CHAPTER IV

Economic Life

Section (i) : Agriculture

From the earliest times Agriculture was the most important occupation of the vast majority of the Indian people. Excavations at various Harappan sites have proved that majority of the well-known agricultural products were known to the people of those days. The Vedic literature contains the names of almost all the major agricultural products. A passage of the Sataratha Brahmana mentions the following popular products - vrihi, vave, tila, masha, anu, priya, godhuma, mesuca, khala and kala. The epic – Puranic literature also throws a flood of light on the advanced stage of agriculture, particularly in northern India. A very useful list of agricultural products is given in that great medieval text, namely the Susruta Samhita. The Jain works also of our period not only give us sufficient information on agricultural products, but also enlighten us on several other things connected with agriculture.

Our Smrti texts prescribe that the Brahmans and Kshatriyas should always shun the agricultural profession. But in actual practice sometimes persons belonging to higher casts did not hesitate to become farmers. But the Jatakas and the Pancatantra know of Brahmana agriculturalists. It is
quite natural that a vast majority of the Brahmanas, who lived in villages, could not permanently avoid this particular profession. A few fortunate and wealthy members of the two higher castes could afford to keep labourers and slaves, but not the ordinary Brahmanas, who were not lucky enough to receive royal favours. It further appears that majority of the Vaisyas of this period were attracted towards trade, and agriculture therefore was left largely to the Sudras. This explains why the 7th-century traveller Yuan Chwang observes that the Sudras, in his time, looked after agricultural operations and the Vaisyas were mainly traders who "barter commodities and pursue gain far and near". However, it is somewhat surprising that even in the 10th century A.D. according to Jain Somadeva a Vaisya should pursue agriculture and cattle-rearing along with trade. But it appears from the testimony of Yuan Chwang that the Vaisyas confined their interest only to trade, in the post-Gupta period.

The Jain writers do not approve of the profession of agriculture as it involves the killing of innumerable insects; but as is evident from most of the Jain texts, agriculture was in the early medieval period the profession of the majority of the Indians. Different terms were used from early period to denote a farmer or agriculturalist. The Prakrit word gahavai (i.e. ghanati), it appears, demonstrates an affluent farmer-cum-householder.
in the Jain canonical texts and have another word for farmer viz. kudumbia (i.e. kutumbin) which also means a farmer. The Amarakosa has four names for the farmer viz. kshatriya, kshanka, kshita, and kshibala. The Nisitha Curni refers to the karmakaras i.e. agricultural labourers, who enjoyed a better status than the slaves.

The valuable 7th century Jain commentary called the Nisitha Curni of Jinadasa not only throws light on the ordinary varieties of food-grains like sugarcane, barley, rice etc., but also on the connected problems regarding agricultural operations, land problems and related things. A passage of this text seems to imply that the theory of state-ownership of land was not always valid in ancient India. N. Sen was the first to draw our attention to this passage according to which a garden (arama) could be purchased by any one including the Vanik (trader), gotthi (corporation), or king (rana). Here the mention of the purchase of garden by the king (raya), according to her, implies that all land did not belong to the king as he too, had to purchase a piece of land. But this particular word can also mean a kshatriya. Such examples of a king or a prince purchasing a land are not rare in ancient times. The king was technically the lord of the land and this is the opinion of both the Greek writers and Kautilya. Strabo, quoting Megasthenes, declares "the whole of the country is of royal ownership and the
farmers cultivate it for a rental in addition to paying a fourth part of the produce". Kautilya (apparently a contemporary of Megasthenes), also says practically the same thing in his _Arthasastra_, where he declares that _janapada_ (kingdom) is one of the elements of sovereignty. In the section entitled 'Sitedhyaksha' (the superintendent of agriculture) Kautilya also indirectly speaks of king's right on land. It appears from the classical writers that the farmers on the agriculturalists enjoyed a high status in society and they were never treated as slaves. Strabo (quoting Megasthenes) represents the farmers not only as numerous in India but also the most highly respected. He also mentions "their exemption from military service and right of freedom in their farming". This clear observation on the part of both Megasthenes and Strabo should destroy all misconceptions regarding the actual status of farmers in the Indian society. The Jain and Buddhist works, both canonical and non-canonical, refer often to rich farmers, belonging to various castes. As at present, the farmers in those days depended mostly on rains for a good crop. The agricultural operations generally started with the advent of the rainy season. The absence of rain sometimes created famine conditions as evident from an account given by Udyotenasuri. The _Avyavaka Cūrṇī_ (7th century) twice mentions famines lasting for a long time once in the Uttarapatha and another time in Dakshinapatha. The _Vyavahāra-bhashya_ also gives a vivid picture of famine.
in which the people were forced to sell their children.

Famines due to crop failure, locust-menace, or other factors are mentioned even in the Vedic literature. Due to this menace there was a terrible failure of crop in the Kurjjanapada. The Buddhist and Brahmanical texts also often refer to crop failures and the Kathasaritsagara, particularly, refers to starvation deaths due to crop failure. The other Jain works also refer to famine due to the same cause.

The Jain works of our period also mention several types of agricultural implements like hala, kuliva and jamala. These are also mentioned in Akalanka's commentary on Tattvārthadīgama-sūtra. According to the Nisītha Cūṇḍa kulita was a type of grass-cutting wooden instrument used particularly in Gujarat area (Saurashtra region) and it measured two hastas (hands) i.e. a metre and had iron rails fixed at the end, along with an iron plate attached to it. The same text, as noted by M. Sen mentions other implements like datre (sickle), axe (kubēda), hatchet (sattara), scissors (pippalaga), knives (churīva) etc. The word lāṅgala in the sense of hala appears even in the Vedic literature. The Prakrit word for it in Jain literature is pāṅgala, which occurs in the 7th century Āvasyaaka Cūṇḍa.

Irrigation facilities were available to
Indian farmers from very early times. From the Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman we know that Candragupta Maurya (4th cent. B.C.) first excavated a tank called Sudarsana for the benefit of common people and also farmers. Afterwards it was repaired in the 2nd century and also in the 5th century as we learn from the Junagarh inscription of Skandagupta. The Kalatarangini also speaks of engineer Suyya's irrigational activities which immensely benefited farmers of Kashmir in the 9th century. Vimala's famous Jain text, namely the Paumacaritam speaks of irrigation of land by artificial means when it refers to the Persian-wheel (arahatta ghadianta). The Misatha Curn also contains references to irrigation of land. In this connection we have an interesting passage in the commentary of the Brhatkalrabhashya according to which rainfall was the main source of irrigation in the Lata country, while in the Sindhudesa the Ksetras were watered by rivers and in Dravida from ponds and in the Uttarapatha, from wells (Niva or Kina). The same text divides the fields into two groups, namely satu and katu, the former being irrigated by means of wells and the latter by rain-water. As we have already observed the agriculturalists were treated as free citizens, but they sometimes had to employ forced labour-called dasa or bhavaga kammakara. Kautilya in his Arthasastra recommends the employment of fixed labourers...
and slaves in the agricultural fields.

The 10th-century writer Somadeva in his _Nitivākyamṛta_ has advised the king to deal carefully with his farmers. Somadeva is conscious of the fact that the prosperity of kings depends on the well-being of the farmers. That in the early medieval or post-Gupta period India enjoyed great agricultural prosperity is proved by the very important testimony of Yuan Chwang. That Chinese pilgrim has described in several places the abundance of various types of crops in different _janapadas_ of India. We are giving below some of the agricultural products of different _janapadas_ as noted by Yuan Chwang.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Janapadas</th>
<th>Products</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Lampaka</td>
<td>1. Upland Rice and Sugar-cane.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Gandhara</td>
<td>2. Several types of seeds, fruits, Sugar-cane and Sugar-candy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Kashmir</td>
<td>5. All types of fruits.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Janapadas: Products.

9. Jalandhar: Upland Rice, several types of fruits and other grain.

10. Vairat: Spring Wheat and a rice which grew in 60 days (shashtika).


14. Varanasi: All types of agricultural products including fruits.

15. Vaishali: Mangoes, plantains and other types of fruits.


17. Kamarupa: Jack-fruit and cocoa.

Even a very casual perusal of Yuan Chwang's account would convince a reader that the soil of different janapadas was not fertile, but was carefully maintained. Some of the agricultural products noted by Yuan Chwang are still produced in those places, even to this day. For example, much sugar is produced in the Allahabad region, and Patna (Magadha) is still famous for its excellent rice.

The Jain works of our period contain the names of various agricultural products, quite a number
of which have been mentioned by earlier Brahmanical writers. A good list of agricultural products is to be found in the 8th-century work entitled the Nisithabhashya. The list contains twenty-four names - java, gohuma, sali, vihi, satthiya, kodava, anva, kusma, rala, tile, maga, mesa, atasi, harimanthe, miruda, nippha, alisande, mesa, (another name pandara cavalasa) ikku, masura, tavari, kalattha, dhanaga, and kala. In this list several names are those of different varieties of rice. Sali was a very popular name of superior variety of rice and is mentioned by almost all early writers including Kautilya, Varahamihira and Utpala. In the Brhat Samhita, the names of twenty varieties of sali rice are given. Utpala calls sali the Saradhanva or the most nourishing rice. The Hisitha Gurni of the 7th century mentions it. It is also mentioned in the Adipurana of Jinasena and Yasastilaka of Somadeva. Kalama, which according to Garaka, was a variety of sali rice is mentioned prominently by Jinasena and Somadeva. Jinadasa in his Hisitha Gurni refers to Kalama rice. As noted by Prof. J.C. Jain, the Kalama is mentioned in the Jain Anga text, the Upasakadasa and it was grown in eastern India. Quite naturally, the Jain Angavijaya, written in western India, does not know this type of rice, although Kalidasa is familiar with it. Vihī, mentioned in the above quoted list of the Nisithabhashya was the name of a very high quality rice and is recognised even in the Vedic texts as a superior quality rice. It is mentioned in several Jain works including the
Panmacarigam, the Angavilā, the Adipurāna, the Nisitha Garni, etc. That last mentioned work, as M. Sen notes, refers to a kind of gneul, prepared from the parched vṛhi rice. Satthiya, mentioned in the Nisitha Bhāṣya, list was a kind of rice which took sixty days to ripening. The 7th-century Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang actually refers to this kind of rice, which was ready for cutting in sixty days. This kind of rice is also mentioned by both Suśruta and Caraka, as śaśtiṣka. According to Cakrapani, the commentator of Carakaśāñhitā, this ripened in the month of āśamanta (Oct.-Nov.), śaśtiṣka in the summer months and vṛhi in autumn. An inferior variety of rice called kɔddfava, as we have already seen, in mentioned in the above quoted passage. This was meant for the consumption of the poor people, and it is also referred to in the Angavilā quite prominently. It is also mentioned by Suśruta and is called a rice of the poor people. Kangu, mentioned in the above list of Nisitha Bhāṣya, is according to the Suśruta, a kind of śaśtiṣka rice. Yet another kind of rice viz. svamaka, is mentioned both in the Adipurāna and the Vasastilaka of Somadeva. This particular variety, it is interesting to note, is also mentioned by Kālidāsa in his Abhijñākuntakā. According to Suśruta, svamaka is an inferior type of rice.

Wheat was also eaten by people of earlier times and its general name was godhuma. It is mentioned for
the first time in the later Vedic texts. It is frequently mentioned in the Brhatasamhita and according to Kautilya, it should be sown at the end of the season. The Nisita Gurni shows intimate acquaintance not only with wheat (Prakrit gohuma) but refers to traders dealing in wheat. A number of food preparations were made from wheat like kha.iiaga, mandaga etc. The Jain Angavi.ii.i.a also mentions wheat. Yuan Chwang, it is interesting to note, mentions wheat grown in Takka i.e. central Punjab.

Yava or barley was also considered like wheat and rice as a staple food. The Angavi.ii.i.a mentions it and it is also known to much earlier authorities, including the poets of the Rgveda. It is natural that the Jain authors should show their intimate acquaintance with this particular agricultural product. The Nisita Gurni not only knows but refers to various food preparations from it. Saktu and anparg are specifically mentioned. Saktu, however, was popular food item from much earlier times and even the Rksamhita knows it. Haribhadra's Somaratocakha and Somadeva's Yasastilakacampa mentions this very popular food product.

