(A) THE PHYSICAL SETTING OF THE SATRA

The satra is situated in a compound of 5 acres of land. The area is surrounded by a brick wall, 6 ft. high. There are four gates on four sides. The eastern gate touches the bank of a tributary called Harijan, stair-cases are made out of big boulders leading to the water bed. This gate is mainly for those who come by water route. The main entrance to the satra is on the western boundary of the compound. It is called Barbathgar, i.e., big gate. It is a concrete house sufficiently tall and so it is also called dālān. The original big gate was damaged by the earthquake of 1897 and the reconstruction of the gate was completed around 1931 A.D. 1 Other than the main entrance on the western side, there are two more entrances from the northern and southern sides. These are the arched gateways with two lion-motifs sculptured on both sides, which are also known as gates of Uttarhāṭī and Dakṣin-hāṭī.

1. Late Amjun Ch. Das, a retired school teacher and a literary pensioner informed that as the architectural design was thought to resemble certain Mughal architecture, opinion was created among certain section of the people that the design should be changed.
The internal plan of the satra compound:

The internal plan shows that the substantial Kirtanghar stands in the middle of the area. The other additional structures are on the northern, southern and eastern end of it. Perpendicular to the Kirtanghar and equal to the breadth of it is the bhājghar (arched house) or mānikūt (the house of jewels). Just adjacent to the northern end of the bhāj-ghar there is a concrete structure, which is called matha. Other structures on the northern side of the satra compound include the house-site of Mathurādāś Burhā Ātā, the office of the satra Managing Committee and the stage for theatrical performances. Towards the north-western corner there is the conical concrete structure with raised plinth called deul along with the house without wall called sabhāghar. There is also the Kewāliyāhātī on the northern side. Towards the eastern end beside the bhājghar is a raised wooden platform. On the southern side of the Kirtanghar also there are the satra guest house, the house site of Bodolā Ātā, the open hall where recitations of the sacred books are held daily in
The Kirtanghar:

It is the substantial well built building with a majestic look and possibly the biggest in Assam among such type of buildings (180 ft. long and 90 ft. in breadth). Though modern techniques are applied specially in making the plinth and the concrete pillars at the time of reconstruction yet the traditional style of the same appears to be maintained to some extent. There are 14 pairs of concrete pillars which are plastered round and another pair of big wooden pillars believed to be of basil plant said to have come floating in the river Brahmaputra.

The walls of the Kirtanghar are fitted with ornamental iron cornices with sufficient spaces on three sides of the building under the Verandah. Through these spaces the congre-gated sound of prayers from inside the Kirtanghar comes out. Those who are not allowed to go inside the Kirtanghar are obliged to sit in the Verandah and can see through these
spaces what is going on inside. The outer side of the three walls of the Kirtanghar are decorated with images carved on wood, variously coloured and fitted on the walls. The images and figures that are carved, depict the stories taken mostly from the Epics and the Purāṇas and besides serving the decorative purpose, they impart moral lessons to the visitors. Figures on the western wall are those of the various incarnations of God. In all these pieces of adornments the notable thing is the choice of colour. The main door on the western end is ornamented with silver plates. On the upper part of this door frame the figures of Kṛṣṇa made out of silver are fixed. Such beautiful carvings and decorations may exhibit the stylistic craftsmanship of the local artisans.

Inside the Kirtanghar:

The central object that comes to sight inside the Kirtanghar are the three āsanas (seat) or simhāsanas (seats with lion motifs) or guru āsanas (the seats of the guru, i.e., Śaṅkaradeva or Mādhavadeva identified with the Supreme Being). These are the raised decorated plateforms on which
the holy scriptures are placed. The three āsanās of Barpeta Satra are placed on a common pedestal. They are dedicated in the names of Saṅkaradeva, Mādhavadeva and Badaśātā, the middle one being slightly raised, contains a copy of Saṅkaradeva's work, while the other two on the sides contain two works in Mādhavadeva's own hand. The āsanās convey two-fold significance, representing God and also standing for the guru (Saṅkaradeva or Mādhavadeva in the form of their renderings). These are covered with cloth which hang downwards. Daily prasāṅga (prayers in the form of recitation from the sacred books by a single individual or in chorus) are offered in front of these āsanās.

In front of the guru āsanās there is another āsanā on which eight big sized sarāis (trays made of brass metal, with decorated stand) are placed. These trays are used on five occasions in a year, on the three inaugural days of the celebration of death anniversaries of Saṅkaradeva, Mādhavadeva

2. According to another view the third one is in the name of Mathurādās Burhā Ātā.
Informant: 
and Mathurādās Būrāhā Ātā and the festivals of Māgh Bihu and Bāhag Bihu. Other paraphernalia that are kept near this platform include seven lamps' stand on which earthen lamps are lit and two giant sized (nearly seven feet high) lamp stands (tup gachās) on which thousand earthen lamps can be lighted at a time. Such occasions of lighting come during death anniversary (kīrtan) celebration of the founding fathers of the faith.

Towards the middle of the hall there is the stipulated place for holding the daily prasaṅga. On the other side of the āsana there is the seat of the satrīyā on which particular place the first satrīyā of the satra (Mathurādās Būrāhā Ātā) used to sit on. Senior members of various families take seats by the side of the satrīyā. The Bhāgavata (the holy book of the sect) is recited by keeping it on a slightly raised platform which signifies the place where Madhavadeva used to sit on. The space just behind the āsana is used for arranging and preparing the prasāda in time of various festivals. Near the āsana on the northern wall is placed overhead
the big dabā (the kettle drum) which is sounded to indicate the hour of various performances.

The Kirtanghar has three wide open varandas, the southern one being used by the women devotees (āi sakal) for holding their prayers.

The adjoining house:

Adjacent to the Kirtanghar to the east is another house whose length roughly equals the breadth of the Kirtanghar. This house is generally known as manikūt. But in Barpeta it is called bhājghar and bharālghar. Valuable properties of the satra including old manuscripts written on sācipāt (bark of aquillaria agallocha) by the founding fathers themselves, various utensils including the decorated trays necessary for various festive occasions are kept there. A cemented upper floor is there in this house for this purpose. The ground floor has two rooms. In the northern room there is the underground reservoir of mustard oil which is collected from the offerings of visitors. One purified white cotton cloth is placed over the reservoir. Mirmālis are distributed among
the devotees after offerings are sanctified by sprinkling mustard oil on them from this reservoir. Such floral parts called *nirmālīs* are received with due respect by the *satriyā*, the devotees and the visitors alike. The *bhājghar* has two entrances, one is on the eastern side and on its door-steps female visitors are asked to bow down (facing to the western side) to offer their regards to the deity inside. It is a taboo to touch the marble stone made lower beam of this door frame by foot. The other door connects this house with the main prayer hall.

