CHAPTER -II

STATE CONTROL ON TRADE AND INDUSTRY IN THE PRE-KAUTILYAN AGE.

"Food, drink, clothing, shelter, amusement, social intercourse .......... these are the primary wants with the covering of which private economy is mainly occupied; peace, order, security, culture, relief; these are the higher needs which are mainly served by the public economy."

...... Gustav Cohn.

( Veblen translation, Pg. 73.)
We have already noticed in the preceding chapter that the necessity of state control over trade and industry arises only after the establishment of a territorial state subsequent to a settled life. In fact, the intervention of the state in the sphere of its economic life is an established fact, which arises for certain specific reasons like meeting the defence costs. The country or the king in the urge of maintaining a standing as well as an equipped army, commissariat, better infantry, and cavalry, as well as for the upliftment of the welfare of the subject needs to enhance his treasury, and thus come forward to intervene in the manifold aspect of trade and industry. With this background we now propose to make a passing survey of the state control over trade and industry if any in the Pre-Kautilyan age.

The political authority prior to Kautilyan age seems to have followed "laissez-faire" policy so far industrial production and trade and commerce was concerned. The individual traders and merchants as well as the craftsman and artisan were generally allowed to carry on their profession according to their own policy without any major intervention on the part of the state, until and unless his action led to grave socio-economic and political danger off the people in general and the state.
The political authority concerned mainly aimed at realising revenues out of these various economic activities with minimum amount of involvement. But raising revenues from crafts industries and trade probably ensured some degree of indirect economic control by the king over these trading activities.

Section - I

In prevedic India the growth and development of diversified crafts and industries and extensive trade and commerce both over-land and over-seas has been clearly demonstrated by the archaeological finds. The Indus civilization (c 2300 B.C. - 1750 B.C.) extending over a large area as for South as Saurashtra and so far East as Alamgirpur near Delhi, and incorporated a number of flourishing cities like Lothal, Kālibangan, Čānḥu-dāro, Mohenjo-dāro and Hārrēppa. Such a large and surprisingly mature uniform culture presupposes the existence of a sound economic structure beneath it. The presence of specialised group of potters, copper and bronze workers, stone workers, faience workers so on shows, that such industries were in a flourishing state and the people
might have helped in the growth of the economy and the prosperity of trade. Among the above mentioned crafts and industries, the seal making, and brick-building industry deserves a special mention. These seals and bricks were of equal shape and size, and standardised in such a fashion that it presupposes the existence of some ruling authority which we may call the "State". One of the functions of these Indus seals was to serve as the trade-mark authenticating a certain product, and hence it is obviously essential to be standardised under the direction and supervision of the state. From the excavated areas at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, it appears that different crafts were localised at different parts of the two urban centres. Such localisation presupposes the existence of a civic authority supervising urban crafts. Another possible evidence of state control on industry and trade is the remarkable uniformity of weights and measures in the Indus cities. A single example will suffice to show how common products were distributed throughout the empire. From the limes stone hills at Rorhi and Sukkur come nodules of fine flint which were worked at vast factory side nearby. Therefrom they were distributed to form a uniform item of equipment at Harappa, Mohenjo-Daro, Lōthāl, Rangpur, Cot-diji, and Kalibangan. The ruling authority in the Indus valley perhaps also
exercised considerable control over the distribution of food-grains as is evident from the two granaries at Harappa and Mohanjo-Dero. Those two massive structures must have been closely connected with the Indus economy. The two granaries seems to have been well-planned by the Government. Moreover, the almost identical measurement of the granaries (9000 sq.ft., approx,) strengthen the possibility that these were state managed. Sir Mortimer Wheeler hypothetically reconstructs that grains, the principle sources of civic wealth were regulated and distributed from these granaries by government officials. According to the same scholar these granaries were however, utilised for the storage of surplus products to be used in times of stringency and scarcity. Such a system more or less is akin to the present day functions of modern state bank or treasury, which are replenished and fulfilled in the same way. In fact, in the Indus civilization becomes a cross a highly organized system of crafts production and distribution scheme implemented by a degree of administrative control undreamt of else where in the ancient world.

Metals that were used for the purpose of various industries were presumably often procured from distant places by means of trade. That these extensive uniform
and organized civilization maintain far flung, commercial contacts with areas within the subcontinent as well as without has ably been established by archaeologists. The most significant aspect of this trade contact was probably the intercourse with Mesopotamia, known from some cuneiform tablets and archaeological remains. The representation of a ship, a seal, a potsherd and a terracotta relief and the discovery of a dockyard at Lothal in Kathiawad speaks of the fact that a considerable portion of the trade in the civilization was maritime in character. If the main merchandise handled by Lothal were local produce from Kathiawad and Western Ghat, than Lothal was ideally situated as a collection and trans-shipment centre.

What is important is that the occurrence of typically Harappan arts and crafts, pottery, weights and seals, scripts and town planning in Gujarat which speaks for the incorporation of this area into the Harappan state system. The evidence speaks for political and economic control of Kutch and Kathiawad by Harappan rulers. It has been asserted that the coastal distribution of the Kathiawad sites indicate a marked maritime orientation of Harappan Gujarat. If the coastal sites Kanjetar, Somnath, Amra, Navinal, and Todio were intermediary stations along a sea-route to Makran and the Gulf, we would expect them
to yield materials known to have been traded e.g. ivory, etched beads and metals as well as some indications of trading activities such as foreign and local seals or weights or sealings. There could have been merchant outposts for the procurement of timber from the Western Ghats and for its despatch by seal to other areas. There is abundant evidence in the historical period for the export of fine timbers from Broach and Surat districts to the Gulf and the Red sea. It is possible that Harappan agents did not reside permanently at these sites but stayed there for short time to buy wood from local people at periodic markets or fairs on the coastal plain as is done in recent times. In fact, wood appears to have been one of the earliest commodities traded. Mesopotamia must have imported fine wood not only for "prestige" purposes such as the building and decoration of temple and temple furniture, but also for functional objects such as carts, wagons, furniture and boats. The important items of trade were stones pigments, gold, ivory, steatite and greyware containers, carnelian, beads, Lapislazuli, pearls, silver, lead and turquoise.

