CHAPTER III

PROFESSIONS AND SECTIONS OF LABOURERS
IN ARTHAŚĀSTRA
*Arthaśāstra* proposes a well defined system of state administration in which the king has been positioned at the highest place in its hierarchical order. The text also recommends a good deal of different means to empower and support the hands of the king. It was rightly recognised that as no ruler can run the affairs of the state single handed, the king is to have helpmates in this task. Hence, the author suggests appointing different categories of officials and employees for the smooth administration of the state. Thus, abundant information about a great number of professions and different types of labour are available in *Arthaśāstra*. The professions described in *Arthaśāstra* range from the high officials like ministers and heads of departments to manual labourers such as servants and agricultural labourers. Besides, the text gives many details about the prevalence of different systems of employment such as slave workers, bonded labourers and workers on the basis of wage.

**High officials**

In the Kauṭilyan state, there were eighteen categories of high officials who altogether generally were known as Tīrthas (1.12.6). *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhāparvan*, 5.38 and *Śāntiparvan*, 69.52) also refers to the eighteen Tīrthas, while *Raghuvaṃśa* of Kālidāsa (17.68) uses this term in the sense of a high officer. *Rāmāyaṇa* too knows it (2.100.36). According to *Nītivākyāṁrta* persons who are helpers in dharma and state business are called Tīrtha. In the edicts of Aśoka the high officers were called
Mahāmātras. In the Rock Edict XII there are Dharma-Mahāmātras.\(^1\) In *Arthaśāstra* the Tīrthas were also called Mahāmātras (1.13.1).\(^2\) The Tīrthas enumerated in *Arthaśāstra* are; Mantrins (The Councillors), Purohita (The Chaplain), Senāpati (The Commander in Chief), Yuvarāja (The Crown Prince), Dauvārika (The Palace Usher), Antarvarṇāśika (The Chief of the Palace Guards), Praśāstṛ (The Director of Labour Corps), Samāhartṛ (The Administrator), Sannidhātṛ (The Director Labour of Corps), Pradeśṭṛ (The Magistrate), Nāyaka (The Commandant), Pauravyāvahārika (The City Judge), Kārmāntika (The Director of Factories), Mantripariśadadhyakṣa (President of the Council of Ministers), Daṇḍapāla (The Chief of the Army), Durgapāla (The commander of Forts), Antapāla (The Commander of Frontier Forts), and Āṭavika (The Forest Chieftain).

The duty of these functionaries was to assist the king in different fronts of administration, at different levels. However, all of the Tīrthas do not seem to have occupied highest rank in the state administration. The nature of their responsibilities and the position and power of them in administrative set up are discussed here.

**Mantrins (The Councillors)**

Constitutionally, the state functionary next in importance to the king, is the Mantrin or the Amātya. Some hold the view that Mantrins and Amātyas are two distinct categories and their responsibilities too differ. R.P. Kangle evidently observes that the Amātya was originally the ruler’s
personal companion. According to him the Mantrin seems to have been a councillor. The most significant duty of the Mantrin is to give advice to the king on state affairs.\(^3\) The qualities required by Kauṭilya for an Amātya are

\textit{व्यक्तिभिः कृतंशिल्पत्वक्षुभ्मान् प्राज्ञो धारितिष्युद्देश्यो बाली प्रगल्पः प्रतिपतिमानुत्साहप्रभावयुक्तः क्लेशसहः शुचिमैत्रो दुर्खंक्तः शीलबलार्गसत्वयुक्तः स्तम्भचापल्लीनः सम्भिरो वैराणामकर्त्यमात्यसम्पत्}' 1.9.1. (He must be a native of the country born of noble family, influential, well trained in arts, far sighted, wise, of good memory, vigilant, eloquent, bold, intelligent, endowed with enthusiasm and dignity, capable of endurance, pure in mind and actions, well-disposed, firmly devoted to the king, endowed with character and fickleness, affectionate, who would not have recourse to hatred even when offended by the king). \textit{Arthaśāstra} states that Amātyas are of three kinds, the best, middling and inferior, of which the first must be endowed in full with the qualities set out while the other two by one quarter and a half respectively (1.9.2). The author presents a detailed discussion about the number of members in the Council of Ministers. He is of opinion that the actual number of Mantrins is to be determined by the power or exigencies of the state (1.9.4-8).

The methods of selection of the councillors to be appointed in the king’s service also have been described in the text. The selection methods were generally called ‘upadhā- ‘test of integrity and loyalty by temptation’.

It is of four types based on thier different nature. Only those who come out
successfully of all the four types of upadhās called dharmopadhā (test of piety), arthopadhā (test of material gain), kāmopadhā (test of lust), and bhayopadhā (test of fear) are to be appointed as Mantrins. The persons who pass only a small number of tests are to be appointed as officers apparently Amātyas (1.10.1, 13-14). Thus, the term Amātya seems to stand for all high officers, irrespective of their being councillors or executive departmental heads. As is observed by some scholars, the Amātyas were there on an impersonal basis, answering to the idea of a bureaucracy.

**Purohita (The Chaplain)**

Purohita is considered as an important rank among the high dignitaries in the close circle of a king. Literally, Purohita means one who is placed in the front, and as such, leads the others. His advice on several administrative matters was generally accepted. In Rgveda, he is not only a religious priest, but is almost the religious commander of the king’s army as well. But Kauṭilyas Purohita seems to play a passive role in the state administration. He appears to be intentionally kept away from the administrative wing. His position was often hereditary. Yet, he is not enumerated in the seven constituent elements of a kingdom. However, his official functions were restricted to religion and rituals. He exercised great personal influence over the king because of his knowledge of religion, ritual and politics. It can clearly be understood from the textual references that the Purohita has no specific role in the administration of Kauṭilyan state. He
was consulted on the appointment of minister (1.10.1). *Arthaśāstra* states that ‘the king should follow him as a pupil does to his teacher, a son to his father and a servant to his master’ (तमाचार्य शिष्य:, पितरं पुत्रो, भृत्य: स्वामिनिमिच चानुवर्तेत्) (1.9.10). The importance given to Purohita in *Arthaśāstra* seems to be the result of the intention of the author to follow the tradition. Kangle observes on the position of the Purohita in the administrative set-up of the text thus; “but though the Purohita in practice must have wielded great influence over the king and, through him, over the administration set-up, it is no doubt required that he should be well versed in Daṇḍanīti. But it is not even certain that he is included in the council of ministers with whom the king is to hold secret consultations. So far as it can be made out, his official functions seem restricted to the sphere of religious and allied ritual. Only when the king looks into the affairs of learned men and ascetics the presence of the Purohita by his side considered essential”.

**Senāpati (The Commander-in-Chief)**

The king on his own initiative appoints Senāpati. Kauṭilya has emphatically stated the importance of the army in the existence of a state. The leader of the army therefore bears a high rank in the administrative hierarchy because of the strategical importance of the position. *Arthaśāstra* specifies the qualifications and duties of Senāpati at several places. K.P. Jayaswal holds the view that Senāpati in *Arthaśāstra* is not the military Commander-in-Chief but the Minister of War. According to A.L. Basham,
the Senāpati was always a very important figure in the realm, and, often a
member of the royal family. He took orders directly from the king, and was
expected to take command in major engagements, even when aged.\textsuperscript{10}
Usually he is said to have the expertise in the science of all the four kinds of
warfare. If he happens to be absent during the time of emergency the text
states ‘Yuvarāja should be sent instead of the Senāpati on an expedition of
conquest’ (9.3.7., 5.3.1, 53). This was a clear indication of the status enjoyed
by the Senāpati in the state machinery.

\textbf{Yuvarāja (The Crown Prince)}

In the list of other great dignitaries of the state first comes the
Yuvarāja. Kauṭilya devotes one chapter to discuss about the Yuvarāja. The
younger brother or eldest son of the king was made Yuvarāja during the
regining King’s life. The subjects of the prince’s education, his association
with state business, treatment of princes, good and bad in his nature etc. are
discussed by Kauṭilya. There is no mention of the assignment of any specific
duties to him. He is not generally enumerated in the list of Mantrins. He was
placed on the same footing as the Mantrin, Purohita, Senāpati, the queen and
the king’s mother.

Kauṭilya refers to these persons being not susceptible to enemy
instigations and disinclined to revolt.\textsuperscript{11} The Yuvarāja, although has been
mentioned in the list of Tīrthas, certainly does not fall in the rank of an
official. It may be his position in the monarchical state system that led him to be counted among them.

**Dauvārika (The Palace Usher) and Antarvaṃśīka (The Chief of the Palace Guards)**

Dauvārika (The Palace Usher) and Antarvaṃśīka (The Chief of the Palace Guards) are included in the list of high officials in the state. They seem to be palace officials in charge of its administration. But these officers were not directly involved in the state administration. Probably, they are concerned with the king’s daily duties (1.12.6, 5.3.5, 5.6.5). According to R.P. Kangle, the Dauvārika is the head usher, were as to P.V. Kane he is a door keeper. These officials are mentioned as people of importance who had to be watched over by spies and whose cooperation was essential in the event of the imminence of king’s death. The duties of Dauvārika were those of a chamberlain such as arranging the king’s programme, looking after his comforts, ensuring that the king’s valet and barber issued cloths and implements in sealed packages etc. Antarvaṃśīka is in-charge of the inner apartments or harem. He controls the King’s appointments. The text mentions an Antarvaṃśikasainya (the king’s own guards). From references of the text it can be assumed that the guards protecting the King are not only in the palace (1.20.13, 1.21.3) but also in the camp when he is on a military expedition (10.1.3). Both the Dauvārika and Antarvaṃśīka played an important role in organizing the succession to a king who is seriously ill, by making it appear that the king was as active as ever (5.6.5).
Praśāstr (The Director of Labour Corps)

Praśāstr is the Director of Labour Corps in the army. The text does not provide adequate information concerning his status and responsibilities. P.V. Kane has a different opinion about the duty of the Praśāstr. He observes that this officer is probably the Chief Magistrate. Apart from the salary list and the list of Tirthas, he is mentioned only at one place and his duties are not spelt out anywhere. He looks after the camp and its supplies (10.1.17). It is learnt from the text that his duties include levelling of roads, protecting people from wild animals etc. According to Kangle, the Praśāstr of the Tirthas list is to be distinguished from the Praśāstr referred to in the first chapter of the tenth Adhikaraṇa. The former Praśāstr was probably a sort of administrator, in charge of the management of the king’s household. Kangle adds his view that the Praśāstr of an earlier theory may have lost his status in a later theory, and that both these stages in the development of the same officer is preserved by Arthaśāstra. He also thinks that the two Praśāstras are unrelated each other, being derived by the author from two different sources.

Samāhart (The Administrator)

The Samāhart is the revenue commissioner in the state. He is one of the most important high officers under the state. He is responsible to fix the amount of revenue to be collected from the whole of the country (2.6.1-9). The Samāhart should show an increase in revenue and a reduction in
expenditure and endeavor to reduce any excess of expenditure over revenue (2.6.28). It is clear that the Samāhartṛ fixes the assessment of revenue, prepares the budget and keeps the accounts.

