

Module 1

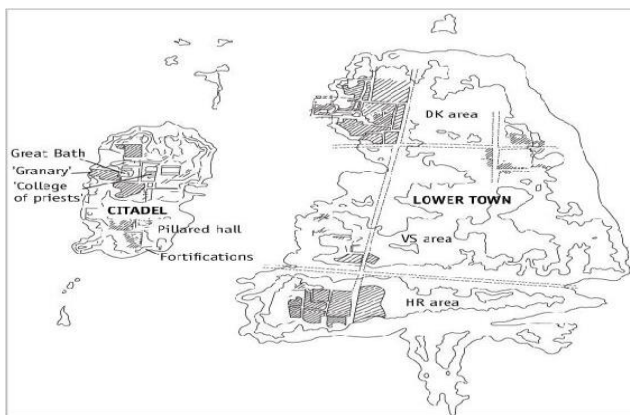
Harappan Civilization (2600 BCE- 1900 BCE)

Urban Civilization

Indus is an unstable river, constantly flooding and changing course. The people of the valley learned controlled these flooding waters by building thick walls of burnt brick and digging irrigation channels that brought water to the dry lands. This helped to the spread of agriculture and lead to surplus production and urbanisation. They used metal (bronze).

1. Sources

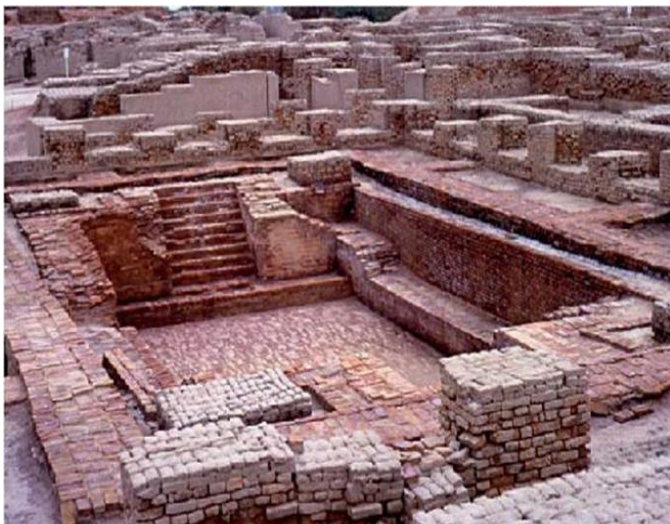
Citadel



Mohenjodaro in Sindh lies about 5 km away from the Indus; in protohistoric times, the river may have flowed much closer. There is an extensive area to the east that has not yet been explored. The size of the site has been estimated as about 200 ha. On the basis of the density of houses in the excavated area, suggested that the lower city may have housed about 41,250 people.

The western mound at Mohenjodaro known as the citadel rises up to 12 m above the plain. The structures here were built on an artificial mud and mud-brick platform, about 400 × 200 m. The mound was circled by a 6 m thick mud-brick retaining wall or platform with projections on the south-west and west, and a tower has been identified on the south-east. It has been suggested that the elevated area at Mohenjodaro does not represent a defensive fortification but part of a civic design to create an elevated symbolic landscape. However, the defensive nature of the walls here and at other cities cannot be ruled out.

Great Bath



The buildings on the citadel mound of Mohenjo-Daro are among the things we associate most closely with the Harappan civilization. The Great Bath, an example of the Harappans' engineering skill, measures about 14.5 × 7 m, with a maximum depth of 2.4m. A wide staircase leads down into the tank from the north and south. The floor and walls of the tank were made water-tight by finely fitted bricks laid edge to edge with gypsum mortar. A thick layer of bitumen was

laid along the sides of the tank and probably also below the floor, making this one of the earliest examples of waterproofing in the world.

The floor slopes towards the southwest corner, where a small outlet leads to a large corbelled brick drain, which would have taken the water out to the edge of the mound. Remains of brick colonnades were discovered on the eastern, northern, and southern sides of the bath and a similar colonnade must have existed on the western side as well. Two large doors lead into the complex from the south and there were also entrances from the north and east. There are a series of rooms along the eastern edge of the building. One of them has a well that may have supplied water to the tank. Immediately to the north of the Great Bath is a large building consisting of eight small rooms with common bathing platforms.

Bearded Man



Apart from utilitarian items made of stone and metal, a few pieces of stone and metal sculpture have been found at Harappan sites. Most of them are small, but they display fine artistic skills and sensibilities. They include the stone bust (17.78 cm high) of a male figure found at Mohenjodaro, which has been labelled the ‘priest-king’. Two fine stone torsos of a male figure (about 10 cm high) were found at Harappa, a seated stone ibex or ram at Mohenjodaro, and a stone lizard at Dholavira. The only large piece of sculpture is that of a broken, seated male figure from Dholavira.

In ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt, rulers are portrayed extensively in stone reliefs and sculptures; their palaces, tombs, and temples further proclaim their power. The Harappan case is strikingly different. The stone bust of a male figure found at Mohenjodaro has been given the label ‘priest king’. The figure is that of a man with a close-cropped beard, half-closed eyes, and a fillet with an encrusted diadem around his head. An armband with a similar but smaller ornament is tied around his right arm. A robe decorated with a trefoil design passes over his left shoulder and under his right arm. However, whether he represents a priest or king or both is far from certain. The same is the case with a large damaged seated figure found at Dholavira. While large houses have been found at Harappan sites, none of them matches our idea of a palace, although it is possible that certain buildings on the citadels of cities such as Mohenjo-daro were the functional equivalent of palaces.

Dancing Girl



Two bronze female figurines were found at Mohenjo-Daro. One of them has become famous as the 'dancing girl'. This figurine was found in a small house in the southwestern quarter of the city (in the HR area) during the 1926–27 excavations. The figure is 10.8 cm high and was made by the lost-wax method.

The 'dancing girl', She represents a very thin woman standing with her right hand on the back of her hip and left hand resting on her left thigh, just above the knee. She may have once held some object in this hand. She is naked. She wears a necklace and has 24–25 of bangles on her left arm and just 4 on her right arm. Her arms are unnaturally long.

Her head is tilted back, and she has a defiant, nonchalant air about her. Her hair is swept back in a low, loose bun at the nape of her neck. John Marshall named her the 'dancing girl' because he thought she had the air of a semi-impudent 'nautch girl', hand on hip, beating time to the music with her feet. The name has stuck. But the 'dancing girl' may not have been dancing at all, and even if she was, she may not represent a professional dancer.

