CHAPTER - 3
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ROYAL PATRONAGE TO THE RELIGIOUS CENTRES

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CHAPTER-3
ROYAL PATRONAGE TO THE RELIGIOUS CENTRES

In the medieval period of Assam land and people were the major source of revenue. Land was the only source of income where there was no large scale industries, and men were the primary concern for all kinds of agricultural production. The Ahoms since their migration to Assam began a planned expansion of agriculture in the region. This efforts needed proper cleaning, surveying and proper classifying of lands. Classification of lands as a measure of revenue administration was going on since the period of ancient Kamrupa ruler. Epigraphic evidences mentioned three classes of land at that time. The first one was Kshetra or cultivable land, second one was Khila or waste land and third one was Vastubhu vithi or homestead land.

Classification of lands during the Ahom rule were done according to the land use pattern by the Ahoms kings. These were cultivated, cultivable and uncultivated land. Out of these three categories the most important was the rupit land (cultivated), land under permanent cultivation, where Sali crops were grown. Rupit lands were regarded as the first class land because of their productivity. These land were distributed among the cultivators in lieu of government recruited manpower for the use of the state, later on collected cash revenue at the rate of Rs. 2 per pura (A pura= four bighas of land) if the cultivator failed to contribute his labour.
to the state administration as *Paik*. Apart from this *Rupit* land, there were land of *Pharangati* or uncultivated lying lands gradually brought under cultivation by clearing jungle which were gradually used as *A hutoli, Bautoli, Sariyatoli, Magutoli* etc. *Bari* and *Vasti* constitutes non revenue paying land and they were also given, and other land grants to the Brahmanas. *Bari* lands were also known as *Arajami* which were legally inherited lands.

Every sort of land consists of marshy lands, forests, *beel* or ponds and unused waste lands were considered by the Ahom rulers as useful. As referred by J.Gogoi (Nath), Harakanta Sarma Baruah Sadaramin mentioned that the rulers gave some of the *beels* in the border areas in lease. The above mentioned catagories of land were gradually endowed to different religious centres viz.-temples, mosque, *dargah*, Sattras etc. by the Ahom kings. The main feature of the gifted lands were that once they were gifted they automatically became revenue free. This type of lands were called *dharmottara, devottara, brahmottara, nankar and pirpal* lands depending upon the nature of the donation. Historical records confirms that the process was started by king Pratap Singha by donating land to different institutions. However, E.A. Gait mentioned that the process of gifting lands was started by Gadadhar Singha, and there was altogether forty eight copper-plates granted by Ahom kings to different temples and sattras.

Most of the land grants to the religious centres of Assam was made
during the reign of Jayadhvaj Singha to Chandrakanta Singha. Large gifts of lands were recorded to the Sattras or Vaishnava monasteries by Jayadhvaj Singha. He established many Sattras and endowed it with land and people. Kings of later period Siva Singha, Pramatta Singha and their successors continued the policy of donating land of large areas. An important features of the process was the gifting of lands to the Muslims and their centres like Mokam, Dargah, Mosque etc. King Gadadhar Singha donated lands to Azan Fakir in the mouth of Dikhou river in 1684 A.D. S.K. Bhuyan in his book Annals of Delhi Badshahate mentioned about such grants made to Muslims and their establishments in Kamrup. King Lakshmi Singha in 1780 A.D. granted land ownership to one Muslim Fakir called Anwar Fakir in and around Hajo.

The main aim of land grants issued by the Ahom kings to the temple bearer were to enrich the centre and to patron the learnings of the scholars who were anyway related to the religious centres. King Rudra Singha granted land and other amenities to the Satradhikar of Dihing Sattra for his proficiency in music. King Rajeswar Singha also patronised the scholars with lands and other amenities. The encouragement of music and literature by the Ahom kings led to the invitation of person of scholarly skill from outside the state and they were granted land and people.

The Mughals also donated land to both the Hindu temples and Muslim religious institutions of Kamrup. For example emperor Aurangzeb gifted lands in 1667 A.D. to Umananda temple in Guwahati. Lands were also
donated by him to Kamakhya temple which was originally gifted by Allahyar Khan, the Faujdar of Guwahati.

Some important characteristics of the land grants are noticed which were recorded epigraphically. The most important one is that the king who used to donate the plot of land, almost permanently alienated the land to the donee so that his descendants can permanently enjoy the rights of the land for generations. In such cases if the copperplates losted or damaged the grant was renewed by the succeeding kings and nobles. King Siva Singha, in one of his copper-plate mentioned that the king would never exercise his power of collecting land revenue in the gifted area. Another characteristics of the donated lands was that no individual person were allowed to interfere in the rights of donee’s lands. If anybody tried to violate the jurisdiction of the donee he was punished severely by kings. But the donee had no rights to sell or damaged the plot of land gifted to him. It was however, a conditional granting of land, as long as they satisfy the royal interest, they enjoyed the land rights. It is also worth mentioning that although the king gave up his land rights he retained the rights to punish the offenders who violate the code and jurisdiction of the donated plot of lands.

Another aspects of characteristics of the land grants were that most of the beneficiaries of the land grants was Brahmans, who actually didnot plough themselves and abstain from physical labour, as they were belongs to most elite class of the society. That is why the kings were compelled to
offer labourers (*paiks*) along with the land grants. King Rudra Singha granted 80 *paiks* as servitors to the Umananda temple. The king also made gifts of large amount of lands and servitors *paiks* to different religious centres. These *paiks* name were deleted from the list of the *paiks* who used to render service according to the requirement of state. This indicates that those *paiks* were out of obligation to the state and they were attached to the donee or the temple as servitors. Ultimately this led to the loss of manpower to the royal court and hence Rajeswar Singha reduced the strength of a *got of paiks* from four to three\(^{16}\).

The peasants and the *paiks* did not have their ownership rights over the plot of lands. The Brahman donees and the heads of the religious centres could possess plot of lands and property rights over them, because the grants speaks that the donees and their descendants were allowed to enjoy rights for generations. Lands gifted to the Brahman, Priests, Satradhikārs and the Muslim *pirs* were given by the king almost permanently and the lands grants revealed that the donee and their descendants could enjoy the lands for many generations without limit. Thus these lands became the property of the donee and his succeeding generations. In such circumstances sometimes the gifted lands formed autonomous territories inside the state that the jurisdiction and laws of the kings had no effect and control in internal administration of such territories\(^{17}\).

In such a way the priestly section and the religious centres of Assam
became the most celebrated one with large endowments of land and people and became economically strong and compelled the royal authority to give importance and respect to the religious centres. Along with the nobles of the state the priests of these religious centres assigned a large number of workers to work in their respective agricultural fields. This gifted working class peasants, was the main force behind the economy of the religious centres, which were used by the royal authorities to reach the goal of political, economic and socio-cultural integration under the command of a sovereign state

3.1 ROYAL PATRONAGE BY THE KOCH RULERS (16th-17th Century):

The rule of Naranarayana (1540-1584 A.D.), the most learned king of Koch dynasty, witnessed a revolution in the field of literary and religious works. He along with his brother Cilarai greatly encouraged religion and religious activities. He was also a great patron of learning and some of the best known Assamese writings date from his region. The saint Sankardeva and Madhavdeva received his patronage in the field of literature and religion.

