CHAPTER - VII.

THE MLECCHAS IN THE PURANIC AND LATE SMRTI TEXTS.

The Purāṇas form a distinctive branch of Sanskrit literature. The distinction lies in the style of composition and subject matter. The major Purāṇas are eighteen in number. They are Brahma, Padma, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Bhāgavata, Nāradīya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Agni, Bhavisya, Brahmadevata, Liṅga, Varāha, Skanda, Vāmana, Kūrma, Matsya, Garuḍa and Brahmāṇḍa. Likewise there are eighteen Upapurāṇas, viz., Sanatkumāra, Narasiṁha, Vēyu, Śivadharma, Āścārya, Nārada, Nandikesvaradvaya, Uśanas, Kapila, Varuṇa, Śāmba, Kālikā, Mahēśvara, Kālki, Devī, Parāśara, Marīci, Bhāskara or Sūrya.

Some of the Purāṇas like the Agni, Viṣṇu and Vēyu undoubtedly belong to an early period, i.e., about the 5th-6th century A.D. The fact that the genealogies of ruling families given in the Purāṇas end with the Imperial Guptas implies an early date. Nevertheless, there are some Purāṇas which cannot be placed before the 9th century A.D.

The Purāṇas contain valuable information with regard to the social life and geography of ancient India. They are also replete with numerous references to the Mlecchas of various categories.
The information given in the Purāṇas may be categorised under different heads like (a) origin, (b) habitat, (c) the peoples and tribes, (d) language and culture, (e) economic professions and (f) position in the society.

Like some of the texts of indigenous origin, the Purāṇas also divide the worldly population into Ārya and Mleccha. The ṇārkaṇḍeya, Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Matsya, Brāhmaṇa, Pāda, etc., refer to the rivers, valleys and mountains inhabited by the Āryas and Mlecchas.

Attempts have often been made in the Purāṇas to tracing the origin of the Mlecchas. The stories and genealogies, alluded to in such cases, sometimes have parallels in the Great Epic, which indicate the transmission of earlier traditions through successive generations as well as the inheritance of a common source. Since the Purāṇas were chronicled in different centuries and since their objectives differed from each other, there is seldom any uniformity in details given in these texts with regard to the origin and line of descent. In the Matsya Purāṇa, Dakṣa has been associated with the origin of the Mlecchas. This is in conformity with the statement that the Mlecchas were the hundred sons of the Pracetas who ruled in the northern countries, for Dakṣa himself was a son of Pracetasa or of the ten Pracetasa. The same tradition recurs in the Viṣṇu and Vāyu Purāṇas.
According to another tradition, recorded in the Matsya Purāṇa, the Kṣatras, Pāraśavas, Śūdras, Andhras, Śakas, Pulindas, Cukkulas, Yavanas, Kaivarttas, Abhiras, Sabaras and others were Mlecchas had descended from the Ikṣvākus and the Paūrvas. Thus both solar and lunar origins have been attributed to them.

The Mlecchas who were as black as collyrium emerged from Veṇa, when he was churned by the Brāhmaṇas.

In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, their origin has been traced from the sage Viśvāmitra, who is said to have cursed his sons to become Mlecchas.

According to the Padma Purāṇa, on the other hand, the Mlecchas descended from Garuḍa, who, inspite of his birth in a Brahmīn family, had been relegated to the position of a Candāla. The various Mleccha tribes of different quarters sprang up from him.

Throughout the Purāṇas, thus, the tendency of tracing the descent of the Mlecchas from the eponymous figures is clearly perceptible. The ascription of the solar and lunar origin to the Mlecchas appears to be significant in view of the fact that most of the ruling families known to the Purenic chroniclers belonged to either of the races. The Matsya Purāṇa, however, does not clarify which of the peoples descended from
the Ikṣvākus and which ones from the Pauravas. It only indicates the plurality of the stock to which the peoples, specified as Mlecha, belonged. The fact that different figures have been associated with the origin of the Mlecchas perhaps indicates the gradual increase of the denotation of the term Mleccha.

The Vāyu Purāṇa furnishes us with a list of peoples who were branded as Mlecchas. It is stated that following the end of the yuga or epoch, Kalki of the Parāśara gotra with the aid of the Brāhmaṇas (vipras) would annihilate the Udīoyas, Madhyadeśas, Vindhyas, Aparāntikas, Dākṣinātyas, Draviḍas, Siṁhalas, Pahlavas, Yavanas, Šakas, Tuṣāras, Barbaras, Pulindas, Daradas, Kṛṣṇas, Lampākas, Andhakas, Rudras and Kirātas who were Mlecchas. In another context the Vāyu enumerates the Kṣatras, Pārāśavas, Śūdras, Andhras, Šakas, Pulindas, Tulikas, Yavanas, Kaivarttas, Ābhīras and the Šabarās as Mlecchas. A somewhat shorter list is given in the Matsya Purāṇa, which refers to the Andhras, Šakas, Pulindas, Čulikas, Yavanas, Kaivarttas, Ābhīras, Šabarās and others who were of Mleccha origin. The Triśāṅkas, Ḍvārakas, Oḍrās, Draviḍas and Konkanas also figure as Mlecchas. The Padma Purāṇa refers to the hairless (aṁśē) and beardless (aṁśū-r-vaijñitaḥ) Yavanas along with those with scanty beards (aṁśū-r-vaijñitaḥ) of the east, the Nagnakas of the south-east, the beef-eaters of the
south (gavāśīna), the Kuvadas of the south-east, the Kharsaris of the east and west, the Turskas of the north-west and Mlecchas of the north who lived in mountains (parvata-vaśīnaḥ). All of them originated from the spew ejected by Garuḍa. The Pulkaśas and Svapacas are also branded as Mlecchas. In another place they are bracketed with the Pārvatiyas.

In the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Harivaṃśa, Matsya, Agni, Garuda, Bhāgavata, Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu Purāṇas, the hundred sons of Pracetas are described as rulers of the Udīcya country. The northern Mlecchas (udīcindīśmāsritāḥ), according to the Garuḍa Purāṇa, comprised the Lāmpakas, Nāgas, Madrakas, Gandharvas, Vāhlikas and the Mlecchas of the Himalayan region. In the Padma Purāṇa, the Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Hūṇas and the Pārāśikas are regarded as Mlecchas. In the Vāyu Purāṇa, however, reference has been made to the Mlecchas living in the antas or frontiers along with the Yavanas of the west. The Garuḍa Purāṇa also mentions the Mlecchas along with the Saindhavas, Strīrājya, Naiṣadhas and Māṭhuras as belonging to the west. Thus a distinction has been drawn among the Mleccha peoples in accordance with direction or the region to which they belonged. Although there is no positive statement, it appears that the Mleccha and Vṛśṭyas rulers of Sindhutāṇa, Darvika, Candrabhāga and Kāśmīraviśaya belonged to the category of the northern Mlecchas.
The Purāṇas furnish us with some sort of a fair idea with regard to the geographical distribution of the Mleccha population. The Matsya Purāṇa refers to the seven streams which emanated from Vindusaravara and inundated the Himasāṅkhyavaraṣa. The seven rivers pass through the territories most of them being branded as Mleccha. Of them, the Hūdinī, Nalini and Pāvani flowed towards the east and the Sītā, Cakṣu and Sindhu towards the west. The seventh was the Bhāgirathī. All the seven streams, however, flowed through the countries having Mleccha population. The peoples who lived in the mountainous tracts watered by the seven streams were the Kukuras, Rodhras, Barbaras, Yavanas, Khāsas, Pulikas and Kulatthas. According to the Brahmānda Purāṇa, the Sītā, before joining the western sea, divided Simhavān into three parts and passed through the countries of the Silindbhas, Kuntelas, Činas, Barbaras, Yavanas, Andhrakas, Puṣkaras, Kulindas and others. The Cakṣu waters the countries of the Činas, Marus, Tālas, Masamūlikas, Bhadras, Tuṣāras, Lāmayakas, Bāhavas, Pāratas and Khāsas. The Sindhu flows through the countries of the Śivasailas, Indrapadas, Saindhavas, Andhraśrakas, Ābhīras, Rohakas, Śumamukhas, Udhamarūs, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Vidyādharas, Uragas etc. The Hūdinī flows eastward partly watering the countries of the Naiṣadhas, Trigarttas, Dīvāras, Rishiās,

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Nilamukhas, Kekaras, Uṣṭrakarpas, Kiratās, Kālodaras, Vivārhas, Kumāras, Svarṇabhūmikas etc. Then the Pāvanī also flows eastward and empties to the Lāvana sea through Indradvīpa. The Nalinī flows through the countries of the Tomaras, Haihayas and the eastern countries through many hills, deserts and the region of the Vidyādharas. The Gaṅgā flows through Kālāpagrama, Pārada, Khaśa, Kiriṭa, Pulinda, Kuru, Bharata, Paṇcāla, Kāśi, Mātsya, Magadha, Āṅga, Submottara, Vanga, Tamralipta and being resisted by the Vindhya enters the Lāvana Sea.

