

Society And Economy of Early Kamarupa Through Foreign Literary Sources

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Abstract

Assam, one of the remotest states of the Indian-subcontinent lies in the North-eastern part of the country between latitudes 28^o 18' and 24^o North and longitude 89^o 46' and 97^o 4' East. This land has left a mark in the history of the country from antiquity. It was known as "Pragjyotisha" in both the Epics; *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* and as "Kamarupa" in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (4th century C.E) and in the early *Puranas*¹. Further in Al-Biruni's *Kitab-ul-Hind*, the land was mentioned as "Kamru". The land is known as "Asham" in *Ain-i-Akbari*, "Asam" in the *Padshahnamah* and the same was used by Francis Hamilton in the Account of Asam (1807-8)². As far as, the geographical limit of Kamarupa is concerned, Kamarupa as mentioned in the *Puranas* extended up to river Karatoya in the west, and apart from including its present boundaries also included Manipur, Jaintiya, Cachar, parts of Mymensing, Sylhet, Rangpur and portions of Nepal and Bhutan³. Even though the land is situated in the remote-eastern most side, Kamarupa finds mention in innumerable ancient Indian literary sources and foreign literary sources. This means that the kingdom was known and did not remain aloof. Even though the references are brief in some sources, they act as a valuable material for a researcher to re-construct the society, economy and polity of the land. These, also indicate the fact that the land received importance and was renowned from early times itself.

Keywords- Epics, Purans, Kamarupa, Literary sources, Society, Economy

Introduction

The term society generally involves people and several other institutions related to them. Whereas economy involves production, distribution, buying and selling of goods and so on. Both these terms are equally important to understand a particular area or its people, the way they lived, their economic way of life, contact with the outside world, so as to reconstruct the history of the land. The society of Pragjyotisha-Kamarupa was supposedly inhabited by the *kiratas* (non-Aryans) and its earliest known non-Aryan kings were *Mahiranga Danava* and his successors. He is known as a Kirata chief. However Naraka [born of Mother Earth Prithivi through *Vishnu* in his boar incarnation (*Bhauma*) as mentioned in *Kalika Purana*] was said to have killed *Ghatakasuara*, the last of their line and thus established a new line of kings in this region. Because of the divinity attached to him, almost all the ruling dynasties of Pragjyotisha-Kamarupa traced their descent from "*Bhauma-Naraka dynasty*". After a period of three thousand years (mentioned in *Nidhanpur grant* of Bhaskarvarman) Pushyavarman founded the Varman dynasty in the fourth century C.E., followed by the Salastambhas in the seventh century C.E, and the Palas in the tenth century

¹ Barpujari, H.K. The Comprehensive History of Assam. p 1.

² ibid Pg-1.

³ Baruah, S.L. A Comprehensive History of Assam. p 75.

C.E. The political structure of the Kamarupa kingdom was quite centralised in nature. Much has been said about the kingdom, but most of these references made in the early texts are yet to be fully scrutinised and critically examined. Also, not only the literary sources but the early epigraphs and sculptures also throw much light on the land and its people and thus complement the literary sources. However, society, economy and polity are always interlinked and together they add authenticity to each other. But, as the dynastic history does not furnish much information about the common folk, therefore this dissertation will focus more on society and economy through the indigenous and foreign literary sources.

However, not much work is done on the foreign sources giving reference to Assam, also, not much effort is made to study a comparative analysis of both the indigenous and foreign sources. This work thus attempts not only to critically analyse the references made about kamarupa kingdom but also make a comparative study of the same to reconstruct the society and economy during the early period.

Society and Economy of Early Assam through Foreign Sources Greek Sources

Next to Indigenous sources, the foreign sources share a similar weightage while describing the socio-economic conditions of Kamarupa. Even though different foreign travellers (be it Greeks, Chinese or Arabs) have mentioned certain regions in their own way or in different pronunciations, but when we carefully analyse them geographically, they mean the same. Such as, when Huien-Tsang mentions Kamarupa in his record as Kia-mo-lu-po, but it meant, the same Kamarupa. Foreign sources are important not only because they furnish some additional informations, but it also glides us through the perspective of a foreigner about our land and his reaction to it. It thus, gives us a fair opportunity to bring out the similarities and differences in customs, beliefs, language, and rituals etc, performed throughout the world.

