

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

Although pre-historical evidence, have not yet been found, historical evidence of indised stone artefacts bearing some primitive traditions found together with the individual *brahmi* characters datable to c. 2nd century A.D. at Duboroni in the Doiyang Dhansiri Valley are strong indications of the development of an organised human society flourishing since c. 2nd century A.D. This evidence of social transition has taken back the date of the earliest formation of society in ancient Assam to c. A.D. . Till this period the earliest date was confined to a late date of c. 5th century A.D. based on the NKFSI and the Umachala Rock Inscription of ancient Assam. These inscribed individual letters bearing numeral characters make it certain that the mainstay of a section of people was maritime activity, which seem to have played a vital role in the social organisation and led to the growth of a monarchical kingdom in the Valley. The donative nature of epigraphical records e.g. the ATSI the ATCS the NKFSI, and existence of a class of village officials e.g. *mahattara* confirm that land was a source of revenue. It indicates that a sort of political and cultural identity of the Valley was slowly but surely in process of formation since the early Christian era, and remained strong throughout the ancient and early mediaeval period. Since the Valley was fertile and yielded good harvest of all varieties of crops, as recorded in the NKFSI, it is not without reason that the development of the cultural and material life of the people of the valley was also sustained by agricultural surplus.

The epigraphical records with names of Sri Ratnavarmana and Sri Vasundharavarmana, discovered by us confirm the existence of an independent line of rulers, different from that of the Varmanas of Kamarupa. This was hitherto unknown in the history of ancient Assam. We may accept that the Valley with its brick built fortified capital at Duboroni and *setubandha* harbour (*pattana*) on the bank of the Dhansiri with the additional (*upari*) region at least

extending to Tinisukia, might have been this *Upapattana* of ancient Assam. It is possible that the *pattana* of Alichiga-Tengani, where the ATSI and ATCS have been found, was highly flourishing. If we go by this, it becomes clear that the region of *Upapattana*, which did not form part of ancient Kamarupa or Davaka Kingdom, was ruled by this line of Varman rulers, not belonging to Pusyavarmana of Kamarupa Sri Ratnavarmana and Sri Vasundharavarmana found in epigraphical records, are the royal descendents belonging to this lineage. Existence of regional kingdoms, other than that of the ancient Kamarupa and Davaka during the Gupta period is indicated in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription (c. A.D. 350) of Samudra Gupta.

During c. A.D. 800 *Mahārājādhirāja* Sri Jivarā, and *Mahārājādhirāja* Sri Dinglekhavarman were the kings of this kingdom.

The region of *Upapattana* seems to have been annexed to the Kachari kingdom in the mediaeval period. The advent of the Ahoms seems to have been resisted by the inhabitants of this Kachari kingdom who had allegiance to the Kachari kings of this Valley. The shifting of the Kachari capital to Maibong in North Cachar after the Ahom occupation of Dimapur during A.D. 1530 seem to indicate that the territory formed part of the Kachari kingdom of the Doiyang-Dhansiri Valley. The Kachari kings adopted highly eulogistic royal titles of Hidimbessara, or the lord of Hidimba, - the name given to their Kingdom at Maibong during mediaeval period. The Ahoms subsequently brought the Kachari territory in Doiyang-Dhansiri Valley under their control and created a post of *Morongi* at *Gohain* to look after the administration of this region.

The Valley is found to have fostered the growth of some regional characteristics in socio-economic and cultural life since ancient times. Due to geographical seclusion, a strong tendency of regionalism in cultural alignments developed. Art developed here in isolation and the sense of regionalism became strong. As such, art that developed in the Valley, although Indian in tradition in expression, was conspicuously regional.

