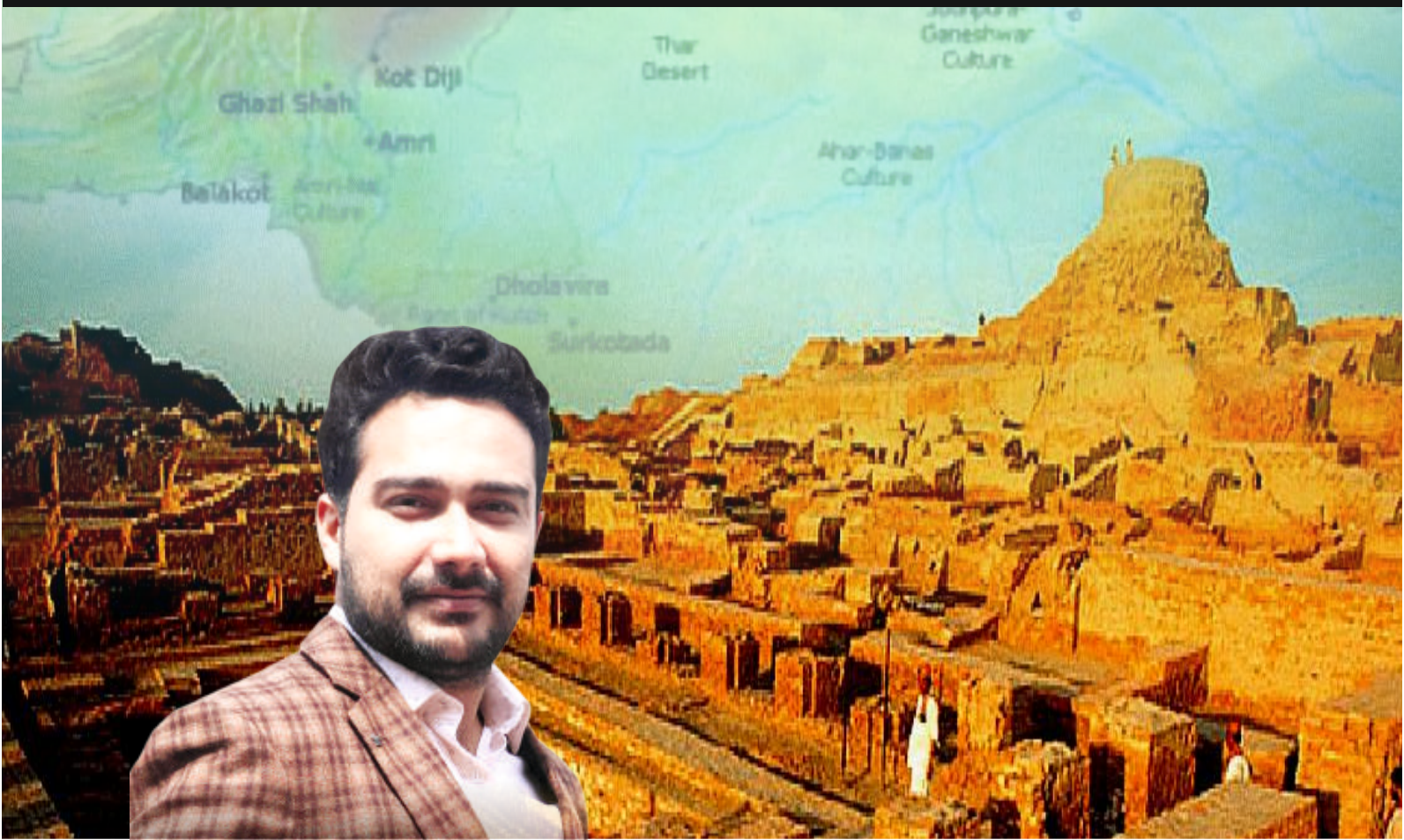


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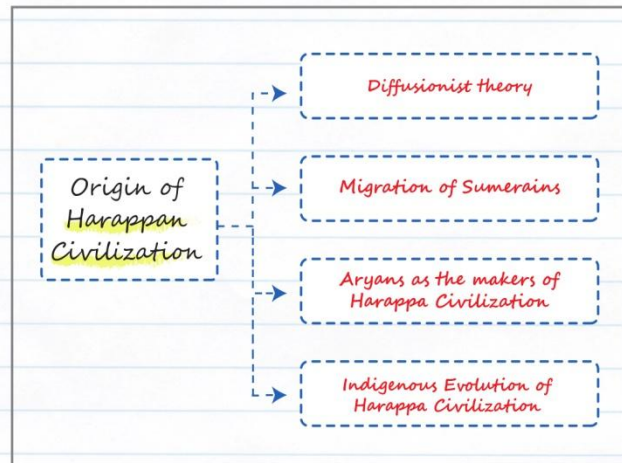
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ORIGIN OF HARAPPAN CIVILIZATION

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.



MIGRATION THEORY

- According to **E. J. H. Mackay**, a migration of people from Sumer (southern Mesopotamia) may have led to the formation of Harappan civilization.
- **Mortimer Wheeler** argued for a migration of ideas i.e. 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.

Counter Views

- 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.

SOTHI CULTURE -A PROTO HARAPPAN CULTURE?

- **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.
- He asserted that there were similarities between Sothi pottery and the pottery of (a) Zhob, Quetta, and other Baluchi sites; (b) pre-Harappan Kalibangan, Kot Diji, and the lowest levels of Harappa and Mohenjodaro; and (c) mature Harappan levels at Kalibangan, and perhaps also at KotDiji.
- In view of these similarities, he argued that the Sothi culture should be described as proto Harappan.

Limitations of this hypothesis:

- A limitation of this hypothesis was that it was based exclusively on a comparison of pottery, and did not consider other material traits. And in emphasizing ceramic similarities, Ghosh had ignored the many differences between the Sothi and Harappan cultures.



M. R. MUGHAL ANALYSIS ON PRE-HARAPPAN AND MATURE HARAPPAN PHASE:

- The first comprehensive analysis of the evidence from pre-Harappan sites in the greater Indus valley and north Baluchistan was made by **M. R. Mughal**.
- Mughal compared the whole range of evidence (pottery, stone tools, metal artefacts, architecture, etc.) from pre-Harappan and mature Harappan levels, and explored the relationship between the two stages.
- The pre-Harappan phase showed large fortified settlements, a fairly high level of expertise in specialized crafts such as stone working, metal crafting, and bead making, the use of wheeled transport, and the existence of trade networks.
- The range of raw materials used by the pre-Harappans was more or less the same as that used in the mature Harappan phase (except for jade, which is absent in the early Harappan context). The two things lacking were large cities and increased levels of craft specialization.
