CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

Muslim inroads into Assam dated as far back as the 13th century when during the period of the Delhi Sultanate, Muhammad Ibn Bakhtiyar Khilji a General of Qutub-ud-Din Aibak invaded Kamarupa in 1205 A.D. This invasion paved the way for subsequent Muslim invasion of the region in the succeeding centuries. At the same time this also resulted in a significant increase of Muslim population in Assam so that it constituted an important fraction of the Assamese population, which in turn constituted to the expansion of Islam in Assam. By the beginning of the 16th century as a consequence of the policy of expansion initiated by the Mughals towards the East Assam begun to have frequent contacts with the Mughals so that by the beginning of the 17th century we have the occupation of Koch
Hajo by the Mughals and consequently Kamrup too became subjugated. During this period of recurring Ahom - Mughal conflicts the Mughals further advanced into the East and in Kamrup alone Mughal rule lasted for about half a century.

**Scope And Objective of The Work**

This Mughal contact with the Koch and Ahom kingdom certainly brought about significant changes in the political, social and economic life of the region. An impact of the Mughal contact was felt in the political life of the Koch and Ahom kingdoms whereby owing to their repeated invasions and governance of a considerable portion of the region for instance Kamrup, they were able to introduce their over system of administration and political organisations which remained as legacies in the administrative set up of the region. Another point worth mentioning is the enrichment of the economic and social life of the Koch and Ahom kingdoms as a consequence of Mughal contact. Commendable contributions of the Mughals could be seen in the economic life of
the region particularly in its trade, craft and industries, medium of exchange and coinage. Likewise similar contributions were made by them in enriching the social and cultural life of the region, whereby notable changes were witnessed for instance in the dress, diet, literature art, architecture, painting, music and many other. The objective of the study therefore is to bring into focus these various Muslim contributions to the society of Assam during the period of Ahom – Koch rule in the region. The present work therefore is an analysis of the nature and extent of the impact of Mughal contact or Assam and to describe the subsequent changes, growth and enrichment of the polity, society and economy of the region.

Survey of Literature

The political, social and economic impact of Mughal contact on the Koch and Ahom kingdoms forms one of the most interesting but little known chapter of the region. It offered an almost unexplored and uninvestigated field of study and so far no
detailed work on this aspect is present. Some writers no doubt have dealt with it in their own way. Blochmann was the first who in his article "Koch Behar, Koch Hajo and Assam" in the 16th and 17th centuries based his study on Persian sources in Journals of Asiatic Society of Bengal (J.A.S.B.) 1872. He was then followed by Sir J.N. Sarkar who translated 19 folios of Fathiyah Ibriyah as 'Assam and the Ahoms in 1660 A.D.' in Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society (J.B.O.R.S.) 1915. Sir E.A. Gait made certain references on the relation of the kingdom of Koch Behar and Kamrup with the Muslims in his work, 'The Koch Kings of Kamrupa' and in his 'Report on the Progress of Historical Research in Assam' as well as in his 'History of Assam' which narrated the numerous Ahom Muslim conflicts. S.N. Bhattacharya in the 'History of Mughal North Eastern Frontier Policy' gave a description of the diplomatic relations of the Mughal Empire with Koch Behar, Kamrup and Assam. Reference is also made in N.N. Acharya’s 'History of Medieval Assam' and 'A Brief History of Assam'. Dr. Mohini Saikia in her 'Assam Muslim Relation and Its
Cultural Significance' has referred to the Cultural impact of Ahom Muslim Contact. Prof. J.N. Sarkar narrated about the Muslim campaigns in Assam in his work 'Freedom Struggle in Medieval Assam'. H.K. Barpujari’s work ‘A Comprehensive History of Assam’, Vol. II sheds some light on Mughal inroads into Assam. B.K. Barua’s ‘A Comprehensive History of Assam’ referred to the social and cultural conditions of Assam from the earliest period till the present. Khan Chaudhury Amanatullah Ahmad’s ‘Koch Beharer Itihas’ a history of Koch Behar in Bengali is a commendable work which throws some light on this aspect but needs to be supplemented by other accounts. D. Nath’s ‘History of the Koch Kingdom (1515-1615)’ does not cover the most crucial period of the contact, i.e., mid 17th century onwards.

