahi*. Niyama is derived from Pāli *nigama* 'a market town' or 'guild'. Cf. Sin. *niyamdeṭu* for P. *nigamajeṭṭhaka* and *niyamgama* for Pāli *nigamagāma*. *Tana*, of which *tanahi* is the locative singular, may be either derived from Skt. *sthāna* 'place' and used to indicated the locative case of the word to which it is suffixed, very much in the same way as *iḍattil* 'in the place' is used in Tamil, or it may represent Skt. *āsthāna*, 'assembly', the initial a being elided for the purposes of euphonic combination (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii:181).

Piṭadaḍa hasa, akala hasa, made hasa (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii: 181:Lines 7-8) in these three words, *hasa* stands for Pāli *sassa* (Skt. śasya) and means 'harvest' or 'crop'. From these terms, it becomes apparent that in ancient Sri Lanka there were three crops of paddy during the year, just as there are to-day in the villages of the North-Central Province where fields are irrigated by means of tanks and do not depend on the uncertain rainfall. Of the names of the three crops occurring in this

inscription, two can be identified with their modern equivalents. *Akala* (from Skt. *akāla*, 'out of season') is the crop now known as *yala*.

The *yala* crop is sown at the time of the south west monsoon which, for these parts of Sri Lanka, brings only a small quantity of rain. The principal harvest of the year in all parts of Sri Lanka is now known as *māha*, a word which is a contraction of *maha-hasa;* and is sown during the north east monsoon. The name corresponding to this in the present inscription is *piṭadaḍa*. There is no doubt that the word stands for *māha* as its being first mentioned points to it as the principal harvest of the year. The third crop called because it intervenes between the two major harvest. It is the least important of the three; and in many a year when the tanks are not full, is altogether neglected. This crop is not known in many districts of Sri Lanka, including the greater part of the low country, where the cultivation of paddy depends entirely on the rainfall (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii:185). Here the word *Veḍha* or *veḍa*, is derived from Skt. *vṛddhi*, (P.*vaḍḍhi*) and means 'interest' (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii: 185:Lines 7-8).

The Labuäṭabäňdigala inscription situated about one and a half miles to the north east of Moraväva, a village in the Kalpē Kōraḷē of the North Central Province. (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii:247) (Fig. 2.26). A study of its paleography makes it possible to ascribe it to the fifth century or thereabouts. The script shows a later stage of development than that of the Tōṇigala rock inscription of the third year of Śrimeghavarṇṇa (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii:248). The contents tell us that a certain individual named Sirinakayi deposited one hundred *kahāpaṇas*, the interest accruing from which was to be given to the monks of the Devagiri monastery for defraying the expenses connected with the *vassa* festival. Devagiri Vihāra was evidently the name of the monastery which existed on this rock during ancient times (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii:250).

Another inscription found in the Labuätabäňdigala belonged to the same period tell us that a person named Niṭalaviṭiya Sivayi, son of Raṭiya Sumanaya, deposited twenty *kahāpaṇas* for the benefit of the Devagiri vihāra for the purpose of conducting the sacred *vassa* festival (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii:252).

Various Professions

There were families which represented the trade castes who accompanied therī Sangamitta, who visited the Island in the 3rd century B.C.E. On the other hand, early Buddhist literature emphasized on the occupational divisions among the people and the distinction between the higher and lower occupations. Listed among the higher occupations were agriculture, trade and cattle keeping (Chakravarti 1987:102).

The early Brāhmī inscriptions shed light on the various kinds of professions who have donated caves to the saṅgha. Having evaluated the contents of these inscriptions, it is possible to come to the conclusion that there was a prosperous economy in ancient Sri Lanka.

A. Mariners

There are evidences of mariners in the early Brāhmī inscriptions at Paramākaṇḍa in Pēravili Hatpattu of the Puttalam district, where we can find two Brāhmī inscriptions, mentioning mariners. As mentioned, the cave of the chief Tissa, the envoy mariner, and also the son of the chief Abhaya has been given to the Saṅgha (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 1054: 83: *"Paramuka Abaya puta param[u]ka Tiśa duta [na] vikaha leṇe*") (Fig. 2.27). The second inscription mentions the chief Tissa, the daring mariner and also the son of the chief Abhaya (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 1055: 83: *"Parumaka Abaya puta parumaka Tiśaha du(ṭa) kaṇa [ya] taha[co] ḍi"*) (Fig. 2.28). In the Paramākaṇḍa inscription recorded a certain Tissa, son of a Abaya, is described as an "envoy-mariner". Here the two words *"duta [na] vika"* and the *"du(ṭa) kaṇa[ya]"* have been used for mariners. Both *Tissa* and *Abaya* bore the prestigious title "*parumaka*", shared by the individuals from the upper ranks of the ancient Sri Lankan society (Paranvitana 1970:83). R. A. L. H. Gunawardana (1990: 26) says some of the mariners have come from the more prestigious ranks of society.

The record from the Māligātänna mentions of a mariner who had rather pretentious name of Maha Aśoka and described himself as a mariner. In this respect the mariner as well as his father bore the title *"parumuka"* (1970:76; *IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 977a. 76:*"Parumaka-Śumana-puta kaṇiyata-parumaka-Maha-Aśokaha leṇe śagaśa*").

The Haṅdagala cave inscription in the Anurādhapura district speaks of a mother of a mariner. The donor of the cave at Haṇḍagala, a layman named Sumana is introduced as the mother of the ship captain (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 1131:89: "*Nāv[i]kaha mataya upasika samaṇiya leṇe catu disa sagaha patiṭhapite*") (Fig. 2.29). As mentioned in the inscription here, the mother of the mariner was a lay-devotee.

The Bagavālena inscription in the Kandy district mentions a mariner sailing to Bhārukachcha (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 1183. 95: "*Parumaka Baruka[ca]ga malaha leṇe sagaha*") (Fig. 2.30). From the ancient times the traders from the ports of Bhārukaccha and the Suppāraka have come to Sri Lanka. According to the *Dīpavaṃsa*, Vijaya and his seven hundred followers, before landing to Sri Lanka, first disembarked at the port of Suppāraka (*DV* 1992 9:16). The port Bhārukachcha was a well known port in Gujarat (Bopearachchi 2006:42). The first coastal settlement found mentions of Bhārukachcha or Bhāruch at the mouth of the Narmada on the West Coast. The *Vinaya Pitaka* refers to a monk from Bhārukaccha and the *Thēragāthā* and *Thērīgāthā* mention a gahapati Vaddha from Bhārukachcha who travelled to Srāvasti with his mother (Ray 1994:44). Sagga was the minister travelled from Vārānasi to Bharucha to join the merchants, sailing out to Suvarṇabhūmi (Jatka Sussonadijātaka, no. 360; Ray 1994:22). As discussed earlier, Bhārukachcha or Bhāruch is perhaps the earliest West Coast port, reported in the Buddhist literature (Ray 1994:24).

B. Proprietors of ferry

A record from Dūvēgala in the Plonnaruwa district bears an inscribed figure of a vessel with high prows and a single mast (*IC* 1970: PI. xxv:21) (Fig. 2.31). This is the oldest representation of a sailing craft, found in Sri Lanka. There were specialists in the art of navigation in the ancient Sri Lankan society. The Suppāraka Jātaka cited the word "*niyyāma-jeṭṭhaka*" individuals who specialized in the art of piloting ships (Gunawardana 1990:26).

The Kaṇḍalama cave inscription in the Mātalē district mentions the proprietor of the ferry (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 860:66) (Fig. 2.32). The Mutugalla cave inscription in

the Polonnaruwa District mentions ferry keeper. As mentioned in it the cave of the village councilor Soṇa, the son of the village councilor Śiva, the ferry keeper of Baṇagama, has given a cave to the Saṅgha (*IC* 1970: vol. i: no. 309:24).

The ships of this seaborne network were probably capable of carrying a greater volume of goods than the land bound caravans (S. A. S. R. S 1990a:9). A man from the village of Goḷa decided to become a trader and take a ship "to bring foreign goods" (*Sa. Vatṭu* 1959:166). A man of peasant origin (Kuṭumbika), who was also an artisan specializing in turning out craft products of ivory, decided trade and take a ship to go to foreign lands (*Sa. Vatṭu* 1956:191).

The king Dēvānampiyatissa (250–210 B.C.E.) sent his minister Ariṭṭha, Brāhmaṇa called "Sāla", another minister called "Pabbata" and his son "Tissa" an accountant (*DV* 1959. 11:30). It seems that during the reign of king Dēvanampiyatissa, delegations had visited Emperor Asoka of India on board of a ship which belonged to the Sri Lankan king.

According to the description in the *Dhāthuvaṃsa* (Asbhatissa 1883: 324-339) the tooth relic of the Buddha was brought to the island during the period of the king Kitsirimēgavarṇa (303-331 C.E.) in a trading vessel which sailed directly from Tāmralipti. However, this work was written several centuries after the event (Gunawardana 1990: 33).

C. Weavers

The inscription, found in the Nuvarakaṇḍa in the Kurnāgala district mentions a cave, donated by a weaver (*IC* 1970: vol. i. no. 931. 72: "*(A)śaruya [ba]tika p[e]hakara[ha] leṇe*-----") (Fig. 2.32). The Hiṭṭāragama-hīnna insctription in the Anurādhapura district speaks of another cave which has been donated by a weaver (*IC* 1970. vol. i: no. 1160:92) (Fig. 2.34).

D. Elephant trainers

The elephant trainers were mentioned as the "Ati acariya" in the Nāvalārkuḷam inscription in the Ampāra district mentioning a cave, donated by a chief of the elephant trainer (*IC* 1970. vol. i: no. 480:37; *EZ* 1984: vol. vii: no.16: 58-57: "*Ati acariya gamaṇi paduma*-------"), and in the Kaduruväva inscription in the Kurunāgala

district indicating of a superintendent of elephant (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 993: 78: *"…..ati adi (ka)……"*) (Fig. 2.35).

E. Dealers in tamarind

The Sīgiriya inscription in Ināmaluwa Kōralē in the Māthalē district mentions of a dealer in tamarind (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no:1186) (Fig. 2.36).

F. Makers of bows

The Haňdagala inscription in the Anurādhapura district mentions a maker of bows (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 1131: 89; "*Parumaka Bamaṇaha puta danukaya gutaha leṇe*").

G. Goldsmiths

The Vessagiri inscription in the Anurādhapura district mentions a cave of Deva, son of Nagaya, the goldsmith, which has been given to the Saṅgha of the four quarters, present and absent (*IC* 1970. vol. i: no. 80:06) (Fig. 2.37). One of the donors in an inscription from Alagarmalai no. 36 belongs to the 1st century B.C.E. in South India is described as LT pon- kollaṉ 'goldsmith' (Mahadevan 2003:142). The famous Puhaḻūr Tamil-Brāhmī inscription found near Karūr, the Chēra capital, also mentions about a gold merchant as Karūr poṉvaṇikaṉ, a gold merchant of Karūr.

H. Ironsmiths

The Mutugalla inscription in the Polonnaruwa district mentions a cave, given by a ironsmith called householder "Majjhima" (*IC* 1970. vol. i: no. 301: 24: *"Gapati Kabara Majhimaha puta Śivaha ca leṇe śagaśa*") (Fig. 2.38). The Maḍugasmulla inscription in the Moṇarāgala district indicates the cave of the ironsmith Tissa (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no.720: 54: *"Kabara Tiśaha Vaśaha leṇe śagaśa"*) (Fig. 2.39). The Gallāva Vihāra inscription also speaks of an ironsmith (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 1049a: 82: *"(Ka)bara D[i]naśa śila pad[e] eke*").

I. Tinsmiths

The Periyapuliyankulam inscription in the Northern Province mentions a tinsmith (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 370: 28: *"Gapati topaśa Śumana kulaśa leṇe śagaśa----* ")(Fig. 2.39).

J. Copper smiths

The two inscriptions in Periyapuḷiyaṇkauḷam in the Kiḷakkumalai Pattu south of the Vavuniyā district, mention two caves, donated by coppersmiths. The cave belonged to the Rohiṇigutta has donated by the son of Tissa the copper smith to the saṅgha (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 350: 28: "*Tabakara Tiśa puta Roṇigutaśa leṇe*") (Fig. 2.41). The second inscription mentions a cave donated by the copper smiths "*Phussa*" and "*Sumana*" to the saṅgha (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 351:28) (Fig. 2.41).

I. K. Goldsmiths

The Kadurväva inscription in the Kurunāgala district mentions a dealer in coined money. As mentioned in the inscription, the cave of Gopa, the grandson of the chief Vahiḍi, the minister, an eldest son of Hāmika, the chamberlain and the dealer in coined money, is dedicated to the Saṅgha (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 1205: 97; *EZ* 1965. vol. v. no. ii :411; *"Sidha parumaka Vahiḍi mataha marumakanake dorakaṇi rupa vāpara Hāmikaha Jeṭa puta G[o]poha leṇe saga niyate*") (Fig. 2.42).

L. Coin Producers

The Periyakaḍu Vihāra inscription in the Kurunāgala district mentions a cave, dedicated by a coin producer called, Tissa (*IC* 1970. vol. i: no. 940: 73: *"Gapati rupadaka Tiśaha leṅe*")

M. Painters

The Billāvēgala inscription of Nuvaragam–palāta of the Anurādhapura district speaks of a cave, given by a painter to the saṅgha (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 1119: 88: "*Upasaka Citakara Dataha puta Kaḍaha leṅe sagike*") (Fig. 2.43).

N. Ivory workers

The Vēgiri-devāle inscription in the Kandy district refer to an ivory worker called “Sumana” (*IC* 1970. vol. i: no. 807: 62: “-----Daṭika Sumanaśa-------”).

O. Potters

The Vēgiri-devāle inscription in the Kandy district mentions a potter called “Soṇa” (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 807: 62)

P. Lapidaries

The Vēgiri-devāle inscription in the Kandy district mentions two lapidaries. As mentioned in this lapidary Datta is a partner. The lapidary “Cuḍa” is a co-partner. (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 807: 62; *“-----maṇikara-Date patike maṇi-kara-Cuḍa śapatike------”*)

Q. Teachers

The Maha Äḷagamuva inscription in Kalāgam-palāta in the Anurādhapura district mentions a teacher, it is said that the cave, named “Manāpadassana” of the elder Nanda, a teacher (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 229:18) (Fig. 2.44). The Demaṭagala inscription in Māgam Pattu of the Hambantoṭa district mentions a cave belonging to a teacher “*Acariya Parāsarisa leṇe*” (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 604:46) (Fig. 2.45).

R. Architects

The Viraňdagoḍa inscription of Demaḷ Hatpattu in the Puttalam district mentions of a city architect (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 1092: 85: *“Nakara Vudika Baraṇigutaha leṇe agata anagata catu śagaśa”*) (Fig. 2.46).

S. Cavalry officers

The Pilikuṭṭuva inscription in the Siyanā̆ Kōrale of the Colombo district mentions a cavalry officer (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 1099: 86: *“Aṇikaṭaśa batuno Agibutino dane agata anagata catu diśa śagaśa”*) (Fig. 2.47). The Demaṭagala inscription in the Yāla Game Sanctuary in Māgam Pattu of the Hambantoṭa district

mentions of a cavalry officer called chief "Tissa" (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 606: 46: *"Parumaka aśaruya Tiśaha--------"*).

T. Envoies

The Kaṇḍegamakaṇḍa in the Polonnaruwa district mentions a cave, given by an envoy called householder Datta (*IC* 1970. vol. ii. no. 289: 23: *"Gapati dutaka Dataha leṇe śagaśa"*) (Fig. 2.48).

U. Archeries

The Nuvarakaṇḍa inscription of Demaḷ Hatpattu in the Puttalam district mentions of an archery (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no. 18: 59: *"Mukaḷa gamika Śamana puta Idabutāye leṇe agata anagata catudiśa śagaśa dine danu aciriyaha."*).

V. Superintendent of horses

The word "aśa-adeka", is probably from Skt. "Aśva+adhyakśa-adhiyakśa-adhekśa-adhekśa-adhekkha –adeka" (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no. 31:65). As we have seen earlier, *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions of two Damiḷas, Sēna and Guttaka, sons of a freighter who brought horses hither, conquered the king Sūratissa, at the head of a great army and reigned both (together) twenty-two years justly in the 3rd century (*MV* 1950. 21: 10-11). The Periyapuliyankulam inscription in the Kiḷakkumalai Paṭṭu south of the Vavuniyā district mentions a superintendent of horses (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no. 31: 64; *IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 355: 28: *"parumaka aśa adeka Veḷaśa jhaya Tiśaya leṇe*") (Fig. 2.49).

The Nuvarakaṇḍa inscription of Dēvamädi Hatpattu in the Kuruṇāgala district denotes a dealer in horses or a horseman (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no. 32:65). The Hiṭṭāragama hīnna inscription in Hurulu-palāta in the Anurādhapura district mentions a cave belonging to a lay devotee "Dattā" the mother of the trainer of horses (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 1158: 92: *"Asajiriya.……mataya upa sika Dataya leṇe*") (Fig. 2.50).

W. Physicians

The Rājaṅgaṇē inscription in the Vanni Hatpattu in the Kuruṇāgala district mentions a physician (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii: no. 77: 88: *"upaska veja Mitaha puta Miṭigabutiya leṇe*"). The Magul Mahā Vihāra inscription in the Yāla Game Sanctuary in Māgam Pattu of the Hambantoṭa district mentions of a cave belonging to a physician called "Tissa" (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 676:51).

X. Superintendent of Roads

The Ānaikuṭṭuikaṇḍa inscription in Mihintalē in the Anurādhapura district mentions a cave belonging to Samudda, the Superintendent of roads, given to the Saṅgha (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 69: 05: *"Pakara adeka Śamudaha leṇe śagaśa"*) (Fig. 2.51).

Y. Commanders-in-Chief

Six Brahmī inscriptions refer to commanders-in-chief. The Situlpavuva: Koravakgala inscription says the Chief Mitta, the commander-in-chief of king Abhaya, has given a cave to the Saṅgha of the four quarter, present and absent (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 620: 47: *Devanapiya rajha Abayaśa śenapati parumaka Mitaśa leṅe agata anagata catu diśa śagaśa diṇe*") (Fig. 2.52).

The role of the *parumakas, gamikas***,** granary-keepers, treasurers, revenue collectors and the accountants are discussed in the chapter III.

Monetary Transactions

We have ample of evidence from literary evidence on monetary transactions. The story of the Sumanā in *Seehalawatthuppakaraṇa* reveals an incident of a selling hair. One daughter has cut her hair and got eight *kahavaṇu* by selling it (*Seehala* 1958:85). The story of the Mahādēva Upāsaka reveals a coin pot height of three times of a man (*Seehala* 1958:84**).** The story of the Mahādēva layman mentions the one Prētha (departed man) has come to a Mahādeva Upāsaka and showed him a pot full of gold, silver and *kahavaṇu* (*Seehala* 1958:34). As such, it could be believed that *kahavaṇu* had been stored in pots.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions that the wealthy people have dwelled in the areas of the Issarasamaṇaka and the Vessagiri. It further says the Vihāra that was built in the place where the five hundred nobles dwelt was named Issarasamaṇaka (*MV* 1950. 20: 14). The Vihāra in which the five hundred vaiśyas dwelt, was called "Vessagiri" (*MV* 1950. 20:14).

Coins

Punch-marked coins (Fig. 2.53, 2.54, 2.55). known in ancient India as *Karshapaṇa* or *Kahāpaṇa*, found everywhere on the Island, were certainly imported from North and Northwest India. Almost all the coins, reported from Sri Lanka belong to the imperial series that were minted over a vast area of India under the protection of a unifying authority (Bopearachchi 2006:40). The earliest epigraphical evidence for the circulation of *Karshapaṇa* on the island dates back to the end of the 3rd century B.C.E. The inscription of Mampita- Viāhra, (Kägalla district in the wet zone) written in early Brāhmī script and referring to *Kahāpaṇas,* indicated that trade, even in the early days, was not barter alone (Paranavitana 1970. no. 791; Bopearachchi 2006:40). It should be noted that the third structural period of the Sri Lanka British Excavations at Salgaha Watta 2, in the ancient citadel of Anurādhapura (dated between the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.E.) brought to light three punch marked coins. These coins are found in thousand, in hoards and as stray finds, not only at Anurādhapura, the ancient capital of Sri Lanka, but also in every sea port on the North, West and Southern Coast of the Island (Bopearachchi 2006:40).

The majority of silver coins, found in peninsular India belong to the Magadha Mauryan series (Ray 1994:31). At several centers in North India die struck coins of copper or some alloy of it datable to the third second centuries B.C.E have been designated "*nigama*" coins. These were issued by several *nigamas* such as those of Taxila, Vārānasī, Kausambi, Vidiśa. In some cases it is not clear whether the issuing authority was a *nigama* or tribe (Sharma 1983:179).

The *kahavaṇu* is called *kahāpaṇa* in Pāli and *karshāpaṇa* in Sanskrit (Fig. 2.56). The several variant forms, as *kahāpaṇa, kahavaṇaka, kahavaṇa, kahavaṇi* and *kahavaṇu* are found in old documents (Fig. 2.57). The *Hūna kahavaṇu, Māla*

kahavaṇa and *dama kahavaṇa* are different varieties. The *kahāpaṇa* is an ancient coinage which was in vogue in Sri Lanka since pre–christen times. It is almost identical with the *kaḷanda*. The silver *kahāpaṇa*, commonly known as *purāna, dharaṇa* and the weight was 57.6 grains (Codrington 1924: 54: *EZ* 1991. vol. vi: 123).

A good knowledge of *kahavaṇu* can be obtained from the *vinaya* commentaries translated into Pāli in the 5th C.E. by the thēro Buddhagōśa. The *Kāma sūtta Niddēsa Vaṇṇanā* in *Mahāniddēsaṭṭhakatā* mentions, that *"Hiraññā"* means *kahavaṇu. "Suvaṇṇa"* means gold. Therefore *hiraññā* and *suvaṇṇa* mean all type of coins which is made up of metallic and wooden (*Nid. Aṭṭ* 2008: 17). The *Kuddakapātāṭṭha kathā (Paramatthajōtikā)* mentions that "jātarūpa" means gold. "rajata" means *"kahavaṇu"*. If iron massa, wooden massa and lacquer massa are used, it is called the "*jātarūparajata"* (*Kud. Aṭṭ* 2008:28).

The *Rūpakāndha Varṇṇanā* in *Dhammasṅganippakaraṇaṭṭhakathā (Atthasālinī)* gives the meaning of "rajata". As mentioned "rajata" means *kahavaṇu, tamba masu, däva masu* and *lākada masu* (*Dham.Aṭṭ* 2008:369).

1. *kahavaṇu* - coins made of gold
2. *Tamba masu* - coins made of copper
3. *Däva masu* - coins made of wood
4. *Lākada masu* - Coins made of lacquer

The *Tiṅsaka Varṇnā* in *Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā)* gives an idea of different types of coin and how they are manufactured. There are four types of coins. They are *Kahāpanō, Lōhamāsakō, Dhārumāsakō* and *Jātumāsakō* (*Vin. Aṭṭ* 2004: 159). Further, it is mentioned as to how they are manufactured.

Kahāpanō - The coins made up of gold *kahavaṇu* or silver *kahavaṇu*

Lōhamāsakō - The coins made up of copper

Dhārumāsakō - The coins made up of wood or bamboo strips or made up of palm leaves by drawing a figure on it.

Jātumāsakō -The coins made up of lacquer by inscribing a figure. (*Vin. Aṭṭ* 2004: 159).

It is mentioned that in India the coins vary from *janapada* to *janapada* and from time to time. It is further mentioned that the coins are made with figures or figureless from the following mediums.