- Mughal argued that the 'pre-Harappan' phase actually represented the early, formative phase of the Harappan culture and that the term 'pre-Harappan' should therefore be replaced by 'early Harappan'.
- The dates vary from site to site, but the general range is c. 3200–2600 BCE. The early Harappan phase is extremely important, not merely as a stepping-stone to urbanization, but in its own right as well.

DIFFUSIONIST THEORIES:

- Diffusionist theories were popular among archaeologists and historians in the 19th and early 20th centuries and were invoked to explain developments as diverse as the beginnings of agriculture, the origins of cities, the distribution of megalithic monuments, and similarities in religious ideas.
- Diffusion is not a theory but a way of theorizing about cultural change. The process of diffusion is variously described as the result of a migration of people, some other form of contact (e.g., trade, invasion) or a more abstract cultural stimulus.

Criticism:

- One of the assumptions is that similar discoveries/inventions/ cultural changes in different parts of the world must be connected to each other. This is not necessarily so. As we have seen in the case of the origins of agriculture, at least three independent centres of early agriculture can be identified.
- Diffusionist theories often take up **superficial resemblances between cultures and ignore the differences**. They then hold up the superficial resemblances as very significant and as 'proof' of diffusion.
- These theories appear to offer an explanation, but actually do not explain anything at all. Technologies or cultural transformations do not get transported and transplanted into new areas in a simple or automatic way. There has to be a need and acceptance for them in the recipient culture, and a number of preconditions have to be in place. Mere



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awareness of a different way of life does not lead to people changing their ways of doing things or living their lives.

cultures before the change appeared in the latter;

- Show that there is indeed a striking and significant degree of similarity in the developments in the two cultures; and Demonstrate how and why the new technology/practice was transmitted to and absorbed into the cultural fabric of the recipient culture.

