CHAPTER-III
Some aspects of Assamese Hindu-Muslim Cultural relations:

The history of cultural relations of Assamese Hindu-Muslim is a long one to discuss. It is known from the history that as early as in 1205-6 A.D., the Koch and the Mech tribes of western Kamrupa shown their admiration for the Muslims, and they extended their help to Muhammad Ibn Bakhtiyar to invade the country. During the middle of the 13th century, the Chutiya king, Ratna dhwajapala's (1224-50 A.D.) also maintained a friendly relation with the Gauda Sultan. The most important gesture towards this affinity was held, when the Khen king Chakradhwaja Singha, adopted Islam by 1474 A.D. The use of Khan title by high Assamese Hindu officials, and the use of Perso-Arabic words by the poets including Sankardeva (1449-1568 A.D.), helped the Islamic culture to gain its popularity in the western part of Kamrupa, before the invasion of Sultan Hussain Shah in 1502 A.D.

The invasion of Hussain Shah is considered to be a remarkable event in the history of Assamese Hindu-Muslim relation. Because he was able to established a permanent Muslim rule in Assam atleast for few years. The colony of Afghans was also created during his time, which was remained as the earliest organised Muslim colony in Assam. A direct result of the establishment of such Afghani colony, was their contributions to the growth of Islamic elements in the culture of Assam.

After the death of Hussain Shah, when almost all part
of Assam liberated by Suhungmung (1477-1539 A.D.), from the possession of Gauda Sultan, the Afghan warriors, who were settled earlier were again rehabilitated in the various parts of the eastern Brahmaputra valley. But the final phase of Assamese Hindu-Muslim relation was started, when the Ahoms came into the direct conflicts with the Mughals in 1614 A.D., when the Koch-Hajo of Kamrup region was captured by the Mughals, overthrowing its ruler Parikshitnarayana. From that time the number of Muslim coming to this country increased in a considerable strength, and they started settling permanently in Koch-Hajo region, and in the eastern part of the Ahom territory. The Muslims those who came with the invading forces here, were either soldiers or craftsmen or taken as war captives. Some of the early Muslim settlers too had no difficulty in finding their brides amongst the local non-Muslim communities. Small groups of Muslims who settled in the different parts of Assam eventually came into the close contact of the local people, and thus the cultural relation of the local Hindu-Muslims received a momentum, and which later increased from time to time.

The general relations among the Muslims and the Hindus during the Ahom rule, were cordial and characterised by goodwill, mutual love and toleration. The Hindus and the Muslims, in their turn, influenced each other and a common cultural meeting ground was created. Sufism and the Bakhti movement effaced the differences in creed to a certain extent. The general class of
people, which comprised the artisans, painters, engravers etc.
more freely came into contact with one another, and their
profession acted as a cementing force. They fought together for
the well-being of the country and at the time of foreign
invasions, the Muslims also displayed their heroic strength and
power.

Shāhābuddīn Ţalis, who came with Mirjumla in the later's
expedition to Assam in 1662 A.D. mentioned that, the Muslims and
the Hindus lived in perfect amity and peace. He wrote, " As for
the Musalmans who had taken prisoner in former times and
had chosen to marry there, their descendants are exactly in the
manner of the Assamese and have nothing of Islam except the name;
their hearts are inclined for more towards mingling with the
Assamese than towards association with Muslims." ¹

During that time the Assamese Hindus did not feel to
take the food cooked by the Muslims.² On account of their
religious faith the Muslims also did not suffer any disability
during the Ahom rule. Till the year 1772 A.D. for all the
important posts like, Gohains, Phukans and the Baruaship, only
Ahoms were employed. But after then a good number of Muslims
were appointed in various capacities in different departments,
such as, minting of coins, carpentry, embroidery work, sword
making and the manufacture of gun-powder. It is recorded in the

¹ S.K.Bhuyan, Anglo Assamese Relation, p.20
² A.Sattar, Sangmisanat Asamiya Sanskriti, p.14
Buranjis, that the Ahoms received their knowledge of fire-arms from the Muslims, when they engaged in a war with the forces of Hussain Shāh.

The esteem and reverence in which the Muslims were held in Assam during the Ahom rule, can be illustrated from the two contemporary examples. As S.K. Bhuyan writes, "In September, 1780, an Assamese Muslim, named Anwar Hāzi Faquir, of the guild of Parsi-Pariyias or Persian Translators, met king Lakshmi Singha after his return from the pilgrimage, obviously to Mecca. The king become highly pleased with the Faquir, and granted him revenue free lands in Kamrup together with necessary number of survitors, as well as perquisites of the following maqāms......

He will also be the head of the above mentioned maqāms, and maintain his religions thereby."¹

As J.P. Wade, who stayed in Assam from 1792-1794 A.D. mentioned, "A Mussleeman of the name of Newas was gooroo-general of his persuasion in Assam, from about the time of Roodur Singha. He had numerous attendants dressed in the high Mussleman fashion. He resided at or near the capital and frequented the durbār; and the Swargadeos used to despatch him to pray at Hadjoo after the Mussleman fashion for their prosperity. He was usually succeeded by his nearest relatives."²

¹ S.K. Bhuyan, Annals of the Delhi Badshahate, p.15
² Ibid, p.16
Moreover, the Muslim religious leaders or Pirs paid visit to the Ahom court. The Ahom rulers encouraged them to settle in the country by granting them revenue free land, known as pir-pal lands. Some religious leaders were known as Dewans, who exercised great influence over the masses.

Muslim maqams and dargahs also received liberal encouragement from the Ahom kings. They granted the pir-pal land for the support of the mosques and tombs of the Muslims. For the spirit of religious tolerance mention to be made about the assignment of the perquisites of a few maqams in Kamrup to Ānwar Hāzi Faqīr, and the custom of sending annual presents from the royal court to the shrine of Poa-Mecca at Hajo.¹ It is evident that the visitors to the important darghās of eminent Muslim saints were both Hindus and Muslims, who equally participated with zeal and joy.² During their occupation of Gauhati and Kamrup from 1639-1658, and from 1663-1667, the Muslim rulers also paid interest in the improvement of the mosques and the places of Hindu priests. It is learnt from a document in the possession of a priest of Kamakhya temple, that the two bigas of land were granted to two Pujāris of the temple in June, 1667 A.D. The grant was made by Āllah Yar Khān and Hasan Kaṇdahārī on behalf of Āurangzeb, when the formers were the Faujādārs of Gauhati.³ Two

1. S.K.Bhuyan, Annals of the Delhi Badshahate, p.16
2. M.P.Srivastava, Social life under the Great Mughals, p.77
portions of land were also granted to the two Pujaris of Umananda temple.  

