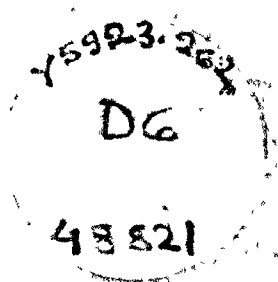


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THE BRAHMAN'S AND KAYASTHAS OF BENGAL.

BY
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TO

Dr. G. A. GRIERSON, Ph.D., C.I.E., I.C.S , (retired

FOR

HIS KIND PATRONAGE

TO

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE present work purports, in a brief compass, to be a national history of the two great castes, Brahmans and Kayasthas, which form the bulk of the educated population of Bengal. It is an endeavour to explore a field left still untouched by Oriental scholars, and my researches have resulted in exploding the traditional structure of the ancient chroniclers of Bengal, which was a stumbling-block to many renowned antiquarians.

I have shown that A'di S'ur can be no other than the Great A'ditya Sen ; I have proved beyond doubt that Ballál Sen or any of the Sen Kings can never be the author of Kulinism in Bengal as is still universally believed.

I have arrived at the conclusion that the system of Kulinism originated first in Mithila whence it was imported to Bengal and developed during the Pathan rule, not for the creation of a noble breed as is universally supposed, but for the protection of the powers-that-be,

the metamorphosed Hindus. I have described at length the fictitious origin and the pernicious effect of this vicious system, and if my appeal touches the hearts of my patriotic countrymen and an earnest and zealous movement is set on foot to eradicate it, I will consider my labours amply rewarded. I gladly invite any fair and impartial criticism on the subject dealt with in this little work.

HUTWA RAJ, DIST. SARAN, BENGAL, <i>10th August, 1906.</i>	}	GIRINDRA NATH DUTT.
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Contents.



CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY OF BENGAL.

Bengal as described in ancient writings and ancient divisions of Bengal. King Adi Sur and the performance of his alleged Vedic sacrifice. Invitation of Brahmans and Kayasthas from Kanouj. Description of the immigrants. Contradictory statements. Settlement of the immigrants. Further Migrations. Multiplication of Brahman Immigrants. Page 1—15.

CHAPTER II.

ADISUR AND HIS IDENTIFICATION DISCUSSED.

Dr Rajendra Lal's theory. Statements of ancient chroniclers contradictory, Messrs Beveridge's, Batabyal's, Bose's and Sastri's views criticised, Identification of Adisur with Aditya Sen and the evidences in support; Bengal never an out-and-out Buddhist country. The immigrants were refugees and not guests in Bengal, Tradition of the Paschatya Vaidik Brahmans and the historical facts deduced from it; Classifications alleged to have been made by the successors of Adi Sur. Page 16—32.

CHAPTER III.

BENGAL UNDER BALLA'L SEN.

North India before the advent of the Páls. Bengal conquered by the Pál King, Dharma Pál. Religious toleration of the Pál Kings. Ballál Sen and his reputed Kulinism. Kulinism defined. His despotism and immoral character according to the tradition of the chroniclers. Territorial division of Bengal. Page 32—41.

CHAPTER IV.

DEFENCE OF BALLAL SEN'S CHARACTER.

Ballál can never be the author of Kulinism. Testimony of the inscriptions and Adbhut Sagar. Kulinism originated during the Pathan rule. Page 42—54.

CHAPTER V

THE SYSTEM OF KULINISM HAS ITS REAL HOME IN
MITHILA (TIRHUT)

History of the origin of Kulinism in Mithila. Evidences to prove the importation of Kulinism from Mithila to Bengal. The Kulin Kayasthas of Bengal are not descendants of any individual immigrants. Page 55—69.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF MITHILA (TIRHUT).

Opinions of Bendall, Hodgson, Sastri, Pischel, Metcalfe and Rajendra Lala discussed. Page 70—79.

CHAPTER VII.

BENGAL UNDER LAKSHMAN SEN AND HIS
SUCCESSORS.

Discussion on the organisation attributed to Lakshman Sen. Bengal not conquered by the Mohamedans in Lakshman Sen's time. Opinions of Sastri, Bose, Marshman and Chakrabarty refuted. The charge of cowardice against the Bengali nation refuted. Circumstances leading to the conquest of Bengal. India under paramount powers. Absence of a paramount power and the rise of small independent rival principalities are the real cause of the downfall of India. Page 80—105.

CHAPTER VIII.

DEVELOPMENT OF KULINISM AMONG THE BRAHMAN

Danauj Madhav and his re-organisation. Duttakhas and his re-organisation. Devivar and his great re-organisation. The system of Kulinism assuming the garb of a philosophical system. Development of Kulinism among the Kayasthas. Danauj Madhav Parmananda. Classifications of the Bangaj Kayasthas. The Barindra Kayasthas and their classifications. Bhrigunandi. The Utter Radhi Kayasthas and their classifications. The Dakshin Radhi Kayasthas and their divisions and subdivisions. Poorander Khan. Page 105—124.

CHAPTER IX

A REVIEW OF THE FOREGONE TWO CHAPTERS

Mr. Bose's identification of Danauj Madhav with Nauja. Its refutation. Danauj had no hand in the organisation attributed to him. A historical problem solved in the Ain-i-Akbari. Philological discussion on the interpretations of the terms Srotriya and Kulin. Sectarian influence on the Bengali Society. Page 124-144

CHAPTER X.

KULINISM IN BENGAL

Social and political history of Bengal in the 15th and 16th centuries as gathered from ancient works and works of the chroniclers. The assimilating power of Hinduism. Dr. Hærnle's theory borne out by the statement of the chroniclers. Tainted origin of the Kulins. Arguments that the origin of Kulinism was for the protection of the Metamorphosed Hindus. Kulinism a disintegrating policy only. Present state of the Bengali Society. Evil effects of Kulinism and University Education on the Society. The miserable position of the bride's father. Movement of reforms. Pundit Iswar Chunder Vidyasagar and his strenuous attempt. The Bengal Kayasth Sabha and their efforts. Flaws in their attempts. The only remedy suggested. An appeal to patriotic Bengalees. Page 145- 167.

SELECT OPINIONS,

DR. J. F. Fleet, Ph.D., C.I.E., I.C.S. (retired), the pioneer of the Modern antiquarians, writes:—

“* * * The Brahmins and Kayasthas of Bengal I have read with interest. I am glad to see that you can utilise the ancient inscriptions of India in this and other matters; and I hope to see that you will carry your present researches to a thoroughly successful issue in book form.”

DR. G. A. Grierson, Ph.D., C.I.E., I.C.S. (retired), writes:—

“* * * Your articles on the Brahmins and Kayasthas of Bengal I have read with much interest. The subject is not one which I have studied and hence I am not competent to pass an opinion on what you have written, beyond stating that you seem to me to have made out a very strong case for your theory.”

The Hon'ble Justice Dr. Ashutosh Mukherjee, M.A., D.L., F.R.S.E., Judge, High Court, and Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, writes:—

“I have to thank you for your article which I have read with great interest as it shows considerable research. I regret, however, that with the limited time at my disposal, anything like a full examination of the questions raised is impossible.”

MR. H. Beveridge, C.I.E., I.C.S. (retired), writes:—

“* * * I have looked through your articles and have found them very interesting.”

The Hon'ble Justice Sharada Charan Mitra, M.A., B.L., Judge, High Court, writes:—

“I have read with great pleasure your article on the Brahmins and Kayasthas of Bengal. It shows extensive study and research, and, above all, thought. At one period of my life, I devoted considerable time on the subject, and I am highly interested in the investigations and lights thrown by you. I never thought that *Ballali Kulinism* is a fiction. I now see there is good reason for your suggestions. As for the age of Adi Sur I had doubts. In my article which has appeared in the *Law*

Quarterly Review for October, edited by Sir Frederick Pollock, I have expressed my doubts in the matter.

"I have felt the keenest interest in your articles on the Brahmins and Kayasthas of Bengal. I have just now finished your paper No. 5. As usual, it contains much information. I shall carefully preserve your article."

An old Behar planter, Mr. R. S. Lockhart, Bansohalli, Sewan, writes:—"It was exceedingly kind of you sending me the seven *Indian Reviews* containing your learned articles which I have read with keen interest. Your writings have gained you renown and I sincerely trust will ere long bring you in the wealth you deserve. Your ambition, industry and talent have placed you in a much higher and more enviable position than the smiles of Markham ever could have and you will for all times have reason to rejoice at the manly, independent spirit that impelled you to shake the dust off your feet of those days and their ways."

The Statesman:—"In the course of an interesting article on 'Kulinism in Bengal,' which appears in the *Indian Review*, Babu Girindranath Dutt makes some very caustic remarks on the practice as it prevails in the present day in this province. He maintains that education, instead of mitigating the evil, has strengthened it. A university degree is not only a testimonial of proficiency in learning, but also a powerful instrument for the oppression of one's father-in-law. A Bengali B. A., we are told, considers himself entitled not only to a bride of a social rank superior to his own, but also to a pecuniary honorarium which is only limited by his own cupidity and the prospective father-in-law's means. If a parent has the misfortune to possess a daughter of dark complexion, or otherwise falling short of the accepted standard of beauty, the demand may rise up to Rs. 15,000. If to this are added the numerous items of expenditure which have to be incurred by the bride's family before and after the ceremony and the presents made to the bridegroom's relatives, it will be seen that the possession of a marriageable daughter is by no means an unmixed blessing. The author proceeds to quote a typical instance of nuptial extortion in which the bridegroom's family demanded, after the marriage, from the bride's father, who had

already paid the double sum contracted for, a blackmail for each member 'for partaking of food in the bride's house!' It can easily be imagined what the lot of the girl-wife must be, when, as sometimes happens, her people refuse to submit to such extortion. Nor does the evil end with the sufferings of the bride and her father. The latter, we are assured, is a great believer in the maxim that revenge is sweet, but he is not very particular as to the object of his vengeance. He simply wants to treat others as he has been treated himself, and, smarting under his own injuries, he exacts, in his son's marriage, from his son's prospective father-in-law, what he himself had spent on his daughter, with compound interest, and so matters go on in a cycle of reciprocal robbery to the complete demoralisation of all parties concerned. It is gratifying to hear that strenuous efforts are now being made by patriots and public associations to find a remedy for this state of things."

THE BRAHMANS AND KAYASTHAS OF BENGAL.

—:o:—

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY OF BENGAL.

—:o:—

THE works of the genealogists or Ghataks of Bengal have never been explored by Oriental scholars, yet they embody valuable information about the great races inhabiting Eastern India from the 7th century downwards."—(*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I., No. 2, 1905, Annual Report*).

Although the name Banga (Bengal) and its equivalents, Gond and Poundra, can be traced in the very ancient Sanskrit works and also the names of some of its Kings, Vasudeva and Samudra Sen, can be found in the *Mahabharata*, the early history of Bengal is involved in obscurity. All that we can gather from these works is

Abul-Fazi thus speaks of Bengal :

"The original name of Bengal was *Banga*. Its former rulers raised *n* *ounds* measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth throughout the provinces which were called *Al*. From this suffix, the name Bengal took its rise and currency. The first Raja, (Bhagrat) came to Delhi by reason of his friendship for Raja Jargodhan (? Durjodhan), and fell manfully fighting in the wars of the *Mahabharata*, 4,096 years previous to the present times."—*Jarrett's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II.*)

that the country was, in the days of yore, condemned as unfit for Arya habitation, or visitation except for the purpose of pilgrimage,† and was inhabited by an aboriginal race called Pundras, who claimed to be descended from the Vedic Rishi, Viswa Mitra, but were regarded as Das-yus and outcasts.‡ In the Buddhistic age it formed a part of the Magadha Empire of Asoka, and, later on, the great Samudra Gupta conquered nearly the whole of it. On the downfall of the Guptas, the country was split up into small principalities ruled over by petty kings. These were (1) The Kingdom of Pundra Vardhan (North Bengal); (2) Kamrup (Assam and the North-East); (3) Samatata, (East Bengal); (4) Tamralipta, (The South-West); (5) Karna Suvarna, (West Bengal). The Kingdom of Tamralipta, which was the last stage of Fa Hian's journey in India, where he "dwelt for two years occupied in translating the sacred books and depicting the images," and

† "अङ्गवङ्गकलिङ्गेषु सौराष्ट्रमगधेषु च । तीर्थयात्रां विना गच्छन् पुनः संस्कारमर्हति " मनुः ।

‡ अन्तान्यः प्रजामक्षीष्टेति त एतेऽन्ध्राः पुराहाः शवगाः पुलिन्दाः मुतिवा इत्युदन्त्या बहवो भवन्ति वैश्वामित्र दस्यूनां भूयिष्ठाः ॥ (ऐतरेय ब्राः ७।९८)

whence "he embarked to Ceylon" seems to be the oldest and the only one of importance known till the 5th century, for, if there were any other equally famous kingdom in contiguity, Fa Hian would not have failed to visit it during his sojourn and would have left a record. Unfortunately, Fa Hian is silent as to the name of the king or the dynasty then reigning in Tamralipta.

But all these five kingdoms existed in the 7th century A.D. when Hiouen Thsang visited India. He visited Poundra Vardhan (North Bengal), Kamrup (which in those times included Modern Assam, Manipur, Kachar, Mymensing and Sylhet), Samatata (East Bengal), Tamralipta (Tamlook including Modern Midnapur), and Karna Suvarna (Western Bengal, including Modern Murshidabad).

At this period Karna Suvarna seems to have been the most powerful kingdom ruled over by a mighty prince, Sasánka (who seems to have been a feudatory under the kings of Thaneswar, as we find he is styled 'Mahásámanta' in his seal) the great persecutor of the Buddhists, who had destroyed the Bodhi tree at Gya and who had assassinated King Rajyavardhan of Thaneswar, brother of the mighty Harshavardhan (Śiladitya II) who, to avenge his

brother's death, led an army into Bengal and destroyed the power of Sasánka.

KING ADISUR.

The history preserved by the native chroniclers of Bengal, the Ghatakas, commences from one King Adisur, who is said to have overthrown the other four kingdoms and assumed the title of Pancha Goudeswar (पञ्चगौडेश्वर). This Adisur has been lately identified by some writers to be the Jayanta in Kalhan's *Rājatarangini*, on the ground that his son's name was Bhusur (भूशूर) and a passage in one of the chronicles runs thus :

“ भूशूरेण च राज्ञापि श्रीजयन्तसूतेन च नाम्नापि देश-
भेदैस्तु रादीवारेन्द्रसात्सती ” (रादीकुलर्षाञ्जका)

In order to establish this identification, they narrate from the *Rajatarangini* that Jayaditya, King of Káshmir, while leading an expedition to conquer countries (Digvijaya), had entered single-handed *incognito* in the capital of Gond, Poundrá Vardhan one night, and heard in the temple of Kártik the song of the court dancing girl, Kamala, who fell in love with him and gave him shelter in her abode. At this time a lion was creating a great panic on the inhabitants of the town, and being informed of this by the dancing girl

Jayáditya, killed the beast at night. The news of the lion's death reached the King's ear, who repaired to the spot where the beast lay dead, and found there an ornament of the arm with the word "Jayáditya" inscribed on it and gathered therefrom that the great conqueror was in their midst. Jayáditya was searched out and Jayanta, gave him the hand of his daughter and, with his help, overthrew the other kingdoms of Bengal and assumed the title of Pancha Goudeswar. (पञ्चगौडेश्वर)

According to the native chronicles, elevated even to this high position, Adisur's mind was not at ease. He was without any male issue to succeed him. Therefore, he determined to perform the Vedic rite of Putreshtiyajna (पुत्रेष्टियज्ञ) for a son. But he found the country was overflooded with Buddhism. There was no genuine Brahman in the country observing the Agnihotra. The indigenous Brahmans of the soil were either Buddhists or had degraded themselves by embracing low callings. Learning that genuine Brahmans were only to be found in Kanouj, he sent an ambassador to the King of Kanouj with the proposal to send him five genuine Brahmans versed in Vedas. The King of Kanouj scouted the proposal of Adisur with scorn, whereupon a fight

ensued in which the latter's army was defeated. He then led a second expedition, wherein he gained a decisive victory by a ruse. He made 700 of those debased indigenous Brahmans of Bengal ride on bulls and placed them in front of his army. The orthodox King of Kanouj, afraid of killing any Brahman or bull, agreed to his proposal and sent five Brahmans from Kolancha in Kanouj along with five Kayasthas to Adisur.

INVITATION OF BRAHMANS AND KAYASTHAS FROM KANOUJ TO BENGAL.

The five Brahmans came to Bengal on bullock carts, probably like those mentioned in the drama *Miricchakatika* (*vide* fig. 168, Rajendra Lal's Indo-Aryans, vol. I, p. 352), and resembling the conveyance called "Shampony" still found in Behar and North-Western Provinces. Of the Kayasthas Ghosh, Basu and Mitra came on horseback, the Dutt rode on elephant and the Guha on a *palki*.

“ गोयानेनागता विप्रा अश्वे द्योषादिकास्त्रयः ।

गजे दत्तकुलश्रेष्ठो नरयाने गुहःसुधीः । ”

Again

“ गजाश्चनरयानेषु प्रधानास्तत्र संस्थिताः ।

गोयानेनागता विप्राः पंक्तिवेशसमन्विताः ॥ ”

Another authority narrates the circumstance differently. It says that Adisur's wife called

Chandra Mukhi was of a very religious disposition. On one occasion, when she intended to perform some Vedic rites, she had invited the indigenous Brahmans of Bengal and asked them to kindle fire produced from their mouths to perform the rites. This the Brahmans declared they were unable to do. Infuriated at their words, she said "notwithstanding the wishes of my father, how can I reside in a place where there are no Brahmans." Adisur assuaged her anger by inviting genuine Brahmans from Kanouj.

Whatever may be the difference in the versions, all authorities agree that five Brahmans and five Kayasthas were imported from Kanouj by Adisur.

The names of the five Brahmans, according to one authority, are (1) Poet Bhuttanarayan (author of *Veni Sanhar*) of Sándilya Gotra, (2) Daksha of Kasyap Gotra, (3) Chándor of Vátsya Gotra, (4) Harsha of Bharadwaj Gotra, (5) Vedagarva of Sávarna Gotra. These Brahmans were dressed in military accoutrements and were armed with sword, bow and arrows.

According to another :—

"Narayan of Sándilya Gotra came from a village Jambu Chatter, Dharadhur of Vatsya Gotra from Tarit Gram, Su Sen of Kasyap Gotra from

Kolanch and Goutam of Bharadwaj Gotra from Oudambar Gram and Parásar of Sávarna Gotra from Madra Gram.

A third authority names them, (1) Ksitís, (2) Medhatithi, (3) Vitarág, (4) Sudhanidhi, (5) Soubhari.

Adisur was at first deeply mortified to observe the emigrants dressed in military accoutrements, and, without welcoming them, repaired to his zenana. The Brahmans finding that they have not created a favourable impression on the king, placed the garland intended as a token of blessing to the king, on a wrestling post fixed in the courtyard, whereupon, it is said that the wood had blossomed. The news was reported to the king, who at once came out and apologised for his indifference, and after welcoming them, desired himself to be introduced to their attendants the five Kayasthas. The emissary of Adisur thereupon introduced them in the following laudatory terms :

सुकृतालिकृताम्बर एव कृती
क्षितिदेवपदाम्बुजचारुरतिः ।
मकरन्द इति प्रतिभाति यति-
द्विजवन्यकुलोद्भवभट्टगतिः ॥

स च घाणकुलाम्बुजभातुरयं
 प्रथितेन्दुयशः सुरलोकवशः ।
 स सौकालिन गोत्रजः शैव एव
 तद्गोत्रे देवता कालिका देवपूज्या ।
 श्रीभक्ष्य शिष्या महातान्त्रिकाग्राः
 सूर्यध्वजधर इहापि शूराग्रगण्या ॥
 वसुधाधिपचक्रवर्तिनो
 वसुतुल्या वसुवंशसम्भवाः ।
 वसुधाविदिता गुणार्णवै
 नियतं ते जयिनी भवन्तु नः ॥
 दशरथो विदितो जगतीतले
 दशदिशां जयिनां यशसा जयी ।
 विजयते विभवैः कुलसागरे
 स च वैद्यकुलाम्बुज सोमसमः ।

गौतमगोत्रतः श्रीदक्षशिष्यो महात्मा सुधीरोधार्मिक-
 मेतिनिर्मलासः । महातन्त्रिको श्रीवर्याग्रगण्याभिमानि ॥
 अयमभिकुलोद्भवो गुहवंशाभिधानो महान् । कुलाब्जम-
 धुवतो विविधपुरयपुञ्जान्वितः । विराटपुरुषसमो विराटा-
 भिधानोगरीयान् । सुतापसोमहाबाहुः काश्यपगोत्रसम्भवः
 सश्रीहर्षशिष्यः कालिकायाश्चभक्तः सदा द्विजपालको धार्मिक-
 काग्रगण्यः ।

यशस्विनां यशोधरः सदा हि सर्वसादरः
 प्रमत्तसत्यवानयं शरत्सुधांशुवद्यशः ।
 प्रतापतापनोत्तपद्मिषालियोषिदालिको-
 विभाति मित्रवंशसिन्धुकालिकादासचन्द्रकः ॥
 स च वैष्णवप्रधानः रथिनां वरेण्यश्च
 छान्दङ्गस्य शिष्यो विश्वामित्रगोत्रः ॥

अथञ्च पुरुषोत्तमः अमिदत्तकुलोद्भवः । सुदत्तवंशदीपकः
 सर्वविद्याविशारदः ॥ महाकृतिर्महामानी कुलभृदग्रगण्यकः । स
 आगतो बङ्गदेशे सर्वेषां रक्षणाय च ॥ स सैकसेनाधरश्च शैवत्रो
 रथिनाञ्चरथी स मौद्गलगोत्रः । शस्त्रज्ञः शास्त्रज्ञो भासुरश्च-
 बली पिनाकपाणिः कुलदेवता च ।

(1) "Clothed in virtue, having deep veneration in Brahmans and blazing like the sun in the family of Ghosh, this is Makaranda Ghosh. He belongs to a family, whose reputation is equal to that of the moon, and whose prowess is even acknowledged by the gods. He is of Soukalin Gotra, a Saiva, and his family goddess is Kali. He is a disciple of Bhutt Narayan, is the pioneer of the best of *tantriks*, a warrior and a descendant of Suryadhvaj.

(2) From that Basu, who held the whole world under his sway, this Dasarath Basu is descended. Born of the elder branch of that family, this

Dasarath has attained a world-wide reputation. He is the moon in the lotus family of Vaidya, of Goutam Gotra, a disciple of Daksa, has a magnanimous heart, grave demeanour, unblemished character, a great tantrik and of chivalrous spirit.

(3) This is Virat Guha well worth the name. He is a descendant of that Guha, who belonged to Agnikula, and is bestowed with many high qualities. He is a great Yogi, a worshipper of Kali, a patron of Brahmans, and pioneer of religious men. He belongs to Ka'syap Gotra, and is a disciple of Sree Harsha.

(4) This is Kalidas Mittra, the most reputed among those in reputation, venerated by all, of calm disposition, whose fame is as clear as the autumnal moon. His prowess is like that of the sun, he is born in the Mittra family as the moon is from the ocean, a pioneer of Vaishnavas, a skilful charioteer, a disciple of Chandor, of Viswamitra Gotra, very learned, intelligent and meek. His family goddess is *Adyaprakriti*.

(5) This is Purushottam Dutt, descended from the well-known family of Agni Dutt, is versed in all branches of learning, very accomplished, and most honourable. He is the pioneer of those who boast of a noble family. He has come to Bengal.

to protect others. He belongs to Sakseu sect, is a great Saiva, greatest among those who are skilled in the manoeuvre of war-chariots, of Mowdgal (Bharadwaj) gotra, a brave warrior, and of strong physique. His family god is Mahadeva.

Unlike the names of these emigrant Brahmana, all authorities are almost at one as to the names of these emigrant Kayasthas, with the exception that in the Bangaj Karika, we find the name of Birat Guha and in Daksin Radhi Karika, Dasarath Guha and in the former the gotra of Purushottam Dutt is said to be Mowdgal, whereas in the latter it is mentioned as Bharadwaj. Perhaps, the forefather of the Guhas had two *aliases* and the Karikas of the two countries have preserved his two different names, and the gotra of Purushottam Dutt was really Bharadwaj, and he came with Gautama or Harsha, who had the same gotra; but, in course of time, when Purushottam's descendants emigrated to Bangaj country, they changed their gotra, as well as their forefathers' to Mowdgal. The original gotra of the Guha seems to have been also Bharadwaj, as he is said to be a disciple of Sree Harsha, and not of Kasyap which was the gotra of Daksa or Su Sen—the disciples invariably following the preceptor's gotra. But of this, later on. From the

above, it will be observed that all the four Kayasthas, Ghosh, Basu, Mitra and Guha, came with their guru except the stalwart Purushottam Dutt, towering above all on elephant's back and boldly declaring before his host, the king, that the object of his visit was to protect others and to see Bengal, and that he was not any one's servant. This goes to corroborate our inference that he and the Guha came from the same village Oudambar, with Sree Harsha and Goutam of the same gotra, and that Purushottam's spiritual preceptor being some other person in his native village, he had declined to accept Goutam or Harsha as his guru before the king. It is a remarkable fact still observed in India that Brahmans of the same sect and gotra often cluster themselves in one village or country with their disciples, who adopt the same gotra. In course of time, when the descendants of the Duttas and Guhas had emigrated to Bangaj country, the former had changed theirs and their predecessors' gotras, in order to differentiate themselves from the Guhas.

