CHAPTER VI

THE TAI KINGDOM IN ASSAM: THE AHOM DYNASTY

Even as early as the eighth century A.D., the Tai Empire of Nan-Chao is known to have extended its sway over Upper Burma and Assam. This light has been thrown by the T'ang history as already referred to above. But the exact nature and period of this Tai control over all or a part of the present Assam cannot be known from the records as yet available. But the foundation of an independent Tai kingdom in Assam was laid for the first time only in the early part of the thirteenth century A.D., when there was a great westward movement of the race.


Chao-Lung Hao-Ke-Hpa, the founder of the Tai-Ahom Dynasty in the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam, was the third son of Phu-Cheng-Khang alias Chao Chengnyou, a scion of the Mong-Ri Hsiung-Nam line of kings of Hkun-Long's family. Phu-Cheng-Khang, who married the daughter of Chao Tai-Pong of Haen-Se, was made Chao-Hpa of Mong-Khing-dao¹ (Mong-Khing-Lao) in A.D. 1202 or 1204.

¹ Called in Burmese and Assamese Burenjis Mong-Khing-Khup-Khing-dau (or nau). The Haen-Wi Chronicles' version that this vacancy was caused by the death of Hkun-Yi-Kwai-Nkam, who had left no issue, can not be accepted as it is not supported by chronology.
Hao-Ka-Hpa was born while his mother, Nang-Mong Biak-Hkan-Hseng, was putting up with her father, Chao Tai-Pong at the latter's residence. He was born not later than A.D. 1189 during the life time of Chao Tai-Pong, who named the grand-son Hao-Ka-Hpa. According to the Hsien-Wi Chronicle Phu-Chang-Khang (or Sao Epo-Hsang-Khang) had four sons, Biun-Tai-Bkon, Ikun-Tai-Ikei, Hau-Tai-Tao, and Hom-Sem-Awn. Biun-Tai-Bkon had a daughter and a son named Nang-Ye-Ikon and Ai-Pa-Hrana. In Tamuli Phukan's Assam Duranjie as well as Ney Elias's History of the Shans, Hao-Ka-Hpa is said to have had two elder brothers, Hao-Zot-Hpa and Hao-Ikan-Hpa. These may have been titles assumed by the sons of Phu-Chang-Khang, as mentioned in the Hsien-Wi Chronicle, on being made Chao-Hpes.

Hao-Ka-Hpa was brought up at Hsen-Sc, the capital of Hao-Lung, by his maternal grand-mother. As Pa-Moo-Pong, his maternal uncle and ruler of Mong-Hao, had no son, he was nominated as the successor to that throne. He passed his early nineteen years at the capital of Hao-Lung. But, when later on, Pa-Moo-Pong's wife gave birth to Hao-Kan-Hpa, Hao-Ka-Hpa abandoned the hope of the Mong-Mao throne.

2 AP, p.43.
3 Hsien-Wi Chronicle, JUBSS, l.l. p.237.
5 These years of Jeknig of the Tai Sexagenary Cycle (or Epo Wan) are mentioned in the original Tai-Aam text as Mongkeu, Piakheu, KataiOo, Kutnig, Rungkao, Taoshi, Kasheu, Kepshinga, Daymat, Baiaan, Mongroa, Tickma, Zakka, Klutcheu, Rungplao, Taongi, Kamao, Kashe, and Depsheu.
Phn-Chang-Khang ruled his States for seven years from A.D. 1202 to 1209. Before his death lie divided his kingdom among his sons. He gave to Hao-Zot-Hpa the country called Tai-Po (or the State of Hsi-Paw or Burmese Thibo) and to Hao-Hkam-Hpa Tai-Pong or the Nara country, of which Mong-Kawng (Mogaung) was the capital. But he installed his third son, Hao-Za-Hpa, who was then twenty-three (Lekni Katrao), as the king of his own States, Mong-Mit and Keng-Lao (or Mong-Mit Kupklingdaw). Ney Elias says Chen-Kang-pha (Hao-Hkam-Hpa) was the elder and Chen-zot-pha (Hao-Zot-Hpa) the second son. He further says that Tai-Pong was the southern main or district of Theinni (Hsaen-Wi), but it is doubtful. Even to this day the Mokawng Valley is known to the Tai people as Mao-Pong. Tai-Pong, it is believed, is another name for Hao-Pong and it extended from Kameng (Kamaing), which was twenty-five miles north-west of Mong-Kawng to the Patkai. But there was a time when Mao-Pong or Tai-Pong comprised the whole area of the present Mogaung, Mokawng and Khmati. Thus Tai-Pong was the early Nara country of wider extent and Mong-Kawng was its capital.

Hao-Za-Hpa ruled over the kingdom of Mong-Mit Kupklingdaw with great ability for eighteen years. Meanwhile

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6 N.Elias : p.52. But DAB, (p.215), 17. Dynastic List gives the period of rule as A.D. 1204-1211. N.Elias's period appears to be correct, and here both the Shan and Burmese eras agree. It also fits in with the dates of Hao-Za-Hpa's subsequent movements. Hsaen-Wi Chronicle's version that he ruled only for two years can not be accepted as it differs from several other records that agree that it was seven years.


8 P.K. Buragohain : Ahazar Adi Buranji (Jorhat,
Hso-llkan-Hpa, who had succeeded to the throne of Mong-Iao in A.D. 1220, soon entered upon an ambitious career of conquests with the help of his brother, the renowned General Sun-Long-Hpa and his mightier arms reduced, among others, the kingdom of Long-Lit-Klingdao and Sung-Ko to vassalage under Mong-Iao. The eldest son of Phu-Chang-Khang, Sao Tai-Ilkon (Hao-Zot-Hpa ?), who refused to surrender, was executed at Sung-Ko, the capital of the kingdom, on the east bank of the Irrawaddy.

Hso-Ka-Hpa had the first disappointment when his prospect of being chosen as the king of Mong-Iao was doomed, and the second and greater disappointment came when, after an interval of eighteen years of peaceful reign in his paternal kingdom, he had to surrender its independence to the Mong-Iao Chief. The latter event was the major cause of his reluctance to continue in his home country, and it seems, when he had left it, his elder brother Sao Tai-Hkai (Hso-Ekan-Hpa ?) was appointed by Hao-Ekan-Hpa as its ruler. The immediate cause of Hao-Ka-Hpa's departure from his kingdom was a conflict, in A.D. 1227, between Hao-Ekan-Hpa and the ruler of the country called Jun-Lung (or Yun-lung or Yon-lon) over the boundaries of their respective kingdoms in which he was asked to join. Probably the conflict arose from Hao-Ekan-Hpa's expansionist policy. His ambition was to consolidate under his leadership the entire Tai (Shan) world.

9 Hsen-Yi Chronicle, in GUESS, 1.1. p.239.
including the land of the Yun Shans in the middle Mekong and the Upper Mekong valleys, he must have visualised that this would vastly increase the strength of the Tai-Shan nation politically and militarily by eliminating the quarrels between the independent or semi-independent petty Shan principalities. Hao-Ikan-Hpa summoned his vassal, Hao-Ka-Hpa, by a letter to help him with his forces in the campaign against Junlung. But the latter did not respond to his call. At this, Hao-Ikan-Hpa thought of forcing him to take part in the war. When Hao-Ka-Hpa suspected this intention of the Mong-Mao Chief, he wrote a reply to him in these words: "The king of Jun-Lung is my relation just as you are. If I take your side and help you, all kings, descended from the same original family with us, would blame me. Hence I did not go when you called me". Having received this letter Hao-Ikan-Hpa determined to capture him and the latter became aware of it. Hao-Ka-Hpa also knew that Hao-Ikan-Hpa was too powerful for him. Hence he decided to quit his country. He left his country with his wife and followers for Lo-gaung, where prince Noi-Hsean-Hpa (alias Hao-Ikan-Hpa) was ruling.

Who was Noi-Hsean-Hpa? Nay Elias says that Noi-Hsean-Hpa or Chau-Kam-hpa was the son of the great Mong-Mao King Hao-Ikan-Hpa and became Sawbwa of Mong-Kawng (Lo-gaung; Pali Udigriratata or Srk. Udayagiri-rastra). But, as already

11 Naoboicha Phukan's Buranji, Tr. Ibid, p.176.
said above, the Hsen-Wi Chronicle says that Hso-Hkan-Hpa had only one son, named Hmun-Pu-Hksam. He was born in China as his mother had gone to live in that country owing to a quarrel with her husband. After Hso-Hkan-Hpa's death, the ministers of Mong-Mao approached Hmun-Pu-Hksam and offered him the Sawbwaiship of Mong-Mao, but the latter refused the offer and suggested the name of his son, Hmun-Pu-Kaw or Ai-Pu, for it. Secondly, it can not be expected that Hso-Ka-Hpa, after having offended Hso-Hkan-Hpa, would go to his son for refuge. Further, there are indications that Hso-Hkam-Hpa of the Hara country was the elder brother of Hso-Ka-Hpa and that they belong to the same family.  
Thus it is difficult to accept the relationships as described by Ney Elias. Hso-Hkam-Hpa was given the Hara country (Tai-Pong or Mao-Pong) by Phu-Chang-Khun prior to its occupation by the Mong-Mao general Sam-Lon-Hpa. After the conquest of Mong-Mit Kupklingdao, Hso-Hkan-Hpa probably appointed him to rule that country and subsequently, about A.D. 1227 or earlier, transferred him to Mong-Kawng (Mogaung) as its Sawbwa when Sam-Lon-Hpa was engaged in his western campaigns.

Temuli Phukan says that 'this very king Noi-Hsaa-Hpa is called Sukhranpha in the Assamese Buranjis'.  

When Hso-Ka-Hpa came away from his original kingdom of Mong-Mit Kupklingdao, he brought with him 'a large force'.

12 Temuli Phukan: *op. cit.*, p.12; Banhradia Biragheinr Buranjis in DAB, p.89. Here the Hara king could not be Hso-Hkan-Hpa, the great, of Mong-Mao who already turned 'enemy' of Hso-Ka-Hpa. He must be the Mogaung Sawbwa.

composed of cavalry and infantry armed with cannon, guns and gun-powder so as to be able to fight his enemies and also there were other followers and servants. On arriving at Mong-Kawng, he sent ahead messengers to inform its king (Chao-Hpa) and king Noi-Hsan-Hpa, on getting the information, welcomed him and arranged for his stay in the capital with his army and followers.

King Noi-Hsan-Hpa learnt from Hso-Ka-Hpa all about the political developments in Mao-Lung and why he had to quit his kingdom. Noi-Hsan-Hpa desired that Hso-Ka-Hpa should possess a kingdom in this new country. As Hso-Ka-Hpa had a large army with superior weapons Noi-Hsan-Hpa suggested to him that it would be possible for him to found a kingdom by subjugating the south-western part of the Nara country, apparently the Upper Chindwin region, which was inhabited by tribes, who used only bows, arrows, swords and spears in fighting. Probably at this time Hso-Ka-Hpa received an invitation from Sam-Lung-Hpa and decided to proceed to Assam.

Sam-Lung-Hpa, while he was still engaged in his Eastern Assam campaigns, was perhaps aware of Hso-Ka-Hpa's flight from his native country. But after his defection from his brother, he seems to have invited Hso-Ka-Hpa to join him in the Tipam-Namrup area, otherwise the reason of Hso-Ka-Hpa's crossing of the Patkai remains unaccounted for.

14 Faoboicha Phukan; op.cit., p.176.
15 Ibid., p.177.
in history, it may, however, be assumed that Hso-Ka-Hpa had already some knowledge of Eastern Assam during his Chutiya expedition referred to both by N. Elias as already described and also in the Tai-Abom Chronicles at least at two places. Now probably Sam-Long-Hpa's invitation brought him new hopes and encouragement and he took leave of his brother, the Chao-Hpa of Mung-Kawng, to try his fortune in the land of his dream.

Both Francis Hamilton (Dr. Raicharan) and Pemberton refer to a Hkuntai (Tai Prince), who remained near the hill Chorai Khorong to the south of Caringau and Pemberton makes the significant statement that the place mentioned was probably the site chosen for a residence by Sam-longpha. This Hkuntai was no other than Hso-Ka-Hpa, who made Chorai Khorong hill (Changaidee) the capital of his territories, which extended from Tipam to that area along the eastern borders of the valley. Pemberton's account further says that Hkuntai's (Hso-Ka-Hpa's) brother is called Nara-Rajah by the Singphos or tribes occupying the mountains south-east of Assam to this day and that Nara-Rajah was the tributary prince of Hogaung. These statements as well as the Bangadite Baramohain's Buranjii confirm the facts related above. 16

Some of the Assamese Chroniclers write that Hso-Ka-the Hpa stole away/statuette of the royal tutelary deity Chum-sheng from the place of Noi-Hsan-Hpa. When, after

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16 Dr. Hamilton: An Account of Assam (DFAS, Guwahati, 1940, p.1); Pemberton: op.cit., p.110; DAB, p.89.
Hso-Ka-Hpa’s departure for Assam, Noi-Hsan-Hpa could not find the statuette, he suspected Hso-Ka-Hpa and sent after him men to capture him. But they could not overtake him and returned from a place, which, on that account, is called Nara-Ulata (the place from which the Nara returned). This story has no foundation, rather it is an unnecessary reflection on Hso-Ka-Hpa’s character. In the original Tai-Ahom text Hso-Ka-Hpa is said to have brought the statuette from the place of his grand-father, and not that of Noi-Hsan-Hpa. Nara-Ulata may be a place from which the Nara-Raja himself accompanying Hso-Ka-Hpa or his escorts and guides sent with the latter returned. Nara-Ulata is a place not far from Margherita up the Buri Dihing. There is also a popular belief that Nara-Ulata is really Lara-Ulata, that is, the place from where the Lara Raja returned after pursuing Prince Gadadhar Singh up to the foothill and this is an event of a much later date. But it is not to be had in any old record.

In this arduous journey across the wild country of mountains, inhabited by warlike aborigines, such as the Nagas, he was accompanied by a distinguished body of faithful and valiant nobles and chiefs (Phu-Kin-Mongs) from a number of Shan States who joined with their own contingents of armed forces. They might have joined him from time to time

17 AE, p. 44; DAB, p. 5.
18 Phu = a male, kin = eat or enjoy, mong = a town or a kingdom, meaning ‘a kingdom-eater’, that is one who administers a country. It is translated into Assamese as ‘Raj-Khowa’.
and some might have even tributary to Mong-Hao, among the States, from which military aids arrived for him under the command of their chiefs, the names of five are specifically mentioned in the Tai-Abom Chronicle and they are: Mong-Hran, Mong-Hkri-Bai, Mong-Eka-Mong-Tun, Mong-Phi and Mong-Li. 19  Hso-Ka-Hpa also had with him many great men and nobles of his Court, of whom the Chronicle mentions the names of Hkun-Be, Hkun-Phrang, Hkun-Ring, Hkun-Haeng and Hkun-Phi-Kin. All these chiefs and nobles cast in their lot with Hso-Ka-Hpa and quitted their countries for good and therefore could not have left their families behind to the mercies of the enemies. Then there were a few members in the party who appear to be of the priestly families. The names of these members are given as Thao-Mong-Lung-Kang; Thao-Khein-Lung; Thao-Mong-Ben-Rai; Chao-Phrang; Thao-Mong-Mashai; 20 who descended from Cheng-hun, who, in his turn, was a descendant of Laokhri; Thao-Mong-Mashai 21 who descended from Hemmung; Thao-Hong-Kang-Hkru-Mong; and Lao-Tai-Mong. Of the above personages Thao-Mong-Ben-Rai or Thao-Hong-Khoi-Ming-Rai was the Chao-Phrang-Mong (Bara Cohain) and the Phu-Kin-Moh or Chief, Kang-Ngan or Thao-Mong-Kang-Ngan, was the Chao- Thao-Lung (Bar Cohain) of Chao-Lung Hso-Ka-Hpa, or they were appointed to those offices by the king. 22

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19 AB, p. 44. Phu-Kin-Mongs coming from these States were respectively Ta-Hknu-Lak, Hkun-Kieng, Phu-Lung-Hkun-Lang, Kang-Hgn-Mun, and Kang-Ngan.
20 The Fore-father of the Deshais. See AB, p. 25.
21 The Fore-father of the Maw-Hang or the Cohains. See Ibid., p. 25.
22 Tamuli Phukan; op.cit. p. 10. 'Bara Cohain' and 'Bar Cohain' are the Assamese equivalents of the original Tai-
As to the total strength of the party or armed force that moved with him, various numbers are given in the Assamese accounts of a much later period. Not only the numbers themselves are based on vague calculations, but they vary also from 480 to 1080. The Tai-Ahom Chronicle and the Bodh at Assam Para nji give a number of nine thousand, and it seems to be a reliable figure from the circumstances described in the accounts of Hao-Ka-Hpa’s westward movement. From the manner of description it appears that barring other followers, the regular fighting force of Hao-Ka-Hpa was estimated at nine thousand strong with three thousand mantung or cooking vessels, made of copper, each for a squad of three men. He had with him also three hundred war horses fitted with saddles and blinkers and one tusked elephant, named Khma-Maw-Mong, one female elephant, named Chu-Kip-Kat and an elephant-keeper, named Phrang-Pem. Records are silent about how the heavy arms were carried along the difficult mountainous routes.

It is also said that there came with Hao-Ka-Hpa his three wives including the chief queen and they were Ai-Me-Chao-Lo, Nang-Sheng-Cham-Hpa and Yi-Lo-Weng-Ching-Cham-Hpa. Of these Ai-Me-Chao-Lo was probably his chief queen.

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23 The Tai text says 'Shma ring mantung ding maw khan cham kim le shen kun' (See AB, p.44) meaning Three thousand cooking pots (red being of copper) bent low on one side. Each cooking pot boiled rice also eat (to lick) just enough three men. DAB says conveying the same idea - 'bhatar takal tamar, tintar bhat ekate aijo, one takali tini kezar, praja na kezar', pp.5-6.

24 P.K. Buragohain in Tai Sanskriti, (Guwahati), I.2., 1986, p.61. The names are also mentioned as Ibun Chaelu (Chief queen), daughter of Thoamong Kanangan or Kana-nzban. Ainet Chaelu and I-Vong-Siluing. Translated by
There followed in the wake of the marching army parties of sturdy and adventurous village folk — men, women and children — from various places along the route, not only in the hope of getting better amenities of life in the newly conquered lands, but also out of profound faith in the ability of Chao-Lung Hao-Ka-Hpa, the veteran Chief of the valley, to provide a better way of life, and spent about twelve years in Upper Burma and collected, among other businesses, a considerable amount of information about the history of the Tai, once visited the Tai villages in the Hukawng valley and learnt that most of the Tai people of the valley, and in some areas entire villages, followed Hao-Ka-Hpa to Waasali (Assam), 25 That may be one of the reasons why there are now only a few Tai (Shan) villages in the Hukawng valley proper.

As Hao-Ka-Hpa advanced from Mong-Kawng towards the Patkai via the Hukawng valley he reduced to submission the local tribes found along the routes he followed and their neighbouring areas. The places he marched through were the villages of Kat-Rung-Mong-Wen, Mong-Na-Mong-Ti, Khok-Chang-Bing-Min (Hatikhakia) and Ta-Ra-Men (Opar chakua) of the Naga, Chak-Chang-Khrai (Sekhai), and Shanke. He also attacked the principal village of Mong-Kham, one hundred and eight miles from Mong-Kawng, in the Hukawng valley and conquered it. Mong-Kham (or Mainkwon) was, it is said, called Mong-Kham after the name of a Naga chief of the

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Yong-kuk Naga tribe; it was his headquarters from where he controlled the whole neighbourhood. It became Mong-Kham after its conquest by Nao-Ka-Iga. Then he proceeded on to Lang-Mi-Cha-Kau and then to Nao-Le-Krang. Then he came to Mong-Khua Mong-Pen and thence to Pha-Ke-Che-Ring. Pha-Ke-Che-Ring (State or country of the Phake people), was the area to the south of the Doi-Kham hill and just to the west of the Loglai river, through which the stream called Digam Pani seems to flow, was the earlier home of the Tai-Pha-Ke community, the name being assimilated into Phakial in Assam. After leaving this place he appeared at the principal pass of a mountain (‘Doi’) which he then crossed (‘Kham’). Thus the mountain, which Nao-Ka-Iga had to cross before reaching the Patkai, became known as Doi-Kham. In the Tai-Abom text the words are ‘Kham Doi’ which means ‘cross mountain’. Later European explorers wrote the name as Digam or Digum. Digam or Digum Bum26 (Doikham in Shan) stands conspicuously to the south of the Patkai. To the north of Digum Bum and south-west of the summit of the Patkai there is a large triangular valley having a vast sheet of water in it called "Hong-Yang" several miles long, and a wooded island towards the eastern extremity. But Maegregor, who visited that area, says that ‘the lake appeared to be 3 miles long by ½ mile wide’. Digum Bum is not less than 3,000 to 4,000 ft. high, the surrounding hills

26 This piece of information is supplied to me by Pho Mysz of Sang-Ka-ling Khantyi in Upper Chindwin. Of course, I have not been able to verify it. I found Pho Mysz a well-informed person who could give me certain other pieces of very correct information regarding the Tai of Upper Burma.

27 In Singpho means mountain. Maegregor crossed it
north and south being lower by 1,000 to 2,000 ft. than it. He crossed the Bâikham hill and came to the boundary of the Naga country. He then crossed the river Kham-Jang or Kham-Yang and stopped near the Mong-Yang Lake. As he proceeded down from Kham-Jang, the following persons and families accompanied him, namely, Thao-Mong-Hkun-Yang, Thao-Mong-Hkun-Hkam, Thao-Mong-Hkun-Ta-La, Thao-Mong-Hkun-Taie-Ren (Ren = house i.e. family), five Ka-Lang-Sim families, Lam-Taie-Mong and Luk-Tai-Ma families. The community, called Kham-Yang, who later migrated and settled in the Margherita area of Eastern Assam, had their earlier home in Kham-Jang (Kham-Yang). The Assamese know them to be Khamjangias. In the Deodhai Agam Buranjî Hoo-Kempha is said to have crossed next the Kham-Jang river or stream and encamped on the bank of the Mong-Yang (Mong-Yang) Lake. The waters of this great lake on the Patkai is regarded as sacred by the hill tribes. The Mong-Yang or "Mongyang River" falls in from the west after a course of twelve or fourteen miles, mainly between two high and continuous ridges, each called Patkai and then passing through the lake flows out east into the Loglah or Lakhai which, in its turn, flows south and east to the Turong. Major C.R. Maegregor, who surveyed the passes over the Patkai range during 1884-5, mentions in his Military Report on the Khamti-Singpho countries.

28 See S.S. Poal's Note on the old Burmese route over Patkai via Mongyang in RASB, 1873-81 Selections - K.A.S., pp.69-82.
29 AB, P.59.
30 Poal's Note : Ibid, p.74.
1885, (pp. 34-5) of "an old inscription in the Ahom language, which is said to have been cut on a rock at this ford (the Nongyang river) in 1228 A.D. when the Ahoms, coming from Naikson, invaded Assam. The Ahoms are said to have brought elephants and ponies with them".

Whether the inscription, mentioned in this statement, refers to one during the reign of Hao-Deng-Hpa (1397-1407), or was a separate one of the time of Hao-Ke-Hpa, it is not clear.

From his encomium on the great lake he subdued the Naga villages called Khamikha, Pongkang, Tithang, Nanglao, Latema, Lamkang and Trello. The two villages, Lumlam and Luka were destroyed. He also conquered the Naga of Taputapu. The whole region between the Dolkham and the Patkai with the river Kham-Jang in the central area was made into a province called Kham-Jang (Kham-Yang) or rather Upper Kham-Jang over which Kang-Khu-Kong was appointed governor by Hao-Ke-Hpa.32

He then declared Kham-Jang as his territory of which the eastern limits formed the boundary between the Naga country and his realm. He also fixed annual tributes to be paid by the inhabitants in local produce. It may be particularly noted that there moved with Hao-Ke-Hpa a miniature secretariat manned by scholars, which was directed by him at this place to maintain a full written record of whatever is discussed at any time, whenever a death occurs to anybody, whomsoever

31 nang, water or river; Yang from Jang, sparkling or clear; nang, lake. Ahom ज becomes य in Hkamti or Shan.
32 AB, p. 45.
we happen to meet. It was nothing but the traditional method of systematically recording events and the Tai-Abom Chronicles are based on such records.

Having settled the administration of the area of Kham-Jang, Hao-Ka-Hpa resumed his march and arrived at Doi-Kao-Rang, where he made his next camp. Here he ordered his generals to conquer the Naga country of the high and low hills. The Nagas of the villages, Pepuk, Tengahe, Khunihat, Khunteng, Tongoing and Jakhong gave battle, but were defeated with heavy casualties and their villages were destroyed. Uncompromising hostiles were at times severely dealt with to serve as a deterrent. The inhabitants of other villages then voluntarily submitted.

Having thus subjugated the Patkai region and forced his way to the northern side of the Range by the Mong-Yang-Patkai Pass he moved towards the Nam-Buk (Nam-Buk) via Kham-Nang-Pu along the bank of the river Nam-Pong or Nam-Pong. The Nam-Buk, which is a river of six tributaries, falls into the Old Dihing (Buri Dihing, a Bodo name). The Old Dihing and the New Dihing (No-Dihing) are in the upper courses bifurcates from one river rising from the Dapha Run, north of the Khanti-Long valley. It flows over a certain distance and then divides itself two

33. HEB in DAB, p. 90.
34. Doi, mountain, Hao, nine, Reng, unite, meet i.e., collection of nine hills or where nine ranges converge. The name was given by Hao-Ka-Hpa and it is a Tai-Abom word. Peal, who travelled that area, says "At the site in question, but one range is crossed from water to water, whereas to the west at least 8 or 9 conspicuous ridges must be crossed ere the plains are reached beyond. The name 'Doikaurang' was bestowed by the first Abom Raja 'Chukhapha'." RASB, 1875-81, K.A.S., p. 75.
streams, the upper one being called Lo-Dihing which falls into the Brahmaputra and the lower and western one being called Buri Dihing which flows westwards and falls into the Brahmaputra below Dibrugarh.

At the confluence of the Nam-Pong and the Nam-Ruk rivers Hso-Ka-Ipa ordered his men to make a number of rafts, and when they were ready, he, with his whole party including his armed forces and the three hundred horses, got on them. Just before starting, he said prayers to the river for granting a safe voyage. They then rowed down and came to the river Dihing (Buri Dihing). From the confluence he rowed up the Dihing with his force and encamped in the area called Mong-La-Khen-Ten-Sha. According to the Deodhai Asam Burani, La-Khen and Ten-Sha or Tel-Sha were two villages. The inhabitants of this area appear to have voluntarily submitted to Hso-Ka-Ipa, who then placed Hsin-Tang as the Governor of that province. Thereafter he came downstream the Dihing (Nam-Tin of Hso-Ka-Ipa, because of the water being very cold) and arrived in Mong-Tipam through the present Tirap Frontier Division.

Though we do not know much about the position of Mong-Kham, which he had subdued, and the Hukaung valley, his whole series of conquests from the Doi-Kham hill to Mong-La-Khen-Ten-Sha, brought under his control enough territory, resource and population, to constitute a kingdom of

35 AB, P. 46.
those days. This part of the region between Burma and Assam is not known to have been conquered either by Ko-lo-feng or Sam-Long-Hpa. It therefore became a real domain of the Tai prince Hsc-Ka-Hpa originally acquired by dint of his arms. The descriptions in the Chronicles show that Hsc-Ka-Hpa’s fightings were not so much to eliminate hostile elements from his way as to conquer this hill country and place it under the administration of his own officers. Naga peoples of many areas also voluntarily submitted to him and accepted his rule as a matter of preference to purely tribal life. The new regime guaranteed to them not only greater security and peace, but also brought to them a culture and forms of political and economic organization far more advanced than hitherto known to them. Hence, after the initial opposition to the unknown adventurer, the hills peoples soon began to appraise the enduring benefits that Hsc-Ka-Hpa’s government could bestow upon them. Even to this day, the names of Hsc-Ka-Hpa and Hsc-Put-Hpa (Gadapeni) are lovingly uttered and treasured up in the traditions of the Hills peoples from the Naga Hills to Garo Hills.

Hsc-Ka-Hpa, with his army and followers, came by the riverway of the Dihing and entered the valley of the Brahmaputra in the region called Tipam, an area of low hills. The great Hsc general Sam-Long-Hpa already made himself master of the Tipam-Namrup area after conquering the Chutiya kingdom, of which it was a dependency. Hsc-Ka-Hpa had then a consultation with Sam-Long-Hpa and the result was that he succeeded the latter in this country, called by the Tai
Mong-Dun-Usun-Kham and by the Buddhists of Burma Wei-Sali-Long. In corroboration of more extensive conquests of Sam-Long-Hpa in the area of modern Assam including the North-east Frontier Agency there is mention in the Assamese sources that before the arrival of Hso-Ka-Hpa the Hara Raja collected tributes not only from the Chutiyas, but also from the Kacharis, Marans, Nagas, Birehis and Kemateswar and for the collection of such tributes three officers were sent—one for the Kamata and Birehi countries, one for the Chutiya and Hara countries and one for the countries of the Kacharis and the Nagas. The last officer, after collecting the tributes of his area, joined Hso-Ka-Hpa, who out of affection named him Rimun Rata. Rimun Rata's family is known as Hara Rata. The other two officers also soon joined Hso-Ka-Hpa and later became Garhbagya Hendiko.

Hso-Ka-Hpa made his headquarters in Mong-Tipara, the present Jaipur-Nam-Padat area of Eastern Assam, and his Tai people formed their first settlements in Assam in this locality on the Dihing bank. He held his court at this place aided by his two able ministers, Thao-Hong-Min-Man-Rai and Thao-Hong-Rang-Agan, who were the Bira Gobain.

36 Mong, country, Dun or Num, full, Asun, garden, Kham, gold or golden i.e. 'country full of golden gardens'. In another sense, Suvamabhami yielding rich golden harvests (golden-coloured rich paddy fields). Both these names and Weisali were applied to Eastern Assam. Burmese called the country Abha (th for a in Burmese) and early European geographers like Van Den Broeke Assam. Gait points out that in the Vamsavali of the Koch kings the word Assam referred to the Abha and not to the country. He rejects, and rightly, the sense of 'uneven' as distinguished from Samatata, for the term nowhere occurs prior to the Abha occupation.

and the Barphaini respectively and received the tributes collected under Sam-Long-Hpa (the Nara Raja). He lived there for three years but finding the country subject to inundation by the waters of the Dihing during the monsoons he shifted his headquarters to Abhoipur. Before leaving Tipam he appointed Kang-Ngen (or Kang-Ngen) as the Governor of that province. Abhoipur was superior in fertility but densely forested with a few scattered villages. He lived there for five years trying to develop the area so as to attract more population. As the plans failed to attract population he crossed over the Brahmaputra (Lohit) to the north bank and landed in the country called Habung. After three harvests he abandoned that country owing to damaging floods during the monsoons and crossed back to the south bank, this time entering the Dikhau river which flows into the Brahmaputra to the west of the Dihing. He advanced upstream to Dilibmukh during the flood season. At this place he tested the water of the Dilil River by dipping his hand into it and holding it in his palm and found that it was flowing from Tipam. As he had no doubt

39 Halaguri in some Assamese Buranjis, but both seem to refer to the same area nearer to the Brahmaputra.
40 Evidently an earlier Bodo name. The Tai-Ahom called it Nam-Shao (Nam, water, shao, clear, which means a river of clear water).
41 called Nam-Deo-Hpi (Nam, water, river, Deo, star, Hpi, god i.e. river of the Star-God) or simply Nam-Ti-Leo which means the river Lohit. Ti-Leo appears to be a Tai distortion of Lohit caused by the transposition of syllables after the Tai method of word construction.
42 River Dilil was named Nam-Khan by the Tai-Ahoms. (Nam, river or water, Khan, muddy i.e. a river of muddy waters). It flows from the northeast via Tipam-Namrup and falls into the Dikhau (Nam-Shao).
that the area around Dilkhmik was of a lower level than Tipam and hence subject to inundation, he went farther up the river Dikbau to a place called Mong-Run Mong-Ching which was a valley at a higher level. Here he took the weight of the water of another stream, called Silpani, flowing into the Dikbau and found that equal quantity of water of that stream weighed twice that of the Dikbau river. From this Hso-Ka-Hpa named the river Sang-Tek, which name later became applicable to the whole area.

There is a significant mention in the Deodhai Assam Buranji that king Hso-Ka-Hpa sent an envoy from Sang-Tek with valuable presents to Hso-Khan-Hpa's place to inform the latter that "we are at this place". Then Hso-Khan-Hpa in return sent his greetings with a number of presents. In this way, the two kings ruled in amity and friendship. This reference to Hso-Khan-Hpa in the Assamese Buranji undoubtedly means Hso-Ka-Hpa's brother Hso-Kham-Hpa or Noi-Haan-Hpa, the ruler of the Nara kingdom. Such communication between Assam and Burma was made possible by Hso-Ka-Hpa's conquest of the Hill country over which he firmly established his rule by appointing Governors.

Hso-Ka-Hpa spent two years at Mong-Run Mong-Ching and then, leaving Ta-Hun-Lak as governor of this province.

43 Mong, country, Run, valley, Mong, country, ching, high level, the highest layer, hence the country of the high valley.
44 Sang, two, Tek, a balance, meaning double the weight, or twice heavy. Place and river names were given by Hso-Ka-Hpa according to their significant characteristics. It was a Tai practice.
45 DAE, p. 8.
46 The presents, among others, were a silver water-vessel with a spout, pieces of Court dress and fine cotton.
he proceeded downstream the river Dikhaun and arrived at Simaluguri. There he halted and offered a feast to his nobles and followers by killing cows. Here he sent spies all around to make an idea of the place and found that "there were three thousand and three hundred chata\(^48\) in the Nemi-Deng\(^49\) river". This indicated a strong concentration of population in the neighbourhood and a source of potential danger to his nascent State. Hence he left Simaluguri soon for Hau-Man\(^50\) (present Dimau to the east of the town of Sibsagar), but, to his disappointment, he found that place, too, subject to inundation and the earth full of clay. Yet he somehow dwelt there for six years and then advanced via Timak to Leng-Te-Tha where he built a town and set up his head-quarters. As that place was also not free from inundation he finally decided to choose a high ground to establish his capital. He searched for such a place and found the present Chasaideo\(^51\) hill to the south-east of Simaluguri in the sub-division of Sibsagar more suitable than any other place so far. The Doodhal Asam Puranji says that in the year Mong-Keo King Hso-Ka-Rna built his first capital on a permanent basis on a small hill including the high foot-hill area adjacent to that of Lang-Ka-Ni Dec.\(^52\) He there propitiated the gods, sacrificing one horse in the north and another in

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48 Chat is a foot-way to the river from the bank used for carrying water, washing, bathing etc.
49 Nemi, Water, Deng, red or reddish i.e. A river of red-coloured water.
50 ito Dimau.
51 Tei Che-Tai-Poi Assamised into Chasaideo or Chasaikhorong and Sanskritized into Bhojagachh, Che city, Tei, last or dead, Doi, hill i.e. hill city of the dead, a part of the city being the burial ground of the kings and nobles.
52 God Leng-Zu-Ni is indentified with Siva.
the south, both being striped ones. According to some authorities, he also made an altar under a tree and worshipped the gods Cham-Le, Rang-Le and Rang-Bang by offering a vesselful of silver. From his sources of information Dr. John Peter Wade writes that the inhabitants of this country presented Hso-Ka-Hpa with nine thousand tolas of gold and one hundred pieces of cotton cloth or Teo. Hso-Ka-Hpa also erected a fort at Charideo. The Chronicles say that Chao-Lung Hso-Ka-Hpa constructed the capital city of Charideo in Hso-Ka-Kao and ruled his kingdom from there for sixteen years and died in Hso-Ka-Kao. Thus from Hso-Ka-Hpa, when Hso-Ka-Hpa first set his foot on Tipam in the Upper Assam valley and made himself master of it, to Hso-Ka-Hpa the total period of rule in Assam or Samar-pith, as that region was called in the Tantras, was thirty-six years and not any other number as wrongly mentioned in some Buranjis. On this computation Hso-Ka-Hpa died at the age of seventy-seven years or in A.D. 1264. On this point both Dr. Wade and Sir Edward Gait differ between them and both are wrong when original Tai Buranjis are referred to.

Local Ruling Races in Hso-Ka-Hpa’s Time:

Prior to the advent of Hso-Ka-Hpa the whole of Eastern Assam was under tribal rule. Almost all the tribes in

53 Horse sacrifice by the early Tai-Aboms is significant and comparable to similar sacrifices among certain early races including the Aryan rulers in India.
54 Mulberry tree according to Gait.
occupation of the various localities in the valley belonged to the Mongoloid Bodo race. A powerful section of this race, locally called Chutiyas, ruled the country east of the Sobansiri and Disang rivers, probably with a strip of territory up to the confluence of the Brahmaputra and the Dihin. The Chutiyas had their capital at Sadiya. In this connection it is important to refer to the Assamese Kachari Burenji which relates in a legendary fashion that one Manik of the Kachari tribe became the first king of the Sadiyal Kacharies and he owed his kingship to the talismanic power of a golden cat born of his wife from her union with an unknown Sannyasi. He was also told in a dream by that Sannyasi that the possession of that cat would bring him prosperity and raise him to kingship, and in due course the prophecy was fulfilled. Curiously enough, the Chutiyas have an identical tradition of a golden cat.

