

Chapter: III

The division of the Kingdom, the end of his rule and administrative set up:

One of the darkest and saddest days in the Koch history under King Naranarayan was the death of Sukladhvaja alias Chilarai. The loss of an able warrior and faithful brother- cum-general really was a dark day. After his death, internal dissention had started between king Naranarayan and his nephew Raghudeva, the son of Chilarai, which ultimately led to the division of the kingdom. The division of the kingdom greatly weakened the power and position of the Koches and paved the way for external intervention. But for proper understanding of the subsequent events, some questions like actual date of Chilarai's death, circumstances leading to the division and the actual date of the division have to be solved. The three questions are interrelated and worked simultaneously.

The date of Chilarai's death and its outcome:

It is stated in the almost all writings of modern scholars that in course of the second expedition against Gaud, Naranarayan's beloved brother-cum-general was severely attacked by smallpox and died on the bank of the Ganges before he could return home. However, there are divergent opinions about the date of the incident i.e. the death of Chilarai. Even, the DRV, the main source of the Koches, although gave an elaborate descriptions of the pre and post death situation and rituals but not a single word is mentioned about the date¹. Khan Chaudury A. Ahamed and M. Neog, without mentioning their sources of information, stated that Chilarai died on the bank of the Ganges in the month of *Chaitra, Saka 1492 (1571AD.)*². Gait and D. Nath had bypassed the actual date of the death³. K. L. Baruah, with reference from the *Ain-I-Akbari* mentioned that Chilarai died in 1583 AD., or immediately after that date⁴. S. L. Barua mentioned the date as "...sometime between 1572-75"⁵.

Under this situation, it is very much important to identify the second expedition against Mohammedan. The first expedition against Gaud was taken place immediately after the conquest of the northeast India in 1568, the Koches were defeated and Chilarai was taken prisoner by the Gaud army⁶. Chilarai stayed at Gaud as prisoner for about one year, and freed himself in the year 1569 AD. Akbar's Bengal expedition started in 1574 AD and Chilarai fought as an ally of Akbar against the Padshah of Gaud in 1576AD, which is accepted by almost all modern scholars and even by the DRV⁷. Under this situation, it can safely be concluded that if the second expedition is identified as the Koch expedition against Daud of Gaud as an ally of Akbar from the east, then the date of Chilarai's death could not have occurred before the year 1576 AD. The DRV also mentioned only two western expeditions of the Koches under Chilarai⁸. On the other hand, the view of K. L. Baruah also did not correspond with the real fact. For, the stone inscription of *the Hayagriva Madhava Temple* at Hajo, records that the temple was reconstructed by Raghudeva in Saka 1505 (1583AD) as an independent king⁹. It is also confirmed by the DRV that the reconstruction of the temple took six months, and before that Raghudeva is said to have visited a number of religious places within his kingdom before starting the construction¹⁰. It is established fact that Raghudeva revolted against his uncle king Naranarayan after the death of his father and hostilities continued for some times and ultimately, king Naranarayan was forced to acknowledge the sovereignty of his nephew. The death of Chilarai, the revolt of Raghudeva, hostilities between the uncle and the nephew, the visits of the religious places and duration of six months of construction of the temple¹¹ cannot fall in a single year and it must have taken at least 6-7 years. So it would be said that Chilarai had not died in the year 1583 as mentioned by K. L. Barua, it had actually happened in the year 1583-6 =1576 AD. J. N. Sarkar also identified the date of Chilarai's death in the year 1576 AD¹².

It is also historically believed that centrifugal forces raised their heads in the time of internal dissension. In 1577 AD, a rebellion is said to have occurred against the Koch king under the leadership of three men called Bar Dado, Gabha Naik and Bar Katu. The Koch king defeated them, they fled with 14,000 of their followers to Ahom territory, and the Ahom king Sukhampha¹³ gave asylum. In the year 1578, king Naranarayan established formal relation with Akbar by sending 54 elephants and

other valuable presents¹⁴. It seems that all these happened after the death of Chilarai in the year 1576 AD.

The death of Chilarai as mentioned earlier was the darkest and saddest day in the history of the Koches in many ways. He was a great warrior and all the military expeditions and victories carried out by him as the general of the Koch army. According to J. N. Sarkar, "the real power of the state was wielded by the king's younger brother the commander in chief Sukladhwaja surnamed the Kite prince (Chila Rai) who led the Koches almost to the farthest eastern limit of Assam and achieved a series of brilliantvictories"¹⁵. During his lifetime, neighboring states of northeast, internal centrifugal forces and even his dissatisfied son Raghudeva did not dare to raise their heads. But after his death, all these forces were let out and raised their heads and ultimate result of which, Bar Dado, Gabha Naik and Bar Katu revolted against the king in 1577AD. Raghudeva, although did not dare to an open revolt but left the capital with some of his officers, proceeded towards the east and reached at a place called Barnagar or Ghilajaypur¹⁶ and declined his uncle's sovereignty there. The disintegration of the kingdom was the worst outcome of the death of Chilarai.

Backgrounds and circumstances leading to the division of the Kingdom of Naranarayan:

The genealogies, chronicles and the Persian writings have categorically described the division of the Koch kingdom during the last decade of the reign of king Naranarayan after the death of Chilarai. Raghudeva, son of Chilarai rebelled against his uncle king and established his seat at Barnagar within the present district of Kamrupa. King Naranarayan tried to solve the problem by discussion for which he took many steps, but in vain and ultimately compelled to divide the Koch kingdom.

But it was obviously not the sudden outcome or accidental incident. The backgrounds of the incident had been prepared long before the actual happening of the division. According to the *Akbarnamah*, king Naranarayan was unmarried and childless till late fifty years of his life and it was due to the fact that he lived the life of an ascetic and did not marry till late in life and after fifty, on request of his brother Chilarai he married and was blessed with a son¹⁷. However, according to *the*

*Rajupakhyan*¹⁸ and the *Gandharbhanarayan Vansavali*, Naranarayan had married before he became king and it was through his wife Bhanumati he got the throne from Nara Singha¹⁹. The *Gandhaubhanarayan Vansavali* also stated that, on the 17th *Falgun* in Saka 1488 (1567AD.) King Naranarayan and Maharani Bhanumati were blessed with a son and who was named 'Lakshminarayan'²⁰. The DRV also states that although Naranarayan married earlier, he remained childless till late in life²¹. Therefore, the information of the *Akbaranamah* that Naranarayan married in late life on his brother's request might not be correct. It is believed that he was blessed with a son long after his marriage.

So, as king Naranarayan had been childless for a long time, Raghudeva, the son of Chilarai had been considered as the next king of the dynasty. Moreover, some emotional acts of the king, in absence of his own issue, to Raghudeva established the idea that he was going to be the next king²². But with the birth of Lakshminarayan, the entire situation changed and he being the son of the ruling king, had more rights to the throne according to the law of inheritance of the dynasty at that time. The birth was the day of great joy and happiness on the one side; on the other side, the seeds of discontent were planted for future division of the kingdom. The *Kamarupa Buranji* and the *Katha Guru Charit* had mentioned that Raghudeva became very suspicious when one day Naranarayan offered the 'Nirmali' of the Durga puja first to Lakshminarayan instead of offering it to him, as he usually had done. From the incident, Raghudeva identified a great change in the behaviour of his uncle and considered it as an indication that he would soon be deprived of his claim to the throne²³. Chilarai had deep learning, great personality, and firm love and respect for his king brother, for which in his lifetime no one dared to raise any question. But on the death of Chilarai in 1576, Raghudeva was instigated to revolt against king Naranarayan by his close kinsmen and some of the courtiers of the royal court, who feared that in case Lakshminarayan became king, they would be deprived their power, privileges and prestige which they had been enjoying since the days of Chilarai²⁴. But Raghudeva had great respect for his uncle, who also had great affection and love for him. Therefore, in spite of his dissatisfaction and continuous provocation by his kinsmen and courtiers, Raghudeva denied open revolt against his uncle. But in course of time, his kinsmen and courtiers including

Yudhisthir Kayastha, Bhandari, Kabindra Patra, Gadadhar Chaonia, Purandar Laskar, Srirama Laskar, Sardar Kabiraj, Gopal Chaulia and others succeeded in influencing the mind of Raghudeva²⁵. As a result, Raghudeva left the capital with his followers in the pretext of a hunting excursion instead of open revolt, and proceeded towards the east and reached as far as the Manas river, where he established his capital at Baranagar and declared himself king there²⁶. Although, king Naranarayan very much mourned by the act of his beloved nephew, he sent a messenger to bring him back with a view to a peaceful settlement but Raghudeva politely sent back the messenger with his respect for the king and himself declined to go back. Raghudeva established a beautiful city at Ghilajoypur on the bank of the river Gadhadhara and shifted his residence there from Baranagar²⁷. But all the sources are completely silent about the actual date of all these incidents. After considering the whole situation, it seems that it must have happened within one year of his father's death in about 1576AD that is in about 1577 / 78 AD²⁸.

The situations and subsequent happenings after the establishment of Raghudeva's residence at Ghilajoypur are somehow confusing and contradictory. According to some modern scholars, on the return of the messenger without his beloved nephew, peace-loving king Naranarayan preferred dividing the kingdom instead of going for a war against Raghudeva and accordingly the river Sankosh fixed as the boundary between the two divisions of the kingdom. The western division of the river named as Koch Behar and the eastern division of the river named as Koch Hajo. Raghudeva also agreed to pay annual tribute and acknowledged his uncle's over lordship with the rights of minting coins only in his uncle's name²⁹. However, the opinions of modern scholars do not match with the information of the DRV, the main source of information of the dynasty in the matter of facts and sequences of happenings. According to the DRV, the above-mentioned consequences did not happen immediately after the return of the messenger but after a second mission to Raghudeva. King Naranarayan had sent another army official 'Karji' (Virupaksa?), with some forces and an order to bring back Raghudeva anyhow; by peaceful negotiation or by force. Again, Raghudeva declined to return and there was a war between the Karji and Raghudeva, in which the Karji was defeated. But he was released and sent back to his uncle with proper respect and letter praying for his belongings³⁰. As a result, king Naranarayan sent Raghu's wives

with their valuables, attendants, maidservants and properties like horses, elephants and others to Raghudeva under the protection of a Koch army³¹.

There was no formal division of the kingdom at that time, as mentioned by some modern scholars. Raghudeva actually, established his rule over the territory to the east of the river Sankosh which had been under the administrative charge of his father Chilarai earlier³². King Naranarayan had remained complete silent without going into further open conflict and considered him as local ruler of the eastern part of his kingdom. So the opinions of some modern scholars that the formal division of the kingdom immediately after the return of the messenger in about 1577 / 78 is doubtful, but it was really a peaceful step by Naranarayan, to normalize the situation after the skirmish between the Karji and Raghudeva.

The formal division of the kingdom probably occurred later, after another series of incidents, quarrel broke out which ultimately led to the formal division of the kingdom. It is believed that king Naranarayan had taken a comparatively moderate policy towards Raghudeva at early stage, due to his love and affection for Raghudeva and to avoid family conflict. But when Raghudeva stopped paying annual tribute as a ruler of the eastern part of the kingdom, king Naranarayan realized the fact that his beloved nephew had been acting like an independent ruler, for which he took a stronger position and demanded the annual tribute³³. According to another opinion, ambitious Raghudeva raided and looted an area named Baharband (in the present district of Rangpur in Bangladesh) of his uncle's territory, which compelled Naranarayan to raise arms against him³⁴. Under these situations, according to the DRV, Naranarayan declared war against Raghudeva and started advancing towards the territory of Raghudeva, who neither had sufficient power and dare to fight against his uncle, nor was prepared for such a course of action from his uncle. He became very afraid of the action and started consulting his officials to avoid a direct confrontation with his uncle³⁵. Raghudeva actually had the conviction that his beloved uncle would never take any stronger aggressive policy against him. This was due to his uncle's weakness to him and in this way; Raghudeva's actual intention was to gain some territories from his uncle by creating pressure. However, when Naranarayan took aggressive policy, he became scared of the war with his uncle and tried to find out other way to save himself. Under this situation, Raghudeva chalked out a plan in consultation with his courtiers to save himself and accordingly

he sent his one hundred and twenty queens dressed as soldiers in the first row of the army to oppose his uncle³⁶. The plan had become fruitful. At the first glance, Naranarayan was surprised at the physique and appearance of too young soldiers without moustaches but when he realized the real fact, he was filled with shame and he asked himself the question that how he can fight with his daughters-in-law and immediately left the battlefield with his force³⁷. As there was no other ways left for the king, he made a formal agreement with Raghudeva. According to which, the Koch kingdom was divided into two parts fixing the Sankosh River as the boundary between the two parts. Naranarayan and his successors would be ruling over the western part of the kingdom named as Kochbehar, on the other hand Raghudeva and his successors would be ruling over the eastern part of the kingdom under the name Koch-Hajo³⁸. It was decided that Raghudeva would be titled as '*Chhoto Raja*' and would be paying an annual token tribute including some gold, horses and Baranagar clothes to king Naranarayan and acknowledge his sovereignty³⁹. Raghudeva was also prohibited from minting coins but according to another view, he was given the right to mint coins but only in Naranarayan's name, not in his own name⁴⁰.

