CHAPTER : V

SCHEDULED CASTES IN MAHARASHTRA

Introduction:

In olden days the untouchables enjoyed the worst position in Hindu society. They were not only at the lowest point of the leader, but they were almost segregated from the society. This chapter aims in presenting the position of Scheduled Castes in Indian society along with their socio-economic conditions in past and present India in general and Maharashtra in particular.

Next to religion is the caste system which is a peculiar institution of Hindu and has affected their economic and social life in many ways. Indian society has been described as a "compartamental" society within its a vast number of groups, maintain distinct and diverse styles of life.

The caste system provided an institutional basis for tolerance. Living in a caste society means living in a pluralistic cultural universe; each caste had its own occupation, customs, ritual, traditions, and ideas.
Caste councils, especially the council of the locally dominant caste were the guardians of each pluralism.

Indian society was highly stratified into the age old division of castes and sub-castes. The Indian caste system manifested itself as a vertical structure in which individual castes were hierarchically graded and kept permanently apart, and the same time, were linked by well defined expectations and obligations which integrated them into the village social system.

Although most castes had a traditional occupation. Agriculture was in fact open to all groups and was engaged by persons belonging to all groups. In many castes, caste tradition precluded entry into certain occupations, while the network of caste ties provided access to others.

Characteristics of Caste:

Keeping in mind the difficulties of giving the definition of caste, G.S. Ghurye gave six outstanding features of caste system. These features clarified caste system significantly. Firstly, society was divided into different segmental divisions. The distinction
of status of each caste, was defined, rectified or routed by the caste council (Jati Panchayat). Secondly, hierarchical order was represented in society, obviously, the Brahman at the top and lower castes were placed at the bottom. Thirdly, civil and religious disabilities and privileges of different sections were mentioned. Fourthly, restrictions of food and social intercourse were applied on certain sections of society. Fifthly, the choice of occupation was restricted. Finally restriction on marriage were ordained.

Similarly, Kingly Davis also pointed out some of the most common features of Hindu caste system. According to him firstly, the membership of caste was hereditary and it continued till ones death except one become out of caste on account of violation of social norms. Secondly, marriages were strictly endogamous. Thirdly, caste consciousness in terms of customs, subject of identification was being observed. Fourthly, each caste had its own traditional occupation. Finally, relative investigated of different castes which were maintained.
On the whole, caste system was characterised as a extreme form of social stratification fixed on birth status and social discrimination.

Scheduled Castes in ancient India:

When we look to the origin and evolution of man, it becomes clear that in the beginning there was no caste of sub-caste. In the primitive form, he lived in forests and caves. Owing to his various wants and demands he began to proceed on the path of progress gradually. The man who wanted to live a solidarity life, was forced to become gregarious and along with the formation of a group grew the man's feeling of unequality and the 'caste' came into existence.

In ancient India, the form of castes was not such as it is today. In the Vedic Age, according to the Rigveda, we find a mention of only three classes of society, Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishya. The poets among the Brahmins and the brave among the Kshatriyas represented the professions of priests and heroes respectively and the third one of the Vaishya was clearly the group of the common folk.
There was a mention of the four classes of society in the post-Vedic ophonisms, like the Purusa Sukta. According to this, these classes were named as the Brahmin, the Rajanya (Kshatriya), the Vaishya and the Sudra who are said to have originated respectively from the mouth, the arm, the thighs and the feet of the Creator. Establishing a link of these points of the body with various classes, and the order in which they are mentioned gave a clue to their position in the society of that time.

According to Manu the Brahmin was the lord of this whole creation, because he was produced from the purest part of the Supreme being namely the mouth. In fact the whole world was his property and others on his charity.

The position of the Sudras had been described in the similar manner in the Mahabharat period too. Who is not conversant with the story of Eklavya? It was said in the Mahabharat that a Sudra could not freely own or hold a property because his property could be utilised by his master at his will.
Thus, the Sudra had no civic or religious right. However, feelings of some pity or compassion have been shown towards him here and there. The master had been encouraged that he should look for the sustenance of his Sudra servant if the latter became too weak to work. The master should perform his funeral rites too if he dies issueless. The reason behind giving the order of this unusual endurance shown towards the Sudra must probably be the prevalent particular circumstances during the early stay of the Indian Aryans in the south. Although in principle, the position of the Sudra was very low, yet we have such examples that show that a lot of them were prosperous too. Even some of them were successful enough in marrying their daughters in the princely families. Out of the four queens of king Dasarath, Sumitra belonged to the class of Sudras. Among the Sudras, there were some who even sat on the throne. As the hearsay goes, the famous king Chandragupta was Sudra. According to the calculations of Patanjali, Abhir who ruled in the south belonged to such a caste as was not included among the Sudras but they were not Kshatriyas and were very close to the Sudras.
A little change has been brought about in the principle once in the Mahabharat that the four classes grew up at a time. It has been told in this that the first three classes emerged first and the Sudras came afterwards to serve them.

In the Gita, the classification of the duties and Karmas of the four castes was said to have been made by the Creator according to the birth, caste, qualities and abilities of men.

The caste system which was presented by Kautilya in the contemporary society showed as strange consideration for the Sudras. He fixed a different rate of interest on loans for each caste, i.e. 2% for the Brahmans, 3% for the Kshatriya, 4% for the Vaishyas and 5% for the Sudras.

In the course of time, a little sympathy was shown towards the Sudras, but this was visible in north India only, and in the south, the same harsh and stringent, rigid and relentless rules were retained. Inferiority or lowliness of the Sudras has been acknowledged and accordingly practised as well as even in the devo-
tional new sect like the Vaishnava religion where perfect religious equality was naturally expected. That is why Ramanando, a successor of the chief seat (Gaddi) of Ramanuja, the founder of the extremely sympathetic form of the Vaishnava religion was insulted by his companions for his social inferiority so much so that he left for the North and founded a new sect. He gave this instruction to his followers that they should never ask anybody about his caste.

A lot of progress was made in the evaluation of the religious position of the Sudras in the beginning of the thirteenth century. A number of Sudra saints of sublime personality came into existence. The two saints named Namdev and Tukaram gave some life and dynamism to the static religious plight of the Sudras.

During the age of Muslim the position of caste system had become somewhat disturbed. The Muslim invaders had captured almost all parts of India. They were liberal than Hindus in the fields of religion and caste system. From the effective influence of Islam on India, Hindus and Muslims were forbidden by their religion to internarry or even to eat together, that
their customs at birth, marriage and death and in respect of inheritance were widely different and that even their names set them apart. To the Muslims the Hindus were indolent, while the Hindus, for their past regarded with harrass the Muslim practice of killing and eating the sacred cow.

However, the treatment of the out-caste section i.e. Sudras of the society, this period witnessed a development which was in keeping with the ideas of ceremonial purity. Untouchability graded according to the supposed impurity of the object.

But the period of Britishers is remarkable because they made some important changes in the caste system with the help of Indian social reformers. To the help of British government, several institution started by social reformers which tried to abolish the caste system.

The reform movements represented the striving of the conscious and progressive sections of the Indian people to democratise social institutions and removal old religious outlooks to suit new social needs.
In south India, eight prohibitions were declared for the class of Sudras till 1930. They were beaten if they not abide by them. Their huts were burnt and their belongings were destroyed. Animals were taken away. These prohibitions were as under:

1. The primitive dravidians will not put on the ornaments of gold and silver.

2. The mate will not wear clothes above his bullock. He will not put on a coat, shirt or baniyan.

3. No dravidian will get hair cut.

4. The primitive dravidians will not use utensils other than the earthen ones.

5. Their wives will not cover the upper part of their body with clothes.

6. Their wives will not use flowers or saffron ornaments.

7. The male will not use an umbrella to escape from the sun or rain, nor will they wear slippers.

Thus, strict restrictions were put on this class over the use of clothes, ornaments and hair-dressing.
Like clothings, their food too was almost fixed. They ate only that food which the upper class abstained from i.e. meat, wine, etc. At some places offerings on the occasions of festivals, etc. were given to the castes like musahars. Some castes even ate serpents, tortoise, etc.

The condition of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes was not good at all till the achievement of freedom. In various ways, they had become the symbols of mental physical, economic, religious and political exploitation.

In 1947, India committed itself to a secular state, a democratic pattern of polity planned economic development and it seeks to direct not only production and development but also to establish social justice and equality. Secularism and secular values are sought to be institutionalised. The political system is irrevocably committed to a secular model. One of the most significant institutional expression of this commitment is the legal abolition of untouchability along with the various constitutional safeguards, privileges and progressive discrimination that have been created in favour of Scheduled Castes.
Varna and Caste (Jati):

The term 'Chaturvarna' (four Varnas) was commonly considered as a system of four castes. However, there was a distinction between Varna and Caste (Jati). According to Romila Thapar "Varna was the theory and ritual ranking of caste, while Jati was the actual status and functioning of castes." She had also made it clear that there was no mention of word Jati in Vedic literature. Hence it was post-Vedic institution.

Afterwards the Varna concept was pushed in to the background and there emerged the caste concept during the Brahmanical period. In this period, position of Brahmin was raised to higher status. Hindu kings conducted themselves on the advice of Brahman councillors. All other social groups had accepted this positions. The law of Manu was based on this Hindu social system. As a result segmentation of society was strengthened.

Origin of Caste System:

Historically, India has been hospitable to numerous groups of immigrants from different parts of Asia and Europe, but the culture of each group has undergone change over the centuries to become an integral part of
of the Indian mosaic. The institution of caste may be mentioned as a typical example of the paradox in Indian society. Each caste stands for a way of life that is to some extent distinctive, but at the same time the castes of a region form part of a single social framework. It is important to note that caste is found not only among the Hindus but also among the Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Jains and Jews. Caste is ubiquitous and this has resulted in an ideology tolerant of diversity.

