CHAPTER III
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THE HŪNAS AND THE INDIAN ECONOMY

Changes in the economic life generally bring changes in the social, religious and cultural life of a society since they function in a chain reaction fashion like in a nuclear fission. When we study the culture of a society; its economic set up, being an important ingredient influencing other components of the culture is very much needed to be studied. When the Hūnas in relation to India are studied, the changes in the economic setup, which they brought, which of course influenced other cultural components, becomes important enough, to be studied. Its significant positive correlation with the other cultural components is traced in this chapter and the subsequent chapter.

To trace out the economic changes in India after the invasion of the Hūnas and their subsequent settlement in the country, in black and white terms will be to misunderstand the nature of impact of the Hūnas on Indian economy. The Hūnas did not bring replacement to the existing economic system but caused certain changes that quickened and heightened others. These changes not only reflect the impact of the Hūnas but also set in motion the future economic trends which gave rise to the formation of complex economic system in the period from A.D. 700-1200. To make a better
understanding of the changes a comparative study of the economic conditions of India before the advent of the Hūṇas and thereafter becomes a requirement.

The impact of the Hūṇas on Indian economy can be studied in the light of the economic appreciation and depreciation which the country witnessed during the time of the Kushāṇas and the Guptas respectively. This frame enables us to study the impact of the Hūṇas' invasion on Indian economy in two stages. In the first stage when the Hūṇas were away from the Indian border their influences were confined to the extent of introduction of certain economic changes in the country during the early phase of the Gupta rule i.e. from Chandragupta I to Kumāragupta I. The second stage begins with the invasion of the Hūṇas on India during the time of Skandagupta.

During the period of the Kushāṇa hegemony, there were movements of the people, ideas and trade between Central Asia and India. From the time of beginning of Indian contacts with Central Asia, trade constituted the most important factor that determined the economic fate of the country. During the Kushāṇa times, urbanization touched such higher standards of material culture which neither the preceding nor the succeeding periods could witness in the Indian history. This economic prosperity largely depended upon the trade and the trade route particularly on the north-Western border that caused the flourishing of many
urban centres - cities and towns particularly in northern India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia. The importance of their urban population, who had a significant role to play in the politics and economy of any country or kingdom, can not be overlooked. They lived in close proximity to the political power, supplied the needs of the ruling elite, provided links to the rural areas and foreign countries through handicrafts and trade, and thus often controlled large amounts of wealth. Commerce, which includes various forms of transactions, was one of the most important ancient urban activities specially during the Kushāṇa times. The Indian trade with China and Central Asia was not limited to purely simple forms of transaction of primitive societies, such as barter, nor did it extend to the highly developed market system of modern societies. Different social groups carried out transactions that constituted the trade. The Kushāṇa rulers who understood the importance of trade as a source of revenue gained from India's trade with China via Bactria and Transoxiana. They also conquered parts of the Indian sub-continent, including Shen-tu or the lower Indus country, in order to control the Indo-Roman trade. Undoubtedly, trade oriented political occupation of India by the Kushāṇas brought economic profits to the country. According to 'Hou Han-shu' the Kushāṇas became extremely rich and strong after conquering Shen-tu (lower Indus), which had direct commercial relations with Ta-chion (Roman Orient). Chang Chien report of c.130-129 B.C., quoted in the
'Shih-chi', furnishes the first Chinese evidence of trade between Shen-tu (the lower Indus) and Ta-hsia (eastern Bactria) controlled by the Yueh-chin from the north of kuei (Oxus) river⁴. Merchants of Ta-hsia used to visit markets in Shen-tu to buy materials⁹.

The kind of commodities transported from India to China via Central Asia and vice-versa shaped the nature of the trade. Indian exports mainly constituted of the coral, pearls, glass vessels, beads, perfume, incense etc. which are traceable in both literary and archaeological sources. Coral, which for its consumption, spread from the court to the houses of other members of the elite and was marked as the symbol of wealth and status. This coral generally came from the Roman empire and passed in to China through India⁶. Coral beads found around many stupas and chapes of the Dharmarajika monastery in Taxilā prove that coral actually reached this region during the period from the kushana empire to the invasion of the Hūnas⁷. Coral beads excavated from a later Han tomb of Niya, a site on the southern route of Central Asia, suggest that coral was one of the commodities going from India to China⁸. Pearls, which originated in south India and Ceylon, were one of India’s important export items to the west during the early centuries of Christian era⁹. A story about Kanishka suggests that pearls were available in north-west India along the trade routes from the western Indian coast to Central Asia¹⁰. The fact that pearls were among the jewels found in the tomb of
Chang-Chim in Liang-chou\textsuperscript{11} proves that at least part of those in China came from India through Central Asia. In Taxilä, Marshall found inside a stupa a casket full of various kinds of beads, including pearls\textsuperscript{12}. The Indian glass vessels also infiltrated into China through this route. Chinese elites were not alone in yearning for the transparent material. Pliny complains that crystal was a crazy addition as symbol of wealth and prestige in Rome\textsuperscript{13}. He says that Indian crystal was the most preferred\textsuperscript{14}. As for the glass vessels found in Taxilä, Begräm and other sites of north-western India, most of them probably came from the Mediterranean\textsuperscript{15}. Glass vessels which were imported through Babrículom could easily reach those cities and go even further to China. Beads of precious stones also went from India to other countries. Ujjain was famous from the time of Perilous, and the excavation prove it to be a bead producer\textsuperscript{16}. Beads were such popular commodity or ornament that they are found in almost every archaeological site from all periods.

Apart from coral, pearl and glass, other commodities exported from India brought commercial benefits to the Indian traders. Not only such items, such as incense, styrax and frank incense made their way to China from Roman Empire through India but too many Indian products were also traded to the Roman empire. Bdellium, native to the dry region of western India\textsuperscript{17} was imported into China under the name of 'an-hsi-hsiang' i.e. fragrance from
Arsaces of Persia. Costus, a product from Kashmir also went into China. Another Indian product, myrrh, was imported in China through Central Asian routes. These Indian products were obviously desired by the both Roman and Chinese market. Some agate and cernellian ornaments of Indian origin are also found in China. In China upto third century, only royal families and their close social circle seemed to enjoy these imported fragrances. Following the propagation of Buddhism people of some of the lower social levels also came to use incense because incense burning was essential to Buddhist rituals. Like the fragrances, other imported goods in Han times (upto c.A.D.300), were also enjoyed, almost exclusively, by the royal family. Later, lower social strata too began to use these commodities which caused expansion of market of Indian exports and increased demand.

