CHAPTER-V

SOCIAL & ECONOMIC LIFE
The social and economic life in the realm of the Aulikaras appears to be no different from that of the other parts of India during the period under discussion. Though the inscriptions of the Aulikaras contain only a few references which throw specific light on the subject yet the data provided by the imperial Gupta epigraphs and other inscriptions of the period as also the literary sources can be utilized with justification to draw a fair picture.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE:

The Caste System:

By the beginning of the Gupta-Aulikara period the structure of the Indian society appears to be based on the law of varṇāśrama dharma, or the law of castes and the stages of life, which is laid down in the Dharmasāstra as well as the Purāṇas which were regarded as authoritative. The authority of these works had become undisputed during this period in the matters of religious practice and social behaviour is almost an established fact. Both Manu and Yājñavalkya
have laid stress on the social structure based on the *varṇāśrama dharma* in an ideal society. They have actually composed their works, which revolve around this concept only. In most of the *Purāṇas* we find a clear injunction for the kings to enforce the law of *varṇāśrama*. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, for instance, lays down that "it is the highest duty of the king and moreover it is the cause of prosperity that people should adhere to the code of their respective conduct. The king, who thus practices the protecting of the institution of four castes, will enjoy happiness and attain the world of Indra. For the king in whose realm the laws of the castes are not violated, there is perpetual happiness, here as well as in the next world."¹ The verse 20 of the Mandsaur Stone inscription of Yaśodharman, dated M. S. 589, Dharmadosha is said to have made the Aulikara kingdom "free from any intermixture of all the castes – in accordance with justice."² It is almost a reflection of the *Purāṇic* injunctions quoted above. The expression *varṇāśrama-dharma vyavasthāpana pravṛtta chakkāraḥ*, which became the standard phrase in the inscriptions for protection of the four-fold system of caste and stages of life during this period, is found in the Asirgarh Seal of the
Maukharī ruler Sarvavarman,3 Sonipat seal of Harshavardhana,4 and the Nalanda clay sealings5 besides many other inscriptions. Herein lies the spirit of the period about the caste system and we can say with certainty in the light of the reference in the Mandsaur inscription that it was followed in the Aulikara kingdom also.

It shall not be out of place to give some idea of the institution of castes and stages of life as visualised in the Smṛitis and the Purāṇas. According to this doctrine the duties of the four castes are as follows. A Brāhmaṇa has three fold duty only, giving charity, the study of the Veda, and the performance of the sacrificial ritual. He may take up performing of rituals for others, teaching and accepting alms for his livelihood. Verse 14 of the Mandsaur inscription of the guild of silk-weavers describes the brahmaṇas of Daśapura as “endowed with truthfulness, forgiveness, self-control, quiescence, religious vows, purity, fortitude, study of Veda, proper conduct, modesty and understanding and stores of knowledge and penance (and yet) free from conceit.”6 The duties of a Kṣatriya are the same as that of a brahmaṇa in addition to the protection of the earth. He may follow the
profession of wielding arms for his livelihood. The three duties of a Vaiśya – giving of charity, study of the Veda and performance of sacrifice are the same, for his livelihood is, the trade, agriculture and rearing of cattle. The three duties of a Śūdra are charity, sacrificial performance and the service of the twice-born castes. He may adopt service of the higher caste or a profession as an artisan, weaver, smith, etc. for his livelihood. It is important to note that both Manu and Yājñavalkya consider the hand of an artisan as pure. We get some reflections of the same in the Aulikara inscriptions. Thus in the verse 12 of the Mandsaur inscription of Mālava Saṁvat 461 it is said, “Satya consigned his life and wealth to the gods and the brāhmaṇas.” It is a clear reference to the performance of the duties of a Kshatriya.

