

INTRODUCTION

THE CHENGALPATTU SURVEY: 1767–1774

The English Archival Records

Chengalpattu District stretches in a wide arc, about 180 km long and at places up to 80 km wide, around the city of Madras, capital of Tamil Nadu and the seat of British colonial power in South India. The areas falling in this District were presented to the British in October 1763 by Mohammed Ali, the then Nawab of Arcot; subsequently the British referred to these areas as the *Jaghire*.

The Jaghire lands, surrounding Fort St. George from three sides, were of obvious strategic importance to the British. To determine the value of these lands, and also to arrive at appropriate ways of governing the Jaghire, the British undertook a detailed survey of more than 2,100 localities comprising it. The survey was conducted by a British engineer, Thomas Barnard (1746–1830). Mr. Barnard started work in February 1767, and took more than seven years to complete the survey in November 1774.

The records of the survey, giving details of the inhabitants, their habitation, land use pattern, cultivation, trade, production and distribution etc., for the 2,100 localities of the region were submitted to the Madras Board of Revenue, and were taken on record during 1775–76. The records are available in the Tamil Nadu State Archives, Madras in the form of longhand registers. There are thirty-nine volumes in the Board of Revenue Miscellaneous Series¹ and ten volumes in the Chengalpattu District Record Series², containing the survey data. Most of these volumes are in

¹ Tamil Nadu State Archives, Boards Miscellaneous Volumes, Chengalpattu, Vol. nos. 50, 50A, 51, 51A, 52, 52A, 53, 53A, 54, 54A, 55, 56, 56A, 57, 58, 58A, 59, 60, 60A, 61, 61A, 62, 63, 64, 64A, 65, 65A, 66, 67, 67A, 68, 69, 69A, 70, 70A, 71, 72, 73 and 89.

² Tamil Nadu State Archives, Chengalpattu District Records, Vol. nos. 527, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549 and 550.

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a dilapidated condition. Scholars at the Centre for Policy Studies have collected the complete archival data of this survey from the archival registers and compiled it into a database.³

Survey Districts and the Region

The region referred to as Jaghire by the British consisted of 15 *Simais*: Kovalam, Chengalpattu, Kavanthandalam, Kanchipuram, Manimangalam, Uttiramerur, Periapalayam, Poonamalee, Ponneri, Salappakam, Sattumaganam, Thirupatchur, Karunguzhi, Perambakkam and Sriharikota. The survey volumes are divided according to the *Simais*; each *Simai* constitutes a separate survey district.

The 15 *Simais* constituting the survey region were further divided into about 250 *Maganams*. These divisions of the eighteenth century Chengalpattu are probably related to the traditional division of Thondaimandalam into *Kottrams* and *Nadus*. The *Taluk* of today seems coterminous with the *Simai*.

Data from a total of 2,138 localities belonging to the 15 survey districts are recorded in these registers. Records of about 40 localities in the Thirupatchur *Simai* do not find a place in the available registers. Localities of the so-called Home Farms of Mylapore and Thiruvottiyur also are not covered. Almost all of the 2,138 localities covered in the survey, 2,200 if we count some of the hamlets as independent habitations, fall in the Kanchipuram and Thiruvallur Districts of today (or what used to be the Chengalpattu District till recently); about 20 form part of the Vellore and Thiruvannamalai Districts (parts of the earlier North and South Arcot Districts). The survey covers almost the whole of the Kanchipuram and Thiruvallur Districts, excepting the Taluks of Thiruttani and Pallippattu.

Tamil Palm-Leaf Manuscripts

The English records of the survey were prepared from more detailed Tamil palm-leaf accounts, which it seems, were kept in

³ A preliminary overview of the data for about 1910 villages was published in J. K. Bajaj and M. D. Srinivas, *Indian Economy and Polity in the Eighteenth Century: The Chengalpattu Survey 1767–74*, in *Indian Economy and Polity*, Centre for Policy Studies, Chennai, 1995, p. 63–84.

every locality. Referring to such accounts Mr. Barnard, in his letter of 10th November 1774 addressed to the Governor-in-Council at Fort St. George, noted:⁴

To accomplish what was required of me, in reporting the state of the country, and the improvements which might be made, I had recourse to the records which are kept in every locality of the transactions, which relate to revenue, cultivation and trade. The existence of any such materials was I believe unknown, when Col. Call sent me out, the insight I obtained of this matter, was furnished me by the interpreter appointed by Col. Call.⁵ . . . The extract I caused to be made from the records, contain the quantity of disposal, and appropriation of the grounds in every locality, the number of the inhabitants with their possessions, and privileges, where they are entitled to any, also the total of cattle in every locality. The revenue account consists of the neat produce of each locality adjusted according to a standard fixed at the time of Doast Ally⁶ for ascertaining the rights of the cultivators. This produce is shown for five succeeding years from 1761. In some places I have obtained a similar account of the administration of Doast and Subder Ally.⁷ But it has not happened often. . .

The extracts from the original locality accounts in Tamil, which Mr. Barnard refers to above and which were first prepared in Tamil in the form of palm-leaf manuscripts, are occasionally referred to in the government records of eighteenth century. These palm-leaf manuscripts, probably written in a format similar to the traditional locality accounts, were deposited with the Collector of Chengalpattu around 1795. A few years ago, the Department of Palm-Leaf Manuscripts of the Tamil University at Thanjavur acquired these and several other eighteenth and nineteenth century palm-leaf records of Chengalpattu localities.

The material obtained by the Tamil University from the office of the then Collector of Chengalpattu at Kanchipuram consists

⁴ Tamil Nadu State Archives, Rev. Cons. Vol.1, p. 201–217, dated 20. 12. 1774.

⁵ The reference is to Rajasri Chengalvaraya Mudaliar.

⁶ c. 1732–1740

⁷ c. 1740–1742

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of about 160 bundles of palm-leaf manuscripts. Of these about 20 bundles contain material related to the Chengalpattu Survey of 1767–1774. The other bundles are of a later period.

Each of these bundles contains on the average about six hundred uncut and untreated palm-leaves, each about a metre long and 3–4 centimetres wide. The leaves are written on both sides. The 20 bundles of the Chengalpattu Survey material thus run into about 12,000 leaves, with 24,000 sides of writing. The data in these leaves refers to about 1,500 localities; the information is fairly complete for about one thousand.

Script and the Symbols

The manuscripts are written in the older Tamil script usually employed by traditional Tamil Account-keepers, the *Kanakkappillais*, and use several special symbols, especially for fractions, numbers, units and measures, etc. The standard eighteenth century script is fairly well known among Tamil manuscriptologists. We have deciphered some of the special symbols by comparing the Tamil accounts of individual localities with the corresponding archival records in English. The details of our interpretation of the script and the symbols are given in an editorial note in the Tamil version of this book.

Sections and Divisions

The accounts are divided into several divisions or sections. Leaves in each section or division have a distinct name, and are gathered together in separate bundles. Thus several bundles contain leaves described as the *Tarappadi Vagai Edu* that give details of the land and households in the locality, and sometimes also of grain production and revenue. There are other bundles containing leaves entitled the *Sutantira Tittam* and *Merai Chattam* that give details of the sharing of the produce between different beneficiaries. Yet other bundles contain *Eri Alavu* leaves, giving details of the expenses of and expected incomes from the repair of irrigation tanks, the *Eris*; and so on. Leaves in two of the bundles are termed *Tirvai Vagai Edu*; these give details of the calculation of revenue from the gross produce. There are also some bundles with leaves

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named *Beriz Tugai Edu* that record only the assessed revenue. Several of the *Tarappadi Vagai Edu* bundles also contain a summary of the data, which is referred to as the *Tugai Edu* of the locality. It is probably these summary data sheets that were translated into English and recorded in the archival survey registers.

The Tarappadi Vagai Edu leaves give a detailed account of the land and households in a locality. They identify every piece of land in the locality, locating it with respect to the centre of the locality, and recording the use to which it is or may be put. Every temple, pond and grove, referred to by the terms *Kovil*, *Kuttai*, *Kulam*, *Tangal*, *Toppu*, *Tottam*, etc., is identified and its extent recorded. And, every household in the habitation is identified with the name and community of the head of the household; and its location within the habitation, its size and the extent of the attached backyard are mentioned.

The Tarappadi Vagai Edu also record the extent of cultivated lands in a locality, and give details of the amount of cultivated land held as *Maniyam*, revenue-free assignment, and the names of the beneficiaries of these Maniyams. Often the Tarappadi Vagai Edu also record the actual extent of cultivation under each crop and the produce for the years 1762 to 1766.

The *Sutantira Tittam* and *Merai Chattam* leaves give a detailed description of the deductions made from the produce for different functions and institutions of the locality and the region. Shares are taken out at four different stages of the harvest: before measurement and threshing of the harvest, after threshing but before measurement of the grain, after the measurement of grain, and finally from the revenue after the cultivators have taken their share. The *Sutantira Tittam* and *Merai Chattam* leaves give the sharing pattern at each stage separately.

CHENGALPATTU SOCIETY AND POLITY

A preliminary overview of the data in the English summary records for about 1910 villages was published in 1995 by the Centre for Policy Studies.⁸ Below, we give a summary of this information.

⁸ See, J. K. Bajaj and M. D. Srinivas, 1995, cited earlier. For another overview of the data in the English summary records pertaining to 72 localities constituting the Salappakam Simai, see Tsukasa Mizushima, A Study of Local Society in South

Land Use Pattern

Total land in the 1910 localities for which we have land and land-use data amounts to about 7.8 lakh Kanis. A *Kani* of land in this region at that period amounted to one and one-third of an acre.⁹ Of the 7.8 lakh Kanis in the survey records, about 1.2 lakh Kanis, amounting to one-sixth of the total, was not available for any use. A part of this unavailable land consisted of hills and rivers. The remaining were wastelands listed as bad-ground, sandy-ground, stony-ground, marshy-ground, etc.

Another about one-sixth of the total land was under woods and forests. A fairly large portion of the land, amounting to about one-eighth of the total, was covered under water. Most of this land was of course under the *Eris*, the famed irrigation reservoirs of this region. But there were also other kinds of tanks, various types of channels or *Madus*, and also wells and springs. Irrigation sources were widely distributed over the whole District of Chengalpattu. Out of the 1,910 localities, nearly 1,750 had some land under one source of irrigation or the other.

A small portion of the land, about 24,000 Kanis, forming less than 1/30th of the total land, was put to the purposes of habitation. This included not only the land under houses and streets, but also under public buildings like forts and stone choultries, etc.

Thus hills, rivers, habitation, irrigation, waste and woods together accounted for about half of the total area of the region. The remaining half, about 3.8 lakh Kanis, was available for cultivation. Of this about two-thirds, or 2.4 lakh Kanis, was irrigable *Nanjai* and the rest was classified as unirrigable *Punjai* land. Actual extent of irrigation and cultivation must have varied from year to year, depending upon the availability of water and other resources. At the time of the survey, 2.7 lakh Kanis of land was in cultivation, of which about 1.8 lakh Kanis was *Nanjai* land, and about 90,000

India, *Chikigaku Kenkyu* (Regional Views), No 3, 3–65, 1990. A discussion of the Chengalpattu Survey data (in the English summary records), especially concerning *Nattars*, may be found in Tsukasa Mizushima, *Nattar and the Socio-economic Change in South India in the 18th–19th Centuries*, Tokyo, 1986.

⁹ For instance, at the end of the Survey Register for Kavanthandalam (Tamil Nadu State Archives, Boards Miscellaneous Series, Chengalpattu, Vol. 60), there is a note that: “A common measure of lands is observed in all these parts. A Cawnee [*Kani*] is 240-feet square. A Cooree [*Kuli*] is 24-feet square.”

Kanis was Punjai land. About one-fourth of the cultivated lands were classified as Maniyam lands.

People and their Occupations

The survey records show that of the 1,910 localities, only about 1,550 were inhabited. There were about 62,500 households in these localities. Agriculture was the main occupation of only about half of these households. These consisted of mainly the 7,400 *Vellalar* households, 9,700 *Palli* or *Vanniyar* households, 11,000 *Paraiyar* households, 2,400 *Reddy* and *Kammawar* households and 2,600 *Idaiyar* households.

