CHAPTER SEVEN

THE ECONOMIC AND FISCAL POLICIES

THE URGE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:

In the \textit{Santiparva}, the verse which instructs the king to reside in the fortified city with a team of loyal officials and a loyal army is immediately followed by the word \textit{kosa}, which means the royal treasury. This significant word happens to occur like this because the king is instructed to apply all his efforts for the advancement of the treasury, the army, the allies and the administration of justice, as soon as he finds the opportunity to settle in the fortified city.\footnote{cf. tatra kosa\textit{bala} mitram vyavahara\textit{m}a vardhayet. (MB.XIII.36.11)} It is significant that while offering the said instruction the idea of the \textit{kosa} comes to the mind of Bhima in the very first instant.

In the \textit{Manusmriti} it is recommended that the king should strive to gain what he has not yet gained; he should carefully preserve what he has gained; he should augment what he preserves; and he should bestow on worthy men whatever he has augmented in the said manner.\footnote{alabdha\textit{sa}lipsit\textit{a} labdham rak\textit{a}st prayatn\textit{at}a. rak\textit{a}\textit{st}\textit{a} vardhayeca\textit{sa}lipsita labdham \textit{p}ara\textit{sa} mu\textit{ka}pet. (S.VII.99)} The same idea is expressed again in a slightly different way as follows: The king should seek to gain with his army what he has not gained as yet; what he has gained should be protected by him with careful attention; what has been protected should

\begin{enumerate}
\item cf. tatra kosa\textit{bala} mitram vyavahara\textit{m}a vardhayet. (MB.XIII.36.11)
\item alabdha\textit{sa}lipsit\textit{a} labdham rak\textit{a}st prayatn\textit{at}a. rak\textit{a}\textit{st}\textit{a} vardhayeca\textit{sa}lipsita labdham \textit{p}ara\textit{sa} mu\textit{ka}pet. (S.VII.99)
\end{enumerate}
be augmented by various ways of increasing the same, and what is already augmented should be liberally bestowed on worthy men. In the *Kantikapya* also it is said that the treatise on dananditi composed by *Prabhās* contained discourses on gaining what is not yet gained, development of what is already gained, and the donation of what is already developed to the deserving donees. In another context *Bhīma* directly instructs that the king should seek to gain what is not yet gained and what has been gained should be properly protected. It is significant that the first question that king *Satruñjaya* put to *Kanika Bhāradvāja* runs as follows: How should there be a desire for gaining what is not already gained? How should what is already gained be augmented? How should what is augmented be protected? How should what is protected be utilised? by repeatedly asking to seek what is not already gained the king is urged to constantly apply his efforts for economic prosperity.

**THE KING SHOULD BE ENTERP RISING:**

In the *Ranavaschitī* there occurs a precept that even getting tired again and again the king should always set his hand on new enterprises; because fortune favours the enterprising person. In this connection,

3. alabdhah saichad dañjena landhaś rakṣed avokṣayā.
   rakṣitaś vardhayad vṛddhyā vṛddhaś pūtraśu niksīpet : (ibid, 101).
4. alabdhalabho labdhaya tathaiva ca vivardhanam.
   preduśāmca vivṛddhasya pūtraḥyo vidhiveś tataḥ : (MB.XI.56.57).
5. saṃvāptaśca lipeta labdhānca pariṇālayet : (ibid, 69.10).
6. alabdhasya kathaś lipśā labdhāś kena vivardhate.
   vardhitāṃ pālyate kena paltarā pranāyat katham : (ibid, 140.5).
7. trabhetaiva karaṇaś cāntanti cāntatt api putha punah.
   karaṇyārahaḥmaṣai hi purusā srīr nīcetate : (MB.XI.300)
It may be noted here that in the *Mahabharata* and particularly in the *Lakshmanavata* the relationship between the king and the four ages is severely pointed out, but the implications of the imagery are not always the same, as it will be seen from the following analysis:

(i) it is almost a repetition of MS.IX.301 when sage Vyasa says that the four ages namely krta, tretâ, dvapara and kali are actually the efforts of the king. That is why the king himself is called a yuga.

9. krtâ tretâyugârtha dvaparaâ kaliyogâ ca.

rajânvrttâni servâni râja hi yugam ucayate : (lid, 311) and

cf. kaliyâ prasupto bhinavati sa jagrad dvaparâ yugam.

karmas-abhyudatah tretâ vicaramastu krtâi yugam : (lid, 312)

cf. also, keśih okyuno bhavati samjihastu dvaparâh.

uttishtatâh tretâ bhavati krtâm sampadyate sarâs/caraveti itib.

