Preliminary Ethnographic Findings- Discovery of A Local Purana- Durgarchanakalpamanjari- Surviving Tangible and Intangible Heritage¹

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Abstract: Nestled amidst the district of Paschim Mednipur in West Bengal in India- also known as West Mednup- are the two adjoining villages of Purushottampur (previously known as- Baliharpur) (J L No. 59) and Radhakrishnapur. The villages come under Daspur Police Station of the district. Otherwise resembling any other villages in the region, a very specific fact however makes them distinguished. They harbor a significant aspect of material culture and intangible heritage- a local Purana- Durgarchanakalpamanjari- that was written by Banibhushan Bhattacharya (earlier Chattopadhyay)² – of a local Brahmin family- by the surname of Bhattacharya from the village of Baliharpur. Following his hand-written manuscript, a specific form of Durga puja was initiated by Banibhushan- which included the idol to be represented with eighteen hands- Astadasabhujya and this puja still continues at present in the family. Though the exact date of the manuscript remains undeciphered, however oral traditions and local and family lore, ascertains a date to belong some time in the second quarter of 16th century. This paper looks into the survival, sustenance of worship and present living traditions in the region- which also helps in highlighting important historical facts pertaining to the spread and popularity of Vaishnavism in the region. The paper is based on an extensive field-work conducted in the two villages of Baliharpur and Radhakrishnapur in Paschim Mednipur (West Mednipur) district of West Bengal, India- across 2012-2013 and 2015.

Keywords: Discovery local Purana Durgarchanakalpamanjari, West Bengal, Sakta cult, Vaishnavism.

1. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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The present paper highlights a preliminary finding- a discovery of a local Purana from West Bengal- Durgarchanakalpamanjari. The paper is based on an extensive field-work conducted in the two villages of Baliharpur and Radhakrishnapur in Paschim Mednipur (West Mednipur) district of West Bengal, India across 2012-2013 and 2015.

The Preliminary Report is Divided into the Following Sections

- The village- geographical location and mention in local text
- The connection- local zamindar patronage and Banibhushan Bhattacharya’s beginning
- The manuscript- Durgarchanakalpamanjari
- Conclusions from the preliminary findings
- Parallel connections of Astadasabhujya
- Tantric influence
- Dating Durgarchanakalpamanjari

¹ Based on a extensive fieldwork conducted across 2012-2013 and 2015 in Purushottampur (original name- Baliharpur) and Radhakrishnapur villages, under Daspur Police Station, Paschim Mednipur district (West Mednipur) of West Bengal, India.
2. The Village- Geographical Location and Mention in Local Text

The present study mainly concerns two villages in India in the district of Paschim Medinipur in West Bengal in India- also known as West Medinipur. These are the two adjoining villages of Purushottampur (old name- Baliharpur) and Radhakrishnapur. In all official documents, there is no name listed as Baliharpur, but is mentioned as Purushottampur (J L No. - 59). The two villages come under Daspur Police Station of the district and Ghatal sub-division (22° 40’ 12” N, 87° 43’ 12” E (22.67, 87.72). Geologically, the region is composed of red laterite soil. Daspur is surrounded by the three rivers- Rupnarayan (approx. - 15 kms), Silabati (approx. 5-6 kms) and Kangsabati (approx. 10 kms). Thus, the three rivers encircle the villages as a triangle. Both the villages were badly affected by a severe flood in 1978- especially Baliharpur. This flood took place just prior to Durga puja (coinciding with the months of September-October according to the Roman calendar and Ashwin according to the Bengali agricultural calendar) and thus that specific year also marked a tough time for the puja that followed- the region being partly submerged under torrential water- which receded only after a period of seven days.

