CHAPTER IV

INDIGENOUS INSTITUTIONS AND IRRIGATION MANAGEMENT

4.1 Introduction

For centuries organization of agricultural production in dry regions revolved round the development of irrigation facilities. As a result, in India, as elsewhere in Asia, indigenous irrigation systems occupied a central place in the society. In several parts of South India, there were traditional institutions, operating for centuries, for the construction and maintenance of minor irrigation works. These institutions were more prominent in the dry areas like Rayalaseema.

The emergence of these institutions could be attributed to the nature of the minor irrigation sources itself. In areas where there is scanty rainfall and consequently very little water available for irrigation purposes it is but natural for the people in a particular neighbourhood to come together and organise themselves to undertake the construction and maintenance of small sources like tanks and wells in order to conserve the very little water available. This arrangement would also minimize the risk and uncertainty of availability of water to each user.

During the pre-British days people's participation through the local institutions was very well recognized by the rulers. After the intervention of the British these institutions had undergone tremendous changes. These changes were partly due to the changes of time and mainly due to the overall changes in the
British irrigation policy. Hence what is needed is a detailed discussion of some of these institutions as they existed before and after the advent of the British rule.

The present chapter discusses the three indigenous irrigation institutions namely the Dasabandam, Kudimaramat and Irrigation Panchayats. The following section of this chapter deals with the evolution of and practice of Dasabandam institution during the pre-British period, while the third section deals with the state of Dasabandam during the British period. The fourth section deals with the customary participation of people in irrigation management through the institution of Kudimaramat and how it was made a compulsory contribution under the Crown. The formation of Irrigation Panchayats and their role in irrigation management are discussed in the fifth section.

4.2 Dasabandam System In the Pre-British Period

The institution of Dasabandam was associated with the construction and maintenance of minor irrigation sources particularly in dry areas. The word Dasabandam is spelt in different ways - Duswandham, Duswundum and Dasbandam. For centuries it had been in the form of an inam tenure. The word inam refers to the grant of land free of rent either by rulers or other chiefs to others in lieu of the performance of a specific service or task. A person in the possession of rent-free, or favourably assessed lands was an inamdar. The available inscriptional evidence shows that the Dasabandam grants had been made right from the ninth century onwards. Inams granted for the construction and maintenance of various minor irrigation works
such as tanks, wells, river channels and spring channels were termed as Dasabandam inams. The gift of land is deemed as the most meritorious of charities, and every sovereign was therefore ambitious of distinguishing his reign by the extent and value of the land he alienated in inam to the people. Inam grants were generally made by the rulers and their subordinates in the most solemn and impressive manner. It is said that some religious merit was also attributed to them.\(^2\)

The practice of granting Dasabandam inams had been prevalent in most of the areas of South India, though it had been prominent in the Ceded Districts, the Western portions of Guntur, Nellore, North Arcot and Salem.\(^3\) In Andhra this practice had been introduced by the Kakatiyas\(^4\) and was continued by the Vijayanagara rulers and others in the later period.\(^5\)

These Dasabandam grants were of two kinds - (i) Khanda Dasabandams or inams given in specific localities and (ii) Shamilat Dasabandams or the allowances as inams of a certain proportion of each year's cultivation under the work in question.\(^6\) In other words, under Khanda Dasabandam inams (KDI), a portion of the land commanded by the particular irrigation source will be given off, rent-free, to the inamdar. He can enjoy his inam land as a free gift without paying any revenue to the government.

In the case of Shamilat Dasabandam inams (SDI), instead of grant of land, a certain proportion of the revenue from the irrigated land is allocated to the person maintaining the tank in a fit position. The share in the revenue varied from half, one third, one fourth, one eighth, three eighth\(\left(\frac{3}{8}\right)\) to one
sixteenth of the revenue, (or produce) of the land cultivated under the irrigation work was granted as an inam, which thus consisted of no specific land. SDIs were otherwise known as Shamilat remissions, since they were a kind of remission granted on each year's revenue and would keep changing along with the revenue under the particular irrigation work. Besides these two kinds of grants, there was ready money remission called Nagad Muzara which was a kind of Dasabandam remission in Cuddapah district. It was in the form of remission of revenue for only a particular year for undertaking the construction of a particular irrigation work and would not be carried forward for the consecutive years, nor did it have any land given as inam under it.

