Relations with the Jayantiya Rulers

Although the Jayantiya Government continued to maintain its subordinate relations with the Ahom Government during the remaining years of Gadadhar Singha's reign, his death in 1696, and the succession of his son Siu-khrung-phā alias Rudra Singha to the Ahom throne in the same year had given a new opportunity to its ruler to make an attempt to reassert his independence. This was done by detaining, Ratna Kandali and Ramcaran, the two envoys of the Ahom Government, who had gone to Jayantiya in company with the Jayantiya envoys in 1697. 1 Nothing was heard of them for three years. All attempts of the Ahom frontier warden, or the Chaukiyal Barua, to gather information from his Jayantiya counterpart (Chaukiyal Laskar) about the envoys had been met with evasive response. 2 At one stage the situation at the frontier turned tense because of the refusal of Jayantiya frontier warden to enlighten the Ahom frontier warden about the Ahom envoys.

1 JB, p.66.
2 Ibid., pp.66-67.
Only after a lapse of three years, the Ahom envoys had been sent back along with the Jayantiya envoys with usual letters and presents. In his letters, the Jayantiya Raja reconfirmed his indissoluble alliance with the Ahom king to the extent that "It will not be disturbed even if the sun rises in the west, black crow turns white and the Brahmaputra flows upstream." In their reply king Rudra Singha, his ministers and the Barphukan reconfirmed their alliance with the Jayantiyas. The Barphukan in his oral message asked the envoys to convey to the Jayantiya king, Lakshmisingha, the complaint of harassment meted to the Ahom bairagis passing through his country and also to take steps to redress the grievances.

About this time the relations between the two kingdoms threatened to break down over the question of a prince of Dimarua named Bairagi Konwar, who had been established by the Jayantiya ruler as his vassal at Bangaon in the frontier of his kingdom during the Mir Jumla's invasion of Assam in 1662. Some influential persons of Dimarua made secret contacts with

---

3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., pp. 68-69.
5 ATR, p. 118.
6 JB, pp. 71-72.
him and invited him to Dimarua as Raja thereof. At this development the reigning Raja of Dimarua, who had been put on the throne by his suzerain, the Ahom king, got terrified and fled with other members of his family to Gauhati and reported the matter to Duara Barphukan. The Barphukan told the Dimarua nobles that Bairagai Konwar was already dead. Still as the Dimarua people had brought him, he was assured that he would be made king. Encouraged by this, Bairagi Konwar came to the Barphukan, who put him in confinement. Afterwards he was sent to Garhgaon and finally banished to Namrup.

When the Ahom envoys had been sent to Jayantiya with usual letters and presents the Jayantiya ruler did not release them for one year. This was done as a measure of reprisal for the capture of Bairagi Konwar by the Ahoms and his detention. After one year, the three petty chiefs of Gobha, Neli and Khala sent a messenger to the Ahom frontier warden making enquiry about of Konwar. The Ahom frontier warden, on instruction of the Barphukan, refused to give any information on the ground that Jayantiya Raja did not handover the charge

---

7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
of Bairagi Konwar to him. It was also made clear that Dimarua was always subordinate to the Ahoms, and it belonged to the category of established and protected states of the Ahom Government, and the ruler of Dimarua was always appointed by the Ahom king. The Jayantiya Raja had no right whatsoever to make any selection of Dimarua chief. If the Jayantiyas attacked Dimarua, "How would the existing friendly relations exist? How could the frontier markets be maintained? How could Gobha, Neli and Khala be protected?" It concluded that, "He should not ask any more about Bairagi Konwar as he did not handover the charge of Bairagi Konwar to the Ahoms."

Failing in his attempt to place a chief of his choice at Dimarua, the Jaintiya Raja adopted another means to establish his claim over that state. He asked the chief of Dimarua to supply him ducks, goats, pigeons, golden cloths for the performance of religious rites as were supplied by him previously, at the same time, threatened that non-compliance of his demand would lead to serious consequences. On learning this from the Dimarua envoy, the Barphukan with the approval of Rudra Singha directed the chief of Dimarua to inform

12 Ibid., p.73.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
the Jayantiya Raja thus, "Our contributions to religious rites had ceased long ago. If we contribute now and if the Barphukan learns it, we will not be spared, therefore, we can not give what you demand." ¹⁵ This was the last attempt of the Jayantiya Raja to establish his claim over Dimarua. But the Jayantiya Raja could not easily reconcile his diplomatic defeat at the hands of the Ahom monarch, and behind the apparent good relations of sending envoys with usual letters and presents, the cold war continued.

Ramsingh, who succeeded Lakshmisingh in 1703 as the Raja of Jayantiya sent back the Ahom envoys, who arrived at the Jayantiya capital during the reign of his predecessor, without being accompanied by Jayantiya envoys. ¹⁶ This was a departure from the usual convention, and hence considered by the Ahom Government as an unfriendly expression. Sometime later when the Jaintiya Raja sent his envoy to the frontier the Ahom Government instructed their frontier officer not to receive him until the three petty chiefs of Gobha, Neli and Khala personally came to the frontier and handed the

¹⁵ It was not at the "instigation of the Barphukan" as L. Devi thinks, but at the direction of the Barphukan that the Dimarua chief gave the reply. op.cit., p. 120.

¹⁶ JB, p. 73.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 74.
Jayantiya envoy over to the Ahom frontier warden. Realizing the gravity of the situation, the three chiefs came to the frontier, presumably on instruction of the Jayantiya ruler, and handed Bijoyram, the Jayantiya envoy to the Ahom frontier officer. This had eased the situation and the Jayantiya envoy was accorded usual reception by the Barphukan, and later he was sent to the capital and was received by the ministers and the king. Afterwards he was sent back with Ahom envoy carrying letters and presents.

The Jayantiya ruler was, however, waiting for an opportunity to retaliate the Ahom action. The Ahom embassy which reached the Jayantiya capital in Saka 1629 (1707) was received but not released inspite of the repeated reminders. The Jayantiya ruler detained also several Ahom bairagis in his capital while they were passing through his territory. This development had greatly disturbed the Ahom-Jayantiya relations. In the meantime another development had greatly affected the relations. In 1707 when the Ahom army invaded the Kachari kingdom, Tamradhvajnarayan, its ruler, fled from Khaspur and

18 Ibid.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid., p. 79.
21 Ibid.
entered the Jayantiya kingdom, from where he was taken as prisoner by Ramsingh, the ruler of Jayantiya, on the pretence of making friendship with him, and promising a common cause to fight against the Ahoms. He was not released when requested by the Ahom king rather gave a terse reply, "If someone finds honey been while cutting fuel wood will it be given to others?" Such remark had infuriated Rudra Singha, who now understood the real intention of the Jayantiya ruler. From his confinement Tamradhvaj sent a secret message to the Ahom king through an Ahom bairagi expressing his willingness to submit and requesting him to rescue.

Having learnt this development Rudra Singha deputed two envoys Bhakat Dhuli Bairagi and Arjun Bairagi in the name of the Barphukan to the Jayantiya capital with the message, "Jayanti and Garhgaon are not two. His (Jayantiya ruler) enemy is our enemy and our enemy is his enemy. We have learnt the capture of Kachari ruler (by him). Deliver him if you do not want to disturb the friendly relations." On their arrival, the Jayantiya ruler charged the two Bairagis for bringing letter of the Barphukan, because he considered it below his

22 Ibid., p.80.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid., p.81.
25 Ibid.
dignity to receive a letter from a governor i.e. Barphukan. It shows that the Jayantiya ruler assumed independence although the Ahom Government considered him a subordinate ally. The envoys, at first confined, but on the representation of the Barphukan, released and were sent back cutting their noses and ears.

On receiving the report and learning the over-bearing conduct of the Jayantiya ruler, the Ahom king held a grand council in which it was unanimously decided to organize an invasion of Jayantiya kingdom, and all frontier marts were closed. Accordingly two armies, one under the Barphukan through Gobha route and the other under the Barbarua through the Kachari kingdom i.e. by the Demera route, had been sent towards the end of 1707. The two armies after defeating the Jayantiyas at several engagements advanced towards the capital. Ramsingh was compelled to surrender himself to the Ahom army and also handed over the Kachari ruler. The Jayantiya Raja with his eldest son was brought down by the Gobha route and the Kachari

---

26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid., p.82.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
ruler by the Maibong route, besides, the three daughters of Jayantiya ruler along with various articles of wealth were also taken with.\textsuperscript{31} The Ahom army took with it image of Jayanti (Jayanti Devi), and ordered the Ahom subjects, who had been staying in Jayantiya since the time of Mir Jumla's invasion, to return to the Ahom kingdom. A contingent of Ahom army had been left at Jayantipur. In order to remove any doubts about the Ahom conquest of Jayantiya, an embassy was sent to the Thanadar of Sylhet to explain the circumstances leading to the expedition of Jayantiya kingdom.\textsuperscript{32}

The occupation of Jayantipur by the Ahom army and the capture of Jayantiya Raja were the extreme steps for which the Jayantiya nobles were not prepared. They induced the Bardalai and the Raja's of Nortang, Khyrim and Rani to join them in order to expel the Ahom army from Jayantiya.\textsuperscript{33} The Jayantiyas under the leadership of Sarukonwar attacked the Ahom garrisons at several places and were successful even rescuing the image of Jayanti Devi from a small army that was carrying it.\textsuperscript{34} However, the Ahom army after repulsing several

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., pp. 89-90.
\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., p. 84.
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid.; SAB, p. 122; Tu.B, p. 33.
attacks on their way back safely reached Gobha. 35 The captive king were brought to Bisvanath, where Rudra Singha was making his camp, and were put up in separate camps. After sometime the two captive rulers were received by Rudra Singha separately. 36 The Jayantiya ruler was told that he would be allowed to return to his kingdom only when his nobles would come to him and made their submission. 37 As they did not come, Ramsingh was detained at camps, where he soon died of illness. 38 On his death his eldest son, who was also a captive, was made the king of Jayantiya and sent him back to the Jayantiya capital as a subordinate ally. 39 He promised to pay annual tributes. 40 On his plea the frontier markets and the frontier outposts, which had been closed due to hostilities, were now re-opened. 41 The new king, however, broke his promise by refusing to annual tribute, for which Rudra Singha sent another expedition to the Jayantiya kingdom. The army successfully captured Barkonwar. 42 He was brought to the Ahom kingdom and

35 Ibid., p. 84.
36 Ibid., pp. 99, 102.
37 Ibid., p. 103.
38 Ibid., p. 104.
39 Ibid., p. 105.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
42 ATR, p. 126.
kept him in prison for fourteen years. The frontier market and passes had also been closed.

The closure of frontier markets had caused considerable economic hardship. Some of the leading persons of Jayantiya approached the Ahom envoy, Ratna Kandali, who was deputed to Kachari kingdom by the Barphukan, for re-opening the markets. Ratna Kandali brought the matter to the notice of the Barphukan. During the reign of Siva Singha, who became the king in 1714 on the death of his father Rudra Singha, the Jayantiyas started negotiations for re-opening frontier markets and the passes. But due to the procedural complication which occurred due to the Ahom insistence of the acceptance of certain conditions not only by the Jayantiya ruler but also by the petty chiefs of Gobha, Neli and Khala, the agreement was delayed, but correspondences continued with Sarukonwar, the brother of Barkonwar, who was administering the Jayantiya kingdom. Ultimately an agreement was reached on the payment of tribute, and Barkonwar was released in 1723. 

---

43 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
45 JB, p. 138; ATR, p. 126.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
48 ATR, p. 129.
soon submitted a petition for re-opening the frontier markets and frontier gates by saying thus, "There has been darkness for fourteen years. Now the Moon and the Sun appear. I, the son of the Ahom king, am soliciting the father for the markets. If the markets are opened it would remove the fear from the minds of the Garos and the Mikirs and would do good to the cows and Brahmins. It would also enhance the prestige of the Ahom king and be rewarded by God with a place in the Heaven." 49

In response to such appeals, the Barphukan agreed to open the passes and markets on condition that Barkonwar should render his allegiance to the Ahom monarch through some worthy persons. Any failure of this would result in serious situation. 50 The Jayantiya ruler was also asked to send the chief of Gobha, Neli and Khala along with his Laskar to Jagi. When the Jayantiya envoy, Dhemeliya, declined to carry this message to his king, the Barphukan became angry and kept Dhemeliya in confinement. 51 This led to the break off all negotiations. Sometime later, the Ahom king decided to use force and ordered an invasion of Gobha, Neli and Khala. The army proceeded by

49 JB, p.125.
50 Ibid., p.126.
51 Ibid.
three different routes.  

Hearing the advance of the Ahom army the chiefs of Gobha, Neli and Khala came to the Ahom outpost at Jagi, and prayed for markets and passes. They were formally received by the Barphukan in 1728. An agreement was reached and markets and passes re-opened and thus, the Jayantiya ruler again became a subordinate ally of the Ahom monarch.