In fact the "Caste System" as a whole is a very complicated phenomenon. Problems related to castes and caste system are varied in their nature.

The term "caste" has a Spanish and Portuguese origin. The word "Caste" means lineage or race. It is derived from the Latin word "Castus" which means pure. The Spaniards were first to use it, but it's Indian application was from the Portuguese, who had applied it in the middle of fifteenth century. The current spelling of the word was after the French word "Caste" which appeared in 1740. Before that it was spelt as "cast" which meant race or bread of a man which was used as early as 1555. The Spanish word
"Casta" was applied to the mixed bread between Europeans and Indians, Americans and Negroes. But caste was not used in its Indian sense till seventeenth century.

Castes are local endogamous groups: Varnas are categories of an all-India frame of division of the Hindu society. Varna meaning 'colour' originally used to differentiate the Aryans from the non-Aryans. Later it became popular after the coming of the Portuguese. The Portuguese word 'Casta' is used to denote breed, race and kind.

Various theories of the origin of caste:

The origin of caste has always been an issue of debate among the sociologists, social anthropologists and social scientists. There are, however number of theories, about the origin of castes which have been given by various writers after careful research. Near about five different theories have profounded about the origin of the caste system. The first is the Hindu religious view of Manu and others; the second is the occupational explanation of Nesfield; the third is the tribal and religious explanation given by Ibeston; the
fourth is the family or gentile explanation offered by Senart; and the last is the racial and hypergamous explanation advanced by Risley.

The first literacy traces of the caste system are to be found in the Rg-Veda, where three groups are mentioned: Brahma (Priests), Ksatra (kings of rulers) and Vis (common people). The roots of "Caste System" in India are deep in the "Chaturvarna" or four-fold system of social organisation based on the ideology of graded inequality. The term Varna does not seem to have been applied to these classes in the earliest literature, except to contrast the fair Arya with the dark Dasa. The initial distinction of people into two Varnas later developed into three (Brahma, Ksatra and Vis) and finally into four.

Rigvedic literature distinguishes the difference between Arya and Dasa, not only in their colour but also in their speech, religious practices and physical characteristics. This distinction became the manifestation of socio-economic inequalities and further divisions of castes as sub-castes.16
As per this "Chaturvarna" ideology, society is divided into four broad categories viz. "Brahmin" or "Priest", "Kshatriya" or the class of warriors of soldiers, third group is known as "Vaishya" or a trading community and last group is known as "Sudra" or the class of serving people. In this system each group of people is assigned with a fixed job to be performed.

The "Purusha Shukta" which is considered to be one of the religious texts of Hindu mythology has thrown sufficient light on various aspects of the Chaturvarnya system. According to "Purusha Sukta" the 'Chaturvarnya' system is a creation of super god.

The 11th and 12th verses of "Purushasukta" explain as to how these four classes were created. The "Sukta" says that their four classes were created from the body of the Creator God himself. The Brahmin was born from his mouth, the Kshatriya from his arms, the Vaishya from the thighs of the God and the "Sudras" were created from his feet. This creation of four Vernas was considered as a mandatory injection from the Creator. Therefore, it was accepted that the society must be constituted on the basis of guidelines given in the Purusha
Sukta. This peculiar form of social organisation called "Chaturvarnya" was accepted as an ideal form of social organisation in 'Indo-Aryan' society. This system not only divided people into four major groups as above but the conferred several rights in favour of upper groups especially on Brahmans. Rest of the three "Varnas" were imposed with certain duties, particularly about the "Sudras". Their prime duty was to "serve" the upper varnas. This categorisation of the society was also supported and propagated by others religious scripts such as "Pharmasutra", "Apastamba" and by "Vasishtasutra".

Now the use of this word i.e. caste, is incorporated while describing Hindu caste structure. The Hindu caste, according to Nesfield, has been concern to occupations, and such occupations create foundation for the caste system.

Besides occupational theory advocated by Nesfield there are caste theories such as Traditional Theory, originated from Hindu mythology based on "Varnas", evolutionary theory pronounced by Dhalmann, which is related to priesthood, mobility and bourgeo-
isie. Racial Theory advocated by Sir Herbert Risley based on colour differences and to a system of hypergamy resulting there from political or priestly manipulation theory identified by European observers, having concern with permanent artificial creation of division of labour, and pre-Aryan Theory of Prof. Hutton founded on permissive cultural elements having much concern with superstition and taboos, etc.

Indian sociologists like N.K. Dutt stressed the origin of caste in Manu's Code. While G.S. Ghurye saw the origin of caste in racial differences.\(^\text{19}\) Ghurye upholds that Varna's have emerged primarily on the basis of race. After the arrival of Aryans in India, the caste system was shaped. Indo-Aryan maintained their separate existence through favouring a group of their own 'colour' (Varna).

According to Dr. Ambedkar B.R., the untouchability came into existence by 600 A.D., and did not exist in 200 A.D. so in between 200 A.D. and 600 A.D., the untouchability has emerged into the Indian social life.\(^\text{20}\) This thesis about untouchability is based on a very exhaustive research work done by him.
Untouchability:

As mentioned above the practice of Varna and caste system resulted into the emergence of untouchable castes. In ancient time, the distinctive obligation of Shudra was to (render services) to "twice born classes" i.e. the Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishya. Manu explained that Shudra was to wear the old clothes and was to have left over waste food from upper Varnas. However, such economic hardship was subsidised because they were allowed to have new jobs such as crafts, carpentry and drawing alongwith rendering services to the above caste. They were also allowed to take the work of Kshatriya and Vaishya like agriculture, rearing cattle, etc. These new avenues were helpful for Shudras for rising themselves as artisan castes like Sonar, Sutar, Lohar, Kumbhar, Lingayat etc. But some Shudras people have proved to be unsuccessful in entering into these new professions. Consequently, it brought two professions. Consequently, it brought two divisions among these Shudra castes viz. "Anirvasita" such as carpenter, blacksmith and "Nirvasits" such as Chandala.21
Thus the gradual distinction between "Anirvāsita" and "Nirvāsita" resulted into an emergence of untouchable castes which forced them to have their own customs, and norms separating them from other categories. However, Hindu Dharmashastras make no reference of untouchability, but make mention of the outcastes.

In ancient period, birth was not the only cause for making one an untouchable. Untouchability was created to penalize the people who committed some wrong actions which were not sanctioned by the religion. Hence, untouchability was used as a weapon to prevent some people from doing religiously and socially non-sanctioned acts. Secondly, people belonging to other religions and were antagonistic towards Hindu religion were also treated as untouchables. Thirdly, association with "polluted occupations" also made some people untouchable. Fourthly some people became untouchables due to certain conditions. Fifthly, the race like "unless" and the persons from certain countries who migrated to India were placed in this category as they were considered impure.
Contrary to this argument, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, explained the emergence of untouchability by pro-
founding a "Broken men theory". According to him, the broken communities, basically have believed in Buddhism and were away from both the Varna and caste system. The primitive tribal society was transformed into settled Hindu society with ownership of land in preference of nomadic life. There were yet others who were still nomads. Those tribes who were settled down themselves in village communities were afraid of the attacks of nomads. Hence in order to protect from the attack, settled community gave a job of watch and ward by hiring some nomads. Those persons who had not settled down were the "Broken Men". They were broken from tribe. Later on, these communities were included in caste system as untouchables. Since then, untouchables were regarded as defraded and polluted.25

From this brief discussion about the emergence of untouchability, it was clear that the phenomenon of untouchability, was a product of historical evolu-
tion conditioned by socio-economic ethnic factors.26
The untouchables, identified as unclean Shudras who have lowest in ranking ritual and suffered from the most depressed economic conditions for the reason of their lower income, health and cultural resources. Almost all untouchables of India were normally associated with degraded occupations like sweeping, scavenging, leather work, etc. Thus even in recent time, untouchability was practised by imposing upon them certain restrictions and inhabitations.

**Definition of caste:**

Every member of Hindu community belonged to one or the other caste group. The caste groups were divided into various sub-groups on the basis of social differentiation. This premises of inequality, hierarchical values had been reflected into Hindu society, had been institutionalised by the practice of Hindu Dharma-shastra and the discrimination, segregation and exclusion appeared to be basic governing factors of Hindu society. As there was hierarchy, some castes were ranked as high or low according to their social status.

However, according to Ghurye, the main features of the social philosophy of caste were segmental
division of society, hierarchy, restrictions on freedom and social intercourse, civil and religious disabilities, lack of unrestricted choice of occupation and restriction on marriages. Edmund R. Leach considered caste a cultural as a structural phenomenon. Max Weber regarded it as a fundamental institution of the Hindus and of the other communities native to India. Louis Dumont looked upon caste as a part of the pan Indian civilisation. Caste was ingrained in Hindu religion, culture and society so much so that Dumont called the Hindu homo hierarchicus on the basis of its four characters, such as 1) hierarchy; 2) commensality; 3) restrictions on marriage; and 4) hereditary occupation.

Refuting Dumont's view, Dipankar Gupta, argued that caste did not imply a 'hierarchy'. Castes were according to him, 'discreet' groups, each with an independent ideology of its own. The notion of 'hierarchy' was part of the upper-caste ideology.

The words caste and sub-caste were not absolute but comparative in signification. The larger group would be called a caste, while the smaller group, a
The above definition was not entirely satisfactory, because there were a number of castes who have been recruited and continued to recruited from the mixed off-springs of other castes, which were not members of the caste itself. However, generally speaking, the definition was valid, though there were still parts of India, where caste was fluid enough to make it possible for persons to acquire a caste which they were not born.