But, there are two questions regarding the division of the kingdom. One is about the actual date of the division and other is about the outcome and the problems regarding the division. There is no direct information about the actual date of the division and so we have to depend on indirect information to identify the actual date of the division. Some scholars without mentioning the particular date opined that the division was executed long before the death of Chilarai. During his lifetime, Chilarai had been appointed as the in charge the internal administration of eastern part of the state by Biswa singha and Naranarayan that has been described as the division of the kingdom by the scholars⁴¹. But, it was not the division but the internal administrative arrangement for administrative convenience and could not be described it as the division of the kingdom. According to one *Assam Burunji*, the formal division of the kingdom was executed in *Saka* 1503 (1581AD) by king Naranarayan as mentioned earlier⁴². Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed, Gait and S.L. Barua mentioning their sources of informations as the Persian writings, fixed the date of division as 1581AD⁴³. However, the Persians texts did not mention the actual date of the division; it mentioned only the existence of two Koch kingdoms named as

Kochbehar and Koch-Hajo in 1581 AD, not the division of the kingdom in 1581AD⁴⁴. The information of 'the *Stone inscription of Hayagriva Madhava Temple*' at Hajo, indirectly informed us that the division took place long before the construction of the temple by Raghudeva as an independent king in Saka 1505 (1583AD), after the division of the kingdom⁴⁵. Because, it is confirmed by the DRV that the reconstruction of the temple took six months, and before that Raghudeva is said to have visited a number of religious places within his kingdom before starting construction⁴⁶. Although, D. Nath accepted 1581AD as the exact time of the division of the kingdom⁴⁷, but it is not possible to identify the exact date of the division. The division took place in between the period 1578 to 1581 and it is not possible to fix the exact date of the division with available information presently.

On the other hand, there are controversies among the scholars about the outcome and the consequences of the division of the kingdom. According to the DRV, king Naranarayan had divided the kingdom mentioning the Sankosh River as the boundary between him and his nephew Raghudeva and it was done on the equal condition of suzerainty and there was no mention of submission and any annual tribute⁴⁸. S. N. Bhattacharyya describes "in view of the peculiar circumstances under which Naranarayan was forced to concede to Raghu Deb, a part of his dominion and thereby make the best of a bad bargain, the abject concessions alleged to have been made by the later to the former the really vanquished party, appears to be quite unnatural"⁴⁹. The information and mode of description of 'the *Stone inscription of Hayagriva Madhava Temple*' at Hajo, directly mentioned that Raghudeva was an independent king who assumed the title '*Kameswara*'⁵⁰. Although, J. P. Wade mentioned, Raghudeva had agreed that he would mint coins in the name of King Naranarayan⁵¹, but no such coins of Raghudeva have yet come to light⁵². Considering these points, some scholars boldly believe that the division of the kingdom was the creation of two complete independent kingdoms with cordial relations at the early stage.

However, if we carefully go through some other sources of information, happenings and consequences of the division, it seems to us that Raghudeva was not an independent king. He was subordinate to king Naranarayan and according to another source, he had to pay him all kind of tribute including some gold, horses and Baranagar clothes and had to acknowledge his uncle's Supremacy⁵³. Raghudeva

was called '*Chhoto Raja*' (small king) but not called him 'king', who was also prohibited to mint coins in his own name⁵⁴. Raghudeva's eulogy of his uncle Naranarayan in his own inscriptions and the absence of any coins in his own name before 1588 AD clearly proved that Raghudeva was a tributary of king Naranarayan. But, due to the mournful mental condition and bitter relation with Raghudev at the division, peace loving king Naranarayan was unconcerned. On the other side, due to his respect and fear to his uncle Raghudev formally accepted his suzerainty but acted like an independent king. A verse of the DRV gives us supporting information regarding this fact, when it describes that the division of the kingdom executed between Raghudeva and Lakshminarayan by Naranarayan, not between the king and his nephew Raghudeva⁵⁵. It also seems that he gave up the throne of the western division in favour of his son and successor Lakshinarayan and he himself acted as an over all supervisor of both the division. It is proved by the facts that after the division of the kingdom, Naranarayan remained only a nominal ruler over the eastern part without sufficient political activities and soon after the death of Naranarayan, Raghudeva formally declared his independence and minted coins in his own name, which was the beginning of open conflict between Raghudeva and Lakshminarayan.

The last days of king Naranarayan:

The division of the kingdom greatly weakened the power and position of the kingdom and king Naranarayan was greatly shocked and mourned for it, and he did not survive long and died unhappy within few years at an old age. But there are controversies among the primary sources and the writings of modern scholars about the date of the death of Naranarayan. It is surprising that the DRV says nothing after the division of the kingdom about the king and his political activities and even about the death of the great king. The chronicles like the '*Prasiddha Narayan Vansavali*' and the '*Assam Buranji*' mentioned the date of the death of Naranarayan in Saka 1506 (1584AD)⁵⁶. K. L. Barua, without mentioning his source mentioned that Naranarayan died in about 1586AD⁵⁷. The numismatics evidences are considered more reliable source to construct history. The earliest coins of Raghudeva so far discovered bear the date Saka1510(1588AD), and were minted provably after the death of Naranarayan in his own name⁵⁸. The earliest coins of Lakshminarayan so far

discovered bear the date Saka 1509 (1587AD), were minted at the death of Naranarayan in his own name as an independent ruler⁵⁹. Although, the coins of Naranarayan bear a 'frozen date' of Saka 1477 (1555AD) but it is generally believed that he also issued coins throughout his reign, necessitated for the development of economy within his kingdom consequent upon his military success⁶⁰. We have not found any single coin of Naranarayan throughout his reign, bearing other date except till 1555AD⁶¹. It is possible that both, Raghudev and Lakshminarayan minted their earliest coins almost simultaneously as mentioned above to observe the coronation ceremony as it was the prevalent custom in North-East India in medieval period to mint coin on the coronation date⁶². From the above points, it can safely be concluded that king Naranarayan died in the year 1587AD and Lakshminarayan and Raghudeva have issued coins on their coronation in 1587 and 1588AD respectively.

Political and Diplomatic Achievements of Naranarayan and his brother-cum-general Chilarai (Sukladhvaja):

The small Koch kingdom nominally founded by Biswa singha had been transformed into a well-based vast kingdom with the beginning of the reign of King Naranarayan alias *Malladeva* with the help of his illustrious brother Sukladhvaja alias Chilarai in about 1540AD⁶³. Naranarayan with his brother Chilarai followed the policies of expansion, institutionalization of leadership and centralization of power that had helped them to consolidate the Koch kingdom in its all aspects in the beginning of the middle of 16th century. Throughout their reign, they followed aggressive policy of expansion and, on the other hand, diplomatic policy to materialize their conquests and to introduce proper administrative arrangement in such a way that was based on the real situation. Naranarayan and Chilarai were selected as the king and the *Yuvaraja* of the Koch kingdom by their father Biswa singha before his death⁶⁴. After the death of his father Biswa singha in about 1540AD, Naranarayan had become king of the kingdom by defeating his other brother Nara Singha who had ascended the throne in absence of Naranarayan in the capital. After becoming king, Naranarayan took only hasty and unrealistic decision of his life, i.e. the aggressive policy against the Ahoms without considering power and position of the Ahoms. It was due his young age, lack of experience, diplomatic immaturity and influence of his father's deathbed advice. According to the DRV,

Biswa Singha at his deathbed asked his sons to take proper steps to revoke the Ahoms vassalage and therefore, Naranarayan immediately after his accession to the throne prepared for a war against the Ahoms⁶⁵. In a series of wars, the Koches were defeated and forced to retreat in 1543-47 AD; with great lose in men and money⁶⁶. But from this defeat, Naranarayan realized like a great diplomat that individual war tactics of his brother Chilarai, guerrilla and swift war tactics of his father Biswa Singha would not be suitable to fight the enemy like the Ahoms, who were the most powerful rulers of north-east at that time. In this situation, peace-loving King Naranarayan before going to war with the Ahoms, sent a diplomatic mission with peace proposal to the Ahoms king in Saka 1477(1555AD) with two main objectives: to establish friendly relation with the Ahoms on 'equal status' instead of the Ahoms supremacy, and to gather some informations about the Ahom's attitude towards the Koches⁶⁷. But the peace proposal was rejected, the Ahoms were not ready to accept the Koches as the master of the Lower Brahmaputra valley on 'equal status' and their attitude was humiliating in manner of speaking and writings⁶⁸. Now, Naranarayan started all round preparation for a fresh war with the Ahoms. He became well-aware about the difficulties of communication between the Koch kingdom and the kingdom of the Ahoms which proved a serious problem to his father in 1537 and to him in 1543-47AD. To solve this problem, Naranarayan entrusted Kamal Narayan (Gohai Kamal), one of his younger brothers to construct a road covering a distance of 350 miles from their capital in Koch Behar through the foot of Bhutan and Dalfa hills on the north bank the Brahmaputra to Narayanpur in the present Lakhimpur district for proper communication and supply. Many ponds were constructed throughout the road for water supply. The most important things of diplomatic acts of Naranarayan were to obtain the support of the local communities and the enemies of the Ahoms throughout his journey to Narayanpur. The Bhutiyas offered their submission to the Koch king and joined the Koch forces⁶⁹, the Dafla hills men, who had unfriendly relations with the Ahoms⁷⁰, the Bhuyans (including one Brahmin Bhuyan) who had been mercilessly suppressed by Dihingia Raja⁷¹ and the descendants of the Chutiya kings, who were dethroned and driven out by the Ahom king, joined the Koches⁷². In this regards he considered 'the enemies of the enemy (the Ahom) as his friends' which is very popular throughout ages all over the globe⁷³. He also used this theory in his relations with the Mughal against the Sultans of

Bengal. By which he not only took revenge of his earlier defeat in the hand of the Padshah of Gaud, safeguard his kingdom from the Ahoms in the eastern side and Afghans in the south-west in future but also raised his power, position and prestige by establishing friendship with Mughal emperor Akbar, almost on equal status⁷⁴. During his journey to the Ahom through the '*Goshain Kamal Ali*', he organized all tribes including the Kachhari, Mech, Koch, Bhutia and other tribes of the northern bank of the Brahmaputra, and hosted a great dinner (*Bhoj-Bhat*). To obtain their support, he made a provision deciding that they could follow their tribal customs of taking pork and beef on the north of the road but that in the country between the roads the north bank of the Brahmaputra, the Brahmanic rites must be observed⁷⁵. In this way, the Koch army became multi-cultural -multi-customs- tribal-peasant army and such acts of Naranarayan were definitely guided by diplomatic motives.

After the defeat of the Ahoms in 1563AD, on request of peace proposal from the Ahom side, Naranarayan acted as a great diplomat. He did not annex the whole kingdom of the Ahoms but only the territory of the north bank of the Brahmaputra, considering the real problems of establishing direct administration on the south bank the Brahmaputra⁷⁶. Therefore, he imposed some crucial conditions and annual tributes on the Ahoms, which already mentioned earlier and the Ahoms were also forced to accept the Koch supremacy. On realistic ground, he did not annex the others conquered kingdoms of the north-east and was satisfied with their acceptance of the Koch hegemony and annual tributes. This policy was the outcome of his political and diplomatic awareness of practical situation that helped him to be the formal overlord of whole of the northeast India. He realized the fact that practically it was not possible to control and directly rules over the areas due to the long distance, communication, geographical difficulties and sufficient machineries to do so. This innovative policy could only be comparable with the policy of great Gupta king Samudragupta's southern campaign in forth century AD⁷⁷. At the defeat of the Koches in the hands of the Padshah of Gauda, king Naranarayan and Chilarai realized the fact that it would be better to normalize their relation with the Ahoms to take revenge against the Padshah of Gauda, for which they released the Ahoms hostages in pretext of a dice game⁷⁸. However, this act was in vain, so he established friendship relation with the Mughals, which is already mentioned earlier. Actually, Naranarayan diplomatically tried to maintain the 'balance of power' of the

area to strengthen his own power and position. Raghudeva, the son of Chilarai revolted after the death of his father against his uncle Naranarayan demanding eastern part of the kingdom. This time also Naranarayan without going to direct war with his beloved nephew, he peacefully divided the kingdom to avoid the intra-family conflict. It might not be politically a good decision for a powerful king, but the peace-loving king did not want to fight his beloved nephew and to deprive him from the throne and this was practical thinking of the great king.

From the above discussion, it became clear that the political achievements of Naranarayan and Chilarai based on realistic and practical ground and they possessed much enlightenment and were adorned with excellent qualities⁷⁹, which would be discussed on other context. The bond of fraternity between king Naranarayan and Chilarai with different types of qualities and abilities helped them not only to conquer but also to take appropriate steps. With their brilliant military achievements and political diplomacy, they not only subjugated the neighbouring kingdoms and made themselves the master of the large part in the north east, but also established a friendly relation with the great Mughal emperor Akbar .

