

The Kayastha ethnology, an enquiry into the origin of the ...

Kayastha
ethnology

THE KAYASTHA ETHNOLOGY;

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BABU HARGOBIND DAYAL, SRIVASTAVA DUSRE, F.A.

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THE
KAYASTHA ETHNOLOGY;
BEING AN INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE
CHITRAGUPTAVANSI
AND
CHANDRASENAVANSI KAYASTHAS.

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PREFACE.

IN India the religious books among the *Aryans* which treat of their pious and social duties, as well as of their ethnology, comprise the following classes of works:—

I. *Sruti*, or direct revelation, which includes (1) the Sanhitas of the four Vedas; (2) their Brahmanas; (3) their Upanishads; and (4) their Aranyakas. As auxiliaries to the Vedas are the six Vedangas, *viz.*, Siksha, Chhandas, Vyakarana, Nirukta, Jyotish, Kalpa.

II. *Smriti*, or remembered law.

III. *Puranas* and *Itihāsas*.

In connection with these we must mention the various Nibandhas, *i. e.*, Digests and Commentaries, which, in consequence of the laws in the above works being scattered and difficult to understand, and the works themselves being hardly procurable, have acquired such an importance that they are invariably followed at present. The general and local custom, the usages of the family, clan, tribe and caste form also a branch of Hindu law.

Before the Mahomedan conquest, the Aryans of India, in their dealings among themselves, and in the division of ancestral property, followed their own laws as expounded by the Brahmans.

“About the year 1000, the Mahomedans began to invade the country and gradually conquered one portion after another, until Aurangzebe, towards the close of the 17th century, subjugated the greater part

of the country, and reduced even the petty states which he spared, dependent on his favor and protection In those parts of India in which the Mahomedans became masters, justice was everywhere administered by Mahomedan Judges (Kazees), who of course decided according to Mahomedan law. "According to Mahomedan law it is *mandatory* and not *optional* with the ruler, to establish the law of Islam within the Mahomedan dominions," so that "even questions of inheritance between persons, who were not of Mahomedan persuasion, were decided in accordance with the Mahomedan law. And as the Mahomedans remained in power for more than eight centuries, it is reasonable to conclude that the Hindu law, had at the time the British obtained possession of the country, become nearly totally extinct and antiquated."*

It is to this circumstance that we must attribute the loss of the complete and accurate manuscripts of the Sanskrit books which had escaped even the fury of the Buddhists.

Under the British Government, the Hindu law has, by different enactments† pertaining to the several portions of the British territories, been, to a certain extent, restored to the Hindus in all matters relating to "succession, inheritance, marriage, caste, and all other religious usages and institutions."

When, after the subjugation of Bengal, the British Government passed the first regulation, directing the administration of Hindu law among the Hindus in the matters specified as above, it was found that many of the Sanskrit books, which had escaped destruction

* Elberling's Introduction on the laws of the Bengal Presidency, p. 1-2.

† 21 George III., ch. 70. Sections 17 and 18.

Bengal Regulation XXI., 1772, Sections 22 and 23, whose provisions were re-enacted in Bengal Regulation IV. of 1793.

during the Buddhist and Mahomedan rules, were to be had with great difficulty ; and of those which were procured, the greater number was found in an incomplete and mutilated state ; and the number of men who could understand and explain them was very limited. The English Judges, who were entrusted with the administration of Hindu law, had, with very rare exceptions, no acquaintance with the laws prescribed by the Sastras. It was under this state of things, that Pandits were appointed as Law Officers in all the Courts in the Presidency towns and in the Mofussil. The duties of these Law Officers, as laid down in Section 15, Regulation xii of 1793, were to attend the courts in their sittings, and to give their opinions on legal points involved in the cases. They had to take oath to give their legal opinions founded only on the authority of the Sastras. At the same time by order of the Government a Digest was compiled in Sanskrit, named Vivadarnavasetu. It was translated into Persian and thence into English. With regard to this compilation Sir William Jones remarks. "Whatever may be the merit of the original, the translation of it has no authority."

This led to the compilation of another Digest named Vivada-bhangarnava by Pundit Jagannatha Tarkapanchanana, a Bengali Pandit, under the supervision of Sir William Jones. Mr. Colebrooke about the year 1786 translated this work into English, and increased its value and utility by adding an elaborate and learned preface to it. This is the work generally known as Colebrooke's Digest. But it is not cited as an authority by the Pandits of the other schools except that of Bengal.

Mr. Colebrooke's own opinion of this Digest is expressed in his preface to the "Two treatises," in

the following words. The compiler's "method of discussing together the discordant opinions maintained by the lawyers of the several schools, without distinguishing in an intelligible manner which of them is the received doctrine of such school, but on the contrary leaving it uncertain whether any of the opinions stated by him do actually prevail, or which doctrine must now be considered to be in force, and which obsolete, renders his work of little utility." Owing to these defects, it has not undeservedly been characterised "*the best law book for a counsel, and the worst for a judge.*"

Several other treatises on Hindu Law have been translated into English from the original Sanskrit *e. g.*

Yajnavalkya—smṛiti with the Mitakshara of Vijñanesvara, Vyavaharadhyaya, Chapter viii, verse 116 to 154, on inheritance, translated by Colebrooke, published in 1810 (followed throughout the whole of India except Bengal school.)

Ditto 1 to 115 on Judicial proceedings and evidence by Macnaghten in 1830.

Daya Bhaga of Jimuta Vahana on inheritance, by Colebrooke in 1810 (Bengal.)

Dayakrama—sangraha of Sri Krishna Tarkalan-kara, by Wynch in 1818 (Bengal.)

Dattaka Mimansa of Nanda Pandita on adoption by Sutherland in 1821 (Mithila and Benares.)

Dattaka Chandrika of Devanda Bhatta, on adoption by Sutherland in 1821 (Bengal and Southern India.)

Vyavahara Mayukha of Nilakantha Bhatta on inheritance, Judicial proceedings and evidence, by Borrodaile in 1827 (Maharashtra or Bombay.)

Vivadachintamani of Vachaspati Misra, on contract and inheritance, by Prossonno Kumara Tagore in 1863 (Mithila or Western Behar.)

Smṛiti Chandrika of Devanda Bhatta on inheritance by Krishna Swami in 1866 (Dravira or Madras.)

Vyavahara Madhaviya of Madhavacharya on inheritance by Burnell in 1868 (Karnataka.)

Vyavahara Nirnaya of Varadaraja on inheritance by Burnell in 1872 (Dravira.)

Narada smṛiti by Julius Jolly in 1876.

It should be borne in mind that Dharmasastra consists of three parts.

I. The first part treats of Achara or “established rules of conduct comprising such subjects as education, marriage, funeral rites,” &c.

II. The second part treats of Vyavahara, “or the business of life, including among many other topics, judicature and inheritance.”

III. The third part treats of Prayaschitta or expiatory penances, purifications, and kindred subjects.

That there are English translations of a very limited number of works—a mere fraction of the large mass of Hindu law literature—is evident from the fact that no other work (except Manu) on the Achara and Prayaschitta portion of the Dharmasastra has been translated into English. Not even all the chapters on Civil and Criminal law, of the Mitakshara have been translated.

Mr. Harry Borrodaile, when speaking about the translation of the chapter on the practice of Courts of law and evidence, remarks as follows:—

“Every one must regret that the two first Chapters of Mitakshara, those on Judicial proceedings and evidence, were not given. Valuable as any extracts from such a work are, the insertion of the translation complete, would, we may venture to say, have doubled the value of this book to practical readers.”

Even the Lords of the Privy Council, the highest tribunal for India, have observed that they do not possess an English translation of the whole of the *Mitakshara*. Even the parts that have been translated are sometimes found to differ from the original Sanskrit text. The difficulty in comprehending the original Sanskrit works correctly, has often given rise to conflicting translations of the same passage by different translators. There is no reason why Mr. Colebrooke's translation should be considered as infallible, when it disagrees with modern translations.

The uncertainty arising from conflicting translations has been remarkably illustrated by Dr. Goldstucker, who has shown that the same passages have differently been translated by Colebrooke, Burnell, and Prossonno Kumar Tagore.*

It has been remarked before, that no work on *Achāra* (with the exception of *Manu*) has been translated. This is a great desideratum, as all the facts relating to the origin and distinction of the four different castes, and their religious obligations and observances, are contained in that very part of the *Sastra*. And since the Hindu *Sastras* draw a marked distinction between the four castes by assigning different rights and privileges to them, by prescribing different rules for their civil conduct and transaction, and by laying down different punishments and expiatory penances for the different castes for the same offence, it is obvious that no argument can be considered valid, unless based on a due consideration of the above points in accordance with the *Sastras*. But the question is, where to look for the requisite information. And no doubt it is a matter of great

* See Dr. Gold Stücker's paper on the Deficiencies in the present administration of Hindu Law, read at a meeting of the East Indian Association held on the 8th June 1870, p. 7. *et seq.*

embarrassment, that with the exception of Mr. Steele's work, which has been compiled after tolerable enquiry and research, no other work of this kind is to be found. But that book embraces a very limited scope, being a treatise on the law and custom of the Hindu castes within the territories subject to the Presidency of Bombay only. There is no work which has been compiled with the same care and research for Oudh, the Punjab, the North-Western, and the Central Provinces.

A similar work has lately been written by Mr. Sherring of Benares, called "Hindu Tribes and Castes." But his classification of the four castes is not complete. He has devoted a separate portion of his work to the description of the Brahmans, among whom he has classed the Bhuinhars. In the same manner, in his next chapter, he treats of the Kshatriya tribes, and has included the Jats, Gujars, and other tribes of disputed origin in this class. But the same method of classification has not been followed with respect to the two remaining castes, which are put together in a single part headed "mixed castes—Vaisyas, Sudras, and others." But a careful enquiry will show that some of the Hindu tribes described by Mr. Sherring in this part, *e. g.* Khattris and Kayasthas, should be classified among the Kshatriyas, whilst others among the Vaisyas, and the rest among Sudras. Since the religious books of the Hindus reckon the members of the four classes as Aryas, there being no fifth class among them, any one not coming under any of the four classes must be considered a *Dasyu*. The *Ain-i-Akbari* expresses the same opinion in the following terms—"the fifth (class) must be considered out of the pale of religion." Of course, the ascetics who cannot come under any of

the four classes, although originally belonging to one of them, must be classed under a separate head. They have different rules of observances prescribed for them by the Sastras.

No one will deny that in making a classification of this kind, many difficulties are to be surmounted. For this purpose, no second-hand information is worth reliance: nor is such an information available. To bring home the appropriateness of the above remark we must refer to the observations which have been made before regarding the absence and scantiness of English translations of Sanskrit works required for this purpose, and the defective and incomplete state of the translations which do exist.