S. M. Ali thinks that Vindusarovara probably refers to the basin between Aling-Kangri and Kailasa-Tanghla ranges now "dotted with innumerable small and large lakes". The three rivers which flowed westward were possibly the Tarim (Sītā), Oxus (Cakṣu) and the Indus (Sindhu). The three which led eastwards, on the other hand, are probably to be identified with the Yangtze, Mekong and Salween respectively.

Thus, vast regions beyond the traditional boundaries of India have been included within the geographical horizon known to the Purāṇas. Those regions were populated by the Mlecchas. The Vāyu Purāṇa gives further details with regard to the trans-Indian distribution of Mleccha population. Of the six subdivisions of Jambudvīpa, the Mlecchas concentrated in Āṅga, Saṅkha and Varāha and in the dvīpas of Malaya and Ketumāla.
Kuśadvīpa is, however, categorically stated to have remained free from the intrusion of the Mlecchas and the Dasyus. The people of this island are described as having white complexion.

The Vāyu Purāṇa refers to the Ambaranadī which rises from the Meru and glides through the Ketumāladvīpa occupied by the Mlecchaganas. The river ultimately empties into the western Sea. Ketumāla has been taken to denote mainly the Oxus basin. The "Western Sea" probably stands for the Caspian Sea into which the Oxus emptied formerly. From the topography given in the Vāyu Purāṇa, S.M. Ali conjectures that Ketumāla denoted the entire region of ancient Bactria. Kuśadvīpa, which did not have any Mlecha population, was formerly conterminous with the regions lying in Iran, Iraq and south-western Asia. Thus while the main concentration of Mlecha population lay in Ketumāla, i.e., the Oxus basin, the land lying to its south-west had remained free from them.

In the light of the details given in the Purāṇas, Ānga-dvīpa, Malayadvīpa, Saṁkhadvīpa and Varāhadvīpa have been identified with the Malaya Peninsula, the southernmost Peninsula of India, Madagascar and the adjoining littoral areas of East Africa and the Somali peninsula or the African Horn respectively.

The identification of the dvīpas, given above, would
leave little room for doubt that the peoples of a large number of foreign countries, which lay beyond the Himalayas in the north and beyond the seas in the west and the east, belonged to the category of Mlecchas. Nevertheless, all the foreigners were not Mlecchas.

The Matsya Purana refers to the nine divisions of Bhāratavarṣa, the last one being Sāgarasamvṛta, which extended from the source of the Ganges to the Cape Comorin. The eastern sector of this division was dominated by the Kirātas and the western by the Yavanas. The Mlecchas occupied the frontiers of the division. The geographical distribution of the Kirāta, Yavana and Mleccha population, outlined in the Matsya Purana, recurs in the Vāyu Purana. According to the Garuda Purana, the Kirātas lived in the east, the Yavanas in the west, the Andhras in the south and the Turuṣkas in the north. The verse concerned is repeated in the Vāmana Purana and in the Brahmāṇḍa Purana.

We have already referred to the Matsya Purana, which mentions the seven streams having their sources in Vindusarovers and enundating Himasānkhyavarṣa. These seven streams flowed through the countries which had Mleccha population. According to the Vāyu Purana, the Mlecchas lived in the Himavat along with the Yakṣas and Gandharvas. It may be noted that the text
replaces Himasāṅkhyavarṣa by Himādrivarṣa. S.M. Ali places
Himavatavarṣa between the Bemakuta or Kailasa range and the
Himalayas. In the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, however, the varṣa of
Bharata is also called Himāṭva, and Haimavata. On the
other hand the ṇbb. refers to the Haimavata, which, according
to H.C. Roy Chaudhuri, stands for Hemakūṭa or Kimpuruṣa. It
is difficult to say whether Himasāṅkhyya, Haimavata and Himāṭva
stand for the same varṣa. The seventh river originating,
according to the Matsya and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas, from the
Vindusarovara is the Bhagirathī which flows through the plains
of northern India into the ocean. Thus, the statement that the
seven rivers rising out of Vindusarovara ran through the
countries populated by the Mlechas would imply that the plains
of northern India had also Mlecha population. Alternatively,
Himasāṅkhyya, as the very name indicates, could have denoted
the snow-clad regions of the Himalayas. This seems to be
supported by the Vāyu Purāṇa, which refers to the Mlechas
living in the Himavat along with the Yakṣas and the Gandharvas.

The Padma Purāṇa, however, designates the inaccessible
regions (durgama) as the Mlecha countries. Thus, not only
the Himalayan tribes, but the various peoples living in dense
forests were probably categorised as Mlechas. In the Padma
Purāṇa they are bracketed with the Pārvatīyas, who were
probably the hill tribes.
Although the Purāṇas refer to particular regions and peoples as Mleccha, there are indications as well with regard to the blending of Ārya and Mleccha population. The Mārkandeya Purāṇa mentions the principal rivers, the waters of which both the Āryas and Mlecchas used to drink. They are Gangā, Sarasvatī, Sindhu, Candrabhāgā, Yamunā and the Satadru. The Vēmara Purāṇa refers to the numerous mountains in Bhāratavarṣa, other than the Kulaparvatas, as being inhabited by the Mlecchas. Some of these mountains are mentioned in the Mārkandeya Purāṇa. They are the Raivata, Arbuda, Rṣyamukha, Gomanta, Kūṭa-sālla, Kṛtasamara, Śrīparvata, Kora and other mountains in hundreds. In fact, the Padma Purāṇa clearly states that the habitat of the Mlecchas were the hills, caves and forts.

The Mlecchas who emerged from Veṇa were as dark as collyrium. But all the Mlecchas were not black-complexioned. According to the Padma Purāṇa, the Mlecchas of the Kapilavarsa of the Šakadvipa, who lived along with the Brāhmaṇas, were white complexioned. Thus, colour was not the criterion for distinguishing the Mlecchas from the Āryas. The real criterion was adherence to Brahmanical rites and rituals as well as to the rules and regulations prescribed by the law makers of ancient India. The Vāyu Purāṇa clearly states that the Mlecchas did not follow the religious rites and social order. They followed adharma. The nature of this adharma seems to be
hinted at in the Vāyu Purāṇa. It is apprehended that during the days of the ascendency of the Mlecchas, people would lose faith in dharma, artha and kāma. Wives would murder their husbands under the impact of Mleccha customs. The Mleccha rulers would start a reign of terror and would lead to wanton destruction of women and children. Time and again the possibility of social and religious disturbance during the predominance of the Mlecchas has been apprehended. The population would become a blending of the Āryas and Mlecchas.

The Matsya Purāṇa ascribes the Mlecchas to the transitional phase of the Kali age. They lived in the Svayambhu-manvantara. There are expectations in the Vāyu Purāṇa that Kalki of the Parāśara gotra, with the aid of the Brāhmaṇas (Vipras), would exterminate the Udīcyas, Madhyadeśas, Vindhyas, etc., who had been Mlecchas and irreligious (adhārmlka) in character. In the same text, the Pāṣaṇḍas and Mlecchas are grouped together. They were annihilated by Kalki. Pramita of Candramās gotra recruited army from the Brāhmaṇas and started destroying the Mlecchas and Vṛṣalas.

The cumulative evidence indicates the expectation of the emergence of the Brahmanical rule and destruction of the followers of the heretical doctrines and of those who did not belong to the Brahmanical order. In the Matsya Purāṇa, Kalki
is described as the destroyer of both the Āryas and Mlecchas. There is also the apprehension that following the rampage carried on by Kalki, both the Āryas and Mlecchas would retire to forests and lead a primitive life.  