Administrative Arrangements of king Naranarayan:

In the Koch administration, the king had the topmost position in the administrative hierarchy and he was the integrator of the tribal and non-tribal subjects, defender of the kingdom and promoter of the civil and military administration. Both, Biswa Singha and Naranarayan took up steps to establish well-based administrative machinery. Biswa singha had taken initiative for administrative arrangements at the early stage and king Naranarayan himself reorganized it, based on his father's system on the permanent basis, which was also followed by his successors.

King Naranarayan after the conquest of the whole north-east India, took up steps to establish well based administrative arrangements over the direct control territory of his kingdom. He knew it very well that without proper administrative arrangements it would not be possible to undertake any aggressive policy of conquest at the early stage and to cement the permanent base of the kingdom for proper administration. To establish king's control over the militia, civil administration

and socio-economic affairs of the ruled, many supportive institutions were organised. He through the efforts of his brother Chilarai absorbed all the Bhuyans in the position from ministers to petty officers, according to their power and position, in the new state machinery by granting land on the both sides of the Brahmaputra^{79a}. The Koch administration was greatly influenced by the traditional administrative machinery of the pre-Koch polities of the region and the impact of the neighbouring states. However, details of his administrative arrangements greatly lacking information due to the absent of proper records. We therefore have to reconstruct of the administrative history of the Koches on the basis of certain scattered references in the Vansavalies, the *Buranjis*, the Persian writings, contemporary literatures and a survey made by the British at the time of their annexation of Koch Behar to know about the earlier administration of the Koches. Few inscriptions and logical writings of some modern scholars also throw some indirect light about the administrative arrangements of the Koches.

Kingship and its nature:

The kingdom of Naranarayan had a tribal based monarchical administrative set up and kings of the dynasty claimed divine origin tracing their descent from Lord Siva and called themselves as '*Sivavanshi*'. In the DRV, Biswa singha, father of king Naranarayan is described as the son of Lord Siva and is compared with gods like Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesh, Indra, Aditya, Vayu, Varuna and Kuvera⁸⁰. Biswa Singha also assumed the title of '*Kamatesvara*' and Koch State was also known as '*Kamata-Bihar*'⁸¹. The word '*Kamatesvari*' literary meaning '*Isvari*' or supreme woman, the goddess-protectress of Kamatapura. '*Kamatesvara*' was the deputy of *Kamatesvari*; because the mother goddess bestowed her temporal power on him through '*Abhisheka*' ceremony and by virtue of her deputyship, the king exercised his over lordship upon his subjects⁸². The *Kamakhya Temple Inscription* compared king Naranarayan with traditional figures like *Arjuna*, *Dadhichi*, *Karna*, and *Kandarpa*⁸³, and his successors had started to assume the title '*Narayan*', the name of the supreme god of Hindu tradition⁸⁴. The coins of Koch kings though are known as *Narayani mudra* (on the name of supreme god Narayan), exhibit deep regards of the kings towards Lord Siva as most of the coins depict the king as "bee on the lotus like

feet of Siva "(Siva- Charana-kamala-madhu-karasya). By this way ascribing fictitious divine origin to kingship, and some times as the deputy of the god or goddess, the Koch kings legitimized their position and could gain command, respect and submission from the people, which helped them in consolidating their power, position and prestige. They also claimed themselves *Khsatriya* of Brahmanical fold with the influence of Brahmanas, who created the legends of divine origin through mythological stories. The nature of claims lends credence by the fact that there had been an attempt by the priestly class belonging to the Brahmins, to bestow divinity on the person of the king. Actual objective of the innovation of such fictitious origin for the Koch kings by Brahmins, was however, to derive gains for the Brahmins themselves who could enjoy as their rewards of "lucrative posts at court and lands granted to them by their proselytes"⁸⁵. In this way, an attempt had been made to show the divine origin of the Koch kings but by the reign of Naranarayan, kingship of the Koch rulers got natural acceptance from the ruled.

Rules of Succession:

The rule of succession of the Koches to the throne was based on hereditary principle like other contemporary kingdoms of the India that was based on the Hindu tradition. It was the general rule of succession, according to Hindu tradition that the eldest son would succeed to the throne after the death or otherwise of the reigning king, but the rules of inheritance were not always maintained on primogeniture in Koch kingdom. Biswa Singha came to the throne after his father Hariya Mandal, according to the law of primogeniture but he selected his second son Naranarayan to succeed him to the throne by breaking the law of primogeniture⁸⁶. He did it, considering the competency of Naranarayan among his sons and wanted to avoid future clash among them after his death. The court nobilities sometimes played important role in this regard. They used to lay aside the claim of the legal nominee and placed their own choice on the throne for their personal interest. In this connection, it may be mentioned here that in spite of Naranarayan being selected as the heir-apparent by his father Biswa Singha, Nara Singha his elder brother usurped the throne, obviously with the support of a section of the courtiers, and ruled for a brief period taking advantage of Naranarayan's absence from the capital. It was also

the rule of succession that a king without an heir sometimes used to nominate his successor from amongst his nearest relatives. Thus, King Naranarayan nominated his brother Chilarai's son Raghudeva as his successor, as he had been childless for a long time. However, at the birth of Lakshminarayan, the whole situation became very complex. Lakshminarayan being the son of the ruling king had greater right of becoming next king as per hereditary law of succession and Raghudeva was highly alarmed at the situation. In this situation, an internal clash developing between the King's heir apparent Lakshminarayan and his nephew Raghudeva. Raghudeva with the help of some close courtiers manipulated the affairs in such a way that King Naranarayan bound to divide the kingdom in 1581AD, to avoid future clash between his son Lakshminarayan and his nephew Raghudeva. Therefore, it is clear from the incident that the rule of succession was not rigid and it was executed considering the real situation for the betterment of the kingdom. In absence of a natural heir, the elders and courtiers exercised the right to choose a king from amongst the near relatives of the king⁸⁷.

The Coronation ceremony, kingly qualities, rights and duties of kings:

The 'Abhisheka' or the coronation ceremony was regarded as one of the most important administrative events of a king's assuming power. The ceremony was performed according to Vedic rites, under the guidance of the *Raja-Purohita* (the royal priest) and worships were offered to royal Gods and Goddess. The DRV informed us that on the coronation ceremonies of Biswa Singha, Nàra Singha and King Naranarayan⁸⁸. It is mentioned in the DRV that the coronation ceremonies were performed on an auspicious specific date, which were fixed according to astrological calculations and all the inhabitants of the capital irrespective of castes and creeds, rich, or poor assembled there and participated in the festive ceremonies. At the coronation ceremony of Biswa Singha, the men and women folks were singing ceremonial songs, accompanied by drums and others musical instruments. Water from the holly rivers of whole India collected for ablution of the king before being put on the throne and the king decorated with garlands of flowers, ornaments of gold, pest of sandal wood (*Chandan*) and *Tilak*⁸⁹. The royal umbrella placed on his head, white Chamar, a kind of fan for fanning made of the hair of a yak's tail was fanned the king, and some weapons were placed beside the king⁹⁰. The Brahmins, priests,

and astrologers offered grants of lands, including grown paddy lands, slaves and servants⁹¹. The beggars, the poor and the attendants were also gifted with numerous presents⁹². One interesting fact is to be noted here that, at the coronation ceremony of Biswa Singha, though the ceremony was conducted in accordance with Vedic rites, the Koch, the Mech, the Kachari and other tribal people living in the capital participated in the ceremony. They performed worship accompanied by their traditional music and dance praying for longevity and prosperity of the new king⁹³. It was the beginning socio-cultural assimilation of tribal and non-tribal cultures and rites in the Koch court.

At the coronation ceremony of Naranarayan, same type of rituals was performed in addition with some extra institutions. At this occasion, he appointed his brother Sukladvaja as royal prince *Yuvaraja* and named him as *Sangram Singha* and some other important officials including '*paik*'⁹⁴. It is a general tradition of the region that the kings on coronation of their accession to the throne issue coins and used to pay their visit to different places of their kingdom including religious places. According to the DRV, King Naranarayan and Raghudeva visited different places of their kingdoms including religious places⁹⁵. According to some modern scholars, king Naranarayan had issued coins at his coronation in 1555 AD, as all coins of king Naranarayan, so far discovered bear only frozen date 1555AD. However, it is fact from other literary sources that he ascended the long before 1555AD, in between 1534 -1540AD⁹⁶. Raghudeva and Lakshminarayan issued coins in 1588 and 1587 AD, respectively, most probably on their coronation to the throne as independent kings after the death of Naranarayan.

The DRV mentioned certain qualities, rights and duties of king. King must be well versed in academic pursuits and the study of the *Sastras* including the *Vedas* and the *Ramayana*. He must be good looking, sound health, devotional to Gods and Goddess, proficient in the art of administration, welfare of his subjects and as well as in military and physical abilities⁹⁷. The father of king Naranarayan, Biswa Singha is said to have possessed of all good qualities found in the earth⁹⁸. Their father, for education in *Sastras* and *Sanskrita* literature, sent Naranarayan and his brother Chilarai to Benaras and both became great patrons of learning and education. Naranarayan said to have derived the name '*Malladeva*' or '*Mallanarayan*' due his mastery in wrestling / boxing and Chilarai gained the title '*Sangram Singha*' as he

was a great warrior⁹⁹. The DRV also informed us that the qualities of the kings of the dynasty of Naranarayan and have put much emphasis on a king's acquiring human traits and cultivating modest behaviour. A king should possess a sound moral character and exhibit qualities like liberality, charity, heroism, catholicity, impartial and truthfulness befitting a benevolent king. King Naranarayan had all these qualities and has been praised as "an ocean of all goodness.....versed in many Sastras, possessed of an excellent character and beautiful appearance like the God Indra"¹⁰⁰.

According to Hindu tradition, the king was the head of the state administration and its all branches, but he had to rule according to the *Vidhi* of the *Sastras* and the traditional laws and customs of the society and had to take the suggestions and advices of the council of ministers¹⁰¹. It appears from the DRV that the kings usually followed the guidelines given in the *Kalika Purana*, a 10th century work, in matters relating to statecraft and regarding rights and duties of a king¹⁰². The first and foremost duties of the king were to protect the life and property of the people, to maintain law and order, to maintain the integration of the state, to defend the kingdom from external aggression, maintain justice and to prevent internal anarchy or misrule. He must not work only for his own interest but for whole of his subjects of all castes and creeds. It appears from the DRV that king Naranarayan paid due attention to the social organizations of different castes and classes of people and the tribal and non tribal Hindu communities were allow to follow their own manners, customs and religions¹⁰³. Ralph Fitch, the English merchant, who visited Koch Kingdom in 1586AD, informed us that the king paid attention to give medical facilities not only to his people, but also to birds and animals¹⁰⁴. As the head of the finance, the king maintained a treasury and levied different types of taxes on his people for the purpose administrative, defense expenditure, and public welfare.

Raikat / Yuvaraj / Chatradhari Raja (the Crown Prince) and others officials:

Due to the expansion of the kingdom and centralization of power, it became impossible to the king to carryout all the functions of state without the help of others. In this connection it may be mentioned here that the classical writer *Kautilya* in the court Chandragupta Mauriya mentioned in his famous book *Arthasastra*, the *Saptanga* (seven organs of state) theory of state, where he mentioned that 'a single

wheel can never move^{104A}. To solve this problem, king appointed many officials to look after different departments. Biswa Singha recruited officials like *Yuvaraj / Raikat (the Crown Prince)*, *Karjis* (ministers), *Mantri*, *Bhandar-Thakur*, *Supker Char*, *Dyuta*, *Majumdar*, *Tamuli*. All the officials during reign of Biswa Singha were appointed from his kinsmen and tribal leaders¹⁰⁵. King Naranarayan maintained all offices of these officials recruited by Biswa Singha and new offices and officials like *Dewan*, *Nazir*, *Patra*, *Kandali*, *Garmali*, *Kotwal*, *Makaddam*, *Biswas*, *Chaonia*, *Deori*, *Chomder*, *Ahudi*, *Sardar*, *Karmi*, *Kayastha*, *Laskar*, and *Barua* were introduced¹⁰⁶. He made a balancing admixture of the tribal and non-tribal people of these offices. Important offices were filled with non-tribal officers. Some important offices and officials are discussed under following heads:

Raikat / Yuvaraj / Chatradhari Raja (the Crown Prince):

The words '*Yuvaraj*' (the crown prince), *Raikat (the Chief of the Fortress)* and *Chatradhari Raja* (who holds royal umbrella at time of the coronation of the king) are found in the DRV which indicates a single person with several titles according to their functions at the early stage but during reign of Naranarayan *Yuvaraj* and *Raikat* definitely indicates different person. The appointment of *Yuvaraj / Raikat / Chatradhari Raja* was done from the royal family and was an essential post of the ruling section of the Koch kingdom and next to the king in importance. As *Yuvaraj* he look after the defense of the country, as *Raikat (the Chief of the Fortress)* his main duties were the protection of the frontiers, security of forts and commanding of the royal army. *Yuvaraj / Raikat* had the sole right to hold the royal umbrella at time of the coronation of the king so he is also called *Chatradhari Raja*.