D Criticism is not absolute:

- This criticism of diffusionist theories should not be taken to mean that cultures never influence each other. However, in all instances, while making a case for such influence, it is necessary to:
- Prove that there was some contact between the 'donor' and 'recipient'

THE CHRONOLOGY OF PRE-HARAPPAN AND HARAPPAN CULTURES

Timeline	Period	General Characteristics
5500 B.C. to 3500 B.C.	Neolithic	In Baluchistan and the Indus plains settlements like Mehrgarh and KiliGhul Muhammad came up. Beginning with pastoralism with limited cultivation and seasonal occupation of the villages, permanent villages emerged. Knowledge of wheat, barley, dates, cotton and sheep, goat and cattle. Evidences of mud houses, pottery and Craft-production found.
3500 B.C. to 2600 B.C.	Early Harappan Period	Many more settlements established in the hills and the plains. Largest numbers of villages occur in this period. Use of copper, wheel and plough. Extra-ordinary range of pottery forms showing beginning of many regional traditions. Evidence of granary, defensive walls, and long distance trade. Emergence of uniformities in the pottery tradition throughout the Indus Valley. Also, the origins of such motifs as Pipal, humped bulls, Cobras, horned deity etc.
2600 B.C. to 1800 B.C.	Mature Harappan Period	Emergence of large cities, uniform types of bricks, weights, seals, beads and pottery. Planned township and long distance trade.
1800 B.C. Onwards	Late Harappan Period	Many Harappan sites abandoned. Interregional exchange declines. Writing and city life abandoned. Continuation of Harappan Crafts and pottery tradition. The village cultures of Punjab, Sutlej-Jamuna divide and Gujarat imbibe the Harappan crafts and pottery traditions.



THE DECLINE OF HARAPPAN CIVILIZATION

The Archaeological Evidence of Decline:

- Cities like Harappa, Mohenjodaro and Kalibangan experienced gradual decline in urban planning and construction.
- Houses made of old dilapidated bricks and shoddy construction encroached upon the roads and streets of the towns. Flimsy partitions sub-divided the courtyards of the houses. The Cities were fast turning into slums.

Archaeological evidence from Mohenjodaro:

- A detailed study of the architectures of Mohenjodaro shows that many entry points to the 'Great Bath' were blocked. Sometimes later the 'Great Bath' and the 'Granary' fell into total disuse.
- At the same time the late levels (i.e. later habitations) at Mohenjodaro showed a distinct reduction in the-number of sculptures, figurines, beads, bangles and inlay works.
- Towards the end, the city of Mohenjodaro shrank to a small settlement of three hectares from the original eighty-five hectares.

Archaeological evidence from Harappa:

- Before its abandonment Harappa seems to have witnessed the arrival of a group of people about whom we know through their burial practices.
- They were using a pottery which was different from those of the Harappans.
- Their culture is known as the 'Cemetery H' culture.

Evidences found in other places:

- Buildings associated with power and ideology were decaying and goods related to displays of prestige and splendor were becoming increasingly scarce.
- A study of the settlement pattern of the Harappan and Late Harappan sites in the Bahawalpur area also indicates a trend of decay. Along the banks of the Hakra river the number of settlements came down to 50 in the Late Harappan period from 174 in the Mature Harappan period.
- What seems likely is that in the last two-three hundred years of their life, the settlements in the core region of the Harappan civilization were declining. The population seems to have either perished or moved away to other areas.
- Whereas the number of sites in the triangle of Harappa, Bahawalpur and Mohenjodaro declined, the number of settlements in the outlying areas of Gujarat, East Punjab, Haryana and upper Doab increased. This indicates a phenomenal increase in the number of people in these areas.
- This sudden increase in the population of those regions can be explained by the emigration of people from the core regions of Harappa.
- In the outlying regions of the Harappan civilization, i.e. the areas of Gujarat, Rajasthan and Punjab; people continue to live. But life had changed for them. Some of the important features associated with

