

CHAPTER: IV

HAATS AND BAZAARS IN ASSAM DUARS

4.1 Introduction

The ‘*trade fairs*’ in the Assam Duars had been an influencing factor in fulfilling the vacuum of essential needs both for the people of Assam plains and the Bhutias of Bhutan. This chapter will mainly discuss the market places or so-called ‘*haats*’ held in various areas of Assam Duars during the colonial period.

During the Ahom period, the Ahom rajas established trade fairs and *haats*¹ in the various sites of Assam Duars to embolden frontier trade relations with the neighboring kingdoms.² These trade fairs and haats being a source of lucrative revenue, also served as a check to ensure compliance of the fierce tribes surrounding Assam Duars. Besides, trade fairs and haats also made the frontier tribes economically dependent on the plains.³

Haats was an essential center of rural marketing held weekly in the villages.⁴ These haats were important retail business centers wherein the villagers sold their surplus agricultural production.⁵ In these haats, the itinerant retailers sold garments, earthenware items, spices, etc. Each of these haats was held on a particular day of a week.

In the Northern frontiers of Assam bordering Bhutan, the place popularly known as ‘*Assam Duars*’ encompassed several *haats* or market places that originated in the absence of regular market places. *Haats* or marketplaces were impromptu establishments that facilitated trade and expedited commodities exchange.⁶ According to Karl Polanyi, ‘*local markets evolved at a converging point where the exchange of goods took place.*’⁷ The Markets⁸ are largely dependent on the nature of the society and are known or called by various terms or denominations in different parts of the world. In the Indian context, the term ‘bazaar’ is commonly used for the market. While in South Asia, ‘*haat*’ is a commonly used term for local markets.⁹ In Assam, the term ‘*haat*’ is a commonly used term for marketplaces.¹⁰ These so-called ‘*haats*’ in Assam had socio-economic significance and evolved due to the exchange of indispensable goods. Moreover, in Assam, Duars ‘*haats*’ represented a religious and political tradition.

4.2 Growing importance of markets (haats)

The British after the annexation of Assam in the frontiers of Assam Duars were instrumental in reviving the trade fairs that existed during the Ahom period. Besides, the trade fairs the British also established marketplaces or *haats* in Assam Duars. The British established the Kumarikata marketplace in 1874 in response to two dacoities committed by the Bhutias at Marwari shops in Subankhata in February and March 1874.¹¹ However, prior to the incident of dacoity at Subankhata in 1873 Colonel Hopkinson, Governor-General Agent North East Frontier and commissioner of Assam wrote a letter to the Officiating Secretary of the Government of Bengal suggesting the establishment of a market at Kumarikata in order to enable both the traders and the Bhutias to sell and purchase their essentials.¹² This suggests the interest of the British in establishing markets or haats in Assam Duars. The markets(haats) in Assam Duars gained significance after the cessation of trade fairs. However, there were some markets in Assam Duars that existed prior to the cessation of the trade fairs. Mention may be made of the Kalaigaon weekly market which was instrumental in the decline of exports of the Udalguri trade fair in 1877 because of the grains sold at this weekly market to the Bhutias.¹³ B.C. Allen in 1905 stated that the Marwaris own fewer shops in the interior of the Kamrup district than they do in Upper Assam.¹⁴ While in the Darrang district apart from tea, the Marwaris were responsible for nearly all export and import in the Darrang district.¹⁵ The markets (haats) had Marwari shops, and they purchased surplus goods from the rayats in exchange for cloth, thread, salt, oil, and, very frequently, opium.¹⁶

The articles of sale at the markets (haats) were rice along with other grains including fruits, vegetables, earthenware, cotton clothes, etc.¹⁷ In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, the trade fairs in Assam Duars ceased and the markets (haats) increasingly gained prominence for the Bhutias because of the decline in the price of salt, which was the principal item of trade of the Bhutias, and the prospects of greater trading facilities in the markets or haats. These markets (haats) over time developed into a permanent commercial hub due to the participation of the local people, far-flung traders and the Bhutias.

The markets or *haats* fostered the development of the commodity-money relationship. In absence of regular marketplaces in Assam Duars, these markets or haats were the hubs for the procurement of both British and indigenous goods. Besides, these markets or haats aided in the structural changes that resulted in the development of the colonial economy in the Assam

Duars. In Assam Duars the only towns were Barpeta and Mangaldai. Barpeta was a sub-division of Kamrup district, while Mangaldai was a sub-division of Darrang district.

4.3 Haats or Bazaars in Assam Duars

The commercial economy of Assam including Assam Duars were predicated primarily on *Haats*. In the Census Report of 1881, '*haats*' were signified as periodical markets, wherein the vendors set up stalls to sell their goods.¹⁸ These *haats* served as a focal point of the transaction of goods for both local and far-flung merchants. Moreover, '*Bazaar*' as a term originated in Iran and was popularised in Europe by the Portuguese.¹⁹ In Assam, the term bazaar for weekly markets or haats became a consistently used word after the entry of the British into Assam. The word '*bazaar*' is found mentioned in the Census Report of 1872, wherein the names of the places- Tezpur, Nowgong, and Dibrugarh were listed as the bazaars of Assam and Gauhati as the only town.²⁰ In the Census Report of 1891, Gauhati in the Kamrup district of Assam is also found mentioned as a prominent place for the mustard seed trade.²¹ During the colonial period, the jargon '*haat*' used for marketplaces changed along with the disposition of goods and traders involved in trading. Finally, the *haats* gradually lost importance with the development of traditional markets and bazaars, which attracted local and far-flung traders.

In the Northern frontiers of Assam Duars, the Bhutias of Bhutan, along with the people of the surrounding areas, assembled in a convenient location to sell and procure essential commodities. Such convenient locations gradually transformed into *haat* or market places, offering an occasion to procure crucial things and dispose of excess produce. Moreover, these *haats* also provided a platform for the petty traders to sell their products and enabled the merchants to purchase Bhutanese products at lower prices for their stores. Under Ahom rajas, Assam, several *haats* and marketplaces commenced daily and on specific days of the week. These *haats* offered a means for the mutual exchange of commodities for both hills and plains products. Moreover, these haats also attracted the people of the encompassing regions to dispose of their excess production and to acquire essential items. In this haats, besides locally produced goods and articles, livestock such as cows, goats, ducks, chickens, etc., were everyday exchange items.²² These *haats* and markets conferred a platform for poharis, mudais or sadagars, and beparis to conduct dealings. However, in these *haats*, only essential commodities in limited quantity were bartered. These *haats* were also meeting places both for

plains and hills people. The principal objective of the people participating in these markets' places and *haats* was to fulfil the void of essential goods required for daily use.²³

After the colonial government established themselves as the de facto rulers of Assam, they noticed that the people of Assam had limited wants. They produced every article of consumption and day-to-day essentials through their toil. The amount of trade that existed among the people was fulfilled through the barter of commodities. Therefore, to encourage trade and create a market for foreign goods, the colonial government recommended the development of an interest in foreign products among the natives of Assam. David Scott, the agent to the Governor-general of Bengal in Assam, recommended establishing marketplaces and *haats* at the convenient locations of Assam Duars to enable the Bhutanese to obtain supplies from the plains. Eventually, markets and *haats* grew in and around Sadar stations.²⁴ The growth of *haats* and marketplaces attracted far-flung traders, and soon foreign textiles, foodstuff and luxuries made their way into rural markets. The merchants from Dacca and Calcutta bought local produce articles in exchange for foreign salt, opium, broadcloth, and iron wares.²⁵

Haats or periodic markets are also held in the vicinity of tea estates.²⁶ These *haats* besides the workers of the tea estates and the people of the surrounding areas were also attended by the Bhutias. They visited the place to procure locally produce items, including earthenware, metal vessels, and cotton clothes.²⁷ Everyday markets places were held in the sub-divisions of Darrang and Kamrup, i.e., Mangaldai and Barpeta. These markets were relatively participated by the people of rural areas, and the transaction in these markets was based on the articles of daily requirements.

Table 4.1

List of periodic markets or haats held in Northern Frontier of Mangaldai Sub-division

Name of the Place	Days of the week held
Udalguri	Monday and Friday
Rawta	Tuesday
Orang	Tuesday
Namati	Tuesday
Singribari	Sunday
Barangajuli	Saturday
Paneri Hat	Sunday

Ghograpara	Monday
Khirabari	Sunday
Khirabari	Saturday
Puthimari	Saturday
Kalaigaon	Sunday
Mangaldai	Every day

Source: B.C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteer, Darrang*, Supplement to Volume- V, Assam Secretariat Press, Shillong, 1915, pp.19-20

Table 4.2

List of Markets held in the Northern Frontier of Barpeta Subdivision

Nalbari	Monday and Friday
Rangia	Thursday and Sunday
Sagarkuchi	Tuesday and Saturday
Barama	Thursday and Sunday
Mathurapur	Monday and Friday
Baregaon	Monday and Friday
Dhamdhama	Saturday and Tuesday
Nagrijiuli	Friday
Ramgaon	Friday
Bhebla (Nowsali hat)	Tuesday and Saturday
Chakehaka	Tuesday and Friday
Barpeta Bazar	Everyday

Table prepared from W.W. Hunter, *Statistical Account of Assam*, Volume-I, Trubner & Co., London, 1879, p.236

4.4 Haulage of goods in markets and haats

During the pre-British period, Assam Duars were surrounded by forests, high terrains, slopes, and uneven roads. There were no proper communication overland routes. In such a circumstance, the usual method employed by the inhabitants to carry their products in the markets and haats was the use of their shoulders, backs, and heads.²⁸ However, a considerable

amount of goods was also carried on ‘*baukha*²⁹’ or ‘*sangi*³⁰’, making it convenient to carry the goods over long distances.