Biswa Singha had appointed his brother Sisu (Sisya Singha) as *Raikat/ Yuvaraj*, who was next to the king in power and prestige, which not only helped him to keep his brother satisfied but also helped him to get his (Sisu) full cooperation in all the aspects of state administration. According to tradition, it was compulsory for the early Koch kings to get permission of the *Raikat* in their coronation and who would hold the royal umbrella at the time of coronation of the kings. In the writings of some colonial and modern writers, the *Raikat* was also described as prime minister / chief minister of the kingdom who had direct control over the king¹⁰⁷.

But the word of *Raikot* became hereditary title of the successors of *Sisu* (*Sisya Singha*) who established their seat at Baikunthapur near modern Jalpaiguri town, which territory was appanaged by *Biswa Singha* and ultimately lost its earlier importance of state business and became a symbolic relationship between the kingship and *Raikot*ship during the reign of king *Naranarayan*. We do not found the name of the administrative post *Raikot* during the reign of king *Naranarayan*. But the term *Yuvaraj* became more important in the later age. King *Naranarayan* also followed the policy of his father *Biswa Singha*, who not only appointed his brother *Chilarai* as *Yuvaraj*¹⁰⁸, but also bestowed on him almost all the important state business. The *Katha Guru Charita* mentioned *Chilarai* ruled the eastern part of the kingdom as a provincial governor¹⁰⁹.

Karjis / Mantri (ministers):

With the expansion of the Koch kingdom and its proper administration another vital group posts were created in the state. It is stated in the DRV that after becoming king, *Biswa Singha* appointed twelve leaders of the twelve tribal clans as ministers in the services of the state with responsibility, dignity and power and were designated as *Karzi*¹¹⁰. They were also called '*Patras*¹¹¹' or '*Amatyas*¹¹²'. The twelve *Karzis* were *Panbar*, *Barihana*, *Phedphedo*, *Yuddhabar / Buddhimanta*, *Vedela*, *Gaubar*, *Baihagu*, *Jagai*, *Kathia*, *Megha*, *Garakata* and *Dokhoda*¹¹³. However, one Muslim chronicle gave slight different list of twelve Mech tribal leaders and they were as follows: *Bhakura Karzi*, *Paro*, *Nichila*, *Ghurchal*, *Satananda*, *Megha*, *Purandra*, *Bhota*, *Bihu*, *Sharanam*, *Harish Chandra*, and *Ripurjoy Karzi*¹¹⁴. The *Karzis* were selected on the basis of some qualities like efficiency in the wielding of arms, knowledge of state-craft, moral integrity, intelligence and trustworthy. According to the DRV, among twelve *Karzis* (ministers), *Barihana* and *Baihagu* were placed in separate category for their learning, diplomatic skill, loyalty, selflessness and skill in the art of war¹¹⁵. *D. Nath* named them as *Mantrins* and considered them as 'cabinet ministers' like modern democratic state administration¹¹⁶. The *Karzis* hereditary served the state as ministers and important state offices. The *Karzis*, *Patras* and *Mantris / Mantrins* all had to perform military services also. Therefore, *Bhimbal Patra* and *Bahubal Patra* had commanded the Koch army and *Bhaktamala* and *Tepu* had commanded the Koch Navy in 1562-63 AD against the *Ahoms*¹¹⁷. Similarly,

Kabindra Patra, a minister had rendered military services to Raghudeva Narayan and Parikshit Narayan¹¹⁸. During the reign of Biswa Singha, the *Karzis* (ministers) were solely appointed from his tribe (Koch/ Mech) and their supports to the king had strengthened the process of centralization of power as they had their control over the clans living in the grassroots level. Therefore, beside their assigned duties, the *Karzi's* functions were instrumental in enhancing the state control over the subject.

The posts of *Karzis* (ministers) became more specific with further development of the kingdom during the reign of Naranarayan and later on. The term *Mantri* became more familiar than the term *Karzi*. *Mantris* that is the ministers were counselors of the king both in domestic and foreign affairs. For the foreign affairs, the state maintained *Dyutas* (envoys) and *Kakati* (ambassador) with the equivalent rank of minister. Appointment of the ministers from the non-tribal castes generally from the Brahmins and Kayasthas were also started at the time of king Naranarayan.

Dewan:

King Naranarayan created the post '*Dewan*', and was next to the king in dignity, power and position. He had been entrusted to the civil and financial administrations of the kingdom. First *Dewan* of the state was Chilarai, who was also the Yuvaraj and prime minister of the state. But the *Katha Guru Charit* refer to Chilarai as the '*Chota-Dewan*' or the '*Chota-Raja*' and to king Naranarayan as the *Bar-Dewan* or the *Bar-Raja*¹¹⁹. However, *Dewanship* was not confined to the ruling family only. In progress of time, king Naranarayan and his successors appointed the *Dewans* from the Kayastha caste, who proved their efficiency in that posts¹²⁰. We have a reference that Prana Narayan (1632-1665) appointed Kavi Sekhar and Kavi Narayan as *Dewan* for the civil administration of the state¹²¹.

Nazir/ Nazirdeo:

The *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*, a Persian writing, informs us that there was an officer called *Nazir* or *Nazirdeo* in the Koch administration to look after the military affairs of the state¹²². The DRV says nothing about the post *Nazir* or *Nazirdeo*, for which, there are some confusion about the actual time of the innovation of the post in Koch administration. Khan Chaudhury A. A, without mentioning his source, states that this

post existed since the days of king Naranarayan who appointed a Brahmin as *Nazir*¹²³ and it was most probably, an innovation of this great king in the field administration by which he associated all sections of people in the state affairs. In the early years of the Koch rule, the *Nazirs* were appointed from the Brahmin caste and this tradition continued till the time of Lakshminarayan¹²⁴. After that, due to political situation, Lakshminarayan appointed one of his sons Mahinarayan as *Nazir* and since then the *Nazirship* had been enjoyed by the royal family hereditarily¹²⁵. Meanwhile, the *Raikot* (the of the successors of Sisu or Sisyua Singha who established their seat at Baikunthapur near modern Jalpaiguri town), denied to perform his assigned duty to hold the *Chhatra*, then the *Nazir* began to perform the services of *Raikot* and *Nazir* came to be designated as *Chhatra Nazir* for holding the *Chhatra*¹²⁶

Royal Household Administration and its officials:

With the state formation on a solid basis and development of complexity in administration and centralization of power in the capital, several posts were created for the household administration. In household administration, the *Raja-Puruhitas*, the royal priests, who must be a Brahmin by caste, enjoyed the highest status and position in the Koch court and acted as *Rajgurus*, the Spiritual mentors of the kings. He must be a master in the *Sastras* and well versed in the sixty-four *Kalas*¹²⁷. A Brahmin Sarbabhuma by name was the *Raja-Puruhita / Rajguru* of Biswa Singha¹²⁸. King Naranarayan appointed Khanthabhushan, a Brahmin as *Raja-Puruhita/ Rajguru* (royal priest)¹²⁹. The *Raja-Puruhita / Rajguru* had a great role to perform in the royal palace in the spiritual aspects as well as court politics. Next to the *Raja-Puruhita/ Rajguru* in power and influence, *Daivagna* (astrologers) was another post in household administration, whose duty was to predict the future of the state. The advice of the *Raja-Puruhitas/ Rajgurus* and the prediction of the *Daivagna* highly valued and considered as guideline by the members of the royal family¹³⁰. *Baidya*, the royal physician was employed in the palace since the early stage of the Koch rule and who was an expert in medicinal science and knew how to prepare various drugs and medicines¹³¹. *Tamuli* was another household servant for the palace, who had to take care of the supply of betel nut and leaf¹³². The *Bhandari / Bandar-Thakur*

(storekeeper) was in charge of the state-treasury and store including the accounts of income and expenditure¹³³. The most important and trusted of all household servants was the *Supkar* (chief cook), who was not only to be loyal, impassionate, impressive, expert in the quality of foods, good looking, good speaker and neat and clean but also to be expert in the preparation of varieties of delicious foods¹³⁴. The *Dvari* or the gatekeeper was another servant in household administrations. He had to keep guard of the gates of the royal household and intimated the king about the arrival of reporters and visitors¹³⁵. Moreover, some less important, officials like *Bhitar Palia* (general servant); *Thayat* (betel maker) and *Farasia* (light man) were also worked in the royal palace.

Land Revenue Administration:

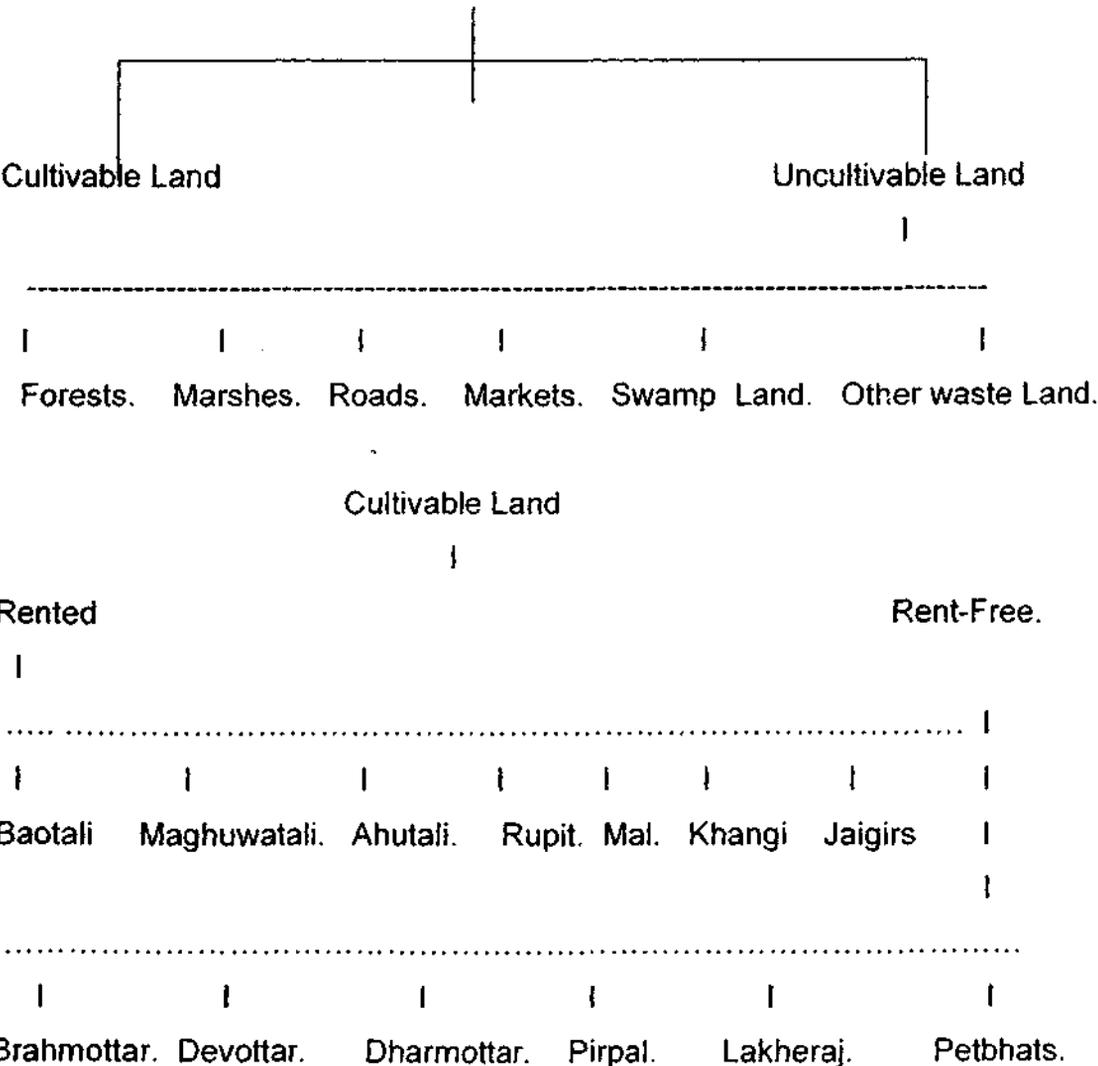
The power, position, development and stability of a kingdom depend on well-organized surplus generation of the kingdom and the Koch kingdom was not beyond it. Biswa Singha at the early stage had to depend only on the plundered booty through aggressive and guerrilla warfare for surplus extraction on temporary basis. However, it was not sufficient, so at the late stage, he introduced permanent surplus generation system that is land revenue system^{135A}. King Naranarayan also continued the policy of his father till the 1560s and there after he initiated the extraction of the revenue from the cultivable land, for which he introduced permanent land revenue administration. He attempted to survey cultivable land called '*poa-bandha*'¹³⁶. However, information about the land revenue administration and land revenue collectors are lacking and we have to depend on scattered information in the chronicles of the Koches and the Persian writings. Units of land measurement and revenue yielding tracts had their variations in the kingdom and *Chakla*, *Zilla* and *Pargana* were prevailing units. Among these *Chakla* was under the control of Bhuyan and *Zilla* and *Pargana* were later denomination. In the reign of Biswa Singha, Bhuyans were entrusted to collect revenue from the cultivators, and later on, state officials such as *Dewan*, *Karzi*, *Chaudhury*, *Zaminders* and the *Sajawals* (later period) were responsible for the collection of revenue from the cultivators. The *Zaigir* lands were look after by a state official called '*Bakshi*'. The *Katha Guru Charita* informs us that the cultivators have to pay one fourth of their produce as rent to the

royal treasury¹³⁷, but revenue officers collected more than the original rate¹³⁸ and very often it was exorbitant, which made the life of the cultivators' miserable¹³⁹. The collection of revenue, in the 'core area' had been in the direct control of the state and the revenue of the 'conquered territories' collected as tributes through the concern states¹⁴⁰. Revenue collected in cash and kind but cash collection was preferred and it was done in gold and silver coins in the matters of 'conquered states' and local collection was in Kowris. .

