Review Paper

P-ISSN: 2456-8430

Chilārāi and the Contemporary Literary World of Assam - A Study

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DOI: https://doi.org/10.52403/gijash.20220713

ABSTRACT

The Koch Dynasty occupies an important place in the history of Assam. There were many great warriors of history who were associated with this dynasty. Viśva Simha was the first king of the Koch Dynasty. Viśva Simha had eighteen sons and Chilārāi was the third son. After Viśva Simha, the Koch Dynasty was ruled by King Naranārāyana. Chilārāi was appointed as the commander-in-chief during the reign Naranārāyaṇa. Being a commander-in-chief, Chilārāi brought various states under the control of the Kamata-Koch power. Chilarai was very popular for his military exploits during the reign of Naranārāyana. The name of Chilārāi during his birth was Śukladhvaja. But later on, the name chilārāi was given to him due to his traits. It was said that Śukladhvaja got the name chilarai because of the swift mobility of his army and sudden and surprising attack. There was another tradition regarding the name chilārāi. History said that when Śukladhvaja crosses the Bhoroli River in one jump, it appears like a hawk is pouncing on its prey. Thus he got the name chilārāi. In the history, Chilārāi was always remembered for his prowess. But people hardly know about the connection and contribution of Chilarai in the field of literature. Thus the present seminar paper tries to bring out connection of Chilārāi contemporary literary world of Assam.

Keywords: Koch Dynasty, Chilārāi, military exploits, contribution in literary field

INTRODUCTION

Chilārāi was the son of the King Viśva Simha of the Koch Dynasty. The Koch Dynasty occupies an important place in the history of Assam. There were many great

warriors of history who were associated with this dynasty. Viśva Simha was the first king of the Koch Dynasty. From the information gathered from historical testimonials, it is said that Viśva Simha had eighteen sons by different wives. Though Viśva Simha had eighteen sons, but only four of them had left a footprint in the were-Narasimha, history. They Naranārāyana, Chilārāi and Gohain Kamal. Chilarai was the third son of Viśva Simha and the name of Chilarai's mother was Padmāvatī. The name of Chilārāi during his birth was Śukladhvaja. But later on, the name Chilārāi was given to him due to his traits. After Viśva Simha, the Koch Dynasty was ruled by King Naranārāyana. Chilārāi was appointed as the commander-in-chief during the reign of Naranārāyaṇa. History narrates that Chilārāi was remembered as a great combatant and a fighter of the Koch Dynasty. Though Chilārai is known for his prowess but his poetic talents are not less in comparison. He had shown his poetic talents in commentary named Sāravatī on the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva. But the society hardly knows his intellectual side. So, the present paper aims to discuss the connection of Chilārāi with the literary world.

Chilarai's Personality

Chilārāi always shines as a brightest star in the history of the Koch Dynasty. Though Chilārāi was popular as a great warrior, but he had a very soft side also. He was a very generous and idealistic person. He set great examples of military deftness, leadership persona, courage, equity, justice etc. He had the highest standard of patriotism. He put extreme efforts in fulfilling the dream of Naranārāyana of becoming an Emperor into reality. ii He was like the Right-hand of King Naranārāyana. Like any other warriors, Chilārāi also aimed to invade and occupy other countries. But, he never supports any brutal tasks like murder or robbery. He was against all such bad deeds.iii He did not subjugate or oppress the people of the vanquished kingdoms. After conquering a kingdom, he fixed the tributes by viewing the financial strength of the concerned kingdoms. These types of activities show his kindness towards other people.

Chilārāi had a great physique and he was very appealing to the people. And thus, some people compared his beauty with God Kārtika. He was six feet tall with broad shoulder and with a strong body. He was also fair in color.iv During his coronation ceremony as the Commander in chief, the people were delighted on seeing the great physique of Chilārāi. After the corronation ceremony, Chilarai offered numerous gifts and presents to the Brāhmaṇas, Daivagyas, saints, Mahantas and the like with a free hand. vi This proves that he was a donor also. Chilarai spent almost all the tributes received from the neighboring countries for the construction of the Kāmākhyā temple.

