ISSN 2278-8808

UGC APPROVED SR. NO. 45269 SJIF 2016 = 6.177

An International Peer Reviewed & Referred

SCHOLARLY RESEARCH JOURNAL FOR INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES



SUDRA LIFE IN EARLY INEARLY INDIA

Balbir Singh Jamwal, Ph. D

Principal, B.K.M. College of Education, Balachur, District-S.B.S. Nagar (Pb)



In this article an attempt has been to find out the Sudra life in early India. Sudra life in early India was very miserable. He was given the remnant food. He was the servant of upper varnas. He lives on the mercy of upper varnas. He was considered impure. He has to work at the home of upper varnas for earning two times bread. He had no civil and religious rights. He had old beds and worn out clothes. He had not allowed to get education. If he committed any mistake by chance, then his punishment was very hard. He was not owner of anything. He was a tiller. He was an artisan but not owner. He was considered the fourth varna. He was created by upper varnas for their benefits. In the concluded form we can say that he led his life on the mercy of two upper varnas. His life in early India was very miserable because he was deprived from everything. There is composition of different thoughts of great Historians, in this article, who have thrown the light on the sudra life in early India. This article would be very helpful for the government policy makers to make the policy for the sudra Varna to uplift.



Scholarly Research Journal's is licensed Based on a work at www.srjis.com

Introduction

In the *Atharva vedic* reference under discussion sayana explains $\bar{A}rya$ as a member of the three varanas. Which is naturally makes $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ the representative of the forth. The $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$ appear as tribe in the earliest part of the *Atharva veda* can also be inferred from the third reference, in which the fever takman is asked to attack a wanton $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ women along with *Mujavants Balhikas* and *Mahavras*. All these peoples seems to have been inhabitants of north-western India. Where, in the *Mahābhārata*, the $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ tribe is described as living along with the $\bar{A}bh\tilde{u}ras$. It suggests that the context in which the $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ women is mentioned relates to the attitude of hostility of the $\bar{A}ryans$ of the period of the *Atharvaveda* towards the foreign tribes inhabiting north-western India.

Hence the word $\dot{Su}dra$ here probably means a women of the $\dot{Su}dra$ tribe. Coupled with the $\bar{A}bh\tilde{\imath}ras$ the $\dot{Su}dras$ are repeatedly mentioned as a tribe in the $Mah\bar{a}bh\bar{a}rata$, which contains traditions that may look to the 10^{th} century B.C. this epic makes a clear distinction

between the Śūdra kula which mentioned along with the kulas of Kshatriya and Vaiśya, and the $\dot{Su}dra$ tribe, which is mentioned with the $\bar{A}bh\tilde{\imath}ras$, Daradas Tukharas, Pahlavas etc. As a tribe the $S\bar{u}dras$ find place in the list of peoples conquered by Nakula in the course of his all round victorious march (dig. Vigana) and in that of those sending presents to Yudhisthira on the occasion of his great coronation sacrifice (Rajasuya). They are bracketted with the Ābhīras in many references and both of them seem to have existed in India earlier than the Sakas, Tukharas, Pahlavas, Romakas, Chinas and Huns, where names were later, interpolated into the list of the peoples mentioned in the Sabha Parvas. They were a stem of the pre- \bar{A} ryan peoples. In the light of the available data one may be inclined to that the $\hat{S}\bar{u}dra$ tribe had some affinity with the $\bar{A}ryans$. It is interesting to note that they are always bracketed with the $\bar{A}bh\tilde{\imath}ras$, who spoke an $\bar{A}ryan$ dialect called Abhiri, the fact that the people of the $S\bar{u}dra$ class could understand the $\bar{A}ryan$ speech in the period of the $Br\bar{a}hamans$ also may suggest, though remotely, that the $S\bar{u}dra$ tribe was acquinted with the $\bar{A}ryan$ language. The $S\bar{u}dra$ are never mentioned in the lists of the pre- $\bar{A}ryan$ peoples, such as bravidas, pulindas, sabaras etc. they are always located in the north-west, which in later times, was an area mainly occupied by the $\bar{A}ryans$. The $\bar{A}bh\tilde{\imath}ras$ and $\hat{S}\bar{u}dras$ were settled near the Sarasvati.

The $\dot{Su}dras$ came to India towards the end of the second millennium B.C. when they are defeated by the $vedic\bar{A}ryans$ and were gradually absorbad into the later vedic society as the fourth Varna. It has been asserted that the kśatriyas were reduced to the position of $\dot{Su}dras$ as result of their long struggle with the Brahamans, who ultimately deprived their adversaries of the right to the upanayana. On the basis of a solitary tradition occurring in the $Santi\ Parvana$ of the $Mah\bar{a}bh\bar{a}rata$, the paijavana was a $\dot{Su}dra$ king. It is claimed that $\dot{Su}dras$ were $K\dot{s}atriya$ in the beginning. In this case modern court decisions cannot serve as a guide for condition at the time when the $\dot{Su}dra$ class came into being loss of the upanayana in the case of the $\dot{Su}dra$, as well be shown later, is to be found only from the end of the later vedic period, and even so, it was not the only disability imposed on him as a mark of his servility but one of several.

The tradition says that the $S\bar{u}draPaijavana$ performed sacrifices, and occurs in a very late portion of the Mahabharata where it is stated that the $S\bar{u}dra$ can perform five great sacrifices and make gifts. It was clearly meant to serve as a precedent for $S\bar{u}dras$ making gifts and sacrifices, which as will be shown later, was in keeping with liberal attitude of the Santi Parvana. It may be also pointed out that in later times the term $S\bar{u}dra$ or vrsala was applied indiscriminately by the $Br\bar{a}hmanas$ to anybody who went against them.

It is to be found in the *Veda*nta-sutra of *Badarayana*, where the word is devided into two parts suk 'grief' and dra from root dru to rush, while commenting on this passage sankara gives three alternative explanations why Janasruti was called $S\bar{u}dra$: viz. (i) he rushed into grief, (ii) grief rushed on him, (iii) he in his grief rushed to Raikva. *Badarayanas* derivation of $S\bar{u}dra$ and sankara gloss there on have rightly been regarded as an unsatisfactory. The *Janasruti* referred to by sankara is said to have ruled among Mahavarsas, a people who are mentioned in the Atharvaveda as living in North-western India. It is doubtful whether he belonged to the $S\bar{u}draVarna$. Either he belonged to the $S\bar{u}dra$ tribe, or to some other north-western people who were dubbed as $S\bar{u}dras$ by $Br\bar{a}hmanical$ writers. A very similar derivation of the term is given by the author of the unadi-sutras in the grammar of *Panini*, where the term $S\bar{u}dra$ is resolved into two components, i.e. root sue or sukt ra. $Br\bar{a}hmanical$ traditions in the Puranas also connect the term $S\bar{u}dra$ with the root sue, to be grieved. It is said that these who grieved and ran and where addicted to *Manual* tasks and where inglorious and feeble, were made $S\bar{u}dras$.