K. C. Jain is of the view that there was intermingling of castes during this period due to the inter-caste marriages and many foreigners like the Greeks, Śakas, Kushāṇas and Parthians merged into Hindu society.7 No doubt that these foreigners had adopted the Hindu way of life in many instances but their complete merger in the Hindu fold of varṇāśrama-dharma was a far cry as yet. Śakas were finally defeated
by Chandragupta II and the event was considered as the ouster of foreigners earning the title Śakāri for the Gupta emperor. Likewise the instances of intermarriage were also exceptions only. They were not the laws of the day. Dashrath Sharma has given some very cogent arguments to show that a campaign against intermixture of castes was a necessity of the time. He has also supported the idea that the protection of the varṇāśrama-dharma was required to conserve the high values of Indian culture.\(^8\) K. K. Shah, while dealing with the guild of silk-weavers of Mandsaur inscription in social perspective wants us to believe that the members of the guild had taken up other professions and had emerged as a separate caste.\(^9\) However, it is not possible to agree with his arguments for some very cogent reasons. Verses 16 to 19 of this inscription that refer to the expertise of some members of the guild in the arts of archery, music, astrology, writing, etc. can not be taken as their professions for the simple reason that they were all members of an economic organisation. Silk weaving was neither on decline nor a non-profitable business at this time as supposed by Shah. If it was so, then why the repeated mention of the guild as donors?
Moreover, Vatsabhatti would not have paid such glorious tributes to the profession of silk weaving and to the merits of silk had it been a dwindling profession with no followers. As for his contention that the profession of archery was exclusive for kshatriyas alone, it may be pointed out that right from the beginning members of all the castes have been learning this martial art. Examples of Parshurama and Ekalavya from the Indian lore are too well known for further elucidation. In our view the members of the guild very much continued their own profession and learnt different arts in addition as hobbies, as taken by Bhandarkar and others. The profession was not lowly, as we have pointed out above that the Smriti writers took weavers as pure.

Like the society, an individual's life was divided in to four successive stages called Brahmacharya, Grihasthāśrama, Vānaprastha and Sarīnyāsa. The Brahmacharya or the first āśrama may be called student life. After a boy was initiated by performance of the sacred thread ceremony, he was to go to a teacher for education. He was to live in the teacher's hermitage performing the duties – to study the Veda, tend sacred fires, and to go out for begging food after his bath.
He should place what he has brought before his teacher, and then only partake of it when permitted by the teacher. When called by him he should study with full attention. Having learnt Veda and other sciences he should return home after getting his teacher's permission and giving him a handsome fees. He should, then, enter a householder's stage – Grihasthāsārama, and marry. He should earn money and support his family, servants etc. He should daily perform the five great sacrifices. When a grandchild is born to him he should give up worldly life and enter forest as a Vānaprasthī. This is the third stage of life. He should now sleep on the ground and observe celibacy. He should now wear matted hair, bathe thrice a day and offer oblations into fire. After this begins the last stage of life when a person becomes a wandering ascetic. He should now practice self-examination seeking enlightenment for himself. This was the ideal way of life in ancient India.

The description of Drumavarddhana in the Risthal Stone inscription of M. S. 572 beautifully refers to the kings looking after the varṇaśramadharma. It says, “he was like a bridge between the established precepts of mankind and their righteous practice.”

11
POSITION OF WOMEN:

The women enjoyed a respectable position in society during this period. The beauty as well as the virtues of women is extolled both in the inscriptions and literary works of the period. In the Smṛitis of this age we find a detailed treatment of the subject portraying a glorious picture of an ideal woman as daughter, wife and mother. Yājñavalkya and the writers of the Gupta period such as Nārada and Bṛhaspati have generally endorsed the views of Manu in this regard. Bṛhaspati thus says, "A father who does not give his daughter in marriage in proper time, a husband who has not connexion with his wife at the time favourable for procreation, and a son who does not support his mother: all such deserve contempt and shall be punished as ordained in law."12 He not only puts the responsibility on the male relations for welfare of the lady but also enumerates duties and responsibilities of a woman. The receipt and expenditure of wealth, preparation of food, preservation of domestic goods, management of servants, care of the sacred household fire and other such things were the exclusive domain of a woman.13 At the same time she is expected to be devoted to her family,
pay reverence to her elders, love her younger, rise early, prepare food etc. for all in the family, be faithful and devoted to her husband. The ideas of Bṛhaspati find an echo in Kālidāsa who describes an ideal wife as mistress of the house, counsellor to husband, a dear friend in intimate moments, a loved pupil and an adept in all the fine arts. The position of a woman in her house is beautifully expressed in the thoughts “Grihiṇi griham uchchayte” identifying the very household with the housewife.