As per the epigraphical evidences in 1565 A.D. Narnarayana along with his brother Cilarai rebuilt the temple of Kamakhya which the Muhammedan had destroyed, and also imported learned Brahmans from Bengal to conduct the rites and rituals of the temple. Two Rock
inscription are available at the entrance chamber of the temple which are inscribed together on stones constituting the wall in Saka 1484 (1565 A.D.)\textsuperscript{21}. According to the historical records Naranarayana rebuilt many deserted and destroyed temples in present Kamrup district. He was a man of mild and studious disposition and had been addicted to religious exercises and discussion with learned men than to conduct of state affairs. In 1581 A.D. the Koch kingdom was divided into two parts. His nephew Raghudeva was chosen as the king of Koch Hajo and he himself became the king of Koch-Behar. The present town Hajo and the temple of Hayagriva Madhava bears the significance of Koch dynasty and its contribution.

According to the Rock inscription of the Hayagriva Madhava Temple, 1583 A.D., the temple was rebuilt by king Raghudeva, son of Cilarai and nephew of Naranarayana in 1583 A.D. The inscription is inscribed to one of the wall inside the temple in a visible condition (Plate No.-7). Raghudeva also endowed the temple with land grants\textsuperscript{22}.

Although epigraphical evidents says that the temple of Hayagriva Madhava was built by the king of Koch-Hajo, the historians have differences in opinion. According to Khan Chowdhury Amanatulla Ahmed, the temple was first discovered by king Naranarayana in a jungle and later he reconstructed the temple and granted land and people to the shrine for its maintenance\textsuperscript{23}.

A few historian, along with E.T. Dalton refers that the Hayagriva
Madhava temple of Hajo was built by king Naranarayana. It is said that Naranarayana first discovered the temple in an entirely deserted condition and almost lost in an impenetrable jungle. He rebuilt the temple and endowed it with land, people, priests, musicians and dancing girls in 1550 A.D.\(^2\).

Although Raghudeva rebuilt the temple, he actually acknowledged Naranarayana as his overlord. That is why when Raghudeva rebuilt the temple Hayagriva Madhava, found in ruins lying under cover of a dense forests, on the Manikuta hillock in Hajo in 1583 A.D., he calls glory to Malladeva alias Naranarayana, even though he himself was the Kamrupesvara. Raghudeva also established the code of the worship of Hayagriva Madhava which is contained in the *Yogini Tantra*. It was also modelled on the *Puja-Vidhi* of Jagannath temple of Puri as mentioned in *Brahmapurana*\(^25\).

From historical point of view the *Rock inscription of the Hayagriva Madhava temple*, 1583 A.D. is very much important. It is the first reliable documents available in the Hayagriva Madhava temple which clearly indicates the period of construction of the temple. The translation of the text of the inscription of the temple runs as follows\(^26\):

"There was a ruler of the earth named Biswa Singha; his illustrious son, the most wise king Malladev, was the conqueror of all enemies. In gravity and liberality and for heroism he had a great reputation and he was purified by
religious deeds. After him was born his brother Sukladhaj, who subdued many countries. The son of this Sukladhaj was king Raghudeva, who was like the greatest man of the Raghu-race; his glories spread out in all direction; the lord of Kamrupa in obedience to the order of destiny is the slayer of the wicked, who was like water to the flames of the fire of sorrow of the vast populace. Of the seed of Sukladhaj, a king was born of the name of Raghudev who consoles innumerable persons and is a worshipper of the feed of Krishna; the king coming of age had a temple built on the hillock called Mani hillock in 1505 saka. The most skilled and efficient artisan Sridhar himself built it.”

Regarding king Raghudeva and his patronage, there are a few other references which are found about his patronage to another temple, near the Hayagriva Madhava temple. King Raghudeva built the Pandunath temple in 1585 A.D. on the Pandunath Hill to the west of the Nilacala with Kamakhya temple37. Presently the temple is in ruins. This kind of evidences and references clearly proved that the king of Koch-Hajo, Raghudeva was a patron of art and architecture with a religious propagation.

The Koch king propagated the policy of royal patronage to the religious centres of Hajo and its neighbouring areas and according to the popular beliefs of the people the management system of the temple with
the service of the Sevaits started from the period of the Koch king. It has already mentioned that king Naranarayana also granted musicians and dancers to the temple and it may also presumed that the Devadasi dance form was in use in Hayagriva Madhava temple, from the period of Koch king.

_Darrang Rajvamsavali_ also clearly stated that king Raghudeva made large endowments of utensils of gold, silver and copper, money and other valuable for regular worship of the Hayagriva Madhava temple, along with specific Sevaits²⁸.

Whatever the amount of degree of royal patronage of the Koch rulers may be, it is a clear indication that the Hayagriva Madhava temple and its other satellite temples received the royal attention of the royal powers which legacy was continued by the Ahom kings and nobles in larger scale for the upliftment of the religious centres with large endowments of land, people and ornaments.

### 3.2 ROYAL PATRONAGE BY THE AHOM RULERS (17th-19th Century):

The Ahom rulers were the great patron of art, architecture and literature. Specially from the period of Gadadhar Singha (1681-1696 A.D.) Assam history witnessed a policy of appeasement towards the religious centres of Assam due to the increase of Brahmanical influences. He started the process by reconstructing many temples including
Umananda in Kamrup district. Hayagriva Madhava temple and other satellite temple of Hajo came under the direct patronage of the Ahom rulers and nobles from the period of Ahom king Gadadhar Singha. He started the royal patronage to the Hayagriva Madhava temple by issuing grant to the service of the idol of \textit{Madhava} by granting 5 \textit{ser} of \textit{ghee} annually to light the lamp before the idol of the Hayagriva Madhava temple. He also granted one \textit{sevait} to discharge the duties of lighting the lamp\textsuperscript{29}. It was the beginning of Ahom royal patronage and interference in the Hayagriva Madhava temple which was the main influential centres of Kamrup region. King Rudra Singha and his successors certainly realised this facts and showed their respect and obligation to this centre of religion.

