

CHAPTER X LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

REVENUE HISTORY

BEFORE British rule was established, the whole of the district, as now constituted, with the exception of thanas Raipur and Khatra and of the western portion of the Bankura thana now included in the Chhatna outpost, was comprised within the territory of the Raja" of Bishnupur, the descendant of a long line of independent or tributary chiefs. On the cession of Bankura, the Raja was reduced to the position of an ordinary land-holder. In 1788 a settlement of his estate was made with the then Raja Chaitanya Singh, the land revenue payable being fixed at Rs. 3,86,708 : a copy of the kabuliyat signed by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Arthur Hesilrige, dated Indas, the 4th August, 1788, is still preserved in the Collectorate of Bankura with an ekramama signed in the Nagri character by the Raja. At the decennial settlement Chaitanya Singh engaged to pay 4 lakhs of rupees annually as land revenue; but this sum he was unable to pay, for his estate was impoverished by the famine of 1770, by the lawless state of the country, which had for many years past been overrun by banditti, and by costly litigation with a rival claimant. The result was that, soon after executing the agreement, the Raja failed to meet his engagements; and in default of payment of revenue, the Bishnupur pargana was split up into smaller estates, which were either sold or settled under separate engagements with the subordinate talukdars already in possession.

In this way 12 separate estates were formed, viz., in 1791, Barahazari now included in the Gangajalghati thana, Karisunda in Indas and Kotalpur, Barsiali and Hutbalsi in Indas, Baytal, Hutdesra and Kotalpur in Kotalpur, and Parulia in Sonamukhi; in 1798, Jamtara in Onda and the estate known as the Jungle Mahal; and in 1800 Kuchiakol and Panchal in the Bishnupur thana. The following portions of estates were also separated and settled with talukdars in 1791, viz., Maliara in the Gangajalghati thana, and Shaharjora and Kismat Shaharjora in Barjora. Among these estates the Jungle Mahal calls for special mention. Large portions of the old estate of Bishnupur were under jungle and the timber, firewood, honey, wax, etc., which they yielded, formed a valuable source of revenue. The right of collecting these jungle products was farmed out by the Raja, and the revenue he obtained thereby was called the Jungle Mahal, and had nothing to do with arable land. But afterwards, when it was formed into a separate estate, the name of Jungle Mahal was given to the whole area from which jungle products were collected, some part of which was cleared land cultivated, while the rest remained covered by jungle.

Even after these portions of the estate had been detached and sold, the Raja was unable to pay the assessed revenue. Consequently the portion of his estate which still remained was eventually put up to auction in August 1806 in satisfaction of arrears of land revenue. At that time, no individual would bid above Rs. 1,50,000 and Government accordingly became the purchaser for that sum. On the 12th November in the same year it was again put up for sale by Government, and purchased for Rs. 2,15,000 by the Maharaja of Burdwan, whose property it still is.

Though the revenue-paying property had thus been disposed of, the Raj family retained some properties consisting of (1) babuan lands, which had been granted rent-free by Raja Chaitanya Singh or his predecessors to relations, and (2) lands granted rent-free for the maintenance of idols. A considerable area had been assigned for the latter purpose, and even after the estate of Bishnupur had been sold off in 1806, these assignments held good, the Raj family remaining in possession as sebaits. Altogether 168 idols are, it is reported, still maintained on the estate, among which may be mentioned Madan Mohan, Radha Syam, Ananta Deva and Mrinmayi at Bishnupur, Syam Chand at Radhamohanpur, Gokul Chand at Gokulnagar, Siva at Ekteswar, Ramkrishnaji at Sabrakon, and Brindaban Chandra at Birsingha. As regards the babuan lands, i.e., lands held rent-free by relations of the Bishnupur Rajas, Sir Charles Blunt, who was appointed Commissioner of Bishnupur in December 1801 and held charge of the office until it was abolished in 1805, proposed the resumption by the Raj family of rent-free lands in the pargana in April 1803. This proposal was sanctioned, and the babuan lands were resumed on behalf of the Raja. There are still a number of revenue-free estate standing in the name of members of the family, besides a few small revenue-paying estates, which were originally revenue-free properties, but were

subsequently resumed as invalid lakhiraj holdings and settled with the Raja.

