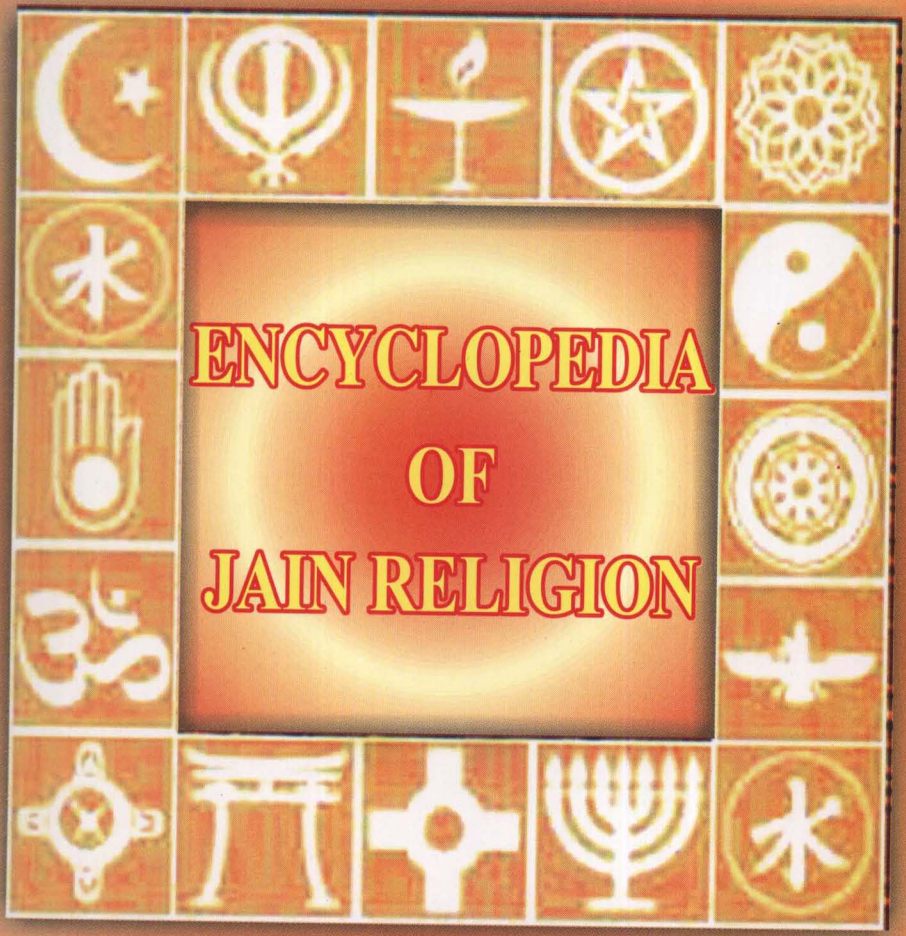

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF JAIN RELIGION

Edited by
K.L. CHANCHREEK
DR. MAHESH K. JAIN

'*Encyclopedia of Jain Religion*' is a multi-volume elaborate study of this oldest religious sect. This *Encyclopedia* has been designed to cover a wide range of *Jain* religious thought in a systematic manner, theme wise and serves as an authentic reference tool. In the new millennium this is perhaps the first systematic study of *Jain* religion.

Volume one of this Encyclopedia deals with the antiquity and historicity of Jainism which attracted the attention of scholars to study and trace the long history and a large continuing presence of Arhat tradition which is pre-Aryan; Volume two is a prolegomenary description of Jaina scriptures, which developed through centuries and by stages and took a literary and philosophical form during ten centuries from Mahavira's salvation. Volume three traces the Jaina way of worship, observance of specific rituals and fasts besides celebration of fairs, festivals and festive occasions since ancient days. Jains worship only five worshipful once the Arhats, Siddhas, Acharyas, Upadhyayas and Sadhus besides some Godlings—Yakshas and Yakshis and attending guards. Volume four and five traces and analyses the Jaina concept of God and creation of the universe, doctrine of worship, theory of Soul, doctrine of Karma, Lesyas, Nine Padarthas (Fundamental Truths and Pudgala—Matter), moral themes and philosophical issues like doctrine of Anekantavada, Panch Mahavratas, Sramans culture, Yoga, Penance and Santhara and liberation. Volume six traces how people earned their livelihood through agriculture, farming and trade, according to Jaina texts. Jains were actively involved in the growth of agricultural activities, industry and trade channels. Undoubtedly the management

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Volume 6

Editors
K.L. Chanchreek
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1

ECONOMIC LIFE IN JAIN LITERATURE

In Jaina canonical literature, Jain Katha texts, Jaina Puranic works, inscriptions etc. there are enough references on economic conditions and social life of the Jain community. Actually Jaina community from ancient days had been in trade, commerce and industry besides agriculture. Here V. Madholkar on the basis of Jaina literature has discussed, somewhat in detail, the economic philosophy of the Jaina community.

Madholkar observes that the "Economic factors have always been most important in shaping the history of the world from time immemorial. Although, in the four orderly aims of life—dharma, artha, kama and moksha; moksha has been regarded as the final and noblest aim of life, yet the trinity of dharma, artha and kama are not to be discarded altogether, because the attainment of moksha (final release) is not possible without the attainment of these three preliminary aims. In the Samaraiccakaha, the attainment of the trinity of dharma, artha, and kama has been described as a social obligation.[1] It is written in the Samaraiccakaha that man without monetary support is meaningless, because a pauper can neither achieve success in any thing, or enjoy the company of the virtuous, nor can he do any good to anybody.[2] Wealth has been taken as synonymous with divinity. It is wealth that makes a man respectable in society or which brings to lime light the heredity, personality and intellect of a man.[3]

1. *Samaraiccakaha*, 9, p. 865-66.
2. *Ibid.*, 4, p. 246, "attha rahio puriso apuriso ceva".
3. *Ibid.*, 6, p. 538-39, "annam ca esa attho namamahantam devayaruvam".

Thus, it is obvious that among the chief objects of life, production of wealth occupied a very prominent position and its chief sources had been agriculture, trade, commerce and handicrafts. However, every activity which resulted in the creation of wealth was to be regarded as productive.

From very early times, agriculture had been regarded as an important source of livelihood. The common occupation of the villagers was agriculture or farming. The peasants were the backbone of the society because the rural economy of India was chiefly based on them. It was on their surplus income that the kings, the Samantas and other landed intermediaries, the priestly elite and a number of village servants, as washermen, barbers and sweepers, were living.[4] In the Jain Katha texts we get references to small peasants (krsivalah) as well as big landlords. Upamitibhava-prapancha-katha refers to the opulent agriculturists who could afford to have such a complicated and costly device of irrigation like araghatta. It refers to the landlord (sarva Sirapati) along with his four cultivators (karsakah), the skilled supervisors (karmakarah) and their female labourers (paricarikah).[5]

Agricultural Implements

The Kuvalayamalakaha[6] makes a mention of some of the agricultural implements. According to this text, plough (halamangala) and yoke (jotta) were the implements for ploughing a field. It appears from the Kuvalayamala[7] that the bull was the usual draught animal used for plough. This practice of ploughing a field is still prevalent in India.

4. Yadav, B.N.S., *Society and Culture in Northern India,* p. 260.
5. Upamiti-bhava-prapanca-kaha, p. 984-85; Cf. Gopal, L., *History of Agriculture in Ancient India*, p. 139.
6. *Kuvalayamalakatha.* 191.6' 101.20; 192-27; 73.32.
7. *Ibid.*, 39-30.

Samaraiccakaha[8] also refers to similar agricultural implements like plough and axe which were made by the blacksmiths. 'Brihaddahala' is mentioned in the Harsha stone inscription[9] of Cahamana Vigraharaja, dated A.D. 937. It is so to be noted that this big plough was known to Panini. (Hali and 'Jitva'–3.1.117).

The Krisiparashara[10] gives in detail the various agricultural implements. The two principal implements were the hala (plough) and the medika (ladder). From very early times the plough had been the main instrument of agriculture. Ploughs drawn by oxen were for cultivation. In the Gupta period iron plough shares were used, for according to Brihaspati, a plough share was to be formed by iron twelve palas in weight. It was to be 8 angulas long and 4 angulas broad or approximately 6" × 3".[11]

The old Bengali literature reveals that plough, cleaver, sickle, frame ladder, stick, husking pedal, etc. were the common agricultural implement, which were made by the village blacksmiths and carpenters.[12] This reference to iron implements shows that iron industry had been quite in a developed state in the early mediaeval period.

The Krisiparashara describes in detail the various components of the plough. Isa (pole), yuga (yoka), niryola (rod of the plough), sthanu (a strong piece of weed that is fixed to the niryola at the end opposite to where the plough share is fixed; this is held by the cultivator while ploughing the field), pasika (the plates that fix the plough share to the niryola.[13]

8. Yadav, Jhinku, *Samaraiccakaha- Ek Samskritik Adhyayana*, p. 173.
9. *E.I.* II. 125, Text line, 40.
10. Krisiparashara. V. 120 and FF.
11. Maity, S.K., *Economic Life in Northern India*, p. 96 (Brihaspati 79-80).
12. Aspects of Bengal Society, pp. 229-30. Cited in *Society and Culture in Northern India*, p. 257.
13. Gopal, L., *Technique of Agriculture in Early-Mediaeval India*, p. 27, University of Allahabad Studies, 1963-64.

Monier-Williams explains it as "a strap of leather on a plough), addcalla (pin of yoke), Saula (an extra piece of wood that tightly fixes the niryola to the pole) and paccani (goad) were the main components of the plough."[14]

System of Irrigation

The Kuvalayamalakatha and the Upamiti-bhava-prapanca-katha[15] as well as the epigraphs[16] of our period, particularly from Rajasthan and Gujarat mention that from the 8th century onwards a highly sophisticated technique of irrigation was used, known as arahatta or araghatta. The Kuvalayamala and the Upamiti-bhava-prapanca-katha mention the words 'araghatta' and 'arahatta-ghatinyaya', meaning things which were used for drawing water for the irrigation of fields. The man who drove the arahatta is mentioned as 'arahattiya-nara' in the Akhyanakamanikosa (12th century).[17] According to Amarkosa[18] there is no difference between araghatta and ghatiyantra. The commentary on the Mankhkosa explains ghati as a pot which is attached to arghatta, that is a wheel with spokes.[19] Thus, a number of pots or buckets were attached to a wheel, and water was collected and discharged through these pots.

The question, whether the araghatta was a Persian wheel or a noria, is a debatable one. Some scholars like Dashratha Sharma, Irfan Habib and B.P. Majumdar believe that there is

14. Krisiparashara. V. 112. "Isayugahalasthanurniryolastasya pasikah addcallasca saulasca paccani Ca halastakam."

15. Upamitibhava-prapanca-katha, p. 985.

16. *E.I.* XI, pp. 49-50, pp. 28-30.

17. *Society and Culture in Northern India*, p. 259 (AMK, p. 146, V.12).

18. Amara-Kosa II. 10.27; III. 5. 18.

19. Commentary on the Mankhakosa, "araghatta-ghatiya-yantranyayadityadau bhande ghatisabdah." Cf. the paper—Industries and Internal Trade in Early Mediaeval Northern India, p. 2, Majumdar, B.P. Presented in Seminar on Socio-Economic History, Allahabad University, 1980.

no similarity between the araghatta and the Persian-wheel, while others like Lallan ji Gopal have tried to identify it with the Persian wheel, on the basis of a passage occurring in the Upamiti-bhava-prapanca-katha. According to D.C. Sircar, araghatta was a water drawing machine, a well with a water wheel.[20] It has been rightly pointed out by Dashratha Sharma[21] that neither the araghatta nor the ghatiyantra is similar to the Persian wheel and araghatta was probably known to Indians even before the beginning of the Christian era. There is nothing peculiarly Persian about it. Irfan Habib[22] says that the alleged reference to Persian wheels in early India relates more appropriately to the 'noria' which could be used for drawing water 'near surface; or from a river' and in which there is no hint either of a chain carrying the pots, or of any gearing. According to him the Persian wheel was introduced in India in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries as a part of its large scale diffusion from the Arab society.

B.P. Majumdar[23] has also pointed out in support of the above view that the Indian were using the noria in the period between 600-1200 A.D. Lallanji Gopal points out towards a passage in the Kuvalayamala, where the ever-revolving chain of birth, old age and death is likend to the phenomena of an araghatta with hundreds of ghatis, one pouring its water into the other.[24] The employment of the irrigation device to explain

20. Sircar, D.C. *Ep. GI.*, p. 26.
21. Sharma, Dashratha, Proceedings of the Twenty-ninth Session of the Indian History Congress, 1967-68, Patna, p. 43.
22. Habib, Irfan, "Technological Changes and Society, pp. 12-19, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, XXXI Session, 1969.
23. Majumdar, B.P., Industries and Internal Trade in Early Mediaeval Northern India, p. 2.
24. Gopal, L., 'Araghatta—the Persian Wheel'—History of Agriculture in Ancient India, p. 114 and FF.

a philosophical notion implies that it was quite well-known in those times. Lallanji Gopal defines araghatta as a well fitted with a waterlifting device, with era (a spoke of a wheel) and ghatta (a pitcher) as its two principal component parts.[25] In the Upamiti-bhava-prapanca-katha, the term ghatiyantra or the chain of pots is mentioned as mounted on the wheel and so quite separate from the wheel. The above description identifies araghatta with the Persian wheel and not noria.[26]

However, archaeological evidence reveals that the irrigation device known to the people in the 10th and the 11th centuries, was 'araghatta' and not the Persian wheel. Sculptural carvings show that there is a great difference in the structure of the two. A sculptural frieze, carved in yellow stone, found at Mandor in Rajputana, datable to 10th century A.D. and carvings on the ceiling of the Yogesvara temple at Sadari (near Ranakapur) datable to the 11th century A.D., depict an 'araghatta' and not a Persian wheel.[27] The wide-spread use of such advanced methods of irrigation as the araghattas from the 10th century onwards point out that the technical efficiency in irrigation was gradually increasing.

Thus, it appears that both natural as well as artificial methods of irrigation were employed in the early mediaeval period. Agricultural fields were generally irrigaed by reservoirs which every village had as a rule.[28] Kings, Samantas[29] and sometimes private individuals like rich merchants[30] also constructed reservoirs and canals as part of a welfare work. It appears that in the early mediaeval period not only the state took care of irrigation but also constructed means of irrigation on their own

25. *Ibid.*, p. 114 and FF.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
27. *Social and Cultural History of Northern India*, p. 137. Also Relief, p. 137, Plate XXIX.
28. Jamkhedkar, A.P., *Kuvalayamala a Cultural Study.*
29. Yadav, B.N.S., *Society and Culture in Northern India,* p. 25. (*E.I.* IV. p. 310).
30. Kuvalayamalakatha-24.27.

expense. The Aparajitaprccha[31] states that the usual means of irrigation were lakes, rivers, wells, machine wells, arahatta, tanks, and river dams. Sukraniti[32] also refers to tanks, canals, rivers and wells as the popular means of irrigation.

Among the Jain Katha texts, the earliest reference to 'Vriksayurveda' is found in the Vasudevahindi.[33] Vriksayurveda is the science of plant life, concerned with horticulture and Botany. The texts in Vriksayurveda deal with diseases of plants and trees and their treatment.

Chief Crops

We get a good account of products of India in the early mediaeval literature as well as in the inscriptions. The accounts of Muslim writers are also useful in knowing the chief crops of India during the period of our study. A comprehensive study of the literary and the epigraphic sources clearly reveal the fact that the crops of northern India during the period of study were not very much different from those in earlier times.

The Kuvalayamala Katha not only gives us a description of the chief crops but also mentions the places where they are most harvested. The crops referred to in the Kuvalayamala are rice, (Sali), kalma sali, sugarcane (ucchu), punducchu (special variety of sugarcane) and kidney beans.[34] The names of Allahabad (Vaccha), Ayodhya, Canjeevaram and Kosala are mentioned as the places where rice was the main agricultural product.[35] Hiuen-

31. Cf. *Society and Culture in Northern India*, p. 257 (*AP.* p. 188).

32. Sukraniti, Tr. B.K. Sircar, p. 148.

33. Vasudevahindi, p. 50.

34. Kuvalayamalakatha, Part -1, p. 21. "punducchu salitrna mahakhalehim, kalamridhio-ucchuvana."

35. *Ibid.*, p. 31. 12.... "Vacchonama janavao jatth ya pisuvijjanti salitrna-mahakhalehim kalamriddhio." Also P. 7.6.9.10. "Veyaddha-dahinenam ganga sindhuyamajjhayarammi. atthi bahu-manjjhadese majjima-desotti supasiddho. Harinaul-patayanta-pikka-kalam-kaniskaya-taro-rava." p. 45. 15. 20 "damilana kanci-desam.dhana-dhanna salikalio." p. 72. 34 "Atthi bhuyane payaso kosala-naranah-puttagottanko, Salivana-ucchu-kalie tammiya-desammi mahiyalabhaie."

Tsang[36] mentions rice, wheat, ginger, mustard, melons, pumpkins and kunda as the agricultural products of the seventh century A.D. The accounts of I-Tsing show which cereals grew in greatest abundance in which part of the country. According to him, wheat flour was in abundance in the north; baked flour (rice or barely) was mostly used in the western districts, in Magadha (Central India) wheat flour was scarce but rice was plentiful and the same was the case with the southern frontier and eastern border lands.[37]

Different types of foodgrains are referred to in the early mediaeval texts. Medhatithi commenting on Manu[38] mentions seventeen kinds of grains. In his commentary on the Abhidhana Cintamani,[39] Hemacandra enumerates seventeen kinds of grains (dhanyas). (1) Vrihi (rice that ripens during the rains, (2) Yava (barely), (3) Masura (lentil), (4) Godhuma (wheat), (5) Mudga (kidney bean), (6) Masa (another variety of kidney bean, urad in Hindi), (7) Tila (sesamum), (8) Canaka (Chick-pea), (9) Anava (great millet; juara in Hindi), (10) Priyangu (Italian millet), (11) Kodrava (kodo-mellet), (12) Mayusthaka (moth in Hindi), (13) Sali (rice grown under water and reaped during winter), (14) Adhaki (pigeon-pea), (15) Kalaya (pea), (16) Kulattha (horse-gram), (17) Sana (hemp).

Vagabhata II (c. 8th) has classified the cereals of India under three categories of grains described by him in the Astangahrdaya are—Sukadhanyas (bearded grains), Trinadhanyas (wild grains) and Simbidhanyas (grains in pods).[40] According to him under the bearded grains fall mainly the different kinds of rice such as sali and vrihi. Under the Tranadhanyas or wild

36. Watters, Vol. I, p. 178.

37. Takakusu-p. 43.

38. Medhatithi on Manu, VIII, 320 "dhanyam Vrihiyavadisapta dasaniti...."

39. Abhidhana Cintamani, IV. 223.

40. Sharma, B.N. *Social Life in Northern India*, p. 287.

grains are described grains like kordusa, yava (barley), vamsayojna, godhuma (wheat) etc. Under the Simbidhanyas, Vagabhatta mentions various pulses like mugda (kidney-beans), adhaka (pigeon-pea), masura (lentil), rajamasa, kulatha and tila (sesamum).[41] Rice (Dhanya)—of all the good grains in the Indian and foreign texts of the period, rice appears to be principal crop of India. It was produced almost all over the northern and western India.[42] It was used during theVedic period also, but the word 'dhanya' stood for 'grain' in a general way, though in later literature it meant rice. In the Atharvaveda, rice is meant by the word vrihi.[43] Arthasastra mentions that the crops of 'sali' and 'kalamasali' as the varieties of rice.[44] Although the 'Samaraiccakaha' does not give any special knowledge of the foodgrains, even then we get references to good material during the course of narrations. Dhanya has been bracketted with 'dadhi' as a sacred commodity in the Samaraiccakaha[45] which shows that rice was included among the articles of food. The Adipurana,[46] a Jain text mentions seven varieties of rice such as sathi, sali kalam, brihi, sama, nevara and syamaka. The different varieties of paddy are mentioned in the Desinamamala and the Dvayasraya of Hema Chandra and in the Manasollas.[47] Kalamsali, mentioned in the Kuvalayamala and other early mediaeval texts, was a new variety of paddy, not grown in earlier times. The Krisiparashara describes the method and procedure of paddy cultivation.[48]

41. *Ibid.*, p. 289.
42. Watt., *The Economic Products of India,* ISI, V. p. 502 XX (FF.).
43. Niyogi, Pushpa, *Contributions to the Economic History of Northern India*; p. 25 (Atharvaveda-XII, 2, 54; XVII, 4; XVIII, 3, 6-9.
44. Kuvalayamalakatha, Sali-31.12; 45;20; 70.34. Kalamsali —7.9.10.
45. Yadav, Jhinku, *Samaraiccakaha- Ek Samskritik Adhyayana*, p. 193. Sam. Kaha 2, p. 152; 6, p. 593.
46. Adipurana, 3-86, 4-60.
47. *Society and Culture in Northern India*, p. 258.
48. Krisiparashara, VV, 154. 156, 168-207.

Besides rice, the other important crops of our period were barley, wheat and sugarcane.[49] It is known from some inscriptions of Rajasthan that godhuma grew there plentifully.[50] Sugarcane (Ikshu) was another important crop. Sringaramanjarikatha mentions fields full of sugarcane in Malwa.[51] The Kuvalayamala[52] refers to sugarcane (Ucchu) as one of the chief crops. It also mentions a special variety of sugarcane called 'punducchu'.[53] It is perhaps the Pundra variety of sugarcane. Bana also refers to the unbroken rows of fields of the Pundra variety of sugarcane in the Srikantha Janapada.[54]

Cotton was an important product of India from very early times. It was an important commercial crop of India. Hiuen-Tsang[55] observes that Mathura produced a fine stripped cotton cloth which points to the fact that cotton was cultivated in the Mathura Division of Uttar Pradesh.

Upamiti-bhava-prapanca-katha[56] gives a list of specially precious products, in which the "gosirsa" variety of sandal wood is included. Of pastoral products, mention may be made of milk and milk products and ghee etc. There used to be a government officer known as 'mahattar' in every village who looked after the pastoral land. In the Brhatkathakosa, mention is made of such an official who was the master of the pastoral land lying near his village on the condition that he gave 1,000 kumbhas of ghee to the ruler.[57]

49. 'Yavogodhumeksu'—*E.I.* XXVIII, Part, VI, p. 257.
50. *JESHO*; No. 16; 1973, P. 309.
51. *Malwa Through the Ages*, p. 498.
52. Kuvalayamalakatha–31.12, 72.34.
53. *Ibid.*, 31.6.
54. *Harsa Carita* (Translation) p. 79.
55. Watters, I. p. 301.
56. Upamiti-bhava-prapanca-katha, p. 420.
57. Brihatkathakosa, pp. 36-37.

The Textile Industry

Next to agriculture, spinning and weaving was the most important industry. The textile industry was one of the most important industries of ancient India. It was highly developed by the middle of the first century A.D. Different kinds of clothing materials such as cotton, silken and woollen were used for garments. A particular variety of textiles was made from the wool of a wild animal which was soft and could be easily manufactured into finished goods for clothing purposes is also mentioned by Hiuen-Tsang.[58]

Cloth was manufactured all over the country, but its famous centres were located in the different towns and cities of Gujarat, Deccan and the Tamil country. Early centres of textiles industry since the days of Kautilya were Kasi, Vatsa, Magadha, Kamarupa, Kalinga, Aparant, Madura etc.[59]

We find a reference to kauseya, ksauma, dukool, amsuka and kambala (woollen textiles) etc. in the Jain Katha texts, which show the type of wears and garments prevalent in those days. Hiuen-Tsang says that kauseya was a kind of silk made from a wild, silk worm.[60] I-tsing also says that kauseya was the name for silk worm and silk which was reared from this was also called by this name.[61]

The Indian art of spinning and weaving had reached a high degree of perfection during the period under survey. Fine and delicate material was used for clothes. We get evidences in the Kuvalayamala to show that the technique of textile industry was highly developed. The common materials from which the dress was prepared were ksauma, dukood, patrorna, karpasika etc.

On the basis of Jain sources, V.S. Agrawal, regards that

58. Watters, Vol. I, p. 148.
59. Arthasastra. II. 2.
60. Watters, Vol. I, p. 148.
61. Takakusu, p. 60.

amsuka was a silk cloth.[62] Of the woollen cloth kambala is described as a texture of fine wool. Hieun-Tsang says kambala being fine and soft and easily spun and woven was prized as a material for clothing.[63]

The Kuvalayamalakaha mentions a few garments such as ardhasavarnavastrayugala[64] which means a cloth which is half white and half black in colour. It can be identified with 'ardhyardhamsuka' in which the tana was of one tara and bana of two taras.[65] It mentions another type of garment that is "dhavalama-maddhamkasinakara," which means white lower garment with a black border. The clothes with such a border variety were very popular in the 8th century.

There was a great demand for Indian Textile goods, specially the fine fabrics of Bengal. Indian muslin used to be exported to the west. It is to be gathered from the testimony of Sulaiman that there was stuff, made in this country, which was not to be found elsewhere; so "fine and delicate is this material that a dress made of it may be passed through signet ring."[66] The view of Sulaiman is supported by Khurdadbah also, who belonged to the 10th century A.D.[67]

The praises showered by the foreign writers regarding Indian garments prove that the textile industry was in a highly developed state during the period under review. It is appparent from the Jain texts as well as other contemporary texts that cloth manufacture was the principal industry of the country and offered employment to millions of people, both male and female.

62. Agrawal, V.S. ,*Harsa Carita-Ek Samskritik Adhyayana*, p. 78.
63. Watters, Vol. I, p. 148.
64. Kuvalayamalakatha, 84.8.
65. Jain, P.S., *Kuvalayamala ka Samskritik Adhyayana*, p. 141.
66. Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, I, p. 361.
67. *Ibid.*, I, p. 14.

The guilds occupied a very important place in the economic life since very early times. Both literary and epigraphic evidences indicate that since very early times trades and industries were organised in guilds. The origin of the type of economic organisation, known as Sreni, can be traced back to the later vedic literature.[68] The Arthasastra of Kautilya contains many references to Srenis. In Arthasastra Sreni, is defined as a guild of workmen and a military clan.[69] Sreni in Manusmriti as explained by Medhatithi, means, a guild of artisans, tradesmen, money-landers, coach drivers and so forth.[70] Vijnanesvara, commenting on Yajnavalkya Samhita, refers to the Sreni of weavers, shoemakers, betal-sellers etc.[71] Thus the early Dharmasastras reveal that guild organisations not only became powerful, but were an important factor in the state shortly after the beginning of the Christian era. The fact that the organisation of guilds became prominent from the beginning of the Christian era is also corroborated by the epigraphical evidence. In the Gupta period the guild was already a well established institution.[72] Literary and epigraphic evidences of the Gupta period reveal that in the Gupta period also trades and industries both high and low, were organised in guilds. There were guilds not of merchants and bankers but also of the manual workers like weavers, oil-men and stone-cutters.[73] Jambudweep-prajnapti,[74] a Jain text belonging to the Gupta period mentions names of eighteen guilds. They are as follows:

1. Kumhara, 2. Pattala (Slab-cutter), 3. Suvarnakara

68. Niyogi, Pushpa, *Contributions to the Economic History of N. India*, p. 248.
69. *Arthasastra*. II. 4, IX, 1.
70. Manu, VIII, 41.
71. Yaj. II. 30.
72. Saletore, R.N., Life in the Gupta Age, pp. 365-70.
73. Altekar, A.S., *The Vakatak-Gupta Age*, p. 355.
74. Motichandra, 'Sarthavaha', p. 179 (Jambudweep-prajnapti, 3/45, p. 193).

(Goldsmith), 4. Supakara (cook), 5. Gandharva (singer or seller of scents), 6. Kaṣavana (barber), 7. Malakara (Garland Maker), 8. Kachakara (flower seller), 9. Tamoli (betel-seller), 10. Chammayaru (cobbler), 11. Mochi (shoe-maker), 12. Janatapilaka (oil miller), 13. Gainchi (printer of cloth), 14. Kamskara (Brazier), 15. Chimpa (Dyer), 16. Sivaga (Tailor), 17. Guara (herdsman), 18. Bhilla (hunter) and 19. Machua (fisherman).

After the Gupta period also we find such words as 'desi' or 'desi', referred to in the Kuvalayamala[75] as well as Pehoa inscription[76] respectively. The much appropriate meaning of the word desi is Sreni or guild of dealers.[77] In the Harsa Stone inscription (973 A.D.) of Vigraharaja we come across a word 'bhammaha-desya.[78] Keilhorn, the editor of the Inscription, has tried to connect this expression with the word 'desi', which according to him means a guild and the word 'Bhammaha' has been interpreted by him as denoting 'a class of traders'.[79]

Some Professional Groups and their Social Position

In ancient India, in addition to the traditional four varnas, there were a number of low caste professional groups in the society, which were virtually not reckoned among the castes. These depressed classes of society were called 'Antyajas'. Of the various professional groups many of them belonged to the fourth or the Sudra varna, but such as were considered to be defiling and contaminating were ranked as 'Antyajas', and did not form part of the Sudra varna.

In the Jain Katha Literature we find a broad division of society on the basis of occupations Jinesvarasuri, in the

75. Kuvalayamala, pp. 65-66.

76. *E.I.* II. xi, p. 189, A note, 39.

77. Sharma, Dashratha, 'Rajasthan Through the Ages', p. 496.

78. *E.I.* II. pp. 116. ff. 130, n. 83.

79. Niyogi, Pushpa, *Contributions to the Economic History of N. India*, p. 250.

Kathakosaprakarana[80] (11th cnetury A.D.), has divided society into two classes, the priests of different religions, referred to as hypocrites (pasandilogo), and the householders. Among the householders, besides others, he has mentioned two groups of people 'adham' or the degraded ones and the 'adhamadham' or highly degraded ones—on the basis of their vocations. According to him the first group called adham included makers of mats, goldsmiths, potters, blacksmiths, washermen, actors and other artisans and craftsmen (Silpakarmakar samudaya). While only Saukarikas and Chandalas were grouped under the second head called the adhamadham, because of their following dirty occupations. In the Upamiti-bhava-prapanca-katha 99th Century A.D.), which dates earlier to the Kathakosaprakarana in the chronological order, the Sailusas and actors have been put on a higher pedestal.

Jinesvarasuri has used the word "Srenigatah" for the artisans and the craftsmen, which means they were members of guilds and the fact has been corroborated by Alberuni.[81] (11th century A.D.) in his accounts. Both these sources go to prove that in the 11th century, the condition of these low classes had begun to improve from the socio-economic point of view. On account of being members of guilds, their economic position had become better than what is was before.

Jambudweep-prajnapti,[82] a Jain text mentions—names of eighteen guilds. These so-called eighteen varnas or Prakritis included manual workers like shoe-makers, carpenters, printers of clothes, tailors, weavers, oil-men, stone-cuttters, ivory-workers, potters, jewellers, goldsmiths, washermen, etc. Sometimes the 18 prakritis were also donated along with the village as is evident

80. Kathakosaprakarana, Introduction, pp. 116-117 (Text p. 115) vide *SCNI*, p. 54.

81. Sachau, Vol. I, p. 101.

82. Motichandra, Sarthavaha, p. 179.

from two inscriptions, a seventh century Inscription from Orissa[83] and another Inscription (C. 1000 A.D.) of the Yadav Mahasamant Bhillama II, from the Ahmadnagar district.[84]

The Pehoa Inscription,[85] the Harsa Stone Inscription[86] (973 A.D.), the Siyadoni Inscription[87] (948 A.D.), and the Kaman Stone Inscription[88] point out the existence of guilds of artisans and craftsmen in the early mediaeval period.

Besides the Kathakosaprakarana, in other Jain Katha texts also we find references to most of these professional classes, which were organised in their own guilds. The Samaraiccakaha (8th century A.D.), the Upamiti-bhava-prapancakatha (10th century A.D.), and the Brihatkathakosa (10th century A.D.), mention the names of quite a few contemporary crafts, all these texts date from the 8th to 10th century A.D. and obviously throw welcome light on the social conditions of early mediaeval period. Among the important craftsmen were the potters, the carpenters, and the blacksmiths, the goldsmiths, cobblers and cloth-makers, who used to sustain themselves through their handicrafts. From the economic point of view, these craftsmen were considered very useful for the society.

We get a narration of the craftsmen known as Suvaranakara (goldsmith) in the Samaraiccakaha[89]. They used to make different kinds of ornaments of gold, silver and other metals. The

83. Yadav, B.N.S., *Society and Culture in N. India,* p. 267. (*E.I.* xxix, No. 30. 30, p. 217). The inscription speaks of a village grant as "Satantuvaya gokut saundakadi prakritikah".

84. *E.I.* II, No. xv, p. 96, 97. (The inscription defines the donated village as 'Sastadasa prakrityopetam).

85. *E.I.* Vol. XI, p. 189, ft No. 39.

86. *E.I.* Vol. II, pp. 116, ff. 130 n. 83.

87. Sharma, Dashratha, *Early Chauhan Dynasties.*

88. *Ibid.*, (*E.I.* Vol. XXIV, pp. 329 ff.).

89. Samaraiccakaha, p. 560, Also BKK, p. 346.

Brihatkathakosa describes a skilled "kalad" named Angardeva.[90] The word 'kalad' means goldsmith or jewel-smith. The goldsmith had a flourishing trade. Adequate material is available in the other early mediaeval literary and archaeological sources regarding the social position of the goldsmiths.

The Jambudweep-prajnapti[91] (8th century A.D.), and the Jnatradharmakatha[92] (11th century A.D.), refer to the guild of goldsmiths. According to the Jnatradharmakatha, Kumbhaka, the king of Mithila, had invited the guild of goldsmiths of his town to join the broken ear-rings of the princess, and when they failed to do so, he expelled them.[93] In the Jambudweep-prajnapti[94] the goldsmiths have been included among the naruas', who were touchables. Whereas Shankha and Sumantu[95] (600-900 A.D.) mention them in the category of the Nisadas. It is to be noted that the Nisadas were regarded untouchables during the early mediaeval period.[96] The Brihannardiyapurana[97] (9th century A.D.) keeps the goldsmiths below the level of the weavers but above the rank of shoe-maker, chandala, hunter, washerman, potter and blacksmith in social hierarchy. The Kathako-saprakarana[98] of Jinesvarasuri (1051 A.D.) (which was composed in Gujarat), keeps the goldsmiths among the category of degraded artisans and craftsmen.

90. B.K.K., p. 265, Sl No. 105 " Angardeva namasya kaladah kusalah kusalah ksitau.

91. Jain, J.C., Life in Ancient India, as Depicted in the Jain Canons, p. 3, 43, p. 193.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 109 (Jnatradharmakatha—8, p. 105).

93. *Ibid.*

94. Yadav, B.N.S., *SNCI*, p. 42.

95. Kane, History of Dharmasastra, p. 138.

96. Jha, Vivekanand, "From Tribe to Untouchable; the Case of Nishadas", p. 67-84, Indian Society: Historical Probings—Editor, Sharma, R.S. and Jha, Vivekanand.

97. *SCNI*, p. 46.

98. Kathakosaprakarana, Introduction, pp. 116-117.

In the Samaraiccakaha, we get accounts of iron cages, iron chains and iron nails,[99] etc., which confirms the existence of the Blacksmith in these days. These blacksmiths supplied the farmers with agricultural instruments such as plough-shares, spades and other implements. In the early mediaeval period the blacksmiths are found at the lower level in social hierarchy because during this period they have been described not only as of low-birth and hence socially contemptible but attempts were also made to include them in the category of outcaste antyajas.[100]

The Samaraiccakaha makes a mention of the potters (phodiya kambha)[101] also, used to make and sell earthen pots. The Brihatkathakosa too describes a kumbhakara.[102] Besides, another word 'kulal', has also been used for a potter.[103] In Bhandashala[104] the vessels were kept in safety and in 'karmashala, the vessels were moulded. References to potters under the name of 'kulal' occur in the entire range of the Vedic literature.[105] Judging from them, it can be safely maintained that the artisans of this trade enjoyed a respectable position in the early as well as the later Vedic society. Salutation has been offered to them.[106]

The sources of early mediaeval times both literary and

99. Yadav, Jhinku, *Samaraiccakaha-Ek Samskritik Adhyayana*, p. 173 (Sam. Kaha-III, p. 208, iv, p. 309, 319, 343, VII, p. 663.

100. Ojha, A.P., 'Blacksmiths in Ancient and Early Mediaeval India", p. 82, published in Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Waltair, 1979.

101. Sam. Kaha 1, p. 62-63.

102. *BKK.* p, 240, 293.

103. *Ibid.*, p. 240, 293.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 77, 99.

105. Macdonell, A. A. and Keith, A.B., *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Delhi, 1967 (Third Reprint), Vol. I, p. 171.

106. Ojha, A.P., Position of Potters in the Socio-Regional Stratification of Early Mediaeval India', p. 1. in Dr. Baldeva Upadhyaya Felicitation Volume, Journal of the G.N. Jha Kendriya Vidyapeeth, Allahabad.

epigraphic bring into prominence some new words used for the potters. Among these new terms mention may be made of Chakkiya Kumbhalika, Vetakovan and Kummari. The word Chakkiya[107] occurs in Kuvalayamalakaha (c. 779 A.D.), which reflects the social and cultural history of ancient Rajputana. It reminds us of the Sanskrit word 'Chakrika' applied for potters in the commentaries of Bhattopala on the Brihat Samhita (c. 10th A.D.) and of Apararka on *Yajnavalkya Smriti*[108] (12th century A.D.). Bhattotpala was a native of Kashmir whereas Apararka flourished in South India. It may therefore be concluded that the word Chakrika was prevalent both in the north as well as south. The old terms Kulala, Kumbhakara, and Chakrika of the early mediaeval India were in prevalence all over the country. For instance, the word kumbhakara occurs in the Kamana stone Inscription[109] (c. 8th-9th A.D., Rajasthan), Siyadoni Inscription[110] (c. 10th A.D., Lalitpur, U.P), as well as in some contemporary Jain texts like Jambudweep-prajnapti[111] (Gujarat), Brihatkathakosa[112] (Gujarat) and the Kathakosa-prakarana[113] (Western India). Similarly, the word kulala, also occurs in addition to the above texts in the Dibbid plates of Arjun[114] (12th century A.D.), Vizagapatnam (Andhra Pradesh) and the Vaijayantikosa[115] of Yadavaprakash also. It is clear from these evidences that

107. *Kuvalayamala*—140.3. Quoted in *Kuv. Mala—A Cultural Study*, p. 42. Nagpur, 1974, Jamkhedkar, A.P.