Chilārāi was not only blessed with great physical quality, but also bestowed with intellectual potency, self-confidence and with other qualities like patience, punctuality etc. vii He is also a man with great dignity. There was an instance when he fought the battle with the Gaudadeśa for the first time. The battle continued for many days and at last the Koch lost it. Chilārāi got many opportunities to elope from the battle field but he preferred to fight with the enemy and show his strength. At last he was left alone in the field and the army of Gauda took him into custody.viii

Chilārāi was also a very secular person. He respected all the religions, faiths and beliefs. Initially he was a follower of Śaivism and Śaktism. But later he became a Vaisnavite

and accepted Śaṅkaradeva as his *guru*. ^{ix} He never discriminated against people of any religion and caste. It is also worth mentioning that the construction of the Kāmākhyā Temple was executed by Chilārāi when he was already a follower of Vaiṣṇavism. ^x There were also few people of Muslim religion in the Koch kingdom. They were designate as *Turk* or *yavana* in some works of that period. ^{xi} In the *Darrang Rājvamsāvalī*, it is said that in the Koch kingdom, the *yavana* could read the *Qurāṇ* liberally. ^{xii} These activities show his secular behaviour.

Chilārāi was always desirous of knowing the unknown. He never thought of his status while learning something. For instance, on one occasion, a famous physician Narasuddha sought shelter from the Koch King Naranārāyaṇa. Chilārāi acquired the knowledge of treatment of many diseases, injuries etc. from that simple physician in spite of differences in status between the two. Xiii This proves that he was totally devoid of egotism and had a thirst for knowledge in every aspect.

Chilārāi was a great patron of learning and arts, and his name has been borne out by appreciative references many contemporary scholars and poets. Rāmasarasvatī, the translator-in-chief of the *Mahābhārata* from the eastern part of India, Śańkaradeva and Mādhavadeva-the two great Vaisnava poets, the poet Pītāmbara and few other poets have gratefully acknowledged the patronage of Chilārāi.xiv Śaṅkaradeva hailed him as paramarasikaguru for his Sāravatī.xv Besides the Sāravatī, another book was written by Chilarai that is based on the philosophical aspects of life. But unfortunately, that work has not been recovered yet.xvi

Chilārāi was not only a scholar in the Sanskrit language, but he also advocated the use of Sanskrit by the officers in the Koch Kingdom. Chilārāi and Naranārāyaṇa were brought up under the ideal of high-caste Hindus, as they had their education at Banaras. Therefore, a deep sympathy for

Hindu manners, customs and ideals were rooted in their hearts. Thus, they made an attempt to introduce those ideas and customs among the people of their kingdom power.xvii their accession Naranārāyana and Chilārāi took efforts to introduce the brāhmanic faiths and they also provisions for settlement Brāhmanas in the city. xviii Thus, the ancient customs were fast changing in the days of Naranārāyana and Chilārāi. It is important to note that, outside the border of Kāmarūpa, the ancient custom had its affects on the people.xix In the Darrang *Rājvamsāvalī*, it is found that the King made a royal command in respect of the Koch to perform their worship in all temples that lie to the North of the Gosāin Kamala's Āli. Gosāin Kamala's Āli was the line of demarcation between western and Eastern Assam. On the other hand, the Brāmanas would officiate in the Southern part of Gosāin Kamala's Āli. This law was to hold good in all places.xxFrom this account, it appears that the supremacy of the *Brāmana*s was established in the Koch Behar and in the districts of the Southern part. The spread of Sanskrit was necessary in order to introduce the manners and customs of the Brāmanas among all classes people.xxiThus, Naranārāyaṇa and Chilārāi proclaimed that none must speak but Sanskrit within the court. xxii An interesting incident is also noted in this connection. On one occasion, Kavicandra, along with his pupil was moving around the city of Naranārāyaṇa enquiring about the residence of Sankaradeva. They were surprised to find that all their enquiries to the passer-by were ably replied in Sanskrit. Kavicandra then made a significant remark to his followers that this seems to be a country of scholars.xxiiiChilārāi and Naranārāyana used to invite all the poets and scholars of neighboring countries and pay homage to them. xxiv In the Koch kingdom, various scholarly debates were organized, and who could give evidence of their scholarship, was conferred with titles like Vidyavāgīśa, siddhāntavāgīsa, kandalī etc.xxvThe term

