CHAPTER - II

ORIGIN OF THE CITIES OF EARLY ASSAM
The Rig-Vedic Aryans who led a semi-nomadic life in the valley of the Indus River and its tributaries gradually spread their settlements towards eastern India i.e. towards Upper Yamunā and Ganga plains during the later Vedic period. Being a part of North East India, in Assam the Aryan settlement started during the later Vedic period. Here Aryanisation started during the reign of Naraka, who was born and brought up at Videha under the care of king Janak. According to the traditions and Pauranic literature, Naraka established himself in the throne of Prāgjyotisa after defeating Ghatakāsura, the last Dānava ruler of Prāgjyotisa. It is known that Naraka after establishing himself in the throne of Pragjyotisapura deliberately started a process of Aryanization with many learned people of twice born class

Tasmāt kriyatam utsarya vedasāstrīyām bahun

dvijān vāsayaṁiṣa tatra varṇāṁsamanānāṁ | | 4.
Bhagadatta, the son and successor of Naraka, played a magnificent role in the Mahabharata war fighting against the Pándavas. So the establishment of Naraka’s regime in Pragyotisa was predates the war at Kurukshetra. Since then the Aryanization started in Assam.

Society was tribal in the early Vedic period. With the advent of the settled agrarian economy things began to change - first the political system, then other establishments of society. In the settled society, village, which was the first political unit, was formed. Gradually in this settled society urbanization started. For organization and management of society janapadas and its capital cities were formed in the later Vedic period. Thus the urban centres came into being within the existing rural setting. The reference of both the villages and the cities in the inscriptions that issued in ancient Assam, and emerging of the city like Háruppeswara in a village having a temple of Hatakasulini (Lord Siva) indicates that the cities were emerged in early Assam in the rural setting. Some of the villages of Ancient Assam that found mention in the inscriptions were Abhisuravataka, Hāposāgrāma, Tryodosāgrāma, Pidakāgrāma etc. and the cities that found mention in the text and the inscriptions are Pragyotisapura, Karnasuvarna, Kāmarupanagara, Háruppeswara Durjiyanagara, Sonitapura, Kundilanagar etc. Urbanization occurred in the society gradually in evolutionary process. Before emergence of urbanization in early Assam there were happened to be a cultural evolution utilizing the local environment. This cultural evolution was brought by the new political
set up introduced by Naraka who established the new regime by removing Ghatakāsura, the last asura (non Aryan) ruler. Naraka was the symbol of Aryanization of the land who was born and brought up at Videha under the care of King Janak and who started the Aryanization of the land by settling twice born learned people in here\textsuperscript{17}. Thus the urbanization in ancient Assam emerged during the later Vedic period with the Aryanization of the land. Reference of the foundation of city Pragjyotisapura by Anurtarāja, son of Kusi in the Adikānda of the Rāmāyana\textsuperscript{18}, bears significant importance in this respect.

Urbanization is the process of making of the urban centres. It is a significant development of human civilization. It is the product of human civilization in its developed stage. Both the civilization and urbanization are indebted to each other. Urbanization occurred in the journey of human civilization; civilization got a new sprit with the contributions of urbanization.

Although the urbanization started in the world in long past with the cities of the great ancient civilizations the study of urbanization is comparatively recent pursuit. In the west the study was properly developed in the 18\textsuperscript{th} century with the starting of new social structure that developed in the new cities which were formed with the industrial revolution.

In India the study on urbanization was started form the 1\textsuperscript{st} part of 19\textsuperscript{th} century\textsuperscript{19}. 

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One important matter relating to the urbanization is its conceptional framework. V. Gordon Childe first formulated the theoretical concepts of Urban Revolution in 1936\textsuperscript{21} and in 1950\textsuperscript{22} and outlined the ten traits of the earliest city. They are-

1. City must be extensive and densely populated than the other settlements.

2. The cities must have accommodated non-food producing classes supported by the surplus produced by the peasants.

3. Each primary producer paid his surplus to a deity or divine king who concentrated the surplus.

4. Monumental buildings were constructed in the cities which not only distinguished the cities from the village but also symbolized the concentration of social surplus.

5. In the cities the non-food producing specialists were supported by the surplus concentrated in the temples or royal granaries.

6. The political expediency of the cities compelled the ruling class to invent the system of recording and exact.

7. The invention of writing in the cities enabled to elaborate more exact and predictive sciences.

8. In the cities specialists gave new direction to artistic expression by carving, modeling on conceptualized and sophisticated styles.
9. In the cities surplus was concentrated to facilitate foreign trade.

10. The city dwellers generally enjoy security in a state organization based on common residence than kinship ties.

But this theory is not universally applicable. Some of the criteria like paid surplus to the deity or divine king, urban non-producing specialists supported by surplus concentrated in the temple were not regarded as criteria in respect of the cities of a country like India in ancient times.

The view of A. Ghosh and D. K. Chakravarty is that political power was of prime importance in early historical urbanization in India. The political power compelled the people to contribute their surplus to the towns.

Vijay Kumar Thakur in his work "Urbanization in Ancient India" points out some features of the cities of ancient India. The features that distinguished the urban centres from rural settlements in respect of ancient India as refers by him are the following:

1) Dense population in terms of at least one square mile area

2) Accommodation of non food producing classes with the surplus produced of the peasants.

3) Reliance on widely different food resources

4) Strong agricultural hinterland capable of producing a sizable amount of surplus.
5) Existence of a ruling class to plan and maintenance of the city life

6) Fortification of the urban settlement

7) Construction of monumental buildings

8) Invention of writing

9) Flourishing of crafts and trade organization

10) Emergence of monetary system

11) Production and concentration of surplus for facilitation of foreign trade

12) A new direction of artistic expression

13) A spirit of community among the city dweller in the terms of social stratification

The general consensus among the scholars is that there were two primary human settlements and these are the village and cities. Some of the important characteristics of the city and village are that:

- City or town is larger in size and area than the village

- While the village essentially associated with agriculture and handicrafts and produced the maximum products of primary uses, the city people are not direct growers of food who are consisted of specialist craftsmen, merchants, administrators, rulers, religious preachers etc. The city people are sustained with the food supplied from the rural areas.

- The city usually has much diverse population than in rural areas.
• The social and cultural life in the city are much more complex than the village

In all India context urbanization occurred in two phases. The first phase is represented by the planned cities of the Harappan culture and the second phase of urbanization occurred around six century B.C. with the abundant use of the iron technology. B. D. Chattopadhyaya points out that after passing over the two phases of urbanization in Ancient India in the Post-Kusana period and during the Gupta period there started the third phase of urbanization which he mentions as the urbanization in early medieval India.

