CHAPTER IV

THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE AHOM GOVERNMENT
(FROM A.D.1496 TO A.D.1603)

Relations with the Chutiya Rulers

Siu-hum-mong who became king in 1497 started vigorous activities for the enlargement of the Ahom kingdom. His attention was first directed to the Chutiyas when a challenge from them over an incident relating to the catching of a big fish which came floating by the Dihing river then forming the boundary between the Ahom and the Chutiya kingdoms.\(^1\) When a few Ahom subjects captured the fish, some Chutiya subjects under the order of Manikchandra Barua, an official of the Chutiya king, forcibly took away the fish. But the Ahoms, reinforced by others succeeded in capturing two Chutiyas. This matter was reported by Manik to his king, Dhirnarayan.\(^2\) This incident, apparently a minor one, indicates that boundary disputes had been going on for sometime between

\(^1\)AB(SM), p.8; ITK, pp.266,285; ATR,p.59.

\(^2\)Ibid.
the two powers. The challenge was turned into defeat of the Chutiyas in 1513,3 but a few years later they resumed another incursion into the Ahom territory.4 This time, too, they were badly defeated by the Ahoms, who pushed them into their own kingdom. Sometime later the Ahoms had made preparations for a full scale invasion.5 Anticipating the outcome of such determined action on the part of Siu-hum-möng, Dhirnarayan (or Dhitnarayana) had changed his strategy, and instead of fighting to perish, he despatched his envoys to the Ahom monarch with valuable presents and a message which runs thus, "Protect us by making a tributary, I shall pay annual tribute."6 The Chutiya envoys, who were duly received, delivered the royal message by which their king expressed his willingness to become a tributary if he was allowed to remain unmolested.7 Siu-hum-möng, who had decided to teach the Chutiya king a good lesson placed such demands as the surrender of gold cat, the gold sword and the gold shield - the symbol of sovereignty and family

3 A-B, p. 54; DAB, p. 16; TTK, p. 285; ATR, p. 62.
4 Ibid.; ibid.; ibid.; ibid.
5 Ibid., pp. 54-55; ibid., p. 17; ibid.
6 Ibid.; ibid.; TTK, p. 286. According to AB(SM), p. 9, the Chutiya king despatched his envoys to the Ahom ministers, who were leading the campaign.
7 Ibid.
heirloom and also a princess. Knowing fully well that the fulfillment of the demand would not be easy on the part of the Chutiya king, it was made to pick up an apparently reasonable pretext for invading the Chutiya territory. It is also difficult to say with certainty, whether the proposal of the Chutiya king was really genuine, or was made in order to gain time for a large scale counter offensive against the Ahoms. But the readiness shown by Dhirnarayan to submit himself to the Ahom king further cast doubt on the genuineness of the proposal. The subsequent events, however, show that Dhirnarayan was not prepared for a submission to the Ahom king, when he fled to the jungle with other members of his family. On learning the demand of the Ahom court, Dhirnarayan, instead of sending the articles as asked for, sent some other articles, which also included a sharp and pointed knife kept concealed in a packet of cloth to the Ahom court. The refusal to submit the articles as demanded and the sending of a sharp and pointed knife were interpreted by

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8 AB(SM), p.9; DAB, pp.17-18; TTK, p.287. The demand varies from chronicle to chronicle. According to A-B, p.55, Siu-hum-mong demanded one polished wooden stool, one gold umbrella, one silver umbrella, a pair of khāmkāpor (embroidered cloth), a pair of silver bracelet, a pair of gold bracelet, a pair of silver gilted bracelet, a girl, a female elephant and ten fat male elephants.


10 DAB, p.18; AB(SM), p.10.
the Ahom court as a definite sign of enmity and challenge. Enraged by the insult, the Ahom army advanced to the Chutiyal kingdom, and in the ensuing battles, after defeating the Chutiyas reached their capital was occupied it in 1523. The defeated king with his queen and his son fled away, but were soon discovered and, according to some accounts, were killed. Bibidh Khanda-Buranji inserted in the DAB says that after the death of the Chutiya king, his son Sadhaknarayan, who was a minor, was removed along with a few Chutiya families from Sadiya and was settled near Routa, in the present Sonitpur district on the north bank of the Brahmaputra on condition of payment a small annual tribute. The above statement of the DAB, if accepted, indicates that the Ahom king was not bent on exterminating the Chutiya royal family. It may be concluded that had the Chutiya king surrendered the articles such as the gold cat, the gold shield, the gold sword, etc., which were the symbol of sovereignty he would have been allowed to retain his rule as a tributary king.