In \textit{Saka} 1633 (1711 A.D.) king Rudra Singha (1696-1714 A.D.) donated a large number of articles consisted of jar made of silver, vessels, cups etc. to the shrine of Hayagriva Madhava in the month of \textit{Caitra}\textsuperscript{30} (last month of Assamese calendar) for the smooth running of daily rituals. In \textit{Saka} 1634 (1712 A.D.) he carried out a survey of holy shrines located in an around Guwahati in order to improve the condition of these by patronizing them. In this survey he had made a special reference to the Hayagriva Madhava temple and its neighbouring temple as Madhava of Manikuta, Kedar of Madanachal, Kamesvar of Gokarna and \textit{Mokam} of Garurachal (\textit{Poa Macca}) hillock\textsuperscript{31}. This kind of special references indicates the position and importance of the religious centres of Hajo as well as of Guwahati.
Large endowments were made during the period of Siva Singha also. Tarun Duvara Barphukan at the instruction of king Siva Singha granted copper-plate to Hayagriva Madhava, Ganesa, Kamesvara and Kedar temples in *Saka* 1661 (1739 A.D.). It records a long list of priests and other persons as *sevait* engaged in the temples of Hayagriva Madhava, Ganesa, Kamesvara and Kedera and assigning them specific duties to run the religious affairs of the temples. In *Saka* 1664 (1742 A.D.) for the welfare of the Hayagriva Madhava, he donated land grants and issued a copper-plate inscription of *nankar* grant in the Mare and Kokariya villages in the Komarbhag Pubpar Pargana of Kamrup. Noted scholar M. Neog thinks that it was a renewal charter to a grant of *nankar* gift to one *sevait* of Hayagriva Madhava temple. His name was Mohanrai and his ancestors are still living in the Mare villages. The grant was executed by Tarun Duvara Barphukan with the order of king Siva Singha.

King Siva Singha made another grant by issuing copper-plate in *Saka* 1666 (1744 A.D.), and executed by Tarun Duvara Barphukan. It records a Brahmanical grant of 16 *Puras* of land to Siva Bardeuri (head priest) in the Pacharia village of Sarubangshar Pargana in *Des'a* Kamrup. By this order of grant Siva Singha granted ownership to the priest.

During the reign of king Pramatta Singha, Hayagriva Madhava temple witnessed an important aspect of religious assimilation. In *Saka* 1668 (1746 A.D.), Sri Harideva, the head of the Gobinda Sattra, offered a copy of *Bhagavata-purana* to Hayagriva Madhava temple. The *Bhagavata-purana* was contained in a box and the box had a small plate as label and
the plate has six lines of writings dedicated for the temple. This kind of epigraph make very interesting records regarding the relation between the Satra institution and the temples. Certainly Hayagriva Madhava temple had a cordial relation with the Satras of neighbouring areas without biasness.

In Saka 1672 (1750 A.D.) by the order of king Pramatta Singha, Tarun Duvara Barphukan constructed a brick mound (Daulagriha) inside the premises of Hayagriva Madhava temple to celebrate the Daul or Holi by the queen and nobles of his court. This fact is substantiates by the rock inscription of Hayagriva Madhava’s Phalgutsava temple inscribed on the wall of the brick mound (Plate No.-8). Keeping the legacy, the royal court involve themselves in the day to day rituals and festivals of the temple. In present time also Raja-daul (Holli of kings) is celebrated inside the premises of the temple. By the way of patronising it, he constructed many buildings such as Bhogghar, Charagharetc. near the Ganesa temple with the help of Tarun Duvara Barphukan.

King Pramatta Singha issued another copper-plate in the Komarbhag and Pubpar pargana for the worship of Hayagriva Madhava of Hajo in Saka 1677 (1755 A.D.). By the order of the king Dekajana Tarun Duvara Barphukan executed the grant. It is important in many aspects of the worship of Hayagriva Madhava. It has demarcated the duties of sevaitis regarding their services with a definite source of income. For the first time the royal authority carried out survey and measurement regarding
the total amount of oil necessary for burning lamps for twenty four hours inside the campus of the temple. Total 58 puras of land were donated by Sarujana and his son Dekajana Barphukan of the Tarun Duvara Barphukan family. The land were endowed to village Baruajani--twenty pura, Alta--twelve pura, Kamarkuchi--twelve pura and village Abhoypur--fourteen pura under Komarbhag and Pubpar Pargana. This land were assigned as Gamati and Manmati to Athpora. It is also worthmentioning that this gift was executed by an earlier Barphukan- the father of Tarun Duvara Barphukan on paper. It has to be replaced by Tamra-patra (copper-plate) by his son Tarun Duvara Barphukan. On behalf of the Hayagriva Madhava temple the grant was received by one Madhavdas Athpora and this grant was executed for the welfare of six persons of the Tarun Duvara family. The money income from the grant is to be spent on oil for six lamps burning for twenty four hours. The six beneficiaries of the grant were - (i) the donors father Sarujana Barphukan, (ii) the donor Gadadhar Deka Phukan, (iii) his son Dasaratha Duvara Phukan (iv) his wife, (v) their son Minanath Deka, (vi) the mother of present Barphukan i.e. Tarun Duvara Barphukan. Above all money has to be spent on six naiveddy (offerings) comprisings (i) rice, (ii) pulses, (iii) salt, (iv) arecanuts and, (v) betel-leaves for six persons required to be offered on the day of six Sankrantis (last day of the month). The granted land to Athpora will accrued the revenue at the rate of half a rupee per pura and thus it will gathered the benefit of rupees 26/- (twenty six rupees) and 8 annas in a year. This money will be spent for buying oil
to burn the six lamps in the temple, and the offerings for *naiveddyā* to the deity. Out of the six lamps four lamps will burn for twenty four hours and it will cost 30 *sers* of oil in a month and 360 *sers* in a year. One lamp burning for four *prahara* each day will cost 3 *sers* in a month and 45 *sers* in a year. Another one lamp will burn for two *prahara* in a day will need 3 *sers* in each months and 36 *sers* in a total year. Thus the total oil in a year will consumed Rs. 21/- (twenty one rupees only) and 9 *annas* and six *naiveddyā* will cost 15 *annas*. In such a way the total cost will be Rs. 22/- (Twenty two rupees only) and 8 *annas*. The remaining Rs.4/- will be cost when things will be more costly than the present one. Thus this copper-plate grant offered new lights on the patronage of the royal authority to Hayagriva Madhava temple for daily rituals with necessary *naiveddyā* with their utmost dedication and sincerity.

After king Pramatta Singha, Rajeswar Singha continued the process of patronisation to the religious centres. He granted men and land to the Hajo group of temples and reconstructed the Kedar temple at its present site in *Saka* 1680 (1758 A.D). By the order of the king, Dasaratha Tarun Duvara Barphukan constructed the brick wall of the Kedar temple for restoration of daily rituals. The inscription is inscribed on the side wall of the temple. It is also significant to note that another rock inscription is lying at the outside of the temple which is not deciphered yet. According to the information of documents of the temple authority it was also granted at the same time with the previous one by king Rajeswar Singha. The king was called *Kamrup-Saumareswara* as per the inscriptional
evidences. King Rajeswar Singha issued another copper-plate in *Saka* 1687 (1765 A.D.) through which he appoints one Pranpati Brahman as *Choudhury* and *Patowary* of the Bajali Pargana with the Khata Taluk. This was a renewal of earlier grant made by Mughal emperor Shahjahan. King Lakshmi Singha, the successor of Rajeswar Singha, was also a devotee of the religious centres of Hajo. He granted a charter in *Saka* 1678 (1776 A.D.) and donated land and people to the *Bardeuri* of Hayagriva Madhava temple whose name was Sivadatta. The grant was executed in the village *Khopanikuchi* of Ramdia Taluk. Bardeuri Sivadatta received this grant in lieu of his services to the temple. He issued another inscription of land grant to *Anwar Fakir* of Guwahati in the Banbhag Pargana of Kamrup, in *Saka* 1702 (1780 A.D.). King Lakshmi Singha donated land to a *Fakir* in *Bar-Mokam* of Hajo (Poa-Macca) along with other three *Mokams*.