Besides, the over-land and sea-route, river transport also assumes a special significance. The growth of urbanization in Mesopotamia and the Indus valley
therefore, can be attributed not only to the high productivity of the respective regions but, with the ease with which these products could be moved along the large and navigable rivers. The evidence of the Larsa period texts from Ur also must be considered for the study of the period under survey. These texts admittedly referred to trade only with Dilmun. It is clear that all the imports from Dilmun in this period could not possibly have originated in the Gulf. Whereas pearls came from the Gulf, copper could have originated in Magan. Thus we may be certain that Indian products continued to come into Mesopotamia even in the Larsa period.

It nevertheless becomes necessary to ask whether the evidence supports Polanyi's theory that all trades in premonetary societies was administered trade or whether market conditions could have prevailed? Administered trade usually takes the form of specific trade expeditions. It takes place when the economy is integrated under patterns of redistribution. In such a system wealth, both staple commodities and luxuries would be accumulated in public stores. Production and exchange of goods would be cycled through this store; payments to workers and state officials would be made from temples or palaces or other central institutions, and so also raw materials for manufacture,
or merchandise for exchange. Under such system the state authority would regulate the prices of the commodities, the rates of interest, hire and wages. According to Polanyi, administered trade by definition is organized through Government channels and all aspects of it such as storage, safe keeping, prices, quality, and weighing, are matters of state control. This means that demand and supply do not regulate prices, and there is even no haggling. Prices are fixed for long periods and if adjustments are necessary, they are made to quality, measures or means of payment rather than to equivalency ratios themselves such trade is often the subject of treaty relationships. Administered trade is necessarily specific involving concrete undertakings in respect of particular goods and there is a stress on prestige items.

To conclude we can thus say that a high degree of state control in trade and industry coupled with centralized distribution is indicated by the extremely large area of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa as compared to other contemporary settlement. The concentration here of seals, message sealings and the maximum range of materials including all the metals, shell species and semi precious stones known to the Harappan not to speak of the public storage building at the two sites are an ample testimony.
Section II.

Since the decline of the Indus civilization and the beginning of the Vedic age (c. 1500 B.C. - 600 B.C.), the paucity of the literary documents somewhat minimizes and the information regarding the present study remains meagre. Although it is very difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion regarding the original home of the Indo-aryans, we are in a somewhat better position in respect to their early settlements in Northern India, and gradual expansion over the whole of the area. Regarding the sources of our information, the evidence of the Vedic literature comes to our aid and fortunately the earliest part of the hymns of the Rgveda contain abundant geographical data. The whole of territory known to the Vedic settlers was divided into a number of tribes and principalities, ruled normally by kings. As for their economic life these people were originally pastoral and gradually turned into sedentary agriculturists in course of their settlement in India. The Rgveda, the earliest extent record of the "Aryan mind", speaks of some rudimentary trade. A people called Pani, hardly favoured by the composers of the Rgvedic hymn appears to have participated in trade. The question of maritime trade
has led to considerable scholarly disputes, one group considering the Rgvedic people as sea-farers and others contrasting such a theory. Despite the great divergence of opinion amongst scholars, this much is clear that the Rgveda itself described the Indus and the Sarasvti as following down the sea. So the knowledge of sea distinct from the river or the mouth of it, seems to have been established. In another context, we find, "At the same time we cannot deny the existence of some coastal trade, as well as that of voyages for the treasures of the ocean. Asvins are set to bring riches to king Sudas and they are requested to bring wealth to their praisers from the Samudra". This no doubt an illustration of some maritime trade coupled with some possibility that king Sudas might have had some aggressive designs in the lower Indus valley to control and take advantage of commercial activities in the coastal areas.

Simultaneously with the growth of large kingdoms, we have a further extension of the political and cultural sway of the Aryans towards the east and the south. This was due as much to the adventurous spirit of kings and princes, and before the close of the later Vedic period, the Aryans had thoroughly subdued the fertile plains watered by the Yamuna and the Upper Ganges. Adventurous
bands penetrated into the Vindhyan forest and established powerful kingdoms in the Deccan to the mouth of the Godavari. The centre of the Aryan world was the flam dmiddle country (Dhruva Madhyama dir') stretching from the Sarasvati to the Gangetic Doab. The amalgamation of tribes and the increase in the size of kingdoms, in the later Vedic age coupled with the successful leadership of the kings in war, inevitably led to the growth in the royal power. Kings now claimed to be absolute masters of all their subjects. Successful monarchs set up claims to the rank of universal king (rāja Viśvajananī), lord of all the earth, (Sarvabhumī), or sole ruler (ekarāt) of the land down to the seas, and celebrated sacrifices befitting their status like the Rajasūya, Vājapeya, and Asvamedha. All this no doubt points to the growth of imperialism, a tendency that became more and more marked in the early days of Buddhism.

With the growth of the kings power the common free man had to pay tribute (Bali Sulka and Bhāga) and could be oppressed at will. The idea of sovereignty was gaining ground. As to their economic life with the growth of agriculture, the various use of agricultural implements made a real headway. The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa enumerates the various operations of agriculture as
ploughing sowing and rijsping. Moreover, rich Vaisyas (Sresthina) who had acquired much wealth in trade and agriculture and who were probably the head man of guilds are often referred to. That money lending was a flourishing business is indicated in various ways. Kusidin is a designation of the usurer in the Satapatha Brāhmana and Kusida has the sense of a loan in the Taittirya Samhitā. The rate of interest is not specified, no regular system of currency or coinage appears to have been introduced yet. 21 The haggling of a market already known Aryan had now become such a pronounced feature of commerce that a whole hymn of the Atharvaveda aims at procure success in trade through clever bargaining.

The sea was probably known and there was probably some amount of sea-borne trade. In the text of this period Samudra is frequently used in the definite sense of the sea. 22 The Aitareya Brāhmana speaks of the inexhaustable sea. The Eastern and Western ocean are probably, references to the Indian ocean and Arabian sea.

In the Brāhmaṇa literature a number of high ranking and very close retinues of the ruler are mentioned, who are called jewels (ratnin). 22A Two of them are Samgrāhitr and Bhāgadūha. The term Samgrāhitr is connected with Samgraha i.e., collection and the officer in question seems to have
been entrusted with the collection of taxes. The term Bhāgahuha literally means are who milches out the share. He too officially is a fiscal officer and the name of his office may symbolically imply that his function was to extract a certain share of the produce even by applying force. Two things are clear (i) fiscal matters of a state were given due importance and began to be properly organised. (ii) The administrative importance of a regular system of tax collection was duly recognised, leading to the certain of posts of two high ranking officers who were incorporated into the select bands of "jewels".

