



The Royal and old Private Durga Pujas of Cooch Behar: A Brief Overview

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Abstract

Whenever there is a bounty of sunlight and temperature favourable for survival, nature has unfolded the secrets of its diverse creation. Similarly, years of spiritual and religious beliefs, patronisation, socio-cultural association, concurring traditions etc. has helped to render the aspects of autumnal Durga Puja versatile. It is indeed a task challenging enough to document the Durga Pujas being held at Bengal and outside. Yet, it is further difficult to record the different aspects of the Puja prevailing throughout. The Private Durga Pujas organised at Cooch Behar does not stand apart from this view either. Our article here is an overview of the Royal and old private Pujas of Cooch Behar, to which are assigned customs and traditions of antiquity. Some of the important socio-economical and other aspects of the Pujas have also been discussed in brief. Reference has also been included on the architectural pattern or typology of the *Thakur Dalan* or *Durga Dalans* and *Durga Mandaps* where these Pujas were/are held.

Key Words: Durga Puja, Cooch Behar, Royal, Private





Introduction

There is a long standing contradiction regarding the oldest Durga Puja in Bengal. Of the two earliest Pujas traceable so far, the Pujas of Cooch Behar and Tahirpur,Rajshahi, now at Bangladesh, both date back to the 16th century ranks the foremost. However, the latter Puja is now lost. On the other hand, the oldest Durga Puja being celebrated in Cooch Behar is the *Baro Devi Bari* Puja, of the Cooch Behar Royal dynasty. Presently it is being organised under the Debutter Trust Board of Cooch Behar District. This Puja dates back to the reign of Maharaja Nara Narayan (1533-1587 C.E.). It was probably started in between 1562-1564 C.E. Sarat Chandra Ghoshal (1942 C.E.), in his translation of Khan ChowdhuriAmanatulla Ahmed's work (1936 C.E.) following the *Rajopakhan* written by MoonshiJoynath Ghose, [1823-1834 C.E. – 1845-1846 C.E. (1230-1240 B.S. – 1252 B.S.)], has mentioned —

"...Sukladhvaja (Chilarai) the brother of the king (Nara Narayan) became overweeing in his pride and had conceived the evil desire of occupying the throne. Once he went to the royal court with the intention of killing the king, but reaching the royal presence he saw that the goddess Durga herself was protecting the king with her ten arms. At this supernatural sight, Sukladhvaja was filled with fear and shame and openly asked forgiveness from his brother. Different feelings filled the mind of the king. He thought Sukladhvaja more fortunate than himself and began to live in solitude and to fast, because he had not seen the goddess. On the third night, she appeared to him in a dream. The king promulgated the worship of the goddess he had seen in his dream, and this continues today."

Ghoshal, from the same source clearly states — "...Maharaja Naranarayana founded the worship of Durga with ten arms. To the present time the worship of Durga continues in Devibari a part of the capital town of Cooch Behar". ii









Fig.-1: Idol of Durga at *Baro Devi Bari*: —left: image taken in between 1944-1948 C.E. and right: the same captured in 2022 C.E. (courtesy: late Rama Sarkar Chattopadhyay, New Alipur, Kolkata and Shree Mriganka Chakraborty, Cooch Behar, respectively).

There are some distinguishing iconographic features of the *Baro Devi* idol of Cooch Behar which makes it quite remarkable. Theten-armed image of the goddess has a red complexion. Generally, the right leg of the goddess rests upon the back of a lion but, here it is placed upon the shell of a tortoise, possibly representing Vishnu and her left leg is placed on the back of a severed buffalo. Here Asura is deep green in complexion with three-eyes, possibly denoting Chandra Sekhara, who is considered a form of Shiva. We find in the *Kalika Purana* (60/155), *Chandra Sekhara*, said to goddess Chandika,—'O Jaganmayi Devi. I have taken the form of a buffalo. You had slain me earlier and you shall slay me afterwards also.'iiiIn addition to the lion, which is here white in colour and is biting the Asura on his right arm, a tiger is seen biting the left arm on the other side. Both of their morphological forms are also unusual. Another striking feature of the idol and worship at *Baro Devi Bari* is, the images of Laksmi, Saraswati, Kartik and Ganesha are





