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## UNIT 16 SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

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### 16.0 OBJECTIVES

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In this unit you will get to know in general about the main social and economic changes which crystallised by the period of second urbanization and specially about the :

- main segments of the society, social order and the disabilities imposed on the sudras,
- evidences and the causative factors for the growth of food producing economy,
- main features of rural and urban economy, and
- main crafts and occupations along with the nature of trade and trade routes during the period.

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### 16.1 INTRODUCTION

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Before we discuss in any details the major aspects of society and economy in the period between the 6th century B.C. and 4th century B.C., it is necessary, as an introduction, to recapitulate some of the points already discussed. First, the later Vedic society seems to reflect a shift to a new geographical region i.e., upper and middle Ganga Valley, as well as consolidation of agrarian economy. Second, the appearance of rulers and others who enjoyed shares of wealth produced by society without producing any wealth themselves, and institutionalized inequality in society. This institutionalization of inequality meant the emergence of State and the state apparatus. It also meant further consolidation of the theory of the division of society into four varnas, because the varna theory elaborated the ways in which different sections in society should perform their duties.

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### 16.2 OUR SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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We have a variety of texts which provide us with information about the society and economy of the 6th to 4th century B.C. period. There are many brahmanical texts meant to instruct people in the performance of day-to-day rites and rituals. They are called **Grihya-sutras**, **Srautsutras** and **Dharma sutras**. Among these manuals some texts like those of Apastamba belong to this period. The grammar of Panini provides brief references to many communities in those times. However, our primary source of information about this period are the various Buddhist texts. Written in the pali language, the early Buddhist canons' date

back to the period between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C. Our information about the contemporary society is also enriched by the study of the archaeological sites related to the Northern Black Polished Ware.

## 16.3 SOCIETY

The society of the sixth to fourth century B.C. is a society undergoing tremendous change. Preachers, princess and merchants vie for our attention. This was the time when cities came into existence for the first time in historical India. (You have read about it in unit 15). This was also the time when a literate tradition began. Towards the end of this period the society had acquired the knowledge of writing and the earliest script of ancient India is called the Brahmi script. The invention of writing expanded the horizon of knowledge. Socially acquired knowledge had been transmitted through memorisation from one generation to another. There was a possibility of lots of things being forgotten or changed over a period of time. The invention of writing meant that knowledge could be stored without tampering with it. This fact heightened the consciousness of change. This was because social structure and beliefs kept changing in time. Once things were written down those changes became observable to the people of the subsequent period when ideas and beliefs had changed. Let us discuss about the various sections of society who are caught in the flux of change.

### 16.3.1 Kshatriyas

The Kshatriyas appear to be the most visible and powerful section of society in the contemporary literature. Buddha and Mahavira belonged to this group. In the Brahmanical texts the Kshatriyas have been equated with the warrior caste. This is the second highest caste in the varna order. They were supposed to be the rulers of the society. However, the Buddhist literature gives a different picture of the Kshatriyas. They did not have the compactness and strict rules of marriage which characterise a caste. They are mentioned as the ruling lineages of the **Ganasamghas** like those of Vaisali and Kapilavastu, referred to as the Shakyas, Licchavis, Mallas etc. They were groups who owned land collectively. Their land was cultivated by slaves and labourers called the **Dasa**, **Karmakaras**. They do not seem to have performed the Brahmanical rituals. As such we find that the Buddhist literature generally talks of only two groups in the **Ganasamghas**. They are the high caste and the low caste. In these areas instead of the four-fold Brahmanical caste structure there is a two-fold division. The Brahmans and Shudras are missing. These Kshatriya clans practiced various kinds of marriage customs which included the cross-cousin marriage. In fact they were so particular about whom to marry and not to marry that the Shakyas are supposed to have been destroyed because of this. According to a story their overlord, the King of Kosala called Prasenajita, wanted to marry a Shakya girl. The Shakyas could not refuse the offer. So, they sent a Shakya slave girl who was married to the King. The progeny of this marriage succeeded to the throne. Upon discovering this ruse played by the Shakyas, he destroyed them in anger. Although both, the Koshalan monarch and the Shakyas were Kshatriyas they did not inter-marry. This indicates that the Kshatriyas were not a caste in the sense we understand it. The Kshatriyas were very proud of their lineage and status. The Shakyas, Licchavis, Mallas and other such clans jealously guarded their rights of entry in their assemblies and other people were not allowed into these places. These assemblies decided most of the socio-political issues of their society. They did not pay land taxes and they did not have a standing army. In times of war the entire lineage would take to arms.