The main features of the different phases of urbanization are that while the Harappan urbanization had a weak technological base, the early historical Indian urbanization developed with solid background. Unlike the Harappan urbanization the second urbanization never had a breaking point but maintained continuity. From the post-Kushana period and during the Gupta period the urban centres that flourished during early historic period was declined in India. Thus the third phase of urbanization started in the early medieval period. B. D. Chattopadhyaya points out the differences between the early historical urbanization and early mediaeval urbanization are that while the early historical urbanization is characterized by-

(1) Support of political power
(2) large agricultural hinterland
(3) location in the well developed trade routes
(4) starting in an epicenter spread over the upper Ganges and middle Ganges and subsequently to the different parts of the sub-continent

The early mediaeval urbanization characterized by –
(1) not having an epicentre
(2) far more rooted in their regional context than their predecessors
(3) not fortified as the earlier ones
(4) the numbers of early mediaeval centres was larger than the earlier ones^\textsuperscript{28}.

As discussed earlier urbanization in ancient Assam was started in the later Vedic period with the extension of Aryan influence from northern India and there were great similarity between the urbanization of early historic India and urbanization in Ancient Assam. So the urban concept that followed in ancient India was also noticed in respect of Early Assam. There was no breaking point in Assam between the urban centres of epic times and urban centres of 11th or 12th century A.D. The capital cities like Prâgjyotisapura which was started during the epic period continued till 11th or 12th century A.D.

The important features of the cities of ancient Assam were that the cities were comparatively densely populated than the rural settlements which was consisted of the people of different categories like
kings, members of his family, his relatives, his friends, nobles, scholars, officials, artisans and other professional classes, traders and merchant class, different types of army personnel, retainers, entertainers, tertiary groups and so on. Cities of ancient Assam were surrounded by villages and agricultural hinterland which supplied the agricultural surplus to the cities.

To plan and manage the administration of the cities there was the administrative authority consisting of king and his administration. The cities were protected with strong forts, garrisons, rampart and boundary walls, and constructed monumental buildings in the cities. Like wise the issue of inscriptions by most of the kings of ancient Assam indicates that writing was developed, the literature like Harsacarita, indicates that crafts and industries were developed, trade was flourished and discovery of the archeological sites witness that artistic expression was properly done in the cities of ancient Assam.

In this respect it is essential to clarify the similarity and difference between the villages and the cities of ancient Assam. In many respect society of villages and the cities had their similarities. The basic problems of people and the means to solve them and religious inclination were same both in the cities and the villages. The structure and the size of the families both in the cities and the villages were also the same.

In spite of having some similarities between the cities and the villages it is also almost conventional to regard cities as different
from the villages. In the villages the majority of the people dwelt, and engaged in agriculture and lived in a small compact settlement and produced surplus food; but in the cities people were engaged not in agriculture but in other productive activities like crafts and industries, administration, defense and various professional activities like teaching, medicines, religions, trade and business, law and so on as indicated by the material remains.

The cities were the centres of business and commerce having suitable roads of different types and advance network of communication facilities. It had busy bazaars and shops (vīparis) of different types. Cities also had the large and imposing permanent buildings, monumental structures and water supply facilities.

Samadasiudrasmitasudhādhavalisoudhasikharasarasāntābhīta

Tāraniˈmandaˈḷouṁ |

The structure of population was also different both in the villages and the cities. The city population acquired a high degree of heterogeneity with the people coming from different regions and countries. In all probability, as in modern times, in the village society was more closely knit than in the cities.

Cities of Ancient Assam were few in number and not enormous in population comparing to the modern cities because the cities had to depend for foodstuff and other essential needs mostly on the
hinterland or nearby villages owing to the less developed communications comparing to modern times.

Urbanization is the epitome of a society advancing towards more civilized way of life; it can be studied and viewed more properly only in a total societal framework\(^4\). Urbanization is a great revolutionary change in the whole pattern of social and economic life of the people in history\(^4\). It was a complex system and it is observed that there were not a certain section of factors responsible for origin of an urban centre. A political based city like a capital city could not appear without the availability of surplus products and a required social framework. Similarly an industrial city could not originate without an organized political set up and appropriate social structure. A religion-based city could not appear without an organized political set up and socio-economic structure. The factors like the geographical and ecological also have the role in the course of urbanization.

According to B. Bhattacharya Urbanization occurred with material progress. Agriculture, industry as well as communication systems provided the matrix in which the urban edifice had taken its roots\(^4\). V. K. Thakur points out some of the causative factors for the growth of urbanization in ancient India. These are as the following -

1) Increased food supply

2) Increased population and rural unemployment
3) Craft specialization
4) Marketing and trade
5) Social stratification
6) Religion
7) Secular tourism
8) Education
9) Landlords
10) Retainers
11) Administration
12) Defense
13) Warfare
14) Irrigation
15) Geographical location and
16) Individual initiative.

B. D. Chattopadhyaya puts importance on the economic factors for the emergence of the cities in early historical period. Thus he points out the iron technology, two cultural elements--multifunctional syllabic script and coinage, expansion of trade network, gross surplus which covered wide range of commercial and industrial items and geographical location of surplus flow as the factors for origin of urbanization in historical period.

It has already mentioned that urbanization in early Assam was occurred in the later Vedic period with the extension of the
Aryan settlement from northern India towards eastern India. Therefore the socio-political and cultural development of the land occurred on the pattern of the territories of northern and eastern India. So although all the factors indicate above are not totally applicable for the emergence of the cities of ancient Assam, yet some factors mentioned by Thakur were played the role for the origin of the cities of Ancient Assam. However the local environment and circumstances and the necessities of the people also played the role in emergence of urban centres in ancient Assam. Certain common factors like existence of surplus productions and distributing authority representing traders and the administrators played the role for emerging the urbanization in ancient Assam as like the factors for the urbanization in every context.

The causative factors of urbanization in ancient Assam can be discussed as the following:

Increased food product was one of the prime factors of the urbanization of ancient Assam. One of important metals that discovered in the later Vedic period was the iron. With the using of iron as the metal for making the article of agriculture and improved of technological know-how agricultural production was increased manifold and thereby led to the increase of surplus food stuffs. To manage the surplus food stuffs there appeared the ruling elite, which led to the formation of kingdoms and the capital cities. This surplus food stuffs not only led to the emergence of the cities but also it required for sustenance of
the urban people who were engaged in administration, crafts and trade and commerce.

There is the reference of existence of the villages nearby the cities of ancient Assam in the inscriptions like Abhuravataka, Hauposagraha, Tryodosagraha, Pidikagraha etc. The suitable climate, geographical location and fertility of soil of rural areas of the land played the role for abundance production of agricultural products like rice, vegetables, pulses, muster seeds etc. from the time immemorial. Inscriptions indicate about the good production of rice in ancient Assam which was also used as the article for measuring land.

Most of the cities of ancient Assam were the capital cities which were related to government and administration. For administrative purposes the king or the ruling authority was required officials, staffs, retainers, traders and businessmen etc. who were settled in the apex centre of administration of the kingdom which ultimately led to form of the capital cities. So the administrative compulsion was one of the factors that led to the origin of the urbanization in Ancient Assam.

Religion also played as a factor for emergence of the cities of ancient Assam. With the increasing importance of a religious centre it turned to the dwelling place of different people like the priest, attendants of the temples, officials, traders and so on. In this way the religious places turned into cities. As instance the city of Haruppeswara,
which was one of the capital city of ancient Assam emerged centering the
temple of Hatakasulin (lord Siva).