In the field of marriage, the pre-puberty marriages were becoming popular during this period though we find all the heroines of Kālidāsa, Bhasa and other dramatists as mature and adult before they got married. Historically also we know that Prabhāvatīgupta, the daughter of Chandragupta II took the reins of administration in her own hands after the death of her husband Rudrasena II which means she must have been mature enough at the time of her marriage. Polygamy was prevalent amongst the higher classes of the society. The Risthal Stone inscription refers to the harem of the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa. Harems of the enemy kings are also referred to in the other Aulikara inscriptions.
The institution of Sātī had come into existence during this period but it was yet to gain popularity. The lawgivers refer to this custom only as an option and not as the only option.\textsuperscript{17} Dramatists of the period are also familiar with it.\textsuperscript{18} But the only historical evidence of Sātī comes from the Eran Stone Pillar inscription of the Gupta Sarṇvat 191= A. D. 510 where we are told that the wife of Goparāja, a general and friend of the emperor Bhānugupta, burnt herself on the pyre of her husband who died fighting against enemies.\textsuperscript{19} On the other hand the duties of a widow are enumerated in the law books of the period and she is also given proprietary rights in her husband’s property.\textsuperscript{20} The very fact that Prabhāvatīguptā lived after her husband indicates that the custom was not very popular as yet. Widow remarriage was also known in certain cases such as in the case of Chandragupta’s marriage with his brother’s widow Dhruvasvāmini. But generally widows were expected to lead a simple and pious life devoting themselves to religious practices and observance of vows and fasts. The practice of Niyoga did not find favour with the lawgivers of the period.\textsuperscript{21}
Women enjoyed considerable freedom during the Aulikara period is attested by the Mandsaur inscription of Mālava Saṁvat 493 and 529 besides copious reference to this effect in the secular works of the period. Verse 9 of the Mandsaur inscription refers to the women-folk of the town strolling unceasingly through woods and gardens.\textsuperscript{22} The same inscription also refers to buildings full of charming women.\textsuperscript{23} The beauty of women, as in all ages, attracted the special attention of the writers of this period also. There are several references to the subject in the Aulikara inscriptions both as similes and as description of women. Verse 3 of the Mandsaur inscription of Bandhuvarman refers to the rays of sun looking intensely red like the cheeks of intoxicated women. In the verse 20 of the same inscription Vatsabhaṭṭi describes the beauty of women saying, “Though abundantly endowed with youth and glamour, (and) though fully adorned with golden necklaces, flowers and chewing of betel in the proper manner, the women-folk do not attain the foremost splendour so long as they do not don a pair of garments made of silk.” Verse 31 again refers to “the season, which becomes pleasant with the interior of the mansion with lovely ladies inside.”\textsuperscript{24} The examples of the
A description of the beauty of women can easily be multiplied. They indicate the highly developed aesthetic tastes of the society during this period that earned the due admiration of a woman’s beauty from males. It must, however, be noted that there was no place of any vulgarity in this praise, which was pure and expressed the inner feelings of a man.

**DRESS & ORNAMENTS:**

The dress of people during the period remained same as earlier. The literary works, sculptures and paintings as also the inscriptions of the period contain several references to the same. Men wore turbans, a loincloth (*dhoti*) around their waists and an upper garment, like a shawl called *uttariya*. Long coats, jackets and trousers were also used probably under the foreign influence. The women put on an upper garment or bodice, a lower garment and a shawl.

Cotton garments were commonly used but there are several references to the woolen and silken garments also. The rich and fashionable persons wore silk especially on festive occasions. The cloth was woven in several designs and colours and different regions or places were famous for different type of clothes. Special mention must
be made of the silk woven by the members of the guild of silk weavers of Mandsaur who had migrated from Lāṭa. Vatsabhaṭṭī has paid glorious tributes to their skill in the art weaving as well as their product in the Mandsaur inscription.25 We have mentioned above Vatsabhaṭṭī’s observation that the beauty of a lady is not completely brought to fore till she dons a pair of silken garments.26

Ornaments of various types and designs were a favourite of the people from all walks of life in the society and were worn by both men and women. They comprised various types of necklaces, pendants, bangles, bracelets, armlets, earrings, rings, anklets, waistbands and head-ornaments. Gold, silver, pearls, several types of precious and semi-precious stones were used for making ornaments. The people of lower classes of society resorted to cheaper materials such as copper, brass, terracotta beads and bangles etc. A glimpse of these ornaments is available from their depiction in the frescoes of Bagh and Ajanta. Ladies as well as men wearing beautiful jewellery of varied designs and shapes is shown in these paintings which bring to life its description contained in the literary works.
Women for their toilette used cosmetics of various types and hair was dressed in different and beautiful styles of coiffure. Verse 31 of the Mandsaur inscription of Bandhuvarman refers to sandalwood paste, palm-leaf fans and garlands of flowers being used by women during the summers. Other sources reveal the frequent use of various types of unguents and ointments by women for their toilette.