So far as the Chinese exports to India is concerned, silk constituted the most important tradititem. However, the evidences particularly the archaeological, pointing to a market for the Chinese silk within India, is that clear. But undoubtedly, it should be accepted that silk brought bulk of commercial benefits to India. In the time of Periplus and Pliny, China was the main supplier of silk to the Mediterranean world. Roman traders obtained their supply from the sea-ports along the western Indian coast, where the Indians acted as the middlemen. In addition to the Red Sea, the Persian gulf was also a major route for silk and other
Indian exports to the Mediterranean world. The large caravans carried Indian commodities from the Persian gulf to Palmyra along the Tigris and the Euphrates\textsuperscript{23}. Fragments of Han silk found in tombs at Palmyra\textsuperscript{24} verify Palmyra's role in shipping Chinese silk from India to the west. The demand of Chinese silk in the Mediterranean world continued to be one of the factors in keeping alive the routes from the western Indian region to Central Asia. Sometime by the first century A.D., if not from an earlier age, Chinese silk began to reach the Indian port of Barygaza via Transoxiana (Bactria) and routes in the sub-continent\textsuperscript{23}.

All this export - import business activities helped India extract maximum commercial benefits as a middleman who supplied the Chinese goods to the Roman empire and the Roman goods to the Chinese and the Central Asian market having balance of payment in favour of India. The status of India as a middleman caused dwindling of the Roman trade because of the drainage of the gold from Rome. A cursory reading of the Periplus shows how brisk and extensive was this trade with India. Paeripus, writing in A.D.47, records that the Roman currency was exported to the markets of India\textsuperscript{24}. Pliny, writing about A.D.70, laments over this loss of Roman wealth for the oriental luxuries\textsuperscript{27}. This extravagance on the part of the Roman aristocracy in the procurement of the oriental luxuries brought on a reaction by the emperors who succeeded Nero in A.D.68. All Flavians, Antonines and other emperors
till the death of Caraculla in A.D.217 put restrains on this oriental trade. The items of export from India were confined, in this main, to the articles of utility such as cotton products. Similarly, areas of contact were confined to the cotton growing areas of central India fed by Barygaza. The fact that Roman trade with India began to decline after A.D.68, clearly hints towards the possibility that the Kushana Empire, specially after A.D.68, could not secure much benefits from Roman Empire and their post-A.D.68 prosperity derived its strength from other sources other than Rome. Here it will not be unjustifiable to assume that the Kushana prosperity, after A.D.68, depended less on the Roman. All this prosperity depended largely on the wide net work of trade routes spread over India, Central Asia and Western Asia, under the Kushanas.

The large scale trade was supported by the extensive use of the coins, issued by the Kushana emperors, in gold, silver and copper metals. The Kushana rulers Vima Kadphises, Kanishka I, Huvishka, Vāsudeva I and later Kushana rulers Kanishka II, Vashishka, Kanishka III, Vāsudeva III, Skindha etc. combinedly ruling upto approximately half of the fourth century A.D., issued coins in gold. This is indicative of a higher economic standards and the political strength of the Kushana rulers. The extensive area covered by these coins establishes the flourishment of trade over that large area.
The economic prosperity of the Kushāṇa state is also proved by the archaeological sources. The excavations and the explorations of various sites in north India, Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan shows the high degree of urbanization during the Kushāṇa period. The towns and the cities in these areas developed and flourished along the trade routes. This urban growth spread to the north and central parts of India as well where the cities witnessed ever highest standards of urbanization in historical period. Various industries like textile, metal working, stone working, glass working, bone and ivory industries, carpentry and wood working, perfumery, liquor and oil manufacturing, leather industry etc. supported the growth of urban economy. These industries employed and absorbed a good number of population which included the ruling elite consisting of the king and higher administrative and army officers, priests, subordinate administrative and military personnel, independent professionals like physicians, scribes, accountants, teachers etc., mercantile community, artisans, craftsmen, public entertainers, like singers, dancers, actors, musicians etc., prostitutes and people of tertiary groups. A wide network of trade routes and regulated currency system contributed to the growth and development of urban economy during this period. R.S. Sharma has given a detailed account of the Indian cities that flourished along the trade routes during the Kushāṇa period. The important among them were
Taxila, Sanghol, Sunet, Sugha, Agroha, Hastinapur, Atranjikhera, Ahichhatra, Mathura, Kannauj, Bhita, Kaushambi, Rajghat, Chirand, Vaishali, Champā, Bairat, Rangmahal, Ujjain, Valabhi etc.\textsuperscript{32}.

The above discussed economic prosperity during the Kushāna period was made possible by the smooth functioning of the trade routes. It will be convenient to draw a picture of the trade routes to understand the importance of trade along these routes. The main trunk road starting from Tamralipti went to Pushkalāvatī via Champā, Pāṭliputra, Vārāṇasi, Kaushambi, Mathurā, Sagala and Taxila. The route from Pushkalāvatī passing through Kabul, Kapisa terminated at Bactria from where commenced the important trade routes in different directions. From Bactria, one trade route in Central Asia, passing through Tarmes, Kashgar, Yarkand, Tunhuang, Yu-men, Chang-an terminated at Loyang in eastern China\textsuperscript{33}. To western Asia, the route from Bactria passed through Herat, Tos, Rivand, Damghan, Khuvan to reach Black Sea\textsuperscript{34}. This network of trade routes connected India with Central Asia, China, Western Asia etc. As stated earlier, the benefits of the Roman trade were not as much available after A.D.68. But still the Kushāna empire achieved the heights of the material standards and the economic growth continued uninterrupted with equal pace of development. Undoubtedly, the credit for this goes to the commercial importance and the trading capacity of the long distance trade route in the northern and western regions. The brisk trade
on this route brought prosperity to many towns and cities in India, Central Asia and China which came into being and developed along this trade route. But the loss of trade on this route brought misfortune to these cities.

