The sister of Saridh Bora-Gohain, who is now the chief queen of Hao-Ching-Hpa after the first chief queen had been degraded and her son put to death, made it a plan to place her son, Chao-Shai, on the throne after her husband. But even as a Prince he made himself extremely unpopular by his wild and devilish frolics. The ministers and nobles of the Court then invited Prince Chao-Sham to succeed his father.

20. Chao-Hpa Hao-Tam-La
alias Jayadhvaj Singha (1643-1663):

In Lakmi kakeu (A.D. 1648) Prince Chao-Sham ascended the throne under the title of Chao-Hpa Hao-Tam-La.

On the 7th day of the month of Dimruk (Beigekh), as described in AR (p.144), the king ascended the Singari-Char and placed the Chmar-phe on the throne opening the casket containing it. He made innumerable presents to the people of the country including the ordinary labourers, attendants, the Ahoms and

1 Kalurekhova Gohain in some Assamese Buranjis.
2 called Kalmua Gohain in some Assamese Buranjis.
SetDAB, p.87; AR - 'SJJC', p.83.
the Brahmins. The amusements continued for seven days and nights and cannon were fired, harps played and flutes blown. He also planted an Auber or Ayuber (a life giving banyan tree) on the Charaideo Hill. He also assumed the Hindu title of Jayadhvaj Singha. It must be remembered that he was the first Tai-Ahom king to be converted to Hinduism, but whether he assumed the Hindu title after or before his initiation into that religion is not definitely known. According to an account of Auniati Satra of Assam (DHAS, Tr. 94, Vol. V, Part V, p. 309) he became a disciple of Miranjan Dev, the first Satradhikar of that Satra, in the Sak 1576 (A.D. 1654), that is, in the sixth year of his reign. But he came undoubtedly under the Brahminic influence at a much earlier date.

Soon after his accession he took measures to get rid of his chief opponents. His bed-ridden father, Hso-Ching-Hpa, who had been deposed, was interned at Ranjekham (or Ranshekham). As conspirators against his accession Sariah Bura-Gohain, his two sons and Nakkata (or Cheleng) Bez were executed at Barhat under orders of Hso-Tam-La. Chao-Shai and his mother were also executed at the same place and buried together in the same grave. The ex-king was poisoned to death in the same year (1648). Following the advice of the deceased king to change the pillars of the State, Hso-Tam-La appointed Kunwoiganya Lasham as his Bura-Gohain in

3 AB - 'SLJC', p. 83; DAB, p. 37.
place of Sukulahudu, who was put to death. Later Lasham was succeeded by Banhgarhia Atan as Bar-Gohain. His-Tam-La had Loshai of Pilinga's family and Barukial Langison as Bar-Gohains one after another and Lai, Cherelia and Bhaga as Barpatra Gohains successively. The king's father-in-law Naboicha Phukan was appointed Rajmantri. 4 Tengasu of Khandoi family served as the Bar-Deura for a part of his reign, but finding him incompetent to conduct the affairs of diplomatic relations the king removed him and appointed Sengdhara 5 as Bar-Deura. Garhghana Raja-Sasur 6 was made Bar-Phukan.

One Buranji says that Jayadhvaj Simha was the first Ahom king to introduce octagonal silver mohara or coins bearing legends in Hindu script. His coins have actually Sanskrit legends in old Assamese script. 7

5 sometimes referred to as Bengkhowa. For Sengdhara see AB - 'SGMC', p.33.
6 K.T.P. : op.cit., p.33. In AD (pp.173,175) Phukan-mong or Bar-Phukan is shown by the translator to be Baduli Phukan. In Kashiath's Buranji (p.117) and Harakanta's Buranji (p.135) Baduli is shown to be the only Bar-Phukan during Jayadhvaj Singha's reign. In Kashiath's Buranji (p.39) it is stated 'Cheuni Ali was constructed by Baduli Bar-Phukan'. Shristu Khan addressed his letter (Kumarbar Buranji, p.53) to 'brother Bar-Nawab (Bar-Phukan), Sasur of Swarga-Raja'. In the Buranjis there are references to Garhghana Raja-Sasur, Raja-Sasur Neog Gohain Bar-Phukan, Namania Raja-Sasur etc. It appears from the accounts that Baduli Phukan, who was appointed Neog Phukan or the Commander of the army at Manahamukh (AB, p.162), was different from Raja-Sasur Bar-Phukan who is identified with Chengman Raja-Sasur Bar-Phukan by S.K.Bhuyan (Atan Rura Gohain and His Times, p.22). It may be that Chengman was himself Baduli, an Assamese term. Namania Raja-Sasur was, of course, not Bar-Phukan. The point requires further investigation.

7 AB - 'SGMC', p.34.
It may be remembered that after the conclusion of the Mughul-Ahom boundary Treaty of 1639 Allah Yar Khan was appointed as the Faujdar of Kazir. The branch of the river Brahmaputra that was flowing by Bajo reduced its strategic importance by being silted up year after year and becoming dry in the winter and dry summer seasons. Hence with the acquisition of Gauhati the Mughul head-quarters were transferred to that place by Allah Yar Khan. Though there were no wars with the Mughuls during Allah Yar's faujdarship from A.D. 1639 to 1645, yet the Ahoms' relations with the Mughuls were not without frictions. To cite instances, the Bar-Darua wrote to Allah Yar Khan for repatriating an Assamese official who happened to cross the Bar Nadi and reach the Sarania Hill whence he had been sent to Dacca. Instead of complying with the request the Mughul Faujdar made a counter-charge that the Ahom authorities had put into confinement sixty-three Mughul subjects who had strayed into their territory on the north bank. Again in November, 1645, a batch of one hundred and seven Mughul soldiers made an unauthorized entrance into the Ahom territory.

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3 The Purani Asam Baranji indicates that there were exchanges of letters between Allah Yar Khan and the Bar-Darua for seven years from Sak 1551 to 1557, but on a comparison of these dates with those of other Chronicles and of Padishanama they are found to be earlier by full one decade and hence subject to correction.
by crossing the Bar Nadi and proceeded as far as Singari in Darrang in order to catch elephants. They also killed an Assamese officer of the frontier post with the consequence that these Mughuls were arrested and put into a prison by the Barua. The Emirder tried to get these men released but the Bar-Barua apparently refused to set them free as the nature of the offence was grave and the Emirder found no strong ground to insist on returning them. Early in 1641 Allah Yar Khan demanded the extradition of the traitor Chandranarayan, son of Parikshit, who had been given political asylum by the Ahom king and wrote a letter to the Bar-Barua regretting the refusal of the king to deliver him up to the imperial authorities. The Bar-Barua retorted by saying in his reply that the imperialists had no reason to make such a demand after refusing to deliver the four sons of Balinarayan who had gone over to them as deserters from the side of the Assam king. In April, 1646, the Bar-Barua in a letter accused the Mughuls of their action in harbouring soma Govinda, an underling of the Ahom king, who had fled to Bengal betraying his suzerain. Numerous similar cases of violations of rights and privileges on both sides were alleged in a series of diplomatic letters exchanged between the Ahom and imperial authorities. These letters are but evidences of a state of tension that continued to exist between the Ahoms and the Mughuls throughout this period of apparent peace.
Allah Yar Khan retired in A.D. 1645 and there followed a decade of comparative obscurity except that we know the names of as many as five Mughul Emirs who ruled Kamrup with head-quarters at Guibati. Allah Yar was succeeded by:—

1. Siru Thunduri (less than a year, 1646),
2. Akka Husain (1647),
3. Sayyid Husain (died at Guibati at the end of 1648),
4. Sayyid Kutub (1649-51),
5. Sayyid Saleh (1651-53).

Then came the eventful period of Mir Lutfullah Shirazi, who was appointed Emir of Kamrup in A.D. 1654.

In the Annals of Buranjia he is referred to as Mirza Nathula or simply as Nathana. 10

We know that Shah Jahan's reign, which was supposed to be the golden period of Mughul rule in India, came to a tragic end with the commencement of the war of succession among his sons 11 during 1657-58. Taking advantage of this intestine war Laja Frenmarayan of Koch Behar, so long loyal to the Mughuls, prepared himself to overthrow the Mughul suzerainty and deliver the Koch country. He sent envoys to Durlardhmarayan of the same Koch family with himself and who

10 Buranjia Buranjia, p. 32 ; AD - 'SHUC', p. 39 ;
Omabhiram Derna in his Buranjia gives a slightly different list of Emirs and refers to Mir Lutfullah as Nathana.
11 Shah Jahan had four sons, namely, Dara Shikoh aged 43, Shuja aged 41, Aurangzeb aged 39, and Mirad aged 33 at the time of the struggle for the throne. See An Advanced History of India by Hajumdar, Raychaudhuri and Datta, p. 431.
was the son of Uttamnarayana and a chieftain (Raja) under the Mughals at Barnagar at that time, with a request to join hands with him to liberate the Koch kingdoms from Muslim domination. But Durlabhmarayan sent words in reply reminding Prannarayan how he was put in charge of Koch Beher by the Mughal authorities with Sanad under proper arrangements and as for himself he expressed his inability to collaborate with Prannarayan to fight the Mughals. On the contrary, he professed his loyalty and gratefulness to the Padshah who by a Sanad made him a Raja in Kamrup.12

Enraged at such a reply Prannarayan despatched Shabanath Qazi with an army to bring him as captive together with another chief named Harinarayana, and destroy their homes and head-quarters.13 Shabanath occupied Kmantaghath and proceeded to Kadati. Durlabhmarayan and Harinarayan fled via Darang to Beltala. Dharma Raja's son, Mohidhamarayan, probably the then chief of Beltala, after consultation with the Muhkinsa of the Lower Assam head-quarters of the Ahoms, sent report of this matter to the Ahom king and the latter ordered Tangasu Handikoi, who was then constructing bridges over the Kallang river, to escort the fugitive chiefs to Carhgaon. Tangasu then sailed down with a flotilla of armed boats to bring Durlabhmarayan under protection. At the same time Shabanath Qazi advanced towards Kazo. The Mughal Faujdar

of Gauhati sent his son Jarulla to oppose Bhabanath. Jarulla encamped at Kolkhuti and fought Bhabanath at Madati but was defeated and forced to retreat to Gauhati and Bhabanath arrived at Hajo. Sir Lutfullah Shirazi himself then made an attempt to check the advance of Bhabanath but it was unsuccessful. Being frightened by the advance of two armies — one of Bhabanath Qazi from the west and the other of the Ahoms led by Tangasu Handikoi from the east — Sir Lutfullah Shirazi fled by boat to Dacca 'with the speed of lightning and wind' under cover of darkness of a night in February, A.D. 1659 after governing Kamrup for about five years. The very next morning, by a rapid advance, General Tangasu Handikoi reached Gauhati and occupied in quick succession the town of Gauhati and the forts of Pandu and Saraighat and seized 140 horses, 40 pieces of cannon, 200 matchlocks and a large quantity of property in the imperial stores. Raja Sasur Bar-Phukien and Piksai Chetia remained in charge of Pandu and Saraighat and Tangasu Handikoi and Lapet Phukien advanced to Sessa between Saraighat and Hajo and constructed fortifications at that place. Bhabanath Qazi, whose further advance was checked by the Ahoms, tried to consolidate his position at Hajo.

At this time Prannarayan sent envoys to Jayadhwaj Singha with a proposal which runs thus — 'Let Maharaja take

14 Kamrupar Baranji, p.52 ; AB — 'SLJC', pp.89-90.
Dakahinkul, I take Uttarkul, what can the Belgals do if your men and our men effer a joint front at Natichala? 15 Jeyadhvaj Singha rejected the proposal with the remark – 'He did not send such a proposal before, the Dhekeri wants now to put salt into the boiled curry' – and asked his officers to dismiss the envoys. Bhabanath Qazi then marched from Hajo to take Gambati and reached Agishtuni. Here he had to encounter the Ahoms who engaged him in a battle which was fought with casualties to both sides, but Bhabanath suffered a severe defeat and his son, Aniruddha Qazi, was killed. Bhabanath fled to Champaguri and thence to Koch Behar leaving Chandranarayan in charge of the Champaguri fort. Lomai Tamuli Bar-Barua's brother Baduli Phukan and Paul Barua captured Madati. The Ahoms pursued the remnants of the Koch Behar army, called Bardeania or Bardewalia by the Assamese, to the Barlia (the river Baralia) and then to Vishnupur. The Koches being unable to maintain their stand at Vishnupur crossed the Sonkosh and entered their territory. One advance guard under Baduli Phukan and Lapet Phukan attacked Champaguri, killed Chandranarayan in the battle and captured the fortifications. Then Lapet Phukan and Paul Barua proceeded down by boats and seized the fortified town of Vijnaypur. Baduli and Lapet with Paul Barua devastated and annexed Natichala and Baritals. The Bar-Phukan and Piskai Chetia ordered

15 AS - 'SILC', p.90, 'Maharaja' refers to the Ahom king and 'Bengal' to the Mughals. Natichala is down Pancharatan on the south bank of the Brahmaputra.
a mass evacuation of the Bhekeris of Kamrup as far as the Saru-Sankosh with the result that the whole of that region became covered with jungles and remained in that condition for one year and a half. Raja Premnarayan, an ally of the Ahom, attacked Dimbri with the help of a Barani Nazariya, defeated the Barolimis and captured the town acquiring a large booty of war materials. A regiment under Tamuli Doloi's son crossed the Sonkosh, fired shots and returned to Vijaypur in the autumn of 1659. The Ahoms made their encampments on the eastern bank of the Sonkosh which then formed the boundary between Koch Behar and the Ahom territory. Thus the entire old kingdom of Raja Parikshit came under the Ahoms.  

In the meantime, Chandranarayan's son Jaynarayan deserted from the Mughals and came and submitted to the Svargadev, who gave him shelter and settled him as the Raja of Vijaypur. He was also offered a bride, attendants and other requirements befitting his position. Durabharayanan, who had submitted to the Svargadev, was also given protection. Gandharvanarayan, a son of Birnarayan, was made Raja of Beltala by Jayadevaj Singh. Mohidharayanan, son of Dharmanarayan (Balinarayan), was also appointed Raja of:

16 Kamrupa Buranjy, p. 54.
17 Assam Buranjy (1643-1681 A.D.), pp. 15-17; Kamrupa Buranjy, p. 53; Ah - 'SANJ', p. 90.
18 Birnarayan was the son of Lakshminarayan, Maharaja of Koch Behar, and Premnarayan was the son of Birnarayan and ruled from A.D. 1635 to 1665.
19 Assam Buranjy (1643-1681 A.D.), p. 17.
Vishnupur, but he did not continue long there. Numerous Ahom soldiers, who were engaged in western campaigns, suffered from fever, dysentery and diarrhoea. They were therefore brought to Kajali, whilst the others continued to guard the frontier.\textsuperscript{20} Having report of the withdrawal of the Ahom troops Bhabanath Qazi returned with a force and encamped on the west bank of the river Manaha. When this news reached Gargan the king ordered the Bar-Phukan Raja-Sasur and Piksei Chetia to advance to the mouth of the Manaha, another body headed by Dihingia Lapet Phukan was stationed at Dhubri and a third body with Baduli and Dur-labhirnarayan was placed at Vishnupur.\textsuperscript{21}

At this stage Jaynarayan volunteered to bring about a rapprochement between Koch Behar and Assam, but he failed. The Koches (Bardewanias) and the Ahoms exchanged fire across the Manaha for three days, after which in the month of Chaitra Bhabanath retired to Koch Behar. When Jaynarayan was asked by the Ahom king to explain for his failure, he took fright and fled away from Pancharatna to Bengal in Rajasik, A.D. 1660.\textsuperscript{22} Tengasu Handikoi was charged by the Svarogevo on two counts, first, that he had allowed the Mughul Faujdar to escape though he could have captured him with a little more effort, and secondly, that the properties seized by him at Guhati, Pandu and Saraighat were not sent to the king. For these offences Tengasu and his associates were put under chains at Rajahat.

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid, p.17. \textsuperscript{21} Ibid, p.18. \textsuperscript{22} Kammipar Buranjis, pp. 55-54; A3 - "Sinh", p.91.
Mr Jumla's Invasion of Koch Bahar and Assam (1660-1663):

After the second coronation of Aurangzeb in June 1659, Mr Jumla, who came to eastern India in pursuit of Dara, was appointed Governor of Bengal in May, 1660 with orders to 'punish the lawless zamindars of the province, especially those of Assam and Naga (Arroon) who had caused injury and molestation to the Muslims'. It is pointed out by the Venetian writer Niccolao Manucci (Storia del Mogol, Indian Texts Series, vol. II, p. 98) that 'it was the common belief that Aurangzeb ordered Mr Jumla into Assam that he might be got rid of, dreading that, as he had thrown the kingdom of Golkanda into confusion, and had known how to arrange for the conquest of Dara and the destruction of Shiva Ji, he might likewise attempt by his devices to place someone else on the Mogul throne'. Shaida Khan told Mr Jumla, when the latter saw him at Dacca being ordered by the Emperor just before his expedition to Assam, that he

23 Mr Jumla’s real name was Muhammed Said, a Persian merchant-adventurer and son of Mirza Bono who made an immense fortune by trading in diamonds and precious stones. He was noted for his great administrative ability and military genius. He soon rose to the position of prime minister under the Sultan of Golconda, conquered Karnatak, helped Aurangzeb during the war of succession and became a Mogul general. He was appointed Governor of Bengal in 1660. He is referred to in the Bararjia of Assam by various names such as Hizjanathu (AE, p. 158 etc.), Hafizkhan (AE, Sulten, p. 91 etc.), Mir Jumla (AE, p. 175; Assam Bararia, ed. by Dutta, p. 15 etc.). He was also given the title of Var-i-wazadar or Faithful friend of the Emperor by Aurangzeb on his accession and created Khan-i-khanan and Sizah-i-Salar (Commander-in-Chief) on 15th July, 1660. – See Shikhuddin Taiub’s Patho-i-Ibrizyun as translated into English by Prof. Janmath Sarker and published in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. I, Part II, December, 1915, pp. 179-190.

24 As quoted in History of Aurangzeb, III, by J.B.
had no bread in this country unless he earned it by conquest of Assam. At the same time all that Mir Jumla had been doing so long was only to help the emperor to settle the internal problems without making any new annexation to the empire. Hence his desire to conquer Assam was strong and he even pitched his ambition so high as to conquer China after Assam which was also the dream of some of the earlier Muslim conquerors. The Ahom king and his officers were quite aware of Mir Jumla's impending invasion and made preparations accordingly to oppose him. Yet the king, in consultation with his ministers, tried to avert the war or at least to postpone it through negotiation and with that view sent two experienced envoys, Sanatan and Madhavcharan, to Shaista Khan, the Nawab of Dacca and maternal uncle of Aurangzeb. But Shaista Khan impressed on the envoys Aurangzeb's imperialist designs on Assam and Mir Jumla's might and devastating power. From the envoys' report the Ahom king had nothing to doubt about the inevitability of a big war with the Mughals.

Before proceeding to Assam Mir Jumla first wanted to conquer Koch Buchar and punish the Raja, but in the meantime he despatched from Dacca two envoys, Laloo and Hariram, to the Phukans of Assam at Pancheratata protesting against their usurpation of the imperial domains of Hatichala, Baritala and Gauhati and asking them to withdraw from those areas for the good of Assam. The Phukans referred to were Baduli Phukan.

25 distorted sometimes as Lalooa and Harem.
Lapet-Phukan, Lehan Phukan and Phul Barua Phukan who were then at their advance post at Pancharatan opposite Jogighopa after having devastated and annexed Katichala and Baritala. The matter was referred to the Svargadev and the envoys had to wait there for eight days for the reply. The Svargadev sent the reply through the Phukans that Kamrup was not usurped by the Ahoms, it was seized from the Bardowalas, who, led by Bhabanath Qazi, had usurped it. With the Bengal envoys an Ahom Katak named Sanatan was sent by the Phukans to convey this reply to Mir Jumla. But Mir Jumla was not satisfied with it. He insisted on releasing Kamrup and threatened invasion of Garhgaon in the event of non-compliance.26

Mir Jumla then proceeded to conquer Koch Behar in A.D. 1661 and also to recover several Mughul districts adjoining the territories thereof which had been seized by Prannarayan. At the same time he appointed Rashid Khan to lead an expedition against Assam and sent another force under Raja Sujan Singh to conquer Koch Behar. Rashid Khan advanced unopposed to Rangamati at the western end of Kamrup and made his encampment there. Sujan Singh with his detachment reached Ek Dooar, a fortified gateway leading to Koch Behar, in May, 1661, but he was defeated by Prannarayan. Then Mir Jumla himself assumed the command to conduct the war in person and marched upon the town of Koch Behar at the head of a large

26 AB - 'SUJC', pp.91-93; Kamrupar Buranji, pp.59-60; Assam Buranji (1648-1661 A.D.), pp.18-19.
army not by Dooar nor by the known way of Khanteghat
but by an obscure and unguarded way. The Raja being taken
by surprise fled from the capital and concealed himself
in the woods and hills. He was not defeated in a battle.
Bhabanath Qazi also did not face the Mughul army, but
conspired to help it to capture the Raja so that he might
get the favour of being appointed as a tributary chief of
Koch Behar under the Mughuls. Vishnumarayan, the eldest son
of the Raja, also turned a traitor and co-operated with Mir
Jumla with the ambition to seize the throne from the father.
The Raja, in the meantime, had taken refuge in the hill-fort
of Baska in Bhutan. The Dharma Raja of Bhutan, who was his
friend, received him with hospitality and gave him protection.
Mir Jumla asked the Bhutan Raja to deliver the fugitive Koch
Raja, but the latter refused to do so. Mir Jumla however
captured the prime minister and occupied the capital of
Koch Behar on the 19th December, 1661, and changed its name
into Alamgir-nagar. He settled the revenues of the country
at ten lakhs of Narayanri rupees and set out to conquer Assam
leaving at the capital Isfandiar Beg with 1,400 horse, and
2,000 musketeers and Sayyid Muhammed Saduk as the chief judge.27

After sixteen days' stay at Koch Behar Mir Jumla
set out with his loyal follower Dilir Khan on 4th January
1662 to invade Assam. He absorbed Rashid Khan's detachment
at Rangamati on the way. According to J.N. Sarkar the army

27 K.N. Chowdhury : The Cooch Behar State, pp.256-
37, Prannarayan's letter to Jaydhvaj Singha - see Kamrupar
of Mir Jumla, when he first started from Dacca on 1st November, 1661, consisted of 12,000 horse, and 30,000 foot. In addition there was a vast flotilla of war-vessels (according to Fathiyah at least 323 boats of all kinds) the most powerful of them being ghuraba or floating batteries, each towed by four long row-boats called Koshas and carrying 14 guns and a crew of 60 men. The most striking feature of his naval force was that the naval officers and sailors were Portuguese or half breeds, with a number of English and Dutch sailors. This fact accounted for the superiority of the Moghul navy over the Ahom navy which had remained unbeaten to this time. All these forces except what was left in Koch Behar are supposed to have proceeded to the invasion of Assam.

When the Phukens learnt that Mir Jumla was advancing to invade Assam with a large army they withdrew from Ratibala and Faritula to Jogighopa at Manahomk where they, with Baduli Phukan appointed as the Neog Phukan or Commander-in-Chief of the army there, made a strong fort, which the author of the Fathiyah-i-Ibrivah describes as 'a large and high fort on the Brahmaputra. Near it the enemy had dug many holes for the horses to fall into, and pointed pieces

28 Buranjis and Muslim records give different figures of the forces of Assam war. In some Assamese Buranjis cavalry is mentioned as 60,000 in Storia 40,000 horsemen, the Dutch sailor in Clanius (p.145) an incredible number of 300,000 horse and 500,000 foot, Riyaz-us-salatin mentions 20,000 efficient cavalry and numerous infantry. But what has been stated above appears to be correct and never-less than the actual numbers.
of bamboo (nanjig) had been stuck in the holes. Behind the holes, for about half a shot's distance, on even ground, they had made a ditch, and behind this ditch, near the fort, another one three yards deep. The latter was also full of pointed bamboos. This is how the Aboms fortify all their positions. They make their forts of mud. The Brahmaputra is south of the fort, and on the east is the House. The fort was about two miles in circumference with strong and thick walls which were mounted with guns. Some accounts say about 5,000 soldiers assisted by 320 war-vessels guarded the fort.

At Panbarat, opposite Jagighopa, Phal Darua Phukan and Lakan Phukan made a similar defence fort and took their position against the advancing enemy. Raja-Sasur and Piksai Chetia defended Pandu and Saraighat. Barukia was put in command of the garrison in the fort of Samdhara on the north bank and the south bank was guarded by the Bar-Gohain, Barpatra-Gohain, Nomenial Raja-Sasur Barohetis. Shairing Raja, Rup Handikoi and other warriors of repute with Ghora Konwar Phukan as the supreme commander over all.

At this stage, according to one account, Hanthir Bharali Barua, son of Bez Daloi, appeared at Gauhati with power to enquire into the offences of those persons, who were associated with Tangasu Handikoi in misappropriating the

29 called also Barukia in Assamese.
30 obviously different from Gariganya Raja-Sasur Dar-Phukan.
31 AB - 'SAMU', p.93. This is the only account available in which Hanthir Bharali Barua's appointment as magistrate and supreme commander for Lower Assam with consequent defection among the Abom generals is described.
properties seized when the Angul Paundar, Mir Lutfullah Shiraz, fled to Dacca. He was, at his own instance, appointed by the king not only to adjudicate upon this matter, but was also made Paramah Finnakan and Commander-in-Chief (Sardar) of the Lower Assam army above the Bar-Fnukan. Not much is known about the Daz-Daloi family and Manthir Miranli Borna previous to this except that they were in the past instrumental in getting four Thakuria Medhis (Gosains) of the Kal-Sambati executed at Rajahat by the order of the Svargadev. But now equipped with the powers as above Manthir came down to Sambati, sat as a magistrate with supreme authority at the Bar-Fnukan's court and inflicted cruel punishments, such as death and mutilation, on many people.

When this news reached the Abom officers at Manahamukk and Paucharatan all were upset at such unprecedented supersession of powers. The Bar-Fnukan asserted 'It is properly within my jurisdiction to decide the question of the booties seized. Daz-Daloi's son alone becomes trustworthy, we the Fmukans and other officers have become untrustworthy. Very well, let other responsibilities also be taken by the Daz-Daloi'. The Fmukans remarked: 'As Daz-Daloi Ahandari Borna has come as Sardar (Commander) above us, let him how do the fighting'. Thus expressing their grievance all the officers and soldiers gave up war and withdrew to Fmdu and Sarnaighat without shooting a single

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32 S. K. Bhayen says that he was a Hindo and Kayastha. See 48 - 'SHIC', Analysis, p. xxii.
33 Tr. 94 (DHAS), Vol. II, Part I, p. 72.
bunch of arrows. 34 Mir Jumla sent one detachment under the command of Hasiru-d Din Khan to march up along the south bank of the Brahmaputra, while he himself with the main force advanced along the north bank and crossed the Manaha unopposed 'by a bridge of boats'. The Mughul fleet sailed up the Brahmaputra keeping pace with the land armies.

But the version of the Tai-Ahom text is different. It makes no mention of any defection among the Ahom officers on the eve of the invasion. It simply says that when the Mughul invading army in its advance was not far beyond Manahamukh cholera broke out in the camp of the Assam army and twelve thousand men died of the disease in the area. 35 The rest of the army had to be removed to an unaffected area to the east of the Manaha. Here, too, they could not get rid of the pestilence. Just when this sudden calamity seriously weakened the Ahom vanguard a part of the Mughul fleet was sighted and the generals immediately reported the matter to the king. On receipt of this information the king sent Tamuli Daloi's grandson to inform the army officers to take their stand there and not to retreat any farther. But before the arrival of the king's messenger 30,000 Muslims with forty horses laid siege to the Manaha fort. The remnants of the Ahom force in the fort gave battle, but when the enemy batteries manned by European personnel went into action inflicting heavy casualties and demolishing the fort they had to retreat

34 AP - 'SLJC', p.93.
35 AP, p.162.
to Sarsighat and take shelter under Kaliabaria Plukar. 36
The fort of Pancharatan was also seized without having to meet any opposition. 37

Mir Jumla continued his victorious march leaving Ataulia in command of the fort of Jogighopa. Meanwhile the news of the fall of Jogighopa had reached king Jayadhvaj Singh who then sent a large reinforcement under the command of his ministers, frontier governors and several other high officers to make a combined attack on the enemies at Sarsighat. But Mir Jumla marched with such speed that he took without opposition Hajo and Sarsighat, the latter being a bigger and stronger fort than that of Menahamukh protected by a palisade of large logs of wood, before the arrival of the Ahom reinforcement. One advance wing of the Mughul army under Rashid Khan reached Shabbaruz behind the back of the Ahom forces at Sarsighat and Pardu. Approaching an encircling movement by the enemy the Ahom forces of those posts rapidly sailed up to Kajali without fighting leaving behind the bulk of their materials which could not be carried. The news of the loss of Sarsighat and Pardu made the veteran officers leading the reinforcement fall back and concentrate their strength at the two impregnable forts of Sandbara at the mouth of the Bharali on the north and Simulgarh opposite to it on the south bank of the Brahmaputra. The Lower Assam forces of the king became for a time scattered and those who

36 Ibid. p.162.
37 p.121; Alamuirmamah, pp.696-97.
were at Rajali retreated to Kathalbari, but they all assembled at Sandhara in the middle of March, 1662. 38

King Jayachowdhury was extremely pained to see the mass retreat of the forces under Raja-Sagar Bar-Pukan and other commanders. In face of this great danger he made a new disposition of the generals and the forces as a last measure for the defence of the country. He removed his father-in-law from the office of Bar-Pukan but was asked to help in the south bank. He appointed Bansila Bar-Gohain as Commander-in-Chief of the Utterkuli army and he was to be assisted by Kenduguria Barpatna-Gohain, Baduli Pukan, Tipam Raja and Mhingia Rajkhowa. For the Dakhinkuli army, Gora Minwur Erisodha Pukan was given the supreme command and the officers appointed to assist him were Bankbaria (or Bankbaria) Bura-Gohain, Nemetal Raja-Sagar Barchatia, Ram Handoj, Sadiyakhwa Gohain, Shairing Raja, Lakan Salaguria Rajkhowa, son of Kherpet Bar-Gohain, Nemengia Rajkhowa and a few others. Lapet Mhingia Pukan and Luthari Dayangit Pukan were to guard a fort on the side of the river Brahmaputra. In the north the grandson of Tamuli Daloj, Lapet Pukan and a few others were placed in charge of the fort at Gutaghurwa to resist the advance of the Mughals. Hari Deku, the son of Bangcha Gohain and Chao-chit, those three persons were ordered to repair the fort at Sala. 39

39 AB, pp.163-54 ; Kumerpur Burnali, p.62 ; AB - 'SMJC', p.94.
In the meantime the Muslims made a sudden night attack on Beltala, massacred the Assamese force there and occupied the area. According to a Muslim account the Rajas of Darrang and Dimarua now deserted to the Muslims at Gauhati. The Raja of Darrang is mentioned as one Hakardhvaj but, as Gait points out, it was the name of the Raja of Rani while the name of the Raja of Darrang of this period was Suryyanarayan. Mir Jumla passed three days at Sarai ghat and on the 4th February, 1662, occupied Gauhati which, says Gait, was at this time wholly or chiefly on the north bank of the river. He then advanced triumphantly along the north bank with the main army, but half way to Semdhara he crossed over to the south bank. It took two days for him to effect the passage of the whole army in boats. On a stormy night some of his boats were upset and many horses jumped into the Brahmaputra. On the south bank, Raja-Sasur, who had been dismissed from his post, became revengeful and in cooperation with one Bhotaik Daka of Nowgong showed to the enemy the path through Diju leading to the plains of Central Assam. Four chiefs of Bengal named Bhatanath, Bhabananda, Bhadadav and Bholanath with twelve sepoyys advanced through the mouth of the Diju river south of the Kallang and scaled the ramparts. The Assamese garrison of that frontier post retreated to Sala.

With the crossing of Mir Jumla's army the whole brunt of the enemy pressure fell on the south bank defences.

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40 Gait: op. cit., p.130.
and there was no fighting on the north bank. Explaining this situation Chora Konwar Phukan, who was in southern command, requested the Bar-Gohain, the Commander-in-Chief of the Uttarkuli, to send some of his troops to reinforce the southern army. But the Bar-Gohain, still apprehending danger, refused to weaken his strength by sending over any troops on the ground that there were vast numbers of men in arms on the south bank compared with those on the north. At this time a Muslim naval force reached Potakallang near the Diju river and attacked its fort. Leohan Hatiburna, the commandant of the garrison, put up a gallant resistance and halted the Muslims here. It appears from the account that when with Baja-Sasur's aid Muslim land forces entered the area of Potakallang from Diju and reinforced the besieging army the defenders of the fort, who fought with great bravery for six days, fled to Sala under overwhelming pressure. Meanwhile Leohan Hatiburna fell fighting. The fort thus passed into the hands of the enemy. Dilir Khan, advancing along the south bank, reached Simalugarh and encamped with his army within the range of cannon shots from the famous strategic fort of that place. The fort was situated between the Brahmaputra on the north and a range of hills on the south. It was protected on the east and west by the walls with battlements on which numerous cannon were mounted. Outside the walls were moats studded with

41 Kamruar Buranj, p. 62.
42 AB, p. 164.
spikes (panjig). The Muslims raised mounds within gun-shot and laid siege to the fort. But the walls of the fort were so tough and thick that cannon balls discharged by the enemy could not penetrate through them. Hence on the 25th February Dilir Khan stormed it, scaled the walls and broke open the gate. The garrison after offering only a feeble resistance fled precipitately leaving behind all of the heavy artillery and other materials. The fall of this giant fort was a fatal blow to the defence of the country. A determined resistance by the brave Ahom generals from this impregnable fort would have changed the course of the war. It remains a puzzle to this day why such a resistance was not put up.\(^4^3\)

Its repercussion was serious on the north bank.

Apparently being unnerved at the fall of the great bulwark of defence on the south bank: the Baromukia, Bar-Gohain destroyed his munition stores at night and evacuated from Samdhara\(^4^4\) and the deserted fort was occupied by the triumphant Mughals. Mir Jumla placed his own garrison at Samdhara under Kishen Singh and marched on to Kalibrar, a little to the south-east of Simalugur. He stayed at Kalibrar for three days settling its affairs and appointed Sayyid Kasim-ud-Din as the Faujdar.

\(^4^3\) Was it the result of defection in the Ahom camp arising from Manthir Bharali Barua's appointment as described or the evil influence of Raja Sasur Bar-Mukan who turned hostile after his dismissal and helped the Mughals to advance? These facts, if true, might have some indirect influence, but they certainly could not have undermined the patriotism of the nation and paved the way for the enemy's easy march forward. The main reason of Mughal victories seems to be superior skill and generalship of Mir Jumla coupled with his European complement of the army using superior weapons, like mortars, and superior war tactics.

\(^4^4\) Assam Rurendi (1643-1661 A.D.), p. 20. The Samdhara fort is on the Bhomoraguri Hill to the east of Tezpur.
of this province. From here Sir Jumla's army on its onward march had to take a turn to the fight away from the bank and his fleet as there were hills skirting the river, Brahmaputra. The Mughal fleet now became isolated and hence vulnerable to attack. It was commanded by admiral Ibn Hussain assisted by Mumawwar Khan. The Ahoms now planned the destruction of the fleet so as to be able to eat up the land army of the Mughals by cutting off its supplies. Thus in the night of 3rd March, 1662, a very powerful Assamese navy of over seven hundred ships attacked the Mughal fleet above Kaliaabar and it looked as if it could swallow up all the Portuguese and their boats. But the Portuguese warded it off making 'a great din with their mortars and matchlocks', and meanwhile the Assamese boats were carried down past their goal by the force of the strong currents of the river. Though the Assamese veered round to attack the Portuguese fell upon them with such impetuosity that after a few hours of fierce fighting the Assamese were vanquished and a number of their 'ships' sunk and three hundred captured. The collapse of the Assamese navy was hastened when a force, despatched by Sir Jumla under the command of Muhammad Musin Beg, came to the assistance of the Mughal fleet in action. This naval disaster of the Ahoms was to be mainly attributed to the superior technique and arms of the

45 Gleanus (p.194) mentions six hundred ships. 46 Storiz, vol. II, pp.98-99: though the author does not mention the place of the naval battle the period of 28 days from Bago as mentioned in the account leaves no doubt about the place being above Kaliaabar. S.N. Bhattacharyya: op. cit., pp.329-29.
European mercenaries in the Mughul army. This was the first great disaster the Ahom navy had ever suffered in its history and it decided the fate of Assam in her struggle against Mir Jumla.

The rebels had to fight at a number of places in order to clear their way to Garhgaon, the capital of Assam. At Jenamung the Mughuls attacked the fort which was under the Barchatla. The attack was repulsed. The Mughuls then attacked the fort under the Bar-Gohain but could not take it. Another engagement took place at Gutigirwa near Sandhara in which Lapet Puukan and Tamuli Daloi's son fought the Mughuls for several hours but, being defeated, retreated to the fort of Sandhara. There was also an Assamese naval attack on the Mughuls at Dukurakata, but it was repulsed and the men of the navy fled to Garhgaon.

Mir Jumla advanced to Salagah, a few miles above Kalibazar. At his approach all the Ahom officers - the Johns, Puukens and Baruas - evacuated Sale with their wives and children and reached Garhgaon. At Sala several Ahom nobles met Mir Jumla with letters from Jayadhvaj Singh.

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47 AB - 'SILG', p.94; Kasarupar Barunji, p.62.
49 Their date of reaching Garhgaon is given in AB - 'SILG', (p.94) as Tuesday, 7th Crabtra, Sak 1583 (A.D.1662) and that of the king's flight as 9th Crabtra. J.N. Sarkar, by reference to Fathiyah, says that Mir Jumla entered Garhgaon on the 17th March, 1662. See his History of Aurangzib.III, p.161. If Fathiyah is correct 7th and 9th Crabtra (roughly 21st and 24th or 25th March respectively) seem highly unlikely. The question requires further investigation. Other available Chronicles make no mention of the dates of these events.
asking for peace. But Mr Jumla rejected it suspecting the peace move to be a dilatory one to gain time for effective resistance. 50

Meanwhile, on the north bank the Bar-Gohain resorted to a kind of scorched-earth policy against the enemy's advance. He retreated eastwards with his whole army making the inhabitants leave their villages with whatever they could carry and destroy the rest of their properties. Mr Jumla, whose immediate objective was Garhgaon, could not do more than to send occasional detachments across the Brahmaputra to harass him; but, they were beaten off by the Bar-Gohain.

In view of the seriousness of the situation King Jayadhvaj Singh sent Sanatan Kataki to inform the Bar-Gohain and the Nyaisodha Phukan, Commanders-in-Chief respectively of the northern and southern armies, to collect their forces and concentrate at Lakhaugarh. 51 But, the Kataki was captured by the Maghuls on the way. 52 However, the generals got the report of the capture and the king's order to proceed to Lakhau. They accordingly hastened to that station. The Bar-Gohain, with his army, crossed the Brahmaputra in one night.