Prālayāchala sringatungamatidagrīnebhavesyājane
rthuktaṁ ħātakaśulinah kshitibhujā bhakṣyā navāṅu sakrusā | 51

The name of Haruppeswara originated with a temple
named Hatakasulin (Temple of Lord Siva). The city was also called as the
holy (punya) city because of having a number of temples within the city.

Tasyabhaavantripavarasya hadapyaketi punyā purī sunripate
ranvarāvatīta | 52

Apurnarbhava (modern Hajo) was also a city of
ancient Assam which originated with religious centre53.

Defense, Warfare and military activities were also
played as factors for the urbanization in ancient Assam. Some of the capital
cities of ancient Assam like Karnasuvarna54, and Hansakochi55 were also
mention as Jayaskandhāvāra or Skandhāvara means the victorious camp,
which later transformed into the Capital cities. Haruppeswara, the seat of
the government of king Hajjaravarman also indicates in the inscription as
Jayaskandhāvāra.

Srimān haruppesvaravīrī jayaskandhāvāraparamesvarapararuna
bhāttārakaparamamāhēsvaramatāpitrpadanudhyāta
hajjaravarmanadevaḥ kusāli | 56

Similarly city Durjjaya was originally a victorious
camp of the kings of Prāgjyotisapura which later converted to the capital
city. Traditions indicate that the city of Sonitpur, the capital city of king
Banasura got its name with the great bloodshed that committed during the battle of Banasura and Sri Krishna on the issue of the secret marriage of Usha, the daughter of king Banasura and Anirudha, the grand son of Sri Krishna.

Geographical factors also played as factors for the urbanization of ancient Assam. For security and strategical purposes the creators of the cities of ancient Assam considered the geographical location as one of the important consideration for establishment of their cities especially the capital cities. Thus they established their capital cities in places, which were naturally protected and places of hygiene, having good communication system and water facility. Thus all the capital cities of ancient Assam like Pragjyotisapura, Haruppeswara, Durjayaganagara, Kamarupanagara, Sunitapura etc. were located in the areas having suitable and healthy geographical atmosphere. Again the kings of different dynasties changed capital cities most probably due to the geographical necessities in different times.

Again the antiquity of the name of the city Pragjyotisa also indicates the influence of geography that played as a factor for emergence of the city in ancient Assam. B. K. Kakati in going to indicate the origin of the name Pragjyotisa says it to be a combination of three words - 'Pragar - juh - tik' meaning a region of an extensive land. These 'Pragar - juh - tik' later transformed to Pragjyotisa.
Changing of civilization and the dynasties were also played as factors for the urbanization of ancient Assam. Traditions indicate that during reign of the pre-historic Asura or Dānava rulers Mairānka (adjacent to the Mairānka parvat, near Guwahati) was the capital city. With the establishment of Naraka’s rule in Prāgjyotisa kingdom Prāgjyotisapura was known as the capital city. In this respect it is mentionable that from Naraka’s time the Aryanization started in ancient Assam. Thus it can be said that the Aryanization of Assam affected to the changing of capital city during the reign king Naraka. Because Prāgjyotisa was a sanskritised form, which signifies the Aryan influence. Again with the changing of the ruling dynasties led to the changing of the capital cities in ancient Assam. Thus during the kings of Naraka-Bhagadatta (From Pre-Bharata War time) and the Varman dynasty (A.D.335-650) Pragjyotisapura was the capital city, and with the establishment of the Sālastambha dynasty (A.D. 650-990) the capital was shifted to Hāruppeswara city, and during the reign of the kings of the Pāla dynasty (A.D.990-1130) of Kāmarūpa, Kāmarūpanagara and Durjayanagara emerged as the capital cities of ancient Assam.

The feudal chiefs and the landlords of ancient Assam also played the role in the growth and sustenance of the cities in ancient Assam. Inscriptions of ancient Assam indicate the feudal chiefs who came to pay their homage to the kings of Kāmarūpa mounting on the back of the elephants, horses and Simikos (palkins).
Inscriptions also indicate that the feet of the kings of Kāmarūpa were illuminated with the crest jewel of the subordinate kings (feudal lords). Inscriptions also indicate that the Brahmin scholars were adorned by the kings of Kāmarūpa by donating lands. These Brahmin scholars got the ownership of their lands generations after generations. These donated lands were free from any kinds of taxes and interference of the kings and his administration. Thus a form of landlord system formed in Ancient Assam. Although theirs’ donated land was in the rural areas they lived in the capital cities and served the kings as officials and the general of army. Their contributions helped the kings in their administration as well as sustenance of urbanization.

Individual initiative was also one of the factors of the urbanization in ancient Assam. There is a reference in the Doobi grant that Susthitavarman founded a new city on the bank of river Brahmaputra along with his citizens, friends and relatives.

Srimānapure srishiravarmanānā nītvā sa tasmin katichihināni  |
Saporathrityeh(saha) va(indhu) bhīṣra punye nade southa
purinakārsit | | 65

The city of Bhismaknagar most probably got its name after the name king Bhismak, the ruler of Vidarbha who was the father of Rukmini, that married by Sri Krishna of Dvāraka. Thus it indicates that the
city of Bhismaknagar originated with the initiative of an individual i.e. king Bhismak.

Trade and commerce also played the role in the emergence and sustenance of the cities of ancient Assam. All the cities of ancient Assam were located on the banks of the river Brahmaputra which had the full potentialities of communication. The crowded decorative boats that waiting in the river of Brahmaputra nearby the city\textsuperscript{66}, and the reference of the Kaivarta class that related to the fish trade\textsuperscript{67}, and \textit{vipanis} (shops) of the cities filled with decorative ornaments \textit{(...vipanivadhiritapadmavāga shośīṣṭa...)}\textsuperscript{68} indicate that the trade and commerce played the significant role in the cities of ancient Assam. From reference in the inscription it is known that the king of ancient Assam specially honoured the merchant class and placed them in the court along with high rank of officials and princes of the noble birth.

\textit{Srimān hajjaravarmāśou rājabhīh pranataīveritilah |}

\textit{Adhīsiko vanikpurben rājaputreḥ kalodgataḥ |} 69

The high honour of the merchant class in the court was proved by the growing importance of trade in administration and urbanization. Trade also helped to extend urbanization to more territories. The exchange of urban - rural products was done in the \textit{huītas} (markets) which was generally held in the rural countryside. This regular gathering of the people either extended the existing cities or led to form new cities.
Extension of cities of ancient Assam was most probable because most of the cities of ancient Assam were surrounded by villages.

It is said that the contact held between the Aryans and the non-Aryans contributed to the emergence of the cities of ancient India. Many of the people of non-Aryans like the ponis, dāsas and dasyus were more skilled in trade and warfare than the Aryans. Their contributions enabled the Aryans to start the cities. Although it is said that Naraka was the symbol of Aryanization in ancient Assam he was also was known as the friend of the Asuras.