The post-Kushāṇa period witnessed the disruption of this trade route bringing to halt the commercial profits earlier enjoyed by the state and the city dwellers during the Kushāṇa period. The economic activities on this route were seriously affected and the prosperity of the cities, derived from the trade nexus comprising of China, Central Asia and India, fell in ruins with the appearance of cracks in the existing economic order that surfaced due to certain political developments. Two major political developments can be held responsible for this sorry state of affairs. First, China remained divided for three centuries after the fall of the Han empire (A.D. 220), except over a short period of unification under the Chin (A.D. 280-316). Secondly, the Kushāṇas fell pray to the onslaughts of the Hephthalities or the Hūṇas (4th century). India's economic prosperity largely depended upon the prosperity of this route. Here, the Hūṇas are of major concern. As discussed in the preceding Chapter the two main political groups i.e. the Kidārītes and the Hephthalities continued to dominate the political affairs of the area which included Bactria region, Afghanistan and northern Pakistan, from the time of their occupation of Bactria which was a focal point
of international business transaction, in the middle of the fourth century A.D. Occupation of Bactria by the Hūṇas cut off this route from international trading activities. If we identify the Hūṇas with the Hsiung-nus of China, then the time period of disruption of this trade route can be placed back much earlier. R.S. Sharma puts it as, "The reasons for the decay of the towns in the Gupta and post-Gupta phase should be sought in the decline of long distance trade, Craft and commerce flourished in the Sātavāhana-Kushāṇa period, partly because the country traded with Central Asia and the eastern part of the Roman empire. Town in Punjab and western Uttar Pradesh thrived because north-western India formed the core of the Kushāṇa power in the sub-continent. But with the fall of the Kushāṇa empire Central Asian ties were snapped. Many sites which lay on the Kushāṇa route between Mathura and Taxila seem to have been deserted in the third century A.D., after the end of the Kushāṇa power. Five Central Asian urban centres of about the first to fourth centuries became either villages of castles afterwards." The advent or the movement of the Hūṇas at this time explains the reasons for the decline of cities due to loss of trade. This marks the beginning of the first stage of the impact of the Hūṇas on Indian economy when the Hūṇas were away from the Indian borders.

Despite all these odds, some cities in the Gupta period are found to be flourishing but with a different character. Many
cities lost their commercial character of importance as a trading centre because of loss of trade on the western border. Thus the cities in this time were marked with the absence of merchants and the artisans as not much profitable business was left for them in the cities. Now the cities comprised mainly of the religious and the administrative functionaries. In other words we can say that the cities were now no more a centre of trade but acting only as religious and administrative centres. In Gupta period, we find that more and more importance was attached to the centres of pilgrimage and the reasons for this should be attributed, perhaps, to the revival of Brāhmaṇism in the Gupta period. The prominence of religious centres or the centres of pilgrimage enlightens the process of absorption of the local cults in the Brāhmaṇical fold which is marked by the revival of Brāhmaṇism. "The origin of modern practice of pilgrimage may be traced to the revival of Brāhmaṇism and its absorption of the local cults. Every place where a local spirit was propitiated or worshipped, soon came under the control of a body of local priests, interested in attracting the visitors because their offerings formed their means of livelihood. The main pilgrimage centres, thus developed, were Gaya, Parasnath, Puri, Jagannath, in Bihar and Orissa; Jawalamukhi in H.P.; Kurukshetra in Haryana; Allahabad, Badrinath, Banaras, Brindavan, Chitrakut, Deoprayaga, Gangotri, Garhmukteshwar, Haridwar, Jamnotri, Kedaranath, etc.
These pilgrimage centres popularised the cults of Brahmā, Vishnu, Krishna, Siva and many other titulatory gods and goddesses.36

In the Gupta period, we also notice the presence of certain cities which had a less religious character. It may be possible that they functioned as administrative centres of the kingdoms. The cities which flourished in the Gupta period were Kanauj, Kāshipur, Nālandā, Bīkramashila, Bālirājagār (in Madhubani), Goswamy Khand, Tamraliptī etc.37 It is important to mention that the flourishing of the cities in the Gupta period is confined to the areas of Bihar and Bengal only. In the words of Thakur, "It demonstrates that while most of the towns of the Gāndhāra region, Kashmir, Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, Rajasthan, H.P., U.P. And Bihar, which thrived during the Kusāna period, either completely decayed or started showing signs of decline in the post-Kusāna period, the towns of northern most Bihar (Bālirajagār) and Bengal continued to thrive".38 The flourishing of the cities in Bihar and Bāngal in the Gupta period can be explained in the light of the trading and commercial relations of the Gupta empire with the countries of South-East Asia. As we have seen that the prosperity of the towns in northern India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia depended upon the western border, similarly the prosperity of the towns in Bengal and Bihar in the Gupta times depended upon the trade with South-East...
Asian countries.

With the loss of trade and subsequent decline of urban centres in North India, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Central Asia, and deteriorating condition of coinage, certain changes in the existing economic order in India appeared. Sometimes the urban decline has been attributed to the political factors. Towns fall, it is held, because the kingdoms fall. No doubt, we can not dissociate the political factor from the responsibility of causing decline of the urban centres. Both factors - economic as well as political, acted as a cause of decline but it is important to mention here that even the peaceful and powerful political rule of the Gupta dynasty could not bring as much economic benefits as the country experienced during the Kushāna period. Thus, the eminence of the economic factors appear to be more deciding. In this study, the economic factors dominate the first stage of impact of the Hūṇas on Indian economy. Whereas, the political factor appears to be dominating the second stage, when the Hūṇas invaded India. In relation to it R.S. Sharma observes, "The role of political power in promoting urbanism can not be denied. But the excavations show that town started thriving from 200 B.C. onwards in a period of political disintegration that followed the fall of the Mauryan empire. No doubt the Gupta ruled over much larger parts of India then the Kushānas and the Sātvāhanas, yet most towns in the Gupta empire had either disappeared or
become derelict. On the other hand besides the Sātavāhanas, the Ksatrapas and the Kushānas, numerous other states existed in c. 200 B.C. - c.A.D. 300, and yet the multiplicity of states and the consequent disability to extract more surplus did not obstruct the upswing of urbanization. Thus the loss or decline of trade and urban centres adds to the economic factor.

