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ASPECTS OF INDIAN POLITICAL
ECONOMY AND LOCAL
INFRASTRUCTURE

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. THE EXCHEQUER RECEIPTS OF MUGHAL EMPERORS RANGED FROM ONLY SIX TO FIFTEEN PERCENT OF THE CLAIMED REVENUE OF THE EMPIRE	3
2. AN EARLY EUROPEAN DESCRIPTION OF SOUTH INDIAN SOCIETY AND POLITY c.1700 - Wallarer Status Higher Than of Brahmins and Kings.....	4
3. GENTOO [Hindoo, Indian] INTERNAL GOVERNMENT on the COAST of CHOROMANDEL	7
4. THE DISTRICT OF CHENGALPATTU (ALSO KNOWN AS JAGHIRE) AROUND c.1770.....	14
5. ON ANCIENT CHATRAMS IN THANJAVUR REGION TILL c. 1800	23
5. ON ANCIENT CHATRAMS IN THANJAVUR REGION TILL c. 1800	23
6. DEED OF GRANT FOR THE PERUGUNNAH MAHSURI TO THE TEMPLE OF KEDARNATH IN THE HIMALAYAS; A.D. 1797	26
7. INDIAN PRACTICE OF DISCUSSING IN PUBLIC ASSEMBLIES c.1800.....	28
8. BRITISH UNDERSTANDING OF THE SOCIO - POLITICAL ECONOMY AND INFRA- STRUCTURE OF AN INDIAN VILLAGE AND THUS CORRESPONDINGLY PERHAPS OF A TOWN AND CITY ALSO	29
9. HINDU TEMPLES IN THE DISTRICT OF SOUTH ARCOT AND THEIR ESTABLISHMENTS.....	31
10. AN OFFICIAL NOTE ON THE HOLDERS OF THE RENT FREE LANDS, 1832.....	33
11. DATA ON RENT FREE LANDS IN 12 DISTRICTS OF BENGAL	36
12. JOHN STUART MILL ON ROOTEDNESS OF VILLAGE COMMUNITY IN INDIA..	37
13. GRAMANATTAM (HOUSE-SITE) INVARIABLE RIGHT OF VILLAGERS AND IS THEIR INALIENABLE COMMUNAL PROPERTY.....	38
14. THE ARTISANS, THE PARIAR AND OTHERS HAD MORE RIGHTS AND A BETTER LIFE BEFORE BRITISH RULE	41
14. THE ARTISANS, THE PARIAR AND OTHERS HAD MORE RIGHTS AND A BETTER LIFE BEFORE BRITISH RULE	41
15. COPY OF THE CHARTER OF USES AND CUSTOMS OF GAONKARS AND PEASANTS OF THIS ISLAND OF GOA AND OTHER TERRITORIES ANNEXED TO IT	42

1. THE EXCHEQUER RECEIPTS OF MUGHAL EMPERORS RANGED FROM ONLY SIX TO FIFTEEN PERCENT OF THE CLAIMED REVENUE OF THE EMPIRE ¹

from Letters of the Emperor Aurungzebe², to his sons, his grandsons, his ministers, and principal nobles; to which is prefixed his Will. translated from the Persian, by JOSEPH EARLES, Calcutta, 1788, 130 p. 80: above is Letter XCVII (97), p.50, and is addressed to his grandson by Aurangzebe. (The book is in the British Museum : 14779 . a.14)

In the times of his Majesty Jennet@ Mukani the Khalsa revenues amounted annually to 28 crores of daums, and the expenses of his Majesty's government to a crore and fifty lacs of rupees, so that he expended during his reign, seven crores of rupees, besides *Asherfies*³, which were left him by his Majesty *Arsh Asfani*⁴.

At his demise a crore of rupees remained in the Royal Treasury, and his Majesty Saheb *Keran Sani*⁵, who exceeded all the princes of his time in knowledge, discernment, and judgement in the nature of affairs, brought 60 crores of daums in specie annually into the Khalsa Treasury, and limited the royal expences to one crore of rupees.

¹ The gross revenue of the area ruled by the Mughals during the 17th Century is estimated at rupees ten crores at the beginning of the century, and at twenty crores or more, around AD 1680. The exchequer receipts however were not that large. Aurangzeb's exchequer receipts are said to bear annual 15 percentage of the gross revenue when he was at the height of his power.

² An inhabitant of Paradise. The Emperor Jehangier.

³ Gold Mohure.

⁴ At the threshold of the Empyrean Heaven, or the foot of the throne of God. The Emperor Akber the Father of Jehangier.

⁵ The second Lord of Ages. Timur or Tamerlane was the first who bore this title, because his reign exceeded a Kiren, the singular of Keran, or a period of 30 years. The Emperor Shah Jehan. All the Emperors of the race of Timur are distinguished after their decease by some such appellations as the two former of these, by which they are thence as well known as they were by their proper names.

2. AN EARLY EUROPEAN DESCRIPTION OF SOUTH INDIAN SOCIETY AND POLITY c.1700 - Wallarer Status Higher Than of Brahmins and Kings

Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg: *Malabaran Heathendom*, ed.W. Caland, (manuscript completed in 1711 and sent to Halle) Amsterdam, 1926.Extract, pp 195-8

About Their Manifold Families or Guilds

There exist among these Heathens 98 social groupings, differing in their marriage ceremonies, eating rituals, dress, status and profession, etc. Furthermore there is a similar division of people and languages in India as there is in Europe (eg.Danish, Dutch, English, French, Castilian, Portuguese, German, etc all of which are unknown to these heathens) whose designations however are better known to Europeans than to heathens themselves. Here therefore, I shall just list some of the 98 social groupings, indicating their respective professions. Firstly there are 4 main groupings, namely the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisya and Sudra. The Sudra are divided again into the following :

1. the *Sudra brahmins* who are the most dignified and whose language is grantha, tho almost all speak the Malabaran tongue. There are many divisions within this grouping, between which no intermarriage, commensality are practised, not even with Brahmins from other groupings.
2. *Wallarer*: agriculture, cattle-rearing, and corn trade. Internal divisions with different family names.
3. *Mudaliar*: official positions in cities and villages.
4. *Palligol*: military service and various other occupations to earn a living.
5. *Wannier*: good swordsmen and valiant fighters. Occupy the rank of officers in the army.
6. *Maleiamangol*: no special profession. Do anything to earn a living.
7. *Kanialer*: councillors and officers. The poorer members of this grouping resort to any job to earn a living.
8. *Wilaner* : soldiery, or farming as indeed is the occupation of all groups who are not able to pursue their own specific profession at all times.
9. *Keikkuler*: weavers of coarse cotton cloth.
10. *Tschanier*: weavers of striped cotton cloth.
11. *Tschalier*: weavers of fine cotton cloth.
12. *Raschakkol*: literal meaning king- however they are no kings, but only work for royalty.
13. *Muddirier*: military service.
14. *Kammawar*: military service, use picts as weapons.
15. *Kawareier*: glass-makers; sell glass bangles.
16. *Reddigol*: traditionally soldiers, but now have mostly turned to farming.
17. *Wanier*: oil-pressers and sellers of oil.
18. *Tattscher*: carpenters.
19. *Koller*: iron-smiths.
20. *Tatar*: gold-smiths and jewellers.
21. *Kannar*: copper-smiths.
22. *Kaltattscher* : builders.
23. *Ideier*: cow and sheep herdsmen who also sell milk and butter.
24. *Winger*: trademen dealing in edibles.
25. *Wiabarigol*: merchants dealing in gold, pearls and precious stones, etc.

26. *Paner*: tailors.
27. *Wirier*: rice sellers.
28. *Mallager*: professional massagers especially of people of high status. Improves the blood circulation. Good for Europeans who have little exercise. Recommended to be practised in Europe. The technique is easy to learn. In return for a monthly salary, specialists can be employed to give massages.
29. *Pomder*: palanquin bearers who also carry other loads.
30. *Walascher*: salt-traders.
31. *Ottscher*: scribes and calculators.
32. *Wanuwer*: butchers.
33. *Tschanar*: They extract juice from coconut and other palm trees and sell it. The juice tastes like a kind of light ale and is strong enough to get drunk on.
34. *Telunker*: weavers who make cloth for sails and tents.
35. *Kannarier*: who deal in precious stones and in pearls called Ruddiratschangol.
36. *Odder*: dealers of a certain fruit from which oil is extracted.
37. *Mararer*: a type of cavalry soldier.
38. *Konkanawer*: agriculturists who sow beans and other seeds which resemble bean seeds.
39. *Mutschier*:
40. *Kutscherer*: money lenders, living from the interest they earn.
41. *Kuleier*: a type of murderer who earn their keep from robbing.
42. *Duluwer*: shield bearers.
43. *Larer*: a certain type of beggar who are considered as holy men.
44. *Raschabuddirer*: horsemen.
45. *Barawer*: seamen or fishermen. Most of them, living on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, have adopted christianity but only after the catholic priests had accepted their conditions. They number several thousand; it is not known whether those living inland have also accepted christianity.
46. *Patnawer*: fishermen at sea: they are in great numbers.
47. *Tschembadawer*: fishermen inland in rivers and lakes.
48. *Kareiar*: who transport goods in small boats from the sea shore to big ships at sea and vice versa. They also sail from place to place.
49. *Tschaianer*: professional scribes and calculators.
50. *Kurawer*: who have a very low family status; they are professional basket makers. They eat cats, mice and other despicable creatures.
51. *Werer*: inhabit the jungles and live from hunting.
52. *Iruler*: also live in the jungle and have little contact with other people.
53. *Torumber*: live in the woods and feed on roots.
54. *Arier*: merchants who deal in precious stones.
55. *Romber*: acrobatic dancers balancing on bamboo poles much like tight rope walkers in Europe.
56. *Kuddawer*: a special kind of male and female dancer.
57. *Nokker*: conjurers who travel around the country.
58. *Toddier*: diggers of lakes, wells and ditches.
59. *Wannar*: washermen who wash and bleach clothes once a week which is a lot less arduous than in Europe. No soap is needed here either.
60. *Ambadder*: barbers.
61. *Kuschawer*: potters whose profession is considered respectable.
62. *Baller*: a kind of soldier.
63. *Bareier*: libertines, cremators of the dead; odd job men, doing work which is scorned by others.

64. *Tschakkiliar*: or cobblers who reside on the outskirts of towns.
65. *Murascher*: a kind of soldier.
66. *Walluwer*: soothsayers.
67. *Kolier*: wool and yarn spinners.
68. *Tschemmar*: bag-makers.
69. *Toruwer*: who keep donkeys to carry salt from the seashore far inland.
70. *Tschdder*: magicians (practising the devil's art) who can become invisible and suddenly appear in different places.
71. *Kareier*: belong to the lowest social grouping and do all sorts of low jobs.

Besides these families (social groupings) or professions there are a number of people with a respectable status such as kings, priests, poets, school-teachers, councillors, governors and other high officers. But since these positions can be held by people of all social groupings they are not considered as representing specific occupational groupings. Each person retains the name of his family whether he be a king or a nobleman. One is not allowed to marry outside one's family, otherwise one would be disinherited. One should practise the occupation of one's family, but if through his own intelligence, he attains the rank of a highstanding profession, he is free to pursue the latter. Likewise if unable to earn a living in his own occupation, he may look about for some other trade, or enter into someone's service which however is looked down upon by people of high status who would resort to this only in great need. (People are despised for converting to christianity. Conflicts between the different families. Citation from authors about the equality of the different families--- be they high or low.)

About Their Agriculture

Twenty years ago cereals all over the country were very cheap to the extent that ship loads full of corn would be exported to other countries. But now it is become very expensive, one main reason for this is that the present king is very greedy and miserly and taxes the farmers very heavily so that what they are left with scarcely meets their wages.

The Wallaler caste is very respectable [a lot of different examples given to testify to this.]

Even if one be born a Brahmin, the person is by no means considered to be of as great excellence, as when born a Wallarer. Neither the king's splendour, nor the merchants's, nor the Brahmin's is to be compared with the Wallarer's excellence (and respect).

About Their Temples

The Dewatashcigol or servants of the gods, whose role is to sing and dance. They have to learn to read and write and understand something about poetry. For this profession, the cleverest and finest girls are selected. They should not have any physical defect and are not allowed to marry. They wear lots of jewels and can be recognised from their outward appearance as to who they are. In the big temples they are found in great numbers, but in the smaller temples there are few of them. Temples which aren't able to keep any of them are accustomed to obtaining these girls from bigger temples on feast days.

3. GENTOO [Hindoo, Indian] INTERNAL GOVERNMENT on the COAST of CHOROMANDEL

by Alexander Dalrymple: *A Short Account of the Gentoo Mode of Collecting the Revenues on the Coast of Choromandel*, London 1783: A few paragraphs at the end seem to be missing in the copy we have. So we have the ended Mr. Dalrymple's paper at paragraph 36.

THE Subject of the following pages is in itself equally curious and important; I am sorry I cannot treat it, with all the precision it deserves, but I am flattered with the approbation of some of my India-Friends, who have perused it; and I hope it will be the means of obtaining, from some other person hereafter, a more copious account: A friend doubts how far it can be said "there is no individual property of land" as "the head-men buy and sell their lands and Manors." I am not competent to say, whether the *sale* of lands was *originally* vested in the village, or whether this alienation is a *modern corruption*; I suspect the *last*: however this alienation does not prove any property in the single *individual*: what I meant to convey was, that the lands are the property of the *community*, however few persons that community may contain.

