

## **Introduction :**

The vast region to the northeast of India between the foothills of the eastern Himalaya Mountains ranges and extreme North of Bengal consisting the modern territories of Lower Assam (ten Districts), northern districts of present Bangladesh and Jalpaiguri and Koch Behar districts of west Bengal is the abode of the different ethnic groups of various cultures since the historic age. This region had seen the ebb and flow of many dynasties of many ethnic groups from the early times. The rise of some tribal chiefdom, like the Thai Ahom, the Meithei, Jayantiya, Kachari, Tripura, Khen and the Koch, from 13<sup>th</sup> century in the region and their transition to state-system by the 16<sup>th</sup> century, marked the beginning of the historical development and religious-socio-economic-political transformation<sup>1</sup>. Among these, whose rules significantly occupied most important place in the history of northeast India is the Koch dynasty. J. N. Sarkar, in his book, '*History of Bengal*', writes, "half-a-century before Sulaiman's accession, a new power had been born in the extreme North of Bengal"<sup>2</sup>. No doubt, by the words "new power", he wanted to indicate the Koch power, who established a vast empire in the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Hariya Mandal, a Mech / Koch tribal chief of mere 12 Mech / Koch families of the village Chikana, in the Khuntaghat region in the present Goalpara district of lower Assam had organised his tribes and established 'chiefdom'. His able son and successor Biswa Singha, in a chaotic political condition of incessant fighting with the local Bhuyans of the region transformed it into a 'semi-independent kingdom' in the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. His illustrious son and successor Naranarayan alias Malladeva came to the throne of Koch Behar in about 1540AD, who revoked the Ahom vassalage, declared suzerainty and proved himself the greatest king of the dynasty. With the help of his brother-cum-general Sukladhvaja alias '*Chilarai*' and by following aggressive warfare policy expanded his kingdom and established the Koch hegemony all over northeast India. Thus, the Koch dynasty nominally founded by Biswa Singha, father of Naranarayan, in the first decade of 16<sup>th</sup> century and attained its peak in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, during the reign of King Naranarayan. S. N. Bhattacharyya writes some eight decades back, "The advent of the Koches as the

dominating political factor in Kamarupa ushers in a new epoch in its history and gives it an entirely new character. It means not merely the rise of the new dynasty but also the real transition from the Medieval to the Modern age in Kamarupa. With the exception of the progenitor of the royal line, the other Koch kings are well-known historical personages, the details of whose career are known to us not only from their coins but also from contemporary as well as non-contemporary Persian and native chronicles. ....Further, a new nomenclature is soon evolved by the ruling dynasty for its seat of power. The kingdom of Kamarupa of ancient times and that of Kamata of the Middle Ages now gives way to a new state that of Koch Bihar, named after the Koch capital city of Bihar. The history of Kamarupa and Kamata is thus merged in that of the Koch state, which survived through various phases of contact of the Mughal ...and exists even now under the same dynasty founded four centuries ago”<sup>3</sup>.

The unification of various tribes, expansion of the kingdom, and consolidation and centralization of power were accomplished in such a situation, when the Ahom's were trying to expand their kingdom towards western frontier. In Bengal, the Mughals and the Afgans were engaged in internecine warfare to capture the throne of Bengal and trying to expand it towards northeast. In fact, King Biswa Singha organised various tribes and subdued the Bhuyans of the region at the early stage, and on that local base, his illustrious son King Naranarayan struggled with the two giant powers – the Ahom's in eastern frontier and the rulers Bengal on the western and southern frontiers to establish and consolidate a vast kingdom. In this connection, one thing should be kept in mind that most of his military exploits and expeditions were undertaken by his brother-cum-general Sukladvaja popularly known as Chilarai. He was a great warrior and brought most of the neighbouring kingdoms under the Koch hegemony. According to J. N. Sarkar, “ the real power of the state was wield by the kings younger brother the commander in chief Sukladvaja surnamed the Kite prince (Chila Rai) who led the Koches almost to the farthest eastern limit of Assam and achieved a series of brilliant .....victories”<sup>4</sup>. Thus, king Naranarayan's long reign of nearly 50 years (c.1540-1587) form a landmark in the political history of whole northeast India and he and his brother Chilarai became the prime mover of the region.