1. Different types of seeds (Tamarind seeds)
2. Skins (*Vin. Aṭṭ* 2004:159).

The *Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā)* when the word *"pañchamāsakō pādō"* explained, it says that twenty *masu* are similar to a *kahavaṇu*. Five *masu* are similar to a *pāda.* Therefore ¼ of *kahavaṇu* is a *pāda* (Fig. 2.58). It is further mentioned that this came into vogue during the king Bimbisāras' period in the Rajagahanuvara in India (*Vina. Aṭṭ* 2009:285).

The *Nikkēpa Kāndha Vaṇṇanā* in *Dhammasaṅganippakaraṇaṭṭhakathā (Atthasālinī)* mentions about *Ūnu kahavaṇu* (*Dham. Aṭṭ* 2008: 443). The *Tissa Metteyya sūtta Nirddēsa Vaṇṇanā* in *Mahāniddēsaṭṭhakatā* mentions that there was a punishment called *"kahāpaṇakaṅ"*. In this punishment, the convict's body has been cut by using a sharpen blade or a knife to a size of a coin of a *kahavaṇu* (*Nid. Aṭṭ* 2008:303). The *Posāla sūtta Vaṇṇanā* in *Chullaniddēsaṭṭhakatā* tells us about the illegal *kahavaṇu* and illegal *masuran* (*Nid. Aṭṭ* 2008: 58). The *Vinayaṭṭakathā* mentions both the illegal *kahāpaṇa* and *nīla kahāpaṇa (blue kahavaṇu*) (*Vina. Aṭṭ* 2009:358; *Vina. Aṭṭ* 2009:294).

The *Akhyākata Dhamma Kathā* in *Dhammasaṅganippakaraṇaṭṭha kathā (Atthasālinī)* narrates an incident of a *kahavaṇu* which fell the street when the village children were playing. One child asked from the other "what is this and which hit my hand?". One child said that it was white in colour. One child took it with sand. One said that this was broad. One said that it was a *kahavaṇu*. As mentioned in the above book, they handed over it to the mother and mother gave it to the technician (*Dham. Aṭṭ* 2008:332-333). This incident clearly shows that these children were not really aware of the value of a *kahavaṇu.*

The *Aggika Bharadvāja Sūtta Vaṇṇaṇa* in the *Suttanipātaṭṭhakathā (paramatthajōtikā)* mentions that once aspirant Buddha born as a person called Māthaṅga. He accepted a girl called Diṭṭhamaṅgalika who belonged to the clan of Brāhmaṇ. One day Māthaṅga came in front of Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā's house and asked for

her. The girl's father asked him to go back by giving money of one *masuran*, ¼ of *kahavaṇu*, ½ of *kahavaṇu* (Fig. 2.59), hundreds of *kahavaṇu*, thousand of *kahavaṇu*, two thousand of *kahavaṇu* and three thousand of *kahavaṇu* (*Sutt.Aṭṭ* 2008:178). This book which was translated into Pāli by the Buddhagōsha thēro who came to Sri Lanka in the 5th C.E., proves that the people in Sri Lanka knew the variations of the *kahavaṇus*, during this period. Sometimes these coins were in the usage of that period.

The *Sirimā Vimāna Vaṇṇaṇā* in the *Vimānavatthu Aṭṭhakathā (Paramattha Dīpanī)* mentions that there was a prostitute called Sirimā during the Buddhas' period who used to give sixteen *kahavaṇu* for food to *bhikkhus* every day (*Vimā. Aṭṭ*, 2008:95). After the death of Sirimā, the king announced her body to be sold for thousand *kahavaṇu*, two hundred and fifty *kahavaṇu*, two hundred *kahavaṇu*, hundred *kahavaṇu*, fifty *kahavaṇu*, twenty five *kahavaṇu*, twenty *kahavaṇu*, ten *kahavaṇu*, five *kahavaṇu*, one *kahavaṇu*, ½ *kahavaṇu*, *massa*, *kākaṇitaya* (*Vimā. Aṭṭ*, 2008: 95) (Fig. 2.60). From this story we can identify the different types of money that came into vogue during this period. Although, this story belonged to the Indian subcontinent, the story is mentioned in Sri Lankan *vinaya* commentories (aṭṭhakathā). It means people in Sri Lanka may have known these categories of *kahavaṇu*, during the time this book was written.

Thus Buddhagōsha in his *Viśuddhimagga* describes the different reactions of an inexperienced boy, a man from the village and a money changer to a cheap of coins. While the boy would only be able to distinguish the different shapes of the coins, the rustic would also know that they are as valuable as gems. But it is the money changer who would be able to ascertain which of them was stuck at which *gāma*, *nagara*, *pabbata* or *nadī-tīra* and by which *ācariya* or mint master (Ray 1994:44).

Henry Parker was the first to discuss the importance of coins in Māgama in Sri Lanka. He claimed that the ancient capital of Māgāma had an international centre of trade of Great repute. Recent excavation in the Citadel of Māgama resulted with the discovery of a large variety of coins, attributed to royal personalities, lords and householders as well as individuals. Coin moulds and pots containing coins discovered from the area prove that monetary transactions developed from about the 2nd century B.C.E. in Māgama (Abeyawardana 2001:148).

One of the remarkable finds made in recent times, in Sri Lanka was terracotta money-box containing twelve punch marked coins (Bopearachchi & Wickremsinhe 1999. 98:pl.15. 1. 1) Punch-marked coins seemed to be issued in India after the decline of the Mauryan empire, and Indian's earliest coins were then replaced by the issues of the Indo-Greeks, followed by the Indo-Scythians, the Indo-parthians and the Kushans, all of whom occupied the North Western provinces of the Mauryan empire. A certain number of coins, issued by all of these dynasties of diverse political and cultural origin have been found in Sri Lanka (Bopearachchi, 2006:41)

Coins of the South Indian dynasties, found in Sri Lanka are also important evidence for inter regional transactions (Bopearchchi 1993:83-84). Coins, labeled as Lakshmi plaques, depicting the goddess Lakshmi, certainly struck in Sri Lanka, were found in the coastal regions of South India. Significantly, a Lakshmi plaque of Sri Lanka was recovered from the river bed of Amarāvathī, near Karūr, a city situated inland around 250km west of Kāvēripaṭṭinam, on the way to Chēra country (Fig. 2.61, 2.62, 2.63, 2.64). The coins depicting on the obverse: elephant, temple and on the reverse, the symbol of the fish (Krishnamurthy 1997:34. pl. 3. no. 29) can be dated to 210-177 B.C.E., because the earliest coin types of Sri Lanka show many parallels with that of the Pāṇḍyas, by which it was inspired. The earliest coins, in Sri Lanka bear designs derived from the second series of Pāṇḍyaṉ multi-type coins, struck during the period 210-175 B.C.E. and bear a group of symbols on the obverse, among which an elephant normally is figured. It is interesting to note that a similar type of coin was found in structural period, which dates to the second century B.C.E. from the Sri Lankan and the British excavations, conducted at Salgahawatta 2 in the ancient citadel of Anurādhapura. The Pāṇḍyaṉ fish symbol is also borrowed and appears on the reverse of these earliest Sinhalese issues (Bopearchchi 2006c:181-200; Bopearchchi 2008a: 18).

The next most ancient coin after the *Karshapana* to be found in the Sri Lankan soil is an Indian-standard drachm of the Indo-Greek king Menander (Bopearachchi 1995a: 128). A posthumous imitation coin in the name of Hermaios and a bronze coin Azes have been reported from Akurugoda in Tissamahārāma (Bopearachchi & Wickremesinhe 1999. 74. pl. 7. G. I & G. 2) and ten coins of Soter Megas (50-80

C.E.), which were hitherto unknown in the Sri Lankan context (Bopearachchi 1995A:129). They are all supposed to be stray finds from different places on the island. Soter Megas had been considered an anonymous ruler calling himself "the king of the kings, the Great Saviour" who reigned in Central Asia and North-West India circa 96-110 C.E. (Bopearachchi 2006:41) One coin of Kanishka I, six coins of Kanishka II and one coin Vasudēva II of the Kushana dynasty, which were found at Akurugoda in Tissamahārāma (Bopearachchi & Wickremesinhe 1999:74-5. pl. 7. G. 3 & G. 12). H. W. Codrington (1924: 49) mentions four specimens of the Kushana king Vasudēva bought in Colombo. The coin of Kanishka II found in the excavations, conducted at Jētavanārāma, under the UNESCO Sri Lanka Project of the Cultural Triangle, is significant in this context (Bopearachchi 1995:129). The coin of Kanishka II was found buried at the foot of one of the frontispieces of the Stupa along with two other important coins: a Silver coin of Virādāman of the Western Kshatrapas and a bronze coin of the Roman emperor Trajan, stuck in the city of Dora (Bopearachchi 1993:70).

Categorization of Wealthy People

The *Vinaya commentaries* in Sri Lanka Sheds light on the categorization of Wealthy people in the 5th C.E. The *Mahā Parinibbāna Sūtta Vaṇṇanā* in the *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā (Sumaṅgala vilāsinī)* gives the meaning of the words *Kshstriya Mahāsāla, Brāhmaṇa Mahāsāla* and *Gruhapati Mahāsāla (Dīgha.Aṭṭ* 2008: 521).

1.Kshstriya Mahāsāla – The person who has buried ten million or hundred millions of money and spent one cart of *kahavaṇu* daily and, getting the income of two carts of *kahavaṇu* daily.

2.Brāhmaṇa Mahāsāla – The person who has buried fifty million of money and spent one pot of *kahavaṇu* daily and getting the income of one cart of *kahavaṇu* daily.

3. Gruhapati Mahāsāla - The person who has buried fourty million of money and spent eleven *drōna* of *kahavaṇu* daily and getting the income of a kumbha daily. Here it is difficult to identify what is *drōna* and *kumbha.*

Taxes

Taxes have collected in some ports. In an inscription belonging to either the 1st or the 2nd century C.E., found in the Godawāya mentions, a sea port called Godapavatha, situated near the river Walawē. As stated in this particular inscription, "Suka," a tax, collected in this port was donated for the maintenance of the Godapavatha Vihāraya (Paranavitana 1983 vol. ii:101). As mentioned in this inscription the authority of collecting taxes must have vested to the monks in Godapavatha Vihāraya by the king.

FROM THE 5th C.E. TO THE 10th C.E.

Trade Relations

Attempts were being made from about the fifth century to ensure the security of the sea. Moggllāna I (495-512 C.E.) instituted "a watch of the sea". (*MV* 1967. 39: 57). The practice was probably continued by his successors, for there is a reference in the chronicle to another king, Silākala (522-535 C.E.), appointing one of his sons to protect the sea (*MV* 1967.41:35)**.** This shows during this period kings have focused their attention on the coast line. Sometimes they were expecting an invasion or might have given the protection for the traders.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* contains an account of a Sri Lankan merchant who had gone to Kasi. He is said to have brought back with him a copy of Mahāyana text. The chronicle dates this event in the twelfth year of Silākāla (533C.E.) (*MV* 1967. 41:37.)

The ship, depicted in the Ajantā paintings, dated between 525 C.E. and 650 C.E., has attracted a good deal of attention from the scholars of nautical history. Manifestly it was clearly a vessel of very large proportions and, apart from size, its steering mechanism and the rigging are of great interest (Gunawardana 1990: 30). The sixth century probably represents the highest point of the development of Sri Lanka as a centre of navigational and commercial activity (Gunawardana 1990:32).

During the reign of king Kāssapa, his brother Moggllāna came hither at the information of the Niganṭhas with twelve distinguished friends from Jambudīpa to defeat the king Kāssapa (*MV* 1950. 39:20-22). As mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, prince Moggallāna got information of Sri Lanka from the Nigṇṭhas. Most probably

these Nigṇṭhas might have come to Sri Lanka as traders. One of the merchants referred to in the pugalur inscriptions hailed from Karu-ūr (Karur), the Cēra capital. I. Mahādēvan says the merchant classes in the Tamil country were the supporters of the Buddhist and Jaina religions (2003:141).

A poem on the mirror wall (Fig. 2.65) at Sigiriya (Fig. 2.66) refers to the wearing of Chinese silk by one of the "apsaras" depicted in the Sigiriya paintings (Fig. 2.67 and Fig. 2.58)

> Transliteration: (……..*sina-pata beji e rana-vana*)
>
> Translation: (…….that golden-coloured one who has used Chinese silk (in her attire) (Paranavithāna 1956:no .399).

The poem dates from the latter half of the 8th century, while the painting is about three hundred years earlier (S. A. S. R. S. 1990A:9). This shows that the traders from China have come to Sri Lanka in the ancient time. As I have mentioned earlier, the Silk Route, was a silken thread that kept the Western World and China bound in goodwill (S. A. S. R. S. 1990A:21). The Silk Route linked cultures of Rome and China and of the countries in between.

By the end of the eight century, the largest ships in the Asian waters were built in South Asia. (Gunawardana 1990:30). Li Chao, the mandarin who wrote *T'ang Kuo Shih Pu*, reported that many foreign ships arrived at An-nan and Kuang-chou each year and amongst them "the ships from the Lion Kingodm (Sri Lanka) were the largest" (Gunawardana & Sakurai 1981.vol. vii:148).

The Buddhist monk Vajrabodi sailed from Ceylon in 717 C.E. with thirty five Persian ships and arrived at palembang. "Vajrabodhi arrived at the island of Ceylon…..Thirty five Persian ships were found there, came to trade in precious tones. As soon as the Persian merchants saw Vajrabodhi, they followed him with one accord. After a month's stay in Ceylon, Vajrabodhi obtained royal permission to depart and sail with the faithful Persian merchants. A month sailing brought them to Fo-che (=Che-li-fo-che) or Palembang. The end of the voyage was disastrous; all the ships of the merchants were scattered by the tempest and only the ship in which Vajrabodhi was sailing reached port". H. Hasian (1928:104) correctly summed up the situation of Persian and Arabian navigation in the Indian Ocean during the 8th century

C.E: “Firstly the Persians were “by nature bent on commerce” - a conclusion independently, established by the evidence of Cosmas and Procopius. Secondly that the Persians sailed to Ceylon in search of precious stones information also supplied ten year earlier, i.e. in 717 C.E. by the voyage of Vajrabodhi. Thirdly, that the purchases of “silk piece goods and the like ware” made the Persians sail straight to canton-a conclusion already reached by M. Ferrand on the basis of linguistic material. And fourthly and finally, that the Persian were in the habit of sailing in big craft both on the Western and Southern sea - a fact which shows that Persian navigation was at its height in 727 C.E., and therefore that it must be commenced long prior to this date. For these reasons it is fare enough to believe that Persian navigation of early Muhammadan times were merely a continuation of Sasanian navigation and that as M. Ferrand has said, the Persians were the initiators of the Arabs in trade in the Far East” (Bopearachchi 2006:49).

E.H. Schafer (1963:12) also gave a vivid picture of maritime activities from the 7th to the 9th century in the Indian Ocean, which was a safe and rich Ocean, thronged with ships of every nationality: “The Persian merchants came to Ceylon also called “Lion country” and “Island of Rubies” from where they purchased gems” (Bopearachchi 2006:48).

Taxes

In addition to the primary tax structure, combined with the agricultural economies during the Anurādhapura period, there was a tax system, combined with that of trade. It is reported that tax had been collected from the foreign traders at the sea port. The port of Mahatitha, was the main sea port during this period of time. An inscription, found out somewhere, closer to the port of Māthoṭa, states that the tax of the import and export trade had been collected by some officials called “Māvaṭuladdan” (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii. 113: line. c 14-15).

The Koṇḍavaṭṭavan pillar inscription of the king Dappula IV (924-935 C.E.) mentions the rules regarding the land tenure. It is mentioned that for an offence connected with the flooding, of the field, a fine of a two *akas* shall be levied. For an offence connected with ploughing, a fine of a *kaḷanda* shall be levied. For the offence

of having ploughed late, a fine of five *kaḷandas* shall be levied (*EZ* 1965. vol. v:141) (Fig. 2.68).

Internal Trade

The best inscription that can be taken into consideration during the study of the nature of the internal trade of Sri Lanka is the Baddulla pillar inscription (Fig. 2.70), which belongs to the reign of king Udaya III (935-938 C.E.) or Udaya IV (946-954 C.E.). This particular pillar inscription was found by, Jone Belli, a deputy British agent in the year of 1857, within close proximity to the reservoir of Sorabora (Fig. 2.71), which was around three miles from the East of the Muthiyaṅgana Dāgäba. It has been inscribed that the trade had been practiced in a town by the name of "Hōpitigamuwa". Evidently, the place where the pillar was found is the site of this village which, from the accounts give in this epigraphy, seems to have been a place of considerable commercial importance (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii:74). The Badulla Pillar inscription gives us a clear idea of an ancient market in Sri Lanka. The prologue of the inscription states that the traders and the dwellers had submitted a petition on the malpractices done, to the king Udaya, during an official visit to the Mahiyaṅgana Dāgäba (Fig. 2.72).

It is mentioned that the royal officers who have come to the village shall not accept liquor, meat, curd and oil (*EZ* 1965. vol. v: 191: Lines B19-22). It is advised for them not to carry on illicit trade (*EZ* 1965. vol. v: 191:Lines B25-26). Only if goods, brought to the village are sold in the village, shall toll dues be levied. If they are being transported through the village, no toll dues shall be levied (*EZ* 1965. vol. v: 192:Lines C10-13). In the case of goods for sale that have not been shown to the authorities, double toll dues shall be levied, but no other disturbance shall be caused on it (*EZ* 1965. vol. v: 192:Lines c13-16). With reference to the Badulla pillar inscription, it is said, that those days the scales had been used in order to measure the grain. Betel and areca nuts that are seen, being sold at unauthorized places shall be caused to be removed by the royal officers (*EZ* 1965. vol. v: 193:Lines C29-32). For fines that have been imposed, the master of a house may be taken in restraint; but his wife or children shall not be taken in restraint (väläkma) (*EZ* 1965. vol. v: 191: Lines B15-19). According to the Badulla inscription, it is understood that the bulls had been

used for the transportation of goods. As mentioned in the Moragoda inscription, both buffalos and the bulls had been used.

Summary of the Chapter

Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka had maintained that close contacts since proto-historic times, due to their geographical proximity. There is few important evidence of the different activities of traders, during the period prior to the introduction of Buddhism. Tamil traders played an intermediary role connecting two lands. The early inscriptions of Sri Lanka refer to Dravidians as merchants and sailors. The Tamil people arrived in Sri Lanka as traders and some of the traders have settled and got used to the culture in Sri `Lanka. The significant feature that can be identified here is the traders who came from Kāmbōja to Sri Lanka have settled in Sri Lanka and some of them have become the leaders of village and have donated caves to the monks. There were close relationships between Sri Lanka and the communities of Central Asia, Northwest India and Persia.

In account of the Chronicles, the trade as a form of living during the Anurādhapura period had been considered as a reputed occupation. We can identify the barter system as well the monetary transactions in ancient Sri Lanka. It is evident that there were guilds for combination of different kinds of trade as well separate trade guilds. As inscriptions reveal, it is understood the place called Niyamatana, not only the grain but also the money had been deposited, and with the interest of the said, a ceremony called *"Ariyavaṃsa"* was conducted at the temples. The best inscription to study internal trade of Sri Lanka is the Baddulla pillar inscription, which belongs to the reign of king Udaya III (935-938 C.E.) or Udaya IV (946-954 C.E.). In addition to the primary tax structure, combined with the agricultural economies during the Anurādhapura period, there was a tax system, combined with that of trade. The people in Sri Lanka knew the variations of the *kahavaṇus*, during this period.

CHAPTER – III
THE ROLE OF THE RULERS IN MONETARY TRANSACTIONS IN ANCIENT SRI LANAKA

It is obvious that, Sri Lanka had experienced an open economy during the ancient times, and the rulers had given the state patronage for trading whereby, trading activities had never been discouraged. As, it had been the tradition in India, and also in that of Sri Lanka as well, the king had been inherited with the state land and water resources, and it has also been stated even in the *Kautilya's Arthaśāstra.* It is considerd that the stability of the social system as well as the proper functioning of the whole universe depends on the conduct of the king (Gunawardana 1979:170). Hence, the king had played a major role both in the internal and the external trade. At times, it has been reported in chronicles such as *Mahāvaṃsa* that the kings have sent trade delegations to foreign countries through which their counterparts were invited to have trade transactions with the Island.

FROM THE 6th TO THE 3rd B.C.E.

Monetary transactions

The very first record of the monetary transaction was found in the *Mahāvaṃsa* and it dates to the 6th B.C.E. When the prince Vijaya hears that a princess had arrived from Madurā, he said to Kuvēni, "Delay not! I will bestow on thee an offering by spending a thousand pieces of money" (*MV* 1950. 7:59-62). If this account is true, it may show even in the 6th century B.C.E., a monetary system has existed in Sri Lanka. This is also the first written record which may indicate that there had been a monetary transaction in Sri Lanka even as early as the 6th B.C.E.

The second record of the monetary transaction in the *Mahāvaṃsa* dates back to king Paṇḍuwāsudēwa's period (5th Century B.C.E.). King Paṇḍuwāsudēwa's daughter 'Unmāda Cittā' bore a son and she wanted to exchange of her son to a daughter. Therefore 'Cittā' offered a thousand piece of money in exchange her male child to a female, to protect her son from the maternal uncles' trait (*MV* 1950. 8:25). When the prince Paṇḍukābhaya the son of 'Unmāda Cittā' was growing up, his mother Cittā

sent a thousand pieces of money to be given to his guru Dēva Paṇḍula (*MV* 1950. 10:18-20). It is obvious that the "thousand pieces of money" is a very big or a considerable amount at the very beginning of the Anurādhapura period. The *Jatta Mānavaka Vimāna Vaṇnaṇā* in the *Vimānavatthu Aṭṭhakathā (Paramattha Dīpanī)* mentions that the parents of "Jatta Mānavaka" made the bundle of *kahavaṇu* to be given to his guru (*Vimā.Aṭṭ* 2008: 278). This shows that there was a practice of giving money to the teachers '*guru paṇḍuru'* both in Sri Lanka and India.

The historians felt that *Mahāvaṃsa* is written sometime around 5th C.E. therefore, *Mahāvaṃsa* may reflect the contemporary events also. The monetary transaction that get reflected in the times of prince Vijaya and king Paṇḍuwasudēva may not be of the 6th B.C.E.

FROM THE 3rd B.C.E. TO THE 5th C.E.

At the beginning of the second rock edict, Aśoka refers to the border people such as the Cōlas, the Paṇḍyas, the Satiyaputras and the Kēralaputras and Tāmraparṇi (Bellana 2000:31). Tāmraparṇi has been generally identified with Sri Lanka, rather than with the river "Tāmraparṇi" (Ray 1994:22). It is with the emergence of the "Mauryas" in the third century B.C.E. and particularly with the reign of King Aśoka that there is definitive reference to the development of maritime routes (Ray 1994:21). Under the "Mauryas" this coastal network was expanded all along the coast to include Sri Lanka and it was through the sea route that Dhamma missions, reached Sri Lanka, even before the voyage of Mahinda (13th rock edict).

The *Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā)* which is written in Sri Lanka, gives information on the income and the expenditure of the emperor Aśoka. He got the income of four hundred thousand, from the four gates of the *"pälalup nuwara"*, one hundred thousand from the court which is situated in the middle of the city, five hundred thousand as the other income (*Vina. Aṭṭ* 2009:45). Further, it is explained as to how he spent the five hundred thousand.

1. One hundred thousand for the Nigrōda monk.
2. One hundred thousand to offer the fragrances to the Buddhist stūpa.
3. One hundred thousand for the scholarly Bhikkhus for the four requisites.