Emergence of Scheduled Castes:

One find detailed information about the present "Scheduled Castes" or exuntouchables in the Census Report of 1910 of Government of India. Before that Census, the Census Commissioners were collecting information under three heads in the column "Religion". Such as (1) Muslims (2) Hindus and (3) Christians, But the Census of 1910 it has divided Hindus further under three separate categories, such as (1) Hindus (2) Animals and Tribes and (3) the Depressed Classes or Untouchables. This departure from the previous practice was made at the instance of demand made by Muslim leader H.H. Aga Khan, who demanded and appealed
to the then Voiceroy, Lord Minto, to prepare separate lists for giving adequate representation to Muslims in the legislature and in public services.

The criteria for inclusion of a particular caste and its people in the list of Scheduled Castes and Tribes were that those people who:

1. denied the supremacy of brahmins,
2. did not receive "Mantra" from brahmins,
3. denied the authority of Vedas,
4. did not worship the Hindu God,
5. did not served by good brahmins as their family priests,
6. had no brahmin priests at all,
7. were denied access to the inferior of the Hindu temples,
8. caused pollution (a) by touch, (2) within certain distance,
9. buried their dead,
10. eat beef and did not respect cow.

These enquiries made by the Census commoners were very important from the point of view of understanding the way of life of Scheduled Castes at that
time. On the basis of the replies received by the Commissioners of Census to the question 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, the lists of Scheduled Caste and Tribes were prepared. It was revealed from the above replies that the untouchables did not receive "Mantra" from Brahmins. They had their own priests. Therefore, such people were included in the category of untouchables. All census Commissioners were unanimous on these facts. So this showed that the untouchables were representing themselves as a different group in the social set up of our country. Dr. Sharma also observed that during the early stages from disability and were a different group, but in Vedic times, they lost their rights.

Dr. Ambedkar concluded as follows:

(1) That the "Shudras" were one of the Aryan Communities of the solar race.

(2) The "Shudras" ranked as the Kshatriya Varna in the Indo-Aryan society.

(3) There was a time when the Aryan society recognised only three Varnas, viz. Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. The 'Shudras" were not a separate Varna but a part of the Kshatriya Varna.
(4) There was a continuous feud between the Shudra kings and the Brahmins, in which the Brahmins were subjected to many tyrannies and indignities.

(5) As a result of hatred towards the Shudras due to their tyrannies and oppressions, the Brahmins refused to invest the Shudras with the sacred thread.

(6) Owing to the loss of the sacred thread, the Shudras became socially degraded and fell below the rank of Vaisha and came to form the fourth Varna.

Terms and names of Scheduled Castes:

Scheduled Caste groups have been relegated by Hindu customs to such unclean and polluting professions as scavenging, sweeping, leather working and washing of clothes. From thousands of years they have lived apart, worked apart, eaten apart and even washed apart. Even in death and after, the distinction lingers, they were excluded from using the common cremation ground. As late as 1946 the Mahajans of Narasari in Gujarat had to be persuaded with great effect to permit the body of an
old member of Scheduled Caste to be cremated on the common ground. In certain areas, besides being untouchable they have been regarded as unapproachable. At one place in the south, these people had to keep away from the different levels of upper caste people, 33 feet from the lowest group, 66 feet from the second middling caste group, and 99 feet from the Brahmins. Rules ordained that an untouchable had to shout a warning or ring a bell before entering a street so that his contaminating shadow may not fall on the ritually pure persons. What style of dress or ornaments he could wear was prescribed by custom. He could not enjoy music at weddings. Nor could he enter a house belonging to a Caste Hindu, or a Hindu temple, or draw water from a common well.

In the Gupta times they have been described as living apart from village settlements and were known as Chandala. The Manusmriti marks off this group as its touch and even shadow pollutes.

Gandhiji named them as Panchamas (fifth class) as they were not included in the four Varnas of Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudras. In his
English dictionary gave meaning as ground broken to places. These people were casteless and out of the Varnas system. Although the restrictions and prohibitions of the untouchable castes look like the restrictions on the Sudras, yet all Sudras were not untouchables, only few of them were untouchables. For example, Sudras in West Bengal are untouchables. Saint Tukaram of Maharashtra used the word the Harijan twice. Narasi Mehta of Gujarat also used it which Gandhiji used in later period. He also started a publication called the "Harijan" for the promotion and upliftment of Harijans. Literally the word Harijan meant people of God or Children of God. But figuratively it cannoted the idea of being bastered in Marathi, Gujarati and Hindi languages. Hence, it was disliked and hated by most of the untouchables in Marathi, Gujarati and Hindi speaking regions of India. In fact, many agitation took place in Bombay Presidency against the use of the term Harijan.

In the 1931 Census, special efforts were also made to draw up a schedule of these castes so that they could be favoured with special privileges. The same
Year at the Round Table Conference in London, Dr. Ambedkar also demanded a change of nomenclature for these castes. He proposed that the untouchables be called 'Protestant Hindus' or 'non-conformist Hindus'.

Dr. Ambedkar himself used the term Bahiskrit Hitakarini Sabha (Boycotted welfare Congress) in 1924. Ambedkar also sought at the conference a separate electorate for the untouchables and won his point. Gandhiji opposed it and went on his historic fast which was followed by the Poona Pact signed on 24th September 1932.

The term 'Depressed Classes' was officially used in 1932 in the Communal Award to convey the meaning of social, economical and cultural backwardness of the people.

The various terms used to denote the low castes from time to time gave an impression that all these terms were synonymous. But that was not so, particularly in the case of the untouchables. Among the many Scheduled Castes, a few were untouchables. All the 'Depressed Classes' were not untouchables, as pointed out by Blunt and Borale.
To sum up, it might be said that all the 'Depressed Classes' were Harijans. All the Harijans were Scheduled Castes. All the untouchables were 'Depressed Classes', Harijans or Scheduled Castes. But not all Depressed Classes, Harijans or Scheduled Castes were untouchables. However, in common usage, the term 'Harijan' denoted only the untouchables.

Definition of Scheduled Caste:

The Backward Classes constitute an important section of Indian society. In India, they were "a category of people who were for the most part officially listed and given special recognition in a variety of contexts. But they were not a homogenous category. It was a comprehensive term and consists of three broad divisions each having its own characteristic features, distinctive background and particular problems. These three broad divisions were the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes. All these divisions of the Depressed Classes were largely found in the Hindu community.

The term Scheduled Castes was both a legal and a social concept. The term 'Scheduled Caste' to connote
depressed classes was coined by Government of India Act 1935. The term 'Scheduled Caste' was recommended for the first time in India by the Simon Commission, whose report was adopted by the Government of India. (It was a rather significant fact that the word Scheduled Caste was first coined by the Simon Commission and incorporated in the Government of India Act, 1935, section 279). Therefore, as observed by Mark Galanter, the term Scheduled Caste was of a recent origin. The term was first adopted in 1935, when the lowest ranking Hindu caste were listed in "Schedules" appended to the Government of India Act for purposes of statutory safeguards and other benefits. The form is appropriate only in this context of legal provisions, government action, and politics. Otherwise it is meaningless.

The term was defined in the Act of 1935 as follows: "the Scheduled Castes means such castes faces and tribes, corresponding to the classes, as His Majesty in Council may specify." Later on, after the Act of 1935, the Indian Independence Act 1947, defined the term as: "The Scheduled Castes' means such castes, races as tribes or parts or groups, which appear to
the Governor-General to correspond to the classes of persons formerly known as the 'depressed classes' as the Governor-General order may specify.

The Constituent Assembly used the word 'Scheduled Caste' while drafting the Constitution. The term 'Scheduled Castes' as defined in Article 366(24) of the Constitution means, "such castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within such castes, races or tribes as are deemed under Article 341 to be Scheduled Castes for the purpose of this Constitution." Thus the term Scheduled Castes may be defined as 'those groups which are named in the Scheduled Castes order in force for the time being'. It is a Schedule of the Castes entitled to benefit from the various special arrangements. In accordance with the provision of the Constitution, Scheduled Castes order was promulgated in August 1950. Later on it was amended in 1956. Article 341(1) of the Constitution of India has given powers to the President to declare a particular caste as Scheduled Caste. The President of India has powers to issue the list of the Scheduled Castes as has been published in the Scheduled Castes Order of 1950 after consultation with the Governor-
of any state. So far, the President of India has declared several castes as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes from time to time through various Presidential Orders.

The Parliament has also got a right as per the Constitutional Provision of Article 341(2) to insert or delete a particular caste in the above list.

**Caste System in Maharashtra:**

The socio-religious life of Maharashtra was not different from that of India in general and the caste system was no exception to this rule. The nature of the caste system was universal in India. Like any other part of India, caste system was also prevalent in Maharashtra and it was no way different from the scene in other parts of India.

However, the Maharashtrian society as a whole had a distinct social and historical tradition of its own different from other societies in India. All strata of society, including the untouchable communities, had definite and significant role in shaping the culture of Maharashtra. The saint tradition, religious faith, village interdependence some of these
ties made the Maharashtrian society a bit more homogeneous.

Maharashtra like other states comprised of various social groups who had their own distinct socio-economic characteristics. The Brahmins, had ascribed highest position in the caste hierarchy in the state. Specially during the period of Brahmanical ritualism, the position of Brahmins was dominant. Their knowledge of Sanskrit made the prestigious and honourable. In the course of time, they became warriors and feudal lords. Among the Brahmins the Chitpavan and Deshashtha were considered to be the most important. The Deshasthas were regarded as the first inhabitants of the region and over a time, they were assimilated into Maharashtra's whole society. The Chitpavan were patronized by political power since long. They were well known for their intellectual abilities. Above all, the socio-cultural characteristics kept the Brahmins distinct from rest of the society, and they therefore, became formidable force in the socio-economic political life of Maharashtra.