The small traders, commonly known as *beparis* in Assam, carried the basket of goods either on their heads or on their shoulders. But for the large volume of goods, the transportation method applied differed. Usually, for the large volume of goods, traders, at their convenience, divided the loads into two and tied them into two ends of a bamboo bar called ‘*dang*’ or a flat bamboo piece called *biriya* or *baoka*. When the goods were too heavy to be carried on by a single man in a bar, it was done by two men by binding the loads in the middle of a strong bamboo pole and depending on the weight of a load, even by four men by putting the goods on a square or rectangular size flat bamboo appliance bound to two strong bamboo poles called *sangi* or *changi*. In the lower Assam, bullock carts were also used to carry loads on special occasions. However, in Barpeta, during monsoon, boats were used by the traders because rivers inundate the region’s lands.³¹ Therefore, due to the inconvenience of roads, the small traders confined their business to their area.

4.5 Markets or haats under Buriguma Duar

Buriguma Duar was a region sited within the ancient Darrangi Kingdom. Buriguma was an old village, that shared a boundary with Bhutan. According to Sarat Kumar Phukan, the meaning of the word Buriguma is a *Burhi* = old, an old woman, Guma or Goma= a Constellation, an old settlement of the Bodos.³² Buriguma was one of the Duar under the *Chatgari*³³ frontier district granted by the Ahom King to Bhutan in exchange for an annual tribute.

Buriguma Duar under colonial rule was a part of the Darrang district, the region was bounded by Koreapara Duar in the east and Khaling Duar in the west, Gohain Kamal Ali in the South, and Bhutan in the north.³⁴ Buriguma Duar during the Ahom period was under the jurisdiction of the Doompa Raja.³⁵ In this Duar, one of the most important annual trade fairs called the Udalguri trade fair was held. But this annual Udalguri trade fair ceased after the Burmese invasion of Assam. It was Lieutenant Rutherford who revived the annual Udalguri trade fair. Besides the participation of people from Bhutan and Assam, this annual trade fair also attracted Tibetans, Chinese, Manipuris, Marwaris, and Europeans. After the annexation of Assam, the British continued the existing system of alternative control of Buriguma Duar until the annexation of the whole of Assam Duars into British jurisdiction.

During the Colonial period under the jurisdiction of Buriguma Duar, besides the annual trade fair held in Udalguri and *Ghagrapara*, several rural markets and haats witnessed the participation of Bhutias and traders of far-flung places apart from the people of the surrounding region. Such rural markets and *haats* under the Buriguma Duar were held at Ghagrapara, *Harisinga*, *Budbaria*, located about 1K. M. distance on the east of *Paneri*, *Puthimari* (Kabirali), and *Kalaigaon*.

The routes through which the Bhutias descended into the plain regions of Buriguma Duar were the Bhairabkunda route and the *Bwrla* river route.³⁶ However, in the present time, the old route of the *Bwrla* river through which the Bhutias of Bhutan came down is situated in the middle of the *Hatigarh* Tea Estate. Presently, the *Bwrla* river flows through a distance of about 400 meters away from the old river route.

The Bhutias of Bhutan came down in groups to attend the various periodic market places, and *haats* held on the subsequent days of a week in the vicinity of Buriguma Duar. The Bhutias bartered rock salt and blankets and various hilly products for dried fish, liquor, and opium, among other plains products.³⁷ The plains people sold agricultural products, live stocks, utensils, silk clothes, etc., in these weekly markets and *haats*.

The Bhutias descended in groups during the winter season through the courses of Buriguma Duar. They then segregated to attend marketplaces and *haats* held in the surrounding regions of the Duar. Some Bhutias also came down for pilgrimage through the *Bwrla* river route at *Jorpukhuri*. The place is located (Jurapukhuri in Assamese) about 4 kilometers from Ghagrapara. This place is famous because of its numerous small ponds. The name '*Jorpukhuri*' originated from the twin pond situated in the area. On the bank of the twin pond, there was a large temple, which according to the local inhabitants, was a Shiv temple. In contrast, Pandit Dineswar Sarma regarded it as a Hagriv Madhavdeva temple, which sank due to the 1897 earthquake. Until recent times, before the outbreak of the Assam Movement, the Bhutias used to come down to the area and worshipped the ruins of temple walls during the time of Buddha Purnima.³⁸

4.5.1 Paneri

The origin of the name *Paneri* is shrouded with mystery, and various explanations are provided for the name. One particular view is that the name originated from '*Pan + Eri*' for which particular product the place was famous.³⁹ Another viewpoint is that the name originated

from the word ‘*Pran + Arie*,’⁴⁰ meaning living lives in danger. The people inhabiting the Paneri were constantly under the threat of malaria and Kalazzar disease.⁴¹ Paneri was an evening marketplace, but on Wednesdays, a periodic market was held at Budbaria, situated about 1 kilometre away from Paneri. This region formed a part of Buriguma Duar. At *Budbaria* periodic market, the Bhutias of Bhutan sold various hilly products and bartered their goods for plains produce. Budbaria Periodic Market was held on the bank of river *Kolsi*.

4.5.2 Harisinga

“*Harisinga*” is derived from *Hari* and *Singa*. ‘*Hari*’ means Lord Krishna, and ‘*Singa*’ means ancient war horn. It is believed that Lord Krishna, on his way to Sonitpur (Tezpur) to battle against the King of Sonitpur to claim princess Usha, the love of his grandson Aniruddha played an ancient war horn to commence war with the king of Sonitpur.

The condition of Harisinga and its neighbouring villages during the colonial period can be traced from the account of G.R Kamphor⁴², who was a missionary of SPG (Society of Propagation of Gospel) Mission. He mentioned that the villages *Phasiagaon*, *Edenbari*, *Borigaon*, *Ambagaon*, and *Kuchurabari*, located nearby Harisinga was full of swamps and jungles.⁴³

At Harisinga, the weekly market was held on Thursdays. The Bhutias who came down through the routes of the Bwrla river to trade at the *Ghograpara* trade fair generally attended the weekly market held at Harisinga to sell their unsold goods. The weekly market of Harisinga was an important marketplace for rice and jute.⁴⁴ In Harisinga, one of the most important merchants of Jute and rice was Bhim Raj Agarwala, who was the only Marwari merchant in Harisinga.⁴⁵ There were also Barpetiah traders in Harisinga, but among them were Balabhadra Ojha’s father, Jagannath Ojha, who was the leading betel nut trader in the place.⁴⁶ After attending the Harisinga weekly market, the Bhutias continued their journey to Singurmari Hat (Kalaigaon) through the *Kabirali-Puthimari* route.

4.5.3 Singurmari Hat (Kalaigaon)

There are two divergent views concerning the origin of the name ‘*Kabirali*,’ the road through which the Bhutias traveled to attend the *Puthimari* periodic market. One is that the name derived from the pond on the edge of which pond the road passed; the pond was believed to be inhabited by the Kuber.⁴⁷ Hence, the term ‘*Kabirali*’ originated. On the bank of the pond daily evening market was held. At the same time, another view is that the name ‘*Kabirali*’ is

derived from the road (ali) used by the Bhutias.⁴⁸ The Bodo tribe inhabiting the place regarded the Bhutias as '*Kuber*' (God of wealth) since the Bhutias brought various products unavailable to the poor Bodo people.⁴⁹ Hence, the name '*Kabirali*' came into being.

Singumari hat, located at the heart of Kalaigaon Mauza in the Darrang district, was one of the most important markets held on Sundays' wherein many people attended.⁵⁰ In his Statistical Account of Assam, Hunter mentions that the attendees in this fair were about four to five thousand.⁵¹ Villagers of about twenty-five miles distance traveled on their foot to reach the market site and sold their plethora of food grains, livestock, vegetables, homespun clothes, etc. In this Singumari hat, the Kayas (Marwaris) used to purchase the whole stock of silk cloths brought for sale by the villagers. Moreover, besides the villagers of surrounding areas, this weekly market or haat was attended by the Bhutias of Bhutan. They brought *liby*,⁵² *lamson wood*,⁵³ *jabrang*, Bhutanese clothes, blankets, etc., for sale. Itinerant dealers sold trivial ornaments, combs, looking glasses, and many other products in this market. However, the European goods for sale were brought by the beparis from Gauhati and Mangaldai.

4.5.4 Rota or Rowta

According to the book '*Gangajal*,' there was a kid named Sampat Narayan who became a king at an early age and administered the area called Rajputria or Rawtia. From this area, the word 'Rowta' came into prominence. Sarat Kumar Phukan claims that the place derived its name from a river that flows from the Bhutan mountain.⁵⁴ While according to Dineswar Sharma, the place derived its name after Vishnut Rata, a community of followers who were devotees of Lord Vishnu. From this word Rata the name, Rowta was derived.⁵⁵ Rawta was the capital of the Bhuyans. The Great Grandfather of Srimanta Sankardeva, Chandibor Bhuyan, made Rawta as a capital. It is stated that he defeated the Bhutias repeatedly during the wars. His son Ractogar administered his kingdom, making Rawta his capital. But the repeated invasion of the hilly people induced him to move his capital from Rawta to Bhuyaghar near Kalaigaon. At *Rawta* weekly market was held on Tuesdays.