PARGANAS

The above account will show the manner in which pargana Bishnupur was disposed of; and it will be sufficient to add that the Chhatna outpost, coinciding with pargana Chhatna, and

Pargana	Area in acres	Thana or outpost
Ambikanagar ...	97,017	Khatra.
Barahazari	168,265	{ Bankura, Onda, Gangajalghati, Bishnupur, Sonamukhi, Kotalpur and Indas.
Bhalaidiha	26,266	Simlapal.
Bishnupur	674,421	{ Bankura, Onda, Gangajalghati, Bishnupur, Sonamukhi, Kotalpur and Indas.
Chhatna	167,721	{ Bankura.
Mahiswara	132,723	Gangajalghati.
Maliara	3,477	
Phulkusma	16,568	Raipur.
Raipur	86,896	
Shaharjora	20,834	Gangajalghati.
Simlapal	50,158	Simlapal.
Supur	122,599	Khatra.
Syamsundarpur	30,028	Raipur.

the thanas of Raipur and Khatra, comprising parganas Ambikanagar, Bhalaidiha, Phulkusma, Raipur, Simlapal, Syamsundarpur and Supur were subsequently received on transfer from the Manbhum district. Besides these parganas, there is another pargana called Mahiswara, which lies within the geographical limits of this district, but is borne on the revenue roll of Manbhum. The statement in the margin shows [the table at p. 144. Ed.] the different parganas, their area, and the thanas or outposts within which they are situated.

GHATWALI LANDS

The most important event in the subsequent revenue history of the district has been the settlement of the lands held by ghatwals. The ghatwals appear to have been originally a quasi-military body of men employed by the Rajas of Bishnupur to defend the country against the incursions of the Marathas and other invaders, and generally to maintain peace within their borders. As regards the ghats for which they were responsible, it may be explained that, though the word itself denotes a pass of some kind, their duties were not confined to the protection of passes through the hills. Some ghats, it is true, were hill-passes in the strict sense of the term, but others merely embraced a section of an ordinary road, and others again nothing but areas of open country, which might contain one or more villages and might not be traversed by any road at all. In return for their services the ghatwals had assignments of land granted to them subject to the payment of a quit-rent called panchak, and such assignments constituted the ghatwali tenures.

These tenures were of three kinds, viz., (1) sarkari panchaki, i.e., those in which the panchak or quit-rent was realized by Government direct, (2) zamindari panchaki, or those in which the quit-rents were amalgamated with the land revenue of a parent estate and realized through the zamindars, and (3) be-panchaki, or those in which no quit-rent of any kind was realized. The tenures of the third class call for no explanation, but an account of the origin of the first two classes may be given. The zamindari panchaki lands consisted of lands forming portions of the old Bishnupur estate sold for arrears of

revenue between 1791 and 1802, for which the panchak or quit-rent was paid to Government through the zamindar. The sarkari panchaki lands consisted of ghatwali tenures belonging to 43 ghats and comprised the greater portion of the thanas of Bankura, Onda and Bishnupur. At the close of the 18th century, the Raja of Bishnupur found that he had no control over the ghatwals, who refused to pay the panchak due from them. He, therefore, agreed to make over these ghats to Government, on condition that he was given an abatement of revenue equal to the amount of panchak payable to him by the ghatwals. This arrangement was made by Sir Charles Blunt, Commissioner of Bishnupur, in 1802; and it was agreed that if Government should ever dispense with the services of the ghatwals, the lands should be re-annexed to the zamindari (i.e., of Bishnupur or the zamindari to which they then appertained or in the ambit of which they were included when that zamindari was settled). By the sale of the Bishnupur estate in 1806 the Maharaja of Burdwan succeeded to the rights of the Raja of Bishnupur, but the lands have continued to be known as sarkari panchaki, as the panchak or quit-rent has been realized by Government since 1802.