vidyavāgīśa means the one who is an eloquent man of knowledge.xxvi The word siddhāntavāgīsa means an eloquent man of established facts. xxvii The term kandalī was derived from the word kandalah which means gold. xxviii Thus the word kandalī refers to the man who is like gold in the literary field. Some names of the scholars are mentioning who worth Rāmasarasvatī, Pandit Ananta Kandali, Purusottama Vidyāvāgīśa, Pītāmbara Siddhāntavāgīśa, Deva Nath Thakur, etc. xxix Sankaradeva was the foremost among them.xxx Naranārāyana himself composed a prominent work called *Malladevī Abhidhāna*. xxxi During the time of Naranārāyaņa and Chilārāi, many scholars engaged for composing works connected to Sanskrit. Bakula Kāyastha was engaged to write a simplified version of Līlāvatī which is a treatise on mathematics. Śrīdhara composed the *Sādhyakhanda* which is a work on astrology.xxxii Śrīdhara also composed the works called *Jyotiramālā* and Varsakrtya. xxxiii Kavi Karnapura wrote Chandaśāstra. Vrttamālā Bhattadeva wrote his Kathabhāgavata and *Kathāgītā*. xxxiv The females interested in Sanskrit in that period. It was said that the ladies of the Royal harem were versed in Sanskrit. They were very interested in the publication of religious books. xxxv In some works, it was found that Purușottama Vidyavāgiśa composed the Prayogaratnamālāvyākarana at the request of Bhānumatī, wife of Naranārāyaṇa. xxxvi Bhānumatī got the name Ratnamālā when became chief And she the queen. Purusottama Vidyavāgiśa wrote grammatical work and named it after her. xxxviiSo, from these facts, it is clear that the females were also related with the literary field during the period Naranārāyaņa and Chilārāi.

Thus, though Chilārāi's works other than the *Sāravatī* is not available, yet his patronage to the advancement of Sanskrit study during the reign of Naranārāyaṇa can establish him as a connoisseur of Sanskrit literature altogether.

Connection of Chilārāi with Mahāpuruşa Śaṅkaradeva

Mahāpurusa Śaṅkaradeva was born in the year 1449 at the place named Bordua in Nagaon district of Assam and he belongs to the caste of Kāyastha. xxxviii He was a relative of Śiromani Bhuyān Chandībar who was superior to Śańkaradeva. xxxixHe lost his mother during his birth and his father also died during his childhood.x1Sankaradeva promotes a purified Vaisnavism inculcate the doctrine of salvation by faith prayer rather than sacrifices.xliSankaradeva had a wonderful personality. He was a multi-talented genius with a rare combination of intelligence, practical foresight, courage and organizing ability.xlii His faith was officially called ekaśarananāmadharma as it taught devotion to one God. Śańkaradeva had shown as many as nine different ways for showing devotion to God. They were śravana, kīrtana, smarana, archanā, padasevana, dāsya, sakhitvae, vandanā ātmanivedana. xliii The relation of Śańkaradeva with the Koch dynasty is an important issue in the records of Assam. The former harsh relation of Sankaradeva with Ahom and Koch dynasty turning into a courteous and reverent relation is one of the significant matters. Actually it could create a new dimension in the history of Assam.