11 Ibid., p.19.; ibid.
12 The position of the place where the Chutiya prince was established is described thus - beyond Kamakhya hills of Kaliyabar west of Routa, west of Dhansiri, south of Kabir Ali, north of Brahmaputra. DAB, p.200.
After the conquest, the Chutiya kingdom was annexed to the Ahom dominion, and was turned into an Ahom province under a governor titled Thāo-mōng Tio-rā meaning Thāo-mōng, or Governor of Chutiya, or Governor of Sadiya as Sadiya was the headquarters of the province; later on he was known as Sadiyākhowa Gohain in Assamese chronicles. The territorial boundary of Ahom kingdom, now, extended to the hills inhabited by the Mishimis and Adis with whom the Ahom Government soon fixed the boundary. Pillars proclaiming the boundary between these tribes and the Ahom kingdom have been raised. One such pillar, bearing the Ahom royal proclamation inscribed on it prohibiting tribes from crossing the frontier without royal permission, had been discovered in A.D.1920-1921 on the bank of a stream named Deopani, a tributary of the Dibong. The Governor of Sadiya was not only the warden of that frontier but also was in charge of conducting relations with the foreign powers bordering Sadiya.

Relations with the Kachari Rulers

After the annexation of the Chutiya kingdom, Siu-hum-mōng turned his attention towards the Kacharis, who held

13 The Chutiyas were called Tio-rā by the Ahoms.
14 A-B, p.57; DAB, p.19; TTK, p.289; ATR, p.65; HA, p.89.
15 This pillar is now to be seen in the premises of the Assam State Museum, Gauhati.
16 Annual report for 1924-25 of the Archaeological Survey of India.
their sway over the land west of the river Dikhow.\textsuperscript{17} An expedition was despatched under the command of Chão-sang-lung Kan-seng (Kan-seng Barpatragohain) which conquered the territory upto Sital-Negheri after defeating the Kacharis at different engagements.\textsuperscript{18} The Ahoms then laid their claim over Dergaon which the Kacharis held,\textsuperscript{19} when the latter refused to surrender it, invited them to settle the matter by a divine mandate.\textsuperscript{20} The Ahom general proposed that sacrifice be offered to the deity at the temple of Dergaon both by the Ahoms and the Kacharis. The party, whose sacrifice was accepted by the deity would get the possession of Dergaon. The acceptance would be indicated when the head of the sacrificial animal was severed by a single stroke of the sword. The Kacharis agreed to this proposal. On a day fixed both parties offered sacrifices, but it came out that the sacrifice of the Ahom was accepted by the deity whereas that at the Kacharis was rejected. The Kacharis, honouring their commitment, gave up Dergaon upto the Dhansiri river.\textsuperscript{21} Henceforth the river became the new boundary between the Ahom and the Kachari kingdom.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{17}TTK,p.266.  
\textsuperscript{18}KB,p.11.  
\textsuperscript{19}Ibid.,p.12.  
\textsuperscript{20}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{21}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{22}Ibid.
Sometimes later, Kan-seng, with the consent of king Siu-hum-mōng, further claimed Marangi, on the south bank of the Dhansiri river. Here, also the Ahom general, Kan-seng Barpatragonain, opted for another dexterous device. They proposed that two tanks should be dug on the Marangi hill - one by the Ahoms and the other by the Kacharis. The party, whose tank would have water first would be considered to have been favoured by the earth goddess and would get the possession of the area. By a devise the Ahoms produced water in their tank and at the same time a voice imitating that of a bird declared the Ahoms as the rightful owner of that part of the country. After this the Kacharis withdraw from Marangi and retreated to Dijua. This occurred sometime in 1524-25.

But in 1531 when the Ahom army constructed a fort at Marangi which was interpreted by the Kacharis as a part of preparations for further hostility, the Kachari king, Khunkhārā (variently Khuntārā) got offended and sent a force under his brother, Detchā, to drive away the Ahoms. In

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23 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid., p.13.
27 DAB, p.26; put his name as Neucha.
28 A-B, pp.64-65.
the battle that ensued, the Kacharis were routed and their commander was killed. Pursuing the defeated enemy, the Ahom army penetrated deep into the Kachari country as far as their capital at Dimapur. Khunkhārā, the reigning Kachari king, with his brother fled away to Burma. Soon after, Detchung, or Derchungpha, a Kachari prince, who claimed his descent from the original Kachari royal family sent his brother with two hundred rupees to the Ahom king with the pray to help him in regaining his father's dominion which had been forcibly occupied by Khunkhārā. On the demand of Siu-hum-möng, Detchung himself came and offered his sister with other valuable presents as a mark of submission. He greeted the Ahom king by placing his head under the feet of his overlord. In recognition, the Svargadeo offered him a ring he was wearing with the instruction, "You are a descendent of the great king. Be like diamonds, and not like lead, tin or silver, which can be melted easily. Be not cruel in heart. You must not have quarrel with us any more." Siu-hum-möng asked also for the surrender of the gold

