

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 Ravanayas (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 449½ bighas of Wanta land, 75 bighas were transferred to other people and the remaining 368½ 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 owing 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 Mendicant	10	2-36	-	2-36	2-36	-
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 <sup>his</sup> ~~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	
:		: mortgage		: mortgage		: on tenancy	
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	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>80-11</b>	<b>24-10</b>	<b>82-09</b>	<b>186-30</b>	<b>185-28</b>	<b>5-38</b>

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.

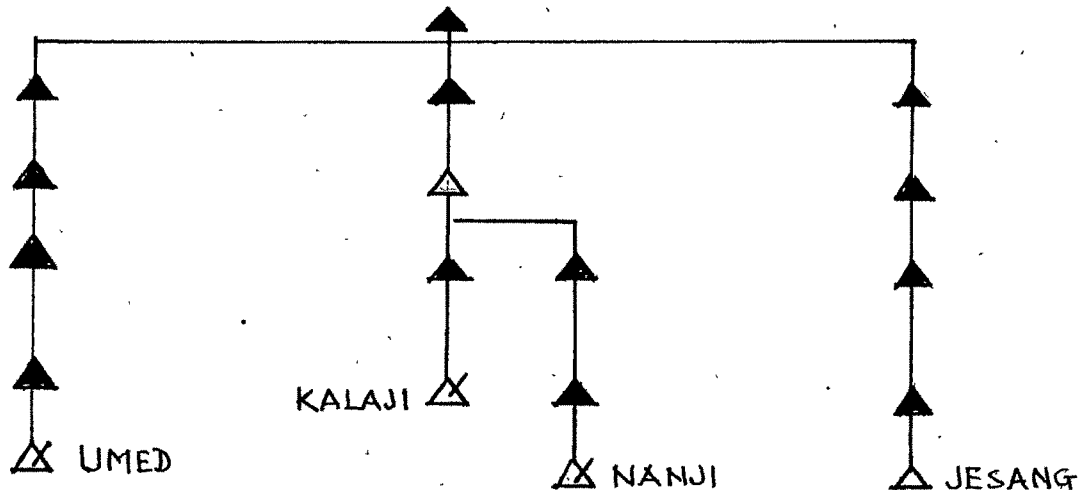
The data about the land owned by the Rathods individually is rather complicated. I will analyse first the data about the land in Radhvanaj and then about the land in Vansar.

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 matrilineal relatives and whose land was cultivated by tenants and managed by their nearest agnate, Jesang.

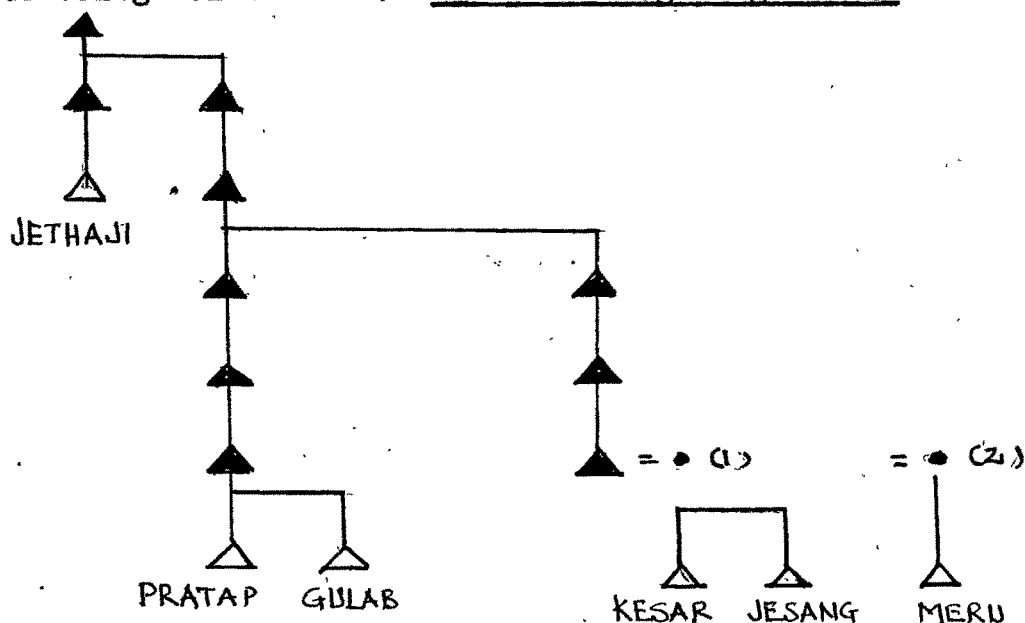
As regards Umedji, five fields are mentioned as owned jointly by Umed, Jesang, and Gulab, the leader of Segment Aa. One of the five fields had remained uncultivated for about eight years, and the remaining four were cultivated by tenants. Unlike Nanji and Kalaji, Umedji had not left any male descendants, 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.

