Introduction:

A characteristic feature of craft and commercial organization in ancient India is found in professional classification by corporative groups (śrenis). These corporative groups were not only social and economic but religious and military also. The most specifically economic institutions, which formed a sort of cross-division over varṇāśrama-dharma into guilds, associations, trade unions, took a more active, a more day to day part in regulating the life of the individual and at the same time attending to the needs of the community.

The Sanskrit literature uses a large number of terms with reference to these indigenous local bodies possessing various characters and functions. The communal life of ancient India, indeed, sought to express itself through a variety of institutions, civic and municipal, industrial and commercial, political and religious, and the evidence very often treats together all these diverse types of corporate life, thus making it difficult for the investigator to separate one from the other. The following for examples are the terms employed in our literature, we generally come across, viz. śreni, nigama, kula, gaṇa, pāga, vrāta, saṅgha, etc. Most of these terms occur in the legal literature, which is characterized by the definiteness and precision of its phraseology and language, and yet the commentators very often differ in their interpretations of the same.

In general we may say that it is a corporation of people engaged in same trade, craft and other activities. The question here arises that why people joined together to form such guilds? The clue of this we find in the Brhaspatismṛti. It states that a compact formed among villagers, companies (of artisans) and associations is called an agreement; such an agreement must be observed both in times of distress and for acts of piety. When a danger is apprehended from robbers or thieves, it is considered as distress common to all; in such a case, the danger must be repelled by all, not by one man alone whoever he may be.1
Thus two things appear from the statement of Brhaspati. One is the dangers from robbers and thieves and any such elements and the second is the common purpose of the people which lead to birth, growth and development of associations which we call the guilds. It can be said that the main aim was the protection of common interest against rival and competitive bodies. The insecurities and dangers at the hands of anti-social elements and the exploitation by the state formed another factor in favour of corporate organizations. The feelings of individuals and families of equal economic and social standards paved way for such corporate bodies.

Ancient Indian literature, Hindu, Buddhist and Jain contain the references to the guilds quite frequently. These have also been mentioned in the ancient inscriptions. From these sources we get an idea that almost all the important industries organized themselves in to guilds. The number of the guilds kept on increasing or decreasing in different periods. There were guilds such as those of workers in wood (carpenters, including cabinets makers, wheel weights, builders of houses, builders of ships, and builders of vehicles of all sorts etc.). Workers in metal including gold and silver, leather workers, workers in stone, ivory workers, workers fabricating hydraulic engines, bamboo workers, braziers, jewelers, weavers, potters, oil millers, such workers and basket makers, dyers, painters, barbers and shampooers, garland makers and flower sellers, mariners, herdsmen, traders including carvan traders, robbers and freebooters, forest police who guarded the caravans, money lenders, rope and mat makers, toddy drawers, tailors, flower makers etc.

Sreni was probably the particular terms used to denote the corporation of traders or mechanics. This is defined as a corporation of people, belonging to the same or different caste, but following the same trade and industry.

History of guilds

The history of the guilds in India is as old as the Vedic period. The Vedic society was a well settled society having an elaborate differentiation of function and occupation among the people which presented an economic environment favorable to the growth of industrial and commercial activities in the community,
leading to the formation of specialized institutions like the guilds. The Vedic literature contains many references to the corporations. The term *śreśṭhin*, for example occurs in several passages in the Brāhmaṇas\(^4\) which possibly means ‘headman of a guild’. Another term *śraisthya* possibly means the ‘presidency of a guild’.\(^5\)

In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa there are references to a guild. At one place there is a reference to the position of the chief of the guild (*śreṣṭhi*) and at two other places the position of leadership is indicated by the use of the words *śraisthya* and *śreṣṭhata*.\(^7\) The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa contains the references to the term *śraisthya* which is used to indicate lordship.\(^8\) The Atharvaveda also refers to the term *śraisthya* which is once again used to indicate lordship.\(^9\) In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad and the Ka० respond Upaniṣad there are the expressions *śreṣṭhin* and *śraisthya* which are used to denote the chief of the guild or the high position that belongs to him.\(^10\)

Thus all these expressions from the Vedic literature reflect the manner of the allusion to the head of the guild and his high social position and prestige.

The Epics too repeat the same thing. When Bharata starts his journey to find Rama, he is being accompanied by the carpenters, wood cutters, expert diggers, builders, cobblers, cooks, perfumers, makers of machines and bamboo made articles, people acquainted with geography and active servants etc.\(^11\)

The guilds (*nigamah*) of merchants, jewelers, potters, weavers, smiths, sawers, workers with peacock-feathers, glass makers, perforators of gem, workers in ivory, wool growers, armours, persons expert in mixing cement, perfumers, gold smith, shampooers, physicians, incense makers, wine makers, wine sellers, washer man, tailors, actors, cooks, fisherman, person versed in the Vedas etc. are mentioned.\(^12\) Another very important incidence in the Rāmāyaṇa is when Rama in Citrakūṭa asks Bharata regarding the well being of Ayodhya and its people. Very particularly he questions him whether the forts of Ayodhya are well provided with wealth, corns, water, arms, machines, artisans and soldiers or not?\(^13\)

All the discussed references from the Rāmāyaṇa indicate the recognition of the importance of the position held by the trades and craft in the society. The
Mahābhārata too recognizes the high social position and prestige of the head of the guilds. There is an instance in the Mahābhārata when Duryodhana was defeated by the Gandharvas and made captive and later was liberated by the Pāndavas. He refuses to go back to his capital as he fears what the elders like Bhīṣma, Drona, Kṛpa etc., the principal man of the other orders and the head of the guilds will say to him and what will he say to them in reply?  

At another instance in the Mahābhārata the guilds are described as one of the principal support of the royal power and sowing dissensions among the heads of guilds or inciting them to treason, is looked upon as a recognized means of injuring the enemy’s kingdom. 

Besides these there are many references to the guilds and their heads in the Mahābhārata which testify the significance of their position. 

This high social position of the head of the guild or corporation (śreṣṭhin) can very well be attested in some of the Pāli works too. The Cullavagga, for example, mentions the setṭhi of Rājagaha; the Mahāvagga mentions, Yasa, the son of a setṭhi of Benares and the setṭhi of Rājagaha. 

We find frequent references to the guilds in the Jātaka stories. The Apanṇaka- Jātaka tells us the story of Anāthapindika, the treasurer, famous for his visit to Buddha and making gift to Buddha at the Jetavana. He is mentioned as the setṭhi or mahā setṭhi. 

The Cullaka- Setṭhi- Jātaka mentions the office of setṭhi. 

The Nigrodha- Jātaka mentions the king of Rājagaha offering the post of treasurer to poṭṭika with which the judgeship of all the merchant guilds went to him. 

The guilds were organized under one chief (Jetṭhaka). In the Jātakas we find several references to this such as the Valāhassa- Jātaka contains the story of 500 merchants with a chief as their head, who chartered a vessel for trading in Ceylon. 

The Suppāraka- Jātaka talks of 700 merchants getting ready a skipper, and the treasure that was gained in course of the voyage and was divided amongst them. 

The Jarudapāna- Jātaka refers to a large carvan consisting a number of traders of Śrāvastī and Benares who set of together under a chief (jetaṭhaka) with cart-loads of wares. 

Many other Jātaka stories refer to the guilds being organized under a head (jetaṭhaka) much as the Kumārapinḍa- Jātaka mentions the guild of garland makers, Khurappa- Jātaka mentions the guild of foresters,
the Suci- Jātaka refers to the guild of smiths and the Kimpakka- Jātaka narrates the story of caravan traders lead by their chief (jetthaka).

Thus it appears that the guilds were both natural and necessary growths at a very early period of our history because of the great progress achieved in arts, manufactures and trade. The guild life actually is an indication of an advanced stage of economic progress in which the individual mechanics, artisans or traders have sufficient business instincts developed in them, and have achieved sufficient success in their businesses to appreciate the necessity of organizing themselves into community for the purpose of promoting their individual and collective interests.

Panini, according to P. V. Kane teaches the formation of derivatives from pūga, gana, saṅgha (V. 2. 52) from vrāta (V. 2. 21). In his times it appears that the words had acquired specific meanings. The Mahābhāṣya, according to him, explains that vrātas are groups formed by men of various castes with no fixed means of livelihood but subsisting by the might of their bodies.

The Arthaśāstra gives us a much clearer idea of various types of guilds. Kauṭilya refers to the guilds of the workmen (saṅghabhrūh), guilds of an artisans (kāruka), guilds of weavers (tanituvāyā), guilds of washermen (rajaka), guilds of goldsmith (suvarnakāra), guilds of scavengers (jharaka), guilds of doctors (bhīṣaja), guilds of musicians (kuśāla), guilds of priest (vājaka), guilds of merchants (vaidehaka), guilds of soldiers (kṣatriya śreni), and the guilds of actors, dancers, singers (nātanartanagāyāmavādaka), buffoons (vāgīvina) and bards (kuśāla) etc.