30 Ibid.; ibid.
31 DAB, p. 30, given his name as Neuchung.
32 A-B, p. 65; DAB, p. 27.
33 Ibid.; ibid.
umbrella, gold seat, gold utensils, the silver daggers, large cannons and the three queens that belonged to Khun-khārā. These demands having met by Detchung, he was made the ruler of the Kachari kingdom. Henceforth, the Ahom Government regarded the Kachari kings as subordinates and addressed them as thāpita, or "established".

Detchung, however, could not digest the title thāpita and was soon trying to assert his independence. On learning the recalcitrance of Detchung, an expedition was despatched to crush his power. In the battle that followed the Kacharis were badly defeated and their king with his mother was killed. The Ahom army obtained valuable articles and also a prince, who was brought to the Ahom capital. Siu-hum-möng, then, sent Chāo-sheng-lung (Barpatragohain) to govern the Kachari country.

As Detchung was without an heir, the nobles of the Kachari kingdom solicited to the Ahom king to invest Prince Madan, who was then staying at the Ahom capital. The Ahom

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34 Ibid., p.66; ibid.
35 A-B., pp.75-77; ibid., pp.35-36.
36 Ibid.; ibid.
37 KB., p.15. Prince named Madan, variently Madan Konwar, was accompanied by his mother Garama, who was the daughter of the king of Gauda. AB(SM), pp.16-17.
38 A-B., p.77.
39 KB, pp.18-19
monarch in consultation with the councillors, made Madan the king of Kachari country as the tributary by naming him as Nirbhaynarayan and gave him a girl in marriage with necessary advice on administration.\textsuperscript{40} Nirbhaynarayan was instructed thus, "Eat the flesh only after offering one leg in my name, another in the name of the Buragohain if a wild dear is caught. One khun-dāng (an officer) with twenty persons will stay in my capital. At the beginning of every year send tribute. If one section returns home, the other section will stay on. Send seven horses as annual tribute."\textsuperscript{41} From this time the Kachari kings became thāpita-sānchita, meaning "established as well as preserved" of the Ahom king.\textsuperscript{42} Nirbhaynarayan succeeded by Durīlabhnarayan and then by Meghanarayan, who maintained their tributary relations with the Ahom rulers.\textsuperscript{43} The Ahom-Kachari relations received a setback when the Koch king Naranarayan's army under the command of his younger brother, Cilarai, after invading the Ahom kingdom marched towards the Kachari kingdom. Being themselves in difficulty, the Ahoms could not come to the rescue of the Kachari king, who was their subordinate. As a result the Kachari kingdom

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., p.20.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid.
succumbed to the Koches and became their tributary. This virtually ended the Ahom suzerainty over the Kacharis.

Later, when Cilarai was defeated by the Gauda and was imprisoned at the capital of Gauda, the Ahom king recovered his lost territory and position. The opportunity was also seized by the Kachari king, Yasanarayan, to throw off the Koch suzerainty and became independent. Soon after, in an encounter with the Mughals, the Kacharis emerged victorious. Emboldened by this victory, the Kachari king invaded Jayantiya and forced its ruler, Dhanamanik, to acknowledge the Kachari suzerainty and to offer his daughter, Sandhyavati, to the former. In order to ensure the submission of Dhanamanik, the victorious army took away Yasamanik, the Jayantiya heir apparent, as hostage to the Kachari capital. Died in 1603, he did not get much time to re-establish the Ahom suzerainty over the Kachari kingdom.

46 According to one version he was nephew of Dhanamanik. JB, pp.11-13. According to Gait, Dhanamanik offered two princesses to the Kachari king, p.251.
Relations with the Muslim Rulers of Bengal

During this period occurred the first Muslim invasion of the Ahom kingdom. According to the Ahom chronicles it was undertaken by one Bar Ujir during 1528-1529. The Ahom army, despatched under Chao-sheng-lung Tan-kham (variantly Chan-kham), defeated the invaders at several engagements and the Muslims retreated leaving behind a large number of their horses and ammunitions, which the Ahom force took possession.

A few years later, there was renewal of hostilities, when Lui-put leading a force advanced as far as Temuani, or Temani, where a serious engagement took place, in which the invaders had again been badly defeated. The Muslim force was again defeated in another engagement and Bitmalik, another commander of the Muslim force, lost his life at the hands of Chao-sheng-lung. In this war the Ahom army obtained about fifty horses, many guns, cannons and other articles from the enemy.