**FESTIVALS & PASTIMES:**

People of India have always been fond of celebrating festivals of both religious and social nature. The change of season such as onset of spring, rainy season, winters etc. were always associated with one or the other festival during which people indulged in a variety of merry making. For example the Mandsaur inscription of Mālava Saṅvat 461 refers to the festival of Indra approved by Kṛishṇa being celebrated on the completion of the rainy season. D. R. Bhandarkar has explained its significance in the light of a story contained in the *Harivaṁśa*. According to the story the people of Bṛṇḍavaṇ used to worship Indra on the 14th day of the dark half of Kārttika but Kṛishṇa induced them to give
up this practice and worship their cows and mount Govardhana instead. This annoyed Indra and resulted in a fierce struggle between him and Kṛishṇa. Indra poured heavy rains but Kṛishṇa pulled out entire mount Govardhana and used it as an umbrella for his people. Ultimately Indra came to terms with Kṛishṇa and an understanding was reached between the two, according to which the first two months of the rainy season were celebrated as festival of Indra and the last two as that of Kṛishṇa. Several other such festivals formed a part of the life of people.

Amongst the pastime men resorted to various martial arts such as horse racing, hunting, archery etc. and women practiced music, dancing, painting and other fine arts. Playing with ball kanduka-krīḍā, enjoying the swing in gardens, making garlands of flowers were also a favourite amongst women. Both men and women enjoyed music and dancing as well as writing poetry. We know that Samudragupta was a master poet and adept in playing Vina. The play Kaumudīmahotsava has been written by a lady named Vajjikā. The Mandsaur inscription of the guild of silk-weavers refers to music, writing of biographies, telling
wonderful tales, martial arts etc. as the pastimes of members of the guild.29

POETS & AUTHORS:

Since the people were well educated during this period as revealed by several sources some of the best literary works of the Sanskrit literature were produced during this period. We need not elaborate the well-known names like that of Kālidāsa in this regard and shall confine to the realm of the Aulikaras only keeping in view the scope of this work.

The best known example of the literary activity in the Aulikara kingdom is the Mandsaur praśasti composed by the poet Vatsabhaṭṭi in M. S. 529. This inscription of forty-four verses written in Gaudi Riti is considered as a gem of composition amongst the works of this category. Historians as well as students of literature have expressed their independent views about this record. George Bühler was perhaps the first to comment on the literary merits of this composition and its author.30 He has praised the composition though termed it as 'Artificial
Poetry’. D. R. Bhandarkar has dealt with it in detail in his revised Corpus of the Gupta inscriptions. He sums up with the remark ‘Vatsabhaṭṭi was, on the whole, an excellent and versatile versifier but was not a first-rate poet with new, original ideas.’ This remark agrees with the opinion of George Buhler but at the same time does not deprive Vatsabhaṭṭi of the credit he deserves. Ravila who composed the Mandsaur Stone inscription of the year 524 is another poet of the Aulikara period. He is a contemporary of Vatsabhaṭṭi and has his own merits as a poet. The next poet known to us who composed a praśasti is Bhramarasoma son of Mitrasoma the author of the Chhoti Sadri inscription of Mahārāja Gauri. D. C. Sircar, the editor of the inscription, was of the view that Bhramarsoma was the court poet of Mahārāja Gauri. It is possible that his father Mitrasoma and grandfather Jivaddharana, who are mentioned in the composition, were also poets or court poets. Last in the list was Vāsula son of Kakka who composed the Risthal Stone inscription of Prakāśadharman as also the eulogy in praise of the latter’s successor Yaśodharman Vishṇuvardhana. The existence of so many poets at Mandsaur during this period indicates
that literary activities in the Aulikara kingdom were encouraged and the poets received royal patronage.

