CHAPTER III
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Although the political history of the Kumaon and Garhwal region has received at least some attention, its economic history remains largely unexplored. This neglect is partly due to the paucity of sources and partly to the lack of a holistic perspective. In the following pages we shall attempt to trace the economic history of the region during the period under study.

Pre-Historic Economy, Resources and Their Use

A fairly large number of stone age tools have been found in the Uttarakhaṇḍa region attesting to human activity from very early times. Since these artifacts have not been found in occupational deposits, one may surmise that the people lived like nomads and were hunter-gatherers or pastoralists moving constantly in search of food for themselves and for their cattle. In Khutani Naula, some Old Stone Age implements have been found. A few rock-shelter paintings, ornamented rocks and some cemeteries have been unearthed in the region. Lakhu Udyara, literally one lakh caves, about twenty kilometers from Almora is one of the most famous rock-shelters in the region. In some of these shelters we have the earliest specimens of pre-historic art, which show dancing men and women. One such painting shows an animal with a sleek face and nine human figures around it. Below in the right corner are painted figures of six dancers while on the left corner are some circles and straight lines in red colour. Above the encircled animal are eleven human figures with folded hands. Some of them are depicted with masks. This representation explains the activities of pre-historic
man in the region. This painting seems to be the depiction of a hunting scene. A successful accomplishment of this activity needed concerted effort by the whole band. Some other rock-shelters are found at Faraka' Nauli, Falasima, Kasaradevi, Dungi (Gwarkha Udyara), Hundali, Jhangarauli, Brahmadungi, etc.¹

We also have evidence of megalithic burials in this region. Inside the graves are found pots of different shapes and sizes such as hândis, bowls with stubbed feet and button handles, and prominently pedastalled bowls. The pottery is wheel turned in most cases, and is either red or grey.² This appears to represent the agricultural phase. According to M.P. Joshi, the four types of burial practices that are found in the region are distributed in two different geographical settings. The menhirs and depressions are generally found over the rocky surface in the mountain slopes whereas the burials and cists are found along the valleys and terraces. According to Joshi, the builders of the menhirs and depressions were hunter-gatherers and those of the cists and burials were agriculturists.³ But, since no habitation site of comparable age has been found around the megalithic burials, it would be difficult at this stage to regard them as relics of an agricultural population. Apparently, these also belonged to pastoral nomads who did not stay at one place for more than a season.

Megalithic nomadism continued till the first millennium B.C. During this period, their contact with other archaeological cultures of northern India can be inferred from the evidence of workings in different

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metals. The copper-hoard cultures of Ganga-Yamuna Doab region show very early contacts. A reasonably exhaustive account of the copper resources and copper workings in the Kumaon-Garhwal region is given in *A Manual of the Geology of India*. The regional surveys carried out for mapping copper resources in the post-independence period is discussed in detail in the *Bulletin of Geological Survey of India* No.47. The district wise distribution of copper in Kumaon and Garhwal is discussed by Ball. He notes the occurrences in the Rai mine (Gangoli pargana), Sira mine (Sira pargana) and the Gaul mine (Kharahi patti). Certain other localities, where traces of copper ores were noted by Atkinson are also mentioned by Ball, such as Ganai and Phadiall, in *patti* Athgaon, *pargana* Gangoli; small mines in *patti* Giwar at Chin-Ka-Kali, Beler, Sor and at Kemakhet, on the east bank of the Ladhya river in Kali Kumaon. In Garhwal district at the end of the nineteenth century, the following copper mines existed: Dhanpur, Dhobri, Agar Sera and Pokhri. In Pithoragarh district, copper deposits have been noted at Askot, Bora, Agar, Rain Agar, Khanayun-Galpakot-Kimkhet area and Kanalichinna. In Almora district, at Bageshwar, malachite is reported. The *Sth. Kedārkhanda* (47.13) also mentions the presence of copper in the region.

7 Ibid., p.270.
8 Ibid., pp.270-272.
10 Ibid.
11 Śarkarāstāmrasvarṇāśca tathā svarṇāḥ kvacittathā.
During the pre-historic time the Upper Gangetic plains were in contact with Punjab and Haryana, the U.P. Himalayas and the Baghelakhandha-Bundelkhanda axis. Various sites of this region seem to have got copper and stones from Himalayan hills during the neolithic-chalcolithic period. The subsequent iron bearing horizons and early historic centres of the Gangetic plains continued to depend on the mineral rich Himalayas. The raw materials available in the Himalayan region of U.P. used by the upper Gangetic valley sites were sandstone, quartzite, copper, steatite, soapstone, lead, gold, crystal, slate, limestone, iron and possibly some amount of silver. These raw materials occur in a number of districts to be dealt with later. Traill noted the movement of many such raw materials between Kumaon and the plains even in the nineteenth century. Striking Gangetic valley affinities are also evident in the cultural milieu of the archaeological sites in Tehri Garhwal, Nainital and Dehradun districts: for instance, the presence of PGW at Thapli and Ranihat, the shapes of the former bearing impressive similarities with those of Ahicchatra. NBP pottery, and/or NBP inspired ceramic types have also been recovered from Ranihat, Kashipur and Bharat Mandir. In fact, the beginning of a well defined proto-historic phase in the Himalayas with clear Gangetic valley ceramic traits clearly underlines the presence of a significant line of communication between the two sub-regions. The postulation of contact between the two regions is also based on the presence of a large number of copper/bronze artifacts, found often in the form of

12 Traill informs us that the zamindars of the Kumaon region used to regularly migrate to the plains carrying iron, copper and various hill rocks in addition to other commodities, receiving in return coarse chintz, cotton clothes, molasses, tobacco, glass beads and hardware. G.W. Traill, "Statistical Sketch of Kumaon", Official Reports on the Province of Kumaon, Calcutta, 1878, p.33.

hoards as well as stone objects, in a mineral poor region like the upper Gangetic plains, and the availability of these resources in the contiguous regions of the Uttar Pradesh-Himalayas. In this regard, the distribution of a large number of copper hoards in Saharanpur, Shahjahanpur, Hardoi and Bijnor, i.e. in the northern districts of UP, is significant. But copper hoards have also been found, apart from the above mentioned districts, in the hills of Chotanagpur and Orissa and at places in Central India and the Deccan. In 1951, B.B. Lal listed thirty-seven such hoards. Allchins divided these into two main groups, those of the Doab and those of the more easterly province. The metal of specimens so far analysed suggest that they comprise of impure copper throughout, with traces of tin, lead and arsenic in many instances. Agarwal has suggested that the source of the copper is likely to have been from the Rakha mines of Bihar. But it is highly unlikely that the Rakha mines were being exploited at that time. Besides, why should the people of northern U.P. import copper from such far away places when it was available in the close vicinity?

