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Twin Flowers: Ecology and Economy during the Reign of the Koches (Early Medieval to Colonial Period)

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Abstract:

Economic activities and its related development depend on the resources of nature. After the fall of the Khen dynasty in 1498 C.E., Viswa Singha, one of the chief of Koch clan established the Koch kingdom. The river Karatoya was its western boundary and the Baranadi marked its eastern boundary. The Koch state is bounded in the northern side by the Himalaya. With some geographical deviation Koches maintained their identity as a ruler till the emergence of the British. The extensive river network system, spreading all over this region is the lifeline of the people of this region. These rivers created extensive well-cultivated plains, the numerous hills and dales, forests and marshes, rising grounds, thick jungles etc. These are the basic geographical features of this land. The vast fertile plain of the state is good for agriculture and its associated economic growth. Various manufacturing industries developed during the reign of the Koches. Silk-fabrics, cotton-fabrics and jute-fabrics were not only the popular fabrics of the state, but also fulfill the needs of the neighbouring state. It is easy for the Koch ruler to develop the economy of the state with the help of some technology and other basic modifications of the resources.

Keywords: Economy, Ecology, Agriculture, Industry, Floods, Drought, Earthquake, Koch, etc.

In this age of Post-modern and globalization, the subject ecology and its related issues are very important. The term 'ecology' derived from the Greek root 'oikos' and 'logy'. In Greek 'oikos' means 'house' or 'home' and 'logy' means 'the study of' or 'the science of'. Thus, etymologically 'ecology' means the scientific study of the earth as a house.¹ The term ecology first used in 1869.² Ecology is the study of the earth's plants, animals, soil, lands, water, air, microorganism, people and no doubt, everything related to the earth. Simply, ecology is the science related with the relationships between and among all organisms i. e. living and non-living of the environment.³ This paper mainly concentrated on the relationship between economy and ecology during the reign of the Koches. This paper also categorically discusses how the ecological features helped the Koch people to develop their socio-economic parameters of the state.

During the early medieval period, Khenas were the powerful ruler of the *Kamarupa* and adjoining areas. After the fall of the Khen dynasty in 1498 C.E.,⁴ *Viswa Singha*, one of the chief of Koch clan established the Koch kingdom.⁵ Later, he came into conflict with the *Baro-Bhuinyas*⁶ and some other tribal groups of North-East India. The river *Karatoya* was its eastern boundary and the *Baranadi* marked its western boundary.⁷ With some geographical deviation Koches maintained their identity as a ruler till the emergence of the British.⁸

The environment of the Koch territory was always allured the neighbouring people to migrate here. Its physical environment is suitable for human settlements since ancient period. The extensive river network system, spreading all over this region is the lifeline of the people of this region. The extensive well-cultivated plains, the numerous hills and dales, forests and marshes, rising grounds, thick jungles etc. are the basic geographical features of this land.

The rivers are the life-line of the people of *Koch Behar*. Most of the rivers flow down in the direction either from north to south or from east to west seeking the level, cutting the valleys. The development and prosperity of this region depends upon these river systems. These rivers creates waterfalls, lakes etc. We can trace the growth of the tribal settlements, the emergence of mighty kingdoms, prosperous town, fertile villages, religious shrine etc. on the banks of the rivers of this territory. All these rivers are good source of fish and many people are engaged in this fishery industry.