According to the information gathered from Kathāgurucarita, Śańkaradeva, after returning from his first pilgrimage, established his satra in a place named Borduaxliv. And while residing there, he composed a work named Cihnajātrā. xlv But he had to leave Bordua because of the Kachari people and went to Gāngmou.xlvi Afterwards, Śańkaradeva resides in different places like Bhālukaguri. Komorākota, Belguri etc. After residing in a same place and preaching for eighteen years, Ahom king engaged him and his disciples in the duty to protect from elephants. After protecting for few days, one night an elephant smashed the build i.e., gadha which was being guarded by Sankaradeva. So, Sankaradeva with his disciples tried to

elope from there. But the Cāodāng catches Mādhavadeva and Hari, i.e., son-in-law of Śaṅkaradeva. The king killed Hari by slaying his head. And in this grief Śaṅkaradeva went to pilgrimage for the second time for a period of twelve years together with Mādhavadeva and some other devotees. And after wandering various places, he ultimately resided in a place named Pāṭbāusī and established his *satra* there. Alviii After returning from pilgrimage, Śaṅkaradeva went to Koch Behar and stayed at a place name Bhelāduā at the appeal of King Naranārāyaṇa and Chilārāi.

During Sankaradeva's dwelling at Koch Behar, Chilārāi wedded to Bhuvaneswari who was a relative of Śańkaradeva.¹ On one occasion. Chilārāi heard a beautiful song sung by Bhuvaneśvarī. When he came to know that the song was composed by Śańkaradeva, Chilārāi became fascinated by him. li He then called Śańkaradeva to his own home with full respect and became his pupil by following the Vaisnavadharma. lii Śańkaradeva became famous and got importance as Chilārāi became the pupil of Śańkaradeva. But, some of the śākta brāhmins became jealous of Śańkaradeva. As Śańkaradeva was more intelligent and more learned they could do nothing to check stride. liii forward Since King Naranārāyaṇa followed the śakti cult, the Brahmins provoked Naranārāyana against Śankaradeva. liv They said to Naranārāyana that Śańkaradeva was persuading men not to worship the goddess Kāmākhyā. lv They also took a damaged idol of the goddess and told Naranārāvana that Śańkaradeva committed this type of highly unethical acts. They also said that if he was allowed to stay in the kingdom, he would bring doom to it. lvi So, Naranārāyana became very angry and commanded his armor Śańkaradeva. When Chilārāi came to know about it, he became extremely sad and worried, and mentally decided his course of action. He dispatched eight of his own soldiers by boat and gave them clear direction that Śaṅkaradeva would have to be escorted and produced before him

absolutely safe and sound. Wiii He also declared an award of hundred rupees to the soldiers to rescue Śańkaradeva. He ordered them to row their boat day and night to reach Śańkaradeva well before the King's soldiers could reach him. Wiii The soldiers of Chilārāi literally followed his order and rescued Śańkaradeva from the kinsmen in two days. No arrival of Śańkaradeva at Koch Behar, Chilārāi received him with high reverence and also arranged his accommodation. He also secretly kept Śańkaradeva in his own home and fought for him. No human secretary was no secretary kept Śańkaradeva in his own home and fought for him.

When King Naranārāyaṇa came to know about the actions of Chilarai in rescuing Śańkaradeva, he was taken aback by Chilārāi's behavior. But, he also knew that Chilarai would not go against the order of the King if there is nothing significant about the person. He thought that Śańkaradeva must be someone with special traits due to which Chilarai was in favor of him. And thus he sent message to Chilarai to bring Śańkaradeva to his court with full respect. lxii When Naranārāyana saw the great physic and poetic qualities of Śankaradeva, he became mesmerized. lxiii He was highly pleased, talked to him for some time and freed him with kind words. He admired the learning of Sankaradeva and asked him to compose as many verses as he could, by using certain words selected by him. lxiv Highly impressed by Śańkaradeva's depth of knowledge, Naranārāyana established him by appointing as the Gomastā which was the post of an administrator in the Barpeta region. The King also donated him lands to establish a satra at Bhelāduā, later came to be known as Madhupura satra or Bhelā- Madhupura at Koch Behar. 1xv He also wanted to become a disciple of Śańkaradeva. lxvi But Śańkaradeva did not accept his request because Naranārāyaņa was a king who performed religious rites and worshipped god and goddess and it was not possible for him to surrender the duties of the king. lxvii But, Naranārāyana again insisted him to make him his disciple and