An account called Chutiyar Katha says that in A.D. 1189 there was a prince named Birpal of the family of Bhirmoka, an ancient king of the Chutika tribe, who ruled Sadiya, the country of the Korjokas. Some read Bhirmoka as Bhismaka. Birpal (or Birabar) became the Chief of sixty Chutia families in the neighbourhood of the Sonagiri Hill and assumed the name of Gayapal. His wife Napavati worshipped the god Kuvera for a son. Kuvera one day appeared in the form of Birpal and had an

56 The real tribal name of this section of the Bodo race was probably Biorda, whom the early Ahoms called Tiora or simply Ra. The term Biorda seems to have been later Hinduised into Deori with a different meaning, that is, Deo or Spirit worshippers or priests who constitute the non-Hindu section of the tribe. The rest of the tribe was converted to Hinduism as noted.
intercourse with her, Dirpal was told in a dream all about it by Rivers and was directed to go to a tree under which certain objects would be found. Accordingly he went and found under the tree a shield, a sword and a golden cat. In time a son was born to him and was named Gaurinarayan. He conquered all the Chutiyas in the neighbouring hills called Rangaligiri, Kalgiri, Dhavalgiri and Chandragiri with the help of these god-given weapons. He then became king over all assuming the title of Ratnasadhwajpal. This is actually a legend of Vidarba (Berar) according to which the Bhoja dynasty of that country succeeded Bhiramaka's line. This tradition was grafted on the Kachari-Chutiy dynasty of Sadiya by priestly ingenuity with a slight modification at the time of first initiation of the ruling family into Hinduism. From this Sadiya became Vidarba and the Chutiyas successors or descendants of Bhiramaka, the great king of ancient Vidarba.

It is also stated in the Kachari Buranji that the Sadiyal Kacharias established a kingdom in the easternmost part of Assam by subjugating the country from Sadiya in the east to Nikam-rudh in the west and from the Bihing (the modern Bihang) in the north to Kenduguri on the bank of the Bih river in the south. This is almost exactly the area over which the Chutiyas were ruling. Further the goddess called Kechalikhati, of which there is a temple at Campura near Sadiya, was worshipped with human sacrifices both by the Kacharias and the Chutiyas. All these go to show that the Sadiyal Kacharias and the Chutiyas, if not the same tribe, are cognates belonging
to the common Bodo race. Dr. B. S. Ghuha says that the Deori Chutiyas are a sub-tribe of the Kachari. He also points out that the Deori Chutiyas of Lakhimpur up to a comparatively late times offered human sacrifice at the Sadiya temple. It is only the Deori Chutiyas who still preserve their old racial culture and forms of worship. The rest of the Chutiyas are now merged with the general Hindu society except a minor section. If the Chutiyas descended later from the northern hills and pushed the earlier Kachari rulers to the west of the Dihang, then they must have seized the Golden Cat from the latter and preserved it until the conquest of their kingdom by the Ahoms. This part of the history requires further investigation for a definite conclusion.

To the west of the Dihang another very powerful section of the Bodos, called in the Kachari Buranj Hedambial, Kachari, was ruling with Dimapur on the bank of the Diansiri as the capital. The term Hedambial has reference to the first Kachari king of legendary origin who is said to have been a descendent of the son born of a union of the second Pandava Bhima and Hidimba Raksasi. The inference seems to be that this legend of the dynastic link with Hidimba of the Indian epic

57 The word Bodo (or Boro) seems to come from the Tibetan word Bod or pot meaning the land of snow, thereby meaning the country of Tibet. Thus the Bodos migrated originally from the Tibetan highlands into the plains of the great rivers of India. See Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia by C. Weisels, S.J. (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff), 1924, p. 99.
59 Ibid, p. 29; Endle, S: The Kacharis, pp. 93-94.
was a priestly invention necessitated by the Kachari King's acceptance of Hinduism. The kingdom of the Herambial Kacharis extended from the Dikhu on the east to the Kaliang, or beyond south of the Brahmaputra and included the valley of the Dhaanairi and the tract of country constituting the North Cachar subdivision. These Kacharis call themselves not Kachari but Dimasa, or more properly Dima-Tinsa, 'Sons of the great river', that is, the Dhaanairi. The Tai-Aboma called them Dimasa, a Tai phonetic variation of Bodo Dimasa corresponding to Tiore from Bodo-Chantiya Diores. The Bodo name of the river Dhaanairi is Dima which the Tai-Aboma called Dima-Tinsa (River Time).

The Dimasa king Bisanpatipha, said to be a son of the god Mahadev, was a contemporary of Hso-Ke-Hpa. His kingdom included Mahang in the east, but Hso-Ke-Hpa wrested that area by driving him into the hills.

In the neighbourhood of Charaidio were the Karan and Buragohain and Barak tribes. According to the Nambighur/Burangi their total population was about four thousand and their country lay to the south of Shairing and north of the Kacharis. The Karan or Latok Chief Rasaicha and the Baraki Chief Thakurth, whom

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60 Finley (Tribes and Castes of Bengal) refers to a Limbu legend which says that the early habitat of the Koch, Mech and Dhimal tribes was the Khichar country, a name given by the Nepalese to the foot-hill region between the Brahmaputra and the Kosi rivers. Khichar in Assam may have taken its name from Khichar from its first settlement by Khichar tribes, who had crossed over the Brahmaputra valley in the pre-historic period and later migrated to the present Kachar Hills quitting the Dhaanairi valley under the Ahom pressure. These peoples were known by the collective name Kachari in Assam, though some of their sub-tribes have different names.

62 To the east of Barhat and south of Jaipur.
Hso-Ka-Epa had subjugated through friendship, must have contributed their strength to the campaign against the Kacharis. It is said that the Narans and the Barahis first used the word Asem ("peerless") in referring to Hso-Ka-Epa's race, from which the Tai kingdom in the Brahmaputra valley got its name. Though it may be, a parallel development of the name of the country the real source seems to be the word Sam from Shan with the Bodo formation Asem (or Assam) meaning the country of the Sams. The local tribes presented Hso-Ka-Epa with local vegetables and certain edible roots to which the latter was not used. He therefore employed expert Barahi cooks (Cheng-mai) for the purpose and the Barahi Cheng-mai clan became famous from that time. Cooks for the Ahom nobles were also appointed from this clan.

To the west of the Shutiyas on the north bank were the independent or semi-independent petty chiefs called Bhuiyas with their respective domains. They used probably to form loose confederacies among themselves for their defence when threatened with invasions by powerful external enemies. To the extreme west was the kingdom of Kamrupa, or Kamata of the later period, with the Karatoya as its western boundary. The capital of the kingdom of Kamata is, according to The Cooch Behar State (p. 81) ‘represented by modern Gaonimari, lying on the banks of the Singimari, fourteen miles south of the town of Cooch Behar and only eight miles west of the railway station at Chaura Hat’. Eminent authorities of Indian history point out that

the Ahoms, a section of the great Shan tribe, had appeared as a new element in the history of the Brahmaputra valley in the north-east early in the thirteenth century just as the Huguls (Mongols) from the north-west appeared as a new element to the Indian population in the sixteenth, or three hundred years later.

2. Hao-Teu-Hpa (1264-81):

Chao Hao-Ka-Hpa left behind three sons, Hao-Khang-Hpa, Hao-Teu-Hpa and another, and of them Hao-Teu-Hpa succeeded to the throne. In his reign the Kacharis yielded to the Ahoms the remnants of their territories east of the Dikhaun. Being worsted in a war with the Burmese, the king of Mong-Kawng, called also Nara-dea by the Assamese, appealed to Chao Hao-Teu-Hpa for assistance, but the latter was offended by the Shan king by refusing to comply with a request for a princess. Hao-Teu-Hpa sent an expedition against the Nara's under the command of his Bura Gohain. But the Ahom army was defeated and the Bura Gohain lost his life. At this another force was despatched with the Bar Gohain in command, but the latter preferred an amicable settlement which was accordingly made. The Bar Gohain was imprisoned for showing his weakness, but later released.

66 Gait: op. cit., p.79. The king of Mong-Kawng mentioned appears to be Chao-Hmun-Law according to N.Elias's Table of Hugaul Tsahwaus.
The Haras:

It may be noted that Nara is not a Tai word, nor is it known in Burma. Ney Elias thought that the Haras were an aboriginal people with their early home in or about Khomti which was formerly a much bigger province divided into two districts called Al-Kham in the north and Al-Ton in the south, the present Sankring (Singkalin) Khomti being the western part of the old one. In short, the independent Nara State was roughly co-extensive with Long-Kaung (Mogaung State) of the Nao-Shans. There were undoubtedly scattered Tai settlements in the Nara country before its conquest by Sam-Long-Jpa, but with Shan supremacy the real Haras gradually lost their identity. Pemberton says "The Shan Chieftain of Mogaung is also called the Nara-Raja by the Singphos, and it appears that the term is also applied to the Shans". This is also what we find in the Assamese Biranjia. Francis Hamilton’s reference to the country of Nara also places that country on the east of the Miliya Nagas, Manipur and its dependencies. Further, according to the same writer who investigated the subject, the Nara country belonged to the brother of the first Tai king (Khuntai) of Assam and that "the language and customs of the people of Nara are the same with those which formerly prevailed among the proper Assamese", that is, the

68 Pemberton: op. cit., p.68.
Tai-Ahoms. He also found that between the two peoples there was still a friendly intercourse and many natives of Nara were always to be found at the King's Court at Jorhat. It may be noted that Francis Hamilton was appointed in 1807 by the authorities of the Honourable East India Company to report on Assam and at that time the capital of the kingdom was at Jorhat.

The community called Nara in Assam is called by the Tai Man Nam and the Man Nam are Tai. Another section of the Tai is called Nam Noi meaning hill-dwellers. The Naras in Assam are mostly Buddhists. There are a few non-Buddhist Nara villages also and they are merged with the Ahoms. The Tai Naras are a cultured people and their special study is astronomy. King Gaurinath Singha's Commission to Mogaung consisted of Nara astronomers and other learned persons. It is these astronomers who worked out the chronology of the Ahom history.

3. Hao-Bin-Hpa (1281-93) :

Chao Hao-Ten-Hpa died in A.D. 1281 leaving four sons. Hao-Bin-Hpa, the eldest amongst them, ascended the throne. He made no addition to the territory of his father's kingdom. He died in A.D. 1293.

4. Hao-Khang-Hpa (1293-1332) :

Chao Hao-Bin-Hpa had two sons of whom Hao-Khang-Hpa succeeded him in A.D. 1293. It appears that in the initial

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69 T. Hamilton: An Account of Assam (Ed. by Bhuyan, DHAS.) 1940, pp. 78-79.
70 Nam, village, Nam, water, river, river-side, hence river-side village dwellers.
stage the Abom monarchs and their ministers devoted more
attention to putting their small State on a firm foundation
than to war and expansion and, for that purpose, avoided major
conflicts with their powerful neighbours, such as the Chutiyas
and the Kocharias, and took into their fold men of merits and
calibre from among the local tribes. As the Tai were not strong
in Hong-Dum-Hasun-Kham, Hao-Ka-IPA's policy was to maintain
active intercourse with the Shan country of Upper Burma and
keep the road open for a flow of immigrants of his race from
that country. Thus Chao Hao-Khang-Hpa became ruler of a
State much stronger than in the beginning.

First Kamata War:

Chao Hao-Khang-Hpa's reign is noted for the first
probably after 1324
Kamata war which broke out and continued for a number of years.
Being exhausted the Raja of Kamata, whose name remains unmen-
tioned, sued for peace by offering his sister Rajani to the Abom
king in marriage. A treaty was made and the princess Rajani
(Tai-Abom Rajeni) was brought to Hao-Khang-Hpa's palace. Some
Assamese Buranjis say Kamateswar made peace by offering
two daughters, Rajani and Bhajani. Bhajani, the younger, had
no son, Rajani had a son named Chao-Pu-Lai. Actually princess

72 Ca. cit., p.12.
73 E.L. Barua's Table of Kamata Kings with approxi-
mate dates shows that Raja (1285-1305), Singhadhvaj (1300-1305),
Pratapadhvaj (1305-1325), Dharmnarayan (1325-1330), and
Durbar-kratvam (1330-1350) were contemporaries of Chao Hao-
Khang-Hpa. (See K.L. Barua's Early History of Kamata (Shillong),
1932, p.256. Of these Kamata Raja one who was at war with the
Aboms cannot be definitely known for want of the necessary dates.
Probably he was Dharmnarayana alias Dharmapala.
75 Mentioned as Tao-Hao-Lai in Assamese Buranjis.
Bhajani (Tai-iliom IToiigplirei-Jini) was sent by a later Kamata king and was married to Chao Hso-Dang-Ipa. Hence the mention of Bhajani with Rajani is a mistake. Moreover nothing was there in the record to suggest that two princesses had to be offered at the same time to the same king. It is clearly stated in the Deodrai Assam Duranji that Rajani was the daughter of Sekheng and Bhajani that of Manik. Sekheng was probably the father of Dharmapala and Manik brother of Dharmapala and Rajani. Though Manik's name is missing in the extant genealogical table he probably became a ruler of Kamata during Hso-Dang-Ipa's reign.

Cait refers to one Buranji which says that the Sawbwa of Mong-Kawng (Nageng) demanded tribute from Hso-Khram-Ipa on the ground of his being the lineal descendant of the king of Neo-Lung in whose reign Hso-Ka-Ipa had emigrated. The Abom king refused to comply with the demand, but soon afterwards the Sawbwa died and the demand was never renewed.

Chao Hso-Khram-Ipa died in A.D. 1332 leaving four sons Hso-Khram-Ipa, Hso-To-Ipa, Tao-Khram-Thi and Chao-Pu-Lai.

5. Hso-Khram-Ipa (1332-64):

Hso-Khram-Ipa, the eldest son, succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1332. He made his younger half-brother, Chao-Pu-Lai, Governor of Shairing, called by the Assamese Saring Raja. The area of Shairing on the west of the Dikhau must have, in the meantime, been added to the Abom kingdom by Chao Hso-Khram-Ipa, for which this new office of Governor was created for the first time.

76 Contemporary Sawbwas were Chau-Kun-law (1242-1306) and Chau-Pu-Reing (1303-44) of N.Elias's Table. The Sawbwa mentioned should be one of these.
77 In the Tai text 'Sin-mongShairing', not Chua-Ipa of Shairing.
time. But soon there were also the first signs of Court intrigues in the kingdom. Bargohain Ta-Phi-Khen and Chao-Pu-Lai entered into a conspiracy against the king. When the conspiracy was detected both fled to Kamata and persuaded Kamateswar, Durlabhmuran, to invade the Ahom kingdom. Kamateswar marched with them and encamped at Atbgaon. Then he advanced to Shairing where he made fortifications. When this news reached Chao Hao-Khram-Hpa, a messenger was sent to Hkun Kamta (Kamateswar) to ask the reason of his hostile advance to Shairing. Kamateswar and demanded that the two traitors, Ta-Phi-Khen and Chao-Pu-Lai, under his shelter be surrendered. Chao-Pu-Lai, being informed of King's order, said 'I shall neither fight with the king nor go home'. This was an expression of his fear of death penalty and of being drawn into the conspiracy by the Bargohain. Though the Buranji is silent about Kamateswar's reply, it is clear that the Ahom King got back the two offenders and Kamateswar retired without attacking. The king forgave Chao-Pu-Lai, but ordered Ta-Phi-Khen, the real culprit, to be executed. But Ta-Phi-Khen made his escape and concealed himself until later he, too, was excused. Chao Hao-Khram-Hpa ruled for thirty-two years and died in A.D. 1364, just a century after Hao-Ka-Hpa's death, probably without leaving a son.

6. Hao-To-Hpa (1369-1376): 

There was an interregnum for five years, the State being under the management of the ministers. The nobles then invited Hao-To-Hpa, younger brother of Hao-Khram-Hpa, who was
in the village Lahanjing and placed him on the throne. Chao Hso-To-Hpa made his residence at Chapagurinagar. Thao-Phrang-Dam Buragohain and Ta-Phi-Ken Baragohain aided him in the conduct of affairs of the kingdom. After a long period of silence there arose frequent disputes with the Chutiyas over border and other problems during his reign. But the Chutiya king came to terms with Hso-To-Hpa and became his friend with a design. For on a well-planned day in A.D. 1376 he took the Arora king into his royal barge professedly for a pleasure trip on the Sefrai river and treacherously murdered him in a helpless condition.

7. Tao-Kham-Thi (1390-1399)

After the death of Hso-To-Hpa the country was in interregnum for four years for want of a suitable successor. During this period the affairs of the State were conducted by the ministers. In A.D. 1380 the choice fell on Tao-Kham-Thi, the third son of Hso-Kheng-Hpa, who was then raised to the throne. He appointed Chao-Thai-Thum as Buragohain and Tya-Ten-Bin as Baragohain.

He was determined to punish the Chutiya King for the treacherous murder of his brother, Hso-To-Hpa. Thus soon after his accession he marched with a strong force against the Chutiya King placing the elder of his two wives in charge during his absence, but the Chutiya king fled into the hills and he returned victorious to the capital. In the meantime, the elder wife, being

78 In Tai Chao-Phrang-Mong.
79 In Tai Chao-Thao-Lung or Thao-Hong-Lung.
envious of the younger one, ordered her execution on a false charge, but the Bura Gohaln had pity on her as she was pregnant and managed secretly to set her adrift on the Dihing on a raft. At Habung down on the opposite bank of the Brahmaputra she was rescued by a Brahmin and given shelter in his house. In due course the lady gave birth to a son and after some time died. The young prince was affectionately brought up by the Brahmin with his own children. At the capital all the joys of victory vanished when the king learnt upon enquiry the misdeeds of the queen, particularly the tragedy of his beloved younger wife. But with all this the king was so much under the influence of the elder queen that he failed to prevent her from continuing to commit acts of oppression. The indignation of the nobles rose to such a pitch at the inaction of the king that he was dethroned in A.D. 1389 and assassinated not sparing the queen. 80

8. Hsa-Dang-Hpa (1396-1407):

Tao-Kham-Thi seems to have left no son by his elder queen. Hence after he was deposed the administration of the country was assumed by the Council of ministers and run for nine years. Chao-Pu-Lai's claim to the throne, however legitimate, was not considered probably because of his past records. Meanwhile one Tao-Hso-Khen, who had gone to Habung in connection with his cattle trade, happened to meet a young man, who, from appearance, seemed to be of royal origin. He learnt that

he was the son of Tao-Kham-Thi by the younger wife. Returning from Habung he reported the matter to the Dangarias (ministers) who, after discussion, brought the prince and placed him on the throne. He assumed the title of Hso-Dang-Hpa. He was then fifteen years of age. He was so much attached to the Brahmin family that he had brought with him the old Brahmin and the members of his family to the capital. An Assamese Buranji adds that he looked upon the sons of the Brahmin, who were seven, as his own brothers and therefore he gave them the status of princes and settled them at Dihing granting probably princely estates with elephants and horses. 81 Hence these sons of the Habung Brahmin including prince Hso-Dang-Hpa are referred to by the Assamese Hindus as 'Bamuni Konwar'. It is also believed that the Brahmin acted as the confidential adviser of the king. 82 With the Brahmin came also his Lakshmi-Narayan Salagram into the palace. 83 For the first time Brahminical religion and rites found an honoured place and patronage under this king.

Capital At Charagua (Dihing):

He transferred his capital to Charagua up the river Dhola and near the Dihing. He is the first monarch who is known to have built what is called Singari-Ghar or Coronation Hall with a high floor at Charagua and ascended it. It is beautifully constructed with planks made of a kind of timber locally called Singari from which it derives its name. Probably this hall was just what is called in Tai-Ahom 'Hang-ren', a house with a

82 Gait : op.cit., p.83.
83 T.P. : Ibid. n.15.
raised planked platform called in Assamese 'Pat-Ghar'. It is
decorated with the best materials. On the appointed day the King
with his chief queen, wearing the royal coronation robes, insignia and ornaments, ascends the Singari-Ghar with all the pomp
and grandeur and sits on the throne placed in it surrounded by
the officers and nobles of the Court, the royal priests called
Deodhais and Bailongs performing the installation ceremony. The
King and queen then give rewards to all according to rank and
precedence. It is the custom for the kings to issue royal coins
or moharas in their names only after completing the ceremony of
ascending the Singari-Ghar, although it is not always strictly
observed.

Nora War:

As there was no son and successor of Tao-Kham-Thi and
his younger wife was taken to have been executed by the order of
the elder queen, the Shairing Raja Chao-Pu-Lai (or Tao-Hso-Lai),
the youngest son of Chao Hso-Khang-Hpa naturally expected to
succeed to the throne after his brother Tao-Kham-Thi, but the
ministers did not trust him for his past actions and had therefore
to assume to themselves all functions of government. Being
deprived of his right to succession Chao-Pu-Lai left for Mong-
Kawng (Mogaung), the capital of the Nora kingdom and reported
to the Nora Raja or Mong-Kawng Sawbwa Chau-Hung-Hpas (1381-1411)
that there was no king of his (Nora King's) family in Mong-Dun-

84 Ney Elias's Chau-Hung-Hpa is actually Hso-Hung-Hpa
or Hso-Hun-Hpa in Shan, and Hso-Rum-Hpa in Tai-Abom in which 'R'
often stands for Shan 'H'. See also T.P. i, op. cit., p.15.
Hsun-Kham and that all powers had been usurped by the ministers. He probably requested help to win the throne for himself as the next legitimate heir to rule as a vassal of Mong-Kawng. The Mong-Kawng Sawbwa then sent an expedition under the command of Ta-Hsin-Pau to annex Assam. The Shan general encamped near Kuhiarbari at Tipam. By that time Hso-Dang-Hpa had already ascended the throne and ruled for nearly three years. When the news of the Mong-Kawng army's advance was reported to him, he marched on an elephant, named Pairin, against the enemy and his general Ta-Chan-Bing Bor-Gohain on a horse advanced with his army. A battle was fought at Kuhiarbari and the invaders were worsted and forced to retreat and came to terms. Chao-Hpa Hso-Dang was slightly wounded by an enemy spear. A treaty was then concluded in A.D. 1401 (Sak 1323) between the two generals by which the Fatkai was fixed as the boundary between the two countries, Mong-Dun-Hsun-Kham and Mong-Kawng. The treaty was solemnly adopted by both the generals dipping their hands into the waters of the hill stream called Nong-Yang and sacrificing fowls on the spot. They then departed as friends to their respective capitals after engraving their figures upon the rock which was to demarcate the boundary so fixed.

From that time onwards the hills called Doi-Kao-Rang by Chao-

85 H.S.B. : op.cit., p.17.
86 or appears to be same as Tao-Hsin-Pau. He is said to be the Bar-Gohain (minister) of the Sawbwa in Tamuli Phukan's Buranji.
87 Gait says that the Nong-Yang lake into which the stream of the same name falls in the neighbourhood is twenty-eight miles south-west of Margherita. (Gait: op.cit., p.83).
88 The expression is Fatkai-Shengken i.e. took oath by sacrificing fowls. See T.P. : op.cit., pp.16-17.
Eso-Ka-Jia became famous as Patkai or mountain of fowl sacrifice.

Revolt of the Tai-Tipam:

Soon after Hso-Dang-Hpa's formal accession at Charagua the Tai-Tipam community (Tipamiyas) rose in revolt. The cause of the revolt is not clear. L.W. Shakespeare in his History of Upper Assam etc. says that the change of capital from Charaideo to Charagwua brought about hostilities with the Tipam tribe, whose lands they (the Ahoms) now occupied. The aborigines of Tipam were probably Kachins. But when Hso-Ka-Hpa came a Tai settlement was also formed there and since then the local governors of Tipam had been from among the Tai princes or nobles.

The king captured many of the rebel leaders at a deliberately planned feast in which a white buffalo was killed and beheaded them. The revolt then subsided. The heads of the rebels were exhibited as a trophy by placing them on a large slab of stone in the form of a garland at Tipam. The Banpha (or Banphera) Nagas, who created trouble, were also suppressed after killing their leaders.

Chao Hso-Dang-Hpa had married Chao Rang-Hseng, the daughter of a Tipam Hkim-Tai named Tao-Blak-Hseng and made her queen. Earlier when she was at her parents' home she had, in all probability, illicit connection with the Chief of Tipam, Ta-Hso-Dai, and at the time of her marriage the latter presented her with two gold chains. 89

89 The Ancient Chronicles of Assam (K.H.S., Gauhati).
Later one day while Chao Hso-Dang-Hpa was dining with Ta-Hso-Lai, his queen Chao Nang-Hseng cast a glance at the latter. Shortly after this Chao Ta-Hso-Lai presented the queen with a ring set with precious stones through a Likchau (attendant). The king received a report of all these secret amours, but desisted from taking any immediate action. But apprehending danger Tao-Blak-Hseng escaped to Mong-Kawng. Soon Chao Ta-Hso-Lai and his associate Temera also fled to Mong-Kawng and sought the protection of the Sawbwa of that country.

Conflict with Kamata:

When the Nora expedition against Mong-Dun-Hsun-Kham ended with a treaty and friendship between the two countries the rebel chiefs Chao-Pu-Lai, the Tipam Chief and Tao-Blak-Hseng became helpless and fled to Kamata for assistance. Grand old queen Rajani, daughter of the former Kamata king and sister of the then reigning one, being aware of the intention of her son Chao-Pu-Lai and apprehending trouble from that kingdom, sent one Rupai Laskar to her brother, the king of Kamata, to convey to him her request not to quarrel with the Ahom king and destroy the good relations subsisting between the two countries since the time of her marriage. She also suggested in her message that the friendship should be further

90 A confusion is noticed in the Buranjis, both Assamese and Tai-Ahom, about the two chiefs Chao-Pu-Lai and Tao-Hso-Lai. Here the prince who fled to Kamata should, in all probability, be Chao-Pu-Lai, a relation of the Kamata Raja and not Tao-Hso-Lai who has apparently no relation with that Raja and who according to Lai-Tu Buranjii came from the Lao country.

91 This is the only name mentioned in AB, (p.49), who fled to Nora in consequence of the Tai-Tipam rebellion and probably joined Chao-Pu-Lai against the Ahom King.
consolidated for future good by offering another princess. But the Kamata Raja first refused to comply with her wise advice and to extradite the rebel princes as demanded by the Ahom king. The Ahom authorities took a serious view of this unexpected attitude of the Kamata rulers who were supposed to be friendly. An expedition was then prepared under the command of the Bar-Gohain, General Ta-chan-bing, for the invasion of Kamata. At this crucial moment Kamata was attacked by the Muslims from Bengal, then under Ghiyas-ud-din A'zam (1393-1410), the son of Sikandar Shah and correspondent of the celebrated poet Hafiz. In this situation the Raja of Kamata quickly submitted to Hao-Dang-Hpa and sought his assistance against the invading Muslims. He also wished to offer his daughter, princess Bhajani, to him to confirm their former friendship. Hao-Dang-Hpa then despatched a force under the command of General Ta-Chan-Bing to the aid of Kamata with instructions to bring the princess if offered. The allied forces then fought and drove off the Muslims across the Karatoya, the western boundary of the Kamata kingdom. The Raja then gratefully offered his daughter Bhajani in marriage to the Ahom monarch with a dowry consisting of elephants, horses, gold and silver and a number of attendants.

92 DAB, pp. 11-12.
93 Appears to be Manik, Rajani's brother from the contents of Rajani's message to the Kamata Raja whom she addressed as brother. Bhajani was king Manik's daughter.
94 According to Barua's translated Ahom Burenji the expedition was already sent and Gait takes it as such, but the statement appears to suffer from a lacuna and hence defective. Debodh Birom Burenji fills a part of the lacuna and suggests that a proposal for peace and alliance had already come from the Kamata Raja before the march of the expedition.
and servants both male and female. 97

Question of The Eastern Dependencies:

It may be recalled that Hso-Ka-Hpa, during his march from Upper Burma to Assam, conquered the region from Kham-Jang to Tipam, both inclusive along the route and appointed governors to manage and control the different parts of it and to collect annual tributes from the local inhabitants. This arrangement continued, with occasional interruptions, for over one hundred and seventy years. But during Hso-Dang-Hpa's reign the Tai-Tipam (Tipamiyas), whose Chief was a brother or a cousin of the Mong-Kawng Sawbwa, revolted and, it is presumed, at their instigation the inhabitants of Mong-Kham-Jang, Mong-Ai-Ion and Mong-Tipam stopped payment of tributes for eight years, neither did they transfer their allegiance to Mong-Kawng. Thus they virtually asserted their independence. Hso-Dang-Hpa, lest there be a misunderstanding on the part of the friendly Mong-Kawng Sawbwa Hso-Run-Hpa, sent his envoy Tapangmau to him with a letter stating the attitude of the above subject peoples and reiterating his claim over those territories. 'I wish, therefore,' he wrote, 'to destroy these countries which are in a rebellious spirit.' 98 Being so informed Hso-Run-Hpa 99 sent Chao-Luban to the Tipam Chief, whom he addressed as brother, with instructions to pay tributes to the 'King of Mong-Dun-

97 AB, p. 51.
98 AB, p. 51. Gait thinks these peoples received encouragement from the Sora Raja in their refusal to pay tributes, but there is no proof of it.
Eoun-Khsm'. To the Ahom king he sent with Tapangmau a number of presents with a reply containing his instructions to the Tipam Chief, a step probably sufficient to make all others pay tributes as before. But unfortunately Chao Hao-Dang-Hpa died in A.D. 1407 before the arrival of his envoy from Mong-Kamg.


Chao Hao-Dang-Hpa had three sons of whom Hao-Jang became king in A.D. 1407. He appointed Khenpong and Nang-Hao-Kham Bura-Gohain and Bar-Gohain respectively. Nothing more is known about his reign from the available records. He died in A.D. 1422 leaving behind four sons.

10. Hao-Phak-Hpa (1422-1439)

One of his sons Hao-Phak-Hpa succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1422 and ruled for seventeen years. He married the daughter of a great man of Tipam named Chao Nang-Jey-Kang. She was the mother of Hao-Hsen who succeeded Chao Hao-Phak-Hpa when the latter died in A.D. 1439. During his reign Khenpong continued to be the Bura-Gohain, but the Bar-Gohain appointed was Long-Nim. The king left behind two sons.

11. Hao-Hsen-Hpa (1439-1488)

Hao-Hsen-Hpa ascended the throne in A.D. 1439. The ministers of his father, Khen-Pong and Long-Nim, continued to hold their respective offices. In his reign the Naga of the Tongsun (or Tengsa) village in the Central Naga Hills committed raids. The king himself marched against them with a

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100 Presents mentioned were 'a white horse, a Tangkak.'
The Nagas then made a plan to overpower the king's men by a show of surrender to be followed by a sudden attack. Accordingly they had hidden their weapons in the forest close to the king's camp and sent some of them to the king. The group that approached the king made a pretence of submission to his Majesty by surrendering three Nakoi das and promised to remain loyal by the customary way of dipping their hands into water. But while the king was so engaged, the main body of the Nagas took up their hidden weapons and made a sudden attack upon the king's men for which the latter were not prepared and killed as many as one hundred and forty of them including the Banrukia Gohain and Parbatia Hazarika. Yet it did not take long for the king and his son by a vigorous counter-attack to defeat the Nagas, occupy their village and compel them to submit.

In A.D. 1480 Hso-Hsen-Hpa rebuilt the Nagasankara Temple on the north bank of the Brahmaputra. It was erected in the last quarter of the fourth century A.D. by a king named Nagasankara, who is said to have come from the valley of the Karatoya river and established his capital at Prataggara near Biswanath in the Darrang District in Assam. The first king of the Chutiyas in Sadiya, whose descendants consolidated the

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101 AB, p.52.
102 A kind of weapon or dah to cut with used by the Nagas.
103 DAB, p.13 ; AB, p.52.
104 AB, p.52. Galt refers to another account which says that the king fled, but the Banrukia Gohain took command and defeated the Nagas. But the account is not specifically mentioned.
105 H.S.1B : op.cit., p.21.
Chutiya power, is thought to be an officer of the Court of Pratapgarh, who, on the downfall of the Pratapgarh line, founded to the east a kingdom of his own. Further the assumption of the title 'Pala' by the Chutiya kings coupled with the Chutiya traditions about the founder of the dynasty of kings of the Chutiyas suggests some sort of a link with the western Palas. This was probably a later development of the Chutiya rule. But there is little doubt that the Chutiyas came under the western Hindu influence at an early date as shown by the Hinduised legends about the origins of the ruling dynasties of their country. Hao-Hsen-Hpa died in the summer of A.D. 1488 after a long and comparatively peaceful reign of forty-nine years.

12. Hao-Han-Hpa (1488-1493):

On the death of Hao-Hsen-Hpa his son Hao-Han-Hpa succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1488. Chao-Kang-Ban-Ruk was appointed Bar-Gohain and Khenpong continued in the office of Bura-Gohain. The king constructed a fort at Tangshu and stationed a garrison there under an officer named Khu-Nang-Hseng to control the Nagas of that area.

War With The Dimasa Kacharis:

In A.D. 1490 the Dimasa (Timisa) Kacharis attacked the Ahom territory. Chao Hao-Han-Hpa despatched a force under the command of General Kham-Peng who proceeded mounting the famous war elephant Pairen. Khu-Nang-Hseng was appointed war
They crossed the Dikhau river and waited for the enemy beyond Tangshu. The Kacharis suddenly appeared and attacked the king's army and overwhelmed it killing one hundred and twenty soldiers. Kham-Peng made a hasty retreat but Tangshu Neog was overtaken and killed. The army fell back to Tangshu. The king made peace with the Kacharis by offering a girl, named Jekhring, to the Kaohari Raja. Without further pressure the Kacharis then returned home. According to another account there was no victory for any side. Both sides then preferred coming to terms and the king made friendship with the Kacharis by offering a girl to their Raja.

The Tangshu Nagas again raided the Ahom territory and Bar-Gohain Chao Kang-Ban-Ruk was sent with a force to subjugate them. The Bar-Gohain was killed in the fight and his head was cut off and carried away by the Nagas. Chao Nang-Rang was then appointed Bar-Gohain and put in command of the expedition sent against the Nagas. Nang-Rang defeated the Nagas killing many of them and occupied their village. He then brought to the capital three Nagas, Tangshu, Nephera and Maupiya with their families as hostages.

One Tairuban of a Hkun-Tai family, a petty officer in charge of the royal paddy-field, was charged for theft of paddy belonging to the king. He was arrested and fined one

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107 Tai Neu shek (neu, finger, shek, war).
108 Langji in DAB probably from Nang-Jekhring in AB.
109 T.P. op. cit., p.18.
110 H.S.B. op. cit., p.21.
hundred silver coins. Later the same person was allowed to enter the palace with the permission of the Bura-Gobain Khenpong to do some clearing work in the upper chamber (meang) occupied by the king. This revengeful man suddenly attacked the king at an unguarded moment and pierced him to death with a spear which he had brought concealed inside a bamboo piece and escaped. Hso-Han-Hpa ruled only for five years.

13. Hso-Pem-Hpa (1493-1497)

Hso-Han-Hpa's son Hso-Pem-Hpa then succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1493. His first act was to capture Tairuban, the murderer of his father and execute him. The family members and other relations of Tairuban were then ejected from the neighbourhood of the capital and settled at Daria. The king also charged the Bura-Gobain Khenpong with complicity and dismissed him from office. General Chao Phun-Long-Kham-peng was appointed Bura-Gobain in his place.

A youthful Naga Chief (Hkunba) of handsome appearance came to pay usual homage to Chao Hso-Pem-Hpa. One of the Chamua queens, who saw him from inside, appreciated his handsome figure before the king when the latter went into the apartment. This offended the king who thought himself less

111 In Assamese Buranjis Tairuban is variously called Tai-Turungban, Len-Turban Ahom etc. The amount fined is also different in different Buranjis, such as 'one seer of silver', 'one hundred rupees', 'four rupees' etc.
113 Hkun, prince, bao, youngman.
114 Chamua queens were married from the ranks of a class called Chamua which is below the ranks of the nobles and above those of the labour class. Such a queen could not become a chief queen.
handsome in her eye. She was then pregnant. But yet the king presented this queen to the Naga Chief who could not reject. In due course a child was born in the house of the Naga Chief in his hill village.\(^{115}\) Chao Hso-Pem-Hpa died in the year A.D. 1497.

14. Hso-Hum-Mong (1497-1539): On the death of Chao Hso-Pem-Hpa his son Hso-Hum-Mong or Hso-Hum-Hpa succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1497 by ascending the Singari Ghar in the capital city of Charagua on the bank of the Dihing. As he was the king from the Dihingia royal House (Phoid) he was also called Dihingia Raja by the local people. He erected an embankment along the Dihing for the protection of the capital and the areas on that side from the annual floods. By the time of Hso-Hum-Mong's accession Brahminical influence considerably increased in the Ahom Court and the country and the Brahminical title of Svarga Narayan, a variant of Svarga Dev, was conferred on the king and, as Gait points out, this new designation was henceforth used by the Ahom Kings in their official documents. Hso-Hum-Mong was also the first Ahom king to use Saka era in the official calendar. According to a Hindu version Sri Sri Svaraganarayanadevar Janmakatha the first Svaraganarayana, said to be the ancestor of the Ahom kings, was of the Mleccha origin being born in A.D. 1119 (sak 1041) of a clandestine union of the

\(^{115}\) T.P.: op.cit., p.21.
god Indra in his Mleecha life under the curse of Vasistha with the heavenly damsel Syama as wife of the Sara Raja Chengtam. This is how the Ahom kings are said to be descended from Indra, a version foreign to the Tai-Ahom Chroniclers and obviously absurd in the form in which it is presented, it being the first step towards conversion of the race to the new faith.