In the hierarchy of caste, the Marathas are next to Brahman. They were also numberically dominant. In
terms of varna, the Marathas were called as 'Kshatriya' on one hand and also "Shudras" on the other. Further Maratha caste is divided into various sub-groups viz., Punchkuli, Shannav Kuli, Kunbi and Sali. Basically divisions in Maratha were prominently on the basis of their occupational position in the society. Traditionally, some families of Maratha were, chiefs and warriors. But both Maratha in general and Kunbi in particular were largely agriculturists. Whatever that might be, the fact was that because of their numerical majority, landownership and status in the society, Marathas were a dominant caste in socio-economic and political life of Maharashtra.

Besides that, there were several endogamous peasant castes such as Vani, Lingayat, Hatkar, Dhangar who were close to Marathas. These castes were closely associated with Maratha caste from the point of religion, ethnicity and occupation. Not only their occupation but their faith in such as Vithoba of Pandharpur (Maharashtra's main deity) was agreeable point in making these groups socially cohesive and
integrated. These castes like Marathas, depended on agriculture and also associated with agricultural operation.

Though these castes appeared to be socially cohesive but they represented heterogeneous features by maintaining distinct social status in the society. For instance, endogamous marriages were practiced among these castes, however, inter-dining and some other social practices were not followed. Thus, this caste cluster was one of the important strata of Maharashtra society.

Another strata of society, consisting of artisan castes such as Sutar (wood cutter), Sonar (Goldsmith), Kumbhar (potter), Nhavi (Barber), Dhobi (washerwoman), Gurav, etc. was equally important as these caste fellows were called Balutedars in Maharashtra. All these caste groups represent their own ethnics, religious, and special economic activities. These caste groups provided utility services to entire population. All together they were called Balutedar of the farmers. In fact, Balutedari became major way of maintaining the relations of production.
This system was considered as organising the relations of production in Maharashtra's agrarian society. However, one could not deny that caste hierarchy was in-built in the Baluta System. Among the Balutedars, Sonar and Sutar had higher social status than rest of the Balutedars. The standard of living, religious practices rites and rituals led these castes distinguished from other Balutedar castes. Moreover, traditional social restrictions were being followed by the members of Sonar and Sutar castes. Hence ultimately it resulted into bringing them quite close to the Brahmans.

The members of these caste groups have upward social intercourse without sense of pollution. But they did not keep the social contact with lower caste. More especially, Nhai, Dhobi did not extent their services to the lower caste. However, Sutar, Kumbhar, and Sonar render their services to the lower castes but took utmost care to avoid pollution by maintaining safe distance so that they could avoid any kind of direct contact with lower caste people. Thus, these castes became linking castes between upper caste and lower castes of Maharashtra.
The last group, the untouchables of lower caste were at the bottom of social stratification. In relation to varna system, untouchables had no varna. Hence they were categorized as fifth varna i.e. 'the out caste'. The untouchable castes mainly comprised of Mahar, Mang, Chambhar and Dhor. Since ancient time, several social and economic disabilities and restrictions had been imposed upon them. In order of hierarchy their status was lowest on account of degraded occupation. In addition to this they were not allowed either religious participation or practices which resulted into lowering of their status still further.71

During pre-British period, the village73 was the basic "unit of regular economic, social, religious and legal co-operation between caste communities, although the endogamous group of each caste always extended over a number of villages.73 The basic problems relating to food production, land ownership, day-to-day disputes among various caste groups were settled in the village itself.74 As referred by Malley that Lord Metcalf said that the each village was a little republic  having self-sufficiency within.75
The Maharashtra's village castes system largely related to occupational specialization and mutual rank. Generally every village in Maharashtra broadly consisted of the Brahman, Maratha, Maratha aliened castes Vanjari, Hatkar, Dhangar, Vani, etc., and untouchable-castes - Mahar, Mang, Chambhar. All these castes lived segregated from each other by making own caste gallis (streets). Normally, the Brahman, Maratha and other high castes lived in brick and tile house, while Mahar, Mang and Chambhar lived in brick in mud or thatched houses. The localities of Mahars and Mangs were called as Maharwada and Mangwada respectively. Moreover, untouchables housed were placed at the eastern side of the village to avoid pollution coming through winds and waves that came from their localities. A breach of this rule was considered as an offence.

As in any other part of India, Maharashtra village village life, since ancient time depended upon agriculture. The traditional economy was greatly associated with specialised occupations. Different castes were given different rights over the produced of the village for their maintenance. The ownership right on land were given in the direction of Pyramidal political structure.
As a result of this kind of ownership right on the land, the village feudal structure remained unaltered and intact for centuries.

Prior to Islamic rule in Maharashtra, village economy was not feudalistic. The Gram Sabha consisting of the members of a family of Deshmukh, Deshpande, Patil, Kulkarni and Chougulla including twelve other Balutedars, as a powerful decision making body was in existence. The village remained as self-sufficient and was governed by villagers themselves, high castes having greater say in it. However, over a period certain families of village became proprietors of land management by virtue of their right to tax collection and during the medieval period, this institution turned into a oligarchy or Deshak.

But during the Moghal rule, specially in Nizams dominion Malik Amber introduced land reforms and worked out a new policy of assessing and collecting land revenue. He suggested 2/5th of the portion of the total income in the form of revenue must be collected from of the cultivators.

In the light of new land revenue system all castes in villages were characterised economically and
socially as interdependent. The Patil of the village was entrusted with the revenue collection activity. This reform came as a great help to the Maratha and Kunbi. Hence many Patils became the Pattedars (landowners).

The hereditary posts like Patil and Kulkarni institutionalised in course of time and they were called as "Mirasdars". Similarly the Mahars were also awarded landownership in the form of "Inami-land". Thus Islamic rule intervened in village economy. The Patil became head of the community and his role also became significant in order to establish link between village and law and order administration. Generally in village the Maratha chiefs were used by the Muslim rulers for securing surplus income through tax. Consequently, the village was used as a unit of maintaining feudal interests of both Muslim kings and Maratha chieftains. The poor peasantry and Balutedars including untouchables were forced to accept superiority of the village headman. Balutedari or Jajmani system became formidable in Maharashtra's agrarian society.

The economic life of village was thus managed through Balutedars including untouchables. The services
of untouchables were available for peasants at low cost. As already stated above, the Mahars being very important, their role became unavoidable in different sectors of agrarian society. In the absence of Mahar's services, village system was not in a position to work properly. The Patil, Kulkarni and common peasants were not able to carry on their routine work without the help of Mahars.

Mang's role in village economy was sort as important as Mahars. However, their duty such as rope making (nada) was highly useful for agriculturists. They were also supposed to work in the field of agriculture like a labourer as a 'Watanadar-Mang'. During the harvest season Mangs were preferred by agriculturists. Their services were remunerated in kind (baluta). Additionally, they used to have "Matara" as part of Baluta. Their share of baluta was less than Mahar's share. The role of Mang as a Wajantri was compulsory in village. In the absence of Mang, no social function either marriage or death ceremony was to be performed as completed.

Among untouchables, the role of Chambhar and Dhor was also significant. Their occupational specialisation was considered to be largely essential for agricultural
operation in a sense they used to provide agricultural leather implements. Their services were thus, found to be essential both for agriculture and domestic purposes.

Further, some non-agricultural activities of village were performed both by Mahars and Mangs. Whenever, the Patil of village wanted to declare any matter of public importance of villagers the Mahar was expected to announce it with shouting, while Mang was to follow him by drum beating in tune with Mahar announcer in the form of Dawandi. The Mahar used to dig grave for dead person and provide fire wood whenever necessary, while Mang was to provide rope for binding the dead body covered with raw cloth and called as "Tiradi". Further both Mahars and Mangs were jointly involved in performing their duty such as removing the dead cattle. They were allowed to share flesh and bones of dead cattle. They were also allowed to share flesh and bones of dead cattle. However, Mahars were to get higher share of flesh for the service they rendered in the distribution.

All the untouchable castes used to get very insufficient wages in the form of Baluta. Dr. Ambedkar
rightly pointed out that high caste agriculturists gave the lowest possible wages to the untouchables for their own interest. They were paid wages through Baluta during the harvest season. Once the harvest season was over, no employment avenue was available to them. After harvesting was over, they lived on cutting grass and firewood from the forest and sold them in the Bazar. As they fell short of their income, they used to beg for food at the doors of high caste Hindus. This begging practice, in course of time, became their customary right. In short, there was no secured source of income and livelihood open for untouchable castes in Maharashtra.

The social relationship among various caste argued including Balutedars was very unequal. The services of Mahar, Mang, Chambhar and Dhor were used as prerogatives of the entire village population. The services of Nnav, Dhobi, Joshi were not made available to untouchables castes. However, clean caste Balutedars used to render their services but at the same time they managed to keep safe distance, so as to avoid physical contact with the untouchables. Obviously, the stigma of untouchability was the major reason for the growth of such
kind of unequal social relationship. The services required for these section were provided by a section of untouchable themselves within each caste. For instance as Nhavi to cut hair of untouchable. The untouchable used to cut their own hair by giving training some of members of their own community.

Instead of the hierarchical and restricted village life, social relationship was in prevalence, the Rituals and ceremonies played significant role in making village integrated and cohesive. Village deities were worshiped by almost all castes. However, some caste groups have their own caste deities. For example, untouchable castes, specially Mahars and Mang were to worship ‘Maryādī’ and ‘Maissal.’ The high caste like Brahman and Marathas normally did not indulge in worshipping such deities which were worshipped by lower castes.

Maratha and Maratha allied castes used to worship deities like Hanuman, Khandoba and Vithoba, Vithala of Pandharpur however was immensely worshipped by all castes of Maharashtra. Since time immemorial every village pilgrim wished to visit Pandharpur for Vithala’s ‘Darshana’ in the month of July (Ashadi-Ekadashi).
The Mahars and Mangs all took pride in visiting that God. But they were prohibited to take darshan of Vithala making direct entry into the temple of Vithalas by the high caste till recent times.