Dockyard



Lothal is located between the Sabarmati river and its tributary, the Bhogavo, in Saurashtra in Gujarat. The sea is now about 16–19 km away, but at one time, boats from the Gulf of Cambay could have sailed right up to the place. It was a modest-sized settlement. The most distinctive feature of Lothal is the dockyard, which lies on the eastern edge of the site. This is a roughly trapezoidal basin, enclosed by walls of burnt bricks. The eastern and

western walls measured 212 m and 215 m respectively in length, while those on the north and south measured 37 m and 35 m. The dockyard had provisions for maintaining a regular level of water by means of a sluice gate and a spill channel. A mud-brick platform along the western embankment may have been the wharf where goods were loaded and unloaded. An alternative interpretation of this structure as a water reservoir is not convincing.

Script

- Among the biggest mysteries about the Harappan civilization are the language (or languages) the Harappans spoke and their writing system.
- It is likely that people living in various parts of the Harappan culture zone spoke different languages and dialects.
- The writing on the seals was probably in the language of the ruling elite.

- Some scholars have suggested that this language belonged to the Dravidian family of languages, while others have argued in favour of the Indo-Aryan family. However, there is so far no consensus on the affiliation of the Harappan language or on the decipherment of the script.
- A total of about 3,700 inscribed objects have been found at Harappan sites.
- Most of the writing appears on seals and sealings (seal impressions), some on copper tablets, copper/bronze implements, pottery, and other miscellaneous objects.
- About 50 per cent of the inscribed objects have been found at Mohenjodaro, and the two sites of Mohenjodaro and Harappa together account for about 87 per cent of all inscribed material.
- Most of the inscriptions are very short, with an average of five signs. The longest one has 26 signs.
- The script seems to have emerged in a fully evolved state and does not show any significant changes over time. This conclusion may, however, be the result of the inadequacies of earlier excavations, which did not record the stratigraphic context of all objects, making it difficult to sort out earlier and later samples of writing.

2. Origin

Issues of origins are always complex and often contentious. In his report on Mohenjo-daro, John Marshall asserted that the Indus civilization must have had a long antecedent history on the soil of India.

However, there were others who put forward **diffusionist** explanations. According to E. J. H. Mackay, a migration of people from Sumer (southern Mesopotamia) may have led to the Harappan civilization; other proponents of the migration theory included D.H. Gordon and S. N. Kramer. Mortimer Wheeler argued for a migration of ideas, not people—the idea of civilization was in the air of West Asia in the 3rd millennium BCE and the founders of the Harappan civilization had a model of civilization before them.

The fact that city life emerged in Mesopotamia a few centuries before it appeared in the Egyptian and Harappan contexts does not mean that the latter were derived from the former in a direct or indirect way.

There are in fact several striking differences between the Harappan and Mesopotamian civilizations. The Mesopotamians had a completely different script, a much greater use of bronze, different settlement layouts, and a large-scale canal system of the kind that seems absent in the Harappan civilization.

If the Harappan civilization cannot be explained as an offshoot or offspring of the Mesopotamian civilization, what is the alternative? The story of its origins can, in fact, be traced to the emergence of settled farming communities in Baluchistan in the 7th millennium BCE. Its more immediate prelude was the cultural phase that used to be known as pre-Harappan, and is now usually referred to as the early Harappan phase.

Amalananda Ghosh (1965) was the first archaeologist to identify similarities between a pre-Harappan culture and the mature Harappan culture. Ghosh focused on the pre-Harappan Sothi culture of Rajasthan.

3. Extent

First site in the valley of the Indus and its tributaries. Hence it was given the name 'Indus Valley Civilization' or 'Indus Civilization.'

Harappan Sites: 1,022 (406 in Pakistan, 616 in India), among these sites only 97 have so far been excavated.

Afghanistan, Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan, and North Western Frontier Province of Pakistan.

Northern most ---Manda in Jammu (J&K),

Southern - Malvan in Surat in Southern Gujarat

Sutkagen-dor –Makran coast of Pakistan

Eastern – Alamgirpur in Saharanpur in U P

And an isolated site in Shortugai in Afghanistan.

4. Urban Planning

The fact that the Harappan civilization was urban does not mean that all or even most of its settlements had an urban character. A majority were in fact villages. The cities depended on villages for food and perhaps also labour, and various kinds of goods produced in cities found their way into the villages. As a result of the brisk urban–rural interaction, the typical range of Harappan artefacts reached even small village sites. It is not easy to estimate the exact size of ancient settlements, as they are often spread over many mounds and buried under layers of alluvium. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Harappan sites varied a great deal in size and function, from large cities to small pastoral camps.

The streets and houses of Harappan cities were once thought to be laid on a grid-pattern oriented north–south and east–west. Actually, even Mohenjodaro does not show a perfect grid system. Roads in the Harappan cities were not always absolutely straight and did not always cross one another at right angles. But the settlements were clearly planned. There is no strict correlation between the level of planning and the size of a settlement.

A major difference between the buildings in large cities and those in smaller towns and villages was in the type and combination of raw materials used. In villages, houses were made mostly of mud-brick, with the additional use of mud and reeds; stone was occasionally used for foundations or drains. Buildings in towns and cities were made of sun-dried and burnt bricks. In the rocky areas of Kutch and Saurashtra, however, there was extensive use of stone.

Houses

People lived in houses of different sizes, mostly consisting of rooms arranged around a central courtyard. Doorways and windows generally faced the side lanes and rarely opened onto the main streets. The view from the lane into the courtyard was blocked off by a wall. There are remains of staircases that may have led to the roof or a second storey. The fact that some of the

houses at Mohenjodaro were two stories high or more is also suggested by the thickness of their walls. Floors were usually made of hard-packed earth, often re-plastered or covered with sand. The ceilings were probably over 3 m high. Roofs may have been made of wooden beams covered with reeds and packed clay.

Drainage System

Well laid-out streets and side lanes associated with an efficient and well-planned drainage system are other notable features of Harappan settlements. Even the smaller towns and villages had impressive drainage systems. The sewage chutes and pipes were separate from drains for collecting rain water. Drains and water chutes from the second storey were often built inside the wall, with an exit opening just above the street drain. At Harappa and Mohenjodaro, terracotta drains pipes directed waste water into open street drains made of baked bricks. These connected into large drains along the main streets, which emptied their contents into the fields outside the city wall. The main drains were covered by corbelled arches made of brick or stone slabs. There were rectangular soak-pits for collecting solid waste at regular intervals. These must have been cleaned out regularly, otherwise the drainage system would have become choked and a health hazard.