Besides these above-mentioned weekly haats, *Aurang* or *Orang*⁵⁶ and *Namati* were also places where weekly markets were held on Tuesdays.

4.6 Markets or haats under Khaling Duar

Khaling Duar shared boundaries with Buriguma Duar in the east, Garkola Duar in the West, Bhutan in the North, and Gohain Kaal Ali Road in the south. In 1835 when Assam and

Bhutan alternatively controlled this Duar, Gambhir Uzir (Zinkaff) was the officer-in-charge of this Duar.⁵⁷

In Khaling Duar, the Bhutias used the *Samrang*⁵⁸, Guabari⁵⁹, and Kherkheria routes to venture into the periodic markets and haats of the area. The Bhutias came down on their sturdy ponies, bringing down various hilly products. *Bhutiachang* was the important market of this Duar. The Bhutias came down in groups a day before the commencement of the periodic market and attended the evening market held at *Borangajuli* haat and resided at a place called Bhutiachang (Booteachang) under the Sisu and Banyan trees. The name of the place ‘*Booteachang*’ originated due to the Bhutias living in the place constructing a ‘*chang*.’ From Booteachang, early in the dawn, they ventured into the surrounding villages and then attended the Singrimari periodic market with their hilly products, which they sold and bartered for the plain’s products.

Booteachang in the present is the name of the Tea Estate owned by McLeod Russel Company. It is to be noted that some groups of the Bhutias arrived late at night with their products on their ponies dressed in colourful attire. Rajendra Pachani, a resident and a retired school teacher by profession who is ninety-three years of age, recalls that around 2 am, late at night, the Bhutias arrived on their ponies with sleigh bells ringing as they moved along the rough road and on the very next day, they attended the Singribari periodic market held on Sundays. This periodic market was shifted later on to *Dimakuchi* in 1955. Besides these weekly markets and haats, weekly markets and haats were held in *Khirabari* on Saturday and Sunday. But the participation of Bhutias was seldomly seen in this weekly market.

4.6.1 Tangla

Tangla, now a town, is located in the southern direction of Paneri hat. When the Koch Dynasty ruled over the Darrang, Tangla formed part of Bhutan in the ancient period. *Chatgari*⁶⁰ was the place of revenue collection under the Bhutanese king. The etymology of the name ‘‘*Tangla*’’ is derived from *Tang* and *La*. *Tang* means a small hut, and *La* is a glue-type substance that the Bhutias used to attach the cracks in the *Tang* huts. Hence, the name Tangla came into being.

Another oral history connected with the origin of the name ‘*Tangla*’ is that the region was surrounded by dense forest; the Bodo inhabitants of the area used to live in ‘*Tong*’ houses meaning houses built on the trees to save themselves from wild animals. Another popular oral

history for the origin of the word “*Tangla*” is that the name originated from the Bodo word ‘*Thangla*’. The incident that led to the origin of the name Tangla dates back to the period when the first railway line started in the region and Tangla being the last station the passengers from distant places upon inquiring the Bodo people, why did the train stop? The Bodo people inhabiting the railway station’s areas used to reply ‘*Thangla*,’ meaning the train would not go any further. However, the most acceptable etymology for the origin of the name “*Tangla*” is *Tang* and *La*.

Tangla, since the days of the Koch Dynasty, was a trading hub. Tangla is the centre that links the places Mangaldai, Udalguri, Harisinga, and khoirabari by roads. Moreover, Tangla possessed an important railway station in Mangaldai Sub-division. The site also provides an important outlet for the produce of tea estates located in the northern direction. At Tangla, wholesale and retail trade was made in rice and jute.

The Bhutias of Bhutan visited the place to sell and barter various hilly wares and items and took the varieties of articles of the plains. In this periodic market, the people of the surrounding villages, traders from lower Assam, and Marwaris sold various plains items and products, including live stocks.

4.6.2 Mangaldai

Mangaldoi was the administrative headquarter of the Northern Sub-division of Darrang district. The place is located in the southern direction, about 20 miles from Tangla. In 1901 Mangaldai had 711 inhabitants⁶¹, and in 1931, the town had a population of 1,696.⁶²

According to tradition, Mangaldai was named after the Mangala Devi, the daughter of Raja Parakshit Narayan.⁶³ At the same time, some scholars believe that the name Mangaldai is derived from the Bodo words ‘*Mangal*’ and ‘*Doi*,’ meaning pure water.⁶⁴ In ancient times Mangaldai was also known as *Chungapara*.⁶⁵ Mangaldai was a regular marketplace. The traders mainly bought the English piece goods for sale to the Bhutias from Mangaldoi.⁶⁶

4.7 Markets or haats under Garkola Duar

Garkhola Duar was located between the rivers Pagladia and the Barnadi in the erstwhile Kamrup district during the colonial period. According to Sarat Kumar Phukan, the name Garkola derives from *Garh*, which means rampart, and *Kola*, or *Khala*, which means place.⁶⁷ Therefore, the meaning of the name is a place close to the rampart.

Garkhola Duar was bordered on the east by Khaling Duar, on the west by Banska Duar, and on the north and south by Bhutan and Gohain Kamal Ali, respectively. Pani Pukhan administered this Duar under the Ahoms. During colonial rule in 1853, this Duar was administered by Bhukut Uzir.⁶⁸

The two important market places located under the jurisdiction of Garkhola Duar were *Kumarikatta* and *Tamulpur*.

Kumarikatta as a marketplace or *haat* was established following the dacoity of shops by the Bhutias on 8 February and 6 March 1874 at Subankhata.⁶⁹ The Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup ordered the Marwaris as a protective measure to shift their shops to *Kumarikatta* and establish a *haat* within a radius of 12 km from *Tamulpur* police station; the Marwaris established their shops about 35 km away from *Tamulpur* police station.⁷⁰

On Sundays, the periodic market at *Kumarikatta* witnessed a gathering of the local villages, people of the adjacent villages came to the market, and a large number of traders from outside those areas and the Bhutias from Bhutan came for trade. The Bhutias used the *Bogamati* and *Samdrupcholing*, also known as the *Bhangtar*⁷¹ route, to come down to the plains area of *Garokhola* Duar. It was a rural market famous for agricultural products, especially rice, vegetables, live stocks, mustard seeds, and country-made handicrafts.

Tamulpur is located in the southern direction of *Kumarikatta*, a distance of about 10 kilometres. *Tamulpur* was a prominent place for a bi-weekly market held on Mondays and Fridays. This place was noted for Eri silk production, products such as bor kapor, which is used as a wrap in the winter season, and coats and petticoats were manufactured from eri silk.⁷² The Bhutias of Bhutan, after attending the Darranga trade fair, proceeded to participate in *Tamulpur's* weekly market to purchase cocoons, threads, cotton threads, eri clothes, brass vessels, etc.

4.8 Markets or haats under Banska Duar

On the origin of the name “*Baksa*” or “*Bagsa*,” scholars have various arguments due to the lack of conclusive historical evidence. It is generally believed that the term “*Baksa*” is a misspelt word related to ‘*Bangsa*,’ which, in fact, is a Dzongkha work that denotes a farmhouse and a corridor.⁷³ While Sarat Kumar Phukan claims that the name comes from a bamboo fence used during the war.⁷⁴ Another notion on the origin of the term “*Bagsa*” is that it comes from

the Bhutanese term "*Bagsa*" for rice. At the same time, the Bodo sources designate the term "*Bagsa*" to have originated after a *bowl of rice procured after milling*.⁷⁵

On the east, Banska Duar shared a border with Garkhola Duar, and on the west, Bijni Duar and Chapakhamar Duar, Bhutan on the north, and Gohain kamal Ali on the south.⁷⁶ Boora Talookdar and Beggut Wuzeer managed this Duar under the Ahoms.⁷⁷ But after the annexation of Kamrup and Darrang Duars in 1841, the British vested the responsibility of its administration in the hands of Beggut Wuzeer in 1853. The Duar covered an area of 40 sq. km. in the Bhutan foothills.

At Banska Duar, one of the most important annual trade fairs was held at *Subakhata*.⁷⁸ The place wherein the Bhutias brought down various hilly products such as lac, wax, chilies, blankets, ponies, donkeys, and goats. They sold these hilly products to the traders, and with the profits, they bought cotton thread and cloth, rice, eri cloth and thread, and brass vessels⁷⁹. Trade in Subankhata was mostly transacted on cash, although some articles like salt and chilies were bartered for rice. B.C. Allen revealed that the barter rate at this annual trade fair was usually for one basket of salt, three or four baskets of rice, and for one basket of chilies, two baskets of rice.⁸⁰ However, besides this annual trade fair, there were several periodic markets and haats in the Banska Duar that witnessed the participation of the Bhutias.