In the Kingdoms of Kosala, Kashi etc. the rulers are referred to as Kshatriyas. However unlike the Brahmanical sources the Buddhist sources place them at the top of the four caste structure. In one of the discourses Buddha says 'even when a Kshatriya has fallen into the lowest depths, he is still the best and the Brahmans are low in comparison to him.' Some of the Kshatriyas are shown as learned teachers and thinkers. Some others are described as taking to trade. As such one can say that the Brahmanical notion of Kshatriya as the warrior caste was applicable to only some princely families in the upper and middle Gangetic plains. They performed a variety of activities like preaching, trading and supervising agriculture. Especially in eastern India Kshatriyas did not exist as a caste. Rather there were many separate groups who called themselves Kshatriyas.

### 16.3.2 Brahmanas

The Brahmanas mentioned in the contemporary texts seem more like a caste group. Brahman is one who is born a Brahman. He may change his profession, still he remains a Brahman. The Brahmanical texts give them the privilege of mediation between man and god. They had the exclusive rights of performing sacrifices. This group was imbued with a consciousness of being the highest caste. They also seem to have followed certain rules of avoiding impure food and habitations. The Shatapatha Brahmana a contemporary Brahmanical text mentions four important marks of a Brahmana. They are Brahmanical parentage, suitable behaviour, attainment of fame and teaching of men. For doing this they were supposed to enjoy certain privileges. They were to be respected, given presents, and were given immunity from death sentence. Many Brahmanas did follow the life of renouncement and teaching. The Buddhist literature is generally critical of the Brahmanas. However, it is critical of the Brahmanas who had deviated from pious ethical life. They criticised the excessive ritualism and greediness of the Brahmanas. Many Brahmanas embraced Buddhism. It had been found that among the early followers of the Buddha Brahmanas were present in largest number. However, the Pali literature also indicates that the Brahmanas had taken to various kinds of professions. In the Dasabrahmana Jataka we are told a story which will give us an idea of the Buddhist attitude towards the Brahmanas. "In ancient times there reigned in the city of Indpatta in the Kingdom of Kuru, King Koravya of the family of Yuddhitthila: He was advised by his minister Vidhura in worldly and spiritual things...He (the King) gave him a seat and asked his advice. "Seek Brahmanas, Vidhura, that are virtuous and learned, who eschewing sensual pleasures would enjoy my gifts, gifts, O friend, we will make where, what is given will bear rich fruit."

"Very difficult to find are Brahmanas, O King, that are virtuous and learned, who, eschewing sensual pleasures, would enjoy your gifts.

"Verily, there are ten classes of Brahmanas, O King. Here when I distinguish and classify them clearly: Provided with roots, they gather herbs, bathe and mutter aphorisma. Physicians they resemble, O King, even if they call themselves Brahmanas, they are now known to you, O great King, to such we will go."

"Strayed-have they" replies King Koravya".....

"Little bells they carry before you and ring, messages also they carry and they know how to drive wagons, servants they resemble".....

"Carrying a waterpot and a bent stick they run behind the Kings into the villages and the Country towns, saying 'If nothing is given, we will not leave the village or the forests'. Tax Collectors they resemble".....

"With long nails and hair on the body, filthy teeth, filthy hair, covered with dust and dirt, they go out as beggars. Wood-cutters they resemble".....

"Myrobalans, mango and jack fruits, baskets made of sugar, scents, honey and ointment, the most diverse wares they sell, O Lord. Tradesmen they resemble.".....

"Agriculture and trade they carry on, they breed goats and sheep, their daughters they give away (for money), marriages they arrange for their daughters and sons. The Ambattha and versa they resemble".....