50 Gait: op.cit., p.132.
51 AP, p.165. According to Gait Lakhau lies at 'what was then the confluence of the Dihing and the Brahmaputra. At the period in question, the latter river flowed down the course of what is now called Lohit river, along the north of the Majuli island, while the Dihing followed the present channel of the Brahmaputra to the south of it, and after receiving the waters of the Disang and the Dikham, united with the Brahmaputra at its western extremity'. (op.cit., p.133). Wade (Geographical Sketch, p.12) shows Lakhaw (Lakhau) on the Uttarpar, probably of the Dihing as described by Gait, and says that it was on an elevated tract.
52 Ibid., p.165.
and reached Hukurakata. The Muslims first retreated from that area but advanced again with their boats and surrounded his army. Bar-Gohtain seems to have fled to Garhgaon and many officials took refuge in the Majuli. Lakhagurah was strongly guarded under the command of the Bihingia Phukan. The other officers present there were Raja-Sasur, the Bhitarual Phukan, Kalisabaria Phukan, the Hatiburua and Tamuli Daloi. Spies were sent about to watch the advance of the Muslims. The Muslims arrived at Lakhau in force on the 9th March and attacked and defeated the Ahoms assembled there. This was a signal for the king to fly from the capital.

King's Flight And Garhgaon Occupied
By Mir Jumla (17th March, 1662):

Unable to hold their ground against the irresistible advance of the Muslims almost all the nobles and ministers (Dangarias) assembled at Garhgaon in a depressed spirit. The enemies swept along with great speed and now nearly knocked at its gates. There was all gloom in the capital. The king realized the impossibility of halting the enemy after the main bastions of defence had gone. He was overcome with profound grief at this overwhelming national calamity.

54 AB, p.166.
55 The account in AB - 'SWJG', (p.95) says that the king went up to his private chamber and began to weep by holding the hand of his chief queen and the queen consoled him with many words.
He at last decided on a flight from the capital to the secluded hill resorts in the easternmost province of Namerup. He called in the grandson of Tamuli Daloi, Kanda Khamon and Sona Phukan and ordered them to collect one thousand boats for removing the goods to a secluded place before the Muslims encircle the capital. The boats being engaged they could not collect the required number of them, but yet whatever number could be placed at his service carried away the royal stores as far as possible. The boats worked incessantly for two days in removing at least the more important of the goods before the departure of the king himself. The Heog-Phukan, son of Lam-Barua, was sent to Rajmao to escort the king’s mother, wives, brothers, sons and daughters to a hill station. He then placed the capital under the care of Banurkia Bar-Gohain, Atan Dure-Gohain, Bhaga Barpatra-Gohain, Namonial Raja-Sasur, Bhitarual Gohain, Tamuli Daloi’s son and a few others and left on a Friday immediately for Charaideo accompanied by Sengdhara Bar-Barua, Raja-Sasur, the Dihingia Phukan and the Nagurial Phukan. He was anxious to save from the enemy’s raids the sacred articles of the two royal temples (Deo-Shala) of god Kham-Lai and god Tai-Kaw-Phi.

56 The destinations are not mentioned in the Chronicles, though the king’s halting places during the flight are mentioned.
57 AR, pp. 156-57; AR = 'SLUC', p.95.
58 It may be remembered that Osco Hso-Ka-Hpa worshipped at Charaidco the gods Kham-Le, Rang-Le and Rang-Rang. These were probably the traditional gods or spirits worshipped by the race from early times with sacrifices of animals. Kham-Lai was probably the same god as Kham-Le and Tai-Kaw-Phi might have been installed after or during Hso-Ka-Hpa’s reign.
Having taken into his custody all the articles in them he first proceeded to Raishat. 59

The three ministers (Dengarias), who were in charge of the capital, employed one hundred elephants and two thousand men to remove from it the materials left behind by the king before the arrival of the Mughals, yet all could not be removed. 60 At the same time, Mir Jumla proceeded by the way of Salagarh and Lakhnagarh, the latter place being reached on 8th March. 61 The Diking and the Dikhu, which falls into it, being too shallow for the Mughul fleet to sail up beyond Lakhau Mir Jumla halted there for three days.

A number of deserters from the side of the Aboms joined him at that place. Leaving his fleet at Lakhau, some 18 miles north-west of Garhgaon, he set out with his land forces along a high road and reached Devalgaon (Bevargaon) on the 13th March after two days' journey and, after ousting the local garrison, seized a large booty. At this place, as related in the Kamrupar Buranjia (p. 63), he received a five-man peace mission from the nobles of Garhgaon. The mission brought the request that tributes would be paid if they (the Mughuls) advanced no farther. As not a single minister or noble was present in the mission the offer was rejected by Harab Mir Jumla. The nobles at Garhgaon, on being apprised of it by the members of the mission, sent a fresh four-man mission headed by Phul Burua Phukan. Meanwhile Mir Jumla

59 Niahsa of Assam: Buranjis.
appointed Ali Reza Beg as the Thana Dar of Devargeon and resumed his onward march reaching Gajpur on the 15th March. Paul Barua's mission met the Nawab at Gajpur. But the latter now coming within easy reach of Carhgaon, where a rich booty awaited him, refused to consider the peace offer. Here the news came of the Raja's flight from the capital. He immediately despatched a force to proceed ahead and seize the elephants and other properties of the king at Carhgaon. 62 Nemdang was occupied by the Mughuls on the 16th March and on the 17th Mir Jumla made his triumphant entry into the deserted Ahom capital. 63 The historian Shihabuddin Talish, who accompanied Mir Jumla in this expedition, described the spoils gained in Assam as enormous. He mentions among them 82 elephants, 3 lakhs of Rupees in cash, 675 pieces of artillery, 1343 camel-swivels, 1200 Ramchandris, 6750 matchlocks, 340 mounds of gunpowder, a thousand and odd boats, and 173 store-houses of paddy, each containing from 10 to 1000 mounds of grain. 64 Mir Jumla also seized a cannon which threw balls weighing more than two hundred pounds. 65 He occupied the king's palace and, it is said, he also opened a mint and caused money to be struck at Carhgaon in the name of the Delhi Emperor. 66

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63 Fathiyah, 47-48 as quoted by Sarkar.
64 Fathiyah, 49-50 as quoted by Sarkar. Ramchandri is a kind of field-gun borne by men.
65 Gait: op. cit., p.134.
66 Gait: op. cit., p.134. It is doubtful whether Mir Jumla had this power unless it was specially conferred upon him by the Emperor, of which there is no evidence.
But the Nawab preferred to make his residence in the town of Mathurapur, which was situated on a high ground, some seven miles south-east of Garhgaon. He entered his quarters at that place on 31st March with his main army. The Ahom capital with the collection of the vast booty was held by a strong garrison under Mir Murtaza. The local civil population came under the new regime of the Mughals and could not resist the occupation of villages by their armies. Besides Garhgaon the Muslims concentrated themselves in three strategically important centres, namely, Lakhanu, Scharipur and Tik. Gradually and steadily they spread out in all directions setting up a regular series of outposts: northwards from the city of Garhgaon at Nemang and Trinohani (Tiromani); westwards at Gajpur and Devangaon on the way to Lakhanu; southwards at Deopani and Silpani at the skirt of the Tiru Hill; and eastwards at Abhoipur, 16 miles from Garhgaon towards Namrup. There were also a line of posts from Lakhanu to Gauhati along the Brahmaputra (the Dihing and the Lohit) to control the whole supply route. The Dihing bank was guarded by Jalal Khan with a body of sturdy men from Darlabad.

Jayadhvaj Singha's Harassing Summer Campaigns Against The Mughals (May to September, 1662):

At Haishat (Baisha) Jayadhvaj Singha was joined by

67 AB, p.167.
the Bar-Gohain and a number of other nobles and officers. He there held the first war council with them all and drew up plans to fight the Maghuls. Among others, the king's father-in-law, the Kaliabarai Phukan, the Bhitarual Gohain, the Bar-Phukan, Lahen Abataguria Phukan, Lapet Dishingia Phukan, Maria Deka, the Bar-Gohain, the Dayangia Rajkhowa, Pelon Saringia Phukan, the Bar-Barua and the Magharia Phukan were present in the council and helped the king in drawing up the war plans relating to strategy, disposition of the forces, method of attacks and liaison with the civil population.

The first step was to employ some officers to negotiate for peace with the Muslims. For this purpose Maria Deka, Kelia Gohain, one Rajkhowa and the son of Tamuli Daloi were deputed. But the peace overtures were again rejected by Mir Jumla just before his occupation of Garhgaon. This made the king move to Tipam and then to Nameru. Meanwhile all the inhabitants of the deserted villages and the Baruas were brought to Taimung (Dihing : Charagua) where they were given relief and refuge. One son of Lataoo Phukan was stationed at Shairing (Saring). The Bhitarual Gohain, the Hatibarua and Kandu Khaman were sent across the Lohit to conduct operations on the north bank. The Kaliabarai Phukan and Baduli Phukan engaged themselves in collecting provisions for the army and the king's camp. When these preparations were in full swing

69 Ibid., p.167. The Bar-Phukan's identity is not definitely known.
Karia Deka, who was asked to take his station at Boruaar with Kalia Gohain, went across to the Muslim camp at Sina (Sinatali) and, either under pressure or temptation, returned with Mir Junla whom he guided to Taimang (Bihing). As Mir Junla advanced to that place Lapot Dihingia Phukan with a few other officers fled to Ahotaguri and the Bar-Gohain fled to the Zipu Hill.

When the king heard that the Muslims had taken Taimang he, with all the things, transferred his camp to Tipuri. During all this time many people surrendered to the Bagiats and some deserters from the Ahon camp also joined them as the latter steadily spread out over the country. The king next shifted his camp to Pakdang and then to Uchang in the Samrup region. At Uchang he ordered his officers to count the number of men that were with him and soon the exact number of 4,980 men were counted out. Among them were some of the king's most trusted officers and great generals like the Dihingia (or Dihingia) Dura-Gohain named Atan, the Bar-Phukan, Sengdahara (Dengkhova) Bar-Barua, the king’s father-in-law, the Nong-Phukan, the Sekha-Guria Rajkhova, Mharali Barua and Homai-Tamuli of Lamphine family. With the king were also the Tai-Ahom scholars and high priests of the temples such as Labak Baiuing, Timak Era Baiuing, Sengdahara Baiuing of Charaideo and a few others. In addition there was a large body of expert karas (archers) and hilaikaraxia (gunners) ready to follow the king's command.

70 probably Msehenthir Mharali Barua
71 op. pp.169-172
Having done this stock-taking of his manpower and collected enough provisions king Jayadhvaj decided to attack on the Maghuls undaunted by the fact that the enemy forces were far more superior numerically to his own and whose advantages increased with the surrenders of more and more Assamese people including officers and combatants. The king divided his forces and sent them off under his patriotic generals and officers to attack the enemy at various posts. At Abataguri Baduli Phukan, Lapet Phukan and Dibingia Phukan launched an attack on the Muslims massacring a large number of them, while the remnants retreated to Sessa. Bhitarual Phukan distinguished himself by dislodging the Muslims from their stronghold of Sonarinagar by a fierce attack and driving them off to Tick on the west bank of the Dihing and again from the latter place to Sina or Sinateli in the eastern part of the Hajuli. The Muslims were hotly pursued down to Sina where he surrounded them with the assistance of reinforcements that came under the command of Lapet Dibingia Phukan, Kandu Khamon and the grandson of the Tamuli Daloi who had been directed by the king to come back from their Ghora (Thora) campaign to help him. Only a Muslim reinforcement arriving from Lekhan relieved the besieged Muslims at this place. The Muslim garrison at Madarguri was attacked by Chiring Phukan, Raja—the Sasur's son and Salaguria and Abataguria Ahoms, but only after a hard fight the Ahoms could be repulsed. The Sar-Cohen and Tamuli Daloi fought the Muslims at Sessa but could not oust
them from their strong position, Tamuli Daloi and his men were forced to make a precipitate retreat towards the Sossa river where some of his men were drowned. Shairing (Saring) was another battle-ground. Pelan Phukan, Rangai Chetia and the son of Latao Phukan marched against the Muslim concentration here and attacked them in such a way that though with their superior numerical strength they succeeded in driving back the Ahoms, yet they had to withdraw to their main stronghold at Barhat. Lahan Cobain raided the Muslims at Nika and acquired a large booty including one hundred thousand rupees. The Muslims of Kalia Hill suffered a defeat at the hands of Raduli Phukan and the Bar-Cobain and retreated to Barhat. Raduli Phukan followed and attacked them at Barhat and put them to flight towards the Bar Nadi (Brahmaputra). He then set fire to the Muslim dwellings of that area, though in a subsequent engagement the Ahoms were worsted by a stronger force of the enemy and Raduli Phukan had to make a quick retreat. Thus the whole country under Muslim occupation was once again boiling up with violent commotions of constant fighting, massacres, plunder and marauding activities and the Mughul invaders had no rest, peace or stability. 'The Ahoms had been scared away and not crushed'.

With the advent of the rainy season roads and fields became awfully muddy and flooded immobilizing the Mughul cavalry, but for the Ahoms it afforded an opportunity to

72 AP, pp.173-176.
intensify their offensive against the beleaguered enemy. The Abhoipurias, the Abatagurias and the Bihingias surrounded Taokak and constructed a strong fort near the Taokak river. The Muslims of Devaragon retreated to Lakhau, when the Bita racial Pukun marched down on them from Sonarinagar. The Muslims made an attack on the Abom fort at Damarai, but the grandson of Tamli Daloi repulsed them killing one of their leaders. Lakhau was subjected to repeated attacks by the Aboms. A group of Abom officers including the son of Kalabaria Pukun made a combined attack on the Muslims at Suffry killing a large number of them, while those who escaped took to their heels. A detachment of the Abom army fell upon the Muslims of Nabari. Here Mir Jumla and Dilir Khan appeared on horseback and made a charge on the Aboms. At the sight of the vast number of the enemies the Aboms retreated. According to Niccolao Mamucci (Storia, vol. II, p. 99) the Assamese finding that the Mughuls were not easily deterred from boldly advancing used frightful instruments of killing by degrees captured Mughuls thereby terrorising the army of Mir Jumla. His men dared not go to a distance without great precaution.

One officer named Buruk marched against the Muslims at Charsideo, but the latter fled to Tongabari leaving behind their properties. The Aboms seized many horses and cows and a large quantity of war materials. Buruk next marched against the Muslims of Taimung. At his approach the latter fled to Jatam and Buruk's men set fire to their dwellings. The Muslims
of the fort at Biling were subjected to repeated attacks.
Sir Jumla, under the stress of food shortage for his army,
sent a messenger named Bakthun to Bharali Darna (Mantkar),
the son of Dagohun, with a request to assist him with some
provisions. If provisions be supplied Sir Jumla promised to
go back from Assam with his army. But Bharali Darna refused
to help the Haim. The Ahoms also raised a strong fort at
Kakajan mounted with cannon. New dispositions of forces were
made from time to time by the Ahom king. The Bhitermal Hakan
with two other officers won a victory over the Muslims who
attacked the Ahom fort at the mouth of the Dighali river.
The Muslims were also defeated at Chotai after a prolonged
engagement. 73

Early in May a big assault was made by the Ahoms
on Devangon which was about to fall when Lingal reinforcements
arrived to save it, but on the 10th of that month Gajjaur fell
to the Ahoms. By a resolute thrust the Ahoms covered the link
between the army and the navy of the enemy and established
their supremacy over the north bank of the Biling from
Trimohani to the neighbourhood of Lakhan, the Muslim naval
port. A naval squadron of ten war-boats and a number of
merchant vessels sent by Sir Jumla to reconquer Gajjaur about
the third week of May was attacked and seized by the Ahoms
with all the materials. The commanders of the Muslim war-boats
fled in a panic. The Ahoms next mustered up their courage to

73 All. Pp. 177-183.
attack Garhgaon and Mathirapur and kept their garrisons under perpetual alarm.

As the rains increased, Mir Jumla's communication with his fleet being cut off and the supply of provisions stopped, the Mughul cavalry horses and draught cattle began to die by the thousand for want of proper food. Food stocks for the army decreased; wheat, pulse, ghee, sugar and such things were exhausted. The soldiers had to eat the flesh of horses and camels and anything of that sort they could find.

'The soldiers', says Sarkar, 'Rajput and Muslim alike, were opium - eaters to a man, and they underwent unspeakable agony at being deprived of the accustomed drug'. In the last week of May a desperate attempt was made by Mir Jumla to reopen communications with the fleet. He sent out Farhad Khan, said to be the best fighter in the Mughul army, with a picked force to restore the line of communication by destroying the Ahom strongholds on it and fetch supplies from Lakhau. He somehow reached Tikok when he was intercepted by the Ahoms and a relieving party sent for him failed to advance on account of rising floods. After one week's untold suffering Farhad fought his way back to Trimohani about 6th June narrowly escaping from his own destruction and without being able to carry out his mission. Farhad Khan's failure encouraged the Ahoms to block all roads making it most perilous for the Mughuls to come out of their outposts. Mir Jumla, therefore, withdrew all his thanas and the Ahoms recovered all
their country east of Lakhau. The Mughuls were now confined to Garhgaon and Mathurapur alone without much contact with one another. At the same time the noisy night attacks of the Ahoms daily increased in frequency and ferocity. Delhi ceased to hear anything from Mir Jumla and hence the Emperor gave up the Assam expedition as completely lost. It is said that at Delhi 'funeral rites were performed for the Assam expeditionary force'.

Jayadivaj Singha advanced from Namrup, his last resort, to Salaguri, which was at a distance of four days' march from Garhgaon. He was out this time to make a supreme effort to drive out the enemy from Assam and for the purpose appointed Baduli Phukan, a veteran general and brother of the famous Lomai Tamuli Bar-Barua of the Lanphima family, as Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief. The Phukan built up a six-mile long wall on the bank of the Dihin river, east of Mathurapur and some 20 miles south-east of Garhgaon, connecting the southern hills with the Dihing, obviously to defend the Tipam-Namrup area. The wall is said to be 'broad, high, turreted and strong'. He then commenced a series of night attacks on Mathurapur, while at the same time the Raja of Shairing pressed on Garhgaon. Dilir Khan, the great pillar of the Mughul army, thwarted the attacks on Mathurapur, while Sujan Singh beat off the Raja of Shairing.

76 Ibid., p. 168.
Unable to take Mathurapur General Baduli Mulkhun next tried his arms against Garhgaon. In face of this threat Sir Jumla had already sent Farhad Khan to that city. Baduli's powerful assault on Garhgaon in the night of 8th July routed the Buxari matchlock-men posted on the north side of the palace enclosure. The Ahoms smashed the bamboo railings and occupied half the enclosure causing great 'confusion and tumult' inside. At this stage some among them made a great blunder by setting fire to the thatched roof of a mansion. The blaze enabled the Mughal cavalry men to locate the Ahoms to charge and drive them off beyond the outer walls. In the fight Farhad Khan was wounded. 77

While the usual night attacks on Garhgaon were continued a massive preparation was made by the Ahom General and final assault was delivered on 12th July simultaneously from all the four sides of the capital. But on all fronts the Muslims under the new commandant, Rashid Khan, held their ground and repelled the attackers. Thereafter only minor encounters continued. But in August a very virulent type of epidemic broke out in the Mughal camp at Mathurapur, the daily death-roll running to hundreds. The waters of the streams running down from the hills became poisonous. Many people also suffered from fever. It is shown that Dilir Khan's corps was reduced from 1,500 troopers to about 450. The epidemic was not confined merely to the Mughal camps; it

77 Ibid., pp.168-9.
spread far and wide. It is said that in Baduli Phukan's estimate 230,000 people died in Assam in that year. Sufferings in Mathurapur became so acute that the whole army camp was shifted to Garhgaon. But much of the stored rice and many of the sick had to be left behind for want of transport. The Ahoms immediately reoccupied Mathurapur. Again the tempo of militant activities of the Ahoms increased and a third and last grand attack was made on Garhgaon on 15th September, but this, too, was destined to fail as the previous ones. But pestilence overtook Garhgaon too. It is said that 'all kinds of food-stuffs disappeared except coarse red rice (ahu), without salt'.

*Mughals Resume Offensive After Rains (October-December, 1662): Baduli Phukan's Desertion Hastened Peace Move:

With the cessation of rains from the latter part of September, 1662, the floods subsided and the communications began to improve. When in the rainy season Mir Jumla lost touch with his fleet the admiral Ibn Husain acted on his own initiative at Lakhau. He withdrew the constantly attacked thana of Devargaon, which was needlessly expensive, and strengthened the vital line of communication with Guwahati and Bengal. Now in September Mir Jumla resumed his offensive. He attacked the Yadgar Khan, sent to deliver Devargaon, Assamese garrison under the Bhitarual Phukan at that post and recaptured the town. The Bhitarual Phukan, owing to the king's

78 Ibid, p.171.
mistake in not giving him naval support, retreated to Rangali Chapori in the Majuli. 79 The communication between Lakha and Garhson was once again restored and supplies came in plenty from the former to the latter place. As the lands dried up the Lushu cavalry took the field and resumed the offensive. Lachit, son of Homai Tomuli Bar-Darua of the Lakhima family, who was stationed in command of a fort on the side of the Tilam (Lohit), was attacked by the Muslims. Lachit gave battle, but was forced to quit the station by the numerically superior enemy, who then seized the fort. 80 Shairing (Saring) was recouped by the Muslims and the local population surrendered to them. 81

It may he noted that the Assamese peasantry demonstrated their wonderful power of mobility in times of national crisis. Threatened with enemy occupation of their localities they left deserted vast tracts of country and went up to hill shelters with all their movable properties including food stocks and cattle. In this movement cooperation and hospitality of the hill tribes, particularly of the Khasis, can be well imagined. During the rainy season of 1662, when the Lushus were pressed by the enemy inside their main forts and their garrisons of the outposts withdrawn, these peasants came down to the plains undoubtedly to harvest their rabi crops, such as guli (qusi), which they had sown in the winter before the invasion began. But with the commencement

79 S.N. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., p. 345; AR, pp. 181, 182.
80 AR, p. 181.
81 Ibid., p. 181.
of the dry season they again deserted their fields and huts and betook themselves to the hills. Thus the Moghuls could not expect much succour in the form of food grains and other materials from the villages.

Having cleared the line of communication with Bengal Mir Jumla turned his attention to the east to invade the last stronghold of the Ahom king. He ordered Abul Hassan to proceed up the Dilshau with a flotilla from Garhaguri to destroy the fortifications of Baduli Phukan on the Dilshau river and compel him to submit. Accordingly Abul Hassan set out on the 10th November and reached the Dilshau river which he ascended and launched an attack on the defence lines of Baduli. He defeated the Ahoms after a very hard struggle.

Mir Jumla made his camp at Bakobari and sent one Garae to Balaktum. On the 16th of that month Mir Jumla himself advanced to the Dilshau and captured the fortifications of Baduli. In his attempt to hunt out the fugitive king in the Maram area arrived at the Dilshau on the 20th of November. On this day he suffered from a fainting fit. Yet after recovery he resumed the command of his army.

At this time Garaganya Raja Sasur was at Konduguri guarding the Darika front. For the defence of the territory on the opposite bank of the Dilshau Atan Bura-Gohain was stationed at Barkata with his men. Raja Sasur took his station at Tipam. When the remnants of the army of Assam were pursued

82 J.N. Sarkar: op. cit., p.175.
83 Ibid., p.175.
by the Mughuls beyond the Dilih river to a place called Hilikhatal, the Bura-Gohain turned on his pursuers at Murkataphat where a fierce fight ensued between Mir Jumla and the Bura-Gohain, both by land and water, which raged for the whole day. All the Omras of the posts of Tipam, Sinateli, Saring, Silpani, Kalia Hill, Garhgaon/Charagua (Dihing) with their men joined in a combined attack on the Bura-Gohain's fort at Murkata. In the evening, Bura-Gohain's munition was exhausted and, in consequence, he was forced to retire from the battle-field to Paniphat, yielding his defence post to the Mughuls. 84

Baduli Phukan's last hope vanished when the Bura-Gohain was defeated. He preferred to submit to the Mughuls than to carry on a futile war. On the 30th November, 1662, the Ahom Commander-in-Chief, Baduli Phukan, made his submission to the Mughuls at Hilikhatal. 85 One account says that

84 PAB, p.125; Wade: op.cit., p.304; AB - 'SING', p.97.
35 Pethiyah, H.Blochmann's translation in JASB, 1873, p.92. Apparently Baduli acted as a traitor. One account suggests there was a serious dissension between him and the Gohains for which he left the Ahom camp. (Wade: op.cit., p.304). The account in PAB (p.125) says that when the king, after the Bura-Gohain's defeat, was retreating to more interior hill recesses Baduli Phukan fell behind him in the march. At this the king became angry with Baduli suspecting him to have submitted to the Mughuls. This was secretly communicated to Baduli on way by the queen, who was his sister, by sending a messenger, a Kukurachua. Hearing this Baduli Phukan submitted to Khan Khana (Mir Jumla) at Hilikhatal. The reason cited here, for which the great general Baduli joined the Mughuls, is not strong enough and hence not acceptable. Most probably he saw no alternative to submission to save the country from utter ruin. It is doubtful whether he deserves the blame usually placed on him. His submission, of course, created misunderstanding about him.
a deputation of Baduli, Saruchakua Cohain, and Sala Kataki appeared before Bilir Khan, who commended the prudence, which induced them to depreciate the impending destruction in the interest of the kingdom. Baduli promised even to 'capture the king and the officers' and pay tributes to the satisfaction of the Mughul masters if the kingdom can be saved and tranquillity restored and for the purpose he be made Raja. Mr Jumla was requested by him to proceed with him to the place of refuge of the king and the nobles. Baduli had behind him a large body of followers including some distinguished nobles who all joined the side of the Mughuls when Baduli had gone over to that side. Mr Jumla made Baduli ascend the royal palki called Kokuradola and proceeded with him to Salaguri and then to Tipur. The king entered Nalchand.

Baduli's example at once aroused the cupidity of Manthir Bharali Darua to make a bid for a high place under the Mughuls. He sent to the Mughul generals Nanda, Hati and Harigati to convey his promise to capture the Ahom king for them, but King Jayadhvaj Singha, who came to know of this plot, seized Jayadhvaj Singha, who came to know of this plot, seized Manthir and executed him on the sands of Mulatali.

Mughul generals agreed to make Baduli Phukan Raja. They all proceeded to Anataguri where a royal house was built and Baduli Phukan installed as Raja. When this news...
reached the king’s camp, half the men, who followed the
king, came over to Baduli’s side. This greatly perturbed
the king. After Baduli the king made Atari Bura-Gohain
Rajmantri and urged the Dura-Gohain and the Garhanya Raja-
Sasur to accomplish the expulsion or voluntary departure
of the invaders by any possible means. In the event of a
failure of this task the king had it in his mind ‘to seek
an asylum in the country of Mara’. His readiness to go to
Mara indicates the relations he maintained with the Shan States
of Upper Burma, particularly with Hmg-Kawng (Logawng). The
Rajmantri then despatched a peace mission of four persons,
namely, a Muslim named Sultan, Chandral, Kamal and Chaturbhuj,
with presents to Dilir Khan, offering to pay tribute to the
Padshah if Mir Jumla agreed to evacuate the kingdom and
restore the country to its former tranquillity. Dilir Khan
deprecated the presents from a vagrant king and informed the
mission of Baduli’s promise to seize the Patra-Mantri and
the king, but gave it the hope that he himself would soon
to proceed to Nemrup/settle that province and receive any
proposals if placed there. He thus took time to consider the
matter with Mir Jumla. About this time an outpost belonging
go the Dura-Gohain had seized three emissaries whom Baduli
had sent with important intelligence to the enemy’s camp.
They were taken to the Swargadev in the hill resort where,
an after/enquiry, they were found guilty and punished with death.
Meanwhile the serious trend of events in Koch Behar expedited the settlement of affairs in Assam. During the absence of Mir Jumla in his Assam campaign the Mughul Karori imposed an exorbitant tax burden on the people of Koch Behar and set up an elaborate machinery to realize the same. Rigorous exactions of the taxes, which were beyond the capacity of the people to pay, and other oppressions of the Mughul officials drove the country to the verge of revolt. A body of representatives of the people went and met Prannarayan at Baska and asked for his orders to fight the Mughuls and drive them out of the country. They also requested the Raja to come down to assume the power. The Dharma Raja of Bhutan, however, advised Prannarayan to proceed cautiously and not to precipitate at that stage a war against the powerful Mughuls. Prannarayan was just biding time, and when Mir Jumla reached Garhgaon and became irretrievably locked up in his struggle with the Ahoms he gave the call for an attack on the army of occupation. The people surrounded the and killed many Mughuls, Karori, the Thapadar and the Faizdar/Tiifundiar Beg in his helplessness pointed out that he was on duty there under the Padshah and not under Mir Jumla and further that he had no quarrel with the people of Koch Behar. He, however, asked for allowing him to quit the country unmolested. His request was granted, Prannarayan came down with a powerful army and
reoccupied his capital. The report of this revolt at the
back was another matter which weighed in favour of
peace with Assam. But, unfortunately for the Mughuls, even
after peace, owing to serious illness and death of Mir Jumla,
they could not interfere with the affairs of Koch Behar.
Dilir Khan had to proceed straight to Dacca and then to Delhi.

Peace Treaty of Gilajbarighat, 22 January, 1663:

Dilir Khan had now advanced to Tipam when another
peace delegation of two Katakis and one Jumna Garia (a Muslim)
from the Bura-Cohanin met him with a proposal to offer a war
indemnity of 90 elephants and three lakhs rupees in return
for the Mughul generals' withdrawal from Assam. When the
proposal was discussed with Mir Jumla the latter pointed the
enormous cost at which the Mughul army was raised and brought
over to Assam and so there could be no question of return from
the proximity of the Svara Maharaja who must be pursued to
his last refuge.

'But the entire army refused to enter Namrup, whose
very air was said to be fatal to all forms of life'. The
obstacles inside that region would be insurmountable as the
cavalry would not work in the wilds of the hills and the
Mughuls could not move without their horses. They fully
realized that as foot-soldiers they were no match for the

94 Kamrupar Burejji, pp.75-79 (see Pranabarayan's
letter to Jayadhvaj Singha); The Koch Behar State, p.237.
95 Wade: op.cit., p.305; AB - 'SMOG', p.98.
Ahoms and in the hills they would be an easy prey to their guerilla bands. Further, no provisions could easily come to the inaccessible hilly regions from outside by land or water. This fear was aggravated when just at this time the news arrived of a famine in Dacca, whence the bulk of the provisions used to come for the Mughul army in Assam. The gloomy prospect of another flood season made the invaders shudder and give up the hope of survival when the king and his loyal warriors were still secure in their mountain fastnesses to pounce upon them with the burst of monsoons and floods. On top of all the Koch rising in the rear worried the minds of the leaders. The net effect of all these adverse factors was that the soldiers and officers alike plotted to desert their General and return home. Dilir Khan’s mediation and counsel alone made Mir Jumla give up the wild-goose chase and agree to peace proposals.

But Baduli was opposed to any peace talks between the Ahoms and the Mughuls inasmuch as a conclusion of peace would mean his overthrow from the position of Raja. He asserted that his coming over to the side of Mir Jumla alone so weakened the Ahom king that the Rajmunti now had to sue for peace. But Dilir Khan and Mir Jumla were not convinced and demanded from Baduli the fulfilment of his promise to seize the person of the king and also the Gehains and for that purpose gave him the assistance of the Mughul army. As the last attempt to compel the king to submit Baduli’s
brother Maupiya proceeded with the Padshah's men to Hekurikkowa and fought the Ahoms with casualties to both sides, but the Mughul force of the renegade suffered a defeat at the hands of the Ahoms and fled to Tipam. This extinguished the future of Baduli and his followers and hastened the move for peace. "All that the wicked Baduli had boasted", remarked Mir Jumla, 'proved false'.

The terms of the treaty were negotiated by Dilir Khan and the Bura-Gohain representing their respective governments. Over and above a huge war indemnity in terms of gold, silver and elephants and hostages for the unpaid part of it Mir Jumla also demanded a daughter of the Ahom king for the Emperor's son. Jayadhvaj Singha was at first mortified to have to send his daughter to the Muslim Emperor's harem at Delhi, but he was persuaded by the Bura-Gohain to concede it in the greater interest of peace and tranquillity of the country and also for creating an opportunity to ask for the restoration of the kingdom with some defined boundaries free from the Muslim army of occupation. Thus an informal agreement was reached on the terms of the proposed peace treaty and Nawab Mir Jumla communicated them to Emperor Aurangzeb and received his approval in a

96 Kamrupar Buranjí, p.64.
97 Ibid, p.65.
98 At one place in AB (p.185) it is stated that Baduli told the Muslims to make peace after having talk with the Katakis, an obvious reference to Rajmantri's peace mission to Dilir Khan. But this appears to be wrong, for such a consent by Baduli would mean undermining his own position as Raja or Governor.
congratulatory reply for such a successful termination of his Assam campaign. The Emperor was also pleased to confer on him the title of Shirurshah Nasir Mauli. The treaty was finalized and signed on the following terms:

1. King Jayadhvaj Singha shall offer his daughter to the Emperor’s son accompanied by the daughter of Tipam Raja, Princess Gabharu.

2. The king shall deliver immediately a war-indemnity of 20,000 tolas of gold, 1,20,000 tolas of silver, and 20 elephants (14 tuskers and 6 female elephants).

3. Rupees 3,00,000 and 90 elephants shall be delivered during the course of one year with effect from the month of magh (January), 1663 in instalments of one lakh rupees every four months and 30 elephants (10 big and 10 small tuskers and 10 makhundis) at the end of three months and the remaining 60 elephants (20 big and 20 small tuskers and 20 makhundis) in twelve months’ time from magh (January), 1663.

4. Thereafter Assam shall pay annually a regular tribute of 20 elephants (10 tuskers and 10 makhundis).

99 AB - 'SMJC', p.100.

100 The terms of the Treaty are embodied very explicitly in Mir Jumla’s letter to Aurangzeb. See AB - 'SMJC', pp.99-100.

101 In Wade’s account the name of the Princess is given as Langsingh or Mang-Seng as properly spelt, daughter of his queen Pakhari, Momai Temuli’s daughter. (AB, ed. by Dutta, p.22.)

102 Gabharu was sent at the suggestion of the Bura-Gohain and Raja-Sasur. See AB - 'SMJC', p.101.

103 In Mir Jumla’s letter to Aurangzeb 12,000 rupees (one rupee = 1 tola) are only mentioned. See AB - 'SMJC', p.99. This figure is also mentioned in Tamuli Pimken’s Assam Puranji, p.39.

104 makhundi, female elephant. Mir Jumla’s letter to Aurangzeb - AB - 'SMJC', p.100. This part of the indemnity could not be paid at a time as the resources were all exhausted in the war and the country became desolate.
5. Pending the full payment of the indemnity, the Bar-Gohain, the Bura-Gohain, the Barpatra-Gohain and the Garhgangya Rajmantri Phukan shall each send a son as hostage to be held by the Nawab.

6. All territories of Assam, including the province of Darrang, west of the Bharali river on the north bank and those including the States of Dimarua, Beltala and Rani of the Nakkati Rani west of the Kallang river on the south bank were to be annexed to the Mughul empire.

7. The people carried off as captives by the Ahoms from Kamrup and other parts of the Mughul dominions were to be released, as also the wife and children of Baduli Phukan detained in prison.

The Bura-Gohain proposed that the Mughul army, after the emancipation of all Assam prisoners, should retire beyond the Bar Nadi and the Asurar Ali and receive the hostages on the frontier. The imperial General promised to liberate all the king's subjects except Baduli and a few other. He also said that confident of the pleasure that the Emperor would have at the valuable acquisition of the Princess he would venture to establish the Bar Nadi and the Asurar Ali as the limits of the kingdom reminding at the same time that in the time of Parikshit the Bharali and Kajalimukh formed its boundary. Sir Jumla meant thereby that the entire territory

105 In Sir Jumla's letter to the Emperor Bura-Gohain's nephew is mentioned as a hostage, not his son, who died in the meantime. S.K. Hayyam gives his nephew's name as Ramrai.
of the old Koch kingdom of Kamrup should now come immediately under the Mughuls, the conquerors of the Koches, but he would see that the Emperor agreed to the territorial claim made just before the invasion. Hence by arrangement the Princesses 106 were escorted by the Bura-Gohain and Raja-Sasur to Panipat in Tipam, whence a body of envoys and attendants escorted them away to the place of the Nawab. On 5th January, 1663, the Ahom king's daughter, the hostages and a part of the indemnity reached the Mughul camp. With the Princesses were sent one hundred male and one hundred female attendants and also large dowries consisting of gold, silver, valuable apparels and ornaments. The Mughal generals and high officers were also appeased with presents. Nawab Mir Jumla was presented with fifteen elephants and Dilir Khan with five elephants. Both Shaista Khan and Rashid Khan were offered one elephant each. Even the imperial envoys (Ahadis) and messengers of high officers received some presents for their good services. 107 Dilir Khan also sent a number of presents to Jayadhvaj Singh and his officers.

106 The Buranjis accounts are confusing whether one or two Princesses were sent and whether they were sent together. But from Mir Jumla's letter to the Emperor and other statements in the Buranjis the fact becomes clear that there were two Princesses sent at the same time, but only the Tipam Princess's dowry of 20 elephants was delivered to Godai at Hakurikhowa in the month of Chaitra of A.D. 1663 and of these elephants 19 died on the way. See Tr. 84 (DHAS) vol. II, Part I, p. 81.

107 The Emperor's envoys (Ahadis) Dur Beg and Rastum Beg received each 200 tolas of gold and 1,000 rupees and Dilir Khan's messenger Godai Barkath received 100 tolas of gold and 500 rupees.
Before the departure of the generals a message was sent to the Ahom king to assume the reins of government with the assurance that the Emperor's fame would be greatly enhanced on the arrival of the Princess. Sir Jumla also expressed his full confidence in the sincerity of the king and his nobles to see them implement the terms of agreement to their entire satisfaction.

On 10th January, 1663, Sir Jumla began his return march and his army became jubilant at it. The Assam campaign so seriously told upon the Nawab's health that he had to travel by palanquin to Panda through many obstacles on the way. He reached Panda on 11th February and halted there for eleven days to settle the administration of Kamrup.

Rashid Khan was already appointed Fuqadar of Kamrup. He, however, expressed reluctance to continue in this post, but being reprimanded by the Emperor he held the post and Muhammad Beg was appointed Thanedar of Kajali under the Fuqadar.

Meanwhile the Rajmantri returned all the people belonging to the Padshah. Dilir Khan was so pleased to see the released masses of people returning to their own country that he immediately sent presents of precious things to the Ahom king and announced 'Worthy Rajmantri, he did not deviate from his words'. The Padshah's men also highly praised the Ahom rulers. But Sir Jumla, contrary to his agreement, compelled 12,000 subjects of the king including women and
and children to leave Assam and accompany him to Bengal.