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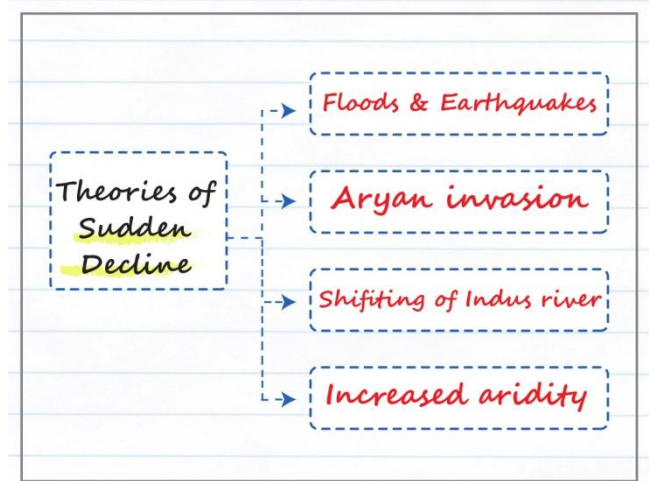
the Harappan civilization-writing, uniform weights, Harappan pottery and architectural style had disappeared.

- The abandonment of the cities of the Indus is roughly dated to about 1800 B.C. This date is supported by the fact that the Mesopotamian literature stops referring to Meluhha by the end of 1900 B.C. However, even now, the chronology of the end of Harappan cities remains tentative.

- Shift in the course of rivers and the gradual drying up of the Ghaggar-Hakra river system
- Growing demands of the centres disturbed the ecology of the region and the area could not support them anymore.

VARIATION IN DECLINE:

- Decline had set in at Mohenjodaro by 2200 BCE and the settlement had come to an end by 2000 BCE. In some places, the civilization continued till 1800 BCE.
- Apart from the dates, the pace of decline also varied.
- Mohenjodaro and Dholavira give a picture of gradual decline, while at Kalibangan and Banawali, city life ended all of a sudden.



EXPLANATIONS OF THE DECLINE OF THE HARAPPAN CIVILIZATION

THEORIES OF SUDDEN DECLINE

- Some scholars, believing in a dramatic collapse of the civilization, have looked for evidences of a calamity of catastrophic proportions, which wiped out the urban communities. Some of the plausible theories for the decline of the Harappan civilization are:
 - Massive floods
 - Barbarian invaders destroyed the cities

Theory of Aryan invasion

- The idea that the civilization was destroyed by Aryan invaders was first put forward by **Ramaprasad Chanda** and was elaborated on by **Mortimer Wheeler**.
- Wheeler argued that references in the 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 an Aryan invasion of the Harappan cities.
- He identified a place called Hariyupiya in the Rig Veda with Harappa.
- Wheeler also pointed to certain skeletal remains found at Mohenjodaro as proof of the Aryan massacre.
- He subsequently modified his hypothesis, to the extent that he acknowledged that other factors such as 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.

Criticism against the above:

- Many scholars such as **P. V. Kane** , **George Dales** , and **B. B. Lal** have refuted the invasion theory.
- The evidence from the Rig Veda, a religious text of uncertain date, is far from conclusive.
- Moreover, if there had been an invasion, it should have left some traces in the archaeological record. There is, in fact, no evidence of any kind of military assault or conflict at any Harappan site.
- The 37 groups of skeletal remains at Mohenjodaro do not belong to the same cultural phase and, 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.
- Moreover, **K. A. R. Kennedy's** analysis (1997) of the skeletal remains does not show any discontinuity in the skeletal record in the north-west at this point of time.
- It clear that there was no major influx of new settlers with a different physiognomy.
- The Harappan civilization was not destroyed by an Indo-Aryan invasion.

Tectonic theory

Floods and Earthquakes:

- Among the causes spelled out for the decline of the Harappan civilization scholars have used the evidence of flooding in Mohenjodaro.
- It appears from the records of the principal excavators that in Mohenjodaro various periods of occupation were

separated by evidences of deep flooding. This can be inferred from the fact that the houses and streets of Mohenjodaro were covered with silty clay and collapsed building material many times in its long history.