Whether the cultivation is solely carried on by villains or slaves, or whether these are only assistants, I am also incompetent to say; having, by the Court of Directors, been appointed one of the Committee of Circuit, I took less pains to investigate the detail of this matter at Madrass, as I thought it would be done better on the Circuit, where it was essentially necessary to go into all the varieties, which time or accident had established in the different districts; so that these pages are chiefly taken from a letter, which I had written to a friend in England from Madrass, soon after my arrival, and from casual memorandums on public affairs; unfortunately many of my papers were lost in the *Swallow*.

The friend, beforementioned, reminded me of one very important part of the *Gentoo Establishment*; the *watch* "the polygar has a custom duty on everything, and he is answerable for every thing that is lost in the district." No mode can more effectually prevent *theft and robbery* than obliging the officer to make good the loss; Even in my memory, this regulation subsisted at Madrass; and, I think in Governor Saunder's administration, complaint was made to the President and Council, by an European living in the Black-Town, that the *pettanaigue* refused to make good what had been stolen; The *pettanaigue* or *pollygar* replied, that this person, being an European, did not pay the duty to him, and consequently was not entitled to any indemnification: perhaps it requires *Indian-Honesty* to make such an institution efficacious; for in this country [ie. Britain], claims would probably be made on the Officer, for pretended losses, to an extent which the wealth of Croesus could not satisfy; or the *Law* teach him to evade payment of actual losses till the day of Judgement.

THE *Gentoo Government* was, unquestionably, the *best* that ever existed; and the *remains* of this Government still subsist on the *Choromandel coast*, but with a number of foreign incumbrances: The excellency of the *Gentoo Government* cannot be more clearly demonstrated, than by observing that the *revenues* to the Government are certain *fixed proportions* of the *produce* of the *land* paid *in kind* and that *every village* is a *small community* within itself, living under the protection of *The state*, but governed by its *own inhabitants*.

2. Each village has many *public officers*, such as the headman to execute justice, the conicopoly to keep the accounts of the Village, the corn-meter, the smith, the barber & c. More considerable villages have their doctor, astrologer & c. and all the public officers have shares of the general produce.
3. There is (except houses and gardens) no *individual property of land*: The cultivation of lands, belonging to each village, being carried on, by the community of the village, and the produce partitioned in certain proportions.
4. Although there is no individual property of lands, yet individuals have, in some cases, a distinct interest; This, in the accounts, is called *free-gift-lands*: partly what is denominated the *village-establishment*, comprehending the *glebe-lands* settled on the *public officers*, & c. under two heads of *old* and *new*; the former, I conceive, what have been from time immemorial; the latter of a modern date: partly to *strangers* of two kinds; *inaum* where no *acknowledgement*, or quit-rent, is paid; and *shortrium* where the quit rent or acknowledgement is a *small proportion* of the real value of the lands. All these lands, I conceive, are cultivated by the community, as well as those called *circar grounds*, whence the *circar* or *Government* receive a portion of the produce.
5. The pagodas and Bramins have a share of the produce of the lands; If I am not mistaken, the *Church* [temples, etc] has its share in the *first instance*; this not only inculcates the reverence and respect due to religion, but a better check against embezzlement could not be devised.
6. A certain proportion is allowed to preserve the *tanks* and *water courses* and this is taken out of the *gross produce* of the *lands* before any partition is made between *government* and the *inhabitants*; and it appears the *free gift-lands* paid a *greater share* for the *repair of tanks*, than the *circar grounds*.
7. Regular accounts of the *annual produce* are kept in the pagodas.
8. Some of the shares are distributed *before* the corn is threshed, some *after*; so that the different claimants are naturally *checks* to the *publick accounts* and, some have their shares *before*, some *after*, the *circar*, or government, so that the whole is bound in one general chain of mutual connexion.
9. The *share* to the *circar*, or government is proportionate to the *labour of cultivation* compared with the *value* of the *produce*.
10. When the *paddy fields* are immediately watered from *tanks*, without much trouble, the proportion is *greatest* to the *circar*.
11. When manual Labour is required to raise the water, the proportion is *less*; and *still less*, when the water is raised from wells with much labour.
12. The proportion, paid to the *circar*, of grain growing on dry- grounds, is less than of paddy, as the value of the former is smaller in proportion to the labour of cultivation.
13. It is obvious, the whole system being founded in equity, that different soils and situations will be amenable to different proportions; Had the accounts been sent home which accompanied Mr. *Barnard's Survey* of the *Company's lands*, commonly called

the *jaghire*,⁶ this matter would be very obvious, for they contained a minute detail of the number of *houses* in every *village*, of *buffaloes*, *bullocks*, *cows*, *sheep*, and *goats*; the quantity of *public ground*, such as *tanks*, *roads*, &c. in *cawnies*, whereof three are nearly equivalent to *four English acres*; the quantity of *free gift land*, belonging to the *village establishment*, and the *property of strangers*, with their produce; the quantity of *circar*, or *government lands* distinguishing the *paddy* and *dry-ground-grain*,⁷ with their produce; and likewise the quantity of *uncultivated land*; estimate of *repairs of tanks*, distinguishing the *expense of the repairs*, and the *expected annual advantage* from these repairs; with much other curious instruction; which do the highest honour to Mr. Barnard's indefatigable assiduity. These accounts being extremely voluminous, I draw up a *model* for reducing them to *Tables*, which being approved by the President and Council, at *Madras*, directions were given, in March 1776, to have these *Tables* finished in the *Accomptant's Office* and several of the Company's junior servants stationed in that Office, to accelerate this business; but these accounts have never come to England; bare inspection would then have shewn the *rights of individuals* and of the *State*.⁸

14. After the *public officers*, the *circar*, & c. have received their *shares*, the *remainder* of the produce of the land is the property of the *community*, but how *that* is proportioned or disposed of, I confess myself ignorant; however these general outlines, of the *Gentoo Constitution*, will be sufficient to explain the nature of that government, which was founded on principles of the strictest justice; and the leading principle of their religion is charity and benevolence; the destruction of certain trees beneficial to society, I have heard, was amongst the almost inexpiable crimest; and the building and endowing *choultrys*, for the accomodation of travellers, was the greatest object of individual emulation, by which their names were to be commemorated to posterity.

15. Although by the original Gentoo Constitution, the share of the *circar* was paid in *kind*, and *public granaries*⁹ were dispersed over the country, in every place of security; yet a new mode has been adopted, [ie after 1750 when the British became dominant] viz. by letting these shares to *farmers*, who stipulate to pay a certain sum for the proportion due to Government from the produce of the *lands*.

16. This alteration appears to have been the source of much calamity, and the properest mode, in my opinion, of collecting the *revenue*, is, *not by renters* of any kind, but by The Company receiving immediately the *circar share* of the the lands.

17. The objections are

1st. It would be an endless trouble,

2nd. A large advance is required, to enable the husbandmen to cultivate the lands,

⁶ *Jaghire* implying *subjection* and *service due* whereas this grant is properly *inaum*, ie. free from all acknowledgement or service, some perons object to the use of the term *Jaghire*; but it may be used as a *geographical name*, and in *this sense* only I use it. vide *map* for an unparalleled example of *Gento industry* in making *tanks*.

⁷ called *comboo*, this being the most common *grain* on such grounds.

⁸ I have *one sheet* of such a *Table*, which I suppose was the *Model*, and I recollect to have seen, since I came home, the Form of another *Table*, distinguishing *all the officers*, &c. in the differet villages: but this I have mislaid.

⁹ The Public Granary at Tanjour is a stupendous Building.

3rd. A large sum would be required to repair the *tanks*, &c.

18. The 1st objection may always be made to every proper manner of doing business; the *trouble* of receiving the *circar's share* of the *produce*, must however be *now* taken by the *renter*; but *he* has no *interest* in the welfare of the *people*, from whom the collection is made; At the same time the Government must either support him blindfoldedly, or take almost as much, if not more, *trouble* in setting the complicated accounts and claims between him and the inhabitants; The great question is "Whether the happiness of the people, and prosperity of the country, are not objects worthy the utmost attention" ? and when once put on a clear footing the trouble will be comparatively little.

19. Concerning the second objection upon enquiry I found, a *large advance* was required, only because the distress of the husband men is often so great, as to compel them to sell their *tillage-cattle*; which therefore they are under the necessity of replacing, by borrowing money, at *high interest*, payable out of their share of their following crop; under an easy and equitable Government, they would never be reduced to such distress, but the *stock* and *implements* would descend from generation to generation: It appears the *country Government*, (*even the Mahometan*) in some circumstances assisted the husbandmen with money to carry on their cultivation, without charging them with interest.

20. Another expense, incident to the husbandmen, is for *seed*; as every indulgence ought, in my opinion, to be shewn to them. I think the *seed corn* ought to be taken out of the *general mass*, if not out of the *circar's share*, instead of coming from the *stock* of the inhabitants.

21. A large sum is required to repair *tanks*, & c.

22. The first attention is due to the *tanks*: in that climate, a command of water secures a crop; and, when *tanks* are, made to reserve a sufficient store of water, the produce is almost certain; for *one night's* monsoon rain, if none runs to waste, is almost sufficient to supply *water* for the *season* and, with a command of water, they can have three rice crops in a year.

In 1764, when the *Company's Lands* in the *Jaghire* were offered to farm, each bidder was required to signify the measures he proposed to take, for repairing the *tanks*, then in much want of repair: I am informed the several proposals imported, that so large a sum as 50, or 60,000 pagodas (about pound sterling 20,000) was to be laid out in *repairing* the tanks. Vencatachilum, the Nabob's Braminy, to whom they were let, engaged to *repair the tanks without any deduction of rent*: no sum is specified; but I am told it was understood that the sum, to be disbursed on these repairs, should be to the same amount, as the proposals from the other persons mentioned; however nothing of this kind has been done to the *tanks*, during the whole period the Nabob has had the *Jaghire* under his management, I was assured the *tanks* were in a worse state in 1776 than in 1764, altho the annual taxes, collected in the several districts, for repairing *them*, amounted to a very considerable sum; in the *Poonamalee* district alone, the *tank-fees* are stated at 2,500 pagodas per annum; which, from 1764 to that time, made a sum of 30,000 Pagodas. The renters, it is said, have usually appropriated to themselves, the *share* of the *produce* collected for this purpose, and the temporary and

partial repairs the *tanks* have received, were ineffectual; and generally done at the extraordinary expence of the inhabitants.

24. This abuse ought to be effectually remedied, and if a larger proportion of the produce is requisite for this purpose, the general benefit would amply compensate for such an additional proportion being allotted, which ought, in great measure if not entirely, to be taken from the *circar share* as that is increased by the good state of the *tanks* and the consequent abundant supply of water.

25. But if a greater sum is required, for the *present repair* of *Tank*, than the usual *tank-fees*?

26. In a country where property is so insecure, as in that, from the incursion of foreign enemies, European or Indian, no improvement, which requires a great advance of money, can be expected to be made by individuals; because interest being very high, the expence must consequently be very great to an individual; and the recompence, if distant, always precarious; and what returns can be imagined equivalent to the profit of 12 per cent per month? which is sometimes received from the cultivators of land; It must therefore be obvious, that the transferring the load of this incumbrance, from the *state*, who ought to *repair* the *tanks*, to the *renter*, does not remove the weight of the objection, but increases it.

27. Although the war may be now over, the peace establishment must have a forecast to future hostilities: In *war*, whether in carrying on a siege, in defending a place, or even in field-duty or artillery, there are no people more useful than *lascars*: and if the number of *sepoy-battalions* on the *coast-establishment* be lessened, and some battlions of *lascars* may, in peace, be employed in repairing the *tanks*; so that they will be profitable; instead of a dead expence to the Company, as other military are in time of peace; at the same time having such a body of *lascars* ready, on emergency, to be embarked, will be a very great additional strength to our fleet, on the superiority of which the dominion of India must depend.

The expence of a battalion of Lascars of 1,050 men including 10 syrangs and 41 tyndals amounts to *pagodas* 25,920 per an. or L 10,368: a Battalion of Sepoys, compleated to 1050 men, to *Pagodas* 25,308 or pound 10,123: So that the difference in *four Battalions* would not amount to pounds 1000? per anum.

28. Martinets are always averse to employ soldiers in labour; but the Romans, as well as the best soldiers in modern times, have been employed in those duties; Opinions differed concerning my idea of employing the seapoys in the repairing the *tanks*. Some officers approved of it very much; others thought the Seapoys would not be brought to it; if they should have any objections, the example of their officers, and making an establishment for their families, dependent on their aid in this work, might remove those objections.

29. The advantage of Europeans, over the Indians, is in nothing greater than in their artillery; but the advantage of artillery is lost, if bullocks are wanting to draw the guns; The celerity of movement is essential, and there seems to have been a capital mistake, in the *present war* of the *Carnatic*, in having *too large* guns for the field artillery.

30. The printed book, of the Company's military establishment, allots for every

hundred Europeans, two Brass 12 lers, eight 6 lers, and two howitzers; the number of draught-bullocks, requisite for these pieces of ordinance, and their appurtenances, are 338. A brass 12 ler requiring twelve bullocks, and twelve lascars, a 6 ler eight bullocks eight lascars; and a Howitzer six bullocks and six lascars. The carriage-bullocks, allowed for carrying the tents, & c. are thirty for every hundred Europeans.