The reason behind the apprehension of the development of social anarchy under the Mlecchas is not far to seek. They did not belong to the Brahmanical social order. In the Padma Purāṇa they are described as outside the fourfold system of caste and even Varnasamkara (mixed castes). As such, the Mlecchas would have created social disturbance. According to the law-givers of ancient India, one of the duties of the ruling king was to maintain the fourfold system of caste and āśrama. The inscriptions of early medieval India often refer to the restoration of the social order which presupposes some sort of an upheaval. It is possible that constant infiltration of alien population, some of whom are branded as Mlecchas in indigenous texts, could have affected the social order. In the Matsya and Vēyu Purāṇas, however, it is clearly stated that due to non-observance of traditional rites and ceremonies the Yavana culture would dominate over the whole country irrespective of Ārya and Mleccha settlements. 

In Puranic literature, however, the term Mleccha has been used not exclusively in the sense of peoples and countries.
The *Padma Purāṇa* alludes to the old concept of the term as connotating a language. It refers to *Mlecchabhāsa* and lays down that a Brahmin should not cultivate the Mleccha language. The Mlecchas themselves have been characterized as the speakers of an indistinct speech. It is interesting to note that reference has been made to the Paisācikī language as the tongue of the Mlecchas. It is not clear whether Paisācikī, in the above context, refers to the Paisācī Prakrit in which was written the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇḍādhyā. The *Kathāsaritasāgara* of Somadeva records that Guṇḍādhyā, while roaming with some members of the Pulindas in the Vindhyan forests, acquired knowledge of the Paisācī language by constantly overhearing the conversation of the Piśācas. The term Paisācī also stood for the jargon to be spoken by the demons on the stage. In either case it is clear that the Paisācī or Paisācī language was by no means unintelligible; rather, it was used even as a koines. If Paisācikī had really anything to do with the Paisācī or Paisācī, then the language of the Mlecchas can no longer be regarded as obscure or indistinct. Such a presumption, however, does not indicate that Paisācikī was the language of all the Mlecchas. Only a fraction of the population used it. Nevertheless, if Paisācikī and Paisācī are regarded as identical, the possibility of a comparative proximity between the Āryas and Mlecchas, either geographically or culturally, cannot be ruled out.
According to a tradition recorded in the Kalika Purana, the Kshatriyas, being afraid of Jamadagnya, disguised themselves as Mlecchas and took shelter under Jalpita linga. They gave up Aryan tongue and used the Mleccha language.

The other reference in the Padma Purana to the Mlecchas as speakers of false speech, however, alludes to the contemptuous feeling which recurs in early indigenous texts. This feeling of contempt and hatred is adequately illustrated in the statement that even the sight of a Mleccha was a hindrance to the performance of the daily rites by a Brahmana. Blood relation with the Mlecchas would lead to destruction. A person touching the dead body of an outcaste would take rebirth as a Mleccha after rotting in the hell for a long time. A Brahmana, however, remained immune for taking food from a Mleccha in a foreign country or in forests. The Mlecchas are bracketed with the Candrahas and Antyayatis. Any person committing the murder of a Brahmana would be reborn as a Candraha, Antyayati and a Mleccha. The Matsya Purana mentions them along with the Sankirna and Papayonis who die in Avimuktaksetras. The exact identification of Avimuktaksetra is not known to us. Perhaps the implication is that the soul of a person, expiring in a particular sector or land, does not get emancipation.

There is, however, reference to Avimukta-tirtha, which lay near
Vārāṇaśī. The Mlecchas living in the countries of Trīsaṅku, Barbara, Odra, Dravīḍa, Koṅkana, etc., were not to be invited to the dinner pertaining to a Śrāddha ceremony. The Padma Purāṇa describes them as beast-eaters.

As we have already pointed out, the Mlecchas did not belong to the system of Varna and Varna-samkara. Their association with the Caṇḍālas and Antya-jaṭīs in the Puranic texts indicates their despicable position in the social demography. Corners of the villages were prescribed for the settlement of the Mlecchas. The Garuda Purāṇa divides human population into thirteen categories, according to their jaṭīs. They were the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, the seven antya-jaṭīs, viz., the Rajakas, Carma-kāras, Naṭas, Burudas, Kaivarttas, Medas and Bhillas and the Mlecchas and the Dombas. The expression "Mleccha-dumba-vibhedena-jaṭibhedā trayodaśāṁ", however, implies the position of the Mlecchas in the social hierarchy and their recognition as a jaṭī constituting the society.

A better position for the Mlecchas has been covertly alluded to in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, which tells us that Sagara had deprived all the Kṣatriya races of offering oblations to Fire and the study of the Vedas. Thus, being isolated from Vedic rites, the different Kṣatriya tribes turned Mlecchas.
The Paradas, who figure as Mlecchas in Puranic texts, were of extra-Indian origin. But the statement that the Yavanas, Sakas, Paradas and Pahlavas were formerly Kṣatriyas indicates an attempt on the part of the Puranic chroniclers to give them a respectable origin. It may be noted that they are regarded as the descendants of Garuḍa who was born in a Brāhmaṇa family, but had fallen as Candra.\textsuperscript{191}

The Mleccha, Vṛtya and Śūdra rulers of Sindhutāta, Darvika, Candrabhīgā and Kāśmiraviṣayya are stated to have had started a reign of terror.\textsuperscript{192} The northern Mlecchas like the Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Hūṇas and Pārasikas are described as turbulent by nature.\textsuperscript{193} The Purāṇas are replete with the warlike activities of the Mlecchas. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa mentions Kālayavana, who along with a large number of Mleccha armymen marched up to Mathurā.\textsuperscript{194} The army consisting of elephants, cavalry, chariot and infantry crushed the Yādavas.\textsuperscript{195} Bereft of their martial activities, nothing positive is hinted at in the Purāṇas with regard to the distinct occupation of the Mlecchas. The Vāyu Purāṇa, however, refers to the Ājīvas as born of Varna-sāmkara. They worshipped the Piśścas.\textsuperscript{196} They were artisans (Kārusilpi), thieves, and betrayers among them.\textsuperscript{197} It is not known whether the Ājīvas belonged to the Mleccha ganas. Reference to the Mlecchas along with the hunters (lubhdaka) and the givers of poison\textsuperscript{198} probably alludes to the nature of their livelihood.\textsuperscript{199}
The development of Puranic literature in India coincided with that of the later texts on law, i.e., Dharmaśāstras. The work of Manu, recited by Bhṛgu, was followed by a number of legal texts none of which can claim great antiquity. These texts had to be compiled or written down in the perspective of socio-economic changes. The true meaning of the performance of the Vedic rites and the import of the earlier legal aphorisms were gradually getting oblivious. It gave an opportunity to the social thinkers to further codify the rules protecting the interests of the higher castes, particularly those of the Brāhmaṇas, and widening the scope for exploitation of the lowest strata of the society.

Contrary to the Puranic texts, in which certain tribes and countries are categorically branded as Mlecchas, the later Smṛti texts do not specify them. Even in the list of Antyajjas, enumerated in the Yama Smṛti and the Vyāsa Smṛti, the Mlecchas are conspicuous by their absence. In the list of mixed castes, given in the Baudhāyana Smṛti, no reference has been made to the Mlecchas. The manner, in which the Mlecchas have been mentioned, tends to indicate that they were different from the low and despised castes like the Medas, Andhakas, Cāndālas, Śvapacās and others.
In the Lohita Śmrīti, the Mlecchas are enumerated along with the Cāndālas, Yavanas, Hūpas and the Koṅkanas. It should be noted that in the Jaina texts and also in some of the Puranic passages, the Yavanas, Hūpas- and Koṅkanas are regarded as Mlecchas. It, thus, transpires that by the time when the later Śmrīti texts were being written down, the connotation of the term Mleccha had been undergoing or had already undergone a modification.

According to the legal writers of the early medieval period there are eighteen classes who do not belong to the system of caste (varṇa) and āśrama. They are the washermen (rajaka), cobblers (carmakaṇa), actors (nāṭa), basket or mat makers (buruda), fishermen (kaivarta), the Mlecchas, Bhillas and others. It is explicitly stated that the rules regulating varṇa and āśrama are not applicable to them (varṇāśrama-bābyāḥ).