In the Buddhist lexicon of early medieval times $S\bar{u}dra$ became a synonym of $S\bar{u}dra$ and on this basis it is suggested that $S\bar{u}dra$ is derived from $S\bar{u}dra$. Both derivation and philologically unsatisfactory, but are important as illustrating the ideas associated with the concept of the $S\bar{u}dra$. Varna in ancient times. While the $Br\bar{a}hmanical$ derivation betrays the miserable condition of the $S\bar{u}dra$, the buddhist tradition refers to his mean and inferior status of the society. A recent writer derives the term $S\bar{u}dra$ from the root svi swell the root dra 'run' and suggest that this term means are who runs after gross life, therefore according to him the $S\bar{u}dra$ is an unintelligent fellow meant for Manual work. The discussion on the origin of the $S\bar{u}draVarna$ may be summed up by stating that large sections of the people, $A\bar{r}yans$ and Pore- $A\bar{r}yans$, were reduced to that position, partly through external and partly through internal conflicts. Since the conflicts centred mainly round the possession of cattle, and perhaps latterly of land and the produce those who were dispossessed of there and impoverished came to be reckoned as the fourth class in new society.

. It is stated in the *Jaiminiya Brāhmana* that the Śudra is created from the feet of *Prajāpati* without any god, and therefore the lords of the house are his gods and he is to earn his living by washing feet. According to a later source he has to live by serving people of higher varanas. The former source further informs us that as a result of the horse scaricice (*asvamedha*) the nourisher *Vaiśya* becomes wealthy and the rising Śudra becomes an expert worker. It is not known whether the term karmakarta is used here in the sense of hired labourer, a meaning always attached to similar term Karmakara in post-*vedic* literature. In an

early Upanishad however, the $\dot{Su}dra$ is called puran or the nourisher, a little applied to the $Vai\dot{s}ya$ in the Jaiminiya $Br\bar{a}hmana$.

Sudra was the tiller of the soil engaged in sustaining and producing activities for the nourishment of society.⁵ The impression that the \dot{Sudras} constituted the laboring class is gained from several other references. In the purusamedha a Brāhmana is to be sacrificed to the priesthood, a rājanya to the nobility, a Vaiśya to the maruts and \dot{Sudra} to toil.⁶ It was thought that the \dot{Sudra} symbolized hard work. In the list of sacrificial victims occupations such as chariot maker, carpenter, potter smith jeweler, herdman, shepherd, farmer, brewer, fisherman and hunter in addition to certain people. Such as Misada, Kirata, Parnaka, Paulkasa and Bainda⁷ who presumably were included in the board term of the \dot{Sudra} .

This is amply clear from a passage of the Majjhima, Nikaya, which present a classification of the earnings of the four Varṇas. It informs us that the $Br\bar{a}hmana$ lives on gifts, the $K\dot{s}atriya$ on the use of the bow and the arrow, the $Vai\dot{s}ya$ on agriculture and tending of cattle and the $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ on the use of the sickle and the carriage of crops on the pole hung over his shoulder many references in the early Pali texts speak not of the $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$ as such, but of the $D\bar{a}sas$ (slaves) and kammakaras (hired labourers) as being employed in agricultural operations. There can be little doubt that the landless $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$ were employed as kammakaras. There is evidence to show that the $D\bar{a}sa$ also mostly belonged to the $\dot{S}\bar{u}draVarṇa$. This can be deduced from the phrase suddo va sudda $D\bar{a}sa$ va, which is used by the Buddha to define the position of the $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ after his enumeration of the first three Varnas.

The *Dharmasūtras* throw some light on the living conditions of the member of the ŚudraVarṇa. Gautama provides that Śudra servant should use the shoes, umbrellas, garments and mats, thrown away by the people of the higher Varṇas. The same picture is obtained from a Jataka story, which informs as that clothes gnawed by rats were intended for the use of the $D\bar{a}sa$ and the kanmakaras. Gautam further adds that the remnants of food are meant for the Śudra servant. The $\bar{A}pastamba$ Dharmsutra instructs the pupils to put down the remains a food left in his dish either near an uninitiated $\bar{A}rya$ or near a Śudra slave belonging to his teacher, which clear implies that the remains of the food were to be eaten by the Śudra servants.

A passage of the $\bar{A}pastamba$ Dharmas $\bar{u}tra^{13}$ read with the commentary of Haradatta allows him to accept the food of a $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ in times of distress, provided it is purified by contact with gold and fire and abandoned as soon as the Brāhmana gets an alternative source of livelihood. No such condition is attached by Gautam, who while permitting a Brāhmana to accept a $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$ food in the case of his loss of livelihood, low him to accept the food

from a herdsman, a labourer in tillage, an acquanintance 16 of the family, and a servant. But Gautam does not permit him to support himself by following the occupations of a $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$. 17

the issue begotten by a $\dot{Su}dra$ on women of the Ksatriya Varna is known as a ksatriya and the one begotten on a female of the Vaiśya caste as a Magadha. The son of a $\dot{Su}dra$ by a $Br\bar{a}hmana$ women is branded as a candela. According to Gautama people begotten by the $Br\bar{a}hmana$ the Ksatriya, the Vaiśya and the $\dot{Su}dra$ on a women of the $\dot{Su}dra$ caste are respectively known as parasavas, yavanas, karanas and the $\dot{Su}dras$. The son of a Brahmana by a $\dot{Su}dra$ woman is called a Nisada.

A passage from Vaistha enumerates the following characteristics of the Sudras: backbiting, untruth, cruelly, fault-finding condemnation of the Sudras and continued hostility. This may be given an indication of the hostile attitude of the Sudras to the existing order in general and to its ideological leaders, the Brahmanas, in particular. 19 as shown earlier, the masters seems to have been more hostile and callous towards their slaves and hired labourers than the latter towards their masters.

In defining the functions of the $\dot{S}\bar{u}draVarnakautilya$ used the Dharmas $\bar{u}tra$ terminology. He states that the $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$ means of livelihood is derived from his service of the twice-born. The Dharmas $\bar{u}tras$ terminology used by kautilya may suggest that the $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$ continued to be completely dependent for their livelihood on their masters of the upper Varnas. On the basis of a passage, in book II of the $Arth\dot{s}\bar{a}stra$ of Kautilya it is suggested that $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$ appeared as peasants and cultivators, but this interpretation of the passage seems to be doubtful. Kautilya lays down that in founding a rural settlement villages, consisting of a hundred to five hundred families each, should be set up at the interval of two or four miles and should be inhabited mainly by $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ and Karsaka. In our opinion the terms $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ and Karsaka from compound and indicate that $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$ were not peasants. Several scholars treat $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ as an adjective of Karsaka and hold that $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ peasants were requisitioned for founding settlements. The same chapter of pur \bar{u} speaks of $Vai\dot{u}$ as those who are meant for the service of the $Vai\dot{u}$ as a artisans and non-artisans.

