

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CHANGE IN A GUJARAT VILLAGE

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTORYI: Scope of the Monograph

This monograph is a report on an aspect of a research project carried out in 1955-58. After the first four months of my work I described the aims of the project in a brief note and discussed it before a seminar, the proceedings of which were published subsequently in the form a book.⁽¹⁾ One aspect of the project was a study of the Vahivancha Barots of Gujarat and their genealogical, historical and mythological records. I and Shri R.G. Shroff, my colleague in the project, have reported at some length on this aspect of the project.⁽²⁾ The other aspect, as it was visualised at the beginning of the project, was a field study of a Gujarat village, like the large number of village-studies being made at that time by social anthropologists in various parts of India and reported on briefly in Village India,⁽³⁾ India's Villages,⁽⁴⁾ and elsewhere.⁽⁵⁾ The only special feature of my study was the plan to use the Barot records in an understanding of the social life of the village. The Barot records, however, were found to have certain deficiencies. I wrote in my first note, "The most important defect about Barot records is that they do not record dates, but it is possible to determine some dates at least by relating the events recorded in the book to other historical data. Therefore, historical data are also being collected" (p.176). I also mentioned that it was necessary to verify the information contained in Barot records by

relating them to other historical data (p.177). In brief, I was interested in collecting other historical data only because I thought I would use them to test the validity of Barot records.

The collection of historical data took a different turn, however, during the course of fieldwork. In order to study the pattern of landownership, tenancy and crops in the village, I began to use the land records kept by the village accountant. As a general rule, he keeps with him in the village the land records of the current year and of about ten years past, while the earlier records are kept in the Record Room in the Taluka Mamlatdar's Office. Thinking that the earlier records would provide information about inheritance of land, which in turn would be useful in testing the genealogical records of the Barots, I went to study the records in the Mamlatdar's Office at Matar. The Record Keeper and the Copy Clerk showed me all the records in current use, which go back to the year 1866, when the system of Revenue Survey Assessment was first introduced in the village. While I was getting these records copied I was frequently told that there were some records older than those of 1866. I found to my great surprise that they belonged to the period 1822-27 and contained detailed information about many aspects of social life in the village, the kind of information never found in any of the later records. Records of the same kind about other villages and towns and some other records belonging to the same period were found by Shri R.G. Shroff and Shri A.R. Shah after my project was over. This enabled us to prepare

a paper "Early Nineteenth Century Village Records in Gujarat"⁽⁶⁾ describing the nature of the records in the whole of Gujarat.

In addition to the records of 1822-27, I discovered a stone inscription dated 1234 A.D. among the ruins of a small shrine on the outskirts of the village, and again I was surprised to find that its contents could be corroborated with the contents of the Barot records of the village.

The discovery of all these historical records opened up before me a rare opportunity not only to describe social life in a village community over a long period of time but also to discuss the relation between Sociology or Social Anthropology on the one hand and History on the other, a topic which has become controversial for quite some time. But this also means that I should present the analysis of the historical data as well as of the field-data in a single monograph. It would certainly be ideal to do so, but the analysis of historical data alone has turned out to be such a long and arduous task that I have not been able to give sufficient attention to the analysis of all the field-data with me. I have therefore chosen to present the analysis of the two types of data separately. In the present monograph I present the analysis of only the historical data.

The village selected for study is Radhvanaj, situated in the present Matar Taluka of Kaira District, about half a mile from the highway joining Bombay, Baroda, Nadiad and Ahmedabad, and about ten miles from Nadiad, a station on the Western Railway. Although the focus of my study is the

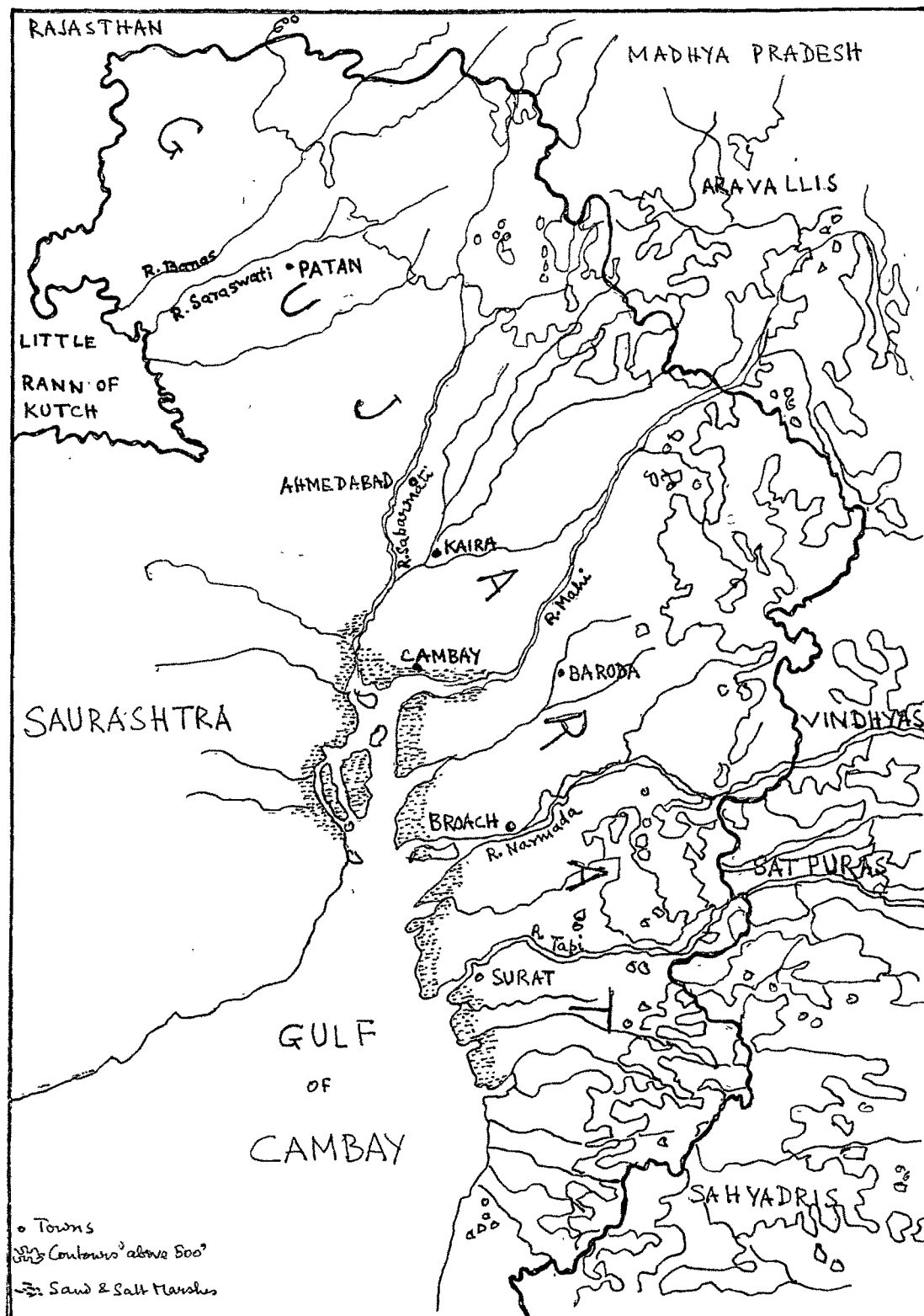
village, its social life at any time in its history cannot be understood without understanding its relation with the social life outside of it. The belief, widely prevalent among both sociologists and historians, that the Indian village community was a self-sufficient isolated republic, cannot be applied to Radhvanaj, if at all to any village in India. Professor M.N. Srinivas and I have tried to show in an article⁽⁷⁾ how this belief is a myth, and the present monograph will support the arguments put forward in that article. I shall try to relate the village with the outside world at every stage of my analysis, but the focus of the monograph will remain the village, and I shall describe only those aspects of outside society which are relevant to the understanding of the village.

II: Geographical Setting

This section is concerned with the features of the geographical setting of Radhvanaj, most of which were of course the same as they are found today, but there have also been a few significant changes.

The name 'Gujarat' is used in two senses. Firstly, it refers to a large culture area composed of three main parts, the mainland of Gujarat, the peninsula of Saurashtra or Kathiawad, and the small peninsula of Kutch, all of which are now comprised within the State of Gujarat (see Map 1). Secondly, 'Gujarat' refers only to the mainland. I shall use 'Gujarat' only in the latter sense, except when specified to the contrary.

The mainland of Gujarat forms an arc of lowland backed by the hill chain of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh on one side



Map 1: GUJARAT — Physical Features, Towns, and Adjoining Areas

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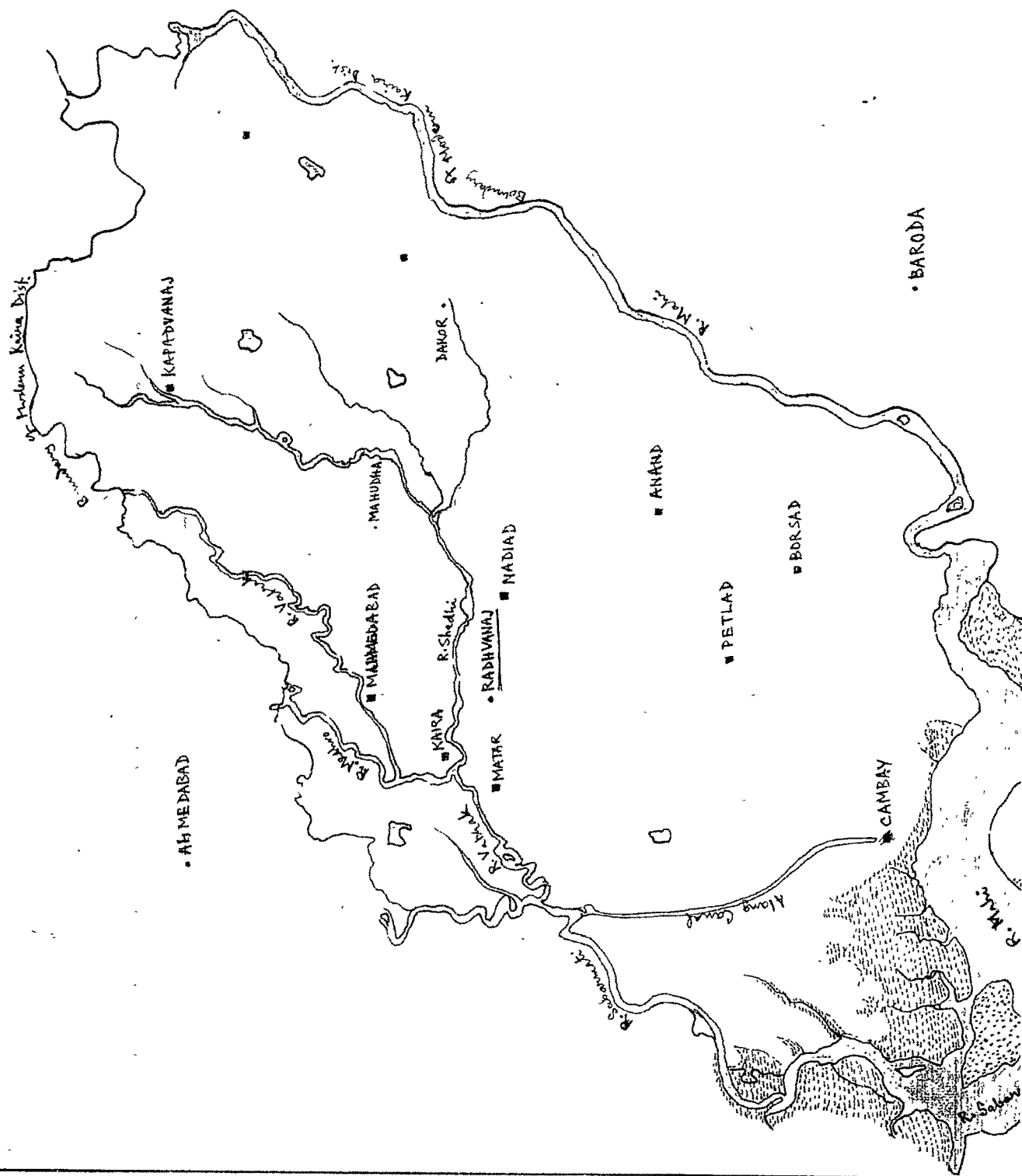
and oriented toward the Gulf of Cambay on the other. The low-land is formed of alluvium deposited by a number of rivers, the chief of which are the Sabarmati, Mahi, Narmada and Tapi. It is the most fertile and the most densely populated part of Gujarat. The highland region consists of the outliers of the Aravallis, Vindhya, Satpuras and Sahyadris. A large part of it is under forests, the soil is eroded by streams, agriculture is poor, and population is predominantly 'tribal.' A village in the plains is usually a nucleated settlement, where habitations and other buildings form a close cluster on a definite village-site, and one settlement is marked off from other settlements by open territory. In the highlands, a village is usually a dispersed settlement, where each house or a group of a few houses, stands isolated on its own farm.⁽⁵⁾ Radhvanaj is a nucleated village in the plains.

Gujarat is divided conventionally into four parts:

(i) Central Gujarat, the plains region lying roughly between the towns of Ahmedabad and Baroda, (ii) East Gujarat, the highland region to the east of Central Gujarat, (iii) North Gujarat, the highland as well as the plains region to the north of Central Gujarat, and (iv) South Gujarat, the highland as well as the plains region to the south of Central Gujarat. Radhvanaj is situated in Central Gujarat.

Two big rivers, the Mahi and Sabarmati, flow on the eastern and western sides respectively of Central Gujarat, and both meet the Gulf of Cambay in the south (see Map 2). The two rivers have several tributaries. All the rivers have steep banks and sandy beds, and do not retain much

CENTRAL GUJARAT.



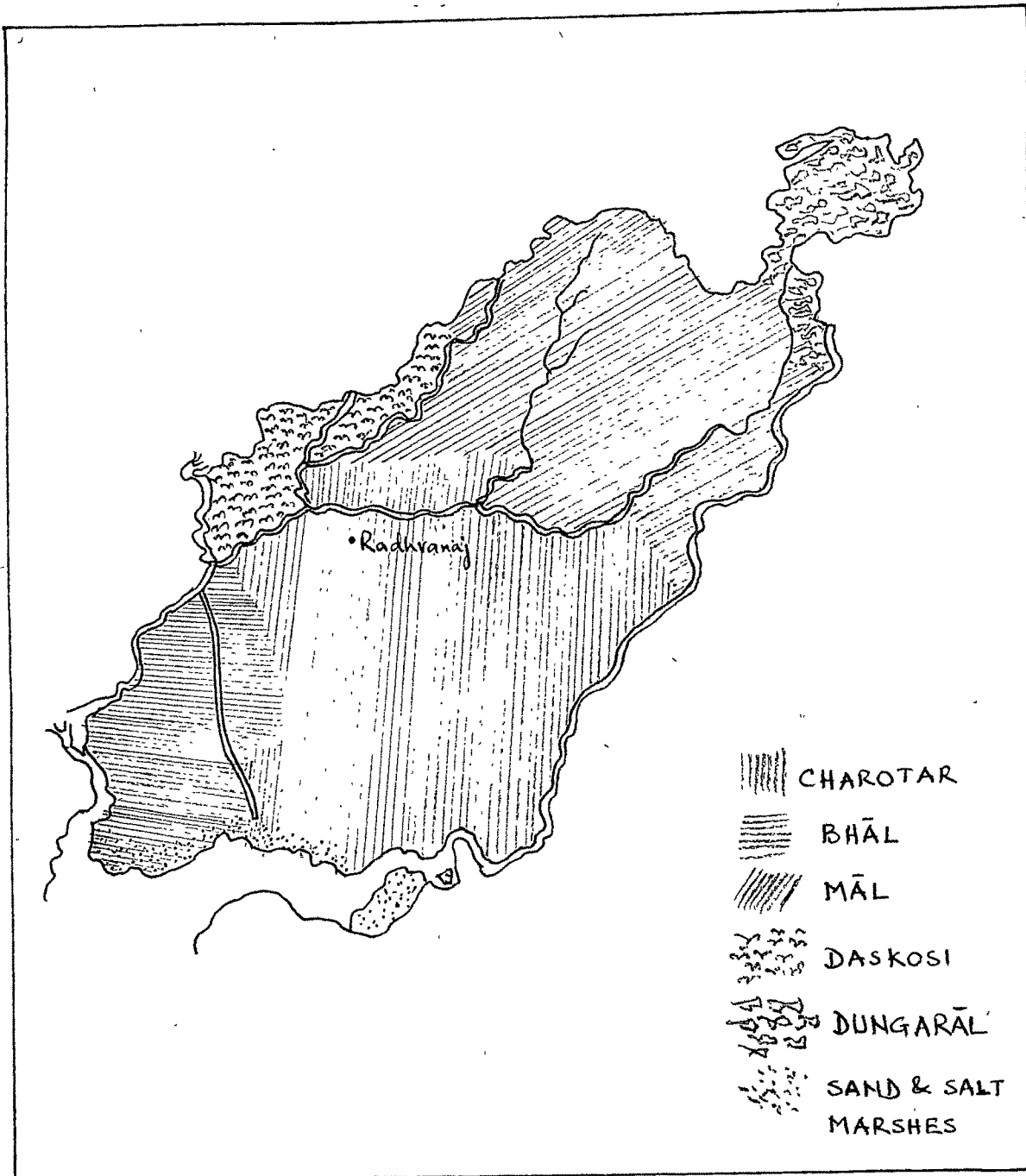
water during winter and summer. The landscape is monotonously flat; the only relieving features are village tanks and deep ravines on the banks of rivers.

Like most other parts of Gujarat, Central Gujarat experiences extremes of both cold and hot weather. The average temperature for the year is 82°F. In winter, which lasts from November to February, the daily mean temperature ranges from 80° to 60°. January is the coldest month when both days and nights are cold. Sometimes the temperature goes below 45°, and there are chances of frost. In summer, lasting from March to the middle of June, the daily mean temperature ranges from 70° to 100°. May is the hottest month when both days and nights are hot. A maximum temperature of 110° or higher is at times recorded during the period April to June.

Gujarat receives rain from the south-west monsoon, the rainy season starting in the latter half of June or the first half of July and lasting until September. October is the month of transition from monsoon to winter. The depth of the monsoon current decreases from South Gujarat to North Gujarat. Central Gujarat receives an average of 30" of rain. There are however large variations in rainfall from year to year. During the last two decades the rainfall ranged from 15" in 1948 to 49" in 1950. From 1876 to 1959 there were nine years of very heavy rainfall and fifteen years of scarcity. Roughly every third year is an abnormal year. The rainy days are also few—about 40 in a normal year—and they are also unevenly distributed over the monsoon months. Rain is thus erratic in Central Gujarat.

The coastal strip near Cambay is a tract of sand and salt marshes useful only for the production of salt until recently. The soils in the rest of **Central** Gujarat are popularly classified into five main types, namely, goradu (lit., light yellow), kali (black), besar (medium between goradu and kali), retal (sandy), and bhattha (alluvial). Texturally they are all loams, and the practical classification is based on the varying content of sand, clay and fertile organic matter. The goradu or light yellow soil is the most prominent type of soil. It contains about 80 per cent of fine sand and 15 per cent of silt and clay, and is rich in organic matter. Inferior goradu soil contains more of coarse sand and less of fine sand, silt and clay, and is deficient in organic matter. The retal or sandy soil, which is the least fertile, contains a still higher proportion of coarse sand. The kali or black soil contains about fifty per cent of fine sand and forty per cent of silt and clay. The black soil of Central Gujarat has a sandy sub-soil, and is not clayey to a very great depth like the black cotton soil of South Gujarat. It is formed by recent deposition (in geological time) of finer materials on sandy soil by flood waters and is found only in low lying areas. Black soil land is usually divided into kyaris, small plots with low ridges, for cultivation. Another name for black soil is therefore kyari soil.

The proportion of clay to sand is more in the besar or medium soil than in the goradu or light yellow. It is rich in organic matter like the light yellow and is usually



MAP 3: Agricultural Tracts in Central Gujarat

considered to be a variety of the latter. The bhatha or alluvial soil is formed of fresh deposits of alluvium on the banks of rivers almost every year and therefore contains a large proportion of silt and clay and is very rich in organic matter. It yields good crops without the necessity of the application of manure.

Gujarat is popularly divided into several tracts, such as Charotar, Daskosi, Bhal, Mal, Kanam, Vakal, Chorasi, Pal, Nalkantha, Chumval, and Vandhav (see Map 3). Each of these tracts is associated with certain physical and cultural characteristics. Most of Central Gujarat is known as Charotar, and Radhvanaj is situated in this tract. Charotar roughly lies between the Mahi in the west and the Vatrak in the east, and between the Shedi in the north and the town of Cambay in the south. It is the most fertile among all the tracts in Gujarat. The goradu and besar soils are found in all the tracts, but they are the most prominent, and also of richer variety, in Charotar. In comparison with several other tracts, Charotar is also luxuriant in vegetation.

Charotar does not have rivers or streams to drain off flood waters during monsoon. About a hundred years ago, flood waters used to log up in low lying areas and sometimes submerge entire villages. Between 1837 and 1842 A.D. a number of drains (kans) were dug to enable flood waters to flow away from low lying areas into the Vatrak or the Mahi or into the Alang Canal. Among these drains there was also a drain from Radhvanaj to the Vatrak.⁽²⁾

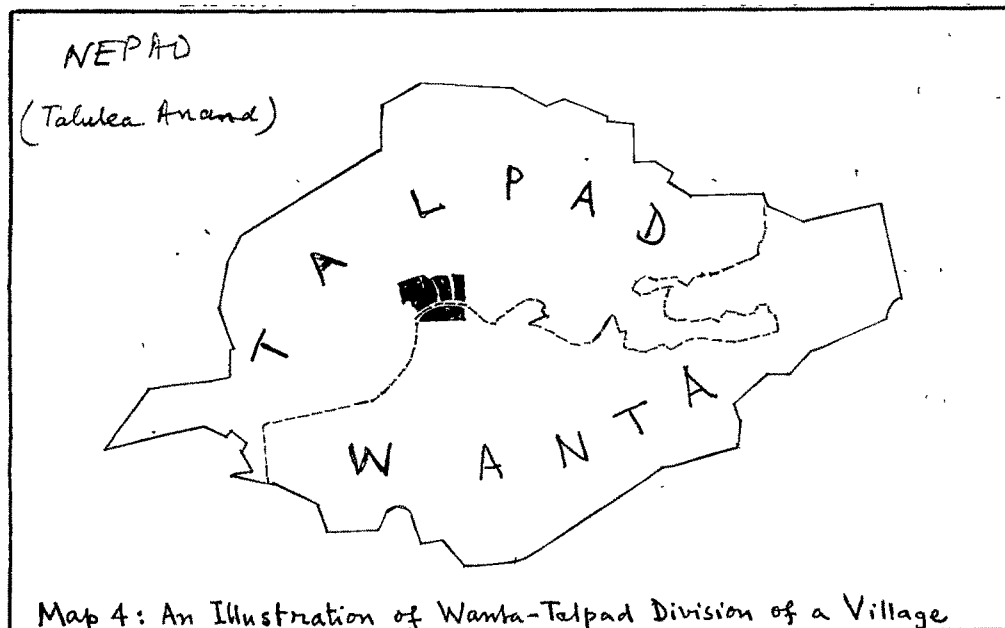
Mal (lit., upland), the tract to the north of Charotar, is so called because it is at a higher altitude and is roughened by rocks and streams. Daskosi, to the north-west of Charotar, is a tract almost entirely of black soil, well known for a long time for producing rice by canal irrigation. Its subsoil is saline, and vegetation is therefore poor. Bhal is the low lying tract of black soil near the mouth of the Sabarmati. A large part of it is flooded during monsoon by the Sabarmati, and monsoon crops are therefore impossible. The soil is however sufficiently deep to retain moisture during winter, and thus makes Bhal eminently suitable for cultivation of wheat. Bhal is very poor in vegetation. Radhvanaj is actually situated on the north-western fringe of Charotar and has always had important economic and social relations with the neighbouring tracts Daskosi, Bhal and Mal.

III: A Note on the Word 'Village'

It will be clear as we proceed in our analysis that the word 'village' should be used with precision. In areas of nucleated settlements it is used not only for the village-site but also for the territorial unit recognized for administrative purposes. Radhvanaj is the name not only of the village-site (gam-tal, gam-than) but also of the administrative unit. The administrative unit is called mouza all over North India since at least the sixteenth century, and is translated variously as 'administrative village,' 'revenue village' and 'survey village.' The land lying between the village-site and the boundaries of the administrative village is called sim in Central Gujarat, and I will translate it as 'village-land.' It is always necessary to keep in mind the distinction

between the village-site, the village-land, and the administrative village in mind. It is however very clumsy to use such phrases as 'the village-site of Radhvanaj,' 'the administrative village of Radhvanaj' and 'the village-land of Radhvanaj' again and again. I will therefore frequently use 'Radhvanaj' and 'village' only and leave it to the reader to understand the specific meaning according to the context.

Another complication should also be mentioned here. Map 4 shows the division of the village-site as well as of the village-land of a village into two administrative villages



called Wanta and Talpad. Such a dual division into Wanta and Talpad exists in about a dozen villages in Kaira District, and even in a village which has grown into a town.

IV: Plan of Chapters

The analysis of the historical data about the village and the region is presented in nine chapters, divided into two Parts. Part I, consisting of Chapters II and III, deals with the period from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, and Part II, consisting of Chapter IV to XII deals with the period 1803-27.

PART I: FROM THE 13TH TO THE 18TH CENTURY

Chapter II

FROM THE THIRTEENTH TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURYI: Rajputs and Their Estates

The earliest evidence about the history of Radhvanaj belongs to the year 1234 A.D. I found, among the ruins of a small shrine on the outskirts of the village, a fragment of an epigraph engraved on the base of an image of goddess Mahismardini. The epigraph reads: Raja Jagdev . . . Samvat Shri 1290 Shravan (= King Jagdev . . . 1234 A.D., August-September). The plinth of the shrine and the stone frame of the front door are still in tact, and there are several mutilated sculptures. There are also sculptures, some strewn around, and some built into the walls of another shrine in the village. According to Dr. R.N. Mehta, an archaeologist in the University of Baroda, it can be stated on stylistic grounds that the plan of the Mahismardini shrine and the sculptures in both the shrines belong to the thirteenth century.⁽¹⁾

It is significant that the name Raja Jagdev occurs also in the bardic genealogy of the Rathod Rajput lineage living in Radhvanaj at the present time and described in the records of 1822-27. The Rajputs are the traditional Warrior-and-Ruler caste in Gujarat, Rathod is one of the many exogamous patrilineal clans among them, and this clan like any other Rajput clan is divided into a number of patri-lineages. Jagdev's name occurs in the genealogy at the eighteenth

generation back from the generation of the present Rathod adults. If we calculate an average of three generations for one hundred years, it may be inferred that Jagdev belonged to the thirteenth century, the period of the inscription. The bardic genealogy further shows(i) that Jagdev was second in descent from Vasanji who had inherited Radhvanaj as his share from his father's estate of several villages, and (ii) that Jagdev was married to a daughter of the chief of Matar, a town about four miles from Radhvanaj, and was given Vansar, an adjoining village, in dowry. Jagdev thus became a small chief (Raja) of two villages.

At the time when Jagdev held the estate of Radhvanaj and Vansar, the entire region of Gujarat, Saurashtra and Kutch and a few outlying areas were under the suzerainty of the Solanki Rajput dynasty having its capital at Patan in North Gujarat. It is possible to infer the existence of a number of Rajput estates, like that of Jagdev, in Gujarat, Saurashtra and Kutch at this time on the basis of bardic genealogies and other historical evidence, but the difficult problem is to understand the position of the estates in the political and administrative system of the period. It seems to me possible to reconstruct a picture of the essential features of the system by studying contemporary evidence in relation to the descriptions of the political system of Rajput kingdoms in later periods. I mention here a few relevant points.⁽²⁾

At any one point of time, there was the sovereign king of Patan, called Maharajadhiraj, at the apex of the hierarchy, and there were a number of kings, called Mandaliks, paying tribute to him according to pressure of power. The Maharajadhiraj as well as each Mandalik kept a large part of his territory under his direct administration and granted most of the rest to trusted supporters, called Samants, and to the members of the army. The Rajput rule of primogeniture was perhaps the most important factor in the creation of new Samants and new estates. When a king was succeeded by his eldest son, the latter had to grant estates to each of his younger brothers. Whatever be the origin of an estate, the holder of each estate was a king in miniature, having his small court in a small town, and following the same rules of inheritance. Each estate-holder, whether a Samant or a member of the army, also granted small estates to the members of his family. The holders of small estates were called Grasiyas (lit., gras=mouthful). On the one hand, kinship worked as a binding force between the head of an estate and the junior members of the lineage, and on the other hand, the larger portion of the estate remaining with the head provided him the means to control the junior members.

These were the normal rules, but most Rajputs always tried to increase their power and authority. A constant struggle for enlarging one's territory went on throughout Rajput society. An enterprising younger branch might enlarge its borders not only at the expense of the head and other members of the lineage but also at the expense of the estates

of other lineages. It would exercise, or threaten to exercise, physical force. The weak and timid either lost, or took refuge under some powerful neighbour, keeping enough land for subsistence. Separate independent kingdoms came into existence in this way. Sometimes an enterprising Rajput might also establish a separate kingdom by subjugating the tribal people in the high-land region. The less enterprising would seek employment where obtainable, in some other Raja's court or army, and receive an estate as remuneration. As soon as a new kingdom was established or a new estate acquired, however, the same rules of inheritance were followed.

It seems to me that the net result of about three centuries of Rajput rule in Gujarat was an increasing sub-infeudation of territory, which became the chief source of weakness in the political system when the Muslims invaded Gujarat at the end of the thirteenth century.

In 1299 A.D. Alauddin Khalji, the Sultan of Delhi, conquered and removed the Rajput sovereign of Gujarat, but it did not lead to the removal of the large number of lower chiefs (mandaliks and Samants) and small estate holders (Grasiyas). In 1323, twenty-six years after the Muslim conquest, the Delhi Sultan's Governor in Gujarat requested (and not ordered) the illustrious Thakurs of Petlad, a town in the centre of Charotar, to protect the land granted for the maintenance of a well.⁽³⁾ It was only toward the end of the fourteenth century that most of the bigger Rajput chiefs were removed from plains Gujarat. In Saurashtra, Kutch and highland Gujarat, however, most of the Rajput chiefs continued to exist until recently.

The Grasiyas or the Rajputs holding small estates left in plains Gujarat frequently challenged the authority of the Muslim rulers by refusing to pay revenue, by making sporadic attacks on 'loyal' towns and villages, and by looting travellers on highways. It was only after the establishment of the Sultanate of Gujarat, an independent Muslim power with local base, and the almost simultaneous transfer of the capital from Patan to Ahmedabad, a more central place, that the Muslim rulers could subdue the Grasiyas in Central Gujarat. This area also received close personal attention of the Sultan because it was the khalsah area reserved for his own treasury whereas other areas were assigned to nobles and others⁽⁴⁾. One Arabic⁽⁵⁾ and two Persian chronicles⁽⁶⁾ tell us that during the reign of Sultan Ahmed I (1411-1442), three fourth of land in each Rajput village was appropriated as khalsah or Crown land under the denomination of Talpad (lit., indigeneous) and one fourth was left with the Rajputs under the denomination of Wanta (lit., share, portion). The Rajputs also agreed to pay the Sultan a nominal amount of revenue as a tribute or offering called salami, (lit., salutation) for their Wanta land, and military service whenever called upon. During the reign of Mahmud III (1458-1511) the Wanta-holders too were forcibly ejected from their estates, and it led them to raise a revolt. The revolt was put down in a most sanguinary manner.

During the period of conflict between the Sultans and the Mughals, the Grasiyas again raised their head and continued to do so even after Akbar annexed Gujarat to his

empire in 1572. The Persian chronicle Mirat-i-Ahmadi states: "During the vice-royalty of the Khan-i-Azam (A.D. 1588-92), the desais (pargana headmen) muqaddams (village headmen) and peasants of most of the parganas complained to the Imperial Court that the agents of the governors and jagirdars were seizing all the revenue (or produce) through (various) cesses; and after their taking it away, the Rajputs, Kolis and Musal-mans (Molesalams ?) raised a tumult, laying waste the produce and fields of the petitioners.... It was, therefore, ordered that..... one-fourth of the land of the Kolis and others be set apart, no revenue demanded therefrom, and trustworthy sureties taken for their good conduct."⁽⁷⁾ This means the Grasiyas regained their Wanta lands during the reign of Akbar. The arrangements made by Akbar remained almost unaltered until the British began to make modifications in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The Rathod Rajputs of Radhvanaj held Wanta land in both Radhvanaj and Vansar at the beginning of the nineteenth century; it formed roughly one fourth of the total land in each village; and the Rajputs paid salami to the Crown (see below pp.). The records of the early nineteenth century also mention the tradition that the Rajputs of Radhvanaj had been holding Wanta land in the two villages since the time of the Muslim rulers. This later evidence confirms the evidence of the thirteenth century epigraph and the Barot records, which encourages me to emphasise the suggestion I have made earlier, that one can get a fairly accurate idea of the Rajput estate system during the twelfth and thirteenth

century if the early nineteenth century records and the Barot records are studied in relation to other historical records. This will in turn suggest several other ideas about the political, economic and social system of the period.

II: Consequences of the Loss of Rajput Estates

The loss of estates by the Rajputs was an important development during the Muslim rule in Central Gujarat. It raises the question of its consequences. One consequence is easy to understand: whereas in Saurashtra, Kutch and highland Gujarat the Rajputs continued to live in towns as well as villages, the Rajputs in Central Gujarat ceased to live in towns because the capitals of bigger estates were lost to the Muslims. The domination of towns by Muslims had further consequences, but we are not concerned with this problem here. To deal with the changes at the village level, first we have to ask: Who were the inhabitants of the villages over which the Rajputs ruled? The Kanbis, later called Patidars, must have constituted the bulk of the peasantry during the thirteenth century as at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The historical records from at least the seventh century use the name of this caste as a general word meaning a cultivator. It seems to me that one of the chief consequences of the loss of estates by the Rajputs was a change in their position vis a vis the Kanbis.

In this connection it would be useful to see the nature of the Wanta-Talpad division at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In more than a dozen villages not only the village-land but also the village-site of each village was divided

into Wanta and Talpad as shown in Map 4. The two parts were considered two distinct villages for the purpose of administration. The Rajputs lived only in the Wanta part of the village-site with their dependent castes, whereas the Talpad part was inhabited by the Kanbis or Patidars and their dependent castes. The Patidars lived in both the Wanta and the Talpad parts, but in the former they were under the authority of the Rajputs while in the latter they were independent of the Rajputs. The Rajputs owned land in the Wanta part, while the Patidars owned land in the Talpad. The latter had its own headman (Patel or Mukhi), a Patidar by caste and responsible directly to the officials of the Crown. The Wanta part had its own head, who was called Thakur or Darbar (chief or prince) and not headman. This division into the Rajput-dominated Wanta and the Patidar-dominated Talpad exists in these villages even today.

I shall describe the nature of Wanta--Talpad division in Radhvanaj in greater details at a later stage, but two points may be noted here. Firstly, in Radhvanaj neither the village site nor the cultivable land was divided into two distinct blocks as described above. The houses of the Rajputs were interspersed with those of the Patidars and other castes, and so were their fields. Nevertheless, the division into Wanta and Talpad enabled the Patidars to gain a distinct position as against the Rajputs. The village had ceased to be an independent estate of the Rajputs and had begun to be administered by the officials of the king through Patidar headmen. Secondly, the Rajputs of Radhvanaj ceased to be the overlords of the adjoining village Vansar. On the contrary they had to

acknowledge the administrative jurisdiction of the Patidar headman of Vansar over the one fourth of land they owned in that village. They enjoyed some power in Vansar only on account of their land being cultivated by some tenants and labourers from Vansar. It can readily be realised that the complete or partial reduction of estates bigger than that of Radhvanaj and Vansar must have freed the Patidars in a large number of villages from the domination of the Rajputs.

The point I want to make is that the Kanbis, who formed the bulk of the peasantry in Central Gujarat during the rule of the Rajputs, were dominated by the Rajputs, and the most significant effect of the loss of estates by Rajputs was the gradual emergence of Patidars as a powerful group in Central Gujarat. This does not mean that the Patidars became independent of the Muslim rulers. It was a change in the position of the Rajputs vis a vis the Patidars, which was a result of the change in the position of each vis a vis the Muslim rulers. Such a change in the position of the Patidars did not take place in Sanrashtra, Kutch and highland Gujarat where the Rajputs continued to be the ruling group.

III: The Role of Commerce

It is well-known that commerce has played an important role in the history of Gujarat since at least the first century A.D., if not earlier. Nobody has however made a detailed study of the economic history of Gujarat, and it is not possible for me to go into all the available evidence. I will make only a few well-known points.⁽⁹⁾

Gujarat traded through its ports with other coastal regions of India and with a number of foreign countries. Broach, Cambay and Surat were centres of world trade. There was also considerable trade between the ports of Gujarat and those of Saurashtra, particularly between the ports situated on two sides of the Gulf of Cambay, and between Cambay, at the head of the Gulf, and ports on both sides of the Gulf. Secondly, Gujarat traded by land routes with almost all parts of India, and there was also considerable trade between the different parts of Gujarat. All kinds of trade grew to an unprecedented extent from the latter half of the fifteenth century on account of the opening up of sea routes to Europe and the relatively stable political conditions.

The growth of commerce led obviously to the importance of the merchant class in the society, but I think it had also had considerable influence on villages. The exports of Gujarat included a number of agricultural commodities, such as indigo, cotton, hides, clarified butter, millet, pulses, sesame, dried ginger and myrobalan, opium, tobacco, and honey. The exports also included several goods made mainly from agricultural raw materials, such as cotton yarn and textiles, leather goods, sesamum oil, carpets, canopies and bed tapes. Indigo, cotton, and cotton cloth formed the bulk of the exports. Furthermore, there was considerable growth of urban population after the fifteenth century on account of the growth of commerce and of Muslim courts and bureaucracy, and this meant greater demand for food grains and other agricultural produce. The demand for foodstuffs increased so much that the local

cultivators could not satisfy all the demand, and even such essential foodstuffs as wheat and rice had to be imported in large quantities from several parts of India during the Mughal period. The greater demand for all kinds of agricultural produce made Patidars, the principal cultivator caste, prosperous. It is important to realise that Central Gujarat was situated between the great port of Cambay on one side, the capital city of Ahmedabad on the other, and the large town of Baroda on the third. There is considerable direct evidence to show that the peasants of Central Gujarat were producers of a large number of commodities for towns and for export outside of Central Gujarat. The economic prosperity of Patidars helped them rise as a power group in Central Gujarat and occupy an eminent position among Patidars in the whole of Gujarat and Saurashtra. Their power became manifest only in the eighteenth century (see below pp. ____), but it was a result of changes that had taken place in the previous centuries, viz. the loss of estates by Rajputs and the growth of commerce.

IV: The Kolis

Although the Kolis form about one fourth of the total population of Gujarat we do not have much information about their early history. At the present time they are found living in the plains as well as in the highlands. In the highlands their life is in many respects similar to that of such 'tribal' groups as the Bhils: they are relatively isolated in the forests, have simple technology, are very little influenced by Sanskrit culture, and do not have in their

villages such crucial groups of Hindu caste system as the Brahmins and the Untouchables. The Kolis in the plains, however, seem to have lived as petty landholders, tenants and agricultural labourers along with other Hindu castes, and been influenced by Sanskrit culture, for a very long time. It is therefore difficult to describe the entire group as a caste or a tribe.

There is fairly clear evidence that those Rajputs who established their kingdoms in the highland region could do so only after fighting with the 'tribal' people, and there is some evidence to suggest that there was some armed conflict between the Rajputs and the Kolis in the plains region. The Solanki king Karna I (1064-94) is mentioned, in a somewhat later record, to have fought with the Bhils and Kolis in the area around modern Ahmedabad.⁽⁹⁾ Similarly the Muslim king Ahmad I (1411-42) is mentioned to have fought with the Kolis in the same area.⁽¹⁰⁾ Throughout the period of Muslim rule in Gujarat the Kolis are frequently referred to as dacoits, robbers, marauders and pirates, and as helping many a political adventurer by joining their irregular armies. The Kolis plundered the camp of Emperor Humayun at Cambay, and gave considerable trouble to Aurangzeb when he was the Governor of Gujarat.⁽¹¹⁾ It is clear from all this information that the Kolis had always had political ambitions. Such political activities were, however, pursued only by certain sections of the Koli population, by the Kolis living in the highland region, in the plains areas gradually merging into the highland region,

near the rugged ravines of rivers and in the sandy wastes near the coast line. In these areas the Kolis had established petty chieftdoms and claimed the status of Rajputs and Kshatriyas. The Kolis living in the villages in the plains along with Rajputs, Patidars and other castes were poor and weak and did not claim the Rajput and Kshatriya status until the nineteenth century.