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49 Ibid.; Ibid.
50 Ibid.; Ibid.
51 Ibid.; Ibid.
52 Ibid.; Ibid.
53 Ibid.; Ibid.
Muslims. In order to prevent the future inroad of the Muslims into their kingdom a fort at Temuani was constructed in 1531. After sometime another Muslim force under one Turbak with thirty elephants, one thousand horses, a large artillery as well as a great number of foot soldiers invaded the Ahom kingdom. As in the battle, fought at Kasua, the Ahoms were defeated and retreated to Sala, where reinforcements were collected. Being strengthened by new force, the Ahoms defeated the Muslim invaders at different engagements. Their commander, Turbak, was slain by the Ahom force. The retreating army was persued as far west as the river Karatoya where the Ahom force raised a temple and excavated a tank in commemoration of the victory. From these the victorious army sent emissary to the Gauda ruler, whose name is not mentioned in the chronicles, seeking his friendship. In response to this gesture of friendship, the Gauda ruler sent a princess, according to some chronicles, two, whose names were Harmati and Darmati, with a dowry of five parganas namely Serpur.

54 Ibid.; ibid.
55 Ibid.; ibid.
56 Ibid.; ibid.
57 Ibid.; ibid.
58 Ibid.; ibid.
59 Ibid.; ibid.
60 Ibid.; ibid.
61 AB(SM), p. 20.
62 In some chronicles the names slightly differ.
Patilajaha, Aghara Sendur, Kamrup and Bahar Bandh. 63

Relations with the Koch Rulers

The rise of the Koches under the leadership of Bisu, son of Hariya Mandal, in the reign around the present town of Koch Behar in north Bengal created a new political force to fill the vacuum of power by the decline of the Kamata kingdom. 64 Although the Koch territory held by Bisu was not contiguous to that of the Ahoms, yet on the return march of the Ahom army from the Gauda expedition under Chao-sheng-lung Tan-kham that the Koch chief deputed his emissary led by Dhuma Sardar and made his submission. 65 He also acknowledged the supremacy of the Ahom king by offering gold, silver and cloth and promised to pay annual tributes. 66 Some scholars hold that the Ahom army made a sudden attack on the Koch territory compelling its chief to submit. 67 But the chronicles make no mention of such invasion. In one chronicle it is mentioned that Bisu had the plan to make a sudden attack on the returning Ahom army, but the counsellors, advised him to desist himself from doing

64 TTK, p.305.
66 Ibid.; ibid.; ibid.; ibid.
so, instead to submit to the Ahom king. Bisu, who had enlarged, a few years earlier, his territory and had assumed the title Visva Singha, realised the consequences of an armed conflict with the Ahom army to his nascent state and submitted to the Ahom king. In this way the Koch chief became subordinate to the Ahom king and sent regular tributes to him. Sometime later in 1537, Visva Singha with his younger brother, Sisu, personally came to the court of Siu-hum-möng and offered their annual tributes consisting of horses and other valuable articles. While offering tributes they submitted and declared thus, "We, your slaves, pray your Majesty to help us in time of difficulty. If you assist us when we are pressed hard, we, your slaves, promised to remain ever subordinate and to pay annual tributes." Siu-hum-möng gave presents as the acceptance of their tributes and sent escorts to accompany them.

Soon, however, Visva Singha, after further strengthening his position, led an invasion of the Ahom kingdom with a view to removing the slur of being a tributary to the Ahom king.

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69 A History of Cooch Behar, p.87.
71 A-B, p.77; DAB, pp.37-38; AB(SM), pp.27-28; HA, p.98; TTK, p.305; ATR, pp.212-213.
72 Ibid.; Ibid.; Ibid.
73 Ibid.; Ibid. Ibid.
It proved a failure and the invaders were compelled to return.  

But the Koches did not want to remain as tributary of the Ahoms anymore and tried to utilize every opportunity to throw the overlordship of the Ahoms. Hence the relations with the Koches became inimicable.

The next king, Naranarayan, who ascended the Koch throne in 1540, determined to remove the tributary status of the Koches. In the meantime, on the death of Siu-hum-möng, his son, Siu-kleng-möng, succeeded to the Ahom throne in 1539.

At first Naranarayan conquered some of the Bhuyan chiefs on the north bank of the Brahmaputra adjoining to the western boundary of the Ahom kingdom, and placed garrisons to guard the frontier. This led to the border conflicts between the frontier guards of the two sides. At the same time, Naranarayan deputed his three brothers, Dipsingha, Hemadhar, Ramcandra, to make a study of the Ahom military preparations on the pretext of visiting the temple of Bhairavkunda. Such activities caused irritation to the Ahoms, who took counter offensive.