Patañjali refers to the village artisans (pañcakārūk) whom he specially styled as the kulāla (potter), karmāra (black smith), varīhākin (carpenter), nāpita (barber) and the rajaka (washer man). The potter was also known as kumbhakāra and mahākumbhakāra. He also mentions the metal workers namely the ayaskāra (black smith), the lohakāra (metal worker) and the gold smith (suvarnakāra). Aśvaghoṣa mentions the traveling traders (sārthavāha) led by their chief (jetthaka or pramukha).
The *Milindapoñho* also refers to such traders. The *Mahāvastu* has very specifically referred to the guilds as it refers to eighteen guilds of Kapilavastu and eighteen guilds of Rājagṛha. The text gives a long list of the following varieties of guilds (*śrenī*); goldsmith (*sauvarṇika* or *hairanyaka*), cloak makers or seller (*prāvārika* or *pāvārika*), jewelers (*manikāra* or *maṇi-prastāraka*), perfumer (*gaṇḍhika*), oil-miller (*tailika*), ghee- storing pot maker (*gṛhtaka*), molasses makers (*golika*), curd-maker (*dadhika*), cotton cloth manufacturer (*kārpāsīka*), sweet meat maker (*modaka-kāraka*), barley-meal grinder (*saktu-kāraka*), sugar candy manufacturer (*khaṇḍakāraka*), wheat flour merchants (*samita-kāraka*), fruit vendor (*phalavānīja*), dealer in roots (*mūla-vaṇīja*), flour grinder (*cūrṇa-kūṭaka*), fragrant oil seller (*gaṇḍha-tailika*), provision merchants (*attavānīja*), weavers (*koliṅkīya*), potters (*kulairīka*), hydraulic engine mechanics (*andayāntrīka*), and braziers (*kāmsaṅkāra*) etc.

Guilds find frequent references in the *Dharmaśāstras*. Yājñavalkya, for example, has referred to *pūga* and *śrenī* as corporate bodies or trade guilds. Mitākṣarā explains that *pūga* is an association of people of different castes and different occupations that stay in one locality, while a *śrenī* is a group of people of different castes, that subsists by the occupation of one caste and cites *helābukas* (horse- dealers), *tāmbulikas* (betel sellers), *kvindaśas* (weavers) and *carmakāras* (shoe- makers) etc. as the examples of the *śrenīs*.

Manu refers to *śrenī* as the guild of merchants or husbandmen. Medhātithī explains *śrenī* as a group of people following a common profession such as that of tradesmen, artisans, money-lenders, coach drivers and so forth. Regarding *saṅgha*, Medhātithī points out that it was a combination formed by persons professing the same faith or path, even though inhabiting different castes for example the confederation of traders (*vaṇijam*), the confederation of mendicants etc. Various types of guilds such as those of artisans (*kārka*), weavers (*tattavāya*), washermen (*rajaka*), goldsmiths (*sauvarṇaka*), doctors (*bhīṣaja*), musicians (*kaśīlava*), priest (*yājaka*), and merchants (*vaidehaka*) etc. have been mentioned by Manu, Nārada, Yājñavalkya Bṛhaspati and Viśṇu etc.
The analysis of the works of Kautilya, Manu, Yājñavalkya, Viṣṇu, Nārada, and Brhaśpati along with other literary works compiled during the Kuśāṇa period such as the Mahāvastu, the Milindapañha, the Aṅgavijñā, the Lalitavistara, the Divyāvadāna, the Buddhacarita, the Saundarananda, the works of Patañjali and the Jātakas etc. makes the study of the guilds in continuity, without any break. From the study of these literary works it appears that the laws, rules and regulations regarding the constitution and functioning of the guilds, formulated by the earlier scholars such as Kautilya and Manu continued to be in practice along with some new ones during the age of the Kuśāṇas. The works of the later lawgivers such as Nārada and Brhaśpati indicate the continuation of old rules and regulations with some modifications and some new rules which had the genesis in the works of their predecessors.

The epigraphic records of the Kuśāṇas throw a welcome light on the guilds of that period. The inscriptions of the western Kṣaṭrapas contain a valuable data on the guilds and their functioning. These epigraphs are of great significance as they were the subordinates of the imperial Kuśāṇas.

The secondary works such as those of B. N. Mukherjee, R. C. Majumdar, and B. N. Puri etc although talk about the guilds during the Kuśāṇa period but the detailed study of the guilds and their functioning is still lacking as R. C. Majumdar in his work Corporate Life in Ancient India has talked about the guilds but the Kuśāṇa period has not been dealt with comprehensively. B. N. Mukherjee mentions the guilds but do not talk much about their functioning and their role in economy. B. N. Puri however has written an article on the guilds during the Kuśāṇa period which is published in the Indian Culture but the article merely talks about the references of the guilds in the inscriptions of the Kuśāṇas. S. K. Das in his work The Economic History of Ancient India while talking about the Āndhra- Kuśāṇa period refers to the guilds but simply refers to their existence during the period. R. N. Saletore in his work Early Indian Economic History and R. K. Mookerjee in his work Local Government in Ancient India talk about the guilds but the comprehensive study of guilds during the Kuśāṇa period is still lacking.
The genesis of the guilds in India thus may be traced back to the Vedic period which means they were existing even during the Vedic Period and in later period great importance was given to them by the kings and the law givers as is evident from the references in the Rāmāyana the Mahābhārata and in the Smṛti texts.

**Types of Guilds**

The most important factors which favour the growth of economic organizations like guilds are; the hereditary character of professions and the localization of industry. Both these conditions were fulfilled in India. We hear of a potter’s son becoming a potter, smith’s son becoming a smith etc. The technicalities of the profession are best learnt by the son from his father with very little difficulty or expense, the son naturally grows into the skills and perfection of his father’s craft. The combination particularly becomes advantageous when a profession is crystallized into a caste or close corporation; people specialized in same craft and following the same profession are acquainted to each other since their childhood which makes them to organize themselves in to an association or guild.

The localization of industry creates a special atmosphere for the particular industry. The localization of industry in India may be traced even in the Jātaka stories. Alīnacitta- Jātaka mentions village of carpenters not far from the city where five hundred carpenters lived. Two villages of smiths are referred to in the Śāci- Jātaka, there were villages famous for potters in the suburbs of Benares as mentioned in the Kumbhakāra-Jātaka. In the Sāma- Jātaka it is said that once not very far from Benares on the near bank of the river there was a village of hunters, and another village on the further sides; five hundred families dwelt in each. Besides villages there were streets and bazaars which were inhabited by the craftsmen. The Stilvanāga- Jātaka and the Kasava-Jātaka talk about the streets which were inhabited by ivory workers and the bazaars where they worked. The Ghata- Jātaka mentions the washer men’s street and shops of perfumes, dyes and florists. The Vesantara- Jātaka refers to the vaiśya street and quarter.
Kautilya mentions the villages of the same category when he talks about the villages where the families of the agricultural people of śādra caste resided. 59 he has mentioned the places of residence of each caste in a city quite clearly. He says that on the eastern side merchants traveling in scents, garlands, grains and liquids, together with expert artisans and the people of kṣatriya caste shall have their habitation. To the west, artisans manufacturing worsted threads, cotton threads, bamboo-mats, skins, armours, weapons and gloves as well as the people of śādra caste shall have their dwellings. To the north, the royal tutelary deity of the city, iron smiths, artisans working on precious stones, as well as brāhmaṇas shall reside and in the several corners, guilds and corporations of workmen shall reside. To the south, the superintendents of the city, of commerce, of manufactories, and of the army as well as those who trade is cooked rice, liquor, and flesh, besides prostitutes, musicians and the people of vaiśya caste shall live.60 Thus within the city the various crafts were localized in special quarters and their distributions followed a definite plan.

There were generally two type of guilds; (a) merchant guilds, and (b) artisan guilds.

Merchant Guilds

The guilds of merchants or traders used to move from one place to other hence could not develop settled relation upon which the possibility of a permanent organization depends. Heredity of profession was not very much important and there were no villages like those of the craftsmen. There appear two types of merchants one with stationery interest in shops and the other who were mobile in their economic pursuits. The former were Known as vanik and the later as śārthavāha.61 The mobile merchants or śārthavāhas joined hands with each other in order to face the difficulties during the trade specially during long distance journeys. In the Sattigumība- Jātaka we hear of the villages of robers. 62 Thus in order to overcome the dangers of such robers the merchants had to organize themselves into the guilds. We have many instances in the Jātakas where merchants united themselves to carry out journey. The Suppāraka- Jātaka for example contains a story of seven hundred merchants going for trade in a ship
under a skilful skipper Supparaka Kumāra. The *Pandaraka-* Jātaka tells a story of five hundred trading folks. The *Cullaka- Setṭhi- Jātaka* refers to a group of hundred or more merchants. While the *Valāhassa- Jātaka* narrates a story of five hundred shipwrecked traders in Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Many references to such carvans are recorded in the Jātakas.

Apart from the Jātakas some other literary sources, belonging to the Kuśāna period such as the *Saundrananda*, the *Lalitavistara*, the *Milindapañho* and the *Avadāna Śātaka* etc too refer to the merchants going for trade under their chief. Gautama records that the cultivators, traders, herdsmen, money lenders, and artisans have authority to lay down rules for their respective classes. Yājñavalka states that the highest form of pecuniary punishment is laid down for them, who knowing the standard value of a thing settled by the king, in a body so increase or decrease its value as is painful to the artist or artisans. The highest form of pecuniary punishment is laid down for those merchants, who in a body obstruct the sale of foreign articles, and those who sell them at a higher price.

We have found a few epigraphic records of the Kuśānas referring to sārthavāha. An inscription, belonging to the year 22 of the period of Kaniska-1 mentions the gift of Dharma Soma (Dharma Svāmini), the wife of a carvan leader (sārthavāha). Another inscription of the year 28 during the reign of Huviska records the installation of the image of Amitābha Buddha by Nāgarakṣitā, son of Buddhhabala, grandson of the merchant (sārthavāha) Sattavaka and grandson (daughter’s son) of the trader Balakīrti and the third inscription of the year 50 of the reign of Huviska records the gift by a person who is the son of Indrabala the sārthavāha. The term vanik is noticed in a solitary inscription which records the gift of Puṣikānāgapriyā, a vaṇka’s wife. This term is used for shopkeeper and for carvan trader both.