The Harappans made elaborate arrangements for water for drinking and bathing. The emphasis on providing water for bathing, evident at several sites, suggests that they were very particular about personal hygiene. It is possible that frequent bathing also had a religious or ritualistic aspect. The sources of water were rivers, wells, and reservoirs or cisterns. Mohenjodaro is noted for its large number of wells. Harappa had much fewer wells but a depression in the centre of the city may represent a tank or reservoir that served the city's inhabitants.

5. Trade

The Harappans conducted considerable trade in stone, metal, shell, etc., within the Indus culture zone. However, their cities did not have the necessary raw material for the commodities they produced. They did not use metal money, and in all probability carried exchanges through a barter system. In return for finished goods and possibly food grains, they procured metals from the neighbouring areas by boat (they navigated the coast of the Arabian Sea) and bullock-cart. They were aware of the use of the wheel, and carts with solid wheels were in use in Harappa. It appears that the Harappans used a form of the modern *ekka* but not with the spoked wheel.

The Harappans had commercial links with Rajasthan, and also with Afghanistan and Iran. They set up a trading colony in northern Afghanistan which evidently facilitated trade with Central Asia. Their cities also had commercial links with the people of the Tigris and the Euphrates basins.

Many Harappan seals have been discovered in Mesopotamia, and it appears that the Harappans imitated some cosmetics used by the urban people of Mesopotamia. The Harappans carried on long-distance trade in lapis lazuli; lapis objects may have contributed to the social prestige of the ruling class. The Mesopotamian records refer to trade relations with Meluha, which was the ancient name given to the Indus region. The Mesopotamian texts speak of two intermediate trading stations called Dilmun and Makan, which lay between Mesopotamia and Meluha. Dilmun is probably identifiable with Bahrain on the Persian Gulf.

6. Arts and Crafts

The people of Harappa used many tools and implements of stone, but they were very well acquainted with the manufacture and use of bronze.

The kits used for the manufacture of bronze goods left by the Harappans are so numerous as to suggest that the bronze smiths constituted an important group of artisans in Harappan society. They produced not only images and utensils but also various tools and weapons such as axes, saws, knives, and spears.

Several other important crafts flourished in Harappan towns. A piece of woven cotton has been recovered from Mohenjo-Daro, and textile impressions have been found on several objects. Spindle whorls were used for spinning. Weavers wove cloth of wool and cotton.

Huge brick structures suggest that bricklaying was an important craft, and attest to the existence of a class of masons.

The Harappans also practised boat-making. Seal making and terracotta manufacturing were also important crafts. The goldsmiths made jewellery of silver, gold, and precious stones; the first two materials may have been obtained from Afghanistan and the last from south India. The Harappans were also expert bead makers. The potter's wheel was extensively used, and the Harappans produced their characteristic glossy, gleaming pottery.

7. Decline

Decline of the Harappan Civilization

- Decline had set in at Mohenjo-Daro by 2200 BCE and settlement came to an end by 2000 BCE.
- In some places civilization continued till 1800 BCE.
- Mohenjodaro and Dholavira give a picture of gradual decline.
- In Kalibangan and Banawali, city life ended all of a sudden.

Various Theories

1. Destroyed by Aryan Invasion :

- This is one of the most popular theory on the decline of the Harappan civilization is one for which there is least evidence.
- This theory first put forward by Ramaprasad Chandra (1926), he later changed his mind and was elaborated by Mortimer Wheeler (1947).
- Wheeler argued that references in *Rig Veda* to various kinds of forts, attacks on walled cities, and the epithet *puramdara* (fort destroyer) given to the God *Indra* must have a historical basis and reflect the Aryan invasion of the Harappan cities.

- Wheeler also pointed out to certain skeleton remains found in the site of Mohenjodaro as proof of the Aryan massacre.
 - He subsequently modified his hypothesis to the extent that he acknowledged that other factors such floods, decline in trade, and over-utilization of natural resources may have had a role to play.
 - But he insisted that the ultimate blow was given by an Aryan invasion.
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- Many scholars such P.V Kane (1955), George Dales (1964) B.B. Lal (1977 have refuted the invasion theory.
 - The evidence from the Rig Veda, a religious text of uncertain date, is far from conclusive.
 - No archaeological record of invasion, military assault.
 - The 37 groups of skeletal remains at Mohenjo-Daro do not belong to the same cultural phase, therefore, cannot be connected to a single event.
 - Not one of these skeletons was found on the citadel mound, where we would have expected a major battle to have taken place.
 - In K.A.R. Kennedy's analysis the Harappan Civilization was not destroyed by an Indo Aryan Invasion.

2. Natural Disasters

Natural disasters, not necessarily sudden or single, did have a role to play.

Several layers of slit at Mohenjo-Daro give evidence of the city being affected by repeated episodes of Indus floods.

The theory of several such episodes of flooding induced by tectonic movements is not, however, convincing.

3. Issues of environmental Changes

Perhaps they were over-exploiting it through over cultivation, over grazing, deforestation. This would have resulted in decreasing soil fertility, floods, and increasing soil salinity.

4. Decline in the Lapis Lazuli Trade.

Shereen Ratnagar (1981) has argued that the decline in lapis lazuli with Mesopotamia was a factor in the decline of the Harappan civilization

Archaeological evidences show that Harappan Culture underwent a gradual process of de-urbanization. The Mature Harappan phase was followed by a post-urban phase, known as the late Harappan phase

Module II

The Vedic Period

1. Sources

Vedas

The word Veda comes from the root *vid* (literally, ‘to know’) and means ‘knowledge’. There are four Vedas—*Rig*, *Sama*, *Yajur*, and *Atharva*.

The *Rig Veda* contains the world’s oldest surviving poetry, some of it of extraordinary beauty and philosophical depth. Each Veda has four parts, the last three of which sometimes blend into each other—the **Samhita, Brahmana, Aranyaka, and Upanishad**.

The *Rig Veda* Samhita is a collection of 1,028 hymns (*suktas*) arranged in 10 books (Mandalas).

The *Sama Veda* consists of 1,810 verses, mostly borrowed from the *Rig Veda*, arranged according to the needs of musical notation. The original melodies are, however, lost.

The *Yajur Veda* deals with the details of the performance of rituals.

The *Atharva Veda* is the latest Veda and contains hymns (some from the *Rig Veda*), but also spells and charms which reflect aspects of popular beliefs and practices.

The **Brahmanas** (this term should not be confused with the Brahmana *varna* or caste) are prose explanations of the Samhita portions and give details and explanations of sacrificial rituals and their outcome. The **Aranyakas** (forest books) interpret sacrificial rituals in a symbolic and philosophical way. There are 108 **Upanishads**, among which 13 are considered the principal ones. The Upanishads contain a great variety of philosophical ideas about sacrifice, the body, and the universe, but are most closely associated with the concepts of *atman* and *brahman*.