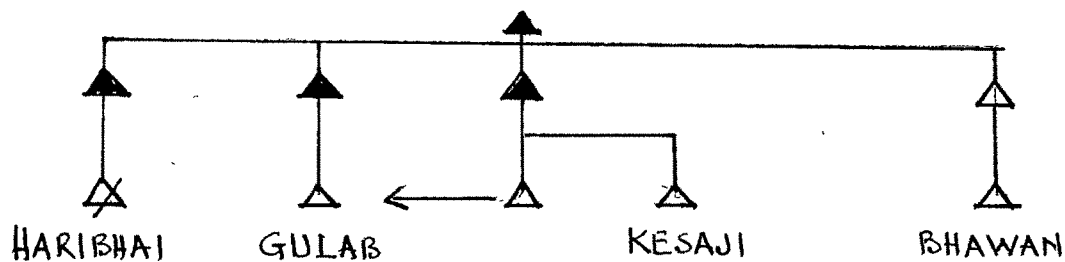
Among the remaining five members of the segment, two uterine brothers Kesar and Jesang held their property jointly on the elder brother's name, even though they lived in separate households and kept separate bullocks. Their step-brother Meru held and cultivated his land separately. There were two fields 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.



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



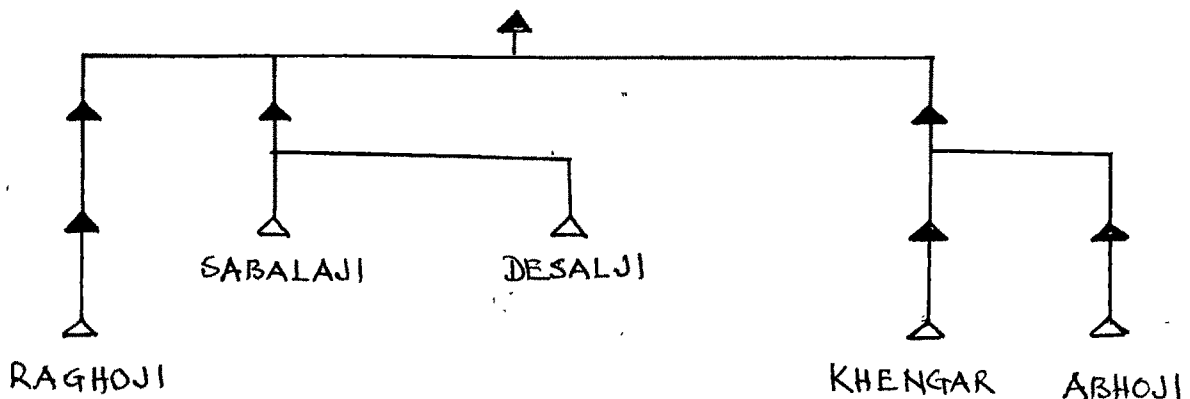
According to the Census Register, the Segment E had three households, headed by Gulab, Kesaji, and Bhavan, and each of them owned land on his own name. In addition, there was one field on the names of Gulab and Kesaji together, one on the names of Gulab and Bhavan together, two on the names



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 <sup>of</sup> 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 <sup>of</sup> 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 Segment	Property Unit	Land Owned in		Total Land		
		Radhva- naji (i)	Vansar & Antroli (iv)	Before mortgage (v)	After mortgage (vi)	Land taken on tenancy (vii)
(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)	(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	-
D	Malu + 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 Segments			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	1-39	-	1-39	1-39	-	-
	2 to 6	-	-	-	-	-	-
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

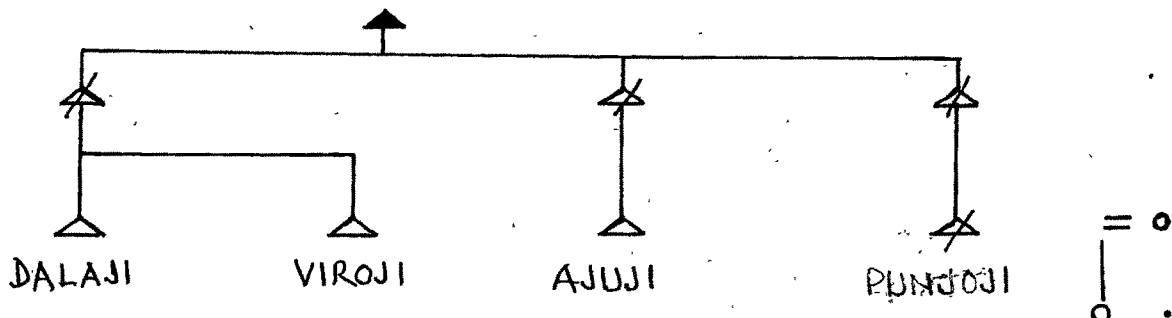


Table 19: Classification of Land Data concerning Molesalams

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
<b>Total</b>		<b>57-08</b>	<b>34-26</b>	<b>91-34</b>	<b>91-19</b>	<b>4-16</b>
Non-Rathod	1	-	-	-	-	2-06
	2	-	-	-	-	4-27
	3	-	-	-	-	3-10
	4	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>						<b>10-03</b>
<b>Total</b>	-	<b>57-08</b>	<b>34-26</b>	<b>91-34</b>	<b>91-19</b>	<b>14-19</b>

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
	: 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. <sup>A large</sup> 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.