The next Ahom king Gaurinath Singha took keen interest in the affairs of temple of Hayagriva Madhava and other associated temples. In *Saka* 1704 (1782 A.D.) he granted the copper-plate inscription endowing boats, boatmen and money on the Hayagriva Madhava temple. By this charter Gaurinath Singha addressed the *Barduvaria*, the chief custom officer, and the *Duvaria*, custom officer of *Betkuchia, Sunal* and *Sonapuria* Duvars (custom outpost) who dealt with matter of customs and the *Bhuyans* and *Kakatis* (Revenue officer) not to levy any duty on two boat, which were declared *adani* (rent free). Two merchants and ten *Paiks*
were also attached to the two boats, and the merchants were asked to pay the profit of their trade and business of Rs. 40/- to the authority of Hayagriva Madhava temple. They were free from any kind of taxes on them. Thus the relation of tradesmen with the temples and their economic obligation towards the temple authority and the influence of the Hayagriva Madhava temple on all sections of people of the society was maintained.

Another copper-plate inscription was granted in Saka 1705 (1783 A.D.) by Gaurinath Singha by granting Yak tails and spittoons to the Hayagriva Madhava temple and the Kedar temple of Hajo. This grant was executed by Harnath Duvara Senapati Barphukan at Nambarbhag Pargana. A Silver spittoon weighing 80 tolas and the Yak tail with a handle made of 6 tolas of silver were offered to the deity of Hayagriva Madhava and Kedar temple respectively. 3 paiks were also appointed to the task of holding the spittoons and the Yak tails. They were not attached to any other duties of the temple. These paiks were given 69 puras of land who were to supply Paramanna to the temple on 18 festive occasions. The occasions included 12 sankrantis, janmastami, 3 ekadasis i.e. sayana, utthayana and parsva-parivarta, phagu-yatra and madanachaturdasi. It was an important charter in the field of goldsmithy of the area and their services to the temples as the items were made locally.

Gaurinath Singha by another copper-plate inscription of Saka 1707 (1786 A.D.) patronised the Hayagriva Madhava temple. The charter was
issued by Dekajana Sandikoi Barphukan by the order of the king and recorded the appointment of Mati Ram and Sisu Ram, the two Brahmanas to handle the spittoons of the Hayagriva Madhava temple of Hajo by granting 20 puras of waste land, purchased at the cost of Rs. 20/- (twenty) in Saukatibadi village of Barkhetri Pargana in Kamrup. It also records the purchased of Atma Ram and Dhirman of Koch community from one Kaliram Koch for 140 Narayani rupee (Rupee of Koch-Behar) and granted them to the service of Hayagriva Madhava temple. They were granted 6 puras of land in Bhagbor Pargana which was purchased at Rs. 10/- only. The charter further records the purchase of 4 puras of paddy land and 2 puras of waste land in Pati Darrang Pargana and 1 got of paik. The paik were granted Rs. 90/- to purchase oil to light the akhanda pradipa (continuous burning of lamp) at Hayagriva Madhava temple for which altogether 180 Sers of oil in a year were required. The reverse side of the copper-plate contains a list of items required to offer to the temples and names of persons along with their particulars of engagements in the service of the temple.

Gaurinath Singha issued another copper-plate land grants towards the lighting of akhanda pradipa at the Hayagriva Madhava temple. According to this grant two other functionaries of the Hayagriva Madhava temple, Krishnadah Athporia and Molan Bharali Kakati had jointly received a grant of 727 puras of land for burning akhanda pradipa at the Hayagriva-Madhava temple. The donee and their descendants were to light the lamps out of the income received from the lands.
In 1788 A.D. Gaurinath Singha, also renewed the copper-plate inscription which refers to an earlier grant of land and men without specific date made by king Gadadhar Singha for the service to the idol of Madhava of Hajo. The present charter of Gaurinath Singha records the same grant along with 5 Sers of ghee allotted annually to one sevait Satram to light the lamp before the idol of Madhava for the merit of Kenduguria Barpatra Gohain.

After Gaurinath Singha, king Kamaleswar Singha kept the process alive of royal patronages to the religious centres. Copper-plate inscription of Bhadra, in Saka 1721 (1799 A.D.) records that a grant of 20 puras of land in Barbangshar Pargana in Kamrup together with certain items to three persons namely Deberu, Dhanesvar and Kaliman and one paik to Kamesvar and Madhava temple in Kamrup by the order of Kamaleswar Singha. This grant expressed the facts that other than the sevaitsof the temples, the common people of the area were also entrusted with special duties by the Ahom kings in return of land grants. King Kamaleswar Singha granted another copper-plate with land grants to Dvitiya-Madhava in the temple of Hayagriva Madhava in Saka 1722 (1800 A.D.). It records a Debottar grant of land to Dvitiya Madhava of Hayagriva Madhava temple. This grant was made to recalled some earlier grant for supply of raw materials to the temple for the worship of Dvitiya Madhava. The earlier grant was made by the order of Tarun Duvara Barphukan family.

Copper-plate inscription of Saka 1725 (1803-04 A.D.) refers that
Kamaleswar Singha ordered Purnananda Buragohain to make a land grant of 30 *puras* to 3 spittoons bearers of Hayagriva Madhava temple in Des’ Kamrup\(^{59}\). It was a renewal grant of 1786 A.D. of king Gaurinath Singha. Another copper-plate grant of king Kamaleswar Singha records a long list of items which were necessary for the worship of Kedar at Hajo and price of commodities necessary for the purpose of daily rituals. The grants was executed by Tarun Duvara Barphukan\(^{60}\).