The epigraphical traditions referred to the tax-paying *katumbins* and karus, who were from $\dot{S}\bar{u}draVarna$ adopted agricultural as a subsidiary means of livelihood. ²³ R.S. Sharma holds "the Kurmis, the constitute a numerous cultivating caste in West Bengal, Bihar and Utter Pradesh and are placed in the category of $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$, seems to correspond to the *Katumbin* the same is true of the Kaumbi caste found in Maharashtra and parts of Madhya Pradesh. Hsuan Jsang refers to $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$ as a class of agriculturists, ²⁴ a statement which is qualified by

the Narasimha purana, where agriculture was considered as the main duty of the $\dot{Su}dras$.²⁵ It can be surmised that significant changes took place during 4th& 5th century A.D. when the large population of $\dot{Su}dras$ adopted agriculture as their profession for livelihood, it might be because of large scale land-grants made by kings and the peasants were all sorts religious and administrative services were being paid through land grants. In the process of land, donation the landed aristocrats brought more land under cultivation with the help of iron-plough share where $\dot{Su}dras$ were used as actual cultivator of land.

We find plethora of inference to \dot{Sudras} and various disabilities and derogatory treatment they were subjected. We notice that a \dot{Sudra} was not allowed to a mass wealth on the ground that by so doing he might be proved and openness the Brāhmana. It is also referred in *Manus*mriti that \dot{Sudras} were not allowed to carry a dead body through the routes used by the upper Varna people. Even is money leading \dot{Sudras} discriminated against \dot{Sudra} was supposed to pay highest rate of interest and Brāhmana paid lower. The later vedic traditions assigned, agriculture to the $Vai\dot{s}yas$, who were independent peasant paying a part of their produce as taxes to the kings. We can also have some idea of the economic condition of the \dot{Sudras} from some rules governing the relation between the employers and the employees. It is depicted that "if the servant in tillage gives up his work, he shall be given physical punishments. The same provision was applied to the herdmen who abandoned tending the cattle. If the loss of the cattle was due to the negligence of the herdmen he was held responsible for it.²⁹

Manu explicity declares that the existence of a wealthy $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ is painful for the brāhamanas. The fact that Manu assigns a low status to the $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ does not mean that he was not aware of their functional utility. Infact he enjoins the king to ensure that the people from the lower Varnas continue swerved from their duties, he would be thrown into confusions. Thus we can surmise that the $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$ had no civil and religious rights. Nevertheless, there are sentiments of comparison about him depicted in literary traditions. $^{32}Manu$ states that the $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ was created to serve but it becomes clear when pain alludes to the bought (krita) and free (akrita) unborn kinds of them of these the former could be freed by his master. The difference between the two was that the saleable kind of the $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ served his master as his cattle and could be sold and bought at will and that the act of changing masters on choosing professions was not of his free will while free kind of $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$ could be opted out in accordance with his wish and choice and could not be compelled to continue to serve the same master.

Manu explains that the creation of the universe on the basis of the *samkhya* system of metaphysic. It explains that all deeds are performed by gods, men and animals because of three gunas (qualities), such as satoguna on light, Rajoguna or activity, and Tamoguna or darkness.³⁴*Manu* further adds that the three qualities of nature on the material cause of the universe were responsible for the creation of gods, men and animals. *Manu* also depicted that "in consequence of attachment to sense, and in consequence of the non-performance of their duties, the foe, the lowest *Varṇa*, reach the vilest of births.³⁵

The third century several texts emphasise that the Sudras can perform a number of rituals including the Sumskara can perform a number of rituals including the Sumskara, the only condition is that these have to be done without mantras, which obviously belong to the Sumskara redic texts. The fact that the Sumsara are not allowed to utter the Sumsara mantras does continue a religious hiatus between them and the twice-born, but this is more formal than real. For in early medieval times some smarta mantaras find their way into the Sumsara mantras. An early medieval law givers permits purta-dharma, i.e. charity, social service etc. to the Sumsara but without Sumsara were also prescribed for the Sumsara mantaras.

Manu lays down the same moral code for the members of all the four Varnas. They should practice non-injury, truth, non-stealing, purity, sublimation of passions, and freedom from spite and should be get children on their wives only. From the religious point of view he considers women and $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$ as the most impure sanctions of society. Manu also provides that a dead $Br\bar{a}hmana$ should not be carried by a $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$, because, if he defiles the brunt offering by his touch the deceased does not reach heaven. In this way he maintains the distinction between a $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ and a $Br\bar{a}hmana$ even the latters death.³⁷

The word Vrsala used for the $\dot{Su}dra$ was a term of abuse and opprobrium. While illustrating a rule of Panini regarding the formation of the Samasas Patanjali states that "like the female slave" or like the vrsali" are terms of abuse suggesting thereby that $\dot{Su}dras$ and slaves were considered despicable elements in society. The varsala was placed in the category of the thief and both aroused $Br\bar{a}hmanical$ hostility the company of the $\dot{Su}dra$ was considered contaminating for a $Br\bar{a}hmana.Manu$ states that a $Br\bar{a}hmana$ who lives in the company of the most excellent people and Shuns all low people becomes most distinguished by the opposite conduct he is degraded to the opposition of $\dot{Su}dra$. He produced the provision that the snataka should not travel with the $\dot{Su}dra.^{38}Manu$ recalls that the old rule that if the Vaiśyas and $\dot{Su}dras$ come to the house of a $Br\bar{a}hmana$ as guests, out of compassion they should be permitted to take their fund along with the servants. 39 Generally the fund of the

 $\dot{Su}dras$ was accepted in normal times. *Manu* lays down that, among $\dot{Su}dras$, one may eat the food of his share cropper a friend of his family, his cow-herd, his slave and his barber. ⁴⁰