The Persian language, which was originally brought by the Muslim immigrants, became a popular language of this country and played an important role in creating communal harmony among the different sections of Indian people. The employment of Muslims in various government services helped the development of Perso-Arabic elements in Assamese culture. As a result of this mutual contact there emerged gradually a linguistic synthesis. Persian, which was an indispensable symbol for culture and remained as an easy passport to official assignments specially in diplomatic services, paved the way to the Hindus to learn this language. In Assam, in those days, there were learned Muslims, some of whom were appointed in the Persian department of the Ahom government.

The Muslims settled down in different parts of Assam and came into close contact with the indigenous population, they influenced the local society and culture, and were themselves influenced in turn. The good relation between the Hindus and Muslims, and the earnest attempt made to bring about the unity between the two communities by the Ahom rulers, showing honour and respect to the Muslim settlers, laid the foundation of deep rooted secular outlook in Assamese social life right from the 17th century.

1. S.K. Bhuyan, Annals of the Delhi Badshahate, p. 18
2. Ibid, p. 56
A. Professions and Representation of Muslims in State Services:

The growth of Muslim population in Assam was increased from time to time after the prolong war between the Ahom kings and the Muslim rulers. The earliest Muslim settlers in the Eastern Brahmaputra Valley of Assam subsequently came to be known as Mariyas.1 The stream of Muslim immigration concentrated on Assam soil, included the war prisoners, artisans and technicians. The infiltration of the Muslim into the Western part of Assam was started from the Koch-Mughal alliance. But the number of Muslim population in Assam increased to an larger extent during the Ahom-Mughal conflicts from 1614-1682 A.D.

It appeared from the constant references to Guwahati and Hajo in the Persian Chronicles and Assamese Buranjis, that these two places had become the important centres of military, civil, commercial and cultural activities of the Muslims in North-Eastern region, after the annexation of Koch-Hajo area to the Mughal Empire. Though the Muslims first settled in the Goalpara and Kamrup districts, but gradually they spread out to the other parts of the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam.

Professions:

In Islam, stresses have been given on earning an honest living (kasāb-i-halāl), and the precedent that were already set by

1. E.A. Gait, Census Report On Assam, 1891, p. 87
the Prophet and the pious Caliphs of Islam. The Muslims in Assam, never hesitated to adopt any profession, which suited their tempera-
ment and was within their means.

During the Ahom rule, the Muslims were employed to the positions of trust and responsibility. The Muslim settlers in Assam, having displayed their true love and patriotism for the country and the people in general, attained rank and positions in life and society. Besides the war-captives, the Ahom kings fully utilised the talents of some of Muslims, belonging to the cultured and the literate classes.

The agriculture was least favoured by the Muslims, and they quite ignorant of the system of agriculture prevalent in Assam. But from the certain remarks of Āzān Faqīr made in his zikirs, it appeared that the Assamese Muslims delighted in the work of agriculture than the culture of knowledge and religion.2

The earliest Muslim settlers in Assam adopted the profession of braziers. Many brasswares, household implements including pots, plates, candeliers manufactured by the Muslims were used in the Hindu temples of Assam. The use of metal made spittons, smoking pipes and 'hoqahs' among the Ahom royalty and nobles was a outcome of the Islamic influence.3

1. M.Yasin, A Social History of Islamic India (1605-1748), (New-
Delhi ), p.23 (1974)
Besides these, there were other professional classes of men, such as, engravers, painters, weavers, tailors - etc., who generally hailed from the lower starta of Muslim society.

Representation of Muslims in State Services:

The Muslims in Assam, being composed of incongruous elements belonging to diverse races, developed peculiar traits of character and aptitude, and were employed in the service of the state according to their ability during the Ahom rule.

It is recorded in the Assamese Buranjis (historical literature), that in the beginning of the 16th century, the Ahoms acquired the knowledge of the use of the fire-arms from the Muslims. The Muslim war prisoners, who settled in the country were first appointed in the royal arsenals and particularly in the manufacture of cannons, guns and gun-powder. The Muslims employed in the manufacture of such things highly displayed their merits. In the middle of the 17th century the most influential armour-bearer of the Ahom king was a Muslim, known as Rupai Gariya.

It is said that the first Nawwab, who came to Assam with his sons and settled here hailed from Delhi. According to local tradition, during the reign of Ahom king Rudra Singha (1696-1714 A.D.),

2. Dr. M. Saikia, Assam Muslim Relation and Its Cultural Significance, (Golaghat, 1978), p. 146
when Persian influence increased with rapid strides, eight prominent Nawwāb families came to settle in Assam.¹

Several learned Muslims, generally known as 'Farsi Parhiyas' or Persian readers were attached to the Ahom court, and their main function was deciphering and interpreting of Persian documents, drafting and supervision of the Persian correspondence of the Government.² They generally performed very responsible duty of the Government, and were related to the royal confidential department. These officers were enjoyed vast tracts of revenue free land.³ The Muslims were appointed in the charge of Royal mint, and several Assamese kings and queens issued coins with Persian legends engraved on them.⁴

The Muslims were employed as 'Royal Engravers', and their chief occupation was transcribing the Royal farmāns on metal sheets and stone slabs. The head of this department was known as 'Barua'.

Like Hindus, the Muslims in the Ahom rule were also employed as 'Wazīrs', and were granted revenue free land from the king. There were 16 'Dewāns',⁵ and they enjoyed same vast tract of revenue free land. The Dewāns were probably enjoyed as the head of the institutions of Islamic religion and culture in the state. Apart from

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5. A.J.M.Mills, op.cit., p.I XXIII, 1854
These, the Muslims had the reputation of being efficient officers in the civil and military departments of the Government, and were employed in the army according to their ability as Baras, Salkias, Hazarikas and Baruas.¹

The highest number of Muslims were enrolled in the department of 'Guilds of Masons' and artisans (in Assamese 'Khaniker Khel'). The main function of the people of this particular branch was the construction and repairing of the state buildings. There were another group of people who enjoyed very high reputation for ability called 'Silakutis' or 'Stone Engravers'. The artisans were expert in decorative works on stone slabs, which were used in masonry construction.