Hso-Hum-Mong settled the princes, descended from the former kings, with estates or demesnes according to clans in the districts of Dihing, Shairing (Saring), Tipam, Tungkhung and Namrup. From this arrangement there arose five Royal Houses called Dihingia, Saringia, Tipamiya, Tungkhungia and Namrupia 116 and the successors to the throne were chosen according to talents and capacity from among these Houses. Each of these districts was made into a subordinate principality under a governor called Raja who was invariably a prince of the ruling family where such princes were there. Thus Hso-Hum-Mong appointed his eldest son Hso-Klen-Mbng as Raja of Tipam, second son Hso-Leng (called also Deo-Raja) as Raja of Shairing and the third son Hso-Teng as Raja of Namrup. The fourth son Hso-Khring remained without any estate. 117

The king had in his reign Phum-Long-Kham-pens, Thao-Mong-Chang-Rai and Thao-Mong-Nang-Dhu-Pu-Ra as Bura-Gohains successively and Phra-Shen-Mong, his uncle Ka-Li-Kham and his son Ton-Kham as Bar-Gohains. Phra-Shen-Mong was made Rajmantri.

116 H.S.B. op.cit.; DAB, p.15.
117 DAB, p.15.
The three Ministers were of equal status. As described in the Rajmantri simply goes Tarsul Phukan's Baranji first among the Ministers and has under his one thousand men called Jakaisukias. Except for this there is no difference in position with his other two colleagues. Hso-Hum-Mong also created an office of a third Minister called Barpatra-Gohain for Kan-Seng, a name given by the king to the son of Hso-Fum-Hpa, who, on his mother being presented to the Naga Hkunbao, was born in the latter's house in the Gabharu Hill and whose identity was now revealed to the king. According to another version Kan-Seng was the son of Seng-Kan, the latter being the son of the Hkunbao of the Banpha Nages named Karengpa by the queen who had been presented by Hso-Hum-Mong of whom the Naga was a fast friend. It may be noted that the Bar-Gohain, Bura-Gohain and Barpatra-Gohain are equal in status. To the Barpatra-Gohain were allotted the Barahis, Chutiyas and M&rans as subjects.

Rusain Shah's Invasion:

At this time Ala-ud-din Rusain Shah, an Arab ruler of Bengal from A.D. 1493 to 1518, who reconquered Magadha and brought under his sway territories touching the frontiers of Orissa, turned his arms to the east and conquered Kamata-Kamarupa in A.D. 1498 killing in the war its king Harup Narayan (or Rup Narayan). He then invaded the Ahom kingdom with initial success. The reference to this Muslim invasion in "Buchanan Manuscripts" says that the Ahom king (Hso-Hum-Mong)
eventually 'destroyed the whole invading army, who were all either killed or made prisoners'. But there is no reference in the extant Ahom history to any such war of the Ahoms with Husain Shah in A.D. 1498. The only earliest war of importance with the Muslims of Bengal was that of A.D. 1532-34 when Turbak Khan invaded the Ahom territory.

Revolt of The Itons and The Kham-Yangs:

The Itons and the Kham-Yangs, tributary to the Ahoms since the time of Hso-Ka-Hpa, once again rebelled in A.D. 1504 and the king sent an expedition against them under the command of Nang-Raang Bar-Gohain and Kham-Peng Bura-Gohain. The rebels submitted after a fight and made peace by offering a girl and four elephants and agreed to pay annual homage to the king with offer of large gongs, amber and Mara deha. It appears the Cohains were in the Iton-Kham-Yang country for six years setting up the administration for control and collection of tributes, for they returned to the capital only in the year 1510.

Panbari Expedition:

In A.D. 1512 king Hso-Hum-Hpa had to lead an expedition into the Habung country probably to put down a revolt of the Niyans or petty feudal chiefs in the western district called Panbari. He returned after restoring order. Though

118 AP, p. 54; ACA, p. 51; Wemo: op. cit., p. 22.
The extent records are not very clear about the expansion of the Ahom territories on the north bank of the Brahmaputra up to this time, yet they indicate by referring to Hso-Ka-Hpa's occupation of the eastern part of the Habung country and Hso-Hsen-Hpa's construction of the temple of Nagasankara that large areas there had already come under the control of the Ahoms.

Conquest of the Chutiya Country:

The first clash with the Chutiyas in the reign of Hso-Hum-Hong arose from a boundary dispute. The boundary between the Ahom and Chutiya territories was fixed along the midstream of the Dihing. One day a beraji fish was coming adrift along the midstream and the Ahoms, who saw it, chased it with a boat and caught it. The Chutiyas rushed at the Ahoms to seize the fish from their hands alleging that it had been illegally caught by them from the part of the river within the Chutiya territory. There was a scuffle on the boat for the fish in which the Chutiyas were overpowered and two of their men with the fish were taken away by the Ahoms. 119

The incident was reported to the Chutiya king Dhirmesrayen and the latter determined to attack the Ahoms. He proceeded with a force and arrived at Dikhaumukh in A.D. 1513. When Hso-Hum-Hpa received this report he despatched a naval force against him with Hso-Khiring, Hso-Cheng and two Railung Gohains in command of its different units. A land

119 AB. - 'SMJC!' pp.9-10.
force was also ordered by the king to advance to the attack and the king himself moved in person and conducted the operations from a strong base. A pitched battle was fought near a lake called Mong-Kang-Mong in which a large number of the enemies fell and the rest took to flight. 120. The king then returned victorious to the capital.

In A.D. 1520 the Chutiyas made a second invasion of the Ahom kingdom. 121 The Chutiya king Dhirmarayan (Dhitnaran of the Tai-Ahom text) this time carefully cut his way through the wilds and arrived at Cheruakata from where he, with his minister Kaohitara, advanced to Dikhamukh and attacked the Ahoms and plundered the local people. The Ahom forces then launched a counter-attack on the Chutiyas both from land and water and the latter had to withdraw to Dihingmukh. Dhirmarayan attempted to take the Ahom fort at Dihingmukh which was in charge of General Khen-Mong. Instead of fighting from inside the strong defences of the fort Khen-Mong rushed out of it with some of his men and charged the Chutiyas, but was killed in the action. 122 Khen-Mong's men were then compelled to retreat and the news was communicated by the Bar-Gohain to the king who was at Mangramong. 123 The Chutiyas

120 DAB, p.15; AEA, p. 54.
121 Ibid.
122 AOA, p. 51. In it Khon-Mong is mentioned as Ec-Mong.
123 AEA, p. 54.
made a war base at Sessamukh. The Ahom king collected a large army and sent generals Phra-Shen-Mbng Bar-Gohain and Chao Kling-long with an army up the Brahmaputra to Dibrumukh where they were asked to build a fort. This was a manoeuvre to encircle Dhirnarayen. The king himself marched to Dihingmukh with a strong force. Dhirnarayen retreated before the Ahom force and reached the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Dibru river. He encamped at Rupa and sent a detachment to lay siege to the Ahom fort at Dibrumukh. After five days' fighting to capture the fort the Chutiyaas suffered defeat and fled to Sadiya. The Chutiyas lost 5000 men of whom 1000 were captured and slaughtered by the Ahoms.

Meantime Chaopha Hso-Hum had come to the big town and offered sacrifices to the gods. Thereafter he collected a large army and marched to Sessamukh. The Chutiya Raja was pursued to Sadiya by the reputed Ahom generals Bar-Gohain, Phra-Shen-Mbng, Chao-Handhiko Ken-Seng and Kling-Long Rajmantri, (probably Phun-Iong Bura-Gohain), Chutiya Raja tried to take his stand at Larupara, but the Ahom king by a rapid march throughout the night appeared at Larupara next morning. The Chutiya Raja retreated to Kang-Kham, but Hso-Hum-Hpa pursued him with his army and navy. The Chutiya Raja found himself in an irretrievable

124 Ab, p.59.  
125 Ab, ibid. According to some Buranjis the Chutiyas encamped at Ladpara.  
126 Ab, - BHJC : p.10.  
127 meaning 'heavenly king' literally. The Brahminical version derived from it is Svarga-dey or Svarga-narayan. In the Assamese Buranjis the Ahom king is always referred to as Svarga-deo.  
128 said to be Charaideo, though the word is 'town' and not Charaideo in the text.
position and opened negotiations for peace and sent valuable presents to the Ahom king and the Ahom generals. He agreed to remain as tributary to the Ahoms promising to pay in future annual tributes in return for the protection given. The envoy, who had been sent by the Chutiya Raja with this peace proposal and presents, was sent back by Hso-Hum-Mong to inform the Raja that if peace was wanted he should hand over in addition the golden cat, the golden parasol, the golden sceptre, the golden couch and a princess. The above insignia of sovereignty and a princess were asked for probably to test the genuineness of the peace proposal. When the envoy intimated the demand to the Chutiya king, the latter adopted a delaying tactics by sending fresh presents with a princess other than the precious ancestral articles and praying for peace, but at the same time raising a fort at the mouth of the river and concentrating troops there obviously for war. Another account indicates that these fortifications were raised around the capital city of Sadiya at the mouth of the great river called Lohit. With the princess was sent a knife concealed inside the fold of a mat, which was taken as a further proof of the Chutiya king's signal for war. Hso-Hum-Mong then had a consultation with his generals and ministers. They could all see through the plan of the Chutiyas and decided immediately to attack them without further negotiation. Hso-Hum-Mong, directing his

129 DAE, p.16.
130 J7. - "SMJC": p.11.
navy to attack the enemy, himself advanced on a black horse with his army and stormed the above fortifications of the enemies and captured the city in A.D. 1522 in the month of Pausa (Dec.-Jan.). After a day's stay here the Ahom force made a hot pursuit of the fleeing Chutiya Raja as far as the Kaitara Hill but could not overtake him. The Raja with two hundred men next climbed the hill Chandan-giri (Chantam of the Tai) in the interior. Leaving General Man-Seng in charge of Sadiya General Ton-Kham, son of Phra-Shen-Mong Bar-Gohain, pursued the Raja with a strong force and attacked him in his hill refuge. His force began to climb up Chandan-giri but the Chutiyas rolled down big blocks of stones and also pelted showers of stones from the hill tops. The Ahoms were forced to retreat with a loss of hundred men in the struggle to climb up the hill. The Ahom Generals then held a council and decided on a three-pronged attack. General Wang-Hsung and General Kling-Kham moved to attack from the front, General Shente from the left flank and General Ban-Long from the right flank. One officer named Chao-Hseng-Rupak (Saikia) proceeded on an elephant called Aikhring to the left and reached an unguarded side of the hill. He there climbed up a Chile creeper (Antidesma scandens) followed by thirty of his men and reached the top of

131 The strategy of this attack is described differently in different accounts, but the one given in DAE appears to be more reliable as it is corroborated in part by others.
the hill and after close observation sighted the Chutiya king and about forty people at a place called Barduar. He with his small force advanced to the attack, but was soon repulsed by the Chutiya archers who came out in larger numbers and fought fiercely killing most of his men. Jang-Mong-Khang Hatibarua, who had witnessed the defeat of the Ahoms, expeditiously climbed up the hill with two thousand men and delivered a powerful assault on the Chutiyas who had, as a result, to flee in disorder. Jang-Mong-Khang captured the Chutiya Raja in his flight by giving him a mortal thrust with his spear. The Raja's son was also killed by the same hand. He then brought their heads and placed them before his Generals. Soon after, the head of the queen was also brought in by one Ai-Khang-Ikun. Other members of the royal family were searched out on the hill and brought to the Ahom camp.

According to short Chronicles entitled Chutiyar Katha the Raja Dhinarayan alias Khunta Raja, unable to find a suitable groom for his beautiful daughter, Sadhani alias Dekhani, promised to give her away in marriage to any body, high or low-born, who would be the first to hit with an arrow a target, a squirrel, on a tree in front of his Court next morning. A Chutiya young man, who used to supply wood fuel and

132 DAB, p.17 ; AB, p.56 ; ASA, p.54.
133 According to AIB it was Chao-Hseng who killed the Chutiya Raja with his spear. Jang-Mong-Hatibarua brought the heads of the Raja's queen and son. DAB, p.116. But the mention of Ai-Khang-Ikun makes it unlikely.
happened to pass that way, was asked to try his luck when others failed. He with some hesitation came forward and hit the animal with a single arrow and in fulfilment of his promise the Raja arranged for the marriage of his daughter with him. But Sadhini complained 'why should I get myself married to a man of humble origin?' She agreed to the marriage, though reluctantly, only after extracting a promise from the father to give her whatever she might ask for in future. The marriage was performed only after making the groom undergo prayacitta, a purificatory ceremony. All these indicate that in the eye of the ruling dynasty the Chutiyas were of low origin. Was the ruling dynasty of a superior caste different from the Chutiyas? Mere poverty of the groom could not certainly be the ground for prayacitta. The account as narrated provokes genuine curiosity calling for deeper probing into the background of the ruling house.

Shortly afterwards Sadhini demanded the Golden Cat of her father who was upset by it, yet as promise-bound he took out the Cat from the prayer house and gave it to her with a curse for such a demand. Being deprived of the Cat Raja Dhirmarayan relinquished the throne for the son-in-law and went into the forest with his chief queen never to return. The son-in-law then became Raja assuming the title of Nitya Pal. It was during his oppressive and lawless rule that Hso-Hum-Mong invaded the Chutiya kingdom driving Nitya Pal or Anitya Pal, as called by the subjects for his misrule, to Chandra-giri
where the latter being hard pressed by the Ahoms escaped capture by jumping with Sadhani from the hill-top into a stream down below which resulted in their death. Whatever might be the true facts the last resistance of the Chutiyas completely collapsed at Chandan-giri and the Chutiya kingdom of Sadiya became after that an Ahom province. Among the spoils collected from the royal stores and other places were the Golden Sceptre, the Golden Couch, the Golden Cat, the Golden Parasol, the royal palanquins, and a large quantity of firearms. All these were brought to Chao Hao-Hum-Mong who was in at Sadiya, the chief town, making it his war-time camp. With the king's orders the spoils were loaded in boats and sent down to the capital. There were also large acquisitions of elephants, horses, cattle and artisans such as bell-metal workers and gold-smiths. There lived in the Chutiya kingdom many Brahmins, Kayasthas, Kalitas and Genaks who, too, were transferred to the Ahom capital. The remaining members of the Chutiya royal family and all nobles connected with it were settled at Pakariguri.

After the war was over Phra-Shen-Mong Dar-Gohain was appointed the first Ahom Governor of the Province of Sadiya (Sadiya Khowa Gohain or Chao Bongen). The Chutiya monarchy was never restored. Phra-Shen-Mong was given by the king an armed force of three thousand men and three elephants for controlling that north-eastern frontier province. Having settled the

134 DAR, p.18 ; AB - 'SMJC': p.11 ; BBR, op.cit., pp.116-117.
135 DAR, p.10.
affairs of Sadiya the king with all his men returned to the capital. The heads of the Chutiya King and his son and wife were buried at Charaiideo in the usual way. The victory was then celebrated in the Ahom capital by the king by performing the usual Rik-Khan ceremony.

Phu-Kloi-Mong attacks Sadiya:

Phu-Kloi-Mong, a Mara chieftain, with a band of armed men, made an inroad into the Sadiya territory. The invader entered into the Bar-Deoliya village and attacked and plundered the inhabitants killing three men of the temple (Deo-Ghar) and also took away an elephant named Plailum. Phra-Shen-Mong, the Governor, unable to deal effectively with the enemies with his small force, immediately reported the matter to the Svargadev and the latter despatched General Shenba, Chao-Hao-Long-Kung-Rin and General Kan-Seng with one thousand men to reinforce the frontier garrison. The Svargadev himself marched after them with another force and joined them at Rurum.

136 About the disposal of the heads the Buranjis give conflicting versions. In AB the text says 'they all returned and came to the hill with the Heads of the Chutiyas' ('teng mong pak ma lema doi ru tiura') and nothing more. The author's translation here is apparently wrong. DAB says that the king's head was hung up on a string in the hill, Kashinath Tamuli Phukan's version is that the two heads - one of the king and the other of the minister - were buried under the steps of the two temples at Charaiideo so that the Ahom king might walk over them while entering the temples, which Gait accepts. Wade says in his account that the king directed the heads of the Rajah and his son to be exposed on lofty poles on the spot. ACS and SELIC relate that the heads were buried near the Deo-Ghar raising two mounds or tumuli on them, a version more in accord with royal customs.

137 Rik, call, Khan, life. An Ahom ceremony invoking long life or well-being for all in the kingdom. It is officiated by Ahom priests.

138 DAE, p.19.
Phu-Kloi-Mong mounting an elephant proceeded to attack the Ahom forces and was confronted by Thao-Mong-Kham-Jaig and Teng-Kham Baodurai Saikia. In the combat that took place one Lake-Shung wounded Phu-Kloi-Mong in the thigh with his spear. The latter was next found on a horse, but soon the horse was speared to death by three men of the Ahom army. Phu-Kloi-Mong then gave up the battle and sent an envoy to the Svargadev suing for peace offering his sister Nang-Kham-Deng and two best horses. The Svargadev accepted the peace proposal and the Nara chief sent princess Nang-Kham-Deng and the horses with two envoys Phu-Shen-Sheu and Phun-Mong in A.D. 1525. Chao-Hpa Hso-Hum-Mong reciprocated the friendship by sending him a girl named Nang-Kham-Pai, a tusked elephant and twenty Janis (hats) with silver tips. The Nara chief, mentioned here, was not the Sawbwa of Mogaung, but some neighbouring chief, probably a Tai-Khamti Chief from Khamti Long. Mogaung Sawbwa was at that time Sem-Lung-paw-meing (1520-26). Neither was he the Kachari King as wrongly said in AE, (p.58).

Hso-Hum-Mong then returned to the capital from Rurum, in A.D. 1526 the king made a number of new appointments. He gave to Klang-Hseng of the Dhanudharia family the designation of Bhatialia Gohain and appointed him governor of the district of Habung on the north bank. His place was filled by appointing Hseng-Pem as Dhanudharia Gohain. Next Kheo-Khen Benlungia Gohain

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139 AE, p.58; DAB, pp.15-19.
A brief account of the expansion of the early Kachari kingdom, which at the zenith of its power comprised a greater part of the district of Sibsagar, the northern part of the United District of Mikir and North Cachar Hills and the eastern part of the Nowgong district in the present map of Assam, is contained in the Khachari Durangi, a version of which is also translated by Wade in his book. The names of early Kachari kings known from these Chronicles are successively Bazarpatipha, Vikramadityapha, Mahamanipha, Manipha, Larpha, Khorapha and Dershamupha (or Detshung). Of these Bazarpatipha was a contemporary of Hso-Ka-Hpa and the last two ruled during Hso-Hum-Hong's reign.

Bazarpatipha, says Wade, conquered and added to his principality large areas of territory. Vikramadityapha further extended the kingdom along the southern hills as far east as the borders of Namchong and Parhat at the cost of the Nagas and the Marans. He worshipped the goddess Thakurani (ten-armed Durga) of whom a statue of pure gold was installed in the town where he made his residence and the town was thenceforward called Sonapur. He also made a gold statue of Reneswar (Nahadey) and set it up in another town, called from that time Banpur. They
had two chief cities Lakshindrapur and Herambapur. Generally
the heir-apparent to the throne was the Prince of Lakshindra-
pur, but Vikramadityapaha and Larpa had their royal capital
at Lakshindrapur.

Nso-Hum-Mong extended his dominions eastward to
the farthest limit of the Brahmaputra valley by his conquest
of the Chutiya kingdom. He also had well under control the
Hebung country on the north bank. But on the west the Kacharis
still held sway over the territories west of the Dikhan. After
having settled the territorial problem of the east Nso-Hum-
Mong now seriously turned his attention to the west. He in­
vested General Ken-Seng Barpatra Gohain with the supreme com­
mand to conquer the western country under the powerful Kacharis.
Ken-Seng crossed the Kikhau with his army and started opera­
tions against the Kacharis whom he successfully drove off to
Nam-Dang and from there to the next stronghold at Silpukhuri.
He occupied Silpukhuri and the Kacharis retreated to the
Gabharu Hill. Then he swung the main part of his army to the
north-west and conquered Sital-Hegheri thus rounding off the
boundary with the Kachari country. Among the arms that fell
into the hands of the Aboms during this campaign guns are
mentioned in the Chronicle.141 Beyond these limits the
Kacharis so consolidated their position that further conquests
became well-nigh impossible by a single sweep. But the
Kacharis were very much demoralised by the Abom successes.

141 KB, p.11.
The Ahoms next claimed Dergaon but resorted to conciliatory tactics and invited the Kacharis to settle mutual rights over the disputed territories according to divine mandates as manifested through certain acts. As a first experiment the Ahom General proposed sacrifices to be offered to the famous Deity at Dergaon both by the Ahoms and the Kacharis. The party whose sacrifice would be accepted by the Deity would get possession of Dergaon and the acceptance would be indicated when the head of the sacrificial animal is severed by a single stroke of the weapon. The Kacharis agreed to it and when on the appointed day sacrifices were offered it was the Ahoms whose sacrifice was accepted, that of the Kacharis rejected. The Kacharis found themselves in the wrong and therefore ceded Dergaon and withdrew to the western bank of the Dhansiri, the river forming the new boundary between the two countries.\footnote{142}

General Kan-Seng next laid claim on Marangi. Here, too, by another dexterous device, that of digging two tanks on the Marangi Hill, one of the Ahoms and the other of the Kacharis, and showing how the Ahoms were favoured first by Heaven with water in their tank, and making at the same time a false bird declare the Ahoms as the rightful owners of that part of the country Kan-Seng occupied Marangi driving away the Kacharis to Dijua.\footnote{143} Thus the shift from a battle of arms to a battle of

\footnote{142} \textit{KB}, p.12; \textit{Wade} : \textit{op.cit.}, p.63.
\footnote{143} \textit{KB}, p.13; \textit{Wade} : \textit{op.cit.}, p.64. Dijua or Mahang-Dijua is situated on the bank of the Jamuna river to the west of the Manipur Road Railway station in the present United District of Mikir and North Cachar Hills.
wits exploiting the superstitious beliefs of the Kacharies was crowned with wonderful success in acquiring vast tracts of new territory and the records show that there was in fact no war over Dergaon (Devar-Gaon) and Marangi in the present Golaghat Sub-Division in their first occupation by the Ahoms. All these happened in the reign of the Kachari Raja Khurapha. Was also the insistent claim of the Ahoms upon the part of territory up to Marangi backed by any previous commitment of the Kachari Raja? One account says that in the reign of Hso-Han-Hpa there was a war between the Ahoms and the Kacharis and as there was no victory for any side both made peace. The Ahom king gave the Kachari Raja a girl and the latter ceded his territory up to Marangi. Whether this part of the territory was actually vacated by the Kacharis or later reoccupied by them when the Ahoms had to throw all their might against the Chutiyas in the war with them the Chronicles are not clear. But one thing is definite and that is that Khurapha's reign is marked by a great withdrawal of the Kachari power from a large tract of their country against the Ahom pressure and it is also equally clear that the Ahoms built a fort at Maranki (Marangi) in A.D. 1531 under the supervision of General Phra-Shen-Mong and Chao-Sheng-Long-Klang-Sheng and another at the mouth of the Jengtima (the Dayang) and garrisoned them. These forts indicated the limits of the Ahom territory at that time in that direction.

145 AE, p.64.
146 AE, pp.64-65.
Khorapha died and was succeeded by Dersangpha at Dimapur (Hidimbapur). He was determined to fight the Ahoms and asked his people to be ready for action. Before coming to any armed clash straightway he first sent to the Ahom camp Demeria Sadar Dargis his envoy to convey his request to fix up permanently a treaty the river Dhansiri as the boundary between the Ahom and Kachari territories and thus restore good relations for future. But the General Kam-Seng Barpatra Gohain did not entertain the request as the Kachari envoy failed to come with proper etiquette. Hoping no good results from peace negotiations with the Ahoms, who were elated by recent successes, Dersangpha sent an expedition with his brother dotcha (or Dercha) in command to attack the Ahom fort at Manepe and capture it. Chao-Hpa Hse-Klen-Hong and the Sharing Raja Hse-Leng rushed out of the fort with a large armed force and fell upon the Kacharis and defeated them. In the battle Sharing Raja killed Dotcha. The Ahoms seized a considerable quantity of materials including some swords and cloth. When the report of this clash reached king Hse-Hum-Hong he despatched reinforcements under Thao-Mong-Hatak and the king himself moved by boats upstream the Dhansiri to the mouth of the Dayang where a fort was constructed. At this stage there is some confusion in the accounts. Probably an upstart named Khun-Khara seized the Kachari throne.

147 not Dersongpha as in some accounts.
148 AS, pp.64 ; DAB, p.24 ; SMJC, p.13. Here killer is said to be his servant.
and started the offensive against the Ahoms. The Kacharis under the command of the Deka Raja (heir-apparent) launched an attack on the Ahoms and the war continued with unabated fury for three months with heavy casualties on both sides. Hso-Him-Mong was worried when after so much fighting the Kacharies could not be defeated. He invited the diviners, the Deodhais and Bailungs, to tell him by examining the fowls' legs the name of the person capable of defeating the enemies. They unanimously gave the name of General Phra-Shen-Mong then at home after being dismissed from the governorship of Sadiya. The dismissal was in consequence of unusual delay on the part of the Governor in reporting in person to the king, in spite of being summoned several times, the explanation every time being that the enemies were nearby. The result of the divination compelled the king to appoint General Phra-Shen-Mong as Commander-in-Chief of the Kachari campaign. Phra-Shen-Mong then paid his usual homage to the king and proceeded to direct the operations against the Kacharis.

General Phra-Shen-Mong constructed a bridge over the Dhansiri and took his army to the west bank. He also built a war camp on that bank for the king who advanced to that place. From that base Phra-Shen-Mong launched a three-pronged attack on Dijua outpost where the Kacharis were ready for action. There was a bloody battle which continued for seven days. Numerous Kacharis fell dead in the battle-field, yet they

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147 AB, 'SHJC', p.12.
him as his vassal the ancestral kingdom, which had been
unjustly seized and until then held by Khun-Khara. The Ahom
kings always looked upon the Kachari princes as descendants
of a great dynasty of a great race. Hao-Hum-Mong regarded
Detsung's offer with due consideration and sent his own
envoy to him with a message that the kingdom would be restored
if the latter would offer his sister, one thousand rupees
and an elephant.152 Within a week Prince Detsung and his
brother came to the Ahom Court with all that were demanded
and additional presents of five hundred swords, five hundred
pieces of cloth, one thousand napkins and one hundred sedans
and offered them to the Svargadev and paid their
homage. King Hao-Hum-Mong then proclaimed Detsung as the Raja
of the Kachari kingdom and presented him with a diamond ring
saying "Be loyal to the Svargadev and be free from crimes as
long as this diamond is not turned into lead, tin or silver.
Be like the diamond and not like lead, tin or silver which
are easily melted. We are now friends and you must not quarrel
with us any more". The king then made many valuable presents
to Raja Detsung and permitted him to return to his kingdom and
take charge of it as tributary to Svargadev directing at the
same time to send to the Ahom Court the golden sceptre, the
golden throne, the golden parasol, the golden jar, the golden
plates and other paraphernalia belonging to the last king

152 Sending of an envoy or Katski by the Ahom king is
an indirect recognition of the position of the Kachari Prince.
Presents demanded and sent slightly differ in different texts.
153 Vide : op. cit., pp.28-29 ; AB - 'SHJG', p.14 ;
Khun-Khara. Rso-Hum-Mong also made provisions for the three Manipuri queens of the fugitive king. The annual tributes to be paid by the Kachari Raja were fixed at one thousand rupees, 500 fine embroidered cloth pieces, 550 unembroidered pieces, 1000 swords, and 100 sangis of iron and iron scraps. Rso-Hum-Mong also asked the new Kachari Raja to effect a capture of Khun-Khara. At the time of taking leave Raja Detshung said 'It is learnt that Khun-Khara has entered Bengal. If I can capture him I shall bring him to the Swargadev'. Raja Detshung was thereafter duly installed as Raja at Dimapur.

The escape of Khun-Khara remained a matter of concern and speculation for Rso-Hum-Mong. Raja Detshung, too, on his part neglected to make any serious effort to capture him as promised, which strained Rso-Hum-Mong's feelings towards the Kachari Raja. Added to that arose a boundary dispute between the two countries. Governor Shurpak Barchetiya of Marangi captured a number of Kacharis for carrying on depredations into the Ahom territory. The tension further developed when, as a reply to this incident, the Kachari Raja claimed all the territories south of the Dikhan. Rso-Hum-Mong also got the report that the ex-king Khun-Khara was moving about unmolested in

155 Sangi is a burden suspended from one pole and carried by two or more persons on their shoulders. See AB - 'SMJC', p. 14.
156 DAE, p. 26; ACA, p. 57.
157 AB - 'SMJC', p. 30. The Dikhan descending from the hills takes a turn to the west and falls into the Brahmaputra. The area claimed, according to the text, seems to be the original Kachari territories extending up to the Dikhan, but that is most unlikely. Probably the river mentioned should have been the Phanar.
the Kachari territory, yet no attempt was made to capture him. It was suspected that behind this adventure of the fugitive Kachari ex-king there was some kind of support from Bengal.

Muslim Invasions of Assam:

Hso-Hum-Mong, as expected, received a report that Khun-Khara and a Bengal force under the command of one Luipat (or Lupon) were sailing up the Brahmaputra into the Ahom territory with a flotilla of fifty war-boats. It was probably a filifustering expedition led by one Nawab Bir Malik\(^1\) and the great Ujur.\(^2\) Hso-Hum-Mong immediately despatched General Kan-Seng Barpatra-Gohain (Shenglung) and General Shenba to encircle and capture Khun-Khara\(^3\) and drive off the Bengals. At a place called Temani in Nowgong district a big battle was fought with the invaders. The Ahoms captured Khun-Khara\(^4\) and defeated the Ujur who then left his boats and fled on a horse. Kan-Seng came to Kunwaripara and fortified it and Shenba returned to the capital. General Sheng Hanan collected from a temple threatened by the Muslims a quantity of dedicated articles such as a golden sceptre, a silver pitcher, gold and silver ornaments adorning the deity, some money and an elephant and submitted them to the king at Dihing.

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1. Probably Bir Malik, Mit Manik of some Assamese Burmese.
2. or Vasir, S.N. Bhattacharyya in his Mughal North-East Frontier Policy (p.36) writes he is Rukn-ud-din Rukn Khan was the 'Vasir and general of Alau-ud-din Husain Shah.' But it cannot be taken as definite.
3. DAB, p.26; AB, p.66.
4. ACA, p.57.
The latter issued orders directing the disposition of Ahom forces at different centres and asked all to make a concerted attack when the enemies would advance. Bit Malik and the Ujir, with a large army and a naval force, laid siege to the fort at Konwaripara. Kam-Seng sallied out of the fort on his war elephant and made a fierce attack on the enemy, who in turn cut off the tail of his elephant and wounded it in one leg. At this, two other reputed warriors forced their way to his assistance on their own elephants. In the combat that ensued General Kam-Seng severed Bit Malik with a stroke of his sword and the latter fell dead. When the leader was killed the Muslims completely lost their morale and fled in disorder hotly pursued by the Aboms as far as Khagarijan (Nowgong). Numerous Muslims were killed and a large number of guns, horses and other valuable materials captured by the Aboms. Bit Malik was probably some petty chieftain of Bengal who had been persuaded by Khan-Khara to lead an expedition to the rich country of the Aboms more for plunder than for any permanent conquest, but Hso-Hun-Kong’s generals smashed their effort killing the Nawab himself.

The rise of Ala-ud-din Husain Shah of Bengal (Gaur) and his memorable capture of Kamatapur in Koch Behar in A.D. 1498, then under the Khen King Nilambar, which made him soon...
master of the whole tract of country as far east as the Barnadi opposite the present town of Gauhati put the Ahom rulers on guard. This Muslim conquest, which took place about one year after Hao-Hum-Mang's accession, is proved beyond doubt, not so much by any good literary evidence as by the coins and inscriptions of Ala-ud-din Hasain Shah, who is called in them 'the conqueror of Kamru (Kamarupa) and Kamata'. His coins bearing a date as late as 924 A.H. (A.D. 1518) and styling him the conqueror of Kamru (Kamarupa) and Kamata have been found. The date and the fact of the destruction of Kamata are also confirmed by a contemporaneous inscription found by Mr. Westmacott at Maldah, bearing the date 907 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1501-2, which belonged to a Madrasa built by Hasain Shah in commemoration of his conquest of Kamata and Kamarupa. Before leaving the country Hasain Shah appointed his son Governor of Nilambar's territories to follow up the conquest still further into the east. (The Gooch Behar State, p.225). He then pushed the conquest to the eastern limit of the Kamata-Kamarupa kingdom and made his headquarters at Hajo, placing at Kamata probably Durlav Indra, a son of the last king, as a vassal ruler to be related below. Gait also points out that Hasain Shah left behind his son who became Governor at Hajo for the newly conquered territory. This son was probably Hasain Khan, who was later killed by the Ahoms.

165 JASII. 1874, p.281; Stewart's History of Bengal, p.112. Gait: op.cit., pp.43-45.
in the battle of the Dikrai which is described below. This ruler made a settlement of Muslims in the neighbourhood of Hajo in Kamarupa, started construction of a grand mosque on a hillock and is believed to have brought to Hajo a Muslim saint named Sultan Ghiyasu'd-Din Awliya for propagating Islam in this country. After the death of Husain Shah's son in the war two Muslim chieftains managed the affairs of Kamarupa, Sultan Ghiyasu'd-Din Awliya being the last Governor at Hajo, who was buried near the mosque. This place is held in great esteem by the Muslims to this day as a place of pilgrimage and the mosque is called Poa Mecca (i.e. one-fourth of Mecca). Mirza Nathan refers to this 'hillock of Sultan Ghiyasu'd-Din Awliya' in his Fakrut-t-t-Ghaybi in connection with a massacre in its shrine committed by the Ahoms. Gait further says that some years after Husain Shah's conquest of Kamarupa an attempt was made to annex the Ahom country, which the Ahoms replied by such a powerful counter-attack as eventually led to the annihilation of the whole Muslim army and entire loss of the newly conquered Kamarupa and Kamata territories.

This deliberate Muslim attempt to conquer the Ahom kingdom is undoubtedly represented by Turbak Khan's invasion of April 1532 during the reign of Hso-jam-Kong. Turbak marched on Assam with 30 elephants, 1,000 horses, many cannon, guns and other arms and a large force. Nasir-ud-din Musrat

166 A.B. p.68; Gait: op.cit, p.92; DAE, p.27.
Lain! Raingi is the date mentioned which is A.D. 1532.
Shah (1518-33), the eldest son of Ala-ud-din Husain Shah, was then the ruler of Bengal, who is supposed to have directed this enterprise. From the numismatic and epigraphic evidences it is clear that Husain Shah's hold on Kamata and Kamarupa was not lost during his lifetime. Though records, throwing light on the happenings of the next thirteen years, are lacking, yet the fact is there that the first most important war between the Ahoms and the Muslims under Turbak Khan was the one that broke out in April 1532 (Lakni Raingi) according to Ahom history and it took more than three years for the Ahoms to defeat and drive out the Muslims from Kamarupa and Kamata. This was a protracted war with heavy losses to both sides. Its main theatre was the western front of the Ahom kingdom comprising Kaliabar and the Kapili Valley in Nowgong, the Dikrai and Bharali valleys of the present Sub-Division of Tezpur and the Brahmaputra in between them.

In the battle of Kaliabar near the confluence of the Kallang and the Brahmaputra General Phra-Shen-Mong killed the Muslim General Hayat Khan. The Ahom army pressed the Muslims hard and compelled them to retreat to the Kapiliganga. Then Turbak issued forth from his fort with a force using elephants, horses and guns and made a powerful counter-attack on the Ahoms. A bloody battle was fought in which eight great Ahom generals including the redoubtable Commander-in-Chief Phra-Shen-Mong.

168 A I3<» History of Assam.
Bar-Gohain fell and Hoo-Klen-Mong Tipam Raja (also called Garhgyana Raja) received a wound from an enemy arrow and his horse was also killed. Prince Hoo-Klen-Mong, therefore, left for the capital for treatment. The generals of the Ahom army then retreated and met king Hoo-Hum-Mong in the fort at Sala (Tai-Ahom Shaola between Dergaon and Kaliabar), where he had made his camp to be in touch with the progress of the war. The king immediately appointed Ken-Seng Baryatra-Gohain as Commander-in-Chief of the Ahom army and ordered the generals to attack the enemies acting under his supreme command. Troops were stationed at all strategic fronts right up to the Barnadi in North Kamrup. There is mention of the Kacharis fighting on the side of the Ahoms against the Muslims. The Muslims advanced to Kaliabar and in November 1533/4 of them reached Ghiladhari. Meanwhile Prince Hoo-Klen-Mong, with his wound healed up, returned to Sala. The Muslims further

169 It is narrated in the HS History of Assam that when Hayat Khan fell his wife came forward to fight but General Phra-Shen-Hong Bar-Gohain refused to strike a lady and at this moment the enemy killed him. When the news of Phra-Shen-Hong's death reached his wife, Nang-Son-Kaan-Kham (the famous ever adored Hata Gahhosu), who was a daughter of king Hoo-Hum-Mong, she mounted the war elephant Langji (or Nangji) and sallied forth into the thick of the battle and fought the enemy with wonderful bravery killing many of them before she herself was killed in action. It is further said in a number of Turanjis that for too short a time to come out for the war both the husband and the wife could not provide themselves with the proper war uniforms which made their persons vulnerable to the enemy, otherwise they could not have been so easily killed.

170 All. p. 69.
171 in the Sub-Division of Golaghat.
advanced and pitched their tent opposite the Ahom fort at Sala. After sometime they also took the offensive against the Ahom garrison at the fort and burnt three lines of houses of the Ahom camp. The Ahoms replied by pouring on the attackers boiling water from the fort. This was followed by a regular battle between the two sides, the Muslims making a series of cavalry charges under a barrage of their cannon and gun-fire. The Ahoms, unable to hold their ground, retreated into their fort which was then besieged by the enemies. A Muslim naval unit also attacked the Buriq fort on the north bank where the three princes, Isq-Klen-Hong Tipam Raja, Isq-Teng Nerrupiya Raja and Prince Iiso-Khring engaged the enemies. The Ahom generals by a flanking attack and simultaneous frontal charge overwhelmed the Muslim navy which was then forced rapidly to retreat. Soon after this the Ahoms also won a great naval victory at Duimmisila killing two thousand and five hundred Muslims including a general named Shyamnath and capturing many of their boats and materials. Having defeated the Muslims in the northern theatre the three princes crossed to the south bank with their navy and fiercely attacked and defeated the Muslim force besieging the fort at Sala and relieved it.