108. 'Position of Potters in the Socio-Regional Stratification of Early Mediaeval India', p. 2.

109. *E.I.* xxiv, p. 335.

110. *E.I.I.*, p. 174, 1.9.

111. Yadav, B.N.S., *Society and Culture in N. India*, p. 42.

112. *B.K.K.*, p. 240, 293.

113. Yadav, B.N.S., *Society and Culture in N. India*, p. 54 (KK. Introduction, pp. 116-17, Text—p. 115).

114. Position of Potters in the Socio-Regional Stratification of Early Mediaeval India', p. 4.

115. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

the use of these above mentioned terms of the potters was quite in prevalence throughout the country.

It appears from the Jain Katha texts composed in Gujarat and Rajasthan as well as the epigraphic evidences found from those regions, that in these areas, the potters enjoyed a good social and economic position and were at the upper stratum within the Sudra varna. The Jambudweep-prajnapti,[116] a Jain work composed in the Gujarat region in the early mediaeval period categorises the caste-guild of potters into 'narua' and 'karua' varnas which mean touchables and untouchables respectively and includes them among the touchables *i.e.* 'narua' varna. The economic prosperity of these potters is proved by the fact that every member of the potters guild living at Kamyaka was paying a permanent cess at the rate of one pana per wheel per month.[117] Similarly we have definite evidence of potter's guilds at Siyadoni[118] (near Lalitpur, U.P.), with whom permanent endowments were dposited.

The Jain Katha texts also mention the artisans like Chitrakaras (painters), Lepakaras (clay-modellers), and Rupakaras (sculptors). The Samaraiccakaha[119] mentions Chitrakaras in the category of craftsmen. They used to exhibit their art on buildings, clothes and utensils. The Brihatkatha-kosa also mentions Chitrakaras in the category of craftsmen. They used to exhibit their art on buildings, clothes and utensils. The Brihatkatha-kosa also mentions the Chitrakaras[120] and the Lepakaras.[121] The Lepakaras were the sculptures. There is the description of a king in this text who got erected a Jina temple of the beuty

116. '*SCNI*' p. 42.

117. *The Kaman Stone Inscription, E.I.* xxiv, p. 335.

118. Chattopadhyaya, B.D., "*Trade and Urban Centres in Early Mediaval N. India*" *I.H.R.* Vol. I, No. 2, p. 219.

119. Sam. Kaha, VII, p. 739.

120. *BKK*, p. 83.

121. *Ibid.*, p. 35, St. No. 20.

and magnitude of the Sahasrakoot mountain and in which he installed a clay statue of Parshwanatha endowed with all iconographic characteristics.[122]

The early middle ages in Indian history are marked by a phenomenal growth of temple architecture and allied art activity which pre-supposes the existence of a group or community of artists exclusively engaged in such work.[123] We find in the early mediaeval period, an emergence of artists guilds, which distinguishes the period from the earlier times. In the Vasudevahindi (5th century A.D.), there is the description of a carpenter named Kokkas, who belonged to Tamralipti. He went to the Yavanadesh with son of a Sarthvaha, where he learnt wood-craft from a carpenter. On return to Tamralipti, Kokkas made wood-craft[124] which was of the shape of a horse. From this it can be surmised that even in those days, there were people who were experts in wood-craft. The Brihatkathakosa (10th century A.D.), also mentions the Kokash carpenter, who had with his art, baffled and humiliated the best of the Chitrakaras.[125] A comparison of the data concerning artists in the early middle ages with that relating to them in the earlier times indicates a continuation of the earlier category of artists like Vardhaki.

In the Brihatkathakosa, there is a mention of the word 'Rupakara'[126] (sculptor). Rupakar was a special title which shows that artists (mainly sculptors or their corporate bodies like carpenters or vardhaki), were through acquisition of certain special title such as Rupakara, Sutradhara and Shilpi,[127] were trying

122. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

123. Misra, R.N., 'Artists in the Early Middle Ages' (Paper presented in the seminar on 'Socio-Economic Formations in Early Middle Ages', 1980, held in the Department of Ancient History, Culture, & Archaeology, University of Allahabad).

124. *Vasudevahindi*, p. 61-63.

125. *B.K.K.*, p. 83.

126. *B.K.K.*, p. 83 nagare devye rupakarah Priyamvadah.

127. Misra, R.N., 'Artists in the Early Middle Ages' p. 2.

to organise themselves in guilds. The degraded position of the silpins in the early mediaeval period is specifically emphasised in the works on Silpasastra. The Samaranganasutradhara[128] a Silpa work of 11th century A.D. from Malawa, suggests that the position of the Prakritis (craft-guilds) was inferior to the traditional four varnas.

One well-established characteristics of economic corporations was localisation of trades and crafts.[129] People belonging to the same vocational caste used to reside together in a village or in a separate place of the town. The copper plate grant of the Mahasamant Balvarmadeva (10th century A.D.) in the Lucknow Museum refers to a village of merchants.[130] That there used to be a master craftsman who used to give pupils is revealed by *Brihatkathakosa* where there is a reference to a man named Sudristi who was expert in the science of testing of precious stones or Ratna Vijnana, had under him a pupil named Vanka who recieved from his master the training of the same science.[131] The guilds had some power to make their own rules and regulations relating to the conduct of their business and each and every member of it had to follow them. The guilds had both executive and judicial powers. The heads of important guilds were often closely connected with the king. They worked as a medium between the king and the merchant.

It can be said about the social status of these artisans and craftsmen that while, formerly enjoying comparatively low position of the Sudras, efforts have been evident to degrade them still further and reduce them to survile position of Antyajas

128. Dubey, R.M., 'Some Social Aspects of the Silpasastra Tradition', p. 2, Seminar held in the Ancient History Deptt., Allahabad University, 1982 'Samarangana Sutradhar'—2, 14.

129. Niyogi, Pushpa, *Contributions to the Economic History of N. India*, p. 257 (151).

130. *Ibid.*, p. 251 (*I.A.* xx, p. 123 ff).

131. *B.K.K.*, p. 346.

by the advent of the early mediaeval period. Hemadri, the law-giver of the 13th century A.D., in his text "Caturvarga-Chintamani[132] has kept the following artisans among the antyajas, the Taksasa (carpenter), Suvarnakar (goldsmith), Sucika (tailor), Tilyantir (oil-miller), Sut (boatman), Cakri (seller of oil or cake), Dhvaji (standard bearer), napita (barber) and lohakara (blacksmith). This text is the most important evidence regarding the social status of the artisans and craftsmen. The attempt to reduce them to a low social status in the early mediaeval period is found not only in the Indian society, but also in the feudal society of Europe, Japan and China.[133]

It is learnt from the early mediaeval inscriptions that the craftsmen too were donated to the donee along with the land.[134] It shows their economic degeneration. This system of donating people must have had an adverse effect on their social position.

Among the causes responsible for the low social status of the craftsmen, mention may be made of decline of trade and commerce[135] and the decay of urban centres[136] as well. We find a decline in the importance of guilds between 8th and 9th centuries. It has been rightly pointed out that in the early mediaeval period, the guilds, which had played an important role in the industrial organisation of the early centuries of the

132. Yadav, B.N.S., *Society and Culture in N. India,* p. 46, Chaturvarg Chintamani, Prayashittakanda, p. 998.

133. *Ibid.*, p. 234.

134. Yadav, B.N.S., 'Presidential Address, Section—Ancient India, I.H. Congress, 41st Session. Bombay, 1980, p. 13-14.

135. Sharma, R.S., Indian Feudalism, p. 84, 111, Calcutta, 1965; Social Changes in Early Mediaeval India', p. 2, 3, 18.

136. Yadav, B.N.S., The Accounts of the Kali Age and the Social Transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages. *I.H.R.*, Vol. V. No. 1-2, 1978-79 p. 49 (The Conspicuous absence of the term 'Nigam' (urban centres of guilds of merchants or guilds of craftsmen and artisans) in the Jain Katha texts of 8th century A.D., *e.g.* the Kuvalayamalakatha, shows decline in guilds in the 8th-9th centuries A.D.)

Christian era. were no longer very effetive.[137] We perceive certain factors during the early mediaeval period, which were responsible for the decline and disintegration of the old guild system. It is believed that the corporate nature of guilds changed in between 8th and 9th centuries. They ceased to be fully autonomous and independent, as well as they ceased to function as bankers.[138]

Increase in the hold of the ruler over guilds, fossilization of guilds into occupational castes,[139] appearance of more than one head of a particularly industry, shortage of labourers, and the growth of new towns since the 8th century are said to be the causes of the decline of the guilds.

Regarding the social position of these professional groups, it is to be noted that in the early mediaeval period, their social position was not uniform throughout the country. We find some progress in the trade and commerce in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., with the result that slight improvement in the social position of the artisans is witnessed. Regional variations are also to be kept in mind while discussing the low social status of the craftsmen. In some parts of the country their social position was good while in other parts, they were regarded as untouchables. So we can safely conclude that their social position was not uniform throughout the country.

137. Gopal, Lallanji, Economic Life of N. India, p. 87.

138. Majumdar, B.P., "Industries and Internal Trade in Early Mediaeval N. India", p. 10.11 paper presented in the seminar on 'Socio-Economic Formations in the Early Mediaeval Period' held in the Deptt. of Ancient History, University of Allahabad, 1980.

139. Yadav, B.N.S., The Problem of the Emergence of Feudal Relations in Early India"—Presidential Address, Section I, I. H. Congress, 41st Session, Bombay, 1980; p. 50 (It is significant to note that the artisans guilds (prakritis or Srenis) had on the whole lost their character of occupational groups in the early mediaeval period and were being fossilized into castes). Also Sharma, R.S., "Problems of Transition from Ancient to Mediaeval Indian History", I.H.R., Vol. I, No. 1, p. 6.

Trade and Commerce

The followers of Jainism were mostly traders. Hence it was natural to incorporate references to business and commerce in the religious stories in order to educate them. These traders used to travel to far-flung countries to earn money. This definitely leg to an enhancement of commercial knowledge. These traders were virtually our ambassadors who were very useful in consolidating our commercial and cultural relations with foreign countries. Jain narrative texts contain important references to those aspects which concern a merchant or a trader. Detailed and interesting accounts of national and international trade, sources of gaining wealth, the role of the business community, the commercial high-ways and the difficulties in the way of trade and commerce have been in these stories.

Haribhadra Suri, author of Samaraiccakaha has given top position to mercantile stories among the four categories of stories. In the Kuvalayamalakatha also mention is made of innocent means of earning wealth. In ancient India, commerce was rated as one of the chief sources of gaining wealth. A varied and detailed knowledge of trade and commerce is available in Kuvalayamalakatha. Broad features of contemporary economic condition are also adequately reflected in the Upamiti-bhava-prapanca-katha of Siddharsi Suri, Brihatkathakosa of Harisena, Bhavisayattakatha of Dhanpala, Kathakosa-prakarana of Jinesvara Suri and the Kathakosa (Anonymous). In all these works, we get an account of different categories of traders as Vanika, Vanija, Sresthi, Ibhyasresthi and Sarthavaha in different places.[140] The Vanikas were local merchants, who used to trade in villages and small towns. Financially, they were not very well off. We get an account of such local merchants in Brihatkathakosa who used to trade in grams and ghee.[141] In the same text, there is

140. Samaraiccakaha—4, 208, 287; *Kuv. Mala*—p. 65, 21.6; p. 525-506; *BKK*, p. 245.75, 136, 150.

141. *Brihatkathakosa,* p. 181.

an account of 2300 vanikas, who went forth for business with brass works (utensils).[142] There is an illusion to such Vanikas in the Pratihara and Paramara documents who used to purchase material documents who used to purchase material from different markets and sell them in other markets.[143] In the villages, business was conducted through markets called 'hatta'. In the Samaraiccakaha[144], there is a mention of the word hatta', which is used today for a market. The Kuvalayamalakatha also describes such merchants, who, coming from different states, used to collect in markets for conducting business. It refers to 'Vipani-marg as markets place. Hiuen-Tsang makes observations about some markets towns in the seventh century A.D. He describes how the thorough fares were dirty and the stalls arranged on both sides of the road with appropriate signs.[145] In Brihatkathakosa, the words 'Visikha[146] and 'Apana'[147] have been used for a market. The next also describes 'Vanikapath'[148] and 'Vanika-Vithi'[149] as market places.

In the Kathuri (10th century A.D.) and the Bilhari Inscriptions (975 A.D.) the terms 'hatta' mandapika, occur. Mandapika was a place where items were first brought and levies were imposed on them.[150]

142. *Ibid.*, p. 181-82.

143. *E.I.* 17, p. 525, 21, p. 48.

144. Cf. *Samaraiccakaha—Ek Samskritik Adhyayana,* p. 159.

145. Hiuen-Tsang—Records, I, BK. II, pp. 73-74.

146. *BKK*, p. 182, Ed. Upadhyay, A.N. Pub. Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, Edition—1943.

147. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

148. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

149. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

150. Cf. The Paper "Urbanisation in Early Mediaeval Period" Chattopadhyay, B.D., Extension Lecture in the *Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology*, University of Allahabad in 1981.

The Kuvalayamalakatha gives stories of not only of journeys and voyages of the merchants in different countries, but also gives an interesting description of their mutual communication, customs and manners, and the mercantile language used by them. It noted the existence of 18 anthropological features and citing the samples of their languages. There is an account of traders from different places, e.g. Golla, Madhyadesa, Magadha, Antarvedi, Kira, Kosala, Sindha, Maru, Gurjar, Lata, Malava, Karnataka, Tajika, Maharashtra and Andhra, all assembled in Vijaynagar, who used to converse in their own languages.[151] It points out towards the fact that from the 6th-7th centuries started the formation of regional cultural units such as Andhra, Assam, Bengal, Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra,Orissa, Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu etc.[152] Prof. R.S. Sharma[153] referring to the Pala and Pratihara periods (pre-10th centuries) reminds that 'the articles handled by the merchants during that period were not of day to day use, touching the life of the common people. He points out that the only essential commodities traded in were salt and oil which were not produced in all the villages in sufficient quantity. The Jain Katha texts of 8th-9th centuries A.D. usually refer to the trade in ivory, lac, gold and pearls,[153] the things which were not of daily use.

Upamiti-bhava-prapanca-katha[154] gives details about the way the traders went about making money. It shows merchants storing cereals, cotton, salt and wool, buying lac, trading in jaggery, pressing oil, manufacturing charcoal, cutting down forests, telling lies and cheating their customers by using false weights and measures. For greater gain they sent out carvans

151. *Kuvalayamala*, p. 152. 24-27.

152. Sharma, R.S., 'Problem of Transition from Ancient to Mediaeval in Indian History', p. 7—The Indian Historical Review, 1974, Vol. I, No. 1.

153. Sharma, R.S., 'Indian Feudalism', p. 133 f.

154. *UBPK*, p. 38, 427, 500, 554; pp. 867-8 (Vihita dhanoparjanganikah).

of bullock carts, camels and asses, traded in ivory, alchemic preparations and other articles prohibited by the Jain Canon and chartered boat to carry their merchandise. In some the greed for money could be even so great that they descended to mean things like traffic in women and eunuchs; and even more lucrative than all these could be a sea-voyage to adjoining countries.

Mercantile Communities

The word 'Desiya' and 'Desika' has been used in various places in Kuvalayamalakatha as well as in Brihatkathakosa. This was a syndicate of local businessmen, the syndicate to keep a watch on the traders coming from different parts of the country. We get an account of such local traders' association or local mercantile organisation in one of the stories of the Kuvalayamalakaha.[155] A trader, who had gone abroad for business had to give an account of the country or places visited by him, the articles of import or export, and his earning to the local business syndicate or the guild of travelling Vaniks (desiyavanika meliya), and in return he was honoured by Gandha (perfume), Tambula (betel) and Mala (garland) before starting for his destination.[156]

The Sresthi was head (president) of the local guild of travelling vanikas (traders). In view of his ability, usefulness and high place in society, he was occasionally assigned a place in the administrative committees of his kingdom.[157] According to the Jain literature, the Sresthi or Sresti was the foreman among eighteen craftsmen.[158] There are occasional references

155. Kuvalayamalakaha, p.

156. Jain, P.S., Kuvalayamala Ka Samskritik Adhyayana', p. 189.

157. Cf. Gupta Rajvamsa Tatha Usaka Yuga, p. 394, Roy, U.N. (Epi. Indica-15, 133).

158. Jain J.C., Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jain Canons, p. 110 (Brh. Bha—3.3757). (The famous Sresthi Anathpindika of Sravasti, the millionaire, had some authority over his fellow traders.

to the Maha Sresthi, Ibhya Sresthi and Raja Sresthi in the Birhatkathakosa.[159] The rank of Rajasresthi of the town. He worked as a link betwen the king and the business community. It is known from one of the stories of the Punyasravakathakosa[160] (10th century A.D.), that only a man connected with the royal family would be appointed to the post of the Rajasresthi. It is clear from the Brihatkathakosa[161] Punyasravakathakosa[162] and the Kathakosa[163] that the post of the Sresthi and the Rajasresthi were hereditary.

The Sresthis used to keep the king pleased in order to maintain their influence in the political field. They used to present valuable gifts to the king, which they gathered in their business.[164] We get an account of 'Ibhyasresthi' in Kuvalayamalakatha and Brihatkathakosa.[165] Financially, they were more prosperous than the Sresthis. They exercised mastery over villages. The financial affluence of these Ibhya-Sresthis was manifest from the big charities given by them to the Brahmanas, Jain and Buddhist monks. One such Sresthi gave a gift of one hundred villages to a Brahmana.[166] References to Sartha and Sarthvaha are to be found in all the Katha texts. These Sarthavahas used to collect the sartha (carvans of merchants) and travelled to the distant corners of the country in quest of business. Like the Sresthi, the Sarthvaha too enjoyed an important place in the trader's league. They enjoyed respectability from the state also. Their sons were given the

159. BKK, p. 169, verse—104, p. 262, verse 182.

160. Punyasravakathakosa, p. 139, St. No. 28 "(Devibhratta Rajasresthi)."

161. *BKK*. p. 265.

162. Pu. K.K., p. 143.

163. Kathakosa, St. No. 4, p. 7.

164. *BKK*, p. 159.

165. *BKK*, p. 213, verses—2.8.

166. *BKK*, p. 305.

respectable title of Sarthvahaputra.[167] Some rich and liberal among the Sarthvahas used to get it declared before the commencement of the journey that whoever trader accompanied them in business would get free food, clothes, utensils and medicines.[168] Thus the Sarthvahas looked after the safety and comfort of the trader.

Foreign Trade

We get an account of the names and other related matters of the famous contemporary commercial centres of those days from the Jain stories. It is known from the Jain narrative literature of 9th and 10th centuries that India had commercial relations with foreign countries also. Vasudevahindi (5th century A.D.) refers to the antiquity of India's trade with foreign countries. There are accounts of the Yavandweep, Simhaladweep, Suvarnadweep and Ratnadweep in the Vasudevahindi, Samaraiccakaha, Kuvalayamala-katha, Upamiti-bhava-pra-panca-katha and Brihatkathakosa.

We know of commercial relations with Persia from the Brihatkathakosa. The text also gives a description of Krimiraga (Caramine). Krimiraga which later called 'Kiramadana, used to be imported dye clothes from Persia. It appears that the Persian traders used to narrate false stories to Indians regarding Caramine. Reference to one such false narrative is to be found in one of the stories of Brihatkathakosa by Harisena. In it, is related that a Parsee purchased a girl named Chumkarika. He nursed and nourished the girl for six months and later took out her blood by means of leeches. The germs contained in the blood were used in the preparation of Caramine, which in turn, was used for dying woollen garments.[169]

167. Sam. Kaha- 6, p. 541-42, 552; 7, 652-53, 658, 661, 668., Nammayar Sundarika. 40, 234, Kuv. Mala, Part I, First Edition, p. 65-21.

168. Jain, J.C., Life in Ancient India, as Depicted in the Jain Canons, p. 110 (Ava, Tika, p. 114).

169. *BKK*, p. 248, St. No. 102 +1.

Commenting on the 57th story of the Bhagavati Aradhana, Asadhar has also said that low-class people (Mlecchas) of 'Charmaranga Vishaya' used to collect human-blood, drawn out by the leeches, in pitchers and woollen blankets used to be dyed with the colour of these blood germs.[170] It establishes that Caramine was not an Indian product. Tahiz, an author of the Abbaside period, mentions that 'Kermes' came from Spain, Tarim and Iran. Tarim was a small city situated on the coast of Siraz.This place was a little way off to from Armenia, which produced Kermes.[171]

The story of Charudatta found in Vasudevahindi[172] and Brihatkathakosa[173] illustrates the commercial sea-routes from India to foreign countries. The names of many native and foreign commercial centres have been mentioned in the course of this story. The Charudatta of Vasudevahindi advanced towards Saurastra, voyaging from China (Chinatthana) to Suvarnabhumi (East Indies), Kamalpur,[174] Yavandweep (Java), Simhala (Ceylon), Babbar (Barbarikone or Barbarakula) and Yavana (Alexandria). All these were foreign commercial centres of those days. There are descriptions of traders visiting Ceylon and Suvarna-bhumi in the Samaraiccakaha.[175] Similarly the Kuvalayamalakaha describes the traders voyages to Yavandweep and Ratnadweep.[176] Sagardatta, the son of a Sresthi sailed for Yavandweep from the southern sea-coast. He carried white sandal wood and clothes as his merchandise. He paid state duties and

170. *BKK*, p. Introduction by Upadhyay, A.N. p. 88.

171. Motichandra, Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India, p. 209.

172. Jain J.C., *Vasudevahindi, A Study*, p. 280.

173. *BKK*, p. 219, verses—64-65.

174. *Vasudevahindi, A Study*. Ed. Jain J.C., p. 281, (Motichandra has identified Kamalpur with 'Khmer'—Sarthvaha—p. 131.

175. Sam. Kaha.—4. p. 254; 5, p. 297, 398, 403, 407, 420; 6, p. 540, 543.

176. Kuvalayamalakaha Part I, p. 105-1; 106-3. Also Nammaya Sundarikaha, 312, 456-453.

taxes on reaching the harbour in Yavandweep and returned to his country with foreign goods.[177]

From the days of the Jatakas, not only the existence of Suvarnabhumi but also the route to that region appear to have been known. During these days people generally went to South-East Asian countries via the seaport of Tamralipti. Fahien while returning from India had boarded the ship here. There was the land route to Eastern Archipelago through Bengal, Manipur, Assam and Burma. In the seventh century A.D., Dharamapala, a Buddhist monk had started for Swarnadweep from Bengal.[178]

The Upamiti-bhava-prapanca-katha[179] refers to the merchants going to South East Asia in search of gold and silver. The Kathakosa[180] also refers to a merchant going to Suvarnadweep for earning wealth with five hundred ships.

Two things emerge clearly from the above mentioned Katha texts about foreign trade. One is that it was imperative for the merchants to secure passports from their king before starting on a voyage. The other is that the merchants had to pay government duties and customs on reaching a foreign port. Business was conducted both on barter system as well as on cost payment system, as is illustrated from the story of Charudatta in Vasudevahindi[181] that when Charudatta reached the Tankan country along with the Sarth (Carvan), the Tankans purchased the merchandise of Charudatta in exchange for their saddled goats (nibaddha) and fruits.

Thus, the Jain narrative texts extending from 5th to 12th centuries indicate towards India's trade relations with the famous foreign centres of commerce. It is learnt from other sources

177. *Ibid.*

178. Indian Historical Quarterly—13, 593, 596.

179. UBPK., pp. 996-8.

180. Kathakosa, p. 28.

181. Vasudevahindi—A Study—p. 284, 288.

also that India carried out trade with foreign countries. During the Gupta period India had commercial relations with Egypt, Rome, Persia, Arabia, Syria and Ceylon, and in the east with Cambodia, Siam, Sumatra, the Malaya Archipelago and China. A Chinese passage belonging to the Gupta Period states that the inhabitants of Parthia (An-Shi) and India (Tienchu) had trade with China, by sea and its profit was a hundred fold.[182]

In A.D. 656-658, many states of India like Champo (Champapur), Kan-Chih-Fo (Kanchipur), Sinh-li-chun (probably Chalukya Kingdom) and Molo (Malaya) etc., had entered into authoritative agreements with China for business relationship.[183] In one of the Ceylonese inscriptions of the 8th century A.D., there is a mention of Indian merchants carrying on trade with Ceylon.[184]

Export and Import

The Jain Katha literature also throws light on the terms of export and import. Vasudevahindi[185] mentions that Charudatta started with Caravan, loading his ship with a cargo of screens, ornaments, paints, red ragments, Kankan (bangles) etc. It appears from this that there was a good demand for these articles in foreign countries and that Indian ornaments and articles of embellishment were in great vogue there. In Kuvalayamala there is a reference to some traders returning from Suvarnadweep with plenty of gold.[186] Marcopolo[187] refers to a merchant going to Babarkula with textile and returning with ivory and pearls. Similarly one trader went to Ratnadweep with neem leaves and

182. Maity, S.K., Economic Life in the Gupta period., p. 161.

183. *Journal of the Malaya Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 32, Part II, p. 74.

184. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*—1935, p. 12.

185. *Vasudevahindi—A Study*, p. 284.

186. Kuv. Malakaha—pp. 65-66. 22-66.

187. Marcopolo—II, 284, 390.

returned with plenty of jewels.[188] That leaves and grasses formed an item of trade and that they were brought to the market is referred to in a number of inscriptions.[189] In Kuvalayamala katha, some trader is reported to have said that he went to China and Greater China and returned with silk from there.[190] Marcopolo[191] also writes that India used to import silk clothes and gold from China. Samaraiccakaha does not mention clearly the items of export and import. However, we get reference to the traders going abroad with utensils full of different metals and coins and coming back with utensils full of gold and jewels.[192] The reference to the golden utensils (svarnabhanda) and jewelled utensils (ratnabhanda) reveals that gold, jewels and pearls were imported to India from foreign countries.[193] It shows that the goods of luxury were imported to India from foreign countries. The accounts of the foreign writers support this view. It is known from the *Periplus*[194] that articles such as red chillies, ivory pearls, silk, diamonds and other precious stones and spices were exported to other countries. According to Cosmos,[195] sandal wood, cloves and scents were exported to Ceylon from the eastern coast of India. *IbnKhurdadbh* has described various articles that were exported from India such as mussovar wood, sandal wood, camphor, jaiphal, coconut, vegetables, velvet and cotton clothes and things made of ivory etc.

From the accounts of foreign writers too, it appears that

188. *Kuv. Mala*, pp. 65-66.

189. Chattopadhyaya, B.D., Extn. Lecture in the Deptt. of Ancient History, University of Allhabad in 1981.

190. *Kuv. Mala*, pp. 65-66.

191. Cf. Society and Culture in N. India, p. (Marcopolo, 2, 390, 2, 24, 132, 152, 176, 181).

192. Samaraiccakaha—4, p. 240-41, 247. 286-87.

193. *Ibid.* 4, p. 283; 6, p. 51, 558, 561, 586-587.

194. Gupta, P.L., Gupta Samrajya, p. 461.

195. *Ibid.* 4, p. 461.

the goods of luxury were imported to India from foreign countries. For example, gold and silk clothes were imported to India from foreign countries.

The costliest of India's import was the horse. The names of three varieties of horses mentioned in the Kuvalayamalakatha[196] shed light on foreign trade and relations. The names of these three are 'Vollah', 'Koyah' and 'Sarah'. These were the Arabic names of horses, introducd by the Arab horse traders. The earliest mention of the 'Vollah' is to be found in the 'Samaraiccakaha' of Haribhadra Suri, which was written in the beginning of the eighth century A.D.[197] These facts reveal that India had foreign trade with Arabia, because the contemporary Rastrakuta rulers used to import horses from Arabia.

It is clear from the Jain Katha literature that a regular system of slave trade seems to have existed by the 10th or 11th centuries or even earlier. There are descriptions of forest tribes and bandits in the Samaraiccakaha,[198] who used to catch hold of the people in the way and used to sell them as slaves. This has also been hinted in the Upamiti-bhava-prapanc-katha[199] where it is shown that a few bandits feed a man sumptuously so that he could be sold for a good price. The Brihatkathakosa[200] also describes a similar incident where a Sarthvaha sells a virgin named Chumkarika to a Persian. Similarly the Kathakosa[201] also refers to a group of bandits who caught hold of a man and sold him to some maritime traders. The traders took him to Persia.

Thus, it would appear from the stories of the period that

196. *Kuv. Mala*, p. 23.22.

197. Agrawal, V.S., *Kuv. Mala—Introduction*, p. 10.

198. Sam. Kaha—6, p. 511-12; 7. p. 656-658.

199. Upamiti-bhava-prapanca-katha, pp. 404-5.

200. *B.K.K.*, p. 248, St. No. 102 +1.

201. *Kathakosa*, p. 157, St. No. 32.

there was a regular export of slaves to foreign countries, specially to Persia.

Inland Trade

Jain Katha texts refer to a number of famous Indian ports which were big centres of trade and commerce, e.g., the ports of Tamralipti, Soparak, Vaijayanti and Bhrigukaccha. It appears from the stories that before starting on a foreign voyage, the traders had to assemble at the ports of Tamralipti or Surparak. From there they could sail to Suvarnadweep, Mahakatah, Singhal (Ceylon). Barbarkool (Barbarikone), China and Yavandweep (Java). Traders also carried out their inland trade from the famous harbours of Tamralipti and Vaijayanti.[202] The Kuvalayamala[203] tells us that the traders of those days used to go to the far south for trade and business. It describes such businessmen as used to go as far as Kanchipuri in the south from north.

The movement of traders from one place to another is attested by inscriptional evidence.[204] Brihatkalpa Bhasya mentions the Soparaka was an important commercial centre even in the most remote past, where five hundred tradesmen live.[205] Surparaka or Soparaka (modern Sopara) was a big emporium of Central-Western India even in later days. There is a brilliant description of a Sarthvaha taking his caravan, or a trading expedition from Taxila to Surparaka, which was the bigest sea-port.[206] There is a vivid description of the commercial prosperity of the city of Pratisthana where rich merchants earned plentiful of gold and jewel.[207] Lata, Karnataka, Malava and

202. *Samaraiccakaha—Ek Samskritik Adhyayana,* p. 164.

203. Jamkhedkar, A.P., *Kuvalayamala—A Cultural Study*, p. 74.

204. Ahada Inscription.

205. Jain, J.C., *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jain Canons*, p. 114.

206. Agrawal, V.S., *A Cultural Note on the Kuvalayamala of Udyotan Suri*, p. 10.

207. *Ibid.*

Saurastra were other famous centres of trade and commerce.[208] Varanasi, Kosala and Champa situated in the South Central Zone were also the centres of attraction for the traders.

The fact, that the above mentioned places were the famous Indian ports as described in the Jain Katha literature, is also corroborated by the accounts of the foreign writers. According to Cosmos,[209] the most famous parts of trade in India were Sindhu (Sind), Orrhata (Gujarat), Calians (Kalyana) and Sibor. Among these, the Gujarat coast was very important from the point of view of international trade. Foreign accounts point out spices, dyes, buckram, tanned leather and leather goods, textiles, pepper, ginger, indigo etc., were exported from the Gujarat coast to the foreign countries[210] Fa-hiuen[211] says that in the east Tamralipti was the great emporium of trade. Al-Idrisi (end of 11th century A.D.), the Arab writer, refers to Broach or Bharukaccha (Bhrigukaccha) which had been famous from the first century A.D., because of its importance in the field of trade and commerce. The accounts of *Periplus* reveal that port of Bhrigukaccha situate on the Western coast of India was a very famous centre of import and export.

Just like foreign trade, for inland trade also the merchants had to secure the permission of the king. In the Brihatkathakosa[212] we hear of a merchant or a caravan leader approaching the king of another state offering valuable presents to secure permission to carry mercantile transactions. In the Upamiti-bhava-prapanca-katha[213] there is a reference to a 'hastadesa' or permit secured by a merchant to carry on trade activities in distant places. The idea of permit was probably to check smuggling.

208. Jamkhedkar, A.P., *Kuvalayamala—A Cultural Study*, p. 74.
209. Maity, S.K., Economic Life in the Gupta Period, P. 169.
210. Yadav, B.N.S., Society and Culture in N. India, P. 313.
211. Legger, p. 100.
212. *B.K.K.*, 1. 200 ff.
213. *UBPK*, p. 868.

It is clear from the Jain stories that traders had to pay government revenues to the state on commercial goods, that is, they had to pay some part of it in the form of taxes. To evade payment of taxes, the traders used to conceal their wealth somewhere. One of the stories of Punyasravakathakosa gives such a clue. Once two traders, when they began to enter their town after ammasing plentiful of wealth they buried the whole of it under ground for fear of the tax collection officer (Saulkika).[214]

It is known from one of the stories of the Kathasaritsagar[215] (11th century A.D.) that a group of traders going to Valabhi went there through forest instead of the direct road route on account of the fear of imposition of heavy taxes.

The king had also to be informed in the event of an incidental receipt of government property as the king was the owner of the same. There is a verse in the Manusmriti[216] (VIII.39) which attributes to the king the lordship of all the land. It states that the king is entitled to a share of ancient treasure-troves found underneath the ground and of the produce of mines, because he affords protection and because he is lord of the earth.

Similarly, in the Jain Katha literature also there are references showing the king as the lord of all the land. One of the stories of Punyasravakathakosa[217] a tells us that a Sresthi named Dhanpala on digging ground obtained an iron vessel full of wealth, as also some more wealth from some other place. He gave this information to the king. It is quite a different matter that the king handed over the entire riches to the merchant afterwards.

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214. Punyasravakathakosa, p. 273.

215. Society and Culture in N. India, p. 273.

216. Manusmriti, VIII. 30. "(nindhinam tu purananam dhatunameva Ca ksitau ardhabhagraksanadraja bhumeradhipatirhisah.

217. Pu. S.K., p. 315.

On the whole the Jain narrative texts bring to light significant data bearing on the economic condition of the early mediaeval period of Indian history. Detailed and interesting accounts of inland and foreign trade, the role of the business community, the trade-routes and the difficulties in the way of trade and commerce have been given in these stories.

But these tales contain conventional poetic descriptions. They depict some towns, which were actually either completely ruined or were in the state of delapidation, as highly prosperous and flourishing urban-centres. For instance, these texts refer to the cities of Taxila, Kausambi, Sravasti, Varanasi, Ujjain, Kosala and Campa as prosperous cities and important centres of business.

However, it is to be noted that most of the important commercial towns which flourished in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. began to decline in the Gupta period and were completely deserted in the post-Gupta period. The decline of towns is proved by the testimony of Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hien (A.D. 630-44) as well as the archaeological excavations of a number of town sites, e.g. Vaisali, Pataliputra, Chirand (Saran district), Rajghat (Varanasi), Kausambi, Sravasti, Hastinapur, Mathura (Purana Qila, Delhi) etc., reveal that they began to dcline from the Gupta period and mostly disappeared in post-Gupta times. Taxila stood as a main gate to India connecting herself with Central and Western Asia from the commercial point of view. According to A. Ghosh,[218] the approximate date for the decline of the city of Taxila (Sirkap) would be between A.D. 150-200. It is also noteworthy that not a single Gupta coin has been found at Taxila. Thus the archaeological evidence reveals that the city of Taxila, which once had been a very important town, disappeared during the Gupta period.

Recent excavations show that from the 4th century A.D. onwards urban sites were in a state of decay and disappearance

218. Ancient India, No. 4, p. 45.

in North India. Archaeological testimony in regard to India is attested by Hiuen-Tsang who refers to the decline of Buddhist towns.[219] By the time Hiuen-Tsang visited India, Kausambi was completely ruined, as is indicated by his accounts. He described Kausambi as being full of ruins.[220] This is confirmed by archaeological evidences too. The excavations at the site show that it was "not in occupation even during the rule of the Gupta monarchs."[221]

Sravasti also lost its prosperity in the Gupta period. No Gupta coin is discovered from excavation at Rajghat (Varanasi).

In spite of lively details of towns and town life, presented in contemporary literary works like the dramatic works of Kalidasa and the Jain narrative texts, archaeology suggests poor condition of towns in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. Not a single but a number of causes were responsible for the decline of these urban centres. It seems that political, economic, religious and natural causes brought about their decline.

It is general opinion of the scholars that trade and commerce declined in between 9th and 10th centuries A.D., because of the difficulties faced by the traders. The persistent facility and security of way were very essential for trade and commerce. It appears from the Jain Katha texts of the period that both of these were lacking. The road side journey became all the more insecure by the advent of 9th and 10th centuries. The Upamiti-bhava-prapanca-akatha,[222] the Brihatkathakosa, and the BhavisayattaKaha,[223] all throw light specially on the difficulties encountered by the traders in the way. Political disturbances

219. Sharma, R.S., Indian Feudalism Retouched, p. 326. *I.H.R.*, 1974, Vol. I. No. 2.

220. S. Beal, Book VI, pp. 13-4.

221. Sharma, G.R., *The Excavations at Kausambi*, p. 20, 1959, Allahabad, 1960.

222. *UBPK*, p. 863.

223. *Bhav. Kaha*, p. 17.

like wars and raids also created danger for the life of the traders. The wayside robbers were the greatest and constant source of danger to traders. The bandits used to catch hold of the people and even used to sell them as slaves. The growing influence of the Arabs also proved fatal for the indigenous traders.