thus Sankaradeva thought of leaving the mundane world as there is no other way. lxviii residing Koch in Kingdom. Sankaradeva composed his immortal works. Śańkaradeva composed all the major works during his stay in the Koch kingdom from 1543 to 1568 till his death. 1xix Those works are- Kīrtanaghosā, Rukminīr premakalaha and Bhṛguparikṣā, Bhāgavat(book I, II, IX, Anādipātana, Balichalana, Ādidaśama, Kuruksetra, Śrīkrsnabaikuntha-Niminavasiddhvasamvāda, pravāna, Uttarakānda ofRāmāyana, Bhaktiratnākara. Kālidamananāta, Keli gopāla nāta, Rukminiharana nāta, Pārijātaharana nāta, Gunamālā etc. At the request of Chilārāi, Sankaradeva's last work, Rāmavijayanāta was written and it was staged in 1568. lxx In this devotional play, Śańkaradeva appreciated the help rendered by Chilārāi in arranging the performance of the play in Koch Behar just before his departure from the mundane world.lxxi

Śankaradeva also made the *Vṛndāvanīvastra* at the appeal of King Naranārāyaṇa and Chilārāi. Ixxii When Śankaradeva completed the work and bought the *Vṛndāvanīvastra* in front of the king, Naranārāyaṇa was mesmerized by seeing the work. He also rewarded him with a dress, gold coins and hundred rupees. Ixxiii Naranārāyaṇa also excused Śankaradeva from his duty in Barpeta. Ixxiii

Sankaradeva established various *satras* in different places while he dwelt from one place to another. Those *satras* were formed to propagate their faith on Vaiṣṇavism. lxxvThe common people got educated in both Sanskrit and Assamese medium language in those *satras* or monasteries.

The enormous composition of Śaṅkaradeva would not be available to us if Chilārāi did not stay as a support when King Naranārāyaṇa ordered to eradicate him. People would not be able to get the *ekaśarananāmadharma* of Śaṅkaradeva if Chilārāi did not convert himself as one of his desciple. lxxvi When Chilārāi became a

pupil of Śańkaradeva, many people of the royal family started following the *dharma* of Śańkaradeva. Without the help rendered by Chilārāi, it can be said that Śańkaradeva would have remained a poet in some other parts of India and he might never reside in North-east India. lxxvii Thus, Chilārāi plays a very significant role in making Śańkaradeva well-known in the social and religious history of Assam.

Connection of Chilārāi with Puruṣottama Vidyavāgīśa

Purusottama Bhattāchārya was contemporary poet of Śańkaradeva. Harideva etc. It was said that he was seven years elder than the poet Harideva. Harideva was born in the year 1426 A.D and thus it assumed that Purusottama Bhattāchārya was born in the year 1419 A.D. lxxviii Purușottama Bhattāchārya lost his parents during his childhood and he was taken care off by his relatives. He studied the Astādhyāyī, vedas, vedāngas and various philosophical works. The title Vidyavāgīśa was given to him by his Guru Pandit Viśveśvara. After that he established tol in the place named Silagram where he gave education on grammar and various Śāstras. lxxix He married from the place Pāṭbāusī. 1xxx When King Naranārāyaṇa and Chilārāi heard about his scholarship, they welcomed him to his court. Naranārāyaṇa and Chilārāi understood the importance of Sanskrit language and also knew that no language can be properly learned without the knowledge of grammar. The Pānīnian grammar is difficult to understand by the common people. Thus, Naranārāyana commanded Purusottama Vidyavāgīśa to compose the Prayogaratnamālāvyākarana simple language so that all people get familiar to it. lxxxi In the benedictory verse of his work, Purusottama Vidyavāgiśa gave background of writing the work.lxxxiiThe Prayogaratnamālāvyākarana is the only established work of the Non-Pānīnian Eastern School of grammar which may be designated as the Kāmarūpa School. lxxxiii

