

A Historical Analysis of Segregation of Untouchable Castes in North India from circa A.D. 600-1200

Malay Neerav
St. Stephen's College, University of Delhi

An attempt has been made in this paper to identify the untouchable castes or social groups and examine their changing social and ritual status during the early medieval period on the basis of the literary and epigraphical evidence. While there was a significant rise in the number of untouchables and their segregation during this period, there is no unanimity amongst the law givers on the number untouchables and the extent of their "polluting" influences leading to their segregation. However, the enumeration and description of these new untouchable castes in various texts is helpful in understanding the social and ritual status assigned to them whereby a decline in their position is clearly evident. While discussing the untouchability of the untouchables, the disabilities and social taboos associated with both old and new untouchable groups have been discussed. The orthodox brahmanical outlook was challenged and confronted by some new religious movements which preached equality of all human beings. Consequently, exceptions were made to the rules of untouchability by the law-givers and leaders of brahmanical religion, side by side, with its apparent climax in the early medieval period, as evident in the prescribed segregatory practices, presenting a contradictory picture with regard to the position of untouchables.

Keywords: Untouchables, untouchability, dharmashastra, occupational castes, early medical Indian society, Brahmanical social norms, ritual status, purification rites

INTRODUCTION

The period from A.D. 600 to 1200 witnessed further ramifications of the caste system and proliferation of untouchable castes in Northern India. One may easily notice the increase in the number of untouchable castes during this period. The spirit of exclusiveness and the notions of purity, pollution and segregation were reflected not only in the creation of new untouchable groups, but also in the restrictions imposed on the degraded and despised lot, on their free movement, partaking of meals, intermarriage and intermingling with the privileged and ritually superior castes. The social and ritual distance between a 'touchable' and an 'untouchable' and also between one untouchable caste and another was prescribed, codified and carried to the extremes by the later Smṛti writers and the commentators. The period A.D. 600-1200 witnessed the systematization of the rules regarding untouchability and the intensification of the process that bred much spite between one social group and another leading to segregation of untouchables.

This segregation was a natural corollary to the disabilities and taboos which were designed to be associated with the "untouchables". What were these disabilities and taboos and how different were these from those prescribed by the languages in the earlier period. Is there any dichotomy between the rules contained in the dharmasastra and the observance of these rules in actual life? These are some of the questions, which are investigated in this paper.

UNTOUCHABILITY : TEMPORARY AND PERMANENT

Untouchability was deemed as arising in various ways; by birth, by the pursuit of improper or impure occupations, by being guilty of certain acts which were prohibited and were regarded as sinful, by adherence to heretical religious sects and by certain physical impurities. However, the distinction between an untouchable person whose impurity passes from one generation to another, and another person who is considered impure only for a short period or who has the option of getting rid of his impurity and polluting influence by performing penance and undergoing purificatory rights, is clear in the writings of various law givers from our period. To have a clearer understanding of the purity-pollution complex, we shall examine various categories of untouchables with special reference to the restrictions imposed on associating with them and the nature of disabilities associated with them.

UNTOUCHABILITY ARISING OUT OF PERFORMING SINFUL ACTS

Manu says that those who are guilty of killing a brahmana, stealing a brahmana's gold or drinking intoxicating drinks should be excommunicated and no one should dine with them or teach them or officiate as priests for them, nor should one enter into matrimonial relationships with them and they should wander over the world excluded from all Vedic dharmas¹. However, Manu also prescribes certain penances for them whose performance would restore their original caste status and make them touchable once again².

The Vṛddha Gautama Smṛti says that if a person has his food without offering prayers then his status is reduced to that of a candala for ten years³. But, here in this case also, the law giver has prescribed ways of getting rid of this temporary status of a candala (sic)⁴. The distinctive examples of temporary untouchability arising out of association with those