neither constructed nor worshipped with it. Instead, Jaya and Vijaya are present to the right and left side of the idol respectively. It is generally considered by the scholars that Durga is a 'Kumari' (damsel), hence, she is also worshipped as Kumari during the 'Kumari Puja' (though, absent here). Laksmi and Saraswati, as daughters and Kartik and Ganesha as sons of Durga are believed to be latter additions. iv Hence, the idol of *Baro Devi* provides an inkling of its remote origin. The older photographs of the idol suggest there have been some notable alterations in size, orientation and physiognomy of the idol. Previously, the face of the goddess had a roundedoutline, she is seen smiling, she had thick eyebrowand a developed chin, her crown was semi-circular like that of a tiara, the sword on her upper right arm was like that of an early Indian short-sword almost like those seen in some of the stone idols of medieval period and far different from the present 'Kharga' (lit. like that of a falchion) she is now seen to hold; the Asura use to face the goddess, which was quite appropriate, the position of the lion was a little backward compared to the present and its neck was a lot shorter, the top of the ornamental 'chala' or 'chalchitra' or top-piece behind the idol was round and heavily decorated etc. Overall, the idol was more proportionate and evinced symmetry, which has underwent conspicuous decline. This change does not seem to have occurred abruptly, certainly it is gradual. Possibly, the inadvertence of the artisans appears to be responsible for this. [Figure-1] Noteworthy, that the use of 'chala' in the idol does not find a mention in the *Shastra* or authoritative texts. Possibly, it is an equivalent of the 'halo' found in some stone idols or sculptures of the Hindu, Buddhist and other pantheons and also serves as a decoration. Whatever so, from some of the deviations of the form of Baro Devi, from the form mentioned in the 'Pauranik Dhyana' of goddess Chandi, scholars have surmised that the idol belonged to some primitive cult which has been transformed into Durga. vi Alluded from the observation of SukumariBhattacharji (1978 C.E.) we find

"Durga ...was an insignificant goddess in the beginning, but she steadily grew in stature until finally she absorbed all her rivals in her personality and became the supreme mother goddess. This was a slow but sure process and it has its parallels in history of other goddesses in other parts of the world.

"...The process of Durga's growth in stature was long and steady. One by one she absorbed the main traits of regional mother-goddesses, household deities who were worshipped for different things by different tribes. Some were fierce and aweinspiring, others were mild, benign and motherly, yet others were embodiments of lofty ideas—all these were fused into one composite supreme goddess—Durga.





"...Durga absorbed trait after trait of local, tutelary and household mother-goddesses, her cult embraced newer regions and different tribes till it became one of the major formative forces in Indian religion—for the Sakta and Tantric cults are direct offshoots of the universal popularity of the Durga cults as also the sublimation of the Siva and Ghora (benign and malign) aspects of her personality on the philosophical plane."

The sacrificial offerings of the *Baro Devi* Puja follow the system presented in the *Kalika Purana* in general^{viii} and sacrifices of various types, including pigeon, goat, buffalo, pig etc. are offered. It is known that Maharaja Narendra Narayan (1847-1863 C.E.) once sacrificed a tiger ('vyaghra') on the *Baro Devi* Puja himself.^{ix} Previously, there use to be tortoise sacrifice, but, it was discontinued after the Indian Wildlife Protection Act, 1972 was introduced. It is said that once human sacrifice was performed during the Puja. The tradition is now continued in the form of sacrificing a human effigy made out of powdered rice,on which the human blood is offered. The person who offers his blood is called the 'Kamsenait'. This ritual is carried out during the 'Nishi-Puja' (nocturnal worship) and 'Gupta-Puja' (secret worship) when other than the Priest, 'DwarBakshi', and the Kamsenait no one is allowed to be present.^x There are several other riveting rituals and customs associated with this Puja, which requires space for a separate article.

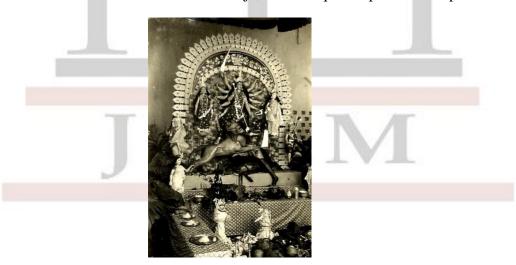


Fig.-2:*Kathamiya* Durga Idol at *Thakurbari*(1944-1948 C.E.), (courtesy: late Rama Sarkar Chattopadhyay, New Alipur, Kolkata).