Besides the above mentioned works, the studies of B.L. Barua ‘A comprehensive History of Assam’, M. Kar ‘Muslim in Assam polities’, Sushil Chandra Dutta ‘The North East and the Mughals’ Amalendu Guha also mentions about the contact of the
Muslims with Assam, but it is to be noted that none of the works mentioned above have presented a comprehensive history of the political, social and economic impact of Muslim contact on north eastern region. Gazetteers like B.C. Allen’s ‘Assam district Gazetteer, Vol IV Kamrup, E.F. Howard ‘Gazetteer of Bengal and North East India’ shed some light on the Muslim contact with these kingdoms, however none of these works gave a detailed account of the impact of Muslim contact, though the reports and Gazetteers helps as important source material to fill up the gap.

In the present work attempt have been made to bring into focus Muslim contributions to the society of Assam during the period of Koch Ahom rule in the region. The present work therefore aims at analysing the nature and extent of the impact of Mughal contact on the region and to describe the subsequent changes growth and enrichment of the polity society and economy of the region. The study has been based mainly on medieval Persian Chronicles and Assamese Chronicles. Besides the above
are supplemented by information from various books, thesis and the various articles published in the journals of the Royal Asiatic society of Bengal, journals of Bihar and Orissa Research society, Proceedings of Indian Historical congress and also the proceedings of the north east India history associations. The emphasis therefore would be more on contemporary writings and their various interpretations to provide a proper perspective towards an understanding of the Muslim contact.

In the medieval period the Koch and Ahom kingdoms actually meant the mongoloid states of Koch Behar, Kamrup and Assam which bordered serially on the province of Bengal in the north east. The greater part of the country is shut in between by the impenetrable mountains of the South Eastern Himalayan offshoots which girdle on three sides, north south and east. Hence Kamarupa enjoys an isolated position in relation with its neighbours Tibet in the north and Burma to the south and to a lesser degree with regards to that part of Bengal which now
constitutes east Pakistan in the south west. To the north west the country gradually slopes away along the course of the Brahmaputra and finally shades off into the valley of the river Karatoya situated in the modern north Bengal. Hence the river Karatoya situated in the south west is the only point of contact with the outside world and it is here that the Mughal Sarkar of Ghoraghat touched the fringe of the Koch domain which was naturally the first to come within the pale of imperial foreign policy. Thus Kamarupa was more vulnerable to invasions from the northern part of India especially from Bengal more than from other neighbouring countries. A weak and disorganized Bengal posed no threat to the security of Kamarupa. But as soon as a great power controlled Bengal, the peace of the region became threatened for it has to bear the full weight of the power from Bengal.

Ethnically the river Bar Nadi may be regarded as the dividing line of the territory of the north east into two distinct
units. In the west of the river Barnadi the Koch and the Mech appears to have been the most prominent racial elements whereas to the east, i.e., Assam proper the Ahoms were said to have been more prominent. Besides these two racial elements the northern and southern mountains skirting the Assam valley were inhabited by people of varied races comprising of the Akas, Daflas, Miris Khasis, Nagas, Garos and the Kolitas of which the latter became dominant in the plains of lower Assam.

There existed a great deal of divergent views with regards to the origin of the Koches. According to Risley, the Koches were "a large Dravidian tribe of North Eastern and Eastern Bengal among whom there are grounds for suspecting some admixture of Mongolian blood." However, another group of scholars maintained that the Koches are definitely of Mongolian stock. According to Hodgson, the Koches belong to the distinctly marked type of the Mongolian family. He is supported by Waddel who is of the opinion that they did not belong to the Dravidian stock "but
are definitely Mongoloid". Meanwhile the Persian chronicles in their over way confirm the Mongoloid physiography of the Assamese therefore in spite of the existence of these divergent views there can be little doubt that the people commonly known as the Koch are of Mongoloid origin having close affinities with other tribes such as the Meches, Dhimals, Hajongs and Garos. But in course of time and in some limited areas they intermarried with the Dravidians and gave birth to a mixed Mongoloid Dravidian race having preponderant Mongoloid characteristics.