Land Revenue Structure:

There was variation in land revenue structures in the Koch kingdom during the period of our study. The entire land structure of the Koch kingdom under king Naranarayan and there after has been shown in the following table:

Land Revenue Structure.



It indicates the existence of two broad categories of land in the kingdom i.e., 'Uncultivable Lands' and 'Cultivable Lands'. The 'Uncultivable Lands' included the Jungle (forests), Marshes, Roads, Markets, Swamps and Khas (waste lands for cattle rearing)¹⁴¹. The 'Cultivable Lands' again was of two categories 'Rent-Free' and 'Rented'¹⁴². The 'Rent-Free' lands included the '*Brahmottar*', the land donated to the Brahmins; '*Devottar*', the land granted for maintenance of religious institutions to meet the expenditure of the religious affairs including festivals and maintenance of the temples build by the state; '*Dharmottar*', the land granted to the *Satras*; '*Pirpal*', granted for maintenance of mosque, Islamic religious institutions; '*Lakheraj*', the reward for good service done to the state and '*Petbhats*', land granted for the maintenance of the relatives of the ruling family¹⁴³.

The 'Rented' land had been classified from two angles: according to the nature of produce and according to the procedure of rent collection. According to the nature of production, rented lands were classified in the following ways; '*Baotali*', low land where *Bao* paddy was sown; '*Maghuwatali*', land for the cultivation of *Rabi* crops; '*Ahutali*', where *Ahu* paddy was cultivated and '*Rupit*', lands for cultivation of *Sali* or transplanted paddy¹⁴⁴. According to the procedure of rent collection, the rented lands also classified in to three categories: '*Mal*', '*Zaigir*' and '*Khangir*'. '*Mal*' was a kind of land, where revenue directly paid by the cultivators and was the main source of state's income. It was consisted with *asal* or original rent and *abwab* or additional taxes, collected annually by the state officials called *sajawals*¹⁴⁵. The '*Zaigir*' is the lands given to the state officers as remunerations for their personal services according to the skill and efficiency of the '*Zaigirders*', who were allowed minimum one *Bish* or 13 *Bighas* of cultivable land¹⁴⁶. The revenue of the *Khangir* land had been reserved for the maintenance of the royal household expenditure.

Administration of Justice and Nature of punishment:

During the period of our study, there was no written and unified code of justice and punishment and tribal mode justice was in vague among the people of the Koch kingdom was based on the principles of Hindu religious texts or *Sastras*. The Koch kings never interfere in the autonomy of the tribal people and local customs and traditions determined the code of justice and nature of punishment of the tribal

people, which were never violated¹⁴⁷. In the lowest level, the *Gramashabha* or the village assemblies carried out the judgment and punishment, according to their customs and traditions and tribal villages of North Bengal, Assam are still carrying on the village assembly system in the field justice¹⁴⁸. On the other hand, the suggestions of the elders of the same caste and community or multi-caste elders and the principles of Sastras modulated the basis of justice in non-tribal villages. After the introduction of the institution of *Namghar* or prayer hall in the villages following the propagation of Neo-Vaisnavite movement, the petty cases were settled there by the village council of *Namghar* that now consisted all adult of the village instead of a selected few and its verdict became binding upon an offender¹⁴⁹.

Next to the *Gramashabha* or the village council of *Namghar*, was the district court of a Chaudhury or an Ujir¹⁵⁰ and then the highest court, the court of king or *Rajshabha*. The local courts including the estates of *Dewan*, *Raikat* at *Baikunthapur* and *Chakladar / Zamindar* were the subordinate units of the judiciary^{150A}. According to D. Nath, "A person, if not satisfied with the decision of the *Gramashabha*, could file a petition to the district courtor make a direct appeal to the king's court which would then summon both the appellant and the respondent to appear before it on a fixed date for having hearing. On that day witnesses of the both parties were examined and then the case was dispensed with by passing a verdict based on the principles of the Sastras and on the *Rajshabha's* own standard of right and wrong.....and its verdict only was sent to the king for his approval"¹⁵¹. Before giving his approval, the king examined every pros and cons of it and then gave his approval to satisfy both the parties.

In the highest level, the king was considered as the supreme authority of law and justice. However, the king had been assisted by a council called '*Rajshabha*', which was considered as the highest court or king's court¹⁵², consisting *Rajpurohit* (royal priest), *Pandits* (learned men), *Dewan* and king himself as the head of the *Shabha*. Through out the sixteen century, '*Rajshabha*' was movable from place to place, as the kings were engaged in wars but in the succeeding period, it became confined to the capital.

It is generally believed that the king was free to act at his will. For instance, Biswa Singha inflicted a severe punishment to a Brahmin for his unjustified claims¹⁵³ and king Naranarayan issued a non-bail able arrest to the Vaisnava saint

Sankardeva without considering the authenticity of the incident¹⁵⁴. However, the king's will was considerably controlled by the principles of the Sastras and suggestions of *Pandits* or law officers who were consulted in case of difficulties¹⁵⁵.

The *Katha Guru Charit* mentioned various types of crimes and punishments prevalent in the Koch kingdom. Theft, robbery adultery and serious type of turpitudes were considered as crimes and punishments included mutilation and physical torture like pressing between irons. Wooden or bamboo cylinders locally called *Saranh*, *Chepa-Kunda*, *Pota-Kunda*, *Daphala-Kunda*, and *Sak-sal*¹⁵⁶. An offender was also punished by making him slaves or selling him as slaves. King Naranarayan ordered his men to sell Narayanadasa and Gokulchand, two trusted disciples of Sankaradeva, to the Bhutias as slaves¹⁵⁷. The capital punishment was also prevalent in the Koch kingdom, which always required the permission of the king and political offenders were punished by beheading or by strangulation¹⁵⁸.

Fore going discussion revealed that in the field of judicial administration, there was no uniformity and equality of law. King's will and principles of Sastras were main source of judgments and punishments.

Military Administration of the Koches:

It is general fact in the history of medieval period that the power, position, stability and territorial expansion of a kingdom fully depended on its military power and the Koch kingdom was not beyond this general fact of history. The Koch king Biswa Singha had followed the guerrilla warfare policy for the expansion and defense of his kingdom at the early stage and for this purpose; he organized tribal militia on temporary basis. At this stage, Biswa Singha had to depend on the booty, and there was no permanent source of regular income and so he could not organized 'standing army'. However, with expansion of his territory and concentration of power with the tribal militia he established a war department headed by a minister called '*Senapati*'¹⁵⁹. This post was most probably, nominal and having no much power and prestige. Because, this is proved by the fact that in declaring a war against any kingdom the consulted all the ministers instead of doing it with the '*Senapati*' alone and during wars the either accompanied his force under the command of a minister, or king himself commanded the force¹⁶⁰.

The tribal militia and a rudimentary state administration of Biswa Singha without regular income, inherited by Naranarayan, who was also essentially continued the policy of his father for the consolidation of the emerging Koch state at the early stage. He realized the fact that the tribal militia of his father had to be modernized and equipped with advance technologies and permanent infrastructures, to increase and consolidate his power and position against the organized forces of the Ahoms and Bengal Sultans to save his newborn state. He along with his brother-cum-general Sukladvaja, well known as Chilarai had included spices, elephantry and a navy with the existing Koch force. They formed a standing army for immediate needs, Constructed roads¹⁶¹, for the easy movement of the militia, build forts¹⁶², for the safety of their forces in bad times, and established cordial relation with all tribes of the area for their cooperation¹⁶³. They also employed the trained Rajput, Afghans, Mughals and Bhutanese in the Koch force^{163A}, and in this way they carried out many reforms, for which Koch infantry, navy and guerilla technique became more up to date and systematic. Moreover, peasantry, both tribal and non-tribal and artisans of the kingdom were also brought under the state control and forced them to render military services as *Paiks* (details will be discussed later). In these ways Naranarayan and Chilarai had established a strong military base and took up 'aggressive policy of conquest' to conquer the whole of North East India at the early stage and then followed the 'defensive policy' to save guard it.

Division of the Army:

The *paiks* (infantry), cavalry and elephantry were the three regular units of the Koch army since the time of Biswa Singha and another unit that is the navy was incorporated with it during the time of Naranarayan. Nevertheless, the DRV informs us that camels, buffaloes and donkeys were also used in wars^{163B}. Anyway, for better understanding of the Koch army, all the four units will be discussed under separate heads.

The Paiks (infantry) and its order:

The *paiks*, equivalent to infantries or land soldiers¹⁶⁴ constituted the basic unit of the Koch army and all 'able-bodied male population' of the kingdom was

considered as the paiks and was recruited from peasantry both tribal and non-tribal and artisans. They had to render obligatory military and other services to the state particularly in the times of requirement and for these duties; they were allotted 3 *puras* or 12 *bighas* of rent-free land¹⁶⁵. Royal officers were placed over the charge of a specific number of *Paiks* in pyramidal order according to strength, military ability and efficiency of the officers. Thus, according to the DRV, in lowest level twenty *Paiks* were placed under a *Thakuria*, like wise 100, 1000, 3000, 66000, (3000x22=66000) *Paiks* were placed under *Saikia*, *Hazari*, *Omra* and *Nawab* respectively¹⁶⁶. Out of the five posts, *Thakuria*, *Saikia* and *Hazari* are identical with the military administration of the Ahoms and rest two *Omra* and *Nawab* are identical with the Muslim military administration of the Bengal. However, *Raikat*, (Commander-in-chief) was an indigenous innovation of the Koches¹⁶⁷. It indicates that the Koch military administration was an admixture of the indigenous and foreign ideas.

There are controversies about the actual numbers of the Koch land forces or *Paiks* and contemporary historical evidences have given several versions of it. According to the DRV, total number fighting force was 52, 25000 during the reigns of Biswa Singha and Naranarayan¹⁶⁸. The same source elsewhere recorded the Naranarayan had 532000 soldiers during his fight with the Ahoms in 1562 AD^{168A}. Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed, without mentioning his Source of information records "...the Commander-in-Chief Sukladhvaja set out (1562AD) with sixty thousand soldiers of Koch, Dom and Kavi (Keot) tribes" against the Ahoms¹⁶⁹. According to the *Raja Vansavali*, the strength of the Koch force had been 425000 at its peak time¹⁷⁰. The *Akbarnama* and the *Ain-i-Akbari* of the same writer recorded the number of infantry of the Koches 200000 and 100000 respectively¹⁷¹.

From these types of evidences, it is very hard to find out the actual numbers of the Koch force. Elaborate and logical analysis is needed to find out a reasonable number of the Koch force. The first figure of the DRV (i.e.5225000) must be an exaggerated figure and it might be the total numbers of the population of the directly control territory or whole of the territories of Naranarayan's hegemony, and not the total number of the Koch force. Because the figures of the *Rajavansavali* and that of the DRV (later part) indirectly correlate with the figures of the *Akbarnama* and the *Ain-i-Akbari* and somehow acceptable. The figures of the *Rajavansavali* (i.e. 425000) and the DRV (Later part i.e. 532000), the *Akbarnama* (i.e. 200000) and the *Ain-i-*

Akbari (i.e.10000) were time and situation bound. We have to consider them and indirectly they support each other, if we considered the time and situation. The *Rajavansavali* and the DRV mentioned the numbers of the Koch force 425000 and 532000 respectively, at the time King Naranarayan (peak time). In the meanwhile, the kingdom had been divided between Naranarayan and his nephew Raghudeva in about 1581AD and it is quite logical assumed that the Koch force was also divided between them¹⁷². After the division of the kingdom, Naranarayan's share of the Koch force must be lesser than the number as mentioned by the *Rajavansavali* and the DRV (Later part) and it might fall in between 255000 to 319000¹⁷³. The *Akbarnama* and the *Ain-i-Akbari* mentioned the number of the Koch force of the time Lakshminarayan, who became the king of Western part of the Koch Kingdom i.e. Koch Behar at the death of his father Naranarayan in about 1587AD. Abul Fazal had started writing both the books in 1589AD and completed its manuscripts writing in 1596AD, the year of submission of Lakshminarayan to Man Singh, the then Mughal Subedar of Bengal and after that with five subsequent revisions and addition, finally came out in the year 1602 AD, a few months before the assassination of the writer¹⁷⁴. Moreover, further revisions and additions also done by Muhammad Salih in 1604AD¹⁷⁵. The *Akbarnama* mentioned the number of Lakshminarayan's force of the time of his submission to the Mughals in 1596AD. From 1587 to 1596, the military strength of Lakshminarayan decreased to 200000, as he was 'weak and indolent' and 'totally unfit to guide the destiny of his kingdom'¹⁷⁶ and forced to make his submission to the Mughals to save himself from Raghudeva. After the submission to the Mughals Lakshminarayan became the vassalage of the Mughals and the number of force again decreased to 100000, as mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. It might be added part of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, as we mentioned earlier.

