

Ahom-Bhutan Relations with Specific Reference to Royal Bhutanese Embassy Visiting Ahom Capital in 1801

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Abstract

This paper is confined to the period when the Ahom power came into contact with Bhutan. This happened towards the beginning of the seventeenth century when the Ahom kingdom annexed Kamrup and Darrang to the north of which lay the territory of Bhutan.

Thereafter, for more than a hundred years the relations with Bhutan were primarily dealt with by the Darrang Raja who was made a tributary Raja by the Ahom king. However, whenever required, the Raja was assisted by Ahom force to deal with situation.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, there were troubles in the Ahom kingdom. Among these were the Moamaria uprising that spread even to lower Assam. The rebellious prince of Darrang Krishna Narayan with his supporters took the help of Burendazes, mercenary soldiers from Bengal. When Capt. Welsh came to Assam to take them back, many of them with Krishna Narayan took shelter in the bordering areas of Bhutan and created troubles there.

Bhutanese authorities made appeal to the Barphukan of Guwahati. To ascertain the situation he sent an embassy to Bhutan in 1801. In return, the King of Bhutan sent a royal embassy to the Ahom court that arrived at Jorhat, the Ahom capital in 1802. The envoys were well received by the King and the Prime Minister. They brought many presents that were valuable at that time. The Ahom and the Prime Minister also sent valuable presents to the Bhutan King.

In this paper, I have devoted to this embassy in the background of Ahom history.

Assam

In very early times it was known as Pragjyotisa. How and when this name came to be applied is a subject of scholarly issue. But it was more legendary than historical.

Later at least since the fourth century C.E. it came to be known as Kamarupa, often prefixed by Pragjyoisa as Pragjyotisa-Kamarupa. This name continued. Even after the Ahom occupation of Kamarupa in the seventeenth century as the name Kamarupa or its shortened form Kamrup, continued to be applied to a portion of territory and was called Kamrup Desh, meaning 'Kamrup Country' as found in the chronicles and in land-grant charters of Ahom kings. The British retained the name in the District of Kamrup. This name still persists as the name of two districts - Kamrup (Metro) and Kamrup (Rural). Guwahati, the capital of Assam is within Kamrup (Metro).

The present name Assam is associated with the Ahom whose rule in the Brahmaputra Valley continued uninterrupted for six hundred years from 1228 C.E. to 1826 C. E. This period of history is the most memorable, and the Ahom left an indelible imprint on life, society and culture of Assam. It was during this period that Assam acquired a distinctive personality and identity.

Before delving into the subject, a short introduction to the Ahom and their history in Assam will be discussed for better screening and appreciation. The indigenous sources of information on Ahom-Bhutan Relations will be introduced as most foreign sources are known to those who are acquainted with the history of the Kingdom of Bhutan.

Indigenous Sources

The most important sources for information for Ahom-Bhutan relations are the historical records of the Ahom kings known

as *Buranji*. *Buranji* is form of chronicling of important events that happened during the reign period of each king. They are therefore a kind of royal chronicles or annals recorded by trained scribes appointed by the royal court. In Assam, these chronicles or *Buranjis* were written on oblong strips of bark of a tree called *agar* wood. Occasionally, records were also written on tightly woven *muga* cloth. We may note that previous to the advent of the Ahom to the Brahmaputra valley, no such chronicle writing system ever existed. Hence, for pre-Ahom period in Assam there was no chronicle.

When the Tai, later to be known as Ahom, came to the Brahmaputra valley, Tai language, later called Ahom language, was their mother tongue. And therefore all *Buranjis* were compiled in the Ahom language. Much later, from about the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the Ahom became much acquainted with the Assamese language and started speaking that language, *Buranjis* came to be written in Assamese as well. However, *Buranji* writing in Ahom language continued. Even copper-plate documents were also inscribed in Ahom. Because of these circumstances, we get *Buranjis* written in both Ahom and Assamese languages. This nature of *Buranji* writing is applicable to the later part of the Ahom rule in Assam.