Various types of pulses were widely cultivated in the early period. In the Nisita Bhashya list, mentioned above, we have several varieties. Migga is mentioned in almost all our earlier texts and the Jain authors also have mentioned it. The Angavi.ii.i.a mentions it in its very useful
and detailed list of agricultural products. Another early Jain authority viz., Vimala's Paumacarivan has mentioned this particular pulse which was widely cultivated. According to Kantilya, mudga and masha should be sown only after the rains. It is mentioned several times in the Brhatsamhita.

The Kuvalavaman of Udyotana, composed in Paka 700, mentions this particular agricultural product and it is also referred to by Jinadasa. Regarding masha pulse, Jinadasa gives us the interesting story according to which a soup of the masha pulse was mistaken as that of flies by a school boy. The Brhatsamhita repeatedly refers to it. It is also mentioned in the Arthasastra of Kantilya. Vimala in his Paumacarivan mentions several other types of pulses including masura, nippava, harimamtha (gram), tavari, kalattha, kalava, canaka etc., are also mentioned in the Jain texts of our period. Some of them are also mentioned in the list of food grains given in the Hidatha Bhashva quoted above. The Angavija refers to pulses like masura, canaka, nippava, kalattha, kalava etc., some of which have also been mentioned by Hemacandra in his Abhidhanacintamani. They are masura (lentil), mudga (kidney-bean), masha (black-gram) canaka (chick pea) kalava (pea). It should be remembered that both Hemacandra and the author of the Angavija lived in Western India and it is quite natural for them to mention identical field crops. The Brhatsamhita also knows masura, kalava, kalattha, canaka etc.

Ikshu (sugar-cane) was another very popular
agricultural product. All the earlier authorities including Fanini, Kautilya, Kalidasa etc., refer to it. The Brhatasamhita not only refers it, but also mentions sugar-cane forests called Ikshuvana. According to Kautilya, the cultivation of sugar-cane is very difficult for they are subject to various evils and require much care and expenditure to reap. The Nisitha Brhatya list, quoted above, mentions ikshu and the Nisitha Corpi not only knows ikshu but also shows acquaintance with ikshu jamba (juice-extracting machine).

Various products such as guda (treacle) phanita (inspissated juice of sugarcane), khanda (unrefined sugar), sarkara (granulated sugar) and maccandivas (sugar-candy) etc., were made out of the sugarcane. Two varieties of guda viz., chidamuda have also been mentioned. Macchandiva, according to Caraka and Sārūtra, was a kind of sugar-candy, the crystals of which, were round in shape, like a fish's egg. Earlier authorities like Kautilya also mention these varieties of sugar.

This sugar was used to prepare different kinds of mouth-watering sweets and cakes. Out of these, anupas or niwas (cakes made of rice or barley-meal and cooked in clarified butter over a slow fire) appears to have been most popular. The niwas were sold at the confectioner's shop, which was specially known as piviyaschara. Gavamanma or gavamuna...
(Skt. 
chrtamula) or havipuya (Skt. havishpura) was another sweet preparation made with fine wheat flour mixed with milk and fried in ghee. According to Suśruta, small pieces of coconut were also added to it. Jinadasa, the author of the 
Nisitha Gurni mentions several other sweet-meats like ittaga (istaga) (probably made from barley mixed with ghee and molasses), khaiagas, mandagas, laddugas (sweet-balls prepared from rice flour or pulse), tila-madagas (sweet-balls made with sesamum seeds), morandagas, nāvāgīnas or nāvīnas (small cakes of rice or wheat-flour), dashkuli or parpati etc. However, the most favourite sweet-dish was nāvasa (made of milk) which was commonly served during feasts.

Yuan Chwang also mentions the cultivation of sugarcane very significantly at Kausambi, as we have already noted earlier.

Other agricultural products included the cultivation of oil-seeds and oil (tella) was commonly used as a substitute for butter or ghee. Some of the oil-seeds mentioned are atagi (linseed), eranda (castor-seeds), ingudi sarshapa (mustard) and tīla (sesamum). Sesamum oil (kharasapha) was extensively used. That mustard oil, too, was a fairly common cooking medium, amongst the people, is also borne out by the testimony of Yuan Chwang, himself.

Amongst other farm produce, a large variety
of fruits and vegetables have been mentioned by Jinadasa. The list of fruits include the following: a) amalaka, b) ámra, amba or rasāla (mango), c) badara, d) cinca (tamarind), e) dādāra (pomegranate), f) drakṣa, muddita or mṛdkīka (grapes) g) kadali or kavaleka (banana), h) karitha, i) kāranrda, j) karīra, k) kharīra (dates), l) matulunga, m) talaphal, n) tamduna, and udumbara. Undoubtedly the mango was the most popular fruit, though eaten in great quantity caused cholera (visūckika). Various types of drinks and beverages were made from fruits like mangoes, grapes, tamarind etc. Four distinct processes for ripening fruits have been mentioned in the Nisitha Curni. Those fruits like mangoes were ripened by covering them with husk and straw (imdhana). Fruits like tamduna and others underwent a heating process (ṣūna) for the purpose of ripening by being stored in hollows in the ground. Another method of ripening involves the mixing of the raw fruits with ripe ones (gandha). Lastly, fruits which ripened naturally on trees (vaccha). The forests yielded a rich harvest of fruits, and the people transported them to villages and towns in carts or wagons. India, in the early medieval period grew a rich variety of fruits is also evident from the description of Yuan Chwang, that learned Chinese pilgrim.

Vegetables, too, were an important items of the diet and āhāra (food) eaten with vegetables was believed
to be easily digested. An interesting list of vegetables is given in the *Nisitha Curni*. These are: a) *alabu* or *lau*, b) *asuri*, c) *kalaya* (field-pea), d) *kovidara*, e) *kusthipha* (safflower), f) *laguna* (garlic root), g) *mulaga* (radish), h) *nimba* (Margosa tree), i) *nipphave* (flat beans), j) *palamdu* (onion), k) *sana*, l) *sarisesava* (mustard), m) *nilupplela* (blue lótus) and n) *valumka* (cucumber).

Leafy vegetables were generalised as *gaka* or *gaga*. Certain vegetables, like onion (*palamdu*) and garlic (*lau*), were abhorred by the Jains. This distaste for the above two vegetables may be traced to even earlier times. Fa-hien, another Chinese traveller who visited India during the Gupta period, informs us that onion and garlic were eaten only by Cándalas. The contemporary Chinese travellers, Yuan Chwang, and I-ťsing also note that the people generally avoided the consumption of onion and garlic.

Thus, we see that the Jain works of our period not only give us an invaluable picture of the system of agriculture adopted by the people of early medieval India, but also of the wide range of crops harvested by them.
Trade formed an integral part of the economic life of the ancient Indians from very early times. It has been claimed that our earliest traders were Panis, mentioned in the Rigvedic literature. That some sort of trade was in vogue, in the early Vedic period, is proved by passages, according to which an image of Indra could be bought by ten cows. However, it is in the Atharvaveda that we find a more clear picture of commercial life. A particular hymn of that text is directed to procuring success in trade. The word 'vani' meaning the son of vani in the Vaisnavi Sambhita proves the existence of a hereditary business community, during the time of the composition of the later Vedic texts. As the authors of the Vedic Index have observed the haggling in the market was already familiar in the days of the Rigveda.

The two epics show that trade and commerce had attained a very developed stage during the time of their composition. Thus the city of Ayodhya has been described in the Ramayana as inhabited by merchants of different countries and the city of Mathura has been recognised as a great trading centre, with shops brimming with commodities and inhabited by a large member of people, including traders.
The Mahabharata not only refers to traders in general but also to the sarthas \(^{174}\) who used to go to distant places with their commodities. We are further told that the leader of these sarthas was known as sarthavaha.\(^ {175}\) We further learn that the team of the sarthas, led by the sarthavaha, had domesticated animals like cows, donkeys, camels, horses with them. Apparently, these animals carried the wares, belonging to the party. It is also interesting to note that yanji and sartha are recognised here as interchangeable words. Therefore it is apparent that in very early times the traders, or more correctly sarthas, led by sarthavahases were responsible for carrying on inter-state trade in India.

The Buddhist literature and especially the Jatakas, and also the Jain canonical texts refer repeatedly to big business magnates, who were called setthis. One such merchant was Anathapindika of Sravasti, who was not only a great businessman, but also at the same time, an influential personality of Prasenajit's kingdom. We have also references to some other prominent merchants of Varanasi and Rajagrha in the Pali literature. The expression janapada-setthis \(^ {177}\) in a Jataka story proves that in the villages also there were people of this class. The Jatakas often refer to the Sarthavahases with 500 caravans and we have the expression culla or cullakasetthis in the Jatakas.\(^ {178}\)
The Jain canonical texts also refer to wealthy traders. One such trader or merchant was Ānanda of Vaniyagama (near Vaiśāli). Another satthavāha was Dhanna mentioned in the Mayādharmakāhā. A third merchant (vānī) was Pārita of Gampa who went, according to the Uttarādhyayana, to a town called Pihunda by a big ship (neta, Prakriṭ poa). The merchant (satthavāha) Dhanna, who belonged to Gampa, we are told, went to Ahicchatra (Ahicchatta) for business. This shows that even in Mahāvira's time, merchants undertook long business trips. Such examples can easily be multiplied, both from Buddhist and the Jain canonical texts.

The Arthasastra of Kautilya also throws considerable light on the internal trade of India in the Mauryan period. The important commodities included blankets (for which Nepala was famous), dukula (for which Vaiśāla and Paundra were famous), other types of cotton (for which Varanasi, Mathura, Aparanta, Kalinga, Vatsa, Mahisha etc., were famous), and various types of diamonds, borses, wines etc. It is apparent from the Arthasastra that almost all the important janapadas and towns were commercially connected with one another.

The Paumacariyaṇa of Vimala also contains a lot of information on internal trade and commerce.
The aar-thavahas are mentioned and we are told that they had to traverse dreadful forests. Elsewhere we have words like vanîya (trader), vanîja (trade) and avâna (Sanskrit avâna meaning shop or market). Dealers in liquid, poison and gems have been mentioned. Rajâgra has been represented like the Buddhist and Jain canonical texts as a great centre of trade and commerce. In one place, a merchant of Gajapura (Hastinapura) has been described as visiting Saksta (Ayodhya), loading his merchandise on male-buffaloes.

In the Gupta period also, as the evidence supplied by Kalidâsa proves, there was intense trading activity all over India. In one passage of the Baguvânta, the mineral resources of Kamarûpa have been mentioned. Elsewhere in the same poem, the pearl-fisheries of Tamraparnâ have been referred to. Both Kautilya and Kalidâsa have mentioned Kâlinga as the source of elephants. This proves that in other towns and markets of India the above-mentioned things and domesticated animals were regularly traded.

The Jain texts of our period also supply a lot of information on internal trade and commerce of India. The Nisitha Gurni refers to two main types of trading centres, namely jilapattans (pattans) and
thalapattanas (Sthalapattana). Purana and Diva are cited as the classic types of Jalapattana. Anandapura in Gujarat is referred to as a good example of Sthalapattana. As the name indicates, the Sthalapattanas were trading centres, situated far from water-ways. Another type of trading centres namely the Dronamukhas, which were served both by land and water are mentioned in the same text.

The Vṛtti on Brhatkalaṇa states that Bhrgukaccha and Tamralipta are two examples of Dronamukha towns. The Nisitha Cūrṇi further gives the very significant information that the nigamas are exclusively inhabited by merchants (vāniyā).

In this connection, it should be pointed out, that the term nigama itself means a caravan or company of merchants.

The Putabhadana is explained in the Nisitha Cūrṇi as trade emporiums, where the packages of the trade articles were received and sold.

Two types of trade articles are mentioned by Jinadāsa, namely those brought from villages within the state and those from other kingdoms. Similarly, the merchants also belonged to two different groups, namely who had their own shops and who had no definite shops (Vivani).

The latter were wandering merchants, who travelled from village to village selling their commodities. Joint enterprise in trade (gambhāga) has also been mentioned and epigraphs repeatedly mention several types of guilds.
or corporate bodies. This text also lays stress on caravan-trade, on which we have already made some observation. It has been observed that sometimes the sārthavahas were senior trade officers and the state bore some responsibility for the safety of the merchants under their leader, namely the sārthavaha. The Nāṭha Guta, it is interesting to note, mentions five types of caravans (sattha), namely those who carried their goods by carts or waggons, those who used camels and bullocks to convey merchandise, those who carried loads by themselves, those who travelled from place to place and paid for their food and the Karotika ascetics. There is little doubt that the unprecedented prosperity of India, during this period was largely due to the activities of the sārthavahas and the organised guilds.