Subsequent relations between the Ahoms and the Jayantiyas are not mentioned in the chronicles. But it appears that after the agreement in 1728, the Ahoms relations with the Jayantiyas were continued as usual. But there was a change in the attitude of the Jayantiya ruler during the reign of Siu-ram-phā alias Rajeswar Singha (1751-1769). This was seen when the Jayantiya ruler marched to the boundary of the Ahom kingdom with his troops towards the end of 1768. Not knowing the intention of Jayantiya ruler, the Barbarua submitted a proposal to the Ahom king to send some envoys to the Jayantiya Raja in order to know the purpose of his coming. But the ministers and other higher officers did not agree this for diplomatic reasons. According to them "If the Jayantiya Raja comes with

---

52 Ibid., p.128.
53 Ibid., pp.130-131.
54 A-B, p.291.
our envoys everything will go well, if he does not, it will be very bad and we will lose our prestige."

But the Barbarua, who was the most powerful official, persuaded the king by declaring this "I take this responsibility on my head. I shall bring the Raja." The king agreed and accordingly the Barbarua and his son Dhekiyal Barua marched to Raha to meet the Jayantiya ruler. Hearing this news, the Jayantiya Raja became nervous and returned to his country. According to Gait's chronology, he was the Bargosain of Jayantiya, who ruled from 1729-1770.

During the period of Moamariya uprising, which caused much chaos and confusion in the Ahom kingdom, some Ahom subjects including Moamariyas had taken shelter in Jayantiya kingdom and remained there. During the reign of Kamalesvar Singha (1795-1810), Purnananda Buragohain, after restoring peace and order, made efforts to bring back the refugees. But the Moamariyas, who took shelter in the Jayantiya territory preferred to remain there. The Ahom Government made correspondences with Ramsingh II, the ruler of Jayantiya, for the surrender

\[55\] Ibid.
\[56\] Ibid.
\[57\] Ibid.
\[58\] HA, p. 318.
of the Moamariyas. On the instruction and command of Ahom king, envoys were deputed to Jayantiya. The Jayantiya ruler sent his own envoy, Ramchandra, to the Ahom court with letters. In his letter he expressed his happiness on the suppression of the Moamariya rebellion and reaffirmed the alliance between the Ahom Government and that of his. He also assured the surrender of the Moamariyas, who had taken shelter and were creating troubles in the border. At the same time he charged the Ahom king for transgressing the Jayantiya border. He warned that such action was not proper. In his reply, the Barbarua expressed his happiness for the effort of the Jayantiya ruler to suppress the enemies who had been creating troubles in the Ahom kingdom from their shelter. It was also indicated that the petty chieftains in the frontier as well as the refugee subjects could not create trouble without the complicity of some powerful force. (This was meant for the Jayantiya ruler himself). He charged the Jayantiya Raja that he, who encouraged such hostile activities would face severe consequences. Therefore, the Jayantiya Raja should release all the Moamariyas and refugee subjects taking shelter in his kingdom.

59 Tu.B, p.152.
60 Ibid., pp.152-153.
62 Ibid., pp.155-159.
so that friendly relations continued. If this was not done and if friendship was not maintained there would be serious consequences and the Moamariyas and the refugees would fail to give the Jayantiya ruler any protection. As regard the Jayantiya charge of the Ahom violation of the border, the Barbarua informed him that if such step was taken i.e. if the Ahoms violated the border and chased some Jayantiya subjects, it would not have been possible for the Jayantiya Raja to keep the Ahom refugees and the Moamariyas in his kingdom.63 The Jayantiya Raja was advised not to pay heed to the advice of bad persons. If he acted on their (bad persons') advice he would know the serious consequences.64 This was followed by further exchange of envoys between the two kingdoms. But no effective result came out in regard to the surrender of Moamariyas and the refugees.65 The relations between the two kingdoms were dislocated by the internal troubles followed by the Burmese invasion of the Ahom kingdom in 1816.

Relations with the Kachari Rulers

After the lapse of more than a decade, Kachari ruler

63 Ibid.
64 Ibid.
65 Ibid., pp. 170, 179-182.
Gadurdhvaj's third son Tamradhvajnarayan, who succeeded his brother Udayadityanarayan, sent an envoy named Phelai Dalai to the Kaliyabariya Phukan. On the direction of Rudra Singha, the Phukan received the envoy, who delivered the following message verbally, "So firm is the good relations between us that it will not be disrupted even if the crow turns white, the heron turns black and stone floats." Indicating thus the willingness of the Kachari ruler to restore the relations, the envoy placed the request before the Phukan to depute an envoy with him for this purpose. The Kaliyabariya Phukan, on instruction of the Svargadeo, sent an envoy in company with Phelai Dalai, advising the latter to send formal letters.

Having received this favourable response, Tamradhvajnarayan, following the usual practice, despatched in 1699 his two envoys, Gandharvarai and Elabar with six letters - one to the Ahom king, three to the three ministers, one to the Barphukan and the other to the Kaliyabariya Phukan. The envoys were duly received at the royal court. But the letter addressed to king Rudra Singha was found offensive

66 KB, p.59.
67 Ibid., pp.59-60.
68 Ibid.
69 Ibid.
70 Ibid., p.61.
as it bore the name of the Kachari ruler at the top and that of the Ahom king below which was just the reverse of the accepted principle. For this offence the Kachari envoys were expelled from the royal court. This shows that although Tamradhvaj was willing to re-establish his relations with the Ahoms, he had no desire to accept a position of subordination. The Kachari envoys were sent back without providing the company of Ahom envoys or letters but with some presents from the three ministers and the Barphukan to the Kachari ruler.

Having met with this rebuff, Tamradhvaj left no time to express his challenging posture by sending an envoy with the following demand, "Previously our territory was extended upto Mahang. Svärgamararaja should cede (the whole territory upto that place) to me." Enraged by such demand, Rudra Singh decided to invade the Kachari kingdom to punish its ruler for his aggressive attitude. Accordingly in 1706 two armies had been sent, one by the Dhansiri route under the command of Dihingiya Deka Barbarua and the other by the Kopili route under Pani Phukan. The armies marched to the Kachari kingdom from two sides. The army under the Barbarua advanced
and occupied, after defeating the Kacharis at several engagements, Maibong, the Kachari capital.\textsuperscript{76} Tamradhvaj fled away to Khaspur, where the Jayantiya ruler Ramsingh captured him and took him to his capital, Jayantipur.\textsuperscript{77} Realizing his serious predicament Tamradhvaj sent a secret message through two Ahom bairagis, who were at that time, staying, at Jayantipur in course of their wanderings acknowledging the supremacy of the Ahom king and asking for forgiveness for his past offences, and also begging his deliverance from his captor.\textsuperscript{78}

Having received this message, the Barbarua on the order of king Rudra Singha sent messengers to the Jayantiya ruler demanding the immediate release of Tamradhvaj so that the peaceful relations between the two kingdoms should continue.\textsuperscript{79} But on decline of the request, Rudra Singha sent a strong force against Jayantiya in 1707, which succeeded in capturing both Jayantiya and Kachari rulers.\textsuperscript{80} They were taken to the Ahom kingdom and produced before Rudra Singha his camp at Bisvanath.\textsuperscript{81} Tamradhvaj confirmed his allegiance to the Ahom king and agreed

\textsuperscript{76}KB,pp.70-78.  
\textsuperscript{77}JB,p.80; KB,pp.82,83.  
\textsuperscript{78}Ibid.,p.81; ibid.,pp.83-84.  
\textsuperscript{79}Ibid.; Tu.B,p.32.  
\textsuperscript{80}Ibid.,p.89; ibid.,p.32; KB,pp.85-86.  
\textsuperscript{81}KB,p.86; ibid.,p.33.
to send annually two elephants, two horses, and two Baruas with forty men to serve the Ahom king, and also ceded his territory beyond the river Jamuna. He took oath, by dipping his hands in water of the Brahmaputra, to remain in perpetual subordination. By placing his hands on the head of Tamradhvaj, Rudra Singha accepted the former as his son. After this Tamradhvaj was escorted to his capital, Khaspur. Thereafter, the relations with the Kacharis continued uninterrupted for a long time.

During the reign of Rajesvar Singha some new developments had affected the Ahom-Kachari relations. The Burmese invasion of Manipur sometimes before 1769 drove out its ruler, Jay Singh from his kingdom and compelled him to take shelter in the neighbouring Kachari kingdom from where he made overtures to the Ahom king. But the Kachari ruler feeling himself oversize at this turn of event, not only not intimated all this but also failed to send the annual tributes to the Ahom

82 Ibid., p.87.
83 Ibid.
84 Ibid.
86 The name of the Kachari king was not mentioned either in the chronicles of Tai languages or of the Assamese. A History of Cooch Behar, p.237, however, presumes his name as Lakshmi-chandra, who occupied Kaspur in about 1745.
Rajesvar Singha sent, in the name of the frontier officials, five persons named Damodar, Dhanesvar, Manmath Naga Barua, Naharnamati Kachari and Gajimaji as envoys to the Kachari ruler summoning him, as was usual, to appear before his overlord. The Kachari ruler reacted this by confining the Ahom envoys in his capital, an action which was considered by the Ahom Government a definite indication of hostility on his part. Rajesvar Singha, after having had this matter discussed at the great council, sent an army under Kirtichandra Barbarua against the Kachari. Accordingly, the Ahom army marched and when it reached Raha, the Kachari ruler being terrified of finding himself in between two enemies, the Burmese on the east and the Ahoms on the west, deputed three princes with tributes in acknowledgement of his subordination to the Ahom king. This offer fell far short of the satisfaction of Rajesvar Singha for the Kachari ruler made no reference to Jay Singh, who was still kept in the Kachari capital without information to his suzerain, the Ahom king. Kirtichandra, therefore, sent back the Kachari princes threatening

87 A-B, pp. 286-287.
88 Ibid.
89 Ibid.
90 Ibid.; Tu.B, p. 49.
91 Ibid.
them that their country would be devastated if their king failed to surrender the Manipuri king with his family.  

Realizing the seriousness of his position between the Burmese on the one side and the Ahoms on the other, the Kachari ruler sent the Manipuri king to his overlord in company with one Sandikari with valuable presents. This submission had placed the Kachari ruler once again in the status enjoyed by his predecessors in their relations with the Ahom kings.

During the Moamariya disturbances from 1782 to 1795 many heterogenous groups of the Ahom subjects including one Ahom prince, after causing troubles in the frontier, took shelter in the Kachari kingdom. After the restoration of peace and order in the kingdom, the Barbarua sent a letter in 1795 through his envoys Phedela and Lakhiram, to Krishnachandra, the Kachari ruler, for the surrender of the refugees, who had been staying there. The letter concluded thus, "In the period of

---

92 Ibid.; Tu.B, p.49.
93 Ibid.; ibid. There is some amount of confusion about the identification of Sandikari. Some scholars make him the Kachari king. Gait, op.cit., pp.192,308; ATR, p.99. The account in the A-B, p.287 and the Assamese chronicles give the impression that he was a chief and not the reigning Kachari ruler. The SAB, p.152, clearly states that he was "Sandikari of the Kachari king" while Tu.B, p.50 says that he was the step-father of the reigning Kachari king. It, therefore, appears that Sandikari was not the Kachari king but a chief in some way related to the former.
94 Tu.B, p.137.
95 Ibid. Letter from the Barbarua to the Kachari ruler, Krishnachandra of Saka 1717 (1806).
disturbances in our country caused by enemies, many subjects of ours like Barmura, Moamariya and some other refugees fled away and took shelter in your country. Now by the grace of God, (the Svargadeo) recovered his country after suppressing the enemies. BY following the prevailing rules and customs, the people, who had fled away and took shelter in your country, should be surrendered without delay, and sent them with our envoys Phedela and Lakhiram. Then only the relations between the father and his son (the Ahom king and the Kachari ruler) will be maintained. In case you do not surrender Barmura, Moamariya and other refugees you will see its consequences." Taking the opportunity of the declining power of the Ahom monarchs, Krishnachandra ignored the Ahom threat and gave the explanation that it was some of his erring subjects (not the Ahom refugees) of Dharmapur who had committed the mischief. After referring to the relations established during Rudra Singha's time which, he claimed, to have been maintained, the letter hinted that the recent political developments had naturally caused some change. The above answer of Krishnachandra

---

96 Bijay Barmura Gohain, son of Rajesvar Singha, father of Brajanath Singha and the grandfather of Purandar Singha, who ruled the Ahom kingdom from February 1818 to January 1819.