Artisan Guilds

The artisan guilds were very important. The Jātakas refer to eighteen guilds such as guilds of potters, dyers, painters, braziers, jewelers, ivory workers, basket makers, corn-dealers, herdsmen, carpenters, leather workers, garland
makers, weavers, oil-millers, money lenders, workers in stone etc. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as stated earlier, various artisans and craftsmen such as the potters, the weavers, the gem-cutters, the ivory workers, the goldsmith, etc. are mentioned. Kauṭilya also mentions rules for the guilds of workers (*śaṅghbhṛtāh*). The *Mālāpadūṭa*, *The Mahāvastu*, *The Angavijja* and many Jain sources compiled during the Kuśāna period contain references to the craft and craftsmen which had organized themselves into guilds. Brhaspati too refers to the various craft guilds such as those of dealing in gold, silver, thread, wood, stone and leather etc. Along with these two types of guilds, there were also the guilds of agriculturist, priests, soldiers and dancers and musicians and the guilds of money lenders etc.

Many epigraphic evidences belonging to pre- Kuśāna, Kuśāna and post-Kuśāna period throw welcome light on the artisan guilds. The Bhattiprolu and the Sānči Stūpa inscriptions belonging to the pre- Kuśāna period are generally placed between third century B.C. to second century B.C. An inscription from Sanchi mentions that the workers in ivory of Vediśā (Vidiśā) have done the carving who probably had organized themselves in a guild or *śreni*. The Bhattiprolu inscription records gifts made by *gothī* (committees) and guilds (*negamā*). Inscription no.III refers to the names of the members of the *gothī*, inscription no.VI mentions the gift of another casket (*majusā*), a box of crystal (*phālīgāṣamugo*) and stone- box (*pāṇasamugo*) by the members (sons) of the *shāgathi nigam* (guild or town). Inscription no. VIII contains the names of the members of guild (*negama*). In the same category may be put the Bharhut inscription the period of which ranges between c. 250-200 B.C. according to Cunningham. Hultzsch has assigned the date of the inscription in the second or first century B.C. There are two inscriptions which refer to the gift of the Ispālīta of Bhānaka who was a *navakarmika* and the second inscription records the gift of Dhamagupta (Dharmagupta) who was a *navakarmika* or an architect.

Term term *navakarmika* has been used in some Kharoṣṭhī inscription too. The Taxila Copper Plate inscription of Patika, belonging approximately to c. 6 B.C. refers to the construction and establishment of a *saṅghārāma*, and a relic of the lord Śākyamuni under the supervision of Rohinimitra, a *navakamika*
The Taxila casket inscription of the year I, of Mahārāja Kanīṣka refers to a religious gift by the slave (dāsa) Agiśula, an architect (navakarmika) in the Kanīṣka’s Vihāra. There was another type of architect who was possibly entrusted with the repairs of the Vihāras and monasteries. The Manikiala inscription mentions the name Burita as the repairing architect (vihārakāravāheṇa) and his brother Sarvabuddhi who assisted him.

In one of the Junar Buddhist Cave inscriptions, the investment of the income of a field at Vadalika for planting Karanja trees and of another field for planting banyan trees with the guild (senī) at Konācika by the lay-worshipper (uvasaka) Āduthuma, the Saka (Śaka) has been recorded. Another inscription records the gift of a seven celled cave (satagabha) and a cistern (podhi) by the guild (senī) of corn-dealers (dhāniṇika). One more inscription from Junar refers to the investment of money with the guild (senī) of bamboo-workers (vasakara) and the guild (senī) of braziers (kāmakāra). These Junar inscriptions belonged to the Sātavāhana period who were contemporary to the Kuśānas.

In an inscription of the Nasik Cave, belonging to the second century CE, an endowment of cave and money made by Uśavadāta, son of Dīnīka, son-in-law of king Nahapāna, the Kuśāhāta Kuśatrapa to support the Buddhist monk living in a near by cave has been recorded. He gives a perpetual endowment of 300 kāhāpanas, which for the members of the saṅgha of any sect and any origin dwelling in that cave will serve as cloth money and money for outside life (kuśāṇa); and those kāhāpanas have been invested in guilds dwelling at Govadhana 2000 in a weaver’s guild at the rate of three quarters of a pratika (monthly) for the hundred, i.e., twelve percent was to provide cloths for these monks and 1000 in another weaver’s guild at the rate of three quarters of a paḍika (monthly) for the hundred, i.e., nine percent which was to meet their minor expense. It is also recorded that this transaction has been proclaimed and registered at the Nigamsabhā (town hall) according to the custom.

In the inscriptions of the Kuśāṇa rulers, we find references to various guilds such as the guild of lohakāra find mention in an inscription belonging to year 20, which records the gift of Mittra, the first wife of Haggudeva.
Phalgudeva), the daughter-in-law of the ironmonger Vadhara and the daughter of Jayabhatti, the manikdara of Khotamitta. Another inscription belonging to the year 52 records the dedication of the gift by the worker in metal, Gottika, the son of Śrāmanaka. One more inscription of the year 54 records the gift of one statue of Sarasvati by the smith Gova, son of Sīha. At least four inscriptions referring to the guild of perfumer (gandhika) have been found till now. The first one belongs to the year 32 which records the dedication of an image of the Arhat by Jitamitra, daughter of Ritunandi (Ritunandi), wife of Buddhi and mother of the perfumer (gandhika). The name of the perfumer, however, is not mentioned. The second epigraph records the dedication of an image of Vardhamāna by Kumārabhati, the mother of a dealer in perfumes (gandhika). The epigraph belongs to year 35. The third inscription of the year 83, records the gift of an image by Jinadāsi, the daughter of Seṇa, the daughter-in-law of Datta, the wife of a perfumer (gandhika). The fourth inscription belonging to year 98 of rājan Vāsudeva records the gift of Kṣēma, the daughter of Prāvārka, the daughter-in-law of the perfumer (gandhika) Varuṇa...Mitrasa.

The guild of hiranyakdara has been mentioned in an inscription belonging to the year 93 which records the setting up of an image of deva Vardhamāna by the daughter of the goldsmith Deva, for the worship of the Arhats. The reference to the guild (śreni) of samitakdara, probably the maker of samita (wheat-flour) has been found in an inscription belonging to year 28. An inscription from Mathurā, belonging to the year 25 refers to a dedication of Vusuya (an image or some kind of gift). The name Rayaginī is controversial in the inscription. Bühler, while editing this inscription took it to be a proper name of the donor whom he reads as the daughter-in-law of Jābhaka from Nandigiri and wife of Jayabhāṭṭa. But Lüders, rejecting the readings of Bühler takes it as an appellative in the sense of the wife of a rayaga in analogy to such terms as Vihārasvāmini, the wife of Vihārasvāmin and Sārttavāhīni, the wife of a sārthavāha. Rayaga, according to him would be the true Prākrit equivalent of Sanskrit rajaka, washer man or dyer. If Lüders is right then there existed the guild of washer man or dyers.
The references to the craft guilds may be traced in the inscriptions belonging to the post-Kuṣāṇa period too. A Nasik Cave inscription most probably belonging to the third century CE records a perpetual endowment of money with the guilds dwelling at Govardhana by the lay devotee Viṣṇudatta. 1000 kārsāpanas were left with the guilds of kularikas (potters), 2000 kārsāpanas with that of odayāntrkaras (workers fabricating hydraulic engines, water-clocks or others), 500 kārsāpanas with another guild and same with the guild of oil-millers (pressers). The endowment was for the well being and happiness of all beings, in order to provide medicines for the sick monks dwelling in that country. The Kosam inscription of Bhadramagha of the regnal year 81, placed roughly in the period between the Kuṣāṇas and the Guptas, records that the slab seats were set up by the guild of the stone masons of Katta.

Apart from the inscriptions belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period we have some inscriptions belonging to the post-Kuṣāṇa period which through light on the artisan guilds and their economic condition. The Mandasor inscription of the time of Kumārgupta-1, the Gupta emperor, and Bandhuvrman, his viceroy of Daśapura (Mandasor) speaks of a guild of silk-weavers which migrated from district of Lāṭa to the city of Daśapura, manifestly attracted by the virtues of the king of the country. Here the guild became so prosperous that it built a magnificent temple of the Sun God there. Another inscription belonging to the period of Skandagupta, the Gupta emperor, records the gift of an endowment, the interest of which is to be applied to the maintenance of a lamp which has been established in a temple for the service of the Sun God. It was given over to “the guild of oilmen, of which Jivanta is the head, residing in the town of Indrapura as long as it continues in complete unity (even) in moving away from this settlement.” Only a highly organized body could thus retain its unity and public confidence while it would migrate from place to place. The references thus from various literary and archaeological sources indicate the great importance held by the craft, merchant and other guilds.
Organization of the guilds

The lawgivers such as Yājñavalkya and Brhaspati throw a welcome light on the organization of the guilds which must be prevalent during the Kuśāṇa period. The organization of the guilds was primarily based upon the mutual confidence as has been stated by Brhaspati that the mutual confidence having been first established by means of the ordeal by sacred libation, by a stipulation in writing or by umpires, they shall then set about their work. He further states that honest persons, acquainted with the Vedas and with duty, able, self-controlled, sprung from noble families, and skilled in every business, shall be appointed as heads of an organization (association). Two, three or five persons shall be appointed as advisors of the association. Their advice shall be followed by the villagers, companies, (of artisans), corporations (of cohabitants) and other fellows. He discards the enemies, dissolute, bashful, indolent, timid, avaricious, over aged or very young persons to be Chosen as intendants of affairs. Thus Brhaspati suggests that an honest, able, learned, self-controlled and skilled man should be the head of the guild who should have two, three or five advisers.