The pioneers in this are the Greek travellers, who made valuable references to Kamarupa in their accounts. The very first is the account of Megasthenes (350-290 B.C.E), the Seleukidian envoy to the court of Indian ruler Chandragupta Maurya of the Mauryan empire, that is, *Indika*. His work not only deals with the polity, society and the people of India but also helps in identifying some of the earliest indigenous inhabitants of Kamarupa and also that of Northeast India. He gave reference to the 'Macco-Calingae' (who are considered to be the Magh tribes of Tripura) and 'Scyritae' or 'Kiratas' of Northeast India⁴. Baij Nath Puri in his work, *India as described by Early Greek writers*, has put forwarded a reference from Megasthenese account, in which he mentions that, a great tribe, known as Derdai are inhabiting the mountains of the eastern border region. Beneath these mountains, are gold mines, which he believes are worked by ants. He further mentions that these ants were smaller in size to that of foxes. Here Megasthenese is clearly referring to the Derdai tribe of ancient Assam. But it is confusing to relate to the ants that he mentioned. The author here, might be referring to something else when he mentions ants, as he is comparing them to the size of a fox. According to Prof. Puri, it was Prof. Wilson, who came up with the Sanskrit word for ant gold, i.e, 'Paippilika' meaning gold dust which are paid as tribute. It thus, can be believed that there were no actual ants, but a class of ferocious people, probably the Derdais, who dug up gold with wild animals guarding them as well as the gold they procure. **"Due to intense heat, it was just possible that some of the animals died and the Indians who went in search of gold, finding dead animals, thought that gold was dug by these animals"**⁵.

⁴ N.N.Acharyya, *North East as viewed by foreigners*, New Delhi, 1985, p 1.

⁵ *ibid*, p: 113.

Thus, *Indika*, does throw some valuable light on the social structure of North East India, with special reference to Kamarupa, while mentioning certain tribes of the region. Also, it gives us much information about an economically important product, i.e., gold. However, it is not certain to what extent these gold dusts were used in the 3rd century B.C.E, but, taking into consideration that people from outside visited this land gives us a picture here that, it might have been used to trade a few things, however the basic mode of trade was still barter.

Towards the middle of the 3rd century B.C.E, Strabo, another Greek traveller visited India. Like Megasthenese, he also mentions about the Derdai people of eastern part of India. Further, he refers to river *Oidanes*, that falls along the Ganges to the sea⁶. In this connection we also have the reference of Curtius (VIII) mentioning a river called Dyardanes, that flows through the remotest part of India⁷. **“It is possible to identify Strabo’s Oidanes and Curtius’s Dyardanes with Ptolemy’s Doanes or the Brahmaputra”**⁸. Further, Strabo also refers to the ‘country of *Seres*’ and that it is full of elephants. However, one must also note that the ancient Greeks and Romans mentioned about the ‘land of *Serica*’ in their accounts, which is considered to be the easternmost country of Asia, generally taken as China, and its people were called *Seres*. Thus, it can also be conferred that as the racial elements of Kamarupa was dominated by Mongoloid features, because of which it is possible that they also designated the people of Kamarupa as *Seres*.

Pliny, another Greek traveller visited the Indian subcontinent towards the first century C.E. His work ‘*Naturalis Historia*’ throws a great deal of light on the people, flora and fauna and also the commercial products of the land. Regarding Kamarupa Pliny in his book (XXXVI, Ch.-II) **“refers to a river Hypobarus flowed from the north to the Eastern Ocean near a mountain well wooded with trees that produced amber.”**⁹ This reference by Prof. Acharyya and many others is considered as river Brahmaputra, considering the geographical location mentioned in *Naturalis Historia*.

One must note that, the growth of any civilization need a water channel. Be it the Chinese civilization before *Huang-he* or the Harappan civilization on the bank of the river *Indus*. As most of the accounts of foreign travellers mention about the river Brahmaputra (through by different names), it suggest that they considered it as one of the important river channel of Northeast India and thus, supporting the society of the time.