97Tu.B,p.137.

98 Ibid., pp.138-139. Letter from Kachari ruler Krishnachandra, to the Bhadrakanta Barbarua.

99 Ibid.
was a sufficient indication that he was not maintaining the same old relations with the Ahom king. At that period, the Ahom king were not too powerful to undertake any large scale invasion of the Kachari kingdom as was done earlier. Hence the Ahom Government continued the demand by sending letters.

After restoring peace and order in the kingdom, and mastering sufficient strength of arms and ammunition, the Ahom Government adopted a firm stand. Taking the pretext of border raids by some Kacharis in league with some Moamariyas, Kamalesvar Singha sent an army against the Kacharis. The Ahom army advanced to the Kachari border and captured some of the Kachari officers and took them to their kingdom. This had the desired effect. Soon in 1802 Krishnachandra sent his envoy named Senakhumdang to the Barbarua requesting him to release the Kachari captives. The Barbarua, in his reply, asked for the surrender of the Moamariyas, Bārmura and other refugees ignoring, at the same time, the Kachari request for the release of the Kachari captives. Krishnachandra was, thus, compelled to submit to the Ahom king. He sent his tributes

100 Ibid., pp. 148-150.
101 Ibid.
102 Ibid., p. 162.
103 Ibid.
to the Ahom king through his envoy, but gave a vague expla-
nation of the Ahom demand of the surrender of refugees. The Barbarua, on receiving this written message, reiterated the demand for the surrender of Ahom refugees. In his letter of Saka 1726, (1804) the Barbarua ignored the request of the Kachari ruler, and after rejecting the vague explanation, wrote thus, "By violating the prevailing rules and customs you collected Barmura, Moamariya and some other refugees, and the Kacharis caused them to fight against us who created many undesirable acts which are not befitting to be recorded in (this) letter. Even then by remaining firm in the prevailing customs, and maintaining the paternal relations, we have not decided to take any action on such matter. If you really intend to maintain the good relations, you take such action so that Barmura, Moamariya and other refugees with their sons and wives would return immediately. If you do not pay any head to this you will know what action will be taken by the Svargadeo. In 1806, Dhiresvar, who carried this letter to the Kachari capital, came back with letters and presents but without accompanied by Kachari envoys. It appears that

104 Ibid., pp. 162-164.
105 Ibid., pp. 165-166. Letter from the Barbarua to the Kachari ruler, Krishnachandra.
106 Ibid.
107 Ibid., p. 185.
this was the last diplomatic communication between the Ahoms and the Kacharis. Thereafter, the Ahom chronicles do not contain any further reference to the Kacharis till the end of the Ahom rule in Assam.

Relations with the Tripura Kings

The relations with the kingdom of Tripura was started by king Rudra Singha in the early years of the eighteenth century. The object of establishing friendly relations with Tripura, which lay at a considerable distance from Assam, was to organize a confederacy of the Hindu rulers of eastern India against the Mughals in Bengal. For that purpose he also cultivated friendship with and obtained the co-operation of other Hindu potentates and chiefs, who had been vassals of the Mughals, such as Rajas of Mourang, Banbishnupur, Panga, Nadiya, Bardawan, Barnagar and Koch Behar. To obtain the good-will of the inhabitants of Bengal, he invited leading Brahmins, scholars, musicians and sent them back with presents. Among the visitors was a Bengali musician of repute, named Anandiram Medhi, who had intimacy with the Tripura king.

---

109 Ibid., p.2.
Ratnamanikya. In the meantime Rudra Singha despatched Ratna Kandali to escort Tarkkavagis Bhattacharya, who was sent for pilgrimage by Gadadhar Singha and was staying at Dacca on his way back. On their return journey, from his camp at Rangamati, Bhattacharya sent Ratna Kandali to Subangsa Rai, whom he had met at Dacca for the purpose of procuring some Bengal musicians. Subangsa Rai suggested to Ratna Kandali the expediency of cultivating the friendship with the king of Tripura, Ratnamanikya thus "the ruler of Tripura is a great king, it would be of service if friendly relations could be established with him." This advice was promptly reported to the Ahom king.

Understanding that Anandiram had good friendship with the Tripura king, Rudra Singha tried to utilize this opportunity to establish friendly relations with one more Hindu ruler and asked him to impress upon Ratnamanikya an idea of the influence and power of the Ahom Government so as to create in the king's mind a desire to seek friendship and alliance. Anandiram Medhi having agreed to accomplish the object, Ratna Kandali and Arjun Das were sent with him to Tripura for the apparent purpose of fetching water from the Ganges for the Barbarua. This was the first Ahom mission to Tripura in

110 Ibid., p.3.
111 Ibid., pp.3-4.
1709.

Anandiram succeeded in inducing the Tripura king to seek the friendship of the Ahom king. Ratnmanikya sent for Ratnakandali and Arjun Das and they were duly presented to the king, who expressed his intention to acquire friendship of their master thus, "I wish to establish friendship with Svar-giraja. Will you escort my envoy with letter?" The Assamese envoys informed the Tripura king thus, "Many kings send their envoys to the Barbarua Nawab seeking friendship with the Svar-gadeo. The Barbarua Nawab, with the royal approval, establishes friendship. If you are interested we can let the Barbarua know of your intention." Impressed with this, the Tripura king sent in 1710 his envoys named Ratnesvar Bhattacharyya Nyayalankar and Udayanarayan Bisvas with the Ahoms' envoys with two letters one to the Ahom king, the other to the Barbarua. Thus the friendship between the two kingdoms was established.

Ratnmanikya in his letters of Saka 1632 (1710) wished firm friendship between the two kingdoms. Rudra Singha

---

112 Ibid., p. 5.
113 Ibid.
114 Ibid.
115 Letters of Ratnmanikya to the Ahom king and the Barbarua of Saka 1632 (1710) in Appendix III.
and Suratsingh Barbarua in their reply, too, affirmed their friendship.\textsuperscript{116} Rudra Singha also sent a rahasya patra (secret letter) soliciting the Tripura king's co-operation, if he deemed expedient, to fight the Mughals, who were against "the religion of the Vedas."\textsuperscript{117} The envoys, Ratna Kandali and Arjun Das, were received by Ratnamanikya in 1712, but soon the Tripura king was killed and his step-brother Ghanasyam became the king, who assumed the name Mahendramanikya. The new king sent the Assam envoys back in 1713 in company with his envoy named Aribhinarayan with letters.

The Tripura envoy was received by Rudra Singha towards the end of 1713. Aribhinarayan delivered both the written and verbal message, in which Mahendramanikya expressed his intention to strengthen his friendship with Rudra Singha.\textsuperscript{118} A few months later in 1714 Rudra Singha again sent his envoys to Tripura. But a few months later he passed away at Gauhati when the Assam envoys reached the capital of Tripura. In the beginning of 1715 Mahendramanikya, too, passed away and was succeeded by Dharmamanikya.\textsuperscript{119} In May, 1715, the Ahom envoys were sent back by Dharmamanikya with letters but without his

\textsuperscript{116}Letters of Rudra Singha and Suratsu Singh Barbarua.
\textsuperscript{117}TB, pp. 15-16.
\textsuperscript{118}Letters of Mahendramanikya to the Ahom king and the Barbarua.
\textsuperscript{119}TB, p. 97.
envoys, conveying general assurance of friendship. After this chronicles do not record any diplomatic correspondences between the Ahom and Tripura kingdoms.

Relations with the Koch Rulers

The relations with the Koch rulers which stopped in 1685 due to the interception of Mahendranarayan's letter by the Mughals, revived again during the reign of Rudra Singha at latter's initiative. Rudra Singha wanted to unite all the Hindu rulers of the region against the Mughals with a view to making a joint effort to oust them (the Mughals) from the Brahmaputra valley as well as the whole of eastern India. For this purpose the Barphukan, as instructed by Rudra Singha, sent a letter to the Koch king Rupnarayan (1704-14). In his reply to the Barphukan, Rupnarayan explained the reason for discontinuation of the diplomatic correspondences as the hill-route running to the north of Darrang became impassable. He hoped that the old friendly relations would be fully revived and regular communication would continue. On the death of Rudra Singha at Gauhati in 1714, the project envisaged by him for an invasion of Bengal was dropped. Before his return to his capital, the new king, Siva Singha sent his envoy with

120 Ibid.
121 ATR, p.249.
122 TB, p.1.
letter to Rupnarayan informing him about the abandonment of his father's project. He, however, wished that the old friendly relations between the two kingdoms would continue. But the chronicles are silent about Koch Behar's relations with the Ahom kingdom in the subsequent years.

**Relations with the Mughal Nawabs of Bengal**

On the way to the Jayantiya kingdom on expedition, as stated earlier in this chapter, Barbarua sent envoys, Satananda and Sitaram, with letters to the Thanadar of Sylhet, Bamuniyar Khan. After expressing the firm friendship of the Ahoms with the Mughals, the Barbarua informed the Thanadar that the Ahom army was on its way to the Jayantiya kingdom, and not against the Mughals. This was done in order to remove misunderstanding of the Mughals as to the intention of the march of the Ahom army against erring rulers of Kachari and Jayantiya.

After completely subduing the Kacharis and the Jayantiya powers, Rudra Singha made preparations for an invasion of Bengal. Having received reports that Rudra Singha was

---

123 ATR. p. 249.
124 JB. p. 84 says that "Nawab of Sylhet".
125 Ibid.
organizing a confederacy of the Hindu rulers against the Mughals, the Thanadar of Sylhet, who was subordinate to the Nawab of Bengal sent, in 1708, Hridayram and Hemraj Mishra with letter in company with a Bairagi to the Ahom kingdom.\textsuperscript{126} The Thanadar gave his introduction as the son of Nawab Nathula Siraji, who was the Thanadar of Koch Behar and Rangamati, and the successor of Bamuniyar Khan. In his letter, the Thanadar expressed his willingness to maintain good relations with the Ahom king.\textsuperscript{127} In their replies sent through the envoys named Sitaram and Satananda, the Barbarua and the Barphukan asked him to maintain good relations between the two dominions.\textsuperscript{128} They threatened that like the Kacharis and the Jayantiyas, who betrayed the Svargadeo, he would get a good lesson if he tried to do the same as they did. They gave him assurance that they had no intention of any further extension of their dominion, and wished he would remain within the limits of his boundaries.\textsuperscript{129} During the reign of Siva Singha two envoys named Bahadur Singha and Jamil Beg sent by the Nawab of Bengal visited the court of the Ahom king.\textsuperscript{130} But details of this

\textsuperscript{126}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 91-93. Since the letter was addressed as \textit{mahāmahottar-mahogra-pratāpesu} it is difficult to ascertain the addressee.

\textsuperscript{127}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{128}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 94. The name of the Thanadar is not available. The letter was addressed as \textit{srimat-cillehat-thanādara-kang prati}.

\textsuperscript{129}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{130}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 126.
Relations with Manipur Rulers

The invasion of Manipur by the Burmese army had caused its ruler Jay Singh, known as Chairangthanga to the Manipuris, to flee away and to take shelter in the Kachari kingdom on his way to the Ahom kingdom. After a brief detention in the Kachari capital Jay Singh was released on receiving threat from Ahom king Rajesvar Singha and was escorted to the Ahom capital by Sandhikari of the Kachari king. Jay Singh submitted himself to the Ahom king by falling prostrate at his feet and offering presents of a long plate of gold and two gold mai-hang. He declared, "If I am placed again in my old territory, I, your slave, will be a vassal of yours and pay annual tributes." An Ahom army was despatched with Jay Singh to restore him on the throne of Manipur, but it returned without being able to reach Manipur. A second army was sent in 1767 under the command of the Khangiya Phukan.