The idol:

Inside the *manikūt* or *bhājghar* in its southern room the main idol of Kṛṣṇa made of black stone, is kept. The idol is known as *Syāmrāi* and the local people call it *Kailāṭhākur*. The image of *Kailāṭhākur* or *Syāmrāi* is said to have been presented by Koch king Raghudev Narayana (1581-1603 A.D.).

Neog, M.: *Śaṅkaradeva and His Times*, p. 320
On the same āsana another image of Kṛṣṇa made of eight metals (āstadbātu), called Daulgovinda is also kept. Daulgovinda comes to prominence in time of the colour festival, i.e., Phalgutsava. The images on the āsana are enclosed with concrete wall except the front side. There is a door which is fitted with vertical iron rods to facilitate the visitors to have a view. The door is kept under lock and key after the daily worship of Kailāthākur is over.

The eternal lamp:

In front of Kailāthākur slightly towards the right within the same enclosure burns a mustard oil lamp. It is known as aksaya banti, i.e., the eternal lamp. It is believed that the lamp has been burning since the days of Mādhavadeva.

4. In an unprecedented incident of theft in the satra, the age-old idols of Kailāthākur and Daulgovinda were taken away in the early hours of February 11, 1991. Police investigation proved fruitless. Considering the indispensability of the idols in the festival of colour falling due from 27th of that month, the satra authority managed to get new idols. One bronze idol of Daulgovinda and another stone idol of Kailāthākur, being 18 inches and 16 inches respectively were procured from Jaipur at a cost of rupees eight thousand in total. The idols were ceremonially installed on February 25, 1991.
The container of this lamp is made of copper (nearly 10 inches in diameter) placed on a decorated silver stand of nearly 4 feet high. The container is filled with mustard oil, and there is a cotton wick (of 1 inch diameter approximately) one end of which comes through the lamp's (container) lips while the rest remains in the oil held by the container. The wick is lit just beyond the lip and the lamp burns with the lip facing west. The akṣaya banti alone consumes 3 litres of mustard oil for a day and night together.5

Other additional structures:

To the east of the manikūt or the bhājghar there is another house which has got a raised wooden floor made of wide planks of wood under which the pet animals (deer) and birds (peacocks) are kept.

The open (without wall) wooden floor is used to hold the different sittings of the Managing Committee of the satra and

5. Śrī Kālīchāran Ātai (ghāideuri at the time of my investigation) told me that he was to pour additional mustard oil to the container of the lamp at the interval of 2 to 3 hours. He is to cleanse and put forward the wick with a metal spoon, through the iron rods of the door. The ghāideuri stays at night upto 12 P.M. and he even comes from bed to pour oil to the container at dead hours.
the big canopies of the satra are also kept on it. To the south of this house is the guest house where visitors to the satra are accomodated. Next to this house to the west is the house site of Baddā Ātā, an able disciple of Mādhava-deva. Figures carved on wood by expert hands are fixed on the walls of this house. An āsana is placed inside this house and regular prasāṇgas are held in front of it morning and evening with the burning of an earthen lamp. Next to this house towards west there is another hall. Recitation and expounding of holy books are regularly held in this hall in the evening. To the south of all these structures along the compound wall are the residences of celibate monks which is termed as dākṣiṇā Kewalīyā hāti.

The matha:

On the northern side of the eastern end of the kirtan-ghar a concrete brick walled conical structure is situated which is called matha.

According to a tradition current among the people of Barpeta area the matha was constructed on the residential
house site of Madhavadeva. The porch of the matha resembling a hut is called caighar. The matha is ornamented with a conical glittering tip at the highest end of it. Things once used by Madhavadeva are preserved inside the matha as sacred relics. The sacred book Nāmghosā written on sancipāt is placed on an āsana. Mustard oil lamp is lighted every morning and evening by the ghāideuri and prasāngas are performed by a celibate devotee regularly. Generally it is kept under lock and key except the time of prasānga. Vertical iron rods are fitted on the door. The visitor devotees throw coins inside the matha. The wide courtyard lying in front of the matha is covered with flat slabs of stone. It is surrounded by a 3 feet high (old) brick wall with two gateways. On the north-west corner of the courtyard there is a well.

6. It resembles to the traditional Ahom architectural style specially those constructed during the days of Śiva Simha (1714-1744 A.D.).

7. The things that are kept inside the matha include Madhava's low stool (pirā), wooden sandal (pāduka or kharam), the two silver coins (nārayani taka) that Madhavadeva offered to Mathuradasa as karī (tax). Other than these there are slabs of stones believed to be marked with foot prints (padaśilā) of Śaṅkaradeva and Madhavadeva. Informant: Dhaniram Atol Burhābhakat (age 91 years) date of collection of data 7.2.88.
covered from above by a decorated shed and is surrounded by iron wires. The place is supposed to be the original site of residence of Śrī Rām Āṭā, a faithful attendant devotee of Mādhavadeva. The water of this well is treated as sacred and is used only for the purpose of washing of pulses and grams etc. On the other side of the matha within the same enclosure there is a small garden of herbs of a variety of deep red flower locally called as rōṅgāl or rōngiyāl (ixora coccinea). These flowers are regarded as sacred relics of the founding father (Mādhavadeva) who planted these flowers. Leaves and flowers of these herbs are used as nirmāli.

There is a small two-roofed house towards the north-eastern direction from the matha leaving a small passage between the two. This house symbolises the original site of residence of Mathurādās Burhā Āṭā. An āsana is placed inside this house. Earthen lamp is lighted by the Ghaideuri in front of this āsana and a celibate monk is entrusted with the work of performing morning and evening prasānga there.
Next to the residential site of Mathurādās Burhā Āta to the west is the office of the satra mazumdār (cashier). The secretary and the accountant of the Managing Committee of the satra also use this office. In this office they work sitting on a mat and writing on a raised stool instead of a table and chair. Another room of this house is also used as common store house of the satra. At the last end towards the roadside is the reading room (Śaṅkaradeva Adhyayanāgār) with an open hall. In front of the reading room there is the dome shaped concrete structure, called deul with a rounded floor having four entrances. The floor is about 15 feet high which is reached by climbing seven steps around the house. The replica of Deulgovinda is placed on a swing inside this house during Deul festival.