Meanwhile the origin of the Ahoms is free from any controversy. The Ahoms were believed to be the offshoot of the great ‘Tai’ race who constitute the most widespread population in South East Asia. However, the Assamese chronicles did not mention specifically as to which particular branch of the Tai the Ahoms belonged beyond stating that they came from Kieng Sen Mao Lung, the capital of the State of Mong Mao or Mong Mao Lung. However, it is a historical fact that the Tais under their
leader Sukapha left Mong Mao in 1215 A.D. and thus early in the 13th century they made their advent into the Brahmaputra Valley.

Hinduism is the dominant religion in Assam. It may be noted that the three popular forms of Hinduism namely Saivsim, Saktism and Vaishnavism are prevalent in Assam. In the 16th century the Neo Vaishnavite movement gained momentum under the leadership of Sankaradeva and his disciple Madhavadeva. Next to Hinduism, the other popular religion is Islam. No doubt the advent of Islam into this region took place only in the first decade of the 13th century and in spite of the fact that during the initial years of its advent into the region it could attract only a few of the indigenous inhabitants nevertheless because of the simplicity of its ideas, principle and modes of worship in course of time the converts to this religion increased many fold. Added to this, the Muslim War Generals were accompanied by several Muslim saints notable among them was Ajan Fakir. Thus, the influx of Muslim saints coupled with the recurring Muslim
invasions of Assam, besides resulting in the expansion of Islam were also responsible for increase Muslim settlement in the region so that at present the Muslim came to comprise the second largest group in the population scenario of the region. However, besides Hinduism and Islam, Buddhism was also said to have prevailed in Assam during the period under study.

It may be noted that the Muslims in Assam were commonly known as the Musalmans. Till recently the Muslims in Assam were considered to belong to two distinct sections namely the 'Gariyas' and the 'Mariyas'. However the Kanai Barashi Bowa Sil rock inscription of North Gauhati mentioned that in the early 13th century the Muslims in Assam were known as 'Turukshas' meanwhile the Vaishnava writings referred to the Muslims as 'Yavana' whereas the Assamese chronicles referred to the Muslim invaders as the Bangals.
Several explanations have been put forward to explain the origin of the term ‘Gariya’. One such explanation was that the term originated from the name Gauda by which Bengal was known in the early period of the Mughal contact on the region and it was only after the establishment of a colony comprising of Muslim spinners by the Ahom rulers that the term came to be popularly used to the Muslims in the region. Meanwhile W.W. Hunter was of the view that the term ‘Gariya’ and ‘Mariya’ originated from the particular profession adopted by the Muslim settlers of Assam. The term ‘Gariya’ was applied to those who adopted the profession of braziers were known as the ‘Mariyas’. However it may be mentioned that during the period of the contact the Muslim tailors imported into Assam by the Ahom rulers were known as Gariya Darji. However the Muslim tailors of medieval Assam were also known as ‘Khalifas’, who were originally the preceptors of Islam but it is very possible that they later abandoned their priestly profession and adopted tailoring as a profession. Hence, in most probability, Hunter’s contention that the Ahom
Monarchs imported from gaur Muslim weavers to train their people in weaving embroidery etc. contain some elements of truth for Assamese chronicles have mentioned the Muslims as ‘Bangals’ thereby indicating their Bengal origin. Therefore it is possible that the term Gariya originated from the word ‘Gaur’ for it is a known fact that the Muslim who first came to Assam were the Turko Afghans from Bengal and at the same time their entry into Assam was facilitated from the West the only point of contact with the outside world.