An important charter of king Kamaleswar Singha in the field of royal patronage to the religious centres of Hajo is the granting of copper-plate inscription of endowment of land and servitors to the Hayagriva Madhava temple made by Sayani the first wife of Pratapballav Barphukan in *Saka* 1727 (1805 A.D). By this grant Sayani, the wife of Pratapballav Barphukan made arrangement to purchase one family from Gauri Chandra Bujarbarua and charged them with the duty of maintaining *akhanda pradipā* and offering of *naiveddya* to Madhava on the occasion of five festivities of a month and three *ekadasis* of *sayana, uthayana* and *parsaparivarta*. In respect of their service the servitors were endowed with 22 *puras* of land. They are also given Rs. 80/- of *narayani* coin of silver as loan and the interest of the money meet the expenditure of *akhanda pradipā*. Rs. 2/- were also granted to them to buy the wicks of the lamps\(^{61}\). The grant furnishes details of items to be offered at the temple as follows-
Table: 3.1

ARTICLES OF ONE *NAIVEDDYA* (OFFERING) AT
HAYAGRIYA MADHAVA TEMPLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Articles</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Good Quality Rice</td>
<td>2 <em>Kotha</em> (traditional Assamese measurement with a pot of Bamboo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td><em>Mah</em> (A variety of Pulse)</td>
<td>1 <em>Kotha</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td><em>Mug</em> (A variety of Pulse)</td>
<td>1 <em>Kotha</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td><em>Tamul</em> (Areca nut)</td>
<td>1 <em>Gonda</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td><em>Pan</em> (Bettle leaf)</td>
<td>1 <em>Guchi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td><em>Ada</em> (Ginzer)</td>
<td>For Rs. 2/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td><em>Loon</em> (Salt)</td>
<td>For Rs. 1/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td><em>Ghrita</em> (Ghee)</td>
<td>For Rs. 1/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td><em>Kol</em> (Banana)</td>
<td>For Rs. 1/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Other required fruits</td>
<td>For Rs. 8/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td><em>Bhogar Khola</em> (pot of offering)</td>
<td>1 <em>Thali</em> (Big pot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td><em>Mola Prasada</em></td>
<td>1 <em>Thali</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td><em>Pitha</em> (Rice Cake)</td>
<td>2 <em>Thali</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td><em>Phular Mala</em> (Garland of Flower)</td>
<td>1 <em>Bhar</em> (one pair of bundle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td><em>Khori</em> (Wood for fire)</td>
<td>2 <em>Bhar</em> (two pair of bundle)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table reflects the agricultural background of the people of Hajo and the quantity of one offering really exhibits the idea that the temple
and the area was very rich both economically and socially. On the other hand the royal authority had no hesitation in providing timely cooperation and help to the temples.

The last sovereign king of Ahom rule in Assam, Chandrakanta Singha also granted royal patronage in the forms of copper-plates. In Saka 1733 (1811 A.D.) he made a grant of land and men to one Gunanidhi of Hajo to render service to the Hayagriva Madhava temple by handling Camara (Yak tail). The grant was issued by Purnananda Buragohain under the order of king Chandrakanta Singha. Gunanidhi’s son, however gave up the profession and left the place for Chanagdraoba village, thereby Badan Chandra Barphukan employed 1 got of paik for the service of the Hayagriva Madhava temple and gave them a spittoon attached to a silver handle. A grant of homestead land was made to these four men which were purchased at Rs. 10/- at Hajo by the order of the king. This kind of epigraphical records offers some light on the additional duties imposed on some paiks occasionally and the financial benefit they enjoyed out of the service to the temple.

In the forms of royal patronage to the Hayagriva Madhava temple, the last copper-plate of Ahom kings was issued by Chandrakanta Singha and queen Padmavati Devi jointly in Saka 1743 (1821 A.D.). This was the last grant issued by the Ahom kings to a religious institution of Assam. During the period of Burmese invasion took place and king Chandrakanta Singha had left his capital and fled to Guwahati.
his stay at Guwahati he issued this grant of copper-plate inscription of *Deharpargana* for performing *Harikirtana* (chanting the name of Hari) in the temple. The grant mentions that *dvadasayatra*, celebrated in the month of *Magha* which remained suspended for long period would now be revived. The epigraph records that a peculiar form of worship was introduced in the temple. In addition to the tantric form of worship inside the temple, *Bhagavata patha, nama* (prayer song), *Gayana-Vayana* (orchestra, music), *Viyahar Gita* (Choral song) etc. were codified into the programme of services from morning to night which were in the style of Neo-Vaishnava Sattras introduced by Sri Sankaradeva.

The inscription is very much significant in many aspects. It also records that under the order of the king Chandrakanta Singha and queen Padmavati Devi, Betharam Tamuli Phukan issued financial grants of Rs. 40/- to Santa Das Choudhury for carrying out an annual religious pilgrimage for the blessings of *Parbatiya* queen and her sons. This money would be deposited in the fund of Hayagriva Madhava temple by the Choudhury and his descendants. The revenue derived from other sources of the temple would be spent for holy festivals and other functions of the temple. Rs. 2/- would be spent as tax for performing the annual meeting of the temple. The Choudhury and his descendants would be exempted from all specified taxes and any body defying the order of the king would be regarded as irreligious.

Although it was the last grant of Ahom king to a religious centre, it
was no less significant. When this grant was made the king and his state was busy in warfare with foreign enemies. But on that critical juncture the king and his queen actually devoted their mind and soul to a holy place so that the holy festivals and rituals of the institution can be managed. Secondly this charter expresses the assimilation and co-existence of ideologies between temple and vaishnavite sect. In this way the grant marks many significant aspects despite the document was issued during the extremely disturb period of Assam.

3.3 ROYAL PATRONAGE BY THE MUGHAL EMPERORS:

Kamrup region was by and large under the influence of Muhammadan invasion since 13th century to 15th century. During the period they concentrated their political movement in and around Hajo, as Hajo is situated in strategical important area which was surrounded by hillocks and mighty Brahmaputra river. The important political upheavals taken place during the period of first half of 17th century and lasted upto the last part of 17th century when the Mughals occupied it. Finally Kamrup was reoccupied by the Ahoms in 1681 A.D. after the battle of Itakhuli. During this period Hajo became the headquarter of Mughal domain and was governed by Governor Abdus Salam, Zainal-Abedin, Muhammad Shah etc.68. The area witnessed an era of Muslim interest and establishments of mosque and also in the patronage of Hindu shrines to satisfy and pacify the local people into the administration of the Mughal Emperors.
Emperor Shahjahan first started the process of patronizing the religious centres of Hajo. To improve the Islamic religious institution of Poa-Macca, the Mughal emperors through their representatives made grants with funds and materials. In 1657 A.D. as stated in chapter-2, the temporary mosque adjacent to the *dargah*, was made a permanent one by using bricks and appointed officials to look after the *dargah* as well as the mosque which was dedicated to the people of the area. During the period, Emperor Shahjahan made an important and significant grant to the temple and Hindu fraternity of the locality. Emperor Shahjahan granted land and appointed Pranpati Brahman of Bajali Pargana as *Choudhury* and *Patowary*. He also allowed Pranpati and his ancestors to enjoy the land generation after generation. The grant was renewed by the Ahom king, Rajeswar Singha in 1765 A.D. These evidences clearly proves that the Mughal emperor not only granted land to the mosque, but they granted land grants to Hayagriva Madhava temple also. On the instruction of the emperor in 1656 A.D. his son Muhammad Suja, the then viceroy of Bengal appointed one Halkhayal and his descendants as *Mejawar* (Sweeper) of the tomb of Giasuddin Aulia at Hajo and made a land grant for their maintenance. This tomb is known as Poa-Macca of Hajo and the Ahom kings called it *Bar Mokam*. The grant of Poa-Macca also recorded that the *Mejawar* had to pray for the continuance of the Mughal government.