In order to ascertain to which of the four classes the above tribes belong, we must resort to the two chief criteria laid down by Mr. Steele, *viz.* descent and occupation. The particulars of the former are to be found in several of the Sastras bearing on the subject, which lay down the genealogy of the castes and the profession each is to follow. Now if we were to judge strictly, according to the rules laid down for the religious observances of the different castes, even the Brahmans themselves would not stand the test. Can many members of the sacerdotal class defend themselves, should their conduct be scrutinized according to the precepts of the Sastras? The questions of inheritance and succession ought to be decided with the consideration of *varna* or class.

In this treatise a careful inquiry about the ethnology of the Kayastha tribe has been made by tracing its descent and ascertaining its occupation from the Sastras and authentic traditions. This inquiry has resulted in establishing the fact that the Chitragupta vansi and Chandrasena-vansi Kayasthas belong

to the Kshatriya class. It is now offered to the public, with the hope that its perusal will give a correct notion of the origin of the Kayasthas, and that it will serve as a refutation of all the hostile writings against this tribe.

LUCKNOW:)
The 7th April, 1877.)

K. P.



INTRODUCTION.

The aim of the present treatise being to show clearly the origin of the Kayastha caste, and to remove the obscurity which hangs about it, it becomes of importance to introduce the subject by tracing the creation of the world in accordance with the Vedas and other Hindu religious authorities. With this view, is appended a translation of extracts from different Sanskrit books bearing on the subject.

Rig Veda Aitareya Upanishad.

“This soul (Atma) alone verily was before, and seeing nothing else, he reflected: let me create the worlds.”

Yajur Veda, Adhyaya XIII. 4.

“Imperishable matter (ऋषण रभं) *i. e.*, the Creator was in existence before the elements. He became their sole master and the prop of heaven, earth, and all this.”

Satapatha Brahmana, XI. 4. 2. 5.

“That very Soul divided its substance into two, and therefrom came the male and female,”

Yajur veda, XXXI, 5.

“From that (couple) sprung Virat: from Virat (sprung) the chief.”

*Rig Veda 10th mandala—90th hymn
and Yajurveda XXXI, 10.*

“That Being who has thousands of heads, thousands of eyes, and thousands of feet, spreading himself everywhere, remains in ten fingers' breadth.

“How was the Being, whom people call Supreme, formed ?

“What is His mouth, what His arms, what are called His thighs and feet ?

“The Brahmana became His mouth ; the arms were made Kshatriya ; His thighs are the Vaisya, and from His feet was born Sudra.

“From His mind sprung the moon ; from His eyes sprung the sun ; from His ears sprung common air and vital air ; from His mouth sprung fire ; from His navel was formed the sky, and from His head heaven ; from His feet the earth ; from His ears directions or sides, and thus the Supreme Being created the worlds.”

Satapatha Brahmana. xiv. 4, 2, 23.

“The Brahmana was before, being one only he did not extend. The Supreme Being created the Kshatriya,” who was intended to spread happiness, *viz.*, all those Kshatriyas among whom are included the gods Indra, Varuna, Soma, Rudra, Parjanya, Yama, Mrityu and Isana.”

“When the Kshatriya did not extend, the Supreme Being created the Vaisya. Among the Vaisya are the following classes of gods, *viz.*, the Vasus, Rudras, Adityas, Visvadevas and Maruts.”

“When the Vaisya did not extend, the Supreme Being created the caste of Sudra as the nourisher. The Earth is the nourisher, for it nourishes all this whatever.”

“Thus the Brahmana, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya and the Sudra were formed out of Agni or fire ; among the gods was Brahma, and among mankind was the Brahmana. From Kshatriya was formed Kshatriya, from Vaisya Vaisya, and from Sudra Sudra.”

When the four classes did not extend, the duties were created.

MANU.

CHAPTER I.

88. "To Brahmanas were assigned the duties of reading the Veda, of teaching it, of sacrificing, of assisting others to sacrifice, of giving alms, and of receiving gifts.

89. "To protect the people, to give alms, to sacrifice, to read the Veda, to shun the allurements of sensual gratifications, are in a few words the duties of a Kshatriya.

90. "To keep herds of cattle, to bestow largesses, to sacrifice, to read the scripture, to carry on trade, to lend at interest, and to cultivate land, are duties prescribed for a Vaisya.

91. Only one duty the Supreme Ruler assigns to a Sudra, *viz.*, to serve the beforementioned classes without depreciating their worth."

CHAPTER II.

30. "Let the father perform, or if absent cause to be performed, on the tenth or twelfth day after the birth, the ceremony of giving a name; or on some fortunate day of the moon, at a lucky hour, and under the influence of a star with good qualities:—

31. "The first part of a Brahman's compound name should indicate holiness; of a Kshatriya's, power; of a Vaisya's wealth, and of a Sudra's contempt."

32. "Let the second part of the priest's name imply prosperity; of the soldier's preservation; of the merchant's, nourishment; of the servant's, humble attendance."

CHAPTER X.

4. "The three classes, *viz.*, the Brahmana, the Kshatriya, and the Vaisya, are twice born, but the

fourth or Sudra is once born (*i. e.* has no second birth from the Gayatri, and wears no thread). There is no fifth class."

5. "In all classes those who are born, in a direct order, of wives equal in class and virgins at the time of marriage, are to be considered as the same in class with their fathers.

6. "Sons begotten by twice born men on women of the class next immediately below them, are called similar; they are degraded by the lowness of their mothers."

8. "From a Brahmana and a wife of the Vaisya class is born a son called Ambashtha (or Vaidya); by a Sudra wife a Nishad, named also Parasava."

9. "From a Kshatriya, by a wife of the Sudra class, springs a creature called Ugra, with a nature partly warlike and partly servile, ferocious in his manners, cruel in his acts."

11. "From a Kashtriya, by a Brahmana wife, springs a Sûta by birth; from a Vaisya, by a Kshatriya or Brahmana wife, springs a Magadha and a Vaideha."

24. "By illicit intercourse among the classes, by their marriages with women who ought not to be married, and by their omission of prescribed duties, mixed classes are formed."

28. "As a similar son may spring from three classes by women of two classes, *viz.*, from women of the class immediately below them, and from a woman of their own class, it is thus also in the case of the lower tribes in order."

41. "There are six sons begotten by women of the same class, and by women of the next lower class, who must perform the duties of twice born men."

47. "Sûtas must live by managing horses and by driving cars; Ambashthas by curing disorders;

Vaidehas by waiting on women; Magadhas by bartering."

CHAPTER III.

14. "A woman of the servile class is not mentioned even in any ancient narrative as the wife of a Brahmana, or of a Kshatriya, though he may be in the greatest difficulty to find a suitable match."

CHAPTER IV.

253. "A labourer in tillage, a family friend, a cowherd, a slave * (Dása,) a barber, and one who offers his humble services, are men of the servile class, whose food may be eaten."

CHAPTER X.

43. "The following races of Kshatriyas, by their omission of holy rites and by not seeing the Brahmanas, have gradually sunk among men to the lowest of the four classes."

44. "Poundrakas, Udras and Draviras, Kambojas, Yavanas, and Sakas, Paradas, Pahlavas, Chinas, Kiratas, Daradas, and Khasas.

45. "Those who are out of Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra caste are called Dasyus, whether they speak the language of Mlechchhas, or that of Aryas."

M A H A B H A R A T A.

A N U S A S A N A P A R V A.

CHAPTER 47.

7. "The three classes—Brahmana, Kshatriya, and Vaisya are dvija, (or twice born.) The perfor-

* The slaves (Dasa) have been enumerated to be of fifteen kinds. (vide Viramitrodayá, page 408)

mance of the Sanskára ceremonies is provided for these three Varnas only.”

17. “One born by Brahman from a woman of any of the first three Varnas is a dvija.”

13. “One born from a Kshatranee woman is also a Brahmana.”

8. “It has never been seen or heard that a Sudra woman ever became the wife of a Brahmana owing to his foolishness, temptation, or lust.”

18. “Only four Varnas are described; no fifth one is to be found.”

CHAPTER 48.

3. “The rituals are provided for the four Varnas, which are only four.”

4. “A Brahmana can have four wives; the descendants of the two out of the four are Brahmanas; those of the remaining mothers of the two lower classes are of their mother’s caste.”

CHAPTER 47.

47. “It is also said that a Kshatriya can have two wives. He may have a Sudra wife; but this has never been seen or heard of.”

CHAPTER 48.

7. “Out of the three kinds of sons who may be born from Kshatriyas, two of them are Kshatriyas.”

8. “A Vaisya can have two wives, the descendants of both of whom are Vaisyas.”

19. “Cohabitation with a woman with whom it is not permitted, produces children called Varna-sankara, or mixed class.”

30. “Law has fixed duties for the four Varnas, and not for others.”

I.—THE PROGENETORS OF THE BRAHMANA
CASTE.

Bhrigu* was born from the skin of Brahmá. He was married to Khyati, the daughter of Daksha† (who was born from Prasúti, the daughter of Manu, the son of Brahmá); his son was Kavi. The planet Sukra (Venus) was the son of Kavi. His son was Chyavana; the wife of Chyavana was Arukhi, the daughter of Manu. The Bhagwata says that Sukanya, the daughter of Rája Srijat was the wife of Chyavana. Aurava was the son of Chyavana. His son was Richika, who was married to the daughter of Gadhi, Raja of Kanouj. Jamađagni was their offspring, and he had five sons (Parasurama and others) by his wife Renuka, the daughter of Rája Prasenajit.‡

Angiras was produced from Brahmá's mouth. He was married to Smriti, the daughter of Daksha, and by her had three sons (1) Vrihaspati, (2) Utathya, and (3) Samvarta. Bharadwaja§ was the son of Vrihaspati by the wife of Utathya; Gaútama was the son of Dírgh-tam, son of Utathya||. Vasishta was produced from the vital airs of Brahma, or from his breath, and Marichi from his mind; Sambhuti, the daughter of Daksha was married to Marichi. Their son was Kasyapa; Surya was the son of Kasyapa; his son was Vaivaswata Manu. Among Manu's descendants, those who read the Vedas with their Angas became Brahmanas.** Atri was born from the eye of Brahma. He was married to Anasuya, the daughter of Daksha.—Their son was Soma, or the moon. Soma gave birth to Budha by Tára, the wife of Vrihaspati.††

* Bhagavat III.

† Visnu Purana, part I.

‡ Mahabharata Vana Parva.

§ Bhagavata IX. 20

|| Mahabharat Adi Parva 104-22.

** Mahabharat Adi LXXV. 14.

†† Bhagavat IX.

