CHAPTER III
DIGVIJAYA AND ANCIENT INDIAN ECONOMY

The prosperity of state or king depends by and large on the economic stability. Even political and military achievements, peace and security depend on the economic prosperity of the country. Therefore, the political thinkers and the statesman in all ages have laid emphasis on the development of the economic life. But the part played by the state or the king in the development of economic life depends on different needs at different periods and stages of the growth of society. However, the close touch between the state and the economic life of the people, sometimes may lead to good or evil according to the nature and methods of government activities. The state may appropriate to itself larger share of economic functions which may under certain conditions, encroach upon the economic freedom of the individuals. The interest of the state in the economic activities of the people increased immensely in the Mauryan period. The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, the inscriptions of Aśoka and the account of Megasthenes give a lot of information about direct or indirect interference of state in the economic life. This shows that koṣa or a sound treasury was essential for the protection and prosperity of the state and material welfare of the people.
A. Concept of Sound Treasury (Koṣa):

In the early Vedic period the tribal-people paid bali, a gift or tribute to their war-leader which was the only source to maintain the koṣa of the tribal state. This koṣa was used to meet out the needs and requirements of the warfare. Later on when territorial states came into being, the war activities increased which were not possible without a sound treasury. In Mauryan period the importance of sound koṣa was realized and Kauṭilya included it in the saptāṅga theory or seven important elements of the state. He remarks that all undertakings depend upon koṣa (financial position of the king), therefore, the king must pay the attention to koṣa. Discussing on the relative importance of seven elements of the state, Kauṭilya has expressed his opinion that the treasury was more important than the army because the latter can be raised and maintained only with the help of a well-filled treasury. The Mahābhārata calls upon the king to guard his finances, with great effort, since kings depend upon koṣa, which tends to the prosperity of the kingdom. Kāmandaka states that it is on the lips of the all

1. Arthaśāstra, II. 8.
2. Ibid., VIII, 1; R.P. Kagle, Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra, III, p. 189.
3. Mbh., XII. 119. 16.
that the king is dependent on kośa. The Viṣṇudharmottara purāṇa\textsuperscript{5} says that kośa is the root of the tree of state. Manu\textsuperscript{6} says that kośa and government of the realm depend on the king, i.e. they should be the personal concern of the king Yājñavalkya\textsuperscript{7} recommends that the king should personally look into the income and expenditure every day and keep in his treasury buildings whatever is brought by those who are appointed to bring gold and wealth. Kāmandaka\textsuperscript{8} and Śukra\textsuperscript{9} are also of the same view.

The above mentioned works have constantly emphasized the prime necessity of a competent army and a rich treasury for subduing the subversive elements on the king's side as well as those in the opposite camp for the well being of the state. They hold that the king depends on the treasury, or that the treasury is the root of the state. Treasury and the army were the two great pillars of the state in ancient India.

1. Source of Revenue:

The principal source of filling the treasury in ancient

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa}, II. 61.17.
\item \textit{Manusmṛti}, VII. 65.
\item Yājñavalkya smṛti, I. 327-28.
\item Kāmandakaṣṭya Nītisāra, V. 77.
\item Śukranītisāra, I. 276-278.
\end{itemize}
India was taxation. In the financial theories of the *Arthasastra* and allied works, the ruler's right to levy taxes and contributions and the people's obligation to pay them arise from an implied contract between the state and its subjects. The imposition of taxes depends solely on the protection afforded by the state. The principles of taxation that guided the state in matters of taxation show the solicitude of the economists for the welfare of the subjects. Taxation was to be reasonable and equitable; the criterion of judging its equitableness consisted in the feeling of the state on the one hand and that of the agriculturists and the traders on the other, that they have received adequate and reasonable return for their mutual services. The first principle was that in matters of taxation the state was to be guided by the rules in the *smrtis*. The tax was to be collected at a specified time and place\(^\text{10}\) and at a definite proportion or percentage. Any increase in taxation, if unavoidable was to be gradual.\(^\text{11}\) Additional taxation was an exceptional measure to be resorted to only under grave national emergency in the absence at any other alternative. An article was to be taxed

\[\text{---}\]

\(^{10}\) *Mbh.*, XII. 88.12; *Kāmandkīya Niśtīśara*, V. 83–84.