The Rajakas, Carmakaṇas, Naṭas, Burudas, Medas, Kaivarttas and Bhillas are mentioned as despised castes (antyaajas) in the Atri Śambītā. In the Veda-vyāsa Śmrīti, the twelve antyaajas are enumerated as Vanikas, Kirātas, Kāyaṣṭhas, Mālīkāras, Kuṭumbins, Naṭas, Virāṭas, Medas, Cāndālas, Dāsas, Śvapacass and Kolskhas. The Mlecchas are conspicuous by their absence in the list. In the list of mixed-castes (varṇa-saṃkara), born of Pratilo-ma marriages, enumerated by Baudhāyana, there is no reference to
the Mlecchas. In the Sūta Saṁhitā, incorporated in the Skandapurāṇa, however, the Mleccha is described as the offspring of the clandestine union of a Brāhmaṇa woman and Vaiśya male.

In the Vṛddha Pārīta Saṁhitā, the Mlecchas are enumerated with the Cāndālas, Patitas and Pāṣaṇḍas. The statement, perhaps, has been made to denote the four different sections of the Indian population. The Mlecchas, it is possible, denote the people who did not belong to traditional system of caste, the Cāndālas, the lowest stratum of the society, the Patitas, the outcastes, i.e., those who were excommunicated from the society owing to their non-observance of social rites and behaviour laid down in the legal texts and the Pāṣaṇḍas denote the heretical sects who did not abide by the religious rites and ceremonies prescribed in the Brahmanical texts.

The above survey clearly reveals that at least eighteen classes have been mentioned including the Rajakas, Cārmakārās, Nāṭas, Buruḍas, Kaivarttas, Mlecchas and Bhillas who did not belong to the system of vāna and gārama. They are designated as Prakṛtis. It may be noted that in the Sarasvatī-vilāsa also the seven castes enumerated above are referred to as Prakṛtis. The Viromitrodvaya on Vyavahāra, on the other hand, points out that the Śreniś in relation to Saṁgha, Puga, Gana, etc., mean the eighteen low castes such as the Rajakas and others.
The Mitākṣara on the Vājñavalkya, III. 260, makes a distinction between two groups of Antyajas, one consisting of the Rajakas, Cormakāras, Naṭas, Buruḍas, Kaivarttas, Medas and Bhillas, and the other consisting of the Caṇḍālas, Śvapacās, Kṣatris, Sūtas, Vaidehikas, Māgadhas and Āyogayas, designated as Antyāvesāyins. The Mlecchas figure in neither of the groups.

In delimiting the Mleccha land, the later Smṛti texts often repeat the verses from the Manu Samhitā. Thus the Vṛddha Gautama Samhitā states that the land where black antelopes roam freely is the sacrificial country. The Brhat Parāśara Samhitā states that the land between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas and between Vīnaśana and Prayāga is the purified (Pāvana) land, and that the land which lies beyond them is Mleccha country.

The later Smṛti writers, thus, do not add anything to what had been laid down in the earlier legal texts with regard to the geographical definition of the Mleccha country.

The legal texts of the early medieval period, however, are concerned more with the propitiatory rites to be performed for having contact with the Mlecchas either physically or even otherwise.

In the Devala Smṛti, practically, an entire chapter has
been devoted on the proprietary rites to be performed for being forcibly kidnapped by the Mlecchas. A Brāhmaṇa, for being captured by the Mlecchas and for having sexual intercourse with whom coitus is forbidden (agamya), should perform the 'Cāndrāyana' along with 'Parāka' for one year. When Brāhmaṇas were forcibly enslaved by the Mlecchas, Caṇḍālas and robbers and were compelled to carry such filthy tasks as slaughter of cows and other animals, sweeping or consuming food left by a Mleccha, taking the meat of asses, camels and bred (i.e., village) pigs, uniting with Mleccha or Caṇḍāla women and inter-dining with the Mlecchas and Caṇḍālas, then they had to perform "Prājāpatya" for purification. A person who had consecrated Vedic fire and stayed in the above state for a month or less had to perform 'Cāndrāyana' or 'Parāka'. For a Śūdra the prescription is "Krochrapāda". A Śūdra, who had passed a year with the Mlecchas, received purification by drinking yāvaka for fifteen days consecutively. If a person had lived with the Mlecchas in the circumstances, stated above, for more than a year, then the purificatory rites would have to be prescribed by the learned Brahmans. On the other hand, if the dining was for four years or more, then the person fell as a Mleccha and did not attain purification by performing any rite.

There are, however, certain contradictory statements in the Devāla Smṛti which hint at the relaxation of rules.
Performance of two "Prajaapatyas" has been prescribed for the purification of a person who had merely lived for a period between five and twenty years with the Mlecchas. The expression "mere living" with the Mlecchas perhaps indicates that the relaxation was meant for only those persons who had not committed the wrongs outlined above. It may be mentioned in this connection that the Pañcadasī of Vidyāraṇya prescribes that a Brāhmaṇa seized by the Mlecchas would be restored to his original status after he had performed appropriate Prāyaścitras.

Such rites have also been prescribed for women being forcibly abducted by Mlecchas, Cāndālas and Dasyus or being enslaved by them. The wife of a Brāhmaṇa on taking food from a Mleccha, which is not prescribed, attains purification by the performance of a 'Parāka'. If, on the other hand, she does not have any sexual intercourse with a Mleccha, nor takes unprescribed food from a Mleccha, then she attains purification by the performance of 'Trirātra'. The same is true for a menstruating woman on being touched by a Mleccha. Devala, however, lays down that a woman raped by a Mleccha and conceived thereby does not attain purification by performing even the 'Trirātra' during pregnancy. It is only after removal of the unwanted baby or foetus, followed by the next monthly course that she regains purification.
A Brāhmaṇa (dvija) should not perform religious ceremonies after having consciously interdined with the Mlecchas, Caṇḍālas, Patitas (out-castes) and Pāsāndas (heretics). As an antidote to unintentional sex with a Caṇḍālī, Puṃścalī, Mlecchā, Pāṣāndī and with Rajakī etc., a Brāhmaṇa should perform 'Cāndrāyaṇa'.

In a Śrāddha ceremony the invited Brāhmaṇa was not allowed to accompany the Mlecchas and the outcastes (Patitas).

A person performing funeral rites should not touch the uncouth, the impure and women in their monthly courses.

Throughout the legal texts of the early medieval period propitiatory rites have been prescribed for persons belonging to the upper castes against contamination with the Mlecchas either physically or through food or otherwise. A Brāhmaṇa touching a Caṇḍāla, Patita (out-castes), Mleccha, a jar containing wine and a menstruating woman would go on fast for that day. On touching them, while taking meal, the Brāhmaṇa is advised to leave the food and bathe. A Brāhmaṇa should not perform religious rites after having intentionally (kāmataḥ) taken meal from or interdined with the Mlecchas, Caṇḍālas, Patitas (out-castes) and heretics (Pāsāndā). A woman, on being sexually assaulted by a Mleccha or by a sinner, attains purification by performing a 'Prājāpatya' and with menstruation in the next
monthly course. A person, on having sexual intercourse, unconsciously, with the wife of a Caṇḍāla or a Mleccha or a Śvapaca or a Kāpālika, would regain purification by the performance of "Parāka" rite. On the other hand, if a Brāhmaṇa intentionally cohabits with the wife of any person belonging to any of the groups specified above, the offspring would be known by the name of the class to which his or her mother belongs.

A close survey of the legal texts of the early medieval period reveals that the legal writers had relaxed the rigidity of rules with regard to the Mlecchas. The Atri Śāṁhitā lays down that a Brahmacārin was allowed to collect food from a Mleccha. Money could be collected from the outcasts, heretics, atheists, Caṇḍālas, Yavanas and Mlecchas with the view to performing Agnistoma for the cause of the removal of social evils. While roaming in a forest or foreign country, a person, belonging to any of the four castes, does not lose his social identity on taking food (prescribed or unprescribed) from a Mleccha. On returning to his own country he frees himself from all the sin he had accumulated and does not require any purificatory rite. Food, preserved by a Mleccha, becomes purified and consumable whenever it is transferred to the consumer or customer. If a menstruating woman touches a
Mleccha she would have to regain purification by bath and fast and drinking the five cow products (panca-gavya). A Brāhmaṇa is relieved of the sin accumulated for having conversed with a Mleccha, an impure (aśuci) and an irreligious person only by intent meditation or by conversing with a Brāhmaṇa. On touching a Mleccha, a Brāhmaṇa gets relief only by sprinkling water on his own head.

An attempt on the part of medieval law makers is perceptible in the Sūta Saṁhitā (incorporated in the Skanda Purāṇa) at absorbing the Mleccha population into the Brahmanical society. It traces their origin from the clandestine union of a Vaisya with a Brāhmaṇa bride.