As a result of deteriorating economic situation population in the cities also faced a crisis of survival as there were, now, limited means of livelihood. Ordinarily, merchants lived on the profits of trade, artisans on the manual earnings and the religious and administrative functionaries on the gifts, taxes, tithes and the tributes provided by the peasants, artisans and the merchants and in this manner the cities ruled the country. But now the equations changed. The transformation of economy from the urban type to the predominantly agrarian economy in the Gupta period also changed the political equations among different pressure groups. As stated earlier, the elite of the urban population had considerable influence or interference in the local and state level politics because of their high economic status and subsequently close proximity to the political power. This class also remained in close contact with the common men because of trade activities. It is also known that from time to time, the people of this class were engaged in the welfare activities like construction or digging of the well, building 'dharmashāla' and
providing financial assistance to the persons in the time of need etc. These activities brought them sufficient popularity in their regions. It will not be wrong to assume that the people of this class represented the popular mood of the people and hence their interference and influence in the local and state level politics can well be understood. But loss of trade, towns and coins proved disastrous to the people of this class. The Brāhmaṇa or the people of the priestly class were the direct beneficiaries of this turmoil. In other words, it can be said that the people of the priestly class replaced the elite urban population in terms of the influence and interference in the local and state level politics. We notice revival of Brāhmaṇism in the Gupta period. Which can be studied in light of the above assertions. The considerable influence of the Brāhmaṇical or priestly class in the local and state political affairs brought many privileges and benefits in all walks of life - political, economic, social, religious etc. to the people of this class. Mastery over elaborate priest craft and the sole custodianship of ritualism gave this class not only a unity but at the same time placed it in a superior position to the rest of the classes in ritual matters. Rituals became the criteria for determining the social status of a person. A Kṣatriya king may be powerful and a Vaiśya trader may be rich, but their ritual status will be rated lower than that of the poorest Brāhmaṇa. This was undoubtedly a vital basis of the Brāhmaṇa’s claim for superiority. The ritual mechanism of social
control under the cover of varna order had political and economic sanctions that reserved or secured a series of privileges and benefits for the priestly class. This period is marked with the reiteration or restoration of the 'Varnāshrama' dharma which can be attached to the revival of Brāhmaṇism. Exemption from taxation of the Brāhmaṇas was advocated in the scriptures of the contemporary period. Manu-smriti advises that a king, even though dying with hunger, must not levy taxes on a Shrotriya, and no Shrotriya residing in his kingdom, should perish from hunger. It also states that Shūdras, mechanics and the artisans should be compelled to work for one day, in place of taxes. However the political, social and economic privileges provided them a very high status by which they managed a kind of complete control over the society.

II.

The second stage of impact of the Hūnas on Indian economy begins with their invasion of India during the time of Skandagupta (c.A.D. 455-467). In the battle Skandagupta inflicted a crushing defeat on the Hūnas and checked them to reach the Gupta heartland. Although, Skandagupta was successful in defeating the Hūnas, but this event jeopardised the political power of the Guptas. It appears from the Bhātari inscription of Skandagupta that he had to put his full military force to defeat the Hūnas. This shows that it was not an easy victory for Skandagupta. It seems
likely that after this battle the military strength of the Guptas lost its energy and it was left not much strong and powerful to keep intact the entire kingdom. Because at this time, we find that Saurashtra slipped out of the hands of Skandagupta. Similarly, the Aulikaras in central India removed king Prabhākara from Mandasor, who was appointed governor possibly by Skandagupta, and who is credited with defeating the enemies of the Guptas. Thus after this battle the Gupta empire met with disintegration. The Gupta power proved unable to check the internal dissensions and as a result the Gupta empire, particularly after A.D. 467, was confined to the areas of Bihar, Bengal and eastern Mālwa. It does not appear from the sources that the successors of Skandagupta ever tried to regain the control of the lost territories.

During the course of Hūna invasion, the frontal attack fell upon the cities of which we have archaeological evidence. Unfortunately, we have very limited evidences of the cities destroyed particularly by the Hūnas. Taxilā and Sanghol can be mentioned for illustration. Marshall holds that the Hūnas destroyed the Taxilā city and the Buddhist monasteries. According to G.B. Sharma, "Sanghol with all its monastic establishments may have been destroyed sometime in the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. which is the time of the Hūna invasion of India". It is stated earlier that many cities in north India experienced desertion loosing their commercial
utility. The period of desertion of a good number of cities particularly in north India corresponds to the invasion of the Hūnas. The battle with the Hūnas amounted to a heavy pressure on the financial resources of the Gupta empire. The maintenance of huge army, bureaucracy, administration, royal feasts and festivals etc. all required huge finances. It seems likely that the resources fell inadequate because of the economic constraints.

It is known that no Gupta ruler after Skandagupta ever tried to regain the control of the lost territories. At the same time they were facing economic constraints. There appear two possibilities to meet the financial constraints. First to mobilise resources by imposing fresh taxes on the peasantry and the traders. Secondly, by decentralizing the administration or in other words, to give more autonomy to the provinces in order to meet their financial requirements at their own risk. Here the first possibility appears to be gaining ground in light of the contemporary evidences. A brief survey of revenue and taxation in the Gupta period will help us to trace the modalities that give weight to the first possibility.

It appears from the evidences of the Gupta period that the State introduced certain new measures to improve the condition of its treasury. The land revenue system was much more emphasised and regulated in the Gupta period. In the preceding periods, only the royal revenue is mentioned in the epigraphic records.
whereas the references of land-revenue are found to be absent perhaps indicating its non-prevalence in the Pre-Gupta period. In Satavahana records there is no mention of a regular tax levied upon the villages. On the other hand, the records refer to the royal allotment in the villages, as for example, in one case where king Gautamiputra grants what he describes as 'our field' (ākheta) to certain ascetics, and in another where the same king confers one hundred 'nivartanas' of land out of 'the royal field belonging to us' (rājakam Khetam ahasataham). Ghoshal observes that "It would seem that the king's revenue was derived only from his own allotments in the villages, and not from his share of the agricultural produce." Ghoshal further states, "The oldest epigraphic records of South Indian Dynasties, dating from about the third century of the Christian era, point to the fact that, as in the north the royal revenue was derived from the king's forms or allotments in the villages, while land-revenue in the proper sense of the terms was as yet unknown."

