

Puthia Zamindari - Its Origin and Growth

The capital of the Zamindars of Puthia is situated one mile south of Rajshahi-Natore Highway, 18 miles and 10 miles from Rajshahi and Natore respectively.¹ On the east lies the Natore Sadar Police Station, on the west Paba and Boalia, on the north Bagmara and Durgapur Police Stations and on the south there is Charghat Police Station of the Rajshahi district. As it was the capital, it became the abode of different caste and creed including the Brahmin, the Kayestha, the Vaidya, and others.² On the east of Puthia at the village Paikpara a canal connected the Boral and the Hoja rivers. The southern part of that canal was known as Musa Khan. In the rainy season of 1838 A.D., the river Musakhan overflowed and submerged the south-eastern part of the Padma. Since then the Musa Khan and the Hoja were united and became familiar with the name of the Godai River³.

Puthia is surrounded by the river called Hoja on the north, the Narod on the south and the erstwhile Musakhan on the east. The river Narod came out of the Padma (Mahanada) and is united with the Nandakubja on the south of the head quarters of Puthia and Natore.⁴ Once these rivers were navigable. As a result, these rivers played a vital role in the communication system. Beside this, there were no metalled roads and as such the capital of Natore Raj Family flourished on the side of the rivers. Many other Zamindaries grew up along the rivers of which Puthia, Chapilla and Santul are remarkable. In course of time the rivers were silted up. At present a scanty flow can only be traced.

Among the ancient Zamindars of Rajshahi the Santul and the Tahirpur Raj families were famous.⁵ Of the zamindars of Rajshahi the family (Raj Family) of Puthia was one of the oldest. This Raj Family was founded during the reign of Emperor Akbar.⁶

A man named Sadharam Bagchi was the forefather of the Puthia Raj Family. Though he was not born in an aristocratic family, he was a scholar in Sanskrit and Persian languages. He had enough knowledge in Muslim and Hindu mythology and for this he became famous in the contemporary educated class. He had skill in composing poems and could recite poems both in Sanskrit and Persian languages. In this regard he could be called a man of literature.⁷ The son of Sadhubagchi was Laban, the son of Laban was Tripurary, the son of Tripurary was Chakrapani, the son of Chakrapani was Rupuzha and the son of Rupuzha was Rishi Dixit.⁸ The sons of Rishi Dixit were Siaia, Kiyaye, Gadadhar, Ahumitra and Suddhipandab⁹ respectively. Kiyaye had four sons: Harihar Agnihotri, Srikantha, Baikuntha and Madar Dixit. Balai was the son of Harihar and Dhiai (Dhai Bagchi) and Baman were the sons of Balai.¹⁰ Baman had his son named Durjadhan. The son of Durjadhan was Visnu and Sasadhar Pathak was his son.¹¹ Sasadhar Pathak was a sincere Brahmin. He had only one son named Batsacharyya.¹² This very Batsacharyya was the founder of Puthia Raj Family.¹³ He always remained busy in religious affairs from his boyhood. He had special knowledge in magic and astrology. He led the life of a saint.¹⁴ The original abode of Batsacharyya was the village of Chandrakola of Natore Sub-division (at present District) touching which the river Godai flowed and on the other side of the river was the Akhdia village.¹⁵ Later he started living at Puthia. No authentic document is available as to when he left Chandrakola and started living at Puthia.¹⁶ Of the seven sons of

Batsacharyya, all died premature death except Nilambar, Pitashshr and Pusparakkha.¹⁷

There is a hearsay regarding the foundation of the Puthia Raj Family. At that time a Pathan Jaigirdar named Laskar Khan ruled Puthia. It is said that after his name this area was named Laskarpur.¹⁸ Laskar Khan lived in a village named Alaipur. The village is under Charghat Police Station. The village stands 12 mile south-east of Puthia. The mighty Padma flows near the village.

During the reign of Emperor Akbar, the Pathan leaders rebelled in Bengal. Realising the gravity of situation, the emperor sent an efficient general to suppress the rebellion.¹⁹ On their way they set up their camp at Chandrakola. The scholasticism and piety of Batsacharyya was widely known. The general was amazed at the magical knowledge of Batsacharyya after talking to him. Batsacharyya asked the general to explain the reason of his coming in detail. He told the general the way to suppress the rebellion.²⁰ Following the saint's advice the general won the battle and Laskar Khan, the Jaigirdar of Laskarpur Laskar Khan died without any successor. With the permission of the Emperor the general wanted to handover the Pargana of Puthia to Batsacharyya as a reward. The saint Batsacharyya was not interested in getting worldly gains, so he refused to take the Zamindari. His son Pitambar was intelligent and influential. He expressed his desire to take the Znamidari, At last the general gave the Zamindari to Pitambar.²¹

It may be noted here that in the family records some of the Zamindars of the family are found to have used the title Thakur and a few others have been mentioned 'Ray' as their family title. It is again interesting that most the Zamindars seem to have preferred a common end like 'Narayan' after their

name. The name of the rulers and their surnames have been followed here as per records.

Pitambar

Pitambar was the eldest son of Batsacharyya.²² He was a person with a temperament of worldly affairs. He got the zamindari at the favour of the emperor of Delhi.²³ After getting the zamindari of Laskarpur, he left his paternal land of Chandrakola and settled at Puthia. He searched for land for building the Rajbari. As the place which he selected to build the Rajbari was a low land he dug a pond on 7 acres of land on the north of the Rajbari. The tank is known as Shyam Sagar. Many believe that Pitambar and Shyam were the names of a same person. The Rajbari was constructed during the time of Pitambar.²⁴ For the security of the Rajbari (the house of the Rajas, he constructed huge canals on three sides of it. After his taking over the charge of zamindari, its area was expanded far and wide.²⁵

The Raja of Puthia was one of the 12-Bhuiyas of Bengal.²⁶ Historians differ as regards the exact number of the 12-Bhuiyas of Bengal. According to Abdul Karim the exact number and identity of the 12-Bhuiyas²⁷. His arguments seem to be authentic. In his description the name of Pitambar or the Raja of in conspicuously absent. From this it can be concluded that the Raja of Puthia was not enlisted among the 12 Bhuiyas of Bengal.^{27(a)}

As we have stated the Zamindari of Puthia was founded during the reign of Mughal Emperor Akbar. Pitambar did not revolt against Akbar because either he showed his gratitude and loyalty towards Akbar or he did not have enough force to do that at the early stage of his Zamindari. But later during the reign of Jahangir (1605-1627), we get an evidence of his revolt.²⁸ In 1609,

Jahangir sent Subahdar Islam Khan to suppress the 12-Bhuiyas of the Bengal. When Subahdar went ahead to subdue Pitambar, he took shelter at Alaipur, another zamindari of the region.²⁹ Though Ilah Bakhs, the Zamindar of Alaipur did not surrender, Pitambar surrendered and saved his life and Zamindari. After the defeat of Ilah Bakhs, his abandoned Zamindari was handed over to Pitambar.³⁰ No exact date is however, known about the death of Pitambar. Probably, he died sometime during the first half of the reign of emperor Jahangir.³¹

Nilambar

According to K.C. Mitra "When Pitambar died he had no successor. For this reason his younger brother Nilambar succeeded him in his *estate*".³² Being satisfied, Emperor Jahangir gave him the title of "*Raja*".³³ Incidentally among the members of the Puthia *Raj Family*, he was the first to get the title of "*Raja*". He became trustworthy to the Emperor by paying taxes regularly. He built a huge *Durgabari*³⁴ (the place to worship goddess Durga) the *Panchamundi Seat* where Batsacharyya succeeded in his meditation to commemorate Batsacharyya. When the *Durgabari* was destroyed, a tin-shed room was made in the form of Altar (*Mandap*). Later on the zamindari of Puthia divided in many divisions for the reason of hierarchy, and as everybody or every sharer used the *Mandap*, it was known as Sajor Bari.³⁵ In the altar of *Panchamundi* of this *Mandap* the *Mrinmaya idols* were set up and both *Durgapuja* and *Basantipuja* were held there every year. At the time of death, Nilambar left two sons. The sons were Anandaram and Puskarakh Majumdar.³⁶

Puskarakha

Puskarakha, the son of Nilambar lived at Ramrama, the headquarters of Tahirpur and looked after the zamindari. At that time there were two brothers

in Tahirpur Raj family. The younger brother was very affectionate to him. Younger Raja Hridoy Narayan had no son.³⁷ He had less affinity towards the worldly affairs. Leaving the illusion of the family he went to Benares. Before going to Varanashi he gave half of his property to his affectionate Puskarakha.³⁸ Laskarpur Zaminder was expanded (parts) including 22 paraganas of the Jaigir of Laskar Khan and Tahirpur.³⁹ Puskarakhs died leaving no son. During his lifetime, he became famous with *Barendra* community.⁴⁰

Ananda Ram

After the death of Nilambar his son was appointed the Zamindar. Ananda Ram used to help his father in the running of the zamindari during his father's (Nilambar) life-time. He was a great man. During his father's life-time he won the title of "Raja" from the Emperor of Delhi.⁴¹ When his brother Puskarakha died leaving no son, he inherited the property of the Tahirpur zamindari. As a result the command area of his zamindari expanded. No doubt, he was a good ruler. He maintained good-term with the Emperor of Delhi by regular payment of royal taxes. He died after a longer rule.

Ratikanta

Ratikanta was th only son of Ananda Ram. After his father's death he inherited the change of zamindari of Puthia. But unfortunately he was so efficient to run the administration of the Zamindari⁴². He could not assume the title 'Raja' due to some of his unpleasan works. He could, however, maintain the family tradition as being a member of the Brahmin family and he was known as 'Thakur' to the general public. After Ratikanta, the royal family of Puthia had been known as the 'Thakur Raj Family'.⁴³ Later on, this title was approved by the Subahdar of Bengal.⁴⁴ Ratikanta controlled over the

small zamindars and Talukders and influencing gradually he expanded his Zamindari on the one hand and on the other hand showed his wit and intelligence by subduing the powerful and rich landlords.⁴⁵ He had three sons named Ramchandra, Raghubir and Jadubir.⁴⁶ Raghubir and Jadubir died childless. Ratikanta died leaving his only son Ramchandra.

Ramchandra Thakur

As has been stated above Ram Chandra was the eldest son of Rati Kanta and when Rati Kanta died, Ram Chandra succeeded him as the zamindar of Puthia. After taking over of the zamindari he started philanthropic works for the welfare of the people. He set up the statue of 'Radha Gavinda'.⁴⁷ To the common people it was known as the statue of Gavindaji and it was Gavinda who had been accepted as the actual family god of Puthia Raj Family. It is proved by their efforts to put and write the epithet on the head of all th zamindari papers and documents of this family.⁴⁸

There is a legend with reference to the foundation of the Puthia Raj Family and this has been popularised in many documents including some contemporary book^{48(a)}. A Brahmin brought Radha Gavinda statue to Puthia from Bangarh (Kotivarsa) of Dinajpur and when he tried to take the statue from the place he was resting in, he failed to remove the statue. After rest when he tried to take away the statue, he failed. At last the Brahmin went away leaving shree Radha Gavinda there. But Thakur Ramchandra, the Raja of Puthia easily pulled up the statue and placed it in the royal temple.⁴⁹ Later on after building a new temple he installed the statue of Govindaji. Afterwards, all the shareholders worshipped the statue of Govindaji. After this daily worship, distribution of prasad (food offered to a god or goddess)

etc. became a normal practice centering the idol. Everyday one maund of *Atap* rice and other ingredients were used to prepare the Bhog (cooked rice offered to a deity).⁵⁰ Besides, they used to feed many Brahmin and took care of many poor people.⁵¹ In spite of giving gifts and doing a lot of religious works, Ramachandra had a bad name in the society. On his way back from Dacca when he came near the bank of the Santul Bandar (Port) of *Chalan Beel*, he became a victim of conspiracy and was forced to marry the daughter of Rameswar, the younger brother of Ram Krishna, the Raja of Santul. Because of this marriage, the image of the Puthia Raj Family got a set back and the whole family became a victim of a scandal locally known as "Pachuria".⁵² Ramchandra Thakur had four sons- Rupnarayan, Naranarayan, Darpanarayan and Jaynarayan.⁵³

Naranarayan

After the death of Raja Ramchandra, his second son inherited the Zamindari. Kamdev Moitra, the father of Raghunandan who was the founder of Natore Raj Family was a tax collector of Baruihati of Laskarpur Pargana under Naranarayan.⁵⁴ The Darpanarayan and Jaynarayan the brothers of Naranarayan were the founders of Chou Pukhuria and Seroil Raj families respectively. No evidence is found as to why Darpanarayan and Jaynarayan left Puthia or if they had taken with them any property of the time of departure. The most significant aspect of the temure of Naranarayan was the beginning of the Natore Raj Family in true sense.⁵⁵

Premnarayan

After the death of Naranarayn, his only son Premnarayan got the Zamindari of Puthia. No evidence of development is found during his tenure.

But he built the Temple of Radha Gavinda with bricks in various ornamentations in the style of rural Bangladesh the building found in.⁵⁶ But the temple was destroyed in the earthquake of 1304 (B.S.) (i.e. 1897). It is known from some of the slokas inserted on its wall that the temple was built in 1772.⁵⁷ Moreover, he built *Pancha Ratna Temple* (Five-jeweled Temple) of Gapalji. He died leaving his only son Anupnarayan.⁵⁸ Premnarayan (Thakur) was a scholar and a patron of education. He paid stipend to many educated Brahmins of his time.⁵⁹

Anupnarayan

After the death of Premnarayan as we have seen his only son Anupnarayan got the Zamindari of Puthia. Anupnarayan was a father of four sons. They were Narandranarayan, Rupendranarayan, Madnarayan and Prannarayan.⁶⁰ After the death of Anupnarayan, there was a difference of opinion among the brothers and the main reason was on the question of the division of the paternal property. For the division of the property among the brothers, holders were created in the Puthia Raj Family. During the Zamindari of Anupnarayan the Zamindari of Puthia was stretched over 15 parganas. During the time of Murshid Kuli Khan it was settled at the tax of Rs.1,25,516.00⁶¹. It is guessed that Anupnarayan died probably in 1743-44⁶².

Narandranarayan (Panch ani Raj Family)

Narendranarayan was the eldest son of Anupnarayan. After his father's death he went to the court of the Nawab of Bengal in Murshidabad to deprive his brothers of the property⁶³. When the other brothers guessed it, a conflict. The brothers obstructed the mission of Narendranarayan and everybody demanded the property. As a result, Narendranarayan was compelled to divide

the property. The division was done in 1744⁶⁴. The eldest brother demanded more and the other brothers agreed to give him half anas of their respective quarter shares. So Madanarayan, Rupendranarayan and Pranarayan got three and a half anas share and Narendranarayan got five and a half anas share including his four anas and one and a half anas from his brothers. Though Narendranarayan got five and a half anas and Rupendranarayan got three and a half anas, they came to be known as *Panch ana* and *Char ana* among the people.⁶⁵

The founder of *Panch ani* Raj Family was Narendranarayan. He was a successful ruler in comparison with others. He ran his zamindari as per expectation. He had five sons. They were Bhubanendranarayan, Shibendranarayan, Rudranarayan, Surendranarayan and Raghunarayan. Surendranarayan and Raghunarayan had premature deaths.⁶⁶ No exact date is known as to when Narendranarayan died. In 1793 his son Bhupendranarayan made a permanent settlement of Laskarpur Paragana with Lord Cornwallis⁶⁷. From this it is evident that he died some time before 1793.