At this crucial moment reinforcements consisting of six elephants, 100 horses and 1,000 troops arrived from Bengal to help Turbak under a general named Husain Khan. The Muslims then concentrated their forces for attack at
the month of the Dikrai on the north bank, Hao-Hum-Hong transferred his royal camp to Duimuisila between Sala and Kaliabar. The Ahom army waited for action at Dikraimukh for two months and a half face to face with the enemy line. Meanwhile under the direction of the king it constructed a fort and erected ramparts extending from it. The Muslims started the attack with cavalry and guns. Other Ahom generals soon reinforced their army at this fort. From the Muslim side one Bharat Singh and a Koch Katoel first attacked the Ahoms and in the encounter the enemies were surrounded and driven up the Dikrai which gave an advantage to the Ahoms who then fell upon them both from the rear and the front. The enemies were massacred in great numbers and those that survived were routed. In the run many with elephants were bogged down in a lake where they were slaughtered en masse by the Ahoms. Turbak made a cavalry charge on the Ahoms, but the latter discharged their arrows at the horses with such deadly effect that most of them fell and the rest fled away with their men on them, who lost all control, and reached the Sharali. Many Muslims left their horses and sailed off down the river Brahmaputra. It was in this battle that Husain Khan was killed. The Ahoms seized 28 elephants, 350 horses, a great number of big and small guns and cannon, a box full of gold and 80 bags of silver coins. All these were presented to the king at Duimuisila. Among the persons captured was also Turbak's daughter Princess Sawaloi whom the king took under his
custody. The king was pleased for the victory and presented the elephants and horses to the generals. In the Tai-Ahom Chronicle it is said that the heads of Turbak and Husain were entombed on the hill Charaideo, but nothing is said about how and where Turbak was killed. One version in some Assamese Buranjis is that, unable to kill Turbak even after three years' fighting, Ken-Seng pretended to submit to the Muslim chief and obtained permission to enter his camp for offering submission. Ken-Seng and some of his officers entered his camp with swords and spears carefully concealed and at dead of night, while Turbak was kept engaged in conversation, they suddenly fell upon him and speared him to death. As pre-arranged other officers also, by simultaneous attacks, killed Turbak's officers and many of his men.

In another account Ken-Seng is said to have entered Turbak's camp under the pretence that the king was going to put him to death for his failure to win victory as Commander-in-Chief and having entered it pierced him to death. Gait says that Turbak tried to save the day by leading a cavalry charge in person in the Barali battle, but was transfixed by a spear, and, when he fell, the defeat became a rout. This appears to be the correct version and gets support from Tamuli Paukan's Assam Buranjis.

172 AB, p.73. In DAB (p.32), the head of Turbak's general Husain Khan is said to have been entombed on the hill.
173ACA, p.61.
174 AD - *SEMUC*, p.22.
175 Gait: op.cit., p.94.
176 See p.22.
The Ahom expeditionary force, headed by General Ton-Kham and aided by General Kan-Seong and General Kham-Peng, pursued the retreating enemies across the Muslim dominions of Kamarupa and Kamata receiving little resistance in them and reached the Karatoya, the eastern boundary of Gaur proper, where the victors washed their swords. In this retreat the remnants of the Muslim invading army was practically wiped out by the Ahoms and in this the latter must have received the co-operation of the Kamatas against their erstwhile enemy. In the extant Tai-Ahom literature there is no mention of Husain Shah's invasion of the Ahom kingdom, nor of any Ahom expedition sent for Kamata or Kamarupa against that ruler. Turbak, said to be a scion of the family of Gaureswar, made the first serious effort to annex Assam during the reign of Hsao-Hum-Hong.

177 Sometimes written Shon-Kham. He is the son of the great Phra-Shen-Hong Bar-Gohain.

178 In one account of Assamese history Turbak is said to have been sent by Gaureswar to rescue his daughter Sushuddhi called Garama or Garama, noted for beauty, from the place of her husband Kamateswar on the report that Princess Garama was being maltreated by the latter on the alleged ground that she had had a scandalous connection with the son of the royal priest. Unable to resist Turbak Kamateswar submitted to Svargadev Hsao-Hum-Hong for help leaving behind his chief wife Sulochana and son Durlav Indra. Garama fled to the Kachari king, who accepted her as his chief consort, but she was later captured by the Ahoms and presented to the Svargadev with her son Madan after the Kachari king was killed in the Ahom-Kachari war. Turbak invaded the Kachari kingdom for her and then proceeded to attack the Ahom kingdom where she had been taken. (See AB - 'SCLK', pp.18-22). In the account the names of Gaureswar and Kamateswar are not mentioned. It may be noted that king Nilambar's youngest queen Vanamala had a similar episode in which the Minister Sashi Patra's son Manohar was involved. The king with rage put the Minister's son to death, had a dish prepared of his flesh and made the father partake of it. At this Sashi Patra went to Husain Shah and persuaded him to march against Kamatapur. Husain Shah then destroyed and sacked Kamata; but Garama finds no mention in the Tai-Ahom Buranjis.
When the Ahom army of black-uniformed and terrible-looking soldiers appeared on the border of Gaur in pursuit of the Muslims, the Sultan of Bengal (Gaur) became frightened and immediately made overtures for peace by offering two of his daughters Khanbibi Harmati and Khanbibi Darmati to Svaragadev's seraglio with five eastern Parganas as dowries, namely, Ghoraghat, Patla-doh, Gghara-Sendur, Faribad and Sherpur, the last being not far to the north of Dacca. All these Parganas are in the districts of Rangpur and Mymensingh on the west of the Sonkosh river. It shows that the part of Gaur territory lying to the east of the Karatoya and just south of the kingdom of Kamata came under Ahom sovereignty.

(continued from the previous footnote) Why should a great conqueror like Husain Shah give his daughter in marriage to Kamateswar, a Hinduised king? Garama's flight to the Kachari kingdom at the approach of the rescuing party is again unaccountable. Thus the story of Garama does not seem to have any historical basis in this context. See also EIB, pp. 36-37, and f.n. 179

179 \textbf{AB} - '\textbf{SIMC}', p. 24; \textbf{ACA}, pp. 62-63; A brief and incomplete reference in K.T.P. 's Assam Durbari, p. 22. The Chronicles also show discrepancies in mentioning the names of the Parganas. \textbf{BBR} (p. 99 of \textbf{DAB}) mentions Sherpur, Kairabari, Dashkounia, Bahirbundh and Bhitarbundh, all of which are said be 'localities in the present districts of Rangpur and Mymensingh'. Curiously enough \textbf{ACA} calls Gaureswar's daughter Rajani Kunwari and \textbf{BBR} calls her Bhajani, but, as said above, these were the daughters of Kamateswar married to earlier Ahom kings.

180 Now a locality in the Ghoraghat Pargana of Rangpur district, not to be confused with village Patila-doha in the Barpeta Sub-Division of Kamrup.

181 in the Mymensingh district.
under the new relation with the Bengal Sultan. Thus in the beginning of A.D. 1534 the Ahoms became master of a vast expanse of territory extending from the eastern extremity of Assam to the Karatoya on the west embracing within it Kamarupa and Kamata and beyond right down to the neighbourhood of the Dacca district in Eastern Bengal (now East Pakistan).

At the instance of General Ton-Kham a small brick temple was constructed on the bank of the Karatoya and a tank was also excavated by the side of the temple in commemoration of the victory. This monument also demarcated the boundary between Kamata and Gaur. At the same time a vassal chief of Kamata, who was probably no other than one Burlav Indra who became free from the Muslim domination and placed himself under the protection of the Ahom king, offered a daughter of his to the Svargadev.

Ahom Embassy To Orissa:

An Assamese Chronicle also contains an account that a six-man embassy that accompanied General Ton-Kham proceeded to Orissa and met king Vikramasena of that country, a descendant of Indradyumna, and said 'It is the command of Svarga Maharaja of Udayagiri that we should wash our swords in the Karatoya after winning victory in the war (with Bengal).'

182 AB - 'SMJC', p.23; A MS History of Assam.
183 K.P.F. op.cit., p.22.
184 A MS History of Assam. Here Burlav Indra is to be distinguished from Burlav Narayan, a 14th century Kamata king, a contemporary of Sri Sankar Deva's great-great-grandfather Chandibar.
185 AB - 'SMJC', pp.24-28.
and having made friendship with Gaureswar come and salute the (Jagannath) Thakur and excavate a tank and consecrate it (to the god) and then return. For this purpose 200 gold mohurs are sent with us. Having learnt all this Vikramasena was pleased to conduct these new visitors from distant Mong-Dun-Haun-Kham (Assam) to the Jagannath Temple and throw open its doors, whereupon they duly saluted the Thakur and then excavated a tank nearby, the banks of which were paved with bricks, and performed the consecration ceremony by offer of gold mohurs of Svargadev Hao-Hum-Hong to the Thakur, the Vairagi Brahmans and king Vikramasena receiving in return the Thakur's mahaprasad and nimalya for the Svargadev. Vikramasena also laid on the forehead of the Jagannath Thakur a lustrous jem offered by the visitors who had secured it on being left behind by a cobra during their encampment on the march by the side of the Sri Surya Hill between the town of Goalpara and Dalgoma on the south bank in the Goalpara district of Assam. It is said that the jem is still to be seen glittering on the forehead of the Thakur. In this account king Vikramasena is described as son of Purusothama which shows that Vikramasena was but another name of king Prataparudra (1497-1540) of Orissa, a contemporary of Hao-Hum-Hong (1497-1539) and a disciple of Sri Chaitanya who flourished at that time. Prataparudra, whose territories once extended from Hugli in West Bengal to Guntur in Andra Pradesh, may be called the greatest king of the declining phase of the Orissa royal power and this decline is attributed by many to the loss of martial spirit under the influence of Vaishnavism preached by Sri Chaitanya.
This pilgrimage to the Jagannath Temple at Puri had probably a political mission behind it. The conjecture is that, either at the instance of Hso-Hum-Mong or that of Vikramasena, the mission aimed at some form of an alliance between Assam and Orissa primarily against Muslim expansions. For Hso-Hum-Mong or his Generals, who followed their ancestral religion, had nothing to do with Hinduism or the Jagannath Thakur as such. The pilgrimage was therefore a cover for the secret political mission.

In this context we may remember how Orissa was attacked and weakened by the Hindus of Vijayanagar and the Muslims of Golkonda in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

Vishva Singha's Submission to Hso-Hum-Mong:

While the Assam generals were returning with the Gaur princesses the Koch chief Vishva Singha of Mount Chikna.

186 A Koch chief named Hajo had two daughters Jira and Hira, who were married to a Meoh named Mariya or Haridas who lived in Mount Chikna (Chikanai Parbat of Kamrupur Baranji, 2nd, Ed., DHAS, p.10), probably Chiknajhar in Goalpara district near the Bhutan Hills. The elder Jira had two sons Chandan (elder) and Madan (younger) and later Hira had two sons by god Mahadeve named Shishu and Vishu. Chandan and Madan fought the Governor of Chikna and killed him, but then Madan was also killed in the fight. Chandan proclaimed himself king of Chikna in A.D. 1510 or Raja Saka 1, the Era of the Koch Behar family. On Chandan's death Vishu, the younger brother, became king in A.D. 1522 (R.S. 14) at the age of twenty-two under the title of Vishva Singha.

His brother Shishu served as the Raikat i.e. 'head of the family and hereditary Prime Minister'. Vishva Singha appointed twelve other ministers from the twelve families of Meches of the locality. The coil of a serpent's tail, said to be dya's Serpent, formed his throne and the hood his umbrella. The sceptre he wielded was called Harumadandanda with a silver head of a monkey. (See Rajjyakshyana, Chaps. VII and VIII as referred to in The Cooch Behar States, pp.225-27.) There exist traces of the ruined monuments called 'Visva Singha's killa (fort)' in Bhutan some ten to twelve miles north of Chikna. See KBI, p.90.
wanted to intercept them, but his ministers warned him against any such rash adventure at a time when there was yet much to be done for internal consolidation while the powerful Ahoms had further strengthened their position by establishing friendship with Gaur. They advised him therefore to make friendship with the Ahoms. He accepted the advice, met General Ton-Kham and presented to him for Sri Sri Svaranarayendrav (Hao-Hum-Mong) one pot of gold, one pot of silver, five red shawls and two all-white whisks as tokens of homage. In return Ton-Kham gave him all the territory west of the Sonkosh offered as dowries by the Padsha of Gaur and asked him to pay annual tributes to the Svargadev from whom he would receive all protection against foreign enemies. He so settled the newly acquired territories because he knew that the Ahom monarch had no desire for more territories. The expedition went so far only to assist Kamateswar to be free from the Muslim yoke. After this, when Ton-Kham arrived at the capital and reported the achievements of the expedition to the king, the latter highly appreciated his actions and conferred upon him the title of Dar A'zem. Others who accompanied him were also rewarded for their meritorious services. One result of the war with Turbak

187 Ibid, p.28.
188 Kalcutu and Dhuna Sardar of the Assamese account.
189 AB - 'SJUC', p.28 ; A MS History of Assam ; KE, p.11.
190 The statement in Gaits-Koch Kings of Kamarupa (See also H.S.E.
191 op.cit., p.28) that Vishva Singha went to make war on the Ahoms, but fell short of provisions on the way and returned home is unconvincing in the light of the facts presented by documents collected recently.
192 Great A'zem (the Powerful one).
was that a considerable number of Muslims could not escape from Assam. They were captured and put to the work of supplying grass to the royal elephants. As they proved inefficient and ignorant in this job they were transferred to the paddy fields for growing food. Here, too, they equally failed. Then they took to the trade of making brass vessels and became known as Mariyas, probably from the nature of the trade.

There broke out a great pestilence among the cattle population of the kingdom in March 1534 which took a heavy toll of their life during the next three months of its spread.

Naga Disturbance in Kham-Jang:

In A.D. 1535 Hso-Hum-Mong received reports from the Khamjangia Gohain (Governor of Kham-Jang) that the Nagas of the lower and higher regions were joining together to attack him. So he immediately despatched a force under General Hso-Leng, the Raja of Shairing, and General Shenglung (Barpatra-Gohain). They attacked the Nagas from different directions. Hso-Leng proceeded by the route of Namruk making his first camp at that place and fought and subdued the Nagas of Jakhang and the neighbouring areas. Shenglung reduced to submission the villages of Phakai, Tashiteng and Shireng. Hso-Klen-Hpa and Tipam Raja and Prince Hso-Teng, Ton-Kham, Shenab occupied the Jaktung Naga area and then encamped at Nam-Chang. Most of the Nagas from these areas fled to Tablung and then to Barkala. Early in 1536 the Ahoms also annexed Mahang with its brine springs by subjugating the local Nagas. The Ahom Generals then
returned to the capital and, not long after, the Nagas submitted to the Ahoms presenting the four big guns left behind by the latter. In the Province of Kham-Jang complete tranquillity was restored and the king received an elephant and about a hundred bisons (methon) brought from those areas.

Kachari Rebellion of 1536 :
End Of The Kachari Rule (Early Period) :

There was a fresh Kachari rising in AD 1536 in contravention of the terms of peace concluded between Hso-Hum-Mong and Detshung (Dershungpha) in AD 1531. General Hso-Leng was invested with supreme command by the King and sent against the Kacharis with an army. Other generals placed under him were Katak and Hanan. They marched to Marangi and then to Hamdoi where they encamped. The king himself moved up to Marangi. Three other generals, namely Prince Hso-Klen-Mong, Ton-Kham and Tai-Mong-Lung soon joined the king at his camp. Princes Hso-Teng and Hso-Leng encamped in the fort at Banphi and occupied the area. Ton-Kham, Katak and Hong-Klang advanced up the Dayang to attack the Kacharis from their right. General Hanan and a few others proceeded to attack them from their left and General Nang-Lao and General Klong-Rot advanced straight by boats upstream the Bhansiri and delivered a frontal attack on the Kachari fort. The Kacharis opened fire from their large guns wounding a number of Ahom soldiers. The state of the battle was reported to the Princes Hso-Teng and Hso-Leng who with General Shenglung speedily marched against the Kacharis and reinforced
their army engaged in the battle with them. The Kacharis unable to hold out began to flee in disorder with the result that a great number of them were killed by the Ahoms. The pursuing Ahom soldiers traced out the Kachari Raja Detshung in the fort on the Doimari Hill preparing to cross the river Khamdam. Raja Detshung was nearly encircled when he escaped to Lenguriya and then to his capital Ita-Nagar. As the Ahom forces advanced up the Dhasiri in the pursuit the Raja fled from his capital to the town Demera (or Sangma). Hso-Klen-Mong, with his officers and troops, reached the town but it was virtually deserted. After a search the Kachari Raja was found and killed. Some members of his family including one of his sons were also slain in the attack. The Raja’s golden sceptre, throne and treasures were seized and brought to king Hso-Hum-Mong who was at Kuijarbari at the time.\footnote{193} Hso-Hum-Mong also received a queen of the late Kachari Raja and her son who was probably very young at that time. The king then returned to the capital with the nobles and the army and performed the ceremony of Me-Dam Me-Phi.\footnote{194} He admitted the queen into his palace and treated her son with favour.\footnote{195}

In the month of Dinchit (May-June), Raja Detshung’s head was buried at Charaideo in a separate grave by the side of Turbak’s tomb.\footnote{196} Hso-Hum-Mong then appointed General Sheng-lung as Governor of the Kachari country, which was then made

\footnote{193}{AB, pp.75-77; DAB, pp.33-35.}
\footnote{194}{A ceremony in which oblations are offered to the dead and sacrifices to the gods.}
\footnote{195}{Wade: op.cit., p.66.}
\footnote{196}{AB, p.77.}
into a new Ahom province, and sent a number of generals to assist him. Thus ended for the first time the last vestiges of the Kachari kingdom.

There is mention in the Tai-Ahom Chronicle that in the winter of 1537 the vassal Koch king Bishu (Vishva Singha) and his minister Shishu (Shishva Singha) of the hill kingdom of Chikna paid a customary visit to the Ahom capital to offer homage to Svargadev Hso-Hum-Hong. They brought as presents to the suzerain 'two horses, one white and the other gray, a pictured girdle, a large spotted whisk, twenty white whisks, a chain of pearls and a string of coral beads'.

Another important reference in the Tai-Ahom Chronicle is that Hso-Hum-Hong made friendship with Raja Chaomen of Manipur and offered to him a girl of the Larmashkhu family. In gratitude the Raja in return sent to the Ahom monarch a Manipuri princess, who was received with honour. There were also exchanges of valuable presents between the two kings.

At a later date the Kachari nobles made representation to Hso-Hum-Hong through the Chao Marangki (Marangikhowa Gohain) stating the semi-anarchical condition of the Kachari country and praying for appointing the captive Kachari Prince in the Ahom Court as a vassal king of their country under the Svargadev. The question was discussed by the king with his

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197 AB, p.77. Here the Doochali Assam Buranji's version that an embassy of two men were only sent to the Ahom court is obviously contradicted by the next statement after one sentence that Bishu himself prayed to the Ahom king saying "If I, your vassal, is protected both in adversity and prosperity I shall every year pay homage to you", See DAB, p.35.

198 AB, pp.77-78; DAB, p.35.
ministers who advised him to pacify the Kacharis by granting their prayer. The Prince was then married to a lady of the Court and sent with his mother to Lakshindrapur where he was installed as a feudatory prince of the Kachari country under the title of Nirbhoynarayan. It is not clear whether General Shenglung (Kan-Seng Barpatra-Gohain) still continued in the Kachari capital as a Resident Governor, but it appears that his responsibility did not immediately cease on installation of the Kachari Prince.

About May in the year 1537 Hso-Hum-Mong did the disgraceful act of marrying a daughter of one Sonari (goldsmith), a man of low social status, and making her his chief queen with the result that the heir-apparent Prince Hso-Klen-Mong's mother left the palace and went to live at Charaideo. This caused a bitter difference between the king and his son Prince Hso-Klen-Mong. The latter left his father's place and proceeded to live in the town of Garhgaon. The king sent for him several times, but Hso-Klen refused to come to Dihing (Charagua) to pay respects to his father on the ground that he could not pay the same respects to his low-born consort. On one occasion the king went to Bakatha and summoned Prince Hso-Klen's mother and made her take an oath of fidelity in the name of the gods. This fact brought the matter to a head and Hso-Klen became furious. He employed a group of men to kill off

199 KB, pp.19-20; AB - 'SMJC', p.22; Wade: op.cit. p.63. KB (p.19) says Nirbhoynarayan's real name was Haden and both KB and AB - 'SMJC', (p.20) say that the queen's name was Garama, but her identity is a matter of controversy as already pointed out.
the king and one Kachari amongst them managed to enter the king's bed chamber and stab him to death in A.D. 1539 in the month of Dinhgam (Magh or January-February). The assassin was afterwards arrested and executed as a dangerous element by Hao-Klen-Long himself.

Hao-Ham-Mong, with all his enterprise and resounding successes in extending his dominions from the eastern extremity of the Brahmaputra valley to the Karatoya and the neighbourhood of Dacca, failed at an advanced age to uphold the full dignity of his royal office owing to a sudden lapse of personal character. Besides other causes of dissatisfaction his passion for a girl of non-royal origin, whom he went so far as to raise to the status of the chief queen, disrupted his household leading to the tragic consequence of his own end at the hands of an assassin. But for this his glorious achievements in eliminating the powers of the two rival kingdoms, those of the Chutiyas and the Kacharis, and in repulsing the dreaded Muslim invasions with complete success are to be credited with laying the real foundation of the Ahom kingdom in Assam. He also reorganized the social structure on the basis of clans and crafts and improved the defences of the country. Growing influence of the Brahmins and of the Vaishnava reformation undertaken by Sri Sankar Dev was another feature of his reign.

15. Hao-Klen-Mong (1539-1552):

After the assassination of his father the Tipam Raja Hao-Klen-Mong (Hao-Klen-Hpa) ascended the throne in A.D. 1539
and made his capital at Garhgaon for which he is also popularly called Garhaya Raja. In A.D. 1541, according to the Deodhai Asam Buranjii, he appointed his brother Prince Hso-Leng, the Shairing Raja, as the Raja of Tipam, second brother Prince Hso-Teng, the Namrupia Raja, as the Raja of Shairing and the youngest brother Prince Hso-Khring as the Raja of Namrup under the title Prince Lan-Chang. These arrangements were necessitated by the vacancy of the office of Raja in Tipam when Hso-Klen-Mong became king. The transfers made also caused a vacancy of the Raja's office in the Province of Namrup to which the youngest brother, who was without that honour, was posted.

During Hso-Klen-Mong's reign Lajan and Lapet Chao-Phrang-Dam were successively Bura-Gohains; and Ton-Khem Bar-Gohain was the Rajmantri. Hso-Klen-Mong did not favour the idea of having both Chumdeo and Kakshmi-Narayan deities representing two different faiths inside the palace. He therefore installed the Chumdeo in a separate temple outside the palace but inside the main Gate of the palace compound.

Chao Hso-Klen-Mong at least thrice visited the Kachari country between A.D. 1541 and 1544 for a fuller knowledge of the state of affairs of that country and for making arrangements in it for a more efficient administration. He first appointed Prince Hso-Tam as the Governor of the Kachari country (Chaolung Tima) at Dimapur. He was later replaced by Prince Hso-Leng, for he marched for action against the Chutiyas who had, in the
meantime, made a sudden attack on General Hanan on the bank of the Disang river killing him and carrying off his wife and son. The Chutiya country was devastated by the Ahom general as a reprisal during A.D. 1543-44 until he was called back by the king.

The petty chiefs called Bhuyas of the Kapili valley seem to have become turbulent and a threat to the smooth running of affairs of the Kachari province. Chao Hso-Klon-Mong then took action against them, transferred their abode nearer the capital and placed them under supervision. The Bara Bhuyas then paid their homage to the Svargadev.

Conflicts With The Koches:

Three Koch princes, Ramchandra, Dip Singha and Hemadhar, all brothers of Naramarayan, sailed up the Brahmaputra in A.D. 1546 with 3,000 Koches and after performing purificatory

200 Gait writes that Vishva Singha 'married in one day eighteen wives according to Gandharva ceremony. Two of these wives came from Nepal, two from Kamarupa, one from Kashmira, four from Benares, three from Sonitatpura (the modern Tezpur), two from Mithila. Ten months later, each of his wives gave birth to a son, the names of whom were Nara Singha, Halla Deve, who was afterwards known as Naramarayan, Suklalhavya, Gosain Kamala, Maiden, Ramchandra, Sura Singha, Mama Singha, Mecha, Vishaketu, Rama Narayan, Ananta, Dipa Singha, Hemadhar, Megha Narayan, Jagat, Chandra, and Surya. - His Koch Kings of Kamarupa. Whether Vishva Singha really married his wives from so many different countries at a time or not, that he had some eighteen sons is a fact. According to Kamrupar Barenji (p.11) the names of his sons are first Mal and Sukla who were followed by sixteen others, namely, Cohnain Kamal, Cohnain Maiden, Cohnain Ramchandra, Cohnain Sura Singha, Vishaketu, Ramamarayan, Ananda, Digu Singha (?) probably Dipa Singha, Hemadhar, Megamarayan, Jagat, Rupchand, Hari Singha, Man Singha, Mecha and Suryyasan.
ablutions at Bramarakunda proceeded up to Sala in Nowgong where they encamped. The Koches there created an incident by seizing and taking away a boat with five men belonging to an Ahom officer called Bar-Handikoi. This exposed the real purpose of the pilgrimage and there was at once an armed conflict between the Ahoms and the Koches. In the first phase of the war, which took place on the Dikrai, a number of Ahom generals fell with a large number of their troops at the hands of the Koch archers who collected at least 100 heads at Bharalimukh. The Ahoms, unable to hold their ground, retreated in a disorderly manner and crossed to the south bank of the Brahmaputra. They rallied themselves at Karanga and proceeded by boats to Kaliabar, but from the latter place they were again driven back by the Koches to Sala where a bloody battle was fought. The Ahoms used elephants against the Koches and defeated them.

Then there assembled at Jabaka by order of the king the veteran generals Prince Hao-Leng and Shenglung. In A.D. 1547 the Koches advanced to Narayanpur where they erected a fort. The Ahom generals then by a powerful pincer movement delivered onslaughts on both flanks of the enemies, with one column making a frontal attack. This appears to be the first major engagement at a place called Changinimukh according to 'SMJC' (p.30) in which the Koch prince Dipsa Singha was killed. King Hao-Klen-Mong himself with the Bura Gohaxn followed

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201 In Darang north of Odalguri. See KII, map, p.123.
202 AB - 'SMJC' p.30.
203 AB, p.80; DAR, p.38.
the generals in the centre and arrived at the fort at Pichala.
At the same time Lan-Chang (Prince Hso-Khring) was put in
charge of the war boats. The Koches then took the offensive
and there was a fierce battle at Pichala. Generals Hso-Leng,
Shenglung and all others surrounded the enemies, pressed
them into the Pichala river and massacred them winning a
decisive victory. Thereafter the king performed the Rik-khan
ceremony.

There was a very violent earthquake in A.D. 1548
which threw up to the surface sands and ashes.

Hso-Klen-Mong also intervened in a boundary dispute
between the Shan Sawbye, probably Sao-Sui-Kwei (1526-58) of
the Nara country (Mogaung) and the Burmese and the former,
whose family was related to the Ahom royal family of Assam,
in a desire to maintain intact that age-old relationship and
alliance, offered his daughter, Nang-Tyeo-Khaia alias Chao-Sing,
with valuable presents to Hso-Klen-Mong who admitted her into
his palace after formally marrying her according to the Tai-
Ahom custom of Chaeklong. This Shan Princess was unsurpassed in
beauty and scholarship in Tai in the Ahom Court and it was
at her suggestion that the city of Garhgaon was fortified with
strong ramparts all round. The Chronicle also says that it
was at her instance again that Hso-Klen-Mong created the office
of a third minister called Barpatra. But the office of
the Shenglung, otherwise called Barpatra or Rajmentri, existed

204 AB, p.31; DAB, ibid.
205 AB, pp. 51-32. Some of these ramparts still exist in a rectangular form. There were inner walls and outer
ramparts with moats.
206 Ibid., p.32. See also AB, p.53.
as early as the fifteenth century A.D. before Hso-Hum-Mong became king. According to the Tai-Ahom Chronicle Hso-Han-Hpâ (1488-1493) appointed Phun-Long-Kham-peng Bura-Gohain as Rajmantri in A.D. 1491. But Tamuli Phukan's Assam Burauni (p.18) says with good reason that Phun-Long-Kham-peng was made Rajmantri by Hso-Pem-Hpâ (1493-1497). Kham-peng is known to be the first Shenglung or Rajmantri from the extant Ahom Buranjis. Further all Buranjis say that the office of a third minister was created by Hso-Hum-Mong for Kan-Seng, who was also made Shenglung i.e. Barpatra or Rajmantri. Whatever the truth, there is no doubt that the Shan Princess of Hso-Klen-Hong exercised considerable influence on him in the matter of improving the defences and administration of the kingdom and the king invariably accepted her learned advice. Her learning and physical charms endeared her most to the king who never offended her even with strong words. It was during her time that a Mra astronomer visited the Ahom Court at Garhgeon who was received with honour and given a suitable lodge by the king who gave him the title of Sagar-Khari. This astronomer is said to have undertaken a census of the population of the province of Namrup.

In A.D. 1549 the Nagas of the village Bancheng attacked the Nagas of Banpha (Banfere). The latter appealed to the Ahom king with an offer of a number of buffaloes, bisons (Methon) and hunting dogs for help. The king at once intervened in this inter-tribal feud in favour of the Banphas and despatched
the Bura-Gohain with a force to deal with the Banchangias and ordered General Len-Cheng to march to Mahang. The king himself moved on to Banrui where he made his camp. The Bura-Gohain attacked the Banchangias and defeated them and captured the Chief (Khunbao) Chaokingpong of the clan. The Naga Chief with the spoils of the expedition was presented before the king. The Chief surrendered and peace was restored in the Naga area.

In A.D. 1550 the Governor of Tima (i.e., Dima or Kachari province) died. In the same year died also Prince Hao-Tong, the Governor or Raja of Shairing, and a few other top-ranking officers. Hao-Klen-Mong died in A.D. 1552 as a result of protracted illness for one year leaving behind two sons. Among his public works the most important were the excavation of the Garhgaon tank, the construction of the Naga Ali which runs through the Cadhuli Bazar Mauza of Sibsagar from the Bar Ali to the Naga Hills and the embankments at Kahikuchi and Chenginimukh. The earliest extant Ahom coins bear a date corresponding to A.D. 1543, and were struck by Hao-Klen-Mong.


On the death of Chao Hao-Klen-Mong his son Hao-Kham-Hpa ascended the throne of Assam in A.D. 1553. Earlier he was hurt in one of his legs while he journeyed on an elephant. As he walked with a slightly limping gait from its effect he was popularly known as Khura Raja. It is known from two

manuscript records\textsuperscript{210} that his chief queen Bar Mechlow of Assamese Buranjis or more properly \textit{Me Shao} (or Assamese Gobharu) was the daughter of Ton-Kham Bar-Gohain and his Parbatia Kunwari, called Saru Mechlow (younger \textit{Me Shao}) was the daughter of Leshang Gohain of Maduri. They were not the daughters of a Sojari (goldsmith) as described by Kashinath Tamuli Phukan (\textit{Assam Buranjji}, p. 24). A daughter of a goldsmith named Kachan or Kachanmati was a female attendant of the chief queen Bar Mechlow and, after her death in A.D. 1577 (Lakni Runokeo) of Haru Mechlow. When the latter died in A.D. 1579 the king was enamoured of her and took her as his queen and soon made her the chief queen. This young queen of non-royal origin exercised great influence on the king who married her in his advanced age. She having no son adopted a boy named Nahar as her son, but the latter was suspected to be actually her paramour whom she wanted to make the king's successor. She played the part of Princess Regent Sri Suda Chan of the Siamese Court who flourished in the same century. Nahar, who wanted to pose as a real prince, extracted from the queen the indulgence to construct a high road and a tank\textsuperscript{211} in his name. The road he made connected Mahang with Garhgaon and is called Nahar Ali and the tank was excavated near Barhat. He made a garden also called Naharbari in Jaypur. He also did many other things which amounted to usurpation of royal

\textsuperscript{210} quoted by Shri Ardheswar Gogoi in his valuable article entitled \textit{Sonari Kunwari and Nahar to Natun Asamiya} of 28 October 1953.

\textsuperscript{211} in Sibsagar, now known as Nahar Ali and Nahar Pukhuri.
authority. The queen also offended the nobles and ministers by false accusations against some of them and got the king's son and heir-apparent removed to Revati village on a got-up charge. Many were killed at her behest. The nobles of the Court took a serious view of Nahn's conduct and when it became extreme they with the king's permission put him to death at the principal gate of Garhgeon. The queen in grief then committed suicide. This unhappy series of events happened in the last part of the king's long reign.

Within a year of Hao-Kham-Hpa's accession a group of seven princes and Lapet, son of the Shenglung and Lashampeng, son of the reputed general Shenba rose in rebellion against him. The rebels were soon rounded up and put into prison but, on the intercession of Bar-Gohain Tom-Kham for mercy, were let off with necessary warnings. In A.D. 1559 they rebelled again, but this time they were all captured and executed.

**Vishva Singha's Expedition To Assam:**

From the first establishment of the Koch king Vishva Singha as tributary to Assam embassies had been regularly sent by him to the Ahom Court carrying annual tributes. But in a period of two decades he extended his conquests far and wide. He conquered a large part of Bhutan and was about to storm the capital when the Deva and Dharma Rajas sued for peace and agreed to pay tributes annually to the Koch monarch. It was also further agreed that the Deva Raja would help him with troops in times of war and the administration of affairs in
Bhutan would be carried on under his orders. The Khen dynasty ended with the death of Nambar and the country of Kamata and Kamarupa was then split up into innumerable small areas which were ruled by petty Bhuyan chiefs most of whom were Brahmins. Vishva Singha subdued these Bhuyans right up to the eastern limits of Kamata-Kamarupa. One Pratap Rai, a powerful Bhuyan of Pandu, fled to the Ahom capital for refuge when Vishva Singha advanced to his district and conquered both South and North Kamarupa. The Darrang Raj Vainavali by Suryakhari gives an account of how the Bhuyans of Kamarupa were subdued by Vishva Singha.

Next he turned his arms towards Bengal when Selim Shah, son of Sher Shah, was the Emperor of Delhi, and Bengal, as an independent State, was under Muhammad Khan or Muhammad Shah (A.D. 1552-54) of the Sur tribe and a relation of the Emperor. Vishva Singha reduced to submission the country of Gaur except perhaps the capital and annexed the western part of the modern Jalpaiguri district. He even settled at Bakunthapur (Jalpaiguri) in that district. He removed his capital from Mount Chikna to Ningulavasha on the plains and consolidated his kingdom and settled in it Brahmins from Mithila. K.L. Barua refers to Behula Unkhyan as saying that Vishva Singha became first known as the Lord of Kamata or Kamateswar and subsequently removed his capital to Koch Behar where he built

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212 The Cooch Behar State: p.228.
213 Stewart: History of Bengal, pp145-6; S.N. Bhattacharyya: op.cit., p.76.
a fine city. Thus being strong he neglected to send tributes to the Ahom king with former regularity and the latter wanted to know why it was so. Vishva Singha felt it to be a humiliation and just to remove this stigma of vassalage made preparations for war and sailed up the Brahmaputra as far as Singari-parbat in Darrang. But as the provisions were exhausted at that place he retreated with his army to his country Koch Behar without having any clash with the Ahoms. 214

Soon after that he fell ill and before his death he invited his sons to his bed-side and expressed his desire to annex the beautiful and prosperous country of Assam. Now as he was ill and had no hope of survival he asked his sons to conquer that country and remove the humiliation of being tributary to the Ahom king. He also selected his second son Naranarayan to succeed him and his third son Sukladhvaj alias Chilarai to be the commander-in-Chief of the Koch army. He directed his eldest son Narasingha to rule the hill country of Bhutan. 215 He died in A.D. 1554. 216 Naranarayan 217 ascended the throne in the year 45 Raja Saka (A.D. 1555). The eldest brother Narasingha or Nri Singha relinquished it being bound, it is said, by the words of his blessings namely:

215 Ibid., p. 31. Narasingha was probably a Resident Prince to superintend and control the affairs of Bhutan under Deva Raja.
216 Vishva Singha is said to be still alive immersed in meditation (Yoga) in a mountain above Mt. Chikna. (see Yogini Tantra, Patal XIII, Sloka 170).
217 He was called also Malla Dev or Malla Narayan as he was physically very strong and a wrestler.
'you will be the queen-consort', offered earlier to Naranarayan's wife.218 Pargana Panga, which forms part of the District of Rangpur, was set apart for his maintenance, and his family dwelt there. Both gold and silver coins were struck and issued by Maharaja Naranarayan and were called Narani or Narayani coins. These coins (Narayani Rupees) had on one side the name of Mahadeva, and on the other, the name of Sri Sri Maharaja Naranarayan, both in Deva-nagari character. A few of them, still preserved by the government, bear the date 1477 Sak or A.D. 1555 which shows that Naranarayan became king in that year. For according to the custom of the Koch Behar family nazara have to be given by the officers and subjects to the new king in coins so struck at his coronation.219

Not long after his accession the Muslims of Gaur invaded the Koch territories and Naranarayan had to organize a large army composed of Koch and Bhutanese troops and also of Rajput, Manghul and Pathan mercenaries and send it with Sukla-dhvaj as the Commander-in-Chief against the aggressors. The Koch general defeated and drove off the Muslims as far as the Ganges.