The Jagmohan, a miniature house without wall where Deulgovinda is kept for sometime waiting for the auspicious moment to climb up the Deul is situated by the side. The Jagmohan is covered from above by the Sabhāghar, i.e., meeting hall, one end of its roofs comes almost near the Deul.
During Deul festival Daulgovinda is kept inside the Deul or in the Jagmohan, and at that time the day's prayer services are held inside this hall.

The wide open space between these structures and the Kirtanghar is utilised for holding the performances of the drummers and fireworks during Deul festival, for submitting karbhār during Kirtan festival and also for holding meeting etc.

The space in between the residential site of Mathurādāś Burhā Atā and the satra secretary's office leads into the northern Kewalīyā hātī, i.e., the celibates' residence on the northern side.
Early management of the satra:

There is no record of the procedure of management of the satra in the early stage. Samūha bhakat (the community of devotees) were the supreme authority of the satra in all matters. It is said that the Samūha met twice daily, morning and evening, for the transaction of the affairs of the satra. But no list of the members present in the meeting was made, nor any proceeding of the business done by them, was recorded. Everything was done according to the opinion of the majority of the members, who happened to be present in the meeting. For important matters as the election of the Burhā Satriyā, a meeting was called on a fixed date and members were summoned for the purpose through messengers or through the beating of drums. On such occasions also, the decision of the majority of those present was taken to be the decision of the entire Samūha. The common way of communicating the opinion was that of raising the hands. The business of the satra dealt with at the daily meetings was
said to consist of a wide range such as the preaching of religions, exercise of religion, initiation of disciples, punishment given to the disciples for doing acts against the order. The business also includes taking accounts of the receipts and disbursements of the same for the smooth functioning of the satra. But it is also correct that the smooth functioning of the satra was jeopardised now and then owing to the quarrels connected with the control and management of the satra.  

The earliest case (1850) was that of Bhuban Mohan Deb (Misra) versus Bikram Dev (Misra). The parties were rival claimants to the office of Burhā Satriyā of the satra. It was contended that the defendant had been removed from the above mentioned office by the Samūha bhakats and the question arose whether that body had power to depose a satriyā and appoint a successor. There were two other points involved,

8. History of the Scheme case given in the Judgement of the Calcutta High Court of the 10th June 1920. A copy of the Judgement was collected from the office of the Chief Judicial Magistrate, Barpeta.

9. Ibid.
firstly whether the proceedings taken to depose the satriya had been justly and properly conducted and secondly, whether the deposed satriya had been guilty of misconduct rendering him unfit to hold office.

The suit was finally dismissed as (1) there was no proof that the Samūha as a body ever formally displaced the satriya and (2) that the defendant had been guilty of nothing rendering him unfit to resume his holy office.

During the next thirty years there were quarrels between the Burhā satriya and the bhakats as to their respective powers and in 1867 a suit came before the High court. That case turned largely on a phali or copper plate grant from the Ahom king Siva Simha of Assam dated 1735 A.D. by which a certain quantity of land was made over to 280 families of bhakats and others for the purpose of making provision for the worship of the idol in the temple. The plaintiffs claimed to be the descendants of the grantees and the main question at issue was whether the Burhā satriya had power to grant leases of temple land in his own name and on his own
authority. The court found from the evidence recorded and from the decisions of the Assam Court that the office of the satriya was not hereditary but elective and that the grant was made solely to the bhakats for the purpose of keeping up certain religious practices.

The next suit is no 27 of 1891 decided by Mr. Teunon as Deputy Commissioner and Sub-ordinate Judge of Kamrup District through a Judgement dated 22nd April 1893. In the course of the Judgement it was assumed that only the Phali bhakats or descendants of the grantees named in the copper plate grant were entitled to vote. To validate the removal of a satriya from his office by a majority of a religious brotherhood it was necessary first to ascertain the voters and their qualifications. Secondly, to determine whether steps had been taken to enable the brotherhood to express their decision and thirdly, to determine whether a majority had expressed their wish in favour of removal.

In 1904 another suit was instituted which came up to the High Court in the second appeal. The plaintiffs prayed on
behalf of the whole body of bhakats for a declaration that
the defendant had been validly dismissed by the Samūha
bhakat from the office of the Burhā Satriyā. The question
again arose whether a Burhā Satriyā could be dismissed by
the samūha bhakats for any or for no reason.

In the High Court the learned Judges concluded as follows:
"The position which the defendant holds manifestly one
of considerable dignity and importance and no court of justice
will tolerate the procedure which has been adopted by his
opponents to secure his dismissal. Apart, therefore, from the
question whether the defendant is liable to be removed without
proof of misconduct, the conclusion of the District Judge
that he has not been validly removed is well founded and must
be maintained."

The next suit was instituted in July 1912, under the
provisions of the section 92 of the Civil Procedure Code with
the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup who had been
empowered under section 93 to exercise the functions of the
Advocate General. There were two plaintiffs who claimed to be
the heirs of bhakats mentioned in the Copper Plate grant, but the claim is disputed.

The plaint began with a brief history of the institution. It is stated that the phali grant was made long after the establishment of the satra. Paragraph no. 4 is as follows:

"That the number connected with the descendants of the 280 families of Bhakats mentioned in the copper plate (phali Bhakats) granted by the Asam Raja has now greatly increased. Their actual number has not been ascertained and no list of their names has been in existence. The families of the heirs of the Bhakats named in the plate (Phali Bhakats) now number about 1500 giris or households and their number will be about 7000. Amongst these Bhakats who live in other places outside the precincts of the satra but who regularly perform their duties retaining their shares according to the rules of the Kirtanghar (House of Prayers) are considered members of the Samüha or congregation. Besides these, connected with the said 280 families of Bhakats there are others coming from different places, embracing Mahapurushiyya faith, residing on
Reference was made to the sources of income and to the office bearers of the institution and their duties. Paragraph 10 dealt with the mode in which the business of the satra is conducted from time immemorial. The claim was made that the Samūha bhakat was the sole authority in the matter of appointment and dismissal of the Burha saṭriyā. The inconveniences and difficulties arising out of the increase in the number of Samūha bhakats were pointed out. There was no properly constituted Governing Body and no method or continuity in the administration. The administration was, therefore, inefficient and it was found in practice difficult, if not impossible, to supervise or control the receipts and disbursements. Such obvious duties as the maintenance of the Kirtanghar in a proper state of repairs and stability were neglected.