4. One hundred thousand for the monks.
5. One hundred thousand for the medicine.

It is further mentioned in the *Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā),* that emperor Aśoka built 84,000 temples, having spent ninety six million pieces of coins (*Vina. Aṭṭ 2009:97*). These practices of Emperor Aśoka must have set an example for the kings in Sri Lanka to work on the development of the Buddhism.

Payments made for in goods – existence of Barter system

Although, the chronicles in Sri Lanka keep a low profile about the king Saddhātissa, (137-116 B.C.E.) We can find some important historical facts from the *Seehalawatthuppakaraṇa*. According to the story of the great king of Saddhātissa in the *Seehalawatthuppakaraṇa,* the king wanted to give alms with his hard earned money. Once he went out of the palace, secretly and met a villageman, and declared "Friend, I am a labour I worked for a daily income." Hence, we can assume that there were labours, who worked for the daily income in the 2nd century B.C.E. in Sri Lanka (*Seehala* 1958:28). As mentioned in the above story, the king has received paddy as wage. When evaluating the historical records in Sri Lanka, one may assume that there had been a system of barter as well as the monetary transactions from the beginning of the history. Having sold the paddy, the queen of the king Saddhātissa purchased jaggery**,** ghee and cakes with that money (*Seehala* 1958:29).

According to the textile maker Tissa's story in the *Seehalawatthuppakaraṇa,* a house with all the equipments, forty five thousand of clothes and the income of a particular village has been granted by the king Saddhātissa (137-116 B.C.E.) to the textile maker Tissa (*Seehala* 1958:3).

There are some other incidences in the *Seehalawatthuppakaṇaya* showing, that the payments were settled by the goods. According to the story of the Haritālatissa in the *Seehalawatthuppakaraṇa,* Tissa has received one *amuṇa* of paddy for his labour. (An *amuṇa* was a measure of grain amounting to 4 *pāl* or 40 *lāha.* The *lāha* was the equivalent of 4 *näḷi* (*nāḷi*). The *näḷi* is approximately the same as the modern measure. A measure of rice amounts to about two pounds in weight) (Gunawardana 1979:64)

Having given that to his wife, he told her to bring meat, fish, milk and ghee (*Seehala* 1958: 5).

The king Mahācūḷī Mahātissa (76-62 B.C.E.) had laboured in a sugar-mill and had received lumps of sugar as his wage. Having returned to the capital, an alms giving for the brotherhood of bhikkhus was organized (*MV* 1950. 34:1-6). Here, the king had received a lump of sugar, as his salary shows that the payments had been settled by the goods.

The story of Prince Saliyakumāra (2nd B.C.E.) in *Seehalawatthuppakaraṇa*, also gives evidence to the bartar system. A farmer has come to an ironsmith with rice, pork and tender leaves of Vēvāl to get some agricultural equipments (*Seehala* 1958:23).

Monetary Transactions

Having heard that a gift bought from the wages of his hard labour, in full of merit, the king Mahācūḷī Mahātissa (76-62 B.C.E.) in the very first year of his reign laboured in the harvesting, and with the wage that he received, gave alms to the thēra Mahāsumma. This evidence enable us to assume that there were labourers who worked for a wage in the paddy fields (*MV* 1950. 34:1-6).

The inscription at Gaṇēkanda Vihāra in the Kuruṇāgala district speaks as to how the labourers worked. A certain king has given nine hundred thousand for the labourers on the construction of a dam. The king's name is not mentioned here. However we can assume, that there were two kinds of labourers. They were the people who work by hands and feet (*IC* 1970. no:1199)**.** As mentioned in the *Kāma sūtta Niddēsa Vaṇṇanā* in *Mahāniddēsaṭṭhakatā*, the worker who works for a wage has been named as "Bhataka" (*Nid. Aṭṭ* 2008:64).

According to the story of the Mahānāga therō, the king Saddhātissa has given money, goods and a village to a layman (*Seehala* 1958:78). Also the same king has given hundreds of slave men, hundreds of slave women and the thousand of villages to Hankāla (*Seehala* 1958: 81)**.** As mentioned in the *Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka sūtta Niddēsa Vaṇṇanā* in the *Mahāniddēsaṭṭhakatā* there were slaves by origin. This means that

their parents were also slaves. Due to the poverty, some people had to end up being a slave (*Nid. Aṭṭ* 2008:237).

The story of the goldsmith Kuṅtha says that the king Saddhātissa has given gold to a goldsmith to make a gold plate. But the goldsmith has sold it secretly, and the money has been spent on liquor (*Seehala* 1958:96). Finally, the king Saddhātissa has given a village, one janapada and money to the goldsmith Kuntha. In another story in the *Seehalawatthuppakaraṇa* says the same king has given a janapada, a crown, jewelries, ladies, women slaves and vehicles to a poor farmer (*Seehala* 1958:110).

During the reign of the king Saddhā Tissa, a girl, called Chandrā worked on night time and got wages (*Seehala* 1958:131). The king gave her at married to a soldier and has given a big amount of money and a village (*Seehala* 1958:131). This shows that during the 2nd B.C.E. there were some janapadas, under the control of the ordinary people (*Seehala* 1958:97) and both the properties and the money have given as wages.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* records that king Kāvantissa (2nd B.C.E.) has honoured the giant Suranimala with ten thousand pieces of money (*MV* 1950. 23:37; *Thu.*v 1994: 151) and has given him his own bed, worth ten thousand pieces of money (*MV* 1950. 23: 39; Thu.v 1994:151). The giant Suranimala took them to his parents and gave the ten thousand pieces of money to his mother and the king's bed to his father (*MV* 1950. 23:40). The *Mahāvaṃsa* records that the governor of Giri gave to the giant Vēlusumana the thousand pieces of money by assuming he is that strong enough to the army of the king Kāvantissa. (*MV* 1950. 23:75). The *Thūpavaṃsa* says the step father of the Vēlusumana having seen his power of horse riding has given thousand *masuran* (money) to Vēlusumana, while accompany him to the king Kāvantissa (*Thū.*v 1994:155). Here the governor of the "Giri" or the step father of the Vēlusumana's must be a provincial leader. It is evident that even the provincial leaders were in the possession of money, during the 2nd B.C.E.

In the construction of the Mahāthūpa the king Dutugämuṇu (161-137 B.C.E.) made it known: "Work shall not be done here without wage" (Fig. 3.1). At every gate, he commanded to place sixteen hundred thousand *kahāpaṇas*, garments,

ornaments, solid and liquid foods and drink withal, fragrant flowers, sugar and so forth, as well as the five perfumes for the mouth (*MV* 1950. 30:18-19). This clearly pointed out that the wages had been received by the labours in the 2nd century B.C.E.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* says that a merchant from the city, taking many carts with him, in order to bring ginger had set out for Malaya (*MV* 1950 28:21). On the way to Malaya (the southern part of the Sri Lanka), he has seen a lump of silver and he has given it to the king Duṭugämuṇu (*MV* 1950. 28:33-35). A striking point in the above quotation is when the people find a valuable resource; they used to inform it to the king as well in return the king used to assess them well by giving money or valuable gifts. The king bestowed on him a pair of garments worth a thousand pieces of money and ornamented shoes and twelve thousand *kahāpaṇas* (*MV* 1950. 30:14**).**

The story of the sixty monks in the *Seehalawatthuppakaraṇ*a mentions, the king and the queen secretly went out of the palace and worked as labourers in a field. The king harvested the field and the queen grinded the paddy. Having worked there, for a month, they got the salary (*Seehala* 1958:126). Unfortunately, neither the king nor the queen's name identified. A certain king in Sri Lanka has given money to a minister for protecting him (*Seehala* 1958:122).

It says that during the period of the famine; Brahmantissa a women having a *massa,* had searched for food all over the city (*Seehala* 1958:136-137). Once king Wasabha (65-109 C.E.) questioned a soothsayer, asking about his future, and he told him secretly that he would live just twelve years. The king had given the soothsayer, a thousand pieces of money to keep the secret (*MV* 1950. 35:71-72). The Kithsirimewan (303-331 C.E.) had given the wages for all the living beings. It is mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* as follows "Sarvaprāninṭa vāṭupdī" (*MV* 1950. 37:71-72).

The king Buddhadāsa (340-368 C.E.) has fixed the salaries of the preachers in different places (*MV* 1950. 37: 149-150). These evidences give us an idea about the monetary transactions in the 4th century C.E. This shows that the kings understood the importance of a salary to a person during this period and work for the welfare of the people.

The king Bhātikābhaya(19 B.C.E.-9 C.E.) had set up traders shops on both sides of the road in Chēthiyagiriya (*MV* 1950. 34:76) (Fig. 3.2).

Mortgage of Human

The story of the poor farmer in the *Seehalawatthuppakaraṇa* says that during the reign of the king Saddhātissa (137-116 B.C.E.), one farmer mortgaged his daughter and received eight *kahavaṇu* and from it, he bought a twenty *karisa* of a land and started to make bricks. Further, it is mentioned that it took seven years for him to save eight *kahavaṇu* (*Seehala* 1958: 108). This means the eight *kahavaṇu* represent a huge sum of money. It further says, having given eight *kahavaṇu* a certain poor farmer has received a packet of rice from a man (*Seehala* 1958:108)**.**

As mentioned in the chronicles during the reign of king Walagambā a famine called Brāhmaṇatīya occurred. One couple has mortgaged their daughter and had obtained twelve *kahavaṇu* at the time of the famine (*Seehala* 1958: 125). When a famine occurred in the Jaffna peninsula, a husband and a wife have mortgaged their daughter and had taken fourty *kahavaṇu*. As mentioned in the *Seehalawtthuppakaraṇa* the daughter's name is Māthudēvikā Nāga. She wanted to work at the night time and earn sixty *kahavaṇu*. Having signed a letter her master has given the money (*Seehala* 1958:132).

Trade Relations

The leader of the traders was called "Setti" and he held a prestigious rank in the kingdom, as well as in the ceremony of the coronation. Among the envoys, sent by the king Dēvānampiyatissa (250-210 B.C.E.) to the emperor Aśoka, there was a leader in the trade guild, called *ganaka*. Aśoka had conferred a honorific title on him which is called "setti" (Paranavithāna 1959:226).

The *Mahāvaṃsa* also sheds lights on the foreign trade during the king Kavāntissa's period (2nd B.C.E.). A Brāhmaṇa named *kuṇḍalī*, who lived near the Cētiya Mountain in the village of Dvāramaṇḍala was in possession of merchandise from over-seas. The king Kāvanthissa said to the giant Suranimala "Go thou to him and bring hither the merchandise that he gives thee" (*MV* 1950. 23:24-25). This is a good evidence for us to think that the Brāhmaṇa people were in possession of merchandise from over-seas during the period of king Kāvantissa. Sometimes, they might have been helping the king in the foreign trade.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* also records that the giant Suranimala brought perfumes in the bazaar (*MV* 1950. 23:29). There might have been a bazaar with the foreign merchandise near the city of Anurādhapura.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* says when the queen Vihāra Mahādēvi, the chief consort of the king Kāvantissa (2nd B.C.E) was giving birth to the prince Duṭṭagāminī, by the effects of prince merits, seven ships, laden with manifold gems have arrived (*MV* 1950. 22:60-61). A ship, filled with vessels of gold also had arrived (*MV* 1950. 21: 64). Sometimes these ships might have come as a result of the foreign trade that existed during the 2nd B.C.E. Having seen these ships the people announced to the king (*MV* 1950. 21:64). Therefore, it is evident that the king had been inherited with the state land and all the resources.

The *Dīpavaṃsa* mentions that the monks, called Indagutta, Dhammasēna, the great preacher Piyadassī, Buddhā, Dhammā, and Saṅghā, wise Mittanna, Anattana, Mahādeva, learned Dhammarakkhita, Uttara, and Cittagutta and clever Indagutta, the great chief Suriyagutta of prompt wisdom, all these fourteen thēras came from Jambudīpa to this country, when the foundation of the Mahāthūpa was laid (*DV* 1992. 19: 5-7). These monks might have come to Sri Lanka as a result of the trade relations that existed during the king Duṭugämuṇu's period (161-137 B.C.E.).

Taxes

The *Kautilya's Arthaśātra* mentions that the right on both land and water had been vested with the king. As defined by *Vishṇusmṛti*, *Shāntiparvan*, *Baudyāyana Dhammasūtra* and *Nāradha* the tax which the countrymen paid to the king was compensated with the security, given to the subjects by the king. The whole tax structure, extinguished during this particular period included with the agriculture, irrigation and trade. In addition to that, the primary sources illustrate that there had been annual taxation, incurred on green lands, cemeteries and highways, depending on the fact that they were owned by the monarchy.

The Kaduruväva Brāhmī inscription which belongs to the Dēvānampiyatissa's (250-210 B.C.E.) period reveals some donations to the Saṅgha. As mentioned a chief

by the name of Datta; established the office of the grand Chamberlain, of the great king Mahānāga, and collected the taxes from the following places.

1. The two categories of revenue from Datavika tank.
2. The two categories of revenue from Karajavika.
3. The interior field of the tank Kaṭaka-nakaraka-vavi.
4. The tank Pehakara-vavi in the district kaṇiya of Badagaṇa.

It is further mentioned that the officer of the Royal gate, by the name of Dataya gave the Palata-vavi in the revenue agency of Gaviḍagaṇaka (*EZ* 1965. vol. v:413). This shows even that from the third century B.C.E., Sri Lanka had been fortunate enough to have the revenue agencies. The chief Tissa was the keeper of the records. Therefore, we may assume that there was well organized revenue system in this period.

As mentioned in the Karňdahela rock cave inscription in the Eastern Province belonging to the king Kāvantissa who was the ruler of Rōhaṇa in the 2nd B.C.E. mentions that the two taxes of the Dohuliya tank have been remitted to the Saṅgha at the monastery of Habutagala. Here, the word "do-pati" two taxes probably refer to the water tax (daka-pati) and the owner tax (bojika-pati) (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii:no. 78, 89). This inscription refers to him posthumously (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii: no.78, 90).

The queen consort of that king Chandramuka Siva (44-52 C.E.), known by the name of Damiladēvi, bestowed her own revenues from the village of the Isurumuni Vihāra (*DV* 1992. 21:45) (Fig. 3.3). As further mentioned in the *Dīpavaṁsa* the tax called "*Thathgrāma Varti*" has been donated to Isurumuni Vihāra (*DV* 1959. 21:43).

When the king Wasabha (65-109 C.E.) had built the Mucela- Vihāra in Tissavaḍḍhamānaka, he allotted to the vihāra a share in the water of the canal Āḷisāra (*MV* 1950. 35:84-85). The income generated from both land and water had been given to Saṅgha by the king. As mentioned in the *Kautilya's Arthaśāstra* the king had been inherited with the state land and water resources. Therefore he is at liberty to grant the resources to the others.

As I have mentioned earlier, the Godavāya rock inscription which is found at an ancient site on the sea coast close to the mouth of the Walavē Gaňga, in the Māgam Pattu of the Hambantoṭa district, speaks of the donation of the custom duties

of the port of Godapavata to the Vihāra at the site. The Gāmaniabhaya referred to in the Godavāya rock inscription may be Gajabāhu I (112- 134 C.E) or one of his predecessors, for instance Amaṇḍagāmiṇīabhaya (*IC* 1983. vol. ii. part i:101).

The Mīnvila rock inscription says the great king Gāmanīabhaya, the conqueror in battle, granted the revenue from the village at the royal channel to the Maṇiagiya monastery. The record registers a donation by a king named Gāmaṇī Abhaya, to whose name has been attached the epithet *yudaji*, found so far in this inscription only. This epithet is the equivalent of Skt. *yudhājit*, 'conqueror of battle', and indicates that the title bearer enjoyed a reputation for military achievements. The king named Gāminīabhaya who is usually referred to by the epithet of Gajabhāhu (elephant arm), as indicated by the epithet itself and stories which are current of him folk lore, had a reputation in ancient times for military achievements. The king who is the donor of the present inscription may therefore be identified, though not conclusively, with Gajabāhu I (*IC* 1983. vol. ii. part i:102).

The Thūpārama slab inscription of Gajabāhu I (112- 134 C.E) mentions the great king Gaminiabaya, having poured water from the golden vase into the hand and gave the *dakapati* and *bojka-pati*, to the community of monks at the Rataṇa-arba monastery. Here the water tax is mentioned as the *dakapati* and the royal due is mentioned as the *bojka-pati* (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii:116). The pouring water into the hands when making a gift of land is a well known Indian custom (EZ 1933. vol. iii:118).

The Jētavanārāma inscription, belonging to the king Kaṇiṭṭatissa (164-192 C.E.) reveals about grain tax, called "*uta"* (*EZ* 1912. vol. i. 257:Lines 14-16). It is mentioned that monastery, called Utara-Maha-Ceta has been exempted from all recognized taxes (*EZ* 1912. vol. i. 256:Lines1-2). The king Kaṇiṭṭa Tissa's Nelumpat pokuṇa inscription in the Eastern Province mentions about the remitting of the water tax, for the purpose of conducting the Ariyavaṃsa ceremony at the great monastery at Gosagala (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no. 81: 96). The water tax is called as "*Dakapati*" or "*Udakapati*" (from Skt. Udaka+prāpti) in the inscriptions.

The Mahāvaṃsa says the king Buddhadāsa (340-368 C.E.) has assigned revenues and servants for the bhikkhus who held the doctrine (*MV* 1950. 37:175).

Donations in Money

The *Kumāra Prashna Vaṇṇaṇa* in the *Kuddakapātāṭṭhakathā (Paramatthajōthikā)* mentions that the Anātapiṇdika Gruhapathi has purchased Jētavana by spreading eighteen million of raw gold and again spending the same amount of money on the construction of the Jētavana Vihāra and also eighteen million of raw gold were also spent on the bhikkhus (*Kud. Aṭṭ* 2008: 97). The *Mahānidāna Sūtta Vaṇṇanā* in the *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakatha (Sumaṅgala vilāsinī)* mentions one prince purchased a garden, belonging to a person, called Sōba by spending hundred thousand. He constructed a temple by spending another hundred thousand (*Dīgha. Aṭṭ* 2008:427). These incidences took place during the time of the Buddha in India. However these deeds of the Indian donors may have inspired the kings in Sri Lanka to make contribution to the Buddhist establishments. Specifically, the rulers receiving the patronage of the Bhikkus had experienced a considerable possibility of acquiring the will of the general public at large. Hence the rulers have always acted in a way where the order of the Bhikkus was assured with the progress and upliftment.

The king Duṭugämuṇu having defeated the Tamil king Elara (161-137 B.C.E) for a week, he offered all the costly necessities for the monks. The *Mahāvaṃsa* says thousand *kahāpaṇas* were spent on the monks (*MV* 1950. 26:21-22) and in order to honour the noble triple gem, spent twenty koṭis (*MV* 1950. 26:24-25). The same king has spent a thirty koṭis (30 bollions) on the temple (*MV* 1950. 27:47). Besides, the king had also spent hundred thousand pieces of money on the splendid ceremony of gifts for the great Bodhi–tree (*MV* 1950. 28:1). These evidences show us that there prevailed a wealthy and prosperous society during this period.

The *Dīpavaṃsa* mentions that the king Duṭugämuṇu, the ruler of the earth, made an agreement to work for wages in the paddy fields, and gave the money to the monk Summa (*DV* 1992. 19:21). The same king having made an agreement for full three years labour at a sugar mill; he bestowed a great donation of thousand kōṭis to the Bhikkhus (*DV* 1992. 19:22).

The important evidence regarding monetary transactions comes into light during the king Walagambā's (103 and 89-77 B.C.E.) period. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* the king Walagambā has given the "*prāpthi*" salary to the saṇgā in

Abayagiri (*MV* 1950. 33:101) (Fig. 3.4). As mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* "*prāpthi*" salary is given only to the bikkhus in Abayagiri but not for the Mahā Vihāra Bhikkhus. This shows towards the end of the last century of B.C.E. there were Bhikkhus who received a salary from the government. The *Mahāvaṃsa* does not mention any particular aid, offered by the king Walagambā to the Mahā Vihāraya, while it categorically and clearly stipulating of the aid offered by the same to the Abayagiriya.

The Kārimoṭṭai rock inscription of the king Gajabahu I (112-134 C.E.) in the Eastern Province mentions the giving of *kahāpaṇas* to the great stūpa of the monastery (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no. 80:93-94). The Īraṭperiyakulam rock inscription which can be taken to the same king, recording a grant made to an ancient monastery. Here, the name of the monastery is not clear (*IC* 1983. vol. ii. part i:102).

The king Vōhārakatissa (214-236 C.E.) having constructed the Sattapaṇṇakapāsāda, gave monthly a thousand pieces of money for the Mahā Vihāra (*MV* 1950. 36:32-33). The spending of three hundred thousand pieces of money, the Bhikkus from their debt were released (*MV* 1950. 36:39-40). This shows that there were many bhikkhus who suffered from the indebt.

The king Jettatissa II (331-340 C.E.) spent 900,000 *kahāpaṇas* to organize a great festival for the Tooth Relic (*MV* 1950. 37:96-97).

Donations of garments

The *Dhammasṅganippakaraṇaṭṭhakathā (Atthasālinī)* mentions that the aspirant Buddha once born as a Brāhmaṇ called Suruchi and has given away cloths, valuing the hundred thousand to new Bhikkhus (*Dham. Aṭṭ* 2008: 67). These deeds in the Buddhism may have inspired the kings in Sri Lanka to make contribution to the Buddhist establishments. The *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions that the king Duṭugämuṇu (161-137 B.C.E.) had given a pair of garments, worth of a thousand pieces of money to a Bhikkhu (*MV* 1950. 30:36-37).

The *Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā)* says that monk called Mahāpaduma thēro received three robes with three hundred *kahavaṇu* and a one medicinal *karaṅdu* to having treated the consort of king Wasaba (65-109 C.E.) (*Vina. Aṭṭ* 2009:445).

The king Abayanāga (236 -244 C.E.) by spending twice hundred thousand pieces of money, distributed gifts of clothing among the brotherhood of the bhikkhus in the Island (*MV* 1950. 36:53; *DV* 1992. 22:36, 37).

Providing Food and the Four Requisites to the Bhikkhus

The kings in Sri Lanka have provided the food and the four requisites to the Bhikkhus. It is evident from the chronicles inscriptions and *vinaya* commentaries. It is during the reign of the *king* Dēvānampiyatissa (250-210 B.C.E.) that, a Sri Lankan king has offered the four requisites to the Bhikkhus for the first time in its history.

According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the king Dutugämuṇu (161-137 B.C.E.) had to face a famine, called the Bulukē. At that time, his own two precious ear-rings were sold by the king and a goodly dish of sour millet gruel was given to the five hundred bhikkus (*MV* 1950. 32:29-31). During the famine of the Brāhmaṇatissa in the 1st C.E. a young man called Tissa having sold a gem worth of a thousand, has given alms to monks. The king has then named him as the treasurer. However, in this story, the king's name is not mentioned (*Seehala* 1958:105).

The Sivijāthaka in the *Dhammasṅganippakaraṇaṭṭhakathā (Atthasālinī)* mentions that the aspirant Buddha has spent five *amuṇus* of *kahavaṇu* everyday on the alms giving (*Dham. Aṭṭ* 2008:66). These practices must have given examples to the kings in Sri Lanka to provide arms to the Bhikkhus.

During the period of King Mahāsena (276-303 C.E.) with the companionship of Saṅghamittra monk, made an effort to destroy the Mahā Vihāra. Therefore, the king established a royal penalty. It is whosoever gives food to the bhikkhu, dwelling in the Mahā Vihāra is liable to a fine of a hundred pieces of money (*MV* 1950. 37:5). The same king had distributed alms for one thousand therōs, at cost of a thousand (*MV* 1950. 37: 45-46).

The Mahāvaṃsa says the king Buddhadāsa (340-368 C.E.) built vihāras and pariveṇas which were fitted up with the four needs (*MV* 1950. 37:175).