He is also the administrative in-charge of the entire Janapada (countryside). For the administrative purpose he is to divide the Janapada into four divisions and an officer in-charge called Sthānika-revenue officer in-charge of a quarter of the realm and an officer in-charge of a ward of a city or a district are to be placed in each division. Under the Sthānika there are junior officers called Gopas (record keeper) for every group of five to ten villages. The Gopa is to maintain a record of all agricultural and other holdings in the villages in his charge and take a census of every household, noting down the number of inhabitants with full details and the revenue received from each household (2.35.1-7). The Gopa has not only to register the total number of the inhabitants of all Varṇas in the houses that pay taxes and that are exempted in the villages, but also to keep a register of the number of the cultivators, cowherds, merchants, artisans, labourers, slaves, free labour, tolls and fines recovered, and the number of women, men, young and the extent of their actions, occupations, usages and expenditures (2.35.8-15). Almost all these information are obviously necessary for the Samāhartṛ for the preparation of his annual budget. It can be assumed that the Gopas would forward their records to the Samāhartṛ through their respective Sthānikas. The Samāhartṛ was to exercise superintendence over the collection of revenue from forts, the rural areas, mines, embankments,
forests, herds of cattle and roads for traffic.\(^{19}\) In addition, the Samāhārtrī in this government task, was assisted by some other officials like Rāṣtrapāla, Grāmabhṛtaka (Village Servant-2.1.11, 3.11.29, 5.2.11, and 5.3.23), Grāmika (The Village Headman-3.10.16, 18), Grāmakūṭa (The foremost person in a village or the head of the village, 4.4.9, 10), Grāmasvāmin (The Owner of a Village-4.13.8), and Grāmavṛddha (Village Elder-2.1.27). Rāṣtrapāla, mentioned in the text seems to be an official in charge of a province or district (5.3.7), but his official functions are not described anywhere in the text. Kangle thinks that, this officer is one of the subordinates of Samāhārtrī.\(^{20}\) Grāmabhṛtaka’s precise duties are not mentioned anywhere in the text. But his inclusion in the salary list clearly tells that he is a state servant. Jayamaṅgalā understands he is a barber. Nitinirṇīti understands him as potter, smith etc.\(^{21}\) The Commentary Kauṭaliyaṃ says he is a washerman or barber.\(^{22}\) R. Shamasatry suggests he is a village servant.\(^{23}\) Kangle also shares this view.\(^{24}\) The commentator’s suggestions make little doubts. More reasonably the Grāmabhṛtaka cannot be taken as an ordinary village servant. Because, as R.S. Sharma points out, his salary of 500 paṇas shows that he was a village officer of some importance.\(^{25}\)

It is mentioned in the text that if a Grāmika banishes a person in the village who is not a thief or an adulterer, he should be fined twenty-four paṇas (3.10.18). They have also to help in settling boundary disputes between two neighbouring farmers (3.9.15). Grāmasvāmin is required to
compensate for any loss of property suffered at night by a caravan during its stay in his village (4.13.8). Power in the rural area is centred in the hands of the Samāharṭṛ with an army of subordinates under him spread over the entire Janapada. So it may be understood that officers i.e. different Heads of Departments known as Adhyakṣas whose sphere of activities lies within his jurisdiction, would be under his supervision. The Samāharṭṛ is to have under him another set of servants who are to work in secret.

What the Samāharṭṛ is in the Janapada, an officer called Nāgarika is in the city or the fortified capital. He also has men in secret service to help him get information about suspicious characters and enemy agents. He is put on the equal footing as the Pradeśṭṛ in the matter of detection of crimes. However, his area of work is limited to the city (4.6.20). For this purpose he has a number of guards or policemen named Rakṣin (1.16.35, 2.36.4 etc.), working under him ensuring the security of the fort.

Sannidhāṭṛ (The Director Labour of Corps)

The Director of Stores is designated as Sannidhāṭṛ and he enjoys the same status of the Samāharṭṛ. He is expected to be thoroughly conversant with everything connected with the stores, that is, of the actual revenue and other income received by the state. The preparation of the accounts was the duty of the Sannidhāṭṛ. Fixing of the amount of revenue under various heads was also his concern. The Sannidhāṭṛ must be in a position to state without verification what each of the stores contains at any given moment (2.5.22).
One of the most significant offices situated in the capital was the Akṣaṇṭala. It was a sort of records-cum-audit office which has to be maintained by the Sannidhāṭr. He is to look after the construction of the treasury house, the storehouses for merchandise, for grain, for forest produce, for arms and of the jail (2.5.1). His duties, besides building well-constructed store houses of different types, include providing facilities for receiving, evaluating and dispensing goods. The first and most important of the store houses is the Koṣṭhāgāra. R.P. Kangle has used the term ‘magazine’ for Koṣṭhāgāra, but as suggested by Thomas R. Trautmann ‘granary’ would seem a better translation. The Sannidhāṇ is expected to be thoroughly conversant with everything connected with the stores.

**Pradeṣṭṛ (The Magistrate)**

Pradeṣṭṛ primarily is a police officer, whose duty is to investigate crimes committed in the region within his jurisdiction. There are three Pradeṣṭṛs at each head quarter (4.1.1). The main function of the Pradeṣṭṛ is connected with the suppression of crimes described at length in Book IV i.e., *Kaṇṭakaśodhana*. As is clear from the content of Book IV, this officer is principally a magistrate who punishes criminals. He is also concerned with the investigation of crimes. As the verse 2.35.7 shows he is also authorized to enforce payment of state dues. He is a subordinate to the Saṃhārāṭṛ as is clear from 4.4.1, 4.5.14 as well as from 2.35.7. Kauṭilya prescribes that the Saṃhārāṭṛ and Pradeṣṭṛ should exercise control over all superintendents of
the various state departments and their subordinates. Pradeśṭṛ is advised to punish those who steal or seize valuable articles or jewels from state mines or factories with death sentence. The text also prescribes various fines and punishments to be imposed by the Pradeśṭṛ for stealing articles of different prices from the state granaries and store houses (4.9.1-2). Samāhartṛ was to employ spies in various disguises to test the honesty of judges and magistrates, and if they were found to be ready to succumb to bribes, he has to order their banishment (4.4.3).

**Nāyaka (The Commandant)**

The Nāyaka is the military commandant in the field. As for ranks in the army, the Nāyaka commands thousand units. Under his control an officer-in-charge of ten units is Patīka (lieutenant), one over ten Patikas is Senāpati (general). S.R. Goyal holds the view the Nāyaka was possibly Nagarādhyaṃcā. The Nāyaka in Arthaśāstra appears as the highest military commander represented by Senānāyaka. His duty is mainly in the military field. He is a subordinate to the Nāyaka and hence cannot be identified with the usual Senāpati who is one of the highest dignitaries of the state.

**Pauravyāvahārika (The City Judge)**

The Pauravyāvahārika was the City Judge or Magistrate, whose court was in the capital. This officer is not mentioned elsewhere in the text except in the salary lists (5.3.7). According to Jayamaṅgalā commentary, the term represents the Dharmastha of the Book 3. But, S.R. Goyal has expressed a
different view that the Pauravyāvahārika was the Chief Justice whose court was in the capital.\textsuperscript{33}

**Karmāntika (The Director of Factories)**

Karmāntika was concerned with all mines and state manufactories. He is mentioned only at two places in the text (1.12.6, 2.12.1). According to the text he heads ‘ākarakarmāntapra-vartanam’ i.e. conducting mining operations and factories.

**Mantripariṣadadyakṣa (President of the Council of Ministers)**

In *Arthaśāstra* the Mantripariṣad is a council of ministers concerned with the execution of decisions made by king.\textsuperscript{34} Kangle is of a different opinion. According to him such a president is unlikely, when the king is there to preside. *Jayamaṅgalā* commentary clearly says “मन्त्रिपरिष्ठमन्त्रित्वमपूर्वः, तद्धययो मन्त्रिपरिष्ठद्विनां सान्धिविब्रहः.”. \textsuperscript{35} *Śrīmāḷa* commentary also attests to this fact. It says “मन्त्रिपरिष्ठमन्त्रित्वमा, तद्धययः.”. \textsuperscript{36} *Bhāṣakaṭalīyam* also says “मन्त्रिपरिष्ठद्विनां नाम द्राध्य मण्डलाखिकारणेयत्तुम्.”. \textsuperscript{37} All this evidently proves that ‘मन्त्रिपरिष्ठद्विनां’ is actually the chairman of councillors.

The text says the king should appoint a council according to the capacity of ministers or the strength of the kingdom (1.15.50). As per the text, the functions of the Mantripariṣad are declared to be ‘starting on new
undertakings’, continuing an undertaking already begun, improving a work and implementation of orders issued (अनुरक्तारम्भमार्थायनुशासनमनुष्ठितविवेचनं नियोजसम्पदं च कर्मणां कुर्यांः 1.15.52). All these functions of Mantriparishat suggest the Pariṣad is body of executive officers.

**Daṇḍapāla (The Chief of the Army) and Durgapāla (The Commander of Forts)**

Special kinds of officers posted to the army are called Daṇḍapāla (The Chief of the Army) and Durgapāla (The Commander of Forts). It can be assumed from the text that the Daṇḍapāla is an officer in-charge of all branches of army staff. However, the text does not furnish the actual duty of him. Another officer mentioned among the Tīrthās is Durgapāla. It would appear that some kinds of forts are to be erected in the boundaries and the Durgapālas are to be stationed as the in-charge of them.38

**Antapāla (The Commander of Frontier Forts)**

Antapāla is an officer concerned with the charge of boundaries. He controls the entry of men and goods into the country. He was responsible for the upkeep of the road and its safety. He is also authorised to issue passes to incoming traders, stamp their goods and after charging them a cess for the road send them on to the capital in the centre of the country (2.21.24-26). According to the text, merchants travelling from place to place paid small road tolls which were collected by Antapāla at the city gates on incoming merchandise. *Arthaśāstra* suggests that essential goods such as grain, oil,
sugar, pots and cheap textiles should be taxed at one-twentieth of their value and other goods at the rates varying from one fifteenth to one fifth. These taxes formed a sort of insurance, for the Antapāla was expected to make good any loss suffered by the merchants from thieves.\textsuperscript{39}

\textit{Āṭavika (The Forest Chieftain)}

Another officer mentioned among the Tīrthas is Āṭavika (The Forest Chieftain). He was officer in-charge of forest tracts. He controlled the forests and was probably recruited from the aboriginal forest chiefs.\textsuperscript{40} According to Kangle, Āṭavika is not included in the eighteen categories of Tīrthas. The number eighteen is intact even by excluding him.\textsuperscript{41} But he has produced no sufficient evidence in this regard.

The number of last four officers who come under the common designation Tīrthas, viz. Daṇḍapāla, Durgapāla, Antapāla and Āṭavika, is not mentioned specifically in the text. From the nature of their duties described there it may be assumed that according to the requirement of the country there were many officers with the same nomenclature in all these four categories.

\textit{Gāṇanikya (Officer in-charge of Accounts)}

Gāṇanikya is supposed to maintain accounts concerning the whole administration, and is to coordinate the keeping of accounts in the departments. (2.7.2). He does not come under the group of Tīrthas.
The above mentioned officers and their assistants under the supreme control of the king, form the Kauṭilyan administrative hierarchy. The supremacy of king is almost a universal feature in monarchical states. However, Kauṭilya upholds the view that ‘a single wheel cannot turn, and so governance is only possible with assistance’ (1.7.9). And, ‘The fundamentals of administration are not merely the performance of these functions necessary for the maintenance of law and order, where as administration must tend to look after the welfare of the people of the state.’