The prayers of the plaintiff were for the preparation of a voters roll, the framing of a scheme of management and the
taking of an inventory and accounts ..." if a scheme consti-
tuting a Managing Committee and an Audit Committee is not
framed by the Government it is not likely that riots and
disturbances of the public peace will be prevented."

The preliminary decree directed that a scheme of management
should be drawn up. Five draft schemes were then filed by
different parties and late Radha Nath Phukan, Extra Assistant
Commissioner of the district was appointed with full consent
of the parties as Commissioner under Civil Procedure Code to
make an inventory of satra properties and to prepare a roll
of voters. The Commissioner very soon found difficulty in
connection with the question of descent from the bhakats of
copper plate grant. He suggested therefore that the qualifi-
cations of a voter should be:

1) That he should have his name in the satra.
2) That his family should pay kar (annual payment to the
satra) and render service to the satra when his turn
comes.
3) That his family must have an allotted share in the
offerings to the satra.
On the face of it this could hardly be regarded as a satisfactory compromise. The Keulīā bhakats were admitted as voters and also the Kaibartas were enrolled. The Commissioner's final report was dated the 30th October 1913. In subsequent years there were appeals against this.

From August 1914 to October 1918 the suit was delayed by an interlocutory appeal to the High Court (Calcutta). The Judges then decreed to draw up a scheme on the basis of the above mentioned draft schemes. But due to certain objections to it (scheme) the High Court expressed inability to confirm the scheme, though it was desired that the scheme to be adopted should have behind it a substantial consensus of opinion on the part of the members of the community and it was hoped that the brotherhood as a body would sink their personal differences and look only to what was conducive to the best interest of the satra. As a result the case was remanded to the court below (Sessions Judge, Assam Valley District) for the revision of the scheme with reference to the observation made in this judgement.
The learned Judges of the High Court observed:

"... as the affairs of the satra appear to be going from bad to worse, we consider it necessary to direct as a temporary and provisional measure, that the conduct of the secular affairs of the satra should, pending the final settlement of a scheme, be entrusted to a Committee of twelve persons to be selected by the District Judge. The principal objects of the Committee will be to ensure the proper receipt and custody of all offerings, income and funds, the prevention of misappropriation and the proper management of the estates and properties of the satra."

10. A. Mellor, District Judge, A.V.D. appointed the following members (on 4.8.20) constituting the interim Committee.

1. B.P. Dowra, S.D.O., Barpeta
2. Kamala Kanta Das, B.L.
3. Jagannath Das
4. Ram Prasad Das, B.L.
5. Chandi Charan Kakati
6. Umesh Chandra Das
7. The Burha Satriya
8. The Deka Satriya
9. Manohari Das
10. Golok Chandra Chowdhury
11. Lohit Chandra Nayak, B.0.
In this case again the point at issue was to define the necessary qualifications for being members of the Samūha. It was contended (6.3.35) that only the descendants of the bhakats whose names were mentioned in the body of the copper place grant were recognised as the only persons qualified to be in Samūha. It was also argued that as a necessary qualification for a voter he should have a share (bhāg) in the offerings.

**Beginning of present Management:**

The Scheme Case was finally disposed of on 26.9.35 by Mr. K.C. Chunder, District Judge, Assam Valley District, Gauhati and the satra came to be managed by a Managing Committee of elected representatives in accordance with the democratic principles. All persons concerned have agreed that a scheme of management should be drawn up. The draft scheme has been considered substantially, added to and altered and the finally approved and accepted proposals have been recorded.

**II.** Draft copies of the scheme were prepared by three gentlemen, namely, Ramesh Ch. Das, Jagadish Ch. Medhi and Mahendra Nath Mahanta.
In the scheme provisions have been made for matters, which experience of other satras have shown to be necessary and at the same time attempts have been made to ensure proper management.

The scheme as framed, states that the temple and the endowment as vested in the Samūha bhakats, the supreme governing body, clearly indicate that they are so vested for the furtherance of the objects of the temple. The scheme as adopted is confined to the secular aspect of the satra management. Provisions have been made for the smooth running of the religious functions of the satra to be carried on according to the prevailing customs and ensuring the elimination of any undesirable interference.

As regards the division of constituencies and allotment of members of the Managing Committee to different constituencies and preparation of an electoral roll, it has been decided that the Commissioner's decision shall be final.

For the purpose of holding election the hātīs of Barpeta and its outskirts are divided into a number of constituencies.12

12. Report of late Kameswar Das, Commissioner, dated 25.7.38
There are 11 old established sub-hātis in Uttar hāti, 6 in Dakṣin hāti and 5 in Na hāti, though new names are also being introduced from different areas in the sub-hātis or in the immediate outskirts of the Barpeta Municipality. The main hātis and the outskirts are divided into different constituencies as follows putting detached areas in the same constituency and giving as much consideration as possible to the representation of the sub-hātis. There are 14 seats in Uttar hāti main, 13 sets in Dakṣin hāti and Na-hāti main combined.

Delimitation of constituencies and allotment of seats:

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<td>Vṛndāvan hāti, Pāleṅdī hāti</td>
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<td><strong>IV. KEOLĪĀ HĀTI</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Keolīā hāti</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Except in the case of the Kaibartas no other constituency has been made on the basis of caste. Report of the Commissioner stated that utmost attempt had been made to secure adequate representation of all diverse interests specially of the minorities, the depressed classes and others in the Managing Committee thus making it as far as possible a fully representative body.

The Managing Committee: its composition:

The first Managing Committee of the satra was elected following the above delimitation of constituencies. Twenty eight gentlemen were reported to be duly elected, counting of votes being made under the personal supervision of the Returning Officer on 17.6.39. This Committee took charge from the interim Committee which officiated for a pretty long time from 1920. The management of the satra has been in line with the provision of the scheme. An amendment to rule

13. Letter No. 2381 dated 19th June, 1939 from the S.D.O., Barpeta, the Returning Officer.
16(i) and 23(i) of the scheme has been effected by order of the District Judge, Kamrup District dated 20.5.77.