---

132 Probably one of the chiefs under the Kachari king.
133 A-B, p.287; Tu.B, p.49 says that Jay Singh and his son Anupananda, was accompanied by Deka-Raja of the Kacharis.
134 Ibid. Mai-hang is a raised tray used to take meals respectable Ahom people.
135 Ibid.
the son of Bakatiyal Barbarua through Raha.\textsuperscript{137} Supported by
the Ahom army, Jay Singh was able to recover his throne with
the assistance of the indigenous chiefs and the people. The
Ahom army was sent back. Lairenmayum Iboongohal Singh's obser-
vation "So it is clear that although Rajesvar Singh sent his
men to help Jay Singh, his men could not reach the war zone
and did not help Jay Singh in driving out the Burmese from
Manipur,\textsuperscript{138} does not hold any ground. Because the Ahom chronicles
clearly describe the second successful expedition of the Ahom
army to Manipur. Jay Singh, after regaining his kingdom, did
not send, for sometime, his tributes to the Ahom king. On
the command of Rajesvar Singha, Manmath Naga Barua was sent
as envoy to Manipur to enquire about the matter. Jay Singh
duly received the embassy "I have regained my dominion through
your king's favour. I can not forget him as long as I live.
I shall remain faithful to him and send annual tributes without
failure. I have collected men to take my tributes to the
heavenly king."\textsuperscript{139} He offered also his daughter named Kuran-
ganayani in marriage to the Ahom king as a mark of his submis-
sion.\textsuperscript{140} The Ahom envoy was sent back accompanying by two

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{137}Ibid.; ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{138}Introduction to Manipur, Imphal, 1960,p.168.
\item \textsuperscript{139}A-B, pp.289-290.
\item \textsuperscript{140}Ibid. According to Tu.B, p.51, he offered his daughter when
he came to the Ahom capital.
\end{itemize}
envoys of Manipur named Hirmani and Nanang, with the princess and tributes.

The relations with Manipur continued. Jay Singh renewed the relation by offering his grand daughter to his successor Lakshmi Singha.\textsuperscript{141}

During the period of Moamariya disturbances, Gaurinath Singha sent his envoy Bishnuram with letter to Jay Singh, who was still the king of Manipur, requesting his assistance against the Moamariyas.\textsuperscript{142} The message runs, "The Moamariyas rebelled in our country. Remembering our old friendly relation, either the king should come or he should send some warriors (for our assistance)."\textsuperscript{143} In response to this request, the ruler of Manipur, not knowing the gravity of the situation in the Ahom kingdom, sent a small force under the royal priest, named Dharmadhi, with the Ahom envoy. He also sent four Manipur envoys named Garang, Khagendra, Abhimanyu and Nimai in company with the Ahom envoy.\textsuperscript{144} By the time the Manipuri force reached Raha, the Ahom king, unable to hold his ground, left his capital and was staying at Gauhati.\textsuperscript{145} The Manipuri envoys were received

\textsuperscript{141}Ibid., p. 314.
\textsuperscript{142}tu.B., p. 101.
\textsuperscript{143}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{144}Ibid., p. 116.
\textsuperscript{145}Ibid.
by the king and the Manipuri army directed to help the Buragohain, who was stationed at Jorhat. But the Manipuri army, being frightened of the Moamariyas, left the Ahom kingdom and returned to their own through the Raha route.\footnote{Ibid., p.117.}

In 1790, from his camp at Nagaon, Gaurinath Singha sent his three envoys named Gauri, Banesvar and Krishnahari with letter to the Manipuri Raja directing him to come again for his assistance.\footnote{Ibid., p.119.} The Manipur Raja, Jay Singh, who was advanced in age, after recalling the conduct of his army sent previously and also unable to neglect the Ahom king's request himself came with his son, Madhuchandra, and four thousand warriors, to assist the Ahom force to Nagaon in 1791.\footnote{Ibid.} He was directed by the Ahom monarch through the Dhekiyal Phukan to join the Buragohain and help him in suppressing the rebellion. Having heard this, Jay Singh said, "How can I go without meeting and exchanging greetings with the Svargadeo?" and he prepared to go back to Manipur, and actually reached Hatipara.\footnote{Ibid.} Gaurinath Singha sent three Phukans to him who brought him back to Nagaon and gave him an interview. Jay Singh was then sent
to help Purnananda Buragohain at Jorhat. On his arrival at Jorhat, the Manipuri king was given a reception by the Buragohain at the fort at Dichai. The Manipur army headed by their Raja proceeded first to Tiok, then to Rangpur engaging the Moamariyas on the way. Beyond Gaurisagar, a few miles from Rangpur, the Moamariyas, who remained concealed in the woods, fell upon the Manipuris, who gave a heroic stand. But unable to hold their position retreated to Tiok. Informing the Buragohain and leaving one thousand soldiers at Jorhat, Jay Singh and his son went back to their kingdom. When the Moamariyas attacked from the other side of the Dichao river, the Buragohain ordered the Manipuri soldiers to counterattack them but instead of doing so they went back to their country. After this no more correspondence between the Ahom Government and Manipur is found in the chronicles. The reason, possibly, is that while Ahom kings were busy with their own troubles, those of Manipur were with the Burmese invasions.

Relations with the Bhutan Rulers

Although a part of the territory of the Ahom kingdom

\[^{150}\text{Ibid.}, p. 121.\]
\[^{151}\text{Ibid.}, p. 122.\]
\[^{152}\text{Ibid.}, p. 123.\]
\[^{153}\text{Ibid.}\]
\[^{154}\text{Ibid.}\]
became coterminous with that of Bhutan with the Ahom occupation of Kamrup during the reign of Siu-seng-phā, the direct diplomatic contact between the two royal courts did not occur till the closing year of the eighteenth century. It was because of the fact that Balinarayan, a brother of Koch Raja Parikshit, was installed as the Raja of Darrang with the new title "Dharmanarayan", to whom was left the relations with Bhutan. Thinking that Balinarayan's position was still weak and insecure, the Bhutanese envoys, who visited his court, demanded the return of Nagamati, a place on the Bhutan border which had earlier been occupied by Balinarayan's predecessor. Balinarayan's refusal of the demand resulted in a Bhutanese attack of his territory. Unable to resist the invasion by his own force, Balinarayan appealed for help from his overlord, the Ahom king, who despatched a strong army to Darrang. The combined army defeated the Bhutanese, who retreated to their territory. Soon the rulers of Bhutan, Deva-Dharma Raja sought for peace. Negotiations led to a treaty, according to one of its articles, the Deva Dharma Raja had ceded a portion of Bhumurakunda to Balinarayan which formerly belonged to his ancestors. The latter effected its possession by settling population over this territory.

155 J.P. Wade, op.cit., pp.221-231.
156 Ibid., pp.221-222.
157 Ibid.
158 J.P. Wade writes "Bhoomoora Koonda", op.cit., p.223. Its variant spellings are "Bhramarakunda", or "Bhoirabkunda".
It was during the time of Chandranarayan, the son of Mahendranarayan, who succeeded Balinarayan for a brief period, that the Bhutanese, taking advantage of the involvement of the Darrang and the Ahom armies in a serious struggle against the Mughals, took possession of strip of land including some duars as far as the Gohain Kamal Ali. Chandranarayan, in desperation started plundering the villages evicting the Bhutanese people from the said tract. The Bhutanese chiefs of the duars asked Chandranarayan, through their emissary, either to stop his plundering raids or to give fight. To this Chandranarayan's reply was that like his ancestors, who had vanquished the Bhutanese and had established their hold marking the limit of their territory, he too, was ready to encounter the arms of Bhutan. This had the desired effect. The Bhutanese envoy took the threat seriously and made his submission that even the population of the passes had expressed their desire that Gohain Kamal Ali should be the limit of the Darrang territory. The envoy further submitted that the people inhabiting the passes ready to pay their usual presents of musk and chowris (tail of a particular kind of cow) to the ruler of

160 Ibid.
161 Ibid.
Darrang, and also tributes of horses, chowris, musks and blankets to the Ahom king. The messenger placed the articles of tribute before Chandranarayan, who accepted his own, and promised to deliver those of the Ahom king through his envoys.  

The Ahom king was, however, not very happy with the nature of Chandranarayan’s settlement with the Bhutanese, and reminded him that he had conferred the principality of Darrang and Kamrup of his father as well as his descendants in recognition of their high descent so that they might contribute to the glory and prosperity of the Ahom kingdom. He, therefore, refused to approve the alienation of the bordering district to the Bhutanese and sent an army to Darrang to foil any hostile attempts on the past of the Bhutanese. Although the Ahom king indicated Chandranarayan for his aggressive attitude towards Bhutan, at the same time directed him to join, without delay, the Ahom army with his own men, and take possession of the country as far as Bhumurakunda.  

Having received the news of the advance of Chandranarayan’s army backed by an Ahom army, Deva-Dharma Raja of Bhutan also sent their force to oppose it. Fighting continued for seven

---

162 Ibid.
163 Ibid.
months, in which the Bhutanese suffered heavy loses. Realizing the futility of continuing a losing war, Deva-Dharma Raja sent presents to Chandranarayan and tributes to the Ahom king. The Bhutan Government promised to confine itself to the former limits of the country and expressed a desire to remain on terms of friendship with him in future. The Bhutanese envoy also requested Chandranarayan not to allow the Ahom army to reach the border. In his reply, Chandranarayan wrote back that he was not an independent ruler and that the Svargadeo, who had appointed him to the principality, had sent his officers to conduct the expedition and it was beyond his authority to stop the advance of the army. He, however, indicated the expediency of offering presents to those officers so that they might be induced to join with him in recommending their request to the Svargadeo. The Bhutan Government immediately sent presents of gold, chowris, and horses to the officers and entreated their mediation to procure from the Ahom king a grant of seven passes and seven districts surrounding those passes. The officers promised immediate compliance but they requested Chandranarayan also to address Svargadeo on the subject on behalf of Bhutan in order to remove any misgiving.

164 Ibid.
165 Ibid.
from the mind of the Ahom monarch. Chandranarayan declined to act as mediator for he was already indicted by his overlord. But he recommended that they should together address a letter to the Svargadeo by taking into consideration of the interest of all parties. The officers, then, having deliberated in council, addressed the king thus, "we recommend that they be allowed to possess half the conquered country that the other half might enjoy by the Ahoms. The Bhutanese, if your lord desire, will pay annual tribute for their division".

The Ahom king expressed his satisfaction at the services rendered by his officers and also desired that in conjunction with Chandranarayan they would impress the Bhutanese with a salutary dread of his power. When enquired Chandranarayan declined to have any share in the transaction. He declared his ignorance of the dealing by the officers suspecting that if the king should ultimately disapprove of their proceedings the officers might be induced to accuse him as the author. The Bhutanese were informed that they must pay tribute to the Svargadeo, annual presents to Chandranarayan, and grant donations to the king's officers, who had come with this expedition. The presents were immediately sent and an agreement was drawn up with the usual formalities. They agreed to pay

166 Letter from the Ahom officers to their master, as quoted by J.P. Wade, op.cit., p.229.
annual tribute for the ceded to country as far as the high road of Gohain Kamal Ali, which was prescribed as the limit. Goontia Barua, who was appointed to look after the Darrang affairs was directed to receive the tribute and to manage all transactions with Bhutan. This relation was continued till the last decade of the eighteenth century.

Since the arrival of Captain Thomas in Assam in 1792 to assist Ahom king, Gaurinath Singha in restoring peace and order, the foot-hills of Bhutan bordering Assam had assumed considerable importance as they offered a ready asylum to Moamariya rebels, who had fled to the neighbouring hills when the Ahom Government took strong measures to suppress them. Krishnanarayan, the rebel prince of Darrang and his hired armed retainers from Bengal called the Burkendazes, his ally and chief adviser Haradutta Chaudhury of Kamrup when pursued by the East India Company's troops took refuge in that region. This led to correspondences between the Bhutanese officials and Captain Welsh. Even after Krishnanarayan's surrender to Captain Welsh, many of his men including some Burkendazes remained in their jungle hideout in Bhutan, from where they led

---

167 Ibid.
168 Tu.B, p. 95.
sporadic incursions into the Assam plains. Besides these, Deva-Dharma Raja had assisted Krishnanarayan with Bhutanese soldiers to fight against the Ahom Government. Due to lack of co-ordination and the absence of direct diplomatic relations between the Ahom and the Bhutan courts, no concentrated efforts could be made to evict the unauthorised occupants of the frontier's passes. During the reign of Kamalesvar Singha (1795-1810), some influential persons of Kamrup aided by the Burken-dazes revolted. When defeated and pursued by the royal troops they fled towards the Bhutan Hills and took shelter in the boarders, and established temporary settlements. The Assam-Bhutan border, thus, became a troubled spot towards the end of the eighteenth century. This was perhaps the reason that led the Ahom Government to send envoys to Bhutan.