There were a large number of artisan and industrial households. Amongst these, more than 4,000 households, forming about 6.5 percent of the population, consisted of weavers. Around Kanchipuram and Maduranthakam there were a number of localities that were inhabited almost exclusively by the weavers.

Besides the weavers, there were households of carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, braziers, silversmiths and other artisans. The survey records more than 1,200 households of the artisans constituting about 2 percent of the population. Then, there were the households engaged in a variety of other industries: oil-pressers, woodcutters, shoemakers, stonemasons, lime-burners, salt-makers, arrack distillers, basket-makers, cotton refiners, engravers, perfume-makers, and so on. These varied industrial households formed about 4 percent of the population. There were also about 400 potters and 600 fishermen in the region. Thus about 8,000 or about 13 percent of the households in the region were engaged in industrial activity; half of them were weaver households.

Besides the agricultural and industrial households, the survey lists trading households of the *Chettis*, *Kavarais* and *Komatis*. These added up to a total of nearly 4,000 households and formed about 6.5 percent of the population of the region.

The households that provided various administrative, cultural and other essential services to the community constituted another major part of the population. According to the survey, there were about 650 barbers and 850 washermen. There were also about 1,650 locality registrars known as the *Kanakkappillais*; 2,200 militiamen known as the *Palayakkarar*, *Tukkiri* and *Talaiyari* etc.; 150 medical

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men; 1,050 *Pandaram* households and 6,600 *Brahmana* households, engaged in scholarship and religious, cultural and temple services of various kinds; and about 600 households of *Devadasis*. Besides these there were households that looked after the measurement of corn, demarcation of locality boundaries, cleanliness of public places, and upkeep of irrigation works, etc. There were also several households of schoolteachers and musicians, and of many other occupations connected with economic, administrative, cultural and religious services. The number of households engaged in these varied services added up to around 14,500 constituting more than 23 percent of the total.

The survey recorded about 750 Muslim households, forming 1.2 percent of the total, and almost no Christian households in the region.

Agricultural Production and Productivity

An important aspect of Tamil society that emerges from these accounts is the amount of food the land in this region produced in the late eighteenth century. Lands of Chengalpattu are not amongst the most fertile in south India. The plains of Kaveri, Krishna and Godavari are much more fertile. From these coastal lands of not too high natural endowments the peasants of Chengalpattu obtained fairly high yields; relatively better localities of the region had attained a level of productivity that compares favourably with the best in the world today.

Of the 1,910 localities, the revenue data is available for about 1,500 localities, based on which we can estimate the production for about 2 lakh Kanis of land. We estimate average annual production of the region to be around 20 lakh *Kalams*¹⁰ of foodgrains. A Kalam of this region¹¹ amounted to about 125 kg of paddy.¹² Average production of paddy in the region thus was around 2.5

¹⁰ *Kalam*, *Marakkal* and *Padi* are the grain units used in these accounts. Twelve Marakkals make a Kalam and eight Padis make a Marakkal.

¹¹ The Eri Alavu Edu mention that the Marakkal used in these accounts is the Kanchipuram Marakkal.

¹² See for instance, *Tables of Weights and Measures & c. and Correct Batty Tables made use of at the Different Parts of East Indies*, London, 1778; also *Madras Almanac*, Madras 1795.

tons per hectare. Availability per household in these 1,500 localities averaged to around 5 tons a year.

In 65 localities of the region, average production was more than 5,000 Kalams a year. These high production localities between themselves contributed about one-third of the total production of the region. Average productivity of these localities was nearly double the average of the region. And, amongst these 65 localities, there were a few where average productivity was extra-ordinarily high, rising to as much as 35 Kalams per Kani, or around 9 tons per hectare.¹³

Maniyams and Grain Allocations

Another aspect of the information available in this survey concerns the arrangements made for the upkeep of various services and functions essential to the polity. These arrangements were of two kinds. First, revenues of certain lands were assigned for the support of various functions and institutions. Such assignments were known as *Maniyam* (Sanskrit *Manya*, honour) assignments. Maniyam assignments, in about 1,850 localities, added up to more than 42,500 Kanis of irrigated and 21,500 Kanis of unirrigated lands. Maniyam lands thus formed about a quarter of the cultivated lands.

A more significant arrangement involved allocation of a share of the produce of the locality towards the upkeep of various functions and services. Such allocations, known as *Sutantirams* (Sanskrit *Swatantram*) and *Merai*s, amounted to about one third of the produce of a locality on the average. The records list about a hundred major heads under which allocations were made in some locality or the other. Each locality on the average provided for about 30 functions and services.

The functions and services for which Maniyam assignments and grain allocations were made included law and order, registry,

¹³ Historically, the lands in India are known to have produced a great abundance. Inscriptions from the Kaveri region from 900 to 1200 AD record production of around 15 to 18 tons per hectare. The British records of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century also record high agricultural productivity in various places from Allahabad to Coimbatore. See for instance, J. K. Bajaj and M. D. Srinivas, *Annam Bahu Kurvita: Recollecting the Indian Discipline of Growing and Sharing Food in Plenty*, Centre for Policy Studies, Madras, 1996.

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irrigation, education, health, culture and religion, and some of the artisan and industrial activities. Most of these services and functions were provided for and arranged at the level of the locality. But most localities also made assignments and allocations for cultural and administrative arrangements at the regional level.

Grain allocations made for each of these functions were often substantially large. For example, provisions made for the upkeep of irrigation added to about 2 percent of the gross produce of the region. Temples and religious and cultural services got as much as 4 percent. The *Kanakkappillai* got about 2.5 percent of the produce. *Palayakkarar* and their militia received around 4 percent.

Locality and the Larger Polity

Several institutions in the region were maintained through allocations from a large number of localities. There were 17 great regional institutions that had a share in the produce of more than 100 localities. The greatest of such institutions was the Varadaraja Perumal Kovil of Kanchipuram. The temple received about half a percent of the produce from more than 1,250 localities. Sri Pataladri Narasimhaswami of Chingaperumal Kovil, Marundiswarar Kovil of Thirukkacchiyur, Sri Bhashyakarar Kovil of Sriperumbudur, Vedagiriswarar Kovil of Thirukkalukkunram, Tholasingar Kovil of Thiruvallikkeni, Kandaswami Kovil of Thirupporur, Viraraghavaswami Kovil of Thiruvallur and Kamakshiamman Kovil of Kanchipuram received shares of produce from more than 200 localities.

In addition to the temples, there were also other beneficiaries and institutions that received shares from a large number of localities. There were great scholars, like the Chikkodeyar, Jagadguru Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Peetham, who received shares from more than 300 localities. Santhome Pirzada, a Muslim religious institution, had a share in the produce of over 100 localities. There were also great Devadasis, Brahmanas, Jaina Munis and Fakirs similarly provided for from the produce of the region. And, there were several Chatrams, Water-Pandals and flower gardens in which a number of localities had an interest and a share.

The Localities

The 1767–1774 data on Chengalpattu point to a vigorously functioning and fairly affluent society built around a locality-centred polity. The localities of Chengalpattu—with their high agricultural production and productivity, their large complements of industrial and artisan skills, and their elaborate networks of administrative, military, economic, cultural and other essential services, maintained through substantial allocations from the local produce—seem to have been more or less sufficient within themselves.

The localities were however knitted together into a larger polity through the great cultural and religious institutions, and larger administrative and military mechanisms. The polity thus functioned more or less like the oceanic-circles polity envisioned by Mahatma Gandhi.

THE LOCALITIES

Thirupporur: Cultural Capital of the Region

In this book we give the complete palm-leaf accounts for two representative localities: Thirupporur and Vadakkuppattu. Thirupporur, or *Thirupporiyur* of *Kumili Nadu* of *Amur Kottam* as some ancient inscriptions refer to it, is an ancient and great cultural centre of Thondaimandalam. Kandaswami Temple of Thirupporur is one of the more important temples among the 33 abodes of Murugan that are said to grace Thondaimandalam.

The survey accounts show that Thirupporur was a cultural capital of the region; it was one of the centres where the locality and community institutions of several localities joined in knitting together a larger and cohesive regional polity. A large number of localities of the region associated themselves with the Thirupporur Kandaswami Temple by contributing a share of their produce, either by assigning Maniyam lands, or by allocating a share of grain produce as Merai for the temple. According to the English archival records as many 257 localities contributed a share of their produce to this temple.

The survey accounts record that of the 178 households of Thirupporur, 46 were Mathams with Pandarams presiding over them. Apart from the Kovil Matham, where the renowned 17th century saint Sri Chidambara Swamigal is supposed to have stayed

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during his sojourn here and whose current Swami is recognised as the Chief Dharmakarta of the Kandaswami Temple, there were a large number of Community Mathams, such as the *Vaniyar* (Oil-makers) Matham, *Kammalar* (Artificers) Matham, *Kaikkolar* (Weavers) Matham, *Palligal* (Vanniyar) Matham, *Vannar* (Washermen) Matham and so on. There were also a few Mathams associated with specific localities, such as the Perunthandalattar Matham. These Mathams, together with their backyards, occupied nearly 4 hectares of land in the four streets around the Kandaswami Temple. The presence of a large number of Mathams, associated with various communities and localities, seems to have been a characteristic of the great cultural centres of the region, as may be seen from the survey accounts of Periya Kanchipuram, Thirukkalukkunram, Thiruvanmiyur, etc.

Vadakkuppattu: Producing and Sharing in Abundance

Vadakkuppattu is located about 10 kilometres away from the Madras-Chengalpattu highway on the road linking Chingaperumal Kovil with Sriperumbudur, was an essentially agricultural locality. According to the survey accounts, Vadakkuppattu produced more than 1,500 tons of food-grains on about 368 hectares of cultivated land during 1764; for the period 1762–1766 for which the survey accounts record the production data, average productivity of Vadakkuppattu was about 4 tons per hectare.

Vadakkuppattu has a grand Vishnu Temple, named the Sundara Varadaraja Perumal Temple, though this is not a great ancient temple as the Thirupporur Temple. The accounts also mention a Siva Temple occupying $3/8^{\text{th}}$ of a hectare of land.

The distinguishing feature of Vadakkuppattu was the large number and extent of water bodies that it enclosed. The accounts mention 31 Kuttai (pools) covering 14.5 hectares of land, a Kulam (pond) of 1.5 hectares, 6 large wells covering one-eighth of a hectare, a Madu (gorge and canal) that covered 15 hectares and two large Eris that covered 105 hectares. Thus the water sources occupied about 136 hectares, forming one-fifth of the total area of 680 hectares. Vadakkuppattu also had a forest spread over 20 hectares.

The Localities

Vadakkuppattu had a large *Agraharam* with 44 Brahmana houses amongst the total 122 houses of the locality. It also had a sizeable population of Payirkottai Vellalar, Vanniyar and Paraiyar, who husbanded the locality's generous agricultural resources and achieved a sustained productivity of 4 tons per hectare. The total grain production on the average during 1762–1766 amounted to about 12.5 tons per household per year. This abundance was shared within the locality as well as with the larger region by an elaborate mechanism of Maniyams and grain allocations in the form of Sutaniram and Merai. The *Kalapperu* or the agricultural labourers share was over 115 tons and the Irrigation Fund and the *Kambukatti*, who maintained the Eris, received nearly 45 tons. The great cultural centres of the region, the Varadaraja Perumal Temple at Kanchipuram and the Vedagiriswarar Temple at Thirukkalukunram were allocated nearly 14 tons each; the relatively nearby Pataladri Narasimhaswami Temple at Chingaperumal Kovil and the Marundiswarar Temple at Thirukkacchiyur received about 7 tons each.

Tamil locality Accounts for Thirupporur and Vadakkuppattu

In his letter of November 1774, Mr. Barnard states that he started collecting “reports from the [original locality] records” sometime in 1772. The two *Simais*, or survey Districts, from which he obtained the first set of accounts, seem to be Chengalpattu and Kovalam. The Tamil accounts put Thirupporur in the Thaiyur Taluk (Maganam) of Kovalam Simai. The accounts of Vadakkuppattu mention it to be a part of Vadakkuppattu Simai. The English archival registers place Vadakkuppattu in the Vadakkuppattu “Magan” of Chengalpattu “District”.