Donations of Buildings

The kings in Sri Lanka have made donations to construct buildings. King Dēvānapiyatissa (250-210 B.C.E.) had constructed a dānaśala called "Mahāpālī" where the Bhikkus were offered with arms.

According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* before the construction of Mahāthūpa by the king Duṭugämuṇu (161-137 B.C.E.) these resources had immerged.

1. Easterly direction from the city, near Ācāraviṭthigām, on a sixteen karīsa of land there appeared nuggets of gold of different sizes (*MV* 1950. 28:13).
2. On the east side of the city, near Tambaviṭa, copper appeared (*MV* 1950. 28:16).
3. In the south- easterly direction from the city, near the village of Sumanavāpī many precious stones appeared (*MV* 1950. 28:19).
4. In a southerly direction from the city silver appeared in the Ambaṭṭhakōla cave (*MV* 1950. 28:20).

If this was so, one may assume that the king Duṭugämuṇu had spent money in the form of gold, copper, precious stones and silver to construct the Mahāthūpa. The *Mahāvaṃsa* says the things that have been made for the Great Thūpa were worth of twenty kōṭis; the rest that was made for the Great Thūpa by the king was worth of a thousand kōṭis (*MV* 1950. 32:26-29).

The king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi built an exceedingly costly, quadrangular palace, the Lōhāpāsāda of nine stories in height, at an expense of thirty kōṭis (*DV* 1992. 19:1). The *Mahāvaṃsa* says that the Lōhapāsāda caught fire from a lamp. The same king built it to a height of a seven storied building which is worth of ninety times a hundred thousand (*MV* 1950. 33:6-7). The *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions that from the four corners of the canopy, hung bundles of pearl strings each worth nine hundred thousand pieces of money (*MV* 1950. 30:67-68). Ninety nine Vihāras have been built by the same king and, with the spending of nineteen kōṭis the Maricavaṭṭi Vihāra.

However, these accounts are full of exaggerations; we can only assume that money was available in the kingdom, the country was also prosperous. The Maricavaṭṭi vihāra (Fig. 3.6), the Lohapāsāda (Fig. 3.7) and the Great Thūpa

(Ruwanvälimahāsäya) (Fig. 3.8) have been identified by archaeological explorations and excavations.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* says that the king Lañjatissa (119-109 B.C.E.) built, in atonement, spending three hundred thousand pieces of money, three stone terraces for the offering of flowers, to the great Cetiya (*MV* 1950. 33:20-22). As well, he had spent a hundred thousand on the Cetiya-Vihāra (*MV* 1950. 33:25). It is stated that king Lañjatissa has offered many caves to the Sangha.

As mentioned in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, the prince Nāga , the son of the king Kūṭakaṇṇatissa (41-19 B.C.E.) has decorated the street near the Chētgiri Vihāra (*DV* 1959. 21:31). The *Mahāvaṃsa* says that the king Bhātikābhaya (19 B.C.E.-9 C.E.) prepared a net in coral and cast over the Great Thūpa (*MV* 1950. 34:47).

Two rock inscriptions at Vihāregala mentions that the king Saba (59-65 C.E.) has constructed the Sabbath- hall at the Ekadorika monastery (*E Z* 1933. vol. iii: 162-163). The king Wasabha (65-109 C.E.) built the Anurārāma Vihāra, near Mahāgāma and built the Mucela- Vihāra in Tissavaḍḍhamānaka. (*MV* 1950. 35:83-84). The king Gajabahu's (112-134 C.E.) mother gave a hundred thousand pieces of money to build a vihāra (MV 1950. 35:117-118).

The king Jetthatissa I (266-276 C.E.) has built a seven storied, splendid Lohapāsāda, and the *Mahāvaṃsa* says that it was worth a kōṭi pieces (billion) of money. The king had offered a jewel worth sixty thousand. The king Jeṭṭhatissa named it as Maṇipāsāda (*MV* 1950. 36:124-125).

The king Buddhadāsa (340-368 C.E.) built the orphanages for the refuges, for the blind and for cripples of the country as well they were entitled to get remuneration. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* these places are called the (halls with wages) "*vetup sahitha śāla*" (*MV* 1950. 37:148-149).

Renovation of Buildings

It is also said once, the Tamil king Elara went to the Cētiya – mountain to invite the brotherhood of the Bhikkhus. He has reached the relevant place by a chariot and an accidently; his vehicle knocked the thūpa and damaged it. Therefore, he had to

spend fifteen thousand *kahāpaṇas* to renew the Cētiya Thūpa. It is believed that this incident might have happened during the 2nd B.C.E. (*MV* 1950. 21:26)

The king Bhātikābhaya (19 B.C.E.-9 C.E.) has festooned the Ambasthala stūpa, with golden balls and pearls (*MV* 1950. 34:74). The king Saṅgatissa I (247-251 C.E.) decorated the Mahāchētiya with the four great gems, each worth of a hundred thousand pieces of money (*MV* 1950. 36:65-66).

Other requirements of the Bhikkhus

The king Gajabahu I (112-134 C.E.) had given the *Saṅgabōga* having been spent a hundred thousand pieces of money (*MV* 1950. 35:121).

Donations of tanks

The inscription belongs to the Bhātikābhaya (19 B.C.E.-9 C.E.) says having poured water into the hands of the donor with a golden vase, the canal of Gaṇa..ṭaka has given to the monks residing in the Pilipavata monastery (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii: 154).

The rock inscription at Pahala Kayināṭṭama belongs to the reign of a king named Saba, who has been identified, for reasons, with Subha of the chronicles (59-65 C.E.) mentions having bought the Upaladoṇika tank for five hundred pieces of money and removed the silt by spending another five hundred and gave to the monks of the Ekadvāra monastery (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii:162-163) (Fig. 3.9).

The *Mahāvaṃsa* says that the king Gajabahu I (112-134 C.E.) had made the Gāmaṇtissa tank and, it was bestowed on the Abhayagiri-Vihāra for the maintenance of food and wages (*MV* 1950. 35:120). This shows that the income, generated from the tank, was given to the saṅgha. Sometimes saṅgha might have got the tax from the people who used the tank water.

The Thūpārama slab inscription of Gajabāhu I (112- 134 C.E) tells us that the king granted, certain income derived from a tank or a tract of paddy fields to the monks of the Rataṇa Araba monastery (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii:115) (Fig. 3.10).

The king Bhathikatissa II (140-164 CE) had built the Gavaratissa Vihāra and vested the Mahāmaṇi-tank on it (*MV* 1950. 36:2-3). Therefore, we can assume that

each of the Vihāra needs an income for their survival. There were many workers in a vihāra, and also they were paid a salary for their survival.

Donations of Paddy fields

The Rātravela rock inscription in the Eastern Province which belongs to the king Mahādātika Mahānāga (9-21 C.E.) mentions that the income of the fields of Velamuka, Sukamuka and Hujikaḍa has been given to the assembly of monks, at the mountain Bohogiri-Naka.

The king Wasabha (65-109 C.E.) has given a thousand karīsa of land to the thūpa in Galambatittha (*MV* 1950. 35:85-86). A *karīsa* of cultivable land, amounted to four amuṇu sowing extent. Codrington estimated it to a one acre (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii: 189-190).

The king Buddhadāsa (340-368 C.E.) gave the physicians the produce of, ten fields as livelihood (*MV* 1950. 37:147).

Donations of villages

The king Wasabha (65-109 C.E.) built the Anurārāma Vihāra, near Mahāgāma and bestowed on it a thousand and eight *karisa* of land of the village, Heḷigāma (*MV* 1950. 35:83-84).

The king Buddhadāsa (340-368 C.E.) had constructed the Mōrapariveṇa and donated the two villages called Samaṇa gāma and Goḷapānuwa gāma for its maintenance (*MV* 1950. 37:174)

Idea of a loan

The *Sāmañ̃ñaphala Sūtta Vaṇṇaṇā* in the *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā (Sumaṃgala vilāsinī)* explains about a person who became successful after getting a loan. He has decided to settle the loan with the interests to overcome all obstacles which caused from the loan. Having settled the loan he has destroyed the letter of the agreement. It is further mentioned that, once it is settled no envoy or a letter came to him. He needs not to stand up even when he sees the person who gave him money (*Dīgha. Aṭṭ* 2008:195). This shows that there was a good economic system in the 5th C.E. in Sri

Lanka. The agreement letters, remind letters as well as the envoys have been used in this banking system. This is similar to the modern day banking system too. Sometimes these envoys might have come to the houses and reminded the monthly deduction of the loan. The *Sāmaññaphala Sūtta Vaṇṇaṇā* in the *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakatha (Sumaṅgala vilāsinī)* mentions the pleasure received by a person whose debt is settled (*Dīgha. Aṭṭ* 2008: 192).

The Categorization of the Wealthy People

The *Chūlaraṭa Vimāna Vaṇṇanā* in the *Vimānavatthu Aṭṭhakathā (Paramattha Dīpanī)* gives the categorization of the wealthy people, which stipulated as follows (*Vimā. Aṭṭ* 2008:318-319).

Mahaddhanā - A person who possesses a billion

Mahā bōgā - A person who can spend three posts of *kahavaṇu*

Pahūta dhana Dhaññsō - A person who possess a big amount of money and grain.

Tē pi na ajarāmarā - A person who possesses money for seven eight years to spend on his servants.

The Administrative Officers Who Helped the King in the Monetary Transactions

It is impossible for the king to control the economy of the country alone; therefore he needed a supportive staff for it. We can get an idea about the administrative officers who helped the king in the monetary transactions from the Brāhmī inscriptions, chronicles as well as from the *Vinaya* commentaries, in Sri Lanka. Some of the administrative officers who have helped the king in the monetary transactions are discussed here.

A.I. Treasurer

The treasurers are named as “baḍakarika” in the Brāhmī inscriptions. Nearly seventeen Brāhmī inscriptions have been found bearing the term “baḍakarika”.

“paṇita-baḍakarika” and “baḍakarika”. These terms are hitherto interpreted as treasurer < Skt. bhāṇḍāgārika (*EZ* 1933. vol. i: 145).

The Tōravamayiläva inscription in the North Western Province mentions a chief mercenary soldier, called Śumana (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no. 10: 55). The Baṁbaragastalāva cave in the Eastern Province mentions mercenary soldiers, called Nagakula; and of Gotimita (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no. 11:55-56). The Koravakgala cave inscription in the Southern Province, speaks of a mercenary solider of the great king Pita. “Pita- Mahārajaha” has been identified by S. Paranavithāna, as the king Vaṭṭagāmaṇiabhaya who ruled in 103 and 89-77 B.C.E. (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no. 55:75; *IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 621: 47).

The two Mihintale cave inscriptions in the Northern Central Province sheds light of a mercenary soldier, called “Parumaka Sēna” (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no. 59. 60: 77-78). The Nuvarakaṇḍa inscription speaks of a treasurer, called Anurādha (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 916:71) (Fig. 3.11). The Tōrava Mayiläva inscription mentions of an officer in charge of the store house of goods (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 1035:81) (Fig. 3.12). The Rāgala Vihāra inscription speaks of a minister “Aha” the treasurer (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 1192:95)**.** As mentioned in the *Hiri Sūtta Vaṇṇanā* in the *Suttanipātaṭṭha kathā (paramatthajōtikā)* there were treasurers in the families too (*Sutt. Aṭṭ* 2008: 332).

The “kōsa” means treasury (*Dīgha. Aṭṭ* 2008:270). There were three types of treasury, according to the *Kāma Sūtta Niddēsa Vaṇṃanā in Mahāniddēsaṭṭhakatā* and the *Kūṭadanta Sūtra Varṇana* in the *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakatha (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī)* They are:

1. Treasury for Money
2. Treasury for grain
3. Ttreasury for cloths (*Nid. Aṭṭ* 2008:17; *Dīgha. Aṭṭ* 2008:270).

Further, it reveals the reasons for the destruction of money in the treasury (*Nid. Aṭṭ* 2008: 35). As mentioned in the *Guhaṭṭha Sūtta Niddēsa Vaṇṇanā* in *Mahāniddēsaṭṭhakatā,* the king’s jewelery have been protected by a treasurer. The tag has been tied in each jewelery, mentioning its’ name. When the king ordered to bring a jewelery the treasurer has to enter the treasury with the alighted lamp and read

the tags and bring the jewelries which the king need (*Nid. Aṭṭ* 2008:197). This shows that there was a separate treasurer who protected the king's jewelries apart from the treasurer of money, treasurer of grain and that of treasurer of cloths.

According to the *Dhammuddesavārakathā* in *Dhammasṅganippakaraṇ aṭṭhakathā (Atthasālinī)*, the treasurer of the king has to protect the ten gems and bless the king each morning and the evening. Further, it is mentioned that the treasurer of the *Sakvithi raja* has to report the amount of the elephants, horses, chariots, soldiers, as well as the amount of the raw gold, dens of gold and also the properties which king possesses, each morning and evening (*Dham. Aṭṭ* 2008:172). There was a separate treasury for the elephants, the horses and the chariots (*Dīgha. Aṭṭ* 2008:270)**.**

According to the *Tiṅsaka Vaṇṇanā* in the *Vinayaṭṭakathā (Samantapāsādikā)*, the robes have been kept in a separate treasury (*Vin. Aṭṭ* 2004:196). The monks also have been appointed as treasurers in the temples (*Vina. Aṭṭ* 2009:337). The Chinese monk Fah-Hian who visited the Sri Lanka on 5th C.E. gives a clear idea of treasury belonged to the monks. "Their king once enters the treasury, and going round it for the purpose of inspection, he saw there this *mani* gem. On beholding it, a covetous feeling sprang up in his heart, and he desired to take it away with him. For three days this thought afflicted him, but then he came to his right mind. He directly reported to the assembly of the priests, and bowing down his head, he repented for his former wicked purpose, and addressing them, said, "Would that you make a rule from this time, forth and forever, no account to allow the king to enter your treasury to look (a the jewels,) except he is a member of fraternity and of forty years of age" (Beal 1993: 154). And also, he has mentioned that the treasury of this congregation of priests contains numerous gems and a *mani* Jewel of inestimable value (Beal 1993: 154).

The term *'deruvan dekamtän'* occurs most frequently in inscriptions, but it does not occur in any literary work (Gunawardana 1979: 187). The word "*kamtän"* carries the connotation of an "office" or "officials". S. Paranavithāna (*E. Z* 1933. vol. iii: 143) (Fig. 3.13) has made the plausible suggestion that "deruvana", may refer to "two treasuries". The two treasury establishments were known in both state and temple administration of South India (Gunawardana 1979:187).

According to the merit book, of king Duṭugämuṇu he had constructed hospitals in eighteen places in Sri Lanka and gave money to the physicians from the treasury (*Thū.v* 1994:235). The king Dutugämuṇu has appointed scholars for each village in Sri Lanka to propagate the doctrine of dhamma among the civilians, and the king himself has given their wages on the monthly basis. The king had given four nalī of ghee, jaggery made of sugar cane, sticks of sugar cane, bananas and jackfruits from the treasury monthly (*Thū.v* 1994:235). As mentioned in the *Thūpavaṁsa* one may get an idea of items, kept in the treasury. According the above mentioned ghee, jaggery made of sugar cane, sticks of sugar cane, bananas and jackfruits were issued by the treasury. The king Dutugämuṇu appointed a minister, called Saṅgha to protect his treasury (*Thū.v* 1994:239).

The king Bhāthikābayatissa has gained the oil which is deposited in the treasury for the ceremony of the Mahāthupa (*Thū.v* 1994: 211). The king Sirisangabo (251-258 C.E.) had a treasurer, called Goluabhā (*MV* 1967. 36:91).

The king Sena I (833-853 C.E.) had faced with a attack from the Paṇḍya Dēśa. Śri Māra Śri Wallabha invaded Sri Lanka. The *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions that having taken all the valuable properties, the king left the town and turned towards Malaya (*MV* 1950. 50: 20-21). Among this valuable property, he must have taken the money to the Malaya area. Furthermore, the *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions that Paṇḍu king took away all the valuables in the treasure house of the king and plundered what there was to plunder in vihāra and the town (*MV* 1950. 50: 33-34).

B.II. Revenue collectors

The Kandegamakaṇḍa inscription speaks of a revenue collector called *Maha aya* (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 289:23) The Rajagala inscription has mentioned of the revenue officer of the great king Abhaya (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 429: 33). The Malvatta Brāhmī inscription giving the details of the revenue collector of Cittadevī (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 471:36). The Situlpavuva Ekuṇḍara Väva inscription, mentioning the revenue officer of king Tissa (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 647:48) (Fig. 3.14). The Brāhmī Inscription which is come to us from the Tissamahārama speaks of a revenue officer (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 703:53) (Fig. 3.15).

The *Kūṭadanta Sūtta Vaṇṇana* in the *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakatha (Sumaṅgala vilāsinī)* mentions an interesting story of a king. The king started to give food for the subjects in the five places of the city by spending five hundred thousand each day. Subjects are allowed to take food to their house. In the evening the king gave the cloths and garlands to the subjects. Finally the subjects thought we should give something to the king in return. They all got together and collected money from the villages and put them into carts and hand over it to the king (*Dīgha. Aṭṭ* 2008:276). This shows that the king needs the revenue, to protect and to treat the people. From this the country will become successful.

C.III. Accountants

The term "*kaṇaka*" (<Pkt. *gaṇaka*) means "accountant". The term "*gaṇaka*" occurs in this sense in the Sinhala-Brāhmī inscriptions (*IC* 1970:xcv). In later Tamil inscriptions, "Kaṇakkaṉ" meant the 'accountant who maintained the accounts of the village or temple (Mahādēvan 2003:123). As mentioned in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, the king Dēvanampiyatissa has sent his son Tissa, an accountant to Dhammāśhoka (*DV* 1959. 11:30). The Maha Äḷagamuva inscription in Kalāgam-palāta in the Anurādhapura district mentions of an accountant (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 212:17) (Fig. 3.16). The Miyuṅguṇa Vehera inscription in the Mānmunai Pattu of the Ampāra district speaks of a chief accountant (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 419:32).

The names of two accounts have been mentioned in two inscriptions in Maṅḍagala in the Yāla Game Sanctuary in Māgam Pattu of the Hambantoṭa district. An accountant, called Nuguya (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 576:44) and the accountant called Rohaka (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 580:44) can be identified from it. The Situlpavuva inscription in Māgam Pattu of the Hambantoṭa district gives information of an accountant called Tissa, son of the accountant Tissa (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 619:47). The Sīlavakanda inscription in the Māgam Pattu of the Hambantoṭa district brings out of an accountant called Raki (*I C* 1970. vol. i. no. 673:51). The Magul Maha Vihāra in the Yāla Game Sanctuary in Māgam Pattu of the Hambantoṭa district also refers to an accountant (*I C* 1970. vol. i. no. 679:51). The Välaellugoḍa –Kaṇḍa inscription in the Buttala kōrale of the Moṇarāgala disrict stipulates of a cave belonging to an

accountant called Tissa (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 729:55). The Mullegama inscription of Demaḷ Hatpattu in the Puttalam district talks about an accountant (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 1070:83). Alagarmalai Tamil Brahmi inscription no:5 in South India also speaks of "Kaṇaka" the son of Ataṉ, the accountant who lived in the 1st B.C.E. (Mahadevan 2003:373).

D.IV. Granary-keepers

The two inscriptions of the Maha Äḷagamuva in Kalāgam-palāta in the Anurādhapura district mentions of a store keeper called Uttara (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no 214:17; *EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no .07:54; *IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 226:18) (Fig. 3.17). The other inscriptions belonged to this same place presented information of a granary–keeper called, Caḷa. (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii. no. 08:55).

FROM THE 5TH C.E TO THE 10TH C.E.

Monetary transactions

There are ample evidences on monetary transaction during the period of 5th to 10th C.E. Once the king Upatisssa I (368-410 C.E.) gave a criminal, money letting him to escape at night (*MV* 1950. 37:205-206).

It is said that the Chinese monk, Fah-Hian who visited Sri Lanka at the beginning of the fifth century, during the reign of the king Mahānāma (410-432 C.E.) has recorded that there were many noblemen and rich householders within the city (Beal 1993: 154). It is further mentioned that the houses of the "Sa-pho" (Sabaean) merchants are very beautifully adorned. The streets and passages are all smooth and lever (Beal 1993: 154). Here the word "Sa-pho" is similar to a merchant of Saba or Arabia. The word "Saba" according to Marco Polo, is a town in Persia (Beal 1993: 154)

The king Silakāla (522-535 C.E.) had increased the wages of the hospitals (*MV* 1950. 40:28-29). The king Silāmēgavaṇṇa (623-632 C.E.) has given money to the children to buy cakes (*MV* 1967. 42:67).

The *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions that the king Aggabōdhi VII (772-777 C.E.) consulted the astrologers and they said that he was fitted for the royal dignity; he gave

the astrologers plenty of money and ordered them to keep the matter a secret (*MV* 1950. 48:77-78) Here, the chronicle does not mention the sum of money given to them.

The Giritalē pillar inscription which Wickremasinghe has rightly identified, with Udaya II (887-898 C.E.) who succeeded Dappula V speaks of labourers who serve by turns (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii:141) (Fig. 3.18).

As mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* the king Mihindu V (982-1029 C.E.) in his tenth year had entirely lost his fortune, he was unable to satisfy his troops by giving them their pay. All the Keraḷas who did not receive their payments stood against the king (*MV* 1950. 55:4-6).

Donations of Paddy Fields

The king Dhātusena (459-477 C.E.) gave his brother Kumārasena his pubbabhoga which consisted of two hundred fields and half (*MV* 1950. 38: 53).

Having granted three hundred fields to the Jētavana Vihāra, the king Mahānāga (573-575 C.E.) instituted there a permanent gift of rice soup for the Bhikkhus (*MV* 1967. 40:98-99). He handed over to the ascetics, thousand fields from the tank of Dūratissa, for the permanent gift of rice soup for the Bhikkhus in the Mahā Vihāra monastery (*MV* 1967. 40:99).

The king Aggabōdhi I (575-608 C.E.) granted two hundred fields, for the maintenance of Bhikkus in Giri Vihāra (*MV* 1967. 41: 9-10). Also, he built the Ambilapassava-Vihāra and granted the village of this name to the ascetics of the Mahā Vihāra Bhikkus (*MV* 1967. 41:17).

The Gäraṅḍigala rock inscription which comes under the king Kasspa III (724-730 C.E.) mentions, donation of some fields to a cave. It further mentions if there be any who shall create disturbance the fields subscribed for and given to this cave by its patrons, may they not receive food to eat. May they be born as dogs and crows in their next birth (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii:198-199) (Fig. 3.19).

Donations of Tanks

The kings in Sri Lanka have donated the tanks and the income that derives from the tank goes to the person or the place who receive the donation. The king Dhātusena (459-477 C.E.) gave his brother Kumārasēna the income from Kālavāpi (*MV* 1950. 38:53).

The king Aggabōdhi I (575-608 C.E.) a monastery called "Kuruṇḍa" was built, and the king donated a tank and given hundred monastery attendants for its maintenance (*MV* 1967. 41:15-16).

The king Silāmēgavaṇṇa (623-632 C.E.) restored the ruined, Abhayagiri monastery and dedicated the Kolavāpi tank (*MV* 1967. 42:68-69).

The king Kassapa II (650-659 C.E.) had given the tank of Mahagala to the monk who lived in the practicing house (*MV* 1967. 43:27-28).

Donation of money

The king Dhātusēna (459-477 C.E.) gave thousand gold pieces, for the interpretation of the *Dīpavaṃsa*. (*MV* 1950. 38:58-60).

The *Mahāvaṃsa* says that Kassapa II (650-659 C.E.) had provided "saṅga aya" . Most probably this can be money, given to the saṅgha (*MV* 1967. 43:5). When the king was consecrated, he presented the three fraternities with three thousand *kahāpaṇas* (*MV* 1967. 43:16-17).

