

# Guru Ravidass, Ravidassim and Emerging Pattern of Dalit Socio-Religious Identity

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**Abstract-**The social mobilisation of Dalits represents a critical aspect of the broader struggle for social justice and equality. Historically subjected to systemic discrimination and marginalisation under the caste hierarchy, Dalits have increasingly engaged in collective action to challenge their socio-economic and political subjugation. This mobilisation has taken diverse forms—ranging from grassroots activism and mass movements to engagement with electoral politics and the assertion of cultural identity. Landmark movements such as the Dalit Panthers, the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), and various Ambedkarite initiatives have played pivotal roles in reshaping the discourse on caste and equality. This abstract explores the evolution, strategies, and impact of Dalit social mobilisation, highlighting the role of Guru Ravidass Deras/shrines in reshaping the socio-cultural and religious identity of Dalits.

**Key words:** Dalits, Dera, Mobilisation, Guru Ravidass.

## INTRODUCTION

Social mobilization encompasses a broad spectrum of dynamic social elements, including values, traditions, cultural symbols, philosophies, religious practices, rituals, and everyday customs such as food habits etc. It reflects how communities come together around shared experiences and identities to pursue collective goals. This paper focuses on the unique patterns of social mobilization among Dalit communities, the recent trajectory in this regard may be called Ravidassism (based on the Philosophy of Medieval Indian saint Ravidass) in northern Haryana, examining how cultural, and socio-religious factors have shaped their efforts to assert identity, claim rights, and bring about social change.

In India, religion plays a significant role in shaping the social and cultural fabric of society. Many people

depend on religious sects, spiritual leaders, and religious institutions for socio-religious guidance. These sects often influence moral values, lifestyle choices, festivals, rituals, and even political opinions. Whether it's Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Sikhism, Buddhism, or Jainism, religious beliefs deeply affect personal and community life. Religious leaders are seen as sources of wisdom and are often consulted for important life decisions. This deep-rooted reliance reflects India's diverse spiritual traditions and highlights how religion continues to impact daily life and social structures in the country.

Dalits, also known as Scheduled Castes in India, have historically faced severe discrimination, exclusion, and exploitation under the rigid caste system, particularly within the framework of Hindu/Sanatan society, often referred to as Sanatan Dharma. For centuries, they were marginalized and denied access to basic human rights, education, property, and dignified employment. They were forced to perform menial tasks considered "impure," such as manual scavenging, and were socially ostracized under the practice of untouchability. This systematic oppression affected every aspect of their lives—socially, politically, religiously, and economically.

Religiously, Dalits were excluded from temples, denied the right to read or even hear sacred scriptures, and were often told that their very existence was a result of bad karma from previous lives. These discriminatory practices were justified using religious texts and sanctioned by upper-caste elites. Politically, they were voiceless for centuries, having little to no representation in leadership or decision-making spaces. Economically, they were kept in a cycle of poverty through exploitative labor systems and denial

of land ownership or access to education. Socially, they were stigmatized, segregated in villages, and subjected to violence if they tried to assert their rights or dignity<sup>1</sup>.

This long history of injustice compelled many Dalits to reject the very religious system that had legitimized their subjugation. Over time, large numbers of Dalits began converting to other religions such as Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, and Sikhism—faiths that, at least in principle, rejected caste-based discrimination. The most notable of these movements was led by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, a Dalit himself and the chief architect of the Indian Constitution. On October 14, 1956, in a historic move, Ambedkar and over half a million of his followers embraced Buddhism in a mass conversion event in Nagpur. This act was not merely a spiritual choice but a strong political and social statement against the caste-based injustices of Hindu society<sup>2</sup>.

Conversions continue to be a form of resistance and a search for dignity among Dalits even today. While embracing new faiths has not always guaranteed complete freedom from discrimination—especially due to the deep-rooted nature of caste in Indian society—it has allowed many Dalits to reclaim a sense of identity, equality, and self-respect. These conversions often come with a renewed hope for social mobility, access to education, and spiritual liberation.

In wrapping up, the systematic and multifaceted oppression of Dalits under the traditional Hindu caste system led them to seek alternate religious paths that promised dignity and equality. This shift was not just about faith but about challenging centuries of social hierarchy and striving for justice, dignity, and equal human rights. Converting to other religions became both an act of liberation and a declaration of resistance against a system that had for too long denied them humanity.