ECONOMIC LIFE:

The economy of Malwa during the period under discussion appears to be in a prosperous state. The very fact that all the members of an entire guild of silk-weavers migrated from Gujarat to Mandsaur and established themselves in the city as prominent citizens, as mentioned in the Mandsaur inscription of Mālava Sarīvat 493 & 529, speaks itself for the state of economy under the Aulikaras. Malavas being hard working people must have fully utilized the fertile terrain for agriculture. Varāhamihira, who flourished at Ujjaini, in his Brihatsarāṅhita, gives several references to agriculture. Besides this Dasapura lay on the main trade routes from Northern India to the western coast, which must have made it an important trading centre. All these factors combined with the efficient administration under the Aulikaras led to a flourishing economic life.
AGRICULTURE:

In spite of specific references to the trade and industry in the Aulikara inscriptions indicating its growth during the period, agriculture was the mainstay of the masses and was considered as one of the chief occupations. Literary sources of the period especially the Brīhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira and the Amarakośa throw some welcome light on the subject. Agriculture mainly depended on rains though references to numerous tanks, canals, wells etc. indicates that they were used as means of artificial irrigation. The importance of rains must have been considerable because Varāhamihira gives elaborate references to rainfall and forecasts.  

Fields were marked with boundaries and fences were erected many a time. Traditional implements were used. Varāhamihira refers to plough drawn by oxen and Amarakośa names implements such as hoe, sickle and harrow. Two crops were sown one in early rains and the other in autumn. Named as pūrvasasya and aparasasya
respectively they correspond to present day Kharif and Rabi. The Amarakośa and Bṛihatsaṁhitā refer to rice, wheat, barley, lentils, oilseeds of many kinds, ginger, pepper, vegetables etc. Sugar cane was grown in Malwa and cotton must have been an important cash crop of the area, as it always has been through the ages. Two of the label inscriptions at Sanchi of the earlier period refer to Kapāsagrāma indicating the importance of this crop in the region. Varāhamihira also refers to preparation of soil for crops, rotation of crops, grafting a branch on another tree, treatment of disease etc. This knowledge must have been fully utilised by farmers of the region for their own benefit.

INDUSTRIES:

The easy availability of raw materials and demand for the ready product both in the local markets and for trade led to a remarkable advance in industrial art and crafts. Metal industry had already been popular and well advanced in technology in India. Varāhamihira refers to iron, gold, silver, lead, copper, bell-metal as well as the workers in these metals. Goldsmiths manufactured beautiful ornaments to satiate the aesthetic sense of the people. Heating of copper for casting into
various shapes is referred to by Varāhamihira. He also refers to smiths heating the metal in fire and uses the expression ‘earning their livelihood by fire.’ The words *loha* and *ayas*, sometimes prefixed with *kṛishṇa* are used for iron, occur frequently and the iron industry was in a flourishing state. The Sultanganj copper statue of the Buddha and the Mehrauli Iron Pillar of king Chandra are two famous examples of the copper and iron industry during this period. We may also point to the Iron Pillar lying at Dhar in this region. Its date is a matter of controversy but in the light of the Mehrauli Iron Pillar we feel that it may belong to the period under discussion. If our hypothesis is correct then Malwa during our period must have had highly advanced technology in iron casting.

Textile industry was another progressive art during the age. Cotton, wool, linen and silk fibre was used to make beautiful cloth. *Karpāsa* (cotton), *aurnika* (woolen-cloth), *kshauma* (linen), *Kauśeya* and *patrona* (silk) are referred to in the *Bṛihatsaṁhita*. The *Amarakośa* also refers to cloth made of bark of trees (*valkam*), linen (*kshauma*), cotton-cloth (*karpāsa, badara*), woolen (*raṅkava, mṛigorajam*), silk
(kauśeya, kṛimikosattham), etc.\textsuperscript{42} It also contains references to bleached and unbleached silk. However, the most authentic reference to the manufacture of silk at Daśapura comes from Vatsbhaṭṭi’s prasasti. It tells us that an entire guild of silk-weavers migrated to Daśapura from Lata region of Gujarat and established themselves as flourishing manufacturers of the item.\textsuperscript{43} Verse 21 of this inscription says “By whom (silk-weavers of the guild) this whole surface of the earth has been adorned with silk cloth (patta-vastrena), agreeable to the touch, variegated with different colours and arrangement (of parts) and pleasing to the eye.”\textsuperscript{44}

The jewel industry too was highly advanced. Varāhamihira refers to no less than twenty-three varieties of gems and precious stones.\textsuperscript{45} Jewellers working in them find mention in several literary works. These stones were set in ornaments of various types, used for seals, etc. Beside this several other industries such as that of pottery, woodcarving, ivory, stone cutting, engraving on metal plates etc. was in vogue and find referred to in different works. Engravers are referred to
in the inscriptions. For example Govinda was the engraver of the Risthal as well as Mandsaur Pillar inscription of Yaśodharman.