But in the records of the Gupta period we find ample attention to the land revenue. The Gaya grant of Samudragupta dated in his ninth regnal year (c. 339 A.D.) shows that in the dominions directly ruled by the Gupta emperors the usual heads of the land-revenue were in use. In this record the revenue assigned by the emperor to the doneʃ are said to comprise 'maya' (what is to be measured) and hiranya, of which the former evidently stands
for the 'bhāga' of the 'Arthashastra' and the Ashokan inscriptions while the latter is the familiar tille for cash payments by the cultivators. Direct reference is made to the payment of the land-revenue in king in the brief and enigmatic statement of Fa-Hian, who visited Northern India between 399-414 AD. He observes "Only those who cultivate the royal land have to pay a portion of the gain from it." This confirms in kind. Besides the land revenue, the state income was derived from lands which the emperor owned in the villages. In the Gaya grant of Samundragupta, the village is given by the emperor not only along with its revenues but also with the 'Uparikara'. Ghoshal considers 'Uparikara' as the rent paid by the temporary tenants. It shows the introduction of 'Uparikara' as a tax to enrich the state treasury. Moreover, the waste land, over which the state claimed the sole (ownership) propriety rights, was sold to the people for cultivation purposes so that the state may earn more revenues by selling it at certain rates to the individuals. Therefore the selling of waste land by the state served two purposes. First, the state earned money from the waste land and Secondry it was prepared for cultivation by the concerned person which undoubtedly is a sign of expansion of agricultural or cultivable land. The Dhanaidaha copper plate inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I dated year 113 (= AD. 432); the Paharpur copper plate inscription dated G.S.159 (=479 AD.); Dāmodapur inscription of the time of time of Buddhagupta dated G.S. 163 (=482 AD the
Nandpur copper plate inscription dated G.S 169 (≈ AD. 48 R); Dāmodarapur inscription dated AD. 543 (AD. 543); the undated Dāmodarapur inscription of the time of Buddhagupta; all record the purchase of waste land by certain individuals from the state. Besides, these inscriptions also record the donation of the purchased land (by the individuals) to the Brāhmaṇas and the religious institutions. Here, it is important to mention that these grants which ultimately record, the donation of land to Brāhmaṇas, should not be viewed purely in a social perspective but it was equally a part of State's measure to increase the scope of its finance in order to meet the financial constraints.

Coming back to the question of land-revenue the records of the Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa dynasty, whose known dates range from AD. 493-94 to 533-34, and who were ruling in central India, mention the payment of land revenue in kind (here called 'bhagabhogakara') and in cash (called by the older title 'hiranya'). The epigraphic records of Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa and the Parivrājaka Mahārājas of Central India usually mention that the land is granted with 'udraha' and 'Uparikara'; which Ghosal meant as rent from permanent and temporary tenants respectively. This suggests that, according to Ghoshal, in the central regions of the Gupta empire, there were state-owned lands in the villages, which were leased to tenants. An additional item of revenue mentioned in some of Uchchakalpa records is the tax on ploughs.
(halikakara), but nothing is explained about it. An inscription of a Maharāja Lakshamana belonging probably to A.D. 477 and assignable to the region of Kāthāmbhī refers to the usual payment of the land-revenue in kind (called 'maya') and in cash (called hiran̄ya').

Besides the prevalence of regular taxes in the form of share of produce we find references of many other taxes like bhāg bhog, kara, bali, vishṭī, Prarṇya, Uparkara, Udraṅga, Hirṇya, Dhan̄ya, vāta-bhūta, Sulka, Klpta, Upaklpata etc. which is indicative of the heavy taxation in the Gupta period. Sircar explains 'bhāga' as the royal share of the produce and 'bhongo' as the periodical supplies of fruits, firewood, flowers etc. which the villagers had to furnish to the king. Bose suggests that "there are two taxes, one the regular tax 'bhāga' and another the irregular 'bali' which is fixed at 1/4." Maity observes, "The 'bhongo of our inscriptions and of Manu probably means daily presents in the form of flowers, fruits, vegetable, grass etc., for it is interpreted by Medhaṭithī and Kulluka as such." The 'Kara' is another form of revenue which is mentioned in the Gaya plate of Samudragupta the Khoh plates of Sarvanātha the Khoh plates of Mayanātha and the Karitalai plate of Mayanātha. Referring to the Junagarh Rock inscription of the Mahākṣtrap Rudradāman dated, c. A.D. 150 which shows 'Kara' in use as a distinct source of revenue, Maity states, "There it is said that Rudradāman
met the expenses of the construction of the dam of the Sudarśana lake out of his own treasury and without oppressing his subjects by means of 'Kara', 'Vīṣṭī' and 'Prāṇya'. From this it would seem that 'Kara' was thought like 'vīṣṭī' (forced labour) and Prāṇya (emergency levies) to be an oppressive tax." Sirècar also suggests that it was a tax to be paid besides the grain share. Regarding 'bāli', Maity observes, "The interpretation of 'bāli' as a religious tax of some kind is quite in agreement with our epigraphic records, for in our period whenever the term 'bāli' occurs it is recorded along with 'cāru' and 'sattrā'. The 'bāli' like 'cāru' is an offering to the gods, comprising clarified butter, grain, rice, fruits, flowers and so on." The fiscal terms 'Uparikara' and 'Udarāṅga' are explained by Ghoshal as a tax imposed on the temporary tenants and as a tax levied on the permanent tenants respectively. 'Hiraṇya' is another term recorded in the Gaya plates of Samudragupta, the Khoh plate of Sarvanātha, the Malia plate of Dhārasena II, and the Khoh plate of Mayanatha. Siricar explains the term 'Hiraṇya' as the king's share of certain crops paid in cash. In the Khoh copper plate of Sarvanātha, another fiscal term 'H rajana kara' is recorded. Ghoshal suggests that this was a plough-tax. Maity believes that "During the Gupta period not only the agriculturists but also the artisans had to pay taxes to the state. But we do not know in what way or to what extent they were taxed. Another important fiscal term is mentioned in Amarkosā is 'Sūlka'.
which is also mentioned in the Siwani plate of Pravarasena II and Khoh plate of Jayanātha. The Bihar stone Pillar inscription of Skandagupta records Śiśirasvāmin, commenting on the passage of the Amarkośa states that 'Sulka' comprises the ferry duties, the tolls paid at the military or police stations and the transit duties paid by the merchants. According to Ghoshal 'Sulka' is especially the tax levied on merchants inside the fortified town, and is distinct from the ferry duties etc., which were levied in the country port.

Thus the above discussion as a whole, highlights certain facts related to the heavy taxation in the Gupta period that was necessitated perhaps by the financial constraints for which Hūnas can be held responsible to a greater extent. Regarding the heavy taxation, Maity observes "In the Gupta period there were several impositions besides the usual one sixth customary due. Though taxation was no doubt at all times heavy by modern standards, the many fiscal terms in our inscriptions may in part refer to temporary or emergency taxes. The imposition of temporary or emergency taxes, as suggested by Maity, appear to be a part of fresh measures by the state to meet the recently developed financial constraints. The specific emphasis on land-revenue, leasing the royal land to temporary and permanent tenants, selling of waste land and putting them under revenue prevalence of many taxes—new and old—all indicate towards the fact that agricultural
sector had to bear and compensate for the loss of trade, trading centres etc. particularly on the western border. The situation was further aggravated by the Huna invasion which provided opportunity to the kingdoms in central, Western and Northern India, marginally tagged to the Gupta empire, to declare themselves independent. These kingdoms were paying a good amount to the Gupta empire in the form of tributes and dissociation of these kingdoms from the Gupta empire caused tremendous loss to the Gupta treasury.