## The Rise of Guru Ravidass-Inspired Dalit Identity in Contemporary India

India's caste system has long perpetuated inequality and oppression, especially against Dalits, also known as Scheduled Castes. Historically marginalized and excluded from socio-religious and economic life, Dalits have been denied dignity, opportunity, and equality for centuries. As a response, many rejected the traditional religious framework—particularly the hierarchical structure of Sanatan Dharma (Hinduism)—that validated their oppression. Mass conversions to Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, and Sikhism have marked major milestones in Dalit resistance, particularly the iconic 1956 Buddhist conversion movement led by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. However, in recent years, a new spiritual and cultural wave has emerged among Dalits, centered around the teachings and philosophy of Guru Ravidass, which is redefining their religious and social identity in significant ways.

### Guru Ravidass: A Voice of Equality and Devotion

Guru Ravidass (also spelled Ravidas), a 15th-century saint and poet from Varanasi, was born into a so-called "untouchable" caste, traditionally associated with leatherwork. Despite his low caste status, his spiritual message of equality, unity, love, and devotion to one universal God resonated across caste and religious lines. He challenged the very foundations of the caste system and advocated for a society based on justice, compassion, and shared humanity.

Guru Ravidass is known as the leading star of Bhakti movement, especially the nirguna sampradaya or sant parampra(sect of devotees of a formless god). He was very popular along with Namdev, Kabir and Trilochan, in several northern parts of India<sup>3</sup>. His popularity in the vast area of India can be imagined by the various names he is known by or attributed to him by his followers in different regions and in different

<sup>1</sup> Kumar, Ravinder (2017). "Three Generations of Dalit Movement in India" **International Journal of Research in Economics and Social Sciences (IJRESS)** Available online at: <http://euroasiapub.org> Vol. 7 Issue 7, July- 2017.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid*

<sup>3</sup> Zelliot Eleanor . 2003 "Ravidas to Ambedkar", voices from Vancouver: The Souvenir of The International Dalit conference, Vancouver Canada: May 16-18, 2003. Canada: the Association for International Dalit Conference Inc., pp27-30.

languages i.e. Raidasa, Ruidasa, Ramadassa, Raedasa, Rohidasa, Rav Dasa, Rab Dasa<sup>4</sup>. The poetry of Guru Ravidass reflects the equality, unity, love, and devotion to one formless universal God. Moreover he was the foremost advocate of the emancipation of downtrodden (the so called Shudras and Chandalas) where he himself was born in.

His hymns and philosophical verses, many of which are included in “Amritbani of Satguru Ravidass”<sup>5</sup> and in the Guru Granth Sahib<sup>6</sup>, the Holy Scripture of Sikhism, focus on the futility of caste distinctions and the importance of inner purity or virtues based works over birth-based hierarchy. Let us have some examples of his verses based on rationality, equality, liberty and brotherhood.

*AISI LAL TUJH BIN KAUN KARAI. GARIB NIVAJ GUSIA MERA MATHAI CHHATAR DHARAI. || RAHA AO || JA KI CHHOT JAGAT KAO LAGAI TA PAR TUHI DHARAI. NICHAI UCH KARAI MERA GOBIND KAHU TE NA DARAI. NAMDEV KABIR TILOCHAN SADHNA SAIN TARAI. KAHAI RAVIDASS SUNHU RE SANTAHU HAR JIO TE SABHAI SARAI || SHABAD-85<sup>7</sup>(Raag Maru)*

O God! O my Jewel God!! Without you, who can do such a favour to me? Cherisher of the poor, Lord of the earth, you have put over my forehead a canopy of spiritual sovereignty. You do favour to him, whose touch defiles the world. My fearless God has raised my status from low to high caste. Namdev, Kabir, Trilochan, Sadhna and Sain were emancipated. Ravidass says, listen to me, O Saints! The God is powerful to do anything<sup>8</sup>.