Agastya was produced in an earthen jar from the seed of Mitrarvarun *

Viswamitra.—The son of Rája Gadhi, a Kshatriya †

Vitahavya.—A Kshatriya King who became a Brahmana, simply by the word of Bhrigu. ‡

II.—THE PROGENETORS OF THE KSHATRIYA.

(1).—WARRIOR CASTE.

VAIVASWATA MANU, the son of Suryya, (son of the Rishi Kasyapa, the offspring of Marichi), had a son named Ikshwaku, and his descendents were called Suryya Bansis (or of the solar family §)

VAIVASWATA MANU had a daughter Ila, and by her Budha, the son of the moon and grandson of the Rishi Atri, had a son named Pururava. The descendants of the caste were called the Chandra bansis or of the Lunar dynasty. ||

VISVAMITRA made four persons Kshatreyas by performing a sacrifice. The descendants of these were called the Agnibansis.

(2).—WRITER CASTE OR KAYASTHA.

CHITRAGUPTA was produced from the body of Brahmá. He is one of the 14 Yamas (who are of the Kshatriya caste). His sons** gave rise to the different tribes of Kayasthas; a detailed description will come hereafter. The posthumous sons of Chandrasena who were termed Kayasthas by Parasu Rama were excluded from the warrior profession, and were directed to follow the profession of writers. ††

* Bhagvata VI. 18. 5.

† Mahabharat Anu sasan IV. 47.

‡ Ditto XXX. 57.

§ Mahabharat Adi LXXV. 15.

|| Bhágavat IX.

** Padma Purana.

†† Skanda Purana.

III.—THE ANCESTORS OF THE VAISYA CASTE.

The Vaisyas are the descendants of Basa and Bhilandaki*

IV.—THE ANCESTORS OF THE SUDRA CASTE.

Among the sons of Manu, those who adopted the menial professions of tending herds of cattle, shaving hairs,† doing domestic work,‡ ploughing, carrying loads, singing, dancing, sounding§ musical instruments, &c.,|| and did not learn to read or write, became Sudras. They are not authorized to wear the sacred cord or read the Vedas,** nor to accumulate wealth.†† They are enjoined to partake of the food that is left after the Brahmanas, the Kshatriyas, or the Vaisyas have had their meals‡‡ They become pure on the decease of a kinsman after 30 days§§ They must have themselves shaved once a month|||

* Matsya Purana,

† Manu IV 254.

‡ Manu I 91. VIII. 413. 416. and Gita Adhyaya XVIII. 44.

§ Devala Smṛiti.

|| Manu X. 100.

** Manu I. 4 X. 1.

†† Do. X 129.

‡‡ Do. V 140.

§§ Do. V 22.

||| Do. V 140.

PART I.
TRANSLATION OF EXTRACTS

FROM

SANSKRIT AUTHORS.

ORIGIN AND DUTIES OF KAYASTHAS.

I.—VIRAMITRODAYA*

(VYĀSAHARADHYAYA.)

NARADA.

“A King has eight constituent parts, *viz.* his attendants, his councillors, the law books, the accountant, the writer, the gold, the fire and the water.” †

VRIHASPATI

“A King has ten constituent parts for the accomplishment of an object, *viz.* himself, the chief justice, the councillors, the Smṛiti or laws, the accountant, the writer, the gold, the fire, the water, and the attendants.”

“Associating with these ten members, the King, with settled mind, administers justice, such an assembly being looked upon sacred like a sacrifice.”

“The duties of these 10 members have also been laid down separately.”

“The chief justice reports, the King orders, the Councillors test the work, the law directs enquiry, and the award of decree (to one) or infliction of penalty (upon the other.)”

* By Mitramisra, a Brahmana—composed, about 700 years ago, by order of Virasing Raja. “Their Lordships have no doubt that the Virāmitodaya, which by Mr. Colebrooke and others is stated to be a treatise of high authority at Benares, is properly receivable as an exposition of what may have been left doubtful by the Mitakshara, and declaratory of the law of the Benares School.” Moore’s Indian Appeals, vol. XII. 448 W. R. X 34, Girdharee Lall *versus* the Government of Bengal, 17th July 1868.

† Narada Dharmashastra by Dr. Julius Jolly page 6.

“Gold and fire are used for the purpose of taking oaths, and water for appeasing thirst and mollifying agitation.”

“The accountant makes calculations, and the secretary (writer) takes down the proceedings of the trial.”*

“The attendant calls the defendant, the councillors, and the witnesses, and keeps the plaintiff and the defendant apart from each other in his custody.”

“The King stands as the head of these members; the chief justice as the mouth, the councillors as the two arms, the law as the hand; the writer and accountant as the thigh, gold and fire as the two eyes, water as the heart, and the attendant as the feet.”

“Two persons must be appointed by the King, a secretary (writer) and an accountant, who are skilled in expounding words and meanings, adepts at counting, upright, and learned in the different characters (dialects).”†

VYASA.‡

“One versed in sacred literature must be appointed by the King as the Accountant; and one who can write a distinct legible hand and is adept at expounding the true meanings of words, should be appointed as the Secretary (or the writer.)”

“An attentive servant who is a stout Sudra, and whose ancestors have followed the same employment, must be appointed by the King for collecting the materials for trial, and be placed under the orders of the councillors.”

Compiler of the Viramitrodaya. “By saying that the accountants must be versed in sacred literature, (it is meant) that they are twice-born, and so are the

* Let the King sit with his face to the east, the Assessors looking towards the north, the Accountant facing the west, and the Secretary turning towards the south” (Vrihaspati.)

See Vyavahar Mayukha, Chapter I., Sec. I., para 10.

†

“In every department of the King there should be a writer thoroughly acquainted with the letters of all the countries and well versed in all Sastras.” Matsya Purana.

‡ Smṛiti by a Rishi of that name, (No. of Granth 500.) it treats of Achar, Vyavahar, and Prāyashchit. (See Steel. p. 5.)

writers who are combined with the accountant.”—
(*Sans. pp. 43.*)

II.—MITAKSHARA.

“Versed in sacred literature means eminent in the study of philosophy, grammar, &c., and in comprehending the Vedas.”*—(*Vyavaharadhyaya 2.*)

“The term Judge is intended to include the Scribes and Assessors; when a King investigates a suit, the witnesses are declared to be the Scribes,|| the Judge and the Assessors in succession.”

(*Smṛiti do. 69.*)†

“The Kayasthas‡ are writers and Accountants (they are) dear to kings.”—(*Achāra Adhyaya, 335.*)

“The King’s Secretary who determines peace or war should by King’s command write the royal order.”—(*Smṛiti do. 319.*)§

III.—VACHASPATYA.**

Page 19-32.

PADMAPURANA.

Srishti-Khanda.

“In the beginning of the creation, Brahmá, in order to ascertain the good and evil actions of mankind, meditated a little, when, from his body, sprang an individual, whose name was Chitragupta. He was appointed under Dharma rája for registering the good and evil actions of mankind.

* Macnaughton, 1874. Vol. II. pp. 135, para. 10.

† Viváda-tandava Smṛiti Chankrika, Macnaughton Vol. II., page 241.

‡ Vihad Parasara. “There must be appointed persons for administering criminal law, who are capable of carrying out justice, are learned, able to perform their duties,”——are writers or Káyasthas who possess a zeal to perform properly their task of writing.”

§ Níti Mávkha.

|| Vrihad Vishnu Smṛiti Chap. VII.—The document authenticated by the King is that which is drawn out in his presence by a Káyastha appointed by him, and signed by his chief justice.

** A comprehensive Sanskrit Dictionary by Taranatha Tarkavachaspati Professor of Grammar and Philosophy in the Government Sanskrit College of Calcutta.

He was very wise and eminent among the gods, and allowed to receive the offerings given in sacrifices. It is hence that the twice-born, at the time of taking their food, give oblations to him.

As he sprang from the body of Brahma, he was called of the Kayastha caste.

His descendants are Kayasthas of different Gotras or races on the surface of the earth."

BHAVISHYA PURANA.

Brahma said,

"Thou art sprung from my body, therefore thou art called Kayastha; thou shalt be known on the earth by the name of Chitrugupta.

O son, having obtained my firm command, thou art located at the city of the Dharma Raja in order to distinguish the good from evil.

Let the religious duties prescribed for the Kshatriya class be followed by thee, and O son beget children on the surface of the earth."

SKANDA PURANA.

Renuka Mahatmya.

"Having thus killed Arjuna, Parasu Rama attached pointed arrows to his bow and pursued all the wounded Kings with a view to slay them." "The wife of Chandra Sena, who was pregnant, went to the hermitage of Dalbhya which was likewise visited by Parasu Rama. Parasu Rama addressed Dalbhya in the following words:— "O thou fortunate one! there has come to thy hermitage the wife of the great minded Kshatriya King Chandra Sena, who is pregnant.

"Give her, whom I have asked, to me that I may kill her."

Then said Dalbhya, "I gratify thy request, but it behoves thee to give me the son of this pregnant woman."

Parasu Rama replied. "Thou hast asked of me one, for whom I, who am determined to annihilate the Kshatriyas, came here."

O Brahmana as thou hast begged of me to give thee the good child existing in the womb, it shall be called by the blessed name of Kayastha.

The duties of a Kayastha, *i. e.*, of Chitrugupta are allotted to this Kayastha who has sprung from Kshatriya parents."



PART II.

Extracts from the works of European Writers with reference to the Origin and Duties of the Kayastha Tribe.

LAW AND CUSTOM

OF

HINDOO CASTES

BOMBAY.

BY ARTHUR STEELE (1826).

Page 89.

"Kshatriya allowed the three Karmas of Yajana, Adhyayana, Dana. Duties—(Dhanurvidya) archery or the art of war, and (Prajapalan) the art of beneficent government:—

The Brahmans assert that Parasurama destroyed the whole of the Kshatriyas.

The Purbhoos having claim to descent from Chandrasena Raja, maintain their right to the name and Karma of the caste through a son born of his widow, after Parasurama destroyed him and the other Kshatriyas."

Page 94.

“Kayastha or Purbhoo.” “To the northward they are termed Kayasthas, in the Dekhin, Parbhoo; allowed the performance of Sanskars, to wear the Sendee, the Janewa and redcolored clothes, and to maintain themselves by writing or in the military profession.”

“Three kinds are specified, the Kayastha or Purbhoo, Upur-Kayastha, and Purbha; the Karma of all being the same.”

“There are in Poona the “Chandraseni” Kayastha Purbhoos, who claim descent from a posthumous son of Chandrasena Raja, and thence the right of performing the Kshatriya Karmas of Yajana, Adhyayana and Dana. Many practise in consequence among themselves the Vedokta Karma (ceremonies enjoined by the Vedas) as Brahmans.”