Regarding the social structure, Pliny mentioned about a number of tribes of trans-Himalayan region, who can be identified with some of the Tibeto-Burman tribes of Assam¹⁰. **“He also refers to the Scyrites or Syrites, Mandai, Colubae or Koluta, Ornulae and Abali”**¹¹. Prof. Acharyya, identifies the Mandai with the Garos of Assam and Meghalaya regions, Ornulae as the Akas and Abali as the Abors of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh and Colubae or Koluta with Kalitas of ancient times. Pliny called the Scyrites as Kiratas. He identified them as **“they have merely holes in their heads instead of nostrils, and flexible feet, like the body of a serpent”**¹². This was mainly because of their proto-Mongolian origin.

⁶ N.N.Acharyya, *North East as viewed by foreigners*, New Delhi, 1985, p: 1.

⁷ S.L.Baruah, *A Comprehensive History of Assam*, New Delhi, 2013, p: 36.

⁸ *ibid*, p: 36.

⁹ N.N.Acharyya, *North East as viewed by foreigners*, New Delhi, 1985, p: 2.

¹⁰ S.L.Baruah, *A comprehensive history of Assam*, New Delhi, 2013, p: 36.

¹¹ N.N.Acharyya, *North East as viewed by Foreigners*, New Delhi, 1985, P: 2.

¹² Schoff, H.W, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, New Delhi, 2011, p: 253.

A hint of economy is known, when Pliny remarks “**import of silk products from China to Greece through Brahmaputra valley, Assam and Eastern Bengal in the 1st century A.D.**”¹³. From this we might also conclude that, on its way the traders of west might also have traded in Assam, though not in large quantity. The region was already loaded with gold-dust, which was widely known, which might have been used in transactions. The item that might have been traded from Kamarupa is silk (including other products) mainly because, Pliny mentioned about the land of Seres, like Strabo, and stated that the land produced silk. He considered the iron from Serica to be the best. Further he also mentioned that the land of Seres, exports, iron, skin and cloth¹⁴. This land of Seres is considered as ancient Assam.

Another anonymous Greek traveller, who wrote a very informative account of India and other places around the globe, is *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. Here the title Periplus, might be used to mean guide-book to the Erythraean Sea and Erythraean Sea as Indian Ocean, which also include its adjunct, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf¹⁵. It is the very first record, which refers to an organised trading with the Eastern Nations. This anonymous traveller and writer was a Greek merchant, who settled in Egypt and made his voyage to the coasts of India in 80C.E. Along with the trade of different parts of the Eastern Nations and India, he also mentioned about the trade activity of Kamarupa, which was then known by different name.

In one of the reference, the author mentions about the *Kiratas*, “**... there is a region of Dosarene, yielding the ivory known as Dosarenic. Beyond this, the course trending towards the north, there are many barbarous tribes, among whom are the Cirrhadae, a race of men with flattened noses, very savage; another tribe.**”¹⁶ Here, by the region of *Dosarene*, one means modern Odisha. The *Cirrhadae* mentioned probably means *Kiratas*, as their facial description are also provided, with flat nose. These tribes were mentioned as savage, which implies the fact that, they were not treated as civilised and probably, lived in the hills and deep forested areas. In another such reference probably to ancient Assam, the author writes;

“After these, the course turns towards the east again, and sailing with the ocean to the right and the shore remaining beyond the left, Ganges comes into view, and near it the very last land towards the east, Chryse. There is a river near it called the Ganges, and it rises and falls in the same way as the Nile. On its bank is a market town which has the same name as the river, ganges. Through this place are brought Malabathrum and Gangetic spikenards and pearls, and muslins of the finest sorts, which are called Gangetic. It is said that there are gold mines near these places, and there is a gold coin which is called caltis. And just opposite this river there is an island in the ocean, the last part of the inhabited world towards the east, under the rising sun itself; it is called Chryse; and it has the best tortoise-shell of all the places on the Erythraean sea.”¹⁷

Now the author showed moving his vessel towards the east. The mention of the river *Ganga* might mean that, by this time the author came near the modern Bangladesh. He mentions that near this river *Ganga*, there is land towards the east *Chryse*. This connotation might mean that he was probably referring to modern day Tripura or south west Assam

¹³ Acharyya, p: 2.

¹⁴ ibid, p:2.

¹⁵ H.W.Schoff (trnsd.), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, New Delhi, 2011, p: 50.