However, this political hegemony could not last long and at the last decade of his rule, the kingdom suffered a division after the death of Chilarai in the beginning of 8<sup>th</sup> decade of 16<sup>th</sup> century, owing to the intra-family conflict between aged King Naranarayan and Raghudeva, the son of Chilarai<sup>5</sup>. But his actual achievements lies in the fields of the economic development, socio-cultural developments, legitimization of the family etc., last long, for which he is described as the '*Bikramaditya*' of North-East India and his reign considered as 'the golden age' in the annals of the Koch kingdom.

The importance and prominence of the Koch dynasty, in the fields of political affairs as well as socio-economic, religious and cultural transformation process in the whole region is largely dependent on the exploration, enlightened activities of king Naranarayan which marked renaissance in the socio-economic, religious and cultural arena of the whole North-East India. S. N. Bhattacharyya writes, "Koch Bihar continued to grow in prosperity under the aegis of Biswa Singh's brilliant son and successor Mall Deva (Mal Gosain of Abul Fazl), who assumed the name of Naranarayan after his accession to the throne. The new monarch soon proved himself '*not a chip of the old block but the old block itself*'. He not only imbibed the political, administrative and military talents of his father but added to them a munificent patronage of Hindu religion and learning, and a refined taste for magnificent public works. He was great in peace and war and his reign ushers the golden age in the annals of the Koch kingdom"<sup>6</sup>. The court of king Naranarayan adorned with a large number of luminous scholars who marked their achievements in various fields under the direct patronage of the king.

Thus, he became the '*Bikramaditya*' of North- East India, following the traditional '*Bikramaditya*' legend of Ancient India and established 'the golden age' not only in the 'annals of the Koch kingdom' but also in the history of whole north-east India . Therefore, his achievements, his valour, his conquests, the state formation and above all, his socio-economic, religious and cultural activities in the region followed there upon suggest strongly both empirical and theoretical scrutiny. Hence, here is an intensive study undertaken about the establishment of the Koch kingdom

in the 16<sup>th</sup> century under the leaderships of Biswa Singha (nominally), and Naranarayan, (formally) and its mobilizing influences on the society, economy, religions, culture and others aspects of the region as a whole. In this connection, it should be mentioned here that consolidation of power and all round development of the Koch kingdom interestingly enough has been helped by Neo-Vaisnavism of Sankaradeva, who was a senior contemporary of king Naranarayan. His eclectic Bhakti movement added a new dimension to the process of the socio-cultural homogenization and in the development of language and literature in this region during Naranarayan's reign. For this reason, there is a need to undertake separate and complete study of the history of the dynasty and king Naranarayan.

The present study, therefore, seeks to explore the role of King Naranarayan as the appropriate agent to build the sufficient conditions for state formation in this region. In this conjectured, it should be noted that though his military exploits, through guerrilla and aggressive warfares played very important role, but, it was not enough as the condition for state formation. King Naranarayan seemed to have understood the fact that to cement the ground of his military exploits on a solid ground and to legitimize his position among the subjects, needed some socio-economic and cultural dynamics, for which he had adopted some steps simultaneously with military exploits. The steps, which he took, were:

- A). Accepted the Brahmanical socio-cultural and religious values to popularize the position of the dynasty from above and took active part for the development of society, culture, and religions of the kingdom.
- B). He took steps for the Legitimization and *Khshatriyaisation* of their line through Brahmanical mythological stories.
- C). Social homogenization of various tribal and non-tribal population for up gradation of social cohesiveness.
- D). He took steps for the modification of main religions like the Saivism and the Saktism and adaptation of Neo-Vaisnavism of Sankaradeva for eclectic development of the people.
- E). He organized proper administration on permanent basis to cement their conquests.