SETTLEMENT OF THE IMMIGRANTS.

After performing Adisur's 'yajna,' the Brahmans with their attendant Kayasthas returned to their homes in Kanouj, but they were excom-

municated from the society there on the ground that they had traversed over Magadha and gone to Bengal which were countries forbidden by the Sastras to visit, and were told that until they performed proper expiation for their sins, they would not be re-admitted into the pale of their society. This they refused to do, and the King of Kanouj having been unable to make any amicable settlement of their dispute, they in rage returned to Bengal. Adisur endowed upon the five Brahmans for support the villages of Kamuthi, Brahmapuri, Harikote, Kanakagram and Batagram. With the five Kayasthas followed three other Kayasthas in their train, whose names were Devdutt Nag of Soupayan gotra, Chandravan Nath of Parasar gotra, and Chandrachur Das of Kasyap gotra, and to these eight Kayasthas Adisur granted eight villages, Astakona, Drôpa, Burdwan, Batagram, Madhu, Karna, Kaksa and Ranooa, of which Batagram was in Barendra Division, Burdwan in Dakshin (South) Rarh Division, and the rest in *Utter* (North) Rarh.

FURTHER IMMIGRATION.

Gradually, in course of time, other Kayasthas followed suit, and we find the names of Virbahu Sinha of Vatsya gotra, Sekhadhwaj Deb of Alina

gotra, Jaidhar Sen of Vasuki gotra, and Ripoon-jaya Raha of Kasyap gotra. Others also emigrated from Oudh and other places, and we find the names of Soma Ghosh of Soukalin gotra, Anadibar Sinha of Vatsy gotra, Purushottam Dass of Mowdgal gotra, who came from Mathura, and Sudarsan Mittra of Viswamitra gotra and Dévadutt of Kasyap gotra from Hardwar. With the exception of the first, all settled at *Utter* (North) Rarh. These emigrant Kayasthas then began to intermarry with the indigenous Kayasthas.

The circumstance of similar multiplication of Brahman immigrants is thus related :—

The five emigrant Brahmans from Kanouj began to procreate by intermarrying with the indigenous Brahmans of Bengal who were called *Satsatis*. On their death, their eldest sons, by their former wives in their old homes, performed the Sradh ceremony in Kanouj and were, therefore, outcasted. They, therefore, emigrated to Bengal and Adisur induced them to settle in Rarh countries, but they refused to reside in the same countries with their step-brothers, whom they considered illegitimate. The King, therefore, granted them fertile villages in Barendra country.

So much is said of King Adisur and the immigration and colonisation of the Brahmans and Kayasthas in his time. It is asserted that there originated no classifications whatever in his time among these colonists.

CHAPTER II.

DATE OF ADISUR AND HIS IDENTIFICATION DISCUSSED.

Now for the date of Adisur and the Sur dynasty of which he is said to be the head. As no monumental or any authentic record throwing any light upon the question has yet been found, scholars are diametrically at variance in ascribing the date of Adisur, and in identifying him. Rājendra Lal's theory of identifying him with Vira Sen or his being the immediate predecessor of Vira Sen (*vide* Indo-Aryan, vol. II, p. 259), the founder of the Sen dynasty of Bengal, has long been rejected as a groundless conjecture. The opinions of the native chroniclers (Ghatakas) are equally at variance—their dates ranging from 804 (882 A.D.) to 999 (1077 A.D.) of the Saka Era. Abul Fazl places a dynasty, of which Adisur was the first, and then all the Pāl kings between Adisur and the Sens. Justice H. Benridge, I.C.S. (retired) in his paper on the site of *Karna Suvarna* (J. A. S. B. Part I p. 323 of 1893), writes:—

“The name Sasanka does not occur in Abul Fazl or Tuffenthaler, but the first has a Shashasdhars and the second Scheschdar. These are clearly corruptions of Sasadhar (the moon) and it is quite possible that this is another form of the

same Sasánka. Both words mean hare-marked, or hare-bearing, i.e., the moon, and apparently the pilgrim translated Sasanka simply by the Chinese word for moon. If this is so, the fact is very important, for Sasadhar belonged to the line of Adisur, and was the eighth in succession from him. He is said to have reigned 58 years, but the reigns of all the princes of this line seem unreasonably long. However, if Sasánka and Sasadhar be identical, Adisur can hardly have been later than the first half of the 6th century. There seems nothing incredible in this, for, Lassen says that he is wrongly referred to the 9th or 10th century, and that he must have lived in the beginning of the 7th century. But if he was not later than 600, he must, I think, be put back still further, for it was Adisur who brought Brahmans from Kanouj to Bengal. He could not have done this during the Aditya dynasty, for they were Buddhists. Their dynasty began according to Lassen in 580, and so Adisur must have reigned before that date, and perhaps was contemporary with one of the early Guptas."

The identification of Adisur with Jayanta, as narrated in page 4, originated in the editor of the *Bengalee Encyclopedia Viswakosh* (who places

his reign in 732 A.D.) and was upheld by the late Mr. U. C. Batavyál, I.C.S., in his paper on "The Copper Plate Inscription of Dharma Pál" (*rule J. A. S. B.*, vol. LXIII, part I). This cannot also be taken as conclusive since the very same authority quoted by him which speaks of Bhusur, as son of Jayanta, (श्रीजयन्तसूतेनच) gives another reading आदिशूरसूतेनच and their inference in fixing Adisur's date on the basis of the yet unsettled and much disputed dates of the early contemporary Pal Kings cannot be accepted without much hesitation. Mahámahopádhya Hara Prasád Sastri says in his *History of India* that Adisur "is said to have been the eighth in ascending line from King Sasanka, who was a contemporary of Harsha," thus making him a contemporary of the Gupta Emperors, but subsequently in his paper on "The Caste System by Ballal Sen", (*Proceedings A. S. B.* No. I, Jany. 1902, page 5), he evidently modifies his opinion and considerably brings down Adisur's date by saying "our own tradition shows that Adisur about Hiouen Thsang's time saw that the few Brahmans in Bengal knew nothing of Hinduism." Unfortunately, the reason for this sudden and precipitous change of opinion is not stated as it would certainly

have been very important to scan the grounds of his placing Adisur *about* Hiouen Thsang's time.

Whatever may be the basis of Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri's modified opinion, it seems he has made the right hit, and that Adisur was no other than the great Aditya Sen, who, as Dr. Fleet remarked, "played an important part in the history of the seventh century A.D., when the Kanouj kingdom was broken up on the death of Harsha Vardhan." We know Samudra Gupta conquered Samatata (East Bengal) and Kamrup and Dr. Fleet says "from the way in which, through the eleven generations of this family (Guptas of Magadha) are recorded, every name, except that of Aditya Sen, has the termination Gupta, there can be little doubt that the family is an offshoot of the original Gupta stock" (*vide* Gupta Inscriptions, p. 14). We learn from the works of the native chroniclers (Ghatakas) that Adisur's father's name was Madhav* and the

*गौडेश्वरो नरवरोऽभवदादिशूः

नानाविदेशनृपतेर्मुकुटाङ्किताङ्घ्रिः ।

जेता बलाद्विलितवैरिकुलः कुलिनः

दम्भावदातकुलमाधवशूम्भुः ॥

वाचस्पतिभिः ।

Apshad inscriptions also speak of Mádhav Gupta as the father of Aditya Sen. We know Harshavardhan destroyed the power of Sasánka, King of Karna Suvarna in Western Bengal, and the same inscription speaks of Mádhav Gupta as

“ श्रीहर्षदेवनिजसंगमवाञ्छया च ”

“with the desire to associate himself with Harshadev”, (unfortunately the lines just following are obliterated in the inscription), from which we can fairly conclude that he associated with Harsha in destroying Sasanka's power, and thereby annexed Sasánka's dominion with his own. According to Dr. Fleet, “a connection between the two families (the Kings of Kanouj and the Guptas of Magadha) appears to be established in Mahásen Gupta, the wife of Mahárája Aditya Vardhan, who was the grandfather of Harsha Vardhan, and it can hardly be doubted that she was a sister of Mahasen Gupta of Magadha, the father of Madhav Gupta.” Bound in link of family connection, it is not improbable that Mahásen Gupta and Madhav Gupta followed Harsha Vardhan's banner wherever it went and that the Moukbori King, Susthita Varman, whom Mahásen Gupta conquered was no other than Sasanka, if Harsha may be taken to have lived partly in Mahásen's, and partly

in Mádhav's time. Harsha was before a Hindu, but afterwards turned a Buddhist, and it is said that Ban Bhutt left his court in disgust in consequence of Harsha's change of religion. We have from Hiouen T'sang that when Harsha became a Buddhist, he made a small image of Buddha, which he led forth in a gorgeously caparisoned elephant, himself dressed as Indra, marching to the left and the Rájá of Kamrup to the right, each with an escort of 500 war elephants, with a hundred elephants marching in front of the statue. In this way the statue was carried every day and at length on the day of separation a great fire broke out in the tower, which the Brahmans are said to have caused and actually attempted to murder the king. In the Sompat copper seal inscription of Harsha Vardhan (*vide* Gupta Inscriptions, vol. III, p. 231) Mahásen Gupta is spoken of as "employed in regulating all the castes and stages of religious life" (सर्ववर्णाश्रमव्यवस्था(स्या)पनप्रवृत्तिः) which epithet is a sufficient insinuation that he gave protection to the Brahmans of Kanouj, who had left the country in fear of a powerful Buddhist king. Harsha reigned from 607—657 A.D. After the dismemberment of Harsha's Empire on his death and the anarchy that

ensued in Kanouj, there seems to have been an influx of migration of the Brahmans and may be also that of the Kayasthas from Kanouj in Adityasen's (whose date, according to Shahpur Inscription, is 672-73 A.D.) court as he was a scion of Mahâsen Guptas' (renowned for "regulating all castes and religious stages") family and whenever there has been a disaster in Kanouj, Bengal seems to have been the harbour for the *Kanoujia* Brahmans as will be shown later on.

But it may be urged against this identification of Adisur with Adityasen that the Deo Barnak Inscription of Jivita Gupta II (Gupta Ins. p. 213) gives the name of Adityasen's son to have been Deva Gupta, his son Vishnu Gupta, his son Jivita Gupta II, whereas in the works of the native chroniclers we find Adisur's son to be Bhu Sur, his son Ksiti Sur, and his son Dharâ Sur. I do not consider this objection to be of much weight. The origin of these native chroniclers, Ghatakas, according to their own statement dates from Ballâl Sen, several centuries after the so-called Adisur, and it has been openly admitted by them that in the dark days of Moslem tyranny and Mahratta inroads the old and authentic chronicles have been a good deal lost and the

Ghatakas of quite later dates had to collect the genealogy from various scattered sources. It is not impossible, therefore, that Aditya has been contracted by them to Adi and the names of his successors coined as Bhu, Ksiti, Dhará, all having the same meaning, the real names as found in the inscriptions having been lost in oblivion; or they have left off the names of several generations after Adisur or Adityasen, which lay buried in the inscriptions, and invented a few names for the period whence the actual decline of the dynasty commenced on the advent of the Pals; and to differentiate them from the reigning Sen dynasty they have set up a Sur dynasty with Adisur at its head meaning thereby "first warrior," which evidently the Guptas of Magadha were, at least as co-adjutors of the great conqueror Harsha. The countries which these chroniclers of much later date relate to have been conquered

“अङ्गान् वङ्गान् कलिङ्गान् विविधं नृपवरानान्तर्देशान्
विदेशान् । कर्णाटं कर्णकल्पं, नरवरभटकैरन्वितं कामरूपम् ।
सौराष्ट्रं मागधन्तु नृपमनि जितवान् बालवं जानवश्च । काशी-
इन्द्रस्यलाभिन्नानृपमपि सहसा तस्य सैन्याधिकारी ॥”

वाचस्पतिमिश्र ।

by Adisur are in most cases those where Hārsha had waved his banner. The fact that both the native chroniclers and the inscriptions trace three generations down after Adityasen and Adisur after which the dynasty is no more heard of, also goes to prove their identity. In fact after Adityasen the dynasty seems to have been waning, and although his descendants were called “Mahārājādhiraj Parambhatrak Parameswar, none of their deeds entitling them to such high sounding titles are recorded; but, nevertheless, they seem to have enjoyed paramount power to some extent. We can date Adityasen's reign from 673—703 A.D. and allowing an average of 25 years' reign, the period of reign for the three downward generations would come to 778 A.D., after which two or three weak kings might have held the sceptre till the dynasty was overthrown by Gopāl or his son Dharma Pāl both of whom were said to have been great conquerors. It is evident from the inscriptions and history like *Rajatarangini*, that Bengal was politically connected with Kanouj, and that the Kings of Bengal had matrimonial connections with the Kings of Kanouj, Káshmir and Kási. Under such circumstances Manu's prohibition about visiting or residing in Bengal

must have been a dead letter. Moreover, Bengal was never an out-and-out Buddhist country, at least since the 7th century downwards. Hiouen Thsang found only in Kanouj the Buddhists and the Hindus equal in number, there were some 100 Sangharams and ten thousand priests there, whereas he found only 20 Sangharams and 300 priests in Poundra Vardhan (North Bengal) none in Kamrup, 30 Sangháráms and 2,000 Buddhist monks in Samatata (East Bengal), 10 Sangháráms in Tāmralipta (Southern Bengal, where Fa Hian had seen 24) and 10 in Karna Suvarna (Western Bengal, Sasanka's dominion). Under such authority, how can it be believed that Kanouj was better off than Bengal, so far as Hinduism or Vedic religion was concerned? Then again it has been seen that Sasanka of Western Bengal went so far as to destroy the Bodhi tree in Gya, the Guptas in Magadha and the Moukharis were Hindus which their inscriptions clearly indicate and even at a later period the Pals were alike tolerant towards both Buddhists and Hindus, and encouraged the priests of both religion. The Buddal Pál inscriptions speaks of Nárayan Pál as "greatly beloved by the people of Bengal for observance of the Vedas, fond of

extolling the virtues of greatness and his vast understanding and boundless fame were born of Dharma."

“नानाकाव्यरसागमेष्वधिगमोनीतौ परनिष्ठता
वेदोक्तानुगमादसौप्रियतमोवंगस्य सम्बन्धिना ।
आसक्तिगुणकीर्त्तनेषु महतां विख्यातविज्योतिषो
यस्यानल्पमतेरमेयशसो धर्मावतारो नदः ॥”

(*J. A. S. B.* Part I, No. 1 of 1874, p. 358.)

On the face of these evidences, there is hardly any occasion to believe that genuine Brahmans were imported from a country where Buddhism was more predominant, and where a constant dispute of the Buddhists and the Hindus prevailed.

The Pas'chatya (western) Vaidik sect of Brahmans in Bengal have set up a like tradition, saying that they have come from Kasi in King Syamal Varma's reign. According to their Kul Panjika, there reigned a king in Goud, named Tribikram of the Solar dynasty; his son was Bimal Sen, who had two sons Malla Varma and Syamal Varma. On Malla Varma's ascending the throne being the elder of the two, Syamal Varma went out to conquer countries (Digvijaya), and

was married to the daughter of the King of Kasi, named Nilkanta. A vulture having sat on the turret of the palace, most disastrous events had befallen to the country to avert which Syamal Varma intended to perform *santi* (propitiation), but was told that no *santi* could be properly done save by Brahmans observing Agnihotra of whom there were none in Bengal. On this, Syamal Varma† went to Kasi with his wife, and

* This Syamal Varma may be a King in the Moukhari line. Babu Nagendra Nath Bose, Editor of the *Bengalee Encyclopædia*, Viswakosh, had placed this Syamal Varma after the Pal kings and before the Sen kings of Bengal (*Vide* Viswakosh, Vol. IV., p. 338). But subsequently in his article "Bangekavasth" in the *Kayastha Patrika*, Part I. of 1311, B. S., p. 46-47, he makes a bold and groundless conjecture, just like his identification of Adī Sur with Jayanta, that Syamal Varma was a son of Vijaya-*en* and step-brother of Ballal-*en*, by misreading 'Vijaya' for "Bimal" in the sloka quoted below :—

† “शाकेन्दुशून्याभ्रविधौ शकाब्दे

वैशाखमासस्य सिते दशम्याम् ।

कर्णावती नाम समाजतस्ते

समागताः पञ्चजनाः सुवंगे ” :—कुलमञ्जरी ।

“आसीद् गौडे महाराजः श्यामलो धर्मतत्परः ।

प्रचण्डशेषभूपालैरार्चितः स महीपतिः ॥

वेदग्रहग्रहमिति स बभूव राजा

गौडे स्वयं निजवलैः परिभूय शत्रून् ।

शूरान्वयानतिमदान् विजितान्तरात्मा

शाके पुनः शुभतिथौ विमलस्य (विजयस्य ?) सूनुः ॥

वैदिककुलपञ्जिका ।

induced his father-in-law to send with him five Brahmans, who performed the ceremony, and similarly were outcasted from their native homes on their return, and came back to enjoy Syamal Varma's patronage. The date of the migration of the ancestors of the *Paschatya Vaidik* is given as 1001 Saka†=1079 A. D. and the date of Syamal Varma's ascension is given as 994 Saka = 1072 A.D. But the most probable date may be 1017, when Muhammad of Ghazni invaded and plundered Kanouj and this Syamal Varma was no other than King Mahipal (the seals of the Pal Kings bear the appellation, Varma Deva), a relation of Rajya Pal, the King of Kanouj. Muhammad Ghorî in 1192 A D. defeated the Rathore King, Jaichand of Kanouj in the battle fought near Etwa, and annexed the country from Kanouj to Benares, the seats of Brahmanism, and there can, therefore, be no doubt of a further migration then from these countries to Bengal to escape the ravages of the bigoted Moslem invaders.

Besides the five principal gotras of the *Paschatya* Brahmans descended from the 5 Brahmans alleged

† Some of the chroniclers make him King of Kanouj.

to have come in Syamal Varma's Court, six others are said to have come afterwards from Kanauj during 1204—1210 Saka=1282—1288 A. D.. The probable date may be 1232 A.D. when Sultan Altamash, the great persecutor of the Hindus, who had conquered Ujjain and destroyed the celebrated temple of Mahakal, reigned at Delhi. The aforesaid historical facts clearly prove that the traditions of the Brahmans having been invited to perform the Vedic rites of the kings are pure myths, afterwards got up by the Brahman *ghatakas* in order to impart a sacerdotal influence on the community and that these Brahmans and the Kayasthas were not guests but refugees in Bengal who had absconded from their homes to save themselves from the persecution of the Buddhist and the Moslem kings. Had they come simply to perform religious ceremonies what necessity was there for them to bring the Kayasthas, who belonged to the class of scribes and ministers to the kings, as their attendants? The conveyances on which these Kayasthas are alleged to have come and the way they are said to have been introduced to the king certainly conclusively prove that they did not come as menial servants of the Brahmans. There is no

doubt that after the dismemberment of Harsha's Empire these Kayasthas had lost their position in Kanouj and elsewhere in N. W. P. and had come to seek service under the Bengal kings who gave them refuge in consequence of their connection with Harsha. Another very strong argument in favour of our identification of Aditya Sen with Adisur is the Mandar Hill inscription now stuck on the right-hand side pier in the porch of the temple of Vaidyanath in Santhal Pergannahs, Bengal wherein Aditya Sen is mentioned to have performed the "horse-sacrifice" (अश्वमेध यज्ञ) thrice and to have given lakhs to the Brahmans. It seems to us doubtless now that the story of Adi Sur's *yajanas* यज्ञ has really its root in the horse-sacrifice of Aditya Sen.

* 'Aditya Sen of great renown, the ruler of the earth to the verge of the ocean, the performer of the horse and other great sacrifices, became king. His vigour was as great as that of the immortals. In the Krita age, issuing forth from the *Chola* metropolis, after performing the horse sacrifice three times, giving three lakhs and thirty thousand golden coins to great sages, performing the *Tula* ceremony a thousand times over during which he gave away a crore of horses, he jointly with his Queen, Koshadevi, performed this noble deed. Having consecrated it through noble Brahmans, the King himself laid down the divine road for the good of the three worlds by establishing this abode of Nrihari."

Raja Rajendralal's translation.

FURTHER CLASSIFICATIONS OF THE BRAHMANS
BY THE SUCCESSORS OF ADISUR.

According to the authority of the Kulacharyas, Adisur was succeeded by his son Bhusur who made three classifications among the Brahmans. The colonists were classified according to territorial division of residence *Radi* and *Barendra* and the indigenous were called *Satsati* which is either the corruption of *Saptasati*, the 700, or *Saraswati* from *Saraswat* Brahmans which they appear to have been. According to some authority the great Dharmapal of Magadha conquered *Paundra Vardhan* and *Barendra Bhumi* annexed them with his Dominion and Bhusur fled to *Radh* country with some Brahmans where he established a new capital *Pundra* which is identified as the modern *Panduah* in *Hugli District*. The subjugation of the two divisions under two different sovereigns is attributed to be the cause of the classification *Radhi* and *Barendra*.

Bhusur was succeeded by his son *Ksitisur* and he endowed upon the descendants of those Brahmans who had accompanied his father from *Barendra Bhumi* 56 villages and settled them in those villages. According to the names of these villages there arose 56 sub-divisions colloquially called "*Gáin*," i.e., (*गाँवि*) which afterwards became

the family patronymics of the descendants of the grantees. The modern patronymics Bandyopadhyaya, Chattopadhyaya, Mukhyopadhyaya (anglicised Banerjee, Chatterjee, Mukerjee), Ghosal Gangul are derived from the villages Bandya or Banrar Chatta or Chatuli, Mukhati, Ghosal, &c.

On Bhusur's death his son Dharasur succeeded him. He classified the Brahman colonists in his dominion into two classes of nobility. Out of 56 "Gáinies" he made 22 to be first class nobility under the term Kulachal (कुलाचल) and the rest 34 to be the second class under the name Suchchotriya (सुच्छोत्रिय). No subdivisions appear to have been made of Kayasthas by any king of the so-called Sur dynasty. The successors of Dharasur were weak kings who soon succumbed before the powerful Pal kings, Dharma Pal and his successor, who were in their turn driven westward by the Sens under Vijaya Sen and his son Ballal Sen and grandson Luksman.

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CHAPTER III.

BENGAL UNDER BALLAL SEN.

It appears from the Raj Shahi inscription

गौडेन्द्रमद्रवदपाकृत कामरुप

भूपं कालिङ्गमीप यस्तरसा जिगाय

(*vide* J. A. S. B. LXXIV, Part 1, page 148) that it was Vijay Sen who conquered Bengal from the reigning Pal king. The son of Vijay Sen was the mighty Ballal Sen who conquered as far as Mithila in Tirhoot where Nanyadev's dynasty had exercised their sovereignty.

A time of great commotion and political disturbances preceded the rise of the Pal dynasty. North India was torn with internecine wars and the people longed for a strong ruler to restore peace and order. The successors of Harshavardhan were weak when in the latter part of the 8th century Gopal rose to supreme power. He conquered Kanouj which was then under foreign princes such as Bhojas and Madras, &c., and restored its king to his ancestral throne. His son Dharma Pal is said by the native chroniclers to have driven the so-called Dharasur from Paundra Vardhan which became absorbed into his vast dominion.

From the numerous inscriptions of the Pal kings we find that they encouraged Brahmanism and Buddhism alike. "The religion of the Pals was a mixture of the Vedic and Buddhist doctrines. In fact a fusion of the two religions was taking place at this period, the result of which

was the total adoption of the Buddhists in the ranks of the Hindus by which name the followers of the mixed religion came to be designated by their Moslem conquerors." (J. A. S. B., Vol. LXIII, p. 41). As the result of the natural law, the present Hinduism is no doubt the resultant of two contending forces of the Vedic and the Buddhist doctrines. The Pal kings have granted lands both to the Brahmans and Buddhist monks and governing their territory with the principle of universal toleration, they do not seem to have interfered in any way with the society and castes which were left to the people to administer as they chose.

BALLAL SEN, THE REPUTED AUTHOR OF KULINISM

AND HOW HIS CHARACTER DEPICTED BY

NATIVE CHRONICLERS.

But a great revolution is attributed to have taken place in the reign of Ballal Sen. According to Ballal Charita, a work by Ananda Bhutta dedicated to Raja of Navadwipa in 1510 A.D. (*vide* Proceedings A. S. B., Jan. 1902 No. 1) as also from the work of native chroniclers, his religion, it is said, was at first Tantrika Buddhism of a later date. Following the obscure rites of these degraded Buddhists, he had illicit connection with the girl

of a low-born actress whom he even intended to marry. But a monk from Badarikasram converted him to Saivism and with the zeal of a new convert, he became a violent persecutor of his former faith. Like the so-called Adisur he intended to perform a great sacrifice but found on examination that the descendants of those Brahmans colonised by Adisur have, in the course of time, degenerated themselves to a great extent by intermarrying with the indigenous Brahmans of lower rank and given up the duties of the Brahmans enjoined in the Sastras. So he resolved a thorough reorganisation and revolution by establishing a system of nobility called Koulinya basing it on the theory of hereditary transmission of *kul*. What his rules actually were is not known but the Ghataks relate them as follows :-

आचारो विनयो विद्या प्रतिष्ठतीर्धर्शनम् ।

निष्ठा वृत्तिस्तपोदानं नवधा कुललक्षणम्

After defining the term *kul* as one endowed with the nine virtues of (1) good conduct, (2) humility, (3) learning, (4) celebrity, (5) pilgrimage, (6) faith, (7) profession, (8) religious austerity, and (9) charity, he formulated the

following rules for matrimonial connections

कुलधर्मः कुलिनस्य कन्यायाञ्च समास्थित ।

आदानञ्च प्रदानञ्च सपर्य्ये च प्रशस्तकः ॥

(1) The *kul* (nobility) devolves on the daughters of those of equal succession of descent.