V: Concluding Remarks

I began this chapter with an account of the earliest evidence about the history of Radhvanaj, but the necessity to understand the significance of the evidence led me to turn the chapter into an account of some of the major developments in the history of Central Gujarat from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. What happened in the village was not an isolated event but a part of widespread developments in the region. The chapter has also provided a general historical background to the detailed description of the major castes in the village and the region in later chapters. It must also have been noticed that I have tried to use the information provided by the early nineteenth century records and the present day ethnography of the area in reconstructing the earlier history.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURYI: Major Political Changes ⁽¹⁾

The Marathas had begun to attack Gujarat before the death of Aurangzeb (1707 A.D.), but began to make territorial conquests from about 1730 when Pilaji Gaekwad assumed the leadership of the Marathas in Gujarat. By the time Pilaji's son Damaji II died in 1768 the Marathas had replaced the Mughals as the supreme power in Gujarat. Throughout the period 1707-68 there was continuous fighting among many power groups in Gujarat, and Central Gujarat lay between three crucial places in these fights: Ahmedabad, the capital of the Mughal governors, Baroda, the capital of the Gaekwads, and Cambay, the stronghold of the Mughal noble Mominkhan. Central Gujarat was therefore a scene of several battles during this period. The Marathas could never establish their authority over Cambay, which continued to be ruled until 1947 by the Nawabs, the descendants of Mominkhan. In the rest of Central Gujarat, the parganas (administrative units) of Borsad, Petlad, Nadiad, Mahudha and Matar, came under the authority of the Gaekwads between 1742 and 1748. Radhvanaj was situated in Nadiad pargana, and this pargana was given by Damaji II in 1744 as a jagir (personal estate) to Khanderao, his brother and deputy.

The conquests made by the Marathas in Gujarat were divided into two equal parts between the Gaekwads and the Peshwas in 1752. In Central Gujarat the parganas of Matar,

Mahudha, Nadiad and half of Petlad were given to the Gaekwads, while Thamna, Mahmedabad, and half of Petlad were given to the Peshwas. However, the revenues of the Peshwas's parganas were collected mostly by the Gaekwads, who therefore remained the de facto rulers of most of Central Gujarat from 1742 A.D. The Nadiad pargana, in which Radhvanaj was situated, remained the jagir of Khande Rao Gaekwad.

Khande Rao, and then his son Malhar Rao, played an important role in the protracted succession dispute that followed Damaji's death in 1768, and this made Central Gujarat once again a scene of frequent battles. In 1801 the Gaekwad took Nadiad pargana from Malhar Rao in exchange for Kadi pargana in North Gujarat, and placed his own official (Kamavisdar) to administer the former. It was however soon given back to Malhar Rao, with the latter's promise that he would behave properly. He misbehaved, and consequently on 6th June 1802 the Gaekwad appropriated an area worth 5000 Rupees of revenue from the Nadiad pargana as a punishment to Malhar Rao, and gave it over to the British in appreciation of their aid in fighting Malhar Rao. Malhar Rao fled away from Nadiad after a few days, and the Gaekwad ceded the entire Nadiad pargana to the British in payment of their subsidized troops. Matar and Mahudha parganas were ceded in the same way on 21st April, 1805. Thus, Radhvanaj and the villages around it were among the earliest British acquisitions in Gujarat. The British acquired a few more parganas from the Gaekwad in 1817, and later on some territory from the Peshwa.

II: Changes in Pargana Administration

During the rule of the Gaekwads, as that of the Mughals, villages were grouped into units called parganas and tappas for administrative purposes. A pargana included from about forty to about seventy villages, whereas a tappa included about twenty villages.⁽²⁾ (I will ignore the distinction between pargana and tappa and refer only to the parganas.) Radhvanaj was one of the thirty-nine villages in Nadiad pargana, and Nadiad town was the administrative centre of the pargana.

During the Mughal regime a pargana was headed by a military and police official called Foujdar.⁽³⁾ Out of the parganas taken by the Gaekwads, a couple of parganas were granted to the members of the Gaekwad family as personal jagirs, such as Khande Rao's Nadiad pargana. The Jagirdar paid an annual tribute to the Gaekwad. He had his small body of troops to administer the jagir internally and to help the Gaekwad when called upon to do so. The Gaekwad could withdraw a jagir, or substitute one pargana for another pargana as jagir.⁽⁴⁾

In most of the other parganas the Foujdars were replaced by the Gaekwad's officials called Kamavisdars. A Kamavisdar was in charge of usually one and occasionally more than one pargana. He was a civil, political and military representative of the Gaekwad, and had a body of troops to administer the pargana internally and to check the activities of the Rajputs and Muslim princes in his vicinity. He was appointed for a specific term on a contract that he would pay the

Gaekwad annually a lump sum for the right to collect taxes. If he collected more than the contracted amount he made a profit for himself. He was far more independent and powerful than a Mughal foujdar. The Gaekwads never bothered to supervise administration at the local level. They had neither time nor leisure to do so. Almost all the officials from the level of the Kamavisdar to that of the Diwan were Maharashtrians and the language of administration among themselves was Marathi.⁽⁵⁾ When the British took over administration in Central Gujarat, Nadiad and Matar parganas were under a single Kamavisdar named Mairal Narain, a Maharashtrian Brahman.⁽⁶⁾

Whether a pargana was under a Jagirdar or a Kamavisdar its internal administration was of the same kind. Each pargana had one or more hereditary officials called Desais. The Desais existed during the Mughal period also—they must have existed even before the Mughal period, because the word is derived from the Sanskrit desa—and it seems the Desais in Gujarat were similar to the pargana officials called chaudhuris in other parts of North India during the Mughal period.⁽⁷⁾ Nobody has however made a study of the Desais during the Mughal period.

As the Desai's office was hereditary it led to a proliferation of Desais in course of time. Actually in every pargana during the Gaekwad's rule there were one or two principal Desais and several inferior Desais. Where there were more than one principal Desai the villages of the pargana were divided among them for the purpose of revenue collection, and each principal Desai divided his villages

among his inferior Desais. A principal Desai and his inferior Desais constituted a joint family or a lineage segment headed by the principal Desai. Unlike Kamavisdars and Jagirdars, the Desais were local men, residing in the chief town of the pargana. Different parganas had Desais belonging to different castes, as for example, Patidars in Nadiad, Banias in Matar, and Brahmans in Petlad. Each Desai had a staff of Amins (revenue-assessors), Majmudars (accountants), Mehtas (clerks) and Ravaniyas (peons).⁽⁸⁾

Since the time Nadiad pargana was the jagir of Khande Rao it had had two principal Desais, named Bapoojee and Shankerdas, both of the Patidar caste. The villages of the pargana were distributed between them by a sanad (charter) granted by Khande Rao. Bapoojee was however an incapable fellow. He went on increasing revenue demands in his villages, which led the villagers to migrate from Nadiad pargana to other parganas. He soon relinquished his office, and Shankerdas was left the only Desai in the pargana. When it was ceded to the British in 1803, Parbhoodas, son of Shankerdas, was the only Desai in the pargana.⁽⁹⁾

III: Classification of Villages ⁽¹⁰⁾

Villages were classified into two main categories, namely rasti, peaceful or loyal, and mewasi, turbulent. This type of classification seems to have prevailed during the Mughal period throughout the Mughal empire.⁽¹¹⁾ The mewasi villages were populated predominantly by Rajputs and Kolis who asserted their independence from any higher authority. It should be noted that all the Rajput and Koli villages were

not mewasi. Radhvanaj, although dominated by Rajputs, was a rasti village. The Mewasi villages were situated mostly near the deep ravines of rivers and in the jungles bordering the plains region, where they could fight guerilla warfare. Some of them had fortifications, and acted like independent states. They were fairly well controlled during the Mughal rule by police stations spread over the country side, but they raised their head as soon as the Mughal rule became weak. The Kamavisdar or the Desai had to go every year with armed troops to collect revenue from mewasi villages. The latter paid revenue in the form of a lump sum which varied from year to year according to the ability of the Kamavisdar or the Desai to negotiate and enforce payment. In the rasti villages revenue was collected without the necessity of exerting physical force.⁽²⁾ In the terminology of Mughal administration, the mewasi villages were zamindari or talugdari whereas rasti villages were raiya.⁽³⁾ The mewasi Rajputs and Kolis not only refused to pay revenue but also tried to collect 'blackmail' from neighbouring villages and from travellers on highways. Many rasti villages had to buy peace by granting fields or annual cash allowances to the mewasi Rajputs and Kolis. There is evidence of a few such fields in Radhvanaj (see below p. _). There were also some villages, called rasti-mewasi, which were sometimes loyal and sometimes turbulent.⁽⁴⁾

The rasti villages were of two main categories, namely, narwadari and senja. Radhvanaj was a senja village, and among the adjoining villages, Antroli and Vansar were senja, whereas Undhela, Alindra, Palana and Sandhana were narwadari.⁽⁵⁾ A narwadari village was dominated by a few Patidar lineages, who

owned most of the land in the village and managed its revenue affairs. The revenue was assessed in a lump sum for the entire village, its payment was the joint responsibility of the landlord lineages, and it was apportioned among them according to an accepted principle. The landlords responsible for the payment of revenue were called Narwadars or Patidars. This was a term of great prestige, and the Patidars used to distinguish themselves from other members of their caste who were called Kanbis.⁽¹⁶⁾ There is a strong tradition among Patidars that the narwadari system originated, and the Narwadars began to call themselves Patidars, during the Mughal period. The narwadari system of revenue-collection, like the mewasi system, seems to have been a political arrangement whereby the rising power of the dominant Patidar lineages was recognized by the ruling authorities.

The internal structure of mewasi and narwadari villages is a fascinating subject of study, but as I do not have much data about them and as Radhvanaj was a senja village, I shall not deal with the narwadari and mewasi villages in detail.

IV: Changes in the Administration of Senja Villages

For the collection of revenue from senja villages during the Gaekwad regime, every year a little before the monsoon crops were ripe, the Kamavisdar entered into an agreement with the Desai, that the latter should collect a particular amount of revenue from a particular village. The Desai had to furnish the security of a Bhat for the agreement.⁽¹⁷⁾ The Bhats were a bardic caste, considered to be sacred like the Brahmans. They could stand as security because they would kill or wound themselves if the agreement was not fulfilled, and such suicide or

self-injury was dreaded as a source of supernatural danger by parties to the agreement. The Bhat's curse was also feared.⁽¹⁸⁾

The figure for the amount of revenue was arrived at by negotiation, on the basis of the actual collections in previous years and the state of cultivation in the current year. If the Desai collected more than the contracted amount he made a profit for himself. If one Desai did not agree to a reasonable amount the Kamavisdar could, and sometimes did, give contract to some other Desai. The Desai held revenue-free land in each village under his charge and also received a fixed proportion of the amount of revenue he actually paid to the Kamavisdar.⁽¹⁹⁾

The Desai rarely collected the revenue of a village directly from the villagers. He entered into an agreement with a wealthy influential man of the village or a neighbouring village that he should collect a certain amount of revenue from the village. The competition between different wealthy influential men enabled the Desai to arrive at a profitable agreement.⁽²⁰⁾ The early nineteenth century records of Radhvanaj state that its revenues were collected usually by the Patidars of the adjoining village Palana and sometimes by others. In 1802, the year before the British took over administration, the revenues were collected by a Brahman of Nadiad, and in the next year by a Patidar of Palana. In every senja village there were one or more Matadars (lit., signers of documents, agreements). In Radhvanaj there were three Matadars, two belonging to two segments of a Patidar lineage and the third to another Patidar lineage, and the headmanship rotated among the three lineages. The remuneration they received for their

services was divided equally among them. The headman or any other Matadar could also be a revenue contractor, and sometimes all the Matadars jointly undertook the revenue-contract of the village.⁽²¹⁾

In a senja village, when crops were ripe the village headman had to furnish the security of a Bhat. When the security was furnished the headman received permission to reap crops. If the security was not furnished it was taken for granted that the villagers wanted to pay revenue according to the principle of bhagbatai; an agent of the Desai would go to the village at the time of harvest and collect the King's share, usually one half of the produce. Such villages were however very few in number. Most villages paid revenue in cash and not ⁱⁿ kind. The Bhat's security was a guarantee that the villagers would pay the revenue in cash.⁽²²⁾

When crops were reaped, the village headman withdrew the security of the Bhat, and furnished another security, that of a moneylender (manotidar, lit., moneyed man). This security was given for a particular amount of money.⁽²³⁾ The system of manotidar security was a part of the entire system of state finance in Gujarat during the eighteenth century. On account of the unstable political conditions of the time, every ruler, the Gaekwad, the Peshwa or the Nawab, required money for military purposes and for the payment of tribute at any time during the year, whereas the peasants could pay revenue only after harvest, more particularly only after they had sold some produce. When a ruler required money he took a loan from a banker in the capital, Baroda, Ahmedabad or

Cambay, as the case might be, and authorized the banker to collect the amount from the Kamavisdars. For similar reasons, the Kamavisdars borrowed money from the bankers in their towns, and so did the Desais, the revenue-contractors of individual villages, and village headmen. At the time of the introduction of British rule and for more than thirty years after, the whole land revenue of Kaira District was collected generally from bankers or moneylenders. The general practice was for each revenue-collector to give a credit note for his village, which was convertible at Ahmedabad and Baroda and had to be negotiated by agents specially chosen by the Government.⁽²⁴⁾

The system of manotidar security was intimately related to the marketing of agricultural produce. A British official defended the system in the following terms: "The grains produced in Gujarat, being more than is sufficient for the want of its inhabitants, the demand depends on the necessities of foreign parts. This circumstance would render it impossible to find a favourable sale for the produce of the different villages if any system was adopted which forced the cultivator to the market without regard to the number of purchasers or demand for their commodity."⁽²⁵⁾ The system of manotidar security thus allowed the villagers to pay revenue at the appropriate time without selling their produce at a disadvantageous price. It is noteworthy that the manotidar was not only a moneylender but also usually a shopkeeper. The villagers kept accounts with him and he kept accounts with traders and bankers in the town.⁽²⁶⁾ All this shows a high degree of monetization in the rural economy of Gujarat.

How did the revenue-contractor or headman of a village assess and collect revenue from the villagers? This is a complicated problem. It seems the Marathas, unlike the Mughals, were interested in getting the revenue and not in the way it was collected. There were therefore no rules and regulations framed by the Maratha rulers for the assessment and collection of revenue. It seems revenue was assessed and collected according to customary rules prevalent in a village. But many of the customary rules must surely have been those derived from the preceding Mughal rules, particularly in Central Gujarat which was under the close supervision of the Imperial officials on account of its nearness to the capital city. Here we have three main difficulties. Firstly, a great deal of scholarly attention has been devoted to the agrarian system of Mughal India, but these studies seem to me to ignore regional differences, particularly differences existing within a province. Secondly, there is no adequate study of agrarian conditions during the Maratha period. Thirdly, the early British administrators made a number of statements about the agrarian system during the previous regimes, including the Mughal regime, but it is not clear how many of these statements were biased by their own views, concepts and categories, and how many represented actual facts. I proceed further with these reservations.

Let us first note an important feature of village administration which continued to exist from the Mughal time to the middle of the nineteenth century. Every village was a fiscal unit in itself; it had its own 'income and expenditure';

its common finances.⁽²⁷⁾ I have described in detail the income and expenditure of Radhvanaj from 1823 to 1825 in Chapter X. Here we may note only that the income of a village was derived not only from land revenue but also from other sources, and the expenditure included not only the money paid to the government treasury but also money spent in the village for a number of purposes. Even during the Mughal period the village accountant was an accountant on behalf of the village, and his records belonged to the village and not to the Imperial administration, although they were drawn upon for purposes of audit of the accounts of the revenue officials.⁽²⁸⁾

Let us assume that the ways in which the revenues were collected and the expenses were incurred in a village were closely supervised and controlled during the Mughal period, but during the system of revenue-contracts practised in the eighteenth century, the revenue-contractors must have acquired a great deal of freedom in manipulating both income and expenditure of a village. The contemporary records do not throw much light on the nature of manipulations, but let us see the problems raised by the statements of the early British administrators.

One problem is that of the existence of distinction between private land and government land during the Mughal period. It is quite clear that the distinction was made between areas under the Imperial administration and areas under chiefs and princes called zamindars in the terminology of Mughal administration. Within an area under Imperial

administration, a distinction was made between zamindari villages and rai-yati villages; a village of the former category was the property of one or more individuals who collected revenue or rent from the peasants and paid a lump sum tribute to the Imperial authority, whereas in a rai-yati village the officials of Imperial administration collected revenue from each peasant separately.⁽²⁹⁾ Now, the problem is whether the same logic was applied or not within a rai-yati village, that is to say, whether a distinction was made or not between private land and government land within a rai-yati village. I raise this question because there are frequent references in the early nineteenth century records to what were called vechaniya (lit., sold) and gharaniya (lit., mortgaged) land, and the usual explanation was that these two categories arose as a result of sale and mortgage of sarkar zamin (government land) by the revenue-contractors in order to make up their losses or enhance their profits from revenue-contracts. The British administrators asserted that the revenue-contractors sold or mortgaged government land as the supposed agents of the Government. In theory, the government land was owned by the Government and cultivated by the tenants of the Government, and was given to the tenants by revenue-contractors on behalf of the Government. The problem involved in the vechaniya and gharaniya land was that the revenue-contractors sold or mortgaged government land for their private interest and not for the interest of the Government. But the British administrators thought that the revenue-contractors were not really the agents of the Government. If they really were, the Government did not check the activities of its agents.⁽³⁰⁾

In any case, the crucial question is: what was this government land in a senja or rai-yati village? We are told that the Mughal administration recognized and guarded the proprietary rights of 'permanent and hereditary occupants' of land.⁽³¹⁾ Does this mean that there were temporary occupants of land? Were there tenants of the Government? Or, was the non-cultivated land considered government land?

The British administrators also alleged that on the one hand the revenue-contractors exempted many individuals fully or partially from the payment of the assessed amount of revenue, and on the other hand levied higher amounts from others to make up the loss or to enhance profit. They levied taxes and cesses on ploughs and weapons, on artisans and craftsmen, on weddings and entertainments, and on a number of other things.⁽³²⁾ The Mughal officials also tended to levy such taxes and cesses (called abwabs) but were restrained by the orders (farmans) issued from time to time by the Mughal emperors.⁽³³⁾ No such restraints existed during the eighteenth century. Other powers that revenue-contractors assumed in course of time were the powers to grant land for charitable purposes, grant cash allowances from the treasury to religious and political personages, and to sanction ceremonial expenditure to create pomp around their own office.⁽³⁴⁾

The possibility of making money in revenue-contracts encouraged contractors to demand more and more from the peasants. To what extent they could do so depended of course on their influence and power in villages, but ultimately on the capacity of the peasants to pay. When the revenue demand

became too heavy for the peasants to pay, they either deserted the village and went to a village where revenue demand was less heavy, or turned turbulent and refused to pay revenue. ⁽³⁵⁾

V: Political Role of Patidars

An important development in Gujarat during the eighteenth century was the increasing role of Patidars in the politics of the region. As mentioned above, the narwadari system of revenue-collection seems to have been a political arrangement whereby the power of the dominant Patidar lineages was recognized by the ruling authorities. A large number of narwadars became Desais, Amins, and revenue-contractors. The Desais in such important parganas as Nadiad, Padra and Savli were Patidars. Both the Mughal officials and the Marathas cultivated their friendship. Folklore refers to friendship between Patidar leaders and Mughal emperors, including Akbar. The Patidars were the principal local supporters of the Gaekwads. Some Patidars had taken to arms, and a couple of them had established petty principalities. ⁽³⁶⁾ Even today one can see the eighteenth century palatial buildings of the then Patidar leaders in many villages and towns of Central Gujarat. One can also see a few fortified buildings. All this had led Patidars to claim the status of the Kshatriya varna and to adopt many 'kingly' customs and manners.

VI: Major Economic Changes

The eighteenth century was a period of economic decline in Gujarat. Continuous attacks by various political powers, particularly the Marathas, on commercial centres in Gujarat, particularly on Surat, Ahmedabad, Baroda, Broach and Cambay,

and absence of safety on roads, discouraged production of urban crafts and transportation of goods. In the very beginning of the century the East India Company transferred the center of its activities from Surat to Bombay, and closed down or very much reduced the activities of the inland 'factories' at Ahmedabad, Baroda, Cambay, Broach, Dholka and Ghoga. The beginning of industrial revolution in England altered the entire nature of foreign trade. The demand for indigo and other dyes, for cotton and silk textiles, and for many other goods, declined. The prosperity of the Mughal and other courts also declined. This period was the beginning of widespread migration of urban Gujaratis to Bombay, and to Poona and many other prosperous places in the Maratha empire. The population of most of the towns in Gujarat declined during this period. Ultimately all this meant less and less demand for agricultural produce and fall in their prices. The situation was only partially improved by the increased demand for some raw materials required for factories in England. (37)

PART II: FROM 1803 TO 1827

Chapter IV

CHANGES IN THE OVERALL FRAMEWORK OF ADMINISTRATION

Part II of the monograph is concerned with the village and the region from the time the British took over administration of Nadiad and Matar parganas in 1803 to the year 1827. The present chapter describes the changes in the overall framework of administration of the village and the region during the period.

I: Officials of the District and the Pargana

I have mentioned in the preceding chapter that when the British took over the administration of Nadiad and Matar parganas in 1803, they were administered by a single Kamavisdar named Mairal Narain, a Maharashtrian Brahman. The British Resident at Baroda, Col. Alexander Walker, administered these parganas through Mairal Narain during 1803-05. On 30th June 1805 all the British parganas north of the Mahi were placed together to form a single administrative unit called Kaira Collectorate or District under a British Collector named Diggle and a British Judge and Magistrate named Corsellis, both of whom were responsible directly to the Secretariat of the Government of Bombay in Bombay.⁽¹⁾ Diggle had a British assistant named Barnewall. He remained an assistant to the Collector upto 1818 while several Collectors changed during the period, and as we shall see, he was also in more intimate relation with villages than the Collector. His observations are consequently a very important source of information for

the villages of Kaira District at this time. We have not only his letters and reports but also the minutes of his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1832.⁽²⁾

The office of the Kamavisdar continued to exist in Gujarat for a long time, until 1841, but his status and functions changed radically.⁽³⁾ He ceased to be a military governor, political agent and revenue-contractor and became a paid official subordinate to the Collector. One of his main functions was to arrange the revenue contracts of villages.⁽⁴⁾ The records of Radhvanaj show that the revenue-contract of Radhvanaj was executed and its deed signed by the village-contractors in the presence of the Kamavisdar in 1823. On account of changes in his status and functions, now Gujaratis also began to be appointed as Kamavisdars. In 1823 the Kamavisdar of Nadiad pargana was a Gujarati named Motichand Govindram, most presumably a Bania by caste. Kamavisdars began to be called talukas from 1841.

It has been mentioned that there were two principal Desais, Bapoojee and Shankerdas, in Nadiad pargana during the rule of Jageerdar Khande Rao, but only one was left at the end of the Gaekwad rule. However, when Resident Walker took charge of administration, the descendants of Bapoojee raised a dispute with those of Shankerdas for a share in the office of the Desai. As a result of the dispute a new distribution of the villages in the pargana was made for the purpose of revenue collection. Radhvanaj was placed under the charge of Prabhoodas, son of Shankerdas.⁽⁵⁾

II: Establishment of Law and Order

One of the first tasks taken on hand by the British was the establishment of law and order in their territory. Kaira town was made a military station, which in collaboration with the military station at Baroda tried to keep in check the Rajputs and Kolis on the borders of the British territory.⁽⁶⁾ When the Kolis on the Mahi refused to pay tribute, a force of 200 men was sent against them. Moreover, the Collector took from them the Bhat and other securities for their good conduct.⁽⁷⁾ In the first few years, however, Walker advised Diggle to observe "a guarded exercise of authority". No attempt was made to increase the lump sums taken as revenue from the Kolis because, as Walker instructed to Diggle, "the object is, in preference to money, to reconcile them to our government... and to prevail on them to exchange their slothful and thievish habits of life for more industrious pursuits".⁽⁸⁾ This was, however, not an easy thing to do. Two years after Diggle took charge of the District he stated that "they (the Kolis) were of barbarous spirit, referring right to the spear rather than to any deed. Most of their claims, one of the chief of which was bag-money, kothli giras, were forms of blackmail. They increased their demands in the most unfair way. Sometimes village headmen arranged with the girasia to raise his claim on the village, the headman at first sharing the spoil, but in the end the girasia gaining the whole." Diggle thought that their claims could not be denied, as they would join together and find easy shelter in the woods and ravines near the Mahi. He suggested that instead of being allowed to levy their claims from the

villagers, girasias should be paid from the Government treasuries. As Government pensioners, they would, he thought, lose much of their importance.⁽⁹⁾

Very soon steps were taken to check the Mewasis' practice of collecting giras and kothali-santh dues from rasti villages. From 1811, the Mewasis were made to collect their giras and kothali-santh dues not from the villages but from the Government treasury. An examination of the information provided by the records of Radhvanaj about the giras and kothali-santh dues given by Radhvanaj will provide us an idea of the nature of these dues before 1812 and the changes made by the British.

In all six persons were receiving giras dues from Radhvanaj before 1812. Two of them, a Koli of Barmuvada, a mewasi village situated on the Vatrak, about sixteen miles from Radhvanaj, and a Koli of Chhapra, a mewasi village situated near Barmuvada, received a cash due of Rs.10 and Rs.5 respectively from the income of the village community. The British decided that these Kolis should collect the same amounts from the Government treasury and not from the village. The remaining four persons were (i) a Koli of Khumarwad, a mewasi village situated on the Shedhi, on the other side of Antroli, (ii) a Koli of Barmuvada, mentioned above, (iii) a Koli of Pachrania, a village in Petlad pargana, and (iv) a Rajput of Kaira town. Each of them held some land in Radhvanaj: the Khumarwad Koli, about 15 acres, the Barmuvada Koli, about 9 acres, the Pachrania Koli, about six acres, and the Kaira Rajput, about 25 acres. It is quite

obvious that these girasias living in other villages and towns could not cultivate the land granted to them in Radhvanaj. Each of them entered into an agreement with the headman and Matadars of Radhvanaj that the latter should get his land cultivated by tenants and pay a fixed amount as giras from the income of the village community. This procedure left room for a girasia to demand more money from the headman when he came to collect his due. His land was in fact only a symbol of his claim on the village. The four girasias collected Rs.45, Rs.12, Rs.10 and Rs.50 respectively. The British officials asked each girasia to collect the amount of his due as an allowance from the Government treasury. They declared his land as the property of the Government and gave it for cultivation to a tenant chosen by the Government. The girasia was free to be the tenant of the land he lost, but he paid the rent to the Government in the same way as any other tenant of the Government would pay. From 1812 the British officials thus began to give a total amount Rs.132 as giras allowances from their treasury.

The seven persons who began to receive kothali-santh allowances from the Government treasury from 1812 were (i) a Rajput of Kaira town, (ii) and (iii) two Muslims of the neighbouring village Sandhana, (iv) a Rajput of a nearby village Sokhada, (v) a Koli of Gothaj, a village about eight miles from Radhvanaj, (vi) a Bhat Bard of Hariala, a village about six miles from Radhvanaj, and (vii) a Brahman of Kaira town. Each of them held some land in Radhvanaj and used to collect his cash due from the income of the village. The

seven persons held in all about 24 acres of land and received in all about Rs.25½ in cash. The British declared the land of all but one of the seven persons as the property of the Government to be cultivated by the tenants of the Government, and asked them to collect their dues as fixed allowances from the treasury. The one exception was the Kaira Brahman, who retained his land as his private property and also received a cash allowance from the treasury. The Government thus began to give a total amount of Rs.25½ as kothali-santh allowances from the treasury from 1812.

The kothali-santh dues were so called because they were collected as santh (rent) from kothali (the money bag of the village community). The giras dues were also collected from the money bag of the village community, but they were not called kothali-santh. It seems to me that giras dues were given only to Kolis and Rajputs to recognize their power, whereas kothali-santh dues were given to any body including a Rajput or a Koli either to recognize power or to reward some service, although the British officials always associated both giras and kothali-santh with the lawlessness of Kolis and Rajputs.

It is also noteworthy that the giras dues collected during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century were different from the land held by the Rajput Grasiyas during the Rajput period. The Kolis called their dues as giras only in order to claim the same social and ritual status as that of the Rajputs, but they have never been successful in getting their claim to being called Grasiyas accepted.

Finally, it can be seen how the British were carrying their Pax Brittanica to the village level by fixing giras and kothali-santh allowances.

III: Encouragement to the Extension of Cultivation

Another objective of British policy in Central Gujarat, as elsewhere in India, was to increase the amount of revenue. They could not think of raising the rates of revenue at the beginning of their regime because that would make it unpopular. Economically the most beneficial and politically the least harmful way was to encourage the extension of cultivation. Ever since Diggle took charge of administration of Kaira District, every Collector encouraged the cultivation of virgin and waste land by leasing it at low rates of rent. Each Desai was made to enter into a written agreement with the Government in 1805 that he would encourage cultivation of land in the villages under his charge. Prabhoodas, the Desai in charge of Radhvanaj, had also entered into such an agreement.⁽¹⁰⁾ The records of Radhvanaj state that he invited Patidars from Run and other villages to settle in Radhvanaj and cultivate its waste land. One record remarks, "Prabhoodas made the village prosperous."

IV: Changes in the Revenue Management of Villages

Although the British decided not to increase the rates of revenue for many years, they realised two things very soon after, or perhaps even before, they assumed administration: (i) Many people in the society were not paying what they were expected to pay by their own customary rules, that is to say, a number of people were fully or partially exempted from the

payment of revenue. Obviously this depended upon what the Britishers considered to be just and unjust. We frequently find them making such remarks as 'fraudulent' and 'abusive' in their discussions of exemptions from revenue. (ii) A considerable portion of what the villagers paid for the Government was taken away by the intermediaries, Kamavisdars, Desais, Amins, revenue-contractors, headmen, etc.

We have already seen that the Kamavisdars ceased to be revenue-contractors. As regards Desais, for the first five or six years, for the sake ^{of} political expediency and administrative convenience, the British officials did not make any change in the functions of Desais but only supervised their actions. Walker instructed Diggle at the time of his appointment: "I am disposed to impute the success which has attended the realization of these revenues (i.e. during 1803-05) generally to the good understanding which has been maintained with the Guickwar Government, and to the employment of men, in the collections, of respectability and professing some influence, with a knowledge of the resources of the country. We owe something to these men, and so long as they are desirous of it, and are punctual in the performance of their duties, we should retain them in their present situations. This is no less requisite for the support of our political interests than for facilitating the recoverances of the revenue, and for maintaining a due consistency in our measures".⁽¹¹⁾ And Diggle also wrote after two years of his administration, "While it is judged necessary to continue the present system of settling the revenue, the

custom of thus ensuring the influence and services of the Ameens and Dessoys (officers are confounded in Gujarat, although constitutionally different) will always be useful, these officers being the natural channel of communication between the subjects and the Government. As local agents they are much respected and regarded by all classes of people. They also possess a general knowledge of the circumstances of the different villages of the districts they belong to, which when engaged on the side of Government is a great and one of the most material checks which we at present have to oppose to the frequent, false and unsubstantiated assertions and clamours of disaffected Patells who never fail at the settlement of every jummabundy to insist that they are over-assessed, and to do every thing in their power to obtain abatements.... It was found expedient to avail ourselves of the aid of this agency, and it was at the same time deemed prudent, by some means, to interest them, as forcibly as possible in the due discharge of the important concerns; which are attached to their situations." (2)

From 1810 or 1811, however, the British began to apply the policy of removing intermediaries and establishing direct relations with peasants, to introduce what they called the amani or 'direct' system of revenue management. This system was adopted in early settlements in Madras Presidency, and the Bombay officials had preferred it to the system of permanent settlement adopted in Bengal. As a first step towards the execution of this policy the

Collector of Kaira ceased to enter into revenue-contracts with the Desais of Nadiad, Matar and Mahudha parganas from 1810 or 1811, and began to enter into contracts directly with village headmen, employing the Desais as assistants in this task.⁽¹³⁾ In Radhvanaj also, from 1809 to 1827 revenue-contracts were given mostly to the headmen and sometimes to the headman and the other two Matadars together.

The British officials, however, soon discovered that the Desais, in collusion with village headmen, were not only not acting in the best interest of the Government but were also acting against it. The Collector wrote in July 1812, "Since the establishment of the Honourable Company's power, the policy of pursuing the system of farming, having become apparent, no less to our Honourable employers in England, than to the Government in this country, the improved plan of aumancee management has by its introduction, already brought to light many abuses and exposed those inconveniences which of long existence were not before so perceptible. These officers (the Desais), in some of our purgunnahs, consider themselves as independent of the Government, as possessing a separate interest in virtue of which they cause separate writing to be executed by the heads of villages for the amount of their fees and issue their own process for the recovery of these sums... The favour of the heads of villages is of much greater importance to the agent (i.e. Desai) than the favour of his superiors, for his emoluments depend on the former, while he being the principal channel of communication with the

latter, the fear of an unfavourable report, or the disclosure of any latent resources, rendered it the immediate interest of the villages to preserve his friendship and support." (14)

As soon as the British officials began to deal directly with village headmen they discovered that the power of a village headman rested on his ability to conceal his dealings with the villagers. There was nobody in the village who could inform the higher official of his activities in the village. There were village accountants but they were servants of the headman and not of the Government. The British officials did not know how much revenue each peasant was expected to pay, how much land he owned, how much he cultivated, what was the nature of the soil, what crops he grew, and what exemptions, if any, he got from the payment of revenue. Barnewall, the Assistant Collector, remarked, "The accounts, in the possession of this department, from the Patels, of the revenues of their villages, were in most cases framed in a way so complex and unsatisfactory as to be entitled to little or any confidence." (15)

The Government of Bombay therefore decided in 1814 to appoint village accountants or Talatis paid by the Government, and passed a Regulation to legalise their appointment. The Collector of Kaira stated his reactions to the decision in the following terms: "I am more than ever satisfied of the necessity of the office (of the Talati), for the malpractices in a village must be great, where the fear of detecting them is sufficient to induce an individual to device an employment

in other respect desirable. The general investigation which the subject of Indian Revenue has undergone before the highest authorities in England, and the publication of the Fifth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, comprising a review of the revenue system of Bengal and Madras, will be essentially beneficial in directing the views of the servants of this Presidency. The highly approved system reported on by Col. Munroe will be found generally to prevail in Gujarat. ... The notions now entertained by the most enlightened men on the subject of Indian Revenue have undergone so complete an alteration since the period of the administration of Marquis Cornwallis, and the first establishment of the permanent system, that even the original advocates of that measure no longer uphold it, and I must say, we may rest assured, that no measure of the kind is longer likely to be attempted in these Districts. The system at present approved is so consonant with what we find established in the country that to give it effect will have the appearance more of regulating what has always been than of introducing anything new." (16)

The Collector was very enthusiastic about the appointment of Talatis, not only because it would improve village administration but also because it satisfied his partisanship for the Munroe system. He entrusted the task to his assistant Barnewall.

Barnewall went first to Nadiad. The decision of the Government to appoint village accountants had led to a great deal of resentment among village headmen in Nadiad pargana.

The headmen of all the villages in the pargana, and of some villages in Mahudha pargana, held a meeting at Nadiad on 16th September 1815 and decided not to enter into usual revenue-contracts with the Government unless an assurance was given that the Talati Regulation should not be enforced and that no enquiry should be made into the state of revenue-free lands. The headman of Radhvanaj also did not enter into revenue-contract in 1815. The leaders of this move were two Desais of Nadiad and an Amin of Mahudha. All the people who had assembled at Nadiad had entered into a written agreement and taken oath to it. It was also decided that "whoever should meet the wishes of the Sircar would be considered as outcastes, nor should anyone give them his hookah." Emissaries were dispatched to Matar and Dholka to invite the village headmen and others of those parganas for cooperation. Barnewall promptly arrested the leaders, the two Desais and one Amin, and sent them to the Magistrate, and the latter imprisoned them. Barnewall was provided with a military party for his protection and for repression of any violence among the peasants.⁽¹⁷⁾

This episode shows, among other things, (i) how political activity took place on caste lines—the records show that most of the participants were Patidars, and the sanction of outcasting and stopping exchange of hookah were traditional caste sanctions, (ii) how influential were the Desais and Amins among village headmen, and (iii) how much was the vested interest of the Desais, Amins and village headmen in the system of revenue-contracts.

Barnewall went about appointing village accountants in one village after another. A village accountant was also appointed in Radhvanaj in 1816, and in that year the headman refused to enter into the revenue-contract, and consequently the revenue was collected directly by the Talati. The first Talati was a Brahman of Nadiad, then there was a Brahman of town Dakor, and in 1825 there was a Maharashtrian Brahman of town Borsad. The village accountants in most villages in Central Gujarat belonged to towns and literary castes, were transferrable from one village to another, and were paid fixed monthly salaries. That is to say, the village accountant was an outsider in the village; he was not very much involved in the network of social relationships in the village and did not take a permanent interest in it. It definitely led to a weakening of the headman's position and power. (18)

Along with the appointment of a village accountant, a Ravania or peon was appointed to assist him, and it seems he was also almost always a town-dweller like the Talati. The Ravania of the Talati of Radhvanaj in 1824 was a Muslim of Nadiad, and two other Ravanias who succeeded him were also Muslims of Nadiad. He was given an annual cash salary of Rs. 36 and 12 bighas of revenue-free land.

When Elphinstone became Governor of Bombay, the headman became a subject of controversy among the British officials, because Elphinstone included the village headmen in the aristocracy of the country, and was determined to maintain them in their social position. But he could not do

much. He could only give them a few police powers and maintain most of their traditional allowances.⁽¹⁹⁾

The Collector of Kaira made a change in the relation between the headman and other Matadars.⁽²⁰⁾ In Radhvanaj, for example, the emolument of Rs.65 was equally divided among the three Matadars before the coming of the British, but later on it was decided that the headman should get Rs.50 and the remaining Rs.15 should be divided equally among the other two Matadars. This practice continued upto 1824. The idea was to consider the headmen more important and more responsible than the others. But from 1825 to 1827 the headman received Rs.20 and the rest of the amount was divided equally among the two Matadars. This attempt to bring about status quo was made probably due to Elphinstone's policy.

THE KALAMBANDHI AND SURVEY RECORDS OF RADHVANAJI: The Survey of 1816 and Its Records

One of the first things Barnewall did after the appointment of village accountants was the initiation of a survey of villages in Nadiad pargana. He reported to the Collector soon after the survey: "..... an individual and separate settlement with each cultivator became necessary, to ascertain the true amount of his enjoyments and the rent he was equitable bound to contribute. The rental of the ryot being ascertained and completed, the next step was to attain a correct account of the lands actually in his possession. For the purpose a survey was undertaken, each field numbered, its name, with that of its confines, the quantity of land it was rated at, or estimated to contain, together with the name of its proprietor or cultivator, were all recorded."⁽¹⁾ The area of land was not measured but estimated. It was, as Barnewall stated, 'survey inspection' of land and not 'survey measurement.'⁽²⁾ The villagers tried to oppose and interrupt the survey, but "from the influences of European agency on the spot, such a spirit as well as the imprudent exercise of the power by the natives employed, was gradually and temporarily overcome and restrained, and in the course of six months the inspection of the lands in the pergunah was completed."⁽³⁾

The land registers prepared by the village accountants under Barnewall's supervision were each called Talati-no Namoono. I have however not yet found a single land register in the record offices I have so far visited.

Barnewall also tried to establish the grounds on which a peasant was partially or fully exempted from paying revenue. Each peasant was asked either to furnish a deed or to execute a penalty bond to prove his rights. Barnewall wrote in his report to the Collector, "From the extent of the alienated lands in this district, the patient examination and entry of the deeds, requisite to establish the title to the enjoyment of the produce of such tenures in the Tullatee's dufter, is a work of considerable labour to accomplish. Every practicable attention is, however, being given to this object, and the register is in a very forward state, and by due diligence will be completed in the whole of the ensuing year."⁽⁴⁾ I have not yet found any register mentioned in this statement.

II: Kalambandhi Records

Another record, which perhaps began to be prepared during Barnewall's survey, was called Kalambandhi. It was a record, under different heads, of the details of social organization in particular (kalam = pen, article, clause, item, head, heading). While the other two records were records of land, revenue and tenure, the Kalambandhi was a record of rules, regulations, customs and usages.