Since then a number of Managing Committees have been elected. From an analysis of five different Committees including the recent (1980) one it is evident that there are various categories of people coming to the Managing Committee of the satra. First, there are people who can hardly read and write. Such people consider their association with the satra affairs and becoming members of the Committee as an achievement and devote themselves to work whole-heartedly. Secondly, people who have big business establishment and several motor vehicles are still coming to join the satra Committee. Thirdly, there are the people who are retired teachers and Government servants, who come by way of utilising their plenty off-time for a noble cause by joining this Committee.

Now the members of the Committee function can be assessed from the effective roles they play in connection with the affairs of the satra by tracing out the manner and quality
of their participation. Sub-committees are formed for conducting the management of various festivals or other activities including maintenance of satra properties and supervising any construction work. Sri Sadananda Das, Secretary of the Managing Committee of the satra was elected to the said post for the third time. During his previous tenure the Committee accomplished a number of constructive works (and is thereby considered as a progressive Committee). Other than these the previous Committee took measures to collect arrear revenues from the tenants of the satra land stretched over various places of the District of Barpeta, which remained unrealised for a long time. For the maintenance of satra land and collection of revenue a permanent sub-Committee known as land sub-Committee was formed. Separate sub-Committees were formed for the purpose with members of the Managing Committee as its members when such occasions arise. A sub-Committee known as Kirtan sub-Committee was formed by the Managing Committee nearly a month ahead to manage the affairs of the Kirtan festival. There was one Secretary and five other members in this sub-Committee. Two other members were also selected
from outside the Managing Committee to the Kirtan sub-
committee to act as cāul bharāli and majumdār.

Satriyā election:

The election of the Satriyā was a rare occasion. As it
was the highest religious post people of Barpeta got involved
in some way or the other. The study of the Satriyā election
case and Managing Committee elections show the cohesive
influence of the satra on the society.

With the passing away of Chandra Kanta Misra on 5th July
1981, the post of Burhā Satriyā of the satra fell vacant.
After nearly one year it was notified by the District Judge,
Kamrup District on 28th May, 1982 the following dates for
holding the Satriyā election.

Date of submission of nomination papers : 1.6.82
Last date of " " " : 3.6.82
Date of Scrutiny " " " : 4.6.82
Date of withdrawal " " " : 7.6.82
Date of election : 20.6.82.
After the notification for the election naturally there had been some sort of discussions and calculations among various sections of people as to who were the intending candidates for the post, how they would fare, actually what type of man should be elected to the highest post. From such discussions among various groups of people it was apparent that the general consensus was for a candidate who was sufficiently educated. He should be able to make the inquisitive persons specially the non-Assamese visitors understand the teachings of the faith and traditional practices of the satra.14 Above all a Satrīyā was expected to be chiefly a man of integrity, personality and devotion.

In order to have their choice candidate a voluntary group was formed consisting of local advocate, teacher, social worker etc. Their first choice fell on Dr. Bhubaneswar Dev Misra of the family of late Chandra Kanta Dev Misra, a lecturer of the local college. But Dr. Misra could not comply with the request on the plea that it would not be possible for him to

14. Such an occasion arose when non-Assamese scholars like Prof. M.L. Bharadpande came to Barpeta Satra to study about traditional dramas for his book entitled Traditions of Indian Theatre. Local people capable of talking in English and make them understand were called for
perform both the roles as he was already in the teaching profession. The next choice was Sri Madan Chandra Misra, lecturer of a nearby college. Madan Misra also expressed his inability to accept the candidature for Satriyaship along with his present job on health ground. It was hoped that by getting anyone of them as candidate election could have been avoided.

Four candidates filed nominations for the post of Burha Satriyā. They were Sri Chandra Kānta Misra, late Istadev Nobis, Sri Mohan Ātai Burhā-bhakat and late Dayāl Chandra Pāthak. Of the four candidates Sri Chandra Kānta Misra was about 70 years of age at the time of filing nominations. Though there is no age bar in becoming a Satriyā yet he was considered by a majority section to be an over aged man. Sri Chandra Kānta Misra, a retired graduate teacher setting aside all the allegations against him was an honest man. The family of Sri Misra, from the days of his forefathers is only in the honest path. Sri Misra was performing the noble deed of initiating the neophytes to the faith of Vaiṣṇavism.
Considering all these Sri Misra was a fit candidate from the Brahmin caste.

Late Istadev Nobis was a devout Mahāpurusīyā a strict follower of the principles of the faith. He was associated with the satra institution, worked for the spread of Ek-Śarana ideals and showed extreme adherence to traditional Vaiṣṇavism. He was the Dekā Satṛīyā of the Barpetā Satra at the time of contesting the election. Sri Mohan Ātai Burhā-bhakat was a senior celibate devotee of the satra, stayed in a separate hut (Pukhuripārār bāhā). He had a rich traditional background. He was a man having a good knowledge on the teaching and ideals of neo-Vaiṣṇavism and its practices. Having faith on his own qualifications he offered himself as a candidate for the post. According to his own assessment he was quite efficient for the post. Late Dayāl Ch. Pathak was a descendant of the Pāthak family and a social worker.

As I tried to get an overall assessment of the candidates by various sections of people it was found that a man with sufficient education and strong personality was their choiced
candidate. There was still another section with a more Conservative mind according to whom none of the candidates was fit for the seat which had a tradition of its own.

Mādhavadeva, the able disciple of Śaṅkaradeva was the founder head of the satra. He selected Mathurādās Burhā Ātā as his real successor of the satra from a galaxy of distinguished persons like the son of Śaṅkaradeva. After Mathurādās, Gopal Misra was appointed as Satrīyā. Compared to those personalities the present candidates to the said post, according to them, were less competent.