\textit{Naraka iti sunurāsidasurasuhritkorarupahritah} | | 71

The soldiers of king Bhagadutta belong to the Kiratas, Cīnas etc. The kiratas and asuras were identified as the non-Aryans. So it is evident that the non-Aryans played a great role in emergence and development of urbanization in ancient Assam.

The antiquities of Prāgjyotisapura, the capital cities of ancient Assam indicate that factor like astrology was played the role for the origin of the cities in ancient Assam. As for instance the origin of the name Prāgjyotisa is related to astronomical observations, which means the 'land of eastern astrology'. The existence of the temple of Nava Graha (Nine Planets) within Guwahati confirms the statement. Thus astrology was also played as a factor for the urbanization in ancient Assam.

Craft and industrialization also played as a factor for urbanization in ancient Assam. The crafts and industrialization not only
fulfilled the necessary requirement of the people of a land but also
developed their economic condition. Offering of the various rare
handicrafts and industrial products by Bhāskaravarman to Harsavardhana
of Kanouj and to Hiuen Tsang as presents and indicating some craftsmen
in the inscriptions of ancient Assam like Sekyākara witnessed the
prosperity of crafts and industries in ancient Assam. This crafts and
industrialization was not concentrated within the urban areas of ancient
Assam but well developed in the rural areas too. It is indicated in the
inscription that there was a village of the weavers (tuntuvāyas) named
Oranga (Orangitranām). Similarly there was a potter’s village named
Dijjaratihādi near the Puraji Visaya in Kāmarūpa kingdom. This indicates
the production of the crafts through the guild system. The reference of the
craftsman like potters (Kumbhakāras) in the inscriptions of ancient Assam
and the discovery of a large numbers of terracotta plaques and other
potteries in different places of Assam including Ambāri and Cotton
College campus in Guwahati indicates the large scale production of
potteries and terracotta plaques in ancient Assam. Discovery of an earthen
seal at Nālandā region (Plate 13) indicates the export of the earthen
products of ancient Assam to other countries.

This indicates that in ancient Assam both in the cities
and villages produced the crafts and industrial products abundantly and it
was exported to the other countries. Thus the crafts and industry also
played a role for development of trade in ancient Assam which ultimately contributed to its urbanization.

The ongoing process of development of education and learning during the reign of the kings of ancient Assam and the initiative that had taken by them showing patronization to the scholarly persons created an atmosphere for spread of education in the land. This also played as a factor for urbanization in ancient Assam. King Naraka was the first king of ancient Assam who patronizes the education in the land by establishing few learned Brahmins in Prágjyotisapura.

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\text{Tasmāt kirātānūtsārjya vedasāstradīgān bahun} \\
\text{Dvijātin vāsayaṁāsa tatra barnaḥ sanālauṅā} \]

The donation of land grants to the learned Brahmins by the rulers of the Varman, the Sālastambha and the Pala dynasty of ancient Assam indicates that the process of encouraging education and learning was continued during the rule of the succeeding rulers of Naraka in the land. In the field of language and scripts also development was done during the period. Under the patronization of the rulers of ancient Assam Sanskrit was introduced in the place of non Aryan language. It was proved by the issue of land grants and other inscriptions by the kings of ancient Assam. All these grants and the inscriptions were written in Sanskrit. The ongoing development of the language and scripts of Assam shows that the north Indian languages started to influence in giving the new shape to the language and scripts of the land. This development of learning and
literature of the land promote the linguistic co-relations between Assam and the rest of the territories of northern India. This was proved by the remark of the Chinese pilgrim Huen Tsang who observed during his visit to the land in the early part of seventh century A.D. that there were fewer differences between the languages of northern India and Kāmarūpa. This close relation between northern India and Kāmarupa in turn effected to the cultural enrichment along with the urbanization of the region.

Thus it can be said that there was not a single causative factor responsible for the origin of the cities of ancient Assam. The cities were originated due to various political, social and cultural factors. Although the political and administrative necessities played as great factor for emerging the cities especially the capital cities of ancient Assam, other socio-economic and cultural factors also played the role for urbanization on the land. This process is still in vogue in the country.

The causative factors behind the urbanization varied from time to time and this lead to the urbanization in several processes. Some urbanization is synonymous with the changing of civilization, as example the pre-historic Indian urbanization. This kind of urbanization may be called the cultural processed urbanization. In many occasions urbanization was done with the rise and fall of the dynasties, kingdoms and empires. This kind of urbanization may be called as the urbanization of political processed. Urbanization may also be occurred with the
industrialization and economic development. This kind of urbanization may be called as the urbanization of economic processes.\textsuperscript{81}

Urbanization of ancient Assam was related to changing of dynasties, political and administrative activities and the changing of civilization. Thus during the reign of the kings of the Naraka-Bhagadatta dynasty and the Varman dynasty the capital of the kingdom was at Prâgjyotisapura, during the reign of the kings of the Sâlastambha dynasty the capital was shifted to Hâruppeswara and during the reign of the kings of the Pala dynasty the capital of the kingdom was shifted to Durjayanagara and Kâmarûpanagara. Most of the cities of ancient Assam were the capital cities and were related to the governmental and the administrative activities. Some cities that mention in the traditions and literature came into prominence during the rule of certain kings and declined with the death of the particular kings. Two of such cities were Sunitapura under king Bânâsura and Kundilnagara under king Bhismak. So urbanization of ancient Assam can be categorized as the urbanization that occurred in the cultural process and the urbanization occurred in the political process.

Most of the cities of ancient Assam were capital cities and were few in numbers. Apprehending the importance and security of the capital cities the city builders of ancient Assam in establishing their cities followed special plan and care. The inscriptions, archeological excavations and the literary evidences indicate that the city builders of
ancient Assam founded their cities following certain principles and planning.

In going to establish urban centers like the capital cities the city builders of ancient Assam selected the place for the city, which was geographically and strategically suitable. They founded their cities in such places, where their cities would be well protected, hygiene, and would be available with all essential facilities. Excavations and identification of the cities of ancient Assam like Prāgjyotisapura, Hāruppeswara, Durjayanagara, Kāmarūpanagara, Sonitapura and others, indicates that all the cities were situated in the highland and were surrounded by the hills and forest on three sides and the river Brahmaputra on the other side. This selection of such places for the building of their cities provided them natural protection in the one hand and good climate and healthy atmosphere on the other.

Another principle that followed by the city builders of ancient Assam was the selection of rivers bank as the places for their cities. This selection had been guided them by certain motives. The water was essential for people in different uses. The big rivers having the water for all the seasons would provide water to the city dwellers for their different uses. The prospects of using the river as the route for communication for political as well as commercial purposes was also another consideration in selecting the bank of the rivers for foundation their cities. Thus the cities of ancient Assam like Prāgjyotisapura, Hāruppeswara, Durjayanagara,
Kāmarūpanagara, Sonitpur and others were situated on the bank of the river Brahmaputra, city Kundilnagar on the bank of the river Kundil and city Dimāpur situated on the valley of the river Dhansiri. Most of these rivers of Assam are deep and suitable enough to sail the boats of different sizes about all the seasons.

