

A JOURNEY FROM VARNA TO HARIJAN AND BEYOND

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Abstract

Most peculiar and distinctive nature of the social organisation in India is none other than *varna-jāti* system and untouchability. The perpetuity of the system is remarkable even in modern times. But its roots lie into the past spanning over millennia. So it couldn't be avoided in our studies. Interestingly Mahatma Gandhi popularized a term '*Harijan*' in modern times particularly in 1931 as a part of his campaign to mobilize common people against colonial rule and to eradicate caste-based prejudice. Gandhiji used the term '*Harijan*' to refer mainly '*Dalit community*' who were excluded from four fold varna system and were actually oppressed and down trodden section of society. They were previously known as 'untouchables' in Brahmanical order. Once Gandhiji used the term '*Harijan*' as 'children of God'ⁱ, it clearly indicate those people who don't have father. These terminological and ideological changes are discussed here as 'A journey from varna to harijan and beyond' with historical references.

Keywords: Varna-jāti, Varnasamkara, Untouchability, Devadasi, Harijan

Most peculiar and distinctive nature of the social organisation in India is none other than *varna-jāti* system and untouchability. The perpetuity of the system is remarkable even in modern times. But its roots lie into the past spanning over millennia. So it couldn't be avoided in our studies. There is a wrong perception that the concept of '*Varṇa*' and '*Jāti*' are synonymous. Everybody should know that during ancient times 'Varna' was considered as a simple organisation which divided the society merely into four groups, *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya*, *vaiśya* and *śūdra*—known from the days of the Vedic corpusⁱⁱ (c. 1500 BCE-600 BCE) and arranged in a strict hierarchical descending orderⁱⁱⁱ. The most glaring difference between the two is that the number of the varnas are fixed, i.e. four and *jātis* are literally countless and absolutely considered as *varnasamkara*. The word 'Caste' (vernacular word is '*jāti*') derives from Portuguese and Spanish word 'Casta', which means race, lineage, tribe or breed. In our country the concept of *jāti*^{iv} first appeared in the post-Vedic *Sūtra*^v literature (c. 600-200 BCE) to codify social norms by following a strict Brahmanical ideology and inextricably linked with birth.

According to the Sutra texts the emergence of *jātis* are outcomes of unequal marriages (*asavarna* relation) between separate pristine varnas. Law-makers labelled those unequal marriages as '*anuloma marriages*' and '*pratiloma marriages*'. Matrimonial relations between the higher varna male and the lower varna female was labelled as '*anuloma marriages*' and matrimonial relations between the lower varna male and the higher varna female was labelled as '*pratiloma marriages*'. However during ancient times most prestigious Matrimonial relation was between same varna marriage (*savarna*). At present it is still considered preferable to any others matrimonial relations.

In Hindu tradition *anuloma marriage*^{vi} was a hypergamous (means marrying up; boy from upper varna and girl from lower varna) union and the word derived from Sanskrit and first appeared in the *Manusmriti*. Anuloma marriage was recommended by the ancient Hindu law-makers for the first three varnas of the then society; namely brahmins; kshatriyas and vaishyas. Anuloma marriage was considered preferable to pratiloma marriage since its beginning. According to the Dharmashastrakaras, a girl should marry in her own varna, failing which she may marry one in any of the higher varna. During Rig Vedic times priests who performed 'Yajnas' (sacrifices) arranged by the kings used to marry Kshatriya girls offered to them as 'dakshinā' or fees for their services. That was normally associated with Hindu polygamy led to the ugly practice of dowry. In the Mahabharata we get several instances of anuloma marriages. For example, Santanu married Ganga and later Satyawati, both were from outside his own varna.^{vii} In 160 B.C. Agnimitra, a Brahmin king, married a Kshatriya princess Malavika.^{viii}

On the other side, *Pratiloma marriage*^{ix} was a hypogamy (means marrying down; girl from upper varna and boy from lower varna) union and was very much discouraged and even condemned and faced more resistance in the society. Shastrakara Manu opined that the progeny of the most hated pratiloma would become 'chandālas' or 'untouchables'. In the '*Chandukya Upanishad*' and '*Buddhist Jatakas*' we find vast references to *Chandālas*. Hence the origin of the practice of untouchability is vested to the pratiloma marriage.