Among them were some of the important officers of the kingdom, such as Luthumri Chetia of the Upper Dayang, the Rajkhowa of the Lower Dayang, the son of Bhelai, Laluk Gohain, Dighala Hazarika, Jakakaria Hazarika, Marangial Hazarika, Jakaisukia Lakkar Rajkhowa had to go with their families. Talish says some Muslims and a few Assamese of the Namrup area voluntarily accompanied the Mughal army and it may be true.

In addition, the Dhokeris, who had been transferred from Kamrup to Assam by the Bar-Phukan and Piskai Chetia after the flight of Lutfullah Shirazi (Nathula) from Gauhati and defeat of Bhabanath Qazi, were also summoned and taken away.

There were others, who sided with the Mughals during the worst days of the Ahom king and hence had to quit Assam with the Mughals. In this group were some of the leading figures like Baduli Phukan, his brother Maapiya, Hari Deka's son Jagat and Raghnath Majundar, Raghunath's son Manohar Kakati, and a few others who went away with their wives and children.

Earlier Mir Junia's expedition drove the Barohetia of Marsngi into the Kochari country. Banrukia Languchong Bar-Gohain continued to stay on the Tiru Hill of the Nagas. Leaving Rashid Khan at Gauhati as Feujdar of Kamrup and the Ahom hostages with him Mir Junia sailed down on 23rd February.

108 Kamrupar Duranji, p.66; AB - 'SIMCI', p.102; FAB, p.125. A list is given in FAB (p.123) of the Muslim chiefs and Hindu Rajas who fought on the side of the Nawab and accompanied him in his return journey. Some of them were Dilir Khan, Rashid Khan, Mena Khan, Farrhad Khan, Ager Khan, Manohar Khan, Mansur Khan, Isli Hussain, Ager Khan, Raja Indranarayan, Raja Indramani, Raja Indra Ghosh, Kala Raja, Raja Jagdev, Raja Gandharva Rai, Nan Singh, Jayanta Singh, Dal Singh, Pratap Singh, Jay Singh and others.
he reached Baritala where his condition became very serious.
He suffered from pleureisy and fever and in the last stage
alarming complications developed, Niccolao Manucci says that
he fell ill with a retention of urine. He gave up the
idea of reconquering Koch Behar in person. On the advice of
his physicians he went to Khijipur and died there on 31st
March, 1663. Aurangzeb expressed regret for his death but
he also got rid of a very wealthy and powerful general whom
he had feared. He once said 'I have not seen any efficient
person like Mir Jumla'. (Storia, I, p.237)

Mir Jumla was probably the greatest general of
Aurangzeb and a owner of twenty maunds of diamonds. He usually
mounted on a hardy pony. Added to the strength of his renowned
Mughul cavalry were his warships constructed for him by the
Dutch and English experts manned by European sailors, admirals and
soldiers. There is mention of even Muscovites (Russians) in the
Mughul army in his Koch Behar and Assam campaigns. His victory
in Assam was chiefly due to the destruction of the Ahom navy
mainly of becharis which had to this day complete mastery over
the Brahmaputra, the main artery of supplies from Bengal to
Assam, a riverine geographical trough. That destruction is to
be attributed to the European co-operation in the Mughul army

110 English Factories in India, XI, Dutch records (7th March and 10th Oct., 1661) and EII, X, 193, as referred
to by Jagadish Narayan Sarker in his research work The Life of Mir Jumla, (Thacker Spink, Calcutta, 1951.), pp.219-220.
with their advanced types of European-made war-ships and European weapons and methods of fighting to which the major Ahom forts, all on river sides, became vulnerable for assaults. In Koch Behar, it is said, and also in Assam he forbade plunder of property and rape of women by the soldiers and camp-followers and severely punished such offenders. But in Assam it was not much in evidence, though the issue of such orders might be true. He, of course, once denounced Farhad Khan's atrocities on the villagers and released the prisoners under the Ahoms and did such other things, but Muslim soldiers overran the whole territory plundering away even household articles and domestic animals and, where possible, committed savage outrages and inhuman massacres of the inhabitants. The Ahoms captured by Mughul scouts were cruelly scourged and then beheaded. The object of inflicting such horrible torture on the Ahoms was to force them to join the Mughuls. The Ahoms too retaliated by frightful methods of torture and killing. According to the unnamed Dutch sailor, Mir Jumla offered the Dutch Rs. 50 for 'every head' they 'brought him' and Rs. 100 for each prisoner captured alive. On the other hand, those who helped the Mughuls were treated kindly. In short, he adopted all manner of wily methods to overcome the resistance of the people and conquer Assam. Talish regrets that in spite of the Raja's cruelty and Mir Jumla's kindness, the Assamese 'did not at all become submissive to the people of Islam'.

111 Glanius, 163-64. Also E and D, VII (for Khafi Khan's account) referred to by Jagadish Narayan Sarkar. 112 Sarkar's Mir Jumla, p. 250.
He had no respect for the Hindu religion. As in the 
Karnatak, so in Assam, he amassed enormous treasures by sacking 
temples, He shot down the pinnacle of the famous temple 
of Dergaon, razed the temple to the ground and pillaged it. 
He also made the thakur take beef and embrace Islam. He was 
a man with inordinate greed for wealth, power and fame. 
According to Monsieur de Thevenot (Travels into the Levant, 
Ch.8, p.102) he had the ambition to become king of Bengal and 
Thomas Bourne says (A Geographical Account, 143-44) that after 
the conquest of Assam he proposed to march against Tartaria'. 
With the aid of the traitors, who joined him, he even dug out 
the treasures offered to the dead from the graves (maidata) of 
the Svargadevs and shipped them away to Dacca. He did not spare 
even their skulls and bones. Among the graves excavated 
were those of Barjana Gohain, Lachit Gohain, Laluk Gohain, 
Chao Hso-Hseng-Ipa or Barha Raja, Garhgenya Raja, Khora Raja, 
Bhaga Raja and Mariya Raja. The unnamed Dutch navigator 
Glanius, who came to Assam with the naval force of Mir Jumla,
wrote 'As for riches, we wanted them not, having found good store in Graves'. Talish states that from the ten vaults which were dug open nearly ninety thousand rupees on all accounts were realized. One of the marvels to the Mughuls was that from the vault of one of the queens, who had been buried 80 years ago, a gold betel-casket was extracted, within which the betel-leaf was still green. Mr Juile sent to Dacca huge boats loaded with the booty taken at Garhagon and other places of Assam and Manucci, who wrote about it, was an eye witness of them at Dacca. These boats had extremely high poop5, carved with 'ugly, fear-inspiring faces'. The booty sent was one mainly of treasures and armaments seized in the course of the invasion. He also seized and sent to Dacca some of the expert Akon manufacturers of guns and gunpowder. For, he was struck to see the high quality and efficacy of Akon artillery and gunpowder. He, of course, failed to secure, in spite of his best efforts, any Assamese elephant driver of repute. (Fatniyah, 34, 56, 64; JUBRA. 1, 186, 192; JASB. 1872, p.78).

At Delhi Princess Beng-Seng alias Ramani Gahharu (K.T.P. p.39) was, according to Messir-i-Alamiri (78), as referred to by Sarkar in his Mr-Jumla (p.270), married to Prince Muhammad 'A'zam, Governor of Gujarat, and was made to assume the name of Rahamet Banu. But, later on the death of Aurangzeb on the 3rd March, 1707, 'A'zam died in the battle of Jauen near Agra during the fratricidal war of succession by fighting against his brother Muhammad 'Azam, later Shah 'Alam I.

117 JASB (1872), p.66.
As to the position of Tipam Raja's daughter nothing is known. Talish mentions Tipam Raja's sons and not a daughter, but Alemgirma and most of the Buranjis of Assam and also Mir Jumla's letter to Aurangzeb, as reproduced in the Buranjis, speak of the daughter.

Jayadhwaj Singha Back to Bakatha, March, 1663:

After the departure of Mir Jumla king Jayadhwaj Singha returned to Namerup from N昌hang and then to Tongohang (Tengacha) by the way of Lechang. At Tongohang he made his first camp and took rest. Thereafter he came to Hekurikhawa in February. As the capital at Garhgaon had been devastated by the Mughals the king next moved to Bakatha, which he made the seat of government. All officers of the State, who had been scattered during the war, were then summoned by the Rajmantri to assemble at Bakatha. The king proceeded to punish those who betrayed the country to the enemy. The Raja-Sasur,119 who, after his dismissal from the Bar-Phukanship, helped the Mughals to enter central Assam by the Diju road, pretended illness and committed suicide by swallowing poison instead of facing the trial. Banruka Languchong Bar-Gohain, who was the Commander-in-Chief of the north-bank army, was accused for not reinforcing the southern army, which had to bear the main brunt of the

119 The identity is not quite clear from the versions of the different texts. According to S.K. Bhuyen he was Sumanb Raja-Sasur, elder brother of Gariganya Raja-Sasur Rajmantri Phukan. But for the reasons already cited and also for different versions in the records left by the Muslim historians the identity of the Bar-Phukan as well as of the Rajmantri is still not established beyond doubt.
enemy pressure. The Bar-Gohain, who was not wholly unjustified in his stand as regards this question, was also charged for not returning in time from the Tiru Hill to help the king and was therefore put into prison. The Ghora Konwar, the son of Tamuli Daloi and Gajpuria Hatibaranu were scourged and chained for deserting the king. Kath Narottom was dismissed from his post of Majinder and Nazirahatiya Mayur Ganak was appointed Majinder in his place. Domai Deka (Neog Gohain) was appointed Bar-Phukan and sent to Kalibari where his office was established. He died at Kalibari and the vacancy was filled by Langi Bar-Phukan. This way of punishing people was deprecated by Rajasasur Rajmantri Phukan, who pointed out to the king how it would affect great numbers of his subjects, high and low, resulting in widespread disaffection in the society and consequent loss of internal stability of the kingdom. Jayadhvaj Singha realized the significance of the Rajmantri's timely warning and gave up the hunt for offenders under the abnormal war conditions.

When Jayadhvaj Singha was at Bamrup Prannarayan was at Baska, both fugitive. In their adversity they both exchanged letters in sympathy for each other and making a clean breast of the mistakes they committed under the influences of treacherous and ambitious ministers. During Mir Jumla's campaigns in Assam.

120 AB - 'SMJC', p.101; Kamrupar Buranji, p.67.
121 Assam Buranji (1648-1681 A.D.), p.23.
122 See for some of these letters Kamrupar Buranji, Chapter 10. They also give a picture of the political developments of Assam and Koch Behar prior to and during the invasions of Mir Jumla.
Raja Jashmatia Rai of Jayanta, called Landha Sultan, sent two messengers, Ramrai Daloi and Niroi, to Jayadhuvaj Singha, but they could not reach the Ahom king as they were captured with the letter by the Mughals on the way. But just after Mir Jumla's departure in May-June of 1663 the Jayanta Raja wrote to the Svangadev expressing his deepest feelings of sympathy for him. 'Jayanta and Garhgaon are not two different cities', said Raja Jashmatia, 'I feel afflicted in my mind, as if, it was my country and not yours that was invaded (by the Mughals). ... now let us be united in friendship so as to be able to retaliate upon the Bangals.' Another letter in a similar tone was addressed by the Nartangia Chief, Manik Singha, to the Ahom king. He wrote - 'If ten to twenty thousand men (of my State) would have fallen for your service yet I would not have been sorry'. These letters were delivered to the Svangadev at his Court at Bakatha.123

Jayadhuvaj Singha had a great desire to have a look into the condition of the ruined capital of Garhgaon. Accordingly he went there in spite of the advice of his priests to the contrary and when the main gate of the city was opened for him he became choked with grief and wept bitterly at the condition of the beautiful city from which he had been away so long in the wilds of Namrup. It is said that he was so much shocked at the sight of Garhgaon that his tears of grief, which did not stop, developed into a disease and he did not long survive.

123 See for the letters JB, pp.22-25.
He came back to Bakatha and fell ill with severe diabetes. Knowing his end drawing near he called in to his side the three ministers (Dangarias) of State, the Phukans and Rajkhwas and made an appeal to all to be united and to reconstruct the shattered kingdom delivering it from the yoke of the enemy. He died on the 25th of Kartik, Saka 1585 (A.D. 1663).

Jayadhvaj Singha's Character And Miscellaneous Events Of His Reign:

Jayadhvaj Singha was the first Tai-Abon king to embrace Hinduism of the Vaisnava cult in A.D. 1654. In that year he performed a yajna at Galpur Ghat by installing the image of the deity, Govinda Thakur, at that place and received initiation (gana) from a Vaisnava priest called Mranjana Bapu. He there dedicated to the service of the god (Govinda Thakur) extensive tracts of land free of revenue and many workers (paiks). This was recorded in a copper-plate grant of the king. It is said that he was the first Abon king to introduce the system of copper-plate grants which was followed by his successors. 124 He also visited the Visvanath temple on the north bank and made many presents to the Brahmins. Another great Satra, king Jayadhvaj Singha established was that of Dakshinpat, of which

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124 H. S. B., op. cit., p. 47; All., 55, p. 39; Tr. 94 (DHAS), vol. V, Part IV, p. 509. Mranjana Bapu or Mranjana Dev was the son of Vasudev and grandson of Kawisuryya Kandali Goswami who came from Kemajpur. Mranjana was a disciple of Bar Gopaldev and became the first Satradhikar of the Amanti Satra, which was established by his royal disciple, Jayadhvaj Singha, with the installation of Govinda-murti.
the first Satradhikar was Vanamalidev Gosain. He was the spiritual preceptor of Maharaj Prannarayan with his residence at Madhupur. In the year 1575 (A.D.1653-54) the king invited Vanamali Gosain, a well-versed Pandit in the Sastra and a distinguished disciple of Damodardev, from Koch Behar and settled him with a Satra (Vaishnava monastery) at Jakhala-bandha (in the Nowgong district), whence the Satra was transferred to Jatakara after some days. The Gosain continued there until he was finally established as the Satradhikar of the Satra of Dakshinpat at Bangalibahar in the Majuli of Upper Assam. The main deity of the Dakshinpat Satra is Yadavraj (Vishnu). Jayadhvaj Singha granted revenue-free land, paika and sevaita to the Satra in the name of Yadavraj. At the time of his death the king invited Vanamalidev to his residence at Bakatha, took blessings from him and, as he had no son, made over the rule of the kingdom to the Gosain, Vanamalidev, just before he breathed his last. According to the records of the Satra Vanamalidev ruled the country until after a brief period, a successor in the person of Chakravdjay Singha was placed on the throne.126 Jayadhvaj Singha's initiation to Hinduism did not affect much his faith in the

125 Amanatulla Ahmed: Koch Biharer Itihas, I, p.164; Sri Sri Vanamali Dev Charitra, pp.32,53. The word majuli means a large island in the Lohit or Brahmaputra. There is one in Upper Assam formed by the Lohit and the Brahmaputra and another between Hajof and Pandu in Kamrup.
126 Tr.94 (DHAC), vol.V, Part IV, p.319. It is said that the management of the destructible temporal affairs of the State was not thought by the Gosain as a proper function of the spiritual guru and hence he handed over that charge to Chakravdjay Singha when he was chosen for the throne.
Even during his flight from the capital his first concern was to save the priests and the sacred articles of the temples at Charaideo erected for the worship of his racial gods (phis). He duly worshipped them and silent and made offerings to Lengdon. But there is no doubt that he was the first king to give official recognition to the Hindu religion and shower benefits on the Brahmins, whose influence began to increase in the royal court. He paid more attention to the new faith and neglected the worship of his ancestral gods.

The eleventh Pagan king Harathihapate was ‘larnokne-min’, ‘the king who ran away from the Tartars’ in the eyes of the Burmese people, so King layadhvaj Singha was, by analogy, ‘vihulove»»i’, ‘the king who ran away from the Uaghuls’ in the eyes of the Assamese people, who since then called him by the nickname of Bhaganiya Raja, ‘The Raja who took to flight’. It is no stigma to take to flight when the enemy is too powerful; ‘when it is impossible to ward off danger in the name of the preservation of the king, the king who can escape from the wrath of the Burmese people, who since then in the eyes of the Assamese people, who since then called him by the nickname of Bhaganiya Raja, ‘The Raja who took to flight’. It is no stigma to take to flight when the enemy is too powerful; ‘when it is impossible to ward off danger, the king who can escape from the wrath of the Burmese people, who since then called him by the nickname of Bhaganiya Raja, ‘The Raja who took to flight’.

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arm and shield and made offerings to Lengdon, just the likes

the duty w0r(00ple of the town and the sacred articles of the temple of Chandoo were for the worship of the town. King layadhvaj

the capital, the first concern was to save the Brahmins,

traditional practice of the home, even during his flight...
at once formed a bastion beyond the capacity of the proud Mughal Omras to surmount. He could have probably held his ground well and starved the Mughals to surrender in the next flood season, had not in the meantime some of the stalwarts like the Raja-Sagur Bar-Phukan, Marla Deka, Naduli Phukan and Manthir Bharali Barua gone over to the enemy thereby undermining the morale of large sections of the Assamese population. Jayadhvaj Singha's private life may have suffered from lapses, but that he was a great patriot is beyond doubt. He had also a burning ambition to extend the frontiers of his kingdom to the Karatoya, which was once reached during the reign of Hac-Ham-Hong by the redoubtable Ahom general, Ton-Kham. According to the Alamgirnamah the Ahoms, during Jayadhvaj Singha's reign, plundered and laid waste the country almost as far as Dacca itself.128

During Jayadhvaj Singha's reign the Kacharis occupied Bagnargaon in the Ahom territory. The Bar-Phukan wanted to seize the Kachari Raja Biradarpa. It was communicated to the Kachari Raja by the Garhagya Handikoi, who also advised the Raja to revive old friendship with the Svaergedev for averting such an eventuality. Thereafter regular exchanges of embassies between

128 For instance, he kept as his wife the chief queen's elder sister, who had been married to the Pukhuriparia Bura-Cobain, Poali (Assam Buranji : 1648-1681 A.D., p. 3) and had a male child. She was later made Parbatia Queen and, in the meantime, procured the murder of her former husband. The Chief queen was Raja-Sagur Kabaicha Phukan's daughter. - AB - 'SJOJC', p.37.  
129 See also Stewart's History of Bengal (Calcutta, 1903), p.324. The available Assamese sources, however, do not present a clear corroborative evidence of this advance. (See also Gaith : on. cit., p.128).
Bifadarpanarayan and Jayadhvaj Singha continued to the end of the latter's reign. During this period the Ahom Court laid special stress on the enforcement of proper diplomatic formalities in the relations between the two countries. The Kachari Raja, on his part, repeatedly reminded the Ahom king to implement his assurance to give a princess to him in marriage for the formal establishment of the claim on him as a protected Raja of the Svardadev. The Ahom nobles throughout adopted dilatory tactics in this matter as the Kachari Raja avoided coming in person to take the bride under various pretences. It was a question of prestige on both sides. The matter continued to be negotiated through diplomatic channels but remained unfulfilled owing to the outbreak of war with the Mughals.

Jayadhvaj Singha had subdued the Lakma Nagas who had hunted the heads of two men and four children in the Ahom territory. There were troubles from them several times. At last an amicable adjustment was reached and the Lakma Raja offered tributes to the king and the latter allowed him the possession of the hill called Shandoir-mian-doi as prayed for. In 1655 the Miris of the village, Marekobat in Sadiya killed a few subjects of the Ahom king. The Ahoms attacked the Miris who then sent their Miri Katekis suing for peace and agreeing to pay tribute to the king. A group of persons with the Bar-Gohain conspired against the king but they received deterrent punishment.

130 For fuller details see Kachari Buranji, pp.37-49.
In 1660 there was a feud between Jasmanik, the Jayanta Raja and his grandson Pramatha. The latter asked the Gubha Raja to come over to his side with his army. But the Gubha Raja offered shelter to Pramatha without himself going to him as he wanted. This enraged Pramatha who devastated four villages of Gubha Raja. Gubha Raja then appealed to the Kochari Raja for help and the latter wanted to send to his assistance the army of 7,000 men stationed in the Kochari country by the Ahom king, obviously to remove the army from the country. But the Ahom king's men refused to leave their station. Gubha Raja, being helpless, intended to join with the Koches, but the Ahoms threatened him that in that case he would not be allowed to rule that country. The Gubha Raja then joined the Ahoms in 1660 and paid homage to Jayadwaj Singh whose suzerainty he acknowledged. The Ahom king then gave him protection and presents and established him at Khagarijan (Nowgong) with boundaries fixed. 131

During the rainy season of 1662 Jayanta guests visited the Ahom Court and paid homage to the king by offering many large boats, eight gold seats and one hundred and forty umbrellas. The Jayanta guests made a prayer to Jayadwaj Singh to give back to their Raja the part of their dominions ceded to the 'king of Hingdumshumkham' as also the provinces of Dimarua, Kupenali 132 and Kaoban. The Ahom king replied

131 AN, pp. 156-57.
132 probably Gubha.
that all those areas and provinces were merged in the territory of his kingdom and distributed among some of the frontier Chiefs and so it was not possible to return the provinces. But the guests were given a quantity of gold as a price for them. Yet during May-June of 1663 Jayanta Raja wrote to Jayadrakaj Singha letters expressing his deep sympathy for and co-operation with the Ahom Raja. There is mention of visit of a Sam Katski, a Sam ambassador to the Court of Jayadrakaj Singha in 1653. The Katski 'pledged fidelity' to the king by drinking. He presented to the king of Hong-Dun-Hum-Khan a gold flute, a silver plate, a quantity of vermilion, a satin cloth, a stand, a drum and an under-cloth. The king also gave many presents and necessary instructions to the Katski before his departure.

One of the notable achievements of Jayadrakaj Singha's reign in the internal affairs of the country was the planned settlement of villages from Hara to Bengal border making a suitable distribution of the artisans and men of different professions all over the country. The author of this plan was the talented Momai Tamuli Bar-Barua. Some of the important public works of Jayadrakaj Singha were the Chomi Ali, a high road, well-known to this day constructed under the supervision of Baduli Plukan, Kari-meri garh and Nachchowa garh with bastions and gun emplacements. He also

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133 AE, pp.146-7.
134 The word is Sham lam and the name of the Sham lam is Phu-pai-mong. The translator writes that the ambassador was sent by the 'king of Siam'. See AE, p.147.
135 AE, p.147.
built the Bhomoraguri Ali and excavated the Bhatiapara tank.

After his terrible experience of Mir Jumla's invasion he cleared the jungles of the old fortifications and temporary residence of king Hso-Dang-Hpa near the Patkai Hills, the south-eastern extremity of the kingdom proper, and widened the area constructing more houses and a new royal residence in it. He made it a powerful defence post with the fortifications mounted with large cannon and equipped with stores of other war materials before he came to see Garggan, the sight of which cut short his life.

Mir Jumla's invasion resulted in devastation of almost the whole valley of the Brahmaputra and for a brief period the Mughal General may be said to have held sway over the country except for the last stronghold of the Ahom king in the region of Namerpur Hills. But it was also realized by the Mughuls that they could not have a permanent footing in this land.

Shihabuddin Talish's Account of Assam:

Shihabuddin (poetically called Talish), who

accompanied him Jumla to Assam as Wadihnavis, wrote an account of the country in Persian which reveals many such things about Assam in the seventeenth century A.D. as are not contained in the Buranjis. A few important extracts of the account only can be given here. The following extracts are as translated from Persian MS. by Prof. J. N. Sarkar in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, (vol. I, Part II, Dec., 1915, pp. 179-95). He points out that throughout his account Talish uses the word "Assamese" for the Ahoms only. Talish says:

'Assam is a wild and dreadful country, abounding in danger. ...

'The length of Assam from west to east, Gauhati to Sadiya, is about 200 kos,139 its breadth, north to south,

138 The office of Wadihnavis, or writer of events, was introduced by Akbar. His duty was to report to Court whatever happened in the district to which he was appointed.

( W. Blochmann - 'Koch Bihar and Assam' in JASB. I, 1872, p. 51).

Talish's book is named Fathiyah-i-ibrin (or ibritan) ("The victories that give warning") or Tarikh Fath-i-Asham ("History of the Conquest of Assam"). The author's name is known to be Im Muhammad Wali or Shihabuddin Talish who wrote the account of Assam between the 9th August, 1662 and the 13th May, 1663.


139 1 Ksa (or Krosse) = 2 English miles (about). Hence 200 Ksa = 400 miles. Jagunni Tantra says Kamarupa was triangular in shape, 100 Yojanas in length (from the Karatoya) and 30 Yojanas in breadth. 1 Yojana = 4 Kroshes = 8 English miles.
from the hills of the Garos, Miris, Mishmis, Daflas, and Landahs to those of the Naga tribe is seven or eight days journey at a guess. ... The land on the north bank of the Brahmaputra is called Utterkol, and on the southern bank Dakhinkol. Utterkol stretches from Guwahati to the home of the Miri and Mishmi tribe, and Dakhinkol from the kingdom of the Nak-kati Rani to the village of Sadiya. The Rajah of Assam brought to the field an army whose large number became a cage on earth;

"(They were) tumult-raising and sudden (in attack) like the eyes of the fair sex;

Hurling arrows and (other) missiles, and making a (firm) stand in the battle-field.

'Their bodies full of life, they robbed lives on plain and hill.

'All of them were terrific like the demon I'frīt (a giant in Persian mythology) in the river.

'If one of them made a charge on the battle-field,

'Their bodies would be severed from their heads, and bodies their heads from their/(before they left it)."

'They seem to be Ahrimāns (The Satan or evil spirits in Zoroastrian mythology) come out of hell, .......

'They are strong-lived to such a degree that if they are turned into dust

'Their veins do not become the least slack.

'All of them are without light (Light = knowledge of the Muhammadan religion) like the eyeballs of the blind; ...
They resemble men in nothing beyond this that they walk erect on two feet in the lanes and bazars. They can practise tricks so well that they can, confine the wind in the limbs like bubbles in water. The number of their population is larger than the Field of Resurrection can hold.

Their kingdom extends from the farthest east to the farthest west. Its rivers are more numerous than the waves of a river. Calculation has been beggared by the large number of its forts.
The forts are granite-based like the hearts of heroes. Although most of the inhabitants of the neighbouring hills pay no tax (bai) to the Rajah of Assam, yet they accept his sovereignty and obey some of his commands. The Dafla tribe alone does not place its feet in the skirts of obedience, but occasionally encroaches on his kingdom.

From the village of Kaliabar to the city of Garhgaon houses and orchards full of fruit trees stretch in an unbroken line; and both sides of the road, shady bamboo groves raise their heads to the sky. Many varieties of sweet-scented wild and garden flowers bloom here, and from the rear of the bamboo groves up to the foot of the hills there are cultivated fields and gardens. From Lakhaugarh to Garhgaon, also, there are roads houses and farms in the same style; and a lofty and wide
embanked road has been constructed up to Garhgaon for traffic.

In this country they make the surface of fields and gardens so level that the eye cannot find the least elevation in it up to the extreme horizon. Uttarkol has greater abundance of population and cultivation; but as there are more inaccessible strongholds and defensible central places in Dakhinkol, the kings of Assam have fixed their abode in the latter.140

The people of his country are free from certain fatal and loathsome diseases—such as leprosy, white leprosy, elephantiasis, cutaneous eruptions, goitre and hydrocele—which prevail in Bengal. They are also immune from many other lingering maladies.

Gold is washed from the sand of the Brahmaputra. Ten to twelve thousand Assamese are engaged in this employment, and they pay to the Rajah's government one tola of gold per head per year. But this gold is of a low-standard of purity; a tola of it fetches only eight or nine rupees. ... but the only people who know how to gather it are those Assamese. The currency of this kingdom consists of cowries and rupees and

140 The description, as given here nullifies Talish's earlier statement that 'Assam is a wild and dreadful country, abounding in danger'. Certain outlying areas like Narayup might have been wild and dreadful, but the sweeping remark appears to be an exaggeration. In rain and flood Assam is not more dreadful or dangerous than Eastern Bengal (now East Pakistan). In point of diseases Assam was in many respects better and produced a vast manpower as is affirmed by Talish himself. Further Assam knew no regular famines unlike Bengal or Mughul India, not being able to be acclimatized in this country in a single season is another matter.
gold coins stamped with the stamp of the Rajah. Copper coins are not current. ... Silver, copper and tin are also obtained in the hills of the same tribes (Miri and Mishni). ... The aloe wood which grows in the hills of Hamrup, Sadiya and Lakhaura, is heavy, coloured and scented.

*If this country were administered like the Imperial dominions, it is very likely that forty to forty-five lakhs of rupees would be collected from the revenue paid by the raiyats, the price of elephants caught in the jungles and other sources. It is not the custom here to take any land tax (kharaj) from the cultivators; but in every house one man out of three has to render service to the Raja, and if there is any delay in doing what he orders, no other punishment than death is inflicted.

*In all the past ages no (foreign) king could lay the hand of conquest on the skirt of this country, and no foreigner could treat it with the foot of invasion. Narrow are the gates by which outsiders can enter or issue from this country, and lame are the feet on which its natives can go to other countries. Their kings neither allow foreigners to enter their land, nor permit any of their own subjects to go out of it.*

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141 It is 27 miles due east of Visvanath on the north bank near the western point of the big island of Majuli. 142 Envoys, ambassadors and traders were certainly permitted to go abroad to visit the important cities and capitals of Mughul India, such as Delhi, Dacca, Saur, Katk, Puri etc., both on official duties and in connection with trade and commerce and pilgrimages. Such other places as Kashi, Patna, Vrindavan etc. were also visited. Most probably even spies, too, were sent abroad to collect informations about other countries. All these different categories of travellers and visitors brought informations about political developments in Mughul India from before Sir Jumla's invasion on the basis of which books like Padshah Buranjis, Bhagawat, Ramayan, Mahabharata were written.
Formerly once a year, by order of the Rajah, a party used to go for trade to their frontier near Gauhati; they have gold, musk, aloe wood, pepper, spikenard and silk cloth in exchange for salt, saltpetre, sulphur and certain other products of India which the people of Gauhati used to take thither. In short, every army that entered this country made its exit from the realm of life; ... In former times whenever an army turned towards this country for raid and conquest, as soon as it reached the frontier, the wretches made night attacks on it. If success did not dawn on the night of their enterprise, they used to drive away to the hills the peasantry along the route (of invasion), leaving not a man to inhabit a house or kindle a fire in that tract. The invaders neglecting caution and watchfulness, reached the centre of the country after passing unobstructed roads full of danger, raging torrents and frightful valleys covered with deadly forests. And by reason of the distance, the winter expired on the way and the rainy season began. The wretches, descending from the hill top like a flood, invested the army on all sides. ... So, that imprudent army, on being besieged has no power left to confront and repel the enemy, and grows weaker through failure to procure supplies of food, and is soon exterminated or taken prisoner. 143

143 This shows how the Ahoms shaped their war strategy against external enemies utilizing to the full the topographical advantages of the country and drilling the people in the art of quick mobility. This further indicates how the Hills people gave their unstinted support to the Ahom king, particularly against the Muslim invaders. The Hills and the Hills peoples' friendship constituted the main safeguard of Assam's independence in the last resort.
And as no one who entered this country ever returned, and the manners of its natives were never made known to any outsiders, the people of Hindustan used to call the inhabitants of Assam sorcerers and magicians and consider them as standing outside human species. They say that whoever enters this country is overcome by charms and never comes out of it.

The Rajahs of this country have always been self-confident and proud by reason of the large number of their followers and attendants and the abundance of their property, treasure and armed force; and they have always maintained vast bodies of fighting men and mountain-like ferocious-looking elephants. Although he is attached to the Hindu religion, ... he does not bow his head down in worship to any idol.

And all the people of this country, not placing their necks in the yoke of any faith, eat whatever they get from the hand of any man, regardless of his caste, and undertake every kind of labour that appears proper to their defective sight. They do not abstain from eating food cooked by Muslims and non-Muslims, and partake of every kind of meat, whether of dead or of slaughtered animals, except human flesh. ... Their language differs entirely from that of all the people of Eastern India. Strength and heroism are apparent in the peoples of this country; they are able to undertake hard tasks; all of them are warlike and bloodthirsty, fearless in slaying and being slain, unrivalled in cruelty, treachery and rudeness,
unique in the world in deception, lying, and breach of faith. The persons of their women are marked by beauty and delicacy of features; blackness and length of hair, softness of body, fairness of complexion and loveliness of hands and feet. From a distance their general appearance looks perfectly beautiful, but disfigured by the absence of proportion in the limbs. ... The wives of the Rajahs and peasants alike never veil their faces before anybody, and they move about in the market-places with bare heads. Few of the men have two wives only; most have four or five, and they mutually exchange their wives, or buy and sell them. ... They shave their hair, beard and moustaches. If any of their natives acts contrary to this practice in the least particular, they say that he has adopted the manners of the Bengalis 144 and they cut his head off.

They (the Assamese) are greatly frightened by horses, and if they catch one, they hamstring it. If a single trooper charges a hundred well-armed Assamese, they all throw their arms down and run away, and if they cannot flee, they put their hands up to be chained as prisoners. But if one of them encounters ten Musalmn infantrymen, he fearlessly tries to slay them and succeeds in defeating them. The Assamese consider the sale of an elephant as the most disgraceful of acts, and never commit it.

144 Here 'Bengalis' or more properly 'Bengals' mean the Muslims whom no Assamese was allowed to imitate. By putting 'Bengali' for 'Bengal' meaning any foreigner Sir Jagunath restricts the sense of the term. Even Europeans were called 'Baga Bengalis'.
They build war boats like the kosah of Bengal, and call them bachari. There is no other difference between the two than this that the prow and stern of the kosah have two (projecting) horns, while the head and base of the bachari consist of only one levelled plank; and as, aiming solely at strength, they build these boats with the pith of timber (qalb-dar), they are slower than kosah. So numerous are the boats, large and small, in this country that on one occasion the news-writer of Cembati reported in the month of Ramzan that up to date of his writing 32,000 bachari and kosah boats had reached that place or passed it. The number of boats that conveyed the Imperial army and those inhabitants of Assam who accompanied the Nawab (Mir Jumla) in his return, probably exceeded the number mentioned by the news-writer. It is most probable that one-half of this number, or rather more than that, was owned by the wretches (i.e., the Assamese). They build most of their boats of chambal wood; and such vessels, however heavily they may be loaded, on being swamped do not sink in the water. Many nobles (of our army) repeatedly witnessed this fact; and the author has also had experience of it.

They cast excellent matchlocks and bachadar artillery, and show a great skill in this craft. They make first-rate gunpowder, of which they procure the materials from the Imperial dominions. In the whole of Assam there is no building of brick, stone or mud, with the exception of the gates of Garhgaon and a few temples. Rich and poor alike construct
their houses with wood, bamboo and straw. The original inhabitants of this country are of two races - the Assamese (i.e., the Ahoms) and the Kolita. In all things the latter are superior to the former; but in performing difficult tasks and making a firm stand in battle, the opposite is the case.

Six or seven thousand Assamese always stand guard round the abode and bedroom of the Raja, and these are called Chandangs. They are the devoted and trusted servants of the Raja and are his executioners. The weapons of war of the people of this country are matchlocks, Ram-chmais,7 cannon, arrows with and without iron heads, half-swords, spears, bamboo bows and cross-bow (takshah) arrows. In times of war, all the inhabitants of the kingdom - artizans, farmers, the well-to-do and common people, free and unfree - have to go to battle, whether they wish it or not; like jackals they set up a concerted howl, all at the same time and deliver a great assault. A very small number of their soldiers often checkmate thousands in battle. But those of their warriors and heroes who attack the enemy with sword and arrow and boldly pierce the enemy's ranks, belong to the race of genuine Assamese,8 and these probably do not number more than 20,000 men. They mostly engage in battles and night attacks in the night of Tuesday, which they consider an auspicious time. The common people either

145 'Some sort of light field-piece' (Irvine's Army of Indian Musjals, p.137).
146 'Genuine Assamese = 'real Assamese' of Blochmann. - JASB, 1872, p.32.
fight and are defeated, or flee without fighting. Fixing
in their minds eye the purport of (the holy verse), "Those
who had fear gained safety, while fearless were destroyed",
they throw away all their arms and escape.

'The common people bury their dead with some of
the property of the deceased, placing the head towards the
east and the feet towards the west. The chiefs build vaults
for their dead, and place therein the wives and servants of
the deceased, after killing them, together with necessary
articles for a few years, including various kinds of gold and
silver vessels, carpets, clothes, and food-stuffs. ... From
the ten vaults which were dug opened (by the Mughals) nearly
ninety thousand rupees on all accounts were realised. ...

As for the Musalmans who had been taken prisoner
in former times and had chosen to marry (here), their descendants act exactly
in the manner of the Assamese, and have nothing of Islam except
the name; their hearts are inclined far more towards mingling
with the Assamese than towards association with Muslims. The
Muhammadans who had come here from Islamic lands engaged in
the performance of prayer and fasting, but were forbidden to
chant the call to prayer or publicly recite the 'Words of
God' (i.e., the Muhammadan confession of faith).

'The city of Garhgaon has four gates of stone set
in mud from each of which to the Rajah's palace for a distance
of three kos, an extremely strong, high and wide embankment
(al) has been constructed for the passage of men. Around
the city, in the place of a wall, there is an encompassing bamboo plantation running continuously; the bamboo-grove is about two kogs, more or less across. But in the city the habitations are not regularly laid out. The houses of the inhabitants have been built in a scattered fashion within the bamboo-grove, close to the al, and every man's orchard and plough-land are situated in front of his house, one end of the field touching the al and the other the house. Near the Rajah's place on both banks of the Dikhu river the houses are numerous, and there is a narrow bazar-road. The only traders who sit in are the bazar/betel-leaf sellers. It is not their practice to buy and sell articles of food in the market-place. The inhabitants of the country store in their houses one year's supply of food of all kinds; and (therefore) are under no necessity to buy or sell any eatable.

In short, the city of Garhgaon appeared to us to be circular (mahuta), wide, and composed of some villages. Round the Rajah's house a (second) al has been run, and above it strong bamboos have been planted close together, to serve for a wall. Round it a moat has been dug, which is deeper than a man's height in most places, and is always full of water. This enclosure is one kog and 14 chains in circumference. Inside it high and spacious thatched houses have been built. The Rajah's audience hall, -- called Solang, -- is 120 cubits long and 30 cubits broad, measured on the inside. It stands on 66 pillars, each of them about four cubits round. They have
smoothed such huge pillars so well that at first sight they seemed to have been turned on a lathe. Though the people of Assam pretended to have (knowledge of) the art of turning on lathes, yet reason refuses to believe it. My pen fails to describe in detail the other arts and rare inventions employed in decorating the woodwork of this palace. Probably nowhere else in the whole world can wooden houses be built with such decoration and figure-carving as by the people of this country. The sides of this palace have been partitioned into wooden lattices of various designs carved in relief, and adorned, both within and outside, with mirrors of brass, polished so finely that when the sunbeams fall on them, the eye is dazzled by the flashing back of light. This mansion was completed by 12,000 men working for one year. At one end of this palace, on four pillars facing each other, rings have been fixed, nine rings on each pillar. Whenever the Rajah wished to live in this house, a throne was placed between the four pillars, and nine canopies, each of a different stuff, were fastened to the rings above the throne. The Rajah sat on the throne under the canopies; the drummers beat their drums and danda. The dand is a circular flat instrument of brass like our gongs (gharal) which (our) gong-men play upon. When the Rajah holds court or rides out, or the nobles (phukans) set out for the places to which they have been newly appointed, the drums and danda are beaten. That perfect (scholar) Mulla Dervish of Herat, who had explored the Persian tongue more than the Arabic language, used
to say that the *tag-min* (brazen gongs) mentioned in Shabnamah signified this very dand. Verily God knows the truth.