Yājñavalkya recommends that persons, conversant with the Vedas, pure minded and shorn of avarice, should be placed at the head of a public body to administer its affairs. All should follow the words of those persons speaking in the interest of a public body. This, according to him is also the law for (śrenī) a guild or company of traders and artisans (naigama), persons of various castes coming from different countries for trading purposes and (pāsāndis) heretics. Thus both, Brhaspati and Yājñavalkya recommend same things. The guilds generally according to them comprise one head and two to five advisors.

Eligibility and privileges of members

There were definitely some criterias for the constitution of guilds and the members to join them. Men were required to possess one or the other of the following qualifications; viz., nobility of birth, practical ability, diligence or energy, proficiency, knowledge of currency, knowledge of accountancy, honesty and physical labour. Brhaspati, in this regard states that a man should carry on business jointly with persons of noble parentage, cleaver, active, intelligent,
familiars with coins, skilled in revenue and expenditure, honest and enterprising.\textsuperscript{120}

Four officials of the guilds are mentioned in the literary sources such as bhāndāgārika, pamukka, jetthaka and setthi. In the Nigrodha- Jātaka, as we have discussed earlier, we come across a reference where the king gave the post of treasurer to a potīka and with which went the judgeship of all the merchant guilds. The term pamukka appears to be a position of seniority same as jetthaka. The main industries were organized into guilds (senīyo) under a president (pamukka) or elder (or older man, jetthaka).\textsuperscript{121} The Jetthaka seems to be a selected leader of the carvans\textsuperscript{122} and setthi was probably a chief representative of the traders in their own organization.\textsuperscript{123}

The numbers of the members of the guilds used to vary. The Śāci- Jākata mentions the guild of thousand members under the leadership if a single head.\textsuperscript{124} This means that there was no upper limit for the number of members.

Kautilya has devoted a full chapter on the status, duties and powers of the chief and members of the guild. Regarding the chief, he states that the chief of the corporation should endear himself to all the people by leading a virtuous life, by controlling his passions and by pursuing that course of action which is liked by all those who are his followers. In order to keep check on him so that he may not abuse his powers, Kautilya talks about the use of spies. The members of the corporation or guild also appear to be powerful as Kautilya indicates the punishment to the chief by the corporation.\textsuperscript{125}

Bṛhaspati, while commenting upon the powers and privileges of the heads and members of the guilds states that whatever is done by those heads of an association, whether harsh or kind towards other people, must be approved of by the king as well; for they are declared to be the appointed managers of affairs.\textsuperscript{126} The approval of the king is possibly sought so that there may not be discrimination and the king could step in to protect the helpless member from the fury of the officers. The members of the guilds had the authority to expel a member, appoint a substitute, remove a head or officers and acquire property, as a corporate body.
Yājñavalkya has empowered the guilds to expel or drive away a deceitful member. He says that who was found to be deceitful from any such angle could be expelled or removed from the guilds and such punishment was only inflicted after depriving him of his share.\textsuperscript{127} Regarding appointment of the substitute member, Kautilya states that the guilds of the workmen shall have a grace of seven nights over and above the period agreed upon for fulfilling their engagement. Beyond that time they shall find substitutes and get the work completed.\textsuperscript{128}

Removal of the chief was very important privilege the members of the guilds had. Kautilya, in this context states that if the corporation punishes the chief, the conqueror may take the side of the corporation and set it against wicked persons.\textsuperscript{129} Brhaspati, rather on the matter says that when a dispute arises between the chiefs and the societies, the king shall decide it, and shall bring them back to their duty.\textsuperscript{130} This definitely indicates that the king was the ultimate and supreme power in the country but side by side the statement also conveys the message that there is a dispute between the chief of the guild and its members and the members had powers to cross-question the chief and even challenge him when he is wrong. The corporation also had the power and privilege to acquire the property which could be in the shape of cash, land live-stock and deposits.

A corporation, as indicated by Kautilya could be rich enough to lend its deposits to relieve misery and get it back when it required that amount. He says that artisans, as a class, could not be trusted as they were considered of impure character but still who could be trusted with deposits and relied upon by their own guilds were empowered to receive such deposits.\textsuperscript{131} The wrong doers were punished by the executive officers. Brhaspati states that the heads of the families, companies (of artisans) and associations, whether inhabiting a town or a stronghold, shall censure and reprimand offenders and forsake them.\textsuperscript{132}

Thus it may be said that the heads as well as the members of the guilds were very powerful but they were not the supreme power. The king used to interfere in some specific cases. Any person, punished by the president of a corporation could appeal to the king and if the later was convinced that the president or the executive was not in accordance with prescribed regulations but
simply actuated by personal feelings, the king could rescind his resolution so that
the independence of a guild and a person could be safeguarded. Nārada also
mentions the same thing when he talks about the guilds, corporation, troops,
assemblages and other associations. He says that the king must maintain the
usages settled among them in towns and other places. Whatever be their laws, their
religious duties, the rules regarding their attendance and the particular mode of
livelihood prescribed for them, that the king shall approve of the guilds as a body
used to meet in a house of assembly for conducting business.

Thus the privileges of the members of the guilds, interference of the king
on certain occasions to safeguard the interests of the members from harsh
punishments inflicted upon them by their chief and the power of the members to
punish the chief of the corporation if he is wicked and unjust indicates the
democratic nature of the guilds.

**Partnerships and Agreements**

When two or more people join each other on certain terms and conditions
in order to achieve a common purpose or related purposes it is called partnership.
Nārada has expressed his views on the basis of a partnership. He says that where
traders or others carry on business jointly, it is called partnerships which is a little
of law, where several partners are jointly carrying on business for the purpose of
gain, the contribution of funds towards the common stock of the association forms
the basis of their understandings. Therefore each one should be allowed to
contribute to this proper share. The loss expenses and profit of each partner are
either equal to those of the other partners, or exceed them, or remain below them,
according as his share is equal to theirs, or greater or less.

In the Jātakas we come across some references to the partnership in trade.
The *Bāveru- Jātaka* contains the story of trade in birds (crow, peacock), the
horse trade done in partnership from the northern country to Benares has been
referred to in the *Suhānu- Jātaka*, merchants with five hundred cart loads of
merchandise are recorded in the *Mahā- Vānija- Jātaka*. The *Kuṭa- Vānija-
Jātaka* contains a story of two traders of Sāvāṭṭhi, one pious and other a cheat.
These two joined partnership and loaded five hundred wagons full of wares,
journeying from east to west for trade and returned to Sāvatthī with huge profits. The Serivānija- Jātaka narrates a story of two hawkers who dealt in pots and pans, the Jarudāpāna- Jātaka too refers to a story where many merchants are trading in partnership. The Guttīla- Jātaka mentions that once upon a time certain traders of Benares made a journey to Ujjēni for trade. They all clubbed together and procured scents, perfumes, ointments and manners of foods and meats.

The Smṛti texts are valuable sources of information for the study of partnerships and agreements during the Kuśāna period. Yājñavalkya records that a number of traders, carrying on a trade for making profit shall share profit and loss according to their respective shares or according to the compact made between them. Manu has also expressed same views. Nārada, while commenting upon the rules of partnership says that where traders or others carry on business jointly it is called partnership as stated earlier. He further states that the stores, the food, the charges (for tolls and the like), the loss, the freight and the expenses of keeping valuables must be duly paid for by each of the several partners, in accordance with the terms of their agreements. Each partner is responsible for what has been lost by his want of care, or in consequence of his acting against the instructions of, or without authorization from all the other co-partners where the property of the partnership is in danger through fate, through a gang of robbers, or through the king, the tenth part of the goods shall belong to him who has preserved them through his own exertion. If one partner meets with an accident, his heir shall replace him; or on failure of an heir, another man, or all the partners if they are capable of becoming his substitute should replace him.

Bṛhaspati too has commented upon the partnership. He says that trade or other occupations should not be carried on by prudent men jointly with incompetent or lazy persons, or with such as are afflicted by an illness, ill fated, or destitute. A man should carry on business jointly with persons of noble parentage, clever, intelligent, honest and hard working man. The partners were not supposed to cheat each other in any way; they were to buy or sell various commodities according to the prices; to pay toll or octroi duties on the goods as being due to the king, without concealing their quality or character for purposes of
evasion which if detected beyond the limits of the toll gate, will render the partners liable to pay a fine of double duties. The partners were to pay all the legitimate expenses of the business such as those connected with the purchase and sale of merchandise, provision for necessary traveling, wages of labourers employed, and realization of dues, freight and care of the treasures.\textsuperscript{147}

Thus there were the conditions and agreements of partnerships which were generally followed by the members of the guilds. The violation of the agreement was generally avoided. The lawgivers have recommended certain punishments if the agreements were violated. Brhaspati states that the agreements must be kept by all. If a person, though able to perform it, fails in his agreement, shall be punished by confiscation of his entire property and by banishment from the town and for that man, whosoever he may be, who falls out with his associates, or neglects his work, a fine is ordained to six niska of four suvarnas each. He, who injures the joint stock, or insults a brahmana acquainted with the three Vedas, or breaks the mutual agreement, shall be banished from the town. An acrimonious or malicious man, and one who causes dissension or does violent acts, or who is inimically disposed towards that company, association or the king, shall be banished from the town.\textsuperscript{148}

Narada, in this regard, states that those who cause dissention among the members of an association, shall undergo punishment of a specifically severe kind; because they would prove extremely dangerous, like an epidemic if they were allowed to go free.\textsuperscript{149}

Yajnavalkya too states that the members of a company should drive away a deceitful partner, after having deprived him of his share and should appoint, for an incapable one, another to conduct the business on his behalf.\textsuperscript{150} Hence it was not easy to violate the agreements of the corporation. If anyone dare he had to face severe punishments as recommended by the lawgivers.