In addition, there are literary source of the genealogical account of the Koch royal family of Darang known as *Darang Raj Vangsavali* in which some account of relations of the Koch kings of Darang are written.

On the Bhutan side, I admit my ignorance about any chronicle or records maintained by the royal court or by any regional chief in Bhutan on the relations with the Ahom kings or with their subordinate chiefs. If any such records are available, these will certainly much valuable and throw light or allow historians to make comparative study with the Ahom records.

The Ahom, also called Tai Ahom, are ethnically a Tai people. The Tai peoples are very widespread in several countries in Mainland Southeast Asia - Thailand, Laos (PDR), Vietnam, Myanmar, China's southern region. They are known by different appellations, groups and sub-groups - Thai, Lao, Shan, Dai, Zhuang, Li, etc. In India, they are living in Assam and Arunachal Pradesh.

Of the Tai in India, the Ahom are the largest in number of population approximately 2.5 million, while the smaller groups like the Khamti, Phake, Aitom, Khamyang and Turung each having a few thousand only. All the Tai people have their own language - the Tai language, now classified as Tai-Kadai. This language is basically uniform in all the groups. However, there are regional, sub-regional and local variations due to isolation and influence of other language speakers among whom they have been living for long. A hundred years ago H. R. Davies who travelled several thousand miles among the Tai wrote, "Spread over such a large extent of country, there are naturally diversities of dialect in the language, but Shans from very different countries can understand each other." Majority of them are Buddhists, but there are Tai who are not Buddhists.

The Ahom in Assam

As per their own chronicles, early in the thirteenth century C.E. a large group of Tai people from Mong Mao kingdom made their advance to the Brahmaputra valley under the leadership of a prince named Siu-ka-pha. This group, according to the chronicles, comprised of nobles, priests, men, women, children, fighting men, ordinary persons who served the nobles and officials. Altogether they were nine thousand persons. They had two elephants, one male and one female; three hundred horses.

Mong Mao has now been identified with present Mong Mao located in the Shweli Valley in south-western Yunnan. It is today included in the Dehong Tai-Singpho Autonomous Prefecture with its capital in Mangshi (in Chinese), or Mong

Khwan in Tai. This group traversed the upper Irrawaddy and the upper Chindwin regions. Obviously they followed an ancient route that linked the northeastern India with south-western China. The powerful Mao kingdom had its political influence on both sides of the Upper Irrawaddy. On arrival at the Doi-Kao-Rong, now known as Patkai, they founded a small domain they called *mong*. After crossing the Patkai, they advanced along the river courses of the Buridihing, Brahmaputra and Dikhow, and founded several small domains. Finally, Siu-ka-pha settled at a place called Cheraidoi, modern Charaideo, in Sivasagar where he built his capital. Siu-ka-pha was the first king. He passed away there in 1268 C.E. and was buried there.

At the beginning, their kingdom was confined to a comparatively small area. The tract over which the Ahom founded their kingdom was inhabited by the Barahi and the Moran, two small Mongoloid tribes who lived on highland and did dry cultivation. It was therefore no difficulty in subduing them by tact and diplomacy rather than by fight.

Evidently the Ahom gave preference to river basins of the tributaries of the Brahmaputra and settled there. As they were long accustomed to wet-rice cultivation in low-lying areas by engaging male buffalo they had their houses built on raised platform several feet above the ground. They found the territory most suitable for their settlements. They confined to this region for more than 250 years. In course of time, this area was turned into a most prosperous and wealthy region.

The kingdom made spectacular expansion during the reign of Siu-hum-mong (1497-1539). By that time the Ahom power attained considerable strength and prosperity to deal with its troublesome neighbours, the Chutiyas on the north-east and the Kacharis on the south. Siu-hum-mong's army defeated both the Chutiyas and the Kacharis, and turned their territories into Ahom provinces under Ahom governors. During the reign of this king, the Ahom kingdom was also pushed to the west along the Brahmaputra as far as the

Karatoya river. The Koch ruler Biswa Singha submitted but was allowed to remain as tributary. This caused the Koch army to invade the Ahom kingdom by Biswasingha's son Naranarayan. (Ahom kingdom at the beginning of the seventeenth century).