The Samarālīcakāhā/Haribhadra also gives us some more information on internal trade. In this connection it uses the word hattika in the sense of market, and even now, this word is used in slightly different forms in several vernaculars of India. In the Khalimpur copper plate of Dharmapāla (of the 8th century) we have the word hattika, which is the same as hatta. It is also apparent from the same work of Haribhadra that agricultural products like wheat, rice, milk, ghee, vegetables and cotton products etc., were easily available in such markets or hattas.
The Brhatkaloabhaṣya of Sanghadāsa mentions Ujjaini and Surparaka as great centres of commerce. According to it, Surparaka (modern Sopara in Maharashtra) was inhabited by 500 tradesmen (nagana). The Avasyaka Cūpī represents merchants of Mathura as going to Southern Mathura (Modwa) on business. We have already seen that even according to the Rāmāyaṇa and the Paumagasrīva, Mathura was a great centre of commerce. The same text, written by Jinaḍesa, mentions Vasantapura (in Rajasthan) as a centre of merchants. Elsewhere in the Avasyaka Cūpī, Dwāraka (Bāravai) is mentioned as a centre of trade.

The Kuvalayamalā, another work of the 3rd century, throws a flood of light on internal trade of India in those days. It not only refers to some great centres of trade like Surparaka, Vijayapuri, Pratishthana etc., but also on the items of trade. The word hatta, mentioned in the Samarālocakāha, is also known to the author of this text, and at the same time, it describes the Vipani-marga (the main market road) of the city of Vinitā (Ayodhya). In this road were shops of almost all available commodities including food products, cotton, silk, ornaments, weapons, wine and various other things. A merchant of another place was usually very cordially welcomed by local merchants; as far example, the Kuvalayamalā describes the hearty reception given to a merchant of Takshasila by his counterparts at Surparaka. This particular
work also refers to the feeling of solidarity among the merchants of Sūrpāraka. From the conversation of those merchants, given in this text, we learn that the trademen of this place used to visit regions like Kosala, Uttarapatha, Purvadesa, Dvāraka, Rakkhakūla, Svapnadvīpa, Cīna, Mahācīna, Ratnadvīpa etc.

Several trade-routes are mentioned in the Kuvalavāmālā, among which the following are important:

1) The route connecting Vārāṇasi with Pratishthana on the Godāvari. (ii) The road from Takṣashilā to Sūrpāraka. (iii) The road from Sūrpāraka to Dvāraka. (iv) The road from Pātaliputra to Kausambi. (v) The road from Cāmpā to Tamralipta. (vi) Ayodhya to Sammata mountain. (vii) The ancient route from Cāmpā to Sravasti. (viii) Rākandī to Hastināpurā. and (ix) Hastināpurā to Rajagṛha. There is little doubt that there were hundreds of other trade-routes, although the same text repeatedly refers to attacks by the aboriginal tribes. The Unāmittihavaprapančakathā, another Jain text of the first quarter of the 10th century, refers to the fear of the merchants from the robbers. The Brhatkathakosa also refers to merchants being way-laid by robbers on highways. The Kāthasaritstāparāṇa often refers to the murderous attacks of Sabaras and Pulindas on traders on these roads.
The Brhatkathakosa of Harishena also furnishes considerable data on trade in this country during the early 10th century. A story entitled Carudattakatha tells us that the merchant called Carudatta of Campa bought a lot of cotton (Karpasa) from Utkala country (Orissa) in order to sell them in Tamralipta, the great port of Bengal. It also refers to the activities of the Sarthas, who used to operate in high road connecting Tamralipta with Orissa.

In several other places of the present work, we have stories regarding the activities of merchants. According to one story the Sarthvahas of Ujjayini used to visit Dakshinapatha for trade. However, a number of stories show that the law and order situation deteriorated considerably in the 10th century, and even some of the well-known high-roads were infested with decoits.

Somadeva in his Yasastilakacampu has also thrown some light on the internal trade conducted in his time. For high commercial centre he has used the term painthasthan, which housed hundreds of separate shops. Such commercial centres were well-protected by the state authorities.

In his Mitivakyamrta also Somadeva has mentioned pitha and has further commented that well-maintained pithas were a good source of revenue for the king. The same writer also refers to Sarthavahas visiting Kalinga, Tamralipta, Yaudheya Sankhapura (probably near Ayodhya) etc.
The Vedic texts prove that the early Indians had definite knowledge regarding the sea and the reference to the boats with hundred oars show that sophisticated, big boats could be built indigenously. However, not much is known from either the Vedas, or the epics, regarding foreign trade, and it is only in the canonical texts of the Buddhists and the Jains, that we do get some idea regarding trade. The two great sea-ports of Western India, namely Bhrgukacca and Surpâraka are prominently mentioned in the Jatakas. The Mahajanaka Jataka refers to the trade between Campâ and Suvarna-bhûmi and in another Jataka we have a reference to the sea-trade between Bhrgukacca and Suvarnabhûmi. It is therefore, clear that the early Indian traders used to visit Suvarnabhûmi from both the coasts of India.

The Jain canonical work, namely Nâyâdharmakâbhâ shows acquaintance with sea-voyage and like the Mahajanaka Jataka, it refers to the journey towards the East Indies from Campâ. We are told by the author of this text how a merchant called Ahranâga with other merchants went to the sea from Campâ. Elsewhere in the same text, we get a vivid description of a ship-wreck. The merchant Tamali is represented in the Bhagavati as a resident of the port-city of Tamalitti. Thus we find that the three ports, namely Bhrgukacca, Surpâraka and Tamralipta were used by sea-faring merchants even from the pre-Maurya period.
That by the first century A.D., India played a lending part in international trade is proved beyond doubt by the very valuable evidence of the *periplus*, written before 80 A.D. That work not only mentions a number of sea-ports, but also numerous items of export and import. It is of great interest to note that among the types of Indian boats, mentioned in this work, at least three can be recognised in the Jain text, called the *Angaviṅga*. They are *trappaga*, *cotymba* and *sangara*. In the *Angaviṅga* we have the terms *tappaka*, *kottimba* and *sangīda*. It is of great interest to note that these boats are called 'large boats' by the author of the *periplus*, although according to the *Angaviṅga*, they are only boats of middle-size (*mājhi-maṅga*). The largest boats according to it, were *nāva* (*nāva*) and *pota*. The author of the *periplus* mentions a very large vessel made of 'single logs bound together', called *Colandia*, which according to it, made voyages to Chryse (Malacca peninsula) and to the Ganges. There is no doubt that *Colandia* was a *pota* type of merchant vessel, mentioned in the *Angaviṅga* and identical with the 'large merchant ship' mentioned by *Hsien* by which he left the shore of Tāmralipta for Ceylon.

That in the early Christian period, India had a very favourable balance of trade with the Roman world is proved not only by the discovery of a large number of Roman gold coins, but also by the testimony of the historian Pliny (1st century) who says that "in no year does India drain our empire of less than five hundred and fifty millions of sesterces ('equivalent to £1400,000 sterling')", giving back her own wares in exchange, which are sold among
us at fully one hundred times their prime cost". This statement from that famous Roman scholar is indirectly confirmed by the evidence of the author of the Periplus, who had a more close knowledge about both Indian shipping and trade.

The Jain texts of our period help us greatly in understanding the foreign trade policy of India in those days. The Māṇītha Cūraṇī gives us some idea regarding India's external trade, in which ports like Bharukaccha (Sanskrit Bhrgukacca), Puni (not far from Goa), Diva (South Saurashtra), Prabhāsa, Bārāvai (Dvārakā) played a prominent part. As already noticed, Bhrgukaccha (modern Bharuch in Gujarat and Barygaza of the Classical writers), emerged as a great city long before the beginning of the Christian era and the Periplus represents it as a port of supreme importance in the first century A.D. In other canonical Jain commentaries also this place is represented as an important port. The foreign merchants, according to the Māṇītha Cūraṇī regularly came to this place for trade. The Muslim writer Al -Idrisi (12th century) mentions its connection with China and describes it as a handsome town. This shows that Bhrgukacca continued as a great trading centre up to a very late period. It is interesting that the boat called Cotymba mentioned both in the Periplus, and the Anēvīḷī, is referred to as Kottimba in the Māṇītha Cūraṇī and represented as a small boat.
Haribhadra's *Samāricacakha* composed probably in the 2nd quarter of the 8th century, has represented Indian traders as going to distant countries like *Mahākataḥā*, *Cīna*, *Simhala*, *Suvarṇadvīpa* and *Ratnadvīpa*. It should be remembered that *Kāṭāḥā* or *Mahākataḥā* is also known to the author of the *Kathasarītasāgarā* who mentions it several times and it is the same as *Kadērem* of Tamil inscriptions and *Kāṭākṣa* of the *Brhatkathāmanjarī*. It is now identified with *Kedah*, in the Western coast of the Malay Peninsula.

Regarding *Suvarṇadvīpa* we can say this much that its name is preserved in the name of modern *Sumatra*.

*Ratnadvīpa* has been wrongly identified by Motichandra in his *Sarthavāha* with *Simhala*. It should be remembered that the *Samāricacakha* of Haribhadra clearly mentions them as two different geographical units, as we have already seen above. The much earlier Jain canonical text, namely the *Navadhammekāha* represents a merchant of *Campā* as visiting *Ratnadvīpa*, which suggests that it should be located somewhere in *Burma* or *Malay*.

The *Vasudevahīndi* which is a somewhat earlier work, describes the journey of the sea-faring merchant Gārudattra, who visited several adjoining foreign countries, including *Yavadvīpa*, *Simhala*, *Yavanadvīpa* and also the confluence of *Sindhu* and *Sagara*. So far as *Yavadvīpa* is concerned, it is mentioned even by Ptolemy (2nd century A.D),
which suggests its colonisation much before Ptolemy's time.

The Kuvalayamala, another 8th century Jain text, gives us a very faithful account of our early external trade. Several essential matters had to be completed before the departure of the ship. Firstly, the commodities to be taken in the ship, had to be collected and then the ship had to be properly built and decorated, and the merchandise had to be skilfully loaded on the ship. After that the astronomers had to be consulted for the auspicious moment and then other merchants, who wanted to go with the chief trader, were asked to board the ship. The Brahmins had to be fed and the favourite deities were invoked and then the fuel, food, sweet, water and other things were taken into the ship.

That the sea-faring merchants had to satisfy the kings of foreign lands by giving proper gift is clear not only from this text, but also from Amaravati sculptures. The paintings of Ajanṭa also show that the merchants had to keep local kings in good humour by giving them suitable gifts.

From ancient times the sea-faring merchants had to face the challenge of the pirates at sea. The Periplus, a work of the first century A.D., refers to sea-pirates near Chersonesus, which identified with modern Marvar. These sea-pirates of the Arabian Sea have also been mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy. Prof. Aiyangar is of the opinion that piracy was stopped by the Chera kings between
80 and 222 A.D. However, even in the works of the later period, we are told about sea-piracy. The 7th-century Jain text *Nisitha Cumi* distinctly refers to the sea-pirates, who captured men and deprived them of their belongings and kept on moving in their large boats (nava). The *Dasakumara-crita* of Dandin refers to sea-piracy in the eastern-coast near Tamralipta (Damalipta of the text). The *Kuvalayamalā* also mentions these sea-pirates by calling them Kusalacora. Al-Biruni, writing in 1030 A.D., also mentions the sea-pirates near the Gujarat coast. It has further been observed that because of their aggressive Arabs, the Indian merchants gradually gave up trading in the Western sea-coast and concentrated their attention only on the eastern sea-coast.

However, the early 10th century Jain poem, the *Brhatkathakosa* refers to trade-connections with Ratnadvipa. This work also mentions Indian traders as going to Simhala-divipa (Ceylon) for the sake of obtaining more wealth. It is interesting to note that in another place of this text, Simhala-divipa has been correctly described as situated near Dravida (present Tamil Nadu), which also contradicts Motichandra's identification of Simhala with Ratnadvipa. As we have already seen, the *Brhatkathakosa* also distinguishes Ratnadvipa from Simhala (Lanka). The commercial intercourse between Simhala and Ujjayini is also referred to in this text.