(Aitareya-brâhma, 7.13.5, or 1.15)

9. krtâ tretâ dvaparâ-sa kalike bharatarbâhka.

rajavrttâni servâni râjâyeva yugam ucayate : (MS.II.91.6)
(ii) Bhiṣma opines that the four ages (i.e., the relatively good or bad states of affair as pertaining to the different ages) owe their origin to the king. 10

(iii) In another santo of the Śāntiparva a much longer discourse on the relationship between the king and the four ages is presented by Bhiṣma. But here the stress is laid on the king’s application of the danda-nilīti and not on his being enterprising. Bhiṣma says that the doubt as to whether the time is the cause of the king or whether the king is the cause of time need not occur because the king himself is the cause of time. When the king wholly adheres to the danda-nilīti then there occurs the kṛtyug (with all its good effects). 11 Then in half a dozen verses Bhiṣma presents an account of the most ideal state of affairs as it prevails in the society which enjoys a full flourish during the kṛta age. Bhiṣma again observes that when the king adheres to three fourths of danda-nilīti then there occurs the tretā yuga with the effect that the earth yields only if properly tilled. 12 There occur the dvāpara yuga when the king adheres to one half of danda-nilīti with the effect that the earth now yields, even being properly tilled, only one half (of the grains obtained in dvāpara). 10 When the king, completely doing away with

10. kṛtya tretā dvāparāṇa kalīna bharatāśabha
   rājasūla iti satir' nāma nāstyatra saṁsavyo (Ibid. 141.10)

11. kalo vā kāraṇam rājār rājā vā kalākāraṇam
   iti te saṁsavyo mā bhūd rājā kālasya kāraṇam
   danda-nilītyo yadā rājā sanyak kārtavyāna vartate
   tada kṛtyugam nāma kālayoṣṭe pravartate (Ibid. 69.79 f)

12. Ibid, 69f
13. Ibid, 69f
dandaaiti, unduly torments the subjects, there occurs the kali yuga, with all its evils effects described in another half a dozen verses. Bhīṣma concludes the discourse by saying that the king is the creator of the kṛta yuga, and the king is the cause of the tretā, dvāpara and the fourth age (i.e. kali); by virtue of being the cause of the kṛta yuga, the king can fully enjoy the heaven; on account of causing the tretā they may enjoy the heaven to a lesser degree; by introducing the dvāpara can have only two quarters of the enjoyment of heaven, and by introducing the kali he gets completely plunged in sin. 14

But it must be appreciated that the śantiparyas is also in no way less eloquent with regard to the desirability of the king's being enterprising. Almost in the very beginning of the very first formal discourse on polity Bhīṣma tells Yudhiṣṭhira: You should always try to be enterprising; mere providence, without enterprise, does not serve the purpose of a king. Apparently both providence and human effort seem to be on the same footing; yet, in my opinion human effort is superior (because its effects are visible), while the presence of providence requires to be established with inference.

14. rājā kṛtyaugasvastē tretayē dvāparasya ca .
   yugasya ca caturthasya rājā bhavati kāraṇam ;
   kṛtyasya kāraṇād rājā svargaḥ atyantram anūtate .
   tretayāḥ kāraṇād rājā svargaḥ atyantram anūtate ;
   pravartanād dvāparasya yatābhāgasya upāmante .
   kāleḥ pravartanād rājā pāpam atyantram anūtate ; (Ibid, 98-100).
MB.III.89.79 (quoted under n. 11 above) and there three verses occur at a stretch in a speech of Kuntī also as MB.V.132.16-19.
Pujañ, the wise bard, in an anecdote reproduced by Bhāṣya, clearly declares that providence and human initiative are interdependent; yet for the enterprising action alone is true and it is only the surnace who adheres to providence alone. In the Mahābhārata also it is observed with a similar strain as follows: All undertakings in this world depend both on providence and human exertion; but among these two the ways of providence are unfathomable; while if there is human initiative the action of providence becomes manifest.

Having prepared the ground with the above argument Bhāṣya more pointedly tells Yudhishtīra that a king should always be enterprising; a king devoid of any initiative like a woman is never praised. By reproducing verses composed by Bhīṣmottari, Bhāṣya again declares that it is only with an enterprising nature that the gods could get the nectar and kill the demons, and Indra could become the king of heaven. Even an intelligent king always becomes teased by the enemies like a poisonless snake, if he happens to lack initiative. In the body of another parable Bhāṣya expresses the opinion that a king, who remains engaged in winning the heart of the people,
is full of initiative and rich with allies, is reckoned as the best king.  

PATRONAGE TO ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES:

It is desirable on the part of the king to take the initiative for augmenting his wealth. But the question is how should he proceed in this direction? Kullūka while commenting on Vs.VII.99 and Vs.VII.101 suggests that the gained wealth may be augmented through the enterprises like trade and commerce. What is implied is that the king should always encourage the economic activities like trade and commerce in his kingdom. In the vakabhrata, there are many clearer recommendations to this effect.

The pious hunter (= Dharma-vyādha) in the Vamaparya and Bhaiṣṣa in the Bātīparṣa observe with the same words that agriculture, cow bard's vocation and commerce are the very life of this world. Nārada recommends a direct financial and material patronage to the traders and artisans among others, and recommends that the king should make sure that the cultivators of the country are content, and should see that there are large tanks full of water in different areas all over the state, so that agriculture need not solely depend on the rains (whimsically) sent down from heaven, and should

20. cf. Ibid, 116.27
21. 'vānijyādīnā vardhayet', 'sthala jal apathavānijyādīnā vardhayet.'
22. kraigaraśayavānijyam āhalokasya jīvanam. (MB.III.707.44a, III.29.7a)
23. cf. MB.II.5.72
24. cf. 'kaccit tuṣṭah krai valāh' (Ibid, 77b)
make sure that no cultivator is required to suffer from want of food and seeds, and should give one hundred paras as financial assistance and not as a loan on interest. The king is advised to see that ārtha (i.e., agriculture, cowherd’s vocation and commerce) is properly carried on in his kingdom by honest persons, because only by taking recourse to ārtha this world may attain happiness.