Jātis are therefore designated as mixed castes or *varnasamkara*, not entitled to inherit the varna positions of either of the natal varnas of the parents. They had to opt totally different occupational social status. For example, marriage between a *brāhmaṇa* male and a *vaiśya* female gives birth to the *ambastha* who follows the profession of a physician; a *brāhmaṇa* female and a *śūdra* male gives birth the *candāla*, the worst form and offspring of the pratiloma marriage; *ābhira* is the name attributed to the child of the union of *abrāhmin* with an *ambashtha* girl; *pukkasa* was the offspring of a *nishāda* and *śhudra* girl, *avrut* is the offspring of a *brāhmin* with *ugra* female. Here *ambashtha*, *nishāda* and *ugra* are anuloma offsprings.

When the society was gradually divided into numerous *jātis* or *sankarajātis*, Manu (the *smṛtikāra*) somehow compelled and included about 60 castes (*jātis*) in the scriptures. The *Vaijayantī*^x and the *Rajatarangini*^{xi}, both belonged to the early medieval times, put the number of *jātis* at 64.^{xii} Although most of the writers of Dharmashastra granted permission to four varnas of descending scale of social status and marriage between a male of higher varna with a female of lower varna (anuloma relation). But the union between a lower varna male with a upper varna female (pratiloma relation) was reprehensible and not permitted. Though latter marriages used to happen even during the rule of Dharmaśāstras and Dharmasūtras. Thus ancient Indian society gradually organised into more than four tiers and was also indirectly recognized by the lawgivers. A peculiar reconciliation of two dissimilar social divisions—four varṇas and innumerable *jātis* was arrived at ancient normative treatises which actually created a legal fiction.

Let's come to the word 'Untouchability'. Brahmanical texts rationalized the concept untouchability by referring to karma and rebirth. They believed that untouchables were committed sins in their previous births. Untouchability may have originated when privileged classes considered the aboriginal tribes as impure because of their low material culture. Lamentably during ancient times

physical touch of an untouchable was considered to be polluted others. This is why untouchables were not allowed to draw water from the same wells used by others; entry into temples was forbidden and so on. They were segregated from upper castes at functions and festivals.^{xiii} They were buried or cremated in separate grounds. In India untouchability was officially banned in 1950 (Article 17), but discrimination is still perpetuated to some lower castes. Also 'The Prevention of Atrocities Act' was passed in 1989 to eradicate caste-based prejudices and untouchability.

Interestingly Mahatma Gandhi, father of our nation, popularized a term 'Harijan'^{xiv} in modern times particularly in 1931 as a part of his campaign to mobilize common people against colonial rule as well as to eradicate caste-based prejudice. Gandhiji used the term '*Harijan*' ("children of God") to refer mainly to the 'Dalit community' who were excluded from four fold varna system and actually mean oppressed or the down trodden section of society and were previously known as 'untouchables' in Brahmanical order. Although at present the use of the term 'Dalit' is unconstitutional; people use words like scheduled caste or scheduled tribe to trace them. On the other hand if we take the term '*Harijan*' of Gandhiji as '*children of God*', it clearly indicates those people who don't have father.

We can relate '*Harijan*' as the offspring of '*Devadāsi system*' of ancient and medieval times. During those days lower caste girls were taken to the temple as devadasi and were prohibited them of making friends. They couldn't go out of the temple. Before they achieved puberty were married off to a deity or temple. Those girls had to spend their entire life in the temple.^{xv} Lower caste people did so because of the absence of knowledge, money and also for social oppression and dogma. Those girls were used or raped by the priests or temple inmates as if it was an offering to deity or *sanskār*. Intercourses produced such offspring who didn't have a father because none of the priests or temple inmates wanted to attach their name to such devadasi. Hence the child produced was called 'child of God'. But Gandhiji coined all the untouchables as '*Harijan*'.^{xvi}