Manu gives some idea of the food and dress of the $S\bar{u}dras$ who were employed as domestic servants. In this respect he merely repeats and to some extent elaborates the old provision of Gautam. A $S\bar{u}dra$ servant should be allotted by his master suitable maintenance commensurate with his ability, 41 industry and the size of his family. He should be given remnants of food, refuse of grain, worn out clothes and old beds. In the Milinda-panha tender wives of Kśatriyas, Brāhmanas and gahapatis are described as eating tasteful cakes and meant. But there is no mention of the wives of $S\bar{u}dras$ in this connection. Manu's laws imposing new economic disabilities on the $S\bar{u}dras$ were probably ineffective. ⁴² The early law givers, man is guided by considerations of varna in the administration of justice, which affects the position of the $S\bar{u}dras$ adversely. If a Kšatriya defames a Brahman, he shall be fined a hundred panas, but a $S\bar{u}dra$ shall suffer corporal⁴³ punishment. Manu lays down very severe punishments for $S\bar{u}dras$ offending against the members of the superior Varnas. Thus if a $\dot{Su}dra$ insult a twice-born with gross invective, he shall have his tongue⁴⁴ cut out. The term twice-born indicates only the *Brāhmana* and the *Kśatriya*, for this punishment is expressly forbidden in the case of Śūdra reviling a Vaiśya. Manu further provides that, if a Śūdra mentions the names and caste of the twice-born with continuously, an iron nail, ten figure long, shall be thrust red-hot into his mouth. If he arrogantly teaches Brāhmanas their duties, the king shall cause hot oil to be put into his mouth⁴⁵ and into his ears.

Arrian also refers to the servants who attend not only on the soliders but also on their horses, elephants and chariots. Possibly $S\bar{u}dras$ were recruited as menial servants and $S\bar{u}dras$ could be enlisted in times of emergency. In the new settlements oboriginal tribes such the vagurikas, the subareas, the pulindas and the candalas were entrusted with the work of internal defence. Kautilya provides for different kinds of warnings tendered by the court to the members of the different Varnas. The most severe warning is to be given to a $S\bar{u}dra$ who is reminded of terrible spiritual and wordly consequences, which shall follow as a result of his false deposition.

Kautilya differentiates between the diet of an ordinary $\bar{A}rya$ and that of a $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$. In the context an avara means a person of the low caste and is a $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$. But an $\bar{A}rya$ stands for an ordinary member of the higher Varnas, for rations for the $\bar{A}ryas$ of higher grades such as the kings queen and chiefs of army are provided in much qualities. All this would show that the $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$ were fed on inferior food. The $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$ might have been outside the pale of the $\bar{A}ryan$ Society. Since then it has usually been held that the fourth Varna of Brahamanical

society was mainly formed by the $non-\bar{A}ryan$ population, who were reduced to that position by the $\bar{A}ryan$ conquerous.

The distribution of the $\bar{A}ryan$ languages over the greater part of India presupposes mass migration of their speaker. Inspite of the occuranence of many words of proto-munda and 'Dravidian' stock in Sanskrit from vedic times onwards the pre- $\bar{A}ryan$ s living in north India were so swamped by the new comers that they could not retain their language.

As well as shown later, in Northern India the $S\bar{u}dras$, along with Vaiśyas, accounted for the overwhelming majority of the population, but there is nothing to show that they speak $non-\bar{A}ryan$ language. On the other hand, in the later vedic period the $S\bar{u}dras$ understood the $\bar{A}ryan$ speech, as is clear from the formula of address used for them on the occasions of the sacrifice. In this connection a tradition from the $Mah\bar{a}bh\bar{a}rata$ is significant: Sarasvati consisting of the Veda, was formerly designed by Brahma for all the four Varnas. But the $S\bar{u}dras$ having through cupidity fallen into 'ignorance', a condition of darkness, lost the right to the Veda." Weber understands this passage to mean that in ancient times the $S\bar{u}dras$ spoke the language of the Aryans. The Aryan came to India in large numbers with same possible admixture from the enemy tribes, warriors and priests could account only for a small minority of the Aryan population.

The Weaver and others, whose occupation were quite dignified in the RgVeda and apparently practiced by respected number of the vis, came to be reckoned as $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ in the Pali texts. It is likely that $non-\bar{A}ryans$ also pursued these crafts independently but there is nodoubt that many descendants of $\bar{A}ryan$ artisans, who struck to their old professions, were relegated to the position of the $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$. It states that the $Br\bar{a}hmana$, emanated from the mouth of the primeval man, emanated from the mouth of the primeval man, the $K\dot{s}atriya$ from his arms, the $Vai\dot{s}ya$ from his things and the $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ from his feet. Either its shows that the $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$ were supposed to belong to the same stock, and hence were a section of the $\bar{A}ryan$ community, or else it represents an attempt to find a common mythical origin for the heterogenous $br\bar{a}manical$ society.

It appears that the Sudra tribe or sections of the Aryans employed in servile work were given position of the fourth Varṇa, and in this sense the tradition of the common origon of the four Varṇas may have an element of truth. The old tradition of the common origin of the Varṇas could not explain the accession of the non-Aryan tribes to the $Br\bar{a}hmanical$ told, but it could serve as useful fiction. It could help to assimilate and keep the hetrogenous elements together, and, in so far as the Sudras were supposed to have been born from the feet of the first man it could justify their servile position in $Br\bar{a}hmanical$ society. When do the

 \dot{Sudras} first appear as a social class charged with the service of the three higher Varṇas? RgVedic society had some men and women slaves who acted as domestic servants, but they were not so considerable as to constitute the servile Varṇa of the \dot{Sudras} . The first and the only reference to the \dot{Sudras} as a social class in the RgVeda is to be found in the Puruṣasūktapassage already referred to, which recurs in the nineteenth book of the AtherVeda.

Atharvavedarefers to the existence of four Varnas. In it prayer is made to the darbha (grass) to make the worshipper dear to Brāhmana, $K\acute{s}atriya$, $\acute{S}\bar{u}dra$ and $\bar{A}rya$. Here $\bar{A}rya$ probably stands for $Vai\acute{s}ya$. In the second passage is expressed a desire to gods, to kings and to both $\acute{S}\bar{u}dra$ and $\bar{A}rya$. It suggests that the ideology of the Varna system developed under priestly influence. The only other reference relevant to our purpose, which, on the basis of whitney, can be assigned to the early period of the AtharvVeda, mentions $Br\bar{a}hmana$, $R\bar{a}janya$ and $Vai\acute{s}ya$, ⁵¹ but leave out the $\acute{S}\bar{u}dra$. It is evident then that the $\acute{S}\bar{u}dras$ appear as a social class only towards the end of the period of the Atharvaveda, when the $Purusas\bar{u}kta$ version of their origin may have been inserted into the tenth book of the RgVeda. It appears that just the common European world's lave and Sanskrit ' $D\bar{u}sa$ ' were derived from the names of conquered peoples, so also the word $\acute{S}\bar{u}dra$ was derived from a conquered tribe of that name. There is no doubt that $\acute{S}\bar{u}dra$ existed a tribe in the fourth century B.C. for diodoros records the advance of Alexanda against a tribe called Sodrai, ⁵² who occupied portions of modern Sind.