Bhupendranarayan

Bhupendranarayan took the responsibility of the zamindari after the death of his father Narendranarayan. After their father's death Shibendranarayan and Rudranarayan also became the heirs of their father's property. Bhupendranarayan provided some Jaagir for the sustenance of Shibendranarayan.⁶⁸ The other brother Rudranarayan got the old house (Habli Adi) at Mathura.⁶⁹ It may thus be noted that he lived there enjoying a bit of small possessions of the zamindari. There is no evidence that he claimed a small share of his father's property.

Bhubendranarayan was a renowned zamindar. He bought Puluria Pargana at Rs. 62,100.00 in the name of his employee Panchanan Sarkar. He bought Dihi Deluabari, Dihi Fatepur in the names of his employees Ramkishore Moitra, Kali Prasad Mojumder and Dinanath. He also bought Kaligram Pargana, Dihi Darshana of Mohammadpur Pargana and Taraf Sripur of Mahadiar.⁷⁰ He bought a land from Ruplal Mitra and Brajalal Mitra at Shree Brindabon Dham (Bhramar Ghat) and set up a house in 1791. In that house there was arrangement for the worship of Shree Bhuvan Mahan Dev. To afford the expenditure of the worship, the property of Chatragacha and Chakdevpur under Durlavpur was donated with the letter dedicated to the gods (Debattar property) on *ashar* 6,1199 B.S. (i.e. 1792) which had Rs. 297.00 as its amount of donation. Besides, he bought a garden house at Durga Kundu near the Durgabari of Baranashidham, and many other houses in the Bengali populated area at Kashidham (Venares).⁷¹

Raja Bhupendranarayan and Anandanarayan (The son of Prannarayan, the younger brother of Narendranarayan who had a quarter share of the zamindari) signed a permanent settlement agreement of Laskarpur Pargana with Lord Cornwallis in 1793 at Rs. 1,89,592.25.00⁷². At that time Laskarpur Pargana stretched over Rajshahi, Bogra, Murshidabad, Birbhum, Nadia, Malda and Dhaka districts⁷³.

After running the *Zamindari* successfully, he had fallen into various problems at the end of his life. Dayamayee Devi, the wife of his brother Surendranarayan, filed a case against Bhupendranarayan in Rajshahi civil court demanding Rs.6,729.00 which constituted 9 *ana* as per her share in the property. At last a reconciliation was made between Dayamayee Devi and Bhupendranarayan. According to it, Dayamayee gave up his claim of the

property of her own accord getting Phulbari and Hashimpur Digar as the means of her sustenance. Both of them signed an agreement in this regard. For this agreement, the case was resolved in 1806⁷⁴.

He was not only one of the best zamindars but also a religious-minded man. In 1751 he built a four storied. Stage for Dol festival of Puthia⁷⁵. It still stands in a bit dilapidated condition.

Bhupendranarayan died in 1806 leaving his only son Jagannarayan.

Raja Jagannarayan

After the death of his father, Raja Jagannarayan got the zaimndari of Puthia. Just after getting the zamindari he faced multifarious problems. During his father's tenure, his uncle did not get their actual due of the property. After the death of his father and uncles, a dispute occurred with his cousins. After the death of his uncle Rudranarayan, his son Krishendranarayan demanded his father's share. A case was filed in the court and Krisnendranarayan got his desired share of the property⁷⁶.

Another uncle of Jagannarayan, Shibendranarayn got the area of Balidanga and Jaigir Hujurpara Digar for his sustenance and without demanding the appropriate share he was satisfied with that. After the death of Shibendranarayan, his son Rajibnarayan got the property in 1775⁷⁷. In 1784 he died, his mother Padmamoni Debba became the heiress Padmamoni Debba pledged to be satisfied with Rs.300.00 annually and a sum of Rs.4,000.00 at a time for her religious acts. She gave her received property (Balidanaga and JagirHijur para) to her widow daughter Champaklata as a life-time possession in condition that at her absence the property would go to Jagannarayan.

Padmamani Debba had given written document of it to Raja Jagannarayan on 10 *Baishakh* 1214 B.S. i.e., 1807⁷⁸.

Another uncle Surendranarayan received only a meagre quantity of land for his sustenance. He died childless. After his death his wife Dayamayee Devi gave up her claim in favour of Bhupendranarayan taking Phulbari and Hasimpur Digar to sustain herself.⁷⁹

Jagannarayan was an intelligent zamindar. He skillfully reconciled all the family disputes. He made an agreement with his cousin Krishnendranarayan in 1816⁸⁰. In this agreement he met up the dispute giving him some property. It was recognised that there was no debt till 1807⁸¹. For the division of the property *Panch Ani* side was divided in two parts (1) Barataraf (Bigger estate) and (2) Chhatataraf (Smaller estate)⁸².

Jagannarayan was a good scholar. He encouraged educated people and offered donation for their education. He was also pious a man. He got constructed a large bathing ghat and a guest house at Kashi dham (Venares). He also built a guest-house at *Gayadham*⁸³. He constructed a ghat on the bank of the river Dalgu in Bihar⁸⁴.

Raja Jagannarayan won the title of 'Raja Bahadur' from the British Government in 1809. The Government also declared that the sons and grandsons of the next generation of Jagannarayan would enjoy the title 'Raja Bahadur'⁸⁵.

He had a son and a daughter named Bishendranarayan and Kashimayee Devi respectively. His only son Bishendranath Ray was permanently sick. So he permitted Rani Bhubanmayee to keep an adopted child. Jagannarayan died in 1816. After three years of his death his son also died in 1819.⁸⁶

Rani Bhubanmayee

After the death of Jagannarayan, his widow Rani Bhubanmayee took over the charge of the zamindari. Rani Bhubanmayee was born at village Baladkhal in the Natore sub-division under Rajshahi district (Now Natore District). Her father was Shibram Chakravarty⁸⁷. Jagannarayan firstly married Jagadishawari Devi, the daughter of Nilkanta Sanyal of Puthia. When Jagadishawari Devi died, Raja Jagannarayan married Bhubanmayee⁸⁸.

She was the mother of two children in her married life. Kashishawari Devi was her daughter and Bishendranarayan was her son. Bishendranarayan was born in 1812. The son Bishendranarayan was permanently sick. Before his death Jagannarayan allowed to keep an adopted son. In 1819 after the her son's death Rani Bhubanmayee took Harendranath, the fifth son of Krisnanarayan Thakur as an adopted child. When he was adopted, Harendranath was four and a half years old⁸⁹. She took the charge of the Zamindari in the beginning of 1820 and she made an open declaration to this effect.

Raja Jagannarayan married his daughter Kashiswar Devi to Mansingh alias Manu Khan, the son of Kali Prasad Khan of Paraghati in 1809.

For the maintenance of the daughter and the son in law he consented an agreement to give a property the annal profit of which was about Rs.12,000.00. Rs.12,000.00 was given from the income of the property and cash money.

Rani Bhubanmayee gave two anas out of twelve Anas of Mymensingh pargana and one ana out of three anas of Laskarpur Durlavpur pargana. Besides, the Rani gave some other property to Kashiswar Devi and her grandson⁹⁰

Gavinda Prasad. To build a Shibmandir and for the placement of the idol of the god Shiva, the Rani sold three anas of Laskarpur and three anas of Dharbila For Rs. 18122.00 on 13 *Aswin*, 1235 B.S. i.e., 1828 and Hatrum Diagar of Laskarpur for Rs. 10,000.00 on 14 *Shravan*, 1233 B.S. i.e., 1826.⁹¹

Rani Bhubanmayee faced serious family troubles. During her husband's life-time she reconciled the family disputes with the son of her paternal uncle Krisnendranarayan Ray. On sudden death of Jagannarayan, this division of property was suspended. Rammohan Chawdhury, the minister of Rani Bhubammayee, tried to deprive Krisnendranarayan and did not pay attention to the reconciliation agreement. On the other hand after her husband's death, Bhumanmayee was living in *Kashi*. Krishnendranarayan also started for *Kashi* with Gurudev and a Raja of three ana share. They wanted a document to be signed again by Rani Bhubanmayee. Due to the conspiracy of the minister of the Rani all their objectives failed. As a result a great chaos and disorder started in the Raj family. Some holders joined together and decided that they would not allow the Rani to come back to Puthia again. At last to recover the property Krishnendranarayan filed a case in the court⁹². A confrontation was there as regards the occupation of the house of the Raja in 1819. Goods were seized by the criminal court. For the filing of the case, the Rani came to Puthia.

The sharers did not allow her to enter the Rajbari. At last she stayed at the garden of Gopal. In 1827 the distribution was completed. In the reconciliation deed Krishnanarayan got *two-fifteenth* of Laskarpur and one ana share of Pukhuria. The distribution being finished, the Rani entered the Rajbari.⁹³

When tax became due of Pukhuria pargana, a possibility of auction was anticipated. Of that property twelve Anas belonged to Rani Bhubanmayee and four Ana to the minor son named Bhairabnarayan, the son of Krishnendranarayn. She lodged a case against the government to save her property. In 1843 when the case reached the final, the Rani Bhubanmayee became the owner of 12 *anas* share of Pukhuria.⁹⁴

Rani Bhubanmayee was however, a benevolent woman of compassion. She set up the temple of Mahadev at Puthia. She donated land and money to many Brahmins.⁹⁵ Rani Bhubanmayee spent a lot of money to construct the ghats of Kashidham and Dashahamedh. She also made them beautiful and strong with valuable stones. Millions of people bathed in the ponds and praised the Rani. The Brahmapur Temple and Shibgenital that are found on the Dashahamedh Ghat are the immortal achievements of the Rani Bhubanmayee. The all-India famous '*Puthia Anna Chatra*' at Bangali Tola of Kashi is perhaps the best work of virtuous Rani Bhubanmayee. At that time she arranged food for the starving people. The widone garden house adjacent to the well-known '*Durgakunda*' near '*Puthia chatra*' in north-east side is also the property of Rani Bhubanmayee. She used to distribute clothes among the poor during the winter and supplied food for cattle and people during the rainy season.⁹⁶ She freed the persons who were imprisoned for debt, paying her own money.⁹⁷ In 1847 while going to Kashi she breathed her last in a place called Ishabpur near the bank of the Padma.⁹⁸

Harendranarayan

Harendranarayan was the adopted son of Rani Bhubanmayee. He married the daughter of Kantanath Bachospati of Majhgram (Rajshahi, present Natore)

named Durgasundari Devi. Harendranath and Durgasundari had two sons named Jogendranarayan and Debendranarayan respectively. The later died without being married.⁹⁹ Before his death on 25 Poush 1258 B.S. i.e., 1851. Harndranarayan appointed his wife a trustee for his two sons.¹⁰⁰ In her favour she also gave a permission letter to take separate adopted child. He also arranged and assigned Rs.200.00 as monthly payment in favour of Dugasundari during the minor period of his son. He gave her the dwelling house of Rammohan Choudhury and a pond and temple situated at Puthia on (2/11 land) garden and a pond of Tilipara included in Kandaroy and a dwelling house bought from Nanda Kishore Majumder at Bareipara.¹⁰¹

Rani Bhubammayee had a son and a daughter. Raja Jagannarayan gave all his property to his son Bishshedranarayan though a wil. Shishshendra Ray died a premature death and the Rani Bhubanmayee became the heir of the property. Although Harendranath was an adopted child, he did not get any share or possession of the property. So, he had to depend on the sympathy of Rani Bhubanmayee. On the other hand the Rani loved her daughter Kashishwari Devi very much. As a result, on 24 Kartik 1239 B.S. i.e., 1832, she did tow registered deeds of division of the property. She gave 10 Ana to Harendranarayan and 6 Ana to her daughter Kashishwari Devi.¹⁰² grew older, a conflict grew between the mother and the son. After many events the conflict was reconciled between the mother and the son on 15 Poush 1249 B.S. i.e., 1842¹⁰³. In this way the conflict was removed.

Harendranath patronized learning and higher education. To encourage the culture of Snaskrit he donated open-handedly. During his time the renowned scholar Shibchandra Siddhanta set up a school (*Chatuspati*) at Puthia.¹⁰⁴

He was not only a patron of learning but also pious man. He had name and fame in nursing the guests. He appointed to employees to look after the well-being of the guests. Their responsibility was to make good arrangements for the guests.¹⁰⁵

Harendranarayan was an amateur too. In 1850 he bought a luxury boat from Brassford Shaheb of Kuthi Keulgachi.¹⁰⁶ Harendranarayan died at Murshidabad in 1851.¹⁰⁷

Jagannarayan

Jagendranath was born on 03 *Jaistha* of 1840¹⁰⁸ His father was Harendranarayan and mother was Durgasundari. Harendranarayan had two sons named Jogendranarayan and Debendranarayan. The later died in his boyhood without being married.¹⁰⁹ When his father died in 1851 Jagendranarayan was only 11 years old.¹¹⁰ At that time it was the rule of British India that if any zamindar died leaving his minor son or heir, the property will straightly go to the Court of Wards. The heir would get back the property when he would reach adulthood. That rule became applicable in case of Jogendranarayan. His property went under the jurisdiction of the Court of Words. In fact, those properties were not looked after rather the Court of Words leased them. Jogendranarayan's property of Mymensingh was settled with Mr. Feberdi and that of Rajshahi was with Wordson & Co. The manager of Jogendranarayan Sri Babu Prasanna Kumar Majumder spent for the royal family from the income of the leased land.¹¹¹

Jagendranarayan was very much loved by his mother because of his being the only son. He was kept in the royal house of Puthia till he became 14/15 years old. He could not improve much in his learning during his stay at

Puthia. Though his mother was not very interested in his education, she was concerned about the marriage of her son. In Baishakh of 1262 B.S. i.e., 1855 he was married to a 5 year 7 month old child-bride named Sharatsundari, daughter of Bhairabnath Sanyal of Puthia¹¹². The mother Durgasundari became very much happy having her tender aged daughter-in-law.¹¹³ After few days of the marriage Durgasundari died. Sharatsundari had no other guardian in her in-laws family after the death of her mother-in-law. So she became very lonely in her husband's house. Jagendranarayan himself started taking care of his child-bride. The situation was the property law with the Court of Wards on one hand, and the royal Rajbari was guardianless on the other hand. In this situation Jagendranarayan fell into a great danger. At last he kept Harsundari Devi, the sister-in-law of his mother's cousin to live with Saharatsundari¹¹⁴. Then the aunt became the guardian of Sharatsundari. Besides, her own aunt Shibsundari Devi occasionally came and stayed in the Rajbari. Sharatsundari respected both of them very much. They also treated her as her own daughter. Jagendranarayan also loved Sharatsundari very much. He also treated her as her own daughter. Jagendranarayan also loved Sharatsundari very much. He always kept a keen eye for the proper care of his wife in the royal Rajbari. When the early conjugal life of Jagendranarayan and Sharatsundari was becoming happy, a new problem emerged at the very time.¹¹⁵