Epigraphic records are also most important to delve into the social conditions of various varnas and *jātis* since its early days. Although inscribed records has some regional variations. Inscriptions from Bengal, especially of the post-Gupta times (c. 600-1300 CE), uphold the varṇa norm as the ideology of the state, this is particularly significant in the case of the inscriptions of Pala and the *Candra* rulers who were recognized as Buddhist kings. Thus the growing complexities in the *varṇa-jāti* system were not an isolated social phenomenon, but inseparably connected with agrarian expansion and emergence of the state polity at regional levels and this is most interesting area of discussion.

The *Baudhāyana dharmasūtra*^{xvii} (3rd to 2nd centuries BCE) and *Mahāsthān* stone inscription^{xviii} (3rd centuries BCE) give the reference of cultural inflow from the central part of North India to the northern sub-region of *Pundra*. Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta mentions *Samatāṭa* as territory of one of the peripheral kings (*pratyantānṛpati*). A number of stone and copper plates found here and its neighbouring area carry the information related to '*kutumbins*', '*mahattaras*', '*samvyavaharins*' and '*brāhmanas*'. The presence of these typical social categories was duly acknowledged in the address of land grants.^{xix} Their dominant section constituted *adhikaranas* of *astakula* (eight families) and *vithi* located in rural area and decided on the cases of land sales. Similarly urban representatives, i.e. *nagaraśresthin* (chief merchant), *sārvabhāva* (caravan trader), *prathamakulika* (chief artisan) and *prathamakāyastha* (chief scribe) were members of the *adhikarana* of *adhishthāna*

(town) and involved with administrative matters on regular basis in collaboration with local administrators.^{xx}

The formation of horizontal social relations based on locality was a common tendency among rural and urban social groups mentioned above. It should be noted that their designations accrued from occupations and show no connection with varna affiliation. Only one exception was *brāhmaṇas* who were clearly mentioned as same when they appear as donees. The similar form of representation continued to the early 7th century in a part of Radha as attested by the inscription of Sasanka. This particular inscription also recorded, in the context of the boundary demarcations, the existence of a *candālapuskarini*. The expression can mean either a tank of the *candālas* or a tank for the *candālas*. This is the first explicit epigraphic mention of the *candālas* in Bengal as a social group which could have acquired the features of a *jāti* by the 7th century in Bengal^{xxi}. Possibly the tank categorically earmarked for the *candālas* who was undoubtedly an *antyajājāti*. It was emblematic of the segregation of the *candālas* on the yardstick of ritual purity and pollution.

We find a different aspect in tippera inscription of king Loknatha. In the genealogy of Lokanātha^{xxii}, his *brāhmaṇa* ancestry on both paternal and maternal lines was claimed while his maternal grandfather was called a *pāraśava*, i.e., offspring of a *brāhmaṇa* male and a *sūdra* female. Lokanātha tried to demonstrate his genealogy as a strategy to legitimise his ruling authority, there was little hesitation to brand a royal ancestor as a *pāraśava*. Here is an epigraphic reference of a *miśrajāti* as per the *sāstric norm*. The Tippera copper plate seems to speak of a nascent stage in the making of the complex *jāti*-oriented society which obviously did not make an easy dent into the world of the forests and forest-folks. Hence there were diverse forms of social organisation in the different sub-regions of Bengal and beyond. These social groups and their mutual relations had no symptoms of the varna order. Although, Brahmana was an exception with growing consciousness of their identity expressed by references to gotras, pravaras and vedic schools.