"As for the many other wooden mansions, *... carved, decorated, strong, long and broad,* ... which were inside the enclosure (of the palace), their elegance and peculiar features were fit to be seen and not heard of. But may not (even) an infidel have the lot of beholding those houses, unless this country is annexed to the Imperial dominions, so that he might not be involved in the calamities that overwhelmed us.

"Outside the enclosure of the palace, a perfectly neat and pure mansion has been built for the residence of the Rajah; and the nobles have built very fine and strong houses near the royal palace. The Bar Phukan, who was the Rajah's son-in-law, had laid out an extremely elegant and fresh garden round a very pure and sweet tank within the grounds of his mansion. Truly it was a pleasant spot and a heart-ravishing and pure abode. Owing to the excess of damp, it is not the custom in this country to make the courtyard of houses on the surface of the ground; but they built their houses on platforms resting on (wooden) pillars.

Shihabuddin Talish's account, barring a few caustic remarks against his enemies, the Aboms, and exaggerations here and there, is confirmed by the Baranjis of Assam in so far as such accounts of the period are contained in them. It would

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147 It is a mistake, for it was the Bar-Phukan who was the father-in-law of the king and not the Bar-Phukan the king's son-in-law. See K.T.P.: 29, 61., p. 38; AR - '2171'; p. 37; Assam Baranji (1649-1681 A.D.), p. 5.
ever remain a classic document furnishing an authentic piece of history of Assam in the seventeenth century of the Christian Era. It presents the picture of a country in which the rivers and hills, jungles and seasonal floods and the support and allegiance of the hardy hill tribes gave additional strength to the defence organization of the country and the vigour of the race. The Ahoms conceived the defence plan according to the geographical condition of the land. Unlike their forefathers, who depended chiefly on the cavalry for offence and defence in Mun-nan, the Ahoms, in the conditions of the Brahmaputra valley, shifted the emphasis to the navy and forts, and the elephant was found more useful than the horse as a war animal for the army. Talish highly speaks of the physical superiority and bravery of the Ahoms, their hardiness and enterprising spirit. 'A still stronger proof of Ahom valour,' says Professor J.N. Sarkar, 'is the abuse he (Talish) applies to them (the Ahoms).'

Talish was also charmed to see the decorations and wood-carvings of the Ahoms as represented on the palace buildings and on the beautiful houses of the Ahom nobles. That Hinduism had little influence in changing the habits and customs of the race is evident from the fact that untouchability was completely absent among them and the observance of the rules of caste and restriction of food and drink according to the Hindu system was nowhere to be seen among them. The Ahoms were still a 'hardy, meat-eating, beer-drinking, fighting race'.

148 From a letter by Col. Dalton. Vide Ethnology of Bengal, last group.
After Jayadhvaj Singha's death in November (Dekhik, 25), 1663, the ministers and other officers held a council in the month of Jyeshthaya (November-December) and, as desired by the deceased king, who had no son, sent Katakia to call in the Shairing Raja, son of Jayadhvaj Singha's uncle,149 to succeed to the throne. The Shairing Raja was also the grandson of Eeo-Lenj,150 a former Shairing Raja called Deo Raja. One, Duranji says that Jayadhvaj had two sons,101 none of whom was chosen as his successor, but this appears to be a mistake in the context of the succession question. Other Duranjis definitely assert that he had no son. Then Jayadhvaj Singha fell ill at Bakutu and proposed the name of the Shairing Raja as his successor, Raja-Sasur opposed the selection and, after consultation with his two queens,152 tried to influence the king to nominate his adopted son, Laisong. Laisong was the son of the Parbatia queen165 by her former husband. But the king dared not accept the suggestion against the wishes of his ministers and nobles of the Court. Raja-Sasur's opposition to Shairing Raja's (Chakradhvaj Singha's) succession had far-reaching consequences with the tragic end of himself and his associates.

149 D.E., p.130; Kangnar Duranji, p.35.
151 Dit, p.46.
152 both being the daughters of Raja-Sasur, Haoboicha Banian. 153 Elder sister of the chief queen and former wife of the Pakhruparia Bura-Borni, Baoli.
The ministers (Dengarisas) and other nobles installed the Shairing Raja as king at Bakatha with the necessary ceremonies. He, however, formally ascended the Haw-long at Leshang with the Chunadeo tied round his neck in the month of Dinruk (Baisakh, April-May, 1664) and underwent the coronation ceremony assuming the title of Hso-Pong-Kong as conferred on him by the Deodhai Pundits. His Hindu name is Chakradhvaj Singha. One Buranji says that he ascended the Singari-Ghar in the town made in the area of the munition go-down near the Salakhamara ghat on the south bank of the river Pesang where he held his Court. He also built a treasury (Gola-Ghar) in this town and collected in it rupees seven lakhs for paying war-indemnity to the Mughuls. Since that time the Gola-Ghar became a permanent institution of the State which was always kept well-guarded. (Kashinatha Buranji, p.40).

Realization Of War-Indemnity (1663-1667) : Increasing Tension In Mughul-Ahom Relations:

Soon after his accession Chakradhvaj Singha was faced with the problem of vassalage as well as the war-indemnity and tributes to be paid to the Mughuls under the Treaty of Ghilajhari Ghat. A group of four Muslim envoys named Dur Beg, Rastam Beg, Taja Khan and Shaykh Kamal arrived at Lakhau with presents from the Emperor for Jayadhvaj Singha. Of these the first two ahadis came from the Court of Aurangzeb at Delhi and on their

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155 ahadi is a Persian word meaning 'one man', and hence two ahadis or two men.
way they met the party with the Ahom Princess Hang-Seng at Patna and Dilir Khan sent back with them Banhbaria Bhabinanda Kataki and Gadai, who were accompanying the Princess to Delhi. On their arrival at Gauhati the Faujdar, Rashid Khan, sent with them Taja Khan and Shaykh Kamal in their onward journey to the Ahom Court. When Chakradhvaj Singha was informed of the arrival of the Muslim envoys at Lakhau he sent two Kataki, Madhovcharan and Garia, to inform them of the death of Hoo-Tam-La (Jayadhvaj Singha) and of his brother's accession to the throne of Assam and hence wished them (Muslim envoys) to go back. Rastum Beg then returned to Gauhati and met Rashid Khan at Tamulihat. He gave the Faujdar the information of Jayadhvaj Singha's death and sought his advice as to the disposal of the imperial presents sent for the deceased king. The Faujdar said: 'The king's brother has now become king; what difference is there? Give the presents to that (new) king.' Rastum Beg then proceeded back to Lakhau.

In the meantime, Banhbaria Bhabinanda and Gadai had arrived at Bakatha and reported to the king that the Padshah had sent for him Sirpao and other presents with two Wakils. Dur Beg and Rastum Beg. Having heard the report the king exclaimed: 'My father, grand-father and forefathers did never put on Bengal

156 AB, p.186; EAB, p.130; Kamrupar Baranji, p.85.
157 AB, p.186.
158 Sirpao is a dress of honour. Sirpao is from Persian Saropa meaning 'head and foot'; and Sarapa = head to foot. Harakanta Baxua's explanation that Sirpao was a turban bearing the foot-print of the Emperor signifying vassalage which had to be put on or be prepared for war is wrong and absurd, for there was no such custom in the Mughul Court. See his book Assam Barani, p.48. Chakradhvaj was against wearing a foreign dress however honourable. But as a present from the Padshah it was expected to be put on.
Padshah's dress. Now that I have to put it on is worse than death! The envoys then came up to Kujibali and sent a message to the king stating the object of their visit. They were permitted to come to the Court at Leshang and were presented with 400 gold Rajmohera in a silver sarai at the steps of the Court building. They were then led into the royal presence. Instead of falling prostrate at the feet of the king, as was the usual etiquette of the Court, the two imperial ahadis simply saluted the king with a taslim and made over the presents, which were then arranged in a golden sarai and placed before the Svargadev by the Rajmantri. One account (Assam Duranji: 1648-1681 A.D., p. 25) says that the imperial ahadis desired to see the king wear the Sirpao with due respect. But as the king was opposed to the suggestion the ministers and officers of the Court advised the king to pretend illness and be at rest behind a screen. In the meantime the ahadis were bribed not to press their point and they agreed. Then leaving Rashid Khan's men outside the screen the imperial ahadis with the presents were led to the presence of the king to whom the presents were offered. From there the Sirpao was sent to the royal store.

159 distorted into Tasmil in the Assamese Duranji. There were three forms of salutation in the Mughul Court and they were called Salem, Taslim and Kurnish. "Taslim consists in placing the back of the right hand on the ground, and then raising it gently till the person stands erect, when he puts the palm of his hand upon the crown of his head, which pleasing manner of saluting signifies that he is ready to give himself up as an offering". As quoted by H.I. Borah in his Notes to Baharistan-i-Chavbi, II, p. 328. In Kurnish "the palm of the right hand to be placed upon the forehead, and the head to be bent downwards". This mode of salutation signifies placing the head "into the hand of humility, giving it to the royal assembly as a present". See Ain, I, 158. It was later abolished.
It is of importance to know that under the treaty the Mughuls were to withdraw from the territory of Assam but they still retained the right to hold that part of it which lay to the west of the Bharali and the Kallang as part of the old Koch country inspite of the original Mughul demand for releasing the territories to the west of the Bar Nadi and the Asurari Ali. Now, as it is, Kajali on the south bank and Bambari on the north bank remained the easternmost posts of the Mughuls until 1667 when they were seized by the Aboms. Though the agreed war-indemnity could not be paid in one year's time for obvious reasons, it was, almost paid up by May, 1666, only a small amount remaining, and for its full discharge honest endeavours were made all through by the Abom authorities though the Mughul officers, particularly Faujdar Firoz Khan, wounded their feelings by making repeatedly harsh demands. The Emperor and Dilir Khan alone corresponded with the Abom king and his ministers in very friendly terms and presents were exchanged between them. The Mughul Government also dealt in an ungenerous and grasping way, as rightly noted by sir Jadunath Sarkar, with the Abom king in money matters. Whenever any of the elephants forming part of the indemnity died on the way to the Court after having been delivered to the Mughul agent, the Assam Government had to bear the loss and pay Rs. 2,000 for it thus increasing the burden of the already huge indemnity. Further the Mughuls also did not restore the captive subjects of Assam though the Abom king released the Mughul prisoners. King Chakraddhavaj Singha remarked that the Princess, 3 lakha
rupees and 90 elephants were offered to the Muslims for the welfare of the country and for giving back the Assamese captives that the Muslims had taken, but the latter had not as yet returned the captives, nor had they restored, as expected, the former boundary of the kingdom. Even from Alamgirnamah (p. 1068) it is clear that Darang was never occupied by the Muslims. The king wrote a letter to that effect and sent Chandra Kandali and Sanatan with the imperial abadis with the letter and presents of one hundred musks, forty ordinary knives, four knives with gold handles, twenty seers of aloes wood and nine tusked elephants for the Emperor. He also gave some presents of gold and silver to the imperial abadis and Rashid Khan's two men.

After a few days of the departure of the imperial abadis the Faujdar Rashid Khan sent Shaykh Kamal to Chakradhvaj Singha for realizing the remaining portion of the tributes of money and elephants. The Shaykh arrived in Mangdumshankham (Assam) and was escorted 'to the Darbar'. The Muslim envoy was asked by the escorts to follow the proper court etiquette and fall prostrate at the feet of the Svargadev. But when he reached the city-gate he expressed his inability to fall prostrate and pointed out that when he last came with the imperial abadis he merely saluted the king with a Taslim and he would now do the same. The heavenly king, being informed of
the matter, said, "the Padshah's men, Dur Beg and Hastum Beg saluted me without falling prostrate at my feet as they had come in obedience to the order of the Emperor. But this man is simply a Nawab's Kataki, so there is no ground that he should not bow down his head at my feet." With this, the king ordered his men to take him back to his camp. Shaykh Kamal, seeing that the king was enraged, expressed his willingness to greet the king by falling prostrate at his feet. Accordingly the Shaykh was produced before the king who had then a talk with him and dismissed him with presents. Two Katakis, Madhav Charan and Garia, were sent with the Muslim envoy.

Chandra Kendali and Sanatan met the Delhi Emperor and intimated the grievances of the Ahom king. The Emperor replied to the latter through his envoys assuring restoration of any part of the Ahom territory if the Mughal army had encroached upon it beyond the limits of the Koch territory. He also said that orders would be issued to repatriate if any persons had been seized and brought away as captives. The Emperor also directed the Katakis to meet Shaista Khan on their way back to Assam. Nawab Shaista Khan, the Amir-al-Omrah, who became the Subahdar of Bengal after the death of

160 AB, p.187.
161 AB, p.191; Kamrupar Baromji, p.33; PAB, p.131.
Hr Jumla, 162 sent with the Katakis his envoy Panditrai with a letter to the Bara-Gohain demanding the balance of the war indemnity which had not been paid for the last one year and a half nor any reply given by the Ahom Court since his (Shaista Khan's) assumption of office. As a reply to the letter brought by Panditrai the three Gohains of the king's Court wrote to Rashid Khan explaining the position in polite terms and communicating their endeavours to pay up the balance. Dilir Khan also wrote to the Bar-Phukan pressing for early implementation of the treaty terms by clearing the arrears of the indemnity, to which the latter replied by a letter, dated 8th Falgun (Feb., 1664), that already 'in the month of Kartik (October-November, 1663) rupees one lakh had been sent in the hand of Gadai to Rashid Khan's place and now also sent herewith a sum of rupees forty-four thousand and forty-four elephants with this person and whatever amount of rupees and elephants remain to be delivered are being searched for from various sources. We are not able to make them ready. When they will be ready we shall send them, and the delay that has happened is owing to the whole country being laid waste. If we can pay then only our burden is relieved'. 163

Now at Gauhati Nawab Sayyid Firoz Khan succeeded Rashid Khan in 1666 as the Thanaadar of Gauhati and Fanjdar of Kamrup.

162 Shaista Khan was the nephew of empress Nur Jahan but as he had not then recovered from the wounds he had received at Poona from the assassins of Sivaji he was permitted to govern the province by his deputy Daud Khan until he was fit to run the office himself.
Firoz Khan, on the assumption of his office, sent Sayyid Jafar Khan to the Aamon Court with a letter demanding in a haughty and imperious tone the arrears under the stipulation to deliver rupees three lacs and ninety elephants. Hearing the contents of the letter King Chakradhvaj became furiously indignant and exclaimed: 'Better death than be under the Bangals!'

Chakradhvaj Singha's War Preparations:

He dismissed Jafar Khan from his presence but detained him at the capital. Determined to make war on the Mughuls he held a council of his nobles and officers. He pointed out to them: 'We have delivered to the Bangals elephants and money, only a small portion remains to be given. How long can we tolerate their insolence? I want to invade Gumbati. What

<table>
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<th>Time of Christian</th>
<th>To whom</th>
<th>Place of Delivery</th>
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<tr>
<td>Kartik. A.D. 1663</td>
<td>Chandra, Kamal Khan Khana Tipam</td>
<td>Cajala and (Hir Jumla)</td>
<td>20,000 tolas, 1,00,000 rupees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aprabavan. A.D. 1663</td>
<td>Lekhtalia Barua, Dur. Beg</td>
<td>Lashang</td>
<td>1,20,000 rupees</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cuisra. A.D. 1664</td>
<td>Gudai</td>
<td>Pathar chandrape, Kolia Kataki and Ikekial Eazarika</td>
<td>30,40,000 rupees</td>
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(continued on the next page)
do you say? Bahnagaria Bura-Gohain, Banrukia Bar-Gohain, Baghchold Barpatra-Gohain, the Bar-Barua and the Phuks discussed the question and, though they first hesitated yet noticing the king's firmness and self-confidence, all said - 'Svargadev's grand-father and forefathers were never subject to the Ganges. Yet by an adverse turn of the times it has happened. Now if Your Majesty be pleased to command we are ready to invade Gauhati.'

In the month of Chaitra (March-April), 1667, a screech-owl perched on the top of the king's Bar-long (royal Court) at Leshang. The king therefore left the Bar-long unrepaired and built one at Garhgaon and shifted his residence and Court to this former permanent capital.

The king then proceeded to take stock of the war potential of the country. Once when this matter was being discussed in his Council he enquired of the Tam Dalol, Jyayanda, who was the officer in charge of the State arsenal, about the

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<table>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<td>40,000 rupees</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1666</td>
<td>40</td>
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<td>1665</td>
<td>10,000</td>
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| 1666   | 50 in 1,000 rupees | 5 elephants | 166 Assam Baranjii (1648-1681 A.D.), p. 27.  
arms and ammunitions in the stock. The Dalai replied that there was a large stock of them in the store. But after the Council meeting when the king retired inside his residence he met him in private and reported that actually there was not a single box of gun-powder in the stock, of bullets there were not even four full boxes and of arrows there was not a single bundle. '"As Your Majesty asked about it in the Council', said he, 'I replied as I did lest the true statement might discourage many and also reach the ears of the enemy'. The king appreciated it and took immediate steps to collect materials for the production of arms and ammunitions. Ware-houses for arms, such as those for arrows (kong-char), gun-powder (khar-char) and other weapons, were constructed within the enclosure of the capital at Garhgaon. In order that the king might personally supervise the works huge smithy workshops were set up just in front of the main gate (barduar) of the Palace compound for the manufacture of all kinds of heavy arms, such as guns and cannon. To speed up production of war-boats the king offered presents and all kinds of facilities to the Naoshaliya Barua (Superintendent of the boat-building yard) to serve as incentives to work. The king personally attended the parade grounds and military training centres and ordered and watched demonstrations of archery and gun-firing by the trainees. Whenever any body was found not properly trained in archery, for instance, the king would call him to his side and show him the way of holding the bow and shooting the arrows. He thus inspired the great masses of troops and recruits under...

168 FAB, p.134.
training by his personal association with them. He supplied them with free rations of rice, fish, salt and milk and also gave them clothes and money. One Buranji refers to a reform he made in the command of the army with a view to secure greater efficiency. Each battalion of 1,000 under a Hazarika was split up into two battalions of 500, each officered by a Hazarika. This arrangement, if it was at all made, appears to be temporary, for there is no reference to it in later periods. In short, Chakravraj Singha was so determined that he was not satisfied with anything less than to organize a vast war effort with all possible thoroughness under his personal supervision and care with the definite object of dealing a knock-out blow on the Mughuls and drive them out of the occupied territory.

In the meantime there were exchanges of letters between Prannarayan, the Raja of Koch Bohar, and Chakravraj Singha for an alliance between them against the common enemy, the Mughuls. The alliance was formed and Chakravraj Singha wrote finally in August, 1667, to Prannarayan - 'Hence I attack the Mughuls who are at Guhati and let our allied Raja (Prannarayan) attack those on his borders'. Friendship and goodwill were strengthened with the Kachari and Jayanta Rajas, and a number of border tribes, such as the Nagas of Banchang and the Miris and Deories of the north bank, who disturbed the peace of the neighbouring areas, were subdued. A series of forts were constructed on strategic points along the Brahmaputra to support the advance of the Ahom expeditionary forces into Kamrup.

169 PAB, pp. 154-35.
Farther, in order to test the strength of the people the king ordered a road (alai) to be built from Teladonga to Janji. He also excavated a tank at Khokors, probably the present Khana Khokors not far from Janji. He invited four Mahantes and performed a yajna and gave them presents for officiating at it. He thus secured the co-operation and blessings of all sections of the population in the country before launching his intended attack on the Mughul imperialists.

When the preparations for war were nearly complete early in 1667 the king, who thought that Jayadhvaj Singh's defeat was no less due to his neglect of his ancestral worship than to other causes, this neglect or rather inhibition was definitely in consequence of Jayadhvaj being a proselyte of a Hindu priest. In the month of Sreven of that year Chakradhvaj Singh held a council of his three Cohains and other officers. Addressing them, the king said, 'my brother, Chao-Upa Heo-Tam-le, did not make any offering to our forefathers. He also did not offer sacrifices to Lengdon and all other gods. So the Musalmans could come to our country and devastate the province. The archers and artisans were massacred and all people suffered great misery. Now, I wish to propitiate Lengdon and other gods by offering sacrifices and to make offerings to the forefathers. The people, at large, should be collected and offerings should be made. I wish to free myself from the subjugation of the Musalmans. I think, I shall be successful in the attempt. I wish to know your opinion'. The Bar-Cohain said in reply, 'In the ancient time, your forefathers used to do the same
thing when they were overtaken by any such misfortune. They, thus, regained their former powers. Your proposal is really praiseworthy”. The king with the Gohains proceeded to Charaideo and performed the rites. The Deka Phukan, son of Guimela Bar-Gohain and Bhelai Phukan of Landaomi family also worshipped the gods of Charaideo and made offer of sacrifices. The king asked the Deodhai Pandits to examine the legs of fowls. The Pandits examined them and found the calculation favourable to the king. The king now felt assured of success and came to Garhgaon. He collected his men and gave them necessary instructions.

The king’s chief concern was to find out a capable and trustworthy general to be appointed as Bar-Phukan or Viceroy of Lower Assam to deal effectively with the Maghuls. His choice fell on Lachit, a young and enterprising officer and a younger son of MomaiTamuli Bar-Barua, whom he appointed to this very responsible office. Prior to his appointment to the office of Bar-Phukan he, popularly called Lachit Deka, held successively the posts of Chora-Barua, Dulia Barua, Simaluguria Phukan and Dolakaharia Barua and he also served as an army officer and fought against Mir Jumla’s forces ‘at the side of the river Tilao (Lohit)’. The son of Ao Gohain,

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172 Superintendent of the royal horses.
173 Superintendent of the dola or palanquin-bearers of the king and nobles. He was also in charge of the king’s palanquins.
174 Phukan or Commandant in charge of Simaluguri near Garhgaon, the capital.
175 or Dolakaharia Barua, that is, Commandant of the armed guards accompanying the king close to the palanquin during his journey. 176 AB, pp.1’o, 131.
Shairingia Pelen called Ghara Kouwar, who was the Bar-Phukan at Kaliabar before Lachit, was appointed Bar-Barua by removing Bengkhowa from that office. The king also revived the post of Salal Gohain, which had remained defunct since the time of Lebaidang Salal Gohain under Hso-Kham-Epa or Khora Raja (1653-1603), and appointed Kachalukhowa of the Barbatia Bar-Gohain family to that post. Raja-Sasur Naoboicha Phukan, who opposed the nomination of Chakradhvaj Singha to the throne, was later executed with his associates at Baghola Haphalu. The complainants against him were Sanatan Katak, Ganak Barua, Rama Bamun and Monai Tamuli's son Laluk Dolakakharia Barua. Laluk became Naoboicha Phukan after the extermination of Raja-Sasur's family. The two queens of Jayadhvaj Singha with the adopted son also suffered the same fate for conspiring with their father, Raja-Sasur against Chakradhvaj. Bemangaria Atan Bura-Gohain was appointed Rajamatri.

Chakradhvaj Singha Attacked The Mughuls And Recovered Komrup (August-November, 1667):

With the above changes and new appointments made and the war preparations completed, Chakradhvaj ordered a disposition of his forces and generals for commencing attacks on the Mughuls. Marangikhowa Gohain was stationed near the Kashari territory. The Barpatra-Gohain was placed at Kaliabar. Langisong Bar-Gohain and Sadiyakhowa Gohain were sent to repair the

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fort at Samdharah. Officers were also sent to carefully inspect the condition of the roads and report. The Deka Phukan of the Guimela Bar-Gohain family and the Dihingia Phukan of Bura-Gohain family were ordered to attack the Muslim fort at Bambhbari on the north bank opposite Kajali. Naoshaliya Phukan, the Kaliabarie Phukan and Chaophrang Landomi Phukan proceeded to the Kallang and besieged the Muslim fort at Kajali. One Raja Rai Singh commanding the Mughal garrison at Kajali fell in the struggle and another officer Sayyid Khan was hurt by an arrow. The fort fell to the Aboma who captured a great number of Muslims and killed and the rest also obtained possession of many horses, guns, shields and other materials. On the north bank the Dihingia Phukan and the Deka Phukan marched down along the side of the river Brahmaputra and attacked the Muslims at Bambhbari and seized the fort. The Aboma captured the commanders, Lal Beg and Rosan Beg, of the Muslim garrison and also got possession many horses, guns and other war materials. There were heavy casualties on the side of the Muslims and many were captured alive and sent as prisoners to Garhgaon with the two commanders and the booty.

After liberating the two easternmost forts of Kajali and Bambhbari of the Mughuls the Aboma generals moved down with strong battalions to attack Jauhati on both banks. General Dechit Bar-Phukan and ex-Bar-Phukan (now Bar-Barua) Pelan

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180 See for the disposition of the forces AE, pp.196-7; DAE, p.135.
Shairingia Plukan occupied Sonapur and Tatimara and reached Jay Duar where there was a Muslim post. Here Kalandu Duauliya Rajkhowa fought and killed the Mughul commander, himself losing a finger in the duel. All then advanced to Latasil, which they made their base of attack on the powerful fort of Itakhuli (Sukleswar) in the present town of Guhati. The Ahom generals laid siege to the fort both by land and water in the month of Kartik (Dinahingsong) and a part of the army was sent forth to attack the Mughul garrison at Pandu. The Mughuls tried to oppose the Ahoms on a sand bank near the fort at Pandu, but being soon overpowered, left the fort and retreated westward. The fort was occupied by the Ahoms. At Itakhuli, the main fort of Guhati, the siege continued and the Mughuls were hard-pressed. One day the Mughuls came out of the fort and tried to break through the siege, but in the struggle, which continued for two days, two Muslim officers, Sayyid Khan and Dalal Khan (probably one Dilir Khan), were killed along with many soldiers of the garrison. Yet the siege became protracted. Hearing this Chakradhraw Singha sent stern warnings to the Ahom officers for their failure to capture Guhati so long. At this the latter assembled and drew up a plan of assault and put Abhoypuria Rajkhowa Japang Gohain in charge of it. The Rajkhowa engaged secret agents to pour water into the muzzles of the Muslim guns and cannon and it was successfully carried out one night. In the small

181 within one mile to the east of Itakhuli.
hours of that very night the Ahoms scaled the walls of the
fort by means of ladders and Muslims failed to prevent it
as most of their guns and cannon did not fire. The gates were
opened and the Ahom soldiers dashed into the fort in great
strength and annihilated the entire garrison except two
soldiers who rode off on their horses and crossed over to
Anhvakranta. The Abhyupuria Rajkhowa was also killed
during the assault on the fort. Itakhuli was taken by the
Ahoms on 16 Kartik (early November) and of the Mughuls, who
survived, a great many surrendered and the rest escaped. The
Ahoms seized a large booty including many cannon, guns,
elephants, horses and other materials. The fall of Itakhuli
brought the present town of Guwhati into the possession of the
Ahoms. After a few days a Mughul naval force arrived with a
number of ships and reinforced their navy at Guwhati. There
was then a naval fight for some days, but the Mughuls suffered
a defeat and fled away from the area of Umananda and Barhat with
whatever ships they could save from destruction. On the north
the Ahom army under the command of Dihingia Phukan and Deka
Phukan swept down on Shaburuj. There was a temporary reverse on
that front. The Ahom commanders' miscalculations led to the
fall of a few Ahom officers and the destruction of the
Darangial army that gave support. A Muslim commander named

182 Assam Barenji (1649-1681 A.D.), p. 28.
183 Kamrup Barenji, p. 91.
184 AB, pp. 193, 199.
Hayat Khan crossed to the north bank and attacked the Ahoms at Duimunia (Duimunisila) but was counter-attacked and killed by Han Hazarika and Dikhamukhia Rajkhowa and his army routed. The Ahoms then constructed a fort at Duimunisila garrisoning it with an Ahom force. One detachment of the Ahom army proceeded up by the Bar Nadi and laid siege to the fort Shang at Rangmahal. The Mughals came out of the fort and attacked the camp of the Ahom commander, Lammungkhru. A terrible battle ensued in which a great number of the Mughals fell dead. The Ahoms, too, suffered casualties. Their officers, Lammungkhru, Lenklangche and the grandson of Nampun Bar-Gohain were killed.

When the report of the Ahom losses reached Chakradhvaj Singha he sent a message to the Gohains at Gauhati that those who would remain inert should be put to death. The Mughals were, however, dislodged from Rangmahal and their next stand was at Agiatthuti. The Ahoms surrounded the fort at Agiatthuti both by land and water and occupied it taking many Muslims captive and capturing a large booty. The Ahom navy sailed down to Kalahimukh, between Palashbari and Nagarbera on the south bank, commanding the whole waterway of the Brahmaputra to that point. There was a battle at Kalahimukh in which the Mughals lost many men and on the side of the Ahoms, among others, Bihingia Phukan's son was killed.

Meanwhile Pawidar Sayyid Miroz Khan, the Mughul general Sayyid Saleh, Mir Bakshi and other Muslims tried to
escape to Bengal, but the Ahoms pursued and intercepted them at Marakia. A number of engagements took place one after another at Marakia, Rewa and Lathao till at last at Manabamukh the Ahoms effectively blocked the way of the Mughul chiefs and started firing to prevent their escape. During the exchange of bullets the Dimarua Prince and Maupia, son of the Rajmantri, were on the back of elephants, when accidentally the former was struck by an enemy bullet and fell. At this Maupia dismounted from his elephant and rode a horse, Unable to pass through the barrage-fire of the Ahoms the Faqirder with his companions surrendered. Then the Mughul chiefs, Firoz Khan, Sayyid Saleh and Mir Bakshi with many Mughul prisoners were sent to Garhgaon in charge of Maupia. The Ahoms seized a vast amount of booty consisting of ships, elephants, horses, camels, donkeys, war materials, gold and silver, among those who escaped were Sayyid Firoz's son, Fakhir Khan, and Sayyid Husain. But many Muslims were put to the sword. The Ahoms thus completed the recovery of Kamrup right down to the Manabha, which since then remained the boundary between the Ahom and Mughul territories. The Ahoms also liberated those people who had been forcibly taken away by Mir Jumla and who were found in Kamrup. The king then ordered Bandgarhia Bara-Gohain to strongly fortify Sarai Ghat (the present Aningan) with ramparts. Lachit Bar-Bhukan made his permanent residence at Guhati. At Kaliabar what is known as Kangalgarh (red fort) was constructed. The king, after the victory, went to Visvanath where he performed a yajna.
He then returned to Garhgaon in triumph and said - 'Let me now take my morsel of meal with peace of mind'. He richly rewarded the nobles for their victory and distributed the spoils among the common people. He also ordered the officers to be vigilant so that the enemy might not find any weak front to re-enter the country. The Ahom authorities placed their own officers in the various Mughul grasana of Kamrup to manage their affairs under the direction and control of the Bar-Phukan.

Sait refers to an inscription in Assamese on the Kamal Barasiboa rock near the Manikarneswar temple in North Gauhati as recording the erection of an Ahom fort there in sak 1589 (A.D. 1667) 'after the defeat and death of Sama (Saleh ?) and Seyyid Firoz'. A stone pillar at Gauhati bears a Sanskrit inscription testifying to the victory of the Bar-Phukan in 1667 over the Muslims (Yavanag). An old cannon at Silghat bears the following inscription in Sanskrit:

'King Chakravaj Singha, having again destroyed the Muslims (Yavanag) in battle in sak 1589 (A.D. 1667), obtained this weapon, which proclaims his glory as slayer of his enemies'.

Sait mentions another old cannon found at Bikom which bears a similar inscription referring to a victory in the following year. This cannon has also an inscription in Persian, reciting that it was placed in charge of Seyyid Ahmad al Husain

for the purpose of conquering Assam in 1074 Hijri (A.D. 1663).  

In December 1667 the Mughul Emperor at Delhi learnt from the news-reports of Bengal that the Assamese had crossed their own frontier and attacked Gauhati with a vast army and a large flotilla; and that as reinforcement had not reached Sayyid Mirza Khan, the thunder of the place, the enemy had conquered Gauhati. He decided that 'one of the great and eminent nobles of the Court should be deputed to Bengal with an army from His Presence to put down the enemy'. Raja Ram Singh, son of Mirza Raja Jay Singh of Amber, was appointed to perform this exploit. On Friday, the 27th December, 1667 (21st Rajab) he was sent off with a robe, a horse with gold trappings and a jewelled dagger with pearl strap, Nasiri Khan, Kesari Singh Mahtia (Rahhari), Ragunath Singh Mahtia, Brahma-deo Sisodia and many other nobles and sahibs or gentlemen-troopers and 500 barondees were appointed.


188 Nastir-i-Alemir (as translated by Sir Janmath Sarkar: Calcutta, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1947) p.43. 189 also called the descendant of Mandaha. On the death of Jay Singh the Emperor gave his eldest son, Kumar Ram Singh, the title of Raja and took him into favour. Kumar Ram Singh, who was one of the captains on guard over Sivaji during the latter's captivity at Agra, was punished when Sivaji escaped. Later, when his father died at Burhanpur on July 12, 1667 (20th Muharram, 1078 H) after being poisoned by his younger son, Kist Singh, at the instigation of Aurangzeb, Ram Singh was made Raja. The Emperor publicly declared himself rejoiced at the death of Jay Singh. (See Storia, vol II, pp.139, 152-3).
under him, Ram Singh was directed to join this force to some
of the troops serving in Bengal and proceed to chastise the
'wicked tribe'. Ram Singh also reinforced his army with
4,000 troopers in his own pay and 21 Rajput chiefs, Chaita
Khan, the Subahdar of Bengal, supplied him with 30,000
troops including 2,000 horsemen and from Koch Behar 15,000
Koch army commanded by Kavi Keshore Baruya, Sarbeswar
Baruya, Kunnath Baruya and Chanaishya Bakshi, join the
Hindul army. Thus Raja Ram Singh had only about 8,000 troopers
in all round his standards and his losses were seldom reple-
nished. 'The Aboms being a nation in arms mustered one hundred
thousand when mobilised'. On way through Patna the Raja took
with himself the Sikh Guru Tag Bahadur who was there for a
few months away from his abode at Mandpur. Bashid Khan, the
former Nawab of Baraya, was sent with the Raja for his two
qualifications - first, he was a noted warrior, and second,
he had a knowledge of the language of the Aboms. Raja Indra-
nani, Chaudam Khan-Commander of 2,500, Alam Khan Da-jaazuri,

190 i.e. the Aboms.
191 ZAH. 77. 159-69.
192 J. J. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 187. See also Amanullah
Ahmed, 'Hi. I., p. 169. Premnarayan died in A.D. 1667 and was
succeeded by his son Kumar Rodnarayan who ruled in Koch Behar
from 1667 to 1680. Raja Ram Singh took from Raja Rodnarayan
13,000 Kundi soldiers and proceeded towards Fungmati in
Coalpara.

193 According to ZAH, Ram Singh had 13,000 Turkish
cavalry which is doubtful.

194 J. J. Sarkar, ibid, p. 187. Tag Bahadur was the
second son of Har Govind, the sixth Guru, and was the father of
Guru Govind Singh. For protesting against some of the measures
of Aurangzeb Tag Bahadur was executed at Delhi in A.D. 1675.
Bakram Khan Du-Hazar, Dewan Sayyid Gajap Khan Ik-Hazar, Kayam Khan, Julel Beg, Raja Prithu, Raja Manik, Mir Gazraf Khan Beldari—Commander of 2,500, and Parikshit's grandson Raja Jayaarendra from Koch Behar were among those who were ordered by the Pidahah to accompany Ram Singh in his expedition to Assam. 195

The Ahoms, on their part, remained prepared to meet the Mughuls in the event of a fresh invasion by them after their expulsion from Kamrup. When the news of Ram Singh's advance to invade Assam reached the Ahom Court King Chakrashvaj Singh, sent his forces under the command of his veteran generals to Gauhati to assist the Bar-Phukan in opposing the enemy. The Bar-Phukan, in consultation with the three great Gohains, Phukans and Rajkhowas drew up the defence plans and placed the generals with their forces at different strategic points from the southern to the northern hills after constructing a formidable series of ramparts (garh) connecting them. The Bare-Gohain was placed in charge of the garrison at Sarei commanding the north bank opposite Pandu assisted by the Dilinkelkia Phukan and the Bare-Gohain was stationed at Pandu to defend the south bank. Bagchamal Barpatra-Gohain was posted at Kurua, an important strategic point across the Bar Nadi above Sarei. The Naoboicha Phukan commanded the navy. The Asurav Ali east of the city of Gauhati, which extended to the Narakasur Hill on the south bank, was guarded by Kaliabarik Phukan. 196

195 FAB, p.138.
196 Ibid., p.139.
A graphic description of the disposition of the
Ahom officers with their respective forces in and around
Gauhati is available. General Lachit Bar-Phukan, who had
the main responsibility of defending Kamrup and under whose
supreme command the Ahom army had to move and fight, made
his camp at Andharu between Itakhuli (Sukreswar) and the
Kamakhya Hill on the south bank and awaited Ram Singh's
arrival.

197 See, AB - 'SLLC', pp.112-113. On the south bank
of the Brahmaputra: Just down Itakhuli-General Lachit Bar-
Phukan; from Amrajuri to Pundu with camp at Pundu - the
Bar-Gohain; from Rangali Buruz to the western steps of the
Kamakhya Hill - Tarua Dihingia Rajkhowa's son; at Dar Garila
- Latum, son of Dolakharuria Barua; from Parghoya to Dhemu-
khura - Barukia (Barukia) Gohain; from Gutanagar (on the
hill-side to the south of Pundu) to the extremity of the
Asurur Ali - Hazarika Neog, son of Lekhia kandi; at Asurur
Ali - Kalibaria Phukan; on the hill south of the Asurur
Ali - Marangikhova Chetia; on the Ushaharan hill - Nandaya-
ngia Rajkhowa Jatichandan.

On the north bank: From Juria to Sarai-Ghat - Bar
Abhaypuria Rajkhowa; facing Sarai - nephew of Saru Abhaypuria
Rajkhowa Bar-Burua; from Keikuri (the bend) to the Lathia Hill
- Majen Dayangia Lammakharu Rajkhowa; at Lathia Hill
- Benigaroria Dura-Gohain; from the Lathia Hill to Sila Hill
- Miri Handikoi Phukan Hazarika Bar Neog and Gajpuria Rajkhowa
Bhau Gohain; from Sindurighopa road to Khargarua Ali
- Tarua-Dihingia Rajkhowa Saru Duara; to the north of the Sila
and Lathia Hills line - Penidihingia Rajkhowa Dura-Gohain
Phukan.