Dumni market presently situated in the Baksa district was also one of the periodic markets that attracted the people of the surrounding areas. This *Dumni* market was held at *Dumni Tea Estate*. After the annexation of lower Assam, the British commenced the cultivation of tea in this place in about 1829. However, owing to the shortage of labour in the plantation industry, labour was imported from outside the state. It was only on Sunday that the labourers got the opportunity to take a rest. And on that very day (Sunday) weekly market was commenced to procure essential commodities.⁸¹ The villagers of the *Chapaguri-Khokhlabari* area also visited the *Dumni* periodic market to sell their agricultural products and procure essentials. The Bhutias of Bhutan, in the winter season, visited the place after attending the annual fair held at *Subankhata* to trade their remnant articles.

4.8.1 Rangia

The etymology of the name Rangia is said to have originated from the word '*ron*,' meaning a war fought between the Bhutias and Bodos.⁸² It is believed that the Bhutias always created chaos in the Bodo villages situated nearby the Bhutan hills. Therefore, the Bodos fought

a war against the Bhutias; in the ensuing battle, the Bodos were defeated and subjected to pay a tax to the Bhutia King.

Rangia marketplace started gaining popularity after the decline in the price of the salt trade at the Darranga and Subankhata trade fairs. The Bhutia traders resorted to this place to secure a better rate for the salt trade. Besides, Rangia being a marketplace, provided better deals for the essential products at a cheap rate for the Bhutias and also served as a way to the principal towns of Assam.

Under the Jurisdiction of Baksa Duar, Weekly and bi-weekly markets were also held at *Dhamdhama* on Saturdays and Tuesdays, *Baregaon* on Monday and Friday, and *Nagrijiuli* and *Ramgaon* on Fridays, respectively.

4.8.2 Nalbari

Around 1890-91 A.D., the British Railway Engineers named the place '*Nalbari*,' which means reeds.⁸³ Long before Nalbari came into prominence, the area was known as Satara, Govindapur, and Khata.⁸⁴ Nalbari is also famous as the '*Navidivipa*' of Assam. Historically, the place is connected with King Jarashandha and Lord Krishna.

Nalbari was a small village situated on the bank of river pagladia, but with the extension of Assam-Bengal railways, a train station was established at Nalbari.⁸⁵ There on the station road, a market started blooming with the inflow of businessmen from various parts of India. Nalbari was a famous marketplace held on Mondays and Fridays. The marketplace of Nalbari was famous for silk products. Various silk products were produced in the neighbouring villages of Nalbari. The Bhutias of Bhutan visited the place during the winter season to sell hilly products and procure various handicrafts products and essential commodities.

4.9 Markets or haats under Chapaguri Duar

Chapaguri Duar shared its boundary with Bhutan on the north, Gohain Kamal Ali on the south, Banska Duar on the east, and Pahumara river on the west.⁸⁶ It is not known exactly under whose jurisdiction the Chapaguri Duar was administered, but it can be assumed from the various sources that it was under the control of Bhutia Deb raja and administered by Tashi Shojan, a Bhutia official.⁸⁷ However, the term '*Duar*' affixed to Chapaguri is no longer applied with time. The area of Chapaguri Duar was commonly known as the Chapaguri Mauza. In 1923-28, Chapaguri Mauza was bifurcated and *Khokhlabari* Mauza was created.⁸⁸

Chapaguri Duar under Bhutan was a part of Bijni, and for administrative convenience, Bijni was bifurcated into three divisions, namely Bijni, Banska, and Chapaguri. Under colonial rule, this Duar was part of the erstwhile Barpeta Sub-division of Kamrup district. Under the colonial government in 1853, this Duar was managed by Channah Uzir, who was the officer-in-charge. The three important markets were under the Chapaguri Duar- *Panimudra*, *Patacharkuchi*⁸⁹, and *Rehabari*. Besides these markets, several periodic markets were also held under the jurisdiction of Chapaguri Duar. Such periodic markets were held on a certain day of the week.

Kamlabazar market was a daily market held in the foothills of Bhutan. However, although held daily, this market is usually held at the convenience of the farmers. This market was mainly famous because of the transaction in oranges. However, it is to be jotted that besides transactions in oranges, various hills and plains produce were also sold and purchased.

Another market was held at *Nawsali Haat*, also known as *Bhebla*; this market was a popular fish market. The site of this market was situated in the southern direction of present *Jalah* near the *Koldiah* river.⁹⁰ However, the participation of the Bhutias was randomly seen in this market. In this market, the value of fish was determined by the heads of the fish. The traders of the Barpeta frequented the place through boats on the river Koldiah and sold fish and cooking utensils. The people of the surrounding places visited the place to purchase their essentials in this market.

Roads in the vicinity of Chapaguri Duar were katcha. The surroundings were full of swamps and jungles. Sovaram Das mentioned that there was no proper communication road in the westernmost direction of Khokhlabari - Pukhuripara market and the eastern direction of Huzuwa and Bhuyanpara up to Rangapani- khamar river.⁹¹ Gangadhar Sarania⁹² also furnished a piece of information that during the colonial period, the traders of Barpeta, namely Ratan Das, and Tarun Ojah, among others were the traders who used to bring along with them essential daily goods such as oil, salt, cookery utensils, etc. and used to hawk from house to house to barter them for grains. These traders visited the villages in Chapaguri Duar using the river route of the *Potha* river, also known as *Dhemdhema*, *Puhumara*, etc., among many names to the people of different regions.

The traders visited the surrounding villages of Chapaguri Duar two times a year during the Asu rice harvesting season (May and June) and Maisli (Sali rice) harvesting season, December and January season. These traders employed '*dholta*⁹³' practices in the villages to

purchase grains and for the bartering essentials such as edible oil for grains, they employed the method of '*dhonjukha*'⁹⁴ weight system. For the convenience of trading, these traders (beparis) erected sheds on the banks of river Potha. From these sheds, the traders or repairs transported their purchased goods to Barpeta town. However, it is quite controversial to say to whom this beparis sold their grains but this beparis certainly sold their items of exchange to Saudagar and Mudoi at Barpeta Town.⁹⁵ Jahnabi Gogoi in the Agrarian System of Medieval India speaks of the big merchants who used to collect goods through beparis at reasonable prices and exported them to Bhutan and Bengal for exorbitant prices.⁹⁶ He also mentioned that very few Kachari traders frequented the villages in Chapaguri Duar for trade. Gangadhar Sarania mentioned that 7 Sacks of grain which is 280kg cost 1 rupee, buffalo priced 5 rupees, and cow priced 2 rupees.⁹⁷

Besides, these markets were also held at *Panimudra*, *Patacharkuchi*, and *Rehabari*. Patacharkuchi was a revenue office of Chapaguri Mauza. Periodic markets at Chapaguri Duar were also held at *Barpamukh Baazar*, also known as *Gowtha Baazar*, *Ansuli Baazar*, and *Betbari Baazar*. These weekly markets were held during the rainy season afternoon and in the winter; taking into consideration the convenience of the Bhutias and the farmers of the area; the market began early in the morning

4.10 Markets or haats under Chapakhamar Duar

Chapakhamar Duar is surrounded by Kamrup Bijni to the north, while the Pahumara River to the east, the Gohain Kamal Ali to the south, and the Manas River to the west.⁹⁸ The person in charge of the Duar was Luckenarayan.

Under Chapakhamar Duar, the markets were *Shorbhog* and *Chapakhamar*. Besides, several weekly rural markets and haats witnessed the people's participation in selling and purchasing commodities.

4.11 Markets or haats under Bijni Duar (Kamrup)

Bijni Duar is bordered to the north by Bhutan, to the south by Gohain Kamal Ali, Chapaguri, and Chapakhamar Duars, to the east by Banska Duar, and to the west by Bijni Eastern Duar.⁹⁹ According to the Chronicles, Bijni during the tenure of Biswa Singha (1515-1540 A.D.) the Koch king was in two divisions North and South. Venkatagiri ruled the southern part, while Lakhinarayan ruled the northern part. Biswa Singha subjugated both the two

divisions of Bijni. This northern division of Bijni, later on, came to be known as Bar Bijni, with its capital at Kardoiguri.¹⁰⁰

The Mughal invasion of Kamrup at the beginning of the seventeenth century resulted in the annexation of the whole territory stretching from the Sankosh river to the Barnadi river. The Ahom king Jayadhwaj Singha taking advantage of Shah Jahan's illness and the confusion prevailing under the Mughal empire due to the succession dispute defeated the Koch and drove them across the Sankosh river. However, in 1662 Mughals under Mir Jumla invaded Assam and succeeded in capturing the lost region, including Gauhati and Garhgaon, the Ahom capital. Finally, in 1663, a peace treaty was signed between the Mughals and the Ahoms. According to the treaty, the Ahom king agreed to surrender the region west of river Bharali to the Kallang River in the South to the Mughals.¹⁰¹ But the hostilities between the Ahoms and the Mughals renewed soon, and in 1671 Mughal General Ram Singha was defeated by the Ahoms. The Ahoms recaptured the lost territories of Kamrup, including Bijni.¹⁰² Under the Ahoms, the Bijni state was administered by Pani Phukan.¹⁰³

When the Ahoms captured Bijni, the Raja of Bijni Gobinda Chandra fled to Bhutan. With the assistance of the Bhutan government, he re-captured Bijni, and thus Bijni became a tributary state to Bhutan. Bijni state, under the Bhutan government for administrative convenience, was bifurcated into three divisions- Bijni, Banska, and Chapaguri.