The original area of the lands held by ghatwals between 1791 and 1802 is not known, and the first information we have is regarding the sarkari panchaki lands separated in 1802, which, according to Sir Charles Blunt, had an area of 35,282 bighas and half a mauza. This area, however, was not ascertained by measurement, but was based on the assertions of the ghatwals themselves. From 1805 yearly lists of the ghatwali lands called *ism-navisi* or *mathwari* were compiled from the statements of the ghatwals, but no reliance can be placed on those lists; and it is not till the revenue survey of 1854-56 that we have any clear record of the area in the possession of ghatwals. According to this survey, the area of the sarkari panchaki lands held by ghatwals was 136,536 bighas, of the zamindari panchaki lands 130,358 bighas, and of the be-panchaki lands 2,971 bighas, making a total of 269,865 bighas of ghatwali lands belonging to the old Bishnupur estate. Subsequently a survey (made between 1879 and 1887) was undertaken to determine precisely the area of the ghatwali land; and it is reported that they comprise altogether 520,000 bighas (i.e., about 170,000 acres), sarkari panchaki and be-panchaki lands accounting for 170,000 bighas and zamindari panchaki lands for 350,000 bighas. The number of sarkari panchaki ghats is 43, of be-panchaki ghats 9, and of zamindari panchaki ghats 218, making a total of 270; and the panchak realized was Rs. 10,800, viz., Rs. 5,000 for the sarkari panchaki lands and Rs. 5,800 for the zamindari panchaki lands.

Nominally, the ghatwals constituted a body of rural police, who bore the generic name of ghatwal but were divided, according to their special functions or to the tenures they held, into several classes, such as sardar ghatwal, *sadial*, *digar* and *tabedar*. The responsibility of keeping the roads open and of protecting travellers from robbery rested with the ghatwals generally; but the man at their head was called sardar, the man next in rank and immediately subordinate to him was the *sadial*, while the *tabedars* were immediately subordinate to the latter.

The duty of the sardar was to collect panchak or quit-rent from the *sadials* and *tabedar* ghatwals to pay the same to Government or to the zamindar, as the case might be, to depute ghatwals for keeping watch and ward in the villages or on roads, to assist police officers in investigations, and to perform other police duties, when necessary. The *sadials* had to collect panchak from the *tabedars* to pay the same to the sardar, and to supervise the work of the ghatwals. In some instances, also, they were deputed for watch and ward duties in the villages and along the roads. The duty of the *tabedar* ghatwal was to keep watch over a ghat, i.e., generally a village or a group of two or more villages, as well as certain portions of road. He was also required to give information of any offence cognizable by the police committed within his ghat and to report births and deaths, for which purpose he had to attend the police station periodically.

In parganas Mahiswara, Supur, Ambikanagar, Raipur; Phulkusma, Syamsundarpur, Simlapal and Bhalaidiha, those who performed the duties of sardars were called *digars*, and the *digars* of the last seven parganas exercised the powers of head constables, when those parganas were in Manbhum. In parganas Mahiswara and Chhatna again there was a class called *jagirdars*, who in the former pargana performed the duties of sardars, and in the latter the duties of ghatwals.