31. If proper attention is had. in peace, to provide a number of good bullocks, they may be disposed in the different villages of the *Jaghire*, the property remaining to the Company; and the inhabitants being allowed the use of them; These bullocks must be purchased from other countries, those of the *camatic* being of a very inferior kind; *Tripetty* used to be a great fair for cattle, and to the best of my recollection, the price of a good bullock there, was 8 or 10 Pagodas. Perhaps the bullocks, intended for field artillery, ought not to be used at *plow*, as that may retard the celerity of their motions; They who have sen the expedition of the *heckary bullocks* in India, or of the *wagon-bullocks* at the *Cape of Good Hope*, must be satisfied, that these animals have sufficient speed for any purposes in the Field.

32. One very great inconvenience, attending the Indian wars, is the number of camp followers; the baggage being chiefly carried on the heads of cooleys, must of course make the numbers very great; but if *light field-wagons* were introduced, this evil would be very much lessened; and these wagons being employed, in time of peace, to transport the produce of the country to Madras, the bullocks, intended for the field-artillery, might serve to draw these Wagons, without inconvenience; and the bullocks, intended to draw these wagons with the baggage of a camp, might be employed in husbandry.

33. There is no mode of manuring the lands in India more beneficial than sheep; and, on this account, the inhabitants are always unwilling to part with their *sheep* which were often taken from them by constraint to supply the troops; To obviate this inconvenience, I proposed, that a number of *sheep* should be bought, by the Company, in countries where they are bred, to stock the *Jaghire* and that the inhabitants should have had the advantage of their produce and manure; accounting to the Company for the original stock, which would be called for to supply the necessary wants of the garrison and troops; by this means a regular supply would be had, without distressing the country; I think where the sheep are bred, the price is from 7 to 9 for a pagoda; the garrison are supplied at 5 for a Pagoda.

34. A bound-hedge, round the *Jaghire*, would be a very desirable thing; this ought to be composed of bamboe, coconut, beetlenut and palmeira trees, mixed with caldera and alloes; It must be done by sowing the *seed* and planting the *nuts*, & c.

The Company's packets, instead of idling their time in Madras Road, may occasionally make a trip to the Nicobars, for coconuts; The cargo for purchasing them being chiefly tobacco, is very small expence. The profit of such a *bound-hedge*, when come to maturity, would be considerable, but the security to the inhabitants against incursions of horse would be inestimable.

35. The destruction of the *pollums* was very bad policy, for altho they were sometimes receptacles of stolen cattle, & c. they afforded a secure retreat against a sudden incursion of an enemy, and were of more use in times of hostility, than any disadvantage to the public in peace: These *pollums* were small districts inclosed in

thick coppice and bamboe, with a narrow winding path into them, with barriers to make the access as difficult as possible. It appears the only supplies of provisions Sir Eyre Coote got, were from such of the *pollums* as have not been destroyed.

36. It is reported *all* the *trees* are destroyed in the *Jaghire*, and that this was done by the followers of our own camp, more than by the enemy : If this be true, it is a more severe calamity than any other which could have happened, for the *weavers* perform all their work in the shade of *groves*, which we call *topes*; and this is a calamity that long time only can repair, though the sooner it is begun the better.

4. THE DISTRICT OF CHENGALPATTU (ALSO KNOWN AS JAGHIRE) AROUND c.1770

Based on a paper on "*India's polity, its characteristics and current problems*" by Dharampall presented at a Conference "ON THE ORIGINS OF THE MODERN STATE IN EUROPE, 13TH TO 18TH CENTURY" held in Lisbon in April 1992. The particular Theme at Lisbon was "The Heritage of the Pre-Industrial European State" in which a few non-European Scholars also took part. The whole study had been sponsored by The European Science Foundation and its conclusions were to be published in about six volumes by the O.U.P. Oxford)

A whole district, one of some 400 districts of India, around the City of Madras is known as Chengalpattu. It is in this district, also known as the Jaghire in the later part of the 18th c., in which Thomas Barnard carried his survey during 1767-1774 and which is mentioned by Mr. Alexander Dalrymple in the foregoing document titled "A Short Account of The Gentoo mode of collecting the revenues, on the coast of Choromandal". Besides making a survey, all the then available local data for each of the two thousand and more localities of this district regarding land, population, institutional structures and arrangements, agricultural production etc., was collated by Mr. Barnard on the basis of local records and fresh enquiries during 1767-1774.

The district of Chengalpattu had around 2,200 localities in it around 1770s¹⁰. A majority of the localities also had one or several sub-habitats situated at some distance from the main habitat. These localities largely were villages where the main economic activity was agriculture and animal husbandry. But quite a number had very little agriculture. Some of these latter were towns and places of great learning and many of pilgrimage, while others were centres of weaving, fishing, oil manufacture, stone work and other crafts. The twin towns of Kanchipuram were an ancient centre of learning and had been a centre of politics, administration, industry and commerce in Southern India until at least the 7th Century AD. Even in 1770, Kanchipuram was a major religious centre, as it also is today, and of people engaged in various other crafts. While around 2,200 localities are listed in this 1770 survey, the main data available pertains only to 1,910 localities. Amongst these 1,554 had human habitation, and 356 had no habitation at all around 1770. These 1,554 localities and 62,529 houses in them besides temples, shrines, centres of scholarship, resting places for travellers and the like. The number of temples and shrines in the district was around 3000 to 4000; some of their structures dated back to the 7th Century AD.

These 1,910 localities together had a land area of 779,132 Kanis, or about 400,000 hectares (a Kani being slightly more than 0.5 hectare). Out of this total 182,172 Kanis was under irrigated cultivation, and 88,069 Kanis under cultivation which solely depended upon rain. 130,790 Kanis of land (around 17% of the total), was occupied by woods, and 14,055 Kanis by orchards, groves, gradens, etc. Another 100,806 Kanis was occupied by reservoirs of water for irrigation (known as eri, maduvu, thangal in Tamil), and 24,088 Kanis was used for human habitats. The size of the land for a house and backyard ranged from a low of 0.06 Kanis to a high of 1.75

¹⁰ The information in this and the following section, is based on material in English pertaining to a survey of around 2,200 localities in the district of Chengalpattu during the period 1767-1774. This material is held in the Tamil Nadu State Archives in Madras. Many more details relating to a number of these localities are still available on palm leaf manuscripts now kept at the Tamil University at Thanjavur in Tamil Nadu. A detailed analyses of this data is presently being done by the PPST Foundation, and the Centre for Policy Studies, Madras.

Kanis. Most houses were in the range of 0.2 Kanis, i.e. about 1,000 square meters. 4,190 Kanis were used as salt pans for making salt from sea water. 109,289 Kanis of land though cultivable was not being cultivated around this time, and the rest 121,072 Kanis was either under hills, and rain water rivers, or was treated as waste. The total area of this district where these 1,910 localities were situated was perhaps 50% more, than the 779,132 Kanis mentioned above, as many of the localities till then would not have taken note of any land which lay between the boundary of one locality and that of another more or less adjoining it.

The average land area of a locality comes out as 408 Kanis (210 hectares). But 82 localities had less than 20 Kanis of land, 143 had between 20-50 Kanis each, and 248 between 50-100 Kanis each. The agriculturally important localities seem to have been between 100-200 Kanis (445 localities), 200-500 kanis (623 localities) and 500-1,000 Kanis (262 localities). There were 124 localities which were between 1,000-5,000 Kanis each, and two localities above 5,000 Kanis each.

Though the average number of houses for each of the 1,554 inhabited localities is 40-41, there is very large variation in the number of houses which any given locality had. 153 localities had more than 5 houses to each, 199 had 6-10 houses each, 324 had 11-20 houses each, and 242 had 21-30 houses each. Only 296 localities had between 31-50 houses, 118 between 51-70 houses, 96 between 71-100 houses, and 83 between 101-200 houses. 28 localities, many of these towns, had between 201-500 houses, and just 5 were above 500 houses each. These latter were Chinna Kanchipuram with 801 houses, Periya Kanchipuram with 593 houses, Pudupakkamm with 726 houses, Pillaipalayam with 608 houses, and Uttaramerur, with its 10th century inscriptions on its polity, with 691 houses. This gradation in the size of localities by houses, or population, as it obtained in Chengalpattu seems to be no different from such gradation of localities there 200 years later today. Further, such gradation is not unique to Chengalpattu but obtains in similar fashion in most regions of India.

The 225 localities with less than 50 Kanis of land had little agriculture and a large number of them were industrial centres; many of them were also centres of banking, trade and commerce. Many localities, some 50-100 amongst the 1,554, were pilgrimage centres also.

The number of households engaged in industrial and allied pursuits, or in banking, commerce and trade was around 15,000, nearly 23% of the total households of the district of Chengalpattu. In addition around 40,000 households must have been spinning cotton yarn to provide yarn for the cloth which was woven by the weaver houses of the district.

Weavers living in 233 localities were the single largest industrial group with 4031 households. In 55 of these localities they constituted 30% and more of the total houses, and in 34 they formed the majority. Some places had very large concentrations of weavers, especially in the neighbourhood of Kanchipuram. One place had 198 weaver houses out of a total of 290 houses. Five other localities which had weaver majority had 106 out of 129, 114 out of 191, 87 out of 116, 69 out of 133, and 62 out of 108 houses. Around 80 places had more than 10 weavers in each. There were also many localities in which the fishermen, the woodcutters, those working in stone, potters, and vegetable oil manufacturers together constituted 30% and more of the total houses of such localities. Even those concerned with banking, commerce,

trade and shopkeeping together constituted 30% and more in 47 localities and in 11 of them they were more than 50%.

Such preponderance of a particular extended kinship group, or of an occupation group in 1770 Chengalpattu is even more marked in the case of groups mainly engaged in agriculture and in the case of the Brahmins. In around 1,225 of the 1,544 inhabited localities, one group or the other (and in a few two) constituted 30% or more of the total houses. And in around 460 localities out of these, one or the other specific group constituted the majority. The total houses for the main groups, the number of localities in which each group resided, and the number in which some of them formed 30% or more, or were the majority, are given in *Table I* at the end. The total number of cattle in Chengalpattu is also given in *Table II*.

The total annual agricultural production for years 1762 to 1766 can be estimated on the basis of available data in the survey for 1,458 of these localities. The amount of total production is estimated to be around 1,479,646 Kalam, one Kalam being roughly equal to 125 kilograms. This means an annual grain production of 184,955 tons. A fairly large proportion of the irrigated land, though the soil of Chengalpattu was only of medium fertility, gave high agricultural yields. In many localities the yield from paddy lands seem to have been of the order of 4-6 tons per hectare, i.e. equal to the yield of paddy in present day Japan.

Around 27% of this produce was put apart, at four different stages (from before threshing of the crop to after the final measurement of it), for the expenses of the locality and outside institutions with whom the localities were associated, as well as for payment to individuals who were part of the agricultural and community infrastructure. Many of these institutions and persons had also the land tax from certain lands assigned to them. The total amount of land so assigned in 1770 Chengalpattu was around 44,057 Kanis of irrigated land and 22,684 Kanis of land dependent on rain alone. It may also be inferred here that the rest of the economy, industry, commerce, shopkeeping, etc., which might perhaps have accounted for about one-third to one half of the economic activity of the district had made similar contributions to most such groups, institutions and functions. *Table III* at the end gives the major allocations from the total agricultural produce for each category of institution or function in these 1,458 localities.

The 1770 Chengalpattu data establishes the existence not only of a high level of agricultural productivity but also of diverse industrial activities and services in the society of Chengalpattu at that time. There are indications of a careful tending of the physical space and natural resources of the region as well. An elaborately worked out system of sharing of the produce of the region also seems to have ensured a fairly equitable distribution of economic and cultural prosperity among the various communities and occupational groups that inhabited the region. What concerns us here, however, are the details of the political arrangements through which the polity of Chengalpattu functioned in the late eighteenth century.

The polity seems to have operated on the basis of complex interactions between distinct and separate groups. Such distinctness at times is expressed in the separateness of their living space within a locality, in certain places separateness of the religious shrine to which a group was especially attached to (even when several such shrines may have been dedicated to the same gods), in separateness of their

drinking water sources, smaller and larger tanks, and with regard to several other aspects. As an instance, there were localities of 100 to 200 houses in which there were as many as 10-12 tempels or shrines of Ganesa, the god symbolising auspiciousness.

Thirupporur, one of the numerous temple towns in Chengalpattu and near Madras, offers an interesting illustration of the principle of distinctness that formed the basis of organisation of the Chengalpattu polity. With its Kandaswami temple, Thirupporur was as major a centre of pilgrimage for people of the 18th century as it is even today. Substantial agricultural produce allocations were received by it for its expenses and maintenance from over 250 localities of Chengalpattu. This temple town had over 20 mathams each of which was related to a specific community or to a group of localities. A matham is a place of worship, which also arranges for the stay of the pilgrims, and for the performance of tasks associated with pilgrimage. Mathams were also places where spiritual and higher learning were imparted. They almost certainly had a savant or a scholar looking after them.

The large number of mathams, each linked to a specific community or a group of localities, indicate that while the various groups participating in the Chengalpattu polity all came to worship at the same temple of Kandaswami at Thirupporur, yet each such group preferred to stay separately and be culturally interlinked with a distinct matham.