HINDU

TRIBES AND CASTES, BENARES,

BY THE REV. M. A. SHERRING, M. A., LLB. (1872).

Page 305.

KAYASTHAS.

THE WRITER CASTE.

“According to the Padma Purana they derive their origin like the superior castes from Brahma, the first deity of the Hindu Triad. The Brahmans assent to this.” “The Kayasthas as a body trace their descent from Chitragupta.* They regard him as a species of divinity, who after this life will summon them before him, and dispense justice upon them according to their actions; sending the good to heaven, and the wicked to hell.”

“In point of education, intelligence and enterprise, this caste occupies deservedly a high position†. A large number of Government officials in Indian Courts of Law,

* Recording angel; see Shakspear and Bate.

† Dictionary of India by John Garrett, Director, p. 1., Mysore Supplement, page 64.

and of Wakils, or Barristers, belong to it ; and in fact it supplies writers and accountants to all classes of the community, official and non-official. Thus it comes to pass that the influence and importance of the Kayasthas are felt in every direction, and are hardly equalled in proportion to their numbers by any other caste, not excepting even the Brahmanical. As revenue officers, expounders of law, keepers of registers of property and so forth, they are extensively employed ; indeed, they regard such duties as theirs by special birth-right, while other persons who may discharge them are, in their estimation, interlopers. These views are rudely dealt with by the liberal Government of India, which shows no respect to persons or castes, and selects for its servants the best qualified individuals. Nevertheless, the Kayasthas adhere to the notion in spite of the difficulty of defending it."

"The proportion of men able to read and write in this caste is, I believe, greater than in any other, excepting the Brahmans. They are eager in the pursuit of knowledge, and send their sons in large numbers, both to the Government and Missionary Colleges and Schools in all parts of the country. I understand that a considerable number of the women of this tribe can read ; and that it is esteemed a shame for any man of the caste not to be able to do so."

"Persons are to be found here and there in the caste, who neither drink spirits, nor gamble, nor eat flesh. They are termed Bhagats or religious persons, and wear the sacred thread. This tribe is divided into twelve sub-castes, which are really independent of one another ; they do not intermarry, nor eat cooked food together."

"The sub-castes are descended, tradition affirms, from one father, Chitrugupt, and two mothers,* one the daughter† of Suraj‡ Rishi ;§ the other the daughter of Susurma|| Rishi. From the first marriage four sub-castes

*See Yama Sanhita cited in Ahallya Kamdhenu.

†Not daughter but granddaughter.

‡Father of Viavasvat Mauu.

§Rishi may be a kshatriya and may be called "best of Deijas."

||Susurma was also a name borne by kings, see Mahat'harat Adi p. 1—69.

have, it is said, proceeded, and the remainder from the second. "The twelve sub-castes are as follow :—

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| 1. Mathur (from Mathura.) | 7. Suraj Dhawaj, |
| 2. Bhatnagar (from Bhatniar or Bhatnagar). | 8. Karan, |
| 3. Sakhsena (from Farrokhabad). | 9. Balmik, |
| 4. Sri Vastava. | 10. Ashthana, |
| 5. Kul Sresht. | 11. Nigam, |
| 6. Amasht (Ambashta), | 12. Gour." |

"The custom of the Bhatnagars in regard to marriage is the same as that of the Agarwalas and Khattris. The habits and customs of the Suraj Dhuj Kayasthas are in many respects like those of *Brahmins*."

DIGEST OF HINDOO LAW,

BY H. F. COLEBROOK, ESQ., 1796.

VOL I, PREFACE, PAGE XIX.

"Luchmidhara composed a treatise on administrative justice by command of Gobind Chandra, a king of Kasi, sprung from the Vastava race of Kayasthas. He is likewise author of a Digest entitled Kalpataru, which is often cited. By command of the same prince, Nara Sinha, son of Ramachundra, the Grammarian and Philosopher, composed a law tract entitled Gobindarnava, and several other treatises."

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

BY H. F. COLEBROOKE, ESQ.

VOL. II, PAGE 189.

"The Kayasthas of Bengal claim descent from five Kayasthas who attended the priests invited from Kanyakubja. Their descendants branched into eighty-three families, and their precedence was fixed by the same prince Ballala Sena, who also adjusted the family rank of other classes."

“ In Bengal and Dakshina Rara three families of Kayasthas have pre-eminence ; eight hold the second rank.

Kayasthas of Dakshina Rara and Bengal.

KULINA 3.

GHOSA

VASU

MITTRA

(VULG BOSE)

SANMAULICA 8.

De
Sena

Datta
Sinha

Kara
Dasa*

Palita
Goha

The distinction of families is important in regulating intermarriages. Genealogy is made a particular study, and the greatest attention is given to regulate the alliance according to established rules. The principal points to be observed are, not to marry within the prohibited degrees ; nor in a family known by its name to be of the same primitive stock ; nor in one of inferior rank ; nor even in an inferior branch of an equal one ; for within some families gradations are established. Thus, among the Kulina of the Kayasthas, the rank has been counted from thirteen degrees ; and in every generation, so long as the marriage has been properly assorted, one degree has been added to the rank. But, should a marriage be contracted in a family of a lower degree, an entire forfeiture of such rank would be incurred.”

ETHNOLOGY OF INDIA,

BY MR. CAMPBELL.

PAGE 118.

“ Kayastha ” — “ Some how there has sprung up this special writer class, which among Hindoos has not only

*“ This name is borne chiefly by men of the Banya caste, Byragees, and occasionally by Kayasthas and Brahmins.”

“ It is a mistake to suppose that it is the name of a particular family, as was asserted by a celebrated statesman, who inveighing against the treatment of some Dasa of Lucknow, states him to be a member of the Dasa family, one of the most distinguished in India ” — Eliot's Glossary, p. 292.

rivalled the Brahmins, but in Hindoostan may be said to have almost wholly ousted them from secular literate work."

PAGE 119.

"In Bengal, the Kayasthas seem to rank next, or nearly next to the Brahmins, and form an aristocratic class. They have extensive proprietary right in the land, and also, I believe, cultivate a good deal. Of the ministerial places in the public offices, they have the larger share. In the educational institutions and higher professions of Calcutta, they are, I believe, quite equal to the Brahmins, all qualities taken together; though some detailed information of different classes, as shown by the educational tests, would be very interesting. Among the native Pleaders of the High Court, most of the ablest men are either Brahmins or Kayasthas; perhaps the ablest of all, at this moment (1866), is a Kayastha."

CENSUS REPORT, 1865.

"Kayastha. This class is known as the writer casté. They are the clerks and men of pen all over India. They are a fine handsome race, with delicate intellectual features; and some of the cleverest natives of India have sprung from their number. In lower Bengal especially they are distinguished by the rapidity with which they acquire a wonderfully perfect knowledge of the English language and of European literature.

"Perhaps no race in India has so eagerly responded to the attempts which have been made to civilize, in the European fashion, the natives of this country."

PART III.

REFUTATION OF ERRONEOUS STATEMENTS
ON THE NATIONALITY
OF
KAYASTHAS.

Mr. Sherring, in his work on Hindu Tribes and Castes published in 1872, makes the following observations about the Kayastha caste.

“Nothing is known decisively respecting its origin.”
.....“Wilson in his Glossary states that they sprung from a Kshatriya father and a Vaisya mother,* but gives no authority for the assertion. The *Jatimala* says that the Kayasthas are true Sudras. *Manu*, however, (X.6) states that they are the offspring of a Brahmin father and a Sudra mother. With so many different authorities, it is impossible to affirm which is correct.” Now referring to the original Sanskrit text of *Manu* alluded to in the above passage, it appears that the word Kayastha is not to be found in any part of the whole work, and hence in neither of its Sanskrit commentaries by Medhatithi or Kulluka. In Ch. X. 6 all that *Manu* says is: “sons begotten by twice born men and women of the class next immediately below them, are called similar, they are degraded by the lowness of their mothers.”

In point of fact, *Manu* has no where given any particular name to the offspring of a twice born (Dvija) begotten on a woman next in class. In the verse above cited he has given them the name of similar, and thus describes them in Chap. X., verse 40. There are “six sons begotten by women of the same class and by women of the next lower class, who must perform the duties of twice born men.” And it is also laid down in

* See also Classical Dictionary by Garrett, Supplement, p. 48 (1874).

the Maha Bharata, (Anushasan Parva 48th Adhyaya Verse 4, 7 and 8) that the offspring of each of such union is included in his father's class.

Although Kulluka Bhatta in his Commentary on (X. 6 of Manu) writes thus, "Anulom, viz., those begotten by a Dvija on a wife of next Varna (class) e. g. by a Brahmana on a Kshatriya woman, or by a Kshatriya on a Vaisya woman, or by a Vaisya on a Sudra woman, are described as similar and not the same by Manu, being degraded in consequence of the inferiority of the order of their mothers. The similarity of parents should be understood to mean that they are above the order of their mother and below that of the father."

Yajnavalkya, and other writers have given them respectively the appellatives of *Moordha Vasikt*, *Mahishya*, *Kurra*, and have thus described their duties: viz. discipline of elephants, horses and chariots, and uses of arms for the *Moordha Vasikt*; singing and dancing, the profession of an astrologer and protection of granary for the *Mahishya*; and service of *Dwijā*, superintendence of treasury and granary and the guarding of King's seraglios for the *Parswa*, *Ugra* and *Karana*." The names of *Moordha Vasikt*, *Mahishya*, &c., are found merely in some books. But no individuals answering these names are met with on the face of the earth. And had the sub-divisions enumerated by Yajnavalkya been in existence, *Jamadagni*, * &c., whose fathers were Brahmanas and mothers Kshatriyas (as is told in the Puranas), and who were the ancestors of the Brahmanas, would have been considered as *Moordha Vasikt*. In former times it was not uncommon for Brahmana sages to espouse daughters of the Kshatriya princes; and if the daughters of such union were united in wedlock to a man of the Kshatriya class, the descendants of such couple were regarded as Kshatriyas; for instance, *Devajani*, the daughter of *Sukra Bhargava*, was married to *Raja Yayati*, from whom the *Yadu-Vansi Kshatriyas* were descended.† The definition of *Karana*, as given by the commentator

* Maha Bharata Adi Parva 939.

† Do. do.

Kulluka, is contrary to that given in the text of Manu, because in Verse 22. Chapter X., Manu himself defines Karana to be the offspring of a *Vratya* Kshatriya. *Vratya* is thus defined by Manu in (X. 20) "Those who do not perform the ceremonies of assuming the thread, &c., although begotten by twice born men and women of equal class, are denominated *Vratyas* or excluded from the *Gayatri*."