who are considered to be permanently impure can be seen in the injunctions laid by various law-givers on touching an untouchable, accepting food and water from him or entering into sexual relationship with him. It is interesting to note that while penances and purificatory rights are prescribed for all such persons from a touchable caste who become an untouchable after doing any of the above mentioned things, no such prescriptions are made for those untouchable groups who are condemned to that position by birth. Angira says that after touching a rajaka, carmakara, nata, dhivara and buruda, a dvija can regain his touchability and purity simply by sipping water with his right hand⁵. He also says that a dvija who eats part of the food already eaten by a candala has to do paraka vrata (fasting for twelve days continuously) for his purification whereas the kṛchha vrata (a day's fasting) is prescribed for a sudras who eats the left over from a candala's meal⁶. According to Angira, even if a person touches an ajapala, a mahisi or vrsalipati by mistake, out of sheer ignorance, he becomes impure and he regains his purity only after bathing with his clothes on⁷. Apastamba says that if an antyaja stays in a dvija's house without the dvija having any knowledge about the 'antya' status of the guest, then the dvija becomes impure after knowing that the person staying with him was an antyaja⁸. In these circumstances, the dvija regains his touchable status after performing the candrayana or the Parakavrata. In similar circumstances, if the householder is a sudras, then he also becomes untouchable until he performs the Prajapatya vrata⁹. Apastamba also prescribes differential penances for the members of the four varnas who drink water given by a candala¹⁰. Similarly, on being touched by a candala, the dvijas and the sudras alike become impure and they can regain their purity after performing certain purificatory rights prescribed by Apastamba¹¹ wherein the longest period of penance is prescribed for the brahmanas and none for the sudras except giving dana to the brahmanas. According to Devala, if a brahmana, ksatriya, vaisya or sudra women is taken away by an antyaja, and she does not suffer maltreatment or accept food that is not edible then she becomes pure once again after three nights

otherwise she has to perform Paraka vrata to regain her pure status¹². According to Vrhadyamasmriti, if a dvija has sexual intercourse with a candala woman then he has to perform aghmarsana vrata and survive on milk for a fortnight to become pure¹³.

Yama also says that on coming into contact with a nati, sailusika, rajaki, venujivani and carmapajivni, one becomes pure only after performing candrayana vrata¹⁴. Temporary untouchability is also said to be arising out of eating grains and food of asat sudras¹⁵ and the penance prescribed for regaining purity is candrayana vrata. The Yamasmriti says that if a brahmana, out of ignorance, eats the food given by a candala, then he becomes pure only after having cow's urine and a dish made of barley for fifteen days¹⁶. Yama goes on to prescribe various kinds of penances and purificatory rights for those who become untouchable as a result of coming in contact with someone who is regarded as a permanent source of pollution.

UNTOUCHABILITY ARISING OUT OF FOLLOWING CERTAIN OCCUPATIONS

It is clear from the references to untouchability in the texts preceding c. A.D. 600 that while certain occupations were regarded as filthy and low, we do not come across any reference to suggest that those who followed these occupations were en-masse regarded as untouchables with their touchability passing from one generation to another¹⁷. Moreover many of the occupational groups which followed the "low and disapproved" occupations were not condemned to the rank of untouchables in the period before A.D. 600¹⁸. However in the period of our study, we not only get references to the impure occupations, but also find injunctions and prohibitions being prescribed for the followers of these occupations, many of whom are now condemned as untouchable castes.

Samvarta quoted by Apararka says 'On touching a fisherman, a deer-hunter, a hunter, a butcher, a bird-catcher and a washerman' one must first bathe and

then take one's meal. Apararka also prohibits food given by a thief, an acrobat, bard, musician, usurer, physician, goldsmith, blacksmith, weaver, dyer, hunter, washerman, wine-seller, oilseed-presser and charioteer, astrologer, bell-maker, smuggler, painter, leather-worker and wine-maker¹⁹. Angira says that on touching a rajaka, a carmakara, a nata (an acrobat), dhivara and a buruda, a dvija becomes pure after sipping water²⁰. The Vrddha Gautam Smriti says that a physician and a wine-seller should not be included in the list of people who are fed after the death of a person in the rituals that follow²¹. The same says that one should not feed a gayaka (singer), nartaka (dancer), plavaka (boatman), vadaka (player of musical instruments), kathaka and bodhaka in sraddha²². In the Sankha Smriti the law-giver says that if a brahmana accepts food given by an actor, a physician, a deer hunter, a thief, a leather-worker, a bamboo-worker, goldsmith and a thug, then he should perform vrata for one month to regain his purity²³. Lohita says that food grains given by the following should not be used in sraddha of a dvija : suta, rathakara, taksa, malakara, tantuvaya, saucika, nata, thief, a rebel and one who has obtained wealth by selling his daughter²⁴. The Markandeya Smriti says that one should not act as a priest for a swarnakara, rathakara, suta and lohakara²⁵. The Smrtiyarthasara prescribes purificatory rights for people who accept food given by singer, carpenter, physician, acrobat, weaver, crown-maker, potter, tree and horse-seller, seller of dairy products, salt and sugar (trader), a bamboo-worker, a prostitute, goldsmith, actor, dyer, dancer, blacksmith, tailor and painter²⁶.