The above information may indicate growth of commercial activities during the 10th and 9th centuries B.C. This may be supplemented by the evidence of Jewish chronicles during the reign of Solomon (C 800 B.C.) which describes a naval voyage sent by Hiram, the king of Tyre. The journey resulted in the import of gold, silver, ivory, apes, peacocks and great plenty of Almug trees and precious stones which were shipped at a port called Ophir. This testifies that the commodities mentioned here were no doubt of great economic value and this was definitely picked up by the ruling king. Ophir may be identified with Ābhīra located in Rajasthan. If however, the word is read as Sophir as has been suggested by some scholars,
it may correspond to Sopāra or Sūrparaka, a well-known port in the Weastern sea board. All these probably show maritime trade contacts in Weastern Asia with certain parts of the subcontinent. In this context reference may be made to representation of figures of apes and Indian elephants on the obisk of Shalmanaser III in 860 B.C. This archaeological evidence seems to corro­borate the Biblical evidence regarding India's commercial contacts with Western Asia. The use of Indian teak in the temple of Moon at Mugheir (the Ur of Chaldees) and in pl palaces of Nebuchandnezzar both assignable to the sixth century B.C. Once again point to the same direction. These places of information throw some light on the kings initiative in promoting foreign trade and commerce.

If the work of Panini is to be ascribed to the eight century B.C. then we definitely get some interesting references which show the improvement of economic activi­ties of the period under review. He refers to silpa as a general work denoting both for fine arts as well as crafts. A worker in handicrafts is referred to as Kāri which the Kāsika explained as Kāru such as weavers. He mentions the village artisans as Grāmaśilpins, the village carpenter as grāma takshā. He mentioned the skilled artisan as Rāja śilpins (Rājachaprasamsāyām) Rāja nāpita
and Raja kulāla. In fact, persons who enjoyed the patronage of kings from whom they were so named. Besides this the reference to a miner (Khaṇaka) and mining revenue (ākarika) might imply some fiscal control over mining activities by the king. The reference to goldsmith (Suvarnakāra and Karmāra) blacksmith is also found.

Regarding trade (Vyavahāra) Pāṇini uses a variety of terms connected with trade like currency and barter (nimāna) traders (Vanija) trade routes (patha), sale and purchase (Kraya-Vikraya), shops (āpana), saleable commodities (panya). Merchants were named after the nature of their business. Vasnīka is a merchant who invested his own money in business and samsthānika is a member of commercial guild, while profit is called lābha. A vasnīka merchant is distinguished from a dravyaka, the latter was a trader on outward journey conveying merchandise for sale (dravya), and the former was so called because he carried the sale proceeds on his return journey home. All these are clear indications of the advancement of trade and industry. As regards royal control sulka denoted taxes on trade as customs and octroi. Pāṇini mentions that the consignment was named after the duty paid on it. The customs house sulkasāla and the income from customs houses sulkasālika, ardhabhāga
are mentioned as amounts on octroi duty. Panini also mention a general reference to taxes levied in the eastern part of India (prācham-kāra-nāma) amongst which Patanjali includes toll taxes. As names of marketable articles Panini mentions salt, perfumes, cotton and woolen garments.

Section-III

The latest stratum of the Vedic literature consisting of different types of Sūtra texts signifies the age of formalization and codification of laws relating to social customs, economic pursuits, and state crafts. This is particularly true of the Dharma Sūtra texts discussing the royal duties and prerogatives. In the Gautama Dharma Sūtra gives an exhaustive list of heads or sources where from the king earns taxes. Taxes are imposed on gold artisans, ownership of ships and carts and merchants. The rate of taxes varies from 1/6th of the produce to 1/60th of the same. Moreover each "artisans shall monthly do one days work for the king". The injunction may refer to forced labour, but whether it can
be identified with visti is difficult to ascertain at the present state of our knowledge. Further "the merchant shall each give every month one article of merchandise for less than market value." An interesting parallel in this dictum may be traced in the following passages of the Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra. "The duty on goods imported by sea is after deducting a choice article, ten panās in the hundred." Buhler who translated this text comments "I take this to mean that the king may take one article which particularly pleases him out of each contingent and impose on the rest an advalorem duty of 10%." It appears that this particular rule was applicable to foreign goods and foreign traders, since such a tax is specifically stated to have been imposed on goods imported by the sea. This law yields for the king twofold economic advantages. He is entitled to take away a choice imported merchandise probably free of costs or at least at a concessional price and he also enjoys a fixed amount of revenue on these commodities. The combined testimony of the injunction laid down in the Dharma Sūtra of Gautama and Baudhāyana may illustrate king's control over trade and commerce.

Another significant recommendation laid down by the Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra may be examined. "Let him
(that is the king) also lay just duties on other marketable goods according to their intrinsic value, without oppressing the traders*. Commentator Govinda clarifies that "without oppressing" (anupahatya) should mean without deducting (anuddhrtya) a choice article.

Section- IV

The sixth century B.C. is in fact a landmark in the history in India, for this witnessed the rise of two heretical sects, Buddhism and Jainism. Though the reconstruction of the history of age of the Buddha is a formidable task, because the available literary sources are all later than the period under review and this have been used by scholars to study the history of the period. The evidence of the Pali canonical texts and the Jataka story go to show the emergence of a large number of crafts and industries during the time of the Buddha. This diversified crafts proved to be the pivotal feature of contemporary economy and were traced in the town as well as in the village to a considerable extent.