The people and localities of 1770 Chengalpattu however seem to have concerned themselves with many more things than the distinctiveness of groups, their living space, shrines, water sources, etc. While at one level separate requirements were attended to, at another level the groups seem to have got together to operate in the public domain of a locality or group of localities. The detailed budgetary allocations made for numerous functions, including irrigation, administration, learning and scholarship, police and militia are illustrative of this joint concern. These functions and institutions, however, were often looked after by specific and exclusive groups. The data mention almost a hundred groups, functionaries, and institutions that had a share in the budgetary allocations of most localities or of some. And most localities made such allocations for tens of functionaries and institutions. The arrangements described above, the separateness of groups and communities and their interlinking as well as the interlinking of localities were not unique to Chengalpattu, and seem to have obtained in most other regions and localities of India till around A.D. 1800.

One infers from such data that India's polity was constituted in a manner peculiar to India or to areas around it. The building blocks of this polity evidently are not individuals but distinct and exclusive groups, who at one point emphasize their separateness almost to the point of sovereignty. Having established their separateness such groups within every locality come together to form the local polity. The polity then functions through elaborate systems of sharing of resources and responsibilities. It may be mentioned that, in spite of the attitudes of sovereign exclusiveness that these groups seem to exhibit, the nature of the groupings and the occupational specialization ensured that none of them could have made the polity or the economy functional standing alone. Functioning in any locality or larger region required the coming together of several at least of seven or eight of such groups. Working out of arrangements of interaction between such exclusive sovereign groups and between locality and adjoining localities then becomes the major aspect of political functioning.

The polity described above was perhaps relatively weak at the time of the above compilation of Chengalpattu data and quite possibly the linkages between the localities themselves had got considerably eroded by this time. The factors which still kept them linked in some manner seem to have been the permeating Indian dharmic view of life, the great gods and their majestic temples, the infrastructure both local as well as regional which in various ways linked them to their institutions and persons who performed the numerous functions which were needed by them all, the scholarly institutions whom they honoured in their various ways, and their militias which in southern India were commanded by persons known as palayakkarans. But even these links had weakened during the centuries, though such weakening was far more pronounced in northern, western and parts of eastern India.

ANNEX : CHENGALPATTU (1767 - 1774)

The data from the Chengalpattu Survey 1767 -1774, either in English in some 20 registers or in Tamil on around 15,000 surviving palm-leaves, may be treated as an approximation to the then ground reality. The survey not only had certain defined purposes but was also governed by the outlook and understanding of those who directed or conducted it. For instance, an obvious understatement pertains to the number engaged in salt manufacture, which is given as 39, while the district of Chengalpattu had a coastline of over 100 kilometers, and salt pans covering an area of over 2,000 hectares. It is possible that the survey recorded only those who were engaged in the supervision of salt manufacture and not the number of actual manufacturers. Various other industrial professions engaged in building houses, temples and other public places, or those who assisted the manufacture of cloth in various other ways, like dyeing, etc, or were engaged in the manufacture of chemicals, or taught in schools, or professed medicine, etc. also seem to have by and large escaped the notice of this survey. Yet, that it covered as much ground as it actually did is indicative of the practice of extensive record-keeping by the pre-British south Indian society and of their awareness of themselves, as also of the industry and perseverance of those engaged in the survey.

An effort has been made in Tables I,II,III to give some statistical idea of the society of Chengalpattu at this time, its dwindled cattle and sheep and goat population, and the allocation of the agricultural produce to various institutions and functions (like temples, mathams, irrigation, police, militia, accounting, etc.) and to various persons like artificers, barbers, washermen, potters, panisevans, kanakpillais, etc. It may however be added that these allocations were not the only income which these institutions or persons had. Most of them must have also received remuneration for their work from persons in the non-agricultural sector, as also individual personal payments (or in the case of temples, etc, offerings, donations and so on) for such work. Many also had land *manyams* both institutions as well as individuals. All families invariably also had a housesite [Gramanattam] to itself wherever it lived.

Table I
DETAILS OF NUMBER OF HOUSES OF PEOPLE FROM VARIOUS OCCUPATION
AND JATIS IN CHENGALPATTU c.1770

	No. of Houses	No. of localities in which residing	No. of locations in which presence	
			at 50% or more	at 30% or more
TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS	62,29	1,44		
Peasantry and cattle-keeping	33,963			
Vellalas	7,411		53	182
Pallys	9,693	1,112	172	423
Pariars	11,052	1,108	82	344
Reddys	1,417	256	7	30
Kammawars	1,005	185	12	32
Cow-keepers	2,573	796	14	51
Shanars	812	256	10	25
Industries & Crafts	8,234			
Weavers	4,011	218	34	55
Fisherman	590	79	9	15
Shroffs (Banking)	422	344		
Cotton-refiners	85	73		
Carpenters	536	414		
Iron-smiths	394	313		
Artificers	45	18		
Braziers	36	17		
Gold & silver smiths	209	113	9	38
Vegetable oil manufacturers	637	270		
Potmakers	389	309		
Wood cutters	596	182		
Salt manufacturers	39			
Shoemakers	78	27		
Stone cutters	89	21		
Other Industrial work (approximate)	500			
Merchant and Traders	4,312			
Chettis	2,051	725	11	47
Other traders (Komatis, Cavaris)	1,839			
Essential Services	1,682			
Barbers	644	506		
Washermen	862	719		
Medicalmen	159	131		
Scholarship, higher learning ritual performances and culture	8,064			
Brahmins	6,646		34	154
Pandarams	1,054	373	2	10
Davadasis	622	152	2	2
Valluvans	137	91		

	No. of Houses	No. of localities in which residing	No. of locations in which presence	
Wochuns	173	153		
Musicians	27	25		
Kootadi (Stage performers)	25	22		
Locality Administration Accounts, etc.	1,974			
Kanakkupillai (Registry/Record Keeping/ Accountancy)	1,660	714	2	2
Panisevans	314	213	1	1
Taliars (Police)	707	298		
Militia System	1,479		11	39
The Rest	2,214			
Muslims	733			
Moormen	671	154	7	8
Fakirs	62	39		
Remainning other Households	748			

TABLE II: TOTAL NUMBER OF DOMESTIC CATTLE

Cows	94,685
Buffaloes	5,417
Goats	14,931
Sheep	14,970
Bullocks	59,550

The period from 1748 to 1770 was a period of war, plunder, and butchering of men as well as cattle by the British and by those who contested them in large parts of south India, and much more in areas around Madras. It is therefore possible that the number of cattle recorded in this survey was much less at the time of enumeration than what it might have been 20 years earlier.

**TABLE III AMOUNT OF ESTIMATED TOTAL AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE,
ALLOCATED TO VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS AND FUNCTIONS IN
CHENGALPATTU**

	In Kalams¹¹	In tons	No. of individual Recipients	No. of Localities
TOTAL AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE	1,479,644	184,955		(1,458)
TOTAL ALLOCATIONS	394,950	49,369		(1,458)
For institutions and occupations within each locality	264,824	33,103		(1,458)
Local Kovils (Temples, Shrines)	13,882	1,735		(1,409)
Pandarams/Devadasis/Astrologers	18,503	2,313		(1,440)
Cultivators Servents	87,504	10,938		(1,363)
Irrigation Fund	19,806	2,467		(1,047)
Artificers (Carpenters/Ironsmiths)	19,470	2,435	975	(1,453)
Potters	2,749	344	389	(709)
Barbers	6,169	771	644	(1,439)
Washermen	6,058	757	862	(1,436)
Cornmesurers	11,561	1,445		(1,303)
Shroffs	9,332	1,166	422	(1,201)
Kanakkuppillais	31,624	3,953	1,660	(1,456)
Panisevans	3,110	389	314	(762)
Tottys	1,371	171		(272)
Chief Inhabitants	31,197	3,899		(1,332)
Various others	2,588	32		
For outside institutions and persons	130,126	16,266		(1,458)
Great Kovils/Mathams(Places of Higher learning) ¹² /Scholars	25,321	3,165		(1,280)
Administration	53,572	6,697	707	(1,347)
Palayakkarans(Militia)	45,936	5,742	1,479	(1,457)
Fakirs/Mosques/Dargahs	2,518	351		(506)
Various Others	2,779	345		

¹¹ one Kalam is equal to 125 Kilograms

¹² One such institution, the great Vishnu Temple in Chinna Kanchipuram had grain allocations from the total agricultural produce from 1,265 localities. Nine others received such allocations from over 200 to 40 localities, and seven were receiving such allocations from 118 to 184 localities. Many of such scholarly centres, temples, great scholars, etc. in various regions of India would have also received similar contributions from localities in the adjoining districts, and some perhaps from very distant areas going up to the Himalayas. The great Jagannath temple at Puri and its allied institutions were receiving contributions from all over India. even from places which are now in Pakistan. Similarly the famous temple at Tirupati, in the region adjoining Chengalpattu, received regular contributions and gifts sent, till around 1810 AD., amongst others from the Marathas as well as from the king of Nepal. The number in parenthesis gives the number of localities which made contribution to the particular category of institution or function.

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5. ON ANCIENT CHATRAMS IN THANJAVUR REGION TILL c. 1800

IOR: P/286/ : Proceedings Madras Board of Revenue: 2.2.1801: Enclosed with letter dated 28.1.1801 from collector, Tanjore to Board of revenue

A letter from His Excellency Serfojee Rajah of Tanjore to British Government: Jan 1801

From the first of my ancestors, regular grants, with the seal attached to them were made of the lands whether in Servamanium or Srotrium which were assigned to individuals for charitable purposes, except when Chatrums or other donations for charitable uses have been given to the queens of the royal family. In these cases grants have not been made. The reason appears to be that the reigning Rajah was very certain that none of his own ministers or those of his sons or successors, would require to see the grant by which the queens possessed the land which has been assigned to them for charitable purposes, and consequently these possession (s) have been held by *perwangy* alone.

The ground along the sea shore where these charitable institutions are the most numerous, is of a very inferior quality. But it is also the road to Ramiserum and forty thousand persons from all parts of India, from Banares, and, Delhe, Aurangabad and Poona pass and repass every year. For the accomodation of these travellers principally, the Chetrums have been established, and to each of them pagodas, choultries, and schools are annexed. I will now explain to you the nature and extent of the charities dispensed by them. All travellers from the Bramin to the Pariar inclusive, pilgrims of every description including jogues, jungums, ateets and byragies are fed with boiled rice. Those who do not chuse to eat the boiled rice receive it unboiled with spices &c. These distributions continue till midnight when a bell is rung and proclamation made requiring all those who have not been fed to appear and take the rice prepared for them.

The travellers who may be unable to proceed in their journey are fed as long as they remain at the Chetrum. In each chetrum a teacher to each of the four vedums is appointed, and a school-master and doctors, skillful in the care of diseases, swellings, and the poison of reptiles; all the orphans of strangers who may come to the chetrum are placed under the care of the school-master. They are also fed three times a day, and once in four days they are annointed with oil. They receive medicine when they require it; cloths also are given to them and the utmost attention paid to them. They are instructed in the sciences to which they may express a preference, and after having obtained a competent knowledge of them the expences of their marriage are defrayed.

Travellers who fall sick at the chetrum or before their arrival, receive medicine, and the diet proper for them, and are attended with respect and kindness untill their recovery.

The obsequies of those who die during their residence at the chetrum are performed according to the rites of their cast.

Milk is provided for infants; pregnant women are entertained with *kindness*, and if they happen to be delivered at the chetrum, their expenses are defrayed, medicines are given to them and they are permitted to remain in the chetrum three months after their delivery.

Those who apply to the chetrum and state their inability to defray the expence of receiving the Braninical thread, of their marriage, or of the performance of the ceremonies, subsequent to their father's death, receive a sum of money proportionate to the occasion.

As the lands annexed to the chetrum is in general very poor, it happens frequently from a deficiency of rain, that they do not produce sufficient for the expences. When this is the case my anxiety to prevent any diminution of these excellent charities, which I consider as the most honourable appendage of my dignity, has always induced me to send to them from the circuar both grain and money sufficient to make up the deficiency. After Mr. Harris was appointed to the management of that soubah, he must remember that I applied to him for a considerable quantity of paddy at different times for the use of the chetrum.

The chetrum are not of recent foundation. The chetrum of Munmaligoody and some others were founded by my ancestor Pretaupsing above forty years ago, and have continued to distribute their charities ever since. My father the late Tulsagee Rajah, twenty five or thirty years ago founded the chetrum of Minmushale, Salutehnaoapoor, and Rajyamul. None of these chetrum were founded in the reign of Amersing or by me since my accession. Although these charitable institutions did not originate with me, I consider them as attached to my house, and essential to my reputation and happiness. The Tanjore country is celebrated over all world for its charities, it is called Dhermraje, and I consider the reputation which reverts upon me through all countries from this appellation, as the most honorable distinction of my rank. The revenues appropriated to the support of the charities of my ancestors, and my Tulsajee Rajah, have never been included in the public revenue of the country. They invariably cherished and supported the charities. It is my earnest wish to do the same. The superintendence of them has always descended from the older to the younger queen. It has remained in the hands of the senior until her death and then descended to the wife of the reigning Rajah. I have a perfect confidence that this custom of my ancestors will not be deviated from, and that I shall not suffer the disgrace of seeing it abolished in my reign.