नातिदूरे समिपे च ऋणप्रस्ते च दुर्जने ।

व्याधियुक्ते च मूर्खे च षट्सु कन्या न दीयते ॥

(2) Daughters should not be given in marriage to those residing too far or too near, to those involved in debt, to the wicked, to the diseased and the ignorant persons.

सपर्य्यायं समासाद्य दानप्रदणमुत्तमम् ॥

कन्याभावे कुशत्यागः प्रतिज्ञा वा परस्पर ॥

कुलीनस्य सुतं लब्ध्वा कुलीनाय सुतं ददौ ।

पर्यायक्रमतश्चैव स एव कुलदीपकः ॥

आदानञ्च प्रदानञ्च कुशत्यागस्तथैव च ।

प्रतिज्ञाघटकाग्रं च कुलधर्मश्चतुर्विधः ॥

(3) Matrimonial connection between the *kulin*, bridegrooms and the bride having equal succession of descent should be considered the best connec-

tion. The *kul* or nobility of a *kulin* may also be maintained if he, in the absence of a real living daughter, gives a toy-daughter made of Kusa-grass to a *kulin* or binds himself down with a promise to marry his daughter, if born hereafter to him. The four attributes of *kul* or nobility are in the actual giving and taking, (of a daughter) the gift of a toy-daughter made of Kusa-grass when there is no living daughter and promise before the Ghatak to marry one's daughter when she would be born.

विपय्याये कुलं नास्ति न कुलं रराऽपिराऽयोः ।

पौष्यपुत्रे कुलं नास्ति देह्नर च कुलज्ञायिः ॥

By the connection with unequal succession of descent (विपय्याय) one loses his *kul* (that is, for an example, the 24th descent of one man cannot marry the 25th descent of another but must marry the 24th), there is also no *kul* among those who have no issue or who adopts.

Hitherto the *Radhi* Brahmans were classified under two heads '*Kulachals*' and '*Sacchotriya*.' Now Ballal, out of 22 Gains of *Kulachals* is attributed to have created *Mukhya* (principal) *Kulin* to 8 and the rest he styled *gouna* (secondary) *kulin* according as they were more or less endowed

with the nine aforesaid attributes of kulins. He is said to have invited all the Brahmans for such classification but with the exception of the above 22 Gains others left his court in disgust.

Similar classifications were also made by Ballal among the Kayasthas in his dominion. They were divided into (1) Kulin, (2) Siddhya Mouliks, (3) Sadhya Mouliks. Here he met with a more stubborn resistance from the leading members of the Kayastha community who were chiefly his ministers. Narayan Dutt, as a worthy descendant of his redoubtable ancestor Purushottam Dutt, with a keen sense of honour disclaimed to submit to such royal idiosyncrasy and was, therefore, classed in the second class with the Siddhya Mouliks. But Ballal's son Lakshman to redeem his wounded pride gave him the high position of *Madhyalya*^a (माध्यत्य) as an arbitrator in the dispute amongst the first class of the Kulins and made him his minister of War and Peace. (महासन्ध्याविग्रहिक). Vyas Sinha, the leader of the *Utter Radhi* Kayastha community and Ballal's courtier having refused to dine with him and found fault in many of his actions was inhumanly hacked down with a saw by the infuriated tyrant. Vyas Sinha is, therefore, styled *Karaty*

(sawed) Vyas Sinha. The *Utter Radhi* Kayasthas, therefore, refused to bind themselves down under Ballal's rule and independently formed classifications of their own into Kulins, San Mouliks (good mouliks) and samanya (ordinary) moulik. Bhrigoo Mandi who was Ballal's Prime Minister having made similar refusal to dine with the king and stood against the proposed kulinism was cast into prison by him whence he fled with his relatives to Barendra Bhumi and took shelter under Jatadhar Nag, a feudatory under the Pals, who had his capital at Sailakupa. There they with other proteges who had fled from Ballal's tyranny formed a classification of their own into Sidha Bhar and Sadhya Bhar.

BALLAL'S ALLEGED INTERFERENCE WITH OTHER CASTES,

Ballal is reputed also to have interfered with other castes, raising the status of some of inferior rank and degrading some of superior blood. "Yallabh the leading member of the *Sonar bania* (trading caste in Bengal which claims to be Vaisyas) community is said to have given a crore of Rupees loan to Ballal in his wars with the Pal kings of Magadha when Ballal was a Buddhist to which religion the Sonar Banias belonged. Ballal's attitude afterwards against Buddhism

enraged Vallabh who "joined the Palas of Magadha, gave his daughter in marriage to a Pal king and incurred Ballal's displeasure." Ballal divested the Banias of their sacred thread and ordered that any Brahmans teaching or acting as their priests were to be excommunicated. Most of the Banias fled from Ballal's dominion and, to great inconvenience of the Brahmans, stopped slave trade in his dominion. The king, therefore, raised the status of the Kaivartas who were henceforth regarded as actual Sudras, and, as such, water touched by them was considered polluted and unfit for use by higher castes. Thousands of Kaivartas thereby accepted domestic service. He also made similar concession for Malakars (gardeners), Knmbhakars (potters), and Napits (barbers.) (*Vide* Proceedings A. S. B. No. 1, Jan. 1902).

APPOINTMENT OF KULACHARYAS AND GHATAKS.

To give effect to his new system of organisation Ballal is said to have established a system of Inquisition and espionage under the title Kulacharyas who were to enquire into and record the *Ansa* (result of investigation into the marriages in bridegroom's side) *Bansa* (the same in bride's side) and *Dos* (faults and shortcomings and

defects in both sides). These men had an unlimited power which they often abused to further their self-interests.

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS OF BENGAL.

According to native chroniclers Bengal was divided into 5 parts before Ballal's death. There were (1) Banga, (2) Barendra, (3) Bagdi, (4) Radh, (5) Mithila. The country lying east of the river Mahananda and north of Padma, west of the river Karatoya and the several independent kingdoms in the south were called Barendra Bhumi. That vast tract extending from the east of the river Karatoya to the river Brahmaputra is called Banga. The delta forming the river Bhagirathi on the west, Padma on the east and Bay of Bengal on the south was called Bagdi. The tract lying south-west of Bhagirathi and Padma and the kingdom of other independent princes on the south-east is called Radh. Ballal's capital was Vikram-pore, the ancient Samatata, then named Bangaj and as such, it was the Bangaj Kayasthas who were said to have first bound down themselves under his rules of Kulinism and Dakshin Radhi entered the pale many generations afterwards.

CHAPTER IV-

DEFENCE OF BALLAL SEN'S CHARACTER.

BALLAL CAN NEVER BE THE AUTHOR OF KULINISM.

Mr. Westmacott in his paper on the Tarpan-dighi Plate of Laksman Sen is quite right in his remark that Ballal "too is spoken of as a conqueror and one who walked in the way of the Vedas, but there is no allusion to his traditional labours in the organisation of caste which have rendered him famous." In none of the numerous grants discovered up to date of the Sen kings of Bengal, all successors of Ballal Sen, there is any such allusion to his traditional labour, neither the term kulin is ever made use of by them in these grants along with other distinguishing epithets, Gotra, Pravar and Sakha of the Brahman, recipients. Hari Misra in his Karika writes that Ballal had issued many copper plate grants* for the Brahmans according to the classifications made by him, but none has yet been discovered

* उत्तमभ्या ददौ पूर्व मध्यमेभ्यस्ततोऽनृपः ।

अधमेभ्यो भयात् पश्चात् शासनं विधिवद्ददौ ॥

ताम्रपात्रे कुलं लिनख्य शासनानि बहूनि च ।

एतेभ्यो दत्तवान् पूर्व कलौ बल्लालसेनकः ॥

to justify his statement. It is very strange that Ballal's successors in extolling him have made no mention of the alleged circumstance, if such has been the case, neither adopted any such procedure (of mentioning the kul) in their own grants. Moreover, it is a historical fact corroborated by inscriptions and ancient work *Adbhut Sagar* of Ballal Sen that Vijay Sen who was the first King of Bengal of that dynasty had come from Karnatic in Deccan where Vedic religion was always most predominant. Had Ballal intended to perform any Vedic ceremony and found no competent Brahmans for it in Bengal, he would have naturally imported them from Deccan, as the so-called Adisur or Syamal Varma is said to have done, from Kanouj and Kashi, instead of uselessly husking and sifting the degenerated Brahmans of Bengal and creating a chaos in the society; and then what necessity was there of making similar division of the Kayasthas who had nothing to do in the performance of any Vedic ceremony? In India the regulation of the caste, social promotion or degradation or ex-communication were the divine prerogative of the Brahmans, and the king only acted according to their order and advice.

Therefore, it cannot be believed that the Brahmans of Bengal had quietly made over their power to an alien king, who, whatever his caste might have been, was not a Brahman,* and so submissively allowed him even to interfere among their own caste. If Ballal's object was to perform a Vedic ceremony, was that object fulfilled by dividing the degraded Brahmans of Bengal into classes? Did this division create the unvedics versed in Vedas? The chroniclers are silent whether the proposed Vedic ceremony was executed at all, and if so, who performed it. Moreover, it surpasses all understanding what connection a few matrimonial laws may have been with the knowledge of Vedas. Neither the definition of the term kulin shows that any knowledge of the Vedas was required. If by thus busking and sifting Ballal's intention was, to select Brahmans, best capacitated for Vedic training, either by sending them to other parts of India for study or by importing Vedic teachers for them, the chroniclers would have never failed to record this circumstance with the

* Dr. Hœrüb in his History of India has sadly erred in calling the Sen Kings of Bengal, Brahmans. The inscriptions which mention them as ब्रह्माक्षिय of सोमवंश as also the अद्भुतसागर distinctly contradict him.

names and residence of the teachers imported, or the places the students had gone for such education. Then again Ballal is said to have conquered Mithila and inaugurated the Laksman Sen era there. Why did he, or any of his successors who held that country not make similar classifications among the Brahmans and Kayasthas of Mithila instead of leaving the task to be performed by Harasing Dev many centuries afterwards as we will show below? If Ballal was a Tantrik Buddhist and had clandestine love with a low-born girl, the Brahmans would have been the first to outcaste him rather than to allow him to interfere so seriously with their own caste. The following verses of the chronicler in *Bengali* show that the Brahmans even tolerated Ballal's action and converted him to Hinduism even when he did not forsake the Dom girl.

ब्राह्मण पण्डित आनि कराव विचार
 शास्त्र मते कार्य करि कि दोष आमार
 अनेकभाविया राजा विवाह ना कैल
 तथापि होमेर कन्याछाडिते नारिल ॥ ”

The Tarpan Dighi plate of Laksman Sen speaks of Ballal Sen as “an active foe to the influence of

the iron age (Kali-Yuga) walking in the path of the vedas." प्रत्यूर्है : कलिसम्मदामनलसो वेदाय नैकाध्वग :-

In the face of such authority the story of Ballal being a debased Tantrik Buddhist and of his illicit connection with a low-born girl must be rejected like those queer and fantastic fables in vogue regarding Asoka, Vikramaditya and poet Kalidas. The following wise sceptic remarks of Vincent Smith in disbelieving the Ceylonese version of the Asoka legend may be very aptly applied to account for the high colouring of Ballal's character by the Bengal chroniclers.

"The stories about the alleged prevalence of heresy during the earlier part of Asoka's reign which caused a suspension of religious ordinances for seven years, and induced the retirement of Tissa the son of Moggeli for that period, bear a suspicious resemblance to the tales, undoubtedly false, which ascribe the most horrible cruelties to the emperor prior to his conversion to Buddhism. The object of the ecclesiastical romancers was, apparently, to heighten the contrast between the period when the emperor was, according to their view, orthodox, and the period when he held other opinions. The Ceylonese version of the Asoka legend seems to have received a special colouring

with the object of enhancing the reputation of the school favoured by the monks of the Mahavihara Monastery." (Asoka p. 54-55.)

The same chroniclers who have depicted Ballal being of such a low moral, speak of his rebutting the charge as *Homi soit qui mal y pense* in the following lines :—

“तापो नापगतास्तृषा न च कृषा धौता न धूला तने-
नस्वच्छन्दमकारि कन्दकवलः का नामा केनिकथा ।
दूरोत्तित्तिकरेण हन्त करिणं । स्पृष्टा नवा पद्मिनी
प्रारब्धो मधुपैरकारणमहो भृङ्गारकोलाहलः ”

If Ballal was a Buddhist before and became a staunch and sincere follower of Vedic religion afterwards, he would have classified the Brahmans on the basis of the Vedas into Hota ; Acharya, Udgatar and Adhwarju and not in the baseless innovations of *Mukhya* and *Gauna* kulins and never troubled himself to formulate queer rules of marriage connections.

KULINISM ORIGINATED DURING THE MAHOMEDAN RULE.

From the above it is evident that neither Ballal, nor his successors, any of the Sen kings of Bengal were the founder of Kulinism in Bengal, which, no doubt, is of a much later origin. It is

not impossible that in order to invest the system with an antiquated sacerdotal and regal origin and sanction the Brahman Ghataks of much later age have laid it on the shoulder of a great conqueror as its founder and have woven queer stories about him. Such fabrications, inventions, and interpolations are only too common in the works of the Hindu writers, sectarians and others of later age. In fact a good many ancient records of India have thus been a good deal ruthlessly vitiated by them so much so that it is very hard to sift the original from the dust thrown by ages of polluted hands. From the evidence produced below it seems to me quite clear that Kulinism originated at a period when Mahomedan rule was firmly fixed in Bengal in the close of the 13th to 14th century A.D. or even later ; and in order to prevent Hindus from being Mahomedanised in their conduct, hard and fast rules regulating their matrimonial connections and conduct of life were necessary ; and dwellers of each province framed their own rules at different times as Mahomedan influence extended (and thus became separate from the inhabitants of other provinces) and had to face a terrible persecution of the Moslem rulers. Mr. Wise in his paper on

"Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal," writes: "The enthusiastic soldiers, who in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, spread the faith of Islam among the timid races of Bengal, made forcible conversions by the sword, and penetrating the dense forests of Eastern frontier, planted the crescent in the villages of Silhut. Tradition still preserves the names of Adam Sahid, Shah Jalal Mujarrad, and Karfarma Sahib, as three of the most successful of those enthusiasts.

"As early as A. D. 1338 a Mahomedan King ruled over the Eastern Districts from Sunnargaon, and for a century and a half that city was the provisional residence of the rulers of Bengal. * * * During the five centuries and a half of Mahomedan rule in Eastern Bengal, we only hear of one wholesale persecution of the subject Hindus, and that was waged by Jalaluddin, from A. D. 1414 to 1430. The only conditions he offered were the Koran, or death: and it is said that, rather than submit to such terms, many Hīndus fled to Kamrup, and the jungles of Assam and Kachcar, but it is nevertheless probable that more Mahomedans were added to Islam during these seventeen years than in the next three hundred."

(J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIII, Part III, p. 28-29). In India the Brahmans and the King were the actual governors of the society and when there was no more a Hindu King in Bengal, the Brahmans were left alone with their adherents, the Kayasthas, who held executive and ministerial posts. Up rose at this time the modern *Smriti* school formulating minute rules of rites, ceremonies and observances and the class of chroniclers called Ghataks. Speaking of this period, Mahamahopadhyaya H. P. Sastri writes in his History of India, "The Telis and Jolhas of the North-western Provinces and the eighteen Mahomedan castes in Bengal were converted about this time. They, however, received their Mahomedanism, not from Mollahs or orthodox Mussalmans, but from Pirs, Fakirs and other holy men, who never found much favour with the orthodox classes of Mussalmans. The majority of the Hindus remained what they were in spite of the persecution of the Mollahs and the persuasion of the Pirs and Fakirs. The Hindus had no kings in the plains. But there were the cradles of Hindu civilization, and so Brahmans in the absence of sovereign power to protect their religion had recourse to strict social and domes-

tic regulations. It is a remarkable fact that all their Smriti compilations were made after the Mahomedans had obtained a footing in India. Madhavacharya, Bisveswar Bhatta, Chandesvar, Vachaspati Misra, Acharyya Chudamani, Pratap Rudra, Raghunandan, Kamalakar and others flourished at this period, and fixed the manners and customs of different countries in India. That Hindus have up to this time succeeded in maintaining their separate existence as a distinct people, is owing to these strict regulations made by such far-seeing Brahman organizers." Among the Brahmans those who had the greatest influence secured for themselves the highest position and among the Kayasthas those who showed the highest reverence and utmost servility to the Brahmans got the uppermost in their society and those who had shown the least independence were hurled down. The influence of these modern Smartas in Bengal was so great that they had declared in one stroke of their pen the extinction of all other twice-born castes, legalised that except the Brahmans all others were Sudras and had taken away the holy thread, an emblem of "twice-born," from other castes. There was no necessity of any hard and fast

rules of class division during the regime of any Hindu sovereign, when honours were bestowed upon the favourite and upon the personal qualities of men of letters and meritorious services and when the Brahmans were only occupied with the Shastras and performances of religious rites enjoying the grants of kings, and while other castes plied their own respective vocations. But with the establishment of the Mahomedan rule a new order of things arose, the lower castes tried to thrust into the higher with impunity, there was a tug of war between the Brahmans on the one side and the Mahomedan rulers and those enjoying their favour on the other, and the former had to make a bold rush to assert their supremacy in the society by exercising their power to the fullest extent in the provinces they resided and had to combine and consolidate themselves for such purpose. They demanded utter humiliation and implicit obedience from other castes and any deviation from their prescribed rules would subject the delinquents to a social ban or degradation. The Sonar Banias who were of trading class and bankers to the rulers of Bengal seem to have shown a bold front and were, therefore, excommunicated. A system of hereditary nobility

was established among the Kayasthas, who always held high position under the rulers, according as they declared subservient to Brahmanical hierarchy and they were authorised to lord over their brethren ranked below in social and matrimonial matters. This is clear from the statement in the chroniclers where the Ghosh, Basu and Mitras are extolled for calling themselves *servants*, (देसि) of the Brahmins and the displeasure incurred by the Dutt in refusing to call himself by that ignominious appellation. So runs the Karika of Dwija Ghatak Chudamani:

आदिशूर करिलेन कामेष्टि आरम्भन
 निमन्त्रिया आनिलेन कृषिपञ्चजन ।
 सभाते वसिल तवे मुनिपञ्चजन
 पात्रमित्र सभासद सहित राजन ।
 पञ्चजन कायस्थ आसे नृपति सदन
 ससम्भ्रमे नरपति दिल आलिङ्गन ॥
 जिज्ञासिल नरपति मुनिदेर स्थाने
 एतशुनि कहेतवे पञ्चतपोधने ॥
 एइपञ्चजनह्य कायस्थ कुमार
 जिज्ञासह इहादिगे कि कहे उत्तर
 दसरथमकरन्द कालिदास कय
 शिष्य अनुगत मेरा शुन महाशयः

* In his anxiety to set up a tradition this chronicler has fallen into a gross anachronism by attributing Adisur to be the founder of Kulinism among the Kayasthas !

इदद्विज आदिकारि मुनिपञ्चजन
 इहादेर दास हैनु शुन सर्वजन ॥
 पुरुषोत्तमदत्त कहे करपुटे
 तोमा दरशने आइलाम मुनिसंगेवटे ॥
 दत्तकहे भृत्यनहि शुनमहीपाल
 एकग्रामे वसति आछये बहुकाल ॥
 कायस्थ कुलेते जन्म शुन नरपति
 राट्देश देखिवारे आइलाम संहति ॥
 एत शुनि कहे मुनि हये अमिबत
 आमादेर संगे आसि अहंकारएत ॥
 दासवले परिचय केन नाहिदिले
 एखनि ताहारफल पाइवे अचिरे ॥
 गुहके जिज्ञासिले कहे हर्षाशिष्य आराम
 तागे तुष्टनृपकहे भालवटतुमि ॥
 घोषवसु मित्र रांड वंगे कुलिन गुह
 एइ तिन कुलीन हइल निश्चय जानिह ॥
 घोष वसुमित्र गुहकुलेर अधिकारि
 अभिमाने वालीर दत्त जाय गडागडि ॥
 कातर देखियादत्ते कहेन राजन
 सन्मौलिक हइले तुमि शुनपुरुषोत्तम ॥
 एतवालि आशीर्वाद दिलपञ्चजन
 मुनि संगे रहिलेन धम्मगे रदायो ॥

CHAPTER V.

THE SYSTEM OF KULINISM HAS ITS REAL HOME IN
MITHILA (TIRHUT.)

HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN OF KULINISM IN MITHILA.

Enquiries since made by me in Mithila (the present Durbhanga Raj) not only confirm this view set forth by me but clearly prove that Kulinism is not an indigenous product of Bengal but, on the contrary, an exotic and contraband commodity imported from Mithila into Bengal proper by the Bengali Pandits who were formerly the students of the Mithila Schools. Besides, the informations I have gathered throw a flood of light on the history of this most ancient and yet unexplored country, qualifying, in my belief, many of the foregone conclusions of the scholars and antiquarians. My informant Mahomahopadhya Chitradhar Misra is the chief Pandit of the Maharaja of Durbhanga's Durbar and the greatest *Mimamsak* of India in the present day. One who has once met him is really enchanted with his fathomless erudition, inexhaustible store of information and lucid mode of expounding most difficult problems. The Pandit very kindly made a sifting enquiry on the subject of my queries from the *Panjikars*

of Mithila who hold the same position as the Ghataks or Kulacharyas in Bengal and I translated verbatim his letters below into English :—

“ The classification of the Brahmans of Mithila generally according to first, second and third rank (उत्तम मध्यम अधम) are Srotriya Yogya and Panjibandh. Each of these are again subdivided into three similar divisions of (उत्तम, मध्यम अधम) according to the Panjis or *Kulagranths*. The originator of the Panjis (पञ्चप्रिवन्धकार्ता), Maharaja Hara Sing Deo, who was a descendant of Kshaktriya Raja coming from Karnat, was the King of Mithila. He was born in the Saka Era of 1216 and organised the classification by the Pandits of his court when he was 32 years old, i.e., in 1248 Saka Era.

शाके श्रीहरासिंहदेवनृपतेभूपार्कतुलऽजनि ।

तस्मादन्तामिते ऽब्देके बुधजनैः पञ्चप्रिवन्धकृत ॥

“ Nanya Dev was King of Mithila and reigned for 36 years, his son was Ganga Dev who reigned for 14 years, his son was Ram Sing Dev who reigned for 92 years, his son was Sakra Sing Dev who reigned for 12 years, his son was Hara Sing Dev who reigned for 34 years having been born in Saka 1216.

“The following tradition is in vogue as to the cause which led to the classification of the Brahmans at Mithila and the origin of the class of Panjikars.

“During the reign of Hara Sing-Dev there lived a Pandit in the village of Sataghara named Harnath Upadhyaya who was author of *Smriti Sar* and resided in the court of some king leaving his young and beautiful wife at his family residence in Mithila. At the outskirts of this village there was a temple of Siva called Sukreswar where she daily used to resort to for worship. Hard by that temple was the habitation of the Chandals (dusads) amongst whom was a rogue who one day tried to violate her modesty at which she grasped the idol and raised a piteous cry and was providentially rescued by a cobra suddenly appearing from the water course of the temple and chasing the miscreant who took to his heels in terror. But the public at large could not believe that her modesty was not outraged by the Chandal. So she was made to undergo the trial by ordeal of red hot iron in which she had to utter the vow “नाहं चराडालगीमनी ” (I have not cohabited with a Chandal). But instead of proving her innocence by this vow her hands began to burn which proved

her otherwise. She was, therefore, outcasted and deserted by her husband. Amazed and mortified at the falsehood of the ordeal and asserting her innocence she took shelter under the roof of the court Pandit of King Hara Sing Dev, the great logician Bachaspati Misra, who began to make a sifting enquiry into the cause of the failure of the divine ordeal in proclaiming the truth and at last found on testing the genealogies of the wife and the husband that by their union the injunction of the Shashtra "मातुतः पञ्चमी त्यक्त्वा पितुतः सप्तमी भजेत्" has been violed and the husband has thereby degraded himself to the position of a *Chandal* in consequence of his affinity with a girl of close consanguinity by the Shastriac law.

"चराडालः स्वजनगामी चराडालः स्वजनसुतः

The vow, therefore, during the trial was not correctly worded; hence the ordeal had failed to show what the true case was. So a second trial was ordered by the king in his presence with the vow "नाहं पत्यतिरिक्तचराडालागमिनी" "I have not cohabited with any chandal other than my husband" and the Brahman girl successfully passed the ordeal which established her innocence. By this incident Raja

Hara Sing Dev came to the conclusion that a good number of the Brahmans in his dominion have similarly degraded themselves by such prohibited affinity, and to expunge this great evil out of the society he assembled the Pandits and created the class of Panjikars whose duties were to record the genealogy of each family and without whose sanction no matrimonial connection was to take place. In making this classification Hara Sing Dev had invited all the Brahmans of his dominion to a meeting (Sabha) held for the purpose. Those who attended it after $2\frac{1}{2}$ Prahars were given the first rank, those after $1\frac{1}{2}$ Prahars were the second in rank and those after that were ranked lowest; for, it was held that the daily morning ablutions and religious rites of a pious Brahman could not be rightly performed before $2\frac{1}{2}$ Prahars and those who had come before time had necessarily done them perfunctorily.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE KAYASTHAS OF MITHILA.