The Mahar and Mang castes also had a cultural significance in village. As a part of cultural practice, these castes were supposed to sacrifice a buffalo to Maryai in village in the presence of villagers, in order to ward off an epidemic like cholera. During the period of epidemic, the members of Mang caste performed very significant role as a priest of Maryai. For such activities, they were given the things like food grains, salt, chilly and oil. They were also given a Sari and Choli by high caste Hindu. In order to please "Maryai" the untouchables used to offer their child to this deity as a "Potraj" as part of their devotion to that Goddess. The Potraj was not supposed to shave his head in his life time and was expected to worship Maryai by dancing in front of the temple throughout his life. Over a time, these Potraj started dancing in the name of Maryai in front of the upper caste houses for protecting the upper
Caste Hindu from curse of Maryai during epidemic. They used to get alms for this dancing.\textsuperscript{91}

Many non-Brahman lower castes including the untouchables worshipped the Khandoba of Jejuri also.\textsuperscript{92} The untouchables have a special weakness for this deity. The full-time worshippers of Khandoba are called Waghya Murali. The custom of Waghya-Murali was institutionalised. As a result, over a time Waghya a male who compose songs and Murali a female who dance in the name of Khandoba.\textsuperscript{93}

The above discussion, revealed that the untouchables were not only economically dependent on upper caste but also socially depressed in the caste hierarchy. Dr. Ambedkar has vividly described the village life. He said that was the village republic of which Hindus were proud. What was the position of the untouchable in that republic? They were not merely the last but were also least. He was stamped as inferior and was held down to that status by all ways and all means which a majority could command. This inferiority was destiny not merely of individuals but of the whole class. All untouchables were
inferior to all touchables irrespective of age or qualification.94

Demographic profile of Scheduled Castes in Maharashtra:

In the state of Maharashtra as per the Amendment of Act of 1976, President has proclaimed an order of Scheduled Caste. That list showed that there were in all main 59 castes which are declared as Scheduled Castes. All the main 59 castes were subdivided castes in Maharashtra were Mahars, Matang or Mang, Chambhar, Dhor, etc. and 47 Scheduled Tribes; 14 Vimukta Jatis or Denotified Tribes; 28 Nomadic Tribes and 176 Other castes called "Other Backward Classes."95

These Scheduled Caste people called themselves as New Buddhist, especially from 1956 onwards, as lakhs of people embarrassed to Buddhism under the leadership of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar at Nagpur. They were known as "Scheduled Castes" but in social life, they called themselves Neo-Buddhists.

So, it was in this way that the above analysis could help us to have a brief idea about the development of Scheduled Castes as a part of the Indian society.
Scheduled Castes population and its distribution:
(with reference to Maharashtra).

As per the 1961 Census, the population of Scheduled Caste was 6.5 crores (Please see Table 1). This comes to 14.6 percent of the total 43.9 crores of population in the country in 1961. As per the Census Report of 1971, out of the total population (54.8 crores) of the country, the population of Scheduled Caste was 8 crores which was 14.5 percent of the country's total population. The 1981 Census shows that the country's total population reached to 68.5 crores wherein the Scheduled Caste population was 10.6 crores, forming 15.5 percent of the total population of the country. Among the states, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, U.P., Tamilnadu, Orissa, West Bengal, Pondichery showed the higher percentage of Scheduled Caste population between 15 to 24 percent of the total population of the respective states. This percentage was higher than the nation (14.6%) population in 1971.

In Maharashtra State, as per 1981 Census the population of Scheduled Caste was 7.14% of the state.
population. If the districts were considered separately, the percentage of Scheduled Caste population ranged from 1.69% in Raigarh to 15.35% in Osmanabad district (including Latur). The largest shares (8.94%) of population of Scheduled Castes in the state lived in Greater Bombay which was a city district. This was followed by Solapur district 8.33%, Osmanabad district 7.63%, Pune district 7%, Kolhapur district 6.76% and Ahmednagar district 6.42% of the total population. These six districts in Maharashtra together account for 45.05% of the Scheduled Caste population of the state. The percentage distribution of the Scheduled Caste population as shown in the table 2, which showed that districts such as Ahmednagar, Pune, Sangli, Solapur, Kolhapur, Beed, Nanded, Osmanabad (including Latur) and Bhandara had a higher percentage of Scheduled Caste population in the respective districts than the state percentage 7.14. In all other districts it was seen that the percentage of Scheduled Caste population was less than the State percentage.

Coming to the districts of Marathwada as shown in table 3, the percentage of Scheduled Caste population
to the total population of various districts showed that the percentage of Scheduled Caste population was highest in Osmanabad district (15.35%). It was followed by Beed district (11.47%), Nanded district (11.30%) and in rest of the districts, the percentage was less than the state percentage. For example, in Aurangabad district, Scheduled Caste formed 6.18% of the total population and in Parbhani 5.82%.

Table No. 1

Population of Scheduled Castes in India
three Census, 1961 to 1981.

(in crores)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Total S.C. population</th>
<th>Percentage of S.C. population to total population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>68.5</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No. 2.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>7.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Gr. Bombay</td>
<td>4.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Thane.</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Raigarh.</td>
<td>1.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ratnagiri.</td>
<td>2.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Nasik.</td>
<td>6.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Dhule.</td>
<td>4.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Jalgaon.</td>
<td>5.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ahmednagar.</td>
<td>10.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Pune.</td>
<td>7.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Satara.</td>
<td>6.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Sangli.</td>
<td>11.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Solapur.</td>
<td>14.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Kolhapur.</td>
<td>12.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Aurangabad (including Jalna)</td>
<td>6.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Farbhani.</td>
<td>5.82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table No. 3

Percentage distribution of S.C. population to total population of each districts in Marathwada in 1981 and 1971.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>State/District</th>
<th>Percentage of S.C. population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>7.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Aurangabad (including Jalna)</td>
<td>6.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Parbhani</td>
<td>5.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Beed</td>
<td>11.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Nanded</td>
<td>11.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Osmanabad (including Latur)</td>
<td>15.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, Series 12, Maharashtra, Part II B, p. 21.

Rural and Urban Distribution of Scheduled Castes Population in Maharashtra State and in Marathwada 1981.

The total Scheduled Caste population as shown in above tables is 44.47 lakhs. Out of this total Scheduled Caste population, majority of them i.e.
30.6 lakh people lived in rural areas and only 14.1 lakh people lived in urban areas. Most of these urban people lived mainly in slums and zopadpattis.

The distribution of total Scheduled Caste population among the districts of Marathwada region (rural and urban areas) revealed that in each district, the Scheduled Caste population was concerned mainly in rural areas. As shown in the above referred table, the total Scheduled Castes population in Aurangabad district was 1.50 lakhs. Out of this population, 1.22 lakh people were living in rural areas in 1981 and only 0.28 lakh people were living in urban areas. In Parbhani district, out of the total 1.06 lakhs of total Scheduled Caste population, 0.87 lakhs were concentrated in rural areas and 0.19 lakhs were living in urban areas. The remaining three districts followed the same pattern of distribution. For example, in Beed district, out of 1.70 lakh total Scheduled Castes population, rural concentration accounted for 1.54 lakhs and urban concentration was 0.16 lakhs. In Nanded district, the rural population accounted for 1.77 lakh and urban population was 0.22 lakh of the
total 1.97 lakh Scheduled Caste population. In the Osmanabad district, it was seen that the distribution of total Scheduled Caste population was 3.04 lakh in rural areas and 0.38 lakh in urban areas of the total 3.42 lakh population. (See Table No. 4).

Table No. 4.

Distribution of Scheduled Castes population in Rural and Urban Areas in 1981 in Maharashtra State and Marathwada Region.

(in lakhs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name of the State/District</th>
<th>Total S.C.</th>
<th>Rural S.C.</th>
<th>Urban S.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In Marathwada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Aurangabad (including Jalna)</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Parbhani</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Beed.</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Nanded.</td>
<td>1.97</td>
<td>1.77</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Osmanabad (including Latur).</td>
<td>3.42</td>
<td>3.04</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Literacy Among Scheduled Castes:

Economic development was closely associated with education. Education was considered as investment in human capital which played a key role in the economic development. In this context, it opened various avenues to the individual for all round development, therefore, it was important to know the rate of literacy among Scheduled Castes and also of the total population of the country.

If we consider the various Census reports from 1961 onwards, we find (as shown in table 5) that literacy rates for males and females in general population and for Scheduled Caste population in the country were very disappointing. As far as the rate of literacy among the Scheduled Caste male and female was concerned, it was much below than that of in general population. As per the Census of 1961, the literacy rate in the country of males was 27.86 percent and of female, it was 16.59 percent. For Scheduled Caste males, the literacy rate was only 10.27 percent and for females it was 3.29 percent. It meant that near about 90 percent of Scheduled
Caste male population and 97 percent of female population in Scheduled Castes were illiterate in 1961.

As per the 1971 Census report, the rate of literacy for both the classes seemed to have increased. For example, the literacy rate for male in general was 33.80 percent and for female it was 17.11 percent.

However, all India literacy rate of Scheduled Caste male and female population was 14.67% and 6.44% respectively in 1971. In 1981, the literacy rate for Scheduled Caste male and female was 21.38 and 10.93 percent respectively and for rest of the population, it was 41.22 for male and 29.51 for female. This clearly showed that nearly about 79% of male and 89% of Scheduled Caste female were illiterate. This illiteracy added the fuel in the economic exploitation of the Scheduled Caste and tribes in our country.