As the Zamindari was at that time under the Court of Wards, in accordance with the contemporary law the responsibility went on the shoulder of the British Government to educate Jagendranarayan. At first he was taken to Rampur Boalia (Present Rajshahi) and was admitted into Rajshahi Collegiate school in a lower class. Later he was sent to Wordson Institution in Calcutta by the order of Board of Revenue. Then Sharatsundari was 9 years old. The

renowned scholar Dr. Rajendralal Mitra was then the Principal of the Institution.¹¹⁶

While his staying in Calcutta, Jagendranarayan always thought of Sharatsundari. He wrote letters himself from Calcutta and inquired about the well being of her. Sharatsundari could not write and so direct correspondence was possible between her and Jagendra Narayan. Thus she incurred displeasure of her husband. He decided that he would arrange education for Sharatsundari going back home during the vacation. With such determination, Jagendranarayan came back home and started educating Sharatsundari. Without a few days Sharatsundari improved much. As he had to go back to Calcutta, he gave the responsibility of educating Sharatsundari on a faithful royal employee named Ishan Chandra Sen.¹¹⁷ Sharatsundari achieved unexpected success in a very short time. She started writing letters for two years, and subsequently became well versed in many books and Bengali literature.¹¹⁸

During his study in Wordson Institution, Calcutta, he occasionally came to Puthia during vacation. Then his tenants came to him in groups and complained against the torture of the *Nilkar Shahebs (Indigo Planters)*. Many villages of Laskarpur paragana stood on both sides of the rivers Padma, Boral and Godai. In the silted areas on both sides of the rivers, *Nil* (indigo) grew very abundantly. It may be mentioned that the property of Jagendranarayan located in Rajshahi was leased in favour of Wordson & Company. For this the officers of the Company had a chance to torture upon the tenants of this region. This naturally shocked Jagendranarayan very much, but he had nothing to do with that property, as the property was then sealed under the Court of Wards. So he had to go to Wordson Institution in Calcutta with a heavy heart. This

situation had effected his concentration in study and the concern for his tenants disturbed his education considerably. ^{118(a)}

Raja Jagendranarayan got his maturity during 1859 and took over the charge to rule over his property in *Baishakh* of 1267 B.S. i.e., 1860. He was supposed to become adult in 1265 B.S., i.e., 1858, but the Principal of the Institution Mr. Rajendra Lal Mitra reported the Revenue Board that his age was shown more than his actual one. He appeared to be less in years because of his frail health. As per this recommendation of Rajendralal Mitra, he would become adult in Poush of 1266 B.S., i.e., 1859 Revenue Board accepted Rajendralal's report and kept the property in its charge for one year more. After that it was feared if the property would be returned to Jagendranarayan in the middle of the year, there would be problem in calculations and accounts. So the Zamindari was handed over to him on the first *Baishakh* of 1267 B.S., i.e., 1860. ¹¹⁹

Getting his property back Jagendranarayan did not get the actual accounts of it. The property of Rajshahi was leased to Wattson & Co. The duration of the lease was 7 years from 1852 to 1858 . Despite the expiry of the lease, Wattson & Co. kept some land with them. Besides, under the influence of 'Shutter' the Indigo Planters tortured the common people. ¹²⁰ They forced the subjects to cultivate indigo but did not pay substantial price. They also forced the wives and daughters of the farmers to wet and shake big cauldrons during the whole night. The Nilkuthi (Indigo Fort) became a centre of inhuman torture and suffing of the common people who were mostly farmars of the region.. Rape of women, was beating inhumanly very common affair of the day. The disobedient farmers were caught and brought to the Nilkuthi and were beaten up by sticks. ¹²¹

The farmers did not get any justice in spite of applying to the District Magistrate to get rid of the tortures of the Indigo Planters, rather the Magistrate used to favour the Planters in every occasion. The tenants and others applied to the Government of Bengal complaining against the partialty of the District Magistrate on the question of due justice. But it is a matter of regret that their appears were never taken into account.¹²²

The farmers could not bear the torture and came in groups to Jagendranarayan for justice and favour, if any. He advised the Planters to do their business without making any trouble to the subjects and ryots of the region. The Indigo Planters did not pay heed to his request, rather they tempted Jagendranarayan with huge money and Jagendranarayan not only refused but also decided to save the victims even at the cost of his life and property.¹²³

This situation was sufficient for a Peasant uprising and this occurred as a protest against the torture and in justice by the indigo planters. Jagendranarayan seems to be happy with this development and naturally encouraged his subjects to apply even physical force against the planters. Within a very short time thousands of people assembled in response to his call. The indigo planters hired *Lathials* (club men) to suppress the challenge of the peasants but they failed. At last they took help from the government, filed fake cases against the rebels, and put them into the prison.¹²⁴ In spite of that the rebellion could not be suppressed. The more the torture grew the stronger the movement had been. With the encouragement of Jagendranarayan some rebel farmers looted some indigo-kuthis. The looted seeds of indigo were thrown into the water of Shayamsagar of Puthia, and the water of it became discoloured and stinky. Some indigo centres including Chandrakola

became deserted.¹²⁵ The effort of Jogendranarayan became successful when the indigo planters stopped their tortures.

It is said that while fighting against the Indigo-planters, Jagendranarayan could not eat, sleep or rest properly. As a result he became sick. Moreover while staying at Wordson Institute in Calcutta, some of his friends induced him to some bad habits. Those friends made him addicted to wine. He left Calcutta but he could not give up wine. Excessive drinking of wine and irregularity in life-style drew him towards death. Because of the tortures of the English, at first, he did not agree to receive treatment of the doctor. Later at the request of his relatives he was taken to the Civil Surgeon of Rampur-Boalia (present Rajshahi) for treatment. He was treated there for 4/5 months,¹²⁶ but with no improvement of his health and at last he died at the age of 21 years 11 months only on 29 Baishakh of 1269 B.S., i.e., 1862.¹²⁷ At the time of his death no one of the royal family was present there. Only *patguru* of Rampur Boalia Durgadas Bhattacharaya, Dewan Giridhar Ray, an employee named Keshab Chandra Sanyal and an ordinary servant were present at his time of death¹²⁸.

Anticipating his imminent death, he prepared a draft of will. He wanted to sign it in presence of witnesses. No sooner had he written 'j' the pen fell down from his hand. He could not write any more. He transferred all his property in the name of his wife Sharatsundari.¹²⁹ Long before his death in 1855 he allowed his wife to keep an adopted child through a will.

Jagendranarayan was an extraordinary zamindar with many qualities of hearts. His personality was rare and the example he set in Puthia as well as in Rajshahi in reality a superb one and his concern and feeling for the welfare

of his subjects is exceptionally brilliant in the history of the zamindars of Rajshahi..

Maharani Sharatsundari

A Brahmin named Harinath Sanyal lived in a village called Tajpur under Singra police station of Natore district.¹³⁰ He had a daughter named Suryamayee. Suryamayee was married to Raja Rajendranarayan, Raja of four ana of Puthia. She became a widow at an early age and became an heir of his property. She was a tactical and intelligent woman. At her daughter's request Harinath Sanyal came to live at Puthia leaving the village Tajpur. He became the owner of a vast property within a very short time.¹³¹

The son of Harinath was Gopinath. He was also an intelligent person. By taking zamindari and lease he earned a property of about Rs. 25000.00. He became famous for his serving the guests. Besides, he used to spend a lot of money for social and religion festivals like *Dol* and the worship of goddess Durga.

He was father of two sons. After reaching adolescence he died.¹³² His younger son Bhairabnath became the sole owner of the property after his father's death. Bhairabnath was a conservative Hindu. Like his father he also performed all the religious rituals and served the guests. The name of his wife was Drabamayee. She was a shy, polite and virtuous woman. Sharatsundari was born to Bhairabnath and Drabamayee on the 20 Aswin of 1256 B.S, i.e., 1849¹³³. Bhairabnath had no son. After the marriage of Sharatsundari, Bhairabnath Sanyal became father of another daughter named Srisundari. Sharatsundari was very much loved by her parents. Sharatsundari was the only daughter in the family of the possessor of a huge property of Bhairabnath.

This is often found that the child of a well-to-do family becomes proud and juvenile. But Sharatsundari did not have a bit of pride. The human virtues like modesty, fellow-feeling, truthfulness were found in her.¹³⁴ The influence of the honest life of her parents induced her. When she was about 4/5 years old, she used to help her mother in different ways in the *Puja* (worshipping). She herself used to do worshipping of the gods, *Japa* and *Brata* while playing. She observed attentively all the *Pujas* that were held in the house of Bhairabnath and often she played the part of *Nittapuja* (daily worship) and *Japa* sitting in the style and posture of worshipping god. Discussions and debates on religion was a daily occasion in the house of Bhairabnath. In the nights of Thursday, the Hindu women sat together and talked on the legend of Laxmi. Only at the age five, Sharatsundari learnt many aspects of the character of Laxmi. She sought permission from her parents for fasting on the eves of *Shibratri* or *Janmastami*. Nobody allowed a tender-aged girl to fasting. Her love for religion was thus marked from her early childhood. She loved duck and pigeons in her childhood, but she preferred to collect flowers and worship of Thakur (Thakurpuja) more.¹³⁵

Bhairabnath had a guest-house which was visited by many people. Bhairabnath served the guests himself. Many guests also came to their house. Sharatsundari enjoyed the duty of distributing of foods among the guests. Those service to the guests induced many qualities in her. Sometimes, she gave away most part of her meal to others and used to eat the rest. She had no attraction to good and rich foods. She had also no fascination towards rich clothes.¹³⁶

She could not bear the sufferings of others.¹³⁷ Her parents tried to make her an ideal woman from the childhood. Though she had all the virtues, she

could not read and write. At that time girl's education was not in vogue in Puthia as well as in Rajshahi proper. A superstition then haunted in the minds of the people that if women were educated, they would become widow at an early age. Based on this superstition, Vairabnath did not educate his daughter.¹³⁸

She was plumpy. She was not beautiful, but for her body stature and delicacy anybody could not but be attracted to her beauty.¹³⁹

Considering the versatile genius of his daughter, Bhairabnath always thought of marrying his daughter off to an appropriate groom. All on a sudden a suitable groom was found for Sharatsundari and her nuptial bond was settled with Jogendranarayan, the Zamindar of Puthia. In Baishakh of 1262 B.S., i.e., 1855, when Sharatsundari was only 5 years and 7 moths old, she was married.¹⁴⁰

Sharatsundari had sharp intelligence. She could touch the feet of (*Pranam*) her mother-in-law without the identification of others at that tender age among the many women present there. Her mother-in law Durgasundari was pleased at that. She was passing her days happily with the affection of her mother-in-law in her in-laws house. But suddenly the mother-in-law died.¹⁴¹ After the death of his mother, Jogendranarayan brought one of her aunts to look after his wife.

Within a short time, she won the heart of her husband; her husband also provided her with better clothes and luxury goods. To make her husband happy she used them for some days and then gave them away to others, because she had no attention fascination towards clothes or luxury. Everybody was charmed at her simple and easy behaviour. In a short time, Sharatsundari trained herself up in all the household chores. She always kept the necessary

things of Jogendranarayan ready so that when they were wanted they could be supplied. For these acts of his wife, Jogendranarayan was attracted to his wife. Jogendranarayan had to go to Calcutta for education at the instruction of the Revenue Board. Then Sharatsundari had to pass her time alone.

At the behaviour of Sharatsundari, Jogendranarayan could understand that she had become adroit in house-hold affairs. She was only 9 years old when Jogendranarayan went to Calcutta. The officials and employees always took her permission in all matters. In complicated cases, she gave the solution on the basis of the previous system and on the opinions of the faithful employees. She never did anything that was disgraceful to anybody. As she was the Rani (the royal wife). She was needed to influence in serving the gods, and welcoming the guest and relatives.¹⁴² The Maharani arranged the cooking of all the orphans and widows who lived inside the palace. She also allowed cooking for some who wanted to eat differently, they had no bar allowed to cook separately.

Raja Jogendranarayan returned from Wordson Institution and was engaged in conflicts with the Indigo-planters. He had to work very hard for which he could not bathe, sleep or eat properly. He could not sleep for more than two or three hours and as a result his health broke down and died on 29 Baishakh of 1269 B.S., which has already been mentioned earlier.

When her husband died, Sharatsundari was only 13 years old. After becoming widow, she duly performed all the rituals including *Ekatyashi*, *Shravan Dadashi*, *Janmastami*, *Mahastami of Aswin and Chaitra*, *Ramnabami Shibratri and son*.¹⁴³ She saved her head and avoided using oil and followed it till her death. She learned all the formalities and rituals as may be expected

from an honest widow.¹⁴⁴ Surrounded by the other women of the royal family she lay and slept on the floor. In this way being loyal to her dead husband she passed her days. As regards food she had no luxury. What a Hindu widow should eat, she ate without any hesitation. She ate sitting on the floor and her food was served in a kodali (leaf of the banana tree) as the poor people do. He did not bother to eat together with other widows who were given shelter by her.¹⁴⁵

She was very respectful to her husband. She never lagged behind in following any rituals of Hindu religion as she had deep love and firm belief in the religion. She was so conservative that she hesitated meeting foreign men and women.¹⁴⁶

After the death of Jogendranarayan, the property went under the Jurisdiction of the Court of Wards. Though she did not get the direct Zamindari, she continued to serve the subjects as a full fledged zamindar. She could not make up with the allowance given to her from the Court of Wards, so from that earning of the property that she got as dowry during her marriage, she spent for the service of the guests, gods, sick and the poor. Observing these the district Collector gave Sharatsundari to look after the property of her husband when she was 15 years old.¹⁴⁷

Sharatsundari had no intention to take over the charge of zamindari, but at the request and insistence of her father as well as of the, faithful old employees and subjects, she took the responsibility of zamindari. Besides, she loved her subjects very much and considered the service of the subjects as her service to god. She saw her husband struggling against the indigo planters on behalf of the subjects. Thus it is likely that the unfailing devotion

to her husband induced her to take over the charge of the zamindari following the death of her husband.¹⁴⁶

After taking the charge of zamindari, Sharatsundari appointed her father Bhairabanth Sanyal as the honorary Manager of the estate. Bhairabnath ran the duties carefully assigned to him.