As a result the hierarchy in rural society took the form of stratified landed relation among cultivators, as suggested by the presence of subordinate cultivators called *pāmaras* depicted in some verses included in the *Subhāṣitaratnakosa* and the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*.^{xxiii} Pamaras appear in the context of collective labour at agricultural field and threshing floor. While depicted as having their own house,^{xxiv} they are differentiated from the other cultivators called *karṣakajana* and described as subordinate to *hālikas* who figure as peasant householders.^{xxv} Thus *pāmaras* can be labelled as agricultural labourers collectively working for peasant householders^{xxvi} and their presence and subservient position show the stratification among cultivators. The term *pāmara* is often used as a pejorative label to the cultivators^{xxvii}, who in the epigraphic corpus of north India, including Bengal and Bihar, are given the epithets of *karṣaka* (cultivator), *hālika/halakāra* (ploughman). Significantly the term *kutumbika* as the peasant proprietor appears less frequently in the Bengal copper plates of the 8th-12th century phase. The esoteric verses collected in the *Caryāpadas* offers a glimpse of one aspect of the social stratification, namely, the incorporation of non-sedentary groups into rural society.

In some verses, *domba* women (*dombi*) are used as a metaphor for *Sūnyatā* or *Nairātmā*, the goddess embodying voidness. They are described as low class women living at the fringe of rural society, with some interaction with other residents like having illicit sexual relations, providing

commodities like loom and bamboo basket and working as a ferry woman. Notably, both *mātangi* and *candāli* are used as synonyms of *dombi* in some verses.^{xxviii} These descriptions indicate that fringe groups which can be labelled as *domba* were somehow incorporated into rural society, while the names denoting them were imposed by the latter which recognised them as such. After the incorporation, they may have constituted the lowest layer of society denoted by the old terms like *candāla* or become agricultural labourers categorised as *pāmaras*.

In *Paścimbhāg* plate of Śricandra recorded a large scale donation to mathas and brahmaṇas in a brahmapura (Brahmanical settlement) which was renamed as Śricandrapura established by Śricandra by merging three visayas in Srihatta. We get diverse social groups there including literate professionals like *kāyasthas*, *ganakas* (astrologer/ accountant), *vaidyas*; artisans/occupational groups like *mālākāras* (garlandmaker), *tailikār* (oil presser), *kumbhakāras* (potter), *carmakāras* (leather worker), *sūtradhāras* (carpenter), *sthapati* (architect), *karmakāras* (blacksmith); performers like *kāhalikas*, *śankhavādakas*, *dhakkāvādakas*, *dragadikas* (players of various instruments), *natas* (dancer) and service providers like *karmakāras* (labourer/servants), *cettikās* (female servants), *nāpitas* (barber) and *rajakas* (washerman) as service groups for mathas, to whom different sizes of land plots were assigned.^{xxix} The sizes of plots assigned to each member of those groups were in *pātakas* 3 (*vaidya*), 2 (*kāyastha*, *nata*, *sūtradhara*, *sthapati*, *karmakāra*), 1 (*ganaka*, *cettikā* and the other artisans, musicians, service providers) respectively. It shows a distinction among diverse social categories of artisan and Service communities, which could have been derived from a social distinction already in existence.

We could see here the proto-jāti formation among occupational groups which were yet to be systematised into an order. Again a striking feature of society emerging out of the *Paścimbhāg* copper plate is the presence of a large number of non-local people, who are categorically stated as *Vāṅgāladeśiya* (from *Vāṅgāla*) and *Deśāntariya* (from elsewhere). Here a unique situation was created that the brahmaṇa settlers worshipped four identical Brahmanical deities (*Mahākāla*, *Yogeśvara*, *Agni Vaisvānara* and *Jaimini*), but in two separated establishments (*Vaṅgāladeśiya* and *Deśāntariyamathas*). A close reading of the inscription suggests that some kind of social tensions prevailed between the two groups of outsiders who settled in Srihatta at that time.

The formation of *jāti*-like occupational groups in this period is also attested by the other inscriptional evidences in different sub-regions of Bengal. The most prominent were *brāhmaṇas*, they constructed networks connecting rural settlements through their multiple migrations, which were either voluntary or induced by royal grants and established brāhmaṇical centres like *Tarkāri* and *Krodāṅca* in Srāvasti of Varendra / Pundravardhana and Siddhalagrāma in Radha. Though not in Bengal proper, some image inscriptions found in Bihar refer to artisanal groups like *tailika*, *kumbhakāra*, *carmakāra*, *suvarṇakāra* (goldsmith) and *saundika* (distiller and vendor of liquor) in similar way.