The literacy trends in Maharashtra and Marathwada were more or less similar with the national trends. As shown in table 6 the rate of literacy for male and female in 1981 was 58.79 and 37.79 respectively. For Scheduled Caste male and female population, it was 48.85% and 21.53% respectively.
<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16. Beed.</td>
<td>11.47</td>
<td>(12.53)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Nanded.</td>
<td>11.30</td>
<td>(9.10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Osmanabad (including Latur)</td>
<td>15.35</td>
<td>(15.04)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Buldhana.</td>
<td>6.18</td>
<td>(5.41)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Akola.</td>
<td>5.51</td>
<td>(4.77)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Amravati.</td>
<td>6.06</td>
<td>(4.25)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Yavatmal.</td>
<td>4.95</td>
<td>(3.93)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Wardha.</td>
<td>3.93</td>
<td>(3.02)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Nagpur.</td>
<td>7.05</td>
<td>(4.13)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Bhandara.</td>
<td>9.75</td>
<td>(5.23)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Chandrapur.</td>
<td>6.53</td>
<td>(4.69)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Census of India 1981, Series-12, Part-IIB, P.C.A., P. 21.
In various districts of Marathwada region the literacy rates for male and female were as under. In Aurangabad district, it was 50.80 and 19.96 percent respectively and for Scheduled Caste population, it was 37.99 and 9.10 percent respectively for male and female. In Parbhani, it was 44.67% for male and 15.53% for female for general population. For Scheduled Castes, it was 30.45 for male and 7.28 for female. In Beed district, male and female literacy rates for general population was 45.82 and 17.27 percent and the same for Scheduled Castes was only 33.53% and 6.50%. In Nanded district, the literacy rates for male and female among Scheduled Castes were 31.84 and 7.77 percent respectively and lastly the literacy rates in Osmanabad district, for Scheduled Castes male and female it was 36.33% and 11.45% respectively.

It was clear from above statements that literacy rates of Scheduled Caste male was higher in Aurangabad district and it was lower in Parbhani district. But the highest rate in Aurangabad was lower than the average male literacy rate for Scheduled Castes in the state.
As far as female literacy was concerned, Osmanabad (including Latur) tops the list with 11.45 percent and Parbhani was at the lowest position having 7.28%. Here also, the highest literacy rate for female 11.45% was in Osmanabad, but it was lower than the state female literacy rate of 21.53%.

So the vast illiteracy among general and Scheduled Castes population needed to be probed further.

Particularly, the illiteracy among Scheduled Castes female was greater than their counterparts in general population. So this needed a special attention and efforts at all levels.

Table No. 5

All India Literacy Rates for General and S.C. Male and Female 1981.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Literacy rate in S.C.</th>
<th>Literacy rates for rest of the population.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>10.27</td>
<td>3.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>14.67</td>
<td>6.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>21.38</td>
<td>10.93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No. 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>State/ District</th>
<th>S.C. population</th>
<th>General population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>48.85</td>
<td>21.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Aurangabad (including Jalna)</td>
<td>37.99</td>
<td>9.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Parbhani</td>
<td>30.45</td>
<td>7.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Beed</td>
<td>33.53</td>
<td>8.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Nanded</td>
<td>31.84</td>
<td>7.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Osmanabad (including Latur)</td>
<td>36.33</td>
<td>11.45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, 1981, Series 12, Maharashtra, Part 11 B, Statement 8, p. 27, Director of Census Operations, Maharashtra.

Social background of the main Scheduled Castes in Maharashtra.

The Scheduled Castes in Maharashtra were an important social category and formal an integral part of the social system, in the rural as well as...
urban area. In Maharashtra, there were 59 groups identified as Scheduled Castes. Out of these four major Scheduled Castes, the Mahar, Mang, Chambhar and Dhor put together constituted more than 80% of their population. Rest of the castes were merely offshoots of these four castes. Among the four major castes, the Mahar and Mang constituted the bulk of the Scheduled Castes population. The former was numerically larger being more than 36% and the later was 27%.

Of the total Scheduled Castes which was 5.63 percent of the total population of Maharashtra, the most numerous 35.12 percent were Mahars. The Mahar, Mang and Chambhar respectively 35.12 percent, 32.65 percent and 22.06 percent together made up 89.93 percent of all the Scheduled Castes and Dhor 2.78 percent. Mahars alone, among the Harijans of Maharashtra have taken successfully to political means for enhancing their social status.

Sanskritization has also helped a caste like Chambhars to lose the stigma of untouchability. Sanskritization and Westernization were complementary processes. The Harijans had not discarded Sanskriti-
zation totally but had accepted elements from the Sanskritization models partially and at the same time accepted secular symbols.\textsuperscript{101}

The Chambhars have effective trade associations. The Dhors, through caste associations have attempted to bring about reforms. There had been no organized and formalized activity by the Mangs.

Looking back over a span of time, it seemed that the Mahars have always shown a slightly different attitude and course of action from the other groups in the region. The structural placement of the Mahar was one of the primary factors.

Description of Scheduled Castes:

Brief sketches of individual Scheduled Castes under study are given below:

The Mahars:

Among all the Scheduled Castes in India, the Mahars of Maharashtra have used political means most consistently and unitedly in their attempt to make better condition.\textsuperscript{102} The political means covered both early efforts of scattered groups to secure govern-
mental benefits and representation on legislative and political bodies, and later and more direct efforts in the form of political parties that secured representation of their special interests. They agitated for constitutional guarantees, and created for themselves a firm electoral base.

Mahars accounted for about nine percent of the present day population of Maharashtra. The three next largest Maharashtra Scheduled Castes were small groups in comparison i.e. Mangs 1.8 percent, Chambhars 1.3 percent and Dhors 1.2 percent. The total Scheduled Caste population including those converted to Buddhism constituted 12.68 percent of the state population of Maharashtra, some lowest than the nearly 15 percent average for India as a whole.

Mahars were found in almost every village of Maharashtra, though always in minority. Their residential quarters were situated outside the village known as Maharwada, and were set apart, usually east of the village proper.

Mahars were found throughout the Marathi speaking area. Majority of the Mahars of Maharashtra,
embraced Buddhism on 14th October 1956 and remaining embraced Buddhism after 1956.  

Origin:

The derivation of the name 'Mahar' was uncertain, but it might have been the tribal name of the aboriginal races. According to N.D. Kamble, etymological origin of word Mahar was derived from the Sanskrit words Maha and Ari, which meant terrifying and 'enemy'. Thus the Mahar meant terrifying enemy. It was because the Mahars were rulers and original inhabitants of Western India.

Traditional occupations:

The Mahar was a jack-of-all-menial work in a village. This caste comprises of lower artisans and hereditary village servants. The Mahars and Mangs, the two great untouchable castes, stand so near to each other that they can easily be conceived of as originally one people split into two, owing to occupational differences. Among the untouchables, the Mahars are the most dynamic group. They had long administrative experience and some education to their credit.
The duties of the Mahars to the villages were to cut firewood, carry letters, sweep and clean the yards in front of houses, carry cow dung cakes to the cremation grounds and to dig graves, and arbitrators of field and village boundaries, in the medieval village system. 108

The Mahars have been the hereditary village servants and considered as authorities in all boundary questions. They escorted government treasures, acted as guides and messengers to public officers, called landholders to pay the land assessment at the village office and swept the village roads. 109

With the coming of British rule, other opportunities for work were opened to the Mahar, his traditional role being such that he was both free and pressed to take whatever new vocation presented itself. 110

The Mahar position as an 'interior village servant' (a British term) lost significance with new methods of communication justice and government. 111 The post office, the courts, and the police replaced the Mahar as messenger, arbitrator of land dispute, and watchman. The system of balutedar work itself could not expand to care for increasing numbers of Mahars.
In modern days, the history of the Mahars voicing their resentment against the upper caste domination dates back to their first major satyagraha which was launched in March 1927 at Mahad in Kolaba district of the Konkan. This movement was designed to enforce equal access to the community water supply to the so-called untouchables. Another movement in the 1930s demanded the right of temple entry for Harijans.

These movements were largely spearheaded by the Mahar community. The Mahad agitation of March 1927 encouraged Ambedkar to launch another agitation at the same venue in December, 1927. The December conference was marked by the burning of the Manusmriti which sent shock waves through Hindu society, incensing the orthodox among them. The same act was repeated by the Dalit Panthers fifty years later in 1977 in Marathwada region, and which produced the same rage and resentment among the upper caste Hindus. These movements helped in heightening the Mahar consciousness resulting in concrete action. The Mahar Regiment of the Indian Army which gave a good account of itself in the Second World War, understandably gave the Mahars a pride of place and honour in the Indian nation.
The Mangs

In Maharashtra, the Mang community has formed by itself an important cultural group having its own traditional and religious patterns of behaviour. An account of Maharashtrian cultural life would not be complete without a mention of Potraj and Waghya-Murali.

In every village there is a "Mang Wada" throughout the state of Maharashtra. Even now the villagers sometimes feel that they cannot do without Mang occupations. They need Mangs on several occasions, and purposes though in practical life, they do not give equal status to Mangs. The upper caste people, still think that the Mangs are their servants and therefore, the servants should live their life as servants and nothing more.

Next to the Mahars, the most numerous and vocal of the castes indigenous to Maharashtra, are the Mangs or Matangs who have social customs, marriage rites and ritual practices in common with the farmer. In the village, these two castes have been close to each other, both being integral participants of the baluta system. They took food from the Mahars and were deemed lowest among the Hindus, describing
themselves as the "Antyajas" the lowest born, they accepted food from any caste except the Bhangis.

In physical characteristics they seemed to differ materially from the Mahars and were much finer people, although in social rank they stood below the Mahar. Ancient authorities called them 'Shwapach" (dog-eaters) and made them the descendants of a Chandala father and Meda mother. Like the Mahars they were predial slaves and claimed part of the village 'baluta'. Unlike Mahars, they had long been notorious for their wild, untameable habits, and for their great cunning, hardiness and predilection for outrage and robbery. 116

The Mangs rank lowest and live by themselves in Mangwada. Many references are made about the hereditary rivalry and enmity between these two.