"Some purohitas eat food brought from outside, many people ask them (regarding omens), animals they castrate and lucky signs they prepare. Sheep are also slaughtered there (in the houses of the purohitas), as also buffaloes, swine and goats; slaughterer, they resemble.".....

"Armed with the sword and the shield axe in hand, they stand in the roads of the varsas (i.e., in the business streets) lead the caravans. (Through roads exposed to robbers). Cowherds they resemble and nishadas".....

"Building huts in the forest, they make nooses; hares, cats, lizards, fish and tortoises they kill. Hunters are they".....

"Others lie for love of money under the bed of kings; the latter bathe over them after a Soma offering is ready. Bathers they resemble".....

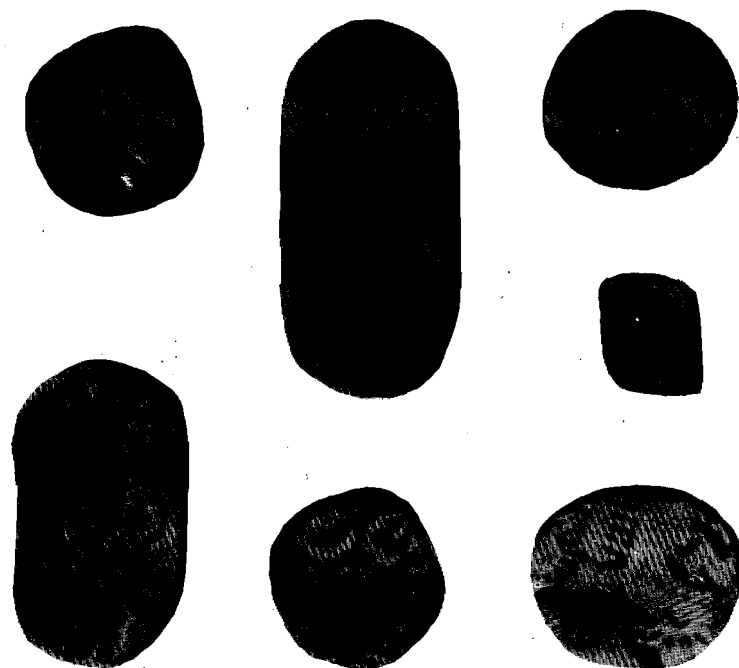
(The names of persons and places as given in the original text have been retained)

This story gives us an idea of the variety of activities performed by the Brahmanas. It also gives us a glimpse of the range of professions present in the contemporary society. Even with the changes in profession they are considered unworthy Brahmanas. They do not lose their caste. References to learned Brahmanas are also legion. So are the references to Brahman agriculturists who cultivated their own land or got their land cultivated by slaves and servants. However, their primary identity as a caste concerned with the divine, had already been formed.

### 16.3.3 Vaishyas and the Gahapati

In the Brahmanical varna system Vaishya was the third caste in the ritual order. They were entrusted with cattle herding, agriculture and trade. The Buddhist literature on the other hand uses the term **Gahapati** more frequently. **Gahapati** literally means the master of the household. This community of landholders, cultivated its land with the family labour or the labour of slaves and servants. They seem to have emerged out of the **rajanya** and groups mentioned in the Vedic literature. Their emergence represents the emergence of family and individual ownership of wealth. Earlier wealth was collectively owned by the entire lineage. Apart from the **Gahapatis** the Buddhist literature mentions a whole range of professionals and merchants who would fall under the category of the Vaishyas of the Brahmanical texts. Each of them were closed kinship groups who would not inter-marry. Their identity was defined by the kind of professions they followed and by their geographical location. As such there never was a Vaishya caste in the Brahmanical sense of the term. Rather there were many groups having caste like formations. Let us look at some of these groups.

As already mentioned the **Gahapatis** form a prominent category of landowners. Interestingly enough they are rarely found in the **Ganasamghas** where land was owned by Kshatriya lineages. They are frequently mentioned in the monarchies of the middle Gangetic Valley. They were the primary exploiters of agriculture and the source of revenue for the Kings. **Gahapatis** included men of wealth who were also associated with carpentry, medicine etc. The Pali texts use another term **Kutumbika** in a synonymous sense which would mean the head of the household (**Kutumba**). They are shown as rich landowners, dealing in corn or money transactions.