Kumaon and Garhwal may have been approached by a number of routes, a discussion of which is available in the 1910 edition of the British Garhwal Gazetteer. Also useful for the reconstruction of these routes is the migration pattern of the Dudh Gujjar, a pastoral community who even today camp in the reserve forests of the sub-Himalayan Terai and the Siwalik ranges in the districts of Dehradun and Saharanpur and migrate in summer to the high altitude pastures in—

15 Ibid., p.265.
16 Quoted in ibid.
the Himalayas. These routes incidentally are more or less fixed routes, and in the map prepared by R.S. Negi the migration routes followed by the Gujjars are clear: (i) one going through Dehradun to Chakrata and Uttarakashi, and (ii) another route following the Ganga river all the way to Badarinātha. From this route branched certain routes going off to Kedāranātha and Uttarakashi. That the Saharanpur district was interacting with Garhwal along the Ganga is very likely since an O.C.P. site was found at Mayapur in Haridwar. In this context, it is interesting to note that Walton mentioned a route from the lower stretch of the pilgrim road between Byansghat and Lakshamanjhula and then through Rishikesh to Haridwar and Saharanpur. From Bijnor where copper hoards and O.C.P. sites have been found, a route may also have gone to Garhwal following possibly the alignment which used to go from Najibabad to Kotdwar. From here it went to Dogadda, up the Koh river to Dadamandi, ascending the Languar range to reach Banghat. After reaching Pauri, two routes could be used to reach Karnaprayag; one, used by travellers with animals, descended into the Ganges valley and continued along the Ganges river to Karnprayag, (ii) if load was being personally carried, along the ridge which went past Khirsu, Bhainswara and the Dhanpur copper mines, was used to get to Karanprayag via Chatwapipal. Another route went from Bijnor district mart of Afzalgarh, crossing the Ramaganga at Dhikala; the hill trade in the early decades of the present

20 H.G. Walton, op.cit., p.50
23 Ibid., p.49.
century was largely with the bi-weekly bazaar at Kalagarh on this road.\(^{24}\)

Thus, although contact with the mid-Ganga plains may be seen from very early times, it must have intensified during the subsequent iron using phase popularly known as PGW culture. G.W. Traill\(^{25}\) noted the presence of iron in various parts of the old province of Kumaon. According to him, in the nineteenth century iron existed in all parts of the province and owing to the simplicity of the extracting process most of the mines were regularly worked. The ore was found near the surface on extensive strata of rocks, but its material appearance at different mines varied a great deal. In the former British Garhwal, iron was known to have been worked at Hat, Jainal, Chorapagna and Mokh.\(^{26}\) In Nainital district, the chief mines were located at Lusgani, Nathuakhan, Gulla and Satbanga, while at Ramgarh in the same district there were many mines that were worked as late as 1884.\(^{27}\) In this period the rich sources of iron in south Bihar were unknown to the people of the upper Gangetic and Sutlej basins. So, iron was brought from the Kumaon hills in Uttar Pradesh, Mandi in Himanchal Pradesh and Patiala in Punjab.\(^{28}\) However, these deposits were not as rich as that of south Bihar, but during the period C. 1000-500 B.C. iron was hardly used in handicrafts and agriculture on any considerable scale. In

\(^{24}\) Ibid., p.50.


\(^{27}\) H.R. Nevill, *Nainital: A Gazeteer, 1904*, Allahabad, p.15. For instance J.D. Herbert in his report in 1826 on the mineralogy of the Almora province noted that the iron of this region was not wanting in anything but a proper system of management to render it superior to that of England. J.D. Herbert, "On the Mineral Production of that Part of the Himalaya Mountains, Lying between the Satlej and the Kali (Ghagra) Rivers", *Asiatic Researches*, vol.18, 1832, pp.227-258.

this phase, only arrowheads and spearheads supplemented by nails have been found.\textsuperscript{29} For this purpose, iron from these areas might have sufficed. The knowledge of iron technology and its spread in the Kumaon and Garhwal seems to have changed the pattern of economic growth in this region. The builders of the megalithic burials seem to be the main group involved in the iron trade with the PGW sites of the upper Gangetic areas. Interestingly, excavations at Ladyura in Almora brought to light Megalithic cists and post-holes with fragments of iron objects of indeterminate shapes.\textsuperscript{30} Unfortunately, the iron objects remain undated. However, from the excavation at Jainal Naula in Almora situated on the right bank of Ramganga and known as Jainal-Naula Burial Complex, most of the pots collected are similar to the PGW.\textsuperscript{31} The evidence from Baseri in Kumaon has shown the intermingling of the cultural traits of Megalithic and PGW. The site has been dated to the beginning of the first millennium B.C.\textsuperscript{32} In the early phase of the PGW a feeble attempt was made to penetrate the northern frontiers by circumventing the valley. This was most probably to gain access and control of trade in iron and other metals. The PGW people were least interested in settling down in the difficult terrain. The two prominent PGW settlements at Thapli in Tehri Garhwal and Purola in Uttarakashi could not flourish for long because of this very factor. Both of these reveal a single phase of PGW culture.\textsuperscript{33} At Malari, in addition to complete human skeletons the complete skeleton of a horse with folded legs has been unearthed. The other funerary items

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{32} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{33} K.P. Nautiyal, B.M. Khanduri, V. Nautiyal, D.L. Rajput and R.K. Bhatt, "Painted Grey Ware Culture in Garhwal Himalaya: New Evidence and Interpretation", \textit{Puratattva}, 17, 1986-87, pp.11-14; \textit{Ind. Arch. AR}
include Black and Red Ware jars. The rich repertoire of pots show linear, geometrical and incised designs besides decorative handles occasionally from two sides. Inside the cave where a skeleton has been found, a big storage jar in Grey Ware, highly fragile iron arrowheads and a few bone arrowheads were also discovered. The finds have been tentatively dated to c. 1000 B.C. This date indicates the coming of new people to this region. The significance of this regular contact is that it introduced a new form of subsistence in the region, namely, plough agriculture. From the sixth century B.C. onwards we have evidence of permanent settlements at some places, which shows that the people had continuous and assured means of subsistence. Ranihat in Tehri Garhwal shows evidence of earliest occupation in the sixth century B.C. However, as such occupations were very limited, it can be surmised that agriculture was still at a nascent stage and that pastoral nomadism continued in most parts of the region.