The same case may apply to the $\dot{Su}dra$ tribe, and thus it may be possible to trace the $\dot{Su}dra$ tribe and thus it may be possible to trace the $\dot{Su}draVarna$ of circa 10^{th} - 8^{th} century B.C. from the $\dot{Su}dra$ tribe of the 4^{th} century B.C. The earlier opposition between $\bar{A}rya$ and $D\bar{a}sa$ or Dasyu is replaced by one between $\bar{A}rya$ and $\dot{Su}dra$. It is worth stressing that these references do not give any idea of the social distance or disabilities, which are implicit in the conception of Varna. They may be compared with another passage from the same collection which speaks of $\bar{A}rya$ and $D\bar{a}sa$, and in which it is claimed by the priest or Varna that no $D\bar{a}sa$ or $\bar{A}rya$ can damage the course he maintains. ⁵³

In the later *vedic* period artisan sections of the vis were reduced to the position of $\dot{Su}dras$, there is nothing to show that crafts or agricultural operations in which they were employed were looked upon with contempt. So far as agriculture is concerned, there was a positive attitude of aiding, encouraging and honouring it by applying charms and performing a number of domestic rites.⁵⁴

The $\dot{Su}dra$ is possibly connected with another ceremony of the rajasuya sacrifice, in which the newly consecrated king is called on to ascend the four quarters of the sky, when *Brahma* in the east, *Ksatra* in the south, *Vis* in the west *Ana Phala*, *Varcas Ana Pustam* in the north are asked to protect him. *Jayaswal* says that phala is evidently a substitute for $\dot{Su}dra$.

The *Sabha Parvan*, which is regarded as one of the earliest portions of the *Mahābhārata* tells us that respectable $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$ were invited to the great coronation sacrifice of Yudhisthisa. The contradictory statement that no non-sacrificing $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ was present on the occasion probably reflects a later attempt to exclude $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$ from political power. At any rate it seems clear that at least some section of the $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$ participated in coronations of kings. According to a passage of the *Yajus* collections of both the schools on the occasion of the rajasuga sacrifice the king established among the vis prays surya for the expiation of the sin committed against the $\bar{A}rya$ and the $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$.

The $\dot{Su}dra$ was not admitted to the vajapeya (drink of strength) sacrifices, which was supposed to increase the strength of the king. According to one text it was open to the $Br\bar{a}hmana$, Ksatriya and $Vai\acute{s}ya$, but in other texts even the Vai\acute{s}ya came to be excluded. There is an indication of the lack of civic status of the $\dot{Su}dra$ in the minor ceremony described in the Taittiriya $Br\bar{a}hmana$. In explaining a rite of new and full moon day ceremonies, it is argued that the $\dot{Su}dras$ who are in front of their masters seek their favour, and those who are not capable of making contradiction are to be treated in the same manner as the $\dot{Su}dras$. This would be suggest that the $\dot{Su}dras$ were not expected to speak against their master and were thought to be completely sessile.

Ritual literature can also made to yield some information on social condition of the $\dot{Su}dra$. A passage of the yajus collection states that the Vaiśya and $\dot{Su}dra$ were created together. This suns counter to the purusaukta version, in which the Vaiśya precedes the $\dot{Su}dra$ in the order of certain with the result that the latter is assigned the lowest place in society. But the tendency to put the Vaiśya and the $\dot{Su}dra$ in the same social category is noticeable in some rites, which shows that a $Vai\acute{s}ya$ can be the husband of a $\dot{Su}dra$ women does not seek prosperity, the idea being that such a marriage condomns him to a life of prolonged penury. The commentators take the term $\bar{A}rya$ in the sense of $Vai\acute{s}ya$, women provides evidence of marriage between the $Vai\acute{s}ya$ and the $\dot{Su}dra$ women, but the authors of the vedic index regard these references as instances of illicit union between the $\bar{A}rya$ and the $\dot{Su}dra$.

The position of the $\dot{Su}dras$ in post-vedic times the $Br\bar{a}hmanical$ sources, which mainly comparise the $Dharmas\bar{u}tras$, the Gahyasutras and the grammer of $P\bar{a}nini$ can be

supplemented by the early *Buddhist* and Jain texts. The chronological position of these sources can be fixed only roughly. In the scholarly study of the subject made by kane the principal *Dharmasūtra* have been assigned to the period (600-300) B.C. The law book of *Gautam*, which contains, most information relating to the $Ś\bar{u}dras$, is believed to be the oldest of the *Dharmasūtras*. The sutra shows a grammatical freedom which is hardly conceivable after the period of the full influence of *Panni*, whose grammer has been assigned to the middle of the 5^{th} century B.C.⁶²

The laboring or sessile population of every village was called $\dot{Su}dras$, over when the three upper Varnas exercised general social central. Thus we have the clear beginnings of a society based on the $\dot{Su}dra$ labour. The $\dot{Su}dras$ constituted the serving class was only implied in the texts of the later vedic period. But during this period the $Dharmas\bar{u}tras$ made the explicit and emphatic statement that the duty of the $\dot{Su}dra$ was to serve the three higher Varnas, and thus to maintained his dependents. He was expected to run his independent house, which he supported by agricultural and artisanal occupations. Gautam informs that the $\dot{Su}dra$ could live by practicing he mechanical arts.

The artisan members of the $\dot{Su}draVarna$ played an important role in the agrarian economy of the pre-mauryan period. Workers in metal not only made axes, hammers, saws, chisels etc. meant for the carpenters and smiths, but also supplied agriculture⁶⁵ with plough shares, spades and similar implements, when enabled the farmers to provide surplus food for people living the towns. The urban life and the thriving trade and commerce, which appear for the first time in north-eastern India during this period, could not have been possible without considerable amount of commodity production by the artisans.⁶⁶

That the slave received a fixed type of food is clear from the repeated use of the abusive phrase $D\bar{a}sa$ -paribhoga. Sour grud was the food of a poor man working for wages. A Jataka story refers to a potters hireling, who offer a full days work with the clay and the wheel "sat all clay-besmeared on a bundle of straw eating balls of barley great dipped in a little soup." The phrase that a person lived a hard life on a workmans wages commonly occurs in the Jatakas. At one place, the workman who is the Boddhistta, bewails his lot in these words: I get a masaka or a half-masaka for my wages and can hardly support my mother. 68