The Kalambandhi books were revised from time to time, sometimes at an interval of one year and sometimes more than one year. In a revised book, a few new kalams would be added, a few would be dropped, and in the case of a few others there would be changes in the details recorded under the same kalam. In any one year, however, the Kalambandhi

books of all the villages were supposed to be written according to the same general pattern. Actually I have found a manual containing instructions to be followed in preparing a Kalam-bandhi book. This does not however mean that the Kalambandhi of each village included all the kalams mentioned in the manual. Unfortunately the earliest Kalambandhis seem to have been lost. Among the Kalambandhis found in the record offices in Kaira District at the present time, the earliest series belongs to the year 1819-20.

I have not been able to find the earliest Kalambandhi of Radhvanaj. Its earliest available Kalambandhi is dated Samvat 1879, A.D. 1823-24. It starts with Kalam No. 5 and ends with Kalam No. 23. The nineteen Kalams are as follows:

Kalam 5: A table showing, for the current and the previous year, the total area of cultivated and uncultivated land under each tenure, the total amount of revenue assessed, realised and lost from land under each tenure, the total amount of income to the Government from other sources, the differences between the two years, and the reasons for the differences.

Kalam 6: A table showing the names of various village officials and servants, and their emoluments in cash and kind.

Kalam 7: A statement about the gross and net amounts of revenue realised from the village in the current and the previous year, the name of the revenue contractor, and other details about the contract.

Kalam 8: Revenue rates for each tenure of land and for each caste.

Kalam 9: Rules governing Wanta and Talpad tenures and their sub-tenures.

Kalam 10: A statement about the history, area, cultivation,

etc. of the Wanta lands in the village, and the names of leading Wanta-holders.

Kalam 11: A table showing the area of cultivated and uncultivated land of each soil-type and tenure, and the assessed, realised and lost revenue from lands of each category.

Kalam 12: Rules governing services provided by important artisan and servicing castes in the village.

Kalam 13: Names of receivers of giras allowances, names of their native villages, and the amount of giras allowance received by each.

Kalam 14: A Table showing, for the current and the previous year, the expenses incurred by the Government for the village community, and a statement explaining the reasons for the differences between the two years.

Kalam 15: A table of population census showing, for each caste, the total number of households, the total population, the number of men and women of four age-groups, and the total number of ploughs kept by the members of the caste.

Kalam 16: A statement regarding unauthorized occupants of land.

Kalam 17: The name and the conditions of work of the village Pagi, the tracker of foot prints of thieves.

Kalam 18: A sketch map of the village-site, showing wards and streets, and a statement of its boundaries.

Kalam 19: A brief statement concerning bride-price, dowry, expenses at wedding and mortuary ceremonies, remarriage of widows and divorced women, rules of inheritance, etc. for each caste in the village.

Kalam 20: Accounts and vouchers. (This is only the heading of the Kalam. The accounts and vouchers were not a part of the Kalambahdhi book).

Kalam 21: Names of persons holding land under Wanta tenures, the area of land held by each, and the amount of assessed,

realised and lost revenue from each's land.

Kalam 22: Names of receivers of religious allownaces, names of their native places, and the amount of each's allowance.

Kalam 23 : Names of receivers of kothali-santh allowances, names of their native places, and the amount of each's allowance.

It is noteworthy that seferal Kalams in this Kalambandhi book provided data about two years, 1822-23 and 1823-24. The next available Kalambandhi book of Radhvanaj is dated Samvat 1882, A.D.1825-26. It begins with Kalam 8, ends with Kalam 22, and excludes Kalams 16 and 21. Out of the thirteen Kalams, the Kalams 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17 and 18 correspond very closely to the Kalams 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, and 17 respectively of the Kalambandhi of 1824, but the information given under the former is less detailed than the information given under the latter. Among the remaining four Kalams, the Kalams 20 and 22 did not apply to Radhvanaj, and therefore only the headings were mentioned. The Kalam 12 was concerned with the area of land of various physical types and with the crops grown in the village, and the Kalam 19 with the boundaries of the administrative village.

Besides the Kalambandhi books for every individual village, we also find books based on the classification of Kalambandhi books of all the villages in a pargana. Each book of this kind contains the transcription of information recorded under a single kalam in the Kalambandhi books of all the villages in a pargana in a single year. Each of these books provides a comparative view of a single aspect of village life for all the villages in a pargana in a single

year. We get, for instance, the information about the artisan and servicing castes in all the villages of a pargana collected in a single book. Similarly we get the censuses of all the villages tabulated in a single book. For any one year there are as many books as there are kalams recorded in the Kalambandhi books of that year. If the Kalambandhi book of an individual village is missing, one can easily reconstruct it on the basis of these classified books.

Although I have not found the Kalambandhi book of Radhvanaj for 1826-27, I have found the transcriptions of Kalams 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 & 18, in the classified books of that year. Out of the nine Kalams, the Kalams 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14 & 18 correspond very closely to the Kalams 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13 & 17 respectively of the book of 1823-24, and the Kalam 12 corresponds very closely to the Kalam 12 of the book of 1825-26. The information given under the Kalams of this year is more detailed than the information given under the corresponding Kalams of the previous years. The Kalam 15, new for the book of 1826-27, deals with the revenue history of the village from the time of the Gaekwad rule to the year of the book.

III: The Survey of 1825 and Its Records

Barnewall's survey, as already mentioned, estimated and not measured the area of land. A more accurate survey was therefore initiated in Kaira District in 1820. It was a part of what was called Revenue and Topographical Survey of Gujarat, carried out under the general superintendence of Captain Cruikshank, with his headquarters at Broach. The Nadiad

pargana was surveyed in 1825 by Captain Ovens, assisted by Lieutenant Keys. They surveyed Radhvanaj in May 1825 with the help of several Gujarati assistants.

The results of the survey were written down in Gujarati in bulky books called Jarif-no Chopdo (= Survey Book), and such a book for Radhvanaj is found in the record office in Matar. The major part of this book, as that of the Survey Book of any other village, is what I will call the Land Register. The survey data about each field is tabulated in eleven columns as follows: (1) number of the field, (2) number of the field in Talati-no Namoono, (3) area of the field according to the survey, (4) area according to Talati-no Namoono, (5) name of the field and the numbers or names of the fields on its boundaries, (6) type of soil and the area of the field in round number, (7) name of the owner, (8) whether cultivated by the owner himself or by a tenant, and the tenant's name, if cultivated by a tenant, (9) whether cultivated or not during the survey year, and if cultivated, the crops grown and the yield of each crop, (10) trees on the field, (11) remarks about irrigation, the usual yield of crops, ownership disputes, etc.

The second major part of the Survey Book is what I will call the Census Register. The census data about each household is tabulated in fifteen columns with the following heads: (1) serial number of the household, (2) name of the head of the household, (3) houses and huts, (4) men, (5) women, (6) servants and slaves, (7) total number of persons, (8) bullocks and male calves, (9) cows and female calves, (10) female buffaloes and calves, (11) horses and colts, (12) goats and sheeps, (13) carts

and carriages, (14) ploughs, (15) pukka wells in good condition. The names of the heads of households are listed according to caste and religious group, and a table at the end of the Register shows the totals of the various columns for each caste and religious group, and another table shows the classification of houses and huts according to building materials.

In addition to the Land Register and the Census Register, there are the following eleven statements and tables very similar to the Kalams of the Kalambandhi books:

- (1) A table showing the number of births, deaths and marriages during five years preceding the survey year.
- (2) A list of wells, showing for each well, the name of the owner, whether the well was built with bricks and whether equipped with irrigation devices, an estimate of the amount of water in the well, and an estimate of the cost of repair and/or constructing irrigation devices.
- (3) A table showing the total area of cultivated and uncultivated land of each soil-type, the total area of cultivated and uncultivated land under each tenure, the amount of assessed, realised and lost revenue from each category of land, and the amount of income from taxes and cesses other than land revenue.
- (4) A statement of rules, including the rates of revenue, for different land tenures.
- (5) A statement of the rates of taxes and cesses other than land tax, and of hereditary dues and fines.
- (6) A statement of the sources of miscellaneous income to the government, such as income from trees and manure, and from licences for selling opium.
- (7) A balance-sheet of village accounts.

- (8) A table of current prices of various grains.
- (9) A brief account of the revenue administration of the village, year by year, from the date the village came under British administration to the survey year.
- (10) A statement regarding the boundary disputes between villages settled by the surveyors.
- (11) Statements about the survey itself, such as, the names of the members of the survey staff, their wages, other expenses of the survey, and the method of land measurement.

In addition to preparing the Survey Book in Gujarati, the surveyors also wrote remarks in English about every village. I saw two bulky volumes of such remarks among the archives in the Bombay Secretariat Record Office.⁽⁵⁾ The remarks refer to the general economic condition of the village, the general nature of agriculture, the condition of wells, bunds and canals, a history of the village, immigration and emigration, boundary disputes between villages, headmanship disputes, and the character and social status of the headman, big landlords and other village leaders. I did not however find the volume containing remarks about Radhvanaj.

Captain Cruikshank wrote general reports on the different parganas of the District on the basis of the above-mentioned remarks on villages. The reports on a few parganas are published in two volumes, Selections from the Records of the Government of Bombay, No.X and XI. The unpublished reports are found among the archives in the Bombay Secretariat Record Office.⁽⁶⁾

Cruikshank mentions in his reports that the surveyors prepared a map of each village, and of each pargana on the

basis of village maps. Bishop Heber, who visited Gujarat while the survey was going on, had seen these maps and commented on their accuracy.⁽⁷⁾ Governor Malcolm also thought highly of them.⁽⁸⁾ I have, however, not yet been able to locate these maps in any record office. I have therefore reconstructed a map of Radhvanaj (see Map —) by collating the 1825 Land Register with the later land registers and maps. I have given an idea of the later records in my general paper "Early Nineteenth Century Village Records in Gujarat."⁽⁹⁾

iv: To Recapitulate

I have the Census and the Land Registers of 1825, the Kalambandhi books of 1823-24, 1825-26 and 1826-27, and statements and tables for 1824-25 comparable to the Kalams of the Kalambandhi books. As the Kalambandhi of 1823-24 provides considerable data about the preceding year, I have an atmost unbroken series of data about Radhvanaj for five years from 1822-23 to 1826-27. In addition, these records provide some data about the previous years going back to 1802-03.

Chapter VI

CASTE, KINSHIP AND RESIDENTIAL GROUPS IN RADHVANAJ

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, the population census of Radhvanaj was taken once in 1823 and again in 1825, but the latter census was more detailed and accurate than the former. This chapter is concerned mainly with the analysis of the Census Register of 1825.

I: Emigration and Immigration

According to this Census Register, Radhvanaj had a total population of 720 persons divided into 157 households. It may be recalled that very soon after the British took over administration in 1803 the Desais of Nadiad had tried to increase the prosperity of the village by inviting cultivators from other villages to settle in Radhvanaj. This had resulted in a considerable increase in the population of the village. On the other hand, the Kalambandhi of 1823-24 shows that about half a dozen families had left the village during 1822-23, and the Census Register of 1825 shows that one family had left the village during 1824-25. A few families also seem to have come to reside in the village between 1823 and 1825. Migration of population encouraged or discouraged by the revenue policy of the officials of the State was not a new thing introduced by the British. It is also well-known that migration used to take place due to natural calamities such as famine, flood or epidemic. What seems to have been ignored is the fact that migration used to take place even in normal circumstances due to the operation of various demographic and social factors.

II: Caste Groups

The population data provided by the Census Register of 1825 is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Classification of Population of Radhvanaj in 1825

No.:	Caste name :in Gujarati :	Caste name :used in the :monograph :	House-: holds :	Popu-: lation:	Men: :	Women: :	Servants :
i :	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii
1	Bharwad	Bharwad Shepherd	2	14	7	7	-
2	Bhoi	Bhoi	1	8	3	5	-
3	Brahman (Baj Khedawal)	Brahman	13	64	28	36	-
4	Chamadiya	Leather- worker	7	29	20	9	-
5	Charan, alias Gadhvi	Charan Bard	2	8	4	4	-
6	Darji (Marwadi)	Tailor	1	3	1	2	-
7	Dhed	Dhed	3	14	10	4	-
8	Jogi, alias Ravaliya	Jogi	3	14	4	10	-
9	Kanbi (Leva)	Patidar	32	130	73	57	3
10	Koli (Pardeshi)	Pardeshi Koli	19	78	42	36	-
11	Koli (Talapada)	Talapada Koli	18	75	35	40	-
12	Kumbhar (Gujar)	Potter	3	13	6	7	-
13	Luhar (Gujar)	Blacksmith	1	2	2	0	-
14	Mochi	Shoemaker	1	2	2	2	-
15	Molesalam Rajput	Molesalam	8	40	17	23	1
16	Rabari	Rabari Shepherd	1	7	3	4	-
17	Rajput	Rajput	26	139	64	75	2
18	Senwa	Senwa	4	12	7	5	-
19	Sipai	Sepoy	5	17	8	9	-
20	Suthar (Gujar)	Carpenter	1	7	4	3	-

i :	ii	:	iii	:	iv	:	v	:	vi	:	vii	:	viii
21	Valand (Limbachia)	:	Barber	:	3	:	24	:	12	:	12	:	-
22	Vania (Mevada Jain)	:	Bania	:	2	:	10	:	4	:	6	:	-
23	Veragi	:	Rama Priest	:	1	:	1	:	1	:	0	:	-
-	Chakar & Lunda	:	Servant	:	-	:	6	:	6	:	-	:	-
24	Gosai	:	Shiva Priest	:	1	:	1	:	1	:	-	:	-
25	Dhadi, alias Mir	:	Muslim Mendicant	:	1	:	1	:	1	:	-	:	-
Total					159	:	722	:	360	:	356	:	6

Out of the total population of 722, there were 662 Hindus and 58 Muslims. The Hindus were divided into twenty-one castes. The Muslims were divided into two groups named Sipai (lit., soldier; Anglicised, sepoy) and Molesalam Rajput. The Sipais were mercenary soldiers during the Muslim rule, but at the beginning of the British rule most of those living in villages were cultivators. They were Hindus converted into Muslims, but it is not known from which Hindu castes they were converted. The Molesalam Rajputs were converted from the Hindu Rajputs (melesalam = servant of Islam), but we shall soon see that the internal structure of their caste had remained in many ways similar to that of the Hindu Rajputs. For this reason as well as for the sake of convenience, I list the Molesalam Rajputs and the Sipais as two more castes in the village.

Six persons were entered in the column 'servants' in the Census Register. The Gujarati words used are chakar and lundan. The former meant an agricultural labourer employed on a long term basis, and the latter meant domestic servants of various kinds. As the servants were not classified according to caste and sex, it is possible that some of the

domestic servants, particularly the three servants employed by the Hindu and Molesalam Rajputs were hijadas (eunuchs) or khavasas (men of mixed parentage).⁽¹⁾ I have shown the servants in a separate column in Table 1 as in the Census Register, and also placed them at the end in the list of castes so that their population can be distinguished from that of the castes of their masters.

Sources other than the Census Register show that two mendicants, a Gosai and a Dhadi had their permanent dwellings in Radhvanaj, but they were not included in the Register most presumably because the Gosai had his dwelling adjoining a shrine a little away from the village site and the Dhadi was wandering about in other villages most of the time. I have included both of them in the list of castes in Table 1.

A few remarks on the Gujarati names of the castes and the names generally used in the monograph will provide an introduction to the castes. The names of the following castes were etymologically also the names of their traditional callings: Chamadiya = Leather-worker, Darji = Tailor, Kumbhar = Potter, Luhar = Blacksmith, Mochi = Shoemaker, Suthar = Carpenter, and Valand = Barber. When the English equivalents of any of these caste-names is used with the first letter as capital it refers to the caste, and when used without a capital letter it refers to the occupation. Vania and Sipai were also occupation-names: Vania = Trader, Sipai = Soldier. I have, however, preferred to use their well-known Anglicised forms, Bania and Sepoy respectively. The etymology of Bharwad and Rabari is not yet known with certainty, but the well established meaning of both is 'shepherd'. The two castes could be classed among

about half a dozen shepherd castes in Gujarat, and it is convenient to refer to them as Bharwad Shepherd and Rabari Shepherd. In the same way, Charans could be classed among about eighteen bardic castes in Gujarat, and are referred to in the monograph as Charan Bards. Etymologically, Jogi (Sansk., yogi) means an ascetic, and the caste name seems to be a result of the existence of a large number of sorcerers, mendicants and beggars in the caste. Another name for the Jogis was Ravaliya, derived from the royal title Raval, which probably indicates the Jogis' claim to belong to the Kshatriya varna. For reasons I shall explain in the next chapter, I will not use any English equivalent for Jogi or Ravaliya.

It has been mentioned that Kanbi was the ancient name of the traditional peasant caste of Gujarat, and only the narwadar Kanbis were called Patidars. The Census Register of Radhvanaj also mentions only Kanbis because there were no narwadars in Radhvanaj. However, as the entire caste is now known as Patidar, and as the name has become current in recent sociological and anthropological literature, I have preferred to use it in the monograph.

The Kolis in Radhvanaj, as in many other villages in Central Gujarat, were divided into two 'sub-castes', Talapada (lit., indigenous) and Pardeshi (lit., foreigner) or Patanwadiya (lit., belonging to Patanwad, the region around Patan). The two sub-castes were known by these names because the Talapadas were indigenous to Central Gujarat whereas the Pardeshis or Patanwadiyas were immigrants from the Patan area in North Gujarat. It seems some, if not all, of the Patanwadiyas in Radhvanaj had immigrated after the beginning of

the British rule. Neither is the etymology of 'Koli' known nor have the Kolis followed any single occupation. I consider the Kolis a group demanding special consideration, and shall therefore use the name as it is.

Rhois, Dheds and Senwas practised several occupations. Rhois were water-carriers, palanquin-bearers, fishers, menial workers and labourers. Dheds were weavers of coarse cotton cloth, quite different from the Salvis, weavers of fine cotton and silk cloth, resident in towns. Senwas made ropes, mats and brooms, and worked as messengers, labourers and menials. I will not transliterate these caste names. Dheds and Senwas, as also Leather-workers and Shoemakers mentioned earlier, were Untouchable castes.

Brahman and Rajput are too well-known categories to need transliteration. Molesalam Rajputs were, as already explained, partly Rajput (Hindu) and partly Muslim. They will be referred to briefly as Molesalams.

Veragis (Sansk., vairagin = one who is disinterested in the world) were priests in Rama temples. They belonged to the Ramanandi sect devoted to the worship of Rama. Gosais (Sansk., goswamin = lord of cows) were priests in Shiva temples and formed a sect known by the same name. I will refer to Veragis and Gosais as Rama Priests and Shiva Priests respectively. Dhadis were partly Hindu and partly Muslim Mendicants, and will be referred to as Muslim Mendicants.

I have reserved the discussion of the problem of relation between caste and occupation for a later chapter. It is

however clear from the discussion of caste-names that a single caste could practise several occupations, and a single occupation could be practised by several castes.

I have mentioned in Table 1 the names of the 'sub-castes' to which the Brahmans, Darjis, Kanbis, Kumbhars, Luhars, Suthars, Valands and Vantias of Radhvanaj belonged, but it should be noted that I have used the term 'sub-caste' only for the sake of convenience. 'Caste' and 'sub-caste' are relative terms. There were named endogamous units within most of the 'sub-castes' mentioned here, and some groups I have called 'castes' claimed to belong to named groups of higher status. It is not only awkward to use such words as sub-sub-caste and sub-sub-sub-caste, but such usage would also mean false conceptualisation of the 'caste system'. I doubt the validity of even the usual anthropological and sociological convention of considering every caste name as the name of a group. The discussion of this problem is however outside the scope of this monograph.

The Rajputs with a population of 139 ^{were} ~~was~~ the largest caste in the village, and the Patidars with a population of 130 were next to them, but the latter had more households (32) than the former (26). The Pardeshi Kolis (popu. 78, households 19) and the Talapada Kolis (popu. 75, households 18), considered separately, had less population as well as less households than the Rajputs and the Patidars had, but the two Koli sub-castes together formed the largest single caste group in the village, forming 21.2 per cent of the total population of the village. The Brahmans with 13

households and 64 persons and the Molesalams with 8 households and 40 persons were sizeable castes. The remaining twenty castes had each seven or less than seven households, and nine out of these twenty castes had each only one household. I will consider the Hindu and Molesalam Rajputs, the Talapada and Pardeshi Kolis, the Brahmans and the Patidars, as 'major castes', and the others as 'minor castes', not only because the former had each more than eight households but also for other reasons to be made clear in the course of further analysis.

It should be noted that the various caste groups in the village are called 'castes' for the sake of convenience. There were castes the entire population of each of which was confined to a single large town, but the population of most castes was distributed in many different villages and towns. What was found in any one village was only a section of the total population of a caste. In the case of some castes, as we have just now seen, the caste section in a village was as small as composed of a single household, and in the case of some others it was composed of a fairly large number of households. The significance of the numerical size of a caste section in a village will become apparent as we proceed with the analysis.

It would be useful to make a distinction between domicile and residence regarding village population. When a family migrated from one village to another village, for some time at least it remained domiciled in the original village. I shall mention in this and other chapters a number of cases in which a household resided in one village but was domiciled in another village, but here I want to refer to castes all of

whose members remained domiciled in towns, although some resided in villages. The records of Radhvanaj mention specifically that the Banias resident in the village belonged to the neighbouring town Vaso and that they always performed their weddings there. The Tailors were also domiciled in a town and performed their weddings there. I may add, on the basis of my knowledge of these castes at the present time, that they also performed all other ceremonies in towns and went to the town to celebrate their festivals. They had their permanent household establishment in the town and for a considerable part of the year their women lived in the village. Both the Bania and the Tailor were, to use the expression of the village records, uparvadiyas (lit., on the other side of the boundary, i.e. outsiders). These were only two of a large number of castes in Gujarat who had their moorings in town culture and society. I shall discuss this question further in a later chapter.

The records do not contain much information about the ritual status of castes in the village. It is however possible to group certain castes under certain categories on the basis of knowledge gained from early ethnographic literature and from oral traditions of the people. First of all, we distinguish between the Hindu and the Muslim or semi-Muslim castes. Molesalam, Sepoy and Dhadi belonged to the latter category. Among the Hindu castes, Brahman, Bania, Patidar and Rajput were called the shahukar (lit., moneylender, creditworthy, respectable) castes, because they were the most highly Sanskritized and the most wealthy castes in Gujarat. They were also called unchi or 'high' castes. They were arranged

in a hierarchy in the following descending order: Brahman, Bania, Patidar, Rajput. In the context of the varna system, the positions of the Brahman, Bania and Rajput were clear: Brahmans belonged to the Brahman varna, Banias to the Vaishya varna, and Rajputs to the Kshatriya varna. It is however noteworthy that the Banias who belonged to a varna lower than that of the Rajputs', were ranked higher than the Rajputs in the local ritual hierarchy. This was clearly a reflection of the crucial role of trade and commerce in the economic system of Gujarat, Saurashtra and Kutch, and the thoroughgoing Sanskritization undergone by the Banias over centuries.

The position of the Patidars in the varna hierarchy was rather ambivalent. According to the theory of castes laid down in the Hindu scriptures, agriculture, trade, and pastoral pursuits were to be exploited by the Vaishya.⁽²⁾ In Dalpatram's Jnati Nibandh or Essay on Caste written in 1851⁽³⁾ and in Forbes's Rasmala written in 1887⁽⁴⁾ the Patidars were classed among Vaishyas according to the scriptures, because they practised agriculture. Another prominent writer of that time, Narmada-shanker,⁽⁵⁾ described them as Shudras. The Vahivancha Barots of the Patidars, however, faithfully recorded the Patidars' own claim of being Kshatriyas. Dalpatram also referred to this claim, but he obviously did not accept it. The Patidars claimed that the Levas and Kadvas, their two divisions, were the descendants of Lava and Kusha respectively, the two sons of the epic hero Rama. The Bards' books explained the Patidars' descent from a warrior to a cultivator caste by the myth that Lava and Kusha were cursed by their mother Sita to become cultivators. The books then describe a long account of the

migration of the Patidars from Ayodhya to Central Gujarat. The Patidars argued that they were Kshatriyas because they, i.e. the Patidar Desais, Amins, narwadars, etc., had political power like the Rajputs. They had adopted several Rajput customs. The lesser Patidars or Kanbis living in small villages like Radhvanaj had followed the powerful Patidars in claiming to be Kshatriyas. They were also not taking food and water from the Rajputs. Whatever be the position of the Patidars vis a vis the Rajputs in the varna hierarchy, they were higher than the Rajputs in the local ritual hierarchy.

Rama Priests and Shiva Priests were sectarian castes. Each of them had two kinds of members, the sansaris, i.e., those who were married and lived in families, and the sadhus, i.e., those who lived alone as celibates. The celibates were recruited from several different castes by rituals of initiation. I do not know how the samsaris were recruited, with whom they married, and what were their relations with the sadhus.

Shoemakers, Leather-workers, Dheds and Senwas were Untouchable castes, themselves arranged in a hierarchy in the descending order in which they are mentioned.

An important category of castes was vasvaya. Literally it meant a caste brought to settle in a village to provide a certain service to the village community. It is not possible to make an agreed list of vasvaya castes either for the past

or for the present time. I shall consider the following as vasvaya castes: Carpenter, Blacksmith, Barber, Potter, Tailor, Charan Bard, Bharwad Shepherd, Rabari Shepherd, Rama Priest, Shiva Priest, Muslim Mendicant, Bhoi, Jogi, Shoemaker, Leather-workers, Dhed and Senwa. That is to say, seventeen out of the nineteen minor castes were vasvaya. The remaining two minor castes, Bania and Sepoy, and the six major castes were non-vasvaya. It is noteworthy that the Kolis were classed neither among the shahukar nor among the vasavaya castes, but they claimed to belong to the Kshatriya varna.⁽⁶⁾

III: Household Groups

As the Census Register provides details only about the numerical and sex composition of households, it is not possible to say much about the kinship composition of households in 1825. A few significant points however emerge from the analysis of the available data.

The average size of a household in the village was 4.54 members (excluding servants). The classification of households on the basis of the number of members in a household (excluding servants) is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Classification of Households in Radhvanaj according to Numerical Size

Category	: Number of members : in a household	: Number of such households
Very small	1	13
	2	17
	3	27
		<u>57</u>
Small	4	25
	5	34
		<u>59</u>
Large	6	16
	7	15
		<u>31</u>
Very large	8	2
	9	4
	10	3
	11	1
	12	2
		<u>112</u>
Total		<u>159</u>

The households composed of 4 or 5 members may be considered small, those composed of 1 to 3 members, very small, those composed of 6 or 7 members, large, and those composed of 8 to 12 members, very large. 116 out of 159 households, nearly 73 per cent of the total, were 'small' and 'very small', and the proportion of 'small' and 'very small' was almost equal. On the other hand, there were only twelve 'very large' households. The widely prevalent belief among both sociologists and historians, that Indians lived in very large households in the past is, to say the least, very doubtful.

As regards kinship composition itself, it is safe to assume—i.e. it is not necessary to cite any definite historical

source to prove—that patrilineal descent and virilocal or patrilocat residence were the basic principles of kinship system among almost every caste in Gujarat. It is also safe to assume that joint family households were a social ideal. We have however to investigate how far was the ideal practised in reality.

Four out of the 159 households in Radhvanaj were each composed only of one woman, a widow; one was composed of two women, most presumably a widow and her unmarried daughter; one was composed of three women, most presumably a widow and her two unmarried daughters; and one was composed of a widow and her one unmarried son and one unmarried daughter. There were thus seven households each either composed of a widow or headed by a widow.

All the remaining 152 households were each either composed of a single adult man or headed by an adult man. Nine of these households were each composed of one man. Three of these nine were composed of a Rama Priest, a Shiva Priest and a Muslim Mendicant, who, on account of their religious position, were supposed to remain celibate and not to enter the life of a householder. Among the remaining six, three were each composed of a Patidar, two each of a Koli, and one of a Senwa. Furthermore, four households, three among Patidars and one of the Blacksmith's, were each composed of two men, most presumably a widower and his unmarried son or two unmarried brothers. There were thus thirteen households composed only of men. There were two main reasons for such household composition. Firstly, such a household was

composed of a widower or a bachelor, or of a widower father and a bachelor son, or of two unmarried or widower brothers. Secondly the man or men in the household might have migrated to Radhvanaj leaving their wife, children, parents, etc. behind in their original village. It has already been noted that a number of Patidars had come to settle in Radhvanaj by the invitation of the Desai of Nadiad, which seems to be the main reason why there were as many as six households composed only of men among the Patidars.

Among the remaining 139 households each composed of members of both sexes and headed by an adult man, twelve households were each composed of one man and one woman, mostly a husband and his wife or a widower father and his unmarried daughter. The households were distributed almost evenly among all the castes in the village. Twelve households were each composed of an adult man and two women, the latter being most presumably the former's wife and an unmarried daughter, or his wife and his widow mother. Twenty-four households were each composed of one woman and two or more men; a majority of them must be composed of an adult man, his wife and one or more unmarried sons. Twelve households were each composed of one man and three or more women; a large number of them must be composed of an adult man, his wife and unmarried daughters.

The point I want to make is that a very large majority of the 80 households (52.28% of the total) I have considered above were each composed of either a complete elementary

family (i.e. a man, his wife and unmarried children) or an incomplete elementary family. A considerable proportion of the remaining 79 households, composed of two or more men and two or more women, must also be complete elementary families with a larger number of unmarried children of both sexes. My own estimate is that there were not more than 60 joint family households (i.e. nearly $\frac{1}{3}$ of the total) in 1825. All this goes to show that the widely prevalent idea, among both sociologists and historians, that all Indians in the past lived in joint family households is, to say the least, very doubtful.

What was the composition of these joint family households? Let us assume that the ideal model of the joint family was either a group composed of a man, his wife and two or more married sons and their wives and unmarried children, or a group composed of two or more brothers and their wives and unmarried children living together after the death of their (the brothers') parents. The common element in the two types was the co-residence of two or more married brothers during or after their father's lifetime. If we take the elementary family as one extreme and the ideal joint family of these two types as the other extreme, it is possible to conceive of a number of types of joint family in between these two extremes. Two most important of these types, which we may term 'incomplete joint families', were: (i) the joint family composed of a man (Ego), his wife, and one or both of his parents, with or without Ego's unmarried children, and with or without Ego's unmarried brother(s) and/or sister(s), and (ii) the joint family composed of a man (Ego), his wife, with or without

unmarried children, plus Ego's unmarried brother(s) and/or sister(s). An incomplete joint family of the first type would come into existence due to three main factors: (i) the parents might have only one son, (ii) the parents might have more than one son, but only one of them was married and he stayed with them, and (iii) the parents might have more than one married son, but only one of them lived with the parents, while the other married son(s) lived in separate household(s). The households of the second type of incomplete joint family would come into existence generally when both the parents died leaving one married son and other unmarried children. The point I want to make is that a large proportion of the estimated 60 joint family households in Radhvanaj must have belonged to the two types mentioned above. My estimate is that the households of the ideal type formed between 15 and 20 per cent of the total number of joint family households in the village.

The low proportion of the households of the ideal type is confirmed by the higher incidence of what may be called the negative instances. In a positive instance, all the members of a male sibling group would live in the same household; in a negative instance, some or all of the members of a male sibling group would live in separate households. The Census Register records sixteen dispersed male sibling units, fourteen each of two brothers, one of three brothers, and one of four brothers, in all thirty-five brothers. It is not possible to know for all these cases whether the brothers of a fraternal unit were living in separate households during or after the lifetime of parents. As against sixteen dispersed fraternal units, there

was no case of the only married son of his parents living separately from his parents.

All I want to point out is that the widely prevalent assumption that all joint families in the past included two or more married brothers is, to say the least, very doubtful.

The existence of dispersed male sibling groups raises a terminological problem. If two or more brothers live in the same household, they are said to constitute a joint family household, or briefly, joint household. The residence of brothers in separate households, however, did not mean that they were separated in every other respect. We shall see a considerable number of cases in which brothers lived in separate households but continued to own and manage property jointly. And even if the property was divided, they must be bound by ritual and ceremonial ties and by other customary rights and duties. To describe such dispersed male sibling groups I will use such terms as 'joint property unit,' and 'joint ritual unit,' and consider all such joint activities as forming part of 'joint family system.' When joint activities are found to occur between patrilineal relatives beyond those related by brotherhood, I will consider those activities as lineage activities.

IV: Descent Groups

As regards the nine castes with only one household in the village, namely Bhoi, Tailor, Blacksmith, Shoemaker, Carpenter, Rabari Shepherd, Rama Priest, Shiva Priest and Muslim Mendicant, there is no question of kinship relations

between households of the same caste within the village. It should however be noted that the non-existence of kinsman in the village does not mean absolute non-existence of kinsman. As regards castes composed of more than one household, the bardic genealogies and government records provide information about kinship relations among households in a caste. It should be noted that the sources provide information only about agnatic relationship between male heads of households and dead husbands of widow heads.

It has already been noted that the Rajputs were divided into exogamous patrilineal clans and that each clan was dispersed in a number of villages. Out of twenty-six Rajput households in Radhvanaj, twenty belonged to the Rathod clan, four to the Parmar, and two to the Solanki. I do not have any genealogies of the Parmars and the Solankis, as they have not left any descendants in the village. However, it is quite clear that other members of their clans and lineages must be living in other villages.

One Rathod domiciled in Radhvanaj was residing in 1825 in a village about ten miles from Radhvanaj. He had left the village only a little before the survey of 1825, and owned considerable land and a house in Radhvanaj. The Census Register therefore shows him in the list of Rajputs in the village. As he was an active member of the Rathod lineage in the village, I shall consider him as one more member of the lineage.

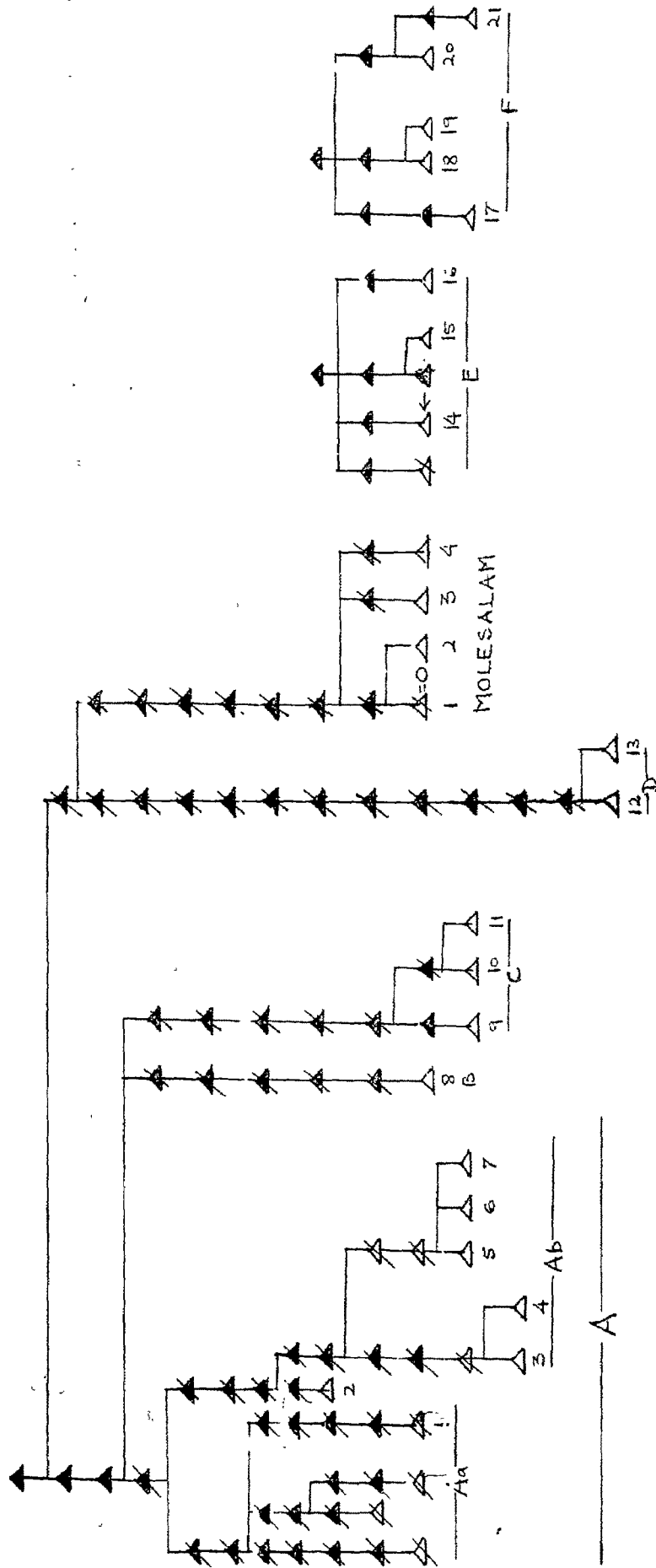
The twenty-one Rathod households formed a single lineage group believed to have descended from Jagdev, the Rathod chief

mentioned in the thirteenth century epigraph. The Vahivancha Bard of the Rathods has a book of the genealogies of the Rathods, which he allowed us to copy and analyse. I have presented in Genealogical Chart 1 the genealogical relations among the Rathod households in 1825 as shown by the Bard's book. The twenty-one households were divided into six lineage segments, indicated as A, B, C, D, E and F in the chart. At the present moment all the Rathods in Radhvanaj believe that they are descendants of a single ancestor, and consider the Rathods living in Nepad and Demi, about twenty miles from Radhvanaj, as two distinct lineage groups descended from two other ancestors. The three lineages have a common Bard and a single book of genealogies and myths. This book records a myth that the original ancestors of the three lineages descended from a single ancestor. Moreover, the Rathods of the three lineages themselves always stress that they should not intermarry, and certainly no such marriage has ever taken place. That is to say, the Rathod clan is an exogamous unit, and the exogamy is supported, in Malinowski's words, by a 'mythical charter.' The Rathods of the three villages have practically no active social relations at the present time, but the Barot records show that the Rathods of the three villages had come together for a common dispute against a Vahivancha Bard, which suggests that there must be more active relations during the early nineteenth century, though much less than in the thirteenth century.

I have so far stuck to the conventional anthropological definition of patrilineal clan that it is a patrilineal

88.

Genealogical chart 1: Hindu and Molesalam Rethod Poppul: of Radhuvany



- △ Head of Household in 1825 A.D.
- △ Died a little before 1825
- ▲ Died long before 1825
- A, B, etc. Number of Hindu Rethod
- Lineage Segment
- 1, 2, etc. Number of Household

group composed of two or more lineages the genealogical links between which are fictional or mythical. This does not however mean that all the genealogical links within the Radhvanaj lineage of the Rathods were real, or if real, were correctly and unambiguously recorded. I have been able to discover genealogical links only between Segments A, B, C and D, and none between Segments E and F and between them and A, B, C and D. The links shown between A, B, C and D also do not seem to be true—the Bard's book is a very complex document, and I do not claim to have understood it perfectly—but the facts to be noted are, firstly, the existence of six segments, and secondly, their behaviour as parts of a single lineage group. The relations shown among households in a segment, excepting in Segment A, seem to be true. I have shown my doubt about Segment A by considering it as divided into two sub-segments Aa and Ab. There is a strong tradition among the members of Segments E and F today that they formerly formed a single segment and had a common ancestor. As there is no indication of this belief in the Bard's book I have not shown the two segments as sub-segments as in the case of Segment A, but we will see at a later stage that there was close cooperation among the two segments.

The reality of the Rathod lineage was to be seen mainly in its corporate activities. We shall see that the lineage owned as its corporate property a considerable area of land in both Radhvanaj and Vansar, one building in Radhvanaj and another in Vansar for the work of the lineage council, and possibly some other property as at the present time. The lineage had a single tutelary deity and a fairly big shrine

owned and managed by the lineage council. The lineage had a council of elders to manage its corporate affairs.

The internal arrangement of segments became manifest in the lineage activities. Its most visible manifestation was the method of apportioning the income from the jointly owned land. The income was divided among the households of the lineage according to the position of each household in the genealogical structure of the lineage. For example, the total income was divided first into five equal shares for the five segments, and the share of each segment was then divided into its sub-segments according to its internal genealogical structure. It can be seen from the genealogical chart that the number of households in a segment ranged from one in B to seven in A. A household having the fortune of being the only household in a segment received far more than the households forming part of a large segment.

As the genealogical relations among the founders of the five segments are not known, it is not possible to know whether the five segments owed their five equal shares to the founder of the lineage having five sons, but within a segment the right to a man's share in the corporate property of the lineage, like any other corporeal property, was divided equally among his sons.