According to the permission letter of her husband she took Rajanikanta, the second child of Keshab Chandra Chakravarty of the village Gundighara of Rajshahi district as her adopted child in 1866. She distributed a lot on the occasion of the very day of adoption. She named the adopted child as Jatindranarayan on 27 Ashar of 1278 B.S., i.e., 1871 and spent about Rs. 30,000.00 for the ceremony of the adoption in Magh of 1281 B.S., i.e., 1874.¹⁴⁹

The Maharani Sharatsundari did everything to give her son the best possible education. When this son was 8/9 years old, she requested Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar to select and send a good teacher. Accordingly Vidyasagar selected a graduate of Sanskrit College and sent him as the house tutor for Jatindranarayan¹⁵⁰. But the said adopted son had no attention to study rather preferred passing time either playing with the pigeon or playing with the wicket boys. Sir Radharaman Sen did the job of a house tutor for a long time and tried to educate the Rajkumar but he could not succeed in that. Excessive motherly affection stood on the way for the future of the growing Rajkumar. The Rani loved the Prince more than a son of her own.¹⁵¹ For her excessive affection Sharatsundari had to suffer a lot. Once the Rajkumar Jatindranarayan fled away from home, which made the Rani much worried. Afterwards he was searched out from a place called Atrai, (now the district of Naogaon). Thus being involved in many unpleasant works and associations,

Jatindranarayan troubled the whole life of the Rani very much. In spite of suffering a lot in the hands of the Prince, the Rani affection had never diminishd.¹⁵²

Raj Kumar Jatindranarayan was married to Hemanta Kumari, the daughter of Bhuban Mohan Ray of vilage Dhulla of Manikganj sub-division (now district) on the 24 Falgun of 1287 B.S., i.e.,1880. The rituals of marriage were performed at Puthia. Bhuban Ray brought her daughter to Puthia to marry her daughter off.¹⁵³ The Maharani spent money more than one lakh and a half rupees in this marriage ceremony. More than one lakh rupees were spent for the help of the Pandits of Sanskrit scriptures, scholars and the poor people. Although a lot of money was also spent for the enjoyment of the subjects in the form of songs, concerts and enjoyment. On this occasion about one thousand and five hundred Brahmins were invited from Bengal and Kashi, Mithila, Konnakunja and many other places. Besides food, the scholars (Pandits) were served good accomodation and other best possible assenities. A huge amount was spent for the distribution of clothes and cash money among the poor and the needy.¹⁵⁴

At this stage Rai Sharatsundari could not or did not like the functions of the royal palace, So she proposed her father to arrange pilgrimage for her. When it was settled Sharatsundari started for Goyadham with her father in 1272 B.S., i.e., 1865. After performing religious rituals she went to Kashi on foot. She walked ten miles and performed her pilgrimage-bath, she went to Vanaras dham. Afterwards from there, she went to Prayag, Mathura, Vrindaban and again returned to Varanashidham. She travelled *Chaturshiti crose* to reach Vrindaban.¹⁵⁵ After returning to Kashi, Bhairabnath gradually became sick. he expressed his desire to stay at Kashi and insisted Sharatsundari to go back

to Puthia. But Sharatsundari did not agree to go back to Puthia thinking she would not be able to get the opportunity to nurse him before his death. She started to serve and nurse her father sitting at his feet. At last in Baishakh of 1273 B.S., i.e., 1866, his father Bhairabnath breathed his last in the lap of his affectionate daughter. Sharatsundari completed all the rituals of cremation at Kashidham.¹⁵⁶

Returning to Puthia Saratsundari ran her royal duties properly. The Maharani always looked after the well-being of her subjects. Being charmed at her rule the then Government wanted to award her with the title "The Rani" on the 2nd Chaitra of 1281 B.S., i.e., 1874. The Government let her know this through a letter. In reply to the letter the Rani informed that she was veiled women and thus it was not possible on her part to receive the title attending the court.¹⁵⁷ Later she was awarded with the title "The Maharani" being satisfied with her rule in 1284 B.S., i.e., 1877¹⁵⁸. The Maharani never hankered after title and worldly fame. Her only aim was to improve the condition of the people under the zamindari.

After marriage of the Prince, the Maharani was mentally preparing to go to Kashi leaving the royal power in the hand of the Prince. It was the Rani's desire to live in solitude being free from the territorial affairs. After the marriage, the father-in-law of the Kumar tried to influence his son-in-law. In many occasions he tried to poison the ears of the Prince against the Rani, his mother. As Prince Jatindranarayan was very respectful to his mother, often he did not pay heed to him; rather expressed his annoyance.¹⁵⁹ The father-in-law's desire was that the Rani might hand over the change of the zamindari on his son-in-law. But the Rani wished to hand over the power at the time of her son's maturity. At last when the Kumar became adult, the Rani handed

over the zamindari to him. But the mother-devoted Kumar was not ready to free his mother completely from the responsibility of looking after the estate. While in Puthia the Prince's health started breaking down. He also drank too much wine like his forefathers. As a result his health deteriorated quickly. Realising his condition the Kumar made a will at the suggestion of some faithful employees. It was written in the Will that in case of the demise of the prince Jatindranarayan, the power of looking after the estate of Puthia would remain under the charge of his mother, the Maharani (i.e., Sarat Sundari).¹⁶⁰

At last in the month of Ashar in 1290 B.S., i.e., 1883, when the Rani was determined to go to Kashi and remain permanently there a settlement on the valuation of the zamindari was signed between the mother and the son on 14 Ashar 1290 B.S., i.e., 1883.

The followings were the provisions of the said agreement :

a) The annual income incurred from the personal property (i.e., from the donation of her husband) was amounted to roughly Rs. 25,455.00. Out of this total amount the Rani would get Rs.20,000 after paying the tax Rs.5,455.00 to the Govt.¹⁶¹

b) From the additional property and out income the Rani would get Rs.800.00 (approximately) out of the total amount Rs.943.00 (approximately) and the rest one i.e., Rs.143.00 would be allotted for the payment of tax to the Govt.

c) After the calculation of the valuation of the property of the estate it was found that the Rani had a personal loan of Rs. 84472.00 and the Rani had deposited to the Kumar Rs. 182749.00. Thus it was decided that the Kumar

would pay back the loan out the deposited money and both the Kumar and the Rani would have no obligation of each other.¹⁶²

The Maha Rani started for Kashi on 20 *Augrahayana* of 1290 B.S. While setting out she did not meet the Kumar.¹⁶³ At Kashidham the Rani took her shelter at her own house which was acquired beforehand. Her sincere desire was that she would pass her days in solitude in her pilgrimage at Kashidham.¹⁶⁴

After the death of Kumar (Prince) the Maharani went to Puthia on many occasions.¹⁶⁵ After the son's death family disturbances increased a lot and to get rid of this unhealthy situation she set out for pilgrimage for the second time.¹⁶⁶ The Rani went to Kashi from Puthia in the first half of *Augrahayana* of 1292 B.S., i.e., 1885. Afterwards she went out for pilgrimage tour. While going on pilgrimage she left her daughter-in-law with the later's father and took her mother with her. She went to Ayodhya (Oudh) via Vrindachal and Prayag and travelled 28/30 miles on foot all around Ayodhya. Then when she had completed her travel of Elaban, Chitrakut, Onkareshwar, Narmadeswar, some parts of Dandakaranya, Naimisyabanna, Puskar, Kurukshetra, Haridwar, Kankhal, Kangra, Mathura, Vrindaban and many other places and came to Jalamukhi, her mother was attacked by cholera and died there. After that the Rani did not go for any more pilgrimage and came back to Varanashi and completed the death rituals of her mother as per customs. On her pilgrimage the Rani used give away donations entertained many saints in feasts in the holy places like Ayodhya, Puskar and many other.

Finishing her pilgrimage tour the Rani met her daughter-in-law staying at Varanashi. The Rani experienced the same conflict between the two groups after her pilgrimage that she found before going out for pilgrimage. Though

the daughter-in-law Hemantakumari was tender-aged, she was very intelligent. She requested the Rani to transfer some of the conspiring officials and to dismiss others. The soft hearted Maharani Sharatsundari did not dismiss anybody. From this point the Maharani decided to give up the charge of the zamindari. When she was coming back to Puthia, she wanted to bring her daughter-in-law with her, but as the paternal guardians of the daughter-in-law did not agree with the idea, the Rani came back to Puthia leaving her daughter-in-law and grand daughter with her parents.¹⁶⁷

In the month of Aswin of 1293 B.S, i.e., 1886, the Maharani came back to puthia. Just after coming to puthia she expressed her desire to give up the responsibility of the estate.¹⁶⁸ Everybody forbade her to give the charge. But she did not pay heed to anyone. She applied to the collectorate of Rajshahi to take the property under the charge of Court of Wards until the bride Hemanta Kumari reached puberty. The instruction was delaying. Meanwhile she started suffering from Piles, acidity, diarrhoea, Edema, slight fever. The doctors prescribed medicine for her cure, but due to hyper-acidity she vomited out everything. So she did not take any medicine.¹⁶⁹ The condition of the Maharani was deteriorating day by day and insisted on her going to *Kashi*. Without waiting for the instruction from the Court of Wards, she set out for *Kashi* on 10 Falgun 1293 B.S. i.e., 1886 and reached Varanashi on 15 *Falgun* of the same year. In her journey the Rani took her younger sister, brother-in-laws, wives of her *Gurus* (masters) and many other relatives. After staying 10 days of Varanashi the Rani breathed her last at 2. P. M. on 15 *Falgun* 1293 B.S., i.e., 1886. At the time of her death she was 37 years 05 months and 05 days old.¹⁷⁰

The Maharani Sharatsundari ran her zamindari of Puthia for 18 years from 1865 to 1883. During her tenure she not only property administered the estate but also expanded her land property by buying land worth about Rs. 10 lakhs. During her Zamindari the income became almost double.¹⁷¹

She was a successful Zamindar. She resolved the long standing conflict with the Wordson Company which started during her husband. She was compelled to file cases against the company on some issues at stake and she got the verdict in her favour. Her period of take-over of the estate witnessed an example how a female zamindar could be able to solve problem in favour of the tenants and poor people. During the famine of 1873 and 1874 she waived taxes of the ryots. She did not forfeit anyone's tax-free land. She considered possession of the land as the best document. Even if the land was found tax-free in the survey, she did never forfeit that or impose tax on that piece of land.¹⁷²

A terrible flood occurred in Rajshahi region in 1871 and people of the low regions came to the Rani for help. Rani Sharatsundari fed about four hundred people and many cattleheads for more than a month. Again during the famine of 1873-74 she fed about five thousand people everyday. Later when the number of people increased she paid money.¹⁷³ Many times during winter she distributed winter clothes and blanket among the distressed of Puthia, Rampur-Boalia (Rajshahi) and Varanashi through open ammuement. She also distributed shawl worth about Rs. 10,000 to the Pandas on pilgrimage at Kashidham.

The Maharani donated a lot for the religious matters. She used to invite sincere Brahmins and helped them to her best and invited scholars to the capital, fed them and paid them adequately. Only for the sake of donation she used to bear the expenditure of *Annapurnapuja* and *Jagatdatripuja* every year at Puthia. She build developed temples at Puthia, Vrindaban, Kashidhom spending a lot of money.¹⁷⁴

She spent a lot for the improvement of Medicare. She set up two first class hospitals at Lalpur and Zhaoil. The Rani appointed a good herbal specialist (Kabiraj) and a doctor at Puthia. She also appointed a kabiraj (i.e., Physician) for the treatment of the distressed at Kaligram¹⁷⁵. Besides, she donated a lot of money for the treatment of the sick.

As regards education, Maharani Sharatsundari was enthusiastic towards the spread of education. She introduced stipend to the students at Puthia and Madhukhali and set up minor school in Lalpur and Zhaoil villages. She also set up a Sanskrit school at lalpur, Puthia and Zhaoil. Many authors got her financial help for the printing of their books. Renowned Protap Chandra Roy CSI was greatly helped by the Rani for the publication of the Bengali translation of Mahabharata and succeeded in communicating with the public.¹⁷⁶ She also donated eleven thousand rupees at the time for the construction of the surrounding walls and the buildings of the Rajshahi College.¹⁷⁷

She did not only think of the well being of the common people but also tried ber best to keep good relation with the royal families. For various disputes the shareholders stopped going to each others' house. The Maharani herself visited all the families. She was very since in her manner with the shareholders.

She arranged monthly payment for the wife of the youngest shareholders Rani Brajasundari, wife of Bhairabnarayan. After the death of Brajasundari, she also arranged monthly payment for her daughter Sharatkamini. In the marriage of Gopalendranarayan of *Ek Ani*, the Court of Wards did not grant adequate money. So the Rani donated Rs. 6,000 in the marriage ceremony.¹⁷⁸

At the death of this Maharani the people of Rajshahi suffered a great loss. The life of this Maharani began with grief and ended in disaster. Because at the time of her death, she could not meet her only grandson. She came to her father-in law's house leaving her parents at the age of 05 years and 07 months. Her conjugal life lasted only 07 years and then she became a widow. After that she passed the life of a widow for a period of 24 years and 10 months. After getting the charge of zamindari, she conducted it smoothly for 18 years. During this period she donated a lot in various fields including education, philanthropic activities, religion, assistance to the poor. She never tortured her subjects. In recognition of her work, she got the title "Maharani" (The Great Rani) from the Government. But it can be said that her administration was largely dependent on bureaucracy. Her instruction was not always abided by. Especially when the Rani ordered for any donation, the bureaucrats gave only half the amount. Besides, when after her father's death she wanted to visit her ailing mother, she gave up her decision for the opposition of the bureaucrats. They argued that if she would visit the dilapidated house of her parents. This would amount to the violation of the royal dignity and purdah of the family. But when she went for pilgrimage on foot and bathed in the river it would never be considered a violation of the above tradition. It is evident that the violation of *Pardah* was more likely to be in the river-ghat than in her father's house. She did not go to visit her

mother acting upon the advice of the royal bureaucrats. Nevertheless when the Puthia Raj family was plunged in the various flaws and vices and it was difficult to keep the fame of the royal family, she succeeded in increasing the reputation of the royal family. From this point of view she can be called a successful ruler of contemporary Bengal may India.