\(^{11}\) *Mbh.*, XII 88.7–8.
only once.\textsuperscript{12} Net profit, and not gross earning, was the basis for taxation of trade and industry.\textsuperscript{13} In the case of artisans, before taxing them, the king has to pay regard to the labour and skill involved and to the necessaries of life required by them.\textsuperscript{14} It is also maintained that the workers and artisans who subsist by manual labour should contribute one day's work to the king gratis in a month\textsuperscript{15} or fortnight.\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Gaut. Dh. S.}\textsuperscript{17} add that the king must supply them with food on the day they work gratis.

The third principle was that the taxation should be felt by those taxed as light and not heavy or excessive. The \textit{Mahābhārata}\textsuperscript{18} states 'just as a bee draws honey but at the same time leaves the flowers uninjured, so the king should take wealth from men without harming them. One (a bee) may search each flower (for honey) but should not cut the very root just like a garland-maker, but not like a coal-maker'.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{12} \textit{Arthaśāstra}, V. 2.
\item \textsuperscript{13} \textit{Mbh.}, XII. 87. 13-14; \textit{Manuśmṛti}, VII.
\item \textsuperscript{14} \textit{Mbh.}, XII. 87.15.
\item \textsuperscript{15} \textit{Gaut. Dh. S.}, X. 31-34; \textit{Viṣṇu. Dh. S.}, III. 32; \textit{Manuśmṛti}, VII, 137-38.
\item \textsuperscript{16} \textit{Śukranītisāra}, IV. 2.121.
\item \textsuperscript{17} \textit{Gaut. Dh. S.}, X. 34.
\item \textsuperscript{18} \textit{Ibid.}, V. 34. 17-18; XII. 71.20; XII. 88. 4-6.
\end{itemize}
Similarly, Manu\textsuperscript{19} says that just as the leach, the calf and the bee take their sustenance little by little, so must the king draw from his kingdom annual taxes little by little. Let the king not cut up his own root (by levying no taxes) nor the root of others\textsuperscript{20} by excessive greed'.

The careful examination of the grounds of partial or total remission of taxation reveals that religious beliefs as well as humanitarian ideas of the age were responsible for exempting from taxation certain classes of people like learned Br\={a}hma\=nas and bhik\={u}s. The dumb, the deaf, the blind, students studying in gurukula, and hermits were also not taxable; infant, those far advanced in age, woman newly confined or destitute, poor widows, and people otherwise helpless were also tax-free. In view of the fact that certain villages supplied recruits to the state army, those military villages were exempted from taxation. Untaxable property included articles required for sacrifices, earning of craftsmanship, receipts from alms, articles worth less than a copper coin. Only a nominal tax was to be collected for the first four or five years from those agriculturists who newly brought land under cultivation and made it more fertile and productive; but the tax in their case also

\textsuperscript{19} Manusm\=r\textit{ti}, VII, 129, 139-40.

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Mbh.}, XII. 87. 17-18.
gradually rose to the normal rate in subsequent years.

Several kinds of taxes are mentioned in the Dharmasāstras, Arthasastra and inscriptions. For securing revenue, Kauṭilya advises the tapping of every available source and recommends emergency measures under special circumstances. Some important sources of taxation are enumerated below.

(a) Land revenue formed the mainstay of the state finances. The rate of land tax, which was fixed sixth part in theory, varied from 1/12th, 1/10th, 1/8th, or 1/6 the normal times to 1/4th or even 1/3rd in times of emergency. Besides general land revenue, there was other cesses and charges on land, which included water cess, periodical levy on agricultural live-stock of the cultivators, taxes on agricultural and industrial products, and tax in cash on certain special crops. Under this heading also comes income from state properties, viz. crown land, waste land, forests, and natural tanks and reservoirs.

(b) Tax collected from cities, trade and industry constituted another important category of state revenue. Other taxes included profession tax; property tax; income from slaughter houses, liquor, and gambling; tolls, customs, octroi, port dues and transit duties; fee from passports; licence fee on weights and measures contributions from artisans in cash or service; shop tax, not referred to in
the smṛtis but mentioned in the inscriptions;21 and charge of one-fiftieth of the interest earned by money-lenders.22 (c) Besides taxes imposed on the subjects, the state had its own sources of income which were under the direct control of the state. These comprised mines and minerals, salts, saffron, mint, workshops, state manufacturing, jail industries, and elephants.