In the meantime, the Muslim power, the Afghan in Bengal became alarmed at the west-ward advance of the Ahom. Armed conflict started with them. However, the advance of the Mughal towards the east has overtaken the Muslim power in Bengal. The further advance of the Mughal has drawn the Ahom into serious armed conflict with former leading to a long drawn struggle with them till the closing years of the seventeenth century. It was in 1681 that the Mughal army was finally pushed out of the main valley marking the Manah river as the extreme western limit on the north bank, and the Nagarbera Hills on the south of the Brahmaputra. (Ahom kingdom at the close of the seventeenth century).

From 1701 to 1760 Assam under the Ahom rule enjoyed unmatched prosperity. This led to development of art, culture, language, architecture, building activities. It was during this period that many of the great historical monuments - tanks, temples, stone bridges, royal palaces, etc were constructed. The kings turned into great patrons of Hinduism, built Hindu temples, granted men and landed property to the Gossains and other Hindu preachers. In fact, most of the historical monuments now existing in Assam had been built during this period.

However, the last fifty years of the Ahom rule that ended with the British occupation of Assam or the Ahom kingdom during 1824-26 was most tragic. Internal troubles caused by the Moamaria and external invasion of the Burmese led to complete failure leading to a collapse. The Ahom rulers failed to restore peace. Thus it ended the Ahom power - the tragic end of the royal Ahom dynasty that ruled uninterrupted for 600 years.

At present, the Ahom have their concentration in the present districts of Sivasagar, Jorhat, Golaghat, Dibrugarh, Tinsukia, Dhemaji, Lakhimpur, and in pockets of Sonitpur, Nagaon and Morigaon.

Ahom-Bhutan Relations

Assam and Bhutan, officially the Kingdom of Bhutan, have been neighbouring lands for centuries. It is therefore most natural that there had been contact and relations between Assam and Bhutan since early times. But the nature of contact and other details are not available to us. According to known traditions, the Bhutia people visited several religious sites connected with the Buddha. One such known place is Hajo, another was Singari in Sonitpur. From the British sources of the nineteenth century and historical accounts of the Koch kingdom, we can get some idea about Assam-Bhutan relations existing before the Ahom occupation of Darrang and Kamrup when it came within Ahom historical profile.

Along the frontier between Bhutan and Assam where the Bhutan hills slopes down to the plains, there stretches a long narrow tract of fertile land which varies in breadth from 15 to 25 km. Cotton, rice, other staples are grown here, and also valuable woods are in abundance. It is because of this, the importance of this tract was greatly appreciated both by Bhutan and Government of the plains. This tract was segmented into divisions usually called "Duar". In the Assam frontier, there were seven duars -five in Kamrup frontier and two in Darrang frontier. The Kamrup duars were Bijni, Chapakhamar, Chapaguri, Baksa and Gharkola. The two Darrang duars were Bariguma and Killing. To the east of Darrang, there was the Kariapar Duar. It was through Kariapar that trade between Assam and Tibet passed.

The rise of the Koch power under Biswa Singha had its impact on the frontier as many Kachari, Mech and Koch people were occupying the lower tract. So long as the Koch enjoyed political power in Koch Bihar under King

Naranarayan, the frontier problems arising out of duars, though occasionally led to armed clash, were settled.

But, the division of the Koch kingdom in two parts in 1581 and followed by bitter rivalry between the rulers of the two paved the way for the entry of the Afghans and the Mughals into Koch politics. The division of the Koch kingdom automatically led to divided jurisdiction over the divided kingdoms. The territories lying to the east of the Sonkosh passed under the eastern Koch kingdom first under Raghu Dev and then to Parikshit. In 1612, the Mughal invaded Parikshit's kingdom and after his defeat, he was taken to Delhi, and his kingdom was annexed to the Mughal empire.