Rivers are not only the source of water, but also rivers are the natural peripheral boundary of the Koches. The Brahmaputra⁹ is not only an important river of Tibet or North-East India, it also vitalized the air of the whole north-east India. The most important tributaries of this river are Subarsiri, Bhareli, Dhansiri(2), Barnadi, Manas, Sankosh, Torsa, Tista, Burhi, Dihing, Disang, Dikho, Jhanzi, Dhansiri(1), Kulsi, Jinjiram.¹⁰ All these tributary rivers are played significant role in the socio-economic condition of this region. Though the grassy-sandy coastal area and the islands of the Brahmaputra were not suitable for any kind of permanent settlement, but in every year the floods carrying minerals and other valuable materials inundated the coastal banks of this rivers which boost up the agriculture and life of the ecology. Village communities on the banks of the river Brahmaputra were mainly involved in agricultures. Generally caste system was not rigorous. According to Amlendu Guha, 'there was no taboo against Brahmin women's participation in sowing and harvesting operations in rice-fields or weaving'.¹¹ Many people from upper to lower class are participated in harvesting and weaving. Though, the navigation, especially during the rainy season was hazardous and dangerous for boats and fisherman, the coastal jungle are not only supplied the wood but also meeting the demand of firewood of the kitchen. Another important river is the *Karatoya*. It was the traditional boundary between Bengal and *Kamarupa*. The river also demarcates the boundary between the Koch kingdom and the Mughal Empire.¹² An important river situated in Koch kingdom is the *Trisrota* (at present known as *Tista*) means 'three streams'. In Rennel's map the *Tista* is presented as flowing through the river *Punarbhaba*, *Atreyi* and *Karatoyā*.¹³ The earliest reference of this river may be traced in the *Mahabharata*, and some other Sanskrit works also. This river is mentioned in the *Mahabharata* in connection of god *Varuṇa*.¹⁴ It originated from the *Charthen Laima* lake of Sikkim and comes down to Kalimpong. Then this river after crossing Sevoke (near Siliguri) enters Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar and eventually falls into the Brahmaputra at Chilmari port in Rangpur. It played an important role for the socio-cultural and economic development of the Koch domain.¹⁵

The next important river of this region is *Sankosh*. It raises from the Bhutan hills and comes down to Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar district and finally mix with the Brahmaputra in Dhuburi district. It marked the physical boundary between the Koch kingdom and *Kamarupa*. Significantly, it is the cultural barrier between Bengal and the north-east frontier.¹⁶ The river *Torsa* mentioned in the *Kalika Puranam* as *Navatoya*.¹⁷ The river originated from Tibet and flows down into Bhutan, Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar and eventually falls into the Brahmaputra.¹⁸ On the banks of this river important political centres have emerged at the time of Koch rule. The river *Dharala* rises from the Bhutan Mountain. In Bhutan it is known as '*Chil*' river.¹⁹ At present, its narrow stream flows in the

western Duars in Jalpaiguri district. *Jalpesh* temple is situated on the bank of this river and it is worshipped as a holy river.²⁰ *Kamatapur*, capital of *Khen* dynasty stood on the bank of this river. Hamilton in 1809 observed the extensive ruins of *Kamatapur*.²¹ The *Khutamara* is a small river which rises from the *Malad* river at Pala village in Bhutan. The upper portion of this river is known as *Khutamara* and the lower portion of this river is known as *Girdhari*. Flowing parallel with *Dharala* this river *Khutamara* falls into the *Singimari* river at Rangpur district in present Bangladesh.²² The river *Gilandi* rises from the Bhutan hills, and after crossing Duars it flows in north-west and entered into Cooch Behar district. Then it flows 3 miles in south-east direction and mingled with *Jaldhaka* river.²³ Another important river is *Dudua*. Several small rivers of western Duars mingled together and formed this river. Having entered into Mekliganj and dividing the Mathabhanga Mahakuma in two parts, this river ultimately joined with the *Jaldhaka* river.²⁴ The *Mujnai* river rises from the southern slope of the Bhutan Mountain. Many small rivers mingled with this river and contributed to its emergence as a big river. *Buratorsha* is one such river. *Dolang* is also a small important river of the modern Cooch Behar district that rises from western Duars.²⁵

Most of these rivers rises from the Himalayan Mountain and carry alluvium soil, sand etc. The land of the western part of the state i.e. *Koch Behar* region is mainly plain. The soil of this region consists of a mixed free soil and ash-colour. The soil is composed of light friable loam, alluvium soil and sand. The vast fertile plain of this region is good for agriculture and other economic activities.²⁶ But the land of eastern part of the state i.e. *Kamarupa* consists not only of vast plains, but hill and hillocks, and forests. The Brahmaputra valley is extremely fertile and suitable for all kinds of agricultural production. "For the most part, it is composed of a rich black loam, reposing on gray sandy clay, though occasionally consisting of light yellow clayish texture".²⁷ We find out rich plantation and vegetable resources. Mangoes, pine-apples, sugarcanes, plantains, jack fruits, oranges, citrons, limes etc. were mentioned as the main production of this area.²⁸ Pepper, ginger, many different aromatic flowers, odorous herbs, bamboo, orange, etc. were available in this area. According to S.N. Bhattacharyya "The hills of the interior are studded with thick forests, while the elevations striking the banks of the Brahmaputra.....are overgrown with reeds and wild grass."²⁹ Various kinds of animals were available since ancient period. The most notable was the elephant. It had a prominent place in the military system of not only the Koch rulers, but also others. The deer, elk, musk deer, fighting ram, partridge, the cock, water-fowl, goose and goat etc. were also available.³⁰