- F). Adapted the New vernacular as well as Sanskrita, for the linguistic development and cultivation of literature.
- G). He established the revenue structure to extract surplus from the subjects and introduced a monetary economy for the growth of trade and commerce.

In fact, military exploits and above-mentioned steps worked simultaneously helping each other. On the one hand, for the establishment of political stability and well-grounded kingdom, king Naranarayan had taken all these steps. On the other hand, the stable and peaceful political condition gave impetus to the development of the above-mentioned fields, which led to the peak period of the kingdom of king Naranarayan. Thus, political stability and supremacy of king Naranarayan created such a situation that led to the development of all aspects of human life.

### **Source Materials:**

To carryout this work, both archeological and literary evidences have been utilized. The archeological evidences like inscriptions (both temple and independent inscriptions <sup>7</sup>, numerous coins of the Koch kings (*Narayani Tanka*) and the coins of other kings of Northeast India<sup>8</sup>, archeological remains like temples structures<sup>9</sup> and evidences from archeological excavations of the region have been utilized with great care.

Among contemporary and near contemporary literary sources, genealogies locally called '*Vansavalis*'<sup>10</sup> or '*Rajovansavalis*' of the Koch kings, produced in Koch Behar and Assam under the royal patronage and chronicles, the historical literatures of Assam, locally called '*Buranjis*'<sup>11</sup> are very important sources. Most of the '*Vansavalis*' or '*Rajovansavalis*', the dynastic genealogical chronicles, were written at the instance of the later days Koch kings of Koch Behar, Darrang and Bijni by court poets in verse form to glorify their ancestors. As a result, 'a certain disregard of facts and of wild exaggeration', are there. However, inspite of that, they throw lights in the matter of the genealogical orders, some important events, socio-cultural-religious patterns and natural happenings, which are reliable and acceptable after a comparative study with the other sources and utilized to construct the history of the 'King Naranarayan and his times'.

The '*Buranjis*', (literal meaning 'store that teaches the ignorant'), a genre of writing, a distinct form of historical writings / literatures and considered by some scholars as "national literature of Assam"<sup>12</sup>, are the most important and reliable sources of history writing of the region. The '*Buranjis*' are 'historical writings' in the sense, that according to Gait, "The historicity of these *Buranjis* is proved not only by the way in which they support each other, but also by the confirmation which is afforded by the narrative of Muhamadan writers, where-ever these are available for comparison. Their Chronology is fur-supported by the dates on various records which have been collected and collated for the purpose of checking it ...."<sup>13</sup>. According to him the '*Buranjis*', are more reliable than the '*Vansavalis*' or '*Rajovansavalis*'<sup>14</sup>.

A large number of *Buranjis* were composed in the northeast India which contain immense source-materials for the writing of the history of northeast India including that of the Koches, from the points of literature, language, political administration, society, economy, religion and others. In the words of Lila Gogoi, "The nomenclature of the places, and families, description of coronation ceremonies, description of the swearing-in-ceremonies, political dialogues, utterances, made by different persons on different crucial moments, the diplomatic epistles and private letters, geographical description of the routes to neighbouring principalities etc., and much other minute details are carefully recorded in the chronicles. ....also contains information of neighbouring and foreign states, matrimonial relations, war and treaty, social customs etc."<sup>15</sup>. She also writes, "It is generally speaking, rich and reliable source information, rather unique in the history of Indian culture"<sup>16</sup>. Thus, these types of information immensely help us to construct the history of the 'King Naranarayan and his times'