As the names of the village differ, there is some ambiguity with its reference across oral traditions. The village has been mentioned as Purushottampur in an ancient manuscript- a version of Kasiram Das’s Mahabharata (dated to 1782 AD) and locally found in the zaminder family in present times. The text has the inscribed names of Bhagabaticharan Ray and Nandakumar Ray- who were the local zamindars and also- respectively- the Nayab and Diwan of the king of Burdwan- Tejchandra. On the other hand, two different local manuscripts (dated to later periods- 1857 and 1859- also a part of the zaminder family) - speaks of the place as Baliharpur. This has also been pointed out by Tripura Basu in her work. Thus, it can be assumed that by the time of the second half of 19th century- the village was already referred to by the name Baliharpur and the rechange of the name might have been a more recent phenomenon- which refers to it as Purushottampur. Because of its originality, this paper will refer to the village by its old name- Baliharpur.

3. The Connection- Local Zamindar Patronage and Banibhushan’s Beginning

The early place of residence of the Bhattacharya family is unknown, but since Banibhushan was a priest/purohit at the house of the local zaminder- Ray family, it is popularly known through family lore that the contemporary zamindars helped him and his family to settle down in the village when they first arrived. Mentions Tripura Basu, the village had their own zaminder established under the auspices of the king of Burdwan- Tejchandra (1764-1832 AD). At this time, the zamindars were- Bhagabaticharan Ray and Nandakumar Ray- of the Ray family.

The Durga puja of this local Ray zaminder family is a little earlier than 250 years old and at that time the family purohit was Banibhushan himself. It can also be assumed that after settling down in the village and being appointed a purohit at the zaminder family, Banibhushan started the puja himself in the zaminder family- following the tradition in his own family. Thus, the structural similarity of the idols- excepting the fact that the zamindars remained to be Vaisnavas and Banibhushan remained a Sakta.

Thus, if the Bhattacharya family settled in the village with the help from Bhagabaticharan Ray and later Nandakumar Ray and started their Durga puja, then the family can be stated to be a little more than 250 years old in the village of Baliharpur. On the other hand, family lore ascribes the present generation to be the 14th generation conducting the puja- thus, roughly ascribing the puja to be around 700 years old. Also, the family lore of both the twin villages of Baliharpur and Radhakrishnapur begins with a same and single person- Banibhushan and Banikantha- respectively- which is locally referred to as the same person. Thus, it can also be assumed that the family of Banibhushan had formerly settled down in Radhakrishnapur- before coming over to Baliharpur.

4. The Manuscript- Durgarchanakalpamanjari

Durgarchanakalpamanjari is written in Sanskrit in praise of goddess Durga and explains details of rites and rituals, structure and architecture of the deity and the puja that should be performed during Durga puja in the month of Aswina (September- October). The deity is represented with 18 hands-
Astadasabhuja. She is also represented as a warrior goddess and presides over both malevolent and benevolent forces of death and birth. The deity reflects heavy Tantric influences as she is referred to sit on a Pancamundi asana (i.e. seat or platform made up of the heads of five people who have suffered accidental deaths including- a Brahmin, a Candal- a low caste untouchable, a tiger, a Krsna sarpa- Black snake and a black cat).

Of the various forms of Durga puja, this particular deity follows the tradition of the Navamadikalpa (that extends from the day of Krsna Navami till Sukla Navami in the month of Aswina) and the rituals, especially the eulogies or slokas follow the pattern as is mentioned in Durgarchanakalpamanjari. The anthropomorphic representation of the goddess is in a warrior guise and she variously holds in her eighteen hands- (in the nine hands on the right) trisul (trident), mudgar (club), kharga (a concave shaped weapon), shul (a weapon shaped like a needle), bajra (thunderbolt), ankus (a stick with a sharp and pointed v-shaped head, used especially to goad elephants), shar (arrow), cakra (discus) and salaka (piece of small and thin piece of wood- like a matchstick) and (in the nine hands on the left) kapalpatra ( liquor drinking vessel), ghetok, ghanta (bell), darpan (mirror), tarjani (index finger), dhwaja (flag), dhanuk (bow), damru (a percussion instrument) and pas (noose).