All natural resources are available for agriculture and farming in the Koch territory. Extensive river network system, alluvial and fine loam soil, cattle for agriculture were all naturally enrich the agriculture and producing system of the Koch region since early time. Though, the character of the soil is not the same everywhere. The soil of the western part of the state which stretched up to the confluence of the river *Karotoya* and the *Tista* had more clay than sand. This made the soil harder than the any other parts of the state. Some other parganas of the Koch state such as *Mathabhanga*, *Makhliganj*, *Lalbazar*, *Tufangunj*, *Rahimganj*, *Dinhata* etc. had the soil both sandy and alluvial.³¹ But overall the soil of the Koch territory was fertile and good for producing both the horticulture and traditional farming. According to *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, "This tract of country, in point of the sweetness of its water, and mildness and salubrity of its air, and the comfort of its inhabitants, is superior to all the eastern tracts of Hinduisim. Large oranges thrive here, and other fruits also grow in abundance. The tree of pepper grows there, its root is thin, and its branches creep over ponds."³² Some root fruits were very popular among the Koch people. Potato, onion, garlic, turmeric, ginger, etc. were cultivated both for the household and business purposes. The farmers of this region were not

extensively habituated to use manure and other chemicals or pesticide for the agriculture. Ecologically sustainable manure like cow-dung, oil-cake dust, tree-leaves, etc. was used. During the Koch rule no river dam constructed for the purposes of irrigation. Big dams are always hazards and dangerous for this earthquake prone zone. We find out small channels connected with the rivers, lakes, ponds, etc. to fulfill the needs of water during cultivations. Different type of food grains like wheat, rice and various pulses i.e. moog, moosoor, khesari, kolti etc. were the common food-producing crops of the whole territory. Tobacco, oil seeds, maize, etc. were also popular horticulture which boosts up the economy of the state. The renowned historian of Koch Behar Annat Ullah Ahmed mentioned many valuable crops and vegetables were grown all over the state. He mentioned orange, pepper, different types of perfumes, tree roots for Ayurvedic treatment etc. of this region were regularly export other parts of India and also neighbouring countries.³³ In this process of agriculture and horticulture the role and function of women and children was very significant. Women were engaged in sowing seeds and plantation during the cultivation of rice, wheat, pulses etc. They also participated to gather and cutting paddy, husk paddy etc. They were also very much familiar with marketing crops.³⁴ Neo-Vaishnava movement propagated by *Sankaradeva* in the fifteenth century also led a deep impact on the agricultural process of this region. This class-less and caste-less religious movement was not only concentrated on the socio-religious reforms, they also focused to change the traditional agricultural process practiced in this territory. All the *Satras*³⁵ of this region promoted and encouraged to use the plough in the place of the digging stick and hoe. The hard working hilly tribal people of the Himalaya migrated to the down and settle in the plain and gradually emerged as a farmer class. All the sections of the people from upper to the lower class are benefitted by these encouragements of the Neo-Vaishnavists. Both the male and female equally participated in the process of agriculture. Even the Brahmin women were participated and made their contribution in the production of crops.³⁶

Both the sexes of Koches were engaged in some manufacturing industries. The men were not only engaged in constructing and repairing houses and its related activities, but also they were very much skilled in agriculture and it related industries. In all the outdoor activities men were always assisted by the Koch women which was one of the important traditions among the Koches. Silk-fabrics, cotton-fabrics and jute-fabrics were the popular fabrics of the state. The industry of the silk-fabrics is '*confined to women*'.³⁷ A kind of coarse and rough silk made of castor-oil plants and maize tress was popular in this region. This silk is popularly known in this region as '*endi*' which is produced throughout the year. Generally this '*endi*' silk is used during the winter season. In the case of cotton-fabrics production, the contribution of the women was very significant. Only trained or qualified girls were actively participated in the process of cotton spinning and weaving. Females were expert in colouring, designing etc. of this cotton. They used different motifs and patterns for beautification of these cotton clothes. The Garo and Mech women were also expert in this cotton industry.³⁸ Jute was a common agricultural crop of the state. Gamchha, Saree were some of common products of the jute-fabrics.