Construction Grants

Most of the time construction of tanks and wells was undertaken along with the establishment of new villages and settlements in the early pre-British days. Hence the grant of Dasabandam inams along with Pallekattu Manyams. Manyam like inam, was a grant of tax-free land in return for services to be rendered to the community. Thus Pallekattu Manyams were granted by the then rulers to those who had undertaken the establishment of new villages. Dasabandam Manyams were granted along with the Pallekattu Manyam whenever the people had constructed the irrigation sources along with the establishment of new villages. Mackenzie Manuscripts mention many such instances. For instance, in 1642 a village was constructed by one Badi Reddi. He also constructed a tank in the village for which he enjoyed Dasabandam along with Pallekattu Manyam. Wells were dug along
with the establishment of villages of Uppuluru, Allidona, Channampalli and Rajupalem. Dasabandam Inams were granted along with Pallekattu Manyams to those who built the tanks.\textsuperscript{11}

The following account gives an idea about the grant of Dasabandam Inams under various rulers, during the medieval period.

An inscription of eleventh century A.D. records that the King (Vikraroaditya VI) granted several lands out of the dasavanda and other lands set for himself for a tank and a well.\textsuperscript{12} In 1055 A.D. a Raja in Bellary district caused the construction of a well for which a gift of 12 Mattars of land was made.\textsuperscript{13} During the reign of later day Vijayanagara rulers we find many more instances of such grants.\textsuperscript{14} Some of them can be mentioned here. King Varadarajayya got a canal excavated in Pattapi village by granting Dasabandam inam to Rasilingareddy and Karanam Panduranga Anantayya.\textsuperscript{15}

During the reign of Hari Hara Deva Raya the inhabitants of Brahroanapalli village in Siddavatam taluk requested a visitor to that village by name Tanchireddi to construct a tank in their village in return for a grant of Dasabandam inam. Tanchi Reddi constructed a tank and obtained Dasabandam inam. After some days Tanchireddi migrated from this village and constructed another village by name Gattupalli and started staying there. His Dasabandam inam in Brahmanapalli village was resumed during the later day Nawabs' rule.\textsuperscript{16}

During the reign of Srirangaraya (around 1504) a Dasabandam inam was granted for constructing a canal.\textsuperscript{17} In 1513 Sri Krishna Deva Raya granted a Dasabandam inam to Pedda Thimma
Reddi, son of Nagi Reddi, for reconstructing a ruined well in Kakaravada village in Renatisereaa. In 1523 a Dasabandam inam of one-fourth share in revenue was granted for constructing an anicut to Gundlakamma at Aravidukota village and also for constructing a canal to it for making the water from the anicut flow into a kunta. This inam continued under the Muslim rule also. In 1524 a Dasabandam inam was granted for reconstructing a ruined tank in Uppuluri Agraharam in Kamalapuram taluk. Around 1530 a Dasabandam inam was granted to Reddis and Karanams for constructing a canal from the banks of Pinakini in Kallur village, Duvvur taluk.

In 1550 Dasabandam grants were made for digging canals and kuntas. The inscription states that violation of the obligation of maintaining these sources would amount to "killing their fathers, cows and Brahmins in Varanasi." Invoking such a moral and social code of conduct was to ensure proper maintenance of the public works religiously.

Around 1558 Dasabandam Inams were granted for constructing a well and a canal in Hanumadgundam village in Koilkuntla taluk. Varadaraju Yellamaraju gave sixty kuntas of land to certain people for digging a canal in a village. Chinnaraju and Kondaraju granted to a Boye some land for digging a water channel in a village in the Ceded Districts.

Dasabandam grants were made on the occasion of lunar eclipse to Appalareddi, Gangireddi, Pedapolreddi and Chinna Polreddi for digging a tank on the streams of Tummalayeru in the Ramapuram village in the Siddavatam taluk of Cuddapah district.
From the above description of certain instances of Dasabandam grants, it is clear that the minor irrigation works were undertaken by a variety of people - the rulers, philanthropists, traders, cultivators and others.