The original manuscript, written by Banibhusan, was written on palmleaf. However, this piece of manuscript was destroyed in the 1978 flood in Bengal- which affected the village of Baliharpur village - especially overflowing with the water from the river Rupnarayan. However, the content of the manuscript was saved as according to family traditions- as it was hand-copied into a booklet in 1949 by a judicious family member- Bhabesh Chandra Bhattacharya. The family, eversince-continues with the tradition of copying from the old manuscript to preserve the tradition. The very first hand-copied version of the original manuscript still survives. All future hand-copied versions of the manuscript however follow the same tradition- initiated 63 years ago by Bhabesh Chandra Bhattacharya- as all the versions maintain the trend of mentioning the recent ancestors (both living and deceased) at the beginning. Thus, the top of the manuscript mentions the name of Bhabesh Chandra’s late father- Ramesh Chandra Bhattacharya. Very recently, another handmade copy of this five decade-old manuscript was made by the present generation who resides in the village- for regular use during puja. The old manuscript of Bhabesh Chandra- remains tied and wrapped-up in the almirah locker in the house.

4.1. Conclusions from the Preliminary Findings

Thus, this Astadasabhuja representation of the goddess forms a significant part of the local tangible as well as intangible heritage that speaks of the socio-cultural and religious history of the region. The examples of local Purana is particularly important as Manasamangalkavya from Bengal, dated to about 15th century is one of the latest examples of Purana from Bengal in India. The author feels, thus lies the significance of Durgarchanakalpamanjari- as an important part of history- which highlights important sections of history- which is often left in oblivion.

5. PARALLEL CONNECTIONS OF ASTADASABHUJA

The Purana has a mention of the Devi with eighteen hands- Ugracandi. This is mentioned in Kalika Purana- as the first phase of evolution or incarnations of the Dasabhuja form of Durga. Kalika Purana also mentions the various incarnations of Mahisa- the asura who is finally slayed in the form of Mahisasura by Dasabhuja Durga. According to the lore in Kalika Purana- in Mahisa’s first incarnation, he has all the vices that he had got from his father Rambha, including lust. By changing form, Mahisa transforms himself into a young nymph and attempts to seduce Randrasava who is a disciple of the sage Risi Kattyayana. The great sage is so outraged by this act that he curses Mahisa to die at the hands of a woman. Thus, Durga manifests herself as the 18-handed Ugracandi incarnation and slays Mahisa. Interestingly enough, there is a popular deity in Nepal of Ugracandi- where Devi is seen to slay Mahisasura.

6. TANTRIC INFLUENCE

The Astadasabhu Durga of Baliharpur and Radhakrishnapur is offered sacrifices- of five vegetables or one goat on three days- Astami, Sandhipuja (the time between Astami and Navami) and Navami- i.e. the eight and ninth days (of the duration of the 10 day of Durga Puja) and the time between the two days of the ten-day period of Navratri. The number, as is the case with most sacrifices has to be an
odd one- thus, the number of objects for sacrifice include items in the numbers- 1, 3 or 5. However, after the 1978 flood, goat sacrifices at Baliharpur came to a halt and have not been revived till date, but are offered vegetable sacrifice instead- in the number of five- which generally includes local produce, e.g. cucumber, sugarcane, Indian pomelo, jambir lemon (lemon of India) and watermelon. However, the deity in the village of Radhakrishnapur continues with the tradition of goat sacrifices during Durga puja.

Both the deities are also believed and mentioned in the text to be sitting on a *Pancamundi asana*-comprising of the heads of a Brahmin, a *Candal*- a low caste untouchable, a tiger, a *Krshna sarpa*- Black snake and a black cat. Sitting on similar *asana* to perform meditation is often seen as an imperative necessity for people worshipping Sakti according to the Tantrik form of worship. Such ferocity as reflected through Tantrik mode of worship is not unknown from history. An important example can be cited with reference to the Sakta devotee- Ramkrisna Paramhans from Bengal. He used to sit on a *Pancamundi asana* in Dakshineswar temple (close to the city of Kolkata) in West Bengal for meditation. This spot- still survives as a historical location and is called as The *Panchavati*. A group of five trees— referred to as standing from the time of Ramkrisna Paramhans- still stands as a testimony of these rituals.