In Saka 1723 (1801), the Barphukan sent two envoys named Pankaj and Kansiga to the court of Deva-Dharma Raja. The detail accounts of the visit are not available. On their return journey they were accompanied by four Bhutan Jinkaps, or envoys, named Jiba, Dindu, Khupa, Burukdewa, the first two were

---

169 AAR, p.15.
170 ATR, p.279-280.
173 Ibid.
deputed by Deva-Dharma Raja, the third and forth by the governors of Tangsu and Jadung respectively. After receiving them, the Barphukan, on instruction from the king, sent them to the Ahom capital to be received by Kamalesvar Singha. At the time of royal reception the Jingkaps, after the usual preliminary customary conversation, submitted on behalf of their lord, the Deva-Dharma Raja thus: "Seven hundred Gelans had previously solicited, through the Barphukan the permission of the Svaragdeo to settle in the area bounded by the Gohain Kamal Ali for the purpose of raising arecanut and betel leaves for their livelihood. The permission was granted by the Svaragdeo, and the Gelans accordingly settled at the place prayed for. But the people living on the other side of the road have transgressed the line of demarcation, and have captured our men after crossing that road. Our kings solicited the favour of the Svaragdeo's protecting the former boundaries." Though the letters that the Bhutan ruler had sent to the Ahom king or the ministers were not available, but, from the verbal

175 They were priest.
176 They called him as the "king of Barpani" (Barpani Raja)
177 Tu.B, pp.146-148; Ms.No.29.
message it can be presumed that the trouble in the border had worried the Deva-Dharma Raja. The envoys of the Bhutan were sent back with letter from the Buragohain, and presents from the Svaragdeo's too, to the Bhutan ruler, accompanying them by Haramiya, an Ahom envoy, up to Gauhati. 178 The subsequent action of the Ahom monarch on the matter is not known in detail. But there is clear evidence that the Barphukan was instructed to make an enquiry into ellegation made by the Bhutanese envoys and to send a report to the capital.

Relations with the East India Company

Although there had been visits of Europeans, merchants or marcenaries in their individual capacity to the Ahom kingdom which started as early as the reign of Siu-seng-phā (1603-1641),179 the first official correspondence between the Ahom Government and the East India Company began during the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings, who sent a letter to the Ahom king, Lakshmi Singha 180 on 22 April, 1777. Since then correspondences between the Ahom and the East India Company's Government in Bengal became a regular feature.

178 Ibid., p.160.
179 DAB, p.77.
Prior to this, in 1766, Lord Clive, during his second term of administration of Bengal had attempted to trade, through the Society of Trade, in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco with Assam. For the purpose he recommended the names of some traders including Hugh Baillie and David Killican, who were residing in the Rangpur district of Bengal. The society, however, relinquished the trade in betel-nut and tobacco in 1767, and confined itself to salt which was very expensive and not easily available in Assam.  

The society of Trade ceased to exist on the order of the Court of Directors from 1768 and thereafter Assam trade was opened to all persons, Indian and Europeans. Baillie withdrew from Goalpara and proceeded to England where submitted two memorials, one on March 13, 1771 another on December 21, 1773, to the Court, in which he Explained his experience of the Bengal trade and requested the Court to reconsider their decision and also requested them to employ him as the Resident at Goalpara. The Court of Directors became convinced of the case and asked the Bengal Government to make an immediate enquiry and to report in what manner and to what extend the Company might be benefitted by opening

trade to Assam. Baillie, returned to India, and, after taking permission from the Calcutta Council, he came to Goalpara having got the assurance that he would receive of the Company.\(^{184}\)

At the time when the investigation of the possibilities of trade with Assam was going on and Baillie was staying at Goalpara with the permission from the Governor-General, a number of private freem merchants and interlopers were engaged themselves in trade with the traders of the Ahom kingdom. As a result rivalries grew among them. Besides, a dispute started over the payment of outstanding dues by some Assam traders to Bengal merchants leading to the application of force. The situation grew so serious that the Governor-General could not remain silent, but had to intervene.\(^{185}\)

In the meantime an expedition under Captain Edward Elliotker was despatched against Jayantiya in 1774 which had resulted in the occupation of its capital by the company troops. This expedition had "its repercussion in the politics of the neighbouring territory", more particularly in the Ahom kingdom for the kingdom of Jayantiya was a vassal state of the Ahoms, and hence the Ahom court at Rangpur (Sibsagar) was anxious to ascertain the true facts and intention of the Company. An

\(^{184}\)Bengal Public Consultations, Sept. 5, 1774.

\(^{185}\)AAR, pp. 107-110.
embassy was therefore despatched to the Governor-General sometime in September 1774 with friendly letters and presents to Governor Warren Hastings. It was the earliest diplomatic correspondence between the Ahom Government and the East India Company.

Some three years later in March, 1777, an agent of the Governor-General had arrived at the Ahom capital. On 16 June, 1777 he was well-received by the king at the vicinity of the royal place at Rangpur on which occasion a large pavilion was erected. He was taken to the royal presence and was introduced by Choladhara Phukan. The Majumdar Barua asked, on behalf of the king, about the purpose of the visit. The Governor-General's letter in Persian language was read and translated. It was written in connection with the case of Lear, a private merchant, who carried on trade with Assam. Lear had an outstanding dues of Rs.57,000 from an Assamese merchant named Sivaram Bairagi. After the death of Sivaram his son and heir, Rudram, inspite of Lear's persistent demand, did not clear the payment. This led to unpleasant situation including the attempt of forcible realization of the money by Lear. The Governor-General requested the Ahom king that out of regard to justice and friendship existing between the two that he should exhort

---

186 Ibid., p.111. He was appointed the Governor-General of India in October 1774.
The next correspondence was made by Warren Hastings to the Ahom king, Lakshmi Singha, in June 1780 in which he sought the co-operation of the Ahom Government in carrying out the Bengal trade with Assam under the supervision of Hugh Baillie. One of the reasons for appointing a public Resident at Goalpara by the Company was, as explained by Warren Hastings, to remove the various disputes amongst the European settled at Goalpara who competed with each other for securing better advantage. The Governor-General assured the Ahom king that Baillie was to protect the Assamese trader from all free-booters and enemies so that commerce might be carried on for mutual advantage of the both the parties.

Some years later in July, 1787, in connection with Baillie's appointment as the superintendent of the Company at Goalpara to look after Company's monopoly of salt trade, Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, addressed a letter to the Ahom king, Gaurinath Singha, notifying the appointment of Baillie and requesting his co-operation in this regard. In his letter the Governor

187 Letter of Warren Hastings to King Lakshmi Singha, 14 June, 1777.

188 Letter of Warren Hastings to King Lakshmi Singha, June 14, 1780, Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. V, No. 1911, copy obtained from the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta in 1930 by S.K. Bhuyan.

189 Ibid.

190 Letter of Cornwallis to Gaurinath Singha, July 18, Bengal Revenue Consultations, July 18, 1787, pp. 1112-1115.
General after referring to the state of harmony and good neighbour­hood which had subsisted so long between Assam and Bengal, he requested the Ahom king to recognise Baillie as representative of the Company.¹⁹¹ The king was also informed that Baillie would address himself to the Ahom king on his arrival at Goalpara and, if necessary, he would proceed to Gauhati or to the capital in this regard.¹⁹² Hugh Baillie when he proceeded to the Goalpara brought with him the letter and presents from the Governor-General to the Ahom king, Gaurinath Singha. The articles of presents included:¹⁹³ two pairs of looking glasses, two cubits long and proportionately broad; six pairs of looking glasses about a cubit in length and breadth in proportion; three pairs of pictures of Europe in handsome frames; one pair of handsome silver-mounted pistols; two pairs of plain pistol in brass or iron-mounted; two handsome fowling pieces; two handsome small swords; four plain swords; one piece of crimson-flowered velvet; one piece of broadcloth; one side scarlet and other green; two pieces of superfine scarlet cloth; two pieces of common red cloth; two pieces of China flowered silk; ten pieces of zumdaum Dacca cloth; ten pieces of middling mullmulls; six dressing boxes

¹⁹¹ Ibid.
¹⁹² Ibid.
¹⁹³ AAR, p. 164.
with razors; 4 Tweezer cases; 2 dozen of razors; 2 dozen of scissors; 2 dozen of penknives; 2 dozen of water-chaunk; 1 box of China toys; 4 seers of carnumoms, mace, cloves, cinnamon, and nutmeg; 1 maund of red wood, while the Import Warehouse provided 2 pieces of superfine scarlet cloth and 2 pieces of common red cloth.

Within the couple of years of Baillie's appointment, Daniel Raush, benefitted by the Company's order by which the private merchant could transact their articles freely with Assam tried to obtain the monopoly of trade, and for this purpose he insisted the Assam frontier officer at Kandar Chauki for an agreement between them. Since the frontier officer refused to execute any agreement with him, Raush crossed the Ahom border with an armed force and killed some Ahom subjects and took some others including the frontier officers as prisoners.194 The officer was later released after he signed an agreement to the effect that if he dealt in salt and other articles with anybody else he would have to pay Raush a part of the profit derived from such transactions.195 After this Rudram Barua, the frontier officer, wrote a letter to the

194 From the letter of Rudram Barua to the Governor-General. This letter was dated in Bānglā Sāl, 4 Jyaistha, 1198 (May, 1971).
195 Ibid.
Governor-General explaining the situation under which he had to sign an agreement, and requesting the latter "as his Raja is not in favour of such an agreement, the paper that Mr. Raush had forced him to sign may be returned to him" and to ask Raush not to trouble him further. His letter was forwarded to the Chief of Rangpur for investigation. In the meantime, the Ahom king, Gaurinath Singha, and Jayram Barua, addressed two separate letters to the Governor-General informing him of the incursions made by Raush into the Ahom kingdom.

But before any measures could be taken, Raush and Lt. Phillip Crump with about eighteen hundred Burkendazes and fifty or sixty sepoys of the Company under Mandir Khan Subadar marched upon the Ahom kingdom and committed depredations. At this Rudram Barua again sent a letter to the Governor-General complaining against such action of Raush and others. The letter also stated that they were at first surrounded by the

---


197 Ibid.

198 Letter from Gaurinath Singha to the Governor-General.

king's troops but as they were Company's men they were let off without any molestation. In his letter, he wrote thus. "If this has been done without the knowledge of the Company, an enquiry may be ordered and the writer (Rudram Barua) may be informed accordingly. Requests that either the Chief of Rangpur may be asked to investigate the present and previous complaints or the writer may be sent for to explain his case personally to the Governor-General." 201

In the meantime, the Ahom king, Gaurinath Singha, had to flee away to Gauhati due to the uprising of the Moamariyas, who first rose in Lakshmi Singha's reign, revived more vigorously during the former's rule. The Koch ruler of Darrang, Hansanarayan, taking advantage of the Moamariya revolt on the south bank of the Brahmaputra, put pressure on the north bank, and he waged a war against his liegelord, Gaurinath Singha, but was defeated and killed. He was succeeded by a son of Kirtinarayan named Bisnunarayan. At this Krishnanarayan, son of Hansanarayan, had procured the assistance of Dewan Haradatta and Bengal Burkendazes, who were armed mercenaries, and plundered Darrang and Kamrup. Overwhelmed with difficulties, Gaurinath Singha turned to Lord Cornwallis for relief and succour. He

200 Ibid.
201 Ibid.
wrote a letter to Lord Cornwallis requesting him to despatch a battalion of sepoys to assist him. Bikaram Shah, Chandaram Kandar Barua and some other frontier officers also wrote to the Governor-General that they had got the authority of the Ahom king's Patra-Mantri to secure the help of the Company in order to save the life of the king. In their letter they prayed that orders might be issued to that effect. On receiving this letter the Governor-General felt that he was under a moral obligation to clear the neighbouring country of the Bengal Burkendazes, because they had openly recruited in the Company's territory and jurisdiction on behalf of Krishna-narayan without any let or hindrances from the Company's officers. The Governor-General's direction to the leader of the Burkendazes to return to British territory was ignored. It was, therefore, decided to expel them by force. With this end in view the Governor-General sent six companies of sepoys.

---

202 Letter of Gaurinath Singha to Lord Cornwallis, undated, received on 9 August, 1792, Bengal Political Consultations, 10 September, 1792, No. 49. Tu.B, p. 125 says that Gaurinath Singha sent two persons named Majindar Bika and Kataki Bhava to Raush, who was staying, at that time, at Bangalhat requesting him to bring armed assistance from Calcutta. Gait says that Gaurinath Singha appealed for help to Mr. Lumsden, the Collector of Rangpur, op. cit., p. 206.