In continuous process of absorption of 'tribal' groups into the lowest sub-division of the sankara groups, negotiation with all the other occupational social groups like *karana*, *vaidya*, *ambastha*, *svarnakāra*, *suvarnavanik*, *ganaka* and so on the caste-society became more complex. There are evidences to show that the *kāyasatha* prior to c. 900 assumed *jāti*-like features; it denoted a profession that could be taken up by different varnas and social groups.

The later history also saw the addition of new elements to the earlier framework. The most important among them was the claim of superior *kulina* status by some section of *brāhmanas*, *kāyasthas* and *vaidyas*. Some elements leading to it can be found in the phenomena of the earlier period, including the settling of qualified brahmanas migrating from *Madhyadeśa*. The formation of Brāhmanical centres in Varendra and Rādhā resulting in sub-regional identities of brahmanas and the distinction between brahmanas and brahmanottaras (higher brahmanas) in the address of the Varman and Sena plates. This discrepancy in a supposedly coherent system created by a king attests to its character as a later invention retrospectively assigned to the earlier period.

Now a days Scheduled castes (SCs), scheduled tribes (STs) and other backward classes (OBCs) are the offshoot of the diverse practices of social discrepancy since its early days and attested by government as most disadvantaged socio-economic groups in India. They have been suffering from social, religious, legal, political, economic, educational and other problems. Scheduled tribes live in various ecological and geo-climatic conditions ranging from plains and forests to hills and inaccessible areas. Presently problems of tribes are mainly related to forest rights, land alienation, exploitation by mainstream society, mining and displacement in tribal areas. Many tribal societies are patrilineal, but matrilineal is also prevalent among few tribes like Khasi, Jaintia and Garo.

At present diverse terms are being used for SCs and STs and one most important term is '*Adivasi*' which came from '*Adi*' (means 'from earliest time') and '*vasi*' (means 'resident of'). The term literally means 'indigenous people' or 'original inhabitants'. Others term are '*janajati*', '*girijan*', '*vanvasi*', '*vanyajati*', '*hill tribe*', '*aboriginal*' and '*native*'. The major tribal groups include Gonds, Santhals, Khasis, Nagas, Garos, Mundas, Oraons, Kharias, Hos, Angamis, Bhils, Kols, Chenchu, Kondadoras, Kondakapus, Totos, Paharias, and Bhutias. The terms 'Scheduled Castes' and 'Scheduled Tribes' derive from the schedule of the Indian constitutional order of 1950. The Constitution Order, 1950 lists 1,241 individual ethnic groups as Scheduled Castes in different states and union territories of India. The Constitution Order, 1950 lists 705 including 75 Particular Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs), in 29 Indian states and seven union territories.

Occupying the lowest rank in the caste hierarchy, the SCs and STs are socially inferior to all others communities in India. In the past, they were socially ostracized, economically exploited and denied human dignity and sense of self-worth. During British rule in the Indian subcontinent, they were known as the Depressed Classes. Interestingly in modern literature scheduled castes are referred to as *Dalits*^{xxx} and scheduled tribes referred to as *Ādivasis*. The word '*Dalits*' came from the Sanskrit root *dal* which means broken, downtrodden or oppressed. We have already discussed that this section of the society was previously known as Untouchables, Depressed Classes, and *Harijans*.^{xxxi} '*Dalit*' refers to one's caste rather than class; it applies to members of those menial castes who have borne the stigma of '*untouchability*' because of the extreme impurity and pollution connected with their traditional occupations. SCs are called by different names in different parts of our country. These names were given as expressions of contempt. They include: *Śūdra*, *Harijans*, *Dās*, *Ācandāl*, *Malezhha*, *Rākshasa*, *Asura*, *Dalits* and *Untouchables*. Within the Dalit community, there are many divisions of sub-castes. Chamar, Dusadh, Dom, Pasi, Mehtar, Mahar, Balai, Adi-dravid are numerically dominant scheduled castes. Various names appear in various states as Chura in Punjab (North-West India), Dalit or LalDeghi in

Hindi (North India), Mala, Madiga in Telugu, Paraiya in Tamil and Pulayam in Malayalam (South India).