*PAANDE! HAR VICH ANTAR DADHA. MUND MUNDAVAI SEWA PUJA BHRAM KA BANDHAN GAADHA || TEK || MALA TILAK MANNOHAR BANNO LAGGO JAMM KI PASSI. JO HAR SAIJI JORRYO CHAHO TO JAG SO RAHO UDASI.*

<sup>4</sup> Singh Darshan, 1996 ‘the study of Bhakt Ravidasa, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edt. Patiala: Panjabi University.

<sup>5</sup> Amritbani, Satguru Ravidass Maharaj, (2012) Published by Shri Guru Ravidass Janam Asthan Public Charitable Trust, Seer Goverdhanpur, Varanasi (U.P.)

<sup>6</sup> Guru Granth Sahib is the sacred/ holy book of Sikhism in India.

*BHUKH NA BHAJAI TRISNA NA JAYI KAHU KAUN KAVAN GUN HOI. JO DADH MAI KANJAI KO JAVAN TO GHRIT NA KADHAI KOI. KARNI KATHNI GYAN ACHARA BHAGAT INHU SO NYARI. DOI GHORA CHAD KOYO NA PHUNCHO SATGURU KAHAY PUKARI. JO DASA TANN KIYO CHAHO AAS BHAGAT KI HOYI. TOH NIRMAL SANGH MAGAN HAVAY NACHO LAJ SARAM SABH KOI. KOI DADHO KOI SEEDHO SAACHO KURR NIT MARYAA. KAHAI RAVIDASS HAU NA KAHAT HAU YOKADASHAI PUKARIYA || (SHABAD-55)<sup>9</sup> (Raag Bilawal)*

O pandit! There is a great difference in the rituals you are performing and the true worship of God. During your religious discourse, you preach people to worship God after getting their heads shaved. After wearing string of beads, applying saffron mark on your forehead and looking beautiful, you cannot save yourself from the clutches of the messenger of death i.e. Yam. If you like to cultivate your relationship with God, then you should reside in this world with full detachment. But you have not so far renounced the lust. You tell me which virtuous merit you possess? A woman has to coagulate milk with curd and not with any other sour substance to make ghee. Neither your sayings and deeds, nor your knowledge and behaviour are suitable for worship. The worship is something else and peculiar. My Guru is advising in loud voice that no one can reach his destination while riding on two horses. If you want to get your name added in the list of God’s servants and want to worship God with full devotion then you have to dance in the open by leaving aside your modesty and shyness. But you have been cheating the people by telling them right or wrong. Ravidass says, I alone do not say this but other holy saints have also preached this truth loudly that true meditation destroys ignorance<sup>10</sup>.

#### The Modern-Day Ravidassia Movement

<sup>7</sup> Amritbani, Satguru Ravidass Maharaj, (2012) Published by Shri Guru Ravidass Janam Asthan Public Charitable Trust, Seer Goverdhanpur, Varanasi (U.P.)

<sup>8</sup> Amritbani, Satguru Ravidass Maharaj, (2012) Published by Shri Guru Ravidass Janam Asthan Public Charitable Trust, Seer Goverdhanpur, Varanasi (U.P.)

<sup>9</sup> ibid

<sup>10</sup> ibid

In recent decades, particularly since the early 2000s, there has been a visible resurgence of interest in the teachings of Guru Ravidass among Dalit communities, especially in the states of Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, and parts of Maharashtra. This spiritual revival is not just religious—it is deeply political, social, and cultural. Dalits, particularly those from the Chamar caste group, have found in Guru Ravidass a powerful symbol of resistance, dignity, and spiritual empowerment.

#### THE DERA BALLAN (JALANDHAR)

In the 20th century with the great saint Peepal Das<sup>11</sup> of Punjab and his son Sri 108 Sant Sarwan Das Maharaj Ji (Sri 108 Sant Sarwan Das 15 February 1895 – 11 June 1972). After the untimely death of his wife, Shobawanti, Saint Peepal Das set out in search of truth with his five-year-old son, Sarwan Das. While spreading the teachings of Guru Ravidass Maharaj Ji's voice, the father-son duo arrived at a village named Ballan near Jalandhar and set up camp under a dry Peepal tree. When the villagers saw Saint Peepal Das Ji watering the dry tree, it miraculously turned green and flourished! This event deeply impacted Saint Peepal Das Ji, and he realized this location was ideal for devotion. It was this very event that transformed Harnaam Dass into Peepal Das (due to the rejuvenation of the dry Peepal tree). His original name was Harnaam Das<sup>12</sup>.