6. Coins from 6th Century B.C.

It was from the class of rich landowners that a section of rich traders evolved. The **Gahapatis** are mentioned in trading towns too. Individual ownership of wealth and weak Brahmanical influence helped the **Gahapatis** use their wealth for trade. In the Western Gangetic Valley this wealth would have been used for sacrifices. Thus, out of this branching

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off, emerges the class of **Setthi**. The word **Setthi** literally means 'a person having the best!'. The **Setthi-Gahapati** referred to very rich merchants and bankers having close contacts with the king. **Anathapindika** who donated the **Jetavana** in Sravasti to Buddha was one such rich **Setthi**. A **Setthi** in Benaras engages in trade and drives a caravan of five hundred wagons. Their profession as bankers flourished with the invention of coined money. Coins called **Shatamana**, **Karshapana**, etc. are mentioned in the contemporary literature. Excavations have also shown that coins had come in use by this period. Long distance trade is frequently mentioned.

Apart from the big merchants and landlords many small scale traders are also mentioned. Among them shopkeeper, retailer, trader, pedlars, selling pots and pans, carpenters, ivory-carvers, garland makers and smiths can be mentioned. These groups formed professional unions. No one else but a family member could take up that profession. This local division of different kinds of works and the hereditary character of various professions, gave them the character of guilds. They used to have a head who would look after their interests. The King was supposed to respect the internal rules of the guild and protect it. The presence of the guild indicates increased trading and manufacturing activity. It meant that groups identified specifically on the basis of their economic activity came into existence. These groups did have the character of caste. Each of these groups would marry inside the group only and their rules were considered inviolable.

#### 16.3.4 Shudras

The Shudras were the lowest caste in the Brahmanical order. Their only duty was service to the other three castes. The non-brahmanical texts give us a picture of many oppressed and poor people who are bracketed as Shudras. The Pali literature frequently mentions **dasas** (slaves) and **karmakaras** (wage labourers). The term **dalidda** is used for denoting extremely poor people who did not have anything to eat and no covering for their back. So, for the first time we have references to the rich living in luxury, and the poor destitute. The process of such impoverishment and the formation of the Shudra caste may be attributed to the appropriation of land and other resources by the powerful groups. The Shudras without any resources were reduced to servility and forced to work on the land of the rich. The more general reference to the Shudras included artisans and craftsmen also. The **Dharmasutras** ascribe the origins of various groups of the Shudras by the notion of the **Sankirna jati**, which means that if there is an inter-caste marriage, their progeny would be of a very low caste. This was the counterpart in ritual status to the economic and social deprivation of the peasants, slaves and craftsmen. They had the most to lose from the erosion of kinship ties, characterising the Vedic society.

**Dasasudda** is frequently mentioned in the contemporary literature. They were slaves who did not have any legal status. War-prisoners and people who could not pay back their debts seemed to be the chief sources of supply of the Shudra labour. They were forced to work on the land of the rich. The **dasas**, **karmakaras** and **kassakas** were the sources of labour supply in rural areas. With the emergence of cities the inequality between the rich and poor further increased.

All the groups mentioned above by no means exhaust the list of social categories present in the time of the Buddha. Wandering dancers and musicians moved from village to village and impressed their audiences with their skills. Tricksters, tramps, elephant tamers, stage managers, soldiers, writers, archers, hunters and barbers were some of the groups which come in our view. It is difficult to place them in the caste order. Probably, they would be considered out-castes. Most of them were outside the pale of the newly emerged agrarian society. As such they were generally despised. Sometimes these groups rose in revolt. The **Jataka** stories are full of descriptions of war. The poor Shudras are mentioned as living outside the city. The logical outcome of this process was the emergence of untouchability. The **candalas** are described as living in separate villages. Their presence was believed to be so polluting that the daughter of a **Setthi** washes her eyes on seeing a **candala**. Similarly, a Brahmana is disturbed about the fact that a breeze blowing past a **candala** would touch him. The **candalas** were supposed to wear the garments of the dead and eat their food out of broken pots. Other such despised groups were the **Pukkusas**, **Nishadas** and **Venas**. One of the justifications of the King's rule was that they protected the villages from the plundering, pillaging tribes. These were the primitive communities who were gradually evicted from their homes in the forests. They either became slaves or robbers. There are references to

### 16.3.5 Wandering Ascetics

One very visible group in this period was of the **Paribrajakas** and **Sramanas**. These were people who had renounced their homes. They travelled from place to place and held discussions on the meaning of life, society and spirituality. Among them were people like the Buddha and Mahavira.