The duties of the ghatwals, as a body, differed from those of the village chaukidars, in that they were exercised not within the village as such, but within an area roughly determined by immemorial custom and known as a ghat. The bulk of the force may be described as rural patrols working on stated beats, which did not necessarily coincide with any line of district or village road. A few did useful work in preventing or reporting crime, and more rarely, in assisting in its detection, but as a rule they neglected their duties. The system was, in fact, an anachronism, the circumstances which led to the creation of the service having long since ceased to exist. The ghatwals were practically useless for police purposes, and with no definite duties to perform, they became in time perpetrators or abettors of crime. As late as 1873 the Magistrate of Bankura reported that, "they have or have had the reputation of concocting robberies, dacoities and the like". This was no new feature, for we find Sir Charles Blunt reporting in 1802 that "instead of protecting the pargana from the depredations of others, they have readily seized every opportunity of joining the invaders, and many of them are by profession dacoits".

Eventually, in 1876 a Bill was introduced in the Bengal Council with a statement of objects and reasons to the effect that—"The ghatwals are doing as little police work as they like, and that little as inefficiently as they choose, and are disputing the authority of the Magistrate to make them do anything, while the Magistrate himself has doubt as to what his lawful authority is. The expediency of legislation is therefore manifest". The bill, which was passed in April 1877, recognized the hereditary title of ghatwals whose families had been in possession since the Permanent Settlement. The heir of an hereditary ghatwal could only be passed over on certain definite grounds of unfitness and with the sanction of the Local Government. The duties of ghatwals were laid down, and penalties for their neglect were prescribed. Alienation of ghatwali lands was forbidden; leases were not to be binding on a ghatwali successor; and no civil court was to entertain a suit by a dismissed ghatwal for the possession of service lands. The Viceroy and Governor-General, however, withheld his assent from the Bill, on the ground that the local legislature could not oust the jurisdiction of the civil court, and also because of various inconsistencies and defects in the wording of the Bill.

It was then determined to have a survey of all the ghatwali lands and a record of the rights of the ghatwals in order to separate the lands held on a variety of other titles or no title at all; to ascertain what lands were really ghatwali by whom they were held and on what terms of service, etc., so that dispute might be at an end and proper service demanded in return for the holdings. The work was commenced in 1879, but at the end of 1884 it was found that the survey had cost an enormous sum of money, and produced nothing but a long list of civil suits, in which Government was bound to fail. Mr. Risley, c.s. (now Sir H. H. Risley, K.C.I.E.) was then deputed to compromise the suits and bring the survey to a close as quickly as possible, both of which objects he effected. The total number of tenures demarcated as ghatwali was 6,011, with an area of 155,603 acres or 2,430 square miles, and the cost of the proceedings, amounted to Rs. 63,380. The survey was completed in 1886-87 ; and on its basis an amicable settlement of the ghatwali lands was undertaken in November 1894. These proceedings are approaching completion.

In all cases in which settlement has been effected, the ghatwals concerned have been released from police duties. The panchak has been abolished, and they pay the rent assessed for their land. The assessments have been made according to prevailing rates as regards lands in the direct occupation of the ghatwals, but as regards lands held by them through their tenants, 75 per cent of the rent realized by them from the latter has been accepted as the assessment. A concession of 25 per cent of the total assessment has been allowed to the ghatwals in consideration of the fact that they have been enjoying the lands from generation to generation on payment of a small quit-rent. The remaining 75 per cent of the assessment is being divided equally between Government and the zamindars, the Government demand being fixed in perpetuity.

This amicable settlement has been made possible by the peculiar nature of the tenures. Up to the present there have been three parties supposed to be beneficiaries in the land, the State, the zamindar and the ghatwal. The State has consented to the settlement, as hitherto there has been but little return for the heavy expenditure incurred on surveys and litigation in connection with these tenures, and because the peculiar distribution of the service land rendered it impossible to arrange for adequate service, e.g., one