Though agriculture or persons engaged in agriculture, were experiencing hardships because of heavy taxation but still it can be assumed convincingly that the agriculture was the only sector which could absorb maximum population and which required no special skills and techniques, thus ensuring an easy means of livelihood to the people who had to leave the cities because of loss of trade and urban centres. In other words we can say that the pressure on land increased. It appears from the study of the contemporary situation that, except the peasants, other sections of the society were finding it hard to make their livelihood comfortable through their occupations assigned to them by the Dharmashastras. In this period, we find migration and movement of people from one area to other area possibly due to economic constraints. The Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman dated Mālava years 493 and 529, registers the
migration of a group of silk weavers to Mandasor and there adopting
different occupations contrary to their social status. Swati Dutta has widely discussed the problem of migration of the Brahmans in north India from c.A.D.475-1030. She observes, "The internal mobility of the Brāhmaṇas in northern India has been recorded in inscriptions and land charters as early as the 5th and 6th centuries A.D." The system of land grants to the Brāhmaṇas is found to be associated with their migration. In the words of Swati Datta "In northern India, migration of Brāhmaṇas from one part of the country to another, are recorded in the inscriptions consisting mostly of land grant charters dating as far back as the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era".

All such development perpetuated a feeling of insecurity and tension among all sections of the society which led to the adoption of different occupations contrary to their assigned duties by the Dharmashāstras, all leading to social crisis. In the changed circumstances, the ritual status of the Brāhmaṇas became insufficient to provide them adequate and respectable means of livelihood. Here, the influence and interference of the priestly class, in the local and state politics, managed to secure a good number of privileges and benefits for them which helped them to come out of this crisis. The system of granting or donating land to the Brāhmaṇas should be viewed in light of this background.
In the present situation, more importance was attached to
the privileged property. The members of the Brāhmaṇical class, who
were the privileged one, received a good deal of it, granted
sometimes by the individuals and sometimes by the state. As the
sinking state resources were no more able to provide them the
required amount of financial assistance and other sections of
the society did not possess too much money to spare for the
religious pursuits, it was thought advisable to compensate them
by donating or granting lands. According to Swati Datta "Most of
the migrant Brāhmaṇas became beneficiaries of the ruling kings
and their feudatories. In the earlier phase of the period under
survey (i.e. c.A.D.475-1030), they received plots of land of
various sizes. But later on, mostly one or more villages were
donated to them. Generally the lands were cultivable and the
donees were given the right to levy a varying range of taxes.
The financial status of the migrant Brāhmaṇas depended on the
geographical situation and nature of the donated lands and the
privilege of collecting taxes." The beginning of this phenomenon
marks a change in the functions of a Brāhmaṇa. Now, apart from
his traditional duties or functions of Yajña, yājña, adhyāna,
adhyāpana, dāna and pratīgṛha, they were opting for the profession
of agriculture. The land was provided to them by the state and
the individuals under a social and moral obligation. As we had
discussed that the influence and interference of the priestly
class in the local and state level politics managed to secure a
good number of privileges and benefits for them. The benefits this time came in the form of land grants. Although the land grants marked the characteristic feature of the period under review, but the land granting authority differed from area to area. In the Gupta kingdom, now comprising of Bihar, Bangal and eastern Mālwa, land was donated to the Brāhmaṇas by the individuals. The individuals purchased the land from the state and then donated it to the Brāhmaṇas or the religious institutions. The Dhanaidaha copper plate inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I dated year 113 (=A.D.43?) records the donation of one Kulyavāpa land to a Brāhmaṇa named Varāhaswāmy by a person with 'Vishṇu' ending name. The Pahārapur copper plate inscription dated G.S.159 (=A.D.479) records the purchase of land worth three dināras by a person from the state and then donating it to a religious institution. Another inscription of the time of Buddhagupta from Dāmodarpur dated G.S.163 (=A.D.482) records the purchase of one Kulyavāpa land from the state by a person named Nābhaka to rehabilitate some Brāhmaṇas. Similar information is supplied to us by the Nandapur copper plate inscription dated G.S.169 (=A.D.488) which records the purchase of four Kulyavāpa land at a cost of two dinars per Kulyavāpa, by a person named Chhatramaha and then donation of it to a Brāhmaṇa. The undated Damodarpur inscription of the time of Buddhagupta records the purchase of six kulyavāpa land at a cost of three dinār per kulyavāpa by a śresṭhī Rihbhūpāla and
then donating it to a temple. A similar information is revealed by the Damodarpur inscription dated A.D.543\textsuperscript{108}. The orders of the issuer of the inscription established the permanent ownership of the land to the grantee. While demarcating the land it was taken into consideration that the cultivable land should not be harmed. This suggests that the non-cultivable land was brought into use for cultivation which shows the expansion of agriculture.

In central India, the erstwhile feudatories of the Gupta rulers i.e. the Privrājakas and the Urchkalpas are found to be granting land to the Brāhmaṇas. The Khoh copper plate inscription of Mahārāja Hastin dated G.S. 156 (=A.D.475-76)\textsuperscript{106} records the grant, by Mahārāja Hastin of the village of Vasuntarashandīka to Gopasvāmin and other Brāhmaṇas. Another inscription of Mahārāja Hastin from Khoh dated G.S.163 (=A.D.487-88)\textsuperscript{107} records the grant of village Koraparikā to certain Brāhmaṇas by Mahārāja Hastin.

The Majhgawam inscription of Mahārāja Hastin dated G.S.191 (=A.D.510-11)\textsuperscript{108} records the grant, by Mahāraj Hastin, of the village of Valugarta to certain Brāhmaṇas. The Karitalai inscription of Mahārāja Jayanātha, dated G.S.174 (=A.D.493=94)\textsuperscript{109} records the grant, by Mahārāja Jayanātha, of the village of Chhandapallika, to a Brāhmaṇa. The Khoh inscription of Mahārāja Jayanātha dated G.S.177 (=A.D.496-97)\textsuperscript{110} records the grant of a village Dhawashandīka to some Brāhmaṇas. The Khoh inscription of Mahārāja Sarvanātha dated G.S.193 (=A.D.517-13)\textsuperscript{111} records the
grant of village Āśramaka to certain Brāhmaṇas, by Mahārāja Sarvanātha. The similar information is revealed by other inscriptions of the feudatories in certain India. It is important here to mention that land was donated to the Brāhmaṇas in the areas of Bihar, Bengal and the donation consisted of a plot of land only. Whereas in Central India, land was granted to the Brāhmaṇas with certain privileges and the grant consisted of village only. In the area of Saurashtra and Kathiawar, the Maitrakas granted land to the Brāhmaṇas in order to rehabilitate them which is an example of the grants made by the state.