But before we proceed on to discuss the proli-
federation of industries and extension of trade markets, let us make a brief survey of the geographical background which in fact precipitated to such a condition. In fact it is from the sixth century B.C. that we can trace a new development in Indian politics. We find the growth of a number of powerful kingdoms known as the Solasa Mahājanapada, (6th/5th Century B.C.) which however occupied the territory ranging from the Kabyl valley to the banks of the Godāvari. The rise of such a Mahājanapada speaks of the elimination of weaker and smaller neighbours. The process of amalgamation of small states into a territorial state probably began from the later Vedic times and seems to have intensified during the period under review. Expansionist attitude is inseparably linked with the rise of these Mahājanapadas. There was a marked tendency towards political unification, and coalescence, but the dream was yet to be realised because no single paramount political power held its sway, over the whole of North India. The story of the hostilities among the sixteen aspirants for imperial power is not fully known. But four states viz., Kośela, Vatsa, Awanti, and Magadha rose to the status of superior powers, finally leading to the emergence of Magadha as the champion of this race of political supremacy. These powers were however on hostile terms with each other for, all the rulers favoured
a policy of expansion. From the Jātaka and other Buddhist texts we find that the economic condition of this country were rather prosperous. Amongst them the Kuru country was agriculturally rich as well as possessed a regular supply of horses, so vital for military exercises. The flourishing economy of the Vatsa country which is well attested to the textile industry was a definite source of wealth. The kingdom of Kāshi also enjoyed geopolitical and economic advantages. It produced silk, perfumes and at the same time was a celebrated trade centre where a number of trade routes converged. Judged from this light the attitude of the contemporary powers can be easily understood. The economic strength of Kāsi and Vatsa definitely helped its king in designing expansionist schemes. It is natural that the king of Kāsi would try to capture the country through which vital trades past. On the other hand, due to the flourishing economy other rulers always cast their coveted eyes on Vatsa, Kuru Kāsi and Magadha. Thus Kāsi became a bone of contention between Kośala and Magadha. Magadha also had hostile terms with Vatsa which ultimately was annexed to Magadha obviously to the great economic advantage of the later. Moreover, in another context we get that "there was a port near the Ganges, extending over a league. Half of it belong to Ajātaśatru and half of it to the republican state of the Vajjīs and their orders
were obeyed in their respective territories." The statement of the author is made in the context of Ajāṭāṭru's war with Vajjīs. It has been found from the Samangalavilāsini of Buddhaghosa a commentary to the Nibbānasuttanta of the Dīghanikāya, that there was a breach of agreement regarding the working of a mine. The present evidence from Vēnaya Pītaka supplied additional information that a port existed under the joint authority of Ajāṭāṭru and the Vrjjīs. It is also stated in this text that authority over this port ultimately became an issue of trouble between the two powers. It may be inferred that the mineral resources were exported through this port and hence both Ajāṭāṭru and the Vrjjīs had designs to impose monopoly control over the mines, as well as the port. For it is quite obvious that to take control of the port meant the enhancement of the revenue. This ultimately led to a protracted struggle between the two powers. Thus the cause of the war between Ajāṭāṭru and Vajjīs was predominantly economic.

Now we come to discuss the crafts and industries which made a real headway at this time. Of the seemingly innumerable crafts only the more prominent one may be discussed here. In the Buddhist texts the number of principal industries is often 18 i.e. (atthārasasippaṇi)
evidently a conventional figure. The crafts of the smith in general attained a considerable prominence during the period under survey largely because of the increasing use of various metals. Buddhist work like the Milinda Panha state, that the craft of the smith was diversified and specialised on the basis of various metals like Suvarnakāra, Sajjahakāra, Lohakāra. The blacksmith deserves a special mention for they were grouped in exclusive settlements of their own, and common people came to them to make their agricultural implements. They even supplied tools to the army which might imply that they might have been petronised by the king. Moreover, the description of a blacksmith working with his tools in a parable use by the Buddha also highlights the situation and popularity attached to the craft. Thus the popular use of iron was known during the period. The crafts of the goldsmith is an urban industry. In one Jātaka the goldsmith receives a royal order to make an exquisite gold image. Gold in fact being an important mineral the king encourages him by all possible way. The silver smith, the carpenter the weavers, as well as the washerman and the dyer also emerged as separate and specialised crafts.

That industry of the period under survey was considerably advanced is shown by the appreciable amount
of diversification and specialisation of the industry. From the Milinda Pañha it appears that the art of arrow making while being separate from that of the smith (Cunda) was even separate from the manufacture of bows (dhanukāra) and of bow strings (jiyakāra) apart from the ornamental work there upon. These are no doubt unimpeachable evidences pointing to the admirable progress in industrial arts.

The factors behind this remarkable development in industrial fields have been due to many reasons. Firstly the knowledge and use of raw materials and machines. As elsewhere Indian artisan made progress through trial and error and brought nature increasingly under control of technical device. The second is the guild organisation with its plan of perpetuating skill through the practices of heredity and apprenticeship. The father handed down his skill and experience to his son, and a new entrant into the guild had to go through a course of training under the guidance of master before he qualified himself for the profession. The third is the expansion of the market which definitely implies that there must have been some sort of state intervention. With the improvement of communication and transport trade followed more freely across political and maritime barriers.
Lastly there is the protection and patronage of state i.e., kings encouraging industry and trade by providing security to caravans of traders against theft and robbery.

The development of trade and industry during this period depends to a considerable extent upon efficient organization which was provided by the guilds. A guild is such an organisation following a common craft or trade. In ancient Indian literature and inscription guilds and their activities are often mentioned. They are classified under two broad types i.e., industrial and commercial guilds. Scholars have raised various opinion regarding the organisation and combination of the guilds. But whatever may be the cause the scholars are unanimous in stating that the successful functioning of guilds depended upon the following factors: (1) localisation, and specialization of crafts and occupation, (2) heredity of occupation, (3) leadership of the Jetaṭṭhaṅka.

The Buddhist texts clearly show that some industries and occupational groups tended to be segregated from one another partly under the same circumstances which led to the localisation of modern industries. There was an ivory-workers street (dantakāra viṭṭhim) in Benares, the Lotus street (uppalavīṭhim) in Sāvatthi,
and the Washerman-street (rajaka vīthim). Such localisation and the resultant specialization of crafts must have required an efficient organization and this was provided by the guilds. A more developed type of organization can be seen in the settlement of followers of the same occupation in one village. A carpenter village with 500 or 10000 families in the frontier of the state of Kāsi or in the outskirts of the city of Beneras (Kāsi ratthe Paccantagāme bahu Vaddhaki Vasanti).

Mention is also made of (sahassakutika kammāragāma).

Persons following the same profession tended to become a close group the membership of which was determined by birth. Heredity of occupation was the common bond among the guild members. This definitely gave homogeneity to the guild organization. Moreover, under the direction of the father the son was introduced to the technicalities of the profession. Thus the talent for a particular handicraft is easily inherited and it increases from generation to generation. The son of a smith (Kammāraputta) in the Pali text is used as a synonym for smith. Thus we see that a particular craft almost became a monopoly to a group of people and all outside competition were virtually eliminated.

The guild was headed by the president Jetthaka.
The Jātakas mention, Jetthaka of carpenters, smiths and weavers and even thieves. His office was hereditary and honorary and based on skill rather than on age. It is not impossible that the interest of the ordinary members were brought before the king by the Jatthaka and that is why his prominent in the royal court.