In the *Brahma Purana*, Karana is defined exactly in the same way as in Manu. But in the *Maha Bharata*, *Adi Parva*, Chapter 115, Verse 40, the offspring of a Kshatriya father and a *Vaisya* mother is called a Karana.

The *Medini Kosha** gives the following meanings of the word Karana. "Cause ; work ; washing ; dancing ; a kind of song ; trade, passion ; field ; body ; binding of the lock ; *Kayastha*. It is declined in the neuter gender ; but it is masculine if it means the son of a *Vaisya* by a *Sudra* mother."

This exposition does not tend to show that the *Kayasthas* as a body are necessarily descended from a *Vaisya* father and a *Sudra* mother. The compiler of this work reminds us of the Karana of *Yajnavalkya*, and has included *Kayastha* also in giving the several meanings of the word Karana, which is the name merely of one of the subdivisions of *Kayasthas*. Karana was also a name borne by several kings, as we find it in the *Maha-bharat*. Karana does not mean only "writer," but also "writing," *e. g.*, in the *Vrihaspati Smriti* as quoted in *Viramitrodaya*, page 385. Mr. Colebrooke in his *Miscellaneous Essays* says "the appellation of *Kayastha* is in general considered as synonymous with Karana, and accordingly the Karana tribe commonly assumes the name of *Kayastha*." The first part of the above sentence is not correct, as the word *Kayastha* is not synonymous with Karana, the former being the genus and the latter the species. Moreover all Karanas are not *Kayasthas*,—nor are all *Kayasthas* Karanas.

One clan of *Kayasthas* is also known under the name of *Ambashta*. But in the *Mahabharata*, *Ambashta*

* A small recent Dictionary of the Sanskrit language.

is also mentioned as a name borne by several kings.* While in the Smritis, the offspring of a Brahman father and a Vaisya mother is called *Ambashta* and is included (*Mahabharata*, *Anusasana Parva*, chapter 49, verse 17, and chapter 48, verse 4) in the Vaisya class. *Kulluka Bhatta* and *Medhatithi* in their commentaries on *Manu* also expressly maintain them as twice born; the former commentator also adds (X. 4) that the descendants of a father of one caste and mother of another, have no separate grades assigned to them.

It ought to be observed that in ages previous to the *Kaliyuga*, when the marriage between people of different castes was permitted, and was in vogue, several species of this sort must have sprung in different parts of the country; and though the *Kayasthas* are thickly spread over the country, their clans are distinguished under different names, and not under the same name of *Ambashta* or *Karana*. *Mr. Colebrooke* further says:—
“But the *Kayasthas* of Bengal have pretensions to be considered as true *Sudra*, which the *Jatimala* seems to authorize; for the origin of the *Kayasthas* is there mentioned, before the subject of mixed tribes is introduced, immediately after describing the *Gopa* as a true *Sudra*. One, named *Bhutidatta*, was noticed for his domestic assiduity, therefore the rank of *Kayastha* was by *Brahmanas* assigned to him. From him sprung three sons, they were employed in attendance on princes.”

The above statement, alleged to be in accordance with the *Jatimala*, seems quite incorrect, and the *Jatimala* can never be relied upon, for the following reasons :

I. *Mr. Colebrooke* himself, at page 17, calls the *Jatimala* to be an extract from *Rudra Yamal Tantra*, which he says is a “branch of literature at present much neglected.”

He further observes that on more important points its authority could not be compared with the *Dharma Shastras*. The original *Rudra Yamala*, whether it is a work on *Tantra* or not, is wholly unprocurable.

* *Karna Purva VI.*

Besides the compiler of the *Jatimala* does not appear to be a writer of great authority, nor do the standard authors of Benares or the Deccan make any reference to his book in their works.

In the foot note on page 188 of the Supplementary Glossary of Sir Henry Elliot, the following passage occurs. "I know no other authority for this statement than the one quoted, which is very poor. The whole *Jatimala* in the "selections" is entirely wrong."

In the *Jatimala*, as Mr. Colebrooke asserts, the origin of the *Rajpoots* is described to be from a Vaisya father and an Ambasht mother, and if one were to regard the *Jatimala* as a work of undisputed authority, the *Rajpoots* would have no connection with the *Kshatriyas*, and cannot come within their list.

II. To what sect of *Sudras*, *Bhutidatta* belonged, is not therein stated.

III. The word *Kayastha* means—situated in the body; incorporate; a writer; a name of the supreme being. (*Bate's Dictionary*.)

IV. What reasons are there for using no other word but *Kayastha* for one who is very discreet in the household affairs?

V. Why was not the title of *Kayastha* given to any other person in the world endowed with the same qualities as *Bhutidatta*?

VI. *Bhutidatta's* name does not appear traditionally famous as the ancestor of the *Kayasthas*.

VII. The thirteen clans of the *Kayasthas* as described by Mr. Steele and Mr. Sherring in their works have no connection whatever with *Bhutidatta's* family described in the *Jatimala*.

VIII. No *Kayasthas* are distinguished as the descendants of *Chitrangad* and *Chitra Sena*, who are alleged to be described in the *Jatimala* as the sons of *Bhutidatta*.

IX. In the alleged description of the *Jatimala* no mention is made of the writing profession of the *Kayasthas*.

X. The following quotation from Mr. Colebrooke's *Digest of Hindoo Law* is opposed to the assertion that

the Kayasthas were anciently regarded as Sudras. "Lakshmidhar composed a treatise on administrative justice by command of Govind Chundra, king of Kasi, sprung from the Vastava race of *Kayasthas*. He is likewise the author of a digest, entitled *Kalpataru*, which is often cited."

XI. The *Jatimala*, which does not seem to be a book of any consequence, can carry no weight with it if opposed to the *Padma*, *Bhavishya* and *Skanda Puranas*, which describe the origin of Kayasthas in quite a different way. Extracts from these Puranas appear in a work named *Vachaspatya*, compiled by Professor Taranatha, of the Government Sanskrit College of Calcutta.

XII. The *Jatimala* is not only opposed to the sacred books above-named, but also to the *Mitakshara* and *Viramitrodaya*, which are books of great authority on Hindu law, and admitted to be such even by the Privy Council.

Now *Vijnanesvara* observes in the *Mitakshara Achara Adhyaya** (335), "Kayasthas are writers and accountants, and are dear to the kings." And the author of the *Viramitrodaya*, on the authority of *Vyasa* and *Vrihaspati*, adds that "the writers and accountants are one of the gems of a Prince's court, and are twice born men."

XIII. The compilers of Sanskrit Dictionaries, in enumerating the various occupations of the Kshatriya class, mention the writing profession also as one of them. See *Amara Kosha*, &c.

XIV. The performance of the *Sanskara* of †*Yajnopavita* has been permitted among Kayasthas from time immemorial, some of whose sects have invariably performed that ceremony according to rules.‡ Now, had the Kayasthas been Sudras, such a custom could not have been established among them by the Brahmanas.

* See Bhasha translation of the *Mitakshara* by Pundit Durga Prasad Yajur Vedee, Agra, 1873, *Acharadhyaya*, page 260.

† "The sacred writings of the Hindus allow the sacred cord to this caste also." Rev. Ishuree Dass, of the American Mission, 2nd edition, 1866, page 32.

‡ As found in Behar, the Upper Provinces and the Deccan.

XV. If a title which especially belongs to a higher caste be granted to one of a lower caste, it does not thereby follow that the members of the former caste become degenerate, and rank with the latter. For instance, it is laid down in Atri Smṛiti, verse 371, that there are ten kinds of Brahmans, *viz.*, Deva (divine), Muni, Dvija (twice born), Kshatriya, Vaisya, Sudra, Nishada, Pashu, Mlechcha and Chandala. But all the Brahmanas do not occupy the same, but different ranks in society.

XVI. There are several Upabrahmanas besides the sects commonly known as ten, a detailed account of whom is given in Mr. Sherring's work; but they cannot be considered excluded from the Brahmana caste, because they are not included in the ten primary sects mentioned by Mr. Sherring.

Mr. Wilson in his Glossary thus writes about the word Kayastha :—

“A caste so termed; or a member of it sprung from a Kshatriya father and a Vaisya mother, the occupation of which is that of writer or accountant. It is one of the most respectable mixed classes. Among the Mahrattas, the Kayastha is said to be distinguished from the Kayath, the latter being peculiar to the north.”

The reason why Mr. Wilson calls the Kayasthas to be descended from a Kshatriya father is that they derive their origin from Chitr Gupta, one of the fourteen Yamas* who belong to the Kshatriya class † But the allegation, that the mother of the Kayasthas was a Vaisya woman, is as unsupported by authority as the one in which the Kayasthas are represented by some commentators to be the same as Karana, which, according to the Mahabharata, is a name given to the offspring of a Kshatriya father, and a Vaisya mother. But it is laid down in the Mahabharata, Anusasana Parva, Adhyaya 48, Sloka 4, that

* *Vide Bates' Dictionary*, 1875 (p. 297), Vrihadparasara Smṛiti, Matsya Parana, Acana Mayukha and Chandrika.

† Yajur Veda, Satapatha Brahmana.

such a progeny should be included in the Kshatriya caste. And there can be no doubt about the fact that such a progeny does not belong to a mixed class, as intermarriages of this kind were permitted, and the offspring of such a union belonged to the father's class.

Messrs. Forbes, Johnson and Bates agree with Mr. Wilson so far that they admit the Kayasthas to be descended from a Kshatriya father. But they say that the mother of the Kayasthas was a Sudra, for which assertion they give no authority. Manu, in contradiction says in Chapter III., verse 14, that "a woman of the servile class is not mentioned even in the recital of any ancient story as the wife of a Brahmana or of a Kshatriya, though in the greatest difficulty to find a suitable match," and this statement is confirmed by Mahabharata Anusasana Parva, Adhyaya 47, Sloka 8; and according to verse 9, Chapter X. of Manu Smriti, the offspring of a Kshatriya father and Sudra mother is denominated Ugra, and not Kayastha.

In the Census Report of the North-Western Provinces 1865, it is recorded that "their tradition is thus: when Parasu Rama destroyed the Kshatriyas, the pregnant women of that caste fled, and the children, to whom they subsequently gave birth, having been concealed during the massacre in the wombs of their mothers, were called Kayasthas (Sanskrit काय—body; स्थ—remaining.)" The Cashmeeree Pandits who attempt to pass themselves off as an offshoot of the Brahmana class are in reality Kayasthas" (p. 57).

Now it appears from the work of Mr. Sherring, that the tradition abovementioned does not apply to the whole class of people known by the name of Kayasthas; and even granting that the remark does apply equally to all the Kayasthas, it does not follow that they are not legitimate Kshatriyas by birth.

PART IV.
DECISION OF PANDITS
ON THE NATIONALITY OF KAYASTHAS.