part of the district had more ghatwals than could be employed on any useful purpose, while another part had not enough for the necessary watch and ward on the roads. The zamindars again received nothing but the quit-rent from the ghatwals, whereas in the case of the zamindar panchaki lands the lands are now being made integral portions of the estates in which they are situated, the rental assessed being paid to the landlords, who again pay Government the revenue agreed upon for the ghats minus the panchak formerly received by them and included in the revenue demand. As regards the ghatwals, as the sardars grew richer, they lended more and more to pose as land-holders, and the obligation of personal service, frequently involving the payment of blackmail to escape bullying by the regular police, became extremely distasteful to them. The tabedars, on the other hand were constantly in trouble between the needs of their cultivation and the requirements of the thana in the matter of patrol. Besides this, the abolition of the system has been acquiesced in by the ghatwals as relieving them from the risk of forfeiting their tenures by dismissal for disobeying orders. Such cases had occurred, and when an outsider was appointed to succeed to a vacancy created by dismissal, the family lost its land for good.

ESTATES

According to a return for the year 1887-88 the number of estates borne on the revenue roll was 910, with a current revenue demand of Rs. 4,58,000. The total number of estates in 1907 was 1,143 and the land revenue demand was Rs. 4,83,000, representing an increase of 26 per cent in the number of estates and of 6 per cent in the demand during 20 years. Of these estates, 1,071 with a demand of Rs. 4,81,000 are permanently settled, including a certain number added recently by the resumption and settlement of ghatwali lands. The remaining estates are mainly estates which were formerly held revenue-free (lakhiraj), but were afterwards resumed by Government and assessed. Most of these were at first settled temporarily, but this error was rectified in January 1866, when the Board of Revenue directed that all settlements of resumed lakhiraj mahals should be revised, and settlements effected with the proprietors in perpetuity. Besides the 1,071 permanently settled estates, there are 72 estates of which Government is the proprietor, 53 with a demand of Rs. 800 being temporarily settled estates, while 19 with a demand of Rs. 1,000 are under direct management. The former are mostly petty estates formed out of the surplus road-side land along the Raniganj-Midnapore road. The latter include certain town Khas mahals and are also unimportant properties, which have been bought in by Government at sales for arrears of revenue.

TENURES

The tenures of Bankura consist of properties held under the zamindars and comprise (a) patni taluks, with their subordinate tenures called darpatni and sepatni, (B) mukarrari taluks; (c) istimrari taluks, and (d) ijaras including darijaras and zar-i-peshgi ijaras. The following is a brief description of each of these tenures.

PATNI TENURES

It has been already mentioned that the Raja of Bishnupur's estate became broken up towards the end of the 18th century, and that in 1806 a considerable portion of it was purchased by the Maharaja of Burdwan, who gradually became the proprietor of four of the most important estates in the district, viz., Bishnupur, Barahazari, Karisunda, and the Jungle Mahal. On these estates coming into his possession, he created under-tenures, known as patni taluks, similar to those in existence on his large estates in Burdwan and other districts. A patni tenure is, in effect, a lease which binds its holder by terms and conditions similar to those by which a superior landlord is bound to the State. By Regulation XLIV of 1793 the proprietors of estates were allowed to grant leases for a period not exceeding 10 years, but this provision was rescinded by section 2 of Regulation V of 1812; while by Regulation XVIII of the same year proprietors were declared competent to grant leases for any period even in perpetuity. Finally, Regulation VIII of 1819, known as the Patni Sale Law, declared the validity of these permanent tenures, defined the relative rights of the zamindars and their subordinate patni talukdars, and established a summary process for the sale of such tenures in satisfaction of the zammdar's demand of rent. It also legalized under-letting on similar terms by patnidars and others.

Since the passing of the Patni Sale Law, this form of tenure has been very popular with zamindars who

wish to divest themselves of the direct management of their property, or part of it, or who wish to raise money in the shape of a bonus. It may be described as a tenure created by the zamindar to be held by the lessee and his heirs or transferees for ever at a rent fixed in perpetuity, subject to the liability of annulment on sale of the parent estate for arrears of Government revenue, unless protected against the rights exercisable by auction purchasers by common or special registry, as prescribed by sections 37 and 39 of Act XI of 1859. The tenant is called upon to furnish collateral security for the rent and for his conduct generally, or he is excused from this obligation at the zamindar's discretion.