In the post-sixth century B.C. phase, pastoralism as the main source of livelihood was being supplemented by small scale agriculture, and trade in metals, timber and different types of forest products. Around this time the deposits of iron ore in the Chotanagpur region came to be exploited by the later vedic people. Consequently, the later vedic people of eastern UP and western Bihar stopped importing these items from the Kumaon-Garhwal region. But at the initial phase of their eastward migration they had founded settlements in the region contiguous with the Terai area. In fact, they used the Himalayan Terai route where rivers were easy to cross and vegetation

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was not so thick.\textsuperscript{36} We find a large number of PGW sites on this route. These sites must have been importing metals from the mineral rich Kumaon-Garhwal region. This trade continued well up to the early nineteenth century A.D. The trade in metals and several other forest products had great impact on the economy of the region. It ultimately led to urbanization on a moderate scale. Excavations at some sites such as Ranihat and Moradhwaj show that these had started acquiring urban characters in the fourth century B.C. However, not many sites can be located because of the nature of the terrain. At Ranihat in Tehri Garhwal which was first occupied around the sixth century B.C., we find brick structures with floorings paved with bricks during the fourth-second centuries B.C.\textsuperscript{37} Wedge-shaped bricks suggest the construction of either a well or a barn. The size of bricks indicates a Maurya-Śuṅga horizon. Iron seems to have been in extensive use in this period.\textsuperscript{38} So, iron was not only an important item of trade but also one of the important factors contributing to the process of urbanization in the region. Moradhwaj in Bijnor district bordering on this area, was also in occupation since the fifth century B.C. and had acquired an urban character by C. 200 B.C. - A.D.300. Here, the pre-Kuśāṇa phase shows baked brick structures, fortification walls, terracotta beads, cart wheels and figurines. Copper bangles and iron tools are also found.\textsuperscript{39}

Besides copper and iron many other metals are also found in this region, and these have been worked from early historic times. We may note these:

\textsuperscript{36} R.S. Sharma, The State and Varna Formation in the Mid-Ganga Plains: An Ethnoarchaeological View, Manohar, 1996, p.43.
\textsuperscript{37} Ind. Arch. AR, 1978-79.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{39} Ind. Arch. AR, 1978-79, p.75.
Lead: Traill in his sketch of Kumaon noted the occurrence of lead mines without mentioning the specific localities. The following localities were however noticed by R. Nanda and D.K. Chakrabarti: Dhanpur, Tachirda, Gherti, Rallum, Bainskum, Baidili, Baghir and Gaul in patti Karahi. 40

Gold: The presence of alluvial gold washing in the Kumaon-Garhwal region has been noted by J. Coggin Brown and A.K. Day. 41 Walton 42 also noted such occurrences. In Nainital, a small amount of gold was obtained by washing from the sands of the Dhela river. 43 In the former British Garhwal district, gold was washed from the Alakananda river. A more recent survey by the Geological Survey of India 44 shows a number of auriferous occurrences in the bed rock, stream sediments, terraces and palaeo channels of the Siwalik belt of the Western Himalayas. It is significant that in the area between Ramnagar and Ranibagh, gold was found in the pebbly sandrock. The Sihalapurāṇa entitled Kedarakhanda also mentions that in the region around Bhillangana many precious stones and gold were found. 45

Silver: Although silver has not been found in any excavation, its presence has been reported from many places. 46

43 Ibid.
45 Kedarakhanda 44.20; 47.13; Nāṇāmāṇīgaṇa yatra tathā svarnākārāṇī ca.
46 Recently, argentiferous lead mineralization has been noted in the Pauri-Garhwal district. G. Kumar and D.N. Dhaundiya!, found large fragments of galena bearing rocks, a grab sample of which showed to have 0.9 percent of silver. R.N. Srivastava and A.K. Kapoor noted in situ mineralization in the same area. R.N. Srivastava and A.K. Kapoor, "Argentiferous Lead Mineralization in Birgana Village, Pauri Garhwal District, U.P.", Indian Minerals, vol.35, 1981, pp.8-12. The galena samples showed the presence of silver upto 0.1 percent which according to the authors, made the area a potential zone for the occurrence of silver mineralization. G. Kumar and J.N. Dhaundiya!, "Lead Silver Mineralization in Birgana Area, Eastern Nagar Valley, Garhwal District Uttar Pradesh", Indian Minerals, vol.31, 1977, pp.5-8.
Crystal: The southern and middle regions of the old Kumaon province are known to contain nodules of quartz. Traill noted that rock crystal is common, in this region, and specimens of considerable magnitude are occasionally procured. However, ancient workings are not reported at any place.

Slate: Slates are quarried at many places in the outer Himalayas of Kumaon and Garhwal, which incidentally provide good roofing material for the hill settlements.

Limestone: In Garhwal, there are three distinct ranges of limestone hills: I. North of the Alakananda in Nagpur, II. From Lohba patti to the Pindar and again to the Alakananda in Bachhansyun, and III. A range running parallel to the plains and south of the Nayar river. In the Nainital district, the most important limestone deposits are those in the Kotah Bhabar and in the Timilia Sot. Limestone is also reported from the Mandarsu area of Dehradun district.

These were the main mineral resources found in the region which may have been items of trade. According to Nayanjot Lahiri, all the above mentioned minerals formed a part of the trade relations forged between the U.P. hills and the plains. In return for these items, the region got grains of different varieties and other essential items. This trade was being carried out by the trading communities of the

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52 Nayanjot Lahiri, op.cit., p.219-221; 301-302.
Ganga plain using the great trunk route. It was because of this trade contact that Buddhism made inroads into this region, which ultimately resulted in its patronage by the Kuṇindas.

Trade and urbanization presupposes the existence of traders, consumers and primary producers, a viable means of exchange, i.e. money, and a class of people primarily engaged in food production. The Bhotias, presently residing in the north-eastern part of the region are traditional traders. They have been carrying on trade in different items with Tibet on the north and Kumaon and Garhwal in the south and west.53 R.R. Prasad calls them semi-nomadic trading communities. Traditionally, the articles which Bhotias used to sell in Tibet were rice, wheat, sugar, molasses, tobacco, copper, gold, iron, hardware, silver and Indian cotton clothes. From Tibet they used to bring salt, gold dust, borax, wool, furs, yak-tails, goats, sheep, mules, etc. At some point of time, they also acquired the knowledge of agriculture and started cultivation on a small scale in the months not fit for long journeys. The whole process of agriculture was looked after mainly by women and old people, which is the custom even today.

Whereas the trade with Tibet and intra-regional trade carried out by the traditional trading communities of the Bhotias, the inter-regional trade was conducted by the trading communities of the plains. It was conducted through several routes which ultimately converged on the great trunk route from Peshavar to Tamralipti. One route proceeding from Taxila passed Bhadrāṅkara, Udumbara and Rohitaka to reach Mathurā. It was controlled by the Udumbaras who shared commerce between Magadha and Kashmir, and who also had a share in the trade

with Kangra. Uttarāpatha had two major sectors. One was the northern route proceeding from Lahore through Jullunder to Saharanpur and along the Gangetic plains, passing Bijnor and Gorakhpur towards Bihar and Bengal. The other was the southern sector proceeding from Lahore to Raiwind, Delhi, Hastināpur, Vārāṇasi, Pātaliputra and Rājgriha. Apart from these main routes, a large number of feeder routes and combinations are indicated in ancient literature. One such feeder route joined Sthānegwara with Kalsi via Šrughna or Sugh and Gokāntha. At Šrughna, Cunningham collected about 125 old Hindu coins of all ages, "from the small Dilial pieces of the Chohan and Tomar Rajas of Delhi to the square punch-marked pieces of silver and copper, which are certainly as old as the rise of Buddhism. Apparently, this feeder route was very important since early times. Realizing this, Aśoka had erected a set of fourteen inscriptions at Kalsi. Another feeder route joined Šrughna with Haridwar via Madawar and Bijnor. In the ancient period, Haridwar was known as Māyāpur. Another feeder route joined Kotdwara with Moradhwaja. All these feeder routes were frequented since very early times. Places like Kalsi, Haridwar and Kotdwara acted as collection and distribution centres of commodities. The intra-regional communication usually followed two paths: first, the one along the banks of major river systems traversed by the pilgrims and second, the routes followed by the pastoral nomadic communities transhuming during seasonal