Since the Doiyang-Dhansiri Valley had been inhabited by a number of heterogeneous racial groups, the art styles in the region, manifests a tendency towards racial and cultural synthesis. Due to this blending and synthesising of the various social elements, its art combined in itself the diverse patterns of life into one entity. Not only the temple sculptures, even megaliths tend to show this blending. As such, the art that developed in the Valley appears to be complex in character. There is evidence to show a strong brahmanical manoeuvre that worked to bridge the social differences, and although social hierarchy in brahmanical order was established, the class or caste distinction was considerably liberalised in order to organise a strong social structure, which was possibly considered the prime factor for the establishment of a strong regional kingdom. The peasants and artisans on the other hand, being attached to their cultivable land stopped their movements from one region to another which promoted the sense of regionalism in the Valley. Such a socio-economic settlement possibly provided opportunity to the peasants and artisans, irrespective of their caste and creed, to take share in the economic growth of the monarchical kingdom that developed with regional identity in the Valley.

The art that developed in the Valley was also directed to serve contemporary socio-political objectives and vice versa. A powerful state must have a strong social basis. Apart from its military might, the aspirations of all sections of people had therefore, to be synthesised. It was this social synthesis, that led to the development of social solidarity and religious cult of syncretism in the Valley. The strong basis of social co-existence and localism, worked behind this development of regional polity. And here we find a basic reason for the emergence and manifestation of syncretistic art. It also served economic purpose in terms of territorial expansion of the kingdom in the Valley. Land grant in the regions inhabited by non-aryans became possible through religious perseverance which possibly added additional revenue to the kingdom.

Most of the composite figures are found inscribed either on their edges or on pedestal. In the development of syncretistic art, as discussed, it is

remarkable that the composite characters are not only shown iconographically and epigraphically; even individual sculptures are shown to have possessed syncretistic character, by providing rare treatment in *āyudhas*. This development suggests the possibility of regional composition of some iconographical texts, without upsetting the basic loyalty to the legacy of the Indian classical tradition. In this art the pivot was the human figure. Full, round, young and sensuous, figures, whether male or female, are endowed with gliding lines, although, at times, angularity and folk elements emerged as general characteristics of some figures whether in stone, metal, wood or terracotta. Duboroni being a fortified capital was inhabited by artists and architects having knowledge in fine art.

The native vigour that we have described as the Duboroni School of Regional Art, became very popular and exhibited itself in a localised art movement in medium of terracotta, wood, stone and metal. Even the choice of stone remained distinct from the other parts of Assam. It is found that shale of Disang sediment was used in Duboroni School of Art, while granite was used at Deoparvat. The megaliths of Dimapur and Kasomaripathar, too, bereft of primitive megalithism, are found, with floral and geometrical ornamentations. The Kacharis, it seems possible, tried to revive some traditions of ancestral worship and tree worship by erecting these megaliths. Stone art developed here during the Ahom rule, found to be similar to those found in other parts of the Ahom kingdom.

The main innovation, partly responsible for the growth of culture in the valley since ancient period was perhaps the introduction of iron and the development of an indigenous smelting technology. Rahdhola pukhuri found with slag heaps, near Dhekial in Golaghat is one such evidence of an ancient iron extrating and smelting site. The local availability of iron must have encouraged its application in agriculture and other productive works, which had brought about tremendous economic development and material transformation in the lives of the people in the Valley since the early Christian

era. Iron, as such, continued to aid the process of social stratification and state formation. The economic stability thus attained led to the development of art and archaeology, evidences of which now lie in ruins. The Valley also maintained commercial pursuits through river and overland trade. The principal habitational sites of Duboroni and Alichiga-Tengani are well connected with the Dhansiri by series of canals, and all the other archaeological sites flourished on the riverside. As such, one may view the development as the outcome of commercial intercourse with settlements of distant lands. Place names found with suffix *hatta*, in the Valley e.g. Kacharihat indicate the remote existence of market or trade fair. Land grant offered by the Ahom king Lakshmasingha at Kacharihat to supply drinking water to travellers signify to the existence of such traditional trade fair or *hatta* organised at Kacharihat during mediaeval period.

The knowledge gathered through commercial contact was applied to cultural and technical frontiers. As a result, the cultural mooring in the Valley was in tune with the ancient Indian cultural tradition. Technical knowledge acquired was applied in developing the fortifications such as water ditches, ramparts, watch towers, were raised in settlements on the riverside, where brick-built temples and secular apartments e.g. at Duboroni and Alichiga-Tengani. Remarkably, the layout of both these sites bear striking resemblance of building *sthaniya* fortress and town planning, in conformity with the principles laid down in the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya.