In the Sūtras, Bhāgavata in unequivocal terms recommends that the king should pay special attention to the gāndhāras (i.e., persons belonging to the vaisya class and engaged in agriculture and the cowherd’s vocation) because they are of far-reaching consequences for the state and particularly in respect of trade and agriculture. The king should be kind towards these, should never make any mistake with regard to his behaviour with them and should levy a very mild tax on them. It is further recommended by the Bhāgavata that the king should cause a larger number of people to remain engaged in agriculture, cowherd’s vocation, commerce and similar other professions, so that these enterprises may not cease to exist for want of persons to pursue them. People engaged in these professions should be able to remain free from any fear for

25. kaccid rāṣṭre tadēnāi pūrnāni ca bhanti ca .
   bhūgasā vinivēśāni na kṛṣīr devavātikā ;
   kaccin na bhaktasā bijām ca karsakasyāvāsādītati .
   pratyekām ca śata: vrddhyā dādāmarya anugraham ;
   kaccit avasūsthitā tāta vārtha te sūdābhīr janaḥ .
   vārthāyām asūrītām tāta loko’yaśa sukham adhate : (ibid, 78-80)

26. cf. KB.AII.87.35-40.
the robbers or the royal officers. It is a discredit to the king if they
required to remain in fear.\textsuperscript{27} It is again stressed by Bhāma that the
merchants of the kingdom should never be vexed with heavy taxes. Moreover
the cultivators, who bear the very axle for the king and also support all
others with food must never be compelled to leave the kingdom through any
sort of repression.\textsuperscript{28}

DESI RABILITY OF A STRONG EXCHEQUER:

While it is highly desirable to have an over all economic prosperity
all over the state, the king is also expected to possess a strong exchequer.
As pointed out in the very beginning of this chapter, Bhāma strongly advi­
ses the king to work for the growth of the exchequer. Bhāma says that the
king should have the urge and interest for earning wealth for his treasury.
This piece of advice assumes greater significance because of the fact that
\textit{kosa} (= exchequer) is recognised as one of the seven elements (= prakṛtis,
or limbs (= aṅgas) of the state.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{27} kṛṣṇorakṣayavaijyaj yasconyät kīcīcīd ādyas.
\item paruṣatih karyat karma bahubhiḥ karmahopadāhāḥ
\item naraśeṣat kṛṣṇorakṣayavaijyaj vamaśpamsatītah
\item saṁśayā labhate kīcīcīt tana rāja vigarahete : (Ibid, 88.27f)
\item \textsuperscript{28} kacīcīt vañjo rāṣṭre nodvijanti kararditaḥ. (Ibid, 89.23A)
\item kacīcīt kṛṣṇarāṣṭram na jahastistipīditaḥ
\item ye vahantī dharmā rājām te bhavantītārān api : (Ibid, 24)
\item \textsuperscript{29} 'kosāyopārjanaratī' (XII.11.57.18A)
\end{itemize}
In a later canto of the *Santiparwa* Bhīṣma presents a longer discourse on the importance of the *kosa* in the statecraft and on the ethical questions involved in the act of acquiring funds for the *kosa*. Among other things Bhīṣma says: while *kosa* and *bala* (= army) form the very basis for the kings, *kosa* serves as the basis for the *bala*, *bala* serves as the basis for *dharma* (i.e., performance of duty), and *dharma* is the very basis for the existence of all people. (Thus the *kosa*, which stands at the root of everything deserves to be made stronger). But it is not possible to raise the funds for the *kosa* without subjecting others to some amount of oppression, and without the funds the question of raising an army does not arise at all. But the king does not invite any blame by oppressing others for the sake of the *kosa*. Some improper acts are required to be done even for the performance of a sacrifice. In the same manner, whatever pain the king inflicts for realizing a better end, namely the raising of the *kosa*, should not invite any blame for the king.

Concluding the said discourse Bhīṣma observes that one who does not have wealth is weak; one becomes stronger with wealth; one having wealth may get everything; one who possesses *kosa* may cross over all hazards.

30. *rājāḥ kosa-balaṁ mūlāṁ kosa-mūlāṁ punar balaṁ.*

    *tan mūlāṁ sarvadharmaṁ dharmaṁ mūlāḥ pṛṇah praṇah :*
    mānyāṁ apīdayitvā kosaṁ sakyah kuto balaṁ .
    tadārthāṁ pīdayitvā na doṣāṁ pṛṣṭuṁ na sārhati :*
    akāryam api yajñārthāṁ kriyate yajñākarmaṁ .
    etasmāt karanaṁ rājā na doṣāṁ pṛṣṭuṁ arhati . (Ibid, 130.35-37)
merit, pleasures, and a better world in the after life may be achieved with kosa; but the king should desire to acquire a stronger kosa by righteous means only and never through unrighteous ways. In another long discourse on kosa Bhīṣma, however, observes that for realization funds for the kosa a middle course should be pursued, because it is neither possible to raise the kosa with complete innocence nor desirable to do so with cruelty.