A *Jataka* story shows that while the salves lived in the house of their masters, the Karmakaras went to their lodings in the evening.⁶⁹ The life of the hireling sometimes harder than that of the slaves.⁷⁰ He could not enjoy that security of livelihood which was assured to the slave or the permanent domestic servants Gautam lays down that the drya, under whose

protection the $\dot{Su}dra$ places himself, should support him if he becomes unable to work.⁷¹ But the practice did not conform to this precept, for a gatha states that people throw away the out worn servant like a she-elephant.⁷²

Members of the $Vai\acute{s}ya$, the $K\acute{s}atriya$ and perhaps of the BrāhmanaVarnas, who did not obsene the rites and duties of their class, could also be subjected to this procedure in the order of their social status but only when the $\acute{S}\bar{u}dras$ was not available. This law, which provides a license for the extortions from the $\acute{S}\bar{u}dra$ community by the members of the upper Varnas, is not to be found in any other $Dharmas\bar{u}tras$, although it has its parallel in the Manu smriti. It may be a later insertion which reflects the tendency of a $Br\bar{a}hmanical$ school to exploit the $\acute{S}\bar{u}dra$ to the full. The law of inheritance contains discriminatory provisions relating to the share of the son of a $\acute{S}\bar{u}dra$ wife. According to Buudhayana in the case of issues from the wives of different Varnas, & our shares would go to the Brāhmana, three to the Kshatriya, tho to the $Vai\acute{s}ya$ and to the $\acute{S}\bar{u}dra^{74}$ son. In such case Vasistha provides for the shares of the sons of only the three higher Varnas, leaving out the $\acute{S}\bar{u}dra$ son.

In the most shocking to the modern democratic mind is the fact that $\bar{A}pastamba$ and baudhayana provide the same penance for killing a $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ as for killing a flamingo, a bhasa, a peacock a Brahmaniduck, a pracalaka, a crow, an owl, a frog, a muskrat, a dog etc. ⁷⁶ this extreme view, which attaches the same importance to the life of a $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ as to that of an animal or a bird, may not have found universed acceptances for the same law givers prescribe a wergled of ten cows and a bull⁷⁷ for killing a $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$. No doubt, that the early $Br\bar{a}hmanical$ law attached very little importance to the life of a $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$. ⁷⁸ The general substitution of society based on Varna for tribal society during post vedic times, the members of the $\dot{S}\bar{u}draVarna$ ceased to have any place in the work of administration. They were probably excluded from all administrative appointments and subjected to corporal punishments for minor offences. The penalties laid down by the rules of penances and criminal law in respect of the $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$ are indeed proportionately much higher than those prescribed for offences that committed by the higher Varnas.

The food touched by the Sudra is defiled and cannot be taken by a Brāhmana is first expressed in the Dharmasūtras. According to Āpastamba the food touched by an impure, but is not unfit for eating. But it is brought by an impure Sudra, it cannot be taken. The same is the case with the food which is looked at by a dog or apapatra, to whose class belong the patita (outcaste) and candela. Another rule states that of a Sudra touches a Brāhmana while the latter is eating he should leave off eating, because the Sudras, touch defiles him. Moreover, he is alone in laying down the rule that a Suataka should not sip the water of

a $\dot{Su}dra$. 83 In some cases the rules regarding the Brāhmanas boycott of the $\dot{Su}dra$ food were sought to enforced by various threats and penances. According to vasistha, the most deserving $Br\bar{a}hmana$, was one whose stomach did not contain the food of a $\dot{Su}dra$. 84 The $Dharmas\bar{u}tras$ give the impression the generally the ideal $Br\bar{a}hmana$ avoided the food of a $\dot{Su}dra$, especially if he was impure. But the penance and threats for enforcing this ban seem to be of later origin and were probably not effective during this period. It is clear that no such ban was imposed on the $K\dot{s}atriya$ and the Vaiśya. Thus at the vaisvadeva ceremony the $\dot{Su}dra$ could be engaged in the preparation of the food under the superintendence of the men of the first three Varnas. While cooking he should remain absolutely neat and clean so that the food might not be contaminated for this purpose he should cause the hair of his head, his beard, the hair on his body and his nails to be cut, preferably on the eighth day of each half of the month or on the days of full and new moon. 85 Beside he should take his bath with his clothes on. Even in a later Jataka the occupation of a cook is described as one to be practiced by slaves 86 or hired labourers. In some cases, however, the Ksatriya father avoids eating with his daughter by a slave wife. But this passage occurs in the present story 87 of a later Jataka.

The marriage rules of the Dharmasūtras were dictated by considerations of Varṇa. Of the eight forms of marriage, which first appear during this period, the gandharva (love marriage) and the paisaca (marriage by reduction which implied some sort of consent) were considered lawful for the $Vai\acute{s}yas$ and the $\acute{s}\bar{u}dras$. According to Baudhayana the first was meant for the $Vai\acute{s}yas$ and the second for the $\acute{s}\bar{u}dras$.

A later Jataka informs us that two candela boys went in disguise to receive education at Taxila, but when they were detected through the inadvertent use of their own dialect, they were expelled from the institution. Nevertheless, other Jataka stories shows that the schools had on their rolls sons of merchants⁸⁹ and tailors, and even fishermen. Thus in practice even during this period the $Ś\bar{u}dras$ were not completely excluded from the receiving education. The Dharms $\bar{u}dra$ exclusion of the $Ś\bar{u}dra$ from vedic-education naturally led to his exclusion from sacrifices and sacrament which could be performed only with the vedic mantras. A rule of the Asvalayana $Grhyas\bar{u}tra$ is interpreted as suggesting that the $Ś\bar{u}dra$ could hear the vedic mantras to be recited on the occasion of the madhu parka ceremony. ⁹⁰

The $\dot{Su}dra$ could not lay the sacred five for the *vedic* sacrifice. He could not perform⁹¹ any sacrament. He came to be excluded from the *vedic* sacrifice to such an extent that in the performance of certain rites even his presence and sight were to be avoided. Ordinarily a $\dot{Su}dra$ could not use even the current exclamation namely he could do this only if he was especially permitted⁹² to do so, Gautama, however, quotes certain authorities who allow a

 $S\bar{u}dra$ to perform a select list of small *vedic* sacrifices known as the *paka-yajnas Baudhayana* quotes others as stating that submission in water and bathing are prescribed for all the Varṇas, but sprinkling water over the along with the recitation of the mantras ⁹³ is the particular duty of the twice-born.

The $Vai\acute{s}ya$ traders and $\acute{S}\bar{u}dra$ artisans and labourers correspond to the third caste of Megasthenes the members of which work at trades, ved wares and are employed in bodily labour. ⁹⁴ In the $Arth\acute{s}\bar{a}stra$ the $\acute{S}\bar{u}dras$ probably come under the eatgory of the non-taxpayers, who number also is to be recorded by the gopa. ⁹⁵ In the paying villages a list is to be maintained of those who supply free labour to the state. In the taxpaying villages a list to be maintained of these who supply free labour to the state.