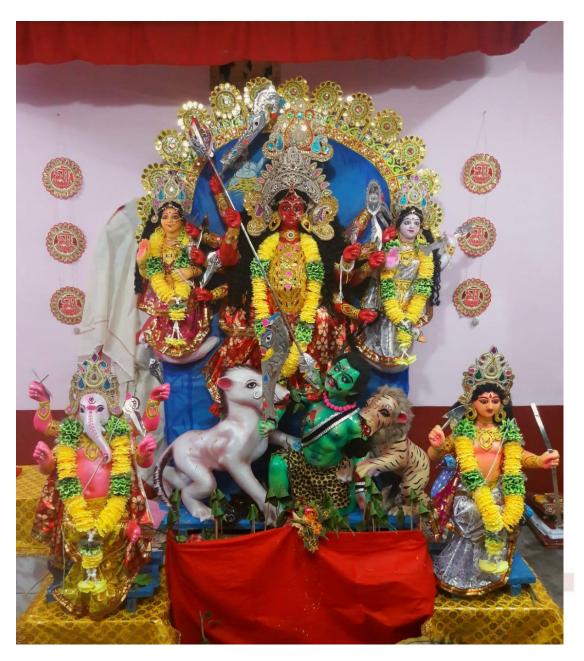


Fig.-3: Idol of Durga worshipped at the 'DakshinerBhita' Mustofi family, Dinhata, 2022 C.E., (courtesy: Shree Sitangsu Sekhar Mustafi)





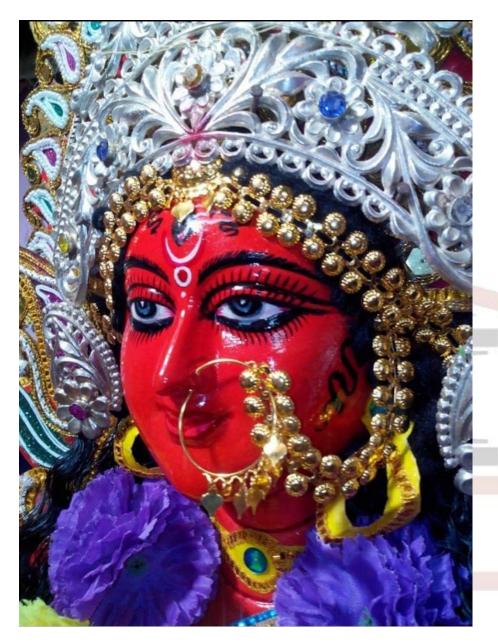


Fig.-4: Close-up view of the Idol of Durga with red complexion at the DakshinerBhitaMustofi family,Dinhata, 2019 C.E., (courtesy: Shree Sitangsu Sekhar Mustafi).





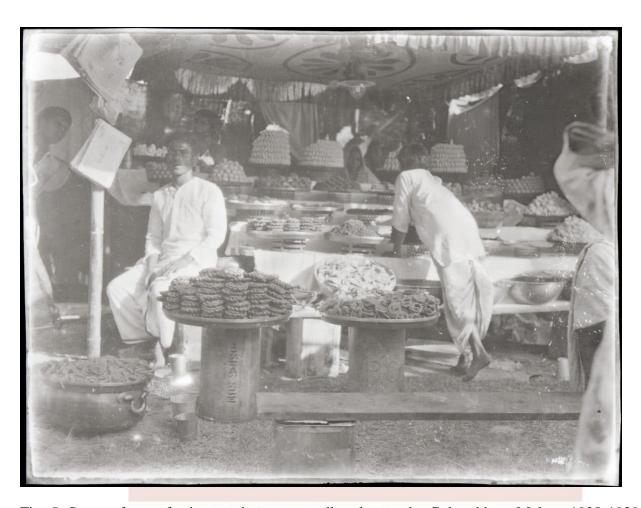


Fig.-5: Scene of a confectionary shop supposedly taken at the Gobrachhara Mela, c.1928-1929; note the variety of sweets, the hanging petromax lamp and British-Indian News Papers (courtesy: late Shreesh Chandra Mustafi, Acharya Prafulla Chandra Roy Road, Kolkata; developed from negative by: Shree Bikash Bose, 22/D, Aswini Dutta Road, Triangular Park, Kolkata; source: preserved at the Authors personal photo-archive).