There was a special class of Muslim workmen called 'Gunakatias', to make gold and silverwares for weaving and knitting of gold laces and brocades for various types of clothes. A fair number of Muslims were appointed in the guild spinners, tailors and weavers. A certain section among the Muslims were known as 'Jola' and it seems that, the term 'Jola' came from the word 'Julaha'. Probably the term was the invention of the Muslim weavers and spinners at the time of their coming to Assam. Their main function was manufacturing the yarns from the staples of cotton for the royal looms. They were also entrusted with the work of making flinges of cloth.²

1. A.J.M. Mills, Reports On The Province Of Assam, p.I, XXIII, 1854
2. B.K. Barua, Asamiya Bhasa Aru Sanskriti, (Gau. 1963), p.121
The Assamese Muslims were skilled in embroidery work also, which were distinctive in character and had high utility value. Perhaps their efficiency in embroidery work and in making the dresses of different colours and styles helped them in getting the appointment in the Guild of Choladhara (caretakers of Royal wardrobes).

B. Festives and Ceremonies:

Feasts and Festivals:

The advent of Muslims in Assam brought some important changes in the social and religious outlook of the Assamese people, particularly the Muslims. The mission of Islam, which was carried on by different preachers, mainly by the Sufis and Saints among the common people, left the religious practices among the Assamese people. The festives of the Hindus, though numerous, occurring almost throughout the years. On the other hand the Muslim's festives are few in number and celebrated with great enthusiasm.¹

Muharram

(lit. "that which is forbidden" and so anything "sacred"), is the first month of the Islamic calendar. It has been converted into

a month of mourning for all Muslims, and specially for Shias on account of the tragedy of Karbala. The special significance of this month is that the Muslims observed the first ten days of the month as the anniversary of the martyrdom of Hazrat Imam Hussain at Karbalā. The Sunni Muslims of Assam generally keep aloof from the celebrations of this month except the vulgar sort, but on the tenth day of the month, specially a sect of Assamese Muslims take out tazia procession and used to distribute alms and charity.

'īd-ul-Fitr.

"The festival of the breaking of the fast", is observed on the first day of Shawwāl, the tenth Arabic month. This day of rejoicing comes after the long-drawn fast of a whole month of Ramzān. On the morning of 'īd, the Muslims dressed themselves in their best cloths. They go to their friends and relatives and wished each other good luck. They also distribute Halwa (sweets) to their friends and neighbours. On the morning of the 'īd festival, the male flock generally assembled in 'īdgāh* and mosques and offered their 'īd prayers, which followed with hugging and greeting.

* 'īdgāh—the place where the rites of the 'īd festival are conducted. It is generally consist of a pavement with a wall to the West facing East. The term lit. means "the place of rejoicing".
Id-ul-Azha

or Bakr Id, is the feast of sacrifice, held on the tenth day of Zul-hijja, the twelfth month of the Muslim year, is the most important festival of the Assamese Muslims. This day is observed in commemoration of Prophet Ibrahim offering his second son Ismail, who miraculously escaped through a Dumba (a kind of goat). It is a festival held with prayer and sacrifices. The Muslims assembled in large number in the Idgah at the appointed time and offered their prayers.

Shab-i-Barat or Lailat-ul-Barat

(night of forgiveness of sins). It is an important festival, which falls on the 14th of Shabbân, the eight Arabic month. Muslims are supposed to keep vigil throughout the whole night by offering special prayers, reciting Qurân and other religious books. Shab-i-Barat is considered to be a night in which a man's fortune for the coming year is fixed by God. Unlike the some parts of India, the Assamese Muslims do not use fireworks during this night, but the illumination of mosques and buildings is displayed by some Muslims of the state.

Shab-i-Qadr ( "the night of power" )
This mysterious night falls in an odd day of the last ten days of the month of Ramzān. The actual date is not known to the people, that is why, considering its uncertain ty the Muslims have to pass the night in vigil and religious activities offering prayers and giving alms.

İd-i-Milad

Though opinion differs, but it is generally believed that the Prophet was born on the twelfth of the third Arabic month, Rabi-ul-Awwal, and his death also took place on the same date. The Muslims of Assam celebrated this day narrating the chief incidents of the Prophet's life in the form of lectures. They offered Fatiha and also distributed sweets among the people.

Apart from these festivals, the Muslims of Assam also observed the Akhiri Chahār Shamba or Chalellum but with less enthusiasm.

It is interesting to note that all the vocabularies used in order to mention the name of the religious festivals of the Muslims are Persian.

Customs and Ceremonies:

The customs and ceremonies of the Assamese Muslims are almost uniformed and less obligatory. The profounding practices
prevailed among the Assamese Muslims are the result of the Islamic impact on them. The Muslims living in different parts of India are commonly followed the same customs and ceremonies.

It is common for every Muslim to call prayer (Azān) in the ears of the newly born child. The rite of 'Aqiqah\(^2\) or sacrifice is generally performed after the period of ceremonially impurity is over.

Though it is lawful to perform the 'Khatna' (Circumcision) seven days after the birth of a child,\(^1\) but it is usually performed between the age of seven and twelve or fourteen among the Assamese Muslims.

The most eventful ceremony is marriage among the Assamese Muslims. There is no age limit for marriage, but the Assamese Muslims have a general likeness of early marriage. Primarily marriage was considered as a family affair, and the marrying couple had no access to this matter. But the situation have now changed, and in many cases the boys and girls are finding their mates on their own choices.

The main functions of marriage is began with the negotiation between the two parties by elderly members of the family or by the senior members of the society on their behalf. A Qāzi (Registrar of marriage) used to perform the 'Nikāh' (marriage contract), which

\(^*\) 'Aqiqah'; according to the traditions the birth sacrifice is combined with the first shaving of the child's hair.

\(^1\) M.Yasin, A Social History Of Islamic India, (1605-1748), (New-Delhi, 1974), p.57
eventually registered in his (Qāzi's) book. Since the Muslim's marriage is essentially a contract one between both the wedding parties, a 'Kābin' is agreed upon which on demand or in case of divorce it is payable to the bride. Before the ' Nikāh' could be performed, the formal consent of the bride is also essential. The function of obtaining the consent is held through an agent (Wakīl) along with two other persons who acted as witnesses.¹

Like the birth and marriage ceremony, there is also some religious rituals in case of the death of a Muslim before he can be buried. After death the body of a Muslim is washed and wrapped in white cloth (Kafan), and 'itr (otto) and rosewater profusely scattered on his body and cloth. After offering prayers (Namāz-Janāza) for the departed soul the body is carried to the graveyard, accompanied by friends and relatives and others on foot. Throughout their journey to the graveyard the people recited 'darud' and 'takbīr' silently. Commonly in a house of a deceased man the food is not cooked for three days.² Among the other rituals which performed by the Assamese Muslims after the death of a man are Sayyum (third day) and Chihillum (on the 40th day), which included recitation of the Qurān and distribution of sweets. Some people also observed the annual feasts.³

¹ S.A. Khan, Ed. John Marshall in India, Notes and Observations in Bengal (1668-1672), (Glasgow, 1927), p. 404
² Ibid, pp. 404, 405
C. Synthesis of Indo-Iranian elements in Assamese culture: dress and 
ornaments; architecture and land revenue system.