204 HA, p. 206.
under Captain Thomas Welsh to take the Burkendazes out of Assam and to restore peace and order in Gaurinath Singha's kingdom. Captain Welsh was also instructed to undertake a scientific exploration of the country and conduct a geographical survey. Accordingly, Captain Welsh with the aforesaid force, Lieutenant Macgregor as adjutant, Ensign Wood as surveyor, Dr. John Peter Wade as Assistant Surgeon reached Goalpara on 8 November, 1792.  

In the meantime, King Gaurinath Singha, unable to hold his position at Gauhati against the pressure of some rebels led by one Haidhan, left for Goalpara by boat. His envoys, Bika and Bhava, who had already been at Goalpara in their mission to obtain assistance from the Company, met Captain Welsh when the latter arrived at Goalpara and apprised him of the situation at Gauhati. Not knowing the arrival of Captain Welsh at Goalpara, Gaurinath Singha sent again his personal envoy Pijali to Goalpara to inform his envoys, who were at Goalpara, about his (king's) proceeding to that place.

While the king was moving downstream, Captain Welsh, on learning Gaurinath Singha's plight, made quick arrangements

---

205 Ibid., pp. 206-207.
207 AAR, p. 306.
and proceeded upstream by boat towards Gauhati. On reaching Nagarbera,208 about 20 miles east of Goalpara, he met Gaurinath Singha on boat. After having discussion between them they moved upstream. The king assured the Capt. that he would bear the expenses of the army. Gaurinath together with Captain Welsh and his troops proceeded towards Gauhati, which was soon recovered.209 Welsh took a rapid survey of the political situation of the Ahom kingdom and realized that his own troops were inadequate for handling so widespread outbreak which had for its mainspring the general discontent caused by tyranny and misrule. He took the elementary precaution of asking for additional troops from Bengal, and some of the counsellors and officers like the Barphukan, the Barbarua, Choladhara Phukan were dismissed.210 Captain Welsh's initial attempt to take back the Burkendazes by force having failed, he adopted the policy of persuasion. At last in May, 1793, Krishnanarayan with his mercenaries were induced to proceed to Gauhati from where the latter were sent off, while Krishnanarayan after taking the customary oath of allegiance to Gaurinath Singha was installed as the ruler of Darrang.211

208 AAR, p. 308, foot note 35.
210 Ibid.
211 HA, p. 212.
In the beginning of the next year Captain Welsh advanced further east to Kaliyabar. Gaurinath Singha wrote to the Governor-General requesting him to permit Captain Welsh to employ the troops under his command in any way that might seem expedient to him and the ministers for restoration of order, and also undertaking to pay a sum of Rs.3,00,000 annually for their maintenance. Of this sum half was to be collected by the Barphukan from the district under his control, and the other half by the Barbarua from the rest of his dominions.  

Captain Welsh continued his march to upper Assam and in March 1794 he recovered the Ahom capital from the Moamariya rebels. In the meantime Welsh acquired a free hand in everything and he tried to introduce reforms in the Ahom Government. This created a controversy. As a result several letters have been sent against to the Governor-General. In a letter written on 15 Pausa, Saka 1715 (Jan., 1794), the Barphukan and the Choladhara Phukan complained against some of the actions of Captain Welsh. In their letter, after giving details of Welsh's

212 Ibid., pp.213-214. There is a manuscript agreement with Raja Svarageeo of Assam requiring him to defray the expenses of the East India Company's troops serving in Assam, bearing the seals of the Raja and his minister the Barphukan, Bengal Political Consultations, 24 February, 1794, No. 76.

213 Ibid., p. 216.

214 Ibid., pp. 216-217.
measures wrote "in short, the Captain has deprived the Svargadeo of all his authority and has his own way in everything". They requested the Governor-General that "the Captain may be recalled and some other person may be sent in his place". In the meantime in December 1793 Sir John Shore took charge as the Governor-General. Soon after his assumption of office Captain Welsh was recalled. On receiving the news of his recall, the Ahom ministers sent several letters to the Governor-General requesting him to revoke the order. The Barbarua, the Bargohain and the Barpatragohain in their joint letter also requested that Captain should be directed to drive away the Moamariyas in two or three month's time and then before departure the Burkendazes should also be completely expelled from Kamrup. They suggested that after the departure of the Captain, an officer with two or three companies of sepoys might be allowed to remain "here" so long as order was established. The Buragohain, the Bargohain, the Barpatragohain and the Barbarua in their joint letter of dt. Jaistha, 1716 (May, 1794) stated that it was through the favour of the Governor-General that Captain Welsh having quelled the disturbances in the country,


216 Joint letter of the Barbarua, the Bargohain and Barpatragohain of 16 Baisakha, 1716 (May, 1794), Pracin Bangla Patra Sankalan, L.No.42, pp.54-55.
united the ministers and officers of the Svargadeo and established them in Rangpur. But the Moamariyas from their headquarters at Bengmara were still, raiding and causing depredations. If his forces were withdrawn, fresh troubles would reoccur. The Governor-General was, therefore, requested to allow the Captain to stay on with his troops in order to suppress the enemies and promote the welfare of the country. They further wrote "If, however, such an order is not issued then all the people of the entire country should be permitted to go to the Governor-General. Owing to the Governor-General's assistance the cows and the Brahmans of the whole country have been saved and now they should not be left at the mercy of the enemy."  

The Barphukan in his letter of 7 Asada, Šaka 1716 (June, 1794) gave a full account of the situation of the country. He wrote that some ill-disposed people were creating disturbances in the country, but Captain Welsh chastised them and peace was restored. As he suspected that some of the persons deputed to the Governor-General might misrepresent things to the detriment of the Ahom king's Government, he had deputed two of his

---

217 Joint letter of the Buragohein, the Barghein and the Barpathe-ghein, of Jaiatha, San 1716 (May, 1794), Pracin Bangla Patra Sankalan, L.No.41,pp.53-54.

218 Letter of Barphukan of 7 Asada, Šaka 1716 (June, 1794), Pracin Bangla Patra Sankalan, L.No.43,pp.56-58.
confidents to accompany to his presence. He hoped that their representations would be attended to in utter disregard of what others might say to him. He stated that though the revenue of the country was very meagre, considering the urgency of the expenses of the Company's troops he had provided about one and a half lakhs of rupees annually from the districts, from Kaliabar to the Manaha under his authority.  

In spite of these representations Captain Welsh was directed to abstain from all further active operations and to return to British territory by the 1 July, 1794 at the latest. Consequently on 24 May, Captain Welsh left the Ahom capital on his downward voyage.  

A few months later the Ahom king and his Barphukan sent petitions to the Commissioner of Koch Behar requesting again for armed assistance. In their letters they started that Captain Welsh's departure from their country had caused confusion and disorder and that unless the Company's troops were stationed in their state it could not have adequate protection. They promised to pay all the expenses that would be incurred in this connection. This petition was forwarded

---

219 Ibid.
221 Letters of Gaurinath Singha and the Barphukan to the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, of 26 Sravana, 1776 (August 1794), Pracin Bangla Patra Sankalan, L.Nos. 44 and 45, pp. 58-59.
to the Governor-General. Gaurinath Singha and his minister sent letters, separately, to Mr. Bruce, the Commissioner of Koch Behar requesting him to come early to re-establish tranquility.\textsuperscript{222} A few days later an envoy of the Ahom king wrote a letter to Mr. Bruce in which he prayed that if troops could not be sent to Assam then 300 muskets with baynats, four maunds of balls, two maunds of flints, 200 cartridge-boxes etc. may be supplied to his constituent.\textsuperscript{223} With the aid of the force that had been sent for the royal assistance the king’s officers were able to take a bold stand to the internal enemies.\textsuperscript{224} After the enemies have been quelled down, the Barphukan sent a letter in November 1794 to Mr. Bruce thanking him for the protection.\textsuperscript{225}

In a letter addressed to the Governor-General regarding the case of some merchants having trade with Assam, Gaurinath Singha wrote that the merchants made no representation to him concerning any loan they might have given to any of his

\textsuperscript{222}Letter of Gaurinath Singha and the Barphukan to Mr. Bruce, Commissioner of Koch Behar, of 26 Sravana 1716 (August, 1794), Pracin Bangla Patra Sankalan, L.No.46, pp.60-61.

\textsuperscript{223}Letter to Mr. Bruce (1794), Pracin Bangla Patra Sankalan, L.No.47, p.61.

\textsuperscript{224}Tu.B, pp.130-134.

\textsuperscript{225}Letter of Barphukan to Mr. Bruce of 15 Aghrayanga San 1716 (November, 1794), Pracin Bangla Patra Sankalan, L.No.53, pp.64-65.
subjects, and promised that justice would surely be done whenever a representation was made to him. He, in his letter, denied knowledge of any injury or molestation which the merchants were alleged to have suffered at the hands of his people and also declared his readiness to redress such wrongs when brought to his notice. The king hoped that in as much as friendly intercourse between the two countries afforded reciprocal advantages justice should be done and due reparation made whenever the merchants would make a representation in any respect.

Soon after the installation of Kamalesvar Singha after the death of Gaurinath Singha, Haradatta, a Chaudhury of Kamrup, with his brother Birdatta arranged against the Ahom Government with a large force of Hindustanis and Sikhs, called Dumdumiyaas (or Dundiyas). At one stage, in Jan. 1796 they murdered the English merchant Daniel Raush, who was staying at Darrang at that time.

In February, 1796 Kamalesvar Singha and his ministers applied to Sir John Shore for a party of soldiers under an

227 Ibid.
228 Tu.B, p. 136.
English officer and 500 muskets. In the event of a British officer being deputed he would be put in command of all the existing soldiers as the Ahom officers had found it difficult to keep them in subjection. The petition was delivered by Bandhuram Majumdar, Devanath Sarma and Tanusyam Das, who also took with them the presents of a pair of elephants to the Governor-General.\(^{229}\) In the meantime Mr. MacCallum was appointed at Goalpara after the murder of Daniel Raush. In his letter to the Ahom king, the Governor-General informed him of the new appointment with a request to reopen the trade between the two countries which had remained since the murder of Raush. At the same time he also requested the Ahom king to enquire about the dues of Raush. In reply to this letter, Kamalesvar Singha in his letter expressed his pleasure at opening up the trade between the two countries.\(^{230}\) He, however, denied to have any knowledge about the dues of Mr. Raush about which the Governor-General inquired, but informed that if the accounts were supplied to him he would recover the money.\(^{231}\) In the month of October, Sir John Shore ordered the supply of two hundred muskets with powder and shot in proportion, to the Assamese

\(^{229}\) Kamalesvar Singha and ministers to Sir John Shore of 7 February, 1796, Bengal Political Consultations, 29 July, 1796, No. 13.

\(^{230}\) Kamalesvar Singha to the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, of 12 Asada, 1718 (June 1796), Pracin Bangla Patra Sankalan, L. No. 59, p. 69.

\(^{231}\) Ibid.
envoys. The Governor-General in his letter expressed his regret at his inability to comply with the Ahom Raja's request for troops and an English officer "for impediments which it was not in his power to obvious". 232

The Ahom king sent further petitions asking the Bengal Government to prevent the incursion of Dundiyas. In 1798, a detachment of Company's sepoys was accordingly stationed at Jogighopa who succeeded in dispersing the banditti assembled on the Bengal frontier for the purpose of entering the Ahom kingdom. In 1798, the Svargadeo in his letter acknowledged the help rendered by the British. 233 He wrote that through the efforts of the Company the activities of the Dundiyas had been checked in territories below Gauhati and the company had thus afforded protection to the Svargadeo and his kingdom. He requested for five hundred new muskets with sufficient quantity of ammunition against the hostile incursion of the Naras in the eastern tracts. He promised to bear the cost of the arms and ammunitions at Goalpara. 234

232 Sir John Shore to Kamalesvar Singha, 31 October, Bengal Political Consultations, 4 November, 1796, No. 55.

233 Kamalesvar Singha to the Governor-General of 6 Bhadra, 1720 (August 1798), Pracin Bangla Patra Sankalan, I. No. 75, pp. 84-85. This letter is to have sealed by king Chandrakanta Singha which is definately wrong.