The *Tilakamaniari* of Dhanapala, written a little after 1000 A.D., portrays a very realistic picture
of sea-voyage. However, the voyage, described by Dhanapala has not much to do with trade. However, it proves that India was a great naval power in the 11th century and this is also corroborated by the naval victories of Rajaraja I and Rajendra Cola.

Indian traders also used overland routes to reach other countries. As early as 126 B.C., there was a trade route, which linked Southern China through upper Burma with Bactria. There was an overland route connecting Assam with China, and another route, used by Buddhist monks which connected Bihar, Tibet and China. Regarding the north-west route, it can be said with certainty, that it was used as early as the days of the Achaemenian emperors and Indian literature contains a list of articles which were obviously imported through this north-west route.

We get from the Jain Harivamsa of Jinasena II, composed in 783 A.D., some idea regarding the most difficult trade-route that connected India with Burma and other far-off territories, east of Burma. According to this account, the merchant Gaurudatta with his uncle Rudradatta went to Suvarṇadvipa after crossing the river Ālavaṭi, which is no doubt the present Irrawaddy in Burma. This is undoubtedly the earliest Indian literary reference to this great river, which was named after the famous Iravati of the Punjab. That this route was extremely difficult and full of rugged mountains, is also indicated in this poem. It appears
that afterwards this eastern overland route became more popular with the Indian merchants.

According to the Mañjuśrī-Mulakalpa, a contemporary Buddhist work, the people of Valabhi crossed the sea to reach the place, Sura. While emphasizing the economic prosperity of Valabhi, Dandin in his Desakumaracarita states that ships were owned even by private individuals in that well known city.

In spite of the dangers and difficulties confronting them, the merchants undauntedly pursued their trading activities, both inland and overseas, thereby playing a vital role in the economic prosperity of early medieval India.
Section (iii) : Coins

At the outset, it should be pointed out that in this period not many ruling dynasties of India issued gold coins. After the fall of the Guptas only a few rulers actually issued coins in gold. We have some gold coins of the post-Gupta period from eastern India and especially Bengal. A few gold coins of this period have also been discovered from U.P. A few debased gold coins of Sasanka and Harsha are also known, and for Harsha. It appears that Kalacuri Gangeya, who ruled in the first half of the 11th century, regularly issued gold coins. He placed four-armed Lakshmi on one side and his name Srigangayadeva in three lines in bold Nagari letters on the other. Later Afterwards, Candella, Gahadavala and Kashmir kings imitated Gangeya's coins. It should further be remembered that Gangeya's coins exist in all three metals. The Kalacuri kings of South Kosala also issued gold coins.

Regarding silver coins of this period, the position is much better. We have not only silver coins of Maukharis and the Vatuka, but also probably Pratihara Vatsaraja. But the most remarkable series of silver coins of this period was issued by Kalacuri Krshnaraja, who flourished immediately after the Gupta period. His coins have been found mostly from Rajasthan, Maharastra, Gujarat and parts of M.P. These coins are close imitations of
Kshatrapa coins which are mentioned in the Angavijaya, a Jain text of the Gupta period. That the Krsnaraja coins were in circulation for more than a hundred years is proved by the fact that it is mentioned in Anjaneri plates dated Kalacuri 461 (710-11 A.D.).

After Krsnaraja-rupaka, we should mention the well-known Adivarahadramya issued by Pratihara Bhoja I, who ruled in the 9th century A.D. It is interesting to note that in the first Siyadoni inscription, we have reference to the Adivaraha Dronamya, the alloyed silver coins of Bhoja I. It also refers to Adivaraha Dronamya. It is of some interest to note that this epigraph refers to several silver and copper coins, which were current in Northern India in the 9th century, during the Pratihara rule.

The Jain literary works of our period not only contain general reference to several types of coins, but also sometimes throw valuable light on coins of different regions. Let us take note of the gold coins mentioned in early medieval Jain literature. The most valuable coin of this period was undoubtedly the dinara, which is mentioned practically in all important Jain works, not to mention the Brahmanical texts. An earlier reference dinara in literature of our period is preserved in the 7th century Brhatkalpabhadha, which refers to its popularity in eastern India. In several places of Haribhadra's Samaraicakara, the particular
coin is pointedly mentioned. Elsewhere also in his Dharmabindu, Haribhadra shows his acquaintance with this coin. Haribhadra regards dināra as the costliest coin. It should be remembered here that as early as the days of the composition of the Kalpasūtra, this particular coin's name was known. The next important Jain work to refer to it is the well-known Angavijñā, which mentions it along with other coins. The expression dināra, found here, reminds us of the same word in a 3rd-century Nāgarjukonḍa Inscription. In both these places we have the earlier expression which is, much closer to Roman denarius.

In the inscriptions of the Gupta period, the name dināra appears along with the earlier name anuvrāṇa. In the 7th-century Daśakumaragāvatī, there is a reference to the discovery of a buried treasure consisting of numerous dināras (apparently made of gold). Elsewhere in the same work, there is a reference to sixteen thousand dināras (also apparently gold coins). The Uttarapurana of Gunabhadra refers to dināra coins. The Dharmapadasamālā of Jayasimha, which was written in V.S. 915 during the reign of Pratihara Bhoja, makes pointed reference to dināra coins. The relevant passages prove that the author had golden dināra in mind.

It should be remembered that early Kushāṇa and Gupta gold coins along with the heavier imported dināras (that both gold and silver coins were imported from
from outside is proved by the evidence of the \textit{periplus} \cite{389}. \textit{Neripus} were still in use. However if we analyze the relevant passages of the Jain texts we will find that in most cases the reference to \textit{dinâra} are in connection with the stories of the past. There is practically no reference to any contemporary gold coin in any Jain text of our period. This indirectly proves that practically no gold coin was struck in this period in Northern India. This was the case also in the South. \cite{340}

Regarding \textit{Suvarna}, it should be pointed out that originally it weighed 144 grains. \cite{341} The \textit{Kuvalavamala} refers to \textit{Suvarnas}. However much more exciting is the reference to \textit{Suvarnata\k s\i\h} in \textit{Prabandhacintamani} in connection with the description of Paramâra Bhoja's munificence. \cite{342} As Paramâra Bhoja himself never struck any money, much less a \textit{Suvarna} coin, it can be conjectured that he definitely used the gold coins struck by his contemporary Gângeya\deo\vea. We should remember that Merutunga, the author of the \textit{Prabandhacintamani} has mentioned \textit{dinâra} and \textit{Suvarna}, \cite{343} in connection with Vikramaditya (probably Candragupta II) and \textit{Suvarnatanka} while describing the liberality of Paramâra Bhoja. Obviously \textit{Suvarnatanka} was a coin of smaller weight and value. Its actual weight was 61 grains. \cite{344} The tan\k k\s of Gângeya are also indirectly mentioned in the \textit{Bewa Stone inscription} of Vijayasimha (1193 A.D.). \cite{345}
The Angavilā, which was written just before the beginning of our period, contains the names of a few other gold coins like सुवर्ना-मशाक, (p. 66), दिनार-मशाक, (p. 66), सुवर्ना-ककनि (p. 72) etc. As shown by V.S. Agrawala, these were the names of the coins of smaller weight. The evidence of Kautilya (II-19) suggests that मशाक was 1/18th of the weight of सुवर्ना or in other words, 5 rattis. The दिनार-मशाक was similarly the sub-multiple of a दिनार coin and probably somewhat heavier than सुवर्ना-मशाक. सुवर्ना-ककनि was 1/4th of मशाक and 2.25 grains in weight. However, no specimens of actual मशाक or ककनि has ever been found.

The Jain सचकलवस्त्रबिश्विय, written in the 7th century (II, 1969) pointedly mentions the golden नानका coin; but regarding its actual weight we have no knowledge. It appears that नानका was another name of सुवर्ना and this coin existed in all the metals.

Regarding silver coins, we have the earlier evidence of the Angavilā, which mentions different types of silver दार्पणas called दितमा, (p. 215), दध्वना (p. 215) and जक्क्या, (p. 215) and also for the first time mentions two coin-names, viz., सत्तङ्का (p. 66) and धन्तङ्का (p. 66). As well known, the दार्पणas or the पाणas were the punch-marked coins, which were in circulation in India from quite early times and were practically never
353 Withdrawn. The Angavaliia mentions both the earlier Karshapanas called adilakahavana and the recent Karshapanas called bala or navakahavana (p.215). The same authority asserts that amlakahavana were also called Purana (p.215). The Purana coins are mentioned in a record of Huviska, dated year 29, corresponding to 106 A.D. In the earlier epigraphs of India, like the inscriptions of Nahapana and of the Satavahanas, we have references to Karshapanas. The Nanaghat inscription proves that a huge number of Karshapanas were in circulation in pre-Christian times in India.

The new or bala Karshapanas, mentioned in the Angavaliia, probably refer to the silver and copper coins, which were struck immediately before the time of the composition of the Angavaliia. However, the author of the Angavaliia has a new term for the silver coins which were issued by the Sakas of Bajajini, viz., Khattapaka. As the name indicates, they were issued by the Ksatrapas. Prof. C. D. Chatterjee has drawn our attention to the term Rudradamaka, the name of a class of coins issued by Rudradaman, who ruled in the 1st century A.D., and mentioned by Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the Suttavibhanga. According to Buddhaghosa, who flourished in the Gupta period, the coin of Rudradaman and his successors (Rudradamakas) was 3/4th in weight of the ancient Karshapana; Buddhaghosa further says that the earlier Karshapana, called by him Amlakahavana!
was equal to 20 māshakas. The earlier karshāpanas were apt to excessive wear and tear, and due to the deposit of verdigris on the surface, they were fittingly nicknamed as nilakabhāpana. Probably by the time of Buddhaghosa, these coins were thousand-year old. There is no doubt that the Kshatrapa coins, mentioned by the author of the Angavilika, are identical with Pradānakāra coins, mentioned by Buddhaghosa. These coins were made of silver and we learn from a particular Prakrita inscription that the value of 55 silver karshāpanas was equal to one svārṇa. In this connection we should further remember that the average weight of a silver coin of the early centuries of the Christian era was roughly 1/4th of the gold coin, viz. svārṇa of the same period, especially gold issues of the Imperial Kushans.

The reference to sateraka coins in the Angavilika (p. 66) is of great interest. The word sateraka comes from Greek Stater. Stater was a gold coin of 135.2 grains. It has been argued that according to an earlier literary text, dināras was equal to one sateraka. This particular information is found in the Bhāratārtha commentary of Abhidharmakosha of Vasubandhu. This is also confirmed by Mahāvīrācārya, the Jain author of Caktasārasāngraha, who flourished in the 9th century A.D.

We have already seen that in our period silver coins were more popular than the coins made of other metals. The Brhatkalpasutrabhasa (II, 1969) probably
written in the 7th century, mentions the dramma of Bhillamala, which was in Rajasthan. That work further states that this dramma was known as silver pānaka. However, to designate silver dramas, in the early medieval period, the term rūpaka was often used. It occurs in the Kavalavemalā, which mentions in the relevant passage one lakh rūpakas (sașa-sahasra). A very interesting coin-name probably of silver is found in the early 10th-century work, the Brhatkathakosa, called varmala (or varmalva). According to the relevant passage, with this coin, a full-size rohita fish could be bought (adava rohitam minamvarmalvena). The same coin is also mentioned in story no. 40. In the latter story a gambler named Nirlakshana wins even the cowries (kandaraka) used by the gamblers and gives them to beggars. A little later the gamblers request Nirlakshana to return the cowries to them for plenty of money in the form of varmalas, which suggest that it is the name of silver coins. The surmise is fully justified by the evidence of a much earlier work viz., the Nisītha Cūrṇi (7th century) of Jinadasa, according to which varmalas was the silver coin of Bhillamala. According to Prat. D. Sharma, it was a smaller silver coin, probably issued by a ruler called Varmala of Bhillamala, who is known from the Vasantagarh Inscription of 625 A.D. (V.S. 682). The name Varmala is also preserved in Māgha's Sisupalabada, according to which this king was the patron of the poet's grandfather called Suprabhadeva. Therefore, it is
quite likely that king Varma, also called Varmalata, was responsible for the silver issues mentioned in the Nisitha Gurni and the Brhatkathakośa.