Thus we find that the land granting authority differed from area to area. Certain judicial and administrative rights as a sort of privilege were also extended to the Brāhmaṇas particularly in Central India. It was taken care by the granting authority that such grants of land to the Brāhmaṇas should not be disturbed or confiscated by the future rulers. It was propounded that the giver of the land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years but the confiscator of a grant or he who assents to an act of confiscation, shall dwell for the same numbers of years in hell. The donation or grant of land to the Brāhmaṇas, besides giving him other material goods, was made obligatory to the general populace for religious gains. The priestly class seems to have devised the means of falling back economically on the peasantry in particular through manipulative writings, thereby
making it obligatory to the general populace to donate the material goods to the Brāhmaṇas for religious gains. Moreover, land was the only other offering apart from labour which was available with the peasants to offer to the Brāhmaṇas to attain religious merits. This is what we witness in the Gupta times. Creation of new settlements mainly for the purpose of providing space for the communities of Brāhmaṇas, was one way in which settlement formation took place in early medieval period. This practice equipped the Brāhmaṇas with the temporal power as well as the spiritual superiority over the society. They were not only dictating people for the observance of Brāhmaṇical rites and rituals but made inroads in the economic structure as well. With the gradual development and expansion of such tendencies in the areas of Central and Western India the Brāhmaṇas gained ample political status and power who later on rose to the position of the rulers. Many new dynasties during the period c.A.D. 700-1200 owe their origin to the Brāhmaṇas. In Bengal, the Brāhmaṇas made inroads in the existing economic structure whereas in the areas of Central and Western India, they successfully made inroads in the political structure. The inscription of the Pushpabhūtis, the later Guptas and the Maukharis reveal about the continuance of the grant of land to the Brāhmaṇas which shows that this practice of land grants kept on increasing its size which in turn, brought maturity to the tendencies discussed above.
The additional functions of the Brāhmaṇas as an agriculturist encouraged the expansion of agriculture and agricultural economy. In this period agriculture attracted greater attention because more importance was attached to the land and the Brāhmaṇas had acquired the landed property for agriculture purposes. The profession of agriculture was now adequately adovated and favoured in the contemporary Brāhmanical writings particularly of Nārada and Brihaspati. Engagement with agriculture, which was earlier considered a sin for a Brāhmaṇa had now become a part of function of a Brāhmaṇa¹². In consideration of importance of agriculture, the stealing of food grains and other produce of the soil and of the implements of agriculture was severely dealt with. Brihaspati lays down that the stealers of the grain shall be compelled to give ten time as much to the owner, and the double amount as a fine, apparently to the state¹³. When a man takes grass, wood, flowers or fruits without asking permission to do so, he deserves to have a hand cut off¹⁴. He who steals more than ten 'kumbhas' of grain should be put to death; but for stealing less than that a man should be fined eleven times the quantity stolen and should restore his property to the owner. According to Nārada, destroying, disfiguring or otherwise injuring fruits, roots, water and the like, or agriculture utensils, is declared to be 'sāhasa' of the first kind¹⁵. The punishment to be inflicted for it must be proportionate to the heaviness of the crime, but should not be less than a hundreded panas or 'sāhasa'.
of the first degree.

The remedial measure to meet the economic crisis so adopted eroded the power and prestige of the central authority which consequently led the country to a stage of political disintegration and was certainly a sort of decentralization. Barring the rule of Harshvardhana, no rule of any other king or dynasty could brought the political stability in the country till the rise of the Pratiharas.

In the changed circumstances, the currency system of the use and minting of the coins suffered a setback specially after the invasion of the HUnas owing to the decline in trade and trading centres consequently restricting the use and importance of the coins particularly in gold. The main ruling dynasties of this period i.e. the Aulikaras, the Maitrakas, the later Guptas, the Maukharis, the Pushpabhutis etc. are known to have issued a very less number of coins keeping in view their size of empire. The declined state of the coinage of this period and the responsibility of the HUnas for this can be defined by making a survey of the coins of the Gupta rulers.

The coinage of the Gupta period shows the presence of encouraging as well as discouraging trends in the history of numismatics. The Gupta rulers are known to have issued coins in gold, silver, copper and lead. The gold coins of the Gupta rulers
are found in large numbers over equally large areas. The most prominent discovery of the Gupta gold coins is the Bayana hoard which yielded 1821 gold coins of the Gupta rulers. Rulewise, the hoard contains the coins of Chandragupta I, 183 of Samudragupta, 16 of Kacha, 983 of Chandragupta II, 628 of Kumaragupta I and one coin of Skandagupta. Similarly, the gold coin hoards of the Gupta rulers are discovered at a number of places. The Kālighāṭ hoard, found in 1783 at Kālighāṭ near Calcutta, yielded probably 200 coins. The Bharsār hoard, discovered in 1851 near Banarqs, consisted of 160 coins, out of which the detail is available of only 32 coins. Coins of the emperors from Samudragupta to Skandagupta were found in the hoard. The Hugli hoard, found near Hugli in 1883 consisted of 13 coins of Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumaragupta I. The Kotwā hoard, found in Gorakhpur district of U.P. in 1884, yielded 17 coins of Chandragupta II and Kumaragupta I. The Basti hoard, of 11 coins (9 of Chandragupta II) was found near the jail of that town in U.P. In 1887. The Hazipur hoard, discovered in Hazipur, Bihar, contained 22 coins of Chandragupta I. The Tekri Debra hoard, found in Mirzapur district of U.P. In 1912, consist of 40 coins of Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumaragupta I. The Kasarva hoard, found in Ballia district of U.P. consisted of 17 coins of Samudragupta and Kacha. The Mitathal hoard, in the Hissar district of Haryana found in 1915 yielded 33 coins of Samudragupta. The Sakori hoard, discovered at
Sakori in Damoh district of M.P. In 1914, consisted of 24 coins of Samudragupta, Kācha, Chandragupta II and Skandagupta. All these hoards contain only the gold coins of the Gupta rulers.