“The classification of the Kayasthas of Mithila also took place in Hara Sing's time by his minister who was a Kayastha and who collected his castemen and appointed learned Kayasthas for writing the *Panjis* of the Kayasthas. The classifications were made according to village divisions

chiefly of which are (1) Balain, (2) Barnil, (3) Kothipal, (4) Nowrangibal, (5) Mahuli, (6) Mandich, (7) Kerti, (8) Obesh, (9) Obari, (10) Gadkali, (11) Gadnidhi, (12) Athar. These twelve chief Kayasthas bear the title "Das" and called "Mallicks." Besides these, the Kayasthas of village Pakri and Beer are called Dev, the Kayasthas of Kothikhal village are called "Kantha" and those of Basantpore village are called "Dutts." Besides the aforesaid Kayasthas holding the first and second rank, there are more than hundreds of Kayasthas holding lower rank. Although the Kayasthas of Mithila are not invested with sacred thread, the ceremony of Chudakaran is in vogue with them. They are classed among the Sudras but their duties and conducts (आचार व्यवहार) are certainly superior to those of the Sudras.

"After the extinction of the dynasty to which Hara Sing belonged and in the reign of Firoz Shah Taglak, this Emperor of Delhi bestowed on Pundit Kameswar the Mithila Raj. His son was Bhava Sing, his son was Dev Sing, his son again was Siva Sing. They were Uniwar Brahmans of Mithila and this dynasty immediately preceded the present Durbhanga Raj dynasty (which originated in the time of Akbar.)

“ Father of Hara Sing Dev invaded Nepal and Nepal was under this dynasty till the reign of Hara Sing Dev.”

EVIDENCES TO PROVE IMPORTATION OF KULINISM
FROM MITHILA TO BENGAL.

From the above we find that the classification_s of the Mithila Brahmans were made by Hara Sing in Saka 1248 = 1326 A. D. It is a well-known fact that Bengal Proper owes its civilisation and education to Mithila which was the chief seat of learning at that distant date before the foundation of Navadvip (Nadiya). Pundits of Bengal had to come there to study Nyaya philosophy and Smriti and when they desired to go back to their native land after finishing their education, they were deprived by their teachers of all books in their possession and had to rely on their memory to re-write them on their return home. It seems, therefore, doubtless that the classifications of the Brahmans and the Kayasthas of Bengal were introduced by these Pundits not earlier than the 14th century A. D., or it may even be later, in imitation of those inaugurated in Mithila in 1326 A. D. It is also very interesting to note that the *Sambandh Nirnayakar* relates Ballal Sen to have adopted the same time test of $2\frac{1}{2}$ Prahars, $1\frac{1}{2}$

Prahars and earlier for judging the merits of the Brahmans in bestowing *Kulinism*. Like Mithila the Kayasthas of Bengal were classified into 3 divisions, divested of the sacred thread although permitted to observe Chudakaran ceremony, those who held the first rank were honoured (!) with the sweet epithet of "Das" (servant) and that, in the three classifications alike to both the countries, the "Dutts" and "Devs" held an intermediate rank.

The informations supplied by my learned informant throw a flood of light on the early history of Bengal. We find two rival dynasties issuing from Karnatic, one of Nanya Dev and the other of the ancestors of Vijaya Sen. Nanya Dev conquered Mithila and Vijaya Sen Bengal Proper. With the former must have accompanied a band of Brahmans from Karnatic to perform the sacrificial and ceremonial rites of their king and domiciled at Mithila. After a lapse of time their connection with their mother country was cut off and in the 6th generation (or it may be 3 or 4 generations later, if in the Pundit's list some names have been omitted). Raja Hara Sing found them marrying in close consanguinity, to prevent which he had organised the classifications,—the story of

the trial of Haranath Pundit's wife, it is needless to say, is a pure myth but having this historical basis that the breach in the marriage law was first detected in her case. The question of consanguinity did not arise among the Kayasthas who were either natives of the soil or had settled at Mithila much earlier and were then too numerous to admit such interdicted matrimonial connection amongst themselves ; hence they were classed as each tracts submitted to the new sacerdotal hierarchy and acknowledged that body as their preceptors. The facts that the classifications in Mithila are attributed at a much later date, that it was made on a more reasonable motive and sounder basis to interdict affinity with too close blood relations and that it was introduced by a king who was only the 6th or 7th in descent from the first settler, Nanya Dev, prove that the Maithila Panjikars have preserved a more correct record. Mahamahopadhy Chitradhar Misra informs me that he finds in the *Panjis* the names of 40 of his ancestors before him. Calculated at the average rate of 20 years for each generation this leads us back nearly to the period of Nanya Dev assigned below.

THE STATEMENTS OF THE BENGAL CHRONICLERS
CRITICISED AND PROVED TO BE MERE FABRICATIONS.

But the Brahmans of Bengal, students from Mithila, in the 14th or 15th century in introducing the classifications in their own country found that the question of consanguinity did not arise there as they had settled in Bengal at a much earlier date and become too numerous.* In fact their genealogy from the date of Adī Sur or Aditya Sen was lost. But they found their provincial village* divisions (गात्रि) to be very old which they thought as having been handed down to them from the time of the Sen kings of Bengal among whom the name of Ballal Sen as a great conqueror like Hara Sing of Mithila was proverbial, he having conquered even Mithila and inaugurated the Laksman Sen era there.

* In the inscription of Bhavadev Bhutt discovered by my friend, the Editor of the *Visva Kosh*, in Ananta Vasudev's temple near the Lion gate of Bhuvaneswar temple, Orissa we find the following sloka :

“प्राप्तः सिद्धलव्य केवलमलङ्कारोऽस्ति राधाश्रियः ”

“ वन्द्या वन्द्यटीयस्य ब्रह्मणः प्रयतां सुताम्

साङ्गकामङ्गनारत्नपत्नीं स परिणीतवान् ”

The characters of the inscription are the same Kutila characters found in the inscriptions of the Sen Kings Bengal. No mention of Kulinism even here !

So they found it very easy to set up a tradition making poor Ballal their scape-goat and created a class of *Ghataks* to fabricate an antique genealogy in a pish imitation of the Maithil *Panjikars*. Even the existence of the early Ghataks is much to be doubted as their names "Bachaspati Misra" "Dhruvananda Misra" "Hari Misra," "Edu Misra" appear more to be Maithila names than Bengali. The fabrication of the records of these Ghataks becomes more and more palpable as we examine the genealogies of the Kayasthas and Brahmans who are alleged to have been invited in Adi Sur's court. The Daksin Radi Kayasth Ghatak *Karika* states that Pravakar and Nisapati Ghose, 6th in descent from Makaranda Ghose of Adi Sur's time, Sukti and Mukti Bose, 5th in descent of Dasarath, Dhuin and Guin Mitra, 9th in descent from Kalidas Mitra were ranked as Mukhya Kulins by Ballal; whereas Dhruvananda Misra in his *Bangaj Karika* states that Paran and Krishna Basu, 2nd in descent from Dasarath, Subhasita and Bhavanath Ghose, 2nd and 3rd in descent from Makaranda and Sridhar and Aswapati Mitra, 2nd in descent from Kalidas Mitra were kulinised by Ballal in the presence of Narayan Dutt, 9th in descent from Purushottam

Dutt. It does not stand to reason how the 2nd or 3rd descendants of contemporaneous men could be contemporaries of the 9th descendant of the one. We cannot also call the *Daksin Radi Kayasth Karika* to be correct as we find therein that Poorander Khan, minister of Hoosain Shah in 1494 A. D. remodelled the Daksin Radi kulins who were all then said to be the 13th in descent from their ancestors who had come in Adi Sur's court. It is inexplicable how the descendants of the 6th descent Pravakar Basu, 5th descent Sukti Basu and 9th descent Dhuin Mitra could all be the 13th descent in Hossain Shah's time. Moreover, if Ballal reigned from 1119—72 A. D., the difference between his time and that of Hoosain Shah is nearly 350 years when no less than 19 or 20 generations must have passed away since the date of the so-called Adi Sur. Neither the genealogies of the Brahmins given by these Ghataks pass a better test. We find in the works of the Barendra Ghataks that the descendants of the Brahmins invited in Adi Sur's Court, viz., of Saundilya Gotra Ksitish's son Bhutt Narayan, of Bharadwaj Gotra Medhatithi's son Goutam, of Kasyap Gotra Vitrag's son Susen and of Batsya Gotra Sudhanidhi's son Dharadhur

now reckon 37, 36, 37 and 28 generations respectively above them ; but, according to the works of the Radhi Ghataks, the descendants of the same men reckon 32 to 33, 35 to 36, 32 to 33 and 28 to 29 respectively above them ; whereas my learned informant Pundit Chitradhar Misra, counting from a much later date, finds the names of 40 generations above him in the Maithil *Panjigranth*. Accepting even the genealogies of the Bengal Brahmans to be correct and taking the round number 33 as the average descent and ascribing 20 years for each generation as was done in the case of my learned informant, the ancestors of the Bengal Brahmans alleged to have come in Adi Sur's Court do not date more than 660 years before the present time, i. e., about 1244 A. D. This shows that these genealogies all commence only 3 or 4 generations before the actual introduction of Kulinism during the Pathan regime and not from the so-called Adi Sur. When we compare the above with the genealogical tables of the Kulin Kayasthas which give only 27 generations from the time of Adi Sur the question how the descendants of contemporaneous Brahmans and Kayasthas would come in one case to 37 generations and in the other only 27, reveals

striking anomaly. This, no doubt, falsifies the whole deduction of Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra regarding his date of Adi Sur. He said "My date of Adi Sur is founded upon the genealogical tables of the Kayasthas as now current in this country. Those tables give 27 generations from the time of Adi Sur, and at three generations to a century the time of that prince is carried to 964 of the Christian era. If there be any error in the tables, it would no doubt falsify my deduction, but as long as that error is not detected, that deduction will, I expect, command attention." (Indo-Aryans, Vol. II, p. 259). A further anomaly has been shown by the late Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra himself in the genealogy of the Brahmans. The Raja writes in his paper on the Pal and the Sen dynasties of Bengal (Indo-Aryans, Vol. II, p. 243):—

"It should be noted that the editor of the *Jeni Sankar*, *Muktaran Vidya Bagish* in his genealogical table of the Tagore family, makes Halayudha, minister of Lakshman Sen, to be the 16th in descent from Bhattanarayan; but, inasmuch as his statement has been contradicted by the author of *Khitisa-Vansavali-charita*, who would have him to be the third in descent from Bhattanarayan, and both have been contradicted by Har-

yudha himself, who calls his father Dhananjaya, whereas the one makes him the son of Nipu and the other that of Ramarupa, we may well reject his testimony as inadmissible."

THE KULIN KAYASTHAS OF BENGAL ARE NOT
DESCENDANTS OF ANY INDIVIDUAL IMMIGRANTS.

It is also a noteworthy fact that all the present Kulin Kayasthas of Bengal, Ghoses, Basus and Mitras, who claim to be the descendants of Makaranda, Dasarath and Kalidas and form nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Kayastha population in Bengal could never possibly have been the offsprings of three men only. To believe in such an absurd statement is tantamount to believe in the already exploded unscientific Biblical theory of the creation of the whole human race from a single pair, Adam and Eve. There is no earthly reason why their ancestors were bestowed with such extravagant and disproportionate power of procreation in preference to other Kayasthas of 80 families who are obliged to take *their* daughters only in marriage. It is evident from the above that the term 'Ghose,' 'Basu,' 'Mitra,' etc., were not originally family patronymics handed down from any single ancestor but, as were in vogue in Mithila, titles bestowed by the Brahmans on the dwellers of each tracts as they had acknowledged their suzerainty.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF MITHILA (TIRHUT).

Professor Cecil Bendall in his paper on the History of Nepal and surrounding Kingdoms (J. A. S. B. Vol. LXXII, p. 14), writes: "There are few regions of India possessing an ancient civilisation about which we have less definite historic information than the region north of the Ganges variously known as Videha, Tribhukti, or (from its capital) Mithila. Neither the work of Prinsep, nor his excellent successor, Miss C. M. Duff, attempts a "Dynastic list" for this country."

I cannot, therefore, resist the temptation of culling below *in extenso* Mr. Hodgson's very interesting account* from J. A. S. B. Vol. IV of 1836, correcting only the errors committed in the memorial verse in Sanskrit.

"Of the Nepalese Tarai it might justly be said, until very lately,

'A goodly place it was in days of yore,

But something ails it now : the place is cursed '

" Five centuries of incessant struggle between

* Account of a visit to the ruins of Simraon, once the capital of the Mithila Province. By B. H. Hodgson, Esq., Resident in Nepal.

Moslem bigotry and Hindu retaliation had indeed, stricken this borderland with the double curse of waste and pestilence. Nature, as it were, in very scorn of the vile passions of man having turned the matchless luxuriance of the soil and climate into the means of debarring his future access ! Such was the Nepalese Tarai until 1816. But since that period the peace and alliance existing between the two efficient Governments of the hills and the plains have given security to the borderers and man is now fast resuming his ancient tenure of this fertile region. Still, however, there is little temptation or opportunity for Europeans to enter it, and chance recently conducted me past the ruins of Simraon. I give you a hasty sketch of what I saw and heard because these ruins are evidently *disjecta membra* of the same magnificent body to which the mausoleum of Kesaria and the solitary column of Mathia, of Radhia, and of Bakhra belong. About 15 miles from the base of the hills, and at a nearly equal distance from the Bagmatty, south of the former, and west of the latter stand the remains of Simraon, in the Nepalese District of Rotahat, and opposite to the Champarun division of the British Zillah of Saran."

"Hindu tradition, eked out by a couple of Sanskrit slokas,* copy of which I subjoin, asserts that Simraon was founded by Nanyapa Deva, A.D. 1097; that six of the dynasty reigned

रामस्य वित्तं नलराजवित्तं
 पुरुरवो वित्तमलकंराज्ञः
 हृदात्समुदृत्य निपात्य नागः
 श्रीनान्यदेवो निरमात्स्वागतर्तम् ॥
 वाणाचर्चियुग्मशशिसम्मिश्रकवर्षे
 पौषस्य शुक्लनवमरिविसुनुवारे
 त्यक्त्वा स्वपट्टंनपुरं हरासिंहदेवो
 दुर्दैर्वदार्शितग्याथगिरिं विवेश ॥

The following is a literal translation of these memorial verses :

"The wealth accumulated by Rajas Rama, Nala' Pururava and Alarka, was preserved in a tank (that of Isra) and guarded by a serpent. Nanyapa Dev destroyed the serpent, appropriated the wealth, and built Simraon Garh with it. (His descendant) Hari Singha, compelled by cruel fate, abandoned this beautiful city, and went to the hills in the year of the Saka 1245."

"The kingdom of the Deva dynasty in the plains expired with the destruction or desertion of Simraon. It extended from the Kasi to the Gandak, and from the Ganges to the hills of Nepal: at least, such were its limits in the days of its greatest splendour, when consequently it embraced all the several localities from which I have recently forwarded to you such signal memorials of Hindu power and science."

† "I. Nanyapa, II, Ganga, III, Narasingha, IV, Ramsingha V, Sakti Singha VI, Hari Singha, all with the cognomen Deva."

there with great splendour; and that the sixth, by name Hari Sing Dev, was compelled to abandon his capital and kingdom, and take refuge in the hills A.D. 1322. The Moslem annals give 1323 for the date of the destruction of Simraon by Toglak Shah. Of the accuracy of the latter date there can be no doubt; nor is the difference between the Mussalman and Hindu chronology of the least moment. But unless Nanvapa had more than five successors, we cannot place the foundation of Simraon higher than about 1200 A. D. This is *clearly* too recent; and in fact, no part of the tradition can be trusted but that vouched by the memorial verses which only give the date of destruction."

The date mentioned in the "memorial verse," is Saka era 1245=1324 A. D. which exactly corroborates that given in the Moslem annals (authority not mentioned by Hodgson) referred to by him. But this date cannot certainly be "the date of the *final* destruction of Simraon by Toglak Shah." The memorial verse simply says that "compelled by cruel fate Hara (Hari?) Sing had to flee to the hills leaving his capital." The first of the Toglak Emperors, Gayasuddin Toglak became Emperor of Delhi in 1320 A. D., after

putting to death Khusru who had killed the last of the Khilji Emperors. Gyasuddin Toglak reigned for 4 years till 1324 A.D. If Hara Sing's desertion in 1324 A.D. is supposed to be the *final* destruction of Simraon by the Moslem invader Toglak, how could then Hara Sing have made the classification of the Brahmans in 1326 A.D.? So if the memorial verse has any historical value at all, it must mean some incident, sadly omitted, which had led to a temporary desertion of Simraon by Hara Sing. This incident is the invasion of the Toglak to subdue Bahadur Khan whom he had appointed to the Government of the eastern districts of Bengal but who had deposed the King of Bengal Nazir-uddin, "arrogated to himself independence and ordered coin to be stamped with his own name and changed the title of Bahadur Khan to Bahadur Shah." "Toglak, jealous of the assumed rank marched from Delhi with numerous army and on his arrival at Tirhut was met by Nazir-uddin whom he re-appointed to his Government of Lucknowty on condition of holding it in fief from the court of Delhi. Bahadur Shah finding himself unable to oppose the Imperial arms, submitted to the clemency of the Emperor and was pardoned on condition of giving up the public treasure and the

elephants and attending the Imperial stirrup to Delhi. The Emperor then appointed Tatar, with the title of Bairam Khan, to the Government of Sunerganj, and having subdued Tirhut, formed it into a distinct Government, to which he appointed Ahmad Khan and then returned to Delhi". (*Vide Stewart's History of Bengal*). There seems no doubt that Hara Sing had helped the impostor and had to flee to save himself from Toglak's wrath and as Toglak died soon after he deposed Ahmad Khan and got back his Raj. However, it is a great find that the names of the six kings of Nanya Dev's dynasty exactly tally with those given by the learned Pandit Chitradhar Misra with this difference only that for Sukra Sing, Hodgson has Sakti Sing and Hara for Hara.

The informations gathered by Mahamahopadhyaya Chitradhar Misra happily supply the wants complained of by Professor Bendall to a great extent and we believe, if the works of the *Mithila Panjikars* are carefully examined, very valuable discoveries may be made in the domain of ancient history of India. From the Pandit's letter we discover an unbroken chain of reigning dynasties from 1088 A.D. or even a century earlier. The kings of the Karnatic dynasty are thus calculated;

1. Nanya Dev. 1088—1124 A. D.
2. Ganga Dev. 1124—1138 A. D.
3. Narasing Dev. 1138—1190 A. D.
4. Ramsing Dev. 1190—1282 A. D.
5. Sukrasing Dev. 1282—1294 A. D.
6. Harasing Dev. 1294—1328 A. D.

Now this Nanya Dev, founder of the Karnatic dynasty, we find in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII, p. 114 to have conquered Nepal and driven away the Thakuri kings Jaya Dev Malla who reigned in Kantipur and Salit Pattna; and his brother Anand Malla who reigned in Bhatgaon in the Newar era 97 Saka, 811 = 889 A. D. There is a difference of nearly a century between the time given in the *Indian Antiquary* and that given by the Pundit, and if both the authorities speak of the identical Nanya Dev, he should be given an incredible lease of life for over 130 years. So we must either believe there were two Nanya Devs in the dynasty or that the authority from which my learned informant has gathered his statement has omitted names of 3 or 4 generations. According to Pischel (*Katslogeder Bibliothek d. dent Morg. Gesch.* Vol. II, p. 8) Nanya Dev reigned in Nepal in 1019 Saka = 1097 A. D. This tallies with the

Pundit's date. Mahamahopadhyaya Hara

Sastri states :

" The Karnatas were the enemies of Hemanta Sen, the great grandfather of Ballal Sen. Hemanta retired to a place on the Bhaghirathi, in Bengal, after a lifelong contest with the Karnatas, and his grandson Vijaya, is said to have defeated Nanya Dev, the founder of the Karnatic dynasty of Nepal. (Epigr. Ind. Vol. 1). These reigned in Nepal for several generations (see Bendall's catalogue) and the Maithil king under whose patronage Chandesvar wrote his Smriti works and led his victorious armies to Nepal, also belonged to the Karnatic dynasty. (See Eggehnig's Cat. I. O. L. Mss) "

Probably the Sastri's conclusion in making Vijaya Sen contemporaneous with Nanya Dev is based on the Deopada Inscription * of Vijaya Sen which was translated in a somewhat different way by Mr. Metcalfe and Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra "Thou hast no hero to conquer" said the bards. On hearing it, through a misconception (the words being susceptible of the meaning "thou hast conquered no hero,") a deep anger rose and assailed the king of Ganda who overcame the king of Kamrup, and forthwith conquered Kandyakamintara. (Pils J. A. S. B. Vol.

1332 1367 A. D. गिरः कवीनां

1367-1382 A

of K

of Kalinga. 1397 A

* त्वे नान्यत्र विजयीति

भ्रत्वाऽन्यथामननरुदनिगूढरोषः

XXXIV, Part I. p. 148 and Indo-Aryan Vol. II, p. 261) We would rather interpret the stanza thus: "Hearing the equivocal words of the poet which may be interpreted 'thou hast not conquered' (surpassed) Nanya (Bir) Dev (of yore who conquered even Nepal) in conquest or that 'thou hast not yet conquered any famous warrior,' the king conquered the kings of Ganda and Madra, overcame the king of Kamrup and forthwith conquered Kalinga." Now if we take Nanya Dev to be contemporaneous with Vijaya Sen, the statement in the *Indian Antiquary* must be rejected unless we infer the existence of two Nanya Devs in the dynasty and hold Pischel's statement to be incorrect. Then again, Chandeswar Thakur the author of *Smriti Ratnakar* was son of Jireswar Thakur, minister of Hara Sing Dev who is said to be the son of Bhavesh (*vide* Aufretsch's Catalogue Catalogum), name omitted by my learned informant. Chandeswar is said to have composed his *Vibad Ratnakar* in 19th century *Shaka* in the reign of Hara Sing Dev gathered his father's

After Nanya Dev or 4 generations back, no doubt, is the same as the *Buddhist* *Shaka* for Kaluch II, p. 8) Dev given by the P. S. B. L. X. = 1092 *Shaka* comes Ganga Dev to whom Professor Bendall

Rambhadra, as the learned professor says, but the 4th king of this dynasty and that the renowned conqueror of Nepal, Hari Sing of Simraon in Saka 1245—1323 (Princep's Antiquities useful tables Vol II, p. 160) is no other than Hara Sing.

After the Karnatic dynasty comes the Unwar Brahman dynasty founded by Kameswar Pundit who got the Raj from Firoz Shah Toglak or some time after 1351 by the extinction of the Karnatic dynasty. Of this Unwar Brahman dynasty we have got the grant of the 4th king Siva Sing Dev to poet Vidyapati published in the Proceedings of the A. S. B. for August 1895, p. 143 by Dr. Grierson. Therein is engraved Vikram Samvat 1455 and Saka 1321 which comes to 1398-99 A. D. Allowing a few years more reign to Siva Sing after the grant, say till 1412, we find that 4 generations reigned for about 60 years from Kameswar to Siva Sing at an average of 15 years each and the period of their reign may be approximately calculated as follows :

1. Kameswar 1352—1367 A. D.
 2. Bhavasing 1367—1382 A. D.
 3. Devising 1382—1397 A. D.
 4. Sivasing 1397—1412 A. D.
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CHAPTER VII.

BENGAL IN THE TIME OF LUKSHMAN SEN AND
HIS SUCCESSORS.*Discussion on the organisation attributed to
Lukshman Sen.*

According to the native chroniclers, Ballal had simply exalted 19 Brahmans to be Kulins, but had not specified their respective ranks. So after his death they struggled among themselves, each one vying for supremacy and disdaining to acknowledge others superiority or to marry their daughters to one whom they considered inferior in rank. On this Ballal's son Lukshman Sen called an assembly of the Brahmans and exalted for the first time 7 of them to equal rank of Kulins and again for the second time raised 14 others to that equality. This is known as *समीकरण* attributed to Lukshman. Of these 21 men so equally ranked, there were 17 of those who were said to have been formerly honoured by Ballal. Lukshman Sen is alleged to have further regulated, as an imperative to preserve Kulinism, that there should be a mutual transfer *परिवर्त* in the marriages of Kulins' daughters, i. e., a Kulin must necessarily marry the sister of one to whom he has given his

sister in marriage, that whoever among the Kulins would make such connection he would be honoured as the primary (मुख्य) Kulin. But here he met with a crux. What will be the fate of those who have no daughters born? To get over this difficulty, he is said to have formulated 5 sorts of transfer, परिवर्त्त, for the secondary गौण Kulins among which was the ridiculous practice of giving in marriage a daughter made of grass in the absence of a real daughter, and further classified them into ridiculously capricious divisions, sub-divisions and sub-divisions under sub-divisions, the enumeration and definitions of which we would omit here in order to save our readers from the sufferings of a troubled headache and a sickening nausea. It is needless to say that Lukshman Sen had nothing to do with these gigantic nonsense attributed to him. The works of his time and the inscriptions show that during the period of 8 years he ruled he had far more noble and honorable themes to devote his attention to than such stupidities. The author of the Backerganj plate makes him erect altars and pillars of victory at Benares, Allahabad and Jagannath. He is said by the Mahomedan historians to have greatly embellished the city of Gour and called it after his name Luksh-

nauty or Lukshmanabati. It also does not stand to reason that in their vast dominion teeming with Brahmans, Ballal had found only 19* and Lukshman only 21 Brahmans worthy of being exalted to the rank of Kulins. If it is inferred that these kings had only thus honoured their courtiers, it would be absurd to suppose then that the great body of the Brahman public had humbly bowed down to such capricious and partial distinctions. It is also inexplicable why Lukshman in imitation of his father had not made such divisions and subdivisions among the Kayasthas who were left in an equally chaotic state with an undefined status by Ballal.