### 16.3.6 Condition of Women

The changes in the economy and society of the sixth century B.C. also affected the condition of women. Since, property was inherited from father to son, there was obsession with the need to prevent adultery. The books repeatedly say that the two most important functions of the King are punishing the violation of property and of the family. The meek slave like wife was considered the ideal wife. However, this was true of the wives of the rich. For them the main function of a wife was producing legitimate heirs. However, there were a larger number of women who spent their lives labouring for their masters and mistresses. Women were looked down in comparison to men. They were described as incapable of sitting in a public assembly. They were permanently in the charge of men-father, brother or son. Even if they join the **Samgha** they were treated as inferior to men.

#### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) What kinds of conclusion can you draw from the story of the **Dasabrahmana Jataka**? Answer in about 5 lines.

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- 2) What are the dissimilarities between the **Kshatriyas** and the **Brahmanas**.

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- 3) Account for the deteriorating condition of the **Shudras**.

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## 16.4 ECONOMY

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We have seen that the process of state formation and social stratification gathered momentum and assumed significance in the middle of the first millennium B.C. The two phenomena which were closely interlinked, appeared because the new agriculture could not only sustain agriculturists but also many others who were not engaged directly in this vital task of primary production. Literary and archaeological sources, which reflect the economic pattern of the country during sixth, fifth century B.C., contain evidence of the enhanced production of agricultural wealth: (Sources of these have been noted earlier Unit 14)

Besides :

India : 6th to 4th Century B.C.

- 1) The growth of monastic orders living exclusively on alms and donations, presupposes enough agricultural produce.
- 2) The establishment of sixteen Mahajanapadas along with their capital cities and standing armies would not have been possible if agricultural produce could not sustain non-agriculturists.
- 3) The location of the capital towns of this period having variety of crafts and trades in river Valleys with broad flood plains and on main trade routes also presupposes some surplus food production.

Let us discuss some of the important aspects of economic life during this period.

### 16.4.1 Factors in the Growth of Food Producing Economy

Some of the main causative factors which seem to have influenced agricultural growth were as follows:

- 1) The crucial role of iron implements in clearing the thick vegetation cover of the Ganga Plains from about 600 B.C. onwards. Cereals like rice, barley, wheat and millets were produced over the wider areas of land.
- 2) Buddhists insisted on the protection of cattle and **Suttanipata** clearly states that they should not be slaughtered because they constituted a source of grain and strength. Thus the preservation of cattle wealth for agricultural purposes was encouraged.
- 3) What further distinguishes the force of production in the age of Buddha from those in later Vedic times is the beginning of paddy transplantation.
- 4) The rice producing economy was supplemented by domestication and hunting of animals. This was another major means of their economic life and the source of livelihood. Archaeologists have recovered large number of bones of cattle, sheep, goat, horses and pigs from the number of archaeological sites. Thus, the animals were not only used for draught and the plough of fields but a section of the society was also probably non-vegetarian.



7. Agricultural Implements

### 16.4.2 Rural Economy

As a rich agricultural hinterland was cultivated, trade too received an impetus. The transition was being made from a subsistence economy to a market economy. The introduction of coinage facilitated this development. It led to greater mobility, accelerated trade and commerce and facilitated intercourse over a vast area which resulted in the growth of a complex rural and urban economic system.

That the village centres had their own economic pattern is revealed from a number of literary sources belonging to our period of study. It was based on a system of village communities of peasant proprietorship. The Pali texts speak of three types of villages:

- 1) the typical village inhabited by various castes and communities.
- 2) suburban villages were in the nature of craft villages. These served as markets for other villages and linked the town with countryside.
- 3) border villages consisting of hunters, fowlers etc., who were leading a simple life.