For Thirupporur we have access to the complete Tamil accounts. Bundle 44A in the Department of Palm-leaf Manuscripts of the Tamil University Thanjavur contains the complete Tarappadi Vagai Edu set of 42 leaves, along with 12 Tugai Edu leaves, both of which are consecutively numbered in the original. There are also 6 other leaves with miscellaneous data. For Vadakkuppattu the available accounts are not as complete as that for Thirupporur. Bundle 119 contains only 32 of the 35 Tarappadi Vagai Edu leaves; leaves numbered 4, 5 and 6 are not available. And, there are gaps in the

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leaves numbered 1, 2, 3, 10, 12 and 16. The available leaves record complete details of production and revenue for the five years 1762-1766, but there are a few gaps in the data for land utilisation and houses. The Tugai Edu, especially the leaves containing *Vittu Vayanam* (house data summary), *Sutantira Tittam* and *Merai Chattam* (details of grain allocations) are not available. We have obtained the latter data from the English archival records for this locality.

THE FORMAT OF THE ACCOUNTS

Tarappadi Vagai Edu

The Tarappadi Vagai Edu of Thirupporur and Vadakkuppattu begin by recording the date on which the account was prepared as per the *Tittam*, directions, given by Engineer “Baranittu” and Rajasri Chengalvaraya Mudaliar. Thirupporur accounts give the date as the twenty-second day of Purattasi month of the Tamil year Nandana, corresponding to October 7, 1772. Vadakkuppattu accounts give the date as the eighth day of Adi month of the Tamil year Kara, corresponding to July 19, 1772. As per the reckoning commonly adopted in Tamil Nadu, both July and October of 1772 fall in the Tamil Year Nandana and thus the mention of Kara Year in the Vadakkuppattu accounts must be an error.

The accounts first give the total extent of land divided into *Nanjai* (wet) and *Punjai* (dry) lands as measured in Kanis. The total land of any locality is divided into three categories: *Purampokku*, land not coming under *Varam* or revenue assessment and not available for cultivation; *Maniyam*, lands whose revenue is assigned; and *Varappattu*, revenue-paying lands. The Purampokku usually consists entirely of Punjai lands.

The Tarappadi Vagai Edu present a detailed account of the Purampokku. This includes the land under temples, water-bodies such as tanks, pools, wells, rivers etc., gardens and groves, forests, wastelands such as sandy, stony and marshy grounds, hills, forts, habitations including the streets, cremation grounds, grazing grounds, threshing grounds etc., and also the great roads. The description of the Purampokku usually begins with the temples; water sources such as the *Kuttai*, *Kulam*, *Tangal*, *Eri* etc., are recorded next; these are followed by gardens and groves, the *Tottams* and *Toppus*.

Format of the Accounts

The Vagai Edu then give a detailed account of the various *Nattams* or habitations. For each community, the total number of houses are recorded and this is followed by the name of the head of each household, the extent of the house, the extent of the backyard, as also the extent of gardens, if any, attached to the house. The details of vacant or deserted houses and any other common houses or backyards are also mentioned. Finally the location and extent of the streets and lanes in the Nattam is recorded; and the total land of the Nattam is summed up.

The description of the habitations usually begins with the houses of the Brahmanas; the streets on which the Brahmanas live are also known as the *Agraharam* streets. The Vellalar streets are generally recorded next, and these are followed by other streets in the *Ur*, the principal habitation. After the *Ur*, the accounts describe other habitations or hamlets that form part of the locality. These are followed by details of the Paraiyars habitations, which form separate Nattams.

Sometimes, while giving the name of a community or that of the head of a household, the specific functions performed by the group or the person (such as *Kaniyatchi*, *Pujari*, *Talaiyari*, *Vetti*, etc.) is also mentioned. For instance, amongst the 8 Paraiyars in Thirupporur, one is identified as *Talaiyari* and one as *Vettiyan*. In Vadakkuppattu, the Payirkottai Vellalar are characterised as *Sukavasis*, or farmers who are settled in the locality, but do not have the *Kaniyatchi* status. Amongst the 25 Vanniyar households in Vadakkuppattu, one is identified as a *Kudumi* (medical man) and one as *Kambukatti* (who maintains the Eri).

Following the description of habitations, the accounts usually record the location and extent of the cremation grounds, grazing grounds, and areas not available for cultivation such as hills, forests, salt rivers, etc. This completes the description of the Purampokku.

Next, the Tarappadi Vagai Edu present details of the *Maniyam* lands. The Maniyams are classified as *Pala* (old) Maniyams and *Pudu* (new) Maniyams. The new Maniyams are said to be those granted from the time of Sadatulla Khan (c.1710).¹⁴ Again the

¹⁴ According to the Survey Register for Kavanthandalam: “The distinction of old and new free gifts or inaum lands is this—the old are such as have been

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Maniyams are classified as those that are assigned to *Grama Mirasukkarars*, or the hereditary rights-holders of the locality, and those assigned to *Anniyar* or outsiders, referred to as “strangers” in the English archival records. In the case of new Maniyams, the accounts mention the year in which they have been assigned and the name of the person under whose *Amil* (revenue management) the assignment has been made. In the case of Maniyams assigned to outsiders, such as temples or scholars located elsewhere, their location is also mentioned. Apart from the so-called *Tumbal Maniyams*, where the entire revenue is assigned, the accounts sometimes mention other classes of Maniyams, such as *Ardha Maniyam* and *Chaturbhaga Maniyam*, where only a part of the revenue is assigned.

Following the Maniyam accounts, the Tarappadi Vagai Edu record the extent of *Varappattru* lands. The extent of *Seykal* or cultivated and *Karambu* or uncultivated Nanjai and Punjai lands are separately recorded. Sometimes, as for Vadakkuppattu, the Vagai Edu also give the location and details of the various groups of fields into which the Varappattru lands are divided.

It may be remarked that except the house sites that are stated as belonging to named individual households, and the Maniyam lands that are assigned to specific individuals or institutions, the records do not associate the remaining Purampokku and Varappattru lands with any individual owners or cultivators.

Production and Revenue Accounts

The Tarappadi Vagai Edu of many of the localities end at this point. However, for the localities of Kovalam and Chengalpattu Simais, the Vagai Edu also present a detailed account of the produce for the years 1762-66 and give a calculation of the revenue from the grain produce. For the localities of Poonamalee and Thirupatchur Simais there is a separate set of leaves, *Tirvai Vagai Edu*, which present similar accounts of produce and revenue for these years.

regularly granted and are of many years standing. The new are such as have been granted in the present Nabob's time or since Sauditulla Cawn in many cases by the renter or other unauthorised person.” (Tamil Nadu State Archives, Board's Miscellaneous Volumes, Chengalpattu, Vol. 60)

Format of the Accounts

The production account is given for the years 1761–62, 1762–63, 1763–64, 1764–65 and 1765–66, which correspond to the Tamil Years Visha, Chitrabhanu, Subhanu, Tarana and Parthiva. The production accounts begin with a mention of the amount of *Beriz* or the estimated total revenue of the locality in *Varagan* or money terms.¹⁵ In some of the later accounts of eighteenth century, *Beriz* refers to the amount for which the locality has been rented out for that year. For *Srotriyam* localities, localities whose entire revenue has been assigned to some individual or institution, the *Srotriyam Beriz* is the so-called “quit-rent” which is demanded of the assignee.¹⁶ According to the 1772 accounts, Thirupporur is a *Srotriyam* village, assigned to the Kandaswami Temple there, and the amount of *Srotriyam Beriz* is mentioned as 47 *Varagans* for each of the five years.

The production accounts first record details of the extent of lands sown, under different crops, in *Kanis* and the amount of grain produce in *Kalams*. Sometimes, as in *Vadakkuppattu*, the total land sown under all crops together and the total grain produce alone are given. This is followed by an account of the produce of *Maniyam* lands, which is to be deducted from the above, in order to obtain the produce of the *Varappatru* or the revenue paying lands. The *Tarappadi Vagai Edu* of Thirupporur give a detailed account of the produce of the *Maniyam* lands assigned to each individual or institution. The accounts of *Vadakkuppattu* give only the total grain produce of all the *Maniyam* lands taken together.

The accounts of both Thirupporur and *Vadakkuppattu* give details of the extent of *Varappatru* lands sown, under each crop, and the amount of grain produced. This is followed by a detailed calculation of the revenue in grain terms from the produce of the *Varappatru* lands. Mr. Barnard in his letter of November 1774 states, “The revenue account consists of the neat produce of each

¹⁵ *Varagan*, *Panam*, and *Kasu* are the money units used in these accounts. A *Varagan* (referred to as “Pagoda” in the English summary accounts) is equivalent to 36 *Panams*, and a *Panam* is equivalent to 80 *Kasu*.

¹⁶ According to the 1775 Report on Tiruvendipuram: “Choutrum [*Srotriyam*]. . . is said to be a gift of land to a man and his heirs, upon which an annual rent is reserved by Government to be paid in specie by the Choutramdar or holder of it, which rent is fixed and invariable and is always said to be less than the supposed yearly value of the land.” (Tamil Nadu State Archives, Report and Accounts of the Old Farm of Tiruvendipuram, 30.6.1775, Printed 1880, p.2)

locality adjusted according to a standard fixed at the time of Doast Ally for ascertaining the rights of the cultivators. . . .” It seems therefore that while the figures for the produce are obtained from the actual accounts of the five years 1762–66, the figures for revenue are calculated following a “standard fixed” at the time of Nawab Doast Aly (1732–1740).

The “standard” which fixes the revenue as a share in the produce of Varappattu lands is given in the *Vara Chattam Edu*. For Thirupporur we have separate *Vara Chattam Edu* that describe the way the cultivators and the *Circar* shares are to be arrived at from *Udavaram* or total taxable produce. These give the *Podu Silavus* or *Merais* that have to be first deducted from the produce. For the remaining produce, different *Varams* or shares are mentioned for the cultivators and the *Circar*. These shares are different for different classes of lands, depending on whether and how they are irrigated and the status of the person who cultivates them, such as *Kaniyatchi*, *Sukavasi*, etc.

For Thirupporur, the *Vara Chattam Edu* give different *Melvaram* or *Circar* shares as 60%, 50% and 40% of the produce (for different classes of lands) after deducting the *Merais*. There are some *Merais* called the *Melvaram Silavus* that are said to be taken out of the *Circar* share. As the *Podu Silavu Merais* are 15.98% and the *Melvaram Silavu Merais* are 6.67%, the effective *Circar* shares turn out to be 43.74%, 33.25% and 26.94%. On the average, total *Melvaram* in grain amount, as calculated from the Thirupporur accounts for 1762–66, turns out to be about 34.92% of the total produce of the Varappattu lands.

For Vadakkuppattu, the *Vara Chattam Edu* are not available. The English archival records of the survey for Vadakkuppattu give different *Circar* shares (after deducting the *Merais*) to be 45.32%, 39.10% and 34.90%. Average *Melvaram* in grain amount for 1762–66 according to the palm-leaf accounts turns out to be 44.97%, which is consistent with the shares noted above.

There are certain *Merais*, which have been resumed and these constitute what is known as the *Aridikkadan*;¹⁷ these have to be

¹⁷ On *Aridikkadan*, Lionel Place, the Collector of Chengalpattu, notes the following in his Report of 1795: “The Ardie Marah is confined to two items as follows: Dowotra or a deduction of 2 percent as the term imports from the gross Teerwah produce, exclusive of the produce of Maniams, and instituted it is said

added to the Melvaram. For Thirupporur, the Vara Chattam Edu also mention that the *Dovattira* and the *Eri Merai* are resumed by the Diwan. Each of these resumed Merais amounts to about 1.95% of the grain produce.

The final revenue in grain terms is calculated by adding the Aridikkadan to the Melvaram computed earlier. The accounts also give the equivalent revenue in Varagan or money terms. To this are added the various items of taxes on trade, crafts, services, etc., collected in money, called *Rokkadayam* or revenue in cash. All this, added together, gives the computed *Adayam* or revenue for the year. Where this value is less than the stipulated Beriz (or rent) mentioned in the beginning, as is usually the case, the shortfall is entered as *Kudikkadan* or amount due from the inhabitants. The English archival records show this amount as “lost by inhabitants”.