Poa-Macca received the patronage of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb also. In 1657 A.D. he made another grant of land to Halkhayal's son
Mortuza on the same terms as before. Thus an Islamic establishment had grown up at Hajo under the direct patronage of the Mughal emperor and the nobility\textsuperscript{72}.

There are certain documents in the Persian language referring to the area now comprising Kamrup district and which were earlier under Mughal administration of granting land to mosque as well as to temples. One such reference might be made to a \textit{farman} of Aurangzeb on the 2\textsuperscript{nd} day of the month \textit{Safar} in the 9\textsuperscript{th} year of Aurangzeb's reign i.e. October 1667 A.D. This grant confirms the right of possession of two plots of land in the Bangshar pargana (in Hajo) of Dakhinkul Sarkar by the \textit{Pujari} of the Umananda Temple\textsuperscript{73}.

Thus there are references to the patronage of the Mughal emperor towards the religious centres of Hajo and nearby areas of Guwahati which were under the rule of Mughal emperor for a considerable amount of period. It is very significant to note that the Ahom kings showed their humble respect towards these grants and restored it with granting of copper-plates as in the case of Pranpati Brahman of Bajali Pargana. The common people also enjoyed the rights of the property which were granted by emperors towards their forefathers with holding the title like \textit{Patowary}, \textit{Choudhury} etc. In such a way the Mughal emperors exhibited their respect and humbleness towards the religious centres of the locality.

The copper-plates or the inscriptions relating towards the Hayagriva Madhava temple and other associate institutions serves as invaluable
source for the socio-economic history of the religious centres. All these donation documents contain contemporary information relating to several aspects of economic life of the period such as agriculture, different categories of land, measurement of lands, prices of commodities, products of the lands, land revenue, various taxes and ownership and above all disputes relating to the ownership of the land. Reflection of social ideology with the religious sentiments of a particular institution and area through the donation charter is very much unique so far the social transformation of a area is concern.

Thus from the records of the inscriptions it has come to light that the Ahom kings appointed Hindu priest in the temples, honoured the learned Brahmanas and made endowments for the maintenance of religious centres. Similarly Muslim priest and preachers were also given due honour with land grants and servitors bestowed on them. This political sagacity of maintaining co-existence of different faiths that bound expression in the epigraphs of the Ahom period were very much essential to establish stability of the government of the Ahoms of their own pattern for the greater society.

Ahom kings laid much stress on economy of the country and hence different categories of land of the state were granted invariably to different sections of the community with palks, aimed at effective agriculture. It was obviously the state policy that the vast arable lands should be efficiently cultivated to feed and maintain the whole population including
officials and princes and to store foods for emergencies like war and famines. Through the temples of the area this plan was well executed by the kings\textsuperscript{75}. Epigraphs also testify to the fact that the religious neutrality combined with the recognition of the different faiths of the lands and the liberal attitude of the ruling class towards the people of the land, accounted for the long popularity of the Ahom kings in Assam.

### 3.4 SUPERVISING MACHINERY OF THE TEMPLE:

There were a supervising machinery consisted of several categories of officers headed by the Ahom king. The king was the authority to build or rebuild a religious centre and made endowments of land, men and other properties to the sacred sites. He declared the centre as a public place through various copper-plate and rock inscription from time to time. The inscriptions recorded the order of the king regarding fairs and festivals, rites and rituals etc. to be observed at the site of the temple. It also dealt with the budget of income and expenditure and the assigned duties of the \textit{Sevaits}. The priests of the temples offered daily \textit{Bhoga} to the deities for the well being of the king and his family\textsuperscript{76}. In some special occasion the Ahom kings visited the temples. In 1756 A.D., king Rajeswar Singha, when he came to Guwahati, visited the Hayagriva Madhava temple and donated a dish, a pot and three umbrellas which were made of gold. The people of the nearby villages of the temple assembled there to receive the king and the king in return made lavish gifts to them with servitors
like priests and dancing girls, four hundred tolas of gold and twenty boxes of garments\(^7\). Thus the Ahom kings made large endowments of land and men to the temples of Hajo in whose name the administration was run by the Daloi and the Sevaits.

After the king, Barphukan was the key person who looked after the temples of Kamrup in all respects as desired by the kings. The temples were built or rebuilt by Barphukan by the order of the king and issued all kinds of grants to the temples. The Barphukan recommended the names of Seva-caloo from the Brahman caste. Before issuing a grant all necessary investigation were made by him and he acted as the chief justice in settling the disputes relating to the land and men of the temples. The Barphukan constantly supervised the temples and their establishments. The British recorded that the Barphukan received a portion of Bhoga and Nirmali from the temples on behalf of the king and later handed over it to the king\(^8\). In later part of Ahom reign the Barphukan issued land grants of land and men to the temples in his personal capacities, and even by his wife also. For example Pratap-ballav Barphukan’s wife Sayani made endowments to the Hayagriva Madhava temple\(^9\).

**Seva-caloo**

Seva-caloo was the main functionary in the temple management. The first incumbent of the office of Seva-caloo was probably Krishnaram Nyaybagis who was given the charge of Kamakhya temple by king Siva
Singha. In all respects of the management of the temple he was responsible to the Barphukan. Seva-caloa was to be needed to be a person of intricacies of the religious performances and well versed in religious scripts. He had a general control over the affairs of the temple and was responsible in communicating between the temple and royal house in any kind of situation.

**Daloi**

*Daloi* was an inhouse manager of a temple and its establishments. It appears that all the civil and revenue matters of a temple were managed by the *Daloi*. The priests of the temple selects the *Daloi* from amongst them. He was the custodian of all properties irrespective of movable or immovable and receiver of all kinds of donations from the royal house or from the worshippers and devotees. He was also called as *Bardeuri*. Copper-plate grants of the Ahom kings, made to different temples, determines the functions and duties of *Daloi*s. He was to collect the rent of the land and utilised it for the maintenance of property of the temples.