Most of the urban centers of ancient Assam were the capital cities and these centres were the most important place from strategically point of view. So the city builders of ancient Assam had taken utmost care for all round protection and development of their cities. Thus all the kings of ancient Assam had planned their cities in the places that would provide adequate measures of protection and security and thereby could have provided safety and security to the city and the city dwellers. They established their cities in such places where there would be maximum natural protection. Thus city Prāgjyotisapura was covered east west and north by hills and forest the southern side by the river Brahmaputra. The other capital cities of ancient Assam also had the same natural protection.

Arrangement of suitable roads system in the cities was another planning that followed by the city builders of ancient Assam. The inscriptions and literary sources indicate the existence of different types of roads within and outside the cities of ancient Assam. Thus within the cities there were the mahārājāmārga82 viṭṭhi, satupatha, rathyā83 roads and the
Drilud Āli⁶⁴ (High Way) outside the city which was linked the city roads by the Khetra Āli (lane roads)⁶⁵.

Adequate facilities for maintaining hygiene, sanitation and high civic sense were also occupied the important place in the planning of the cities that followed by the city builders of ancient Assam. They established their cities in such a geographical location that the city dweller not only could get natural protection, healthy atmosphere but also should have availability of sufficient scope to provide the arrangements for an ideal city life. The discovered sites of the cities of ancient Assam indicates that the city builders of the land selected the place of high land on the bank of the river for establishing their cities so that the city dwellers could easily dispose off their garbage and could live the life of pollution free. That was one of the factors for which the city builders of ancient Assam selected the site for their city in the high land and on the banks of the rivers. Reference in the inscriptions that the city of Pragjyotisapura as free from any kind of epidemic (Maraka)⁶⁶ indicates that the kings of Kāmarūpa were guided the principle of healthy and hygiene in selecting the places to build their cities.

The plantation of the trees in the cities also included as one of the important activities in their planning of the city builders of ancient Assam. The inscriptions indicate the plantation of areca nut trees along with the cardamom creepers and aloe woods (ngaru) in the cities of ancient Assam.
Huen Tsang refers that people of Kāmarūpa planted the jack fruit and cocoanut tree plentifully. The plantation of trees was required not only for maintaining healthy atmosphere, ecological balance but also for the aesthetic atmosphere.

Arrangement of markets in the cities was also included in their city planning of the city builders of ancient Assam. There is the information of the decorative \textit{vipanis} (shops) existed in the cities of ancient Assam. These \textit{vipanis} were filled with valuable ornaments including Topaz which attracted the foreign traders. Participation of the merchant class in the \textit{abhiseka} (coronation) ceremony of king Hājāravarma along with the crown prince and other nobles indicates the on going wide prevalence trade and market system in ancient Assam.

Construction of temples in the cities was also included in the city planning of the city builders of ancient Assam. Different sources like the literature, inscriptions, account of the foreigners and the excavation of the ruins of the cities witnessed the availability of the temples of the worshipping deity of the existing rulers in the cities of ancient Assam. Inscriptions also indicate that the temples were beatified and attached with beautiful parks having trees, different flowers, tanks, houses, attractive animals and birds.

\textit{Tosya devakulodyānabhavanārānasobhuyā |}

\textit{(Ti)raskritu shunāisirapurakkarbatapatane |}
Providing water for drinking and other purposes was also an important criterion in the planning of the cities of ancient Assam. The city builders of ancient Assam were conscious of the essential need of the city dwellers and so they founded their cities on the bank of the rivers with the intention that they could easily use the water of the rivers in different purposes. Besides they dug the tanks to collect the water for drinking and other purposes. The tradition indicates that the Dighalipukhuri tank was dug under the direction of king Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotisapura at the time of the marriage of his daughter Bhanumati. The tank of Hajjarapukhuri which is now in the district of Sonitpur that named after the name of king Hajjaravarman of Sālastambha dynasty and was most probably dug during the reign of king Hajjaravarman.

To make the cities especially the capital cities protective cities the defensive measures were thought to be the primary important in planning and building a city in Ancient Assam. In this regard Kālikā Purāṇa indicates valuable information. It refers the planning of four types of cities viz. trikonākṛiti (triangular), dhanurākṛiti (semicircular), vartula (circular), and chatushkona (quadrangular) so as to regard a city as protective.

Durgāṇu kurbban purāṇ kuirjyātrikonaṁ dhanurākṛiti |
Bartuluncha chatuskonaṁ nānyathā nagaraṁ charet ||

The Purana also mentions six types of forts for protection of capital cities. These forts were jala-durga (water fort), bhumi-durga (earthen fort), vrksha-
durga (fort formed by densely grown trees), aranya-durga (fort formed by dense forest), bala-durga (fort manned by equipped army) and sailaja-durga or giri-durga (mountain fort).

Jaladurgaih bhuniudurgaih briksadurgaih tothaiba cha

Aranyamarudurgancha shailaihni parikhotbhava

The fort is for the protection of the cities. So it is mentioned in the purana that the fort should be constructed keeping a considerable distance from the palaces, buildings and gateway of the cities.

Durge tu samaratü kujiyit prákarañtāla toranath

Bhusilānagaradrājī dure durgāshrayāin charet

The purāṇa also indicates that for protection of the city Prāgjyotisapura king Naraka placed four great Asura leaders as the guards of the four gates of his cities. Inscriptions of Assam indicate that the cities were provided with strong forts and ramparts, and strong and high boundary walls so that the enemies could not do any harm to the capital cities. The city of Sonitapura was protected the all sides with the huge flam of fire, which was called the fort of fire (Agniagṛgh). Inscriptions indicate that for the safety of the cities it was provided with splendid ships, horses, elephants and foot soldiers.

Some other literary sources also indicate the protective measures that taken for the city like Prāgjyotisapura. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa indicates that the city Prāgjyotisapura was protected and made inaccessible by hills and employed the trained soldiers armed with all kinds of weapons. The Purānic literature also indicates that the environs of
Pṛājīyotisapura were defended by nooses, constructed by muru (architect) the edges of which were as sharp as razors\textsuperscript{101}.

Sources inform of the different types of cities in ancient India. The Mānasāra indicates eight types of fortified cities namely- rājadhānyanagara (capital cities), kevalanagara (ordinary cities), pura, nagari, kheta, kharvata, kujjaka and pattāna\textsuperscript{102}. On the other hand Divyavadana refers four types of cities—nagara, nigama, karvata and rājadham\textsuperscript{103}. The Angavijā refers five types of cities namely nigama, janapya, pattāna, nivesa and khandavāra\textsuperscript{104}. Kamasutra refers to nagara, pattāna, kharvata and mahati as the urban centres\textsuperscript{105}.

Although most of the cities of ancient Assam were the capital cities related to government and administration there are also the information of other types of cities that flourished in ancient Assam. However every type of the cities that prevalence in ancient India as indicates by the above scholars was not prevalence in ancient Assam.

The cities and towns that were flourished in ancient Assam in different areas can be categorized as capital cities, fort or strongholds, provincial and district headquarters, places of pilgrimage, town and cities with the epithet puri or pura or pattana and cities mentions in the puranas.