The evidence of the Urañitahavarapopanakathā (306 A.D.) show that rūpaka was a popular coin in the early medieval period. Its evidence the popularity of rūpaka coins is fully confirmed by Allata's inscription of Vikrama 1010 (Bhadaraka No. 67), which proves that in the middle of the 10th century one rūpaka was equal to 1/2 dramma:

The Nisitha Gurni further informs us that the rūpakas or rūvagas of different regions were usually named after that region and their value differed from region to region. We get names like Uttarāparah, Pādaliputtaga, Dakshināparāha which denoted the rūpakas of these places. The rūpaka of Kañcipurī was called nelao or nelaka. Jinadasa even mentions the relative value of the rūpakas of the different regions, making the silver coin of Pataliputra the standard. For example, two rūpakas of Dakshināpattra were equal to one nelaka-rūvaga of Kañcipurī, whereas two nelakas of Kañcipurī were equal to one rūpaka of Pataliputra.

The copper coins are mentioned in the Brhatkalpasutrabhāsya (II, 1969), according to which, the copper coins of Dakshināpattra were known as kālinī. Kālinī coins are also mentioned in Jinesvara's Kathakośa, composed in early 11th century. The kālinī coin is mentioned in the Āngavijñā (p. 72), and also earlier.
like the Arthasastra. It was 1/4th of marehata.

Visnupala, mentioned in the Siyadoni and other inscriptions, according to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar was a copper coin and its value was 1/20th of dram. Kapardakowol mentioned in Shergarh inscription (1018 A.D.) was 1/4th of a copper pana. That cowries still were used for buying and selling commodities during this period is proved by the testimony of Jinadasa's Visitha Curri. It is interesting to note that both the Chinese pilgrim, viz., Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang mention that cowries were used as a medium of exchange. The Arab traveller, Sulaiman, who visited Gujarat in 851 A.D., also observed that 'shells are current in this region and serve for small money, notwithstanding that they have gold and silver'.

Flourishing trade and commerce with foreign countries resulted in a rich coinage in precious metals, such as gold and silver as well as ordinary copper coins. The variety of coinage moreover testifies to the economic prosperity of this period.

Section (iv): Professional Classes

Various professional classes have been mentioned in both the narrative and non-narrative Jain works of our period. As a result of the increase of population,
the society was gradually drifting towards a new type of caste-system viz., that based on economic grounds. The old division of society in four castes viz., Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra became somewhat redundant. The priestly class could not afford to stick only to their old teaching and sacrificial duties. The Kshatriyas also felt that they must enlarge their professional outlook.

The Vaisyas, who formerly were engaged in agriculture, gradually found that trade was a much more lucrative profession. And the Sudras also divided themselves into smaller professional groups. It further appears, that after the Gupta period, no Sudra cared to serve the twice-born as dictated by the various Smrti writers. Let us now turn our attention to those professional classes listed in Jain works, who depended on their skill for their livelihood.

It should, however, be remembered that the professional classes, mentioned in the Jain works were not different from those mentioned in non-Jain literature. However, we sometimes get some new type of information from texts. Let us start with the Kumbhakaras (potters).

The guild of potters is mentioned in the Nasik Cave Inscription of Isvarasena, year 9 (Kalecuri) corresponding to 258-59 AD. There is little doubt that the potters played probably the most important part in the economic life of the Indian society from the earliest period. In the list of eighteen professional groups, mentioned in
the Jain Upāṇga text Jambudvīpa-prajñāpārti, they are given the foremost place. That a few potters of earlier period enjoyed great prosperity is proved by the story of the Jain Āṅga text Bhāṣakadāsa which speaks of an exceedingly affluent potter called Saddalaputta, who owned 500 pottery shops, employing numerous workers, who received regular wages (bhātavevana). It is evident from this text that Saddalaputta was the leader of a pottery guild (sranṭ). The Bhāgavatī informs us of a potter woman of Sravasti, who was a lay devotee of Gosala, and apparently a person of affluence. The Nīśtha Cūraṇī gives a deal of information about pottery and potter-shops of the 7th century. We are told that five apartments were required for the work of a potter (i) ānivasāla was the place where the potters or the merchants sold the earthenware pottery (ii) bhandasāla was the store-house for storing the vessels (iii) kammasāla was the room where the pots were moulded (iv) navanasāla, where the pots were baked (v) imdhana'sāla, the room where fuel-like grass or dung, required for baking the pots, was stored.

The same work also gives a detailed description of the process which was followed in making the earthenware pottery. We are further told that the potters either gave their wares to the merchants on getting a little profit or sold it to the customers directly. A tax of 1/20th part was charged from the potters on the
pots taken to the neighbouring village for sale. This proves that it was a profession which was fully recognised by the government. Kautilya recommends a tax of 5 karas (about 50 panas) for the potters. This was considered a very negligible amount compared to the taxes imposed on goldsmiths on those dealing with liquor, medicines, metals etc. The Mahabhdraya of Patanjali contains the interesting expression mahakumbhabhakara which probably means a very efficient and opulent potter. Needless to say, Saddalaputta was one such mahakumbhabhakara.

The goldsmiths played a quite prominent part in the economic life of our people from very early times. Reference to various ornaments in the Rgveda and latter Vedic texts show that the goldsmiths were quite active from the days of the Samhitas. They are very prominently described in the epics and Puranas. In the list of professions, given in the Jain Jambuyavanjaparnati, their name is conspicuous by its presence. Kautilya in his Arthasastra gives a very elaborate description of the work done by goldsmiths. The goldsmiths according to Kautilya should have a thorough knowledge of the species, characteristic, colour, weight and formation of all types of metals. That Indian goldsmiths were quite expert in their work in the post-Gupta period, is vouchsafed by Yuan
Chwang, who has praised the gold and silver vessels of India for their exquisite workmanship. The Jain works of our period give a very long and useful list of different ornaments produced in those days. The Kuvalayavālī of Udyotana gives the names of no less than forty-six different types of ornaments. They are mentioned below: 1. vara-kantabhārana (II, 22), which is explained by Upadhye as silver necklace.

2. svatamarśa (1, 14) a kind of ring-shaped ornament or it may mean simply an ear-ring. 404 3. ratnakantikā (1, 17) and 4. kantikā (132, 24; 137, 28), both of which were ornaments meant for the neck of either sex. 5. kātaka (14, 29) has been explained as a bracelet of gold by M. M. Williams. 405 6. katiśutra (25, 6) meant a girdle.

7. manikaka-kātaka (30, 3) and 8. lañhāṅga-kātaka (137, 28) were two varieties of bracelets. 9. kālī (134, 17) and 10. kanira-kānci (254, 14) were worn round the waist; the kanira-kānci has been explained as a smaller type of girdle. 406

11. karnabhulā (257, 16; 160, 10) is an ear-ornament. 12. kāṅkini (255, 21) is a small bell. 13. kundala (55, 21; 189, 33) and 14. manikundala and 15. ratnakundala were all ornaments for the ear. A close study of ancient Indian paintings and sculptures reveal that there were numerous varieties of ear-ornaments. 407 16. lañhāṅga (255, 21) was probably a net-like ornament. 17. dama (115, 10) in the text means an ornament of the neck. The Ādīpurāṇa, as pointed out by Suman Jain 408 mentions mākhāḷaṁa and kāncīdama. 18. damilla...
19. *niripura (14.29; 166.28) 20. *maninipura (157.30; 254.8)
were both ornaments worn on the feet. 21. *ratala (115.10)
the meaning of this word is also not clear. 22. *mahamukuta
(9.1; 198.10) was probably a special type of crown
(6.25; 232.9) 26. *mekhalā (50.17; 153.30 and 255.21) and
27. *manimekhala were well-known ornaments. In the *Amarakosa
*muktavali is also called *ekavali. Somadeva in his *Yasastileaka-
campu also calls it *ekavali. *Manimekhala was worn around
the waist and it appears from the *Yasastileakecampu and
*Adipurana that small bells were tied with these *mekhalās.

Other ornaments mentioned in the Kualavaroala are 28. *ratnāvali
(83.24) 29. *ratnālakāra (190.25); 30. *rasana (83.14;
252.10) 31. *maniraśana (25.5; 85.9) 32. *runnamalā (11.22),
33. *vanamalā (114.10; 246.21); 34. *Valava (2.22; 4.29;
7.11), 35. *manivalava (1.2) 36. *Vaijayantimala (194.10)
37. *Śvaralakṣitiemaṭara (8.24); 38. *Śvarana (7.28); 39. *Dura
(24.21; 83.14; 161.25) 40. *Dhāvali (254.15)
41. *Śivāsutta (11.16) 42. *Ghakala (83.9); 43. *Galaganattā
(212.12); 44. *rankiṇīpatā (84.14) 45. *Kalakhaśalal (83.4)
and *Ghara (25.14-15). Of these ornaments *ratnāvali is
also mentioned in the *Adipurana. Both *vanamala and
*Vaijayantimala were different types of ornaments of the
neck. Several ornaments mentioned in the Kualavaroala are
also referred to in Haribhadra's *Samāśicakaha. We have
several references to kundala, kataka, ratnavali, manimekhala and a few other ornaments. Such a wide variety of ornaments clearly illustrate the importance of the goldsmith's profession in this period.

Like the potters and goldsmiths, weavers also were an indispensable part of the economic life of the country. From Kautilya, it becomes clear that weavers working in government establishments were regularly paid. Several types of persons like widows, mothers of prostitutes (rūpālīvāh), old women, cripple women, women ascetics, maid-servants of the king etc., worked under the superintendent of weaving (śutradhvaka). Besides such persons, qualified artisans could be employed by the superintendent on a fixed salary for a fixed period. However, it should be remembered that there were other weavers, who were not in the state service, like Bhimasena the poor weaver of the Bhimasena Jataka (no. 30), where weaving is called a 'sorry profession.' However, those weavers who were members of a guild (āraṇī) were financially sound. One such weavers' guild of the Nasik region, mentioned in a Nasik inscription of the time of Mahapāna (with three dates viz., 41, 42 and 45). But a much more prosperous guild of weavers living at the famous town of Dāsapura, is mentioned in the well-known Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Chandragupta of the 5th century. These weavers, we are told, were formerly
the residents of Lata vishaya (south and central Gujarat) and afterwards migrated to the lovely town of Daśapura (Mandasor), where they lived very happily for generations. Under their order (ādesana-line 25) a sun-temple was built and afterwards repaired at Daśapura. A line of the Mandasor inscription suggests that the silk-weavers of Daśapura were looked upon as sons by the kings of that region (Uṣṇīṣaḥ vijāyataḥ ratimīnātāh). Regarding the weavers, living in villages, we have a fine picture in the Pāñcatantra where a weaver of the rural area is represented as enjoying liquor with his wife (kaścitkauliḥ sābhāvyo madyanākṛte samśvartīni nāgare prasthitāḥ).

Various types of cloths are mentioned in the Jain works of our period. The following types are frequently mentioned: 1. dukula, 2. amśuka, 3. cīnāśuka, 4. ardhaomśuka, 5. devadūka, 6. ksheuma, 7. ratawaśa, 8. valkala, 9. uttarīva, 10. kambala, 11. cala, 12. gananata, etc. As we have noted earlier, in the section on 'Dress', garments of different types were worn and cloth, both superfine as well as coarse, was woven to cater to various levels of society. India, in those times, was famous for its fine cloth, which earned high profit in overseas markets and has been praised by most foreign writers. This fact clearly suggests that weavers played a special role in the economic life of the country.
Not much information is available in the early Indian literature regarding the blacksmiths. However, the evidence of the *Parinjata* suggests that Indian iron was exported to other countries. The famous Delhi Iron pillar is also a living testimony to the skill attained by Indian blacksmiths in the Gupta period. In this connection we may refer to a beautiful Jataka tale which describes the skill of a particular blacksmith (actually Bodhisattva himself) and also enlightens us as to the life of blacksmiths in ancient India. We are told that there was a village exclusively inhabited by blacksmiths (*kammagama*). This village had a population of 1000 smiths and it used to manufacture all sorts of iron implements including razors, axes, ploughshares and other implements. The headsmith, we are told, enjoyed great affluence and was favoured by the king. The marvellous story of the needle told in this context at least proves the superior skill attained by the blacksmiths of those days. The Jain *Bhagavat* actually refers to one *kammagama* near Nalanda, which was apparently a village inhabited by blacksmiths. It was visited by Lord Mahavira, according to the testimony of both the *Bhagavat* and *Acaranga*, the two early canonical texts.