Apart from the fabulous connection with the king's name as organiser, the narrative of the chroniclers reveals an important historical fact based on a natural law. It shows how the Brahmans struggled among themselves for supremacy over each other and at first the more learned and intelligent among them succeeded in putting down others by forming a clique and regulating a marriage law of mutual transfer to preserve the purity of blood by hereditary transmission, (the object being the same as that of the Maithil

* Raja Rajandra Lal Mitra stated 10 (*Vide Indo-Aryan*, Vol. II P. 243).

Aryan, Vol. II, pp. 249—251). Abul Fazl in the Ain also interprets this Lukshmaniya as “son of Lukshman.”

The chronicler Hari Misra writes that the Muhammadans conquered Bengal in the reign of Keshav Sen,† the last son of Lukshman Sen and this ought to be accepted as right so long no monumental record of the Sen kings of Bengal is unearthed after Keshav contradicting Hari Misra.

Many European historians like Mr. Marshman have indulged in a sarcastic hit on the cowardice of the Bengalees on the statements that their country was conquered by 17 *Sauwars* unopposed. The above authentic statements of the Muhammadan historians themselves (from which Stewart has also compiled his) clearly show that it was conquered by the same Machiavellian policy as we find in our days. Lord Dufferin adopting in the conquest of Burma, coupled with that which 148 years ago Clive adopted in the battle of Plassey That Bengal under the Pal and the Sen kings whose banners waved from Allahabad to Orissa

† “वल्ललतनयो राजा लक्ष्मणोऽभू-

न्महाशयः ॥ तत्पुत्रः केशवो राजा

गैडराज्यं विहाय च । मतिञ्चाप्य

करो द्वन्द्वे यवनस्य भयात्ततः ।

न शक्नुवन्ति ते विप्रास्तत्र स्यातुं यदा पुनः ” ॥

and Assam was not a country of weaks and cowards their inscriptions clearly testify. The very fact that while Behar with its population of brave Rajputs and sturdy Bhuinhars was subject to successive pillages of Bakhtiyar before its final conquest two years previous to the conquest of Bengal and that he had not dared ravage Bengal similarly but waited for an opportunity to be successful by ruse, deceit and dishonesty clearly shows the power and prestige of the last of the Sen kings of Bengal. We glean from the same authorities an important fact regarding this easy conquest of Bengal. It is said that the Brahmans had foretold that the time had come, as written in the Shastras, when the country would be conquered by the Mahommadans and had given an exact description of the conqueror Bakhtiyar from their Shastras. Needless to say that there exists no such nonsense in the Shastras. Learned as the Sen king was, it is impossible to think that he was duped by the Brahmans with an interpolation in their sacred books having been bribed by the Mahommadans. Moreover, they knew very well that Bakhtiyar was not a friend of the Brahmans, and were, no doubt, aware of his wholesale massacre of the Hindu and Buddhist ascetics and destruction

deal with the different phases that ~~to~~ ^{are} in the four Kayastha communities and the later on.

BENGAL NOT CONQUERED BY THE MAHOMEDANS
IN LUKSHMAN SEN'S TIME.

We cannot here refrain from discussing a very important historical point in which, to our greatest surprise, we find the two renowned scholars of Bengal Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri and Babu Nagendra Nath Bose have, in our humble opinion, sadly blundered. The learned Sastri in his History of India writes :

Lukshman Sen is said to have been a great king in the early part of his life ; but when he was about eighty years of age, his kingdom was invaded by Bakhtiyar Khilji who took possession of Gour and, accordingly, (1199) Lukshman fled with his family to Vikramপুর where his descendants reigned for 120 years more."

Mr. Bose in his Castes and Sects of Bengal VI. I. Part I, writes : (*Bengali*).

“कुक्षणे महागज लक्ष्मणसेन
शासनदण्ड ग्रहण करियाकिलेन ।
ताहार शौर्य वीर्य ओ पाण्डित्य

तांदि

रक्षदुरपनेय कलङ्क हस्ते

कारते पारिलना । राजपुरुष

गणेर षडयन्त्रो श्रीरुदैवज्ञगणेर

प्ररोचनाय गोडार्धपातिवन्धुवान्धव

परित्यक्तहृदया अवशेषे महम्मदी

वखति । यरेर कूटनीतिप्रभावे

सौतुपर गौडराज्य मुसलमानेर

करे अर्पण करिलेन ।”

Probably they still cling to the antedeluvian opinion of Mr. Marsham.

But such a slip* may be pardonable for others but not for those great scholars of Indian history and antiquity. Bengal was never conquered by Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khilji in the time of Lakshman Sen, son of Ballal Sen. The Tabuquati Naiseri of Minhajus-Siraj than whom there can be no better authority as the author wrote in 1260, only about a little more than half a century after the conquest of Bengal, and that after a personal conversation with many persons who had assisted in the conquest of that country

* The same slip has been made by another great scholar of Bengal Babu Manmohan Chakraborty, M.B.A.S., in his article on the Sen dynasty, of Bengal in J. & P. A. S. B. Vol. I, No. 3 of 1905 just to hand. The subject will be fully discussed in a separate paper.

and after passing several months at the capital of Bengal, thus says of the conquest of Behar and Bengal by Bakhtiyar :

“ Being a bold and enterprising man, he, (Bakhtiyar) used to make incursions into the districts of Munir (Monghir) and Behar, and bring away much plunder, until in this manner he obtained plenty of horses, arms, and men. The fame of his bravery and of his plundering raids spread abroad, and a body of Khilji joined him from Hindustan. His exploits were reported to Sultan Kutbuddin, and he sent him a dress and showed him great honour. Being thus encouraged, he led his army to Behar and ravaged it. In this manner he continued for a year or two to plunder the neighbourhood and at last prepared to invade the country. It is said by credible persons that he went to the gate of the fort of Behar with only two hundred horses, and began the war by taking the enemy unawares. In the service of Bakhtiyar there were two brothers of great intelligence. One of them was named Nizam-uddin and the other Samsamuddin. The compiler of this book met Samsamuddin at Lukhnuti in the year 641 H. (1243 A. D.) and heard the following story

from him. When Bakhtiyar reached the gate of the fort, and the fighting began, these two wise brothers were active in that army of heroes. Muhammad Bakhtiyar with great vigour and audacity rushed in at the gate of the fort and gained possession of the place. Great plunder fell into the hands of the victors. Most of the inhabitants of this place were Brahmans with shaven heads. They were put to death. Large number of books were found there, and when the Muhammadans saw them, they called some persons to examine their contents, but all the men had been killed. It was discovered that the whole fort and city was a place of study (Madrasa). Great fear of him (Bakhtiyar) prevailed in the minds of the infidels of the territories of Lukhnuti, Behar, Bang (Bengal) and Kamrup. It is related by reliable authorities that mention of the brave deeds and conquests of Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyar was made before Rai Lukshmaniya, whose capital was the city of Nuddea. He was a great Rai, and had sat upon the throne for a period of eight years. * * * His family was respected by all the Rais or chiefs of Hindustan and was considered to hold the rank of Khalif or sovereign. * * It is said by

trustworthy persons that no one, great or small, ever suffered injustice at his hands. He gave a lakh to every person that asked him for charity.

* * When Bakhtiyar came back from his visit to Sultan Kutbuddin and conquered Behar, his fame reached the ears of Rai Lukshmaniya and spread throughout all parts of the Rai's dominions. A body of astrologers, Brahmans and wise men of the kingdom, came to the Rai and represented to him that in their books the old Brahmans had written that the country would eventually fall into the hands of the Turks. The time appointed was approaching; the Turks had already taken Behar and next year they would also attack his country, it was, therefore, advisable that the Rai should make peace with them, so that all the people might emigrate from the territory, and save themselves from contention with the Turks. The Rai asked whether the man who was to conquer the country was described as having any peculiarity in his person. They replied, yes; the peculiarity is, that in standing upright both his hands hang down below the knees, so that his fingers touch his shins. The Rai observed that it was best for him to send some confidential agents to make

enquiry about the peculiarity. Accordingly confidential agents were despatched, an examination was made, and the peculiarity was found in the person of Muhammad Bakhtiyar. When this was ascertained to be the fact, most of the Brahmans and many chiefs went away to the country of Sanknut (Jagganath), and to the cities of Bang and Kamrup but Rai Lukshmaniya did not like to leave his territory. Next year Muhammad Bakhtiyar prepared an army, and marched from Behar. He suddenly appeared before the city of Nudden with only eighteen horsemen, the remainder of his army was left to follow. Muhammad Bakhtiyar did not molest any man but went on peaceably and without ostentation, so that no one could suspect who he was. The people rather thought that he was a merchant who had brought horses for sale. In this manner he reached the gate of Rai Lukshmaniya's palace when he drew his sword and commenced the attack. At this time the Rai was at his dinner, and golden and silver dishes filled with food were placed before him according to the usual custom. All of a sudden a cry was raised at the gate of the palace and in the city. Before he had ascertained what had occurred, Muhammad Bakhtiyar had rushed into

the palace and put a number of men to the sword. The Rai left barefooted by the rear of the palace, and his whole treasure, and all his wives, maid servants, attendants and women fell into the hands of the invader. Numerous elephants were taken, and such booty was obtained by the Muhammadans as is beyond all compute. When his army arrived, the whole city was brought under subjection and he fixed his headquarters there. Rai Lukshmaniya went towards Sanknut and Bengal where he died. His sons are to this day rulers in the territory of Bengal." (Elliott's History of India as told by its own Historian, Vol. II).

It is evident also from the authority of Mr. Stuart the author of the admirable History of Bengal that it was not Lukshman Sen but Lukshmaniya from whom Bengal was wrested by Bakhtiyar. Regarding this Lukshmaniya, the late Raja Ramesh Chandra Lal Mitra wrote: "The Tabaquati-Nasiri of Minhagjuddin Jowzjani says that the last king of the Sen dynasty was Lukshmaniya as this authority must be accepted as correct years ago the work was written within fifty-eight years after the conquest of Bengal by opportunities, Khilji and its author had ample

during his sojourn in Bengal, of conversing with the contemporaries of Lukshmaniya who had taken part in the conquest and of collecting the most authentic information available in his time. * * Three things may be taken for granted in his (Minhaj's) statement; first that the name of the last king of the Sen dynasty was Lukshmaniya. Second, that he was a posthumous child; and third, he reigned for a long period. It must be admitted, however, that the word Lukshmaniya is very unlike a Bengalee proper name. The Bengalee or Sanskrit word to which it bears any resemblance is the patronymic Lukshmaniya, a son, grandson or descendant of Lukshman, and if it is admitted that the Lukshmaniya of the Muhammadan historians is a corruption of the Sanskrit Lukshmaniya, it would not be too much to assume that the prince under notice was the grandson of Lukshman, son of Ballal." (Indo-

He gives the following foot note here :

स्ती The affix *dhak* is ordinarily used after feminine nouns
Sub. यादक् Panini IV. 1. 120, but under the especial rule
Vasisthidibhyaseha (P. IV. 1. 123) Lukshmana of the
 Sena's Gotra takes that affix. I know not whether the
 grammar of the Vasistha Gotra. But such niceties of
 that I do not think that anybody would have objection to
 its use in the case of persons not of the Vasistha Gotra.

Brahmans and the very system borrowed from them) until they had to give way to a stronger and more influential section called Kūlins as we will show later on. Our recent research from many Maithil Pundits in the service of the Darbhanga and the Hutwa Rajas reveals that the system of *Paribarta* marriage which they call गोलट was in vogue with them as well as the promise before *Ghataks* to give in marriage when a daughter would be born, and that even to this day the Maharajah of Durbhanga exercises the prerogative of allowing a *Sotriya* to marry† in

† When a *Sotriya* thus marries he either brings the bride to his own house and performs the marriage ceremony there or takes the bride to his house just after the milk ceremony on the 4th day of the marriage and will not thereafter dine with the members of his father-in-law's house or eat food cooked by them. This system of marriage with a bride of inferior rank is based on Manu's Dharmasastra.

“ ब्रह्मचानः शुभां विद्यामाददीतावरादपि ।
 अ; त्यादपि पं धर्मः खीरत्वं दुष्कुत्नादपि ॥
 स्त्रियोग्नान्यथो विद्याधर्मः शैव सुमाषितम् ।
 विविधानि च शिल्प्यानि समादेयानि सर्वतः ” ॥
 अ २ । २३ अ १२ ४० ।

यादृग्गुणेन भर्त्रा स्त्री संपुज्यते यथाविधि ।
 तादृग्गुणा सा भवति समुद्रेषेव निम्नगा ॥
 अक्षमाला वशिष्ठेन संयुक्ताधमयेनिजा ।

the next intermediate class of *Yagya* retaining his *Sotriyaship* or raising a *Yagya* to the upper class, *Sotriya*. The ridiculous tomfoolery of a grass-made daughter, so far we have ascertained, is an original invention, of the Bengal Brahmans only. The division and subdivisions of the secondary (*Gownta* Kulins clearly show that the system had not) leaped ready armed from its cradle by the stroke of a royal sceptre or a magician's wand, but was the result of a long continued struggle and vicissitudes. The same natural law prevails in all countries and governs every society. Moreover, conservative as India is from all times, it is simply absurd to think that innovations such as these were hailed by the Brahmans, the most conservative class in the world, all at once at a mere royal idiosyncrasy. This natural law we will further prove as an indubitable fact when we will

शारङ्गी मन्दपालेन जगामाभ्यर्हणीयताम् ॥

अ. । २२ । २३ ।

But the marriage of a man simultaneously with two or more uterine sisters so much in vogue among the Kulins of Bengal or marriage of uterine brothers with uterine sisters is unsastric.

“नचैकजन्मनोः पुंसरेकजन्मे तु कन्यके ।

नूनं कदाचिदुद्वाख्ये नैकदामुष्टनं द्वयम् ” इति नारदः

“नपुत्रीद्वयमेकस्मै प्रदद्यात्तुकदाचन ” इति वशिष्ठः

of temples and idols in their very neighbourhood Behar. Nothing could, therefore, be more unreasonable than to suppose that they had devised a plot to overthrow a Hindu king in order to hail a ruthless iconoclast. It seems to us quite certain that just before the conquest of Bengal, there must have been some inauspicious omen such as planetary conjunctions and meteorological occurrences* and seismic disturbance. These,

* Some of these are quoted below from Baraha Mihira's Brihat Samhita.

अनिमित्त भङ्गचलनस्वेदाश्रुनिपातजल्पनाद्यानि ।
 लिङ्गार्चायतनानां नाशाय नरेशदेशानाम् ॥
 दैवतयात्राशकटाक्षचक्रयुग केतुभंग पतनानि ।
 संपर्यासनसादनसङ्गाश्च न देशनृपशुभदाः ॥
 जलमांसाद्रज्ज्वलने नृपतिबधः प्रहरणोरणे रौद्रः ।
 प्रसादभवनतोरणकेत्वादिष्वनलेन दग्धेषु ।
 ताडिता वा षारामासात्परश्चक्रस्यागमो नियमात् ॥
 धूमोऽनमिसमुत्थोरजस्तमश्चान्हिजं महाभयदम् ।
 व्यन्ध्रे निश्युडुनाशो दर्शनमपि चाहि दोषकरम् ॥
 (बृ सं. अ. ५६.)

Again

“धूमकेतुर्महीकम्पो दिग्दाहो धूलिवर्षणम् ।
 भुवो गर्तश्च निर्घाता उल्कापातादयोऽपरे ॥
 यस्मिन्देशे प्रजायन्ते महोत्पाता महाभयाः ।
 प्रजापीडा भवेत्तत्र विनाशः पृथिवीपतेः” ॥

Also see Bana's Sree Harsha Charitam 5th Uchachas.

coupled with the overthrow of the kingdom of Behar and the death of Ananga Bhim III of Orissa, and observations of the king's horoscopes, annual वर्षकुण्डली, and at the time of his birth(जन्मकुण्डली) which the court astrologer had cast, caused them to declare that a great disaster was impending the country and the king. This prediction had created a convulsion throughout the length and breadth of the capital 'from the king's palace to the beggars' huts and people were fleeing panic-stricken, as they now do in plague days, to avert the disaster. Bakhtiyar who kept himself informed of the state of Bengal, taking advantage of this situation entered the town as a horse-dealer or envoy and suddenly surprised the king in his dinner who had no other alternative but to escape from the back-door of his palace without even having the time to wash his mouth and consequently not wearing his shoes. It is well known that it was, and still is, the custom among the kings, princes and zemindars of India to retain in their services Brahman astrologers who prepare horoscopes, find out the auspicious moments for undertaking a journey, observation of the ten *Sanskaras*, erection of a temple or building or

consecration of a tank or garden—nay even for the wearing of a new apparel or using a new conveyance. Even among the Moghul Emperors we find from the Akbernama the great Akbar had in his court many astrologers both foreign and Indian who had drawn up his horoscope. Bernier speaks of the astrologers of Shah Jehan's court, and we know the excellent astrolôgical work *Hāyan Ratna* by Balbhadra was composed under Shah Suja's direct orders.* The influence of these astrologers was consequently very great † and often in order to screw out from the credulous people a big sum in *Santi Puja*‡ they still indulge in

* “ एतद्वाणितपूर्वकं सकलमूर्द्धमणिनीराजितचरणकमलानां भूमण्डलाखण्डलानां श्रासाहिसूजामहाप्रभूणां मास-प्रवेशानयनं लिख्यते ”

† *Vide* Todd's *Rajasthan* and the author's *History of the Hutwa Raj* (J.A.S.B. Vol. LXXIII, P. I., pp. 178—276.

‡ “ मनुजानामपचारादपरक्ता देवताः सृज्यन्ते तान् ।
तत्प्रतिघाताय नृपः शान्तिराष्ट्रेप्रयुंजीत ॥
दिव्यं प्रदक्षैवैकृतमुक्ता निर्घात पवनपरिवेधाः ।
गन्दः पुरपुरन्दरचापादि यदान्तरिक्षंतत् ।
भौमं चरस्यिरभवं तच्छान्तिभिराहतशममुपैति ।
नाभसमुपैति मृदुतांशाम्यति नोदिव्यमित्येके ॥
दिव्यमपि शममुपैति प्रभूतकनकान्नगोमहीदानैः ।
रुद्रायतेन भूमौ गोदोहात्कोटिहोमाच्च ” ॥
(वृ सं अ७ ४६.)

false predictions of some great impending evils which terrify them.* If the predictions do not come to pass, they boast of having averted them by Santi Puja. If they do, they boast of their knowledge of soothsaying. So in both cases they are gainers. The readers may well remember the consternation caused throughout the length and breadth of India a few years ago by the false prediction of a sharp earthquake declared by the Madras astrologer Pillai. It is quite natural to think that among the king's ministers or kinsmen there might have been a Mir Jaffur, coveting the throne of the old king of Bengal or an Omichand purchased by Bakhtiyar who gathered from them the convulsive state of the country and the exact moment of ransacking the king's palace as a dacoit. Pages of Indian History are replete with incidents of such inordinate ambition and base treachery of unprincipled intriguers. Even to this day Indian States, especially where the proprietors are minors or infirm and old or weak in intellect, or uneducated, as they mostly are, surrounded with lowbred illiterate flatterers and sycophants, are nothing but so many dens of blood-thirsty intri-

* The author who has some pretension to the knowledge of Astrology has many a time detected such mischiefs on the part of professional astrologers, and warns the lay readers to be very careful in believing them.

guers in whose hands the puppet in power is made to dance as they choose and to be cast away when the play is over. There was certainly no bravery on the part of the conqueror, Bakhtiyar nor cowardice on that of the people of Bengal in defending their mother country. This is further evidenced from the statement in the *Tabakati-Nasiri* which says that "his (Lukshmania's) sons are to this day rulers in the territory of Bengal," and Bakhtiyar could not dare dispossess them of East Bengal notwithstanding that he raised a huge army to conquer the mountainous and more distant region of Tibet.

The conquest of Behar and Bengal by Bakhtiyar vividly exemplifies the truth in the immortal maxim "United we stand, divided we fall." Behar and Bengal united would have been a great power and what possibility there was of any conquest of such united provinces by a mere upstart soldier like Bakhtiyar, who was only "a cavalier with Oughul Beg, one of the provincial Governors, and had invited several parties of his own tribe, who were in want of employment, to accept him as their Commander" and had no help from Delhi in the conquest of these countries.* He was neither a Semiramis nor a Darius

nor an Alexander nor a Mahommed Ghazni or a Ghorî. Instead of reckoning the invader as a common foe of their country, religion and nationality and making a common cause with the king of the sister-country, the king of Bengal was, perhaps, exulting at the weakened state of his rival king of Behar and was searching for an opportunity to pounce upon his kingdom, when thus reduced, thinking the invader to be a mere plunderer whom he could drive away at any moment; and Ananga Bhim Dev II of Orissa was snoring in deep slumber preparatory to an everlasting sleep which left a legacy to his successor Rajaraja III to be molested by the invader's army soon after. The absence of a paramount power and the rise of separate inde-

* "A point of some importance is the fact prominently noticed by Major Raverty that the establishment of Mahommedan rule in Behar and Bengal has nothing to do with the Mahommedan Kingdom established at Delhi. Muhammad Bakhtiyar is an independent conqueror, though he acknowledged the suzerainty of Ghazni, of which he was a subject. The presents which he occasionally sent to Delhi, do not alter the case: a similar interchange took place between the kings of the Dakhim and the latter kings of Delhi. Behar and Bengal were conquered without help from Kutbuddin, and in all probability without his instigation or knowledge. This view entirely agrees with the way which Minhaj-i-Siraj speaks of the Muizzi Sultans and their co-ordinate position." (Blochman's History and Geography of Bengal J.A.S.B.P.I. No. III of 1875, p. 281).

pendent kingdoms in its stead formed by adventurous soldiers of fortune and the rivalry and apathy among them were the real cause of the downfall of India. India of the Mauryas (Chandragupta and Asoka) consisted of an Empire "which far exceeded British India of our time excluding Burma" and "maintained, at the king's cost, a standing army comprising, according to Pliny, of 600,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, 9,000 war-elephants (each elephant carrying three fighting men in addition to the driver), besides war-chariots (carrying two fighting men excluding the drivers), and admiralty.* The Empire of the Imperial Guptas even exceeded that of the Mauryas; and the great Vikramaditya (Yasodharman) who, according to Jyotirvedabharanum† of Kalidāsa, had a

* *Vide* V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, p. 76. Professor Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India* considers six lakhs to be the scribe's mistake for sixty thousand.

+ यस्याष्टादशयोजनानि कटके पादातिकोर्द्धित्रयं बाह्याना-
मयुतायुतं च नवतेस्त्रिघ्नाकृति (२४३००) ईस्तिनाम् ॥

नौका लक्षचतुष्टयं विजयिनो यस्य प्रयाणोऽभवत् ।

सोऽयं विक्रमभूपतिर्विजयते नान्योद्धरित्रीतले-
(२२ । ९२ ।) ॥

येनास्मिन्वसुधातले शक्रगणान् सर्वादिशः संगरे हत्वा
पञ्चनवप्रमान् कालियुगे शाक्रप्रवृत्तिः कृता (२२।१३।)

यो रुमदेशाधिपतिं शकेश्वरं जित्वा गृहित्वौज्यनीं महद्दिव्य-
आनीय संभ्राम्य मुमोच तं त्वहो स विक्रमार्कः
समस्त्यविक्रमः । (२२ । १९)

The Jyotirvedabharanum is held by scholars to be the work of a pseudo-Kalidasa on very erroneous grounds. We have every cogent reason to believe it to be genuine. This will be dealt with in a separate paper.

standing army of 30,000,000 infantry, 100,000,000 cavalry, 24,300 elephants and 400,000 war boats, boasts in the still existing inscription on his Mandasor victorious pillar that he has not only defeated the Hunas under Mihergula but ruled over a wider Empire than ever the Guptas had done.

This statement may appear incredibly exaggerated. Probably it includes irregular, militia and martial aboriginal races owing allegiance to the Emperor under the feudal system. But of this, there is no doubt, that Vikramaditya had to maintain a far greater force than the Mauryas having had to rule over a wider empire. Our scepticism becomes much abated when we learn from the *Padshahnamah* that the strength of Shah Jehan's *paid* army consisted of 200,000 cavalry and 40,000 foot exclusive of the soldiers that were allowed to the Faujdars, Kroris and tax-collectors for the administration of the Pergannahs and, according to Bernier, Aurangzeb maintained 200,000 cavalry. Jehangir in his memoirs writes that Akbar had 12,000 war-elephants and 200 female elephants and he himself had not less than 150,000 Ouzbek cavalry only and as many elephants as Akbar had, besides one hundred

sand for conveyance of the Imperial baggage and litters of the females of the Imperial family.