Having invaded the Paṇḍya Dēśha, the king Sēna II (853-887 C.E.) celebrated the festival of victory and instituted the great offering for beggars according to their heart's desire (*MV* 1950. 51:47-48).

The *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions that during the reign of the king Dappula's IV (924-935 C.E.) period Paṇḍu king through fear of the Cōḷa king left his country and disembarked at the port of Mahātittha. The king gave him an abundant income and granted him a dwelling outside the town (*MV* 1950. 53:5-7).

The king Sēna III (938-946 C.E.) gave thousand *kahāpaṇas* to the poor on the Upōsatha day (*MV* 1950. 53:29). Having evaluated the Chronicles we can observe that the kings have given money to the poor, scholarly monks, monks in Monasteries and the people who have come to Sri Lanka for the protection.

Spending Money for Constructions

The king Dhātusena (459-477 C.E.) erected a splendid house for the Bodhi Tree spending a hundred thousand gold pieces (*MV* 1950. 38:77).

The *Mahāvaṃsa* says that, the king Kāssapa (477–495 C.E.) built a fine palace in Sigiriya, worthy to behold, like another Alakamaṇḍa and dwelt there like Kuvēra (*MV* 1950. 39:5).

The king Aggabōdhi I (575-608 C.E.) erected the Giri Vihāra, a monastery called Kurunda and the Ambilapassava- Vihāra (*MV* 1967. 41:15-17).

The king Aggabōdhi III (633-643 C.E.) erected a practicing house called, Mahallakarāja (*MV* 1967. 42:119-122).

The king Aggabhōdhi IV (667-683 C.E.) built a practicing house to the thēro Dhātasiva (*MV* 1967. 44:12-14). A Tamil, by the name of Potthakuṭṭha, who served for the king, has erected a wonderful practicing house to the king (*MV* 1967. 44:19-20). In the period of this king, another Tamil person, called Mahākaṇḍa constructed a pariveṇa to Bhikkus (*MV* 1967. 44:23). Here we can see the increase of the Tamil population, during this period and as well it is evident that they became very close to the Sinhalese culture and many of them became as dignitaries.

The highly virtuous consort of the king Aggabhōdhi IV (667-683 C.E.), Jeṭṭhā, built the Jeṭṭhārāma as abode for the Bhikkhunīs (*MV* 1967. 44:27-29).

The king Kassapa III (724-730 C.E.) has constructed a monastery called Vāṇijagāma (*MV* 1950. 48:24). Here the word “Vāṇija” represents the traders. Sometimes most of the people who dwelled around this monastery may have been traders. The same king constructed the Abavana monastery (*MV* 1950. 48:25).

The *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions that the king Mihindu I (730-733 C.E.) built an abode for the Bhikkhunīs.

The king Mihindu II (777-797 C.E.) built the Ratnapāsāda like a second Vejayanta at a cost of three hundred thousand *kahāpaṇas.* Also he spent six thousand *kahāpaṇas* on the costly diamond of jewels (*MV* 1950. 48:136-138).

The king Udaya I (797-801 C.E.) built a large hall in Padaviya for the sick people (*MV* 1950. 48:19-20).

The king Kassapa V (914-923 C.E.) restored the Maricavaṭṭi-Vihāra built by king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. He built the Ganthākara Pariveṇa in the Mahāmēghavana, the Bahṇḍikā Pariveṇa in the Abhayagiri Vihāra, the Silāmēghapabbata and a hospital in the town (*MV* 1950. 52:45-62).The kings have spent their money to construct religious buildings like practicing houses, houses for Bōdi tree, abode for Bhikkhunis and palaces, *Parivenas,* halls for sick people and hospitals.

Renovation of Buildings

The king Silāmēgavaṇṇa (623-632 C.E.) restored the ruined, Abhayagiri monastery and decorated it with precious stones (*MV* 1967. 42:68-69).

The king Jettatissa III (632-633 C.E.) has restored some ruin at a cost of three hundred thousand *kahāpaṇas* (*MV* 1967. 42:102).

The king Aggabodhi V (718-724 C.E.) restored the ruins of the Cētiyapabbata at a cost of six and twenty thousand gold pieces (*MV* 1950. 48:7-8).

The king Udaya I (797-801 C.E.) restored ruined Bōdhigara (*MV* 1950. 49: 16-18).

The king Mahinda III (801-804 CE) granted the Geṭṭhumba canal for the repairs, being made at all times on the Ratanapāsāda (*MV* 1950. 49: 41).

The king Sēna III (938-946 C.E.) restored the dwellings of the Bhikkūs by spending a thousand or five hundred *kahāpaṇas.* He has spent forty thousand *kahāpaṇas o*n the stone paving of the Abhayuttara-cētiya (*MV* 1950. 53:31-34).

Trade Relations

The king Kāssapa (477–495 C.E.) built a fine palace in Sigiriya and lived there. The archaeological finds from the site, such as coins and ceramics, show that Sigiriya would have been a land of welcome for different foreign traders (Bopearachchi 2006:37) The Sigiriya excavations conducted during the year 1983 yielded more than 300 coins (Bopearachchi 1990A: 20-37). They are all small copper coins in a very worn out condition, like most of the Roman and the Indo-Roman copper coins, found in Sri Lanka. The earliest coin, found in the site is a follis of Constantine I, dated 317 C.E. and stuck at the mint of Rome. The rest of the identified

issues belong to other later Roman emperors: Valentinian I and II, Valens, Gratian, Theodosius I and II, Arcadius and Honorius (Bopearachchi 2006:37). The total number of coins found at Sigiriya, the short-lived residence of Kassapa, was nearly 3000 coins (Bopearachchi 2006:37). The account of J. Still (1907: 165), with regard to the coin finds from Sigiriya is very clear the "Roman coins have been found singly and in small quantities together all over Sigiriya, wherever excavated, summit, terrace and the city below." This means that Kassapa promoted or tolerated a free circulation of foreign coins in his kingdom (Bopearachchi 2006:37). An elegant edifice built of stone, found at this site, has been identified by S. Paranavithāna as a shrine which was originally dedicated to Varuṇa, the god who ruled the sea. Paranavithāna who dated it in the seventh century believed that it was this shrine which was built, according to the Chronicles, by a princeling who held sway over southern Sri Lanka (Paranavitana 1953:10; Gunawardana 1990:35).

The *Mahāvaṃsa* says that the king Moggallāna I (495-512 CE) had instituted a guard for the sea-cost, to protect the Island from danger (*MV* 1967. 39:57). Sometimes he may have protected the country from the foreign invasions.

In the twelfth year of king Silakāla (522-535 C.E.), a young merchant who went for trading to Kāsipura in India, in return brought a book called, Dhammadhātu (*MV* 1967. 40:37-38).

The *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions that during the period of king Mihindu V (982-1029 C.E.) *senāpati*, called Sēna has brought many foreigners from different countries to the kingdom of Anurādhapura (*MV* 1950. 55:1-2). Sometimes these foreigners might be the traders. As further mentions in the *Mahāvaṃsa* a horse dealer who had come to Sri Lanka reported the Cōla king about the condition in Sri Laṅkā (*MV* 1950. 55:13-14).

Donations of Villages

The king Mahānāga (573-575 C.E.) had affiliated the weavers' village Jambalā and the village Siyambalā to the Mahā Vihāra monastery. The village of Vasabha in Uddhagāma was granted to the Jētavana (*MV* 1967. 40:96-97).

The king Aggabōdhi I (575-608 C.E.) the village of Aṅgaṇasālaka had been granted for the maintenance of the Abhayagiri monastery (*MV* 1967. 41:63-65).

The king Jettatissa III (632-633 C.E.) had given the Mailagana and Dibulagana villages to the Mahānaga thēro. This fact sheds light on us to assume that the king has given these two villages personally to the Mahānaga thero. But the common practice which is left behind is giving the whole Saṇga. Also the king has granted the income of the several villages to the monasteries (*MV* 1967. 42:97-102). They go as follows:

1. The village of Ambalapa to the Kasubgiri monastery
2. The village of Kekuluvita to the Vēluvan monastery
3. The village of Kehethā to the Gṇgāmāthukā monastery
4. The village of Choolamāthika to the Athurugaṇ monastery
5. The tank of Mayeth to the Kasub Vehera monastery
6. The village of Uda to the Kalāvē monastery

The king Aggabōdhi III (633-643 C.E.) granted the two villages of Haṅkāraya, Samūgma to the practicing house of the Mahallakarāja. The same king gave the village Māminiyāgama to the Jētavana Vihāra and, he honoured the Mayetkassupāvāsa Vihāra, by the grant of Salgama. To the Cētiya Mountain, he granted Ambulpadara (*MV* 1967. 42:119-122).

The king Kassapa II (650-659 C.E.) granted the village of Senāgāma to the Kassapa Vihāra. (*MV* 1967. 43:27-28). The same king granted the village of Kasagāma to the Parivena of Monara and granted the village of Pṇṇōliya to the Thūpārāma monastery (*MV* 1967. 43:27-28).

The king Dappula I (659 C.E.) had granted the income of villages to the maintenance of the following monasteries. It goes as follows:

1. The village of Kevaṭṭagambhīra to the Nāga Vihāra
2. The village of Gonnagāma to the Rāja Vihāra
3. The village of Kaṅtikapabbata to the Tissa Vihāra
4. The village of Gonnaviṭii to the Cittalapabbata Vihāra
5. The village of Malvathu to the Ariyākara Vihāra (*MV* 1967. 43: 57-60).

The king Aggabhōdhi IV (667-683 C.E.) had given the maintenance villages with an abundant revenues to the Mahā Vihāra monastery (*MV* 1967. 44:9).The king built a practicing house to the thēro Dhātasiva and granted below, mentioned maintenance villages for its existence.

1. The village of Bharattala
2. The village of Kihimbila
3. The village of Kataka
4. The village of Thulādhāra
5. The village of Andhanāra
6. The village of Andhakāra
7. The village of Antureḷi
8. The village of Bālava
9. The village of Dvāranāyaka
10. The village of Mahānikkaḍḍhika
11. The village of Peḷahāla (*MV* 1967. 44: 12-14)

The king Aggabhōdhi IV (667-683 C.E.) has given the village of Būkakalla, the village of Tantavāyikacāṭika, the village of Niṭṭhilaveṭṭhi, the tank of Ambavāpi, together with the slaves to the Potthakuṭṭha a Tamilian, who served for the king . These instances reveal even for the maintenance villages have been granted not only for the Bhikkus but also for the Tamil people, who served the king (*MV* 1967. 44:19-20). The *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions that the king was so wealthy that he has given three villages to the Vihāras (*MV* 1967. 44:21-22). The consort of the king Aggabhōdhi IV, Jeṭṭhā, built the Jeṭṭhārāma as abode for the bhikkhunīs and granted it two villages in the Pattapāsāṇa domain and the village of Buddhabhelagāma, as well as a hundred monastery helpers (*MV* 1967. 44:27-29). This evidence sheds light, for us to assume that the women also had authority of granting bōgagama to the monasteries.

The king Aggabodhi V (718-724 C.E.) also presented the Rājinīdīpika village to the Bhikkhus of the Dhammaruci school (*MV* 1950. 48:1).

The *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions that the king Mihindu I (730-733 C.E.) built an abode for the Bhikkhunīs and granted the two villages called Nagaragalla and Ārāmamariyadaka for its maintenance (*MV* 1950. 48:36-37).

The king Udaya I (797-801 C.E.) offered the village of Mahāmaha to the image of Kolakkeeya (*MV* 1950. 49:15). The same king restored Bōdhigara and granted the guardianship of the wealthy village of Koṭṭhāgāma. To the Nīlārāma monastery he gave the village of Kāḷussa and to the bronze image of the Buddha he gave the village of Ārāmassa (*MV* 1950. 49:16-18).

The king Kassapa IV (898-914 C.E.) having built in the Abhayagiri Vihāra, a pāsāda with his name, he made Bhikkhus dwelling there and assigned them a village. To the cetiya in the Mahiyaṅgana vihāra he granted a village (*MV* 1950. 52:13-14). The king granted the maintenance villages for the monasteries, he built and also granted the villages to provide helpers for monastery (*MV* 1950. 52:26).

The king Kassapa V (914-923 C.E.) restored the Maricavaṭṭi-Vihāra and granted five hundred maintenance villages (*MV* 1950. 52:45-46). He built the Ganthākara pariveṇa in the Mahāmēghavana and a hospital in the town and assigned it to the villages. He built the Bahṇḍikā Pariveṇa in the Abhayagiri Vihāra and the Silāmēghapabbata and granted them villages. The king granted maintenance villages to the Vihāra of the Jōtivana as well the Abhayagiri monastery. The Sakkasēnāpati built a graceful pariveṇa and gave it a school of the clergy. His wife Vajirā handed over to the same bhikkhus, a pariveṇa bearing her name, together with a village (*MV* 1950. 52:57-62). During this period the trend which focused on the collection on treasure by the monasteries, was clearly depicted from the inscription of Kussapa V, located at the Abayagiriya monastery. It is discussed under the chapter IV.

The king Dappula III (923-924 C.E.) granted a village to the Maricavaṭṭi Vihāra. (*MV* 1950. 53:2-3).

The king Mihindu IV (956-972 C.E.) granted the Bhikkhūs maintenance villages (*MV* 1950. 54:40-41).

Taxes

The king Aggabōdhi I (575-608 C.E.) had granted the Thaththa grāma tax to the Āmalachētiya for the provision of rice soup (*MV* 1967. 41:63-65).

The king Moggallāna III (618-623 C.E.) had granted more than 300 salt pans to the Bhikkhus (*MV* 1967. 42:49-50) Therefore, this shows that the monasteries gained a massive income during the 7th century. The king Aggabōdhi III (633-643 C.E.) granted the royal share in the revenues of Kehella to the chief incumbent of the Mahallakarāja monastery (*MV* 1967. 42:119-122).

The king Aggabhōdhi IV (667-683 C.E.) had given the maintenance villages with an abundant revenues to the Mahā Vihāra monastery (*MV* 1967. 44:9).

The *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions the king Aggabhodhi IV (667-683 C.E.) has granted eleven *bhōga gāmas*. The same king had given his own immediate kith and kin to help the monastery. Also he gave a thousand villages of bhōgagāma for the maintenance of the three fraternities (*MV* 1967. 44:17-18). In the Pāli Chronicles, too, the term "*bhōga*" has been used in a wide variety of meanings. The first and the third kings who bore the name Moggallāna gave *bhoga* when they gave their sisters and daughters in marriage (*MV* 1976. 39:56). Here it could mean either "wealth" or "revenues" and Geiger has chosen the latter.

The king Kassapa III (724-730 C.E.) constructed the Abavana monastery and granted a bhōgagāma for its maintenance (*MV* 1950. 48:25).

The king Udaya I (797-801 C.E.) built a large hall for the sick in Padāviya and provided it with a maintenance village (*MV* 1950. 48:19-20). These instances reveal bōgagāma has been given not only to the monasteries but also for the hospitals.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions that the king Sena II (853-887 C.E.) was wealthy and equipped with large revenues (*MV* 1950. 51: 3). The king made over a special share of his own revenues to the prince Kassapa and assigned him all the extraordinary revenues in the kingdom (*MV* 1950. 51:19-20).

The Mannar Kacceri Pillar Inscription has been identified either with Sena II (853-887 C.E.) or his brother Kassapa IV (898-914 C.E.) by S. Paranvithāna (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii: 102). The contents, as usual, are immunities granted to three villages on the northern coast, belonging to the house of meditation named Bahadurusen in the

Mahā Vihāra. Among the taxes remitted and the officials whose entry into the specified limits was forbidden. (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii: 103). *"Mahapuṭu laddan"*, appears that there was a special officers in charge of this important seaport. (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii: 113; line. c 14-15). The term '*Paḍi-meheyä*' (*EZ* 1933. **1**12: Lines B25-26) has not been met with elsewhere. *Paḍi*, which is of Tamil origin, means "pay" and *meheya* "service'. Hence it means 'the paid services'. Perhaps the mercenary soldiers mentioned by the king are intended in contradiction to the national militia who did not receive regular pay; but were recompensed by grants of land (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii: 112).

The Koṇḍavaṭṭavan pillar inscription of the king Dappula IV (924-935 C.E.) mentions the rules regarding the cultivation. For an offence, connected with the flooding, of the field, a fine of a two *akas* shall be levied. For an offence connected with ploughing, a fine of a *kaḷaňda* shall be levied. For the offence of having ploughed late, a fine of five *kaḷaňdas* shall be levied (*EZ* 1965. vol. v: 141).

The Välmilla Slab inscription of Sena III (938-946 C.E.) mentions the two hundred and fifty *kaḷaňdas* of gold annually be taken as dues from the two harvests (*EZ* 1933. vol. iii: 200).

The Vēvälkätiya inscription of Mahina IV (956-972 C.E.) says that if offenders are not fined, then the *dasa-gam* shall be made to pay a fine of 125 *kaḷaňdas* weight of gold to the state. (*EZ* 1912. vol. i. 250:Lines 14-18). If the case be an aggravated assault and not a murder, a fine of 50 *kaḷaňdas* weight of gold shall be extracted as penalty for damage to life. If however, the assailants are not detected, the dasa-gam shall be made to pay a fine of 50 *kaḷaňdas* weight of gold to the state (*EZ* 1912. vol. i. 250: Lines 18-20). From those who went out to do menial work a fine of 50 *kaḷaňdas* weight of gold shall be imbursed (*EZ* 1912. vol. i. 250. Lines:21-25).

Among the tax, during the Anurādhapura *period*, the tax on grain or else the tax on land, carried the most prominent place. During the Anurādhapura period, an inscription, belonging to the 9th and the 10th centuries states that there existed a tax by the name of *Melāṭsi* and this particular tax is similar to that of "*Uparithara*," a tax on grain, collected by the Indian kings from the Indian peasantry. There appears to have been few different types of *melāṭsi*. Some are called "*dunumaňḍula melaṭsi*", some "*kulī melāṭsi*" and others "*maňgamahavar melāṭsi*", while in the terms "*melāṭsi*"

occurs on its own (*EZ* vol. iii. 110-11; *EZ* vol. ii: 5; *EZ* 1933. vol. iii: 146; *EZ* vol. i: 205).

The *Sahassavatthu-pakaraṇa* contains a story which refers to a royal official, who visited a village on official business and was provided with "balibhatta" at the lunch time (*Sa. Vatṭu* 1959:40**).** Another story in the same collection speaks of a royal official who visited a village and was treated with chicken curry, ghee and rice, and liquor to go with it (*Sa. Vatṭu* 1959:180**).** Hence there is little doubt that "bilibat" (Pāli; balibhatta) was boiled rice and *"bilisāl"* was raw rice, which the villagers had to supply for the visiting officials (Gunawardana 1979:189). One can surmise as a payment, villagers have to provide "bilisāl" or "bilibat" for the royal officials.

Excavation done in the Abayagiriya Monastery

In the year 1994, Sri Lankan Cultural Triangle together with the UNESCO launched excavations within the Abayagiriya, in which ruins of a factory and also that of the letters, inscribed on golden ingots measuring 438g, 384g, 381g, 400g and 370g were found within the closest vicinity of the place where the excavations were done. Further in the very same excavations, 22 gold coins as well as eight mould made of mud were also found out (Kulathunga 1995:17).

Albeit gold coins have been found elsewhere in Sri Lanka, this is the very first time where it could be clearly proven in the fact that gold coins have also been manufactured in Sri Lanka. All those coins were found in a pond which was at the South West of the Abayagiriya stūpa (Fig. 3.20). It could be believed that a goldsmith had hidden the gold coins or they were fallen to the pond, excavated in the Abayagiriya Project (Fig. 3.21). If those coins were truly manufactured within the Abayagiriya Vihāra premises it is good enough to examine the relationship which existed between the production of coins and the Abayagiriya Vihāraya.

One of the issues arising from this discovery is to assume, whether the authority of coin production had been given to the monks apart from the monarchy. Secondly, there arisen another issue to prove whether the goldsmith who had taken gold from the treasury in order to manufacture gold for the monarchy has also returned the manufactured gold within their premises back to the treasury. Although, normally the

power to manufacture coins was vested with the monarchy, there had been evidence which proves in the fact that some other institutions as well had also been granted with the above power with the permission of the state.

Under these circumstances, it could be presumed that in the administration of the Abayagiriya Vihāraya, the gold coins which were used to remunerate the Bhikkus and also that of the workforce were also manufactured in the Vihāraya itself. It is believed that the quantity of gold, taken for the production of coins was measured and mentioned prior it is given to the goldsmith. It was mentioned earlier that the weight of each of the golden ignots was mentioned. It is clear that the Abayagiriya Vihāraya had been able to maintain a close and cordial relationship with the king, and also it had the potential of political influence. Under these circumstances, It could be believed that sometimes this particular institution has had a right to manufacture coins according to their needs.

As stipulated in *Arthaśāstra*, the goldsmiths who were assigned the task of manufacturing coins on behalf of the state were supposed to receive gold from the state treasury, provided that they return the manufactured gold coins, measured with the required weight. It is further stated that there was an officer who was called "*rupadyakshaka"* who looked into the accuracy of the coins. As per S. Paranavithāna "*rūpadaka*" mentioned in Periyakadu Vihāra inscription is also the very exact person who was introduced as "*rupadyakshaka*" in the Kautilya as well (IC 1970. vol. i. no. 940:73). According to the above information, a goldsmith, employed by the Abayagiriya Vihāra might also have manufactured coins for the state as well.

It is believed that punch, marked coins were issued by the trade guild. In account of story, titled "Kumbagosha" depicted in the Buddhist literature, it is understood that the particular coin which the king of the above story checked with Kumbagōshaka had also been issued by the trade guild as such eventually Kumbagōshaka was able to distinguished the particular coin to be belonging to that of his clan. K. Rajan mentions that the authority to mint these coins lies with the king or with the traders or the trade guilds is not clear in the present context (Rajan 2011:181).

Summary of the Chapter

The king had been inherited with the state land and water resources. The king had played a major role both in the internal and the external trade. The kings have sent trade delegations to foreign countries through which their counterparts were invited to have trade transactions with the Island. When the people find a valuable resource; they used to inform it to the king as well in return the king used to assess them well by giving money or valuable gifts. The whole tax structure, extinguished during this particular period included with the agriculture, irrigation and trade. Sri Lanka had been fortunate enough to have the revenue agencies even from the 3rd century B.C.E.

The practices of Emperor Aśoka must have set an example for the kings in Sri Lanka to work on the development of the Buddhism. Kings have given *Saṅgabōga*. As mentioned in the many of the inscriptions having poured water into the hands of the donee with a golden vase, the canals have donated to the monks residing in the monastery. This shows that the income, generated from the tank, was given to the saṅgha. Sometimes saṅgha might have got the tax from the people who used the tank water. The kings have spent their money to build the orphanages for the refuges, for the blind and for cripples of the country. Also the kings have spent money to remove the silt of the monastery. The power to manufacture coins was vested with the monarchy, there had been evidence which proves that some other institutions like Monastery of Abayagiriya had also been granted with the above power with the permission of the state.

CHAPTER – IV
THE ROLE OF THE MONKS IN MONETARY TRANSACTIONS IN ANCIENT SRI LANAKA

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 Brāhmaṇism, 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 (Bopearachchi, forth coming article:2013). 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 (Cahmpakalakshmi 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 "*caratha bhikkhavē cārikam*" (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 Tāmralipta 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 (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 Tāmaralipta for his return from India (Verma 2009:73).