Two early second-century Mathura
Jain image inscriptions dated respectively 52 and 54 of the era of Kanishka mention blacksmiths of Madhura (lohi-kāraka). We are told in the first inscription that a blacksmith called Sura, a member of a committee (gottika) donated a Jain image. Here the term gottika or goshikā evidently stands for gōmī or guild. This suggests that there were regular guilds of blacksmiths in Madhura during the early centuries of the Christian era. The second Jain image (that of Jain Sarasvati) inscription mentions another blacksmith (lohi-kāraka) called Gopa, who is represented in that epigraph as donating an image of Sarasvati. These two inscriptions not only prove the keen interest taken by ironsmiths or blacksmiths in the religion of the Jinas, but also show that economically, too, they led a satisfactory existence. An inscription of the 12th century i.e. V.S. 1255 (plate of Jayagandha) shows that the blacksmiths (loha) sometimes were engaged in the act of inscribing royal orders.

The Nāthaka Cūrű, a 7th century Jain text clearly states that the blacksmiths fashioned different types of weapons, such as swords, daggers, etc, besides supplying the cultivator with various agricultural implements. His work was specifically styled aṣṭikṣema, as fire was essential to make the iron malleable for manufacturing different objects.
builders in ancient times were distinguished from carpenters, as the term rathakāra is mentioned separately. The Jain Angavali mentions a new term called udakavaddhaki meaning a naval architect. The Brahmaśīhita, composed in the 6th century A.D., gives a lot of information on items of furniture and household objects made of wood. As the carpenters (the two well known names are taksha and vardhaka) used a measuring thread or rope he was called by his secondary designation sutradhara. Vatsyayana, it is interesting to note, includes wood-carving in the list of 64 arts. That the royal carpenters enjoyed high status in society is proved by the fact that according to Kautilya, he drew an annual salary of 2000 pana, a pay which compared favourably with other types of royal servants.

We have in the Jain Angavali, a very long and useful list of other professional groups. We are reproducing below the entire list: trader (vavahari), naval architect (udakavaddhaki), fishermen (macchabandha), boatmen (navika), oarsmen (bahuvika), goldsmith (suvannakara), lac dyemaker (alittakakara), dyer specialising in red (rattarajaka), image-maker (davada), dealer in wool (upavāniya), dealer in yarn (suttavāniya), lacquer-worker (jatukara), painter (cittakara), player on instruments (cittavali), utensil-maker (tatthakara), ironsmith (loha kara), silversmith (sudharajaka), dyer (sudharajaka), potter (kumbhakara), bronzesmith (kosa kara), silk-waever (kosajja), cloth-dealer (duasika), dyer (rayaka), silk-waever (kosajja)
bark-fibre-weaver (vaca), butcher of sheep and buffaloes
(orabhika-mahisaghataka), sugarcane crusher (ussagika),
umbrellamaker (abhambatIakara), earning livelihood by cloth-trade
(vatthonejiIika), dealers in fruits, roots and grains (phalavaniya,
mila, dhanna), boiled-rice seller (odanka), meat-seller (mausa),
bean-seller (kummasa-vanijja), maker of groats (tapana), dealer
in salt (lona), cake maker (apupika), maker of kha ja sweet
(khajjikaIaka) green grocer (pannaka), dealer in ginger (singara-
vanija), profession of toiletmaking (pasadhaka), aggi-upajivi
or antaggia, actor (kusilava) or mahavachara, perfumer (sandhika),
garland-maker (malakara), maker of perfumed powder (chunikara).

Those living by their tongue are suta, magadha, pasamaniya
(panygerists), purohitii (priest), dhammaIa mahamantha (officer
in charge of religious endowments), sandhika, gayaka (singer),
dapakara, babussaya. The metal-workers also include lapidary
(manikar), kottaka (inlayer), vattaki, vatthapadika, vatthuvanatiIa,
mentika, bhandavanaIa, titthavanta and arunayaIa were perhaps
small officers in charge of vastrapatha, treasury, ferry boats,
garden, etc. Superintendent of wood is daruka-adhikaraIa and
radhakara in charge of chariots. Bandhanagarika is jailor,
policeman is choralopahara. Basic works were in charge of
mulakhanaka, mulika and mulakamma. The rich merchants were those
dealing in wrought gold, unmelted gold (haramika, sauvannika),
sandal-wood, cloth and were called divada. There was an officer
in charge of animal fodder (gavalihabatIaka), ovakara odda
(diggers of soil), mulakhanaka (the foundation diggers),
iddakāra (the brick layers) bālepattunda, suttavatta, architect, the relief-carver (ruvapakkha) phalakāra (engraver of sword blades) sīkāharaka, amaddanāra (are all terms connected with building industry. The weavers are of silk (kosa.jāvāyaka) sfeawl (dīndakambalavāyaka) and kolika. In the class of doctors are physicians (vejjā), healers of the body (kāyategicchā), surgeon (sallakatta), eye-surgeon (sālak), wych doctor (bhutavijjika), physician for children (koserabbhikha), poison doctor (visatitthika). Then illusionist (mavakaraka), sorinābhaka, pole-dancer (lānkhaka), boxer (mutthika), ballad singers (lasaka), jesters (velambak), barber (gandaka) and criers (gōsaka) are mentioned.

It appears that in the period under review corporate activities steadily declined which resulted in increasing economic crisis. In the contemporary epigraphs and literary texts we rarely come across references to guilds or corporations. After the Gupta period, this vast country became divided into a number of smaller states and naturally the skilled, professional people were compelled to seek shelter in distant places. It was no longer possible for them to organise themselves into strong corporate bodies. The picture was somewhat different in South India, as we learn from Dandin's Das'akumāra-carita and a few Southern epigraphs.
In spite of the curious observation of Megasthenes that slavery was unknown in India, it was in fact a widely prevalent practice almost from the Vedic period. However, there is reason to believe that the slaves were treated very leniently in India. A beautiful Jataka story shows how slave-girls were looked upon as daughters by the master of the house. The well-known classical Sanskrit play Mrochkatika also shows the human treatment meted out to slaves. However, in the Smṛti texts of Kauśī and Vīghu, there are passages which show that the laws were generally unfavourable towards slaves in India. But Kautilya in his Artasastra, it appears, gives a much favourable treatment of the slaves.

There is a good deal of information on slavery in both Jain and non-Jain works of our period. It further appears that in the early medieval period, the slaves were treated more harshly than in the Gupta or pre-Gupta period. As we will see afterwards, one of the reasons for this rather harsh treatment of the slaves in later times is because of the Muslim influence. Let us first see what Jinājīśa, the Jain commentator of the 7th-century has to say on slaves. As a matter of fact, the Mīrījagūrī of that author is the only Jain work of our period to give some positive information on slavery in the post-Gupta period.
Six classes of slaves are enumerated in this work. They are slaves by birth (gabha), by purchase (kita), for non-payment of debts (anawa), reduced to slavery during famine (dubbhikka), for some crime (svaraha), slaves formed out of prisoners of war (ruddha). It is interesting to note that different authorities give different figures regarding the types or classes of slaves. A particular Jataka Story (No. 545) speaks of four types of slaves viz., those from their mothers, those bought with money, those becoming slaves of their own will and those driven by fear. The first two types of this Jataka are also mentioned in the Nisatha Curni; but the last two are unknown to the later author. It further appears that in later times the people were forced into slavery under various pretexts. It is also likely that in the pre-Mauryan period, the prisoners were not as a rule reduced to slavery. That in the 1st century A.D., India had a shortage of slaves is indicated by the fact that, according to the Paripurn Barygaza imported a large number of foreign slaves.

The Paumacarivam, another early Jain work mentions the slaves of different countries. As an affluent and industrially advanced country, India could afford to import a large number of slaves of non-Indian origin.

The Manusmrti mentions seven types of slaves viz., bhvajahrta, bhaktadasa, ghraja, krita, datrima, paitrik.
and dandadasa. It will be seen that most of the classes, mentioned by Jinadasa, is included in this list. However Manu’s list does not include the two types vis., anava (for non-payment of debts) and dabbhikkaha (reduced to slavery because of famine). Probably this type is the same as the fourth type of the Vidhurapandita Jataka viz., those becoming slaves out of fear. Naturally for a poor person, famine was a sufficient ground for accepting slavery. The bhakatadasa of Manu means those who have accepted slavery because of poverty, and Kautilya also indirectly refers to this class of slaves.

The Nisitha Cūrṇī gives a good deal of information of female-slaves in particular. According to it, it was easy in those days to purchase a female-slave (mollakita). Even a woman of good family according to the Brhatkalpa-bhāṣya could be reduced to slavery for non-payment of debts. Madanika of the Mṛchakatika who had a Brahma lover, apparently belonged to a respectable family. That she was a very cultured is apparent from the fourth Act of that play. Kautilya also allows an ārva to accept slavery in times of distress. The highly interesting work the Lekhāra-dharmatī speaks of a ten-year-old daughter of one prince, Jagada called Saimpuri, who was forced to slavery because of Muslim tyranny and other reasons.
The Jain authors recognize the fact that the slave-girls were forced to act as concubines. The Jatakas also pointedly mention the female-slaves as concubines. The expression 'dasiputra' is quite common in Sanskrit literature. Kautilya also refers to the practice of using female-slaves as concubines. The Āvasāyaka Cūrṇī speaks of illicit connection between the female-slaves and a village head-man.

In the Lekhanaddhati, a somewhat later text, we get a detailed idea regarding the duties of a female-slave. We are told that a female-slave was required to do all sorts of household works including cutting of the vegetables, pulverizing the spices, smearing the floor with cow-dung, sweeping, bringing fuel, water and other things and even throwing away human excreta (of her master's house). She was also required to milk the cow and other animals and also to fetch grass, fodder etc. Her other duties included cooking, cleaning the gutters and the water-reservoir.

There is little doubt that the Lekhanaddhati reflects the spirit of the medieval period when the maid-servants were treated as one of the house-hold possessions. Vedhatithipa, who is assigned to the 9th century, also shows acquaintance with the pitiable condition of female-slaves, including their life as concubines. The Lekhanaddhati pointedly mentions the cruel treatment meted out to slave-girls;
They could even be tortured to death. The Katahaka Jataka also refers to the harsh treatment received by slaves from their masters. It appears that the slave-masters of ancient and medieval times cared little for the rules framed by the far-sighted Kautilya, most of which showed clemency towards those wretched human beings, who according to Hemacandra were usually beaten like mules. The Āvasvaka Cūrṇī, the 7th-century Jain text, relates the pathetic story of an old female-slave, who was often beaten by her master for alleged negligence of duty. The Uttarādhvavanatika mentions the festival of female-slave (śāmīṣaka), which shows that sometimes these unfortunate people indulged in merry-making. The Āvasvaka Cūrṇī even refers to a story according to which the son of a female-slave of Surparaka, inherited the entire property of his master. It further appears that male-slaves sometimes received better treatment than their female counterparts. We have just referred to the story recorded in the Āvasvaka Cūrṇī. Elsewhere in another Jain work, a story is told of an audacious male-slave of Rajagrha called Cilāta, who cared little for his master’s admonitions and ultimately emerged as the leader of a notorious gang of decoits.

It has been argued that there existed a regular slave-trade during both the ancient and medieval times in India. The Samarācakavī of Haribhadra
refers to the forest tribes who indulged in illegal slave-trade. The Upamitibhayopancakatha, composed in 906 A.D., tells the highly interesting story of robbers who used to generously feed a man so that he could be sold for a lucrative price. We have already mentioned the fact that according to the Peripatus, slaves were regularly imported into Baryageza, the famous part of western India. The Prabandhacintamani states that Tejahapala, the famous Jain minister of Gujarat, earned great merit by banning the abduction of men by notorious sea-men. The Lakhapaddhati also mentions the fact that slaves were sometimes sold in foreign countries. The Upamitibhayopancakatha also confirms this statement.

It appears that after the contact of the Indians with the Muslims in the first quarter of the 8th century, the condition of slaves became worse. As noted by no less an author than Schoff, the Arabs were inveterate slave-traders from early times. Prof. Gopal draws our attention to the observation of Al Utbi, a contemporary of Sultan Ahmad, that after his victory over Nader Shah, slaves were so plentiful that they became very cheap. We have already referred to the passage of the Lakhapaddhati, according to which a ten-year old of a highly respectable family had to embrace slavery as a result of Muslim depredations.
The 8th century author, Haribhadra in his commentary on the *Dasavalkalika* describes the son of a slave-woman, who possessed only a thread-bare garment and was a blackguard, indulging in all sorts of notorious activities. Prostitutes and gamblers are depicted as his constant companions.