Naranarayan also granted Brahmottar lands to many Brahmuns' under his deal of the Singha Chhapa. He and Sukladhvaj also rebuilt the temple of Kamakhya after its destruction by Kalapahar. Saktism was the State religion, but Vaishnavism was tolerated.

219 The Coorh Behar State, p. 230.
In A.D. 1555 an expedition was sent by the king with the Shairing Raja, the Bar-Gohain and the Bura-Gohain (Chao-Phuphrang) as generals against the Nagas of Hatikhok. One detachment led by the Shairing Raja and the Bar-Gohain (Thao-Monglung) advanced towards the Naga village called Iton. The Hatikhokia Nagas retreated by the Tilao (Lohit river) leaving behind their women and children and the Itonias fled to Papuk. The Ahom forces pursued them and reached Papuk. All Nagas fled into the interior area of Khamteng. In the meantime the Bar-Gohain fell ill and was carried back. The Nagas assembled at Khamteng and made an attack on the Bar-Gohain on the hill Tadihongzung and captured him by killing his men. But two Ahom princes Chao Hao-Ben and Chao Sham-Chu with their troops speedily marched to the scene, fell upon the Nagas and put them to rout. The Bar-Gohain was freed and conveyed to the capital. 220

New Appointments of Ministers:

In A.D. 1557 the famous general Kan-Seng Barpatra-Gohain and the Bura-Gohain died. The king appointed Chao Aikhek as Bura-Gohain and Rajmentri under the title of Chao Shang-Rai and Kan-Seng's son Klan-Jang was made Barpatra-Gohain (Shenglung). 221

220 AB, pp. 82-83; DAB, p. 40.
221 AB, pp. 83; DAB, p. 40. Here Tamili Phukan's statement that Aikhek and Klan-Jang became Bura-Gohain and Barpatra-Gohain respectively during Hao-Klen-Kong's reign is evidently wrong and was a result of confusion. See his Assam Puranji, p. 34.
After his accession Maharaja-Narainarayan of Koch Behar sent an embassy to the Ahom Court at Garhgaon conveying the usual homage and goodwill, which had been the practice ever since Vishva Singh's installation as tributary to the Ahoms. But Narainarayan also communicated through the embassy his complaint that the Ahoms, in utter disregard of the old friendship between the two countries, had killed his brother Dip Singh when the latter with two other brothers had been on a pilgrimage to the east. The Bura-Chahin Al-Khak, who was asked by the king to receive the ambassadors, not only found fault with the latter's etiquette, but also made very adverse comments on the manners and customs of the Koches in reply to a few questions asked by one of the ambassadors. Further he told them with a firm tone that if they maintained the friendship ignoring such incidents among Kabatirias it would be to their good. This was the first cause of tension between the Koches and the Ahoms.

Aola Bhuyan's Invasion:

One Aola Bhuyan, probably a Bhuyan chief earlier removed from the Kapili valley to Sibsagar by Hso-Klen-Kong, escaped to the Bhuyan country down beyond the territory of the Ahom kingdom and planned with another chief, said to be a grandson of Pratap Rai, for the invasion of that kingdom.

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222 AB - 'SMIC! p.34-36. The members of the embassy were four, namely, Udbhanda Chaulya, Shyamrai Chaulya, Kalketu Sardar and Brama Sardar, who were accompanied by 22 Dhekeris. The embassy carried a letter from the Koch Raja and presents to the Ahom Court.
223 Aluya Bhuyan of DAB (pp.40-41) ; AB, p.84.
They sailed upstream the Brahmaputra in A.D. 1560 with a force as far as Dikhaumukh where they made their encampment. An Ahom army led by the Bar-Gohain Ton-Kham, Bura-Gohain Chao Shang-Rai and Klang-Jang Barpatra-Gohain made a fierce attack on the invaders at that place and completely defeated them. Thereafter the king constructed a fort with strong ramparts at Buka (present Bukakhat in the Golaghat Sub-Division) to the west of the Dhansiri and also strengthened the defences of Sala.

First Invasion of Assam by Tepu:

Tepu was some chief or general under the Koch king Naranarayan. He made repeated incursions into the Ahom territories between A.D. 1562 and 1571. The first incursion was a reply to an accusation made by the Ahoms that the Koches had been raiding villages in violation of the Ahom territory in the course of their operations against the Kacharis. Thus in A.D. 1562 a Koch army under Tepu proceeded with a fleet of boats up the Brahmaputra reaching first Sala and then Dikhaumukh. When this report reached the capital the Shairing Raja, the Bar-Gohain Ton-Kham, Bura-Gohain Ai-Khek and Barpatra-Gohain Klang-Jang marched with a force to fight the enemy. After a brief engagement in which some men of the Ahom force were killed by the enemy's bullets the latter retreated to the north bank and encamped at Harhimukh in the present North Lakhimpur Sub-Division. A detachment of the Ahoms pursued them right up to that place. There was

224 DAB, p. 42; also Geit, op. cit. p.100.
225 He is more known by this name than Chao Shang-Rai.
an engagement at Harhimukh in which the Ahoms were worsted and a number of their officers were killed. The Chronicle makes no mention of any of the chief Ahom generals having gone over to Harhimukh. Tepu returned to his country without any tangible success.

Koch Invasion Of Assam:

When the Koch embassy returned from the Ahom Court and submitted its report on the imperious attitude of the Ahom minister in dealing with it Naranarayan decided upon the conquest of Saumar, which was Eastern Assam forming the Ahom kingdom at that time. Naranarayan is said to have taken this decision after having ruled for about five years, that is A.D. 1560 which also indicates the date of the embassy's visit to Garhgaon, the Ahom capital. The Koch king then directed his brother Gohain Kamala to construct a road just south of the Bhutan boundary and north of the Ahom territories all along the north bank of the Brahmaputra for the Koch army to march. The road was constructed by levelling the high and low lands and, when the work was completed, it stretched from Behar to Narayangpur in Habung in the present North Lakhimpur Sub-Division. According to Sri Sri Svarganarayandev Maharajin Jemma Cheritra (in AB - 'SHJC', p.36) the road passing by the side of Juria reached as far as the great Dhal river near the Kumatiya which forms the eastern boundary of the North Lakhimpur Sub-Division. It seems the road ran mostly through

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227 Kamrupar Barenji, p.12.
uninhabited areas of those days and was completed in about two years' time. Further it must have been constructed in an unspectacular manner and without any fuss or demonstration of enmity towards the Ahoms, otherwise the whole project would have been nipped in the bud by the latter. When by the end of 1562 the army and the road were ready, both Naranarayen and Chilarai started with a large army for invading the Ahom kingdom. All the Bhuyans joined them and, in addition, the Koch king secured the collaboration of the Bhutanese and the Daphlas who supplied him with large reinforcements. The vast combined army headed by the renowned Koch general Chilarai moved forward along the newly built road, which was called Gohain Ksanalar Ali, and reached Narayanpur on the north bank in the Sub-Division of North Lakhimpur where the local Brahmin Bhuyan presented an elephant to Naranarayen and joined him against the Ahoms. Then they all advanced to Chinatali and made their camp near Juria in the Habung country.

At the approach of the Koch army the Habung Brahmins, who knew the Koch royal family to be most pious and respectful to Brahmins, rode on cows by prominently exhibiting the sacred lines on their foreheads and raising the sacred threads up on their

228 AB - 'SMJC', p.38; AP, (p.35) mentions 'the Koch king invading our country' in Nakhi Mungra i.e. A.D. 1563. L.L. Barua says that according to the Darang Raj Vansavali also, the Koch army was led by Naranarayan and his brother Sukladhvaj. It is said that Chilarai had patches of leucoderma throughout his whole body for which he was called Sukladhvaj, but they all vanished except in the navel on his dedicating a math for the installation of the god Sree Surya. See AB - 'SMJC', p.38.

229 According to AB - 'SMJC'(p.36) 600,000 men, which, if it means the regular army, appears to be an exaggerated figure.

ears in order to save their lives from the invaders. Many Sudras also made a similar demonstration in imitation of the Brahmins to escape from the enemy's attacks. Some accounts say that knowing the sentiments of the Hinduized Koch Princes who would never shed Brahmin blood the Ahom king sent forward an army of Sudras dressed as Brahmins and riding on cows. Seeing the Brahmin army before him Chilarai retreated without striking. But later, learning that he had been outwitted by the Ahoms by a false device, Chilarai marched again in A.D. 1563 with a large force against them. He crossed to the south bank of the Dihing (the Brahmaputra) from Habung opposite Dikhamukh and fought and drove the Ahoms back in a series of engagements for seven days. Chaozing Aikhring was the Ahom Commander-in-Chief appointed by the king and was ordered to defend the fort at the mouth of the Sessa river which falls into the Buri Dihing not far from the Brahmaputra. With him was placed the Tipam Raja Hso-Leng (or Hso-Relang) who was the king's uncle and named by the Hindus Deo Raja and by the Deodhais Phichao. He had soon to come down to oppose the enemy.

As a warrior he was as powerful as his adversary Chilarai whose further advance he effectively checked. But when one day during this campaign the Deo Raja put off his amulet for bathing it was snatched away by a kite and dropped amidst Chilarai's army. Considering it to be a curse of God he left the campaign and proceeded to Shairing (Saring), his old demesne.

231 Ibid. p. 33.
233 AB, p. 36. Hso-Leng, second son of Hso-Mun-Mong, was first Shairing Raja and afterwards Tipam Raja under Hso-Klen-Mong. The youngest brother Prince Hso-Khring was called Dop Raja by the ...
where he made a grave and voluntarily entered it with his followers.\textsuperscript{234} The grave still stands and is called Deo Raja Maidam. His disappearance from the battle-field cleared the way for Chilarai who then pushed forward to Machagarn and encamped there with Narenarayan in the month of April in 1563. The place is said to have been named Machagarn from the bent (mecha) roof of the camp house that Chilarai built at it. It is also said that the Koches excavated a tank there with spears and bow ends.\textsuperscript{235}

In the meantime the province of Marangi was devastated by the Koches after overrunning the Kachari territory. Another Koch army under General Topu advanced up the Brahmaputra to attack the strategic Ahom fort at Diling. Hso-Kham-Hpa sent couriers to communicate his stern orders to its garrison not to leave the fort on any account. But before the couriers could reach the place the garrison deserted the fort under enemy pressure and retreated to Abhoipur.

These riverses coupled with the encampment of the powerful Koches in the vicinity made it untenable for Hso-Kham-Hpa to continue any longer in the capital and so he left it with all his officers and armed forces for the Nam-Chin Hill, from where he entered the Naga Hill for refuge and stayed at Klang-doi Hill for three months.\textsuperscript{236} The king's absence demoralized the

\textsuperscript{235} AB - "EMJC", p.39. This does not appear to be the main tank called Machagarn Dahari, for that the latter was excavated by Hso-Haeng-Hpa (Pratap Singha) and dedicated to the God of Heaven (Lengdon) by sacrificing buffaloes and cows according to Ahom customs is described in the same Buranji. (See p.61).
\textsuperscript{236} AB, p.97. It is said the Ahom king caused an iron goat to be made and sent to Narenarayan saying that if he could sever the head by one stroke he should have his kingdom. When Narenarayan succeeded with a sharp sword to sever it, the king
population of the undefended capital with the result that many people including a prince called Temul-Nukhass Gohain went over to the Koches, who also received supplies for the army. The prince was treated as a brother by Naramarayan and was honoured with presents. The Bhuyans, who were under the control of the Ahoms, immediately sided with the Koches against the Ahoms. Jarchon itself was occupied by the victorious Koches.

There was thus a collapse of the defences on all fronts. Hence the king in his hill refuge held a council of the officers and generals and decided to make peace overtures with the Koch king. Hso-Kham-Ipa then deputed as envoy Chao-Phumphrang Ai-Klek with valuable presents consisting of gold and silver vessels and a jar to meet Raja Naramarayan, who was then at Majuli, and negotiate for peace. The result of the peace talks was that the Koch Raja agreed to go back if hostages named by him be given by the Udycigi Raja (the king of the East by which the Ahom king was meant) as also the best elephant named Khamring and the swiftest horse Pakshirai possessed by him. Unable to resist the Koch power the Ahom king yielded to the demand. Among the hostages were the three sons of the three Gohains, and the Bar-Gohain Ton-Kham's nephew named Apasu Gohain alias Sundar Gohain. The Bar-Gohain's son Chaspet was brought

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237 mention of Chao-Phumphrang (Bura-Gohain) Ai-Klek here in the Tai-Ahom text, contrary to the account in 'SMC', (p.36), shows that he was in office till after this great Koch invasion. There is no reason to doubt it as his name is specifically mentioned as an envoy who was alone entrusted with the responsibility of negotiating peace with the Koch king.

238 K.T.P.: p.26. Apasu means ugly, but actually he was most handsome for which he was referred to as Sundar Gohain by the people of Koch Behar and since then he became known by the latter name. In some Buranjis Apasu is distorted into Akasu.
from Tiru, but he was accompanied by his mother, Chaoshao
Mengbu, who was the daughter of the late great sovereign
Mao-Hun-Mong and aunt of Chao Hao-Kham-Ipa. She protested against
her son being sent to the down country, Koch Debar. She severely
reprimanded the king and her husband for acknowledging defeat
at the hands of the Koches who should not have been any match
for them and demanded the general's uniform to fight the enemy.
Referring to the king she said 'Why should he reign when he is
unable to save his subjects from the enemies?'. She then wrenched
her son away with the remark 'My son can be offered as a hostage
only when the current of the river Bikhan can be reversed'. The
king and the nobles, because of their moral weaknesses, dared
not interfere with the action of this respected and energetic
lady. The king then ordered his brother Prince Hao-Sam to go
in place of Chaopet. The Dura-Gohain presented to the Koch
King at the latter's Majuli camp the hostages, of whom Apasu
Gohain was the chief, and also the five cubits high elephant
Khamring and the horse Pakabral as demanded. At a test fight
the five-cubit Khamring defeated Chilarai's elephant Sukladhwaj
famous for its height of seven cubits. Khamring was then
returned to the Abom king.

The great consequence of this war was, as Cuit points
out in his Koch Kings of Kamarupa, that the Abom king agreed to
acknowledge himself a feudatory of Narasayarn. In that year of

239 Chaoshao is gabbarudeo in Assamese, a respectable
term of address applied to the wife of an Abom of high descent,
usually a Gohain. Henz, lady, women, bu, a lotus. In DAB, the
name is Hmonglen, meaning a flower, which appears to be
the translator's or copyist's distortion of the original.
240 AB, p. 87-88; DAB, p. 44.
241 AB - 'SMLO', p. 40.
Koch victory, records the Tai-Ahom Chronicle, all the tributes were paid to the Koch king. Three officers named Ujir Ram, Tapasvi Laskar and Nalamiya Laskar were also appointed by the Koch king as governors (Rajkhwas) of the provinces near the river Brahmaputra on the north bank.

Having subjugated Assam Harinarayan marched back with the hostages. But Chilarai, with the intention of proceeding to Hidamba, forced a large number of men of Assam skilled in crafts to accompany him. This unfriendly act of Chilarai after the settlement of peace not only displeased the Ahom authorities but also undermined their confidence in the Koch king. Both (probably Harangi) Harinarayan and Chilarai first proceeded to Morang and thence to Desura. For the Dimaria (or Dimarua) Chief Pantiswar sought the protection of Harinarayan against the depredations of the Kocharis and became tributary to him. Harinarayan and Chilarai reduced to submission the Kochari Raja of Hidamba and the Raja of Manipur without a war, but fought and killed the Rajas of Jajanta, Tipura and Sylhet. Viryyavanta, the Chief of Anthari, voluntarily submitted when he heard of Harinarayan’s prowess and sought permission to mint coins in his name. But Harinarayan said ‘stamp coins in my name only, not in your name’ and, when the Chief agreed he presented him with a mint of his own for the purpose. The coins minted were of silver. It is an instance of how Narayani coins circulated in countries outside

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242 [2], P. 38.
243 B.A., P. 44; [2], P. 38.
244 Ar. - 'AHOC' P. 40.
245 [2], cit., P. 55; Ar. - 'AHOC', P. 40; [2], P. 12.
246 Raja of Anthari is said to be a Garo in Harinarayan Anthari, P. 12. But the present Khakis were also sometimes referred to in some Bisanjis as Garos. The reason is not known.
Koch Behar proper, it seems they were current sometime or other in all the Koch dominions. After conquering the hill States and subduing the petty chiefs of the south bank and settling the tributes to be paid by them Naranarayan and Chilarai crossed the Lohitya (the Brahmaputra) to the north bank from Pundu in Guwahati. Finding the bracelet-like bend of the river at Hajo they ordered their men to excavate a straight canal connecting the two ends of the great bend which they did with their spears, swords and digging tools. The main current of the river then took the course of the canal and the Hajo current shrivelled up into a rill. Both the brothers then went to Koch Behar crossing the Lohitya at Karoiberi.

Naranarayan was not allowed to reign in peace by the Muslims who made repeated incursions into the Koch territories. According to Stewart in A.D. 1569 Soliman Shah Karamay, Sultan of Bengal, invaded and plundered Koch Behar. Again in A.D. 1578 one Hossein Kooly Khan is said to have forced the Raja of Koch Behar to pay tribute and acknowledge himself as a vassal of the Mughul Empire. In some Buranjis it is said that sometime after the Assam campaign the Koch Raja proceeded to fight against Gaur (called also Bare Bengal) but the Koches were defeated and Chilarai taken prisoner and

248 [ABD, SIJO, p.40.
249 Stewart : History of Bengal, p.150. It is well-known that the Kararani Sultans of Bengal ruled from A.D. 1564 to 1576. Suleiman Kararany, Governor of South Bihar, who acknowledged the suzerainty of Akbar, was also the Sultan of Bengal in A.D. 1572. He must have therefore led his expedition against Koch Behar when Taj Khan Kararany (1564-72) was the ruler of Bengal with capital in Gaur. Suleiman is said to have removed his capital from Gaur to Tanda in U.P.
250 to be distinguished from Husain Quli Khan, a contemporary of Siraj-ud-daulah.
kept in captivity by the king of Gaur. The king, who so defeated the Koches and captured their Commander-in-Chief, was probably Soliman Shah Keranis (or Suleiman Kararani) who, after devastating some of the Koch territories, besieged the capital itself and would have destroyed it had he not to abandon it and proceed to put down an insurrection in Orissa. The Koch power of fighting greatly diminished when their redoubtable general Chilarai was removed from the scene and Naranarayan passed his days in great anxieties. Having passed about one year in captivity without any hope of early release and apprehending an invasion of the Koch kingdom by the Ahoms at any moment, Chilarai sent a message to Naranarayan advising the latter to send back the Ahom hostages and to promote friendship with Assam at this hour of adversity. In appreciation of this prudent suggestion Naranarayan decided to release the hostages, but without betraying his real weaknesses. He therefore hit upon a plan and invited Sundar Gohain to a game of dice betting that if the latter could win all the hostages would be released. Sundar won by nineteen to twenty. Naranarayan then rewarded him for his success and allowed the hostages to return to their country sending with them a number of men of his own country, mostly artisans, such as goldsmiths. When they reached Garhgaon these men from Koch Behar were settled in a particular area called thenceforth Bhatiagar and the goldsmiths and blacksmiths who came with them became known as Bhatia Sonari and Bhatia Kamar.

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252 AE - ‘SIUC’, p. 41 ; KE, 12. This Koch-Muslim war is omitted in the Tai-Ahom Chronicle.
At Gaur Chilarai is said to have cured the Padshah's mother, who was about to die from snake-bite. Since then Chilarai became a great favourite of the Padshah's family and was even married there and entrusted with certain responsible functions of the Court. Meanwhile Narenarayan advanced with a force to release him. According to the account in the Sri Sri Svarganarayana Maharaj Jena Charitra Chilarai, who had a secret understanding with Narenarayan, obtained the Padshah's permission to take his army under a false pretence to fight his brother the Koch king, who had deprived him of his share of the kingdom. Chilarai thus led the Padshah's army away and joined his brother. Both then attacked and subjugated Gaur and the Padsha fled from the capital. Thereafter Chilarai was referred to by the title of Sangram Singh. If this story can be trusted then this Koch conquest of Gaur must have been the real cause why Sulaiman Karamani had to transfer his capital from Gaur to Tanda in the present Uttar Pradesh whatever other excuses for it might be cited.

In the Chronicle Sri Sri Svarganarayana Maharaj Jena Charitra it is indicated that by the time Chilarai sent the message to Narenarayan from his prison at Gaur advising the latter to release the Ahom hostages Hao-Kham-Ipa had died and Hao-Shen-Ipa (Pratap Singh) ascended the throne at Garghaon. But it cannot be reconciled with the date of Hao-Kham-Ipa's death, that is, A.D. 1603, and Narenarayan's period of reign which was from Raja Saka 45 to 78 corresponding to A.D. 1555-1587.

255 Ibid, p.43.
If Chilarai was in captivity at Gaur from A.D. 1569 to 1570 when he sent his message, then the hostages must have been released by A.D. 1571 at the latest, when in the Ahom kingdom Hso-Kham-Ipa was ruling and not Hso-Shen-Ipa who ascended the throne in A.D. 1603.

Both the Ahoms and the Koches had been friendly nations since the time of Vishva Singha and the latter owed a great deal to the sacrifice of the Ahoms in founding his greatness. The Ahoms never contemplated any invasion of the Koch territories even when Naranarayan neglected to pay his tributes fully and regularly. There was nothing to displease the Koch king except a few castigating replies given by a minister of the Ahom Court to an improper and irrelevant set of questions asked by the Koch ambassadors. The common enemies of both the Koches and the Ahoms were the Muslims who had already established their domination in the neighbouring country of Gaur and had shown what they could do by the devastations carried out in Nilakbar's Kamata. Naranarayan and Chilarai being elated by Vishva Singha's temporary conquests of parts of Gaur thought themselves too strong for their Muslim neighbours and so started for breaking the power of the Ahoms in the east. The Koch-Ahom combined strength, which had served as a bulwark against the steadily growing Muslim menace, was disrupted by Naranarayan's short-sighted policy and it was not too long for him to reap the consequences of this political miscalculation when the fearful impact of Muslim expansion overwhelmed the Koch kingdom in the years that followed leading to the break-down of its power in the very next generation.
Lesser Invasions:

During the period from A.D. 1564 to A.D. 1566 there were a number of lesser invasions of the Ahom territories. First the Chutiyas started their predatory activities in Namruk and Kheram which had to be dealt with. At the same time, a Dhekeri Raja named Paman or Pavan invaded the Ahom territories on the north bank. Hao-Kham-Hpa sent, among others, the Bura-Gohain, the Barpata-Gohain and the Sadiyakhowa-Gohain against him. In the battle of Murahhaga (or Moorbagor), a place famous for a temple of Kamakhya,256 a great number of enemies fell dead and the Dhekeri Raja fled on an elephant. Being chased by the Ahoms he fled away on a horse leaving the elephant, horses and guns and then sailed down to his country. All the animals and war weapons that he had left behind were collected by the Ahoms.

Another chieftain called Dhela Raja invaded the Ahom territory but he was captured. Tepu again appeared in A.D. 1565 as an invader, but was defeated with heavy losses. The Ahoms gained many war-boats, guns and other things belonging to the enemy.

The Theomung Bongen (the Sadiyakhowa-Gohain) died in A.D. 1570. In A.D. 1571 another chieftain, Bhitarual, and Tepu sailed up the Brahmaputra to the mouth of the Nam-Tima (the Dhasiri) to attack the Ahom territory. The king, with the Shairling Raja and his three ministers, fell upon them killing innumerable Koch soldiers and forcing the rest with their chiefs to retire hastily. The Ahoms gathered large boats, guns and other weapons.

256 Wade says that this temple is greatly frequented by the mountaineers as well as by the inhabitants of Upper Assam. See: His Geographical Sketch of Assam, p.13, appended to Account...
left behind by the enemies. Then two Nagas named Pungbang and Pungkhu created trouble, but they were soon captured and brought to the king. In A.D. 1572 the king was capturing elephants at the mouth of the river Tibang (the Dibong). This might have caused a friction with the local Chutiyas, referred to as Mataks also. The Saring Raja and the Sadiyakhowa-Gohain proceeded with a force to fight with their Senapati (chieftain), but as the Ahom force approached the latter fled to Kanchai. The Nagas of Iton again revolted in 1573, but were put down after defeating them at Kheram. In A.D. 1574 there was an epidemic of small-pox throughout the country which took a heavy toll of life.

Nora Expedition:

In the beginning of Lakni Khumtmit or A.D. 1575 the Nora Raja, referred to also by the people of Assam as the king of the East, fled to Kham-Jeng (or Kham-Yang) as the Burmese invaded his country and devastated it. The Nora Raja mentioned in the Tai-Ahom Chronicle was the Mogaung Sawbwa Sao-Kaa-Hpa II (1564-83) who waged the most formidable war against the greatest Burmese conqueror and king Bayin-Naung (1551-81) of the Toungoo dynasty who was crowned at Pegu with the greatest ceremonial. Mogaung was already conquered by an army despatched by Bayin-Naung in A.D. 1556 (Shan Lakli-Rungmaw 23) and made its Sawbwa Sao-Sui-Kwei a tributary chief.

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257 DAB, p. 48; AE, p. 92.
258 Ney Elias: op. cit., pp. 42-43. See also for dates his Table of Mogaung Saubwas.
At the time the Nora Raja made his camp at Kham-Jang being driven away from his kingdom by the Burmese, the Bar-Cohain Ton-Kham, the Bur-Cohain and the Barpatra-Cohain were busy constructing the fort (garh) of Pangrao (Pengerä). Hence Hso-Klan-Hpa sent with some other officers one thousand gold mohurs to the helpless fugitive Raja of Nora.\(^2\) He also asked for the sister of the Nora Raja in marriage and sent for the bride customary presents with those officers. The Nora Raja favourably responded and sent his sister with a dowry of elephants, horses, attendants and other things. A few days after that the Nora Raja further retreated towards Assam and came to Iton where he halted.\(^2\)

The very next year (1576) Hso-Kham-Hpa sent his emissaries to contact the Nora Raja's daughter, Princess Jesuk,\(^2\) and persuade her to come over to his palace at Garhgaon. Coming to know of this secret and scandalous communication at the instance of the Abom king, who married his sister only a year back, the Nora Raja was extremely offended as such a connection was unprecedented in the history of the family and, in rage, captured and severed with an axe the chests of two of the emissaries who visited his place with such an evil purpose and gave over their livers to crows and kites, the third having escaped to inform the king of the action taken by the Nora Raja.\(^2\) As an immediate sequel to this rupture with the king of Assam 'the king of the East' (Nora Raja) invaded the latter's territory and

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\(^2\) AB, p.92.  
\(^2\) DAB, p.48; AB, p.93.  
\(^2\) DAB, p.49; AB - 'SMJC', p.57.  
\(^2\) DAB, p.49.
devastated the districts of Ruram, Kheram and Namrup killing
the son of Chao Lung Ruram.

According to the Tai-Ahom texts and the Deodhai Assam
Buranji Hso-Kham-Hpa sent an army with the Tipam Raja, Shairing
Raja and the three ministers leading its different units
against the Nora Raja. The Bar-Gohain, the Barpatra-Gohain,
the Tipam Raja and Chao Rurum advanced along the right bank of
the Sesma river and the Bura-Gohain advanced along the left
bank and the Shairing Raja proceeded direct on an elephant named
Pangri. The enemies rushed out of their fort and attacked the
Shairing Raja, who being unable to resist the onslaught fell
back and dashed into the Sesma river with all his men. On the
flank Ai-Khek Bura-Gohain was killed and a number of other Ahom
officers also fell. But General Ton-Sham Bar-Gohain delivered
such a powerful assault from the right on the side of the
Dihing that the enemies were defeated with heavy losses and the
Nora Raja fled to the hills. After this the Nora Raja sub-
mitted and handed over his daughter, Jesuk, to General Ton-Kham
for the Ahom king and also surrendered, among others, his own
sword and the head-dress in lieu of his person being captured
and taken to Garhgaon. Hso-Kham-Hpa at first charged. Ton-
Kham for not capturing the Nora Raja, who had fallen into his
clutches, but was pleased to have the princess and excused the
veteran general.

263 AB, p.93; DAB, pp.49-50.
264 AB - 'SLJC', p.37.
Koch Princess for Hso-Kham-Hpa:

In Lakni Flickshinga or A.D. 1584, the Koch king (called also Dhekeri Raja), who must have been Narnarayan, sent an embassy consisting of Balban Guru and Sri Sula Laskar to Hso-Kham-Hpa with a proposal to offer his sister, Princess Chandkala, to him. It might have been the result of a belated realization, on the part of the Koch king, of the mounting Muslim danger from the west. The Ahom king reciprocated this gesture of friendship with a warm heart by sending as presents to the Koch Raja two elephants, two horses and envoys to settle the marriage. Soon after this the Ahom king sent in two trips several times more elephants and horses to the Koch Raja.

In Lakni Katmut (i.e. 1585), by a previous arrangement, the Koch Princess was escorted by the Bar-Gohsin, the Bura-Gohain and the Barpatra-Gohain to Garhgaon. Hso-Kham-Hpa with great regard for the Koch royalty named her Kham (gold) or Nang-Hung.

Between A.D. 1587 and 1593 the chief, queen, the Parbatia Kuanri and the Raidangia Kuanri of the king died.\(^{265}\)

Hso-Kham-Hpa's Nominee As Mong-Kawng Sawbwa:

In the Doojheii Asem Buraaji there is a significant reference to the installation of a king (SaoBwa), named Hso-Ben, at Mong-Kawng (Mogaung) by Hso-Kham-Hpa in Lakni Taumut or A.D., 1588. According to Ney Elias's account Chau-Sui-Kwei (Seo-Sui-Kwei) was

\(^{265}\) AB, p.94; DAR, pp.50-51.
surnamed Chau-peng which may well be Hso-Ben in the Assam Chronicle, but Chau-Sui-Kwei's period of rule is A.D. 1526-58. The only possible Sawbwa who may be Hso-Ben was Chau-Hum-Ipa (1591-1605) of Ney Elias who established his capital at New Mogaung and was temporarily independent of Burma. Probably Chau-Hum-Ipa, too, was surnamed Chau-peng or Hso-Ben and was the grandson of Sao-Kaa-Ipa. But a statement in the Burenji indicates that Hso-Ben was neither a brother nor a son of the Horn Raja. In that case Hso-Ben must have ruled between the reigns of Sao-Kaa-Kham and Sao-Hum-Ipa, but is missing in Ney Elias's Table of Mogaung Sawbwas.

Locusts and Great Earthquake Of 1596:

**Hso-Kham-Ipa's**

During his reign there was a great destruction of plants by locusts coming from the west. There was also a great earthquake in A.D. 1596. Hot water, sands, lavas and pebbles burst out from the interior of the earth all over the country.

Hso-Kham-Ipa died in the spring of A.D. 1603. One account says that he was unable to eat for a disease in the mouth and died.

17. **Hso-Neen-Ipa (1603-1641)**:

On the death of Hso-Kham-Ipa in A.D. 1603 his ministers Ton-Kham Bar-Gohain, Chaoyet Bura-Gohain and Ben-Jangi Barpatra-

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266 AB - 'SITIC', p. 41.
267 AB, p. 94; DAB, p. 51.
268 AB - 'SITIC', p. 43.
Gohain with the co-operation of Lesham Phukan and other nobles brought in, as desired by the deceased king, his son Langi Gohain and placed him on the throne in the same year. On his accession this Prince assumed the title of Hso-Hseng-Ipa. He was called by the Hindus Prachanada Singha or Pratap Singha. He was also nicknamed Burha Raja for his accession at an advanced age. He was a king who possessed exceptional wisdom and intelligence and hence was called by the Hindus Buddhi Svarganarayan.

One of the first acts of Hso-Hseng-Ipa after he became king was to catch elephants at Laihka (Laikhat) in A.D. 1605. At a later date he developed the ambition to earn the title of Cjajapati by possessing one thousand elephants. He wanted to create a city of elephants to be named Cajpur after Hastinapur of the Bengals. He actually founded a city called Cajpur in which he collected the elephants though their number did not quite reach one thousand. He also excavated a tank called Rupahi in this city and constructed a road connecting the city with Garhoan.

Jayanta Princess For Ahom King;
Its Political Significance:

Raja Dhansamanik of the Hill State of Jayanta offended

269 AB - 'SMJC' p. 44.
270 DAR, p. 51.
271 K.T.P. : op. cit., p. 27.
272 Ibid.
273 AB, p. 95 ; DAR, p. 51.
274 AB - 'SMJC', p. 67.
275 Jayantiya in modern Assamese. The kingdom of Jayanta included a plains tract to the south of the Jayantiya Hills proper. The plains country extended as far as the Surma river and was first called Jayanta. The inhabitants of Jayantiya country are known as Svntenss who constitute a cognate branch of the Khasia.
the Kochari Raja by taking Prabhakar, the Chief of Dimarua, captive. But the Kochari Raja Jashanarayan, 276 supposed to be a descendant of Nimbhoynarayan, demanded Prabhakar as a conspirator and enemy. 277 The Jayanta Raja expressed his inability to release him as he had to pay arrears of revenue for lands long enjoyed by him. Whether Prabhakar was given shelter by the Jayanta Raja with the above plea against the Kochari Raja is not very clear from the text of the Chronicle, but it gave enough excuse to Jashanarayan to invade Jayanta. Unable to resist the Kocharis the Jayanta Raja fled to the hills from where he made peace overtures with the Kochari Raja. The latter demanded tributes and hostages in the persons of Dhanamanik's elder sister Muktarani, his nephew and Muktarani's son Jashanarayan and Ambasa. In the greater interest of his country Dhanamanik accepted the peace terms and sent the tributes and the hostages as demanded. Probably the Jayanta Raja himself was taken captive and brutally treated by the Kochari Raja. Since then Jayanta became a vassal State of the Kocharis, Jashanarayan; it is said, assumed the title of Arimarden after subjugating the Jayanta King and also changed the name of his capital into Khaspur in commemoration of his victory over the Khasi.

276 Nimbhoynarayan, who was set up as the tributary Raja of the Kochari kingdom by Hso-Hum-Mong, was succeeded by Durilahmara and Meghendarayan one after another and all these rulers maintained good relations with the Aboma, Jashanarayan, who was a contemporary of Hso-Hsem-Hpa, seems to be the successor of Meghendarayan. See KB, pp. 20-21.

277 AB 48, SHJC 48.
After some time, Dhanamanik died and Jashanarayan placed Jashamanik on the throne of Jayanta and permitted Muktarenik to accompany her son to Jayantapur, the capital of the kingdom. Anarsena remained in the Kachari capital at Maibang. In one account it is also said that Dhanamanik offered his daughter Sanikavali with a dowry to Jashanarayan.

But Jashananik was soon disgusted with the Kachari domination. He had also the bitter memories of the devastations of his kingdom and of the treatment meted out to his father Dhanamanik by the Kachari king still green. He therefore decided to make an alliance with the more powerful Ahoms and with that purpose sent an embassy to the Ahom king seeking his protection against the Kacharis. When he found the Ahom king's attitude favourable he proposed to offer his daughter with a dowry. Chao Hso-Hseng-Ipna accepted the offer and sent his envoy.

Jayanta Baranjii (p.11) says 'The Jayanta Raja (Dhanamanik) was captured and taken away and castrated naming him thereafter Khasi and was then sent back'. This means that the term 'Khasi' came to be applied to the Khasis from that time and the town in which the Jayanta Raja was castrated became thenceforth known as Khaspur which is very close to Maibang. The Khas people of southern Yunnan and the Khas tribe mentioned in ancient Indian literature are not known to have any connection with the Khasis of Assam. Jayanta or Jayantiya is a Hinduized term by which the Syntengs are meant.

AB - 'SMIC', pp.48-49; KB, p.21; JB, p.13.
KB, p.13.
Hup Rai and Pu Rai are mentioned as the Jayanta ambassadors. See JB, p.21.
KB, p.21.
Ibid, p.23.
Damodar Kataki. See JB, p.14. But according to AB - 'SMIC', (p.49) the envoy's name is Sonabar.
to Jayantapur with the customary clothes and ornaments (Juran) for the bride. Jashamanik saw in this friendship an opportunity to bring about a clash between the Ahoms and the Kaoharis so that the latter might be crushed. He therefore requested the Svarga Maharaja Chao Hso-Hseng-Hpa, through the latter's envoy Damodar (Sonabar ?) to take down the bride by the route of Satgaon and Teteliguri in the Kachari territory, the plea being that journey by the usual Gobha road was not possible owing to the presence of the great enemies, the Yavans (Muslims), in that State.285 As Jayanta's rupture with the Kaoharis became complete Jashamanik changed his policy towards the State of Dimarua. He released its captive Chief Prabhakar and restored the old friendship with him by showing him due honour and offering him presents.

Hso-Hseng-Hpa sent his envoy Sitalial to Jachenarayan to ask for passage through Satgaon. But the Kachari Raja refused to comply with the request and pointed out that the same road, by which the bride would travel, would be used by his antagonist, the Jayanta Raja, to invade his country.286 Hso-Seng-Hpa made a further request for passage by sending his envoys Sitalial and Srikanta who were asked to remind the Kachari Raja of his status as a tributary Chief installed and protected by the Svarga Maharaja.287 The envoys were this time detained without reception by the Kachari Raja, who also used strong words against

285 KB, p.22.
286 Ibid, p.22.
287 AB - 'SMJC', p.50.
the Svaragadev. Such a challenging attitude of the Kachari Raja was probably encouraged by the defeat of the invincible Ahoms at the hands of Narenarayan and Chilarai. The king then held a council with his ministers and nobles on this issue and decided with the consent of all to bring down the Jayanta Princess over the Kachari territory even by using force in the event of obstruction and that no permission of the dependent Kachari Raja was necessary for cutting the jungles for a road through his country. It appears from the accounts that in those days there were no good roads for communication with the hill countries and in most cases riverways were used.