The '*Charithputhis*'<sup>17</sup> (in various names like '*Guru Charita*', '*Katha Guru Charita*', '*Guru Lila*' and others), the biographical literatures composed or compiled under the patronage of the Koch kings in the various *Vaisnavite Satras*, by the scholarly disciples of Sankaradeva, Madhavadeva, Damodaradeva and others, on the life, teachings and activities of their masters, is another source of information for present work. It contains scattered informations of historical values and *Buranji* (chronicle) type elements of the contemporary polity, society, economy, religion, culture,

literature, and language, growth of trade and commerce and development of agricultural production system. About the importance of the 'Charithputhis' or biographical literatures, M. Neog observes, " The biographical literatures is of great importance not only with regard to the lives of the saints and the activities of the Vaisnava order but also as providing much information regarding the political and economic structure of the country and the background of the Sankaradeva movement"<sup>18</sup>. Thus, the scattered informations of these *Charithputhis* are carefully utilized to construct the political, social, economic, cultural, and religious history of the period.

The *Tantra literatures*<sup>19</sup> namely, 'the *Kalika Purana*' and 'the *Yogini Tantra*', which mainly contain, the procedure and the *Mantras* of the worship of the female deities and occasionally contain information about socio-religious, culture and geographical locations, which have been consulted for the present purpose. Moreover, selected parts of diplomatic letters<sup>20</sup> exchanged among the Koch kings, the Ahoms and other northeast Indian kingdoms have also been utilized.

In addition, writings<sup>21</sup> of Sankaradeva, Madhavadeva and their scholarly disciples and others Brahmanical and secular scholars on Vaisnavite, Brahmanical and secular themes, produced in the Koch court, mainly during the reign of king Naranarayan, contain ample occasional and indirect information about the contemporary political, socio-religious and cultural situations of the region, which have also been utilized with great care. Besides, these local and indigenous sources, there are some Persian works<sup>22</sup>, foreign traveller's accounts<sup>23</sup>, early colonial reports and works, containing scattered informations and references about the socio-political and economic conditions of the region, which have also been considered as supportive sources.

Besides, these primary sources, scholarly works of colonial and postcolonial modern writers, on the region have been utilized as secondary sources of information<sup>24</sup>. On the one hand, the modern scholars of the North-East India, specially that of the Assam, have produced a large number of historical works, which included the history of the Koch dynasty, by utilizing primary sources, both

archeological and literary sources with their own logics and interpretations. Like wise, on the other hand, the scholars of Bengal have also produced large numbers of historical works, which included the history of the Koch Dynasty by utilizing almost same primary sources with their own logics and interpretations. Some other modern scholars produced their works on the region, comparatively with moderate and reliable logics and interpretations. In the present work, these Secondary sources have been utilized and interpreted from two angles, - a comparison of the logics and interpretation of the both groups, and verification of these logics and interpretation from primary sources. Thus, the secondary sources have been utilized with great care as a supportive source .Moreover; some data also have been collected and utilized from personal visits to some historical sites like temples, excavated sites, Satras and royal palaces and interviews with the people of various communities.

On the basis of the source materials mentioned above and the approach and methodology of present work stated therein, the work has been framed within following six broad chapters and including many sub-chapters / heads therein.

In the chapter one, there are two main parts. In the first part, the historical geography of the region, including names of the region, extent of the region and geographical features of the region from historical perspectives and the political evolution and historical outline of the region from historical period up to the end of 15<sup>th</sup> century have been drawn concisely. In the second part of the chapter I, early historical background of the Koch dynasty, including the name of the dynasty, ancestors of the Koches, racial identity of the Koches, the contemporary political conditions in Delhi, Bengal, north-east India and core area of the Koches and foundation of Koch kingdom by Biswa Singha have been discussed . In short, the chapter designed to get an idea on geography, history, political development, ancestors of King Naranarayan and their racial identity and foundation of the kingdom by Biswa Singha.

Accession of king Naranarayan to the throne of Koch Behar, his aggressive warfare policy under the generalship of his brother Chilarai for the expansion and

political hegemony of the Koches, the defensive policy of consolidation and centralization <sup>of</sup> power, relations with other powers, which is considered as peak periods of the Koch hegemony have been discussed in the chapter two. Besides, a concise out line of the process and procedure of the formation of Koch Behar state also drawn here.