Tugai Edus

Apart from the Tarappadi Vagai Edu that present detailed accounts of land-use, houses, production and revenue, there are the *Tugai Edus* or summary accounts. For Thirupporur we have a Tugai Edu that gives the summary of land use details. There is also a *Mottam Tugai Edu* (or abridged summary) that combines together several categories.¹⁸

The other Tugai Edu is the *Vittu Vayanam Edu* or the house summary. This mentions the number of households of every community in the locality. Sometimes there are discrepancies between the data given in the Tarappadi Vagai Edu and that given

as a remuneration to Toorell Mull, who was particularly useful to Saadut Ullah Khan in negotiating the amicable adjustment of his frequent disputes with the Mahrattas . . . [which] on his death was annexed to the Circar. Serry Muzma is a deduction of . . . 1 percent on the Gross Teerwah exclusive of Maniam produce. This office was instituted in the days of Saadut Ullah Khan by the Nizam as a check upon the Canangoe . . . [later] the marah was added to the Circar Revenues. These two together make rather more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent upon the whole Teerwah or $3\frac{1}{8}$ after deducting Maniams.” (Lionel Place, *Report on the Settlement for Fuslies 1202–4*, dated 6.10.1795, Tamil Nadu State Archives, Chengalpattu District Records, Vol. 492, paras 56–59)

¹⁸ In the *Mottam Tugai Edu* of Thirupporur, temples, ponds, flower gardens, groves and grazing grounds are joined together and entered as *Toppu Vagaiyara* (groves etc.).

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in the Vittu Vayanam Edu.¹⁹ The *Beriz Tugai Edu* leaves give the revenue on grain produce, both in grain terms and equivalent money terms, and the various items of the revenue in cash along with the total revenue for each of the five years 1762-66. The English archival records give a translation of this data. They do not record detailed production data. The *Maniyam Tugai Edu* give a statement of all the Maniyam assignments to various individuals and institutions.

All the above Tugai Edus are merely summaries of data already contained in the Tarappadi Vagai Edu. But there are some other leaves that present data not contained in the Tarappadi Vagai Edu. Among these, the *Eri Alavu Edu* gives the details of repairs that need to be made in the Eris and the consequent increase in agricultural produce that may be expected. The *Sutantira Tittam Edu* and the *Merai Chattam Edu* give an account of the percentage of grain produce that is allocated to various individuals and institutions at various stages.

The *Sutantira Tittam Edu* gives the *Sudu*, the amounts of grain in stalk given prior to threshing, and the *Kai Erpu*, the amount of grain given prior to the measurement of the grain produce. The *Sutantirams*²⁰ amount to about 10% in both Thirupporur and Vadakkuppattu, and thus the actual grain produce is about 10% higher than the figures in the Tarappadi Vagai Edu. The *Sutantirams* in the region are recorded to be of the order of 12% even in 1795.²¹

¹⁹ For Thirupporur, the Vittu Vayanam Edu mentions 12 Siva Brahamana houses and 5 Tuluva Vellalar houses, while the Tarappadi Vagai Edu give 17 Brahamana houses but no Tuluva Vellalar houses. The English summaries follow the Vittu Vayanam Edu.

²⁰ The terms *Sutantiram* (or *Suvariantiram*), *Sudu* and *Kai Erpu* occur in various inscriptions of the Vijayanagar period. Some of these instances are noted in Noboru Karashima, *Towards a New Formation*, Delhi, 1993, p. 209–263.

²¹ Lionel Place, the Collector of Chengalpattu, notes in his Report of 1795 (cited earlier, para 33): “There are certain fees which are collected before the Gross Teerwa produce is taken, and are here excluded on account of the intricacy of collection and variety of modes in which they are levied, but will hereafter be brought forward. These are termed “Swoduntra Dittam”. Some are taken while the grain is in straw, some by computation and some by measurement. The same person receives different fees in as many different ways, and again has his Marah out of the Teervah. The assessment vary in quantity and number in almost every village and to state them exactly would be a business of more than ordinary labour,

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The Merai Chattam Edu gives the Merais, which are allocations made after the grain is measured. These allocations are also given in the Vara Chattam Edu that we mentioned earlier. One group of Merais are called Podu Silavu that are given after the measurement but prior to the division of the produce into Kudivaram or cultivators share and Melvaram, the revenue or the so called Circar share. In the English archival records these are referred to as the “dues from the joint share” or “dues paid half by the Circar and half by the cultivators”. The other group of Merais is called *Melvaram Merai Silavu* and is deducted from the Melvaram or revenue. The archival records refer to these as the “dues paid by the Circar alone”.

ACCOUNTS OF THIRUPPORUR AND VADAKKUPPATTU

We have so far described the general format of the Tamil accounts of the Chengalpattu Survey 1767–1774. Below, we present some important aspects of the information contained in the accounts of Thirupporur and Vadakkuppattu.

Land Utilisation

As we noted earlier, the lands of each locality are classified as Purampokku (lands not available for cultivation), Maniyam and Varappattru. In Table-1, we give the extent of these divisions for

Table 1: Total Extent of Land, 1772

| | Thirupporur | | | Vadakkuppattu | | |
|-------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| | Nanjai (Kani) | Punjai (Kani) | Total (Kani) | Nanjai (Kani) | Punjai (Kani) | Total (Kani) |
| Purampokku | 0 | 386 | 386 | 0 | 405.25 | 405.25 |
| Maniyam | 33 | 18 | 51 | 52 | 27 | 79 |
| Varappattru | 67 | 68 | 135 | 649.50 | 226.25 | 875.75 |
| Total | 100 | 472 | 572 | 701.50 | 658.50 | 1360 |

but I imagine they may in the aggregate be computed at 12 percent, which must be added to the foregoing amount [of gross produce] in order to show the real product of the soil.”

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Thirupporur and Vadakkuppattu. Purampokku in both the villages are exclusively Punjai lands. The Purampokku of Thirupporur is almost 70% of the total area, while the lands available for cultivation are only 30%. In predominantly agricultural Vadakkuppattu, the Purampokku constitutes nearly 30% of the total area.

In Table-2 we give details of land use for the two localities in 1772. In Thirupporur, the temples, groves and gardens and the habitation occupy a considerable area amounting to 91 Kanis or nearly 25% of the Purampokku. In Vadakkuppattu, water sources take up more than 272 Kanis or more than two-thirds the Purampokku area of 405 Kanis. Both localities have a large number of temples; there

Table 2: Land Use, 1772

| Category | Thirupporur | | Vadakkuppattu | |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| | No. | Extent (Kani) | No. | Extent (Kani) |
| Kovil (Temple) | 9 | 5 | 7 | 4 |
| Kulam (Pond) | 5 | 11 | 1 | 3 |
| Kuttai (Pool) | | | 31 | 29 |
| Turavu (Well) | | | 6 | 0.25 |
| Tangal (Tank) | 4 | 30 | | |
| Madu (Gorge) | | | 1 | 30 |
| Eri (Tank) | | | 2 | 210 |
| Puntottam (Flower Garden) | 2 | 2 | | |
| Toppu (Grove) | 14 | 50 | | |
| Kalamedu (Threshing Floor) | | | | |
| Nattam (Habitations) | 2 | 34 | 3 | 25 |
| Malai (Hill) | 1 | 50 | 1 | 35 |
| Kadu (Forest) | 1 | 90 | 1 | 40 |
| Kali (Salt river) | 1 | 100 | | |
| Pattai (Road) | 1 | 10 | | |
| Mandaiveli (Grazing Ground) | 1 | 2 | | |
| Ruttirabumi (Cremation Ground) | 3 | 2 | 4 | 4 |
| Total Purampokku (Not Available for Cultivation) | | 386 | | 405.25* |
| Maniyam | | 51 | | 79 |
| Varappattu Cultivated | | 60 | | 639.5 |
| Varappattu Uncultivated | | 75 | | 236.25 |
| Maniyam and Varappattu (Available for Cultivation) | | 186 | | 954.75 |
| Taram (Total Land) | | 572 | | 1360 |

*Details of 25 Kani of land in Vadakkuppattu are not available

Accounts of Thirupporur and Vadakkuppattu

are 9 temples in Thirupporur and 7 in Vadakkuppattu. There are 5 Kulams and 14 Toppus in Thirupporur. Vadakkuppattu has 2 Eris, 1 Madu, 31 Kuttais, 1 Kulam and 6 wells. There are 3 cremation grounds in Thirupporur and 4 in Vadakkuppattu.

The Maniyam lands of 51 Kanis in Thirupporur, which is a major cultural centre, constitute half of the 111 Kanis of cultivated lands (Maniyam and Varappattu cultivated lands) and one-fourth of the total cultivable lands. On the other hand, Maniyam lands in the predominantly agricultural Vadakkuppattu (79 Kanis) are only 11% of the cultivated lands (719 Kanis) and 8% of the cultivable lands.

There is not much data on the details of land use in these localities for later years. Available information from Census of 1871 and 1971 are summarised in Table-3. By 1871, the proportion of land not available for cultivation comes down to less than one-third of the total area in Thirupporur. Also the total area of the localities as reported in 1871 (and 1971) are much larger than that reported in the 1772 survey.

Table 3: Land Use, 1871 and 1971

| Category | Thirupporur Extent (hectare) | Vadakkuppattu Extent (hectare) |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1871 | | |
| Inam land | 33 | 34.5 |
| Govt. Assessed Land — Cultivated | 101 | 478.5 |
| Govt. Assessed Land — Unoccupied | 302 | 661 |
| Govt. Land — Uncultivable | 202 | 130.5 |
| Total Land | 638 | 1304.5 |
| 1971 | | |
| Irrigated | 122 | 412 |
| Unirrigated | 214 | 48 |
| Cultivable Waste | 14 | 213 |
| Not Available for Cultivation | 272 | 526 |
| Total Land | 622 | 1199 |

Source: Census of 1871 and District Census Handbook of Census 1971

Households

In Table-4 we present data on the number of households of each community and the total area of houses and backyards in *Kulis*, where 100 Kulis constitute a Kani. The average size of a house in

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Table 4: Households, 1772

| Community | Thirupporur | | | | Vadakkuppattu | | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| | No. | House (Kuli) | Backyard (Kuli) | Total (Kuli) | No. | House (Kuli) | Backyard (Kuli) | Total (Kuli) |
| Siva Brahmana | 6 | 54 | 54 | 108 | 1 | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| Vishnu Brahmana | 9 | 38 | 62 | 100 | 43 | 176 | 689 | 865 |
| Pandaram | 46 | 415 | 409 | 824 | 1 | 5 | 7 | 12 |
| Kondaikatti Vellala | 1 | 11 | 10 | 21 | | | | |
| Payirkottai Vellala | | | | | 8 | 39 | 39 | 78 |
| Sirkanakkappillai | 1 | 4 | 10 | 14 | 5 | 27 | 39 | 66 |
| Palli (Vanniyar) | 43 | 235 | 265 | 500 | 25 | 102 | 111 | 213 |
| Talaiyari | | | | | * | | | |
| Kaikkolar (Weaver) | | | | | * | | | |
| Idaiyar (Cowkeeper) | 9 | 35 | 45 | 80 | * | | | |
| Chetti | 11 | 85 | 56 | 141 | 2 | 7 | 11 | 18 |
| Kammalar (Artificer) | 13 | 84 | 87 | 171 | 3 | 22 | 20 | 42 |
| Devadasi | 17 | 88 | 95 | 183 | | | | |
| Vaniyar (Oilmaker) | 1 | 7 | 10 | 17 | 1 | 8 | 10 | 18 |
| Sanar | 3 | 13 | 15 | 28 | | | | |
| Vannar (Washerman) | 2 | 17 | 20 | 37 | 1 | 4 | 8 | 12 |
| Navitar (Barber) | 4 | 34 | 49 | 83 | 1 | 4 | 8 | 12 |
| Kusavar (Potter) | 2 | 5 | 30 | 35 | 1 | 4 | 20 | 24 |
| Occhar (Village Priest) | | | | | 1 | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| Panisevar (Village Servant) | | | | | 1 | 6 | 12 | 18 |
| Mohammadans | | | | | 2 | 5 | 50 | 55 |
| Vettaikkarar (Hunter) | | | | | 4 | 4 | 25 | 29 |
| Ur | 170 | 1141 | 1226 | 2367 | 112 | 483 | 1171 | 1654 |
| Paraiyar Habitation | 8 | 105 | 175 | 280 | 10 | 25 | 375 | 400 |
| Total | 178 | 1246 | 1401 | 2647 | 122 | 508 | 1546 | 2054 |

*Details of Talaiyari, Idaiyar and Kaikkolar households (12 households in all) in Vadakkuppattu are not available.