In the Jain text Nisitha Curni, the following three categories of untouchables have been mentioned:

- Jatijumgita or people condemned by their caste.
- Kammajumgita or those condemned because of work they followed and
- Sippajumgita or those following condemned arts and crafts.

When we consider the last two of the three categories we find that the peacock tamers, barbers, acrobats,

pole-dancers, hunters, fowlers, butchers and fisherman have been mentioned as following condemned work²⁸, while the leather-workers, washerman, dealers in silken clothes, calico-printers and wine-sellers have been mentioned as people following low or condemned crafts²⁹.

While it is true that some of these occupations were regarded as lowly and filthy, the whole scale degradation of the people who followed these occupations to the rank of untouchable castes can be gleaned through the ever expanding list of untouchable castes. An attempt by the Smrti writers to explain the origin of each of these castes by applying the theory of miscegenation is a clear example of the brahmana's ingenuity which was reflected in the hardening attitudes towards ritual purity and pollution³⁰. The spirit of exclusiveness and exaggerated notions of ceremonial purity were carried to such an extreme by the Smrti writers and commentators from the early medieval period that the sudras also came to be regarded as untouchables and source of pollution³¹.

UNTOUCHABILITY OF THE SUDRAS: A NEW DEVELOPMENT DURING THIS PERIOD

Some of the orthodox writers of the Smrtis went so far so as to hold that on touching even a sudra, a dvijati has to bathe³². Some³³ thought that only the sudras of inferior types were untouchables, but others³⁴ extended the observance of the practice of untouchability to sudras in general prescribing different means of purification. The Smrtiyarthasara prescribes purificatory rights, if a vessel made of brass or bronze is touched by an asat Sudra³⁵. A verse of Brahmanda Purana quoted in the Smrticandrika says "After touching the saivas, pasupatas, lokayatikas, nastikas, those twice-born who have taken up duties not meant for them and the sudras, one should get into water with all the garments on."³⁶ Angira says that even the intelligent and meritorious people are condemned, if they eat food given by the

sudras, sit with a sudra, remain in touch with a sudra or try to gain knowledge from a sudra³⁷. He says that food grains given by a sudra are like blood and should not be eaten³⁸. The Samvarta Smriti says that who one who accepts food or water given by a sudra becomes impure and he regains his purity only after keeping a fast for twenty-four hours and performing other purificatory rights³⁹. The Vrddha Gautama Smriti includes the sudra in the list of impure men and women⁴⁰. Similarly Lohita Smriti puts sudras in the same category of untouchable castes whose foodgrains can't be accepted in a sraddha⁴¹. Markandeya says that not only grain given by a sudra but also that which has been touched by a sudra should not be eaten⁴².

Under these circumstances, the traditional view that a person could take food from a sudra who was his slave, his cowherd, his family friend or his share-cropper was modified by some and even rejected by others. Thus Apararka⁴³ and Haradatta⁴⁴ opined that it was applicable only in times of extreme distress caused by natural calamities and Devannabhata regarded it as forbidden in the Kali Age⁴⁵. Apararka quotes a law giver to say that food given or touched by all sudras except purchased slaves was prohibited⁴⁶. It is also said that food given by dasa, napita, gopala, kumbhakara and krsivala, these five sudras is acceptable⁴⁷. Angira and Yama say that foodgrains given by dasa, napita, gopala, kulamitra and arddhasiri is edible⁴⁸. In the Laghu Visnumriti the sudras have been classified as sraddhis and the others who are different from the sraddhis are bhojya sudras i.e. food given by them is edible while the rest are abhojya whose food cannot be accepted by a twice-born⁴⁹.