54 Moti Chandra, Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India, Abhinav Pub., New Delhi, 1977, pp.15-16.
55 Ibid.
57 Ibid., p.129.
58 Ibid., pp.231-232.
59 Ibid., p.237.
migrations. Such internal routes are often alluded to in the folk-ballads of the region. One such ballad is Rājula-Māluśāhī in which a journey between Bageswar and other parts of Kumaon and Garhwal is vividly described. It also mentions the items of trade such as salt, grain, molasses, buffalows, sheep, goat, etc.⁶⁰

All available evidence suggests a thriving trade and a line of communication between the Kumaon-Garhwal region and upper Gangetic plains. This trade was sustained by a well developed coinage system. Around the third century B.C., the Audumbaras, Yaudheyas, Kuṇindas and Mālavas issued their coins. Circulation of their coins through trade is shown by the fact that Yaudheya coins have been discovered in Kumaon and Garhwal, and Kuṇinda coins have been discovered in Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Haryana.⁶¹ Circulation of a large number of silver and copper coins in the entire north-western and Himalayan region shows that the region had a well developed market-system. The tribal coins show some Greek influence. Thus, on some Kuṇinda coins we have a deer and a Goddess surrounded by a Brahmi inscription on the front and six symbols surrounded by a Kharoṣṭhī inscription on the back.⁶² No gold coin of this period has been found as yet. Whatever, gold coins are discovered they are of the Kuṣāṇas belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era.⁶³ Kuṣāṇa gold coins have been reported from Kashipur⁶⁴ and Śivānāṭa

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⁶⁴ Ibid.
Asrama. The Yaudheyas coins belong to the period c.A.D.100 - 200.65 and Kuninda coins have been dated between the c.200 B.C. - c.A.D. 200. So, from the third century B.C. up to the third century A.D., we have evidence of coins from this region and its surroundings. It was through this system of trade that the Kumaon-Garhwal region was integrated into the economic and political system of the north and north-west India. The trade and the profit accruing therefrom sustained the tribal oligarchy of the Kuṇindas.

From the third century A.D., the material basis of the Kuṇinda state seems to have started changing. It is reflected in the typology of the coins and the remains of the urban sites. So far as the coins are concerned, the early coins are mostly of silver but in later times copper coins outnumber the silver ones. We find that brass coins were also introduced although their number is much less.67 This shows a slump in the long distance trade around the third century A.D. Use of copper and brass coins shows that the trading activities were now localized. This may have had an adverse effect on the Kuṇindas, and other tribes which had been under Kuṇinda domination now began issuing local coins. A large number of coins bearing no stamp have been discovered from the region. Some coins indicate growing brahmanical influence as well. Names like Āśeka, Gomitra, Śīvadatta, Śīvapālīta, Śivarākṣīta and Haradatta appear on these coins.68 At this point of time, the urban

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65 A hoard containing five pieces of ornaments including two pairs of earrings and a chain in gold, a wire like object, and 45 gold coins of Huviska and Vasudeva were found at Sivānanda Asrama— Ind. Arch. AR., 1975-76, p.74; 1972-73, p.57.
centres in the region also show signs of decline. The site of Virabhadra in Rishikesh has revealed brick structures, but the floor is made of brick bats of the fourth to seventh centuries phase. At Ranihat in Tehri Garhwal, in the post A.D.200 phase floorings were generally made of brick-pieces, stone chips and occasionally of bricks robbed from the earlier levels. The site wore a deserted look during the second to the sixth century A.D., and the early medieval structures were poor. The towns in the adjoining regions which had trade links with the urban centres of Kumaon and Garhwal were in the process of desertion after the fourth century A.D. Hastināpur, Atranjikheda, Ahicchatrā, Sonkh, Mathura, Śrughna, etc., all show a decline in the Gupta period. This development is in line with the pan-India situation which has been explained in terms of the decline of long distance trade. Since the Kumaon and Garhwal region was integrated into the larger trading networks through many feeder routes, the decline of this trade had a profound impact on the economy of the region. We have already noticed the decline of the urban centres; it also led to a reversal of the coin-based money economy to agriculture-based natural economy. The local coins ceased to be in circulation after the third century A.D. From the tenth to thirteenth centuries, we have evidence of coins belonging to the Rajput rulers of north India. In the excavations at Virabhadra, the phase III of the settlement yielded certain Gadhaiya coins (Indo-Sassanian coin of silver) datable to circa A.D.800. But its actual significance in the local economy cannot be determined. These might have been brought by pilgrims.

69 Ind. Arch. AR, 1973-74, p.28; 74-75, p.41.
71 Ibid., pp.10-27.
Economy in the Fourth-Seventh Centuries A.D.

While the trade and urbanism in general were on decline, agriculture expanded and relations based on the ownership and cultivation of land changed. The creation of *agrahāras* and other religious institutions connected with temple worship, led to the expansion of agriculture. According to D.N. Jha, the available epigraphic evidence indicates that the practice of granting land and the growth of landed intermediaries first began in outlying, backward and tribal areas. But by the fourth century A.D., land grants began to be made in the core regions as well. Reference to Kali age in the inscriptions has been taken as a reflexion of the agrarian tensions due to changing proprietary rights in land.