**7. DATING DURGARCHANAKALPAMANJARI**

Banibhushan was a Sakta by faith. He maintained his faith inspite of the mass-popularity of Vaisnavism under the influence of Chaitanya in the region. A devout Sakta- it is possible that the puja was started at an earlier location and as the family moved into its new locale in Baliharpur, it continued its tradition. A popular family lore- which even echoes in the present generation explains-how Banibhushan wrote the manuscript as an answer to Caitanya’s response and the mass conversion to Vaisnavism especially in the region of Medinipur. Also, the family lore of both Baliharpur and Radhakrisnapur begins with a person- Banibhushan and Banikantha- respectively- who are also stated to the names of the same person On the other hand, the puja of Radhakrisnapur is said to be older than that of Baliharpur- thus, it can also be assumed that the family had formerly settled down in Radhakrisnapur- before coming over to Baliharpur.

The Durga puja of this local Ray zamindar family is a little earlier than 250 years old and at that time the family purohit was Banibhushan himself. It can also be assumed that after settling down, Banibhushan started the puja himself in the zamindar family- following the tradition in his own family. Thus, the structural similarity of the idols- excepting the fact that the zamindars remained to be Vaisnavas and Banibhushan remained a Sakta.

Thus, if the Bhattacharya family settled in the village with the help from Bhagabaticharan Ray and later Nandakumar Ray and started their Durga puja, then the family can be stated to be a little more than 250 years old in the village of Baliharpur. On the other hand, family lore ascribes the present generation to be the 14th generation conducting the puja- thus, roughly ascribing the puja to be around 700 years old.

Thus, taking both the facts into consideration- i.e. - the family lore of the response to Caitanya and the 14th generation conducting the puja- the manuscript can be stated to belong- around- second half of 16th century- after the period of Caitanya (1486–1534) - when the region- under the influence of Caitanya’s Vaisnavism- saw many conversions in the region.

Though further confirmation is needed, but according to the preliminary findings, the Purana can also be stated to fit into the bracket of a much later version of the Uttarakhanda of Brihaddharma Purana6. However, the manuscript particularly deals with Sakti- through the mention of the worship of Durga and the performance of the puja according to the Navamadi Kalpa- a fact which on the other hand- cuts out from the main thread of Uttarakhanda. Thus, from the preliminary findings, I would rather suggest the manuscript to be an offshoot of the Brihaddharma Purana- which eulogises the powers of Sakti- and corresponds to the same timeperiod.

As Banibhushan was the family priest of the zamindars- the Ray family, the responsibility of the Durga puja of the zamindar family was also borne by him after he settled down in the village. It is interesting to note that both the architecture, colour and posture of the two deities- of the Bhattacharya family as well as the Ray zamindar family looks similar, excepting the fact that one is worshipped with eighteen hands, while the other with ten. Apart from that, structurally, there is no difference
between the two. Both are worshipped with the offsprings of the deity and placed under the same chalchitra (backdrop) - referred to as ek-chalar protima. At present, from preliminary findings, it is also difficult to ascertain whether the zamindar family was influenced by the pattern and structure of the deity that the Bhattacharya family built, or vice versa, but to my knowledge, the first option seems a more probable answer as the zamindars are more likely to follow the Brahmin pundit who was given the responsibility to perform puja.

8. VAISNAVISM IN THE REGION AND ASTADASABHUJA OF DURGARCHANAKALPAMANJARI

It is also important to consider - if the pundit influenced the structure of the idol, why the image remained to be Dasabhuja and not Astadasabhuja? The answer to this could lie in the fact that the zamindars were already devout Vaisnavas and the pundit's family was Sakta when they settled down in the village. The local Caitanya temple was also built under the patronage of the local zamindars2, thus reflecting the state religion. The zamindars were patrons of Vaisnavism and continued as worshippers of Radha-Krisna- also reflected through their Raas Mancha that still stands at the entrance of the Ray house in present times. On the other hand, Banibhushan, enjoying the popularity and respect of the priest/purohit of the family, continued being a Sakta- the worshippers of the Devi- which was reflected through their Astadasabhuja idol.