During the colonial period, the British, after the annexation of all the Duars, including Kamrup Duars, for the administration of the Bijni Duar, placed an official named Odhar Das.¹⁰⁴ Under Bijni Duar, the markets of importance were *Hudukata*, *Kumguri*, *Bhuyan-para*, and *Ghoramara*.

The Bijni Duar geographically possessed passes that led to Bhutan. The passes or routes were the *kuklung* forest division and the *Amteka* routes. Besides, the Bhutias also used *rangijora* and *galajora* village routes to descend into Bijni Duar's vicinity. These passes were overspread with the reed called '*hagrah*'¹⁰⁵ interspersed with forest trees. Baboo Kishen Bose, in his "*Report to Bhootan*," states that '*the routes through the jungle are overspread with tall hagrahs, to the extent that elephants and rhinoceros were engulfed in it, the jungle was full of leeches, mosquitoes, and wild animals.*'¹⁰⁶ This very fact testifies the hostile condition of the routes. But in the month of Bysakh to Kartik, the jungle that engulfs the passages into the plains region was burnt down and cleared.¹⁰⁷

4.11.1 Barpeta

Barpeta is one of the oldest towns in Assam, and during the colonial period, Barpeta was the Subdivision of the Kamrup district. There are diversified notions of opinions on the origin of the name Barpeta. One such notion is that the place was a part of the midstream river Brahmaputra in the ancient period, but when the Brahmaputra River changed its course, the area dried up, and the people started inhabiting it. These people named the place Barpeta. Since the site formed the belly of the Brahmaputra River, another notion is that Barpeta got its name from a great pit located in the area.¹⁰⁸ While Neo-Vaisnavite cult believers argue that the name Barpeta is derived from Guru Asnar Dangar Bar- Pat i.e., Dangar-Pat, Bar- Pat i.e., mainly centre of Vaisnabi religion, which was propagated by both the main Gurus Srimanta Sankardeva and Srisri Madhabdeva, as well as Guru Mathuradas Ata,>Barpeta.¹⁰⁹ Some scholars believe that the name Barpeta was derived from the word Barpith, which was later changed to Barpeta.¹¹⁰ Whatsoever, Barpeta was also known by the name Tantikuchi because most of the inhabitants who migrated to the place belonged to Khonakhokora, a village in the Sibsagar district who were professionally Tantis.¹¹¹ The place Barpeta was recognized as an urban centre much before the census operations of 1872.¹¹²

Barpeta had three markets, namely Barabazar, a municipality market, and the two markets are, *Sarubazar* in Dakshinhati and *Thakurbazar* near Barpeta Satra.¹¹³ These two markets witnessed the sale of agricultural goods, such as jute, paddy, and mustard seeds, including vegetables by the people of surrounding villages. Moreover, the traders of Barpeta also bought agricultural produce through the hawkers employed in the eastern and northern boundaries for sale in markets.

4.12 Price of Commodities

It is difficult to give precise information on the prices of commodities brought and sold in Assam Duars' periodic markets or haats. Since the shopkeepers recorded no accounts on the prices of products sold in the periodic markets. Moreover, prices of commodities varied in different areas.

B.C. Allen, in 1905 wrote that '*in the Darrang district except for salt, all of the bare necessities were produced locally before the British occupation of Darrang.*'¹¹⁴ During the early British period, when money circulation was limited in rural areas, the barter system was more or less prevalent. However, at times, cowries or conch shells were also used for small

purchases. In 1835 Lieutenant Mathie, who made the first estimate of the prices in the Darrang district, reported that in Darrang, a maund of rice was sold for 12 annas.¹¹⁵ B.C. Allen, in 1905 also acknowledged that '*the prices of food staples from 1880 to 1905 were obtainable in seers per rupee in selected marts of Darrang.*'¹¹⁶

B.C Allen also stated that in the Darrang district, the pricing of bar kapor, which is worn as a winter wrap, ranged from Rs. 10 to Rs. 16. Women's clothing, including petticoats, cost between Rs. 5 and Rs.7. A shawl called Parindia Kapor prized Rs. 200.¹¹⁷ In the Kamrup district, especially at Rangia, the white rice is priced Rs. 2 per maund, and in Bajali, unhusked rice of 40 to 45 seers was sold for a rupee on the bank of the river near traders' boat.¹¹⁸ And at Barpeta, the quantity of rice, salt, and green gram seeds obtainable for a rupee were 20 seers, 12 ½ seers, and 16 seers, respectively.¹¹⁹

N.C. Dutta, in 1978 mentioned the price of rice at Mangaldai. According to him at Mangaldai in 1890 and 1900, a rupee could buy up to 24 seers of rice. The retail price of rice in 1912 was Rs. 3.497 per maund, but by the end of the year, it had dropped to Rs. 3.299 per maund. During the First World War, prices rose dramatically, and after 1921, prices of all food items fell precipitously, resulting in the 1921-1933 economic depression.¹²⁰

R.B. Vaghaiwalla in the Census of 1951 describes the condition of Assam during the eve of the second world war stating When World War II broke out, agriculturalists benefited from high inflationary prices. But the latter's condition was by no means affluent, as the prices of other non-agricultural articles soared to even higher levels. At the same time, they had to submit to seizures and regular control of their stocks of rice and paddy. The villager was happy with the high prices his produce fetched, but getting the food supplies for others was a problem. Everyone was made aware of the difficulties in obtaining clothing, fuel, kerosene, and other necessities. Various price controls reduced costs significantly at the start of the decade, but they also drove supplies underground, exacerbating the supply crisis at regulated levels. Although hoarding contributed to the market's rice shortage, the producer himself consumed a significant portion of the grain due to increasing prosperity. The cultivator met his needs by selling a small amount of grain in the market (enough to cover his expenses) and consuming or storing the remainder. This resulted in a significant food grain shortage, particularly after the war. The rationing was introduced in most towns regarding rice, kerosene oil, cloth, sugar, mustard oil, and dhal. Sugar, cloth, and kerosene oil rationing were later extended to rural areas. They had their inevitable repercussions in the form of increased black marketing, profiteering,

and hoarding depending upon the efficiency of the district authorities to enforce the control orders. This rise in prices came to a halt with the introduction of the first five-year plan in 1952.¹²¹

4.13 Tribes and Communities engaged in trade with Bhutan

Various tribes and communities of people inhabited the northern part of Kamrup and Darrang district. In his “*A Statistical Account of Assam, Vol. I,*” W.W. Hunter mentions the names of various aboriginal tribes who inhabited in Kamrup and Darrang Districts.¹²² John Butler, in “*A Sketch of Assam,*” referred to the Kacharis inhabiting the foothills as the best cultivators.¹²³ Bikrama Jit Hasrat, in his book entitled “*History of Bhutan: Land of Peaceful Dragon,*” also acknowledged that Assam Duars were inhabited by the Kacharis and Mechis, who were industrious people.¹²⁴ Further, R.B. Pemberton, in his “*Report on Bootan,*” mentions the names of Kachari officers called Boora Talookdar and Buggut Wuzeer. They collected the tributes due to be paid to the Bhutan Government.¹²⁵

The Bodo folklore on the settlement of the Kacharis in the Kamrup and the Darrang district states “*eons ago when the Kacharis living in the vicinity of Bhutan mountains due to the atrocities of Bhutanese fought a war at Rangia, wherein the Kacharis were defeated and were obliged to pay tribute. But despite payment of land revenue, the Bhutanese continued their atrocities on the Kacharis. Finding no menace to the atrocities of the Bhutanese, the Kacharis migrated towards the west as far as Nepal. While the Kacharis were inhabiting the Jolpaiguri district, the Bhutanese continued their atrocities. Therefore, one Jomidor¹²⁶ Jaolia by name organized men to fight against the Bhutanese, but the Bhutanese treacherously killed him, and the fate of the Kacharis remained the same. In such a situation, a ray of hope shone among the Kacharis when the British defeated and drove the Bhutanese out of Assam. Thereupon the Kacharis returned to their habitat in the East. Again, a tragedy struck when the Muhammadan invaders occupied the southern habitat regions of the Kacharis, and the Kacharis were obliged to settle in the Darrang and the Kamrup districts.*”¹²⁷

The dearth of historical sources to trace the activities of trade and commerce and the monetary economy used by the Kacharis for commercial purposes are scanty. However, albeit of scanty historical sources, this can be said without doubt like the rest of the people of Assam, the production of the Kacharis was limited to consumption and had an agriculture-based

economy. But with time, the Kacharis started producing excess food grains, which were bartered in the trade fairs and periodic haats to secure other essentials of daily life.

In the formative period, the Kacharis who settled in the plain areas of Assam Duars regarded engaging in the trade as a sin, for they believed that trade and commerce involve deceiving people. If a member of the Kachari society sold one of his domestic animals, particularly a cow, within a year, he was required to pay an atonement fine.¹²⁸ This fact indicates that the Kachari society was not motivated by profit maximization through trade. However, as agricultural trade expanded, the Kacharis' perception of trade and commerce began to change. Despite this, only a few Kacharis participated in the trade.