However, the progress of the development in art was confined to the valley alone, and the surrounding hilly region is found dominated by the primitive method of shifting cultivation until recent times. The inhabitants of the Valley maintained a stable socioeconomic life, being attached to their agricultural land, and they followed improved method of agriculture under an efficient system of village administration. The existence of the class of *mahattara*, i.e. the village headmen, as indicated by the NKFSI, confirms the existence of an organised village administration similar to that of the Gupta Village administration during ancient period.

Brick and timber constituted the primary medium of architecture. The inborn faculties of talented people might have caused its development as their contact with other cultural forums in ancient India was not altogether lacking. The discovery of the pair of the Gupta type bronze coated architect's plummets the existence of *setubandha* (embankments) at Alichiga-Tengani, and certain similarities between some of the *visnu* figures found in the Valley and at Benisagar region of Bihar point to such possibilities.

Numerous brick mounds with temple sculptures connected with Vaisnavism, Saivism, and Tantricism show a complete mastery over brick-built temple architecture. Here, too, the visual art seems to bear social importance. In other words the formation of a strong social organisation was the primary force that determined the style and composition in art and architecture. Art was conceived not for the higher class alone, rather it was popular among the common people. As such the temple sculptures were not only small and squat, but also attractive and found simple in gesture. The brick temple architectures were possibly smaller so that, one could afford to build for his individual or family worship.

Judging from the examples which have come down to us, the Valley seems to be one of the most active regions for sculptural art. The large majority of temples were built in brick. The main theme for sculptural art in stone, metal, wood and terracotta seems to have been cult icons. This apart, the use of burnt bricks in architecture reflects a tendency for raising durable structures. This factor suggests a relative economic prosperity, leading to the urbanisation of the Valley as early as c. 400-500 A.D. if not earlier.

During ancient period, bricks were chiefly employed in secular defensive architecture, such as ramparts, brick-built fortified walls, watch-towers, and other secular architecture, evidence of which is revealed in BPD I and BPD II at Duboroni in Borpathar. The use of bricks in religious architecture during this stage had been meagre, but not altogether absent.

Employment of bricks in building secular apartments in the fortified capital at Duboroni, the ground plan of which was laid in rectangular alignment in a similar principal prescribed in the ancient Indian *Silpasastras* - the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya and the *Manasara* - is noteworthy. The brick architectural evidence at Duboroni not only shows the establishment of a permanent brick-built capital, fortified by brick-reinforced ramparts and moats, but is also an index to the remarkable development of ancient urban culture in the Valley. The use of bricks as building material for raising square or rectangular ground plan (as found at Duboroni) firmly indicates a transition from the rural to urban settlement pattern. Extensive remains of a brick built fortified complex at Duboroni seems to prove that the fortress was constructed with the military objectives which possibly helped in the conquests of the upper Assam Valley, the adjacent hilly regions, and the contiguous southern tracts. It only lead to confirm the attainment of maturity and efficiency of brick architecture in a period contemporary to the Gupta Age, as ascertained from the ATSI. and ATCS dated c. 4th - 5th Century A.D.

Application of bricks in rampart and in architecture raised at *setubandha* (embankment) surrounded by square ditch, that first flourished as *pattana* or harbour at Alichiga Tengani, and which was developed later into a pleasure garden *arama*, suggest that brick was initially used in defensive architecture e.g. rampart, and applied to both secular and religious architecture in subsequent period.

Although a sharp division can not be drawn at this stage of enquiry it can perhaps be said that a transitional phase in brick architecture emerged more particularly during the post-Gupta period. Possibly, after the completion of the brick-built capital at Duboroni and the commercial harbour at Alichiga-Tengani, a new phase of brick built religious architecture began which is corroborated by the extensive ruins of brick temple architecture.

Art and architectural evidences of the Valley convey the impression that the native art movement flourished with the fortunes of a ruling family

although to draw a precise line on the dynastic division of art at this stage is difficult. However, indications are there that political development of a kingdom in the valley determined the art styles, and its cultural frontier was pushed to distant region of Bengmara or Tinisukia in Upper Assam. In this respect, we venture to say that the entire conquests up to the region of Tinisukia was under the political hegemony of the kingdom that flourished in the Valley.