(d) The items of miscellaneous and special taxes and revenues included forced labour; income from unclaimed lost, or ownerless property, fine from law courts; treasure trove; irregular receipts from plunder tributes from feudatories; the wealth obtained by looting the enemy's state during invasion i.e. booty in war; occasional taxes such as those paid on the birth for a prince; and escheat, etc. The pilgrim tax,23 taxes levied at the time of the upanayana, marriage, Vedic sacrifices and the life fall under the category of special taxes.24 The kings also used to levy some special taxes to finance their wars against their enemies, as the Chola king Vīrārājendra (A.D. 1063-70) did at the time of

23. Rājatarāṅgini, VII. 1008.
24. EI, XX, p. 64.
war against the Chālukyas of Vengī.\(^{25}\)

(e) Yet another source of filling the state \textit{kośa} was emergency tax. The sources of raising emergency revenue were to be tapped only under exceptional circumstances when the treasury was empty, and there was the threat of an impending danger. Besides, benevolence, forcible loans and donations, emergency taxes, arbitrary enhancement of normal rates, and fraudulent and forcible collections under several pretexts, which are exhaustively dealt with by Kauṭilya and others,\(^ {26}\) reference may also be made to the sale of divine images by the Mauryas, mentioned by Patañjali,\(^ {27}\) and the scheme of debased coinage resorted to by the Mauryas\(^ {28}\) and the Guptas,\(^ {29}\) which must have been instrumental in filling the state treasury to great extent. Kauṭilya very intelligently prescribed that some of these taxing devices should be levied on the seditious and religious only, and not on all.\(^ {30}\)

---


26. \textit{Arthaśāstra}, V. 2; \textit{Manusmṛti}, 118-20; \textit{Sukranītisāra}, IV. 2.9.


30. \textit{Arthaśāstra}, V. 2.
2. Source of Expenditure:

Like taxation, public expenditure was also based on certain principles. The state existed for the welfare of the people and justification of state expenditure was sought in the benefit of the people. But compared with the minute treatment of the several revenue sources by the above cited ancient Indian authorities, expenditure does not seem to have received its due share of attention. The economists have devoted more space to framing rules for raising taxes and loans. That is why we do not find the incisive analysis in dealing with the problems of public expenditure which we find in their analysis and description of public revenue and taxation. Probably it was due to the period of comparatively fewer wants and simpler life. The population of the country was much less than the population of a small state of the present country. The society was divided into small states frequently at war with each other and always ready to defeat one another. The main problems of the rulers were to defend the freedom and integrity of their states, maintain law and order, develop religion and culture of the society and promote the welfare of the people. Thus, it is clear that the problems of public expenditure were confined to a few heads which consumed the entire revenue of the state. However, before coming to the different items of expenditure, let it be seen what the economists have to say
regarding the proportion of revenue to expenditure.

Kauṭilya mentions only the items of the state expenditure but does not tell about the proportion of the state income to be spent on each item of expenditure. Śukra is the only writer who gives us some definite idea of the percentage of the state income spent on the different items. According to him, one-sixth of the income should go to saving; one half should be spent on the army; and one twelfth each on charity, ministers, inferior officers, and the privy purse. The Mānasollāsa recommends that ordinarily three-fourths of the revenue should be spent and one fourth should be saved. The chief sources of expenditure are described below.

(a) First and foremost among the source of expenditure was the maintenance of security of the state, which involved not only the maintenance of a well equipped armed force in the four branches and the navy, capable of both offence and defence, but also of the storehouse, armouries, and above all, the entire organization of the secret service. The observation of Megasthenes along with Kauṭilya's regulations indicate that this head of national defence consumed major part of the state revenue and has been described as the most

31. Śukranītisāra, I. 315-17.
important head of expenditure.

If a state wanted to live and maintain its independence, it had to spend heavily on its fighting forces. The four Vedas and most of the scriptures of the Vedic and post-Vedic period are full of references to wars, battles, armies and weapons. From about 500 A.D. militarism was rampant and warfare common. Therefore, the protection of the people is described as the foremost duty of a king. In the *Mahābhārata* Bhīṣma says to Yudhiṣṭhir that a king who fails in his duty of protecting the subjects is an incarnation of evil and his people should destroy such a king. Bhīṣma, Śukra, Brahaspati and all the jurists without exceptions have ordered the king to make all possible efforts for the defence of the state. Sukra prescribed that the king should muster a strong army comprising the elephants, horsemen, etc. and equip it with the best possible weapons. He describes many kinds of formations of the army. He orders the rulers to construct strong forts and castles and asks them to keep these forts full of supplies, arms and provisions. He believes that without a strong army neither there can be a state nor

33. *Mbh.*, XII. 71.27.
34. *Ibid.*, XIII, 60. 32.
wealth nor valour.\textsuperscript{35} It shows that fifty percent of the state revenue was recommended to be spent on army in normal times was undoubtedly very high. Obviously, during an emergency this ratio could be increased.