Recognition of the Mlechhas as a constituent of the rural population seems to be hinted at in the Dharmaśāstra which refers to the Mlechhas along with the Gaṅgālas in the list of addressees in connection with the gift of a landed property. Mention may be made here of the land grant documents of the Pālas of the early medieval period which include the Medas, Andhakas and Gaṅgālas as constituting the lowest stratum of the society. They do not, however, refer to the Mlechhas. It is not clear whether the Medas and Andhakas have been replaced by the Mlechhas. There are, however, instances in the texts
where the Medas, Andhakas, Mlecchas and the Candalas have been mentioned separately.

That even the Mlecchas were associated with religious rites, which required to be performed by a Brâhmaṇa, seems to have been hinted at in the Brhat Parâśara Saṁhitā. It categorises a bahu-yājaka Brâhmaṇa who used to function at a religious ceremony of a Mleccha or of persons who did not belong to the four-fold system of caste (vṛna-bāhyah).

According to the Atri-Saṁhitā there are at least ten categories of Brâhmaṇas like Deva, Muni, Dvija, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra, Niśāda, Pasu, Mleccha and Candalas. The Brâhmaṇas, who debar others from using wells (küpa), pools, lakes and parks, are designated as Mleccha-Brâhmaṇas. It is not clear whether the Mleccha-Brâhmaṇas and the Mleccha-Vipras, mentioned in the Sûta-Saṁhitā, refer to the same class.

The anti-Brahmanical character of the Mlecchas has, however, been brought out by branding them as beef-eaters.

The age old injunction against the Mleccha language is repeated in the Brhat Parâśara Saṁhitā which lays down that a Brâhmaṇa should not utter hard and cruel words, nor speak in the language of the Mlecchas, nor should he cultivate the Vakra-sūtras in Prakrit and the Buddhist logic (Pâsanda-betuka).
The Vāsiṣṭha-Sambhita categorically states that a Brāhmaṇa must not learn the Mleccha language. Similar injunctions have been laid down elsewhere as well. Viśvarūpa, while commenting on Yājñavalkya I. 15, quotes a passage from Bharadvāja which states that "one should not study the language of the Mlecchas, for it is declared that a corrupt word is indeed a Mleccha."  

A somewhat better position for the Mlecchas seems to be indicated in the Atri Sambhita which allows a Brāhmaṇa ascetic to collect food even from a Mleccha. Various purificatory rites have been prescribed in the Dharmasastras of the early medieval period. They were to be performed by Brāhmaṇas who had interdined with the Mlecchas and the antyajas or had sex with the women of those classes. Similarly, there are prescriptions for the performance of rites for women who had come into contact with a Mleccha or an Antyaja. On performance of such rites the alleged women could regain their previous state. Nevertheless, distinction has been made between a woman who had been forcibly captured and impregnated by a Mleccha and one who had conceived by cohabiting illegally with the member of a caste other than her own (asaśāvarna). In the former case she had no means to regain her former status. In the latter case she could regain purification only with the removal of the unwanted embryo (Salyaka). It is not clear whether the term asaśāvarna
includes in a wider sense even the Mleechas, Caṇḍālas, etc., who are branded as beyond the pale of varṇa and āśrama \(\text{(varnāśrama-bāhyāḥ)}\). The manner in which the relevant verses concerning the purificatory rites, prescribed for women, have been put forth seems to indicate that the term concerned, \textit{viz.}, asavarṇa, embraces \textit{inter alia} the Mleechas, Caṇḍālas and others. Since the term asavarṇa literally means an individual belonging to a different caste, it appears that Devala, inspite of all his reservations against the Mleechas, unconsciously or consciously indicates their incorporation within the varṇa system with all its ramifications. This attitude is illustrated in the cognizance of the Mleechas as an element of the rural population as well as in the attempt at tracing the origin of the Mleechas from the clandestine union of a Brāhmaṇa woman and a Vaiśya male.

\[\text{264}\]

The \textbf{Purāṇas} and the later \textbf{Dharmaśastras} cover practically the entire range of the early medieval period. While the Purāṇas specify the countries and the peoples branded as Mleechas, the Dharmaśastras lay more emphasis on the propitiatory rites to be performed for coming into contact with the Mleechas. The statements made in the Purāṇas with regard to the Mleechas are sometimes corroborated by the injunctions laid
By the time of the composition of some of the Puranic texts the Muslim invasion had taken place. In the east a family, known as the Mlecchas, had been ruling over Kāmarūpa. The name still survives in that of a tribe, viz., the Mech, who live in Assam. Nevertheless, the evils of the Mleccha rule in Kāmarūpa have been outlined in the Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa of the Padma Purāṇa. According to this work, the Mlecchas indulged in wine, women and meat. They did not follow the Brahmanical system of worshipping gods and goddesses and that of offering oblations in honour of deceased ancestors. The Brahmanical order of Varna and Āśrama broke down under the impact of the Mleccha culture. The people lost their faith in the holy scriptures and in the performance of obsequies. Hereditary professions were forsaken in favour of trade, agriculture and craft.

A.K. Chatterjee observes that the composition of the Dharma Purāṇa, appended to the Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa of the Padma Purāṇa, cannot be dated earlier than the second half of the thirteenth century A.D. As such the author or authors of this part of the Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa must have witnessed the Muhammadan invasion of Kāmarūpa led by Bakhtiyar Khilji. The Turuḥkās of the north-west, no doubt, may refer to the Turkish invaders of Assam. Nevertheless, the elements of Mleccha culture, outlined in the text
concerned, cannot be described as originating from the influence of Muhammadan rule. The abominable practices, referred to in the
_Dharma Purāṇa_, are also ascribed to the Kirātas and the Kāpālika-Saivas, who are designated as Mlecchas in the _Kālikā Purāṇa_. None of them were, however, affiliated to the Turkish Muhammadans, ethnically or in any other way.

References to the Mlecchas in various places of the _Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa_ have been taken to indicate the knowledge of the author of the _Dharma Purāṇa_ of the evils of the rule of the Mleccha dynasty in Kāmarūpa. Bhagadatta, who was like the primeval being to the people of ancient Prāgjyotisa, is described in the _Mahābhārata_ as the lord of the Mlecchas. Some ruling dynasties of Assam in the early medieval period are styled Mlecchas. Nevertheless, epigraphic evidence at our disposal does not indicate that these rulers were anti-Brahmanical by religion and culture, and that the social structure collapsed under their hegemony. Thus, the social evils of Mleccha rule, hinted at in the _Dharma Purāṇa_, are not vouchsafed by epigraphic evidence. It is unlikely that the Mlecchas of the text concerned refer to the ruling dynasties of early medieval Assam and the other adjoining states, lying in the easternmost sector of the Indian sub-continent. These regions witnessed infiltration of people or peoples from the
South East and the Far East from an earlier period. The population thus became a blending of diverse racial stocks. Obscure religious practices and social ideas, which were anti-Brahmanical in concept and contents, flowed in with the immigrants from the extra-Indian territories. The Mlecchas of the Sraikhanda, thus, may denote not only the Turkish invaders but also the followers of the religion which was not acceptable to the orthodox supporters of the Brahmanical system.

It may be added that a number of manuals on civil law were being written in the period which coincided with the advent and gradual spread of Islam. The Mlecchas, who are distinguished from Śvapacas, Caṇḍālas etc., may denote, at least partially, the new comers, who were characterized by a different language, religion and culture. Al Beruni in the eleventh century A.D. noted that in all manners and usages the Hindus differed from the followers of Islam. In fact, in a few epigraphs of the early medieval period the term Mleccha has been used to refer to the followers of Islam. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that by the time of the composition of the later Śṛṭi texts, the term Mleccha had begun to be used in the sense of inter-alia the followers of the Islamic tradition.

Notes and References ... p.195.
NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. F.E. Pargiter (Ed.), Markandeya Purāna, Varanasi, 1969 (Reprint Edn.), p. 283; (LVII. 15.)
2. Visnu-Purāna, Vangavasi Edn., p. 114; (IV. 24. 19.)
jijanat //
8. Ibid., I. 26. 9, p. 19: "Prācetasah putra-śatām rājānam sarva eva te / Mleccha-rastrādhipāh sarvēkhy-adicimdiśamā-
śritaḥ //
9. Mahābhārata, I. XII.
11. Vāyu Purāṇa, II. 37. 11-12, p. 417.
13. Most probably Kṣatriya, who according to Manu was an impure tribe (Manu, X. 16). They have been identified with Xathoioi contd ... 196.
14. Most probably they were the same as Pārasikas or Persians. They are not mentioned in any work earlier than the Mbh. (VI. 9. 65-66) and Rāghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa (IV. 60).