On the other hand, the information of Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed some how acceptable on the ground that he mentioned the force under the command of Chilarai, not the whole Koch force. It might be the number 'standing force' of the Koches at its peak time, including that of the tribes of Dom and Kavi (Keot?). In this connection, it may be mentioned here that the DRV informs us that Chilarai marched against the king of Tripura with a force 40000, that might be the 'standing Force' of the Koches¹⁷⁷.

Therefore, from the above discussion it may safely be concluded that the strength of the Koch force varied time to time. At the climax of its power (peak period of Naranarayan), the Koch kingdom had a force 4.5 to 5.5 lakhs soldiers including a 'standing force' of around 40000 to 50000 men. The number of the Koch army of (western part i.e. Koch Behar), reduced to around 3 lakhs, due to the partition of the kingdom in 1581AD, and at the time of the submission of Lakshminarayan to the Mughals in 1596AD, the number again reduced to 2 lakhs due to the weakness and indolent ness of Lakshminarayan as mentioned earlier. After the submission, as vassalage, Lakshminarayan had 100000 soldiers as mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

Cavalry:

The cavalry was another war unit of the Koches since the days of Biswa Singha, but information about this very scatter. The DRV occasionally informs us that Biswa Singha had cavalry and large number horses, of which 500 were killed during his war with Karnapur Bhuyan¹⁷⁸. This is the local tradition that Sukladhvaja jumped on horse back and crossed the Bharali River during time of his Ahom expedition and there by he earned the nickname 'Chilarai'. In the hilly geographical situation of the region, the cavalry played an important role with its swiftness and helped Chilarai to conquer whole of the North-East India within a short period. It is evidence from the DRV that almost all the states of northeast had their cavalry and this is proved by the fact they forced to offer certain numbers of their horses to Naranarayan as tributes. However, horses were not locally available and had to import from Bhutan, who had the monopoly business of *Tangan* horses¹⁷⁹.

However, nothing is known about the number of the Koch cavalry and who was in charge of supervision and command of this unit. The only reference in this regard is that Lakshminarayan had a cavalry of 4000 horse¹⁸⁰, and it is obvious that he had a fraction of the main Koch cavalry of the earlier. Naranarayan inherited a large number of horses from his father Biswa Singha¹⁸¹ and he himself collect considerably a large number horses as war condition, war indemnity and annual tributes from the all defeated countries which were also incorporated in the Koch cavalry¹⁸². From this point of view, we can obtain just an idea that the strength of the Koch cavalry was considerably large.

Elephant force or Elephantry:

The Elephant force or Elephantry was another important war unit like the cavalry of the Koches since the days of Biswa Singha. He had selected his son Deep Singha in charge of elephants including horses, cows and birds¹⁸³. Availability of wild elephants through out the hills and forest of the region and possibility of utilization of the elephants in war, in the unfavourable hilly and impregnable geographical locations led to the growth of elephantry in Naranarayan's force which immensely helped Naranarayan and Chilarai to conquer the whole of North-East India . The elephantry all always preceded the force and was primarily used to clear the road, demolish enemy's forts, launch night attacks and for defending their own forts and in transporting war materials¹⁸⁴. Wild elephant catching and training, a high-risk job was done by the *Chungis*, a section of Moran people of Assam and the *Phandis* and it was done under the strict supervision of the state authority. Mahuts were engaged to look after elephants and they had to drive elephants in wars.

However, we have only very few scatter references about the elephantry unit during the reign of Naranarayan and details information is lacking in the DRV, the main source of information¹⁸⁵. There is no direct reference about the strength of the Koch elephantry during the time Naranarayan. Naranarayan's son Lakshminarayan, the successor of the partitioned Koch kingdom (Koch Behar), had an elephantry of 700 elephants¹⁸⁶. Naranarayan had collected 264 elephants as war indemnity, and an annual tribute of 260 elephants were fixed from the defeated states of North-East India¹⁸⁷. Therefore, it is possible that Naranarayan's elephantry consisted nearly triple the strength of Lakshminarayan possessed. In spite of this, the Koch elephantry was smaller and weaker than that of the Muslims of Bengal for which it failed to withstand them¹⁸⁸.

Navy:

The Navy or naval force was very important and new war unit and it was introduced by king Naranarayan in the Koch force. It appears to have been the one indispensable weapon of defense as well as offence of the country. It is very natural that abounding in rivers and marshes, and navigability of these of the region had

influenced king Naranarayan to introduce this new unit in the Koch Military. Availability of huge amount of chambal woods (best for boat making) in the forest of the region and availability of expertise carpenters in the kingdom also facilitated the making of war boats. There were two types' war-boats called *Bacharis* or big war-boats and *Koshas* or small war-boats¹⁸⁹. The Koch force (all infantry, cavalry and elephantry) which crossed many rivers including the Brahmaputra and reached at the Ahom capital Garhgaon, must have helped by a large number of big boats to cross the rivers. However, nothing is known about the actual number of war-boats of Naranarayan. According to Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed, "A large flotilla of boats under the naval commander Bhaktamala (Buktumlung) and Tepu preceded by riversail up the Brahmaputra, advanced up the Diksu River. When the naval force of the Ahoms advanced against them , a cannonade was exchanged and a sharp fight developed between the two flotilla at the mouth of the Hariya riverthe Ahoms were defeated"¹⁹⁰. Therefore, it is cleared from the above quotation that the navy of the Naranarayan was sufficient powerful, for which he could able to defeat his Ahom counterpart.

War weapons:

We have occasional references of war weapons, strategies and techniques of the Koches in contemporary chronicles and other writings. Swords, spears and bamboo bows and arrows were commonly used weapons of wars. Among these, most probably swords were very important, for, through out the DRV, there are many references of swords and even we have references that Biswa Singha fight with the Bhuyans and slain a number of the Bhuyans with his sword. Chilarai fight with sword on horse back. Chilarai had taken 100 special types Jayantiya swords called *Khangas* as compensation of the war with Jayantiya king¹⁹¹ and this was the only reference of weapons surrender. The availability of good quality bamboos in the region and easiness of making it were facilitated the use of spears and bows and arrows. Moreover, the *paiks*¹⁹² also used household appliances like axes, lathis (bamboo strict for fighting) and Kataris (iron made cutter).

The use of fire arms, at least at the early stage were very rear in the Koch kingdom. Although, the DRV informed us that Biswa Singha appointed his son

Mecha in charge of guns and its production¹⁹³ but we have no even a single reference of using it during the reign of Biswa Singha. During the reign of Naranarayan, we have only two references of using firearms i.e. guns or Muskets and that were during the naval wars with the Ahoms and the war with the Padshah of Bengal. For the first instance, in the words of D. Nath, "At night a skirmish occurred on the Dikhow where the Koches fired guns and dispersed the ahoms"¹⁹⁴. and in the words of Khan Choudhury A. Ahamed, ".....নৌসেনাপতি টেপু এবং ভক্তমাল উভয়ে ব্রহ্মপুত্র নদ উজাইয়া সেওলা ও মাকালং অধিকার পূর্বক দিফু নদীর মুখ পর্যন্ত আগ্রসর হইলেন । আহোমপক্ষের জালসৈন্য তাঁহাদের বিরুদ্ধে আগ্রসর হইলে তাঁহারা শত্রুপক্ষের উপরে গোলাবর্ষন করিতে আরম্ভ করেন"¹⁹⁵, and the Ahoms were defeated. Therefore, cannons were not in possession of the Koch military, at least in the reign of Naranarayan¹⁹⁶. However, cannons were in the possession of Lakshminarayan, Raghudeva Narayan and Parikshitnarayan¹⁹⁷.

War Strategies and techniques:

Regarding Strategies and techniques of war, both the Koches and the Ahoms were alike in certain areas. Gait on the war technique of the Ahom, which is applicable to the Koches, writes, " They would only come out of their forts at night and fall on the enemies unnoticed; invest them if they could and in the event of their repulse they would hurry back to their retreats"¹⁹⁸. Biswa Singh at early stage continuously fought against the Bhuyans of the region, following night and swift attacks, guerrilla technique of warfare and some times tricks to establish his kingdom. It was the result of his realization of the real situation, that the power of the others Bhuyans were superior and his power was not sufficient for a direct challenge. By following this policy, he defeated the *Bhuyan of Phulguri*, on which N. N. Vasu writes, " In the month of *Chaitra*, the *Bhuyan of Phulguri* disbanded his troops. One day in the month of *Vaisakha*, at dead of night, *Bisu* alone entered the capital of the *Bhuyan* asking his men to wait outside. The *Bhuyan* was fast asleep. *Bisu* stole into his bedroom and cut off his head with one blow of his sword .Then he gave his signal and his men at once fell to looting the house. In this way he got vast wealth and became master of that place"¹⁹⁹. Same was the fact with Bijeni Bhuyans, about

which N. N. Vasu writes, "Next *Vaisaka*, when the soldiers were, as usual, resting in their homes, Bisu availed himself of this opportunity and attacked the Bhuiya of Bijeni like a tiger falling upon a deer and killed him with his army. Thus, Bijeni was annexed to his territories"²⁰⁰. However, in the cases of Pratap Bhuyan and Narayan Bhuyan policy trick were applied²⁰¹. He continuously fought against Turbak of Gaud during 1532-33 with guerrilla technique of warfare²⁰². Thus, it is fact from the above discussion that during Biswa Singh, adopted the policies of swift night attacks, guerrilla technique of warfare, the tricks and direct war techniques that seems to him appropriate after considering real situations.

During the reign of Naranarayan, night attacks with 'mountain like ferocious looking elephanty' and used of cavalry for quick advancement towards enemies, became most successful war strategy and technique. Sukidhvaja alias Chilarai, the brother-cum-general of Naranarayan, said to have gained his nickname 'Chilarai' due to his swiftness in attack on horse back like Chila (a bird of eagle group). S. N. Bhattacharyya writes, " The Ahoms as well as the Koches were adapts in night attacks. The most typical form of advance towards the enemy was under the cover of small stockades, with the elephants in front, the main aim being to overwhelm them by their great numerical strength. As far as practicable, the army moved in close cooperation with the fleet"²⁰³. Among their military strategies, mention may be made of their diplomacy and well-planned war preparation that played very important role in the war preparation. To secure the withdrawal of the enemy in unfavourable situation, they would enter into a treaty with them, honour the terms for some time and no sooner they reorganized their strength than openly defy it. Thus, as war strategies King Naranarayan constructed roads (Gossain Kamal Ali) for easy passes of the army and supply line, organised various tribes, to obtain their co-operation and safeguard supply line, established friendship with the enemies of the enemy to strengthen his war position. Making of Flotilla Bridge by war boats to cross-rivers and use of war boats, in close-quarters fighting became very helpful for the Koches. Ralph Fitch noticed that the Koches used to poison waters of rivers and ponds to put the enemy into serious of straits²⁰⁴. The prevalence of military conscription was a great advantage point of the Koches to make large army to put mental pressures on the enemies. Thus, it was the tradition of the region that, 'in times of war, all the inhabitants of the kingdom , artisans, farmers, the well-to-do and common people,

free or unfree, have to go to the battle whether they wish it or not. ...this overwhelming numerical strength, the bodily vigour, courage and hardihood²⁰⁵ of the Koch paiks and multi ethnical composition of the army, were valuable military assets. Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed, recorded, "...the Commander-in-Chief Sukladvaja set out (1562AD) with sixty thousand soldiers of Koch, Dom and Kavi (Keot) tribes" against the Ahoms²⁰⁶.

For the defense of the country and save gaud the army in bad times, King Naranarayan constructed many forts, embankments, ramparts and camps at strategic places in the kingdom during their northeast expedition, which played important parts in war strategy and considered as 'strongholds furnished the nerves and sinews of the kingdom'²⁰⁷. King Naranarayan had constructed the most important fort at Naranarayanpur, which had been used by him as base camp against the Ahoms as well as of other states of northeast India. Besides Naranarayanpur, he also established a line of forts at other strategic places like Tematumani, Chandika Behar and Majuli, which were of much advantage in undertaking the military operations²⁰⁸. With the authority the Persian writers, S. N Bhattacharyya, writes regarding the building of the forts of the northeast India, "They were generally made of mud, bamboo and wood and some times grass was also used. The great care was taken in their construction. Around the main stronghold, a strong wooden wall was made, whose high turrets were mounted with powerful guns. Surrounding the fort wall all through ran a deep ditch, whose skirts were invariably set with a thick bamboo palisade – a pitfall for the cavalry. Sometimes this palisade was encircled by a second ditch. The fort-making complete, it was garrisoned adequately, and a powerful contingent of war boats was deputed to safeguard it"²⁰⁹. Ralph Fitch described, the Koch capital at Koch Behar as 'well fortified and encompassed with cane and bamboo palisades sharpened at the top so that no enemy could get into it'²¹⁰.