(b) It was also the duty of the king to promote the sources of income of the state, such as agriculture, trade, industry, animal husbandry and banking which are commonly called \textit{varta}. The king has been repeatedly asked to spend liberally for the development of the economy of the state. The king was required to reclaim land for cultivation, to excavate tanks and lakes in order to make agriculture independent of the caprices of the rains. He was also required to distribute seed-grains on loan to the cultivators in times of need.\textsuperscript{36} It is also stated that the prosperity and strength of the state depends upon the economy, therefore, it should be the utmost concern of the king to take care of agriculture, trade and cow-rearing.\textsuperscript{37}

In the \textit{Mahābhārata}, the king is advised that the traders should not be neglected and they should not be overtaxed.\textsuperscript{38} At one place Yudhiṣṭhira is advised to help the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{35} \textit{Śukranītisāra}, IV. 865.
\item \textsuperscript{36} \textit{Mbh.}, XII. 5.17, 21; II. 5.78, 79; \textit{Śukranītisāra}, IV. 225, 232, 393.
\item \textsuperscript{37} \textit{Mbh.}, II. 5.80.
\item \textsuperscript{38} \textit{Ibid.}, XII, 88.29.
\end{itemize}
traders by giving them money. Manu has described the duties of the king in regard to trade and commerce of the state. He says that weights and measures should be examined at least once in six months and even the transport charges, wages, rates of interest, etc. be controlled. It appears that in the Mahābhārata period certain industries had also developed and the authors of the great epic knowing their importance in the society asked the king to encourage them. The importance of routes and bridges both for the defence and prosperity of the state was also recognized by our ancient thinker and therefore, they have emphasized the construction and maintenance of roads and streets. Sukra says that the king should construct roads in the village and city and the countryside. He gives also the ideal measurements of roads. In the same context he rules the construction of market on both the sides of the royal roads. The Mahābhārata also recommends the construction of suitable roads with which shops and the places of supply of


42. *Śukranītisāra*, I. 159–61.

water are to be attached.\textsuperscript{44}

The rules for the maintenance of roads and water transport and the bridges at suitable places are also prescribed by our ancient thinkers. According to Śukra an ideal road is that which has bridges across the rivers and ditches on both the sides so that water may not accumulate on the roads.\textsuperscript{45} Śukra maintains that it is the responsibility of the state to construct sarāi or rest houses (panthaśālās) at suitable places and to protect the life and property of the travelers who stay in these panthaśālās. Further it is also maintained that fruit trees should also be planted on both the sides of the roads and the Mahābhārata fixes the responsibility of the state to preserve these trees.\textsuperscript{46}

Besides the promotion of revenue sources, it was also the duty of the king to think about the other aspects of welfare of his people. It is stated that schools and seats of learning should be opened and maintained by the state. The king is advised to spend money for the promotion of learning\textsuperscript{47} The king had to support the poor, old and down

\textsuperscript{44} Mbh., XII. 69.53.
\textsuperscript{45} Śukraṭītisāra, I. 165.
\textsuperscript{46} Mbh., XII. 89.11.
\textsuperscript{47} Śukraṭītisāra, IV. 890.
trodden people of the society. Sukra says that the king is responsible to provide support to the ascetic, invalid, indigent, pauper, widow and the orphans. The *Mahābhārata* also expresses the similar view. It is stated that the king should appoint competent physicians for the treatment of the wounded soldiers and the diseased people and should make proper arrangement of dispensaries. Sukra maintains that for the treatment of elephants, horses, etc. the king should appoint skilled veterinary surgeons. All these references indicate that a substantial part of the state *kośa* was spent on the welfare of the state.

(c) A part of the revenue of the state was used also for the administration of justice and services in the state. We find mention of various ministers, officials and their responsibilities in our ancient literature. In accordance with the requirements of his fort and country parts, the king was to fix under one fourth of the total revenue the charge of maintaining his servants by providing such emoluments as can infuse in them the spirit of enthusiasm to

49. *Śukranītisāra*, III, 121.
50. *Mbh.*, II. 5.124, 125.
51. *Ibid.*, II. 5.90; *Śukranītisāra* II. 123.
52. *Śukranītisāra*, II. 126, 129.
work. But he was not supposed to violate the course of righteousness and wealth. Kautilya gives a detailed account of remuneration payable to the minister, officers, servants and other persons who were in the service of state. In the Mahābhārata also the various sages and saints have given their opinion in respect of administration of kingdom, the various kinds of officials, their duties and qualifications. Smṛtis also give some account regarding the scale of remuneration to the servants of the king.