The establishment of Muslim rule in India and their contact 
with Assam are an important landmark in the history of Assamese 
culture. Political conquest have always been harbingers of cultural 
invasion. Apart from its political results, the advent of the Muslims 
brought new influences to bear upon Assamese society. The vital fact 
of the situation was that, the Muslims those who came here and settled, 
they made the Assam their home. They introduced new styles of dresses; 
arquitecture etc. into the Assamese society.

Dress and Ornaments.

Dress is the mirror of the civilization. Assamese dress 
through the ages has been determined chiefly by climatic condition, 
as well as by the changing requirements of the social religious customs, 
economic condition of the people and manner of this country. Persian 
influence has also played evidently an important role in its evolution.

The relation of Assam with the Muslim powers of Delhi and 
Bengal was systematic and continuous. When Cooch Behar was annexed by 
the Mughals, they came nearer to Assam and became immediate neighbours 
towards the West. It is mentioned in the Deodhai Asam Buranji, that 
during the reign of Ahom king Pratap Singha, there was regular 
commercial intercourse with the Nawabs of Bengal. Perhaps with the

1. M.A. Ansari, Islamic Culture, Jan. 1957, Dress of the Great Mughals, 
p. 255.
help of such trade relations many new customs were introduced into Assam. Ramanlghabru, the only daughter of Ahom king Jaydhwaj Singha was married to 'Azamūra, the third son of Aurangzeb, in fulfilment of the treaty of 1663 with the Mughals. Later her name was changed to Rahmat Banu. After this matrimonial relation with the Ahoms, Rahmat Banu on several occasions sent many presentations to Ahom court. So it is certain that some customary goods were introduced and used in the Ahom palaces. It is also mentioned that those presentations were brought by two Muslim Kakatús, namely Durbeg and Rustambeg to the Ahom court.

The Muslims were at home in embroidery works and hence they were employed in this particular department for making dresses of different styles and designs during Ahom rule. Chandsai, a Muslim disciple of Sankardeva was tailor by profession. It is recorded in the Buranji, that Ahom king Pratap Singha created a few new posts known as Bairagis, whose chief function was to visit different places of India, and learn the use and method of manufacturing various garments of those places. It is also mentioned in the Buranji, that the king imitating the style of seven different parts of the country prepared seven sets of costly royal dresses and ornaments. With this the king

1. S.K. Bhuyan, Deodhai Asam Buranjì, ( Gau. 1962 ), p. 71
3. B.C. Allen, Assam District Gazetteer ( Kamrup ), ( Allahabad, 1905 ), p. 101
probably paved the way for opening a new vista to foreign influences on dress and ornaments. The impact of such influence was so deep rooted that even after fifty six years of his death, during the reign of Rudra Singha, the same Mughal type of dresses remained as the court dress of the Ahom.1 Rudra Singha also created two new orders of Khaunds and Bairagis, who were deputed to different places of the country to import benificial foreign customs into the country.2 To popularise the Muslim type of dress, Rudra Singha presented the similar robes to his nobles and Hindu Subjects. Though at first they refused to accept the presents imitating the fashions of the Muslims, but ultimately they inclined to accept those presentations.3 Probably the custom of giving presentation including Turban and Cloak has been introduced from that time.

The reign of Rudra Singha was a landmark in the cultural history of Assam as during his time the cultural wave of the West swept over Assam. He had numerous attendants dressed in the high Musalman fashion.4 The king was very much interested in new fashions and variety of dresses, and he always insisted on using Mughal type of dress in his court. During his time the use of Churia and Paijama was common to both the Hindus and Muslims. The Chapkan Pag ( turban ), Mughlai Topi, Fatuwai used by the Assamese dancers and stage players

1. S.K.Bhuyan, Tungkhungia Buranji or History of Assam, ( Gau. 1968 ), p.33
3. S.K.Bhuyan, op. cit.,p.33
in their performance in Bhawana or Theatre has close resemblance with the Mughal dresses. It has also been proved that the use of all these Mughal dresses were not confined only to the high officials of the royal court of the country, but these were also very much popular among the common people. It can safely be said, that the dresses that are used by the Assamese dancers and stage artists are not the ancient Assamese dress, but these were definitely borrowed from Mughals. According to a popular saying, when Azamtara, the third son of Aurangzeb was the ruler of Bengal, he desired to make a matrimonial relation with the king Chujinfa or Dihingia. Along with the proposal he sent some presentations consisting of two sets of dress (sukla pag) made of fine cotton. It is said that the king did not use those dresses of the Mughal, and sent the cloth to sattra (place of religious activities), and those were eventually used by the head of the sattra considering it being presented by the king.¹

The use of Mughal dresses became common during the reign of king Kamateswar Singha, as the king himself wore the turban or Pag-jema on the occasion of the reception held for Munkang ambassador. It is recorded in the Tungkhungia Buranji, that "At that time the chief of Munkang despatched his ambassador Panchamru with letters and presents. He coming by the route through Mahang arrived at the Dichoi camp in time. He was kept according to the approved custom being supplied with the necessary provisions and articles. The king himself received him in audience at the Ranghar as dictated by the custom of the country.

¹. Ananda Mohan Bhagawati, Ramdhenu 17th year, (second edition)
His Majesty sat at the Ranghar wearing a turban and a cloak.1

Regarding the use of Pag-Jema it is also recorded in the said Buranji that, "........ in the evening of the Friday, the king received the Kakatis of Munkang at Ranghar........ The king attired in his turban and cloak and sat on the platform under an overhanging canopy."2

The use of Mughal costumes, which was first introduced into the Ahom court can be ascertained from the picture depicted in the Hastividyanavaya, where it is shown that the king and his nobles are wearing Mughal head dress.3 The paintings of the Ahom courtiers furnished by Dilbar and Dosai in the said book of Sukumar Barkaiths, indicated the use of turbans and other dresses, which were common with the Muslims and the Hindus in the court.