¹⁶ Schoff, H.W, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*: New Delhi, 2011, p: 47.

¹⁷ ibid, p: 47-48.

region (Assam also extended itself, as mentioned in the epics, to the southern sea-shores). If this is taken as true, then ancient Assam is shown as exporting products, such as, Malabathrum, Gangetic spikenards and pearls and muslins to Greece in the first century C.E. itself. The author also mentions about gold mines of this region, as gold mines of ancient Assam also find mention in the accounts of various Greek writer such as, Megasthenese, Strabo etc. The mention of the gold coin *caltis*, might indicate that, ancient Assam, especially the southern region used some monetary economy in transactions also. However, the location of Chryse is doubtful as the author again mentions about it, now placing it towards the opposite of the river Ganga, and mentioning it as an island in the east, under the rising sun. By this, one might infer that, Chryse lies among the South-East Asian countries. But, the mention of economic products like Malabathrum and muslin was produced also in ancient Assam, makes it more difficult to give a definite geographic location to Chryse.

Further, the author mentions about a region in the North, called 'This', probably Pragjyotisha and an inland city called 'Thinae', which might mean Pragjyotishpur. The author mentions, "After **this region, under the very north, the sea outside ending in a land called This, there is a very great inland city called Thinae, from which raw silk and silk yarn and silk cloth are brought on foot through Bactria to Barygaza, and are also exported to Damirica by way of the river Ganges. But the land of This is not easy to access; few men come from there, and seldom.**"¹⁸ If this land of 'This' is considered as Pragjyotisha or ancient Assam, then Silk yarn and Raw silk was probably exported from ancient Assam to Bactria and Damirica (probably south India).

In another reference, probably to Kamarupa, the author mention about a boarder tribe which he called *Besatae*. He described them as having short bodies and broad, flat faces and completely uncivilized. They did their trade activities which involved their whole families, including children. They conducted their trade in the border regions, between their own country and the land of 'This'. And in the course of this, they also hold a feast, which continues for several days. After finishing off, they return to their respective places in the interior. Here, the author mentioned about three types of Malabathrum, which these tribes produced. They formed balls from these Malabathrum leaves, by first laying them out closely and then place them in several layers and den roll them to make balls. Those made of big leaves are called, large-ball Malabathrum; those with smaller are called medium-ball Malabathrum; and those with the smallest leaves are called small-ball Malabathrum. Also, the author mentions that, the regions beyond *Thinae*, cannot be reached, probably because of climatic factors like; excessive winters, great cold or because of some divine influence of the good Lord itself. The author not only provide the geographical location, but also mention about the tribe inhabiting the places including their customs and their way of life. As far as the boarder tribe *Besatae* is concerned, Prof. N.N. Acharyya is of the opinion that they are of Garo origin and some other hill tribes of North East India.

Klandios Ptolemy or simply Ptolemy was another famous Greek traveller, astronomer, mathematician, and geographer. He visited India in 2nd century C.E. His account *Geographia/ Geography* has left us with valuable information on India as well as ancient Assam or Kamarupa. He also refers to Kirrhadia or Kirata people of garo, khasi and Tripura hills. Apart from mentioning about a number of indigenous people of eastern India, which include; Apatani (Aminakhai), nagas(Nagalogai), borahi (Barrhai), Indaprathai (Burma), Damassai (Dimasa), Koki (pegu), Indoi (Hindus) etc., he also mentions about Koudontai, mostly taken

¹⁸ Schoff, W.H, The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea; New Delhi, 2011, p:48.

as the Kalitas, similar to the Colubae or Kolutas of Pliny, who were also taken as the same¹⁹. Apart from that he also mentioned about river Brahmaputra as Doanes²⁰. Thus, unlike the previous travellers, he successfully provided a much bigger and fair picture of social composition during the 2nd century A.D.