This grammar is also recognized as an ideal grammatical work after the Pāṇīnian grammar. lxxxiv

Connection of Chilārāi with Rāmasarasvatī

Rāmasarasvatī was another poet who got invited to the court of King Naranārāyana. His father's name was Bhīmsena Kavi Chudāmaņi and lives at Pāţchaurā in Barpeta. lxxxv Rāmasarasvatī was the wellknown verse-translator of the Mahābhārata. He translated the verses of *Mahābhārata* on the inspiration given by Chilarai and Naranārāyaṇa. lxxxvi He had composed many important works. He wrote the *Ādiparva*, Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata and the first part of the Bhīsmaparva during A.D 1560-1565, i.e., before coming to the court of Naranārāyaṇa. lxxxvii While residing in the Koch kingdom, he composed the following works- Ādi vanaparva, Puṣpaharaṇaupaparva or Śankhadhavalavadha, Manichandraghoşaparva, Bakāsuravadha, Vijayaparva, Kulāchalavadh, Dronaparva, Bh etc. lxxxviii īmacharitra. Jayadevakāva clearly mentions Rāmasarasvatī about commentary Chilārāi's in Javadevakāvva. lxxxixHe says that finally he composed the Jayadevakāvya on which Śukladhvaja wrote a Sanskrit commentary.xc

Rāmasarasvatī also wrote about himself and his patrons, King Naranārāyaņa and his general Śukladhvaja in his Puṣpaharaṇaupaparva of the Vanaparva of the *Mahābhārata*.xciHe wrote that he was asked to translate the Mahābhārata into Assamese verse. Naranārāyaṇa also told him to take all the commentaries which were in his library and thus send all the books to the residence of Rāmasarasvatī on the back of Bulls. He encouraged Rāmasarasvatī by providing with the service of slaves and servants and by paying a large amount of money.xcii Rāmasarasvatī was given the name kavicandra by Chilārāi. His original name was Aniruddha and the name Rāmasarasvatī was given by the King Naranārāyaņa. xciii

It is interesting to note that, contrary to the than existing Aryan tradition, even the lower caste people such as \hat{Sudras} also could study the $\hat{Sastras}$. Rāmasarasvatī also belonged to the \hat{Sudras} and he had no bars in studying the $\hat{Sastras}$ during the rule of King Naranārāyaṇa and Chilārāi. To During their reign, acquisition of knowledge was open to all, unlike in many parts of Bhāratavarsa.