The *perwangys* issued by Pretaupsing and Tulsajee previous to the capture of the fort cannot be found. After the capture of the fort the Nabob plundered the place, and carried off all the records, in the the dufter. From this circumstance no records prior to that date remain. After the restoration of the fort, the late Tulsajee Rajah issued new *perwangee* for all the ancient charitable institutions as well those established by himself. These are in my possession.

There is a regular grant also for Chetoobaba chetrum.

What can I write more.

20th January 1801

GOVERNMENT TO BOARD OF REVENUE IN REPLY, 21.2.1801 AND NOTE OF COLLECTOR, 7.7.1800

IOR:P/275/45/ Madras Revenue proceedings; also IOR: p 286\40pp, 6395- 8,9. This note was not legible in the original record. NOTE OF COLLECTOR 7.7.1800 : The enquiry about these ports commenced with a letter dated 12th March 1800 from the the Board of Revenue requiring the collector to report the list of the various ports etc. in this division. To this the collector replied on 7th July.

7. We are happy that the collector apprehends no difficulty in forming an arrangement for the resumption of the Maunium ports by the grant of an equivalent in land for the support of these useful institutions to which it appears the revenues of these ports had been appropriated.

9. You will observe that every port pays revenue, but that sum are separated from those of the circar, in charities and maunium.

He listed 28 ports, along with the revenue, but that some went to Government, and listed the following as Maunium:

1. Gopaulaputnam ? (from Poottoocodah town distant 4 ½ Malabar miles) Maunium to the charity choultry called Meenamosel of the Tanjore queen in the Putacottah soubah.
2. Cottaputnum (from Jugadaputnum distant 1 Malabar mile), in the Puttacottah soubah but granted by the Rajah Pretaub Sing to the Rajah of Ramnad.
3. Terkumahputnum (from Anyaputnam distant 1 Malabar Mile).
4. Vadacamahputnum, Maunium to the charity choultry of Manargoody of the Tanjore queen in the Puttacottah soubal.
5. Auvidyarpotnum (from Terkumahputnam distant 1 Malabar mile): Manium to the Avidour church in the Puttacottah soubah.
6. Kistnayeepotnum (from Moonpautyputnam distant 1 ½ Malabar mile), belonging to the Poligar of the Singinaoud Poliapet in the Puttacottah soubh, not accounted for by any sunnud.
7. Cutmauvadypotnum (from Somnaudaputaum distant 3 Malabar miles). Manium to the charity choultry of Valumcolum of the Tanjore queen in the Puttacottah soubah.
8. Sambiputnum or Satoobavan (from Sambiputnum distant 2 Malabar miles). Manium to the charity choultry of Satubauva minister to the Rajah Pretaub Sing, in the Puttacottah soubah.
9. Saulvanaickenputnum (from Sambiputnum distant 3 Malabar Miles). As above.
10. Gopaulaputnum (from Poodooputnum district 1 Malabar mile).
11. Adramputnum (from 10, 1 Malabar mile) Both 10 and 11 Manumium to the charity choultry of Rajah Naddum of the Tanjore queen.
12. Topetvry (from Codiacaud distant 3 Malabar mile) Manuium to the Vada.

6. DEED OF GRANT FOR THE PERUGUNNAH MAHSURI TO THE TEMPLE OF KEDARNATH IN THE HIMALAYAS; A.D. 1797

IOL: Board's Collections

(Translation)

BE it known that the pargunnah of Mahasuri in the district of Kumaon, which is bounded on the east by the village of Dolphant, west by Agsora Siamkhet, south by Suraug Ko Pani and north by Loi Lal Satoli, with all the land belonging to the said pargunnah, of His Highness Maharaja Ram Bahadoor Sah, ruler of Nepal accompanied by his youngest Rani, to the temple of Kedarnath for the purposes of giving food to the temple class of pilgrims resorting to the said temple, and providing for the expenses of the daily worship of the god.

Provided that no grant of land, well, tank, & c in the said pargunnah heretofore made with a religious motive, shall be effected by the sunud.

Also be it known, that the whole land revenue of the said pargunnah, any hidden treasure which may be discovered within its limits, the custom duties, the property of persons dying without an heir, the fees of grazing cattle, judicial fines and confiscations & c, the duty levied upon ghee (clarified butter), fees of sacrificing buffaloes, goat, & c and all other incomes of the said pargunna shall be applied to providing subsistence for the poor Brahmins, Atits, Abbingats, Sanyasis, Byragees, and other classes of Hindoo mendicants according to the under mentioned detail, including the expenses of the daily worship of Kedarnath.

That food shall be given during seven months vizit from Bysakh to Kartik in each year to twenty-five thousand individuals, at the rate of 12 chittacks rice, 2 chittacks dhall, 2 tolas salt and two tolas ghee per man and the price of these articles for the quantity which may be consumed during the above mentioned period, is estimated as follows:

Rice	Rs. 600	902
Dhall	120	
Salt	54	
Ghee	128	
Food & c daily presented to the god during the whole year		34
Labour of Porters who may be employed for bringing the articles 8 as per man		306
Wages of servants who may be employed in purchasing things and distributing food &c		100
	Total	Rs 1,342

Should any surplus remain after defraying the above expenses from the total revenue of the said pargunnah, estimated to be Rs 1,342, it must be accumulated annually and spent in the fair of Kumbha, which occurs after 12 years.

That an account of the savings which may be made in any year in consequence of the cheapness of the articles, or the number of pilgrims who may have received food from the temple falling short of 25,000 or the revenue of the pargunnah being increased on

account of a good season beyond the estimated amount of Rs. 1,342, shall be made over each year to the district officer.

That the whole revenue of the pargunnah must be laid out in the manner above Particularized, and whosoever will act contrary to the above directions, shall be guilty of the five great sins, and incur the displeasure of Kedarnath and the 33 crores of gods; and whosoever will strictly observe them shall obtain (in the world to come) the rewards of the five principal virtues, and secure the favour of 33 crores of gods. witnesses (to the Deed) are the sun, moon, and the planets, and the earth and the elements; and from amongst men, Dewaz Kesari, Chantana, brother of Bazu Sah, Hast Dil, Kaji, Tir Bhawun Sing Kaji, Damodar Pande Kaji, Kirat Man Sing Kaji, Narsing Kharidar, Sunklidoo Joshi Kharidar, Siriram Joshi, Doomia Hira Nund and Bhairo Sing.

Sloak quoted from Bhagwut; "He who resumes his own, or any other person's grant: shall become an insect of the filth of hell for sixty thousand years".

Under date the 14th of Magh Saka of Shalwahan 1716 corresponding with AD 1797 Mool Nakshattra &c.

(The other deeds respecting the grant of the pergunnahs of Parkundoo, Bamsoo and Mukhda in the district of Gurhawal made by Maharaja Girwan Judh Bikra Sah in 1865 is also engrossed in the same terms as the above and the revenues of these pergunnahs amounted to Rs.)

(The above translation though not at all literal gives a sufficiently faithful idea of the purpose of the original.)

7. INDIAN PRACTICE OF DISCUSSING IN PUBLIC ASSEMBLIES c.1800

from Francis Buchanan,; A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar, 3 Volumes; London 1807. The journey was undertaken from April 23, 1800 to July 5, 1801 at the instructions of Governor General Lord Wellesley 24.2.1800. Extract: VOL I: pp 342-3

I took an opportunity, in company with this aumildar, of examining into the management of the lac insect; and for this purpose we collectdd all the people who follow that employment. I have always found, that the more of any class of people were assembled, the more likely I was to get just information: Not that all of them spoke, some one or two men generally answered my questions; but they did it without fear of reflexions from those who might otherwise have been absent; as every one, if he chose, had an opportunity of speaking. The Hindus of all descriptions, so far as I have observed, are indeed very desirous of having every kind of business discussed in public assemblies.

8. BRITISH UNDERSTANDING OF THE SOCIO - POLITICAL ECONOMY AND INFRA- STRUCTURE OF AN INDIAN VILLAGE AND THUS CORRESPONDINGLY PERHAPS OF A TOWN AND CITY ALSO

from British House of Commons Papers:1812 vol 7 (known as Fifth Report), p.35

Of their internal form and constitution, the committee of circuit have afforded only an imperfect account : but later and more particular enquiries have clearly shown, that they do not differ in their nature, from those existing in the modern territories in the peninsula. A village, geographically considered, is a tract of country comprising some hundreds or thousands of acres of arable and waste land: politically viewed, it resembles a corporation or township. Its proper establishment of officers and servants consists of the following descriptions: The *Potail*, or head inhabitant; who has the general superintendence of the affairs of the village, settles the disputes of the inhabitants, attends to the police, and performs the duty, already described, of collecting the revenues within his village; a duty which his personal influence and minute acquaintance with the situation and concerns of the people renders him best qualified to discharge. The *Curnum*; who keeps the accounts of cultivation, and registers every thing connected with it. The *Talliar* and *Totie*; the duty of the former, appearing to consist, in a wider and more enlarged sphere of action, in gaining information of crimes and offences, and in escorting and protecting persons travelling from one village to another: the province of the latter, appearing to be more immediately confined to the village, consisting among other duties, in guarding the crops, and assisting in measuring them. The *Boundaryman*; who preserves the limits of the village, or gives evidence respecting them, in cases of dispute. The Superintendent of the Tanks and *Watercourses* distributes the water therefrom, for the purposes of agriculture. The *Bramin*, who performs the village worship. The *Schoolmaster*, who is seen teaching the children in the villages to read and write in the sand. The *Calendar Bramin*, or astrologer, who proclaims the lucky or unpropitious periods for sowing and threshing. The *Smith* and *Carpenter*, who manufacture the implements of agriculture, and build the dwelling of the ryot. The *Potman*, or Potter, The *Washerman*. The *Barber*. The *Cowkeeper*, who looks after the cattle. The *Doctor*. The *Dancing Girl*, who attends at rejoicings. The *Musician* and the *Poet*. These officers and servants, generally constitute the establishment of a village, but, in some parts of the country, it is of less extent, some of the duties and functions above described being united in the same person; in others, it exceeds the number of individuals which have been described.

Under this simple form of municipal government, the inhabitants of the country have lived, from time immemorial. The boundaries of the villages have been but seldom altered; and though the villages themselves, have been sometimes injured, and even desolated, by war, famine, and disease; the same name, the same limits, the same interests, and even the same families, have continued for ages. The inhabitants have given themselves no trouble about the breaking-up and division of kingdoms; while the village remains entire, they care not to what power it is transferred, or to what sovereign it devolves¹³; its internal economy remains unchanged; the *Potail* is still the

¹³ This sentence seems to be a calculated and deliberate British inference to provide legitimacy to their conquest and dominance. Some fifty years later it was also used by Karl Marx to run down the Indian village and society: Editor.

head inhabitant, and still acts as the petty judge and magistrate, and collector or renter of the village.

In addition to the portions of land appropriated to the pagoda establishment, to the local officers of government and to the village servants, they each were entitled to certain small shares or perquisites from the crops of the villages; which were allotted to them, generally before, but sometimes subsequently, to the division of the produce between government and the cultivators. Provision appears to have been also made, in the mode last prescribed, for the maintenance of public servants incapacitated by age or accident from the discharge of their duty. The fund of these disbursements, in which the several classes of revenue officers and village servants likewise participated as one of the sources of their official emoluments, was the sayer or inland duties, and the sea and land customs.

The practice of allotting lands free of rent, or at low rents, and of applying shares of the agricultural produce, and of the customs, to the uses and purposes above explained, was followed by the Mahomeddan government; with whom it was also a frequent custom to provide for their relations, and to reward the higher ranks of their officers in the military and civil departments, by large grants of land, under the name of *jaghires*. The territorial grants to the religious institutions of the country, and for charitable purposes, bear the name of *enaums*; those to the revenue officers and servants in the villages, are called *mauniums*; but both descriptions generally pass, under the former name, in the official records of the Company. The perquisites from the crops are denominated *russoom* or *marahs*.

9. HINDU TEMPLES IN THE DISTRICT OF SOUTH ARCOT AND THEIR ESTABLISHMENTS¹⁴

IOR: P\292\81: Madras Board of Revenue Proceedings dated 5 October 1818: pp 12907: enclosed with report on Devastanams etc. dated 1.10.1818. by C.Hyde, Collector south Arcot

PARTICULARS OF ESTABLISHMENTS, OCT. 1818

	Tusdeek Devastanam	Madiasta Devastanam	Chillar Devastanam	Total	Chattrams
1. Performers of Poojay					
a. Archakul	103	210	-	313	-
b. Stanegur	33	11	-	44	-
c. Goorookul	66	125	171	362	-
d. Poojary	-	7	5,830	5,837	-
2. Assistants to (above)	64	59	-	123	-
3. Svembaky or books	69	16	-	85	2
4. Chattram attendants	-	-	-	-	61
5. Vadaparayanakaurer	347	12	-	359	2
6. Punjangum readers	24	-	-	24	-
7. Pagoda chobdars	18	1	-	19	-
8. Native musicians					
a. Trumpeters	70	54	-	124	-
b. Bagpipe blowers	68	54	-	122	-
c. Tomtom beaters	129	75	-	204	-
d. Cymbal beaters	66	39	-	105	-
9. Dancing Establishment					
a. Nutwahs	67	17	-	84	-
b. Singers	24	2	-	26	-
c. Madalakars	66	20	-	86	-
d. Bagpipe blowers	19	3	-	22	-
e. Dancing girls	376	75	-	451	-
f. Overseer	1	-	-	1	-
10. Flower-men	87	66	150	303	-
11. Grawary keepers	40	4	-	44	-
12. Flower gardeners	48	41	95	184	-
13. Sweepers	54	34	127	215	11

¹⁴ All temples Chattrams, Mattams, etc, in the Madras presidency were put under British supervision and management from AD 1800 when the British had formally taken over the whole territory of the presidency.