Thirupporur is 7 Kulis and of the backyard nearly 8 Kulis, adding to 15 Kulis. Average sizes of the house and backyard in the Ur are 6.7 and 7.2 Kulis respectively; the corresponding averages for the Paraiyar habitation are 13.1 and 21.9 Kulis. In Vadakkuppattu, the average size of a house is 4.2 Kulis and of the backyard 12.7 Kulis, adding to about 17 Kulis. The average extent of the house and backyard in the two Nattams of the Ur are 4.3 and 10.5 Kulis, and those for the Paraiyar households 2.5 and 37.5 Kulis respectively.

Traditionally, the house sites and backyards of all communities, including the considerable backyards of the Paraiyars, have always been considered inalienable and non-taxable properties to be enjoyed by them with no restriction. This position seems to have lasted till early nineteenth century;²² but, by the end of nineteenth century, the Collector of Chengalpattu reported that Paraiyars had entirely lost this inalienable right to their houses and backyards.²³

Outside the Paraiyars habitation, the largest houses are those of the Kondaikatti Vellala and the Barbers (average extent, 21 Kulis) in Thirupporur and of the Mohammadans (average extent, 27.5 Kulis) and Vishnu Brahmanas (average extent, 20 Kulis) in Vadakkuppattu.

In Table-5 we present the population of the different communities in these localities as per the Census of 1871. And in Table-6 we present the profile of occupations as given in the 1871 Census. The data on the communities in 1871 is not as detailed as that of 1772. In Thirupporur, the Mathams and Pandaram households, which

²² According to the 1814 statement on Mirasi rights by F.W. Ellis, the Collector of Madras, the Paraiyars “possess established rights and privileges, which constitute their Mirasi and which are prized by them as much and maintained as tenaciously as the more valuable privileges of the higher orders. First the Paracheri, the site of their huts wherever placed, and the backyards attached to them are held, like the houses and homesteads of the mirasdars, rent free and they are exempted universally from all taxes and imposts whatsoever; secondly they are entitled to a share in the produce of every crop, which they receive at various rates and in various modes under the denomination of Kalavasam, Sudantiram etc; thirdly they hold the inferior offices of the village as Talaiyari, Vettiyan, Kambukatti, Alavukaran, Totty, etc., for which they are allowed Maniyams and Swatantrams distinct from those above mentioned.” (F.W. Ellis, A Reply to the First Seventeen Questions . . . Relative to Mirasi Right, Reprinted in *Three Treatises on Mirasi Right*, Ed. C.P. Brown, Madras, 1856, p.104)

²³ J.H.A. Tremenheere, *Note on the Pariahs* (Tamil Nadu State Archives, Revenue GO, nos. 1010, 1010A, 30th September 1892).

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Table 5: Population, 1871

| Community | Thirupporur (263 Houses) | Vadakkuppattu (129 Houses) |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Brahmin | 842 | 175 |
| Kshatriya | 24 | |
| Chetti | 290 | 16 |
| Sattani | 322 | 7 |
| Vellalar | 721 | 105 |
| Other Cultivators* | | 5 |
| Cowkeeper | 124 | 3 |
| Kanakkappillai | 75 | 23 |
| Vanniyar | 1023 | 97 |
| Paraiyar | 335 | 339 |
| Artificer | 148 | 41 |
| Potter | | 16 |
| Fisherman | 37 | |
| Barber | 40 | 11 |
| Washerman | 36 | 13 |
| Others | 89 | 17 |
| Mohammadan | 27 | 1 |
| Christian | 14 | |
| Total | 4147 | 869 |

*Census of 1871 uses the term "Other Good Castes".

Source: Census of 1871

Table 6: Occupations, 1871

| Occupations | Thirupporur | Vadakkuppattu |
|---------------------------|-------------|---------------|
| Cultivators | 660 | 112 |
| Labourers | 289 | 17 |
| Learned Professions | 5 | |
| Military | | 3 |
| Government Service | 2 | |
| Minor Professions | 53 | 7 |
| Personal Services | 34 | 8 |
| Traders | 39 | 4 |
| Conveyors | 1 | 1 |
| Food | 3 | 12 |
| Metals | 6 | 5 |
| Construction | 3 | 5 |
| Household Goods | 9 | 6 |
| Unproductive | 9 | 98 |
| Females and Male Children | 3034 | 587 |
| Total | 4147 | 869 |

Source: Census of 1871

constitute more than 25% of the total in 1772, are not mentioned in the census of 1871; these are perhaps included under the Sutanis that form less than 10% of the population then. Similarly the large number (more than 30%) of Brahmana households in Vadakkuppattu in 1772, comes down to 20% by 1871. In 1871 only 5 persons are counted as engaged in learned professions in Thirupporur and none in Vadakkuppattu. By 1871, cultivators and agricultural labourers seem to be the only significant occupations left in these localities.

Agricultural Production

In Table-7a and Table-7b we summarise the Tarappadi Vagai Edu data for the agricultural produce of Varappattu and Maniyam lands of Thirupporur and Vadakkuppattu for the five years 1762–66. For Thirupporur we find that on the average 76 Kanis of cultivated lands produce 895 Kalams per year, giving an average yield of 11.8 Kalams per Kani, or about 3 tons per hectare. In Vadakkuppattu on an average 704 Kanis of cultivated lands produce 10,962 Kalams, giving an average yield of 15.6 Kalams per Kani, or about 3.9 tons per hectare.

As we noted earlier, these production figures represent the measured grain produce after the Sutanirams have been deducted. Since the Sutanirams in both these localities are of the order of 10%, the actual production and yield figures are correspondingly higher.

Calculated Revenue

In Table-8a and Table-8b, we summarise the various steps in the computation of revenue from the total produce as described in the Tarappadi Vagai Edu. In Table-9a and Table-9b, we summarise the revenue data, both in grain and money terms, for these localities for the five years 1762–66. These tables are essentially the same as those given in the English archival records.

For Thirupporur, the average total revenue is 83.5 Varagans of which 5.7 Varagans are in the form of Rokkadayam or revenue in cash (charged on trade, manufacture, professions etc.) and the rest are from the grain produce.

Table 7a: Agricultural Production, Thirupporur, 1762-1766

| | 1762 | | 1763 | | 1764 | | 1765 | | 1766 | |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| | Land (Kani) | Produce (Kalam) | Land (Kani) | Produce (Kalam) | Land (Kani) | Produce (Kalam) | Land (Kani) | Produce (Kalam) | Land (Kani) | Produce (Kalam) |
| Produce of Varappattu Lands together with Maniyam Lands | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paddy | 47 | 594.06.6 | 43.75 | 360.08.4 | 65 | 848.08.5 | 57.5 | 509.00.4 | 71.5 | 985.04.2 |
| Varagu | 13 | 180.01.5 | 16.75 | 236.10.4 | 11 | 262.04.2 | 14 | 140.07.2 | 8.25 | 110.01.5 |
| Kelvaragu | 2 | 14.01.7 | 4 | 27.07.4 | 2.5 | 32.01.4 | 5.5 | 65.06.7 | 4.5 | 48.03.0 |
| Kambu | 1 | 4.06.7 | 1 | 6.07.4 | 0.5 | 2.09.2 | | | | |
| Tinai | | | 1 | 6.11.3 | 1 | 10.09.0 | 1 | 3.10.4 | 0.5 | 4.06.6 |
| Kollu | 1.5 | 3.09.4 | | | | 0.05.6* | | | 0.5 | 3.00.4 |
| Ellu | 1 | 1.04.3 | | | 1.5 | 3.08.3 | 1.5 | 6.08.0 | | 0.05.0 |
| Kanri | | | | | | 0.00.4 | | | | |
| Total Grain | 65.5 | 798.07.0 | 66.5 | 638.09.3 | 81.5 | 1160.11.2 | 79.5 | 725.09.1 | 85.25 | 1151.09.1 |
| Produce of Maniyam Lands | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paddy | 25 | 258.09.0 | 18.25 | 129.11.2 | 14.50 | 136.02.7 | 23.5 | 185.10.4 | 24.25 | 205.01.0 |
| Varagu | 3.5 | 27.10.4 | 4 | 33.03.0 | 2 | 13.03.0 | 7 | 52.11.0 | 2 | 13.00.4 |
| Kelvaragu | 0.25 | 2.02.4 | 1 | 4.06.7 | 0.75 | 3.02.7 | 2 | 18.09.1 | 1.5 | 12.02.6 |
| Kambu | 0.5 | 3.08.0 | 0.50 | 3.01.0 | | 2.03.2 | | | | |
| Tinai | | | | 0.09.7 | 0.5 | 1.00.0 | | | | |
| Ellu | | | | | | | 0.5 | 1.04.1 | | |
| Total Grain | 29.25 | 292.06.0 | 23.75 | 171.08.0 | 17.75 | 156.00.0 | 33 | 258.10.6 | 27.75 | 230.04.2 |
| Produce of Varappattu Lands | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paddy | 22 | 335.09.6 | 25.5 | 230.09.2 | 50.5 | 712.05.6 | 34 | 323.02.0 | 47.25 | 780.03.2 |
| Varagu | 9.5 | 152.03.1 | 12.75 | 203.07.4 | 9 | 249.01.2 | 7 | 87.08.2 | 6.25 | 97.01.1 |
| Kelvaragu | 1.75 | 11.11.3 | 3 | 23.00.5 | 1.75 | 28.10.5 | 3.5 | 46.09.6 | 3 | 36.00.2 |
| Kambu | 0.5 | 0.10.7 | 0.5 | 3.06.4 | 0.5 | 0.06.4** | | | | |
| Tinai | | | 1 | 6.01.4 | 0.5 | 9.09.0 | 1 | 3.10.4 | 0.5 | 4.06.6 |
| Kollu | 1.5 | 3.09.4 | | | | 0.05.6* | | | 0.5 | 3.00.4 |
| Ellu | 1 | 1.04.3 | | | 1.5 | 3.08.3 | 1 | 5.03.7 | | 0.05.0 |
| Total Grain | 36.25 | 506.01.0 | 42.75 | 467.01.3 | 63.75 | 1004.11.2 | 46.5 | 466.10.3 | 57.5 | 921.04.7 |

*Kollu-Payaru

**Kambu and Kanri

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Table 7b: Agricultural Production, Vadakkuppattu, 1762-1766

| | 1762 | | 1763 | | 1764 | | 1765 | | 1766 | |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| | Land (Kani) | Produce (Kalam) | Land (Kani) | Produce (Kalam) | Land (Kani) | Produce (Kalam) | Land (Kani) | Produce (Kalam) | Land (Kani) | Produce (Kalam) |
| Produce of Varappattu Lands together with Maniyam Lands | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total Grain | 685.25 | 10788.01.4 | 580 | 9088.10.3 | 735.69 | 12024.00.0 | 708.31 | 10480.04.5 | 811.38 | 12427.10.4 |
| Produce of Maniyam Lands | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total Grain | 95.69 | 1194.07.4 | 88.13 | 1400.03.3 | 81.38 | 1220.01.7 | 81.75 | 1265.10.2 | 83.63 | 1445.11.3 |
| Produce of Varappattu Lands | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paddy | 491.31 | 8867.11.4 | 379.63 | 6687.07.6 | 560.69 | 9976.06.1 | 528.31 | 8366.11.5 | 617.13 | 9612.03.1 |
| Varagu | 45.38 | 460.07.3 | 81.38 | 857.06.2 | 59.44 | 652.00.0 | 74.63 | 725.03.2 | 69.94 | 1132.08.0 |
| Kelvaragu | 12.5 | 153.11.4 | 12.88 | 90.06.6 | 12.31 | 82.09.6 | 16 | 94.02.1 | 8.69 | 97.07.5 |
| Kambu | | | 0.75 | 5.10.6 | 18.25 | 71.01.6 | 5.25 | 14.05.1 | 8.63 | 62.05.4 |
| Samai | | | 0.13 | 0.09.4 | 0.63 | 4.02.5 | 1.38 | 9.00.4 | 1.13 | 1.07.2 |
| Kollu | 10 | 13.08.3 | | 0.01.0 | | | 1 | 3.01.7 | 19.13 | 43.05.0 |
| Ellu | 0.25 | 0.04.3 | 17.13 | 35.03.2 | 3 | 11.05.6 | | | 3.13 | 16.06.1 |
| Tuvarai | | 5.06.1 | | 8.01.2 | | 2.04.0 | | | | 12.03.6 |
| Ulundu | | 4.08.6 | | 2.08.4 | | | | 1.05.7 | | 3.00.6 |
| Payaru | 30.13 | 86.08.0 | | | | 3.04.1 | | | | |
| Total Grain | 589.56 | 9593.06.0 | 491.88 | 7688.07.0 | 654.31 | 10803.10.1 | 626.56 | 9214.06.3 | 727.75 | 10981.11.1 |