Thus, the Jain Katha texts of the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. reveal that trade and commerce declined during this period. Other texts also such as "Nitivakyamrta[224] of Somadeva (10th century A.D.), "Lekhapaddti" and Vriddhaharita" which the contemporaries of the above mentioned Jain texts, give preference to agriculture over trade. It is evident from a number of texts of the early mediaeval period that society tended to become increasingly agrarian in the period between c. 600 to 1000 A.D. The increasing agrarian character of the society is evident from the fact that agriculture was regarded as the common duty of all the varnas in the early mediaeval period.[225] The Samant system or the feudal complex which was the most outstanding phenomenon of the early mediaeval period, had its impact on every sphere of life. The essential elements of this complex in the economic sphere were the decline of trade and commerce and growing agrarian character of society.[226]

The decline of trade is evident from the decay of a number of old commercial urban centres. Consequently on account of the decline of trade and towns-artisans, merchants took to cultivation.[227] Thus the decline of trade and disapperance of

224. Yadav, B.N.S., "Problem of the Interaction between Socio-Economic Classes in the Early Mediaeval Complex, p. 43-44. *I.H.R.* Vol. III. 1976. "Tasyakhalu Samsarasukham yasya krisih" Nitivakyamritam-8.3).

225. H.D. Vol. II, Part I., p. 126. "Krisistu Sarvavarnanam Samanyodharma Ucyate "Vriddha Harita, 7. 179.

226. Yadav, B.N.S., "Problem of the Interaction between Socio-Economic Classes in the Early Mediaeval Complex, p. 43-44; *I.H.R.* 1976, Vol. III.

227. Sharma, R.S., "Problem of Transition from Ancient to Mediaeval Indian History", p. 5, *I.H.R.* 1974, Vol. I. No. 1.

urban centres created conditions for the emergence of a self-sufficient local agrarian economy.

Though the Jain Katha texts belonging to the early mediaeval period refer to a number of metallic coins, there was a practical absence of gold coins for about 400 years till the beginning of the 11th century. Not only the gold coins but there was paucity of other types of coins also. The poor state of coinage also indicates the decline of trade and crafts.

Coins Referred to in the Jain Katha Literature

References to various kinds of currency are to be found in the Jain Katha texts. In the early mediaeval Rajasthan literature, one gets an account of dinara, suvarna, niska, paruttha, dramma, dramardha, rupaka, karsapana, kakini and varatika or kavaddika. Inscriptions also throw adequate light on the coin types current during the early mediaeval period.

Repeated reference to dinara, suvarna, rupaka, dramma, pana and kapardaka are to be found in the early mediaeval Jain Katha literature, which show that they were the main media of exchange in those days. In the Samaraiccakaha[228] and the Kuvalayamalakaha,[229] the coin called 'dinara' has been repeatedly mentioned in many places. Dinara is also mentioned in the Upamiti-bhava-prapanca-katha,[230] Brihatkathakosa[231] and Katha-Kosaprakrana.[232] It seems that this coin was used in a large number during the period of our study. They were used in the sale and purchase of commodities or in barter transactions. An account of 50,000 dinaras as an award to the gardener is rather an exaggeration.[233]

228. *Samaraiccakaha*, 2., p. 114; 3, p. 171; 4, p. 267; 6, p. 509; 8, p. 746.
229. *Kuvalayamala*—32-30 'davavesu imassa cammarukkassa dinaranma addha-lakkham'.
230. Upamiti-bhava-prapanca-katha, p. 353.
231. *Brihatkathakosa,* 143, 42, p. 262, 337.
232. *Kathakosaprakarana,* pp. 66, 122.
233. Kuvalayamala—32.30 "davavesu imassa cammarukkassa dinaranam addha-lakkham'.

Dinara was an Indian gold coin adopted from the Roman Dinarius during the Kushan rule in the Ist century A.D.[234] The old dinara was the Latin Denerius taken from the Greeks. It was a kind of silver coin.[235] In the Brihatkathakosa,[236] the word dinara is used for a gold coin. According to Altekar,[237] gold dinara probably weighed about 3/4 tola. Haribhadra Suri regards it as the costliet coin of his period. The dinara was a particular gold coin in the Kushana and the Gupta period. But the difference between them is that the gold dinara coins of the mediaeval period were much lighter in weight than the standard gold and silver coins of the Gupta period.[238]

In addition to the dinara, the other gold coin referred to in the Jain texts, was Suvarana. Suvarna's or gold coins were also current in the old days. In the Uvasakdasao, hiranya and Suvarna is associated together.[239] According to Bhandarkar, when Suvarna is associated by hiranya, it must stand not for gold, but a type of alloyed gold coins.[240]

The description of 'Sodas Suvarna' in the Samaraiccakaha proves that the gold coins were also prevalent in the eighth century.[241] After the Kushana and the Gupta periods, gold coins were not minted for many centuries. It was, Gangeyadeva of the Kalchuri dynasty of Tripura, who for the first time minted gold coins after this age. In the Kuvalayamala, gold coins have been referred to two times. At one place, kind Dridhvarman is referred to having given an award of 500 gold coins (ardha

234. Bhandarkar, R.G., *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 67.

235. Gopal, Lallanji, *Economic Life of N. India*, p. 209.

236. *BKK*, 143, 42.

237. Altekar, A.S., *Gupta-Vakataka Age*, p. 360.

238. *J.U.P.H.S.*, 1946, Vol. XIX, Parts-II.

239. Cf. *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jain Canons*, p. 120 (Uvasagadasao-1, p. 6).

240. Bhandarkar, R.G., *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 51.

241. *Samaraiccakaha*-4, p. 244, 558.

sahasra suvarna). In another place, two traders of Paithan, Mayaditya and Sthanu, start on their business sojourn after purchasing jewels worth one thousand gold coins, for fear of thieves in the way.[242]

It is clear from these accounts that gold currency was prevalent in the 8th century A.D. In the Dharmasastras, seventy rupakas have been considered equivalent to one Suvarna and twenty eight rupakas (silver coins) equivalent to one dinara.[243] In this way the ratio between the dinara and the suvarana, in their currency value, was to the tune of 2.5. According to Altekar, Suvarna, was a gold coin of the heavier weight of 144 grains or 80 rattis.[244] It was known also as niska.

'Dramma' was another coin current all over India in the early mediaeval period. It is noticed in Ahar, Siyadoni and Kaman inscriptions. In the 'Kharataragacchapattavali,[245] there is reference to a coin called 'dramma' on many occasions, which shows this coin was very much in vogue in Gujarat and Rajasthan upto nearly 13th century. The word dramma is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Greek word 'drachma'. Dramma was the most common coin in Northern India during the early mediaeval period. Some varieties and sub-multiples of the dramma, which were more properly related to the silver currency are also found in the sources related to the early mediaeval period.[246] The dramma was the only coin capable of undermining the self-sufficient economy of Pratihara kingdom.

Harisena the author of Brihatkathakosa refers to the Gurjar Pratihar king Vinayakapala I. Vinayakapala (914-943 A.D.)-P

242. Jain, P.S., *Kuvalayamala Ka Samskritik Adhyayana,* p. 200.

243. Kane, P.V., History of Dharmasastras-Vol. III, p. 122.

244. Altekar, A.S., The Coinage of the Gupta Empire, p. 300.

245. Sharma, Dashratha, Rajasthan Through the Ages, p. 498. (Kharatargaccha Pattavali- p.8, 10.52, 53, 55, 57, 58, 61).

246. *Society and Culture in N. India*, p. 283.

the grand son of Mihirbhoja, issued a number of drammas, some of which have been recently discovered. These have been described by Dr. V.S. Agrawal in the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.[247] These were found at Bhaundri village of Lucknow, and their weight varies from 62 to 69 grains. Along with these 54 silver drammas of the Adivaraha type of king Vinayakapaladeva and about 9834 cowries were also found from the same spot. The observe of these drammas bear the name of Vinayakapaladeva in three lines and a man with a boar's head, signifying the boar incarnation of Vishnu. These coin types are similar to the Adi-Varaha drammas" of Bhoja.[248] They came to be known later as "Vinayaka mudra" in contrast to the "Varaha mudra of Bhoj I."

In his "Dravya pariksa" Thakkura Pheru mentions two types of coins called 'Varaha mudra' and 'Vinayaka mudra'.[249] The existing coins and the testimony of the 'Dravya pariksha indicate that the only two kings of the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty who minted coins under their names were Bhoja I and Vinayakapala.[250] A.S. Altekar also discovered some coins of Vinayakapala with the boar on the obverse and the king's name on the reverse.[251] Dashratha Sharma remarks that "the Pratihara empire in the time of Vinayakapala was despite some loses, moral as well as material, respectable enough in dimension, and prestige to have a currency bearing his name.[252]

A number of inscriptions attest to the continued use of drammas in Rajasthan throughout from 8th century A.D. Among these, mention may be made of the Harsa Stone Inscription of

247. *JNSI.*, X, pp. 28-30.

248. *Ibid.*

249. Gopal, Lallan ji, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, p. 14.

250. *Ibid.*

251. *JNSI.*, X, pp. 28-30.

252. Rajasthan Through the Ages, p. 194.

Vigrahraja II (V. 1030). Kattukarajas' Inscription of V. 1172, Alhandevas' Inscription of V. 1205, Kelhanas' Nadlai Inscription of V.1228, and the Bhinmala Inscription of V. 1305.[253] In story No. 104 of the Brihatkathakosa,[254] a money lender offers two drammas as the price of a golden pin which was nothing in comparison to the object. In the Kathakosa[255] (anonymous), there is the description of a Brahmana, who sold away a sloka for 500 drammas, which goes to establish that this coin was in use even in the latter half of the seventh century. This incident also testifies to the economic prosperity of those days, when direct cash system was prevalent.

'Rupaka' was another prevalent coin. It is clearly revealed in the Jain Katha literature, that this coin was very much in vogue during the 8th-10th centuries. In the Kuvalayamalakaha a Sresthi thinks of earning seventy millions with a capital of a few rupakas only, which goes to show that big business could be ventured on the basis of a handful of rupakas only.[256] The same text gives an account of a gift of one lakh rupakas to an astrologer on the occasion of Namakarana Samskara[257] (Baptismal rejoicings).

It appears from this that the value of rupaka might not have been much in those days. In the Upamiti-bhava-prapanca-katha, it apears to be the coin most commonly used in Rajasthan in between the 8th and early 10th century A.D. It is also mentioned in a number of inscriptions of the period.[258] From the epigraphic

253. Sharma, D., Early Chauhan Dynasties, p. 303.

254. *BKK*, St. No. 104, p. 256.

255. *Kathakosa*—Trans. Tawney, C.H., p. 28.

256. Kuvalayamala p. 105-2.3. "evam ca sounagahiya ekka anjali ruvayanam."

257. Kuv. Mala- 20.26- "tavisamasusampayam tiaittham ca raina samvaccharassa-satta-sahassam ruvayanam"

258. Agrawal, R.C. "Rupak—A Coin Denomination"—*JNSI*, XIX, II, p. 114-20.

evidences it appears that rupaka was a coin of lower value and also that it was entirely different from a dramma. It is clear from the Ahar Saranesvar temple inscription,[259] where it is stated that one dramma was charged on the sale of an elephant and two rupakas were charged on that a horse. In some literary sources, rupaka is referred to as a gold coin. For example, it is mentioned as 'gold coins' in the Rajatarangini[260] translated by Stein. In the Kathasaritsagar also at one place the dinaras are referrecd to as 'Suvarnarupakas' or gold coins.[261] However, keeping in mind the above epigraphic evidence B.N. Puri[262] suggests that rupaka was a silver coin and not a gold coin. He makes it clear in this way that in the Ahar temple Inscription, the sale tax is mentioned only one dramma on the sale of an elephant while two rupakas on a horse. As the elephant fetches much more price than a horse it is absurd to presume that the seller of the latter is to pay in gold while that elephant enjoys concession rates.[263] Thus, in the light of this epigraphic evidence Puri suggests that rupaka was a silver coin. He puts the value of a rupaka between 1/4 and 1/20 of a dramma.[264]

The word 'Varmala' has been used many times in the Brihatkathakosa (10th century A.D.) which testifies that the 'Varmala' was a much prevalent medium of business transactions. Story No. 28 of the same text tells us that a women bought

259. Referred to also as 'Allatas' inscription' of V.1010. in the 'Early Chauhan Dynasties', p. 304. (I.A. Vol. LVII, p. 162). For other epigraphic references Hathundi inscription of V. 1053, Nadol Grant of V.1213 etc. (R.T.A., p. 503).

260. In some literary sources rupaka is referred to as a gold coin. For example, it is mentioned as 'gold coins' in the Rajatarangini translated by Stein (Rajatarangini-VI. 42, 52, etc.).

261. Cf. *The History of the Gurjar-Pratiharas*— p. 135. Puri, B.N.

262. *Ibid.*

263. *Ibid.*

264. *Ibid.*

a 'rohit' fish for a varmala.[265] In story (No. 40) there is the description of a gambler named Nirlakasana who wins cowries and gives them away to the beggers. A little later, the other gamblers request him to return the cowries in return for a huge amount of money in the form of varmalas.[266] In so far as the value of a varmala is concerned, we learn from the Brihatkathakosa that it had the purchasing capacity of a full size, rohita fish. If it be taken as identical with vammalata of the Nisithachurni, which refers to cowries, copper nanakas and kakinis of Daksinapatha, along with the silver vammalatas of Bhillamala, as the current means of exchange, the varmalas or vammalatas should be regarded as small silver coins with the same purchasing power of a full size rohita fish.[267]

Dr. Dashratha Sharma has tried to connect the Varmala coins with Varmala or Varmalata of Bhillamala (probably of the Chapa dynasty). The Vasantgarh Inscription of 625 A.D., the Prabhavakacharita, and the Sisupalvadha refer to the name of king Varmalata. But it is to be noted that in a number of manuscripts of the Sisupalavadha the name of the ruler is mentioned as Varmala.[268] Dashratha Sharma further says that Harisena's familiarity with the Varmala coins might have been due to Chapa connection with Wadhawan, Wadhwan was the place where the Brihatkathakosa was composed. In brief we can say that the Varmala should be regarded as smaller silver coin with a high purchasing power.

The coins 'Kapardaka', 'Varatika', niska, etc. have also

265. *BKK*, St. No. 28, p. 47. verse-33 "mataapanam jagamasu grhitum matsyamadarata, adayarohitam minam varmlyena tadambika."

266. *Ibid.*, St. No. 40. p. 62. verses-4-5, 7-8. 'Vijita dutakaranam kartah sarve kapardakah | 4 | nirlaksano dadau sarvan desikebhyah kapardkan | 5 | nirlaksanatvamaday varmaladi dhanam bahu, asmakamanay ksipram sarvah kartah kapardakah | 8 |.

267. *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, p. 502.

268. *Ibid.*, p. 502.

been mentioned in the early mediaeval inscriptions and literature. Out of these, kapardaka, which means a 'cowrie' could not be of much use in large transactions. Although kapardaka or cowrie was the lowest unit of currency, it appears from some of the stories of Brihatkathakosa that it had a high purchasing capacity. It is learnt from story No. 76 that an earthern jar full of ghee could be purchased in only a few kapardakas.[269] While on the contrary, some stories of the same text depict a kapardaka as of the lowest value. It has been said on one occasion that a very costly garland having been placed on a dead body, would not be purchased by anybody even for a kapardaka or cowries.[270] The narration goes to show that the cowries might have been of the lowest value in those days.

The Kuvalayamalakaha describes a coin called varatika, which again means a cowrie. The second part of the Siyadoni Inscription mentions varataka.[271] Most probably cowrie and varatika were synonymous as the two denominations are not noticed in the one context. From the following equations mentioned in the Lilavati of Bhaskaracharya it appears that cowrie was the lowest denomination. The equation[272] is as follows:

20 Varatakas (kapardakas)	-1 kakini
4 Kakinis	-1 pana
16 Panas	-1 dramma
16 Drammas	-1 niska

Kakinis are referred to in the Kathakosaprakarana of

269. *BKK*, St. No. 76, p. 182 'ghrrtapunam kutam (ghatam) kritva-vanika vithaukapardakaih'.

270. *BKK*, p. 50, "puspamalam na kopyetam grhnatimrtakasritam kapardaken caiken bahumulyamapi sitau." Also p. 62. verse-4.

271. *The History of the Gurjar-Pratiharas*, p. 136.

272. *Society and Culture in N. India*, p. 314. (Lilavati-p.4).

Jinesvara Suri.[273] Jinesvara's Kathakosa and an inscription from Jalor (dated V. 1230) mention drammardhas *i.e.* half drammas.[274]

There is reference to 'niska' in the Punyasrava-kathakosa,[275] where it means dinara (as it appears from the translation given below the Sanskrit text). At two places, the term "Egarasaguna has been used in the Kuvalayamala.[276] At both the places, the term has been used to connote the amount to be aid as penalty. It either refers to some contemporary law prescribing the payment of a penalty equivalent to eleven times of the total amount of loss perpetrated by the wrong doer, or the term 'egara-saguna' might be standing for some fixed amount of money which on such occasions the guilty might have been subjected to pay as a penalty.

It is worth mentioning that inspite of the prevalence of the currency, the barter system was still continuing. It is known from the Kuvalayamlakaha[277] and the Samaraicca-kaha[278] and the Upamiti-bhava-prapanca-katha[279] that the traders used to purchase goods with goods. Commonly the Commodities used in barter were cattle, hides, garments and rice. It seems, therefore, that barter was not out of vogue.

Thus, the Jain Katha texts throw welcome light on a number of contemporary coins as well as their purchasing power.

Though the Jain Katha texts refer to a number of

273. *Kathakosaprakarana*, p. 10, Line-2.

274. *Rajasthan Through the Ages,* p. 503.

275. *Punyasravakathakosa*, p. 321 "svapotanniskanakrsya tasya dattavana."

276. Kuv. Mala-138. 7 'jamatthi tam atthijam natthi tam ekkarasa-gunam demitt."

277. *Kuv. Mala-* Part I, p. 64 FF.

278. *Samaraiccakaha*-4, p. 16- We read of merchants visiting distant parts of the country and exchanging their own merchandise with the wares of these region.

279. *U BPK*, p. 870 FF (grhitam, pratibhandam).

contemporary coins, yet the limited availability of these coins indicates towards a poor state of coinage. The three, centuries after the downfall of the Gupta empire, *i.e.*, the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, due to the political confusion and chaos, appear to have witnessed an economic decline. The economic depression during the first phase of the early mediaeval period is represented by the extreme paucity of coins. We find that the coins minted during the period from 600-1000 A.D. were debased, crude heavy and of mixed alloy. The gradual decline of trade, paucity of metals due to the end of the foreign trade and the indifference on the part of the rulers may be taken as the basic reasons for the poor state of coinage.

Though the Jain Katha texts refer to a number of coins, such as —drama, rupaka, dinara, suvarna, varmala, etc., as in circulation during the Gurjar-Pratihara period, yet the number of available coins is very limited. Dramma was the standard money. It appears that for daily transactions cowries had come to be very largely used in the period of our study. A.K. Majumdar[280] suggests that the mention of cowries were actually does not necessarily mean that the cowries were actually in use as a medium of exchange, probably it was convenient to convert the coins of higher denominations into cowries for the purpose of calculation.

But the discovery of a treasure trove from Bhaundri village in the Lucknow district has proved the fact that cowries were large in circulation. The treasure trove contains besides the coins of the Pratihara king Vinayakapala, 9834 cowries.[281] It may be suggested that in the early mediaeval period the poor state of coinage may be connected with the comparative decline of the foreign trade. "However, the paucity of the coins during the

280. Majumdar, A.K., *Chalukyas of Gujarat*, p. 272.

281. *Jr. U.P. H.S.* XIX, p. 85.

period from c. 600 to 1000 A.D. is no doubt a pointer to depression in socio-economic life.[282]

Weights and Measures

From the Jain Katha texts, we come to know about a number of weights and measures prevalent at that time. The weights were different in different provinces. There is a mention of the weighing balances in the Samaraiccakaha,[283] which shows that as in the present day, in the old days also, the sale and purchase of commodities and their valuation were made on the basis of their weights. Even in days before Haribhadra, we get a mention of balances, weights and measures.[284] The Kuvalayamalakaha too mentions names of various weights and measures such as anjali,[285] karsa[286], koti[287], 100 koti[288], kuda-tula[289], kuda-manam[290], goni[291], pala[292], ardhapala[293], 100 pala,[294] bhar,[295] manapramana[296], etc. etc. Many of these weights and measures were in vogue in earlier times also. Panini[297] too has

282. Yadav, B.N.S., *Society and Culture in N. India,* p. 275.

283. *Samaraiccakaha*-1, p. 62;3 p. 212.

284. Cf. *Samaraiccakaha - Ek Samskritik Adhyayana,* p. 161. (Mahabhasya of Patanjali, 4, 4; 11. Kasika, 3, 3, 52).

285. *Kuvalayamala*-103. 10 part -I.

286. *Ibid.,* 153. 16.

287. *Ibid.,* 153. 16.

288. *Ibid.,* 39.2.

289. *Ibid.*

290. *Ibid.,* 39.2.

291. *Ibid.,* 191.8.

292. *Ibid.,* 153. 16.

293. *Ibid.*

294. *Ibid.*

295. *Ibid.,* 153. 16.

296. *Ibid.,* 57.24; 233.22.

297. Astadhyayi.

mentioned the measure called 'Anjali' (15. Astadhyayi). Kautilya has shown a 'Prastha' as equivalent to 8 anjalis, (Arth. 2/19). On this basis, Dr. V.S. Agrawal has fixed an 'anjali' as equivalent to nearly 135 grams. There is a reference to 'nioiyam bhandam[298] in the Samaraiccakaha, which explains that prices of the commodities were fixed on the basis of both their weight as well as measure. Contemporary inscriptions also mention the names of the various denominations of weights. They mention a few terms-mani, palika, pala, tali, hasta, adhaka, khar, and goni. Mani, during the Gurjar-Pratihara period was a measurement of weight, its exact denomination was settled locally.

Brihatkathakosa mentions khari as another measure of weight.[299] In the Kuvalayamalakaha, we get the mention of a measure called karsa, which was an old measure. In the Manusmriti, a karsapana made of copper, of a karsa (80 rattis) has been spoken as 'Pana'.[300] Contemporary inscriptions too have mentioned karsa.[301] We get an account of 'pala' and also its subordinate weights such as 'ardhapala', one hundred pala, etc., in the Kuvalayamalakaha.[302] Alberuni observes that the weight 'pala' was much used in all the business dealings in India. Pala was the recognized measure of different commodities at different times. Manusmriti[303] and Yajnavalkya Smriti[304] mention it as a weight for gold and copper. In fact, pala was a standard weight for weighing food grains, edibles and other different articles. The inscription of the time of Allata of Mewar, refers to it as a measure of oil.[305] The inscription records the

298. *Samaraiccakaha*-6, p. 539.

299. *BKK.* p. 10. St. No. 7.

300. *Manusmriti,* 8.136. "Karsapanastu vijneyastamrikakarsikah panah."

301. Sharma, D., *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 306. 217.

302. *Kuvalayamalakatha*, p. 153.

303. Manu. VII, 132.

304. *Yajnavalkya Smriti*-I. 361.

305. *I.A.* VIII, p. 161. FF.

levy of pala of oil from every oil-mill. Pala is supposed to be 4 tolas. In the Sarangadhar-samhita palas are shown as equivalent to one tula. The use of the word 'khari' in the Brihatkathakosa has been made in the sense of giving some one various sweet kept in one khara. Khari is mentioned in inscriptions and literature, as a weight for grain. The Sarangadhara-samhita shows one Khari as equivalent to 4 dronis and one bhara is shown as equivalent to 2000 palas. It shows that the measure called bhara was of highest value.

Early Mediaeval Economy (600-1000 A.D.)—An Overview

The emergence and development of the feudalistic state and economy are the chief characteristic features of the early mediaeval period. Because of political instability and decentralization, the economy of the time remained constrained and could not be comprehensive. There has been a continuous debate among historians over the issue of overall economic structure with respect to the position of trade and money during the first phase of early mediaeval period (600-1000 A.D.). An effort is being made here to summarise their views in the interest of a comprehensive picture of the prevailing economy of the times. The conclusions are only sketchy and they would need further elaborations, which has not been possible in the present dissertation.

It has already been mentioned in this chapter that the economic condition of North India during the first four centuries of the post-Gupta period was characterised by the decline of trade and media of exchange. It has been aptly remarked that during 600-1000 A.D., the Indian feudalistic system was at its apex leading to complete ruralisation of economy resulting in the decline of trade and commerce, desertion of urban centres and total absence of coins.

While discussing this complex problem, the basic politico-

economic structure and changes of the period concerned should be kept in mind. It has been opined by some scholars that the economic history of the first four centuries of the post-Gupta period (600-1000 A.D.) has often been constructed on such hypothesises like paucity of coins and decline of trade and commerce.

It is true that the coins minted during the period under review were debased, crude, heavy and of mixed alloy. It is understood that there was a total absence of monetary system resulting in the use of cowries as the only medium of exchange. The ruling dynasties were indifferent towards minting of coins. Since private moneyers along with state were also allowed to mint coins, they, in order to gain profit, degraded the metal and weight of the coins, then in circulation. The market was soon flooded with inferior metallic coins with little purity of metal content or artistic perfection and make-up. It has been argued that the non-issue of gold coins in between 600 A.D. to 1000 A.D. does not mean that there was a total absence of coins of other metals also like silver and copper which were largely in circulation. The large circulation of gadahiya coins of both silver and copper throughout the country during the period concerned suggests that there was no phase of early mediaeval period. D.C. Sircar opines that there was no paucity of coins during this period and that a large number of gold, silver and copper coins have been found. He further says that the instances of frequent plundering and raids by the Arabs are indicative of the well-established and prosperous economy of India and not of decline.

The continuity of the use of cowries along with coins in the period of study is indicated by the discovery of a hoard, at Bhundri (Lucknow Distt.), comprising 54 silver coins bearing the name of the Pratihara king Vinayakapala (first half of the 10th century A.D.) and 9834 cowries.

It has been argued on the strength of coin-hoard finds, that

'money production and money-circulation throughout the country were in full spate in this period. There were both local and inter-local net-work of exchange in operation, giving lie to the assumption that post-Gupta economy was a moneyless, closed economy'. Though a fairly large number of coins have been found from Northern India, it is to be noted that their chronology still remains a problem. It has been rightly suggested that the bulk of them probably belonged to the later phase of the early mediaeval period.

Refuting the view of complete absence of coins in the early mediaeval period, some scholars have opined that it will not be proper to say that land was given to officials in place of money because of shortage of coins. Had land been given in lieu of money as salary there would have been uniformity in the land grant among officials of the same category, which is not discernable.

Another important issue connected with the question of the media of exchange is the problem of contemporary trade and commerce because there is an intricate relationship between coins and trade. Scholars have differed on this issue as well and there are clearly two views on the matter. It is a well known fact that in the early mediaeval period North India witnessed a diminished use of coins, indicating a decline in trade.

The post-Gupta period was marked by political instability. In the words of B.N.S. Yadav, "With the growing danger of sea-piracy and with the political confusion and chaos following the downfall of the Gupta empire, there appears to have started the process of retrogression in external as well as internal commerce in India." On the other hand, some historians do not admit that there was a decline in trade and commerce during this period. According to them there was an increase of both national as well as international commerce and that India had trade relations with Arabia and China. The Pheoa Inscription of A.D. 882-83 and the Ahar inscription of A.D. 953 refer to

prominent Inter regional trading centres. That India participated in international trade is evident from the accounts of foreign travellers like Sulaiman (about the middle of the 9th century A.D.), *Ibn Khurdadbh* (9th, 10th century A.D.) and Al Masudi (10th century A.D.). As already mentioned in the present chapter it is learnt from the Jain Katha texts that India carried out trade with the countries of South-East-Asia. The traders used to go to Suvarnadweep, Barbarkula, Java and China through the ports of Surparaka (Sopara) and Tamralipti (Tamluk). It is also evidenced from the Nalanda plate of Devapala. It is known from a Japanese text of mid 8th century A.D. that merchant ships from India, Persia and Malaya regularly visited the port of Canton. In one of the Ceylonese inscriptions of 8th century A.D. there is a mention of Indian merchants carrying on trade with Ceylon. Kuvalayamalakaha refers to a merchant going to China and Mahachina and making great profit by buying clothes of silk. B.N. Mukherjee holds that the very use of cowries in quantity as suggested by archaeological and literary data should indicate continuation of maritime trade, since these were mainly imported from the Maldivi islands. He further says that the puacity or absence of coins in certain areas need not mean decline in trade. It has been argued by some that Indian trade was at its height between the 8th and the mid 11th century, when the Islamic trade was at its apex.

In addition to the issues of coinage and trade, scholars have also differed over the subject of the decay and desertion of towns during the period under review. It is held by some that there was a continuing process of the emergence of the new urban centres in early mediaeval period. On the other hand, the other such could not come into existence during the period because of the feudal economy, however the existence of towns continued because of trade and commerce on a limited scale, although such towns had declined both the qualitatively and quantitatively.

It can be safely inferred from the above, that relatively

there was a positve decline in trade and coinage during the period of review, though this decline was only partial and not absolute. There is, therefore, a need to revaluate and re-examine the major characteristic features of early mediaeval state and economy of North India, specially during the period A.D. 600 to A.D. 1000. While discussing the issue, the study of regional evidences is quite necessary.

The proper study of regional variations can shed comprehensive light over the contemporary economic life. The volume of trade may vary from region to region. So is the case with the production and circulation of money. The difference of opinion emerges when such vexing problems of society and economy are looked at in the regional context only. So, while keeping in view the basic socio-economic structure of the times, the regional variations may also be considered in order to build up a total and over-all picture of the contemporary society and economy." All references given by Madholkar. EOJ (Pp. 1862—1904).

2

ECONOMIC LIFE IN NISHITHA CURNI

The Jaina canonical texts are variously explained by different acharyas and commentators in different times. These commentaries are of four categories (i) Niryuktis (ii) Bhasyas (iii) Curnis and (iv) Vrttis.

The following canonical works have Bhasyas on them: (1) Uttaradhyayana (2) Dasavaikalika (3) Avasyaka (4) Vyavahara (5) Brihat Kalpa (6) Nisitha (7) Jitakalpa (8) Oghaniryukti (9) Pindaniryukti and (10) Pansca Kalpa.

Acharya Jinabhadra and Sanghadasayam (6th century A.D.) are famous for their Bhasyas.

The Curnis are in Prakrit mixed Sanskrit. Jinadasagam Mahattara (7th century A.D.) is the author of most of the Curnis.

Nearly 18 important canonical works have Curnis on them including Nisitha, which are in prose.

In the Nisitha-Curni general economic conditon or socio-economic pattern of the society has elaborately been depicted by the Jain acharya, gives clear a picture of Jaina economic life.

Sutrakritanga refers to Rajagraha as a rich, happy and thriving city (Jaina Sutras, SBE, II, 419).

According to Sutrakritanga, Nalanda was a rich and prosperous land and a rich householder 'Lepa' had a beautiful bathing hall. Once Buddha had discussion with a Jaina monk Udaka, who was follower of Parsva (Sutra Kr. II, 7; Jaina Sutras SBE II, pp. 419-20).

Nisitha is a Ceya Sutta (Ceda or Cheda Sutra) consisting

of 20 chapters. Probably the treatise that prescribed cuts in seniority of monks on their violating monastic discipline was called Cheta or Ceya Sutta.

Ceya Suttas dealt with all sorts of topics pertaining to monastic jurisprudence. According to Schubring 'niseha' is used for prohibition. In Sanskrit it is 'nisiddha'.

Dr. B.C. Law has given a vivid and brief account of the Ceya Suttas in his book 'Some Jaina Canonical Sutras.' (pp. 88-96).

When Mithila was besieged by Jiyasattu and other kings, king Kumbhaga closed the city gates and the citizens could not move out. (Nayadhammakahao: Dr. Law, SJCS. p. 39). It means Mithila capital was having walls all around and city gate. People probably were prosperous, and their prosperity attracted Jiyasattu.

The paddy was sown during the rains and when ripe the crops were harvested with new sharp sickeles, thrashed, winnowed and then taken to the granary where they were kept in new sealed jars (*Ibid.*, 7, 86). Flower-houses were made during festivals (*Ibid.*, 8, 103). Woodgatherers (*katthaharaga*), leaf-gatherers (*pattaharaga*) and grass-cutters (*tanaharaga*) were found roaming about in forests (*Ibid.*, 13, 143). Tortoises were eaten by the people (*Ibid.*, 4). Clothes were moistened with soda (*sajjiyakhara*) and heated on fire and then washed with clean water (*Ibid.*, 5, 74). Various kinds of cloth were loaded in wagons and carried for sale (*Ibid.*, 17, 203). The king could commute the sentence of death for banishment (*Ibid.*, 8, 107). Mithila is mentioned as a port and the sea-faring merchants of Campa came here for trade (*Ibid.*, 8, 97 ff.). Kaliyadiva was the place where there were rich mines of gold, jewels and diamond and which was noted for horses (*Ibid.*, 17, 201 ff.). There was the necessity of passport (*rayavarasasana*) (*Ibid.*, 8, 98).

There was the worship of various deities (*Ibid.*, 8, 100). There were taverns and gambling houses (*juyakhalaya*) (*Ibid.*, 2, 48). The country of Daddara was noted for its sandal wood (*Ibid.*, 8, 98). The town of Hatthikappa or Hatthakappa was visited by the five Pandavas (*Ibid.*, 16, 199 ff.). It may be identified with Hathab near Bavnagar in Gujarat. The *syamvara* of Dovai (Draupadi) was held in the city of Kampillapura§ (*Ibid.*, 8, 178). Pandu Mathura may be identified with Madura in south India. It was the place where the Pandavas were asked by Kanha Vasudeva to go and reside there (*Ibid.*, 16, 197 ff.). Damaghosa, father of Sisupala, was invited to attend the marriage ceremony of Dovai (Draupadi) in Kampillapura (*Ibid.*, 8, 178). Kanha Vasudeva ruled over Varabai together with many princes and chiefs (*Ibid.*, 6, 68). He had many queens. The five Pandavas were choosen by Draupadi (*Ibid.*, 16) as her husbands. A rich courtesan of Campa was versed in the traditional sixty-four arts, possessed sixty-four accomplishments of a courtesan and knew the science of erotic very well. She was a linguist, well versed in dialects and an accomplished singer and dancer. There was the sleeping chamber of queen Dharini as having an outer courtyard, polished pillars, latticed windows, circular stairs, brackets, and a room on the roof. The outside was white washed with stone and the inside was decorated with pictures. A mention is made of five kinds of nurses who were engaged to tend children: wet-nurse(*khira*), toilet-nurse (*mandapa*), bath-nurse (*majjana*), play-nurse (*kilavana*) and lap-nurse (*anka*) (*Ibid.*, I, p. 21).

Economic Conditions

Social stability and political security ensure the economic

§. Kampilyanagara (*Mahabharata*, 138, 73-74) which was the capital of southern Pancala, identical with modern Kampil in the Farokhabad district, U.P. (B.C. Law, Geography of Early Buddhism, p. 18; B.C. Law, *Pancala and their Capital Ahichchatra, M.A.S.I.*, No. 67, pp. 3ff. (Law, pp. 39-40).

growth and prosperity of a country. In India, however, the usual economic life in small towns and villages has been least affected by such political vicissitudes, although it must have hampered the economy at large, *i.e.* in large commercial towns having a rich and flourishing trade. The general picture of society as depicted in the NC is that of economic prosperity and affluence, although the vast differences or inequalities in the distribution of wealth may not be totally ignored. The wealth and affluence of the kings and nobles, the *setthis* occupying a high status because of their economic assistance to the State, the rich caravan-leaders (*sattavaha*) and merchants (*vaniya*) having a flourishing trade by land or sea, the peasant population (*karisaga*) working hard on fields, those following the industrial arts and crafts (*sippa*), the slaves (dasa) and a large number of servants and hired labourers (*bhagaya-kammakara*) earning their livelihood by hard manual work, and a large number of monks and ascetics depending on society for all the essential needs, display the economic life at its various levels. In the following pages an attempt has been made to survey the economic conditions of the age on the basis of the NC.

Agriculture (Kisivavara, Kisikamma)[1]

Cultivators and Fields—Agriculture was held in contempt by the Jainas as it involved killing of the innumerable insects. Those following this profession were, however, designated as "Aryans and not as Mlecchas—the two groups in which all human beings were classified by the Jaina philosophers."[2] From the various references in the text it can be easily judged that

1. NC. 3, pp. 160, 227.

2. *Prajnapanaosutra*. For cultivation see also—Ganguli, "Cultivation in Ancient India", IHQ (1930-31), p. 136 and the Bhasya of Tattvarthadhigama-sutra (published by Sheth D.L.P. Jaina Pustakoddhara Fund Series, III. 15, p. 265). Vide—Hiralal Kapadia's article, "Some References Pertaining to Agricuture in Jaina Literature", IHQ., Vol. X, p. 799.

agriculture was the prinicpal occupation of the people especially in the villages[3]. The *karisagas*[4] and the *kadumbiyas or kudumbis* were the peasants and cultivating householders following the occupation of agriculture. The term *kutumbins* has been variously explained by different scholars.[5] In the NC., however, *kudumbis* are seen as cultivating householders who not only cultivated the fields themselves but were also in a position to employ servants and agricultural labourers (*kammakara*) for the purpose of cultivation.[6] They seem to have belonged to quite well-off families and very often they provided shelter to the Jaina monks.[7] The contemporary inscriptions also show *kutumbins* to be agriculturist-labourers, and fields belonging to them are described as *kutumbiksetras*.

The cultivated land or fields were known as *khetta*[8] and these were situated not very far (*abbhase-adure*) from the houses.[9] *Vappa* or Keyara was another term which denoted a wet-field[10] or field having a flourishing field-crop. The peasants always

3. NC. 1, p. 115.

4. NC. 2, p. 9; NC. 3, pp. 160, 227.

5. The term *kutumbin* frequently occurring in the contemporary inscriptions has been taken in the same sense of the cultivators (CII. III, 314) or the house-slaves (Kielhorn, EI. III, 314). According to D. R. Bhandarkar, they were the heads of the families of the cultivators (vide —*Jinist Studies*, pp. 79-82). According to another view, *kutumbins* belonged to professional artisan classes who cultivated land as subsidiary means of livlihood (Pran Nath, Economic Condition in Ancient India, p. 157). However, the view that they were agriculturist house-holders appears to be more reliable.—Gopal, L., Economic Life of Northern India, p. 24.