14. Lamp lighters	38	14	231	283	2
15. Ammenahs	61	7	-	68	3
16. Navesindahs	51	17	-	68	-
17. Tailors and washerman	34	2	-	36	-
18. Elephant keeper	13	10	-	23	-
19. Peon for the custody of Jewels & c.	22	6	-	28	-
Total	2,058	981	6,604	9,643	81

Note: The name of the above categories are also given in Tamil. *Tusdeek Devasthanam*, according to the collector "are under the immediate control of the collector, who generally inspects them once, or twice a year during his tour in the district". The sources of revenue *remaining* allocated to these in 1818 amounted to Rs.72,421-4. The *Madistah* and the *Chiller* devasthanams are "such pagodas that are not under the collector's management" and according to the collector "great abuse must exist in the appropriation of their funds".

Chuttrums: according to the collector there were 46 of these in the district "but only two are of any repute". These two had an allocation of Rs.273 in 1818.

10. AN OFFICIAL NOTE ON THE HOLDERS OF THE RENT FREE LANDS, 1832

by Mr. H.T.Prinsep.IOR:Board's Collections: F/4/1861 (No.79053: vol.4 of the collection on resumptions). According to 79054 the note is of 1832. PP 63-80. The note is also given in Rev Cons 10.10. 1837 (No.1), also in consultations P/63/4,11 pp. The later portion of the note, pp.69-80, dealing with subsequent legal steps discussed by the Mr Prinsep is not given here.

When territory has come into the possession of the British Government whether by conquest or by cession and whether in succession to a Hindoo or to a Mahomedan prince there has always been found a large proportion of the lands of the country alienated from the Khalsa or public rental and paying no revenue.

These free tenures are of various kinds. Some are enjoyed under undisputed grants of the deposed or displaced sovereign or of his ancestors and these may be for life or hereditary, for reward of past service, or as a gratuitous boon, or for livelihood or conditioned for future services or for the maintenance of troops. In the language of the government regulations these are called Badshahee or royal grants and are found to exist under all the varieties of the pensions of the British civil list. The assignment of the public revenue derived from land has always been looked upon as the only form in which provision of a permanent kind could be made for favorites in India.

Other grants again are religious and besides partaking of all the varieties above stated in respect to form and duration admit of the broad classification of being either grants of the nature of endowments to support religious institutions or grants to individuals of sanctity for their maintenance for life or with their families in perpetuity.

But besides alienations from the public rent roll of the above descriptions emanating from the ruling power of the state there are an infinity of persons in every pergunnah and village found to be enjoying land either wholly free or upon fixed quit rent under arrangements having their origin either in the favor of amils (local collectors) or in some connivance or composition with village or district officers or by grant of a tributary Rajah or Zemindar or by sufferance or assignment on the part of the revenue paying classes. An amil for instance many without supposing dishonesty have permitted a person towards whom he was favourably inclined to occupy a deserted or unoccupied tract under assurance of non-molestation and this tenure upon arrival of a new amil may have been continued thro bribery or connivance so that the lands and perhaps whole villages having been once lost will have been kept entirely from the Khalsa for a succession of years constituting according to the duration of the period claim to exemption from assessment when the territory falls under the British Government. In like manner a faqeer or favoured individual of a village may have been allowed to occupy and reclaim jungul to cultivate inferior or recover lost land, without being subject to demand of any portion of the village juma or to other assessment until at last possession constitutes a title and the occupant claims to enjoy on the same terms in perpetuity.

From the date of the Company's assuming the Dewanee of Bengal it has felt the embarrassment of determining how to deal liberally and fairly with these tenures and to assert at the same time its just rights.

Under the old Mughul Government there were special officers of the highest grade called Sudroo Badoor Minhaee Dufter through which all religious grants and other alienations from the Khalsa were regulated and controlled. Many attempts were made in the earlier period of our rule by Warren Hastings and others to bring the exempt lands under investigation in order that the titles asserted by the possessors might be verified and if defective that the lands might be subjected to assessment. The powers given to the provincial councils for this purpose and the appointments made from time of special commissioners will be seen explained at length in the third volume of Sir E. Colebrooke's *Digest*, and likewise in Mr. Harington's *Analysis*, and do not need to be recapitulated here. No satisfactory result however had been come to when Lord Cornwallis carried into execution the great measure of fixing in perpetuity the public revenue derived by government from the land in Bengal and Behar.

It was a fundamental principle of His Lordship's system to fix the public assessment and provide a rigid means of enforcing its punctual liquidation but to leave all matters of private right to be carried into and decided by the courts of justice established every where at the same time that the revenue was fixed. These were to determine as to the extent of interest enjoyed by each government engager relatively to his under-tenants and even upon the right of engaging in quality of proprietor if in dispute. As part of the same system it was specifically left to the courts to determine upon the validity or otherwise of the titles of the Lakheraj occupants. The collector being required to sue on the part of Government in quality of plaintiff in order to establish a right to assess what was not assessed before. But connected with this rule was a general requisition ordered by regulation to be published in every district for the holders of rent free grants of every description to produce their title deeds for registry in the collector's office within a year failing which they would be liable to present ejection and their deeds would not be received in evidence when their case might be carried afterwards before the courts.

Padshahee or royal grants were to be resumed for the state and a settlement of the land made with the *proprietors*, in exclusive of the royal grantees. Other tenures not emanating from the governing authority were to be resumed for Government if exceeding 100 beegas and settlement was to be made on advantageous terms with the holders but if of less extent than 100 beegas the zemindars were declared at liberty to assess for their own benefit. The above plan failed notoriously for the following amongst other reasons. First, many of the collectors were negligent in publishing the requisition for registry of sunnuds or title deeds so much so that when afterwards non-registry was pleaded in bar of the reception of deeds in evidence and the government officers were put to the proof that publication had been duly made under the regulation nothing was found on record that could establish the fact. Secondly, when the requisition was duly made and published as for instance in Burdwan the object of the rules so far as enquiry and examination of sunnuds were intended was counteracted by the inordinate number of applications for registry preferred. Copies were to be taken and books prepared according to a form and this within a year but the applications amounted in that district to, I believe, 72,000 and the form of registry was never completed for more than between 4 and 5,000. Of the rest the holders took back their deeds leaving copies and upon the allegation that the originals had been lost or destroyed by fire or other accident the existence of these copies was and is still taken to establish that at the date of production there were *authentic*, originals to the effect of them. The registry therefore

either never was enforced or when it was so, was converted into a kind of recognition or confirmation of the titles and thus was more mischievous than beneficial for any of the purposes in view.

Thirdly, there was no sufficient inducement for collectors to take on themselves the invidious duty of suing out a resumption. The grant of 25 percent upon the first year's jumma gave a mercenary character to the prosecution besides which no collector remained long enough in a district or reckoned upon staying so long as was necessary to prosecute a resumption thro all the appeals to which the case was subject under his successor ignorant of all that had passed and without any personal interest in success. The prosecution was always seen to languish and the credit of the instigator of the invidious measure suffered of course in the failure. Fourthly, but the greatest obstacle to the success of the scheme was in the condition of the courts of justice. There was always a party feeling in them to oppose and obstruct what originated in the collector's office arising mainly from the jealousies of the amla and the native officers which no tact or perspicacity of the presiding judge could wholly prevent or counteract. The consequence was that there was nothing the collectors so much disliked as to be concerned as plaintiff or defendant in a case in court and it was a thing they regarded as one to be avoided by all manner of means instead of being followed as a natural and ordinary mode of proceeding for asserting the rights of government.

11. DATA ON RENT FREE LANDS IN 12 DISTRICTS OF BENGAL

from Dr.Waheeduzzaman (London Ph.D. thesis, 1969, *Land Resmptions in Bengal 1819-46*, pp 18-19)

	in beegals	
Held by Hindus	21,26,482	
Held by Muslims	3,44,428	
Total Rent Free Land	29,36,008	
Amongst Hindus:		
Brahmottar	16,37,564	
Devottar	4,24,439	
Mahattran	64,479	

12 . JOHN STUART MILL ON ROOTEDNESS OF VILLAGE COMMUNITY IN INDIA

from Memorandum of E.I.CO. to the British Parliament 1858

It is now known that in the greater part of India, and without doubt originally throughout the whole, the property in the land (so far as that term is applicable at all in India) resides neither in the individual ryot, nor in the great officers who collected revenue for the former native governments, but in the village communities. The village community is not co-extensive with the cultivating inhabitants of the village; it consists of the descendants or representatives of those by whom the village was, at some remote period, conquered, or reclaimed from waste. In most cases these proprietors are a part, and in some the whole, of the agricultural population of the village. When they are only a part, the remainder consists of persons, or the descendants of persons, who have taken up their residence in the village at later periods, and had no other original right than the permission of the proprietors; but some of whom have, by grant or prescription, acquired a fixity of tenure, while others have remained tenants at will. The village proprietors formed prescriptively the municipal government of the village; a fact of great importance, village government being the only institution, properly so called, which the Hindoos possessed.

13. GRAMANATTAM (HOUSE-SITE) INVARIABLE RIGHT OF VILLAGERS AND IS THEIR INALIENABLE COMMUNAL PROPERTY

TNSA: G.O.1684 REV 16.12.1872; end of para 22 and para 23 illegible in the copy available

In their proceedings of 12 February 1870 No.1,035 the Board requested collectors to report on the practice of their district with regard to giving Gramanattam land as house sites to persons who were neither Puttahdars nor actual cultivators and state their opinion as to whether the system in force requires any modification.

2. The reports have now been received and are to the following effect:

3. *Gunjam*: Gramanattam is granted to all the applicants by the village officers and reference is not made to higher authority except when there is a dispute.

4. *Vizagapatam*: Gramanattam is granted to all actual residents.

5. *Godavery*: It is granted to Puttaholders, village servants, and, in special cases, to Government servants.

6. *Kistna*: It is granted to all applicants. The Tahsildar first reports, and the grant is cancelled, unless the house is built within six months.

The present system is liable to abuse, as influential parties acquire several sites and exclude others who want them for houses.

The remedy would be to make site-holders declare and register their rights or lose them. Sites might be sold by auction in town. In villages a fair sum might be charged for each site.

7. *Nellore*: Gramanattam is granted to all applicants. It is not distributed fairly either amongst villages or amongst individuals.

When new house sites are granted, people should pay for them if they are not cultivators. Cultivation on gramanattam is assessed if it covers more than 0.025 of an acre.

8. *Cuddapah*: Gramanattam is granted to all applicants.

9. *Bellary*: It is granted to all applicants.

10. *Kurnool*: It is granted to all applicants.

11. *Chingleput*: It is granted to all applicants on a fixed scale.

12. *North Arcot*: The collector states that when gramanattam is applied for, a preference is given to puttahdars but the surplus is given to other applicants.

He thinks the principle that Nattam sites cease to be individual property when they cease to be used as house sites or backyards should be authoritatively enunciated.

Mr. Comyn believes that Government have a right to all unoccupied gramanattam; that directly a piece of it ceases to be occupied as a house site or backyard, it reverts to Government; and that it is not subject to gift, sale, mortgage, or transfer. He wishes an authoritative ruling on the subject.

13. *South Arcot*: Gramanattam is given to all applicants, but a reference is allowed to puttahdars.

Mr. Reade says that the system, which was originary one of apportioning a house site rateably on the Puttah amount, has become obsolete, and points out that the present condition of things can not be recitified unless exclusive jurisdiction is vested in the Revenue Department.

14. *Tanjore*: Mr. Hathaway states that all gramanattam is taken up either by houses or deserted house sites which can not be touched for fear of litigation.

As this is the case, he thinks that house sites must be sold by auction with the condition that houses are built on them within a certain time, and that Revenue Officers should have power to take possession of and sell deserted house sites unless the claimants build on them.

15. *Trichinopoly*. In the wet villages applications for gramanattam are made to, and settled by, the Mirassidars; In the dry villages Gramanattam is given to all applicants.

Assessed lands are never given rent-free for house sites but they might be if there is no gramanattam.

16. *Madura*: People take gramanattam when they want it without asking leave of the authorities.

Since Mr. Levinge's time (but not before) assessed lands granted in addition to the gramanattam for the house sites have been charged with assessment. This might be altered.

17. *Tinnevelly*: The villagers in Buttiverti villages and the Pungalies in Pungavali villages claim all the gramanattam and applicants have to arrange with them.

It would be well for the poorer classes if Government could give them sites in the gramanattam; but they can not do so without invading rights which will be supported by the Courts.

18. *Coimbatore*: It was on an application from the district that the general reference originated. The Collector thought that Gramanattam ought to be given to all resident applicants whether cultivators or not.

19. *Salem*: Gramanattam is given to all applicants in portions of 33- feet square.

20. The subject is of no importance to the Malabar and South Canara.

21. A consideration of these reports show that it is necessary to correct the idea, acquired in consequence of the frequent interference of Revenue officers in gramamattam questions, that gramamattam is the property of government in a peculiar degree, and that exclusive jurisdiction over it should be vested in Revenue Officers.