On the Brahmaputra: At Aswakranta commanding the
river from Ramgahai to Kamai Barasiboa - Shairingia Pelen
Phukan; at ShahBuruz - Rup Handikoi; at Kurua - Baghohual
Kala Barpatra Raiaidangia Phukan assisted by his elder brother
Namangia Rajkhowa. The ramparts were mounted with large-sized
cannon and other forms of artillery (such as Kacha, Toe,
Gathia-Jembur, Patar-Kalai etc. at regular intervals measured
in terms of beon or about 7 feet) with troops in the order of
one man per beon on the ramparts (gah) and on the hills two
men per three beons. A description of the organization of the
defence lines with artillery divisions posted on both banks of
the Brahmaputra and up to the hills is contained in an old
manuscript recovered by Prof. U.C. Lekharu.
Ram Singh arrived at Rangamati, the easternmost head-quarters and main military base of the Kughuls, in February, 1668. The weakness of his expeditionary force lay in the smallness of his fleet of about 40 war-vessels only 198 as against the powerful Ahom navy which had regained mastery after Mir Jumla's return from Assam and commanded the whole water-way of the Brahmaputra down to the Manaha. The Kerishti and Singh pirates operating in the region of south-east Bengal kept the Bengal navy constantly engaged. Though these pirates were suppressed in January, 1666, yet for fear of a recurrence of their hostile activities the Bengal Subahdar could not spare an adequate number of ships for service in Assam. From Rangamati Raja Ram Singh marched along the north bank of the Brahmaputra leaving behind at this base Raja Jay Singh, Raja Sib Singh, Taja Khan and Nasir Khan. 199 When this news reached the Ahom viceroy at Gauhati three Rajkhowas were asked to go forward and stage a retreat within the sight of the enemy near the Barepeta post by the north and south banks and by the water. 200 Ram Singh, seeing the Ahoms falling back before him, continued to advance.

At this stage the Ahom Dangarias (ministers) and the Pukams opened negotiations with Ram Singh by sending their envoys Sundar and Komora to the 'Bhai Raja' enquiring as to why he was coming, the real motive in this being to gain some

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198 This number of 40 war-vessels is supported by the account in AB (p. 204).
199 AB, p. 205; S.M. Bhattacharyya : op. cit., p. 369.
200 AB - 'SKJC', p. 113.
time to complete the construction of the fortifications, some of which had yet to be given the finishing touches and also to raise sand embankments on the shores of the Brahmaputra to prevent the Mughuls from landing their forces from their fleet. The Bura-Gohain and the Phukans also constructed a fort at Shah-buruz, 'a frontier place to Haraighat in the north near the river, Tilao', and 'five other forts at Dairani in the south of the Tilao (the Brahmaputra)'. The Bar-Phukan's immediate objective was the defence of Gauhati and the strategic posts around it by a strong concentration of the Lower Assam forces in that area. He therefore withdrew his garrisons from the territories to the west of Hajo and from the forts at Nagarbera, Kalahimukh and Kakphak on the south bank and placed them in and about Gauhati rendering the whole front impregnable to the enemy. So Ram Singh had an easy march from Rangamati right up to Hajo which he occupied without a blow. He captured in this march a number of Assamese posts in Ramdia and Darpeta. On the south bank at Kakphak, where the Ahom armies of the south assembled, two enemy chiefs, one named Jaynarayan and another a Muslim commander attacked the Ahoms. After three days' fighting the enemies were repulsed, but the Ahom armies retreated to Saraighat according to plan at the approach of Ram Singh. At the news of this reverse Raja Indradsaman, who was probably in

201 AB, pp.201-202.
202 S.N. Bhattacharyya mentions Baruaamukh (probably Baruaabari between Hajo and Ramdia), Chenga (9 miles east of Darpeta) and Tapera (in Ramdia), op. cit. p.369.
203 not identified.
command of the garrison at Rangamati, marched forward and attacked the Ahom forces, but the latter counter-attacked and forced him to retreat to Jakhali. 204

At Rajah Ram Singh is said to have offered prayers to the god Kayaacrib Mahesh and made very liberal presents of gold, silver and cloth to the Brahmins and Sebaitees. 205

From this main base he tried to probe the strength of the forts and defence lines of the Ahoms and in consequence skirmishes here and there began to take place. In order to put off for a time any major conflict two envoys, named Sundar Kataki and Komora, were sent to Ram Singh from the Bar-Phukan’s Court to enquire about the object of his coming to Assam. Ram Singh explained his object and sent with them Firoz Khan to Bar-Phukan’s Court to officially demand the evacuation of Kamrup to the west of the line marked by the Bar Nadi and the Asurar Ali under the treaty of 1639 signed by Allah Yar Khan and Komai Tamuli Bar-Berua. 206 As a Raja he was also audacious enough to challenge the Ahom king to a duel and communicated it through a messenger named Sonbar Nadiai, but the latter refused to fight it with ‘a mere servant’ of the Muslim Emperor without any umbrella over his head. 207 As a reply to such audacity the Ahom king directed the Phukans and Baruas to come out of their forts and attack the Muslims. 208 Firoz Khan was made a captive and detained at

204 AR, p.203.
205 AR - 'SHILO'; pp.114-115 ; EAB, p.140.
206 AR - 'SHILO', p.113.
208 AR, p.209. One Assamese Buranji, quoted by S.K. Bhuyan in his Kochit Baromukan (p.64), says that Ram Singh having failed to obtain the evacuation of Gauhati by negotiation (continued on next page).
In response to the exhortation of the King the Ahom officers became prepared for a vigorous attack upon the Imperialists. Lachit himself is said to have realised the folly of such an attack by coming out of the fortified positions into the open ground against the concentrations of the Mughul army with their cavalry divisions. He wanted them to commence the attacks against the barriers built up against them and be exhausted. But the King's orders had to be carried out.

The Bur-Fukhen advanced with a fleet to Agathutni and sent orders to other officers to march against the enemies. The Bura-Gohain also moved to that place for a combined attack by land and water. The Dihingia Gohain entrenched himself at Bura and Bhojpuria Rajkhowa, Dihingia Phukan and others with all the Nazarikas proceeded by land to the attack. A series of encounters took place in which the Muslims were worsted and many of them captured with their horses and the Muslims at Agathutni were massacred. 210 The Aboms seized a large booty including the domestic animals of the enemies. In face of this reverse Ram Singh himself came up with his

(continued) Fabricated a letter with the words - 'Oh Barphukan, yesterday you accepted from us a reward of one lakh of rupees and you signed a written agreement to desist from fighting against us. But it appears you have not yet abandoned your war-array. May I know the reason?' The Raja, who tried this trick to create discord in the Ahom camp, tied the letter to an arrow and shot it to the camp of Miri Sandikol Phukan who, in his turn, forwarded it to the King. The King suspected the Bar-Fukhen and himself ordered an attack and sent a warning to the Bar-Fukan against delaying.

209 AB - 'SLST', p. 114.
Rajput cavalry and attacked the Ahoms and forced them to retreat 'on horses and elephants'. The Rajput cavalry also destroyed the land force and the survivors fell back and dashed into the waters of the Sessa river where they were shot dead by the Muslims. Maran Hazarika, the grandson of the Bar-Cobain, was killed in the battle-field. A Muslim naval officer successfully manoeuvred some of the ships to the rear of the Ahom army with the result that the Bar-Phukan had to escape with his men by leaving the ships behind. This is what is described as the battle of Alaboi in the Assamese Buranjis.211 According to these Buranjis the Rajput cavalrymen were led first by a female warrior named Madanavati and when she fell being struck by a bullet Mir Nawab took the command. But Mir Nawab was defeated and captured alive by one Luthari Rajkhowa. After this preliminary success, when the Assamese troops of about 20,000 strong were returning to their forts, Ram Singh, with his other commanders, brought out a fresh division of Rajput horsemen, who were equipped with Yensras (machines) and long shields, and charged the Assamese army which was unprepared to resist. The Assamese fell an easy prey to the Rajput cavalry in the plains below the Alaboi Hill. The Rajputs won a complete victory killing off as many as 10,000 Assamese soldiers. This was a major disaster for the

211 Alaboi is a hill in the neighbourhood of Dalibari on the north bank between Amingaon and Hajo.
212 Kamrupar Buranji, p.94 ; AB - 'BRAB', pp.116-117 ; Ram Singh's Yuddhar Katha (Ms. 534, DHAS) ; Bhuyan : Lachit Barphukan, pp.68-69.
Ahoms. It took place, according to Kamrupar Baromi (p. 94), on the 20th of Sreven, Thursday, sak 1591 (August, 1669). When the news of this defeat reached the king a stern warning was sent by him against allowing his army to be killed without fighting and he also found fault with the Bar-Phuikan for not making any enquiry about his ships and also for not acting according to his instructions. From the succinct records in the Ahom Chronicle it is not clear where and how the instructions were violated. It might be that the Alaboi disaster after the initial success was the consequence of not properly following the king's instructions. The king made it plain to the Bar-Phuikan that he would not even spare him if he neglected his duties and did not make an enquiry as to whether any one refrained willingly from fighting. 213

Having won the Alaboi victory Ram Singh thought that it would be easy to make the Ahoms agree to the Mughul demand for evacuation of Gaurhati and Kamrup. He then started a new series of peace overtures and the negotiation for peace was circulated to our men (the Ahoms). Our men expressed their willingness for peace. 214 At this stage King Chakradhvaj Singha became ill and shortly afterwards died in A.D. 1669.

Relations With The Neighbouring Rajas:

Chakradhvaj Singha's relation with the Jayanta Raja

213 Ab. pp. 210-211.
214 Ibid. p. 212.
Jashomatta Singha was very cordial. Jashomatta repeatedly emphasized in his letters to the Svargadev that the bond of friendship between the two countries was firm and indissoluble and expressed his pleasure at the matrimonial relation that subsisted between the two royal houses. He also made common cause with the Ahoms against the Maguls.

It appears from the correspondences between the two Courts that the Jayanta Raja helped Chakradhvaj Singha with at least twenty thousand troops, if not more. During Chakradhvaj Singha’s reign towards the end of A.D. 1668 Jashomatta Singha died and his grandson Men Singha became Raja of Jayanta.

The relation with the Lacon Raja Viradarpanarayan was not as cordial, but yet his friendship with the Ahom king was not severed. The Marangial Barchetia, who took shelter in the Kachari country during Mir Jumla’s invasion, still lived there. Chakradhvaj Singha wrote a letter to the Kachari Raja and also related through his envoys the misfortunes that overtook his country during Mir Jumla’s invasion and under which many nobles and officers had to enter the neighbouring countries for refuge. He further informed the Kachari Raja through them that all had returned to the country except the Barchetia and requested that, if he was there, he might be sent back. But the Kachari Raja expressed his inability to comply with his request on the ground that

215 Jayanta Raja’s letters to Chakradhvaj Singha and the letters addressed by the three great Gobains to the Jayanta Raja, See JR, pp.35-38.
216 JR, p.38.
the Bar-Ghetia had come as a refugee and submitted to him. He also pointed out to the Ahom envoys the various difficulties in the matter of communication with the Ahom Court. Some sort of a tension continued between the Ahom and the Kachari governments during Chakradhva Singha's reign and it may be assumed that Viradarpanarayan rendered no assistance to the Ahom king during Ram Singh's invasion of Assam.

Chakradhva Singha's Character:

Chakradhva Singha was a sovereign in the real sense of the term. His spirit of independence was unsurpassed and his patriotism intense. His oft-quoted heroic utterance - 'Better death than be under the Bengals' remains to this day an inspiring source of patriotism to every cultivated Assamese and brings to mind the whole history of the glorious period of Assam. He literally fulfilled the dying desire of Jayadhva Singha that his successor should defend and reconstruct the country devastated by the foreign invaders. It was entirely through his untiring effort and personal supervision of every detail that he achieved this end. No office was more responsible and risky than that of the Bar-Phukan and almost all previous Bar-Phukanas had to be penalized either for incapacity or indiscipline. But the historic choice of Lachit as Bar-Phukan by Chakradhva Singha above all others shows his matchless power of judgment.

217 KB, pp. 51-54.
That this monarch could so soon restore the lost prestige of the Assamese by throwing off the Moghul overlordship would ever remain a matter of profound significance in Assam history.


The next king to succeed Chakradhvaj was not his son but his brother called Maju Gohain. On his accession to the throne he assumed the name Hao-Nyat-Hpa and also the Hindu name Udayaditya. He took as his queen the chief queen of his deceased brother.

In Laknį Kapesan (A.D. 1670) or shortly after his accession the Bura-Gohain and the Bar-Phukan informed him of the progress of negotiation for peace with the Muslims. The boundary question was being discussed at the time between the Ahom representatives, Kaupatia Hazarika and Madhavoharan, and the Moghul representatives Paritrai (Panditrai) and another person. As instructed the Moghul representatives insisted on the Ahom government's respecting the boundary as settled under the treaty of 1639. They attached too much sanctity to that agreement without regard to the subsequent developments. Ram Singh wanted Gauhati alone with the territories west of it and promised never to ask for more in future. After a further course of negotiation the Bar-Phukan was inclined to concede much to the Muslim proposal and sent it for the king's approval, but the Bura-Gohain did not support the idea of giving up Gauhati. Meanwhile the Muslims entered Darrang. The king ordered them to go back and asked his officers
to repair the forts. He also ordered the Bura-Gohain, who was at Kathalberi, to proceed to Sarai Ghat with 20,000 men.218

At this time the naval Commander Imamawwar Khan with three Omraos arrived with reinforcements, obviously with a naval squadron, for Ram Singh who had been fighting for ten months without success. These Muslim chiefs did not like this stalemate and opposed the negotiations for peace the fate of which were then sealed.219 Ram Singh had to yield to their pressure. This being against his will he expressed in disgust - 'I could not get victory. But now, I wish to see you get the royal umbrella'. But a dissension arose in Raja Ram Singh's camp. Rashid Khan, the Tin-Bazari and former Faujdar of Kamrup, proved insubordinate to the Raja. Having once lived in this country in great splendour commanding respect from all and being well-known among the Ahoms, Rashid could not tolerate the idea that he should now take orders from Ram Singh. Contrary to the military arrangement of the expedition he claimed equality of rank with Ram Singh and secret behaved in that fashion. He was suspected of being in alliance with the Ahoms. He openly became disloyal to his General, non-co-operated with him and withdrew with his men from Sarai ghat to Hajo. He refused to come when he was called back by Ram Singh.220 At last Ram Singh took the drastic measure of.

218 AE, p.214.
219 Ibid., p.215; Komrupar Paranjpi, p.96.
220 AE - 'SMUG', p.115; FaE, p.141-142.
expelling this refractory Muslim officer from his camp by cutting his tent ropes. It seems that the top-ranking Muslim officers did not repose full confidence in the Rajput Chief, Ram Singh, and hence did not allow him a free hand in the vital matters. This is clear from the nature of interference by them in his line of war policy and from Rashid Khan's conduct in defiance of his orders. Probably Rashid Khan was sent with this expedition as a confidential agent by the Emperor to watch and report on the conduct of the Rajput General. Whatever may be the allegations against him he was confident of his position, otherwise he could not have acted as he had done.

Meanwhile Ram Singh was promoted in his rank by the Emperor. With the arrival of reinforcements he also found himself strong enough to subjugate the Ahoms. He ordered a general attack on Gauhati. It may be noted that Gauhati was a fortified city with ten gates - five on the north bank and five on the south in between which there was the great waterway of the Brahmaputra, which flows from the east to west. The five northern gates from east to west were the Kani-barasibar Chauki, the Hillar Chauki, Sindurighopa, Pat-duar and the Korai or Pani Chauki and those on the southern bank in the same order were the Latasil or Pani Chauki, the Joiduar, the Dharanduar, Duar

Sir,

231 J.N. Sarkar: op. cit., pp. 188-89.
232 Fasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 97 as referred to by S.N. Bhattacharyya in his Aunguni North-east Frontier Policy, p. 375.
Buria and the Pandu Chauki. On the north Ram Singh advanced eastward and took his position facing the fortifications. Mansur Khan, Sarip Khan and the Ferinha were to break through Pani Chauki (or Panibat); Haji Beg, Kayum Khan and the whole Koch Behar army of 15,000 dhalikandis led by Kavi Kishore Barua, Sarbeswar Barua, Kammath Barua and Chanashyum Bakshi appeared before Sindurighopa; one strong detachment under the command of Ali Bakr Khan, Mir Seyyid Khan, Raja Indramani, Raja Farnadie, Jeynarseyan, Narul Khan Sardar and Isman Khan (probably Osman Khan) was sent to attack on the south bank. One detachment also proceeded towards Darrang. There was constant fighting from April to August of 1670 for the capture of Gauhati, but the veteran Ahom generals like Bangharbia Atan Dura-Gohain, Langisong Bar-Gohain, Abhaypuria Rajkhowa, Tarun Dihingia Rajkhowa, Shairingia Pelan Phukan and others, fighting from their impregnable fortifications on different fronts under the inspiring leadership of their supreme Commander General Lechit Bar-Phukan, baffled all the enemy efforts to enter the city.

223 Robinson: Descriptive Account of Assam, pp. 296-97. "During the splendour of the Assam dynasty, Gauhati was one of the largest cities in the kingdom. It occupied within its fortifications a vast extent of country on both banks of the great stream; the hills on either side forming a spacious amphitheatre, equally well fortified by nature and by art. ... The entrances into the city were by guarded passes, or chowkies, of which there were five on either bank of the river. ... The ruins of the gateways of some of these passes are still to be seen, and the remains of the extensive fortifications may to this day be traced for miles, in the mounds and ditches, that now serve only to mark the extent of the ancient citadel."

Ibid.

224 appears to be the same person as Indradaman from the accounts.
of Gauhati. The Mughuls simply suffered losses in men and material. Unable to break through at any point the Mughuls made attempts to blow up the fortifications from underground, first at Pandu and then at Sarai, but in them they were frustrated. At Pandu a breach was created at Rangalibazar but it was immediately sealed up with materials kept ready for the purpose. Sir Jadunath Sarkar (op. cit., p.189), from his sources, also refers to the Nagas as coming to the aid of the Ahoms, and these wild warriors proved a new danger to the Mughuls.

At Delhi the Emperor was impatient of the delay in taking Gauhati. He sent envoys to warn Ram Singh against any kind of peace negotiation with the Ahoms and to ask for war materials if necessary. Ram Singh replied that war materials, such as guns and spears, were not in want and pointed out that the battle-field was not a plain field for the Mughul cavalry to attack; the city was surrounded on both banks of the river by strong lines of ramparts and fortifications; in face of such obstacles land warfare did not succeed; there was possibility of an attack only by water. At this moment Ram Singh got letters from his wife and mother that his son, Krishna Singh, was made to fight with tigers as a sport by the Emperor, the object at heart being to get him killed, but Krishna Singh saved himself by killing the animals with his sword within the lists. The General became depressed to get such a news. Yet, unable to return without doing his job, he
determined to fight a naval battle and ordered his commanders to get his fleet ready for action.

In the meantime the detachment that entered Darrang created a state of war in that country. The queen of Darrang secretly communicated to the Bar-Phuhan the news of the aggression by the Mughuls into her territory and sought his advice. The apparent objective of the Mughul detachment was to find a passage through that country to attack the Ahom territory in the rear of Gauhati and a request was sent to the Darrangi Rani 227 for granting it. The Bar-Phuhan asked her not only not to grant any passage to the Mughuls, but to resist them in their advance in that direction and he assured her of his support if necessary. Being encouraged by Bar-Phuhan's reply she led the Mughuls into a hill pass where they were attacked and massacred by her men from a vantage-ground and their arms, money and other properties seized. This ended their adventure through Darrang.

The Mughul maneuver on the south bank was to proceed to Doirani to surround the Ahom army in the advance post from the rear and cut off its connection with its main bases at Pandu and Gauhati. The Ahom spies informed the Bar-Phuhan of this enemy plan. The Rani Raja 228 also sent news to the Bar-Phuhan of the movement of Mughul officers with troops to the south bank. The Bar-Phuhan immediately despatched a force

\[\text{227 Queen of Darrang.}\]
\[\text{228 The Goro Queen of the Rani State to the southeast of Pandu was also known as Rani Raja.}\]
under the command of Gajpuria Rajkhowa assisted by one
Lasham of Bar-Gohain family, one Hazadew and some Hazarikas
against the enemies. Meanwhile at the news of the march of
Ahom reinforcements a great number of Muslims hurried to
the aid of their army on the Dakhinkul. Gajpuria Rajkhowa
secured the co-operation of the Garo Rani for the defence
of the south bank territories and the Garos joined the Ahom
army to fight with the Muslims. The Muslims set fire to some
of the dwellings of the Garos and advanced to the fort at
Pamali and attacked the garrison. At this time the Maranggi-
khowa Gohain arrived and with Gajpuria Rajkhowa made a fierce
attack on the Muslims and defeated them. The Garo Rani's men
massacred a number of Muslims at Kapili and captured an enemy
chief, said to be the son of Raja Basmia. He was made over to
the Syrgetic with other spoils. Thus the Huglul campaign in
the Dakhinkul ended with complete failure. The Ahoms acquired
a large booty of war materials and horses which was sent up to
the capital.

The Battle Of Saraï Chat (March, 1671):

Being defeated on all fronts on land Ram Singh had
to rely on his navy as the last resort. His original fleet
of forty ships was chiefly manned by Feringhis. Added to
that were a number of ships brought by Humzar Khan. The
Huglul naval commandant Sharip Khan assisted by a few other

229 Europeans, S.H. Bhattashrayya : op.cit., p. 368.
230 PAR, p. 147.
officers, was ordered to lead a naval attack on Gauhati. At this crucial moment the two chief naval Commandants, Dauki Paul Phukan and Naoboicha Phukan and also the Bar-Phukan himself fell ill. The Mughuls advanced up the Brahmaputra with their fleet of war-vessels carrying their army and the horses to land at Andharu at Gauhati. A few days back the Mughul ambassador Punditrai had visited the Bar-Phukan's Court and saw no embankments at Andharubali. This he reported to his General. It was therefore thought by the Mughul Commanders that the landing of their men and horses would be easy at that open shore for an attack on Gauhati. But, in the meantime high sand banks were thrown up by the Ahoms all along it from the foot of the Kamakhya Hill to that of Sukreswar. When the Mughul fleet reached the Juria Hill the Ahoms retreated to Asvakraanta. This compelled their land forces also to retreat in order to avert an encircling movement by the enemy. The absence of the chief naval officers from the field of battle, particularly the illness of the Bar-Phukan, worked as a major crisis at the moment in the naval command of the Ahoms and initially dispirited their forces and those, charged with the conduct of the naval warfare, were in hesitancy when the offensive was led by the Muslims with great strength. Even with high temperature in his body Lachit Bar-Phukan remained alert and had to be informed every few minutes about the advance of

231 Ibid., p.147.
the enemy up the river. There was such a concentration of
the Ahom navy at Gauhati that it was possible to walk over
the bridge of war-boats alone from one bank to the other of
Brahmaputra. The Mughals pressed forward to the open shore
of Andharubali and the Ahoms fell back to the Bar-Sila after
an action which did not succeed in stemming the enemy’s
progress.233 It seemed as if there was a break-down in the
command, though there was no inherent lack of energy and
strength of the Ahom navy, which had regained its supremacy
under Chakradhvaj Singha. It did not take long for the Ahom
experts, after their conflict with the European naval-
fighters under Sir Jumla, to reorganize their navy on a new
and more efficient basis. Some of the Assamese boat-men
wanted to retreat to Kajali and Samdhara. The Bar-Phukan was
watching this scene from his camp at Andharu and was upset
at the cowardice and foolishness on the part of his men. When
the enemies were sighted not far from Aadharubali and a
critical situation developed the Bar-Phukan sent Katakia to
all the land and naval forces ordering them to attack the
enemies. He also called for himself seven war-boats and asked
his attendants to take him with his temperature into one of
them. His fleet of seven boats with mounted guns sped towards
the enemies. This gallant and extra-ordinary act of the Ahom
General at once brought back the morale of his army and the
navy and immediately the shore batteries’ fire of the Ahoms and

233 AP, p. 216,
the archers, on the north and south banks, went into action with terrific volleys and their naval forces fell up the Mughul fleet and threw it into confusion. There was a big battle in the area of Sarai Ghat and both the sides called up all their strength. The Shairing Dimken, the Hoog Kateski and many Hazarikas proceeded from Rangmahal and joined their army. In the violent contest the Mughul Commandant Sharip Khan and two other Omaras commanding the navy fell dead. Innumerable Mughul soldiers were killed and many of their boats with men, horses and war materials were sunk. The survivors made a precipitate retreat in their boats. A vast amount of booty came into the possession of the Ahoms. There was no other fighting after the naval fight. This was the historic battle of Sarai Ghat fought in the middle of March, 1671, which became Waterloo for the mighty Mughals in the east and their territorial ambitions in this direction were basically curbed for all time except for a short period on treacherous transfer of Gauhati to them by Lachit's successor.

According to one Buranji, being unable to take Gauhati by fighting for one year Ram Singh retreated to Rangamati when still there were six days of Chaitra (about 7th April) in the year 1671. In the Ahom Buranji also the date of retreat is given as Lakan Deprea or A.D. 1671 in the month of Dinhe Chaitra or March-April and as such early

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235 EAB, p.149.
April seems to be the probable date. On his way to Rangamati Ram Singh again visited the Hayagriva Madhav temple at Hajo where he made the remarks before the Brahmins that 'the Bar Nawab (Bar-Phukan), too, is a man of extra-ordinary capacity. His fortifications resemble a machine. I found no loopholes anywhere'. The Hengarabari Thakuria personally communicated these remarks to the Bar-Phukan, who then inferred from them that the enemies had lost their morale. Ram Singh's retreat was carefully watched by the Ahom spies and the possibility of his return was studied. Some enthusiasts wanted to attack the retreating General with the object of seizing a rich booty, but the Bar-Phukan reminded them of the lesson of Alaboi against such a hasty proposition. Ram Singh appears to have lived at Rangamati on the Assam border for about five years before he received permission finally in A.D. 1676 to leave Bengal and he reached the imperial Court in June of that year. He was probably too war-weary and weak to return for a fresh attack. After Kamrup was brought under order the Bar-Phukan, being directed by the king, made Chandranarayan Raja of Uttarkul and Gandharbanarayan Raja of Dakshinkul.

237 H.N. Sarkar: History of Aurangzeb III, p.130. Gait points out that according to the Alamgirnamah, Ram Singh was in Assam from 1667 till 1685, but this is doubtful except as a punishment inflicted on him by the Emperor, of which there is no evidence.
Minor Events:

In April, 1672, three Dafla chiefs, Haru Gam, Radha Gam and Tari Gam stopped paying tributes to the Ahom king and came down from the hills and raided a village called Taihan at Gogaldubi in the Ahom territory in the present North Lakhimpur Sub-Division. They cut off the heads of three men in that village and carried off forty inhabitants including children. When the matter was reported to king Udhayaditya the latter despatched Ao Gobain's son Ghora Konwar Bar-Barua with one thousand men against the Daflas. He proceeded with his force up the river Subenganiri and encamped at Ranganati. Next he advanced to Dulungsahi where he erected a fort. From this place he sent up to the hills his two Katakas, Tita and Tuba, both probably Daflas, to ask the offenders to submit and return the king's subjects taken captive assuring them that they would be left unmolested if they yielded. But the Daflas, instead of coming down, went up farther into the jungles and the mission failed. The king, on being informed of the situation, ordered the Dafla Katakas to be arrested and released only if they could assure the submission of the offenders. The Bar-Barua crossed to Gangmukh and then led his expedition into the Dafla country reaching the side of the stream Somdiri and thence the mouth of the Sikling where he erected a stockade. After camping there he farther advanced and reached the mouth of the stream Pati. The Daflas so far eluded contact with him. Then
after constructing a few forts here and there the Bar- 
Barua released Tita and Tuba and ordered the Chutiya and 
Sungi Hazarikas to proceed with these Katakis to higher 
hills and devastate the Dafla villages. But when they climbed 
up the hills and reached the villages the Chief or Gom of 
The Daflas, named Kabakara, surrounded with his men the Bar-
Barua's detachment, composed of archers and the Hazarikas 
and overpowered and massacred them. Two Hazarikas-Khaga and 
Kharagam-fell dead in the struggle and some were captured 
avive and made prisoners. The Dafla Katakis were put to death 
early by the Daflas of a village. The disaster made the 
Bar-Barua retreat to Anglun. When the news reached the 
king, he ordered the Bar-Barua's return and wanted to execute 
him for his failure, but he was spared only at the inter­ 
cession of the king's mother.238 It was always difficult to 
tackle the Daflas because of their jungle habits. Their 
raiding propensity was strong, but when a regular force would 
pursue them they would become elusive and vanish into the 
jungles of high hills leaving their villages. They could be 
brought to submission only by the destruction of their proper­ 
ties and creating scarcity of food and cattle. The king 
dismissed the Ghora Konwar and appointed Shairingia Pelan 
Phukan as Bar-Barua.239

238 A detailed account of this Dafla expedition is 
contained in AB, pp.218-221. It is also contained in brief in 
some of the Assamese Baranjis, such as AB - 'SMjc', pp.124-125 ; Assam Baranjii (1648-1681), pp.31-32. 
239 Assam Baranjii (1648-1681), p.32.
There was also a Miri trouble, but it was speedily suppressed by Sengahara Bar-Barua's son Simaluguria Phukan. The Miris submitted to the Svargadev with offer of Patsiye meny, Sikara dph, Jin kapor and hunting dogs. 240

There was also a clash between the Chutiyas and the Miris, some of whose villages were devastated by the Lukteng Chutiyas and the Mar-boats, made by the Miris to be offered as tributes to the Ahom king, taken away. A Chutiya Chief, named Narai Gem, was arrested and chained by the Ahom officers. The Chutiyas were asked to pay their annual tributes which they had not paid. The Taikaphi Chutiyas were arrested and severely dealt with for not returning the king's Mar-boats, which they had illegally seized from the Miris. 241

The Mishmis of Sadiya also raided the salt-spring area, destroyed a bridge and killed twelve men of Balihat. Debera Hazarika was ordered by the king to proceed to Sadiya and destroy the Mishmi villages, but he was then engaged in a plot against the king and took time to lead the expedition. Soon afterwards the king was overthrown and it is not known whether any expedition could be sent.

Death Of Lachit Bar-Phukan:

The news of the Ahom victory at Sarai Ghat and Ram Singh's retreat was officially communicated to the king by

240 Assem Buranji (1648-1681 A.D.), p.32.
241 For details see AE, pp.224-227.
the Bar-Phukan by sending his special representative, Ram Kataki. The king was greatly pleased at the glorious victory achieved by the Assam army and rewarded all as they deserved. The Bar-Phukan then recaptured Kamrup and sent men and officers to take possession of the outpost at Manahamukh and establish a Chauki there. The various forts and checkposts all over this territory, both on the north and south banks, were reconstructed and duly garrisoned. It appears from Lachit Bar-Phukan's works after Ram Singh's departure from Assam that he did not die of the illness he had at the time of the battle of Sarai Ghat. His death occurred about April, 1672, that is, about one year after the battle. His elder brother Himati Phukan was then appointed Bar-Phukan, who was also known as Laluk sola Bar-Phukan.

Udayaditya's Religious Fanaticism: Its Repercussion:

When the hostilities with the Mughuls ceased King Udayaditya appointed Papang Chaodang Barua to search out and arrest those persons who turned disloyal to the cause of the Assam and stopped paying tributes to the king during the long wars with the Mughuls. Persons so arrested were ordered to be deported to Kamrup. 'In the course of these inquiries', as pointed out by Gait, 'it was reported that amongst those who had taken the part of the Muhammadans was a priest named

242 PA3, p. 150.
243 AD = 'SMJ', p. 124.
244 Assam Duranjii (1643-1681 A.D.), p. 32.
Chakrapani, a descendant of the Vaishnava reformer Sankar Deb, but it was impossible to punish him as he had escaped across the frontier. The Tai-Abom account says that 'one of the Dhekeris fled away and remained in a house at Hadira. He became a Baragi. For many days, he put up in the house of one Daha and gave him many good instructions. Daha intimated the king of the Baragi'. According to S.K. Bhuyan Daha was a Brahmin official at Garhgaon. Thus there is little doubt that Chakrapani returned under the guise of a Doiragi from Brindavan. Whatever other accounts may say one Buranji clearly states that during Udayaditya's reign three sadhus, namely, one Gakulpuri, one Brindavan, Boiragi and one local Kalitskuchia Fakir appeared in Kamrup. The Gakulpuri made his abode on the Nilachal (Kamakhya) hill just to the west of the town of Gauhati and the Fakir lived down Hajo, probably in Ramdia. It was the Boiragi alone who visited Bhurakunda in the east and then proceeded farther east to Kalabari from where he either made his way to Garhgaon or was summoned by the king who heard much about his spiritual powers from the Brahmin Daha under whose protection he was then living and, at the time of being summoned, was on a visit to Kalabari, an eastermost locality in Darrang. This Boiragi, after his flight from Assam, might have visited Brindavan and

245 Gait : op. cit., p.159.
246 Bhuyan : op. cit., p.235. In his Atan Buragohain etc. Bhuyan gives the name of the Boiragi as Paramananda Senyasi which, if at all, must be an assumed name.
247 Bhuyan : Atan Buragohain and His Times (Lawyers Book Stall, Gauhati) 1937, p.35.
248 Bhuyan : op. cit., p.125.
on return was either thought to be a man of the western country by the local people or introduced himself as such remembering his past offence. The king heard his religious discourses and was so much fascinated that he built for the Boiragi a ghatra (monastery) on the side of the Champura-duar. He also gave him a grant of land at Samaguri and made him his spiritual preceptor. The Boiragi further enjoyed the right to convert the king's subjects to his faith and realize a tax from them.

At his instance the king 'ordered the Bura-Gohain, the Bar-Gohain, the Barpatra-Gohain, the Phumans, the Baraus, the Hazarikas, the Baras and others to pay respect to the Baragi and take his garen.' In obedience to the king's order they all became disciples of the Boiragi by going through the ceremony of garen, but the Dencaries (the three great Gohains) became offended with the king for the compulsion. Not satisfied with this, with the characteristic zeal of a neophyte the king summoned the twelve well-known Thakuria Mahants of his kingdom including the Hoemara Mahanta to be initiated by the Boiragi, for, in the king's opinion, even these twelve Mahants could not be equal in spiritual attainments to him. The Boiragi's

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249 Ibid., p.130; AB, says that the king built for him a house near the Bikhau river, (p.223). He became known as Boiragi Bapu, of whom the name and race were unknown. Vide Assam Buranji (1643-1651 A.D.), p.33.
250 Gait : op. cit., p.155.
251 It was perhaps the beginning of what is called the guru-kar system in addition to the raj-kar or tax to the king.
252 Saras is the initiation ceremony. AB, pp.223-24.
253 AB, p.224.
254 AB, 'SMJC', p.126; FAB, p.150.
ambition knew no bounds. He sent one Brahmin Kataki and one Bari Kataki to the country of the Chutiya to convert the inhabitants. The two Kataki converted some people of that country and 'realized taxes from half the people'. But the people of the Bardeyalia Chutiya village refused to be converted and paid nothing and the Bardeyalia Phukan did not receive these missionary Kataki, whom he wanted to go back. The conversion itself was unpopular and provoked resentment among the people; the taxation with it only added fuel to the fire.

The Thakuria disciples could not tolerate the highly unwise and extreme step of compelling their Gosains (religions preceptors) against their will to get initiated with the new Bari Kataki. As the Court and the country were seething with discontent at the mad policy of the monarch a group of five people, namely, Lei Lapet's brother's son Dakshinpatiya Hazarika Lasai alias Debora of Lukkahkhan family, Mohan Hazarika of Ratappur, Kalia Chaudang Barua, Teirai Dolekhabharia Barua and Luthuri's son Leha organized an armed band with the object of overthrowing him. They also secured the consent of the king's brother, the Deka Raja, (or Sarujana Golgain) to succeed to the throne after him. The Bari Kataki, the chief queen, the Bar-Barua, one Papong Ramua-Neog, the grandson of the Baruchetia and the mother of Tasan Barua, being aware of the ominous developments for an insurrection, consulted between themselves and apprised the king of his brother's 'conspiracy against him'. The king then
ordered for the arrest of the Deka Raja. In face of this the leaders of the revolutionary group decided to put an end to the king's reign and soon in one night in Lekmi Kongken (A.D. 1673) in the month of Dinghip (August-September) marched with one thousand men from Dekhingpat and Ratanpur to the king's residence at Haithaguri with the Deka Raja as its leader. The Deka Raja came to the gate of the city and found it closed. He asked the sentry, Pasen Rimeli, to open the gate but the latter refused to comply. The Deka Raja then made his way with his band of armed men by breaking open the gate and instantly put the sentry to death. Daha Brahmin's house was in front of the Pani-duar. Both Daha and his son were brought out and beheaded. He then made a violent attack on the party of the king and killed Charingia Pelan Bar-Barua, the Ramun Neog, the grandson of the Barohetia, Jayanda, the Simaluguria Phukan and many others and captured the Boiragi and the mother of Tasaen who were heavily enchained. Having thus isolated the king he dismissed his attendants, and put him under strict guards. Next day the deposed king was removed to Charaideo where he was executed and his three queens also suffered the same fate. The Boiragi was put into a cage and later impaled and set adrift on a raft on the Dikham river. In this struggle the three great Gohains, the Salal Gohain and many others took the side of the Deka Raja.

256 AB, p. 228-229; Assam Buranji (1643-1681 A.D.), p. 95.
257 AB, p. 228.
Ramadhvaj To Lara Raja (1673-1681):
Reigns Of Weak Kings:

With the end of Udayaditya's reign the most vigorous and stable period of Tai-Ahom rule in Assam may be said to have virtually ended. There then ensued a period of weak and unstable government during which it was not the kings, but his officers, who controlled the affairs. After the bloody and fratricidal strife occasioned by the religious fanaticism of Udayaditya the Deba Raja was placed on the throne by the revolutionary group. The Raja assumed the Tai-Ahom name Hso-Kla-Hpa and the Hindu name Ramadhvaj Singha.