Under-tenures created by patnidars are called darpatni, and those created by darpatnidars are called sepatni tenures. These under-tenures are, like the parent tenures, permanent, transferable and heritable; and have generally the same rights, privileges, and responsibilities attached to them. They are usually granted on payment of a bonus. Section 13 of Regulation VIII of 1819 provides rules for staying the sale of a patni, if it takes place owing to the intentional withholding of payment of rent by the patnidar with the object of ruining his subordinate tenure-holders. In such cases, the under-tenants are allowed the means of saving the patni tenure and their own under-tenures, by paying into the Collector's office the advertized balance due to the zamindar. The patni tenure so preserved forms the necessary security to the depositors, who have a lien on it in the same manner as if the loan had been made upon mortgage. The depositors may then apply to the Collector for obtaining immediate possession of the defaulter's tenure; and the defaulter will not recover his tenure, "except upon repayment of the entire sum advanced, with interest at the rate of 12 per cent per annum up to the date of possession having been given, or upon exhibiting proof, in a regular suit to be instituted for the purpose, that the full amount so advanced, with interest, has been realized from the usufruct of the tenure".

SHIKMI TENURES

Shikmi tenures are a class of tenures of a peculiar nature, created by Government at the settlement of resumed lakhiraj villages. During the investigations which were made into the validity of the rent-free tenure of the district, several villages were discovered to be held under invalid lakhiraj grants. They were resumed; and in the course of the measurement and assessment of the tenants' holdings preliminary to the settlement of the villages by Government, several small lakhiraj holdings were found. These were separately measured and assessed, and their proprietors were called upon to enter into a settlement on the same principle as was observed in the settlement of the entire village—half the assets being allowed to them as profits, etc., and half taken as the revenue due to Government. But for convenience sake, the proprietor of the entire mahal was at the time of the settlement entrusted with the collection of the revenues due from his shikmidars and was allowed 10 per cent on the collections as his remuneration. Thus came into existence the Shikmi mahals, the revenue of which is paid to Government through the proprietors of the village in which they are situated. The status of a shikmidar is that of a tenure-holder with hereditary and transferable rights; the Government revenue paid by them is fixed in perpetuity, and is not subject to enhancement. Shikmi tenures may be found in almost every part of the district.

MUKARRARI TENURES

The old mukarrari tenures formerly existing in Bankura were nearly all abolished at the decennial settlement, and the mukarrari taluks subsequently created are not numerous. Those that exist have definite rights expressed in the written engagements by which they are created. It is generally specified that they shall be hereditary, and their rents are not subject to enhancement. Hence the name mukarrari, which is derived from the Persian karar, meaning fixed. At the creation of a mukarrari tenure, the lessee pays a bonus or salami.

Darmukarraris are subordinate to mukarrari, and are created by the mukarraridar. These tenures are also of a fixed nature, and the rights of the lessee are the same as those of the superior holder or mukarraridar, who created the tenure. Darmukarrari tenures, however, are very few in number in Bankura.

ISTIMRARI TENURES

Istimrari Taluks also are not numerous. All those found in Bankura are said to have been created by proprietors of estates subsequent to the decennial settlement. The rights and privileges of istimraridars are similar to those of mukarraridars, and a bonus is also paid by the tenant at the time of the execution of the lease. Daristimrari taluks, or istimraris of the second degree, are rare.

DARAS

The status of ijaradars, or farmers, and of their subordinate dar-ijaradars, differs widely from that of the other intermediate tenure-holders described above. Ijaradars hold farming leases, by which a definite amount of annual rent is fixed for a specified term, usually varying from five to thirty years. Such leases are granted not only by the zamindars or superior landlords, but also by subordinate talukdars or tenure-holders in an estate. The lessor cannot enhance the rent of an ijara lease during its term; and on its expiry, the ijaradar is not entitled to renewal. If the latter is not specifically, by the conditions of his lease, debarred from creating an under-tenure, he occasionally creates a dar-ijara tenure, the term of which cannot, of course, be longer than that of his own lease.