THE PURPOSE OF THE KOSA:

As analysed above, Bhīṣma indicates the purposes served by the kosa in a rather rhetorical way. But yet from the relevant literature itself the purposes may be sorted out in a systematic way. While referring to the contents of the treatise on dandaṇīti composed by Brahmā, there is a reference made also to the purposes served by the wealth already augmented by the king. Purposes, according to the said reference, are namely, (1) donation to the deserving donees, (2) ĀRAMA, i.e., for performing religious ceremonies and rituals, (3) KASMA, i.e., for achieving pleasures in reasonable ways, and

31. adhanām durbalas prāhur dhamena balavān bhavet.

32. na kosaḥ suddhasasena na nyāsasena jātucit.

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31. sarvasā dharmatā prāpyaṁ sarvasā tarati kosaṁ:

32. nādhyamā padam uśṭhāya kosaṁgraheṣam eṣāṁ: (MB.XII.133.3)
(4) व्रम्म, i.e., for gaining pleasure through vices or addictions. It may be noted that by donation exclusively to the deserving donees, the whole literature concerned means a patronage offered to the talented persons and persons otherwise useful to the society, and also the acts of charity for the deserving ones like the widow and the old and the infirm.

So far as donating to the deserving donees is concerned, it is also recommended severally, and in both the महायोगिनि and the शौचिपर्व, that wealth may even be snatched away from the dishonest for being bestowed upon the honest. The महायोगिनि says that by taking away the purse from the dishonest and donating the same to the honest the king, in fact, serves as a raft for the salvation of both of them. According to the शौचिपर्व, by doing as stated above, the king simply behaves as the medium for the transmission of the wealth, and thereby shows that he knows all about धर्मन्.

33. cf. प्रदानादिवा विवद्धिस्या पत्रेभ्यो विद्विषतुते तत्त:।
   विवर्गोर्थस्या धार्मिर्भस्य कृष्णेतुकम् उपयोगे।।
   नातुत्थयाय व्यासेमभोधे तारत्वितुम्वरणिः।।
   (Ibid, 59.573-58, "पत्रेभ्यो विवर्गोर्थस्या प्रदानादिवा समुहाया सम्प्रयङ्गः।।"
   अर्थात् "पत्रेभ्यो विवर्गोर्थस्या प्रदानादिवा समुहाया सम्प्रयङ्गः।।"
   "पत्रेभ्यो विवर्गोर्थस्या प्रदानादिवा समुहाया सम्प्रयङ्गः।।"
34. योवामहेभ्योर्थसः अद्या साधुभ्यव अस्मप्रयङ्गः।।
35. अस्माद्भ्यवर्थसः अद्या साधुभ्यव यो प्रयङ्गः।।
Other purposes served by the kosā are like financial assistance given to the cultivators, pension given to the unemployed learned brāhmaṇas, salaries paid to the women employees and menial servants of the royal household, and salaries paid to the army.

SOURCES OF REVENUE:

A verse of the Śvetaparva tells about the source of king’s income as follows:

baliṣaṇṭhama suktam adoṣenathāparādkinām.
śastraṁitam lipṣotāḥ vetanemā dhanayāmanam: (MB.III.71.10)

Purport: The king should desire to have his financial income from the following sources, in a manner approved by the sastras: (1) one sixth of the agricultural products, etc., which is not in excess of the correctly calculated quantity and received as bali, (2) fines realised from legal offenders and (3) duties paid by the merchants as a remuneration for giving them protection.

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36. See n. 25 above.
37. See n. 44 and n. 45 in chapter four above. The term vṛtti occurring in the verses concerned may also mean a stipend.
38. cf. MS.VII.122f
39. cf. kassid balasya bhaktasva vetanamā yathocitam.
saṃpraptakāle datavyam dedasi na vikārasasi: (Ms.II.5.49)
40. “suṣṭen sūḍhama ganaśād asadhikam” (Nilakaṇṭha)
41. “vetanema pethi rakṣitair vaṁśibhir yad datteṣ tatu raṣjō vetanai sovādhanam” (Nilakaṇṭha)
Here, the first category may perhaps represent all types of income tax paid in cash or kind (i.e., hali or kara) and physical services rendered in lieu of paying in cash or giving commodities (i.e., visti). The second category may perhaps include not only the fines for various offences realised as per specified rates, but also the properties which are confiscated. The third category may include all types of duties called suctha and also all forms of tolls.

It may be noted here that in the literature concerned the terms like kara and suctha are often used for different types of sources of income indiscriminately. Thus, for example, the term suctha means a fine in places like MS.VIII.266 and MS. VIII.369, means a sales-tax or a duty in place like MS.VIII.398 and MS.VIII.600 and means a price in places like MS.IX.98 and MS. IX.100.

For the convenience of a more detailed treatment the sources of revenue may be classified under two broad categories namely (A) taxes and duties, and (B) sources other than taxes and duties.

A. TAXES AND DUTIES :

That the subjects are obliged to pay an annual tax according to a fixed rate is clearly indicated in the episode relating to Manu's appointment as the first king, when the subjects themselves proposed that they would pay two per cent of the growth over the original of the cattle and gold and ten per cent of the grains produced as contribution for the growth of the exchequer. The Manusmriti gives some details about the rates of annual taxes as follows :

43. pasanam adhipancasadhiranyasa tathaiva ca :

dharmiyasa dasaman bhugam danyamah kosavardhamam. (MS.XIII.67.23B-24A)
A fiftieth part of the growth on cattle and gold, and eighth, sixth or twelfth part of the crops produced may be taken by the king as kara, i.e., annual tax. The king may also take as kara the sixth part of tree, meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, medical herbs, flavouring agents, flowers, roots, fruits, leaves, pot herbas, grass, objects made of cane, hides, earthen vessels, and articles made of stone.