As the electioneering started various considerations were taken into account in bringing their support. The newly elected members of the Satra Managing Committee also offered active support to persons of their choice. Among the four candidates Śrī Misra and Nābis were in the field with equal prospects because they were backed by a greater number of supporters. Other than the Bāmunīyā faction Misra could draw the general support of the people. This included a large number who were his direct disciples. There were disciples
of other Satriyas of the Misra family, having some sort of allegiance to him. Nabis also had at his back the people of his own faction and his caste (Kalita). Thus with the gathering of their supporters, well wishers and workers election offices were set up by the candidates in different public places including the hātis. On careful observation these days it was heard commenting in various places of idle gossips and also among the supporters of the candidates that the election tempo centred round two factions of Bāmunīyā and non-Bāmunīyā only. On such quarters it was also remarked that there may be divisions of people on the basis of such feeling but the Burhā Satriyā is a post which is above all such considerations.

Electioneering proceeded gradually together with allegations and counter allegations against each one of the candidates. This also resulted to some confrontations in which a lecturer of a local college was also involved. Allegations that were commonly put against Sri Misra were that he performed the Brahmanic rites including pūjā to other gods and
goddesses contrary to Mahāpurusīyā faith. Nobis was also branded as greedy man, holding one high post he was hoping to the other. As a means of throwing allegations pamphlets were published against the candidates.

First hand information of election campaigning was reported by one constant companion of Sri Misra. He used to meet the people in the hāitāghar of each hātī, for which he gave his programme in advance and talked to them. In this way he completed his tour covering all the hātīs. They even made a second round of visit to make the voters reminded. His approach to the voters was very modest — just a request to vote for the right man. In particular houses of voters he was given a befitting reception offering him pranāma putting off the footwears at his appearance. Such a behaviour is generally accorded to a Satriya. The followers and supporters of Sri Misra felt that they were going to install a traditional Brahmin Satriya. They were thus the aspirant group. Vigorous campaigning of Nobis making a house to house canvassing was also reported.
The candidature of Dayāl Ch. Pāthak was said to have the aim of opposing Śrī Chandra Kānta Miśra from contesting, if necessary in the court of law. He was a member of the Asam Saṅkar Saṅgha. Lately in a sitting of the Saṅgha (15.6.82) he decided to withdraw from further campaigning and requested the electorate to vote for the right man according to their own conscience.

These days the elderly men having some sort of relation with the satra, being regular attendants of daily prayer services or evening recitations or member of the satra Committee, while they meet or on the way to and from the Kīrtanghar engaged in discussion of such matters relating to the election. It was interesting to note their contention if somebody intervened their discussion and pretended to oppose the view. Sometimes it was also heard to talk to such an extent that none of the contestants could be compared with the personality of Mathurādās Burhā Ātā, the first Satrīyā and nobody was competent to sit on the said dignified āsana.

Another line of discussion was that election campaigning on the consideration of caste was less this time than in the
time of Dekā Satrīyā election (1978). It was said that due to his high hope for the post Nobis was losing some caste votes (Kalita). Similar feelings were said to have expressed against Śrī Mohan Ātai Burhābhakat that it would have been better if a Satrīyā was elected from a higher caste (than a Keoṭ). The point shown in this case was that a bhakat would not feel like touching the feet of a Satrīyā if he was not from a higher caste.

The election tempo suffered a set back when an injunction of the court (of the District Judge, Kamrup District) was issued on 18th June, 1982 against the election process. Late Dayāl Ch. Pāthak complained with the S.D.O., the returning officer and then the District Judge for certain anomalies regarding scrutiny of the nomination papers of Śrī Miśra. As a result, by the process of injunction the election was stayed for 21 days.

A meeting was held on 20th June, 1982 at 3 P.M. at the house of Śrī Miśra to take stock of the situation arising out of the order of stay of the election. About 80 supporters of Śrī Miśra were present in the meeting. They took firm decision
to proceed in the election with renewed vigour and to bear all the expenses in connection with the court case if necessary. Some enthusiastic supporters even came forward to donate a big amount in the meeting itself. It was observed that the court case and the subsequent injunction has lessened the opposition prospect and drawn sympathy to Misra.

However the stayed election was held on 19th September, 1982, in 15 different constituencies covering the Municipal area of Barpeta and its outskirts. According to the voters list of 1982 altogether 4647 voters were involved in electing the Satrīyā. But the involvement of the voters was comparatively dull than the election of the Managing Committee.

The polling booths were made in the schools and club houses situated within the constituencies. The employees of the office of the S.D.O. were appointed presiding and polling officers. The S.D.O. Barpeta acted as the Returning Officer and the polling was held from 8 A.M. to 4 P.M.

On the day of polling (19.9.82) in a visit to four different polling booths — Vṛndāvan hāṭī, Pāthak hāṭī,
Major hati and pālangdi hati at about 11 A.M. it was observed that excepting Pāthak hati (only 135 votes) in other booths there were big gathering of people through which it was not possible to go by a bicycle. Voters were asked to stand in queue in order to ensure smooth conduct of polling. Turn out of voters became low towards the afternoon.

Counting of votes was started on 20th September, 1982, in the office of the S.D.O., Barpeta. The supporters of the main contesting candidates were waiting in the court field to receive the results. The supporters of Misra were jubilant as the counting progressed. The returning officer announced the results in the following break up.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of the candidates</th>
<th>Votes obtained</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Istadev Nqbis</td>
<td>1044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Chandra Kānta Misra</td>
<td>2063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Dayāl Chandra Pāthak</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Mohan Ātai Burhābhakat</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. of valid votes polled 3151
No. of votes rejected 23

Sri Chandra Kānta Misra was declared elected.
After declaration of the results of the election, Sri Misra was greeted by nearly a thousand of his supporters and well wishers and had taken him in a colourful procession from the court field. The procession passed through the main thoroughfares of the town. Namakirtana and gayan-bayan troupes were arranged earlier in order to greet the newly elected Satriya. Certain anti-social activities were also encountered on the way. As the processionists passed some people belonging to the opposite party tried to make a road blockade by placing a boat on the road. But anticipating severe consequences the blockade was removed. The procession did not pass through all the hatis while the people in various hatis/waiting to greet the newly elected Satriya, but ended in the Kirtanghar.

Coronation of the Satriya:

Installation of a Satriya is a rare occasion. People of Barpeta were waiting with keen desire to see the formal installation of the Satriya. The date of coronation of the newly elected Satriya was fixed on 23rd September 1982. In
accordance with the tradition of the satra, the Satriya remained on fast on the previous night.