\textbf{Buying and selling of commodities}

Various restrictions were imposed on the sale and purchase of commodities. Vis\u0111u has prescribed severe punishments on the members of a company who tempered with the sale of a commodity which happened to be
abroad. He has prescribed the same punishment to those who sell an article belonging to the whole company for more than it is worth on their own account.\textsuperscript{151} Thus tampering with the sale of goods belonging to the entire guild, prevention of the sale of goods not received and outside the guild's jurisdiction and inflation of prices were punishable offences. Kautilya has imposed fine of 1,000 \textit{panas} on the merchants who conspire either to prevent the sale of merchandise or to sell or purchase commodities at higher prices.\textsuperscript{152}

**Shares in the partnership**

The members of the guilds used to contribute their respective shares in order to form the joint stock of the corporation. Yājaṅavalkya, Nārada and Brhaspati have referred to such contributions. Yājaṅavalkya states that if one of the partners after going to a foreign country dies there, his share shall revert to his sons, relatives, kinsmen, or to his other partners who have returned; and in their absence, to the king.\textsuperscript{153} Nārada, with a few modifications says that if a traveling merchant who has come with his country dies there, the king shall preserve his goods till the heir comes forward. On failure of an heir, he must make them over to his relatives or connections. On failure of them, he shall keep them well guarded for a period of ten years. When such property without an owner, and which is not claimed by an heir, has been preserved for ten years, the king may keep it for himself. By doing so, according to him, the scared law will not be violated.\textsuperscript{154}

Determination of profit and loss was very important in the guilds. As far as profit is concerned, Yājaṅavalkya in this regard sates that a number of traders, carrying on trade for making profit shall share profit and loss according to the compact made between themselves.\textsuperscript{155}

Nārada in this regards states that the loss, expenses and profit of each partner are either equal to those of the other partners or exceed them, or remain below them, according as his share is equal to theirs, or greater, or less.\textsuperscript{156}

Brhaspati has also given his opinion on this. He says that as an equal, smaller, or larger share of the joint stock has been contributed by a partner, in the same proportion shall he defray charges, perform labour and obtain profit. Of those, who lend jointly gold, grain, liquids and condiments or the like, the gain
shall be equal to their respective shares of the joint expenditure, whether equal, more or less. Whatever property one partner may give or lend, authorized by many or whatever contract he may cause to be executed, all that is considered as having been done by all. He further states that whatever obtained them by a man, shall belong to all in common; whether it has been obtained a six month or a month ago, it shall be divided in due proportion or it shall be bestowed on the idiotic, the aged, the blind, to women or children, to afflicted or diseased persons, to persons having issue, or the like. Whatever is obtained or preserved by the members of a fellowship, or spent on behalf of the society, or acquired through the king’s favors is common to all (members of society).

In case of a loss of diminution has occurred through fate or the king, it is ordained that it should be borne by all partners in proportion to their respective shares. When a single partner acting without the assent of the other partners or against their expressed instructions, injures their joint property through his negligence, he must himself give compensation to all his partners. If one protects its common stock from a danger apprehended through fate or the king, he shall be allowed a tenth part of it as a reward. If a partner dies, his goods must be shown and delivered to officers appointed by the king and when any one comes forward claiming that man’s property as heir to the deceased partner, he shall prove his right to it by the evidence of other men and then let him take it.

King had a fixed share on the profits earned by the guilds. Yājñavalkya states that the king shall levy a twentieth part of the profit as his royalty, because it is he who rules the market as the appraiser of commodities. What has been forbidden for sale and what is worthy of the royalty, even when sold, should go to him.

Regarding the king’s share on the property of a partner who is dead, Brhaspati suggests that the king shall take a sixth, a ninth and a twelfth part respectively from the property of a śūdra, vaiśya and kṣatriya; and a twentieth from the property of a brāhmaṇa. If after the lapse of three years, if no owner comes forward by any means, the king shall take that property. Regarding the problem of profit and remuneration, a regular procedure was laid down. In this
context Brhaspati recommends that when goldsmith or other artists practice their art jointly, they shall share the profit in due proportion corresponding to the nature of their work. Regarding the share of the chief of the guilds he says that the headman among a number of workmen jointly building a house or temple, or digging a pool or making articles of leather, is entitled to a double share of the remuneration. This was probably due to his administrative ability, leadership and his specialized skills.

Whatever has been acquired from a hostile country by free booters, with the permission of their lord, they shall give a sixth part to the king and share the remainder in due proportion. The chief should be awarded four shares; the fellow, who is especially valiant, shall receive three shares and one particularly able should get two and finally the remaining associates shall share alike.

Thus the shares varied from one to six according to the specialized knowledge one possessed and the position held in the corporation.

Disputes and their settlement

Kauṭiliya has laid down the rules to settle down the disputes either in a corporation or among corporations. He suggests that the settlement of the disputes will depend on the evidences to be furnished by neighbours. This he advocated for solving boundary, field, miscellaneous hindrances and other disputes. In case of the corporations, the core issue of the dispute must have been the dispute over the wages. The issue was to be settled down on the basis of evidences produced by witness. In their absence the employer was to be examined. If found guilty of failure to pay wages he was punishable with a fine ten times the amount of wages (daśabandiha) or six panas. The misappropriation of wages was punishable with a fine of twelve panas or five times the sum of the wages claimed. Artisans, musicians, physicians, buffoons, cooks and others who had their separate guilds were to get wages equivalent to those received by similar workers or as much as fixed by experts.
Functions and powers of the guilds

Regarding the functions of the guilds, Brhaspati has thrown a welcome light. According to him, the first thing, after being organized in the form of an association, the members of the guilds were to do was to draw up a document which would embody the main item of work upon which all should agree in some such form. Brhaspati further says that when a stipulation has been entered in a document as follow, the construction of a house of assembly of a shed for accommodating travelers, a temple, a pool or a garden, relief to helpless or poor people, the performance of sacrificial acts, a common path, or defense etc. shall be undertaken by them in proportionate shares.169

The guilds possessed corporate property, divided equally all gains, deputed special representatives to act on their behalf in the courts, laid down regulations which had the force of law for the conduct of the particular business or trade to which they were pledged and acted as arbitration courts for all disputes arising within their fold. Manu forbids the ignorance of the laws of castes, districts, guilds and families.170 Brhaspati explains it even more explicitly. He says that the cultivators, artisans (such as carpenters or others), artists, money-lenders, companies (of tradesmen), dancers, persons wearing the token of a religious order (such as Pāṣupatas) and robbers should adjust their disputes according the rules of their own profession.171

The guilds thus not only laid down their own laws, but also administered them. Nārada in this context says that gatherings (kula), corporations (śreni), assemblies (gana), one appointed by the king, and the king himself, are invested with the powers to decide the lawsuits; and of these, each succeeding one is superior to the one preceding him in order.172 Brhaspati further adds to the above statement of Nārada saying that the relatives, companies of artisans, assemblies of co-habitants and other persons duly authorized by the king, should decide lawsuits among men, excepting causes concerning violent crimes. When a cause has not been duly examined by companies of artisans, it should be decided by assemblies of co-habitants and when it has not been sufficiently made out by such assemblies, it should be tried by appointed judges.173 Yajñavalkya states that in legal procedure
for men *pugas* (unions or corporations of artisans or villagers) appointed by the king, *śrenavās* (corporate bodies) and friends and relatives (*kulānti*) are considered superior or competent in order of precedence.\(^1\)\(^4\) *Kula* from this statement appears to be the lowest court composed of kinsmen for arbitration in small matters and *pūga* appears to be the highest tribunal.

Regarding the internal disputes within the corporation, Nārada says that in disputes among merchants, artisans, or the like persons, and in disputes concerning persons subsisting by agriculture or as dyers, it is impossible for outsiders to pass a sentence and the passing of sentence must therefore, be entrusted to persons acquainted with such matters in a cause of this sort.\(^1\)\(^5\) Each guild was expected to investigate and decide its own cases except the cases of violent crimes which, according to Nārada, include manslaughter, robbery, an indecent assault of another man’s wife and the two species of insult.\(^1\)\(^7\)\(^6\) Brāhaspati explains the two species of insult as abuse and assault.\(^1\)\(^7\)\(^7\)

As far as the witness is concerned, Kautilya states that those co-partners, prisoners, wife’s brothers, creditors, debtors, enemies, maimed persons, persons once punished by the government shall not be taken as witness. Likewise persons legally unfit to carry on transactions, the king, the persons learned in the Vedas, persons depending for their maintenance on villages, lepers, persons suffering from bodily eruptions, out caste persons, *cāndālas*, persons of mean avocation, the blind, the deaf, the dumb, egoistic persons, females or government servants shall not be taken as witness excepting in case of transaction in one’s own community. In dispute concerning assault, theft or abduction, persons other than wife’s brother, enemies and co-partners can be witnesses.\(^1\)\(^7\)\(^8\)

The artisans whom Kautilya had condemned, Manu has also disqualified from being witness.\(^1\)\(^7\)\(^9\) Nārada, instead is liberal in this regard. He states that among companies of artisans, or guilds of merchants, shall be witnesses; and members of an association among other members of the same association, persons living outside among those living outside and women among women.\(^1\)\(^8\)\(^0\)

Thus it can be said that the members of guilds were permitted to be witness in cases pertaining to their own guilds or among other members of the same
association; secondly the prohibition in regard to the citing of artisans as witness was removed but he says that if in a company of artisans or guilds of merchants or in any other association any one falls out with his associates, they must not bear witness against him, because they all are his enemies.\textsuperscript{181}

The guilds also served as banks. Two inscriptions which we have discussed earlier, while discussing the merchant and craft guilds in this chapter, indicate the guilds also serving as banks. The Nasik cave inscription, for example records bestowing the cave upon the \textit{saṅgha} by Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāṇa. He gives a perpetual endowment, three thousand kāhāpaṇas, which for the members of saṅgha of any sect and any origin dwelling in that cave will serve as cloth money and money for outside life (kusāṇa) and those kāhāpaṇas have been invested in guilds dwelling at Govardhana, 2000 in weaver’s guild with twelve percent interest rate and 1000 in another weaver’s guild with nine percent interest rate. Those kāhāpaṇas were not to be repaid; their interest only was to be enjoyed.\textsuperscript{182}

We get references to two guilds which received deposits, the principal of which they were to keep intact and be responsible for and might invest in their own way subject to that responsibility. They had to pay interest at some fixed rates to the beneficiary mentioned in the grant for the use of the money. The interest in case of the two guilds mentioned in the inscription was to be paid to the monks for the purchase of new robes for them and for their pocket money. The rates of interest fixed for these guilds as mentioned earlier were twelve percent and nine percent per annum.