**Diplomatic Agents**

*Arthaśāstra* devotes a whole chapter for the description of on the appointment of Dūtas (envoys) (Dūtapraṇidhi, 1.16). The word ‘dūta’ originally means, ‘to run on’. It signifies ‘to move’ or ‘one who moves to and fro’. Dūta bears the meaning of ‘carrier of news’ as well. But, whatever may be the etymological meaning of ‘dūta’, it signifies a person who moves as well as carries messages. It is obvious from the text that he is not a permanent diplomat stationed at the court of a foreign prince, but is an envoy sent for placing the case of his state before the foreign prince with respect to some specific matter. According to the nature of his mission, the Dūta may be classified into three types- Nisṛṣṭārtha, Parimitārtha, and Śāsanahara. The first one Nisṛṣṭārtha possesses full powers of negotiation with the foreign rulers and endowed with the excellence of a minister
(अमात्यस्मप्दोपेतो निम्नाध्य: 1.16.2). The second one Parimitārtha is deficient in respect a quarter of the qualities expected to those belonging to the first (पादगुणहीन: परिमितार्थ: 1.16.3). They are allowed restricted freedom in making negotiations with the foreign power, and entrusted with a definite mission, which they had to perform without deviating from the directions given to them. Third type of Dūta is Śāsanahara (अर्थगुणहीन: शासनहर: 1.16.4). He merely conveys the royal writs and attains the reply. He possesses only half the qualifications of the first group.45

Secret Agents

_Arthaśāstra_ presents a high watermark of a model of perfection of espionage. The text devotes two chapters to the enumeration, definition and organization of the network of spies. A remarkable feature of _Arthaśāstra_ is the uninhibited manner in which the organization of a secret service is recommended and the use of secret agents for a variety of purposes. General term used in the text for all secret agents is ġūḍhāpuruṣa (1.16.24, 33, 1.11.1). The text sets apart two chapters namely ġūḍhāpuruṣotpattti and ġūḍhāpuruṣaprāṇidhi for the description of the matters concerning espionage. Several terms are used for secret agents depending on their suitability and situational requirements. These are apasarpa (a secret agent or spy-1.12.17, 25), utpathika (a secret agent operating in regions where there are no roads- 2.1.17, 2.36.13), ubhayavetana (a secret agent in the pay of
both- 1.12.18, 19; 1.16.24; 7.14.6, 8 etc.) and cāra (one who is engaged in the work of spying (1.7.1), besides the expressions used for their various categories. There are two basic groups of agents mentioned in the text, Saṁsthās (stationary spies) and Sañcāras (the rovers). Both groups of secret agents were permanent state employees on fixed salaries. The spy masters of the two categories headed their own cadre agents and controlled their operations. The members of one group were not aware of the existence of the other (1.12.12).

Established Spies

The first categories of spies’ viz. Saṁsthas are further divided into five groups. They are Kāpaṭika, Udāsthita, Gṛhapati kavyaṇjana, Vaidehakavyaṇjana and Tāpasavyaṇjana. The nature of their activities is described below.

Kāpaṭika

Kāpaṭikas are described as a kind of secret agents who are selected from fraudulent disciples (परमर्मण्: प्रगल्भश्चएत्: कापटिकः। 1.11.2). The word ‘kāpaṭika’ is derived from ‘kapaṭa’, meaning deceitful (kapaṭena carati). They were capable of guessing the mind of others. They observe and report to the king or the minister-in-charge whatever harmful or evils they noticed (1.11.3).
Udāsthita

The spies in the group of Udāsthita are apostate monks. They were the persons degraded from the monks’ life and have returned to the householder’s life (प्रज्ञाशूचुको उदास्थित: 1.11.4). Such people also are made the centre of a network of intelligence agents. Equipped with plenty of money and assistants they were engaged in the profession of agriculture, trade or cattle rearing on a place assigned to them. The profit of this work was to be provided by the king to all wandering monks for food, clothing and residence and to those, who seek a permanent livelihood. He should secretly propose them, ‘In this very grab, you should work in the interest of the king and present yourselves here at the time of meals and payment’. All wandering monks should make similar secret proposals to their respective duties (1.11.4-8).

Gṛhapatikavyaṅjana

Gṛhapatikavyaṅjana, the seeming households were the other class of Kautilyan espionage system. This group consisted of farmers rehabilitated by the state, who had fallen from their profession but were possessed of foresightedness and pure character (कर्षको वृत्तिवीण: 1.11.9). They have a network of intelligence agents working under their control (1.11.10). They are assigned the agricultural work like Udāsthitas. They should share their income with others of their own order
and provide them food, shelter and clothing. They also should make similar arrangements with others of their class. They were appointed by the Samāhārtr in various villages (2.36.10). They are supposed to know the fields, the householders, families, persons visiting and leaving that place and the activities of the other male and female spies.48

**Vaidehakavyāṇjana**

Vaidehakavyāṇjana, the merchants, who were traders and fallen from their profession, but possessed of intelligence and honesty and presently working as secret agents are named Vaidehakavyāṇjana (वाणिको वृत्तिवान: प्रजाशीत्यष्टको वैदेहकव्याण:11.11.11). They were rehabilitated and supported by the state. They have a number of intelligence agents under them (1.11.12). The Vaidehakavyāṇjana, like his other fellow colleagues, should share his earning with other traders and make the similar arrangements. They are also appointed by the Samāhārtr and are supposed to know the quality and price of the king’s goods produced in his own country, obtained from mines, water-works, forests, factories, and fields. They should find out the amount of duty, road cess, escort charges dues at the police stations and the ferry, share food and gifts in the activities, know about the goods of high and low value produced in foreign lands and imported in his land by water-route and land-route (2.35.11-12).
Tāpasavyañjana

Tāpasavyañjas are bogus ascetics who are imposing on the gullible as great seers and thus becoming the centre of intelligence work (मुण्डो जटिलो वा वृत्तिक्रामस्तापसव्यञ्जन: 1.11.13). They were the hermits with a shaven head or with matted hair, practicing austerities (1.11.13-15). Muṇḍas and Jaṭīlas come under this category. The group of Muṇḍas include Śākya, Ājīvaka, Jaṭila, Pāśupata and others. The Tāpasavyañjana lived in suburbs of a city in association with a host of disciples with a shaven head or braided hair and pretended as possessing supernatural powers, to live on handful of vegetables or meadow grass, taken once the interval of a month or two (apparently in public) and to foretell future events. And he should pacify with money and honour those who are resentful for good reason, those resentful without reason; by silent punishment, also those who do what is inimical to the king (1.11.13).

Wandering Agents

The other group of secret agents is Saṅcāras; they are not settled in one place and not belong to a Sarīstha and work individually. There are four types of Saṅcāras described by Kauṭilya. They are Sattrin, Tīkṣna, Rasada and Bhikṣukī or Parivrājikā.
Sattrin

Secret agents recruited from orphans and fed by the state comprise the group of Sattrin (वे चाप्यसम्बन्धिनोजस्वशर्यतयास्ते लक्षणमहृणाबिध्रो जम्भकविध्रो मायागतमाधमधर्म निनिततमन्तरचक्रमित्यधीयानाः सत्त्रिणः, संसारमित्यां बा । 1.12.1). They are specially trained by the state for this work. The word Sattrin is apparently derived from sattra, frequently used in the sense of ‘an ambush’ from ‘sad’ used to sit in ambush or to lie in wait unseen’ (7.17.56; 10.2.15; 8.5.11). Sattraṁ is a place where one can hide oneself particularly for lying in ambush. According to the text a desert, a forest, a strait path, a muddy place, a mountain, a marshy place, uneven ground, a boat, cattle, a car, array, mist and night- these are the places for ambush (10.3.24). The Sattrins work is akin to an ambuscade without the element of actual attack (सत्त्र विद्धमाणमपि ज्ञायति गोप्यवतीति सत्र छद्र, तद्र बिच्छते येतां सत्रिणः).\textsuperscript{51} They studied lakṣaṇa (the science of interpretation of marks on the body), \(\text{aṅkavidyā} \) (the science in which one touches the body of the person putting the question and finds the answer to it in that touch),\textsuperscript{52} jaṁbhaṅkavidyā\textsuperscript{53} (the science of magic), \(āśramadharma \) (the duties of the various orders of religious life) etc. The Sattrins were to keep watch over the seducible and non-seducible parties in the home country and in the enemy’s country.\textsuperscript{54}
Tīkṣṇa

The Tīkṣṇa are the desperado or bravo recruited from the bravest in the land. They are recruited from the Janapada (ये जनपदे शूरात्स्यकालां मीतिन व्याले त्या द्रव्यादेहोऽप्रति योध्येवयुष्टे तीव्र्या:।1.12.2). According to the commentary *Kauṭalyaṇa*, people from the countryside tend to be fooling hardy.\(^5\) Those who fight for the sake of money with elephant or wild beast are brave. They do not care of their body, i.e. give up the idea of personal safety. They are useful for secretly liquidating enemies of the state (1.12.2). They were also employed as bearer of umbrella, water vessel, fan, shoes, seat, carriage and riding animals and were supposed to ascertain the outdoor activities of high officials, especially of the eighteen Tīrthas (1.12.7).

Rasada

As the term literally means, Rasada, another group of secret agents in Kauṭilyan espionage system are ‘poison givers’. They are to be recruited from those who are cruel, lazy and devoid of any affection for their kinsmen or their relatives (ये बन्धुपर्निस्मृतेः: कूरा अनसाध्य ते रसादः।1.12.3). They could easily be the giver of poison to others as the name suggests. They were employed as cooks, waiters, bath-attendants, shampooers, bed preparers, barbers, valets, water servers, those appearing as hum backs, dwarfs, Kirātas, dumb, deaf, idiotic or blind persons, actors, dancers, singers, musicians, professional story tellers, and minstrels
(सूदरान्नित्रक्षणकंबाङ्ककारकंकक्षक्षप्रसाधकोदकपरिचारकारसदा: कुल्लिबामन-किरातमूलकबिष्णुजडाञ्चलक्ष्मानो नन्दन्तकमायनवादवाण्वीवनकुशिलवान: खियकुषाभ्यन्तरं चारेव विविष्यः। 1.12.9).

**Bhikṣukī or Parivrājikā**

The Bhikṣukī or Parivrājikā also joined in the group of secret agents as mentioned by Kauṭīlya. These are Brahmin nuns who do the work of spying in the houses of high officers. Apparently, women of the Brahmin cast alone could become Parivrājikā. She finds easy access because of the honour shown to her in the palace. Wīṣalas and Muniḍas can also be similarly employed (परिव्राजिका कृतिकामा दरिद्रा विधवा प्रगल्मा ब्राह्मणत:पुरे कृतसत्त्वना महामात्रमूलायर्मिन्मण्डले। एततः मुण्डः वृष्णीयो व्याख्यातः: 11.12.4-5). Wīṣala in this text refers to the follower of a heretical sect and Muniḍa indicates the custom of shaving the head which was prevalent among nuns of such sects.⁵⁶

**Ubhayavetana**

The text also mentions special type of agents for secret work i.e. Ubhayavetana ‘in the pay of both’. He is in the secret service of one state, but manages to secure service with the ruler or some high officer in a foreign state (1.12.17-18). The Ubhayavetana spies operate (spying out information secretly) independently in the enemy’s territory, being unaware of the other Ubhayavetanas despite they are from the same country.⁵⁷ Secret agents were employed for the following purposes within the country; testing the integrity
of ministers, surveillance over the population in general and high officials in particular, secretly eliminating treacherous high officials, preventing subversion by enemy kings, trapping criminals and forest bandits and detecting anti-social elements, especially the thirteen types mentioned in the *Kanṭakaśodhanādhikaraṇa*.

New types of secret agents mentioned in the text are, Sattraśivin, an agent using some professions as a cover for secret activities. *Arthasastra* says; ‘secret agents should introduce weapons in the articles for the (enemy) king’s sports and in objects from the stores used by him, and agents following a secret activity, moving about at night, and those living by fire, should put fire (in those objects)’ (14.1.3). Sattraśivin is little more than Sattrins and these agents appear as night watchmen.58 Other categories of women agents mentioned by Kautṣīya, are Yogastrī and Āḍhyavanitā, who are to pose as rich widows or carry on some secret profession, such as of a sorceress, a counterfeiter of coins etc. (11.1.42).

**Defence Officials**

A king had two responsibilities to his state, one is internal and the other is external. He required a defence force for discharging his responsibility in both the areas. His duties in the internal governance of the state are three-fold: rakṣā or protection of the state from external attack, pālana or maintenance of law and order inside the state and yogakṣēma or
safeguarding the wellbeing of the people.\textsuperscript{59} The references to the defence realm are scattered throughout the text.