How the elephant processions in the two so-much-vaunted Delhi Durbars of our times dwindle into insignificance when compared with these!

After the Guptas and Vikramaditya, India although divided into two, the northern under Harsha Vardhan of the Kanouj dynasty, and the southern under Pulikesin II, still maintained her position and ancient glory. But after the dismemberment of these empires she was shattered to pieces, each piece forming an independent principality founded by dynasties of adventurous soldiers, such as, in Northern India, the Gurjars and Tomars and Gaharwars of Kanouj, the Chohans of Mahoba, the Parmars of Malwa, the Pals and Sens of Behar and Bengal, the Nanya Dev's dynasty of Mithila; and in Southern India the Challukyas, the Rastrakuts, the Hoysalas, the Yadavas, the Chedis, the Kaikateyas, the Cholas—all fighting with each other till at last they had fallen victims to Moslem invasion one after another. Dr. A. F. Rudolph Hoernle in his excellent History of India,* remarks:—

*This book is just to hand. The following lines quoted from it further goes to prove our identification of Adisur with Aditya Sen.

“It was Aditya Sen, the 7th in descent, who, about 670 A.D., assumed the Imperial titles. His successors continued to hold them for nearly two centuries. The last, whose name is actually known by an inscription, was Jivita Gupta, who reigned about 740 A.D., but as we know from the Coins of Jaga Gupta and Hari Gupta, the dynasty must have continued for several generations after him down to about 840 A.D., though its rule was now limited to the eastern portion of the Empire, Behar

1 Bengal.”

“ We have seen how the second Indian Empire founded by the Guptas, became divided into the two empires of the South and the North. At the end of that period we saw the beginning of the disruption of the Northern Empire by the loss of the kingdom of Vallabhi. In the present period we shall see how the Northern Empire steadily went on disintegrating into a number of still smaller kingdoms or principalities. The cause of this general break-up was the rise to political power of the Rajput clans. These clans appear to have been the natural outcome of the settlement in India of the vigorous foreign races of Huns and Gurjars and of their subsequent blending with the martial and ruling native classes of India. With their youthful vigour these newly-formed Rajput clans pushed themselves into the political forefront, swept away the old effete empire and replaced it by a large number of smaller kingdoms and principalities. The mischief of this new development, however, was that the mutual rivalries and hostilities, engendered between the numerous Rajput dynasties, rendered it impossible for them to oppose with a united front to the great conqueror of India, Muhammad of Ghore, at the turn of the 12th century.”

The circumstance and the result are exactly similar to what had afterwards happened on the collapse of the great Moghul Empire, when the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Nawab Najim of Bengal and the Rohillas became independent, the Mahrattas were the masters of the whole of Deccan and commenced depredations in Bengal, Behar and Orissa, Malwa and Guzerat separated from the Empire, the Sikhs had formed into a powerful martial nation, and down swooped Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali with their plundering victorious armies till at last a body of clerical soldiers maintained by a company of merchants smoothly founded this gigantic and magnificent British Empire on the graves of the great Akbar and Aurangzeb.

—:o:—

CHAPTER VIII.

Development of Kulinism among the Brahmans.

DANAUJ MADHAV AND THE RE-ORGANISATION OF KULINISM IN HIS TIME AMONG RADHI BRAHMANS.

To return to the subject. According to the native chroniclers, after the downfall of the Sen dynasty on the conquest of Bengal by Bakhtiyar, a certain Raja of *Chandradwip* named

Dananj Mardan* or Dananj Madahiv Belonging to the Sen dynasty and a grandson of Ballal, re-organised the Radhi Kulins who had taken shelter in his court. These Kulins werethedescendants of the blessed 22, now swollen to 508 in number. Dananj Madhav or Dananj Mardan made *sami-karans* four times among them which is called the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th *samikarans*. In these *sami-karans* the descendants of the 14 out of the 21 honoured by Lakshman Sen were recognised as *Mukhya Kulins* and the descendants of the rest seven were lowered from that position to that of *Gauina Kulins*. He is further said to have divided the *Srotriyas* into four † sections Siddha, Sakdha

* “ प्रादुर्भवद्धर्मात्मा सेनवंशादनन्तरम् ।
 द्वौ जामाधवः सर्वभूयैः सेव्यपादान्बुजः ॥
 एवं सभायां बहव-आगता ब्राह्मणा नराः ।
 नानागुणसमायुक्ता द्वाविंशतिकुलोद्भवाः ॥
 धनैश्च राजसन्मानैः पितामहजिर्गाषया ।
 सम्बन्धं कृतवन्तश्च सर्वे भूधरपुद्गवाः ॥ ” (हरिमिश्रः)

+ “ द्वाविंशतिकुलात् जाता स्तारयन्ति सूताःपतिम् ।
 ते सिद्धाः श्रोत्रियाः प्राक्ताः संप्राह्याः कुलजैः सदा ॥
 यतस्ते साधने विप्रा यत्नात् सिध्यन्ति वा न वा ।
 ते साध्याः श्रोत्रियाज्ञेया द्वाविंशत्कुलजाः स्मृताः ॥
 तत्पञ्चास्त्रायसंभूता विप्रा द्वाविंशतेर्वहिः ।
 सुसिद्धा श्रोत्रिया ज्ञेयाः संप्राह्याः कुलजैः सदा ॥
 यत्कन्या लाभमात्रेण समूलन्तु विनश्यति ।
 द्वाविंशन्मध्या भिन्नावा त्याज्यास्ते कुलनाशकाः ॥ ”

(हरिमिश्रः)

Susiddha and *Ari*. Those that did not fall within the category of *Gauna* or *Mukhya* Kulins, but were entitled to marry their daughters to such kulins were called *Siddhya* Srotriya, those that struggled to obtain this position but were unsuccessful were named *Saddhya* Srotriyas, those that did not fall under the aforesaid two Srotriyas and remained indifferent were called *Su Siddhya* Srotriyas and those whose daughters were considered to destroy the *kul* if kulins marry them, were called *Ari* Srotriya. The *Danauj Madhav* is also said to have created the class called *Bansaj* among the kulins. The *Bansaj* were defined to be those kulins who, although virtuous, had not given or taken girls in marriage according to the prescribed rules of kulinism * for three generations.

DUTTAKHAS AND HIS RE-ORGANISATION OF KULINISM AMONG RADHI BRAHMANS.

After the death of this so-called *Danauj Madhav*, the aforesaid different sections of the *Radhi* Brahmans were said to be on the warpath. The *Mukhya* Kulins, being few in number, not obtainable houses for matrimonial connections, contract marriages with the *Gauṇas*.

कुलीन प्रजातस्य निजधर्मयुतस्य च ।

अस्य न क्रामिका वृत्तिर्विशजः सच कीर्तितः ॥ "कुलेराम

The *Bansajs* having lost their *kul* began to swell their number by inducing the kulins to lower themselves by matrimonial connections with them, and there was a strenuous effort on the part of the *kulacharyas*, on the other hand, to promote and swell the rank of kulins by the process of *samikaran* and to degrade the *Gauna* kulins to the rank of Srotriyas. More than a hundred of such *samikarans* had taken place and during the 57th *samikaran* up rose another re-organiser under the title of Duttakha who was a minister of the then Mahomedan king of Bengal and held the office of Judge to decide on the social and religious disputes of the Hindus. He is said to have degraded the *Gauna* * kulins to the rank of Srotriyas and to have formulated that under the following 25 circumstances † one's kul will be lost to him :

* “ गौणैः सह गौणानां परिवर्त्तविधानं कदाचिन्मुख्ये तनयांप्रदानम् अतः श्रद्धित खासेन राज्ञा श्रोत्रियाणां सधर्मत्वेन गौणा अपि श्रोत्रियाः कृताः ॥ ” (देवीवर)

† “ कन्यापुंसोरभावश्च राखिडकागमनं तथा ।

जीविते पिण्डदानञ्च स्वजनाक्षेपणेनच ॥

अभ्यावृत्तभेर्भवेदोषः कथितः कुलपारिद्वैतः ।

आर्मी दग्ध्वा कृतोद्वाहे बलात्कारे तयैवच ॥

पौष्यपुत्रे ब्रह्महत्या जन्मान्धः कुष्ठरोगिणः ।

खज्जनापि कुलं तद्वन्नचिद्वाहेन नान्दिके ॥

त्याज्य पुत्रविपर्यायः कुलञ्जनसम्मतम् ।

अन्यपूर्वा वयोज्येष्ठा मातृनामा सगोत्रजा ॥

इष्टाकन्याङ्गहीनाच काणकुब्जापि वारजडा ।

पञ्चविंशति दोषाश्च निर्वृताः कुलघातकाः ॥ ”

(वाचस्पतिमिश्रः)

(1) Absence of male or female issue. (2) Marriage with a girl who has no father and brother living. (3) The giving of *Pindak* when one is alive जीवत्पिण्ड. (3) Marrying within the 5th descent on mother's and 7th descent on father's side. (4) Repetition of some recognised crimes. (5) Being burnt by fire. (6) Forcible marriage. (7) Adoption. (8) Abortion. (9) Being born blind. (10) Leprosy. (11) Lameness. (12) Marriage in a low rank. (13) Performing the *Nandi Sradh* in marriage with a low rank. (14) Being a disinherited son. (15) Marriage in unequal succession of descent (विपर्याय). (16) Marrying before the elder brother was married. (17) Killing or causing death to a Brahman. (18) Marrying with a girl older in age; (19) with a girl of one's mother's name; (20) with a girl of one's own gotra; (21) with one polluted; (22) with one deformed; (23) blind; (24) hunchback or (25) dumb.

THE GREAT RE-ORGANISATION OF DEVIVAR.

Later on about 1480 A.D. in the reign of Yusuf Shah, the Pathan King of Bengal, we find another great re-organiser of kulinism among the Radhi Brahmans. This was the famous Kulacharya Devivar Banerjee. It is said that he had a quarrel with his mother's sister's son Yajnesvar

who as his guest had refused to dine at his house on the ground that Devivar belonged to a lower rank of kulin. Enraged at this, Devivar set himself upon re-organising kulinism on the novel basis of Dos (faults or crimes). He began to scan the existing circumstances of the Radhi Brahmans and found each and every one of them devoid of the nine attributes of kulins and polluted with some faults or the other. He then made permutations and combinations of these faults and wove a texture called *Mail Bandhan* and subdivided the 36 *Mail* into *Bhàg*, *Bhàv*, *Thàk* and *Yuth*. The faults (Dos) were classified under three divisions (1) pertaining to caste जातिगतदोषः i.e., polluted by having illicit connections with Mahomedans (यवनदोष) or with other low castes such as washerman, (रजक) Koch, Kolu (oilman), Hadi (होम), &c., (2) pertaining to kul, i.e., affected with faults enumerated above in the paragraph under Duttakhas with this addition that prostitution and abduction of daughters formed faults under this heading, (3) pertaining to Srotriya, i.e., connection with the Saptasatis or with the 14 *Gauna* kulins or having any doubtful connection. A separate *mail* name, 36 in number, was given to each group of Brahmans as they fell under or

or the other category of ~~Dās~~ ^{Further his orga-} nised the most stringent and ~~unjudicious~~ ^{POOR} system of marriage by stipulating that ~~each~~ ^{each} section of *mail* should only marry in certain prescribed section called its पालटिघर. Hence arose that infamous and despicable system of polygamy and other evils as the natural result. A kulin not obtaining a पालटिघर and having half a dozen daughters was compelled to give them all to one bridegroom, very often at the age of their grandfather, and the bridegroom when to his interest found many such पालटिघर, would marry as many as he chose. Marriage became a very lucrative trade and the only vocation of the illiterate sons of the kulins to live upon. A single man used to take hundred wives and even more, keep a register of such marriages in order to grace (!) his father-in-law's houses once in a decade, at the earliest, to exact taxes called कौलिन्यमर्यादा (honour to a kulin). Besides numerous other demands there should be मर्यादा tax for washing feet, another for partaking food, a third for sleeping, a fourth for parting and the honourable son-in-law's stay at each place will hardly be for a day. Where no पालटिघर used to be had or where the party

was too poor to meet the demand of the bridegroom's party he was obliged to keep his daughters in lifelong maidenhood conniving at all outrageous acts against their virgin modesty. Even those that were married hardly shared a better fate as many had not the good fortune to meet their husbands after years or ever at all since the date of the marriage. Kulinism being confined to the girls, a kulin's son whenever it suited his convenience and interest would take as many wives as he liked by breaking his *kul* and marrying with one of lower rank unmindful of the circumstance that his descendants would be lowered thereby. Where a kulin's son desirous of preserving his kulinism intact found a rare *पालाटघर* for marriage, the bride's father would demand a prohibitive sum for selling (!) his daughter to him.

The aforementioned state of Brahman Society in Bengal continued till the last century and strenuous efforts were made by reformers of Bengal to eradicate its mischievous effects of polygamy, even by Government legislation of which we will speak later on. With the spread of education polygamy among the kulins is fast disappearing though not altogether dead yet, and it is still in full force in East Bengal, where such

abominable practice of having many wives yet exists.

From the works of native chroniclers we find from Devivar's time the system of kulinism assuming the form of a regular philosophical system and attempts made to define each term of kulinism with hair-splitting niceties garbed in the unintelligible terminology * of the Nya philosophy.

DEVELOPMENT OF KULINISM AMONG THE KAYASTHAS.
THE BANGAJ KAYASTHAS AND THEIR SUBDIVISIONS.

We have said before that according to the version of the native chroniclers, it was the Bangaj Kayasthas who had submitted first to the yoke of the so-called *Ballali Kulinism*. Ballal † is said

* Here are some examples.

“ प्रदानदानादिषट्कात्न्यतमत्वे सति मानामा-
समफलकव्यापारकत्वं परिवर्तत्वम् ॥

परिवर्तबोधकत्वे सति वैशिष्यवैशिष्यतान्यतरबोधकत्व-
मंशत्वम् ॥

विवाहदूषितत्वे सति परिवर्त्तरहितत्वं वंशजत्वम् ।

अन्यच्च—परिवर्त्तशक्तित्वे अकृतपरिवर्त्तत्वं कुलजत्वम् ।

नैकदोषेण मेलः स्यात् यथा घटकुलालवत् ॥ ”

† Opinions of the chroniclers vary. Some say that these sections were not formed in Ballal's time but long after him by Danauj Madhav.

to have made some special rules for them, dividing them into four sections, Kulin, Mádhya-lyá, Mahápátra and *Achal*. The Bangaj Ghose, Basu, Guha, and Mitra were ranked kulins; and Bangaj Dutt, Nag, Nath and Das were ranked Madhyalyas. Nineteen families bearing the epithet of Dhar, Nandi, Dev, Kundu, Some, Raksit, Ankur, Sinha, Vishnu, Adhya and Nandan were ranked as Mahápátra and seventy-two families bearing the titles of Hóde, Aich, Dhole, Cháki, etc., were ranked as Achal.

After him Raja Danauj Mudhav is said to have been the next re-organiser but we have not found anywhere stated specifically what his organisations were. Next comes in the field of re-organisation a descendant of his daughter named Raja Paramananda who is said to have divided the Bangaj kulins into four branches, Artí, Uchit, Grihya and Kari; the Madhyalyas into Ksem, Kseinánu and Anu, and the Mahápátras into Apa, Atyapa, and Moha; and to have made nine *Samikarans* among the Bangaj Kayasthas. He is said to have further regulated prohibiting the kulin to leave his jurisdiction on pain of losing his *kul*, and one residing elsewhere notwithstanding, but duly observing the rules of kulinism

as regards marriage, &c., would be termed a Kulaj (कुलज). The division of Bhāv * (भौव) was also promulgated, viz., a kulin who would give or take the daughter to and from a kulin was called गङ्गास्रोतःपांक्ति; a kulin not obtaining a son or a daughter of equal descent of succession (समपर्याय) and, therefore, marrying in the house of a kulaj was designated upabhāv (उपभाव), in the house of a Madhyalya Kshamabhāv (क्षामभाव), and of a Mahā-pātra Apabhāv (अपभाव); but was interdicted to marry in the house of an Achaḥ on pain of losing his kul. Formerly the rule was that a kulin's daughter must be married to a kulin and never to a non-kulin

* “ दानादिग्रहणादौषं वज्रयेद्विधिपूर्वकम् ।

गङ्गास्रोतः कुलंतस्य कथ्यते कुलभूषणै ॥

कुलीनस्य सूताभावात् पुत्रपर्यायनिवृत्तेः ।

प्रशस्तान्युपकर्माणि क्षमापाणि तथैव ॥

कुलजेन सह कर्म कुर्याच्चेत् कुलीनैर्यदि ॥

तदापुयादुपभावं तद्वेदुपकर्म्मच ॥

मध्यत्येन क्षमं भवेत् माहापात्रेण चापकम् ।

प्रापुयाच्च कुलीनोऽयं तत्तत्कर्म्मनुसारतः ॥

सम्बन्धचपलैः सार्धं कुर्युश्च यदि कुलीनाः ।

कुलं नष्टं तथा तेषां दूषितञ्च कुलम्भवेत् ॥”

मिश्रकारिका

on pain of losing the kul. Paramānanda is said to have modified this by ruling that a kulin would only lose the kul if it was found that daughters have been married to a non-kulin in his family successively for three generations. The result of this re-organisation of the so-called Paramānanda was the formation of five different communities (समाज). styled after their residential village-names (1) Vikrampore in District Dacca, (2) Chandradwip in District Barisal, (3) Bajoo in District Dacca, (4) Fatayabad, the tract having the river Chandana flowing north and west and the river Ichchamati on the south, (5) Jessore in District Jessore. The Fatayabad and Jessore communities abolished the rule of marriage in equal succession of descent. The Jessore community abolished the sectional division of Madhyalya, Mahāpātra and Achal and classed themselves only into two divisions of Kulin and Maulik.

THE BARENDRA KAYASTHAS AND THEIR DIVISIONS.

The ancestor of the Barendra Kayasthas, Bhrigunandi, is said to have come to Bengal with his relative Murahar Dev from Kanouj in the reign of Ballal and not in the time of the so-called Adisur like the ancestors of other Kayas-

thas. Bhrigunandi is described to have been appointed by Ballal as his prime minister and there was a friction between the king and the minister resulting in the latter's escape to Sailakupa as already stated before. He and his relatives with the assistance of other Kayasthas is said to have left the country in consequence of Ballal's alleged oppression and having taken refuge there formed the *Barendra Samaj* and classified it into Siddhya, Sâddhya and Amulaj corresponding to Kulin, Sanmaulik or Madhyala and Achal of other groups. He disowned the nine attributes of kulinism defined by Ballal and made the giving and taking of kulin's daughter to be the only basis of kulinism, thus making it peremptory that each son and each daughter of a kulin should be married to a kulin. If such marriages took place successively for three generations, the family was dubbed with the title of Nirâbil (spotless) kul and was held in the highest rank. If there was a breach or violation in the interim, the family was styled *Gangormi* (waves of Ganges) kul and held the intermediate rank; and, if the violation continued for three generations from beginning to end, the family was looked down as of *Abil* (polluted) kul. They interdicted marriages with

the *Amulajas* whom they considered colonists of uncertain stock. Like the law of the Medes and Persians the Barendra Kayasthas of Bengal have still clung to the law of Bhrigoo Nandi unaltered, and the result is that they are the fewest among the Kayasthas of Bengal and are on the way to share the fate of the dodo.

THE UTTER RADHI KAYASTHAS.

The ancestors of the Utter Radhi Kayasthas are said to have come to Bengal during Adisur's reign from Oudh after the first batch of Brahmans and Kayasthas outcasted from Kanouj had settled in Bengal. They, too, were composed of that remarkably invariable number Five + —five Kayasthas, five priests (Purohitas) and five menial servants, caste unknown ! The Kayasthas were called *Karans* and not *Pradhans* as the first batch of Kayasth colonists were called. These Kāran Kayasthas were (1) Saur Ghose of Sankalin Gotra, (2) Ānādi Var Sinha of Bātsya Gotra, (3)

* Why, how, when and what for, not stated. Perhaps for another *Putreshtī* as Adisur's first son, the result of his former Yaj'na, was dead !

+ “विप्रपञ्च भृत्यपञ्च करण पञ्च जन ।

त्रिपञ्चके उपनीत आदिशूरे भवन ” ॥

The above is only a saying prevalent among the Utter Radhi Kayasthas. Its origin cannot be traced.

Purushottam Das of Mowdgal Gotra,* (4) Dev Dutt of Kasyap Gotra, (5) Sudersan Mittra of Visva Mittra Gotra. The names and gotras of the five Brahmans who came with them or with whom they have come are unknown!

The story of the execution of the leader of the Utter Radhi Kayastha has already been related. The Utter Radhis thereupon had the boldness to construct their own kulinism in a spirit of defiance and it sounds strange that it did not strike Ballal, the notorious tyrant, the simple way of repression to quarter a regiment of Goorkhas in their villages, like the British Government at Barisal, to put down the disloyal spirit! Their whole community consisted of $7\frac{1}{2}$ families, and divided into 3 sections, viz., Kulin, Sanmaulik and Samanyamaulik of which the Ghose of Saukalin Gotra and Sinha of Bātsya Gotra are kulins; Das of Mowdgal Gotra, Mittra of Visvomittra Gotra and Dutt of Kasyapa Gotra are Sanmaulik; and one family of Ghose of Sandilya Gotra, one family of Das of Kasyap Gotra, a fourth of Bharadvaj Gotra Sinha and a fourth of Mowdgal Gotra Ken are

† The reader's attention is invited to Purushottam and his gotra in previous chapters.

Samanyamanliks. The Utter Radhis held a meeting (सभा) under a chairman (सभापति) like the Panchayat in Behar, where they discuss the status of kulinism and bestow 16, 15, 14, 12, 10, 8 annas share in kulinism according to the merits of the recipients. There are no hard and fast rules of kulinism among them hence their kul is as immortal as their ego and never vulnerable by any violation. Although it is laudable among them to marry sons and daughters among the kulins, yet a violation of this does not lead to a loss of kul as is the case with the Brahmans and other Kayasthas. The Utter Radhi Kayasthas disclaim to call themselves servants of the Brahmans or to use that ignominious appellation 'Das' after them.

THE DAKSIN RADHI KULIN KAYASTHAS, THEIR DIVISIONS AND SUBDIVISIONS.

The Daksin Radhi Kayasthas do not claim the origin of their system of kulinism from Ballal or Dananj Madhav, but, long after these fictitious royal organisers, from Poorandar Khan of Bose family who was said to be the minister of the Pathan King of Bengal. Hussain Shah, who ascended the throne in 1489. In this respect credit is due to the Daksin Radhi Kayasthas for being more near to the truth. According to them

they only adopted afterwards Ballal's division of kulin, Siddhyamaulik and Sâddhyamaulik and their community remained unaltered till the advent of the great organiser Poorandar Khan. From this it seems that while there was an uproar among the other branches of Kayasthas and the Brahmins, the Dakṣiṇ-Râdhis, excelling the mythological Muchākunda and Kumbhakarna were in deep slumber for several centuries, till up rose amongst them Poorandar Khan who, with a stroke of his magic wand, shattered their skulls into pieces, and made them run amuck in all possible direction splitting themselves into several branches and twigs! Among them the Ghoses of Saukalin Gotra, the Basus of Gautum Gotra, and the Mittras of Visvamittra Gotra are Kulins; the Dutt, Sen, Das, Ker, Guha, Pâlit, Sinha and Dev, these eight families are Siddhyamauliks holding intermediate rank; besides 72 other families holding the lowest rank are termed (आहातुरे the seventy-two) Sâddhyamaulik, the same as *Amulaj* or *Achal* among other Kayasthas. In direct contravention of the so-called Ballal's rule, confining the existence of the kul in the giving and taking of girls, the Dakṣiṇ-Râdhis have confined its existence only to the first

son of a Kulin who is obliged to marry a Kulin's daughter of equal descent (समपर्याय) or in the third descending or ascending पर्याय line but not in the second descending or ascending पर्याय. Excepting this restriction put on the first son, other sons of the Kulins have the full privilege to marry either in the family of a Kulin, save one of the same gotra, or in the family of a Siddhya or Sāddhyamaulik. From this it will be seen that the son of a Kulin, except the first, have eighty-two (two kulins, eight Siddhyamauliks and seventy-two Sāddhyamauliks) families opened to him for marriage as well as the Kulin's daughters including even the eldest daughter. But the sons and daughters of a Siddhya or a Sāddhyamaulik have been obliged to be married only to the sons and daughters of Kulins. So these eighty sections of Kayasthas, other than Kulins, (eight Siddhyas and seventy-two Sāddhyas) have only $2\frac{1}{2}$ families (as the first son of a Kulin must be married to a Kulin's daughter and not otherwise) of Kulins open to them for marriage. The difficulty of marrying the daughters of a Siddhya or Sāddhya and the consequent extortion and black mail, one of the greatest curse of Kulinism, is therefore, palpable. The Siddhya and Sāddhyamaul

likes of this Kayastha community are in a far worse condition in this respect than those holding similar positions in other three Kayastha communities. For, there, instead of having only $2\frac{1}{2}$ Kulin families opened to them to contract marriages, they have full privileges to marry among themselves save in their own gotras.