The question whether these payments were annual or monthly has become a moot point with the scholars. Shamashastri and Brijnarain hold that the salaries referred to in the Arthasastra were made annually to the government servants. But some scholars do not agree with this view. However the problem has been solved by G. Harihar Shastri who takes these salaries as annual but further adds on cogent ground that it appears that payments were made monthly and an officer of the top rank received four thousand papas and a servant of the lowest order five papas.

55. Shamashastri (Tr.), Arthasastra, V. 3.
per month. Accordingly women employed in the royal service
and servants employed in menial services were paid daily in
proportion to their position and work. It shows that a
considerable amount of revenue budget of the state was spent
on the salaries of the state officials who were engaged in
the machinery of the state administration. The kings in
ancient India spent a fairly large amount on the religious
activities of the state. There are numerous references of
gifts and charities to the Brāhmaṇas, Buddhists, hermits and
even householders. In the Mahābhārata king is asked to help
the Brāhmaṇas in all possible ways.58 The king is advised to
exempt the Brāhmaṇas from taxation, make provision for
their livelihood, give them cows, food, clothes, etc. They
are also advised to help the Brāhmaṇas in conducting rituals
like yajña and furthering learning in the state. Therefore,
revenue-free lands were given to performers of sacrifices,
spiritual guides, priests, and to these learned in the
Vedas; also to persons of great utility which included
superintendents, accountants, gopas and sthānikas (local
officers), veterinary surgeons, physicians, horse trainers
and messengers.59

58. Mbh., XII, 90.22.
59. Arthaśāstra, II 1; Manusmṛti, VII. 119.
It is noteworthy here to mention that in the great sacrifice of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, thousands of Brāhmaṇas were invited and lavishly rewarded by gifts. The king Khārvela in the 10th year of his reign spent one lakh coins to pay homage to the memory of the former kings of Kaliṅga. The Nāsika and Kārle Buddhist inscriptions of Uṣavadāta, son of Dinkika and son-in-law of Nahapāna record that he used to feed throughout the year a hundred thousand of Brāhmaṇas. Thus, the wheel of religion and welfare moving right from Aśoka to Rudradāman, Huviṣka, Khārvela, Harṣa, etc.

Our ancient political thinkers also prescribed some sacrifices to be performed by the kings, such as Aśvamedha, Rājasūya, Vājapeya, etc. which consumed a lot of revenues of the state as these were continued for a long time.

(e) Śukra testifies that one twelfth of the state revenue was reserved for the personal expenditures (ātmabhoga) of the king. The amount of privy-purse was used for the health and happiness of the king and his family. Due consideration to the material and immaterial aspects of life was given as we see Kautilya recommending the king to attend to the business of goods, heretics, learned Brāhmaṇas, cattle, sacred places, the minors, the aged, the afflicted, the

60. N.N. Kher, op.cit., p. 819.
helpless and of women in his personal capacity. The great emperor Asoka did not care much about his privy-purse. He spent this allocation of money for the welfare of his subjects. A very interesting example of the use of the king's privy purse for the welfare of his subjects may drawn from the Junagarh inscription of Śaka Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāmana. It tells us that the treasury of this ruler overflowed with the excess of gold, silver, diamonds, beryls and jewels from the properly acquired bali, bhoga and sulka. It adds that he constructed the famous dam of the Sudersāna lake out of his own treasury without burdening his subjects with kara, viṣṭi and praṇaya.

Thus in ancient India, rulers spent their privy purse in the right and fruitful direction.

(f) The ancient Indian thinkers prescribed also a reserve fund for the king. This reserve fund was brought forward for future. Kauṭilya lays down that superintendent of storehouse is expected to keep half of his stock in reserve for meeting future emergencies and spend the remaining half only. In this way, the state was aware of future

61. Arthashastra, I 19.
62. EI, VIII, 6.
63. Arthashastra, II. 4.
64. Ibid., II. 15.
responsibilities and liabilities and maintained reserve for the welfare and safeguards of the country in order to meet casual and emergent demands.