According to \textit{Arthaśāstra} the defence of the state is depended on the fort (durga) and the army (daṇḍa). Of these two, durga is more important. Four different types of forts are described in the text. They are built on mountain, river, jungle and desert (2.3.1-2). The military forces described in \textit{Arthaśāstra} conform to the classical Indian pattern of four wings viz. infantry, cavalry, chariot divisions and elephant divisions. Each of these units has its special functions in war (10.4.134-16). The text elaborately describes the duties of the Rathādhyaṅka, the Pattyadhyāṅka, the Aśvādhyaṅka and the Hastyadhyāṅka (see chapters 2.30-33). The horses, camels, bullocks, and elephants were thoroughly trained for war purposes. The chapters on Aśvādhyaṅka and the Hastyadhyāṅka put down comprehensive rules concerning the care and training of horses and elephants.

The Āyudhāgārādhyaṅka (The Superintendent of Armoury) is the in-charge of the armoury. He has to employ experienced artisans to manufacture arms, wheels, machines, armour etc. required in battle or for the defence of forts, or for battering the cities of the enemy (2.18.1). From the descriptions of his responsibilities it is clear that he was bound to be fully conversant with the manufacture of defensive weapons, armour and materials required for secret warfare. Troops recruited were categorised to
six kinds as Maulabala (hereditary), Bhṛtabala (the hired), Śreṇībala (the banded), Mitrabala (the ally’s army), Amitrabala (the alien), and Aṭavībala (forest troops) (मौलभूतक्षेणीमित्रामित्रात्वबलानां समुद्धानकाला: । 9.2.1).

Maulabala comprises of the natives of the state, recruited normally from families of hereditary soldiers. They constitute the standing army (9.2.2). Bhṛtabala is also recruited from the natives of the land for a particular occasion, but not for the standing army. They are quickly rising for action and hence are dependable (9.2.15). Śreṇībala is professional soldiers; or mercenary bands who are state origin and hereditary (9.2.16). They appear to consist of guilds, normally following some peaceful vocation, but taking to arms in times of war, like the śrenīs referred to in 11.1.4. Mitrabala is the troops of an ally, which would come to join in an expedition or to help in defence. Troops belonging to some enemy, conquered, borrowed, hired or purchased from others constitute Amitrabala. Troops of the forest tribes such as Śabaras, Pulindas and other are called Aṭavībala. They are under their own chiefs. The last two troops are not to be paid regular wages. They should be maintained with forest produce and they should be allowed to keep what plunder they may get in the fighting (9.2.19-20).

The text also recommends a series of persons to be posted along the frontier, each in-charge of an Antapāla (Frontier Chief). The frontier of the Janapada is to be defended by a chain of forts under wardens of the marches
and intervening regions are to be guarded by trappers, Šabaras, Pulindas, Caṇḍālas, and other forest-dwellers (Āṭavikas) (2.1.5).

As stated earlier the army could be recruited from all four Varṇas. For ranks in the army, it is already mentioned that one commander of ten single units is Patika (Lieutenant). The one commander of ten lieutenants is the Senāpati (General). And one over ten Senāpati is Nāyaka (Commandant) (10.6.45). Senāpati is obviously subordinate to the Nāyaka and hence cannot be recognized with the usual Sēnāpati who is one of the highest dignitaries of the state.62 Nāyaka therefore commands 1,000 units. The Nāyaka is responsible for setting up the Skandhāvāra (encampment or a cantonment) (10.1.1). Cikitsaka (Physicians/Army doctor), Āyudhīya (Armed personnel) (10.3.47), Yantrīka (Technician) and Yoddhā (Warrior) (10.3.43) are also mentioned in the text in connection with defence service.

**State Activities**

The Kauṭilyan state is expected to engage in various kinds of activities under the direct control of the government. The Book II, *Adhyāṣṭapracāra* contains descriptions of various kinds of state activities. It is advised in the text that the ruler is to undertake activities like starting of mines, industry, agriculture, fisheries, and other works also. The following portion discusses the nature of works and the labourers employed for that.
Workers in Mining Industry

Kauṭilya perceives mines as the most prominent source of wealth and power for the king. ‘The treasury has its source in the mines; from the treasury the army comes into being with the treasury and the army, the earth is obtained with the treasury as its ornament’ (2.12.37). This clearly implies that during the period of Kauṭilya, the mines and mining industry were considered as very important. The author explains metallurgical practices of that period in the chapter Ākarakarmāntapraṅṭanam (2.12).

Ākarādhyakṣa (The Director of Mines), who is the officer to watch over the whole activities connected with mining and metallurgy is expected to be ‘conversant with the science of metallic veins in the earth and metallurgy, smelting and the art of colouring gems, or having assistant who are expert in these, and having skilled workers and implements, should inspect an old mines and new’ (12.1.1). Kauṭilya envisages complete monopoly of state over mines and mineral deposits. According to the text in the mines there will be large quantity of salt, metals, silver, gold, gems, diamonds, conch shells, corals, liquids and rocks (2.12.17). Arthaśāstra suggests that Ākarādhyakṣa shall take the help of experts in the fields of mining and metallurgy for carrying out his responsibilities. Under him there were officers called Lohādhyakṣa (the Director of Metals), Lakṣaṇādhyakṣa (the Mint Master), Rūpadarśaka (Examiner of Coins), Lavaṇādhyakṣa (the Salt- Commissioner) and Khanyadhyakṣa (the Superintendent of Mines).
It was deemed necessary that the produce of the various mines should be turned into the articles of use in the respective Karmântas- workshops or factories. Articles of gold silver, iron and steel and textiles were the main items manufactured in the workshops and factories. There seems to have been state factories in which multitudes of artisans worked. Kauṭilya describes varieties of topics on metal industry. Different varieties of metals, their classification according to quality, purification of gold and silver, standards of gold, colouring of ornaments, hardening and softening of metals identification of fraudulent gold, silver, punishment for fraud practices, testing of gold, manufacture of ornaments etc. are discussed there in detail.

**Minting of Coins**

The minting of coins was the sole concern of the government. The Lakṣaṇādhyakṣa supervises the minting of coins of silver and copper on behalf of the state. *Arthaśāstra* uses the term paṇa or karṣāpana to refer to coins. It is possible that the coins used were punch-marked coins. These are small and thin coins in a variety of shapes- round, square, rectangular, oblong and oval. Weights for silver coins are around 3.564 grams, while those for copper coins are around 9.460 grams. Multiples of the ‘rati’ a seed averaging 0.12 grams, was used for weighing precious metal. The coins were not inscribed, but were stamped with symbols. Un-inscribed punch marked coins were minted from the 6th century BC onwards, and were in circulation for many centuries.
Silver coins were generally known as paṇa which was minted in different denominations. There are four denominations mentioned in the text for paṇa. They are one paṇa, ardha-paṇa, pāda-paṇa and aṣṭabha-gaṇa. Copper coin also had four denominations. Minting was a monopoly of the state. There was no name or effigy of the ruler. Gold was not used for minting coins for regular use. Kauṭilya does not speak of it. Thus, it can be assumed that, gold would have been minted for the special use of the king. Persons making counterfeit coins or using them were heavily punished (see Chapter 2.12, and 4.1).

The Khanyadhyakaṣa is in charge of manufacturing articles from precious stones and for their sale. He has to establish workshops for goods to be made from conch and caustics, and set up trades in these (व्यवस्था: श्रेष्ठवाणिग्यानुसारवाक्याकर्मकार्यस्या कार्ययुक्त, पञ्चव्यवहारं च। 2.12.27). The manufacture of articles from metals other than gold and silver is the concern of the Lohādhyakaṣa. He is also in charge of their sale (लोहाकार्यक्षरस्यायुक्त-वत्सारोपकारस्याकर्मकार्यस्या कार्ययुक्त, लोहाभाष्य-व्यवहारं च। 2.12.23). The salt-mines are to be supervised by the Lavaṇādhyakaṣa (लवणव्यवस्था: पाकमुखं लवणभाक्षं प्रक्रमं च यथाकारं सहृद्यहीयत्, विक्रयायं मूलं रूपं व्याजीं च। 2.12.28). However, Arthaśāstra does not give any clear idea about the actual workers on mines. Kangle thinks, workers in the
state-run mines belong to the same categories as the workers on crown lands, i.e. slaves and wage-earners and prisoners.\textsuperscript{69}

\textbf{Workers on the State Workshop}

\textit{Arthaśāstra} describes the process of refining gold and silver. During the time of Kauṭilya gold was obtained in liquid form also. Kauṭilya states ‘Those liquids that flow inside a hole, a cave, a table-land at the foot, a rock-cut cave, or a secret dug-out in mountains whose regions are known to contain gold-ore, that are of the colour of the \textit{jambū} the mango- or the palm fruit or of a cross section of ripe turmeric or of jaggery or of orpiment or red arsenic or honey or vermilion or white lotus or of the feather of a parrot or a peacock, that have in their environs water and plants of the same colour, and that are viscous, clear and heavy, are gold bearing liquids’ (2.12.2). The liquid is poured into water like oil, to which dirt and filth adhere. This ‘flotation process’ is practised even today by the metallurgists.\textsuperscript{70} Manufacture of articles from gold and silver is done under the supervision of Suvarṇādhyakṣa. He was to head Akṣāśāla (workshop) for carrying out various technical processes in connection with the working of the metals. The Chapter 2.13 of Adhikaraṇa II describes the manufacture of various kinds of ornaments. Another chapter of the same Adhikaraṇa (2.14) describes the duties of Sauvarṇīka, the state goldsmith. He manufactures articles in gold and silver for the public. The Superintendent of Gold is to see that the quantity of gold used in the workshop is maintained properly.
The new and old articles are to be tested. If any change is noticed in the appearance of an article; it should be tested and after ascertaining the information about fraud the fines should be imposed in accordance with the value of the article (2.14.55). It may be presumed from the accounts given by Kautilya that a dozen people were employed in the state workshop for the works on gold under the Sauvarṇika. Kautilya gives comprehensive picture of manufacture of articles from gold and silver for the citizens and rural inhabitants. The text mentions special types of experts and ordinary employees connected with the state workshop situated in the market-place.

The Kāñcanakāru, Prṣatakāru, Tvaṣṭrkāru, Tapanīyakāru, Dhmāyaka, Caraka, Pāṁṣudhāvaka and others are the workers in state Gold Workshop (विचितव्यहस्तगुरुः: काञ्चनपुष्पत्वहृतपनीयकार्योः धमायकपांसुधावकः प्रबिशेषुपरिणितकसेवकः 2.13.33). Kāñcanakāru is the person concerned with setting gems in gold and silver. Prṣatakāru is an expert concerned with the making of gold beads or globules. ‘In the work of fixing of beads, (there should be) three parts enclosing at the sides’ (2.13.43). Kangle opines that, the Prṣatakāru will be concerned with the making of inferior base and the exterior covering of gold and to the decorative extension at the sides. Tvaṣṭrkāru is another expert worker in the state workshop. He should plate an article of copper with an equal amount of gold, silver with half the amount or with a quarter of the amount using a chemical solution of vermilion (2.13.44-46). Tapanīyakāru is the maker of ornamental gold
specially prepared for making ornaments of his concern (2.13.61). Of this, it can be said that he is a specialist worker in the workshop. The word tapanīya seems to mean the gold which is to be turned into ornaments by heating, colouring etc. Some of the colours like blue, yellow, white, green and the colour of parrot-feather are mentioned there in (2.13.47).

Dhmāyaka is concerned with the duty of a blower. The text indicates that he is of a subordinate grade relatively than the expert workers. Caraka appears to be an ordinary servant in the workshop. Even if, he has had any special duty in the workshop like the others, its nature is not clear from the descriptions of Kauṭilya. Pāṇisudhāvaka is the sweeper-class servant of the gold workshop. Dust washing was his concern in the case of gold (2.13.33). The text also mentions that the Pāṇisudhāvakas should receive one-third of high-value found by them. For stealing a gem, the punishment is the highest fine for violence (4.1.49-50).