Saint Peepal Das constructed a small hut for rest in the village, which was later converted into a temple, named Ad-Mandir. Soon after, a devotee from Ballan village, Hazara Singh, donated some land, and a large brick temple was constructed. In 1928, Saint Peepal Das attained Samadhi, but by that time, the place had become a center for the teachings of Guru Ravidass in Punjab. After Saint Peepal Das's departure, Sri 108 Sant Sarwan Das, who belonged to the Chamar community, devoted his life to spreading the teachings and philosophy of Guru Ravidas Maharaj Ji. Sant Sarwan Das Ji promoted Guru Ravidas Maharaj Ji's voice not only in Punjab but also across India and

abroad. Moreover, he established many centers and Dera's in the name of Guru Ravidas Maharaj Ji at various places. This initiative by Sant Sarwan Das Ji turned the propagation of Guru Ravidas Maharaj Ji's voice into a social and religious movement<sup>13</sup>.

It was through the foresight and searching nature of Sant Sarwan Das Ji that he discovered the birthplace of Guru Ravidas Maharaj Ji in Seergovardhanpur, Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh. This village is located on the outskirts of Varanasi, near Banaras Hindu University.

Sri 108 Sant Sarwan Das, Dera Sach Khand Ballan, built the Guru Ravidas Birthplace Temple at this location. Under his guidance, his disciple Sant Haridas Ji laid the foundation stone of this temple on June 14, 1965, during the Ashadh Sankranti<sup>14</sup>. Later, with the collective effort and service of the Sangat(followers), a seven-story monumental temple was constructed by Sant Haridas Ji and Sant Garib Das Ji.

On February 22, 1974, the idols of Sri Guru Ravidas Maharaj Ji and Swami Sarwan Das Maharaj Ji were installed in the temple. The event saw participation from the Sangat of Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, as well as devotees from the USA, UK, and Canada, and a massive saint congregation was held. On May 25, 1984, the then President of India, Giani Zail Singh, visited the temple and sought blessings from Guru Das Maharaj Ji<sup>15</sup>.

The temple construction was completed in 1994, and on April 7, 1994, a golden dome was installed atop the temple with the presence of Sant Garib Das and Bahujan social leader and politician, Sahib Kanshi Ram Ji, along with the Sangat from the USA, UK, and Canada.

Under the leadership of Sri 108 Sant Niranjana Das Maharaj Ji (Gaddi Nasheen of Dera Sach Khand Ballan), and with the close cooperation of the martyr Sant Ram Anand Maharaj Ji, many efforts were made to further establish this temple as the holiest site for Guru Ravidas Maharaj Ji's followers, especially the

<sup>11</sup> He was the founder of Dera Sach Khand Ballan, Jalandhar

<sup>12</sup> Dass, Mandeep (Dera Incharge Sirasgarh Ambala)(17 sep. 2023, ) Personal Communication /interview.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid

<sup>14</sup> One of the sacred day of the month June, as per Hindi Calendar.

<sup>15</sup> Dass, Mandeep (Dera Incharge Sirasgarh Ambala)(17 sep. 2023, ) Personal Communication /interview

Bahujan community. These efforts included the installation of water pumps for drinking water, construction of halls, the opening of the Guru Ravidas gate at Lanka Chowk in Varanasi, and many other initiatives for the betterment of the Sangat(followers).

The management of this temple is now overseen by Sri 108 Sant Guru Niranjana Das Maharaj Ji, under the guidance of the Shri Guru Ravidas Janm Sthan Public Charitable Trust, Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh.

#### SHIRI GURU RAVIDASS DHARAM SATHAN SIRASHGARH AMBALA

Shri Guru Ravidass Dharam Sathan Sirasgarh, Ambala is a branch of Dera Sachkhand Ballan established at the Ambala-Jagadhri highway near village Sirasgarh of Ambala. One of the disciple of Sant Niranjana Dass named Sh. Gurbakhs singh a resident of small village Dheen of Ambala contributed a piece of land for establishment of this dera.