The degradation of the sudras to the rank of untouchables and the references to various occupational groups under new labels of untouchable castes did not lead to the creation of a homogenous group of untouchables in which every group was treated equally contaminating and impure. As pointed out earlier, the degree of untouchability and pollution associated with each of the untouchable castes was defined and this formed

the basis for differentiation of different categories of untouchables. The ritual and social distance was defined and delineated not only between the brahmanas and the despised and condemned lot but also between each of the low social groups who were said to be causing different degrees of pollution and contamination even amongst the rank of untouchables. The sole untouchable group of candalas in Manu is a point of reference, at the bottom of the scale which is depressed further in the post-Gupta times. Though the sudras were themselves regarded as untouchables, yet the Angiras Smṛti reveals that even the sudra was required to perform a penance after drinking water from the well or pot of a candala. It is interesting to note that differential penances and purificatory rights prescribed for members of different varna who come in contact with a candala. Thus while the most difficult vrata is prescribed for a brahmana, the ksatriya is supposed to perform a vrata half as difficult as that prescribed for a brahmana, the vaisya one third and the sudra one fourth of the penances prescribed for the brahmana⁵¹. This scheme is also followed by Atri who prescribes dana and fasting for three nights for a sudra who eats a candala's food⁵². Apastamba says that if an antyaja enters the house of a dvija or a sudras, then a sudras also becomes impure and he should perform prajapatya vrata to regain his purity⁵³. While prescribing penances for the four varnas who touch a candala, Apastamba says that since the sudras are devoid of any mantra, vrata and tapa, therefore they should inform the dvijas and give dana to them⁵⁴.

The differentiation in the degree of untouchability arising out of various categories of untouchables other than sudras is also witnessed in the writings of law givers. Parasara considers the castes of leather-workers, washerman, bamboo-workers and hunters as only half degraded than the candala and the svapaka⁵⁵, and Vijnanesvara quotes Madhyamangiras as making a clear distinction between candala and the svapaka on the one hand and the carmakara and the rajaka on the other⁵⁶. The Laghu Harita Smṛti prescribes a lighter penance for touching the food which has been touched by a nata,

rajaka or medaka than by a candala⁵⁷. Similarly, while three kṛchha prajapatya vratas are prescribed for a brahmana who establishes physical relationship with a candala woman, candrayana vrata is prescribed for him if he does the same with a sailusa, rajaka, venu or carmapajivi (all antyaja) women⁵⁸. The Smṛtyarthasara prescribes fasting as a penance for touching a sudras, fasting for three nights and kaya vrata for touching a candala and its half for touching a rajaka etc. (sic)⁵⁹. Similarly, different purificatory rights are prescribed for accepting water or food, touching and looking at different categories of untouchables⁶⁰.

However the candalas remains the most despised condemned and depressed and grave anxiety and horror are expressed at having any kind of contact with them. The rules of derivative pollution become more stringent and the touch-taboo is extended to be passed on to three persons who, in a sequence, come into contact with the first one actually touched by a candala etc. (sic), one after another. Thus, if a person who is not an untouchable, gets touched by a candala or any other untouchable and he touches another touchable, who, in turn, touches the third touchable and the third touches a fourth one, then it is prescribed that the first should bathe wearing his clothes and recite Vedic or Gayatri mantra 108 times, the second after bathing in the same manner should recite the mantra 54 times; the third should also bathe wearing his clothes and recite the mantra 27 times but the fourth person gets purified only after taking a bath⁶¹. The intensification of the practice of untouchability may be inferred from the opinion of the law givers about the polluting nature of the candala.

THE CANDALA AND HIS POLLUTING INFLUENCE TOUCHES NEW HEIGHTS

Apararka⁶² and Vijnanesvara⁶³ take a different line form Manu⁶⁴, Yajnavalkya⁶⁵ and Visnu⁶⁶ and regard even the shadow of a candala impure and polluting if he came within the length of a cow's tail but such a view was not expressed by Medhatithi or

Kullukabhatta. However, Sridhara in Smṛtyarthasara does not even specify the distance and says that it is necessary to bathe with the garments on if the shadow of a candala and svapaka falls on others⁶⁷. According to Parasara, a candala embodies in his person various kinds of pollution for a dvija and also for a sudra⁶⁸. He is said to be infecting the roads, and water drawn from a well or vessel touched by him is not allowed⁶⁹. The Atri samhita says that if a candala woman enters the house and stays there incognito, then that house should be burnt⁷⁰.

The attitude of the early medieval Smṛti writers and commentators regarding the polluting influence of the candala is attested by Bana⁷¹, Alberuni⁷², Kalhana⁷³ and Hemacandra⁷⁴.