An army was then sent by Hso-Haeng-Kha in the summer of A.D. 1696 by the Dhansiri to occupy the Kachari country. It was headed by General Laku Barpatra and the other generals who accompanied him were Chaopet Bura-Gohain, the Shairing Raja, the Tipam Raja, the Sadiyakhowa Gohain, the Marangikhowa Barchetia and Rup Handikoi. They all advanced up the river and reached the outskirts of the brick city (Dimapur) of the Kacharis and encamped opposite the Lion Gate (Singha-Duar or Bar-Duar) of the city. Another army was sent down by the way of the Kallang Suti to Raha and thence up the Kapili under the command of General Sundar Gohain. With this army the king also sent the Salal Gohain, Kham-Shen Bar-Gohain, Madnokhowa Hazarika and Neog Phukan (or Langi Raj-Neog), the brother of Hrang-Elak (or Nangbu), to fetch

288 Ibid., p.22.
290 AB, p.22.
291 KB, p.22; AB, pp.95-96; DAB, p.52; AB - 'SMIC', p.50.
292 DAB mentions as Sundar Naobolich-Phukan.
the Princess of Jayanta, General Sundar Gohain and the
other generals during their advance captured one Raja Lahar
(Tai-Ahom Lakat), who was a protected chief of the Kacharis,
and sent him as a prisoner to the king. The Ahom generals
then halted in the field called Hanan for a night and prepared
themselves to attack the Kachari province of Satgaon. In the
next morning the assault was delivered and Satgaon devastated
and occupied. The Ahoms also captured many guns, swords and
spears from the defeated Kacharis. The Kacharis beat a precipi­
tate retreat to Maibang. After that the Ahom generals made
their next camp at Demera.

Sunder Gohain then sent Parbatia Barua to inspect and
repair the road where necessary. The latter proceeded with his
men and came upon the Kachari fort at the confluence of the
Kapili and Maridayang rivers where a garrison was stationed to
resist the advance of the Ahoms. He attempted to capture it by
an assault but was repulsed. The Kacharis seized him and another
named Shila in the engagement and put both of them to death.
Some of the men returning from that place reported to Kham-Shen
Dar-Goshin and Sundar Naoboiche-Fimukan all about the reverse.

293 AB, p.95 ; DAB, p.52.
294 DAB, p.52 ; AB, p.95.
295 AB, p.95 ; DAB, p.52. The Kachari villages occupied
by the Ahoms in the province of Satgaon in this campaign were 1. Tiyori, 2. Devargaon, 3. Dharmapur, 4. Namor, 5. Baki (Sakin
From the accounts Satgaon appears to be an area between Kampur
and the confluence of the Dayang and the Kapili.
296 KB, p.23. In DAB, (p.52) the place mentioned is not
Demera but the confluence of the Dayang and the Kapili. These two
places seem to refer to the same area as Demera is very close to
or almost in the same place.
297 AB, p.95 ; DAB, p.52.
They then held a council and decided to advance up the Kapili. Accordingly they ascended that river and encamped at its junction with the Dayang. With the advent of the dry season (October-November) the king proceeded down to Thekerabari and made his camp at that place.

When the road for the Jayanta Princess's journey was made clear by the occupation of the Kachari territory she was escorted from Jayantapur to Dharamtika in a royal palanquin by the party sent by the king for the purpose in the month of Dinching (November-December). In the next stage of her journey from Dharamtika to Raha she was escorted by Madnokhowa Hazarika. From Raha onward to Thekerabari she was escorted by Lasham Bharali who had been sent thither for the purpose by the king and Sobha Tamuli with Demodar Kataki escorted her to Garhgaon.

Ahom-Kachari War: Prince Bhimbal's Success:

Sunder Gohain had been instructed by the king not to leave his camp and come down until further orders. After the Jayanta Princess had been safely brought down the king directed Sunder Gohain and Kham-Shen Bar-Gohain to advance and attack the Kacharis. They accordingly moved forward and crossed the Dayang and made their next camp with his army on the opposite bank. In these encampments many of Sunder Gohain's men fell ill,
probably because of the mosquito-infested inhospitable surroundings. But yet with the king's order the Gohain opened up a route by clearing jungles up to a village called Beligaon to march his troops to attack the Kachari capital, Maibang. Jashanarayan also advanced to his fort at Jatragarh. There were skirmishes from time to time between the Ahoms and the Kacharis without any decisive victory.

But Jashanarayan thought it expedient to come to terms with the Ahoms and sent envoys to Sundar Gohain requesting him not to attack Maibang and proposing to give hostages for his return. Sundar Gohain demanded the Raja's eldest son Bhimbal Konwar (or Bhim Darpa) and the elephant Payan as hostages. When Jashanarayan told Bhimbal about the terms of peace, the latter refused to submit and resolved to fight, but advised Jashanarayan to take from the Gohain seven days' time to give the hostages under the pretense of submission so that preparations to fight the Ahoms could be completed in this interval. At this stage Sundar Gohain learnt from Bhandari Gohain that the king was carrying on illicit amours with his chief wife. The report killed all enthusiasm of the general for war and he apprehended risk to his life on his return home. 'Is there any hope of my life?' he murmured, 'death is there whether I fall in war or go to Garhgaon.'

304 KB, pp.23-24.
305 Ibid., p.24. According to a manuscript account Bhimbal was younger brother of Jashanarayan. (Vide vol.II, Part I, Tr. 84 in DHAS.)
306 JB, p.15; KB, p.24; AB - 'SMJC', p.31.
307 JB, p.15.
He therefore became more or less indifferent to his duties. This love affair of the king, which had commenced soon after Sundar Gohain's departure for the Kachari campaign, might be another reason why the Gohain was asked not to return home early. The Kacharis too, by a gesture to submit created complacency in his mind and he allowed them to come to his camp in and out of time.

Taking advantage of this slackness in vigilance Jashanarayan sent many spies to his camp in company with the fire-wood suppliers and water-carriers to offer rice, gourds and other vegetables. These spies reported to him how the Gohain was living in the camp without taking proper security measures. He therefore prepared himself to attack the Gohain in one night and just before that engaged some men to enter the Ahom camp as usual in the company of the fire-wood suppliers and water-carriers with potfuls of water and pour them into the muzzles of the guns there undetected and also to block the barrels with grass. The instruction was successfully carried out and in the small hours of the morning that night Prince Bhimbal with 500 picked warriors attacked the Ahom fort. His famous war elephants, Satrudaman and Pavan, dashed off parts of the ramparts of the fort opening up passages through which the fighting men of Bhimbal entered the camp and started killing the Ahom garrison. General Sundar Gohain ordered his gunmen to open fire at the Kacharis, but the guns did not fire as

308 KB, p.24.
the Kacharis had already poured waters in them. Two-thirds of the Ahom garrison with the officers fell under the Kachari swords and only one-third escaped. Sundar Gohain being helpless fled and hid himself inside a thorny thicket on the side of the Dayang river in the neighbourhood of the Kapili, but was found and pierced to death with a spear by a Kachari. Kham-Shen Bar-Gohain was also pierced to death by the enemies. The Kacharis acquired a large amount of war materials. The heads of both the Gohains were then cut off and presented to the Kachari Raja Jashanarayan. This event is dated Sak 1528 (A.D. 1606) in the Chronicle. Jashanarayan executed the two Kacharis who, instead of capturing alive the two Gohains, killed and severed their heads, for, otherwise, such great generals and nobles of the Assam Raja would have, by their presence in my Court, said he, 'enhanced my fame and prestige as conquerors of the Ahoms in the eyes of foreign ambassadors visiting this country.'

After this victory over the Ahoms Jashanarayan assumed the title of Pratapnarayan and the name of Meibang was changed into Kirtipur (City of Fame). Since that time (A.D. 1607)

According to the version in AB - 'SMJC', Sundar Gohain ran towards the river when the watchman's hut, in which he was hiding, was set fire to by the Kacharis, but was chased and killed by the latter with a spear as he jumped into the waters. The date of his death as mentioned in this account is Sak 1537 (A.D. 1615), but this date is unacceptable being different from the date A.D. 1606 as given in the Tai-Ahom and other Chronicles.

309 KB, pp.24-25; JE, pp.15-16; AB - 'SMJC', p.52.
310 KB, p.25; AB - 'SMJC', p.52.
the Kachari Raja became independent of the Ahoms and hence stopped all feudal dues in terms of services and tributes which used to be offered so long to the overlord, the Svargadev. When the Ahom king received the shocking news of the great disaster in which the two veteran generals, Sundar Gohain and the Bar-Gohain, lost their lives he wanted to invade the Kachari kingdom, but he also anticipated Muslim invasion of Assam some day or other in the near future. 'The Bengalis are my greater enemies' said he and therefore he was unwilling to exhaust his resources in a Kachari war. He therefore decided to conciliate the Kacharis and harness his strength against the Muslims. He ordered Laku Barpatra to leave his camp near the brick city and withdraw his army from the Kachari territory. He himself left his camp at Thekera finally for Garhgaon only in Lakni Taoshinga (A.D. 1608). At Garhgaon he offered oblations to the dead and sacrifices to the gods.

Koch Affairs: Princess Mangaldai For Hso-Hseng-Hoa:

When Chilarai died his son Raghudev Narayan lived under the care of Naranarayan. Gait refers to the Akbarnamah as

311 KB, p.25; AB - 'SMJC', p.53.
312 DAS, p.53.
313 AB, p.97.
314 In course of an expedition against the Muslims Chilarai was attacked by small-pox and died on the banks of the Ganges. (See Gait: op.cit., p.55). The story given in AB - 'SMJC', (p.43) says that after his release from captivity at Gaur he died at the sight of his son Raghudev as predicted by an astrologer of Raja Naranarayan, but it appears to be a fable interpolated into the narrative from hearsay. But that Chilarai died before Naranarayan is a fact.
saying that Naranarayan lived the life of an ascetic and did not marry till late in life, but he at last married only on the urgent representations of his brother Chilarai and, in due course, had a son. Until then Raghudev was regarded as the heir to the throne. But according to Rajopakhyanā Naranarayan had married before he became king and it was through his wife that he got the throne from his elder brother Nara Singha. It might be that Naranarayan had his son born long after his marriage. This son, named Lakshminarayan, was the only son of Naranarayan who succeeded to the throne and ruled over Koch Behar from A.D. 1587 to 1714.

Well before Lakshminarayan's accession the old officers and councillors of Chilarai expressed their feelings to Raghudev that it would be better for him to become an independent ruler at Ghilavijaypur, than to remain as a dependent prince in Naranarayan's Court. They also reminded him how Vishva Singha himself made a partition of the kingdom giving the territory east of the Bar Sankosh to Chilarai and the western part to Naranarayan. Raghudev felt encouraged by the advice and with Naranarayan's approval and good wishes he, with all the followers and councillors, left Koch Behar and became king at Ghilavijaypur, which was itself probably called Barnagar or

315 His History of Assam, pp.55-56.
capital in Assam Chronicles. He strongly fortified the city. Just to eliminate causes of future disputes over the kingdom Naranarayan formally made over to Raghudev the territories east of the Sonkosh, the western part forming the kingdom for himself and his descendants. This partition of the kingdom was made on the basis of Raghudev's acknowledgement of the overlordship of his uncle Naranarayan to whom he would pay tributes. Muslim writers called this eastern kingdom of Raghudev Koch Najo, while the western one, ruled by Naranarayan and his successors, Koch Behar.

Jait describes Raghudev's kingdom as comprising the present Morigaon Sub-Division and the districts of Kamrup and Goalpara with a southern strip extending to eastern Mymensingh. On Naranarayan's death Raghudev declared his independence of Koch Behar. Lakshminarayan, who succeeded Naranarayan, was a weak Raja and could not compel Raghudev to pay tributes. All that he could contrive to do was to stir up a rebellion headed by Raghudev's son Parikshit himself. Raghudev quashed it capturing Parikshit and executing his associates. After a time Parikshit escaped from prison and fled to Koch Behar where he was cordially received by Lakshminarayan, but

317 Kamrupar Buranji, pp.13-14. This Buranji (p.18) says that the capital-city was established at Vijaypur on the bank of the Gila river in Ajara village. It is also called Chilavijaypur and is located on the east of the Bar Sonkosh, which flows into the Brahmaputra on the west of Dhubri as the Gangadhar, and west of the Galadhar about ten miles up from its mouth. There is also the river Sary or small Sonkosh east of Dhubri.
318 History of Assam, p.56.
319 Ibid., p.62.
hostilities arose between Raghudev and Lakshminarayan, and finding Raghudev more powerful the latter sought protection from the Mughul Empire by becoming its vassal in A.D. 1596. He also gave a daughter in marriage to Raja Man Singha, the then Governor of Bengal, in 1597. A force was then sent by Man Singha for the protection of Koch Behar.

Raghudev Narayan died about A.D. 1603, the year of Hso-Hseng-Hpa's accession, either from snake-bite or poison administered by the mother of his second son, Indranarayan. He left behind eighteen sons of whom the eldest one, Parikshitnarayan, was in Behar and Indranarayan was about to succeed to the throne. The ministers being opposed to it invited Parikshit, who immediately proceeded to Ghilavijaypur and was placed on the throne. He captured Indranarayan and executed him. Man Singha, the uterine brother of Indranarayan, fled to the Abom capital with his followers and placed himself under the protection of king Hso-Hseng-Hpa, who, knowing him to be a Koch prince treated him honourably and settled him at Namrup with a princely position. Parikshit removed his capital to North Gauhati and built a palace near the Asvakranta Hill.

320 Ibid., pp. 64-65.
321 Ibid., p. 64. Gait says A.D. 1603 is the year in which the coins of his successor Parikshit were issued.
323 It is said in the Kamrupar Buranji (p.14) that Meches, engaged by Parikshit, killed Indranarayan by wringing his neck.
324 AB - 'GHJO', p.47.
325 Gait: op.cit., p.64.
Parikshit having settled himself firmly refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Lakshminarayan. Clashes occurred between the two rulers and both sought the friendship of the Ahoms. In the Tai-Ahom Chronicle it is related that in Lakni Taoshinga (A.D. 1608) Hso-Sheng-Hpa sent Sagar Kandali and Bar-Ramun's son to ask the Koch king to offer a princess to him. 326 Gait says that in 1609 Parikshit gave his daughter Kangal Dadi (Kangaldi) to Pratap Singha (Hso-Hseng-Hpa). 327 The Koch king mentioned in the Tai-Ahom Chronicle is thus Parikshit and not Raghudev as said in some Assamese Buranjis, for the latter had already died by that time. The Koch king also sent with his daughter twenty families of slaves and twenty families of domestics as dowry. Parikshit's son Vijitnarayan was the founder of the Bijni dynasty of Goalpara. Of the other sons of Raghudev Balinarayan became the Raja of Darrang and Gajanarayan, not identified among Raghu's sons in the Kamarupa Buranjis, became the Raja of Beltola in South Kamarupa. 328

Taking advantage of the struggle for succession between Parikshitnarayan and Indranarayan Lakshminarayan invaded Ghilawijaypur. By the time Parikshit had secured the throne with the support of the nobles, in the war Lakshminarayan was worsted and his beloved brother Balidevnarayan was killed. Lakshminarayan

326 AB, p. 97.
327 Gait: cit.; p. 64.
328 Genealogical Table of the Koch Kings of Kamarupa and Feudatory Chiefs of Cooch Behar in The Cooch Behar State, p. 603.
fled to Koch Behar. Thereafter Parikshit led a series of attacks on Lakshminarayan's territories which the latter found it difficult to defend. This led Lakshminarayan to approach Islam Khan at Ghoraghat in A.D. 1608 and then the Mughal Emperor Jahangir for help by offering his daughter to him. Jahangir sent Mukarram Khan with twenty-two Omraos to capture Parikshit alive if possible and bring him to Delhi. Parikshit advanced to Dhubri and entrenched himself there to fight the Mughal general. On arrival at Dhubri the enemies besieged the Koch fort, 'the foremost of all the forts in the Koch territory'. Parikshit gave a great fight against the mixed attacking Mughal army under the supreme command of Mukarram Khan and it was only after a long and heroic struggle and the defeat of the Koch navy that Parikshit had to retreat. According to Kamrupar Buranji (p.19) Parikshit fought from his fort at Dhubri for one year before he could be defeated. He retreated to Ghila and then to Pandu but was pursued by Mukarram Khan reinforced by Lakshminarayan on the Sonkash. The Mughuls occupied Gilavijaypur (Bar-Nagar) and the imperial fleet reached Pandu.

Parikshit appealed to the Ahom king for assistance and the latter invited him to Garhgaon assuring him of all protection.

329 not Shah Jahan, as mentioned in Kamrupar Buranji, who became emperor in A.D. 1628. See Kamrupar Buranji, pp.14-15; AB - 'SMJC', p.54.
330 called thereafter Gilanay (New Ghila) or Jahangirabad by the Mughuls.
But at the instance of his interested ministers he suddenly changed his mind and negotiated for peace with the leader of the Muslim expedition, Shaykh Kamal, who also accepted peshkash, and was inclined for peace against the wishes of the imperial officers. At Shaykh Kamal's suggestion Parikhshit negotiated with Mukarram Khan by sending his envoy Randas informing him of his willingness to submit and pay regular tributes if his honour and security were guaranteed. 331 Mukarram Khan and Shaykh Kamal assured them by touching the Qur'an and the former advised Parikhshit to accompany him to the Padsbah, an interview with whom would be of great benefit to him. He agreed to it and proceeded with Mukarram Khan, first, to meet Islam Khan, the Governor of Bengal (called Subahdar of Bengal). The victorious Mughul imperial army was left in the conquered country of Kamrupa under the command of 'Abdul Salam, the second brother of Mukarram Khan. Mirza Quasim was directed to occupy all the Thanias of Pendra that had already come into his hand. The Mughul fleet was left at Pendra under the command of Raja Satrajit. Thus placing Kamrup under the Mughul military commanders Mukarram Khan proceeded with the Koch Raja to Dhaka (Jahangirmagar as renamed by Islam Khan), the head-quarters of Islam Khan. It is recorded in the Chronicles of Kamrupa that from that time Kamrupa came under the Mughuls. 332

331 Kamrupar Burendji, pp.15-16, 19 ; BG.I, p.252. A fuller detail of this Mughul campaign against the Koch country is given in the Baharistan-i-Ghaybi (see Dr. M.I.Borah’s translation, DHAS, Vol. I. Chapter XI, pp.222-253).
332 Kamrupar Burendji, pp. 18,19 ; BG.I, p.253.
I alas Khan had left for Bfeawal through which Mukarram Khan and Parikshit would come, but died before their arrival. Parikshit reached that place only to pay respects to the dead-body of Islam Khan as it is recorded in Islam Nama. Parikshit was presented to the next Governor of Bengal Qasim Khan who simply remanded him to the custody of his officers together with Lakshminarayan, who had been also brought in from Khuntanagar by Raja Raghunath sent for the purpose.

They were later on taken to Delhi. In Delhi Padshah Jahangir tried to bring about a reconciliation between Parikshit and Lakshminarayan and for the purpose asked the nephew to bow down to his uncle touching the latter's feet, but it was thought by Parikshit to be a humiliation and was not complied with. The Padshah then sent back Lakshminarayan to Koch Behar with presents of Iraqi horses and swords. In order to be restored to power Parikshit was asked to pay a sum of four lakhs of rupees and send his four sons as hostages to Delhi. Accepting these terms while Parikshit was returning home he fell ill and died at Prayag. His dominions, as far as the Bar Nadi, were then annexed to the Mughul Empire.

333 Ibid., pp.16-17, 19; also AB - 'SMJC', p.54.
334 sons were Dhirmnarayan, Darpanarayan, Bhimnarayan and Surnarayan. According to the accounts in Kamrupar Burnaji (p.19) and AB - 'SMJC', he gave the sum and the hostages and then returned. (See also DHAS, Tr.34 in vol.II, P.I, MS. p.14).
335 Kamrupar Burnaji, p.19; AB - 'SMJC', p.54. Kamrupar Burnaji contains also a different version of Parikshit's death according which he was sent back again to the Emperor by Islam Khan for appearing before the latter with a Padsha's portrait and receiving a salute. This time Parikshit, while on way to Delhi, committed suicide at Triveni Tirtha (i.e. Prayag or Allahabad).
But rebellions broke out here and there in Kamarupa which had to be dealt with by the Mughuls. Qasim Khan, the Governor of Bengal, appointed Mirza Imam Quli Beg Shamali as the Chief Administrative Officer in Kamarupa and the latter arrived at Jahangirabad (Ghilavijaypur). Mirza Imam Quli and Mirza Nathan with other officers and a force attacked the rebels at Dalgan and defeated them and Mir Abdu'r-Razzaq recaptured from the rebels the fort at Bangamati.

Qasim Khan then appointed Saiyid Aba Bakr, who was the chief of his officers, to command an expeditionary force for the conquest of Assam (Ahom kingdom), but before that he was instructed to make a clean sweep of the Koch rebels of Kamarupa and establish Thanas. He was also ordered by Qasim Khan to proceed farther from the Thana of Hajo, the head-quarters of the Mughul Thanaadars or Chief Administrative Officers for Kamarupa. He therefore advanced to Kuhbata to the east of Srighat or modern Amingaon and was joined there by other Mughul commanders taking their garrisons from their respective Thanas of Kamarupa. But Kamarupa at the time bristled up with rebellions, particularly at Khuntaghat and Dhamdama, and more forces had therefore to be immediately sent by the Bengal.

335 BG, I, pp.316-318.
336 Saiyid Babakar of Assamese Buranjis.
337 BG, I, p.319.
Governor to keep the country under control. The Mughals also put pressure on Shingari in Darrang and two years had thus elapsed. 338

Though the vital centres of the Koch country were occupied by the Muslims, yet Parikshit's brother Balinarayan refused to submit to them. He appears to have taken his refuge in Darrang, but was helpless and so went to Garhgon and prayed for protection of the Ahom king Hso-Hseng-Hpa in A.D. 1615. The latter blamed Parikshit for the Koch misfortune; for, instead of responding to his invitation to put up a joint front against the Mughals, Parikshit resorted to the foolish policy of submitting to them and reaped the consequences that he had. Yet Hso-Hseng-Hpa treated the fugitive Koch prince with a generous hospitality and installed him as Raja of Darrang with the title of Dharmanarayan. At this his brothers Chandranarayan and Bapnarayan with other Koch princes paid came and their homage to the Svarga Maharaja and were settled at Janji with offer of wives, attendants, servants and villages for their maintenance. 339

Ahom-Mughul Border Incidents:

The sudden collapse of the Koch power and Parikshit's abject surrender to the Mughals left a large part of the Koch

338 Kamrupar Baranji, p.19.
339 AB, p.98; DAB, p.34; Kamrupar Baranji, p.19;
AB - 'SMJC', Kamrup p.60.
territory in the east without a ruler. Balinarayan and other princes of his family did not support their brother's policy of surrender and continued to resist. In the hope of salvaging at least the unoccupied eastern part of the Koch kingdom of Kamarupa, Balinarayan approached the Ahom king for help and protection against the advancing Mughals. The Ahom king, too, could not allow the Muslims to lay claim to all the territories of Parikshit as inheritors on the latter's surrender to them. Such a claim the Ahom government would never recognise. When therefore the Muslims advanced towards the east and annexed the kingdom on the west of the Bar Nadi, the Ahoms brought under their control the Koch territory between the Bar Nadi and the Bharali which was then outside the effective occupation of the Mughal army. Thus the part of the present Darrang district west of the Bharali came under Ahom control and the Ahom officer called Habung Chetia, who was in charge of the north bank territories of the Ahoms, was required to extend his control and supervision to the western Darrang area also. Whether the Ahom government could so immediately set up a complete and effective machinery with a network of chawkis in this area is not clear from the accounts.

In this situation a merchant known as Ratan Shah (or Ratna Shah) purchased aloes wood for the Emperor at Singari in western Darrang which was within the jurisdiction of the newly acquired territory of the Ahoms. The Ahom officer Habung Chetia came to know about it and reported the matter
to the king, with the king's order he seized the contraband stocks of wood purchased by the foreign merchant, and expelled him from the territory under his control and supervision. The merchant Ratan Shah complained to Esiyid Aba Bekr at Haio about the incident. The latter asked Raja Setrajit about where lay the boundary between the territories of the Ahoms and of Farikshit. Setrajit said that it was the river Bharali. This led Aba Bekr to conclude that the territory as far as the Bharali then belonged now to the Mughuls and Ratan Shah was quite within the jurisdiction of the Mughul territory in carrying on his commercial transactions at Singari, which was to the west of the Bharali. This claim was rejected by the Ahom government.

Meanwhile king Neo-Haeng-Hpa suspected hostile moves of the Mughuls on the border. So he sent out an officer called Shengdhara with a force to survey the western Ahom territories up to the frontier chawki at Majali, inspect the chawki and take punitive action against foreigners (Bengals), or capture them, if found within the Ahom borders. While going out in his reconnoitring tour he actually found, as expected, some unauthorized persons of Bengal with boats inside the Ahom territory. At this time these persons were buying pulses, mustard and other commodities on the north bank river side. He attacked them and captured two boats and killed two persons. This incident was also reported by Ratan Shah and
Aba Bakr's assertion that after Parikshit's surrender the Mughuls became the rightful successors of the entire former territory of the Koch Raja was not recognized by the Ahom government. Aba Bakr was sent by the Bengal Subahdar with the definite order to invade and annex the Ahom territory after quelling the rebellions in the Koch kingdom of Kamarupa and the Ahom king had already forestalled this Mughul policy and therefore did not waste his military resources in another Kachari war. The border incidents only served as an immediate cause of hostility between the Ahoms and the Mughuls.

Mughul Invasion of Assam:
The Ahoms Annihilated Aba Bakr's Expeditionary Force:

In the month of Dinchit (May-June) in A.D. 1616 Saiyid Aba Bakr appeared with his navy at the mouth of the Kalang to invade the Ahom territory. He found there at Kajali chawki an Ahom fleet of three hundred war-boats on guard-duty. The local Ahom commanders immediately attacked the Mughul force, but suffered a defeat and retreated with the loss of some boats. Satrajit entered Sala by the Kalang.

340 For the two border incidents see Kamrupar Baranti, p.20; ACA, pp.81-82.
341 RG. I, p.395.
killed a few men and looted a royal store. He also forcibly seized three female temple-dancers and sailed off. In full appraisal of the gravity of the situation Hso-Hseng-Hpa despatched a powerful force under Thakbak Bura-Gohain, Guimela Bar-Gohain, Laku Barpatra, the Sadiyakbows Gohain and the Shauring Raja against the Mughuls. They made a fort at Dikhamukh and were prepared to meet the enemy. In the month of December, 1616, the king himself advanced with an army and landed at Visvanath. Then under the king's uncle, Prince Chao-Lai as Commander-in-Chief, Khunprot Bar-Gohain, Laku Barpatra and the allied and tributary Rajas proceeded with their men to the main base at Ssemdhara, and then moved forward to the east bank of the Bharali where they raised a fort. Within a fortnight the Mughul imperial army, by six marches from Kalangmukh, reached the Bharali on the north bank and made its landing with cavalry on the sand beach of the Brahmaputra in the month of January and pitched their camp on the opposite bank of the Bharali facing the Ahoms.

Soon after their landing the Mughuls made a cavalry charge across the Bharali along the sand bank against the Ahoms killing some of them and capturing an officer called Ringsa Barpatra. The Mughul cavalry's attack caused the Ahoms to retreat to their main fort of Ssemdhara.

342 DAB, p. 54; Kamrupar Barenji, p. 20.
343 DAB, p. 55; Kamrupar Barenji, p. 21; BG.I, p. 395.
Early at dawn of Saturday, the 15th Magh, the Ahom army and navy delivered simultaneously fierce attacks on the Mughuls, the war elephants demolishing the enemy fortifications at the same time. The onset of the attack was so terrific that it overwhelmed the Mughuls and they began to flee towards the sand beach of the Brahmaputra. In the melee the proud general Abu Bakr was recognised and killed. In one account he is said to have been pierced to death by an arrow. The larger part of the Mughul army and navy was destroyed by the Ahoms and the rest with a number of Omraos were surrounded on the sand beach and made prisoners. Satrajit narrowly escaped with two boats. The Ahoms also lost a number of army officers among whom the Hati-Barua (Superintendent of the elephant corps), Lao-Barua and Lechali-Hkun were the chief and the naval officers lost were Lasham-Thanomong and Chiringdang's son Lao. Lasham-Hkun-Tong of the navy had a bullet wound, but did not die.

Mirza Nathan describes more vividly this defeat and destruction of the invading Mughul army by the Ahoms. He narrates that 'when the enemy entered the fort and killed the Sardar, a confusion arose among the land-force on the bank; they became perplexed and did not know what to do'. He further

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346 Kamrupar Buranji, pp. 21-22; DAB, p. 56; AB - 'SMJC', p. 60.
347 DAB, p. 56; Kamrupar Buranji, p. 23.
says 'the fleet of the enemy fell upon the fleet of the Zamindars' and 'dashed against many of the boats of the Zamindars and threw gang ways over them, and thus the whole fleet of the Zamindars was attacked. A confusion arose among the Zamindars of Bengal and their fleet and they suffered a defeat. Those who survived fled half-dead, each receiving ten to fifteen wounds'. 'But the enemy without giving up their obstinacy and counting on the full strength of their army, advanced forward and gave no respite. The intoxicated heroes considered their loyalty to be only another name for martyrdom and again and again with great exertions they sallied forth, and thrice gave battle without caring for the stiffness of the struggle. The enemy fell upon the army of Islam from all sides in different groups and batches and made the brave warriors drink the wine of martyrdom. The market of the angel of death became very brisk and it became a veritable Day of Resurrection'.

The casualties on the Mughul side, as described by the same author, were about 1,700 men killed on the spot, double this number escaped wounded and died in the adjoining places and 9,000 men taken as captives. In addition about 3,000 men came out half-dead and concealed themselves in the jungles. Moreover the Afoms collected 13 elephants, 900 horses and a large quantity of war equipments from the defeated Mughuls.

548 RG. I, pp. 396-97.
549 RG. I, p. 399.
350 DAB, p. 97; Kamrunar Buranji, p. 23.
The Ahom generals threw all the captives of the Mughul army into a temporary prison made of triple stockades of reeds (Khegari) on the beach at Samdhara and placed guards around it. This information was sent to the king who had come forward to Agiabandha and awaited the results of the attack. Meanwhile next day there was a general massacre of the Omraos and the other prisoners of war which ended the hostilities. Ten Hindu Rajas (Bengal zamindars) escaped death by surrendering to the Svarga Maharaja and praying for sparing their lives. On the other hand, the king, having sent ahead messengers to the Ahom officers asking them not to kill the prisoners till his arrival at that place, proceeded to Samdhara with a desire to see how the Omraos and the Mughul officers looked, but the messenger was too late to arrive. The king on arriving after the messenger found to his disappointment that all the war prisoners had already been killed. He became enraged at it and went back to Agiabandha. All the materials that had been seized were brought to him. Some of the officers responsible for such a hasty action were even executed by the king and one among them was the Shairing.

Raja, Prince Chao-Lai. The explanation of the three Gohains (ministers) was that they were not in favour of prolonging the war and remaining confined there, but they too were reprimanded. The account shows that king Hso-Useng-Hpa had not previously seen Mughul Omraos or officers, they being a new race of people making their first appearance as invaders of Assam. It was therefore the duty of the Abom officers to give an opportunity to their sovereign to satisfy his curiosity by having a look at them and learn how they were than to describe them to him. This lack of imagination on the part of responsible officers calls for correctives. It is also questionable whether it was within the powers of the army officers to put to death the war prisoners without reference to the king after a decisive victory had been won. If it was within powers, then the sending of information to the Svargadev about how the war prisoners were kept becomes purposeless.

Episode Of Akhek Gohain:

It was Akhek Gohain (Bhundari Gohain) who reported to his father Sundar Gohain during his Kachari campaign about the king's amorous relations with his wife. In consequence of this unhappy news Sundar Gohain became depressed and indifferent and the Kacharis under Bhimbal taking advantage of it won a decisive victory and became independent. Akhek Gohain who, in the meantime, had been placed in command at Dakhaumukh but who was aggrieved at the king's conduct, was found to have
failed in the proper discharge of his duties and was therefore dismissed from his office. He thereafter went over to the north bank and inspired the local chiefs with a spirit of revolt against the king. These chiefs wanted to make him their king. But Akhek's courage failed when the king wanted to capture him and he fled to Parikshit, the Koch Raja of Kamarupa, for protection and soon afterwards to the Muslim Governor of Bengal. He had another companion with him and he was his brother Kera Gohain. They came back to Assam with Saiyid Aba Bakr and took part in his invasion of Assam. At the instance of the king Khamprit Bar-Gohain managed to contact in the Bharali camp both Akhek Gohain and Kera Gohain and requested them fervently to come over to the Ahom side. In this the Bar-Gohain solemnly guaranteed their personal security and assured pardon from the king. Akhek Gohain then deserted from the Muslim camp and came over to the midst of the Ahoms, but Kera Gohain did not come. It is said that the victory of the Ahoms over the Mughuls at Bharali owes a great deal to Akhek Gohain's advice and plan of attack. He thus fairly compensated for his lost reputation.

Restoration Of Ahom-Kachari Friendship:

At Kirtipur (Maibang) king Jashanarayan was succeeded by Nanamarayan, and the latter was succeeded by Bhimbalnarayan. As already

354 Gait: op.cit., p.108.
said the Ahom king Hso-Haeng-Hpa's main concern was to restore friendship with the Kachari Raja so as to maintain intact the resources of his kingdom to fight the Mughals (Mangals) whose designs on Assam he foresaw. He was also apprehensive lest the Bengal Chiefs should form an alliance with Bhimbalnarayan who at the moment arose as his powerful adversary. He therefore sent a goodwill mission of five men as a feeler to Raja Bhimbalnarayan with the instruction to say that it was sent by the Kohains. This procedure was a safeguard against any betrayal of weakness on the part of the king. When they reached the Kachari capital and presented themselves before the Raja the latter asked the object of their mission and by whom were they sent. As instructed they said that they came to solicit friendship and alliance and were commissioned by the Kohains. At this he raised the question of Sundar Kohain's invasion of his kingdom and asked whether it was a sign of friendship. The members of the mission replied that Sundar Kohain had been sent only to escort the Jayanta Princess down to the plains and they did not know how he could march forward to attack the Kachari country. The king had remained in utter ignorance of the hostilities and was pleased at the defeat and death of the Kohain which was a right punishment for waging war against the Kachari Raja without his authority. Bhimbal was satisfied with the explanation and acceded to the proposals of friendship and alliance, for he himself was equally eager to establish
friendship with the Ahom king. He expressed his desire that an Ahom princess be given in marriage to him in order to make that friendship real and strong just as the Svargadev favoured his ancestors with such compliments. This desire of his he transmitted to the Ahom king through his envoys. This was fulfilled by the offer of Saringia Handikoi’s daughter as a princess from the Ahom king. Raja Bhimtal was pleased to have the princess and the subsequent period was marked by exchanges of embassies and amity between the two countries.

All this preceded Saiyid Abo Bakr’s invasion of Assam. The success of his policy in securing the alliance of the Kachari Raja enabled Hao-Himhal to deal a crushing blow on the Mughals in their first major effort to conquer Assam.

Dimarua (Demeria) became a Dependency of the Ahoms:

The small principality of Dimarua was originally a dependency of the Kacharis, but the latter’s oppression drove its chief Pantisvar (Pantheswar) to seek the protection of Narenarayan when the latter extended his conquests to Assam. Narenarayan had subdued eighteen hill-side chiefs. He placed the Dimarua chief at the head of all these chiefs and installed him as a tributary Raja under the Kacharis on the Jayanta frontier with jurisdiction over a tract inhabited by about 18,000 people. Pantisvar’s son Chakradhvaj was imprisoned by Narenarayan for

355 KH, pp. 26–29; Wade: op. cit., p. 73.
neglecting to pay the usual tributes, but was later released on the intercession of Raghudev. He was reinstated in his former position by Raghudev when he became Raja of the eastern Koch kingdom. Since then Chakradhvaj paid tributes to Raghudev. Chakradhvaj's descendants Poal Singha, Ratnakar and Prabhakar were tributary to Parikshit. The arrest of Prabhakar by the Jayanta Raja Dhanamanik led to a conflict between Dhanamanik and the Kochari Raja Jashanarayan in which the former was defeated. But when Parikshit surrendered to the Mughuls Prabhakar's son Mangal, who succeeded, met Hambur-Pikholai, the Ahom officer at Kajali, and sought the protection of the Svarga Maharaja and the latter was pleased to give the protection prayed for. Thus Dimarua became an Ahom dependency and Mangal a feudatory chief of that State to whom the Svarga Maharaja made presents of a Hengdan (Ahom sword), a wife and an elephant. All other chiefs of the south bank also came with their families and submitted to the Svargadev.