Natural calamities such as floods, drought, earthquake etc. were heavily affected the development of the Koch state. As per the records it is evident that the floods occurred in the year of 1787, 1822, 1842, 1870, 1878, 1886 etc.³⁹ inundated the whole Koch territory which seriously damaged not only the household property and human settlements, but also led a long run impact of the overall development of the state. The pet animals, wild animals, crops, communication and transport system seriously affected by all these floods. Not only floods, the drought occurred in 1854 A.D.⁴⁰ was extremely sluggish the economic development of the state.

Notes and References:

¹ Odum, Eugene P., *Ecology*, Oxford & IBH Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, Second edition, 1975, p.1.

² Sharma, R.S., *India's Ancient Past*, Oxford University Press, Twenty-Six Impression 2016, New Delhi, p.40.

³ Sing, Singh (ed.), *Ecological Security-The Foundation of Sustainable Development*, Shipra Publications, Delhi, 2007, p-ix.

⁴ Gait, Edward, *A History of Assam*, Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1933, p.44.

⁵ It is a controversial issue about date of the foundation of the Koch state. According to Amnat Ullah Khan Choudhury [Khan Choudhury, Amanat Ullah Ahmad, *Koch Biharer Itihash* (Bengali), Hiten Nag (ed.), Siliguri, West Bengal, Reprint 2005, p.87], the great historian of the Koch state and some other historians, *Viswa Singha* founded his dynasty in 1496 A.D. But Gait [Gait, E.A., *A History of Assam*, Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1906, p.47] and Chandra Dhar Tripathi [Tripathi, Chandra Dhar, *Aspects of the Medieval History of Assam*, Published by the Secretary for Indian institute of Advanced Study, Rastrapati Nivas, Shimla, 2002, p.28] and some other group of historians opined that *Viswa Singha* established his dynasty in 1515 A.D.

⁶ Edward Gait based on Assamese legends said that “*Baro* (twelve) *Bhuiya*” means the aboriginal tribe of Chota Nagpur. But Dr. Wise mentions that this title associated with the region of Eastern Bengal and its mean “*Zamindar*”. It is also controversial whether they are twelve in numbers or not. But both of them wrote that ‘*Bhuiya*’ defined a caste [Gait, Edward, op.cit.p.39]. According to Maheshwar Neog ‘*Bhuiya*’ is a common Assamese word. The word is coming from *Barapaiyati* (sometimes *Barabilat* or *Bareotikal*) means ‘a harlet’ (a woman with many husbands) [Sreenivasa Murthy, H.V., *Vaiṣṇavism of Śaṅkaradeva and Rāmānuja*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1973, p.27]. Before the emergence of the Koches as a ruling class, we find out many small chiefs in this territory, popularly known as *Bhuiyas*. These were *Ugari, Lukibkai, Panthan, Bako, Bholagao, Fulbari, Bijani, Beltala, Mairapur, Rani, Bangao, Karaibari, Atiyabari, Kamtabari, Balarampur, Pandu, Jhargou Dighila, Khutaghat, Karnapur, Behar, Rausia, Dakuyar Chaogao, Baranagar, Darang, Barabhuiya, Sarubhuiya, Chhatubhuiya, Ayuribhuiya, Kusumbhuiya, Keleyabhuiya*, etc. [Amnat Ullah Khan Choudhury, *Ibid*, pp.88-89].

⁷ Khan Choudhury, Amanat Ullah Ahmad, *Koch Biharer Itihash* (Bengali Version), Hiten Nag (ed.), Siliguri, West Bengal, Reprint 2005, pp. 83-87.

⁸ *Ibid*, pp.120-121.