6. NC. 3, p. 519.

7. NC. 2, p. 9; NC. 3, p. 519.

8. NC. 2, p. 9; NC. 3, p. 227; *Brh. Vr.* 2, p. 263.

9. NC. 2, p. 83.

10. In the *Arthasastra, kedara* is used in the sense of a wet-field and a collection of adjoining wet-fields has been called *kaidarya* or *kaidaraka*.—Agrawala, V.S., *India as Known to Panini*, p. 195.

cherished to possess large fields having a flourishing field-crop of the superior variety of food grains (*visista sasya*) like sugarcane, barley, rice etc.[11] Proper care was taken to protect the field from itis or the calamities of the season (*itivargitatvam*).[12] According to the ancient authorities *itis* or the calamities of the season could be of six types, viz. (i) excessive rain, (ii) drought, (iii) locusts, (iv) rats, (v) parrots and (vi) foreign invasions.[13]

Agricultural Operations

The twenty-four varieties of food-grains and the different varieties of fruits, vegetables, spices, oilseeds etc., as mentioned before, formed a part of the Indian dietary during this time. These products were cultivated in the country.

A regular process was to be followed in the field of cultivation. First of all the land was ploughed by means of plough driven by the bullocks[14] and the soil was prepared for sowing. Agricultural labourers (*kammakara*) were employed for ploughing the land.[15] Ploughing and sowing (*vapana*) was mostly done in the rainy season. The peasants usually stored up all the necessary articles required by them at home before the advent of the rainy season, so that the work of cultivation may not by hampered by going to the market during these busy months.[16]

After sowing the seed (*vapana, ropita*)[17] the field was to be protected from the wild-beasts and thieves by making fences

11. NC. 4, pp. 409-10.
12. NC. 4, p. 410.
13. Kalidasa, *Raghuvamsa*, 1. 63.
14. NC. 3, p. 150.
15. NC. 3, pp. 273, 519.
16. NC. 3, p. 160.
17. NC. 1, p. 102.

(*vati*) all around and small ditches (*khaitya*) were dug for the purpose of holding water.[18] Ripe grain was then reaped (*luta*) with a sickle (*datra*),[19] thrashed (*malita*), and winnowed (*puta*)[20] with a winnowing-fan (*suppa*) which had the shape of an elephant's ear.[21] After separating the chaff, the pure (*pariputa*) grain[22] was measured (*miyamana*) and properly stored in a barn (*khalaga*) or granary (*kotthagara*). Sometimes, however, the barns were put to fire because of the personal enmity amongst the peasants.[23]

Agricultural Implements

Various implements were used for cultivation. Three different varieties of the plough, i.e., *hala, kuliya* and *damtala*[24] have been mentioned in the text. *Kutisa* is mentioned as a grass-cutting wooden instrument which was particularly used in Surattha. It measured two hands in length and had iron nails (*ayakilaka*) fixed at the end along with an iron plate attached to it.[25] Among other agricultural implements, the sickle (*daira*)[26],

18. NC. 3, p. 519.
19. दात्रेण लुगति पिप्पलगेण वा—NC. 1, p. 31.
20. वावणं जातेसु लूतेसु मलितेसु पूतेसु—NC. 1, p. 102. Compare— कृतं वपंतः लूनंतः मृणंतः :—Satapatha Brahmana, 1. 6. 1. 3.
21. सुप्पं गयकण्णाकारं भण्णति।
22. परिपूता परिसोहिता सवलापनीतानि—NC. 1, p. 102.
23. NC. 3, p. 319.
24. खेत्तोक्क्मो हलकुलियादिहिं—NC. 1, p. 3; आदि सद्दातो हलदंताला घेप्पंति —NC. 1, p. 31; Brh. Vr. 1, p. 79. *Hala kulisa* and *damtalakha* have been mentioned as three agricultural implements in Akalanka's commentary on *Tattvarthadhigamasutra*.—See, Kapadia's article on Agriculture, IHQ., Vol. X, p. 798. In the *Avasyka Curini* (p. 81), *namgala* is also mentioned as a type of plough along with *hala* and *kuliya*.
25. —NC. 1, p. 31.
26. *Ibid.*
27. NC. 3, p. 5.
28. NC. 1, p. 31.

axe (*kuhada*[27], *parasu*[28]), hatchet or spade (*sattara-phavara* in Hindi), scissors (*pippalaga*) and knives (*churiya*)[29] have been mentioned.

Irrigation

Since the various activities like ploughing and sowing were done in the rainy seasons, rains must have been the most substantial source of irrigation.[30] Apart from the rainfall, the water from rivers, lakes, ponds and wells were also used for irrigating the fields.[31] In the villages a number of peasants irrigated their fields in their respective turn *(varagena)* from a common watersource (*sarani paniya*). An instance can be seen when a peasant secretly broke through the water-course during the turn of the other in order to irrigate his own field.[32]

Some of the regions were naturally rich in water-resourses, and there the fields could be easily irrigated from the water of rivers or ponds even in the absence of rains.[33] Tosali is mentioned as such a place where water was found in abundance (*anugadesa*) and there was never a fear of drought.[34] But frequent

29. NC. 2, p. 5.

30. NC. 3, p. 160.

31. The commentary on *Brihat Kalpa Bhasya* provides us with interesting details regarding the irrigation sources, according to which rainfall was the main source of irrigation in the Lata country, while in Sindhu the fields were irrigated from rivers, in Dravida from ponds and in Uttarapatha from wells (*Brh. Vr.* 2, p. 386). The same text divides the fields into two groups, viz. *setu* and *ketu*, the former being irrigated by means of wells and the latter depending on rainfall (Brh. Bha.. 1. 826).

32. तत्थेगो करिसगो अण्णस्स वारए अण्णवदेसा पादेण णिक्कं भेत्तुण . . . . अप्पणो खेत्ते पाणियं छुभति—NC. 1, p. 115.

33. आणगदेसो णतिसलीलादीहिं जबलहुलो . . . तम्मि वरिसेण विणा सस्सं णिप्फज्जति—NC. 3, p. 538.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Dubbhikkh* or *omakala* (famine) and *asiva* (epidemic) have regularly been mentioned in the NC. as two circumstances in which the exceptions (*apavada*) to the rules could be restored to by the Jaina monks.

references to famine (*dubbhikkha*) and epidemic (*asiva*)[35] in the text clearly reveal that in certain regions there was always a fear of drought and famine which were usually accompanied with epidemic also. In such circumstances nothing could grow for want of rains, and people, especially the monks, suffered terribly for being unable in procuring alms.

Land-ownership

Regarding the ownership of the land two different theories have been upheld by the ancient Hindu law-givers—state-ownership of the land or the theory which recognises king as the owner of the land and that of the peasant-proprietorship.[36] In the context of the ownership of a garden in the NC the author has remarked that the garden (*arama*) could have been purchased by the *kudumbi*, the *bhojika*, the village (*gamena*), the vani, the *gotthi* (corporation), the *arakkhiya*, or by the king (*ranna*) by paying the stipulated sum (*mulla*).[37] Here from the mention of the purchase of a garden for the king it may be judged that the theory of the state-ownership of land has been upheld by our author, although the king like anyone else had the right to purchase the land by giving the proper price. Elsewhere in the NC a cultivator is mentioned as cultivating on the others field (*paravatta-khetta*) by paying the negotiated amount of money.[38] It points towards the peasant proprietorship of the land and that the land could be even given on rent or mortgaged by its owner. In some of the contemporary Maitraka records the fields are mentioned to have been owned by the *kutumbins* (*kutumbi-khetta*) and very often the term *satka* has been used

36. For the concept of ownership of land in ancient India see—Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmasastra*, Vol. III, p. 547; also Gopal, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-31.

37. NC. 3, p. 498; *Brh Vr.* 2, pp. 287-88.

38. जं च मयायं छेतं वारेतेण धुतं एत्तियं ते दाहति तं पि दायव्वं—NC. 3, p. 519.

39. EI. XXII, 115-20; XXI, 183; IV, 76-81.

to convey the idea of ownership.[39] It was thus the theory of the peasant-proprietorship of the land which seems to have been practically carried out during these centuries.

Arts and Crafts

Apart from agriculture a number of vocational arts and crafts were practised by the people. *Sippa* was defined as an art or profession which required proper training under the guidance of an efficient teacher. It included both the fine arts as well as the crafts like chariot-making, weaving, tailoring etc.[40] A proper vocational education therefore must have been imparted to the workers in their specific field.

Vocational Education

The professions during this time were mostly hereditary in nature. Besides, the system of apprenticeship[41] was practised in imparting the industrial education. The apprentice, willing to master the art, was to enter into an agreement with the teacher for working under him for a specific period.[42] The duration of this period could be either till the time one was paying proper fees to the teacher[43] or it could be more than the actual time required to master the art, since the trained apprentice was expected to work free for his teacher for sometime in lieu of the training imparted.[44] The apprentice thus bond with an agreement was called *ubbaddha*, and he was not to leave his master during this period of contract. These rules must have been scrupulously practised, since we find that like a slave

40. आयरितोवएसपुव्वगं रहगारतुन्नगारादीसिप्पं—NC. 3, p. 272.

41. Altekar, A.S., *Education in Ancient India*, p. 187.

42. सिक्खंतो सिक्खवेंतस्स केवगादि दव्वं देति, सो-य जति तेण एवं उब्बद्धो जाव सिक्खा ताव तुमं ममायत्तो—NC. 3, p. 519.

43. अध एव उब्बद्धो सिक्खिए वि उवरि एत्तियं कालं ममायत्तेण भवियव्वं, तम्मि काले अपुन्ने ण कप्पति पुन्ने कप्पति—*Ibid.*

44. Compare—सिक्षितोपि कृतं कालमन्तेवासी समाप्नुयात् । तत्र कर्म च यन्कुर्यादाचार्यस्यैव तत्फलम् ।। —Naradasmriti, Susrusabhyapagamaprakarana (v. 20); Vide — Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

(*dasa*) and the hired-labourer (bhayaga) a person under an agreement (*ubbaddha*) was also excluded from being initiated in the monastic order of the Jainas till which, contract period was not over.[45] The same rules must have been carried out in case of all the important arts and crafts of the time.

Mines and Mineral-products

The mines (*agara*[46] or *Khiti Khana*) were extensively worked and *Khitikhana*[47] was a class of labourers especially employed for working in the mines. The following were the seven important ores produced from the mines—iron (*aya*) copper (*tavu*), tin (*tamba*), lead (*stsaga*), silver (*hiranna, ruppa*), gold (*suvanna*) and diamond (*vaira*)[48]. Besides, vessels made of bronze (*kamsa*) were also not unknown.[49] The artists were versed even in the art of *Dhatuvada, i.e.,* turning base metlas like copper into finer ones like gold.[50]

Along with these metals, mention may also be made of the different varieties of precious stones (*pasana*) and gems (*mani*) which were usually wrought in precious metals for making ornaments. Among these, supphire (*indraila*), ruby (*padmaraga*)[51], jasper or sunstone (*surakanta*), moon-stone (*candrakanta*),[52], quartz (*sphatika, phadiha*)[53], baryl (*vaidurya*) have been mentioned. *Maniyaras* were the dealers in precious

45. NC. 3, p. 272.

46. NC. 3, p. 329.

47. NC. 3, p. 273.

48. NC. 1, p. 136; NC. 2, p.329.

49. कंसमयं भायणं—NC. 2, p. 290; NC. 3, p. 173.

50. यस्मिन् धम्यमाने सुवर्णादि पतते स धातुः—NC. 3, p. 387. Bana also mentioned the old Dravida priest as versed in the art of *Dhatuvada.*—Agrawal, V.S., *Kadambari; Ek Samskritika Adhyayana,* p. 230.

51. NC. 3, p. 389.

52. NC. 2, p. 109.

53. *Ibid.,* also p. 400.s

stones and gems who gave different shapes to the stones by rubbing them on the touchstone (*sana*).[54] *Mottiyas* were the beadsmen who deligently stringed beautiful pearls and beads into different types of necklaces.[55]

Workers in Metal

The rich mineral wealth of the country provided a great industry for workers in metal. Among the metal-workers the goldsmiths (*kalada*[56], suvannagara[57]) and the blacksmiths (*lohakara, kamara*)[58] were important. The large variety of ornaments worn by men and women provided a great scope to the art of the goldsmiths. Besides, a number of vessels and ornamental vases were cast in different metals like gold, silver, copper, bronze and iron.[59] Vessels were sometime inlaid with diamonds (*vaira*) or other precious jewels (*manimaya*)[60], and were also embedded with pearl-strings (*mauktkka*).[61] Yaun Chwang observed that the gold and silver vessels of the period were outstanding for their exquisite workmanship.[62] Besides, images were also cast in different metals like gold (*kanagapadima*)[63] or bronze. The goldsmiths thus had a very

54. NC. 2, p. 5.

55. *Ibid.*

56. NC. 3, p. 269.

57. NC. 1, p. 50; NC. 3, p. 268; NC. 4, p. 12.

58. NC. 1, p. 79.

59. NC. 3, pp. 107, 329.

60. मणिमयं वा—NC. 3, p. 329.

61. अयमाद्याः पात्रविशेषाः मौक्तिकलताभिरुपशोभिताः—NC. 3, p. 172.

62. Beal, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 77.

63. NC. 3, p. 144.

64. One of the goldsmiths called Anangasena is mentioned to have been so rich to enables him to purchase five hundred ladies by giving a proper amount of money. He aslo announced to pay a million rupees to a pilot who could lead him to Pancasaila Island (NC. 3, p. 140). Another goldsmith is mentioned to have enjoyed the company of a famous courtesan by paying the high charges (*bhadi*) NC. 1, p. 50) which is indicati/e of the affluence enjoyed by him.

rich and flourishing trade.[64] Yet, in spite of their wealth and prosperity, the goldsmiths were considered as unworthy of being trusted. A goldsmith is mentioned to have deceived a herdsman by giving him the copper oranaments in the place of the gold given by the herdsman to make the golden earrings.[65] Sometimes, however, people voluntarily gave a copper-polish to the gold ornaments to save them from being molested by the robbers or thieves.[66]

The blacksmiths played a useful part in village industries. They made different types of weapons[67] such as swords, daggers, lances etc. and also supplied the peasants with their agricultural implements. The work of the blacksmiths was specifically styled as *aggikamma*[68], since by heating and melting the various metals he moulded different types of objects.

Pottery

Pottery had reached an advanced stage because of the importance given to this art. There were regular markets or shops for pots known as *kuttiyavana*[69], *padabhumi*[70], or *bhanabhumi*.[71] Five apartments were required for the work of a potter (*kumbhakara, kulala*)—(i) *paniyasala* was the place where the potters or the vanikas sold the earthenware pottery; (ii) bhandasala was the store-house for storing the vessels; (iii) in *kammasala* the pots were moulded; (iv) in *payanasala* pots were baked and (v) in *imdhansasla* the fuel like grass or dung required for baking the pots was stored.[72]

65. NC. 3, p. 269; *Brh. Vr.* 5, p. 1389.
66. NC. 1, p. 130.
67. NC. 1, p. 79.
68. लोहारादि उट्ठेउं अग्गीकम्मेसु लग्गंति—NC. 2, p. 9.
69. NC. 2, p. 47.
70. पादभूभाए वि पादा ण त्थि—NC. 2, p. 52.
71. NC. 2, p. 100.
72. NC. 4, pp. 61-62; *Brh. Vr.* 4, p. 963.

A regular process was followed in making the earthenware pottery. The clay was kneaded with water and by rotating the wet-clay on the potter's wheel (cakka).[73] Vessels of various types like ghata, ikattoraga, thala etc. were made. These were dried and baked on fire. A proper polish or coating (*leva*) was given to the pots. Pots were also dyed in different colours.[74] The potters either gave their wares to the Vaniks[75] on getting a little profit or sold it to the customers directly.[76] A regular tax of the 1/20, *i.e.*, the twentieth part (*vimsati-bhaga*) was charged from the potters on the pots taken to the neighbouring village for sale;[77] this shows permanent recognition of the potter's profession by the state.

Other Occupations

Among the other skilled artisans the carpenters (*vaddhaki*)[78] and chariot-makers (*rahagara*)[79], the leather-workers or cobblers (*cammakara, padakara*),[80] the weavers (*tamtugara*), the dyers (*sodhaga*),[81] the calicoprinters (*chimpaga*), the tailors and dancers (*tunnagara*)[82] may be mentioned. Apart from these skilled artisans there were people following various other vocational trades like that of the washermen (*rajaga, nillevaga*),[83] barbers

73. NC. 1, p. 30.

74. परिकम्मितरीगते भायणे—NC. 3, p. 446.

75. NC. 4, pp. 61-62. Compare—यत्र कुम्भकारा भाजनानि विक्रीणते वा कुम्भकारहस्ताद् भाजनानि विक्रीणते, वणिजो वा कुम्भकारहस्ताद् भाजनानि क्रीत्वा यत्रापणे विक्रीणान्ति सा पणितसाला—*Brh. Vr.* 4, p. 963.

76. *Ibid.*; also NC. 3, p. 139.

77. NC. 4, p. 344.

78. NC. 3, p. 44.

79. NC. 2, pp. 3, 55; NC. 3, p. 169; NC. 4, p. 342.

80. NC. 3, p. 271; NC. 4, p. 132.

81. NC. 3, p. 271.

82. NC. 3, p. 272.

83. NC. 1, p. 104; NC. 2, p. 243.

(*nhvita*),[84] rope-makers (*varuda*),[85] garland-makers (malakara),[86] peacock-teamers (mayuraposaga),[87] wood-cutters (tanaharaga)[88] and herdsmen (govala)[89] etc. It is, however, interesting to note that while the early Jaina or Buddhist texts frequently refer to craft-guilds or senis (guilds) of the skilled artisans,[90] in the NC they have been categorised to belong to the caste of their profession.[91] It might have been the result of the transformation of the guilds which were previously composed of same or different castes following a common occupation[92] into the regular hereditary castes during these centuries.[93]

Besides, hunting, rearing, poultry and fishing were carried on by the lowest section of society. The *loddhaya, miyaluddhaga, vaguriya, simhamaraga, sunakaraga* and *khattiga*[94] were the hunters and butchers who regularly supplied the king and the public with the meat of the animals.[95] The snares and traps (*vagura,*[96] *kuta*[97]) were regularly used for hunting the animals. The *vadhas* or *saunakas* were adept in the art of bird-catching

84. NC. 1, p. 12; NC. 2, p. 243; NC. 3, p. 271.
85. NC. 3, p. 270.
86. NC. 2, p. 9; NC. 4. p. 360.
87. NC. 3, p. 271.
88. NC. 4, p. 120
89. NC. 2, p. 272.
90. Lal., p. 109.
91. The lohakaras are the varudas are specifically mentioned as belonging to comtemptible caste-NC. 3, p. 270.
92. Majumdar, R.C., *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 280.
93. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.
94. NC. 2, p. 9; NC. 3, pp. 198, 271.
95. NC. 4, p. 380.
96. NC. 3, p. 271.
97. NC. 2, p. 281.

by casting the nets (*pasa, jala*).[98] *Medas* are also mentioned as a class of people who used to hunt with bow and arrow in their hands.[99]

Fishing was another important occupation. Early in the morning the fishermen (*machhaga, macchaggahaga*)[100] used to go for fishing with fishing hooks and nets (*macchagabamadhagadi*).[101] They also trawled the fish with fishing hooks having iron-nails at its end and a long rope (*diharajju*)[102] attached to it. Fish were also dried, stored and sold in the market which shows that it must have been a popular industry of the time.

Labour

From the status point of view after the peasants and skilled artisans (*sippi*) there was a large population consisting of the *dasas*,[103] *bhayagas* (*bhrtakas*),[104] *kammakaras*[105] and *sevagapurisas*[106] whose services were regularly requisitioned by the higher section of society for all sorts of hard manual work. The classification of the different types of *dasas* and *bhayagas* given in the NC, clearly reveals a difference between

98. पासं त्ति राईणं अट्ठा निक्खिप्पइ—*Ibid.*

Vagura kata and pasa has been mentioned by Bana also (Harscarita, p. 228; Kadambari, anuccheda 338). According to V.S. Agarwala there was difference between the vagura and the katapasa. Vagura was used for catching the deer, while kuta and pasa for other injurious animals. Kadambari; Eka Samskritika Adhayana, p. 230.

99. NC. 3, p. 198.

100. मच्छग्गाहगा मच्छिक्का, एते कम्मजुंगिता—NC. 3, p. 271.

101. NC. 2, p. 9.

102. NC. 2, p. 281.

103. NC. 3, p. 263.

104. NC. 3, p. 273.

105. NC. 3, p. 519.

106. NC. 4, p. 350.

the status of the two and shows that while the former were the domestic servants or slaves in a family, the latter worked as hired labourers.

Slaves and Sevants

Slavery was largely in vogue and the slaves (*dasa, kharaga, duakkhara*)[107] were usually employed by the house-holders for their domestic work. Six classes of slaves (*dasa*) have been mentioned in the NC.—(i) slaves by birth or slaves born in family (*gabbha*), (ii) slaves by purchase (kita) (iii) those reduced to slavery for non-payment of debts (*anaya*), (iv) those who accepted slavery during famine (*dubbhikkha*), (v) those made slaves by the king as a punishment for certain crime (*savaraha*) and (vi) the slaves formed out of the prisoners of war (*ruddha*).[108] These different classes of slaves have also been mentioned by the Brahmanic[109] as well as the Buddhist[110] authorities, although with minor variations.

The maid-servants and the female-slaves (*dasi, khariga, duakkhariya*)[111] were also employed to do various jobs (kamma)

107. NC. 2, pp. 263, 265. For the institution of slavery see- "The Ideological Aspect of Slavery in Ancient India", *Journal of Oriental Institute, Baroda*, Vol. VIII, pp. 389-98; see also — Banerjee, N.C., "Slavery in Ancient India", Calcutta Review, August, 1930, pp. 249-65.

108. NC. 3, p. 263.

109. Seven types of slaves are mentioned by Manu (*Manusmriti*, VIII. 415). Eighteen kinds of slaves are mentioned by Narada (*Naradasmriti*, V. 26-28). while Yajnavalkya enumerates fourteen kinds of slaves (*Yajnavalkyasmriti*, p. 249).

110. The Buddhist account of slaves includes prisoners of war, the voluntary slaves, those born in the family of slaves and those reduced to slavery as a result of the judicial decision. — Law, B.C., *India as Described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 192. See also — Basu, S.N., "Slavery in the Jatakas", *JBORS.*, Vol. IX, Pts. 3-4, pp. 249-65.

111. NC. 2, p. 430; NC. 3, p. 434; NC. 4, p. 19. See also *Brh. Vr.* 2. pp. 470,714 and NC. 4, p. 1231.

at home. Female slaves (dasi) could be easily purchased (mollakita) by paying the proper price.[112] Even the women belonging to good families could be reduced to slavery (dasatta) for non-payment of debts.[113] A monk's sister is mentioned to have worked as a slave-girl to a grocer on being unable to repay the debt of the oil, as it grew manifold because of the heavy interest.[114] The slaves, thus reduced to slavery, could be manumitted on the payment of the balance or through voluntary manumission by the master. The house-holders embracing the monk-hood normally used to set free all their slaves and servants.[115] Mention of the word *udagasambhara*[116] in this context perhaps points towards the ancient custom according to which the slaves were to be made free by their masters by washing their forehead.[117]

The general treatment meted out to the slave seems to have been far from satisfactory. Slaves can be seen to run away from the family (*nattha*)[118] and the slave-girls are mentioned to have been captured by others.[119] Slave-girls formed concubines from the early period,[120] and according to our author the slave-girls could be enjoyed by all.[121] The slaves were treated not as free individuals but were thought to have been the property of their master along with the quadrupeds (*caupada*)[122] and other external

112. जा वि दासी मोल्लकीता—NC. 3, p. 434.

113. स्तोकमपि ऋणं शेषं धारयन्ती क्वचिदेशे काऽपि स्त्री तद् ऋणवृद्धया दासत्वमेति —*Brh. Vt.* 6, p. 1663.

114. तं तेल्लं अदलंतीए अपरिमियवड्ढीए वड्ढंतं बहु जायं। असत्ता दाउं तत्थ घरे दासत्तेण पविट्ठा—NC. 3, p. 430. Cf. *Pinda Niryukti,* 319, Vide also—LAI., p. 107.

115. सा साहवहिणी — "पव्वयामि" त्ति विसज्जिता—NC. 3, p. 430.

116. *Ibid.*

117. *Vya, Bha.* 6, 208; *Naradasmriti,* V. 42.

118. दुवक्खरगो वा णट्ठो—NC. 2, p. 265; *Brh. Vr.* 4, p. 1038.

119. दुवक्खरिया वा केण ति हडा—NC. 2, p 265.

120. *Arthasastra,* III. 13.

121. खरिया सव्वजणसामण्णं ति—NC. 4, p. 19; *Brh. Vr.* 3, p. 714.

122. दुपदं दासो दासी वा चउपदं अश्वादि णट्ठं हरियं वा—NC. 3, p. 475.

possessions.[123] The intiation of the slaves in the Jaina Church was also restricted on the same grounds.[124]

Besides the slave-girls,[125] female nurses, viz., the wet-nurse (*khiradhati*), the bath-nurse (*nhanadhati*), the toilet-nurse (*mandadhati*), the play-nurse (*kilavanadhati*) and the lap-nurse (*amkadhati*) have been mentioned who performed their respective functions.[126] Specific qualities were required for these nurses, especially for the wet-nurse.[127] Brahmanic authorities also lay down proper rules for selecting such women.[128] The occupation of these nurses was usually hereditary in a family (*pitiparamparagaya*), although their master could relieve them of their duty any time he so desired.[129] There were also the foster-status must have been higher than that mothers or *ammadhatis*[130] whose of these ordinary nurses. The foster-mothers (*ammadhati*) not only performed all the functions of a mother but also served the purpose of a comapnion to the girl even when she was grown up.[131]

Hired Labour

Apart from the dasa there were the *bhayagas* and *kammakaras* (hired labourers or wage-earners) who eked out

123. Dasa and Dasi were included among ten kinds of external possessions.—*Brh. Bha.* 1, 825; LAI., p. 107.

124. NC. 3, p. 263.

125. तं बालं धारयतीत्ति धाती—NC. 3, p. 403.

126. तं जहा- खीरधाती मज्जण-मंडण-कीलावण अंकधाती—NC. 3, p. 404.

127. —NC. 3, pp. 403-407.

128. Chanana, D.R., *Slavery in Ancient India,* p. 160.

129. A nurse (dhati) can be seen complaining to a monk about her master (pabhu) who employed another nurse in her place and thus deprived her of her hereditary occupation—NC. 3, p. 405.

130. NC. 2, p. 22.

131. A young girl is mentioned to have asked her fostermother (*ammadhati*) to bring a man for her.—*Ibid.*

their living by working on a contract basis. Four classes of the *bhayagas* are mentioned in the NC[132]—(i) *divasabhayagas* or labourers employed on daily basis,[133] (ii) *jattabhayagas* or those employed while undertaking a journey; they assisted their master and did all the work as required during a journey on getting a definite sum,[134] (iii) *kavvalabhayagas* or labourers employed on a contract; they recieved their wages after finishing the work; the services of this class of labourers were usually requistioned for doing hard manual like digging the earth or clearning the grounds (*udda*)[135] and (iv) *uccattabhayagas* or those employed for a definite period on a stipulated sum; they were to do all types of works as directed by their master during this period of contract.[136] Narada also mentions four categories of *bhritakas* as distinct from the fifth category of slaves (*dasa*)[137], and Brihaspati also describes three classes of *bhritakas* which include (i) those who served in army, (ii) those engaged in agriculture and (iii) those who carried loads from place to place.[138]

The *kammakaras* were the agricultural labourers who were employed for cultivating the soil and gaurding the fields.[139] The *gopas* or *govalas* (cowherds) are mentioned as servants

132. NC. 3, p. 272; Thananga, 5.382.

133. कालं छिण्णो सव्वदिणं धणं पच्छिण्णं रूवगेहिं तुमे मम कम्मं कायव्वं। एवं दिणे दिणे भयगो घेप्पति—NC. 3, p. 273.

134. इमो जत्ताभयगो - दसजोयणाणि मम सहाएण एगागिणा वा गंतव्वं एत्तिएण धणेण, ततो परं ते इच्छा। अन्ने उभयं भाणंति - गंतव्वं कम्मं च सेकायव्वं—*ibid*

135. कव्वालो, खितिखाणतो, उड्डमादी, तस्स कम्ममविणिज्जति, दो तिण्णि वा हत्था छिन्नं अछिन्नं वा एत्तियं ते धणं दाहामित्ति—*Ibid.* In Saurastra there is even today a caste known as *Oda* which is usally employed for digging the earth.—Malvania, D.D., *Nisitha—Eka Adhyayana*, p. 82.

136. इमो उच्चत्तभयगो-तुमे ममं एच्चिरं कालं कम्मं कायव्वं जं जं अहं भणामि, एत्तियं ते धणं दाहामि त्ति—NC. 3, p. 273. This class of workers is called Ucaka in Gujarat—Malvania, *loc. cit.*

137. *Naradasmriti*, V. 23.

138. *Brihaspatidharmasastra*, XV. 12-13.

139. NC. 3, p. 519.

engaged for tending the cattle or milking the cows.[140] Besides, there were large number of servants and personal attendants or *sevaga-purisas*[141] like the *majjavaga, mandvaga*[142] etc., who were regularly employed by the kings and wealthy citizens for carrying out their personal work. According to A.N. Bose, there have been five categories of hired-labourers in ancient India, viz., those engaged in agricultural, postoral, industrial, mercantile and household labour.[143] The existence of all these types of hired labourers can be seen from the above account of the NC.

Wages

An analysis of the above-mentioned classes of the bhayagas will reveal that two main principles were followed in deciding the wages of the labourers, *i.e.*, either according to the duration of their work or according to the amount of work done by them. *Bhati* was a specific term for the wages of the *bhayagas* and kammakaras[144], while the wages earned by a physician have been called *veyana or veyanaga.*[145] Panini also informs us that the wages of unskilled or manual labourers were to be called *bhriti*[146], while those of the skilled artisans (*silpis*) were known as *vetana.*[147]

The labourers could take their wages either in cash or in kind or in both combined. Instances of all the three can be

140. गोवालग "भती" वृत्तिः—NC. 2, p. 145; NC. 3, p. 433.

141. NC. 4, p. 350.

142. NC. 2, p. 469.

143. Bose, A.N., 'Hired Labour in Ancient India', *Indian Culture*, Vol. 4, pp. 252-57.

144. "भती" णाम भयगाणं कम्मकराणं ति कुत्तं भवति—NC. 3, p. 519.

145. ण वट्टति जतीण हत्थातो वेयणगंधेत्तुं—NC. 3, p. 110.

146. कर्मणि भृती—*Astadhyayi*, III. 2; 22.

147. *Ibid.*, III. 1, 14, 26, and II. 36; Agrawala, V.S., India as Known to Panini, p. 236.

found in the text, although the payment in cash seems to have been more popular. The *bhayagas* and *kammakaras* are invariably mentioned as receiving their wages in the form of *ruvagas*[148] or money (*dhana*[149], *davva*[150]). At one place, however, the labourers, especially those employed on daily wages (divasabhayaga), are mentioned as getting the food like rice-milk in lieu of their wages.[151] The practice of remuneration in kind can be attested from the various Sanskrit and Pali texts.[152] A cowherd (gopa) employed for milking the cows is mentioned to have received 1/4th of milk daily or every fourth day (*varagana*) as his wages.[153] The wages of an attendant are said to have been increased to an extent of one *suvarnamasaka* daily along with a fine pair of clotes (*pahanam ca vatthajuyalam*) by the king.[154] Remuneration thus could be in cash as well as in kind, although payment in cash was more appreciated.

TRADE

Inland Trade

148. NC. 3, p. 273.

149. *Ibid.*

150. Brh. Vr. 2, p. 310.

151. दिवसादिभयगस्स वि जस्स भती खीरादियं दिज्जति—NC. 3, p. 433.

152. *Aritthasastra*, II. 23; Brihaspatidharmasastra, XXI. 13; Patanjali, *Bhasya*, II. 36; *Andadhyayal*, IV. 4. 68. In *Takkala jataka* the labourer is mentioned to have recieveed rice-gruel (*yagubhattadi*) as his wages by which he could feed his father sitting his station in life.—Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

153. सो य खीरियाणं चउत्थं खीररस गेण्हति। चउत्थदिणे वा सव्वदोहं गेण्हति—NC. 3, p. 433. According to *Naradasmriti* (VI. 10) for tending 100 cows a heifer was to be given to the herdsman every year; for tending 200 cows a milk cow was to be given annually and the herdsman was allowed to milk all the cows every eighth day.

154. रण्णा तस्स तुट्ठेणं पतिदिवसं सुवण्णमासतो वित्ती कता, पहाणं च से वत्थजुयलं दिण्णं—NC. 4, p. 350.

Jainism being popular amongst the mercantile communities of India, especially those of the coastal regions,[155] a graphic account of their trading activities can be found in the text. Trade was carried by land (*thala*) and water ways (*jala*).[156] *Thalapattanas* were the towns rich in land-trade, while *jalapattanas* were the ports having a flourishing water-trade.[157] Anandapura and Dasannapura are cited as examples of *thalapattana*[158], while Purima and Diva were the famous *jalapattana* of the time.[159] *Donamuhas* were the centres of trade where trade was carried by land as well as by water.[160] Frequent mentions of *Pattana, nigama* (towns exclusively inhabited by the Vaniks)[161] *sannivesa* (halting places for the caravans) and *putabbhedana* (trade emporiums where the packages of the trade articles were received and sold)[162] in the text reveal the importance of these trading communities which actually controlled the economic and commerical life during the period.

A regular local trade or trade within the state as well as inter-state trade existing during this time. The trade articles were classified into two groups—those brought from the villages of the same kingdom or state (*sadesagamao*) and those brought from the villages of the other states (*paradesagamao*).[163] The merchants or Vaniks were also divided into two groups, viz.,

155. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

156. NC. 2, p. 208.

157. NC. 3, p. 346.

158. थलपट्टणं आणंदपुराति—NC. 2, p. 328; *Brh. Vr.* 2, p. 343.

159. जलपट्टणं पुरिमातीथलेण—NC. 2, p. 328.

160. जलेण थलेण दोसु वि मुहं दोणमुहं—*Ibid.* The Vritti on Brihatkalpa mentions Bhrigukaccha and Tamralipti as two dronamukhas of the time (Brh. Vr. 2, p. 342).

161. वणिया जत्थ केवला वसंति णिगमं—NC. 2, p. 328.

162. भंडगा घणा जत्थ भिज्जंति तं पुडाभेयणं—NC. 3, p. 347.

163. परगामाहडं तं दुविहं-सदेसगामाओ, इयरे त्ति परदेसगामाओ वा—NC. 3, p. 209.

those who lived at a definite place and sold their commodities in the market or shops (*vani*) and those who were without shop (*vivani*).[164] The latter must have moved from village to village selling their commodities. The Vaniks usually went to the neighbouring villages or states with their carts loaded with merchandise.[165] Some of the Vaniks even went to the distant regions for trade leaving their everything behind. There was also a class of individual traders who carrying the miscellaneous articles of trade by themselves (lit. under their armpits—*kakkhapudiya*)[166] toured the villages throughout the year except the rainy season[167], and thus provided the villagers with all their requirements by selling their multifarious commodities.

Besides, collective or joint trade enterprise was also not unknown. Five merchants are mentioned to have embarked on a joint trade by putting an equal share (*samabhaga*).[168] When they desired to get separated the property and profit were equally divided amongst the five. For all practical purposes the traders were united under corporative bodies or trade-guilds headed by the setthi or sathavana.The corporation of the Balamjuya vaniks[169] has been frequently menioned in the text. These traders usually went to the different villages to sell or purchase the food-grains (*balanja*).[170] The contemporary inscriptions from

164. वणित्ति-जे णिच्चट्ठिता ववहरंति, "विवणी" त्ति-जे विणा आवणेण वाणिज्जं करेंति—NC. 4, p. 130.

165. NC. 3, p. 139.

166. कक्खपदेसे पुडा जस्स स कच्छपुडओ—NC. 2, p. 143.

167. कक्खपुडियवणिया गामेसु ण संचरंति—NC. 3, p. 160.

168. पंच वणिया समभागसमाइत्ता ववहरंति—NC. 4, p. 309.

169. NC. 2, pp. 118, 163, 164; *Brh. Vr.* 4, p. 1153.

170. जहा वालंजुअ वणिउ वलंजंघेतु गामं पविट्ठो—NC. 2, p. 118; वाणिय त्ति वालंजुओ—NC. 3, p. 163. वालंजुयवणिदाणं वत्था पंडंति—*Ibid.*, p. 164. Also वणीणं ति वालिंजुक-बणिजां वलंजे—(Brh. Vr. 4, p. 1158).

south India also reveal Balamjuya as flourishing corporation of a certain class of traders.[171]

Caravan Trade

Although mention of the words like *rajamagga* (royal roads), *duga* (junction of two roads), *tiga* (juncion of three roads), *singhadagatthana* (triangular roads)[172] etc. will suggest the existence of regular roads, yet the journey through land (*thala*) was fraught with innumerable difficulties (*vyaghata*).[173] Among these the existence of dense forests inhabited by wild tribes and wild animals, the organised bands of robbers and thieves (*bodhita, cora*), the impassable condition of roads because of heavy rains or floods, political upheaval (*rajjakkhobha*) in the state where the traders aspired to reach for trade were the main difficulties faced by the traders.[174] To counteract these difficulties the merchants, while embarking on large enterprises, organised

171. Inscriptions from South India frequently refer to a corporation of merchants variously termed as *Valanjiyam, Valanjiyar, Balanji, Bananji* etc. The term *Valanjiyam* occurs in the Kottiyam Plate of Vira-Raghava. These Kanarese inscriptions from Baliganj (Rice, Mysore Insciptions, Nos. 38, 55, 56) refer to this corporation of merchants who are called protectors of bananji-dharma or vira-blanji-dharma. The last one even gives a list of the various classes of merchants that composed this guild. The words banajiga in Kanarese and *baljia* or balijaga in Telegu even now denote a class of merchants (see—EI. IV, p. 296, n. 2; also Majumdar, R.C., *op. cit.*, pp. 88-91). The term balamjua vanija as mentioned in the NC. in Prakrit, or *Valinjuka* as mentioned in Sanskrit in the commentary on the *Brhatkalpa Bhasya*, seems to refer to the same corporation of the merchants.