**Workers on Textile Industry**

Textual industry appears to have been very important by the time of Kauṭilya. *Arthaśāstra* describes the state activity of the textile industry in detail. Textiles appear both as necessities of daily life and as luxuries in *Arthaśāstra.* A special official called Sūtrādhyakṣa (Superintendent of Yarns and Textiles) should be there to look into the textile industry (2.23). He must take care of the affairs of all types of looms and weaving works. The text gives a detailed description of yarn of good quality. It also explains
how many threads are to be used to maintain the quality of cloth. Separate factories are to be made for weaving different types of cloths of cotton, linen, silk etc. (2.23.8-9). Equipments for the army, such as ropes and straps were also manufactured there. Spinning and weaving operations run by the king’s officials, both for the use of the royal household and for sale at a profit, while fulfilling the king’s obligation to support widows and orphans by employing them in spinning. Weaving is to be done mainly by female labourers and weavers are to be employed on contractual basis.

Arthaśāstra references show that weaving was not left only in the hands of professional weavers but was done on a very large scale. The whole sector of employment in textile industry except some works that need special expertise, was reserved for women, particularly for those who had no other means of livelihood. Arthaśāstra says that employment may be given to women who do not move out of their houses. Evidently, this category comprises the women whose husbands are away, widows, handicapped women or unmarried girls etc. The list of workers in this field under the Sūtrādhyakṣa includes Vidhavā (widows), Nyaṅgā (crippled women), Kanyā (unmarried girls), Pravrajitā (women living independently), Daṇḍapratikārīṇī (women working off fines), Māṭkā (mothers of prostitutes), Rūpāṭivā (independent prostitutes), Vṛddhāradāsī (old women servants of the king) and Devadāsī (temple dancers whose service to a temple had ceased).
According to A.L. Basham, women workers, mainly in the state weaving department, probably belonged to the Śūdra class while on the other hand, women weaving at their own houses probably belonged to the upper classes. The liberal laws of Kauṭilya were largely applicable to the higher class women, who were compelled to earn their livelihood by weaving, at the time of financial distress. This was a way of income generation to their day to day life. All of these women workers were employed to cut wool, bark-fibres, cotton, silk-cotton, hemp and flax (2.23.2). There were separate factories for weaving different types of ropes, thongs and straps, useful for carts, chariots etc. used in the fighting services (2.23.18-19).

**Workers on Liquor Industry**

*Arthaśāstra* indicates clearly that the manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks was a state monopoly. Private manufacturing was very limited and strictly controlled by the state. The whole of the 25th chapter of Book 2 is devoted for discussing the functions of liquor industry. The state should appoint an officer called Surāḍhyakṣa (Superintendent of Liquors) who was to carry on and regularise the traffic in liquor and ferments. Detailed practical processes are laid down in the text for the guidance of the Surāḍhyakṣa. He should arrange and supervise the location and construction of bars, regulate the consumption by ordinary citizens, monitor the dealing
by traders, foreigners and men of dubious characters. The liquor shops were situated on the outskirts of the city. Alcoholic drinks were widely sold in many places in the city, the countryside and the military camps (2.25.1).

The preparation of liquor without license is permitted only on festive occasions. So people may prepare it for themselves at home on such occasions (2.25.35-36). It can be learnt from the text that production, sale and use of alcoholic drinks found a crucial role in the economy of a state envisaged in *Arthaśāstra*.

However, there is no description regarding the types of people engaged in alcoholic production and sale. There is reference about the women and children who were employed in searching and preparing the ingredients for making alcoholic liquor (सुराक्रियाविचयं ख्रियों बालान्न तुर्यं । 2.25.38). The text also says that the secret agents shall make a note of the ornaments, cloths or cash of customers who are drunk or asleep at the bars. Beautiful female servants are deployed to find out the information about the customers (2.25.15).

**Agriculture**

Agriculture has been paying a vital role in the economy of *Arthaśāstra* state. It provided the most substantial part of state revenue. Agricultural practices depicted in *Arthaśāstra* are supposed to have existed in India in the period of Mauryan state. It states that, there are nine ways of
enhancing the wealth of the treasury, and the production of all types of the crop plants constitutes one such path (प्रचारसमुद्देश्यरिचातनुष्ठानविरायुक्तप्रतिपद्ध: सत्यसम्पर्कायाहिनसम्पर्कप्रमोक्ष: परिहारकोषि हिरण्योपायनमिति कोश्युद्धि।। 2.8.3). According to the text, a treasury having endowed with agricultural lands, mines, material forests etc. are a source of wealth (6.1.8). An indirect source of income for the Kauṭilyan state was the use of the labour force of Śūdras, the lowest among the four orders of Brahmanic society, as free labour when so required. The text also states that, while establishing a new village, the ruler should ensure that there is sufficient area of land fit for agriculture. Kauṭilya demands that in every village- old or new- a large number of Śūdra cultivators should be induced (शूद्रकृषिक्रायमुक्तशतारं पञ्चकुलशतारं ग्रामं कोश्युद्धिकोशैयिनाममत्योन्याश्रयं निवेशयेतु।। 2.1.2). In addition, prisoners of war and criminals were provided with labour power. In the well-being of the country depends upon वार्त्तां which is constituted by agriculture, animal rearing and commerce and trade (कृषिपशुपाल्ये वणिज्यां च वार्त्ता, धान्यपशुहिरण्यकृषिविभिन्द्रादृष्टियृद्धादृष्टिविधारिनी।। 1.4.1). In this connection the Chapter 2.24 widely discusses the agricultural activities. The chapter shows that different groups of people were engaged in agricultural works. The whole of the agricultural activity was strictly maintained and directly controlled by the state. To supervise all works pertaining to agriculture the king should appoint an officer named Sīṇḍhyakṣa (Director of Agriculture). The department of agriculture described by Kauṭilya is a very big one where
the help of experts in various sciences is required. Artisans were mobilized by the state to help agriculture. Kauṭilya is keen to suggest that there should be no any unutilized land in the country. It is the Director of Agriculture who has to see that no land remained uncultivated. If the land remains uncultivated anywhere, it was leased out to the villagers who possess other apparatus such as seeds and bullocks. This is recommended to be followed strictly for the well-being of the country. Kauṭilya has made a provision that the land should not be taken back from those who make the un-arable lands arable (कर्देश्यः कृत्वेत्राणैैः पुरुषिकरणी प्रयच्छिद्देत्। अकृतानि कर्तृप्यो नादेयानि। 2.1.8-9). In the new settlement, land was granted to retired village officials and priests, but such land could not be sold or mortgaged or inherited. Even the ordinary peasants could not pass on their land to the non-tax paying peasants (2.1.7). With the new techniques, peasants, artisans, hired labourers, and agricultural slaves produced much more than needed to them for subsistence. The state itself promotes agriculture by caring for farmers as a class, with a paternalistic mix of kindness and discipline, advancing land, seed, and so forth. The government should ensure the security of agriculture. It has to protect the cultivators from oppressive fine, free (unpaid/forced) labour and excessive tax. The state should also see that the farm animals are protected from diseases, poisonous creatures, tigers and thieves.
Workforce on Crown Lands

_Arthaśāstra_ attests to the fact that agriculture received serious attention of the state in ancient India. While describing the qualities of Sītādhyaṅka, _Arthaśāstra_ states that he should be conversant with the practice of agriculture, and the science of rearing plants. If necessary, the Adhyakṣa may seek counsel and assistance from experts in these subjects (2.24.1). Agricultural operations carried out by labourers of different kinds and artisans with various skills. The duty of the Director of Agriculture is to coordinate, oversee and discipline a large and complex body of labourers.\(^{80}\) The artisans probably owned their tools. In order to avoid the delay of work of the above people, the agricultural department is advised to supply raw materials to them. To make those facilities available, the state has to engage the artisans (2.24.3). Land is worked by labourers who are paid a wage or let out to landless cultivators on agreed terms\(^ {81}\). The state had to keep strict watch over the sowing and the harvesting of crops. The Sītādhyaṅka selects people from the group of Dāsa (serf), Karmakara (labourers) and Daṇḍapratikṣa (person paying off their fines by personal labour) (बहुतसरिकृष्टां स्वभूमि दासकर्मकरकरणप्रतिकृष्टांने ताकितस्तिनंप्रा / 2.24.2). The services of Kāru (artisan), Karmāra (smith), Kuṭṭāka (carpenter), Mēdaka (basket-makers), Rajjuvartaka (rope-makers) and Sarpagrāhaka (snake-catchers) were also utilized by the state for agricultural activities (कार्यान्यन्त्रोपकरण-
The Sītādhyaḵṣa was to collect in the proper seasons, seeds of all kinds of grains, flowers, fruits, vegetables, bulbous roots, root crops, creeper fruits, fibre yielding plants and cotton through the expert artisans in the subjects (2.24.1). As mentioned above, according to Arthaśāstra the principal agriculturalists were from the Śūdra class (2.1.2). Dāsa, Karmakara, artisans and the aboriginal groups apparently belonged to the Śūdravarna.\(^{52}\) Probably, in the old settlements a large number of Śūdras, agricultural labourers, slaves and artisans were employed by a proprietor of the higher Varṇas (2.35.)\(^ {83}\) In agricultural operations on suitable land the crop is to be sown mainly through the Dāsakarmakara and Daṇḍapratikartṛ. The Adhyakṣa had to ensure that the agricultural operations in the fields do not suffer for want of ploughing machines, implements, bullocks and other equipments. The state is to keep a strict watch over the sowings and the harvesting of crops through the different groups of workers. The Sarpagrāhaka has the responsibility of keeping out wild beasts, snakes and birds from the crown land and protect the fruits. Sarpagrāhakas are apparently belonged to Śūdra class.\(^ {84}\) The state also utilizes the service of Kuṭṭaka, Mēdaka, Rajjuvarttaka and others to produce necessary implements used for agricultural activities. If there is any loss of agriculture caused due to the artisans, the state has the provision of giving punishment with a fine as equal to the value of the product (2.24.4).
Independent Farmers

In *Arthaśāstra* the term ‘karṣaka’ has been used as a general expression to signify a tiller of soil or cultivator. However, the context suggests that he was probably an independent farmer with his own land (1.11.9-10, 2.35.8). Agricultural operations on private lands were carried out on more or less similar lines, but in the private lands the farmers would not get the service of prisoners. On crown lands, the tenants depend on the state for implements and seeds etc. where as in the private lands cultivators have to resort to their own implements, bullocks, seeds, labourers etc.85

Animal Husbandry

*Arthaśāstra* considers animals as wealth and advises the state to acquire them aplenty. According to Kauṭilya cattle rearing was the second most important economic activity of the state (1.4.1). A huge amount of information concerning different types of flora and fauna belonging to different species are furnished in *Arthaśāstra*. Great significance was given to animal husbandry by the state and society. Of the domestic animals reared and maintained by herdsmen cow, buffaloes, goat, sheep, ass, and camel are mentioned by the author. Horse and elephant are also maintained, as they were of high value to the king because they are important in economic and defensive perspectives. But, in the text they are dealt with as separate category and had their own superintendents. The Chapters 2.29, 2.30, 2.31, and 2.32 in *Arthaśāstra* entirely are concerned with these subjects. All
superintendents of animals have to maintain a complete record of each animal in every herd belonging to the state. The record of all animals owned by the private individuals is to be maintained by the Gopas and the Sthānikas who are working under the Samāhaṭṛ (2.35.4). Thus, a complete record of animal wealth in the state is ensured. Separate officers are selected to see the matters associated to cattle, horses, elephants and wild animals. All these animals can be domesticated, trained and utilised for the welfare of the people.