The two Talesvara Copperplates which were reissued some time between the middle of the sixth and second quarter of the seventh century A.D., were originally issued in the latter half of the fifth century A.D. The details of the grants show that the practice of granting land was already a well-established practice. This is also shown by the fact that in the Grant of Dyutivarman which says "your majesty may be pleased in giving sanction to (existing) grants, to get written specifically the dimensions and the names of the places that are being enjoyed". This grant mentions the creation of *agrahara* settlements by donating agricultural land, *pallikās* as well as artisinal-work places. The grant was made not only for the performance of worship and sacred rites such as *bali*, *caru* and *sattra* but also for the

76 Ibid.
77 Bhūmi-pallikā grāma karumānta viṣayusīta tāmropaṭṭa paṭa vṛṣṭēpa pattraiah abhīlikhy-agrahāraḥ pāṭipāditakas tāni, Grant of Dyutivarman, lines 10-11.
specific purpose of cultivation. In the grants of the Paurava-Varmans, settled villages (bhujamāna sthana) were granted, which means that the right to collect revenue from those villages was given away. But at this time, no administrative rights were transferred to the donors. It is stated that no one could confiscate the grant nor could anybody displace the agriculturist householders (kuṭumbin) and servants (kārūkān). This statement is significant as it shows that the cultivators and servants of the village were attached to the grant. Another feature of this land grant is that the king enquired about the well being of important officials and the kuṭumbins living in the neighbourhood of the granted land. Could it be for securing their consent? The non-brahmanical names of some of the villages and plots such as Kollapuri, Dindika palliakā, Candulāka pallikā, Daḍavaka jaṅgal. Gabhīra pallikā, etc. show that the inhabited villages of different tribal groups were donated to the temples and bṛāhmaṇa settlers. In this process, the original settlers must have been reduced to a subordinate status. Even the settlements of professional groups like Rājakya toli, Gogga pallikā, Devadāsa ṭoli, Suvarṇakāra pallikā, Rajakasthalakṣetra, etc. and the artisanal workshops (karmanta) were granted. The residential places of the people were granted along with land. Thus, Mallavāstuka and Khaṭṭaliṅkā were residential places that were granted. In other parts of India too, this practice of donating residences seems to have started about this time. According to R.S. Sharma the practice of transferring peasants along with land may have started first in mountainous or backward regions which did not have too many peasants to run the local economy.

78 Kṛṣi-karmāṇuṣṭhāna, line 9.
79 Line 26.
80 Lines 5-6.
81 Lines 14,23.
82 D.N. Jha, op.cit., p.13, R.S. Sharma, Indian Feudalism, pp.45-47.
83 R.S. Sharma, Indian Feudalism, p.47.
Sale, Purchase and Ownership of Land

We have evidence of sale and purchase of land, along with the recognition of the superior rights of the king on land. The grant of Dyutivarman⁸⁴ mentions the gift of a land called Guṇeśvarāvalādīpaka, along with "the plot of land allotted for the sales."⁸⁵ This clearly shows that land was a saleable item. In another case in the grant of Viṣṇuvarman,⁸⁶ we have two references to the sale and purchase of land. In the first case, divirapati Dhanadatta bought a plot called Śveta with roots and all the things (that may be in the land) from the balādhyakṣa Lavacandra for four and a half gold measures.⁸⁷ In the second case, a plot named Vetasa with water and jungle was purchased together with the roots and all other things from the kāyaṣṭha Naṁnaka for eight gold measures by the same divirapati Dhanadatta.⁸⁸ Thus purchases of land were for a religious purpose, but the reference to sale of land in the grant of Dyutivarman appears to have been of a general nature not necessarily restricted to religious transaction. Thus, it is clear that individuals had the right to own and sell their lands. There are several other references which show that private ownership of land was recognized. The grant of Dyutivarman⁸⁹ mentions a settlement called Karavirakoṣṭhā owned by Bhāvilāṇa who was a Parvataka.⁹⁰ In the grant of Viṣṇuvarman, we have several references which show that land owned by private individuals was donated. Thus, it mentions the grant of "many pieces of land on the hills belonging to bhogika

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⁸⁴ Y.R. Gupte, op.cit.
⁸⁵ Guṇeśvaravalādīpakaḥ kkraya-karaṇa bhūmi-bhūga sahita, lines 14-15, Ibid.
⁸⁶ Ibid.
⁸⁷ Ibid., no.7B, line 24.
⁸⁸ Ibid.
⁸⁹ Ibid.
⁹⁰ Ibid., no.7A, line 15.
Varāhadatta.\textsuperscript{91} In another case, the gift of a plot called Madhymāraka kṣetra by a silk-weaver was recorded in the royal charter.\textsuperscript{92} The inscription describes balādhyakṣa Lavacandra, bhogika Varāhadatta and kāyastha Naṇṇaka as owners of land. Our sources do not give us any idea of the process which led to the emergence of private ownership of land in this region, but the fact is well attested during this period.

With the development of the concept of private property in land, religious sanction was accorded to this practice, and it was said that the person who would rescind the grant would incur the guilt of the five great sins pančamahāpataka, i.e. killing of a brāhmaṇa, drinking intoxicating liquor, stealing gold, committing adultery with the wife of the guru, and associating with anyone guilty of these crimes.\textsuperscript{93}

Some of the plots were granted along with the channels for irrigation (sakulyāṁ).\textsuperscript{94} In Kumaon and Garhwal, the channels for irrigation were created from the streams coming down the hills. Sometimes, water reservoirs were constructed by the local chiefs. An inscription of Śarvavarman in Sanskrit found at Siroli, Chamoli, engraved on a rock surface in northern characters of about the sixth century A.D., records the construction of a water-reservoir by Śarvavarman’s subordinate Naravarman.\textsuperscript{95} Such reservoirs must have been used for the purpose of irrigation. There are a large number of tanks and fish pounds surrounding the old fort of Ujjain, the capital of the early medieval kingdom of Goviśāṇa.\textsuperscript{96}

\textsuperscript{91} Ibid., no.7B, line 23.  
\textsuperscript{92} Ibid., line 15.  
\textsuperscript{93} D.C. Sircar, Glossary, s.v. Paṇcamahāpataka.  
\textsuperscript{94} Grant of Visnusvarman, line 20.  
\textsuperscript{95} Ind. Arch. AR, 1966-67, pp.53-54.  
\textsuperscript{96} Alexander Cunningham, The Ancient Geography of India, p.301.
The grant of Dyutivarman\(^97\) speaks of the donation of many villages of the \textit{Uttarāpatha}, which most probably fell under the jurisdiction of the \textit{rājaputraka} Oddala. Even today there are traces of original tribal settlements in the dialectical and cultural homogeneity of the chain of villages along a spur.\(^98\) Hence, it is highly probable that the expression \textit{bahugrāma sahita} denoted such tribal settlements.

The grant of plots and villages to the gods and temples in perpetuity, resulted in the emergence of temples and brahmanas as landlords in the region. But, since no \textit{pariharas} (tax exemptions) are mentioned in the grant it seems they were not strong enough to share the administrative powers as well. The existence of such officials as \textit{devadronyādhikrta} and \textit{mahāsattrapati} show that the temples were functioning under state control. But the creation of \textit{agrahāras} resulted in breaking tribal pattern of ownership of land and creation of private property. The grant of wasteland shows that the grants also resulted in bringing fresh areas under cultivation. Creation of \textit{agrahāras} also led to the spread of improved methods of agriculture, expansion of agrarian space, and a stratified society.

\textbf{Eighth to Thirteenth Centuries}

During these centuries there seems to be further expansion of agrarian landscape which ultimately resulted in the establishment of kingdoms in new areas. The rise of the kingdom of Bhillang in Bhillang valley and that of Cāṇḍapuragarh in Garhwal was the result of this process. The kingdom of Govisana and the kingdom of Brahmapurā were incorporated by the Katyuri rulers of Kārttikeyapura. The Katyuris were able to achieve this because of the favourable geographical conditions, already discussed in chapter II.