The early Buddhist texts, particularly the *Vinaya Piṭaka* and the *Sūtta Piṭaka*, contain vivid accounts of the journies, 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 (Ray 1994: 21). Several trade routes, which were used by the monks, could be identified. The central route, extended from Rājagrha to Srāvasti with several branch routes joining it (Chaudhury 1969: 8-9). Another major highway connected Taxilā which was a prominent seat of leaning to Rājagraha (*Mahāvagga* III. I). The Southern route or *dakkhināpatha* is mentioned in the *Vinaya priṭaka* (*Cullavagga* I. 18. 3) as one of the routes followed by merchants on their way to the "Eastern Country" (*Puratthima Janapada*) and further details of the route from Pratisthāna or Paithān to Srāvasti via Māhismatī and Ujjaini occur in the *Sutta nipāta* (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 B.C.E. at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa in the Kriśhna Valley records a foundation of a monastery named Sihala-Vihara and the dedication of a cetiyaghara to the fraternities of Taṁbapaṇṇi-dīpa (Nicholas 1959:17).

Teachings of the Buddhā say that "*pubbahāsi"* (be first to receive the other with a smile) and "*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 were been donated by the people who bare 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 in 374 Brāhmī inscriptions belonging to the 3rd century B.C.E. to the 1st century C.E. Among them, 244 caves have been donated by the *parumakas* to the Buddhist monks. This shows parumakas were wealthy to donate caves to the Saṅgah during this period.

Donations by *Gāmika*

The word *gāmika i*s the equivalent of Skt. *grāmika* and Pali *gāmika* (*IC* 1970: lxxxivii). A *gāmika* was the chief of a village. The word *gamika* comes 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 Anurādhapura district mentions of a cave of the female lay-devotee Varuṇadattā, the sister of the wife of the great king Devanapiya (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 02:1). Baṁbarahela 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, 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 Kaṇagama (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no.14: 2). The Vessagiri Brāhmī inscription in the Anurādhapura district 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 Brāhmaṇayāgama 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 Dāgama inscriptions mention a nun Revatī, the daughter of the village councilor Mittapāla (*IC* 1970. 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 Saṅgah.

Donations by Brāhmaṇs

Another interesting feature that can be seen is the fact that the Brāhmaṇas also have donated the caves to Saṅgha. The Maha -Äḷagamuva inscription speaks of a cave given by a Brāhmaṇa to the Saṅgha (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 228:18). The Maṅḍagala Brāhmī inscription speaks of the cave of the Brāhmaṇa Summa given to the Saṅgha (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 589: 45) (Fig. 4.1). The two Brāhmī inscriptions of Piccaṇḍiyāva speak of a cave given by the Brāhmaṇa Gobūhti, the teacher and the physician of the

great king Devanapiya Gāmaṇi Tissa (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 1059, 1060:83). S. Paranavithāna felt that most probably, this very particular person must be the king Dēvānampiyatissa (250-210 B.C.E.). The *Vērañja Kāṅda* in the *Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā)*, a Brāhmaṇa 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 Brāhmaṇa has donated thousand worth of oil for *Bhikkhus* to apply on the body (*Vina. Aṭṭ* 2009: 187). This shows that the Brāhmaṇa 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 Kadurväva Brāhmī inscription talks of a cave, dedicated by the elder Datta, a professor of the *Vinaya* (*I*C 1970. vol. i. no. 1207:98) (Fig. 4.2). The Mulgirigala Brāhmī inscription speaks of a cave given by the reciter of the *Majjhima Nikāya* to the Saṅgha (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no.708:53). The Gōnagala Brāhmī inscription speaks of a cave, given by the reciter of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* to the Saṅgha of the four quarters present and absent (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 666:50). The Baṁbaragastalāva Brāhmī inscription in the Eastern Province talks of a cave given by an exponent of the *Vinaya* to the Saṅgha (*EZ* 1984. vol. vii, no .56:76; *IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 1178:94). The Miyuṅguguṇa Vehera Brāhmī inscription mentions of a cave, given by the reciter of the Ekottarika (Aṅguttarāgama) to the Saṅgha (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 407:32) (Fig. 4.3). Most probably this can happen, because all these reciters have been paid by the monastery itself which also, mentioned in the Mihintalē inscription. Therefore, these high ranking monks were rich enough to donate the caves to the Saṅgha. The *Hiri Sūtta Vaṇṇanā in the Suttanipātaṭṭhakathā (paramatthajōtikā)* 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 (*Sutt. Aṭṭ* 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 Saṅgha. We 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 (This has further been discussed in the chapter II as well).

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* (*IC* 1970: no. 676, no. 1059, no. 1214)

5. Accountant = gaṇaka (*IC* 1970: no. 212, no. 576, no. 580, no. 619, no. 673, no. 679, no. 729, no. 1070)

6. Chief Accountant = *mahagaṇaka* (*IC* 1970: no. 419)

7. Weaver = *pehekāra* (Pāli: *pesakāra,* Skt: *peśakara*) (*IC* 1970: no. 931a, no. 1160)

8. Lawyers = *vohara nakaha* (Skt: *vyavahāra*) (*IC* 1970: no. 1122)

9. Painters = *citakara* (*IC* 1970: no. 1119)

10. Teachers = *acariya* (Skt: *ācāryya*) (*IC* 1970: no. 229, no. 604, no. 744, no. 748, no. 753, no. 803, no. 991, no. 1060)

11. Astrologer = *nakatika* (*IC* 1970: no. 941)

12. Poet = *kavi* (*IC* 1970: no. 1141)

13. Architect = *vaḍakara* (*IC* 1970: no. 634, no. 657, no. 657, no. 1092)

14. Dancers = *naṭa* or *naḍa* (*IC* 1970: no. 910, no. 642, no. 1005, no. 1010, no. 642)

15. The body guard of the king (cavalryman) = *aṇīkaṭṭha* (Skt: *anīkastha*) (*IC* 1970: no. 77, no. 77, no. 931a, no. 1099, no. 606)

16. Trainer of horses = *asáruya* (Pāli: *assāroha*, Skt: *aśvāroha*) (*IC* 1970: no. 355, no. 1158)

17. Trainer of war elephants = *ati-acariya* (Pāli: *hatthācariya*) (*IC* 1970: 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* (*IC* 1970: no. 80, no. 593)
20. Coppersmith = *tabalara* (Pāli: *Tambakāra*, Skt: *tāmrakāra*) (*IC* 1970: no. 350, no. 319, no. 351)
21. Tinsmith = *topaśa* (*IC* 1970: no. 370)
22. Lapidary = *maṇikara* (*IC* 1970: no. 74, no. 185b, no. 209, no. 546, no. 807, no. 1033)
23. Ironsmith = *kabara* (Skt: *karmmāra*, Pāli: *kammāra*) (*IC* 1970: no.161d, no. 301, no.720, no. 1049a)
24. Potters = *kubakara* (Skt. and Pāli: *kumbhakāra*) *(IC* 1970: no. 807)
25. Worker in ivory = *daṭika* (*IC* 1970: no. 807)
26. Businessman = *vāpara* (Skt: *vyāpārin*) (*IC* 970: no. 1205, no. 1186)
27. Dealer in tamarind = *abala-vābara* (*IC* 1970: no. 1186)
28. Record keeper = *kaṇapedika* (*IC* 1970: no. 1202)
29. Revenue collector = *ayaka* (*IC* 1970: 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* (*IC* 1970: 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* (*IC* 1970: no. 1002)
34. Professor = *(vinaya) dara* (*IC* 1970: no. 1178, no. 1207)
35. Superintendent of trade = *paṇadaka* (*IC* 1970: no.1128)
36. Reciter = *bāṇaka* (*IC* 1970: no. 1061)
37. Superintend of the royal kitchen = *Parumaka-batakaraka* (*IC* 1970: no. 507)
38. Ferry keepers = *toḍika* (*IC* 1970: no. 309, no. 860)
39. Commander in chief = *śenapati parumaka* (*IC* 1970: no. 620, no. 665, no. 724, no. 725, no. 1013, no. 1161)
40. Storekeeper = *kotagarika* (*IC* 1970: no. 214, no. 215, no. 226)
41. Minister = *mataha* (*IC* 1970: no. 997, no. 1205, no. 1231, no. 1064, no. 1192, no. 797)

42. Burgomaster = *nagara gutiya* (*IC* 1970: no. 230, no. 1219)
43. The master of the monastery = *viśara-śamikaśa* (*IC* 1970: no. 896c)
44. Superintendent of the Mint = *gapati rupadaka* (*IC* 1970: no. 940)
45. Irrigation officer = *aṇaṇika* (*IC* 1970: no. 846)
46. Superintendent of Palanquins = *śivika adekaha* (*IC* 1970: no. 896a, no. 896b)
47. Envoy = *dutakaha* (*IC* 1970: no. 131, no.259)
48. Envoy mariner = *duta navikaha* (*IC* 1970: no. 1054, no. 1055, no. 1183, no. 1131)
49. Superietentd of roads = *pakara-adeka* (*IC* 1970: no. 69)
50. Director of the cooperation = *gana-codaka* (*IC* 1970: 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) (Fig. 4.4). According to the Kotalakiṁbiyāva inscription, the shares in the tank have been given as an endowment of the cave (*IC* 1970. vol. i. no. 1197: 96) (Fig. 4.5).

The *Dvatthiṅsākara Vaṇṇanā* in the *Kuddakapātāṭṭhakathā (Paramatthajōthikā)* mentions the eighteen categories of vihāras, among which 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 (*Kud. Aṭṭ* 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 Billävegala Brāhmī 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) (Fig. 4.6).

The Galleṇa Vihāra Brāhmī inscription says that a person called Bakineya Mataya 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) (Fig. 4.7).

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

Donations of villages to the Monastery

The Brāhmī inscription in Riṭigala Nāulpota 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) (Fig. 4.8). 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 (*Thū.v,* 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 *Mahāvaṃsa, Waṃsatthapakāsini* and *Tūpavaṃsa* those Bhikkus can be categorized as follows (*MV* 1950. 29: 30-34; *Thū.*v 1994: 188-189).

Place	Chief thērō	monks
Near Rajagaha Nuvara	Indragutta Thēro	84000
Baranäs Nuvara Isipathan Vihara	Dhammasēna Thēro	12000
Seväth Nuvara Jēthavana Vihāra	Piyadassī Thēro	60000
Near Vishala Mahanuvara Mahavana Vihāra	Buddarakkirtha Thēro	18000
Kosabē Nuvara Gōshithārāma	Dahmmarakkitha Thēro	30000
Udēni Nuvara Dhakkinagiri Vihāra	Mahādammarakkitha Thēro	40000
Pälalup Nuvara Aśōkārāma	Mittinna Thēro	160000
Gandhāradēsha	Uttinna Thēro	280000
Mahāpallawabōga	Mahādēva Thēro	460000
Yōnraṭa Ālasandā Nuvara	Yōnaka Dhammarakkita	30000
Near Viṅdya	Uttara Thēro	80000
Mahābōdhimaṇdala Vihāra	Chittagutta	30000
Vanavāsī Bōga Vihāra	Chandagutta Thēro	80000
Kēlāsa Mahā Vihāra	Sooriyagutta Thēro	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 Ālasandā Nuvara headed by Yōnaka Dhammarakkita or Yōna Mahādhammarakkitha, Osmund Bopearachchi (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 (140–164 C.E.) period, a thēro, called Ābhidhammikagōdatta solved a dispute between two monks. In this dispute, the accused thēro said that the sculpture of the thāli that he made was worth of a *massa* or *unumassa* (*Vina. Aṭṭ* 2009: 294).

The *Tiṅsaka Vaṇṇanā* in *Vinayaṭṭha kathā (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 (*Vin. Aṭṭ* 2004: 151). It says that the people have donated money by dipping inside the rice or sweets without the knowledge of the monks (*Vin. Aṭṭ* 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 (*Vin. Aṭṭ* 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 *Tiṃsaka Vaṇṇanā* in *Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā)* says how to accept a *kahavaṇu* and how to purchase a bowl from that *kahavaṇu* to a monk (*Vin. Aṭṭ* 2004: 167-168).

Monks and Taxes

The Jētavanārāma inscription belonging to the king Kaniṭṭa Tissa, (164 – 192 C.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-gamaṇa-kiriya. This income has been used for the repairs of the buildings (*EZ* 1912. vol. i. 256: Lines 5-6) (Fig. 4.9). The king Kaniṭṭa Tissa granted a tax free facility on the income derived from the water of tank Visaḷa gamika in Vihari-Bijakia and the Abhayagiri Mahā-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) (Fig. 4.10).

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

The Brāhmī inscription found in the Nācciyār malai in the Eastern Province mentions of a canal made by the villagers of Aba is given to the Saṅgha. The dedication of the canal to the saṅgha 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 Kaniṭṭa Tissa, (164 – 192 C.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 mentions the donation of twenty five *kahāpaṇas* for the purpose of conducting the Ariyavaṃsa ceremony at the monastery at *Pahaṇabeṇa* (*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 *Seehalavatthuppakaraṇaya* 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 sprit 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.

From the 5th to the 10th C.E.

Monks and their Income

It is said that a Chinese monk, called Fah-Hian has visited the Island during the reign of the king Mahānāma (410-432 C.E.). He reached Sri Lanka after a voyage of 14 days from Tāmluk at the mouth of the Ganges. He says that the island was 50 yōjanas from the East to the West and 30 yōjanas from the North to the South. Fah-Hian resided in this country for two years (Beal 1993: 165). Fah-Hian recorded that

he found about ten thousand monks, living at Anurādhapura, five thousand at the Abhayagiri monastery, three thousand at the Mahā Vihāra and two thousand at the Cetiyagiri (Beal 1993:151). The alms-hall, called the Mahāpāli, where a large number of monks was fed at the king's expenses. Fah-Hian noted that five to six thousand monks were fed at this place (Beal 1993:155). Hiuen-tsang at a later period placed the figure at eight thousand (Gunawardana 1979:145). In the fifth century Fah-Hian mentions that the treasury of the Abhayagiri monastery contained "numerous gems and a mani jewel of inestimable value" (Beal 1993:47). It was suggested earlier that the valuables belonging to the Cetiyagiri monastery were kept in a locked casket, called the mundu karaṅḍu (Gunawardana 1979: 113). In his description of Buddhist practices in India, Fah-Hian mentions that the Indian monks received "yearly dues" (Beal 1993:22). I-tsing is more specific: "The produce of the farms and the gardens, and the profits arising from trees and fruits," he states in his account of the Indian monastic life, "are distributed annually in shares to meet the cost of clothing". It is likely that this practice was known in Sri Lanka too (Gunawardana 1979:148). Fah-Hian mentions " All at once, as he was standing by the side of this jasper figure, he beheld a merchant present to it, as religious offering, a white taffeta fan, of Chinese manufactured (made in the land of Tsin) unperceived (Fah- Hian) gave way to his sorrowful feelings and the tears, flowing down filled his eyes" (Beal 1993:152). Embassies, carrying gifts from the Sinhalese kings visited China in the first and second centuries, but these became more frequent after the fourth century.

Moggallāna III (618-623 C.E.) is said to have donated more than three hundred salterns to the Bhikkhus (*MV* 1967. 42:49-50). Perhaps the most common type of property granted to monasteries during this period was the *gāma*. Moggallāna III assigned "high incomes" to scholars among monks. The payment of special emolument to the monks of scholarly attainment and to those who performed administrative duties at the monastery is mentioned in many of the contemporary sources (Gunawardana 1979: 59). The two instances of the occurrence of the lābha in the Cūlavaṃsa agree with the interpretation of the term as a stipend. It was the learned monks who were honored by Moggallāna III (618-623 C.E.) with the assignments of especially high lābha (*MV* 1967. 42:51).

The king Dappula (924 - 935 C.E.) in his Vessagiri slab inscription no: 01 has granted 200 *kaḷaňdas* weight of gold to the Vīrāṅkurā monastery (Fig. 4.11). The instructions are also given as to how the income from this endowment was to be utilized.

i. The twenty *kaḷaňdas* shall be assigned for supplying cakes to one monk every year on the two upōsatha days at the end of the season of 'retreat' [*vassa*] and the gruel be poured into the gruel vessel; that out of this the same sum

ii. The sixty *kaḷaňdas* shall be assigned for 'ticket-rice'

iii. The twenty *kaḷaňdas* be granted for the purpose of given robes at the end of the year to one of those monks in receipt of permanent board and residence.

iv. The ten *kaḷaňdas* be given to him who sleeps in the temple for lamp oil.

v. The twenty *kaḷaňdas* be set apart for the purpose of providing with one of those monks in receipt of the permanent board and residence with one gold *aka* worth of jaggery and one of ghee every month on the *upōsatha* day in the middle of the month (*EZ* 1912. vol. i: 28).

It is clear from this record that the donor, expected the return of 15% per annum (*EZ* vol. i: 23-9; Codrington 1924:11). *Kaḷaňda* makes it equivalent to a *dharaṇa*, i. e. twenty *maṣkas* taking the average weight of a *māṣaka* as 3.62 grs. A *kaḷaňda* will weight 72.4 grs. of gold. As well as according to several Sinhalese vocabularies, a *kaḷaňda* is the weight of twenty *mañjāḍi* and as each *mañjāḍi* weight about 4 grs. A *kaḷaňda* will come up to 80 grs (*EZ* 1912. vol. i: 28). *Vasag* is a certain fixed quantity of food granted for the *vassa* season. These examples of the useage of vasag in connection with allowances, not only to the monks but also to the laymen. It means not nearly a 'cell' but a permanent residence with the fixed board. Further mean 'the receiver of such board and lodging' (*EZ* 1912. vol. i: 29). It has further mentioned that those directors of religious rites, who fail to perform any of these duties at the time when they ought to be performed, should leave the monastery not been entitled to live there nor to receive its emoluments (*EZ* 1912. vol. i: 29). The

monastery, therefore, would have had to lend or invest the money on its own initiative in a manner which would enable the fulfillment of the conditions laid down by the donor (Gunawardana 1979:78).

The inscription on a pillar fragment at the Gonnäva Dēvāle, belonged to the 10th century mentions, that the shares of one *amuṇa* of paddy and the one *kiri* of field at each harvest, gathered be given to the inner Monastery of the Mahā- Vihāra (*EZ* 1934. vol. iv:190). It has also mentioned about the *Deruvanä*. It is prohibited to enter the Deruvanä to this village (*EZ* 1934. vol. iv:191).

Mahinda IV (956 - 972 C.E.), Vijayabāhu I (1110-1111 C.E.) and Nissaṅka Malla (1187-1196 C.E.) presented the saṅgha with quantities of precious substances, equal to their own weight (Gunawardana 1979:78). According to the *Mahāvaṃsa,* Mahinda IV built a tambūla-maṇḍapa and assigned the income of the same for the purchase of the medicinal requirements of the monks of the Theravaṃsa (*MV* 1950. 54:46).

Monks and Their Relationship with other Foreign Monks

Fah-Hian sailed for China from Sri Lanka, travelling in a large merchant vessel on which there were over 200 souls. Four embassies from Sri Lanka reached the Chinese court in the first half of the fifth century. Eight Sinhalese Bhikkunis arrived at Nankin in 426 C.E. and three more in 429 C.E. and for the first time in China, and ordination of women was held in 434 C.E. In 456 C.E. five Sinhalese monks, one of whom was a celebrated and peerless sculptor, visited the Chinese Emperor (Nicholas 1959:18).

Amoghavjra, one of the principal initiators of Tantrism in China, according to Chinese biographies, was born in Sri Lanka, and later became a Sogdian merchant (Bopearachchi 2006: 38). Early in the fifth century, a Kāśhmirian monk Gunavarman came to Sri Lanka and stayed here for some time, and took ship to Cho-p'o, probably to Jāva (Pelliot 1904. vol. iv:274).

Ye-po-ti after sailed eastwards for ninety days, and from there he took yet another trading vessel to China (Beal 1993:51-4). According to the biography of Vajrabōdhi, complied by Iuen-tchao in the ninth century, he set forth from South

India on his way to China and reached Sri Lanka after sailing for twenty –four hours. Here he saw thirty five Persian trading vessels. Vajrabōdhi sailed from Sri Lanka in the company of the Persian merchants and came to the Kingdom of Fo-chi (Bhoja, Kāmboja?). I-tsing refers to a certain Fo-shi-pu-lo which was an island in the "Southern Sea". After spending one month at sea, from there he proceeded to China and arrived at the capital in 720 C.E. (J. R. A. S. C. B. 1995. vol. xxiv: 87-9). These accounts demonstrate that the position which Sri Lanka occupied as a center of the trade in the Indian Ocean provided the saṅgha with ample opportunities to maintain regular contacts with their brethren at the Buddhist centers in India and Southeast Asia (Gunawardana 1979:243).

Monks and Monetary Transactions

The *Āmagandha Sūtta Vaṇṇanā* in the *Suttanipātaṭṭhakathā (paramatthajōthikā)* mentions to refrain from stealing money (*Sutt. Aṭṭ* 2008:328). The *Tiṅsaka Varṇanā* in *Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā)* describes as to how *kahavaṇu* should be obtained by the monks. If a monk accepts a *kahavaṇu* from a layman, he has to keep the *kahavaṇu* in front of the saṅgha. A person who attends to the needs of the monks in the monastery asks as to what that a particular monk should do with that money. The things he bought with that *kahavaṇu* can be used by all the other monks except the monk who received the *kahavaṇu* (*Vin. Aṭṭ* 2004:161). It is further explained as to how that money should be consumed. There are many restrictions on the consumption of things done by the monk, who received the *kahavaṇu* at first and it is not relevant for the other monks themselves. These are the restrictions which are mentioned in the *Tiṃsaka Vaṇṇanā* in *Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā).*

1. If they purchase jaggery or sugar cane the monk who received the *kahavaṇu* is not supposed to consume.
2. If they light a lamp with that money, the monk who received the *kahavaṇu* should not read even a book from that light.
3. If they purchased oil, jaggery or sugarcane, the recipient monk is not deemed to dress a wound by applying these, mentioned above.
4. The use of chairs or beds bought with that money should not be used.

5. The building made with that money should not be used.
6. The boats, rafts of bridge made with that money should not be used.
7. The ponds made with that money should not be used.
8. If they mortgage what they purchased with that *kahavaṇu*, the monk not supposed to use it.
9. If they purchase a new monastery with that money the relevant monk should not use that monastery (*Vin. Aṭṭ* 2004:161-162).

These restrictions highlight some consuming patterns in the 5th C.E. in Sri Lanka.

An incidental reference to *"kappiyakārakas"* is found in the *Suttavibhaṅga* where it is stated that monks should not make purchases by themselves but should do the transaction, conducted through *"kappiyakāraka"* (Gunawardana 1979: 97). Geiger held the view that the two terms *ārāmika* and *kappiyakāraka* are identical in the meaning (Gunawardana 1979:97). That the *"ārāmika"* was a comprehensive term which covered a wide variety of workmen and employees, attached to the monastery (Gunawardana 1979:98).

Though, some monasteries had settlements of weavers under their control, evidently there were other monasteries which had to purchase the cloth they needed. It also seems that certain raw materials were needed for repairs and the work of craftsmen, when not available locally, had to be bought. It would thus seem that trade was important for these monastic economies and that monetized exchange did take place. The cash income that the monastery needed for its expenses was derived from the sale of produce from the monastic estates, and from the investments like money deposited in "guilds" which brought a regular income in interest (Gunawardana 1979: 341).

It appears that the chief monk of the monastery had a place in the committee of the management, presumably in a supervisory capacity (Gunawardana 1979:101). The "*pirivahanuvā*"or the "*parivahana*" would have been the chief administrative officials at the monastery (Gunawardana 1979:103). As mentioned in the Mihintale Tablets *āya karmī* is the "the collector of income". The each of the monastery comprised of an "*āya karmī Pasak*" has most probably derived from Skt. *Pañjikā* which occurs in the

Abhayagiri inscription to denote the register in which the accounts and the records of the administrative arrangements were entered (*EZ* 1933. vol. i:32). Perhaps the *paska Kämiyā* was the accountant who was placed in charge of this register of the monastery (Gunawardana 1979:104). It is evident from the second part of the Mihintalē record that the *nakā balana himiyan* was paid a *näḷi* of rice daily and an additional allowance of three *kaḷand*.