The following decisions of 626 learned men, in the Hindoo religion, show that the ancestors of the Chitragupta Vansi and Chandraseni Kayasthas were twice born (dvija), and the religious duties prescribed for them were the same as those for the second *Varna* (class).

I. *Vyavastha** of 80 Pandits of *Poona*, dated 1858 Sambat, based on the following authorities :—

1. *Skanda Purána.*
2. *Súdra Kamálakara* †
3. *A treatise by Gaga Bhatta* ‡

This *Vyavastha* contains the signatures of the following Pandits :—

Maháráshtras.

1. Náráyána Bhatta.
2. Lálá Bhatta.
3. Sukhárama Bhatta.
4. Vápú Pandita Dharmádhikári.
5. Sambhu Pandita Dharmádhikári.
6. Chintámani Dharmádhikári.
7. Govindaráma Sessa.
8. Hariráma Pandita Sessa.
9. Mannínátha Pandita Sessa.
10. Vísvesvara Pandita Sessa.
11. Hírá Pandita Sessa.
12. Bechana Bhatta Mauní.
13. Rámachandra Bhatta Tare.

* A copy of this *Vyavastha* is in the possession of Pandit Bastí Rám Dube, Professor of Sanskrit Grammar, Benares College.

† (Bombay edition, No. of Grunth, &c., 3,000), by Kamálakara Bhatta, a *desastha* Brahman. It treats of the customs ordained for the *Súdra* castes. It is generally known, and was composed about 250 years ago. He was also the author of (2) *Nirpaya Sindhu* (21,000); (3) *Santi* (3,000); (4) *Gotra Pravara Nirnaya* (600); (5) *Poort* (3,000); (6) *Anhik* (1,800). (See the law and custom of Hindoo castes, by Arthur Steele, pages 7, 9, 11, 12).

‡ He was the author of *Dyot*, which contains 30,000 stanzas (*slokas*), and was written about a century ago. It treats of all subjects. He was also the author of *Dinkar Udyota*, which contains 36,000 stanzas on *Achára* and *Vyavahára*, (see Steele, pages 8-17).

14. Bálá Bhatta Jí Páygunde.
15. Sríráma Dikshita.
16. Somanátha Puṅgatanbakara.
17. Meghanáda Deva.
18. Srípatinátha Deva.
19. Mukunda Deva.
20. Jayakrishna Deva.
21. Chintámani Paudita Puraga.

Karahátakás.

1. Chhina Bhattají Árde.
2. Vamudeva Sástrí Gurjara.
3. Bála Dikshita Apá chí.
4. Sivaráma Bhatta Átare.
5. Bápú Bhatta Ráyakara.
6. Gaṇesa Bhatta Khánde kara.
7. Gaṇesa Khánde kara.
8. Gaṇesa Bhatta Bhágavata.
9. Devaráma Bhatta Khánráde.
10. Kásíráma Bhatta Manda
11. Sakháráma Bhatta Ramadíhokara.
12. Sambhú Bhatta Bhárde.
13. Vaidyanátha Bhatta Kavi Madara.
14. Maníráma Patha.
15. Sakháráma Patha.
16. Raghunátha Bhatta.
17. Mikanma Bhatta Visvarúpa.
18. Yádavaráma Bhatta.
19. Vápúráma Bhatta Nirmathe.
20. Dhodapola.
21. Hari Bhatta Visvarúpa.
22. Chintamani Joshí.
23. Kásíuátha Dikshita.
24. Válama Bhatta Dala.
25. Náráyana Deva.
26. Válama Bhatta Mádhavakara.
27. Jayaráma Joshí.
28. Bála Joshí.

Karnátakas.

1. Sambhú Dikshita Kánade.
2. Chhina Dikshita Kánade.
3. Ráma Bhatta Kánade.
4. Bachana Bhatta Kánade.
5. Murári Bhatta Kánade.
6. Baijanátha Bhatta Kánade.

Bájasanthyas.

1. Kásínátha Dikshita.
2. Manúdeva Bhatta Bájapeyí.
3. Mouniráma Bhatta.
4. Beyárama Pándita Páthaka.

Chitpávanas.

1. Bála Dikshita Udaka.
2. Bálakrishna Bhatta Gágnara.
3. Bala Dikshita Godabole.
4. Anantará na Bhatta Patévardhana.
5. Rámachandra Dikshita Peya.
6. Vishnunátha Dikshita.
7. Krishna Dikshita Lela.
8. Yajnesvara Dikshita Planakara.
9. Vináyaka Kore.
10. Búshana Bhatta Bálo.
11. Ragnunátha Bhatta Kore.
12. Chintámáni Bhatta Káralekara.
13. Válarua Bhatta Káralekara.
14. Chintámáni Kadake Dikshita.
15. Dnoḍa Dikshita Chitale.
16. Ganesa Bhatta Kadape.
17. Nílakantha Dikshita.
18. Jagannátha Bhatta, Maháráshtra.
19. Krishna Bhatta, Kolakara.
20. Ganesa Bhatta, Sárangpála.
21. Apá Diksita, Báyale.

II.—*Vyavasthá* of 39 Pandits of Bengal, dated, 1844, based on the following authorities* :—

- 1.—*Padma Purána.*
- 2.—*Skanda Purána.*
- 3.—*Vrihad Brahma Khanda.*
- 4.—*Vijnánatantra.*
- 5.—*Achára Nirnaya Tantra*

Names of the Pandits who signed the above *Vyavasthá*, together with the residence and description.

- 1 —Pitámuvara Tarkabúshana. (Bulaposhkarani.) Learned in Sruti, Smriti, Purána and Sástras. Author of several works.
- 2 —Navasumára Vidyáratna. (Indula.) Professor of the 4 Vedas, and President of the Dhanmarája Society.
- 3.—Ishvarachandra, Nyáy ratna, Do.
- 4.—Rámachandra, Nyáyabúshana. Do.

* See the two Bengali Treatises "Kayastha Kauistubh" and "Kayasth Samhita."

5.—Bhagavána Chandra, Nyáyaratna, (Calcutta.) Member of the Sabha of Mahárája Kalikrishna, Deva. (Chandravausi Rájadmiráj.)

6.—Madana Mohana, Nyáyaratna. (Indula.) Member of Indul Ráj Sabhá.

7.—Prema Chandra, Tarka-panchánana. (Dwáraháta.) Professor of Sruti, Smriti and six Darshanas.

8.—Kan Shankara, Vidyabhúshana (Uttarapára.) Mahá-mahopadhyáya.

9.—Jayashankara, Tarkálankára.

10.—Madana Mohana, Tarkálankára. (Calcutta.) Learned in the 4 Vedas and six Darshanas.

11.—Tárcaratna, Tarkavágísha. (Konanagara.)

12.—Navakrishna, Vidyavaehspati.

13.—Jayanarayana, Tarka-panchánana. (Bahoda.) Mahá-mahopadhyáya.

14.—Vaidyanátha, Nyáyulankára. (Bancoorah.) A great Pandit.

15.—Rámagopála, Tarka panchánana. (Serampore.) A great poet and learned in Logic.

16.—Isvár-Chandra, Tarkabhúshana. (Kona.) Learned in Siksha, Kalpa, Nirukta, Chhandu, Vyákarana, and Jyotish.

17.—Durgá Prasada, Vidyavahaspati. (Sheopore.) Learned in Jyotish, Vyákarana, Sruti, &c.

18.—Ráma Chandra, Tarka-panchánana. (Salikha.) Well learned in the Smritis.

19.—Rádhá Mohan, Vidyálankára. (Burdwán.) Professor of Grammar, Vidhána, Bhatti, Dramas, Smriti, Puranas, Jyotish, and Nyáya Philosophy, and also President of the Sabha of Pandits of the Mahárája of Burdwán.

20.—Harinatha, Nyáyabhúshana. (Sheopore.) Knows by heart the Nyáya, Alankára, Smriti, Samukta and Gitá.

21.—Madhusudana, Tarkavágísha. (Salikha.) Knows by heart the Samhita, Gitá and Smriti.

22.—Ish'n Chandra, Tarkabhúshani. (Kodaliya.) Do. do.

23.—Gauri Shankara, Tarka-Siddhanta. (Balgaria.) Do. do.

24.—Rámadhana, Siromani, (Khatirat.) Learned in many Shástras.

25.—Vishveshwar, Vidyálankára. (Atpur.) Ditto, ditto.

26.—Pitambara, Chudámáni. (Mahivati.) Ditto, ditto.

27.—Madhusudana, Tarkálankára. (Kumarpara.) Do. do.

28.—Kailása Nátha, Siddhanta. (Meerapur.) Do. do.

29.—Rámadasa, Tarka Siddhanta. (Sheopore.) Do. do.

30.—Lakshmi Charana, Tarkabhúshana. (Banwanipore.) Do.

31.—Ráma Gopála, Tarkálankára. (Jhuparadah.) Do. do.

32.—Ishwara Chandra, Chudámáni. (Begampore.) Do. do.

33. Abhayacharana, Tarkalankára (Janáyavakasa) Logician and Mahamahopadhyáya.
34. Haladhara Tarkachudámani (Bhatpara) Mahamahopadhyáya Brahma Thákura and Gurú of the country of Gour.
35. Rámaratna Vidyálankára (Calcutta) Learned in the 4 Vedas and all the Śástras aged, 100 years.
36. Jayanaráyana Tarkapanchánana (Narikaldiga) Professor of Sanskrit College.
37. Syámacharana Tatvavágisa (Bungsovati) Secretary of the Tatvabadini Sabha and learned in several Sastras and also Mahamahopadhyáya.
38. Srídharma Nyayratna (Ichivamohú) Professor of Sruti, Smriti, Purána and the Tantras in the School of the Máharaja of Burdwán.
39. Srínátha Vidyábhúshana (Mahesh) Learned in Vyákarana and Jyotish.

III. *Vyavasthá* of 95 Pandits of Benares, dated July 21, 1873; based on the following authorities: *—

1. *Skanda Purana Renuká Mahátmya.*
2. *Pádma Purana Srishlí khanda.*
3. *Padma Purana Pátála Khaṇḍa.*
4. *Bharishyottara Purana.*

This decision contains the signatures of the following Pandits :

1. Bhatta Sakhárána.
2. Bhatta Ananta.
3. Bhikujípanta Sessa.
4. Rájárána Sástrí Kárlekara (Late Professor of Hindu Law in the Government College, Benares).
5. Bhatta Naráyana.
6. Dhundhirája Dharmadhikári.
7. Vámanacháryya (Asstt. Professor of Mathematics Government College, Benares .
8. Rámachandra Sástrí.
9. Vápúlev Sástrí (Professor of Mathematics, Government College, Benares).