172. NC. 3, pp. 498, 502.

173. NC. 1, p. 111. Taking into consideration these various factors I-Tsing remarks that it is important to go in a company of several men and never to proceed alone.

174. NC. 4, p. 111. Medhatithi also speaks of political upheavals and disturbances (*rastropaplava*) among other causes which force the merchants from proceeding on journey for trade (Medhatithi on Manusmriti, VIII. 156). In the *Bhavisayattakkaha* also we find a mother disuuading her son from going out with a caravan for fear of war.

themselves into corporate bodies or caravans (*sattha*) under the guidance of a caravan-leader called *satthavaha*, *satthapati or satthadhiva. Satthavaha* is mentioned as a senior state-officer who led the caravan with the permission of the king or state.[175] It is possible that the state would have made proper arrangements for the safety and security of the caravan.

Sometimes there were two caravan-leaders in one caravan; each of them shared equal responsibility. In such circumstances the travellers and the Jaina monks travelling with the caravan were enjoined to take permission of both the caravan-leaders.[176] Some junior officers (*ahappadhana-purisa*)[177] were also appointed under the caravan-leader and were given the charge of the particular wings. Apart from the traders, other people as well as the monks and ascetics willing to go to far off regions joined the caravan which provided them a strong protection against all the difficulties. It seems that they had to pay some money (*mulla*)[178] to the caravan-leader for the protection they received by joining the caravan. Even the monks were sometimes asked to pay these charges. A group of traders (*sattha*), the caravan-leader (*satthavaha*) and the travellers (*atiyattiya*) were thus three essential components of an ideal caravan.[179]

The caravans (*sattha*) were clasified into five categories:[180] (i) those who carried their goods by carts or wagons (*bhandi*), (ii) those who carried on camels and bullocks (*bahilaga*), (iii)

175. NC. 2, p. 469; *Anu. Cu.*, p. 11; *Brh. Vr.* 5, p. 1040; *Amarakosa*, 3. 9. 7-8.

176. जत्थ दो सत्थाधिवा तत्थ दोऽवि अणुण्णवेंति—NC. 4, p. 114.

177. जे य अहप्पधाणा पुरिसा ते वि अणुण्णवेंति—*Ibid.*

178. अह मुल्लेण विणा णेच्छेति तो तेपि अत्भुवगच्छिज्जति—NC. 4, p. 111; Brh, Vr. 3, p. 864.

179. तिण्हं-सत्थस्स सत्थवाहस्स आतिअत्तियाण—NC. 3, p. 215.

180. सो सत्थो पंचविहो-भंडि त्ति गंडी, बहिलगा उट्टबलिद्दादी, भारवहा पोट्टलिया वाहगा, उदरिया णाम जहिं गता तहिं गता तहिं चेव रूवगादि छोडुं समुद्दिसति पच्छा गम्मति, अहवा-गहियसंबला उदरिया, कप्पडिया भिक्खायरा—NC. 4, p. 110; Brh. Vr. 3, pp. 862-63.

those who carried loads by themselves (*bharavaha*), (iv) the wandering people who travelled from place to place and paid for their food or those who carried food with them (*odariya*)[181], and (v) the *karpatika* ascetics (*kappadiya*).[182] From the religious point of view of the Jainas, the caravan-leaders (*satthavaha*) and the travellers (*tiyattiya*) accompanying the caravan were divided into eight classes[183], such as a Jaina layman (*savaga*), or one devoted to his religion (*ahabhaddaga*), or a heretic (*annatitthiya*) and so on. From the economic point of view this reveals that the trade was equally carried by the Jaina and the non-Jaina communities.

The caravans normally ventured on a journey under the auspicious omens (*sakuna*) and after seeing the favourable condition of stars and moon.[184] Even the Jaina monks while travelling with a caravan were enjoined to follow the same regardless of their own particular omens.[185] A feast (samkhadibhatta) was usually given to the Brahmanas and the caste-people before proceeding on a journey. The caravan proceeded halting at proper places where its members took their meals and rest.[186] Every precaution was taken for safe and

181. On the basis of *Brh. Bha* (1. 3066 ff.) J.C. Jain (LAI., p. 117) explains (*odariyasattha*) as wandeing people who travelled to earn their livelihood and went from place to place.

182. It is possible that the *kappadia-sattha* consisted not only of the *karpatika* ascetics but also of the pilgrims who went on a pilgrimage. The *Puranas* enjoin a person to assume the dress of *karpatika* while going on a pilgrimage should after worshipping Ganesha, the planets and the deities should put on the dress of a *karpatika*, which includes a copper-ring, a copper-bracelet and reddish garments. Bhattoji, prescribes the apparel of a *karpatika* for pilgrimage to Gaya, while the *Padma Purana* (iv. 19, 22) prescribes the same for the other Tirthas also (vide—Kane, *op. cit.*, IV. p. 573).

183. NC. 4, p. 112.

184. अणुकूले चंदे तारावले णिग्गमगो गच्छति—NC. 3, p. 215.

185. जदा सत्थं पत्ता तदा सत्थसतिएण सउणेण गच्छति—*Ibid.*,; Brh. Vr. 3, p. 868.

186. NC. 4, p. 113.

secure journey, yet there are many instances of the caravans being robbed, looted and destroyed (*nattha*), or lost in dreary forests or deserts.[187]

Articles of Trade

The trade-articles (*sattha-vihana*) were divided into four categories: (i) those which could be counted (*ganima*) like the betel-nuts (*pugaphala*) and *haritaki* (*terminilia chebula*), (ii) those which could be weighed (*dharima*) such as pepper (*pippali*), dry ginger (*sunthi*) and sugar (*khanda, sakkara*), (iii) those which could be measured (*mejja*) such as rice and ghrta, and lastly (iv) those which were to be authenticated for genuineness (*pariccha*) such as pearls and jewels.[188] This classification of the goods carried by the merchants for trade incidently reveals to us various articles which must have formed items of export and import.

There were traders who went for trade only with the eatable commodities (*damtikka*) such as sweets, rice, wheat, oil, treacle, clarified butter and the different varieties of the food-grains.[189] The other class of the merchants dealt with the costlier commodities like saffron, musk, asafoetida, tagara and other aromatic substances.[190] Our author, because of practical considerations, suggests the monks to prefer the caravan carrying the eatable articles. In case of unforseen calamities the members of this class of caravan could at least manage to subsist upon the articles which were being carried for trade.[191] Moreover, the caravans carrying the costlier commodities were more

187. NC. 3, p. 527; NC. 4, p. 118.

188. सत्थविहाणं पुण गणिमादि चउव्विधं—NC. 4, p. 111; NC. 1, p. 144; *Brh. Vr.* 3, p. 846; *Naadhammakaa*, 8, p. 98.

189. NC. 4, p. 111; *Brh. Vr.* 3, p. 864.

190. *Ibid.*

191. NC. 4, p. 111.

vulnerable to be robbed than those carrying cheaper commodities.[192]

The merchants went far and wide with their goods of trade including cheap and costly commodities. A standardisation of the coinage of different regions, *i.e.*, that of the Daksinapatha, Kancipuri, Diva, Surattha and Uttarapatha[193], must have been made for the proper evaluation of trade-articles. The clothes of eastern India (puvvadesa) were sold at a high price in the Lata country.[194] Clothes must have been exported from Mahissara which was a famous centre of spinning.[195] The articles like long pepper (*pippali*), yellow orpiment (*haritala*), red arsenic (manosila), salt (lona) etc., are mentioned to have been brought from long distances such as a hundred *yojanas* or more.[196] The contemporary Jaina texts frequently refer to the merchants of different regions of north and south meeting each other with their respective merchandise.[197] In the Samaraiccakaha the merchant Dharana and Makamdi is mentioned to have gone to Acalapura for selling his goods.[198]

System of Tansaction

Buying and selling of the merchandise were usually done in the markets or shops which were known as *dvana*[199] or

192. The Vanik Sagaradatta who was a dealer in precious pearls and jewels (ratna-vanik) is mentioned to have acted like a mad person in order to safely cross the dense forests inhabited by the wild tribes— NC. 3, p. 87.

193. NC. 3, p. 95; *Brh. Vr.* 4, pp. 10, 64.

194. NC. 3, p. 94.

195. NC. 3, p. 569.

196. NC. 3, p. 516; *Brh. Vr.* 2, p. 306.

197. तत्र क्षेत्रे नानाप्रकारोभ्यो दक्षिणापथादिरूपाभ्यो दिगभ्यो वस्त्रादिविक्रयार्थं समागत्य पिण्डिताः - मिलिता ये वाणिजस्तेषु वस्त्रं वा पात्रं वास्तुलभम्—Brh. Vr. 3, p. 896; *Kuvalayamalakaha Apabhramsa Kavyatrayi* (G.O.S.), introduction, p. 91.

198. Samaraiccakaha, VI, p. 16.

199. NC. 3, pp. 106, 110.

hatta[200]; *pattanas* or the towns having a flourishing trade had abundance of such shops which remained open throughout the year except for the rainy season.[201] The articles meant for sale were known as *panya*.[202] The sale and purchase of articles was called *kaya-vikkaya*,[203] while the sellers and the buyers were known as *kayika* or *kayaga* and *vekkayika*.[204]

There were separate markets or shops for the different articles of trade. In gamdhiyavana[205] the incense and other aromatic substances like sandalwood or saffron were sold. There were also specific markets for the precious metals like gold and silver.[206] Nesatthiya is mentioned as a place where the implements like pestles (musali) etc., were sold.[207] The *kuttiyavana* and *padabhumi* or *bahndabhumi* were the markets for posts.[208] *Potiya*[209] and *puviyaghara*[210] were the confectioner's shops, while the wine-shops or taverns were known as *majjavana, rasavana*[211], or *panabhumi*. The prices of the goods in the market were fixed in terms of money as the customers are seen paying the, *ravagas* for buying pots and clothes[212] and for commodities in the *gamdhiyavana*.[213]

Means of Communication

A flourishing trade demanded rapid means of

200. NC. 3, p. 160.
201. पट्टणेसु वि वासवद्दलेण हट्टा ण वहंति—*Ibid., Brh. Vr.* 4, p. 1153.
202. वाणिएण भणितो-मम एयं पण्णं, त गेण्हसु—NC. 3, p. 110; *Brh. Vr.* 2, p. 257.
203. उप्पण्णे य पओयणे कयविक्कयस्स हट्टं गच्छति—NC. 3, p. 160.
204. कइयेण मोल्लं दाउं धरं णीते। तो येक्कइओ पच्छा भणति—NC. 3, p. 581; *Brh. Vr.* 3, p. 792.
205. गंधियावणे चंदणादियं—NC. 3, p. 106; *Brh. Vr.* 3, p. 572.
206. जत्थावणे सुवण्णं रययं वा तत्थ गेण्हति—NC. 3, p. 106.
207. णेसत्थिएसु मुसलिमादियं—*Ibid.*
208. NC. 2, pp. 47, 52, 100.
209. पोतिएसु (सालिमादियं) खज्जगविसेसो—NC. 3, p. 106.
210. आसण्णपूवियघराओ पूवे कीणेज्ज—NC.
211. रसावणो नाम मज्जावणो—NC. 2, p. 136.
212. NC. 2, p. 95; *Brh. Vr.* 4, p. 1064.
213. केण ति कतिएण गंधियावणे रूवगा दिन्ना—NC. 3, p. 110; *Brh. Vr.* 2, p. 572.

communication. Different types of conveyances (*jana, vahana*)[214] were used for land communication, while the boats and ships served the water-ways. The merchants employed the carts and wagons (bhandi, sagada, anuramga and gaddi)[215] for carrying their goods, while the chariots (raha) and liters or palanquins (siviga)[216] were used for more sophisticated purposes. The *janasalas* were the coach-houses where the conveyances were kept.[217]

The animals like horses, camels and elephants were employed for carrying the loads as well as for riding purposes.[218] Hiuen-Tsang also noted that the elephants of Kong-v-to (near about Ganjam) were also used as a means of transportation for undertaking long journeys.[219] The caravans proceedings on purpose of carrying the loads, or to carry children, sick or old people, especially when required to move very fast through insecure places.[220]

Water-Trade

Besides the land-trade, a regular water-trade was carried by means of rivers and sea. Gujarat during these centuries was particularly famous for its sea-faring activities.[221] Large ships

214. NC. 4, p. 111.
215. अणुरंगा णाम घंसिओ—NC. 4, p. 111; also अणुरंगा गड्डी—NC. 3, p. 99.
216. रहादिगं सव्वं जाणं भण्णति। सिविगदिगं जाणं—NC. 3, p. 99.
217. जाणसालाओ वि, जाणा सिविगादि जत्थ णिक्खित्ता—NC. 3, p. 344.
218. हत्थितुरगादिगमेव जाणं—NC. 3, p. 99; NC. 4, p. 111; NC. 2, p. 9.
219. Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 207.
220. NC. 4, p. 111.
221. Describing the maritime activities of Gujarat Hiuen-Tsang remarks: As the Saurastra country 'is on the western sea-route, the men all derive their livelihood from the sea and engage in commerce and exchange of the commodities' (Beal, *op. cit.*, IV. pp. 459). According to *Manju-Sri-Mulakalpa* (ed. by Jayaswal, p. 25), a contemporary Buddhist work, people of Valabhi reached Sura by crossing the sea. Describing the economic importance of Valabhi Dandin says that ships were owned there even by private individuals (*Dasakumaracarita*, Bombay, 1925, p. 225).

sailed in the sea, while boats have been mentioned in the NC. Of these one type was sea-faring (*samudda*)[222], while the other three were used in rivers (*samuddatirittajala*).[223] The first kind of boats, which must have been large boats or ships, regularly sailed from Teyalagapattana (Veravala) to Baravai (Dvarika).[224]

The great navigable rivers (*mahandi*) provided an important means of water-ways. There were five in number—Ganga, Yamuna, Sarayu, Eravati, and Mahi.[225] Besides, the rivers like Sindhu[226] and Venna or Kanhavenna (in Abhira Visaya)[227] have also been mentioned. The rivers of Komkana were usually full of stones which caused great difficultly to the boats navigating through the rivers.[228] These rivers must have served as important trade-routes of the time and were a source of great cultural contact between the different regions of India.

Journey by water was not very safe because of the fear of the large acquatic animals[229], yet water-route must have been more convenient for the traders than the land-route. *Jalapattanas*, as mentioned before, were the large commercial towns where

222. तारिणी णावातारिमे उदगे चउरो णावाप्पगारा भवंति। तत्थ एगा समुद्दे भवति, जहा तेयालग-पट्टणाओ वारवइ गम्मइ।—NC. 1, p. 69.

223. The other three types of boats mentioned in the text are: (i) those sailing according to the current of the water (*anusrotagamini*), (ii) those sailing against the current (*pratilomagamini*) and (iii) those used for crossing the rivers (*tiracch-samtarini*)—NC. 1, p. 69. These three appear to be three distinct positions as three different varieties of boats, yet this four-fold classification of the boats indeed reveals that there existed a difference between the ships sailing in the sea and the boats sailing in rivers, although both have been called by a common term, *viz. nava*.

224. NC. 1, p. 69.

225. NC. 3, p. 364; *Brh. Vr.* 5, p. 1487.

226. NC. 4, p. 38.

227. NC. 3, p. 425.

228. कोंकणविसउ णदीसु अंतो जलस्स कल्लुगा पासाणा भवंति ते पादं अचेयणं करेंति छिंदंति—NC. 3, p. 370.

229. पच्चवाओ पुण जले गाहा-मगर-मच्छादि—NC. 2, p. 210.

trade was carried by water-routes.[230] Very often the Vaniks can be seen going out for trade after loading their boats. Sometimes they boarded a common vessel or exchanged their old boats with the new ones which could sail faster.[231] Travellers could also cross the rivers by paying the proper ferry-charges.[232] The monks, however, were considered as undesirable burdens, since they had nothing to pay as ferry charges.

Sea-Voyages

A few stories mentioned in the text reveal that sea voyages were frequently undertaken by the merchants. We find a goldsmith announcing to pay a million rupees to a pilot who could lead him to Pancasaila island.[233] The ship (*pavahana*) of a merchant (*vaniya*) is mentioned to have remained lost at the sea for over six months before it could reach Vitibhayapattana.[234] Another ship of a merchant, who went out for trade (*vanijja*) along with his wife, was ship-wrecked because of the terrible cyclone in the sea. Taking resort to a plank (phalaga) the lady reached an island from where she could reach her home-town after a number of years by boarding a vessel which had reached the island in course of its journey.[235] Though the historiocity of these voyages may not be proved, yet they reveal a sound practical knowledge of the various technical features of shipping.

Ships and Boats

The sea-going vessel was known as nava[236], pota[237],

230. जलेण जस्स भडमागच्छति तं जलपट्टणं—NC. 3, p. 346; NC. 2, p. 210.

231. NC. 3, p. 206.

232. भत्तीए त्ति -भाडएणं गेण्हति—NC. 4, p. 306.

233. N.C. 3.

234. NC. 3, p. 142; *Uttara. Ti.* 18, p. 252.

235. NC. 3, p. 269; *Brh. Vr.* 5, p. 1388.

236. NC. 1, p. 69.

237. NC. 4, p. 400.

pavahana[238], vahana[239] or janapatta[240], and its pilot was called *naviga*[241] or *nijjimaga*.[242] Definite places were reserved in a ship or boat for different purposes. The front portion (*purato*) was assigned to a deity of the ship[243], *the middle portion* (*majjha*) was reserved for the mast (kuva, kavaga or simva), while the pilot (*nijjamaga*) sat at the back of the ship (*amta*).[244] The ship was fitted with ores (*alitta*) which had a blade having the shape of a Pippala-leave attached to one of its ends.[245] The ship could be steered towards right or left by means of pushing the rudder (*vamsa*) by feet.[246] People embarked for food (*gahiyasambhala*)[247] as the ship had sometimes to sail in the sea for months together.

Apart from the sea-going vessels, there were different types of small and large boats which sailed in the rivers. The *ghatanava* was a kind of boat prepared by tying the earthen jars on the four corners of a wooden frame.[248] The *tuma* boat was made by filling up a net (*jala*) with a number of dry gourds (*alabu*).[249]

238. NC. 3, p. 142.

239. NC. 2, p. 439.

240. NC. 3, p. 269.

241. NC. 3, p. 140.

242. NC. 3, p. 374.

243. Certain gods and goddesses were thought to have been their guiding deities by the boatsmen. One such Devi was Manimekhala who was considered to be the goddess of pilots and ships in south—V.S. Agrawala's Intro. to *Sarthavaha*, p. 4.

244. NC. 3, p. 374; also NC. 1, p. 74.

245. तणुतरं दीहं अलित्तागिती अलित्त, आसत्थो पिप्पलो तस्स पत्तस्स सरिसो रुदो पिहो भवति — NC. 4, p. 209.

246. वंसो वेणू तस्स अवट्ठंभेण पादेहिं पेरिता णावा गच्छति—*Ibid.*

247. NC. 3, p. 140.

248. अहवा चउकट्ठि काउं कोणे घडओ वज्झति, तत्थ अवलंबिउं आरुभिउं वा संतरणं कज्जति— NC. 1, p. 70.

249. तुंबे त्ति मच्छियजालसरिसं जालं काऊग अलाबुगाण भरिज्जति, तंमि आरूढेहिं संतरणं कज्जति— *Ibid.*

Udupa was a type of small boat; it was also known as *kotthimba*.[250] In the *panni* type of boat two baskets of the panni leaves were tied together for the purpose of crossing the river (*samtarana*).[251] Besides, some other primitive devices like plank (*phalaga*),[252] an earthen jar (Kumbha)[253] and the leather bag filled with air (drti or dati)[254] were also resorted to for the same purposes.

On the basis of the discription of ships available in the Jaina text *Amgavijja*, four varieties of ships are believed to have existed in ancient India.[255] Of these *nava* and pota were the largest ships, the *kotthimba*, *samghada*, *plava* and *tappaka* were a little smaller; the *kattha* and *vela* were next in size, while the *tumba*, *kumbha* and dati were the ships of the smallest size.[256] Out of these different types of ships or simply the earthen jars and the 'leather-bags filled with air' for crossing the rivers. However, it is clear that these different devices were largely in vogue during these centuries for the purpose of the river and sea-trade.

Foreign Sea-trade

Sea-trade with foreign countries also existed during this time. *Cinamsuka* is explained as cloth brought from China,

250. उडुवो कोटिंवो—NC. 3, p. 364; उडुपे त्ति कोट्ठिवो—NC. 1, p. 70. The word Kotthimba or Kotimba occurring in the various Jaina text has been identified with Cotymba of the Periplus which was a variety of Indian ships sailing near the sea-coast of Bhrigukaccha to help the foreign ships which reached the port.—See, Agrawala's Introduction to Motichandra's *Sarthavaha*, p. 10.

251. पण्णि त्ति वण्णिमया महंता भारगा बज्झंति, ते जमला वंधेउ ते य अवलंबिउं संतरणं कज्जति—NC. 1, p. 70; also NC. 3, p. 364.

252. NC. 3, p. 269.

253. NC. 1, pp. 70, 72,; NC. 3, p. 364.

254. दत्तिए त्ति वासफण्णो दतित्तो, तेण वा संतरणं—NC. 1, p. 70.

255. Agrawala's Introduction to Sarthavaha, p. 10.

256. *Ibid.*

while the Malaya cloth was from the Malaya country.[257] The dye called kimiraga (*kiramandana*) has also been mentioned[258] which must have been imported from Persia.[259] Sea-route between India and China was more frequently used during these centuries, as among the sixty Chinese pilgrims mentioned by I-Tsing thirty-seven are found to have gone by sea.[260]

In spite of regular sea-trade, sea-voyages were not very safe. Apart from the fear of the ship-wreckage or the wild acquatic animals, the fear of sea-pirates was most important. We are informed that the sea-pirates, who captured men and deprived them of their belongings, constantly kept on moving in the sea on their large boats (*nava*) or the pirate-ships.[261] Perhaps the author here makes a reference to the piratical activities of the Gujarata Traders[262] or the Arab traders[263], which had started on the western coast as early as the middle of the seventh century A.D.

Ports

Among the chief historic ports of Gujarat, Baravai, Teyalagapattana, Purima, Diva, Pabhasa and Bharukaccha have been mentioned. The ships are mentioned to have regularly sailed from Teyalagapattana to Baravai.[264] Baravai seems to be as Dvaraka on the sea-shore, although it has been identified with modern Junagadh also.[265] Teyalaga was another name of

257. NC. 2, p. 399.

258. NC. 3, p. 149.

259. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

260. *Ibid.*, pp. 108-09.

261. सरीरतेणा उवकरणतेणा उभयतेणा वा कत्थइ समुद्दमज्झे णावाहिं भमंति—Nc. 3, p. 367.

262. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-28.

263. Housani, *Arab Sea-faring*, pp. 53-55.

264. जहा तेयालग-पट्टणाओ बारवइ गम्मइ—NC. 1, p. 69.

265. Bhattasali, N.K., *IHQ.*, 1934, pp. 541-50. Vide also—LAI., p. 271.

Veravala which was a famous sea-port of the time. The poet Bilhana during his course of career is mentioned to have sailed from the port of Veravala for Honarvara near Gokarana.[266]

Purima or Puri, mentioned as a famous *jalapatana* of the time[267], was another sea-port on the western coast. It has been wrongly identified with Puri in Orissa on the eastern coast.[268] The Aihole Prasasti, dated Saka Samvat 556, mentions the Calukya sovereign Pulakesin II to have beseiged Puri, the Fortune of the western sea, with hundreds of ships in appearance like arrays of rutting elephants.[269] Puri, on the western coast, has been identified with Chandanpur or Chandor in the present Goa territory or with Gharapuri or the Elephanta Island across the Bombay harbour.[270]

Diva is mentioned as an island situated about a *yojana* away in the south of Saurastra.[271] It is still known by the same name.[272] Prabhasa was a famous place of pilgrimage during this time.[273] It has been identified with Somanatha in Kathiwar.[274] The existence of Prabhasa as famous sea-port is confirmed by Merutunga who narrates how Yogaraja, the grandson of Vanaraja, seized the ships at Prabhasa.[275].

The most important sea port was Bharukaccha in Lata

266. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

267. NC. 2, p. 328.

268. LAI., p. 325.

269. Keilhorn, "Aihole Inscription of Pulkeshin II," EI. VI, pp. 9-10.

270. Virji, K.J., *Ancient History of Saurashtra*, p. 67.

271. NC. 2, p. 95.

272. In the later centuries Div became a famous port of call for all the vessels bound to and from Gujarat, the Red sea and the Persian gulf—Majumdar, M.R., *Cultural History of Gujarat*, p. 71.

273. NC. 3, p. 195.

274. GD., p. 157.

275. Majumdar, M.R., *op. cit.*, p. 317.

country which played an important part in foreign sea-trade. The foreign merchants (*agamtuga-vaniya*)[276] regularly came to Bharukaccha for trade, and some of them are even mentioned to have captured the beautiful young Jaina nuns. An instance may be cited of the merchants who after initiating themselves as Jaina laymen and thus gaining the faith of the church authorities, called nuns to worship the diety or Caitya established inside the ship, and the moment they entered, the ship was sailed.[277] The importance of Bharukaccha as a sea-port has been recorded by all the foreign merchants and travellers.[278] It is well- known that the maritime activities of the port of Broach which had commenced as early as the second millennium B.C. continued unabated until the seventh century A.D.[279]

In spite of a regular trade by land and water, a slow decline in the standards from the other difficulties the fear of seige (*rohaga*) and political upheaval (*rajjukhoba*) must have considerably effected the land-trade, while the inviolable activities of the sea-pirates proved to be a cause of slow decline in the standards of shipping.

Coinage

A flourising trade afforded great possibilities for a rich coinage. Coins were the regular media of exchange in buying and selling commodities. No examples of barter-system can be observed in the text. The servants, however, could sometime be paid in cash as well as in kind.[280] Coins made of gold, silver

276. NC. 2, p. 439, *Brh. Vr.* 2, p. 594.

277. *Ibid.*

278. MacCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, pp. 98-100. Al-Idrisi also mentions Baruch (Broach) as a port of call for ships coming to China and Sind—Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 87.

279. Majumdar, M.R., *op. cit.*, p. 66.

280. NC. 3, p. 111, *Brh. Vr.* 2, p. 573.

and copper[281] have been mentioned in the text. The existence of these different coins may be easily proved by the combined testimony of Hiuen-Tsang[282] and Sulaiman—the Arab traveller who visited Gujarat in 851 A.D.[283]

The term *hiranna*[284] denoted money in general, and among the gold coins *suvanna* or *dinara*[285] and *suvannamasaka*[286] have been mentioned. According to Bhandarkar, *suvarna*, when associated with *hiranya*, stood not for gold but for a type of gold coin.[287] *Dinara* is mentioned as a gold coin which was common in eastern India (*Puvvadesa*).[288] A hoard of *dinaras* minted by king Mayuranka and engraved with the peacock-replica (*mayura-anka*)[289] is mentioned to have been discovered by a person who was later punished by the king for making use of these coins without the permission of state. It is well-known that the Guptas struck two types of gold coins one of which conformed to the weight of Roman Dinarus standard and the other that of Manu's suvarna.[290] Visnugupta as quoted in Hemadri's *Vratakhanda* equates 7 *rupakas* with a *suvarna* and

282. Watters, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 178; Beal, *op. cit.*, 1, pp. 89-90.

283. Ras Mala, p. 45.

284. हिण्णं रूपका—NC. 2, p. 109, Vatsyayana also uses the word *hirayana* for money in general which, according to H.C. Chakaladar, perhaps includes gold and silver coins. —Social Life in Ancient India, p. 574.

286. NC. 4, p. 350.

287. Bhandarkar, D.R., *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 51.

288. "पीय" त्ति सुवन्नं, जहा पुव्वदेसे दीणारो।—NC. 3, p. 111; Brh. Vr. 2, p. 574.

289. NC. 3, p. 388. The practice of engraving coins with peacock stamp was quite prevalent in ancient India. The coins of Kumaragupta are mostly engraved with the stamp of peacock—the bird sacred to Kumara and his name sake. These have been found in large number in Peninsula and also in central Gujarat. The Maitrakas of Valabhi also issued coins which bore the goddess Parvati, a peacock and a trident.—Majumdar, M.R., *op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

290. Bhandarkar, D.R., *Lectures on Indian Numismatics*, p. 183; also Brown, Coins of India, p. 45.

28 *rupakas* with a *dinara*.[291] Narada and Katyayana[292], however, regard both the terms *i.e. suvarna* and *dinara*, as synonyms. The author of the NC also shares the same view.

Suvannamasaka is another type of gold coin mentioned in the text. The wages of an attendant are mentioned to have been increased to an extent of one *suvannamasaka* daily by the king for being pleased with his work.[293] The *suvarnamasaka* was a gold coin equal to one *masa* in weight according to the standard of gold coinage and weighed five rattis when issued in gold or copper.[294] It may, however, be noted that while the specimens of the silver and copper *masas* are known, the *suvarnamasaka* occurs only in literature.[295]

Among the silver coins the *ruvagas*[296] or *rupakas*[297] were the most popular. The word *ruvaga* was sometimes used as a common denomination of money[298], but it also denoted a specific silver coin. The *ruvagas* of different regions were usually named after their region and their value differed from region to region. The *ruvagas* of Diva (an island situated amidst the sea at the distance of a *yojana* in the south of Saurastra) were known as *sabharaga*[299] or *Diviccaga*, while the *Uttaraphaga*, *Padaliputtaga* or *Kusumapuraga* and *Dakkinapahaga* were the *ruvagas* of these specific regions.[300] The *ruvaga* of Kancipuri was called *nelao* or *nelaka*.[301]

291. Kane, P.V., *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 122.

292. *Ibid.*

293. रण्णा तस्स तुट्ठणं पतिदिवसं सुवण्णमासतो वित्ती कता—NC. 4, p. 350.

294. Bhandarkar, D.R., *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 53.

295. Agrawala, V.S., *India as Known to Panini*, p. 262.

296. NC. 2, p. 95.

297. NC. 3, p. 576.

298. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

299. NC. 2, p. 95. According to Motichandra, *sabharagas* were the pre-Islamic coins known as Sabien coins.—See, LAI., p. 120.

300. NC. 2, p. 95.

301. NC. 2, p. 95, Brh. Vr. 4, p. 1069.

Regarding the relative value of the *ruvagas* of the different regions, we are informed that two *sabharaga-ruvagas* of Diva were equivalent to one Uttarapatha, and two of Uttarapatha were equivalent to one of Pataliputra.[302] According to another scheme, two *ruvagas* of Daksinapatha were equated with one *nelaka-ruvagas* of Kancipuri and two of Kancipuri were equivalent to one Pataliputra.[303] This scheme may be clearly understood from the following table:

Ruvaga Sabharaga or Diviccaga 2 = Ruvaga Uttarapahaga I.

Ruvaga Uttarapahaga 2 = Uttarapahaga Padaliputtaga I.

Or

Ruvaga Daksinapatha 2 = Ruvaga Kancipuri (Nelaka) I.

Ruvaga Kancipuri (Nelaka) 2 = Ruvaga Padaliputtaga I.

The *ruvaga* of Padaliputtaga was thus considered to be the standard money of the time. It is significant to note that the prices of all the articles in the NC are given according to this standard of Padaliputtaga money.[304]

Among the copper coins (*tammamaya*) the *nanaka*[305], *kahavana*[306], and *kagini*[307] have been mentioned. At one place in the NC *kagini* is explained as a silver coin which was popular in South India.[308] In the commentary of the *Brihatakalpa Bhasya* it is mentioned as a copper coin common in south.[309] The *kagini*

302. तेहिं दोहिं दिव्विच्चगेहिं एक्को उत्तरापहको भवति, तेहिं एक्को पाडलिपुत्तगो—NC. 2, p. 95; Brh. Vr. 4, p. 1069.

303. दक्खिणापहगा दो रूपगा कंचिपुरीए एक्को णेलओ भवति, नेलको रूपकः, स नेलओ दुगुणो एगो कुसुमपुरगो भवति—*Ibid.*

304. अनेन रूपकप्रमाणेन अष्टादशकादिप्रमाणं गृहीतव्यम्—NC. 2, p. 95.

305. तात्रमयं वा जं णाणगं ववहरति—NC. 2, p. 111; Brh. Vr. 2, p. 573.

306. NC. 3, p. 173.

307. NC. 2, p. 362; NC. 3, p. 111.

308. जहा दक्षिणावहे कागणीरुप्पमयं—NC. 3, p. 111.

309. ताम्रमयं वा नाणकं यद् व्यवह्रियते, यथा-दक्षिणापथे काकिणी—*Brh. Vr.* 2, p. 573.

mentioned as smallest coin the context of Samprati's coronation,[310] however, must have been same as *kakini* which is mentioned by Kautilya as a copper coin equal to ¼ of a copper *karsapana*.[311] *Kahavanas* are to be seen as coins of small denomination[312] and these must have been same as the copper karsapanas.[313] Besides, mention has been made of a leather coin (*cammalato*) or to the coins issued by king Vammalata (Dhammalata[314] according to another reading) which were used in Bhillamala. In the commentary on the *Brihatakalpa Bhasya*, however, it's variation is to be found in *dramma*, which is mentioned as a famous silver coin.[315]

Besides, cowries (*kavaddaga, varadaga*) were also used in buying and selling the commodities.[316] Fa-hiuen[317] as well as Hiuen-Tsang[318] noted that cowries were used as media of

310. असोगसिरिणो पुत्तो, अंधो जायति कागिणि—NC. 2, p. 362.

311. *Arthasastra*, p. 95; Uttara. *Tli.* 7, 11. p. 118.

312. NC. 3, p. 173.

313. The Copper kariapana was the standard money from slightly before the rise of the Mauryas to at least the beginning of the Gupta supremacy, *i.e.* for upward of 600 years. Bhandarkar, D.R., *Lectures on Indian Numismatics*, p. 88.

314. The current reading in the present edition of the NC. is जहा भिल्लमाले चम्मलातो (NC. 3, p. 111). But in one of the Mss. of the NC. the text runs: जहा भिल्लमाले जहा वम्मलातो, while the press copy of the NC. prepared by Muni Punyavijaya reads as जहा भिल्लमाले धम्मलातो, which is quite unintelligible. It is difficult to decide any meaning with certainty. However, the first reading will show the existence of a leather coin, which has been mentioned in the *Bhavabhavana* (pt. II, p. 378, Bhavanagar, 1938) of Maladhari Hemachandra also. On the basis of the second reading Muni Kalyanavijaya has suggested that it refers to the coins issued by king Vammalata during the 7th century whole inscriptions are to be found near Vasantagarh. — *Prabhandha Parijata*, pp. 18-19.

315. रूपमयं वा गाणकं भवति, यथा-भिल्लमाले द्रम्मः—*Brh. Vr.* 2, p. 573.

316. कवड्डगा से दिज्जंति—NC. 3, p. 111; *Brh. Vr.* 2, p. 573.

317. *Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*, p. 43.

318. Watters, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 178; Beal, *op. cit.*, 1, pp. 189-90 also II, p. 43.

exchange. Sulaiman, the Arab traveller who visited Gujarat in 851 A.D., also observed that shells are current in this region and serve for small money, notwithstanding that they have gold and silver.[319]

Weights and Measures

The four-fold classification of the trade articles reveals that there was a class of articles which was to be weighed (*dharima*) by keeping on a weighing balance (*tula*),[320] while the others were measured (*mejja*) by a measure (*mana*).[321] *Prastha*[322] was a famous measure of the time which was popular as *kulava*[323] in the Magadha *visaya*. The king decided proper weight and measures (*mana*) for his kingdom and those transgressing the rules were liable to be punished.[324] The Vaniks, however, were clever in cheating the customers by using false weights (kudatula) and false measures (kudamana).[325]

Banking and Loans

The banking facilities being not available in those days people either hoarded their money underground (*nihi nihana*)[326] or deposited with the Vaniks. Money thus deposited was called *nikkhevaga*,[327] and it was to be deposited after counting the

319. Ras Mala, p. 45.

320. धरिमं-जं तुलाए धरिज्जति—NC. 1, p. 144.

321. मेज्जं-जं माणेणं पत्थगमाणि मितिज्जति— *ibid.*

322. NC. 1, p. 144; NC. 4, p. 331.

323. मगहाविसए पत्थो त्ति कुलवो—NC. 4, p. 158.

324. जहा रण्णो अप्पणो रज्जे जं माणं प्रतिठापितं जो ततो माणातो अतिरेगमूलं वस करेति सो अवराही डंडिज्जति—NC. 4, p. 331.

325. जं वाणियगा परस्स चक्खुं वंचेऊण मप्पकं करेंति, कूडतुलकूडमाणेहिं वा अवहरंति—NC. 1, p. 155.

326. णिधाणं णिधी, णिहितं स्थापितं द्रविणजातमित्यर्थः—NC. 3, p. 387.

327. NC. 2, p. 102.

money in the presence of a witness (*sakkhi*).[328] The system of depositing money with the Vaniks, however, was not very safe. Instances are to be found when the Vaniks appropriated the whole deposit (*nikkhevaga*),[329] and the poor depositors could not even lodge a complaint against them.

The vaniks gave money to the people on loan (*rna*).[330] It was given after taking a written letter from the debtor in the presence of a witness or surity (*saksi, pratibhu*).[331] A heavy interest was charged from the debtors which meant doubling the amount (*duguna*) every day.[332] The debtors being unable to repay the debt were severely treated by the Vaniks, and physical pressure such as beating with whips and lashes was also used to receive the money back.[333] The debtors unable in repaying the debts were ususally made to work as slaves.[334] Sometimes, however, the creditors relieved the debtors after receiving only the partial payment of the debt.[335]

328. NC. 3, p. 274. According to Mitaksara, niksepas were the deposits counted in the presence of the depository, while nyasas were the deposits handed over in the absencee of the head of the house. — Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

329. कि च जे वणियाव्यो लोगे णिक्खेवगं णिक्खित्तं लोभाभिभूता अवलवंति—NC. 1, p. 102.