\(^97\) Grant of Dyutivarman, line 24.
The economy of this period was a continuation of the process that started during the fourth-fifth centuries A.D., but it matured and gradually developed into what may be called feudal economy. During the tenth to thirteenth centuries, the exploitation of the peasants increased manyfold resulting in a sort of mass uprising by the Khasia peasants sometime in the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{99}

The visible change in the agrarian system reflected in the Katyuri land grants, is the introduction of \textit{parihāras}, i.e. tax exemptions (\textit{prakṛti-parihāra-yuktah}). Thus, the donated area was exempted from the molestation of officials, was not to be entered by irregular and regular soldiers (\textit{c-cāṭa-bhaṭa-prāveṣya}), was not to be seized (\textit{ākiṃcitapragrāhya}) and was not to be resumed (\textit{anāchedya}). The grants were to be held by the donees in perpetuity. (\textit{a-candra-arkkasīti-sthitisamālikāḥ}). These provisions indicate that the system created permanent tax-exempted units resulting in the emergence of a landed aristocracy. The Plate of Padma\textit{adeva}\textsuperscript{100} lays down that all the future dues payable to the king, would now be paid to the donees.\textsuperscript{101} This means that the king gave away all his revenue rights over the donated villages. The only check on the growing power of such landed elements was the non-inclusion of properties, landed or otherwise, belonging to temples and brāhmaṇas.\textsuperscript{102}

The grants of this phase mention the boundaries of the villages donated, which were given along with pasture land, trees, gardens, springs and cascades.\textsuperscript{103} This shows that pasture land which was

\textsuperscript{99} ATK., pp.509-510.
\textsuperscript{100} D.C. Sircar, "Three Plates from Pandukesvar", \textit{EI}, vol.XXI, no.38.11, pp.284-290.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid., line24.
\textsuperscript{102} Deva-brāhmaṇa-bhukta-bhujyāmāna varjitaḥ, Ibid., ln 25.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid., line24.
earlier under common ownership now belonged to the donees, infringing upon communal rights. Boundaries, whether of villages or of plots, have always been a source of tension in agrarian societies, and the grants with properly delineated boundaries attempted to minimize them. There are clear indications in the Katyuri grants which show that much of the land was still held communally. Thus, in the Pandukeswar plate of Lalitasuradeva the village situated in Gorunnasāri in possession of (paribhujyamāna) the Khaśa tribe, and the two villages situated in Palibhūtika and in possession of the Guggula (the tribe working and trading in the guggula), were granted to Lord Nārāyaṇa. The plate of Subhikṣarājadeva mentions that the land called Nyāyapattaka, belonging to the people of Nambaraṅga was donated to the goddess Dūrgā Bhāṭṭārikā. The name of the land suggests that there may have been some dispute over its ownership and hence, it was called nyāyapattaka (a land which is legally demarcated through an order), and it was donated to a religious institution. According to the same inscription, a land called Ghāsseruka, belonging to the inhabitants of Yoyikāgrāma was also granted. Another land, Pannakorālikā, which belonged to the villages of Cadavaka and measured twelve dronavapas was granted to the god Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka. The donation of a piece of land called Karkarāṭaka, belonging to all the inhabitants of the viṣaya, is also recorded here. It

105 Gorunnasārayaṁ pratibaddha-khasiyākə paribhujyamāna paliikā tathā palibhūtikyaṁ pratibaddha guggula paribhujyamāna paliikā dvayaṁ. Ibid., lines 16-17.
106 D.C. Sircar, op.cit.
107 Nambarāṇiya samastā Jānapadānāṁ satka-Nyāyapattakanāṁ hūmiṁ daśā-drona vūpā. Ibid., lines22-23.
108 Yoyikāgrāma-nivāsināṁ satka Ghāsserukā nāṁ hūmiṁ. Ibid., lines26-27.
109 Cadavakagrāmānīnāṁ satka Pannakorālikā nāṁ hūṁ. Ibid., line30.
110 Viṣayinānāṁ satka karkkarāṭaka bhūṁ. Ibid.
seems to refer to a state-owned wasteland which was under the jurisdiction of a visāya. Another reference shows that a land named Ridhārika\textsuperscript{111} was owned by a group of agriculturist householders (kuṭumbin) jointly. All these references amply show that communal properties in land were increasingly being transferred to religious grantees.

Apart from communal land, we have a number of references to privately owned land being granted. The Pandukesvar plate of Lalitāsuradeva records the grant of land held by Ėnduvāka. The plate of Padmaṭadeva mentions the plots and habitations held by individuals as follows:

1. Four Pallikās in the possession of four persons named Ďīrghāditya, Buddhabala, Sidāditya and Gaṇāditya in Drumati.\textsuperscript{112}

2. Fifteen bhāgas belonging to Paṅgara in Drumati.\textsuperscript{113}

3. A piece of land belonging to Dhanāka at Randhāvakagrāma in Yosi.\textsuperscript{114}

The plate of Subhikṣarājadeva too records plots and habitations under private holding as follows:

1. Land called Vidimalāka belonging to Vacchaṭika.\textsuperscript{115}

\textsuperscript{111} Kuṭumbikānāṁ satka ridhārika nāma bhuh. Ibid.
\textsuperscript{112} Drumati pratibaddhāṁ ďīrghāditya buddhabala sidāditya gaṇāditya paribhυjyamāṇā pallikā cātaśram. Ibid., no.38.11, line17.
\textsuperscript{113} Drumatyaṁ paṅgarasya pañcadaśa bhāgas. Ibid., lines17-18.
\textsuperscript{114} Yosi pratibuddha randhāvakagrāma dhanāka satka bhūmi. Ibid., Ins19-20.
\textsuperscript{115} Vacchaṭika satka vidimalāka nāma bhumih. Ibid., lines18-19.
2. Land called Vanolaka belonging to Bhogaru.\textsuperscript{116}

3. Land called Satëka belonging to Prastara and others.\textsuperscript{117}

4. Land called Yakṣasthāna belonging to Govita and Naṅgāka.\textsuperscript{118}

5. Land called Talasātaka belonging to Vihānaka.\textsuperscript{119}

6. Land called Kṣirakau belonging to Vannuvāka.\textsuperscript{120}

7. Land called Gāṅgeraka belonging to sreṣṭhin Jivāka.\textsuperscript{121}

8. Land called Paivitta belonging to Jivāka, Sihāditya and Icchabala.\textsuperscript{122}

9. Land called Vādibala, belonging to Vacchabala and others

10. Land called Khorakhoṭṭāṅka belonging to Silāditya.\textsuperscript{123}

11. Land called Anūpa belonging to Nahallītaka, Vijjata, Dujjana, Atuṅga, Nicaya, Tuṅga, Cavataka, Varāha and Siṭṭaka.

12. Four pieces of land at Anūpa belonging to the sons and granddaughter of Atṭaka.\textsuperscript{124}

13. Land called Govaraka belonging to the sons of Atṭaka and measuring twenty \textit{droṇavāpas}.\textsuperscript{125}

\textsuperscript{116} Bhogaru satka vanolaka-ābhidhāna-bhūkhandaṁ. Ibid., line 19.