I have just now stated that the number of households in a segment ranged from one in Segment B to six in Segment A. The Census Register shows that the one household in Segment B was an elementary family and it can be seen from

the genealogical chart that the Segment D was composed of a male sibling group. There is no inconsistency in calling a single group as both a family and a lineage segment, or a sibling group and a lineage segment. A family or a sibling group was a family or a sibling group only in the context of the system of families and sibling groups respectively, and it was a lineage segment in the context of the system of lineage segments and lineage. I shall soon distinguish between a lineage segment or lineage and a line of descent.

The Molesalam Rajputs were divided into exogamous patrilineal clans in the same way as the Hindu Rajputs. Among their eight households, four belonged to the Rathod clan, and four to the Mahida. I have no genealogies of the Mahidas, as they have left no descendants in the village. The four Rathod households were descendants of the same original ancestor as that of the Hindu Rathods, but one of the later ancestors was converted to Islam during the fifteenth or sixteenth century and his descendants were separated from the Hindu Rathods (see Genealogical Chart 1). The Hindu and the Muslim Rathods had a common Bard, a common book of genealogies, and, as we shall see, several other common social institutions. It can also be seen in the genealogical chart that Segment D of the Hindu Rathod lineage and the Molesalam Rathods had a common ancestor. Even today the members of Segment D and the Molesalam Rathods say that they are descendants of a single ancestor apart from the other Hindu Rathods. They say, "We are divided by religion but not by ancestry." They live in the same ward and are bound

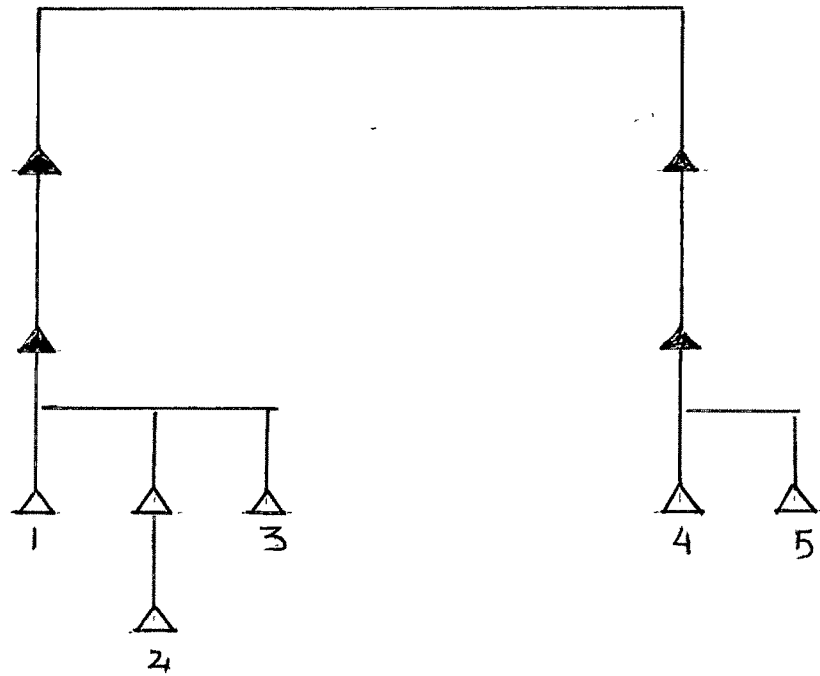
by close collaboration in several activities. One may legitimately consider the Molesalam Rathods as forming one of the segments of the Rathod lineage for certain activities and as not forming a segment for certain other activities. The Hindu and the Molesalam Rathods taken together had a total number of twenty-four households and a total population of 144. That is to say, the descendants of Jagdev, all taken together, formed 20 per cent of the total population of Radhvanaj in 1825.

b. Patidars

The Patidars have never had clans like those found among the Rajputs, but as I have shown in my paper on the Vahivancha Bards, they do and did have lineages, particularly among the narwardars. In Radhvanaj, there was one lineage composed of five households (see Genealogical Chart 2). Their original ancestor, as the Bard's book shows, had migrated from Nar, a village about fifteen miles from Radhvanaj, and consequently this lineage has been known as the Nariya lineage. Although it is not possible to know the date of migration, it is quite certain that this was one of the oldest lineages, if not the oldest lineage, among the Patidars in Radhvanaj. Two of the three hereditary Matadars of the village belonged to two segments of this lineage. There is no information as to whether the lineage owned any corporate property in 1825 as it does today, but it seems it did have a tutelary deity with a shrine in a field on the outskirts of the village.

Two households, with surname Desai, belonged to two different Desai lineages of Nadiad. It seems they had settled in the village not long before the Survey of 1825. This shows

Genealogical Chart 2: Nariya Lineage among the Patidars
of Radhvanaj



there could be migration from a town to a village. It seems both the Desais were active members of their lineages in Nadiad, and may be considered as domiciled in Nadiad but residents of Radhvanaj.

The household of the village headman and third Matadar was certainly very important, but his line has died out and consequently I do not have his genealogy. The government records indicate that his household was the only one belonging to his line of descent.

As regards the remaining twenty-four households, it may be recalled that the Desai of Nadiad pargana had invited Patidars from other villages to settle in Radhvanaj and bring its waste land under plough. The Census Register shows the original villages of eight households. They came from seven different villages, the distance of which from Radhvanaj ranged from about four to about twenty miles. Each of these households must have belonged to a separate line of descent. I have no genealogical information about the remaining sixteen households. It seems each of them belonged to a separate line of descent; there were not even any dispersed male sibling units among them. We shall see that only three of these sixteen households owned some land coming down to them from their ancestors, which indicates that they were old established, but the remaining thirteen households were immigrants. None of the twenty-one immigrant households owned much land in the village, nor did they leave any descendants in the village. It seems most immigrant Patidars either went back to their original villages or died in Radhvanaj without leaving any descendants. As we

have seen, six immigrant households did not include any woman; it is very likely that they had left their women in their original villages.

c. Brahmins

I have shown in my paper on the Vahivancha Bards that the Brahmins have not patronized the Vahivanchas, and it is therefore not possible to get bardic genealogies of the Brahmins of Radhvanaj. I have, however, reconstructed a few genealogies on the basis of government records and oral information provided by the present-day Brahmins. Among their thirteen households, three were each headed by a woman. In two of the three cases the husband's name is mentioned, whereas in one case neither the husband's nor the father's name is mentioned, so that it is difficult to associate the widow with any line of descent. Among the remaining twelve households, about which genealogical information could be gathered, there was one lineage group of five households who were priests to the two higher castes in the village, namely Rajputs and Patidars, and there was one lineage group of two households who were priests to the people of the adjoining village Antroli. It has not been possible to find the exact genealogical relations between the members of either of these lineage groups. The remaining five households belonged to five different lines of descent, and were priests to lower castes in the village and also perhaps in a few adjoining villages. The Brahmins were divided into exogamous gotras and it seems each lineage and line of descent belonged to a separate gotra, but I have no information about the interrelation among the members of a gotra.

d. Talapada Kolis

Among the Talapada Kolis, three surnames were very common, Kotwal, Pagi and Baraiya. It should be emphasised that these were only patronymics; they were not names of clans or sub-castes as considered in many ethnographic and census reports on Gujarat. Even a recent anthropological work has mistaken them as sub-caste names.⁽⁷⁾ Literally, 'Kotwal' meant watchman of a fort. During the Mughal and Later Mughal periods it was the name for the head of city police, and in villages the Kotwal was a village watchman or an escort. In Central Gujarat the village Kotwal was usually a Talapada Koli. The Kotwal's office was not a hereditary one—the records of Radhvanaj show that the Kotwal of Radhvanaj used to change almost every year. + However, even though a man ceased to hold the office of Kotwal he and his descendants retained the surname Kotwal, as the name signified prestige in the Talapada Koli caste. This does not, however, mean that all Kotwals belonged to the same lineage or clan. Sometimes a Pardeshi Koli also held the office of Kotwal, but the word was rarely used as a surname in their caste.

'Pagi' originally meant a man specialized in tracking foot-prints of thieves (pag = foot). When a theft took place in a village the Pagi of the village was supposed to trace the footsteps of the thief to another village. This institution seems to be an ancient one in Western India.⁽⁸⁾ Every village in Central Gujarat used to have a Pagi and, as we shall see, rules were laid down regarding his work. He, like the Kotwal, was usually a Talapada Koli. His

office was non-hereditary, but the name became hereditary. Although sometimes a Pardeshi Koli worked as a Pagi, the name was rarely used as surname among them.

The etymology of 'Baraiya' is not known. It, however, indicated certain prestige and is now used by the Talapadas as their caste name.

Among the eighteen Talapada households in the village, nine were Kotwals, six Pagis, two Baraiyas, and one without surname. Among the nine Kotwal households there was one lineage group of four households, divided into two segments, each composed of two households. The exact genealogical relationship between the two segments is not known but there is a strong tradition that they descended from a single common ancestor. There is also no direct evidence of any corporate activity of the whole lineage in 1825, but the present members say that formerly the entire lineage was living on the same street and worshipped at the same lineage shrine. Among the remaining five Kotwal households there were two dispersed sibling groups, each composed of two households of two brothers, and one household belonged to a separate line of descent.

Among the six Pagi households there was one dispersed sibling group of two households, and the remaining four belonged to four different lines of descent. The two Baraiya households formed a dispersed sibling group. The eighteen Talapada households were thus divided into eleven lines of descent.

e. Pardeshi Kolis

Among the nineteen Pardeshi Koli households there was not a single lineage group. There was one dispersed sibling group of five households and two sibling groups each of two households. There was also one group composed of one household of a father and two households of his two sons—the only instance of sons having separate households during the father's lifetime. The remaining seven households belonged to seven different lines of descent.

f. Minor Castes with more than one household

The two households of Charan Bards belonged to a single line of descent, but their common ancestor was far removed from them and there was practically no active collective activity between them so that they cannot be called as forming a lineage group in the sense in which there were lineage groups among Rajputs, Brahmans, Talapada Kolis and Patidars. Among the three Potter households, two were of two brothers and the third belonged to a different line of descent. In the same way, two of the three Barber households were of two brothers, and the third belonged to a different line of descent. I have no information about kinship relations among Jogis, Bharwad Shepherds, Dheds, Leather-workers, Senwas, and Sepoys.

g. General Remarks

The data presented in this section shows that patrilineal relationship was the basic principle of the kinship system of the people in the village but its role in the formation of groups based on patrilineal relationship differed from caste to caste. One of the factors affecting these differences was the

size of a caste group resident in the village. There cannot be lineage in small castes. But there were not many lineage groups even among larger castes, Patidars, Brahmans, Talapadas and Pardeshis. It is only the Rajputs who had a highly developed lineage and clan organization. One explanation readily suggests itself, the length of residence, which is only the obverse of lack of spatial mobility. Even the few lineage groups that existed among Patidars, Brahmans and Kolis, were a result of long residence. But to say that length of residence and lineage organisation were related is to make a tautologous statement. We should search for factors affecting length of residence.

My observation of kinship relations in the village at the present time indicates that kinship relations among the wives of the male members of a lineage play an important role in the relations between male members of the lineage. For example, two or more women members of the same lineage of another village may be married to two or more men of the same lineage in Radhvanaj. Relations of several other types also affect the working of the lineage. There is however no data about this aspect of lineage groups in 1825.

An important problem arising out of the analysis of kinship composition of various castes in the village is that of the unity of the caste group in the village in the fact of internal divisions. One of the important factors contributing to the unity of the caste group in the village is the existence of affinal and matrilinear relationships between the different lines of descent, but there is no data on this aspect of

caste organisation in 1825. We shall, however, try to see if there were any economic and political relations among the different lines of descent composing a caste, and also if there was any development of caste as a corporate group in the village.

V: The Village-Site

There were in all 179 dwellings on the village-site. The classification of data concerning ownership of dwellings is presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Classification of Data concerning Ownership of Dwellings in Radhvanaj in 1825

Caste	:House-: :holds :	No. of households owning				:Total No. :of Houses
		0	1	2	3	
		House	House	Houses	Houses	
i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii
Bania	2	0	2	0	0	2
Barber	3	0	2	1	0	4
Bharwad Shepherd	2	1	1	0	0	1
Bhoi	1	0	1	0	0	1
Blacksmith	1	0	1	0	0	1
Brahman	13	0	10	3	1	19
Carpenter	1	0	0	1	0	2
Charan Bard	2	0	2	0	0	2
Dhed	3	0	3	0	0	3
Jogi	3	0	3	0	0	3
Leather-worker	7	0	7	0	0	7
Molesalam	8	0	8	0	0	8
Pardeshi Koli	19	0	18	1	0	20
Patidar	32	2	29	1	0	31
Potter	3	0	3	0	0	3
Rabari Shepherd	1	0	1	0	0	1
Rajput	26	0	13	11	2	41
Ram Priest	1	0	1	0	0	1

i	: ii	: iii	: iv	: v	: vi	: vii
Senwa	4	0	4	0	0	4
Sepoy	5	0	5	0	0	5
Shoemaker	1	0	1	0	0	1
Tailor	1	0	1	0	0	1
Talapada Koli	18	0	18	0	0	18
Total	157	3	134	18	3	179

Out of 157 households in the village (excluding the households of Shiva Priest and Muslim Mendicant), only three households—one of a Bharwad Shepherd and two of Patidars—did not own any house; they must have lived as tenants in houses belonging to other households. 134 households owned one house each, 18 households owned two houses each, and 3 households owned three houses each. 18 out of 21 households owing more than one house each belonged to three higher castes in the village, Brahman, Rajput and Patidar.

Out of 179 houses, 5 had brick walls and tiled roofs, 90 had mud walls, wooden pillars and beams and tiled roofs, 26 had mud walls, wooden pillars and beams and thatched roofs, and 58 had thatched walls and thatched roofs. The records do not inform what kind of house was owned by each household. It is however reasonable to suppose that the solid buildings were owned by the higher castes.

As the village-site of Radhvanaj was occupied continuously from at least the thirteenth century, new houses and huts went on being constructed on the debris of old ones. Most of the houses and huts at the present time are therefore located at a level higher than that of open streets, and this



MAP 5. A sketch map of the village site; Pashanaj in 1925, according to the Kura Gazette.

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is the reason why the lay out of streets shown in the schematic map of the village in the Kalambandhi book of 1823-24 (see Map 5) conforms to the lay out found at the present time.

The village site was 'fortified' by stockades of thorny bushes. There were narrow passages (called khodibaru) at several places to allow only one or two persons to pass at a time. There were only two places which could be called 'open gates' of the village, one near the village tank in the north and the other in the south-west. The major entrance and exit was in the north. People coming from the outside world—from Nadiad, Matar and Kaira—entered the village generally at this place. Wedding parties, officials and other guests of the village were given ceremonial reception here.

There was a wide street—the main street—from the northern entrance to the pigeon-tower, and a narrow one from the latter to the south-western entrance. Narrow streets and lanes branched from these two streets. As in many villages and towns in Central Gujarat, each street and lane had a dead end. Usually a track wide enough for a cart led to a parallel, rectangular or horse-shoe shaped row of houses. There were narrow passages between some streets to allow one or two persons to pass at a time, but no cart or a large group of persons could pass across a street. Front doors of houses faced the street, while back walls or back yards were 'fortified' with stockades of thorny bushes. The main idea behind this pattern of streets was to keep a watch on the movement of outsiders in the village and that of the people of one street in another street.

The map in the Kalambandhi book indicates roughly the location of the dwellings of major castes. As the location of the dwellings of all the castes is not shown, it is difficult to say how many were single-caste streets, and how many were mixed-caste ones. It is however clear that three Untouchable castes, Leather-workers, Dheds and Senwas, lived on the edge of the village site. As regards the Leather-workers, it is mentioned specifically that they were outside the village.

Besides private houses and huts there were a few public structures, the chief of which were the Shiva temple, the council house (choro), and the pigeon-tower (parabadi or chabutari). The council house, which is now in a ruined state, was a brick and mortar structure. The pigeon-tower was a place where birds came to eat grains. The words parabadi and chabutari are derived from the names of two most common birds in Gujarat, parevadu and kabutar. To keep grains at a pigeon tower was considered an act of punya (religious merit). The pigeon tower in Radhvanaj had a square platform, a circular column, and a dome at the top. Grains were spread on the floor of the dome. The inside walls of the dome were painted with folk-paintings depicting the rasa-lila of god Krishna. The pigeon tower was thus not only a functional but also an ornamental structure. I have not been able to find out who built the pigeon tower. It is however certain that it was an influence of the dominant role of Vaishnavism and Jainism in Gujarat, and consequently of the Banias who formed the bulk of the followers of these two sects.

The village-site was almost contiguous to the village tank. There was a small peninsular projection of the village-site into the tank. The Shiva temple and the principal well of the village were located on the peninsula. The well was built with brick and mortar from top to bottom, and had a platform at the top. The inner edges of the platform were projected into the well to facilitate drawing of water. There was a niche in the inside wall of the well, and an image was placed there. The well was constructed with the money provided by a Brahman of the village. The existence of elaborately constructed dwellings, temples, wells, council house and pigeon-tower in Radhvanaj shows the degree of sophistication in material culture found in the villages in Central Gujarat. We shall later on see that this sophistication had important economic and occupational implications.

In addition to the Shiva temple, there was the ancient shrine of Goddess Mahishmardini on the south-eastern side of the village-site and another shrine of Goddess Amba on the northern side on the way to the Shiva temple. There must also be a few small shrines of lineage deities and village deities, who were mostly mother-goddesses. We shall see that the village as a whole performed an annual sacrifice in propitiation of mother-goddesses in the village. A room in the house of the Rama Priest was the Rama shrine. The village-site was thus not just a piece of land for the habitation of human beings but also a place made sacred by the Habitations of gods and goddesses.

VASVAYA CASTES AND VILLAGE SERVANTSI: Definition of Terms

I should begin this chapter with a clarification that its title is vague, primarily because the terms 'village servant' and 'vasvaya caste' are vague. The terms will become clear as we proceed with the description of functions and remunerations of vasvaya castes and village servants.

It is also noteworthy that certain village officials who seem to be village servants were not so in fact. We have already seen how the British introduced the office of the village accountant in the villages in Kaira District. The village accountant was a servant of the Government, receiving his remuneration in cash. Although his main work was in the village, he resided in a town and also worked in the pargana office. He was double-faced, but he was loyal more to the Government than to the village. He was not a 'village servant'.

For the same reason, the village accountant's peons were also not 'village servants', although they held chakariya land in the village. The nature of chakariya tenure will be discussed at a later stage, but it may be mentioned at the outset that it applied mostly to land granted for the services of a servant (chakar) of the Government and/or the village community.

The village headman and the Matadars were also double-faced like the village accountant, but their loyalty, unlike that of the latter, was primarily to the village and not to the Government. Even then they could not be called 'village servants', because although they performed administrative services in the village, they commanded the services of a number of people in the village. From the angle of the village, they were not village servants but aristocrats as Elphinstone believed.

II: Non-vasvaya Village Servants

I deal first with those village servants who did not belong to vasvaya castes. The two most important village servants of this category were the Kotwal and the Pagi.

The village records do not state anything about the functions of the Kotwal, but the Bombay Gazetteer informs, "Sums of money are often escorted by them from the village to the Collector's treasury at the head station.... Though very poor, the trustworthiness of these men in charge of treasures is remarkable. Not only are they perfectly honest themselves, but will resist to death any attempt to rob them of their charge." (1) The records of Radhvanaj show that its Kotwal changed almost every year between 1823 and 1827, that he did not belong to Radhvanaj, and that he was always a Talapada Koli but not always a Kotwal by surname. He was not paid any cash or grains, but a large field of about seven acres was allotted to him. Being an outsider he did not himself cultivate his field, but it was cultivated by a tenant and the rent of Rs.16 was paid to him. It seems the

new village accountants had stopped employing the village Kolis as Kotwals and took with them any Kotwal according to their choice.

The functions of the Pagi are described in the village records as follows: "When the Pagi of another village traces the footprints of a thief to this village, it is the duty of the Pagi to trace them to another village. As soon as the footprints are traced to this village, the Pagi sets out accompanied by the headman, the peon, the Talapada Kolis and the Senwas. If the Pagi is not present, the headman should ask another capable Talapada Koli to trace the footprints. If no capable tracker of the other village who has traced the footprints to this village. If the footprints are found ending in this village and not going further to another village, (which proves that the thief belongs to this village or has been sheltered in this village), the amount of money involved in the theft should be paid by the village by collecting contributions from the members of the village, and the Pagi alone should not be made to pay the whole amount. No contributions should be collected from the following castes: Brahman, Bania, Charan Bard, Barber, Potter, Blacksmith, Rama Priest, Shiva Priest, Muslim Mendicant, Tailor and Senwa. The contributions should be collected only from Rajputs (Hindu and Muslim), Patidars, and Kolis (both Talapada and Pardeshi). If the Pagi is called to perform the watchman's duties at the council house at night, he has to come. Nine bighas of revenue-free chakariya land is granted to the Pagi. He may be invited to wedding and other feasts in the village." I wonder

what the modern experts in crime detection would say about the institution of Pagi. I imagine the tracing of footprints must have involved a lot of argumentation, if not disputation, within and between villages. The rules about contributions show the structural distinction between the patron and the dependent castes.

The office of the Pagi of Radhvanaj was the hereditary privilege of a Talapada Koli family of the village, which was granted about six acres of chakariya land as remuneration for its services. In addition, it received an annual gift of Rs.3 from the revenue collection of the village. It should be noted that the chakariya land held by it was not the only land it owned and cultivated.

The Kotwal and the Pagi belonged to the Talapada Koli caste, but their functions were not determined merely by their being members of their caste. Only two out of many Talapada families occupied these offices; the occupation of a Kotwal or a Pagi was not the traditional occupation of the entire Koli caste. This is the main difference between the non-vasvaya village servants and the vasvaya village servants whose position and functions were determined by their being members of their respective castes.

III: Vasvaya Castes in Radhvanaj

In this section I bring together almost all the available information about the occupational functions and remunerations of the seventeen vasvaya castes in the village. I will deal first with those castes about which the records provide

more detailed information.

Carpenters: It has already been noted that there was only one Carpenter household in the village. There was only one adult working male in the household. His main work was to repair ploughs, carts and other agricultural implements, for which he was paid annually in grains at harvest time. The annual payment was called varasud, derived probably from the Sanskrit varshant, meaning 'end of the year'. There were different rates for cultivators of different categories. A cultivator keeping a plough as well as a cart and cultivating irrigated land, i.e. using agricultural implements for two seasons in a year, paid from one and a quarter to one and a half maunds of grains, mostly the staple grain millet (bajri). A cultivator keeping a plough as well as a cart but cultivating only non-irrigated land, i.e. using agricultural implements only for one season in a year, paid from one maund to one and a quarter maunds of grains. A cultivator keeping only a plough and no cart, paid from three fourth to one maund of grains; generally such a cultivator did not cultivate irrigated land. Besides these regular payments, if the Carpenter went to a cultivator's threshing floor while the grains were being threshed in the fields, the cultivator gave him a customary gift of five seers of grains. All these annual payments in grains, it may be noted, were made only for keeping the implements in order and not for making new ones.

We shall see that in some vasvaya castes, such as the

Barbers, some or all of the households cultivated some land besides pursuing their specialized traditional occupation. The Carpenter did not get any payment for his above-mentioned services to these servant-cum-cultivator households, because they did not get any payment for their services to the Carpenter.

For the Carpenter's work in the construction of a house or any other building, he was paid a daily wage. The usual wage was either one third of a rupee or two seers of rice and a quarter seer of ghee. In addition, he was given at noon time half a seer of sukhadi, a snack made of wheat flour, ghee and jaggery. The rates could also vary according to the nature of the job and the prices of commodities.

The Carpenter also performed certain ceremonial functions. He supplied a ritual stool (bajath) for the wedding ceremony of a girl in the village, and received a customary payment of one half to one rupee from the groom's party as a part of marriage prestations from the groom's kingroup to the bride's kingroup. If he did not supply the stool he did not get the payment, which indicates that some castes did not need such a stool in their wedding ceremonies. Furthermore, at wedding and other feasts either the carpenter was invited to the feast, or the food was given to him to carry to his home. In the former case he would be served as much food as he could eat, whereas in the latter case he was given food in a defined quantity.

The three Matadars in the village were an exception to

the general rules. Each of them gave annually only one half to one maund of grains for the Carpenter's services as a répairer of agricultural implements. For his work in house construction, a Matadar deducted two to four rupees from the total amount of wages due to the Carpenter but gave him a turban as a gift. He had also not to demand any payment for making such small articles as low stools (patalas) and lamp-stands (divis) for a Matadar.

When the Government officials and other dignitaries from outside came to the village, the Carpenter chipped fire-wood for cooking their food, repaired their carts and carriages, and made wooden pegs for tying their horses. He was not paid anything for these services. However, if the Government wanted to construct a new council house, the Carpenter would be paid according to the village customs.

The Carpenter held four fields on what was called pasayata tenure. I shall soon discuss the nature of this tenure, but let us note at the outset that usually it applied to land granted for the services provided by an artisan or servant or for the maintenance of a religious person or institution. Two of the four pasayata fields held by the Carpenter were granted for his services to the village community and two were granted specially by the Rathod Rajput lineage for his services to the lineage. Generally the pasayata land was revenue-free but some was charged a nominal amount of revenue. Out of the Carpenter's four fields, three were revenue-free and one was charged revenue. The Carpenter himself cultivated his land, by keeping a

bullock, a plough and a cart.

Blacksmiths: We have noted that there was only one Blacksmith in the village. His main work was to repair ploughshares, sickles, and iron parts of other agricultural implements. He was paid annually in grains for this work. A cultivator cultivating irrigated land and keeping a cart paid from one to one and a quarter maunds of grains. A cultivator cultivating non-irrigated land and keeping a cart paid from three fourth to one maund of grains, and a cultivator with only a plough and no cart also paid the same amount. In addition, the Blacksmith received five seers of grains if he went to the threshing floors in fields at harvest time. He did not receive any payment for his services to other village servants, if he received any service from them.

The Blacksmith sold hardware required in building construction in exchange for money. If the customer supplied iron the Blacksmith charged money for making iron objects according to each piece of work.

The Blacksmith supplied a ritual iron lamp (laman-divo) for the wedding ceremony of a girl in the village, and received a customary payment of half a rupee from the groom's party as a part of prestations. At the wedding and other feasts, either he was invited to the feast or the food was given to him to carry to his home.

The Matadars were an exception to the general rules. They paid only one half maund of grains for the Blacksmith's

work as a repairer of agricultural implements, and paid nothing for making iron objects required in house construction, if they supplied raw iron. Similarly, the Blacksmith would get nothing if the Government wanted to get some smithy work done by him in the construction of a new council house.

The Blacksmith did not hold any land on any tenure whatsoever, nor did he cultivate any land on tenancy.

Potters: The Potters had two types of customers. Firstly, there were permanent customers (bandhela gharak = fixed customers), to whom the Potter supplied pots for daily household requirements in exchange for an annual payment in grains. The quantity of grains varied from a quarter maund to one and a half maunds according to the need of the customer's household. Secondly, there were customers who purchased pots by paying per piece in either cash or grains. The Potter was not paid for the pots he supplied to other artisan and servicing castes from whom he received goods or services. The Potter sold roof-tiles in exchange for cash.

As usual the Matadars were an exception to the rules. They paid only one half to three fourth maund of grains for pots. When they built a new house they purchased tiles, but did not pay anything for a few tiles they needed to replace the broken ones every year. He not only supplied pots free to guests at the village council house but also brought water from a well to fill the pots.

The Potter supplied pots for the wedding booth (chori)

prepared for the performance of rituals at the wedding of a girl in the village and was paid one to two rupees by the groom's party as a part of prestations. If he did not supply the large number of pots needed for the booth but only a few pots for the ritual of mahya, he received one half rupee. He was also invited to wedding feasts or was given food to be taken to his home.

We have noted that there were three households of Potters in the village, two of two brothers and the third belonging to a separate line of descent. There is no information as to how the three households distributed the customers in the village, but it seems they were divided into two lots for the two lines of descent, and the lot of one line was divided between the two brothers. Although the individual customers in the village were divided in this way, the services to the pargana and village officials and to the guests of the community were the joint responsibility of all the three Potters. It seems on the basis of present day information that they performed their duties to the community by rotation, determined by the lines of descent.

Two fields with a total area of about two acres were held jointly by the three Potter households on revenue-free chakariya tenure. The two fields were each held jointly by two representatives of the two lines of descent, having two equal shares, one of the two being divided between the two brothers. The Potters got the two fields cultivated by two tenants. It seems on the basis of a later record that the

Potters were granted one pasayata field by the Rathod Rajput lineage for their services to the lineage.

Barbers: If a Barber performed the services of shaving and hair-cutting for a family of five to seven members he received an annual payment of one to one and a half maunds of grains. If the family consisted of two to four members he was paid one half to three fourth maund of grains. At wedding ceremonies he performed several services besides that of shaving, for which he received cooked food plus one half to four rupees at a girl's wedding and one to three rupees at a boy's wedding. A girl's wedding involved more work than a boy's wedding.

The Matadars were not an exception to these rules, but the Barber had to do a lot of other work for them. He accompanied them as a personal servant when they went to other villages and performed several other services for them in the village. He shaved the officials and other respectable persons coming from outside the village, served water and hooka to them, and accompanied the officers with a pot of water when they went to inspect the fields of the village for revenue assessment.

It has been mentioned that there were three households of Barbers in the village, two of two brothers (Line A) and the third belonging to a separate line of descent (Line B). Each line was granted chakariya land separately from the other; Line A was granted three fields of about five acres, and Line B, about four acres. Line A, in addition, held one field of about one acre on pasayata tenure. The members of

this line continue to hold a prominent position among the Barbers in the village even today. Not only did the two brothers of this line hold the landed property jointly, they also cultivated it jointly. We shall see that the Barbers also cultivated some land on other tenures which had nothing to do with their services as Barbers.

There is no reference in the records to a number of ceremonial and ritual services performed by the Barber men as well as women at pregnancy, birth, wedding, death and other ceremonies, at festivals, and on other occasions among various castes in the village. In Gujarat the ritual role of the Barber was next only to that of the Brahman, a subject demanding a separate inquiry.

Leather-workers: The Leather-workers dragged carcasses of cattle to their ward and skinned them. In return they gave leather for a pair of shoes to the owner of the animal. They also supplied ropes, straps and other small articles of leather needed in fastening agricultural implements, for which they were given five seers to one half maund of grains annually. They charged money for leather bags used in drawing water from wells, and for large leather ropes needed in carts. The Matadars paid only a quarter to a half maund of grains for all the things they got from the Leather-workers, and the Government officials did not pay anything for the leather supplied to them for their shoes. There was always some surplus leather left with the Leather-workers, which they sold in towns. The Leather-workers in the village were charged a collective cess, called 'artisan cess', of Rs.14 by the

Government, most presumably on account of this extra income from the sale of leather.

The Leather-workers in Radhvanaj were not granted any land for their services, nor did they own any land on any other tenure. However, two of their seven households had each taken a field on tenancy, one of 2 acres and 11 gunthas from a Rajput of Radhvanaj, and the other of only 34 gunthas from a Brahman of Kaira. The Census Register shows that neither of these two households kept any bullock for ploughing. It is possible that this was an error in the Census Register, or that the two Chamars, considering it wasteful to keep a bullock and a plough to cultivate just one field, cultivated it by borrowing bullocks and ploughs from some other villager or from relatives living in other villages, or that they did not use any plough at all. Besides cultivating some land on tenancy, the two households kept milch cattle, one kept two buffaloes and the other one buffalo. It is also very likely that they supplemented their income by agricultural labour, as most Leather-workers and their women do at present in Radhvanaj as well as in other villages. The occupation of leather-work was not a full time occupation, and the work in Radhvanaj was divided among seven households. The five households with neither land nor cattle must have worked as agricultural labourers to a much greater extent than did the above two households.

Senwas: The records do not contain any information about the functions of the Senwas. However, it can be stated on the basis of the Bombay Gazetteer and my field investigation,

that the usual source of livelihood for the Senwas was agricultural labour, which was not a caste function as such. Their low position in caste hierarchy was reflected in a number of ritual practices and in the menial duties they performed for the pargana and village officials. They carried messages, letters, records and luggage of the pargana and village officials from Radhvanaj to other villages, conducted strangers on to the neighbouring village, and informed the villagers of the officials' orders, decisions, news, etc. by shouting them out in the village streets. It also seems on the basis of field investigation that the four Senwa households performed these services by rotation. There were two chakariya fields held by the Senwas, one in the name of the father of one Senwa and the other in the name of the grandfather of another Senwa, and probably each represented a line of descent composed of two households. Two Senwas had taken some land on tenancy, but they did not keep bullocks to cultivate it. They must have depended on agricultural labour to a lesser extent than the other two households.

Tailor: The Tailor, as we have noted, was an 'outsider'. No land was granted to him for his services, all of which were paid for in cash. It is noteworthy that he did not derive the raw material for his occupation directly from agriculture and was therefore not tied intimately to the cultivators. Furthermore, only a few people in the village used tailored clothes, and even these were not worn as a normal routine of life. Women used to make their skirts and blouses themselves, and went to the Tailor only for a few clothes required on ceremonial occasions. The records of Radhvanaj mention that an

item of women's clothing required at weddings, namely mandana-nu kapadu, was made by the tailor at a price of seven jais or paises.

Shoemakers: The records do not contain any specific information about the Shoemakers, but I may state on the basis of my inquiries at the present time, that the Shoemakers were like the Tailors a town-based caste and not a part of the agricultural, ceremonial or ritual complex of the village. They derived the raw material for their craft from the Leatherworkers and not directly from the cultivators and were therefore not tied to the cultivators. The Shoemaker in Radhvanaj, like most other Shoemakers, did not own or cultivate any land or keep any cattle.

Dheds: This caste did not have a single traditional occupation. Some of them were weavers of coarse cotton cloth and some were scavengers and menial servants. It seems the Dheds in Radhvanaj were weavers, but there is no information about the organisation of their occupation. I do not know whether the weaver purchased spun cotton and then sold the cloth, or was paid for the labour of weaving a piece of cloth out of spun cotton supplied by the customer. The Dheds did not own or cultivate any land, nor kept any cattle.

Rabari and Bharwad Shepherds: I have not found so far any reliable ethnographic account of the Rabari and Bharwad Shepherds, although a great deal of folklore has developed around them. The available accounts do not make any distinction between the occupation of Rabaris and Bharwads. Both of them are described as transhumant, and the two words are used synonymously to mean 'shepherd'. This description, however,

applies only to the Rabaris and Bharwads of Saurashtra. They leave their villages with their herds at the end of monsoon, pass through Central Gujarat, and go towards the highland region, from where they return before the onset of monsoon. The Rabaris and Bharwads found in Central Gujarat were not transhumant but permanent residents of villages. The one Rabari household and the two Bharwad households in Radhvanaj were its permanent residents. The Rabari kept twelve cows and female calves. He must have sold milk and milk products in the village, and also traded in bullocks and cows. The Survey Book of Radhvanaj states: "If the Rabari's manure is sold and if the revenues of the village are collected directly by the Government, the sale proceeds are taken by the Government. If the revenues are collected by the Matadars, they take the manure". The full significance of this statement will be shown in a later chapter. Here we may note only that the large quantity of manure the Rabari collected during the year was a source of income for him. I doubt if the Rabari provided to the villagers any service in particular. He did not own or cultivate any land in the village.

Out of the two Bharwad households in the village, only one kept cattle, but a very small number, only two bullocks and four buffaloes and no cows. This shows that this Bharwad was not a Shepherd in the same sense as the Rabari was. The other Bharwad did not keep any cattle whatsoever. These facts support my inference from field investigation that the Bharwads in the village did not keep much cattle on their own but grazed the cattle of other villagers during the non-rainy

Season.

Jogi: There is no information about the traditional occupation of the Jogis. I have already mentioned that their caste-name suggests and supports the information given by the present-day villagers that there were a number of oracles among the -- Jogis. The present-day villagers also inform that the Jogis have been practising the occupation of drumming and rope-making for a long time. I have also mentioned that one of the three Jogi households in Radhvanaj kept a large number of goats and sheep. This household also cultivated some land taken on tenancy. The second owned some land and took some land on tenancy. The third neither owned nor took any land on tenancy. Further more, the three households paid an 'artisan cess' of Rs.2, Rs.1½ and Re.½ respectively to the Government, probably on account of their occupation of rope-making.

Bhoi: It seems the Bhoi household in the village was a new-comer. The Bhois living on river banks were fishers and boat-keepers; in other areas they were water-carriers and palanquin-bearers. The Bhoi household in Radhvanaj seems to have practised both these occupations. But neither of these were full-time occupations. It is very likely the Bhoi household also worked as agricultural labourers.

Charans: The Charan lineage in Radhvanaj seems to have been attached to the Rathod Rajputs as their bards for a very long time, and I have described this occupation in my and Shroff's paper on the Bards. Both the households in Radhvanaj held considerable land on pasayata and other tenures. One cultivated its land by keeping bullocks and the other got its land

cultivated by tenants.

Veragi: The celibate Rama Priest in Radhvanaj not only worked as the priest of the Rama temple but also cultivated a considerable area of chakariya and other land by keeping bullocks. He also fed dogs with bajri loaves, for which he was paid an Rs.2¼ from the revenue collection of the village. To feed dogs was an act bringing punya (religious merit) to a Hindu, and it is significant that this act was performed by the Veragi on behalf of the whole community. It is reasonable to assume that the Veragi must also have received direct gifts in cash and kind from villagers and also indirectly all gifts offered to the deity. He was, however, supposed to give something back to the devotees in the form of prasada (god's gift to men).

Gosai: The celibate Shiva Priest performed only routine pujas in the Shiva temple, mostly those pujas which did not involve the use of Sanskrit texts. The other pujas were performed on Shiva festivals by a Brahman of the village. The temple was endowed a small chakariya field, which the village leaders got cultivated by a tenant and gave the income to the priest. He must have also gone round the village every day, as he does today, to beg alms in kind from the villagers. A small amount was given from the revenue collection of the village for the performance of special pujas on Shiva festivals.

Dhadi: The Muslim Mendicant must have lived in the village on account of the existence of Molesalams and Sepoys in the village, but he must have begged alms from both Muslims and Hindus as he does today. He seems to have got his small

pasayata field cultivated by agricultural labourers.

IV: Vasvaya Castes in Other Villages

Radhvanaj was served by a few vasvaya castes of other villages. One Olgana or Bhangi of Antroli worked as a scavenger and menial servant. The Olganas were the lowest among the Untouchable castes in Gujarat, lower than even the Senwas. Their ritual status can be gauged from the fact that while the Leather-workers removed carcasses of only high status animals such as cows, bullocks and buffaloes, the Olganas removed carcasses of low status animals such as cats and dogs. The Olganas cleaned the streets of Radhvanaj on ceremonial occasions such as weddings, festivals and officials' visits. They also carried errands and luggage of officials.

A Bajania of a neighbouring village Sokhda served Radhvanaj as drummers. The Bajanias were drummers of a higher status than the Jogis. They kept instruments of a different kind from those of the Jogis.

It is also noteworthy several temples and religious personages living in other villages and towns had social relations with Radhvanaj, as for example, a Shiva temple of Sandhana, a few temples of Nadiad and Kaira, a temple of Bhabharam sect in Run, a village about six miles from Radhvanaj, a Vaidya or ayurvedic doctor of Kaira, and a few Bhat Bards of Undhela and Nadiad.

It is quite certain that some of the vasvaya castes of Radhvanaj must have served neighbouring villages, because every one of them did not possess all the vasvaya castes

necessary for its social and economic life. Some villages, like Antroli, included only a couple of vasvaya castes. Furthermore, towns included many more vasvaya castes than those in villages, and a fairly large number of urban vasvaya castes also served villages. This subject demands a special inquiry and is outside the scope of this monograph.

V: Relation between Caste and Occupation among the Vasvaya Casts:

It can be seen from the description of occupations of vasvaya castes that every one of them was associated, by tradition, with one or more non-agricultural occupations. However, this was not the criterion of distinction between them and the non-vasvaya castes, because there were among the latter some castes, such as Brahmans, Banias and Sepoys and also in a way the Rajputs, who were associated with non-agricultural occupations. In order to understand the nature of relation between caste and occupation among vasvaya castes, as also among non-vasvaya castes, each occupation should be studied as a complex composed of functions and activities of a certain class.