It is evident that the land of the monastery was given to the tenant cultivators on a share cropping basis. In addition to the share they paid, they had to serve at the monastery as well. B. Stein, who has done a study of the inscriptions at the Venkateśvara shrine of the Tirupati temple in South India, has shown that the lands of this shrine were given out to the tenants for the cultivation and that the share of the temple from the produce of the land varied between fifty one and seventy one percent (Gunawardana 1979:76).

There had been an important question to see whether those properties given to the monasteries, were able to be taken back by the state. A passage in the *Samantapāsādikā* seems to suggest that a grant made by a royal personage was valid only till the end of his lineage (Gunawardana 1979:66). However, actual cases of withdrawal of grants are rare (Gunawardana 1979:66). As mentioned in the most of the inscriptions, that the grant was to be valid as long as the sun and the moon lasted.

One might also suggest that the possibility of confiscation of monastic wealth and withdrawal of monastic privileges would have deterred the saṅgha from openly challenging the position of kingship (Gunawardana 1979:177). Apart from this, a considerable portion of the wealth of the state was used for the patronage of the Order and for the performance of religious rites. The Cūlavaṃsa mentions that the amount spent on this way by Udaya II (887-898) during the eleven years of his rule was 1,300,000 pieces of gold (*MV* 1967. 51: 135).

It is clear that certain monasteries possessed extensive tracts of land where coconut and areca nuts were grown (*EZ* 1912. vol. ii:202-18). Since the produce of such large estates would have certainly exceeded the consumption needs of the monastery (Gunawardana 1979: 72). No trees on monastic grounds could be cut down

without the permission of the committee and any person who violated this regulation was liable to a fine (Gunawardana 1979:110).

By the ninth century, the relationship between the king and the saṅgha had become rather complex owing to the changes which had appeared in the constitution and in the organization of monasteries. The monastery of this period was not merely a group of monks living together; it also represented an institution which possessed considerable land holdings and an administrative organization to control its property and its tenants (Gunawardana 1979:180).

Detailed records of all "receipts" and "expenditure" as well as labor arrangements were maintained. Daily, monthly and annual statements of accounts were prepared, and, at the end of the financial year, the accounts were submitted for the approval by the monastic assembly. It is evident from the records of the Abhayagiri, Mihintalē and Kaludiyapokuṇa monasteries that a comprehensive system of book-keeping, remarkable for an economy that was only marginally monetized, was in operation at the monasteries (Gunawardana 1979:343).

Monasteries: Sale and Mortgage

The monks in the monasteries have mortgaged the utensils which belonged to the monastery and sometimes they have mortgaged the monasteries too.

Even if the donations made to the monasteries were permanent, it is possible that their estates were alienated by the sale and mortgage. The strict rules laid down by the kings of the, period prohibiting the sale and mortgages of monastic property. According to the Mihintalē Tablets of Mahinda IV (956-972 C.E.) nothing whatsoever, belonging to the "inner monastery" or the "relic shrine" was to be given on loan or to be purchased if offered for sale by monastic officials (Gunawardana 1979:68).

Mint of coins

The *Vinayaṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā)* says that the *Bhikkus* of Vajji kept a golden pot with water in front of the *Bhikkhu* on the full moon *pōya* day and asked devotees to put *kahavaṇu*, ½ *kahavaṇu*, *kahavaṇu pāda* and *masu* (*Vina. Att* 2009:

31). In the fifth century, Buddhagōsha who dwelled in the Mahā Vihāra also has used a gold coin production as a metaphor in describing a certain *dhamma* principal, while compiling the *VishuddhiMaggha*. It was further stated by Buddhagōsha that a child seeing a gold coin would have seen its beauty, while a matured person not only its beauty but also of its value. Contrary to that, a goldsmith examining the same was able to identify the village where it was minted, including river bank and the mint master who minted it. This particular process which Buddhagōsha used as a metaphor could perhaps be the very same procedure, applied in the production of the coins in the 5th century in Anurādhapura.

Slaves and Monks

The distinguished feature that can be seen after the 5th century C.E. is the giving money to the monastery to get free from the slavery. The Rock inscription at Koṭakanda Ätkaňda Vihāra inscription in the Anurādhapura district belonged to the 5th or the 6th C.E. mentions that two persons were freed from slavery having given a hundred *kahāpaṇa* by a carpenter (*EZ* 1991. vol. vi:122). The inscription speaks of the great king Sirisangabōdi. As mentioned in it, the king has given a hundred *kahāpaṇas* Sīdhatha were freed from slavery (*EZ* 1965. vol. v: 34)**.** The inscriptions on the steps near 'Burrows' pavilion at Anurādhapura mention money given by various obscure individuals to the Abhayagiri Vihāra, for the maintenance of slaves. We have eight inscriptions available with this regards.

Inscription no.I	The brick layer called Sadeva Ganaya has given one hundred *kahavaṇas* for the maintenance of the slaves of the Apahayagara monastery (*EZ* 1934. vol. iv:139-141).
Inscription no.2	A resident at Gutakadara has given one hundred *kahavaṇas* to the Apahayagara monastery for the maintenance of the slaves (*EZ* 1934. vol. iv:139-141).
Inscription no.3	Three people, called Pajana, Adasana, and Vasadevaya, residing in Mahadaragala have given two thousand *kahavaṇas* to the Apahayagara monastery for the maintenance of the slaves (*EZ* 1934. vol. iv:139-141).

Inscription no.4	Gana Apa of Madararayana has given one hundred *hūna-kahavaṇas* to the Apahayagara monastery for the maintenance of the slaves (*EZ* 1934. vol. iv:139-141).
Inscription no.5	Three people called Deva, Kala, and Savaya residing at Eraya have given one hundred *kahavaṇas* to the Apahayagara monastery (*EZ* 1934. vol. iv:139-141).
Inscription no.6	A resident in the village of .. .. marayu-mahapa has given one thousand *kahavaṇas* to the Apahayagara monastery (*EZ* 1934. vol. iv:139-141).
Inscription no.7	The Gana Apa of Lava-arana has given one hundred *kahavaṇas* to the Apahayagara monastery for the maintenance of the slaves (*EZ* 1934. vol. iv:139-141).
Inscription no.8	Five people called Paya-vāpara, vahana, Adasana, Varayana, and Ganaya of Nadana gumu have given one hundred *kahavaṇas* to the Apahayagara monastery for the maintenance of the slaves (*EZ* 1934. vol. iv:139-141).

We also learn that, around 50 or 100 gold coins were equal to a price of a slave. The *Kāma sūtta Niddēsa Vaṇṇanā in Mahāniddēsaṭṭhakatā* says that the person who was bought with money was called *"dhana dāsa"*. There were some people who voluntarily became slaves (*Nid. Aṭṭ* 2008: 64). The *Nanda kōvāda Sūtta Vaṇṇanā* in the *Majjhimanikāyaṭṭa kathā (Papanchasūdanī)* refers to five hundred slave women and five hundred slave men, working together in Baranäsa in Northern India (*Maj. Aṭṭ* 2008: 203).

From the rock inscription at Nilagama, a payment of one hundred *kahāpaṇas* was made for the needs of the slaves. The Nuvaraväva rock inscription mentions a donation of hundred *kahāpaṇas* to the Gavarisa Rajamaha Vihāra. Sirimal Ranavälla has assigned this record to the sixth century C.E. (*EZ* 1991. vol. vi:171). On the basis of these records, we can assume that the rate existed during this period for the release of a slave was one hundred *kahāpaṇa* (*EZ* 1991. vol. vi:121).

Dangollagama Rock inscription in the Kurunegala district mentions a person called Saman, a brick layer who lived in Vilaya, having donated hundred *kahāpaṇas* to the Raja *Maha Vihāra* at Ganahavala, to purchase monastic meal tickets (*EZ* 1991.vol vi: 173).

The Nilagama rock inscription of the king Daḷa Mugalan or the Moggallāna III (618-623 C.E.) mentioned the hundred [*kahapaṇas*] were granted to the great royal monastery called Tisa arami at Nilagama and he himself got freed from slavery. Further, it is mentioned that in example, seven people have given hundred and got themselves freed from the slavery.

1. Buyiperi Saba has given a hundred and freed himself from slavery.
2. Hilisela Sivigonahi has given a hundred and freed himself from slavery.
3. Bada Aba has given a hundred and freed himself from slavery.
4. Ddavi Aba has given a hundred and freed himself from slavery.
5. Cadiboya Aba has given a hundred and freed himself from slavery.
6. Sivi Aba has given a hundred and freed himself from slavery.
7. The Baeli Siva, has given a hundred and freed himself from slavery (*EZ* 1934. vol. iv:295-296).

Monastic Expenses and Discipline

The *Mahāvaṃsa* says that the king Aggabodhi VII (772 – 777 C.E.) enforce discipline among the priests hood according to the law. We are capable to prove this incident by the Jētavanārāma Sanskrit Inscription (*EZ* 1912. vol. i:4). The three monks who lived with two novices in Lahasika monastery had to look after the two villages called Lahasikā and Urulgōṇu. The villages had been set apart for the renewal of the robes of the monks. As mentioned in this inscription, the revenue of all these villages brought into the Vihāra by the respective householders. At the end of the year, the whole income and the expenditure, as well as the balance should be shown to the monks authorized by the monastery (*EZ* 1912. vol. i:6). The book in which the receipts and the expenditure are entered is called the "Pañjikā" (*EZ* 1912. vol. i:7)**.** There were some families which maintained the family income and expenditure book in India too. *The Dhammasṅganippakaraṇaṭṭha kathā (Atthasālinī)* mentions about a

Brāhmiṇa called Sumēdha in Amarāvathī. His minister of finance came to the Brahman and explained the family income book to him, following the death of his parents (*Dham. Aṭṭ* 2008:36). This shows us that there were financial maintenances for the rich families in India. The *Dhammasṅganippakaraṇaṭṭhakathā (Atthasālinī)* has been translated in to Pāli by Buddhagōśa Thēro in the 5th C.E. when he was translating the *Helatuwā* into Pāli in Sri Lanka.

The clever stone cutters and skilled carpenters in the village were devoted to the work of the temple renewal, each of them shall be given a field of one and a half *kiri* in sowing extent for their maintenance. And one *hēna* [or a plot of dry land] shall be granted to each of them for the purpose of sowing fine grain (*EZ* 1912. vol. i:8). It is mentioned that respective duties of the workers, shall be recorded in the register (*EZ* 1912. vol. i:8). Further, to the parivahaṇa who is efficient in the protection of the monastery both inside, and outside shall be granted, a field of one *kiri* in sowing extent from each village separately (*EZ* 1912. vol. i:9). Jētavanārāma Sanskrit inscription speaks as to how they deal with the workers. Most probably all the transactions have been done by using the lands, belonging to the monastery.

The Abhayagiri slab inscription of Kassapa V (914-928 C.E.) mentions all the income and the expenditure have to be recorded and read out at the end of every year before the assembly of senior monks (*EZ* 1912. vol. i:55). Those who have lodgings at the Maha Kapārā Piriveṇa one *amuṇa* of raw rice and four *akas* of gold, a day shall be granted for their maintenance. The word "*aka*" is the weight of 2 ½ *māsakas* or twenty grains of rice in the husk (*EZ* 1912. vol. i:29). At the expiration of every year 1000 *akas* of gold shall be given to meet with the expenses of their robes. And also, the two *payalas* sowing extent of land in Väligamu have been granted for their servants and the men thereof as serfs (*EZ* 1912. vol. i:57). The inscription decrees that the funds left over to the monastery after the payment of allowances to the monks and the employees and the expenditure on repairs and decoration should be used to "acquire land" (*EZ* 1912. vol. i:52).

The inscriptions from Ayitigeväva and Äṭavīragolläva, dated in the reign of Kassapa V (914-928 C.E.) record immunities granted to the lands, belonging to the

monasteries. At the end of each inscription there are two disc emblems (Gunawardana 1979:68).

The Kukurumahan Damana pillar inscription, says that the king Kassapa V enforced the customary laws. As mentioned in this inscription there were some villages donated to the monastery by the king. Everything with regard to administration was controlled by the monastery. Here the Kukurumahan Damana pillar inscription strictly prohibited the entering of the following people. The village; headmen, the keepers of district records, the servants of the royal family, *melātti* (those who collect the tax of *melātti*), the tramps and vagrants, the holders of the management of two places of business. Finally it has been mentioned that those who have come for refuge shall not be arrested. Therefore, we can assume that there were lands under the control of the monastery (*EZ* 1912. vol. ii:24).

The Halbe pillar inscription of the Kassapa V (914-928 C.E.) mentions that the officers from the two fold treasury shall not enter the village (*EZ* 1965. vol. v:370). The fragmentary pillar inscription in the Colombo museum is said to have belonged to the period of Kassapa V. It says that the officers of the *de-ruvana* and *de-kam-tän* and the Royal messengers should not be entered to this village. Further it is mentioned that the one who has entered into this village, after committing a murder shall not be arrested by entering the village but shall only be arrested after getting him ejected by the villagers. It is mentioned that the *heḷ-kuli* and *demeḷ-kuli* shall be taken as belongings by the proprietary rights of this village (*EZ* 1934. vol. iv:252).

The Vihāregama pillar inscription assigned to the first half of the tenth or the closing decades of the ninth, century (*EZ* 1934. vol. iv:55) belong most probably to the period of the king Kassapa V (914-928 C.E.) or king Sena V (972 –982 C.E.) mentions the two terms (Fig. 4.12). *heḷ-kulī* and *demeḷ-kulī* (*EZ* 1934. vol. iv:54). These two terms also occur in the Iripinniyäva pillar inscription (*EZ* 1912. vol. i: 168). Two kinds of impost, levied respectively on the Sinhalese and Tamil inhabitants of the county are probably to be understood by these two technical terms.

The content of the tablets of Mahinda IV (956 - 972 C.E.) at Mihintale are the best inscription at evidence on the administration of a monastery. As mentioned in it, for the monks who are unable to attend to the ‘check room’, due to an illness shall be

granted a *vasag* each when recommended by the physicians. For the monks who reside in this Vihāra and reading the *Vinaya Piṭaka* shall be assigned five *vasag* of food and raiment to the monks who read the *Sutta- Piṭaka*, twelve *vasag* have been given (*EZ* 1912. vol. i: 100).

The officials at Ätvehera shall look after the income of the land for the purpose of executing repairs at Karu Maha - Säya (*EZ* 1912. vol. i. 103: LI. 30-33). The 100 *kaḷaňd* weight of gold and 10 *yahala* of paddy from Ät Vehera were utilized for the repairs at the dāgäba every year (*EZ* 1912. vol. i. 103: LI. 33-37). It is further mentioned that the wages of the servants who are refractory shall be appropriated by the Vihāra (*EZ* 1912. vol. i.104. LI: 37-41). The income derived from the trees, plants, rented houses, tanks and the ponds should be given to the *Vihāra* (*EZ* 1912. vol. i.104: LI. 37-41). From the householders who live on the Vihāra lands, ground rent shall be levied in a fitting manner on behalf of the Vihāra, but not from the Vihāra serfs and the employés (*EZ* 1912. vol. i. 104. LI: 41-45).

Unless it be a property given as ‘a living’ to the employes and the serfs of the Vihāra, no paddy fields, orchards, in any place belonging to Ätvehera shall be held by them on mortgages or as gifts or on leases (*EZ* 1912. vol. i. 105. LI: 45-50). If any fault be committed by the tenants, a fine shall be assessed according to the village customs. And in lieu of the assessed fine, they shall be made to perform tank work by undertaking portions of the work 16 cubits in circumference and one cubit in depth. If this be not done, the assessed, fine shall be levied (*EZ* 1912. vol. i. 106. LI: 50-54). Whatever is spent daily on the maintenance on revenue collectors, and on the renovation of works shall be entered in the register (*EZ* 1912. vol. i. 106. LI: 54-58).

Tablets of Mahinda IV (956-972 C.E.) at Mihintale further mention of the wages given to the people in the monastery. For expenses of the opening ceremony of the *vassa* season, one *kaḷaňda* and four *aka* weight of gold are given (*EZ* 1912. vol. i. 107: LI. 1-3) (Fig. 4.13). For cloths used for the merry festival of the great Bōdhi-tree, one *Kaḷaňda* of gold is given. For the cost of the cloths used at the Ruvanasum festival of the great Bōdhi tree, one *kaḷaňda* of gold has been given. To a pereväḷiya of the Salamevan Pavu monastery two *paya* of land and a *vasag* from Damiya have

been given (*EZ* 1912. vol. i. 108-109: LI. 7-15). Following are the people who worked in the monastery and the wages, given to them (*EZ* 1912. vol. i: 111-112).

S.No	**The people who worked in the Monastery**	**Wages given to them**
1.	The monk who looks after the Nakā	one *näḷiya* of raw rice daily
2.	The steward	five *kiriya* of land
3.	The clerk of the Vihāra	five *kiriya* of land
4.	The register of caskets	five *kiriya* of land
5.	The keeper of caskets	five *kiriya* of land
6.	The almoner	five *kiriya* of land
7.	The lay warden	one *kiriya* and two *paya* of land together with two *aḍmanā* of raw rice given daily
8.	The watchman	two *paya* of land and one *aḍmanā* of raw rice is given daily
9.	The master of festivals	one *kiriya* of land and a *vasag* from *Damiya*
10.	A servant that attends to the rearing of calves	one *kiriya* of land and a *vasag* from *Damiya*
11.	The supplier of alms-bowls	one *paya* of land and two *pata* of raw rice is given daily
12.	The one who arranges outside affairs and to a servant that attends for the matters arising in connection with the royal house	one *kiriya* and two *paya* of land together with two *aḍmanā* of raw rice is given daily
13.	The head painter	two *paya* of land and a *vasag* from *Damiya*
14	Other painters. (the each of the eleven painters)	two *paya* of land and a *vasag* from *Damiya*
15.	To each of the four servants of the paymaster	one *aḍmanā* of raw rice daily and two *paya* of land for life
16.	The head caretaker of the granary	the two *paya* of land with one *aḍmanā* and one *pata* of raw rice daily
17.	To a jeṭ-mava	two *paya* of land with one *aḍmanā* of

		raw rice has been given daily
18.	To the warden of the refectory	one *paya* of land with one *aḍmanā* and two *pata* of raw rice daily.
19.	To one who issues orders to mīňdi	one *paya* of land with one *aḍmanā* an two *pata* of raw rice daily
20.	To each of the twenty four hired mīṇḍi servants	two *paya* of land
21.	To a servant that attends to affairs arising in the saňgvälla	one *kiriya* of land and one *aḍmanā* of raw rice daily
22.	To each of the twelve servants who do the cooking	one *kiriya* and two *paya* of land from the village Taḷola-game
23.	The head of these servants	one *aḍmanā* and one *pata* or rice daily
24.	To a servant who procures firewood and cooks food	three *aḍmanā* of rice daily
25.	To a servant who brings fire wood but who does not cook, and to a servant who goes on errands	two *aḍamanā* of rice each daily
26.	To a servant who only cooks firewood, fetched by others	one *aḍmanā* of rice.
27.	To the chief of the thatches of the monastery	two *paya* of land with one aḍmanā and one *pata* of rice daily
28.	To each of the eleven thatchers of the monastery	two *paya* of land and one *aḍmanā* of rice daily
29.	To each of the five potters who supply daily five earthen pots	one *Kiriya* of land
30.	To an alms-bowl-maker who supplies every month ten alms-bowls and ten water pots	two *kiriya* of land and two *aḍmanā* of rice daily
31.	To one who supplies a water strainer every month	one *kiriya* and two *paya* of land
32.	To a physician	a niya –päliyā from Detisäseṇa and a *vasag* from *Damiya*
33.	To a physician who applies leeches	two *paya* of land and a *vasag* from *Damiya*
34.	To a maṇḍovuva	one *kiriya* and two *paya* of land and a *vasag* from *Damiya*
35.	To an astrologer	two *kiriya* of land and a *vasag* from *Damiya*

36.	To a barber	one *kiriya* of land and a *vasag* from *Damiya*
37.	To the keeper of the ‘relic-house’	four *vasag* from *Damiya*
38.	The registrar of shrines,	
39.	The three superintendents of service by turns	
40.	Dum-mal-assam; Those who supply fragrance air.	
41	To the two florists who place white lotus flowers in the relic house	two *kiriya* of land from this village krandägama and a *vasag* each from *Damiya*
42	To a keeper of blue water lilies who supplies flowers at the rate of 120 per month	two *kiriya* of land from Sapugamiya
43	To a painter	two *kiriya*
44	To the district headman who takes care of the relic house	one *naḷiya* of rice daily
45	To the florist of the temple containing the colossal statue of the Buddha	two *paya* of land from this village and a *vasag* from *Damiya*
46	To the dum-mal-assam of this village	two *vasag* from *Damiya*
47	To a pūṇā kämiya	two *paya* of land with one *aḍmanā* and two *pata* of rice daily
48	To those who provides a cup in which to take oil	one kiriya and two *paya* of land with two *aḍmanā* of rice daily
49	The guild of artisans at Boṇḍ-Vehaera (to two master artisans, to eight carvers and to two brick layers)	the village Vaḍu Devägama
50	To each of the two master-lapidaries	three *kiriya* of land
51	To each of the two blacksmiths	one *kiriya* of land
52	To the lime burners	the village Sunuboḷ Devägama
53	To the six cart men	the village Dunumugama
54	To the overseer of workers	one *kiriya* of land with one *aḍmanā* and one *pata* of rice daily
55	To each of the three warders of the dāgäbas Navaguṇa maha-säya,	two *paya* of land

	Näṭeviya maha säya and Ambulu – dāgäba	
56	To each of those who sweep	one *vasag* from *Damiya*
57	To the men who perform service in the relic house	three *kiriya* of land in the village Maňguläva
	Two laundrymen	

The word "*paya*", probably from Skt. "*Pāda*", 'a quarter', i.e. and *ammaṇa* or a quarter of a *kiri. Paya* is also a derivative of Skt. *Pātra*. *Gana ran payak kiri batin purā* 'having filled a solid gold bowl with milk rice', *kasun paya*, 'gold bowl' (*EZ* 1912. vol. i:36). An *amuṇa* was a measure of grain amounting to 4 *pāl* or 40 *lāha.* The *lāha* was the equivalent of 4 *näḷi* (*nāḷi*). The *näḷi* is approximately the same as the modern "measure". A "measure" of rice amounts to about two pounds in weight (Gunawardana 1979:64).

According to the calculations of Codrington a *kaḷaňd* is equivalent to about 70 to 72 English grains (Codrington 1924:9). If this is accepted, the expenditure incurred by the monastery would amount to about 10,158.75 to 10,449 English grains of gold. Besides these expenses the monastery had to provide board for its resident staff and the considerable population of monks bears the cost of robes and pay special allowances to the learned monks (Gunawardana 1979:72).

It is difficult to find out the exact value of an *aḍmanā*. It is clear from the present record that its capacity is more than two *pata*, that is to say more than half a quart or seer, a *pata* being equivalent to one fourth of a seer or *näḷiya*. As suggested by Rhys Davids, it is probably an another name for the *näḷiya* (Codrington 1924:20). "Taxes in excess of, or less than (what is due according to) former practices are not to be levied." (*pere siritin vaḍā kīna karavuvara nobandnā isā, EZ* vol. iii. 265. II:39). It clearly reveals that the monasteries were not only entitled to the royal dues but also that their officials actively participated in their collection. `Apart from these taxes, some of the monasteries derived an income from the administration of justice in the villages which came under their control (Gunawardana 1979:66).