Sant Niranjana Das Ji Maharaj and Sant Ramanand Ji Maharaj thought that this place would serve as an inn or a resting place and a stopover on the way to the followers (Sadh Sangat) coming from other states of the country while going to Kashi, Banaras, that is the birth place of Guru Ravidass Maharaj. Here the Followers (Sangat) will be able to rest and enjoy the *langar* (food) while coming and going and if they face any other problem in commuting or need to take rest then they will stop at this place as this place is exactly on the way to Banaras.

On July 31, 2004, Saint Niranjana Das Ji Maharaj and his close associate Saint Ramanand Ji Maharaj along with all the devotees laid the foundation stone of Shri Guru Ravidass Holy Place Temple on this land of Sirasgarh.

Now the day of 31st July is recorded forever in the importance and history of this place. This place came under Sri Guru Ravidass Birthplace Public Charitable Trust Varanasi and its headquarters Dera Ballan Jalandhar.

Sant Niranjana Das Ji Maharaj appointed a Chairman and some other committee members for this place under Shri Guru Ravidass Dharma Sthan Public Charitable Trust so that it can be operated here. The

first chairman of this committee, Mr. Gurnam Das Mall, was a famous social worker of Ambala. And Mr. Gurbaksh Singh ji who was the landlord was also kept in this committee as an independent member. A total of 11 members of this committee were nominated.

Under the leadership of Sant Ramanand Ji Maharaj, the foundation day of this Dera started being celebrated every year on 31st July, in which the number of devotees kept increasing continuously. Sant Ramanand Ji Maharaj himself was a very good preacher, singer and emperor of Kirtan, people from all over Haryana started coming to this Dera to listen to his voice and his preaching. Sant Ramanand Ji Maharaj along with the members of the committee engaged in the service of this Dera and the Sadh Sangat (Followers) gave his best in establishing this religious place.

When Sant Ramanand Ji Maharaj was at his peak in spreading the holy poetry of Guru Ravidass ji and started campaigning through his songs and singing an aim and goal to the entire followers (Sadh Sangat) that they should cover the Shri Guru Ravidass Janam Sathan Mandi (Birth Place temple of Shri Guru Ravidass ji) near Govardhanpur Varanasi with gold. Sant Ramanand Ji Maharaj's hymn still resonates in the ears of the followers) Saath Sangat) that are "चलो बनारस साध संगत जी एक इतिहास रचौना ऐ गुरु रविदास दे मंदिर नु सोने दे विच मडौना ऐ....." 'Let's go to Banaras *Saad Sangat* ji,(the followers) this is a historical creation, the temple of Shri Guru Ravidass shall be covered by gold.'

A library was built at Shri Guru Ravidass Dharam Sathan Mandir Sirasgarh for the study of Dalit and Bahujan community, in which many respondents from nearby areas started coming to study and about 30 to 40 respondents also got engaged in government services. Apart from this, free eye checking camp, medical camp, blood donation camp etc. are also organized from time to time at this place. In today's time, this Dera has gained a very important place not only in Sirsagarh, Ambala but in entire Haryana and adjoining states. The chief saint of the camp, Shri. Mandeep Das Ji Maharaj told that even during the Corona virus period i.e. 2019, food and

accommodation arrangements for about 1000 people continued to be made in this camp.

The present Dera chief Sant Mandeep Das Ji Maharaj told that the Sadh Sangat from different districts of Haryana come here and they also go to different districts like Kurukshetra, Karnal, Jagadhri, Kaithal, Rohtak, Jind, Pehowa etc. to spread the message of Shri Guru Ravidass Ji Maharaj and In very heavy nouns the accompaniment is present in numbers.

All the delay works are done according to Amritvani. Amritvani is the book of Shri Guru Ravidass Ji Maharaj's own Amritvani. Taking inspiration from this, a new and changing form is being given to the society. People's activities like birth, death, marriage etc. are conducted socially and religiously according to the words of Shri Guru Ravidass Ji Maharaj. There has also been a lot of change in the customs and traditions.

He told that for naming the child at the time of birth, a name order is made, under which while opening the book, the name is given according to the first letter of the first page of the book. Similarly, for marriage, instead of *phas*, ( seven holy rounds) the *laavaan* (four Holy round across Amritvani Granth) which is described in Amritvani (the Holy book of hymns of Guru Ravidass) four benefits are taken which are based on the basis of Bani. Similarly, blessings and messages for newly married couples are also recorded in the book so that people can conduct their lives as per Bani. At the time of death and Birth devotion is done and hymns are recited according to various specific musical ragas.