Within the Vedic corpus as a whole, Books 2–7 (known as the family books) of the *Rig Veda* Samhita are considered the oldest; the later portions of this Samhita, along with all the other Vedic texts, comprise later Vedic literature.

Vedic texts comprise a religious literature, and references to possible historical events are few. Historians have tried to reconstruct various aspects of the **culture** represented in the Vedas, but it is not easy to interpret this vast and complex literature.

A major problem in using the Vedas as a source of history is the problem of dating the *Rig Veda*. The dates that have been suggested for the composition of this text range from *c.* 6000 BCE to 1000 BCE. Many historians take *c.* 1500–1000 BCE as the period of composition of early Vedic literature and *c.* 1000–500 BCE as that of later Vedic texts. This chronology is essentially based on the tentative dates suggested by Max Müller in the 19th century.

Vedic literature forms an important part of the Brahmanical tradition—texts preserved and transmitted by a section of Brahmana males. It reflects their religious beliefs, practices, and

points of view. As a source of history, these texts are used for information about life in parts of north-western and northern India during the 2nd and 1st millennia BCE.

Epics

The two Sanskrit epics, the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, fall within the category of *smriti* as well as *itihasa* (traditional history), although the *Ramayana* is sometimes classified as *kavya* (poetry). Similarities in language and style suggest that they emerged from a common cultural milieu. The composition of the *Mahabharata* can be placed between c. 400 BCE and c. 400 CE, and the *Ramayana* between the 5th/4th century BCE and the 3rd century CE.

The *Mahabharata* consists of 18 Parvas (books) and has two main recensions—a northern and southern. The core story concerns a conflict between two sets of cousins—the Kauravas and the Pandavas—and a great war that was fought between them at Kurukshetra. But the text also contains a huge amount of material that has little or no connection with the main story. According to tradition, it was composed by Vyasa, but in its present form, it is clearly not the work of a single individual.

The *Ramayana* consists of seven Kandas (books), of which the first (Bala Kanda) and last (Uttara Kanda) are later interpolations. The basic story is about Rama, prince of Kosala; his banishment to the forest due to the intrigues of his wicked stepmother; the abduction of his wife Sita by Ravana, the king of Lanka; Sita's rescue; and Rama's return to the capital, Ayodhya, to become king. The compact vocabulary and style indicate that the core of the text was the work of a single individual, traditionally identified as Valmiki. Valmiki appears in the *Balakanda*, where he is inspired to compose the epic, and in the *Uttarakanda*, where he gives refuge to Sita who has been disowned by Rama.

Module III

Jainism and Buddhism

1. Sources

Early Buddhist literature is generally divided into canonical and non-canonical texts. Canonical texts are the books which lay down the basic tenets and principles of a religion or sect. The various Buddhist schools classify their canonical literature in different ways, some into 9 or 12 **Angas**, others into 3 **Pitakas**.

There are Pali, Chinese, and Tibetan versions of the ***Tipitaka*** (The Three Baskets/ Collections). Pali was a literary language which developed out of a mixture of dialects, particularly those spoken in the Magadha area of eastern India. The ***Tipitaka*** consists of three books—the **Sutta**, **Vinaya**, and **Abhidhamma**. In the Buddhist context, *sutta* (from the Sanskrit *sutra*) refers to texts that are supposed to contain what the Buddha himself said.

The ***Sutta Pitaka*** contains the Buddha's discourses on various doctrinal issues in dialogue form. With the exception of a few *suttas*, the authority of this work was accepted by all Buddhist schools.

The *Vinaya Pitaka* has rules for monks and nuns of the *sangha* (monastic order). It includes the *Patimokkha*—a list of transgressions against monastic discipline and atonements for these. The *Abhidhamma Pitaka* is a later work, and contains a thorough study and systemization of the teachings of the *Sutta Pitaka* through lists, summaries, and questions and answers.

The three Pitakas are divided into books known as the **Nikayas** (analogous but not identical to the Agamas of the Buddhist Sanskrit tradition). For instance, the *Sutta Pitaka* consists of five Nikayas—the *Digha*, *Majjhima*, *Samyutta*, *Anguttara*, and *Khuddaka Nikayas*.

The *Jatakas*—stories of the previous births of the Buddha—are one of the 15 books of the *Khuddaka Nikaya*, and their composition can be placed between the 3rd century BCE and the 2nd century CE.

The *Khuddaka Nikaya* also contains the *Dhammapada* (a collection of verses dealing mainly with ethical sayings), and the *Theragatha* and *Therigatha* (songs of Buddhist monks and nuns). The *Therigatha*, which describes women's experience of renunciation, is especially important because it is one of the very few surviving ancient Indian texts composed by or attributed to women.

2. Causes for their Rise in the 6th century B.C.E.

Numerous religious sects arose in the mid-Gangetic plains in sixth–fifth centuries BC, and we hear of as many as sixty-two of them. Many of these sects were based on regional customs and rituals practised by different peoples living in north-east India. Of these sects, Jainism and Buddhism were the most important, and they emerged as the most potent religious reform movements.

Post-Vedic society was clearly divided into four varnas: brahmanas, ksatriyas, vaisyas, and sudras. Each varna was assigned well-defined functions. Though varna was based on birth, the two higher varnas captured power, prestige and privileges at the cost of the lower varnas.

Naturally, the varna-divided society seems to have generated tensions. We have no means of ascertaining the reactions of the vaisyas and the sudras, but the ksatriyas, who functioned as rulers, reacted strongly against the ritualistic domination of the brahmanas, and seem to have led a kind of protest movement against the importance attached to birth in the varna system.

The ksatriya reaction against the domination of the brahmanas, who claimed various privileges, was one of the causes of the origin of new religions. Vardhamana Mahavira, who really

founded Jainism, and Gautama Buddha, who founded Buddhism, belonged to the Ksatriya clan, and both disputed the authority of the brahmanas.

However, the real cause of the rise of these new religions lay in the spread of a new agricultural economy in north-eastern India.

North-east India, including the regions of eastern UP and northern and southern Bihar, has about 100 cm of rainfall. Before these areas were colonized on a large scale, they were densely forested and could not be easily cleared without the aid of iron axes.

Although some people lived in these areas prior to the sixth century BC, they used implements of bone, stone, and copper, and led a precarious life on the banks of lakes and rivers and river confluences where land was opened to settlement through the process of erosion and flooding. In the mid-Gangetic plains, largescale habitations began towards the end of the sixth century BC, when iron began to be used in this area on some scale.