**Origin:**

Mang is a low impure caste, who act as village musicians and castrate bullocks, while their women serve as midwives. The Mangs are also sometimes known as Vajantri or musician. The real origin of the mangs is obscure, but they probably originated
from the subject tribes and became a caste through the adoption of the menial services which constitute their profession. \textsuperscript{117} Mangs are treated as the left-hand caste and last in the list of untouchables in Maharashtra State. \textsuperscript{118}

Thurston says, "formerly there was a Matanga dynasty in the Canarese country, and the Madigas are believed by same to be descendents of people who were once a ruling race. Matangi is a Sanskrit name for Kali and it is possible that this community once played an important part in the worship of God."

To prove the existence of this dynasty Shinde also says that, there is an inscription on a victory pillar which lay near Makuteshwar temple at Badamee. This inscription says that at the end of 600 A.D., Western Chalukya king 'Mangalisa' conquered the Matangas. That means, Matanga dynasty was in existence during that period. Makuteshwar = Mang + Kut + Ishwar, seems to be the god of Mangas. Perhaps, the name 'Mangalisa' was obtained by Chalukya king because of his victory over the Matanga. \textsuperscript{119}
The business of the Mang was to play on the flute and to make known the wishes of the Raja to his subjects by beat of drum. He was to live in the forest or outside the village, and was not to enter it except with the Raja's permission.

According to Shri V.R. Shinde, Mangs were known as Madiga in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, and as Mangelas in Gujarat. These branches or sub-groups were treated as the same caste. They were also called brothers of each other. But afterwards he said that Mangelas from Gujarat were not related to Mangs and Madigs. They were the descendents of Kolies or Kols. They had their separate business of fishing and were not untouchables as Mangs and Madigs were in the social system.

Similarly, Shri S.M. Mate was of the similar opinion. He said, 'Geographically Mangs were divided into three sub-groups viz. 1) Maratha Mangs of Maharashtra who were called as 'Mangs', 2) Kandi Mangs of Karnataka, who were called as 'Madigs, 3) Gujarathi Mangs of Gujarat who were called as 'Mangelas'. Mangs from Gujarat had their independent fishing business, so they
were treated as a separate caste. This meant that Mangelas, Mangs and Madigs were different.

Looking to the above reference one could conclude in brief that Mangs, Madigas and Mangelas were descendents of the same ancestor. They belonged to the same caste. Only because of the fishing occupation, Mangelas might not be the descendents of Kols. Because many sub-castes of Mangs had adopted different types of occupations, but claimed to be the descendents of the same ancestor. Some of their traditions, deities and their position in Indian social system were the same. All sub-groups were treated as left-hand castes in the society.

From ancient period, Mangs have their own occupations in which they were specialists. The function of the Mangs was and still is to supply cards which were needed by the agriculturists in the fields, and in the houses. They made all types of ropes, baskets, brooms, mats from the date palm and to acted as village criers and musicians to higher castes. In olden days, and even now, they supply the ropes needed, from reins for
oxen to ropes for hanging pots. There were also the executioners and as a result of this function the crutest person in folk literature was supposed to be a Mang. 125

They were tennars, workers, in raw hides and leather, shoe and harness makers, messengers, scavengers, and public executioners; they were engaged as daily labourers, they lived from hand to mouth, but would never groom a horse. They showed a tendency to crime and were closely watched by the police. 126

Before independence of India, Mangs were only under the pressure of upper caste people. But after independence they say that they came under the pressure of other untouchable castes particularly the Mahars, the neo-Buddhists. No doubt, it was said that these two castes were enemies of each other from centuries. Economically, educationally and by others they were equal untouchable castes under the pressure of touchable castes. 127 But later on, specially from British period, Mahars went ahead in the fields of politics and education. They left their traditional occupations and Hindu religion. When the government
passed the Act to reserve seats in Government service and legislatures for all Scheduled Castes, the Mahar-Neo-Buddhists captured almost all the reserved seats. So because of this trick Mangs, Chambhars and Dhor fell far behind the Mahars or Neo-Buddhists in all progressive fields of life.128

The Chambhars:

The position of the Chambhars in India is very low indeed. In the villages they worked as general menials for some traditional payment in grain, clothes, and food. They were, and in some places still were, subject to forced labour (beggar); own little land; and until recently had little hope of improving their impoverished condition. The traditional occupations assigned to them were tanning hides, making shoes, and removing the care cases of dead animals, which they ate.129 Since leather was a polluting subject and beef is the most polluting of foods, the Chambhar who engages in such acts, and by association all other Chamars, become polluted. Because of this pollution Chamars, more often than not, were forced to live on the periphery of a village or in separate hamlets.
The largest contingent of Chamars came from U.P., forming about 52.6 percent of the total. Mochi or Muchi was more or less as urban caste and not always so designated and separated from the Chamar. But wherever separated it was accorded a higher status. The superior status enjoyed by this caste could be clearly seen from the fact that in the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes order.

Chambhars, though numerically not the most important section of the Harijan population of Maharashtra, are nevertheless a large community whose traditional occupation was trade in leather. They were variedly mentioned as craftsmen and tradesmen.

In Maharashtra, nearly in every village, there were Chambhars; and they lived in a separate residence known as Chambharwada. They saw themselves superior than the other untouchables Scheduled Castes in the villages. They lived nearer to the caste Hindu community; and not like Mahar or Mang.

The Chambhars constitute the numerically most preponderate group among the Scheduled Castes in
the state with a population 4.00 percent of the total population of the later.

The caste follow the Hindu law of inheritance and profess Hinduism. They belonged both to the Shaiva and Bhagvat sect. They worship all the Hindu gods and goddesses and observe all the Hindu festivals. They believed in a number of gods and goddesses.

The Chambhars observe a number of Hindu festivals, such as Diwali, Holi, Dasara, etc. They eat fish and the flesh of sheep, fowls, hare and deer.

Origin:

By far the largest group offering under a single name, though widely distributed, being represented over the whole of the Indo-Aryan area and sporadically even in Madars, were the Chamar or the Chambhar, whose name proclaimed him to be a worker in leather.

The word Chamar is derived from the Sanskrit Charna Kara, which meant leather worker, and, according to classical tradition, the Chamar was the offspring of a Chandal or Sweeper woman by a
man of the fisher caste. The Satara and Sholapur Gazetteers mentioned Chambhars under tradesmen and craftsmen, while Poona. Nagar and Nasik Gazetteers mention them under depressed classes, as untouchables and traders, whose names suggested Kunbi origins. It was further said that the Dakhani Chambhars were not different from the Kunbis but because of their polluting occupation, they became degraded in course of time. They were variedly mentioned as craftsmen and tradesmen.

The Chambhars formed the first-ranking Scheduled Caste in India as well as in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan and Delhi. The State of Uttar Pradesh had the largest number of Chambhars in India. In Maharashtra, the Chambhars have the following endogamous divisions: Ahir, Chavli, Dabholi, Ghati, Harali, Konkan. The exogamous sections of the Chambhars were, Kavale, Aswar, Gaikwad Khandare, Apnuroni, Patel, Waghmare, Khatave, Dhadve, Gadkar, Saruse, Inkare, Jundade, Landge, Waghe, Deshmane.
Jatavs were found largely in the western part of Uttar Pradesh State and northward up into Punjab State. They are sometimes known as Jatiya, Jatua or Jadav but the name Jatave was current in Agra city.

The original and hereditary occupation of Chambhars were leather workers. They worked in leather, cut and dry skins, made shoes, sandals, water bags, boxes, harness, hides and partmanteaux, and also did tanning where a Dhor population was not to be found. Other articles made of leather was the thongs and nosestrings for bullocks, the buckets for irrigation wells, rude country saddlery, and mussacks and pakhals for carrying water. In their trade they used the hides of the cow, bullock, buffalo, deer, sheep and goat. The implements of their trade were the 'ropi', 'knife', 'Kudti', 'Kurp', 'avali' and 'Kalibatta', the last being used in shaping shoes.

The Chambhars were one of the predial servants of the village and claimed from villagers, 'baluta' or allotments of corn at harvest time. They were relatively well off economically and were rated the highest in the ritual nearcny. 
The Chambhar ranked at the very bottom of the social scale. So, the position of Chambhar in India was very low indeed, in Hindu caste system. Their touch and contact with his person was considered to the unclean to high-caste Hindus, and hence they were obliged to live on the outskirts of village; but in several localities the rule was not so strict. He could not draw water from the common well. Although the village barber occasionally shaved their head and the village washerman washed their clothes. They ate park, fowl, fish, mutton and even the flesh of animals dying a natural death, and indulged freely in strong drinks.

But in recent times the Chambhars as a caste have made some progress. In Maharashtra some of them own big manufacturing establishments as well as shops. They also occupy important government offices.150

The Chambhars of Bihar, have in Patna a Ravida Sangh which aims at social, political and economic betterment of the Harijans.151 From time to time they hold conferences also. The Chambhars also have their caste councils. The head of the Caste Council was called Sardar. Cases of minor assaults and other
complaints were heard. The Chambhars have got a sense of distinct identity and their organizations were quite active.\textsuperscript{152}

\textbf{The Dhor:}

Dhors were tanners and were to be found in the districts of Ahmednagar, Khandesh, Satara, Kolhapur, Sholapur, Belgaum and Bijapur.\textsuperscript{153} They appeared to be degraded branch of the great chambhar caste of the Maharashtra.\textsuperscript{154} This view derived support from the fact that in whatever country they were found settled, they spoke Marathi as their home tongue.

Dhors were the tanner of the Marathi speaking districts, also numerous in all the districts of Karnataka and in smaller numbers in some part of Telangana also.\textsuperscript{155}

The Dhor constituted the numerically most preponderate group among the Scheduled Castes in the State with a population 2.78 percent of the total population of the latter.

The name Dhor arrived from the tanning of cattle skins.\textsuperscript{156} The expression derived from the
generally word for oxen, bulls, cows and buffaloes, bullock, cattle. It also meant an ox-bull-cow and an individual head.