\textsuperscript{117} Prastar-Akā... satka-satëka nāmā bhumiḥ. Ibid., line 20.

\textsuperscript{118} Govitnaṅgaka satka yakṣasthānābhidhāna bhumiḥ. Ibid.

\textsuperscript{119} Vihanaka satka talasātaka-ābhidhāna bhumiḥ. Ibid., line 21.

\textsuperscript{120} Vannuvāka satka-kṣirakavābhidhāna bhu khandam. Ibid.

\textsuperscript{121} Sreṣṭhin jivāka satka gāṅgeraka nāmā bhumiḥ. Ibid.

\textsuperscript{122} Jivāka-sihāditya-icchabalaṅnāṁ satka paivitta-nāmā bhumiḥ. Ibid., line 22.

\textsuperscript{123} Silāditya satka khorakhoṭṭāṅka nāmā bhumiḥ. Ibid., lines 23-24.

\textsuperscript{124} Atṭaka putrāṁaṁ nāpāṁnaṁ ca satka anūpe bhu khandam. Ibid., line 25.

\textsuperscript{125} Atṭaka putrāṁaṁ satka govaraka ābhidhāna bhūmirvvināsatī droṇavāpaṁ. Ibid., ln 26.
14. Land called Dālimūlaka, belonging to Dhanāka.126

15. Land at Grāmidāraka belonging to Sirabala.127

16. Land called Šuṣṭavimā belonging to Icchavardhana and Śilāditya.

17. Land called Lohārasāmenā belonging to Tuṅgāditya.128

Other than these instances of individual ownership of land, we have a few references to joint-ownership. Considering the fact that agricultural operations often require co-operative effort, joint-ownership might have prevailed in some cases. Thus, the plate of Subhikṣarājadeva mentions a land called Yakṣasthāna owned jointly by Govitna and Naṅgāka; another land called Paivitta belonged to Jivāka, Śilāditya and Icchabala; a land called Vādibala belonged jointly to Vacchabala, Vivanna Kama, Darjjiyāka, Prathama and Āditya. In one case, nine people seem to have owned a plot of land jointly.129

An important aspect of land-grants continuing from the Paurava-Varman times is the grant of house-sites for residential purposes. Thus, the house-site belonging to Subhaṭṭāka together with land-pieces called Khoṇū and Kāṇḍāyikā were granted to the goddess Durgā.130 All the lands granted to the god Nārāyaṇa Bhattāraka were donated with a

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126 Dhanāka satka dālimūlaka nāma bhuh. Ibid., line29.
127 Sirabala satka grāmidāraka bhūkhaṇḍam. Ibid.
128 Tuṅgāditya satka lohāsāmenā bhuh. Ibid., line31.
130 Subhaṭṭāka satka saraṇāṁ khuṇū bhūmi samāddhitāṁ kāṇḍāyikā purīcitāṁ. Plate of Subhikṣarājadeva., line20.
mathikā, i.e. residential quarters for teachers, students, pilgrims, etc.\textsuperscript{131}

The right to alienate land that began during the Paurava-Varman period is seen during the subsequent period too. Thus, a piece of land measuring two \textit{droṇavāpas} was obtained at a price by Nanduka and dedicated by him to Badarikāśrama Bhāṭṭaraka.\textsuperscript{132} This particular reference shows that not only the king but private individuals too could donate land. In another case, the Stone Inscription of Bhūdeva registers the grant of two and half \textit{droṇa} land by the king Tribhuvanarāja’s friend, the son of a local Kirāta chief, to the god Gambiyapīndā, a local deity. Similarly, the second son of a chief called Adhidhaja granted two pieces of land to the local god Bharake or Bhaṭaku measuring one \textit{droṇa} and two \textit{droṇas} respectively. These chiefs were perhaps feudatories of the Katyuri king.

Growth of private property and at the same time recognition of superior rights of kings and chiefs over land were sure to give rise to disputes. The concept of Kali-age may have derived strength from such disputes. The grant of Dyutivarman gives the reason for the fresh issue of the grant as follows: “Since earlier grants have been burnt by fire, after lapse of time some greedy persons and bad characters, being beset by the evil influence of the Kali-age might lay hand on those gifts, if there be no written records”. (\textit{Kali-doṣa-grah-āvīśah-kecid aśṭipuruṣa lekhyaiv-vvin-ākṣepam kuryur-iti}) The grant of Viṣṇuvarman repeats the same language. Although written in a futuristic style, the fear might have been rooted in contemporary reality. Invocation of the \textit{pañeçamahāpātaka} concept too, reflects such a fear. During the Katyuri

\textsuperscript{131} Maṭhikā samanviṭa eita bhūmayo viṣṇugānā sammedye bhagavato Śrī Nārāyaṇa bhāṭṭaraka. Ibid., line31.

\textsuperscript{132} Eitaśa droṇa dvaya vāpi bhūr nādukena mūlyena gṛhitvā badarikāśrama bhāṭṭaraka pratipādita. Ibid., 30.11, line20.
period, the concept of dasāparādha took the place of pañcamahāpātaka. Absent in Paurava-Varman grants, the official dasāparādhika in Katyuri grants shows that offenses against family, property and person had increased.\textsuperscript{133} After the decline of the Katyuri dynasty, the region got divided into many petty principalities. This period also witnessed the invasion by the Mallas of Nepal. A new kingdom with its centre around Campāvata also came into existence. In such chaotic political conditions, the burden on peasantry increased manifold, resulting in armed rebellion by the Khasia peasantry led by their chiefs.\textsuperscript{134}

**Land Measurements**

Three land measurements are available from the Paurava-Varman grants: kulyavāpa, droṇavāpa and kharīvāpa. All these three measures were grain measures and as such land was measured in terms of produce. Hence, one cannot satisfactorily determine the area indicated by them. Literally, a droṇavāpa, kulyavāpa and kharīvāpa signified an area of land that required one droma or one kulya or one kharī measure of seed. In ancient Bengal, one dromavāpa was equal to sixteen or twenty, bīghās of modern times.\textsuperscript{135} Even in early medieval times the measurement of these units differed from region to region. The inscriptions at times recognize this difference by using the phrase deśācāra-mānena, i.e. according to the customary standard of the locality.\textsuperscript{136} It is also a probability that the actual measurement of these units differed within the region because the brāhmaṇas came

\textsuperscript{133} R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, p.64.
\textsuperscript{134} Chapter II.
\textsuperscript{136} Plate of Padmaṭadeva, line20.
From all the directions and brought with them their own ideas of measurement. Regional variations are apparent from the fact that in some localities one *drona* was equal to $1/16$ *khārī*, while in other localities it varied from $1/8$ *khārī* to $1/3$ *khārī*.