The paintings of Shahapari Upakhyan, which was written on Islamic theme shows that Muslims were probably allowed to use varieties of Lungis (loin-cloth in private) as their waist garments.4 During the medieval India, the Muslims were generally shaved their heads and used kulahs or caps on them.5 It is generally believed that the Muslim males of Assam also normally kept their heads shaved. But their pictures depicted in the painting of Shahapari Upakhyan did not reflect any such view, that the customs of shaving the head was

1. S.K.Bhuyan, Tungkhungia Buranji, (Gau. 1968), p.144
2. Ibid, pp.179,180
5. ʿAin-i-Ākbari, Vol.I., pp.88-89
strictly followed at that time. The same painting bears the portrait of a Muslim wearing a coloured lungi and a long hair on his head.

It appears that during the Medieval India, very little respect was conferred on the bare-headed persons and invariably the people used cap or turbans on their heads. As for the common Muslims of Assam, probably they used cap of their style. It appears from a portrait of a bearded Muslim courtier furnished in the painting of Hastividyarnava, that he put on a similar turban used by the Hindus. But in spite of this fact, there was little difference among the turbans of Muslims and the Hindus, as the turbans put on by Muslims at that time were generally white and round shaped.

The use of chadar by the Assamese people especially designed and embroidered with golden thread, perhaps was the invent of the Mughals. As the manufacture of Shawls in Kashmir and Lahore was highly encouraged and patronised by the Mughal Emperors, rich Hindus during the period also used Kashmiri Shawls.

The pictures of Assamese women depicted in the paintings of the Shahapari Upakhyan, shows that for the upper part of their body they used long jacket and for the lower part an Assamese Mekhla or long skirt. But the women of the upper classes were profusely adorned with attractive dresses and they kept their face open. Although during the Medieval period, generally Muslim ladies very strictly observed

the use of Purdah and whenever they move out of their houses they put on burqas.¹ But perhaps due to local influence that was not practised by the Muslim ladies in Assam. As it is recorded in the Fathiyah-i-Ibriyah, that during the middle of the 17th century, the Assamese Muslim women went out unveiled and moved freely in the streets and market places.²

The use of present Shalwars by female section of both Hindu and Muslim communities was the invention of Mughal, as the Muslim ladies of their period distinguished themselves mainly by their Shalwars and shirts with half length sleeves. Another popular dress common to Muslim ladies was the use of Dupatta or Orhni.

Regarding the use of ornaments it can be said that generally the Hindus are fond of ornaments than Muslims. The use of Kundals usually made of gold for ears, Hemhar for neck and Nupurs for feet were not unknown to the Muslim women and were used by both the classes.

The use of perfumes was an important part in the life of the Mughal Emperors. They used different kinds of precious scents. Akbar maintained a separate department which was known as Khusbu-Khanah.³ The use of mirror, ʿitr, ʿaraq, pikdān, rosewater, surmadān, rumāl and various kinds of flowers such as gulab, hasnahana all came into use among the Assamese with the Muslims. As it appears from the paintings of Hastividyarnava, a fully blossomed rose placed in the

¹ M.P.Srivastava, Social Life Under the Great Mughals (Allah. 1978) p.31
² Blochmann, Eng. Translation Fathyah-i-Ibriyah, (J.A.S.B.,1872) p.80
³ M.P.Srivastava, op. cit.,p.34
hand of the monarch,¹ which appears to be akin to the fashion of that of the Mughal portraits. The use of scented flowers mainly rose was introduced by the Mughals to India. Mughals were very fond of flowers and they built many beautiful gardens in different cities of the country.

The Muslims were very skilful in making different kinds of ornaments, which are also commonly used by the Assamese women. The use of nose ornament (nakful) perhaps came from Muslim, because the use of nose ornament was unknown in ancient India.² Only in the early Medieval period it was brought into India. Dr. Chopra also writes, that till the early of the Medieval period, the nose ornaments were not known in India, and it seems quite certain that the Muslims at the time of their invasions had brought this fashion into India.³

Architecture.

The permanent association of the Muslims was started with India long back when in the later part of the 12th century, A.D., Muhammad Ghori conquered Delhi and its neighbouring parts. This Muslim sovereignty was ended when the British came to rule India in 1526, A.D. The Muslims had their own traditions and due to their long association

3. Dr. Chopra, Society and Culture During the Mughal age, (1526-1707), p.25
they left a far reaching effects on the cultural life of the people. The influence on architecture is more pronounced than in other branch of cultural activity.

The Islamic architecture like its counterpart in India, derived its character from the Arabian, Persian and Turkish and to some extent the Chinese sources before its entrance in India, while the Indian architecture derived its character from some apparently heterogenous sources like, Brahmanical, Budhist and Jaina style before its conflict with the Islamic Architecture.

The Islamic Architecture may broadly be divided into two divisions, viz., (1) Religious and (2) Secular. The Religious architecture consists of Mosques and Tombs where as the Secular Architecture are so varied in number that they can not be described here thoroughly. But it is to be noted that here the religious architecture is the foundation of the secular architecture and the mosque is the keynote of all the Islamic architecture. And mosque is "an elaboration and enlargement of an Arab's house."²

From the stand point of experiences, the Islamic Architecture in India under went two successive phases. In the first phase, the Muslim victors destroyed massive structures both religious and secular of the vanquisheds as a Medieval rule to mark their conquest and then erected buildings readily available. This phase is neither Islamic nor

1. Z. Desai, Indo-Islamic Architecture, Introduction, p.1
2. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), (India, 1942), p.3
Indian. Because the Muslim masons erected mosques, miners, palaces etc. without any plan with the materials unknown to them is such a hurridity that they could not find time and materials to express the aesthetic sense of the Islamic Architecture. On the other hand, these buildings, though made of Indian materials, could not bear the Indian style. The final phase began after the Muslims had firmly established in various parts of the country. In this way they were in position to plan and create building compositions constituted of masonry. In this phase the Muslim masons could exhibit their skill and so, Percy Brown rightly observes, "It was in these latter circumstances that Islamic architecture in India arrived at its true character and achieved its greatest splendour."¹ During Mughal period some tombs and mausoleum were built in dazzling white marble and good part of them are inlaid with coloured marbles and precious stones in delicate Persian pattern.²

In Assam, so far in existence or discovered, only some traces of mosques and Darghas are available. Curiously enough, not a single trace, either in ruins or intact, of the secular architecture belonging to the Indo-Islamic architecture hitherto has been discovered in Assam. Obviously, the traces of the buildings belonging to the Indo-Islamic architecture, though poor in number, fall under two types, viz., the mosque and the tomb.