Given the moist nature of the soil in this area, not many iron tools of the earliest times have survived, but a fair number of axes have been found from the layers of *c.* 600–500 BCE. The use of iron tools made possible clearance, agriculture, and large settlements.

The agricultural economy based on the iron ploughshare required the use of bullocks, and could not flourish without animal husbandry. However, the Vedic practice of killing cattle indiscriminately in sacrifices hampered the progress of the new agriculture. The cattle wealth was gradually decimated because the cows and bullocks were being killed in the course of the numerous Vedic sacrifices, and the non-Vedic tribal people living on the southern and eastern fringes of Magadha also killed cattle for food. However, if the new agrarian economy was to stabilize, this killing had to be halted.

Around 500 BCE, we see the rise of a large number of cities in north-eastern India. We may refer, for example, to Kaushambi near Allahabad, Kusinagar (in Deoria district of UP), Varanasi, Vaishali (in the newly created district of the same name in north Bihar), Chirand (in Saran district), Taradih in Bodh-Gaya, Pataliputra, Rajgir (situated at a distance of about 100 km south-east of Patna), and Champa in Bhagalpur district.

Vardhamana Mahavira and Gautama Buddha were associated with several of these cities. In them, many artisans and traders worked who used coins for the first time.

In the brahmanical society, the vaisyas, as we have noted, ranked third, after the brahmanas and ksatriyas. Naturally they sought a religion that would improve their position. Besides the ksatriyas, the Vaisyas extended generous support to both Mahavira and Gautama Buddha.

The merchants, called the *setthis*, made handsome gifts to Gautama Buddha and his disciples. There were several reasons for it. First, Jainism and Buddhism at the initial stage did not attach any importance to the existing varna system. Second, they preached the gospel of non-violence,

which would put an end to wars between different kingdoms and consequently promote trade and commerce.

Third, the brahmanical law-books, called the Dharmasutras, decried lending money at an interest, and condemned those who lived on interest. Therefore, the vaisyas, who lent money because of the growing trade and commerce, were held in low esteem and looked for better social status.

3. Doctrines

Vardhamana Mahavira and Jainism

The Jainas believed that their most important religious teacher Mahavira had twenty-three predecessors who were called *tirthankaras*.

Some Jainas believe that Rishabhadeve was the first *tirthankara* or teacher of Jainism. The earliest important teachings of Jainism are attributed to Parshvanatha, the twenty-third *tirthankara*, who hailed from Banaras, abandoned royal life, and became an ascetic. However, it was his spiritual successor Vardhamana Mahavira who was the real founder of Jainism.

It is difficult to fix the exact dates of the birth and death of the great reformers Vardhamana Mahavira and Gautama Buddha. According to one tradition, Vardhamana Mahavira was born in 540 BCE in a village near Vaisali. His father Siddhartha was the head of a famous Ksatriya clan, and his mother, Trishala, was the sister of the Lichchhavi chief Chetaka, whose daughter was married to Bimbisara. Thus, Mahavira's family was connected with the royal family of Magadh, and such high connections made it easy for him to approach princes and nobles in the course of his mission. Initially, Mahavira led the life of a householder, but in his quest for truth he abandoned the world at the age of 30 and became an ascetic. He wandered for twelve years from place to place, not staying for over a day in a village and more than five days in a town. During the course of his long journey of twelve years it is said he never changed his clothes, and abandoned them altogether at the age of 42 when he attained omniscience (*kaivalya*). Through *kaivalya* he conquered misery and happiness. Because of this conquest he is known as Mahavira or the great hero or *jina*, that is, the conqueror, and his followers are known as Jainas.

He propagated his religion for thirty years, and his mission took him to Koshala, Magadha, Mithila, Champa, and elsewhere. He passed away at the age of 72 in 468 BCE at a place called Pavapuri near modern Rajgir. According to another tradition he passed away in 527 BCE, but, archaeology does not support his existence in the sixth century BCE. The towns

and other settlements with which he was associated did not come into existence till 500 BCE.

Doctrines of Jainism

Jainism taught five doctrines:

- (i) Do not commit violence,
- (ii) Do not tell a lie,
- (iii) Do not steal,
- (iv) Do not hoard, and
- (v) Observe continence (*brahmacharya*).

It is said that only the fifth doctrine was added by Mahavira: the other four were taken over by him from previous teachers. Jainism attached the utmost importance to ahimsa or non-injury to living beings. Sometimes it led to absurd results, for some Jaina kings ordered the execution of persons guilty of killing animals. Although Parshva, Mahavira's predecessor, had asked his followers to cover the upper and lower portions of their bodies, Mahavira asked them to discard their clothing altogether. This implies that Mahavira asked his followers to lead a more austere life. Because of this, in later times, Jainism split into two sects: *shvetambaras* or those who donned white garments and *digambaras* who remained naked.

Jainism recognized the existence of the gods but placed them lower than the *jina*, and did not condemn the varna system as Buddhism did.

According to Mahavira, a person is born in a high or in a lower varna as a consequence of his sins committed or virtues acquired by him in his previous birth. Mahavira looks for human values even in a chandala. In his opinion, by leading pure and meritorious life, members of the lower castes can achieve liberation. Jainism principally aims at the attainment of freedom from worldly bonds. No ritual is necessary for such liberation. It can be obtained through right knowledge, right faith, and right action. These three are considered to be the three jewels or *triratna* of Jainism. Jainism prohibited the practice of war and even agriculture for its followers because both involve the killing of living beings. Eventually the Jainas principally confined themselves to trade and mercantile activities.

Gautama Buddha and Buddhism

Gautama Buddha, or Siddhartha, was a contemporary of Mahavira. According to tradition he was born in 567 BCE in a Sakya ksatriya family in Lumbini in Nepal near Kapilavastu, which is identified with Piprahwa in Basti district and is close to the foothills of Nepal. Gautama's father was the ruler of Kapilavastu, and headed the Sakya clan. His mother was a princess from the Kosalan dynasty. Thus, like Mahavira, Gautama too belonged to a noble family.

At the age of 29, like Mahavira, he left home. He wandered from place to place for about seven years and then attained enlightenment at the age of 35 at Bodh-Gaya

under a *pipal* tree. From this time onwards he began to be called the Buddha or the enlightened one.

Gautama Buddha delivered his first sermon at Sarnath in Banaras. He undertook long journeys and carried his message far and wide.

He encountered many staunch supporters of rival sects, including the brahmanas, but defeated them in debates. His missionary activities did not discriminate between the rich and the poor, the high and the low, and man and woman. Gautama Buddha passed away at the age of 80 in 487 BCE at a place called Kusinagara, coterminous with the village called Kasia in Deoria district in eastern UP.