Table 8a: Calculation of Revenue, Thirupporur, 1762–1766

| | 1762 | | 1763 | | 1764 | | 1765 | | 1766 | |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| | Land (Kani) | Produce (Kalam) | Land (Kani) | Produce (Kalam) | Land (Kani) | Produce (Kalam) | Land (Kani) | Produce (Kalam) | Land (Kani) | Produce (Kalam) |
| Produce of Varappattu and Maniyam Lands | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paddy | 47 | 594.06.6 | 43.75 | 360.08.4 | 65 | 848.08.5 | 57.5 | 509.00.4 | 71.5 | 985.04.2 |
| Total Grain | 65.5 | 798.07.0 | 66.5 | 638.09.3 | 81.5 | 1160.11.2 | 79.5 | 725.09.1 | 85.25 | 1151.09.1 |
| Kalapperu (Labourers Deductions) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paddy | | | | 52.11.0 | | | | | | 61.03.0 |
| Total Grain | | | | 72.02.0 | | | | | | 71.01.0 |
| Produce of Maniyam Lands | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paddy | 25 | 258.09.0 | 18.25 | 129.11.2 | 14.5 | 136.02.7 | 23.5 | 185.10.4 | 24.25 | 205.01.0 |
| Total Grains | 29.25 | 292.06.0 | 23.75 | 171.08.0 | 17.75 | 156.00.0 | 33 | 258.10.6 | 27.75 | 230.04.2 |
| Taxable Produce of Varappattu Lands | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paddy | 22 | 335.09.6 | 25.5 | 230.09.2 | 50.5 | 659.06.6 | 34 | 323.02.0 | 47.25 | 719.00.2 |
| Total Grain | 36.25 | 506.01.0 | 42.75 | 467.01.3 | 63.75 | 932.09.2 | 46.5 | 466.10.3 | 57.5 | 850.03.7 |
| Melvaram (Circar Revenue) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paddy | | 113.00.3 | | 82.10.2 | | 238.07.7 | | 123.01.3 | | 273.08.4 |
| Total Grain | | 160.03.4 | | 154.03.4 | | 322.11.0 | | 172.02.7 | | 316.02.0 |
| Aridikkadan (Resumed Grain Allocations) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paddy | | 24.05.4 | | 11.01.4 | | 30.05.4 | | 16.07.0 | | 31.10.4 |
| Total Grain | | 32.06.0 | | 20.11.6 | | 42.01.6 | | 23.08.2 | | 37.09.4 |
| Revenue together with Resumptions | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paddy | | 137.05.7 | | 93.11.6 | | 269.01.3 | | 139.08.3 | | 305.07.0 |
| Total Grain | | 192.09.4 | | 175.03.2 | | 365.00.6 | | 195.11.1 | | 353.11.4 |

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Accounts of Thirupporur and Vadakkuppattu

Table 8b: Calculation of Revenue, Vadakkuppattu, 1762-1766

| | 1762 | | 1763 | | 1764 | | 1765 | | 1766 | |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| | Land (Kani) | Produce (Kalam) | Land (Kani) | Produce (Kalam) | Land (Kani) | Produce (Kalam) | Land (Kani) | Produce (Kalam) | Land (Kani) | Produce (Kalam) |
| Produce of Varappattu and Maniyam Lands | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total Grains | 685.25 | 10788.01.4 | 580 | 9088.10.3 | 735.69 | 12024.00.0 | 708.31 | 10480.04.5 | 811.38 | 12427.10.4 |
| Produce of Maniyam Lands | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total Grains | 95.69 | 1194.07.4 | 88.13 | 1400.03.3 | 81.38 | 1220.01.7 | 81.75 | 1265.10.2 | 83.63 | 1445.11.3 |
| Produce of Varappattu Lands | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paddy | 491.31 | 8867.11.4 | 379.63 | 6687.07.6 | 560.69 | 9976.06.1 | 528.31 | 8366.11.5 | 617.13 | 9612.03.1 |
| Total Grains | 589.56 | 9593.06.0 | 491.88 | 7688.07.0 | 654.31 | 10803.10.1 | 626.56 | 9214.06.3 | 727.75 | 10981.11.1 |
| Melvaram (Circar Revenue) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paddy | | 3920.06.6 | | 3041.00.2 | | 4552.00.7 | | 3819.02.3 | | 4344.09.1 |
| Total Grains | | 4218.11.5 | | 3430.00.6 | | 4920.07.4 | | 4192.00.7 | | 4952.10.0 |
| Aridikkadan (Resumed Grain Allocations) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paddy | | 256.04.5 | | 190.03.4 | | 281.10.2 | | 128.04.5 | | 139.00.0 |
| Total Grains | | 270.08.4 | | 207.11.5 | | 299.10.1 | | 135.07.6 | | 150.04.1 |
| Revenue together with Resumptions | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paddy | | 4176.11.3 | | 3231.03.6 | | 4833.11.1 | | 3947.07.0 | | 4483.09.1 |
| Total Grains | | 4489.08.1 | | 3638.00.3 | | 5220.05.5 | | 4327.08.5 | | 5103.02.1 |

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Table 9a: Revenue, Thirupporur, 1762–1766

| | 1762 | | 1763 | | 1764 | | 1765 | | 1766 | |
|-------------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| | Grain (Kalam) | Cash (Varagan) | Grain (Kalam) | Cash (Varagan) | Grain (Kalam) | Cash (Varagan) | Grain (Kalam) | Cash (Varagan) | Grain (Kalam) | Cash (Varagan) |
| Grain Revenue | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paddy | 137.05.7 | 42.04.40 | 93.11.6 | 41.27.45 | 269.01.3 | 76.32.50 | 139.08.3 | 46.20.20 | 305.07.0 | 76.14.05 |
| Varagu | 47.05.7 | 11.31.40 | 67.09.2 | 22.21.30 | 78.06.4 | 18.17.35 | 31.04.0 | 7.29.65 | 30.04.6 | 6.02.65 |
| Kelvaragu | 5.06.2 | 2.07.25 | 9.07.4 | 5.09.00 | 11.05.6 | 5.03.30 | 20.10.2 | 10.15.15 | 14.10.0 | 4.33.60 |
| Kambu | 0.05.2 | 0.05.05 | 1.05.5 | 0.18.00 | 0.02.5 | 0.01.55 | | | | |
| Ellu | 0.06.7 | 0.20.65 | | | 1.06.6 | 1.20.20 | 2.04.5 | 2.13.40 | 0.02.2 | 0.06.60 |
| Tinai | | | 2.05.1 | 1.02.65 | 3.11.6 | 2.00.00 | 1.07.7 | 0.19.55 | 1.11.2 | 0.17.35 |
| Kollu | 1.03.3 | 0.23.05 | | | 0.02.0 | 0.02.65 | | | 1.00.2 | 0.18.45 |
| Total Grains | 192.09.4 | 57.20.20 | 175.03.2 | 71.06.60 | 365.00.6 | 104.06.15 | 195.11.1 | 67.26.35 | 353.11.4 | 88.21.30 |
| Revenue in Cash | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sanar for Palmyra Trees | | 3.00.00 | | 3.00.00 | | 3.00.00 | | 3.00.00 | | 3.00.00 |
| Chetti (8 shops) | | 1.18.00 | | 1.18.00 | | 1.18.00 | | 1.18.00 | | 1.18.00 |
| Oil-maker | | 0.06.60 | | 0.06.60 | | 0.06.60 | | 0.06.60 | | 0.06.60 |
| Kanakkappillai | | 0.24.15 | | 0.24.15 | | 0.24.15 | | 0.24.15 | | 0.24.15 |
| Goldsmith | | 0.11.65 | | 0.11.65 | | 0.11.65 | | 0.11.65 | | 0.11.65 |
| Total Cash | | 5.24.60 | | 5.24.60 | | 5.24.60 | | 5.24.60 | | 5.24.60 |
| Total Revenue | | 63.09.00 | | 76.31.40 | | 109.30.75 | | 73.15.15 | | 94.10.10 |
| Srotiyam Beriz | | 47.00.00 | | 47.00.00 | | 47.00.00 | | 47.00.00 | | 47.00.00 |

Accounts of Thirupporur and Vadakkuppattu

Table 9b: Revenue, Vadakkuppattu, 1762-1766

| | 1762 | | 1763 | | 1764 | | 1765 | | 1766 | |
|------------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| | Grain (Kalam) | Cash (Varagan) | Grain (Kalam) | Cash (Varagan) | Grain (Kalam) | Cash (Varagan) | Grain (Kalam) | Cash (Varagan) | Grain (Kalam) | Cash (Varagan) |
| Grain Revenue | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paddy | 4176.11.3 | 1096.29.20 | 3231.03.6 | 1396.20.65 | 4833.11.1 | 1162.00.45 | 3947.07.0 | 895.02.45 | 4483.09.1 | 1120.21.30 |
| Varagu | 189.01.5 | 44.13.20 | 344.00.3 | 115.16.70 | 306.01.0 | 82.02.65 | 326.08.5 | 74.27.00 | 517.01.7 | 105.29.40 |
| Kelvaragu | 62.11.5 | 26.18.70 | 38.01.3 | 22.11.20 | 36.03.4 | 18.12.30 | 41.00.5 | 13.32.25 | 40.09.2 | 13.21.10 |
| Kambu | | | 2.03.3 | 0.32.50 | 33.01.1 | 19.30.75 | 6.06.0 | 2.01.75 | 28.03.4 | 8.02.40 |
| Ellu | 0.02.1 | 0.04.15 | 17.03.5 | 17.04.40 | 5.09.1 | 4.20.40 | | | 8.00.3 | 4.29.20 |
| Samai | | | 0.06.1 | 0.06.15 | 1.10.5 | 0.30.30 | | | | |
| Kollu | 5.07.2 | 2.28.75 | | | | | 3.10.2 | 1.00.45 | 0.07.4 | 0.05.50 |
| Ulundu | 2.00.0 | 1.11.65 | 1.02.2 | 0.28.55 | | | 1.04.2 | 0.29.20 | 18.01.3 | 7.9.00 |
| Tuvarai | 2.04.3 | 1.20.65 | 3.03.4 | 2.21.75 | 1.00.2 | 0.24.15 | 0.07.7 | 0.13.40 | 1.03.3 | 0.27.45 |
| Payaru | 50.05.6 | 27.32.50 | | | 2.04.7 | 1.16.05 | | | 5.01.6 | 3.02.65 |
| Total Grains | 4489.04.1 | 1201.15.60 | 3638.00.3 | 1555.34.70 | 5220.05.5 | 1289.29.65 | 4327.08.5 | 987.35.10 | 5103.02.1 | 1264.04.60 |
| Revenue in Cash | | | | | | | | | | |
| Chetti | | 0.10.45 | | 0.10.45 | | 0.10.45 | | 0.10.45 | | 0.10.45 |
| Oil-maker | | 0.14.40 | | 0.14.40 | | 0.14.60 | | 0.14.40 | | 0.14.40 |
| Weavers | | 1.07.00 | | 1.07.00 | | 1.07.00 | | 1.25.25 | | 1.25.25 |
| Straying Cattle | | 0.07.70 | | 0.06.15 | | 1.00.00 | | 0.29.40 | | |
| Kanakkuttattan | | 4.27.00 | | 6.16.70 | | 5.09.00 | | 3.32.50 | | 5.04.60 |
| Total Cash | | 6.30.75 | | 8.19.10 | | 8.05.25 | | 7.04.40 | | 7.19.10 |
| Total Revenue | | 1208.10.55 | | 1564.18.00 | | 1297.35.10 | | 995.03.50 | | 1271.23.70 |
| Kudikkadan | | 341.25.25 | | 185.18.00 | | 124.16.05 | | 79.09.70 | | 478.14.30 |
| Beriz | | 1550.00.00 | | 1750.00.00 | | 1422.15.15 | | 1074.13.40 | | 1750.02.20 |

Introduction

Thirupporur is a Srotriyam village and the annual Srotriyam Beriz, or the so-called “quit-rent” payable to the Circar, is given as 47 Varagans. Thus, on the average, the net income for the Srotriyam assignee, the Kandaswami Temple at Thirupporur, works out to be 36.5 Varagans a year.