Poorandar Khan is said to have classified the Daksin Radhi Kayasthas into the following classes and subdivisions: (1) The Mukhya Kulins were those who were the first sons of Kulins and necessarily had to marry the daughter of a Kulin. They were subdivided into (a) Prakrita, i.e., those who were not only themselves first but were the descendants of the first from the earliest known ancestors; (b) Sahaj Mukhya, i.e., the second or third sons of a Prakrita Mukhya if they can marry their first son to the daughter of a Prakrita Mukhya; (c) Komal Mukhya is the fourth son of a Prakrita Mukhya who must marry either the daughter of a Prakrita Mukhya or Sahaj Mukhya.

(2) Kanistha, i.e., the second son of a Mukhya Kulin. (3) Madhyansa, the third son of a Mukhya Kulin, (4) Teraj, the fourth son of a Mukhya Kulin, and there are all possible sorts of permutations

and combinations among these sons of Kulins with different nomenclatures. Happily these distinctions are now as extinct as the dodo and their names also are known but to the fewest of the Kulins themselves and the only custom now prevalent among the Daksin Radhi Kulins, is to marry their first sons to the daughters of a Kulin of equal, or third in descending or ascending line.

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CHAPTER IX.

A REVIEW OF THE FOREGONE TWO CHAPTERS.

* “ ऋतं वदिष्यामि सत्यम् वदिष्यामि तन्मामवतु । तद-
क्तारमवतु । अवतु माम् । अवतु वक्तारम् ” ॥

With the above oath of the Upanishads we now open a chapter and enter into a discussion the result of which will, perhaps, not be palatable to

* “ प्रादुरभवत् धर्मात्मा सप्तवंशादनन्तरम् ।

• दनौजामाधवः सर्वभूपैः सेव्यपादाम्बुजः ॥

एतत्सभायां बहव आगता ब्राह्मणा नराः ।

नानागुणसमायुक्ता द्वाविंशति कुलोद्भवाः ॥

धनैश्च राजसम्मनैः पितामहजिगिषया ।

सम्बन्धं कृतवन्तश्च सर्वेभूधर पुङ्गवाः ॥

एते सर्वे महात्मानः सभायां लक्ष्मणस्य च ।

राज्ञः प्रतिष्ठिताः सर्वे प्रतिग्रहण्यद्मुखाः ॥

the majority of the Bengali Brahmins and Kayasthas and to the Hindus at large. But palatable or unpalatable, truth must be told; and truth will reveal itself in its fullest splendour as soon as ignorance is dispelled by the light of knowledge. We here lay bare our conviction formed by facts and reasoning and respectfully invite fair and impartial criticism showing the errors of our judgment; and we are ready to alter our verdict wherever we find ourselves to have erred.

A few words for Danauj Madhav or Danauj Mardan before we proceed further. Of this King Mr. Beveridge wrote in his article on the Lakshman Sen era (J. A. S. B. Vol. LVII, p. 1. p. 5): "The last Hindu King of Bengal mentioned in the Abu-l-fazl's list (Ain. p. 413. Bibl. Ind. Ed.) is Raja Nojah, who ruled three years. This is the Raja Noe or Najah of Goldwin, for he has both spellings, and the Raja Bhoja of Lassen. Abu-l-fazl says that when Raja Nojah died the kingdom passed to Lakshman (Lakshmanaiya ?) who ruled at Nadia and was expelled by Bakhtiyar Khilji (Ain. p. 414)."

Our learned friend Babu Nagendra Nath Bose in his article on the Chronology of the Sen Kings

of Bengal (J. A. S. B. Vol. LXV, Part V, pp. 31-33) thus speaks of Danauj Madhav and Paramanand :

Abu-l-fazl has made mention of one Sada-sena who ruled after Kecava-sena for a period of 18 years. I think that this Sada-sena probably ruled after Vicva-rupa. It is not improbable that like the other rulers of Bengal, Vicva-rupa also lived to an old age and reigned for many years. Abu-l-fazl further says that after Sada-sena Nauja ruled Bengal, Harimiera has also made mention of a powerful king named Danauja-Madhava. There is *not the least shadow of doubt** that Abu-l-fazl read Nauja in place of Danauja. In the work named Tarikh-i-Firuz-shahi, this Danauja-Madhava, is described as Danauja Raya. Dr. Wise has thus written of Danauja Raya:—This is probably the same person as Danauja-Madhava, who is believed to have been a grandson of Ballala-sena. This Danauja-Madhava was not the grandson, but the great grandson of Ballala-sena. In speaking of Kecava, (Danauja-Madhava) Hari-miera thus writes :—

After this sprang Danauja-Madhava from the Sena dynasty. All kings of his time made obeisance to him. Several Brahmans sprung from 22 families, and adorned with many good qualities, came to his court, and with the view of outstripping his grandfather, Danauja-Madhava established them in his kingdom, giving them wealth and the title of Kaulinya.....The Karika of Hari-miera

* The italics are ours.

plainly shows that Kecava-sena was not his father. I am inclined to conjecture that Danauja-Madhava of the Sena family was the son of Sada-sena.

According to Edu-miera, Hari-miera, Dhruvananda, Mahecvara and other genealogists, as also the old account of Kulacharyas of Edilpur, it was Danauja-Madhava who re-organised Kulinism among the Brahmins and Vangaja Kayasthas. Some of these Karikas give the name of Danauja-Madhava-deva slightly altered, such as Danauja-Madhava-deva, Danauja-Mardana-deva. But whether he was called Nauja, Danauja Raya, Danauja-Madhava, Danauja-Mardana or Danauja-Madhava, there is no doubt that they all refer to the same individual.

According to some of the Karikas of Edilpur, this Danouja-Madhava or Danouja-Mardana issued orders about Kulinism from Candra-dvipa, and again the Ghatakas of Yikramapura say that the proclamation was made from Vikramapura. Moreover, there is a tradition extant that a person named Danauja-Mardana, after leaving Vikramapura went to Candra-dvipa and there established a kingdom with the help of his spiritual guide. Dr. Wise has thus written of his dynasty :—

“ It is not improbable that the founder of this family is the same person as the Rai of Sunargao, by name Danauj Rai, who met the Emperor Balban on his march against Sultan Mughisuddin in the year 1280. It is not likely that the Muhammadan usurper would have allowed a Hindu to remain in independence at his capital Sunargao. If the principality of Candra-dvipa extended to the River Meghna, the agreement made with the Emperor

that he would guard against the escape of Tughril to the west becomes intelligible."

"The chief event, however, of his reign was the organisation of the Vangaja Kayasthas. He appointed certain Brahmins, whose descendants still reside at Edilpur (Adilpur), to be Ghatakas or Kulacharyas of the Kayasthas, and he directed that all marriages should be arranged by them, and that they should be responsible that the Kulina Kayasthas only intermarried with families of equal rank. He also appointed a Svarnamatya, or master of the ceremonies, who fixed the precedence of each member of the sabha or assembly, and who pointed out the proper seat each individual was to occupy at the feast given by the Raja. These offices still exist and the holders of them are much respected by all Kayasthas."

It seems evident from the above that Iakshmanasena's grandson, Danauja-Rai or Danauja-Madhava of Vikramapura, having been greatly annoyed by the Mussalmans, went to Candra-dvipa and established a kingdom there. From the Karikas of the Ghatakas of Candra-dvipa, it would appear that after Danauja-Madhava his descendants Ramavallabha-deva-rama, Krishna-vallabha-deva-rama, Hari-vallabha-deva-rama and Jaya-deva-rama ruled Candra-dvipa one after another. The last of the Sena kings of Candra-dvipa (Jaya-deva) had no male issue. The oldest of the Karikas of the Ghatakas Candra-dvipa thus says:—

बलभद्रात्मजो धीमान् परमानन्दसंज्ञकः ।

तस्य मातामहः कृतो जयदेवो महावल्ली ॥

चन्द्रद्वीपस्य भूपालो देववंशसमुद्भवः ।

मृत्युकालं प्राप्य स हि ततः पञ्चत्वमागतः ।

परमानन्दकस्तस्मात् चन्द्रद्वीपेश्वरोऽभवत् ॥

"Paramananda the Wise was Bala-bhadra's son and the valiant Jaya-deva was the grandfather of Paramananda on the mother's side. Jaya-deva belonged to the Deva family and was the king as Candra-dvipa. On his demise, Paramananda, of heir to the throne, ruled the kingdom.

Surely Abu-l-fazl's Nauja cannot be the Danauj-Madhav of Mr. Bose and the chroniclers. Their Danauj-Madhav lived after the Mahomedan conquest, whereas Abu-l-fazl's Nauja lived before it. The Ain says "When the cup of life of Raja Naujah overflowed, the sovereignty fell to Lakshmaniya, son of Rai Lakshman. * * * * The astrologers predicted this overthrow of his kingdom and the establishment of another faith and they discovered in Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khilji the individual by whom these two events would be accomplished." (*Vide Jarrett's Translation Vol. II, page 148*). It also surpasses our understanding on what authority Mr. Bose corrects Dr. Wise in calling Danauj-Madhav to be the great grandson and not the grandson of Ballal. The chronicler Hari Misra says "पितामहजिगीष्या" to excel his grandfather, Ballal, and Abu-l-fazl (gives the names of four kings after Ballal and before Nauja. Most ridiculously unscholarly is also Mr. Bose's statement that Abu-l-fazl's Nauja, Tarikhi-Feroze-shahi's Danauj Rai and his Danauj-

Madhav is the identical person. The Danauj Rai of Tarikhi-Feroze-shahi of Ziauddin Barni lived in the reign of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban in about 1280 when the Governor of Bengal, Togril asserted his independence calling himself king and valiantly fought against the Emperor who came in person to subdue him. Ziauddin Barni speaks "Balban marched with all speed, and in a few days arrived at Sunorganu. The Rai of that place, by name Danauj Rai, met the Sultan, and an agreement was made with him that he should guard against the escape of Tugril by water."*

The contradictory statements in the works of the Ghataks of Edilpore and Vikrampore, (as shown by Mr. Bose) each drawing Danauj by the legs to their side, as a poor sacrificial kid thrown before competitors, show what little hand he had in the classification attributed to him. Moreover, such work is only possible in a time of peace and not when one was fleeing from place to place being pestered by an usurper. But Danauj was a great Raja and lived only about 44 years before the great Harsing of Mithila and both had opposed the Mahomedan power and immortalised their names. So in this second stage of development of Kulinism,

* *Vide also Stewart's History of Bengal.*

when a royal name was needed, the Brahmans of East Bengal, which was the cradle of Kulinism, in newly classifying the Kayasthas of the country after their own fashion, which is imputed to Lakshman Sen, caught hold of poor Danauj by the ears and saddled the dirty rags on his shoulder. The same divisions and subdivisions under the names of *Arti*, *Ksem* (and much similar under different terms) which arose among the Brahmans and reputed to Lakshman Sen we find had permeated in the Bangaj Kayastha community and reputed to Danauj-Madhav. The creation of the post of Brahman Kulacharyas and Brahmin Svarnamatyas (also called Sannamats) distinctly proves the sacerdotal origin of the classification. Had the classification been the work of Danauj-Madhav who is said to be a Kayastha, he would certainly have filled these responsible posts by the highest *Kulins* of his own caste, as in the other sections of the Kayastha community, for regulating his rules and not reserved for the Brahmans only.

The Ain discloses a great historical problem. It gives a long list of the Hindu kings of Bengal from the so-called Bhagrat, who is said to have fallen in the field of Kurukshetra, down to Nauja-

According to Ain twenty-four princes of the Khatri caste from father to son in succession reigned for 2418 years from Raya Bhagrat; then nine princes of Kayastha caste ruled in succession for 520 years commencing from Raja Bhojgauriya; then eleven princes of the Kayastha caste reigned for 714 years commencing from Ud Sur (Adi Sur), then again ten princes of the same caste commencing from Bhopal reigned for 698 years and at last seven princes commencing from Sukh Sen reigned for 106 years. The names of the successors of Ud Sur (Adi Sur) given by Abu-l-fazl, do not correspond either with those given by the chroniclers or mentioned in our inscriptions of Aditya Sen's dynasty. Now the question that naturally arises in us is, whence did Abu-l-fazl get his informations? And the only conclusion, which reply to this question leads to, is, that even in the time of Akbar there had existed some sort of traditions or chronicles which were sources of Abu-l-fazl's information but which were subsequently lost, fragments of which seem to have been extant, and the Ghataks of Bengal in later age built up with them a huge structure supplying whatever materials were required from the imaginations of their fertile brain, and with

an extraordinary necromantic power they evoked the spirits of Adi Sur, Ballal, Lakshman and Dananj assigning to them whatever places they liked to serve their purpose.

It will be observed that in the classification of the Maithil Brahmins the highest in rank were termed *Srotriyas* (श्रोत्रिय) whereas in the classification of the Bengal Brahmins in the time of the so-called Dhara Sur the highest rank was named Kulachal (कुलाचल) which is alleged to have been changed into *Kulin* by Ballal; and the term सच्छ्रोत्रिय "good Sotriyas," were given to the intermediate rank just above the despised *Satsatis*. The etymology of these two terms throws a flood of light on their origin, application and history of the time. In the great Encyclopedia of Sanskrit language, Vachaspathyam, of the late Professor Taranath Tarkavachaspati the term Srotriva is thus defined: "श्रोत्रिय पुं छन्दो वेदमधीते वेत्ति वा छन्दस्+घ श्रोत्रादेशः । १ वेदाध्ययनानुरते अमरः । "एकांशांस्तं सकल्पां वा षड्भिरङ्गैरधीत्य च । षट् धर्म निरतो विप्रः श्रोत्रियो नाम धर्मवित्" इत्युक्ते विप्रभेदे "जन्मना ब्राह्मणो ज्ञेयः संस्कारैर् द्विज उच्यते । विशा भ्यासी भवेद्विप्रः श्रोत्रियास्त्रिभिरुच्यते" मनुकलक्षणे । ब्राह्मणभेदे च ।

i.e., a Srotriya is one who is versed in Vedas. The term Kulin is defined in that great work in two* ways (1) as तन्त्राक्त कुलाचारयुक्ते one attached to the *Kulachar* † mentioned in the Tantras, i.e., as Professor V. S. Apte interprets "a follower of the left hand sakti ritual" and (2) काष्ठैर्यव्यालीनः भूमिलम्बे, i.e., prostrate on the ground. The two terms distinctly exhibit in bold relief a hard contest between the votaries of two religions, the Vedic and the Tantric and the ultimate victory of the latter over the former. Before Chaitanya, the founder of Vaishnavism in Bengal, the two predominant religions were the *Smarta*, originally based on the Grihya Sutras of the Vedas, but greatly ramified with additions and alterations, and the Tantric, which had its origin in the dualistic Sankhya philosophy but greatly vitiated by degenerate later Buddhism. With the spread of Mahomedan influence which told severely on the habits, manners and customs of the Hindus and even to a great extent vitiated the purity of their blood, as we

* Two other meanings are given in it सत्कुलजे ह्ये, a horse of noble breed and उत्तमकुलजते of noble birth. Of course, no Kulin will like to claim his descent from the runners of Derby or St. Leger!

† *Vide* Vachuspatyam for this Tantric Practice of Kulachar.

will just show, the *Smartas*, in order to preserve the Hindu nationality in tact, went on formulating rigid and minute rules for caste preservation and domestic observances, with numerous rites and ceremonials which were quite unsuited to the spirit of the age. The loose morals of the period, with the impetus given by the licentious foreign ruling class, and the persecution which orthodoxy was subject to, fretted at this tightened reins and found a comfortable harbour in the loose doctrine of the Tantra which not only encouraged all sorts of vices, such as wine, women and animal food, but also the abolition of the caste system. The result was that the votaries of the Smriti religion became thinned and the rival religion flourished so that, Bengal, especially East Bengal, the cradle of Kulism is still recognised as the cradle of Tantric religion throughout the length and breadth of India. Hindus fledged with the borrowed feathers became influential having been favoured by the rulers and having adopted Tantric Gurus, attached to the Kulachar, hence termed Kulins, in the strict phraseology of that doctrine. They who thus topped over the *Smartas*, and hurled

“प्राप्तेचैभैरवीचक्रे सर्वे वर्णा द्विजातयः”

them down with their religion to occupy an intermediate place under the term "good Strotriyas," and as each group of Kayasthas entered the pale of Tantric religion and submitted to this sacerdotal hierarchy, wherein implicit obedience*

* गुरौ मनुष्य बुद्धिस्तु मन्त्रे चाक्षरभावनाम् । प्रतिमासु शिलाबुद्धौ कुर्वाणो नरकं व्रजेत् । जन्मेदत् द्वि पितरौ पूजनीयौ प्रयत्नतः । गुरुर्विशेषतः पूज्यो धर्म्माधर्म्मप्रदर्शकः : गुरुः पिता गुरुर्माता गुरुर्देवो गुरुर्गतिः । शिवे रुष्टे गुरुस्त्राता गुरौरुष्टे न कश्चन ॥ गुरोर्हितं प्रकर्तव्यं वाङ्मनः कायकर्मभिः । आहिताच्चरणादिवि विष्ठायां जायते कृमिः । मन्त्रत्यागाद् भवेन्मृत्युर्गुरुत्यागाद्विराता । गुरुमन्त्रपरित्यागात् रौरवं नरकं व्रजेत् "गुरौसन्निहिते यस्तु पूजयेदन्यदेवताम् । स याति नरकं घोरं सः पूजा विफलना भवेत्" इति ज्ञानार्णवे । "आविद्यो वा सविद्यो वा गुरुरेवतु देवतम् । अमार्गस्थोऽपि मार्गस्थो गुरुरेव सदा गतिः" इति आगमल्पद्रुमः ।

Nowhere in India so much reverence is paid to illiterate and degenerate gurus, who hold a hereditary position, as in Bengal.

Now comes the attributes of a disciple.

"शिष्यलक्षणमाह । शान्तो विनीतः शुद्धात्मा श्रद्धवान् धारणक्षमः । समर्थश्च कुलीनश्च प्राज्ञस्सच्चरितो यतिः । एवंमादि गुणैर्युक्तः शिष्यो भवति नान्यथा " इति तन्त्रसारः

Our reader's attention is especially invited to the word Kulin in the above sloka.

to a Guru was enjoined, they were turned Kulins in the second interpretation of the term, *prostrate on the ground*. This clearly explains why nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Kayastha population of Bengal, the alleged descendants of three families only, are Kulins and preponderating over 80 other Kayastha families (8 Siddhya or Sanmauliks and 72 Sāddhyamauliks or Achal) and why the Bangaj Guhas are Kulins and the Daksin Radhi Guhas are Siddhyamauliks and Daksin Radhi Mittras are Kulins and Utter Radhi Mittras are Sanmauliks. Leaving poor Ballal, Ananda Bhutt is so far right that Kulinism originated out of the Tantric cult. The resultant of these two contending religions is the origin of a third religion, Chaitanya's Vaishnavism in the 16th century, which, in antagonism with the Smarta religion, entirely abolished caste restrictions (so much so that it is still a proverb in Bengal जातद्वारेइ वैष्णव that he that loses his caste is a Vaishnava), and in the places of rites and ceremonials of the Smartas and obscure and immoral *Tantric* rituals substituted Love and Faith (भक्ति and प्रेम) for the couple-deities, Radhakrishna, the personification or rather the deification of the original Prakritipurusha of the Sankhya system and a

modification of the Tantric Siva Sakti. In accordance with the Smarta doctrine and in contrast with the *Tantric* the Vaishnavas prohibited the use of wine and animal food and slaughter of living beings and to counteract the Mahomedan system of preaching and proselytism they revived the old system of public preaching which was against the principles of both the Smarta and Tantric religions, and introduced *Sankirtan*. The advent of this new religion was a rude shock to Smarta religion, the vestige of the Vedic religion, and it soon dwindled into insignificance. On the other hand, the Tantric religion was revolting to good conscience and already the Tantrics were divided into two sects the *Daksin margis* and the *Bam margis*. So Vaishnavism very rapidly flourished and very soon the whole Hindu population of Bengal was divided into two principal religious sects the Vaishnavas and the *Saktas*, i.e., the Tantrics. The Srotriyas only retained the name of Srotriya, but were merged into the one or the other religious sect, yet trying, as far as possible, to fuse in it the observances of their old religion. Both the Tantric and the Vaishnava religions in their doctrines as shown above, were

against caste system and the Kayasthas and other castes of Bengal thought little of their sacred thread, the emblem of the twice-born. In fact they were, perhaps, too glad to do away with it to show their subserviency to their Guru, the Brahmins. Hence they became *Bratyas* (व्रत्य). The spirit of the age can very well be compared with the tendency of the educated Bengalees of the present time who have mostly done away with their pig-tails (शिखा) and crop the hair of their occiput in European fashion. Even an educated Brahman, if he keeps a *sikha*, runs the risk of being ridiculed by his countrymen who consider him a boor.

If we but only view the present state of the Society of Bengal Brahmins and Kayasthas, we will at once find the existence of a very similar state of affairs. The Anglicised and the England-retained disdaining to submit to the rigid rules of penance or to forego their heterodox way of life and, therefore, excommunicated from the society by the orthodox Hindus, have found a comfortable harbour in the Brahmo religion which very well suits their taste and spirit. They are either Keshavites, Sadharanists or Adi Samajists, and although

Brahmo religion abolishes caste distinctions, most of them, even the most enlightened, hold it a fixed principle to marry their sons and daughters in their own castes. Now suppose the high English officials, instead of observing perfect neutrality, or, as is often the case, even showing contempt for such denationalisation, with a spirit of proselytism like that of the Mahomedans, favoured this class with honours and emoluments and encouraged them to meddle in the constitution of the Hindu society with impunity and to exert their influence in it, what would have been the result? The present contemptuous word 'Brahmo,' the butt end of all jokes, the heroes of all theatrical farces, would have superseded the word Kulins (which had similarly superseded Srotriya) and would have been the most honourable appellation for the highest rank and the best Kulins of the present time would have been too proud to marry their sons and daughters with Brahmos. Our readers are aware of the elevation and degeneration of words in the English language such as nice, fond, imagination, humanity, minister, shrewd, Whig, Tory, Radical, Christian (like Brahmo), cabal, boycott, knave, villain, brat, gossip, idiot, vulgar, simple,

pagan, etc. The words *Native* and *Babu* have also begun to degenerate from the last century, so that many Indians feel insulted, if addressed by those names. Such peculiarities of word-usage are not a monopoly of the English language but occur freely in all languages. We have in Sanskrit such words as दिगम्बरः, बुद्धः, जिनः, पङ्कजः, कपाली, भिक्षुः, परिव्राजकः, परमहंसः, महाबाह्मण, 'स-न्यासी, सुगतः, तथागतः' आर्य्यः, मुक्तिः, वृषलः

Such words are pregnant with a history of their own in every stage of their elevation or degeneration of meaning. The words *kulin* and *kaulinya* (कुलीन, कौलीन्य are of like nature). The latter word *kaulinya* or *kaulin* has been used by Kalidas in the sense of (अपवाद) a slur or stain which brings one down to the grounds, i.e., to disgrace.

“मालविकागतं किमपि कौलीनं श्रूयते ”

मालविकाग्निमित्रम् ।

“ तदेव कौलीनमिव प्रतिभाति ” विक्रमोः

“ कौलीनमात्माश्रयमाचक्षे ; कौलीनभीतेन

गृहान्निरस्ता ” इति रघुः । “ माकौलीनादसितनयने ?

मप्यीवद्वासिना भूः ” मेघः ।

The great commentator Mallinath interprets *kaulinium* to be (निन्दा) scandal. Bhutta Narayan, the author of *Veni Sanhar*, and the ancestor of the noblest *Kulin* Brahmans of Bengal, has also used this word in his work in the same bad sense of "an improper act, bad or scandalous conduct."

“तद्भीरुत्वं तव मम पुरः साहसानीदृशानि श्लाघा सा-
स्मद्रूपुषि विनयव्युत्क्रमेऽप्येष रागः, तच्चौदार्यं मयि जड-
मतौ चापले कोऽपि पन्थाः ख्याते तास्मिन् वितमति कुले
जन्मकौलीनतेतत् ”

The late Professor V. S. Apte has in his Sanskrit English Dictionary given a meaning of the term (कौलीन्य) to be "family scandal." Other meanings of *kulin* are "a combat of animals cock-fighting, war, battle in general. (*Vide* V. S. Apte's Sanskrit English Dictionary) and Professor Taranath Tarka Vachaspati thus traces the origin of these meanings :

अपवादो हि भूमिलग्रद्व लोकोभवतीति तस्य तथात्वम्
पशुसर्पाणां युद्धे च, न० भेदि, तेषांभूमिलग्रता साधनत्वात्
थात्वम् ।

By this it shows a hard struggle between the two contending parties, as we have shown above, is the origin of Kulinism.