The rural economy developed through the establishment of new settlements by shifting surplus population from the overpopulated areas, and also by rehabilitating the decaying villages. In such cases cattles, seed, money and irrigational facilities were given by rulers. Remission of taxes and other concessions were allowed. Retired officials and priests were granted lands in such area. Lands in these areas could not be sold, mortgaged or inherited. Grassland was owned in common. They had an independent internal economy. The chief occupation in the rural area remained to be agriculture. The village supplied surplus produce to the towns and the towns supplied other necessities to the villagers.

Whereas agriculture was the main occupation cattle rearing and certain small crafts connected with land, forest and animals catering to local requirements, were the other features of the rural economy.

### 16.4.3 Urban Economy

The urban economy was dominated by traders and craftsmen who produced goods for a wider market on a larger scale. The necessary concomitants for the growth of urban economy were surplus food production, crafts specialization, trade, centres of exchange, use of metallic money, political organisation ensuring order and a literate society. The urban economy revolved round two important features—Firstly, industry with a larger number of professionals and craftsmen. Secondly, trade—both internal and external. We will discuss each factor one by one.



8. An Artists' Impression of a City Market

### 16.4.4 Urban Occupations

The urban occupations can be broadly categorised into two groups i.e. those connected with productive activities and those which had nothing to do with production as such. The second group which was mainly composed of administrative officials had hardly any direct impact on the urban economy. The merchants, however, who belonged to this category were an intermediary group playing a vital role in the system of distribution. The material remains discovered from the various archaeological sites of northern India such as pottery (particularly NBP); terracotta animal and human figurines; terracotta objects of games and amusement; objects of bone and ivory; coins; stone and glass objects; beads; copper and iron objects; etc., attest to the existence of various important crafts industries which can be classified under the following heads :



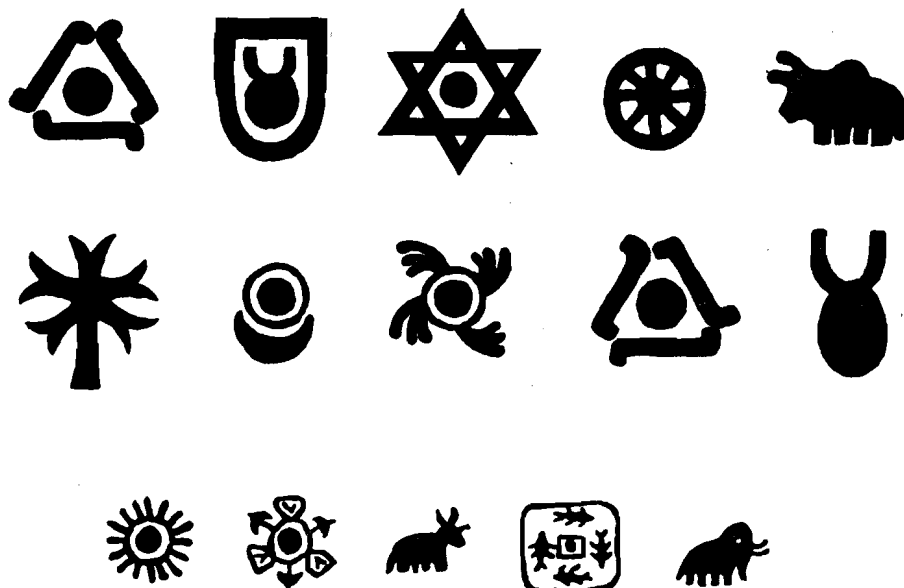
India : 6th to 4th Century B.C.

- 1) clay working like pottery, terracotta figurines, modelling and to some extent also brick-making etc.
- 2) carpentry and wood-working
- 3) metal-working
- 4) stone-working
- 5) glass industry
- 6) bone and ivory-working
- 7) other miscellaneous industries like garland-makers, makers of bows and arrows, comb, baskets, perfume, liquor oil and musical instruments.