In the same way in another cave at Nasik, an inscription referring to the endowment of money in order to provide medicines for the sick monks of the \textit{saṅghas} dwelling in that monastery on mount Triraśmi, with the guilds dwelling at Govardhana has been recorded.\textsuperscript{183}

An inscription of \textit{Yuvarāja} Vikramāditya from Dhārwār district, Karnataka, belonging to the eighth century CE throws light on the function of the guilds as a tax collector.\textsuperscript{184} Although the epigraph belongs to a very late date yet it
contains a very valuable information regarding the functions of the guilds which may be a later development.

Thus we may say that the guilds not only regulated the trade but functioned in various capacities.

**Labour and Wages**

Labour was mainly of three types, forced, voluntary and hired labour. The forced labour or *visti* has been mentioned by Kauṭilya. He says that the sweepers, preservers, those who weigh things, those who measure grains, those who supervise the work of measuring grains, those who supervise the supply of commodities to the store house, those who are employed to receive compensation for any real or supposed error in measuring grains, slaves and labourers etc., all these are called *visti*. Viṣṇu mentions that artisans such as black smiths, manual labourers such as carpenters and śūdras shall do work for the king for a day in each month. This is a sort of forced labour or *visti*.

On selling and mortgaging persons, Kauṭilya says that an Ārya could never be sold. The selling or mortgaging by kinsmen of the life of a śūdra, who is not a born slave, and has not attained majority, but is an Ārya in birth, shall be punished with a fine of twelve *panas*; of a vaiśya, twenty four *panas*; of a kṣatriya, thirty six *panas* and of a brāhmaṇa, forty eight *panas*. If persons other than kinsmen do the same, they shall be liable to the three amercements and capital punishment respectively. On paying the value (for which one is enslaved), a slave shall regain his Āryahood. The same was applied to born or pledged slaves. Child labour also appears to be prevalent. In this regard Kauṭilya states that if a slave who is less than eight years old has no relatives, no matter whether he is born a slave in his master’s house, or fallen to his master’s share of inheritance, or has been purchased or obtained by his master in any other way is employed in mean avocations against his will or is sold or mortgaged in a foreign land, his master shall be punished with the first amercement.

The voluntary labour were neither bought nor sold not mortgaged. We find the reference to the voluntary labour in the Junagarh Rock inscription of Rudradāman- 1. The same was the case with the hired labour. These were based
on the agreement between a master and his servant. The servant was to get the promised wages. The wages shall be fixed in proportion to the work done and the time spent in doing it. Wages being previously unsettled, a cultivator shall, according to Kautilya, obtain $\frac{1}{10}$ of the crops grown, herdsman $\frac{1}{10}$ of the butter clarified, a trader, $\frac{1}{10}$ of the sale proceeds. Wages previously settled shall be paid and received as agreed upon. Artisans, musicians, physicians, buffoons, cooks, and other workmen, serving of their own accord shall obtain as much wages as similar persons employed elsewhere usually get or as much as experts shall fix.191

The musicians were paid 250 panas, trumpet bowlers got wages twice as those of others, namely 500 panas, while artisans and carpenters received 120 panas.192 A washer man shall get 1 pana for washing best garments, $\frac{1}{2}$ for middle quantity $\frac{1}{4}$ for inferior quality clothes and for rough washing he should get $\frac{1}{8}$th of a pana.193 If a person dies while doing the assigned work, Kautilya has laid down certain rules regarding wages. He says that the sons and wives of those who die while on duty shall get subsistence and wages. Infants, aged persons or deceased persons related to the deceased servants shall also be shown favour.194

An employer, not taking work from his labourer or an employee, not doing his employer’s work shall be fined 12 panas. An employee, who has received wages to do a certain work which is however, not brought to termination shall not, of his own accord, go elsewhere for work.195

On the matters of dispute regarding wages, Kautilya says that disputes regarding wages shall be decided on the strength of evidences furnished by witnesses. In the absence of witnesses, the master who has provided his servant with the work shall be examined. Failure to pay wages shall be punished with a fine of ten times the amount of wages or 6 panas. Misappropriation of wages shall be punished with a fine of 12 panas or of five times the amount of the wages.196

Wages were also paid in kind especially to agricultural labourers. Brhaspati, for example states that a share of the grain is declared to be two fold, either serving a husbandman or an owner of cattle; he shall receive, no doubt a share of the grain produced, or of the milk. A third or fifth of the produce shall be
awarded to the cultivator according to him, to whom food and clothing is given should be allowed to take a fifth of the crop and let him who serves in consideration of the profit alone take a third part of the grain produced. Nārada too states that for tending a hundred cows, a heifer shall be given to the herdsman as wages every year; for tending two hundred cows, a milch cow shall be given to him annually, and he shall be allowed to milk all the cows every eighth day.

The wages were regulated through state agency. Kautilya states that superintendents of a hundred or a thousand communities (varga) shall regulate the subsistence, wages, profits, appointments and transference of the men under them. Apart from the wages, the extra incentives were also provided for specialized work. Kautilya states that those who manufacture fibrous cloths, raiments, silk cloths, woolen cloths and cotton fabrics shall be rewarded by presentations, such as scents, garlands of flowers, or any other prizes of encouragements.

The principles of labour and wages are being well defined in the Dharmaśāstras. Manu, Viṣṇu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Brhaspati etc. have commented upon this. This gives us an idea of the principles of labour and wages during the Kuśāṇa period. Manu states that if a person (servant) working for a stipulated play, refused to do, without being sick or indisposed, the work agreed upon out of insolence or impertinence, shall be punished with a fine of eight kṛṣṇalas of gold; and the wages shall not be paid to him. But if he had been really ill, and if after recovery he resumes his work as originally agreed upon, he shall be entitled to his play, due to him for however long a period. He who fails to get the stipulated work done by others, when ill, or refuses to do it himself when well, shall get no wages, even if very small part of the work is left undone.

Viṣṇu states that a hired workman who abandons his work before the term has expired shall pay the whole amount of the stipulated wages to his employer and he shall pay a hundred panas to the king, what has been destroyed through his want of care, he must make good to the owner; unless the damage has been caused by an accident. If an employer dismisses a workman, whom he has hired, before
the expiration of the term he shall pay him his entire wages and he shall pay a hundred panas to the king unless the workman has been at fault.  

Yājñavalkya states that if a servant, receiving wages, refuses to do the work stipulated for, he must pay double the amount to his master, and in case of not receiving any payment an amount equal to the wages; all household articles and implements must be protected by the servants. A person, who makes a servant work for him without settling his wages, must be punished by the king with the tenth part of the profit, to be realized from his trade, cattle or corns; and it must be paid to the servant. To pay wages to the servant, who transgresses time and place, i.e., who does not cultivate properly and in due time, and who decreases the amount of profit by over expenditure, depends upon the will of the master. Something more than the fixed wages should be paid to the servant, if he makes a greater out turn. If two persons cannot, jointly, finish a work, wages should be paid to them according to the extent of the work done. If they can finish it, the stipulated wages must be paid. If a servant gives up his work at the time of his departure, but while there is still time for engaging another servant, he should forfeit one-seventh of his pay as penalty; if on the way, a fourth part, and if half way, all his wages. A master dismissing a servant under similar circumstances shall be punished.  

Bṛhaspati states that a servant engaged for a day, half a month, a month, two months, six months or a year, must do the work which he promised to do, and receives the stipulated fee. If a hired servant fails in the performance of even so small a part of his master’s work, he forfeits his wages and may be sued in the court for his offence. When a servant does not perform his work after having received his wages, though able to do work, he shall be compelled to pay twice as much as his wages as a fine to the king and shall restore the wages to his master. He who has promised to do work and does not perform it, shall be compelled to do so by forcible means even; and if, through obstinacy, such a servant should still not do it as engaged for, he shall be fined eight kṛṣṇalas, and his wages shall not be paid to him. When a servant, commissioned by his master, does any improper act such as theft, for the benefit of his master, the latter shall be held responsible for it. When a master does not pay wages for the labour stipulated after the work has been
performed, he shall be compelled by the king to pay it, and a proportionate fine besides.\textsuperscript{204}

Närada states that a master shall regularly pay wages to the servant hired by him, whether it be at the commencement, at the middle, or at the end of his work, just as he had agreed to do. Where the amount of the wages has not been fixed, the servant of a trader, a herdsmen, and an agricultural servant shall respectively take a tenth part of the profit derived from the sale of a merchandise of the seed of cows and of the grain. Their implements of work and whatever else may have been entrusted to them for their business, they shall employ with due care and not neglect them. If one fails to perform such work as he had promised to do, he shall be compelled to perform it, first paying him his wages. If he does not perform it after having taken wages, he must pay back twice the amount of his wages. One who abandons merchandise which he had agreed to convey to its destination shall give a sixth part of the wages. An employer who does not pay the wages which he had agreed to give shall forfeit those wages together with interest.\textsuperscript{205}

Manu has fixed the amount of wages. He states that one \textit{pana} should be the daily wages of menial servants and six \textit{panas} those of higher ones. Each menial should get one \textit{drona} of paddy every month; and a higher servant six \textit{dronas}; each menial should obtain a cloth, every six month, while a higher servant should get six pieces.\textsuperscript{206}

Thus our lawgivers had very clearly defined the terms and conditions of the labour and wages in a very appropriate manner.