At the death of Sukladvaja alias Chilarai, the brother-cum-general of king Naranarayan, circumstances leading to the division, end of the rule of king Naranarayan as well as his political achievements, kingship and Administrative set ups etc., have been discussed in the chapter three. This chapter highlighted the process of centralization of political power,

King Naranarayan was not only an able empire builder and efficient administration organizer, but also he was a great patron, reformer and organizer of the society, economy, culture, language, literature etc., which have been elaborately framed in the chapter four.

King Naranarayan took great initiative for the development and popularization of the both existing religions like the Saivism, Saktism etc. and the Neo-Vaisnavism of Sankaradeva, which have been discussed in the chapter five, under two sub chapters:- part 'A', contains existing religions and part 'B' contains the Neo-Vaisnavism of Sankaradeva .

In the chapter six, the last chapter, all foregoing chapter have been summarized with observations and findings.

#### Notes and references:

1. R. K. Barman, '*From tribalism to state*', Abhijeet publications, Delhi, 2007, p.1.
2. J. N. Sarkar, '*History of Bengal, 1200-1757*', Vol., II, Patna, 1973, reprint, p.184.
3. S. N. Bhattacharya, '*A History of Mughal North-East Frontier policy*', 1<sup>st</sup> edition, 1929, reprint, Spectrum publications, Gauhati, 1998. p. 73.
4. J. N. Sarkar, op. cit. p. 185.

5. After the division of the kingdom, the western part of named as Koch Behar and Eastern part named as Koch Hajo (now lower Assam), fixing the Sankosh river as the border between the two kingdom. From then to 1773 AD Koch Behar kingdom had been a complete sovereign state and there after it became a princely state loyal to English by an agreement between the English East India Company and Koch Behar king Dharendranarayan in 1773. In 1950, Koch Behar state became a district of West Bengal by the merger Agreement Act 1949 between independent India and Koch Behar State.
6. S. N. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p.76.
7. In this regard, the followings inscriptions are very important: The *Kamakhya Temple Inscription*, The *Hayagriva Madhava Temple Inscription*, The *Pandunath Temple Rock Inscription*, The *Dinajpore (Bangarh) Stone Pillar Inscription*, The *Irda Copper plate (Irda Tamarapatra)*, *Lakshminarayan's Inscription on cannon* and *Raghudeva's Inscription on cannon* and others. Some edited works on inscriptions like '*Kamarupa Sasanavali*', of P.N. Bhattacharyya, *Epigraphia Indica*, XXII, of N.G. Majumdar, '*Prachya Sasanavali*', of M. Neog, '*Kamarupa Sasanavali*' of D. Sarma, '*Inscriptions of Ancient Assam*', of M. M. Sarma and others.
8. A large numbers of *Narayani Tanka (Mudra)* of king Naranarayan were recently discovered from Chandirjhar (Alipurduar, W.B, 1986), Harisinga (*Mangoldai*, Assam, 1986), Halflong and Modgharia (Gauhati, Assam, 1986), Phulbari (West Garo Hills, 1992). Among these, Chandirjhar hoard of coins one of the largest finds of mediaeval coins of India discovered in recent times, contains 767 silver coins belonging to the Suri Sultans of Delhi, Bengal Sultans, Bahmani Sultans, Mughal Emperor Akbar, kings of Tripura and Koch Behar covering a period of nearly 240 years. Out of 767 coins, 222 belong to King Naranarayan. Besides, Coins of Jayantiya, Lakshminarayan's coins, Raghudeva's coins, coins of the Ahom and other throw indirect light. In this connection, some edited works on coins like Sutapa Sinha and Pratip Kumar Mitra, (ed.), '*Coins of Mediaeval India*', N.G. Rhodes, and S. K. Bose, (ed) '*The Coinage of Cooch Behar*', '*The coins of Assam*', vol. I, and '*The Coinage of Jaintiapur*'; Botham, A .W. and Friel R, '*Catalogue of the Provincial Cabinet of coins of Assam*' are very useful.