Among these two types of architecture the number of mosques

1. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, (Islamic Period), (India, 1942) p.4
is very poor in the Brahmaputra Valley. Only three mosques, two in Goalpara district and one in Kamrup district could draw the notice of the scholars. But in Cachar, numerous sites with ruins of ancient mosques began to draw the attention. Alone in the area under Karimganj Police Station offers as many as three sites bearing the remains of the mosques. But as the spade of the archaeologist has never been active in this region, nothing can be said with certainly except about one situated near Kaliganj Basic Training Centre about 13 K.M. from the Karimganj town of Assam.

Viewed from Chronological and stylistic stand point of all the four religious buildings, at Rangamati and at Mankachar in the Goalpara district, the Poa-Mecca mosque at Hajo in the Kamrup district and at Kaliganj in the Cachar district may be grouped into two divisions. The Rangamati mosque and the Kaliganj mosque are the buildings of the Pre-Mughal age and the examples of the Bengal provincial style of the Muslim architecture. The other two belong to the Mughal period of Indian history. About the Rangamati mosque, Dr. Maheswar Neog, Sankardeva Professor of Guru Nanak University, Patiala, observes most erroneously that "The mosque at Rangamati built by the Nawab of Bengal, Hussain Shâh in 1687 is a good remain of the Mughal architecture." But there is no least doubt that Hussain Shâh ruled in Bengal from 1495 to 1519 A.D. and his operation in Lower Assam took

1. Dr. Maheswar Neog, Pavitra Assam, (Gau. 1969), introduction, p. 48
place during the years from A.D. 1499 to 1502. And it will not be unhistorical to surmise that the mosque at Rangamati was built during this period. Over and above, stylistically it bears the testimony of the Bengal provincial style of the Indo-Islamic architecture predominant in this region before the Mughals. Its oblong size, octagonal corner turrets, three bayed interior, vaulted nave multi-domed oblong type all remind us the Chhoti Sona Masjid built by Wali Muhammad in the reign of Ala-ud-Din Hussain Shah. According to Prof. S.K. Saraswati, the Islamic buildings of the Bengal provincial style "may be divided stylistically into the following groups; 1. oblong type with a vaulted central nave and multi-domed side wings, 2. single-domed square type, 3. multi-domed oblong type and 4. single-domed type with corridors running three sides. Obviously, the Rangamati mosque falls in the third group of the Bengal style.

The mosque near Kaliganj in Cachar district is in a very fragmentary condition. It was excavated out by the local people some thirty years ago and at the time of excavation no care was taken to save the structure from the damage caused by the spades of the unskilled excavators. However, the four walls with a corridor in the front, with octagonal corner turrets are visible. An inscription carved on a piece of black stone was also found there. According to this inscription,

2. Prof. S.K. Saraswati, Delhi Sultanate, p.698
3. Ibid, p.687
the mosque was built during the reign of Ālā-ud-Dīn Shāh in the month of Shāban of 909 A.H. (1509 A.D.). It is a small structure the interior being 18 feet by 24 feet with a door on the front wall and two other on the side walls. The excavation has not been thoroughly made, otherwise it would be revealed that it had two other corridors on two sides. The fragmentations lead to conjecture that it was single-domed. On the wall of the mihrāb and on the base of the octagonal pillars, some designs on terracotta are found. Stylistically it falls under 4th group of the Bengal style of the Indo-Islamic architecture.

Of the two other religious buildings in Assam, the Poa-Mecca mosque at Hajo comes first chronologically as it built in 1657 A.D. by Mir Luzzullah Shirāzi, the Faujadar of Hajo, during the reign of Shāh Jahān. "The mosque is built of brick and is now in a very ruined condition. It had three domes all of which have fallen in."¹ Now, a new mosque has been built on the old side of and the inscription has been placed on its wall. So nothing can be said about the architectural style of the original mosque.

The next mosque situated on the bank of Kala river in Mankachar in the Goalpara district was built by Mir Jumla during the reign of Aumangzeb. This mosque bears the testimony of the deteriorated Mughal style of architecture.

Unlike the mosques, the number of other less important religious monument viz., tomb is comparatively abundant both in the Brahmaputra Valley and in Cachar district. In the Brahmaputra Valley,

so far counted by Dr. Maheswar Neog in his 'Pavitra Asam' are as many as sixteen tombs, while in Cachar, there are ten to fifteen tombs of the saints said to be the followers of Shāh Jalāl, who preached Islam in Sylhet (Bangladesh) in the early 14th century. Though all of them are not the symbols of communal unity and sacred places for both Hindus and Muslims, but except few of them, they do not possess any architectural importance. The tombs of Ghyyās-ud-Dīn and Shāh Kamāl at Hajo in Kamrup and at No. 8 Revenue Mauza in Garo Hills respectively are of some architectural importance. But they do not possess all the complex of an ideal tomb as found in other parts of the country.

From the above informations, it is obvious that the number of tombs are more than that of the mosques in Assam. This due to the fact that the mosques were built and maintained by the Nawabs and their officers with the support from the royal treasury, and so long the royal care had been prevalent, they existed with their splendour and glory; on the other hand the tombs were erected, maintained by the local people and so their architectural style is inferior, but their importance existed among the people for centuries and the people maintained their reverence to these tombs till this day.

From the traces of the Muslim relics in Assam as described in the foregoing paragraphs, one can easily surmise that the dominance of Islamic culture or the Indo-Islamic culture was extended only in Lower Assam, Central Assam and Cachar, the parts of which went time to time under the suzerainty of the Muslims. From the numerous sites with the ruins of Indo-Islamic architecture found in Cachar, it can be
revealed that the Western part of the present district of Cachar was permanently under the Muslim rule right from the 14th century.

Though the traces of Indo-Islamic architecture are scanty in Assam, it is clear that the Bengal style of that architecture played vital role in the architectural development of this region during the period beginning from the 13th century and ending with the early 19th century. Though the earlier Muslim invasions led by Muhammad Ibn Bakhtiyar, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Iwāj Ikhtiyār ud-Dīn Yuzbek and others met with severe defeats in Assam, the traits of Islamic culture began to enter this region from the past. In the late 15th century when Hussain Shāh, the Nawab of Bengal, overthrew Nilambar, the last king of Kamata dynasty, the lower Assam came under the direct influence of the Muslim culture. The state of affairs of that time are aptly described by R.M. Nath, when he says, "The Muhammadans were now more or less permanently settled in Lower Assam and a cultural wave from the West began to sweep over the country. Architects, painters, musicians, dancers and artisans from Bengal began to influence the cultural background; and it was difficult to check the wave from proceeding to upper Assam."