Modification of Mughal Policy:
Last Days Of Lakshminarayan:

The disastrous defeat of Aba Bakr and Satrajit at the battle of the Bharali was a great blow to the pride and prestige of the Mughuls which sobered down the aggressive

356 KAMRUPAR BURANJII, pp. 23-24; TR. 84 (DHAS);
Another effect of it was the replacement of Qasim Khan by Ibrahim Khan Fatujang in April 1617 as Subahdar of Bengal. On the advice of the new Subahdar, who was both able and tactful, the Emperor, in order to secure Koch co-operation against the Ahoms, the formidable rivals of the Mughuls, whose rise and successes inspired the aggrieved Koches to revolt constantly, released Lakshminarayan by the end of 1617 after a long detention of over three years and reinstated him to his kingdom. Lakshminarayan was now a nominal vassal ruler pledged to serve the cause of the Mughuls. He was in the very next year required to transfer his residence to Majo to help the Chief Administrative Officer, Shaykh Kamal, of whom he was a favourite and who undertook to realise from him the tribute of one lakh of rupees. Lakshminarayan helped the Mughul commanders from time to time with his own contingents in the campaigns against Assam. He helped particularly his friend Mirza Nathan, who was then the Mughul Thanadar of the south bank territory, with a small contingent of horse and foot in aid of Raja Salaranarayan, Mamu Govinda and Shumarood Kayth (probably Samudra Kayastha) made a series of attacks in September, 1619, on Rani Hat, Minari, Hatigaon and other Dakshinkul thanas. Lakshminarayan's help did not count against the massive attacks of the

358 also called Mirza Nathu in the Assamese Chronicles.
Assamese which not only forced Mirza Nathan to flee away from the occupied country but also put the Assamese in possession of a vast quantity of war equipment and 35 horses of Lakshminarayan sent as aid to the Moghul Emperor. 359

As a sequel to these reverses Lakshminarayan offered to mediate for peace between the Ahoms and the Muslims, who were constantly engaged in hostilities. The offer was probably accepted by the Bengal Governor, Lakshminarayan then selected one Biru Qazi to go as his representative to Garhgaon for mediation. Biru Qazi first contacted Shaykh Kamal and told about it. He also pointed out how its success would open up the door for obtaining ivory and aloes wood from Assam. With Shaykh Kamal's consent he proceeded to Aginathuti and sent messengers to Langi Phukan, the Ahom officer in charge of Kajali Station, who, in turn, informed the king of the object of Biru Qazi's mission. The king asked Langi Phukan to bring the ambassador to Garhgaon. 360

Then in the month of Dinhit (Jaistha) in A.D. 1629 Biru Qazi appeared at Garhgaon with Langi Phukan as a mediator and conveyed to king Hao-Heng-Ipa the wish of the Muslim king (Moghul Emperor) 'to make peace'. He also said that 'I, your slave, have been sent to you by Lakshminarayan to inform you of the matter'. Hao-Heng-Ipa detained this ambassador of peace as a hostage with the remark 'If Lakshmi-

359 S.N. Bhattacharyya : op. cit., pp. 159-61.
360 Kamruler Buranjii, pp. 25-26. Qazi means a judge, one who decides cases finally.
narayan can manage to put a stop to the war that has been going on between us; by making peace, I shall allow you to go back to your country as early as possible, but if Lakshminarayan cannot bring peace, I shall not allow you to go back.\[361\] He was then given quarters at Baghchuna to live under proper supervision.

Mirza Nathan, as will be related below, tried to subdue the south bank during 1619-20 but was driven off by the Ahoms. Lakshminarayan sent a contingent of 40 cavalry and 300 paika to help Mirza Nathan in this campaign. In January, 1620, Mirza Nathan again attacked the Dakshinkul and won a victory over the Assamese.\[362\] To help Mirza in this campaign Lakshminarayan sent his cousin Ram Singh with a force from Hajo. In May, 1624, the rebellious Mughul Prince Shah Jahan defeated the Bengal Subahdar with the result that Lakshminarayan transferred his allegiance to the victorious Prince probably with the hope of getting permission from the latter to go back to his own kingdom. But this opportunity did not come as Shah Jahan was defeated and had to quit Bengal. The Koch Prince again joined the ranks of the old Emperor. The Jesuit travellers

\[361\] AB, pp.107-3; BBR in DAB, p.108; DAB, pp.62-63. Biru Qazi's mission remains unmentioned by Mirza Nathan who had been just driven off from Assam by the Ahoms and was in a desperate situation having little or no notice of this affair, particularly when nothing was known about what happened to Biru Qazi after his departure to Garhgaon. Biru Qazi's activity was known more to the Ahom Court than to the Muslims after he had left Hajo. Hence the record in the Assam Chronicles.

Stephen Gacella and John Cabral, who appeared at Hafo in August 1626, had audience with Lakshminarayan, but Gacella writing on October 4, 1627 says that he 'is now dead'. Thus he died between these two dates. But according to the Ahom Birenji (p.112), as translated by G.C. Barua, he died in A.D. 1632 and could not offer his daughter to Hso-Hseng-Hpa in marriage which was about to take place. Both the accounts are very definite but irreconcilable. Lakshminarayan was succeeded by his son, Birnarsyan, but the latter was not in favour of marrying his sister to Hso-Hseng-Hpa. At this, Biru Qazi took the opportunity of offering his daughter Lakshmipuria (Lakshmipriya ?) to the king and the grand-daughter Hempuria (Hemapriya ?) to the king's son Chao-ngi Gohain with rich presents of dowries.

Mughul-Ahom War Continued:

The debacle of Aba Bakr's Assam expedition was followed by a series of campaigns by the Ahoms against the Mughuls who had their strongholds in Kamrup. Meanwhile Hso-Hseng-Hpa reconstructed and improved the fortifications at different places, particularly at Samdhara, Kaliabar, Chinatli and Deopani. In A.D. 1618 during November-December (Pincbing) the king received at his camp at Yatra-Ghat the Koch princes Chandranarayan, Hemnarayan and Sangramjit who came to pay their respects to him.

They left with presents received from the king. In the following month the vanguard of the Ahom army pushing westward reached Pandu where it erected a fort and reported about it to Svargadev. Next, when the king was at Jolai-bendha, two Dhekeris named Joynarayan and Ramdev paid their homage to him. There came also to the Ahom king large numbers of leading men of Parikshit's kingdom, both from the north and south banks, offering their whole-hearted co-operation in expelling the Muslims from Hajo. The king felt encouraged at this support and drew up plans to attack the Muslims.

The affairs of the Mughals in Bengal and Kamrup about this time deserve notice. Shaykh Ibrahim, who had served as the Karori (Mughal revenue collector) in the Koch country of Kamarupa, misappropriated rupees seven lakhs of the imperial revenues and also caused other losses. He had under him an army of more than three thousand men. Being afraid of investigation into the accounts he sent men to the Ahom king Hao-Hseng-Hpa with the following message:—'As the great imperial army had been annihilated in your country (referring to Aba Bakr's defeat) the only course left open to the imperialists to achieve the purpose of extirpating you root and branch, is to send, in near future, a big army against you from Delhi. Under the circumstances, if you help me with men and money and make me the king of Kush (i.e. Koch country) I will

exert my utmost valour to my last breath, and I will be devoted to you and will never allow the armies of Delhi to proceed against you as long as I live. The Ahom king welcomed the proposal but could not trust the Mughal officer to place at his disposal men and money. He therefore replied - 'Until you first lead the war against the imperial army in this country and send to me one or two of their men alive or dead, I cannot in my farsightedness believe you all on a sudden. Under the circumstances, if you are firm in this proposal you should utilise this opportunity and put it into execution. The country of Kamrup, may even (the country of) Manchabat will be given to you. I will give you even my daughter; and I will give you from my treasury, elephant-stable, artillery and the fleet in such large quantities the like of which you have never seen even in your dreams, not to speak of the hours of your wakefulness.'

Inspired by this encouraging reply from the Ahom king the Shaykh sent a Koch force to attack the Mughal Thana of Dhamdama in the present Sub-Division of Halbari and got a Koch rebel chief, named Sanatan, to command it. Mirza Salim Arghun, who was in charge of the garrison of Dhamdama became aware of the march of the rebel force and remained prepared with the co-operation of the local zamindars with whom he was on very friendly terms. Sanatan made a very heavy night attack

on the fort and twice entered it, but Mirza Salih repulsed the attackers on both the occasions. Yet the Mirza fell into a desperate situation and sent urgent messages to Mirza Nathan, who was then the chief of Kamrup and was at Hajo, the provincial head-quarters, asking for reinforcements. Mirza Nathan spared no moment to despatch Mir Abdu'r-Razzaq with a force to the assistance of Mirza Salih but he failed to reach the destination as the road was blocked by the rebels at Jharighat. But Mirza Nathan managed to send war-weapons to the beleaguered garrison by a secret route and also wrote to Mirza Salih to return to Hajo immediately. The supply of arms enabled the latter to fight the enemy and proceed to Hajo, Mirza Nathan escorting him from the river Barlia. The rebels did not succeed. At the same time the Mughul imperial authority on receiving the report of the rebellion despatched a fleet and a large artillery under the chief command of Chishti Khan and the generalship of Shaykh Kamal Islam Khani for punishing Shaykh Ibrahim, whom the Emperor ordered to be captured and sent alive to the imperial Court. The rebel leader successfully eluded capture for a time but eventually after a hard fight he died at the hands of Abdu'r-Razzaq, who cut off his head and sent to Dacca. 366

Shaykh Ibrahim's death hastened the preparation at Garhgaon to send a powerful army to Gauhati to punish the

366 BG. (Book III, Chap. I) gives full details of Shaykh Ibrahim's rebellion and ultimate tragic end.
Mughuls and drive them out of Kamrup. Hso-Hseng-Hpa. bitterly
criticised the conduct of the Lower Assam generals in allowing
the Shaykh to be killed in that way. 'The destruction of the
Shaykh is', he wrote to them, 'due to your treacherous conduct.
Now if you do not compensate for it, you will feel its con-
sequences'. 367 This news was reported to Mirza Nathan and the
latter communicated it to Ibrahim Khan Fath-jang, the Mughul
Subahdar of Bengal. Sometime back Baldev, the brother of Raja
Parikshit, came with a force of 18,000 hill-men and attacked
and besieged the fort of Pandu. Though initially there was
no success, later it was captured by him after its evacuation
by the Muslims. 368 Meanwhile the Ahom king despatched Langudam
Abholipuria Barua as the Commandant of the Pandu garrison and he
himself proceeded down to Viavamath and thence to Samdhara.
He also ordered an army unit with a few officers including
Langudam to advance to Agiathuti on the north bank. The Muslims
sailed up to that place and engaged the Assamese garrison
there in a skirmish. The Muslims being fired at by the Ahom
artillery retreated to Hajo. On receipt of the report of this
success the Ahom king sent the Bura-Gobain, the Bar-Gobain and
the Barpatra-Gobain to Pandu with a large reinforcement.

On the Mughal side the prospect of the Ahom invasion
made Mirza Nathan inform the imperial authorities in Dacca and
Delhi all about the developments in Assam and ask for necessary

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367 RG II, p. 479.
368 Ibid., p. 480.
reinforcements. Mirza Yusuf was ordered to recapture Pandu well before the arrival of the Ahom army which was on way. He then pitched a camp on a char (island) situated between Hajo and Pandu and made a survey of the Assamese forces. Raja Satrajit with his Hindu officer Badridas was sent to the aid of Mirza Yusuf. But in face of the Assamese forces their abandoning courage failed and they returned to Hajo from the halichar camp.

The imperial Court appointed Quli Khan to the post of the Jagirdar and the Chief Administrator of the Koch country. He arrived at Barnagar in Kamrup but could not proceed further as the rumours of enemy activities were very strong, but he was urged by Mirza Nathan by a letter to come to Hajo immediately as "the Raja of Assam is advancing in triumph". Quli Khan then hastened to Hajo and on arrival was received by Mirza Nathan, who also requested the Khan to take over all powers from him. But Quli asked Nathan to act as the de facto Chief under his advice. For the cowardice of Satrajit Badridas was appointed over him. At that time Shaykh Kamal, with some imperial officers, was away from Hajo as he had been deputed to punish Shaykh Ibrahim. Shaykh Kamal returned to Hajo but did not enter the city owing to his hatred towards Mirza Nathan. He alighted and put up near the Mayagriha Madhava Temple. Under his direction the construction of a fort at Talia or Talaya of the Assamese Duranjis, some five miles north-east of Hajo, was commenced but, it is said, it could not be completed.
The Ahom army and navy with their hill auxiliaries arrived at Gauhati. The king himself issued directions to Gauhati from his Semdhara camp in consultation with his war experts. At this time the Commandant Langudam fell ill and had to retire from Agiiathuti. The king immediately appointed Laluk, son of Madhothowa Nazarika, and Lasam Chiring as Commandants (war Heogs) with powers to behead any body disobeying them. On the north bank the Muslims retreated to Hajo where lay their main fort. The front line of the Ahoms reached Sessa, Agiiathuti and Talaya hill. In the background up to Saraighat all necessary fortifications were made. The Ahom navy commanded the waterway. Regarding the strength and disposition of the Assamese forces the writer of the Bakeristan-i-Ghaybi gives a graphic description as follows: - 'The Barra-Gobain (Thakbak) at the head of one hundred thousand infantry was to move along the hilly and jungly bank of the Brahmaputra, leaving the hillock of Sultan Ghiasu'd-Din Awliya (Din Micca) to his right and the temple of Kedar to his left, in order to attack Qilij Khan, Mirza Nathan and those who were in the fort of Hajo, and to finish them. Hati Barua (probably Langudam Abhupuria Barua), Raja Baldev and Shumaruyed Kayeth with a force of two hundred thousand infantry, one hundred and eighty elephants... were to go along with him by the other side of the river in order to fall upon Shaykh Kamal, to sweep him off and not to allow even a bird to fly out of the cordon by a charge from the rear. The Rajkhowa and the Kharghuka
(Khargharia Phuksa) were to take the command of the fleet consisting of four thousand war-boats of the class of man, bachari, kusa and kaa in order to attack the fleet of the Twelve Bhuyas who were loyally supporting the imperialists, to seize them and not to allow any of them to escape by the river with his fleet. The Eighteen Hill-Rajas, who sided with the enemy and rebelled against the imperialists, were to take their position with all their hill-men on the bank of the river to the left of their fleet in order to aid it and not to allow any body to escape towards the Dakhinkul (south bank). One thousand war-boats were sent to the mouth of the river Rawowa to the rear of the imperial army in order to block the passage of ration and communication from Mahangirmagar alias Dhake during the days of the siege. In short, the imperial army was brought to bay like games in a hunt. Though certain figures in the Mughal estimates seem to be exaggerated there is nothing to doubt about the general disposition of the Atom and the allied forces.

The Atom generals had strict orders not to hasten to the attack before certain tests and their results were known to be favourable. The king therefore advised the officers and the soldiers not to take aggressive part till they would get final order from him. 'No body must advance from the fort at Sessa', said the king in a message to the three
Gohains and other officers, 'until my order reaches you'.

Battle of Hajo, 1618:

From the Ahom camp at Agiathuti reconnoitring parties were sent forward in disguise to watch the activities of the Muslims at Hajo and these parties went very close to the enemy fort and returned safely. One day one hundred Muslim horse (see DAB, p.59) approached the Ahom fort which gave the impression of a move for an attack on it and so the Commandants, in utter disregard of the advice of the Gohains and the Deodhai Pundits to wait for the king's orders, drove out the troops from the fort at night and made an attack on the Muslim fort on the Hajo hill. There was a bloody battle. According to the version in the Baharistan-i-Ghaybi (p.488) the Bura-Gohain advanced at midnight to deliver his gigantic attack with his mighty army by the hilly and jungly tracks. He first massacred the devotees of the holy shrine on the hillock of Sultan Ghiyasu'd-Din Awliya and swept through the side of that hillock smashing the resistance of a group of Mughal officers among whom was also Qalij Khan's son and finally fell upon the stockade of the Khan. One Mughal general named Dust Beg, who lately arrived at Hajo with a

370 AR, p.103 ; DAB, p.59. In the Baharistan-i-Ghaybi (II,p.487) the king's order was just the opposite of it. It quotes the king as saying :- "As the armies of Delhi have not yet begun their attack and as you have already reached near them with a large army, it is proper for you to begin the battle without further delay, according to the maxim - 'He never loses who strikes first' and watch its results".
contingent of twenty thousand men, ran to the aid of the Khan. The Ahoms converged from all sides. 'Every one of them was skilled wherever he was found', but a great resistance was offered by the Khan to their further progress.

Mirza Nathan with his Usmania Afghan Mansabdars and other warriors was posted in the reserve by Quli Khan in the main fort of Hajo in order to help any regiment if overpowered by the Assamese. While the Bara-Gohain, the supreme commander of his division, the Barbata-Gohain, Mani Konwar, Nau Hazarika and other gallant fighters were, in co-ordination with their navy, hammering the defences of Quli Khan, the Hati Barua, Raja Baldev (Raja Balinarayan), Shumarud-Kayeth, the Bar-Gohain, Lai Gohain and the Reidania Barua, advancing by the side of the Tilao (Lohit), ascended the Hajo hill at down with their huge infantry divisions strengthened by innumerable war elephants in awe-inspiring formations. At that moment Shaykh Kamal was getting ready to go to the assistance of Quli Khan, who was fighting in a precarious state, but he had to abandon that idea at the sight of the Assam army which commenced firing guns and discharging showers of arrows at the Muslim army he commanded. Now Shaykh Kamal and Raja Satrajit with their imperial Mansabdars had to face this overwhelming danger. In the battle that raged with all fury Shaykh Kamal was pressed so hard that he had to send messenger after messenger to Mirza Nathan frantically asking for help. At the last moment a Hindu officer named Ramdas ran desperately to
the Mirza and cried - 'If aid is delayed by a moment everything will be lost'. Those who were watching the progress of the battle on horseback from elevated places cried out - 'Alas! Alas! the enemy has swept the regiment of the Shaykh'. The Mirza then lost no moment in spurring his horse and rushing forth with his cavalry brigade to help the Shaykh. As the Assamese have now come out into the open ground the Mirza made a fierce flank attack on them with his cavalry causing large numbers of them to roll down on the ground in a moment's notice. Yet the morale of the Assamese was kept up and their generals fought with dogged tenacity till their arms were all exhausted. The account of this battle as described in the Baharistan-i-Shaybi says in admiration 'the generals of Assam fought so hard that all their quivers became empty of arrows and the dutadana (bags for keeping short javelins) became empty of dutaa i.e., a kind of javelin which they throw with the strength of their arm and which is always used by them in battles. The affair came to such a pass that they began to hurl from elephant's back their naked hangdan i.e., a kind of half-sword, which they carry in their belts'. 371 Soon the tide of the battle was changed and the Ahom and allied generals, the Hati Barua, the Bar-Cobain, the Koch leaders and a Chutiya Prince Jadu Deka, being helpless without weapons, had to leave the battle-field to safer places, and the battle was lost.

371 BR, II, pp. 490-92. Hengden is a Tai-Ahom word meaning a kind of sword used by the Ahom nobility. AB, pp. 103-104; DAB, pp. 60, Kamruwar Buranjii pp. 24-25; Brief reference in AB - 'SMJC', p. 61.
This victory was regarded by the Mughuls as one of their foremost military conquests.

In the meantime, the news came of a signal naval victory of the Assamese over the imperial fleet. The Assamese navy derived its main strength from the army of the Bura-Gohain which, fighting on the hill, forced Qulij Khan to fall back on the temple of Mahadev. By an adroit manoeuvre followed by a vigorous attack that navy completely overpowered the imperial fleet driving ashore more than half of its boats. Thereafter the imperial commanders, Suna Ghazi and Islam Quli, were instructed by Qulij Khan not to take their boats away to deep waters over which the Assamese navy had now established complete mastery.372

Qulij Khan was engaged in a death struggle with the possibility of being wiped out at any time by the Bura-Gohain, and he saw no good in retreating any further. Shaykh Kamal and Mirza Nathan being free after liquidating their adversaries ran to the aid of the Khan. The Ahom infantry was still in the hills and jungles helping their navy in its attack. At the same time a plan had to be evolved immediately for the defence of the main fort at Hajo which was the last resort of the Muslims. According to the plan decided upon Mirza and the Shaykh came to inspect and strengthen the main fort leaving their regiments with the Khan for his help. The Zamindars, who

372 BG, II, pp. 490, 495.
were on the river bank, being driven ashore, were asked to leave the bank and concentrate in the fort. The Muslim generals were anxious to end the battle before nightfall as the Ahoms, noted for night attacks, would have then all the advantage and the cavalry would not work effectively in the dark. For a survey of the walls of the main fort at a glance Shaykh Kamal and Mirza Nathan went up on an elephant to the mansion of the Khan on the top of the hillock accompanied by another officer named Mir Ghiyasu'd-Din Mahamud who took a horse, as from that position they could have a commanding view of everything including the fort which was at a lower elevation. When they reached the top of the hillock they began to reconnoitre and saw the victorious Assam navy triumphantly passing by the hillock within the range of big guns. The naval officers did not expect any danger from that quarter. But this bit of carelessness on their part brought a sudden turn of fate; for, in the mansion of the Khan were kept ready a number of imperial cannon. Mirza Nathan shouted to the gulandaz (cannoniers) to discharge their cannon at the navy. He pointed out two boats, in particular, in which the chiefs of the navy were coming. The cannoniers at once discharged two loaded cannon at them, but they overshot the targets. Not knowing who attacked them the soldiers and boatmen of these two boats jumped into the river. At once an utter confusion prevailed and fear overtook all in the navy with the result that many of those who jumped into the river were drowned.
while the others drove fast to the bank where they disembarked in desperation and ran away for safety into the forests. The imperial commanders then fell upon the vanquished navy and seized a large booty. The Muslims took it to be a 'God-given victory'.

At the sight of the defeat of their navy the Durand-Gohain's army began to lose heart. At this weak and exciting moment the Muslim generals, raising a cry of Allah-o-Akbar, appeared on the scene and made a furious cavalry attack on the Ahoms, who had by that time advanced to the open plains emerging from the hills and jungles. The Muslims first charged and routed the Abolipurias of Loku-Barpatra-Gohain killing many of them. The Gohain retreated on an elephant, but Lami Konwar was killed. Kora Gohain, who was found with the Ingulls, captured a well-known war elephant of the Ahom generals, but the elephant flung him off and returned to the Ahom camp.

Soon afterwards Thakur Dura-Gohain had to make a precipitate retreat on an elephant when his troops were dispersed by the onset of the enemy cavalry charges, but was wounded by a stray bullet and fell down from the back of the elephant and his loin was fractured. He was carried off by the Muslims and unknowingly killed by one of the officers of the Zansâbâders. Thus the victory was at last attained by the Ingulls and the kettle-drums of conquest were sounded. The

373 IG.II, pp.494-95.
374 Kamrupar Duranjii, p.25.
375 AE, pp.103-4 ; DAB, p.60 ; IG.II, p.496.
Aherns then withdrew to Kajali. It was an unfortunate discomfiture for the Assamese which is to be attributed to the miscalculation and rash adventure of the Ahom war-Negus, who allowed themselves prematurely to be manoeuvred out of their strongholds by a few Mughul horsemen, who sought an opportunity to pounce upon the Assamese in the open field with their chargers before their strength was exhausted. The Ahom commanders fell into this trap by not waiting for the king's final orders as to what was to be done.

According to the Mughul estimates the Assamese lost to the Mughuls three thousand and eight hundred boats with their booty out of the total strength of four thousand in the whole navy. On the battlefield their loss was three thousand and seven hundred men killed and double of this number died in the adjacent places and more than ten thousand wounded men fled away half-dead. On the Mughul side the total killed were shown to be two hundred men and double of this number were wounded. From the graphic description of the battle as given by the author of the Baharistan-i-Ghaybi the Mughul losses seem to be highly minimized. It is also mentioned that the heads of the Assamese soldiers, killed in the battle, were cut off and sent to Dacca, 377 In the Baranjis of Assam no mention is made of the Mughul losses but it is admitted that there were heavy casualties among the Assamese and also that the

376 Kamrupar Baranji, p.26; AB - 'SMJC', p.61.
377 BG, II, p.497.
Mughuls seized a large number of guns and shields, a large quantity of booty, killed eight elephants and sank many large ships including thirteen gilded ones. 378

When the reports of the Ahoms' defeat at Hajo reached the king he again returned to Samdhara and ordered the defeated generals to be brought there. All the leaders and Commandants, who had brought the defeat on them by disobeying the king's timely warning against being rash and aggressive, were variously punished according to the gravity of their offences. The Chief Neogs (Commandants), Laluk Cohain and Lasham Chiring, who were mainly responsible for the defeat, were put into a solitary confinement near the Dikham river and were starved to death in it. 379 According to another version they were pressed to death. 380 A number of other officers including Langudam, Abhoipuria Barua were also punished with death. The exact offence for which Langudam was executed is not clear from the text. Probably was—that he being ill had left his station for home before a substitute was appointed. Even for illness he being the chief commandant at the fort of Pendu should not have gone home all at once leaving it to the mercies of the enemies at that crucial time.

378 AB, p.104 ; DAB, p.60.
379 AB, pp.101-104 ; DAB, pp.58-61 ; Kemrunar Buranji, pp. 24-25, Laluk Cohain was of the Medurial Bar-Cohain family and was also known as Saru Phukan.
380 Kemrunar Buranji, p.28 ; AGA, p.91.
Offices Of Bar-Phukan and Bar-Barua Created:

As Shakbak Bura-Gohain fell in the battle of Hajo the king appointed Sukula Budu as the next Bura-Gohain and substituted Piling as Bar-Gohain for Guimela who had proved an incapable general at Hajo. Further, he found that the generals and officers, whom he had appointed, did not act in concert and according to royal commands with the consequence that they suffered defeat. It was only Langi Panisiya who proved his leadership by rallying the fugitive troops and officers and restoring order and morale in the army. He alone could give a true report of the state of affairs of the Lower Assam campaign. Hence the king felt the need of a viceroy of his for the whole of Lower Assam with supreme military and civil authority over all there to prevent future disruptions in the ranks and appointed Langi Panisiya as the first Viceroy under the title of Phu-Kan-Jung or Bar-Phukan with jurisdiction over all the territories west of Kaliabar in the present district of Nowgong. This Bar-Phukan's headquarters were at Kajali. The tracts east of Kaliabar, outside the jurisdictions of the Bar-Gohain and the Bura-Gohain, were since then placed under the administration of another functionary called Phu-Ke-Lung or Bar-Barua. The king's uncle Momai Tamuli was appointed as the first Bar-Barua. \[381\]

381 AR - 'SHJC', pp. 61-62, 65; Gait: op.cit., p. 110; ACA, p. 91; Komrupar Buranjii, p. 27.
Victory at Hajo led to two consequences; a cause of immediate dissensions in the Mirza camp at Hajo and secondly, for those very dissensions Mirza Nathan had to be sent by the Subahdar to conquer the Dakshinkul. The dissensions arose from Shaykh Kamal's report of the victory at Hajo to the Subahdar of Dacca, Ibrahim Khan Fath-jang, in which the Shaykh had taken all the credit for it and the Mirza's contribution had been shown to be nothing. Following the report the Subahdar appointed Chisti Khan to take the chief command in the Koch country. In this Mirza Nathan's case was not considered though he had been aspiring to the highest place in the conquered country of the Koches. Further, as alleged by the Mirza, the Shaykh had instigated the top-ranking imperial officers including Qulij Khan against him. The quarrel between the Shaykh and the Mirza would have broken out into open violence had not the former retrained himself. Mirza Nathan proceeded to Dacca to report his version of the affairs at Hajo, but the Subahdar was displeased to see him at Dacca as he went there by leaving the imperial affairs at Hajo in a state of chaos and asked him at once to return to his head-quarters. To this the Mirza showed a violent temper as if to kill the Subahdar and commit suicide rather than to go back to Hajo to serve under others. The Subahdar found a solution for him according to which he was deputed to conquer.
the as yet unoccupied Sarkar of Dakshinkul of the Koch country and take it as his assignment. So settled, he proceeded to conquer that part of the country with a force consisting of his own regiment and an auxiliary force of more than seven hundred horsemen and matchlockmen, fifty war-boats and ten war elephants. 382

Mirza Nathan returned from Dacca 'they could not proceed further in their work'. 383 In this situation Shaykh Kamal went alone to Dacca and after incurring an initial displeasure he offered a peshkash of Rs.80,000 to the Khan Fath-jang of the Khan Fath-jang and secured for himself an increase of 200 in his Hansab and the office of the chief administrator (Sardar) of Assam. 384 As mentioned above he also obtained permission to have Raja Lakshminarayan as one of his followers at Dacca and undertook to realize the Raja's peshkash of Rs.100,000 in cash and kind and send to Dacca.

Mirza Nathan invaded Dakshinkul:

Mirza Nathan established his main Thana (head station) at Balijana 385 and invaded Dakshinkul. There were several Koch rebel chiefs, who still owed their allegiance to their Raja Balinarayan (Baldev of Baghdul history) and refused to submit to the Baghdul authority. The most powerful of these opponents

382 RG II, p.502.
384 Ibid., p.522.
385 in Kochpara, south Goalpara. Martin refers to mud forts raised by the Baghduls at that place of which the traces are still to be seen. (See Eastern India, III, p.479).
were Parasuram, Manu Govinda, Shumarud Kayeth and Balinrayan
himself. The Mirza attacked them one by one and put them to
flight. The Mirza had in his army, besides the Bengal
forces, 4,000 Garos, at least 700 Rabhas and also a number
of hill chiefs. These soldiers he recruited locally. The
plains below the Garo Hills, particularly Amjunga, Rangjuli
and later Ranihat were the main scenes of war which was fought
for over nineteen months. A great part of his success Mirza
Nathan owed to the aid of one Govinda of the village of
Bachadheri, who was simply terrorized into submission for life
by enacting a scene of massacre of captives before him. The
details of the progress of the war were reported every week
to the Khan Fath-jang. The Khan directed the imperial officer
posted at Hajo not to show any negligence in sending reinforce­
ments to the Mirza. Accordingly, Raja Satrajit proceeded to
the assistance of the Mirza with one hundred horsemen and
three hundred brave infantry.

The Mirza also attacked the hill-chiefs of the
lower and higher hills and sent his predatory bands almost
regularly to raid and plunder the peaceful hill-villages. In
this respect, unlike the great Mogul generals like Mir Jumla,
Mirza Nathan was a warrior devoid of any consideration and
scruples. The hill-chiefs (Rajas) were disgusted with the
Mirza for his savage treatment of their own people in the
villages. These chiefs rebelled and quitted his camp and raised
a strong fort at Ranihat appealing at the same time to the
Ahom king for help against the Mughuls. In the appeal the hill-chiefs said 'If you help us, we shall bar Mirza Nathan's progress towards the kingdom of Assam; otherwise, if this year he becomes victorious over us, nothing will prevent him from destroying Assam next year'.

In appreciation of this prospective danger the Ahom king despatched an expeditionary force of eighty thousand men under the command of the Hatibarua to the aid of the hill Rajas, and the Rajkhowa and the Khargharia Phukan were also attached to his company. Raja Baldev and Shumarud Kayeth, who had suffered several defeats and whose wives and children were now captives in the hands of the Mughuls, also accompanied the Ahom force.

The Mirza Expelled by The Ahoms from Dakshinkul:

The main fight between the Ahoms and the Mughuls led by Mirza Nathan took place in the new fort area of Ranihat. After a trial of strength with the Mughuls which took the form of siege and counter-siege of the respective forts in the area, the Ahoms operating from the Ranihat fort tried to encircle the Mughul forts by building a series of forts around them in the teeth of enemy opposition. There was no decisive victory for any side for some time.

386 Only the Ahom kingdom was called Assam in those days and the term Asham (Assamese) meant the Ahoms only.
387 RG.II, pp.571-72
388 This appears to be another exaggeration of the actual number by the Mughul writer.
389 RG.II, p.572. According to the Ahom account in AB (p.105) the chief commanders sent were Labo Barua (probably Hatibarua), Langi Abhoipuria, Kalia Raidangia Barua and a few others.
For the delay in the conquest of the Muslims the Ahom king, Hao-Hseng-Hpa, severely censured the Hati Barua and other commanders and sent two hundred Hangdan Dharas (Ahom swordsmen) with the following orders - 'whoever falls back this time will be cut into two at the waist by the Hangdan Dharas'. The Ahom and allied commanders and Rajas then held a conference and decided upon a new plan of attack according to which they came out with their armies to a place situated on the side of Ganjbaib to the south-west of Ranihat at a distance of one big-cannon-shot from the imperial fort. There they erected within a night a lofty fort with a deep moat around and its walls and towers were mounted with cannon. More than fifty thousand men, it is said, were engaged in the mighty construction of this fort so close to the Mughul fort, but the Mughuls had no scent of it till the work was completed. When the report of this danger reached Mirza Nathan he also erected a defensive stockade with towers. In the meantime Kulij Khan, who was ejected to excessive drinking, was replaced by Shaykh Kamal to the Sardarship of the Thana of Hajo by the Subadar of Bengal. The Mughuls could not defend their stockade and the Ahoms entered it and set fire to the houses within it. The Mughul army became so thoroughly demoralized by the Assamese attacks and strategy that it began to disperse and fall back from the front into their main forts in a state confusion and panic. The Ahom plan was to encircle the Mughul forts by an extension of the high fortification from one end of the hill.
surrounding all the three forts of Mirza Nathan 'like the prey in a ring-hunt'. All people in the Mughul camp felt themselves doomed to death and decided to perform jahwar and die after killing their wives. The Assamese then shouted thus:— 'Soldiers of the imperial army, behold, how we have surrounded you. If you want to live, the best course for you is to surrender to our Raja of Assam; otherwise, we shall not allow even a bird of yours to escape and we shall make a general massacre'. In this doomed condition the Mirza made the Musalmans take an oath by the Qu'ran and the Hindus in his camp take the same according to Hindu custom, to the effect that they should not leave one another's company and should accept martyrdom following one another's foot-steps. The Ahom plan was not to fall upon the imperialists all at once, which would mean a considerable loss of life to their own side also, so long as the enemies had any effective power of resistance, but to exhaust them and their gun-powder and bullets by a long-range attack to be intensified as the enemies become weaker. The effect of it they clearly foresaw when the imperialists were shut up from the outside world without supply. From hour to hour therefore the Assamese became more and more aggressive, and gun-powder, bullets and cannon balls of the Mirza's army ran short. The Assamese spies carried this news from time to time to their chiefs. In spite of the solemn resolve not to leave one

390 EG. II, pp. 585-87, 596.
another many dispirited men of the Mirza's camp deserted from the fort at night through certain escape routes. Many again, in utter helplessness, performed jahbar inside the fort. The defence of the Mughuls completely collapsed. The Mirza himself sent away at night some of his women on an elephant under the escort of two trusted officers. He also transferred most of the artillery by means of other elephants, thus disarming the defenders of the fort. But soon after daybreak the Assamese rushed from all sides, broke into the fort of Mirza Nathan and started killing the enemies inside it. There was no other alternative for the Mughuls but to fight the losing battle or perform jahbar. In fact the Mughul army was literally massacred. The Assamese also set fire to the fort and the foot soldiers cut off the legs of innumerable horses and men in the camp. It is dramatically described by the author of the Baharistan-i-Ghaybi how at the last moment the great warrior Mirza Nathan and four other officers alone forced their way out through the formidable cordon of the vast besieging army. The Mirza, joined by a few more companions, escaped to the north bank of the Brahmaputra by means of boats timely sent by Satrajit, who commanded the navy in this campaign. The Mirza first fled to Sualkuchi and thence to Ramdiya. He did not go to Hajo, the Mughul head-quarters, as he looked upon Shykh Kamal, the Sardar or Military Administrator, as his foe.

A large number of men and officers of the Mughul camp fled towards Hajo hotly chased by the Ahoms and their
Koch and tribal allies, but for want of boats many were drowned in the Brahmaputra. The Aboms gained from the victory two brass cannon, eight large cannon, twenty-seven hand-guns, a pair of shields, sixty horses, a drum and other things. All these were brought to the king at Garhgaon. Mirza Nathan's flight from the Dadhindu after his disastrous defeat at the hands of the Aboms not only undid the hard-earned results of his earlier successes against the Koch rebels and the hill-Rajas but also seriously affected the prestige of the Mughuls in the east.

Mirza Nathan next attempted to retrieve his lost prestige by recruiting a force at Ramdiya and raising a loan at Gilahmay and invading afresh the Dadhindu early in A.D. 1620. From Jumuria he sent some booties including elephants to the Subahdar of Bengal. He conquered the fort of the rebels at Minari and constantly raided the hill-villages for supplies. One consequence of these plundering raids was that an insurrection broke out in Khumutaghat, to suppress which Nathan was deputed after investing him with the Sardarship of the expedition. His force, among others, had 140 Firingis (Europeans). At Sangrabari, the Aboms, who appeared on invitation from Shumarud, defeated the Mughuls killing seven hundred brave men of the cavalry and infantry of the Mirza. It is mentioned in Baharistan-i-Ghaybi (pp.623-24) that the Aboms effectively checked the galloping charge of the Mughul cavalry by

setting a big net before it and they also used a kind of rocket-like weapon called chandrabanga. It is said that Satrajit, out of hatred for Mirza Nathan, instigated Shamrud to call in the Ahoms who took the opportunity to strike this blow on the Muslims. Though Nathan claim's to have succeeded in capturing Shamrud and subduing the hill-chiefs his hold on the Dakhinkul was only temporary. This second invasion of Nathan finds no mention in the Buranjis of Assam.

The Koch princes and the frontier Rajas then went to Garhgaon and paid their grateful homage to Chao-hipa Neo-Hseng and the latter wanted all to join the Ahoms in a general campaign against the Mughuls. The king also sent the frontier chiefs by giving them choicest presents to be prepared for it. Now it was at this stage that Raja Lakshminarayan offered to mediate for peace between the Ahoms and the Mughuls and sent Biru Qazi to Garhgaon with this mission in the summer of 1620.