9. The *Kamakhya Temple*, The *Hayagriva Madhava Temple*, The *Pandunath Temple*, The *Baneswar Siva Temple*, *Jalpeswar Siva Temple* and *Vaisnavite Satras etc.* throw light on art, architecture, sculpture and painting of the period.
10. A large number of *Vansavalis* composed under the patronage of the Koch kings, which are very important for writing of the Koch kings. Following Buranjies throw light of the period of study: '*Samudranarayaner Vansavali*' of Surjya Khari Daivajna, published in the name '*Durrang Raj Vansavali*', (ed.) By N C Sarmah. '*Gandharva Narayan Vansavali*' of Surjyadeva Siddhantavagis (It has been preserved with the Durrang Raj family). '*Kharga Narayana Vansavali*', of Ratikanta Dvija, Ms., (unpublished). '*Rajopakhyan*' of Jaynath Munshi, edited by Das Biswanath, (2<sup>nd</sup>, edition.). '*Raja Vansavali*' (Bengali) of Durgadas Majumder, (ed); '*Raj Vamsavali*' or *Maharaja Vansavali* of Ripunjoy Das, published in Pal, Nripendra nath (ed.), '*Bishaya Cooch Behar*', Anima Prakashani, Calcutta, pp. 99-142.
11. Large number of Buranjies or Historical literary documents were composed in North-East India, among which following are relevant to our study: S. K. Bhuyan, (ed), '*Assam Buranji*', DHAS, Gauhati, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 1987; '*Deodhai Assam Buranji*', DHAS, Gauhati, 1932, Reprint 1962. 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 2001; '*Assam Buranji of Barua HaraKanta*', DHAS, Gauhati 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., 1990; '*Kachari Buranji*', DHAS, Gauhati, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1951; '*Kamarupar Buranji*', DHAS, Gauhati 1930. '*Tripura Buranji*', DHAS, Gauhati, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 1930. Sri Pratap Chandra Choudhury, (ed), '*Assam Buranji Sar*', 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of Tamuli Phukan, Kasi Nath, '*Assam Buranji*' DHAS, Gauhati 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., 1991; Sri Sarat Kumar Datta,(ed), '*Assam Buranji*', DHAS, Gauhati, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1991; Gunaviram Barua, '*Assam Buranji*', Reprinted by Saikia, C. P., Publication Board of Assam, Gauhati, 1972, Hemchandra Goswami, (ed), '*Purani Assam Buranji*', an ancient Chronicle of Assam, Kamarupa Anushandhan Samiti (KAS), reprint 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, lawyers Book stall, Gauhati, 1977; '*Assam Buranji, a history of Assam from the reign of Suklenmung (1539-52) to Siva Singha (1714-44)*', Kamarupa Anushilan Samiti, Gauhati; '*Assam Buranji, a history of Assam from Khora Raja (1552-1603) to Rudra Singh (1690-1714)*', DHAS, Gauhati.