Banabhatta in his Kadambari (A.D. seventh century) talks about the touch taboo associated with the candala described as the low born⁷⁵. There is the famous story of a candala girl coming to the court of the king Sudraka and the king looking at her from a distance as she was unfit to be brought closer to him⁷⁶. The Kadambari also describes the nisada, sabara, pulinda and svaposaka as matanga or candala whose untouchability is clearly established⁷⁷.

Alberuni also talks about the antyajās who were placed below the sudras in the social scale and who rendered various kinds of service. However, he says that the antyajās were not reckoned among the castes but only as practitioners of a certain craft or profession who were organised in their respective guilds and who did not live near the villages and towns of the four varnas (brahmana, ksatriya, vaisya and sudra). The occupational groups which were regarded as antyajās included the fuller, shoemaker, juggler, basket and shield maker, sailor, fisherman, hunter of wild animals and of birds, and the weaver. These groups fully intermarried with one another except the fuller, shoemaker and the weaver, for 'no others would condescend to have anything to do with them'. Alberuni also talks about the people called hadi⁷⁸ (singers of ballads), doma (domba), candala and badhatau⁷⁹ (hunters and

fowlers), who were not reckoned among any caste or guild and were considered as illegitimate progenies of sudra males and brahmana females. These 'degraded outcastes' were treated as one social group who were distinguished only by their occupations.

The Desi-nama-mala of Hemacandra indicates that the candalas used a stick called jhajhari and the dombas, another called khikkhiri, by striking which they made themselves known and the people thus avoided coming into contact with them⁸⁰. The segregation of the candala is evident in the use of the terms antya, bahya, antyayoni and antyavasayin by numerous law-givers. Usanas says that a candala should tie a thong around his neck and should not enter the village in the afternoon⁸¹. The segregation of the candala is evident from the rules laid by Usanas about his place of residence. He says that he should stay away from the village and should reside in the eastern direction, outside the village. If he doesn't stay there permanently and if he is not stable then he should be killed⁸². The segregation of the candalas and some other untouchables too, is also talked about in the Laghu Harita Smṛti as well, where the lawgiver says that if one comes to know of the place of residence where the antyas and the patitas live in hiding, one has to keep three Kṛchha vratas to get purified⁸³.

What is most striking is the prescription regarding a menstruating woman coming in contact with the candala. While the polluting influence of a menstruating woman is mentioned side by side with the candala and other untouchable castes and is a running theme in the writings of early medieval writers, it is surmised that a rajasvala (menstruating woman) should avoid the candala, and if she touches a candala she becomes impure, as in more impure than before and has to keep fasting for three nights to regain her purity⁸⁴. To highlight the impurity and pollution stemming from a menstruating woman, Apastamba says that she is a candalini on the first day of her periods, a brahmaghatini on the second day, a rajakion the third and she regains her purity only on the fourth day⁸⁵. However, she is considered superior and purer than the candala even on the first

day when the candala status is temporarily assigned to her. Purificatory rights are prescribed for a rajasvala not only for touching a candala but also for touching an antyaja and svapaka⁸⁶. Thus it is interesting to note that while many law givers regard the temporary untouchability of a menstruating woman arising out of her physical impurity, as polluting and as contaminating as the permanent and hereditary untouchability of a candala or an antyaja and prescribe almost similar purificatory rights for those coming in contact with either of the two, the candala or antyaja are considered to be more despised and impure than the menstruating woman⁸⁷.

UNTOUCHABILITY ARISING OUT OF PHYSICAL IMPURITIES

The impurity of certain people during a particular period and their polluting influence has been often cited by scholars who try to explain or justify the notions of untouchability on the basis of religious and ceremonial purity and impurity.

Kane says

"A man's nearest and dearest women relatives such as his own mother and wife or daughter are untouchable to him during their monthly periods. To him the most affectionate friend is untouchable for several days when the latter is in mourning due to death in the latter's family"⁸⁸.

While it is true that the law-givers prohibit contact with these people who are regarded as source of pollution, it must not be forgotten that their polluting influence is temporary, time bound and limited. After the period of asauca, the touchable status is restored on the family which had gone through asauca. It is also true that a woman after giving birth to a child was treated as impure and contact with her was prohibited but her impurity leading to her seclusion cannot and should not be treated at par with the segregation of those women who were permanently condemned for their polluting influence emanating from their lineage

and occupation. Temporary inaccessibility can't be equated with permanent untouchability and the seclusion of the pure and touchable for a definite period is certainly different from the exclusion of socially deprived and despised lot whose untouchability is hereditary in nature and whose position in the society is irretrievable.