⁹ According to Hem Barua, this river is also known as *Lohit* or *Luit*. The word *Lohit* or *Luit* is derived from a Sanskrit word ‘*Lauhitya*’, which means ‘*the red river*’. It is so called probably, because during the rainy season the river takes the red colour when passing through the red soil and bank. [Barua, Hem, *The Red River and the Blue Hill*, Lawyer’s Book Stall, Guwahati, 1962,p.7] This river is mentioned as a ‘*Lauhitya*’ in the *Mahabharata* in connection of god *Varuṇa*. [Vyasadeb, *Mahabharata*, Translated into Bengali by Kashiram Das, Akhay Library, B.S. 1426, *Sabhaparva*, pp.270-271.] There is also a mythological story related with the origin of this river. *Parasurama* committed matricide and washed off his body stains in this river and regained his sainthood. This made the water of the river red. *Brahmaputra* means ‘*son of Brahma*’. River *Brahmaputra* is worshipped as a male deity in this area since long time past. In Tibet it is known as *Tsan-po*, meaning ‘*great river of Tibet*’. This river entered Arunachal Pradesh where it is called

Siang or *Dihang* and then entered into Assam. In Assam it is known as Brahmaputra River. According to the ‘*Gazetteer of Bengal and North-East India*’ this river rises from 31°30' N. and 82° E. [B.C. Allen, E.A.Gait, C.G.H.Allen, H.F.Howard, *Gazetteer of Bengal and North-East India*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1979, p.167.] The name of the rising place of this river is *Chemayung Dung*. [Baruah, S.L., *A Comprehensive History of Assam*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1995, p.5] The place is situated near the upper portion of Indus and Sutlej and a minute distance to the east of Manas Sarovar Lake. The river Dihang rises from the north-east hills, sometimes known as Brahmaputra or sometimes as Lohita, falls into the main stream of river Brahmaputra. Near *Sadiya* it received two tributaries. The southern tributary is known as *Noa Dihing* and northern part known as *Sessari* and *Dihang*. [B.C. Allen, E.A.Gait, C.G.H.Allen, H.F.Howard, op.cit., p.167-169; Bhattacharyya, Amitabha, *Historical Geography of Ancient and Early Mediaeval Bengal*, Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, Calcutta, 1977, pp.31-35.]

¹⁰B.C. Allen, E.A.Gait, C.G.H.Allen, H.F.Howard, op.cit., pp.31-35.

¹¹ Guha, Amalendu, *The Medieval Economy of Assam*, in *The Cambridge Economic History of India, Vol:I*, edited by Tapan Raychaudhuri & Irfan Habib, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2007, p.487.

¹² Bhattacharyya, *A History of Mughal North-East Frontier policy*, Chuckervetty, Chatterjee & Co.Ltd., 1929, Calcutta, p.6

¹³ Bhattacharyya, Amitabha, op.cit., p.28.

¹⁴ Vyāsadeb, *Mahābhārata*, Translated into Bengali by Kashiram Das, Akhay Library, B.S. 1426, Sabhāparva, pp.270-271.

¹⁵ *Nadimatrik Cooch Behar:Udbhit o Prani jagat*(Bengali), Jagadish Chandra Ray, Cooch Behar Jela Sankha, Tathya o Sanskriti Bibhag (Ministry of Information and Cultural Department), West Bengal Government, Barsha 39, Sankha 12,July, 2006,p.40.

¹⁶ Bhattacharyya, Sudhindra,Nath, op.cit., P.7.

¹⁷ *Kālikā Purāṇam*, op.cit., Ch.77,Vs.16; Amanat Ullah Ahamad, Khan Choudhury, op.cit., p.8.

¹⁸ Grunning, J.F., *Eastern Bengal and Assam District Gazetteers-Jalpaiguri*, N.L.Publishers, Siliguri, West Bengal, Reprinted 2008, p.12.

¹⁹ *Nadimatrik Cooch Behar:Udbhit o Prani jagat* (Bengali), Jagadish Chandra Ray, Cooch Behar Jela Sankha, op.cit.,p.41.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Bhattacharyya, Sudhindra,Nath, op.cit., p.7.

²² *Nadimatrik Cooch Behar: Udbhit o Prani jagat* (Bengali), Jagadish Chandra Ray, op.cit.,p.41.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid, pp.41-42.

²⁶ Bhattacharyya, Sudhindra,Nath,op.cit, p.14; *Koch Biharer Bhougolik Anannyata* (Bengali), Bera, Sukumar, Cooch Behar Jela Sankha, Paschimbanga, Barsha 39, Sankha 12, B.S. 1413, July, 2006, p.36.