### 16.4.5 Trade and Trade Routes

Linked with the growth of specialisation of crafts is the development of trade. In those days trade, both inland and foreign, was fairly brisk. Merchants made fortunes by dealing in articles like silks, muslin, armour, perfumes, ivory, ivory works and jewellery etc. They travelled long distances up and down the great rivers of the country, and even undertook coastal voyages to Burma and Sri Lanka from Tamruk in the east and from Broach in the west. Inland, the traders followed certain well established routes. One of them ran from Sravasti to Pratisthana; another linked Sravasti with Rajagriha; a third skirted along the base of the Himalayas from Taxila to Srāvasti; and a fourth connected Kashi with the ports of western coast. Long distance trade was, however, centred in the towns rather than at rural sites because the former were centres of production and consequently of distribution besides being better protected.

The age of barter was almost drawing to a close. Now the ordinary medium of exchange was a coin called **Kahapana (Karsapana)**. It was of copper and silver and marks were punched on it by merchants or ruler's guilds, guaranteeing its standard. Banks were unknown, and surplus money was either converted into ornaments, or hoarded in jars and buried in the ground, or put in the custody of a friend.



9. Marks on Punched Marked Coins

#### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) What were the main factors which influenced agricultural growth?

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2) How did rural economy develop?

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3) What were the important trade routes during the period under review?

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## 16.5 LET US SUM UP

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In our study, a good portion of what is said about the social and economic condition of India is based on the early Pali texts and archaeology of the NBPW phase. The process of state formation and social stratification gathered momentum and assumed significance in the middle of the first millennium B.C. Renewed emphasis was given to the four different roles that the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras were called upon to. The nature of the later Vedic society/ PGW culture in which only the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas played the important role got disturbed due to the rise of a trading class, the Vaishyas, whose strength emerged from the money earned. All kinds of restrictions were imposed on the Shudras. The food producing economy was immensely strengthened by the use of iron implements, transplantation of paddy, and by religious sanction for the preservation of cattle. The transition was from the subsistence economy to market economy. Trade and the system of coinage also played its role in the development of urban economy. Whereas agriculture, cattle rearing and certain small crafts connected with land, forest and animals were the chief features of rural economy, urban economy was dominated by a large number of professionals and craftsmen who produced for wider circulation and more consumption. This led to greater mobility, increased trade and trade routes and resulted in the growth of a complicated rural and urban economic system.

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## 16.6 KEY WORDS

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**PGW:** the abbreviation stands for the Painted Grey Ware. This pottery was grey in colour and painted with black pigment in several designs.

**NBP:** the abbreviation stands for the Northern Black Polished Ware (NBPW) which was a very glossy, shining type of pottery found in a variety of colours.

**Subsistence:** means of supporting life.

**Kinship:** relationship by birth or marriage.

**Mortgage:** give a money-lender a claim on (Property) as a security for money borrowed.

**Progeny :** Son/daughter.

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## 16.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

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### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Sub-sec. 16.3.2. Your answer could indicate that the Jataka reflects the flexibility in the choice of professions of Brahmanas and varieties of professions the Brahmanas were engaged in.
- 2) See Sub-sec. 16.3.1. Your answer could include the different roles assigned to the two groups by the literature of the period. Also focus on different functions they performed.
- 3) See Sub-sec. 16.3.4. Your answer could indicate how appropriation of land by more powerful groups, chronic indebtedness, lack of legal status and origin, notion of purity (of upper caste-groups) and pollution (of Shudras) contributed to the deteriorating conditions of Shudras.

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Sub-sec. 16.4.1. Your answer could indicate the crucial role of iron in food production, preservation of cattle wealth for agricultural purposes, technique of paddy transplantation as factors contributing to the enhanced agricultural growth.
- 2) See Sub-sec. 16.4.2. Your answer could indicate as to how the rural economy developed through the establishment of new settlements.
- 3) See Sub-sec. 16.4.5. Your answer should indicate the foreign trade routes from Tamluk and Broach to Burma and Sri Lanka. The four inland trade routes from Sravasti to Pratihthana; Sravasti to Rajagriha; Taxila to Sravasti and Kashi to Western Ports should be referred.