We should also take note of the fact that our law-givers clearly distinguished between a slave and a servant. The servants were regularly paid, but the slaves seldom received regular wages. Medhatithi, the famous commentator of *Menu*, definitely distinguishes serving (paricarve) and slavery (dasyam). Other law-givers, also, do the same thing.

**Section: (vi) Revenue System**

There is little doubt that the prosperity of any kingdom depends on a good and healthy revenue system. It is apparent from Kautilya that the kings did not leave any stone unturned to tap new sources of revenue — be it from agriculture or trade or any other source. It further appears that the revenue system, as described by Kautilya, continued even in our period and let us first discuss the taxes connected with land. The *Vyavaharabhashya*, written probably in the 8th century, tells us that the legal land-tax is one-sixth of the land produce.
This statement of that work is fully confirmed by the very valuable evidence of the early 7th-century Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang, who emphatically says that the king's tenants pay one-sixth of the produce as rent. In the Mauryan period, also the cultivators had to pay this amount of tax as land-revenue as suggested by Rummindai Pillar inscription of Aśoka. Even in the days of the Jain author Somadeva (10th century) the cultivators had to pay the same amount of land-tax. This is clear from his Nitisākyārtha. Although the cultivators had to pay generally in kind, there is evidence to show that the cash-payment also was not unknown. The Lekhāpadhati discovered in a Jain Bhandār, though a work of the 13th century, has a copy of land-settlement, made in the year V.S. 802, according to which a villager called Gods, had to pay to the pāṇcaukula, a sum of three thousand drammas as land-revenue in that year in three equal instalments, called sañdases. That the land-revenue was paid in three instalments is also proved by an epigraph of Rashtrakūta Krishna II (9th century). Among the land-revenue officers, we can mention not only pāṇcaukula, but also salabhsato and adhikari. The latter is not only mentioned in the Lekhāpadhati, but also in the Sanjan plates of Buddhavarasā, who flourished in the 7th century A.D.

In the period under review, land-revenue constituted only a part of the king's income. A major part
of the king's revenue came from various types of taxes imposed on traders. It appears from Kautilya that practically every article of trade was taxed by the state. Sometimes the merchants were exempted from tax, if they paid proper gifts to the royal authority. J. G. Jain draws our attention to a story of the

503 Navàdharmakàśo, according to which, a sea-faring merchant of Cape was exempted from tax after he paid a precious gift of a pair of ear-rings to the king of Mithilā. The Pinda-Mirvuktì, an early Jain commentary work, written probably around 200 A.D., makes a very interesting reference to house-tax and informs us that every resident had to pay a tax of two drammas for their buildings to the king.

The interesting 7th-century commentary

507 namely Nisītha Cūrṇī makes pointed reference to sulkasthāna or custom-houses, situated at the gate of a town or village. In these places all commodities of business were regularly checked. The custom officers were called Sūnkiya or Sānliya, and this term is the same as sulkadhvaksha of Kautilya's Arthasāstra. That early text gives minute details about the activities of sulkadhvaksha. It appears that merchants had to pay one-twentieth or five percent of the value of his merchandise as toll or sulka. This is clear from a story of the Nisītha Cūrṇī, where a merchant is represented as giving a twentieth part of his commodities (vīṃsati-bhāga) as royal tax. A Jain inscription also supports the statement of Jinadasa, that the merchants had
to pay that part of their commodities as tax. The Jain
epigraphs also mention terms like mandapika, sulka-mandapika, jala-mandapika, ahalamandapika etc, to denote custom-houses.
That the merchants sometimes tried to evade sulka or tax is evident from Kautilya, who suggests various measures to combat this evil practice of the unscrupulous traders. The medieval Jain narrative work, the Purva-aravas-kathakosa of Ramacandra mentions such as attempt to tax-evasion by a merchant.

The 8th-century text, the Kavalasvama also tells us about the custom charges, which the merchants had to pay after reaching the port. However, it should be admitted that compared to the details regarding commercial activities found in the Jain texts, we actually do not get much information on the details regarding custom duties in the Jain texts, although, there is little doubt that things of various kingdoms in the early medieval India earned a huge amount of revenue from both internal and external traders, which enabled them to maintain large number of soldiers, so that they could become digvijayin king.

As noted by J. C. Jain, the canonical text (including the early medieval Jain commentaries) of the Jains refer to eighteen kinds of taxes from camels, buffaloes, camels, cattle, goats, grass, chaff, coal, plough, threshold, posture-ground, bullocks, earthen-pots, hides and skins, food and any
other tax imposed by will. It is interesting to note that the
Nirāyavaliśa refers to the fact that the property of a hairless
persons was confiscated by the king. This is also known from
Kalidāsa's Sakuntalā. The Jain monarch Kumārapāla, afterwards,
abolished this heinous practice.

From various types of fines, the kings
used to fill up their treasury. The commentary on the
Brhatkalpabhaṣya refers to a fine of 80,000 rūpakas (silver
coins) on one, who raised his sword on any other person to kill
another person. At Anandapura in Gujarat, for such an offence, the
offender had to pay only five rūpakas.

The tax-collectors were sometimes very
oppressive. The Āvāaska Cūṇḍî mentions a king, who invaded
another kingdom for non-payment of taxes. The Viṇakṣrutā
refers to a district officer (ratthakūda), who harassed people
by imposing various types of taxes. Even sometimes the kings
used to burn down the houses of merchants, who did not pay their
custom-duties. The Jātakas compared the tax-collectors with
hungry robbers, draining the poor earnings of the cultivators.

The Samārāccakabha of Haribhadra also
frequently refers to the costly gifts which the kings used to
receive from the merchants, which were treated as a source of
revenue. In the early medieval period, therefore, both trade
and agriculture were equally responsible for the affluence of the kings. However, the god-fearing kings like Harsha or Paramāra Bhoja were known for their munificence, and treasuries of such kings were often empty because of their liberality.
REFERENCES

1. See The Vedic Age, p. 177.
2. XIV. 9. 3. 22.
3. Sutrasthanam, 46. 4 ff (Chowkhamba ed.).
4. Nos. 354, 467, 475, 484.
7. See also ADIPURANA, MINASEPA, XVI. 184.
8. See in this connection M. Sen, A Cultural Study of the Pasitha Curni, p. 191.

9. See BHAGAVATI, Book 16; note the reference to Revati Gahval.
10a. II, Ch. 9.
11. III, p. 519.
13. IV, pp. 409-10.
19. Ibid., pp. 129 ff.
21. See *Kavvalayamala*, 39, 30; 46, 11.
22. Ibid., 117, 12, 15, 20, 22 etc.
23. P. 396.
24. P. 404.
25. II, 207; see also *Mahanirvana*, p. 28.
26. See *Chandogya Upanishad*, I. 10, 1.
27. See the trans. Tawney and Penzer, I, pp. 171, 203, 240.
30. See op. cit., p. 195; see also in this connection H. R. Kapadia's paper entitled 'some references pertaining to agriculture in Jain Literature' in *I.H.Q.* 10, pp. 797-800.
31. See IV. 57, 4; T. S. 6, 6, 7, 4; *Nirukta*, VI, 26 etc; see also *Vaidika-kosa*, p. 451 (*Gurukanta*, Varanasi, 1963).
32. P. 81.
34. Ibid., pp. 307 ff.
35. V. 72 ff; see also R. S. Pandit's translation (New Delhi, Reprint, 1968), pp. 191 ff.
40. See trans. p. 123.
41. See section 19 entitled Janadasamuddesa.
42. 19. 14 ff.
43. See Watters, I, pp. 177 f.
44. Ibid., p. 181.
45. Ibid., p. 199.
46. Ibid., p. 225.
47. Ibid., p. 240.
48. Ibid., p. 250.
49. Ibid., p. 235.
50. Ibid., p. 236.
51. Ibid., p. 291.
52. Ibid., p. 236.
53. Ibid., p. 300.
54. Ibid., p. 301.
55. Ibid., p. 331.
56. Ibid., p. 366.
57. Ibid., II, p. 47.
58. Ibid., II, p. 63.
59. Ibid., II, p. 86.
60. Ibid., II, p. 185.
61. VSS. 1029-30.
62. See translation by Shamasastry, p. 131.
63. 5. 33; 8. 30; 15. 6; 16. 7 etc.
64. The commentator of the Brhatasamhita; see A. Mitra Shastri, India in Brhatasamhita etc., pp. 264.
67. 2, p. 236.
68. 3, 186.
70. 27. 7.
71. Ādipurāṇa, 3, 186.
73. 2, p. 233; 3, p. 295.
74. See Life in Ancient India etc., p. 30.
75. I, p. 8.
76. See B. S. Upadhyaya, India in Kālidāsa, Delhi, 2nd ed., 1968, p. 257.
77. See Vrihi in M. M. Williams, S.E.D., p. 1045.
78. 4, 76.
80. 3, 186.
327

31. 1, 162.
33. I, p. 162.
34. Watters, I, p. 300.
35. I. 46. 3.
37. Passage quoted by M. Sen, op. cit., p. 125 f.n. 5.
38. Maitri Cūmi, 3, p. 432.
40. I. 46. 23.
41. See also N. Mitra Shastri, Brhat sandhi etc., p. 265.
42. I. 46. 8.
43. 3. 186.
44. P. 401.
45. 4. 14.
46. I. 46. 21.
47. See M. M. Williams, S.E.D., p. 365.
48. 15. 6; 16. 7; 19. 6 etc.
49. Transf, p. 131.
50. See 4, p. 111.
51. See M. Sen, op. cit., p. 126.
55. See S.E.D., p. 347.
56. See 2, p. 117; 4, p. 130.
107. See 3, pp. 117; 295, 436; 4, p. 115.

108. See 2, p. 117.

109. See 2, p. 117; 3, p. 1132.

110. IV, p. 307.


113. P. 164.

114. 33, 16.

115. Trans., p. 131.

116. 5, 75; 15, 4; 25, 2 etc.

117. 236, 12.

118. See M. Sen, op. cit., p. 127.

119. Ibid., p. 127; see also Visäkha Varnī, I, p. 15.

120. See A. Mitra Shastri, op. cit., p. 265, fn. 8.

121. Trans., p. 131.

122. 33, 16.

123. See M. Sen, op. cit., p. 127.


127. See Agrawala, Paninikālin Bhāratavarga, p. 206.

128. Trans., p. 152.

129. See B. S. Upadhyaya, India in Kālidāsa, p. 257.

130. See A. Mitra Shastri, op. cit., p. 266.

131. 15, 6.
132. Trans. p. 132.
133. 4, p. 127.
135. Ibid., 2, p. 238.
136. Ibid., 3, pp. 102, 295.
137. Ibid., 3, p. 295.
139. Sūrutasāṃhitā, 45, 162.
140. Arthasastra, 2, 15. 15.
141. Hisitha Gurni, 2, p. 117.
142. Ibid., 2, p. 280.
143. Sūrutasāṃhitā, 46, 395.
144. 3, pp. 419-20.
145. 3, p. 205; 4, p. 115.
147. 2, p. 55.
148. 4, p. 130.
149. Loc. cit.
150. Loc. cit.
151. 2, p. 447.
152. 3, p. 147.
153. Hisitha Gurni, 3, p. 159; also 4, p. 115.
155. Ibid., 3, p. 159.
156. Ibid., 4, p. 153.
Ibid., 4, p. 115.
159. Ibid., 3, p. 484.
160. See Watters, op.cit., I, pp. 292-95.
161. A. Missita Curni, 3, p. 517.
162. See for details M. Sen, op.cit., p. 135.
163. See MBH, Anusāsanaparvan, 91, 38-39; Manusmṛti, 10, 128.
164. Legge, A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms, p. 45.
165. See Watters, op.cit., II, p. 178.
167. See Vedic Index, I, p. 472.
168. Ibid., I, 196.
169. III, 15.
170. See XXX, 17; and also Teittirīya Br., III, 4, 14, 1.
172. (Gita Press), I, 5, 14.
173. Ibid., VII, 70, 11 ff.
175. III, 61, 112.
176. III, 61, 124; 62, 3.
177. See Jāt, IV, 37 and see also Pāli - Eng. Dictionary, (P.T.S); p. 722.
179. See Prakrit Proper Names, I, pp. 80 ff; see also Upa, Para 3 ff.
181. 21,2.
182. P.P.N., I, p. 397.
183. Trans. p. 83.
184. P. 84.
185. Loc. cit.
186. 14. 33.
187. 2. 10; 48. 21; 103. 9.
188. 3. 116; 35. 36.
189. 35. 29; 80. 61.
190. See 14. 26; 14. 20; 5. 33.
191. 2. 10.
192. 63. 65.
195. See IV. 94.
196. IV. 50;
197. Book II, Ch. 2.
198. Raghu IV. 40; VI. 54.
199. See II, p. 203.
200. For Purima, see M. Sen, Spec. cit., p. 346.
201. For Diva, Ibid., p. 341.
203. II, p. 328.
204. II, p. 342.
205. II, p. 328.
206. See M. M. Williams, S.E.P., p. 545.
207. See III, p. 347.
For details, see M. Sen, op.cit., pp. 209 ff.