This new king proclaimed the important state policy that no king should go to indulge in matters spiritual and regulate the religious faith of the people as was done by his predecessor, Udayaditya. He offered to Lasham Debera, the most powerful leader of revolutionary group, the post of Bar-Barna. Such a big lift of Debera, who at once became all-powerful, was probably not liked by the nobles of the Court. The Dhririmia Langisong Bar-Gohain, who had so recently supported the Deba Raja against the late king, was suspected of having a talk with the Sikhing Raja, the late king's son, in order to make the latter king. This suspicion was based on a report that the king had from Sengun of a Bar-Gohain family and Debera's nephew. Without proper enquiry

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258 Ibid., p. 229.
259 His Ahom name was Lasai. ‘Phukelung Lasai’ in the Tai-Ahom text. See Ao, pp. 234-235.
into the matter both the Bar-Gohain and the Shairing Raja were arrested by him and executed. In some Buranjis the charge is said to be false. He then appointed Sengmain as Bar-Gohain. 260

During the reign of Ramadhvaaj the Chutiyas, or rather the Deori Chutiyas, defied the authority of the Ahom king. But soon they were brought under control and made to recognise the Ahom king as their sovereign and supply elephant tusks, wild cows, Silkaradaas (a kind of dah or big knife), Jim clothes and some female slaves as tributes. The Miris offered their tributes, as fixed earlier, to the Tomalidai, the officer in charge of the Chutiya and Miri affairs appointed by the Ahom king. Further Naraigam, the Chief of the Taikaphi Chutiyas, who had become insubordinate, pledged fidelity to the Ahom king by drinking liquor before the Ahom Basa Barua and agreed to pay tributes of Har-boats. 261 The Haga Misamis, who had raided the Ahom territory and killed some men and with whom the Deoris also joined, were put down by the Bar-Puhkan and compelled to deliver the offenders and also pay tributes. 262

In the month of Dinhu (March-April) in Deka Katolao (A.D. 1673) the king became seriously ill and thought
he would not live long. He called in his nephew, son of the late king, and his brothers Tipam and Narupia Rajas to see him. On their arrival the question of succession came up for discussion among the nobles and ministers. Some of the officers wished to make the Tipam Raja their king, some the son of Chao Hso-Nyat-Hpa and the others Chao-Ladem*, the son of Ramadhwaj by his chief queen. A strong group headed by Thenkhrungnyeu, son of Tangeu Bur-Colain, forcefully advocated the cause of Kalie Colain, the son of Udayaditya and talked with the king about it. Debora found himself ignored in this discussion though he was 'at the root of Chao Hso-Nyat-Hpa's deposal'. Debora's anxiety arose lest the late king's son be made king, in which case he was bound to suffer. Hence he, with his associates, became ready for action. At this threatening attitude of Debora a group of nobles and officers headed by Thenkhrungnyeu urged the king not to allow the insurgents to go unpunished. The king was unable to tolerate Debora's seductory and was for putting him to death. But Debora mustered a larger body of men and challenged the king's party. He attacked and put to death Thenkhrungnyeu. Thereafter he and his armed associates killed and beheaded a large number of officers and men in the capital and liquidated his opponents. He then conspired with the king's cook and the physician Kharmaju and mixed up poison, prepared by the physician, with the king's meal. The king died from

263 AB, pp.233-234.
the effect of that poison in the month of Biaka (March-April) in A.D. 1675. He ruled the country for one year and eight months.

This king established a gatra (Hindu monastery) at Gajpur for the Thakur of Hurma. He expiated himself at Gulpura Ghat for killing the Brahmins and the Boiragi and made presents to the Brahmins and Doivajnas. It is said that he also performed Hari Soya (worship of Hari) for seven days and seven nights. He rebuilt the town of Sonari and constructed in it a number of new buildings.

The next king to be raised to the throne by Debera Bar-Barua was Chao Kham-Jang of Samaguri. At Debera's instance he made one of the queens of the late king his chief queen. She was a daughter of Momai-Tamili Bar-Barua and sister of the Bar-Pnaken Nimati alias Laluksla. When the Samaguria Prince was made king by Debera the Raja of Tipam, accompanied by Kashalukhowa Salal Gohain, proceeded with his army to fight the new king and kill Debera. There was a battle at Sengdhari between the armies of the Tipam Raja and Chao Kham-Jang, but the Tipam Raja was defeated and compelled to retreat and his men fled away. He and the Salal Gohain were seized and put to death by Debera. Debera also killed as many as

264 AB, pp.235-235, A list of important persons killed by Debera is given in Assam Buranjti (1648-1681 A.D.), p.34 and also in AB, as above.
265 Assam Buranjti (1648-1681 A.D.), p.34; AB - 'SMJC' p.128.
266 AB, p.233.
267 Assam Buranjti (1648-1681 A.D.), pp.35-36.
268 AB, p.236.
fourteen other princes and Chetia Fatar, who was engaged by Debhera, put to death the Raja of Namrup at his own place. With him Ramagir's line is said to have become extinct. Debhera followed a ruthless policy of eliminating all his opponents from the scene and wanted to have a free hand in running the administration at his dictates. He employed his agents to perform this job without regard for any law or principle. Thus he sent one Lao Deka with a body of men in the name of the king to Cachar to ask the Bar-Sarban to send to the capital the dismissed Shore Konwar Bar-Barua, one Rajkhowa, the brother of Tangu and his son, Lathan Rajkhowa and his son, the grandson of Tamulidalo and his son. As they proceeded to Garghaon they were all put to death at Lental; or, according to some Assamese Duraus, at Sarishtali, under the orders of the Bar-Barua, which would normally have been ultra-vires.

Seeing that Debhera was all-in-all and could order death penalty at his will the chief queen one day said to the king in disgust—'If you are king, how can Laca (Debhera) Barbarua have so much power. The royal umbrella is at the hand of the Barbarua. If you do not take some measure to do away with him, you will not be able to have supremacy and you will remain mere a puppet at his hand'. This was a significant statement from the mouth of the chief queen which clearly shows that

269 Assam Burani (1648-1681 A.D.), p.56.
270 AL pp.236-237; PAB, p.151.
271 AL p.237.
Debera Bar-Barua, as the leader of a strong militant group of his own, seized all power and became the sole dictator and king-maker of the time to the exclusion of all others including the great Gohars. The king realised his position of insignificance before Debera. He became prepared to get rid of this de facto ruler. Debera had to be always on guard for what he was doing and therefore maintained a network of spies. Thus one of the servants of the king secretly informed Debera of what was going on against him at the palace. Debera, then, confined the king in his palace by turning up the ladder. In the month of Dmyuk (April-May) in A.D. 1675 he brought in from the village Klingkhang²⁷² Prince Gobar, the son of Chao Abang, the grandson of Deo-Raja and formally made him king at Ekna near the Dikha river. Chao Kham-Jeng was put to death. This king was on the throne for twenty-one days only. Both the chief queen and her brother were also put to death by Debera.

Soon after Gobar's accession Debera Bar-Barua sent one Apak Duari to the Bura-Gohain, who was at Gauhati in charge of the gateway to Upper Assam, asking him to send the Bar-Phukan to the capital. This way of inviting the nobles and officers in distant Lower Assam one by one to be treacherously murdered under Debera's orders, as in the case of the Ghora Konwar Bar-Barua and others who had been called to the capital and put.

²⁷² Ibid. In the Assamese Baranjia the name of the place is mentioned as Tungkhang and Tungkhang is known to be the plains area in front of the Charsideo Hill and is to be distinguished from Tingkhang in the Dibrugarh Sub-Division.
to death, acted as a warning to the chief nobles of the kingdom who had come to Sarai Ghat to fight the Mughals.\footnote{273}

As the main part of the Ahom army with its veteran generals had to be transferred to Gauhati in connection with the Mughul wars Garhgaon, the metropolis of the kingdom, became militarily weak to cope with any strong insurrectionary force. Debera took full advantage of it with the help of an armed band to rise to power. Though initially he was probably right in fighting the evil influence of the Boiragi, yet the chain of events drove him beyond the limits of justified conduct and soon he turned a danger to the State committing an unending series of bloody acts.

The Bar-Mukhs arrested the Kataki sent by Debera. He came to the Bura-Gohain and said that the Bar-Barua 'has made a plot to kill me and you one after the other by this skill'.\footnote{274} All the Phukans, Rajkhows and Hazarikas at Gauhati then assembled and requested Banhgarhria Bura-Gohain to assume the leadership and proceed to the capital to destroy the Bar-Barua. They all took oath of unity and loyalty to the Bura-Gohain with all solemnity and in the name of Goddess Phura-Tara to liberate the country from the clutches of Debera, the blood-thirsty evil genius. As there

\footnote{273 The victors of the Sarai Ghat battle, who continued to stay at the sub-capital Gauhati for the defence of the area of Sarai Ghat-Pendu-Gauhati, were popularly known as the Saraighatias. 274 Ad, p.233.}
was none of the king’s family now to succeed to the throne.

they also proposed the name of the Bura-Gohain to assume

that office. Having left Gaubati in charge of Guimela Bar-

Gohain Phukan, Bura-Gohain Phukan of Charagua, Diliniga

Lapet Phukan’s son Kamalabar-family Ammasseng Neog and Gajpuria

Kalangud Neog the Bura-Gohain and the Bar-Phukan with their

host of Phukens, Rajkhowas, Hazarikas, Saikias and also the

Koch princes of the north and south advanced against Debera

at Garhgaon. As this formidable force advanced up towards the

capital, in Central Assam the Salal Gohain and the Marangig-

Khowa Gohain joined with the Bura-Gohain.

Debera Bar-Burua heard the news of the expedition.

In the month of Dinruk (April-May) of A.D. 1675 he collected

together all foreign mercenaries (Bengals) to reinforce his

own band. He gave them horses and weapons, threw up forts at

strategic places and placed his forces all over the area from

Dorgon to Garhgaon. He placed Sengmun Bar-Gohain at Bara-

Khawa-duar, Akasu Barpatra-Gohain at Bancgarba-duar and he

himself was at Keshaghar-duar. General Bura-Gohain was

mortified to see foreign foes (Bengals) inside the ‘casket of

gold’ (Assam), while they were going to fight those outside

of it. On Debera’s side, almost all the top officers, such as

Nakjeng Phukan who was in charge of Debera’s fort, the Pani

Phukan at Thura, Asuk Barpatra-Gohain at Banhbari, Nageshri

Phukan at the fort Raphre and others, on whose support he

counted, suddenly changed their mind and deserted him. They

went over to the side of the Bura-Gohain, who, with his host
of Saraighatias, had come up and encamped at Namdang. Though left with a reduced strength Debora gave a fight at Bankgarah but was vanquished and fled away. The Bar-Punkun engaged the Hazarikas with their men to search him out and arrest him. They comb the area, captured Debora and made him over to the Bar-Punkun. Debora's regime collapsed. Debora was put into a pig's cage, his two wives were made to ride on his shoulder and trample him and then he was taken to Rajahat where he was put to death by hoeing from foot to head. With him many of the insurgents of his band were also captured and beheaded. The king made by Debora was deposed and brought away from Haithaguri for his hostility and was confined without food and water till death at Bhogbari to the great pleasure of all people who detested him for being a puppet of the Bar-Barna. He reigned for twenty-four days only.

Thereafter the Punksans and other officers desired that the Bura-Gohain should occupy the throne, but the latter declined it on the constitutional ground that 'a minister cannot become king'. Then after consultation with the nobles and officers the Bura-Gohain suggested the name of the Prince of Dihing, who was the son of the Namrupa Raja, a descendant of Nao-Hom-Hong or Dihingia Raja and all agreed. He was brought in and made king at Pimbari in A.D. 1675 in the month of Jaiatha (May-June) with great pomp.

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277 AB - 'SSJC', p.132.
278 Ibid., p.132; also PAB, p.152.
On ascending the throne the Dihingia Prince assumed the title of Hsio-Jin-Kpa. There was a wholesale change of the old officers of the State who were on the side of Debera. Chao Sheng-Kiang, the son of Chapa Barpatra-Gohain of Kenduguria family, was appointed Barpatra-Gohain. Guimela Bar-Gohain's son Laluk was appointed Bar-Gohain, Lenching-Shaikan (Kirkiria), the son of Rangasila, was made Bar-Barua in place of Debera. The son of Pukhumirpana Bar-Gohain was made Parvatia Phukan. Laluk Phukan, who was the grandson of Metekatalia Bar-Gohain, was made Tairai Phukan. Nakduma Phukan was made Naoshaliya Phukan. The Bar-Phukan Laluk's brother was appointed Bhatdral Duari Phukan. Lai Barua of Bar-Gohain family was appointed as Reidangia Barua. Tengacou Phukan was replaced by Dhatkhera as Phukan. Rangasila's brother was made Tarua-Dihingia Rajkhowa.

Within a year dissensions arose in the king's Court. The king's four sons and their friends found that the actual ruler of the kingdom was the Bura-Gohain and the king was only a figure-head with no power to rule the country well. They therefore urged the king to make the Bura-Gohain and his party of nobles to take an oath of loyalty to the king. The chief queen also, in consultation with Lao Barchetia, advised the king to enforce the loyalty of the Bura-Gohain and other Sari-ghatias by making them take a solemn oath of loyalty, otherwise...
'it would have been better to live by cultivation than to live in subordination to others'. The Bura-Gohain was then summoned by the king to an oath-taking ceremony, but he did not come. He prepared for chastising the king for such a step and invited the Barpatra-Gohain to his side, but the latter refused to side with him and said - 'My forefathers never revolted against the king'. The Bar-Gohain Laluk also remained loyal. But Leitsepan Bar-Gohain and the Karangikhowa Gohain joined with the Bura-Gohain. Those who were on the side of the king took the oath, but those who were against assembled at Borgeon and became ready for action. The king requested the Bapus (Gosains) including the Vanimati Bagu to meet the Bura-Gohain and bring about a reconciliation between them, but the Bura-Gohain refused to discuss the matter with the Bapus when the latter went to him. The king also sent the Bar-Gohain, the Barpatra-Gohain and a few other nobles to the Bura-Gohain to make him change his mind, but the latter declined to have any talk on this issue. The king was then determined to fight and advanced with his force to Tamulihat and charged the armies of the Bura-Gohain, but was routed. He escaped to Taungbing (Diking) when under the Bura-Gohain's instructions he was captured and his eyes extracted at Sakbari Hoc-shal. It was followed by the king committing suicide in July, 1677, by striking his head against a stone. His body was buried at

280 According to "SMC", p.139, there was a fight between the king and the Bura-Gohain at the Singha-duar or Lion-Gate of the capital.
The eldest son of the king fled away. The second son was banished to Namrup by the victors and his eyes were extracted. The two youngest sons were put to death. The Buragohain was again requested by the nobles and officers to be king and take the powers into his hands. This time he asked the Bailung Pandits for their opinion whether it would be in consonance with the principles of Ahom government to do so. The Pandits told him that it would not be proper for him to become king. Then the Buragohain summoned the assembly of the Ministers, Phukans, Baruas and others and announced that: 'I do not belong to the royal family. Had I descended from the royal family, I would not have hesitated to take the title of king. Now I therefore do not wish to be king. I wish to make one of the royal family, king.'

At the instance of the Buragohain Prince Chao Khamsen, the grandson of Chao Hao-Teng, was brought from Charaideo and raised to the throne in 1677 under the title of Hao-Doi-Hsa, called also Parvatia Raja. He married the daughter of the Buragohain and made her his chief queen. The Bar-Phukan's brother Hetahdara Phukan and Mecha Bar-Barua also gave their daughters in marriage to this king. Soon after his accession he offered presents to the Bar-Phukan and other Phukans and sent them back to Shomati with other officers and men who earlier came up to the capital to subdue Dehora Bar-Barua, Mecha Bar-Barua and the

282 AD, pp. 249-250.
Buragohain remained at Garhgaon. The king also richly rewarded the Buragohain and created for him a permanent landed estate near the Lohit. He then performed the Rikkhan ceremony and worshipped Lengkuri (Siva) on the Barpahar Hill and the Ahom gods at Charaideo with offerings of cows and buffaloes.³⁸³

A number of officers were replaced by others. Among them Japang Gohain was made Bar-Gohain by the Buragohain and Kenduguria Barpatra’s grandson was given the office of Barpatra-Gohain. Bhatdhara was appointed Phukan and was sent to Sarai Ghat and in his place Kalanchu was made Phukan at Garhgaon. The Buragohain’s elder brother was appointed Naoboicha Phukan by removing Madnukhowa from that post. The former Kirkiria Bar-Barua was replaced by Mecha Bar-Barua and Mecha by Chakrapani, the son of Dihingia Hazarika. Mecha suspected evil for him and fled to Sarai Ghat. Betmela Phukan of Taimung was charged with theft of a gold tankin (water-pot) by the king. He felt insulted and attempted on the life of the king in one night, killing by mistake the king’s mother. In fear of punishment he also fled to Sarai Ghat.³⁸⁴ Those who thus fled to distant Gauhati with grudge and grievance reported to the Bar-Phukan the high-handedness of the Buragohain in the administration of the country. The attempt on the king’s life was suspected by the Buragohain to be an act of the Sarapighetias, particularly of the dismissed Bar-Barua. This opinion of his reached the ears of the Gauhati officers and

²⁸³ AB, p. 251; AB - 'SIWC', pp. 136-137.
²⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 252.
a feeling of estrangement developed between the authorities at Garhgaon and the officers at Gauhati. What Bura-Gohain did at Garhgaon in dismissing and changing important officers Laluk wanted to do it from Gauhati. Thus the Bar-Phukan, who refused to remain subservient to the Bura-Gohain, appointed his brother Narangi as Bar-Barua and his son Jegara as Peni-Phukan. He appointed Dihingia Lepet Phukan's son Alun to the post of Phukan. He also raised to that post Lumiya and Bandar of Lannakhrum family. Narangi was arrested by Mecha Bar-Barua and made a prisoner. Alun Phukan fled from Garhgaon and related everything to the Bar-Phukan at Kalisbar. The matters came to such a pass that the Bura-Gohain, after a discussion with his Phukans at the capital, announced the dismissal of the Bar-Phukan Laluksoia (Nimati) who had been in this office since the death of Lachit Bar-Phukan. The great Gohains also constructed a stone fort on the Ajung Hill. The king disregarding the advice of many ordered the Bura-Gohain in A.D. 1679 to construct a fort at Chintamani which was named Bhuris-gah.237

In the meantime, Laluksoia heard the news of his dismissal. The fortification at Chintamani became another reason of fear, for the officers at Sarai Chat thought that it was meant against them. The Bar-Phukan held a council with his brother, Bandharn Bhukan, and the three brothers of the

236 Assam Baranji (1563-1631 A.D.), pp.49-50.
238 called also 'Burak Phukan'.

Narangikhowa Gohain and after a long discussion decided to seek the aid of Mansur Khan, the Nawab of Bengal in this extremely difficult situation. They despatched two envoys to the Nawab 'with presents of some elephants, maihenga (raised plates), gold embroidered cloths, and gold too'. They first contacted Baduli Phukan and gave him some presents and with his help met the Nawab. The envoys said to the Nawab that the Bar-Phukan asked for about 200 horse and forty war-vessels from him to reach Sarai Chat as early as possible to fight the Bara-Gohain and that, in return, he would leave the fortifications of Guwahati to be possessed by the Mughuls, if only he was assured of being made king of Assam. The Nawab became sympathetic to the proposal, but could not himself come to a final settlement of such a major issue. He, therefore, directed them to meet 'the Padshah's son' A'zam-tara at Dacca'. It may be remembered that 'A'zam-tara or Muhammad 'A'zam married the daughter of Jayadhvaj Singh, Rong-Seng alias Ramrai Gabhuru or Rabmat Baxu of the Mughul Court as a sequel to Mir Jumla's invasion of Assam and that she was the daughter of Laluk Bar-Phukan's sister, Pakhari, who was the Tamili Kunwari of the king. As such Laluk became the uncle of 'A'zam-tara. When the Bar-Phukan's proposal was placed before him he agreed to it and promised not only to make his uncle Laluksela ruler of Assam but also to pay four lakhs rupees as a price for handing over Guwahati.289

Thus the Bar-Phukan betrayed Gauhati, the main bastion of the
kingdom, into the hands of the Mughals, who took possession
of it early in March, 1679, without any sacrifice and
for this so-called 'conquest' Muhammad 'A'zam, the viceroy
of Bengal, was rewarded by the Emperor.

Meanwhile, in order to frustrate the plan of
surrendering Gauhati the king despatched an army, led
by the Dura-Gohain and other officers, to Gauhati when yet
the Chintamani garh was not completed. At the same time the
Bar-Phukan, undoubtedly strengthened by reinforcements from
Bengal, proceeded up to the capital. While the three great
gohains encamped at Visvanath and their advance-guards
reached Daiminisila, the Bar-Phukan's army also reached that
place. Getting the news of the Bar-Phukan's advance with a
strong force the Dura-Gohain's courage failed and so he fled
northwards from Visvanath to Injubaj and from there towards
Satabaiya to escape to the hills. But on his way he was
captured and brought down to the Bar-Phukan's camp at
Daiminisila, where he was put into confinement under strong
guards. Laluk Bar-Phukan arrested the Phukans and Hasarikas
coming against him and marched to Garhgaon. The king became
nervous and fled to the Charaidoo Hill and would not come
down even though his safety was assured by the Bar-Phukan.
The king wanted to excuse himself by openly confessing that

290 Gaft : on cit., p.164. See also AB - 'SILC',
p.140 for date of surrender.
292 Sir Jadunath Sarkar : on cit., p.190.
293 T.B., p.11.
he was merely a nominal ruler, the real ruler being the
Bura-Gohain. He recalled his earlier days when he was happier
with his peaceful calling of cultivation than with his burden
of kingship. But at last he was persuaded to come down to the
capital and allowed to rule as before. The Sarai Ghat officers
returned to Kaliabar where they made their head-quarters as
Gauhati had now come under the Mugals.

But soon the king entered into a conspiracy against
the Bar-Phukan being aggrieved at the loss of Gauhati and the
disappearance of the Bura-Gohain on whom he solely depended.
He was also intolerant of the appointments to high offices made
by the Bar-Phukan over the head of the king. When the plans
matured the king declared - 'I make Shatdhara Bar-Phukan and
have removed the Burak (Laluk)!' and he also arrested Marangi,
whom the Bar-Phukan appointed as the Bar-Burna. Soon Marangi
escaped from prison at Garhgaon and reported everything to
the Bar-Phukan. The latter proceeded to Garhgaon and
arrested the king.

Then the Burah Phukan Laluk brought in a Prince,
called Saru-Gohain, belonging to the Samaguria royal family and
aged only fourteen years. He was installed as king in November,
1679. From his tender age the young king became known as Lara
Raja, or 'Boy King'. On his accession he assumed the title name
of Hao-Lik-Hpa and the Hindu name of Ratnadwaj Singh.^

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294 Ibid., pp.11-12.
295 ID., 9, 12; Gait: 22, cit. p.16.
he was more popular as Lara Raja. He was a disciple of Chota Vanamali Rupu of Dakshinpat Vaishnava Satra.

His immediate task was to deal with the opponents. Heo-Doi-Npa was executed. The Bura-Gohain's sons were arrested and sent to Taimung and were soon afterwards impaled to death at the house of the Bura-Gohain at Banbhati and the Bura-Gohain himself was put to death at Kuliabar on the second waxing day of 

His brother Naiboicha Phukan, his nephew and son Lon-kham were also executed at the same place. Langi Gohain of Pukhuriparia Bura-Gohain family was then appointed Bura-Gohain. Jhbang Dar-Gohain was diminished and his properties attached and Lathiapanz Dar-Gohain, of Maduri, was appointed to the post vacated by Jhbang.

At about this time an envoy named Govindaram, sent by Muhammad 'A'asan, arrived at the capital with a letter asking the Durah Phukan Laluk to despatch to Bengal the king and the three great Gohains and other enemies as prisoners, assured him, at the same time, that he would be made king of Assam and the Durah Phukan received him at his residence at Meteka in a right royal style putting on robes and ornaments worn by kings.

It was suggested to the king by the Bar Deodhai (chief priest) that human sacrifices should be offered to the Goddess at Sadiya to remove the miseries of the kingdom.

296 42, p. 255.
297 E.H., p. 12.
298 43, pp. 255, 260.
299 It seems he was the chief priest of the Tamremenvari Temple of Sadiya.
The king asked the Burah Phukan to find out a man to be offered as sacrifice. The Bar-Phukan selected for the purpose one of his attendants named Bhotai from Nowgong who possessed both a good physique and bravery. When Bhotai became aware of it he, in association with two other friends named Madhav Tamuli and Aghona Kachari, murdered the Burah Phukan at night in November, 1680. According to another version (Kamrupar Buranji, p.101) the Burah Bar-Phukan became so overbearing and arrogant that most of the nobles and officers conspired to get rid of his dominance. They employed Bhotai to assassinate him and the latter did it according to plan. The king then appointed Bandar of Lenamakhu family, a disciple of Chotia Vanamali Bapu, as the next Bar-Phukan and Dihingia Alen as Bar-Barua. Bhotai is said to have remained careful after the assassination of the Burah Phukan, but he was captured and kept under detention as a dangerous element and later his nose and ears were chopped off and his eyes put out.

It is said that Laluk Burah Phukan, hoping to become king with Muslim support, 'pursued the ruthless plan of massacring all able-bodied princes', principally for his own security when he would become king. His main target of attack was Gadapani of the Tungkhungia royal family. Chronicles give no names of the

300 According to the Tai-Ahom text (AB, p.250) it were the Phukans and Baruas, all king's party, who killed both the Bar-Phukan Laluk and his body-guard Phatai (Bhotai). They also put to death Laluk's three sons and two brothers. It must have been the result of a big plot arising from the past actions of Laluk. Bhatdhara Phukan, the third brother of Laluk, fled to Faujdar Mansur-Khan's place at Gauhati when the Garhgaon officers proceeded to seize him at Kaliabar.
other princes, murdered mutilated. It is doubtful whether it was a general hunt for massacring princes or simply an attempt to capture the most powerful rival, Gadapani only, who was feared. The latter appears to be the truth. Gadapani was the son of Gobar and as such, had a good claim to the throne and he was also a prince of extra-ordinary physical vigour, ability and courage. Spies were employed after him for his capture, but he left his home at Tungkhang down the CharaIDEO Hill and roamed about in cognito. In the meantime, while yet the Muslim promise to make him king was to be fulfilled, the Burah Phukan was put to death by his enemies. Gadapani removed his two sons, Lai and Leshai, to a Naga village in the hills for protection and he himself spent a period of time among the Nagas from whom he got good reception. Behind his back his wife, Jaymati, is said to have been captured and tortured to death under the orders of Lara Raja. As it was meaningless to waste his days in the hills he came down to contact his friends for enlisting support. On the advice of Garhgenya Handikoi-Phukan and Pelan Bar-Barua's son, the Saringia Phukan,

301 The version in Harakanta's Buranji (p,56) that during his wanderings in cognito he lived for some days at Chandkuchi in Kamrup and then lived at Reni on the south bank is unacceptable. Kamrup with Gauhati was then in Muslim occupation and the Muslims were the friends of Laluksoia Bar-Phukan and enemies of Gadadhar and his supporters. It was Gadadhar who liberated Kamrup from the Muslims. This part of the story is not there in Kashinath's Buranji, which Harakanta rewrote with a few additions here and there, nor is it there in any other Buranji.

302 Jaymati is said to be the daughter of Laithapana Bar-Gohain. Her Ahom name is not to be found in any extant Buranji. Her story is variously told and only casually referred to in two or three Assamese Buranjis, such as Harakanta's Early Buranji (p,94) and Tuncharangi Buranji (p,14) and probably in one or two of the Tai-Abom texts. More remarkable is that nothing is said about her in Kashinath's Buranji.
he went to the Satra of Dakshinpātia Chota Vanamali Bapu at Kalabari and requested the Gosain to acquaint Bandar Bar-Phukan, the Gosain's disciple, with his plan and policy and get him to his side, but the Gosain refused to comply with Gadapani's request in the interest of his disciple Lara Raja and even did not allow him to stay inside the Satra and treated him as an ordinary man. He received a similar treatment from Keshavdev Bapu of Amiati Satra where a resident disciple, chewing betel-nut, spat towards him (Gadadhar) which spoiled his garment. But the Prince was amazed to see the vast wealth and splendour of the great Satras and of the resident bhakats (disciples) and their gradation of functionaries and workers. The Gosains had everything of a king including the royal ornaments except only the Kekura-dola (royal palanquin) and elephants. He witnessed this in the Dakshinpāt, Amiati and other Satras.

Getting no support and sympathy from the Gosains he again contacted the Garhganya Handikoi-Phukan and the Saringia Phukan at Kaliabar and related to them all about his experiences in the Satras. The two Phukans then took up cause of the fugitive Prince and met the Bar-Phukan to plead for him. They succeeded in winning his support for Gadapani. At this time, apprehending the return of Bhattachara with a force to attack Assam, most of the nobles and officers came down from Garhgaon to Kaliabar to fight the Bengals at Guwahati. When they all assembled at Kaliabar a feeling of dissatisfaction with the weak king, Lara Raja, was visible among all.
an incapable king', said they, *protect the kingdom? He can protect the kingdom only if he is capable*. They held a council and seriously discussed this vital issue and all agreed to support Prince Gadapani in the greater interest of the country.

29. Hao-Pat-Ho aliag Gadadhar Singha (1681-1696):

All the nobles and officers that assembled at Kaliabar formally performed the installation ceremony of making Gadapani their king in August 1681 on a Thursday. Thus they revolted against Lara Raja whom they wanted to remove from the throne for his incapacity to govern the country well and efficiently. They then sailed up the Brahmaputra-Garhgaon with their Tung-khunagia king under the leadership of Bendar Bar-Phukan. When this news reached Chota Vanamali Gosain he became worried. He came down and met the Bar-Phukan and requested him not to proceed for making Gadadhar king. *You are my chief disciple*, said the Gosain, *and you know, Lara Raja is also my disciple; as such I am myself virtually reigning as the king, hence you do not do such a thing; I beg of you the rule of the kingdom*.

The Bar-Phukan could not oblige the Gosain as it was not a single men's affair nor was it in the true interest of the country. The

303 TE, pp. 14-15; PAB, p. 156.
304 Ibid., p. 15.
305 Ibid., pp. 44-45. In this context the event of Jaymati's death, said to be under prolonged tortures, unprecedented in the history of the Ahoms, will be a subject, about which further research is likely to bring to light startling facts.
Gosain was extremely displeased and the talks ended by mutual cursing. The Bar-Phukan's party then advanced and reached Garhgaon in one week's time. Lara Raja was removed from the throne and banished to Namrup where he was put to death. Gadapani ascended the throne by building a Singari-Ghar at Barkola and assumed the name of Chao Hao-Pat-Hpa and the Hindu name Gadadhar Singha. He made his capital at Barkola which is close to Garhgaon.

Final Recovery of Gauhati:

His immediate act was to equip an army and send it to recover Gauhati under the commands of Diliniyal Langi Bara-Gohain, Salal Gohain, Dihingia Alan Bar-Barua and a few others. By the first assault Banbbari was captured and with great expedition Kajali on the south bank was occupied. The Muslims retreated, but their fleet with big boats became prepared to meet the Ahom navy at the mouth of the Bar Nadi. The Ahoms came down upon the Muslim fleet, attacked it furiously and won a great naval victory. The Muslims fled away in small boats leaving behind their fleet and war materials. Dihingia Alan Bar-Barua took Itakhuli by defeating Mansur Khan at Sukreswar in A.D. 1683. The Faujdar then fled away leaving Gauhati at the mercy of the Ahoms, who pursued the Mughuls down to the Hanaha. The whole of Kamrup was thus recovered finally. Never in any previous war so large an amount of booty was captured as in this one.

306 E.T.P. op.cit., p. 45.
307 Ibid., p. 46; Gait: op.cit., p. 166.
and the booty consisted of brass cannon, iron guns, money, horses, camels, bullocks, buffaloes and other articles. All these were sent to the king who distributed them among his officers. 308 Khatdhara Phukan, who had earlier gone over to the side of the Muslims and incited them to invade Assam, did not get much response. He later came back to his country in disappointment. He was captured with his son and both were put to death.

This was the last war with the Muslims, who never again ventured to invade Assam and the Manaha was accepted by both sides as boundary.

Gait refers to three cannon in existence of which one is in the Indian Museum, one at Dikom and the third outside the house of the Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur, which bear the following inscription: "King Gadadhar Singha, having vanquished the Musalmans at Gauhati, obtained this weapon in 1604 sak (1682 A.D.)." 309

Controlling Revolts And Conspiracies:

The kingdom was not free from intrigues and conspiracies because of the influences of rival parties. It was unfortunate that Bandar Bar-Phukan, the main pillar of strength and support to king Gadadhar, and the Pani-Phukan became rebellious against the king. They were brought to Garhgaon on a charge of grave offence and made to stand trial by the three

great Gohains of the Court in the fore-chamber of the Holong
great Council Hall). They were found guilty, but the three
great Gohains and other high officers prayed for their mercy
for the first time which the king granted. But the king
dismissed them both from their posts and appointed Bandikoi
Neog as Bar-Phukan and Bhoba as Phukan in their places. There
were fresh conspiracies against the king by four Phukans,
namely Chengrai Phukan, Khamrak Phukan, Khamsin Phukan and
Pani-Phukan. After necessary enquiries the main ring-leaders,
Chengrai and Khamrak, were executed and the other two were
excused. He dismissed the Pani-Phukan and appointed Tungkha-
ngia Dula-Lakharia Barua as Pani-Phukan. Once again the dis-
missed Pani-Phukan revolted and this time he was executed at
Rajabat. 310 Another officer to revolt against the king was
Saringia Phukan, but the Phukan had ultimately to seek the
protection of Bandikoi Bar-Phukan for safety. The Bar-Phukan
said - 'the king only reforms (the offender) after trial.
Don't fear, no danger'. In the trial evidences were such that
the Saringia Phukan was granted the benefit of doubt, parti-
cularly when the Bar-Phukan spoke for him. 311 The king appointed
Kunciganya Hau Gohain as Dura-Gohain by removing Langi Dura-
called also Dighala Dura-Gohain,
Gohain who was executed for the offence of giving shelter to
the prince of Diroi. After Hau Gohain
Khempeng of Lankakia family was made Dura-Gohain. Achuk became
Barpatra-Gohain and Lathapana of Maduri Bar-Gohain with the

310 TR, pp.19, 22.
311 AB - 'SLF', pp.148-151.
office of Rajmantri. Tema of Lahan family was appointed Bar-
Barua. He also made a number of other changes among his
officers.

Controlling Troublesome Neighbours:

King Gadadhar subdued the Miris of Sadiya who raided
the house of Rup Handikoi and set fire to it causing death to
his children and also killed two hundred subjects of the king.
He also brought to submission the Latha Nagas of Namchang who
had raided the king's territory killing a number of men by
sending an expedition against them. The ring-leader, Latha
Khunbas, was captured and punished with death on the bank of
the Jamuna stream. This Naga trouble was followed by another in
the direction of the Dayang river area. A force was sent against
the Dayang Nagas under the command of Tanseng Phukan. The Nagas
were defeated and submitted to the king by offering two Naga
princesses. The Phukan delivered the princesses to the king,
who then forgave the Nagas and made presents to them.

Religious Policy:

King Gadadhar himself was free from any religious
bigotry, but he saw the danger to the State from the great con-
centration of wealth and power in the hands of the priesthood.
The great Gosains and Mahants gathered round them all the
luxuries and paraphernalia of the king and the ministers and

312 K.T.P. : on cit., p.45.
were able to control to a great extend the temporal affairs of the State. He lost faith in a religious system which could permit the heads of the Satra (Vaishnav monasteries) and the celibate disciples, resident in them, to indulge in such earthly luxuries. The king himself was the witness to all these during his days of adversity. He also remembered that while as a fugitive he was at Dakshinpat, in an altercation the Deka Gosain of the Satra had insulted him with abusive language.

The Gosain also opposed his candidature to the throne and he sailed down from his Satra by the Lohit to ask the Phukans to remove him from kingship. At Visvanath the king, sighting the Deka Gosain's boat, sent his men to request him to come and bless, but the latter refused to come. With all these bitter reminiscences Gadadhar was determined to do something with this class of religious preceptors.

The Dhandari Barua, Bchodloi Rangacharan, complained to the king - 'why should gold and silver be necessary in the houses of bhukats (devotees)? What they want is the katha of rice only and that, too, is offered by the sebaits and initiated. If the Svargadev orders, I can bring their wealth in gold and silver.' The king felt it to be a just view and permitted the Dhandari Barua to confiscate all such wealth with the help of Chandanas. He seized the gold idol of Dakshinpat, which Gadadhar had seen during his stay as a fugitive at that place, and also put out the eyes of Ram Gosain of

315 The daily ration of ten ruthis or about half a seer.
316 TB, p.28.
317 policemen of those days.
the Satra as a punishment for his previous offence.\textsuperscript{318} The idol was melted down and made into a dome and fitted on the head of the temple on the hill (Charaideo). The Aniati Gosain was banished to Sadiya after confiscating his properties and the idol of Govinda Thakur was also ordered to be thrown away into the waters of the Lohit. It is said that the real Thakur was concealed, only an imitation Thakur was so thrown into the Lohit at Changinighat.\textsuperscript{319} Fearing that the Hindus would spoil the country by propagating their various cults, Gadadhar removed the Mahantas from the central parts of the country and settled them at out-of-the-way localities such as Hamrup, Tokolai, Cheuni and Bacha.\textsuperscript{320} The Medhias were fined and transferred to Cheuni. As ordered by the king the Bhandari then set fire to the deserted Satras.\textsuperscript{321} Gadadhar's policy in this had political reasons behind and not guided by any sectarian motive.

Among his public works were the construction of a stone bridge at Dijoi Khana, excavation of the Rahdoi tank, the raising of the Dol Ali with a stone bridge over it, the Akar Ali, Dhodar Ali, and the Alis raised by Dihingia Dar-Barua and Malau Thakan. He also constructed the Chara-dol and the Chara-garkh and the Gota-dol with a tank at Charaideo. At Gauhati he made the temple of Umananda-Devalay.\textsuperscript{322} It is to be noted that he introduced the system of detailed survey and measurement of

\textsuperscript{318} reference is to the insult to Prince Gadadhar by the Deha Gosain.
\textsuperscript{319} \textit{TB}, p. 27.
\textsuperscript{320} \textit{K.T.P.} : \textit{op.cit.}, p. 46.
\textsuperscript{321} \textit{TB}, p. 27.
\textsuperscript{322} \textit{K.T.P.} : \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 46-47 ; \textit{H.S.B.} : \textit{op.cit.}, p. 60.
land. For surveying work of the country surveyors were imported from Koch Behar and Bengal. It was commenced in Sibsagar and extended to other parts of the country, but could not be completed before his death. Gait says that the method of survey was probably the same as that which was in vogue when Assam was first occupied by the British, that is, 'the area of each field was calculated by measuring the four sides with a nal or bamboo pole, 12 feet long, and, multiplying the mean length by the mean breadth'. The unit of the area was the pura, which contained four standard Bengali bigha. Gadadhār died on Tuesday of 14 Falgun (last week of February) of 1617 (A.D. 1696) after a reign of about fourteen years and a half.