It is also interesting to note - as is the case in most villages across Radh region (the western part of Bengal) - the official religion or the religion pursued and followed by the king or a zamindar of a region was often different from the popular religion of the village. This is also the case with the present villages of Baliharpur and Radhakrishnapur and the Astadasabhuja. The two villages continue to reflect the popular deities of the region even in present times- as reflected through the extensive worship of Sitala, Kali and Manasa in the two villages. Thus, Durgarchanakalpamanjari - being a manuscript that eulogises the Sakti or Devi or the Goddess- did not find much hindrances of being accepted within the socio-cultural and religious folds of the villagers as well as the zamindar- a fact that is reflected even in present times.

9. THE REFLECTION THROUGH THE LOCAL PATACHITRA PAINTERS OR PATUAS

The socio-cultural and religious acceptance of the Astadasabhuja of the Bhattacharya family is also reflected through the local painters- the patuas or the pattidar communities- who have an elaborate folklore and Patachitra to eulogise the Astadasabhuja Durga idol from very old times. It is also important to note that the Patachitra songs eulogising the Astadasabhuja image narrates a story of migration and resettlement and finding favour and acceptance in the local king through blessings of the Devi in the form of Kamale-kamini (i.e. sitting on a lotus).8 The Dasabhuja idol of Durga is drawn only to fulfill public demands and mostly for selling in markets in Kolkata and other places of India, as well as abroad. Thus, some of the old scroll paintings still survive in some of the patua families and the song and pictures of Astadasabhuja image of the goddess continues to reside in the houses of the patuas. Albeit, the market demands of the same is not as much as that of the Dasabhuja Patachitra.

As an anthropologist, the author generally refrains from using the term ‘dying culture’ – following the sentiments that it imparts a rather pessimistic view towards the world of tangible as well as intangible heritage. The author prefers to use the term- lesser known traditions rather and thus attempts to address the tradition of Durgarchanakalpamanjari in the same manner. The Durga puja at present, is supported by the descendants of the first cousins of the family (of a different surname) who are residents of the village and the financial support is provided by the main descendants who live in other parts of India (and still near the family surname- Bhattacharya) - however, financial constraints has reduced the grandeur of the puja with time. The puja is still performed in the name of the main Bhattacharya family even though they do not reside there physically.

Forming an important part of the local heritage, Durgarchanakalpamanjari is significant enough to throw light on the socio-cultural and religious changes not only in the villages studied, but the entire region as well. Carrying forth a significant message of cultural continuity, a further study of the text and the various rites and rituals associated within the specific Durga puja is important thus, to highlight a historical understanding of the region. As the work continues, the author expects to specifically highlight important aspects of this historiography, which will aid in a better understanding of the changes and developments of the history of the region till present times.
Figures:

**Fig1.** The location of Medinipur district in West Bengal (India) (courtesy- see reference)

**Fig2.** The location of Ghatal subdivision- marked in red (courtesy- see reference)

**Fig3.** Durgaranakalpamanjari- first page- of the copy done by Late Bhabesh Chandra Bhattacharya in 1949. Also shows the name of his father- Late Ramesh Chandra Bhattacharya (Courtesy copyright author’s own collection)
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Fig.4. The Astadasabhuja Durga of Radhakrisnapur, Paschim Mednipur (Courtesy- copyright- author’s own collection)

Fig.5 and 6 the Astadasabhuja Durga of Baliharpu, Paschim Mednipur (Courtesy- copyright- author’s own collection)

Fig.7 and 8 The yupakastha used for goat sacrifices. On the left is the one that is still in use at Radhakrisnapur and on right is the old one from Baliharpu which has not been used since 1978 flood. (Courtesy- copyright- author’s own collection)
Fig9. And the sacrificial temporary alter built every year since 1978 to sacrifice fruits and vegetables in odd numbers of 1, 3 or 5. (Courtesy- copyright- author’s own collection)