Originally the Muslims were a casteless and classless society. Nevertheless it is possible that as a result of the constant contact with the indigenous people of Assam social divisions started appearing in the Muslim society. Hence certain diversions such as the Sayeds, Sheikhs, Pathans, etc. seemed to have occupied an important place in the Muslim society. E.A. Gait was of the view that the term ‘Sheikh’ is applicable to all converts of Islam. Meanwhile the word ‘Sheikh’ means head of the tribe,
lineage or family, hence, it connoted the higher social position awarded to people belonging to such division in the Muslim societies existing in other parts of India.\(^\text{16}\) Whereas in Assam ‘Sheikh’ were held to be the descendants of the Muslim Generals who came to the region during the medieval period. The ‘Sayed’ or ‘Sayid’ were another social group who occupies a higher social status. They claim to have descended directly from the Prophet Muhammad.\(^\text{17}\) Ajan Fakir the most well known Sufi Saint is also said to have belonged to this group of Muslims.\(^\text{18}\) Similarly Pir Khondakar another Sufi Saint was also said to have belonged to this clan.\(^\text{19}\) Added to this there were several general belonging to the ‘Sayid’ clan who accompanied Satrajit the Thanadar of Pandu and Gauhati in his invasion of 1615 A.D. Notable among them were Sayid Babakar, Sayed Hakim and Sayed Zainul Abidin.\(^\text{20}\) However it is important to note that besides these classes which occupied a high position in Muslim society there were other classes who occupied a lower social status such as the ‘Mariyas’ or (brass workers), Jolas (weavers) Nagarchis (musicians) and the
Mahimals (fishermen) of Sylhet of which the latter was not found existing in the Brahmaputra valley.\(^{21}\)

As a consequence of the recurring Turko invasions which began in the 13\(^{th}\) century Assam witnessed the increase of Muslim population followed by the increasing Muslim settlement in the region as well as the expansion of Islam. For the proper understanding of the impact of Mughal contact on the Koch and Ahom kingdoms it will be more appropriate to trace the history of Muslim expansion in the region.

India's contact with the Islamic world date back as early as the 7\(^{th}\) century A.D. when during the Caliphate of Umar the first Muslim fleet appeared in India in the year 636 A.D., however this first Muslim invasion was repulsed and as early as the 8\(^{th}\) century A.D they once again advance into south India for the purpose of acquiring commercial interests.\(^{22}\) In 712 A.D. Sind was invaded by an Arab named Muhammad Bin Qasim, this invasion facilitated
the migration of Arab settlers in the region. However, towards the end of the 10th century A.D the Turks of Ghazni under their leader Subuktagin made their inroads into India and defeated Jaypala the Indian ruler of the Shahi dynasty. Mahmud of Ghazni then conducted his raids upon India whereby the rule of Ghazni was established over Punjab which lasted for 150 years. In 1170 A.D. in Afghanistan the ruling dynasty of the state of Ghor rose to power, captured Ghazni and began extending its control over India whereby in 1186 A.D. Muhammad Ghori invaded and occupied Multan, Lahore and Sind and in 1192 A.D. he defeated Prithvi Raj Chauhan the Rajput ruler in the second battle of Tarain. Thus he succeeded in establishing Mughal dominion in India and entrusted it to the care of his general Qutub-ud-din Aibak who after the death of Muhammad founded the 'Slave House' of the sultanate of Delhi. All these earlier Muslim incursions resulted in the growth and influence of Islamic ideals especially under Aibak, who by his policy of conquests brought a large part of India under the banner of Islam. Added to this, for the propagation of Islam he was said to
have got constructed a mosque at Delhi and another at Ajmer and at the same time he also was said to have effected forceful conversion of the indigenous inhabitants to the Islamic faith.\textsuperscript{27}