The establishment of British rule in Assam in the early nineteenth century, the annexation of Assam Duars, and the subsequent implementation of various strategies for the development of transportation and communication, by the colonial government as well as the encouragement of frontier trade relations, resulted in a shift in the composition of traders and the products sold at trade fairs and haats. These developments attracted far-flung traders for trade. The monopoly of the Salt trade which had been so long enjoyed by the Bhutias to their discouragement the British introduced cheap-priced Bengal salt through the Marwaris. The Kacharis, who traded in agricultural products, dunko lepa, and Kharu clothes now with the introduction of cheap priced English pieces goods could not compete in the markets. Besides, Marwaris dominated the wholesale trade, traditional Assamese beparis gradually were replaced by the Bengali traders of East Bengal and Punjabi traders. Traders of lower Assam (Barpetiah) captured the oilseed and areca nut business. Their proficiency in business led them to dominate the frontier trade operations. Besides, the clashes between the Bhutan government and the British for the non-payment of tribute discouraged the operation of frontier trade relations.

4.14 Medium of transaction and weight measuring tools used in haats

During the period of Ahom rule, the genesis of monetisation can be traced from the 16th century onwards with the trade growth.¹²⁹ The Ahom King struck the first batch of local coins in the form of gold in 1543, followed by the Koch kings in 1555.¹³⁰ The Kacharis and Jaintias followed this trend of striking coins for local use. However, under Ahoms, coins made of various metals of gold, silver, and cowries became standard by 1663.¹³¹ In the absence of copper coins, the cowries were used as an alternative means to fulfil petty trade needs.¹³² In the early part of the seventeenth- and eighteenth century, sicca rup, Mohar kara, or Kari (cowrie) came into circulation.¹³³ Moreover, it was not until the reign of Gaurinath Singha that the

Ahoms started minting and circulating Ad-maha (one-eighth of a rupee) and charitya (one-sixteenth of a rupee), which was in circulation along with Koch Narayani currency.¹³⁴ Although the Ahoms started minting coins in the late seventeenth century, the extent of use of these coins for trade is not clear. This might be because the local coins were in limited circulation or maybe never reached the local people, particularly those inhabiting the vicinity of the frontier regions. Therefore, the people inhabiting Assam Duars region had to adopt or continue the age-old barter transactions system with limited use of cowries.

The barter system was the prominent medium of transaction in Assam Duars, widely acknowledged in trade fairs and haats. According to the Medieval chronicles and Biographies of religious preachers, gold and silver coins and cowries were also widely used to transact commodities in various markets and haats of Assam. The use of cowries was limited to the ordinary people and was exclusively used to purchase items such as rice, betel- nut, mustard oil, etc., among other essentials of day-to-day life.¹³⁵ The Bhutias, in exchange for rock salt, took away rice from the plains, which was one of the prominent items of import. However, on the surplus value of the commodities exchanged, the balances were accrued in money by the Bhutias.

In Assam Duars, the usual practice employed for weighting and measuring was the traditional system until the introduction of the metric system (Weights and Measures) in 1959.¹³⁶ There was a various age-old system of weights and measures used by the people. The doon, manufactured from bamboo strips, is a conical container primarily used to weight rice and paddy.¹³⁷ However, due to the limited capacity of doon in measuring weights of dhol was employed in measuring a larger volume of goods such as grains, the dhol could hold 20 seers of grains. However, liquid molasses (gur) was weight in a big earthen jar called *kalah*, and the liquid goods were measured in bamboo *sungas*.¹³⁸ In the haats of rural areas, the weighting scale employed for measuring weights was *tulasoni*.¹³⁹ The weighting plates of *tulasoni* are made from bamboo strips entwined in a circular shape and suspended in a horizontal pole of bamboo or wood on both ends with the help of ropes. Sometimes in the villages, in the absence of a traditional weighing scale, weights were measured based on Akai muthi¹⁴⁰ (hand fold). The Bhutias of Bhutan, while venturing into the Bodo villages in Assam Duars, used their traditional weighing scale called ‘Sang.’ Moreover, the Bhutias of Bhutan also used dre and putta vessels for weighing the volumes of cereals and flour.¹⁴¹ The traditional ‘Sang’ weigh scale of the Bhutias has a metal road with lines marking sang and round metal weights held on the other side and the commodities or products measured at the other end.¹⁴² This uniformity

of weights and measures proved vulnerable for the villagers as they were exposed and cheated by the Bhutanese and other traders.

The metric system of weights and measures was implemented in Assam with the passage of the Standards of Weights and Measures Act, 1956, and the Assam Weights and Measures (Enforcement) Act, 1958.¹⁴³ Despite the fact that the Directorate of Weights and Measures has been enforcing the metric system of weights and measures by prosecuting violators and supporting the supply of recognized weights and measures to needy traders, traditional weights and measures have not completely disappeared.

Figure No. 4.1

Picture of Sang weight measuring tool



Source: Picture taken by researcher

The markets or haats in Assam Duars gained its importance during the last decade of the nineteenth century in Assam Duars, especially with the cessation of the trade fairs. However, the importance of haats or markets in the rural areas of Assam had been in existence since the Ahom period. In absence of towns in Assam Duars, these haats were the place where the inhabitants of Assam Duars procured and sold their excess produce. After the annexation of Assam, the British restored trade fairs in Assam Duars with the intention of popularizing

British goods, maximization of revenue and to influence the Bhutias politically and economically and in the process to extend her trade in Tibet through Bhutan. Therefore, trade fairs were restored by the British with the sole intention of serving their interest. However, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, there was a change in the tide of the situation the last decade of the nineteenth century witnessed the establishment of Russia's close relationship with Tibet and China's claim over Tibet as a part of her country. The British alarmed by such developments became actively involved in defending Tibet as a buffer between Russia and India, and later, between China and India. This episode halted the British strategy to establish overland trade routes to Tibet and the trade fairs gradually lost the participation of the Bhutias. As a consequence, haats or markets gained importance. The haats or marketplaces witnessed the participation of the Bhutias who descended from the hills in the various sites of Assam Duars, where the weekly markets or bi-weekly markets were held in order to sell or procure essential commodities. Besides, these markets or haats over time witnessed the migration of the far-flung traders who came in and settled in the vicinity of marketplaces and haats for the purpose of trading and established themselves as the exporter and importer of important commodities in Assam Duars. These markets or haats with the passage of time transformed into small bordering towns.

Notes and references

¹ Haats are informal markets usually held on daily basis in a rural and town areas of Indian subcontinent.

² H.K. Barpujari, *The Comprehensive History of Assam*, Volume- III, Publication Board of Assam, Guwahati, 2004, p. ix

³ Dwipmani Kalita, *Trade and Commerce in the Brahmaputra Valley in Nineteenth Century Assam*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History, Gauhati University, 2017, p.27

⁴ N.C. Dutta, *Assam District Gazetteers- Darrang District*, Government of Assam, Gauhati, 1978, p. 259

⁵ N.C. Dutta, *Assam District Gazetteers- Darrang District*, Government of Assam, Gauhati, 1978, p. 259

⁶ Suparna Bhattacharjee, *Tripura-Bangladesh Borderlands*. In H. Srikanth and Munmun Majumdar(eds.), *Linking India and Eastern Neighbours*, Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 2021, p.151

⁷ Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, Beacon Press, Boston, 2001, p.281

⁸ It is an area where a regular gathering of people take place for the purpose of buying and selling of commodities.

⁹ Nabanita Sharma, “Commerce, Merchants and Markets in the Brahmaputra Valley c.1800-1900”, *International Journal of Research Granthaalayah*, Volume-7, issue- 11, November 2019, p.181

¹⁰ Nabanita Sharma, “Commerce, Merchants and Markets in the Brahmaputra Valley c.1800-1900”, *International Journal of Research Granthaalayah*, Volume-7, issue- 11, November 2019, p.181

¹¹ NAI, Report of H. Luttman- Johnson, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam to C.U. Aitchison, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 41 of 30th March 1874

¹² Smriti Das, *Assam Bhutan relations with special reference to Duars from 1681 to 1949*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Gauhati University, 1998, p.121

¹³ *Report on the Administration of the Province of Assam for the year 1876-77*, Chapter I, Section II, Assam Secretariat Press, 1878, p.6

¹⁴ B.C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers, Kamrup*, Volume- IV, Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1905, p.182

¹⁵ B.C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers, Darrang District*, Volume-V, Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1905, p.181

¹⁶ B.C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers, Darrang District*, Volume- V, Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1905, p.181

¹⁷ B.C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers, Darrang District*, Volume- V, Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1905, p.182

¹⁸ *Report on the Census of Assam for 1881*, Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, Calcutta, 1883, p.120

¹⁹ Mohammad Sadiq Karimi and Ebrahim Moradi, “The Evolution of Urban Bazaars from Traditional Bazaars to Modern Shopping Centres”, *Cumhuriyet University Faculty of Science, Science Journal (CSJ)*, Volume-36, No-6, 2015, p.398

²⁰ H. Beverley, *Report on the Census of Bengal, 1872*, Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1872, p.127

²¹ E.A. Gait, *Census of India, 1891*, Assam, Volume-I, Report, Assam Secretariat Printing Office, Shillong, 1892, p.59