B. Effects of Digvijaya on Ancient Indian Economy:

War was a regular feature of ancient Aryan society and a close study of Brāhmaṇical texts convince beyond doubt that there were frequent wars and battles in ancient India.

The kings fought wars either to increase their supremacy or when oppressed by others. Thus, bravery and chivalrous was the cause of many wars which could have been easily avoided. War was also fought for glory—for power and prestige, acquisition of territory and establishment of sovereignty. The Rājasūya and Aśvamedha sacrifices were performed by most of the kings, who though themselves to be too powerful. Whenever the king was more concerned to get himself recognized as a sovereign, he used to perform Aśvamedha sacrifice where he did not think for annexing the territory of the other state but only to have annual tribute. In the battles for Aśvamedha sacrifice challenges were sent to the kings through whose territory the horse passed either to acknowledge the suzerainty or to fight.

The wars were of two kinds: righteous war (dharmayudha) and treacherous war (kūṭayudha). The dharmayudha was fought

65. T. B. Mukherjee, Kauṭilya’s Concept of Diplomacy, pp. 85 & 34-35.
in accordance with the laws of war but in *kūṭayudha* all these rules were to be violated according to the circumstances. The laws of the war were humanized and the people were advised to show kindness to their enemies. Slaughter of enemies was not the aim but the aim was to win success with as little oppression and slaughter as possible. No attempt was made to prejudice or destroy completely the political and economic activities of the conquered. There was not to be any dictated peace but there was to be a treaty as between two equals. Thus, the laws of war were very elaborate and humane.

But it would be unrealistic to pretend that war in ancient India was always fought in accordance with the noble principles of combat laid down in many of the Dharmaśāstras. Treachery, brutality and utter viciousness are also advocated by ancient Indian political thinkers. Kautilya also reiterates the necessity of disregarding laws of war for success. He says that if the circumstances are in favour of invader himself he may undertake an open fight otherwise a treacherous fight. His advice is a clear transgression of the traditional code of international morality. He, however, does not eulogize *kūṭayudha*, he seems to have

reserved his judgement. Kāmandaka, however, openly extolled the practice of *kūṭayudha*. Śukra\(^68\) is also vociferous about the expediency of an unrighteous warfare. The same view is also expressed by Bhīṣma.\(^69\)

The rules laid down for unrighteous war (*kūṭayudha*) permitted attack at any time and under all circumstances, the enemy state was to be devasted, trees were to be cut, and crops and stores were to be burnt down, civilians were to be taken into captivity. Many of these calamities occurred when Aśoka conquered and annexed Kaliṅga and it may well be assumed that they were to some extent inseparable from all warfare in the post-Christian period. The prevalence of such wars is evident also from the medieval inscriptions from Karnatak at the time. A later work *Mānasollāsa*\(^70\) (c. 1140 A.D.) refers to several varieties of the *kūṭayudha*. In *Deśanāsaka* warfare villages were burnt down, in *Janāṅgachhedaka* warfare enemy subjects were mutilated, in *Gograha* warfare cattle were carried away, in *dhānykaraṇa* warfare corn was plundered, in *Bandigraha* warfare traders and wealthy men were imprisoned, in

\(^{68}\)  Śukraṇītisāra, I. 350.

\(^{69}\)  *Mbh.*, XII. 140.

\(^{70}\)  *Mānasollāsa*, II. 1038-82.
Sathanadāha warfare house and palaces were burnt. Manu also advises that the infrastructure of the economy of the enemy should be systematically destroyed.

The law-givers have dealt in detail the plan as regards encamping and organizing the army and also conducting the offensive and defensive operations but have not properly discussed the effects of the wars. The wars whether conducted for digvijaya or some other reasons effected the economy of both the states, i.e. victor and vanquished. These effects which took place even before the war (during preparations) and as well as after the war have been discussed below under different headings.

1. Effects on Digvijayin's Economy:

The effects of war on the digvijayin's economy may be divided under the following heads.

(a) Effects During Preparation of War:

In order to plan war, the ancient writers have discussed the economic problems arising from the wars and expeditions of the kings. The kings who were desirous of establishing their supremacy raised a big powerful army to attack on the enemy's state. We find mention that Chandragupta Maurya had army of six lakhs of foot soldiers, thirty thousand cavalry and nine thousand elephants. Harṣa

71. Manusmṛti., VII. 196.
in his march against the murderer of his elder brother had five thousand elephants, two thousand horses and fifty thousand foot soldiers and after six years he had sixty thousand elephants and one lakh cavalry. The ancient Indian writers were aware that a lot of money was required for to build up strong armed forces, a network of spies, vital roads, forts and arms and equipments. For the purpose the king must build up a rich treasury. Therefore, the king declaring it a war emergency taxed his people heavily to enrich the state treasury which greatly affected the economic condition of the people.