The last but perhaps the strongest factor binding the constituents as a close homogeneous unit was the operation of the guild laws. In the Jātaka themselves we do not really find any reference to such guild laws. But in the Gautama Dharmasūtra which may be contemporary to the earliest of the Jātakas we come across such references to guild laws. Laws of artisans, ploughmen and money-lenders are referred to. It may be taken for granted that such laws were coming into shape by the sixth century B.C. Such rules appeared to have been framed by respective guilds of artisans and merchants and represent the respective śrenidharma. That the guilds also exercised judicial power is well illustrated by Prof. B.C. Sen, who says that a man may be tried by his guild. It is implied that the king should take into account such śrenidharma or administered justice following guilds laws in case of dealing which judicial problem of guilds. So these śrenidharmas may be considered as a
parallel source of law to customary laws. So the administration of justice concerning traders and artisans had to be meted out according to their own laws, which were also respected by the king. So it is not unlikely that these different occupational groups may become economically more powerful and important enough to force the king to accept the validity of their respective Srenidharmas. The guilds as extremely successful organization of traders and craftsmen thus became an inseparable part of contemporary economic life. The Buddhist literature repeatedly refers to "Attharaso seniya" i.e. eighteen guilds which doubtless a figuration expression. They became so important that their presence (Sabbaseniyo) was required when a particular king arranged for alms giving.

Next we come to trade. As we all know that the natural sequel to crafts is trade (Vohara) for an industrial product must as a matter of course look for a market for its disposal. Such market and transactions are necessary for the development of an economic life and have been noticed in the earlier stages of history. The Buddhist text testifies to the flourishing commerce both inland and foreign, overland as well as sea borne trade.

The five principle overland routes connecting the principle...
cities suggest the existence of a well developed communication system between the different part of the northern and southern part of the subcontinent. Besides this, some ancillary trade routes also existed like Puskalāvati to Middle East. 50

The main bulk of foreign trade was carried on by sea trade through flourishing ports like Bharukaccha and Tamralipti. Trade rounding the southern tip of the peninsula from Bharukaccha to Suvarnabhumi in southeast Asia via Ceylon was also well known in those days. Prince Mahājanaka 52 is said to have gone to Suvarnabhumi from Campā carrying silk muslins cutlery armours, perfumes, jewellery which were the main articles of trade. They were no doubt luxury goods and the association of the prince in trade pursuits no doubt speak of his involvement in trade practices to encourage the merchants to carry on far of trades. Evidences of commercial intercourse with which the Jātaka literature abounds 53 like carrying on merchandise in boats on the Ganges as far west as Sahajāti and downe to Campa and Tamralipti and on the Yamuna as far west as Kauśāmbi. This no doubt reveals the relatively extended geographical knowledge of the Indians during the period concerned and also implying the existence of close connection with several
foreign country identifiable or not through the medium of trade and commerce. Moreover, merchants from Benares used to come to the kingdom of Bavreru (ancient Babylon) in order to sell Indian wares in the market town of Babylon. Besides this we hear of messengers come from foreign countries in one Jataka. The reference to big ship with 500 and 1000 passengers seems to imply to the organization of the sea-going merchants under a shipper thala jala niyamaka jetāhaka.

The Jain literature gives certain definition about trade and trading activities. The reference to (Jalpatana) was sea port where foreign cargos were unloaded and indigenous goods exported. As against this (Sthalapattana) were those markets to which goods were transported by carts. Dropanukha was the market town where the goods came both from the sea and the land. Tamralipti and Bharukaccha are cited. Nigama was the city of bankers. It was divided in two categories namely Samgrahika and Asamgrahika. The first did the business of pledging the goods and deposits while the second besides doing banking business could also do other business as well. Putabhedana was the market where the bales of the goods coming from all over the countries had their seals broken. Though there is no explicit reference,
Putabhedana might have been a royal market place. Where all incoming goods were examined by the king, or his officials. As regards inland trade people mostly travelled in caravans. We find caravans with 1000 carts going from one Janapada to another and which had to pass through deserted areas. Merchants from distant lands usually come to sell their goods in Majjhima Janapada. Horse dealers from Uttarpatha (Uttarkuru) come to Varānja with 500 horses. This definitely implies that horses were an important item for trade, and the possibility to kings being associated with horse trade cannot be ruled out for horses were prized for its economic as well as for its military value. Within the broader region of Majjhima Janapada certain economic products were known by the region in which they were manufactured e.g. products of Kāsi known as Kāsi cloth and Kāsi Sandal wood. The bronze dishes of Kośala (Kosalika Kamśāpati) also seems to have been popular.

Now regarding trading activities there is the reference that the city officer fixes the tolls for merchant (Vanijānam Sumkani) the tolls were collected on incoming goods at the four gates of the city (Catusu Dvāresu Sumkani) at the customs house Sumketṭhāna attached to each gate. Collection was strict for an
attempted evasion, the whole wagon was seized by the state. This is elaborated in the commentary on Buddhā's parable in Anguttara Nikāya of the payer of taxes on merchants. The old commentary on the Vinaypītaka specifically mentions that the king used to fix the customs frontier (Sunkaghāta) in hills breathing places, in rivers, and gates of villages for the collection of tolls (Sulka). There is also a single reference that the valuer would assess the merchants for the duty of a twentieth part presumably advalorem on each consignment of native merchandise and of tenth of advalorem plus a sample on each consignment imported on sea. This valuer also settled the price of goods ordered for the palace. He stood between the dilemma of offending the king with too high a rate and or driving away the tenders by excessive cheapening. Thus we see that for better business principles than unrestricted bargaining were just beginning to dawn. All these are clear references of state intervention.

Besides this, the Divyāvadāna a collection of Buddhist stories dating from before the 3rd cent. A.D. repeatedly refers to the tolls and other duties like tarapanya, gulmadeya paid by merchants. Though the text in question is of much later date, and cannot be
ascertained for the period under survey. But most probably such taxes might have existed during Buddha's time. It will be later on observed that the above mentioned list more or less correspond to the one we get in the Arthaśāstra. All these evidences more or less hint upon the royal control on merchants and traders but this nature of control was not well formulated or systematic until and unless we come to the later period.