TRADE AND COMMERCE:

Daśapura, the capital of the Aulikara kingdom, lay on the main trade route and was an important commercial centre. It was connected with Bhṛigukachchha (Bharoch) in the west, through which it had international trade with the western countries. Paithan in the south, Mathura in the north, Prayāga, Kāśi (Varanasi) and Pātaliputra in the east too were well connected with Daśapura. Brisk trade must have been carried out between these commercial centres of India. The Padatāditakam of Śyāmilaka gives a vivid picture of Ujjain as a centre of flourishing trade. Goods from different regions and various countries were brought here for trade and goods specially pearls, precious stones, textiles, perfumes and ivory articles were exported to foreign lands. We find merchants from different countries settled in this city. A merchant named Vishṇudatta is mentioned in the Chitorgarh fragmentary inscription published by D.C. Sircar.46
GUILDS:

The corporate life in ancient India was well organised and various organisations of merchants, bankers, traders, artisans, craftsmen, etc. are known both from literary and epigraphical evidence. Scores of seals of the Gupta period discovered from Vaisali, Bhita and other places throw welcome light on the subject. Inscriptions of the period such as the one from Sanchi refer to the existence of various guilds of traders, merchants and bankers, which acted as trusts for religious establishments also. Sometimes joint guilds such as the one of sārthavāha-śresṭhi-kulika-nigama also existed. Generally called by the name of sreni or nigama they had their own laws and rules, which had legal sanction behind them. The members of the guilds were respectable citizens and often occupied important administrative positions in the cities and even the royal courts. The only specific reference to a guild in the inscriptions of the Aulikaras is to be found in Vatsabhaṭṭi’s Prasasti. Here we are told of a guild of silk weavers who had migrated from Gujarat to settle in Daśapura. The poet has used the nomenclature sreni for them. But we can safely presume that there
must have existed numerous other guilds at Dasapura during this period, as they were the hubs of all commercial activity. ⁴⁷
Reference Notes:

1 Quoted by Jagannath Agrawal, *ibid.*, p. 73.
5 *El*, XXI, p. 75.
11 JESI, X, p. 100.
15 *Grihini sachivah sakhi mithah priyasishya lahte kalavidhau| Raguvamśa*, VIII. 67.
16 JESI, X, P. 99, verse 18. Also see verse 12.
17 *Bṛihapati Sṛṣṭi*, *op. cit.*, XXV.
18 For examples see the plays of Kālidāsa and others.
20 *Bṛihapati*, *op.cit*.
21 *Ibid*.
26 *Ibid*.
28 D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid.*, pp. 263-64.
29 *Ibid*., verses 15-17, pp. 324 ff.; We do not agree with K.K. Shah that these were professions adopted by members of the guild. For discussion see supra.
30 *Die Indischen Inschriften und Das Alter der Indischen Kunstpoesie*, 1890. Translated by V. S. Ghate, IA, XLII.
32 *EI*, XXX, p. 123.
33 JESI, X, pp. 96 ff.
34 Fleet, *CII*, III, 142 ff.
Brihatasamhita, XXI, 32, 34, etc.; Shastri, A. M., Br śatsamhita of Varāhamihira, p. 485 ff.

Bṛhat., XLV. 62.

Il. 9, 6, f.


XLVII.72; XCIV.15; XVI.29; Cl.II.12, 61; XXVI. 6; XVI.29; Cl.II.61; XVI.29, etc.

Amarasara by M. S. Gole, Poona, 1934, 226-228.


Ibid., verse 21.

Bṛhat, LXXX, 4-5.

El, XXXIV, pp. 53 ff.

For details of corporate activities during the Gupta period see R. C. Majumdar’s Corporate life in ancient India and S. K. Maity’s Economic life in Northern India in the Gupta period.