330. NC. 3, p. 263, 394.

331. इह साक्षी प्रतिभू वा वाचा— NC.

332. NC. 3, p. 394, also p. 340.

333. झंझडिया तिणे अदिज्जंते वणिएहिं अणेगप्पारेहि दुव्वयणेहिं झडिया झंझडिया, वा झडिता—NC. 3, p. 270.

334. NC. 3, p. 263, See supra — Slaves and Servants.

335. अद्धपदत्ते दाणेण तोसिएण धणिएण विसज्जितो, "पभु" त्ति धणितो, सव्वम्मि अदिन्ने तेण विसज्जितो पव्वाविज्जति—NC. 3, p. 270.

3

JAINA ANCIENT TRADE AND COMMERCE

I

In ancient India industry, trade and commerce flourished in a very big way and merchant communities contributed a lot in the prosperity of the country, specially in north-western region. There is much in Jaina literature on this topic. There are references in Jaina texts that those who believed in teaching of the Tirthankaras had abandoned cultivation and such trades which harmed the insects and creatures or even so there have been a slightest fear of violence.

Earning money is given importance in the *Vasudevahindi**. J.C. Jain writes: While discussing the types of men, it is said; "One who enjoys himself and at the same time can add to the wealth of his forefathers is the best; one who at least does not let his forefathers' wealth diminish is average; and the one who exhausts all the wealth of his family is worst kind a person."

Jain writers, along with *dharma*, also emphasised the importance of *artha*. Jains being a business community, occupied high positions, such as that of a minister, a treasurer, a *sresthin* or a *Jagat Seth*§ and a *sarthavaha* or a caravan-leader. Therefore it was natural that they felt interested in enterprising stories related to *artha*.

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Development of Trade and Commerce

In Indian history the Andhra-Satavahana age (2nd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D.) has been noted for the development of trade and commerce in ancient days. India developed trade with Western Asia, Greece, Rome and Bhrigukaccha (Broach) and Surparkara (Sopara) had a roaring business in 2nd century A.D., bearing marks of Indian ships, indicate the prominence of Satavahana kings, composed his well known *Brihatkatha,* containing delightful thrilling stories of Indian merchants.

Story of Carudatta

The *VH* narrates the story of Carudatta, a merchant's son of Campa who undertakes an undaunted journey in order to aquire wealth. The story has been narrated previously. Driven out from a prostiture's house he sets out to do business. He proceeds to Tamralipti in the company of a caravan but the party is attacked by a band of robbers and nothing is left with him. While proceeding to Saurastra he meets a shipwreck caused by a disastrous sea-wind. Clinging to a wooden plank, being tossed about for seven terrible nights, he reaches the shores of Umbaravati. He purchases saleable commodities and again sets out with a caravan. He struggled hard but unfortunately, failed to succeed to reach his destination of Ratnadvipa.

The Heroic Youths of Merchants Class

In Prakriti narrative literature we meet the ambitious sons of traders and merchants, who instead of depending on their parents' wealth insist on travelling to foreign countries to make their fortune. They argued that a man who did not earn money in his youth, was called as useless as the fleshy nipple hanging down from the neck of a goat, and begged leave of their parents to go abroad.[1] The parents asked their sons to stay at home

1. See Somaprabhasuri, *Kumaravalapadiboha*, Story of Sundara, son of merchant Dhanapati.

as they possessed plenty of wealth, but the sons would not pay any heed to their advice. They make trips after trips of the Indian Ocean but still were not satisfied.

Travelling Difficulties

Travelling was most arduous and troublesome in those days. The party of the merchants had to pass through forests and deserts which were beset with various kinds of being attacked by robbers and wild tribes. Due to excessive rains, the marshly route of the jungle was difficult to pass through, the bamboo tracts prevented people from going ahead, and herd of elephants obstructed the road. Then there was the fear of forest-conflagration, the poisonous trees were to be taken care of, and there were state restriction for travel.

Many a time the caravan was led astray for want to proper direction. To pass through the sandy desert was no easy task. We are told in the *Ava-Cu* (p. 553) that around Sinavalli (Sinavan, Dist. Muzaffargarh, Pakistan) there was a formidable desert where there was no shade to protect oneself from the travelled fast during night, and children and old people were carried in a *kavada* (a bamboo pole with baskets attached to both its ends)[2]. In the desert the travellers followed the nails that were struck in the earth indicating direction.[3]

The Movement of the Caravan

Five types of caravan are mentioned in the *Brh-Bha (*4th century A.D.): some carried their goods by carts and waggons (*bhandi*); others by camels, mules and bullocks (*bahilaga*); some carried their load by themselves (*bharavaha*); the working people travelled from place to place (*odariya*); and the *karpatika* mendicants carried a bamboo pole with baskets attached to both

2. *Nisi-Bha,* 16.5652 and *Cu.*

3. *Suyagada* com., 1, 11, p. 196.

its ends.[4] Some continued their journey at sun-rise, others halted at sun-rise, some encamped in cow-houses, and others had their meals at midday.[5]

The tradesmen marched equipped with carts (anuranga), liters, horses, buffaloes, elephants and bullocks so that they could carry the sick, the wounded, the boys and the old people who were unable to walk.[6] They carried essential goods with them which were useful for the journey, particularly at the time of rainy season, floods or any unforseen calamity.[7] The *KVLM* (p. 152) gives an interesting account of the trading merchants who flocked to the city of Vijaya from different countries, such as Golla (the region near Godavari), Madhyadesa, Magadha, Antradevi (the region between the Ganga and the Yamuna river), Kira (Kullu, Kangra), Dhakka (Punjab), Sindha, Maru (Rajasthan), Gurjara, Lata, Malava, Karnataka, Tajika (Tajikistan), Kosala, Maharashtra and Andhra for business. They all spoke their native dialects, haggled to bargain and shouted while transacting business. The author has provided us with interesting details about their temperament, habits, built and colour of the body and other things.

Sea-Faring Merchants

We come across interesting details about the life of sea-faring merchants. We are told in the Naya (8, pp. 97ff) that the merchants of Campa loaded their boats with merchandise, offered flowers and *bali* to gods, worshipped the sea-winds, raised the white flags on the mast, stretched the oars, noticed good omens, secured the passport and amidst the beating of drums boarded the boat. The friends and relatives who had

4. *Brh-Bha*, 1.3066 ff.

5. *Ibid.*, 3083f.

6. *Ibid.*, 1,3071

7. *Ibid.*, 3072; also 3075ff.

gathered on the port bade them good-bye, wishing them a speedy return and success in their enterprise.

The sea-voyage was not without perils. There were disturbances from terrible cyclones (*kalika-vata*) when the passengers on the boat, clinging to each others, losing all hopes for life, began propitiating the deities, such as Indra, Skanda etc., for protection. The sailors and crews were flabbergasted, missed the direction and felt utterly desperate[8].We learn from the *Uttara* commentary of Devendragani (18, p. 252a) that when the sea-faring merchants were proceeding to Vitibhaya (Bhera, Dist. Shahapur, Pakistan), on account of disturbances the vessel went on tossing in the sea for about six months. The ships were attacked by whales of enormous size, known as *timingala (timingala* is shown attacking a ship in the Bharhut inscription of the 2nd century A.D.) and other water animals. It was not easy to prevent these animals even by beating drums or burning fire.[9] There was also trouble from pirates who made an attempt to capture the ships and robbed the passengers. It is mentioned in the *Sirivalakaha* (14th century A.D.) that when the ship did not make any headway even at full sail, a human being equipped with 32 bodily marks, was offered to the deity. At ship-wreck many passangers lost their lives, only the lucky ones, with the help of a wooden plank, were able to reach the shores, when Sripala was pushed out into the sea, by accident he got on the back of a crocodile and reached the shores of Thana (modern Thane, near Bombay) in Konkana. It was customary that in order to attract the attention of the ship merchants, the shipwrecked passengers put up a banner on the top of a tree or burned fire as a means of communication. Noticing this the passers-by merchants halted their ship and picked up the deserted companions.[10]

8. *Naya* 17, p. 201.

9. Gunnacandragani, *Kaharaanakosa*, Sujaya-Rajarsi-kathanaka.

10. *KVLM*, p. 89.

Nautical Information in Jaina Works

The Jaina texts provide us with quite a few important details about the maritime trade. The sea-going vessel was known as Varivrsabha which sailed from Pandu Mathura (Madura) to Saurastra. The ships made their onward journey by the force of wind; they were fitted with oars and rudders (*valayabha*), sails and anchors. The pilot (*niryamaka*) piloted the ship. The others who worked on the ship were boatsmen (kuksidharaka), helsmen (*kamadhara*) and crew (*gabbhijja*).[11] They took fathom water (*vamsa*), rope (*rajju*) and other nautical implements. Various types of boats and ships have been recorded. The boats are denoted by the word, *nava, agatthiya* (*ekatha*; came from Nepal, carried 40 to 50 maunds of grain), *antarandakagoliya* (conoe) and *kncvaviraga* (a ship resembling the flank of a cart according to Nisi-Cu, 16, 5323). There were types of boats; that which went along the current of the river (*anuloma-gamini*), which sailed in the ocean (*samdra-gamini*). The last one was used for travelling from the port of *Teyalapattana* (modern Veraval in Gujarat) to Dvaraka. The *Angavijja* (p. 166) under the heading "janajni", gives an important list of boats and ships; some of these are Greek names mentioned by Periplus in his Erythron Sea. The list includes the names of *nava, pota, kottimba, salika, samghada, tappaka, plava, pindika, kattha, velu, tumba, kumbha* and *dat*. Out of tappaka of medium size; kattha and velu of still smaller size; and tumba, kumbha and dati were of the smallest size. Out of the list kottimba, tappaka ships in respective order mentioned by Periplus.[12] The Srivala-kaha refers to some other names: vadasafara, pavahanna, bediya (beda in Hindi), vegada, silla (a kind of boat) avatta (a round boat), *khurappa* and *bothittha*. The *Sudamasan-cariya* (7) of Devendrasastri (13th century A.D.) adds *kharakulliya, bedulla* and others.

11. *Naya*, 8, 98; also *Angavijja*, 79, 24f.

12. See Motichandra, Intr. to *Angavijja*, p. 49.

Importance of Jain Sources for the History of Indian Culture

Though Jainism, like Buddhism, did not cross the boundary of India, the ambitious Jain merchants made adventurous journeys to foreign countries. They visited Simhala, Parasa (Persia), Joniya or Javana (Greece), Arabaka (Arabia) and other countries with their merchandise and carried on business. There was a regular trade between India and Persia. Ujjaini had been an important centre of trade and commerce. Merchants of Ujjaini travelled to Parasakula and returned with various commodities such as conch, nuts, sandalwood, aloc, madder (*manjittha*), silver, gold, gems, pearls and corals. A certain trader while returning from Parasa declared a part of his goods but concealed gold, silver, gems and other precious stones in his bag. At the discovery of the goods he was put under arrest.[13]

The Jain canonical literature refers to female slaves who were brought from Babbara, Joniya, Palhava, Simhala, Arabaka, Parasa, Bahali (Vahilka, Balkh in Afghanistan) and many other countries. They put on dress of their countries were accomplished and skillful.[14]

Jain writers, though they have not given details about trade routes, etc., have collected details concerning trade and commerce and other important things about Indian culture, not generally recorded in non-Jain literature. The main reason is that the Jain monks were supposed to get themselves well-acquainted with the customs, practices and conventions of the country where they stayed so that they could not be an object of ridicule. With this background we come across a number of references and general information which can be of great use in carrying out a sociological study of Indian society. The people of Ujjaini,

13. *Uttara* Com. 3,64.

14. See *Naya*, 1, 21.

for example, are denoted as very clever in discriminating between good and bad.[15] They have been associated with the people of Sindhu known for their harsh language.[16] They are grouped with the people of Mahesara (Mahismati) and Srimala (Bhinmal) who were addicted to drink.[17] It has been stated that the people of Magadha were extremely clever as they were able to grasp a thing simply if it was indicated to from Pancala must hear it partly before they grasped it, and to make a thing intelligible to the residents of Daksinapatha, it must be told explicitly.[18] Abhayadevasuri has characterised women of different countries as follows: He has admired the Chalukya daughters for their bravery as they entered the burning pyre of their husband, even though they had no love for him and the women of Lata for their beauty, but he was not happy with the women of North, who covering their body from top to the bottom with clothes, deprived the young men to enjoy their youthful charm.[19]

II
The Importance of Wealth[20]

Learned scholar J.C. Jain writes: "The ancient authors of Jain narrative literature very often centered their tales around heroes whose essential task was going out in world to gain wealth. Far from decrying this aim in life, as one night expect after perusal of certain ascetic religious tenets of Jainism, the Jain authors lauded the goal with enthusiasm, restrained by a proper respect for religion and an eventual turn towards

15. *Uttara* Com. 3,60.
16. *Brh-Bha*, 6.6126.
17. *Aca-Cu*, 2.1, p. 3.
18. *Vya-Bha*, 10.192.
19. Com. on Than.
20. Jain, J.C.: Stories of Trading Merchants and the Vasudevahindi. Originally the learned author read his paper in the Department of Orientalistic Seminar, University of Freiburg, West Germany, in 1973. Published in the *ABORI*, Vol. LV, Poona. 1974.

renunciation in old age, the active pursuit of wealth by young men was considered more than honourable; it appeared often to be viewed almost as a supreme moral duty.

Heroic youths are those who passionately believe in this maxim, and need not be sermonized or heckled into earning wealth by their parents, but rather insist on doing so themselves. Udyotansasuri narrates in his *KVLM* a his fortune in trade. The father replies: "O my son! I myself possess a huge amount of wealth why you worry about earning any more."

But the son retorts: "O father! whatever money we possess is by no mean ours. I wish to earn my wealth by my own strength of arms." (65, 127, 2-12; 128, 15-18).

A similar story has been told by Somarprabhasuri in the *Kumaravala-padiboha*. When Sundara, the son of a merchant, attains youth, he begins thinking of earning money be making a trip to a foreign country. He goes to his mother and argues with her for her permission by saying: "O mother! The wretched man who does not earn money in his youth is as useless as a fleshy nipple hanging down from the neck of a goat."

The same idea is revealed in another episode contained elsewhere, when Sagaradatta, a merchant's son, is spontaneously moved to give a festival actor a large sum of money for his fine performance. But someone in audience remarks: "Is it creditable for a merchant's son to announce such a prize, since the money belongs to his forefathers and not to him?

The saying goes:
"Praiseworthy is he who gives money
earned by his own strength;
Otherwise he is as good as a thief."
(*KVLM* 103, 185, 15-23, 104, 4).

One is however, occasionally allowed to threve to earn wealth, as long as it is performed by oneself, since the vigorous emphasis on materialistic individualism does not always overlap

with other moral codes of society. People were not so scruplous about the means of obtaining wealth as long as it was done by one's own efforts and added to the family fortune. A wide assortment of means for gaining wealth is listed in the Das Nir. (3.188), including learning art, courage, hoarding, tact, appeasement, punishment, disunion and bribery. The *KVLM* also offers us another good example of his point; Thanu and Mayaditya, two friends, are discussing about their future. Thanu remarks: "O frined! One who has not achieved any one of the three human ends is worthless. We are not giving any charity, so we are deprived of virtue (dharma), and we do not possess any money (artha), which hinders us from gratifying our desires (kama)! Therefore let us go out and earn money.

To this Mayaditya replies: "O friend! in that case Varanasi is the best place to go. There we can make money by playing dice, committing burglary, picking pockets and employing other fraudulent means."

Thanu then elaborates even more means of earning money, adding that wealth could also be gained by visiting foreign countries, making friends, serving a king, being shrewd in receiving honour and dishonour, minerology, alchemy, employing charms, propitiating the gods, sea-voyages, digging a mountain mine and by trade. The two eventually set out on a long journey to seek their fortune, crossing various mountains, rivers, and forests on their way (57, 113, 11-26).

Many Jain stories are in fact detailed narratives of such journeys, where the main characters employ their wit and cunning as well as plain struggle for survival against a vast assortment of human and natural obstacles to attain earthly prosperity. Part of the religious reasoning behind this emphasis was contained in the remark made by Thanu: without wealth, one could not be sufficiently charitable or virtuous to attain a meritorious life or *dharma*. Money, then, was simply a means to obtain eventual virtue and happiness (*dhanad-dharmah-tatah sukham*). However

this point is not made clear in all the narrations.

Elsewhere we have illustrated and explained the prominence of kama or romantic love in Jain tales, a theme which also had its adherents in the name honoured position given to artha-katha, or attainment of worldly prosperity, found in much of Jain literature, and its contribution to the development of trading merchants as heroic figures.

Adventures of Jain Merchants

The Jain merchants or their sons who set out in search of wealth travelled in caravans and visited far-off countries by land and water, facing many real dangers on the way. They risked their lives passing through inaccessible mountains, rivers, and forests, where there was always the added fear of wild animals, robbers and pirates.

The daily difficulties and adventurous experiences of these merchants are recorded in many ancient Jain tales dealing with the theme of artha-katha, or gathering wealth. Of course the stories are highlighted with extraordinary events and imporable adventures to make them more exciting, but the essential description of the hardships such business ventures entailed, and the risks involved in travelling through harsh landscape amongst strange peoples, can tell us a great deal about the actual history and practice of Jain merchants at the time. Lives were lost on such journeys and many sufferings undergone, but fortunes were also made through lucrative overseas trade, which was considered well worth the high risks involved.

The careful precautions taken before a sea-voyage highlight the awareness of danger which the merchants had on setting out from home. The details of preparation are recorded in Jain canonical literature (Naya, 8; see also Vh, 253, 15; KVLM 67-68; Samaraiccakaha 4). After loading the ship with various merchandise and commodities for the journey, the sea-faring merchants would mark the ship with the stamp of their hand

dipped in red sandalwood, burn incense, worship seawinds, raise white flags on the mast, observe the omens and finally after securing the royal passport would board the ship amidst the beating of drums.

Ceremonial prayers and precautions did not prevent some tragedies from happening, however, and in practically every Jain tale of travel something goes amiss. An ancient Buddhist work (Divyavadana, XVIII.229) mentions some of the most common dangers of a sea-voyage as those from whales, waves, tortoise, destruction on land or in water, underwater rocks, cyclones and pirates. Shipwrecks in general were very common, and occur often in Jain tales. For instance, in the Jain canonical work, the Naya (17) we are told of a vessel that was terribly tossed about a sea due to a mightly cyclone (Kalika-vata), and the passengers, losing all hope for life, began propitiating deities such as Indra, Skanda and so on. Ships were also attacked by whales of enormous size known as *timingala* ("swallowing the ocean"), and other water animals which could not be prevented by beating drums or burning fire (Gunacandragani's *Kaharayana-kosa, Sujaarajarsi-kathanaka*). We are also told (in Ratnachakrasuri's *Sirivala-kaha*) that when the ship did not make any progress even at full sail, a person was offered to the deity to propitiate the sea-god.

Prosperity Lies in Human Efforts

In spite of such tremendous difficulties and dangers, the merchants were determined to achieve worldly prosperity and refused to give up their efforts. In Campa, two merchant sons had undertaken sea-voyages eleven times, but they desired to take still another voyage to the Indian Ocean (Lavanasamudra; Naya 9). The Mahajanaka-Jataka (539, 35-36) records an interesting dialogue between the hero and Manimekhala, a well-known south Indian sea-deity, testifying to the courage and determination of Mahajanaka. Except for Mahajanaka all the

other passengers had lost their lives in a shipwreck. The coast was nowhere to be seen, but Mahajanaka nevertheless was struggling hard to reach the shore. Seeing him fighting the waves the deity cries, "O passenger! the ocean is fathomless and you will die before reaching the shore!" But Mahajanaka is not disheartened. He simply replies, "O deity! why are you saying this to me? I will have been able to save myself from public condemnation. No, as long as there is strength and energy left in me, I will continue making efforts to cross the ocean!"

In Udyotanasuri's *KVLM* (66, 129, 7-10; 130, 18-24) we find a rich and colourful argument supporting the entrepreneurial spirit and praising the rewarding value of steady efforts. It was known that precious stones could be easily secured in Ratnadvipa, but the sea-journey itself was full of peril and insecurity. The hero Lobhadeva is determined to undertaking a difficult task, but for merchants about to undergo dangers for the sake of prosperity it is particularly apt. Lobhadeva tells his companions: "As Laksmi, the wife of Visnu, leaves her husband and goes away, similarly the one who makes no effort is abandoned by the goddess of wealth, and one who does make an effort is welcomed by her. As a devoted wife, whose husband mistakenly calls her by his lover's name (gotra-skhalana) leaves her husband in embarassment, similarly the goddess of wealth, even after embracing a man, abandons him if he is found devoid of impetuousness. As a new bride from a noble family looks at her husband bashfully while he is occupied in something else, similarly the goddess of wealth casts her glance at a person, knowing that he is busy elsewhere. As a woman who goes to meet her lover (*abhisarka*) rests on his chest, similarly the goddess of wealth rest on his chest of one who, even in difficult situation, does not give up endeavours once begun. As a wife whose husband has gone abroad (*prosita-pattika*) accepts her husband after his return, so does the goddess of wealth accept the one who has subdued her by prudence and valour. As a

woman whose husband is guilty of infidelity (*khandita-mahil*) puts him to humiliation, so does the goddess of wealth humiliate the one who does not hold fast to the work he has begun".

The Journey of Carudatta

The story of Carudatta contained in the VH is essentially the story of a man who has lost all his wealth, pride, and honour, and by journeying to foreign lands not only seeks to reinstate his former prosperity but also his worthiness as a son and husband. The tale is a prime example of the kinds of stories we have been discussing, unique only in its total degradation of the hero before his travels and the extremely rich variety of adventurous experiences which he has before his travels and the extremely rich variety of adventurous experiences which he has before returning home. Carudatta's attempt to regain wealth and pride are prompted and supported by that determined faith in individualistic assertion so well expressed in the metaphors of Lobhadeva.

A brief recapitulation of the major episode in the Carudatta's story can illustrate some of the important aspects of the artha-katha theme as well as reveal some of the other particular characteristics of Jain narrative literature. It is interesting to note here that this very same story under the title of *Sanudasa-katha*, is also told in the *BKSS* of Buddasvamin. A comparison of the two versions can lead to extremely interesting literary and historical insights.

Carudatta is born as the son of a well-off Jain merchant in Campa and has a happy childhood. His downfall occurs as a young man, when he is cunningly entrusted to the beautiful prostitute Vasantakalika. During his extended stay with her he manages to completely exhaust all his wealth, and he is eventually thrown out by the prostitute's mother. To his surprise and horror he finds that his family's house has been sold and that his mother and wife are living miserably in the slums.

At this point Carudatta decided to make up for all the sufferings and wrongs which his self-indulgence had inflicted on his family, and he declares to his mother: "O mother! people are calling me a good for nothing, and so I must leave own town and return only after acquiring wealth; if I don't succeed, then I shall never return." His mother tries hard to dissuade him from going, but Carudatta is adamant. He asserts: "O mother, don't talk like this. I am the son of Bhanu, how can I stay at home and be supported by you?" One may notice here that what mostly worries Carudatta is the social pressure against his previous behaviour and the reputation of the family which he row wants to live up to.

Carudatta immediately sets out on his journey, and here his personal troubles begin. He starts by buying and selling cotton, which was cheap and yielded high profits. He purchased a large stock of cotton but unfortunately a mouse sets the piles ablaze by overturning the flame of a burning lamp, and everything is lost.

Undaunted, Carudatta does not give up; he fortifies himself by saying, "I must not give up my efforts and return home now, as prosperity dwells in exertion (*uccahe siri vasati*). A poor man is as good as dead. A wise man humiliated by his own men lives on somehow". He is determined to make something of himself, even in the face of temptations which would bring immediate relief to his financial affairs. In the BKKS version of the story (18, 220-242), upon arriving in Tamralipti the hero Sanudasa visits his uncle, who places a large amount of money at his nephew's disposal and advises him to return to his mother. But Sanudasa declines the offer, protesting that it is improper for the uncle to encourage a healthy person like himself to live off somebody else's wealth. He quotes a verse saying: "One who lives with his mother on the money of his maternal uncle is simply kept alive by them and is just as good as impotents."

And so Carudatta makes preparations for a sea-voyage, and

sets sail for the country of China. From there he proceeds to Suvarnabhumi (the region east of the Bay of Bengal), and after wandering about in the eastern and southern cities he visits Kamalapura (Khamer in Central Asia) and Yavanadvipa (Java). After doing business in Simhala (Ceylon) he arrives in Babbara (Barbaricon) and Yavana (Alexandria) in the West. From there he proceeds to the shores of Saurastra, where he meets with a bad shipwreck and only after seven terrible nights clinging to a wooden plank, he finally reaches the shores of Umbaravati.

Again Carudatta is left with nothing but his own life, but he still does not give up. Instead, he purchases screens, ornaments, dye, red garments and bangles to sell and once more sets out with a caravan. They cross the river at the confluence of Sindhusagara (the port of Western Barbaricon), and passing through the north-east they arrive in the lands of Hunas, Khasas, and Cinas.

Here begins the most difficult part of the journey, when the merchants are forced to travel through inaccessible mountains and over dangerous rivers. At one point they cross the ridge of a mountain whose peak is shaped like the edge of a broken hatchet. The entire region has to be crossed by *sanku-patha* or spike-tracks, where the mountanious ascends can only be negotiated by scaling the heights with the help of spikes carefully driven into the mountainside. Falling into the deep fathomless lake below was a constant danger, particularly when the climbers'hands became sweaty with the exertion and they lost grip on the spikes. For this reason they all carried packets of *tumburu* powder with them, which could be applied to the hands for a better grip.

Later on the caravan has to cross a treacherously deep and swift river by catching hold of cane thickets on the river bank and swinging over to the other side when the wind is blowing

just right. Overcoming his fear and intent upon acquiring wealth by his own strength, Carudatta successfully completes this part of the journey as well.

They exchange their goods in the country of the Tankanas (the Kashgar area of Central Asia), and receive saddled goats and fruits in return. Their route continues through the mountains, and they have to follow a dreadful, high, narrow path known as aja-patha or the goat-track, which is so horrible that they ride their goats with their eyes bandaged shut, since a man could not stand seeing such danger.

The very final leg of the journey demands incredible courage and daring. The caravan leader instructs the merchants to kill their goats, eat flesh and climb into the bloody skin bags. In this disguise the huge flesh-eating bhaunda birds would mistake them for raw meat and carry them off to their destination, Ratnadvipa, in their beaks. Once in Ratnadvipa, the merchants could collect enough jewels to make their fortune.[7]

At this point in the *VH* version, we come to an incident with definite religious overtones and a moral lesson. After hearing the leader's amazing instructions, Carudatta, as a devotee of the Jain religion, refuses to indulge in committing such violence, and he lodges a firm protest against such heinous deeds. He claims that had he known the plan beforehand, he would never had joined the caravan on such a venture, arguing that he at least could not kill the very goat who had enabled him to pass through the impenetrable mountains and forests. But his efforts fail to dissuade the leader from his fixed plan, and although Carudatta then becomes resigned and decides that if he cannot save the goat's life, he could at least manage to save his soul. While the animal gazes at him timidly, Carudatta preaches a sermon on piety, renunciation, and forgiveness, which appears to effect the goat before he is slaughtered by the others. Later on the efficacy of Carudatta's preaching is confirmed when he meets the reincarnated soul of the goat in the form of a heavenly

god. It is worthy to mention here that in the *BKKS* version of the story, the caravan leader inspires Sanudasa to kill his own goat by reciting verses from the *Bhagavadgita*, as Arjuna was inspired to violence by the words of Krisna.

After this religiously-tinged interlude, Carudatta's good fortune runs out. The *bharunda* birds carrying him in his goat-skin start fighting and let go of their quarry, so that Carudatta drops into a large pool, far away from his destination of Ratnadvipa. He is unhurt, but as penniless as before. Deeply disappointed and dejected, blaming no one for his fate except his own previous karmas, Carudatta decides to commit suicide. His intention is cut short, however by the sudden meeting with a mountain ascetic who recognises him, a *vidyadhara* whose life Carudatta had previously saved as a young boy. With the help of the vidyadhara's two sons, and heavenly gods (including the reborn soul of the goat and the soul of another man to whom he had preached while he was dying), Carudatta is brought back to prosperity and honour.

His adventures end on a positive note. It is perhaps somewhat ironic that the man who was so determined to live up to his father's good name and earn wealth and honour by his own efforts in the end accepts the aid of gods and vidyadharas alike. His actual personal efforts at gaining wealth had failed. But Carudatta's final good fortune, seen in a morally consequential perspective, need not be viewed as pure chance or luck. Certainly the author meant if otherwise. Although the sufferings and hardships of his journey do not in themselves reward him with wealth and happiness, his previous acts of compassion and religious concern are rewarded, since the gods and *vidyadharas* who come to his aid in the end are all persons whom Carudatta had spontaneously helped in some way at some time. In a religious sense of justice, Carudatta simply had to go through the "penance" of a long, difficult, and fruitless journey before his previous good actions could make up for his previous

indulgence. And reunited with his family, honoured by citizens and blessed with wealth, Carudatta naturally becomes a good and pious family man.

Carudatta story shows that, traders and merchants acted as connecting links from one country to another. In literature this is especially apparent not only did individual stories find their way to other countries through oral transmission of tourists and trades, but a great number of important Indian works became common to people of different countries through adaptation and translation.

If Indian stories and ideas travelled to far-off lands, Indians also got their share in turn. Merchants and travellers exchanged new views, art forms, mechanical inventions, medicines, food and spices with the Middle East, Central and South-east Asia. Widened contacts with different peoples broadened the horizons and understanding of the travellers, who could share their new knowledge and experiences amongst their own people. Buddhist monks as well as merchants spread their cultural ideas throughout Asia, for instance, which had a profound lasting effect on the area. The rich experiences resulting from the Indian merchants' entrepreneurial spirit of adventure was certainly just as much a reward for them and their people as the wealth they sought."

4

ECONOMIC LIFE IN POST-MAURYAN PERIOD

Ancient Historians have totally ignored the role of Jaina sect which greatly influenced the socio-economic life of a vast country like India since the emergence of Parsvanatha (c. 800 B.C.) to the modern period, while Buddhism, Brahmanism and other later religious sects and social orders have been dealt with somewhat elaborately. No body can deny the role played by the Jain Tirthankaras and Jain acharyas, philosophers and thinkers, the priests and teachers and the royal families in influencing and guiding the destinies of the people for centuries.

Both Mahavira and Buddha greatly influenced the India's social order and thought, though Brahmanism tried its level best to eliminate their impact on society. After Mahavira's and Buddha death there is a chain of invasions of foreign powers such as Bactrian Greeks or Yavanas, the Sakas-Pallavas and Kusanas. While Brahmanism arose and enjoyed the patronage of the Sungas, Kanvas and Satvahanas, as well as other dynasties, Buddhism enjoyed liberal patronage of the Sakas and Kusanas.

According to Vyavaharasutra, a post-Mauryan text the Jaina monks were supposed not to cultivate links with king or influential people and even to be careful in inviting their displeasure. The text highlighted the general Jaina attitude to maintain distance from those in power and believed in the development of culture, art and progress of religious literature.

As a matter of fact, in the whole of the north-western part of the country, during the post-Mauryan period, roughly between c. 200 B.C. and c. A.D. 300, there was intense fluidity in the

socio-economic field. The Art, culture and literature flourished. There was sharp rise in trade and industrial activities, growth of agriculture and money-economy, besides growing international trade links.

On the socio-economic front, influential mercantile community, specially the Vaisyas emerged in a big way. They influenced the social, political and religious life. Jainism became their favourite creed. At this juncture, the Jaina religion not only existed but flourished in royal families, general public and trading communities because of its appealing teachings.

Undoubtedly from c. 200 B.C. to A.D. 300 India was passing and witnessing radical changes in socio-economic field, which considerably influenced the political and religious development mostly in north-western part of the country.

Here, S. Sahgal§ in his learned paper on "Spread of Jainism in North India' has traced the political as well as socio-economic conditions after the disintegration of Mauryan empire *vis-a-vis* the impact of Jainism and Jaina society in various fields. In his research based study Sahgal writes:

"The break-up of the Mauryan empire brought about consequences of far-reaching importance. It destroyed the political edifice so labouriously built by the succeeding dynasties of Magadha from the time of Haryankas to the Mauryas. The Sungas and Kanavas failed to hold the country together.[1] Around the end of the 2nd century B.C., a number of local dynasties emerged in the western Ganga plain for which we have

§ Sahgal says that "historians of the period like B.N. Mukherjee in his *Mathura and Its Society*, and *Rise* and *Fall of the Kusana Empire*, Bhaskar Chattopadhyaya in *Kusana State and Indian Society: A Study in Post-Mauryan Polity and Society* and S.C. Bhattacharya in Some *Aspects of Indian Society* have dealt with Jainism only in passing, laying greater attention to Buddhism and Brahmanism."

1. Sastri, K.A.N. (Ed.), A Comprehensive History of India, Vol. II, pp. 99-104.

numismatic evidences. At Kosala, descendants of Sungas with the name of 'deva' established themselves. Their kingdom was absorbed in the Kusana empire by the end of the first century A.D, At Ahicchatra and Kausambi too, the rule of 'Mitra' rulers is attested by their coins before their absorption in Kusana confines. Mathura too witnessed the rule of 'Mitra' and 'Datta' rulers before being taken over by the foreigners.

Along with emergence of those regional powers, foreign powers of far greater significance ensued. The end of the Mauryan rule opened the flood gates of north-west and stream of foregin invaders crossed the Hindukush and poured in the country from Central Asia. The Bactrian Greeks or Yavanas, Sakas, Pallavas and Kusanas entered the subcontinent.

The Bactrian Greeks were the first to come after the collapse of the Mauryan empire. At least one of the rulers, Menander or Milinda, reached as far as Mathura. His return to Bactria and subsequent death resulted in the decline of Bactrian Greeks. They were followed by the Sakas or Scythians (as known from Chinese sources) from Central Asia. The construction of the great wall by the Han emperor Shi Hung Ti in the first century B.C. compelled the pastoral tribes of Scythia and Yu-e-Chis (or Kusanas) to migrate to South and West Asia in the hope of new pastures.

The Sakas established themselves in north-west, northern and western India. In the north and northern India the Sakas had to face challenge from yet another incoming Central Asian tribes i.e., the Kusanas. There had been two known Kusana lines in the Indian sub-continent; the Kadphises and the Kaniska. According to Fan-Yeh's [2] History of the Han dynasty, the Yu-e-chi chief Kujula Kadphises united five tribes and established himself at Kabul. His son Wema Kadphises strengthened Kusana territories in north-west India. However, the mosts powerful of the Kusana rulers was Kaniska I, whose relationship with the

2. Fan Yeh, *Hou Han Shu* (Ssu-Pu pid edition), Chapter II.

former rulers is not quite established. He extended his empire as far as Banaras and Ranchi while retaining the control of north-west, Kaniska I was followed by Vasiska, Huviska and Vasudeva I. The effective Kusana power declined after Vasudeva I in about A.D. 186, though we do hear of Kusana kings like Vasudeva II and Kaniska III continuing till the mid-third century A.D.

Behind the maze of these varied political events certain economic motivations and forces can be discerned. The very movement of Sakas and Kusanas from China to Central and South Asia was determined by the need to locate new pastures. With the growth in trade and commerce and their growing importance in economy, we find the areas controlling the main trade routes,[3] specially the routes commanding the foreign trades, also coming to hold the reigns of political history. In fact the struggle of the Kusanas with Parthia was for controlling the Central Asian part of silk trade between Rome and China. Even in India, they set their eyes in commercially profitable areas; Taksasila, Aicchatra, Mathura, Saketa and Kausambi.

The Kusana rulers sought to promote commercial activities within their empire. By integrating Central Asia with North India, and providing security to the traders, throughout the empire, the Kusanas ensured frequent movement of merchants with the chance to participate in the silk trade.

The efforts of the Kusana Government in fostering trade can be further seen in their issuing gold coins which were initially modelled on the Roman pattern of similar weight standards.[4] These were obviously meant for international market.

3. Bhattacharya, S.C. p. 3.

4. After the reforms of Nero at Rome the weight standard was reduced though purity of gold was maintained. In the Kusana Empire the weight standard was maintained throughout the rule of the Kusanas even when the purity was reduced, e.g., Vima's coins had 98% gold while Vasudeva's coins had only 58 per cent. McDowall, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*. Vol. 22, 1960, pp. 63-64.

We have evidence of their being accepted outside Indian confines.[5]

We have numerous examples of internal trade also. Among the objects of Kusana period found at Begram in eastern Afghanistan, there were not only glass vessels from Syria and lacquerbowls from China and Rome but also plaques of carved bones and ivory from India. At least some of the figures were carved in the style of Mathura art and might have been brought from there. Mathura like Begram was a part of the Kusana empire. Stylists influences of Mathura school can be noticed in a few ivory plaques unearthed at Dalverzin Tepe in Uzbekistan and datable to Kusana period.[6]

Luxury items were in maximum demand both inside and outside Kusana empire. These included items of cosmetics like perfumed oils, scented juices mentioned in *Angavijja*[7] and cosmetics caskets as discovered in Kausambi excavations. Indian pearl was also in great demand in Roman marts and so were textiles. Mathura was an important centre for Sataka type of cotton and perhaps of silk industry also.[8] That fashion and luxury were feeding some of the major industries is an indication of general prosperity of the people. Other industries also thrived which included mining and metallurgy. According to B.N. Mukherjee, as in the Mauryan days, even now the mining industry was controlled by the State.[9]

India's expanding commerce, aided by the growth of industries led to economic advancement. That the effect of this

5. For example, hoards of coins have been found in Ethiopia *Congress Internationale di Numismatica*. Rome, 1961, p. 475f.

6. Mukherjee, B.N. 'Revenue, Trade and Society in the Kusana Empire'. *The Indian Historical Review*. Vol. VII. Nos. 1-2, 1980-81, p. 34.

7. *Angavijja*, Chap. 58.