Fig.-6: *Thakur Dalan*, *Shree Shree Madan Mohan Thakurbari*, Cooch Behar, 04th November, 2022 C.E.; note the two lateral parabolic scalloped arches, they are quite uncommon in the *Thakur Dalan* typology (image: Authur).

Two other Pujas founded by the Royal family are known, the Puja at *Shree Shree Madan Mohana Thakurbari*, which was possibly started in about 1890-1891 C.E., when the Thakurbari was transferred from the palace to its present site and is still extant and the other performed at the Rajmata or Queen Mother's palace, now obsolete. The idol of the former Puja is common with most of the other 'ekchala' idols as seen in Bengal. In addition, *Jaya* and *Vijaya* are also present here. The idol is known as the *Kathamiya*, literality meaning 'made on a frame' and the Puja as *Kathamiya* Puja. [Fig.-2] Besides, Cooch Behar town, there are several other Pujas owing their origin from the Royal era which are still performed in different temples of the District. Of these,





the Pujas of Kamateshwari temple, at Gosanimari, Siddeshwari temple, at Siddeshwari, Ghurneshwari temple, at Ghurneshwari are some. These Pujas were maintained by the State once. Now they are maintained by the Debutter Trust Board.



Fig.-7: The *Thakur Dalan* of *Baro Devi Bari*, Cooch Behar, c.1948-1949; note the verandas on the front lateral sides, they have been sealed long ago (courtesy: Shree Tapan Kumar Sen, Cooch Behar).







Fig.-8: Above: *Thakur Dalan* of 'UttarerBhita' Mustofi family at Gobrachhara village, Dinhata, 15th May, 2016; below: the same showing a panel with terracotta plaques and one of two paired lions (both destroyed in 2016 C.E.) seen jumping overthe part of the ornatescalloped arch (images: Authur).







Fig.-9: The Indo-saracenic style *Thakur Dalan* at Bhattacharyaya Zamindar Bari (demolished in 2020 C.E.), Cooch Behar town, 26th September, 2018 C.E. (image: Authur).









Fig.-10: *Durga Mandap* at the house of Govinda Prasad Roy, 1992 C.E.; this tin-roofed *pucca* building represents the typical rain-frequented, earthquake-prone 'Cooch Behar typology' (courtesy: Shree Ramashish Roy, Delhi).

Beyond the Royal horizon, there were some other old Pujas in Cooch Behar. However, most of them are now lost with time. The oldest of these was that of the Mustofi Zamindar family of Gobrachhara village, Dinhata. Founded in 1665 C.E., this Puja bifurcated possibly in the 1920s. The actual Puja at Gobrachhara became the Puja of the UttarerBhitaMustofi family, while a new Puja was started at Dinhata Town by the DakshinerBhitaMustofi family after they migrated from Gobrachhara. The former, most probably the largest of all private Pujas within Cooch Behar, is now lost, but, the latter survives. [Fig.-3] However, from the year 2016 C.E. there has been an attempt by the inhabitants of Gobrachhara to revive the old Puja. It has also received keen interest and support from some of the present members of Mustofi family.





If we would move on to the other old Pujas and classify them accordingly to the locations they were then celebrated within Cooch Behar, we find that in Cooch Behar town, there were at least fifteen Pujas, namely that of — 1. Prasanna Kumar Deva Bakshi, Patakura; 2. Katamari Estate or of Roy Chaudhury Sushil Kumar Chakraborty; 3. Nalini Kanta Talukdar, Biswa Singh Road bylane; 4. Gangadhar Bhattacharya, Keshab Road; 5. Govinda Prasad Roy, Jitendra Narayan Road; 6. 'Ananda Bhavan' or of Dr. Dineshananda Chakraborty, Raj Rajendra Narayan Road; 7. Rup Chandra Mukherjee and AbhayaCharan Banerjee, Biswa Singha Road (North); 8. Dinesh Chandra Guha and Akshay Chandra Guha, Biswa Singha Road; 9. Chandra Mohan Guha Chaudhury, Hazra Para; 10. Ramani Mohan Chakraborty, Patakura; 11. Sharat Chandra Biswas, Jitendra Narayan Road by-lane; 12. Padma Nath Das, Kalikadas Road, Patakura; 13. Sukul Bari, Nara Narayan Road; 14. Bakshi Bari, Hitendra Narayan Roadxii RadhikanandaBhattacharyaya, Jitendra Narayan Road by-lane. None of the Pujas mentioned above are now extant; the first six Pujas, especially, the first two were held in exceptional grandeur. The 'Daker Saj' of the Deva Bakshi house received fame. The Puja of Padma Nath Das, was known for his great devotion.xiii The fourteenth in number was an old Puja which though originally from Naodanga, Rangpur, Bangladesh, was shifted to Cooch Behar from 1946 C.E. and was celebrated affluently. xiv