For Vadakkuppattu, the average total revenue is 1267.5 Varagans of which the revenue in cash is negligible at 7.6 Varagans, and the rest comes from the grain produce. The average price of paddy works out to be about 3.3 Kalams per Varagan in Thirupporur and 3.7 Kalams per Varagan in Vadakkuppattu.

Maniyams

So far we have discussed the production and the calculated revenue for the period 1762–66. We shall now discuss how these localities budgeted for various services and functions essential for the polity. The two important mechanisms by which these services

Table 10a: Maniyams, Tirupporur, 1772

| | Nanjai (Kani) | Punjai (Kani) | Percentage of Total Maniyam | Estimated Produce* (Kalam) | Maniyam share** (Kalam) |
|-----------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Kandaswami | 3 | 2 | 9.8 | 59 | 9.8 |
| Valliyamman | 0.5 | 1 | 2.9 | 17.7 | 3.0 |
| Gurukkal | 6 | 3 | 17.6 | 106.2 | 17.7 |
| Kaval Tukkiru (Palayakkarar and Talaiyari) | 8 | 4 | 23.5 | 141.6 | 23.6 |
| Kanakkappillai | 5 | 3 | 15.7 | 94.4 | 15.7 |
| Temple Kanakkappillai | 1 | 2 | 5.9 | 35.4 | 5.9 |
| Tattan (Goldsmith) | 1 | 1 | 3.9 | 23.6 | 3.9 |
| Devadasi | 1 | | 2.0 | 11.8 | 2.0 |
| Temple Lamp | 1 | 2 | 5.9 | 35.4 | 5.9 |
| Temple Storekeeper | 0.5 | | 1.0 | 5.9 | 1.0 |
| Pidariyar (Amman) | 0.5 | | 1.0 | 5.9 | 1.0 |
| Panchangam | 0.5 | | 1.0 | 5.9 | 1.0 |
| Drummer | 1 | | 2.0 | 11.8 | 2.0 |
| Washerman | 1 | | 2.0 | 11.8 | 2.0 |
| Street Sweeper | 0.5 | | 1.0 | 5.9 | 1.0 |
| Toppu (Groove) | 0.5 | | 1.0 | 5.9 | 1.0 |
| Pallakku (Carriage) | 2 | | 3.9 | 23.6 | 3.9 |
| Total | 33 | 18 | 100.0 | 601.8 | 100.3 |

*Based on the average productivity of 11.8 kalam per kani during 1762–1766

**Based on taking one-sixth of the produce as revenue

Accounts of Thirupporur and Vadakkuppattu

Table 10b: Maniyams, Vadakkuppattu, 1772

| | Nanjai (Kani) | Punjai (Kani) | Percentage of Total Maniyam | Estimated Produce* (Kalam) | Maniyam Share** (Kalam) |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Perumal | 0.5 | | 0.6 | 7.8 | 1.3 |
| Iswaran | 0.5 | | 0.6 | 7.8 | 1.3 |
| Pillaiyar | 0.25 | | 0.3 | 3.9 | 0.7 |
| Vedavritti | 1 | | 1.3 | 15.6 | 2.6 |
| Panchangam | 0.5 | | 0.6 | 7.8 | 1.3 |
| Gramam (Village) | 8 | | 10.1 | 124.8 | 20.8 |
| Kaval (Palayakkarar) | 8 | 7.5 | 19.6 | 241.8 | 40.3 |
| Tukkiri (Talaiyari) | 4.5 | 2.5 | 8.9 | 109.2 | 18.2 |
| Kanakkappillai | 8 | 4 | 15.2 | 187.2 | 31.2 |
| Tattan (Goldsmith) | 2 | 3 | 6.3 | 78 | 13 |
| Artificers | 2 | 6 | 10.1 | 124.8 | 20.8 |
| Barber | 0.5 | | 0.6 | 7.8 | 1.3 |
| Panisevan (Village Servant) | 0.5 | 0.5 | 1.3 | 15.6 | 2.6 |
| Vetti (Measurer) | 3.75 | 2 | 7.3 | 92.3 | 15.4 |
| Fakir | 4 | 1 | 6.3 | 78 | 13 |
| Toppu (Groove) | | 0.5 | 0.6 | 7.8 | 1.3 |
| Washerman | 0.5 | | 0.6 | 7.8 | 1.3 |
| Kudumi (Village Doctor) | 0.5 | | 0.6 | 7.8 | 1.3 |
| Potter | 0.5 | | 0.6 | 7.8 | 1.3 |
| Ahobilam Narasingar | 1 | | 1.3 | 15.6 | 2.6 |
| Kanungo | 4 | | 5.1 | 62.4 | 10.4 |
| Water Pandal | 1 | | 1.3 | 15.6 | 2.6 |
| Ulloor Bhattan (Village Servant) | 0.5 | | 0.6 | 7.8 | 1.3 |
| Total | 52 | 27 | 100 | 1232.4 | 205.4 |

*Based on the average productivity of 15.6 Kalam per Kani during 1762-1766

**Based on taking one-sixth of the produce as revenue

and functions were maintained are: Maniyams and allocations from the grain produce in the form of Sutantirams and Merais.

In Table-10a and Table-10b we summarise the Maniyam assignments in Thirupporur and Vadakkuppattu in 1772. The main Maniyam assignments are held by the Palayakkarar and Tukkiri, who held 23.5% of the total Maniyams assigned in Thirupporur and 28.5% of the total assignments in Vadakkuppattu. The

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Kanakkappillai held 15.7% of the Maniyams assigned in Thirupporur and 15.2% of the assignments in Vadakkuppattu. Other Maniyam holders in Thirupporur are the Gurukkal (17.6%), Kandaswami Temple (9.8%), Temple Accountant (5.9%), Temple Lamp (5.9%), *Tattan* or Goldsmith (3.9%) and *Pallakku* or Palanquin (3.9%). Other Maniyam assignees in Vadakkuppattu are the Artificers (10.1%), Gramam or the Kaniyatchis (10.1%), Measurer (7.3%), Fakir (6.3%), Goldsmith (6.3%) and Kanungo (5.1%). Apart from these, there are a number of smaller Maniyam assignments in the range of 0.3-2.0% of the total Maniyam land.

The total produce of the 51 Kanis of Maniyam lands in Thirupporur in 1772 can be estimated to be about 602 Kalams if we assume that the productivity of the lands was around 11.8 Kalams per Kani, which was the average yield during 1762–66. Similarly, the total produce of the 79 Kanis of Maniyam lands in Vadakkuppattu, which had a mean productivity of 15.6 Kalams per Kani, can be estimated to be around 1,232 Kalams. The amount that any Maniyam assignee would have received depends on the actual share of produce that was paid as Melvaram or revenue.

As noted earlier, the revenue figures given for 1762–66 in the Tarappadi Vagai Edu are obtained according to a calculation based on a standard supposedly fixed at Doast Ally Khan's time (1732–40). We do not know the revenue shares actually received by any authority either during 1762–66, or in 1772. Most of these Maniyam assignments, especially those assigned to the village rights-holders, are known to have prevailed from ancient times. To estimate what these assignees would have received in traditional Indian polity functioning according to its own norms, we can take the Melvaram as about one-sixth of the produce, which is the standard stipulated in all classical Indian texts on polity. This would give the total Maniyam share in the grain produce to be about 205 Kalams in Thirupporur and 424 Kalams in Vadakkuppattu. We find that only the Maniyam shares received by the Palayakkarar, Tukkiri and Kanakkappillai turn out to be substantial, but the amounts received by most of the other assignees seem to be rather small and in some cases amount to just a Kalam or so.

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Grain Allocations

The grain produce that is distributed in the form of Sutanirams and Merais constitutes a more substantial allocation. In Table-11a and Table-11b, we summarise the data on grain allocations in Thirupporur and Vadakkuppattu in the year 1772. In Thirupporur, the Sutanirams are 9.96% and the Merais 22.65% of the grain produce; and in Vadakkuppattu, the Sutanirams are 10.36% and the Merais are 18.81% of the grain produce.

Table 11a: Grain Allocations, Thirupporur, 1772

| | Sudu per 100 Kalam | Kai Erpu per 100 Kalam | Merai per 100 Kalam | Grain Allocation Estimate-I* (Kalam) | Grain Allocation Estimate-II* (Kalam) |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| Carpenter | 0.07.4 | 0.01.2 | | 9.5 | 9.5 |
| Ironsmith | 0.07.4 | 0.01.2 | | 9.5 | 9.5 |
| Shroff | 0.07.4 | 0.01.2 | 0.06.4 | 13.3 | 16.5 |
| Potter | 0.05.0 | 0.01.2 | | 6.8 | 6.8 |
| Village Doctor | 0.05.0 | 0.01.2 | | 6.8 | 6.8 |
| Street Sweeper | 0.01.2 | | | 1.3 | 1.3 |
| Washerman | 0.05.0 | 0.01.2 | | 6.8 | 6.8 |
| Barber | | 0.01.2 | | 1.3 | 1.3 |
| Sangu Pandaram | | 0.01.2 | | 1.3 | 1.3 |
| Valluvan | | 0.01.2 | | 1.3 | 1.3 |
| Talaiyari | | 0.05.0 | | 5.5 | 5.5 |
| Devar (Village Temple) | | 1.09.2 | | 23.0 | 23.0 |
| Vettiyan (Totty— Measurer) | | 0.11.2 | | 12.2 | 12.2 |
| Kanakkappillai | | 2.08.0 | 1.04.3 | 44.2 | 52.4 |
| Kalapperu (Labourers) | | | 6.03.0 | 43.8 | 81.3 |
| Kandaswami | | | 1.11.3 | 13.7 | 25.4 |
| Kanungo | | | 0.11.5 | 6.8 | 12.6 |
| Deshmukh | | | 1.11.3 | 13.7 | 25.4 |
| Sthalakanakku | | | 0.11.5 | 6.8 | 12.6 |
| Dovattira | | | 1.11.3 | 13.7 | 25.4 |
| Irrigation Fund | | | 1.11.3 | 13.7 | 25.4 |
| Palayakkarar | | | 4.09.2 | 33.4 | 62.0 |
| Total | 3.02.6 | 6.08.6 | 22.07.7 | 288.1 | 424.1 |

*Based on the estimated production of 1,300 Kalams. In Estimate-I we assume that the Maniyam lands do not contribute to Merai, while in Estimate-II we include Maniyam contribution to Merai.