Arthśāstra evidence regarding the employment central and wages of the artisans in so far as they throw light on the general position of the $S\bar{u}dras$ – reference has already been made to the artisans who were mobilized by the state to help agriculture. Many others seem to have been employed by the state in weaving, mining, store keeping, Manufacturing of arms, mental work etc. In the earlier period artisans such as weavers appear in the employment of the gahapati, but now they are employed in large numbers by the state. People of the $S\bar{u}dra$ caste and artisans Manufacturing worsted threads, cotton threads, bamboo mats, skins, armour, weapons and scabbards should be allotted their dwellings to the west of the royal place.

Politically and socially the \dot{Sudras} continued to be subject to the old discriminations, although Kautilya seems to have made a number of concessions in the case of the \dot{Sudra} sons of the people of the higher Varṇas. They could not be reduced to slavery, could have share in the paternal property and under special circumstances could enjoy the light to vedic sacrifice and education. But the larger body of the \dot{Sudras} continued to suffer from the old disabilities. The $Arth\dot{sastra}$ gives us some idea about the general conduct of the lower orders, which shows that they were not altogether happy about the conditions in which they lived.

Manu lays down a number of laws which affect the economic position of the $\dot{Su}dras$ adversely thus he introduces rates of interest according to Varṇa. The monthly interest charged should be two, three, four or five percent according to the orders of the Varṇas. $^{100}Manu$ lays down that a $\dot{Su}dra$ should not be permitted to accumulate wealth, for the gives pain to the Brahmans. It is suggested that this injunctions is an exaggerated statement addressed to $\dot{Su}dra$ himself, 101 but the tax does not provide any basis for such an interpretation. $^{102}Manu$ lays down that the $Br\bar{a}hmana$ can confidently seize the goods of his

 $\dot{Su}dra$ slave, for he is not allowed to own any property. Jayaswal thinks that this probably legalizes sources of property of the BuddhistSamagha which had become enormously rich. ¹⁰³

Manu provisions regarding the social position of the \dot{Sudras} are largely the remastications of the views of the older authorities. But he introduces certain new discriminations against them. He recounts the mythical story of creation when gives the lowest place, 104 to the \dot{Sudras} . He also repeats the old law prescribing different forms of greetings in relation to the members of the four Varnas. But he adds that a Brāhmana whose does not know the form of returning salutation must not be saluted by a learned man because he is like a \dot{Sudra} . When learn from Patanjali that in returning greetings \dot{Sudras} were addressed differently from non- \dot{Sudras} . Thus an elevated tone was not to be used in addressing \dot{Sudras} .

The Shāntiparva emphasizes that the $\dot{Su}dra$ servant must be maintained by masters of the three higher Varnas. But it repeats the old rule that he should be given worn out umbrellas, turbans, beds, shoes and fans, and torn clothes by the twice-born. The Shāntiparva repeats the myth that the $\dot{Su}dra$ was created by prajāpati as the $D\bar{a}sa$ of the three vainas and hence he is required a practice the $D\bar{a}sa$ -dharma.

The earlier law givers permit arts and crafts to the $\dot{Su}dras$ only when they fail to earn their livelihood through the service of the three higher vernas, but this condition is now waived and handcrafts are included in the normal occupations of the $\dot{Su}dras$. These crafts are defined by Brahaspati as working in gold, base metals, wood, thread, stone and leather. The Amarakośa list of craftsmen, which occurs in the $\dot{Su}dra$ -varga, gives two names each for general artisans, heads of their guilds, garland makers, washermen, potters brick layers, weavers, tailors, painters, armourers, leather workers, blacksmiths, shell-cutters and workers in copper. The list gives four names for goldsmiths and five names for carpenters. Amara also includes players on drums, water, flute and vina, actors, dances and tumblers in the $\dot{Su}drav$ erga. Thus the list would suggest that all varieties of arts and crafts were practiced by $\dot{Su}dras$.

The $Grhyas\bar{u}tras$, on domestic rites which mostly belong to pre maurya times, do not permit any sacrament to a $S\bar{u}dra$, nor are those allowed to him in any pre-Gupta text. The problem of accommodating the new $S\bar{u}dras$ in the $Br\bar{a}hmanical$ system becomes so important that a new $Grhyas\bar{u}tra$ called the Vaijavapa $Grhyas\bar{u}tra$ is prepared for this purpose. Literally it means the text dealing with the sowing of seeds, a function performed by both the Vaisyas and $S\bar{u}dras$. 108

For occurring in a post-Gupta *Vaisnative upapurna* ordins that in making temples and images white wood is auspicious for the Brāhmanas, red for the *Ksatriya*, yellow for the Vaiśya and black for the $\dot{Su}dra$. It is also laid down that a Brāhmana should not accompany the corpse of a $\dot{Su}dra$ to the pyre, if he does so he is purified by bathing, touching fire and eating ghee. The old rule providing for the highest period of impurity in the case of death in a $\dot{Su}dras$ family is maintained by several texts of the period.

Brhaspati lays down that in the case of still birth a Brāhmana is purified in 10 days a ksatriya in 7 days, a Vaiśya in 5 days and a Śūdra in 3 days. In some cases penances are provided for seeing Śūdras and outcastes, who are considered to be as impure as dogs. Penances are also provided for the kśatriya student who comes into contact with Vaiśya or a Śūdra and for the Vaiśya student who comes into contact with a Śūdra. After the death prajapatya is the heaven assigned to the Brāhmanas who perform the ceremonies, Aindra to the ksatriyas who do not flee in battle, Maruta to the Vaiśya who carry out their duties, and Gandharva to the Śūdras who are engaged in menial service.

Kautilya arthśāstra refers that a Śūdra duty was not merely the service of the three upper Varṇa. The Śūdra was allowed also to adopt varta which is explained as agriculture, cattle rearing and trade. During the mauryan and Post-Mauryan times, Śūdra were being transformed as peasants. The new village were formed, and the services of the Śūdras were required to brought uncultivated land under cultivation. Even $kautalya^{111}$ suggested that a new village inhabited by Śūdra enjoys the advantage of numerical strength. He further adds that for the cultivation of uncultivated land on rehabilitate old sites the Śūdras were to be transferred from the regions which were over populated and settled in new arise. 112

The $Ait\bar{A}ryaBr\bar{a}hmanas$ depicted that those who did not surrender to $\bar{A}ryan$ were called as Dasyus (Robbers) and $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ were treated a servant of occupation and that he could be ejected from a place or even slain at will. Thus it can be deduced that the $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ was completely at the mercy of the upper Varnas, and had no security in the respect of property or life. Even they were denied the right to milch cows the milk to be used for sacrificial purposes. In this connection following remark is significant. "One who is $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ has came into being" from non-being. It indicates that the $\dot{S}\bar{u}dra$ did not belong to the $\bar{A}ryan$ fold. The social disabilities of the $\dot{S}\bar{u}dras$ such as their enterance into the place where sacrifices were performed and they were debarred, from sitting in the same line with the twice-born.