- This silty clay seems to have been left by the flood waters which had submerged the streets and houses. The people of Mohenjodaro again built up houses and streets on top of the debris of the previous buildings, after the floods had receded.
- This kind of catastrophic flooding and rebuilding on top of the debris seems to have happened at least thrice. Borings in the occupation deposit indicated successive phases of occupation levels spanning a vertical distances of 70 feet which is equivalent to the height of a seven storied building. Many occupation deposits were divided by silt deposits. Thick silt deposits have been noticed at points as high as 80 feet above the present day ground level.
- Thus, many scholars believe that the evidences are indicative of abnormal floods in Mohenjodaro. These floods led to the temporary desertion and reoccupation of the city throughout its history.
- That these floods were catastrophic is shown by silt deposits 80 feet above the present ground level, meaning that the flood waters rose to such height in this area. The Harappans at Mohenjodaro tired themselves out, trying to outtop the recurring floods. A stage came when the impoverished Harappans could not take it any more and they simply abandoned the settlement.

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THEORIES OF SUDDEN DECLINE

Flood & Earthquake	Mohenjodaro destroyed by Shifting of Indus River	Increased aridity led to decline	Barbarian or Aryan invasions destroyed Harappa
<p>Flood : Evidence</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Occupation levels divided by silt deposits. Houses and Streets covered by silt deposits upto 30 ft. above ground level. Houses built on silt covered debris. <p>Earthquake: Evidence</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Indus area is disturbed earthquake zone Earthquake raised the level of flood plains blocking passage of river water to sea, forcing water in to cities. Earthquake caused shift of land away from sea coast affecting commercial cities. 	<p>Evidence</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Silt is there in Harappa because of wind action which brought sand and silt. Sand silt not due to floods. 	<p>Evidence</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Middle of 2nd Millennium B.C. a period of increased arid conditions. In such a situation a semi-arid region (like Harappa) would be affected most decline of agriculture would result. Tectonic movement would affect river system. 	<p>Evidence</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Human skeletons have been found lying on the streets. Rig Veda refers to fortresses of "dasas" which god Puramdra destroys. The geographical area of Rig Veda Aryans includes Punjab Ghaggar region. Vedas mention a place called Hariyapiya on Ravi R where Aryans fought a battle. Name similar to Harappa.
<p>Criticism</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Decline of settlements outside Indus Valley will not be explained by this theory. A river cannot be dammed by tectonic effects. 	<p>Criticism</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> This can explain only desertion of Mohenjodaro but not its decline. 	<p>Criticism</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Not fully worked out. Drying up of river Ghaggar not dated yet. 	<p>Criticism</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Decline of Harappa around 1800 B.C. whereas Aryans not earlier than 1500 B.C. So Harappans and Aryans clash seems difficult to accept.

Raikes's Hypothesis

- The theory of catastrophic flooding have been carried further by a famous hydrologist **R.L. Raikes**. He argued that such flooding which could drown buildings 30 feet above the ground level of the settlement could not be the result of normal flooding in the river Indus.

- He believes that the Harappan civilization declined because of catastrophic flooding causing prolonged submergence of the cities located on the bank of the river Indus.
- He has shown that geomorphologically speaking the Indus area is a disturbed seismic zone. Earthquakes might have



raised the level of the flood plains of the lower Indus river. This uplift of the plain along an axis roughly at right angles to that of the river Indus blocked the passage of the river water to the sea.

- This led to the ponding of the waters of the river Indus. A lake was formed in the area where cities of the Indus had once flourished. And thus, the rising water levels of the river swallowed cities like Mohenjodaro.
- It has been pointed out that sites like Sutkagedor and Sutka-koh on the Makran Coast and Balakot near Karachi were seaports of the Harappans. However, at present, they are located far away from the sea-coast. This has happened because of the upliftment of the land on the sea-coast possibly caused by violent tectonic uplifts.
- Some scholars believe that these tectonic uplifts took place somewhere in the second millennium B.C. These violent earthquakes, damming rivers and burning the towns destroyed the Harappan civilization. This led to the disruption of the commercial life based on river and coastal communication.