See IV, p. 110

For details, see Kane, Hist. of Dharmaśāstra, IV, p. 573; for Karnatīka ascetics, see M. Sen, op.cit., p. 212 fn. 5.


E. L. IV, p. 254


See III, VSS. 4220 ff. and I, VS. 2506.

II, p. 472.

II, p. 531.

See 152. 22.

For the commodities, see P.S. Jain, op.cit., pp. 186 ff.

See 65. 26.

65. 23ff.

57. 27-29

65ff.

Loc. cit.

30, 27, 30.

191. 15.

216. 13.

230. 16.

256. 12.

268. 3.
256. Ibid., para 60 (p. 46).
257. p. 166 (P.T.S. ed.),
258. Para 60 (p. 46).
259. See Real Fo-Ku-Ki, p. 184 (Introduction to Buddhist Records etc. (Reprint, Delhi, 1969).
262. Ibid., II, p. 528.
263. Ibid., II, p. 95.
264. Ibid., III, p. 195.
265. Ibid., I, p. 69.
266. Para 44 ff.
269. See Elliot and Dowson, Hist. of India etc., I, p. 87.
271. Vol. III, p. 364; See also M. Sen, op.cit., p. 220 fn.3.
272. See IV, p. 250; V, p. 426 and VII, p. 713.
273. See VI, pp. 540-41, 543, 552, 555.
274. IV, p. 254; V, pp. 399, 403, 407, 420.
275. V, pp. 397-98; VI, pp. 540-44.
276. II, p. 126 and VI, p. 545.
277. 13.34.
278. For other references, see Twain and Penzer, The Ocean of Story, Vol. X, p. 199.
279. See In this connection, Gasteri, K.A.N., The Colas, pp. 217 ff.
232. 138, 6, 9; see also L. Gopal. *The Economic Life of Northern India*, pp. 101-102.

233. p. 365.

234. A. 101, 3 ff; see also 59, 22 and 49, 3.

235. See *trans. (The Ocean of Story)*, *Vol. 7*, p. 166.

236. 93, 64 ff.

237. See Story Nos. 63 ff.

238. Nos. 49, 59, 101 etc. etc.

239. P. 245 (Uttarārāda)

240. 19, 21.

241. P. 225 (Uttarārāda)

242. P. 302 (Uttarārāda)

243. P. 16. (Purvārāda)

244. P. 295 (Uttarārāda)


246. See *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 461 ff; see also *Rv*, I, 116, 5.

247. See *Randall, Jātaka Stories*, III, p. 124; IV, p. 36.


250. See pp. 97 ff.

251. See 17, p. 201

252. See Paras 154-57; see also P.P.N., I, p. 354.


254. See *Pariplus etc.*, Para 44 (4.40).

281. See Para 80; see P.P.N., II, p. 620.
284. See 67., 1-4.
289. See Majumdar, R.C., op. cit., p. 338.
290. Ptolemy mentions 'Ariake of Pirates' (Majumdar, op. cit., p. 365).
292. Ed. 535 ff (Chowkhamba).
293. 66.8; see also P.S. Jain, op. cit., pp. 205 f.
298. 28.6.
300. 105.53.
301. 95.96
304. See P.C. Bagchi, India and China, pp. 7 f; and 16 f; see also L. Gopal, The Economic Life of Northern India, p. 103.
305. See Gopal, op. cit., p. 111.
306. Loc. cit.
307. Ibid., pp. 112 ff.
308. See 21. 101 ff.
309. 21. 102.
310. 21. 103.
313. Ed. by Jayaswal, p. 25.
316. Gupta, Ibid., p. 65.
317. For Sashanka's gold coins, see Majumdar, Hist. of Ancient Bengal, p. 69 and Allan, Catalogue Gupta coins, pp. 147-48.
338.  P. 129.
339.  See Schoff, ed., para 49 also para 56.
340.  See Gupta, op.cit., p. 73.
341.  See Angavijia, Introd., p. 39 and also Sircar,
      Indian Epigraphical Glossary, p. 329; also
342.  12. 11, 57. 32.
344.  P. 5.
345.  P. 7.
346.  Mirashi, op.cit., Introd., p. CLXXXII.
349.  II, 19.
350.  For details, see Agrawala, Introd., to Angavijia, p. 92.
352.  Mirashi, sanuvabhyo, loc.cit.
353.  P. 215.
356.  For some additional information on Purana coins,
      see Indian Epigraphical Glossary by Sircar, p. 265.
358.  Cf. Nanaghath Inscription of Ayanika, Sel. Inscriptions,
359.  See J.U.P.H.S., Vol. 6, pp. 156 ff; see also for the

361. P. 66.

362. See Angavijya, Introd., p. 91.


364. Ibid., X, p. 154.


366. Loc. cit.

367. 20, 26.

368. Story No. 23, line 33 of page 47.

369. Line 8 of p. 62.

370. Rajasthan through the Ages, pp. 501 ff.

371. See D. R. Bhandarkar, List of Inscriptions of Northern India, No. 11, see also R.I. Vol. IX, p. 191.


373. See Rajasthan through the Ages, p. 503.

374. Bhandarkar no. 67, for other references see Hathundi Inscription of V. 1053; P. C. Mahar, Op. Cit., No. 898.

375. See Rajasthan through Ages, p. 503.


377. P. 10, line 2.

378. P. 72.

379. II, 12.


381. Carmichael Lectures, p. 203.
382. See *Pasumaras* by P. Bhatia, p. 311.
388. See in this connection, Madhu Sen, *op. cit.* pp. 201-01.
391. See trans., p. 274.
393. For details see *Vedic Age*, p. 397.
394. Para 43.
397. For details see P. S. Jain, *Sanskritika-Adhyayana* pp. 157 ff.
404. M. M. Williams, S.E.D., p. 98.
405. Ibid., p. 243; see also Jain, op. cit., p. 159.
407. For a study of these kundalas see V. S. Agrawala, The Deeds of Harsha, Figs. 77-78, 80-83, 86 etc.
408. 4. 104 and 5. 15.
410. II, 5, 106.
411. P. 289.
412. P. 100.
413. 15, 25.
414. 16. 50.
415. I, p. 31; II, pp. 96, 100, 131; V, p. 452; VI, pp. 581, 598; VII, pp. 639, 698; IX, p. 311.
416. Samaraicceka, I, p. 31; VII, pp. 714-16, 724.
419. See trana, pp. 127 ff.
420. Ibid., p. 128.
421. See Cowell, op. cit., I, p. 204.
422. Luders list No. 1155.
425. See Pandit Pustakalaya (Kasi), p. 72.
426. For details see M. Sen, op. cit., pp. 146-171; see also Kuvalayamala, Ch. 4, pp. 139 ff.
427. Para 6 and also Notes 70-71 (Schoff).
430. 15th Śatāka; see also *Ācārānga*, p. 179.
431. Luders' List No. 53.
433. E.I. IV, pp. 126, 128.
435. See particularly *Rāmāyana*, II, 302. 74. 2 (c. 36. 2).
436. Majumdar, *Classical Accounts* etc. p. 223.
440. P. 125.
441. See 12, 413 and also *Pindanirvukti*, 250.
442. See *Avasāyavini*, II, p. 59.
443. P. 160; this word *udakavaddhakī* does not appear in *H. G. Seth's Prakrit Dictionary* entitled *Pāla-sadda-nabhannāvah*.
444. See in this connection A. M. Shastri, *India* as seen in the *Bṛhatārthī of Varahamihira*, pp. 250 ff.
446. See Chowkhamba ed., I, 3 (p. 84).
447. See *trans.*, *Shamasastra*, p. 279.
448. See pp. 160 f.; see also Moti Chandra's *Introd.*, pp. 47 f.
In this particular Jātaka story, the female slave of the family is represented as a member of the household, whom the master of the family looked upon as a foster-child. The female slave, on her part, treated the son of her master as her foster-son. This shows that the slaves, in many cases, were treated with genuine affection by the head of the family.

See Majumdar, R. C. The Classical Accounts of India, pp. 224, 271; see C. H. I., I, p. 416.

See Vedic Age, p. 358.

See Uṛaka Jātaka (No. 354); see also Cowell, Jātaka Stories, Vol. III, pp. 108 ff.

See Chowkamba edition of that work, Act IV; Madanikā, the female slave of Vasantasena, was looked upon as a friend by her mistress. Her lover Sarvilaka, it is interesting to note, was a Brahmin; note in this connection (p. 223) the parting words of the female slave Madanikā; the mistress Vasantasena gives her in marriage to Sarvilaka.

See English trans. in S.B.E. Vol. 25, pp. 306, 326 etc.

See trans., Shankarastry, pp. 208 ff.

See Vol. II, pp. 263, 265; see also M. Sen, A Cultural study of the Nisitha Cūṛpi, p. 203.

458. See para 36 of Schoff's edition (New Delhi, reprint, 1974).
459. See
460. See VIII. 41-45.
461. See Shamasastrp. 208.
462. For further details of slavery, see Nareda, VIII, 28ff.
463. III, p. 454.
464. Referred by M. Sen, op-cit, p. 204; also fn. 5.
466. PP. 45 ff (edited by C. D. Dalal, Baroda, 1925).
468. In the Katahaka Jataka (No. 125) a female-slave is represented as giving birth to a child, apparently the fruit of her union with her master.
469. Trans. p. 209.
470. P. 284; see also J. C. Jain, Jana Agama Sahitya Mein Dharmasastra, pp. 161-62.
472. See Kane, Hist of Dharmasastra, Vol. II, part I; see also L. Gopal, The Economic Life of Northern India, pp. 79-80.
475. See III, 13 (Shamasastry, trans. p. 209).
476. See Tristitihalakarpurusgaritra, I, p. 56.
477. See Jain, op-cit., p. 183; see also Avacit., p. 332.
478. P. 124.
479. P. 540.
480. See Jñātādharma-kathā, Book 18, p. 207; see also Āva.Śī., p. 497.
481. See Gopal, op. cit., p. 73
482. II, pp. 91f.
483. PP. 404–5
485. P. 47.
486. PP. 404f.
488. See op. cit., p. 30.
489. See Elliot and Dowson, History etc., II, p. 39.
490. P. 54.
491. Com. on Manu, VIII, 415.
492. See Gopal, op. cit., p. 78.
493. I, p. 128.
494. See J. C. Jain, Prakrit Sahitya ka itihāsa, p. 211.
495. See Watters, On Xuan Chwang's travels in India, I, p. 176.
496. See Select Inscriptions etc., 2nd ed. I, pp. 67–68.
497. See 7, 23.
499. See I.A., 13, p. 69.
501. Lekhanaddhāti, 50.
502. See E.I., 14, p. 150.
503. See Life etc., p. 61.
346

504. VIII, p. 102.
505. 87, p. 32.
506. The Niryukti texts ascribed to Bhadrabābha II; see Jain, Prakrit Sahitya Ka itihāsa, pp. 195 ff; and also Life etc., pp. 39f.
507. See Vol. IV, p. 344.
508. Loc. cit; see also Ibid, II, p. 97.
510. See IV, p. 344.
511. See B.I. 9, pp. 17ff; and see also Jain-Lekha Sahgraha, No. 898.
515. See Upadhye, Kuvalayamāla, part II; see also 68.1 ff.
516. See Life etc., pp. 61f.
518. See Act. VI.
519. See Chatterjee, A.K., A Comprehensive Hist. of Jainism, II, p. 17; see also Hemacandra, Tāq. parvan, X.
520. IV, 5104.
521. Loc. cit.
522. II, p. 190.
523. See Jain, Life etc., p. 63.
524. See I, 2506 f.
526. See Shava VI, pp. 509, 559, 562 etc.