Besides this the system of giving loan to petty traders was coming into vogue. There were small traders and shop keepers who sell all sorts of merchandise including meat and wine. They set up tavern, slaughter house and also deal in green leaves. It is significant to note that women sometimes occupied themselves with this petty trades. Also the terms Vanijya is differentiated from setting a shop or engaging an usually. The probable explanation to this is that Vanijya or trading refers to whole-sale transaction, while setting up a shop indicate retail selling of goods. According to N. Wagle, the shop-keeper in course of time becomes known to a rich gahapati or a gahapati putta who offers him wealth to be paid up with interest. In his skill in raising finances buying and selling things
This shop-keeper seems to resemble a modern entrepreneur and the gahapati or the gahapatiputta who give him loan appear similar to modern bankers. All this is clear indication that the society is not a simple undifferentiated tribal society, more or less an acquisitive society due to the absence of planned economy.

With the development of trade and industries there was accumulation of capital in the hands of a selected few who became capitalists and bankers of those days. Here we may cite an evidence from Jaina texts Bhagavati Sūtra which refers to a potter woman named Hāla Hāla who employed 500 potter women under her. Hāla Hāla appears to have had enough financial resources at her disposal otherwise she could hardly employ other potters under her. Though originally a potter herself Hāla Hāla is competent enough to raise herself to the position of an entrepreneur. Thus she may be said to have enjoyed greater economic control over the crafts she followed. The story seems to highlight one of the salient feature of the existing economic condition, the gradually emerging class of moneyed people in whom a considerable wealth had accumulated.

The most outstanding representative of this
newly lead class is the setthi corresponding to Sanskrit Śrēṣṭhi. The term is used since the later vedic period, but becomes much more frequent in the Buddhist state. The setthi is the merchant "per excellence" and the most important and aristocratic representative of the merchantile class. The setthis rise as intermediaries or traders was due to the fabulous gains in commerce. They themselves promoted industrial growth by becoming entrepreneurs, and also dominated other craftsmen and their guilds by advancing money to them. In the absence of state undertaking, the setthis had the advantage of laissez-faire and amassed enough wealth to control industrial and financial policy of the state. The setthi has been traditionally described in the Buddhist texts possessing wealth, amounting to 80 crores (Asitikotivibhava), undoubtedly a figurative expression, but nevertheless indicative of the great fortune amassed by him. R. Fick points to the double role played by the setthi. As a private gentlemen the setthi appears in the Buddhist texts in the role of a such merchant and an influential merchant prince. A setthi residing at Benaras is said to have led five hundred wagons. The term janapada setthi denotes a setthi living in the countryside. From the evidence of the Buddhist Jātaka it would appear that each city might have contained at least one rich
setthi who was designated by the name of the locality, in which he lived. Rival setthis lived in the same city. The rise of the setthi in the position of the business magnate was probably his success in trading. Moreover, a Jātaka story depicts that he had stocked a huge quantity of grain in the granary. The purpose of such hoarding must have been the sale of grains at the time of scarcity thereby enabling him to earn a handsome profit. In another Jātaka story a tailor is said to have lived with him (setthim nissāya vasantasse tunna kārassa). An inn-keeper had also got sufficient means to carry on his trade in spirituous liquor ( tam upanissayo jivati). The significance of these two Jātaka passages may be sought in the logical interpretation, that the setthi with his enormous wealth at his disposal probably invested capital with smaller traders and craftsmen. The persons thus securing financial advantages are likely to be under the influence of the setthi and also would pay him some kind of interest whether in cash or in kind. The setthi then seems to have been in direct monetary gains by investing capital and also gaining some amount of economic control over certain crafts. In the light of this influence a profound transformation in the character and activities of a big trading magnate during the age of the Buddha may be well appreciated. The trader is essentially and originally
a middle man between the actual producer and the consumer, and the main impulse behind his activities to the profit potentiality in every deal. The setthis thus seems to have assumed the position of an entrepreneur. Such a major transformation would naturally result in the considerable expansion of the setthis sphere of economic activities and influence in the overall economy of the state.

Apart from being a respectable private trader, the setthi appears in an official role as the leader of the mercantile community, and holds the office of rājagaha setthi. The typical representative of the setthi in his official role is Anathapindika who had under him five hundred anusetthis, literally junior or subordinate setthis. The most remarkable aspect of the official position of the setthi is his close connexion with the king. The setthi is said to have rendered various services to the king as well as the traders. (Bahupakāra devassa cava negamassa ca). But at the same time he does not figure in the list of the rājabhoggas or royal officers, and hence is not a royal servant. In his official position as the representative of the commercial community he goes to the royal court three times a day (divassa sa tayo vāre rāju patthā maṃ gacchati). Though his actual
functions in the royal court is not clearly known he appears to have acted as a liaison between the king and the commercial community. It is possibly through him that laws relating to commercial guilds were administered by the king. The principal factor in his emergence in the state affairs is doubtless his immense wealth. He may have assisted the king in framing the financial policy and advised him on the methods and rates of assessment on big business. The importance of the setthi becomes so much that a Jātaka story refers to the gift of a East market town to a merchant by the king. This may imply the gift of certain trading facilities, or rather some fiscal exemptions to the setthi. Here we may narrate a story referring to the immense influence of the merchants even over the king.69

Another person whose economic affluence and social prestige often ran parallel to the setthi was the gahapati. The term is derived from sanskrit grhapati literally meaning a householder. Though the gahapati follows the profession of the cultivator (kassaka) and carpenter (daru kam.mika) he is most frequently mentioned with the setthi. This suggest that the often followed the profession of a rich trader.70 The general well-being of the gahapati is indicated in the Vinaya Pitaka by
the term (Kalyāna bhattiko-gahapati). In the Pancagaru Jātaka, the royal court is said to have been attended among others by ministers, Brāhmanas gahapatis and nobles, (amačca, bāhmanā, gahapati kādayo-khattiyo kumāra). The gahapati like the other setthīs thus attends the royal court. Moreover, the Dīghanikāya and the Suttanipāta, enlist the gahapati as one of the seven jewels (ratana) of the universal king (Cakkavatti) who is provided with hidden treasure. A.N. Bose points out that according to Buddhaghosa this gahapati is explained as the setthī gahapati. By securing treasures for the king, the setthī or the gahapati or the setthī gahapati obviously acts as the procurer of wealth or gems for the king, and this was probably one of the chief reasons for his position of great eminence to the king. The ties between the king and the gahapati are certainly economic. We may give here the case of Mendaka gahapati who is a resident of Bhaddiyanagara. He is said to have fed the kings entire army, and gives them wages in kind and cash, and also order 1,250 cowherds (gopalika) to serve the Buddha and the saṅgha. Mendaka and his family was renowned for their wealth and psychic power. By the latter element Mendaka filled the granary and his wife fed the household employers only with the help of a bowl. While his son paid from a single purse containing one thousand
coins as half-yearly wage to each of his employees, and his daughter-in-law provided food as six months wage to Mendaka’s employees out of a basket of the capacity of only one dona. The magical power of the gahapati is also said to have been applied in his agricultural fields which were employed by his slaves.