Criticism:

- This grand theory of the catastrophic fall of the Harappan civilization is not accepted by many scholars.
- The silt observed in the city is actually the product of wind action blowing in lots of sand and silt. This, combined with disintegrating mud, mud brick and baked brick structures, produced what has been mistaken for silt produced by floods.
- **H.T. Lambrick** points out that the idea that a river would be dammed in such a

manner even by tectonic uplifts is incorrect due to two reasons:

- Even if an earthquake artificially raised a bund down stream, the large volume of water from the Indus would easily breach it. In recent times in Sind, a swell of ground raised by the earthquake of 1819 was breached by the first flood it faced from one of the smaller streams of the Indus called Nara.
- Silt deposition would parallel the rising surface of water in the hypothetical lake. It would take place along the bottom of the former course of the river. Thus, the silt of Mohenjodaro might not be the deposition of a flood. Another criticism of this theory is that it fails to explain the decline of the settlements outside the Indus system.

Change in the course of Indus:

- Lambrick has offered his own explanation for the decline. He believes that changes in the course of the river Indus could be the cause of the destruction of Mohenjodaro.
- The Indus is an unstable river system which keeps shifting its bed.
- Apparently, the river Indus shifted about thirty miles away from Mohenjodaro. The people of the city and the surrounding food production villages deserted the area because they were starved of water.
- This kind of thing happened many times in the history of Mohenjodaro.

Criticism:

- This theory too cannot explain the decline of the Harappan civilization in totality. At best, it can explain the desertion of Mohenjodaro.

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- And if the people of Mohenjodaro were familiar with those kinds of shifts in the river course why could not they themselves shift to some new settlement and establish another city like Mohenjodaro?

- With the forests disappearing there were more floods and droughts.
- Townsmen moved away to Gujarat and eastern areas.
- This process of decline completed by raids & attacks of nearby settlements

Climate change:

- On the basis of his study of pollen from Rajasthan lakes, Gurdip Singh (1971) suggests a connection between the onset of a drier climate and the decline of the Harappan civilization.
- However, a study of the sediments of the Lunkaransar lake indicates that the onset of drier conditions in this area may have happened well before the emergence of the Harappan civilization.
- Whether climatic change played a role in the decline of the Harappan civilization therefore remains unclear.

Criticism

- Soil continues to be fertile till today in this area. This disproves soil exhaustion hypothesis.
- Calculation of needs of Harappan towns requires more information before this hypothesis is substantiated.

REAL FACTORS

Mesopotamian trade:

- **Shereen Ratnagar** (1981) has argued that the decline in the lapis lazuli trade with Mesopotamia was a factor in the decline of the Harappan civilization.
- Whether this trade was particularly important for the Harappans is, however, debatable; consequently, this could not have been a factor responsible for the decline.

- While Mohenjodaro may have got worn out due to repeated episodes of naturally occurring floods, Harappan sites in the Ghaggar-Hakra valley were affected by gradual desiccation.
- The Sutlej or the Yamuna once flowed into the Ghaggar. Tectonic movements led to river capture—either the Yamuna joined up with the Ganga system or (what is more likely) the Sutlej was captured by the Indus, drastically reducing the water flowing into the Ghaggar.
- **M. R. Mughal's** study of settlements in this region shows a drastic reduction in the number of sites as the river dried up.

THEORIES OF DECLINE: GRADUAL DECLINE THEORIES

Evidence

- Calculation that ecological balance in these semi-arid areas was being disturbed because the human and cattle population was depleting scarce forests, food & fuel resources.

Natural disasters:

- Natural disasters, not necessarily sudden or single, did have a role to play.
- Several layers of silt at Mohenjodaro give evidence of the city being affected by repeated episodes of Indus floods.



Sudden rise in the Arabian Sea coastline:

- A sudden rise in the Arabian Sea coastline of West Pakistan could have caused floods and a rise in soil salinity.
- Such an uplift along the coast and in the lower Indus valley could also have seriously disrupted the coastal communications and trade of the Harappans.

Change in environment:

- The issue of environmental change can be connected to the ways in which the Harappans were treating their environment.
- Perhaps they were over-exploiting it through over-cultivation, over-grazing, and excessive cutting of trees for fuel and farming. This would have resulted in decreasing soil fertility, floods, and increasing soil salinity.
- Making estimates of population, land, food, and fodder requirements on the basis of modern data, Fairservis suggests that the civilization declined because the growing population of people and cattle could not be supported from resources within the Harappan culture zone.

NOTES

CONCLUSION

Archaeological evidence does not give direct access to the possible social and political dimensions of the decline of the Harappan civilization. What it does indicate very clearly is that the 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.

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