In a Jain text⁸⁹ of circa 7th-8th century A.D., it has been clearly stated that there were two forms of worldly segregation:

- i. for a definite period and
- ii. for the whole life.

As an example of the temporary segregation, the author refers to the typical Indian custom of segregating those families for a period of ten days where a death or birth had taken place⁹⁰. Whereas various despised castes like that of the nada, varuda, chimpaga, cammara and dumba have been cited as examples of the permanent segregation by those who considered themselves ritually and socially superior⁹¹.

Untouchability Arising Out of Adherence to Heretical Religious Sects

Religious hatred also led to the degradation of followers of some religious sects and cults to the rank of untouchables. Mitaksara⁹² and Apararka⁹³ quote Brahmanda Purana to say that "after touching the saivas, pasupataslokayatikas, nastika, those twice born who have taken up duties not meant for them, and the sudras, one should get into water with all the garments on. The Smriticandrika also expresses similar views about the untouchability of the followers of these religious sects"⁹⁴. Apararka also quotes a verse of Vrddha-Yajnavalkya that on touching candalas, pukkasas, mlecchas, bhillas and parasikas and persons guilty of mahapatakas one should bathe with the clothes on⁹⁵. The Vrddha Harita Smrti says that a brahmana who worships Siva becomes like a sudra and if he worships Yaksa and Bhuta, he at once becomes a candala⁹⁶. It also says that Durga, Gana and Bhairava, these are to be worshipped by the pratilomas and the anulomas⁹⁷

and Yaksa, Raksasa and Bhuta are worshipped by the candala who eats meat and drinks alcohol⁹⁸. Siva is worshipped by the sudra⁹⁹ according to Vrddha Harita Smrti. Thus we see that association with saiva, tantric and sakta cults is abhorred and said to be defiling and contaminating. The hatred for the followers of these cults is also evident in the passage from Brahmanda Purana which is elaborated by Apararka¹⁰⁰. He says that when the daityas (monsters) were defeated by the devatas (Gods) some of the defeated became kapaladharis (those who hold a skull in their hands), some of them started roaming naked, some shaved their heads, some started wearing saffron coloured clothes and some others covered their bodies with human bones and hair. Obviously, here, the reference is being made to the followers of tantric or non-conforming religious cults who are equated with the monsters and who are abhorred by the brahmana law-givers. Atri prohibits physical contact with a kapalavratadhari and keeps him in the same category as that of candala, mleccha and svapacas¹⁰¹. The Brhannaradiya Purana states that a man who bows down to linga or an image of Visnutouched by a sudra is doomed forever¹⁰². The Smrtiyarthasara also prescribes purificatory rights for a person who touches a saiva, sakta, pasupat and a lokayata¹⁰³. It says that the kapalikas are also like rajakas, carmakaras, bhillas, vyadhas, sailusas, natas, burudas, kaivartas, medas and mlecchas¹⁰⁴. The Smrtiyarthasara also prohibits acceptance of food touched by an avadhut and brackets him with the candala and the pulkasa¹⁰⁵.

The contempt for the followers of new religious sects was not without reason. The orthodox brahmanical religion with its narrow caste outlook was challenged by rival schools of religious thought in the early medieval period. Nevertheless, in practice, it does not seem to have gathered any momentum. However, faced with the challenges posed by the new religious sects and cults, the brahmanical law-givers were quick to make exceptions to the rules of untouchability to ensure continued patronage of a large number of devotees of the dominant brahmanical religion. Generally, no blame was