Chinese Sources

The Chinese sources are perhaps the most valuable and important sources in reconstructing the society of Kamarupa, as it gives the most detailed account of the land, as far as the foreign sources are concerned. Not a pioneer, but Hiuen Tsiang indeed was the most important Chinese traveller who visited not only the land but provided a near to correct geographical location of Kamarupa and information about its people. Hiuen Tsiang was well known in China, but as a staunch Buddhist, he longed to see the holy land of his religion, and thus visited India during the period 629-45 C.E. During his stay and travel in India, he had written an account *Si-Yu-Ki*, which contains valuable information about the people and the land. Kamarupa, which by that time attained an important position in the Indian context, also find mention in it as 'Kia-Mo-Lu-Po'. He was greatly honoured by Bhaskarvarman, the ruler of Varman dynasty of Kamarupa, who invited him to his kingdom, where the pilgrim stayed for nearly a month and recorded what he saw and heard. Regarding Kamarupa, he mentioned the land was about 10,000 *li* in circuit and that the capital city was of 30 *li*. Here the area of 10,000 *li* as mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang is equivalent to 1667 miles (*li* is a third as long as the English mile). He further mentions that the land lies low and was rich and regularly cultivated. This might mean that, as by this time, he might have witnessed that the North-eastern region was a hilly tract, and he compared the plains of the Brahmaputra valley as low lying as compared to the hill, while mentioning it as 'low'. He mentioned about two varieties of fruits; Panasa, which is jack-fruit and Na-lo-ki-lo, which is coconut. It is interesting to note that, though the pilgrim mentioned about *Panasa* (jack fruit) fruit and coconut fruit, one does not find any mention of the Areca nut in his account as far as kamarupa is concerned, which was widely grown everywhere and used almost in every household. It also throws light on the food habits of the people when Hiuen Tsiang records that the coconut and jack fruit as most valued and esteemed trees of this region. As far as the climate is concerned, he mentioned the land as soft and temperate. He holds high values for the people of this region, when he mentioned them as simple and honest. He refers the people of Kamarupa as having dark-yellow complexion with short stature, thus, indicating towards the racial elements of the region, i.e., of Mongoloid race. However, he uses the word dark, which is generally not connoted with Mongoloid features. He noticed a number of Deva temples, but does not find any Buddhist Monastery or Vihara, as a place for the monks to assemble. But, he also mentions that the people here secretly pray to the Buddha, even though they openly devote themselves to the Devas. Further in his account he remarks-

*“The present king belongs to the old line (tso yan) of Narayana-deva. He is of Brahman caste. His name is Bhaskarvarman, his his title Kumara (Keu-mo-lo). From the time that this family seized the land and assumed the government till the present king, there have elapsed a thousand successions (generations).”*²¹

As the pilgrim wrote, whatever he saw and heard, therefore in all the possibilities, he must have been told that Bhaskarvarman is a Brahman. However this contradicts what Bhaskarvarman mentioned to the envoy of T'ang Dynasty of China. **“when the envoy of the**

¹⁹ Acharyya, p: 4.

²⁰ Baruah, p: 36.

²¹ Beal. Samuel (trnsd.), *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Book X: Delhi, 2008, p: 196.

T'ang dynasty Li Yi-Piao paid a visit during the course of his mission (643-646) the king in a private conversation, told him: the royal family has handed down its power for 4,000 years. The first was a holy spirit which came from China (Han-ti) flying through the air²². If this was not to please the foreign traveller, than Bhaskarvarman very well knew about his proto-Mongoloid origin, and that he belonged to the Kirata stock. This shows the growing influence of the Brahmanical tradition of having a divine origin to attain the throne or to maintain their superiority among the subjects. In another instance, Hiuen Tsiang might have compared the easternmost tribes of Kamarupa with that of the Chinese south-west barbarians. **“On the east this country is bounded by a line of hills. So that there is no great city (capital) to the kingdom. Their frontiers, therefore, are contiguous to the barbarians of the south-west (of China). These tribes are, in fact, akin to those of the Man people in their customs”**²³. These Man people that Hiuen Tsiang refers here are the South-west barbarians.

By the time Hiuen Tsiang made his visit to Kamarupa, Bhaskarvarman had already reconquered the Pundravardhana and Karnasuvarna region of Bengal. However, the pilgrim in his account interestingly mentioned the two regions as separate from that of Kamarupa. This might be because, though Bhaskarvarman had conquered these regions, but he did not have a strong hold over them. And the regions might have enjoyed an autonomous status, which Hiuen Tsiang took as sharing different boundaries.