22. The true view of the case is that the gramamattam is the communal property of villagers, and that the Collector can only interfere with a view to benefit the community.[]

14. THE ARTISANS, THE PARIAR AND OTHERS HAD MORE RIGHTS AND A BETTER LIFE BEFORE BRITISH RULE

from minute of Sir Sankaran Nair, 1919; published in *Young India*; 31.5.1919; p.7

In the case of the depressed classes the conditions are different. It is absurd to say that their position, so far as their material prospects are concerned, has improved under the British Government. It has steadily gone from bad to worse. To mention only a few instances, under the old custom they were entitled to free house sites, materials free from the jungles for building their cottages, free pasturage and a fixed share of the land which they cultivated for their wages, which ensured living wages. All these they have lost under the Ryotwary system. With the ruin of the Indian industries also the non agricultural labourers lost their fixed wages and they were involved in the ruin of their masters. The agricultural labourers suffered equally from the government and the zemindars and the big ryots.

15. COPY OF THE CHARTER OF USES AND CUSTOMS OF GAONKARS AND PEASANTS OF THIS ISLAND OF GOA AND OTHER TERRITORIES ANNEXED TO IT

Copy of the Charter of Uses and Customs of Gaonkars and Peasants of this Island of Goa and other territories annexed to it. 16 Sept 1526

NEWSLETTER

DIRECTORATE OF HISTORICAL ARCHIVES & ARCHAEOLOGY (MUSEUM)
GOVERNMENT OF GOA, DAMAN & DIU, PANAJI.
Editor: Dr. V.T. Gune.

Volume I. No.3 Oct.-Nov.-Dec. 1977 pp.2-13 (Sect 1-13)
Jan-Sept 1978, pp.2-11 (Sect 14-25) pp.5-17 (Sect 26-48)

Editorial Note:

We are placing before you this third issue of the Newsletter rather late. The delay caused by unavoidable circumstances is regretted. However, enquiries made by the scholars about the forthcoming issues have confirmed our conviction that the journal is found useful and valuable to the lovers of history.

In this issue, we have started serializing the Charter of 1526 about the uses and customs of Gaonkars and peasants in the Island of Goa and adjoining territories. It reflects the regularized life of villagers and peasants in the 16th century which may be of great interest to our readers. The study of palaeography, antiquities and Museum objects continued this time too to cater to the needs of the scholars in the subjects.

Dr.P.P.Shirodkar, Archivist (General) selected the Portuguese and English documents and presented the palaeographic study. He also took keen interest in its production. Shri. S.H.Mhamai, Research Assistant selected the Marathi-Modi documents. Shri L.K.Fitre, Keeper of Museum and Shri V.R.Mitragotri, Assistant Superintending Archaeologist helped in supplying information on Museum objects and the antiquities while clearing the ancient site at Rivona. Shri Dilip B.Naik, Scientific Officer and his staff in the Preservation Unit have carried out cyclostyling and binding work promptly. We are thankful to the Manager, Govt. Printing Press, Panaji for printing the pictures.

(p.3)"*Mongoes do Reino*", No.76, 1526-1713, Fl.48 ff

Copy of the Charter of Uses and Customs of Gaonkars and peasants of this Island of Goa and other territories annexed to it.

1. Dom Joào, King of Portugal and Algarves from here and beyond the Sea in Africa, Lord of Guin and the Conquest, Navigation, Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India, by grace of God make it known to all those who see this Charter of ours given to Gaonkars, peasants, lessees, residents and settlers of the villages and the islands of our City of Goa that following diligence and scrutiny we directed to make for the justification and declaration that they were obliged to pay us from their inheritance, rent money, responsibilities and other charges what they used to pay to the Kings and

Lords of the land before it became ours. And thus the rights, used and customs prevailing then should be protected. We find from the said diligencies that they should pay us what is contained therein in the Other Charter of the payment for the said rights. Likewise, we find that these uses, rights and customs must be practised in the following manner and form.

2. It is found that each village of the said Islands has certain Gaonkars who are more or less in number, according to their custom. The said name Gaonkar that is to say Governor, Ministrant and benefactor was the word derived from ancient times. From the said islands and villages, one island was fully utilised by four men (p.5) and the other barren, unimproved land which was utilized and fructified in such a manner and so well that as time passed it grew so much that it had a big settlement. And those beginners who tilled, administered and governed well were called Gaonkars. Then came on the scene, the lords and subjugators over them to whom they were compelled to pay revenue and rent money in order to maintain their inheritance and customs. It is not known when this practice started.

3. In this Island of Tiswaddi where this City of Goa is situated, there are thirty-one villages and they are known as:

4. Neurà o Grande	Calapur
Ganim	Morombim O Grande
Ellà	Carambolim
Azossim	Batim

5. Principal ones by their antiquities and prominence and the others are as follows:-

Talaulim	Curca
Solacer	Taleigào
Mercurim	Goa Velha
Agacaim	Goaly Moula
Neurà o piqueno	Cugira
Mandur	Dongorim
Corlim	Murda
Orerà	Morombim pequeno
Gaundalim	Chimbel

(p.7)

Renovaddy	Panvelim
Bambolim	Banguini
Sirid	

6. And each one of the said villages should pay us a certain revenue contained and declared in the aforesaid Charter, which the said Gaonkars of each village with its scribe distribute and give in auction to the peasants and persons who have their inheritance within the boundaries of each village and this should be done under the condition with which it is given to each one according to their uses and custom. The said Gaonkars should collect taxes and pay the said revenue, whether it swells or wanes. As will be declared below, they will bear the loss or the increase will remain with them and the village for compensating the loss or to obtain a part of the increase to persons whom it belongs by their customs. An exception will be made to the loss in case of war when it should not be paid proportionately in respect of their loss.

7. And the said increase or loss of each year will be distributed as free pay, as every one pays to revenue of the lands or the paddy fields that he holds.

8. Some palm-groves and paddy fields should pay each year some "Tangas" (coin worth 32 réis). In the event of any losses, they need not be paid by them. Other orchards, palm-groves and paddy fields for which something more besides certain rent money is paid, should contribute for the loss whenever required. The said (p.9) Gaonkars can give away (free of charge) the other inheritances to the persons they may deem fit without rent money or obligation to contribute for the loss.

9. If a certain village is in so much loss that it cannot pay its rent money and revenue pertaining to us, then its Gaonkars and the residents shall give the account thereof to the Chief Thanadar and the clerk of the island. And they will go to see the said loss and find out whether it is veritably true. Then the said Chief Thanadar will call the chief Gaonkars of the aforesaid eight principal villages. Even other Gaonkars who are desirous of seeing the loss can as well see that since those of the eight principal villages will decide by an Ordinance about the lost objects of the village in order to expropriate their village to the Gaonkars of the eight (villages). And that being their responsibility they shall receive the expropriation. They shall make public proclamation in the presence of the said officers and will sell in auction to the highest bidder. Over and above that, if the said village failed to pay the rent money which it is supposed to do, it will be distributed by the said eight (villages) to the whole island so that those inheritances are obliged to contribute for the loss in the manner in which we receive full payment of the rent money of the said villages. The said tenant farmer or tenant farmers should then raise, improve and utilize fully the village. Under this condition, it shall be rented to him and the said tenant farmers shall have an opportunity to provide it for Gaonkars till the lease lasts.

10. The Gaonkars of the village in loss do not lose what are called as rights of Gaonkars. Every time when they request the (other) village paying the rent and the revenue in full, they will entrust it (their own) to them and the said village will not belong to the tenant farmers on the expiry of their lease.

11. The Gaonkars on account of their offices as initiators and holding them for generations together shall not forfeit the titles for the said rights of Gaonkar, namely each one in the village where he is so, for the mistake he may commit; neither a clerk of the municipality, who likewise inherits the office and is posted by the said Gaonkars; there will be only a few who may commit the mistakes or damages, the penalty for which they may deserve in the wealth and bodies. But any such error if they commit may lead them to death or it shall be convenient if they do not hold the posts. In such a case, sons or heirs will enjoy them. In the event of the case being not very grave, the Chief Thanadar will judge it in consultation with some gaonkars and in case the things turn out to be extremely grave, the Chief Thanadar will report about them to our Chief Captain and the Governor of India or to the Captain of our said city of Goa or to our Revenue Inspector if the matter pertains to him in order to attend to the necessary action as may be deemed proper. In the same way, when the village clerks who derived the said posts for generations and who were firstly posted there by the said Gaonkars commit mistakes, they will be punished like others and thus their posts will be retained for their sons and heirs.

12. The waste or unutilised lands that may be within the boundaries of every village can be allotted by Gaonkars to those who may seek them with a view to utilising them as orchards, groves and for other improvements under the condition of a payment of a certain rent or lease that may be deemed proper. And this will be done for a period of not more than twenty-five years because ten years hence they will pay five tangas of four barganis at a time, according to the order and custom (p.13) of giving the ground of twenty paces in length by counting hundred palm-trees from one palm-tree to another according to the ground occupied by them. In this respect, they shall pay for more or less ground in the above mentioned manner and the said Gaonkars can well give the said unutilized lands to be used for palm-groves and orchards for less than five tangas. They shall issue their cards on that account according to their custom but they shall not collect more than five tangas.

13. When they give the lands for the purpose of areca-groves, they shall do so in this manner: Five cubits in length and five cubits in width from one areca tree to another and thus counting one hundred areca trees. Their ground shall be watered with well-water on lease basis for four barganis per year and in the event they are watered by the running water, the lease will be six barganis. After they are given thus for the said orchards and lands by the said Gaonkars, they will not be taken away from them because they will remain for their sons, grand-children and heirs, And this is the general custom. However, if there is another custom apart from this in each village, it will be fulfilled.

(to be continued)

NEWSLETTER

DIRECTORATE OF HISTORICAL ARCHIVES & ARCHAEOLOGY (MUSEUM)
GOVERNMENT OF GOA; DAMAN AND DIU; PANAJI.

Editor:Dr.V.T.Gune.Volume II. Nos.1-3 January-September, 1978.

Editorial Note:-

We are extremely pleased to keep before the readers issue of our Newsletter Vol. II, Nos. 1-3 which we could not bring out earlier. The delay is on account of some important archival engagements which need immediate attention. However, the gap has now been filled up by this issue which includes all the 3 issues.

In this issue, the Charter of 1526 about the uses and customs of Gaonkars and Peasants in Goa, is continued. We are also drawing the attention of the lovers of history by presenting some very interesting subjects from Portuguese source material like Royal instructions about the ship wreck, complaint against the irresponsible judge, and an informative account of the Missions in India. The study of Palaeography and Museum objects is given as was done earlier. As for Modi documents, we have in them the documents regarding the search for a wanted Negro and Negress, arrest of a Portuguese vassal and a Hindu marriage in the Royal household of Sunda Raja. A description of old coins found at Harmal and the image of Vishnu donated by Shri Fenellon Rebello, we hope will evoke a lot of interest among the scholars.

Dr.P.P. Shirodkar has selected the Portuguese documents alongwith the Portugese Palaeography. Shri S.H.K. Mhamai selected the Marathi- Modi documents, Shri L.K. Pitre has made a study of Vishnu Image. Shri V.R. Mitragotri, assisted in the study of Harmal coins. Shri Asadullah and his staff in the Preservation Unit has done the work of cyclostyling and binding work in time. Shri. R.R. Chauhan has taken keen interest in its production. We are grateful to the Manager, Government Printing Press for preparing the blocks and printing a few pictures.

(p.3)

Charter of the Uses and Customs of Gaonkars and Peasants (1526) - II

14. The clerk of the Council shall attend to all the repairs and agreements which they will have, and the norms, which will be passed by the principal Gaonkars of the entire Island with its officials namely Chief Thanedar and the Clerk, among them a Portuguese and Brahmins and without him, the clerk of the Council, they will not be able to make because he writes and gives assent to everything for further undoing and declaring doubts, which may emerge. And in the aforesaid manner, the Clerks of the Villages shall be with their Gaonkars in all things which they do in each of the said villages, and by their deeds are governed all the villages of this entire Island of Tiswadi and other Villages of the Islands of Diwar, Chorao and Jua.

15. Each one of the Gaonkars will give grounds in his village gratis to put to good use or utilized, being unoccupied, to the officials of the Village namely Priest of the temple, clerk, porter, tenant, washer man who washes the clothes, cobbler, carpenter, blacksmith and Farash who serves the temple, and to women of the temple who are mistresses and to a jester. Certain above mentioned people are given grounds and orchards gratis for continuous service in the said villages. And once it is given, it

cannot be taken back nor can be replaced by another because it is given to the sons, grandsons and the heirs. And each village cannot have more officials in order to have these inheritances gratis that the above mentioned will neither be able to give more inheritances without paying the rent of those which they already used (p.5) to pay. And the said inheritances remaining without heirs or he wishing to leave them, will be given to other officers of the same profession and the heirs of the said officials shall be duty bound to serve them.

16. To other outsider of each village, the Gaonkars of it can give neither any grounds nor orchards gratis, simply by paying a certain rent except authorised by the ordinance.

17. When the Chief Thanedar order to call upon Gaonkars of the entire Island or of a village, they are all bound to come or form a Council to elect in each village those whom they want to go in response to the said call. And after they form the said Council which is called 'Gancaria', if any gaonkar ordered by the said village dies nothing shall be made without their meeting together and thus if any heir of that Gaonkar who dies, exists, it is enough for the 'Gancaria' or the Council to function with him. And if the other feels not to come, he will incur the penalty which will be ordered by themselves.