\textbf{The Guild Finance}

The main source of the income of the corporations as referred to by Brhaspati and Yāghiavalkya were: the contributions of individual members, the gift of king, the profits earned by members on corporate works, and the fines, forfeits, and confiscations for offences.\textsuperscript{207} Another source of revenue was the octroi duties on goods sold with in municipal limits. The south Indian inscriptions refer to some other sources of income such as revenue from land, taxes as workshops and professions. The shopkeepers, the barbers and washer man had to pay a license fee. The weavers, the oil mongers, the black smiths, the gold smiths, the carpenters, the
potters, the braziers and many others were all taxed. These were added in some cases, the stamp duty, tax on vehicle, and contributions for Karttika festivals etc.218

**Taxes on guilds:**

These guilds had to pay taxes to the government.209 The Vilavaṭṭa grant of the Pallava king, Simhavarman, dated c. 446 CE, records the taxes levied on the guilds of the village. Although the inscription belongs to a little bit late period, yet it gives valuable information regarding the taxes collected by the government from the guilds. The guilds of the metal and the leather workers, shopkeepers, rope jugglers, dancers, Ājivakas (a class of Jain merchants), mask actors, water diviners, weavers, gamblers, barbers etc. have been mentioned.210

**Stamping**

Stamping of the goods was very important. Guilds had to stamp their goods otherwise they were fined. Kautilya states that those whose merchandise has not been stamped with seal mark shall pay twice the amount of the toll. For counterfeit seal, they shall pay eight times the toll. If the seal mark is effaced or torn (the merchants in question) shall be compelled to stand in *ghalikāstāna* (a room where person are locked up for untimely walking in streets or roads; or they may be made to wait for one day in the toll house). When one kind of seal is used for another, or when one kind of merchandise has been otherwise named (*nūmakṛte*), the merchants, shall pay a fine of 11/4 *pañas* for each load.211

**Coins of the Guilds**

The guilds used to issue coins are evident from the pieces found in archaeological explorations and excavations. Cunningham refers to such pieces which he has got from Taxila. He observes that the legends on these coins form Aśokan characters, both Gandhārian and Indian. One word according to him occurs on all of them which in Indian letters is usually written *negamā*, a single variant being *nigama*. In Gandhārian letters it is written *nekama*. He defines *nigama* as “custom, habit, use; and *negamā* he takes to be either a coin or weight of fixed value, as ascertained or settled by common use.212 Rapson, however, refers to them as *negamā* coins or guild token.213 These are partly single or double die copper
Seals

The guilds being powerful and well organized while carrying on inland and foreign trade used to stamp those documents with their own seals. These seals, according to R. N. Saletore were used to stamp their own documents like mortgage deeds, decision in dispute and orders to give them legal sanctity and authority, not only by the corporations but also by their own officials. Numerous seals and sealing issued by the guilds have been found which provide valuable information regarding the guilds. John Marshall found a seal from Bhitā which according to him probably belonged to the third century B.C. It bears the legend Śahijitiye nigamaśa. He remarks that the house in which the seal was discovered may mark the site of the office of a nigama or corporation. From that very place four other sealings with the legend nigama or nigamasa, naigama etc. in Kuśāṇa character and another one having the legend nigamasya in northern Gupta characters have been found. K. K. Thaplyal assigns seal nos. 57-60 to Kuśāṇa age

The term naigama (nigama) has been found on the seals from Basarh. The legend on them reads as śresthi-sārthavāha-kalika-nigama, śresthi-kalika-nigama, śresthi-nigama, kalika-nigama. D. R. Bhandarkar opines that the term nigama divides township and R.K. Mookerji refers to it as the corporation of bankers and merchants while V.S. Agrawala opines that the term was used for a guild of traders. The significant word in these legends is nigama which has been usually interpreted as ‘guilds’ or ‘corporations’. The term śresthi, sārthavāha and kalika etc. according to R. C. Majumdar are ordinarily used to denote the chief of a guild or carvan in Sanskrit literature.

Our lawgivers, particularly Nārada, Brhaspati and Yājñavalkya etc. have testified the importance of sealing. Nārada states that if there is a doubt regarding the document whether it is authentic or fabricated, its authenticity has to be established by examining the hand writing of the party, the tenour of the document, peculiar marks, circumstantial evidence, and the probabilities of the case.
Brhaspati states that a man should show a document on every occasion to meetings of families, association of traders, assemblies of cohabitants and other bodies of persons, read it out to them, and remind them of it, in order to establish its validity. He also suggests the king that while making a grant the document should bear his (king’s) own seal, with a precise statement of the year, month and so forth, of the value of the donation and of the magistrate.

Yājñavalkya too advised the king while donating the land. He says that the king, having given a gift of land or having consented to an arrangement, should cause a writ to be made for the information of future kings. The king should issue a permanent charter, either on cloth or on copper plate, which must bear on it an impression of his own seal, in which there must be mention of his father, grandfather, great-grandfather and so forth, as well as of his own name, in which the extent, boundaries, etc., of the land granted must be clearly defined, in which the consequences of any interference to or confiscation of the grant must be fully described, and, lastly, which must bear his sign-manual as well as the date and occasion of the gift.

B. N. Mukherjee very recently has brought into notice certain inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī and in the Mixed script (Kharoṣṭhī- Brāhmī) on some seals from the areas of Chandraketugarh and Tamluk in Bengal. These seals are paleographically datable to a period from the second half of the first century CE to first quarter of the fifth century CE. The language of these inscriptions is north-western Prakrit, which had been the vernacular of the Kharoṣṭhī-using zone in the north-west. These indicate the presence of the trading communities of the north western regions in Vaṅga. These should be the seals of certain trading guilds that were doing trade in these areas. Mukherjee however does not specify whether these were of certain guilds or someone else.

Thus the significance of the seals for the authenticity of the documents reflects in the works of the law givers too.

**State and the Guilds**

From the discussion till now it appears that the guild was very important part of the state. Some times in certain respects it almost functioned as the state.
The influence of the guild was so that it was feared and respected by the people and even the kings. In the *Mahābhārata*, as discussed earlier in this chapter, Duryodhana had the fear from the men of independent profession after he was defeated by the Gandharvas. This shows the fear of a king or a prince from guilds. The guilds were also a source of revenue of the state as has been mentioned by Kautilya. During the time of financial distress, Kautilya states that one of the king’s spies, in the grab of a merchant, may become a partner of a rich merchant and carry on trade in concert with him. As soon as considerable amount of money has been gathered as sale proceeds, deposits and loans, he may cause himself to be robbed of the amount or else a spy, in the grab of a rich merchants, or a real rich merchant famous for his vast commerce, may borrow or take on pledge vast quantities of gold, silver, and other commodities, or borrow from corporations bare gold, or coined gold for various kinds of merchandise to be procured from abroad. After having done this he may allow himself to be robbed of it the same night.

The chief of the corporations, according to Kautilya, get some emoluments as the chief of an elephants, horses, chariots and infantry. This indicates the strong position and importance of the guilds. The powers of the guild in a state may also be estimated from a statement in the *Mahābhārata* which states that in order to rule smoothly and avoid conflict with the guilds, the state must either bribe the corporation or association in to submission or divide them and rule, or keep them busy in some such way. It further states that their heads or chiefs must be talked over by spies when the king projects the conquest of another kingdom. Kautilya, however suggests the grant of a piece of land which is constantly under troubles from an enemy, to a corporation of armed men.

The guilds thus appear to be a formidable factor in the state. It enjoyed each and every privilege of a corporate body. It functioned as a state within a state having legislative and judicial powers in their own sphere. P. V. Kane in this regard states that the corporations and guilds were powerful and had a sort of self-government. The guilds thus were very powerful but were controlled and directed by the king on several important issues.
Manu, for example states that who having promised on oath to abide by the rules of the guilds or assembly of his village or country breaks that promise should be banished from the country.²³³ According to him, the king, cognizant of laws, and in consideration of the duties of the several orders of society, as well as of usage and customs of different localities, guilds, communities and families (not incompatible with the doctrines of the Vedas) shall discharge his own duties (i.e., enact and enforce laws, recognizing the valid authority of those customs and usages).²³⁴ It was the duty of the king to maintain their constitution. He had the authority to enforce them by means of adequate penal measures the due respect for guild laws, guild compacts or contacts and agreements entered in to by individual members with their associations.²³⁵

Bṛhaspati states that those (companions in trade) who conspire to cheat the king of the share due to him (of their profits), shall be compelled to pay eight times as much and shall be punished if they take to plight.²³⁶ He suggests that any agreement signed by the corporations should not be against the interests of the king.²³⁷

Yājñavalkya has assigned the task of preventing dissension from taking place amongst the guilds and other association and make them follow their previous callings to the king.²³⁸ He directs the king to punish kulas, śrenis, gaṇas etc if they transgress their rules (of conduct or business).²³⁹ Kautilya, rather assigns the tasks of keeping account of the history of customs, profession, and transactions of countries, villages, families and corporations to the superintendent of accounts.²⁴⁰

The corporations thus included artisans working alone as well as workmen forming part of a factory enterprise in which the project was executed in chain fashion each workman making only a particular part of one object. Traders were nearly always hereditary and were followed by the entire family. Specialization was further increased by the habit these families had of grouping themselves in whole villages. Particular traders are grouped in separate areas, so in ancient times they were concentrated in one living area to the exclusion of all other traders. This gave a particular character to ancient Indian social organization. On the outskirts of woods would be found villages composed entirely of foresters, or hunters or
fowlers; large towns were surrounded by clusters of villages whose inhabitants might be respectively blacksmiths, carpenters, dyers, potters and ivory workers etc.