Besides these, sending of *Dutas* (envoys/ ambassadors) and Chars (spies) to collect the information about the motives, war preparations of the enemies and military organizations were another form of war preparation and strategy of the Koches²¹¹. For instance, according to an *Assam Buranji*, Sankaradeva, the Neo-Vaisnavite propagator became instrumental in giving Chilarai an intelligence to bribe

the Ahom officers in order to collect secret information of Ahom military preparations²¹².

From above discussion, it cleared that military organization the Koches (Biswa Singha and Naranarayan) was well organized. With their force, the Koches followed both traditional and new innovative war strategies and techniques in their state, which helped them in expansion of the kingdom as well as in the defence of the kingdom considering situations. The military success of the Koches based on guerrilla warfare, swiftness of attack, the spirit of unity of different castes and tribes, efficient leaderships of Chilarai and construction of forts etc.

Notes and references:

1. DRV, vv. 588-590.
2. Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed, op. cit. p- 119; M. Neog, op. cit. p. 62.
3. Gait, op. cit. p. 56; D. Nath, op. cit. p. 83.
4. K. L. Baruah, op. cit. p. 200. He described the incident in this way: "Chilarai now became an able ally of the Moghals" and "In 1583 he appears to have cooperated with the Moghuls in the fight with Masum Kabuli on the bank of the Ganges. Here he contracted small-pox and died".
5. S. L. Barua, op. cit, p. 214.
6. D. Nath. Op. cit. p. 67. Koch north-east had been continued in between 1561-1567AD
7. Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed, op. cit. p- 119; M. Neog, op. cit. p. 62; Gait , op. cit. p. 56; D. Nath , op. cit. p. 83 and S. L. Barua, op. cit p. 214.
8. DRV, vv. 495, 496 and 570.
9. Gait's Eng. Trns of the inscription, op. cit. p. 64.
10. DRV, vv. 677-681.
11. DRV, vv. 590-681.
12. J. N. Sarkar, *The History of Bengal – 1200-1757*, Academica Asiatica , Patna , 1973 , p. 184 .
13. DAB, p.50, Gait, op. cit. p. 104, and also in D. Nath, op. cit. p.72.
14. Abul-Fazl, '*The Akbar-Namah*', Eng. Trans. By H. Beveridge, p. 349; Abul-Fazl, '*The Ain-I Akbari*', Eng. Trans. By H. Bloemann, p. 50.

15. J. N. Sarkar, op. cit. p. 185.
16. DRV, vv. 627-637.
17. *The Akbar-Namah*, op. cit. p. 349n; Gait, op. cit. p. 57.
18. It is written in the *Rajoupakhyan* that when the newly married bride of prince Naranarayan made obeisance to the eldest prince Narasinha, he blessed her saying 'Be a queen. When the time came for Narasinha to be a king, the wife of Naranarayan reminded him of that blessing and Narasinha who loved truth, made his blessing true by making Naranarayan a king. Quoted in H. N. Chaudhury, *The Cooch Behar State and Its Land Revenue Settlement*, Cooch Behar, 1903, p. 229fn.
19. It is written in the *Gandharbhanarayan Vamsavali* (page.66) that Bhanumati and Chandraprova, the two daughters of Pratap Roy Bhuyan were married to Naranarayan and Sukladvaja (Chilarai) respectively immediately after his defeat in the hands of Biswa Singha. Quoted in Khan Chaudhury, A. A's, '*Koch Beharer Itihas*', p.101.
20. *The Gandharbhanarayan Vamsavali*, part II, p. 39-41; Quoted in Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed's, '*Koch Beharer Itihas*', p. 115.
21. DRV, v. 618.
22. *The Akbar-Namah*, op. cit. p.716 and the *Kamarupa Vamsavali*, quoted in Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed's, '*Koch Beharer Itihas*', and pp.119-20. He loved Raghudeva like a son and sometimes sat on the throne with him on his lap and he even declared him as 'Yuvaraja' (crown prince) and he was called '*Patkumar*'. From all these acts, Chilarai, Some bureaucrats and Raghudeva himself had become very much hopeful to be the next king.
23. *The Kamarupa Burunji*, p.15, and *The Katha Guru Charit*, pp-614f .quoted in D. Nath, op. cit., pp.105fn.
24. DRV, vv. 622-23. It is very common in history that the kinsmen and courtiers of the court try to projects future king long before the death of the existing king. It is also true in the history of the Koches. At the death of Biswa Simgha, some courtiers had helped Naranarayan to be the king of the Koch kingdom.
25. S. K. Bhuyan, (comp.), '*Annals of Delhi Badshahate*', 1947, Gauhati, p.184. Quoted in D. Nath's op. cit. pp.105fn.

26. DRV, vv. 623-24 and 627. Most of the modern scholars described that Raghudeva established his capital at Baranagar or Ghilajoypur. However, the DRV clearly mentioned that Raghudeva established his capital at Baranagar first and after some circumstances, he established a city at Ghilajoypur.
27. DRV, vv. 637-638.
28. Most of the modern scholars had fixed the date of the partition of the kingdom in 1581 with the Archeological and the Numismatics evidences. But, if we carefully investigate the courses of happenings before the actual division of the kingdom in 1581, it became crystal cleared that it had started at least 3-4 years ago.
29. Gait, op. cit. p.57; D. Nath, op. cit. p.84 ; S. L. Baruah, *A comprehensive history of Assam* , p. 214; K. L. Baruah, *Early history of Kamarupa* p. 200.
30. DRV. vv. 639-645.
31. DRV. vv. 646-652.
32. W. W. Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal* p. 405; It is stated by Babu Ram Chandra Ghosh (as cited in D. Nath op. cit. p. 85) that King Naranarayan had appointed Chilarai for internal administration to the territory of the east of the river Sankosh and it can not be considered as the division of the division.
33. S. K. Bhuyan, (comp.), *Annals of Delhi Badshahate, 1947*, Gauhati, p.185, quoted in D. Nath's op. cit. pp.105fn.
34. DRV. Vv. 654-655; D. Nath, op. cit. p. 84.
35. DRV. Vv. 654-657.
36. DRV. Vv. 659-665; Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed's, '*Koch Beharer Itihas*', p.121 mentioned the numbers of Raghudeva's wives as 120 without mentioning his source of information.
37. DRV. Vv. 663-666.
38. DRV. Vv. 667-668.
39. Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed, op. cit., p.121, mentioned annual tribute without mentioning his source of information and other sources including the DRV said nothing about the tribute. The inscriptions of Hayagriva and Pandunath temples described Raghudeva as an independent king.

40. Kamarupa Vansavali, P.56, quoted in Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed, op. cit., p. 121fn and J. P. Wade 'an Account of Assam' p.210.
41. D. Nath, op., cit., p. 85.
42. Gunaviram Barua, *Assam Burunji* Assam Publication Board, Gauhati, 1972, p. 47.
43. Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed, op. cit., p.121; Gait. Op. cit., p. 57; S. L. Baruah, op. cit. p. 14.
44. Gait. Op. cit., p. 57.
45. Gait's trns. , op. cit. p. 64.
46. DRV, vv. 677-681.
47. D. Nath, op. cit. p. 85.
48. DRV. Vv. 667-668.
49. S. N. Bhattacharyya, *History of Mughal North-East Frontier Policy* , p-105fn.
50. Gait's trns. op. cit. p. 64.
51. J. P. Wade, op. cit. p.210.
52. The earliest coins with Raghudev's are dated 1588AD.
53. Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed, op. cit., p.121, mentioned annual tribute without mentioning his source of information and other sources including the DRV said nothing about the tribute.
54. Ibid
55. DRV, vv .668: পচিম দেশের রাজা লক্ষ্মীনারায়ন ।

পূবদিশে রঘুদেবে করোক ভোজন ॥

সীমাক আগ্রহি মিটো অন্যায় করয় ।

তার ছত্রভঙ্গ হৈবে নাহিকে সংশয় ॥

56. Gunaviram Barua, '*Assam Burunji*', Assam Publication Board, Gauhati, 1972, p. 47 and Gait, op. cit. p. 58fn.
57. K. L. Baruah, op. cit. p. 201.
58. Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed, op. cit. p.283; D. Nath, op. cit., p.106fn.

59. N. G. Rhodes, *'The Coinage of Cooch Behar'* , A Source Book of the Numismatic Studies in North-East India, vol. II, 1987, p.68 ; Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed , op. cit. p. 283 .
60. P. K. Bhattacharyya, "*Chandir Jhar (Alipurduar) e Prapta Brihat Mudra Bhandar*" (in Bengali), *Pragbhas*, Puja number, 1991, p. 87. The coins of Naranarayan so far discovered including Chandir Jhar Hoard (the largest finds of coins unearthed in the Eastern India) bear a 'Frozen date' Saka 1477 (1555AD) .
61. J. P. Wade (*'An Account of Assam'* p. 210) mentioned that Raghudeva had agreed that he would mint coins in the name of Naranarayan after the division in about 1581AD., but no such coins have yet come to light. D. Nath, op. cit., p. 92.
62. N. G. Rhodes, *'Coinage of North-East India'* (Lectures delivered at the NEHU, Shilong, 1994, p. 60; J. B. Bhattacharyya, "*State Formation in Pre-colonial Tribal North-East: A case study of the Dimachha State*", NEHU, JSSH, Vol. 2, No. 3, Shilong, 1984, p. 7.
63. There are differences of opinions about the exact date of accession of Naranarayan and the debate continued. However, most of the scholars accepted the year 1540 AD., as the date of his coronation.
64. DRV., vv. 255-256.
65. DRV., vv. 317-318.
66. ABSM, p. 25. It records that about 5000 Koch soldiers killed and their heads were brought to Mathadang, a place in the Sibsagar district and cremated there.
67. Historical Letters of the Ahoms period, a collection of 44 letters exchanged between the Koch and the Ahoms kings. Letter no. 18, Vol. V Part VI, DHAS, Gauhati.
68. Ibid.
69. ABSM, p. 32; D. Nath. , op. cit. p.55.
70. DAV, v. 335 and ABSM, p. 32.
71. ABSM, p. 32.
72. Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed, op. cit. p.108.

73. The earliest reference of this theory in Indian context is in 'Arthasastra' of Kautilya during the reign of Maurya king Chandragupta in 4th century BC.
74. 'Akbarnamah', III, p. 349 and S. N. Bhattacharyya, op. cit. p. 98fn.
75. DRV. vv. 327-338.
76. Gait, op. cit. p. 58; Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed, op. cit. p. 109.
77. *Alahabad Prasasti* of Harisen.
78. According to the ABSM, p. 37 and ABHB, p.35, Chilarai wrote a secret letter from his captive in Gauda requesting his brother Naranarayan to release the Ahoms hostages immediately, considering the fact that the Ahom king would take advantage of this situation and invade their territory.
79. 'Akbarnamah', III, p.1067. 79A. A. Guha, op. cit. p. 479; Vasu, Vol., I, op. cit. p. 70.
80. DRV, vv. 132-39.
81. 'A History of Cooch Behar', p. 87, 165 and 172. Three Koch kings assumed the title Kamatesvara: Biswa Singha (1515-33), Prannarayana (1632-65) and Modanarayan (1665-80).
82. P. K. Bhattacharyya, (ed) 'The kingdom of Kamata Koch Behar in Historical perspective', Sibsankar Mukherjee's article 'The Kamadesvara-Ritual sovereign of northeastern India' North Bengal University, 2000, p. 78.
83. *The Kamakhya Temple Inscription*: "Glory to the king Malladeva , who virtue of his mercy , is kind to the people , who archery is like Arjuna , and in charity like Dadhichi and Karna;-versed in many Sastras ; his character is excellent ; in beauty he is as bright as Kandarpa, he is a worshipper of Kamakhya".
84. Bengal: past and present, Vol. XXIV, p.14).
85. Gait , op. cit. p. 11 .
86. DRV. vv. 251-64 .
87. This type incident happened in the 1681, when at the death of Modanarayan, the king of Koch Behar; his brother Vasudevnrayan succeeded him to the throne.
88. DRV. vv. 112-32 ; 285-86 and 312-14 .
89. *Ibid*, vv.125 -26.
90. *Ibid* . v. 130.