The brahmanical attempt at conversion of non-aryan tribes to aryan fold was, however, continued in the valley through the process of sanskritisation. The ancient tribal abodes of mother goddess were converted into *Devithan* and enshrined with brahmanical goddesses like Durga. The *Deopanithan*, the *Kaka-Gosanithan*, the *Kotobagurithan* the *Burhi Gosanithan* are the examples, where tribal people constitute a large section of devotees, who offer red animal sacrifice.

During the Ahom rule, from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century, a policy of revivalism of the age-old cultural legacy of the Valley was followed. As a part of this policy, brick-built temple with mediaeval feature were raised at the early mediaeval temple-sites, and land grants were offered for their maintenance. The Negheriting Siva Temple at Dergaon is a living example of continuity of early mediaeval tradition. The material progress also led to the development of minor arts. Metallurgical craft, wood carving ivory art, manuscript paintings, maintained parity with the development in other parts of the Ahom kingdom.

Doubtless, the region of Doiyang-Dhansiri Valley has unique contribution to the development of Indian art. Art and archaeological remains of this Valley bear strong stamps of the movement of Indian cultural heritage.



## GLOSSARY :

<i>Achala liṅga</i>	: Immovable Siva liṅga
<i>Adhisthāna</i>	: A base; the foundation of a temple or the pedestal of a sculpture
<i>Āditya</i>	: The Sun; one of the twelve sons of Aditi
<i>Aduka</i>	: Water fort
<i>Agni</i>	: Hindu God of fire
<i>Akṣhamālā</i>	: A garland made of dried fruit known as <i>Rudrakṣa</i>
<i>Ālaya</i>	: A temple; a house
<i>Āmalaka</i>	: A flat and fluted myrobalan-shaped member of the <i>sikhara</i> of a temple.
<i>Amṛtaghata</i>	: Nectar-vase
<i>Angaśikhara</i>	: A decorative miniature <i>sikhara</i> attached to the main <i>sikhara</i> of a temple.
<i>Añjali-bhāsa</i>	: A pose with the palms of the hands cusped jointly upwards
<i>Ānaṇḍa-lahari</i>	: One stringed musical instruments of mendicant
<i>Antariya</i>	: Hanging drapery between the two legs of a male
<i>Ārāma</i>	: A pleasure garden; a garden house; an orchard
<i>Ardhanārīśvara</i>	: Composite form of God Siva and his consort Parvati
<i>Ardha-candra</i>	: Crescent moon
<i>Āsana</i>	: A seat, a throne, a sitting posture
<i>Atṭālaka</i>	: An apartment on the roof, watch tower, a military post
<i>Avatara</i>	: An incarnation of God
<i>Āyudha</i>	: A weapon; a symbolical object peculiar to a deity.
<i>Bāndhanā</i>	: A band dividing the <i>jangha</i> of a temple into horizontal divisions

<i>Bārboi</i>	: Wood carver and artist
<i>Bañkañhi</i>	: Dish on stand
<i>Bhāwanā</i>	: An Opera of the Neo-Vaisnavites of Assam
<i>Buranji</i>	: The Chronicles of the Ahoms
<i>Bhāravāhaka</i>	: Atlantis
<i>Bicani</i>	: Hand fan
<i>Barpirā</i>	: Large flat seat
<i>Bar perā</i>	: Large chest
<i>Biri</i>	: Drum shaped ornament for neck
<i>Cakra</i>	: Wheel or disc of Viṣṇu
<i>cala liṅga</i>	: Movable Siva linga
<i>Chatur bhuja</i>	: The <i>Vyūha</i> doctrine is one of the tenets of earlier <i>Bhāgavata</i> (vaiṣṇava) cult.
<i>Chāngtatṭo</i>	: Tattoo made on the neck of warrior
<i>Chaturmukhaliṅga</i>	: Siva linga with four human faces
<i>Chungā</i>	: Round tube of bamboo, ivory etc.
<i>Damaru</i>	: Small musical drum carried by God Siva
<i>Daksa</i>	: The father of Sati, the consort of Siva
<i>Danḍa</i>	: A Staff, carried on as <i>āyudha</i> by some deities; name of Yama attending Surya.
<i>Davā</i>	: A musical drum of conical shape
<i>Dol</i>	: Generic Assamese term for <i>Deul</i> or temple
<i>Devakostha</i>	: Niches for sculptures in the walls of a temple
<i>Dhekiyaliā kalah</i>	: Ovoid shaped earthen pitcher with elongated neck manufactured at Dhekial.
<i>Dheki</i>	: Traditional household grinding apparatus
<i>Dagdagi</i>	: Metallic water pitcher having stand
<i>Dhekor</i>	: Iron frame for litters