On the day of coronation, after taking bath as usual and attending to his daily prayer Sri Misra took a little milk only. At about 8 A.M. some people attended to his house to dress him in the style of a traditional Satriya. He was to be taken in a procession from his house to the Kirtanghar. Gradually people began to throng in front of the gate of Sri Misra, they included the gāyan-bāyan and namakirtana troupes and the elderly women (āl sakal). The road running from Galiya hāti to the Kirtanghar was decorated by planting banana trees on either side of the road. Floral designs cut on coloured papers were tied on the banana trees. The newly elected Satriya Sri Chandra Kanta Misra was taken in a procession from his house at Galiya hāti to the Kirtanghar. The procession started shortly before 9 A.M. Sri Misra dressed in the style of a traditional Satriya was profusely garlanded by the people.

The procession was led by the namkirtana troupe followed by the gāyan-bāyan. Sri Misra was escorted by his brothers.
Harekrishna Misra and Satyakrishna Misra and numerous other followers, all bare footed. They were also followed by the namakirtana of the womenfolk, joined by other jubilant people. On this portion of the road to the Kirtanghar the satriyā was stopped at more than one places to greet him with folded hands and garlanded. People on the wayside were seen to stand on benches to have a glance at the Satrlya. While moving slowly towards the satra the processionists passed through the gate (Bātcarā) at Na hāti. The procession could pass into the satra campus very slowly through the main gate pushing aside the gathering already waiting there. They proceeded straight towards the courtyard infront of the matha. The whole area comprising the northern varanda of the Kirtanghar and the courtyard of the matha was all fully packed with men and women. After reaching that place Sri Misra came out towards the tube well to freshen himself by washing hands and feet. Then the Satrlya with his brothers and well wishers bowed down in front of the matha and the ghāideuri late Dhanirām Ātai Burhābhakat offered blessings. People thrown coins and poured like rains at a time. The Samūha bhakat also
offered good wishes by uttering Hariddhvani. He was then led inside the Kirtanghar to perform necessary rituals where he offered praṇām to Kaliyā Thākur and then to the āsana, the Kettle drum was also sounded and he took seat inside. Coming out again he took his seat for a while on the northern varanda where the Dekā Satṛīyā was sitting. Thereafter he came down towards the maṭha to bow down, while Śrī Thānurām Ātai Burhābhakat offered blessings and took his seat in front of the maṭha. On a silver tray he was then offered a new chādar, betelnuts and leaves and nirmālī.

The new Satṛīyā then went to the residence sites of Mathurādās Burhā Ātā and Badalā Ātā to offer praṇām and move round the Kirtanghar. He was constantly assisted by few members, e.g., Sadānanda Dās, Dharma Kānta Dās, Prasanna Dās. Thereupon he moved out of the satra campus and took rest for a while at each of the three batca'ras of Na hāṭī, Uttar hāṭī and Dakṣin hāṭī. The inhabitants of the particular hāṭīs offered him new cloths.
According to the tradition on the day of coronation, a Satriyā should go to each hāti. Although it was thought that the Satriyā being an aged person would not be able to visit all the hātis nevertheless he did not hesitate to visit all the hātis. Some of the inhabitants of particular hātis even invited him in advance. At the gate of almost every family they planted banana trees to greet their new Satriyā and offered him new cloth. He even went to Gaṇakkuchi Satra nearly 2 Kms to the south. Thus after completion of his visit to almost all the hātis at 5 P.M. the coronation ceremony of Srī Chandra Kānta Miśra as Satriyā ended with religious and devotional exhilaration.

Satra Politics:

Some sort of politics may be seen in the context of the day to day activities of the persons who have some relations with the satra. Such politics is generally seen at the time of any election or selection of a person to the satra arena. In such a situation in satra politics the first consideration that is very much current is that of belief in the
performance of certain rituals. There are two factions of people associated with the satra circle, one having faith in the acts of the Brahmins in those rituals (the Bāmuniyā) and the other not allowing the Brahmins. Groups formed on the basis of such ideal are very powerful in the various activities of the satra. There are two separate arrangements for reciting religious books in the evening in the satra complex itself. It is due to division of people into two groups. The newly elected members of the Managing Committee of the satra were divided into two factions on such ideal and the Bāmuniyā group got the Secretary elected by their solid support. People of the other group spare no time in passing remarks on any action the Secretary use to take on satra management. In the time of Satriyā election (1982) also it was observed that people having inclination to both the groups gave support to the two rival candidates.

Another equally important consideration in matters related to the satra circle or in the secular field is in the line of caste. Two equally dominant caste groups in Barpeta are the Keots and Kalitas. They always take rival positions
in matters of selection, appointment or sending some one to a responsible position. In matters of caste politics satra circle is no exception.

**Pattern of leadership:**

When the pattern of leadership in the society is viewed with reference to the satra organisation it is seen that all the persons who are chosen as office bearers of the satra are not always prominent persons in day to day life. However some of them hold important positions in other organisations and in the hātis and thus may be called to lead the people or the group of their followers.

After prolonged observations in the situation it becomes apparent that some persons get certain opportunities to get prominence and hold important positions in various organisations and in different contexts. One's own neighbourhood situation generally offers such favourable scope. Active participation of someone in such situation in different ways helps a man to gradually come into prominence. Situations in which a man may get involved are the different local committees
associated with namghar, school, hāti- fund and any other household ceremony etc. A man may gradually get importance in the neighbourhood by the success in settling disputes between two inhabitants. Such persons generally become endowed with the quality of impartial and perfect judgement, mild temperament and interest in public affairs. Persons with such qualities gradually become established as important person in the neighbourhood and also in other localities. Such type of persons are normally entrusted with important position in various committees.

Some religious minded elderly men also hold important positions in various other situations. This is not because of their active participation in public activities but because of their involved interest in religion and their knowledge of religious teachings. Such men usually take part in religious discourses or recites the various religious texts in public.

Economic Aspects of the satra:

The economy of a satra depends on its sources of income. The income of satras is mainly derived from two sources --
(i) religious tithes contributed by disciples, (ii) lands originally granted by the Ahom Kings and subsequently confirmed and recognised by the British Government. The first source yields income according to the number of disciples. Every disciple is expected to make a small contribution to his satra annually in cash or kind. Formerly the money paid to the Guru annually was considered obligation by the disciples. In the early stage of the movement this demand was small enough and did not generally exceed from four to eight annas in cash or a few seers of rice or some wearing material.  