Fig.-11: The Pagoda style *Durga Mandap* of 'Ananda Bhavan', 26th September, 2018 C.E.; supposedly it was a green-house-like structure, the beautiful glass panes are now gone (image: Author).





In the houses of some of the Brahmins of Khagrabari and Takagachh, villages both adjacent to Cooch Behar town, the goddess was and is still now being worshipped every year. But, in most of the cases the goddess is worshipped either in the form of a metal idol or 'ghot puja' is performed. However, luckily many of the old idols have survived. Name of some these houses as quoted by some BrajeshwariBarma (1986 C.E.) are — Rajendra Nath Chakraborty, Bhumindra Nath Chakraborty, Charukesh Chakraborty, Devendrananda Chakraborty, Durga Nath Chakraborty, BhavashankerSmritiratna (should be 'Shrutiratna'), Manindra Nath Chakraborty, Pramodendra Nath Chakraborty, Keshav Nandan Bhattacharya and others. Some of these Pujas are more than a century old.** Though, some are now extinct.

An old Puja is also known from the MathabhangaSub-division. It was performed at the Pramanik Bari, in Shikarpur village. Here the goddess was also worshipped in form of a metal idol. Once, there used to be large celebrations.^{xvi} This Puja probably continues till now.

Of the private Pujas, in spite that of the Mustofis at Dinhata town, two other Pujas are also known, one which was held at the house of the JotedarShreesh Chandra Chatterjee at Babu Para and the other at the house of the Overseer Hem Chandra Bosu, at Boarding Para. Considering the position of both the Chatterjee and Bosu families, it can be posited that both the Pujas were celebrated with opulence. Both of them have now disappeared, the latter possibly earlier than the former. Another Puja once celebrated at Dinhata Sub-division deserves special mention. It was the Puja of Lahiri Zamindars of Bamanhat village. It was the largest Puja held in this part of Dinhata and was discontinued from 1962-1963 C.E. There was also an idol of Durga in the family which was regularly worshipped in their household temple. But, during the Puja an earthen idol of the goddess was made in their *Durga Mandap*. The Durga idol mentioned herein was stolen, but, fortunately, it was recovered.

In Mekhliganj Sub-division, four Pujas are known from Mekhliganj town. One was at the Datta Bari at Purba Para and three others at the Guha Bari, Nandi Bari and Chakraborty Bari at Uttar Para. Of these only the last one is extant.

Tufanganj Sub-division probably houses the second oldest private Puja of Cooch Behar which is celebrated at the village of Jaigir Chilakhana. Kumar Kandarpa Narayan or Kumar Kunda Narayan, a descendant of the Cooch Behar Royal dynasty, who was made 'Suba' during the reign of Maharaja Rup Narayan (1704-1714 C.E.) is said to have founded this Puja probably on or about 1704 C.E. and is still being performed by the members of the family. It is said that a





gold idol of the goddess was worshipped herein. Unfortunately, the idol was stolen sometime in the first half of 1940s. However, later on a new octo-alloy image of the goddess was brought from Benares and till date it is being worshipped in the family. Only one old Puja is known from Tufanganj town. It is that of the Acharjee Bari, at Lamba Para. It has completed about 110 years this year; therefore, it was started on 1912 C.E.

Beside these Pujas, there were also several others performed at some of the villages in Cooch Behar. The comparatively rich houses residing at the villages were called 'Dhani Baris' (pl.). There Pujas can also be called 'Dhani Barir Puja' (sing.) thereof. **xvii*The antiquity of the above mentioned Pujas, as being the 'oldest' or 'new' etc. has been deduced from the references so far available, either in a written or verbal form. Therefore, there are chances that age of some the other Pujas were/are older than those mentioned, but, due to the paucity of information it has not been possible to trace their dates of origin.