During the Katyuri period, a new unit of measurement was introduced. This was *nālikā* or *nālikāvāpa*. The term cannot be explained with the help of Sanskrit lexicons, but Childers’ Pali Dictionary (s.v. *nāli, nāli*) informs, according to the *Abhidhānappadiṭikā*, 484, the *nali* measure is the same as a *pauka* (Sanskrit *prastha*); but from the *Prātimokṣa Sūtra*. 81. it would seem to be larger. It appears, however, to be of varying size, for the Tamil *nali* is said to be smaller than the Sinhalese and the Sinhalese to contain half as much again as the Māgadhese (*Prat..* 81). Based on this Sircar says “that the *nālikā* was originally regarded as the same as *prastha* which is usually taken by Sanskrit Lexiocons as the one-sixteenth part of the *drona*. A *nālikāvāpa* of land thus appears to have been one-sixteenth of a *dronavāpa* originally”. However, phonetically similar land measurements do exist in other parts of India. Thus, *nala* is a measure of length in the *Mahābhārata*. In Orissa it was used for measuring land, and as *nala* was used to measure the area of cultivated land the term came to mean cultivated land itself in course of time. *Nālikāvāpa* appears to be the smallest unit of measurement.

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138 These units were not exclusively meant for land measurement. They were used for other purposes as well. That is why we find their equivalents even for denoting time, such as one *drona* was equal to 200 *palas* or twentieth part of a *kumbha*, a unit of time.
139 Monier-Williams, *SED*, S.v. *khari, drona, kulya*.
Introduction of this unit shows that now, even very small plots of land were donated because of the scarcity of cultivable land in the region. A recent survey has shown that only 12.75% of land was under cultivation in 1984 and most of these were in Terai-Bhaber region and some in river beds.\textsuperscript{143} In the grants, the measurement of plots is mentioned mostly in terms of dronavāpa, but some plots were measured in terms of nālikāvāpa. Khārīvāpa was the largest unit and nālikāvāpa the smallest. Kulyavāpa seems to have been used for measuring those lands which had some irrigation facility. While the measurements, khārīvāpa, dronavāpa and kulyavāpa, went into disuse after the Katyuri period, nālikāvāpa continued in the form of nālī, and a few new measurements were introduced in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. Thus, the Bharati Canda Copper Plate Grant issued in 1477 A.D. mentions māsā and rātī,\textsuperscript{144} the Bhisma Canda Copper Plate Grant issued in 1514 A.D. mentions jyuḷā, and the Rudra Canda Copper Plate Grant mentions nālī as the units of land measurement.\textsuperscript{145}

**Trade and Urban Centres**

In the pan-Indian context, the decline of long-distance trade during the early medieval period meant the decline of urbanism. The Kumaon and Garhwal region, which was connected with the great trunk route from Peshavar to Tāmraliptī through feeder routes, was also affected. Minting of coins stopped and urban centres declined. Despite this, intra-regional trade continued and Tibetan trade thrived.\textsuperscript{146}

\textsuperscript{143} B.R. Pant, "Uttarakhand Ka Prakritika Adhara", *Uttarakhanda: Ek Adhyayan*, DHAD, pp.57-63.
\textsuperscript{144} The māsā and the rātī should not be confused with the modern usages.
The grant of Dyutivarman mentions an official called gañjapati. Y.R. Gupte interprets ganja as mart.\(^{147}\) In the Rajatarangini, we find officials like gañjādhanārī and gañjawara who were treasury officers.\(^{148}\) However, gañja also means a cowhouse or station of cowherds.\(^{149}\) Gañjapati could have been an official looking after the sale and purchase of animals. D.D. Kosambi takes it to mean a system of income-earning funds established for charity and administered by separate officials.\(^{150}\) In the late medieval period, gañj meant a storehouse. It was a market principally for grain.\(^{151}\) In this period, gañja played a key role in extending the money economy into the bordering areas of the Himalayan foothills.\(^{152}\)

Thus, the economy was ruralised. The existence of Suvarṇakāra pallikā, Rājakya ṭoli, Gogga pallikā and Rajakasthalakṣetra in the village settlements shows that production was centred in rural areas. The karmānta (a workplace) was also situated in the rural area and many plots of land were attached to it. Kāruk, the artisans, were attached to the land and were not supposed to be displaced. The grant of karmmānta-sthalikā also shows that artisanal workshops were losing their vitality. The grants of the Katyuris show that the traders were becoming land-owners. Thus, the plate of Subhikṣarājadeva mentions that the land called Kṣīrakau and Paivitta belonged to the śreṣṭhī Jivāka. The grant of Dyutivarman mentions the donation of a plot

\(^{147}\) Y.R. Gupte, op.cit.

\(^{148}\) D.C. Sircar, Glossary, s.v. Gañjādhanārī.

\(^{149}\) Monier-Williams, SED, s.v. Gañja.


\(^{151}\) Hobson-Jobson, The Anglo-Indian Dictionary, s.v. Guñja.

\(^{152}\) C.A. Bayly, Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870, OUP, Delhi, 1992, pp.55, 98-99.
called Gohaṭṭavāṭaka which was perhaps a periodic market place of animals, now turned into cultivable land. Only the workers and traders in Guggula are shown to have been organized into a corporation called Guggula pariṣad.

During the fifth to thirteenth century period, it seems there were not many urban centres in the region. Although we have a few sites of archaeological importance such as Panduwala in Shrinagar, Baijnath in Danpur, Chaṅpavat, Dhikuli and Chaturbhuj in Rudrapur, Ujain in Kashipur, etc., there is nothing to show that they were urban centres. This is because none of these sites have been systematically excavated as yet. Without proper excavations the age of the ruins is also difficult to ascertain. However, Brahmapura, Karttikeyapura and Subhiksapura were important urban centres. The inscriptions show that a sort of complex social structure in which secondary social relationships replacing primary kin-based tribal relationships, had already emerged in the region. The centres of this change were the capital towns of these kingdoms. The number of officials mentioned in the inscriptions show that the capital towns must have been quite large. The presence of vaniku, śreṣṭhi purogān and aṣṭādaśaprakṛty aḍhiṣṭhāniya, i.e. merchants, foremen of guilds and the officers in charge of the townships inhabited by the eighteen kinds of subjects, show that Kārttikeyapura was a large township.

From the seventh century onwards, there was an increase in the flow of pilgrims in the region and in the wake of it, there is a strong possibility that on the convergence points of pilgrim routes small trading centres cropped up. But it is now difficult to identity them. However, one cannot expect that there would be many large urban centres in a region which may be termed as an 'area of relative
isolation'. Even in the modern period there are very few urban centres in the whole area. In Chamoli district, except for the district headquarter there is no urban centre. It is likely that in the early medieval period, there would not have been many such centres.