An Estimate Of Gadadhār:

Gadadhār Singha, called also Durah Raja as he ascended throne at an advanced age, was the greatest king of the later Ahom period and was undoubtedly the greatest among the rulers of the Rungkhiungia Dynasty. The Rungkhiungia Buranji (p.5) seems to indicate that he was the third king of his dynasty, one with a short-lived career preceding Gobar. King Gadadhār's immediate successors flourished only on the stability to which he restored the kingdom from a precarious state of chaos and internal divisions by driving off the external foe for good from the territory of Kamrup and by suppressing the internal

324 Ibid. p.27 ; K.T.P. : op.cit., p.47.
trouble-makers and evil influences with wonderful tact, vigour and foresight. He was a god-send at a moment when the country was fast going to wreck and ruin under feeble monarchs set up by ambitious nobles.

He was hundred per cent Ahom inheriting the blood and vigour of his great ancestors. He possessed a towering personality before which all others looked like pigmies. It left a mark in history around which legends, good and bad, were woven by different sections of the later generations. As an administrator he was always just and fair, never punishing an offender at his whim in a fit of anger. He would either punish or pardon only after a regular trial of which the Chronicles have given a number of historic instances.

Being surrounded by hardy and autonomous races of people and threatened constantly by the mighty Mughals at the western gate of the kingdom, Gadadhar was opposed to all such influences, religious and social, as were likely to undermine the health, strength and unity of the nation. He believed that the sectarian influence of Hinduism, which fundamentally changed for the worse the food and social habits of the proselytes, would lead to physical and consequent mental deterioration of the nation and therefore disfavoured it. He followed the traditional Ahom religion and way of life and of the Hindu religion he preferred Saktism to Vaishnavism as more liberal and closer in several respects to the religion of the Ahoms. He abolished the Neo-Vaishnava satras but built the temple of
On the death of Sadadhar Singha his elder son Lai Gohain ascended the throne on the 14th Falgun, A.D. 1696 and assumed the Ahom name of Chao Hao-Khurung-Hya and the Hindu name Rudra Singha. One of his first acts was to bring back the Gosains and Thekuria Mahantas from Nemrup, Chawni and other places and settle them respectively in the original localities. His first Bure-Gohain was Lenkemia Khembeng already appointed by Gadadhur. He was later succeeded by Kuncignya Leisheng and Diliniyal Apha Khampat as Bure-Goauns. Rupajuria Sengkong was appointed Barpatra-Gohain and Rajmantri and on the death of

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325 H.S.B. : op.cit., p. 60; Durenji-viveka-ratan (No. DHAS) compiled by Maniram Dowsn (A.D. 1338), Part II, p. 142-B; Selit: op.cit., p. 170.
326 H.S.B., p. 142-B.
Laithapsna his son Kamalakanta became Bar-Gohain. During his reign there were as many as four Bar-Baruas successively, namely, Barah of Dihingia family, Kota of Patar family, Deka of Dihingia family and Baragi of Handikoi family. Handikoi Bar-Phukan continued to hold his office for a long time and was succeeded by Elder Duara and Patar one after the other.

Shairing still continued to be a hot-bed of conspiracies. In 1697 in the month of Bhadra (August-September) the Shairing Raja Long-Tyzeok in collusion with the Sungi Barua made a plot against the king, but they were arrested and the Sungi Barua was executed at Namrup. One Mechuguria Demodar (king's) Phukan made a false report to the king that his brother Leshai Sarujana Gohain was conspiring to overthrow him and seize the throne and in this his associates were Handikoi Bhitaruol Phukan, Lennakharu Bandar Naoboitha Phukan, Bailung Deka Phukan and a few others. Without proper investigation they were arrested Leshai, put out one of his eyes and confined him in a jungle and ordered the execution of his associates except the three Phukans. Later when the king learnt that the allegation against his brother, Leshai, was false he became aggrieved for his action. He, however, made amends for his wrong by making him Namrupiya Raja with full dignity and paraphernalia of royalty. In his deathbed injunction to his sons he confessed that by listening to the suggestions of enemies, I drove away the younger (brother).

I now perceive my error.

Kachari And Jayanta Expeditions:

The most important event of Rudra Singh’s reign was the war with the Kachari. The Kachari Raja Viradharpurany was succeeded by his son Gaduradhvaj. He was a contemporary of Gadadhar Singha. The two kings could not establish friendship between them. Makaradhvajnarayan and Udayaditynarayan, who became Rajas successively after Gaduradhvaj, also failed to make friendship with the Ahoms. Tamradhvajnarayan, who succeeded Udayaditynarayan and who was a contemporary of the Ahom king, Rudra Singh, initiated, through diplomatic channels, a new move for good relations with Assam, but the manner of approach appeared objectionable to the Ahom authorities. The road for Kachari Katakia was through Raha, where they were to contact the Ahom officer-in-charge of the Raha ghauki and the latter was to inform the Bar-Phukan at Gauhati about the matter, who, in his turn, forwarded it to the king for his orders.

As there was no more a Muslim invasion and Tamradhvaj demanded territories up to Maham, Rudra Singh wanted to invade the Kachari country, from which raiding parties created troubles from time to time in the frontier territory. He assembled the Lower Assam and Upper Assam forces at Visvanath and in December, 1706 sent one division by the Bhansiri route under the command of Panidihingia Dekabarua (Deka Bar-Jarua) and another division by the Kapili route with Phulbarua’s grandson Pani-Phukan to invade Kachari territory. The Ahom armies were

329 KB, pp. 59-60.
330 His name is given as Jay Singh in TB, p. 31.
331 KB, pp. 70-71; TB, p. 32.
reinforced, among others, by Miri soldiers who proved their mettle by overpowering the Nagas who took the side of the Kacharis. The Kacharis were driven off from Lenguria and the Bar-Barua occupied Maibang. The king ordered the Ahom generals to advance to Khaspur and occupy it. There was some delay on their part in being prepared to march upon Khaspur for two reasons – one was the difficulty of the route and the other was that most of the army and a number of officers including the Bar-Barua himself fell ill in the unhealthy hilly areas which were full of jungles. There was, in addition, a difficulty in the supply of provisions. But the king wanted them to proceed at once and occupy Khaspur. The Phukens made their march and encamped at Sampani where a fort was made. From that post an envoy named Hilaambar was sent by the Chaudang Barua to the Kachari king demanding his submission. At this time the Bar-Barua died at the Gelemu fort and the Chaudang Barua also received no reply for eight days. Hearing the plight of the Ahom armies and their Generals the king ordered them to return. In 1763 in the month of Ashin (September-October) King Rudra Singha learnt from the Kacharis visiting Garhgaon to pay homage to him that the Jayanta Raja, Ram Singha, instigated the Kachari Raja to unite with him to attack Garhgaon. But soon a difference arose and taking advantage of the helplessness of Tamradhvaj the Jayanta Raja invaded Khaspur and captured the king and his son and removed them to his capital.
He boasted his power before an Ahom king's Boiragi who was staying at Jayantapur on way back from Sylhet. Tamradhvaj, a captive at Jayantapur, made his submission to the Ahom king before the Boiragi in a confidential talk between them and prayed for Ahom help. The king then sent an expedition against Jayanta in 1709, he himself advancing to a camp at Hisa in Nowgong. One division of the army consisting of the Garhgaras proceeded by the Kapili river with Baragi Bar-Darua in command and a second division, manned by the Saraghathiyas and commanded by the Bar-Pulvan, marched up by the Gobha road. Jayanta Raja Ram Singha prepared to fight but his officers refused to face the powerful Ahom army. Ram Singha surrendered. The army returned triumphantly with the Kachari and the Jayanta Rajas as captives. The two hill Rajas were brought to Rangpur where they paid their homage to the Svarga Maharaja Rudra Singha. Raja Ram Singha died at Rangpur where he was duly cremated. Two years after that king Rudra Singha placed Ram Singha's eldest son on the Jayanta throne as his vassal. The Kachari Raja was given presents and allowed to return to his country.

King Rudra Singha's last great enterprise was a preparation for the conquest of Bengal. His object was to bring within his kingdom all the territories ever conquered by his great predecessors, such as Hso-Hom-Hong and Jayadhvaj Singha. According to the *Trimura Puranji* (pp.1-19, 91-99) and also *Wade's Account* (p.131) king Rudra Singha, after subjugating

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Jayanta and Kochhar but before starting for invading Bengal, sent envoys with letters from him in the name of the Bar-Phukan to the Rajas and Zamindars of Tripura, Koch Behar, Panga, Rangpur, Nadia, Burdwan, Naureang and Barnagar of Bengal intimating them his claim upon the territories as far west as the Karatoya river as they were in the past a part of the Ahom dominions. He also appealed to their religious sense as Hindu rulers, whose religion had been spoiled by the Muslims, to unite in a common effort to conquer the Muslims for the protection of the religion. The letters addressed to them contained, among others, these words - 'Do not prove inimical to us. If we remain friendly everything will succeed. Be yours the Countries, the Government and the Revenue; mine the name. Act in a manner to preserve peace. Fear not our approach; send friendly answers respecting your welfare without delay.' The envoys returned with satisfactory answers. King Rudra Singha for the first time established friendship with Suvamsarai of Dacca through Tarkavagish Bhattacharyya and Ratnakandali and with Raja Ratnamanikya of Tripura through Anandiram Medhi. Since then embassies continued to be exchanged between Tripura under the reigns of Ratnamanikya, Mahendramanikya and Dhrurmamanikya and Assam.

The Ahom king then finalized the plan of invasion in consultation with his ministers - Kamalakanta Bar-Gohain, Binwoiganya Phukan Bura-Gohain and Kenduguria Deka Barpatra-Gohain. They said that due to the neglect and inaction of the Ahoms these territories had passed into the possession of the
enemies. The Phukans and Daruns of the king offered their services for the conquest of Bengal right down to Bacca. The forces were trained up and equipped for the purpose. The Kachari and Jayanta Rajas joined his army with their contingents of 14,000 and 10,000 men respectively and, in addition, 600 Daflas, who acknowledge his authority, came down from the hills north of the Darrang district. In due course Rudra Singhaprodced in person to Gauhati where he made his camp and got ready a very large army and a powerful fleet. But, as he was preparing to march, he fell ill and died after eight days on a Sunday in the last week of August, 1714 leaving behind five sons - Siva Singh, Prematta Singh, Mohamula Choin, Rajeswar Singh and Lakshmi Singha in order as known in history. 

His Works:

He excavated at Ramgur, just across the Dikhaau river on the west of the present town of Sibsagar, the greatest tank in Assam, called Jaysagar, in A.D. 1697 in the month of Agrahayana (November-December). It took forty-five days to complete the work of excavation. The tank was formally consecrated

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334 Gaits: op. cit., pp.150-151; Wade: op. cit., pp.152-133. 335 The tank comprises an area of 318 acres of land including its four banks, out of which an area of 155 acres was under water. The length of the tank from east to west (both sides) is 588 'beau', equivalent to 1 mile 2 furlongs 152 yards, and from north to south (both sides) 538 'beau' equivalent to 1 mile 1 furlong 164 yards. Thus the perimeter of the tank is 2 miles 4 furlongs and 96 yards. An earthen pipe line runs from this tank to the Ramgur Palace which is about one mile from it, for supplying water to the Royal Palace. Extract supplied by Shri B.C. Handique who translated it from an old Buranji.
in the month of Falgun in the same year. In the next Falgun (A.D. 1698) the construction of three dolas\(^5\) was commenced. Near the north bank of the tank the king's residence was built. In the month of January, 1701, the three dolas, with the images of Vishnu, Keshavrai, Siva, Durga, Ganesha, Suryya and others placed in them, were dedicated. Thereafter the king made the city his capital and named it Rangpur.\(^3\) The city buildings were made of bricks under the supervision of an artisan, named Ghanashyam, imported from Koch Behar. The same artisan also constructed some of the brick temples and houses at Charaideo. When the works were completed the artisan was richly rewarded and permitted to go. But on the point of departing a document, containing a full account of the country and its inhabitants, was accidentally found in his possession. It was apparently meant to betray the Ahoms to the Mughuls. It being a treasonable offence, Ghanashyam was arrested and executed.\(^3\)

**Capital At Rangpur (A.D. 1707):**

On the 18th day of Ashvin (October), A.D. 1707, King Rudra Singha formally entered his new capital Rangpur, which was just a fortress of bricks and masonry, and occupied his palace.\(^3\)

**Parvatia Gosain From Bengal:**

Svergadev Rudra Singha became a disciple of Haridev

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\(^5\) dol is a brick or stone temple, dome-shaped, round and tapering upwards and resembling more or less those of the sikhara type in outline.

\(^3\) TB, p.29; Wade: op.cit., p.122.

\(^3\) Sait: op.cit., pp.171-172.

\(^3\) Wade: op.cit., p.122.
Adhikari of the Amiati Satra and gave him all manner of material help to rebuild the Satra. Contrary to his father's injunction he became more and more attached to religion and, not satisfied with Haridev, brought in a famous Gosain of the Sakta line named Krishnaram or Krishnananda Nyaya-vagish Tengremara Bhattacharyya from Simlagram in Santipur of Nadia district in Bengal. The Gosain, at his wish, was provided with a residence at Kamakhya on the Nilachal Hill, from which he was called Parvatiya Gosain. The king asked for mantra or mystic formula of religion from the Gosain, but the latter sent it in writing in the hand of a Brahmin. He did not present it directly as, from the orthodox viewpoint of the Hindus, the king was thought to be of low origin by reason of his race. The king understood it and refused to accept the mantra from the hand of the Brahmin, but the Gosain was allowed to live on the hill. He, however, permitted his son, Siva Singha, to accept the Gosain as his Guru. Rudra Singha's excessive leaning towards Hinduism and foreign ways to the neglect of his ancestral religion and culture evoked curses on him from the Ahom Deodhai and Bailung Pandits.

Miscellaneous Affairs:

He is also said to have introduced foreign styles of dress and ornaments in the country. The dhoti, the coat and the turban were innovations of his time. The nobles started putting on new dress since then.

340 H.S.B. s on, cit., p.67.
The religious question whether a sudra could initiate a Brahmin was settled at a Uahajan conference at Garhgaon. The decision after consultation of sastras was that nowhere it was found in the sastras that a sudra was authorized to initiate a Brahmin and the king accordingly enforced it.

There was, in A.D. 1677, a severe earthquake which continued to produce shocks for six months from Falgun to Shravan causing mountains to fall to pieces and throwing up sand and fish to the surface.

In addition to the Jaysagar tank and its dolg he also constructed the Rangnath-dol and Pakua-dol and also the Rangpur city in Meteka. Further he constructed a stone bridge at Nambang and two such bridges at Dimau and raised the Kharikatiya-Ali, Duberani-Ali and Meteka-Ali. He imported many artisans from Bengal, established numerous schools for Brahmins and sent Brahmin boys for studying in the centres of Sanskrit learning in Bengal. Gadadhar's unfinished land survey works were resumed and the districts of Sibsagar and Nowgong were surveyed. The territory of the kingdom from the eastern extremity to Khagarijan in the present Nowgong district was under the administration of the Bar-Barua and from Khagarijan westwards including the original areas called Nagaon, Kharangi and also obviously Raha the whole territory up to the Lenaha formed the jurisdiction of the Bar-Phukan - (Deodhai Barani, p.150).

341 religious preceptor, a Satradhikar.
342 K.T.P. : cit., p.49.
All hill tribes submitted to the Ahom authority and trade with Tibet was promoted. 343

31. Hso-Tan-Hpa alias Siva Singha (1714-1744) :

On the death of Rudra Singha his eldest son, Barjana Gohain, who was at Guhati with his father, sailed up with the dead body of the deceased king and ascended the throne at Rangpur. The dead body was embalmed at Chunpura for a fortnight and, according to Ghengrong Phukanar Baranji, entombed in the month of Kartik and not cremated as some accounts say. In the month of Falgun (February-March) the Barjana Gohain ascended the Singari-Ghar and assumed the Ahom name Hso-Tan-Hpa and the Hindu name Siva Singha. 344

His Dura-Gohains were successively Baulungia Bayan, Domai Gohain and Sengmun of Tukhuriparia family, Kamalakanta continued to be the Bar-Gohain who was also made the Rajmantri after Paramananda Bar-Gohain, who had succeeded his father Kenduguria Sengkan as Rajmantri with the office of Barpatra-Gohain. On his death Harinath of Kalugaon, younger brother of queen Phuleswari, was appointed Bar-Gohain and Rajmantri when she became 'Bar-Raja'. He was later made Barpatra Gohain with the office of Rajmantri which was until then held by Kamalakanta, as Thamunath of Dihingia phoid (clan or family) was appointed Bar-Gohain. The office of Bar-Barua was held first by Dura Deda, probably Daragi of Hendikoi family, and then by Rupchandra of Dekatha. Bijoy Tarun Duara, Debora of Dihingia family

and Bijoy's son Deka Duara became successively Bar-Phukan.\textsuperscript{345}

His Queens: Growing Influence of Sakta Priests:

The private life of the king was not quite chaste. He admitted into his chamber his nurse who was the daughter of one Lakhtakia Koch. Next he married a dancing girl named Phulmati, a member of a family of nat or professional dancers of Sinaiali and made her his chief queen. Thereafter she was named Phuleswari who also assumed the name Pramatheswari, a name of Durga. This Siva-Durga concept of the king and his consort arose from the growing Sakta influence under the spiritual leadership of the Parvatiya Gosain, of whom both the king and the queen Phuleswari, had become devoted disciples. This Bengali Gosain was the first to introduce in Assam the Neo-Smartha doctrine which created a friction with the Assamese Pandits. By his too much attachment to religion the king soon fell under the influence of the priests and astrologers who surrounded him and developed superstitious beliefs and became a fatalist. These spiritual guides and soothsayers predicted an end of his rule in the near future owing to the evil influence of what was called a Chatra-bhanga-yoga.\textsuperscript{346} He believed it and on the advice of the Parvatiya Gosain transferred the royal umbrella and the throne to his wife Phuleswari who was given the title of 'Par-Raja'.

\textsuperscript{345} K.T.P. : op. cit., p. 50.
and was called also Raja.\textsuperscript{347} She, as Har-Raja, meddled too much in matters of religion and customs which had eventually disastrous consequences to the State. She compelled the Thakuria Mahantas\textsuperscript{348} to bow down before the Gosains of the Brahminical Satras of Auniati and Garenur and adopt Salagrames with the Bhagavat, Bhagavatis and Deories for their worship.\textsuperscript{349} She caused the original images of gods and goddesses in the temples, including that of Phulbari, to be thrown away into the waters of the Lohit and substituted for them newly made stone and brass images. She became so bigoted in her particular religious creed that, according to one Baranji,\textsuperscript{350} she took great interest in converting the people to her line and even summoned the Sudra Mahantas and Medhis of the Vaishnava sect including the leading and respected Mahanta of Kosmara, who did not follow the Sakta cult of Durga worship with animal sacrifices, to the festival of the Goddess and made them under compulsion to bow down to the image, take on the forehead, sacred paint-marks of vermilion, red sandal-wood and blood of sacrificed animals and also accept nirmali and prasad. More than others, the Kosmara Mahanta felt it to be an insult comparable to death and decided, in consultation with his disciples

\textsuperscript{347} It is said that on the advice of his priests he performed lakshya homas and offered lakshya velias at Kamakhya to ward off the evils of chatra-bhang-e-yoga. He also fed numerous Brahmins and gave them precious presents, All these cost so much that the royal treasury was nearly exhausted. - vide DHR, II, 348 Followers of Senkar Dev's grandson, Purusottam Thakur. They are a sect of Vaishnavas in Assam differing slightly from the ordinary Mahapurushas in their tenets.\textsuperscript{349} Tr, p.39 ; for Auniati and Garenur Satras see DHR, TRANSCRIPT vol. V, Part IV, Tr. 94, pp.309, 315.\textsuperscript{350} H.S.B : op.cit., p.71.
The subsequent history of the Ahom rule was essentially a history of Maramia revolts and their genesis is to be traced to the split caused in the society by the prevailing rival cults of Hinduism. Gadambar's successors, by their blind adherence to sectarian religion contrary to his advice, soon fell victims to the influence of the priesthood. This paved the way to the rise of Phuleswari, who, by being a votary of a particular sectarian form of religion, lost all sense of good administration and started unduly and unnecessarily interfering with the religious and social practices of others. As rightly said by Gait she was 'more under the influence of the Brahmins than her husband'. She even suppressed the age-old Ahom custom of burying their dead and compelled them to take to cremation as among the Hindus. There was no freedom of conscience under her regime. The inevitable reaction to her maladministration was a series of revolts and civil war in the country that did not take long to bring about the collapse of the dynasty.

Her Raja Phuleswari died after prolonged suffering from illness. She excavated a rectangular tank called Gaurisagar near Namdang in Sibsagar with three temples (dols) built on its bank and dedicated to Siva, Vishnu and Devi, of

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352 The tank is close to the Assam Trunk Road on its south. For details see Cheng-mung Phukanar Baranji reproduced from original manuscript by Lila Gogoi in Assam Sahitya Sabha Patrika, 16, 1., 1959, pp.37.
which the Siva temple is the biggest in size. Its excavation commenced on the 5th Falgun, sak 1645 (A.D. 1723) and was completed after nearly five months. Her younger brother Harinath, who became a minister-first Bar-Gohain and then Barpatra-made his residence and garden at Kalugaon. This family is called Kaluganya Barpatra family. Harinath Barpatra with the king's permission excavated a tank at Kalugaon and built a temple (dol) on its side. The temple is known as Barpatra-dol.

Phuleswari's younger sister, Draupadi, was given in marriage to Saiwl Bar-Gohain of the Kiri Handikoi family, by whom she had two male children. After Phuleswari's death Siva Singh forcibly brought her away and made her his Parvatia Kuanri giving her the name Ambika, which is again another name of Durga. She had a son by the king who was made Tipasa Raja. Of the two sons by her former husband one was made Sadiyakhowa Gohain. Following her sister's example Ambika Devi excavated the second biggest and most famous tank in Assam, called Siva-sagar, near a village inhabited by the Kalanchuparia Gohnias, in sak 1655 (A.D. 1733). The excavation was begun on the 13th Jaistha (May-June) in that year and completed for dedication on the 6th Falshakh next year. Three big temples (dol), were constructed side by side on its bank in the same year and dedicated to

394 The tank, a spring-fed one, has an area of 139 acres under water and 257 acres with the four banks. The total length of the banks is 2 miles 190 yds. It is rectangular in shape. The height of the Siva Temple including the dome is 120 ft; and that of the dome alone is 7 ft, 6 inches. The temples on this tank were declared as protected by the Government of India on 25th March, 1915. From an extract supplied by Shri B.C. Hahdique. See also Changrung Phukener Buranji. See TB, p.38; E.S.E.: op. cit., p.71.
Muktinath Siva, Vishnu and the Devi. The Siva temple, with its large gold-covered dome, is the biggest and tallest of the temples in Assam.

When Ambika died the king made another lady, named Anadari or Akari Gabharu, his chief queen giving her the name of Sarveswari, which is also the name of the wife of Sarveswar (Siva). Anadari was the daughter of Laithagana Bar-Sohain's son, Salal Bar-Sohain, who had been already removed from that post. At the time the king took her to wife she was already the wife of Kalugonya Barpatra (Barpatra). 355

Siva Singha died in 1744 in the month of November. With all his proclivity towards Hinduism he proceeded to Ghoraddeo a year before his death and worshipped Senapati. That Siva Singha had three wives successively with the above names, who wielded regal authority, is confirmed by numismatic evidence. The inscriptions on the coins issued prior to 1724 bear the name of the king alone; those between 1724 and 1731, with one exception, are in his name and Phuleswari's; those of 1732 to 1736 in his name and Ambika Devi's; and those of 1739 to 1744 in his name and Sarveswari's. Some coins were issued in the name of the king during the intervals between the death of one queen and taking in of another. Both Ambika and Sarveswari were Bar-Rajas. 366

355 TB, p. 35; H.S.B. op.cit., p. 71.
366 Gait, op.cit., pp. 133-134.
Siva Singha tried to follow the example of his father, but in doing so he fell hopelessly under the influence of sectarian priesthood and surrendered his great responsibilities of the State. With the adoption and spread of Hinduism under the patronage of the ruling family the society went through a rapid social change, the traditional Ahom system yielding place to a new pattern of relations based on the Hindu concept of social hierarchy. It was essentially a social revolution leading to the emergence of a new aristocracy of a composite nature with vested interests which has been existing more or less to this day. King Siva Singha and his queens devoted most of their time, energy and resources to erecting numerous temples and making very generous grants of land and labour - Brahmutter and Devottar with paika and attendants - for the support of Brahmains and temples. Gait points out that nineteen out of the forty-eight inscribed copper-plates recording grants of land by Ahom kings refer to grants made by Siva Singha alone. The Ahoms, who still stuck to their own religion and customs, became during his reign a degraded class and the friendly tribes of the hills and the plains became socially cut off from the Hinduised Ahoms who abandoned the free use of meat and drinks and old social habits. The Deodhas and Bailongs resisted the change but to no effect. This king is noted for his elaborate system of espionage. During his reign the country was in peace, there being no more any invasion from outside. Only an expedition had
to be sent against the Daflas in January, 1717. The king developed taste in literary pursuits and in music and dance and invited foreign musicians to his Court. He wrote pious songs and learnt music. It is said that during his reign 'oppression was unknown' and punishments light.

32. Hao-Men-Hpa alias Pramatta Singha (1744-1751):

On the death of Siva Singha his younger brother, Shearing Raja, who was the second son of Rudra Singha, was raised to the throne on the 25th Agaryavana (December) of sak 1666 (A.D. 1744) by Bakhuriparia, Sengman Bura-Cohain and Rup-chandra Bar-Barua of Bakatha with the support of most of the nobles and officers of the Court. Thus 'king's brother has become king'. The new king, who was formally installed on the throne by the Beodhais, assumed the Abom name Hao-Men-Hpa and was given the Hindu name Pramatta Singha. Kaluganya Bar-patra-Cohain, Khamchang Dihingia Bar-Cohain and Dihingia Naoboichan Phuken had made an attempt to enthrone Siva Singha's son, Tipam Raja, with the help of a band of attendants and servitors of the royal household, but before the prompt and energetic handling of the situation by the Bura-Cohain and the Bar-Barua the attempt fizzled out.

The Kaluganya Bar-patra-Cohain and Khamchang Dihingia Bar-Cohain were dismissed from their posts for their opposition to Pramatta Singha's accession. The Tipam Phuken, the Dhekial Barua and a few others were severely punished on being

found guilty of grave offences at a trial. The king then appointed Mrityunjay, son of Kenduguria Barpatra, as Barpatra-Gohain and Leithapana Bar-Gohain's son Kheseseng Gohain as Bar-Gohain and Rajmantri. Further Sengman Dura-Gohain was succeeded by Bailungia Sonai Dura-Gohain and Bakatial Rupchandra was succeeded by Candraha alias Kirtichandra of Bakatial family as Bar-Barua, 358.

Pramatta Singh's reign has no notable events. He erected the brick-built Rang-Ghar of the city of Rangpur with two gabled-roofs on the model of ordinary houses made of wood and bamboo. The Rang-Ghar stands just on the north side of the grand Trunk Road. He also rebuilt with bricks the structures in the city of Garhgaon. Among his other constructions were the temple (dol) of Sukreswar in the town of Guwahati and the temple (dol) of Rudreswar Devalay at North Guwahati. In the latter temples built in A.D. 1741, an image of Siva named Rudreswar was installed, and devotee lands and palkas were endowed for the maintenance of the temple. These palkas were settled in a village which was named Rudreswar-Gram. 359 On a Hindu auspicious day, a census of the people of the country was taken. 360.

He respected the Mahantas and Gosains and gave them presents and made three copper-plate grants of land to religious institutions. But he was a follower of traditional Ahom customs. His coronation was held in strict conformity with the

360 Ah. P. 278.
Ahom formalities, the Deodhais and Bailungs officiating at it. He duly planted Ambars and Bathars at the Deogharas (temples) at Malai and Hukum respectively and also rebuilt the temples at Charaideo, Hukum Deohal, Malai Deohal, Bantung Deohal, Kanai Deohal and the Deoghar of Sengdeo at the request of the Deodhai, Mohan and Bailung Pandits. He even constructed anew his granaries, his residential buildings and his throne at the suggestion of these Pandits. These were significant changes and indicated a new trend of thought after what had been done by Siva Singha and his queens.

An ambassador from Tripura visited his Court in A.D. 1744 with a variety of presents. The Raja of Tripura hearing of the abilities of the Ahom rulers from his ambassador solicited the king's friendship, requested that his ambassador might be permitted to reside at Court and entreated favour of a similar compliment from Svargadev. The king also dismissed the Sadiyakhowa Cohain of Kochukalia family for oppressing the Chutiyas and appointed Naiboicha Phukan of Haga Barpatra family to that post. The king died in October, 1751.

33. Hao-Rem-Hpa alias Rajeswar Singha (1751-1769):

Framatta Singha was succeeded by his next brother in the same year assuming the name of Hao-Rem-Hpa and the Hindu

361: A Banyan tree used to be planted to ensure the longevity of an Ahom king.
362: Appears to be what is in Sanskrit betta-vrksa which is also a tree used for ensuring long life.
363: A place of worship and sacrifice.
365: Wade, op. cit., pp.142-143.
name of Rajesvar Singha, Mohemala Barjana Gohaindeo, whose claims of seniority entitled him to the succession after Pramatta Singha, was deprived of the right 'by the intrigue and violence of Kirtichandra Bar-Barua' on the ground that the Prince was 'pitted with small-pox'. 366

Langmai Kolia and Konwojaya Bhagi successively became Bura-Gohains under Rajesvar. After Khamseng his younger brother Numali and then Barjana of the Medurial Bar-Gohain family became Bar-Gohains. Kityunjay, his son Kambukantha and Lechengial became Barpatres one after another. Numali Bar-Gohain held the office of Rajmantri, but after his death Lechengial Barpatra-Gohain was appointed Rajmantri. Dakatial Kirtichandra continued to be the Bar-Barua with his tremendous influence. Dijoy Tamu Duara's grandson, Babikhowa, became Bar-Phukan who was succeeded in that post by his uncle, Tamuli. 367

Manipur Expedition:

The greatest event of his reign was his Manipur expedition. In 1756, Alompra (Alaungpaya, 1752-1760), the founder of the last Burmese dynasty, the Konbaungst line, undertook in person the first conquest of Manipur and other neighbouring countries. He defeated the Manipuris under Darut Sha near Palel after a sanguinary conflict and captured the capital. But the Peguan revolt made him return to Ava.

after thirteen days, Manipuris then sought the help of the British and Mr. Verelst actually moved from Chittagong with a force but returned on political grounds. Manipur was in a most unstable condition being in the throes of political intrigues and plots. Jay Singh then took the reins of government, but soon another invasion of the Burmese under Shembegwen in 1765, overwhelmed his unhappy country. The Manipuris were defeated and Jay Singh fled to Kachar. The suffering inflicted upon the people of Manipur by the relentless enemies beggars description. Mainkyushin (1763-76), Alamgpaya the third king of the dynasty, was then the ruler of Burma. The Burmese returned from Manipur 'after raising a man remotely connected with the royal family, called Beringba, to the throne'. Jay Singh returned, and dispossessed the usurper, whose life was spared. As the condition of the country showed some improvement the Burmese again appeared in the valley of Manipur. A bloody battle was fought by Jay Singh near Langthabal lasting for three days. Jay Singh being completely defeated fled across the hills across Assam. The Burmese placed the Moirang Raja on the vacant throne as their puppet and returned to their country.363

Jay Singh363 made an urgent appeal to Rajeswar Singh for help by sending an ambassador from the Kachari Court where he took shelter. After consulting with his nobles the

363 Pemberton's Eastern Frontier of British India, pp. 43-44. See for details pp. 36-45 of his book.
369 Wade's Account calls him Krishna Chandra, but in other Chronicles of Assam as well in Pemberton's account the name is Jay Singh.
Ahom king permitted Jay Singh to come to Rangpur. When the latter came he, with his 'retinue of 4,000 men' was accommodated in a large camp on the banks of the Dikhow river. The king agreed to despatch in aid of the Manipur Raja an expeditionary force to oust the Burmese (Man-tar) invaders from his country. The force was got ready, but initially several officers, who were summoned to lead the expedition to Manipur, 'pretended illness' and being detected were dismissed from their jobs. The king at last found Haranath Lajinder Nathar Malukan, grandson of Kangachila Saara Bar-Mukan, respond to his call. He made Haranath Neog or Senapati Phukan (Supreme Commander) and in 1765 ordered him to proceed to Manipur 'through jungles over the Charaideo Hills'.

The force had 40,000 men both from mul and dual of got-naika. The Ahom king gave a send-off to Jay Singh with good wishes from his camp-house on the Sonai river and the latter undertook to guide the expedition across the hills. The troops then marched and entered into a dense forest in the middle of the Charaideo Hill where they confounded the way and the Manipur Raja also could not show the direction. The whole body of men were put to extreme hardships due to the difficult terrain. They had to grope through the jungles by opening up a route and their advance was unusually slowed down taking about one

370 According to Rangkhumaia Suranj (p,30) the Kachari Raja also came with Jay Singh to the Ahom Court.
372 AB, p,52. In Wade's Account, (p,146), 54,000.
month in covering a small distance and so their rations of food were exhausted. Many of them perished from the effects of exposure and from diseases, such as fevers and dysentery and many were killed by the Naga, through whose country they tried to push through. Some even died of snake-bites and bites of spiders. When this plight of his men was reported to the king they were ordered to return. As these men had to fight against nature in having to cut through the vast tangled masses of jungle-creepers the Assamese called it Lata-kata-yan. 373 The king charged his general, Maranath Unitarama Phukan, for his inability to overcome the Naga opposition in leading the force, but the Phukan gave a convincing reply that it was the Manipur Raja who had undertaken to guide the expedition along a short-cut but who had failed to show the way and it was not the fear of the Naga that had caused the delay and suffering. The Phukan was exonerated and in 1767 a fresh force of 50,000 men under the command of Khangia Phukan, the son of the Batakatiul Bar-Barua, proceeded under the orders of the king to Manipur with Jay Singh by way of Baha and the Kochhar country. Leaving the main army at Baha Jay Singh proceeded with a force of 10,000 men from it under the command of the Naga Bara, Maranath Bar-Barua, and reached the Kerap river where forts were constructed and a Naga levy was raised. At the approach of the Akam army the Burmese puppet ruler fled.

373 Literally 'creeper-cutting war'. See AL, p.253; TR, pp.51-55; Wade in cit., pp.146-147. Wade says some six months were spent in covering only a part of the way.
away. The Raja was welcomed by the Nagas and probably did not require any more help from the Assam force which was sent back to Raha. With his Naga force the Raja proceeded to Manipur where almost 'all the people of the country welcomed Jay Singh as their king' and a few who opposed were arrested and put to death. He devasatated Moirang, defeated and probably killed the Burmese puppet ruler and recaptured the throne of Manipur.

At the king's order the Khangia Phukan, who was at Raha, sent Lynamath Naga Bera to Manipur with two hundred men to see Raja Jay Singh and report about what he was doing. Lynamath was received with great honour by Jay Singh who expressed his gratitude thus - 'I have regained my dominion through your king's favour. I cannot forget him as long as I live. I shall remain faithful to him and send annual tributes without failure ... I wish to offer my daughter to your king and intend to send her with you'. Jay Singh sent with Lynamath his daughter, Princess Kuranaganayani (fawn-eyed), with two respectable Naga, Hirumani and Namang, to the Ahom king with great pomp. When the party arrived at Tenga-bari the chief dignitaries of the Ahom Court went forward and escorted the Princess to Sonarinagar where there was a residence of the king. The king also proceeded to Sonarinagar where in Salmaa, A.D. 1768, one Siromani offered the princess after

375 AB, pp.239-290.
376 Ibid., pp.239-290.
performing Chaklang (marriage) to the king who made her his chief queen.\textsuperscript{277} The party of Manipuris (Magals), who were sent with the Princess by Jey Singh, were settled in the farm at Kanaimaji village, called Magaluchat, in the area of Sarucharai in the lower valley of the Disoi.\textsuperscript{278} The Bakatiali Bar-Barua, Gendhela, was renamed Kirtichandra (Kirti = fame) by the king as the success of the Manipur expedition terminating with a matrimonial connection between the two royal houses of Assam and Manipur was due to his political ingenuity.\textsuperscript{279}

Destruction of Buranjis:

A commotion was created by a reference to Kirtichandra Bar-Barua's family as a jaleu-bate (draper) family in a Buranji, called Chakrimbati Buranji, brought out by Humali Bar-Gohain. The term jaleu-bate signified that the Bakatiali family was not pure Assam. This aspersion made Kirtichandra call in his relations in the Mara country in Upper Burma to prove his pedigree as genuine. Having proved it he had the king issue orders for a grand collection of all the Buranjis in the houses of the nobles and officers for an examination and those of them, which contained this incorrect statement, were burnt away.\textsuperscript{280}

\textsuperscript{277}Ibid., p. 390; for Chaklang see K.T.P., op. cit., pp. 54-55. For chaklang see TB, p. 51.
\textsuperscript{278} Ibid., p. 51. In AB, the supreme commander of the second expeditionary force to Manipur is mentioned to be Khangla Phaken, son of Bakatiali Bar-Barua, but in K.T.P.'s Buranji he was simply Bakatiali Bar-Barua. In others the point is not clear.
\textsuperscript{279} K.T.P.: op. cit., p. 55; TB, p. 50.
\textsuperscript{280} K.T.P.: op. cit., pp. 55-56.
The Daflas raided the neighbourhood of Ghiladhari in 1758. This tribe was never reduced to complete submission. The whole-foot-hill-frontier was therefore defended by a series of forts to the south of which their access was prohibited. This measure proved effective and a deputation of the Daflas surrendered the captives earlier taken and also brought presents to the Ahom king. But the king, in rage, arrested the members of the deputation, which provoked their relatives. They retaliated by seizing a number of Assamese subjects and two cannon. Soon the king xxx came to terms with the Daflas, by which, in order to secure frontier peace, the latter were permitted to collect a form of black-mail at the rate of 'a mura of paddy and 320 cowries' from each family in the Dafla Duara.281

A punitive force had also to be sent against the which subdued the offending villages. In November, 1766, Mikirs in July, 1766, the Kachari Raja, who was summoned to the presence of the Svargadev, refused to come. But the Bar-Barua marched with a force against him and reached Rahm. The Raja being terrified came and made his submission. He was accompanied by Raja Jay Singh of Manipur (Mekheli), who had taken shelter at the Kachari capital Khaspur after being driven from his country by the Burmese as already said.282 In 1769 the Jayanta Raja's movements on Assam boundary appeared to be hostile. The Bar-Barua marched against him with a body of troops

282 AB, pp.286-287 for details.
and reached Raha. From that base he advanced to the Assam-Jayanta boundary and placed cannon for action. His action alarmed the Raja who made all haste to retreat to his capital.