The notable feature of the idols of some of these old private Pujas is that the complexion of goddess was red. It was the same in case of the Katamari Estate Puja and that of the Deva Bakshi house. The idol of the Mustofis still continues to be so today. According to Jogesh Chandra Roy Vidyanidhi (1951 C.E.), the different religious texts constitute mainly of two opinions on the complexion of the goddess. Either, her complexion is blue, like that of the Atasi flower, i.e., the flower of Tisi or Common Flax or Linseed(Linumusitatissimum, Family: Linaceae), since, by Atasi in Sanskrit, it has been referred to the Tisi plant and not the Atasi or Shunn in Bengali, which is the Sunn hemp (Crotalaria juncea, Family: Fabaceae) with bright yellow flowers. Or, the goddess has a reddish-yellow complexion like that of 'molten gold'. Roy Vidyanidhi, is of the opinion that, the reddish-yellow colour, which among other texts is also in accordance with the Kalika Purana ('tapta-kanchana-varnava' or 'like molten gold') is now followed in Bengal.xviii But, the red complexion found in Cooch Behar does not seem to find any mention in the texts. [Fig.-4] The face and neck of the lion at the Mustofi house idol biting the right hand of Asura is like that of a horse or supposedly was like that of the same. However, it appears to be more porcine than equine at present. Perhaps, it is another example of the incaution of the artisan. There is also a leonine tiger with hair biting the left hand of Asura. The presence of both lion and tiger indicates the influence of the *Baro Devi Bari* on the idol [see Fig.-2].

Of the rituals and customs associated with these private Pujas, the *hasti-baran* ceremony (greeting the Elephant), display of toy figures made from the *Shola* plant (*Aeschynomene aspera*; Family: Fabaceae) by artisans of Golokganj, Assam; secret ritual of freeing a *Koi* fish pair





(Anabas testudineus, Family: Anabantidae) etc. once performed at the Mustofi house at Gobrachhara are of interest. On Navami or the fourth day of Puja, 'Kando', a folk play common in Northern Bengal was held at the Lahiri Bari, at Bamanhat. It is beyond doubt that only the name, brief descriptions and some of the distinguishing features of the most popular and grand old Pujas have been cumulated in this write-up and there is many more awaiting to be garnered.

Kshetra Mohan Brahma (1930 C.E.), has given Cooch Behar the appellation of 'Hatta-MelarDesh' or the land of 'huts' (a place of commerce) and fairs. xix Thus, it is obvious that in an important festival like the Durga Puja, a fair would beimperative. It is not clear when the fair associated with the Puja at Baro Devi Bari was first arranged, but, its existencecan be traced from documents nearly a century old. The fair is being held possibly in a regular manner except for the year 1923-1924 C.E., when owing to the outbreak of cholera in an epidemic form in Cooch Behar it was cancelled along with the historical 'Ras Mela' of Cooch Behar.xx The importance of the fair can be realised from a remark made by Hemendra Lal Khastgir, Revenue Officer of the former Cooch Behar State in his Report (1928 C.E.) — "In the Sudder Sub-division (Cooch Behar division) there were three fairs of importance, namely, the Debibari Mela and Rash Mela of Cooch Behar town and the Gadadhar Mela in Taluk Ambari at the confluence of the Kaljani and Gadadhar rivers." The fair, though, in a much reduced form continues till today. A fair out of private enterprise was also organised in association with the Puja of the Lahiris of Bamanhat. The fair sustained for four days from Saptami to Dashami. Though, not directly related with the Puja, but, possibly sometime in between the Durga and Kali Puja celebrations, probably to celebrate the festive season a fair was also arranged by the Mustofis at Gobrachhara. [Fig.-5] A day of the fair, without any previous declaration, was gifted in munificence as a 'free purchase day' by the Mustofi family to the general public attending the fair. It is quite intriguing, that the annals of these private fairs, though, once quite popular, does not seem to appear anywhere on the Government records. In some of the houses, folk-plays, theatre and music also formed an indispensable part of the Puja celebrations.