Also, in the work of Shaman Hwui Li, a disciple of the famous pilgrim, remarks about king Bhaskarvarman offering Hiuen Tsiang help to return to China. Even though, both Bhaskarvarman and Harshavardhana was reluctant to let go the pilgrim, whose knowledge they were celebrating, but as the Pilgrim already made his mind to return to his county, China, Bhaskarvarman therefore came up to help him reach his homeland. He offered that, if the Pilgrim wants to go by the Southern Sea route, than Bhaskarvarman's officials would assist and accompany him till he reach his country safely. As Bhaskarvarman offered the pilgrim to help him return to his county through the Southern Sea route, which mainly connects to Java and Sumatra, this might also mean that Kamarupa had connections with South East Asian countries towards 6th to 7th century C.E. or even prior to that (maritime trade connection). The account of I-Tsing also mentions about a flourishing mercantile and religious establishment on the coast of Sumatra, from where spices were shipped to Canton (China). This might also mean that, if Bhaskarvarman had vessels to help the pilgrim over these South East Asian regions, then he must have had some connections with the area, and as the region already was engaged in Maritime trade relation with China, it was also possible that some amount of trade, though meagre in amount, was also done with Kamarupa and Northeast Indian regions also.

Apart from Shaman Hwui Li's work on Hiuen Tsiang, many scholars have translated Si-Yu-Ki, such as Samuel Beal, M. Stanislas Julien, Thomas Watters in English and J. Barthelemy Saint-Hilaire in French and so on. However they contain similar information as far as Kamarupa is concerned.

Arab Sources

The most important Arab source dealing with Kamarupa is *Kitab-ul-Hind* of Al-Beruni. Al-Beruni was the court scholar of sultan Mahmud of Ghazni and he accompanied

²² Barpujari, H.K, *The Comprehensive history of Assam Vol I*; Guwahati, 2014, p: 202; taken from Bagchi, P.C., op. Cit., p: 114.

²³ Beal. Samuel (trnsd.), Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World, Book X: Delhi, 2008, p: 198.

the Sultan in his expeditions in India. His work *Kitab-ul-Hind* was written in 1030 C.E. It gives very little information on Kamarupa, which is referred to as *Kamru*. It however gives a geographical account of the land, and calls the region as mountainous and stretching as far as the sea.²⁴

Thus, after critically analysing the both the Indigenous and Foreign sources, it is equally important to produce a Comparative analysis of the same, which is provided in the next chapter, to reconstruct the society and economy of Kamarupa in a more accurate way.

Conclusion

The society and economy of Kamarupa or ancient Assam, is a subject which is very vast in itself. There are many ways through which one can reconstruct this. But, one of the important sources where one finds tons of reference about the land and its people is the literary sources, belonging to the early period. Also, these literary sources can be divided into, indigenous and foreign sources, which again open an opportunity to lay down a comparative analysis of the materials as procured from them. Thus, ancient Kamarupa find mention in various literary sources, which can be used to reconstruct the society and economy of the land.

Many indigenous sources, gives reference to Kamarupa, from the Vedic texts to the dynastic chronicles. Apart from the indigenous sources, the foreign sources are also equally important, not only because they refer to Kamarupa in their accounts but also because it gives an opportunity to understand what was the impression of the outside world about this remotest part of the Indian subcontinent. Thus, the travelogues, memoirs and accounts of various foreign writes and travellers through a great deal of light upon its people, its contact with the outside world, food habits, difference in their manners and customs with the rest of the country and beyond and so on.

This also left ample opportunity to compare the references mentioned in both these sources. And, along with the similarities there are also vast differences in them regarding the land, its people, the social organization, economic products and so on.

Therefore, the sources are of varied nature which displays striking similarities and contrasts regarding the society and economy of early Assam. It is however ethical on the part of the researcher itself to dig up the inherent meaning that the sources posses and outcast the pseudo conditions which may form dominant foundations. The sources must be scrutinized in a detailed manner in order to unravel the objectives that the researcher intends to excavate. On a concluding note, it must be noted that the early society of Kamarupa had diverse historical phases that the foreign and indigenous sources display within their framework. A thorough study of them is a just way to reconstruct the previous society and economy of Kamarupa on a more rational and objective ground.

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²⁴ Ahmad. Qeyamuddin, India by Al-Beruni: New Delhi, 2013, p: 96.

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