The copper-plate grants of king Guarinath Singha which was issued in 1750 A.D. mentioned that the *Daloi* of the temple Hayagriva Madhava would receive certain articles from three *Paiks* attached to the Madhava temple. Another copper-plate issued by Pramatta Singha records that one Madhavdah *Athporia* was placed incharge of keeping the light burning (*akhanda pradipa*) in Hayagriva Madhva temple for which he was granted 50 *puras* of land and the *Daloi* of the temple was entrusted with the duty
to supervise the work of the Athporia\textsuperscript{81}. Chandra Kanta Singha also vested responsibility of Hari-kirtana on the Daloi of Hayagriva Madhava temple in 1821 A.D. and to managed the festivals in consultation with the Mel-caloa. Rajkhoa, Meteri and Mena\textsuperscript{82}. The Daloi was given added responsibility and he was assisted by Bardeuris and functionaries like Bhandarkayastha, Mazumdar, Mudiar, Mena, Meteri, Mel-caloa and Thakuria. Although these authority of king, Barphukan, Seva-caloa and Daloi was out of the Sevaits unit they were very much essential in maintaining and observing the rituals of the temple of Hayagriva Madhava. Near the temple a neighbourhood known as Daloipara still exist from which the temple body selects its Daloi in present time also. The Sevaits of the Hayagriva Madhava temple had also obligation to other temples like, Kedera, Kamalesvara, Kamesvara and Ganesa temple. So from time immemorial they are rendering services to these Pancha Tirtha with utmost dedication.

Sevaits were a kind of official of temple who were responsible in discharging their allotted and pre-determined duties for day to day rituals and smooth running of an organised religious centres. The Hayagriva Madhava temple of Hajo was an institution which received royal patronage in the forms of land, men and other valuables from the kings. Hence the temple required a well organised management machinery to look after the huge amount of properties. The kings and nobles assigned large number of functionaries to the service of the temple which were mandatory in nature\textsuperscript{83}. They were given land grants for their services to the temple
which were tax free.

_Darrang Rajvamshavali_ refers that in 1583 A.D. Koch king Raghudevagrant gold, silver, copper, money, utensils etc. to the temple for regularworships. It also refers that for regular worship at the temple a host ofcommunity consisted of Brahmana, Ganak, Tanti, Sonari, Teli, Mali, Dhoba,Bahori, Kumar, Kahar, Napit, Gayan, and Vyas were granted to the temple⁸⁴. Altogether according to folk tradition, the total number ofthese people were 120 in number and hence they were called as **Chaykuri Hajela**, (one hundred and twenty) by the local folks and they were assigned to the temple with specific duties. These _Sevaits_ of the temple weregiven settlement within one km. radius of the Hayagriva Madhava temple.Even today also these _Sevaits_ lives on that settlement pattern and offers their services to the temple. However, now they donot enjoy the landrights and received daily wages from the management board.

It does appears that during the period of Ahom rule the temples ofKamrup region were treated as government centres of religious activities and the officers of the state took keen interest in the affairs of templeestablishments. Along with the _Sevaits_ the supervising machinery of thetemples were responsible for any omission and commission in the affairs of the temples. The Hayagriva Madhava temple followed the classicalcodes in the fields of socio-religious activities and the assigned _Sevaits_ were distributed into units by the management organisation. Duties andresponsibilities of these functionaries are discussed as follows-
1. **Bardeuri**:

The *Bardeuri* is the head priest of the temple. He belongs to Brahman caste and normally discharges his duties when the *deuris* need supervision and instruction in some specific rituals. Each *Bardeuri* were granted *Brahmottara* grant of land and men. They enjoyed the rights hereditically. The *Bardeuries* had power to select the *Dalois* amongst them. They had also their hereditical settlement at *Bamuntola* near the Hayagriva Madhava temple.

2. **Deuri**:

The *Deuri* is the assistant of the *Bardeuri* and discharged his duties in the instruction of *Bardeuri*. Both of them are belongs to Brahman caste. They were entrusted with the responsibilities of daily and regular worships of the temple. The *Deuris* also enjoyed land rights hereditically. They had also their hereditical settlement at *Bamuntola*.

3. **Bhagawati and Visnu Naam Pathak**:

Main duty of *Bhagawati* was to recite *Bhagavata* in the temple at the time of worship and festivals. The *Visnu naam pathak* used to recite the *naam prasanga* in morning before the initiation of daily rituals. In addition during the time of *Daulotsava, Raja Daul* and *Janmastomi*, *Visnu naam* is recite in the temple with specific rituals.85
4. **Malakar or Mali:**

During the time of daily worship and rituals, the Malakar had to supply the necessary flower, garland and Tulsimala to the temple. They used to supply the garlands like, Jaalmala, Kanthamala, Dhukdhukimala, Golmala, Dolamala, Topmala, Dhanarmala, Saulormala etc. The Tulsi mala is specially offered at Hayagriva madhava temple. The Malakar made different garlands for different occasions. The Malakars resides at the foothill of the Manikuta hillock in the village Malitola.

5. **Supakar or Khowar:**

Supakar or Khowar was the cook of Bhoga (meal for deities) which was to offered at noon and night to the main deities. That is why they are also called as Bhog Randhani and they belongs to the Brahman caste only. They used to cook both vegetarian and non-vegetarian offerings.

6. **Athporia:**

Athporia was the guard of the whole temple compound. It was his duty to guard the temple day and night known as Asthaprahara. Apart from that Athporia had to clean the utensils of the temple used for worship. Presently the Athporias are residing in the village Athporiatola near the Hayagriva Madhava temple.
7. **Bharali:**

*Bharali* is the stock keeper of the temples. Every donation given by the devotees and worshippers for the temple had to be kept by the *Bharali* in the treasury of the temple. He maintains daily accounts of the donated items and money. Usually the *Bharali* discharges his duties from dawn to dusk and thereby concentrated in the village known as *Bhoralitola* located near by the temple.

8. **Duari:**

*Duari* is the door-keeper or guards on door of the temple at day and night. He remained at the temple premises all the time and opened the door of the temple in morning in the presence of *Bardeuri*. He also closed the door after completion of all rituals of the temple at midnight. He act as security guard of the temple door.

9. **Hatkhowa:**

*Hatkhowa* are the *Sevaits* of Hayagriva Madhava temple who look after the worship and rituals of the Buddhist pilgrims who come from Bhutan, Nepal, Tibet etc. to Hajo. During their stay at Hajo *Hatkhowa* took special attention for the welfare of the Buddhists. The Buddhist call them *Paina* (paid person) as they are paid by them. The Bhutan king granted certificate to the *Hatkhowa* by authorising them to take Bhutia currency. Presently one person belongs to *Hatkhowa* family bears this kind of certificate from the Bhutia king. 


10. **Gondhia**:

   *Gondhia* are the supplier of incense sticks to the temple. They manufactured incense sticks by special ingredients which were hand made. The women folk of the *Gondhia* family, only were entrusted the duty to made the incense sticks. In morning and evening they had to supply those sticks to the *Bardeuri* of the temple, which were mandatory in nature.

11. **Homekhoria**:

   *Homekhoria* was the supplier of fire wood for the *Homa-Yajna* (sacred fire). Only the fire wood from the mango tree was allowed to burn, which were supplied in morning before the starting of the daily rituals.