However with regards to the Eastern part of India the advent of the Muslims took place during the closing years of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century when Muhammad Ibn Bakhtiyar the general of Qutub-uddin Aibak who was also the governor of Bengal and Bihar invaded Kamarupa in 1205 A.D. No doubt the Muslim forces were completely routed, nevertheless it paved the way for Muslim invasions in the succeeding centuries. Coupled with the increased settlement of Muslims in the region, at the same time it also resulted in the expansion of Islam whereby a class of local converts to the Islamic faith was created.\textsuperscript{28} Thus it was from Bengal that Turkish power as well as Islamic ideals were extended to the Brahmaputra valley in the succeeding centuries.
Meanwhile in the year 1227 A.D Nasir-ud-din the son of Iltutmish proceeded to Bengal to quell the rebellion of Husamuddin lwaj and pursued lwaj to Kamarupa whereby a fierce struggle took place, whereby he defeated and killed both lwaj and the Kamarupi King and then established one Samudrapala as a tributary ruler of Kamrup. This expedition marked the Turkish intervention in the political and administrative set up of Assam and further resulted in increased Muslim migration and settlement in Assam thereby resulting in the growth of Islam in the region.

In the year 1256/1257 Ikhtiyar-ud-din Uzbak Tughril Khan once again led an expedition into the Brahmaputra valley. This expedition is important from the point of view of the expansion of Islam in the region. It is believed that Ikhtiyar-du-din after occupying Kamarupa-Nagar he got constructed a mosque there. And instituted the reading of the Khutba and the Friday Namaj in the land. At the same time he was said to have introduced his over system of administration which conform to Islamic ideals and
principles. However, he was not able to rule over Kamrup for long since the indigenous inhabitants asserted themselves and defeated Ikhtiyar and his forces.

In the year 1498 Alauddin Hussain Shah of Bengal attempted to conquer Kamrup Kamata. He defeated its ruler Nilambar and after occupying the kingdom of Kamata, he constructed a Madarsah at Malda in 1502 A.D. as a mark of his victory and issued coins in his own name. He also created a large colony at Hajo where the Muslims came to comprise an overwhelming majority of the population. Added to this a Muslim saint named Ghiyasuddin Auliya was said to have constructed a mosque at Hajo, later he was buried near this mosque, this place came to be venerated by both Hindus and Muslims alike till the present day. Hussain’ Shah’s rule over Kamrup was no doubt brief nevertheless he left behind him legacies of Muslim rule in various aspect of the life of the region.
It may be noted that during this period of recurring Muslim invasions, three tribal states emerged in the upper Brahmaputra valley. They were the Chutiyas, Kacharis and the Ahoms. The latter being the ablest and more powerful among them soon extended her power in all directions and hence the Ahoms were bound to come into conflict with the Turko Afghans. In Bengal sooner or later.

In the year 1532 A.D. Hussain Shah the ruler of Bengal once again sent an expedition into Assam under his able general Turbak who reached as far as Nagaon in the Ahom territory. However Turbak forces were completely routed by the Ahom forces in a naval engagement at Duimunisila. The local Chronicles mentioned that during the expedition a large number of Muslim soldiers were taken as war captives and came to be employed as artisans who subsequently came to be known as the ‘Mariyas’.
During the initial years of the 17th century Assam witnessed the expansionist policy of the Mughals and the first Assamese power to have been the recipient of such a policy were the Koches, whose kingdom came to be divided into two parts namely Koch Behar and Koch Hajo, whereby as a result of ill will between the two divisions the Mughals were able to occupy Koch Hajo and to subjugate Koch Behar. At Koch Hajo the Mughals introduced their over system of administration Mughal political institutions were thus established resulting in the increased importation of Muslim population and their employment in various activities of the state.

The Ahom Mughal conflicts were initiated in the first decade of the 17th century during the reign of Pratap Singha, for a short time the Mughals occupied the Ahom capital at Gargaon, Clashes continued with varying results and in 1639 a treaty was concluded between the two powers thereby fixing the river Barnadi on the north and the Asurar Ali or the south as the boundary line between
them. This resulted in the settlement of Muslims in the conquered territories and Hajo and Gauhati were made the trade centres of the Mughals. The number of Muslim population in the region increased rapidly and this is corroborated by the records of the Persian Chronicler which maintained that during this period under study there were considerable Muslim inhabitants at Gargaon.