Agriculture is one such complex. In the above description of vasvaya castes in Radhvanaj I have mentioned the nature of association of the households of each caste with land, and in Table 13 in Chapter X on "Pattern of Landownership, Tenancy, and Agricultural Labour," I have summarised the land data concerning all the minor castes. No household in eight vasvaya castes, namely, Blacksmith, Bharwad Shepherd, Bhoi, Shoemaker, Tailor, Dhed, and Leather-worker, owned any

land whatsoever, but two of the seven households of Leather-workers cultivated some land on tenancy, and all the seven households of Leather-workers and the one Bhoi household worked as agricultural labourers. In the remaining nine vasvaya castes, namely, Carpenter, Potter, Barber, Charan Bard, Jogi, Senwa, Rama Priest, Shiva Priest and Muslim Mendicant, some or all the households owned some land and a few households cultivated some land on tenancy. In the case of Potters and Senwas, the little land they owned—about two acres in both the cases—was owned by all the households jointly, and the Potters did not even cultivate the land they owned. The Senwas cultivated not only the land they owned, but two of their four households had taken some land on tenancy. Out of the total number of twelve households of the remaining seven castes, two of the three households of Jogis did not own any land but one of the two cultivated about six acres on tenancy. Among the remaining ten households, five each owned less than five acres and one owned only a little more than five acres, and two of these six households had also taken some land on tenancy. Finally, the two Charan Bards, the Carpenter and the Rama Priest, each owning from about ten to about fifteen acres, were above-average landowners.

As we shall see in Chapter X, there were a large number of landless households among Patidars, Talapada Kolis, Pardeshi Kolis, and Sepoys, and a few among Hindu and Molesalam Rajputs. Some of them depended almost entirely on agricultural labour, and some on the cultivation of land taken on tenancy, and some on both. Similarly there

were a large number of households in these castes who were below-average or average landowners. But, the majority of Rajputs and Brahmans were wealthy landlords in the village itself. There were a few wealthy and powerful Patidars in Radhvanaj itself and the caste was dominant in a large number of other villages and towns. Although there was no wealthy Talapada or Pardeshi Koli in Radhvanaj, a large number of other villages were dominated by Kolis. In the same way, in a considerable number of villages the Sepoys were wealthy and powerful landlords, and the Banias were dominant in towns due to commercial wealth. The Sepoys and Banias were minor but not vasvaya castes in Radhvanaj. In comparison with these non-vasvaya castes, no vasvaya caste had a large and powerful population in any village.

The crucial determinants of the distinction between vasvaya and non-vasvaya castes were two, wealth and population. In villages the principal source of wealth was land, and in towns it was commerce and political office. In almost every village in Central Gujarat, a member of a vasvaya caste was considered by caste a dependent (= a person who depended on another for support, position etc., a retainer, subordinate, servant). An individual member or a group of a few members of a non-vasvaya or patron caste could be dependents in actuality in any one village, but they did not have the status of dependents by the fact of their being members of their castes, because each of the non-vasvaya castes had always had a large population occupying a dominant position in a fairly large number of villages and/or

towns in the area. None of the eighteen vasvaya castes could boast of their caste-fellows enjoying a dominant position in any village in Central Gujarat. It should be emphasised that the distinction between vasvaya and non-vasvaya castes was made in any one village not on the basis of wealth and power of a caste group in that village, but it was a general distinction applied to entire castes. It is also noteworthy that landownership was not by itself a criterion of distinction between vasvaya and non-vasvaya castes. In some villages, as in Radhvanaj, some households in vasvaya castes owned and cultivated more land than the land owned and cultivated by a large number of households in non-vasvaya castes. Moreover, along with the area of land, we have to consider the tenures under which the land was held, but I shall deal with this question after I have dealt with a few other questions.

Like agriculture, another important occupational complex was that of activities concerned with cattle-keeping. Cattle-keeping was not in itself an exclusive occupation of any one caste. We shall see in the following chapter that cows, buffaloes and bullocks were kept by members of many diverse castes, but there were certain castes who specialised in cattle-keeping. Different aspects of cattle-keeping could also be specialised occupations of different castes or of different sections of the same caste. There were Bharwads and Rabaris who were transhumant and also Bharwads and Rabaris who were permanent residents of villages. There were also Bharwads and Rabaris, such as the Bharwads of Radhvanaj, who did not keep much cattle with them but grazed other people's cattle, and sometimes a member of a non-shepherd

caste also grazed other people's cattle. A further complication was that neither the Rabaris nor the Bharwads in Radhvanaj kept goats and sheep, which were kept in a large number by a Jogi. This does not mean that the Bharwads and Rabaris in other villages did not keep goats and sheep. There did exist Bharwads and Rabaris in other places who kept goats and sheep in large numbers. Finally, cattle-keeping activities of transhumant shepherds, of permanently settled shepherds of various kinds, and of non-shepherds, were related with one another by trade in cattle which occurred in villages and in fairs.

Trading, cloth-making, carpentry, blacksmithy, leatherwork, drumming, domestic services, menial services, etc. were also occupational complexes, in each of which on the one hand more than one specialised castes of Hindus and Muslims and of villages and towns participated, and on the other hand there was specialisation between families in the same caste. In the discussions of relation between caste and occupation the usual practice of associating each caste with a single traditional occupation, mostly on the basis of its caste-name, has led to oversimplification of reality. The records of Radhvanaj provide data only about the occupations of castes in the village, but I have also indicated the occupational characteristics of most castes as entire groups on the basis of other data. To know the traditional occupation of a caste as a caste we should consider the entire population of the caste distributed in an area and the details of its occupational functions, and not be misled by its caste-name. A caste could have several traditional occupations, let alone the

deviations from tradition. It should not be assumed that a caste was always a homogeneous group with a single occupational tradition. There could be several traditions, often conflicting with one another and subject to change from time to time. It seems to me that occupational diversification within a caste was always a feature of the caste system, and it was a result of the responsiveness of caste system to changes in economic system.

VI:Relation between Village Structure and Functions of the Vasvaya Castes:

The description of functions of the vasvaya castes in Radhvanaj shows how a distinction was made between (a) services performed by a vasvaya for the village community as a corporate body, (b) services performed for individual villagers, (c) services performed specially for the Rathod Rajput lineage as a corporate body, and (d) services performed for the headman and Matadars as their special privileges. Some vasvaya castes, Tailor, Shoemaker, Blacksmith, Dhed, Rabari Shepherd, Bharwad Shepherd, Bhoi, Jogi, Leather-worker and Charan Bard, did not perform any service for the village corporation. The castes which performed services for the village corporation as well as for individual villagers were Carpenter, Potter, Barber, Rama Priest, Shiva Priest and Senwa. Compared with these vasvayas, the village Kotwal and the village Pagi did not perform any service for individual villagers. They were simply 'village servants' and not vasvayas, whereas the Shiva Priest, Rama Priest, Carpenter, Olgana, Senwas, Potters and Barbers were both village servants and vasvayas. The other vasvayas were not village

servants but only *vasvayas*.

AS regards services performed for individual villagers the records do not provide any data as to which caste served which other castes, but we can make certain inferences. *Senwas*, Leather-workers, Potters, Carpenter, Dheds, Shoe-maker, Tailor and Blacksmith must have provided their goods and services to anybody wanting to have their goods and services, irrespective of ritual and social status. Charan Bards served only Rajputs, Molesalams and Patidars. Barbers must have served only the 'purer' castes. It is noteworthy that they served the Talpada Kolis but not the Pardeshi Kolis among the major castes. The Rabaris did not perform any service either for the village community or for individual members of the village. The Bharwads must have served mostly the wealthy higher castes who wanted to get their cattle grazed by the Bharwads. Certain castes did not really need the services of certain castes, although they were not prohibited from being served by the latter.

VII: Chakariya and Pasayata Land:

Let us first note that all chakariya land was revenue-free in Radhvanaj in 1822-27, and most of the pasayata land was also revenue-free but some was charged revenue. Literally, chakariya land meant land granted to a chakar (= servant), and pasayata land meant land granted as a gift (derived from Sanskrit prasada; Prakrit pasaya, meaning gift). These literal meanings raise certain questions: Whose servant? What kind of servant? What kind of services? Who gave the gift? When was it given? Why was it given? and so on. In order

to find answers to these questions, let us first see the details about the holders of land under the two denominations. The -- records of Radhvanaj provide a complete list of the holders of chakariya land in the village as follows: two Desais of Nadiad, two Ravanas or peons of the village accountant, the Kotwal or watchman of Radhvanaj, the Pagi or tracker of Radhvanaj, the three Barbers, the three Potters, the four Senwas, the Rama Priest, the Shiva Priest, and the Olgana of Antroli. We have already noted that the peons of the village accountant began to be appointed only from 1816. The land granted to them was a part of their remuneration, and was held by them only as long as they were in the employment of the Government. The other part of their remuneration was an annual cash payment. The Desais had been holding chakariya land in every village under their charge even before the coming of the British, possibly since the Mughal period, but by the time the British came, their chakariya land had become their hereditary possession. Even a non-working Desai could hold chakaria land as a part of his patrimony. It is also not unlikely that the Desais had increased their chakariya land when they became powerful in the latter-half of the eighteenth century. The Kotwal held chakariya land for the specific services he performed for the Government, though not as its full-time servant. The Pagi held chakariya land for the specific services he performed for the village corporation and the Government. The Barbers, Potters, Senwas and Olgana were granted chakariya land for the specific services they performed for the Government and the village corporation. All the holders of chakariya land we have considered so far performed services either only for the

Government or for both the Government and the village community. It is difficult to explain why the land held by the Shiva Priest was considered as held under chakariya tenure, because he was performing services only for the village community and not for the Government. I do not know if the Mughal administration levied revenue on land endowed to Hindu temples, but it is quite certain that there was a revival of state patronage to Hinduism during the Maratha regime, and the revenue-free land might have been granted, or re-granted, to the Shiva temple in Radhvanaj during the Maratha regime. It is not unlikely that the Shiva Priest was considered as providing services to the Government through his services to the Shiva temple, and the British did not alter the tenure under which the land was held.

The records do not provide a ready list of the holders of revenue-free pasayata land, but I have reconstructed an almost complete list on the basis of bits of information scattered over different records. The holders of revenue-free pasayata land included the village headman, one Kotwal (different from the one who held land on chakariya tenure), one Brahman, the Barbers, the Carpenter, one Charan Bard, the Muslim Mendicant, one Bhat Bard of Nadiad, one Shiva Priest of the neighbouring village Sandhana, the Bajania Drummer of Sokhda, and the Bhabharam temple of Run, a village about six miles from Radhvanaj. The records provide information about only a few of the holders of the revenue-paying pasayata land; they included the Carpenter, one Brahman, one Kotwal, and one Vaidya or Ayurvedic doctor of Kaira town.

The Barbers held land on chakariya as well as pasayata tenure, which indicates that the former was granted for the specific services performed for the village corporation and the Government, and was held only during the tenure of office, while the latter was a hereditary gift given not for any specific services but for the general role as a vasvaya of the village. The other vasvayas of the village, namely, one Charan Bard and the Muslim Mendicant, must also have been granted pasayata land as a gift for their ritual position in the society. The Bhat Bard of Nadiad must have received gift land in recognition of his ritual position. The Shiva Priest of Sandhana must have received gift land on account of the devotion of the people of Radhvanaj to the Shiva temple in Sandhana. The Bhabharam temple in Run belonged to a popular local sect of chorotar, and must have been endowed gift land on account of its influence in Radhvanaj. The Bajania Drummer of Sokhda must have been granted gift land for his services as a drummer to the people of Radhvanaj. The Ayurvedic doctor must have received gift land for his medical services to the people of Radhvanaj. The holders of pasayata land we have considered so far did not perform any specific services for the Government though they did perform services for the village. I do not know whether the category of revenue-paying pasayata land existed during the pre-British period or was introduced by the British. It is also noteworthy that although the Brahmans held a lot of revenue-free land, it was not held under chakariya or pasayata tenure. It is possible that the distinction between the two tenures was not applied consistently in all cases, and that the pasayata land could become land

under other tenures in course of time.

I may refer here to hadia tenure which was very similar to pasayata tenure but bore a special name because hadia lands were held only by Bhat Bards. A hadia field was granted to the descendants of a Bhat who had sacrificed or injured his body for the sake of the village or for any worthy cause. Out of ten bighas of hadia land in Radhvanaj, six bighas were held by a Bhat of Nadiad, and four bighas by a Bhat of the adjoining village Undhela. A Bhat stood as security in agreements of various kinds and threatened to commit suicide or injure his body whenever an agreement was not fulfilled. Their threat was effective because they were considered sacred persons. It seems a Bhat held land on the hadiya tenure only when his ancestor had committed suicide or injured his body, otherwise he held land on pasayata tenure as mentioned earlier. The hadia land may be considered a special kind of pasayata or 'gift' land. In any case we shall see that chakariya, pasayata and hadia tenures formed a single class of tenures compared to other tenures.

We should inquire why certain vasvaya castes, namely, Blacksmith, Leather-worker, Tailor, Shoemaker, Dhed, Rabari Shepherd, Bharwad Shepherd, Bhoi and Jogi, were not granted any chakariya or pasayata land in Radhvanaj. The Bhoi was a new comer, the Tailor and the Shoe-maker were outsiders; the Rabari and Bharwad Shepherds and the Jogis did not perform any services for the village community, and the services the Bharwads performed for individual villagers affected only a few rich villagers; but it is difficult to explain why the

Blacksmith and the Leather-workers, who performed crucial services, were not granted any chakariya or pasayata land. It is however noteworthy that if the members of a pasayata caste were granted land in one village it did not mean that its members in other villages were also granted pasayata land. It seems to me that the granting of chakariya or pasayata land in a village depended a great deal on the particular history of that village, because after all some one had to grant land to some one else, and the grant had then to be recognized in subsequent generations by the ruling powers in the village, the pargana, and the kingdom.

It has been mentioned that some pasayata land was granted to some vasvaya castes by the Rathod Rajput lineage. This pasayata land, as we shall see in Chapter IX, was a part of the Wanta tenure and not an independent tenure.

While chakariya and pasayata tenures were not meant only for vasvaya castes, most of the land held by vasvaya castes in Radhvanaj--about 64 acres out of a total of about 76 acres--was held on these two tenures (see Table 13), and most of the remaining 12 acres of land was not, as I shall show, the private property of the vasvayas but was taken on 'permanent or temporary tenancy' from the Government. This shows how dependent were the vasvaya castes on the non-vasvaya castes in the village and the region. A considerable area of pasayata land had of course become the hereditary possession of its holders, and the non-vasvaya castes were perhaps not in a position to take away the land from its holders, but the social recognition of the dependent position

of vasvaya castes through the symbol of these tenures was far more important than the actual day-to-day dependence.

VIII: Modes of Payment: The grant of chakariya or pasayata land to a vasvaya was of course a mode of payment for his services, but the above discussion of the two tenures shows (a) that the land was granted mostly for the services to the corporate body of the village community, the services which could not be reckoned easily in terms of current measurements, and (b) that the land was granted as a symbolic recognition of the structural position of the vasvaya castes as dependents of the non-vasvaya castes, though this was not the only symbol for the recognition of this position, nor did the symbol have only this meaning. Another symbol of the dependant position of some if not all the vasvaya castes in Radhvanaj was the cash gifts given on the New Year Day from the funds of the village community.

As regards the payment for services provided to individual villagers, it is noteworthy that even in the beginning of the nineteenth century cash payments were very prominent in the village, which shows the high degree of monetisation in the rural economy of Central Gujarat. A single vasvaya was paid in different ways for different kinds of services. Besides annual grain payments, there were various rates in cash and kind for various pieces of work, and gifts in cash and kind. And finally, there was the invitation at ceremonial feasts, recognized all over Gujarat as a symbol of a social and not merely economic bond between a vasvaya and his patron.

LAND, AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCKI: Boundaries of the Administrative Village

We have already noted that the administrative village or mouja (lit., survey unit) was the basic territorial unit recognized for village administration since at least the Mughal period. Its boundaries, however, were not always indisputably fixed before the Survey of 1820-26. The surveyors found that there were disputes about the boundaries of many villages, and frequently they took a violent form. There were disputes about the boundaries of Radhvanaj also. Details about two disputes of Radhvanaj, one with Antroli and the other with Undhela, are recorded in the Land Register. It does not mention the arguments put forward by the disputants in either dispute, but the mode of settlement of each dispute is described. The dispute between Radhvanaj and Undhela related to the inclusion of a field of about three acres in one village or the other. The headmen and the Matadars of the two villages agreed before the surveyor Mr. Key to make Hariba, a Rathod Rajput lady of Radhvanaj, as the arbitrator. In order to give her verdict she had to walk, taking her son in her hand and swearing by God, along one or the other boundary of the field as she pleased. She gave her verdict in favour of including the field in Radhvanaj, and it was agreed that if anybody injured her within five days from the day of the settlement of the dispute, the field would belong to Undhela.

The dispute between Radhvanaj and Antroli was related to the alignment of a cart track between the borders of the two villages. The headmen of the two villages entrusted the dispute for arbitration to a panch (lit., a group of five) composed of the headmen of five neighbouring villages, four of which were Ratanpur, Vansar, Khumarvad and Undhela and the fifth one is not mentioned in the record. The panch decided to retain the 'original' alignment of the road.

The records refer to a third boundary dispute of Radhvanaj, one with the adjoining village Sandhana about the inclusion of a field in one village or the other, but it was not solved. The surveyors included the field in Radhvanaj and also noted its ambiguous position.

It is difficult to make much meaning of the information about the disputes mentioned in the records, except that it shows, firstly, how arbitration played an important role in settling village disputes, that there were two ways of arbitration, and that even a woman could be an arbitrator. Secondly, boundaries of administrative units were a matter of serious concern to the villagers. The boundaries of administrative units did not coincide with the boundaries of economic and social relationships of villagers, but this does not mean that the former were not important. Their exact significance will be shown in later discussion. Thirdly, the settlement of such disputes by the British shows how they carried Pax Britannica to the village level. The boundaries determined by the surveyors in 1825 have remained unaltered till now.

II: Cultivable and Uncultivable Land

Within the boundaries defined by the surveyors, there were 423 plots of land which were measured and numbered, and in addition there were sixteen wells, eleven roads and cart-tracks, a village-site, a village-tank, and seven ponds, which were not numbered and the area of which was not measured but estimated. Including the numbered and the non-numbered plots, the total area of the village was 1387 acres and 9 gunthas (1 acre = 40 gunthas). All the figures for area of land in the early nineteenth century records are mentioned in bighas, but I have converted them in acres and gunthas to facilitate comparison with the later figures. It should be noted that all the figures regarding area of land mentioned in the Tables in this monograph are in acres and gunthas, unless otherwise specified.

Out of the total area of land in the village, there were 71 acres and 20 gunthas of uncultivable waste land, which included the village-site, the village-tank, six ponds, and eleven roads and cart-tracks. There was also other waste land, not in the form of separate plots as above but located in the form of wells, cart-tracks and drains within the boundaries of plots of cultivated land. The area of this waste land was 4 acres and 18 gunthas. Thus, the total area of uncultivable waste land, which may briefly be called non-agricultural land, was 75 acres and 38 gunthas. Its classification is shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Agricultural and Non-agricultural Land in
Radhvanaj in 1825.

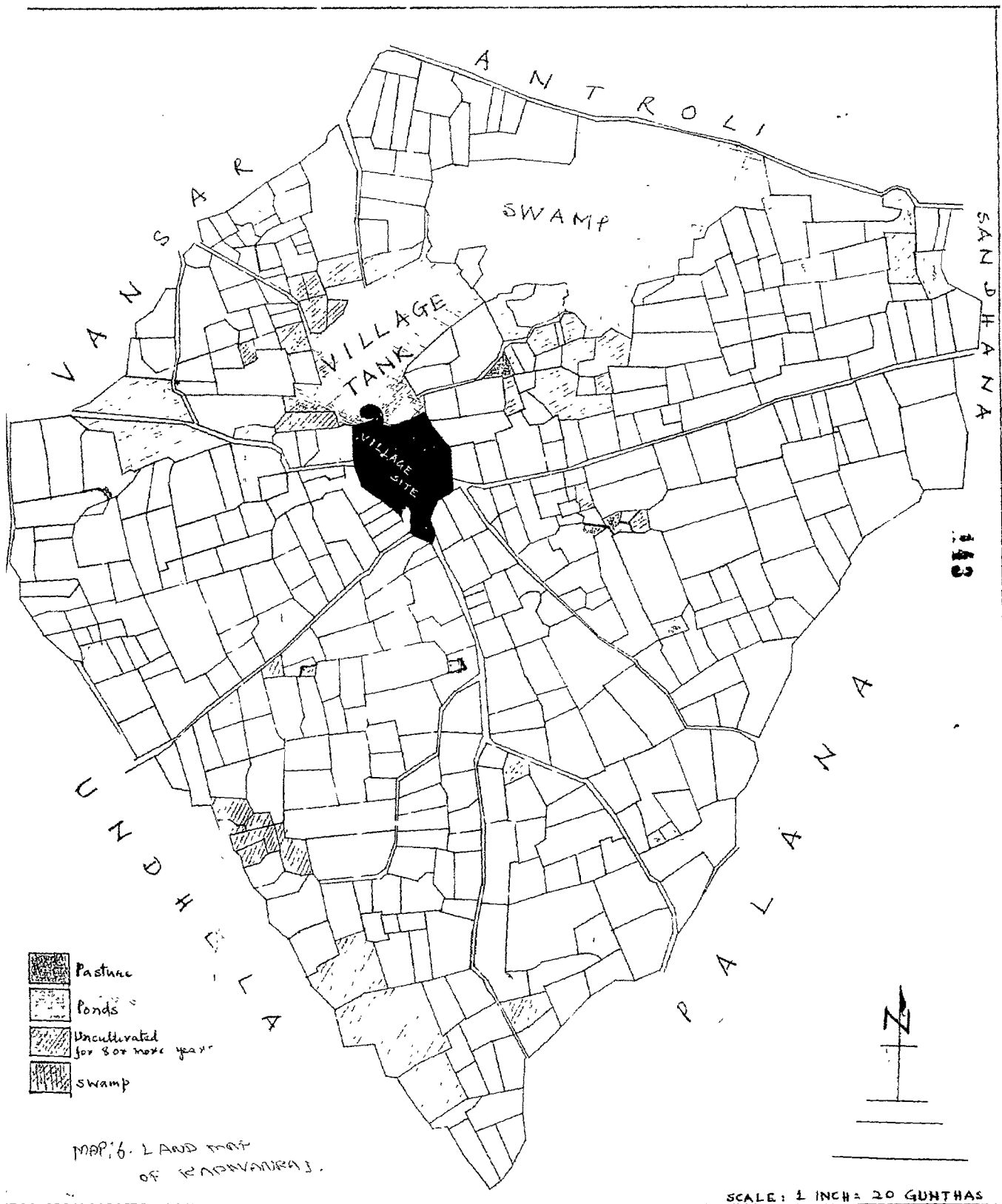
Description	:	area
A. Non-agricultural		
Village-site		36-38
Village-tank		19-14
Six ponds		02-28
Eleven roads and cart-tracks		12-20
		71-20
Wells, cart-tracks and drains		04-14
Total		75-38
B. Agricultural		1311-11
Total Land in Radhvanaj		1387-09

Out of the total area of 1311 acres and 11 gunthas of agricultural land, 971 acres and 11 gunthas were cultivated in 1825, and it seems this land was under continuous cultivation for many years before 1825. The rest of the land, 340 acres and 8 gunthas, was classified as cultivable by the surveyors but had remained uncultivated for periods varying from one year to more than ten years. The figures for land that had remained uncultivated for various periods of time are shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Uncultivated Agricultural Land in Radhvanaj in 1825

Uncultivated for years	Area
1	64-33
2	28-24
3	01-34
4	18-22
5	11-28
6	00-00
7	00-00
8	06-04
9	00-00
10	31-20
More than 10	177-03
Total	340-08

Some of the agricultural land, particularly most of the land that had remained uncultivated for one year had remained uncultivated on account of scarcity of rain in 1825. Some might have remained uncultivated simply because there was nobody to cultivate it or it was not necessary. However, a great deal of land classified as cultivable by the surveyors was virtually uncultivable at that time. It has been mentioned in Chapter I that before 1838 A.D. flood waters in the Charotar tract used to log up in low lying areas. In Radhvanaj the entire area on the north-eastern and south-western sides of the village-tank was low lying (see Map 6). The village-tank did not have high banks on all sides at that time as it has today; the adjoining area was actually an extension of the tank. Most of the 236 acres and 4 gunthas of land that had remained uncultivated for eight or more than eight years was situated around the tank. It included a large stretch of



MAP 6: LAND MAP OF RADHVANAJ

land, of 100 acres and 16 gunthas, to the north-east of the tank, which was actually known as 'swamp' (saran). There was another large stretch of land, of 23 acres and 5 gunthas, to the south-west of the tank, which was known as 'pasture' (gochar), and a small plot of 3 acres known as 'jungle'. In fact, all these three plots were included in the category of kharabo or waste land in the Kalambandhis of 1823-24 and 1824-25. Similarly there were several other small plots of land which were known as 'swamp' or 'pasture'. The surveyors considered all this land as cultivable in the sense that it could be cultivated if flood waters were drained away by digging drains or if trees and bushes were cleared from the pastures. It should also be noted that some cultivable land was not cultivated because the peasants had set it apart for growing trees, so essential for fuel, dwellings, tools and implements, and carts and carriages. Thus, 214 acres and 27 gunthas of land which, according to the surveyors, had remained uncultivated for eight or more than eight years, was virtually uncultivable.

Table 6 shows the revised classification of the area of cultivated, uncultivable, and uncultivated cultivable land in the village.

Table 6: Classifications of Cultivable and Uncultivable Land in 1825

Description	:	Area
A. Cultivable		1096-25
i) Cultivated in 1825		971-04
iii) Uncultivated in 1825 (see T.5, uncultivated for 1 to 5 years)		125-21
B. Uncultivable		290-25
i) Non-agricultural (see T.4)		75-38
ii) Potentially cultivable (see T.5, uncultivated for 8 or more than 8 years)		214-27
Total		1387-10

The cultivable and uncultivable lands are shown on Map.6. It is noticable that most of the potentially cultivable land was located around the tank, which means floods were the most important cause of land remaining uncultivated in Radhvanaj.

The area of potentially cultivable but uncultivated land was larger before the survey of 1825 and much larger before the British took over the administration, because the Desai of Nadiad had induced Patidars from other villages to settle in Radhvanaj and bring its potentially cultivable land under plough. Some people already resident in the village also brought some potentially cultivable land under plough, encouraged by low rates of revenue levied by the British administration on such land. The Kalambandhis show that about 16 acres were brought under plough between 1823 and 1824 and 8 acres more between 1825 and 1826.

III: Soil Types and Irrigation

The soils found in the village were of two main varieties, goradu (light brown) and kyari (black), each graded into aval (first grade), doya (second grade) and soyam (third grade). The characteristics of goradu and kayari soils have already been described in Chapter I. The total area of land belonging to the various soil types in Radhvanaj is shown in Table 7.

Table 7: Classification of land according to soil types
in Radhvanaj in 1825.

Soil Type	: Cultivable :Uncultivable:		:Total:	
	:Cultivated:	:Uncultivated:		
Goradu:				
Grade 1	131-00	1-08	-	132-08
Grade 2	249-08	12-37	2-21	264-26
Grade 3	559-25	79-10	48-14	687-09
Total	939-33	93-15	50-35	1084-03
Kyari:				
Grade 1	9-39	3-34	-	13-33
Grade 2	21-01	28-12	153-13	202-26
Grade 3	0-11	-	10-19	10-20
Total	31-11	32-06	163-32	227-09
Total Agri-cultural Land	971-04	125-21	214-27	1311-12
				(See T.4)

It can be seen that only about 2% of the total agricultural land in the village was kyari. Not only was the total area of kyari land very small but most of the available kyari land was also uncultivable due to its location around the tank and consequent liability to floods. The area of kyari land under actual cultivation was only 31 acres and 11 gunthas. This shows that wet-land crops,

particularly rice, played an insignificant role in the agricultural economy of Radhvanaj.

About 185 acres of land in the village was considered irrigable by the surveyors, but only about 50 acres were actually irrigated. There were two modes of irrigation, by well-water and by tank-water. The latter was easy and inexpensive, but it could be helpful only if the land was situated near a deep pool of water. The water was raised from the pool by a device called zampalo and then lowered into a canal leading to the field. The area of tank-irrigated land was insignificant in Radhvanaj because of the existence of a wide belt of flood-hit land between the tank and the cultivable land.

Well-irrigation was expensive firstly because the construction of a well was expensive. Two main kinds of wells, kaccha and pakka were known in Central Gujarat. A pakka well was constructed with bricks or circular tiles, whereas a kaccha well was only a deep hole in earth without any such construction. The kaccha wells were very rare in Charotar on account its low water-table. The pakka wells, particularly those built with bricks, were very expensive. After its construction, a well had to be maintained carefully and repaired from time to time. The mode of irrigation was also expensive because it involved the use of a large leather jar, ropes, wooden fixtures, and at least one pair of bullocks. It has already been mentioned that there was one well on the village-site, whose water was used mainly for drinking. There were fifteen wells in the fields of the village, out of

which two were in ruined state, the construction of three was about to be completed, and eleven were in good useable condition.

The existence of such a large number of pakka wells shown not only the highly developed material culture of the village but also its relation with such specialized craftsmen as well-diggers, brick-layers, masons, and clay-makers, all of whom lived in other villages and towns.

IV: Crops

The Kalambandhis show that the following twenty-two crops were grown in Radhvanaj: (a) CEREALS: bajri common or pearl millet (*Penicillaria spicata*), kodra, Kodu millet (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*), bavto, (*Panicum frumentaceum*), Juwar, Indian millet (*Sorghum vulgare*), cheno, (*Panicum miliaceum*), banti, (*Eleusine coracana*), dangar, paddy (*Oryza sativa*), ghau, wheat (*Triticum aestivum*), jav, barley (*Hordeum hexastichon*); (b) PULSES: math, (*Phaseolus aconitifolius*), mag, green gram (*Phaseolus radiatus*), chola, (Latin name?), adad, (*Phaseolus pradiatus*), val, (*Dolichos lablab*), chana, Bengal gram (*Cicerarietinum*), tuver, red gram (*Cajanus indicus*), gavar, cluster bean; (c) OILSEEDS: tal, gingelly or sesamum seed, (*sesamum indicum*), erandi, castor seed (*Ricinus communis*); (d) OTHERS: tamaku, (*Nicotiana tabacum*), kapas, cotton (*Gossypium herbaceum*), san, Bombay hemp (*Crotalaria juncea*).

We have already seen that irrigation was not widely practised in Radhvanaj. Most of the crops were cultivated

during the monsoon of kharif season. The most common monsoon crop was bajri, the staple grain of the people and the principal article of their food, and it was cultivated usually along with a pulse crop, mag, math, gawar, chola, adad, or val. In Radhvanaj the pulse most commonly mixed with bajri was math. Cruikshank has given an excellent description of the cultivation of bajri and pulses, which I quote below:⁽¹⁾

Bajeree and kuthol (the latter being a pulse crop of mug, mut, goowar, chola, urad, wal, and sun), grown on oobeere or pandhur (not irrigated) goraroo soil of the uwul, or best sort, require 10 or 12 cart loads of manure for a beega of land every 2nd or 3rd year; but in kooweetur, or well land, where the intention is to raise also a second or after crop by irrigation, the supply must be repeated annually. The ground receives two ploughings after the first fall of rain, is smoothed with the sumar, a board drawn over the surface, and afterwards harrowed. The seed (5 seers of bajeree, with 3 seers of kuthol intermixed) is sown in July by means of the drill plough, and the ground is again smoothed over with the sumar. Weeding takes place after about 25 days, and the rampree (an iron blade) is drawn horizontally between the ridges to clear away stubble and weeds that may have escaped notice. When the crop becomes a month and a half old, the ridges are ploughed between, and the sumar is again used, although the bajeree may be the height of 2 feet: the advantage derived from this proceeding is that two or three new shoots spring from the root, each bearing a head of grain, and the check to the growth of the parent stalk renders it also more productive. The grain ripens generally early in October, when it is cut and stacked, but if left too long before reaping, sustains injury. The threshing takes place at any time after the grain is thoroughly dried, and is performed by several bullocks, tied together abreast, walking round a pole, to which the nearest is fastened, trampling over the heap of heads of bajeree, until the seed

is entirely worked out of them. The kurbee, or stalk of the bajeree, is inferior to that of the jowar, but is nourishing forage for bullocks. The kuthol crop comes forward about a month later, after the bajeree is entirely cleared away; but when the intention is to raise a rubbee crop of wheat or barley on the same land, it is not intermixed with the bajeree which is then sown singly. The stalk and leaves of the kuthol produce are the finest forage: a great quantity of it is reaped in a green state to meet the daily consumption of the Ryots' cattle, and it makes up very much for the want of grass, which is at all times scanty when the soil is of the goraroo description.

Bavto and kodra were next to bajri and pulses in importance. They were grown on inferior goradu soil and formed the staple food mostly of the poorer class in the society. Chena and banti, most inferior grains, were consumed mostly by the poorest in the society, and could be grown without manuring and ploughing.⁽²⁾ Juwar was grown mostly by richer peasants as a fodder crop in Central Gujarat. Wheat, barley and paddy were grown in very small quantities, due to erratic rain and lack of irrigation facilities. Most of the paddy grown in Radhvanaj, as in many other villages in Charotar, was of an inferior variety called sathce or vankalo, which could be grown without manuring or ploughing.⁽²⁾ It is noteworthy that plough and non-plough cultivation existed side by side in the agriculture of the Charotar villages.

Although wheat and rice were not grown in large quantities in the village and were not principal articles of daily food, they must have been consumed in large quantities on festival occasions. The villagers must have purchased these grains from other villages which grew them

in surplus, particularly from the neighbouring tracts of Dashkosi and Bhal (see Chapter I for the description of tracts). The quantity of cotton grown in the village was also insignificant. I have already mentioned the lack of information about the organisation of weavers' occupation. If the villagers spun the cotton required for their clothing they must have got cotton from other villages in Charotar or from the cotton-tracts of Mal and Kanam. I do not know whether sesamum and castor seeds and hemp, necessary for certain daily requirements of their life, were grown in sufficient quantity. Tobacco was a new crop in Radhvanaj, but it was grown in large quantities in the richer Patidar villages.

There is hardly any doubt that there was considerable specialisation in the cultivation of crops in villages in Gujarat, firstly, between the various agricultural tracts, and secondly, between villages in the same tract. The list of prices of commodities included in the survey records of every village shows that a market existed for every item of agricultural produce in the villages of Central Gujarat. It is no wonder that a Bania shop was found in almost every village, and some villages like Radhvanaj could provide business for more than one Bania.

V: Bullocks, Ploughs, Carts and Carriages

In the column 'ploughs' in the Census Register the following four figures are found entered against the names of the heads of households: 0, $\frac{1}{2}$, 1, $1\frac{1}{2}$. These figures by themselves would be puzzling, because there cannot obviously be one half plough, but they make meaning when read along

with the figures in the column 'bullocks and male calves'. If a household kept a pair of bullocks it was said to have 'one plough'; if it kept one bullock it was said to have 'half plough'; and if it kept three bullocks it was said to have 'one and a half plough'. If a cultivator kept one bullock, he and another cultivator keeping one bullock would enter into an agreement called sundhal, according to which one would use the other's bullock when necessary, to draw a plough or a cart or some other agricultural implement. A cultivator would keep only one bullock and not a pair of bullocks because he might not have enough land to need a pair, or because he might not have enough money to buy a pair although he might have enough land to need a pair. It is also very likely that in the Census Register a household was shown to have one bullock because the other bullock had died only a little before the census. In some cases of brothers living in separate households but cultivating their land jointly, the Census Register shows one bullock or a pair of bullocks against only one of the brothers. A cultivator having three bullocks kept only one plough, but used one of the three bullocks to relieve the other two when they were tired.

If the column 'bullocks and male calves' does not show a number corresponding to the number shown in the column 'ploughs' against a household, it means the household concerned had a male calf or calves in addition to the bullock or bullocks.

Table 8 shows for each caste the number of households having the various numbers of bullocks and ploughs. I will

make full use of the data about ploughs when I analyse the pattern of land ownership and tenancy in Chapter X.

Table 8: Classification of Data concerning Ploughs and Bullocks in Radhvanaj

Caste i	Households keeping					Households in total vi
	$\frac{1}{2}$ plough: ii	1 plough: iii	$1\frac{1}{2}$ plough: iv	0 plough: v		
Bania	-	-	-	2		2
Barber	2	-	-	1		3
Bharwad Shepherd	-	1	-	1		2
Bhoi	-	-	-	1		1
Blacksmith	-	-	-	1		1
Brahman	4	2	3	4		13
Carpenter	1	-	-	-		1
Charan Bard	-	1	-	1		2
Dhed	-	-	-	3		3
Jogi	1	-	-	2		3
Leather- worker	-	-	-	7		7
Molesalam	3	3	-	2		8
Muslim Mendicant	-	-	-	1		1
Pardeshi Koli	3	7	-	9		19
Patidar	16	11	2	3		32
Potter	-	-	-	3		3
Rabari Shepherd	-	-	-	1		1
Rajput	9	9	-	8		26
Rama Priest	1	-	-	-		1
Senwa	1	1	-	2		4
Sepoy	-	1	-	4		5
Shiva Priest	-	-	-	1		1
Shoemaker	-	-	-	1		1
Tailor	-	-	-	1		1
Talapada Koli	6	-	-	12		18
Total: Ploughs	47	36	5	71		159
Bullocks	47	72	15	0		134
Male calves						16

Only a few observations may be made here. Firstly, the absence of a plough with a household does not mean that it was not connected with agriculture. It may be a household of a landless labourer or a non-cultivating landowner, and there was also the possibility of non-plough cultivation. Secondly, the large number of households having one bullocks shows that a number of households were linked with one another by the sundhal agreement. Unfortunately the records do not provide any information about the people involved in these agreements, but it can be stated on the basis of the data about the present situation, that sundhal agreements used to cut across caste lines. Thirdly, eleven minor castes, Bania, Potter, Blacksmith, Bhoi, Shoemaker, Rabari Shepherd, Tailor, Dhed, Leatherworker, Shiva Priest and Muslim Mendicant, whose traditional occupation was not agriculture, did not also have any plough, but some or all of the households in seven minor castes, Carpenter, Rama Priest, Charan Bard, Barber, Jogi, Bharwad Shepherd and Senwa, kept ploughs and bullocks even though their traditional occupation was not agriculture. Even among the seven castes associated with agriculture, namely, Patidar, Rajput, Molesalam, Brahman, Talapada Koli, Pardeshi Koli and Sepoy, only the Patidars were a really peasant or agricultural caste. 29 out of 32 Patidar households kept ploughs, as against 9 out of 14 among Brahmans, 18 out of 26 among Rajputs, 6 out of 8 among Molesalams, 6 out of 18 among Talapada Kolis, 10 out of 19 among Pardeshi Kolis, and 1 out of 5 among Sepoys.

The last column in Table 8 shows for each caste the number of households having a cart or carriage. There were

three kinds of carriages, eko, drawn by one bullock, dameniyuh, drawn by two bullocks, and mafo, wedding carriage drawn by two bullocks. The records do not inform how many carriages were found in Radhvanaj, but I assume that there were no carriages. A cart was used for the transportation of not only goods but also men, whereas a carriage could be used only for the transportation of men. A carriage was kept mostly for pomp and luxury. The number of carts in the village was much smaller than that of ploughs. Any farmer with a sizeable area of land needed a cart for agricultural operations and ceremonial occasions. A cart was not as indispensable an equipment for agriculture as a plough and a pair of bullocks, and it was far more expensive than a plough. Frequently, a group of brothers or a lineage segment would own a cart jointly. It could also be borrowed easily from a relative, a neighbour or a friend, of course at the expense of his obligation.

VI: Cows, Buffaloes, Goats, Sheep and Horses

It is significant that in the Census Register while there are two separate columns 'bullocks and male calves' and 'cows and female calves' there is only one column 'female buffaloes and calves' and no separate column for male buffaloes. A male buffalo was sacred on account of its association with the cult of mother-goddess in Gujarat, but it was also a fierce animal and was kept only for the purpose of breeding. There was one bull buffalo in a group of a few nearby villages. It was kept usually by a man of a lower caste named Vaghri, who would go round the villages with his bull buffalo to serve female buffaloes. Most male calves were not given enough food

in infancy in order that they could not survive.

There is also no mention of bull cows in the Census Register, because there was usually one bull cow in a group of a few nearby villages. Unlike the bull buffalo, a bull cow was not owned by any person but was allowed to roam about among herds of cows in fields and pastures. Nobody could kill or injure a bull because he was sacred on account of his association with god Shiva.

Cows and female buffaloes were kept as milch cattle. In all there were 176 buffaloes and 72 cows. Compared to the present time, the cow occupied a much more important position in the economy of the village in 1825: at the present time there are hardly a dozen cows in the village, while there are a large number of buffaloes. However, it is remarkable that the cow was less important than the buffalo even in 1825, because it is generally believed that the cow became a less important animal only after the coming of the British. If we deduct the 12 cows kept by the Rabari Shepherd from the total of 72 cows, there were only 60 cows distributed among 29 households, as against 176 buffaloes distributed among 87 households, which shows that the cow's role was less important than the buffalo's in the economy of an average villager.