Circumstances leading Ahom Contact with Bhutan

On the annexation of the dominion of Koch Raja Parikshit to the Mughal empire, one of his brother named Balinarayan fled and took protection under Ahom king Pratap Singha in 1615. In 1616, he was installed over a part of the kingdom between the Barnadi (north of Guwahati) and the Bharali as the tributary Raja of Darrang with the title Dharmanarayan and took up his residence at Darrang.

From this time onwards, Assam's relations with Bhutan were primarily handled by the Darrang Raja; whenever the Darrang Raj required the support, he was backed by the Ahom Government. Soon a dispute arose due the occupation of the land of the Duars up to the Gohain Kamal Ali by Bhutan. At one time, it culminated into an armed clash. It was settled by a written agreement (this agreement is not available now. Col. Adam White states that Mr. Davis Scott as the Agent of the Governor-General found the treaty with Bhutan from *pera kakat* of Jado Ram Majindar who was living at Guwahati. A search could be made for it in the Bhutanese archives) that an annual payment of tribute in articles to be paid by Bhutan to the Ahom Swargadeo in lieu of the cessation of this territory. However it was also stipulated that these *duars* would be surrendered to the

Ahom Government for four months, from *Ashar* to *Ashin* i.e. from 15th June to 15th October.

Thus by the middle of the seventeenth century, Bhutan came into possession of the *duars* and the plains territory as far as the Gohain Kamal Ali.

However, towards the end the seventeenth century, the Ahom came into conflict with Bhutan when in 1688, an Ahom officer who had gone to collect taxes for four months had been resisted. An engagement took place with greater loss on the Ahom side. Subsequently the conflict was compromised by payment of money by the Bhutias. There was again trouble when a Choudhury of Assam who was sent to collect taxes from Kariapar Duar area was killed. When the Barphukan dispatched a strong force to punish those guilty, they paid money compensation and the matter was closed. There had been again some trouble in the Kariapar area for non-payment of taxes towards the close of the century. But the Ahom Government enforced them to pay.

From this time till about 1775, Assam-Bhutan relations were without trouble and regular payment of dues was sent to the Ahom Government.

During the period of disturbances caused by the Moamaria uprising, the Bhutias carried off to their hills Assamese subjects. The Bhutan *duars* offered a ready asylum to many Moamaria rebels against whom the Ahom government took strong measure to suppress them. The *Duars* also offered asylum to princes and nobles who rebelled against the Ahom Government. Thus when in 1792-93, Capt. Thomas Welsh defeated the rebellious prince of Darrang Krishna Narayan and his ally Haradatta Choudhury of Kamrup, both and their followers took shelter in the Killing Duar. Similarly, a great number Burkendazes, who were recruited by Krishna Narayan, refused to return to Bengal but took refuge in Bhutan and conducted sporadic incursions into Assam. It was reported the Dev Raja of Bhutan assisted Krishna

Narayan with Bhutanese soldiers. All these development strained the Assam-Bhutan relations.

Following these development, the Ahom Government through the Barphukan of Lower Assam, deputed the first formal embassy to Bhutan in 1801 to adjust the strained relations. This embassy was composed of two envoys - Pangkaj Choudhury of Pubpar and Kanchiga Lekharu of Kharang. However, the details of their mission are not available. As a result of this the Deva-Dharma Raja of Bhutan sent two (*Jingkaps*) royal envoys named Jiva and Dindu with letters and presents; and two other *Jingkap* (envoys) named Khupa and Burukdewa sent by chiefs known as *Jadung*. It is reported that one letter was written in Persian and the other in Bengali.

Royal Bhutan Envoys in the Ahom Capital at Jorhat

In 1802 C.E. the four Bhutanese *Jingkaps* (envoys) arrived at Guwahati in company with the Ahom envoys. On arrivals of the Bhutan envoys, the Barphukan made camps for their stay and all arrangements to take them to Jorhat upstream the Brahmaputra on large boats.