In the Madras Report of 1901, a few individuals were returned as "Dhor" a low caste of Marathi leather workers who in looks, speech, food, drink and dress were more like the Chambhars of this district. Very little is known regarding their origin. The tradition regarding the origin of the Kankaya Dhors professes to trace their origin from Mahadeva; but the story was a mere play on the words doha a pool and Kanh the arm-pit.

The founder of this caste was also said to have been the sage Lurbhat, who was born of an Afgav father and Dhigvar mother.

The Dhors were known by various names in different parts of the country, and divided by so many sub-castes or endogamous divisions. According to Enthoven there were eight endogamous divisions among Dhan. They were, Budlekari or Budligar, Bundelkhandi, Hindustani, Kankaya, Karnatak, Khetarpalli, Lingayat and Maratha or Dhor proper. According
to Syed Sirar ul Hassan, they were divided into five endogamous groups viz. Range Dhor, Budhale Dhor, Kakkayya Dhor, Chambhar Dhor and Shadu Dhor.164

The Budhales were a big endogamous division and the term itself stands for "those who prepared leather vessels and bags." The most important Dhors were known as Kak-kayya Dhors were Dhors proper. The Hindustani or Rajpur Dhors were said to have migrated from North India.

In Sholapur area, the main division was said to be Maratha and Lingayat Dhors.166 Within the endogamous division, they had exogamous groups based on surnames. Both the divisions speak Marathi, Hiralal and Russel did not mention them and from this omission we could surmise that the Dhors did not belong to eastern Maharashtra but were to be found mainly in southern Maratha country and Northern Carnataka.167 This was further corroborated by the distribution of the informants who came solely from Belgaum and Satara, Solapur and Kolhapur, Ahmednagar and Sangli and Nipani.168

Within these sub-castes, there were again 360 exogamous sections, which appear to be entirely of Maratha origin.169
The rule of exogamy observed by the caste was that a man could not marry outside the sub-caste nor inside the section to which he belonged persons bearing the same surname did not intermarry. The Dhors were tanners. Their tanneries were situated outside the village as their habitations were popularly though to emit foul smells. The Dhors claimed that they lived nearer to the touchable castes in villages, unlike the Mahars and Mangs whose habitation areas were outside the village frontier. They have trades allied to the Chambhars. Contact between these to castes was deeper. They also worked in leather and made saddles, shoes, water-bags, water-skins, leather buckets, bridles, horses mouth-bages and boxes, pakhals and other articles. They buy raw hides of goats, sheep, bullocks, buffaloes and deer from butchers. In Sholapur their leather work was of a superior description. A few Dhors were husbandman and some worked as day labourers.
References:


23. *Ibid.*, The person touches a woman in her course of menstruation or have had touch after tends of delivery or person attended funeral, such conditions are responsible for developing a sense of untouchability.


26. Louis Dumont, n.3, p. 47. In recent time, the term "Untouchable" according to Louis Dumont: "...... to designate the category in English rather than indigenous; the notion is present, but in common
usage these people are designated by the name of
the particular caste to which they belong.
Euphemism are usually resorted to when the category
is designated, the most introduced by Gandhi being
Harijan, Sonc of Hari, that is creatures of God

27.L.Marc Galanter, Completing Equalities, Law and the
Backward Classes in India, Oxford University Press,
New Delhi, 1984, pp. 13-14.


29.Gardner Murery, In the minds of men, (New York,1953),
pp. 63-64, explained the following degree of social
avoidance (in ascending order): 1) against sitting
on a common floor, 2) against inter dinning 3) against
touching mental pot, 4) against admission in kitchen
5) against touching earthen pot, 6) against admission
in the interior part of the house, 7) against mixing
social festivals, 8) against any kind of physical

30.Anand Chakravarti, n.8, pp. 130-138. Quoted by

31.Ibid., pp. 21, 132.

p. 24.


34.Sanjaya Baru, Marx Centenary: Karl Marx and Analysis
of Indian Society, Economic and Political Weekly,
(Bombay), 10 Dec. 1983, p. 2108. This periodical is
herearchies cited & EPW. (There is a reference in
the article Dipankar Gupta's paper "Continuous
Hierarchies and Discrete Castes", which is a critique
of Louis Dumert's views on the caste system. Quoted
by Shyama Nandisingh, Janata, 15 August 1990, p. 49.

35.J.H.Hutton, Caste in India, p. 48. Quoted by G.R.
Madan, Changing Pattern of Indian Villages, S.Chand
and Co., New Delhi, 1964, p. 54.
36. Ibid., p. 95, L.D. Alte, p. 56.


48. Mate, S.M., Maharashtra Savantsarik Athva Marathi Varshik Gnyan Sangran, Pune, 1933. MUK-Nayak, Weekly (in Marathi), Bombay, 1920, Introduction, p. 9,


52. Govt. of India, *Govt. of India Act, 1935*. Scheduled-I Part 26, New Delhi, Quoted by Alte, I.D.

53. 279-(l) No subject of His Majesty domiciled in India shall or grounds only of religion, place of birth, descent colour or any of them be ineligible for officer under the crown in British India, or be prohibited on any such ground from carrying on any grade business, Profession in British India. The Govt.of India, or be prohibited on any such ground from carrying on any trade business profession in India. The Govt.of India Act 1935, Section 279, Ch.V pt. XII, Govt.of India Press, New Delhi, 1937. Quoted by Dr. Sararsingh, *Scheduled Castes of India*, Gian publishing House, Delhi, 1987, p. 2.


55. *Act of 1935*, Section 24 of the First Scheduled-I.


57. Article 341 of the Indian Constitution (1950) empowers "(i) the President to specify" the castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within castes, races as tribes which shall for the purpose of the Constitution be deemed to the Scheduled Castes and (ii) Parliament may by law include or exclude from the list of Scheduled Castes specified in a notification ... any caste race or tribe."


60. See for detail, Iravati Karve, Maharashtra — Land it's people, (Bombay, 1968), p. 18.


63. Shahu Maharaj grandson of Chhatrapati Shivaji Mahara-
raj nursed a grievance against Brahman who has rejected his claim to Kayatria Status. Similarly Mahatma Jyotiba Phule has also described Marathas were as Shudras by Brahmin.

64. Both Patil and Deshmukh, were the posts in Ancient Administration. However, these posts were largely hold by Marathas.


66. V.L. Deshpande, The Maharashtra Legislative Assem-

67. See for detail, Iravati Karve, p. 30. In support of this view, Karve calls it, "Maratha Kunbi complex she quotes Beethoven: the face that Maratha Kunbi are homogeneous to a greater extent is clearly due to, Primarily to their being Maratha and not being Kunbis."


Mortor Klass has explained Baluta System in terms of class relation and mode of production.

71. The occupations like scavenging, carrying dead cattle and to work as pretty messengers caused degradation of status of Mahar and other castes.

72. Please refer for details Altekar, A.S., *History of Village Communities,* (1926) (Gramini) Village was considered as most important unit of Administration since ancient time.


75. Malley, p. 110.

76. Atre, D.N., p. 3.


79. Malik Amber (1607-1626) was great diplomat and faithful civil servant of Smt. Chand-Bibi. He established Aurangabad city.

See for detail, Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India,* (London, 1958), V.A. Smith states:

"The general system of assessment was based on that of Malik Ambar in Ahmednagar who recognized four kind of soil, fixed a permanent cash payment and abolished revenue farmers in favour of direct dealing between the District Officer and village headman or Patel." p. 493.

80. D.N. Atre, pp. 6-7.

81. J. Lele, pp. 48-51.

83. Mang women considered as Laxmi by the peasants. Therefore, they always insist for the services of Mang during the harvest season. They believed that in the presence of Mang they will accomplish more food grain.

The food grain carried out from threshing floor but remains some grain which is attached to mud and soil called as 'Matara'. That was being collected by Mangs.

84. The grave yard was being digged to bury the dead person. In fact, the Hindu practice is that the dead are burnt. However, in case of the death of unmarried Hindu person burying is practiced.

85. Distribution of flesh and bone was most important occasion in the lives of Mahars and Mangs. Therefore, many a time they used quarrels among themselves for proportionate share of flesh and bones.


87. Particularly the Mahar and Mang used to beg food from the high caste Hindus by saying Johar and Havel Mai Bap.

88. Maryai was supposed as the Goddess of epidemic. Maryai’s temple at Chandrapur is very popular. All untouchables all over Maharashtra used to visit this place.

89. Ghurye, G.S., n. 25, p. 5.


Kosambi states: "... Still high come the Brahmin gods Siva, Vishnu, the incarnations of Vishnu such as Rama and Krishna and their consort goddesses". The Buffalo Demon (Mhasoba) is a farmers good common to whole region, though duplicated by each farmer.
90. Atre, D.N., n. 62, pp. 72-73.
104. Ibid., p. 422.
106. Ibid., p. 33.


109. Enthoven, 1923-24. There were also Mahars who wove a rough kind of cloth called Maharav Khadi in Northern Maharashtra. The Kori and Katia weaving castes of North India have been amalgamated with the Mahars in districts where they have come together along the Satpura mountains and Narmada Valley (Hiralal and Russel, 1916, p. 133). Stephen Fuchs describes 32 untouchable weavers whose secondary occupation was handloon (1950-57). It seems that the untouchable communities found in parts of Gujarat, in Nimas District Madhya Pradesh and the adjacent part of the Northern Maharashtra are of different origin to the Mahars of Western Maharashtra. Quoted by Patwardhan S., Op. Cit., p. 33.


111. Ibid.

112. Ibid.


114. Ibid., p. 127.


136. *Ibid.*, p. 404. There are other genealogies showing the Chamar as the off spring of various mixed unions.


151. Ibid., p. 19.

152. Ibid.,


162. Ibid.,

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