The above legend on the psychic powers of Mendaka may contain many improbabilities and financial narration. But at the same time it may also show that he was an immensely wealthy person. The source of his wealth was not merely trade but agriculture and other allied pursuits. Like other rich men he employed labourers to work for him. This implies that his role was more akin to entrepreneur, than as a simple trader or a middlemen engaged in exchange of goods. That is why he has not been called a setthi gahapati. Mendaka however seems to have rendered financial assistance to the king, for the maintenance of the royal army. From this point of view Mendaka may be considered more as a financier than a tax-giver to the king. The maintenance of the royal army of the king, is an outcome of a close relationship between the king and the gahapati. In another incident we come to know that a gahapati draws gold from the midst of the ganges and gives it to the king. The incidence of giving gold to the king is supposedly a symbolic
representation of the gahapati's ability to give the king taxes in kind or in cash. It is not unlikely that the gahapati with his enormous wealth and affluence would exert considerable influence upon the king. There are a number of other gahapatis who are known in the text for their position as an entrepreneur and financiers to physician Jīvaka, a gahapati of Sāketa gives 16000 coins, a male and a female slave and a horse chariot. While another setṭhi gahapati of Rājagaha for his brain operation give 10,000 coins to the king and 100,000 to Jīvaka. As a financier gahapati lends money to promising shop-keepers. All these are clear indications of the multifarious activities of the gahapatis, and the setṭhis the most affluent section of the then society.

The above discussion may help us in understanding the nature of the prestigious epithet gahapati. Following Wagle it may be said, that the epithet was assumed by persons whose growing wealth and influence marks them out as separate from their extended kin group. 78 This seems to have been strengthened by the inclusion of the name of Rājā Udeno, in the list of gahapatis found in the Samyutta nikāya, and Auguttara Nikāya. The king in question, seems to have been the same as the legendary Udayana of Vatsa. The epithet gahapati attached to the
name of the king probably underlines the accumulation of great wealth by Udena. The term in question thus, is a status symbol not only popular to commercial magnates, but also to royal personages.

From the above discussion it may reasonably follow that the setṭhi as the leader of the mercantile community found access into the political area primarily on the basis of his immense wealth. In this connection, mention may be made of a Jātaka story which describes the capture of setṭhis along with queens, and princes for execution. The story seems to suggest involvement of setṭhis in some kind of conspiracy against the king. The nature of the conspiracy whether political, economic or both is difficult to specify. But nevertheless it reflects upon the machinations of the setṭhi against the king, obviously to further his profit motive. The position of the king appears to have jeopardised who then took stern measures to suppress the growing influence of the setṭhi.

Almost in the same sense as the gahapati is the expression Kutumbika used. This also denotes members of the citizen class. Like the gahapati, wealthy citizens at the head of the household (Kutumba) appears to have been considered suitable by the rich aristocratic families.
As a leading citizen nagaravasi Kulaputta seeks the daughter of a Kutumbika living in a village, for his son. This no doubt is a clear indication, that together with the setthis and gahapatis the Kutumbika also were an affluent section of the society. The Kutumbikas living in the town engages in trade, while in another context it is said that the Bodhisattva is re-born in a Kutumbika family and maintains his livelihood by dealing in corn (dhannavikāya). Several times mention is made of money transactions which the Kutumbikas who are residents of a town carry on with the country. Over and above the Kutumbika from Sāvatthi mentioned in the paccupannavatthu of the Succaja Jātaka who goes with his wife into the country in order to collect debts. There is a mention in the Salapatta Jātaka, a Kutumbika who lends a villager 1000 kahapanas. The sons of another Kutumbika determine after the death of their father to administer his goods and collect his assets, they thus go to the village and return after they collect 1000 kahapanas.

It is evidently clear from the Buddhist texts that trade and industries all this time were mostly concentrated in the hands of these individuals who in the absence of proper state trading were generally allowed to carry on their profession according to their own
policy. Under such a state of things it is often found that these traders and industrialists would amass much greater wealth than their counterparts. The economic power and position of these people rise to such a height as to control all or most of the economic activities of the state. As trade and industry are vitally important for the economic strength of the state, the state itself consequently have to depend on the whims of these handful of economically powerful persons. It is quite natural that maximum profit-making would be the sole aim of these people even if it goes against the interest of the people in general. The king too being increasingly depended on these affluent section of the people can hardly check such harmful practices. The immediate result is the weakening of the economic conditions and strength of the state, subsequently leading to the emergence of various other troubles. Thus a handful of industrialists and traders may bring about considerable harm to the state in their attempt at deriving maximum personal benefits out of their activities.

The state was thus faced with growing problem of restoring order in the commercial and industrial world, for on the stability of the market depended the stability on finance. Gradually as trade and commerce expanded and
became the strongest economic factor in urban life it called forth in an increasing manner the intervention of the state. Its first concern was of course, to derive a revenue from the new income and next to monopolise those trades and industries which yielded best profits or which affected the vital k interest of the state. The exercise of these very rights drew it into further and further interference on the part of the state. Such a theory of state control on trade and industry by an organised bureaucratic machinery was formulated and well documented in the Arthasastra of Kautilya.

The economic arrangement of the period as described above show rather a few traits of royal control but not any great amount of state interference or any planned economy as that envisaged in the Arthasastra. As yet there was neither the monopolies nor royal ownership in mines, nor do we find royal officers controlling trade or regulating prices and profits. Yet the germs of the later system as described in the Arthasastra can be easily detected in the Dharma Sūtra or the Jātakas. Thus in regard to revenue the taxes on produce, the duty on articles of trade and the excise on wine or liquor exists in the Jātaka. Moreover, in the same books we find the tolls collected at the gates. Similarly in regard to the forced labour on artisans,
we see its early existence in the Dharma Sūtra of Gautama. In regard to mines and forests, Vasistha seems to regard this as "Rescommunes", which were enjoyable free. Prior to the rise of the Maurya state, the conquest of the Saisunagas and Nandas had already converted some of these into royal dominions. In the days of the small states these belonged to nobody, but when these were conquered by the Magadha king all intervening territory in addition to forest and other unclaimable natural sources passed to the dominion of the conqueror. State regulation of prices and profits came as a natural sequence. In the Jātaka we find the existence of the Agghakāraka who valued everything on behalf of the king. Gradually as cornering began to tell heavily on the people, the latter looked upon the king to intervene on their behalf and what was once done in the interest of the king came to be done in the interest of the public. Similar situations called for and resulted in the regulation of weights and measures and later on of the currency. Thus we find that the policy of state control on trade and industry and the policy of interference of the Maurya monarchy in different economic activities was not the creation of a single day or of a single brain but was the logical sequel to the forces and factors operating in the previous period.
Notes:

   Stuart Piggott - *Prehistoric India*, page 231 ff.