Most of the cities of Ancient Assam were the capital cities and were flourished as the centre of government and administration of the respective kingdoms. Some of such capital cities of ancient Assam
were Prágiyotisapura 106, Háruppeswara 107, Durjayanagara 108, Kâmarûpanagara 109, which were the capital cities of kingdom of Prágyotisa-Kâmarûpa, Sonitpur, the capital city of kingdom of King Bânasura 110, Kundilnagar, the capital city of kingdom Vidarbha 111, Dimâpur, the capital city of Hirimbâ râjya etc.

Inscriptions of ancient Assam mention some cities as the strongholds or victorious camps (Skandhâvâra) some of which later converted to the capital cities. One such city was Háruppeswara, which was previously termed as Jayaskaudhâvâra meaning a victorious camp later converted to a capital city of Prágiyotisa-Kâmarûpa kingdom during the reign of the kings of Sâlastambha dynasty. Other such two cities known as the victorious camps were Karnasuvarna 112 and Hanchakonchi 113. The city Karnasuvarna was conquered by king Bhâskaravarman, the ruler of Kâmarûpa from Sasâňka of Gaud and used by the Kâmarûpa king as the administrative centre of his newly conquered territory 114. Hanchakunchi was a city during the reign of King Vaidyadeva where from the king donated land to the Brahmins.

To give the good government the kings of ancient Assam divided their kingdoms into certain divisions. Some of such divisions were bhuktis, mandalas, visayas etc. Most of these divisions were synonyms with the administrative terms used by the Maurya and the Gupta rulers of northern India. Thus the division bhukti indicates the province 115 and visayas the district 116. Two of such bhuktis were
Fundravardhana bhukti and Prāgijotisa bhukti. Being a provincial head
quarter in each of the provincial head quarter a town ship was flourished.

Inscriptions of ancient Assam indicate numbers of
visayas. Some of such visayas that indicates by the inscription of ancient
Assam were Chandrapuri visaya, Dijjina visaya, Hāpyoma visaya, Puraji
visaya, Bādā visaya, Kalingā visaya, Barāsepallāna visaya etc.

The head quarter of the visaya was known as adhisthāna
and the office of the district officer was called adhikarana. In early
mediaval times in India adhisthāna was regarded as the urban centre.
Vaisāli (modern Bāsarh in Vaisāli district of north Bihar) was an urban
centre during the Gupta period which was called as adhisthāna. The
administrators of the visayas were visayanāyaka, nyāyaka, Simāpradātā,
nyāyakaranika and vyavahārika. Most probably a township centering the
adhisthāna of the visaya was a common development in each visaya in
Ancient Assam which the sources left to indicate.

Few cities were developed in ancient Assam as the
centre of pilgrimage. As example the name of city Apurnarbhava can be
cited which was a sacred tiṛtha (pilgrimage) with its shrine of Hayagriva-
janārdana, and is identified with modern Hájo. The capital city of ancient
Assam like Hāruppeswara was emerged centreing a religious site where
there was a temple of the god Hatakasulin (Lord Shiva) previously.

Prāleyāchalashringamamatulagranbhaveshyājana-
rthuktam hātakacchudinahkhshīti bhaktya navāin chakrusā | 129
So this indicates that the city was emerged as a centre of pilgrimage.

Few cities were developed in ancient Assam with the epithets puri and pattāna. As example mention can be made of Chandrapuri and Uparipattāna. Chandrapuri is indicated as the head quarter of visaya with the same name during the reign of Bhāskaravarman. Using of the epithet puri indicates that it was a township. In the inscription of Vanamālā Uparipattāna is indicated as the territory nearby Prāgyotisapura. It is mentioned in the inscription that the lordship of Uparipattāna was given to Bhagadatta along with Prāgyotisapura by Lord Shiva (his worshiping deity).

Tustena tena tasne dattamuparipattanādhināhatavān

Prāgyotisādhirājyāin kālena tudanvayasyāpi | 131

The term ‘lordship over Uparipattāna’ indicates that the territory of Uparipattana was not a small area. The Assamese term upari generally means outside or above. Thus the name of the city Uparipattana indicates that the city was outside the earlier city of Prāgyotisapura. Another such city having the epithet pattāna was the Varasepattāna, which mentioned in the grant as a visaya (district). As pattāna indicates city so it is clear that Varasepattāna visaya was formed centering the Varase city which was the head quarter of the visaya.

Some cities of ancient Assam mentioned in the traditions and literature of the land, which have no existence in modern times. Few of such cities mentions in the Kalika Purana are Alakā.
Chandrāvati\textsuperscript{135}, Bhogavati\textsuperscript{136} and Varasāna \textsuperscript{137}, which have no existence nowadays. As the city Apurnarbhava mentioned in the Kālikā Purāṇa identified with modern Hājo with its temple Hayagriva-Mādhava, most probably the cities like Alakā, Chandrāvati, Bhogavati and Varasāna were existed somewhere in Assam in the ancient times but later disappeared or declined due to some natural reasons leaving no traces at present.

The sustainability and proper development of a capital city as well as the kingdom in ancient times was largely depended on the measures of protection that had been taken by the authority. The kings of ancient Assam knew it very well and so they had taken the adequate measures for protection and fortification of the cities. Most of the kings of ancient Assam were competent and efficient enough to maintain the internal order and protect the country from external threats. As for instance the Nidhanpur copper inscription refers that there was no anarchy \textit{(Matsyayāya)} in the kingdom of Samudravarman.

\begin{align*}
\textit{Matsyayāya} & \textit{viralitah prakāsaratnāh suto devastrapalāh} \\
\textit{Panchchama iça hi samudraḥ samudravarmanābhavatasya} & | | \textsuperscript{138}
\end{align*}

So this indicates that kings of Kamarupa like Samudravarman maintained internal peace and order in the country by adopting different kinds of measures. The inscriptions of ancient Assam indicate the efficiency and personality of the kings of ancient Assam\textsuperscript{139}.

The kings of ancient Assam adopted certain measures for the protection of their capital cities.
They protected their capital cities with strong walls so that the aggressors could not do any harm to their capital city.

The capital city was made invincible and highly protected with high and long ramparts.

The four sides of the city of Sonitapura of king Bānāsura were protected with huge flames of fire, which was called the fort of fire (Agni garhi).

In this respect it is to be noted that the writers of ancient India like Kautilya and Manu mention different types of forts (Durga) for the protection of the cities. Kautilya mentions four types of forts namely Dhannavāna, Audakam, Vana durga and Parvatam, while Manu mentions six types of forts namely Dhana durga, Mahidurga, Abhurga, Vrksadurga, Nridurga and Giridurga.

The kings of ancient Assam were aware of the fort system and they selected the sites for their capitals, which had the natural protection of either hills and forest or water. Thus the city of Pragjyotisapura was surrounded on three sides by hills and forest on the east, west and north and river Brahmaputra on the southern side. The Kālikā Purāna mentions different forts such as Giridurga and Jaladurga and others which constructed for the protection of city like Pragjyotisapura.