Maharani Hemanta Kumari

The Maharani Hemanta Kumari was born at Dhulla village under Manikganj sub-division of Dacca district (Now Mainkgonj District) in 1869 A.D. Her father was Bhuban Mahan Roy and mother was Durgasundari Devi. She did not come from a well-to-do family. Durgasundari's father was a small zaminder of Hatipara. At that time Bhuban Ray had only a few thatched huts. Bhuban Ray and Durgasundari gave birth to three daughters named Basantkumari, Hemantakumari and Kusumkumari. They had their only born in 1888. Besides, two months before giving birth to a son, they took an adopted child named Hemchandra Bagchi, the youngest son of Govinda Bagchi of Dhulla. Later he named him Nagendra Mohan.¹⁷⁹ The first daughter Basantkumari was married to the Zamindar of Tatiband (Pabna), Gopal Govinda. This marriage ceremony took place in 1282. The brotehr of Gopal Govinda Kunjalal Bhaduri then served as an accountant of Panch Ani royal family of Puthia. Kunjalal Bhaduri proposed the marriage of kumar Jatindranarayan with Hemantakumari.¹⁸⁰ By the effort of Abani Mohan Bhattachorya and Kunjalal Bhaduri twelve year old Hematakumari was married off with Jatindranarayan on 14 Falgun of 1287 B.S., i.e., 1880.¹⁸¹

The father of Hemantakumari, Bhuban Mahan Ray brought his daughter to Puthia. The marriage ceremony was held at Puthia. Bhuban Ray did not

have to spend any money in his daughter's marriage. The Maharani bore all the expenditure of the marriage and made huge festivities.¹⁸²

After spending a very short time in conjugal life, Hemantakumari became a widow being pregnant of six months. When her husband died she was at Calcutta with her parents. Though Kumar Jatindranarayan was extravagant in his life-style, he loved his wife very much. After the death of Kumar, the Maharani called in the widow daughter-in-law along with her parents to kashidham and kept them in the garden-house of Durgakunda and herein was born the princess Surendrabala.¹⁸³

Before the death of Kumar Jatindranarayan, he bequeathed his property in the name of his mother Sharatsundari in 1882 (14 *Aswin* 1289 B.S.) that the Rani did not know. Later when she knew that his wife was pregnant, he code-sealed a copy of the will and preserved it with the Registrar of District Registry office in Falgun 1290 B.S. i.e., 1883. In the will the mother devoted Jatindranarayan kept the power of the running of the Estate in his mother's hand and vested the responsibility of his wife on his mother. According to the will the (Rani Mata) had to take the charge of the property.¹⁸⁴

Centering the will on running the Estate, opposition emerged among the supporters of the Rani and the daughter-in-law. As Hemantakumari was prematurely widowed, the Rani kept her in the garden house of Durgakunda with her relatives to give her peace and comfort. Rani Sharatsundari supported all the expenditure of the garden house of Durgakunda. Besides, acting upon the advice of Bhuban Mahan, Rani Sharatsundari arranged *Annaprasan* (ceremony of first feeding of rice) and marriage ceremony of Kusumkumari, the younger sister of the widow daughter-in-law here in the garden house of

Durgakunda.¹⁸⁵ After all an conflict grew in the royal family and this conflict was over after the death of the Maharani Sharatsundari.

After the death of Sharatsundari, according to the prevailing laws, the zamindari again went in charge of the Court of Wards. Because at that time Hemantakumari was a minor girl. Later Hemanta Kumar bacame matured and she applied to the Court to get back the property. For this application a confusion arose as regards the actual age of Hemanatakumari. In the Will of Raja Jatindranarayan, the age was mentioned twelve years, but in the application 16 year was mentioned. The Will was signed on 11 *Aswin* 1289, i.e., 1882. The question was raised on 1-4-87 with the Court. Advocate General Paul pleaded in favour of the Rani. He showed a number of arguments that the Rani had become adult and she was able to run the estate. He sought an investigation in this regard and the court approved it. Her party tried to its best to get the report of the investigation in favour of the Rani.¹⁸⁶ As the report came in favour of the Rani, she got back the property from the court in 1294 B.S. On 04 *Falgun* 1293 B.S., i.e., 1886. The Maharani Sharatsundari made a trustee and nominated the daughter in law Hemantakumari. If the Rani could not set up Sri Kali and Shib, then 75% percent of her property would go to Sri Jagannarayneshwar of Shib at Vanares Dham and 25% would go to serve the idol of Bhuban Mahan Ray. However, the dughter in law acted upon according to the Will.¹⁸⁷

When Hemantakumari took the charge of her property from the Court of Wards, she was only eighteen years old. Coming from an ordinary family she spent a very little time with her husband in the royal family and after her husband's death most of the time she spent outside of the capital. She could not have the clear conception of running the zamindari in this short period.

As a result, the charge of running the estate and other responsibilities fell upon her father Bhuban Mahan Ray and maternal uncle Bhairabendra. In fact, Bhuban Mahan Ray and Bhairabendra became the chief executives of the *Panch Ani* Estate. As her father and maternal uncle ran the estate, so most of the employees of all level of the estate came from the eastern Bengal. Everything even in terms of marriages of her own relatives, to all arrangements of stipend or livelihood were given by the Rani. She stopped many former stipend and misbehaved with many others. As a result, Hemantakumari had to felt into a great trouble later on.

The most remarkable event of Rani Hemantakumari's reign was the case of the abolition of the practice of adoption of Jaynath Chakravarty. This Jaynath Chakravarty was the maternal cousin of Raja Jagendranarayan. To establish his own successor, he filed a case against Kumar Jatindranarayan the Rajshahi Sub-Judge Court on the question of his illegal claim over the estate. Kumar Jaynath demanded that the mother Kumar Jatindranarayan and Raja Jagendranarayan belonged to '*Shandilya gotra*. Being a member of the community, adoption was not legal and so after the death of Rani Sharatsundari, the son of Jagendranarayan's aunt's son Jaynath would be the heir of the $\frac{3}{4}$ part of the estate. It was infact if the claim of the plaintiff (i.e., Jaynath). It is said that the anti-Rani group was behind the case¹⁸⁸. The case continued for a long time. Jaynath died during the case. His minor son continued to run the case. At last the dispute was reconciled. The casing side acknowledged the legality of the adoption of Raja Jatindranarayan. On the other hand, according to the condition of the reconciliation the plaintiff was to pay Rs. 4,000/-. Later on the son of Jaynath was given the post of Tax-collector. According to another document, the possession of Hemantakumari was acknowledged. As

a result of the agreement the flaws with regard to the succession question were removed¹⁸⁹. The case of adoption complication had a peaceful end. While the case was running, the father of Hemantakumari, Bhuban Mahan Ray died in Calcutta while he was under treatment.

Rani Hemantakumari led a very simple life. She donated a lot of money in worshipping and philanthropic work. Like the forefathers of *Panch Ani Raj Family* she continued to donate for worship and *Vog*.¹⁹⁰ The Maharani introduced annual *Jagaddatri Puja* at Puthia in 1913. She built a huge brass-built *Rath* and made it a permanent festival. She also built a beautiful temple spending about a lakh Rupees at Puridham (Orissa) in the style of Venares temples and allotted a property having an annual income worth Rs. 6,000.00 for the worship of the gods (Hemanthnath Idol). In Aswin of 1321 B.S. i.e., 1914, she went to her paternal area and invited many Brahmin and gave them adequate payment. She distributed a Benarasi sari, a brass plate, two brass bowls, some spices, and white bracelets and *sindur* for each bride, a *Garad* for each widow and a shawl for each men.¹⁹¹ Besides, she donated a lot of money to orphans, widows and poor people.

For her profound religious faith, she went on many pilgrimage in spite of her poor health condition. She travelled to many places including Haridwar, Shantipur, Nabadwip, Brindaban, Gaya, Kashi, Prayag, Ayodha, Kurusketra, Puri, Bhubaneswar, Shakshi Gopal, Rameswar, Setubandh, Chandranath, Sitakundu, Kamakhya.

After the building of Baikuntha Dharm at Puri the Rani used to go to Puri every Vaishakh and returned to Calcutta after Rathjatra. She used to go to Venares before the Durga Puja and returned to Calcutta after about two months. After that she spent most of the time at Puridham.¹⁹²

The Maharani was also very interested in education. She spent a lot of money for building schools and running them. For teaching Sanskrit literature and language she established Hemantakumari Snaskrit College under the administration of Rajshahi College in July, 1904.¹⁹³ At the time of the establishment of the college had no building, so classes were held in Rajshahi College Building. For constructing the College building the Rani donated Rs.17,000.00. Besides, for maintenance of the college she donated a property whose annual income was Rs.1780.00 ¹⁹⁴ After the name of the Rani, the College was named 'Maharani Hemantakumari Sanskrit College'.¹⁹⁵ At the primary stage the Rani Hematakumari used to bear all the expenses of the College. For the staying of the outside students, the Rani build a hostel named 'Maharani Hemtakumari Hostel'. There the students could live without any fees.¹⁹⁶ She set up 'Maharani Hemantakumari High English School at Zhawal of Mymensingh and a school named 'Maharani Hemantakumari School at Nandina (Mymensingh).¹⁹⁷ In Paush of 1326 B.S., i.e., 1919. Dhurla Middle English was renamed after her father's name "Bhuban Mahan High EnglishSchool for the donation of the Rani. The Rani donated Rs. 20,000 for building the School-building. Besides, she used to help with Rs. 150 every month.¹⁹⁸ For the supply of pure drinking water in Rajshahi, the Maharani Hemantakumari allotted lands and for its construction, she donated Rs. 65,000. After the name of the Rani, it was named 'Maharani Hemantakumari Water Works'.¹⁹⁹

For the successful rule and profuse donation of the Rani, during the reign of Lord Carzon in 1308 B.S., i.e.,1901 , she was awarded the title "Rani" (Rani) and later on 1st January 1927 during the reign of Lord Irwin she was adorned with the title "Maharani (The Maharani).²⁰⁰

The Rani married off Princess Surendrabala with Viswasser Sanyal son of Princess Sharatkamini and grandson of late Raja Vhairabnarayan and Rani Brajasundari in 1895 (25 *Falgun* 1302 B.S.). The Rani spent huge amount of money in this marriage ceremony in the form of entertainment, donation and festivities. The Rani was very affectionate to Viswasser. She left Viswasser Babu as her representative to run the administration during her absence. After their marriage Princess Surendrabala and Viswasser Babu stayed in the Rajbari. Their conjugal life was happy. Princess Surendrabala was a very modest and gentle lady. Luxury, pride and boastfulness could never touch her. The Princess suddenly attacked by epilepsy in 1905 (*Poush* 1312 B.S.) and became senseless the nerve of the brain being severed. The noted doctors of Calcutta treated her. After remaining unconscious for three or four days, she breathed her last leaving her three sons named Amianarayan, Shachindranarayan and Nikhilesswarnarayan. On 18 *Poush* 1312 B.S., i.e., 1905.²⁰¹

The Maharani Hemantakumari loved her grandsons very much. After the death of the Princess the love increased. A complex situation arose whether the Rani would take an adopted child. A group was sympathetic towards the grandsons. Another group was selfish and wanted the Rani to take an adopted child. The Rani was very intelligent. She decided in her mind that she would make a Will in the name of her three grandsons, but she never disclosed it. Meanwhile a fake case was filed as regards taking adoption.²⁰² The case was proved fake. After the solution of the case, the Rani discussed with many barristers and pleaders, about the leaving of the property in favour of her grandsons. The Rani wanted not to divide the property while leaving the Will. Till the life-time of the Rani, she had her control intact. The management of running the whole estate remained in the common hand. According to the

conceding letter each grandson would get one-third of the property. She signed another agreement in which it was mentioned that the property would remain united but each would get his share of profit and their property would not be distributed during their life-time.

It was decided that each grandson would make own their own trustee and nominate the Rani and their father Viswessar Babu as their nominee. They would also arrange that the Maharani would get Rs.3,000.00, Viswessar Babu Rs. 300.00, Trust official Rs. 500, and their wives would get Rs.500.00 as monthly payments.²⁰³

The Maharani was suddenly attacked by paralysis after two/three years of her daughter's marriage. After a lot of treatment she regained a bit physical health and could move somehow. Her health started deteriorating gradually. She suffered from agony not only for poor physical condition but also for the internal conflict of the Rajbari. She was also attacked by diabetes. As a result her health became from bad to worse. In spite of much effort her condition did not improve. At last she died at the garden house near Durgakunda of Kashi in 1942.

She was one of the best zamindars of Puthia as well as Rajshahi region. In spite of being born in an impoverished Brahmin family, she had shown her aptitude in running of the zamindari. Though there were disputes and conflicts among the royal bureaucrats and relatives, she was not influenced by that at all. She was always unmoved in her own decision. Her sisters and paternal relatives forgot her help and engaged in intrigues and conspiracy. In spite of this she was sympathetic towards them. The contribution she had made towards the development of service to the subjects, religion, education and medicare,

the inhabitants Puthia and Rajshahi still bear the testimony of the glorious chapter of her reign. In recognition of her activities she was awarded the title "Maharani" (The Great Rani) from the Viceroy of India. In fact she was the fitting successor of her mother in law Sharatsundari.

The Last Phase of *Panch Ani Estate (Bara Taraf)*

The three grandsons of Hemantakumari – Amiyanarayan, Shachindranarayan and Nikhileswarnarayan became the owner of the property and took possession of it during the life time of the Maharani Hemantakumari. The Trust formed by the Rani continued functioning till the abolition of zamindari in 1951.

Prince Amiyanarayan was an very calm and quiet and sweet-spoken gentleman. Though he was reserved, he maintained courtesy. The Prince was married to Srimati Shantirani, daughter of Siddheswar Moitra of Allahabad.

Prince Shachindranarayan was married to Srimati Shatadal Vashini, the second daughter of one of the late zamindars of Puthia Bhavaprasad Khan Chaudhury.²⁰⁴ He was humourous, intelligent, witty, good speaker, enthusiastic worker, but very much extravagant. He was a member of the Provincial Council of United Bengal for a long time. After the partition of India by virtue of his extraordinary qualities and scholarship, he was elected a member of compiling the Constitution of Pakistan. He was a popular zamindar and is said to be a follower of Sri Ramakrishna Paramhansadev.²⁰⁵

The youngest brother Nikhileswarnarayan was married to Princess Kohinoor Devi, the daughter of the Maharaja Shantikanda of Muktagacha, Mymensingh. He was a theist religious person. He was fond of Sri Ramkrishna

Paramhansadev. After getting the property he never took the charge of looking after the property. He had no attraction towards wealth and property. He preferred a life of visiting holy places and had pleasure in donating money to the people. While living at Puridham, he wrote and published "Geetabali" which was full of devotional humour.

Till the abolition of the zamindari, the three brothers administered the zamindari together peacefully. No conflict was arisen among them as regards property. Those three brothers was humble, polite, gentle and sophisticated. Like all other regions of Bengal, the Zamindari of Puthia was abolished when the East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenenty Act 1951 was passed.

Panch ani (Chota Taraf)

The founder-person of *Panch Ani Chota Taraf* (Youngest side) was Rudranarayan. They were five brothers. The other brothers were – Bhubanendranarayan, Shibendranarayan, Surendranarayan and Raghunarayan. After the death of their father Raja Narendranarayan, Rudranarayan got *Habeli Adi* at Mathura. He left the authority of the zamindari on the eldest brother and took only a small amount for sustenance and possibly lived at Mathura. He never demanded a bit of his father's property during his life time. After the death of Rudranarayan, his only son Krisnendranrayan became the sole owner of the whole property. Krisnendranrayan claimed the portion of his paternal property from Jagannarayan (son of his uncle Bhubanendranarayan). For this Krisnendranarayan also filed a case in the civil court. Afterwards, both the sides reached on a reconciliation on 10 *Poush* 1223 B.S., i.e., 1816 and accordingly Krisnendranrayan got the following properties.

2 *anas* (Approximately) leased land at Laskarpur, 8 *anas* of Durlabhpur, 2 *anas* (approximately) of Bansibadanpur of Murshidabad, 01 *anu* of Khabida Pukuria of Rajshahi, 4 *ana* of Dihi Darshanpara, 2 *ana* (Approximately) of Dihi Deluabari and 4 *anas* of Dihi Fatepur. Besides, the Haveli of Mathura would remain under his jurisdiction.²⁰⁶ The other three brothers of Bhubanendranarayan took very little portion of land and signed no demand document that has been mentioned before.