Cattle Rearing

Rearing cattle was an important sector of employment in Arthaśāstra society. The state was the owner of large herds of cattle and other animals. It should appoint an authority named Go’dhyakṣa (Superintendent of Cattle) to look into the matters connected with cattle. The Gopa keeps a record of every animal in the different types of herds, the total of such animals and the number of that dies or is lost and the total yield of milk and ghee and other products. Similarly, a record of all animals owned by private individuals is also has to be maintained (2.35.4).

The Go’dhyakṣa was primarily responsible for the state’s herds of domesticated animals. The specific varieties of cattle dealt with in the Chapter 2.29 viz. cows, bulls and buffaloes, other herds of goat, sheep, horse, donkey, camel and pig also come under the same regulations. Cattle are of importance for two reasons. The males are necessary for draught
purposes in agriculture and for the transport of goods and females supply milk, which with its products is a valuable source of food. Besides, animals are useful for the manufacture of leather goods.\textsuperscript{86} The Adhyakṣa is concerned about the up-keep and welfare of the animals. He should employ different categories of persons to perform various jobs connected with cows, other animals, milk and milk products (2.29).\textsuperscript{87} Piṇḍāraka (buffalo-herdsman), Manthaka (the churner), Lubdhaka (the hunter) and Dohaka (the milker) are other workers in this field (2.29.2). The Lubdhaka is a security guard of cattle. He guards cattle from the attack of wild animals. He should keep the animals away from all possible dangers. The milker must milk in appropriate hours and if he violates this rule, he has to be severely punished (2.29.31-33). Cowherds, milkers and others were employed by the state on wages or gave some herds to a contractor. Private herds could also be entrusted to the state for protection on payment.\textsuperscript{88} The cowherds are held entirely responsible for the care and protection of the cattle in their charge.

**Handlers of Horses**

The Head of the affairs related with horses is Aśvādhyakṣa (Superintendent of Horses). Horses are of high value to the state for the reason that they are necessary for the army. Aśvādhyakṣa is responsible for registering the total number of horses segregating them as received as gifts, acquired by purchase, obtained in war, bred in the stables, received in return for help, stipulated in a treaty or temporarily borrowed. The details of their
pedigree, age, colour, marks, class and source are to be specified in the case of each animal (2.30.1). The horses are classified into three types viz. uttama, (best type), madhyama (medium), and avara (the lowest) (2.30.16-17). They are distinguished on the basis of their place of origin. The horses coming from Kāmboja, Sindhu, Āraṭṭa and Vanāyu are said to be uttama. The middling breeds are those from Bāhlīka, Pāpeya, Sauvīra and Titala. The rest are inferior (प्रयोगानामुत्तमा: कम्बोजसौन्दर्यवार्ता जवानायुजा:, मध्यमा बाह्लीकपापेयक-सौवीरकैतला:, शेषा: प्रत्यया: 12.30.29). All the three types of horses can be trained for the purposes of war. It appears from the deliberations of Arthaśāstra (2.30) that horses are used as long distance carriers.

An elaborate organization of experts and skilled workers should be commissioned under the direct control of state authority for the maintenance of horses. The Aśvādhyakṣa had manifold duties to perform such as to provide for their stabling, to determine their rations, to provide for their medical treatment by physicians and to arrange taking of proper care of them. Besides the above, the Adhyakṣa for the care of horses has to appoint professionals called aupasthāyikavargas (group of attendance). They are Aśvavāha (stable superintendent), Yogyācārya (teachers of training), Cikitsaka (veterinary doctor), Sūtragrāhaka (holder of reins), Aśvabandhaka (saddlers or yokers of horses to chariots), Vidhāpācaka (cook), Sthānapālaka (stall-cleaner or maintenance man), Keśakara (mane-trimmer) and Jāṅgulīvid (expert in poison antidotes).
Kauṭilya directs the अष्वाध्यक्षa to make all the employees to wait upon horses with their respective duties (सूत्रानि अष्वाध्यक्षयां कर्मसन्मयाः स्वभावमृत्तिकाः क्षेत्रस्ते बिन्दुः । 2.30.44). The Vidhāpācaka, Sūtrāgrāhaka, and Cikitsaka should taste the food before it is given to the horses. The Aṣvavāha gets a month’s allowance for the horse and has to carefully look after it.

Kauṭilya does not mention any of the diseases of animals. But it is possible that the doctors are well conversant with all types of diseases and their remedies. Apparently, the physicians came from Brahmaṇavarga and they have to be familiar with the treatises on equestrian sciences. In case of transgression of duties by the handlers, the superintendent should cut down their salary of one day as fine (कर्मोद्वितीयमेव चैवान्निसव्रतवस्तनन्तरे दिवात्सप्तदशस्त्रां कुर्वातैव । 2.30.45).

**Elephant Handlers**

Elephants also are of high importance to the king since they are crucial for the army. Kauṭilya says that the king’s success mostly depends upon elephants (2.2.13). All the affairs related to elephants are to be looked after by an officer designated Hastyadhyakṣa (Superintendent of Elephants). His responsibilities include all aspects of catching, protecting, rearing and training the elephants. Another dignitary named Nāgavanādhyakṣa was his subordinate. He was the charge of the forest exclusively meant for elephants.
The state had taken necessary steps for the welfare and protection of elephants through the Hastyadhyakṣa. He has to take proper steps for protecting the forest for elephants, construction and maintenance of the stables and laying places for elephants, arranging appropriate training of all types of elephants, supervising the work of physicians, elephant trainers and grooms and attendants (2.31.3).

The text classifies elephants also into three different categories i.e. uttama (the best), madhyama (the middling) and avara (lowest) on the basis of their qualities (2.31.11). An outline of the daily routine of work and rest of elephants is laid down therein. It says that if a day is divided into eight equal parts, then the first and seventh divisions should be considered as appropriate for the bath of elephants and after that for feeding (2.31.5). The text says; ‘the superintendent of elephants should carry out the guarding of elephant-forests, and look after the stables, stalls, places for lying down and the amount of work, food and fodder for male and female elephants and cubs, that are being trained or are competent for work, the assignment of tasks to them, the straps and implements and accoutrements of war, the physicians, trainers and group of attendants’ (2.31.1).

Arthaśāstra advises the king to create an elephant forest termed ‘gajavana’ which is separate from the material forest, ‘dravyavana’. The elephants for that should be obtained in the wild. Elephants are captured wild and tamed and trained for work and war. This means, they are not
domesticated from birth. Elephants too come in different grades of quality as do all the items in the inventory of the kingdom. According to the text; ‘Elephants from the Kaliṅgas and the Aṅgaras are best; those from the east, those from Cedi and Karuṣa and those from the Daśāṇas and the Aparāṇtas are considered as of medium quality among the elephants. Those from the Surāṣṭras and Pañcanadas are declared to be of the lowest quality among them. Of all these, valour, speed and spirit increase by training’ (2.2.15-16). The geographical horizon of the regions referred to in this passage is of the northern parts of India, but another passage suggests that elephants were acquired by trade both from the Himalayas in the north and from the south (7.12.22-24). One of the four well-known divisions of the ancient Indian army was the elephant force, on the efficiency of which depended largely the efficiency of the army as a whole.91

The text suggests that the Nāgavanādhyakṣa should, with the help of guards of the elephant forest, protect the elephant forest whether on the mountain, along a river, along lakes or in marshy tracts, with its boundaries, entrances and exits fully known (2.2.7). He had a staff of assistants. The capture of elephants was also his concern, in which staff was helped by a special set of some other men (2.6.10-12).

The elephants are to be properly trained by efficient trainers for different kinds of work in war. For the maintenance and upkeep of elephants the following group of staff is appointed by the state. According to the text
‘the physician, the trainer, the rider, the driver, the guard, the decorator, the cook, the fodder-giver, the stall guard, the night attendant and so on from the group of attendants’ (चिकित्सकारीक्ष्यारोहङ्गाधीरणहस्तिष्कृष्कारिकविधा-पाचक्यावसिक्षादपानिनियककुटीरक्षक्ष्कृषिकामिकादीपस्थायिक्या:। 2.32.16). These attendants are to be engaged with their respective duties.

Of the above said workers Ārohaka is the Mahāmātra of elephants who knows the Hastiśāstra. Ādhoraṇa is not supposed to have studied the śāstra, but knows it by practice. He is also serving as rider’s helper. Physicians of elephants should administer necessary medicines to elephant, whenever the animal suffers from diseases, and also from overwork, rut, old age or undergoing a journey (2.32.18). This suggestion indicates that the elephant’s doctors had to accompany the elephants on long and hazardous journeys along with their medical kits. Failure to take necessary steps for the health of elephants was an offence punishable with fines. There was also inspection as regards to the proper growth and harmonious development of all the parts of the body of an elephant. This was regulated according to several standards and its physical development. The elephant handlers and physicians have been provided with wages and allowances of food. A deduction is too made from their dues for negligence in their duties. The physician, the stall guard and the cook should receive one prastha of boiled rice, a hand full of oil and two palas of sugar and salt. All the above, except the physicians, shall be given in addition ten palas of meat
(चिकित्सककृतीरकविधापाचक: प्रस्वौदन्न भेदप्रमुणी कारणवियोग त्रिपलिंक देहपु:; दशपलं मांसस्य, अन्यत्र चिकित्सकेष्यं: । 2.32.17). Un-cleanliness of the stall, non-receipt of fodder, making elephants sleep on bare ground, striking them at an improper place, mounding by another person, riding at an improper time on unsuitable land, leading down to water where there is no crossing and a thick forest are occasions for penalty. In case of failure to follow these regulations, Kauṭīlya insists to punish the person concerned (2.32.19). All the above instructions indicate an elaborate administrative infrastructure, comprising of specialists, used for elephant husbandry.

Traders

Commerce and trade were another most important activity in ancient India. It was given due importance from early times onwards. According to Kauṭīlya trade exclusively includes in vārttā which is one of the four main branches of knowledge (1.4.1). Arthaśātra frequently describes about traders, sale and purchase, trading commodities, articles etc. which clearly shows that during that period a good number of people were engaged in the trade of various goods, and it was a major sector resorted to by a large number of people as a means of earning livelihood. The traders in Arthaśāstra are mentioned by the term Vaṇij, which generally means a merchant (4.2.33-35). According to the text Panyadhyakṣa (Director of Trade) should look into the matters of trade. Kauṭīlya classifies goods into two i.e. goods of high value (sāra) and goods of low value (phalgu) (2.5.8).
Fisheries

_Arthaśāstra_ refers to the professional fisherman. The term is used Matsyabandhaka. They earned their livelihood mainly by fishing. Pisces and fishing by boats have been referred to in the section on the duties of Nāvadhyakṣa. Fish also were regarded as a commodity in Kauṭilyan period and it is inferred that catching of fish was in vogue in large scale. So _Arthaśāstra_ considers pisces as a source of income. It states that the ownership of the fish obtained from the reservoirs shall rest with the king (मल्लभृतिप्रविध्यानं सेतुः राजा स्वायं गच्छेत् I 2.1.24). This apparently is for the reason that the land on which the tank is built is state belongings.⁹⁴

Kauṭilya says that the Sūnādhyakṣa (Superintendent of Slaughter house) is the authority that should ensure that the penalty of the highest amercement be inflicted on a person for entrapping, killing or cruelly treating the fish declared to be under the state protection, and those growing in sanctuaries. When a person entraps or molest a fish, which does not prey upon other animals, the person should be fined twenty six paṇas. If someone catches fish the Adhyakṣa should realize one-tenth or more of the catch as toll (2.26.1-3). The Sūnādhyakṣa, of toll ducs, should collect, from the improper of dry fishes, one-sixth of the total quantity imported (पुष्पफलशाखाकृतिकल्याणीक्षणशुष्कमत्त्यांसारापद्भागं गुणलीयात् I 2.22.4).