From ancient times castes have been an integral part of the brahmanical society and have continued to exist as a part of the brahmanical *Jajmāni* system. They enjoyed little important functional roles. But mythological, historical and contextual reasons they were considered ritually impure by the high caste and varna society. They were marked with the stigma of being impure. These have led to different types of social inequality and disability even in modern times.^{xxxii}

Thus it has been seen throughout India, from ancient times, the caste system has gradually assimilated various things and has taken on different forms at different times. If the Purusha Sukta of the 10th Mandala^{xxxiii} of the Rig-Veda is taken into consideration as the source of the concept of varnaveda (or class identification) in Brahmanical society in India, then the form that caste discrimination has taken shape in the 21st century can be coined as the result of the sectional statements mentioned in the Indian Constitution^{xxxiv} and the orders of the Indian courts. The same trend has continued from ancient times to the present day. Because of at various times, through administrative measures (by king or ruler) or through amendments to laws and regulations (by the *smṛitikāra* in ancient times), society has had to maintain and consider the issue of caste discrimination.

So, we do not know where the end of the problem of casteism prevalent in India or racial discrimination that the current society is facing today will come to an end. We don't know who will take the responsible or hold the sword for eradicating this cancer of society. Today, politicians are very cleverly using the issue as a tool to increase or protect their vote bank. How much goodwill they have for its complete elimination is a matter of debate.

Recently I saw an interview on social media of a brave girl Pooja Sharma.^{xxxv} After her elder brother got murdered, she started working at the cremation ground to cremate the dead bodies, most of which have no legal identity of family members to take home. For this she has to hear that she has become a Chandāl. Because she is a Brahmin girl and this work is not their profession. These thoughts need to be discussed. Society is still immersed in the ancient and as well as medieval darkness.

Notes and References

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^{xiii} Ghanshyam Shah, et al., *Untouchability in Rural India*, (Sage Publishing, 2006), p.9.

^{xiv} The term first coined by a Gujarati poet-saint of the bhakti tradition, Narsinh Mehta. Gandhi was the admirer of Mehta's work.

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^{xv} Dr. Bincy Wilson, et al., *A Qualitative Study of the Legal Dimension of 'Devadasi' Dedication Phenomenon*, (Bengaluru : Centre for the Child and the Law, 2018), pp. 11-42.

^{xvi} In March 2017, it was observed by a bench of the Supreme Court of India that the usage of words like Harijans and Dhobi is derogatory and offensive. It is basically used nowadays not to denote a caste but to intentionally insult and humiliate someone. The history behind the word 'Harijan' goes back to 1932 when there was a political turmoil going on between Dr. B.R Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi over the issue of separate political representation for the depressed classes. Dr. B. Karthik Navayan, a Lawyer in Hyderabad High Court and legal advisor to the Samatha Sainik Dal says that the word Harijan is not appropriate and represents a religious practice associated with the Devadasi system, where women servants were considered to be the property of temples and were used as sex slaves by the village heads and priests of the temples. This practice is still being practiced and is called with different names in different places. In this, women from marginalized communities are being used as sex slaves by the village heads that belong to the dominant castes. The children born to such women are called sons of god (Harijan) as people belonging to the dominant castes who had sex with these women never own them as their children.

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^{xxiv} D.D. Kosambi and V.V.Gokhale, (eds.), *The Subhāshitaratmakosa*, cit., pp. 210-1 (vv.1173, 1176).

^{xxv} *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 58 (vv.300, 314); Sures.ChandraBannerji, (ed.), *Sadukti-Karnāmria of Śrīdharadāsa*, cit., 2.73.4 and 2.173.2.

^{xxvi} Abhay Kant Choudhary, *Early Medieval Village in North-Eastern India: A. D. 600. 1200: Mainly a Socio-Economic Study*, (Calcutta : Punthi Pustak, 1971), pp. 98-9.