* In 1847 the Pandits of the Government College, Benares, gave also a Vyavastha to the same effect on these very authorities, which was filed in the case of Bhawanee Bux, &c., *versus* Surnam Singh, &c.

In that case the contention of one of the parties was that the claim of a Kayastha should not be decided upon the rules applicable to the Kshatriya Varna, but the case was dismissed in appeal on 19th May, 1848, by the Principal Sudder Ameen of Gorukhpur (Mohammad Abdul Aziz Khan) on a preliminary point.

In the same year another Vyavastha, to the same effect, was sent by the Pandits of Benares to Mr. Ellis, Political Agent, Jhansi.

10. Vibhavarāma Pandita.
11. Bālakrishna Sāstri Ashtaputra.
12. Bhaṭṭyā Sāstri.
13. Nrisinha Sāstri Mānavali.
14. Narāyana Sāstri.
15. Ganesa Sāstri Sroti.
16. Bāla Sāstri Khananga (Professor of Hindu Law in the Government College, Benares).
17. Purushottama Sāstri Yoga.
18. Gangādhara Sāstri Hardikara.
19. Rājārāma Pandita.
20. Rājārāma Sāstri Mehedala.
21. Dhondā Sāstri Sukalu.
22. Nārāyan Sāstri Pourānika.
23. Dhundirājā Dikshita Cuitale.
24. Kesava Mārata.
25. Rāmākrishna Sāstri Pattavaraddhana.
26. Dāmodara Sāstri Bhāradwāja.
27. Visvanātha Sāstri.
28. Yajnesvara Sāstri Mahāvāla.
29. Bāla Sāstri Rānda.
30. Lakshmīnātha Sāstri Drāvīda.
31. Vaidyanātha Dikshita Chaturddhara.
32. Mādhavāchāryya.
33. Bhāu Sāstri.
34. Vāpū Sāstri.
35. Chandrasekhara Vidvat.
36. Rādhāmohana.
37. Tārācharana Bhattāchāryya (Professor of Sanskrit Grammar, Government College, Benares).
38. Bechanarāma (Professor of Sānkhya Philosophy, Government College, Benares).
39. Sitalaprasāda Tripathī (Professor of Sahitya, Government College, Benares).
40. Kālīprasāda (Professor of Logic, Govt. College, Benares.)
41. Kālīsachandra (Assistant Professor of Sanskrit Grammar, Government College, Benares.)
42. Rāma Misra Sāstri (Assistant Professor of the Sānkhya Philosophy, Government College, Benares.)
43. Bochārāma (Professor of Bengali, Govt. College Benares.)
44. Vishnuhari.
45. Benīmādhava Sāstri.
46. Devākrishnā (Prof. of Astronomy, Govt. College, Benares.)
47. Rāmānātha (Sanskrit Librarian, Govt. Coll., Benares.)
48. Rāmājasana,
49. Pyārelāla Jha Upādhyāya.

50. Devídayálu Tripathí.
51. Gopínátha Tripathí.
52. Rájáji Jyotirvid.
53. Seváráma.
54. Bhairavadatta.
55. Vámadeva.
56. Amvikádatta.
57. Jánakíprasád.
58. Rakshapála.
59. Baladeva.
60. Govindáchári.
61. Syámácharana.
62. Visvanátha Agnihotri.
63. Siddhesvara Jyotirvid.
64. Thákuradása Deva.
65. Navínanaráyana.
66. Madanamohana Siromani.
67. Anundachandra.
68. Rámádhara.
69. Kedáranátha.
70. Kalíkumára, (Asstt. Profr. of Logio, Govt. College, Benares.)
71. Karunámaya Deva.
72. Jayaráma.
73. Kamalákánta.
74. Satisachandra.
75. Madhusudana Nayáyavágisa.
76. Harinátha Bhattácháryya.
77. Haricharana.
78. Kásínátha Pañḍita.
79. Sáktídatta Pañḍita.
80. Tuláráma Pañḍita.
81. Krishnanátha.
82. Haríkrishna Vyása.
83. Dwáarakádatta.
84. Indradatta.
85. Yágesa.
86. Lakshamana Jyotirvid.
87. Kuverapati.
88. Bastíráma Drivedi (Professor of Sanskrit Grammar, Government College, Benares.)
89. Bhaváníprasáda.
90. Javáhira Tripathí.
91. Visavarúpa.
92. Rámagovinda Misra of Rámpore.
93. Síharsha Bhurgava (Reader of Bhagavata.)
94. Ananta.

95. Rámamanoratha Dvivedí.

IV. *Vyavasthá* of 14 Pandits of the Province of *Oudh*.

V. *Vyavasthá* of 22 Pandits of *Mathurá* dated 1931 Samvat.

VI. *Vyavasthá* of 43 Pandits of the *Sabhá* of H. H. The Maharajá of *Kashmír* G. C. S. I. at *Jambú*.

VII. *Vyavasthá* of 332 Pandits of *Kashmír*.

PART V.

EXISTING CUSTOM

AMONG THE KAYASTHAS.

CHANDRA SENAVANSI KAYASTHAS.

Extracts from Steele's "Law and Custom of the Hindu Castes."

"The child by a kept woman is not entitled to a share, nor to a seat with the family at meals, nor in general to caste privileges" (p. 377.)

"The *Pat* (widow marriage) does not exist in this caste" (p. 377.)

CHITRAGUPTA VANSI KAYASTHAS.

(A.) *Translation of an extract from a judgment passed on the 9th August, 1861, by Moulvie Mahommed Habeebullah Khan, Principal Sudder Ameen of Ghazipur.*

CASE No. 66.

Mussummat Radhay, Hurnarain (minor), &c., *Plffs.*

versus

Mussummat Rukinin, Luchminarain (minor), &c., *Defds.*

ISSUES.

(1.) Is Mussummat Radhay a female slave or a concubine or not?

(2.) Who is entitled to the estate of Sungamlal, (Kayastha) by Hindu law and usage of the country? Do the claims of the parties stand equally balanced?

JUDGMENT.

The decision of this case was adjourned for a long time pending the receipts of a Vyavastha (*b*) from the Pundit of the Sudder Court; and now that it has arrived, all the papers have been gone through. On enquiry it appears that Luchminarain minor, by Mussummat Rukmin, the married wife, and Hurnarain minor by Mussummat Radhy, the unmarried woman, are the issues of Sungam Lall (Kayastha) deceased. In such a case, according to the Vyavastha of the Pundit of the Agra Sudder Court, dated the 15th July, 1861, the whole of the estate of Sungam Lall belongs to the son by the wife lawfully married, while the unmarried woman, with her minor son, has claim to maintenance only, but to no share in the property. Hence the claim of the plaintiff's to the estate cannot be decreed.*

(*B.*) *Translation of an extract from Vyavastha, No. 60, given by the Pundit of the Sudder Dewance Adawlut, Agra, dated 15th July, 1861.*

“Kayasthas are not Sudras. The Sudras were produced from the feet of Brahma. Chitragupta, the progenitor of the Kayasthas, was produced from the whole body of Brahma. According to Parasurama's direction, the son of a Kshatriya was deprived of his military occupation, and was designated a Kayastha. It is so related in the Puranas.

The Kayastha is Upa-Kshatriya. There is a special custom among the Sudras that a man can re-marry the widow of his deceased brother, and such marriage does not exclude him from caste. But there is no such practice

(*b.*) A translation of this Vyavastha is appended.

* A similar claim of illegitimate issues was dismissed on the 22nd June, 1875, by Baboo Kashi Natha Biswas, Subordinate Judge, Allahabad, upon the ground (amongst others) that “a Kayastha is not a Sudra”, in Case No. 513, Gowri Lal v. Bahadur Lal and Jarao Kunwer, widow of Ram Nidh (Sreevastava Kayasthas Dásre.)

A similar case of Ramchurn, plaintiff, *versus* Pransookh Kayastha, of Moiza Tauma, Parganah Sunajpur, was dismissed on the 17th July, 1866, by Moonshee Sudder Hosain Khan, Settlement Extra Assistant Commissioner of Zillah Barabanki, on the ground that the son from a *malin* woman was not entitled to inheritance according to Hindu law or custom.

among the Kayasthas. According to the Mitakshara and Viramitrodaya, an illegitimate son possesses no right of inheritance to the property of his Kayastha father in opposition to other heirs of the pure blood.

(C) *Translation of a passage from a Hindi Commentary on the Mitakshara by Pundit Durya Prasada Shukla, teacher of Yajurveda, printed at Agra 1873, p. 213.*

In these provinces the members of the Kayasths tribe are generally addicted to taking meat. But there are thousands of this caste who excel even the Brahmins in abstinence, and who are scrupulous, lovers of learning and pious. They shun the society of persons given to eating the flesh.

The reason why taking meat is so common among them is because this is a practice of the Kshatriyas. The Kayasthas also are a kind of Upa-Kshatriyas, i.e., secondary Kshatriyas.

(D) *Statements filed with the Statement Records of Rights. Translation of Extracts from Statements* showing the custom prevailing among the proprietors of the villages of Pergunmah Ateha, Zillah Partabgurh, authenticated by Pundit Janki Prasad, Settlement Extra Asst. Commissioner.*

Question No 5.—A, possessed of property, marries a widow, who has a son by her former husband, or who is in a state of pregnancy, and gives birth to a child in the house of her second husband, under what title will the child be known? Will such a child get any share in the property of his stepfather?

Answer by Kayasthas.—A marriage with such a woman does not take place among our tribe or families, nor is such a marriage valid. Should any one take such a woman into his keeping, her child is styled by the title of mother Jeloe. He possesses no right, and gets no share in the property of his stepfather.

A. by Brahmans.—The same as given by Kayasthas.

A. by Conporia Kshatriyas.—Ditto.

* See Section 32, Act I. of 1872.

Q. Nos. 6, 7 and 8.—Offspring from an unmarried woman may be of three kinds, *viz.*, 1st, Offspring from a widow by her late husband's brother, or by any other relative, or offspring from a woman by one of her own caste with whom marriage is valid. 2nd, Offspring from a woman with whom marriage is illegal, *i.e.*, a woman of another caste, such as prostitute, &c., and, 3rd, offspring from a woman belonging to the same family.

Will the offspring of any of the three kinds of women above specified have an equal right with other legitimate descendants ?

A. by the Kayasthas.—Such an offspring has no right, and is entitled to no share.

A. by Brahmans.—The same as given by Kayasthas.

A. by Conporia Kshatriyas.—Such an offspring has no right, and is entitled to no share.

(E) Translation of Extracts from para. 4 of wajibulurzes of the villages† held by Kayasthas.*

“An unmarried woman may get maintenance for her life, but she or her issue gets no share by inheritance.”