Customs duties seem to be levied on goods which are being sold or are being taken away by land or water routes for being sold elsewhere through the customs check posts, and tolls seem to be collected in ferry service points. Certain commodities are recognised as state properties and are not allowed to be sold by any party other than the government and certain goods are not allowed to be taken out of the country at all. For levying customs duties, the Manusmriti lays down a general rate as follows:

63. *pancasa'ad bhaga adayo rajaa pasuhiramasyato*.

\[ \text{dhayyamaa sahtamo bhagaah saantho dvadaas evo va} \] (MS.VII.130)

It is remarkable that the rates relating to cattle and gold here are the same as in the verse quoted from the Mahabhārata above.

64. cf. MS.VII.131f.

65. cf. 'sthala jala pathavya vahartya bhikyo rajagrahyo bhagaah sulkas' (fullukra on MS.VIII.398)

66. cf. 'sulka tham sat padharamakale krayavikraya' (MS.VIII.460a), referring to a checkpost and to merchants going by unusual routes and carrying on transactions in unusual time for avoiding the checkposts and the customs officers.

67. Note the words *sulka kare* in MB.XIII.49.29 quoted under n. 89 in chapter five above.

68. cf. 'rajas prakhyatabhahdo bhikyo prati giddhahi yami ca' (MS.VII.399a).

For the wealth or goods belonging exclusively to the state Kullūka refers to elephants and horses as examples. Kullūka, however, unnecessarily in this context, refers to them as useful for the king. As an example of goods prohibited to be smuggled out of the country, Kullūka refers to 'paddy in time of a famine'.
Purport: Expert customs officers, who are familiar with the particulars of all salable commodities would first assess the cost price and the profit expected to be made and then will realise one twentieth of the profit, as assessed, as customs duty.

An idea of levying tolls may be gathered from the following verse of the Manusmriti:

panāsi yānaśi tare dāpyas ānuruśordhaṇeśi tare .
pālāśi pasūco yośico pārāśraśi rīktah pumā : (MS.VIII.404)

Purport: When an empty vehicle is ferried, one pana should be paid as toll duty, and the other rates are -- half pana for an adult male, a quarter pana for an animal or a woman and one eighth of a pana for a human being with no weight (i.e., a child).

It must be appreciated that in time of calculating the cost price of any commodity all aspects of its cost of production, transportation, etc. are expected to be duly noted. Likewise in time of calculating the ferry toll also, different aspects like the force of the current, the distance covered by the route, the prevailing season, etc. are expected to be taken into consideration.

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49. of. MS.VIII.401
50. of. MS.VIII.406
PRINCIPLES OF REALISING TAXES:

It is seen above that certain wholesome principles are recommended for being followed in time of assessing customs duties or tolls. It may now be noted that certain commendable principles are recommended to be followed in time of levying taxes also. Further, it may be noted that the viewpoints of both the *Megasthene* and the *Mahabharata* are almost similar with regard to these principles, as may be evidenced by the following instances:

(1) For assessing the taxes to be levied on the traders certain aspects of their own expenses, etc., should be taken into consideration. This is laid down by the *Megasthene* as a principle as follows:

kryayikrcream aadvama bhaktaca asparivyan.
yogaksama asamrekaya vanijya dastyet karun: (MB.VII.127)

Purport: The traders should be made to pay taxes only after properly considering the rates of purchase and sale, the length of the road required to be covered for carrying on the trade, the expenses for food and snacks for the men employed and the cost of securing and preserving the goods. The same principle is recommended also in the *Mahabharata* with almost the same words as follows:

vikrayami kryayam aadvama bhaktaca asparihsadem.
yogaksama asamrekaya vanijyai karyat karun: (MB.XII.87.134-14A)

The only different word occurring in this verse is *asparihsadem* for *asparivyan*. The present verse perhaps refers to the cost of providing the employees with clothes (= *pariccheda*).
(2) Another cardinal principle is that the king should always fix the taxes in his kingdom in such manner, so that both the doer of the work (i.e., the cultivator or the trader or anybody of the sort) and the king himself (i.e., on who does the work of protecting the cultivators and traders) may get the due reward for their respective works. *Mansasthitā* puts it as follows:

\[ \text{yathā phalena yujyeta rājē kartā ca karamśā.} \]
\[ \text{tathāvekaya nipa rāṣṭre kalpayet satataē karān ā.} \]

The same idea is presented in the *Śantikārṇya* with almost the same words as follows:

\[ \text{yathā rājē sa kartā ca syataē karmāśā bhāgināu.} \]
\[ \text{saivekaya tu tathā rājē prāpayaē satataē karāh ā.} \]

In this verse also, the words *karmaśā bhāgināu* perhaps mean that in case of any work being done both the parties may have share (of the result or the reward).