Krisnendranarayan had no legitimate son. He decided that he would hand over his property to his nephew Vishendranarayan. When Visvendranarayan died a premature death, he changed his opinion. When a conflict and tussle took place between the Puthia estate and Junadaha of Narail, the events took a new turn.²⁰⁷ Raja Krisnendranarayan set out for Srikshestra to see Jagannath Dev. On the way of his return Krisnendranarayan died at Chunakhali of Murshidabad. In this journey he was accompanied by a brother of his Guru named Kashinath Bhaduri. To keep the continuation of the Raj Family he signed a letter of taking an adopted child before his death²⁰⁸. Just after the death of Krisnendranarayan, most of the property were lost. They were auctioned because of the simplicity of Krisnendranarayan²⁰⁹.

According to the letter of the permission letter of Krisnendranarayan, a confusion grew up between his two Ranis—Harasundari and Haripria. Rani Harasundari kept Bhairabendranarayan, the youngest son of Viswasser Moitra of Babultali Murshidabad as her adopted child. On the other hand the younger Rani kept the youngest son of Kamal Sarbabhauma of Puthia as her adopted child. At last a case was filed as regards keeping adopted child. In this case the adoption of the elder Rani was judged valid. As the case continued for a

long time, both the Ranis plunged into debt. The debt of his father and that of adoption put Bhairabendranarayan into great trouble. To repay the loan, he has to sell out a huge portion of his property. He further sold out his property and started a big business in Calcutta. He could make an advantageous position in business. He had 3/4 carts and 7/8 horses for his own use. Suddenly he was attacked by small pox and was died of that. His business assistant misappropriated all the wealth without considering the well-being of his family. Thus the royal family fell into a great crisis. During this financial crisis, the royal family had to live on depending on the Raja of Dighapatia Raja Prasannanath Ray Bahadur²¹⁰.

The Maharani Sharatsundari respected Rani Brajasundari and was devoted to her. Rani Sharatsundari had a good relation with Sharatkamini, the daughter of Rani Brajasundari. Rani Brajasundari used to render all sorts of help to her during her stay at Puthia. He made the arrangement of a monthly payment of Rs.100.00 for the royal family of Chota Taraf (younger side).

After becoming a widow, Rani Brajasundari stayed at the Rajbari of Puthia for some days. She stayed at Puthia at the invitation of Rani Sharatsundari on the occasion of coronation and marriage of Raja Jatindranarayan during the first half of 1861 she went to Kashi accompanying his daughter and son in law. After staying 4 or 5 months at Baluchar of Murshidabad, she started for Kashidham by train. Just after reaching Kashidham, she breathed her last there.

After the death of Rani Brajasundari, Princess Sharatkamini lived at Kashidham with her son Viswasser. Later on Viswasser was married off with Surendrabala, the daughter of Hemantakumari and left the charge of

the whole property on the three sons named Amionarayan, Shachindranarayan and Nikhileswarnaran of *Panch Ani Bara Taraf*. Till the abolition of the zamindari, the total property of *Chota Taraf* and *Bara Taraf* of *Panch Ani* was under their charge.

Three and a Half ana Raj Family (*Saretin ana Rajbansa*)

After the death of Anupnarayan his property was distributed among his four sons namely, Narendranarayan, Rupendranarayan, Madanarayan and Pranarayan.

For being the estate of Naraendranarayan, the other brothers gave up their each half of the share and the total property stood at five and a half Ana (*Sare Panch Ana*) and each brother became the owner of three and a half Ana. This distribution was completed in 1151 B.S., i.e., 1744.²¹¹

Sare Tin Ani Raj Family was evolved from Rupendranarayan Thakur (Tagore). As Rupendranarayan had no male-child, he took Rajendranarayan as his adopted son. After the death of Rupendranarayan, Rajendranarayan became the owner of his property. As the son of Madanarayan Rabindranarayan was childless, he donated one ana tree *gonda* one *Kora* and one *Kranti* share to Rajendranarayan. So the property of Rajendranarayan stood at 03 *anas* and a half plus 01 *ana* 03 *gondas* 01 *kora* 01 *ana*. Hence this Raj Family came to be known as *Char ana* Raj Family.

Rajendranarayan was an able zaminder. His skill and efficiency increased the fame of his zamindari. Being satisfied with his work the then English Government honoured him with the title Raja²¹². The other two brothers of Rajendranarayan also entrusted their property with Rajendranarayan, and so

he looked after 07 and a half Ana property including his own 04 and a half Ana. After running his administration very skillfully, he died in 1205 B.S., i.e., 1798 . Before his death he permitted his wife Suryamani to keep an adopted child.

Rani Suryamani

After the death of Rajendranarayan his widow wife Suryamani took the responsibility of the estate. She was the daughter of Harinath Sanyal. Her father Harinath Sanyal lived at Tajpur village under Singra Police Station of Natore district²¹³. She became the owner of her husband's property after the latter's death and ran his (Kurban's) zamindari with great skill.

As the Raja Rajendranarayan had no son, Rani Suryamani took Bhupendranarayan as her adopted son. When this son became adult, she did not give his adopted son the charge to look after the zamindari, and as a result there was a conflict of opinion between mother and the son. At last Bhupendranarayan lodged a case against his mother and after winning the case he took the charge of zamindari from his father.

After the death of Rajendranarayan Rani Suryamani disowned Rani Bhavani and Rani Mahamaya, the wives of Lakshminarayan from the shares of the property of their husband. So the Ranis filed a case in Rajshahi Civil Court to recover their property. When the judgment came in favour of Suryamani, the above Ranis appealed in the higher court and got back the property in the verdict of the higher court. In running this case, both the parties incurred a great financial loss. After being defeated twice in cases, Rani Suryamani left Puthia and went to Ziaganj of Murshidabad and while staying there she breathed her last.

Bhupendranarayan

Bhupendranarayan got the decree on the 25 *Aswin* of 1252 B.S., i.e., 1845 from the court and took the charge of the state in his own hand. She had two wives - Rani Shayamasundari and Rani Sarnamayee. Rani Shayamasundari begot two sons named Prasannanarayan and Pareshnarayan, and a daughter named Rai Kishari Devi. On the other hand Rani Sarnamayee gave birth to a son named Shrishnarayan. Prasannanarayan died on 24 *Shravan* in 1255 B.S., i.e., 1848. Shrishnarayan also died unmarried on 19 *Chaitra* in 1257 B.S., i.e., 1851. As Pareshnarayan was alive, he became the only heir of the property.

After taking the responsibility of the property Bhupendranarayan became sick. So he died after a few days of his taking over of the estate²¹⁴. After his death in 1847. Rani Shayamsundari and Rani Sharnamayee divided their property. No improvement is observed during the reign of Bhupendranarayan.

Raja Pareshnarayan Ray

When Bhupendranarayan died his son Pareshnarayan Ray was a minor boy. According to the prevailing law, the property went under the charge of Court of Wards and the Prince Pareshnarayan Ray had to go to Calcutta for education. Before completion of his education in Calcutta, he became adult. As a result before completing his education he had to take charge of his property (Zamindari).

He married Manamahini Devi of Ray family of Agdigha, Rajshahi. She gave birth to a son and two daughters named Jaysundari and Shibsundari. The son died just after the birth.

Raja Pareshnarayan was an enthusiast of education. He set up a Bengali junior school at Puthia in 1864. Later the school was upgraded to English School in 1868 and higher secondary English school in 1871. Besides he established schools at Kapasia, Zamira, Baneswar and many other places for the spread of education²¹⁵.

He was a sincere and plain-living Brahmin. For the proper medical treatment of his subjects he set up a charitable dispensary at Puthia.

Before his death on 07 Paush 1285 B.S., i.e., 1878, he made a Will. In his Will he empowered the Rani to take up an adopted child. Until the adopted child became adult, the charge of running the estate would remain in charge of the Rani. He sanctioned a monthly payment of Rs.1000.00 during the care-taking time.

On the 07 Paush of 1285 B.S., i.e., 1878. Raja Pareshnarayan died leaving his wife Manamahini and two daughters – Jaysundari and Shibsundari.

Like her husband Manamahini Devi had also interest in education. She donated Rs. 20,000.00 to open Law Classes in Rajshahi College²¹⁶. For the establishment of Diamond Jubilee Industrial School at Rajshahi she donated Rs.5,000.00²¹⁷. Rani Manamahini was very intelligent. She herself inspected the Royal Office. She re-excavated *Govinda Sagar* spending a lot of money. She arranged a concert at Puthia on the occasion of *Jagadhatni Puja* to give the people entertainment. Rani Manamahini died in the month of Aswin of 1308 B.S., i.e., 1901.²¹⁸

Raja Nareshnarayan Ray

After the death of Raja Pareshnarayan, Rani Manamahini took Sureshnarayan, the son of KrishnaSundar Moitra of Puthia as her adopted

child. Sureshnarayan died on 12 *Bhadra* 1304 B.S., i.e., 1897 at an early age. After the death of her adopted child, the Rani again took Nareshnarayan, the son of Maheshchandra Sharaswati of Tejnandi as another adopted child on 05 *Agrahayan* on 1304 B.S., i.e., 1897. The Rani died in *Aswin* of 1308 B.S., i.e., 1901 leaving Nareshnarayan under-aged. According to the prevailing law, the property went under the supervision of the Court of Wards. After becoming adult, he took the charge of the estate in his own hand.

Raja Nareshnarayan married Sureswari Devi, the granddaughter Raja Jagendranath of Natore younger Raj Family and second daughter of Raja Jitendranath²¹⁹. She gave birth to four daughters—Panna, Renu, Reba, Geeta. All of them were well-educated.

Raja Nareshnarayan was an educated person. He was very fond of study and he used to read many books sitting in his personal library. In his youth he was a good horse-rider and hunter. Often he hunted wild swine riding on horseback. He had also keen interest in hunting tigers. He was also not less addicted to Chess, dice and playing cards.

He was an ideal father. He married his daughters off to suitable grooms. He married off Panna to Doctor Bhupendranath Bhaduri of village Porjana of Pabna, Renu to Jaganindranath Moitra of Shitlai of Pabna, Reba to great Prince Shitansu Kumar Acharya Coudhury of Muktagacha of Mymensingh and the youngest Geeta to Ranendranath Moitra of Shitlai of Pabna²²⁰. Raja Nareshnarayan died at Maldah in his son-in-law's house in 1943 After his husband's death Rani Sureswar Devi took the responsibility of running the property. Zamindari of three half *ani* (puthia) was abolished. When the East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenently Act 1951 was passed.

Saretin ani (three and a half) Raj Family

Prananarayan, the fourth son of Anupnarayan was the founder of *Sare tinani Raj Family*. Anandanarayan was the son of Prananarayan. He was the father of four sons. The sons were Maheshnarayan, Girishnarayan, Iswarnarayan and Ishannarayan. Anandanarayan was a skilled ruler. He signed the permanent settlement with Lord Cornawalis²²¹. During his life-time the Zamindari was run smoothly. In 1122 B.S., i.e., 1715 he built a beautiful small "Shib Mandir" (temple of Shiva) at Puthia. After the death of Anadanarayan the *Sare tinani* Raj Family was divided into four equal parts. as under :

a) Bara Taraf; b) Madhyam Taraf; c) Naya Taraf; d) Chhota Taraf.

Bara Taraf

After the death of his father, Raja Maheshnarayan became the owner of one-fourth of the total property. He married Bhagavati Devi who gave birth to a daughter. Mahesnarayan was not skilled in running the zamindari. Mahesnarayan gave settlement of 17 (ganda) and a half portion of his property to various people on lease basis and kept some for the service of the gods (Debseba). He leased the rest of the property to Gopinath Sanyal, the grandfather of Maharani Sharatsundari on 23 *Aswin* of 1248 B.S., i.e., 1841 in exchange of annual Rs. 10,725²²². Afterwards, when the property was auctioned for the due of royal tax, the father of Sharatsundari Bhairabnath Sanyal bought it. In this way Mhesnarayan lost all his property during his life-time and fell in utter misery. Luxury and unskillfulness in running the Zamindari can be mentioned as the causes.

Madhyam Taraf

Raja Girishnarayan was the second son of Raja Parnanarayan. The of Raja Girishnarayan was Rameshnarayan. The son of Rameshnaryan was Baikunthananarayan²²³. Hemendranarayan was the son of Baikunthananarayan. Raja Hemendranarayan married Hemanta Kumari alias Shashimukhi²²⁴. Raja Hemendranarayan died leaving his wife and a daughter. Rani Hemanta Kumari married off her daughter Prafulla Kumari to Sri Bholanath Choudhury, the superintendent of Puthia Centre of Panchani Side. Sri Bholanath Choudhury was an educated man. He passed B.A. and was promoted to the post of the Chief Superintendent by dint of his own skill. A few years before the death of Rani Hemanta Kumari, she handed over the charge of her property to Prafulla Kumari.²²⁵

Naya Taraf

The name of the wife of Raja Iswarnarayan was Rani Ramsundari. Raja Iswarnarayan and Rani Ramsundari had three sons named Nimnarayan, Ramnarayan and Taraknarayan. After the death of Raja Iswarnarayan, his three sons became the heir of the property.

The name of the first wife of Raja Nimnarayan was Rani Sharnamayee and that of the second wife was Rani Sharatsundari. The first wife gave birth to a son and he died in infancy. Before the death of Raja Nimnarayan his first wife and son both died. After the death of the Raja the second Rani Sharatsundari became the owner of his whole property. A quarter of her property was under lease settlement. After her husband's death she took the only son of Sri Khirad Chandra Choudhury, Purnendanarayan as an adopted child²²⁶. Purnendanarayan became the sole owner of the property of Raja Nimnarayan.

The name of the son of Raja Ramnarayan was Rangeshnarayan. He married Kamalmoti. Raja Rangeshnarayan died childless leaving Rani Kamalmati. Raja Rangeshnarayan was not a successful Raja because he failed to retain his paternal property. Before his death he bequeathed his property to Rani Kamalmati through a Will. For the unskillness of the Rani the property was almost lost.

The wife of Raja Nimnarayan Rani Sharatsundari (Maharani Saratsundary and Sharatsundary was not same lady) leased her property under *mourosi* settlement to *Charani* Raja Nareshnarayan on 07 Jaistha 1317 B.S. (i.e., 1910 A.D.) at Rs. 2970 annual profit. A condition was there in the lease document that Raja Rangeshnarayan and his wife would get Rs. 900 annually from the profit during their life-time²²⁷. Rani Kamalmati passed her last days in utter sufferings. That Rs. 900 was the only means of her sustenance.

Raja Taraknarayan had two daughters and a son. The name of the son was Shibeshnarayan who died unmarried. Raja Taraknarayan married her Daughter off to Puthia. One was married to Jogendranarayan Moitra and the other was to Sharat Chandra. Due to immature death of Shibendranarayan, the wifw of Sharat Chandra PutrabatiKanya became the owner of the property. After her death the property went down to her son which again went to Sharat Chandra after the son's death. The whole property was leased to *Charani* Raja at the annual profit of Rs.2000.00²²⁸.