The above picture of the hoards show a large scale production of gold coins by the Gupta rulers which covers considerably large areas. It is interesting to note here that all the coins which the hoards contain, finishes at Skandagupta and the coins of the rulers after him are found absent in the hoards. This is indicative of the possibility that these hoards were buried sometime after Skandagupta. Here, the possibility that most of the hoards were buried because of the fear of Hānas, cannot be ruled out. On the Rayana hoard, Altekar states, "The unknown owner of the present hoard, probably a resident of Bijayagarh, had buried it in a field of his own, at Hullanpara at the time of the Hāna invasion."

If the quality and quantity of the coins are judged as a standard to measure the economic condition of an area, then the numismatic trends, in the Gujarat and central India, cannot be said as encouraging. K.D. Bajpal has published the copper coinage of the imperial Guptas. He examined more than 200 copper coins, obtained from Vidīśa and Eran bearing the name of Pāmagupta, whom he has identified as the elder brother of Chandragupta II. Altekar has published copper coins of Kumāragupta I though stated to be less in number. Bajpai has added three additional types of copper coins of Kumāragupta I. On the copper issues of
Chandragupta II. Smith\textsuperscript{13\textcopyright} held that the copper coins of Chandragupta II were struck in the northern and eastern provinces and that two of his mints evidently were located at Ayodhya and Ahichhatra. The poor condition of the Gupta coinage is further exhibited by the discovery of lead coins in Western India. Moller\textsuperscript{13\textcopyright} has published 197 lead coins of Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta, which he acquired in Gujarat. The exact place of discovery is not known but, according to Moller, the composition of the hoard (of lead coins) seems to point towards the circulation of these coins in the ancient Mālavā\textsuperscript{13\textcopyright}. Thus we find that the state of coinage, in our first stage of Hūṇa's impact on Indian economy, upto Skandagupta shows signs of encouragement but after Skandagupta, the situation begins to take a poor turn in terms of coinage. Kumāragupta is known to have sanctioned the issue of the silver-plated copper pieces as silver coins\textsuperscript{13\textcopyright}. The existence of a large series of silver plated coins of Kumāragupta I with a copper core offers an interesting problem. Smith has dealt with this problem in detail and has concluded, "some copper coins coated with silver were issued in accordance with the precedent set by Nahapāṇa and many other sovereigns but these should be regarded as a debased portion of the silver currency. In my view the silver plated coins are a debased issue of the silver coinage probably struck during a period of financial pressure"\textsuperscript{13\textcopyright}. Defining the financial pressure, S.K. Maity observes that, "this might be due to the Hūṇa menace which is referred to
in the Bhitari inscription of Skandagupta. Fleet observes "During the prosperous days of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II the state might have easily raised the standard weight of the coins. But they did not do so appreciably, possibly in order to maintain a balance in the market, which was stabilized by the Kushānas. But during the adverse days of the Guptas, Skandagupta and his successors, although they issued heavier coins, adulterated them greatly, no doubt on account of the economic stringencies caused by the wars with the Hunas and the others."

Although the later coins became heavier in weight than those of the earlier kings, the percentage of gold in the coins gradually declined, especially after the later part of the reign of Skandagupta. According to Maity, "This was probably due to the bad politico-economic situation created by the invasion of the Hūnas and the ceaseless trouble over the royal succession after the death of Kumāragupta I." Maity has given a list of the percentage of pure gold in the coins of the later imperial Gupta rulers. The percentage of pure gold in the archer type gold coins of Narasimhagupta varied from 65 to 78.7, that of Kumāragupta II as 70.50 and 50.9; and that of the Vishṇu (probably Vishṇugupta) has 59.7 and 63.6. Cunningham has given percentage of pure gold in some of the Kushāna and Gupta gold coins. It is as follows:

- Ulema Kadphises - 92%, Kanishka - 92%, Huvishka - 92%, Vāsudeva - 84%,
- and Kācha - 83%, Chandragupta - 87%, Samudragupta - 87%, Chandragupta II - 87%, Kumāragupta I - 87%, Skandagupta - 87% and his heavier
coins has 52%, Narasiṃhagupta-50%, Kumāragupta II-45%, Vishnugupta-45% 144. With the decline of the gold percentage in the gold coins of the later imperial Gupta rulers, the number of coins and coin types too declined. It is stated earlier that easy access of gold to India ceased to flow which was earlier coming from outside India, as bullion or coin, as an article of import. It was possible with the international commercial links of India with the other countries of the world particularly during the Kushāna times and the supply of which was blocked by the Hūṇas on the western border. Moreover, gold coins were no more required and needed in the low profiled trade during the Gupta period. The deteriorating condition of the coinage in the Gupta times is further reflected in the copper and lead issues of Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta, as discussed earlier, particularly in western and parts of central India. The trading and commercial relations of the Guptas with the countries of the South-East Asia even could not compensate this loss. The declining importance of the gold coins has been recorded by Lallanji Gopal as follows, "It is obvious that, in view of the cheapness of the commodities in the period when cowries were sufficient for daily transactions, the gold coins would have been very high in value and would not have been ordinarily needed. It is significant that after the Guptas no gold coins appear to have been issued for over 450 years"145.
To conclude, it can be held that whatever the economic deprecations the Indian society experienced or witnessed in the post-Kushāṇa (i.e. Gupta period) and post Gupta period, the Hūṇas formed the core of the responsible factors whose appearance on the political scene produced dents or cracks in the existing economic order. The cracks thus appeared brought changes in the social order as well disturbing the inter-Varna relations and subsequently affecting the social functions of each varṇa. This aspect of the problem is being tried to tackled in the next chapter.
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11. Chin-shu, CXXII, 3067.


16. *Indian Archaeology*, 1957-58, p. 34.
22. Liu, Xinru, *op. cit.* p. 64.
25. *Periplus, op. cit.*, sections 48 and 64.
27. Pliny, *op. cit.*, VI.26; VI. 101; XII. 19, 41, 84.
41. *Manu-smriti*, VIII. 133.
60. *Ibid.* p. 382
71. Ibid. p. 136.
72. Ibid. p. 122.
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74. Junagarh Rock ins. of Rudradaman, c. A.D.150
75. Maity, S.K., op. cit., p. 82.
77. The fiscal term 'bali' is mentioned in the Khoh plates of Sarvanātha, Fleet, CII 131, Khoh plate Samkṣoḥa, Fleet, CII,114; Khoh plate of Jayaṇātha, Fleet,CII, 122; the Malia plate of Dhruvasena II, Fleet, CII,166.
78. Maity, S.K., op. cit., p. 84.
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