The $\dot{Su}dras$ could make offerings of water and other things to their pitras, who are referred to by the epithet sukalin in the *purānas* and are described as dark in the colour. $\dot{Su}dras$ and women were not permitted to offer home which could be done only with the

vedic mantras. The newly going practices of puja and vrata were open to them. Persons of all the castes including \dot{Sudras} were entitled to perform vratas.¹¹⁵

Conclusion

In the life of a man social and economic status play an active role. In the anicient time the social and economic status of the sudra was very lower. Untouchability was in full swing. Punishment was very hard, if he committed any mistake knowingly and unknowingly. Sudra was observed as lower order and as servant. He lived on the mercy of the upper varnas. He was created by upper varnas for their benefits. He had no civil and religious rights. Remnant food was given to him. Early life of sudra was very miserable. In the modern age Governments have and have been launched various schemes to uplift to the status of the sudras. He has given the equal rights to other varna, s people. Centre and state governments have and have been joined the hands to provide the more and more facilities to the sudras. Various laws have and have framed for the welfare of the sudras. Now the position of sudras is very good in comprasion of position of sudras in early India. No doubt, the facilities are full and equal to upper varnas to sudras ,but attitude of the Higher varnas have not been changed so much as required. Governments should try to change the attitude of upper varnas to sudras varna by organizing various types of Seminars, conferencs, workshops, awareness camps, inter-cultures programmes and inter-caste marriage etc. social, religious, political and best educationists should come forward to change the attitude of the upper varnas. Financial help should be given to those families who are really poor . Financial assistance should be provided to the economic weaker sections irrespective caste and colour, thus positive change in attitude of upper varna may be brought to the sudra varna.

REFERENCES

```
R.S.Sharma pp 38-42
```

B.R. Ambedkar. Who were the Śūdra. P. 239.

Ibid pp. 139-143.

Mbh, XII 60. 38-40.

Ibid p. 48-49.

Sat. Br. XIII 6.2.10 Tai. Br. III 4.1.1.

Tai Br. III. 4.2.14.

R.S. Sharma pp. 101-103.

W.L. Westermen, The Slave System of Greek and Roman, Antiquity, 1955 p. 9-10.

Jat. i. 372.

X 59.

AP. DH. S. 1 1.3.40.

Ap. Dh. S. Introduction.

Ap. Dh. S. 1.6.15.16.

Sudrat XVII 5.

Phojyannah XVII 6.

XVII 22.

R.S. Sharma pp. 132-133.

Vas Dh. S. VI 24. Bondyopadhyaya Eco. Life and Progress in Ancient India p. 301-311.

Vas. Dh. S. VI 24.

Adi Purana, XVI 162-66.

Ibid 184-85.

J.f. Flect, III p. 3140.

T. Watters, on Yuan Chwangs Travels in India, 1904, pp. 167-168.

Narasimha Purana 2nd *Ed Bombay* 1911, pp. 57-58, 10-16.

Manu, S. X 129 V. 92.

Yajna, S. II 3.37.

Vasistha 1.42.

Swaswati Das, Social in Ancient India, Delhi, 1994, p. 40.

Manu X 159.

Ibid VIII, 417-418.

Gautam, X 62-63.

Manu, IX 413-414.

Ibid XII. 40-50.

Ibid XII 52.

Ibid. pp. 300-301.

Ibid pp. 233-234.

Manu IV. 140-141, 244-245.

Manu IV 211-12.

Ibid, 353.

Ibid X 124-125.

Man IV 60-62.

Manu VIII. 267.

Manu VIII 272-273.

Manu I 31-32.

AS II. I.

AS III ii.

R.S. Sharma 'Śūdras in Ancient India' p. 28-29, 2002.

Ibid, p. 33.

AV, XIX 33.8; Paipp, XII 4.8.

AV, V. 17.9; Paipp IX 16.7.

J.W. M.C. Crindle, Ancient India as described by Ptolomy, Culcutta 1885, p. 157.

R.S. Sharma p. 35.

AV III 24, Sat. Br. 1.6.1, 1-8.

R.S. Sharma p. 58.

Mbh 11. 33-41.

Mbh 11. 33.9.

Ibid XI. 2.7.16.

Tai br. III 3.11.2.

Sat Br. XIII 2.9.8.

R.S. Sharma p. 67-69.

Ibid pp. 90-92. Gaut Dh. S. X. 53-57. Silpavrttica X 60-61. Jat, v. 45. Digha. N. ii 147-48. Kanayakam bhojanam diyyati Ang. N. pp. 145, 151, 459, 407-8. Jat iii 326-27. Jati iii 445. CHI I, 205. Gaut. Dh. S. X 61. Jati. Iii 387. Manu, XI 13. Bau. Dh. S. II 2.3.10. Vas. Dh. S. XVIII. 46-51. Ap. Dh. S. 1.9.25.13. Bau. S. 1.10.19.6. Sdm Br. 1.7.7. Supra. P. 123. Ghoshal I.C. XIV. 27. Jat. 1. 5.16.21 Ibid 1.5.16.22. Ap. Dh. 5. 1.5.16.30. IX 11. VI. 26. Ap. Dh. S. 11 2.3. 1-4. Jat V. 293-294. Ibid. IV 145-7. Senart, Caste in India, pp. 182-185. Jati IV. 38-393. Hopkins – Mutual Relation of the Four Castes pp. 86-87. Ap. Dh. S. 1.33. Gaut. Dh. S. X 64-65. II 4.73. Ibid AICL, p. 53 Strabo, Frag. 46. *AS II 35-36*. Ibid. AS II 12-23. AS II 23-24. AS IV. 6. Manu III. 142. Manu X. 129-130.

Ketakar, History of Caste, p. 98-99.

Manu, VII, p. 417, 171.

Ibid. II 125-128.

Pat. On Pa II, III, V, VI.

Santi pp. 60. 31-33.

R.S. Sharma pp. 261-263.

Ibid pp. 297-28.

Brhat Samhita (89, 5-6) and Vishnudharma Mahapurana (iii) 89, 12.

AS 1.3.3.

Ibid VII 11.

Ibid. II. 1.

The Taittiriya Brāhmana 2.3.9.

Sat. Br. 3.1.19 Ait Br. 2.8.7.

R.S. Sharma, p. 303-305.