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Specialising in oral traditions, rural and urban culture and media, her work is mostly based on ethnographic explorations and the survival of traditions amidst changing perspectives and times. She has published with many international journals, including- SAARC Journal (SAARC Centre, Sri Lanka), Indian Folklore Research Journal (of National Folklore Support Centre, India), Loukik (India) and Heritage and Us and Folklore and Folkloristics (e-journals)- amidst others. With 10 years of teaching experience at various undergraduate and postgraduate institutes in Kolkata and Pune and over 12 years of experience as a journalist (with leading Indian English dailies, including- The Indian Express, The Times of India, The Statesman, SakalTimes, and also Citadel, New Global Indian (NGI) and Heritage India magazines). She is also in the Board of Editors of four international journals related to Anthropology, Sociology, Culture Studies and Archaeology. Her first work of fiction (short stories, English)-It Happened One Night and Other Stories was released at the Kolkata International Book Fair (2007), followed by a praiseworthy review in The Statesman (2007).

ENDNOTE

1 Banibhushan’s original surname was Chattopadhyay and Bhattacharya was a gifted surname to the family later on by the zamindar- probably at a time when they settled down in the present village of Baliharpur. Since oral traditions as well as most of the villagers and family member still refer to him as Bhattacharya, this paper uses the surname Bhattacharya while addressing Banibushan.

2 Tripura Basu in her article Biriralritir Durgapratima Astadasabhuja- (In Bengali magazine- Saptahik Bartaman-np-17, issue- September 13, 1997)

3 Ibid


5 These trees are- Banyan, Vilva, Aamla, Ashoka, and the Peepal

6 The Brihaddharma Purana (Sanskrit: ब्रह्मदर्श पुराण, Br haddharma Purāṇa) is a Hindu religious text, which classified itself (I.25.26) as the last of the 18 Upapuranas. The extant text comprises three khaṇḍas (parts): pūrvakhaṇḍa, madhyakhaṇḍa and uttarakhaṇḍa. On the basis of its usage of Sanskrit words with unusual meaning and Sanskrit proverbs popular in Bengal, a number of modern scholars believe that this text was written in Bengal. According to R. C. Hazra, a modern scholar, this text was composed in the second half of the 13th century. He classified it as a non-sectarian Upapurana.

7 The Caitanya temple was built at a period prior to the migration of the Bhattacharya family into the village-according to family lore.

8 The patachitra story of Astadasabhuja of Baliharpur narrates the story of Sreemanta- which is also from the local text- Candimangal Kavya (last quarter of 18th century). Salibahan, the King of Singhal, could not understand the miracle of a woman sitting on a lotus in the water of Kalidah. One day Dhanapati disciple of Shiva told Salibahan that he had seen the woman sitting on a lotus in the black water of Kalidah. Salibahan said if he could show him- he would gift him half of the kingdom, but in case he failed- all his property would be seized. Dhanapati failed and was imprisoned on the charges of telling a lie. In the meantime a child was born to Dhanapati’s wife Khullana. The child was named Sreemanta. News came that all the six boats of Dhanapati had been drowned and Dhanapati himself was traceless. Sreemanta grew up. Maid servant Durbala conspired with Bachaspati and instigated Lahana (the other wife of Dhanapati) to throw out Khullana. Dhanapati had left a letter before leaving for his trip in which he mentioned about the pregnancy of his wife Khullana and accepted his fatherhood. However, Lahana concealed this letter and threw out Khullana and Sreemanta out of the house on charges of being an unfaithful wife. Both took shelter in a hut which was attempted to be burned down by Durbala and Bachaspati. However, by god’s grace both were saved. The people of the country all protested
against Lahana's attitude. So Lahana brought Khullana and her son back. Sreemanta also witnessed the same scene as was witnessed by his father- a woman sitting on a lotus in the water of Kalidah. He too reported the scene to the king and like his father, failed to show the same to the king. He was also put to prison by the king where he met his father and was sentenced to death. In the meanwhile, princess Sushila informed Dhanapati in the jail about her father- the king’s cruel intentions and when Dhanapati finally got to know the name of Sreemanta’s father- he was overjoyed. The next morning, when the execution of Sreemanta was about to take place and the executioner came to take Sreemanta to the execution ground-Dhanapati started praying to Lord Siva and Devi and the Devi appeared with eighteen hands and Dhanapati and Sreemanta were freed and were united with a very happy Khullana.