The *Thakur Dalan* or *DurgaDalan* of Thakurbari at Cooch Behar was completed in the financial year of 1890-1891 C.E. Thakur Dalan in Cooch Behar District. [Fig.-6] Completed in the financial year of 1916-1917 C.E., the *Thakur Dalan* in Cooch Behar District. [Fig.-6] Completed in the financial year of 1916-1917 C.E., the *ThalurDalan* of Baro Devi Bari alike the iconography of Baro Devi and her worship is also unique. It has elements of the European Classical Revival. [Fig.-7] The oldest and perhaps the most beautiful *Thakur Dalan* extant in Cooch Behar is that of the Mustofis at Gobrachhara. It was constructed most probably in the early-mid nineteenth





century. The roof of this structure has collapsed long ago. It is an old edifice with almost the same typology like that of the *Thakur Dalan* at Thakurbari, i.e., *Thakur Dalan* type. In addition, it comprises of some terracotta and intricate ornamental work. [Fig.-8] The only private Thakur Dalan in the town was that of the Bhattacharyaya family at Keshab Road. It was in the indosaracenic style and erected most possibly in the 1920s. [Fig.9] Unfortunately, it has been recently demolished (2020 C.E.). The Durga Mandap of Govinda Prasad Roy's house was also large; it was constructed in the utilitarian style of architecture followed by the early engineers of the East India Company, most probably in the early twentieth century. This Durga Mandap was pulled down in about 1994 C.E. [Fig.-10] The Durga Mandap of 'Ananda Bhavan' or Dr. Dineshananda Chakraborty's house, which was also constructed possibly on the same period as that of the last mentioned structure and still survives, attracts considerable interest. The small building has a hexa-gonal outline and is in the Pagoda style of architecture. [Fig.-11] DebashisBosu (2018C.E.) observed that, of the *Thakur Dalans* he had seen, most of them had their facades towards the south. It is interesting that, if we compare this data with the Durga Dalans or Mandaps of Cooch Behar the present author has surveyed till now, the findings are congruent.

The Pujas of the Royal house of Cooch Behar, though, much reduced in grandeur, continues till today under the Debutter Trust Board as already noticed. The eventful days of the 1940s and early 1950s, featuring the Second World War, partition of Bengal, the independence of India, merger of Cooch Behar State with the Indian dominion, transformation of Cooch Behar into a District of West Bengal, the abolition of Zamindaries etc. imparted great socio-economical stress on many of the families where private Pujas were celebrated. Thus, from the late 1940s the private Pujas started to dwindle and almost in the close of 1950s most of them had disappeared. However, some of them continued in the form of 'ghot puja', but, only for a short period of time. The prevalence of so many Pujas at Cooch Behar testifies the socio-economic condition of the then Cooch Behar. The presence of so many metal idols offers a distinctive trend also. Since, most of the old Pujas are now lost, it is quite difficult to document the details. Absence of written evidence further escalates the difficulty. The present article is only a brief overview of the Royal and old Private Pujas of Cooch Behar. Hence, it is verily lacking in reasoning, statistical,

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¹Bosu, Debashis, 'AbaluptaThakurdalan', *Harappa (Likhan-Chitran)*, Ed: Saikat Mukherjee, Periodical Magazine, 2nd Year, 1st Issue, Printed by: Saikat Mukherjee, Lens Computer, Ranaghat, Nadia; Published by: Saikat Mukherjee, 30, Bhattacharyaya Para, Ranaghat, Nadia: 741 201; Regd. No. WBBEN/2017/74309, October, 2018, p. 33.





comparative, analytical etc. data. To conclude, the findings are themselves inconclusive with the object of triggering interest into the subject for further research.

Courtesy: Dr. Nripendra Nath Paul, Shree Krishnaprasad Chattopadhyay, Smt. Aparna Chattopadhyaya, Shree Kunal Nandi, Smt. Mousumi Banerjee, Smt. Jhumka Guha, Kumar Mridul Narayan, Shree Tamal Mustafi, Shree Rajarshi Biswas, Shree Mayukh Banerjee, Shree Sagnik Chaudhuri, Shree Subham Sarkar, Shree Nilay Deb, Shree Suman Dey, Kumari Barnana Chakrabarti, North Bengal State Library and Cooch Behar Archive.

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viiBhattacharji, op. cit., p. 172, p. 174 and p. 176.

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