Some households kept both cows and buffaloes, some kept only cows, and some only buffaloes. 96 out of 175 households in the village kept one milch animal or the other, whereas 61 households did not keep any milch animal at all.

It may also be noted that in all the castes in the village, excepting the Tailor, Carpenter, Rama Priest, Shiva Priest and Muslim Mendicant, some or all of the members of a caste kept one or more heads of milch cattle. Keeping a cow or a buffalo did not have any association with caste in this village society.

As already noted, all the 22 goats and sheep in the village were kept by a Jogi. Out of six horses in the village one was kept by ^a Patidar, one by a Brahmin, two by two Rajputs, one by a Charan Bard, and one by a Dhed.

Chapter IX

LAND TENURES AND LAND REVENUEI: Government and Private Land: Sub-categories of Government Land

I have already raised in Chapter IV the problem of rights of landownership. The British made a general distinction between private property and government property. This distinction also existed before the coming of the British, but the difference lay in the way in which it was defined and applied. The British believed that they were successors to the Maratha rulers, the latter to the Mughals, and so on. Whatever belonged to the previous rulers also belonged to them, but it was not at all clear what belonged to the previous rulers. Let us see how the British went about defining their rights.

First of all, the British considered almost all the uncultivated land as obviously the property of the Government. A part of it was virtually uncultivable, a part potentially cultivable, and a part readily cultivable. The Government allowed a part of this property to be used by the public on account of the Government being considered an agency of public welfare, and it endeavoured to bring the rest of the property under cultivation, in which case it derived rent. In Radhvanaj, the non-agricultural land under the village-site, the village-tank, ponds, wells, drains, roads and cart-tracks, with a total area of 75 acres and 38 gunthas was considered Government land for public use. Similarly, the 26 acres and 5 gunthas of potentially cultivable but virtually uncultivable land under

pastures and 'jungle' was also considered Government land for public use. However, as noted earlier, a part of the 'jungle' was brought under cultivation, i.e. withdrawn from public use, between 1823 and 1824.

The British applied the distinction of private and government property also to wells, trees, tank water, etc., which could also be set apart for public use or given to private individuals in order to derive income for the Government treasury. We shall see how the Government derived income from trees standing on Government land and from manure resulting from the use of public pastures.

The British tried to bring the readily and potentially cultivable Government land under cultivation. The cultivators of Government land were called the 'tenants' of the Government, and they were of two categories, 'permanent' and 'temporary'. If a tenant took a lease for only one year he was called a 'temporary tenant' and his land was called farata ganavatiya (lit., under transferable or changing lease). The tenant entered into a written agreement with the village accountant and the village headman about a month before the beginning of the rainy season, the latter two acting as the representatives of the Government. Usually a field was cultivated by the same tenant year after year. However, the Government had the right to lease it to another tenant if he offered a higher rent. On the other hand, the tenant was free to discontinue to cultivate the field. In either case, the new tenant paid a compensation to the former tenant if he had taken proper care of the field, as for instance, by manuring it.

If a tenant took a lease for a certain number of years he was called a 'permanent tenant' and his land was called chalu ganavatiya (lit., under running lease). Such a lease was given generally to encourage the cultivation of poor land. The tenant did not pay any rent for the first few years of the lease—for one year in the case of goradu land and for three years in the case of kyari land—and then paid rent at a progressively increasing rate. After the expiry of the lease the land became subject to annual lease. The tenant could discontinue his lease whenever he liked, and the Government discontinued the lease if the tenant did not abide by the conditions. When the lease was discontinued the land was given to another tenant. The former tenant was paid a compensation by the new tenant if he had taken proper care of the field. The compensation was decided by a panch of village leaders. The lease was a written agreement (called ganvat) between the tenant on one side and the Government represented by the village accountant and the headman on the other side. The rent for goradu land was paid in cash, and for kyari land in kind. Legally speaking, the land under annual lease or under permanent lease could not be sold or mortgaged by the lease-holder. The right to hold the lease could, however, be sold or mortgaged.

The land that did not belong to the Government was considered as belonging to what were called 'permanent occupants'. Their title, as Barnewall stated, "descended to them from their ancestors, and they either cultivate or let their lands to the other two descriptions of tenants (i.e. their own permanent or

temporary tenants), or they employ labourers in cultivating them." He went on, propounding the ultimate right, "The hereditary occupant claims the usufruct, not the ownership, of the land; the impositions of the Mahomedan governments must have annihilated property, if it ever existed; and the demands of the Mahrattas not being limited, no property can be said to have existed in the lands held by the hereditary cultivators, when we succeeded to those districts, but the usufruct."⁽¹⁾

The British not only considered the long unoccupied land as the property of the Government but also suspected the titles of the people already occupying land. They thought that the officials of the previous rulers had illegally alienated a lot of land legally belonging to the Government. Walker instructed Diggle on the day he took over the administration of Kaira District: "These alienations have for the most part been made by the Patells and the native officers of the districts, under the sanction probably of the local agents of the Guickwar Government, but it is to be observed that as neither the Patells nor these agents had any authority to grant such transfers of the public property, they must all be considered as resumable. Still as these parties have given some equivalent service for the lands in question, and have acquired a kind of prescriptive right from possession, the ejection of the present occupants, although conformable probably to strict justice, would be considered as an exertion of violence and oppression, unless attended in most instances

with a reasonable compensation." (2)

It is clear that while the declaration of unoccupied land as the property of the Government was politically an easy affair, the ejection of occupants of 'alienated' land was not an easy one. The British had to proceed very cautiously. The first blow they struck was, as we have already seen, against the holders of land under the denomination of giras and kothali-santh, because the fact of alienation was the least controvertible in their case and they were the most open violators of the political position of the British and of their cherished ideas of law and order. We have seen that about sixty-eight acres of land was thus declared to be the property of the Government in 1812.

We have also noted in Chapter V that one of the three important tasks performed by Barnewall during his survey of villages was an inquiry into titles to land. A further attempt to determine titles was also made during the survey of 1820-25. These inquiries had led to claims and counter-claims by people. The acceptance of British concepts of land rights had gone so far that the people had started claiming ownership rights over even virtually uncultivable lands, even over lands used as pastures for centuries.

Table 9 shows the figures for the area of land in Radhvanaj in 1825 under the major categories discussed so far.

Table 9: Figures for Government and Private Land and for Sub-categories of Government Land in Radhvanaj in 1825

Tenure	: Area
(A) Land held by 'permanent occupants'	964-13
(B) Government land	422-37
(i) Cultivated	202-19
by 'permanent tenants'	149-24
by 'temporary tenants'	52-35
(ii) Uncultivated	220-18
virtually uncultivable, for public use	102-03
potentially cultivable and rentable.	118-15
Total area of land in Radhvanaj	1387-10

The area of Government land and the area of land held by 'permanent occupants', fixed during Barnewall's survey of 1816, remained unaltered until at least 1827. The former was 442 acres and 37 gunthas and the latter 964 acres 13 gunthas. While the total area of Government land remained the same, the area of land belonging to its various sub-categories changed from time to time. According to the survey of 1825, 102 acres and 3 gunthas were the non-agricultural and virtually uncultivable land set apart for public use, and 118 acres and 15 gunthas were the potentially cultivable land, i.e. a total of 220 acres and 18 gunthas of uncultivable land. 124 acres and 4 gunthas or more than half of this uncultivable land was claimed by the Rathod Rajputs of the village as the ancestral property of their lineage. Almost all the pastures and swamps in the village were claimed by them. The surveyors

recorded the claims in the Land Register. Although the claims were not accepted, as later records show, ~~nevertheless~~ the claims indicate how the Rathod Rajputs still believed that they were the original rulers of the village, and also how the claims were made according to the same logic as that of the British.

We have seen in the preceding chapter that 290 acres and 25 gunthas were uncultivable in 1825 (see Table 4), and here we have seen that 220 acres and 18 gunthas of uncultivable land were the property of the Government. That is, 70 acres and 7 gunthas of uncultivable land belonged to permanent occupants. It is possible that the claims of permanent occupants over a large part of this land were made on account of the new concepts of landownership introduced by the British.

The area of Government land cultivated by the tenants of the Government was 202 acres and 19 gunthas in 1825. About 16 acres of this land, formerly a part of 'jungle', was brought under cultivation only two years ago in 1823, and 68 acres and 12 gunthas were converted from giras and kothali-santh land to Government land in 1811. A large part of the remaining 118 acres and 7 gunthas of Government land must have come under cultivation on account of the efforts of the Government to bring more and more land under plough since 1805. Barnewall does not seem to have taken away much land from 'permanent occupants' in Radhvanaj. I will show that most of the cultivators of Government land were the people who had come to live in Radhvanaj a few years before the survey.

II: Revenue-free and Revenue-paying Land

The lands owned by 'permanent occupants' were of two kinds, nakaru (revenue-free) and salamiyu (revenue-paying). The holder of a nakaru or salamiyu field could sell, mortgage or gift it, could cultivate it himself, with or without the aid of paid labourers, or could get it cultivated by tenants. Even when it was sold or mortgaged, its tenure did not change. In the case of a salamiyu field, if its occupant did not pay revenue, the Government got it cultivated by a tenant, but the occupant could get it back on the same tenure if he paid the revenue. The salamiyu fields were levied revenue according to what were called beghotee rates, which varied from field to field according to the nature of tenure (i.e. sub-tenure), quality of soil, extent of irrigation, crops grown, and most important of all, the social status of the owner. An important change was made in 1820 in the conditions governing the salamiyu tenure. If a salamiyu field remained uncultivated, no salami was levied before 1820, but one half of the fixed salami began to be levied from 1820 onwards.

As the Land Register of 1825 does not show which field was revenue-free and which revenue-paying, it is not possible to provide precise figures for the total area of land under the two categories in 1825. The Kalambandhi books, however, mention figures in bighas according to the survey of 1816. I have presented these figures in Table 9A, along with the figures for the sub-categories of nakaru and salamiyu lands. I am presenting these figures in bighas and not converting

them into acres because I do not want them to be confused with the figures I have presented so far. Out of a total of 2339 bighas of land in the village, 1551¼ bighas (33.2%) were revenue-free. This was a high proportion of revenue-free land indeed, and the proportion must have been higher before Barnewall's survey.

Table 9A: Figures for the Area of Land held by Permanent Occupants under various sub-tenures in Radhvanaj

Tenure	:Nakaru :Salamiyu : Total Area in :Area in:Area in : bighas :bighas :bighas :
(A) Talpad	
i. Ghareniya	80¼ 379 459¼
ii. Vechaniya	76½ 192½ 269
iii. Pasayata	87 46 133
iv. Chakariya	118 0 118
v. Hadiya	6 4 10
Total	367¼ 621½ 989¼
(B) Wanta	147 415½ 562½
Total: Permanent Occupancy	514¼ 1037 1551¼
(C) Government Land in 1825	
i. Cultivable	- - 3346
ii. Uncultivable	- - 441¼
Total: Government	787¼
Total : Village	2339

III: Wanta tenure

The lands of Radhvanaj were also divided into Wanta and Talpad. I have already delineated the historical development of this division. In the early part of the nineteenth century,

there were three types of Wanta estates prevalent in Central Gujarat. In the first type, the entire village was held as the joint property of a Rajput lineage. Usually the lineage was headed by a chief called Thakor or Darbar, who was the head of the village. Frequently, however, the affairs of the village were managed by a council of elders. In either case, the higher authorities levied revenue in a lump sum for the entire village by negotiation with the Rajputs. It was almost like tribute paid by Rajput chiefs in Saurashtra and highland Gujarat. The higher authorities did not interfere in the internal affairs of the village, which were the concern of the dominant Rajput lineage. Such a village did not have either a headman or a village accountant as in a rasti village. There was no essential difference between such a Wanta village and a Rajput village known as Talukdari village elsewhere in Gujarat. Such Wanta villages were however very few in Kaira District.

In the second type of Wanta estate, the village-site as well as the surrounding cultivated territory of the village was divided into two separate administrative units, one Wanta and the other Talpad, as shown in Map 4. Administratively, the internal structure of the Wanta part and its relation to the higher authorities were similar to those of Wanta villages described above, but the co-existence of the Talpad part dominated by the Patidars or some other non-Rajput caste and administered on different principles was a source of important differences in social relationships. It is noteworthy that sometimes the dominant Rajput lineage of such a Wanta village

owned land, under Wanta tenure or some other tenure within the administrative boundaries of the Talpad part or of some other village altogether.

In the third type, the Rajputs owned a substantial part of the land of a village under the denomination of Wanta, but the Wanta fields did not form a separate territorial and administrative unit. They were interspersed with the Talpad fields. The Rajputs did not pay revenue in a lump sum, but each Rajput's lands were levied revenue separately. Such a village did not have a Rajput chief or council but a headman, usually belonging to some other caste. The Wanta lands in Radhvanaj were of this type. In some cases, in addition to the Wanta land in their own village the members of the Rajput lineage held Wanta land in some other village, just as the Rajputs of Radhvanaj held Wanta land in the adjoining village Vansar. It should be noted that Wanta land could be held by Hindu as well as Molesalam Rajputs.

According to the Persian chronicles, the Talpad part of a village was all that was not the Wanta part, but in the records of the British there is a confusion. Sometimes the Government land was considered a part of the Talpad land and sometimes a separate category of land altogether. In any case, the British wanted to distinguish between (a) the non-Wanta land considered to be the property of the Government lying waste or cultivated by tenants of the Government, and (b) the non-Wanta land held by 'permanent occupants' paying revenue (salami) or remaining revenue-free (nakaru). In any case,

the Wanta was always treated as a separate category.

If we treat Wanta and Talpad only as sub-categories of land owned by 'permanent' occupants', the area of Wanta land and the area of Talpad land always remained unaltered (see Table 9A). Consequently the area of the Government land as a whole remained unaltered, but the area under sub-categories of Government land changed from time to time.

In Radhvanaj in 1823, there were 562½ bighas of Wanta land, 989½ bighas of Talpad land, 322½ bighas of Government land cultivated by Government's tenants, and 464½ bighas of uncultivable land, and the total area of the village was 2339 bighas. If we compare the area of Wanta lands with the total area of the village, the former formed a little less than one-fourth of the latter, which was the proportion mentioned in the Persian chronicles. The Talpad category of the British records did not always mean the same thing as it meant in the Persian chronicles.

Out of 562½ bighas of Wanta land in Radhvanaj, 147 bighas were revenue-free (nakaru) and 414½ bighas were revenue-paying (salamiyu). A large part of the Wanta land was of course held by the Hindu Rathods, but the Molesalam Rathods also held a considerable part.

All the Wanta fields in Radhvanaj were not always in the actual possession of the Rathods. Some of them were sold or mortgaged and some were given in charity or in exchange of services rendered to the Hindu Rathod lineage. In 1823, 117½ bighas were with Rajputs of other clans and lineages and with

Brahmans, Patidars, Bards, Carpenters, Kolis and Leather-workers. $100\frac{1}{3}$ bighas of these were revenue-free and the rest $16\frac{1}{2}$ bighas were revenue-paying. Out of $445\frac{1}{2}$ bighas in the actual possession of the Rathods, only $46\frac{1}{2}$ bighas were revenue-free whereas 399 bighas were revenue-paying. Even though a Wanta field of a Rathod was transferred to a non-Rathod, the former retained his ultimate title to the field: a Wanta field always remained a Wanta field, whoever may be its owner. Similarly, the proportion of the revenue-free (nakaru) and revenue-paying (salamiya) Wanta land also remained unaltered. Even when a field was transferred from a Rathod to some other person, the latter held it under the same tenure as the former.

Out of the $100\frac{1}{3}$ bighas of Wanta land transferred to non-Rathods, 31 bighas were transferred to eleven Brahmans of Radhvanaj, $32\frac{1}{2}$ bighas to one Rajput of Kaira, 35 bighas to two Charan Bards of Radhvanaj, $1\frac{1}{2}$ bighas to a Bhat Bard of Harijala, a nearby village, 6 bighas to a Carpenter of Radhvanaj, 4 bighas to a Kotwal Koli of Zarol, a nearby village, $\frac{1}{3}$ bigha to a Vaidya Brahman of Kaira, 2 bighas to a Pagi Koli of Radhvanaj, and 3 bighas to a Patidar of Antroli. It seems from a later record that the Rathods had also given one field to the Potters of the village. The records do not mention which field was transferred by sale, which by mortgage, which by charity, and which in exchange of services. However, it may reasonably be conjectured that the land given to the Rajput of Kaira and the Patidar of Antroli was sold or mortgaged, and almost all the land given

to the Brahmans, Bards, Carpenter, Kotwal and Pagi, was given in charity or in exchange of services. This conjecture is supported by the fact that most of the transferred land was revenue-free. It is noteworthy that the Rajputs granted land to certain artisans, servants and religious persons in addition to the land granted to them by the Government for their services to the entire village community. This was an indication of the exclusiveness of the Rathods from the rest of the village community.

We have seen in Chapter II that the Wanta lands were subject to the payment of salami during the rule of the Sultans and the Mughals. Then how is it that a part of the Wanta land was free from the payment of revenue in the beginning of the nineteenth century? We may conjecture that the Wanta-holding Rajputs regained their power during the period of instability in the eighteenth century and forced the officials of the Marathas to forego the salami levied on a part of their land.

It is also noteworthy that the Rathods of Radhvanaj, both Hindu and Molesalam, owned a lot of land on tenures other than the Wanta tenure. On some of this land they paid revenue and some was revenue-free. This shows that the Muslim rulers did not take away all the land in the actual possession of the Rajputs but made changes only in the tenure on which they held their land. When the Persian chronicles stated that three-fourth of the land of a village was taken away from the Rajputs it meant only that the tenure of this land was changed and not that the Rajputs were actually dispossessed of their land.

It has been mentioned in Chapter II that originally the estate of the ancestors of the Rathods consisted of the whole of Radhvanaj as well as Vansar, and when the division into Wanta and Talpad took place the Rathods retained one-fourth of the land in each village, and we have seen in this chapter the details about the Wanta land in Radhvanaj in 1822-27. I have not been able to find the Jarif and Kalam-bandhi records of Vansar in any taluka office so far. I have found only the transcription of the kalam about Wanta land of Vansar in a volume of such transcriptions belonging to the year 1825. According to this document, the Wanta land was 449½ bighas, the Talpad, 376¼ bighas, and the cultivated Government land, 747 bighas. The document does not mention the area of uncultivable land, but it can be stated on the basis of later records that the uncultivable Government land was about 200 bighas. The total area of the village was thus 1678 bighas, and the Wanta lands therefore formed a little less than one-fourth of the total, the proportion mentioned in the Persian chronicles.

Out of 449½ bighas of Wanta land in Vansar, 368½ bighas were revenue-paying, 75 bighas revenue-free, and 6 bighas were declared to be the property of the Government. 71 out of the 75 bighas of revenue-free land and 64 out of the 368½ bighas of revenue-paying land were transferred to Brahmans, Charan Bards and Carpenters of Radhvanaj.

It can be seen that a considerable part of Wanta land was given to Brahmans and Charan Bards. The Brahmans were of

course considered sacred by all Hindu castes and were an object of alms and charity. It seems to me that the land given to the Brahmans by the Rathods reflects the classical relationship between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas. I have shown in my paper on the Vahivancha Barots that there was a very special relationship between the Charan Bards and the Rajputs, and this was reflected in the land given by the Rathods to the Charans. The traditional symbols of the Kshatriya varna of the Rajputs were maintained till the early nineteenth century through the Wanta tenure.

IV: Sub-tenures of Talpad

The lands under the Talpad tenure were divided into several sub-tenures. Firstly, there were five tenures known as vechaniya, gharaniya, chakariya, pasayata, and hadiya, and secondly, the basic distinction of revenue-free (nakaru) and revenue-paying (salamiya) was applied to these tenures. In four out of the five tenures, vechaniya, gharaniya, pasayata and hadiya, there were both revenue-free and revenue-paying lands, and in the case of the chakariya tenure all the lands were revenue-free. The Talpad lands were thus divided in all into nine tenures. The area of land under each tenure, fixed during Barnewall's survey, remained unaltered until at least 1827.

We have already seen in Chapter VII that no clear distinction was made between chakariya and pasayata tenures, and that the hadiya tenure was also similar to chakariya and pasayata tenures. In any case, these three tenures were in general quite different from the other two tenures, namely,

vechaniya (lit., sold) and gharaniya (lit., mortgaged). In all 261 bighas, or a little less than one sixth of the total land with 'permanent occupants', were under the categories of chakariya, pasayata and hadiya.

One may ask why was the distinction between revenue-free and revenue-paying applied to the 'service' and 'gift' lands? The records do not provide any definite answer, but it is likely that all these lands were revenue-free before the British came, and the British began to levy some revenue on those lands which they thought were made revenue-free by the officials of the Maratha government in an unauthorized way.

Another question: if the 'service' land was to be held by a person only as long as he occupied a recognized office, why was he considered a 'Permanent occupant' of that land? Why was he not considered a special kind of temporary occupant of the Government land? The British had begun to ask this question during the early nineteenth century, but began to act upon it at a later stage, probably because they were afraid of public resentment during this period.

Finally, the 'sold' and 'mortgaged' lands. They formed quite a large proportion, nearly half, of the total area of land with 'permanent occupants'. Were these absolutely new categories innovated by the British or did they exist before the British came? If they existed before the British came, we should ask a number of questions. Even if we accept the British explanation that these lands were sold or mortgaged

by the Maratha officials in an unauthorized way, who were the owners of these lands before they were sold or mortgaged? If we accept the further explanation that they were owned by the Government or the Crown, who cultivated them? Were they cultivated by permanent and temporary tenants of the Government or the Crown in the same way as they were during the British regime? Only a study of the contemporary records of the eighteenth century can provide an answer to these questions. The existence of the practice of getting Government land cultivated by tenants of the Government does not seem to me to be entirely impossible. We have seen how the village headman and Matadars used to get the giras and kothali-santh lands cultivated by tenants. In the same way they might have got some land cultivated by tenants on behalf of the King's officials. It should also be recalled that some migrations used to take place even in normal circumstances, and it seems to me the land vacated by the migrant families was cultivated by the tenants of the Government. Furthermore, the high proportion of 'sold' and 'mortgaged' land in 1825 was due partly to the acceptance of the British theory of land rights. The villagers might have found that the only way to be declared a 'permanent occupant' of a piece of land was to assert that the land was sold or mortgaged to him.

The question I raised about the application of the distinction between revenue-free and revenue-paying to the 'service' and 'gift' lands, may be asked about the its application to the 'sold and 'mortgaged' land. In this case

there was likelihood of all the lands being revenue-free before the British came, but it is very likely that the British converted some revenue-free land into revenue-paying.

PATTERN OF LANDOWNERSHIP, TENANCY AND AGRICULTURAL LABOURI: Definition of Terms

The use of the word 'tenant' in the legal terms 'permanent tenant' and 'temporary tenant' should be distinguished from its use as a general word meaning a person who cultivated land owned or held by someone else on the condition of paying a certain rent in cash or kind. A person who held land in his name and either cultivated it himself or got it cultivated by labourers or tenants will be called a 'landholder', 'landowner', 'landlord' or 'occupant'. The corresponding Gujarati words for the latter were jamin-dharan-karnar, jamin-malik, jamin-dar, and kabajedar, respectively. In this sense, the 'permanent tenant' or 'temporary tenant' of legal terminology was also a landholder. If he got his land cultivated by another person on rent, which happened quite frequently, I shall not call the latter a 'sub-tenant' but 'tenant'. I shall always use the terms 'permanent tenant' and 'temporary tenant' in parenthesis to indicate that they are used in strictly legal sense. According to the 'popular' categories, then, there were two kinds of land, 'private' land and 'public' land. We will consider 216 acres of Government land for public use or lying uncultivated, as 'public' land, and the rest 1171 acres and 10 gunthas as 'private' land.

In legal terms the Government levied 'rent' on land under 'permanent tenancy' and 'temporary tenancy', and

'revenue' on land under 'permanent occupancy'. I will ignore this distinction between rent and revenue and consider both of them as revenue. The term 'rent' will be used for what a landowner, as defined above, collected in cash or kind from a tenant, as defined above.

Generally a landowner took one half of the produce as rent from a tenant. Sometimes a landowner gave one half of manure required in the field, and also shared irrigation-charges, if any. Sometimes a landowner took one third of the produce as rent, in which case he did not give any manure or irrigation expenses. The revenue was paid usually by the landowner.

II: Absentee Owners

a. Jointly Owned Land: Out of 405 plots of private land with an area of 1166 acres and 32 gunthas, 327 plots with an area of 885 acres and 29 gunthas were owned by the residents of Radhvanaj, 76 plots with an area of 273 acres and 39 gunthas by the residents of other villages and towns, and 2 plots with an area of 7 acres and 4 gunthas jointly by residents of Radhvanaj and of other villages and towns. As the records do not inform how much land out of the last mentioned two plots was owned by the residents of Radhvanaj and how much by the outsiders, I assume that in each of the two cases the Radhvanaj man and the outsider owned two equal parts of the plot. Thus, totally the residents of other villages and towns owned 277 acres and 21 gunthas, i.e. about 23.75 per cent of the total private land in the village.

b. Mortgaged Land: One half of a plot owned jointly by two outsiders was mortgaged to a resident of Radhvanaj, and on the other hand four whole plots and parts of three plots belonging to the residents of Radhvanaj were mortgaged to outsiders, and one plot belonging to an outsider of one village was mortgaged to another outsider residing in a town. After the mortgage of a field the right of cultivating it by the mortgagee himself or of getting it cultivated by tenants or labourers was transferred to the mortgagee. He had also the right to get it cultivated by any tenant he liked, but if it was already being cultivated by the mortgager himself, generally he was allowed to cultivate it, i.e. he became a tenant-cultivator from an owner-cultivator of that field. If the field was previously being cultivated by a tenant, generally the same tenant was allowed to cultivate it. Any way, the mortgagee became the owner of the field until it was released from mortgage.

The figures for the area of land owned by the residents of other villages and towns before and after mortgage are shown in Table 10. It can readily be seen that there was a net increase in the area of land under the actual possession of the outsiders during the early nineteenth century.

Table 10: Land held by Residents of various Villages and Towns in the Administrative Unit of Radhvanaj in 1825

Village or Town	: Before mortgage	: After mortgage
A. Radhvanaj	889-11	880-25
Bi. Adjoining villages		
Alindra	34-37	34-37
Antroli	1-14	1-14
Palana	37-37	29-10
Sandhana	46-20	48-15
Undhela	21-14	21-14
Vansar	14-12	14-12
Unspecified	8-05	8-05
	164-19	157-27
Bii. Distant villages and towns		
Sokhda	3-04	3-04
Kaira	25-19	41-07
Khumarwad	9-37	9-37
Nadida	66-15	66-05
Pachrania	5-29	5-29
Run	2-18	2-18
	113-02	128-20
Bi + Bii. Villages and towns other than Radhvanaj.	277-21	286-07
Total private land in Radhvanaj (see A & Bi in T.9)	1166-32	1166-32

c. Classification of Villages and Towns: Nearly 60 per cent of the land held by the residents of other villages and towns was held by the residents of six villages sharing boundaries with Radhvanaj, namely, Alindra, Antroli, Palana, Sandhana,

Undhela and Vansar, and the remaining 40 per cent of land was held by the residents of villages and towns situated beyond the six villages. I provide details first about the land held by the residents of these latter villages and towns.

d. Distant Villages and Towns: Out of 113 acres and 2 gunthas of land held by residents of distant villages and towns, 36 acres and 37 gunthas were held by the receivers of giras and kothali-santh allowances belonging to Sokhda, Kaira, Khumarwad and Pachrania. We have seen that their lands were declared the property of the Government and then given back to them under 'permanent or temporary tenancy'.

Two fields, with an area of 3 acres and 35 gunthas, were held by the managers of the Bhabharam shrine of Run and a Bajania Drummer of Sokhda on chakariya and pasayata tenures respectively.

A Brahman of Kaira town held three fields; one was revenue-free, one was held on pasayata tenure subject to the payment of a nominal amount of revenue, and there was no information about the third. His surname was Vaidya (lit., ayurvedic doctor), which would suggest that he provided some medical service to the people of Radhvanaj in lieu of which he was granted the field. This is however only a conjecture. The surname might not have any relation to his occupation; he might simply be a priest. Any way, it is significant that a Brahman of a neighbouring town held service land in Radhvanaj. He got his land cultivated by tenants of Radhvanaj.

A Bania of Kaira, who was one of the chief money-lenders for the people of Radhvanaj, held one field with an area of 2 acres and 9 gunthas, and got it cultivated by a Patidar tenant of Radhvanaj. It is very likely that the Patidar had first mortgaged and then sold the field to the Bania. He and a rich Patidar of Radhvanaj held a field with an area of 1 acre and 6 gunthas, which was cultivated by a tenant of Radhvanaj. It is very likely that the joint owner himself had mortgaged, and later sold, a part of his field to the Bania. It is also likely that the field originally belonged to the tenant, who mortgaged, and later sold, two parts to the two owners. Furthermore, two whole fields, one belonging to a resident of Radhvanaj and the other to a resident of Palana, and parts of three fields belonging to the residents of Radhvanaj were mortgaged to the same Bania. Thus, a total of 18 acres and 20 gunthas of land was in the actual possession of the Bania in 1825. Furthermore, the Bania had taken on lease an old well, which was formerly the Government property. He repaired it and took money for water drawn from it for irrigation by the cultivators of the adjoining fields. The Bania had thus not only increased the amount of money lent on the security of land but also started playing a commercial role in the actual farming activities of the peasants. Although the records do not inform, it is reasonable to assume that the Bania was also lending money on the security of jewellery and houses.

Two Ravanāyas (peons) of the village accountant held revenue-free land in Radhvanaj on chakariya tenure—one held

two fields with an area of 7 acres and 22 gunthas and the other held two fields with an area of 7 acres and 15 gunthas. They held this land only while they were in the employment of the Government; when one Ravaniya was replaced by another the land was transferred to the latter. One of the two Ravaniyas also held a field of 3 acres and 9 gunthas as his private property, liable to the payment of revenue. It is likely that he had purchased the field from some other peasant.

A Bhat Bard of Nadiad held two fields with an area of 6 acres and 23 gunthas revenue-free. Another Bhat held a field of 3 acres and 30 gunthas which was originally revenue-free but was declared to be the property of the Government by the British and then leased to the same Bhat on 'temporary tenancy'. The records do not provide any information about the reasons why the Bhats of Nadiad held land in Radhvanaj. It is possible that the pargana officials granted these fields to the Bhats for charity or for services rendered to them. No king, before the coming of the British, demanded revenue from Bhats and Charans. The British denied them this privilege by and by, not without resistance. There were serious riots in both Nadiad and Matar when the British forfeited the land of the Bhats.

There were six fields in Radhvanaj, with an area of 19 acres and 30 gunthas, allotted to the office of the Desai under the revenue-free chakariya tenure. These fields were held by five Desais of Nadiad—all of one lineage—and their

kinsman resident in Radhvanaj. We have seen in an earlier chapter that the Desais used to hold 'service' land in every village under their jurisdiction. It should also be recalled that the land assigned to the Desai's office was apportioned among the members of his lineage, irrespective of whether all the members performed service for the Government or not. Thus the Desai living in Radhvanaj held 'service' land as a member of the Desai lineage even though he did not perform any service for the Government. It is, however, very likely that he helped his Desai kinsman in the collection of the revenues of Radhvanaj, indirectly if not directly.

Besides 'service' land, the five Desais of Nadiad also held seven fields with an area of 21 acres under ordinary tenure liable to the payment of revenue. The Radhvanaj Desai also held such land. It is very likely that these fields were originally the property of the Crown, and the Desais acquired them as their private property during the days of their power. It is also possible that they did not pay any revenue on these fields before the coming of the British. Finally, one Desai of Nadiad held a field as a 'permanent tenant' of the Government. In all, the Desais of Nadiad held 37 acres and 37 gunthas of land in Radhvanaj, and they got all this land cultivated by tenants of Radhvanaj.

It can be seen from the above description that the temple-managers, priests, medicine men, officials, moneylenders and marauders resident in distant villages and towns held land in Radhvanaj on account of their special role in the social life of the village. Such land relationships were

only one of the many threads in the network of social relationships among the people of villages and towns in an area.

e. Adjoining Villages: Among the residents of the adjoining six villages who held land in Radhvanaj, one was the Olgana of Antroli, one of the village servants of Radhvanaj. He got his small field cultivated by a Senwa of Radhvanaj. The possible reason for getting the field cultivated by a tenant was that it was situated far away from the village-site of Antroli, on the road between Radhvanaj and Undhela, and also perhaps that the Olgana did not keep a plough and a bullocks

A Charan Bard of Sandhana held a field of 3 acres and 6 gunthas under revenue-free pasayata tenure. He must have held it for his services as a bard to the people of Radhvanaj as well as to the people of Sandhana. He also held two other fields on revenue-payment basis. All the three fields were situated on or near the border between Radhvanaj and Sandhana, and were cultivated by the Charan himself.

A Bhat Bard of Undhela held a field under hadiya tenure. It was situated near the boundary between Radhvanaj and Palana and was cultivated by a tenant residing in Palana.

A Brahman of Vansar held a small field of 1 acre and 29 gunthas revenue-free because it was granted to him by the Rathod Rajput lineage from its revenue-free Wanta land. He got the field cultivated by a Patidar tenant of Radhvanaj.

One Gosai, a Shiva Priest resident either in Sandhana or Palana—the records are not specific—held three fields

with an area of 8 acres and 5 gunthas under pasayata tenure. He cultivated two fields himself and got the third cultivated by a tenant residing in Radhvanaj.

It can be seen that the above-mentioned residents of the adjoining villages held land in Radhvanaj on account of some special role in the social life of Radhvanaj. The records do not provide evidence of any special relationship between Radhvanaj and the holders of the remaining land held by the residents of the adjoining six villages. It is however not unlikely that some special relation existed before 1822-27, assuming that the boundaries of the administrative units were the same as in 1822-27. All the landholders from Undhela, except one, were Patidars, their fields were situated near the boundary, and they themselves cultivated their land. All the landholders from Palana were Patidars, all the seven fields were situated near the border, but only one field was cultivated by the owner himself, and six by tenants from Radhvanaj. All the landholders from Alindra were Brahmans, all the six fields were near the border, four of which were cultivated by their owners, and two by tenants from Radhvanaj. All the landholders from Vansar were Brahmans, all of whom got their land cultivated by tenants from Radhvanaj. Two landholders of Sandhana were Sepoys, one of whom cultivated four fields himself and got two fields cultivated by a tenant from Radhvanaj and one field by a tenant from Sandhana itself.

Just as the residents of the adjoining villages holding land near the boundaries of Radhvanaj cultivated the land themselves or got it cultivated by tenants from their own

village or from Radhvanaj, the residents of Radhvanaj holding land near the boundary cultivated it themselves or got it cultivated by tenants from their own village or from the adjoining villages. Thus, eight plots of land owned by the residents of Radhvanaj, were cultivated by tenants belonging to adjoining villages.

f. The Radhvanaj People's Land in other Villages: Just as residents of the adjoining villages owned land within the administrative limits of Radhvanaj, the residents of the latter held land within the administrative limits of the former. I have already discussed the details about the Wanta land held by the Rathods of Radhvanaj in the adjoining village Vansar. I have mentioned that out of $449\frac{1}{2}$ bighas of Wanta land, 75 bighas were transferred to other people and the remaining $368\frac{1}{2}$ bighas were held by the Rathods themselves. I have also mentioned that I have not been able to get the Jarif and Kalambandhi records of Vansar. It is therefore impossible to state (a) how much, if any, land was held by the people of Radhvanaj in Vansar under any tenure other than the Wanta tenure, (b) whether all the people to whom Wanta land was transferred were residents of Radhvanaj or not, (c) how much land was held in Vansar by different individuals from Radhvanaj, and (d) how much land belonging to other villages was mortgaged to the residents of Radhvanaj. I have therefore relied upon later records to find out the area of land held by different individuals in 1825. According to these records, the total area of land held by the people of Radhvanaj in Vansar was 198 acres and 16 gunthas. This

figure is considerably less than the figures mentioned in the Kalambandhi record. As already indicated, most of the land was held by the Rathods but considerable land was also held by Brahmans and Charans.

The residents of Radhvanaj also held land in the adjoining village Antroli. I have not been able to get any early nineteenth century record about Antroli, excepting a table of population census. However, it can be stated on the basis of later records that 59 acres and 3 gunthas of land was held by the residents of Radhvanaj within the administrative boundaries of Antroli. Most of this land, 52 acres and 14 gunthas, was held by two Brahmans, who were priests of the people of Antroli.

Although I have not seen the early nineteenth century records of Sandhana, Palana, Alindra, Undhela, and Ratanpur, it seems on the basis of later records that the residents of Radhvanaj did not hold any land in these villages, except perhaps in Ratanpur. I have also not come across any records showing any land held by the residents of Radhvanaj beyond the six adjoining villages. It is hardly necessary to elaborate the point that while the people of towns held land in villages, i.e. within the administrative boundaries of villages, the question of the residents of villages holding land in towns did not arise, except in the case of the towns which included considerable agricultural population and were therefore considered 'administrative villages' or moujas also. (I am not ruling out the possibility of some villagers owning houses or house sites in towns.)

If we take all the land held by the residents of Radhvanaj, i.e. land held within the administrative limits of three villages, Radhvanaj, Vansar and Antroli, its total area was as shown in Table 11.

Table 11: Aggregates of Land held by the Residents of Radhvanaj in Different Administrative Units

Village	: Before mortgage		: After mortgage	
	: Acre	: Guntha	: Acre	: Guntha
Radhvanaj	889	11	880	25
Vansar	198	16	198	16
Antroli	59	3	59	3
Total	1146	30	1138	04

g. General Remarks: The data presented in this section shows the validity of the distinction I made in Chapter I between the two connotations of the word 'village', namely, village-site and administrative village. The people residing on a village-site did not own and/or cultivate land only within the limits of the administrative village in which their village-site was situated. The data also shows that the term 'absentee landowner' or 'absentee landlord' needs to be used carefully. If the residents of one village-site owned land within the administrative village adjoining their own, strictly speaking they were absentee landowners, but their relationship with the people on the village-site was of a different type than that of the absentee landowners residing in villages and towns beyond the adjoining villages. A distinction should also be made between absentee landowners having a special role in the community life of the village and the

absentee landowners without such role. A large absentee landowner should be distinguished from a small one. Finally, a widely prevalent belief that absentee landlordism is a development of the British period is false.

III: Pattern within Radhvanaj

In this lengthy section I show how the people of Radhvanaj, belonging to the various social categories described in Chapter VI, were associated with land as owners, tenants and agricultural labourers.

a. Nature of the Data: At the outset it is necessary to make two observations about the nature of the data. Firstly, the absence of the Jarif records of 1825 for Vansar and Antroli is a serious lacuna, which makes certain conjectures inevitable. I will treat the data about Radhvanaj separately from the data about Vansar and Antroli. Secondly, the surveyors were concerned much more with the registration of ownership rights than with that of tenancy rights. This is true not only of the records of 1825 but of all land records until recently. It was only after the enactment of modern tenancy legislation that serious attempts were made to define the rights of tenants by legislation, and it was only then that the Government began to register tenancy rights with some accuracy.

b. Jointly Owned Land: It was mentioned at the beginning of the preceding section that two plots were entered in the Land Register as each owned jointly by a resident of Radhvanaj and a resident of another village or town, but for the sake of convenience I considered each field as divided into two equal

parts. Similarly, among the fields owned by the residents of Radhvanaj, eight fields with an area of 34 acres and 36 gunthas were each entered as held by two or more owners belonging to two different castes. It seems on the basis of later records that in most of these cases the different owners held different parts of the field separately from one another. Although the possibility of joint ownership and even joint cultivation of a field by members of two different castes should not be ruled out altogether, I assume for the sake of convenience that all these plots were each divided into as many parts as there were owners. Wherever the later records are helpful in indicating the area of the different parts owned by different owners I shall follow the later records, otherwise I shall assume that the joint owners had equal shares, and shall add each's share to his total holdings of land.

c. Mortgaged Land: It has been mentioned in the preceding section that 11 acres and 37 gunthas belonging to the residents of Radhvanaj were mortgaged to the residents of other villages and towns, 3 acres and 11 gunthas belonging to a resident of a town were mortgaged to a resident of Radhvanaj, and 8 acres and 27 gunthas belonging to an outsider of one village was mortgaged to an outsider living in a town. In addition to these mortgages between Radhvanaj and other towns and villages there were intra-village mortgages. If the above-mentioned mortgage between two outsiders is excluded, the area under intra-village mortgages in Radhvanaj (39 acres and 13 gunthas) was much larger than the area under mortgages between the residents of Radhvanaj and of other villages and towns

(15 acres and 8 gunthas). Within the village, most of the mortgages were between members of different castes. Out of nine mortgages four were Patidars (27 acres and 25 gunthas), two Brahmans (6 acres and 16 gunthas), one Rajput (2 acres and 33 gunthas), one Pardeshi Koli (1 acre and 10 gunthas), and one Bania (2 acres and 18 gunthas). It is obvious that the role of the Bania in money-lending on the security of land was far less than the role of the other castes in the village. The usual assumption that the Bania always played a great role in money-lending in Indian village economy is false.