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74 AB(HB), p.28.
75 A History of Cooch Behar, p.102.
76 A-B, p.79.
77 A History of Cooch Behar, p.102.
78 Ibid.; ATR, p.213.
measures. In the clash that ensued, the Koch princes were killed with a number of soldiers.\textsuperscript{79} This provided a sufficient cause to Naranarayan to launch a bigger expedition against the Ahoms in 1546, along the north bank of the Brahmaputra.\textsuperscript{80} In the several initial engagements that took place between the Ahom and the Koch armies, the outcome although remained uncertain, a large number of Koch soldiers were slain.\textsuperscript{81}

After this severe setback, Naranarayan sent an embassy, to the Ahom capital in 1555, apparently to cultivate friendly relations, but, in fact, to pick up pretext for another invasion of the Ahom kingdom. This embassy consisted of six envoys namely Satananda Karmmi, Ramesvar Sarma, Kalketu, Dhuma Sardar, Udbhanda Cauniya (variently Cauliya), Syamrai accompanied by twenty-two Dhekeri Rajas\textsuperscript{82} came to the Ahom king Siu-khām-phā with letters and presents.\textsuperscript{83} In his letter of Şaka 1477(1555) the Koch ruler expressed his desire to maintain friendly relations and requested the Ahom monarch to act

\textsuperscript{79}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{80}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{81}Ibid.; A-B,pp.80-81; DAB,p.41; AB(SM),p.25; HA,pp.99-100; TTK,pp.311-312; ATR,p.214.
\textsuperscript{82}The people of Kamrup were known to the people of Upper Assam as Dhekeri, hence "Dhekeri Raja" refer to the petty chiefs of Kamrup.
\textsuperscript{83}AB(SM),p.29; A History of Cooch Behar,p.104; ATR,pp.215-216.
in a similar manner.\textsuperscript{84} The message, sent verbally, reminded the Ahom monarch that the killing of three Koch princes earlier was definitely not an expression of such friendship between the two rulers.\textsuperscript{85} The embassy was duly received at the royal court but found the articles and the manner of their identification offensive and not befitting to a king. Among the articles were a pillow having its cover of animal intestine, a bow, a pair of \textit{senga} (Channa amphibious) fish,\textsuperscript{86} a pair of horses, one \textit{jakai} (a fishing implement made of bamboo), five pieces of embroidered \textit{sarees} and five \textit{ghagaris} (lower garment of women).\textsuperscript{87} From the nature of the message and the type of articles, the Ahoms had no difficulty in understanding the real intention of the Koch king. However, without showing its indignity, the Ahom court in its address to the Koch king made reference to the cordial relations existing between the two rulers. The letter also emphasised that if the Koch king conducted himself as honourably as before there was no reason why friendship between the two kingdoms would not flower again.

\textsuperscript{84}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{85}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{86}A kind of fresh-water fish.
\textsuperscript{87}AB(SM), p.29; \textit{A History of Cooch Behar}, p.104.
The communication stated that the articles sent by the Koch ruler for identification by the Ahom court were of such offensive nature that these were not worthy to be displayed in public in the royal court. The Ahom Government, however, sent two envoys named Chandibar and Damodar Sarma with the Koch envoys with letters and presents to the Koch ruler.

Apprehending the hostile intention of the Koch ruler as revealed by the letter as well as the nature of the presents sent to the Ahom court, the Ahoms erected forts at Buka and Sala and placed there permanent garrisons. Some writers observed that it was "imperious attitude" of the Ahom court that gave cause to the Koch monarch to make an invasion into the Ahom kingdom. A big expedition of the Ahom kingdom was undertaken under the command of Sukladhvaj, the Koch king's brother, subsequently better known as Cilarai in Assamese chronicles for his prowess of fighting like cila(kite). The army marched both by water and land routes and advanced as far as Narayanpur in the present Lakhimpur district. On the advance of the Koch army, the Bhuyan chiefs submitted to the Koches.

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88 Ibid.; ibid.
89 Ibid.; ibid.
90 TTK, pp.319-320; ATR, p.216.
91 A History of Cooch Behar, p.108.
92 A-B, p.81; AB(SM), p.32.
and the Bhutanese and the Daflas joined them. The Koch navy under the command of two generals named Tepu and Bhakatmall, after occupying the Ahom forts at Sala and Buka, advanced as far as the mouth of the Dikhow river. The land forces commanded by Cilarai himself also advanced without serious resistance. At once stage when the Ahom army found the case hopeless sent some brahmins on cows to meet the invaders. The Koch ruler, who was pious, being afraid of the slaughter of both cows and brahmins refused to fight and turned their back. But after learning that they had been out-witted by the Ahoms, Naranarayana and his brother Cilarai, marched again in 1563 with a large force. This time the Koch army crossed the Brahmaputra from the north to the south, and after defeating the Ahoms in a series of engagements marched towards the Ahom capital.