8. Sharma, R.S. *Perspectives in Social and Economic History of Early India*, p. 17.

9. Mukherjee, B.N. p. 27.

development percolated to the masses can be verified from the numerous coins found in all denominations and metals like gold, silver, copper, tin and lead found from the Kusana levels as Taksasila, Ahicchatra, Sravasti and Sanghol in Mathura. The regular use of low denomination coins of metals is indicative of their being used for day-to-day transactions.

The unplanned and controlled growth of industry and trade as well as money economy had definite impact of social life also. It led to concentration of social life also. It led to concentration of wealth in the hands of Vaisyas and even among them the traders benefitted the most. Merchants in the post-Mauryan period were not a homogeneous group. Ability and chance to accumulate power brought differences in their economic and social ranking. The epigraphs of the time allude to *negama*,[10] *sarthavahas*,[11] *settis*[12] and *vanikas*.[13] *Negama* was the leader of a *nigam i.e.* an industrial or business corporate.[14] *Setti* was also a banker[15] as well as a big trader often moving with the *Sarthavaha* was the caravan leader with considerable authority over the *satta*. *Vanika* or *vannijja* was a comprehensive term including all shades of traders from big business magnates to small traders like *suvarnika* (trader in gold), *lohavanijja* (iron trader) and others.[16]

How far did Vaisyas follow the profession of artisans, it is difficult to assess. Kangle and Sharma[17] have counted

10. Luder's *List* (*Epigrahia Indica*, Vol. X) 1000, 1024, 1072.
11. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, c/915.
12. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 381-382.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 385.
14. Bhattacharya S.C., *op. cit.*, p. 135. According to him it is wrong to interpret nigama as a town. He argues or its being a merchant organization or corporation for which he gives a lengthy argument.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 385.
16. Bhattacharya S.C. *op., cit.*, p. 140.
17. Kangle, R.P., *The Kautiliya Arthasastra*, Part III, pp. 146-218; R.S. Sharma, *Sudras in Ancient India*, p. 1796.

artisans as Sudras were exempted from cash tax payment but have to perform forced labour (*visti*) once in a month. This, however, should not be considered a definite proof of their becoming Sudras. In fact in a Jaina text artisans were called Aryans.[18]

However, their economic position was certainly not as sound as that of the traders. Traders who were engaged in selling goods reaped greater advantage of economic growth than did the producers. It was perhaps to demand higher and to face the competitions of big industrialists that a large number of artisans organised themselves in guilds. Guilds gave them advantage of bargaining power in a sense of security against exploitation of traders as well as political pressure.

Thus even among the Vaisyas, wealthy merchants have status over and above all other caste groups. Even the position of agriculture was not good. With the exception of the village head man or gramika who had risen to the position of a petty landowner as a result of grant of land in lieu of his services, the peasantry witnessed a decline in the status. The *Milindapanho*[19] and other texts refer to the emergence of landlordism and depression of peasantry to position where they were clubbed with slaves, hired labourers and servants. This ranks dependent peasantry swelled up as a result of adoption of agriculture as a profession by the Sudras. This coupled with the expansion of trade and industry led to the withdrawl of a substantial section of the Vaisya varna from agriculture.[20] Generally speaking commerce followed by industry was a most lucrative profession in the post-Mauryan period, more than agriculture.

With the money and power at their command, it was natural

18. Pannavana, p. 61.

19. *Milindapanho*. p. 147.

20. Bhattacharya, S.C., *op. cit.*, p. 13.

for the wealthy Vaisyas to seek social prestige. The Brahmanical social order accorded them the third position after the Brahmanas and Ksatriyas which was more in line with their religious right than economic situation. In fact right from the sixth century B.C. many among the Vaisyas had shown their inclination towards Buddhism and Jainism. These were anti-Vedic sects and gave due importance to their social standing. It was the mercantile community among the Vaisyas that formed the social base of Jainism. Perhaps because the Jainism emphasis on non-possession was taken to be an injunction against possession of land. The post-Mauryan period, as we have seen, brought about a boon to the mercantile community and this probable promoted them to support their Samgha in a big way. It may be added that by the post-Mauryan period Jainism had succeeded in forming a base, though small, amongst the rural population also. This we gather from a donative inscription[21] which makes a reference to gramika. Jainism, thus, had won over at least a section of the village population. This is clearly an indication of the changing values within Jainism and the possession of land even among Jainas. The process was very slow during the post-Mauryan period. Except for this example, we have no other reference of Jaina base in their rural areas.

The relationship between Jain Samgha and laity was very strong. The Jaina church did not engage itself in any productive activity and depended on commoners to provide alms. In the post-Mauryan time their help came in form of various donations. This was a process which was taking place not only within Jainism but in Buddhism also. In fact, Buddhists, were the first to recieve land grants both from the rulers as well as the laity.

Out of the seven private land grants made to them as many as three were made by *negamas* and *settis*.[22] No land grant

21. *Epigrahia Indica*, Vol. I, No. XI, p. 388.

22. Luder's *List*, Nos. 1000, 1024, 1072.

was made to Jaina church at this point of time probably because of its very small rural base.

The role of the mercantile community in promoting Jainism is best understood by a survey of its area of spread. We shall take up that a little later. Suffice it is to say here that Jainism in north India flourished in those areas which were also important centres of commerce.

The tremendous economic growth and rise of merchants was perhaps the main factor in the growth of Jainism in the post-Mauryan period. However, we cannot ignore the political climate of the period and how conducive it was to the existence and spread of Jainism.

The foreign rulers, Sakas and Kusanas, followed a very liberal relgious policy. Among the Sakas, we know that Mahaksatrapa Ranjuvala and his son Sodas were Buddhists. Their religious affiliation become clear from the famous Lion capital inscription at Mathura.[23] The inscription refers to a religious donation of cave monastery and a relic of Buddha to the Buddhist monks by the chief queen of Ranjuvala. Despite their open declaration of Buddism as their personal religion, we have no evidence of the persecution of people of other sects by them.

The Imperial Kusanas also tolerated and even patronised to some extent, the practice of diverse religious systems in the empire; at least during the rule of Kaniska I, Vasiska and Huviska. Numerous deities, such as Oesho (Siva), Oado (Persian Wind god), Attisho (Persian fire god), Nana (Greek goddess), Sakya Muni (Buddha) and so forth occur on the Kusana coins. Kaniska was vocal in his inclination to Buddhism. The fourth council of Buddhism was held in Kashmir during his time. He erected a Buddhist monastery at Peshawar. At the same time he was a patron of other sects also. Kaniska is said to have been connected

23. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 48.

with the establishment of a dynastic sanctuary at Surkha Kotal associated with the fire cult.[24]

Even the successors of Huviska were tolerant of other sects. The evidence of contemporary sources like the products of Bactrian, Gandhara and Mathura art and various coin devices indicate the presence of a general spirit of toleration and even syncretism throughout the major part of the empire. Not only the great religious faith with large following in the different parts of the empire flourished but also sects that received no royal patronage like Jainism did not lag behind.

It was political expediency which demanded that the Sakas and Kusanas remain religiously liberal. They were aliens to the country and so it was necessary for them to adopt a popular faith like Brahmanism or Buddhism and at the same time give recognition to other religious forms.

There was yet another reason for the existence of multiple sects; it was the heterogeneous character of the Kusana society. The Kusana empire was vast and included various ethnic types. The complexity of the situation was accentuated with the movement of trade, people and ideas from the one region to another. The growth of new urban centres brought diverse populations together. This favoured co-existence, co-mingling and co-fusion of races and ideas. An effort to bring about uniformity in the empire by imposing a single region could have resulted in unrest. Thus for their own survival the Kusanas followed a pragmatic policy. Though Buddhism and Brahmanism were consciously promoted, at least no effort was made to wipe out other sects like Jainism.

Changes within "Jainism was not some kind of an unchanging monolith; it was conditioned by the spirit of time and space. Between c. 200 B.C. and c. A.D. 300 changes took place both at the ascetic and popular levels. In the first case

24. Mukherjee, B.N,*The Rise* and *Fall of the Kusana Empire*, p. 388.

differences are visible in doctrinal changes and in developments within Jaina monastic order. At the popular level, the expansion of Jaina pantheon, beginning of idol worship and various developments in the fields of arts point out the direction in which Jaina popular activities was growing. Apart from the developments in the socio-economic field what accounted for the changes in the sects was the challenge thrown by rival sects of Buddhism and Brahmanism and an increased interaction between the ascetic and lay population.

Before we take up the issue of doctrine changes in greater detail, it is important to make a reference to the schism that divided the Jains into Svetambaras and Digambaras, sometimes during the period under review. The process of schism had started as early as sixth century B.C. In all eight schisms took place up to the major Digambara and Svetambara division.[25]

Certain economic factors were apparently responsible for the division. The famine of the third century B.C. resulted in the migration of a number of Jaina Monks to south India. The famine must have made this section within the sect take to a strictly austere life-style. Their rigidity was not welcomed by the rest who found it an encumbrance in social interaction and spread of their sects. These differences along with the migration might have brought about the final spilt. The schism was a long process and no definite date can be assigned to it. Only on the basis of early Digambara texts can it be given a rough date of first century A.D.

The doctrinal changes that came about in our period of study were a result of instance intellectual activities that affected not only Jainism but other sects as well. Buddhism, for example, witnessed the emergence of a number of schools. At Mathura itself there were two different sects that shifted from early Buddhist realism to absolute idealism. These were the

25. Deo, S.B., *History of Jaina Monachism*, p. 79.

Sarvastivadins and the Mahasanghikas[26] who popularised the concept of Boddhisatvas and worship of idol of Buddha. Similarly in case of Brahmanism new schools of philosophy were gradually taking shape in the post-Mauryan period like the Nyayavaisesika, Sankhya, Yoga, Mimamsa and Vedanta.

The changed intellectual atmosphere brought into open debate issues like cosmlogy, prominence of soul, *karma* consciousness, etc. Faced with growing popularity of rival sects and with the question of its own survival, Jainism was forced to later its own philosophies and to equip itself with the argumental sophistication of its rivals. The result was a subtle shift from the realistic nature of Jaina standpoint to an idealist one.

At its incipient stage[27] Jainism was an ethical religion which wanted to solve the socio-economic crisis of a particular age. The principles propagated by Mahavira were based on reason and logic. Early Jaina thinkers did not give up their empirical base. Still targeting against Brahmansim, the Jain thinkers questioned the absoluteness of truth and eternity. This resulted in the idea of Syadvada, the assertion of possibilities of seven-fold paroligism. At this stage, the Jaina philosophy represented knowledge of nature, acquired through contemplation, observation and investigation of the phenomenon of nature itself. The approach of understanding of nature was scientific. God had no place in Jaina ideology because he could not be perceived.[28] Jiva was an animate object and Ajiva an inanimate.

Jaina philosophy founded on empiricism underwent a change at a sophisticated stage. Here we come across a conflict within

26. Reference to the sects available in Mathura Inscriptions by Jenart, pp. 114, 121, 170, 190; *Epigrahia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 212.

27. A term used by N.N. Bhattacharya to distinguish it from the later sophisticated stage, *Jaina Philosophy: Historical Outline*, p. xviii.

28. Bhattacharya, N.N. *op. cit.*, p. xix.

the system, a conflict between empiric ideas of an earlier tradition and the intrusion of elements of a *priori* abstract ideas which opened the way for idealism. The concept of Jiva was revised. The biological considerations were thrown aside; the Jiva came to be looked upon as different from the body, its existence was sought to be proved in that of consciousness itself.[29] New classifications were added to the concept of Jiva and also to *Karma*.

Some of the philosophical changes were in line with certain developments taking place in other schools of philosophy. For example, six classifications of *Karma* can well be compared to the four that developed in the Yoga system. Jainism made its stance clear *vis-a-vis* the Mimamsakas when it underlined consciousness as the very essence of the soul, a point denied by the former. It was primarily to answer the philosophical issue that surfaced with the revision and formulation of ideologies of so many schools of the period, that Jainism was compellled to bring a change in its own stance. The doctrinal shift, however, took a long time to become evident and cannot be specifically assigned to a period under review.

A somewhat similar problem comes up what we try to assess the developments within Jaina monastic order. With the sources at our disposal we cannot limit the developments only to the period under review. Our main source of information is the Jaina canon. Of the undivided community the canon is not available and one preserved is claimed by Svetambaras to be their own. This includes the twelve Angas, the twelve Upangas, the Prakirnas, the six Chedasutras, the four Mulasutras and Anuyoga.

There are a number of non-canonical texts and commentaries but there is the problem of dating them. The earliest among them cannot be placed before the post-Gupta period. Even among the canonical texts there is the problem of stratification of the

29. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

text. It is difficult to assign any specific date to them. For our purpose here, we have taken into account the Angas the formulation of which started from 300 B.C. and stretched right up to the end of the Gupta period. However, it is important to bring in an element of caution. The developments suggest below as gathered from the canon probably took place in our period but we cannot speak with certainty.

It was realised by the Jaina thinkers that in order to spread the influence of Jainism they would have to organise their church. A church hierarchy[30] was worked out with *seha* or students at the bottom and *gani*, the seniormost church officer, at the top. In between came *thera parvartin* and *acarya*. For the purpose of smooth functioning of the church it was divided into various units. The *gana*[31] was the largest unit and comprised a group of monks having common reading. *Kula*[32] was subdivision of gana and comprised a group of disciples of a particular *acarya* . . *Sambhoga*[33] was a further sub-division and comprised a group of monks bound by identical *samacari* and took food together. We come across yet another division, that of *sakka* which is explained as a line which branches of one teacher, in the *Kalpasutra*[34]

A cursory look at the various regulations made for the Jaina monks as prescribed in the Angas highlight the importance of Jaina thinkers laid on maintaining social rapport with the lay population. For example, monks were forbidden from frequenting the same houses for begging of food lest people began thinking that they became monks because they did not want to work.[35]

30. Details given in *Thananga*, pp. 120b, 66.

31. *Samvayanga*, p. 4b.

32. *Thananga*, p. 516a.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 139b.

34. Kalpasutra, Sacred Books of the East., Vol. XXII, p. 28.

35. *Acaranga*, I, p. 172.

It was with the idea of becoming socially acceptable that the Svetambara monks were instructed to wear clothes. The *Thananga* clearly states the purpose of wearing clothes was to avoid shame (*hiripattitan*) and to avoid disregard from people 'if they feel so on seeing the monks' distorted limbs (*pansahavattiyan*).[36] Thus the picture that emerges from the study of Angas is that of an effort made by the Jaina church to organise itself in a way that not only would the contact with the masses be retained but actually strengthened.

So far we have conerned ourselves with the impact of socio-economic changes on Jaina monastic life and on Jaina doctrines. It is important to take into account the changes that came on a popular level also, specially the laity which provided the fullfledged economic and social support. It was difficult to impress and ordinary man with the abstract doctrines. These doctrines lack something very essential to him, that is, a god or a supernatural force which he could identify. In order to appease this very important section of the society, Jainism laid to create a pantheon around its Tirthankaras. The deities chosen were pre-Vedic, already popular at mass level. The Yaksa or Jakkha or Sasandevata was absorbed because of his non-Vedic character. The Yaksas were projected as possessors of the power to assume any shape and to award a boon to the people or take it away. Beacuse of their earthy character they impressed the masses and entered both the Jaina as well as the Buddhist art as attendants of Jinas and Boddhisattvas.

The popularity of Yaksas can be seen as early as the line of the Anga literature. The *Nyayadhammakahao* refers to the shrines of Salaga who had the form of a horse, situated in a *vanakhanda* at Ratanadvipa.[37] The Jhakka saved two merchants from the clutches of cruel robbers and carried them to the city

36. *Thananga*, p. 138a.

37. *Nayadhammakahao*, Vol. II, p. 127ff.

of Campa. These and many other examples can be sited from Jaina literature to comprehend their popular nature.

Along with Yaksa worship also came idol and *stupa* worship. Though Jainism ruled out the existencce of god it could not ignore the emergence of contemporary Mahayana form of Buddhism which assigned the status of a god to Buddha and received a positive response from the laity. The spirit of competition led to an equally tremendous growth in idol worship. It should be asserted that Jainism was not traditionally against idol worship. A Jina need not be worshipped in the traditional sense of term i.e. he is there to inspire the laity if they want emancipation from the worldly bonds. This was a clause enough to promote development in Jaina iconography. Hundreds of Jina statues discovered from various sites of north India and especially from Mathura attest to the growing popularity of idol worship in the period under review.

The practice of erecting *stupa* and *stupa*-worship also had a similar connotation. The *stupas* which housed some remains of the Jina or his statue was certainly not for the benefit of the monks and yet the practice of *stupa*-worship was condoned by them.[38] Numerous *pratimalekha*[39] found from Kankali Tila complex at Mathura suggest the eagerness of monks to associate themselves with those who made donations of idols at the complex. It is obviously indicative of an active religious interaction between the ascetics and lay Jainas and endorses our aforesaid point that Jaina ascetics and thinkers had to modify their view and life-style in accordance with the changing environment.

38. Folkart, Kendell 'Jain Religious Life at Mathura: The Heritage of Late Victorian Interpretation,' in Srinivasan, ed., *Mathura, The Cultural Heritage*, p. 111.

39. Most of these appear in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, II, X and Luders' List (given as Appendix in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X.).

By the beginning of the Christian era the Jaina lay community had become resourceful enough in terms of both monetary strength and impressive following to make a dent in the original form of Jainism. This coupled with the changes in the rival sects of Brahmanism and Buddhism and the development on a socio-economic front, spelt out a different course for Jaina history.

Spread of Jainism in North India

The spread of Jainism in north India had started right from the time of Mahavira. However, the area covered then was confined largely to east India including Bengal, Bihar, and a few parts of eastern U.P. Mahavira had also visited Mathura and Jainism struck there. Two features stand out in the spread of Jainism during this time. First, it was the missionary zeal of the Jaina monks that is more responsible for the spread than royal patronage. Second, the social base of Jainism was primarily confined to the urban mercantile class.

By the third century B.C. Jainism had emerged as a fairly popular religion in north India in areas like Sravasti, Ahicchatra, Kampilya, Taksasila and Simhapura. A cursory look at all the centres reveals that they are urban and located in or around the trading centres. Thus there remained an element of continuity from the preceding periods: the importance of urbanism in the growth of the sect. As mentioned above, since the sixth century B.C. it was the mercantile community among the Vaisyas that was attracted to Jainism. The post-Mauryan period being one of an unprecedented boon for the mercantile community, Jainism too witnessed an expansion. In other words, our hypothesis is that the growth of Jainism in north India between 200 B.C. and A.D. 300 is directly related to contemporary socio-economic developments. The poing would become clear with the study of the centres.

Saketa (modern Sahet Mahet in Ayodhya disrict): It was

an early centre of Jainism. According to *Vividha Tirthakalpa*[40] a temple of Muni Suvarta was constructed here before 300 B.C. and the centre has also been visited by Parsvanatha. The importance of Saketa lay in its being an important trade route. Saketa and Sravasti were separated by a distance of about seven *yojanas*. Hence for a merchant who went from Sravasti to the east, the trade route passed from this town which was probably a halting place. As it catered to the needs of a mercantile class, it probably had a sizeable trading and artisanal population of Jaina affiliation.

Sravasti : Located on the border of Gonda and Bahraich in U.P., it became the seat of Jainism before the beginning of the Christian era. It was believed to be the birthplace of the third Tirthankara Sambhavanatha and also one of the ten capitals where the kings could be crowned. We have defined archaeological evidence of Sravasti as an important Jaina centre between 200 B.C. and A.D. 100. A temple of Sambhavanatha which was built before the Christian era has been excavated. A detailed description of the ruined temple has been given by Vogel in his report.[41] The temple has yielded a good number of Jaina idols including those of Rsabhanatha and Mahavira with certain affiliation with Mathura style of art.

There was a definite economic reason behind Sravasti's emergence as an important religious centre for Jainism. It acted as the nerve centre of commerce in the ancient time as a number of trade routes emerged from there connecting it with several trade routes[42] which connected Sravasti with Saketa, Rajgriha, Kausambi, Varanasi, Samkasya and Taksasila. An important trade route connected it with Ujjain, Mahismati, Pratisthana and Bhrigukaccha. Archaeological evidence also indicates that till

40. Jinavijaya, ed. *Vividha Tirthakalpa*, p. 86.

41. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1907-08, p. 113f.

42. Agrawala, R.S., Trade Centres and Routes in North India, p. 61.

the beginning of the Christian era the city retained its metropolitan character after there is evidence of decline.[43] The excavated material suggest that the town was in a flourishing state specially during the first century A.D.

Kausambi : Like Sravasti Kausambi was also a commercial centre. It is identified with modern Kosam near Allahabad. Kausambi enjoyed the geographical advantage of being at a junction of important trade routes. Right from the sixth century B.C. to the period of the Kusanas it remained a significant commercial centre. Excavations carried out in a large area at Kausambi revealed that the place is richer in relics belonging to the Kusana times as compared to the Gupta age. Jainism found fertile ground for growth in Kausambi and areas around it on account of economic development and urbanism. But here an additional factor promoted the growth, which was political patronage. An inscription[44] assignable on palaeographic grounds to the first century B.C. found at Pabhosa near Kausambi, shows that the Jaina monks living at the famous town enjoyed royal patronage. The inscription of Asadhasena, the king of Ahicchatra shows that he was the maternal uncle of Brihaspatimitra of Kausambi. A number of Jaina monks of Pabhosa came from Kausambi which is still looked upon as a holy city by Jainas has fielded a number of Jaina antiquities. Epigraphic evidences of the existence of Jainism come from an inscription of the year 12 of king Sivamitra and Sivapalita. R.D. Banerjee believes that this inscription is dated in the Kaniska year 78 A.D. and therefore its date corresponds to A.D. 90[45] Jaina literature also speaks of it in some detail. According to *Avasyaka Niryukti* it was the birthplace of the Tirthankara Padmaprabha.[46] In the

43. Sinha, K.K., Excavation at Sravasti, p. 11.

44. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 242f; D.C. Sircar, Select Inscriptions, Vol. I. p. 95f.

45. Chatterjee, A.K., *A Comprehensive History of Jainism*, p. 92.

46. *Avasyaka-Niryukti*, p. 382.

Jaina text *Thananga* it is mentioneed as one of the ten capitals. The reference to Kausambika-Sakha that originated in the first half of the third century B.C. in the *Theravali* also proves the popularity of Jainism here.

Ahicchatra: Located in the Bareilly district of U.P. and represented by modern Ramgarh, Ahicchatra, the ancient captial of northern Pancalas, was perhaps among the few holy cities of Jainas which is also mentioned as the business centre in the Jaina canonical literature itself.[47] Archaeological excavation shows that around 300 B.C. settlement with mud and bricks buildings. The Kusana-Gupta deposits reveals terracotta objects etc., which indicate habitation during the period.[48]

A Kusana inscription[49] found at the pedestal of an idol of Neminatha bearing the date 50 refers to the Jina Parsvanatha. A few other inscriptions have been found with the names of female donees. The inscriptions are useful because they highlight the practice of donations being made by female donees, 50 their mercantile/artisanal background alongwith elucidating the development, within the Jaina monastic organisation. The most definite proof of the existence of the Jaina monks at Ahicchatra is supplied by Lucknow museum Jaina image which refers to a monk who was a native of Ahicchatra.[51] Apart from the inscriptions, sculptural remains in the form of Jaina images, remains of Lion pillar of the temple and *ayagapata* support our contention regarding its popularity as a Jaina centre.

Kampilya: Its association with Jainism pre-dates our period

47. *Nayadhammakahao*, 15, p. 158.
48. Sharma, Y.D., "Exploration of Historical sites," *Ancient India*, Bulletin of Archaeological Survey of India, No. 9, p. 137.
49. *Progress Report of the Epigraphical and Archaeological Branch NWP and Oudh from* 1891-92, p. 3.
50. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, pp. 110-111.
51. Luder's *List* (*Epigrahia Indica*, Vol. X), No. 107 d.

of study. Cunningham identified it with Kampil in the Farrukhabad district of U.P. Kampil was the capital of south Pancalas. Jaina literature is profuse in its mention of Kampilya. Both Parsvanatha and Mahavira are said to have visited the city and it was also the birth place of the thirteenth Tirthankara Vimala.[52] He also received his Jinahood from this place. Many other Jaina monks like Parivrajaka Ammada[53] and Ninhava Asimitta visited Kampillapura.

Though it has not been mentioned as a commercial city in the Jaina texts, it has been compared with the celestial city Amaravati. Its wealth and riches are glorified and *settis* like Pinayaka, Koliya, Konda etc., are mentioned by name.[54] Kampilya's economic importance have been because of its geographical position, because this town lies on the route which ranges from Kanyakubja to Samkasya. Therefore, if a trader on his way from Kanyakubja to Soerrya (Agra) passed through Sankasya had to pass through Kampilya[55] as well.

Sankasya or Sankissa: Located in Farrukhabad district of U.P., Sankasya has also been regarded as a centre of Jainism. This has been gathered primarily on the basis of the *Theravali's* reference to Sankasya-*sakha* under Carana *gana* established in the third century B.C. Otherwise we do not have evidence in the form of material remains or epigraphs to support the contention.

North-West: In the north, Jainism was not just confined to the plains of the Ganga and Yamuna. Its influence extended right up to the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent. At least two important Jaina centres from the north-west can be cited to prove the popularly of the sect in this area—Taksasila

52. *Tirthodgarita*, verse 502.

53. *Bhagavatisutra*, para 530.

54. Harisena, *Kathakosa*, nos. 104 and 115.

55. Law, B.C., *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 32.

and Simhapura. Incidentally no Jaina epigraph has been reported from the north-west to confirm its popularity in the area but we have material remains, excavation reports and literary sources in support of our point.

Taksasila, situated twenty miles north-west of modern Rawalpindi (Pakistan), has been extensively excavated and reported about. The pioneering work has been carried out by John Marshall. He observes:Taxila must have been adorned by Jain edifices, some of which were no doubt of considerable magnificence.[56] Jainism reached its peak of popularity between c. 200 B.C. and A.D. 200 in Taksasila, specially when it fell under the sway of Bactrian Greeks. Taksasila then was identified with Sirkap city. Although it came into existence around the fifth century B.C., urbanism reached its peak between 200 B.C. and A.D. 200. The excavations show that it was a well developed city with streets flanked by single storeyed houses on both the sides and the shops interspersing the houses.

Marshall says that the shrines in the Blocks P and G in the excavated area of Sirkap were possibly Jaina. This is quite probable because Sirkap during the above said period was an important centre of commerce and artisanal activities. Taksasila had the advantage being the nerve centre of three international trade routes; one from north and eastern India, a second from western Asia and a third from Kashmir and Central Asia.[57] Long distance trade is attested to by not only the finds of red sand stone from Mathura but also Roman Persian amphorae.[58] Coins and coin moulds are the most important relics of Taksasila's ancient trade and exchange. Taksasila was an important mint centre.Out of a total 7665 coins recovered from Sirkap about ninety per cent come from the late Saka-Parthian levels.[59]

56. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1914-15, p. 2.
57. J. Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 1.
58. R.S. Sharma, *Urban Decay in India*, p. 12.
59. *Ibid.*

Artisanal activity is attested to by carpenters and mental workers' tools, moulds and stamps for stamping of pottery and textiles; and metal discs for fashioning of coins and ornaments.[60] Taksasila was then a leading trade mart and centre for diverse crafts. As an urban with such potential for investment and growth, it is likely that Taksasila had a substantial Jaina lay and ascetic population.

The Jaina literary tradition associates Taksasila with Bahubali, a son of Risabhanatha who was believed to be a Jaina Sadhu.[61] The *Avasyaka Niryukti*[62] and *Avasyaka Curni*[63] state that Bahubali had installed a jewelled *dharmacakra* at Taksasila. The association of Bahubali with Taksasila is also mentioned in the *Vividha Tirthakalpa*.[64]

Since Taksasila was one of the greatest cities of ancient India, it is but natural that Jainas should endeavour to extend their sphere of influence in this region.

Jainism had become popular in the Punjab region too. This can be gathered from the *Theravali* which refers to Audamarika-*sakha* which originated in Rohana in the third century B.C. This *sakha* was evidently linked with Audambaras, a well-known tribe of Punjab. In Punjab the popular centre in Jainism was Simhapura which is identified by Cunningham[65] with modern Ketas in the salt range.

According to Jaina canonical literature Sihapura (*i.e.*, Simhapura) with the birthplace of Sreyamsa, the eleventh Tirthankara. The *Varangacarita*, a work of the seventh century

60. J. Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-205.

61. Suthankar's note in *Archaeolotgcal Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1914-15, p. 39f.

62. Verse 332.

63. Vol. I, p 180.

64. Jinavijaya, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

65. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 142f.

A.D., refers to Simhapura as sacred to Sreyamsa.[66] Stein was successful in discovering a good number of Jaina antiquities from Simhapura which in his opinion are better executed than those found in Ellora. Stein also informs us that Simhapura remained an important centre of Jainism even at the time of his visit *i.e.* late nineteenth century.

A review of important centres of Jainism in north India (with the exception of Mathura) testifies to the agreement put forward earlier *i.e.* the growth of Jainism was intimately linked with economic progress and political environment. It thrived in towns in and around the trade where lived a substantial population of merchants and artisans. The selection of the birthplaces of the Tirtankaras is also not coincidental. Deliberately those areas, rather cities, were chosen for the association which had already become important for the lay populaion and also where Jaina monks had made inroads.

It needs to be accepted that the political environment was also an important factor in the growth of Jainism. Details on political developments have been given earlier. Here we only need to stress that Jainism did not really receive any political encouragement for its spread. But at the same time it was not opposed by any dynasty or ruler and the Jaina monks and followers could carry on the work of propagation without much interference. Of direct royal patronage as granted to Buddhism, not many examples can be cited, not just for north India but for the whole of India. The only exception was Kharavela who also patronized Brahminism. While the Buddhist effort was to seek royal support for propagating the sect, the Jainas appealed directly to the masses. This could be one of the reasons why Buddhism disappeared from India once the royal patronage was withdrawn. But Jainism that had acquired following with the masses continues to exist till this date.

Mathura: Special mention has to be made of Mathura

66. Chatterjeee, A.K,. *op. cit.*, 98.

because it was the most important centre of Jainism in north India during our period of study. Once again our effort is to show Mathura's economic developments and its being an important Jaina centre was not coincidental. Mathura owed its economic developments to its being located on a famous trade route. It was situated on the "Delhi-Agra filter zone'[67] to the west of the upper Ganga Basin. Because of this position it was connected with Central Asia through the north-western route and also with the western coast through the Ujjain route. It had no special advantage from the point of agriculture. The carrying capacity of soil was poor and the rainfall it recieved was also insufficient *i.e.* 21.43.[68] Long distance trade thus remained its *rasion d'etre.*

Trade in luxury goods dominated the long distance trade. Trade in silk, when temporarily disturbed on Central Asian route, was diverted to the eastern part of the Roman Empire via Brigukaccha through Uttarapatha which touched Mathura whence goods went to western coast via Vidisa Ujjain.

Mathura was not only a commercial post, it was a thriving centre for industry. The sculpture of the period shows a number of lances, swords, sheaths, shields and daggers, all indicating a flourishing weaponry industry. These were possibly made of iron because the epigraphs show blacksmiths and traders in iron objects were an important group.[69]

Textile manufacturing was yet another important handicraft of the period under review. The presence of cotton dealers[70] coupled with reference to Mathura's *satakas* in Patanjali[71] shows

67. Singh, R.L. ed., India, *A Regional Geography*, p. 126.
68. Sharma, R.S., *Perspectives in Social and Economic History of Early India*, p. 173.
69. Luder's *List* Nos. 29, 53, 54.
70. *Ibid.*, No. 15.
71. Patanjali, I, 1.2.

that it was an important centre of cloth manufacture with a considerable population of weavers. Cloth manufacture was supplemented by tailoring. The craft received a special impetus because of new dresses introduced by Indo-Scythians like the tunics, trousers, cloak, etc. It is interesting to note that they were rich enough to set up their monastery.[72]

This account of the phenomenal rise of Mathura in Kusana age is confirmed by a contemporary text *Lalitavistara*, which is considered to have been in existence in the first and third centuries.[73] This treatise refers to the city of Mathura which is prosperous and large and beautiful, and which is abounding in men.[74]

Even the Jaina texts speak of the economic significance of Mathura. The Avasyaka Curni[75] records that Mathura was a great commercial centre and from there merchants could go and conduct business in Dakkhina Mathura (Daksnia Mathura) identified with present day Madurai and that one of the merchants also established family connection in that city. The *Acaranga Curni*[76] identified Mathura as a *thalapattana (sthalapattana)* where goods for trade were carried overland. While the *Brihatkalpa-bhasya*[77] observes that it was noted as a centre for cloth manufacturing and a business centre whose inhabitants lived on trade and not on cultivation of the land.[78]

From the above account it becomes clear that Mathura between C. 200 B.C. and A.D. 300 was a very important centre

72. Jennart, ed. *Mathura Inscriptions*, No. 74.

73. Vaidya, P.L., ed. *Lalitavistara*, p. xii.

74. *Ibid.* Chap. II, p. 15.

75. Jain, J.C., *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in Jaina Canons*, p. 308.

76. *Ibid.*

77. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

78. Shah, U.P., "Mathura and Jainism", in Srinivasan, ed., *Mathura : The Cultural Heritage*, p. 211.

of commerce and trade. Merchants and artisans formed an important section of sociey both in terms of riches and number. It is quite likely that many of them were Jainas.

Mathura is well referred to in most of the Jains texts. The *Nisitha Curni*[79] calls it one of the ten capitals whose kings could be crowned. The *Avasyaka Curni*[80] cities Indapuha (Sanskrit Indrapura) as another name of Mathura. Parsvanatha's visit is well recorded in *Jinatadharmakatha*. It is said that a park of Bramdiravade was visited. To Mathura also came Mahavira, the twenty-fourth Tirthankara, during the reign of Siridama (Sridama).

The Jaina canonical texts informs us that a *stupa* having been erected in Mathura by the Jainas, but claimed by Buddhists, culminated in a quarrel in which the latter was defeated. The Kankali Tila *stupa* about which we will study subsequently, has yielded a number of antiquities. Whether this dispute was over the same Jaina *stupa* at Mathura we cannot say. But a number of later Jaina texts do speak of a *stupa* built at Mathura.

In the *Vividhatirthakalpa*,[81] a collection of accounts of various Jaina Tirthankaras, composed by Jinaprabha Suri in the fourteenth century A.D., we hear of two Jaina monks visiting Mahinnapuri and staying in a part during the era of Jaina Suparsvanatha, there arose a controversy over the ownership of the *stupa* with members of other sects, such as the Buddhists, Saivites and Vaisnavas. Through divine intervention the image was proved to be that of the Jina and his *pata* (painting on the cloth) was carried through the city on *Yatra*.

The Jaina literature is thus profuse in its reference on Mathura. The dynamic position of Mathura in terms of economic developments was recognised in the texts. However, apart from

79. *Nisitha-Curni*, Vol. II, p. 46.

80. *Avasyaka-Curni*, pp. 192-193.

81. *Vividhatirthakalpa*, pp. 17-18.

literary evidences we have epigraphic and sculptural evidences also that prove apart from throwing light on the Mathura society of the post-Mauryan period, how important Mathura was to the post-Mauryan Jainas.

A large number of small dedicatory inscriptions are inscribed on the images of Jinas as well as on votive tablets, *i.e. ayagapatas,* arches, etc. Most of these come from *Kankali Tila* (Mound). Many of these were recorded by Fuhrer in 1889 and later studied by Buhler and Luders. Most of these appear in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vols. I, II, III and X in Luders' *List* (*Epigraphia Indica*), Vol. X and more recently by Jennart in his books, *The Mathura Inscription.* Many of the studies bearing the inscriptions are in the State Museum, Lucknow.

The epigraphs studied in detail furnish invaluable information. It is quite supportive of our main contention that Jainism was a very popular religion in north India in the post-Mauryan period and that Mathura was a flourishing seat of this faith. The earliest Jaina inscription has been assigned the date of second century B.C. by Buhler. However, the bulk belong to the Kusana period. In this short period it is difficult to take up each of the inscriptions and analyse in details. So we might just point a few inferences drawn from the study of the epigraphs. First, the existence of the epigraphs itself is a proof of the existence and popularity of Jainism in Mathura. As far as the political history is concerned, we get conclusive evidence of the Saka and Kusana rule in Mathura. It is also clear that the Saka[82] and the Kusanas[83] followed different dating patterns. In the case of Kusanas Kaniska started a dating pattern, Saka Samvat, which was followed by his successors also.

On the contemporary social and economic life, epigraphs

82. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, Nos. 2, 3, p. 199.

83. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 203, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 382 and many others.

throw enough light. It is worthnoticing that all images, *ayagapatas* (tablets of homage) *sarvatobha-drika pratima* (four faced images) of *toranadvaras* (gates) or stone pillars mentioned in the epigraphs and donations.

Out of the inscriptions studied in detail at least forty show that *danas* (donations) were made by females. All the donations are made by female lay worshippers at the request of nuns or monks. This is understandable as by the rules of monastic discipline, the members of the order were forbidden to own property beyond the scale of articles allowed to them.

One might rightly question why the female donors should dominate this activity. Only four inscriptions bear the name of male donors: Indrapala,[84] Sura[85], Gova[86], (Gopa) and Simhandika.[87]

The phenomenon of women independently giving alms and making rich gifts does be speak of a society more active and economically more gainful. The act of donation is clearly linked in their family background and urban milieu. In each of the epigraphs where the name of the woman is mentioned, her detailed family background and often the profession of husband and father are given. From these we get the idea the most of the female donors came from the mercantile background; from the family of *vanika*, or *sresthins*, or specifically *gandhhika* and *hiranayaka*[88] (goldsmith), etc. The urban milieu seemed to have produced two more types of donor *ganikas* and *natakas*.[89]

Taking into account the urban base of the majority of women donors, it would be safe to assume that it was the

84. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, No. 201. p. 202ff.

85. J. 23 of Accession Register, State Museum, Lucknow.

86. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, No. 21, p. 391.

87. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 30, p. 207.

88. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, No. 23, p. 205.

89. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, No. 5, p. 200.

emergent commercial spirit of the age which was largely responsible for making females an important category of donors. As for their making more donations than their males, it is probable that acts of religious merit were considered the responsibility of females among Jina and Buddhist lay worshippers. There is a possibility that the tight schedule of the merchants prompted them to pass on the responsibility to the females.

Yet another factor might have been responsible; the generally liberal atmosphere of the urban areas. The issue becomes clear if we contrast the initiative of urban-based (heterodox sect) female with the restrictions on female imposed by Brahmanical theories. They continued to idealize the pastoral social ethos and sought to perpetuate it by decrying and resisting all change connected with the growth of private property, urban development and commercial enterprise.[90] It was perhaps their rigid attitude that prevented them from presenting their women in a more liberal light. Women had no right on property except on *stridhana.*[91] For women who were totally dependent on their male folks for economic existence, they could hardly have had the right make donations independently.

Through the status of Buddhist and Jaina lay female worshippers was perhaps better than that of their Brahmanical counterparts, their social status remained inferior to men. This can be exemplified by numerous inscriptions where details of their family background is provided. Not only is husband's name given but even those of the father-in-law, father and even the sons are provided. The women were not simply recognized as individuals in their own rights.

The epigraphs are specially significant in elucidating the developments within the Jaina sect. Numerous inscriptions are found to have highlighted the developments within the Jaina

90. Vijay Nath, Dana: *Gift System in Ancient India*, p. 73.

91. Manusmriti, Chapter IX, 194.

monastic order, of which we have detail accounts in the *Kalpasutra*. Details of *gana, kula, sakha* and *sambhoga* indicate that the Samgha's heirarchical structure was well developed. The Jaina church had equipped itself for facing the challenge put forward by Buddhism and Brahmanism which also found a fertile ground for growth in Mathura.

The greatest development for the lay followers, as revealed by the epigraphs was the existence of *stupa* worship. As has been suggested earlier, *stupa* worship has little validity for ascetics. But the fact that they were eager to associate themselves with donors of statues at the complex reveals the gradual acceptance of *stupa* worship within the church itself. Similarly the image worship established by the epigraphs revealed the existence of a very strong section of laity at Mathura. Both *stupa* and image worship form a part of the growing Jaina popular culture.

There is yet another element of Jainism that needs to be discussed here and that is the inclusion of Sarasvati[92] in Jainism as revealed both in the epigraph and sculpture. The epigraph raises a few questions. Did it signify the beginning of absorption of Brahmanical deities in the Jain pantheon in order to make it mass oriented? Did Sarasvati along with a number of other symbols like *dharmacakra, caitya* and popular deities like, Yaksa actually constitute a common storehouse for all contemporary sects? Their absorption then might not signify the growing influence of one sect over another but utilization of those symbols and objects that were easily comprehensible by the people of the day.

According J.P. Jain, the Jain Sarasvati, which is the oldest representation of the goddess so far discovered in the whole of India, actually symbolized tremendous literary activity of the Jainas. We have seen earlier that the post-Mauryan period was

92. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, No. 21, p. 391.

one of re-thinking and speculation among the Brahmanas and Buddhists. This fact along with the emergence of schismatic tendencies among Jainas at this time must have compelled the Jaina thinkers to redact various philosophies. The compilation of the canon came about as a result of the council of Valabhi of the fifth or sixth century. However, some kind of process of writing the canon had certainly started by this time.

Interestingly, none of the inscriptions found so far refer to donative land grants at this point in time. Unlike the Buddhists, the Jainas still did not acquire any land base. Jaina monks basically remained wanderers. We do get references to Jaina Viharas[93] at Mathura and at least one epigraphic reference about a gift from a *gramika* family but not many evidences come on way. In other words contact with agriculturists was only gradually being established. This alone can explain the absence of land grants to Jaina monasteries.

In a nutshell, one can say that the epigraphic study of the finds at Kankali Tila, Mathura reveals the importance of Jainism in and around Mathura between c. 200 B.C. and c. A.D. 300, along with reflecting changes in the political arena, social life, especially the status of women linked with economic background and developments within the Jaina sect.

Sculptural evidences come in form of various finds from Kankali Tila *stupa* complex. Once again a number of inferences can be drawn. First, *stupa* worship in Jainism can be confined as early as the third century B.C. *Stupa* worship is a feature common to both Buddhism and Jainism. It is argued that *stupa* might have been erected for the purpose of housing remains of the dead.[94] It was perhaps a practice of showing respect to the dead, but gradually it gained religious overtones. At least

93. Mitra, Debala , "Mathura," in A.N. Ghosh, ed., *Jain Art and Architecture*, p. 63.

94. Pant, Sushila, *Stupa Architecture in India*, p. 42f.

in Buddhism it became a way of attaining *nibhana*. Among the Jainas, the practice of worshipping *stupas* is confirmed by various representations like J 250, J 623, J 535 J 20 (of State Museum, Lucknow), Q 2 (of Mathura Museum) and J 555 (of State Museum, Delhi).

Idol worship had also become popular by this time. During our period of study four Jinas seem more popular than others; Mahavira, Neminatha, Risabhanatha and Parsvanatha. We also have reference to Munisuvrta and probably Santinatha.

It is interesting that in Jaina *Kalpasutra*, lives of only four Tirthankaras, Risabhanatha, Neminatha, Parsvanatha and Mahavira—are described in detail probably forming the opinion of the original text. A glance at the stylized summary treatment of the remaining Tirthankaras lends doubt to their antiquity and would suggest later additions. The view seems to obtain support from the absence of images of twenty other Tirthankaras at Kankali Tila at Mathura.

Before the practice of donating Jina statues became popular, the common practice was to donate an *ayagapata* or a tablet of homage which represented Jinas. So we have numerous presentations of *ayagapatas* like J 256, J 686 A and J 232 (of State Museum, Lucknow).

Apart from various finds comprising of *stupa* representations, Jina statues and *ayagapatas*, we also get remains of railing pillars, coping stones and *torana dvaras* which were a part of the *stupa* complex at Kankali Tila.

That the schism between the Svetambaras and the Digambaras had become complete by this time cannot really by gauged by this medium of expression. One does not come across male devotees without clothes (exception in case of J. 26) as is the trend among Digambaras. They have instead an *ardhphalaka* to conceal their nudity. However, as far as Jina images are concerned, all the images are without clothes. The

Svetambara tradition of wearing a loin cloth found expression in art much later in the eighth and and ninth centuries A.D.

A comparison between the growth of Jainism in two important areas, the north and the east reveals that in the east (Bengal, Bihar and Orissa), Jainism received royal patronage, but not much can said about its mass base. This we infer on the basis of paucity of independent Jina figures. On the other hand, we come across numerous cave dwelling in Orissa in Udayagiri and Khandagiri which were obviously monastic retreats and donated by the rulers as revealed by Hathigumpha inscription. In the north, though deprived of royal support, Jainism was supported by the followers and the numerous Jaina sculptures and their inscriptions corroborate the fact.

Thus one may state with confidence that Jainism flourished in the post-Mauryan period in the north and north-east India. It developed its base in all commercial centres. Mathura was its stronghold as is evident from various epigraphs, sculptures, as well as literary sources.

Historian of the period have done injustice to this religion by practically relegating it to the background. Studies on Buddhism and Brahmanism seem to overshadow its existence. Here we would like to reiterate that the post-Mauryan centuries, especially those of the Kusanas, were as much conducive to the growth of this system as that of Brahmanism and Buddhism. Unfortunately, Jainism has merely received a mention in several historical works of the period but eluded rigorous probing and analysis.

The factor behind the growth of Jainism during the period under review may be sought in the existing socio-economic environment. International links with Central Asia during the Saka and Kusana periods rejuvenated not only trade but also industry. This, in turn, led to the emergence of the Vaisya, especially the mercantile class comprising the Negamas, Sethis,

Sarthavahas, Vanikas and numerous other merchants as a powerful section not only in the economic but in the political sphere as well. This section of the society patronised Jainism and supported it by forming an impressive following and helping it financially. Their leading role in the promotion of *Samghas* was reciprocated by Jainism adapting itself to the demands of the laity. The result was an incorporation of popular elements within Jainism like worship of *stupas, yaksas tirthankaras*, etc.

The feature of absorption of popular element was common to all existent sects including Brahmanism and Buddhism. We have shown how Buddhism was among the early religions to absorb the Yaksa cult within the pantheon and evolve a new theory to justify idol worship (as was the case of Mahayanism).

Jainism was also alive to the need of assimilating popular deities. We have shown that Yaksas had become an important part of the Jain pantheon. At Mathura, Jainism was prompt in accepting popular aspects of Krisna cult also. Krisna and Balarama are projected as cousins as well as attendants of Jina Neminatha. The inclusion of Krisna would then imply two things. First it was an attempt to placate the Jaina followers of Mathura who were well familiar with the popular deity. Alternatively, the absorption and subordination of Krisna who was well on the way of becoming a very important Brahmanical deity may suggest a tension between Jainism and the incipient theistic Visnuism. Mathura being a centre of Buddhism, Brahmanism and Jainism, tension among the followers of sects was quite likely and subordination of a popular deity of another sect was one way of showing one's own superiority. What needs to be highlighted is that Jainas were in a position to do so. The inference is clear that Jainism was a more popular religion in Mathura at this time than Brahmanism. This we can verify from iconical presence also. The Jaina finds of post-Mauryan period at Mathura and Lucknow outnumber the Brahmanical finds.

On direct confrontation between the Jainas and Buddhists

during the period under review we have very few references for north India. The Jaina texts[95] do speak of tussles between the Buddhists and the Jainas over the ownership of the stupa at Mathura. Probably this is a reference to Kankali Tila *stupa*. The *Paumacariyam*, the text of the first century A.D. also speaks of efforts undertaken by even Jaina monks to resist expansion of Buddhism and Sivism.[96]

The Jainas were well aware of the challenge thrown by the rival sects and that explains why they too incorporated the elements of popular culture and brought doctrinal changes.

In the final anaysis, we reiterate that Jainism was a fairly popular religion of the period between circa 200 B.C. and circa A.D. 300. It had a sustained growth from the sixth century B.C. and the post-Mauryan five centuries were especially conducive to its development. Jainism itself remained no unchanging monolith. It stands out as an Indian religion with remarkable ability to adapt and co-exist without losting its intrinsic identity. (EOJ, Pp. 5687-5705).

95. *Vyavahara Sutra Bhasya*, 5, 2728. J.C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in Jaina Canons*, p. 309.

96. *Paumacariyam*, 89.42f.

5

JAINAS DURING THE MUGHAL'S

Mughal's : The Invaders became Emperors

During medieval period of India's history in North-West Provinces, Rajasthan, Malva and Gujarat, Jains occupied important positions and the ruling Rajput chiefs believed in their honesty. The Jain community, as such, was mainly engaged in trade and commerce from village level to district and state level. They were largely trusted in the society and people have faith in them.

Continuous Muslim invasions after the end of 7th century onwards till the invasion of Babur, greatly spoiled the social and religious atmosphere of India. Though Bhakti movement had consoled the masses a bit, the Muslims converted people of lower classes in their fold, but they could not change the social traditions of Jains.

Thus Jains were neither attracted to Muslim thought, nor influenced by their way of life, instead peacefully carried out their trade even in much prolonged bad times. Buddhism was completely annihilated from the land and the entire band of Bhikkus raised no voice in defence against the organised Arabs, Afghans, Turks etc.

Historians of conventional school have not written elaborately and minutely how Buddhism and Jainism were destructed and annihilated by the cruel Muslims invaders and terrorists at the active instigation of some priestly and ruling classes.

On the eve of Babur's invasion (1526 A.D.) there was no paramount power in India, and Rajputs were struggling with each other for supremacy. According to Ishwari Prasad, India was, a congeries of states at the opening the 16th. century and likely to be the easy prey of an invader...." The Delhi sultanate was not strong,. Lodi dynasty got territory of Punjab, Doab, Jaunpur, Oudh, apart of Bihar, Tirhut, and the country between the Sutlej and Bundelkand.

In the battle of Panipat (1526), Ibrahim Lodi's army was defeated and Lodi dynasty was shattered to pieces and the sovereignty of India passed in the hands of Babur. Thus the battle of Panipat placed the empire of Delhi in the control of Turks. But soon the victory of Panipat did not make Babur the ruler of India. He had to face Rana Sanga of Mewar in the battle of Khanwah (1527). The advance-guard party of Babur was defeated by the Rajputs, but Babur showed the qualities of his leadership and encouraged his soldiers to fight the enemy with all courage. In the battle of Khanwah, Sanga fought bravely but was defeated and the power of Rajputs crippled.

In 1528 Babur captured Chanderi (1528) and the Rajputs determined to fight to the finish lest their lives. Their women burnt themselves by performing Jauhar.

In the battle of Ghagra (1529) Babur completely defeated the Afghans. In this way in three battles Babur had reduced whole of northern India to submission. During the rest of his survival he organised the administration of the provinces of his newly won kingdom. He divided his territory into a large number of Jagirs which were distributed among his able and courageous Turk officers. They collected land revenue and were responsible for civil administration. However, much of the territory remained in the hands of the native land-holders. Afghans and loyal Hindu Sardars were also adjusted and given high appointments.

Business and trade suffered badly. Babur was not able during this period, to take any steps for the promotion of agriculture. There was all chaos at socio-economic and religious fronts.

In 'Baburnama', his memoirs, the historical and social standpoints are considered valuable. He observed that people have a way of life and Vijayanagar and Mewar were two powerful Hindu Kingdoms. Babur was a keen lover of nature and knew every bird and every animal. Babur's assessment of Indian people is not very encouraging whom he described 'not very much cultured. People and peasants of low standing go about naked. But it is a large country and has masses of gold and silver.'

After the death of Babur in 1530, his son Humayun inherited the throne and has to face many difficulties at the time of his succession. Repeatedly defeated Afghans were a great danger for him. A great rival in Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, who had united the provinces of Malwa and Gujarat was also a constant threat to Humayun.

In the expedition of Kalinjar (1531), Humayun was not able to defeat the Raja, and was forced to make peace. When under the leadership of Mahmood Lodi, the Afghans of Bihar, marched on to the province of Jaunpur and advanced upto Barabanki, Humayun in a fierce battle defeated them in the battle of Dourah (1532). He besieged the fort of Chunar under Sher Khan (1532). After return from Chunar, he wasted a year and a half in feasts and festivities in Agra and Delhi. He honoured the nobles with robes of honour and Arab horses.

During 1535-36, he had to fight with Bahadur Shah, who had annexed Malwa in 1531, captured fort of Raisin in 1532, defeated Sisodia chief of Chittor in 1533 and aimed at becoming Emperor of India.

Ultimately, Humayun forced Bahadur Shah to run away

who took refuge in the Island of Diu. Humayun completed the conquest of Gujarat, earlier captured Mandu and Champaner. Again there was a war with Sher Khan in 1537-39, but lost in the battle of Kannauj in 1540. He could not consolidate the conquests of his father Babur.

Historians have depicted him as a man of character. He respected the learned scholars. His reign presented a series of reverses, rebellions and anarchy. In such an atmosphere India could not make progress on agricultural, economic and social front. Like Babur, Sher Shah Suri during 1540-45 sat on the throne of Delhi, but only for a period of five years. From a petty Jagirdar's son in Bihar, he had risen with position of an Emperor and captured extensive territories. He had driven the Mughals, out of India and humbled the pride of the noblest Mugals. It is said he was very liberal to all faiths and religions.

There are references that Jainism made progress in this period. Sher Shah followed a policy of religious tolerance. He separated politics from religion, as on more than one occasion, Sher Shah resorted to Jehad or holy war against the Rajputs chiefs. After the death of Sher Shah in 1545 his successors ruled over the land till 1556. Ultimately Humayun reconquested his lost empire.

Hemu

In the pages of history we see Hemu, a Vaisya by caste who rose to prominence in this period. It is said Sher Shah had discovered Raja Todarmal, his successor Islam Shah discovered Hemu, who became the pillar of fortune and tower of strength of the disintegrating Suri regime after the death of Islam Shah.

Hemu was Chief Minister during the rule of Mohammad Adil (1553-57). Adil was son of Sher Shah's brother Nizam. Hemu was the son of Ramiya of Rewari. He was born at Qutabpur in the Dhusar caste of the Vaishyas. He was one of the best

characters of medieval history who proved unique in weighing atta and in wielding the sword better than the Rajputs and Turks and possessed much more intelligence than martial races of the time. Hemu, it is said had faith in the teachings of the Tirthankaras and believed in religious and communal harmony.

No Hindu Rajput suffered so many wounds in the battle field ever except Rana Sanga, and no Rajput weilded the sword so bravely against foreign invaders as Hemu did on the field of Panipat, according to medieval chronicles. Sher Shah not only promoted religious tolerance and respected all principal faiths like Hinduism, Jainism, but also protected interests of the business class and the peasantry. But nothing was done to protect them by his successor.

It is noteworthy that many of Sher Shah's reforms were adopted and followed by Akbar and his successor's as the principles of their administration. So much so that after the fall of the Mughals, the English East India Company also retained the same administrative machinery or more or less same agrarian policy as evolved by Sher Shah, a genius to affect the destiny of India for centuries.§

Who can deny that Mughals who marched into India as invaders became emperors of this vast lavd in due course of time.

Jain Community and Akbar

Here Surendra Gopal in his research based paper 'The Jain Community and Akbar' tries to delineate the impact of Mughal Emperor Akbar's policies on the Jain community. Undoubtedly Akbar believed in religious tolerance.

As is well known, the Jains were mostly concentrated in Rajasthan and Gujarat though their pockets existed almost throughout north India besides some places in western and south India.

§ For details see Dr. Ishwari Prasad, The Life and Times of Humayun, Dr. R.S. Tripathi, Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, Dr. A.L. Srivastava, Sher Shah and His Successors, Elliot and Dowson, History of Mughal, and Dr. V.D. Mahajan, Mughal Rule in India.

A work of the fifteenth century shows that the members of Jain community were also to be found in Malwa, in Sindh, Haryana and the Punjab.[1] We also learn that between samvat 1475 and Samvat 1515 Jinabhadra Suri a saint of Tapa Gachcha branch of Svetambara sect took up the arduous task of transferring Jain works written on palm-leaves to paper and established *grantha bhandar* or depositing centre of books in Jaisalmer, Jawalapur, Deogiri (Daultabad in Maharashtra), Ahipur and Patna.[2] There is also a mention of such depositories in Mandapdurg or Mandu in Malwa and Cambay in Gujarat.[3]

In Gujarat and Rajasthan, the Jains were basically traders though in Rajasthan some of them also occupied important official positions such as the family of Bhagmal Kawariya of Mewar whose members from the time of Rana Sanga onwards served Mewar as Ministers and included such illustrious ministers as Tarachand, Bhema Shah, Jiwa Shah, etc.[4] Similarly, the Muhnot family was associated with the house of Jodhpur and provided several ministers in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, the most famous of them being Muhnot Nainasi, the writer of *Muhnot Nainasi ra khyat*.[5]

There close connection with the ruling cheifs in Rajasthan and Gujarat facilitated the quick and smooth integration of the

1. Muni JinVijay (ed.), *Vijnaptitrivenih* (Jain Atmanand Sabha, Bhavnagar, 1916), pp. 34, 39.
   The work basically deals with a pilgrimage undertaken by Jains from Sindh to Nagarkot (now in Himachal Pradesh) in Samvat 1484 *i.e.* in A.D. 1427.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59
3. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
4. J.P. Jain, *Pramukh Jain Purush Aur Mahilayen* (Bhartiya Gyanpith, New Delhi, 1975), pp. 300-02.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 305-08; see also G.D. Sharma "Contemporary and Modern Trends of Writings on the Society of Rajasthan During the Mughal Period", in Ray and Chakrabarti (eds), *Studies in Cultural Development of India* (Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1991), pp. 293-309.

Jains in the Mughal administrative system after these chiefs decided to cooperate with the Mughals in the time of Akbar. Their trust in the new polity is evident from their diffusion all over the Mughal empire under Akbar and his successors.

Akbar's policy helped to create conditions in which Jain traders began to migrate to the different parts of north India from Rajasthan and Gujarat. This became possible because of the combination of a number of factors.

First, by conquering the whole of north of India Akbar established a uniform system of Government, a single fiscal and customs policy and basically one type of currency. Roads linking important trade and producing centres of Gujarat and Rajasthan such as Surat, Ahmedabad, Ajmer, Bayana etc., to Agra were built. Roads now connected Agra with Labore and halting places along the roads were provided. At the same time comparative security of persons and property was established which made long distance travel and transport of goods more safe and convenient. Akbar's policy of conquest had helped to forge one political unit out of northern and western India which created suitable conditions for conducting economic activities over a much wider region.

While these measures had created the much needed environment, the real breakthrough came after Akbar implemented his Rajput policy and instead of subjugating the Rajput chiefs and incorporating their kingdoms converted them into the allies and vassals of the Mughal empire, sometimes even by entering into matrimonial relations.

Many Rajput chieftains along with their family members were made administrative functionaries and military commanders by Akbar and sent to different parts of the empire, to administer, to keep peace or to win new territories.[6]

6. There are numerous examples of Rajput chiefs occupying high civil and military posts under Akbar.

Many of these top Rajput commanders and administrators carried with them their adevisers from their homeland to assist them in the task of administration. Among these some were Jains. Man Singh, while he was posted as the Governer of Bengal with its headquarters at Rajmahal in Bihar, had with him Mahamatya Nanu Godha a Jain who served him for a long time and then returned carrying immense riches.

Nanu Godha is reputed to be the most celebrated Jain personality among the Khandelwals in the seventeenth century. He is reputed to have constructed eighty temples in Bengal (by Bengal is meant both the present Day Bihar and Bengal). He owned seventy-two elephants and his wealth was unparalleled.[7]

The service of these Jains were also needed for arranging supplies to the armies led by the Rajput commanders in different parts of empire during the reign of Akbar. Personal knowledge of the different parts of the empire thus obtained helped the Jains to make up their minds about moving out of Rajasthan to earn a livlihood. Therefore, Akbar's Rajput policy not only led to the migration of Rajputs but also of the Jains to the different parts of the Mugal empire.

As is well known, Akbar by laying down that the land revenue should be paid in cash rather than in kind gave a boost to commercialisation of agriculture as peasant become interested in producing cash crops which commanded a ready sale and fetched higher prices, at least on a part of their landholdings. This measure intensified rural-urban trade monetization of economy[8] and was an important factor in promoting inland trade during this period.

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7. Kasturcand Kasliwal, *Khandelwal Jain Samaj Ka Brihad Itihas,* Vol. I (Jain Itihas Prakashan Sansthan, Jaipur, 1989), p. pp. 196-98; J.P. Jain, *op. cit.,* p. 314.

8. Shireen Stoosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire c. 1595* (Oxford, Bombay, 1987), p. 353.

The Jain community which was dispersed over this region took advantage of this oppurtunity for they had the necessary expertise and probably more important than this, though located in different places they remained in contact with each other through ties of family, friendship, occupation and religion. The memebers of the community could therefore, operate all over the region with greater confidence and better knowledge of the prevailing economic and political environment.

The family ties of Jains covered a number of places as is evident from the fact that Banarsidas's grandfather Muldas was attached to the ruler of Narwar near Gwalior while his maternal grandfather Madan Singh Chinaliya was a famous jeweller of Jaunpur. His father Kharagsen had served in Bengal, Allahabad and Jaunpur. Banarsidas settled down in Agra.[9]

Another example of the existence of family ties among Jains residing in distant cities is furnished by Hemraj Patani, a resident of Patna who was married to a niece of Seth Hiranand Mukim of Agra.[10] In Bengal Diwan Dhanna Rai had under him five hundred Shrimal Vaisyas who were employed in the task of revenue collection.[11]

It is against this background that we must view the visit of Jain saints to the court of Akbar. It was a reflection of growing interest of their lay followers in the continuously widening area of economic activities, made possible by the emergence of the new political entity. Akbar, of course, invited them to visit him following his desire to bring about a reapproachement among the major religious communities of the country. But the growing involvement of their coreligionists in

9. Jain, J.P., *op. cit.*, pp. 291-92. Banarsidas, *Ardha-Kathanak* (Hindi Granth Ratnakar, Bombay, 1943), pp. 19-22. This edition has been edited by Nathuram Premi.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 293.

11. Jain, J.P., *op. cit.*, p. 291.

the Mughal polity and economy must have been an important motivation for them in seeking and maintaining good relations with the Mughal emperor. Thus from Padmasundar who appears to have been the first Jain monk to meet Akbar we have a continuous flow of distinguished Jain saints to the court of Akbar and his successor Jahangir.[12] Of course, the most famous Jain visitor to Akbar was Hiravijaya Suri who met him in Samvat 1639.[13]

Akbar was so much impressed by Hiravijaya Suri that he conferered upon him the title of 'Jagad Guru' or 'the preceptor of the world.'[14] The interaction won over the confidence of the community. When Hiravijaya Suri quitted with court in 1587, he left behind his brilliant disciple Santichandra, the author of "Kriparasa-Kosa."[15] When he left the royal court in 1587 he asked Banucandra and his disciple Siddhichandra to stay back. They lived even after the death of Akbar at the court and Siddhichandra who had also learnt Persian, wrote "Bhanuchandra Gani Carit" a biography of his master.

The faith of the community in Akbar and the Mughal polity was strengthened when the ruler issued firmans prohibiting the killing of animals on certain days sacred to the Jains.[16] Similarly, they were permitted to renovate their temples and allowed to

12. Padmasundar wrote a work in Sanskrit entitled, "Akbarshahi Sringardarpan". Another Jain eulogistic work on Akbar is "Kripa-ras-kosa" by Santichandra.
13. *Surishwar Aur Samrat Akbar*, p. 105. He was accompanied by sixty-seven monks. The earlier visitor had in his entourage thirty-five monks; Muni Vidyavijay, *Vijay Prasastisar* (in Hindi). Lucknow, 1912, p. 32.
14. *Vijaya Prasastisar*, p. 31.
15. M.D. Desai, "Jain Priest at the Court of Akbar", *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, January 1942, Vol. IV, No. 7, p. 14.
16. *Surishwar Aur Samrat Akbar*, p. 128. Copies of the two firmans issued by Akbar in favour of the Jains are published. The first firman was issued in A.H. 999 & the second in A.H. 1010.
17. Jain, J.P., *op. cit.*, pp. 289-290.

go on pilgrimage in large groups.[17] The time span of eleven lunar years separating the two firmans of Akbar and also the continued stay of Jain teachers at the Mughal Court point to the continuing patronage of the Jains by the Mughal emperor.

We find a rich Jain trader of Agra Seth Hiranand Mukim, who later on became the personal jeweller of Emperor Jahangir leading a party of Jain pilgrims to Sammed Shikhar in Bihar. While it was not unusual for Jains to go on pilgrimage to holy places in Rajasthan and Gujarat, it was certainly something new that a big party of Jains could go from Agra to Sammed Shikhar and the state extended full protection to the party.[18]

The practice of large parties of pilgrims visiting eastern India helped in integrating Jains residing in different part of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar etc. This change should not be over looked as earlier the Jains generally travelled to their holy places mostly located in Gujarat and Rajasthan. Eventually, this environment promoted inter-regional ties and trade.

Akbar's policy of religious toleration resulted in increased mobiliy of Jain saints and their entourage which further reinforced the bonds among the members of the community. They could profess and practice their region publicly. The new-found mobility enabled them to forge linkages at all levels of administration which furthered the commercial activities of their co-religionists as officials were now afraid to harass them.

Akbar's policies affected the Jain community in several other ways.

The good relations that developed between the Jain religious leaders and the Mughal rulers now extended to the members of the community at large. A number of them held positions in the Mughal administration and could influence the state policies and help their co-religionsits whenever they felt harassed by the activities

18. *Ibid.*, p. 290.

of the local Mughal officials. Also, they were now emboldened to settle down in groups in places where they could profitably follow their traditional vocation of trade.

Furthermore, the royal patronage helped the community to forget temporarily their dissensions[19] and cooperate with each other in secular and temporal matters. Thus in March 1596, Jains from Punjab, Bengal, Rajputana and Gujarat forgetting their differences assembled on the Satrunjay hills to pay homage to their deities.[20] This was probably an unforseen and unanticipated consequence of the harmony developing between the Mughal ruler and the Jain community.

In the time of Akbar Agra emerged as an entrepot and was probably the greatest trade mart inside the country.[21] We have substantial number of Jains residing in Agra in time of Akbar. Many of them were fairly rich. They occupied official position as well as carried on trade.

Karma Chand was a minister of Akbar, enjoying his trust.[22] His biographer claims that for some time he prohibited fishing in Jhelum, Satlaj, Ravi and Indus rivers.[23] He cites instances when Akbar conferred lavish rewards on Karma Chand.[24]

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19. *Vijaya Prasastisar*, pp. 40, 79. A schism which had plagued Jains of Ahmedabad for twelve years ended after Suriji intervened.
20. M.S. Commissariat, "Epigraphic and other Records in Gujarat Relating to the Jain Saint Hiravijaya Suri," *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, Vol. III, No. 3, p. 148.
21. Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire*, c. 1595 (Oxford, Calcutta, 1987), p. 128.
22. *Ath Karmachandravam Sotkiiprtankam Kavyam* (in Sanskrit with Hindi translation), pp. 59, 75 and verses 272, 273, 340-42. The book was composed at Lahore in Samvat 1654, *Ibid.*, p. 119.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 69. V. 321.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 77. Vs. 354-55.
25. *Surishwar Aur Samrat Akbar*, p. 99, 155, 258. He and Bhanukalyana were asked by Akbar to invite Hiravijaya Suri to the royal court at Agra. C. B. Seth, *Jainism in Gujarat*, Bhavanagar, 1953, p. 264.

Than Singh was another favourite and confidante of Akbar.[25] At the instance of the emperor, a centre for collecting books relating to Jainism was started in Agra and Than Singh was asked to look after it.[26] It was said that in the reign of Akbar's successor Jahangir eighty-eight important Jains belonging to the Svetambara sect resided in Agra and all of them were fairly well off.[27]

In Bihar in the early seventeenth century, we have reference to twelve families of Jain traders whose leader was Sanghvi Sangram Singh.[28] Subsequently the number went in increasing during the reign of Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb.

We have also the example of Than Singh, Manu Kalyan and Amipal, who were deputed by the emperor to look after Acharya Hiravijay in Agra.[29] They lavishly spent money on his public reception.[30]

All travel accounts of Jain saints in the reign of Akbar describe grand procession being organised in towns by Jains through which they passed, especially in Gujarat, Malwa and Rajasthan where they were present in large numbers.[31] In many towns of western Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Punjab, they again received warm reception from their followers. The opportunity to display publicly their faith and opulence must have exerted a powerful psychological impact on them to continue to earn and accumulate wealth.

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26. *Ibid.*, p. 124; Seth, p. 135.
27. *Ardhakathanak*, p. 135.
28. Jain J.P., *op. cit.*, p. 297.
29. Sri Vidyavijayji, *Surishwar Aur Samrat Akbar* (translated into Hindi from Gujarati by Krishnalal Varma) (Gyan Mandir, Agra, Samvat 1980). pp. 104-05. Hiravijay Suri was accompanied by sixty-seven saints. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Vijaya Prasastisar*, *Surishwar Aur Samrat Akbar*, etc.

The assemblage of affluent Jains in substantial number in Agra gave an impetus to cultural and religious activities. In 1594 Parimal wrote "Sripalcharita" which gives a vivid description of Agra and its society.[32]

Banarsidas, the writer of first autobiography in Hindi, grew up in Agra and he was a member of a group which discussed a variety of religious subjects, some of which were disliked by orthodoxy.[33] Banarsidas, as is well known also came in contact with the famous Hindi poet Goswami Tulsidas and Sundardas.[34]

It should be noted that some other economic policies of Akbar also helped the Jains to reap economic profit.

The requirement of payment of land revenue in cash invariably meant the growth of moneylending and increased importance of moneylender not only in rural sector but also in the urban sector. The Jains were well-fitted to assume this role.

They had the capital, they knew the market conditions and also they had local knowledge about the social and financial status of men they had to deal with. Hence, they combined moneylending along with their activities. We know in the seventeenth century Virji Vohra, a Digambar Jain of Surat, the greatest trader in India was also a well known money lender who advanced loans to the various European trading companies. The new business brought them increased wealth.

As internal trade developed, money-changing and transmission of money through *hundis* became its important components.

Akbar had given a fillip to monetization by organizing

32. Jain, J.P., *op. cit.,* pp. 286-87.

33. Bharilla, Hukamchand, *Pandit Todar Mal: Vyaktitva evam Krittiva.* (Jaipur, 1978), p. 2; *Khandelwal Jain Samaj . . . .*p. 254.

34. Jain, Ravindra Kumar, *Kavivar Banarsidas* (Varanasi, 1966), pp. 115-170.

mints in all the provincial captials. The Jain traders again had no difficulty in taking up this new profession on a wide scale since they had the capital as well as expertise.

Similarly, with respect to the transmission of money through *hundi*, the Jain traders were best fitted for the job as their links extended not only all over north India but also to west India both because of their trading activities and also because of community affiliation. Thus the Jain traders diversified their activity into moneylending, moneychanging and transmission of money. As the seventeenth century proceeded and the European trading companies became active in the internal markets of north India and gave a further fillip to inland trade, the Jains were fully prepared to profit from it.

The intensified trade activities of Jains is evident from their presence in small and big towns in north India.

In Multan (in the Punjab) we know of a group of Jain traders who followed the teaching of Banarsidas. It is said that the leading member Vardhaman Nawlakha went to Agra to meet Banarsidas.[35]

Shah Haranand was a leading Jain trader, who resided in Lahore.[36] Nahar Jatmal of Lahore subsequently wrote a poem "Lahore Gazal" in which he extensively described the city.[37]

The Jain saint Jinsingh Suri went to Lahore and stayed there at the instance of Karma Chandra.[38] His lay followers such as Parbhat, Man Singh, etc., besides organising meeting for his sermons gave him very warm and grand reception.[39]

35. Jain, J.P., *op. cit.*, p. 296.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

37. Varma Dhirendra and Varma, Brajeshwar *op. cit.*, p. 484.

38. "*Ath Karmachandravam Sotkiiprtankam . . .*", p. 83. Vs. 381-83; Vijay Prasastisar, p. 58.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 85. Vs. 383-93, 428-29, *Surishwar Aur Samrat* , p. 156.

In Delhi, may Jains resided. In the time of Shah Jahan they constructed the famous Red Jain temple in the vicinity of Chandani Chowk which still exists.[40]

Mathura was another centre which attracted their presence. East of Agra, they could be found in Prayag, Jaunpur, Varanasi, Patna etc. Hence, in the time of Akbar they were engaged in long distance trade and were rich. Some of them were fairly affluent while some of them were just able to make both ends meet. While they were trading in bulk items such as textiles and dyes and food stuffs, they were also engaged in high valued trade of diamonds, gold and silver, etc.[41]

Finally, one should also take into account the fact that many of the Jain saints though generally moving in Agra, Delhi, Rajasthan and Gujarat region, still preferred to write in Hindi besides writing in Sanskrit, Prakrit,[42] Gujarati[43] and Rajasthani. Thus in the later half of the sixteenth century, Ratnakirti (Samvat 1600 to 1656) wrote a number of poems in Hindi.[44] He is reputed to have been the first Digambar Jain poet of Hindi. Of course, Banarsidas has carved for himself a name in the annals of Hindi poetry. Many of these writers in Hindi belonged to the Punjab as well.[45]

One should not forget to mention that the Jains are also among the early writers of Hindi prose. As traders and administrators it was almost a compulsion for them to acquire proficiency in writing of prose. In the mid-sixteenth century

40. *Anekant,* Vol. III. Nos. 4-5, p. 219.

41. See *Ardhakathanak.*

42. C.B. Sheth, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-78.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 278-79.

44. Zohrapurkar and Kasliwal, *Vir Sasan Ke Prabhvak Acarya* (Bharatiya Jnanpitha, New Delhi, 1975), pp. 194-95.

45. Varma Dhirendra and Varma Brajeshwar (eds.), Hindi Sahitya. . . , Vol. II (Prayag, 1959), p. 485.

Pandey Rajmal wrote a commentary on Kundkundaeharya's *Samayasara* in Hindi prose.[46] Banarsidas also wrote Hindi prose.[47] This point to a growing realization among the Jain saints and litteratures that many of their co-religionists has settled down in the Ganga-Yamuna Doab region and had picked up the local language, therefore, it was necessary to speak and write in the language with which they were conversant, so that they could imbibe the message they intended to convey.

To students of history, another aspect of Jain literary works during the age of Akbar becomes important. Some of the writings dealt with the life and times of Akbar. Siddhichandra writes of Akbar, "There is not a single art, not a single branch of knowledge, not a single act of boldness and strength which was not attempted by the young Emperor."[48] One may not accept it but this is one dimension of how the contemporaries perceived their ruler. Similarly, while speaking of Abul Fazl, he says, "He had gone through the ocean of the whole literature and he was the best among all learned men." One can again question this. But certainly one gets a contemporary view of one of the important chroniclers of Akbar's age.[49]

Some biographical writings on Jain saints though highly eulogistic, throw light on the life-style of Jains, the status of women, the use of wealth etc., and the religious schisms that affected the Jain society. We, therefore, have a glimpse into the history of a group, which though played an important role

46. Jain, Kanta Prasad, Hindi Jain Ka Sankshipta Itihas (Kasi, n.d.), p. 136.

47. Nemichanda Shastri, Hindi Jain Sahitya Parishilan, Vol. II. (Banaras 1956), pp. 41-42.

48. Siddhicandra, *Banuchandraganicarit* (in Sanskrit), Calcutta, 1941, p. VII.

49. Some of the wroks were "Kriparaskosa", "Hirasaubhagya Mahakavya," "Jagadguru Kavya," "Bhanucandra Gani Caritra," "Akbar Pratibodh Rasa", "Vijay Prashasti Kavyas", "Vijaya Deva Shri Maatyam", "Suri Karma Chandra Caritra", etc.

in the economy, but was largely ignored by the Persian writers. They remain, therefore, an important source for a fuller study of the society in the age of Akbar. To understand the age of Akbar, we have to read the writings of contemporary Jains."*

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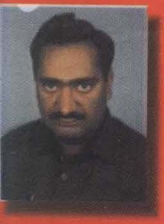

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