Doctrines of Buddhism

The Buddha proved to be a practical reformer who took note of the realities of the day. He addressed himself to worldly problems. He said that the world was full of sorrows and that people suffered on account of desires. If desires are conquered, nirvana is attained, that is, man is free from the cycle of birth and death.

Gautama Buddha recommended an eightfold path (*ashtangika marga*) for the elimination of human misery. This path is attributed to him in a text of about the third century BCE.

- Right observation,
- Right determination
- Right speech
- Right action
- Right livelihood,
- Right effort,
- Right awareness, and
- Right concern.

If a person follows this eightfold path, he would free himself from the machinations of priests, and would reach his destination. Gautama taught that a person should avoid an excess of both luxury and austerity, and prescribed the middle path. The Buddha also laid down a code of conduct for his followers on the same lines as those of the Jaina teachers. The principal tenets are:

- (i) do not commit violence,
- (ii)** do not covet the property of others,
- (iii)** do not use intoxicants
- (iv)** do not tell a lie, and
- (v)** do not indulge in sexual misconduct and adultery.

Buddhism does not recognize the existence of god and soul. This can be seen as a kind of revolution in the history of Indian religions. As early Buddhism was not enmeshed in the claptrap of philosophical discussion, it appealed to the

common people, and particularly won the support of the lower orders because it attacked the varna system.

Module IV

The Mauryan Empire

Introduction

- With the coming of the Mauryas in the latter part of the fourth century **B.C.E**, the historical scene is illuminated by a relative abundance of evidence from a variety of sources.
- Not only do these sources provide information, but they also encourage divergent thoughts on the history of those times. The political picture is relatively clear, with the empire of the Mauryas covering a large part of the subcontinent, the focus being control by a single power.

1. Sources

Literary Sources

Arthashastra

- The *Arthashastra* of Kautilya is an extremely sophisticated and detailed treatise on statecraft.
- The book refers to several previous works on the subject, none of which have survived.
- The term *artha* is not new. As one of the *purusharthas* (the legitimate goals of human existence), it stands for material well-being.
- The *Arthashastra* states very categorically that *artha* is superior to *dharma* (spiritual well-being) and *kama* (sensual pleasure), because the latter are dependent on it.
- It explains *artha* as the sustenance or livelihood of men, of which the source is the earth inhabited by people.
- *Arthashastra* is the branch of learning that deals with the means of the acquisition and protection of the earth, which is the source of people's livelihood. Given this definition, *Arthashastra* is in effect the science of statecraft.
- Kautilya's work consists of 15 books (*Adhikaranas*). The first five deal with internal administration (*tantra*), the next eight with inter-state relations (*avapa*), and the last two with miscellaneous topics.
- A major problem in using the *Arthashastra* as a source of history are the differences of opinion regarding its date and authorship.
- The traditional view is that it is a work of the 4th century BCE, written by Kautilya, also known as Chanakya or Vishnugupta, who became Chandragupta Maurya's chief minister after helping him overthrow the Nandas.

Indica

- The Maurya period saw a steady expansion of trade with the Western world and the exchange of emissaries between Maurya and Hellenistic kings. It is hence not surprising that Graeco-Roman accounts mention kings Sandrocottus (Chandragupta) and Amitrochates (Amitraghata, i.e., Bindusara), and their capital Palimbothra (Pataliputra).
- Megasthenes was the representative of Seleucus Nikator at the court of Sibyrtios, governor of Arachosia (the Kandahar area of Afghanistan). After a treaty was made between Chandragupta and Seleucus, he was sent as the latter's ambassador to the Maurya court.
- As a royal ambassador, Megasthenes' exposure to Indian society must have been socially and geographically restricted. Information regarding the frequency and duration of his visits to the Maurya court is unavailable.
- Megasthenes wrote a book called the *Indica* based on his travels and experiences in India. The book has not survived, but fragments are preserved in later Greek and Latin works, the earliest and most important of which are those of Diodorus, Strabo, Arrian, and Pliny.

Archaeological Sources

Asoka's Inscriptions

- Short inscriptions on early 4th century BCE potsherds found at Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka have given important evidence of the use of the Brahmi script in a pre-Maurya context.
- According to some historians, the Piprahwa casket inscription and the Sohagaura and Mahasthan inscriptions may be pre-Maurya or early Maurya; others consider them contemporary to Asoka's time or even post-Maurya.
- A fragmentary Sanchi inscription which mentions the name Bindusara may belong to the reign of the Maurya king of this name. However, the practice of inscribing imperial proclamations on stone is a marked feature of Asoka's reign.
- When James Prinsep succeeded in reading Asoka's Brahmi edicts, it was not immediately clear to him just which king they referred to. This is because most of them refer to Asoka by variants of two titles—Devanampiya (beloved of the gods) and Piyadasi (he who looks on auspiciousness).
- The *Dipavamsa* and *Mahavamsa*, which used these epithets for Asoka, provided the crucial clues to the mystery. In later decades, versions of Minor Rock Edict I containing the personal name of the king—Asoka—were found, first at Maski, and later at Udegolam, Nittur, and Gujjara.
- Most of the inscriptions are in the Prakrit language and Brahmi script. Those at Mansehra and Shahbazgarhi are in the Prakrit language and Kharoshthi script.

- There are a few inscriptions in Greek and Aramaic as well. A bilingual Greek–Aramaic inscription was found at Shar-i-Kuna near Kandahar in south-east Afghanistan. Two Aramaic inscriptions were found at Laghman (in east Afghanistan) and one at Taxila. A bilingual Prakrit–Aramaic inscription was found at Lampaka and another one at Kandahar.
- Asoka’s inscriptions are divided into various categories. The two main categories are the 14 major rock edicts and 6 (in one case 7) pillar edicts.
- The rock and pillar edicts are sets of inscriptions that occur, with minor variations, in different places. There are also several minor rock edicts, minor pillar edicts, and cave inscriptions.
- The minor rock edicts are considered among the earliest inscriptions, the major rock edicts later than them, and the pillar edicts still later.
- Some inscriptions refer to events with reference to the number of years that had expired since Asoka’s *abhisheka* (consecration ceremony).
- What makes Asoka’s edicts unique is that unlike royal inscriptions of later times, which follow a conventional pattern and phraseology, Asoka’s inscriptions reveal the voice and ideas of the king.