Here we recount the details of the embassy for several reasons. It is here we find many details of transactions and protocol, and of presents which we do not get elsewhere. Hence we would like to post these before this learned gathering.

After their arrival, they were kept at a camp built for them at Sarbaibandha, near Jorhat, the capital. After sometime, they were first given audience by the Buragohain Dangariya (Prime Minister) whom they were introduced by an officer. On the Buragohain's direction Bansbariya Biswambar Kataki enquired in the native dialect (*chou kham*) of the Bhutan ambassadors thus,

Whether at time of their departure, their lord the Deva-Dharma Raja was in enjoyment of peace and

happiness exercising his protection over his subjects living in the plains as well in the hills, with his Lema, Jongpung, Jadung, Tangsur Subha, Gelans.

The Jingkaps replied,

Our Deva-Dharma Raja was living in happiness by the grace of Kali-Thakurani when we left our country. We are not in a position to say what has transpired in the meantime.

The Buragohain then said,

It is also our desire that the Deva-Dharma Raja should be enjoying prosperity and happiness.

To the question about the time of departure, the time of arrival, and whether they faced any danger or difficulty on the way,

They replied,

ami desh sari asilo Pous mase, Chaitra mase ethai pailam. pathe kisu bhoi pailam na. (We left our kingdom in the month of Pousa; we arrived here in month of Chaitra. We did not face any trouble on the way.

After hearing letter addressed to the Prime Minister, the latter asked the royal Bhutan envoys thus,

The contents of the letter are understood. Tell, what is conveyed orally.

The envoys then stated,

The Deva-Dharma Raja has commanded us to say that seven hundred Gelans had previously solicited the permission of the Swargadeo to settle in the area

bounded by the Gohain Kamal Ali, for the purpose of rearing areca nut and betel vine. The Gelans accordingly settled there. But the people living on the other side of the road have transgressed the line, and have captured our men after crossing the road. Our King solicits the favour of the Swargadeo's protecting the former boundary.

The Prime Minister replied,

All right, the envoys will be given a reply to this message of their Lord at the time of their departure.

The envoys were then given flowers and sandal paste, the customary offerings marking the end of their meeting.

The envoys presented the Buragohain the gifts they carried with them from.

The gifts brought for the Prime Minister were:

Gomcheng or China Silk- 1 long piece
Kilmij - 1 *than* or long piece
Dwaraka Cloth - 4 pieces
Sandal Wood (White) - 1 piece
Sandal Wood (Red) - 1 piece
Chamar of musk-deer - 4 nos.

Sometime later, the four Bhutan envoys (*Jingkap*) were presented before His Majesty Ahom king Kamaleswar Singha by a high officer- the Choladhara Phukan. Following the established protocol, the Majindar Barua, on behalf of His Majesty, put necessary questions.

The first question was

whether at the time of their departure the Deva-Dharma Raja, the ruler of Bhutan was living in peace and prosperity, by protecting his subjects along with

his Lemas, Jongpungs, Jadungs, Tongchur-Subhas and Gelans

Having heard this, the envoys replied,

At the time of our departure, the Deva-Dharma-Raja was living in peace and plenty through the favour of Kali-Thakurani. We cannot say what has transpired in the meantime

The Swargadeo then said,

It is also our desire that the Deva-Dharma Raja should live in happiness and prosperity.

They were then asked about the time of their departure thus,

In which month did they leave their country? When did they reach Guwahati? How long it was since they arrived at this place?

They replied thus,

We started from our country in the month of *Pausa*; we reached Guwahati in the month of *Phagun*, and we arrived here in the month of *Chaitra*. We did not experience any danger in our journey.

The Majindar Barua read out the letter that they carried. The Ahom king heard it and said,

I have understood the purport of the message in the letter. Please tell me the oral message sent by Deva-Dharma Raja.