12. **Baria**:

   *Baria* had to supply the necessary Banana leaf required to distribute the *Bhoga* and *Prasada* (offerings) offered to the deities. They also supplied the banana leaf needed for the purpose of *Naivedya*.

13. **Kothbania**:

   The duties of *Kothbania* was to help the *Supakar* in making the *Bhoga* and received the offerings offered to the temple. His primary duty was to clean the kitchen and arrange the necessary fire wood for the cooking of *Bhoga*. 
14. **Thakuria**:

The *Daloi* entrusted the duty of land revenue collection to *Thakuria*. He had to travel to the villages to collect the land revenue which were due to the temple authority from time to time. He was an officer, who discharged his duties in the fields mainly.

15. **Dulia**:

Three main deities of Hayagriva Madhava, Kedar and Kamesvar is brought out during some festive occasions for holy procession or pilgrimage. During the time the icons are placed on palanquine (*Dola*) and the *Dulia* had to carry them. People of nearby villages like Bagta, Dodhi and Abhoypur discharges this duties in present time also.

16. **Chowari or Camardhara**:

During the holy processions the *chowari or Camaradhara* holds the *Camar* or Tibetan Yak tail to give fresh air to the icons. The *Sevaits* resides at the villages of Hajo are Barahtola, Bahana, Tetelia and Abhoypur.

17. **Kalia**:

*Kalia* holds the trumpet during the holly procession with the rhyme of beating drums on the festive occasions. He was an expert musician, who used to hold the horn of buffalo on some festive and special occasions.
18. **Dandadhari or Betdhari:**

During the period of *Asokastami* the icons of Hayagriva Madhava, Kedera and Kamesvara are taken away to Brahmaputra near Sualkuchi for a holy bath. During the procession an elderly person belongs to the Muslim community led the procession bearing a wooden stick decorated with gold and silver. He was known as *Dandadhari* or *Betdhari*. Normally the village headmen of the village takes the responsibility which is an excellent form of example of cultural co-existence of the locality. This *Sevaits* are the inhabitants of Fakirtola of Hajo.

19. **Mariya:**

The *Mariyas* of Hajo were also the *Sevait* of Hayagriva Madhava temple. They were entrusted the duties to make the utensils required for the purposes of ritualistic use in the temple premises. They manufactured the traditional Assamese brass-metal utensils like - *Tou, Charia, Kalah, Ghati, Bati* etc. They resides near the Hayagriva Madha temple in the villages of Mariyapatti and Fakirtola.

20. **Kumar and Hira:**

*Kumar and Hira* was the supplier of earthen pot like *Pat Charu, Mola Charu, Chaki, Agaru Bati* etc. to the temple, new earthen pot were required for daily uses, hence daily supply of these pots were required for the religious activities. They are the inhabitants of Kumarpara village near
the Hayagriva Madhava temple and presently also supplying these pots to the temple.

21. **Rangali Dhoba:**

*Rangali Dhoba* was the washermen of the temple who used to wash the red colour *Chandrataap* placed above the icons of the temple. There are altogether six families of *Rangali Dhoba* in Hajo who is continuing the profession even today also in return of minimum wages.

22. **Mena and Meteri:**

These two classes of servitor were revenue officers under the jurisdiction of Choudhury. They were responsible in collecting money on some festive occasions observed in the temple. On the other hand they cleaned the ornaments of gold and silver of the temple and kept the ornaments in safe custody.

23. **Sonari:**

*Sonari* was the goldsmith of the temple who artistically manufactured the required ornaments of gold and silver for the temple.

24. **Medhi:**

He was the group leader of professional caste engaged in the temple
service. Thus every group had their own Medhis in the service of the temple.

25. **Mudiar** :

*Mudiar* was the trader who engaged themselves in trade and business on behalf of the temple. A *Mudiar* was given some amount of money and a few boats to carry on the trading. He also made purchase of commodities for *Seva-Puja* of the temple.

26. **Khara** :

He was also a *Sevait* of the temple who acted as personal peon of the *Dalois*. The messages and information of the *Dalois* had to passed by the *Khara* (public announcer) to the public as early as possible.

27. **Dhulia** :

In every day morning the *Dhulia* had to beat the drums before the deity with the assistance of traditional Assamese musical instruments like- *Taal, Barkaah, Ghanta* etc. The *Sevaits* are located at the village Jagaitola of Hajo. They are offering their service in present time also.

28. **Nartaki** :

*Nartaki* was the *Devadasi* dancer of Hayagriva Madhava temple. They
had to dance before the deities in morning and evening with singing of song. They were assisted by musical instruments like *Mridanga* and *Mandira*.

Thus the *Sevait* of Hayagriva Madhava temple consolidated the religious and social upliftment of the people of the locality a lot with their allotted services to the centres with utmost dedication and sincerity. Although they had gone through many social changes, the traditional linkage of this *Sevait* groups exhibits their commitment to the centres even today also.
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7. *Auniati Satrar Buranji*, T. Sarma, P-12
8. *ASMA*, J. Gogoi (Nath), P-39
11. *ASMA*, J. Gogoi (Nath), P-39
12. *PS*, M. Neog, Plate No. 24, P-85
14. *Ibid*, Plate No. 31, 37
15. *Ibid*, Plate No. 24, 30, 31, 83, 85, 91
16. *AHA*, E.A. Gait, P-239
17. *ASMA*, J. Gogoi (Nath), P-48
18. *REA*, G. Adhikary, P-24
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26. *AHA*, E.A. Gait, P-63
29. *SIAK*, N. Bhagawati, P-72
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33. *Copper-plate inscription of Nankar grant in Made and Kokariya village in the Komarbhag Pub-par pargana*, 1664 Saka, *PS*, Pp-32-33
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39. *SIAK*, N. Bhagawati, P-43
41. *HTKM*, G. Adhikary, P-62
42. *PS*, (ed.) M. Neog, P-166
43. *Ibid*, P-166
44. *Ibid*, P-167

45. *Inscription of gate-way on the Brick wall of the Kedar temple, Hajo, 1680 Saka, 1758 A.D., PS, P-48

46. *Copper-plate inscription of land grant to Pranpati Brahman of Bajali pargana, Kamrup, 1687 Saka, 1765 A.D., PS, Pp-55-56


49. *Copper-plate inscription endowing boats, boatsman and money on the Hayagriva Madhava temple, Hajo, 1704 Saka, 1782 A.D., PS, Pp-133-134

50. *PS*, (ed.) M. Neog, P-209

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52. *Ibid*, P-70

53. *PS*, P-176


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56. *Ibid*, P-79

57. *Copper-plate inscription of land grant to Dvitiya-Madhava in the temple of Hayagriva Madhava, Hajo, Kamrup, 1722 Saka, 1800 A.D., PS, Pp-80-81

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60. *Ibid*, P-83
61. *PS*, (ed.) M. Neog, Plate No. 150, Pp-211-12
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67. *SIAK*, N. Bhagwati, Pp-87-88
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