<i>Dugdugi</i>	: A kind necklace worn by women
<i>Ekamukhalinga</i>	: Siva liṅga with one human face
<i>Gadā</i>	: Mace a symbol of some Gods especially of Viṣṇu
<i>Galpatā</i>	: A kind of necklace
<i>Gāgari</i>	: Large water pitcher
<i>Gajavyāla</i>	: A vyāla (lion) taming a gaja (elephant)- a motif normally to be found on the body of a temple.
<i>Garbhagṛha</i>	: Sanctum of a temple.
<i>Garuda</i>	: Mythical bird associated with God Viṣṇu at His vehicle
<i>Gavākṣha</i>	: A window
<i>Gāmkhāru</i>	: Bracelet worn by man
<i>Gosāighar</i>	: A prayer house ; a temple
<i>Gopura</i>	: A gate-house at the entrance of a temple
<i>Gachā</i>	: Lampstand
<i>Gūdhā britti</i>	: Secret underground staircase in a fortified area
<i>Sopana</i>	
<i>Hāṭṭa</i>	: Market, trade fair
<i>Hātaniperā</i>	: Hand-chest for Keeping valuables
<i>Hengul</i>	: Vermillion
<i>Haitāl</i>	: Yellow arsenic
<i>Harm ya</i>	: Palace
<i>Hāra</i>	: Necklace
<i>Hetā</i>	: Large spoon
<i>Hinayana</i>	: A Buddhist religious sect.
<i>Jaṭāmukuta</i>	: The crown of matted hair usually tied over head like a crown or <i>mukuta</i>
<i>Jaṭā</i>	: Matted hairlock
<i>Jakā</i>	: Large saucer

<i>Jatar</i>	: A spinning wheel
<i>Juriā-Pukhuri</i>	: A pair of water tanks
<i>Jonbiri</i>	: A crescent-shaped pendent
<i>Kākoi</i>	: Comb and scratcher of ivory, bamboo etc.
<i>Kosāpatiyāpāg</i>	: A tradition headgear or headdress for man
<i>Kalah</i>	: Water Pitcher
<i>Keyura</i>	: Armlet worn on upper arm
<i>Kuṇḍala</i>	: Ear ornament
<i>Khanikar</i>	: Class of artists
<i>Kariā</i>	: Wooden vessel for milk
<i>Kepuche</i>	: Large stone placed near the gate of an Angami Nagas village, which is a subject of veneration
<i>Kālamakara</i>	: Javanese counterpart to Indian <i>kirttimukha</i> or design
<i>Kalasa</i>	: The pitcher like member or design of the <i>mastaka</i> of a temple, a pitcher
<i>Kalpavṛkṣa</i>	: A tree motif- wish fulfilling tree.
<i>Kamaṇḍalu</i>	: Waterpot with a handle and a spout
<i>Kaṭisutra</i>	: A decorative girdle
<i>Kamarabandhā</i>	: Waist band to fasten the lower garment on the waist
<i>Kapāla</i>	: Severed head of a man or cup of a bowl made of a skull
<i>Kankaṇa</i>	: Bangle, bracelet
<i>Karaṇḍamukuta</i>	: A vase-shaped <i>mukuta</i>
<i>Khadga</i>	: A kind heavy sword
<i>Kirita-mukuta</i>	: Jewelled conical crown-a kind of crown usually meant for images of Visnu and Surya
<i>Kirttimukha</i>	: The grinning lion face popularly used as decorative motif or auspicious symbol on temple and sculptures
<i>Kurma</i>	: Tortoise