91. Ibid. v., 130.
92. Ibid . v. 129.
93. Ibid . v. 128.
94. Ibid . vv. 313-316.
95. Ibid. vv. 312 and 670 -71.
96. The literary sources give us different dates of the Naranarayan accession to the throne of Koch kingdom, which varied from 1534-1540. Details of which have already been discussed in the chapter II.
97. DRV, vv. 140-141.
98. DRV, v. 143.
99. *The Katha Guru Charit* (ed) K. Saikia, p. 450f.
100. *The Kamakhya Temple Inscription:*
101. D. Nath, op. cit. p. 113.
102. Ibid.
103. King Naranarayan had introduced a cultural code, for the people of the tribal origin and Brahmanical fold, according which the Mech, the Kachari and the Koches of tribal fold to the north of the Gohai Kamal Aali will follow their tribal customs to worship. And the southern territory of the road as far the Brahmaputra will follow Brahmanic customs to worship. (Samudranarayaner Vamsavali, p. 41, cited in Khan Choudhary A. Ahamed, op. cit. p. 107).
104. Ralph Fitch, pp. 111-112. **104A.** '*Arthasastra of Kautilya*'.
105. DRV., vv. 173-193; Rup Kumar Barman, '*From Tribalism to State*', Delhi, 2007, p.163.
106. Rup Kumar Barman, op. cit. p. 163.
107. W.W. Hunter: *Statistical Account of Bengal*, reprint, New Delhi, 1984, vol. X., p.16; S. C. Ghoshal, *A History of Koch Behar* (Eng translation of *Koch Beharer Itihas* of Khan Chaudhury A. A.) , reprint edited by H. Nag, 2005, Siliguri, p.246.
108. It is interesting to note that we do not find the post Raikot during the reign of king Naranarayan. Chilarai had been always described as '*Yuvaraj*' , Senapati, Dewan and Chota Dewan.
109. *The Katha Guru Charita*, pp. 234f, 237f, 252and 279.

110. DRV. v.163 .
111. DRV. vv. 283 and 322.
112. *Pandunath Temple inscription*, cited in D. Nath: *History of the Koch kingdom-1515-1615*, Delhi, 1989, p. 214.
113. DRV. v. 163.
114. The '*Padsha Buranji or Annals of the Delhi Padshahate*', p. 244.
115. DRV. vv. 165-168.
116. D. Nath: op. cit. p.115.
117. Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed, op. cit. p. 106 and D. Nath : op. cit. p-115 .
118. *Kamarupa Buranji*, p.14 and S. N. Sarma, *Asamiya Sahityar Itibritta*, Gauhati, 1961, p. 152.
119. The *Katha Guru Charita*, pp. 234f, 237f, 252and 279.
120. *Rajoupakhyan*, p.20; Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed, op. cit. p. 1133.
121. Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed, op. cit. p. 171.
122. *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*, I., p. 246.
123. Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed, op. cit. p. 113.
124. H. N. Chaudhury, '*Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlement*' , Cooch Behar, The Cooch Behar State Press , 1903, p. 236 ; also in *Rajoupakhyan*, p. 29.
125. Ibid. p. 235.
126. H . N . Chaudhury, op. cit. p. 236.
127. DRV. vv. 173-75.
128. Ibid and N. N. Vasu , *The social History of Kamarupa* also mentioned that Biswa simgha brought a Brahmin from Mithila , of the name of *Sarvabhauma* belonging to the Gotra of Vasistha for the worship of his tutelary deities . Vol. II, 1926, Delhi.
129. *Guru Charit*, (ed. by K. Saikia) records that having failed in religious debates in the hand of Sankaradeva, Kanthabhushan went to Benaras for further studies and training. p.487.
130. DRV ,vv. 493-95 informed us that Naranarayan suspended the rebuilding of the *Kamakhya temple* on the pretext of his being under the influence of evil stars.
131. Ibid. vv. 180-81.

132. Ibid. vv. 182-83.
133. Ibid. vv. 187-88.
134. Ibid. vv. 184-85.
135. Ibid. vv. 193-94. 135A. N. N. Vasu, op. cit. p. 48. He writes, "Visvasingha appointed some men as Chaudhuris and some as Patwaris and asked them to make a revenue settlement of the country".
136. Raja Vamsavali, (NBSL, Ms. no 04), F.9. Cited in Rup Kumar Barman, op. cit. p.122.
137. *Katha Guru Charita*, p. 237
138. H. N. Chaudhury, op. cit. p. 442.
139. H. N. Chaudhury, op. cit. p. 442-43.
140. The states conquered by King Naranarayan Chilarai paid their tributes to the Koches, which we have been mentioned in chapter two of this thesis,
141. H. N. Chaudhury, op. cit. p. 482.
142. Cited in D. Nath, op. cit. p.124.
143. H. N. Chaudhury, op. cit. pp. 441-42.
144. *The Katha Guru Charita*, p.95 .
145. H. N. Chaudhury, op. cit. p. 442.
146. Ibid. p. 547; There were other two units of land measurement like *halsa* or *halisa* equivalent to one bigha and *pura* equivalent to four bighas of land. D. Nath, op. cit. p.125.
147. DRV. Vv.325-27.
148. S. K. Paul, '*Tribal Council of the Rangdhani Rabha: An Autonomous Socio-political Institution*', in Sebastian Karotemprel and Dipali Danda (eds), *The tribes of North East India*, Calcutta, KLM Firma Pvt. Ltd., 1984, pp.377-90.
149. D. Nath, op. cit. p.124.
150. Ibid. p.122. He mentioned with the reference of the *Katha Guru Charita* (p-505) one Gopal Chaudhury and with the reference of the '*Prachin Kamrupiya Kayastha Samajer Itivritta*' by H. N. Dutta Baruah (p. 80), one venkat Giri was an ujir , in the regions of Phulguri and Bijni during the reign of Naranarayan 150A. Rup Kumar Barman, op. cit. p. 162.
151. D. Nath, op. cit. p.122.
152. S. K. Paul, op. cit. p. 39.

153. H. N. Chaudhury, *op. cit.* p. 401.
154. DRV. vv. 274-75.
155. The *Guru Charit*, vv. 3449-3454, pp. 686-87.
156. The *Katha Guru Charita*, p. 220-27.
157. N. N. Vasu, *op. cit.* p. 105.
158. Ms. '*Koch Rajar Burunji*', p.91 cited in D. Nath, *op. cit.* p.123.
159. DRV. vv. 170-72. One Yuddhabhar was the *Senapati* of Biswa Singha.
160. D. Nath, *op. cit.* p.117. He mentioned that the *Senapati* was the small regular army stationed at the capital to serve immediate need.
161. At the instruction King Naranarayan, one of his brother Gohain Kamal constructed a road (*Gohain Kamal Ali*) extended from the Koch capital to Narayanpur fort at the Ahom- Koch frontier, for the easy movement of the militia.
162. They build many forts including Narayanpur fort at the Ahom- Koch frontier and Chilarai Kote (fort of Chilarai) at Tufangang.
163. DRV. v. 337. **163A** . '*Rajoupkhyan*' , p.20. **163B** . DRV. vv. 95 and 199.
164. The Bengali word '*Paik*' means an armed land soldier and some compared with the Bengali term '*Lathiyal*' means a skilled fighter with sticks. What may be the original meaning of word *paik* , in present context it is equivalent to infantry or land soldier.
165. Rajavansavali, Ms. (NBSL, Ms. No. 4) f.9. Cited in Rup Kumar Barman, *op. cit.* p.105.
166. DRV. vv. 196-97.
167. S. C. Ghoshal, *op. cit.* p. 104.
168. DRV. vv. 198 and 315. **168A** . DRV. v., 359.
169. Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed, *op. cit.*, Eng., translation by S. C. Ghoshal, as '*A History of Koch Behar*', reprint edited by H. Nag, 2005, Siliguri, p.118.
170. *Raja Vansavali*, pp.120-21, cited in Rup Kumar Barman, *op. cit.* p. 86.
171. '*Akbarnamah*' , Vol. III, p. 067; the *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol. II, p. 30. (Cf. Gaits Koc kings of Kamarupa, J.A.S.B., for 1893, p.284, and Blochmann's contributions.
172. Details of the incident mentioned earlier of this chapter.

173. Raghudeva left the Koch capital with large numbers of his follower officers including Yudhisthir Kayastha , the Bhandari, Kabindra Patra, Gadadhar Chaonia , Purandar Laskar, Srirama Laskar, Sardar Kabiraj, Gopal Chaulia and others (DRV, v.140). Some forts including Narayanpur also fall within his part and within few days, he dares to attack a fertile region of his uncle. If we assumed that Raghudeva had his control over the minimum 40% of the Koch force 425000 or 5,32000 as mentioned by the *Raja Vansavali* and the DRV(Later part), then the number of Raghudeva's force fall : $425000 \times 40/100 = 1,70000$ or $5,32000 \times 40/100 = 2,12800$, Then the number of Naranarayan's force would be $425000 - 170000 = 255000$ or $532000 - 212800 = 319200$, during period 1581-1587.
174. J . L . Mehta , '*Advanced Study in the History of Medieval India*' , Vol. II, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd. ,New Delhi, 2nd revised Edition , 1984 , p. 43.
175. Ibid.
176. D . Nath , op. cit. p. 90.
177. DRV. v. 424 .
178. DRV. vv. 95 and 199.
179. *Infra*, p. 231f; cited in D. Nath, op. cit. p.118.
180. '*Akbarnama*'h, Vol. III, p.1067.
181. It is evidence from the DRV that the Bhuyans had cavalry force .For instance, in the war between Biswa Singha and Karnapur Bhuyan 500 horses were killed, (DRV, vs. 95). There were a large numbers of Bhuyans who were defeated by Biswa Singha and their belonging elephants, horses and camels were taken and incorporated with the Koch force.
182. According to the DRV, vv. 3779-481), Naranarayan received 320 horses as war indemnity and 370 horses were fixed as annual tributes of the defeated countries of the North-East. If he able to collect minimum 4 years tributes at the times of peak hours , then the total collection of horses would be : $330 + (370 \times 4) = 1800$.
183. DRV. v. 262.
184. K . L . Barua, *Mirza Nathan's Narrative*, JARS, Vol. v, No. 3 , 1937, p.65ff. cited in D . Nath, op. cit. p.90.
185. DRV. vv. 95, 195 and 201.

186. The *Akbarnamah*, Vol. III, p.1067.
187. The DRV, vv. 379-481, If Naranarayan able to collect minimum 4 years tributes at the times of peak hours , then the total collection of horses would be : $264 + (260 \times 4) = 1304$.
188. J. N. Sarkar (ed), *History of Bengal 1200-1750 AD*, Vol. II, p.182.
189. M. Neog, *Purani Asamiya Samaj Aru Samskriti*, Gauhati, 1971, p. 133.
190. Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed, *Koch Beharer Itihas*, Eng. translation by S. C. Ghoshal, as '*A History of Koch Behar*', reprint edited by H. Nag, 2005, Siliguri, pp. 118-20.
191. DRV, v. 417.
192. The Bengali word *Lathial*, means an expert, who fight with a bamboo strict (Lathi) and *Paiks* and *Lathials* are synonymous.
193. The DRV, vv., 259. Some scholars referring to the v. 259 mentioned that Deep Singha was in charge of guns and cannon of Biswa Singha. However, the verse says nothing about cannon but says that he would be powerful of guns. The original verse is : " মেচায়ে আনিলা যিতো সীহাৰ টুপলি ।
 বুলিলা বন্দুকী হৈৰ ইটো মহাবলী ॥"
194. D. Nath, op. cit. p. 56.
195. Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed, op. cit., p.108.
196. It is traditionally believed that Babar first used the cannons in India in the 1st battle of Panipath.
197. D. Nath, op. cit., *Bibliography* , p. 215.
198. Gait, op. cit., p.253.
199. N. N. Vasu, op. cit., pp. 38-39. He writes with the authority of Brihat Rajavansavali, edited by Harendra Narayan, verses, 717-22. (Assam Govt. Col., Darrang, no.2, part 1, p. leaf 42.
200. N. N. Vasu, op. cit., pp. 39-40.
201. See Vasu for details op. cit., pp.39-45.
202. D. Nath, op. cit. p. 120.
203. S. N. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., p.39.
204. Ryley, op. cit., p.112.

205. S. N. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., p.39.
206. Khan Chaudhury A. Ahamed, op. cit., Eng., translation by S. C. Ghoshal, as '*A History of Koch Behar*', reprint edited by H. Nag, 2005, Siliguri, p.118.
207. S. N. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., p.38.
208. D. Nath, op. cit. p. 59.
209. S. N. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., pp.38-39.
210. Ryley, op. cit., p.112.
211. King Naranarayan had sent a diplomatic peace mission to the Ahoms court in Saka1477 (1555 AD.), the mission included ambassadors like Satananda Karji, Ramesvara Sarma, Kalaketu Sardar, Dhuma Sardar, Udbhanda Chaonia and Syamray Chaonia with other 22 Dhekari kings.(Khan Chaudhury, A. A, op. cit. p.104; and Historical Letters of the Ahom Period, a collection of 44 letters exchanged between the Koch and the Ahom kings, Transcripts no. 18, Vol. V, Part VI, DHAS, Gauhati.).
212. *Satsari Assam Buranji*, p.72; Cited in D. Nath, op. cit., p.59.

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