²⁷ Bhattacharyya, Sudhindra,Nath,op.cit, p.14.

²⁸ Khan Choudhury Amanat Ullah Ahamad, op.cit.,p.53; Bhattacharyya, Sudhindra, Nath, op.cit., p.15.

²⁹ Bhattacharyya, Sudhindra, Nath, op.cit., p.16.

³⁰ Khan Choudhury Amanat Ullah Ahamad, op.cit.,p.53; Bhattacharyya, Sudhindra, Nath, op.cit., p.17.

³¹ Chaudhuri, Harendra Narayan, *Cooch Behar State And Its Land Revenue Settlements*, The Cooch Behar State Press, Cooch Behar, 1903, p164.

³² Ghulam Husain Salam, *The Riyazu-S-Salātīn*, Translated from the original Persian by Maulavi Abdus Salam, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1902, pp.10-11.

³³ Khan Choudhury Amanat Ullah Ahamad, op.cit.,p.53.

³⁴ Chaudhuri, Harendra Narayan, op.cit., p132.

³⁵ The inclusion of *Satra* in the Neo-Vaishnava movement of *Sankaradeva* is a new feature of the Indian religious history. The word *Satra* is corrupt form of the Sanskrit word *Sattra*. In the Sanskrit literature the word was used in two senses. First is the sense of an almshouse and second is the sense of a sacrifice fasting from few days to one or more years.[Kane, Pandurang, Vaman, *History of Dharmasāstras (Ancient and Medieval Religious and Civil Law)*, Vol.II, Part.II, Government Oriental Series, Class B, No.6, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941, p.1239.] Most probably the latter sense is used for this institution. Every principal *Satra* is bounded by the existence of a *Namghar*, a *Manikuta*, a *Natchara* and two or four rows of *Hati*. The centre of the main activities of a *Satra* is simply called *Namghar*. The *Namghar* is a big prayer hall. This is also used for the purpose of meeting and discussion. The *Manikuta* is also an important part of the *Satra* which is actually a shrine where the idol or image of the deity or the sacred scripture is kept. Another important part of *Satra* is *Hati*. The term *Hati* is derived from the Sanskrit word *hatta* meaning a market or a fair. *Hati* enclosing the *Manikuta* and *Namghar* consisted of two or four rows of residential rooms for the clerical devotees. Generally these rooms are called *Char-hati*. *Batchara* is another important feature of the *Satra*. The entrance leading up to the interior of the *Satra* which is marked by a small open room is called *Batchara* or *Karapat*. It works as the gate-house. Most of the distinguished dignitaries and guests are received at the *Batchara* and then they enter the interior of the *Satra*. [Sarma, S.N., *The Neo-Vaiṣṇavite Movement and The Satra Intuition of Assam*, Lawyer's Book Stall, Guwahati, Assam, 1999, pp.139-40] *Namghar* even played the role as 'village parliament' and 'village court' in the society of this region. [Neog, Maheswar, *Sankaradeva*, National Book Trust, New Delhi, 2005, p.41.] The *Satras* generally owe allegiance to the *Sanhati*. [Dasa, Anirudha, *Guru-Vandanā*, Visnupur-Sattra Collection, 1791 Śaka, vv.312ff.] The term *Sanhati* is a synonym of the term *Sangha* which means an association. The term is also used as *Sanhati* and means joining or cohesion. According to *Kathā-Guru-Carita*, *Sanhati* means sub-sect.[Sarma, S.N, op.cit., p.95] The different *Sanhati* or sub-sects of Neo-Vaishnavism used different terms to understand their self-identity and philosophical developments. At present, the *Madhupursatra* (also known as *Madhupurdham*) of *Sankaradeva* situated at modern Cooch Behar district was one of the finest examples of all these *Satras*.

³⁶ Guha, Amalendu, *The Medieval Economy of Assam*, op.cit., p.487.

³⁷ Chaudhuri, Harendra Narayan, op.cit., p.154.

³⁸ Chaudhuri, Harendra Narayan, op.cit., pp.154-55.

³⁹ The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State [From 1877-78-1936-37 A.D.], Printed at the Cooch Behar State Press, Cooch Behar.

⁴⁰ Ibid.