Chhota Taraf

Raja Ishannarayan had two wives—Rani Radhasundari and Rani Tripurasundari. The Raja had only one son named Kedarnarayan. Raja Kedarnarayan married Rani Sharnamayee. Raja Kedarnarayan had a daughter

but no son. The daughter was Princess Hemangini. Having no son Rani Sharnamayee took Jatindranarayan as an adopted son. Prince Jatindranarayan died unmarried. As a result Rani Sharnamayee became the owner of the whole property. Princess Hemangini was married off to Vinodbihari Sanyal, an Advocate of Calcutta High Court²²⁹. The Princess was the mother of two sons named Sudhirendra Kumar Sanyal and Bimalendu Kumar Sanyal. After the death Rani Sharnamayee, the two grandsons became the owners of the whole property.

Saretin ani Raj Family

Raja Madanarayan had three sons named Lakshminarayan, Mahendranarayan and Rabindranarayan²³⁰. After their father's death they divided their property in equal parts. Each got three ana and a half portion of the property:

Ek ani (one ana) Raj Family evolved from Raja Lakshminarayan. His three and a half ana portion was known as *Ek Ani*. Detailed discussion will be done about *Ek Ani* Raj Family later on.

Raja Mahendranarayan had no son. he had a daughter named Satyavama. She was married off to Ramcharan Sanyal of Puthia. After the death of Mahendranarayan, Satyavama became the owner of the whole property. Zadabendranarayn Sanyal and his son Gajendranarayan Sanyal did not look after the property. As a result expenses could not be met up from the income and most of the property went away to others. After Gajendranarayan his son Ramendranarayan became the owner of the property. Ramendranarayan had three sons named Hemendranarayan, Bhabendranarayan and Ganendranarayan. Later they became the owners of the property.²³¹

As the youngest Raja Rabindranarayan had no child, he bequeathed his three and a half ana portion to Rajendaranarayan. Rabindranarayan accepted the Vaisnab religion and this abdication of property might be inspired by this acceptance.²³²

Ek ani Raj Family

Raja Lakshminarayan had two wives named Rani Bhavani and Rani Mahamaya.²³³ The son of Lakshminarayan, Galkendra Ray took loan mortgaging his property to Rani Bhubanmayee. To repay the loan he sold out three and a quarter portion of Taluk named Dharbila. Raja Galkendranarayan married Krishnamati, daughter of Krishnachandra Sanyal of Puthia. When Raja Galkendranarayan died without leaving a son, Rani Krishnamoti took Brajendranarayan, the son of Gopi Mohan Goswami of Lachangarh as her adopted child. Brajendranarayan dies on 27 Shraban 1279 B.S., i.e., 1872.

Raja Gopalendranarayan was the son of Raja Brajendranarayan. He was a sumptuous Zamindar. He became indebted for loans. He married Rani Kumudini. The Rani begot two sons named Nripendranarayan and Khagendranarayan and a daughter named Sarajini²³⁴. He married off Sarajini to Shisir Kumar Moitra of Ataikula, Rajshahi and gave away Rs.12,000.00 for the sustenance of the daughter. Gopalendranarayan died leaving his sons, daughter and wife. His elder son Nripendranarayan was not very expert in running the zamindari. As a result being plunged into loans, he lost his property. He started to live Khagra near Murshidabad at the favour of Manindranandi, the Zamindar of Kashimbazar. He passed his B.A. with the help of Manindranandi²³⁵. In his later life, Nripendranarayan lived in the cremation yard and led his life as a begger.

The other son of Gopalendranarayan, Khagendranarayan was not at all extravagant like his predecessors. So he died leaving a small property. After his death Rani Labanna Prava became the owner of the property. Like other zamindars, this Raj Family lost its Zamindari in 1951.

Like other parts of Bengal, the Zamindars of Puthia began their zamindari from the Mughal rule and trend went on during the British rule. The zaminders of these dynasties were engaged in religious and various kinds of developmental activities. They contributed much to the growth of education but a few of these zamindars became highly educated. In religious activities the zaminders and Ranis of these dynasties contributed a lot. They built many temples at Puthia. Besides, they also built a good number of temples at Venares, Goya, Kashi, Vrindaban and bore all sorts of expenditure of these temples. They built their temporary residents in those places and donated profusely. They donated more outside their zamindari than they had donated to their own subjects. If had donated more to their subjects, they could benefit their subjects more.

In the spread of education these dynasties contributed enough. Though the patronization of education is seen less in the early zamindars, it is seen more after the rule of Rani Sharatsundari. The Maharani Sharatsundari spent a lot of money in constructing the building and walls of Rajshahi College. The Maharani Hemantakumari contributed a lot to the establishment of Sanskrit College. Afterwards, Rani Manamahini Devi and Raja Pareshnarayan became ever memorable by establishing many educational institutions in their own zamindari including Puthia.

Many of the Rajas of Puthia Raj family were addicted to wine and other bad habits and they died premature death. For the extravagance and

characteristic flaws, many lost their Zamindari and passed their lives depending on the mercy of others.

A disciplined administrative structure grew up for the running of the zamindari in the Puthia Raj family. Each sharer had separate administrative system. A strong bureaucracy emerged from there. It was found that the bureaucrats ignored many instructions of the Rajas or Ranis. Without the clearance of the bureaucrats, the Rajas or Ranis could not perform a simple job. These royal employees were greatly responsible for the family disputes. A great diversity and dissention were found in the shareholder of Puthia Raj Family and as a result a number of cases were lodged in the court. A lot of money was spent for nothing. Tussles were fought among the shareholders on silly matters. Bureaucrats were behind all these disputes. Many bureaucrats managed money from here and bought zamindari and ran their zamindari smoothly.

Above all these dynasties have lots of contribution in various developmental programmes namely, building of religious institutions and in many other welfare oriented activities that the people of this area remember with gratitude even today. After passing the East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act 1951, Zamindari of this family came to an end.

Notes and referances

1. Dharmanda Maha Bharati, *A Short History of Brahmin Rajas and Maharajas in Ancient and Modern Bengal*, Calcutta, 1906, p. 42.
2. Girish Chandra Laheri, *Maharani Saratsundarir Zibon Charit*, Calcutta, 1301, B.S. p. 7.
3. Bimala Charan Moitra, *Puthia Rajbangsha*, Calcutta, 1357 (B.S), p. 3.
4. Loc.cit.
5. Kalinath Choudhury, *Rajshahir Shankshipta Itihas*, Calcutta, 1901, p.114.
6. Moksudur Rahman, *Natorer Maharani Bhavani*, Rajshahi, 1988, p.9.
7. Dharmmananda Maha Bharati, *op.cit.* p.37.
8. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.319.
9. Loc.cit.
10. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 335.
11. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.336.
12. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.4.
13. Nurul Islam Khan (ed.) *Bangladesh Zela Gazatteer Brihattar Rajshahi*, Dhaka, 1991, p. 367; Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.122.
14. Gerish Chandra Lahiri, *op.cit.* p. 41.
15. Birmala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 4.
16. It may be assmed that after getting the estate he went to puthia with his sons.
17. Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op.cit.* p.41; Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.*, p. 122; Sri Bimal Prasad Ray et el. (ed), *Natorer Katha O'Kahini*, Calcutta, 1981, p. 61;

Kazi Muhammad Meser, *Rajshir Itihas* Vol. 2, Bogra, 1965, p. 270; Sri Bimal Prasad Ray discuss two sons of Vatsacharyya and Kazi Muhammad Meser discuss three sons of Vatsacharyya.

18. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.*, p. 53; There is much controversy about the name of Laskarkhan, (Kazi Mustafizur Rahman is his unpublished thesis entitled '*Puthia Rajbangsha Itihas O Sthapatya Karma*' Rajshahi, 1996, p.17) mentioned the name of Laskar Khan as Ala Baksh Barkhurdar Laskari or Laskar Khan, It is assumed that this pargana was named Laskarpur after his name. When he revolted, Akbar, the Great Mughal Emperor sent an army against him and he was defeated. (For detail see Mirja Nathan, *Baharistan-I- Ghayebi*, Vol. 1, translated by M. I. Barah, Gauhati, 1936, pp.123-124).
19. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p. 123; Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.15; Kazi Muhammod Meser, (Vol. 2), *op.cit.*, p. 269; Muhammad Abdus Samad, *Subarna Diner Bibarna Smriti*, Rajshahi, 1987, p.112, Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.53.
20. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.124.
21. K.C.Mitra, *Rajas of Rajshahi, Calcutta Review* Vol.56, 1873, p.2; Dharmananda Maha Bharati mention Nilambar as the founder of puthia Raj Family (Dharmananda Maha Bharati, *op.cit.* p. 37); Bimala Charan Moitra and Kalinath Choudhury mentioned that Zamindari was given to pitambar (Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 10; Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.124); Sri Girish Chandra Lahiri mentioned that Jaiger was given to pitambar and Nilambar (Sri Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op.cit.* p.42).
22. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.11.
23. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.126.
24. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp.12-13.
25. '*Varendrer Raja Zamindar*' (Henceforth *Varandrer Raja*) an article by Md. Mahabubur Rahman in *Varendra Anchaler Itihas* (ed) by Saifudding Choudhury, Rajshahi, 1998, p. 745.
26. Moksudur Rahman mentioned Zamindars of Puthia was one of the Twelve-Bhuiyas of Bengal (Md. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.*, p. 9); It is mentioned that puthia estate was founded during the reign of Akbar and at that time, Emperor

Akbar sent military expeditions again and again to suppress the rebels. Almost all the twelve independent land lords (Barobhuiyas) of Bengal were defeated in their battles with the Mughal but there is no mention of any battle with the Rajas of Puthia. It is assumed for it that the Raja of Puthia did not belong to Barobhuiyas or the twelve independent land lords of Bengal.

27. Mahabubur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 745.
- 27.(a). The Puthia family cannot be considered as one of the baro Bhuiyas because it was established by the Mughals after uprooting Laskar Khan, Jaigirdar of puthia.
28. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 61.
29. Cited in Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 61
30. Pitamber took Shelter to Ilah Boksh, After the defeat of Ilaboksh, pitamber took settlement of the whole estate, No data is available regarding the surrender of pitamber. So the matter remained in mystery.
31. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.62.
32. K.C.Mitra. *op.cit.* p.2.
33. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.13.
34. Loc.cit.
35. *Shajarbari* means combined property that can be by all the part owners.
36. Bimala Charan Moitra describes two sons of Nelambar (i) Ananda Ram and (ii) Puskara Kkha (Bimala Charan Moitra *op. cit.*, p. 14); Sri Girish Chandra Lahiri, Samar Pal and Dharmanda Maha Bharati mentioned Puskarakkha as the son of Batsacharyya. (Sri Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Samar Pal, *Tahirpur RajaVamsa*, Natore, 1990, (Henceforth Tahirpur) p. 20; Dharamananda Maha Bharati, *op. cit.*, p. 40); Bimala Charan Moitra mentioned the name of seven sons of Batsacharyya as follows; Pitambar Shrish Chandra Khan Srinath Nelambar Purandar Krishnananda Acharja. It may be ascertained from the description of Bimola Charan Moitra that Puskarakkah was not the son of Batsacharyya.
37. Samar Pal, *Tahirpur ...*, p. 20.

38. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p. 122; also Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 14.
39. Gerish Chandra Lahiri, *op.cit.* p. 43.
40. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 14.
41. K. C. Mitra, *op. cit.* p. 2; Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.*, p. 126; Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.*, p. 16.
42. K.C.Mitra, *op.cit.* p. 2.
43. Dharmananda Maha Bharati, *op.cit.* p. 38.
44. Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op.cit.* p. 43.
45. Dharmananda Maha Bharati, *op.cit.* p. 38.
46. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 16.
47. K.C.Mitra, *op.cit.* p. 2.
48. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 17.
- 48(a).Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp.5-10.
49. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.*p. 18.
50. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p. 127.
51. Dharmananda Maha Bharati, *op.cit.* p. 38.
52. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 9.
53. K.C.Mitra and Md. Moksudur mentioned that at the time of death Raja RamChandra left three sons namely Naranarayan, Darpanarayan and Jaynarayan. (K.C. Mitra, *op. cit.* p. 2; Md. Moksudur Rahman, *op. cit.* p.9; Dharamanada Maha Bharati and Bimala Charan Moitra maintained about 4 sons of Raja Ram Chandra (Dharmanda Maha Bharati, *op. cit.*p. 38; Bimala Charan Moitra, *op. cit.* p. 19) perhaps Rupnarayan died sonless before the death of his father.

54. K. C. Mitra, *op.cit.* pp. 2-3; Md. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 10.
55. Moksudur Rahman mentioned Darpanarayan was the founder of Natore Raj family. (Md. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 9) Different writers wrote that Natore Raj family originated at the time of Darpanarayan, Darpanarayan was the founder of Choupukuria family, he was never, the Raja of Puthia Kazi Mustafizur Rahman mentioned Natore Raj family was originated in the time of Naranarayan. (Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 67).
56. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 28.
57. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 29.
58. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 69.
59. Dharmananda Maha Bharatis, *op.cit.* p. 38.
60. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 30.
61. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 4.
62. As the division of estate took place in 1744 it may be assumed that he had not divided his state among his sons before he died. It is sure that the estate was divided after he had died.
63. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.30.
64. Dharamananda Maha Bharati, *op.cit.* p.41.
65. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.70.
66. Mahabubur Rahman, *Varandrer Raja* p.746.
67. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.71
68. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.35.
69. *Loc.cit.*
70. A suit was filed against Natore Raj regarding the property of Pukhuria (Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.37).

71. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.37.
72. K.C.Mitra, *op.cit.* p. 3; Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 34; Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p. 127.
73. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 34.
74. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 38.
75. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 37.
76. Jagannarayan's father and uncle were four in number. According to legal distribution the property should be divided into four equal parts but Jagannarayan gave a small portion of the property to his uncles and took the remaining large portion of the property. Later on the heissa of other two uncles did not take there legal shares but made a deed of agreement in favour of Jagannarayan. As a result three parts out of four parts of the property should be owned by him. It krishnanarayan, the son of Rupnarayan filed a law swit in the court, he might have demanded only his father's share, he could not have demanded the shares of others. Mahabubur Rahman wrote that Krishnendranarayan got the half of the property. It can not be accepted that he had got the half of the property (Md. Mahabubur Rahman, *Varendrer Raja...* p.746).
77. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 39.
78. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 40.
79. *Loc.cit.*
80. With a view to gaining the property Krishnendranarayan filed a Law swit in the civil court. But the court dismissed the case directing to properly file a law swit of ownership in the civil court. As a result Jagannarayan and Shibendranarayan made an amicable settlement on 10 *poush*, 1223 BS. According to this amicable settlement, Krishnandranarayan got the following parganas of his father's property.
81. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 41.
82. *Varendrer Raja Zamindar* an article by Shah Anisur Rahaman in *Rajshahi Parichiti*, Varendra Academy, Rajshahi, 1980, p.177; Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. Nurul Islam Khan (ed.), *Bangladesh Zela Gazetteer, Brihattar Rajshahi*, Dhaka; Kazi Muhammad Meser, *op.cit.* p. 270.