(3) The next important principle is that the rate of taxes should be moderate. The tax should be levied in such a way that the person who pays it may not have to feel the pinch. Both the treatises recommend this principle with more than one verse. With regard to this principle the following verses occur in the *Mansasthitā*:

\[ \text{yathāpālapam adantyādyāṃ vāryokvatsamaṃ padā.} \]
\[ \text{tathāpālapo grahitavye rāṣṭrād rājśabdikāh karāh ā.} \]

Purport: Like the leech and the calf and the bee who take their food little by little, the king also should draw from his kingdom annual taxes only bit by bit (i.e., with a moderate rate).
purport: Like the sun which draws waters of the earth with its rays bit by bit over a period of eight months, the king also should draw taxes from his realms bit by bit, and that is called the sun-like behaviour for the king.

purport: The king should not cut up his own root by levying no tax at all, nor should he cut up the root of his subjects by subjecting them to a heavy load of taxes out of an excessive greed. By cutting up his own root he would inflict pain on himself, and by cutting the root of his subjects he would inflict pain on them. 51

51. The first half occurs also in the Āntiparya as 'nocchindyā etamaṃ mūlāṃ pareśāṃ cāpi trimayā' (MB.III.87.12f). This line literally means: The king should not cut up his own roots as well as those of others (i.e., of his subjects) out of greed. Nilakantha explains own roots as the rāṣṭra and roots of others as the vocations like cultivation. Accordingly the present line may be taken to mean that with a heavy burden of tax the king should not injure the interest of his own state as a whole and of the subjects individually. The purport in the body of the text above in the light of Kullukās commentary. But the same verse may be perhaps explained in an altogether different way in the light of MB.III.71.15f quoted and explained in the body of the text a little later. Accordingly the purport of the present verse may be as follows: Their own economic prosperity serves as the roots for the subjects, while an economically prosperous community serves as the roots for the king by way of contributing more and more for the growth of the exchequer. The king, out of excessive greed may levy heavier dose of tax, thereby impairing the economic prosperity of the subjects. This will amount to cutting the roots of the subjects as well as of the king himself. Ironically enough, it is more like cutting his own roots, because this will ultimately cut up his own source of income. Thus by cutting his own roots in this way, the king not only invites wretchedness for himself, but also unnecessarily inflicts pain on his subjects.
The Śāntiparva presents this principle with a larger number of verses. Yet the following should suffice to show the correspondence with the

Manasambhita:

madhukodhah dhubed rāstrāṁ bhūmarā īva pādāpam.
vatsāpeskī duḥseyavā stamūṣaṇa na vikutṣyyet:
jalauktavat pived rāstrāṁ udmaivā nāradhipaḥ.
vṛāgṛiva ca haret putrāṁ asādase na ca pīdayet; (MB.XIII.86.4f).

*purport*: Like the bee sucking honey from the flowers of the trees, the king should collect taxes in small quantities. One who wants the calf to remain alive draws milk in smaller quantity and does not injure the udder. Similarly, the king should also draw taxes from his realms without impairing its economic health. Like a leech which sucks blood bit by bit, the king also suck the state with milder dose of taxes. A tigress, while carrying the cubs, bites them, but does not inflict any pain while doing so. The king also should levy taxes, in the same manner, without inflicting any pain upon his subjects.52

arthatōlo'pi hiśaṁ ca karute svayaṁ ātmanah.
karaṁ aśāstrastraṁ hi mohet sampidayaṁ praśaṁ:
ūdhasēhindyst tu yo dhanvaḥ kārārthī na labheta payaṁ.
evaṁ rāstrāṁ anyogena pidditaṁ na vivardhate; (MB.XIII.71.15f)

*purport*: If a king, out of his own foolishness, imposes taxes not approved by the Śāstras on his subjects thereby giving them pain, actually injures his own interest, although apparently he is doing so for gaining money.

52. This verse partially corresponds with MB.VII.129. cf. also:

ahanyahani saṁdhyāṁ asāk śāstraṁ gauva bhūmaṁ:
yathā kramena parahgyasānītī nadhu ātmapadaḥ. (MB.XIII.130.33b-34a)
One who cuts away the udder for getting milk does not get milk any more.
Likewise, if the rstra is unduly oppressed, it does not prosper (and can no longer contribute for the prosperity of the king himself).

"HIma, in a very significant way tells Indiṣṭhīvara:

nālakāropena rājan bhave nāgārikopameḥ.

tathāyuktassīrām rājaye bhaktiś sakgyasti paḷaṇaḥ. (Ibid, 20)

Purport: A garland maker collects some flower everyday for making garlands for earning his livelihood, without harming the trees in any way, while a charcoal maker cuts down and burns up a tree once for all for earning his livelihood. If the king behaves like the garland maker and not like the charcoal maker, he may rule over and enjoy the kingdom for a much longer time.53

(4) Another principle recommended in the Manusāhitaḥ is that the king should make even the common inhabitants of his realms, who live on small trade, pay annually some trifles in the name of a tax of

yatkiśead api varṣasya dēpayet karasaśajñitaṁ.

vyavahārasya jīvantāṁ rājārāstra prthagjanaṁ; (MS.7III.137)

This principle is guided perhaps by the consideration that every citizen should have a sense of involvement, in the state machinery or a sense of belonging to the state, and perhaps also by the motto that even a little

53. Also e.: yastā madhuram saṃsādte rukṣas puṣpaṇe puṣpardeḥ.

tadbhav arthāḥ nemiṣyathvā śādhyāv avihīmasyāḥ:
puṣpaṇe puṣpaṇe vireṇve śālāśekmane kaśyate.