At the reverse of the Ahom army, the Ahom king, in consultation with all high officers, sent three persons - Lāngi-dām,

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95 AB(SM), p.32.
96 Ibid.
98 Ibid.; ibid.; ibid.; ibid.
La-cāi-lung and Lāngi-lung to the Koch king proposing the cessation of hostilities and conclusion of peace. Naranaranayana, in his reply, sent through his envoy, Ratikanta, wrote thus, "Both of us are living as brothers. In ancient time, a girl was offered to us by the Ahom king. Our friendship should continue for generations. It is not proper for us to fight among ourselves. So the king of the east (i.e. the Ahom king) should arrange to settle the affairs in such a way so that both the countries may enjoy peace and prosperity." Further correspondence continued between the two rulers with presents. The reply of the Ahom king to the Koch king's letter, although, not recorded in the chronicles but it has been mentioned that the Ahom king sent two elephants with howdah. The Koch king, too, along with his reply sent an elephant with gold howdah and four horses and confirmed to remain in friendship. However, such diplomatic exchanges did not end the hostilities. Soon, therefore, hostilities resumed and the Koch army advanced as far as the

100 Ibid., p.86; ibid.; ibid.
101 Ibid.; ibid.,p.46.
102 Ibid.; ibid.
Ahom capital. On the approach of the Koch army, Siu-khampha left the capital for Naga Hills. The Koch army after occupying Garhgaon, the Ahom capital encamped at Mechaghar, a few miles to the south of Garhgaon. At this stage after having consultation with his few officers who accompanied him to the Naga Hills, the Ahom king deputed no other person than the prime minister, Chao-phrang-mong Ai-khek (Aikhek Buragohain) to the Koch king to sue for peace and start negotiations.

In his reply the Koch king demanded the three sons of three ministers and the son of Kham-seng as hostages "then only I shall go back to my country leaving all here." Besides, the Svargadeo was to acknowledge the supremacy of the Koch king, to cede a considerable tract of the country on the north bank of the Brahmaputra and to pay a war indemnity consisting of sixty elephants, a large quantity of gold, silver and cloth. Accordingly, the four hostages had been surrendered and the Koch ruler with his brother and the army returned to his own

\[\text{Ibid.; ibid.; AB(SM), p.33; A History of Cooch Behar, p.109.}\]
\[\text{Ibid., p.86; ibid.; ibid.; ibid.}\]
\[\text{A History of Cooch Behar, p.109.}\]
\[\text{A-B, p.87; DAB, p.46; AB(SM), p.33; HA, p.102; A History of Cooch Behar, p.109; ATR, p.218.}\]
\[\text{Ibid.; ibid.; ibid.; ibid.; ibid.; ibid.}\]
\[\text{A History of Cooch Behar, p.110. These conditions are not found in any of the chronicles of the Ahoms.}\]
Soon after his return to the capital from the hill-refuge, Siu-kham-pha took vigorous steps to restore his prestige and territory by reorganising his army and reorganising the military system. The History of Cooch Behar refers that after the conquest of the Ahom kingdom the Koch general Cilarai, conquered Kachar, Manipur, Jayantiya, Sylhet, Tripura and Khyrim. Thereafter Cilarai invaded Gauda but was defeated and captured and kept in prison in the capital of Gauda.

Finding himself in a serious predicament between the two enemies, the Ahoms in the east and the Gauda in the south-west, Naranarayan devised a strategy to save his position. In a game of dice with Sundar Gohain, one of the Ahom hostages, the koch king intentionally faced defeat, and as promised he released the hostages and sent them back. This was done with a view to winning the friendship of the Ahom ruler. On Cilarai's suggestion then in prison in Gauda, hostages were

110 Ibid.; ibid.; HA, p. 102; ATR, p. 219.
111 Pp. 110-112.
112 A History of Cooch Behar, p. 113; AB(SM), p. 34; PAB, p. 67.
113 Ibid.; ibid.; ibid.
114 Ibid.; ibid.; ibid.
115 Ibid.; ibid.; ibid.
accompanied by a princess of the Koch royal family to the Ahom king.  