12. G. A. Grierson, '*Linguistic Survey of India*', (11vols), reprinted ed., Vol., I, part, I, Motilal Banarsidas, New Delhi, 1969, p.156; S. K. Bhuyan, '*Studies in the literature of Assam*' 1985, p.33.
13. E.A. Gait., '*A history of Assam*', Introduction, Revised, Calcutta, 1963, reprint, LBS Publications, 2004, p. xi.
14. E.A. Gait., op, cit., p. xiii.
15. Lila Gogoi, '*The Buranjis, 'Historical Literature of Assam*', Preface, Omsons Publications, New Delhi and Gauhati, p. x., 1986.
16. Lila Gogoi, op. cit., p. xii.
17. Scholarly disciples of Sankaradeva, Madhavadeva, Damodaradeva and others, composed and compiled large number of Charithputhis on the life, teachings and activities of their masters. Among them, following few are very to our present context: Daityari Thakur, '*Sankaradeva-Madhavadevar Jivana-Charita*', ed, Haribilas Gupta, Tezpur, 1900, (henceforth, '*Guru Charita of Daityari Thakur*'). Ramcharan Thakur, '*Guru charita*', edited by H. N. Dutta Barua, 18<sup>th</sup> edition, Dutta Barua publishing Co. Pvt. Gauhati, 2001, (Henceforth '*Guru charita*' of Ramcharan Thakur). Bhushan Dvija, '*Mahapurush Sankaradeva*', ed, Barkakati Durgavar, Jorhat, Assam, 1925, (Henceforth, '*Guru Charita*' of Bhushan Dvija). Ramananda Dvija, '*Guru Charita*', ed, M. Neog, Nalbari and Gauhati, Part I, 1957, (Henceforth, '*Guru Charita*' of Ramananda Dvija). U. K. Lekharu, ed, '*Katha Guru Charit*', Nalbari, Reprint, 1952, (Henceforth, '*Katha Guru Charita*'). Nilkantha Dasa, '*Sri Sri Damodaradever Charita*' (ed.), by S. C. Goswami, Jorhat, 1925. M. Neog, (ed), '*Bardowa- Guru-Charita*', Gauhati, 1977.
18. M. Neog, '*Sankaradeva and his times: Early history of the Vaishnava faith and movement in Assam*', Gauhati University, Gauhati, 1965, p.3.
19. '*The Yogini Tantra*', Venkateswara Press, Bombay, 1925, Bengali edition S. S. Saraswati, (ed), Naba Bharat Publishers, Calcutta, B. S. 1385 (1978) and '*the Kalika Purana*', Venkateswara Press, Bombay, 1925, tr. by K. P. Bidyaratna, Calcutta, 1927, Bengali edition S. S. Saraswati, (ed), Naba Bharat Publishers, Calcutta, B. S. 1385 (1977).
20. Surendranath Sen, '*Prachin Bangla Patra Samkalan*', ( a collection of old Bengali letters in Bengali), Calcutta University, 1942; '*Historical Letters of the*

*Ahom Period*', a collection of 192 letters exchanged between the Ahom kings, other rulers of north-east India including the Koches, DHAS, Gauhati, Tr. No. 1, Vol. I; '*Historical Letters of the Ahom Period*', a collection of 42 letters exchanged between the Ahom and the kings, DHAS, Gauhati, Tr. No. 18, Vol. V, part, VI.

21. Sankaradeva, himself composed large number of literary works including *Bhaktiratnavali*, *Kirtana-Ghosh*, *Baragitas* and many others, rendered many Brahmanical scriptures including Bhagavata books and influenced his disciples like Madhavadeva and others to compose and render literary works. These literary works termed as 'Neo-Vaisnavite literature', most of which were done during their stay in Koch kingdom. The Brahmanical and secular scholars also composed and rendered many literary works. The references of which would be made in appropriate places.
22. All cases scholarly English translations are consulted. Some important Persian works are - Abul-Fazl's, '*The Ain-i Akbari*', Eng. Trans., by H. Blochmann, published by Jain N. Ch., New Delhi, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1965 and Abul-Fazl, '*The Akbar-Namah*', Eng., Trans., by H. Beveridge, published by Rare Books, Delhi, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., 1972; Hussain, Salim Ghulam, '*Riyazu-s-Salatin*', Eng., Trns., by Abdus Salam, reprint ed., Delhi, Idarah-i-Adabiyat, 1975; *Minhaj - uddin Siraj*, '*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*', Eng Trans., in by Major H. G. Raverty, vol-1, Reprint 1970; Nathan, Mirza, '*Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*', Eng., translation by M. I. Borah, (2vols.), Gauhati, 1936 and Talish, shihabuddin, '*Fathiya-i-Ibriya*', trans. in English by Blochmann, H., '*Koch Bihar, Koch Hajo and Assam in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries according to the Akbarnamah, the Padshanamah and Fathiya-i-Ibriyah*', JASB, 71.1 (1872.
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