The Mihintalē Tablets, which specify that one third of the produce of the land should be given to the monastery (*EZ* vol. i. 93. i. A38) remind one of the statements

of I-tsing that a monastery which he visited in the Eastern India gave out its land for the cultivation in return for one third of the produce (Gunawardana 1979:76).

A tenth-century inscription from the Abhayagiri monastery states that monks were not entitled to their incomes if they left the order (*EZ* 1933. vol. i. 235. I. 25; 236, ii. 37-8). Further, both this inscription and the Mihintalē tablets add that the income acquiring from the villages and the land, belonging to the monastery should be enjoyed only by the regular residents of the monastery (*EZ* 1933. vol. i. 91 ii. A 15-6; Gunawardana 1979: 85). Tañjāvūr Inscription no. 66 of Rājarāja gives all list of temple employees who were entitled to "shares" and places the annual value of a "share" at a hundred *kalam*.

As mentioned in the Mihintalē tablets twelve cooks were employed; each of them received one *kiri* and two *paya* of the land. They also received a daily allowance of rice which varied according to the function they performed. Probably the twenty four female servants mentioned in the list were also connected with the provision of food. Each of them was assigned *paya* of land, and the one who supervised their work received two *paya*. They were also entitled to an annual clothing allowance of one *kaḷand* of gold each (Gunawardana 1979:146).

Robes were distributed at the end of the year. According to the Mihintale Tablets, the officials who attended to the task of the distribution of robes were entitled to one monk's share probably the value thereof in recompense (*EZ* 1933. vol. i. 95. II. B15-6). It is evident from a tenth century inscription in Anurādhapura that the robes for a monk would cost three kaḷand of gold a year (*EZ* 1912. vol. i 25; vol. ii: 17-9). The cost of robes would, of course, vary with the type of material used to make them. The *Samantapāsādikā* (*Sa. Pa*., vol. ii, 1967:358) refers to the robes which cost ten pieces of money and to some which cost twenty.

Monks and Taxes

The Mihintalē Pillar inscription of the king Sena II (853 – 887 C.E.) has banded the officers of the tax, to entering the monastery (*EZ* 1965. vol. v: 321). As mentioned in this inscription, the fines shall be imposed on any officer who cuts down ali-pot palms, coconut palms, mī-tree, and tamarind trees. If there be any wages

deposited either with the community of the monks on the rock or the fraternity of the pirivena, it shall not be proclaimed, but appropriated to the monastery (*EZ* 1965. vol. v: 323).

In an inscription from Nägama dated the seventh year of king Kassapa IV (898-914 C.E.) a certain Mahayā Kitambavä granted a village Koḷayunu in the district of Taṇabim to be held on pamuṇu tenure on condition that he paid an annual "*tithe*" (*badu*) to the Abhayagiri monastery (*EZ* 1912. vol. ii: 14-19). The word *badu* is used in the sense of royal dues in the Badulla inscription (*EZ* 1965. vol. v: 186). This shows during the 9th century monasteries acted as an institution that collected the taxes.

The Abhayagiri slab inscription of Kassapa V (914-928 C.E.) mentions all the fines, levied on the lands and villages pertaining to Ätvehera. (*EZ* 1912. vol. i: 53). If fines have already been levied by the former officials in a manner known to the village, no fines shall be levied again for the offence (*EZ* 1912.vol. i :53). It is further mentioned that those who have gone away, disregarding the rules ordained by the priesthood, shall pay the customary fines and so provide for the partaking of gruel (*EZ* 1912. vol. i: 55).

In the Timbiriväva inscription of Kassapa IV the pereläkkan are directed to return to the Māḍabiyan Pirivena, all the income from the fines they levied in the Mibäḷigama village belonging to this hermitage (*EZ* vol. ii: 9-14; Gunawardana 1979: 193). This grant took the necessary steps to safeguard the pecuniary interests the monastery would have in judicial immunities. All the fines collected on the estates of the main monastery were to be set apart for this use. A similar arrangement was in force in Mibäḷigama, a village, attached to the Māḍabiyan college (*EZ* vol. ii: 9-14). Such an arrangement ensured the income accruing from the judicial proceedings from the monastery (Gunawardana 1979:196).

The sheet of accounts shall be placed in a casket under lock. Every month the sheets of accounts shall be made public and a fresh statement of account be prepared from them. From the twelve statements' of the accounts made during the year, there shall be complied a balance sheet at the end of each year, which shall be read out in the midst of the community of monks. It is further mentioned that the employés who

infringe these rules shall be made to pay *ge-daṇḍa* fines and be dismissed from the service (*EZ* 1912. vol. i. 107. LI: 54-58).

Donation of Villages to the Monastery

During the reign of Kassapa IV (898-914 C.E.) his general, Sena Ilaṅga, assigned "maintenance villages" to the hermitages he builts. Some of this donation was for the monks of the Mahā Vihāra fraternity (*MV* 1950. 52:13-14). Kassapa IV granted a village for the monks to reside within the Abhayagiri monastery. The Bhaṇḍika and Silāmegha colleges of this monastery received a grant of two villages during the reign of Kassapa V (Gunawardana 1979:55). According to a statement made in the *Mahāvaṃsa* in connection with the reign of Kasssapa IV it appears that bhogagāmas were distinct from the villages of the employees of the monastery (ārāmikagāmas); thus this king is said to have endowed the monasteries, he built with both *bhogagāmas* and *ārāmikagāmas*. It is probable that *bhogagāmas* were assigned to provide the monks with their priestly requisites (Gunawardana 1979:62). In an inscription from Nägama dated the seventh year of king Kassapa IV a certain Mahayā Kitambavä granted a village Koḷayunu. The king Dappula IV (924 - 935 C.E.) has granted a village to the shrine of the Bō Tree at the Mahā Vihāra. Mahinda IV has (956 - 972 C.E.) granted the Bhikkhūs with the maintenance of villages (*MV* 1950. 54: 40-41).

Monks and their relationship with Traders

The Badulla pillar inscription which belongs to the king Udaya III (935 - 938 C.E.) shows that the monasteries also received another type of income from trade-stalls. This record stipulates that the trader who kept his shop open on a *pōya* day was liable to a payment of *padda* of oil for the maintenance of lamps at the Mahiyaṅgaṇa monastery. If he fails to do so, a fine, "as is customary", was to be charged and used for the same purpose (*EZ* vol. v. 183. ii: B. 26-36). This could imply that it was usual to close all shops on *pōya* days and that those who did not do so had to make a special payment to the monastery. On the other hand, the rent paid by those traders who opened stalls on monastic grounds on *pōya* days (Gunawardana 1979:79).

Layman and Monks

The *Kūṭadanta Sūtta Vaṇṇanā* in the *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakatha (Sumaṅgala vilāsinī)* has been described the four types of workers (*Dīgha. Aṭṭ* 2008:270).
They are

1. Pessā -The worker who takes the money first and doing the work secondly
2. Kammakarā – The worker who get the meals and wages for the labour
3. Daṇdatajjitā – Getting the work done by hitting sticks.
4. Bhayatajjitā – Getting the work done by threatening (cutting, binding , killing)

The relic shrine of the Cetiyagiri monastery at Mihintale was placed in charge of an official who bore the title *raṭladu*, "district headman". Unlike the other employees, he did not receive remuneration in land or in gold. He was given only a subsistence allowance of a daily portion of a *näḷi* of rice (*EZ* 1933. vol. i. 96. ii. B37-8). It seems that there was a state official who had been placed in a position of responsibility in the monastic organization.

As mentioned in the *Tiṃsaka Vaṇṇanā* in *Vinayaṭṭha kathā (Samantapāsādikā)* one may get a clear idea of the wages given to the workers of the monasteries. There were full time and the half time workers. As well as there were workers who accommodate in the monastery itself. The workers who help to prepare the Bhikkhus' breakfast (*perabatkisa*) and lunch (*pasubatkisa*) were entitled to get wages for morning, evening including the medicine. If a worker helps only with the

preparation of breakfast, he is not entitled to receive the evening wage. There were workers who engaged with other employments. Under the circumstances, they are supposed to give the money to the monastery from their income. But the monks are not allowed to ask them to pay money. Workers have to pay it voluntarily (*Vin. Aṭṭ* 2004: 153). This reveals that there were workers who did only a part time work in the monastery. If a person worked full time, he is entitled to get the full wages including the medicine. The part time monastery workers were given with the half wages. Sometimes the monastery itself had some industries, for example textile and coin minting. The payment of the workers of the monasteries are also described here (*Vina. Aṭṭ* 2009: 368-369). It has further mentioned that when steeling a object worth more than a five "massa" will considered to be a sin (*Vina. Aṭṭ* 2009: 303).

The Mahāyanism and Its Impact of Economic Activities in Sri Lanka

The influence of the Mahāyāna encouraged the practice of worshipping Bodhisattvas within the Sinhalese Buddhist ritual. Reference to this cult occurs in the *Cūlavaṃsa* as early as the time of Jeṭṭhatissa II (328-337 C.E.). A sculptor is said to have carved a figure of Bodhisattva (*MV* 1967. 37: 102). A century after the introduction of Buddhism during the reign of Dēvānampiyatissa (3rd century B.C.E.), the Mahāyānism was given an authoritative from by Nāgārjuna, the founder of Mādhayamaka School. In the reign of Vōhārikatissa (215-237 C.E.), the Dhammaruci monks of the Abhayagiri Vihāra put forward the Vaitulyapitakas. The Bōdhisattva mentioned in the chronicles in Maitreya who is considered by the Thēravadins as well as the Mahāyanists as the next Buddha.

The king Dhātusena made a figure of a Bōdhisattva, erected at a special shrine (*MV* 1976. 38: 67-8). The king Sena II (833-853 C.E.) placed a Bodhisattva figure in the Maṇimekhalā pāsāda at the Jētavana monastery (*MV* 1967. 51: 77). In a tenth-century inscription from the Abhayagiri monastery, a king claims to have gilded the image of the Bōdhisattva of the Blue Shrine at the monastery (Gunawardana 1979: 222). However by the sixth century; the Mahāyāna had gained a decisive victory over the orthodox tendencies of Buddhism.

The Mahāyanist images, erected in the sanctuaries built either at the river mouths or bays, facing the sea or inland along the navigable rivers are those of Avalokiteśvara in his role as the patron of mariners who confronted the inevitable perils of distant voyages (Bopearachchi, forthcoming article: 2013)

The inscription containing eleven lines, written in the Grantha script, dated to the 7th century chiseled on a rock-surface at Tiriyāya, 29 miles north of Trincomalee records an account of a company of sea-faring merchants named Trapussaka and Vallike (Fig. 4.14 and Fig. 4.15). Senarath Paranavithāna believed that *Trapussaka* and *Vallika* are the corruption of *Trapusa* (Tapussa and Tapassa in Pāli) and *Bhalika* (Bhalluka in the Nidānakathā), the names of the two merchants who offered food to the Buddha six weeks after his enlightenment (Parnavithāna 1943:154). The same Sanskrit inscription from Tiriyāya refers to a company of merchants who endowed this Mahayāna Buddhist shrine, dedicated to the Bōdhisattva Avalōkiteśvara and his consort Tāra (Bopearachchi, forthcoming article: 2013). The Mahayāna Buddhism believed that the Bōdhisattva Avalōkiteśvara was venerated as a protector of mariners. He also protects people from the eight perils (Fig. 4.16, Fig. 4.17 and Fig. 4.18)

1. from elephants
2. from the sea
3. from the snakes
4. from the lions
5. from the fire
6. blinds from the demons
7. from the slavary
8. from the sward of the enemy.

In the year 1983, when the Department of Archaeology under took an excavation at the Tiriyaya, several Avalōkiteśvara statues have been discovered (Fig. 4.19). The fact that Tiriyaya is situated on the right bank of the Yān Oya, one of the main openings to the sea routes of the east, may have left souvenirs of mariners and merchants who were the frequent visitors to the Buddhist shrine (Bopearachchi, forthcoming article). The Bodisattva statue of Kuśtarājagala, situated about 500m as

the crow flies from the ancient sea port of Mahāvālukāgāma at the estuary of the Polwatta Ganga may also indicate that Avalōkiteśvara Buddhā is present there, as the protector of the mariners (Fig. 4.20). A dolomite statue of Yōgi Avalōkiteśvara was discovered in Kobeigane in the Kurunagala District, not so far from the Däduru Oya which flows to the sea at the ancient port of Salvattota (Schroeder 1990. 252. no. 61B). One headless ascetic Avalokiteśvara image of dolomite marble was found in the Jaffna peninsula. It should be remembered that the famous port site of Jambukōlapaṭuna (Kankasanturai) is situated to the East of Jaffna where the sapling of the scared Bo tree was brought by Bhikkuni Sanghamiththa from Tāmralipti in India in the 3rd century B.C.E. An ancient road attested in the chronicles gave access to Anurādhapura from the ancient port of Jambulōkapaṭuna. The procession carrying the Bōdhi tree has stopped at Tivanka Banuṇu gama, popularly known as Tantirimalai. Tantirimalai was also a Mahāyana centre in the 7th and the 8th centuries as revealed by the rock-carved unfinished Bodhisattva images (Schroeder 1990:136-137). The image house of Mūdū Mahāvihāra, discovered under the dunes of the sea shore, near the Potuvil town is a place of Mahāyāna worship as indicated by the two images of Avalokiteśvara facing the standing Buddha (Fig. 4.21).

Some statues of Avalokiteśvara are also attested in many archaeological sites around Trincomalee, very particularly at Seruvila founded during the reign of king Kāvantissa in the 2nd century B.C.E. (Schroeder 1990. 248. no. 59A). The most significant discoveries, revealing the active trade activities were made at Kuchchaveli, a small coastal town, located north-west of Trincomalee (Bopearachchi, forthcoming article: 2013). Like Tiriyaya, the Kuchchaveli complex would have been a Mahāyāna centre during the 7th and the 8th centuries as revealed by an inscription engraved on boulder now fallen inwards. The excavations, conducted by the Department of Archaeology and the French Archaeological Misson headed by O. Bopearachchi at Kuchchaveli have clearly shown, apart from being a monastic complex, the site was also an ancient sea port. The discovery of the Black and Red ware, Grey ware, Rouletted ware, Chinese porcelain and the Roman coins, found in the test-pits denote active trade activities. Fragments of three other Avalokiteśvara statues were found in two sites close to Kuchchaveli (Bopearachchi, forthcoming article: 2013).

Tissamahārāma, connected with the ancient sea port of Kirinda by the Kirindi Oya was the capital of the Sinhalese Kingdom of Ruhuṇa as early as the 3rd century B.C.E. Excavations conducted by the Department of Archaeology with German archaeologists at Akurugoda brought to light much needed evidence to show the international trade with India and other counties. In December 2001, in Tissamahārāma; not far from the Sandagiri Vehera, a Buddha statue and two small Bodhisattva images most probably of Avalokiteśvara were found accidentally in a private land known as Budu Watta (Bopearachchi, forthcoming article:2013).

At Girihandu Säya at Ambalanthoṭa on the right bank of the Walwe Ganga, two torsos and one head of three different Avalōkiteśvara statures were discovered. Significantly, the Walawe Gaňga falls to the sea at Godavāya the role of which as and emporium of port is attested by an inscription on a boulder next to the ancient stūpa. The epigraph states that regular and minor duties in the port of emporium of Godapavata are given to the Buddhist monastery by the king Gajabahu I, who ruled in the 2nd century C.E. (*IC* 1983. vol. ii. part. i: 101). Megalithic Black-and-Red ware have been found in the site of Godavaya. This shows the trade between south India and Sri Lanka (Bopearachchi, forthcoming article: 2013).

The recent discovery of a shipwreck, five miles from the ancient site of Godavāya, at the depth of 30m has revolutionized our knowledge of the history of maritime trade in South Asia particularly between India and Sri Lanka. The accidental find by fisherman of a stone object with Hindu symbols (*Nandipāda*, *Srivasta* and a fish) engraved on it has aroused the curiosity of Department of Archaeology. As, surface excavation was carried out by the divers of the Department of Archaeology and the Central Cultural fund three years back to make an assessment of the Archeological potential of the site, they brought to the surface some samples of Black- and -Red ware and purified glass ingots. These archaeological finds enable us to date the site back to the 3rd or the 2nd century B.C.E. (Bopearachchi, forthcoming article: 2013). This shipwreck should be considered as the oldest so far attested in the Indian Ocean. Godavāya like Kirinda, Gōkaṇṇa and Mānthai was no doubt an important port site, so there is no wonder why so many Avalokiteśvara, the protector of mariners, were found along the Walave Ganga. It is clear from the archaeological

and epigraphic evidence throughout history of the Island that the Mahāyana Buddhism played a significant role, like Śaivism, Vaishnavism or Jainism (Bopearachchi, forthcoming article: 2013)

Summary of the Chapter

Buddhism looked favourably upon trade activates. The most of the caves have been donated by the people who bare the title of the *parumuka*. 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. 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. Not only *parumakas* but also *gāmikas* have donated caves to the monks.

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. When evaluating the Brāhmī inscriptions read so far, 128 caves have been donated by the ladies to 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. Nearly twelve caves studied so far have been donated by the nuns to the Saṅgha. Most of the monks who have donated the caves belong to a higher rank.

The various types of professionals have granted caves to the monks. We have identified nearly 51 professions which are in the Brāhmī inscriptions. The caves have been donated by all these professionals.

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 inscription the shares in the tank have been given as an endowment of the cave. Moggallāna III (618-623 C.E.) is said to have donated more than three hundred salterns to the *Bhikkhus*. The cash income that the monastery needed for its expenses was derived from the sale of produce from the monastic estates, and from the investments like

money deposited in “guilds” which brought a regular income in interest. It appears that the chief monk of the monastery had a place in the committee of the management, presumably in a supervisory capacity. Daily, monthly and annual statements of accounts were prepared, and, at the end of the financial year, the accounts were submitted for the approval by the monastic assembly.

CHAPTER – V

CONCLUSION

Proto-historic Sri Lanka was more closely linked with South India. The occurrence of the same individual or composite graffiti marks on black and red ware both in Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu sites enable us to presume that there was a continuous cultural and trade contacts between these two regions. Tamil traders were very active in Sri Lanka from the 4th century B.C.E. to 11th century C.E. The issuing of coins in their own names written in their own script in Tamil, account for the fact that the Sinhalese and the Tamil merchants were actively involved in trade in the southern coast of Sri Lanka. The traders of Sri Lanka had sailed from Mahākoṇḍa and landed at Kāvēripaṭṭana in India and from there they had further been to North India and China.

The very first record of the monetary transaction was found in the *Mahāvaṃsa* and it dates to the 6th B.C.E. When evaluating the historical records in Sri Lanka, one may assume that there had been a system of barter as well as the monetary transactions from the beginning of the history. There were labourers, who worked for the daily income in the 2nd century B.C.E. in Sri Lanka. There were labourers who serve by turns. The king Kithsirimewan (303-331 C. E.) had given the wages for all the living beings. Both the properties and the money have given as wages. The kings like Buddhadāsa (340-368 C. E.) understood the importance of a salary to a person during this period and work for the welfare of the people.

Kamboja people had found their way to Sri Lanka, and were living as a distinct social group, constituted into a corporation in the second century B.C.E. The inscriptions indicate that the Kambojas had organized themselves into Corporations. It is interesting to note that in the citadel of Anurādhapura, as in India, fine Grey Ware and Northern Black Polished Ware were found in successive strata. This shows that there was a solid trade relation between North India and Sri Lanka. Apart from the coins, beads and intaglios, the contacts between Sri Lanka and the Gandhāra region

are revealed by other pieces of archaeological evidence from recent excavations at various sites.

Sri Lanka's maritime commerce began to develop by leaps and bounds once trade links were established with the Persian Gulf. Cosmos bears witness to the presence of Persian traders in Sri Lanka in the 5th century. The uninterrupted trade contacts of Sri Lanka with Persia, Central Asia and Northwest India are revealed by the recent finds of Sasanian ceramics, bullae and coins at Māntai, Anurādhapura and Tissamahārāma. Persian Nestorian Christians were responsible for the increasing trade activities between the Sasanian emperor and the Island.

The traders were in a wealthy position in the society and they were able to donate the caves, to the monks. As mentioned in the Brahmi inscriptions in Sri Lanka, there were well organized guilds of traders. The ships of this seaborne network were probably capable of carrying a greater volume of goods than the land bound caravans. Attempts were being made from about the fifth century to ensure the security of the sea. The sixth century probably represents the highest point of the development of Sri Lanka as a centre of navigational and commercial activity.

The deeds of the Indian donors may have inspired the kings in Sri Lanka to make contribution to the Buddhist establishments. Specifically, the rulers receiving the patronage of the Bhikkus had experienced a considerable possibility of acquiring the will of the general public at large. Hence the rulers have always acted in a way where the order of the Bhikkus was assured with the progress and upliftment.

After the 6th century, we can observe the increase of the Tamil population and as well it is evident that they became very close to the Sinhalese culture and many of them became as dignitaries. After the 7th century, villages have been granted not only for the Bhikkus but also for the Tamil people, who served the king.

The kings have donated villages to the monks personally after the 6th century. But the common practice which is left behind is giving the whole Saṇga. The women also had authority of granting bōgagama to the monasteries. It is clear that the Abayagiriya Vihāraya had been able to maintain a close and cordial relationship with the king, and also it had the potential of political influence. The monasteries gained a massive income during the 7th century. Under these circumstances, it could be

believed that sometimes this particular institution has had a right to manufacture coins according to their needs. There were many administrative officers who helped the king in the monetary transactions. Three types of treasuries can be identified. There were separate treasuries for the king's jewelries, elephants, the horses and the chariots.

It is a well known fact that unlike Brāhmaṇism, Buddhism looked favourably upon trade activities. The monastery needed stable source of income in order to regularly provide for the essential requisites of its inmates, the performance of its ritual, and the maintenance of its buildings. The main income of the monasteries gained from the irrigation works, fields, plantations, salterns and villages. The monks also have been appointed as treasurers in the temples. There were many workers in a vihāra, and also they were paid a salary for their survival. The women were in a good economic position to make donations for the monks. The distinguished feature that can be seen after the 5^{th} century C.E. is the giving money to the monastery to get free from the slavery. The rate existed during this period for the release of a slave was one hundred *kahāpaṇa.* It appears that the chief monk of the monastery had a place in the committee of the management, presumably in a supervisory capacity. It is evident that the land of the monastery was given to the tenant cultivators on a share cropping basis.

The kings have presented the saṅgha with quantities of precious substances, equal to their own weight. As mentioned in the most of the inscriptions, that the grant was to be valid as long as the sun and the moon lasted. By the ninth century, the relationship between the king and the saṅgha had become rather complex owing to the changes which had appeared in the constitution and in the organization of monasteries. The monastery of this period was not merely a group of monks living together; it also represented an institution which possessed considerable land holdings and an administrative organization to control its property and its tenants.

The strict rules laid down by the kings of this, period prohibiting the sale and mortgages of monastic property. The income derived from the trees, plants, rented houses, tanks and the ponds should be given to the *Vihāra.* Most probably all the transactions have been done by using the lands, belonging to the monastery. All the

income and the expenditure have to be recorded and read out at the end of every year before the assembly of senior monks. Every month the sheets of accounts shall be made public and a fresh statement of account be prepared from them. The contents of the tablets of Mahinda IV (956 - 972 C.E.) found at Mihintale are the best inscriptional evidence on the administration of a monastery.

The literary, epigraphical, numismatic and archaeological evidences provided ample facts to understand the economy of Sri Lanka during the Anurādahpura period. The monetary transactions are one of the important dimensions in the economy. It is understood that the traders, monks and rulers played a dominant role in shaping the economy of Anurādhapura.

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