Kauṭilya does not give the name-list of any fish. The absence of fish-names is rather confusing. Because Kauṭilya, who provides a long list of
agricultural commodities and forest produces, does not give a comparable list for fish, indicating that fish did not represent a significant part of the diet. The text, however, states that marine fishes having the appearance of elephant, horse, man, bull or ass as well as fishes in rivers, tanks, lakes and canals must not be destroyed; they should be protected from all types of disturbance. Although in *Arthaśāstra* fish is mentioned as edible food and the organisation of fisheries was given much attention, it was also used for various other purposes. The value of fish in streams running into every territory was one of the many means of undermining enemy strength, and it would seem, therefore, that fish was commonly eaten. Fish was used for agricultural purposes also. The text refers to a mixture which was made of small fish and milk of certain plant, and used as pesticide (2.24.25).

State boats were hired out to fishermen and pearl and conch fishers as well (2.28.5). This implies that pearl fisheries are not a state monopoly. A toll amounted to one-sixth of their catch, had to be paid on the capture of fish, as rent for the use of state boats. When taken to the city for sale, one-sixth of the remainder as śulka (fee) would also be due. Some people are stated to have lived by catching fish, collection of conch-shells, pearls etc.

**Hunters**

In *Arthaśāstra* the Niṣādas and Āṭavikas have been marked as hunters. The text does not furnish any detail in this regard. Most probably they are earned their livelihood by hunting. Existence of these people
indicates that hunting was a recognised profession and was practised by some aboriginal groups as a means of earning.

**Workers in State Store Houses**

A large part of the state revenue was received in kind. State stores for goods of all kinds are therefore a necessity. The granary has its own superintendent (Kośṭhāgārādhyakṣa). The granary stocks come from the state’s own farms, under the supervision of the Director of Agriculture, and probably also from produce in lieu of land tax, which is under the care of Samāharṭṛ and from farmers working in their own lands. The granary is equipped with tools of several kinds: implements for weighing and measuring, grinding-stones, pestle and mortar, pounding machine, oil press and fan, winnowing basket, sieve, cane-basket, box and broom (2.15.62). The Superintendent should take in the goods of high value or low value after they are tested by the experts (तज्ञातकरणाधिष्ठित: पुराण नतिमं च रत्न सारं फल्यु कृप्य वा प्रतिगृहिष्ठात् / 2.5.8). He has to know the different kinds and qualities of the different foodstuffs, the kind of taxes to be levied, marketing, weights and measures and the keeping of accounts. The Adhyakṣa has to supervise the staff in the protection, movement and processing of the stock and issuing of rations. The labourers employed in store houses such as Mārjaka (concerned with the sweeping of store houses), Rakṣaka (watchmen), Dharaka (holder of scales, or weigh men), Māpaka (the officer who supervises measuring), Dāyaka (supervisor of receipts and deliveries),
Śalākāpratigrāhaka (the receiver of tallies for counting or the supervisor of grinding and pounding), Karmakara (labourers) and Dāsas (slaves). These groups come under the category of state workers whom *Arthaśāstra* designates viṣṭi (मार्जकर्षकधरकमायकमापकदायकदायकशलाकाप्रतियाहकदास-कर्मकर्षगन्ध्र विषि: | 2.15.63). This term viṣṭi normally used to indicate forced labour. Breloer remarks that 'state worker' is a better rendering of viṣṭi. 101

**Transport Officials**

During the period of Kauṭilya most journeys must have been on foot; some rode animals or carts. Specifications are laid down for different types of roads (2.4.3-5) and charges for the use of ferries (2.28.21-23). *Arthaśāstra* provides information about big vessels used as ferries on large and perennial rivers which are crossable throughout the year only by boats. These vessels have a Śāsaka (captain), a Niryāmaka (a pilot), a Dātraraśmigrāhaka (a manipulator of the cutter and ropes) and an Utsecaka (a bailer of water) (शासकनिर्यामककदायकशिमग्रहकोतेचकाधिशिलतात्रि: महानावो ह्येन्तग्रीष्टतार्यसु महानदीय प्रयोजयेत, शृद्दिका: शृद्दिरकासु कर्पवार्षिकामिः | 2.28.13).

The state vessels were used for transporting freight and passengers on payment of charges. The authority posted for the administration for this purpose is Nāvadhyakṣa (the Controller of Shipping). He has to provide ferries for the crossing of rivers for a regular tariff (2.28.23). People like Brahmans, wandering ascetics, children, and elderly people, the sick, royal
messengers and pregnant women were allowed to cross ferries without fees, by issuing them a pass, stamped with the Mudrā (seal) of the state (भ्राइणप्रवृजतबालवृद्धाधिवितशासनहरुगमिण्यो नावध्यायमुद्रामिस्तर्य: | 2.28.18).

Professional Entertainers

Arthaśāstra gives a lengthy record of specialised entertainers. A familiar form of activity described in the text is prēkṣā, a show, which may be assumed as a theatrical performance. The villagers were organised these kinds of show in the village on co-operative efforts. These shows were put up probably on the stage. But Kauṭilya does not give references to regular theatre. Basham observes ‘normally dramas were performed privately or semi-privately in palaces or the homes of the rich, or were given public showing in temple courts on days of festival’. Arthaśāstra distinguishes between strīprēkṣā (show by women) and puruṣaprēkṣā (show by men) (दिब्रा खीणेशाविखिरागमने पद्धतियो दण्डः, पुरुषप्रेशाविखिरागमने द्रादशण: | 3.3.21). This reference clearly indicate that they were normally performed by troupes of professionals of both sexes. The text refers to artistes belonging to the category of male (Raṅgopajīvin, 2.27.29) and female (Raṅgopajīvinī, 2.27.28). This evidently indicates that some shows were entirely put up by women performers and other by men only. The expenditure of putting on shows was shared by the people of the village where it is presented (3.10.37). Kauṭilya’s use of the word kuśīlava seems to be a general term for
actors and similar artists. Thus in Arthaśāstra the term kuśīlava represents a wide variety of contexts and hold different status i.e. a bard, a minstrel (1.12.9, 2.1.34, 2.27.7, and 25), a singer (1.12.13), a mime, an actor (1.18.12, 1.21.16, 3.13.30, 3.18.8, 4.1.65, 4.4.3) and a clown (5.4.10).

Artists such as Naṭa, Narttaka, Gāyana, Vādaka, Tālāvācarā, Plavaka, Kuhaka, Saubhika, Vāgjīvana, Cāraṇa, and others are frequently mentioned in the text (2.27.25). The very word Naṭa\textsuperscript{103} is too common in Sanskrit literature which denotes an actor. According to the definition of Nātyaśāstra (35.95) Naṭa was a perfect actor qualified the art with his own experience, feelings and knowledge of music, rendering its originality.\textsuperscript{104} Similarly Narttaka is a dancer or mime and Gāyana is a singer (1.12.9, 2.1.34, 7.17.34, and 8.3.15). Vādaka is a player on musical instrument. Tālāvācarā is probably a dancer. Plavaka is an acrobat and Kuhaka a juggler or a puppet-player or a clown.\textsuperscript{105} Saubhika is a juggler or a shadow player (2.27.25, 7.17.34). Kangle thinks that, the Saubhika may be the Saubhika of Patañjali who puts up a kind of dramatic show.\textsuperscript{106} Vāgjīvana is probably a professional story teller or a professional entertainer (1.12.9, 1.18.12, 2.1.34). Possibly, all entertainers frequently referred to by Kauṭilya, may be supposed to be the part of the Strīprēkṣā and Puruṣaprēkṣā. There is a reference of Aditikauṣika (the mendicants carrying images of gods) in the text (1.17.19). They earn their livelihood by showing images of gods.\textsuperscript{107} The sons of courtesans were made leaders of the artists who live upon dancing and entertainment (2.27.29).
Arthaśāstra suggests that all actors shall stay in one place during the rainy season. This is pre-arrangement in order to prevent them being a disturbance to agricultural activities (2.1.34). Kauṭilya has laid down some rules for actors and other entertainers. While performing the shows the actors are not supposed to cross the limits of decency, and should not pass comments on some socially sensitive things and should not hurt people’s feelings. The author also ruled that actors must avoid making fun of the customs of the region, caste, family and representing copulation of men with women. This strong prohibitions themselves show that entertainers indulged in presenting such scenes on stage. Aśoka also banned such festivals which contained obscene representations, which is evidenced in his rock Edict I.108

Sexual Entertainers

Arthaśāstra gives a meticulous explanation of the profession of prostitution. In the chapter on Gaṇikādhyakṣa (Superintend of Prostitutes) detailed particulars of prostitution for providing sexual activity to the public organized by the government itself are available. The business of prostitution was firmly restricted and regulated by government through the Gaṇikādhyakṣa. It was measured as a resource of revenue. The Kauṭilyan state organized a state prostitution with public houses run by the state. Thousand paṇas were given to a Gaṇikā to set up her establishment, for the purchase of ornaments, dresses, furniture etc. (सौभाग्यालंकारवृद्ध्या सहकरण वारं कनिष्ठं मध्यमतं बालोपवेतूं छत्रभृदंहरणवस्निविकारीभवेतर्थम् विशेषपर्यम्)
12.27.4). At the same time, the Gaṇikās are permitted to make appropriate business by the state, to entertain visitors as the king may direct her. The Gaṇikās are also engaged with the duty of bathroom servants, washer women, and garland makers to the king (1.21.1). Every movement of the prostitutes was watched by their authority and punished them if anybody violated the rules. She had to report to her superior about her customers, income, expenditure etc. After receiving money from the customer, she should not refuse services to them, cause physical injury to him or abuse, or disfigure him. She should not disobey the king’s command to attend on a particular person (2.27.19). Apart from the Gaṇikās, other categories of public women, mentioned in Arthaśāstra are Gaṇikādāsī, Rūpadāsī, Rūpājīva, Mātrkā, Puṁścalī, Bandhakī, Veśyā, and Dēvadāsī.

Gaṇikādāsī, female slave of a courtesan, who could also become independent and set up her own establishment, carried on the profession of prostitutes. However, she was unaccomplished and entertained customers and wealthy men. She might cease to call at the house of her mistress and become a kept woman on payment of nominal fee. Kauṭilya makes suitable rehabilitation to the Gaṇikādāsī, whose professional carrier is over. When she can no more do that work, she is to be given work in the storehouses or in the kitchen (2.27.8). But in the case of Gaṇikās they have been turned to be the mother superior (Mātrkā) of such establishment.
Rūpadāsī, female slave living by her beauty, too seems to have been employed in personal attendance of a Gaṇikā. She may be the same as or similar in status to the Gaṇikādāsī. She does work in connection with perfumes, flowers etc. The Rūpadāsī seems to have been employed in personal attendance of the king (2.27.17).

Māṭkā is a retired Gaṇikā, generally engaged in training and looking after the Gaṇikā. Māṭkā of a Rūpājīvā might be employed in the textile industry.

Another type of public women, who engaged in the vocation of prostitution, is Rūpājīvā. The term literally means one who lives by her own beauty. This term is mentioned in different places of the text (1.10.10, 1.20.20, 2.4.11, 2.23.2, 2.27.27, 2.36.8, 3.20.15). They are not maintained by the state. They were not talented in the arts like the Gaṇikās. Her only stock, in job as the name indicates, was her beauty and charm. Kauṭilya’s descriptions show that the Rūpājīvās have some other duties also. They used to serve wine in state almhouses or private shops and even in the brothel (2.25.15). They were also used as spies. Whenever the army marched on an expedition, they also went with it. They were allotted place in the camp, alongside the roads and followed the army of the state (10.1.10). This clearly tells that they served the soldiers also in the times of war.
The Puṇścalī, a harlot, mostly appears in the text along with Dāsakarmakaras (3.13.37). They did not have any fixed fees. They could only demand fees on marks of cohabitation.\footnote{110}

Another category of prostitutes mentioned by Kauṭilya is Bandhakī. They too were harlots and were part of a brothel maintained by brothel-keeper called Badhakīpoṣaka (5.2.21, 28; 11.1.4; 12.2.11). She is a housewife who turns into a whore. The Bandhakī may be same with Kulaṭā and Svairinī, both strumpets, referred to by Kāmasūtra.\footnote{111}

The term Vēṣyā seems to be generic fordesignating all women engaged in harlotry. They are mentioned in Arthaśāstra along with Kāruśīlpigāṇa (2.6.2) and spies (5.3.47). Kauṭilya requires the state to make adequate provisions for training Gaṇikās, Dāśīs, and Raṅgopājīvins. The state authority has to maintain the teachers of these women (2.27.27-28).