Out of sixteen mortgagers, seven were Rajputs (18 acres and 15 gunthas), four Talapada Kolis (11 acres and 30 gunthas), two Patidars (5 acres and 37 gunthas), one Molesalam (15 gunthas), one Brahman (7 acres and 18 gunthas), and one Charan Bard (3 acres and 33 gunthas).

d. Caste-wise Analysis: The land-holdings of the different castes in the village, before and after mortgage, are shown in Table 12, separately for each of the six major castes and totally for all the minor castes.

Table 12: Distribution of Land among Different Castes
in Radhvanaj in 1825

Caste	Before Mortgage			Total
	:Radhvanaj	: Vansar	: Antroli	
Rajput	443-00	128-35	4-21	576-16
Molesalam	57-08	34-26	-	91-34
Brahman	104-21	27-27	54-22	186-30
Patidar	93-19	-	-	93-19
Talapada Koli	75-06	-	-	75-06
Pardeshi Koli	36-19	-	-	36-19
Minor castes	69-15	7-08	-	76-23

d. Minor Castes: The classification of land data about the minor castes is shown in Table 13.

Table 13: Classification of Land Data concerning Minor
Castes

Caste	:House- :hold	: 'Service' : or 'gift' : land	:Land : under : other : tenures	:Total : land : before : mort- : gage	:Total : land : after : mort- : gage	: Land : taken : on : tenancy
i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii
Potter	1+2+3	2-08	-	2-08	2-08	-
Barber	4+5	6-23	-	6-23	6-23	7-24
	6	4-19	1-08	5-27	5-27	-
Carpenter	7	13-18	-	13-18	13-18	-
Shiva Priest	8	1-12	-	1-12	1-12	-
Rama Priest	9	6-08	6-11	12-19	12-19	-
Muslim	10	2-36	-	2-36	2-36	-
Mendicant						
Charan Bard	11	13-34	-	13-34	13-34	-

i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii
	12	10-16	4-14	14-30	9-37	-
Jogi	13	-	0-19	0-19	0-19	-
	14	-	-	-	-	6-38
	15	-	-	-	-	-
Senwa	16	-	-	-	-	1-14
	17	-	-	-	-	6-30
	16+17+ 18+19+ 20	2-37	-	2-37	2-37	-
Bania	21	-	-	-	2-18	-
Sepoy	22	-	-	-	-	9-38
	23 to 26	-	-	-	-	-
Leather worker	27	-	-	-	-	2-11
	28	-	-	-	-	0-34
	29 to 33	-	-	-	-	-
Seven other castes	34 to 43	-	-	-	-	-
Total	43	64-11	12-12	76-23	74-08	35-29

No household in nine castes, Blacksmith, Bharwad Shepherd, Bhoi, Shoemaker, Rabari Shepherd, Tailor, Dhed, Leather-worker and Sepoy owned any land. However, as we have noted in Chapter VII two of the seven households of Leather-workers cultivated some land taken on tenancy, and all the seven households worked as agricultural labourers. Similarly, one of the five Sepoy households had taken three fields of 9 acres and 38 gunthas on tenancy from three different landowners, a Rajput of Radhvanaj, a Sepoy of Sandhana, and a Koli of Khumarwad. He kept a pair of bullocks to cultivate this land. None of the other Sepoys took any land on tenancy in Radhvanaj, and the fact that none of them kept any bullocks indicates that they had not taken

any land on tenancy in the adjoining villages. None of them even kept any milch cattle. By and large, these four Sepoy households seem to have subsisted on agricultural labour, or as a tradition says, on carding and spinning cotton. Even today many Sepoys in the adjoining villages Sandhana, Undhela and Ratanpur subsist on agricultural and other labour. We have also noted that the Bhois worked as agricultural labourers.

While no household in the nine minor castes considered above owned land, some or all of the households in ten other minor castes, Carpenter, Potter, Barber, Charan Bard, Bania, Jogi, Senwa, Rama-Priest, Shiva-Priest, and Muslim Mendicant owned land. Table 13 shows not only the landholdings of each of these castes but also the tenures under which they held them. It can be seen that out of about 76 acres held by the members of the minor castes, about 64 acres (about 84%) were under 'service' or 'gift' tenure. This was because seventeen out of the nineteen minor castes were vasvaya castes, who were granted land for their services or for their ritual and social position in the society. Although the minor castes did not hold much land on other tenures they did cultivate a substantial area of land taken on tenancy from other castes in the village or from outsiders. In the same way, a few minor castes got their 'service' or 'gift' land cultivated by tenants, because the land was not sufficient to need investment in bullocks, agricultural implements, manure, etc.

e. Pardeshi Kolis: Only six out of the nineteen Pardeshi Koli households owned land, totally 37 acres and 29 gunthas, which they themselves cultivated (see Table 14).

Table 14: Classification of Land Data concerning Pardeshi Kolis

Descent line	House- hold	Land owned		Land taken on tenancy
		Before mortgage	After mortgage	
A	1	5-30	5-30	1-10
	2	4-27	4-27	8-00
	3	-	1-10	14-04
	4	-	-	4-32
	5	-	-	-
B	6	3-0	3-0	-
	77	-	-	-
	8	-	-	-
C	9	10-29	10-29	-
	110	-	-	3-20
D	11	-	-	2-34
	12	-	-	7-08
Others	13	12-13	12-13	3-10
	14	-	-	2-35
	15	-	-	8-08
	16	-	-	-
	17	-	-	-
	18	-	-	-
	19	-	-	-
Total	19	36-19	37-29	56-01

No one of these six Pardeshis could consider a single piece of land as really ^{his} ~~their~~ own. One of the fields was taken on mortgage, and all the remaining land was taken on 'permanent or temporary tenancy' from the Government. That is to say,

the Pardeshis did not own any land which could be considered as coming down to them from their ancestors. This reflects as well as confirms the fact that they were recent immigrants into the village.

Four out of the six landowners also cultivated a total of 26 acres and 24 gunthas taken on tenancy from other landowners. It is very likely that one household owning only 3 acres might be cultivating some land on tenancy in Vansar or Antroli, or might be supplementing income by doing some labour. Out of the thirteen non-landowning households, six cultivated land on tenancy, although the Census Register shows only four of them as having bullocks. The total area of land taken on tenancy by the ten Pardeshi households was 56 acres and 1 guntha, much more than the total area of land the Pardeshis cultivated as owners. It is probable that one or two of the remaining seven landless households cultivated some land in Vansar or Antroli, otherwise all the seven households depended almost entirely on agricultural labour. Only two of these seven households kept milch cattle. It is also very likely that the four households cultivating less than 5 acres on tenancy might be supplementing income by doing some labour. Thus, thirteen out of nineteen Pardeshi households were tenant-cultivators and/or agricultural labourers, and six were owner-cum-tenant-cultivators. This shows the dependence of the Pardeshis on other landowning people in the village.

It can be seen from Table 14 that the lineage A, consisting of five households, was not only the largest lineage in terms of population but it also cultivated the

largest area of land: 10 acres and 27 gunthas or about 27% of the total land owned by the Pardeshis, and 28 acres and 6 gunthas or about 50% of the total land cultivated by the Pardeshis as tenants. This supports the claim of the present members of this lineage that their ancestors were the first Pardeshis to settle in the village. At the present time also this is the most prosperous, though not the largest, Pardeshi lineage in the village.

f. Talapada Kolis : Five out of the eighteen Talapada Koli households neither owned any land nor cultivated any land on tenancy (see Table 15).

Table 15: Classification of Land Data concerning Talapada Kolis

Descent line	Household	Land Owned		Land taken on Tenancy	
		Before : mortgage	After : mortgage	Before : mortgage	After : mortgage
Ia	1	10-28	1-03	6-17	16-02
	2	11-23	11-23	1-17	1-17
Ib	3	4-18	3-24	2-22	3-16
	4	2-01	0-30	-	-
II	5	2-35	2-35	4-06	4-06
	6	-	-	-	-
III	7	2-36	2-36	-	-
	8	-	-	-	-
IV	9	2-12	2-12	-	-
	10	0-37	0-37	-	-
Others	11	4-09	4-09	-	-
	12	18-19	18-19	2-18	2-18
	13	4-14	4-14	-	-
	14	4-05	4-05	-	-
	15	6-09	6-09	-	-
	16	-	-	-	-
	17	-	-	-	-
	18	-	-	-	-
Total	16	75-06	63-16	17-00	27-19

One of these five was composed of only one man and the other of a widow and her two young children. The widow must have worked as a labourer or depended on a kinsman. She also kept one buffalo, which must have provided some income to her. The man in the single-member household either worked as a labourer or depended on a kinsman. The remaining three households were fairly large, but they did not own any land in Radhvanaj, nor do they seem to have owned any land in Vansar and Antroli. The Land Register of Radhvanaj does not show them as cultivating land on tenancy and the Census Register does not show them as keeping bullocks. It seems these three households subsisted almost entirely on agricultural and other labour.

All the remaining thirteen households owned land, a total of 75 acres and 6 gunthas, but 11 acres and 30 gunthas out of it were mortgaged, leaving 63 acres and 16 gunthas under the actual possession of the Talapadas. Almost all the mortgaged land was, however, cultivated by the Talapadas on tenancy. Therefore, whereas the Talapadas cultivated only 17 acres on tenancy before mortgage, they cultivated 27 acres and 19 gunthas after mortgage. Even then, unlike the Pardeshis, the Talapadas cultivated much larger area as owner-cultivators than as tenant-cultivators. Moreover, while the Pardeshis did not own any land as 'permanent occupants' (i.e. land coming down to them from their ancestors), the Talapadas owned 43 acres and 1 guntha of such land, about 57 per cent of their total landholdings. Out of the remaining 32 acres and 1 guntha, 18 acres and 29 gunthas were under 'permanent and temporary tenancy', 6 acres and 7 gunthas were

'service' land held by the village Pagi or Tracker, 2 acres and 35 gunthas were revenue-free Wanta land given as a gift to its holder by the Rathod lineage for his services as a peon of the lineage, and 4 acres and 14 gunthas were 'service' land subject to the payment of a nominal rent, held by a Kotwal for his services to the Government officials

Among the thirteen Talapada landowners, three each owned more than 10 acres, one about 6 acres, and the remaining nine each from 37 gunthas to 4 acres and 18 gunthas. All the three big landowners had also taken some land on tenancy (one had mortgaged most of his land but was cultivating the same on tenancy). All the three Talapadas kept bullocks to cultivate their land.

One small landowner's one field had remained uncultivated for eight years and the other was given on tenancy. It seems the one male member of this household was a young boy. Another small landowner had mortgaged one of his two fields and the other had remained uncultivated in 1825. This large household must have subsisted on agricultural and other labour. Only two of the remaining eight small landowners had taken land on tenancy. These two Talapadas and one more kept bullocks to cultivate their land. Five small landowners did not keep bullocks; most presumably they cultivated their land by borrowing bullocks from other villagers, or did not use ploughs at all. These landowners must also have worked as agricultural labourers.

All in all, out of the eighteen Talapada households, one depended on kinsman, four were merely agricultural

labourers, seven owner-cultivators-cum-labourers, five owner-cum-tenant-cultivators, and one non-cultivating owner. Agricultural labour was not as important a source of livelihood for the Talapadas as for the Pardeshis.

g. Patidars: Fourteen out of the thirty-two Patidar households owned land (see Table 16), six households each from 1 acre and 20 gunthas to 5 acres and 1 gunthas, six households each from 5 acres and 26 gunthas to 8 acres and 7 gunthas, and two households each more than 15 acres: a total of 93 acres and 19 gunthas for the whole caste.

Table 16: Classification of Land Data concerning Patidars

Desant line:Household:		: Before : After : Land taken		: on tenancy
:		: mortgage : mortgage :		
i	ii	iii	iv	v
Nariya	1	7-18	14-33	4-18
	2	3-19	3-19	1-35
	3	6-05	3-04	8-05
	4	8-07	8-07	8-06
	5	-	-	7-19
Desai	6	15-29	16-04	5-34
	7	-	-	-
Headman	8	17-29	33-23	43-32
Others	9	2-39	2-39	14-33
	10	2-13	2-13	7-24
	11	7-36	7-36	3-29
	12	5-01	5-01	-
	13	5-26	5-26	-
	14	2-16	2-16	5-12
	15	1-20	1-20	12-33
	16	7-01	9-06	-
	17	-	-	2-05

i	:	ii	:	iii	:	iv	:	v
		18		-		-		6-05
		19		-		-		9-02
		20		-		-		8-29
		21		-		-		2-29
		22		-		-		4-26
		23		-		-		2-38
		24		-		-		8-05
		25		-		-		8-35
		26 to 32		-		-		-
Total		32		93-19		116-07		177-14

Let us recall what was mentioned about the Patidars in Chapter VI: (i) There was only one lineage group of five households, called the Nariya lineage, which was the oldest Patidar lineage in the village, and the two of the three Matadars belonged to it. (ii) There were two Desais belonging to two Desai lineages of Nadiad, out of whom one was a revenue-contractor of the village for a couple of years. (iii) There were no other lineage groupings, not even dispersed sibling groups, but the household of the village headman, the third Matadar, was a prominent one.

The revenue-contractor Desai and the village headman were the wealthiest Patidars in the village. The village headman owned 16 acres and 9 gunthas as a 'permanent occupant' and 1 acre and 20 gunthas as 'permanent or temporary occupant'. Moreover, he had taken 14 acres and 34 gunthas on mortgage and as much as 43 acres and 32 gunthas on tenancy from other landowners. He cultivated in all about 76 acres of land, and kept three bullocks and six buffaloes. There were at least

three, if not four or five, adult men in his household—the Census Register mentions four men and one servant.

The revenue-contractor Desai owned 14 acres and 8 gunthas as a 'permanent occupant' and 1 acre and 21 gunthas as a 'permanent or temporary tenant' of the Government, and had taken 3 acres and 11 gunthas on mortgage and 5 acres and 34 gunthas on tenancy. He cultivated in all about 21 acres, kept three bullocks and three buffaloes, and one servant.

It is surprising that one of the five households of the Nariya lineage did not own any land whatsoever, and cultivated 7 acres and 19 gunthas only as a tenant. The remaining four Nariyas were not as big landowners as the village headman and the Desai, but they were middle-size landowners, each owning from 3 acres and 19 gunthas to 8 acres and 7 gunthas, and they also cultivated some land on tenancy. One of them also kept a servant.

It is significant that the six landowners mentioned above owned 50 acres and 32 gunthas out of a total of 61 acres and 16 gunthas owned by the Patidars on 'permanent occupancy', whereas only 8 acres and 5 gunthas out of a total of 32 acres and 3 gunthas on 'permanent and temporary tenancy'. The remaining 10 acres and 24 gunthas of 'permanent occupancy' land was distributed among three households. Thus, only nine out of thirty-two Patidar households in the village could claim to own land coming down to them from their ancestors. The remaining five landowners owned land only on 'permanent or temporary tenancy'.

Out of the fourteen landowners considered above, only three did not cultivate any land on tenancy, whereas eleven were owner-cum-tenant-cultivators. And ten households were simply tenant-cultivators. The total area of land cultivated by the Patidars on tenancy was as large as 177 acres and 14 gunthas, nearly double the area they cultivated as owners. It should be noted that this is the figure about land cultivated within the administrative boundaries of Radhvanaj. Some Patidars must have cultivated some land on tenancy in Vansar and Antroli.

According to the Census Register, four Patidars kept bullocks, but according to the Land Register of Radhvanaj, they did not cultivate any land either as owners or as tenants. It is very likely that they cultivated land on tenancy in Vansar and Antroli. There were only four households which neither kept any bullocks nor cultivated any land. Two of them were each composed of a single man, most presumably an old man depending on a kinsman. There is no information about the source of livelihood of the remaining two Patidars, except that one kept one buffalo, and the other, four buffaloes. However, it is almost certain that no Patidar worked as a farm labourer.

To sum up, out of twenty-eight Patidar households about whose association with land we have information, three were owner-cultivators, eleven owner-cum-tenant-cultivators, and fourteen tenant-cultivators. Out of the fourteen households which owned land, only two were big landowners, and the others small or medium landowners, but at the same time

there were many large tenant-cultivators. Compared to the Patidars of narwadari villages, the Patidars of Radhvanaj were, by and large, poor and powerless. We will soon see that they were also poor and powerless compared to the Rajputs and Brahmans of Radhvanaj. But at the same time they were definitely richer than the Talapada and Pardeshi Kolis. There were few, if any, agricultural labourers among them. The Patidars were thus the peasant caste par excellence.

h. Brahmans: The land data concerning the Brahmans is presented in Table 17.

Table 17: Classification of Land Data concerning Brahmans

Descent line	House- hold	On one's own name	Addi- tional	In Van- sar and Antroli	Total before mortgage	Total after mort- gage	Land taken on tenancy
I	1	15-31	-	7-20	23-11	23-26	-
	2	10-15	-	2-06	12-21	18-22	1-23
	3	7-14	11-35	17-11	36-20	32-31	-
	4	13-36	12-15	0-30	27-01	23-12	-
	5	7-00	-	-	7-00	7-00	-
II	6	1-03	-	26-07	27-10	27-10	-
	7	2-01	-	26-07	28-08	28-08	-
Others	8	12-35	-	-	12-35	12-35	-
	9	4-08	-	-	4-08	4-08	-
	10	2-14	-	-	2-14	2-14	-
	11	3-14	-	-	3-14	3-14	4-15
	12	-	-	2-08	2-08	2-08	-
	13	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	13	80-11	24-10	82-09	186-30	185-28	5-38

As already mentioned, out of thirteen Brahman households, two were each composed of a widow, and one was composed of a widow and her daughter. One of the three widows did not own any land nor did she keep any cattle. There is no information about any other source of her livelihood; probably she was maintained by some of her kinship relatives. All the remaining twelve households, including those of the two widows, owned land. The widows held land on the name of their husbands.

In addition to the land held in the name of the male head of the household or in the name of the husband of the widow head of the household, the records show land held in the name of two dead men who had left no descendants, about 19 acres in the name of one and about 4 acres in the name of the other. The former had mortgaged about 7 acres during his lifetime. He had died so recently before the survey that his name was included in the list of Brahmans in the Census Register, and two houses were also mentioned as owned by him. The inheritance rights of neither his land nor his two houses were settled when the Land Register was prepared. All his land was cultivated by tenants, but it is reasonable to believe that his kinsmen shown as inheritors of his land in later records must have collected rent in cash or kind from the tenants. The same must be the case with the other dead landowner. In Table 17 I have considered the dead landowners' land as their living kinsman's land.

The land mortgaged by the dead landowner was the only land mortgaged by Brahmans. On the other hand, two Brahmans

had taken 6 acres and 16 gunthas on mortgage from other landowners.

The total area of land held by the twelve landowning households was 186 acres and 30 gunthas out of which 104 acres and 21 gunthas were in Radhvanaj, 54 acres and 22 gunthas in Antroli, and 27 acres and 27 gunthas in Vansar. The Brahmans cultivated very little land on tenancy: only 5 acres and 38 gunthas, quite insignificant.

Four out of the twelve landowners were small landowners, each owing from about 2 to about 4 acres. One of them, the smallest landholder, did not keep bullocks and must have got his land cultivated by a tenant. The other three cultivated their land themselves, each keeping one bullock. One cultivated, in addition, about 4 acres on tenancy, and it is very likely that the other two cultivated some land on tenancy in Vansar and Antroli.

Three households were medium-size landowners, each owing from 7 to about 12 acres. Two of the three households were headed by widows, who got their land cultivated by tenants. The third Brahman cultivated not only his own land but also about 2 acres taken on tenancy.

Five Brahmans were big landowners, each owning from about 23 to about 36 acres, and all of them cultivated almost all their land themselves, one keeping one bullock, two each keeping two bullocks, and two each keeping three bullocks. All of them also kept cows and buffaloes, four of them each kept a cart, and one kept a horse.

The Brahmans did not own any land on 'permanent or temporary tenancy' from the Government. This shows not only that most of the Brahmans had considerable land to cultivate for themselves but also that whatever land they owned had come down to them from their ancestors. In other words, most of the Brahmans, like the Rathod Rajputs, had lived in the village for a very long time.

Out of the total area of land owned by the Brahmans, about 106 acres were owned by the lineage servicing as priests to the higher castes in the village and about 55 acres by the lineage serving as priests to the neighbouring village Antroli. The five large landowners belonged to these two lineages. The other Brahmans did not own much land because they were comparatively recent immigrants into the village and performed priestly functions only for the lower castes.

i. Rajputs: As mentioned in Chapter VI, out of 25 households of the Rajputs, 19 belonged to the dominant Rathod clan and six to minority clans. Only one of the latter six owned land, one field of 1 acre and 39 gunthas taken on 'temporary tenancy' from the Government. This and two other households are mentioned as cultivating land taken on tenancy from the Rathods within the administrative limits of Radhvanaj. It is likely that they cultivated some land on tenancy also in Vansar. Among the other three, two kept bullocks, which suggests that they cultivated land on tenancy in Vansar and/or Antroli. There is no information about the source of livelihood for the remaining one household. I doubt if any Rajput in the

village subsisted on agricultural labour. It is possible that this household consisted of a widow and her two young children. All in all, the members of the minority Rajput clans were dependent almost entirely on the dominant Rathod lineage.

The Rathods owned a total area of 577 acres and 37 gunthas, out of which 443 acres were in Radhvanaj, 130 acres and 16 gunthas in Vansar, and 4 acres and 21 gunthas in Antroli. Out of the land in Radhvanaj, they had given 18 acres and 15 gunthas and taken 2 acres and 34 gunthas on mortgage. They had taken about 15 acres on tenancy from other landowners. This was quite insignificant compared to the area of land they owned, and moreover, most of it, about 12 acres, was taken only by one Rathod, an ambitious big landowner like the ambitious Patidar headman mentioned earlier. The Rathods had taken very little land, only 2 acres and 34 gunthas, on 'temporary tenancy' from the Government.

Out of the total area of land owned by the Rathods, 39 acres and 24 gunthas were the corporate property of the Rathod lineage, 38 acres and 22 gunthas in Radhvanaj and 1 acre and 2 gunthas in Vansar. About 4 acres of the lineage land in Radhvanaj had remained uncultivated for eight or more years, and the remaining land was cultivated by tenants belonging to several different castes, one Rajput, two Jogis, two Patidars, one Talapada Koli, one Senwa, and one Sepoy of Undhela.

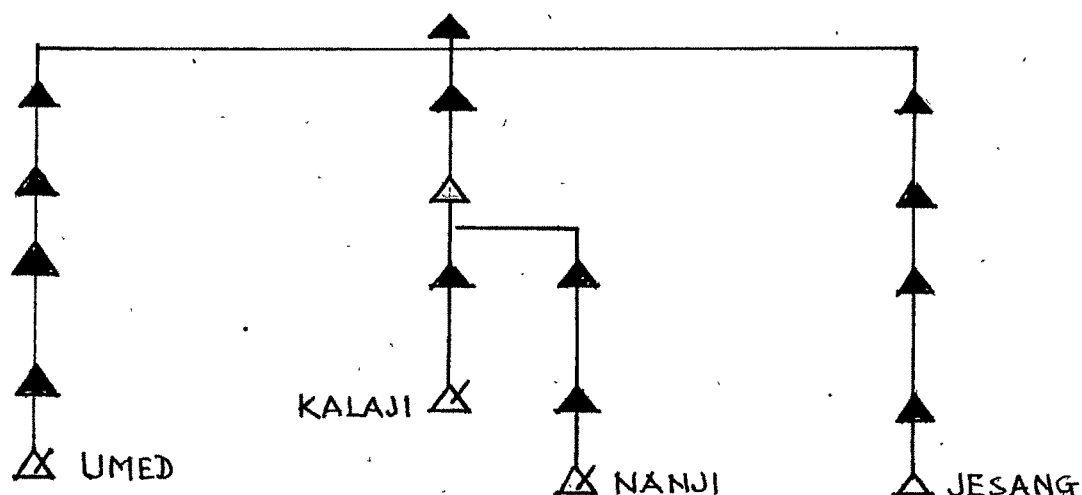
The data about the land owned by the Rathods individually is rather complicated. I will analyse first the data about the land in Radhvanaj and then about the land in Vansar.

It has already been shown that the households of the Rathod lineage were divided into five segments. The first problem is that the Land Register shows as landowners many more Rathods than those mentioned in the Census Register. Almost all of those not mentioned in the Census Register were dead at the time of the Survey of 1825, but some of them had left widows and minor children, residing most presumably with their matrilineal relatives in other villages. I presume their land was managed on their behalf by their kinsman, mostly the members of their lineage segment in Radhvanaj. Those who had left no descendants were shown as owning land most presumably because the inheritance rights were not settled, and we may presume that in such cases the land was provisionally owned by the nearest kinsman. The second problem is that the Land Register shows a large number of fields as jointly owned by two or more Rathods, either of the same segment or of two or more different segments. It is very likely that in reality each of these fields was divided between its owners into two or more fields, but the surveyors had shown them as one field for the convenience of revenue assessment. However, it is also likely that the field was jointly cultivated. A third possibility was joint management, which is suggested by the cultivation of several such fields by joint tenants.

There were in all fifteen plots each owned jointly by Rathods belonging to two or more lineage segments. Seven of these plots were owned jointly by members of Segments Aa and Ab, five by members of Segments E and F, one by members of

Segments Aa, Ab and B, one by members of Segments Ab, E and F, and one by members of Segments Ab and F. It can be seen that the most common denominator in joint ownership was (Aa + Ab) and (E + F) which supports not only the information of the Bard's record that Sub-Segments Aa and Ab descended from a single ancestor but also the oral tradition that Segments E and F formed a united group or a faction against Segment A within the Rathod lineage. It seems the seven plots owned jointly by members of Segments Aa and Ab were managed jointly by the owners. All of them were cultivated by tenants, whereas all the other eight plots were divided between the owners, each cultivating his own portion separately, and I shall also consider each of these portions a separate field in further analysis. I shall show the significance of the jointly managed fields later in this Section.

Genealogical Chart 3: Rathod Lineage Segment Aa



According to the Census Register, in Segment Aa (see Genealogical Chart 3) there was one household, with Jesang as its head. It will soon become clear that Jesang was one of the biggest landlords in the village. He owned as much as 31 acres and 7 gunthas on his name in the village alone.

The Land Register shows three more men of this segment, Nanji, Kalaji, and Umedji, as owning land in Radhvanaj. As regards Nanji and Kalaji, two fields were held on the name of Nanji alone, one on the names of Kalaji and Nanji together, and five on the name of Kalaji alone. Two of these fields had remained uncultivated, two were mortgaged by Kalaji, and the remaining seven were cultivated by tenants. All this suggests that Nanji and Kalaji were not alive at the time of the census. Later records, however, show that both of them had left male descendants. My own interpretation is that Nanji and Kalaji had left minor children who were being brought up by their matrilinear relatives and whose land was cultivated by tenants and managed by their nearest agnate, Jesang.

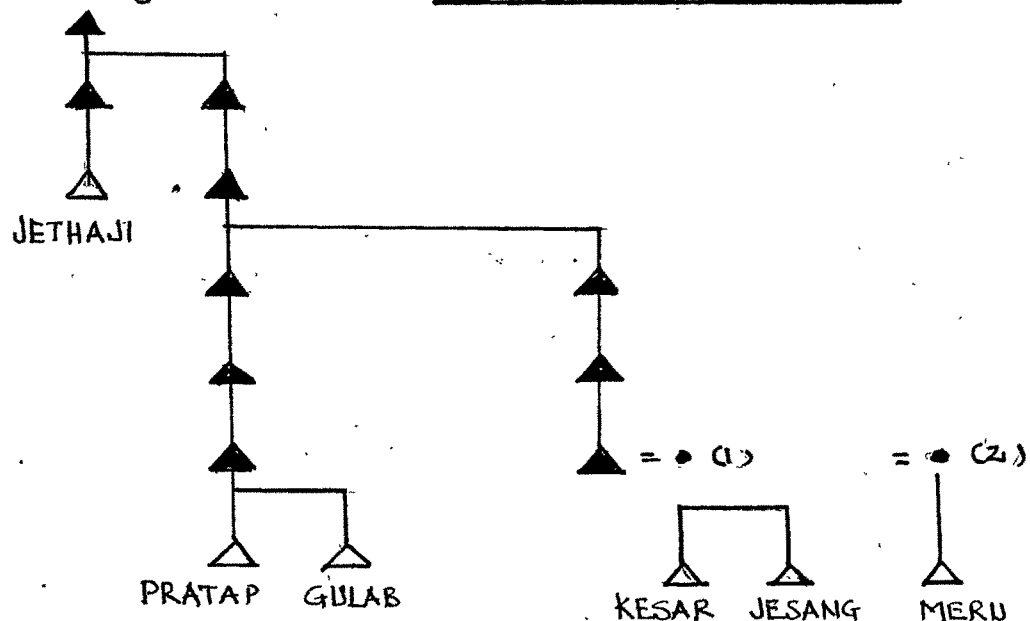
As regards Umedji, five fields are mentioned as owned jointly by Umed, Jesang, and Gulab, the leader of Segment Aa. One of the five fields had remained uncultivated for about eight years, and the remaining four were cultivated by tenants. Unlike Nanji and Kalaji, Umedji had not left any male descendants, but it is probable that he had left a widow, residing in her natal home. My interpretation, however, is that the inheritance rights of his land were unsettled by the time of the survey, and the leaders of the two sub-segments of Segment A were managing his land. Later records show that the two leaders had appropriated Umed's land for themselves in almost equal proportions.

Two fields were owned jointly by Jesang and Gulab, one of which had remained uncultivated for more than ten years and the other was cultivated by a single tenant. I would

conjecture that this land was also appropriated by the two leaders from some member of their lineage segment who had died some time before the census. Finally, one field was owned jointly by Jesang, Gulab, and Padsang of Segment B. I have divided this field between the three owners according to later records.

Thus, all in all, Jesang's personal property was 42 acres and 10 gunthas, and in addition he managed 35 acres and 33 gunthas belonging to the minor sons of Kalaji and Nanji, 26 acres of the former and 35 acres and 33 gunthas of the latter. He had effective control over an area of 78 acres and 3 gunthas. It is noteworthy that some time after the survey Jesang seems to have appropriated some land from the land belonging to Kalaji's and Nanji's minor sons, probably as a price for his management.

Genealogical Chart 4: Rathod Lineage Segment Ab



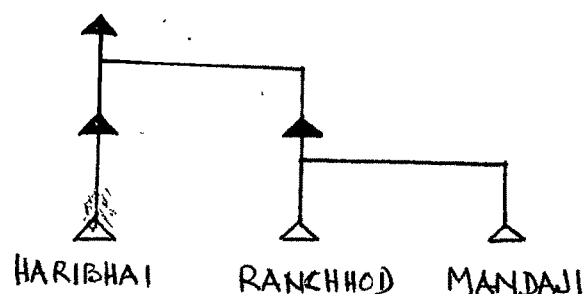
The Census Register mentions six men belonging to Segment Ab. One of them, namely Jethaji, had migrated to a nearby village, but held three fields in Radhvanaj on his own name, and two fields each jointly with two other members of the Segment, Kesar and Meru. In all, he owned 5 acres and 22 gunthas. He got one of the five fields cultivated by a tenant, two had remained uncultivated for one year, one was shown as cultivated by Jethaji himself, and one was mortgaged. The four different arrangements show probably four stages of his migration. He should have been included among absentee landowners described in Section II of this Chapter, but I have not done so for the sake of simplification.

Among the remaining five members of the segment, two uterine brothers Kesar and Jesang held their property jointly on the elder brother's name, even though they lived in separate households and kept separate bullocks. Their step-brother Meru held and cultivated his land separately. There were two fields on Kesar's name, one field on Meru's name, and four fields on the names of Kesar and Meru together. The latter four were cultivated separately by Kesar and Jesang on the one hand and by Meru on the other hand. Moreover, as mentioned above, Kesar and Meru owned two fields jointly with Jethaji, and one field jointly with Gulab. Meru alone also owned two fields jointly with Gulab. All in all Kesar owned 21 acres and 28 gunthas and Meru owned 19 acres and 23 gunthas. It seems the property of their father was partitioned into two parts according to the number of wives and not into three parts according to the number of sons.

Between the two brothers Pratap and Gulab, the latter owned much larger area of land than the former. Pratap owned 16 acres and 27 gunthas on his own name, and one field jointly with Gulab, his share being 1 acre and 12 gunthas. His total landholding was thus 17 acres and 39 gunthas. Gulab owned 40 acres and 1 guntha on his own name, and in addition several fields jointly with others, one with his brother Pratap, two with Meru, one with Meru and Kesar, one with Kesaji of Segment E and Sabalaji of Segment F, one with Sabalaji alone, two with Jesang of Segment Aa, and one with Jesang and Padsang of Segment B. Gulab's share in these fields was in all 11 acres and 36 gunthas. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, Gulab and Jesang had virtual control over property left by Umedji, about half of which, i.e., 5 acres and 9 gunthas, Gulab eventually appropriated for himself. Thus Gulab owned a total area of 57 acres and 6 gunthas in Radhvanaj alone.

The Census Register shows only one household headed by Padsang belonging to Segment B, and according to the Land Register also he was the only member of this segment owning land in Radhvanaj. There were 22 acres and 13 gunthas on his name, and his share in a field held jointly with Jesang of Segment Aa and Gulab of Segment Ab was 15 gunthas. His total landholding was thus 22 acres and 28 gunthas.

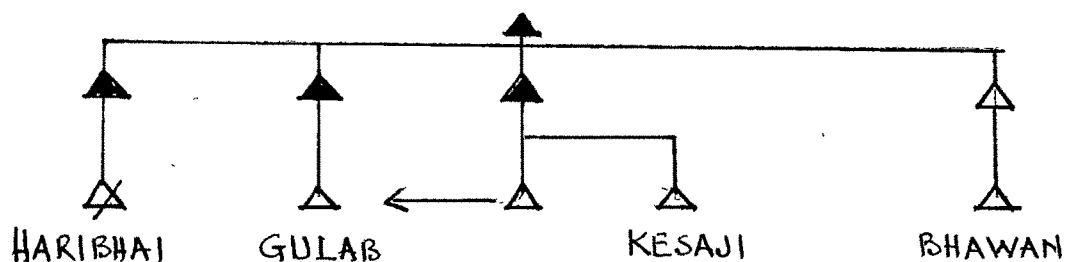
Genealogical Chart 5: Rathod Lineage Segment C



The Land Register shows 9 acres and 8 gunthas on the name of Haribhai of Segment C (see Genealogical Chart 5), but the Census Register shows that he was dead at the time of the Census, leaving a widow and a daughter behind. The widow seems to have got her land cultivated by hiring labourers. The two brothers Ranchhod and Mandji held their land separately from one another. There were four fields on the name of Ranchhod, two on the name of Mandji, and three on the two names together. In all, Ranchhod owned 14 acres and 37 gunthas and Mandji, 9 acres and 12 gunthas. Ranchhod had however mortgaged 3 acres and 31 gunthas and was cultivating the same field as a tenant.

The Census Register shows the two brothers Mulji and Mandji, the only members of Segment D, as living in separate households and possessing one bullock each, but the Land Register shows only the elder brother Mulji holding all the land, 25 acres and 30 gunthas on his name. It is very likely that the two brothers cultivated their land jointly.

Genealogical Chart 6: Rathod Lineage Segment E

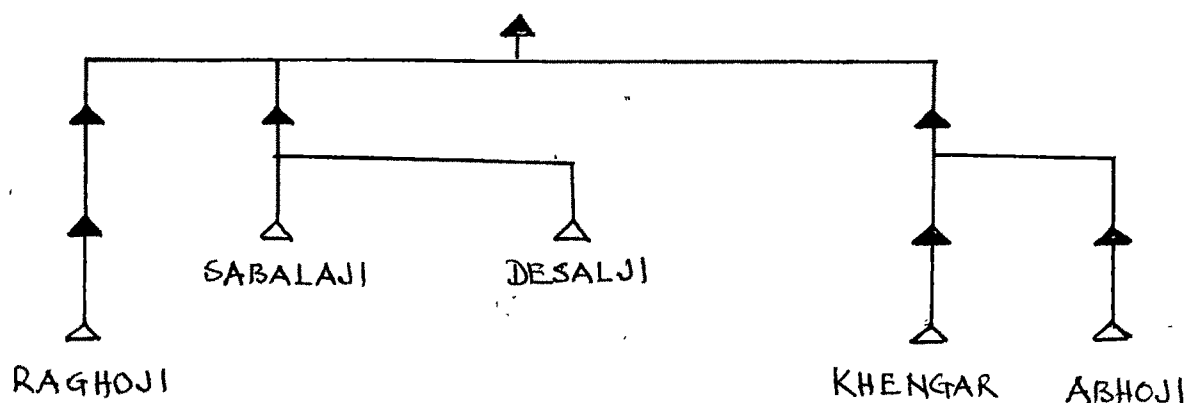


According to the Census Register, the Segment E had three households, headed by Gulab, Kesaji, and Bhavan, and each of them owned land on his own name. In addition, there was one field on the names of Gulab and Kesaji together, one on the names of Gulab and Bhavan together, two on the names

of Kesaji and Sabalaji of Segment F, one on the names of Gulab and Sabalaji, one on the names of Gulab, Sabalaji and Khengar of Segment F, one on the names of Gulab and Khengar, and one on the names of Kesaji, Sabalaji and Gulab of Segment Ab. In all, Gulab owned 11 gres and 23 gunthas, Kesaji, 23 acres and 2 gunthas, and Bhaven, 8 acres and 5 gunthas. Bhaven did not have a son, and was himself quite aged at the time of the census. He did not keep any bullocks and got all his land cultivated by tenants.

The Land Register shows one more member of Segment E, namely Haribhai, as owning land, although he is not mentioned in the Census Register. All his land, 13 acres and 12 gunthas, was cultivated by tenants. As he did not leave any descendants, most of his land was inherited by the two active members of his lineage segment, Gulab and Kesaji, and one member of Segment F. My interpretation is that these three kinsmen managed Haribhai's land for his widow's maintenance as long as she was alive, and then apportioned it among themselves. For the sake of simplification I add each's share to his area of land.

Genealogical Chart 7: Rathod Lineage Segment F



Segment F included five households headed by Raghoji, Sabalaji, Desal, Khengar, and Abhoji. Although the two brothers Sabalaji and Desal lived in separate households, they cultivated their land jointly. The Land Register shows their land held only on the elder brother's name, and the Census Register shows only him as keeping bullocks for cultivation. Each of the remaining three Rathods owned his land separately. There were 21 acres and 12 gunthas on the name of Sabalaji, 18 acres and 25 gunthas on the name of Raghoji, 10 acres and 20 gunthas on the name of Khengar, 14 acres and 6 gunthas on the name of Abhoji. In addition there were three fields on the names ^{of} Sabalaji and Raghoji, two fields on the names of Sabalaji and Kesaji of Segment E, one field on the names of Sabalaji and Gulab of Segment E, one field on the names of Khengar and Gulab, one field on the names of Sabalaji, Khengar and Gulab, one field on the names ^{of} Sabalaji and Gulab of Segment Ab, and one field on the names of Sabalaji, Kesaji, and Gulab. All in all, Sabalaji, and his brother owned 29 acres and 32 gunthas, Raghoji, 20 acres and 27 gunthas, Khengar, 11 acres and 22 gunthas, and Abhoji, 14 acres and 6 gunthas.