108 Saint Mandeep Das Ji Maharaj told that in the whole world, especially in about 20 countries of Europe i.e. Important temples of Shri Guru Das Ji Maharaj are functioning mainly in places like Italy, Greece, France, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Vienna etc.

The Ravidassia religion, which gained official visibility after the unfortunate assassination of Ravidassia saints in Vienna in 2009, has since developed as a distinct faith for many followers. Though historically considered a Bhakti saint within the broader Hindu or Sikh traditions, Guru Ravidass has now become the central figure of a separate religious identity for millions of Dalits. Key religious

centers or dera such as Dera Sachkhand Ballan in Jalandhar have played a pivotal role in this transformation.

Guru Ravidass envisioned a society called "Begumpura", meaning "a city without sorrow," where there would be no caste-based discrimination, no taxes, and no fear—an egalitarian utopia.

#### Shrines, Symbols, and Cultural Reclamation

One of the significant developments in the rise of the Ravidassia movement is the establishment and celebration of dedicated shrines and temples to Guru Ravidass. These temples, unlike traditional Hindu temples that often practice caste-based exclusion, are open and inclusive. They serve not only as places of worship but also as centers of cultural assertion, where Dalits can celebrate their history, heroes, and spirituality without the burden of caste stigma.

Murals, songs, books, and public events glorifying Guru Ravidass's teachings and life are gaining popularity. His birthday, Guru Ravidass Jayanti, is now a major celebration among Dalits across India and even among the diaspora in countries like the UK, Canada, and the US.

#### The Emergence of a New Dalit Identity

What is most significant about this spiritual movement is the formation of a distinct Dalit identity—one that is not just about resisting caste but about affirming a rich legacy of spiritual thought, cultural pride, and social justice. Unlike earlier conversion movements, which often involved adopting completely new religious traditions (such as Buddhism or Christianity), the Ravidassia movement is rooted within the historical lived experiences of Dalits themselves. Guru Ravidass is one of their own, and his teachings are deeply aligned with their everyday struggles and aspirations.

This identity formation is both internal and external. Internally, it is fostering a sense of self-respect and unity within the Dalit community. Externally, it is challenging the religious and social status quo by

asserting an alternative spiritual narrative that does not require validation from dominant caste ideologies.

#### Political and Social Implications

As with many religious movements, the rise of the Ravidassia identity is not merely spiritual—it carries political weight. Dalit assertion through religion often intersects with demands for rights, representation, and social justice. The celebration of Guru Ravidass and the growth of Ravidassia shrines are often expressions of protest against exclusionary practices, particularly in rural North India, where caste violence and discrimination still persist.

This phenomenon has prompted political parties to take note. Many have sought to align with Ravidassia sentiments during elections to gain the support of Dalit voters. However, this has also led to tensions with upper-caste groups and religious institutions that feel challenged by the assertion of an independent Dalit religious identity.

#### A Global Movement

The Guru Ravidass movement has also spread beyond India, especially among the Punjabi Dalit diaspora. In cities like Birmingham, Toronto, and Sacramento, Guru Ravidass temples have become focal points for community organization and identity preservation. These temples serve as spaces where the next generation of Dalits can learn about their history, spiritual traditions, and cultural pride in a global context.

This global dimension helps connect Dalits in India with a broader international human rights discourse. It also empowers them with resources, platforms, and solidarity from across borders.

#### CONCLUSION

The growing reverence for Guru Ravidass among Dalits marks a profound moment in the ongoing evolution of Dalit identity in India. This spiritual awakening is not just about faith—it is about reclaiming a history of resistance, asserting dignity, and envisioning a society free from caste-based

discrimination. By embracing Guru Ravidass's teachings, Dalits are not only seeking spiritual solace but also crafting a new social reality that reflects their values of equality, justice, and human dignity.

As this movement gains momentum, it will continue to reshape the religious and social landscape of Dalits in India. The path that Guru Ravidass laid centuries ago is now becoming a guiding light for millions striving to break the shackles of caste and build a more.

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