With the introduction of the system of Gurukar and Sidhā bhojani in the late sixteenth century by Mādhavadeva the institution of satra come to be associated with the permanent and regular source of income. The greater the number of disciples the higher is the income and vice-versa. Bhakats of Barpeta Satra who are also members of the samūha have to pay the required gurukar consisting of a little cash and a definite amount of rice twice in a year (once in the

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time of Deul festival and also in the time of one of the three kirtan festivals) (Rs. 3.00 or 1½ Kg of unboiled rice).

The following table shows the income of this satra through gurukar in various years.

Income of Barpeta Satra through gurukar:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Financial year</th>
<th>Amount of collection in Kirtan festivals</th>
<th>Amount of collection in Deul festival</th>
<th>Total collection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>20,526.85</td>
<td>15,682.00</td>
<td>36,208.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985-86</td>
<td>27,383.10</td>
<td>45,488.80</td>
<td>72,871.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986-87</td>
<td>36,410.87</td>
<td>30,389.25</td>
<td>66,800.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987-88</td>
<td>24,203.15</td>
<td>33,725.70</td>
<td>57,928.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Printed copy of Annual Budget of Barpeta Satra.

Besides gurukar there are other economic means of the satra such as pranāmi. Pranāmi is the voluntary contribution specially in cash made by the visitors (disciples and others) during festivals and other occasions. For the satras which are going to acquire the characteristic of pilgrim, pranāmi seems to be an important source of income. The table given below
may show the clear picture of income earned through the means of pranāmi in this satra during five financial years.

Table showing income of Barpeta Satra by way of pranāmi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Financial years</th>
<th>Income by pranāmi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>Rs. 12,739.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>21,427.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985-86</td>
<td>32,503.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986-87</td>
<td>37,980.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987-88</td>
<td>53,626.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Printed copies of annual Budgets of the satra

As major portion of the pranāmi comes from visitors the table shows that the number of visitors in this satra is significantly increasing over the years. Besides these sources, sidhā-bhojani was once a source of income of the satra. Religious obligation of people was strong enough to induce them to offer such things. But in present day context...
they are regularly irregular, so to speak, they are almost non-existent in Barpeta as well as in other satras.

Other than the above sources of income the affluent satras derive their income from other sources, i.e., land and land ownership are the major sources of maintenance since the middle of the 17th century A.D. The land granted by Ahom kings were usually made with pāiks. Being the satra-pāiks, they had to serve the satra in different fields.

The various types of grants specially land grants made by the Ahom kings particularly from the time of Jayadhvaja Simha (1649-1663) helped the satras in making a sound economic footing. Land grants to the religious institutions were of different categories. There has been found three broad categories of land, namely Lakheraj (revenue free), Nisf-kheraj (half revenue) and kheraj (full revenue). Lakheraj grant in respect of satra was made in the name of the chief shrine which owns all lands and other possessions of satra, the Adhikār or satriya being the trustee only. Such grant in the satriya

16. Pāiks were the men who worked in the land. Satra-pāiks are the real occupants of the satra-land.
tradition is known as Devottar. The land granted in the name of the chief priest comes under the category of Nisf-kherāj and both in the Vaiṣṇavite and the Tantric religious organisation it is generally known as brahmottar instead of Nisf-kherāj. In Assam most of the land occupied by Sākta and Saiva temples belong to brahmottar category.

There is another type of land under the category of Nisf-kherāj named Dharmaottar. This type of land was dedicated to religious purpose. Satra lands are found mainly in the form of Devottar and Dharmottar.

The number of satras patronised by the Ahom kings would be hardly one hundred. On the other hand the number of satras at present in Assam would definitely cross the margin of 500. It is therefore true to say that most of the satras belong to non-affluent group in terms of land-holdings. In the post-independence period significant changes have taken place in the structure of satra economy specially in its land management due to the implementation of 'The Assam State Acquisition of lands belonging to Religious or charitable Institution of public Nature Act', 1959 and the Assam Fixation of
Ceilings on Land Holdings Act, 1956. 17

The process of acquirement of Devottar and Brahmottar land under the said act of 1959 has been in operation since 1972-73, but Barpeta Satra was left from acquirement till now.

On the Nisf-kherāj land within the Municipal areas the twenty two hātis of Barpeta Satra are situated. Land revenue is free for the inhabitants of these hātis. The necessary land tax is paid by the satra in lieu of which they are to serve the satra in turn. Barpeta Satra has got the land as follows:

Land possessed by Barpeta Satra:

1. Within Barpeta Municipality - 1200 bighas (habitable land)
2. Jyoti field (west of Barpeta) - 22 bighas (agriculture land)
3. Mandia (south of Barpeta) - 1000 " "
4. Khablar bhitha - 120 " "
5. Bamakhata - 30 " "
6. Tihu (to the north west) - 125 " "

Total: 2622 Bighas.

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17. Goswami, M. I. Satra and Society, unpublished M. Phil
There are fishing swamps (bi11s) on the satra land, the management of which are given on lease for a year. 15 per cent of the total income being taken away by the Government of Assam and the remaining being the satra's share. There are also several ferrying places on river Nakhanda on satra's land these are also given on lease for a year. Income from these sources were Rs. 63,988.35 and Rs. 6,076.00 respectively for the financial year 1987-88.

The other heads from which the satra acquires income are sell proceeds of various articles, rents from the houses on the satra land, taking of new shares, donations of various forms and so forth.

All the sources of income taking into account the satra budget at a glance is as follows:

Table showing total income and expenditure of the satra:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Financial years</th>
<th>Total income</th>
<th>Total expenditure</th>
<th>Budget for the next year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 1985-86</td>
<td>4,00,021.41</td>
<td>2,89,152.61</td>
<td>12,43,800.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 1986-87</td>
<td>3,61,544.71</td>
<td>2,70,534.68</td>
<td>14,44,900.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 1987-88</td>
<td>4,51,443.50</td>
<td>3,45,021.43</td>
<td>11,40,750.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Printed copy of Budget of the satra.
Expenditure of the satra:

The main item of expenditure of the satra understudy revolves round the performance of annual festivals of which major portion is spent on prasāda, repairing and renovation of existing buildings and plans of new constructions etc. There is also the monthly payments made to various office bearers of the satra.