Secondly, to raise a big army for the war the farmers and artisans were forced to join military forces under the situation of a war emergency. But due to this recruitment of the farmers and artisans in the army, their professions could not be looked after properly behind them and therefore, as a result they could not get a good yield of their crops and sufficient produce of their crafts respectively. It gave a serious set back to agriculture. Besides, making careful preparations for the ensuing war, the king is advised also to stock the state granaries so that there may not be a shortage of food stuff during the war. Accordingly the king asked his people to contribute a part of their grains stock to the state granaries keeping in view the emergency of war.
Thirdly the trade also did not remain unaffected. Our ancient Indian thinkers prescribed certain duties for the kings during calamities, of which war was obviously most common. Such duties are called āpaddhārma duties. To make preparations for the ensuring war, the kings are asked to collect money by other means also. They are asked to raise loans from the rich traders by visiting the towns and villages personally, with the promise to repay them after the calamity was over. It was required to enrich the treasury without which it was not possible to maintain a strong army for the ensuing war. These loans effected a lot the frequent trade activities of the traders in king's own state.

(b) Effects During March for War:

Whenever the huge army marched for war, the problem of food for army and also for horses an elephants took place even within his own territories and the territories of his feudatories. According to our ancient thinkers it was the proper time to invade in the month of Mārgasirṣa when the crops sown in the rains are ready. It shows that the fields falling on routes naturally were to be destroyed by

---

these armies because it was not possible for such huge armies to move or march in a limited area. It moved through different routes wherein the elephants and horses destroyed the crops eating and walking on the way. Whenever it took rest then the place where they camped crops around them did not seem to be safe. However, Manu maintains that the roads leading to the kingdoms of the enemy should carefully repaired so that the army and supply may be transported conveniently. But keeping in view the hugeness of the army it may fairly be assumed that it is not possible for such a huge army to move in a controlled way and limited area. Thus, it gave a set back to the agriculture of its own people by destroying their crops at large scale.

Since passport was necessary for foreigners entering the country in normal times, it is quite likely that all communications might have been stopped with the declaration of war. States must have naturally taken care to see that merchandise and provisions of their own country did not pass into the possession of the opponent to strengthen his fighting power. When, however, frontiers were extensive and administration inefficient, some amount for trade might have continued stealthily. There was blockade by sea and enemy ships were seized as happened at Kalyān in the Śaka-

75. Manusmṛti, VII. 184-85.
Sātavāhana war. Any way, due to war activities the trade and commerce of the invading state suffered a lot.

(c) Effects after War:

During the course of war many causalities take place. The farmers and the artisans who were forced to join military at the time of war, many of them are killed by the enemy forces in the war. After the war, it becomes a great problem for the dependents of these deceased as no-one is left behind to look after their professions and thus the established professions of these persons get a serious setback or rather vanished.

After becoming victorious or accomplishing digvijaya the digvijayin (vijigṣu) used to perform the Aśvamedha sacrifice. In fact the digvijaya was considered incomplete unless the horse sacrifice is performed. No religious significance was attached with it but it was a symbol of one's overlordship. This sacrifice was performed continuously for a long time and a big amount of state revenue was spent on it.

We know that in the great horse sacrifice of Pusyamitra Sunga, thousands of Brāhmaṇas were invited and lavishly rewarded by gifts. The amount spent in performing such sacrifices was absolutely a wastage of public money which

effected the treasury of the *digvijayin's* state.

2. Effects on Enemy's Economy:

In the case of *digvijaya* where a king wanted to establish his imperial sovereignty and to get annual tribute, normally the weaker kings accepted his suzerainty and agreed to pay him tributes without facing a war. Thus, the wise kings avoided wars. But if the invader was unrighteous, it was not possible to prevent a war and these unrighteous wars severally effected the economy of the enemy's state. These effects are discussed below in detail.