15. In the Mahābhārata (I. 2. 3) and in the Mbh. (IV. 9. 67, III. 159, 351 and VII. 18. 7) they are mentioned along with the Ābhīras. They have been identified with Sodroi of classical writers who, at the time of Alexander's invasion, "occupied the Northern Sind with contiguous portions of the Panjab (Mīthan-kot area) and the Bhawalpur state" (H.C. Ray Chaudhury, PHAI, Calcutta, 1953, p. 257).

16. They are mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 18) and in R.E. XIII of Asoka. According to one view, they belonged to the Dravidian stock and lived in the deltaic regions of the Godāvari and Kṛiṣṇa (IA, 1913, pp. 276-78; D. C. Sircar, SGAMI, Delhi, 1960, p. 31, n. 1). To others, they were originally Vindhyan people who later on extended their sway over Andhra-patha (i.e., the Godavari and Kṛiṣṇa Valleys) (IA, 1913, p. 71; H.C. Ray Chaudhuri, PHAI, p. 92).

17. See Chap. V. n. 6.

18. Ibid., n. 18.

19. The Culikas were most probably the Sogdians who lived in the region lying to the north of the Oxus (Sircar, SGAMI, contd ... 197.
p. 26, n. 4). According to another view they may be identified with the Šulkis (S.B. Chaudhuri, BSAI, Calcutta, 1955, p. 113). According to another view they may be identified with the Šulkis (S.B. Chaudhuri, BSAI, Calcutta, 1955, p. 113(f)).


21. In the Garuda Purāṇa (II. 2. 6) they are mentioned as one of the seven antyajātīs. In Manu (X. 43), they are described as the offsprings of Nisāda (children of a Brāhmaṇa and Śūdra female, vide Manu, X. 8) and his Ayogava (born of Śūdra male and Vaiśya female, vide Manu, X. 12) wife (Manu, X. 34). They were boatmen (Ibid).

22. In the Mahābhārata (VI. 9. 67) they are mentioned as the people of the north. The Mahābhāṣya refers them along with the Śūdras (I. 2. 3), Abhirāṇa, between Herat and Kandahar, was the original homeland of the Ābhīras (Sirēr, op. cit., p. 23, [\text{\text{-n. 7]}]).

One group of the Ābhīras occupied the region lying between Vīnaśāna in the east and Pañcananda in the west (Mbh. XVI. 7. 47-63). The Śalya parvan, on the other hand, locates their settlement on the Sindhu and Sarasvatī (IX. 37. 1-2). From the Periplus (Schoff, Ed., pp. 39 and 175) and Ptolemy (S.N. Majumdar Shastri Ed., McGrindle's Ancient India, p. 140) it appears that in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., they occupied the country between the Lower Sindhu Valley and Kathiawar. In the second and third centuries contd ... p.198.

The Vāyu Purāṇa locates them in the Vidarbha region (XI. 5. 126). The region between Jhansi and Bhilsa is known as Abirwar (JRAS, 1897, p. 891; A.M. Shastri, India as seen in the Brhat Samhitā of Varāhamihira, Delhi, 1969, p. 63). They are also mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (CII, III, p. 8, text, line 22).


24. From the Puranic texts the following table showing the origin of the Mlecchas may be constructed:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manu Vaivasvata</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iksvāku</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nābhāmediṣṭha</td>
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<tr>
<td>Śarīyati</td>
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<tr>
<td>Īlā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Purūravas Aīla.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Āyu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amāvasu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nahuṣa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kṣatravṛddha</td>
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<td>Rambha</td>
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<td>Rajī</td>
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<td>Anēnas</td>
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<td>Yāti</td>
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<td>Yāyati=</td>
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<td>Devyānī</td>
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<td>= Sarṣṭiḥ.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yadu</td>
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<td>Turvasu</td>
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<td>Druhyu</td>
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<td>Anu</td>
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<td>Puru</td>
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The Yavanas sprang from this line. Babhrū

contd ... p.199.
In the Visnu Purana (I. 13. 34-35) and Garuda Purana (6. 4-6, p. 55) instead of the Mlecchas, the Nisadas are mentioned. Both the Visnu and Garuda Puranas describe them as of short stature. Vena is said to have perished through irreligious conduct and want of submissiveness to the Brahmanas (Manu, VII. 41). He is represented as having been responsible for the creation of mixed castes (Ibid., IX. 66).

It is stated that Visvamitra had many sons. He also adopted Bhargava Suhasepa with the name Devarata and made him chief of all his sons. The accounts concur that when his sons did not accept Devarata's headship, Visvamitra cursed those sons to become dog-eaters and Mlecchas (Mbh., XII. 3. 188). For further details see, Pargiter, AIHT, London, 1922, p.23v.
29. Ibid., V. 44. 61, p. 1113. Padma (V. 44. 19-20) prohibits the murder of a Brāhmaṇa. Any person committing that crime would be reborn as an antyaśāti, Mleccha and a Cāndāla.
30. Ibid., V. 44. 70-79, p. 1113.
31. Vāyu Purāṇa, II. 36. 104-09, p. 413.
32. The people living in the Northern division.
33. Inhabitants of the Middle division.
34. The Vindhyas refer to the people who occupied the region round the Vindhya parvata. The Garuda Purāṇa (55. 13) and the Brāhmaṇa Sāṁhitā place the Vindhyas under the South-Eastern Division. For further details see S.B. Chaudhuri, ESAT, 1955 (Calcutta), pp. 3-4 and A.M. Shastri, op. cit. pp. 44 and 46.
35. The people of Western division.
36. People of southern division.
37. Dravida most probably denoted the Tamil country.
38. Inhabitants of Ceylon.
40. Ibid., n. 8.
41. Ibid., n. 6.
42. Most probably people of Tukharistan of Arab which included Old Bactria (Sircar, op. cit., p. 25, (n. 6; Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, Trans., p. 430). They may contd ... p.201.
be identified with Tokharoi of Classical Writers (S.N. Majumdar Shastri, op. cit., p. 268) and Tuṣāra of Sanskrit literature (Mbh., II. 44. 25; M.A. Stein (Ed.), Rājar., Vol. I, p. 136).

43. See Chapter V, p. 7.
44. Ibid., n. 16.
45. Ibid., n. 11.
46. Ibid., n. 17.
47. Modern Laghman in Afghanistan.
48. In the Purāṇas, they are described as living in Madhyadeśa. To D.C. Sircar they were a branch of the Yādava tribe and lived near Mathura. Later they migrated towards Kathiawar (Sircar, SGAMI, p. 22, n. 3).
49. They cannot be identified.
51. Vāyu Purāṇa, II. 37. 262-63, p. 343.
52. See above, n. 13.
53. See above, n. 14.
54. See above, n. 15.
55. See above, N. 16.
58. Most probably same as the Čulikas mentioned in the Mats. Pu., see above, n. 19.
60. See above, n. 21.
61. See above, n. 22.
64. Cannot be identified with certainty.
65. They are mentioned in the Manu Smriti (X. 44), the Nātya-śāstra of Bharata (NS, XIV.37-41) and in a number of inscriptions. Available evidence indicates that the term Odra or Udra denoted the whole of coastal Orissa from the 6th-7th centuries A.D. (Sircar, SGAMI, p. 143).
66. In the Mbh. (II. 49. 25), they are described as having hairy horns and as bringing presents to the Pandavas of Paippilika gold. They were most probably the people of eastern Tibet (IA, Vol. IV, p. 231; cf. S.E. Chaudhuri, op. cit., p. 127, n. 3). They are mentioned as the people of Madhyadesa in the Brhat Samhitā (XIV. 4).
68. Padma Purāna, V. 44. 70-75, p. 1113.
69. Ibid., V. 44. 69.
70. They have been identified with the Pukkusas of Pali literature who are described as belonging to despised castes (hīma-jāti). Manu (X. 18) describes them as born of the union of a Nisāda male and Śudrā female. Capture and slaughter of iguanas and animals living in holes was their chief

contd ... p.203.
occupation ("bilaubhavandhanam", Manu, X. 49). They were to live under large trees near villages (caityadruma), in cremation ground, mountains and gardens (Ibid., 50).