nālakāra śvirūme na yathāśīrāṁ kaśakṣaḥ; (MS.,34.19f)
gain should not be neglected as recommended in both the treatises as follows:

anādeyaṁ vādā ṇa parikāśāṇopī parthivāṁ.

nacādeyaṁ saṃrddhoṁ pi sūkṣmaṁ apyartham utṣerjet : (MB.VIII.16)

Purport: Even being reduced to a state of poverty the king must not take from his subjects what is not legitimately due to him. Even if he is highly prosperous he should not fail to collect what is legitimately due to him, even if it is a trifle.

nārtham alpaṁ paribhavet (MB.A.I.I.120.36a)

Purport: Even a small amount of money should not be neglected, i.e., left uncollected by the king.

agniḥ stokā varhate'pyājyaśikto

bijāṁ saikāṁ rohasahasreṇ eti .

āyasyasa vipuleṇa samśāmya
tasmād alpaṁ nāsvamayeta vittam : (Ibid, 38)

Purport: Even a little fire, when sprinkled with ghee, becomes larger; even a single seed may be the cause of thousand new trees; it is true that the king has a large income, but likewise his expenditure is also very high; hence, even a small amount of money should not be neglected.

(5) Another significant principle is that the rate of tax should vary from profession to profession as suggested by the following lines of the Śāntiparva:

uptattam dānavrtraṁ ca alpaṁ samprekṣaya sāmakṛt :

alpaṁ prati karaṁ evaṁ alpināṁ prākūrṇyat .

uccāvasakarā āepyā mahārajāṁ yudhiṣṭhairaḥ : (MB.A.I.I.127.148-15)
Purport: In case of fixing the rate of tax for the artisans, the manner in which a thing of art is produced, the expenditure involved in producing the same and the degree of art involved, etc., should be duly considered. Thus the taxes levied by the king should be of varying rates (सचारस)

(6) Another principle is that all persons need not pay taxes in cash. Some of them are required to render physical service to the king in lieu of tax, cf.

कारकभं सिंपिनसाध्वा सूध्राम् चतुर्प्रज्ञिविनः ।

सौकिस्करायेत कर्मा माति माति महिपतिः : (MS.VII.139)

Purport: Mechanics, artisans as well as menras who subsist by manual labour, e.g., the porters, should be asked to work for the king for one day in each month in lieu of paying tax in cash or kind.

TAX EXEMPTIONS:

In the two works under consideration some recommendations are made also for tax exemptions. Sometimes it is a partial relief that is recommended.

For example, Manusamhitā recommends that a woman who is pregnant for two months, a mendicant, an ascetic, a brahmana belonging to the brahmascaryasrama need not pay to the ferry service for crossing a river. Sometimes it is a case of total exemption of all taxes. The Manusamhitā recommends that the king would never take any tax from the blind, the idiot, the hunchback, anybody who more than seventy years old anybody who always helps the ghotriya

54. गार्हिणी तु द्विसाधिनित तथा प्रव्रजिते सुनिः ।

ब्राह्मणां लिङ्गिनासाध्वा ना दण्डात्मकिः करे : (MS.VII.407)
(i.e., a Vedic scholar). 55 Another case of total tax-exemption is found in
the stricture that even himself dying with want a king must not levy any tax
on the śrotriya: aryasmṛtyupadyādīta na rājā śrotriyaḥ karam (MS.VII.133a).
It may be noted here that only scholars are entitled to enjoy this tax-exem-
tion, as implied by the word śrotriya. The same idea as in the Manuśmṛti is
expressed in the Mahābhārata as follows:

nāma te brāhmaṇaṛśryāḥ dṛṣṭvā dhanasthāṁ preciṣeṇa namaḥ .

antyayāṁ apyavasthīyāṁ kīṃ apītasaṁ bhūrata : (MS.XIII.71.22)

Purport: The king must not have the weakness of the mind to take money from
a brāhmaṇa after seeing him to be wealthy, even when he finds himself in the
last stage of poverty; and it goes without saying that the king should never
do so when he himself happens to be well to do.

But the Mahābhārata also does not grant an unqualified blanket exemption
for one and all of the brāhmaṇas. It is clearly recommended elsewhere that the
pious king should rather make all the brāhmaṇas, who are not śrotriyaṇa (i.e.,
not scholars) and do not perform the Vedic sacrifices regularly, to pay taxes
or to render physical service in lieu of the same. cf.

āśrṇiyāḥ sarva eva sarveāśmrhitāgamayaḥ .

tāṁ sarvāṁ dharmaṁ rāja balāṁ viśiṁsa kārayet : (Ibid, 70.5)

55. andho jaḍāḥ pīṭhasarpi saṁpratya saḥvarśaṁ yah .

śrotriyaśpaktasurvanāna sa dēyāḥ kmasit karem : (Ibid, 394)
B. SOURCES OTHER THAN TAXES AND DUTIES:

The sources of king's income, other than taxes and duties, may be indicated as follows:

(1) TREASURE TROVES AND MINES

It is recommended in Nanagasāhita that if a learned brahmana happens to discover a treasure trove, he may take the whole wealth himself, because the brahmana is the actual owner of everything. of.

vidvānāt brahmāno dṛṣṭvā pūrvepanihiteṣi nidhiṁ
aceṣṭo 'pyādiṣa sarvasyaādhipatir hi sabā : (MS.VIII.37)

That the brahmana is the actual owner of everything is severally maintained by the Nanagasāhita and the Mahābhārata as follows:

svam eva brahmāno bhūmikte svām vaste svām dādāti sa
aṃraśayād brahmānasya bhūjate hītare janaḥ : (MS.I.101)

Purport: Whatever the brahmana eats or wears or donates is his own wealth. It is because of a kindness of the brahmana that others have anything to enjoy.