<i>Korāpat</i>	: Gate-way of <i>Vaishnava Sattra</i>
<i>Kṛta Śilpa</i>	: Fine arts
<i>Kurmāsana</i>	: Tortoise shaped pedestal
<i>Katibandhā</i>	: Kativastra
<i>Kumār-māti</i>	: Potter's-clay
<i>Kuṇḍatdiyā</i>	: Lathe- turned
<i>Lalitāsana</i>	: A sitting posture in which one leg usually the left leg is tucked up on the seat, while the right one dangles gracefully from the seat.
<i>Liṅga</i>	: Aniconic form of Siva
<i>Laghustambha</i>	: Pilastar
<i>Lotā</i>	: Small water pitcher
<i>Lokāpāra</i>	: Ear-ring with motif of pigeon, worn by males
<i>Loṅkeru</i>	: Clove shaped ornament for ears.
<i>Mayurāsana</i>	: An āsana or throne flanked by four Peacock on four sides
<i>Māko</i>	: Shuttle for loam
<i>Mahattara</i>	: The Headman of village
<i>Mahārājālilāsana</i>	: A sitting posture on a throne with one leg pendant touching tree ground and the other leg placed lying on throne.
<i>Maṇḍala</i>	: Magic circle containing mystic symbols and diagrams and figures of gods and goddesses.
<i>Makara</i>	: Crocodile
<i>Maṇḍapa</i>	: A hall in front of the principal shrine of temple
<i>Matsya</i>	: Fish
<i>Mayura</i>	: Peacock
<i>Mudrā</i>	: Pose, Generally gesture of hands

<i>Mukuta</i>	: Crown
<i>Mudgara</i>	: Hammar, a heavy club
<i>Muktāvali</i>	: Necklace
<i>Matāmani</i>	: Necklace of beads
<i>Nāgabandhā</i>	: Water tank felled with wooden cylindrical pipe with connecting ground water.
<i>Nāgini</i>	: Female celestial serpent with semi-human form
<i>Namaskār</i>	: Gesture of joining two hands with raised fingers parallel to chest and the hands slightly bent.
<i>Nāmakīrttana</i>	: Devotional prayers
<i>Neothani</i>	: Carding machine.
<i>Nupura</i>	: Anklet
<i>Naṇḍi</i>	: Bull vehicle of God Siva
<i>Narasimha</i>	: A half-man half-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu
<i>Nagara</i>	: Capital or city
<i>Nāmghar</i>	: A vaisnavite prayer hall
<i>Nagaravidhāna</i>	: Town planning
<i>Ozhā</i>	: Master
<i>Panchamahāvādya</i>	: The five chief musical instruments
<i>Panchamakāra</i>	: The ritual governing five ma's e.g. madya, mamsa, matsya, maithuna and mudra.
<i>Padama</i>	: Lotus
<i>Pāda-vinyāsa</i>	: Ground plan
<i>Padmāsana</i>	: A sitting posture with the legs in a crossed position
<i>Pāguritemā</i>	: Rests for headdress.
<i>Paṭṭana</i>	: A commercial town port or harbour accessible by water ways.
<i>Pancāyatana</i>	: A temple complex with five shrine