From the above facts it will be clearly seen that the words *kulin* and its derivative *kaulinya* were originally used in a contemptuous sense meaning "of scandalous conduct," "family scandals" by the non-tantric Smartas about their Tantric and Vaisnab antagonists and it was elevated to mean, "of noble birth," "of noble rank" when the latter obtained the upper hand. Exactly the case as with the word "*Hindu*" not found in the whole domain of Sanskrit and Pali literature, and which was contemptuously given by the foreigners to the Indians, but which is now the proudest title for any orthodox Indian and even the Maharana of Oodeypore, "whose pride is beyond that of the proudest," finds himself flattered in the appellation of "*Hindu—Surya*." We do not deny that the two terms *kulin* and *kaulinya* were also used in the sense of "noble birth" from a very old time. We have in the *Panchatantra* :

“न कौलीन्यात्र सौहार्दान् वृषो वाक्ये प्रवर्तते” ।

“अकुलीनोऽपि मूर्खोऽपि भूपालं योऽत्र सेवते ।

अपि सम्मानहीनोऽपि स सर्वत्र प्रपूज्यते” ॥

Also *Vararuchi* :

“यस्यास्ति वित्तं स नरः कुलीनः । स एव वक्ता सच दर्शनीयः”

And Ramayan :

“सदृश इव मय्यादां कौलीनां नाभ्यवर्त्तते ”

But that this was not the original signification of the terms in the social constitution of the Bengali Brahmans and Kayasthas we have now arrived at a stage to show by the examination of internal evidences. We will show that kulinism in Bengal did not originate for the creation of a noble breed, an idea deep-rooted even in the minds of renowned scholars, but just the reverse, i.e., for the protection of those whose habits, manners and customs, nay the very blood, were vitiated.

CHAPTER X.

KULINISM IN BENGAL.

WE have proved that Kulinism as attributed to Ballal Sen is of a recent origin. We will now try our best to discover, as far as possible, the date of its origin.

The works of the Ghataks and other authors of the period give a graphic account of the social and political history of Bengal in the 15th and the 16th century. There was on the one hand the deepest possible persecution and vigorous proselytism on the part of the Moslems, and, on the other hand, Bengal Society was torn asunder by internecine feuds among its borders. Rape, adultery, abduction, elopement, revenge, hatred, jealousy, and spite were the order of the day. The very name of religion, humanity and morality was washed clean of the country; there seems to have been no law or authority to bring the culprits to justice and a consummate anarchy and despotism of the powers-that-be and public Hooliganism prevailed. The most ridiculous and pitiable state of affairs was that while the culprits went unpunished, the aggrieved party was all the more degraded in social status

and had no other recourse left but to take his vengeance by the perpetration of some more criminal and heinous acts against his enemy to lower him down. We quote below the graphic account, given by the Vaisnab poet, Jayanand, in his Chaitanya Mangal, of the oppression of the Hindus by the Mahomedans :

“आचम्बिते नवद्वीपे दहल राजभय ।

ब्राह्मणधरिया राजा जातिप्राणलय ॥

नवद्वीपे शंखध्वनि शुने यारघरे ।

धनप्राण लय तार जातिनाशकरे ॥

देउलदेहरभाङ्गे उपाटे तुलसी ।

प्राणभयेस्थिरनहे नवद्वीपवासी ॥

कपालेतिलकदेखे यज्ञसूत्रकान्धे ।

घरद्वारलोटे तार लोहपाशेशान्धे ॥

गङ्गाम्लानविरोधिल हाट घाट यत ।

अश्वत्थपनसवृक्षकटि शत शत ॥

पिरल्या ग्रामेते वैसे यतेक यवन ।

उच्छन्न करिल नवद्वीपेर ब्राह्मण ॥

ब्राह्मणे यवने वाद युगे युगे आद्वे ।

विषम पिरल्याग्राम नवद्वीपेर काद्वे ॥ ”

THE ASSIMILATING POWER OF HINDUISM.

The Scythian origin of the Rajputs, who proudly claim to be the pure descendants of the Kshatriyas

of yore and are universally acknowledged as such, has been proved beyond doubt by the Orientalists. Dr. Rudolph Hœrnle in his admirable paper, "Some Problems of Ancient Indian History," (*Vide* J. R. A. S. 1905 pp. 23-24) while examining the legend in Kirtiraja's grant of 1018 A.D and Trilochanpat's grant of 1051 A.D. remarks

The point in this version of the legend which is particularly to be observed is that it has much less of a mythological complexion. There is here no suggestion of a quarrel between the Devas and Daityas. We have evidently before us no myth, but a semi-historical account of an early occurrence, expressed in poetical and figurative language. And, perhaps, it is this semi-historical character of the occurrence which accounts for its being mentioned in the official charters.

At some time not exactly known, but still remembered, the natives of the country and their Brahmanical institutions were being harassed by non-Brahmanical foreigners (poetically called Daityas or Danavas). One of the foreign chiefs, a Chalukya, married the daughter of one of the native Rastrakut Chief and pursued pro-Hindu policy. The Brahmins, relieved of their mountain-load of anxiety gladly regularised the transaction by declaring the Chalukyas a Kshatriya caste. * * * There is nothing strange in the occurrence itself : the assimilating power of Hinduism is well known in India. If the Moghul emperors, when they formed matrimonial alliances with daughters of Rajput Princes, had at the same time

adopted Brahmanic Hinduism, we should now have a Moghul Caste of Hindu Kshatriyas. But even the loose Muhammadanism of the early Moghuls possessed more power of persistence than the Shamanism of the Huns and Gurjaras.

So, indeed, would have been the case had we, instead of the bigots like Jehangir and Aurangzeb, a couple of more Akbars to succeed him. If like Bengal, other countries of India, had possessed such historical records, we could have easily detected the admixture of foreign blood (as we can clearly do this in the case of Sakaldwipi Brahmans) and traced the origin of many high castes which now pass as *Dvijās*, twice-born.

Dr. Hærnle further observes

The period of non-Brahmanical foreign invasion was one of the great troubles and oppressions for the Brahmanism of the country. Those foreigners who intermarried with natives were naturally disposed to favour and even adopt Brahmanism ; and in return the Brahmans naturalised them by providing them with a respectable place in their caste-system (*ibid.* p. 30).

This theory of the "assimilating power of Hinduism" Dr. Hærnle would have found proved conclusively, had he examined the *mail bandhan* of Devivar and other re-organisers of Kulinism in Bengal. We quote here from Hari

Kabindra's दोषमाला and other authorities to depict the state of the society at that time.

खड्गदेहे—१. “भास्करे यवनोगमनम् २. बाणी ब्राह्म-
ण्यां पाठानगतदोषः” ॥ इत्यादि ॥

फुलियाय—१. पूर्वे जाफरखानीदोषः २. इदानीं साहस-
खानी चांदखानी सम्पर्कः ।

...गुणानन्दच्छोटठापुरस्य पत्नी सहिता अदत्ता कन्या
साहसरंवां यवनेन नीता अतः साहसखानी भावः । तथाच—

“गुणानन्दस्य पञ्चत्वं तत्पत्नी व्यभिचारिणी ।

साहसाय सुतांदत्वा निश्चला जायते ध्रुवम् ॥”

३. “काजीरवेड नवाइ खानदार—दौहित्र हरिदासस्य
समन्वयः” । ४. जूनिदखानी भावः । यथा—वीरभूमिनि-
वासि वसन्तचौधुरीतस्य पत्नी जूनिखाचिरमरीमत् । तत्रात-
कन्यामू काशीश्वरसुत हरिहरेणोदा तथाहि—

“काशीश्वरसुत हरिहर फुलियार मुखटि ।

भालविया छिलतार जुनिखानेरवेटी ॥

आछिल उत्तमकुलमुख हरिहर ।

जूनिदखां हेडारूदीतेभरिलाउदर ॥”

बल्लभोमेले—“मज्जलन्दखानाघ्रातपूति नारायण सम्प-
र्कः” । सर्वानन्दीमेले—१ “वनमालिखानीयः वनमालि-
यवनाजभक्षणदोषः” । बङ्गालमेले—“वावादोस्त खानी
भावः” । चान्दाईमेले—“मधुसरकारस्य इच्छाखानदोषः” ॥

“अनूदा श्रीनाथसुता धन्धघाटस्थलेगता ।
 हांसाईखानदारेण यवनेन वलात्कृता ॥
 धन्धस्थानगताकन्या श्रीनाथचट्टजात्मजा ।
 यवनेन च संस्पृष्टा सोढा कंससूतेन वै ॥ इति दोषमाला ॥
 “भट्टाचार्यैर वाईते पांचपीरैर मोकाम ।
 ताहाते नमाज पढ़ेन सागरदीयारदयाम ॥
 शुक्रदेव नमाज पढ़ेन नम्रकरि शिर ।
 बेचूरधुंजगनाथमकार फकिर” ॥ इति दोषकारिका ॥
 घृते जर जर शुकरभाजा । भोजनकरेन वामुनराजा ।
 ओरे वापूनीलकण्ठ । केमने खाइला शुकरेघण्ट ” ॥
 इति दोषतन्त्रे ।

Similarly we are aware of the origin of Pirali Brahmins, Pirali Kayasths and Pirali barbers, all illegitimate sons of Pirali Khan, a local magistrate in Khulna district, and Sherkhani, the converts made by Sherkhan, King of Bengal 1536-45 A.D. and Srimantakhani. These converts tried their best to corrupt pure Brahman blood.

Innumerable scandalous instances of rape, adultery, illicit connection with lower castes etc.,

“यथाए दे सेर खानी पीरली भग्नताकचित् ।
 बहे श्रीमन्तखानीच त्रिभिदग्धा वसुन्धरा ॥ ”

दनुजारिभिः ।

can be cited from internal evidence but we refrain from doing so for the sake of brevity.

It was with such materials that Devivar built up his system. He found the blood of the whole community corrupted, directly or indirectly, and observed the foolishness of forming a system composing of pure blood only by out-casting the impure, as that would be, as goes the Bengali adage, "depopulating the village in selecting the cheats" (ठक वाचते गां ओजड़). In him we find the first attempt to define the term *kulin*. अथ कुलीनलक्षणानि, कुलीनत्वं किं तावत्? ब्रह्मालकृतनवगुणाक्रान्तत्वं कुलीनत्वं (the groundlessness of which we have already clearly shown.) सर्वथाभावात् एतन्न । अनवच्छिन्नं परिवर्तित्वं कुलीनत्वं वाच्यं", i.e., "an unbroken continuity in the marriage of one *mail* with its assigned *mail* is Kulinism." By this we fairly deduce that Kulinism arose either simultaneously or only shortly before the rise of Devivar. That its object was simply to protect persons and families branded with infamy is clearly evidenced from the words of the Ghataks themselves:

“अर गुण यार गुण तार संगे याय ।

कुलगुण महागुण पुरुषक्रमे पाय ॥

स्वजनासम्बन्धहयपिएड ठेके माये ।
 धर्म्मैरविचार नाहिकुलरययाते ॥
 रएड पिएड बलात्कार विपर्यय पाइ ।
 घटकेते बले तार दोषनाहि गाइ ॥
 असत करये सत कुलेर एइ कर्म्म ।
 लोहारे करये सोना परशेरधर्म्म ॥ ”

Will any one any more doubt our interpretation of the term Kulinism? If such were the conditions in the Brahman community in the period alluded to, what must have been the condition in the community of other castes who had to come in close contact with the Mohamedans?

The organisation of the Daksin Radhi Kayasthas also throws much light on our theory. Poorander Khan, the organiser of the Daksin Radhi Kayasths is said to have been a minister of Hossein Shah. His real name was Gopinath Bose which was changed into Poorander Khan; so was his elder brother Govinda Bose's name changed into Gandharya Khan and his younger brother Pranballabh's into Sundervar Khan. His grandfather Mahipathi also similarly held the alias of Subuddhi Khan. Now what do these aliases signify but a total meta-

morphoses? Surely these aliases were never, as is generally believed, titles like our present Rai Bahadur, Kaiser-Hind, C.I.E., or C.S.I., but has the same significance as we now have in the names Manmohini Wheeler, Michael Madhusudan and Arthur Chakravarti. A Hindu might have a nick name but his Christian name, if we can use such an expression in a wider sense, is only altered when from Grihasthya he becomes a Sannyasi (e.g., Narendranath assuming the name of Vivekananda) or when his fortune raises him to a pre-eminently exalted position as that of a king. Then again instead of this singular title 'Khan,' whose origin is so intimately connected with the history of his prophet and religion, the Mahomedan rulers had thousand other honorific titles both in Persian and Sanskrit vocabularies to bestow on a *kafar* minister, if he had simply desired to honour him with a title. We learn from Stewart that, as soon as Hoossein Shah ascended the throne of Bengal, he granted to his chiefs, whatever tribe they belonged to, the extraordinary privilege of plundering the city of Gour for a prescribed period. The rich inhabitants of Gour being principally Hind'us, the pious Syed thought they were fair objects of plunder

although his own subjects. Afterwards "being himself of noble descent, he encouraged and patronised persons of good family, and reduced some of the upstarts of the late reigns to their original nothingness. Having by these means introduced a number of Syeds, Moghuls and Afghans into his service, his government became fully established." So the metamorphosed Poorander following the example of his master and the tenor of the age and chiefly having his own interest in view, set upon reconstituting the Dakshin Rādhī Kayasths.

It is a remarkable circumstance that Poorander, Devivar, Chaitanya, the famous Smarta Raghunandan and the logicians Raghunath and Gangesh were all contemporaries. West Bengal was the cradle of Vaisnavism and East Bengal of Tantricism and Devivar was a renowned *tantric*. So even synchronism goes to establish the truth of our theory. The very organization of Poorander goes to prove nothing less. Now, what led Poorander to go directly against the former system which confined the Kuls in the daughters and regulate the confinement of the Kul exclusively in the first son of a Kulir? The only rational reply is that after being thus metamorphosed he and his friends and relations had experienced

immense difficulties in marrying their sons and daughters, as is now being experienced by the Brahmos ; but being a man of great influence he threw open the doors of 82 houses for them, interdicted marriages of Siddha Mauliks and Saddhya Mauliks among themselves to make the marriages of Kulin's sons and daughters smoother and restricted the marriage of Kulin's first son for whom two houses were sufficient. Even this last restriction was violated by his contemporary, Maladhar Bose, the metamorphosed Gunraj Khan, poet and courtier of Hussain Shah, who had married his first son to the daughter of Sripati Dutt, a Maulik.

Like Poorander's we have also the history of Devi Das Khan in the Barendra section of the Kayasths which equally testifies to the validity of our theory.

KULINISM IS SIMPLY A DISINTEGRATING POLICY.

From all that we have stated and from the facts and figures laid before them, our readers could not have failed to observe that nothing but a vile and pernicious policy of disintegration pervaded in the Brahman and Kayastha societies of Bengal, and the reorganisers, so often eulogised

as "great men and reformers," simply went on disintegrating the society either with a view to serve their own personal interest or that of the sections they belonged to. To the great misfortune of Bengal they never had a real patriot, who understood the deep social problems and endeavoured disinterestedly to bring together and consolidate the frittered chips of the society into a homogeneous whole. The vicious effect of such disintegration is too obvious to describe. Even that adamant chain of love and sympathy among kith and kin was torn asunder and "a man's foes were those of his own household."

PRESENT STATE OF THE BENGALI SOCIETY.

Bengal with all her much vaunted education and progress still passionately clings to this fictitious Kulinism. Education instead of stifling or mitigating the baneful effects of Kulinism has gone in a horrible degree to strengthen them. In fact, the University standard has become a more powerful engine of oppression for the girl's father than the so-called Ballali Kulinism. A Bachelor of Arts, if he is also a bachelor in life, even if he is a homeless pauper, living upon his friend's bounty and be he a Kulin or a Maulik or Achal,

must have, besides "a wingless nymph," as goes the Bengali adage, for his *spouse* adorned with jewelry and gold ornaments from head to foot, a cash demand of at least Rs. 4,000 besides the personal dower for the bridegroom's embellishment called *वराभरण* from a girl's father of ordinary means, say a Deputy Magistrate or a Sub-Judge. If the father has the misfortune to possess a girl of somewhat dark complexion or in any way ugly or deformed, the demand may run up to Rs. 15,000. Add to this the numerous other items of expenditure to be incurred by the bride's father on, before and after the marriage and the result is simply ruinous to him, to say the least. We have personal knowledge of an incident where the bridegroom's party composing of educated men and headed by an M.A., a renowned professor of a Government College, had demanded after the marriage from the bride's father, who had already paid double the demand contracted, a black-mail which he agreeably termed *वरायात्रमय्यादा* (honorarium to bridegroom's party) for each member, whether Kulins or Mauliks, composing the bridegroom's party, for partaking food in the bride's house. The most ridiculous feature in the whole affair was that the name of the bridegroom, his

brother and his father, who had already received a handsome honorarium for his position as the boy's father were also enlisted in this general list of bridegroom's party to exact double honorarium. The bride's father having refused to comply with this unjust demand as an insult, innovation and contrary to family custom, he was asked to remit this demand immediately by telegraphic money order on pain of having his little girl detained in a forlorn and far-off country in case of default. In the majority of cases, the bridegroom's party now demands the whole amount in cash in advance and many even stoop to the meanness of demanding a registered document binding the bride's father in a contract so that he may not defraud hereafter. The least causes of dissatisfaction, however frivolous (and these could be easily picked up) subject the poor little girl-wife to all sorts of ill-treatment in her strange father-in-law's house, so long as she does not grow old enough to assert her independence there. Threats to remarry the bridegroom at once if the bride's party would not soon suitably make amends for such frivolous omissions and commissions are also in some cases realised to wreak vengeance. The miserable position of a girl's father is very well

depicted in Bengali adages which say that "he has (not the Damocles' sword) hanging over his head a chain of shoes to strike him at every turn." "That bride's father is soil and bridegroom's peg." (মেয়ে বাপ মাটি ছেলের বাপ খুঁটি). In view of the increasing difficulties in daughter's marriage which is being occasioned in consequence of the daily rising and multiplicity of the items of demand, thoughtful men have already rightly apprehended, that, if matters go on in this stride, there would soon be a time when girls' fathers would be compelled to have recourse to secret infanticide! The complaint against the marriage demand is universal but the most pitifully ludicrous feature is that a bride's father, smarting under a severe loss, feeds fat the grudge by exacting in his son's marriage from his son's father-in-law his whole cost with compound interest, on the plea that he had to pay so much in his own daughter's marriage. As he is wholly unable to injure him by whom he is injured, he must injure others in revenge!

MOVEMENTS OF REFORM.

We cannot conclude our review without mentioning briefly the strenuous efforts made by

patriots and public associations to remedy the evil effects of Kulinism. The late Pandit Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar on the 27th December 1855, submitted to Government a petition subscribed by 25,000 persons, and headed by such influential personages as Maharaja Mahatap Chand Bahadoor of Burdwan and Jaya Krishna Mukerjee of Utterpara (father of Raja Peary Mohan Mukerjee), praying for a legislation for the prevention of the practice of polygamy among the Hindus. "But the disastrous events which shook the foundation of the British Empire in 1857 overshadowed all consideration of internal progress." On the 19th March, 1866, a deputation consisting of Raja Satya Sharan Ghosal of Bhukailas, Pundits Bharat Siromani and Iswara Chandra Vidyasagara, Justice Dwarka Nath Mitra, and Babus Jagadanandh Mukerjee, Peary Charan Sarkar, Prasanna Kinnar Sarbadhihari and Krishna Das Pal, (now Maharaja) Durga Charan Laha and fifteen other respectable men waited upon Sir Cecil Benden the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, as representatives of the petitioners for reconsideration of their former petition. That sympathetic Lieutenant-Governor in reply to their deputation had said "Sir John Peter Grant promised very

shortly to introduce a Bill for the abolition of Hindu polygamy and he would no doubt have fulfilled his promise but for the mutiny of the native army, which broke out soon afterwards. Three years ago my honourable friend, Raja Deonarayan Sing, of Benares, essayed to bring a Bill for this purpose into the Viceroy's Council, and was, I believe, prevented from doing so only by a suggestion from Lord Elgin, that some further expression of public opinion was desirable before having recourse to legislation. On both these occasions, I did all that I prudently could, to advance a measure of social reformation, of which, the importance is, in my opinion, second only to the abolition of infant marriage. After this public expression of Hindu opinion, I feel myself at liberty to revive the subject. It is one which must, I think, be dealt with by the Imperial Legislature, and I may be permitted to say how glad I should have been to support the Maharajah of Burdwan if he had felt himself in a position to press it upon the attention of the Council. As it is, I shall lose no time in submitting your memorial to the Governor-General-in-Council and I shall be prepared, with the permission of His Excellency, to introduce a Bill next session, which I trust may be accepted

by the Council and prove satisfactory to the large bodies of Hindus, whose opinions are expressed in this memorial." But "the Government of India, however, doubted whether the popular feeling in Bengal was sufficiently prepared for legislation on this subject, and also remarked that the proposed measure, while it would restrain the excesses of polygamy, would have the effect of giving legal sanction to its adoption within the prescribed limits, an objection which, in the opinion of the Government of India, was entitled to greater weight than the Lieutenant-Governor appeared inclined to concede to it. On these considerations the Governor-General in Council desired that no Bill should be at once introduced but that further inquiries should be prosecuted. Acting under these directions the Lieutenant-Governor appointed a Committee consisting of some of the leading members of the native community in Calcutta, associated with Messrs. C. Hobhouse and H. T. Prinsep, with instructions to mature a scheme which would put a stop to the evils complained of, without, on the one hand, affecting the general liberty possessed by all Hindus of taking more than one wife, or on the other giving express sanction to that liberty by a legislative enactment.

The report of the Committee was submitted in February, 1867. They, therefore, pointed out that owing to the restriction imposed upon them that legal action to polygamy was not to be conveyed, they were unable to recommend even the passing of a declaratory Act of the kind stated above. In the meantime a despatch was received from the Secretary of State in which he objected to any measure of a legislative character being adopted at present as it did not appear that a large majority of people even in Bengal were against the practice of polygamy, apart from the special abuses practised by the Kulin Brahmins." (*Vide* Buckland's Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors). Foiled in his attempt to persuade Government in this matter, Vidyasagar decided upon persuading his countrymen of the impropriety and unlawfulness of polygamy and wrote in July 1871 his paper, बहुविवाह रहित ह्यत्रोया उचित कि न (whether polygamy should be stopped or not). But the result, as is invariably the case with ill-fated Bengal, whenever any question of reform crops up, the Pandits of Bengal (including such men as

* Vidyasagar gave in this a very interesting statistics giving the names of persons who had then 30, 40 even 100 or more wives at a time.

Professor Taranath Tarka Vachaspati with whom since then there had existed a life-long ill-feeling with Vidyasagara) took up arms against him and the discussions ended only in cock-fight and exhausting the knowledge of Billingsgate !

A movement has been quite recently set on foot by the Bengal Kayastha Sabha which, notwithstanding its zeal to revive Kulinism, has been making a strenuous effort to curtail the marriage expenditure as far as possible by taking a declaration from the members that they will never demand any cash, save *Kaulinya Maryyada* (कौलिन्य मर्यादा), or ornament or any other property from the bride's father. It is also trying, in speeches and writings though not yet in practice, (save in the solitary instance of matrimonial relationship between two Bengali High Court Judges recently contracted) to introduce a system of intermarriage among the four sections of the Kayastha community, *Daksinradhi*, *Uttarradhi*, *Bangaj*, *Barendra* on the ground that they are all descendants of the same immigrants.

FLAWS IN THE ATTEMPTS.

In our humble opinion both Pandit Vidyasagar and the Kayastha Sabha went in the wrong direction. They simply wanted to prune the poison-tree.

instead of uprooting it. Had Government, as desired by the memorialists, led by Pandit Vidya-sagar made polygamy culpable by legislation, what would have been the result? Had not then the Kulins' daughters and sons, in order to preserve their *Kuls* to lead the life of maidens and bachelors so long as they lived, as they did in the absence of a *paltighar* (पालटिघर)? The immutable law of nature is to annihilate the cause if you want to annihilate the effect. But if, on the contrary, you only annihilate the effect, leaving the cause to exist as potent as before, the same effect must soon come out in some form or the other. The effort of the Kayastha Sabha, too, in introducing intermarriages among the four sections is no doubt good if really carried into practice; but this, we are constrained to think, is rather impracticable especially for the flimsy argument put forth. It is as impracticable as to establish intermarriages of Bengal Brahmans and Kayasthas with the Brahmans and Kayasthas of Kanouj, the original home of the immigrants, on the same flimsy argument of common ancestry which applies equally. Or to endeavour to establish matrimonial connections of the Hindus with English, French or Germans on the argument

that they are descendants of the same Aryan stock! As two swallows can never make a summer, the solitary example of the two High Court Judges referred above is of no consequence in the long run.

THE ONLY REMEDY SUGGESTED.

The only possible and practicable means to extirpate the manifold vicious effects of Kulinism, *e.g.*, polygamy, ruinous marriage demands, matrimonial difficulties, etc., is to abolish the cause, Kulinism, from every section of the community. Unmarried sons have now become a very lucrative article of trade, and oftentimes we have found the bridegrooms' guardians do not feel the least ashamed in rejecting an offer with the curt remark "Oh, it is too low for the market-rate." Appeal to all logic and reasoning, all justice and humanity, all sympathy, persuasion and mercy, in short, to all tender, moral and religious sentiments is nothing but a crying in the wilderness when one's self-interest, especially when it concerns his pocket, becomes a dominant force in him. So when the bridegrooms have now become articles of trade, the principles of political economy as regards demand and supply should be applied to counteract and the only

remedy to bring a *glut* in the market is by the abolition of Kulinisms which are the prohibitive duties imposed. We have clearly shown how fictitious and at the same time pernicious this disintegrating system is. We have shown how utterly groundless is the idea that it emanated for the creation of a noble breed. We now close with an appeal to our countrymen to devote their best and careful consideration and to judge whether for the preservation of our species, for our national progress, for creating a better feeling of love and sympathy among our kith and kin, for the amelioration of our society, nay, even for the sake of our individual interest and self-preservation, this poison-tree should still be allowed to bear fruit.

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