Another kind of ijara is known as a zar-i-peshgi ijara, i.e., a lease granted in consideration of an advance of money. It may be granted for an unspecified term of years, and made terminable on certain conditions, e.g., when an estate is mortgaged as security for a loan. The term expires when the mortgagee has recovered the amount of debt and interest from the proceeds of the property. Such leases are much in vogue in this part of the country, where even the cultivators often give a zar-i-peshgi ijara of their lands to the village Mahajans.

TENANT'S HOLDINGS

The third class of tenures consists of lands held by actual cultivators, which comprise (a) Jama or jot, (b) miadi jama, (c) mukarrari and maurasi jama, (d) korfa and darkorfa, and (e) bhag jot.

JAMA OR JOT

Cultivators' holdings, called jama or jot, are generally, but not always, held without any written engagement. The lands remain in the possession of one family from generation to generation, and in most cases without any document of title. All these tenures are now governed by the Bengal Tenancy Act, VIII of 1885 as amended by Act I of 1907. In practice, a jama is divided into as many parts as suit the convenience of the ryots who hold it, and the total rent contributed by the different holders thereof is paid by one of them to the gumashta or rent-collector.

MIADI JAMA

The term miadi jama is applied to the holding of a cultivator with only a temporary interest in his land, which he holds for a fixed term of years under a patta or lease.

BHAG JOT

Holdings for which the tenant pays a share (bhag) of the produce as rent are known as bhag jot. An account of this system of rent payment has already been given in Chapter VII.

JANGALBURI JAMA

When waste lands are leased out for the purpose of being cleared of jungle and brought under cultivation, the tenure is known by the name of jangalburi. Such lands are generally assessed at progressive rates of rent, payable after a certain number of years, during which no rent is paid. There used to be large tracts of waste land on which sal timber grew in abundance; but most of these jungle tracts have now been reclaimed and brought under the plough. Several zamindars and talukdars have leased out a few of their jungle lands at a small annual rent, and others retain them in their immediate possession.

NAYABADI

A tenure of a similar kind is that known as nayabadi. This tenure is created by a sanad granted by the zamindar or talukdar to a person intending to clear and settle on waste land. The tenant is empowered by the grant to bring land under cultivation within certain fixed boundaries and is remunerated either by a gift of a special portion of the land rent-free or by deducting a regular proportion from the rent of the entire tenure.

JALSASAN

Another tenure called jalsasan is designed to encourage the permanent improvement of land, i.e., a tenant obtains a grant of a fixed quantity of land either rent-free or at a small quit-rent on condition that he constructs tanks and reservoirs from which that and other lands can be irrigated.

DAKHALDARI

Another peculiar tenure called dakhaldari is found only in pargana Simlapal in thana Raipur. The holder of the tenure has a right of occupancy, but the rent of the tenure is regarded as liable to enhancement.

MUKARRARI AND MAURASI JAMA

Some cultivators hold land under leases called mukarrari and maurasi, the chief stipulations of which are that the rent is subject neither to enhancement nor abatement, and that the tenure descends from father to son. These leases are generally granted on the payment of a bonus or salami by the tenant.

KORFA AND DARKORFA

A sub-ryoti tenure subordinate to that held by an ordinary cultivator is called korfa. Korfa tenures are generally created verbally, and in some cases there are also darkorfadars, or ryots holding under korfadars.