<i>pañcopāsana</i>	: Worshipping of five principal deities
<i>Paraśu</i>	: Battle axe
<i>Puspakuṇḍala</i>	: Ear-ring made of flowers
<i>Patrakuṇḍala</i>	: Ear-ring made of leaves
<i>Pralambapāda</i>	: A sitting posture in which the feet rest on ground and the knee stretches upward; the "European style" sitting posture.
<i>Parikhā</i>	: Water ditch for fortification of ancient cities or capital
<i>Pāli</i>	: Assistant
<i>Pāleng</i>	: Large bedstead (Sans <i>palanka</i> )
<i>Parikrama</i>	: Frame work
<i>Perā</i>	: Chest
<i>Pirā</i>	: Small flat seat
<i>Pik bān</i>	: Spitton
<i>Patidharā</i>	: Mat
<i>Pranāla</i>	: An outlet
<i>Pramoṭha</i>	: A dwarfish mythical figure
<i>Prajāpati</i>	: The progenitor of mankind indicating Brahmana
<i>Prabhawali</i>	: Halo
<i>Prabhamaṇḍala</i>	: Nimbus
<i>Rāngoli-māti</i>	: Potter's clay used as colouring agent
<i>Rekhā-deul</i>	: A towered sanctuary with vertical salients
<i>Repanidiyā</i>	: Act of painting a wooden object fixed on a lathe with the help of heated cane piece. Also called rewadiya.
<i>Samapādashthānaka</i>	: Straight standing posture in which is body without any bent in it faces front
<i>Sainvakara</i>	: Conical
<i>Saṅkha</i>	: Conch shell , normally an <i>ayudha</i> of Gods, especially Viṣṇu

Sāstra	: Treatise on law, religion or science
Srivtsa	: The Imprint of the foot of Bhrgu on the chest of Viṣṇu
Sudra	: Hindu lower caste
Suparna	: It is a Hindu mythical bird with human face
Śarāi	: Tray on stand use for offering objects in rituals
Safurā	: Covered mineiature Śarāi
Sonāri	: Goldsmith
Simhāsana	: Lion featured alter or asana in prayerhall
Setubondha	: Embankment raised for habitation as defensive measure, surrounded by ditches
Sirūvarttana	: Rounded top of a Siva liṅga
Sālpirā	: Bed stead
Sthapati	: Craft master
Sattra	: Neo-vaishnavite monastery of Assam
.	:
Silpaśāstra	: Text book on principle of art and architecture
Sankrama	: Bridge connecting water fort with outward bank
Saptamātṛ. kā	: Seven mother goddess
Saraḥ Saṁs- -thāpanē vidyān.	: Class of artisan who supervised excavation of water- -tank.
Sutraka	: Garments between two legs.
Sarpa	: Serpent hood
Sankha Kuṇḍala	: Earning of Sankha (conch)
Shiv Barāi	: A cractus type tree with five ridgeo worshipp by the Bodos as Shiv Barai.
Tāmuli pirā	: Respectable seat
Temā-Temi	: Small casket, lime casket etc
Tulā Chālani	: Balance for weight and measures



Urāl	: Mortar
Uṭṭatikāsana	: Seated in squatting posture
Tribhaṅga	: Triple flexion of human body in standing posture
Triśūla	: A trident
Trimukha	: Three faced
Thān	: A place of worship
Thagā	: Rests or keeping manuscripts
Valaya	: Thick circular bangle
Varadamudrā	: Handposture indicative of conferring boon (vara) with palm outward.
Varāha	: Boar Incarnation of Viṣṇu
Vipani	: Commercial shop
Vāstuka	: Fortified cities on confluence of rivers
Varada mudrā	: Posture of hand
Vanamālā	: Garland
Vāhana	: The vehicle of a deity
Viśwapadma	: The double-petalled lotus motif
Vaijyanti	: Long garland of flowers worn by Viṣṇu
Yajñōpavita	: Sacred thread
Zhum	: Shifting Cultivation associated with hill tribes.

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- 2 An Inscribed Stone fragment from Tengrajan Sarupathar
- 3 Alichiga-Tengani Stone Inscription, Borpathar
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- 5 Nagajori Khanikargaon Fragmentary Stone Inscription, Pt.I & Pt.II. Sarupathar
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- 8 Harihara Stone Image Inscription , Deopani, Sarupathar
- 9 *Śaṅkara Nārāyaṇa* Stone Image Inscription Deopani, Sarupathar
- 10 Parvatiya Copper plates of Vanamalavarmadeva, Tezpur
- 11 Inscribed letters from Deoparvat, Numaligarh
- 12 Inscribed letter from Negheriting, Dergaon
- 13 Copperplate grant of king Lakshmishingha, Dergaon
- 14 Trilingual Copperplate Charter of King Lakshmi Singha Kacharihat. Golaghat
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