The guild in ancient India was not merely the means for the development of arts and crafts, but through the autonomy and freedom accorded to it by the law of the land, it became a center of strength and an abode of liberal culture and progress, which truly made it a power and ornament of the society.

The guild system thus was not a new phenomenon during the Kuśāṇa period but was a continuation of the past. It was rather a legacy of hundreds of past years which continued during the Kuśāṇa period as is reflected through the literary works such as the Jātakas, the Arthaśāstra, the Smṛti texts and other literary works compiled during the Kuśāṇa period such as the Mahāvastu, the Milindapañho, the Buddhacarita, the Saundarananda and the Angavijja etc.
Notes and References

1. Brhaspatismrti, XVII, 5-6
3. Majumdar, R. C., Ibid., p.14-15
4. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, III, 30,3; Kaśītaki Brāhmaṇa, XXVIII, 6; Taṭṭtiriya Brāhmaṇa, III, 4, 10
6. Ibid
7. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, III, 30,3; IV 25, 8-9 VII,18,8
8. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIII,7,1,1
9. Atharvaveda, I, 9,3;X,6,31
10. Chandogya Upaniṣad, V, 2.6
Kaśītaki Upaniṣad, II, 6; IV, 15,20; 20
11. Rāmāyaṇa, II, 80, 1-4
12. Ibid, II, 83, 11-16
13. Ibid, II, 100,53
14. Mahābhārata, III, 238, 15
15. Ibid, XV,12, 7-9
16. Ibid, XII,37,14;59.49; 138,63
17. Cullavagga, V, 8; VI, 4, 4
18. Mahāvagga, I, 7.1; VIII, 1.16
20. Ibid, p. 19-20
21. Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 27
25. Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 244
27. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 178
31. *Arthashastra*, III, XIV, 12
32. *Ibid*, IV, 1,2
33. *Ibid*, IV, 1,8
34. *Ibid*, IV, 1,14
35. *Ibid*, II, XIV; IV, 1,26; II, 17
37. *Ibid*, II, XXXVI, 10; IV, 1,56
38. *Ibid*, I, XII, 16; IV, 1,58
40. *Ibid*, III, XIV, 19; IV, II
41. *Ibid*, IX, II, 1; XI, I,4
42. *Ibid*, II, I, 32-34
44. *Ibid*, P.109-110
45. *Saundrananda*, XVIII, 50
54. *Ibid*, p. 228
55. *Ibid*, vol. VI, p. 40
57. *Ibid*, vol. IV, p. 52
58. *Ibid*, vol. VI, p. 250
59. *Arthaśātra*, II, I, 2
60. *Ibid*, II, IV, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16

360
63. *Ibid*, vol. IV, p. 86-90
67. *Saundarananda*, V, 40; XVIII, 50
68. Puri, B. N. (1965), p. 107
69. *Milindapañho* (1963), vol. XXXV, p. 27
71. *Gautama Dhammasūtra*, XI, 21
72. *Yājñavalkyasūtra*, II, 252-253
74. *IAR.*, 1977-79 p. 97, no 19, 1979-80, p. 91, no. 46
75. *Ibid*, 1976-77, p. 63, No. 4
78. *Rāmāyana*, II, XIV, 6-7
79. *Arthāśāstra*, III, XIV, 6-7
84. *Brhaspatismṛiti*, XIV, 27
85. *Ibid*, XIV, 18-26, 31-32; *Nāradasmṛiti*, III, 8-9; XIV, 30; *Manusmrīti*, VIII, 6, 10.
86. *El*, vol. II, p. 95-96; 327-329
87. *Ibid*, p. 92,378
88. *Ibid*, p. 327-329
89. Cunningham, A. (1962), preface, V.
90. *IA*, 1892, vol. 21, p. 225
91. *Ibid*, 1882, Vol. 11, p. 29
97. Ibid, no.1180, p. 135-136
98. Ibid, no.1165, p. 132-133
99. EI, vol. VIII, p. 81-85
108. Ibid, vol. XXI, p. 58
110. IA, 1904, vol. 33, p. 37
112. EI, vol. I, p. 396-396
114. Ibid, Vol. XXIV, P 255
115. J. F. Fleet, 1963, p. 79-88
116. Ibid, p. 70-71
117. Brhaspatismrīti, XVII, 7
118. Ibid, 8,9,10
119. Yājñavalkyasmrīti, II, 194-195
120. Brhaspatismrīti, XIV, 2
121. JRAS, 1901, p. 865
122. The Jātakas, (1973), vol. IV, p. 221-223
125. Arthṣāstra, XI, I
126. Brhaspatismrīti, XVII, 18
127. Yājñavalkyasmrīti, II, 268
128. Arthṣāstra, III, XIV
129. Ibid, XI, I, 46
130. Brhaspatismrīti, XVII, 20
131. Arthṣāstra, IV,I, 2-3

362
132. Brhaspatismṛti, XVII, 17
133. Nāradasmṛti, X, 2,3
134. Brhaspatismṛti, XVII, 11
135. Nāradasmṛti, III, 1-3
142. Ibid, p. 172-173
143. Yājñavalkyasmrī, II, 259
144. Manusmrī, VIII, 211
145. Nāradasmṛti, III, 4-7
146. Brhaspatismṛti, XIV, 1-2
148. Brhaspatismṛti, XVII, 13-16
149. Nāradasmṛti, X, 6
150. Yājñavalkyaamṛī, II, 265
151. Viṣṇumṛī, V, 125-126
152. Arthāśāstra, IV, II, 19
153. Yājñavalkyasmrī, II, 267
154. Nāradasmṛti, III, 16-18
155. Yājñavalkyasmrī, II, 262
156. Nāradasmṛti, III, 3
157. Brhaspatismṛti, XIV, 3-5
158. Ibid, XVII, 22-24
159. Ibid, XIV, 8
160. Ibid, 9-10; Yājñavalkyasmrī, II, 263; Nāradasmṛti, III, 5-6.
161. Brhaspatismṛti, XIV, 11-12
162. Yājñavalkyasmrī, II, 264
163. Brhaspatismṛti, XIV, 13-14
164. Ibid, 28, 29
165. Ibid, 31-32
166. Arthāśāstra, III, IX
167. *Ibid*, III, XIII, 34
168. *Ibid*, 33
169. *Brhaspatismṛti*, XVII, 11-12
170. *Manusmṛti*, VIII, 41
171. *Brhaspatismṛti*, I, 26
172. *Nāradasmṛti*, I, 7
173. *Brhaspatismṛti*, I, 28-30
175. *Nāradasmṛti*, I, 5
176. *Ibid*, XIV, 1, 2
177. *Brhaspatismṛti*, XII, I
178. *Arthāśāstra*, III, XI, 28-31
179. *Manusmṛti*, VIII, 65
180. *Nāradasmṛti*, I, 155
182. *El*, vol. VIII, p. 82
183. *Ibid*, p. 89
184. *El*, vol. XIV, p. 188-190
185. *Arthāśāstra*, II, XV, 63
186. *Viṣṇusmṛti*, III, 32
188. *Ibid*, III, XIII, 15
189. *Ibid*, 20
190. *El*, vol. III, p. 49
193. *Ibid*, IV, I, 22
195. *Ibid*, III, XIV, 4-5
196. *Ibid*, III, XIII, 31-34
197. *Brhaspatismṛti*, XVI, 11-13
198. *Nāradasmṛti*, VI, 10
200. *Ibid*, II, XXIII, 8
202. *Viṣṇusmṛti*, V, 153-159
203. *Yājñavalkya*, II, 196-201
204. *Brhaspatismṛti*, XVI, 9, 14-18

364
205. Nāradasmrī, VI, 2-6
206. Manusmrī, VII, 126
207. Brhaspatismrī, XVII, 24; Yāñavalkyasmṛī, II, 190.
210. EI, XXIV, p. 298
211. Arthasāstra, II, XXI, 3-6
213. JRAŚ, 1900, p. 99.
(1953), p. 203.
221. Nāradasmrī, I, 143
222. Brhaspatismrī, VIII, 26
223. Ibid, VIII, 17
224. Yāñavalkyasmṛī, I, 318-320
226. Arthasāstra, II, VI, 2-3
227. Ibid, V, II, 47, 49-51
228. Ibid, V, III, 9
229. Mahābhārata, XII, 107, 10-11
230. Ibid, 59, 49
231. Arthasāstra, VII, XVI, 16
232. Kane, P. V. (1946), vol. III, p. 97
233. Manusmrī, VIII, 219
234. Ibid, VIII, 41
235. Ibid, VIII, 221
236. Brhaspatismṛī, XVII, 21
237. Ibid, VIII, 9
238. Yāñavalkyasmṛī, II, 192
239. Ibid, I, 361.