Mir Jumla in 1662 invaded Assam whereby he not only defeated the Ahoms but also occupied Gargaon for a short while. He was said to have issued coins and constructed a mosque at Mancachar in Goalpara. On his return a number of Muslim artisans called ‘Khanikars’ were given settlement by the Ahom ruler near Dalbagan seven miles from Gargaon.

Meanwhile the Ahoms confident in their own strength and encouraged by news of the decline of the Mughal empire in Delhi, once again asserted themselves and extended their sway in all
direction. These activities of the Ahoms led to the battle of Saraighat in 1671 whereby the Mughal forces under Ram Singha were completely routed and pursued down the river Manah in Goalpara. Taking advantage of the political disorder which reigned supreme in the Ahom kingdom following the battle of Saraighat, the Mughal tried to extend their control once again over the region, nevertheless, they were finally put down by Gadadhar Singha the Ahom ruler in the battle of Itakhuli in 1682 A.D. which brought to a close Ahom-Mughal conflicts thereby fixing the river Manah as the final boundary between the two.

This long period of recurring conflicts between the powers of Assam and the Mughals as mentioned earlier resulted in the significant increase of Muslim population in the regions. These Muslims comprised of the war captives as well as those who were imported by the Ahom rulers from different parts of the country and settled in Assam. This contact with the Mughals compelled the rulers of Assam especially the Ahoms to give up their earlier
policy of isolation and according to the needs of the time these Ahom rulers were compelled to make use of the talents of these Muslim counterparts. In course of time these Muslims were employed in the various departments of the state which they served with the utmost dedication and loyalty or their part. Hence Assam could be said to have really gained a lot from this contact with the Mughals who having adopted themselves to the land where they were settled in they contributed in bringing about notable changes in polity, society, economy and culture of Assam in the succeeding centuries.

As mentioned earlier the Muslim in Assam came to be employed by the Ahom rulers in various department of the state. This is especially seen during the reign of Rudra Singha the son and successor of Gadadhar Singha who being curious to know more about the Muhammadan invaders was said to have given up the policy of isolation followed by his predecessors. He was also believed to have sent envoys to different parts of India to gather
information about the socio-cultural and political set up in those places. Being influenced by the Mughal dress sense he created a class of officers known as the ‘Bairagis’ to keep him informed of the manners, customs, dress sense etc of the other foreign countries. He was also the first Ahom ruler to have insisted on the use of Mughal dresses and costumes in his country. Similarly he was also said to have introduced turbans and other Muslim types of dresses as presentation items which were at first refused by his minister. It was during the reign of Rudra Singha that there was the large scale importation of Muslim tailors and weavers into Assam and it is believed that from this time onwards the Assamese women started weaving clothes in imitation to the Mughal weavers. Assamese Chronicles also mentioned that Rudra Singha introduced the knowledge of footwear in Assam, he was said to have imported some families of shoe makers from Bengal and settled them in Assam. Besides these Rudra Singha was credited with the importation of other various artisans from different parts of the country and settled them in Assam. Notable
among them were the ‘Persi Parhias’ or Persian transcribers appointed for the purpose of interpreting and deciphering Persian documents.\textsuperscript{45} Added to these he also imported Muslim stone engravers or ‘Akharkatiyas’ employed by him for inscribing Royal Firmans or orders on metal sheets or stone slabs.\textsuperscript{46}

The period of the Ahom ruler Rudra Singha also witnessed the enrichment of Assamese music, since being a great lover of music he came to be deeply influenced by the Hindustani music whereby during his reign we have its importation into Assam. It is recorded that he imported and settled a large number of Hindustani musicians in the country.\textsuperscript{47} The Assamese Chronicles mentioned that he sent Assamese artists to Delhi for training in Hindustani music as well as for learning the use of various musical instruments.\textsuperscript{48} These musicians on their return not only popularised Indian music in Assam but also imparted training to other Assamese in the use of various musical instruments of Hindustan.
The largest number of Muslims in Assam were probably employed in various capacities in the guilds of masons and artisans or 'Khanikar Khel' placed under the change of a Khanikar Baruah'. Whose main function was the manufacture of furniture items. These Muslim artisans were imported into Assam by Rudra Singha, some of them were constituted into a guild of ivory workers called 'Baktar Khanikar'. J. Donald has mentioned about one Fiznur Musalman as being the most famous ivory worker of the period.