-
- ²² H.K. Barpujari, *The American Missionaries and North East India (1836-1900 A.D.)*, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 1986, p.80
- ²³ Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, Beacon Press, Boston, 2001, p.281
- ²⁴ S.K. Barpujari and A.C. Bhuyan (Ed.), *Political History of Assam*, Volume- I, Government of Assam, Gauhati, 1960, pp.56-57
- ²⁵ S.K. Barpujari and A.C. Bhuyan (Ed.), *Political History of Assam*, Volume- I, Government of Assam, Gauhati, 1960, p.57
- ²⁶ B.C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers: Darrang*, Volume-V, Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1905, pp.181-182
- ²⁷ B.C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers: Darrang*, Volume-V Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1905, pp.181-182
- ²⁸ Jahnabi Gogoi, *Agrarian System of Medieval Assam*, concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2002, p.155
- ²⁹ Baukha is a pole prepared out of bamboo wherein on the two ends of the pole goods are tied to carry.
- ³⁰ It is a device used for carrying things or goods by two persons.
- ³¹ John Butler, *A Sketch of Assam*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2016, p.23
- ³² Sarat Kumar Phukan, *Genesis of Ancient Toponymy of Central and lower Assam*, Publication Board Assam, Guwahati, 2012, p.468
- ³³ Chatgari is a Bhutanese word that means "seven regions." Chatgari was a frontier district, located in the Northern part of the Darrang district. It had an area of 52 square miles. During Ahom rule, the area was managed by Chatgari Barua, and the tract was divided into three duars: Kaling, Buguma, and Kariapara.
- ³⁴ R.B. Pemberton, *Report on Bootan*, Indian Studies: Past and Present, Calcutta, 1961, p.15
- ³⁵ A Bhutia officer who was responsible for the affairs of Buriguma Duar
- ³⁶ Ganga Prasad Sharma, Age- 70, Village headman by profession, Village- Majuli, Interviewed on 22 October 2021. He informed that the Bwrla river route and Bhairabkunda were the two main passes through which the Bhutias attended the haats and marketplaces in the Buriguma Duar.
- ³⁷ William Robinson, *A Descriptive Account of Assam*, Sanskaran Prakashak, Delhi, 1841, p.296.
- ³⁸ Tara Nath Kalita, *Udalguri Zilar Jagrata Tirthasthan aru Upasanathali* (Assamese), Anupam Kalita, 2020, pp. 4-5
- ³⁹ It is said that the place had abundant betel nut leaves and eri leaves used to feed eri worms

⁴⁰ An Assamese word that explains living with lives in danger.

⁴¹ Kalita Tara Nath, Aged-78, profession- Retired High School Teacher, a social worker and a writer, Village- Pub Paneri, Interviewed on 20 October 2021. He informed that because the region was prone to malaria and Kalazzar diseases the name of the place originated as Pran Eri or probably because of extensive Eri cultivation.

⁴² G.R. Kemphor a missionary, who visited Borigaon village on 27 January 1914

⁴³ Papina Basumatary and Jwngsar Daimari, *The Work of Baptist Missionaries Among the Bodos of Udalguri District*. In Brajendra Saikia (Ed.), *South Asia: Past Present and Beyond*, Global Publishing House, Vishakhapatnam, 2016, p.647

⁴⁴ Name- Lok Bahadur Chettri, Father's Name- Ser Bahadur, village- Deulguri, Age-73, Designation- Retd. Principal Harisinga Higher Secondary School. He informed that Harisinga was a renowned place for jute and jute cultivation.

⁴⁵ Name- Lok Bahadur Chettri, Father's Name- Ser Bahadur, village- Deulguri, Age-83, Designation- Retd. Principal Harisinga Higher Secondary School. He informed that at Harisinga there was only a single Marwari family.

⁴⁶ Name- Lok Bahadur Chettri, Father's Name- Ser Bahadur, village- Deulguri, Age-83, Designation- Retd. Principal Harisinga Higher Secondary School. He informed that Jagannath Ojha, who was the leading betel nut trader at Harisinga.

⁴⁷ Bijoy Daimari, Aged- 72, Shopkeeper at Kuber Ali daily market, Village- Kuber Ali, interviewed on 14 October 2021, according to him the pond situated at Kuber Ali was inhabited by Kuber (God of Wealth according to Hindu mythology) hence the name Kuber Ali came into being.

⁴⁸ Silvanush Narzary, Aged-72, Retired teacher and a Social Worker, Village- Dumrogami, interviewed on -14 October 2021, according to him the name Kuber Ali derived as the road (ali) was used by the Bhutias to attend the Singumari haat at Kalaigaon.

⁴⁹ Silvanush Narzary, Aged-72, Retired teacher and a Social Worker, Village- Dumrogami, interviewed on -14 October 2021, also informed that the name *Kuber Ali* became renowned as the Bhutias, brought various hilly products through the road that were unavailable among the poor Bodo inhabitants of the region.

⁵⁰ *Assam District Gazetteer, Darrang*, Supplement to Vol. V, Assam Secretariat Press, Shillong, 1915, p.142

⁵¹ W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Assam*, Volume-I, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 1998, p.143

-
- ⁵² Bodo word of Darrang district for the pea (*pisum sativum*) sold by the Bhutias of Bhutan.
- ⁵³ wood used by the Bhutias as a candle
- ⁵⁴ Sarat Kumar Phukan, *Genesis of Ancient Toponymy of Central and lower Assam*, Publication Board Assam, Guwahati, 2012, p.535
- ⁵⁵ Dineswar Sharma, *Mangaldoi Buranji*, Publication Board Assam, Guwahati, Fifth edition, 2017, p. 32-33
- ⁵⁶ The name was derived after the tea community inhabiting the area.
- ⁵⁷ Smriti Das, *Assam-Bhutan Relations with Special Reference to Duars From 1681-1949*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Gauhati University, 1998, p.41
- ⁵⁸ Samrang a village in Samdrup Jongkhar district of Bhutan situated on the Northernmost boundary of Khaling Duar. Presently, a weekly market is started at Samrang held on Saturdays, which is largely attended by the people of Garuajhar, Orangajuli, Bamunjuli and Bhutan.
- ⁵⁹ Guabari route is located in the Kamrup district. Presently, a popular picnic spot is organized in this route known as Bogamati.
- ⁶⁰ Chatgari the name derived from the family of noblemen, whose members colonized the Darrang district and were called chatgari Baruwas
- ⁶¹ B.C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers: Darrang*, Volume-V, Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1905, p.185
- ⁶² N.C. Dutta, *Assam District Gazetteers: Darrang District*, Government of Assam, Gauhati, 1978, p.536
- ⁶³ N.C. Dutta, *Assam District Gazetteers: Darrang District*, Government of Assam, Gauhati, 1978, p.536
- ⁶⁴ Official website of Darrang District, *darrang.nic.in*. Accessed on 1/2/2022
- ⁶⁵ Sarat Kumar Phukan, *Genesis of Ancient Toponymy of Central and lower Assam*, Publication Board Assam, Guwahati, 2012, p.571
- ⁶⁶ W.W. Hunter, *Statistical Account of Assam*, Volume-I, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 1998, p.143
- ⁶⁷ Sarat Kumar Phukan, *Genesis of Ancient Toponymy of Central and lower Assam*, Publication Board Assam, Guwahati, 2012, p.589
- ⁶⁸ A.J. Moffat Mill, *Report on the Province of Assam*, Publication Board Assam, Gauhati, 1984, p. 345.
- ⁶⁹ NAI, Letter of H. Luttman-Johnson, Esq., Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam to C. U. Aitchison, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary, to the Govt, of India, Foreign Department, No. 41 of 30th March 1874.

⁷⁰ Smriti Das, *Assam-Bhutan Relations with Special Reference to Duars From 1681-1949*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Gauhati University, 1998, p.102

⁷¹ Bhangtar is a place in the Samdrup Jongkhar district of Bhutan that shares a boundary with Assam in the north.

⁷² B.C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers, Kamrup*, Volume- IV, Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1905, p.159

⁷³ Source: [Baksa District, Assam \(indianetzone.com\)](http://indianetzone.com/baksa-district-assam), Accessed on 2/11/2021

⁷⁴ Sarat Kumar Phukan, *Genesis of Ancient Toponymy of Central and lower Assam*, Publication Board Assam, Guwahati, 2012, p.469

⁷⁵ Source: [Baksa District, Assam \(indianetzone.com\)](http://indianetzone.com/baksa-district-assam), Accessed on 2/11/2021

⁷⁶ R.B. Pemberton, *Report on Bootan*, Indian Studies: Past and Present, Calcutta, 1961, p.22

⁷⁷ R.B. Pemberton, *Report on Bootan*, Indian Studies: Past and Present, Calcutta, 1961, p.22

⁷⁸ B.C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers, Kamrup*, Volume- IV, Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1905, p.182

⁷⁹ Brass vessels were used by the Bhutias to distil the country spirit

⁸⁰ B.C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers, Kamrup*, Volume-IV, Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1905, p.182

⁸¹ Gangadhar Sarania, *Falangi Hathai- Bazar*. In Binanda Muchahary(ed.), *Rupathi Bisombi* (Bodo), Ansuli Computer centre cum Sanswring Digital offset press, Jalagaon, 2021, p.7

⁸² Halfdan Siiger, *The Bodo of Assam: Revisiting a Classical Study from 1950*, Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Press, Denmark, 2015, p.183

⁸³ <https://www.incredibleindia.org/content/incredibleindia/en/destinations/nalbari.html>.