* See. Vol. II., High Court, N.-W. Provinces' Report, page 395, *Dabi Datta versus Snehk Inait Aly.* Vol. III., Punjab Record, No. 87, *Bhawal Shah versus Ro-shan Beebi.* Oudh Select Case, No. 32 of 1873. Oudh Settlement Circular No. 23 of 1864, para. 4, Sec. 17, Act XVII., 1876.

† Atar Sonmah Kalan, Pergunnah Sultanpur, Kishui, P. Jugdeespur, Zillah Sultarpur.

Devauandpur, Harichaudpur, Mobarakpur, Kishanpur, Zillah Rai Bareii.

Kondrakhud, P. Malihabad ; Bhagwanpur, P. Ni-ohan ; Bhojar, P. and Zillah Lucknow.

Kathroo, P. Gondah ; Punsari, P. Safipur, Zillah Unao.

Sarai Khwajgi Bhawanipur Yema, P. Duriabad, Zillah Barabunki.

Badripur, P. Khayrabad (Sri Vastava) ; Fatehpur Miran Bihar, P. Her-gam (Ashtiana) ; Pooranpur Girua, P. Laharpur (Gour) ; Nawa Gawan Belti (Srivastava Khare), Zillah Sitapur.

Karouni, P. Sundila, Zillah Hurdui.

Mahmoodpur Nazir, P. Pasgawan, Zillah Khiri.

Louikapoor, P. and Zillah Gonda.

Mahadeva Jagadees, P. Ekouna, Kanera ; P. Fakhrpur, Vairi Maheshpur ; P. Hisampur ; Jagaunothapur, P. Nanpara ; Chandau Budhipur, P. Bahraich, Zillah Babraich.

(*b*) *Statements* in existence in the records of Kayastha Samachar Office, Lucknow.*

We whose signatures are affixed below :—

1st.—Are and have been called according to Padma parana, Chitragupta vansi Kayasthas ?

2nd.—We have been pursuing the respectable occupation of reading and writing, learning arithmetic, serving as members of Royal Councils. (*a*)

3rd.—Are not Sudra but Dvija.

4th.—Weddings in our caste are, according to the rules of the Sastras, contracted only between persons of respective classes, which is the practice prescribed for high caste people.

5th.—No woman of different caste, or her descendants, are allowed to partake of food with us, nor can they do so ; they do not, and cannot according to custom, share inheritance.

6th.—We are authorized to put on the sacred thread (Janeo) to recite Gayatri and to read Dharma Sastra.†

* See I. L. R. Calcutta, page 153, Vol. I., P. C.

† Signed nearly by 2,900 leading members of the Kayastha tribes residents of different places in the N.-W. Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Behar, and Punjab.

(*a*) In support of this established customs, see Miscellaneous Essays by H. T. Colebrooke, Vol. II., Second Edition, page 233.

‡ See Matsya Purana.



अथ कायस्थधर्मनिरूपणम्

वोरमित्रोदये
व्यवहागध्याये

नारदः ॥

राजास्वपुरुषः मभ्यःशास्त्रंगणकलेखकौ ।

हिरण्यमग्निरुदक्रमष्टाङ्गः ममुदाहृतः ॥

बृहस्पतिः ॥

नृपाधिकृतसभ्याश्चस्मृतिर्गणकलेखकौ ।

हेमाग्न्यम्बुस्वपुरुषाः साधनाङ्गानिवैदश ॥

एतदृशाङ्गङ्गः शंयस्यामध्यस्यपार्थिवः ।

न्यायान्पश्यत्कृतमतिः सासभाध्वरसम्मिता ॥

दशानामपिचैतेषां कर्मप्रोक्तं पृथक्पृथक् ।

वक्ताऽध्यक्षो नृपः शास्ता सभ्याः कार्यपरीक्षकाः ॥

स्मृतिर्विनिर्णयं त्रतेजयदानं दमं तथा ।

शपथार्थैर्हिरण्याग्नीः अम्बुतृपितक्षुब्धयोः ॥

गणको गणयेदर्थलिखे न्यायं चलेखकः * ।

प्रत्यर्थिसभ्यानयनं साक्षिणां च स्वपुरुषः ॥

कुर्यादलग्नकौरक्षेदर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनौ सदा ।

सषांमूर्द्धानृपोङ्गानां मुखं वाधिकृतः स्मृतः ॥

वाहूमभ्याः स्मृतिर्हस्तौ जंघे गणकलेखकौ ।

हेमाग्न्यम्बुदृशैः हृत्तमादौ स्वपुरुषस्तथा ॥

* व्यवहारमयुखे च-पूर्वा मुखसूपविशेद्राजासभ्या उदङ्मुखाः । गणकः

पश्चिमास्यन्तु च खके । दक्षिणामुखः ॥

शब्दाभिधानतत्त्वज्ञैर्गणनाकुशलैः शुचो ।
नानानिपिज्ञौकर्तव्यौ गज्जागणकलेखकौ * ॥

व्यामः ॥

श्रुताध्ययनसंपन्नं गणकं कारयेन्नृपः ।
स्फुटलेखनियुञ्जीतशब्दलाक्षणांशुचिम् † ॥
माध्यपालस्तु कर्तव्यौ गज्जासाध्यस्य साधवः ।
क्रमायातो दृढः शूद्रः मभ्यानां च मते स्थितः ‡ ॥

“श्रुताध्ययनसम्पन्नमित्युक्तेर्गणकौ द्विजातिः तत्साहचर्या
लेखकौऽपि”

मिताक्षरायां व्यवहाराध्याये ॥

“श्रुतेन मीमांसा व्याकरणादिश्रवणेन अध्ययनेन वेदाध्ययनेन च” ॥ २

स्मृतिः ॥

लेखकः प्राद्विवाकश्च नभ्याश्चैवानुपूर्वगः ।
नृपे पश्यति तत्कार्यं साक्षिणः समुद्राहृताः § ॥ ६६

आचाराध्याये ॥

स्मृतिः ॥

सन्धिविग्रहकारी तु भवेद्यस्तस्य लेखकः ।
स्वयं गजाममादिप्रः स लिखेद्राजशामनम् ॥ ३१६

* व्यवहारमयं खेच ॥

† मस्य गुरोणे—मर्वट्टे शक्षगाभिज्ञः सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः । लेखकः कथि
तो राज्ञः सर्वोधिकरणेषु वै ॥

‡ दृढद्विबुद्धौ गौ गजाधिकरणे तन्नियुक्तकायस्य हतमृतदध्यक्षकरचि-
न्हितं राजमाक्षिकम् ॥

§ नोति मद्रुच ॥

॥ आचारमद्रुखेच ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः ॥

पीड्यमानाःप्र जागृत्स्वायस्यैश्चविशेषतः १ । ३३५
 “ कायस्थागणकालेखकाश्च(तएव)राजवल्लभाः” ॥

वाचस्पत्यम्—पाद्मे सृष्टिखण्डे ॥

सृष्ट्यदौमदमत्कर्मज्ञप्रयेप्राणिनांविधिः ।
 क्षणंध्यानेस्थितस्तस्यमर्वकायाद्विनिर्गतः ॥
 चित्रगुप्तिरिख्यातोधर्मराजममीपतः * ।
 प्राणिनांमदमत्कर्मलेखायसनियोजितः † ॥
 ब्रह्मणातीन्द्रियज्ञानोदेवःश्रियोयज्ञभुक्तदा ।
 भोजनाच्चमदातस्मादाहुतिर्दीयतेद्विजैः ॥
 ब्रह्मकायोभद्रोयस्मात्कायस्थोजातिरुच्यते ।
 नानामोत्राश्चतद्वंश्याःकायस्थाभुविसन्तिवै ॥

भविष्यपुराणे ब्रह्मोवाच ॥

मच्छरीरात्समुद्गतःतस्मात्कायस्थमंजकः ।
 चित्रगुप्तिनास्त्रैख्यातोभुविभविष्यसि ॥
 धर्माधर्मविवेकार्थन्धर्मराजपुरेसदा ।
 स्थितिर्भवतुतेवत्सममाज्ञाप्राप्यनिश्चलाम् ॥

१ वृहत्पराशरस्मृतौ—इण्डधतेनगान्कुर्याद्धूमंज्ञानार्थसाधकान् ।

लेखकानपिकायस्थान्नेख्यकृत्यचित्तेषिणः ॥

* गरुडपुराणे—कायस्थास्तत्रपश्यन्तिपापपुण्येचमर्वशः ॥

† अमरकोशकताचित्रिवर्गलेखकवृत्तित्वमुक्तम् ॥

क्षत्रवर्णाचितो धर्मः पालनीयो यथाविधि ।
 प्रजाः सृजस्व भो पुत्रभुवि भावसमन्विताः ॥
 स्कान्दे—रेणुक्रामाहात्म्ये ॥
 एवं हत्वा र्जुनंगमः मन्थाय निशितान् शरान् ।
 अन्वधावत्सतान् हंतुं सर्वानेवातुरान् नृपान् ॥
 स गर्भाचन्द्रसेनस्य भार्यादालभ्याश्रमं ययौ ।
 ततो रामः समायातो दालभ्याश्रममनुत्तमम् ॥

राम उवाच ॥

तवाश्रमे महाभागस गर्भास्त्रोसमागता ।
 चन्द्रसेनस्य राजर्षेः क्षत्रियस्य महात्मनः ॥
 तन्मे त्वं प्रार्थितं देहि हि हिंसेयं तामहामुने ।
 ततो दालभ्यः प्रत्युवाच ददामि तव वाञ्छितं ॥
 स्त्रिया गर्भममुम्बालं तन्मे त्वं दातुमर्हसि ।
 ततो रामो ब्रवीद्दालभ्यं यदर्थमहमागतः ॥
 क्षत्रियान्तकरश्चाहं तं त्वया चितवानसि ।
 प्रार्थितश्च त्वया विप्रकायस्थो गर्भ उत्तमः ॥
 तस्मात्कायस्थ इत्याख्या भविष्यति शिशोः शुभा ।
 कायस्थ एष उत्पन्नः क्षत्रिण्यां क्षत्रियात्ततः ॥
 दत्तः कायस्थधर्मोऽस्मै चित्रगुप्तस्य यः स्मृतः । इति
 ययुर्वेदीयशतपथब्राह्मणे ॥

“यान्येतानि देवत्राक्षत्राणीन्द्रे।वरुणः सोमो रुद्रः पर्जन्यो
 यम” इत्यादि । (*यमतर्पणमंत्रे चित्रगुप्तस्य चतुर्दशपरिगणि-
 तयमत्वेनोक्तत्वात्)

* वृहत्पराशरस्मृति-मत्स्यपुराण—आचारमयूख—चन्द्रिकादिस्य ॥