However, in 1566 and 1567, Tepu, a Koch naval commander made an unsuccessful bid to enter into the Ahom kingdom. Taking the advantage of the Koch predicament, the Ahoms soon recovered their lost territory on the north bank of the Brahmaputra. In the meantime, the Koch kingdom was divided into two halves - Koch Behar and Koch Hajo. Naranarayan ruled Koch Behar while Koch Hajo was ruled by Raghudev, the son of Sukladhvaj alias Cilarai.

To strengthen his position against Naranarayan, Raghudev, in 1585, gave his daughter, Candkala, in marriage to Siu-kham-phā, with a dowry of two elephants, seven horses and one hundred domestics servants.

Relations with Manipur

During this period, relations had been established with the kingdom Manipur. The king of Mōng Kā-se, or Manipur, whose

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116 Ibid.; ibid.; ibid.
117 DAB, pp. 50-51; A-B, p. 90; HA, p. 104; A History of Cooch Behar, p. 115; ATR, p. 220.
118 A History of Cooch Behar, p. 114; HA, p. 103.
119 Ibid., pp. 120-121.
120 Ibid.
121 A-B, p. 94; DAB, pp. 54-55; PAB, p. 194.
name was Chão-Men-te sent an embassy to the Ahom king Siu-hum-möng expressing his willingness to make friendly relations. Most probably, the Manipur king did so in order to win the friendship of the Ahom king against the Burmese invasion of Manipur. It may be noted that during the second quarter of the sixteenth century the Burmese king, Tā-bin-shweti (1531-1551) made great effort to unite the whole of Burma under him and carried out schemes of expansions. Understanding the Manipur king's predicament and his initiative of making friendship, Siu-hum-möng asked for a princess, to which Chão Men-te agreed. Accordingly a Manipuri princess named Năng Mōk-lāk with other presents was sent to the Ahom king. Siu-hum-möng offered, in return, a girl named Khuk-dāng as the acceptance of the offer done by the king of Mōng Kā-se. In this way, cordial relations between the two kingdoms were established.

Relations with the Shan Rulers

Relations with their (the Ahoms) brother kings in the

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122 I[bid.]
123 I[bid.]
125 DAB, p.38.
127 A-B, p.77; DAB, does not mention about the sending of Ahom girl to Manipur.
Shan States of Burma continued. In *lak-ni Plek-si-nga* (1524), Phu-Kloi-möng from the east entered Ban-phi near the province of Kham-jang and killed three persons and also took away some elephants. An Ahom force was sent against the invaders and defeated them. Phu-kloi-möng, then, sent his envoy, Phu-sen-chao, to king Siu-hum-möng, with a message of submission which runs thus, "I wish to offer my sister and horses to His Heavenly Lord." The Ahom king agreed to accept the offer and the war ceased. Phu-kloi-möng accordingly sent his offer. In return as the mark of acceptance of submission, the Ahom king offered a girl named Nang-khām-poi together with some other presents to Phu-kloi-möng. Sending a girl to the Nara king, Phu-kloi-möng does not indicate a reciprocity as thought by P. Gogoi but meant an acceptance of subordination by the former, who had earlier, as mentioned, offered his sister to the latter marking his submission.

A few years later Siu-kleng-möng intervened in the boundary dispute between the Burmese ruler and the Shan chief of Mogaung (Nara country). In recognition of this assistance,

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128 Ibid. In the English translation it has been wrongly identified as Kachari king. DAB, pp.19-20; TIK, p.240.
129 Ibid.; ibid.
130 Ibid.; ibid.
131 Ibid.; ibid., p.290.
132 According to Gogoi, he was probably Chāo-siu-kwei, p.312.
the Nara king offered his daughter Nāng-tāp-khan alias Sāo-sāng with valuable presents to the Ahom king. It is said that the Shan princess was of unsurpass beauty and it was at her suggestion that the city at Garhgaon was erected with rampart all around.  

This relation with the Nara king continued. But during the reign of Siu-khām-pha in lak-ni Khut-mit (1575), the Nara Raja, whose territory was invaded and devastated by the Burmese, came to the Ahom kingdom and took shelter at Khamjang, the easternmost province of the Ahom kingdom. Not knowing the intention, Siu-khām-phā, despatched an army, who raised a fort at Pengera. But on learning the actual situation he despatched envoys with one thousand gold mohar (coins) with presents to the fugitive king, asking for his submission and his daughter. The Nara king responded, sent his sister instead of his daughter with valuable dowry to the Ahom king.