The Sanchi Stupa

1. An important *stupa* site that definitely dates to Asoka’s time is Sanchi (in Raisen district, MP). This was situated on the outskirts of ancient Vidisha (represented by the site of Besnagar), one of the great cities of Asoka’s empire and also, according to Buddhist legend, the birthplace of his wife, Devi.
2. The remains on the Sanchi hillside include many *stupas*, shrines, and monasteries. The brick core of the largest *stupa*, known as Stupa no. 1 or the Great Stupa, was built in Asoka’s time. We know this because it springs from the same floor level as the pillar that bears Asoka’s schism edict.
3. The *stupa* was about 60 ft in diameter at the base, and was a low dome (less than a full hemisphere) mounted on a low cylindrical drum. It was probably surrounded by a wooden fence and had entrances at the four cardinal points. In the 2nd century BCE, this *stupa* was encased in stone; other additions were made over the next few centuries. *Stupa* no. 1 did not yield any relics.
4. Most of these images do not bear inscriptions, nor were they found in the course of an archaeological excavation. They were initially ascribed to the Maurya period due to the fact that some or all of their surface was polished. More recent assessments have pointed out that a polished surface is insufficient ground to assign a Maurya date to a piece of sculpture, since the so-called ‘Maurya polish’ continued into the early centuries CE.
5. Stylistic considerations are, therefore, also very important. The *yaksha* sculpture found at Parkham was initially associated with the Maurya period. Later, some scholars assigned it to the 1st century BCE on stylistic grounds. However, its base has an inscription in Maurya Brahmi letters, so the earlier view may be correct.

2. Political History and Administration

Chandragupta Maurya

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The Maurya dynasty was founded by Chandragupta Maurya, who seems to have belonged to an ordinary family. According to the brahmanical tradition, he was born of Mura, a Sudra woman in the court of the Nandas. However, an earlier Buddhist tradition speaks of the Mauryas as the ruling clan of the little republic of Pippalivana in the region of Gorakhpur near the Nepalese terai.

• In all likelihood, Chandragupta was a member of this clan. He took advantage of the Nandas in the last days of their rule. With the help of Chanakya, who is known as Kautilya, he overthrew the Nandas and established the rule of the Maurya dynasty. The machinations of Chanakya against Chandragupta's enemies are described in detail in the *Mudrarakshasa*, a play written by Vishakhadatta in the ninth century.

• In modern times, several plays have been based on it. Justin, a Greek writer, says that Chandragupta overran the whole of India with an army of 600,000. This may or may not be true, but Chandragupta liberated north-western India from the thralldom of Seleucus, who ruled over the area west of the Indus. In the war with the Greek viceroy, Chandragupta seems to have emerged victorious. Eventually peace was concluded between the two, and in return for 500 elephants, Seleucus gave him not only his daughter but also eastern Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and the area west of the Indus. Chandragupta thus built up a vast empire which included not only Bihar and substantial parts of Orissa and Bengal but also western and north-western India, and the Deccan. Aside from Kerala, Tamil Nadu, and parts of north-eastern India, the Mauryas ruled over virtually the entire subcontinent. In the north-west, they held sway over certain areas that did not even form part of the British empire.

• The Mauryas organized a very elaborate system of administration.

• We know about this from the account of Megasthenes and the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya.

Megasthenes was a Greek ambassador sent by Seleucus to the court of Chandragupta Maurya. He lived in the Maurya capital of Pataliputra and wrote an account not only of the administration of the city of Pataliputra but also of the Maurya empire as a whole. Megasthenes's account does not survive in full, but quotations from it occur in the works of several subsequent Greek writers. These fragments have been collected and published in the form of a book entitled *Indika*, which throws valuable light on the administration, society, and economy of Maurya times. Megasthenes's account can be supplemented by the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya.

• These two sources enable us to draw a picture of the administrative system of Chandragupta Maurya. Chandragupta Maurya was evidently an autocrat who concentrated all power in his hands. If we are to believe a statement in the *Arthashastra*, the king had set a high ideal. He stated that in the happiness of

his subjects lay his happiness and, in their troubles, lay his troubles. We do not however know how far the king acted up to these ideals.

- According to Megasthenes, the king was assisted by a council whose members were noted for wisdom. There is nothing to show that their advice was binding on him, though the high officers were chosen from among the councillors.
- The empire was divided into a number of provinces, and each of these was placed under a prince who was a scion of the royal dynasty. The provinces were divided into still smaller units, and arrangements were made for both rural and urban administration. Excavations show that a large number of towns relate to Maurya times. Pataliputra, Kaushambi, Ujjain, and Taxila were the most important cities.
- Megasthenes states that numerous cities existed in India, but he considered Pataliputra to be the most important. He calls it Palibothra. This Greek term means a city with gates. According to him, Pataliputra was bounded by a deep ditch and a wooden wall crowned with 570 towers, and had 64 gates. The ditch, timber palisades, and also wooden houses have been found in excavations.
- According to Megasthenes, Pataliputra was 9.33 miles long and 1.75 miles broad.
- This size tallies with that of Patna even today, because Patna is all length with little breadth. Given this conformity, it is possible to trust Megasthenes's other statements.

The Greek ambassador also refers to the administration of Pataliputra, the capital of the Mauryas.

- The city was administered by six committees, each of which consisted of five members. These committees were entrusted with sanitation, care of foreigners, registration of birth and death, regulation of weights and measures, and similar other functions.
- Various types of weights belonging to Maurya times have been found in several places in Bihar.
- According to Kautilya, the central government maintained about two dozen departments of state, which controlled social and economic activities at least in the areas that were in proximity to the capital.
- The most striking feature of Chandragupta's administration was its maintenance of a huge army.
- A Roman writer called Pliny states that Chandragupta maintained 600,000-foot soldiers, 30,000 cavalymen, and 9000 elephants. Another source tells us that the Mauryas maintained 8000 chariots.
- In addition to these, it appears that the Mauryas also maintained a navy.
- The administration of the armed forces, according to Megasthenes, was carried on by a board of thirty officers divided into six committees, each committee consisting of five members. It seems that each of the six wings of the armed

forces, the army, the cavalry, the elephants, the chariots, the navy, and the transport, was assigned to the care of a separate committee.

- The Mauryas' military strength was almost three times that of the Nandas, and this was apparently because of a much larger empire and thus far greater resources.
- How did Chandragupta Maurya manage to meet the expenses of such a huge army?