3. Ibid - page 79 ff.

4. Ibid - page 34 ff.


6. A.L. Oppenheim - *The Sea Faring Merchants of Ur*,
   J.A.O.S. Vol. 74, page 6 - 17.
   S.N. Kumar - 'Dilmun' - *The Quest for Paradise*,

7. E.J.H. Mckay - *Further Excavations at Mohenjo Daro*,

8. For reports on Excavations at Lothal, refer - I.A.R.


10. Ibid - page 65.

11. Ibid - Ibid.

12. Ibid - page 98.


14. Ibid - page 206

18. A.A. Mac. Donnel &
19. R.C. Majumdar - ed. - *The Vedic Age*, 1955, page 248,
contains a summary of the controversy regarding the sea trade.
Some aspects of the Economic life in Ancient India (as depicted in the Rgveda).
21. R.C. Majumdar - ed. - *The Vedic Age*, 1955, page 249,
Economic condition in the Rgvedic Samhita.
22. Ibid - Ibid.
24. R.C. Majumdar - *The Age of Imperial Unity*, 1968,
page 612.
25. V.S. Agarwal - *India as Known to Panini*, (VI : 2.62)
Section IV, page 229 ff.
26. V.S. Agarwal - *India as known to Panini*, (V. 2.95)  
Section IV, page 229.
27. Ibid - Ibid (VI : 2.63)
28. Ibid - Ibid (V : 1.51), Section VI, page 238.
31. Ibid - X : 35.
32. Bāudhāyana Dharmasūtra - 1, 10, 18, 14.
33. G. Buhler, translated Bāudhāyana Dharmasūtra, S.B.E.,  
Vol. II, page 200, pt. II.
35. The history of this period is known mainly from the  
Jātaka stories, early Buddhist texts and  
the Purānas. But none of these materials  
can be held as contemporaneous to the Master.  
The Jātaka stories may be assigned to a period  
between the 3rd/2nd cent. B.C. & 4th cent. A.D.  
The Pali canonical texts were codified after  
the death of the Buddha. The Purānas by no  
means can be assigned to the time of the  
Buddha. So, we have to depend on sources  
which are later than the period under review.
37. J.A.S.B. - XXI (1925), page 137-142 - B.C. Law -  
Anga & Campa in the Pali Literature.  
D.D. Kosambi - Ancient Kosala & Magadha.
H.C. Raychaudhuri (P.H.A.I. page 188).
40. A.N. Bose - Social & Rural Economy of Northern India,
    Vol. 1, page 236.
41. A.N. Bose - Social & Rural Economy of Northern India,
42. Jātaka I, II, IV - Arthasastra, Dharmasastra ( Manu)
    Mbh. & Gautama Dharmasastra
43. Nasik cave Inscriptions of Nahapāna - Dt. yr. 41:42 :45
    Mathura stone Ins. of Huviska - Saka yr. 28
    Damodāpur Copper Plate of Kumāra-gupta - 444 A.D.
    Mandasor stone Ins. of Kumāra-gupta - 436-473 A.D.
    Though these inscriptions are of later date, and does not concern recording the activities of guilds.
44. Richard Fick - Social Organisation - N.E. India,
    page 179 ff.
45. An ivory workers street (daftarakāravithim) in Benaras,
    (Jat : I 320, II 297). The Lotus street
(uppalavithim) in Sāvatthi (Jat. II 321),
the washerman’s street (rajakavithim, Jat. IV 62),
the weavers’ quarters (tantavitathēna Jat. I 356)
speaks of localisation of different crafts at
different centres. There also occurs a traditional
account of a settlement of 1000 carpenters at the
outskirts of Kasi (Kasiirātthe paccantagame bahu
vaddhaki vasanti, Jat 1: 247), A smiths village
of 1000 houses is also mentioned (Sahassakutiko
Kammaragāmo, Jat III, 281).

Jat V, 290 ff.

47. Jataka III : 405 : Matakara Jatthaika,
Vaddhaki Jettaka, Jat. IV, 161
Corejettaka II : 388.

(Jataka II 1, 281, V : 282)

49. Jataka VI : 22
A. N. Bose - op.cit. page 294

50. Ibid - Part II , page 45.

51. Jat III : 267

52. Mahājanaka Jataka III 1, 30-68.

Samuddavanija Jat : IV : 158-166, Vaṭāhassa Jat II : 127
The story is of a famine in China. The wisest officer of the realm was sent under imperial order...
to enquire about a famine-stricken province. The people of that province told the officer that it is all the fault of Merchant Wang. He brought up all grain and kept it in his vast storehouse, so that he might sell at a usurious price. On the basis of this report the Merchant was imprisoned. He was too intelligent and influential to be put to chains. He promised to secure the supply of grains from abroad, and obviously at a high purchasing cost and even on a higher price from the people. All the suppliers of grains were under his influence. He took full responsibility of bringing food in the famine hit area, but with his characteristic remark, "I want to make profit, I am a merchant and not an official. If I lose through miscalculation, then I have failed as a merchant, and that is the end of me." I want to make money. I must make money, by serving the community. The emperor set him free.

71. Ibid - II, page 77.
73. Dīghanikāya II, 16, 176.
74. Suttanipata, pg. 106.
Nikāya, Vol. IV, page 209-35,
gives exhaustive list of gahapatis among whom
Rāja Udena figures.

81. cf: The Zeda Ins. of Kaniska, 1 : yr. II, where the
king is described as Marjhaka 1 : 2. It carries
the same sense of gahapati. Also see S. 9,
page 141, note 51. Thus the Kusāna king already
knew that Indian kings before him assumed such a
title. The epithet is used to denote the monarchs
greatest wealth.