234 Ibid.
More letters had been written up to 1808 by the Ahom king and his ministers requesting the Bengal Government for ammunition against inroads. But the latter expressed its inability to comply with the Ahom Government's request.\textsuperscript{235}

Another occasion that led to the several correspondences between the Ahom Government and that of the Bengal Government was the debt due to the estate of late Raush which amounted to nearly three lakhs of rupees, and included the expenses incurred by him in paying the troops which he had once procured from Dacca for the Ahom king, the value of the property plundered by Krishnanarayan's Burkendazes on 30 June, 1792, and by the Dundiyas at the time of his murder at Darrang, together with the balances due from Assamese merchants. Mrs.Raush who had been in England at the time of the murder submitted petitions to Lord Wellesley to adopt measures to obtain some remuneration from the Company's Government as Raush lost his life while living under its protection.\textsuperscript{236} In the middle of 1803 on the direction of the Governor-General B.Maccullum, a British merchant, sent Kamallochan Nandi, the person entrusted with the

\textsuperscript{235} Letters to the Governor-General, Marquis of Wellesley, of 8 Asada 1724 (June 1802), letter of the Barphukan to the Governor-General of 30 Sravanam, Bângla Sâl 1209 (August 1802), Pracin Bângla Patra Sankalan, L. Nos. 81-83, pp. 90-95.

\textsuperscript{236} Mrs.Raush to Wellesly, 4 August,1801, 16 April,1802 and 7 October,1802, Bengal Political Consultations, 2 May, 1805, Nos.94-96.
delivery of arms to the Ahom king, the accounts and documents to establish the claims of Raush's estate. Towards the end of 1804, Kamallochan left the Ahom capital for Rangpur without any final adjustment for, though admitted some of the claims, the debtors offered various excuses as explained by the king and the ministers to James Wordsworth, the Judge of Rangpur. 237 Barphukan in his letter to Governor-General wrote that his king, Kamalesvar Singha, paid Rs. 10,032 Ans. 5 Gundas 8 to Kamallochan in settlement of the pecuniary loan made by late Raush for the payment of the troops procured from Dacca. 238 The king pointed out the discrepancies between the accounts submitted by Raush himself in 1792-93, MacCullum in 1796 and by Kamallochan in 1803. 239 He wrote, "According an account supplied by his men, it appears that these is a balance of Rs. 6,000 but the pay roll did not bear Mrs. Raush's signature. In 1796 his men obtained a copy of an account from Mr. MacCullum, according to which the balance due amounted to Rs. 18,000. Kamallochan has now produced an account for the year 1792 and 1793, showing

237 Letters of Kamalesvar Singha, the Buraghain and the Barphukan to the Judge of Rangpur, James Wordsworth, of 5 Asvina, San 1726 (September, 1804), 27 Bhadra, San, 1726 (September, 1804), 25 Asvina (September), 1 Kartika, Bongla Sali 1211 (November, 1804), all these letters received on 22 November, 1804, Pracin Bangla Patra Sankalan, L. Nos. 85-87, 89, 91, pp. 98-107.

238 Letter of Barphukan to the Governor-General of 13 Pausa, Bongla Sali 1211 (December, 1804), Pracin Bangla Patra Sankalan, L. No. 92, pp. 107-108.

a balance of Rs.26,000 against him, which he cannot admit, because captain Welsh was then in Assam with his forces and there was no need of other troops". In September 1806 in George Barlow wrote a letter to Kamalesvar Singha in which he reminded the latter of the assistance he had received from the Company and the services of late Raush to the Ahom Government. Lord Wellesly communicated the executors' willingness to accept Rs.50,000 as a compromise on account of the balances due to Raush's estate and of the plunder of his property. On receiving this Kamalesvar Singha expressed his inability to liquidate the demand due to the failure of Kamallochan to produce satisfactory accounts and vouchers, the protest made by the debtors and also distracted state of the country. He wrote, "Krishnaranayan is dead, many of the others also are dead, and those who are still living are poor and helpless. I now hope that the country will not, in future, be exposed to distress and desolation on account of the money claimed as due to the estate of late Raush".

Occasional correspondences were made by Rani Kamalesvar, a queen of Gaurinath Singha who had been residing at Chilmari

240 Ibid.
241 Letter of Kamalesvar Singha to the Governor-General, Sir George Barlow, received on 26 May, Bengal Political Consultations, 9 July, 1807, No.40.
in Rangpur since 1793. After the death of Gaurinath Singha in 1795, she with another junior queen of the late monarch went to Calcutta and after paying their respects to the Governor-General they requested him for help. Sir John Shore granted the two ladies a pension of Rs.100 per month and a sum of Rs.500 to Kamalesvari Devi to defray the expenses of her journey from Calcutta to Chilmari.²⁴² In June 1809 Kamalesvari Devi sent a letter to the Governor-General against the actions of Purnananda Buragohain, who placed his brother at the head of the troops, treacherously put her husband, the king, to death, brough the country under his control and placed Kinaram, great grandson of a natural son of her father-in-law's uncle on the throne with the title of Kamalesvar Singha.²⁴³ She applied to the Hon'ble Company for a suitable maintenance allowance. She also prayed that the Company should extend their support to Konwar Brajanath Singha, the seniormost great grandson of the late King Rajesvar Singha, elder brother of her father-in-law and restore him to his right. She assured the

²⁴²Rani Kamalesvari to the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, received on 10 February, Bengal Political Consultations, 26 June,1800, Nos.155-157; Rani Kamalesvari to the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, received on 28 July, Bengal Political Consultations, 14 August, 1806,No.26.

²⁴³Letter of Rani Kamaesvari to the Governor-General, Baron Minto, of 11 Asada, Bāṅglā Sāl 1216 (June 1809), Pracin Bangla Patra Sankalan,L.No.101,pp.120-122.
Governor-General that he would bear the necessary military expenses and also pay the outstanding dues.  

As the prayer of Kamalesvari Devi did not work Konwar Brajanath Singha, who was staying with the former, himself wrote to Mr. J. Lumsden at beginning of Sept. 1809\(^{245}\) that the Buragobain having fraudulently obtained possession of his ancestors' dominions, he was wandering from place to place in quest of subsistence. Adverting to his unhappy situation Queen Kamalesvari solicited the aid of a small party of the Company's troops for restoring him to this ancestral territories but her request was not complied with. Thousands of people were with him and they were dying of want. Now there was no alternative left to him but to return to his country. But being a descendant of the royal family he could not proceed on his journey without armed retainers. About five to seven hundred old retainers of his family were residing in the districts of Dacca, Nasirabad (Mymansingh) and Rangpur and they were prepared to accompany him. He requested Lumsden to grant him a rahdari dastak so that he might take with him without any opposition from any body as many of his old adherents as were prepared on their

\(^{244}\)Ibid.  

\(^{245}\)Konwar Brajanath Singha to the Collector of Rangpur, Mr. John Lumsden, of 16 Bhadra, Bāngla Sāl 1216 (August, 1809), Pracīn Bāngla Patra Sankalna, L. No. 103, pp. 125-126.
own accord to follow him with their arms and accoutrements.

In 1810, Kamalesvar Singha died and was succeeded by his minor brother Chandrakanta Singha. On 26 February 1813, the Governor-General wrote a letter raising again the subject of the dues of the Raush's estate. In his reply Chandrakanta Singha clearly wrote that the reply of the demand had already been transmitted to Sir George Barlow through Kamallochan. Many of the people against whom Kamallochan advanced claimed on behalf of the late Raush's estate offered various excuses. Some debtors were dead, the rest were so poor and destitute that they were not able to pay even Rs.25 out of Rs.50,000.

Among the correspondence with the British there is also a letter which was received in Nov. 1815 purported to have written by Chandrakanta Singha to the Judge of Rangpur in which he sought help for six or seven companies of sepoy to be sent to his assistance in order to establish his authority which he said to have been usurped by Purnananda Buragohain.

---

246 A-B, p.374.

247 Letter of the Governor-General, Baron Minto, to Chandrakanta Singha.

248 Letter of Chandrakanta Singha to the Governor-General, Marquess of Hastings, of 4 Pausa, San 1735 (December 1813), Pracin Bangla Patra Sankalan, L.No.723, pp.146-147.

249 Ibid.

250 Letter of Chandrakanta Singha to the Judge of Rangpur Mr. James Wordsworth of 28 Karttika, Bāṅglā Sāl 1222 (November, 1815), Pracin Bangla Patra Sankalan, L.No.140 A, pp.170-172.
In case the assistance was sent, he expressed his willingness to pay annual tribute to the Company of one lakh and a half of rupees in addition to the expenses on account of troops. On a closer examination, this letter appears to have been written by Badanchandra Barphukan and delivered it by him which was contrary to all normal practice. That this letter was not written by Chandrakanta Singha himself is also supported by the fact that the same monarch wrote another letter to the English Judge at Rangpur for Badanchandra's arrest within a few weeks. Usually letter written by the Ahom kings from upper Assam bore the dates in Ṛṣaṇa as with the case of the second letter, whereas the letter carried by Badanchandra bore Bāṅgla Šāna, a practice not found to have been followed by the Ahoms. It thus appears that the Badanchandra's letter was drafted by some writers in Bengal. In another letter of Chandrakanta Singha, which, too, was addressed to the Judge of Rangpur in January 1816 requesting the latter not to support Badanchandra who was said to have been staying at Chilmari.

251Ibid.

252Letter of Chandrakanta Singha to the Judge of Rangpur, 19 Agrabhayana San 1737 (December, 1815), Pracin Bangla Patra Sankalan, L.No.144, p.177.

253Letter of Chandrakanta Singha to the Judge of Rangpur, 3 Magha San 1737 (January, 1816), Pracin Bangla Patra Sankalan, L.No.149, pp.181-182.
Chandrakanta Singha, after he was installed on the throne for the second time by the Burmese, made representation to the Governor-General Lord Hastings through his envoys requesting the latter to hand over Purandar Singha and Ruchinath, who had fled away after their defeat and were staying at Chilmari in Bengal. As usual Lord Hastings after expressing his desire to maintain friendly relations, declared his inability to meet the request on the ground that "it was not the practice of the British Government to deny an asylum to persons of that description so long as they conduct themselves in a quiet and peaceable manner". Afterwards when Chandrakanta Singha himself escaped to Bengal in 1821, Jogesvar Singha, who was installed as king by the Burmese, made correspondence with the Bengal Government for surrender of Chandrakanta Singha.

During the period of Burmese occupation from 1821 to 1824, the ex-Rajas Purandar Singha and Chandrakanta Singha made petitions, from their asylum at Chilmari, to the Bengal Government for assistance against the Burmese in Assam, without, however,

254 Letter of Chandrakanta to the Governor-General, 8 Nov.1819, 13 March, and 14 June,1820. Bengal Political Consultations, July 29, 1820,No.90-94.

255 Letter of Swinton to Chandrakanta Singha, July 20,1820, Bengal Political Consultation, July 29,1820,No.95.

256 Rajmantri Banbarua to the Governor-General, 23 February, Bengal Political Consultations, 16 March, 1822, No.99.
any avail. The impending Burmese invasion of Assam, had overshadowed all these minor developments, and the Burmese remained the complete masters of the Ahom kingdom till 1824.

Relations with the Burmese Kings

In the second decade of the nineteenth century the Burmese appeared in the political scene of Assam. The death of Kamalesvar Singha, who died in 1810 was succeeded by his brother Chandrakanta Singha in the same year. During his reign a conspiracy was hatched to overthrow the power of Purnananda Buragohain, who was the most powerful of the councillors. The conspiracy was timely detected and the conspirators were punished.257 In the trial, it was learnt that Badanchandra, the Barphukan at Gauhati, had a hand in it. In the meantime reports had reached the capital of extortion and oppression committed by the Barphukan on the people of Kamrup.258 Purnananda, the Prime Minister, with the consent of the king, decided to arrest the Barphukan to put him to trial. But being warned in time by his daughter, who had been married to the Buragohain's son, Badanchandra with his sons and few followers escaped to Bengal by boat before the Buragohain's men could reach Gauhati to arrest him.259

257 SAB, pp.187-188; AB(KTP), pp.64-65.
258 AB(KTP), p.65.
259 SAB, p.188.
Thereafter Badanchandra proceeded to Calcutta and sought the interference of the Governor-General against the Buragohain.260

According to another version, king Chandrakanta Singha secretly intrigued with the Barphukan against Purnananda and therefore Badanchandra sought help of the Company in the name of the king.261 On the decline of the Governor-General to intervene in the affairs of Assam, he turned to other quarters.

While at Calcutta, Badanchandra is said to have picked up friendship with the Burmese Agent with whom he proceeded to the Burmese capital. With the help of the Burmese Agent, Badanchandra was accorded an interview by the Burmese monarch, Bodawpaya,262 who seeing in the Barphukan's request "an opportunity to push on to Assam", promised help.