deemed to have been incurred by mixing with the untouchables in festivals, in battles, in religious processions, in calamities or invasions of the country or village, in the presence of great men, etc. The Smrtiyarthasara¹⁰⁶ even permitted the untouchables to enter temples which is very striking. Surprisingly, while on the one hand, some lawgivers are seen making an attempt to widen the social base of the brahmanical religion by introducing an element of flexibility through provisions like exceptions to the rules of untouchability, some Puranas, on the other, talk of the exclusion of the sudras from places of worship. The Brahannaradiya Purana¹⁰⁷ says that a man who bows down before a linga or an image of Visnu touched by a sudra will suffer forever. Thus, references to complete segregation remain abound and the picture does not seem to have changed significantly during A.D. 600-1200 in North India.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- ¹ Manusmrti, IX.235-239
- ² Ibid.
- ³ Vrddha Gautama Smrti, V.62
- ⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵ Angira Smrti, V.17
- ⁶ Ibid, V.27
- ⁷ Ibid, V.123
- ⁸ Apastamba Smrti, III.1
- ⁹ Ibid., III.2
- ¹⁰ Ibid., IV.1,2,3
- ¹¹ Ibid., V.1-5.
- ¹² Devala Smrti, V.37-39
- ¹³ Vrhada Yama Smrti, I.5
- ¹⁴ Ibid., II.1
- ¹⁵ Ibid., III.10, 11
- ¹⁶ Yama Smrti, V.26
- ¹⁷ Jha, Vivekanand, Stages in the History of Untouchables, Indian Historical Review, Vol.II. no.1.pp-15-28, 1975
- ¹⁸ Ibid. p.24
- ¹⁹ Apararka, V.168
- ²⁰ Ibid, V.163-165
- ²¹ Vrddha Gautama Smrti, op.cit., V.73
- ²² Ibid, V.75
- ²³ Sankha Smrti, XVII. 36-40

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- ²⁴ Lohita Smrti, V.394-397
- ²⁵ Markandeya Smrti, p.55, V.9
- ²⁶ Sridhara, Smrtiyarthasara, Anandasrama Series, p.138,Poona,1912
- ²⁷ Sen,Madhu, A Cultural Study of the Nis´itha Curni, p.87-88
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ Ibid.
- ³⁰ Jha,Vivekanand, 'Varnasamkaras in the Dharmasutras: Theory and Practice; Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient', Vol.XIII, Pt.III, pp.280-288
- ³¹ Smrtiyarthasara,p.78
- ³² Brahman ,da Puran ,a quoted in the Smrtichandrika, II, p.311 "On touching the Saivas, Pasupatas, Lokayatikas, Nastikas, those twice born who have taken up the jobs not meant for them and the sudras one should take a dip into water wearing all the clothes."
- ³³ Quotations in the Mitaksara and Apararka, III.30, 292; Brahman , d , a Purana quoted in the Smrtichandrika, Ibid.
- ³⁴ Smrtiyarthasara, 78, Ibid.; Kane, op.cit., p.174
- ³⁵ Ibid, p.71
- ³⁶ Kane, op.cit., p.174
- ³⁷ Angira Smrti, V.73
- ³⁸ Ibid., P.78
- ³⁹ Samvarta Smrti, V.29
- ⁴⁰ Vrddha Gautama Smrti, V.19,20
- ⁴¹ Lohita Smrti, V.394-6
- ⁴² Markandeya Smrti, VI, p.53, 12
- ⁴³ Apararka on Yajnavalkya, I.168, p.244.
- ⁴⁴ Haradatta on Gautama Dharmasutra, XVII.6
- ⁴⁵ Smrticandrika,I, p.12
- ⁴⁶ Apararka,V.168
- ⁴⁷ Ibid
- ⁴⁸ Angira, V.120;Vrhad Yama Smrti,III.10-11
- ⁴⁹ Laghu Visnu Smrti
- ⁵⁰ Angira, V. 4-6
- ⁵¹ Ibid.
- ⁵² Atri Samhita, V.17
- ⁵³ Apastamba, III.1-2.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵⁵ Parasara Madhava, Prayascita Kand ,a, V.39a; VI.44-45 in Parasara Smrti, Bibliotheca India, Calcutta,1892
- ⁵⁶ Vijnanesvara,III.265
- ⁵⁷ Laghu Harita Smrti, V.10,14-16
- ⁵⁸ Vrhad yama Smrti, I.15; II.1
- ⁵⁹ Smrtiyarthasara, p.141
- ⁶⁰ Ibid., p.133
- ⁶¹ Ibid., p.76
- ⁶² Apararka, p.275
- ⁶³ Vijnan nesvara, III.30
- ⁶⁴ Manus as quoted in Jha,Vivekananda, Stages, p.25
- ⁶⁵ Ibid., Yajnavalkya cited in Jha, op.cit.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid., Visnu cited in Jha, op.cit
- ⁶⁷ Smrtiyarthasara, p.76
- ⁶⁸ Parasara, op.cit, V.221-31
- ⁶⁹ Ibid., V.24-25, p.84,85
- ⁷⁰ Atri, op.cit.
- ⁷¹ Kadambari of Banabhatt , t, a
- ⁷² Sachau, op.cit, p.101
- ⁷³ Rajatarangini, op.cit., XXIX
- ⁷⁴ Pischel, R, ed.,Desi namamala of Hemacandra
- ⁷⁵ Kadambariof Banabhatt , a, Nirmaya Sagar Press,p.24, 25, Bombay,1948
- ⁷⁶ Ibid., p.60
- ⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 224-225
- ⁷⁸ Had i may be identified with the modern Dhadhi (Sharma D,Rajasthan through the ages vol.I, p.432)
- ⁷⁹ Hodivala, S.H., Studies in Indo- Muslim History, Bombay, 1939; Sharma, D., op.cit., p. 432
- ⁸⁰ Desinamamala, III.5;II.73,1938
- ⁸¹ Ausanasasmrti, V.9
- ⁸² Ibid., V.10
- ⁸³ Laghu HaritaSmrti, V.14
- ⁸⁴ Apastambasmrti, VII.5,6
- ⁸⁵ Ibid. VII.4
- ⁸⁶ Ibid.VII.7
- ⁸⁷ Vrddha SatatapaSmrti, V.19
- ⁸⁸ Kane, P.V., op.cit., p.170
- ⁸⁹ Sen, Madhu, op.cit., p.87
- ⁹⁰ Ibid.
- ⁹¹ Ibid.
- ⁹² Mitaksara on Yajnavalkya, III.30
- ⁹³ Apararka, p.923
- ⁹⁴ Smrticandrika, I., p.118
- ⁹⁵ Apararka., op.cit.
- ⁹⁶ Vrddha HaritaSmrti, op.cit.
- ⁹⁷ Ibid., p.45
- ⁹⁸ Ibid., p.46
- ⁹⁹ Vrddha HaritaSmrti, op.cit.