Hemu Govinda And Satrajit:

It appears that Mirza Nathan's second invasion of Dakhinkul did not give him any permanent hold on that region against the constant pressure of the Ahoms. For sometime between A.D. 1920 and 1927 Hemu Govinda, uncle of Parikshit and the chief (Barua) of Beltala, became a feudatory ruler of that region with Kaelilbari as its western boundary under the Ahom king. This was possible because Hemu was an ally of the Ahoms in fighting the Mughuls. Satrajit, the naval commander
of the Mughuls and a friend of Shaykh Kamal attempted an invasion of Dakshinkul, but the timely arrival of 2,000 kedia (archers) from the Ahom kingdom in aid of Manu warded off the danger. Satrajit next made friendship with the Bar-Phukan and secretly communicated with king Hso-Hseng-Hpa through the latter apparently making his submission by professions of filial obedience. Satrajit also sent his wife and his ten years old son to pay homage to the Ahom king. Manu's good relations with Dharma Narayan (Balinarayan) were lost when the latter put his son Madhu Nayak to death for rebellion. Both Dharma Narayan and the Ahom king repeatedly summoned Manu Govinda to their presence, but Manu, feeling insecure after what had happened to his son, refused to leave Luki where he took refuge at the instance of the Bar-Phukan. He was also suspected of making overtures to the Nawab of Dacca and transmitting secrets of Assam to him.

Satrajit being aware of this estrangement of Manu Govinda wrote to the Ahom king volunteering to seize the refractory chief and despatch him to Garhgaon. The king then sent Ratna Kandali, Jabar Khari and Ekadah to fetch Manu and gave permission to Satrajit to proceed to capture him. Manu was soon surrounded from the east by the Ahoms and from the west by

392 BEER, pp.108-9. The gate of Satrajit's wife's visit to Garhgaon is mentioned in this Chronicle as Sak.1553, Chaitra (A.D. 1631) which appears to be post-dated by about 3 years when compared with the Tai-Ahom Buranji. See AE, p.110; DAB, p.64. According to DAB, (p.64) there were two meetings of the Bar-Phukan, and it was only at the second meeting that the Bar-Phukan went prepared to seize Raja Satrajit.
Satrajit, but he escaped to Bengal where he was seized by Satrajit and sent to the Nawab of Dacca, Abdul Islam, not to Garhagan.393 His wife and children, whom he had left behind, were removed to Jakkali. Satrajit now proved faithless to the Ahom king and the latter advised the Viceroy of Lower Assam to capture him by any means and inform.394 The Bar-Phukan succeeded in arranging a meeting through Bhelai with Raja Satrajit on the sands of Umananda apparently for mutual friendship. The Raja, however, came with proper security guards in sixty boats. The Bar-Phukan, accompanied by other officers, proceeded down from Kajali with one hundred and five boats. Both the chiefs very cordially received each other by embraces, sat on the same carpet, talked and exchanged presents.395 But Satrajit, suspecting the show of friendship by the Bar-Phukan to be an affectation, was all the time on guard. After a brief talk he rose and hurriedly sailed off to Haajo and the Bar-Phukan, too, returned to Kajali failing to seize him.

Three Indoleis And Ambassadors From Dacca:

On another occasion three traders named Sonari Mudoi, Narhari Mudoi and Joyhari Mudoi, doing trading business at

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393 Kamrupar Buranji, p.30; AB - 'SMJC', p.66; BBB, p.110. Abdul Islam is mentioned in BBB as the Nawab of Dacca at that time.  
394 Kamrupar Buranji, p.29; BBB. p.110; AB - 'SMJC', p.64.  
395 AB - 'SMJC', p.65; AB, p.110. But Kamrupar Buranji (p.29) says that Satrajit met the Bar-Phukan and talked with him from his boat in fear of the Ahoms and did not come out of his boat to the beach.
Sri Suryya, volunteered to help in settling peace with Assam and communicated the same to the Nawab of Dacca. The Nawab agreed and sent with them his own ambassadors, Bazit Khan and Gopal, as a peace mission to the Ahom Court to request the king to allow him to establish a hat (exchange mart) at the mouth of the Sonkosh. They carried with them necessary credentials, plenty of presents and an epistle from the Nawab addressed to the Ahom king. They arrived at Kurua and Sonari Mudoi informed the Bar-Phukan at Kajali about it. But Satrajit, who had learnt about the arrival of the Dacca mission, immediately dissuaded the Bar-Phukan from entertaining it as it would eventually lead to the disclosure of all that he had been doing in Assam, including his own peace moves, without proper authority from the Bengal Governor. His ulterior object was to play off the Ahoms against the Maghule for his gain in position in Kamrup. The Bar-Phukan at his instance made a travesty of the peace mission and informed the king that Sonari Mudoi, after reporting to the Muslim Governor at Dacca all about the internal affairs of the Ahom kingdom, had come leading a Bengal embassy with necessary ambassadorial papers to make peace with the Svaargadev. The king could not tolerate such meddlesomeness in politics on the part of traders and remarked that 'he is a trader and should therefore mind his business of trade alone, why should he bring Bengal ambassadors?' With the king's orders all the three traders were executed at Kurua and the Bengal ambassadors were sent back
Fall of the First Bar-Phukan:

The Ahom king was very much dissatisfied with his viceroy, Langi Bar-Phukan, who failed properly to discharge the responsibilities of his high office. When the king learnt more about the way in which he handled the affairs of Lower Assam he charged him on three counts: First he failed to seize Satrajit though the latter came and met him. The allegation against the Bar-Phukan by the other officers of Lower Assam was that he did not seize Satrajit as that would have destroyed the friendship built up between them; secondly, he had sent Mami Govinda to Luki with the object of creating a rupture between him and Dharmanarayan; and thirdly, he deliberately misrepresented the embassy that had been sent from Dacca and did not send to the king the presents brought by them. Hence the king punished the Bar-Phukan and his associate Parbatia Barua with death by starvation. Next Bar-Phukan appointed was Abhoypuria Neog Gohain (called also Neog's son), who assumed charge in August, 1631. 397

396 AB - 'SMJC', pp. 66-67; Kamrupar Baranji, pp. 27-28; EBB, p. 110-111.
397 AB - 'SMJC', p. 67; Kamrupar Baranji, p. 30; AB, p. 110; EBB, 111. Here there is mention of three Dongarias (nobles) being punished with death. Neog Gohain Bar-Phukan was also called 'Neogar Putek Bar-Phukan', see DAR, p. 69.
War With The Mughuls Renewed (1637-41):  

In the next year the king also reconstructed the fort of Marangi and strengthened it by transferring many people to that area from Abboipur, Dihing and Namdang. With these new settlements the king appointed Kan-Seng Barpatra's grandson Akhek as Marangikhowa Gohain (Governor of Marangi). Frictions with the Mughuls on the western border continued to occur. About A.D. 1635 a number of Hindu chiefs including Gabhunu Ray and Harikesh came over to the Ahom side and sought protection of the Svaragadev. Nawab Abdul Islam of Dacca demanded the extradition of Harikesh who had owed to him rupees five hundred. The Ahom king refused to hand over a person who had submitted to him for protection and, in this respect, reminded the Nawab of his action of not returning the offender, Mama Govinda, who had fled to Bengal. Then Shaykh Farid and Mamud proceeded up the Barlia (Baraliya) to seize Harikesh but were chased out of the Ahom territories by Kalanchu Handikoi. These incidents developed high tension in the Ahom-Mughul relations, which, not long after, broke out again into open warfare.  

In the meantime, knowing that major operations would be necessary to clear the land of the Muslim menace, king Hso-Hseng-Hpa, in the spring of 1637, ordered the son of Heog Phukan (Bar-Phukan) to summon all the frontier Rajas.

398 BBB, p.112; Kamrupar Puranjit, p.34.
and chiefs to Kajali and inform them of the king's desire that they should all proceed against the Muslims with their regiments in the company of the Ahom army. Accordingly, the summons were issued, the Rajas and chiefs assembled and held a war council at Kajali and at the appointed time marched against the Muslims. The combined army, under the supreme command of the new Bar-Phukan attacked and drove back the Mughuls from the areas of Pandu, Saraighat and Agiatthuti to Hajo. It was discovered that there were European mercenaries in the Mughul army. The naval force of the enemy retreated to Sualkuchi. But the Muslims made attacks from time to time on Saraighat and Pandu, but they were all repulsed. While conducting operations from a high ground at Amarajuri the Neog Bar-Phukan was killed by an enemy bullet which shot through his mouth. When the king received this news he appointed General Lan-Hong-Shen as the next Bar-Phukan with supreme command over the army and the navy and Lasham Barua as the naval commander under him. In a bloody battle on Majuli between Pandu and Hajo, in which the Ahoms used guns and cross-bows besides other arms, the Muslims were defeated with heavy casualties and forced to retreat to Sualkuchi. At Sualkuchi


400 Lanmakharu or Haladhithenga Bar-Phukan of Assamese Buranjis.
a Firingi (European), who came out of his fort and fired his gun, was made captive by the Ahoms, who, hearing the report of his gun, rushed at him frustrating his attempt to escape. This was the first European ever captured by the Ahoms and taken to Garigaon and presented to the king.

On request from the Bar-Phumkan the king sent a strong naval squadron of sixty large ships and ten thousand men consisting of the king's own picked archers and gunners under the command of able officers. The whole force with the land army assembled near the enemy fort at Suwalkuchi, where Satrajit was at his post with his army, and laid siege to it. The Muslims made a number of unsuccessful attempts to break the siege with the result that great many of them lost their lives. Those who escaped alive fled away. Satrajit himself fled with one hundred ships pursued by the Assamese up to Kalahimukh (Koolsi-mukh). One officer named Rajit Khan was captured alive while he was dashing out of the fort. The fort fell to the Ahoms. A frantic naval attack was made by a Muslim commander, called Khankhana, with sixty boats, but he was defeated and forty of the boats, laden with provisions, captured by the Ahoms. The enemies were pursued to Chandrakoth. The Ahoms seized three hundred ships, three hundred large and small guns and other materials.

401 AB, p.118; DAB, p.71.
402 AB, pp.118-19; DAB, p.71; Kamrupar Buranii, p.36.
Having captured Sualkuchi the Ahoms next besieged and attacked the Mughul fort at Hajo. The Ahoms made such a powerful assault on the fort that the Nawabs Mahudi (the chief of Hajo) and Abdul Islam of Bengal were wounded, and their elephant receiving bullet shots ran back. Great confusion reigned in the Mughul camp and many attempted to escape from the besieged fort, but they were all surrounded and their supplies cut off. The Mughuls began to die of starvation. At last Nawab Mahudi came out of the fort and surrendered to Lan-Kong-Shen (Lamarkharu) Bar-Phukan followed by Nawab Abdul Islam and other high officers. They were all sent as prisoners to Garhgaon. The Mughul head-quarters of Hajo were then devastated and many Muslims captured and a large booty acquired by the Ahoms. According to Kamrupar Burenji (pp. 36-37) the date of this Ahom victory over the Mughuls was Narg. Sak 1558 (i.e. A.D. 1637). The Ahoms and their Koch and hills allies also made a series of successful attacks on the enemy forts of Mimisa, Rabhikundh, Shonda and other places forcing the Muslim and Hindu forces of Bengal to retreat. Itakhuli and Saraighat had already been occupied by the Ahom officers, Lei-Phang-Jeng and Lasham Phukan respectively.

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403 Shonda (Sandha) is about 16 miles north of Hajo.
Subsequent Developments:

In the spring of 1639 the king ordered the Bar-Phukan Lan-Mong-Shen, Khangla (Khanglai Chetia) and Raja Dharmanarayan to capture Uttam, who was at Hajo commanding a force for the Muslims. Gait points out that Uttamnarayan was a zamindar of Barnagar in Kamrup. But the latter fled to Bengal and under the Bar-Phukan's orders the Assamese set fire to the buildings and properties including a granary. It is stated Lan-Mong-Shen setting aside the orders of the king removed twenty families of Sualkuchi and established them at Banunkuchi. For this disobedience he was replaced by Chiring Piskai as Bar-Phukan who was stationed at Pande as the supreme commander of its garrison. The new Bar-Phukan on assuming charge further extended the conquests on both banks of the Brahmaputra and captured several important strategic posts of the Sughuls. On the north bank, being driven off from Hajo, the Muslims took their stand at Madhupur, about 16 miles north-west of Hajo, but even from there they were forced to fall back to Barpota. The Assamese made their forts at Himisa and Kalapani and made a series of attacks on Muhammad Zaman, the Faujdar of Sylhet, who arrived with reinforcements. About the beginning of A.D. 1640 the Muslims

404 According to AB—'SEIC', (p. 70) fifty families of weavers were transferred to Dekshinkul and settled there and the Bar-Phukan seized from them all the silk cloth woven by them for the Padshah but did not send it to Svargadev.
evacuated Jakhalikhana and retreated to their next post at Bhatakuhi (Bhatkuchi).

In the autumn of 1640 three Katakis, Patna Kandali, Madhav Kandali and Birina gave an adverse report to the king about the Bar-Phukan. They said that the Bar-Phukan had no capacity to conduct the affairs of his office efficiently. It is said that earlier these three Katakis had asked the Bar-Phukan for some gifts, but met with a refusal and since then they maintained a grudge against him. At the receipt of the report the king ordered that the Bar-Phukan be arrested and chained and brought to Garhgaon. In the Tai-Ahom record the offence is pointed out to be that he acted whimsically without regard for the directions of the king in conducting wars. In Sak 1559 (A.D. 1637) one Langu alias Saruchakua Gohain, son of Khampet (Khamprat) Bar-Gohain, was then appointed as Bar-Phukan and was directed to make his camp at Pandu.

During the Bar-Phukanship of Langu the enemy fort at Bhatakuhi was captured by the Ahoms. In a battle there the Muslims suffered heavy casualties. At this stage Lasham Barua and the brother (Palonga?) of Langu fled to Bengal, but were fettered and put into prison by the Bengal Subahdar. The Muslims now received reinforcements from Bengal under the command of Mirza Zahina (i.e., Mir Zainud-Din, brother of Islam Khan) assisted by Allah Yar Khan and defeated the Ahoms, who

405 AR - 'SMJC', p.70.
also ran short of ammunition, at Barepaita. Several Ahom officers fell fighting at that place. Langu was found inexperienced and hence removed from Bar-Phukanship. In his place two officers, Chaongu and the Marangikhowa Gohain were sent to Pandu which was being firmly held by the Ahoms since the time of Satrajit's retreat from there. After Barepaita the Muslims advanced with strength pushing back the Ahoms from Hajo and Agiathuti to Sarighat. In a naval engagement near Pandu the Ahoms were equally worsted. Gait says that some five hundred sloops of war and three hundred guns fell into the hands of the victors. The Muslims continued to push forward up to Kajalimukh where they raised a fort, but it was soon captured by Hari Deka and Marua Kenwar. In face of these developments the king repaired and strengthened the fortifications of Kaliabar. He also sent his three ministers (Gohains) to oppose the Muslims at the Kajali fort and soon after them sent also the Bar-Barua, Momei-Tamuli, with a force to that fort. The Bar-Gohain, the Bura-Gohain and the Barpatra-Gohain actually did not come to Kajalimukh. An attempt by the Muslims to capture the Kajali fort was foiled by the Bar-Barua. This success encouraged the Bar-Gohain, the Bura-Gohain and the Barpatra-Gohain to march against the Muslims with their large cannon and other weapons and a number of boats, but to everybody's surprise,

406 AB - 'SMJC', p.71.
407 According to the version in AB - 'SMJC', (p.72) he suffered from rheumatism and hence could not become very active.
at the approach of the Muslims by boats the army fled (away) leaving their cannon and boats. From the beginning to end these Gohains were acting in contravention of the king's directions and suffered the loss. In the flight Balinarayan (Dharmanarayan), the Raja of Darrang, was hotly pursued by the invaders. He was isolated and killed in the neighbourhood of Singari Parbat.

Battle Of The Bharali, 1638:

All retreated to Kaliabar and Samdhara. The Gohains were simply reproved by the king for their irresponsible conduct and were next ordered to proceed to the fort at Samdhara.

An important battle was fought on the banks of the Bharali. In A.D. 1638 (Kanipa) the Muslims, advancing both by land and water, reached the mouth of the Bharali river and erected a fort adjacent to the fort of the Ahoms. At the time fortifications undertaken by the Ahoms were yet to be completed.

The Bar-Barua suggested at the Council of Nobles a resort to a dilatory course so as to gain time to complete the works. With the consent of all he sent envoys to the Muslim camp making an enquiry as to the object of their coming. If they came for war the matter might be plainly stated through the envoys. The Muslim general's reply was that they were prepared to go back without war to their country if 'elephants of their jungles, aloes wood, pepper and gold' he offered to them.

The nobles then took time to send the proposal to the king and get the reply. In the meantime, the fortification works
were expedited and completed. Thereafter the nobles, as already planned, communicated to the Muslim general the king’s positive refusal to give anything of the kind. 408

Then after a few days of daily skirmishes the Muslims made a major attack on the Ahom fort with elephants, horses and war-boats, but were repulsed and four of their boats destroyed. Next morning they made a heavy attack on the Bura-Gohain’s fort and the battle raged for the whole day. A vast number of Muslims fell dead with only twenty men killed in the fort of the Bura-Gohain. The following morning the Muslims crossed the Bharali and built a fort very close to the Ahom fort. In the meantime reinforcements arrived from Garhgaon. In the morning of the fourth day the Muslims came out of their fort and made a powerful attack on the forts of the Ahom Generals at Samdhara. The Koch king Prannarayan accompanied the Mughul army. This was their last bid for victory. The battle was fought with unabated fury for the whole day and the ditches were filled up with the dead bodies of the Muslims. For two more days the Muslims fought with great losses to themselves, but being heavily defeated by the Ahoms they retired to Guhhati where, after placing Allah Yar Khan in charge of Kamrup as Faujdar, Mirza Zahina sailed down to his country.

The Ahoms advanced in the winter of 1639 to Kajalimukh and took their station there. 409 In this campaign the

408 AB - 'SHJC', pp. 72-73.
409 AB - 'SHJC', the Bharali battle and the Ahoms’ reoccupation of the Kajali fort are antedated by 3 years. But the dates in AB appear to be systematic.
supreme command was vested in Piksai Chetia for the north bank and in Nomai Temuli Bar-Barua for the south bank. After this victory King Hso-Hseng-Hpa wanted to snatch an opportunity to make peace for a few years not only for rest and recuperation of the country after twelve years of almost incessant fighting, but also to make up for the exhaustion of war materials in the stock to meet fresh challenge. They therefore opened negotiation with Allah Yar Khan and in A.D. 1639 a treaty was concluded whereby the Bar Nadi on the north and Asurar Ali on the south bank were fixed as the boundary between the Ahom and Mughul territories. This was a momentous settlement of the Ahom-Mughul boundary problem though it became a bone of contention in subsequent developments.

It may be noted that Raja Satrajit lost the confidence of the Mughul Subahdar of Bengal by his nefarious activities and secret deals with the Ahom authorities. He was captured at Dhubri, tried and executed at Jahangirmagar (Dacca).

Bhutan Frontier Settlement:

On the death of Dharmanarayan in A.D. 1638 his son Sundarnarayan was made Raja of Darrang in A.D. 1639 by the Ahom king with the Bar Nadi as the western boundary of his territory. Sundarnarayan established his residence at Mangaldoi. He was a capricious ruler who by his wild acts and projects,

410 Ibid, pp.73-74. A good narrative of the Mughul-Ahom war of the period is given in AB and also in Padishanamah.
offended even his subjects and attendants. He carried on depredations into the Satdooar and plundered the villages and seized the lands belonging to the Raja of Bhutan. The people and the Bhutanese chiefs of Satdooar asserted their rights over the districts to the north of the Gohain Kamalar Ali, but agreed to make the usual presents of musks and cow-tails (Sowar) to the Raja of Darrang and to pay the stated tribute of horses, cow-tails, musks and blankets to Svaragadev. Sundarnarayan consented to it. Such alienation of Darrang territory, which was a part of the Ahom dominions, was resented by the Ahom king who sent a force to take possession of the border lands as far as Bhoomoorakundah and directed Sundarnarayan to join it in an action against the Bhutanese. There was a border war for seven months with the Bhutanese who advanced on horseback. The Bhutanese were defeated and sued for peace with offer of tributes, such as gold dust cow-tails and horses. But they represented to the Ahom king their demand praying for a grant of the seven dooars and

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411 In his *Among the Himalayas* Major L.A. Waddell defines dooars as 'passes' i.e., shallow passes or entrances from the plains into the hills. These shallow valleys or dooars are usually estimated at 13 in number, of which 11 lie on the frontier of Bengal and the other seven are on the corresponding frontier of Assam. (pp.239-90, 436). Robinson says that the 'duwaras' (dooars) were assigned to the hill-chief tains, who were responsible to the Ahom king for the peace of those tracts. There was another term desh with a similar meaning used for certain tracts on the south bank and they are 'Desh Dumuria, Desh Panbari, Desh Beltalla and Desh Rani and nine dooars. (See his *Descriptive Account of Assam*, p.283 etc.).

412 Wade's *Account of Assam*, p.225.
seven districts belonging to Bhutan. An agreement was eventually signed with usual formalities. The Bhutanese chiefs of the doocars agreed to pay the annual tribute for the ceded country as far as the Gohain Kamalar Ali which was fixed as the southern limit. The Darrangi Raja's territory was also strictly defined with the Dhamsi on the east, the Gohain Kamalar Ali on the north and the Bar Nadi on the west. Sundarnarayan was accused of alienating the king's domain and was therefore deprived of his right over the province of Kamrup, which was immediately put under the charge of the Bar-Phukan. The Raja was granted one hundred and sixty 'got paiks' by the Ahom king.

Hao-Hseng-Hpa's Character and Achievements:

Chao Hao-Hseng-Hpa was one of the greatest kings of the early period of the Tai-Abom rule in Assam. Though he became king at an advanced age of about fifty-eight, yet he ruled for nearly forty years - one of the longest reigns - maintaining the vigour of his mind and body to the end and was one of the most beloved of his subjects who prayed for his long life. He was a contemporary of Emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan, whose ambition it was to push the frontiers of the Mughul Empire to the farthest limit in the east. Lakshminarayan's approach for help in A.D. 1608 gave Jahangir the desired opportunity to bring the Koch kingdoms of Koch Behar and Kamrup.

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414 Ibid, p.231.
under his heels thereby reaching at once the borders of the Ahom kingdom. Hso-Hseng-Hpa could forestall the destiny of the Koch kingdoms from the internecine wars between Parikshit and Lakshminarayan and eventual imperialist expansion of the Mughuls to the Ahom border. He therefore closed up his war with the Kacharis by effecting a friendly settlement and became ready to meet the more dangerous enemy, the mighty Mughuls. He devoted all attention to the reorganization of the country's manpower and resources so as to be able to place on the field a well-trained and efficient army. When the Mughuls, after having swept across the Koch territories started invasions of the Ahom kingdom, they found the Ahoms unlike the Koches too tough and capable of dealing hard blows. The recuperative vigour of this race was such that particular reverses, such as that at Hajo, could not cow down their spirit and doggedness of tenacity in continuing to fight to the finish.

King Hso-Hseng-Hpa's experiences from his wars with the Mughuls dictated the necessity of certain elaborate and fundamental reforms in the entire administrative system. He created two very important posts, those of the Bar-Phukan and Bar-Barua, the first being essentially a functionary in charge of the defence of Lower Assam and of diplomatic relations with foreign countries of the west and the second being a functionary at the head of the secretariat and the judiciary under the king. A census of the population was taken and where this
had not been done already the people were grouped into clans with officers appointed over them. The common free population, which was regimented for civil and military purposes, was neatly divided into brigades of one thousand men or saika each commanded by a Hazarika and a gradation of other subordinate officers. Under the Hazarika were for instance, the Saikias and Beraas. A Saikia, as the term denotes, commands one hundred and a Bera commands twenty men (naika) respectively. In addition there were Neoge, Phukans and Rajkhowas who held more important positions. He introduced certain innovations in the field of land settlements. He divided the territory of the kingdom into twelve districts (or provinces). He assigned to the Bar-Gohain, the Burma-Gohain and the Barpatra-Gohain for their exclusive enjoyment certain well-defined areas or districts. The king transferred the Bhuyans to the Dakshinkul by abolishing their Uttarjul (North bank) settlements between the Bharali and the Sobansiri rivers; for, since Narinarayan's invasion of Assam these Bhuyans, it is alleged, stopped payment of tributes to the Ahom king and one Bhuyan, named Uday, even

415 Gait : op.cit., p.119.
416 AB - 'SHUT', p.76. Ru-ring, Hazarika, Ru-pak, Saikia, Ru-sao, Bera, Phu-kin-mong, Rajkhowa, Phu-ken, Phukon, Niu-chom. Heog. Tai-Ahom was then the language of the Royal Court. The Assamese forms of these official titles were rendered from Tai-Ahom. This organizational pattern is not to be understood to have been first introduced by Hsiao-Hseng-Hpa. As noted above, it was there in much earlier times in the Tai kingdom of Nan-Chao.
417 AB - 'SHUT', p.76 ; Tr. 8a (DHAS), p.45 for the beleits, or districts, that were formed.
revolted and declared his independence. This transfer considerably reduced the power of the Bhuyans. A similar transfer of eight thousand families, in the order of one family out of twenty, from Upper Assam to the sparsely populated border area of Marangi was made building it up into a town in order to strengthen the defence of the country on the Kaohari frontier. In planning and executing all these various reforms the king had the assistance of his talented key man, Noma Tamili Bar-Barua. While at Kalisabar, once the Bar-Phukan was addressed in a diplomatic epistle as Memjani Raja by the Kaohari Raja Indrabalnarayan. Though the Bar-Phukan took exception to being called Raja, the Ahom king took pride at his viceroy being given such a high compliment by another Raja.

Hao-Hseng-Hpa's reign is notable for the development of backward tracts and construction of many important roads, embankments, tanks and forts. He reconstructed the impregnable fortifications of Samdhera under his direct supervision. When completed they extended on the north bank

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418 Ibid, p.76-77; Calt: on cit., p.119.
419 AS - 'SMJC', p.68.
420 The name Noma is from Tai Mu, areca-nut and mai, weed out, trim up. The story is that this particular man of the Iukhrakha family raised a beautiful and well-trimmed areca-nut garden. The king happened to pass by it and was impressed by the sight of the well-ordered garden. He then rewarded the owner, who was from that time called Noma, and appointed him as his Tamili, an attendant who takes care of the king's own areca-nut garden and prepares and serves betel-nut to him. From that humble job, in which this man's great merit was observed by the king, he was rapidly raised to the position of the Bar-Barua.
421 Probably same as nam-doni, meaning the plains near the highlands or hills. Here it means namani-Raja or the Raja of Lower Assam.
from the Lohit to the Samdharra Hill and on the south
from the Lohit to Bhayaraguri, Sola was fortified by the
Bar-Barua again in A.D. 1620 with its ramparts extending
from the Chandi Temple to Kapalikati on the north bank and
from the Lohit it was joined to the Pakariguri Hill on the south. Under orders of the king the Bar-Barua also
constructed the temples of Visvanath and Dergaon. In A.D.
1617 the king excavated the well-known Mechagharh tank and
consecrated it to the God of Heaven (Lengdon) on the
Samkranti day of Nach according to the Tai-Ahom custom by
sacrificing cows and buffaloes. It is said that the king,
in high appreciation of Momai Temuli’s construction of the
ramparts at Bombagarah and the Singha-Door (Lion-Gate) of
Garhgaon, made him the first Bar-Barua. In A.D. 1632 a
road was built connecting the hills with the town of
Makurikhowa, and in the next year made the Le-dai garh of
the Nam-dang. Thereafter southern defence outposts were streng-
thened by raising ramparts called Pendarar garh, to the
inside of which the Nagas had no access except when escorted
by the Chaodangs. An exchange-mart was also established
there for the benefit of the Nagas and the people of the
plains. The king also built as many as twelve towns and
they were the towns of Darika, Mathurapur, etc., the hill

422 different from one on the north bank.
423 AB - 'SMJC', p.61.
424 Ibid, p.64. (also Tr. 84, p.29).
425 Ibid, p.68.
The foreigners who came to Assam were registered. During Hao-Hseng-Hpa’s reign the names of those persons, who came from Bhati or Nangraja to Assam with their families apparently to settle here, are in record. They were Manik Kath, Kshetriya, Bhatta Guru, Sreetha, Jayantiram, Patranasi, Bengal Chakravarty, Jadunandan Mishra and Kangpatra. In addition Chandrai Barkath, Chaliha and Malraj come from Kamrup Dhekeri. As diplomatic intercourse rapidly developed with Dacca and other Eastern Indian States the king selected from among the Hindus, particularly Brahmins, of his kingdom such persons as were found competent to act as envoys or ambassadors by reason of their knowledge of the languages, customs and cultures of those countries. The names of as many as eighteen such persons are known to have served the Ahom Court as envoys and ambassadors and they were 1. Dharadhar, 2. Bar Kandali, 3. Chota Kandali, 4. Sagar Kandali, 5. Chandi Guru, 6. Thakari Gopal, 7. Gopal Kataki, 8. Ratna Kandali, 9. Nkadah, 10. Madhav Kandali, 11. Birna (or Birina), 12. Sitalial, 13. Srikanta, 14. Sonabar, 15. Mirah, 16. Senatan, 17. Narayan and 18. Raj Guru.

King Hao-Hseng-Hpa’s reign was marked by certain unforeseen happenings. In A.D. 1618 his palace was struck by lightning and partly burnt. Again in A.D. 1621 his Temple of...
Chum-Seng (Chumdeo) was struck by lightning and damaged north. In the same year the Visvanath Temple on the bank was partly charred by lightning stroke and had therefore to be rebuilt by the Bar-Barus. There was also an epidemic of cattle disease in the year 1613 causing death to innumerable cows and buffaloes. Constant wars and the cattle disease led to a brief period of food shortage and growth of famine conditions.

Hso-Hseng-Hpa was inexorable in the enforcement of discipline and cowardice or disobedience on the part of his officers was severely dealt with. Though himself not a Hindu he was tolerant of the Hindu religion. He looked to the interest of common people. On hearing complaints from the weavers, goldsmiths and other people against the Bhandari Gohain and his sons that the latter were oppressing the people and were of depraved character the king enquired into the grievances and being satisfied executed the offenders. The great king, Hso-Hseng-Hpa, died of illness at his ripe old age in A.D. 1641.

18. Hso-Ram-Hpa (1641-1644):

At the time of Hso-Hseng-Hpa's death his three sons were present at his bed side. The youngest son, Chao-Shai, conspired to seize the throne but his attempt was foiled by the second brother, Chao-Hpa Hso-Ching. The eldest son, Prince Hso-Ram-Hpa, was reluctant to ascend the throne as he had
'no sons or grandsons'. The choice of the ministers and nobles fell on the second prince, but the latter refused to be king when his elder brother was alive. 428 Chao-Hpa Hso-Ram was at last installed as the king.

It was soon found that this king was unworthy of the throne. He was weak and depraved and suffered from mental perversion. He was not ashamed to live with his step-mother as man and wife. 429 He brought into his palace a woman married to a Chutiya and made her his queen. She adopted a boy of her former husband's elder brother and influenced the king to agree to her adopted son being made king after him. 430 But to the relief of the nobles of the Court, who were indignant at such a preposterous proposal, the adopted son died before the king. The queen's allegation was that it was Hso-Ching-Hpa's son, Lapet alias Laplup Gohain, who had poisoned her adopted son to death. This led to a friction between the king and his brother. 431

The king was overwhelmed with grief at the death of his pet child and asked the three ministers, the Phukans and the Barua to offer a boy of each to be buried along with the deceased son. His brother Hso-Ching-Hpa warned the king against pressing such a demand, but the foolish king still insisted on it. "We never hear of such a thing", said the nobles, "in the days of our fathers and grand-fathers".

428 AB, p. 127; DAB, p. 79.
429 AB, p. 127; DAB, p. 79.
431 AB, 'SWJC', p. 79.
They then united and deposed the king in A.D. 1644 for which he was also called Bhaga Raja (deposed king). He was first banished to the hills and interned and later he was put to death at Tipam under orders of Hao-Ching-Hpa by giving him food mixed up with poison. 432

When Hao-Ram-Hpa ascended the throne the Kachari Raja addressed a diplomatic epistle to him which bore for the first time the lion-seal instead of the usual flower-seal. With the king’s command Laku Barpatra tore off the epistle and pushed out of the Court the envoys of the Raja who brought it. From this incident Kachari-Ahom friendship again broke off. 433

Hao-Ram-Hpa built a road in Salaguri which is sometimes called Takubari Ali. 434


Hao-Ching-Hpa (or Hao-Ching-Hong) was next placed on the throne by the nobles. But this prince was sickly for which he was also known as Mariya Raja. He married the daughter of Laku Barpatra whom he made the chief queen. One of his wives, who was the sister of Hui-Phak alias Saraih Bura-Gohain, warned the king against the activities of his eldest son, Lapet (Lapiup), who, in collusion with Laku Barpatra, had effected the murder of the former king and was now conspiring to overthrow him. The king tested the

432 See Tr. 84 (DHAS); DAB, p. 81.
433 Ibid.; also AB = 'SMJC', pp. 78-79.
434 DAB, p. 79.
allegation and found proof. He therefore invited Prince Lapet (Laplup) to a dinner and treacherously put him to death at Bhogbari. Next he executed Laku Barpatra and his brothers and sons in A.D. 1645 and deposed his daughter from the position of the chief queen. Sariah Bura-Gohain's sister was then made the chief queen. 435

Sungi Expedition of 1646:

An important event during Hao-Ching-Hpa's reign was an expedition sent against the Sungis436 of the north border hills. It was led by three generals, namely, Diliriyal Sukulahmu Bura-Gohain, Kenduguria Barpatra and the Ghora-Kunwar Pikaai. The expeditionary force was divided into two regiments, the first headed by the Bura-Gohain and the Barpatra started from Rangachapari and then marched up the river Dikrang and encamped at Maghnowa (or Baghnowa), and the second, headed by the Ghora-kunwar, followed up the course of the Burai437 river and came out after setting fire to the villages of the Sungis and destroying their crops. As the Ahoms were preparing to construct palisades the Sungis attacked them killing a number of troops. The Ahom force at Maghnowa then advanced to Bandardewa. The Bura-Gohain sent one Ruprai with seven hundred men to attack

435 DAB, p. 82; AB, p. 129, 142.
436 Gait assumes the Sungis to be Daflas as the latter call themselves 'Sing' or 'Nyising' and also because the locality described is that now inhabited by this tribe. See his History of Assam, p. 124, f. n.
437 The Dikrang is a river in the North Lakhimpur Sub-Division of Upper Assam, and the Burai, a river to the east of Tezpur in the district of Darrang.
the Sungi villages, but the Sungis, who were excellent archers, killed him and repulsed his men. At a place called Hanhchara some five hundred men of the Bura-Gohain's force were killed. Being much harassed by the elusive Sungis the Bura-Gohain and the Barpatra retreated after destroying a fort of the Sungis, but the king dismissed both for their failure to subdue this small tribe and appointed Sariah of Tepartal as Bura-Gohain and Banchangia Temple as Barpatra.438 He next sent Mechagharia Bar-Gohain and Hatimuria Phukan with a second expeditionary force against the Sungis. They proceeded to Athiabari, but did not meet the Sungis for a regular fight. They adopted guerilla tactics of harassing a strong army. Hence no Sungi could be captured. The Bar-Gohain then destroyed their villages with all the granaries and standing crops and took away their cattle leaving the Sungis without food and means of cultivation. The Sungis being helpless and at the same time terribly suffering from starvation submitted to the Ahom king and obtained relief.439

Relations With The Kacharis:

The Kachari Raja Hiradarpanarayan made a fresh move for friendship by sending an embassy to the Ahom Court.

438 K.T.P.: op.cit., p.36. Later Hatipoali was made Bura-Gohain and again he was replaced by Sukulahudu and Saru Bura was made Bar-Gohain and Rajmantri, but for a short interval Choparekhwa was made Bar-Gohain. The office of the Bar-Barua was offered to Tangasu Handikoi and that of the Bar-Phukan to Piksai. See K.T.P.: op.cit., p.36; H.S.3.; op.cit., p.45.
439 AB, pp.132-33; DB, pp.82-83; AB, 'SNJC', pp.80-81; Tr. 84 (DHAS).
The Abom king, Hso-Ching-Npa, reminded in his reply to
the Kachari Raja that the latter's dynasty had been estab-
lished and protected (Thapit-Sanchit) by the Abom kings
and as such the old friendship had been in force. The
Kachari Raja could not brook the use of the term Thapit-
Sanchit in the Abom king's reply and wrote back to him
that the term Thapit-Sanchit was properly applied to
Hedambeswar (Kachari Raja of Hedombe) as he was established
by the Abom king by offering a bride to him, but the
present use of the term would be inappropriate unless it
was the intention of the Abom king to offer a bride again.
This interpretation of the implication of Thapit-Sanchit
was highly resented by Hso-Ching-Npa. Added to that the
bitter memory of the indifference with which the Kachari
Raja Bhimbal received a bride of an Abom noble family was
still fresh. Yet, as precedent had already been set, the
king and the nobles decided to offer the hope and sent a
letter accordingly to Mradarpanarayan so that friendly
relations might be maintained and trades with the Kacharis
carried on.

There were further disturbances in the Sungi country
and the Kamjang Nagas sought protection of the Abom king
against the Khenteng and other Nagas. The Sungis were again
punished and brought to order and the troublesome Nagas were

440 Reference here appears to be to Derakungpha
(Detshung) to whom the Abom king, Hso-Hom-Mong, offered a
daughter of one Senari. (See AP - 'SMJG', p.22).
subdued. Khamjang Haras raided Namrup, but they fled away when the Raja of Tipam marched against them. The Raja stopped paying the usual tributes and organized a revolt of the Tipamiyas. The revolt was put down and the Tipam Raja captured and executed. This king constructed what is called the Mishimi garh.