18. If any Gaonkar or the other person wants to sell any inheritance in any of the said villages, he will not be able to do so without the permission of all the Gaonkars of that village. And thus in the same way nobody will be able to buy without the said permission. And if any sale or purchase is made without having the said permission, it itself will be of nobody and each time when the Gaonkars want, all will be unmade for the good of the rent which is bound to be paid to us for which purpose they shall have to be satisfied and knowing about these rents, they shall hold their letter with the declaration of the rent they must pay.

19. When any sale deed is to be made of any inheritance, it will not be enough to be signed by the very seller but it also should be signed by all the heirs even though some (p.7) among the heirs be minors, a declaration should be made if any person signed on his behalf. And if anyone fails to sign for all time, the sale will be nullified returning the amount of the purchase. And if any improvements were made, the buyer will forfeit them.

20. If any Gaonkar goes or flees away in order to evade payment or is not in a position to pay our due rent, the other Gaonkars of that village will join together and will form 'Gancaria' or a Council to decide upon this issue. And they will put a term for Gaonkar to come. In case he does not turn up as per the term, they will ask the heirs of the said fugitive Gaonkar to take charge of the inheritance and of 'Gancaria' with an obligation to pay our rent and arrears due. And if not willing to accept it, it will remain with the said Gaonkars with the obligation to pay the rent in arrears. And they will give it to the one whom they deem fit, paying, besides our rent the debts which they owe us.

21. If any Gaonkar or any other person flees away to evade the debts or for any other reason, nobody, will have the right to take his inheritance. And his heirs will be requested if they desire to retain it with an obligation to pay its debts and rent. And if no heirs are there or even though they exist and do not want to accept the obligation, the revenue of the immovable lands will remain with the Gaonkars for being the lessee and they will pay for it the rent and due debts to us. And in case it is more than enough, they will be increased and if it abates, they will be paid what it amounted to in

this respect. And as for movable property, it will remain for us. However, the heirs will not accept the inheritance. And if any Gaonkar or any other person dies or goes out of the land if he is not having heir, the inheritance he may (p.9) have not subjected to any payment, will be for us like the movable property. And if he owes some net debts, after we are paid ours, if any, whatever exceeds shall be disposed as per law.

Every year paddy fields will be leased by auction to the one who gives more for them in each of the villages according to its practices, as those lands are not their own as are the other inheritances. Yet they are bound to sell at auction to the residents of the villages who pay more for them. And if any of the villages has the custom or old ordinance of giving the paddy fields in the said year on lease to the persons from outside the village who give more for them than the others of the village, it will be complied with.

The Gaonkars of this Island of Tisvadi and the others of Diwar, Chora and Jua are obliged by the residents of the villages to supply the labourers and the persons who accompany them sometimes at their own cost every year for cleaning the walls, cellar plates of this city, grass and forests which grow in and for any other necessary services and persons who sometimes arrive unexpectedly.

22. If there be a law suit or misunderstanding in any village over any movable properties or inheritance, they cannot be questioned by any witness merely by deed or cognizance or based on Book of the village and when there be nothing in writing or the cognizance was found and the book if it is lost, an oath will be given to the possessor of the inheritance who himself declares what deems fit and concurs with the truth to be known. And in such a case and in similar others, an oath will be taken in a temple which is called Cutto.

(p.11)

23. If any person lent money to another based on cognizance, and did not request on account of negligence or filed a suit in time which was limited knowledgeably in the way when the said money was requested for, if the debtor deceived in that case, a knowledgeable person will be forced to give an oath to tell the truth about the case and will swear in the said temple.

24. Not more than five tangas will be loaned to anyone without receipt to file a suit against a person or persons to other or the others upto 50 tangas, the plaintiff will produce the receipt or the witness besides fifty tangas. Without a receipt, no suit will be filed by the witnesses. The parties can only come to settlement being arbitrated by two persons to their satisfaction under oath who will judge among themselves after having found what is right.

25. The persons who are not worthy to be witness are namely these:- a man of 16 years of age downwards, or a drunkard the blind, dumb, lame, deaf, ruffian, journeyman, gardener, gambler, son of a public mistress, infamous man by law, a man who wishes ill of other. They will not give testimony against him and they will however be useful for a matter of little substance.

**The Charter of uses and Customs of the Gaonkars and peasants of Goa. (1526) - II.
Deeds"**

26. A man having no son even though he has father or other ascendant heir, the inheritance comes to us except if the said father and deceased son have mystical inheritance, and both in a title or rent, because in that case the father bequeaths it to the son; and if a man has four sons or more or less, the inheritance cannot be divided during the lifetime of the father, except by his will, and the father being pleased of this, it will be divided brotherly; thus, in case of the death as during lifetime, and dividing it in his lifetime, the Sons will be bound to provide sustenance to the father of all the necessities. And in case of deaths of some of the brothers without descendent heirs, it will be divided among brothers on account of death, or during the lifetime of his father if it is written in the Register of the village. And the inheritance comes to us being written then that each one of the brothers had died without descendant heir(s). And in case of death before the said partition is made and written, the inheritance comes to the brothers when they do not have father. And such inheritance not being of original lessee and rent of the village fixed, the property of such a deceased will always remain for us - such as movable property without any other difference. And if any of these brothers becomes Muslim or Jockey, who is similar to gypsies in our kingdom so as to be cut off from the use of his house, and if the property is divided among them, his property will remain for us, namely, all movable property and the estates also except if it was rent-paying, because in that case it will be sold with obligation of paying the rent. And the left over will remain for us, after all debts are cleared as per contents herein.

(p.7)

27. At the time of death of the deceased whose inheritance pertains to us in the aforesaid manner, the Gaonkars of the village will be forced to make it known to our officers, before the deceased is buried or cremated as per their customs in order to go there and know and to write the property which he left behind. And the order will be issued through a town crier for a bidding with the Gaonkars of the village present and to give it on rental basis to any of the said Gaonkars of the said village or of the generation who gives more for it, and not to the others from outside the village or to kinsmen. And if the closest kin of the deceased or any other relative desires the said inheritance with obligation of payment of its ordered rent which they pay to the Gaonkars, it should be given to him. And even though it happens that the relatives of the deceased do not come for the auction and come to know about it five days thereafter and Claim that such property be given to them, it will be given. And if it is not claimed by them after five days, it will not be given and will be possessed by the one who offers highest bid. And money which is accrued from such property will be for us and will be received by our Factor, and the voucher will be paid in due form to the Gaonkars stating how he is in charge thereof for having it for his guard, so that they may not be constrained any further on account of that property. However, the net debts which such defuncts may have left without error and malice over the same property, shall be paid first of all and what is left will remain for us, as it is said.

28. The movable property of any deceased having no heirs, descendants or ascendants as is said, nothing will remain for us without much difference and will be sold to the one who gives more for it whether he be relative or not in the village or outside it. However, the debts will be paid first of all, as is said.

(p.9)

29. The inheritance comes thus: From father, the inheritance of land goes to the son and grandson; and the land of the father and grand- father goes directly to the heirs- descendant and ascendant provided they are males. And for females, no person will inherit -not even a daughter. Only the brother will inherit in the way declared above.

30. If any thief goes to steal some money or any other thing and is caught red-handed, he will be punished according to the form of our ordinance and laws. And if the stolen property has the owner, it will be handed over to him though it pertains to us on account of their uses and customs. And this concession is made to them because we enjoy to do so to those who serve us well and faithfully as we hope them to do.

31. If any (theft) is discovered or found, it pertains to us.

32. If any man being married with two women, has four sons from one and one from the other, or more or less, though may not be equal in numbers, when the sons divide the property of father, partition will be made in halves. One son will take as much as the four or three, and no daughter will inherit the property of the father or of the mother.

(The margin of this Chapter is as follows: When any party request for copy of this charter, it will not be given to him even the copy of the sentence from folio 11 and 12. One comes across - Francisco Paes)

33. No official posted by us or by our Governors and Revenue Overseers, neither will take bribe(s) nor land(s) from the hands of Gaonkars. And villages will not have the right to make goods within the boundary of its occupation and authority. If at any time, it was comprehended and found by search that it was taken, received or attempted, will be for us.

34. And if Gaonkars put forth offers through the villages for the purposes of Tunic, 'Pachodi' or any benefits for themselves or for giving to the Captains, Chief-Thanadar or to any other officials or to persons of any kind, each one of the said Gaonkar of each village will pay the amount fixed by all the villages one-half to those who accused them and the other half to the captives and the villages clerks will share with them, if they are in agreement of putting forth such bribe(s) and tyrannies.

35. The one who steals away or misappropriates goods of any kind without paying our taxes to our officials and rent collectors as one is bound to do, will pay them at the rate of 1/11 th of what one steals away or misappropriates.

36. When any Chief-Thanadar with clerks or clerk under his charge go to the island jointly or separately for our service or if they discharge duties to the said Island or villages of it, food will be given to them according to practices.

37. And the same will be done to our Factors and Officials of the Trading post when they go there for some affairs of our service or of the villages or island.

38. Any peon, who may go with message that fulfils our service and tax collection of our rent, will be given each day two measures of rice for food and one Real for betel.

39. If any Gaonkars of the island of Chor... or of other islands annexed to that of

Tiswadi flee towards Muslims outside the land for not paying the rent, as it is said that they have already done what is not expected by us, if in case it is done from now onwards they will lose their goods and movable property to us. And those of immovable, in 'Gaoncaria', will be auctioned to persons who fit in because they give more, obliging to pay the taxes to which such inheritances are obligatory. And, what more they give for such inheritances and 'Gaon karias' apart from the tax, will be for us.

40. When there is invitation for a feast or gathering in which they may have to take betel or 'Pachodis', the principal Gaonkar of each village will take first the said betel, Pachodis or honour and after him the other Gaonkars will take gradewise according to their practice and customs.

41. When the council is to be formed and the names of the Gaonkars are to be written, the principal ones will be written first in honour and then one after another according to their status.

42. When at the end of the council meeting, if any, they have to confirm on which they agree, it will be written by the clerk of the village and having finished the writing it will be read out aloud, which is called 'Nemo', what was agreed upon there and written. And there being none to disagree with what he said in that way, it will be declared aloud to be valid.

43. When the Gaonkar of the island gather themselves for any council, agreement and meeting, the deliberations will be written by the clerk of the Council of all the island and the voice which is given at the end of the meeting, that is called 'Nemo' as is said, will be given by the main Gaonkar of the village of 'Neura o Grande' on account of its prominence. And in case of not finding the Gaonkar of the said village, the said 'Nemo' will be given by the clerk of the council who will write it.

44. The village of Taleigao has prominence that it will be the first to be given with the harvesting of paddy fields; and the Gaonkars from it will be coming each year with a cluster of it for presenting before the Chief Altar of the Sec. From there, the Vicar will go with them to the trading Post and our Factor will make the use of Four Pardaos in 'Pachodi' and he will put them on the necks of the Gaonkars ordained among them in order to receive this honour. And thereafter they can harvest the other villages according to what is declared hereunder.

(p.15)

45. During the seeding time, the first paddy field which begins plowing, and at the time of harvesting the first one which is to be harvested, will be of the main Gaonkar of each village. And thereafter they will seed and harvest those which they like. Equally, they will make use to cover up the houses each year by 'ollas' which are leaves of palm tree.

The main Gaonkar of the village will cover up his house first and thereafter all the other villagers.

46. The male and female dancers who may come to celebrate village festival, will go first to celebrate at the house of the main Gaonkar.

And when two go together, the house of anyone to which they want to go will remain open to the dancers. And these so called Gaonkars will take together in their honour

betel or other honour when they receive it, being together with arms crossed, and the right-hand below the left hand for more respect so that to take whatever is in the right-hand that passes to another Gaonkar who can say the gift which he took from the preceding left-hand for the reason of it was upon the right.

47. The Gaonkars who are in 'Comunidade' namely those who take betel or any other honour have no prominence over one another and can sell the so called honour of betel or 'Pachodi' to any of the Gaonkar of such a village each time that comes since annals of the said honour is to be given and that price which they put up, that price will be distributed for the village. And in case not having the one who buys it, in order that there may not be any difference, the clerk of the village will take such honour.

(p.17)

48. None can bring flambeau, palanquin and umbrella without our permission or of our Governor except it is owned by one as an inheritance from their fathers and grand-fathers, and the said licence of ours or of our Governor, will be given to them on account of graces of their Services, in two days. One is that they bring umbrella and palanquin with their attendants and flambeau and oil at their cost. And the other licence is that which may be of us to such an honour alongwith attendants in which case oil is to be paid by us. And they will also be able to give flambeau without umbrella and umbrella without flambeau and palanquin. and each thing will itself of everything jointly, and each one in the aforesaid manner. However, we also notify thus to our Captain-in-Chief and the Governor of these parts of India at present and in future be; and in the same manner to the captains of the city, Magistrates, judges and officials and justices, and to any other persons to whom this Charter of ours would be shown and the cognizance of it will be taken. And we order it that in all the respects it may be safeguarded and they should fully comply with it and safeguard its contents because thus is our mercy done in the said city. On 16th day of the month of September. The King sent it to Affonso Mexias, Overseer of His property in these parts of India. Antonio de Campos made it on one thousand five hundred twenty and six. Affonso Mexias.

16th September, 1526.