For its safety the capital city was provided with splendid ships, elephants, horses and foot soldiers. The utmost protection was
provided to the capital cities like Prājyotisapura by employing the sun like warriors. For their safety and protection the kings of ancient Assam did not depend on forces of the Sāmantas and the Malaisāmantas (Feudatory Chiefs) because they had their own organized militia, which consisted of the different wings like infantry, elephants, charioteers, navy etc. The deadly weapons that the army of ancient Assam used were swords, discuss, javelins, sharp arrows and some kinds of missiles etc. Thus the cities were adequately protected from the internal disturbances and external attacks.

Thus the cities of ancient Assam were emerged in the existing social system of the later Vedic period with the extension of the Aryan settlement. Urbanization in ancient Assam was occurred in the existing rural settlement. Certain political, social, economic and cultural factors were responsible for the emergence of urbanization in ancient Assam. Certain planning and principles were followed by the city builders of ancient Assam in building their cities. Specific steps both natural and human were taken by the city builders as well as the ruling authority for protection and security of the cities specially the capital cities of ancient Assam.
Notes and References


2. K. F., Chap. 38, VV. 4&5

3. Ibid, VV. 100-104

4. Ibid, V.124

5. Indu Banga (Ed) *The city in Indian History*, New Delhi, 1991. p. 1


7. Taurtrāgaiya pradadou dvijāya grāmnāi hi churāmanaye prasasya
   Haposanaha prajatnata punyahani pritimanā narendra
   Grant, L-56-57, Sarma, M. M., Op. Cit., p.120 (Plate-23)

8. Uttrakule troyadusāgrāmnāvisayāntahpāti vanudevapatākāpakista-
   bhumisamatālābukutikshetra dhānāyaddisahasnotpattikabhumī | Bargaon

9. Pidakagriina bhunyau simni sthilau-- Guwakuchi Grant, L-58,

10. Prāggyotise vasadasau pravare purānānu dordarppa saŋsarna charuta-
    rājīýtisrihi | Bargaon Grant, V. 5, Sarma, M. M., Op. Cit., p.155,
    (Plate-38)

11. Mahānuhastyaasvapattisanpattypāt jayasadbā(verte)sthaskendhāvārāt
    karmasvarvān vāsakāt--Nidhanpur Grant of Bhaskaravarman, LL. 2-
12. Kāmarūpaṇaṁgāre uryopbhāvaddharmapāla iti sānvayaḥśayah


13. Hārūppaṇaṇaṭhitam saḥmaṇḍavala(mada)darpavarita mah(a)rajā-
    dhirāja paramesvaṇaṇ 参数anabhātāracara(mana)haśvara sri
    hajjaraṇamdeva..... Tezpur Rock Inscription of Hajjaravarman, L-1,

14. prāgcyotisesu durjayaśvaparamadhuṣa--Bargaon Grant of

15. Vishnu Purana, Bk. 1


17. K. P., Chap.38. VV.116 &128

18. Ramayana, (Adikanda, Chap. XXXV); K.S., Bhumika. p.1

19. B. B. Dutta is most probably the first historian who writes the book
    on Indian cities (Town Planning in Ancient India, 1925). He was
    followed by numbers of writers. Among them G. S. Ghurye makes
    sociological analysis of the cities of ancient India on the basis of
    Toynbee’s formulation of capital cities (Cities and Civilization,
    1962). Amita Roy through her book “Village, Towns and Secular
    Buildings in Ancient India”(1964) has given a significant
    information of town planning of ancient India utilizing available
    archaeological data. The work of A. Ghosh “The City in Early
    Historic India (1973) is a small but compact monograph can be
    regarded significant work in this line. In this book he studies the
urbanization in India utilizing literary and archeological sources from sociological point of view.


22. Concept of Urban Revolution and the Indian Context, Puratattva, No.6 (1972-73), p.31

23. Thakur, V. K., Urbanization in Ancient India, New Delhi, 1981, pp.18-19


29. Pratita samastavarnasramadharmanoparinitasubhatsadhubhadhajavanadhi-
(Plate-22)

30. Mahāsanyadhipati sri gano, mahādvāradhipatya sri jayadeva |
Mahāpratiharajamardana | mahānātya sri govinda |
Madhusudana | brāhmaṇadākara bhatta sri kantha | Hayunthal
31. Agyaśat prāpayitaprabha panchamahāsabda sri gopāla simāpradātā
Chandrapurināyaka sri kshikunda nyāyakaranaikajanārdanamāsvāmi
vyavahāri haradatta kāyastha dandaṇātha prabhātīt mahābhāṣānta
lekhayaśa svasvarmanāh bhāṇḍārgāradhikrita mahāśāśvānta
dīvākaraprabhāh utkhetayita dattakārpūrṇa sekyākara kāliyā]
nāyaka, nyāyakarana, vyavarāri, bhāṇḍārgāradhikara etc. were the
officials where as kāyastha, sekyākara were belonged to professional
classes.

32. Abhisūko vanikapurbe rājaputrekulodhigattaih-- Hayunthal Grant of

33. Nauhastyaasvapatisampatyupāt-- Nidhanpur Grant, V.2, Sarma, M.
M., Op. Cit., p. 41

34. Yuchha sakroadiśa(ku) niharapanjareu gujarādhirāja prajvaren
Dvāranatagorendrakutapākalenkeralashāchala silajattumā vahikatāika
tankārinā dakhinātyakshaumipatitarājāya yuddhāmanā kshapatāvātipākshatāya
khitiypavakshahkapātapatevena prakārenaāvritaprandā| Bargaon Grant,

35. Ibid, L.38


37. Samkalanahārājaṁardagadsangkhyaajuturaugapadātisadhana nirantar--
Gosthesu dhūmasu vanesu caturaspathesu rathyāśu vithisu mukhesu
Surākalesu|
Adyāpi pindatarabodhipudhiṣṭhānānām vishvāni yodgunanagano

p. 260, (Plate-62)

38. Yadyuddhabhubbipanivaddhirapādmarāgā shomista viravanī
Cit., p. 157, (Plate-39)

39. Ibid, LL. 31-32,

40. Thakur, V.K., op. cit. p. 46

41. Ibid

42. Jain, K.C., Ancient Cities and Towns of Rajasthan, Delhi, 1972, p.62

43. Bhattacharya, B., Urban Development in India Since Pre-Historic
Times, New Delhi 1979, p.119

44. Thakur, V.K. op.cit., P-48

45. B.D Chattopadhyaya, The Making of Early Medieval India, New
Delhi, 1994, p. 159-77


47. Parbatia Grant, L-48, Sarma, M. M., Op. Cit., p. 120, (Plate-23)


84
53. Yogini Tantra, chap. II, ix, 22-32


57. Vishnu Purana, Bk. I

58. Kakati B.K., Mother Goddess Kamakhya, Guwahati, 1989, P-6

59. Chaudhury, P. C., History and Civilization of the People of Assam, Guwahati, 1958, p.109


63. Doobi Grant, V.54, Sarma, M. M., Op. Cit., p.16. In the last part of 6th century when king Susthiravarman ruled Kamarupa there was no any information of kingdom in or around Kamarupa. So how the king could compel the number of kings defeated and forced to pay tribute to him. Most probably these kings were no other than the feudal chiefs who were subjugated and compelled by Susthiravarman to bend knees by that illuminated the feet of the Kamarupa king.