The question of selection of a site for the Raja's residence came up before the Pandit astrologers soon after the accession of Rajesvar Singha. The Deodhai Phukan and Bai-lung Phukan recommended Taimung and the Brahmin and Ganak Pandits, Rangpur. The king followed the Hindu view and constructed a brick-built palace at Rangpur, but later he also erected a brick-built residence at Taimung (Dihing). He was also a great temple-builder. Among the temples (dols) he built were those at Vasisthasram, Manikarnesvar, Chitrachal and Negheriting. During his reign the Moamara Mahanta raised a big earth foundation called Barbheti in the low Malau paddy field. The big size of the Barbheti became a symbol of the numerous character of his disciples. Being apprised of it Rajesvar, who knew the Mahanta to be opposed to the Ahom king, won over to his side; as a balancing factor, the Silikhatalia Mahanta of Dihing by showing special honour to him.

Kirtichandra Bar-Barua was an intelligent officer with a domineering attitude. King Rajesvar could not oppose any firm opinion of the Bar-Barua who was virtually the policymaker. For his overbearing and ruthless temperament he was hated by many and once in 1763 in the month of Kartik an attempt was made on his life by a group of nobles including...

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283 AB, p.291.
the younger son of the king, Naoshaliya Phukan, Dhekial Barua, the Brahmin Bezbarua and Taptapi Deka. At the principal gate of the royal residence they fell upon him and gave him some blows with their daggers, but Kirtichandra, though wounded, escaped death. The assailants were later arrested and some were mutilated and others put to death. Kirtichandra Bar-Barua also established one hundred and eighty Bebejeas and a hat (market) at Raha.

Four Phukans visited Rajesvar Singha's Court as ambassadors of the Bar-Waras, who were received by the old Chiring Phukan and the Gohains and who referred to the Ahom king as 'Bhai-raja' or brother-king. They saw in the Ahom kingdom a large population, but comparatively less work. This king also imported foreign magicians who showed their performances at the Rang-Ghar, He took the saran from a Gosain, called Hati Gosain, a relative of the Parbatia Gosain, who was given a temple at Pandunath. He made seven copper-plate grants of land and naiks to Brahmins and temples.

Rajesvar had three sons already born to him while yet a prince and a fourth was born after he became king. The eldest was called Kandura Gohain, and was given Tipamia mel, the second was given the Saringia mel and the mel given to the third son was called Saru-mel. The fourth prince, who was born after his accession to the throne, was called nat-kunwar or throne-prince. Rajesvar took a tour of his

287 DAB, p.130.
288 TB, p.47.
289 H.S.B. : op.cit., p.76.
kingdom visiting Gauhati, Rajo, Ber-Nadi, Kalsila, Beki, Bardowa, Sariahtali, Kaliabar, Jatiarang, Dorgaon and Gajpur, in all of which royal residences were constructed for his stay. These residences may be compared to the modern circuit-houses, but meant for the king alone.

Rajesvar Singha died at Devaragaon in A.D. 1769, in the month of Jaishtha. His body was cremated at Sonarinagar, and the bones were taken to Charaideo and put into grave. His cremation ceremony was performed according to Brahminal rites.

34. Hao-Nyeu-Hpa aling Lakshmi Singha (1769-1780):

On the death of Rajesvar Singha his next and youngest brother, Namrupia Raja, called also Kaliabar, Gohain deo, aged fifty-three years, was installed as king in 1769 at the temporary royal residence at Devaragaon by the Gohain, the Bar-Barua and the Phukans after a Council meeting amongst them. The new king assumed the Ahom name Hao-Nyeu-Hpa and the Hindu name Lakshmi Singha. Sait refers to a difference of opinion among the nobles regarding the choice of Lakshmi Singha whose legitimacy was doubted from the colour and features being entirely different from those of his father, Rudra Singha. Even the father himself had this doubt. Hence the Madurai Bar-Gohain and a few others supported the claim of Rajesvar's eldest son while Kirtichandra Bar-Barua was in
favour of Lakshmi Singha. Finally the Bar-Barua prevailed and the others conceded.294

It is said that the Parbatiya Gosain refused to recognize Lakshmi Singha on the score of his alleged illegitimacy. The king became a disciple of a Sakti Gosain, named Rammananda Acharyya, of this country and settled him with land and other grants. The Acharyya is known as Pahumariya Gosain who was also the first of the Na Gosains.295

Soon after Lakshmi Singha's accession his best friend, Kirtichandra Bar-Barua, insisted on the propriety of accomplishing the destruction of the sons and descendants of all his brothers to make the throne safe from usurpation. The king reluctantly authorized the Bar-Barua to deprive the royal descendants of their noses, eyes and ears and to banish them into the hills of Namrup. It was speedily carried out by the Bar-Barua except in the case of twelve princes who enjoyed the king's favour, but the king himself deeply repented his cruelty.296

Revolt Of The Hoamarias:
Their Seizure Of Power;

Since the advent of the Parbatiya Gosain the religious trend in Assam took a serious turn and Phuleswari's action inflamed the situation. Among the local sects of Hinduism and even between the Hindu and Ahom priesthoods there was no

294 Gai : op.cit., p.189.
295 H.S.P. : op.cit., p.77.
296 Wade : op.cit., p.151.
friction worth the name. The Ahoms sacrificed animals, such as cows and buffaloes, and worshipped their own gods at Charaideo, yet the Vaishnava Satras flourished side by side and received patronage from the Ahom kings except when these Satradhikars went out of their way to dabble in politics. The Ahom religion was not at all a proselytising religion; neo-
vaishnavism spread peacefully; but the introduction of Sakt
taism from Bengal created a different situation. Prior to
that there was religious peace, because there was no imposition.
But the imported cult was aggressive. No king could have thought
of forceful conversion without the sanction of the spiritual
preceptor, but it was attempted by the royal disciples of the
Parvatiya Gosain and hence the Moamaria flare-up. Early in-
surrections were merely incidents of steady preparations among
the faithful disciples of the Moamaria Gosain, whose resolve it
was to deal a fatal blow at the Ahom government after the in-
sult he had been put to by Phuleswari. Continuance of Kirti-
chandra in the office of Bar-Barua during Lakshmi Singha's reign
drove them irresistibly to a trial of strength. The climax was
reached when, once, the Moamaria Gosain was abused with in-
sulting epithets by the Bar-Barua for being indifferent to him
while showing respect to the king. The Maran Chief, Nahar,
was also beaten by the Bar-Barua and his ears cut off for a
similar reason.

The Marans, particularly those of Hatichungi, who, according to some accounts,297 had been suppressed on the advice

297 H.S.B : op.cit., p.77.
of Kirtichandra since the time of Rajeevar Singha, were now prepared to fight and reports came that they set up a parallel government with their own Raja, Bar-Barua and Phukans and trained up troops. A force was sent by Lakshmi Singha to subdue them under the command of one Bez-Barua, but the Ahom force was defeated by the Marans and Bez-Barua narrowly escaped. Another force, despatched with Harenath Bhitaraul Phukan in command, encamped on the southern bank of the Dibaru river, constructed a bridge over it and crossed to the other side. The Marans suddenly fell upon them killing many while the rest went inside a stockade. Meanwhile the Hoamaria Gosain received full co-operation of the Marans and Kocharis of Namrup who became his disciples. The Marans contacted in Namrup the three exiled Princes - Batgharia Barjana Mohanmala Gohain, brother of Rajeevar Singha, who was exiled by that king; Mahu-Gohain and Saru-Gohain, sons of Rajeevar Singha, who were exiled during Lakshmi Singha's reign - and persuaded them to join their revolutionary army to oust the unjust and oppressive government of Lakshmi Singha and Kirtichandra Bar-Barua. The latter, they said, was particularly instrumental in mutilating and banishing the Princes and oppressing the Hoamarias. They promised to make Barjana Gohain king. The three Princess then accompanied the Marans in their march against the royalist forces. Mohanmala Barjana Gohain arrived at the place, where the Bhitaraul Phukan was invested, and appealed to him.

298 TR, p. 58.
to join with them and accept him as his lawful king. The Phukan refused to accept Mohanmala as king with the result that he was imprisoned and kept under guard. Sadiya was also devastated by the Marans, who killed the Sadiyakhowa Gohain in a battle, but who were later defeated by the Ahom general Daimukhia Rajkhowa.

The victorious Marans then, in consultations with the Ahom Princes (Gohains), proclaimed Raghav as Bar-Barua and one Khora named Mahar, Deo-Gosain, who had two wives of historic fame named Radha and Rukmini. Having thus set up their own machinery for conducting operations these Marans, contrary to their earlier assurances, murdered the two sons of Rajesvar, Saru-Gohain and Maju-Gohain by secretly administering poison. Their next step was to set up Mahar's son, Ramananda or Ramakanta as their king by-passing Barjana Gohain, who was confined in a house under the surveillance of their guards. But they were giving out that Barjana Gohain was their king, the strategy being to draw the support of the people in general in capturing the government. Thus Raghav Maran succeeded in receiving submission of the villages to the east of the Dihing river including Tipam. The Marans also played upon the minds of the people by singing an awe-inspiring song that Ashtabhuj, Sayabhuj and Chaturbhuj were their protectors.

300 TB, pp.57-60.
301 So-called eight-armed, seven-armed and four-armed.
In October, 1789, the royalist troops were defeated in several engagements by Raghav on the north bank of the Brahmaputra causing a great alarm in the capital. The Bar-Barua advised the king to leave the capital and go for safety to Gauhati. Raghav marched with his troops on Rangpur and arrived at midnight after the king's departure. The king was pursued by his men and captured at Sonarinagar. He was brought back to the capital and confined in the temple of Jaysagar. Raghav's men also rounded up as many nobles and officers as could be traced and put some of them to death, keeping the rest in confinement. Raghav then took to wife the king's Mehipuri Queen, and a number of daughters of the nobles. Meanwhile the Bar-Barua, being sent from Sonarinagar by the king, met the Moamara Gosain and prayed for the king's life. But the Gosain chained him and kept him under guard. At this time Raghav occupied Rangpur and informed Ramananda (or Ramakanta) that - 'Rangpur has been taken, the king too has been seized and kept under guard'. Immediately Ramananda, his father Nahar Kora, Radha and Rukmini proceeded with their forces to Rangpur and occupied it in the month of Agrahavana, sak 1691 (A.D. 1769). At first the Moamara Gosain's son Bangan was going to be placed on the throne of Rangpur, but the Gosain forbade it and on his advice Ramananda was installed as Raja. Two other sons of Nahar were made Rajas of Tipam and Saring in imitation of the Ahom system. Bangan, however, assumed the

302 Gait: op.cit., p.191.
title of Namrupia Raja, 303 Nahar had the title of Pitri Raja.

The Marans preserved the entire structure of government as set up by the Ahoms, but filled the posts with Moamaria Maran officials. Thus they appointed three Marans as Bar-Gohain, Bura-Gohain and Barpatra-Gohain, a kandi (archer) as Bar-Phukan and two Moamaries as Sadiyakhowa and Marangikhowa. Only the old Salal Gohain was allowed to continue. Phukan and Rajkhowas were also appointed from amongst them. In face of this revolutionary change of government Maranath Senapati Phukan escaped to Silmari in Bengal. 304

Soon after completing these arrangements, Raja Ramananda went to Khutiapota, the abode of the Moamaria Gosain. He there put to death the Ahom Bura-Gohain, Bar-Gohain, Bar-Barua Kirtichandra, Bar-Phukan, Deka Phukan and Kathkata Barua of Luthari. He also arrested the Brahmin Gosains of Amiati, Dakshinpat, Caramur, Kuruabahi, and others and also the Thakuria Gosains and exacted large sums of money from them. He even cut off the nose and ears of the Vagish Baru of Amiati. Common people in great numbers were summoned and made disciples of the Moamaria Gosain. 305 Coins, dated sak 1691 (A.D. 1769), were struck in the name of Ramakanta (Ramananda). Actually Raghav was the man behind, who managed all affairs at Rangpur in the capacity of Bar-Barua and directed the policy of the Maran government.

304 TB, p. 66.
Counter-revolution:

After a few months of Maran rule a dissension arose among their chiefs. Raghav wanted the insignias of royalty including the Kekura-dola (royal palangquih) as the real conqueror of Rangpur, but Ramananda refused to give him that status. Another called Bayan Deka, who organized the Moamaria armed forces, also aspired to the throne. At the same time the Ahoms regained consciousness and became prepared for a return blow. One Ramkrishna, in collaboration with Kurungasayani, killed Raghav in April 1770, on the night before the Bohar Bihu festival. It is said that the Manipuri queen herself gave the first stroke with a sword. Ramananda escaped but was caught and put to death. Lakshmi Singha was released and placed on the throne. Then there began a vigorous persecution of the Moamarias. The Moamaria Gosain was seized and put to death. Other insurgents were hunted down and killed. There were fresh risings of the Moamarias, but, after some headway, were crushed. The whole fabric of Moamaria government broke down. Lakshmi Singha's installation ceremony was then performed with great pomp for which there had been no moment of peace. 306 Runwoigenya Chaneshym became his Bar-Gohain and Beijung his Bar-Gohain and Rajmatri. Maran became Barpatra. Bhadrakar of Rakatia family was made Bar-Baruc after Kirtichandra. Kashi and Lahen of Dihing became Bar-Phukan successively. Maran was succeeded by Kenduguri Radrenyar as Barpatra-

Gohain and Edabaria of Handikoi family became Bar-Barua after Hhadrasen.

Kalita Phukan:

People of Narayampur complained against the oppressions of the Kalita Phukan of Kesamati. The Phukan was dismissed in December, 1774. He took shelter at Tamulbari on the north bank and thought of making himself an independent ruler. Soon he proclaimed himself king under the name Mirheng. He made a throne and ascended it. He was after some labours captured at Dhekerijuli, but escaped by bribing. But he was again captured and executed.

In 1779, a Nara chief of Khamjang, who was given settlement near Sadiya, started a rebellion with a band of Chutiyas and Mishmis killing the Sadiyakhowa Gohain, but retreated into the forests when a punitive expedition was sent against him from Rangpur.

Lakshmi Singha was decidedly a man of weak character, who yielded, against his will, to some of the diabolical plans of his Bar-Barua. His mind vacillated between the Ahom and Hindu views and eventually he submitted to the latter. He was put out of his wits by Raghav Maren's victorious march on Rangpur and took to flight at Kirtichandra bidding betraying his own indecision and limidity. His followers left him for his complete lack of stamina. He was back to power without

308 AB, pp. 318, 320-324.
Kirtichandra. At Nami Gosain's suggestion he performed the worship of the Hindu Tantric Goddess Tara with great ceremony and at an enormous cost to the great displeasure of his hereditary priests, the Deodhais and Bailingus. He built a copper temple within the compound of the Nal-dol of Devagram. His mother built the Bagi-dol. Even the Pahalmaria Gosain's son erected the Gauriballav-Devalay. The king also built the Janardan-dol at Asvakranta and excavated the great Rudrasagar tank. He died of dysentery in sak 1702 (A.D. 1780) in the Hindu month of Paus (Dec.-Jan.).

Decline And Fall Of The Kingdom (1780-1826):
35. Hao-Hit-Pong-nya 'alias Gaurinath Singha (1780-1795):

Lakshmi Singha was succeeded by his eldest son, Loknath, who assumed the Abom name Hao-Hit-Pong-nya and the Hindu name Gaurinath Singha. He made his residence at Garhgaon. According to Capt. Welsh's account he was 'only fifteen years of age at the time of his succession'. He cremated the body of his father and entombed the ashes at Charaideo. He became a disciple of a son of Pahalmaria Rama-nanda Acharyya Gosain. Rudresvar Barpatra was appointed Rajmantri. Ghanashayam continued to be the Bura-Gohain. His Bar-Gohains were successively Bhununarayan and his son, Nirbhoynarayan, of Madural family and Gangaram of Sataialia family. Later Nirbhoy again became Bar-Gohain on removal of

Gangaram, Mdabaria was afterwards dismissed and Bhagati of Nential Handikoi family was appointed as Bar-Barua, who was again succeeded by Jaynath of Bakatial family and Baskatia Laban, Haranath Senapati Phukan, who in the meantime returned from Simari, was given the office of Bar-Phukan. He was succeeded by Cogoi, Medhi, Sivenath, Bureh Chetia and Ghinai Badanchandra, (son of Haranath). This step

Fresh Revolt Of The Mosamarias:
Their Temporary Ascendancy:

In A.D. 1782 the Mosamarias again rose in rebellion and set fire to the Singari-Ghar at Gargaon. They also attempted to burn away the capital, but were repelled by the Bura-Gohain and the Senapati Bar-Phukan after a sharp engagement and the morale of the panic-striken people was restored.

Redresar Rajmantri fled to Cembati. The king, who narrowly escaped from the Mosamarias, appointed Ghanashyam Bura-Gohain as Rajmantri and large numbers of Mosamarias were put to death for their rebellious activities by the Bar-Barua under the king's orders. Further steps against the Mosamarias came up for consideration and the Bar-Barua, rejecting any conciliatory approach to win them over as suggested by the Bura-Gohain, advocated their wholesale massacre to get rid of their repeated attempts to overthrow the government. This policy was endorsed by the vindictive king. A general massacre was then ordered and several thousands of Mosamarias were put to death. This step

312 Gait op.cit., p.196.
simply aggravated the situation. A Mahanta of Jakhelabandha Satra took lead in organizing a subversive movement at Jayesagar, but he was captured and his eyes were plucked out and three of his followers were fried to death in oil. Soon another rebellion, that of the Marsus, broke out under one Badal Geonbura, but it, too, was quelled. In the meantime a very powerful revolutionary force was built up by the Moamarias or Muttaks on the north bank of the Lohit. It broke out in rebellion in 1786 and swept down across the Lohit and the Brahmaputra defeating the royalist forces, sent against it, at the Garaimari-bil and other places. It sacked the Garamur Satra and set fire to the houses, routed the Lower Assam troops sent by the Chiefs of Ranî, Luki and Beltala and advanced towards Rangpur. The remnants of the Ahom forces on the north bank crossed to the south bank and joined the Bura-Gohain who was at the Sonari post with another force. The Bura-Gohain was attacked and defeated by the Moamarias and forced to retreat to Gaurisagar. The Moamarias occupied Garhgaon and destroyed it. Gaurinath was at his Rangpur palace and the Bura-Gohain joined him, followed by the Moamarias, who devastated the country through which they marched. Gaurinath sent Kataks frantically seeking help of the Bar-Phukan and Manipuri, Kachari and Jayanta Rajas. But before any help.

313 TB, pp.94-97; Gait: op.cit., pp.196-197. In TB, Rani, Luki and Topaguchia (instead of Beltala) are mentioned.

314 appears to be Purnananda, son of Chanaslyam Bura-Gohain who, in the meantime, had died. See Kashinath Buranji p.60, and TB, p.91.
could come the Maomarias, advancing along the Janji river smashing all opposition, arrived at the gate of the capital, Rangpur, and put the king to flight. Purnananda Bura-Gohain, who was left in charge of Rangpur, retreated after gallantly defending the city for some days. Meanwhile Gaurinath reached Gauhati, met the Bar-Phukan and arranged reinforcements under the Pani Phukan for the Bura-Gohain. The Bura-Gohain was forced to retreat as far as the Kaziranga river when he met the Pani Phukan with 15,000 men advancing from Gauhati. He marched back and fought the Moamarias with victory and reverses over two years. Namdang, Gaurisagar, Heleeng, Ladaigarh and the Disoi river were the main theatres of war in this protracted campaign. Purnananda Bura-Gohain, on whom the main responsibility of dealing with the Moamarias rested at the time, constructed what is called Rbudhi-garh to fight the insurgents. The Kachari and Jayanta Rajas did not respond, but the Raja of Manipur, gratefully remembering the sacrifices of Rajesvar Singha, marched with 500 horse and 4,000 foot to Nowgong, where he was met by Gaurinath Singha. But the Manipuri troops could not give a good account of themselves in their fight against the Moamarias and had to retire with heavy losses. There also cropped up a number of local petty chiefs who asserted their independence.

At Rangpur the Moamarias set up Bharath Singha as king and appointed Sukura as his Bar-Barua. The Katisungi Marans acknowledged Sarbananda as their Raja, of whom Godha was

316 Ibid., P.200.
the Bar-Barua. They ruled over the territory to the east of the Dihing. Coins issued by Bharath Singha and Sarbananda have inscriptions testifying to their rule. Bharath's coins are dated 1791, 1792, 1793, 1795 and 1797 and those of Sarbananda 1794 and 1795. Bharath Singha described himself on his coins as a descendant of Bhagadatta, while Sarbananda assumed the title of Svargadev.

During a brief stay at Nowgong his followers offended the local people by their constant demands for supplies and harsh treatment. One Hinduri Hazarika, leader of the local Hoamarias, organized a band of rebels and attacked Gaurinath's camp. Gaurinath fled to Majuli and took refuge in the Amiati and Dakshinpapat Sattras for some time and then went to Gauhati. Here again the Raja of Darrang, Krishnarayan, at the head of a force of Hindusthanis and Bengalis, occupied a large part of North Kamrup including North Gauhati. He was an enemy of Gaurinath who had earlier slain his father, Hamsanarayan, the Raja of Darrang, and appointed Vishnuarayan in his place. Krishnarayan ousted Vishnuarayan and proclaimed himself Raja.

The Hoamarias enacted a reign of terror killing people, burning villages and destroying crops. As a result famines broke out. Many people left their homes and emigrated to the country east of the Ha-Dihing river and even to the Hukawng Valley in Burma and some 'became voluntary slaves to the Singphos in return for sustenance given them'.

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317 TB, p.115.
Arrival Of Captain Welsh:
Liquidation Of The Hoamaria Regime:

Being helpless Gaurinath appealed for a battalion of Sepoys to Mr. Lumsden, the Collector of Rangpur. In this, a merchant named Raush, who was a farmer of the salt revenue at Goalpara, and Mr. Douglas, Commissioner of Koch Behar, aided Gaurinath by writing to the British authorities in his favour. Mr. Raush had been robbed of Rs. 45,000 worth of goods when proceeding by boat from Gauhati to Goalpara. King Gaurinath begged through Raush for the earliest despatch of the battalion. In spite of the difficulties arising from the British policy in the affairs of other countries the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, evolved a line of policy to help Gaurinath in this great disorder in his kingdom by driving out the Bengal mercenaries from Assam. Accordingly in September, 1792, Captain Thomas Welsh, with Lieutenant Robert Macgregor as adjutant, was sent with a force of 12 companies of Sepoys, each company having sixty Sepoys and officered by Europeans. Capt. Welsh arrived at Goalpara on 8th November, 1792. Gaurinath while escaping from Gauhati, met him on the 19th of that month below the Nagarbera Hill. The main object, for which Capt. Welsh was sent, was to suppress the freebooters whom Krishnachandra Krishmanarayen had brought up from Bengal to invade the Ahom territory. But at Gauhati he came up face to face with the Hoamaria rebellion. Capt. Welsh crossed to the

north bank and defeated Krishnarayana's Barkandazes and brought him to submission. Then he turned against the Moamarias who suffered defeats at Jorhat and other places and fled away before the British Officers, who liberated Kavigur on the 18th March, 1794. Gaurinath reached Kavigur on the 21st March and Capt. Welsh held a grand durbar with the king and the noble. Last efforts of the Moamarias to attack Kavigur and its neighbourhood were liquidated by Capt. Welsh by destroying their camps and scattering them away to the east. Gaurinath also made a commercial treaty in 1793 with the British. It was the first treaty ever made by the British with any Assam Chief. But the Company's government never ratified and published it, on the ground that the Raja's government was not sufficiently strong to ensure its observance. With the coming of Sir John Shore as Governor - General non-interference became the basic British policy and in May, 1794, Capt. Welsh returned to Bengal carrying from Assam huge quantities of ornaments, gold and silver coins and other metals and cloths. The Bura-Oohain managed to retain two Sepoys, Dina and Phakirchand, belonging to the Captain's force, with whose help he trained up a considerable body of soldiers after the fashion of the Sepoys from Bengal to meet the threats of the Moamarias and others. A number of flint-

320 400,000 pieces of gold ornaments, 400,000 pieces of silver ornaments, gold to the value of 20,000,000 rupees and an immense quantity of copper, bell-metal, brass, cloths etc. They also took away 2,000 boats, one tusked elephant, one female elephant and 4,000 guns. - See TB, p.129. AB, (p.356) says: 'The captain and his wife and the Firingsis were given sufficient quantity of gold and silver as presents and were directed to go back'.
Influence Of Foreign Mercenaries:

Soon after the departure of Captain Welsh foreign mercenaries (Barkandasis) began to dominate Assam politics. It was possible owing to the weakness of the central authority. Chetia Bar-Ptukan rebelled against the king with the help of one Jamadar Nazar Singh Bengal who was the chief of a mercenary band. Nazar Singh was paid by extorting money from Palmamura Na-Gosain's brother. Senapati Phukan's son was made Bar-Ptukan by Nazar Singh for a price of 60,000 rupees, which the former paid by robbing the temples, including Kamakhya and Madhava, of their gold articles. Chetia Barrah Phukan, who rebelled and fled away, was seized with the help of Bengal Sepoys and beheaded at Jorhat under the king's order. Gauhati could be recovered from Hasar Singh Bengal only by importing Subedar, Mumat-Ullah with a force from Calcutta.322

Gaurinath died of dysentery at Jorhat in sak 1717

321 AD, pp. 356-357.
322 Ibid.
(A.D. 1795) on the 22nd Sravan. His body was cremated.

Character And Works Of Gaurinath:

Captain Welsh describes Gaurinath Singha as 'a poor debilitated man, incapable of transacting business, always either washing or praying, and when seen, intoxicated with opium'. He ascribes all the evils to the Bar-Barua, who also was against asking for the aid of British troops. He further reveals that 'the Raja ... stated his wish to throw himself unequivocally into the arms of the British Government, and asked for assistance against all his enemies and for more troops.'

He also mentions that Gaurinath had fondness for low favourites and was imbecile, ignorant, capricious, cruel and oppressive. Gaurinath's blind and excessive devotion to the way of life prescribed for him by his religious preceptor to the utter neglect of the responsibilities of the State was the chief cause of his downfall and the loss of prestige of his kingdom. His father, Lakshmi Singha, was, of course, primarily responsible for this debased outlook, but Gaurinath further worsened it, thereby falling at the mercy of the British for the first time in the history of the Ahom rule. It also ushered in the Bar-kandasi influence in the kingdom.

With all this Gaurinath did certain pieces of good work of abiding repute. He was the first monarch to abolish the institution of the annual sacrifice of human beings to Pithaasi.

323 Captain Welsh's Report to the Government (29th November) describing the Raja of Assam and the state of affairs generally. See also John Stone: Capt. Welsh's Expedition, p.17.
324 Capt. Welsh's Expedition, p.6. His letter to Governor-General, 6th Feb., 1794.
('the Daughter' of Girasi-gira or Assamese Bura-buri), called also Tameshari Mai ('the Mother of the Copper Temple') and Kechalkhati ('the Eater of raw flesh') in the neighbourhood of Chunpura in Sadiya. She is worshipped by the Bargaya Khel. The deities of the temple had every year to obtain the sanction of the Ahom king to offer human sacrifice, but Gaurinath abolished the practice. The deities say that from this abolition the Ahom kingdom began to go from bad to worse.325

Until the reign of Gaurinath, the Assamese annals had been very imperfectly kept. But he caused a commission of Nara astronomers and other learned persons to be deputed to Mogurang to examine the histories of their race in possession of the Shan Buddhist priests of that place, and to verify the books (or traditions) brought into the country by Chau-ka-pha. The examination completed, this commission re-wrote the Ahom history, in Assamese, and extended it backwards from Sam-lung-pha's conquest of Assam to the founding of the first Shan capital on the Shui-li river,...326 These Pandits also worked out that eleven Teunginger227 (i.e., 660 years) elapsed between the descent of Khun-Long and Khun-Lai (A.D. 568 or 569) and the founding of the Ahom dynasty in Assam by Hso-Ka-Iya, which gives A.D. 1223 or 1229 as the date of that foundation.

He personally followed Hindu religion and married the daughter of Kalia Deka of Dihingia family according to

325 W.B. Brown: *An Outline Grammar of the Deori Chatiya Language*, (Shillong, Assam Secretariat Printing), 1805, pp. IV-VII.
327 A cycle of sixty years, each year or lakmi having a name of its own.
Brahminical rites and not by chaklang. But he could not give up his Ahom faith. For he once ordered the Ahom Pandits to perform Umpha Saragpuza and the ceremony was performed in which 'one white buffalo, one white cow, and many white fowls, ducks, and pigeons were sacrificed to the gods. All heavenly gods were duly worshipped'.

36. Hao-Ning-Hpa alias Kamesvar Singha (1795-1810):

On the death of Gaurinath Singha his son Kinaram Cohan ascended the throne assuming the name Hao-Ning-Hpa and the Hindu name Kamesvar Singha. Radresvar's son Durgesvar was made Barpatra and Gangaram Bar-Cohan, succeeded later by Narahari Bar-Cohan. His Bar-Baruas were successively Bhadari of Handikoi family and Srinath of Duara family. Gandhela Rajkhowa of Handikoi family was appointed Bar-Phukan. He is also known as Kaliabhomora Bar-Phukan and the king conferred on him the title of Pratap-balav for effectively putting down the Dundia (or Dumdumya) rebellion in Kamrup under Haradutta and Viradutta. Mahanwari Purnamanda continued to be the Bura-Cohan. His son Chandrakanta was made Shairingia Raja on the death of the former one.

Soon after his accession Kamesvar had to take steps to put down a serious rising in Kamrup. It was headed by two brothers, named Haradatta Bajarbarua and Miradatta Bajarbarua who collected motley band of Kacharis, Punjabis and

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328 TE, p.92.
329 AE, p.356.
Hindusthanis and who were secretly aided, it is said by the Rajas of Koch Behar and Bijní hoping thus to seize Kamrup from the Ahoms. In the first phase of the rising nearly the whole of North Kamrup fell into their hands. These rebels were nicknamed Bumdumiyas. One account says Mr. Raush was looted and killed by them in Darrang. The pressure on Kamrup was possible because Hiamat-Ullah Subedar with his force was transferred from Gauhati to Jorhat for helping the Bar-Barua. Kalia-Bhomora Bar-Phukan, unable to get help from the capital where the Sepoys were engaged, raised a force of his own by recruiting Hindusthanis and from local levies obtained from the Rajas of Beltala and Dimarua. With this force he crossed to the north bank and attacked and defeated the rebels in several engagements. Hara Datta and Viradatta fled, but were traced out and put to death and the rebellion collapsed. This brave act earned for the Bar-Phukan the title Pratapballav.

During Kamalesvar's reign a regular standing army was formed by the efforts of the Bura-Gohain and both Jorhat and Gauhati had its garrisons. One Chandra Gohain of the Bura-Gohain family was appointed Captain of the army.

In A.D. 1797 about one thousand Barasiringias revolted in Sadiya. The Khanti Bura Raja, Pani-Naras, Pakials, Hiris Mishmis, Muluds, Tekelia Nagas and Abars joined with them. They attacked the Ahom head-quarters at Sadiya and speared to death the Sadiya Khova Gohain and took away the

331 TB, p.136 ; Gait : op.cit., pp.218-219 ;
H.S.B. : op.cit., p.83.
wives and children. Purnananda Bura-Gohain sent a powerful expedition with a company of Sepoys. The rebels were defeated and leaders taken captive.

There were fresh insurrections of the Moamarias with whom the Daflas joined but the Bura-Gohain crushed them with a strong hand. The Daflas submitted and the Moamaria Mahanta, Pitambar, was captured and put to death. There was another outbreak of the Moamarias at Bengmara in 1799 but the rebels were put to flight by an expedition sent against them. After the success of the punitive actions against the rebels there was peace in the country for the remaining period of the reign of Kamalesvar. Under him more or less peaceful diplomatic relations were carried on with Jayanta, Kachar and Bhutan and even with the Shan State of Mong-Kayng. This king restored Rangpur to its former condition and also built up the new capital of Jorhat. He excavated the river Bhogoi in order, says Gait, 'to provide this town (Jorhat) with a better water-supply! He also improved the communications in and about Jorhat by constructing the Ha-Ali, the Rajabahar-Ali, the Mohbendha-Ali, the Kamarbendha-Ali and the Suchandebendha-Ali. With the king's order Kaliabhomora constructed a copper-house at Kamakhya in Gauhati and also a Devalav at Chatraker. 333 Kamalesvar died of small-pox in sak 1732 (A.D. 1810) on 5th Megh.


The deceased king's brother, the Shairingia Raja, was

333 H.S.B.; op. cit., p. 84.
raised to the throne by Bura-Gohain Purnamanda. He assumed
the Assam name Hso-Den-Hpa and the Hindu name Chandra Kanta
Singha. The deceased king's body was cremated.

Purnamanda Bura-Gohain continued to be Rajmantri.
On the death of Kaliabhomora, Baden Chandra of Duara family
was made Bar-Phukan. After the flight of Baden, Chanashyam
of Dihingia family was appointed Bar-Phukan. Narahari of
Kapumaria family became Bar-Gohain and Durgeswar, son of
Kenduguria Rudrovar became Baxpatxa. 334

He made a dancing girl, named Padmavati of common
origin, his Parvatia queen. He also had a bosom friend named
Satram who became his constant companion and conspired
against the Bura-Gohain. Such taste and indulgence on the
part of Chandra Kanta became a cause of friction between
him and the Bura-Gohain. Further the Baden Chandra was sus-
pected to have, rightly or wrongly, collusion with Satram. The
Bura-Gohain sent men to arrest Baden Chandra, but the latter
fled away to Calcutta from where he left for the capital of
the Burmese king with the help of the Calcutta Agent of the
Burmese Government. King Chandra Kanta himself wanted to
get ride of the Bura-Gohain's domination in his government.
He wrote secret letters to Baden somehow to secure some help
in order to remove the Bura-Gohain from power.

It may be noted that the Burmese king Bodawpaya (1781-1819), whose capital was at Amarapur, had married Rangili Aideu (Rangili Nepuya) of Ahom Duara family in 1797. Badan was at Amarapur for sixteen months and through the Ahom queen persuaded Bodawpaya to assist him with a force. Towards the close of the year 1816 an army of about 8,000 men was sent from Burma. Of this army 5,850 were Shan levies from Long-Yang, Manmo (Bhamo) and Mong-Kawng. The army was led by Badan Chandra by the Patkai - Long-Yang route and arrived at Namrup. By that time its number swelled to about sixteen thousand. At the battle of Ghiladhari the Bura-Gohain's army which was sent to resist was defeated. Just at this time the Bura-Gohain died in a mysterious way. A suspicion is that Rajmantri Purnananda committed suicide by swallowing diamonds. With his death the resistance collapsed. His eldest son Ruchinath was then made Bura-Gohain and Rajmantri by the nobles. The Burmese advanced and occupied Jorhat after defeating the Assamese again near Kathalbari. Ruchinath fled away to Gauhati. Chandra Kanta was allowed to rule, but Badan had the dominating voice. He became Bar-Phukan again and hunted out and killed many relations and supporters of the late Bura-Gohain. Having established order the Burma army

335 'Môner Asam Akramen (Prathambar)' by P. Gogoi in Tai Sanskrit 1,1 (Gauhati), 1956, pp. 25-35. It was translated from Khamti Burundi by C.K. Gohain.
returned home in April 1817 with a large indemnity and a girl for their king. Soon a friction arose between the Bar-Barua and the Bar-Phukan and the tension became so great that the Bar-Phukan Badan was assassinated by one Rup Singh Bengal engaged by the other side. Chandra Kanta was then ousted by the Bura-Gohain Ruchinath, and Brajanath, a great grandson of Rajesvar Singha, who was then at Silmari in Bengal, was invited to occupy the throne. Chandra Kanta fled to Rangpur. But as Brajanath had suffered mutilation, his son Purenadar Singh seized and a part of his right ear was raised to the throne in 1818. Chandra Kanta was cut off in order to disqualify him from again becoming king. Many men of Badan's party fled to Burma and complained to the Burmese king against the actions of their enemies.

A fresh force from Burma under the command of Ala Mingi again appeared in Assam in February 1819. It defeated Purenadar's army led by Ruchinath at Hachkowagarh and occupied Jorhat. Purenadar and Ruchinath fled to Gauhati in March 1819. Chandra Kanta, who joined the Burmese, was again placed on the throne formally, after which the Burmese General returned home. Before their return the Burmese Commanders made a number of changes among the officers of the Court. Several were put to death as enemies of Chandra Kanta Singha. One Kheremia Kachari, named Patāl, was made Bar-Barua and Badan's son Janmi, Bar-Phukan, Janmi was replaced successively by Bhadrachandra and Lambodar. But Patāl Bar-Barua made a fort at Dighalighat of Jaypur with the object of fighting the Burmese. At that time the Burmese king sent Hingi Haha Tiloa with royal ornaments and dresses to the
Court of Chandra Kanta Singha. When Tiloa saw the preparations against them he killed Patal. At this Chandra Kanta thought the Burmese to be hostile and proceeded to Gauhati in April, 1821, leaving Kaliber, Bar-Gohain to fight the Burmese. Kaliber was defeated and made captive and Chandra Kanta was sent for, assuring security in order to be made king. Purandar Singha, meanwhile, went to Simari in the British district of Rangpur (Bengal) and applied for the Company's help to enable him to regain the throne. He even offered to be a tributary Raja under the Company.

Chandra Kanta could not be persuaded to come back.

The Burmese then filled the vacant throne with Prince Jogesvar Singha, son of Bogo Konwar. Chandra Kanta went to Bengal. Both Purandar and Chandra Kanta tried to drive out the Burmese from Assam. In this situation, in the spring of 1822, Ningi Dabe Bandula, a veteran Burmese general, came to take the command. Chandra Kanta gave a gallant fight to the Burmese at Malgaqhe but was defeated with heavy casualties and fled across Goalpara to the British territory again. The Burmese General warned the British Officer at Goalpara against giving any protection to the fugitive. The Burmese then devastated the country and created a reign of terror by their widespread acts of plunder, torture and killing of the inhabitants of the country. The country relapsed into anarchy.

With the outbreak of the first Anglo-Burmese War the British troops entered Assam and drove out the Burmese. The British forces also landed in Burma, defeated the Burmese
and forced them to sue for peace. Now by the Treaty of Yandabo, 24th February, 1826, by the Article 2 His Majesty the king of Ava 'renounces all claims upon, and will abstain from all future interference with, the principality of Assam and its dependencies'.

After keeping the province under their direct management for a few years, in 1833 Upper Assam except the Natak country was granted to Raja Purandar Singha with whom a treaty was made by which 'The Raja Purunder Singh agrees to pay an annual tribute of 50,000 Rupees of Rajah Mohree coinage to the Honourable Company'. The territory assigned to Purandar Singha was 'the portion of Assam lying on the southern bank of the Surrumpooter to the eastward of the Bhansiri River, and on the northern bank to the eastward of a nullah immediately east of Bishenath'. But as he fell deeply into arrears in the payment of his tribute and declared his inability to meet the engagements by which he had been bound the British Government assumed from him the power in A.D. 1838. Since then Assam became a part of British territory. The royal families were pensioned off.