(a) Loss of Agriculture:

Kautilya\(^77\) maintains that a king should invade in the month of *Mārgasirṣa* when the crops sown in the rainy season are near reaping so that they may be utilized for the purpose of food for the army men and as well as for horses and elephants. Secondly, it was also a motive of the invader to destroy the crops of the enemy so that later may not get its yield. Bhīṣma rules that the crops, bridges, roads and forts, etc. of the enemy should be destroyed. But sometimes due to the fear of invasion the king who was to be attacked asked his people to destroy their crops, so that they may not fall into the hands of invader. Sometimes the land was left uncultivated due to the probabilities of war because

\(^{77}\) *Arthasastra*, IX, 1-7; X, 1-6.
the war-march was not for two or three days but months together as we have seen in regard to the Āśvamedha sacrifice where horse roamed for a year alongwith a huge army. In this regard Bhīṣma also asks Yudhiṣṭhir to destroy the crops in case it is impossible to reap and store them in the fort so that the food stuff may not be utilized by the invader's army. ⁷⁸ Among the farmers and other workers who joined army of their state at the time of war emergency many were killed in the battle-field which was also a loss to agriculture. Thus, as a result of war the defeated king lost his entire agricultural produce.

(b) Loss in Trade:

As far as the effects of war on trade relations are concerned trade becomes automatically invalid the moment war starts. Usually, the states regard those contracts as void which give help to the invader or in any way add to the resources of the enemy. Those contracts are also declared void which require intercourse or communication with enemy persons. Not only this, but at the time of attack the people of the invaded state cannot continue their trading activities even with the other states because of the fear that merchandise and provisions of their own country did not pass into the possession of the opponent to strengthen his

---

fighting powers. The cancellation of trading activities also caused a great loss to the economy of the defeated country.

(c) Loss of Industrial Production:

In ancient India there was a great variety of flourishing industries like metal industry, stone industry, textile industry, ceramic industry, wood industry, and so on. The most of the industries were worked by hand labour. At the time of war calamity, most of the artisans and workers engaged in these industries, stopped their work and joined army of their state to fight with the enemy. Thus, the industrial production stood paralyzed and the production in stock was also destroyed by the enemy forces. Those artisans and workers who were killed in the war was a loss to the industries and also to the families of the deceased persons.

(d) Destruction of Public and Private property and merciless burning of Towns and villages:

In most of the wars the invaders did not follow the rules of dharmavijaya but adopted the path of lobhavijaya and asuravijaya which were the categories of kūṭayudha. Under the rules of kūṭayudha the invader was allowed to attack at any time and under all circumstances; the enemy's state was to be devasted, trees were to be cut and crops and stores were to be burnt down, and civilians were to be taken
in captivity.\textsuperscript{79} In the Mahābhārata Bhīṣma also allows to the invader to destroy the crops, bridges, roads and forts, etc. of the enemy. According to Manu the infrastructure of the economy of the enemy should also be systematically destroyed.\textsuperscript{80} By adopting the methods of kūṭayudha the vijigīṣu in order to weakening or destroying the treasury of the enemy, burnt even the towns and villages mercilessly. It shows that the invader king made his best efforts to destroy the economy of the enemy.

(e) Loot:

The word 'loot' indicates towards something resembling goods of value seized in war or something taken by force or violence. We find that behind every conquest, there was not only the cause of superiority over enemy but it was also the will to gain something like money, land, slaves, chariots, riding animals, etc. On the part of vijigīṣu it is called 'booty'. As its 5/6 part was to be distributed among the free-booters according to their valour and rank, the soldiers of the invading army took interest in looting the enemy's state at large scale.

\textsuperscript{79} A.S. Altekar, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 298.
\textsuperscript{80} Manusmṛti, VII. 196.
(f) Tributes:

Income from defeated country is considered the best income for any state, therefore, it was natural for the conqueror to concentrate on it. After accepting the suzerainty of the conqueror the conquered had to pay tributes to his conqueror. During war there was a loss of agriculture, trade, industries etc. which lowered the income of the people. After the war, people of the defeated country were not in position to pay more taxes. But it was the question of state's survival, and therefore, they were forced to pay taxes. Thus, on the one hand they had loss of agriculture, trade and industry and on the other they were forced to pay heavy taxes.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion we may safely say that right from the origin of the state, treasury played an important role in the rise and decline of the states. The sound treasury is considered base of sound army. The taxation is stated the main source of filling treasury (koṣa). But many powerful kings defeated the weaker states and obtained tributes from them and compelled them to accept their supremacy. However, they achieved their goal of accomplishing digyājaya but the wars conducted by them effected the economy of both the states adversely.