To this, the envoys replied,

The true intent of our Raja's message has been communicated in his letter. But in addition, he

directed us to say that seven hundred *Gelans* had previously prayed for and obtained permission from the *Swargadeo* through the Barphukan of Guwahati to settle in the area bordering on the Gohain-Kamal Ali, for the purpose of taking betel-nut and betel-leaf, by singing religious songs. But some subjects of *Swargadeo* have now violated the boundary line, ravaged the villages and committed many oppressions. Our Raja prays for the restitution and protection of old limits.

The Ahom king then said,

The *Mahamantri Buragohain Dangriya* will communicate his reply to this prayer at the time envoys' departure. They should now retire to their camp and wait there.

While staying in their camp, the envoys were entertained with recreations of different types.

Prime Minister granted leave to depart the Bhutia Embassy:

He said thus,

Well, Jiva, Dindu, Khupa and Burukdewa, I now grant you permission to return to your country. Tonight you stay at your camp and start homeward tomorrow. We have given our reply in our letter to Raja Deva-Dharma. The Raja will know everything from our letter. As for the verbal message, the Nawab of Guwahati (that is Barphukan) has been commanded to settle the matter. Our *Kataki* (envoy) named Anai will proceed with you to Guwahati and will speak to the Barphukan. After interviewing the Barphukan, the Bhutia envoys will depart to their kingdom.

Presents brought by the Bhutan Envoys

Presents sent by the Deva-Dharma Raja to the Ahom Swargadeo

Metal objects:

Silver pot containing several smaller caskets inside - 1 no.
Steel Sword with sheath having silver linings interspersed with gold and precious stones - 1 no.

Clothes:

Waist-belt of *Kocha* cloth - 1 no.
Jema of red *kuchi* - 1 no.
Red *Gomcheng-Mechi* - 1 roll
Red *Dwaraka* cloth for wearing on the body - 3 pieces
White *Dwaraka* cloth - 2 pieces
Red *Gomcheng* - 1 roll
Black *Gomcheng* - 1 roll
Light-Red *Gomcheng* - 1 roll
Firinghee Light-Red Coloured *Gomcheng* - 1 roll
Satranj - 1 piece
Namdang Cloth with four broad laces - 1 piece.
Kilmij cloth - 1 piece
Dinga Blanket - 1 piece
Khulu Blanket - 12 pieces
Red Blanket - 15 pieces
Pipranga Blanket - 15 pieces

Animal:

Chamar from Kariapar - 60 nos.
Black *Methon* - 1 no.
Toka Gumuni Cow - 2 nos.
Horse - 1 no.
Red *Tangon* Pony - 1 no.
Blackish Piebald Pony harnessed with saddles, bridle, other fittings - 1 no.

Presents from Tongsu Subha

Animal:

Piebald Pony - 1 no.

Clothes:

Golden Red *Gomcheng* - 1 piece

Red *Dwaraka* - 2 pieces

Blanket - 1 piece

Soft Red *Thonga* - 1 piece

Blanket for sitting - 1 piece

Dinga Kheh or Chinese Blanket - 1 piece

Rug made of fur very smooth - 1no.

Chamar - 3 nos.

Presents from Jadung of Shalikharia

Animal:

Tangon Pony - 1no.

Clothes:

Namdang Cloth - 1 piece.

Presents of 2 Envoys - Jiva and Dindu

Gold *Gomcheng* Cloth - 2 pieces.

Blanket - 9 pieces.

Red *Dwaraka* - 1 piece.

Presents of 2 Envoys - Khupa and Burukdewa

Namdang cloth - 3 pieces.

Blanket - 4 nos.

Presents sent by the Ahom Swargadeo to Raja Deva-Dharma Raja

Metallic Articles:

Lime-pot made of 5 *tolas* of gold with jewel inset - 1 no.

Tobacco Receptacle made of 4 *tolas* of gold - 1 no.

Peak of 3 *tolas* of gold used in *japi* with *Japi* - 1 no.

Ahom *Jara* (Casket) made 106 and half *tola* of gold - 1 no.