Thus the religious and secular buildings of the Ahom age were largely influenced by the Bengal provincial Muslim style. The Ahom king Rajeswar Singha paid more attention for the improvement of palaces during his time. He erected a three storied chariot like beautiful palace at the old capital at Garhgaon and for the members

of the royal family he built brick made residential building with under ground cellers at Rangpur. The name of the architect employed for this work was a Bengali Muslim named Ghansa-ud-Din. The Karenghar and Ranghar built at Garhgaon and Rangpur by Ahom kings bears the influence of the art of Mughal architecture. The mortar-masonry, vacant niches inside, the arched doors, the bays, aisles etc. of the Rangghar, Karengghar and Talatghar in Sibsagar District, which are the master pieces of the Ahom architects, clearly bear the testimony of the Islamic style. All the minerets around the Karengghar are very much resemblance to that of the style of mosques constructed during Mughal rule.

During Ahom rule the largest number of Muslims were employed in the work of guilds of mansons and artisans. They were in charge of Phukan and their main function was to construct and repair the royal buildings. Another group of people known as Silakutis or stone-engravers were employed for decorative work on stone-slabs, which were to be inserted on masonry construction and also in the curving out similar design and patterns on the walls and panels of the buildings. Probably due to the employment of Muslims in this particular department, the influence of Indo-Islamic and Mughal style of architecture traced out in the buildings and some temples of Assam. One can easily notice

2. B. K. Barua, Asamiya Bhasa Aru Sanskriti, (Gau. 1963), p. 120
3. Dr. M. Salkia, Assam Muslim Relation and Its Cultural Significance, (Golaghat, 1978), p. 150
such influence in the temples of the later Ahom rule including the
Kamakhya temple which was constructed by the Koch kings as early as in
the 16th century. The door frames of the temple's front hall display
the similar dome-shaped of the Mughal architecture. The same decora-
tion of small domes in the shapes of inverted pitches can be noticed
in the entrance gate of Hayagriva Madhav temple at Hajo. The decorative
art on the main dome of the Jaysagar temple, which was built during
the rule of Rudra Singha (1696-1714 A.D.), compelled to think about
the influence of Islamic decorative art on it. King Rudra Singha for
the construction of Hawalighar or airy castle, Talatghar or chateau
and intricate passage for the use of royal members and the temple of
Ranganath in Sibsagar also employed Muslim artisans. The Ahom king
Gadadhar Singha during his time employed Bengal (Muslim) architects
for the construction of the pillars of the gates of the palace, with
stone and mortars.

The influence of the Bengal Provincial Muslim style is
markedly observed in other contemporary architecture of the then
Assam. The ruins of the buildings of the Kachari kings at Khaspur and
Badarpur in Cachar district are examples of such mingled style. The
style of the gateway in the eastern wall of the ancient city of
Dimapur points to the same period; for in its carved battlement, its
narrow, pointed arch over the entrance and its clumsy octagonal corner
turrets, it exhibits all the characteristic elements of that style of

1. S.K. Bhuyan, Tungkhungia Buranji, (Gau, 1968), p.31-f
Muhammadan brick architecture in Bengal, which flourished in the fourteenth centuries A.D. ... As regards the temple built during the Ahom age the late R.M. Nath observes that "the stone slabs with sculptures collected either from old ruins or carved anew with rude workmanship and terracotta plaques designed according to Muhammadan style were embossed in panels of wall of decorations."  

Curiously enough, the latest and finished Indo-Islamic style developed under the catholicity of the mighty Mughal rulers could not influence the development of the Assamese architecture except in some later stray cases. The Bengal provincial style of the Indo-Islamic architecture flourished under the independent Muslim rulers of Bengal during Turko-Afghan period exercised its influence over the buildings of this region to a larger extent.

Muslim (Arabic and Persian) Influence on Land Revenue System of Assam:

During the 13th century the revenue system of Indian local administration undergone through some remarkable changes with the introduction of a series of new measures by the Sultanate rulers mainly by Ala-ud-Dīn Khalji, who was a bold administrative reformer. He wished to introduce vigour and efficiency in the administration and had made fundamental changes in order to increase the revenue of the country.¹

The Muslim rulers of India had conducted the affairs of their revenue administration with the help of a distinct department. In the 14th century a province was divided into 'shiq' and at the head of the shiq there was a 'Shiqdār', who was practically a military officer to maintain the law and order in his jurisdiction. A number of villages brought under the name of 'Pargana' and there were a 'Choudari' and a collector of revenue in each Parganas. To settle the local disputes there was a 'Panchayat' in every village. Every village had then a 'Chaukidār' and a revenue officer called 'Patwari'. The land held by the Muslim grantees and religious men were classified by 'milk' (proprietary rights given by the state), 'inām' (free gift), 'idarāt' (pensions), and 'waqf' (endowments), and 'khalsa' and 'avarage'.

This type of land was maintained by the help of an agency known as 'Amil' and 'avarage' type of land was remained in the possession of its real master.

The Mughal also maintained the same line of revenue policy of the Sultanate period. During the Mughal rule the provincial head was known as 'Dewān'. A province was subdivided into a number of 'Sarkars', and Sarkars into Parganas. The Parganas were divided into 'Taluks' consisting of 'Dasturs' or villages. The officers in charge of the revenue administration of Sarkar, Parganas and Taluks were known as Siqdars, Chaoudharies and Taludars respectively and they were employed below the rank of Dewāns.

The Muslim rulers who invaded Assam on various occasions could not rule the country for long time due to the stiff opposition that they faced from the ruling Assamese kings and the Bhuyans. The first Muslim king who ruled a part of Kamrupa for seventeen years was Sultan Hussain Shah. From 1502 till his death in 1519 A.D. the whole of the Western part of the Kamrupa up to the limit of Koch Hajo area was remained under him. Probably he introduced new revenue system of administration in the region in place of prevailing system of the Bhuyans or Fuedal lords. Though nothing distinct information is available regarding the revenue system of this country before date of the introduction of Hussain Shah's

1. S.M.S. Jaffar, *Some Cultural Aspects Of Muslim Rule In India*, (Peshawar, 1939), pp. 26, 36, 40
new type of administration. But it is believed that Kamrup kings followed the same revenue administration which was in vogue in Northern India,¹ and incidentally Northern India was under the control of Muslims during that time. It is certain that the former system of the Bhuyans, who ruling the various parts of the country in the 13th century was disappeared with the conquest of Hussain Shāh.