SERVICE TENURES

The fourth class of tenures consists of lands held either entirely rent-free (be-panchak), or liable to a nominal quit-rent (panchak). Such tenures were formerly very numerous in the district. How numerous and varied they were may be gathered from a letter written in 1845 by the Raja of Bishnupur to the Judge of Bankura, in which he gave the following list and description of the various panchaki mahals which existed in the territory of his ancestor: (1) Senapati mahal— panchak paid for service lands held by the commanding officers of the army. (2) Mahal-bera mahal— panchak paid for service lands held by the guards of the Bishnupur fort. (3) Chharidari mahal— panchak paid for service lands held by the Raja's mace-bearers. (4) Bakshi mahal— panchak paid for service lands held by bakshis or military paymasters. (5) Kashtha-bhandar mahal— panchak paid for service lands held by the suppliers of fuel for the Raja's palace. (6) Shagirdi-pesha mahal— panchak paid for service lands held by private servants of the Raja, such as khawas, khidmatgars, namhatas, goraitis, etc. (7) Krot mahal— panchak paid for service lands held by the court officials of the Raja, such as the diwan, etc. (8) Topkhana mahal— panchak paid for service lands held by the gunners. (9) Dom mahal— panchak paid for service lands held by drummers and musicians. (10) Kaharan mahal— panchak paid for service lands held by palanquin bearers. (11) Khatali mahal— panchak paid for service lands held by coolies and labourers for working in the fort. (12) Hatila mahal— panchak paid for the sites of markets at Bishnupur. (13) Be-talabi mahal—panchak paid for lands granted by the Raja for charitable and religious purposes.

The majority of these tenures have been abolished by the Maharaja of Burdwan; but panchaki lakhiraj tenures are still to be found in pargana Bishnupur, where certain service and rent-free panchaki lands granted by the Raja of Bishnupur for religious purposes have not been interfered with, though some service lands have lapsed to the proprietor of the estate on the decease of the servants who formerly enjoyed them. Of other service tenures which have survived, by far the most important are the ghatwali tenures described above. The chaukidari chakran lands, i.e., the lands held by village chaukidars in lieu of wages have also been resumed and transferred to the zamindars under Act VI (B.C.) of 1870, the

chaukidars being paid from the chaukidari tax. A few other interesting service tenures are still left, such as simanadari, itmamdari (or mandali), khorposh and hikimal tenures.

SIMANADARI

Simanadars are a body of men who do the work of chaukidars in thanas Indas and Kotalpur, and have grants of land in lieu of wages. These lands are being resumed and settled with the zamindars, the simanadars being left in possession of their holdings as occupancy ryots under the zamindars concerned.

ITMAMDARI OR MANDALI

The itmamdari or mandali tenure exists only in the western portion of the district in thanas Raipur and Khatra. The holder of the tenure performs the duties of a gumashta or collector of rents and holds a grant of land in lieu of wages, acquiring an hereditary occupancy right in the land.

KHORPOSH

The grants given by a zamindar to the members of his family for their maintenance are called khorposh tenures. In some instances such tenures revert to the original grantor or his heirs on the death of the grantee, and in others they are hereditary.

HIKIMALI

Hikimali is a term applied to a grant of land assigned for the maintenance of the hikim or second brother of a Raja or zamindar. On the death of the latter, the second brother of his successor takes up the name and the land. A hikimali tenure is thus dependent on the life of the Raja or zamindar and not of the tenure-holder himself.

RENT FREE TENURES

Rent-free tenures form the fifth and last class of landed estates in Bankura district. Several varieties of this tenure exist, but none prevail to any considerable extent. Lands granted for religious purposes, such as brahmottar, sivottar, debottar, etc., by Hindus, and pirottar, chiragan, etc., by Muhammadans, are found in many villages. Besides these, there are several other rent-free tenures granted for charitable purposes, and numerous small rent-free holdings, which do not appear to have been assigned for any special purpose.

Rent-free tenure-holders have several classes of ryots directly under them, and in some cases middlemen, generally mukarraridars or talukdars, to whom the ryots holding or cultivating the said lands pay their rent. Some proprietors of small rent-free holdings are simple cultivators, who either cultivate their rent-free lands themselves or sub-let them.