Accessed on 1/2/2022

⁸⁴ <https://www.incredibleindia.org/content/incredibleindia/en/destinations/nalbari.html>.

Accessed on 1/2/2022

⁸⁵ Kailash Sharma, *The place of the Growth Centres in the Process of Urbanization in Assam*. In J.B. Ganguly (ed.), *Urbanization Development in North East India*, Deepa and Deep Publications, New Delhi, 1995, p.191

⁸⁶ Smriti Das, *Assam-Bhutan Relations with Special Reference to Duars From 1681-1949*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Gauhati University, 1998, p.46

⁸⁷ Mathura Mohan Basumotary(ed.), *Chapaguri Duar Souvenir*, Barpeta District Bodo Sahitya Sabha Silver Jubilee Celebration Committee, Simla Bazar, 1994, p.ii

⁸⁸ Mathura Mohan Basumotary(ed.), *Chapaguri Duar Souvenir*, Barpeta District Bodo Sahitya Sabha Silver Jubilee Celebration Committee, Simla Bazar, 1994, p.ii

-
- ⁸⁹ Patacharkuchi literally means "a village out of patta land."
- ⁹⁰ Gangadhar Sarania, *Falangi Hathai- Bazar*. In Binanda Muchahary(ed.), *Rupathi Bisombi*, Ansuli Computer center cum Sanswring Digital offset press, Jalagaon, 2021, p.8
- ⁹¹ Sovaram Das, *Kokhlabari Phukhuripara Chowkot Godhuli Bazar aru Kisu purani Kotha Hanguri Ati Homu Biboron*. In Binanda Muchahary(ed.), *Rupathi Bisombi*, Ansuli Computer center cum Sanswring Digital offset press, Jalagaon, 2021, p.11
- ⁹² Gangadhar Sarania a retired school teacher and a social worker, village- Simla, Aged-90, Son of late Honga Kachari
- ⁹³ Dholta an Assamese word meaning bonus quantity procured because of uncleaned grains or rice.
- ⁹⁴ Assamese word for accurate weight measurement
- ⁹⁵ Saudagar and Mudoj where traders who dealt in large volume of trade
- ⁹⁶ Jahnabi Gogoi, *Agrarian System of Medieval Assam*, concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2002, pp.157 & 159
- ⁹⁷ Gangadhar Sarania, *Falangi Hathai- Bazar*. In Binanda Muchahary(ed.), *Rupathi Bisombi*, Ansuli Computer center cum Sanswring Digital offset press, Jalagaon, 2021, p.9
- ⁹⁸ R.B. Pemberton, *Report on Bootan*, Indian Studies: Past and Present, Calcutta,1961, p.22
- ⁹⁹ Smriti Das, *Assam-Bhutan Relations with Special Reference to Duars From 1681-1949*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Gauhati University, 1998, p.44
- ¹⁰⁰ Smriti Das, *Assam-Bhutan Relations with Special Reference to Duars From 1681-1949*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Gauhati University, 1998, p.44
- ¹⁰¹ Edward Gait, *A History of Assam*, LBS Publications, Guwahati, 1926, pp.121-131
- ¹⁰² Edward Gait, *A History of Assam*, LBS Publications, Guwahati, 1926, p.148
- ¹⁰³ S.K. Bhuyan(ed.), *Kamrupar Buranji*, Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, 1930, p.111
- ¹⁰⁴ A.J. Moffat Mill, *Report on the Province of Assam*, Publication Board Assam, Gauhati, 1984(2nd ed.), p.345
- ¹⁰⁵ Bodo word for tall grass like plants
- ¹⁰⁶ Ashley Eden and others, *Political Mission to Bootan*, comprising the reports of the Hon'ble Ashley Eden,1865, Captain R.B. Pemberton,1837-38 with Dr. Griffith's Journal and the Account by Baboo Kishen Kant Bose, Bengal Secretariat Office, Calcutta, 1865, p.203

-
- ¹⁰⁷ Ashley Eden and others, *Political Mission to Bootan*, comprising the reports of the Hon'ble Ashley Eden, 1865, Captain R.B. Pemberton, 1837-38 with Dr. Griffith's Journal and the Account by Baboo Kishen Kant Bose, Bengal Secretariat Office, Calcutta, 1865, p.203
- ¹⁰⁸ N. Bhattacharjee (Ed.) *Census of India 1981*, Part X (B), Series 3, Assam, Survey Report on Town Barpeta, p.7
- ¹⁰⁹ Sarat Kumar Phukan, *Genesis of Ancient Toponymy of Central and lower Assam*, Publication Board Assam, Guwahati, 2012, p.551
- ¹¹⁰ Sarat Kumar Phukan, *Genesis of Ancient Toponymy of Central and lower Assam*, Publication Board Assam, Guwahati, 2012, p.551
- ¹¹¹ N. Bhattacharjee (Ed.) *Census of India 1981*, Part X (B), Series 3, Assam, Survey Report on Town Barpeta, p.7
- ¹¹² N. Bhattacharjee (Ed.) *Census of India 1981*, Part X (B), Series 3, Assam, Survey Report on Town Barpeta, p.10
- ¹¹³ N. Bhattacharjee (Ed.) *Census of India 1981*, Part X (B), Series 3, Assam, Survey Report on Town Barpeta, p.68
- ¹¹⁴ B.C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers: Darrang District*, Volume- V, Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1905, p.182
- ¹¹⁵ N.C. Dutta, *Assam District Gazetteers: Darrang District*, Government of Assam, Gauhati, 1978, p.309
- ¹¹⁶ B.C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers, Darrang District*, Volume- V, Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1905, p.155
- ¹¹⁷ B.C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers, Darrang District*, Volume- V, Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1905, p.155-57
- ¹¹⁸ B.C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers, Kamrup District*, Volume- IV, Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1905, p.168
- ¹¹⁹ B.C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers, Kamrup District*, Volume- IV, Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1905, p.251
- ¹²⁰ N.C. Dutta, *Assam District Gazetteers: Darrang District*, Government of Assam, Gauhati, 1978, p.309
- ¹²¹ R.B. Vaghaiwalla, *Census of India 1951*, Assam, Manipur and Tripura, Part I(A) Report, Shillong, 1954, p.36
- ¹²² W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Assam*, Volume- I, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 1998, pp.30 & 113
- ¹²³ John Butler, *A Sketch of Assam*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2016, p.23

-
- ¹²⁴ Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *History of Bhutan: Land of Peaceful Dragon*, Education Department of Bhutan, Thimphu, 1980, p.91
- ¹²⁵ R.B. Pemberton, *Report on Bootan*, Indian Studies: Past and Present, Calcutta, 1961, p.22
- ¹²⁶ Bodo word for Zamindar
- ¹²⁷ Halfdan Siiger in Peter B. Andersen and Santosh K. Soren (eds.) *The Bodo of Assam*, Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Press, Oster Farimagsgade 5, 2015, pp.183-84
- ¹²⁸ Nushar Bargayary, *Ethno History of the Bodo*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Bodoland University, 2017, pp.189-90.
- ¹²⁹ Amalendu Guha, *The Medieval Economy of Assam*. In Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, Volume-I: c.1200-c.1750, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982, p.488
- ¹³⁰ Amalendu Guha, *The Medieval Economy of Assam*. In Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, Volume-I: c.1200-c.1750, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982, p.488
- ¹³¹ Nabanita Sharma, "Trade in Pre-Colonial Ahom Agrarian Economy", *Stud Tribes Tribals*, Volume-17 (1-2), 2019, p.21
- ¹³² Amalendu Guha, *The Medieval Economy of Assam*. In Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, Volume-I: c.1200-c.1750, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982, p.488
- ¹³³ Nabanita Sharma, "Trade in Pre-Colonial Ahom Agrarian Economy", *Stud Tribes Tribals*, Volume-17 (1-2), 2019, p.21
- ¹³⁴ Nabanita Sharma, "Trade in Pre-Colonial Ahom Agrarian Economy", *Stud Tribes Tribals*, Volume-17 (1-2), 2019, p.21
- ¹³⁵ Jahnabi Gogoi, *Agrarian System of Medieval Assam*, concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2002, pp.150-151
- ¹³⁶ N.C. Dutta, *Assam District Gazetteers: Darrang District*, Government of Assam, Gauhati, 1978, p.263
- ¹³⁷ N.C. Dutta, *Assam District Gazetteers, Darrang District*, Government of Assam, Gauhati, 1978, p.264
- ¹³⁸ N.C. Dutta, *Assam District Gazetteers, Darrang District*, Government of Assam, Gauhati, 1978, p.264
- ¹³⁹ N.C. Dutta, *Assam District Gazetteers, Darrang District*, Government of Assam, Gauhati, 1978, p.264
- ¹⁴⁰ Bodo word meaning hand fold

¹⁴¹ Source: <https://bhutan.shanti.a2hosted.com/subjects/7634/overview/nojs>. Accessed on 2/11/2021

¹⁴² Source: <https://bhutan.shanti.a2hosted.com/subjects/7634/overview/nojs>. Accessed on 2/11/2021

¹⁴³ Amlan Barua(ed.), *Assam State Gazetteer*, Volume-I, Government of Assam, Guwahati, 1999, p.564