Though Sultan Hussain Shāh for the first time introduced some measures of revenue system in Assam, but due to his short period of reign and his occupation with the Ahoms and Kacharis in conflicts did not give him sufficient scope to take effective steps to carry out the survey and measurements of the land properly. His activity of transforming the revenue rules and regulations was confined only to the replacement of the Bhuyans by appointing Faujadārs, Chaudharis and Siqdārs, entrusting the general and revenue administration of that part of land on them. After the death of Hussain Shāh, the sovereignty of the Kamrup region was restored in the hand of Ahoms, who appointed the Koch Prince Viswa Singha, to rule the country as their Vassal. Viswa Singha later attempted to establish his independence from the Ahoms.² To consolidate his military strength he completed a census work and all the able bodied persons were enrolled as 'Paiks' or foot-soldiers under various officers, such as, Thakurias over 20 men,

Saikias over a hundred, Hazaris over a 1,000 and Umaras and Nawwabs over 3,000 and 60,000 men respectively. The recruitment of soldiers from the mass people and due to the maintenance of their well-being, Viswa Singha perhaps was become impediment to formulate some precise policy for land tenure and revenue arrangements. The introduction of old system might have caused him to think the possibility of loosing the direct control over the people, hence he maintained and furthermore the system of revenue administration introduced by Hussain Shāh made strong. But nothing is known about the granting of same type of land as 'Iqtās' of Sultanate kings to Umaras and Nawwabs. Compared with the 'Hazari-Malghujary' of Muslim rule it can be guessed that creating the 'Mahals' and 'Chamua' kind of land, Viswa Singha might have allotted this kind of land to his officials. He had also divided his kingdom among his two sons, Naranarayana and Chilarai, who were called by the people as Bara Dewan and the Saru Dewan respectively. The two sons were mostly in charge of the administration of revenue affairs of two different parts of the kingdom, which was known as 'Bara Dewaniya or Koch Behar and 'Saru Dewaniya' or Koch Hajo.

Considerable opinion can be gathered from the fact that an Assamese poet who was contemporary of king Viswa Singha, named Durgavara Kayastha, had received patronisation from the Babubala, whom the poet mentioned as a Siqdār. Considering the above facts

3. Aspects of Early Assamese Literature, G.U., 1953, p.54
It can be said that to some extent Viswa Singha had run his country's revenue administration with the help of a distinct department like of the Muslim rulers of India.

After Āla-ud-Dīn Khalīdī, the work of revenue administration system was further consolidated under Sultān Sikander Lodi and Sher Shāh, by bringing some administrative uniformity. The system of 'Gaz' of fortyone digits as a standard unit of measurement was the invention of Sikander Lodi. Sher Shāh also organised the country's revenue administration by arranging general survey of the land under his sway, and the maintenance of a registrar containing the rights of the owners and measurements of all the cultivated plot of land with their classes.

During the time of Parikshit Narayana, when the Mughal attained their authority over Koch Hajo, this system of Muslim revenue administration was established more permanently. The system of collecting revenue according to local divisions seems to have attained its perfection from the time of Ākbar, as Kamrup region first came to known as 'Sarkār Kamrup' from his time. The districts was divided into 'Parganas' each in charge of Chaudhary. The Parganas were divided then into 'Taluqs', each in charge of a Taluqdār. The 'Thakurias', the 'Patgiris' and the 'Gaon Kakatis', who maintained the accounts of village and Pargana, were employed as subordinates to assist them.¹ The system of division of land into different classes under the name of a 'khirāj' (taxed land or

¹ U.N.Gohain, Assam under Ahom, p.127f.
cultivable land), nisf-khirāj (half assessed land), and la-khirāj (revenue free land) in Kamrup was followed from the Mughal Empire. Again all the khirāj or cultivable land was classified into four divisions on the basis of continuity or otherwise of its cultivation. These were 'polaj', 'porauti', 'chachar' and 'banjar'.

After the liberation of Kamrup from the hand of Sultan Hussain Shāh, perhaps the Ahoms became familiar with the prevailing system of Muslim revenue administration, and it is therefore likely that they introduced some of the definite system of the former into their own revenue administrative system. It is mentioned in the Buranji that Pratap Singha was the first Ahom king who adopted some concrete policies for the development of country's economic condition, and he allowed to take a census of his subjects. During his time all the able-bodied men as Paiks who were capable of fighting enlisted under different officers like, Boras, Saikias, Hazarikas, Baruas and Phukans.

During the Mughal rule there was frequent interchange of embassies between the Ahom and the Mughal courts, and to collect the knowledge of custom and manners of the people of various parts of India, many skilful emissaries were sent to visit the important centres of India. In the long run along with other customs and manners they might have introduced into Assam, some of the important

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1. W. Robinson, Descriptive Account of Assam, p. 282. (1841)
features of Muslim system of revenue administration.

Following the Sikandar Lodi's 'Gaz', as a standard unit of measurement, Akbar introduced new 'jarib' system with the help of a bamboo poles joined together with iron rings and a bigha was fixed as sixty yards by sixty yards. With the line of Akbar's (1542-1605 A.D.) system of land measurement, Pratap Singh (1611-49 A.D.) introduced one uniform 'tar' of bamboo pole about 11\(\frac{1}{4}\) feet long and fitted with iron bands at the end, as the standard unit of land measurement. Pratap Singh also introduced 'Gamati' and 'Barmati' type of land in resemblance to that of the khalsa type of land in Muslim rule. This land has similarity with iqta of Muslim, as such land were not hereditary or transferable and granted in exchange of cash salaries.

Realising the Muslim jarib and other land revenue system as most appropriate and benificent to the welfare of the subjects, a detailed survey, based on the land measurement system of the Muslim was started in the reign of Ahom king Gadadhar Singha, continued in the reign of Rudra Singha and Siva Singha. Gadadhar Singha brought experienced men from Bengal and employed them to run the jarib work. He became acquainted with the land measurement system of the Muslim, during the time when he was in hiding in Lower Assam, before he succeeded to the throne.

1. S.M.S. Jaffar, loc.cit.