The first half of this verse is repeated as it is in the Śatipārśva also as MS.III.72.11. It is also asserted in the Śatipārśva that actually the brahmana should have been the king; the kṣatriya happens to be the king only as a substitute for the kṣatriya. of.

petyabhāve yathāiva stri devānā kurute patim
ānāntaryat tathā kṣatriāḥ pṛthivī kurute patim : (MS.III.72.12)

Purport: In the absence of her husband a woman takes the younger brother of her husband as her new husband. Similarly the earth has accepted the kṣatriya as her master (literally husband) in place of the brahmana.
This verse is repeated in the *Amastaparva* in a slightly different form as follows:

nārī tu patyabhāve vai devaram kurute petam.
pythivā brahmānaḥkaśtriyaḥ kurute petam: (MB.XIII.3.22)

If a treasure trove is discovered by the king himself he should offer half of it to the brahmana and put the other half in his exchequer. If a treasure trove or a mine is discovered by anybody other than a learned brahmana, a half of the same will go to the discoverer and the other half will go to the king, as the king happens to be the ultimate owner of the land.

(11) UNCLAIMED PROPERTY —

It is recommended that if an unclaimed property (i.e., a property whose master is not known) is found, the king would declare it publicly and would wait for the actual owner for three years. If the actual owner does not turn up within three years, the property will go to the king. If, however, the actual owner turns up within three years and establishes his claim, with adequate proof, the property will go to the claimant. In the latter case also the king may receive one sixth or one tenth or one twelfth of the property from the actual owner. As explained by Kullūka, the

86. cf. MS.VIII.36f. It is significant that in the later verse the king is called the master, i.e., the ultimate owner of the land: bhūmer adhipatiḥ hi saḥ. By implication it is meant that others can have land only on lease, unless donated by the king, with a charter, for all time to come.

87. cf. MS.VIII.30 and 31.
quantity of the king's share would vary according to the department of the actual owner.

(iii) PROPERTY LOST AND FOUND -

If a property which has been lost (and has been reported to the king as lost) is found, the king will keep it well guarded. If the owner can prove that the property actually belongs to him, it will be given back to him, but in this case also the king will receive one sixth or one twelfth of the property. Here also the rate of the king's share will vary according to the department of the actual owner.

(iv) CONFISCATION -

Confiscation of the property of an offender is another source of revenue. Two cases of recommendation of confiscation may/illustrated from the Manusmriti as follows:

It is recommended that the king should first confiscate the whole property of, and then banish from the country, those dishonest officials who, because of their proneness to dishonesty, take illegitimate money from the suitors.

It is further recommended that the king should confiscate the whole property of such merchants who, out of greed, try to sale such goods which are recognised as state properties or try to smuggle out goods prohibited

58. cf. "dhanasvāmino nirguṇatvāvagāvagātvapakṣesāyām saṁśāgadigrahāyām vikalpah" (Kullāka on MS.VIII.39)
59. cf. MS.VIII.34f
60. cf. MS.VII.124
to be taken out of the country. 61

(v) FINES -

MB.XII.VII.10, quoted a little earlier in this chapter recognizes danā, or money received as penalty for legal offences also as one of the sources of income of the king. Many recommendations may be found in the Manusāhita in respect of such fines. Here the following three recommendations may be considered as illustration.

If anybody is found to have claimed a lost and found property falsely as his own, he may be fined for this offence to the extent of one eighth of his own property or to the extent of a sum equivalent to a very small portion of the property now falsely claimed. 62

If somebody encroaches on a house or a tank or a park or a corn field belonging to another person, with intimidation, he should be fined to the tune of five hundred pana, and to the tune of only two hundred pana if he is found to have done so only by mistake. 63

If some one found to have moved his merchandise through unusual routes, or to have made transactions in unusual times, or to have falsely declared the quantity of his merchandise in order to evade payment of customs duty, he should be fined to the extent of eight times of his normal dues. 64

61. cf. MS.VIII.399
62. cf. MS.VIII.36
63. cf. MS.VIII.254
64. cf. MS.VIII.400
(vi) WAR BOOTY –

War booty is another source of income for the king. With regard to this aspect of the royal income the following recommendation is found in the Namaschika:

Chariots and horses, elephants, parasols, money, grains, cattle, women, all sorts of marketable goods and inferior metals should belong to the soldier who directly gains it through his personal effort of defeating the possessor. But so far as the valuable objects are concerned, it is the duty of the soldiers to hand them over to the king with reference to a Vedic injunction. The king is also asked to discharge his own duty by proportionately distributing the booty, that has been jointly earned by a number of soldiers, amongst the soldiers concerned, with due consideration of the varying degree of gallantry shown by those soldiers.65

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65. cf. MS VII.96f. cf. also "sarwayodahhye yathapaurasam savibhajani–yan" (Kullukka on MS VII.97).