71. They originated (Manu, X. 18) from the union of a ksatta (the son of a Sudra male by his Vaisya wife, vide Manu, X. 13) male and Ugra (the offspring of a Ksatriya male by his Sudra wife, vide Manu, X. 8) female. Their habitat lay outside the villages. Their wealth consisted of dogs and donkeys. They used the garments of deceased persons and wore ornaments of iron. They used broken utensils for dining and roamed from place to place. They were denied entry to the villages and towns at night (Manu, X. 51-54).

72. Padma Purana, I. 50. 10, p. 87.
73. Ibid., V. 17. 177, p. 868. "Mlecchesu Parvatiyesu ..."
74. Visnu Purana, IV. 17. 1-2.
75. Harivamasa, 13. 1669f.
77. Agni Purana, 276. 5f.
78. Garuda Purana, I. 139. 65f.
79. Bhagavata Purana, IX. 23. 1f.
80. Brhamanda Purana, II. 3. 74. 12.
81. Vayu Purana, II. 37. 11-12.
82. See above, n. 47.
83. From extant sources different Nāga families are known to us. Most of them occupied regions lying in Central India and the middle Gangetic valley. The Nāgas of the northern region, referred to above, had probably no connection with the Nāga ruling families known to us from epigraphic and numismatic sources.

84. It corresponds to the district round Sialkot (ancient Śākala). Its capital was ancient Śākala (Sākala of Pāṇini, IV. 2. 75). Pāṇini speaks of two divisions of the Madra country — Fürva and Apara (Pāṇini, VII. 3. 13 and VI. 2. 108). The country between the Ravi and Chenab constituted its eastern wing with Sialkot as its capital. Western Madra extended from the Chenab in the east to Jhelum in the west (A.L. Shastri, op. cit., p. 86). They are also found mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (GII, Vol. III, p. 9) and the Khalimpur Inscription of Dharmapāla (D.C. Sircar Ed., Select Inscriptions, Vol. II, Delhi, 1983, p. 86).

85. A mythical name.

86. Modern Balkh or Bactria in the extreme north Afghanistan.

In the Kāmasūtra, they are grouped along with the Strīrājya (Kāmasūtra, p. 385). The NS of Bharata refers to Bāhlika-bhāṣa which was spoken by the people of Udīcyas (NS, XVII.46).

contd ... p.205.
They figure frequently in the Great Epic. The Meharauli pillar inscription refers to King "Candra, i.e., Candra-gupta II as having crossed the seven mouths of the river Indus before reducing the Vāhlikas (CII, Vol.III, p. 141).

87. Garuda Purāṇa, I. 27. 7, p. 159.
89. Ibid., n. 5.
90. Ibid., n. 20.
92. Vāyu Purāṇa, I. 45. 82, p. 347. "... yasyānte paścime yavanāḥ smṛtāḥ //"
93. The ancient country of Sindhu lay to the west of the Lower Indus (Sircar, SGAMI, p. 107).
94. In the Kāmasūtra (p. 385) they are bracketed with the Bāhlikas. It is also referred to in the Rājatarangini (Stein, pp. 309, 371 and 385). The Indian tradition regarding the existence of the Amazonian kingdom receives support from the account of Hiuen Tsang (S. Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, p. 199). According to him, the country of Su-fa-la-na-kiew-tu-lo (= Suvarṇagotra), situated between Tu-fan (= Tibet) in the east and the kingdom of Yu-tien on the north, was the country of "eastern women" (Ibid.).
95. The people of Niśāda country, which according to G. Bühler corresponds to Hissar and Bhatnair (IA, Vol. VII, p. 263). But the Mbh. (XII. 135. 3-5) connects them with Pēripātra or Pāriyātra mountains. For further details see, S.B. Chaudhuri, op. cit., p. 44.

96. Garuda Purāṇa, I. 27. 5, p. 159.

97. Lower Indus country.

98. They were the people of ancient Dārvābhīṣāra "which roughly comprised the Punch and Naoshīra regions between the Jhelum and the Chenab". (Sircar, SGAMI, p. 27, n. 2).


100. Kashmir valley.


103. Brahmanda Purāṇa, I. 2. 18, 43, p. 25.

104. Matsya Purāṇa, I. 52. 4-41.

105. Ibid., 43-4.

106. According to Pargiter, they sprang up from Kukura, a son of Andhaka (Pargiter, AIHT, pp. 104-5). It is mentioned both as a country (Mbh., VI. 51. 7 and Br. Saṁ., V. 71 and XIV. 4) and as a family name (Mbh., II. 48. 16; III. 154, 32 and V. 28. 11). In the Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman I (EI, Vol. VIII, p. 36f.; H.C. Roy Chaudhuri, contd ... 207.
PHAI, Calcutta, 1955, p. 507) and in the Nasik Inscription of queen Gautami Balaśī (EI, VIII, p. 60 f.; Roy Chaudhuri, op. cit., p. 491) Kukura is mentioned as a country. It has been located in western or central India, possibly near Pāriyātra or the western Vindhyas (Roy Chaudhuri, op. cit., pp. 491, 507).

107. The correct spelling of the name of the people is Kuluta.


109. Ibid., pp. 46-47.

110. Ibid., 48-49.

111. Ibid., 53-55.

112. Ibid., 56-58.

113. Ibid., 58-61.

114. Ibid., 50-52.


116. Ibid., p. 60.

117. Vāyu Purāṇa, I. 41. 37, p. 318.

118. Ibid., I. 49. 54, p. 376.

"Na tesu dasyavah samti Mlecchātyastathaiya ca".

119. Ibid. "... Gauraprāyo janaḥ sarvavah ..."

120. Ibid., I. 42. 44-57, pp. 328-329.

"Ketumālam mahādvīpam nānā Mlecchaganaīryutem / ..."


122. Ibid., p. 89.

123. Ibid., p. 97.
124. Ibid., p. 41.
125. Ibid., p. 179.
126. Ibid., p. 181.
127. Ibid., p. 182.
128. Ibid., p. 183.
   "...... mlecchāra antāsa sarvāsah /"
130. Vāyu Purāṇa, I. 45. 82-83, p. 347.
   "Dvipo hyupaniṣito-ayaṁ Mleccha-antaṁ nityasah /
    Purva kirātā hyasyānte pāścime yavanāḥ smṛtāh //"
132. Vāmana Purāṇa, I. 31. 11-12, p. 167. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa
    also refers to the Mlecchas of the north (IX. 20. 30; IX.
    23. 16). The northern Mlecchas were defeated by Bharata,
    the son of Duṣyanta along with other non-Brahmin rulers,
    viz., Kīrtasas, Hūnas, Yavanas, Andhras, Kaṅkas, Khaṣas,
    Sākas etc.
133. Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, I. 2. 15. 12, p. 22.
134. Mats. Pu., I. 52. 42. See p. 168 of this chapter.
135. Ibid.; Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, I. 2. 43. 43, p. 25.
   "vakṣa-Gandharvacaritaṁ nānā Mlecchaganaś air-yutam /"
137. Vāyu Purāṇa, I. 43. 40.
138. S.M. Ali, Op. cit., Fig. 2 facing p. 32.
139. Brahmanda Purana, I. 2. 18. 42, p. 25.
140. Ibid., I. 2. 17. 33 and I. 2. 18. 1, p. 24; see also
    Mats. Pu., I. 52. 44.
141. Mbh., VII. 6. 7.
142. H.C. Roy Chaudhuri, St. I.A, Calcutta, 1958 (2nd edn.),
    p. 77, lns. 4-5.
143. Mats. Pu., I. 52. 42.
144. Brahmanda Purana, I. 2. 18. 43.
145. Vayu Purana, I. 41. 46.
146. Padma Purana (Ed.) by R.S. Acharya, Bareilly, 1968, Vol. I,
    17. 118, p. 287; "Te durgamah selecits Mlechadesah
    prakirtih/"
    mlechah sasirindrah pavratiyasa sattamaah/"; V. 17.
    177, p. 868, ".... Mlechhesu Parvatiyesu ...."