Other Professional Services

Arthaśāstra provides scattered references towards many other vocations of which only few details are furnished. A discussion on such professions is given below.

Doctors

Arthaśāstra refers to the service of physicians. The terms used in this connection are bhīṣaj (4.1.56), cikitsaka (2.36.10) etc. They were strictly controlled by the state. Physicians are advised to report all cases of grave
illness to the state (4.1.56-57). According to the text ‘Any doctor who is
called to a house to treat a severely wounded person or one suffering from
unwholesome food or drink shall report the fact to the Gopa and the
Sthānīka. If he does not make a report, he shall be charged with the same
offence which he helped to conceal (2.36.10).’

Nurses

Reference to the employment of women as wet nurses is another
profession mentioned by Kauṭilya. The term used for such nurses is dhātrī
(3.13.9, 11). They appear to be slaves. Though probably only indigent
women took this profession, they seem to have enjoyed the respect as well
as affection of the family they served.

Tailors

Tailoring was established as a profession in the period of Arthaśāstra.
They are known as Tūṇnavāya (4.1.25). However, the text gives a little
indications of the dress of the people, although various kinds of clothes are
mentioned in the text. Woollen, linen, cotton and silk woven in different
types of coarse or fine weaves and dyed in various colours are referred to in
it (2.11.97-115). But, there is no indication of the kinds of clothes they
stitched for their customers. The cultivation of the śaṇa plant for making
cloth is mentioned in Mahābhārata (8.27.1). The term śaṇavalkala occurring
in Rāmāyaṇa (5.58.152) probably denotes garments made out of the fibers
of the śaṇa plant. Manusmṛti (2.41, 42 and 44) prescribes that the garments
of the Brāhmaṇa students should be made of śaṇa. It may be presumed from the mention of other raw materials such as cotton, wool and silk that by the period of *Arthaśāstra* dress-making had obtained a more developed stage.

**Washermen**

Dyeing and washing of cloth is another profession of which *Arthaśāstra* speaks of. The washermen was known as Rajaka. *Arthaśāstra* is replete with references to them. The text says that the Rajaka washed the garments on wooden boards or smooth slabs of stone (रजज: काष्ठकप्रत्याशिलाः च ग्राम्यनिजः: 4.1.14). It also says that ‘Those washing on anything else shall pay for damage to garments and a fine of six paṇas’ (4.1.15). From the details furnished in *Arthaśāstra* it can be assumed that the Rajaka washed the luxurious and also the impure cloths of the higher classes. As *Arthaśāstra* envisages a caste-society they must have formed a distinct community which comparatively is low in the caste hierarchy and social status. The Rajakas remained a very essential component of the village community throughout the history.

**Craft Workers**

Probably villages and cities in India from early period itself had their own carpenters, engineers, artistes, sculptures, smiths etc. *Arthaśāstra* mentions the duties of Śilpi (artist/sculptor) (1.18.12) and Kuṭṭāka (carpenter/engineer) (5.3.12, 10.1.1, 17). Though not specifically mentioned
in the text, there must have been industries such as the construction industries, ship and boats building and the manufacture of carts and chariots in its period.\textsuperscript{113}

**Astrologers**

*Arthaśāstra* condemns the practice of consulting the stars before starting on an expedition or undertaking a work (9.4.26). Despite, it advises to engage the people who know such occult lores as nimitta (omens), lakṣaṇa or anākavidyā (interpretation of the marks or movements of the body) (13.1.9, 1.12.1) in state service.\textsuperscript{114} In this connection the text refers to the professionals like Mauhūrtika (astrologer), Naimittika (interpreter of omens) and Kārttāntika (the sooth sayer) who worked under state service (5.3.13). They earned their living by interpreting omens, signs of birds, dreams and marks or movements of the body. The Purohita also is expected to be an expert in the field of astrology (1.9.9). It may be said presumably that often the Purohita performed magical ceremonies and muttered spells for victory both before and during battle.\textsuperscript{115}

**Food Vendors**

Food production and selling were, by and large, the occupation of some category of men and women. There are some references found in the text in this regard. Food vendors were generally attached to town. The people were habituated to taking various forms of foods prepared from grains, milk, butter, curd, fruits, vegetables, fish and meat as their regular
food. Different kinds of eateries are mentioned in *Arthaśāstra*. Rice-eaters and bread-eaters were apparently catered for in separate eating places. References to varieties of grains mentioned in the text have made it clear that people generally depended grains for their food. The meat formed a regular part of people’s diet. Vegetarian and non-vegetarian eating houses are run separately (2.36.8-9). Those eating houses are worked by Aupika (purveyor of bread), Audānika (dealer in cooked rice) and the Pakvamāṁsika (vendors of cooked meat, 2.36.8 etc.). Māhānasika (the head cook, 1.19.23, 1.21.4), Sūpakāra (a broth-maker, 2.15.61), Ārālika (one who serves food, 1.12.9) etc. are also mentioned in the text.

Dinner parties formed an essential part of celebrations on auspicious occasions such as birth in the family, marriage and so on (3.8.8). On festive occasions, there was not much restriction on the consumption of liquor. *Arthaśāstra* informs that on the days of festivals, gatherings and fairs, house holders were granted permission to manufacture and sell liquor for home consumption for four days (2.25.35-36). Probably, the eating stall would have played an active part in the urban life. Yet there is no clear indication to this effect. Rice appears in *Arthaśāstra* as the main staple food. But Kauṭilya accepts meat-eating as quite normal and he lays down rules for the management of slaughter houses and the maintenance of the purity of meat (see Chapter 2.26). The sale of meat is regulated by the state through the Sūnādhyaṅkṣa. References shows that, a wide variety of products were used for cooking; different kinds of rice, other cereals like wheat, barley and
millets, a variety of beans and lentils, butter and ghee, vegetable oils from sesame and mustard, sugar, honey, treacle and molasses, vinegars, fruit juices from tamarind, lemon and pomegranate, milk and yoghurt, spices including pepper, ginger, coriander, cumin seed and anise, root vegetables, other vegetables and fruit, fresh and dried meat and dried fish.\textsuperscript{117} Kośṭhāgārādhyakṣa (Superintendent of Magazine) disposed of broken grains left over from milling grain by selling them to broth-makers and cooked food-vendors (2.15.61).

According to \textit{Arthāśāstra} it is clear that every professional and skilled person was registered and was under the ultimate control of the state. All-round welfare of the country and its people was definitely regarded as the main aim of Kauṭīlya’s welfare state. The relation between the state and its employees, conditions of work, punishments due for the delay of work, wage system, salary scale etc. are revealed through the text. The details available in the text definitely is an indication to the existence of a much advanced stage of social system and political institution.

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\textbf{NOTES:}


\footnote{\textit{Kāmasūtra} (5.5.17, 33, and 35) and \textit{Manusmṛti} (9.259) also use this term in the sense of a high officer. See \textit{Kāmasūtra}, Edited with \textit{Jayamaṅgalā} Commentary, Shastri, G.D., Kashi Sanskrit Series No.29, Choukhambha Sanskrit Samstan, 1929. \textit{See Manusmṛti}, Rakesh Shastri (Ed.), Vidhyanidhi Prakashan, Delhi, 2005.}


5 Ibid.


13 Ibid.

14 See P.V. Kane, *op.cit.*, p.976.


16 See P.V. Kane, *op.cit.*, p.976.


21 Ibid, Part II, Note on 2.1.11.

22 Ibid, Note on 5.3.23.


24 R.P. Kangle, *op.cit.*, Part II, Note on 5.3.23.


27 Ibid., p.198.


32 Ibid, Note on 1.12.6.
38 ‘दूरपास: नामरिका:। कृपापास: ह्वस्यः।’, see *Jayamangala*, p.315.
42 N.V.P. Unithiri, Administrative Hierarchy, in V.N. Jha (Ed.), *op.cit.*, p.43.
46 The Saristhā are so called because they are stationed in one place (*samyag ekasmin sthāne sthitā) Nitinirnītī, quoted in R.P. Kangle, *op.cit.*, Part II, Note on 1.11.22.
47 The Sāccharas are not settled in one place, the members of it move from place to another as their services may require.
49 *Nitinirnītī* Commentary quoted in R.P Kangle, *op.cit.*, Part II, Note on 1.11.3.
53 According to the commentary of *Kautalyam*, ‘Jambakavidya is the magical lore by which one brings others under his control, becomes invisible and so on’. See R.P. Kangle, *op.cit.*, Part II, Note on 1.12.1.
54 Manila Rohatgi, *op.cit.*, p.86.

Ibid, p.256.


For detailed discussion see P.V. Narayanam, *Science and Technology as Reflected in Arthaśāstra*, Publication Division, University of Calicut, 2009, p.142.

Ibid, p.141.


Ibid, Note on 2.13.43.


Ibid.

Kauṭilya permits some degree of freedom to widows. He allows them to lead an independent life, obviously free from the control of their husband’s family. A widow appears to have a right to move about freely, for she might be employed as a spy of the itinerant type (Saṅcāra) (1.12). References show that, she can have independent means of livelihood. She is employed by the state not only as a spy, but also in the state textile industry (2.23). All evidences suggest that the remarriage of widows was fairly common in early India. Kauṭilya admits its possibility. *Nāradasṛṣṭi* 12.97 and *Pārāśarasmṛti* 4.30 also admit the possibility of a women’s remarriage if her husband disappears, dies, becomes an ascetic, is impotent, or loses caste. See A.L. Basham, *op.cit.*, p.186.


Ibid, p.93


Ibid, p.165.

Ibid.


Ibid.


See L.N. Rangarajan, *op.cit.*, p.82.

This month is of 35 days as is clear from verse 2.20.52.


92 Ibid, p.112.
93 Ibid, p.53.
95 See L.N. Rangarajan, op.cit., pp. 83-84. After the Kaliṅga war Aśoka stopped the royal hunts. But if fish was an important article of diet in Mauryan times it would have been impossible for the king to have banned the catching of fish. See Romila Thapar, op.cit., p. 72.
96 Priyadarsan Sensharma, op.cit., p.20.
97 Romila Thapar, op.cit., p. 71.
98 R.P. Kangle, op.cit., Part II, note on 2.28.5.
99 Ibid, Note on 2.28.3.
101 R.P. Kangle, ibid, Part II, Note on 2.16.63. For details see the 4th Chapter in this study.
103 नद्यथति भावायबध्य पूणो नद्यथति च लोकवस्तातमः।
रमभावसत्तुचं वस्मात्त्वादस्तो भवति || Nātyaśāstra, 25.100.
104 च头晕लोकविधायां प्रयोगशास्त्राय हेतुविहितस्य ||
नायायस्य च प्रयोज्या स नरदे नाम विषयः। Nātyaśāstra, 35.95.
106 Ibid, Part II, Note on 2.27.25.
108 Iravati, Performing Artistes in Ancient India, DK Print World, New Delhi, 2003, p.213.
112 L.N. Rangarajan, op.cit., p.360.
113 Ibid, p.84.
115 A.L. Basham, op.cit., p.34.
117 L.N. Rangarajan, op.cit., p.59.