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133 AB(SM), p.27. This event is, however, not mentioned in DAB and A-B.
134 He was most probably São-kā-phā II (1566-1583), who gave a formidable resistance against the Burmese monarch, Bayin-Naung (1551-1581) of Toungao dynasty. TTK, pp.328-329.
135 DAB, p.52; HA, p.104, without referring to his source says that the Nara king advanced with an army to invade the Ahom kingdom. But this appears to be a mistake.
136 A-B, p.92; DAB, p.52.
137 Ibid.; ibid.
138 Ibid.; ibid.
This marked the acceptance of the overlordship of the Ahom king by that king.

Although the offer was accepted the Ahom king was, however, not satisfied with the Nara king for not complying with his original demand i.e. his daughter. Sometimes later the Ahom king despatched three emissaries namely Lācām-Bāilung, Ti-ring-seng, Si-ring-phā-seng-kung to abduct the daughter of the Nara king. But they were caught and two of them were executed, one, however, escaped and reported the matter to his monarch. Being offended by this scandalous act, the Nara king decided to take revenge and thus plundered the Ahom territories Namruk, Ruram and Kheram. The Ahom army sent against the Nara invaders had been defeated, and were pursued beyond the hills.

Soon after, according to one chronicle, Siu-khām-phā assisted a Shan prince named Siu-bān and installed himself as a king of Mōng-kang. The chronicles are, however, not clear whether this was the original Mōng-kang or a province of it.

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139 DAB, p. 53.
140 Ibid.
141 A-B, p. 93; DAB, p. 54.
142 A-B, p. 93; DAB, p. 54.
143 DAB, p. 55.
After becoming king, Siu-bān, ungratefully, demanded tributes from the Ahom king but Siu-kham-pha flately refused to pay. Thus Siu-bān tried to revive, unjustifiably, the original relations that existed between the Ahom and those of the Nara king till the end of the fourteenth century.

Relations with the Bhuiya chiefs

The extension of the Ahom kingdom during this period had naturally caused consternation among the petty chieftains called themselves "Bhuiya", who had enjoyed independent or semi-independent political authority in the lower portion of the Brahmaputra valley during the declining days of the Kamrupa-Kamata kingdom. The chiefs whose territories lay to the immediate vicinity of the Ahom kingdom had been brought under submission by Siu-hum-mōng. In 1560, a Bhuiya chief, who in league with some other petty Bhuiya chiefs, rose against the Ahoms, was suppressed. Another Bhuiya chief named Paban, or Paman, who attacked the Ahom kingdom during the reign of

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144 Ibid.
145 AB(SM), p.11.
146 His name is not given in the chronicles.
147 A-B, p.84; DAB, p.44.
Siu-kham-pha was also suppressed causing him to flee away. The Ahom force obtained the possession of his umbrella, knives, swords, etc. Another chief named Bhela Raja was captured.

Relations with the Hill Tribes

In 1535, the Patkai Nagas of the villages of Malam, Pang-kha, Khao-kha, Lukna, Tasu, Pahuk, Kham-teng joined together and attacked the Ahom Governor of Kham-jang. The Ahom reinforcement sent to assist the Governor of Kham-jang successfully vanquished them. In 1536, the Nagas of the Tablung village in the Sibsagar frontier, who gave trouble in the border, were punished. In response to an appeal of the Nagas of Banpera, who were subordinate of the Ahom kings, a force was sent by Siu-kleng-mong in 1549, against the Nagas of Banchang. The Banchang Nagas were defeated and their chief Chão-king-pung was captured by the Ahom force.

148 Ibid, p.90; ibid., p.50.
149 A-B, p.90.
150 Ibid., pp.73-74; DAB, pp.34-35.
151 Ibid, pp.74-75, ibid., p.35.
152 A section of the Nagas.
153 Another section of the Nagas.
154 A-B, p.81; DAB, p.42.
captured Naga chief as well as the spoils of war such as methons had been presented to the Ahom monarch.\textsuperscript{155} Sometimes in 1555, the Nagas of Hatikhok, Iton, Papuk and Khandang,\textsuperscript{156} who gave troubles in the eastern frontier, had been defeated by an expeditionary Ahom force and were brought to submission.\textsuperscript{157} During the reign of Siu-khām-phā a punitive expedition was undertaken against the Nagas of the village of Pangkang and Pankhru.\textsuperscript{158}

The people of Iton, who revolted in 1504 had been suppressed and compelled to offer one girl and four elephants, and to acknowledge the supremacy of the Ahom king.\textsuperscript{159}

\textsuperscript{155}Ibid.; ibid.
\textsuperscript{156}Ibid., pp. 82-83; ibid., p. 44.
\textsuperscript{157}Ibid.; ibid.
\textsuperscript{158}Ibid.; ibid.
\textsuperscript{159}SAB, p. 56.; A-B, p. 54.; DAB, p. 16.