In the Haralata of Aniruddhabhata (Bib. Ind. Se.,
Calcutta, 1909, p. 194), the term Parvatiya has been used
in the sense of Kamarupa Brahmins. But the Puranic
passage states that the Goddess of Fortune would abandon
the Kamarupa Brahmins and take refuge among the Mlechas
and the Parvatiyas (Padma Purana, V. 17. 177). As such
the Parvatiyas should be distinguished from the Kamarupa
Brahmins. The reference here is possibly to the rule of
the families designated as Mlecchas in their epigraphs and the emergence of the hill tribes in the submontane tracts of Assam.

150. See also Mbh., IV. 9, 13.
152. Mats. Pu., I. 9. 7, p. 47. "..... Krsnah janah samprabhah /"
"Dasyavah santi Mlecchajatyopi va dvijah /
Gaurah pravyo janah sarvah sukumaraasca sattamanah //"
156. Vayu Purana, II. 37. 386, p. 456;
"yihinastu bhavisyanti dharmaah kama-atthatah /"
158. Visnu Purana, IV. 24. 18.
159. Ibid.; Padma Purana, XLIV. 76-79.
160. Ibid.
162. Vayu Purana, II. 36. 104-08, p. 413; See also above, # 156.
163. Ibid., II. 37. 390, p. 457. "Kalkinopahata sarve Mlechē 
yasyanti sarvasaḥ / Adhārmikāśca tetyarthā paśāndāścaiva 
sarvasaḥ //"

164. Ibid., I. 58. 76-78, p. 495 and I. 58. 84-89, p. 496; 

165. Mats. Pu., I. 129. 27, p. 496.

"Kalkinānḥataḥ sarvy Āryā-Mlechāśca sarvataḥ //"


169. Mats. Pu., I. 129. 25, p. 496; Vāyu Purāṇa, II. 37. 384-86, 
p. 456.

170. Padma Purāṇa, V. 58. 92, p. 1175.

171. Ibid., I. 55. 60, p. 99. "Na mlecchabhāsanaṁ śiksennā ...": 
Kūrma Purāṇa, II. 16. 64, p. 562.

172. Padma Purāṇa, V. 74. 12, p. 1208.

"Kuvācakāḥ pare Mlecchāḥ.... //"

173. Ibid., ".... tesāṁ Paiśāciki bhāsā ...."

173a. KSS, Lambaka I, taraṅga VII.


175. B.N. Shastri (Ed.), Kālikā Purāṇa, Varanasi, 1972, 
LXVII. 29, p. 572.

176. Ibid., Verse 30.

177. Padma Purāṇa, V. 74, 20, p. 1208.
179. Ibid., V. 49. 28, p. 1148.
180. Ibid., V. 47. 260, p. 1140. "Aspṛṣya sparśānādeva ucchistapatito mṛtāḥ / Svāryām narake sthitvā Mleccha jātīśu jāyate/"
182. Padma Purāṇa, V. 44. 20, p. 1111.
183. Ibid.
184. Mats. Pu., II. 74. 19-20, p. 158.
185. Mbh., III. 80. 57; Harivaṁśa, 1578.
188. Agni Purāṇa, I. 106, 14, p. 364.
191. Padma Purāṇa, V. 44. 61.
   "Uttarāsaścapare Mlecchā janā hi munipuṅgavāḥ /
   Yavanāsca sakāmboja dārūna-Mleccha jātāyaḥ //"
195. Ibid., V. 23. 9.
213

196. A number of copper-plates from Bagh, Dhar District, M.P., refer to the worship of Vappa Piśācaveda (IAR, 1982-83, p. 120).


199. AS (XIV. 1. 2. ) prescribes the appointment of Mlecchas for injecting poison into the person of the enemy.


205. Atri Samhitā in Smṛtināṁ Samuccaya (pp. 9-34), p. 18, verse 199. "Rajakāścarmeṣa-Nato-Buruda eva ca / Kaivartta-Meda-Bhillāśa septait kāntyajāh / Smṛtāḥ /"


210. See n. No. 204.
211. Ibid.
213. P.V. Kane, *HDS*, Poona, 1941, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 70. Kane concludes that the low castes "had risen in the social status in the medieval ages by their organisation and wealth."
215. Ibid.
218. Pāvana also denotes the land through which the Ganges flowed. See M.-Williams, p. 623, under 'Pāvana'.
219. Brhat Parāśara Saṁhitā (pp. 473-643) in Dh. Śā. Saṁ., Vol. II, p. 475. ... Madhye tu pāvanoddesō Mlecchadesastataḥ param / ... 

220. Devala Smṛti (pp. 85-89) in Smṛtinām Samuccaya, p. 85, lines 7-10.

221. Ibid., pp. 85-86, lines 47-19.

222. Ibid., p. 86, line 20.

223. Ibid., line 21.

224. Ibid., line 22.

225. Ibid., lines 22-23.

226. Ibid., p. 86, lines 53-55.


229. Devala Smṛti, p. 86, line 38.

230. Ibid., line 39.

231. Ibid., line 40.

232. Ibid., p. 87, lines 47-49.

233. Ibid., lines 50-51.

235. Ibid., p. 270.
"... vībhusamsaśucim Mleccham na sprāces rajasvēlam //"
238. Atri Saṁhitā in Dh. Śa. Saṁ., Vol. I, p. 27 and Smṛtinām Samuccaya, p. 21, lines 267-68.
"Candālaṁ Patitām Mlecchāṁ madyabhāndaṁ rajasvalāṁ /
Dvijaḥ sprātvā na bhuṣjīta bhuṣjano yādi samsprāṣet
etāh paraṁ na bhuṣjīta tyaktvā(ā)nnaṁ sānemācāret ///"
239. See n. 234.
240. Atri Saṁhitā, p. 23.
241. Ibid., p. 22.
242. Ibid.
243. Ibid., p. 20. "Cārenmāḥbhukarīṁ vṛttimāpi Mlecchakulādapi /
Ekānāṁ naiva bhoktavyāṁ Brhaspati kulādapi ///"
245. Devala Smṛti, p. 87, verses 44-45. "Mlecchairhṛtāṁ
cauravvā kāntārāsu pravāsinam / Bhuktvā bhaksyamabhaksyaṁ
vā kṣudhärtena bhayena va punaḥ prāpya svakam desam
cāturvarṇayasya niskritiḥ // 45 ///"
246. Ibid.

248. *Devala Smṛti*, p. 86, line 40. The five cow products are — gomūtra, gomṣya, kṣira, dādi and ghṛta.


"Bahunyājayate yastu varṇabhyāḥmaṇa nityasāh / Mlecchāṃca saʊndikāśaiva sa vipro bahunyājakaḥ //"

254. *Atri Saṁhitā*, p. 34. "Devo munirdvi-rajā-vaiṣyaḥ śūdro nisādakaḥ / Paśurmeṣeṣṭi caṇḍalo vipra dasavidbhāḥ smṛtah //"

255. Ibid., p. 35. "Yāpi-kūpa-tadāgā nāmārāmsa ya saraḥsa ca / Nēḥēṃkām rodcāśaiva sa vipro Mleccha ucyate //"
"... Asyananena cauryena Mleccho vipra prajyate /

257. Parāśara Smṛti, IX. 36.


259. Vasistha Saṁhitā (pp. 738-65) in Dh. Śā. Saṁ, Vol. II, Ch. VI, p. 747 (VI. 37).


261. See n. 243.

262. See above.

263. Devala Smṛti, p. 87, v. 50.

264. See above, n. 251.

265. They have been discussed in section 'A' of this chapter.

266. Padma Purāṇa, Chaps. 44, 45, and 74.

267. Ibid., V. Ch. 74, 1-56; see also A.K. Chatterjee, Padma Purāṇa — A Study, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 42 f.

269. Reference has been made to a verse ascribed to the Skanda Purāṇa in the Durgotsava viveka of Śūlapāṇi Satish Chandra Siddhantabhusana (Ed.), Calcutta, B.S. 1331, p. 37, which alludes to the worship of the Kirātas as being characterized by the offerings of wine and meat and devoid of sacrifices and chanting of mantras (A.K. Chatterjee, op. cit., p. 42). See also Bhavisya Purāṇa (Venkat Press Edn.), IV. 138. 98, which mentions that the Kāpālikas indulged in wine and meat.

270. Sraṭṭikhanda of the Padma Purāṇa, 44. 20 and 76; 47. 260; 49. 28; 58. 91-92, 63. 18, 74. 10-12, etc.


274. For the epigraphs referring to the Mlecchas see Chapter VIII.