^{xxvii} B.N.S.Yadava, in V.K. Thakur and A. Aounshunan (eds.), *Peasants in Indian History*, (Patna : Janaki Prakashan, 1998), pp. 200-3.

^{xxviii} Per Kvaerne, *An Anthology of Buddhist Tantric Songs: A Study of the Caryāgiti* (3rd ed.), (Bangkok : Orchid Press, 2010), caryā 10, 113, caryā 18, 151, caryā 19, 155, caryā 10, 113, caryā 14, 131, caryā 14, 131, caryā 18, 151, caryā 47, 255.

^{xxix} N.G.Majumdar, "Irda Copper-Plate of the Kamboja King Nayapaladeva", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 22, 1933-34, p. 155.

^{xxx} In September 2018, an order was passed by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting informing the media to avoid using the term Dalit. There are various contradictions and debates on the usage and coinage of the word Dalit. The word became popular in 1972 when educated youth from the slums of Bombay started the Dalit Panther Movement (DPM). "Some say the DPM movement coined the term Dalit but late historian from Maharashtra, Dr. Jamuna Das had said that Jagajivan Ram used it earlier in the 1950s," says Navayan. Navayan explains that the word Dalit represents an educated political class among Scheduled castes and does not represent all Scheduled castes.

^{xxxi} Words like Harijans and Chamar are being casually used by the upper caste people as abuses against them even today also. After more than 70 years of independence, people belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes continue to face discrimination based on their caste. Hence in 1932, Ambedkar's suggestion was to not use the term 'Depressed classes' in the electoral law found support when the Indian Government decided to use Scheduled Castes (SC) as an official category for

people belonging to the oppressed castes. It had been observed that the term ‘Scheduled Caste’ carried out with it no specific connotation of their actual social status.

^{xxxii}L.P.Vidyarthi, “Problems and prospects of tribal development in India”, *Indian Anthropologist*, Volume 2 (2), (University of California, 1972), pp.80-93.

^{xxxiii}The PurushaSukta is a most commonly used Vedic Sanskrit hymn. It is recited in almost all Vedic rituals and ceremonies. It is often used during the worship of the Deity of Vishnu or Narayana in the temple during installation and fire ceremonies or during the daily recitation of Sanskrit literature and one’s meditation. The PurushaSukta is an important part of the Rig-veda (10.7.90.1-16). It also appears in the TaittiriyaAranyaka (3.12,13), the VajasaneyiSamhita (31.1-6), the Sama-vedaSamhita (6.4) and the Atharva-vedaSamhita (19.6). An explanation of parts of it can also be found in the Shatapatha Brahman, the TaittiriyaBrahmana and the Shvetashvatara Upanishad. The Mudgalopanishad gives a nice summary of the entire PurushaSukta. The contents of the Sukta have also been reflected and elaborated in the BhagavataPurana (2.5.35 to 2.6.1-29) and in the Mahabharata (Mokshadharmaparva 351 and 352). Here the Sukta is:

‘Brahmanosyamukhamasit
Bahurajanyahkritaha
Urutadasyayadvaishyaha
Padhyagamshudroajayata’

It means from His face (or the mouth) came the brahmanas, from His two arms came the rajanya (the kshatriyas), from His two thighs came the vaishyas and from His two feet came the shudras.

‘Chandramamanasojataha
Chakshohsuryoajayata
Mukhadindrashchagnishcha
Pranadvayurajayata’

It means from His mind was born the moon, from His two eyes was born the sun, from His mouth were born Indra and Agni. From His breath was born the air.

^{xxxiv} Scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989(Act 33 of 1989) and Rules 1995; Amended schedules are- 8 November 2013, 23 June 2014, 26 January 2016, 14 April 2016, 27 June 2018, 20 August 2018 and 31 October 2019.

^{xxxv}See., Bright the Soul Foundation Organisation in India. Or, <https://www.brightthesoulfoundation.com>