It is important to note this employment of the Musalmans by the Ahom rulers was not confined only to the various crafts nevertheless, in course of time, the need to augment the intensification of the country's defence potential, resulted in the employment of the Muslims in the royal arsenals of the Ahom rulers. Some of these Muslims served the Ahom rulers and nobles in the capacity of 'Dadhora' or armour bearers or body guards. The local Chronicles mentioned about Rupai Dadhora who was an
important armour bearer of Gadadhar Singha the Ahom ruler.\textsuperscript{52}

Hence in course of time the Muslims came to acquire the trust and confidence of the Ahom rulers and nobles and subsequently they came to be entrusted with more responsible and important state jobs.

Thus as a consequence of the Muslim inroads into Assam beginning from the 13\textsuperscript{th} century onwards till the liberation of Kamrup by Gadadhar Singha, the Muslim population in Assam increased immensely. This increased Muslim population in course of time were employed in various capacities by the Ahom rulers. This in a way opened the eyes of Assam to the developments and innovations which took place in different parts of India. Assam no longer remained isolated. In course of time, she came to be influenced by these developments and innovations which she inculcated in various spheres of life. Hence the contact of Assam with the Muslims certainly produced drastic changes in the
economy, society, administration and polity of Assam and these changes are dealt with in detail in the subsequent chapters.

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7 *Assam Buranji*, S.K. Bhuyan (ed.), Gauhati, p. 43.
10 *Satsari Assam Buranji*, S.K. Bhuyan (ed.), Gauhati University, Gauhati, 1960, p. 16.
   *Report on the Census of Assam*, 1891, pp. 95f.
   M. Saikia, *op.cit.*, p. 139.
17 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
22 E.A. Gait, *Census of India, 1911*, p. 123.
33 Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1874, p. 303.
   E.A. Gait, History of Assam, p. 46.
34 H.K. Barpujari, op.cit., p. 48.
36 Assam Buranjí, Gunaviram Barua, Gauhati, 1988, p. 47.
   E.A. Gait, History of Assam, p. 56.
   S.N. Bhattacharya, op.cit., pp. 98f., 103.
37 Kamrupar Buranjí, pp. 42-43.
   E.A. Gait, History of Assam, p. 118.
   S.K. Bhuyan, Atan Buragohain and his Times, Gauhati, 1957, p. 32.
   E.A. Gait, History of Assam, p. 149.
40 Kamrupar Buranjí, p. 97.
   Deodhai Assam Buranjí, p. xix.
   S.K. Bhuyan, Lachit Barphukan and His Times, Gauhati, 1947, pp. 73-74.
41 Kamrupar Buranjí, p. 103.
   Satsari Assam Buranjí, p. 111.
43 Tara Chand, op.cit., p. 71.
   Satsari Assam Buranjí, p. 57.
   Satsari Assam Buranjí, p. 31.
   E.A. Gait, History of Assam, p. 181.
47 Swargadeo Rajeswar Singha, p. 166.
48 Tungkhungia Buranji, p. xxx.
     Assam Buranji, Gunaviram Barua, p. 93.
49 Annals of the Delhi Badshahate, pp. 18, 83.
     Swargadeo Rajeswar Singh, p. 167.
50 Satsari Assam Buranji, p. 58.
     Swargadeo Rajeswar Singh, p. 11.
51 J. Donald, “Ivory Carving in Assam”, Journal of Indian Art and Industry,
52 Satsari Assam Buranji, p. 149.
     Swargadeo Rajeswar Singh, p. 166.