Silver Betel-pot of 72 and a one-fourth *tola* - 1 no.
Silver *Khadaban* weighing 34 *tola* - 1 no.
Silver cup pinned on a conical support weighing 27 *tola* - 1 no.
Copper Sarai (Tray) inlaid with silver - 1 no.
Brass Dish with support - 1 no.
Knife set with gem - 1 no.
Knife with Ivory handle inlaid with brass -15 nos.
Knife with handles of buffalo-horn inlaid with silver -15 nos.
Fan made of Peacock Feather -2 nos.
Ivory Box - 1 no.

Poppy Seed -4 bags

Ivory Wreath - 4nos.

Cloths:

Turban made of very fine texture - 1 no.
Cheleng cloth with embroider in four margins - 1 piece.
Satin Cloak of *laljang* stuff of sugarcane colour leaf - 1 no.
Cotton Girdle with embroidered lines - 1 no.
Dhuti of fine silk - 1 piece
Japi with gold points and flowered at places - 1 no.
Cotton Kerchief - 1 piece.
Patding embroidered - 1 no.
Double-fold cloth with embroideries - 1 pair.
Baswal or Loin Cloth - 1 piece.
Tangali or Girdle embroidered - 1 piece
Silk *Dhuti* - 1 piece.
Satin Frock-Coat of sugarcane coloured leaf -1 piece.
Cotton Napkin - 1 piece.

Presents sent by the Buragohain

Turban of fine yarn of 16 cubits long - 1 no.
Large Double-Sheet corners embroidered lined with strips -1 no.
Boswal - 1 piece.

Tangali Embroidered - 1 piece.
Napkin Spotted - 1 no.
Dhuti of fine silk - 1 piece.
Satin Frock-Coat with flower work - 1 piece.
Knife with ivory handle inlaid with brass - 3 nos.
Knife with plain horn handle - 4 nos.
Palm leaf *Japi* with silver summit and embroidered trimmings - 1 no.
Wreath made of ivory - 2 strings.
Ivory pot of poppy seed - 2 nos.
Ivory Box - 1 no.

Presents to the Bhutan Envoys

To Jiva:

Yellow Turban - 1 no.
Jema (Cloak) of White *Patuka* - 1 no.
Juria Kapor (cloth) of yellow colour - 1 piec
Kamarbandha (Girdle) - 1 piece.
Ear-ring of 2 and a half *tolas* of gold - 1 pair.
Bangles with gold works in three places - 1 pair.

For expenses: 30 rupees and 2 gold *mohars*.

To Dindu: similar presents as above.

To Khupa and Burukdewa each:

Turban of yellow colour - 1 no.
Cotton *Jema* (Cloak) - 1 no.
Khania Kapor (cloth) of yellow colour - 1 piece.
Cotton *Patuka* - 1 piece
Ear-ring made of one and half *tola* of gold - 1 pair.
Silver Bangles of 10 *tola* weight - 1 pair.

For expenses to Khupa and Burukdewa each: 20 rupees (*taka*) and gold *mohar* 1.

Here we are facing the problem of exact identification of articles named in the Buranji because many of these are not in use today; it has become old-fashioned both in Assam and

Bhutan. In addition, Bhutanese names appear in Assam Buranjis in their Assamised form.

Identification of terms or titles for instance *Jingkap*, *Subha*, *Gelan*, *Jadung*, etc. are difficult to follow their status, power and function.

Even the weight measured in *tola*, *taka*, *mohar*, etc are not in use now. They need conversion in current system.

Location of places found in the Buranjis is also necessary to understand the past situation.

Thus all these need to be defined appropriately so that these are to be understood in present day context.

From what has been accounted above, it appears that there had been occasional frictions between the two parties - Ahom and Bhutan, but they were always accommodative in their approach. It was perhaps there was no ambition of one to absorb the other. One was the hill polity and the other was plain polity. The peoples of the two polities had different ways of life, language and culture, and even religion. Two different political systems worked. Co-existence was the principle.

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