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Table 11b: Grain Allocations, Vadakkuppattu, 1772

| | Sudu per 100 Kalam | Kai Erpu per 100 Kalam | Merai per 100 Kalam | Grain Allocation Estimate-I* (Kalam) | Grain Allocation Estimate-II* (Kalam) |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| Perumal Temple | 0.01.4 | 0.00.5 | | 20.2 | 20.2 |
| Iswaran Temple | 0.01.4 | 0.00.5 | | 20.2 | 20.2 |
| Pillaiyar Temple | | 0.00.5 | | 5.6 | 5.6 |
| Amman Pidari Temple | 0.03.0 | 0.01.2 | | 39.2 | 39.2 |
| Vedavritti Brahmana | 0.04.4 | 0.01.2 | | 53.8 | 53.8 |
| Vishnu Brahmana | | 0.01.2 | | 11.2 | 11.2 |
| Panchangam | 0.01.4 | 0.00.5 | | 20.2 | 20.2 |
| Fakir | | 0.00.5 | | 5.6 | 5.6 |
| Artificers | 1.00.0 | 0.01.2 | | 123.2 | 123.2 |
| Shroff | 0.03.0 | 0.00.5 | 0.03.5 | 63.5 | 67.2 |
| Potter | 0.03.0 | 0.00.5 | | 33.6 | 33.6 |
| Village Doctor | 0.03.0 | 0.00.5 | | 33.6 | 33.6 |
| Washerman | 0.03.0 | 0.00.5 | | 33.6 | 33.6 |
| Barber | 0.03.0 | 0.00.5 | | 33.6 | 33.6 |
| Panisevan (Village Servant) | 0.03.0 | 0.00.5 | | 33.6 | 33.6 |
| Toppu Pandaram | 0.03.0 | 0.00.5 | | 33.6 | 33.6 |
| Cowkeeper | 0.03.0 | 0.00.5 | | 33.6 | 33.6 |
| Water-woman | 0.01.4 | 0.00.5 | | 20.2 | 20.2 |
| Oil-maker | | 0.00.5 | | 5.6 | 5.6 |
| Kambukatti | 0.06.0 | 0.00.5 | | 61.6 | 61.6 |
| Measurer | 0.09.0 | 0.05.0 | | 131.0 | 131.0 |
| Talaiyari | | 0.05.0 | | 47.0 | 47.0 |
| Gramam (Village) | | 0.05.0 | | 47.0 | 47.0 |
| Kanakkappillai | 0.10.0 | 0.05.0 | 0.10.6 | 229.8 | 240.8 |
| Kalapperu (Labourers) | 1.03.0 | | 6.11.6 | 836.3 | 921.8 |
| Tirukkalukkunram Temple | | | 0.11.5 | 96.8 | 108.6 |
| Kanchipuram Temple | | | 0.11.5 | 96.8 | 108.6 |
| Chingaperumal Temple | | | 0.05.6 | 47.9 | 53.8 |
| Thirukkatchiyur Temple | | | 0.05.7 | 48.9 | 54.9 |
| Kanungo | | | 0.11.5 | 96.8 | 108.6 |
| Deshmukh | | | 1.11.2 | 193.5 | 217.3 |
| Dovattira | | | 0.05.2 | 43.9 | 49.3 |
| Irrigation Fund | | | 2.07.2 | 259.4 | 291.2 |
| Palayakkarar | | | 1.09.3 | 177.6 | 199.4 |
| Total | 7.05.4 | 2.11.0 | 18.09.6 | 3038.9 | 3269.3 |

*Based on the estimated production of about 11,200 Kalam. In Estimate-I we assume that the Maniyam lands do not contribute to Merai, while in Estimate-II we include Maniyam contribution to Merai.

The Sutanirams are distributed prior to the measurement of grain and hence contributions to Sutanirams are received from the entire cultivation of the locality. But the situation is somewhat complicated as regards Merais. From the records of the period it seems that Merais such as the *Kalapperu*, field deductions paid to the Labourers, or the Merais to the temples etc., are paid from produce of all lands, including Maniyam lands. But there are some Merais, like those allocated to Dovattira that are stated to be allocated only from the Varappattu lands excluding the Maniyams.²⁴ Therefore, while estimating the amount of grain allocated, we present two estimates in Table-11a and Table-11b — one (Estimate-I in the Tables) where we take the Merai amounts to be deducted only from the produce of the Varappattu lands and the other (Estimate-II of the Tables) where we assume that the Maniyam lands also contribute to the Merai allocations. These will be significantly different only when there is a substantial percentage of cultivated lands that are assigned as Maniyams, as is the case in Thirupporur.

We estimate the total production from the 111 Kanis of cultivated land in Thirupporur in 1772, to be about 1,300 Kalams; 700 Kalams from the 60 Kanis of Varappattu cultivated lands and 600 Kalams from the 51 Kanis of Maniyam lands. This is based on the mean productivity of 11.8 Kalams per Kani for the period 1762–66. The total of Sutanirams comes to 130 Kalams and the total of Merais to 159 Kalams or 295 Kalams, depending on whether we exclude or include the produce of the Maniyam lands in the Merai contributions.

For Vadakkuppattu, taking the mean productivity of 15.6 Kalams per Kani, we estimate the total produce of the 718.5 Kanis cultivated in 1772 to be around 11,200 Kalams; 9,975 Kalams from the 639.5 Kanis of cultivated Varappattu lands and 1,225 Kalams from the 79 Kanis of Maniyam lands. The total of Sutanirams comes to 1,163 Kalams and the total of Merais to 1,876 Kalams or 2,107 Kalams, depending on whether we exclude the produce of the Maniyam lands in the contributions to Merai or not.

Thus, the total amount of grains allocated in the form of Sutanirams and Merais in Thirupporur in 1772 is estimated at

²⁴ See the statement of Lionel Place on the “Ardie Merah” cited above in footnote 17.

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288 or 424 Kalams, while the total value of Maniyam in grains is estimated at 100 Kalams. For Vadakkuppattu, the total grain allocations in the form of Sutantirams and Merais is estimated at 3,039 or 3,269 Kalams while the total value of Maniyam is only 205 Kalams, which is less than 7% of the grain allocations.

Thus, the Sutantirams and the Merais seem to be the major sources of allocating the locality produce for various functions and services. The Maniyam assignments—while they might have deprived the Circar of a substantial part of the revenue and also contributed to the status of the Maniyam assignee in the locality—do not seem to contribute significantly to the locality budget. This goes against the impression which is sought to be created by most of the later British accounts that in the traditional pre-British Indian polity, each locality, in addition to assigning lands free of rent, allocated only small amounts of grain produce for various functions and services.²⁵

The Locality Budget

As recorded in Table-11a and Table-11b, Thirupporur in 1772 had 22 beneficiaries that received allocations from grain produce. Of these, 14 received Sutantirams and 10 received Merais. Vadakkuppattu had 34 beneficiaries that received allocations in the form of grain, of whom 25 received Sutantirams and 12 received Merais. In both localities, the *Sarappu* (Shroff, money exchanger) and *Kanakkappillai* received both Sutantiram and Merai. In Vadakkuppattu, the Labourers received a share of their Kalapperu as Sutantiram and another as Merai. According to the English archival records of the survey, in several villages, the Palayakkarar, Tukkirri or Talaiyari, Vetti or Measurer and

²⁵ The most famous of these statements is the one included in the Fifth Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company of 1812: “In addition to the portions of land apportioned to the pagoda establishment, to the local officers of government, and to the village servants, they each were entitled to certain small shares or perquisites from the crops of villages; which were allotted to them, generally before, but sometimes subsequently to the division of the produce between government and the cultivators.” (W. K. Firminger Ed., *Affairs of East India Company*, Rep. Delhi 1984, Vol. I, p.158)

sometimes the Artificers, received their shares both as Sutantirams and Merais. The allocations to the regional administrative officials like Kanungo, Deshmukh, Sthala Kanakku etc.; those given to the great cultural institutions of the region such as the great temples, scholars, choultries etc.; and the allocations to Dovattira, Seri Mazum, Irrigation Fund etc., were usually in the form of Merais.

The largest allocation was for the Labourers assisting cultivation, called *Kalapperu*, *Kalavasam*, *Porkalam* etc. In Thirupporur, this amounted to a Merai of 6.25% and the corresponding grain allocated was about 81 Kalams.²⁶ In Vadakkuppattu, there was a Sutantiram of 1.25% and a Merai of 6.94% for the Labourers, which amounted to about 922 Kalams of grain. The Merai allocation made to the Labourers was stated to be as high as 11% in several localities in 1795.²⁷

In Thirupporur, the Village Temple received a Sutantiram of 1.77% or 23 Kalams. The Sangu Pandaram, Street-sweeper, Barber and Valluvan received 0.10% or about 1 Kalam each. The Village Doctor, Potter and Washerman received 0.52% or 7 Kalams each. The Carpenter and Ironsmith received 0.73% or 10 Kalams each. The Talaiyari received 0.42% or 6 Kalams and the Vetti (Measurer) received 0.94% or 12 Kalams. The Sarappu received a Sutantiram of 0.73% and a Merai of 0.54%, together amounting to 17 Kalams. The Kanakkappillai received a Sutantiram of 2.66% and Merai of 1.35%, which amounted to 52 Kalams. The Palayakkarar received a Merai of 4.77% or 62 Kalams. The Eri Merai or the Irrigation Fund was 1.95% or 25 Kalams. The Kandaswami Temple received a Merai of 1.95% or 25 Kalams.

In Vadakkuppattu, the Amman Pidari Temple received 0.35% or 39 Kalams of grain, the Toppu Pandaram received 0.30% or 34 Kalams, while the Iswaran and Perumal Temples and the Panchangam Brahmana and Water-Woman received 0.17% or 20 Kalams each. The Pillaiyar Temple received 0.05% or 6 Kalams. The Vedavritti Brahmana received 0.48% or 54 Kalams; the Vishnu Brahmana received 0.10% or 11 Kalams. The Fakir received 0.05%

²⁶ In what follows we assume that the produce of the Maniyam lands also contributed to the Merais.

²⁷ According to the 1795 Report of Lionel Place (cited earlier, para 35): "Calavasam or subsistence of the labouring Paraiyar servants of the husbandmen ... varies from $3\frac{1}{3}$ to $11\frac{1}{9}$ percent of the Teerwah Produce."

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or 6 Kalams. The Village Doctor, Cow-keeper, Potter, Barber, Washerman and Panisevan (Village Servant) received 0.30% or 34 Kalams each. The Oil-Maker received 0.05% or 6 Kalams. The Artificers received 1.10% or 123 Kalams. The Talaiyari received 0.42% or 47 Kalams and the Measurer 1.16% or 131 Kalams. The Kambukatti received 0.55% or 62 Kalams. The Kaniyatchis received a Sutantiram of 0.42% or 47 Kalams. The Sarappu received a Sutantiram of 0.30% and a Merai of 0.30%, which together amounted to 67 Kalams. The Eri Merai or Irrigation Fund was 2.60% or 291 Kalams. The Kanakkappillai received a Sutantiram of 1.25% and a Merai of 0.90%, which amounted to 241 Kalams. The Palayakkarar received a Merai of 1.78% or 199 Kalams.

Beneficiaries of the Sutantirams and Merais mentioned so far are the functionaries or institutions resident in the locality or in nearby localities. There were also Merais allocated to regional administrative officers and cultural centres. In Thirupporur there was a Merai allocated for the Sthala Kanakku (District Accountant) that amounted to 0.97% or about 13 Kalams. Amongst the district level revenue officials, the Deshmukh received a Merai of 1.95% or 25 Kalams and the Kanungo, received 0.97% or 13 Kalams. In Vadakkuppattu, the Deshmukh received 1.94% or 217 Kalams and the Kanungo 0.97% or 109 Kalams. The Dovattira was allocated a Merai of 1.95% or 25 Kalams in Thirupporur and the allocation was 0.44% or 49 Kalams in Vadakkuppattu.

The above administrative officials received Merais from several localities. In the same way the great temples and cultural centres of the region also received Merais from several localities. Thirupporur, which was a major regional cultural centre, did not allocate any Merai for other great centres of the region. Vadakkuppattu allocated a Merai of 0.97% or 109 Kalams each to the Kanchipuram Varadarajaswami Temple and Thirukkalukkunram Vedagiriswarar Temple. It also allocated a Merai of 0.48% or 54 Kalams to the nearby Pataladri Narasimhaswamy Temple at Chingaperumal Kovil and 0.49% or 55 Kalams to its neighbour, Marundiswarar Temple of Thirukkacchiyur. As has been noted earlier, these temples received Merai contributions from a large number of localities.

These accounts thus present a picture of localities that systematically budgeted and provided for all their public functions,

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including law and order, registry and accounts, irrigation, education, health, culture and religion and the artisanal and industrial activities. They also made allocations to and provided for the regional cultural centres and administrative institutions, thus knitting their locality into the larger polity.