Table 18: Classification of Land Data concerning Rajputs

Lineage	Property	Land Owned in		Total Land		
Segment	Unit	Radhva-	Vansar &	Before	After	Land taken
(i)	(ii)	haji (iii)	Antroli (iv)	mortgage (v)	mortgage (vi)	on tenancy (vii)
Aa	Jesang	42-10	6-00	48-10	47-30	-
	Kalaji	26-00	9-17	35-17	22-28	-
	Nanji	9-33	-	9-33	9-33	-
		78-03	15-17	93-20	80-01	-
Ab	Jethaji	7-08	5-34	13-02	11-16	-
	Meruji	21-28	1-18	23-06	23-06	-
	Kesar+ Jesang	19-23	0-29	20-12	20-12	-
	Pratap	17-39	3-30	21-29	21-29	-
	Gulab	57-06	30-32	87-38	90-33	-
		123-24	42-23	166-07	167-16	-
B	Padsang	22-28	16-26	39-14	39-14	-
		22-28	16-26	39-14	39-14	-
C	Haribhai	9-08	-	9-08	9-08	-
	Ranchod	14-37	7-19	22-16	18-85	-
	Mandji	9-12	-	9-12	9-12	-
		33-17	7-19	40-36	40-36 7 17	-
D	Mulu + Mandaji	25-30	6-10	32-00	32-00	-
		25-30	6-10	32-00	32-00	-
E	Gulab	11-23	3-17	15-00	15-00	1-15
	Kesaji	23-02	29-12	52-14	52-14	12-13
	Khengar	8-05	-	8-05	8-05	-
		42-30	32-29	75-19	75-14	13-28
F	Desal + Sabalaji	29-32	9-30	39-22	39-22	-
	Raghoji	20-27	0-00	20-27	20-27	-
	Khengar	11-22	1-20	13-02	10-16	-
	Abhaji	14-06	-	14-06	14-06	1-23
		76-07	11-10	87-17	84-31	1-23

i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii
All Seg- ments		402-19	132-14	534-33	519-13	15-11
Rathod Lineage		38-22	1-02	39-24	39-24	-
Total Rathod		441-01	133-16	574-17	558-37	15-11
Six Non- Rathods	1 2 to 6	1-39 -	- -	1-39 -	1-39 -	- -
Total Rajput		443-00	133-16	576-16	560-36	15-11

We have seen that out of the twenty Rathod Rajput households resident in the village, fourteen households were each a separate property unit, and the remaining six were grouped into three property units of two households each. There was one property unit of an emigrant household and two property units each constituted of a widow and/or minor son(s). There were thus twenty property units among Rathod Rajputs. Table 18 shows the landholdings of these property units, as also other land data about them as well as the Rathod lineage and the six non-Rathod households.

I have entered in Table 18 the figures for the Rathods' landholdings in Vansar on the basis of later records, but it must have been seen from the above analysis of the data concerning the Rathods' land in Radhvanaj that the later records would be a very imperfect guide to the knowledge about 1825.

It can be seen from the column of the total landholdings that the minimum size of a property unit was 8 acres and 5 gunthas, higher than the average size of a property unit

among the Kolis and the Patidars and the highest size was about 87 acres, also the highest in the village (see Table 20).

J. Molesalam Rajputs: It has been noted that four out of the eight Molesalam households belonged to the Rathod clan and four to the Mahida clan. Like the non-Rathods among the Hindu Rajputs, the non-Rathods among the Molesalams did not own any land. Three of them cultivated from about 2 to about 4 acres on tenancy in Radhvanaj, but the Census Register shows only two of them as keeping bullocks. It is very likely that these two households cultivated some land on tenancy in Vansar also. The third household cultivated its small fields probably by borrowing bullocks or did not use any bullock at all. The fourth household did not cultivate any land at all; it kept neither any bullocks nor any milch cattle. There is no other information about the source of its livelihood.

Among the four Rathod households, two constituted a dispersed sibling unit, the third was that of their first cousin, and the fourth was composed of their another first cousin's widow and her daughters (see Genealogical Chart 8). The land data concerning the Rathods and also the non-Rathods is presented in Table 19. It can be seen that two Rathods with about 32 to about 42 acres of land were big landowners.

Genealogical Chart 8: Molesalam Rathods

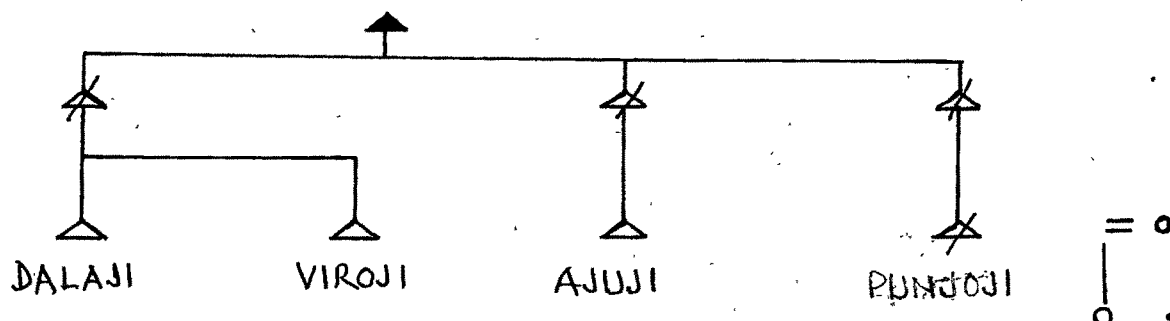


Table 19: Classification of Land Data concerning Molesalams

Clan	Property : Unit :	Land owned in		Total Land		Land ta- ken on tenancy
		: Radhva- : naj	: Vansar :	: Before : Mortgage	: After : Mortgage	
Rathod	Dulaji	24-02	18-36	42-38	42-23	3-08
	Viruji	6-17	3-15	9-32	9-32	-
	Punjoji	6-31	-	6-31	6-31	-
	Ajuji	19-38	12-15	32-13	32-13	1-08
Total		57-08	34-26	91-34	91-19	4-16
Non-Rathod	1	-	-	-	-	2-06
	2	-	-	-	-	4-27
	3	-	-	-	-	3-10
	4	-	-	-	-	-
Total						10-03
Total	-	57-08	34-26	91-34	91-19	14-19

K. Hindu and Molesalam Rajputs: A comparison of the landholdings of the Hindu and Molesalam Rajputs in Tables 18 and 19 will show that the Hindu and Molesalam Rathods, taken together, owned about 666 acres out of a total of about 1146 acres held by the people of Radhvanaj, i.e. about 57% of the total. The Rathods were thus the most wealthy group in Radhvanaj.

L. Comparison of All Castes: Table 20 shows the classification of landed property units in Radhvanaj according to size and castes.

Table 20: Classification of Landed property Units According to size and Caste

Caste	Number of property units belonging to size :						Total
	: range : 1-5	: 5-10	: 11-20	: 21-30	: 31-40	: 41-97	
Rajputs	4	4	5	4	3	1	21
Molesalam	2	0	0	1	1	0	4
Brahman	1	2	4	1	0	4	12
Patidar	7	2	0	0	0	5	14
Talapada	1	3	0	0	0	9	13
Pardeshi	1	2	0	0	0	2	5
Minor Castes	2	4	0	0	0	5	11
Total	18	1	9	6	4	26	80

Out of a total of 36 property units with landholdings ranging from 11 to 97 acres, 25 property units belonged to the Hindu and Molesalam Rajputs (i.e. Rathods) and the Brahmans. Although these three castes did include small landowners, owner-cum-tenant cultivators and tenant-cultivators, the three castes could be considered as landlord castes in the village. ^{A large} number of the households of these castes themselves cultivated their land, but they also got a considerable part of their land cultivated by tenants, and the large landowners who did not give their land to tenants, needed agricultural labourers. The tenants came mainly from Patidars, non-Rathod Rajputs and Molesalams, Talapadas and Pardeshis, and agricultural labourers came mainly from Pardeshis, Talapadas, Sepoys, Leather-workers and Senwas.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

We have noted in Chapter III that every village was a fiscal unit before and a longer time after the coming of the British. This chapter deals with the income and expenditure of Radhvanaj as a fiscal unit.

I: Income

a. Land Revenue: Land revenue was of course the major source of income for the village community. We have discussed in Chapter VIII the problem of land revenue along with the problem of land tenures. We have seen there how many people were totally exempted from revenue, and even those who paid revenue (salami) did not always pay what the British considered to be the full assessment. The records do not provide any detail as to the procedure of assessment. The only information we get is that the revenue was levied according to the extent of the area of cultivation and the crops grown in any one year. The total amount of revenue collection therefore changed according to these two factors. The crop pattern did not change much during the early nineteenth century, and the other factor, the extent of cultivation, was dependent mostly upon rain and human resources. The British tried to make changes in the latter by inducing peasants to settle in the British territory. This was the chief source of the steady rise in the revenue collection of Radhvanaj during 1803-27. Once the population had become steady, the yearly variations were due to variations in the amount and regularity of rainfall.

b. Cesses: The land revenue was the major but not the only source of income for the Government. A minor but important source was the various veras or cesses. The Government derived income from five cesses, namely, plough-cess (hal-vero), arms-cess (dharala-vero), artisan-cess (kasab-vero), idler's-cess (betheli-vero) and victim's-cess (haria-vero).

The prima facie explanations of these cesses would be as follows: the plough-cess was a cess imposed upon every cultivator keeping a plough, i.e., a pair ^{of} bullocks; the arms-cess was levied on a man keeping arms; the idler's-cess was levied on a man 'sitting idle', i.e., as one record explains, a man doing only agricultural and other labour and not cultivating any land as an owner or tenant; the artisan-cess was levied on artisans; and the victim or haria-cess was levied on account of the haria or victim's land.

Let us now see the details. The total amount of plough-cess collected in 1822-23 was Rs.76½, and that in 1823-24 Rs.65. It is explained that the reduction was due to the death or emigration of two cultivators and the transfer of four cultivators from the list of persons paying the plough-cess. The Kalambandhi mentions the following rates for the cultivators belonging to different castes: Patidar—Rs.1½ to 3, Hindu Rathod—Rs.1½ to 2½, Molesalam and Sepoy—Rs.1½, Jogi—Rs.½ to 2, Talapada Koli—Rs.2½, Pardeshi Koli—Rs.1 to 1½. This shows that the plough-cess could be levied upon a cultivator belonging to any of the six major castes, excepting the Brahmans from whom no cess whatsoever could perhaps be levied on account of their ritual position. It is noteworthy that even the Jogis,

one of the artisan and servicing castes, had also to pay the plough-cess. Cultivators belonging to other artisan castes were not charged the plough-cess, probably because some of them, such as Charan Bards and Barbers, were exempted on account of their ritual position.

The castes included in the list of cultivators paying the plough-cess contracted year by year: in 1824-25 only the Patidars, Talapadas, Pardeshis and Sepoys are mentioned, there is no proper list for 1826, and the Kalambandhi of 1827 specifically mentions that only the Patidars and Pardeshis paid the plough-cess, the former a total of Rs.35 and the latter a total of Rs.23.

The arms-cess was levied only on the Rajputs and the Talapada Kolis, the two indigenous castes of Central Gujarat traditionally associated with warfare. The total amount of arms-cess collected from the village was Rs.32 in 1822-23, it rose to Rs.50 in 1823-24, came down to Rs.45½ in 1824-25, and then remained almost unchanged for three years. It was Rs.40½ in 1827. The fact that gradually the Rajputs and Talapadas were removed from the category of cultivators paying the plough-cess and also the specific reference to the transfer of four Talapadas and one Rajput from the list of the plough-cess and the idler's cess respectively to the list of arms-cess, indicates that the British were trying to rationalise the cesses on caste line.

The victim's cess is shown as collected only in 1824-25. The Kalambandhi of this year states that a cess of Rs.10

was imposed on the Talapada Kolis of the village collectively on account of the haria land, and that if the number of Talapada households decreased they paid less. In 1824-25 they had paid Rs.6. This information seems to indicate that the Talapadas were responsible, or were held responsible, for the murder or injury of a Bard or some other worthy personage, and the haria cess was a collective fine for their crime.

The literal explanation of the idler's cess as a cess collected from those who did not cultivate any land and 'sat idle' doing agricultural and other labour, would indicate that most of those who did not pay the plough-cess paid the idler's cess. I have just now remarked that the amount of revenue collection depended partly upon human resources, i.e. ultimately upon the willingness of people to cultivate land. The idler's cess was clearly a device to enforce cultivation upon those ^{who} were cultivators by occupation. In Radhvanaj, an amount of Rs.52½ was collected as idler's cess in 1822-23 but it came down to Rs.26 in the next year. The Kalambandhi mentions two reasons for the reduction: firstly, ten men who paid the idler's cess in 1822 either died or emigrated from the village. They belonged to several castes: Patidar, Talapada Koli, Pardeshi Koli, non-Rathod Rajput, Bharwad Shepherd, and Rabari Shepherd, which suggests that an idler was charged this cess irrespective of his caste. Secondly, one man, a non-Rathod Rajput, who was charged the idler's cess in 1822 was charged the arms-cess in 1823 and removed from the list of men paying the idler's cess. The total amount of the idler's cess collected from the village remained Rs.26 in 1825.

The total amount of artisan-cess had also remained the same, Rs.21, from 1822 to 1827. The two-third of this amount, (i.e. Rs.14), was paid by the Leather-workers collectively, and it seems this was also a fixed amount. The Kalambandhi, of 1827 mentions that Rs.4 were paid by the Jogis at a rate varying from $\frac{1}{2}$ rupee to 2 rupees per family, which means that one of the three households paid $\frac{1}{2}$ rupee, the second, $1\frac{1}{2}$ rupees, and the third, 2 rupees. The remaining amount of the artisan-cess, Rs.3, was paid by the two Bharwad Shepherd families at the rate of Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ per family.

The total amount of income to the Government from all the cesses was Rs.182 in 1822. It then decreased from year to year: Rs.162 in 1823, Rs.157 $\frac{1}{2}$ in 1824, and Rs.130 $\frac{1}{2}$ in 1827. The gradual reduction in the total was due to the gradual reduction in the amount of the idler's cess.

c. Other Sources of Income

One more source of income for the Government was the trees on Government land, including the land set apart for public use, such as the banks of the village-tank, the pasture and the roads. Fruits of the mango and rayan (Mimusops indica) trees and flowers and fruits of mahua (Bassia latifolia) trees were leased to fruit-sellers every year by the village headman on behalf of the Government. It is hardly necessary to describe the place of mangoes in the dietary of the Indians. The sweet berries of the rayan tree, fresh as well as dried, were favourite with the people of Gujarat for a long time. The Bombay Gazetteer⁽¹⁾ informs that the rayan berries mixed with whey formed during the hot season the staple food of a

large section of the Koli population. The berries must also have been sold in towns as at the present time. The mahua flowers were eaten by the poor people and by cattle, and from them was distilled a favourite country liquor. The mahuva berries, called doli, were used in extracting an oil, called doliyu, used for a number of purposes. The income to the Government from this source varied from year to year according to the extent of growth of flowers and fruits: it was Rs.30 in 1822, Rs.7 in 1823 and Rs.15 in 1824.

The Jarif book of 1825 mentions a few more possible sources of income, although no income was received from them in the years 1822-27. The record states, "If the Rabari Shepherds' manure is sold and if the revenues of the village are collected directly by the Government and not by the Matadars, the sale proceeds are taken by the Government. If the revenues are collected by the Matadars, they take the manure." In view of the fact that the revenues of the village were collected directly by the Government only once, in 1816, it is reasonable to assume that the manure was taken by the Matadars, and the British introduced the right of the Government as a part of their general policy of rationalizing the fiscal system. The Britishers' idea seems to be that the Rabaris grazed their cattle on the village pastures, which were the property of the Government, and the large quantity of manure the Rabaris accumulated was therefore a windfall for them, and should therefore be handed over to the Matadars or the Government. However, it seems to me that the headman and Matadars collected this money from the Rabaris as one of their special privileges or to enhance their profit from revenue-contractors.

If any Bania in the village secured a licence to sell opium, he paid the annual fee for the licence to the Government.

At the wedding of a girl among the Patidars, Kolis, Bharwads, Rabaris, Bhois and Jogis, the girl's kinsman paid one and a quarter rupees to the headman—one more privilege of the headman. It is noteworthy that the Rajputs did not pay this nazrana to the headman—an indication of the Patidars' powerlessness before the Rajputs.

II: Expenditure

Just as the Government received income from the village from various sources, it also incurred expenses in the village. It is important to note that the village accounts of income and expenses were kept for every village. The balance-sheet of the village accounts includes the following heads under which expenses were incurred in cash: Majmudar or pargana accountant's allowance, giras allowances, kothali-santh allowances, the headman's inam or honorarium, devasthan or temple expenses, dharmada or charitable expenses, the village accountant's salary and other expenses, the peons' salaries, and miscellaneous expenses.

Let me start with simpler items. The village accountant was paid an annual salary of Rs.106½, which remained the same from 1822 to 1825. Besides the salary, he was paid for the ~~the~~ paper he used in his work and for the leather-covers he used in binding his account-books. The expenses for paper and covers used to differ from year to year: they were Rs.11¼ in 1822 and Rs.8¼ in 1825.

We have already noted that the village accountant's peon received his remuneration in the form of an annual salary in cash. It was Rs.36 from 1822 to 1825.

We have also noted that the Matadars received an honorarium of Rs.65 and that the three Matadars divided it among themselves.

The amount of Rs.4 given annually to the Majmudar, the pargana accountant, from the village accounts was not his salary as such but an extra payment for the work he did in the pargana office for the village.

Although the giras and kothali-santh allowances were given from the pargana office in Nadiad, they were debited in the accounts of the village. It seems the salaries to the accountant and his peons and the allowance to the pargana accountant were also paid from the pargana office but they were debited in village accounts.

The total amount of expenses under the item 'temple expenses' was Rs.7. It included Rs.2½ given for lighting a ghee lamp in the Shiva temple in the village. This amount may seem trifling today, but in view of the low prices of ghee prevailing at that time it was sufficient to light one small lamp at the routine temple-rites every day throughout the year. Another amount of Rs.2½ was given for the performance of a small sacrifice (havan) in honour of the Mataji or Mother-Goddess during the Navaratri festival in the month of Aswin (September-October) every year. This sacrifice was very common in all villages and towns in Central Gujarat, and

it is noteworthy that the British Government continued to give this little money to the village until 1947. The Mother-Goddess was, it may be noted, the abstract idea behind all the individual mother-goddesses worshipped by villagers, actually the personification of the female principle in the creation of the Universe.

One half rupee was given to a prominent Shiva temple in Nadiad town, one rupee to a prominent Shiva temple in Kaira town, and one half rupee to the Ranchhodji temple in Dakor, about twenty miles from Radhvanaj. Dakor was one of the chief centres of pilgrimage in Gujarat. The principal deity of its principal temple, Ranchhodji, was the most popular form of Vishnu or Krishna worshipped in Gujarat. The gifts sent by the people of Radhvanaj to the temples located outside of Radhvanaj is symbolic of their participation in the higher or Sanskritic Hinduism.

The total amount of expenses under the item 'charity expenses' was Rs.7¼. It included Rs.3½ given to a Brahman family of the village for the performance of a special puja at the Shiva temple in the village during the month of Shravan (July-August) every year. This month was considered the most sacred among the twelve months in a year, and the most propitious for the worship of Shiva. Special pujas at the Shiva shrine during this month are even today performed in Radhvanaj by a Brahman on behalf of the whole village community. It is noteworthy that two items of expenditure regarding the Shiva temple in the village were placed under two different account heads 'temple expenses' and 'charity

expenses', which shows that no clear distinction was made between the two heads.

An amount of Rs.2¼ was given to the Rama Priest of Radhavanaj for feeding dogs with loaves of bajri flour. This was and is even today a widespread practice all over Gujarat. I have already referred to the pigeon-tower in Radhavanaj as a manifestation of the influence of the ideas of Jainism and Vaishnavism in Gujarat. The custom of public feeding of dogs was another manifestation of their influence.

One half rupee was given to the entire Brahman caste at the Zalpatola ceremony performed on the New Year Day. At this ceremony, which continues to be performed even today, all the villagers used to assemble in the village council house, and the leading Brahman astrologer recited before the assembly a mythical poem about the past, present and future yugas of the universe, and about his forecast of rain, crops, war, epidemics, etc. in the coming year. Not only the Brahmans but the vasavaya castes also received cash gifts on this occasion (see below).

The final item under 'charitable expenses' was one rupee given to a man named Vaidya Prannath of Nadiad. The surname Vaidya suggests that he was paid this amount for his services as ayurvedic doctor, but the fact that the amount was placed under the head 'charitable expenses' suggests that it was paid on account of his being a pious Brahman priest.

While the amounts of the Temple and the Charity Expenses remained unaltered from 1822-23 to 1824-25, the

amount of expenses under the account head Miscellaneous Expenses changed from Rs.34¼ in 1822-23 to Rs.29¼ in 1824-25. As the records of 1822-23 do not contain details about the miscellaneous expenses it is not possible to state anything about the reasons for the change in the total expenses. According to the records of 1824-25 the following were the details about the miscellaneous expenses.

Three rupees were given to the Bhabharam shrine of Run, the same shrine which was endowed with a field in Radhvanaj on the revenue-free pasayata tenure. The inclusion of this item in the 'acrobat's cess' shown that no clear distinction was made between the 'temple expenses', 'charitable expenses' and 'acrobat's cess'.

One Vaidya Brahman of Kaira (the same who held a field on revenue-free pasayata tenure) and another Vaidya Brahman of Nadiad were given Rs.2 and Re. 1 respectively. I presume they were getting these gifts in recognition of their services to the village as ayurvedic doctors, although it is also possible that they were getting the gifts in charity on account of their some special religious position, like the Vaidya Brahman mentioned earlier.

Rs.3 were given as an annual gift to the Pagi or Tracker of Radhvanaj, and Rs.3¼ to the vasvayas at the Zalpatola ceremony mentioned above. Two peons of the Kamavisdar's Office in Nadiad were given Re.1 and Re.¼ respectively as an annual gift.

A total amount of Rs.14½ was paid to one Bania of Radhvanaj and one Bania of Nadiad for the provisions they supplied to the officials of the pargana office visiting the village and to the officials of the village visiting the pargana office. One rupee was also paid to a Bania of Nadiad, but the reason for the payment is not mentioned. It is very likely the changes in the total amount of the 'acrobat's cess' mentioned above were due to changes in the amount paid to the Banias.

Finally, Rs.3 were paid to the Bhavaiyas, a caste of the performers of a form of folk-play called bhavai. The Bhavaiyas were permanent residents of North Gujarat. As soon as the monsoon ended, they set out from their homes, leaving their women and children behind, and moved from one village to another village performing bhavais. Each Bhavaiya group was hereditarily associated with a village, and sometimes each caste group in a village had its own Bhavaiyas.

(contd)

We can see from the above how a number of expenses for the common benefit of villagers were paid from the receipts of the village itself. In those days there was almost nothing like the indirect taxation of modern times, nor did the people receive indirect benefits from the State in the form of maintenance of roads, police, and such other things.

The British assumed that the 'public' expenses in the village were to be sanctioned by the higher authorities as the contribution of the State as an agency of public welfare. They therefore tried to eliminate what they considered to be unauthorized expenditure. Captain Barnewall wrote: "In annually reviewing the village charges it will be very advisable, in the items for expenses incurred by the Patels while absent from their villages, to distinguish such as arise out of their being absent on its public concerns and those which arise from the prosecution of private dissensions.... It is common to charge the whole as contingent to management. The latter class of changes should be discouraged and disallowed. Every item of village expenses of a voluntary nature, and not necessary to the service of the community, and such as may have been incurred under pretence of entertaining^{ment} to the village, or for the private advantage of any part of it have been annulled, and the parties causing them ordered to defray them"⁽²⁾. The total expenditure of Radhvanaj was reduced from Rs.429 in 1821-22 to Rs.421 in 1824-25, and it is possible that the expenditure was higher ~~be~~ before 1821-23 and still higher before 1816.

The British did not raise the rates of taxation, most presumably for tactical purposes, but they received much greater total amount of taxes than did the Gaekwads, on account of extensio

of area of cultivation, execution of customary laws of land ownership more rigorously and effectively, and eliminating 'unauthorized' expenditure . The net amount of revenue paid by the residents of Radhvanaj was Rupees 750 in 1802, rose gradually to Rs. 2264 in 1821, and was Rs. 2106 in 1827. The revenue paid by the people of Radhvanaj thus increased nearly three-fold within a period of about twenty five years. While taxes were increasing, prices were going down. It is no wonder there was a lot of distress in the rural areas of Central Gujarat in the period 1820-30.⁽³⁾

Chapter XII

VILLAGE COMMUNITY AND INTERRELATION BETWEEN
MAJOR GROUPS AND CLASSES

I stated in the very beginning of the monograph that it is necessary to distinguish between the two connotations of the word 'village', namely, village-site and administrative village. And we have seen in the 'analysis of the pattern of land-ownership, tenancy and agricultural labour in Radhvanaj in 1825' that the area of land owned and/or cultivated by the people resident on the village-site was not coterminous with the territorial unit recognized for land administration. We do not know the boundaries of the administrative village in the earlier periods, but this observation about the relation between village-site and administrative village was, I think, true of the earlier periods also.

As regards the village-site, which was obviously much more important than the administrative village for social purposes, we have seen how the people residing on the village-site of Radhvanaj were divided into diverse groups, classes and categories. The most important of these groups were caste groups. Each caste group had vital relations with similar groups residing on other village-sites, and some of them had vital relations also with their caste fellows residing in towns. Some castes were found only in towns, some only in villages, and some in both towns and villages. Each caste group in the village had its own institutions

and interests. The caste groups composed of more than one household were each divided into lineage groups and/or descent lines, and each lineage group was divided into segments. Each household had its own cluster of affinal and other relatives mostly in other villages and towns, and it was also related with a cluster of other people outside the village by economic, religious and other ties. Moreover, the various people residing on the village-site had varying degrees of attachment to it. A considerable number of them were recent immigrants, and the only interest of many of them in the village was probably to try to find out if they had any chance of settling down in the village. On the other hand there were people who had resided in the village for centuries. Some emigrants also retained some long term interest in the village, and even permanent residents of other villages had some long term interest in Radhvanaj.

All these considerations may lead one to think that the village was nothing more than an architectural and a territorial unit, that it was not a significant social category, or that it was not an 'idea' as some sociologists and anthropologists have said.⁽¹⁾

Of course, the various groups residing on the village site did not live in isolation from one another. They co-operated with one another in a number of activities. They were related with one another as landowners and tenants, employers and labourers, masters and servants, mortgagers and mortgagees, lenders and borrowers, buyers and sellers

of a variety of goods, parties to agreements to use each other's bullocks, suppliers and receivers of a variety of specialised services, members of neighbourhood and recreational groups, friends and foes, participants in a variety of rituals, ceremonies, festivals and feasts, and so on and so forth. Although in each of these relationships, some residents of other villages were also involved, there was a maximum concentration of these relationships among the people resident on the village site. Although these relationships were found in almost every village in the area, the way in which they actually operated in the village depended upon the particular constellation of major social groups residing in the village. For example, the way in which general customs and norms—I mean norms and customs as stated by people—operated in a predominantly Koli village differed from the way in which they operated in a predominantly Rajput or Patidar or Muslim village. Not only the customs governing interrelations between castes but also the customs of each individual group were modified by continuous residence in a particular constellation of castes. The fact that some castes, or rather some lineages in some castes, resided in a village for a long time was I think important. It would lead to the development a distinctive set of village customs. However, none of these considerations, important in themselves, would provide us an 'idea' of the village.

However, we have seen that there was also what may be called 'village corporation' with its own institutions and activities. It had its own income and expenditure. It had

its own officials and servants who received remuneration from its own funds. Money was provided from its funds for the performance of religious sacrifices and pujas in temples in its name from its funds. Gifts were sent in its name to temples outside the village. It gave gifts to those who worked for it. The council-house, the pigeon-tower, the temples and shrines, and several other things, were the property of the village corporation. There were gods and goddesses and rituals and charities to guard its welfare. In brief, there were affairs and activities in the village which were considered to be the affairs and activities of the village corporation and not of any one individual group or person. It was in Maine's term,⁵ a corporation aggregate. The village-site was not merely a residential unit but also the seat or locus of the village corporation.

Although most villages in Central Gujarat were corporations, the nature of management of the affairs of the village corporation depended on the pattern of social relations among the members of the corporation. There is not much direct information about Radhvanaaj on this point but it is reasonable to think that the vasvaya castes did not have much say in the process of decision making. Among the non-vasvaya castes, the Bania, being an outsider, would not have bothered much with the village corporation, as he did not do in many other villages. This does not however mean that the minor castes did not have a role in the activities of the village corporation. Among the major castes, the Pardeshi and Talapada Kolis, particularly the former, and the Sepoys, were too poor

to have much influence in decision making. The management of village affairs was mostly the concern of the Rajputs, both Hindu and Molesalam, and the Brahmans and the Patidars. Among these castes also some lineages played a more prominent role than the others. The Rathods among the Rajputs, the Wariyas, the Desai and the village headman among the Patidars, and the two lineages providing priestly services to Radhvanaj and Antroli among the Brahmans.

It seems to me that there was a continuous conflict between the Rajputs and the Patidars in the management of the affairs of the village corporation as well as in other general affair^s in the village. The headman, Matadars, and revenue-contractors were Patidars and they were supported by Patidar leaders in the pargana, but they did not have much economic power in the village. The economic power was wielded by the Rathod Rajputs. The history of Radhvanaj after 1827 shows that the Rathod Rajputs always attempted to coerce the Patidar headmen to do what they wanted them to do, and the Rajputs were frequently successful in their attempts.

One question should intrigue any reader of this monograph: Why did Radhvanaj have Patidar and not Rajput headmen and Matadars? It seems that the Rajputs considered it below their dignity to accept these offices. They were trying to imitate in this way the Rajputs who were rulers of independent estates comprised of entire villages, called Talukdari villages, or territorially separate Wanta parts of villages. The position of chiefs was different from the position of headmen and Matadars.

Elphinstone discussed the subject of appointment of headmen in Talukdari or Grassia villages in Ahmedabad District in one of his minutes, in which he instructed the officials of the District, "I would recommend that he (a Grassia) should have no formal appointment as Mookhee Patell, a title which a Rajput chief must look on as a degradation."⁽²⁾ It also seems the Rajputs attached low prestige to the office of headmanship, because it was usually held by Patidars and other non-Rajput castes, and the Rajputs resented the rising power of the Patidars.

Although the Rathod Rajputs of Radhvanaj did not have a territorially separate Wanta estate, they did try to keep up some of the symbols of a territorially separate Wanta estate. They had their own council house (choro) in both Radhvanaj and Vansar, which was separate from the council house of the village corporation. And they arranged for special services from, and granted revenue-free land to, Brahmans, Charan Bards, a few vasvaya castes, and Koli watchmen and escorts. The Rajputs thus tried to show their social separation from the rest of the village although they did not have a territorially separate Wanta estate. This was possible and socially justifiable because they owned a large area of land, but this was also necessary for them to maintain a respectable position in their caste whose norm-setters were ultimately the Rajput chiefs in Saurashtra, Kutch, highland Gujarat, and Rajasthan.

It can be seen from the above that Radhvanaj was not dominated by any single caste, but there was a struggle for

dominance. The struggle for dominance was a characteristic of many villages in Central Gujarat. In some villages the struggle existed between Rajputs and Patidars, in some, between Kolis and Patidars, in some, between Rajputs and Kolis, in some between a Muslim group and a Hindu group, and in some, a triangular struggle. It seems to me a struggle for dominance between castes in the villages in an area would be found, if the area contains several castes each with a fairly large landowning population, assuming of course that two or more of such castes would be adequately represented in a village. There would obviously be no conflict between castes if there is only one major landowning caste. Changes may also take place in the struggle for dominance over a period of time. I doubt if there was any struggle for power in Radhvanaj during the thirteenth and fourteenth century. It is also possible that the dominant position of a caste group in a village may lead to the identification of village corporation with the caste—a totalitarian situation. This was probably the situation in Radhvanaj in the thirteenth and the fourteenth century, and in some Talukdari, Mewasi, Wanta and Narwadari villages in the early nineteenth century. That is to say, the village corporation was not found in every village in the early nineteenth century. It is however important to note that the totalitarianism of the dominant caste would be complete only if the dominant caste group was composed of only one lineage.

There were many types of villages in Central Gujarat, and Radhvanaj represented only one type. We have here a

paradox: in order to understand a village we should study it in relation to the regional society but an adequate understanding of the regional society is possible only if we understand the many different types of villages in the region. This monograph is only a small beginning toward an understanding of pre-British society in Gujarat. The study of its implications for an understanding of the village and the regional society at the present time is my next job.

NOTES AND REFERENCESChapter I

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- (2) Shah and Shroff, 1958.
- (3) Marriott, 1955.
- (4) Srinivas, 1955.
- (5) Majumdar, 1955; Dube, 1955.
- (6) Shah, Shroff and Shah, 1963.
- (7) Srinivas and Shah, 1960.
- (8) For a description of society in highland Gujarat,
see my articles 1955a and 1955b, and Nath, 1960.
- (9) Bom. Gaz., 1879, pp.5-8.

Chapter II

- (1) I thank Dr.Mehta for his help in identifying and dating the
shrine and the sculptures.
- (2) This account of the Rajput political system in Gujarat is
a summary of a more detailed account in my and Shroff's
eassay on the Vahivancha Barots (1958), which contains all
bibliographical references.
- (3) Misra, 1963, pp.95-6.
- (4) Misra, 1963 has a whole chapter (pp. 199-214) describing
relations between Rajputs and Muslims during the rule of
Ahmad Shah (1411-1442).
- (5) Ross, 1922-28, entries in the index.
- (6) Faridi, n.d., p.239; Ali and Sedon, 1928, pp.193-94.
- (7) Quoted in Habib, 1963, p.141.

- (8) The chief secondary sources for the commercial history of Gujarat are Warmington, 1928; Scoff, 1912; Bal Krishna, 1924; Moreland, 1920 & 1923; Habib, 1963; and the Gujarat volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer.
- (9) Shastri, 1949, pp.231-46.
- (10) Commissariat, 1938, p.60.
- (11) Commissariat, 1938, p.356-57.

Chapter III

- (1) This section is based on Commissariat, 1959; Bom. Gaz., 1883; Zaveri, 1933-36, Gense and Banaji, ? ; Wallace, ? ; Irvine, ? .
- (2) Several early British records contain full lists of villages in various parganas as they were in the period immediately preceding the beginning of British rule. The earliest list is in R.D.D.45 of 1805. The specific reference to Radhvana is also in Walker to Government, 2.9.1803, R.D.D.39.
- (3) Ali and Sedon, 1928, passim; Zaveri, 1933-36, passim.
- (4) Bom. Gaz., 1883, pp. 362-66, 382-88.
- (5) Ibid.
- (6) Walker to Diggle, 24.6.1805, R.D.D.48.
- (7) Habib, 1963, p.291, n.106.
- (8) S.R.B. XXXVII, passim. These reports by Walker written very soon after the British took over parganas in Central Gujarat is a very valuable source of information for pargana and village administration during the latter half of the eighteenth century.
- (9) Walker to Diggle, 24.6.1805, R.D.D. 48.
- (10) This section is based mainly on S.R.D. XXXVII, commented

upon in Note 8 above, and Diggle to Government, 1.8.1808, R.D.D. 157 of 1820. The latter was written by the Collector of Kaira in 1808 but was lost and not recorded in the Diaries of 1808. It was discovered among the papers of Jonathan Duncan and recorded in 1820. This marathon report, running into as many as 315 paragraphs, is an excellent source of information about village society in Central Gujarat in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

- (11) Habib, 1963, p.125.
- (12) Walker to Diggle, 24.6.1805, R.D.D.48, Diggle to Government, 1.8.1808, R.D.D. 157 of 1820.
- (13) Habib, 1963.
- (14) Bom. Gaz., 1879, p.81; Diggle to Government, 1.8.1808.
- (15) Village Records.
- (16) Bom. Gaz., 1879, pp.88-9; Bom. Gaz., 1883, pp.340-81; Diggle to Government, 1.8.1808.
- (17) Diggle to Government, 1.8.1806.
- (18) Shah and Shroff, 1958, pp.249-51.
- (19) Diggle to Government, 1.8.1808.
- (20) Ibid.
- (21) Village Records.
- (22) Diggle to Government, 1.8.1808.
- (23) Ibid.
- (24) Bom. Gaz., 1879, pp. 60, 91, 92; Bom. Gaz., 1883, pp. 362-66, 382-88.
- (25) Diggle to Govt., 1.8.1808.
- (26) Commercial records of the period with a merchant family in a neighbouring town.

- (27) Habib, 1963, pp. 123-28.
- (28) Ibid.
- (29) Habib, 1963, pp.136-43.
- (30) S.R.B. XXXVII, passim; Walker to Diggle, 24.6.1805;
Diggle to Government, 1.8.1808.
- (31) Habib, 1963, pp.114-15.
- (32) Walker to Diggle, 24.6.1805; Diggle to Government,
1.8.1808.
- (33) Habib, 1963, pp. 246-48.
- (34) Walker to Diggle, 24.6.1805; Diggle to Government,
1.8.1808. Walker's letter to Government, 2.9.1803,
R.D.D.39, and Parekh, 1935 provide lengthy lists of
expenses incurred by Kamavisdars.
- (35) Habib, 1963, pp.115-17.
- (36) Bom. Gaz., 1883, pp.169-71, 174, 187; Zaveri, 1933-36,
pp. 92-95; Joshi, 1949.
- (37) Some of the facts mentioned in this paragraph are too
well-known^{me} to need references. The particular evidence
about Gujarat is found in chapters on "Trade and Manu-
facture" and "Places of Interest" in the Gujarat volumes
of the Bombay Gazetteer^s. There is a very direct reference
to the economic situation in the villages in Central
Gujarat in Minutes of Evidence, 1832, pp. 142-48.

Chapter IV

- (1) Walker's "Proclamation" to the Residents of Kaira District,
30.6.1805, R.D.D.48.
- (2) Minutes of Evidence, 1832, pp.142-48.

- (3) Bom. Gaz., 1877, p. 488.
- (4) Diggle to Government, 1.6.1806, R.D.D. 51.
- (5) Walker to Diggle, 24.6.1805, R.D.D. 48.
- (6) Bom. Gaz., 1879, p. 169; Walker to Commander of Baroda, 9.1.1803, S.P.D.D. 135.
- (7) Bom. Gaz., 1879, pp. 32-3, 92; Diggle to Government, 29.7.1812, R.D.D. 79.
- (8) Walker to Diggle, 24.6.1805, R.D.D. 48.
- (9) Bom. Gaz., 1879, pp. 92-3.
- (10) Translations of Agreements, 13.4.1805, R.D.D. 45.
- (11) Walker to Diggle, 24.6.1805, R.D.D. 48.
- (12) Diggle to Government, 1.8.1808, R.D.D. 157.
- (13) Diggle to Government, 29.7.1808, R.D.D. 79.
- (14) Ibid.
- (15) Barnewall to Collector, 1.8.1816, R.D.D. 108.
- (16) Collector to Government, 6.11.1814, R.D.D. 96.
- (17) Collector to Government, 25.9.1815, with copies of letters from Collector to Barnewall and to Judge and Magistrate, R.D.D. 102.
- (18) See the following note.
- (19) For an account of this controversy, which inevitably involved a discussion of the position of the village accountant, see Ballhatchet, 1957, pp. 171-85.
- (20) Ballhatchet, 1957, p. 175.

Chapter V

- (1) Barnewall to Collector, 1.8.1816, R.D.D. 108.
- (2) Minutes of Evidence, 1832, pp. 142-48.
- (3) Barnewall to Collector, 1.8.1816, R.D.D. 108.

- (4) Ibid.
- (5) Survey Volume 12 and 13. (6) For the reports on Petlad and Mahudha parganas, see R.D. Vol. 24/16 of 1823, and R.D. Vol. 23/177 of 1827.
- (7) Heber, 1828, p.140.
- (8) Bom.Gaz., 1879, p.99.
- (9) Shah, Shroff and Shah, 1963.

Chapter VI

- (1) For a description of the hijadas, see my article 1960, and for the khavasas, see Bom.Gaz., 1884.
- (2) Ghurye, 1952, p.84.
- (3) Dalpatram, 1857, p.46.
- (4) Forbes, 1887, p.537.
- (5) Narmadashanker, 1873, p.107.
- (6) The whole problem of the caste rank of the Kolis and Rajputs vis a vis the Kshatriya varna is discussed at some length in my and Shroff's essay on the Vahivanchas (Shah and Shroff, 1958, pp. 263-68)
- (7) Steed, 1955, pp.113, 121.
- (8) Altekar,

Chapter VII

- (1) Bom.Gaz., 1877, pp.384-85.
- (2) Bom.Gaz., 1883, p.76.

Chapter VIII

- (1) S.R.B. X, p.103.
- (2) Bom.Gaz., 1879, p.232.
- (3) S.R.B. X, p. 98.

Chapter IX

- (1) Minutes of Evidence, 1832, pp. 142-48.
- (2) Walker to Diggle, 24.6.1805, R.D.D. 48.

Chapter X

Chapter XI

- (1) Bom.Gaz., 1879, p.16
- (2) Barnewall to Collector, 1.8.1816, R.D.D. 108.
- (3) Bom.Gaz., 1879, pp.98-103.

Chapter XII

- (1) For a controversy on this point, see Dumount and Pocock, 1957, & 1960, and Bailey, 1959.
- (2) Elphinstone's Minute, 15.8.1821, para 36, East India Papers, III.

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