The Burmese entertained no friendly disposition towards the Ahom Government which had earlier antagonized them by Rajesvar Singha by sending an army against them in Manipur.263 Subsequently, Purnananda Buragohain had also helped a refractory Shan chief of Hukang with a few companies of sepoys.264

260Ibid.,pp.188-189.
261AB(HB),p.86.
262S.K.Bhuyan says that another Assamese consort of Bodawpaya interceded on Badanchandra's behalf. AAR,p.466.
263Ibid.,pp.460-461.
Parties of Burmese had twice entered Assam, but they were sent back with presents. 265

Captain Hiram Cox mentions that in 1796, an Ahom prince sent messengers to the Burmese monarch to supplicate his assistance in gaining possession of the Ahom throne, 266 and promised to become a advanced army of 20,000 men to clear the route to Assam. Captain Cox, who was then at Amarapura, foreseeing that the Burmese invasion of Assam would ultimately disturb the peace of Bengal, wrote to the Burmese court that "Assam was a tributary to the English and under their protection". 267 Bodawpaya recalled his army after receiving Cox's warning.
Later in the same year, the Burmese monarch renewed his intention to place his own nominee, the father of an Assam princess, on the Assam throne. Captain Cox's repeated warnings in very strong language dissuaded the Burmese monarch from sending an expedition. 268 But Cox knew well that another Assam expedition would be taken up whenever favourable opportunities would present themselves. Such an opportunity appeared in 1816 when Badanchandra, the fugitive Barphukan, appealed to the Burmese monarch

265 AAR, p.464.
267 Ibid., pp.138-139.
268 Ibid., pp.277-301.
for military assistance, on behalf of Chandrakanta Singha. Being assured of the support of the reigning monarch and his viceroy, Bodawpaya resolved to avail himself of it.

Under the order of their monarch, the chiefs of Mogaung, Bhamo and Mowing each with 8,000 soldiers proceeded towards Assam and early in 1817 they crossed the Pat-kai hills and appeared at Namrup. The army sent to resist their progress was defeated at Ghiladhari on the Buri-Dihing, and advanced towards Jorhat, the capital. At this critical juncture Purnananda Burgohain fell ill and passed away, or as some say, he committed suicide. His son Ruchinath was appointed the Burgohain. The Burmese then marched towards Jorhat. Contrary to the advice of Ruchinath, when Chandrakanta Singha refused to leave Jorhat for Gauhati, the former, suspecting some understanding between the latter and Badanchandra, collected his valuables and proceeded in boat to Gauhati with other members of his family.

Soon after Badanchandra entered Jorhat, went to the palace and paid due obeissance to Chandrakanta Singha. An understanding was reached between them, and Badanchandra was appointed

---

269 HA, p.231; SAB, p.189, gave the figure of soldiers as about one lakh.
270 Ibid.; ibid., p.190.
271 SAB, p.192.
272 Ibid.
the Prime Minister with the new title Mantri Phukan. After receiving a sum of rupees one lakh, 50 elephants and an Ahom princess named Hemo Aideo, who was the daughter of Prince Baga Konwar, for the Burmese monarch, the Burmese army peacefully returned to their country. Suitable presents were made to the Burmese commanders. In this way, Chandrakanta accepted the allegiance to the Burmese monarch, and became his vassal.

It was on this basis, a few years later, Mingimaha Tilwa, the Burmese commander, in his letter to David Scott, claimed Chandrakanta Singha a vassal. He wrote, "the rights of Chandra Ganda were restored and he was placed on the throne. Chandra Ganda, being thus under subjection to our sovereign declared himself a slave in common with our subjects".

Soon Badanchandra was murdered, and Chandrakanta could not long remain on the throne. Ruchinath, who had earlier fled away and took shelter in the British territory, came back with a party bringing with him another prince named Purandar, son of Brajanath Gohain, from Chilmari in Bengal. On 20 February, 1818, Chandrakanta was deposed and on the same day Purandar

274 AAR, p. 468.
275 Bengal Political Consultations, Jan., 11, 1822, No. 23.
276 SAB, p. 193.
Singha was acclaimed as sovereign. 277

After learning the murder of Badanchandra and the deposition of Chandrakanta Singha through his own men from Assam the Burmese monarch, Bodawpaya, despatched an army under the command of Keew Mingee, known in some Assamese chronicles as Alumingi Bargohain. In January, 1819 the Burmese army entered Assam and after defeating the royal force at Jhanji, they proceeded to the capital. Ruchinath Buragohain taking with him Purandar Singha sailed down to Gauhati. 278

Badanchandra's son Janmi, who sided with the Burmese escorted Chandrakanta Singha from his exile at Taratali to Rangpur and was placed on the throne on 7 March, 1819. After attaining his object, Keew Mingee returned to Ava leaving the affairs of Rangpur in charge of Mingi Maha Tilwa with a force of 2000 men. The Burmese thus stayed on. Chandrakanta Singha arranged to send another princess to the Burmese monarch "as a fresh token of his allegiance". 279 She was Upama Aideo of "unknown" parentage. 280 The remaining Burmese army in Assam, after committing some excessed, left for Ava on January 27, 1820.

277 Ibid.
278 Ibid.
279 AAR, p.473.
280 Ibid.
With them was sent the princess Upama Aideo accompanied by Changrung Phukan and Parvatia Phukan as heads the party. 281

After obtaining the allegiance of Chandrakanta, the Burmese Government claimed the surrender of Purnananda Singha, who had been staying at Chilmari. Even Mingimaha Meula Mengong, a Burmese minister, who afterwards became the Governor of Pegu addressed a letter to the Governor-General demanding extradition of Purandar Singha and Ruchinath Buragohain 282 who, in the meantime, had appealed for assistance of the Company against the Burmese in Assam. Such conduct on the part of the Burmese officials only indicated that the Burmese Government had established their "partial hold" on Assam, and the Ahom king had accepted "some degree of subordination" to the Burmese monarch. 283

King Bagyidaw, the grandson and the successor of Bodawpaya, who ascended the throne in May 1819, was now bent on converting the Ahom kingdom into a Burmese province by annexing it to the Burmese dominions. 284 Mingi Maha Tilwa, who returned to Assam in early 1821 with a force of 500 soldiers noticed preparations made by Patalang Barbarua at Jaipur on the Buri-Dihing

281 Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 22 July, 1825, No. 7.
282 Mengong to Lord Hastings, 20 July, 1820, Bengal Political Consultations, Nos. 86-87.
283 AAR, p. 482.
284 Ibid.
to prevent any further large-scale entry of the Burmese. This led the Burmese to attack the Assam garrisons, who were defeated. Thereafter, the Burmese advanced to Jorhat. Having noticed the unfriendly behaviour of the Burmese, Chandrakanta Singha left the capital and sailed down to Gauhati. The Burmese occupied Jorhat. When after repeated invitation to return to Jorhat, Chandrakanta Singha refused to do so, Tilwa declared him to be deposed and set up Punyadhar, a son of Boga Konwar, on the throne who assumed the title Jogesvar Singha. Sometime later, he is said to have gone to Ava to receive confirmation of his appointment, but details of his visit are not available. After this no more reference of the relation of the Ahom king with the Burmese monarch is found. The Anglo-Burmese war which soon followed in 1824 led to the occupation of Assam by the East India Company. By Article II of the Treaty at Yandabo concluded between the representative of the East India Company and those of the Burmese monarch on 24 February, 1826, the latter had renounced all his claims upon the principality of Assam and its dependencies. The Ahom kingdom remained under the British occupation.

285 SAB, p. 194.
286 AAR, p. 490.
287 SAB, p. 195.
Relations with the Shan States

During this period there had been visits of Shan embassies to the Ahom court. During the reign of Rajesvar Singha an embassy consisted of four Phukans who came from Bar-Nara.\textsuperscript{288} The embassy was received as usual first by the three Gohains and finally by the king at Garhgaon. On that occasion a grand court was held. The purpose of the Nara embassy is not known. But it appears that it was for the renewal of friendly relations.\textsuperscript{289}

Some sixty years later, during the reign of Kamalesvar Singha another embassy came from Mông-kang (Mogaung) in Upper Burma to the royal court.\textsuperscript{290} The letter brought by the Mông-kang envoy was read by Chiring Phukan. The envoys brought presents which, among other things, included one horse.\textsuperscript{291}

A few years later during his reign another embassy came from Mông-kang with letter and presents.\textsuperscript{292} In that letter,

\textsuperscript{288}Tu.B,p.46. The exact identification of Bar-Nara is not found in the chronicles. The term Nara was generally applied by the Assamese to the kingdom of Mogaung (Mông-kang) and its king was known as Nara-Raja. But Bar-Nara which means the "chief Nara" might have been referred to one of the powerful Shan States of Burma.

\textsuperscript{289}Tu.B,p.46.

\textsuperscript{290}Ibid.,pp.141-142.

\textsuperscript{291}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{292}Ibid.,pp.172-175.
which was read by Chiring Phukan, the Raja of Mong-kang requested for help against the king of Burma, who had invaded Mong-kang.293 By referring to the firm friendship existing between the two kingdoms, the king of Mong-kang hoped that he would receive the help sought for. The envoys brought a number of articles as present to the Ahom king.294 The following articles were brought by the Mong-kang envoys as present for Kamalasvar Singha - two pairs of bangles made of seventy-nine tolas of gold with stones inset; ten sheets of jara-pata made of sixteen tolas of gold; two pairs of embroidered footwear made of black velvet which had twelve stones inset; one piece of silk cloth eighteen cubits long, with a mixture of three colours, green, white and crimson, with embroideries sewn lengthwise, but plain at the ends; one piece of bi-coloured silk cloth coloured with red and white, seventeen cubits long with embroideries sewn lengthwise; one piece coloured red, white and green, six cubits long, with embroideries inserted lengthwise; another piece six cubits long, coloured red, white and green, with black patches inserted here and there; one black makhmal piece thirteen cubits long; another piece eleven cubits in length; one cotton sheet thirty cubits long; another piece twenty-seven cubits in length; four cups made of glass; two pairs of jangphai

293 Ibid.
294 Ibid.
earrings; one piece of dukhariya; another broken at the end; two musks; one piece of vermilion; eight of needles in two hollows of kaka bamboos; one red chowri; one white chowri, two big dishes inlaid with gold; one earthen pot or bhabuki containing a peculiar glue or paste known as Ahom-etha, and some more quantity in the hollow of a bamboo; two hundred sheets of paper; two cane chests coated with Ahom glue containing the cloths brought by the envoys; two horses with their saddles and bridles. The Burmese king, who invaded Mōng-kang must have been Bodawpaya, who reigned from 1781-1819, a contemporary of Kamalesvar Singha. This was the last embassy from the Shan State of Burma.

Relations with chiefs and hill tribes

With the object of uniting the Hindu chiefs and Rajas of the neighbouring territories against the Muslim rule in Bengal, Rudra Singha deputed, in the name of the Barphukan, envoys with letters to the chiefs and zamindara of Mourang, Banbisanpur, Nadiya, Bardawan, Barnagar, Panga and Rangpur. The chiefs of these aforesaid territories sent, in return,

---

295 Ibid., pp.175-176.
envoys expressing their willingness to cultivate friendship against the Muslims of Bengal.  

In 1745 the chief of Rani sent an envoy named Rup to the court of the Ahom king, Pramatta Singha. From the fragmentary records of his reception by the Buragohain, it is known that the Rani chief prayed for certain articles which they had been enjoying for a long time but recently their supply was disrupted. The chronicles are silent whether the Ahom king granted their prayer or not.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, during the reign of Gaurinath Singha taking advantage of the disturbances in other places, Haradatta Bujarbarua, a Chaudhury of Kamrup, in league with Krishnanarayan, the prince of Darrang, and the chief of Bijni and some other petty chiefs tried to reassert their authority. In a short span of time they became powerful and even killed, after confiscating all the property, Daniel Raush, a private salt merchant, who came to Darrang on a business trip. Soon after the accession of Kamalesvar Singha in 1795,
the Barphukan vanquished the power of Haradatta, who was killed in an encounter.  

In 1799, Krishnanarayan, who was made the ruler of Darrang, after his submission, came with his brother Haynarayan to pay allegiance and offered valuable presents to his liegelord.  

Six years later, in 1805, Krishnanarayan was removed from rulership for his refusal to take part in the operation against the Kacharis, and in his place Samudranarayan was made the ruler of Darrang by Kamalesvar Singha in the same year.  

In 1763, an army was sent against the Miris for their refusal to pay their tributes. The Ahom army set fire to the dwelling and granaries of the Miris. This compelled them to submit to their overlord and to pay tributes to him.

---

304 Ibid., p.143.
305 Ibid., pp.170-171.
306 Ibid.
308 Ibid.