According to the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya, it would appear that the state controlled almost all the economic activities in the realm. The state brought new land under cultivation with the aid of cultivators and Sudra labourers. The virgin land that was opened to cultivation yielded handsome income to the state in the form of revenue collected from the newly settled peasants. It appears that taxes collected from the peasants varied from one-fourth to one-sixth of the produce. Those who were provided with irrigation facilities by the state had to pay for it. In addition, in times of emergency, peasants were compelled to raise more crops. Tolls were also levied on commodities brought to town for sale, and they were collected at the gate. Moreover, the state enjoyed a monopoly in mining, sale of liquor, manufacture of arms, etc. This naturally brought vast resources to the royal exchequer. Chandragupta thus established a well-organized administrative system and gave it a sound financial base.

Asoka (273–32 BC)

Chandragupta Maurya was succeeded by Bindusara, whose reign is important for its continuing links with the Greek princes. His son, Asoka, is the greatest of the Maurya rulers. According to Buddhist tradition, he was so cruel in his early life that he killed his ninety-nine brothers to win the throne. However, as this statement is based on a legend, it may be mythical. Asoka's biography, written by Buddhist authors, is so full of fiction that it cannot be taken seriously

3. Asoka's Dhamma

- Asoka expounded an idea which was new to Indian political and social theory, which has also received much attention in recent years, enhancing the curiosity about Asoka.
- It is based on his interpretation of the 'philosophy' or idea of *Dhamma*, a term he used frequently. *Dhamma* is the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word *Dharma*, meaning, according to the context, the universal law or righteousness or, by extension, the social and religious order found in a society where Brahmanism was the norm.
- In the Buddhist Canon it was used for the teaching of the Buddha. However, the word had a much more general connotation at the time and, judging by the way in which he used it in his edicts, Asoka gave it a wider meaning.
- Early studies of Asoka drew on the evidence from the Buddhist chronicles of Sri Lanka in conjunction with the King's own edicts, and this naturally emphasized a Buddhist

reading of the edicts. His supposedly sudden conversion to Buddhism after the battle of Kalinga was dramatized and he was depicted as a paragon of Buddhist piety following his conversion – one historian suggesting that he may have been both a monk and a monarch at the same time.

- Asoka was certainly attracted to Buddhism and became a practising Buddhist. But the Buddhism of his age was not merely a religious belief; it was in addition a social and intellectual movement at many levels, influencing many aspects of social life. Obviously, any responsible and sensitive statesman would have had to locate himself in the context of the Buddha's teaching, among others, and be aware of its impact on the society of that time.
- Asoka's edicts reflect this sensitivity, as also do his concerns for the ethics of those whom he was governing. Asoka, it would seem, made a distinction between his personal belief in and support for Buddhism and his obligation as a king and a statesman to insist that all religions must be respected.
- His inscriptions are therefore of two kinds. The smaller group consists of declarations of the King as a lay Buddhist, addressed to the Buddhist Sangha. These edicts describe his adherence to Buddhism and his relationship with the Sangha. Here the voice is that of a confirmed believer with some degree of intolerance of differing opinion, as for instance in a passage where he proclaims in no uncertain terms that dissident monks and nuns should be expelled from the Sangha.
- Given that literacy would not have been widespread, these were presumably locations where the edicts would be read out to the gathered people. This was part of the propagation of ideas through the oral tradition.
- The versions of the Minor Rock Edicts reiterate the fact of his being a Buddhist and these, together with the Major Rock Edicts and the Pillar Edicts, define what he understands by *Dhamma*. The achievement of Asoka lay in his exposition of this idea in the context of Mauryan India. He did not see *Dhamma* as piety, resulting from good deeds that were inspired by formal religious beliefs, but as conformity to a social ethic. Some historians have interpreted Asoka's *Dhamma* as a synonym for Buddhism, arguing that Asoka's intention was the propagation of Buddhism to make it virtually the religion of the Mauryan state. The edicts would belie such an intention.
- He appears to have been concerned with using a broader ethic to explore ways of governance and to reduce social conflict and intolerance.
- *Dhamma* was aimed at creating an attitude of mind in which the ethical behaviour of one person towards another was primary, and was based on a recognition of the dignity of human beings.
- He sought a group of unifying principles, influenced by the intellectual and religious currents of the time.
- Asoka mutated *Dhamma* to his needs and explained it through a personal definition.
- The principles of *Dhamma* were such that they would have been acceptable to people belonging to any religious sect.
- *Dhamma* was not defined in terms of caste duties and regulations and was left vague in details, referring itself to the requirements of social ethics. Of the basic principles,

Asoka emphasized tolerance. This, according to him, extended to tolerance towards people and towards their beliefs and ideas.

- He defined it repeatedly as consideration towards slaves and servants, respect for teachers, obedience to mother and father, generosity towards friends, acquaintances and relatives, regard for and donations to brahmins and *shramanas*, a concern for all living beings and an abstention from taking life.
- This was a plea to accommodate differences in the interests of harmonious living. Differences can be openly expressed and admitted, while at the same time being tolerated. There was a concern that differences should not lead to disharmony.
- Refraining from violence was another principle of *Dhamma*, which included the renunciation of war and conquest by violence, as well as a restraint on the killing of animals.
- But Asoka was not adamant in his insistence on non-violence. He recognized that there were occasions when violence might be unavoidable, for instance when the forest-dwellers were troublesome.
- In a moving passage on the suffering caused by war, he declares that by adhering to *Dhamma* he will refrain from using force in the future. He also states that he would prefer his descendants not to conquer by force, but should it be necessary he hopes they will conduct this conquest with a maximum of mercy and clemency.
- He pared down the cooking of meat in the royal kitchen, allowing for only a little venison and peacock meat - evidently his personal preferences. He also lists a number of birds, animals and fish of a curiously mixed kind that he declares inviolable. The inviolability of some is linked to particular days of the calendar. This is frequently quoted today as an early example of the conservation of wildlife.
- In another edict he refers to the planting of medicinal herbs to help both men and animals.
- The policy of *Dhamma* included the state's concern for the welfare of its people.
- He criticized in no uncertain terms what he described as 'useless ceremonies and sacrifices', held as a result of superstitious beliefs.
- Yet he has no objection to spectacles and displays conjuring up divine forms as a means of attracting an audience to create an interest in *Dhamma*.
- To implement the policy of *Dhamma* and publicize it, Asoka instituted a special category of officers - the *dhamma-mahamattas*. Their concern was with the well-being of his subjects.
- Yet the policy of *Dhamma* did not succeed. It may have been due to Asoka's over-anxiety for its acceptance, or to his own weakness when he became obsessed with *Dhamma* in the latter part of his reign. The social tensions and sectarian conflicts continued, or else were adjusted but remained.
- Nevertheless, Asoka deserves admiration, not only for recognizing the need for a social ethic, but for attempting to both define and implement such an ethic in his capacity as emperor.

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