Connection of Chilārāi with Pitāmbara Siddhāntavāgīsa

The poet Pitāmbara who was also known as Pitāmbara kavi or Pitāmbarasiddhāntavāgīśa was a 16th century litterateur from Kāmarūpa and was a contemporary poet of Dāmodara Miśra. xcvi He was the great digest-writer on the Smrtis. xcvii It is said that Pitāmbara Siddhāntavāgīśa came Kāmarūpa for pilgrimage. For his settlement in the country, King Naranārāyaņa and Chilārāi grant villages to him and thus he settled in the country. He became the advisor of Naranārāyana and Chilārāi and set about the work of social reform. xcviii He composed many works at the request of Śukladhvaja. He composed eighteen books known by the name kaumudī. The names of these works are Dandakaumudī. Pretakaumudī. Vrsotsargakaumudī, Pramāṇakaumudī, Srāddhakaumudī, Durgots avakaumudī, Ekādaśīkaumudī, Śuddhikaumu dī, Pratisthākaumudī, Sankalpakaumudī, Prāyaśchittakaumudī, Kālakaumudī, Tīrthakaumudī, Dikṣākaumudī, Sambandhakaumudī, Tithikaumudī. Dāyakaumudī, Ācāryakaumudī.xcix Among these works, some of them might have been written under the patronage of Raghudeva.^c Thus, it is known that Pitāmbara resided in the Koch kingdom also after the reign of Naranārāyana. Pitāmbara referred to the support of Śukladhvaja in the Candī Ākhyāna of his work. In the verse, Pitāmbara referred to Śukladhvaja as yuvarāja and said that he had made up his mind to compose his work by the order of yuvarāja whose orders were pursued by many other kings.ci A new order of the

varnas and āśramas were also established in Kāmarūpa through the efforts Naranārāvana and Chilārāi in keeping with the works of Pitāmbara Siddhāntavāgīśa. At this stage, the people of various persuasions in the country came to be known as Brāhmanas, Ksatrivas, Vaiśvas Śūdras.^{cii}Pitāmbara Siddhāntavāgīśa prescribed the rites and ceremonies to be observed by the various classes of the people and his voice was supreme in matters relating to the social position of each class. It is important to note that, though Anantakandali did not have any direct connection with Chilarai, but he composed various immortal works while residing in the Koch kingdom. The most famous among works are-Rāmāvana. Vrttāsuravadha, Kumaraharanakāvva, Mahīrāvannavadhakāvya, 10th skanda of the Bhāgavata and the drama named Sītāra pātāla praveśa. ciii In the 10th skaņda of the Bhāgavata, he gave his introduction. He was the son of Ratna Pathak and was a residential of Hajo. His real name was Hari Charan and he got the name Anantakandali for his erudition in logic.civThus, it can be said that the court of King Naranārāyana was rich and prosperous in literary activities because of the poets and scholars that came from various places.

CONCLUSION

From the above discussion, it is clear that many writers wrote their works in the Koch Kingdom. From the works of these writers, their connection with Chilārāi can be found. Chilārāi not only encourage them to compose works, but he himself composed the commentary on the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva named *Sāravatī*. This was a literary masterpiece. This commentary shows the fabulous scholastic qualities of Chilārāi and has been marked as a milestone in the academic world.

Acknowledgement: None

Conflict of Interest: None

Source of Funding: None

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FOOT NOTES

- ⁱKavi Baladeva Suryakhari Daivagya, *Darrang Rājvamsāvalī*,p.48
- " Jyoti Prasad Rajkhowa, *Generalissimo Chilarai and his times*, p.143
- iii Dr. Ajit Kumar Barua, *Koch Rajyar Buranji*,p.120
- iv Jyoti Prasad Rajkhowa, Generalissimo Chilarai and his times, p.38 v Ibid.
- vibrāhmaṇa daibagya santa mahanta yateka / gāve gāve sabāhāke tuṣilā pratyeka // adaridra kari dāna sabāke dilanta / yateka dakṣiṇā nāhi ādi anta //314// Darrang Rājvaṁsāvalī,p.64
- viiDr. Ajit Kumar Barua, *Koch Rajyar Buranji*,p.120
- viii ekeśvare nirāhāre yuddha karilanta /
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**sapata khuvāi rājā bulilā bacana / suniyo samaste mora bākya nibandhana // gohāinkamala āli madhye sīmā kari / uttarara fāle āche yateka kachārī // 336//

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How to cite this article: Karchika Mahanta. Chilārāi and the contemporary literary world of assam - a study. *Galore International Journal of Applied Sciences & Humanities*. 2022; 6(3): 92-102.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.52403/gijash.20220713