A Historical Analysis of Segregation of Untouchable Castes in North India from circa A.D. 600-1200

- ¹⁰⁰ Apararka, V.130;143-144
- ¹⁰¹ Atri, V.170-85, pp.367-68
- ¹⁰² Cited in Salomon, Richard (ed.&tr.), The Bridge to the Three Holy Cities (Saman . ya-pragatthaka of Narayan Bhat . , tas Tristhaliseta),p.444, Delhi ,1985
- ¹⁰³ Smr . tyarthasara, pp.76-77
- ¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p.117
- ¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p.134
- ¹⁰⁶ Smr . tyarthasara, p.79
- ¹⁰⁷ Brahannaradiya Purana,14.54; Hazra, Studies in the Upapurana ,a, vol.II, p.446

BRIEF PROFILE OF THE AUTHOR

Malay Neerav, an alumnus of St Stephen's College, Delhi and School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, specialized in the History of Ancient India at the postgraduate level. After his initial research at the University of Delhi, on Untouchability in Ancient India, Mr Neerav was awarded the Felix Scholarship for research and teaching at the University of London. He has done a pioneering work on the "Proliferation and Segregation of Untouchable castes in North India" between A.D. 600 and 1200.Mr. Neerav has been invited by several universities abroad to deliver lectures including the University of Cambridge, University of London and University of Wisconsin, Whitewater, U.S.A. He has also delivered lectures on study skills for the Distance

Learning Undergraduate programme of London School of Economics and Political Science and has been a recipient of a Scholarship awarded by the University of Cambridge for higher studies in History.He has been teaching History and Mass Communications at St Stephen's College, University of Delhi, where he has also served as the Head of the Department of History as well as the Teacher's representative on the Governing Body of the College. Until recently, he was the Joint Dean of Students' Welfare and Media Coordinator for the University of Delhi and has served as the official spokesperson of Delhi University.

Mr Neerav has also worked as a consultant editor to the World Bank and has edited several volumes dealing with the different environmental issues in India.

He has received several awards including the most coveted the "St Stephen's College Centenary Medal for Character Combined with Learning".Mr Neerav has also distinguished himself as an ace broadcaster and broadcast journalist. He has served as a consultant editor to the BBC World Service and a senior analyst for several other media groups including Prasar Bharti, Zee Media and Network 18. He has the distinction of covering many international events including Olympics. He has produced many documentaries and features for the BBC. His series on environmental issues in India was widely acclaimed and his radio feature on Indian Population was selected as the Best Radio Programme by the World Population Council.