64. Nidhanpur grant, L.134, Sarma, M. M., Op. Cit., p.49; The inscription indicates that Janañdanaswámi a Brahmin scholar
served as *nyāyakanika* and Haradatta as *vyavahari* of king Bhāskaravarman.


67. *Mahāsāmantaśa(na)dhāyaksha srisuchitasya adhikāradine kuivrattanau-(ku)kshi svabhākshasādhani ... * Tezpur Rock Inscription, LL.3-4, Sarma, M. M., Op. Cit., p.83. This Kavarta class who related to the using of boat was most probably related to the fish trade.


72. *Mahābhārata*, (Sabhi, Udyoga)


74. *Cowell, Harsacarita*, pp. 213-215

76. Uttarapurvena outragitantranām blusumunivalukavikshah
vālunikastushcheti || Subhankarpātaka Grant, L.62 Sarma, M. M.,

77. Purvadakshinena dvijaratihādi | Puspahadrā Grant, L.50, Sarma, M.
M., Op. Cit., p. 262, (Plate-64)

78. Pachvimbottarena kumbhakāragarttesavāh-- Nidhānpur Grant, L.131,

79. Kālikā Purāṇa, 38. V.124

80. Watters,(tr.) On Yuan Chwang’s Travels in India, II, New Delhi, 1961,
p. 185


82. Sakkanamaharajamargadasyāngklpyaagajaturagapadatisadhananirantara

83. Gosthesu dhāmanu vanesu chatuspathesu rathyāśu vīlāśu makhesu
surālapesu |
Adyāpi pindataralavdhasudhāsanābho vishvāni yadgurunano mukhari
karoti ||

84. Dakshinena vrīhadāli sūtvarnadāru vikshai | Nowgong Grant, L.48,
Sarma, M. M., Op. Cit., p.147, (Plate-33)

85. Uttaragavakrena khetriilih kāsimhālāvīkshai | Bargaon Grant, L.68,


89. Yadyuddhahurbbhipanivaddhiratāddānagā ashonista vīravani jān- 


90. Srimān hajjaravarnāsou rājabhīh pranatavāritha |


93. K. P., chap.84, V.116

94. Ibid, V.115

95. Ibid, V.112

96. Ibid, Chap. 40, VV. 6ff.

97. Yacheha sakrodāstāma(na) niharupAnjaren gujjaraṭhāvja 

prajvaren durhanta gorandraikutapākale

keralabhāchala sīlājatunā vāhikatāika tukakārīno 

dakhinātyakshauquipatirāja yadmanā kshāpitāvratipakshatayō 

khitiḥavikshalikapātupatenaiva prākyunāvritaprānta... | Borgaon Grant,

Asipturbibhdhivorcchayaparichitang varpranurchchernhanti tasya

Pragjyotisut(trishadapati pura) spardhini rajadhani | yasyaṁ

shyāmāsū shashvatdhaudhlagrihāshirshelnmbi chandrasya vimvāṁ

(putranga souvannaku)ubhadypatitamdayati(ng) kāntimadyātānti | |


98. K. P., Chap.39. V.3

99. Mahānadhastyasasvatipatramsputyapūta jayashahda(mna)ṛthaskandhāvārāt

karṇasaṃvarṇa vāsakāt | Nidhanpur Grants, LL. 2-3, Sarma, M. M.,

Op. Cit., p.41

100. Ghagavata Purana,10th Skandha, L.ix, 2-3


103. Vaidya, P.I., (Ed), Dīvyaavadana ,1959, p.181

104. Muni shri Punyavijaji (Ed.), Angavijja, 1957, p.94

105. Kamasutra VI, 2

106. Kāmarupah prāgrjyotisakhyāṁ pura madhuvāsa | Uttarbarbil

Grant, V.5

Sarma, M. M., Op. Cit., p. 129(Plate-25) and Nowgong Grant, V.5

Sarma, M. M., Op. Cit., p. 144, (Plate-30);

Kāntānukherbhahulīng vidhāvīva viravindestesajāsvīhī raviganauvasa-

ndadhane | Prāgjyitiṣe vasadason pravara puranāṁ dandarpap sam-

charanachārulārajjasriḥ | | Bargaon Grant, V.5 Sarma, M. M.,

Op. Cit., p. 155, (Plate-38); Kalika Purana, Chap.38, V. 123
107. *Srimān haruppeswaravāśi jayaskandhāvārāparamāpanāparamesvaraparana*

Bhattārakaparamanāhahesvaranātāpurāññadhyāta hajjaravarnādevah


*Srimati haruppeswaranāmānī kātaka kritavararirutkhāto-
silatāmarīchīnicīrayamekktān valunā...*) Uttarbarbil Grant,


108. *Māṇuṇiyamanekaṇaṇjapatisārthānāṁ yathārthāvidhānāṁ prāgyot-
ise durjayaśāhyaparvama madhyavāsa | Bargaon Grant, LL.39-40,

Karitvagratnapuruṇā rāgyastasthānırupagunavasatiḥ |

*Nripatikula durjayaśasinnagari sridurjayaṇāṇa | | Guwahati

109. *Kamarupanagare nripobhavaddharmapāla iti sivayahhyah|

Yasya kirttivaratājagajjarat panjarodaragatā suva rājate | |

Puspabhadra Grant, V.20, Sarma, M. M., Op. Cit., p. 261,
(Plate-63)

110. Vishnu Purana, Bk.I

111. Sankardev, Rukmini Haran Kavya, Guwahati, 1972, p.2

112. *Jayasahada(rūbra)thaskandhāvārāt karmasvaraṇa-- Nidhanpur Grant,

113. *Hansakonchisamāvāsitasrimajayaskandhāvārāt--Kamauli Grant of


116. Ibid, p.208


120. Khanamukh Grant,L.29, Sarma, M. M., Op. Cit., p. 228, (Plate-52);


123. *Vārīsepattanavisayāntahpāti-vappadeva-pātakād--Uttarbarbil* Grant,


127. Ibid, LL..133-34,

128. *Yogini Tantra*, chap. II, ix, 22-32


132. *Vārīsepattanavisayāntahpāti vappadeva-pātakād--Uttarbarbil*

Grant of Balavarman III, L.36, , Sarma, M. M., Op. Cit., p.132,
133. Sarma M. M. Inscriptions of Ancient Assam, Guwahati, 1989, p.138

134. Kalika Purana chap.41

135. Ibid, chap.63

136. Ibid, chap. 81 V.104

137. Ibid, chap. 82 V.161


142. Kumar Haran, V. 194

143. Shashi Prabha, P. Ancient Indian Administration, New Delhi, 1996,

144. K. P., 38 V.133