83. Dharmananda Maha Bharati, *op.cit.* p. 38., p.
84. K.C.Mitra, *op.cit.* p. 3.
85. Mahabubur Rahman *Varendrer Raja ...* p. 746.
86. *Loc.cit.*
87. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 78; In one stage Bimala Charan Moitra, said that she was the daughter of sarkar family in another stage he mentioned Chakrabarti as he father tile.
88. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 46. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 78.
89. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 46.
90. Mahabubur Rahman, *Varendrer Raja...* p. 747; Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.46.
91. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 80.
92. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 43.
93. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 44.
94. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 8.
95. Dhamanda Maha Bharati, *op.cit.* p. 39.
96. Kalinath Choudhury, *op cit.* p. 128.
97. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp. 42-43.
98. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 46.
99. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 49.
100. The date of the death of Debendranarayan, the son of Harendranarayan can not be found. During the year of the death of Harandranarayan, Durgasundari appointed gurdian of the sons of Dabendranarayan. From this fact it is assumed

that Debendranarayan, the son of Harandranarayan died in the same year of his father's death.

101. Raja Harandranarayan gave a property to Rani Durga Sundari by a registered deed with a power to sell it, on 18 Falgun, 1258 Bs; Bimala Charan Moitra, *op. cit.* p. 49.
102. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op. cit.* p. 46.
103. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op. cit.* p-47
104. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op. cit.* p. 48.
105. Loc.cit.
106. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op. cit.* p. 49.
107. Loc.cit.
108. Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op. cit.* p.55 (Foot not)
109. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op. cit.* p.49.
110. Loc.cit.
111. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op. cit.* p.85.
112. Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op. cit.* p. 40; Kalinath Choudhury, *op. cit.* p.131.
113. Kalinath Choudhury, *op. cit.* p.131.
114. Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op. cit.* p. 45; Kalinath Choudhury, *op. cit.* p.131.
115. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op. cit.* p.85.
116. Other minor (Those who did not attain majority) Zaminders were kept at Watson Institution, Calcutta for educating them.
117. Ishan Chandra sen was Baidya by cast and his residence was in Puthia.

118. *Puthia Zamindar Bangsha abang Maharani Saratsundari* an article by Md. Mahabubur Rahman in Rajshahi Association Shahita Patrika (ed.), Tasikul Islam, Rajshahi 1994 (Henceforth Maharani Saratsundari) p. 111.
- 118(a) Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp. 60, 61.
119. Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op.cit.* pp. 55-56.
120. Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op.cit.* p. 56.
121. Ibne Golam Samad, *op.cit.* p. 29.
122. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 87.
123. Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op.cit.* p. 55-56.
124. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 64.
125. *Loc.cit.*
126. *Loc.cit.*
127. Mahabubur Rahman, *Varendrer Raja.....* , p. 748.
128. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 66.
129. *Loc.cit.*; Jagendranarayan wrote in the Will “my wife has attained puberty, she is good charactered and intelligent in deed and she will be able to conduct the administration of the estate excellently and so I cherish the desire that in my absence, the movable and immovable property left by me will not go to the “Court of wards”. He realized what difficulties had to be suffered if property once went under the management of the “Court of Wards”. So he declared that his wife attained majority though she was twelve and a half and his property would not go to the ‘court of wards’ without her wish. But his mission was not fulfilled in the end as the government took his property under the management of ‘Court of Wards’ after his death.
130. At present village Tajpur is 4 miles north west of singra Police Station under the district of Natore. Once many Brahmins of aristocratic family lived there.

131. Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op.cit.* p. 18 (Foot note); Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 68.
132. Nothing could be known about the name of the eldest son. He died after attaining majority but no datum is available as to whether he got married or not.
133. Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op.cit.* p. 18; Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 68.
134. Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op.cit.* p. 18.
135. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp. 69-70.
136. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 70.
137. One day Vairabnath fined one of his Brahmin cooks. The Brahmin was sad and began to weep. Saratsundari asked him the cause of his weeping. The Brahmin informed her about the cause of weeping and he further said that he had many dependants in his house and it was difficult for him to procure the fined money. Saratsundari's heart filled with pity at the word of the Brahmin. As she had no money with her, she borrowed Rs. 5 from a retired employee of her father and gave it to the Brahmin. At the time of giving him the money she warned the Brahmin not to disclose it. But after a few days Vairabnath heard it. Vairabnath repaid the loan to the employee. There are descriptions of many events like this (Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.*, pp. 70, 71; Sri Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op.cit.*, pp. 33-34).
138. Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op.cit.* p. 39.
139. Mahabur Rahman, *Maharani Saratsundari*, p. 110.
140. In her childhood an astrologer foretold that Sarat Sundari would be a widow in her early age. So her maternal grandmother decided to give her a marriage when she would be aged. But suddenly she got a suitable bridegroom like Jagendranarayan and changed her decision. (Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.*, p.72; Kalinath Chandhury, *op.cit.* p.137).
141. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.73.
142. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp.75-76.
143. According to the tradition Hindu widow can not take food that particular night.

144. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp.78-79.
145. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.80.
146. All expressed their opinion to meet the wife of Mr. Walles the then collector of Rajshahi and she would see how intelligent Sarat Sundari was at so tender age and whether she would be able to conduct the administration of the estate, but Saratsundari thinking how she could welcome a foreigner (non-Aryan) Women, expressed her inability to to meet her. The wife of Mr. Walles at that time went to puthia, Vairabnath went to her and expressed the inability of the Rani to meet her. The wife of Mr. Walles was a very gentle lady, she heard every thing she expressed her opinion, At last Saratsundari agreed to meet her. On a fixed date Saratsundari met her inside the house of the Rajbari of Puthia. The lady was much shocked to see the sick Rani bare headed, wearing a coarse cloth. By the by, the lady expressed that in their country a girl of tender age like her was not allowed to be married, she asked why she was obeying such hard, rules at such a tender age. She also expressed that there was a custom for remarriage of a widow of a tender age. Hearing this the Rani was much shocked, tears appeared in her eyes. Seeing this condition of the Rani the lady was ashamed and bade good bye to the Rani.
147. Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op.cit.* p.82.
148. Mahabur Rahman, *Maharani Saratsundari*, p.114.
149. Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op.cit.*, p. 82; Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp.86-87.
150. Name of the teacher was Radha Mahan Sen. For detail see Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 87.
151. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 87.
152. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.96; At present Atrai is Situated in the district of Naogaon, A police station of the Naogaon district is situated on the bank of the river. At rai, there are a railway station and a hat (weekly market) here.
153. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.173; Maharani Saratsundari did not opine to this marriage. A man named Abani Mahan Bhattacharja lived for a few months in puthia, mixed with the friends of the Rajkumar and Convinced the Rajkumar to give his opinion to the marriage. As the Rajkumar agreed to marry, Hamanta Kumari could not but accept it because the Rajkumar once failed away from

home. If she did not give her opinion to the marriage, the Rajkumar might be displeased and might make a mishap. For this reason she did nothing against the will of the Rajkumar.

154. Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op.cit.* p.82; Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.87.
155. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 83; Sri Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op.cit.* p.77; It might be difficult for Saratsundari to go on foot, so thin Raja Vairabnath arranged for a palanquin but Saratsundari did not ride it, neglecting the scorching sun rays of Bhadra (Bengali month) she walked. Some times gravels and thorns pricked her feet and she could not sleep at night.
156. Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78; Bimala Charan Moitra, *op. cit.*, p. 83; Saratsundari always repented that she could not nurse her husband Jagedranarayan at the time of his death. She thought that if she went away leaving her father. She would not be able to nurse her father, too. Thinking so she did not agree to return to Puthia.
157. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.97.
158. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.135; Shah Anisur Rahaman, *op.cit.* p.177.
159. To make a conflict between the mother and the son, the father-in-law of the Raj Kumar said to the Rajkumar that the Maharani would deprive him, she would not give him the property, she would donate it and she would give it to his sister and this she would exhaust all the property. He further said that he would bring men from Dacca and would have the property given to the Rajkumar and that Maharani did not understand worldly affairs (Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.153.)
160. There was much idle talk among the employees and the common people of the Zamindar house about the will. The Maharani herself neither knew anything of the will nor she tried to know it. The Maharani herself was unwilling to conduct the administration of the property. The Raj Kumar kept the matter of the will secret lest the Maharani knew about the will after the death of the Raj Kumar.
161. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.158; It is mentioned in respect of revenue that s. 25455 and annas 7 and pies 3 and the amount was said to be equal to Rs. 21000.00 after deduction. But it was incorrect, the actual amount after deduction is equal to Rs. 2000.00
162. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp. 158-159.

163. The Rajkumar mixed with some dishonest persons and became dishonest and he was addicted to drinking. He was not present at the hour of departure of the Maharani. The Maharani started for Isabpur by palanquin. The Rajkumar returned home and heard that Maharani had already started her journey. He at once set out riding a horse and reached the palanquin of the Maharani. He had the palanquin got down and fell on the lap of the Maharani in *olrunkard* condition. The Maharani consoled her much and persuaded him to go home.
164. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp. 153-163.
165. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 163.
166. The Maharani loved Hamanta Kumari, her daughter-in-law as like as her own daughter and the daughter-in-law also loved her mother-in-law as like as her own mother, In the absence of the son two parties were created, one party conspired against the other party. The Maharani could not tolerate it.
167. Bimala Charan Maitra, *op.cit.* pp. 164-166; The father of Hemantakumari tried to backbite against Maharani Saratsundari even when her son was alive, but failed perhaps at his instigation Hemantakumari did not come to puthia.
168. She was so much angry that after returning from the pilgrimage she did not go to Zamindar house but stayed in the house of Vairabnarayan and some times lived in her father's house. At last when she was ill and was confined to bed, she came to the Zamindar house at the request of all.
169. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp. 166-167.
170. Shah Anisur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 177; Sri Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op.cit.* p. 136; Muhammed Abdus Samad, *op.cit.* p. 117.
171. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp. 131-134.
172. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 155.
173. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp.132-133; Maharani used to purchase straw at Rs. 4 per bundle and distributed amongst the flood affected people.
174. Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op.cit.* pp.92-95.

175. Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op.cit.* p.93.
176. Girish Chandra Lahiri, *op.cit.* pp.93-94.
177. Kazi Muhammad Meser, *op.cit.* p. 177; Muhammad Abdus Samad, *op.cit.*, p. 83.
178. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp.141-142.
179. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp.171,172,190.
180. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.172.
181. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.103.
182. It is guessed that Bhuban Mahan Ray did not have financial ability to spend money at the marriage in the Rajafamily, and perhaps because of this he brought his daughter to Puthia (The expenditure at the marriage has already been discussed).
183. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.104.
184. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp.174,175.
185. As the Maharani herself bore the maintenance cost of the garden house of Durgakundu, it can not be imagined that she would not spend money at the ceremony of 'Anna prasan' (The ceremony of giving rice for the first time) of her only grand daughter Rajkumari Surendra Bala. Bhuban Mahan made the propaganda to defame the Maharani and to make Hamanta kumari angry with the Maharani Sartsundari.
186. Hamanta Kumari's Father's side requested Sri Girish Chandra Lahiri, the Zamindar of Kashim pur (Rajshahi) and came to Rajshahi with her group in Chaitra, 1293 Bs and Girish Chandra Lahiri consulted Bhuban Mahan Moitra, the famous lawyer of Rajshahi and met the white skinned authority. At last the collector was convinced and the wife of the collector was brought to meet the Badhurani. Because of the reputation and influence of Ray Bahadur, favourable circumstance was created for the BadhuRani; For detailed see Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp.181-183.
187. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.105.

188. Mahendra Sanyal was a paid law year of 5 *ana* (the honour of part) side previously. After gaining the power by Hemanta Kumari, his pay was stopped from the Rajestate. As a law year of Rajfamily Knew many information of the Raj family. Many people think that it was Mahendra Babu who persuaded Jaynath to file a Law suit.
189. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp.186-187.
190. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.228.
191. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp.228-229.
192. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* pp.107, 108.
193. Rajshahi College Annul report 1933, pp.34-35; Muhammad Ahdus Samad, *op.cit.* p.177.
194. Rajshahi College Annul report 1933, pp.34-35.
195. Later on the College was closed in 1963 because the number of students decreased. At present in Rajshahi college, the department of Sanskrit is in Vogue. The building which was constructed is situated on the north east corner of Rajshahi collegiate school.
196. Muhammad Abdus Samad, *op.cit.*, p.117; At present the hustel is Known as Maharani Hemantakumari Hindu Hostel and it is situated at the western side of Rajshahi College Library.
197. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.108.
198. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.230.
199. Muhammad Abdus Samad, *op.cit.* p. 117; Kazi Muhammad Meser, (Vol. 1), *op.cit.*, p. 149.
200. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.266.
201. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.107.
202. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.207.

203. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p.263.
204. The Khan Zamindari of Puthia emerged during the tenure of Maharani Bhubonmayee. She gave her daughter in marriage to khan family and contributed a lot of property and there after the family of Khan Zamindar was founded in Puthia, (Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 45).
205. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 277.
206. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp. 41, 50.
207. There was a clash at Junadaha, a village belonged to the estate of Ratan Babu, the Zamindar of Narail with Puthia estate and Narail estate and 14 persons were killed.
208. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp. 41, 52.
209. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp. 41, 51.
210. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p. 128. Saratsundari bore all expenses happily to enable the family of Vairabnarayan to live comfortably in the pilgrimage and she also bore all the expenses for maintaining the family.
211. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 30.
212. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 284.
213. *Loc.cit.*
214. Before his death Raja Bhupendranarayan directed to divide his estate among his 3 sons equally and he also directed to give Rs. 100/- from every portion that is a total sum of Rs. 300.00 to his only daughter Rai Kishari Devi. Pareshnarayan became the only inheritor of the property as the other two sons died unmarried.
215. Shah Anisur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 177; Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 287.
216. Kazi Muhammad Meser, *op.cit.*(Vol. 1) p. 116.
217. Kazi Muhammad Meser, *op.cit.* (Vol. 1), p. 127.

218. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 288.
219. *Loc.cit.*
220. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 122.
221. K. C. Mitra, *op.cit.* p. 3; K. C. Mitra mentioned Anandanarayan as the oldest person of Puthia Raj family and he also mentioned that the settlement for 10 years was made with him.
222. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp. 289-290.
223. No remarkable datum is available of the said few Rajas. It does not appear that they had any remarkable achievement.
224. Maharani Hemantakumari and Hemanta Kumari alias Shashimukhi, the wife of Harendranarayan were not the same person.
225. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 319.
226. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp. 290-291.
227. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 291.
228. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* pp. 211, 292.
229. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 292.
230. Kazi Mustafizur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 217.
231. *Loc.cit.*
232. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 292.
233. Wife of Lakshinarayan named Rani Bhavani and Maha Rani Bhavani of Natore was not the same.
234. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 294.
235. Bimala Charan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 295.