**Maintenance Grants**

The Dasabandam inam holders or the Dasabandamdars were usually responsible for the proper maintenance and repair of the Dasabandam works. The maintenance of tanks included annual repairs of tank-bunds, canals and sluices, and removal of silt deposits on the tank beds. In certain cases separate inams just for the repair of the tanks, for the maintenance and upkeep of the tanks and for constructing sluices to the tanks were also made, as shown below. Grant of Dasabandam inams just for the maintenance and repair of the various sources of minor irrigation might also have been because of the ruined state in which the previous Dasabandamdars had left the sources due to their improper maintenance, a point to which we shall pay more attention in the section - Dasabandam under the Crown.

In the reign of the Nolamba Pallava king Ayyapadeva, Bittuvata was granted for the upkeep of a tank.\(^{27}\)

Similarly grants of land for the upkeep of the tanks were made during the 10th and 11th centuries also.\(^{28}\) During the year 1146, in Bellary district, a gift of land for the upkeep and repairs of a tank was made by Soyidevaraja.\(^{29}\)

An inscription of 1747 registers the grant of a Dasabandam inam of three tumus of land to the Kapus and Kammas of Chintakommudinne village by the Settis and Karanams of that
village for repairing a tank bund, which work they got done by the Vodderas.  

**Nature of Dasabandam Grants**

With regard to the nature of grants made, those made for the purpose of construction of tanks, wells, etc. were mostly in the form of land only. For other purposes like maintenance and repair, the grants were given in different forms.

Inscription of Parakesarivarman Parantaka I (907 A.D. - 955 A.D) registers a gift of gold made by a military officer for strengthening the bund of a tank, by depositing on it the silt removed from that tank. Sometimes endowments of land were made so that from their income the bunds of the tanks might be repaired and maintained every year.

In 1115 A.D. an officer in charge of the toll revenue in Bellary district made a grant of a part of the toll revenue to the Mahajanas of Ammele for repairs to the tank Hiriyakere, giving some land, free of taxes. In the same year, the Mahajanas of the agrahara town Partiyamattavuru made a gift of the income derived from various taxes, for effecting repairs to the tank Devimgere. It is also recorded that similar gifts of money and land were made to the same tank by many others.

Another inscription of 1184 records the gift of income derived from the Pannaya tax on all the gardens (excepting those endowed as sarvamanya to the deity Mailabesvara) for dredging and repairs in stone and wood to the sluice of the local tank called Gonasamudram. The work was entrusted to sixteen Settis of the village.
The Recipients of the Grants

The receivers of these Dasabandam grants belonged to different sections of the local society. People from different castes and communities had undertaken the construction and maintenance of the minor irrigation works in return for Dasabandam grants. Mackenzie Manuscripts mention various Dasabandam sources, constructed by persons belonging to different sections of the society.35

For instance one particular Kaifiyat records that the Dasabandam inams were granted to the following groups of people for constructing wells.36

1. To Yerram Reddi Venkatapati, Chinnakompalli Chinnapureddi, Naruva Pantulu, Karanam Narasanna 70 years ago.
2. To Lavudi Potaya, Karanam Narasanna, Kaluva Chalarmnna, Tota Chalamgadu - two Muntas 60 years ago.
3. To Telinakula Venganna (Linga Balija Setti) - 30 years ago.
5. Mukka Narayana [Telugu Balija Setti], Tatimakula Pedapapayya (Aravam Kapu) - 50 years ago.
6. To Komatisetti Pedda Guruvappa, Karanam Benakaraju.
7. To Basavaraju (Prince), Karanam Narasanna - 80 years ago.

There are instances which show the same person being the dasabandamdar of more than one well. In several cases the wells were named after the persons who had constructed them. Some times they give us an idea about the communities to which the
dasabandarodars of some of the wells belonged.\textsuperscript{37}

What was the state of the institution of Dasabandam in the decades preceding the advent of British rule in the region under study poses a very ambivalent question. This is because of the paucity of information on the events during the period spanning seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Here again Mackenzie Manuscripts throw some light on this gap.\textsuperscript{38}

During the reign of Tipu Sultan, Adda Reddi, Gangi Reddi, Peda Polreddi, Venga Reddi, China Polreddi, constructed a big tank to the east of Chandrapadiya village and got a Dasabandam grant.\textsuperscript{39} A person by name Patti Bayyana was granted a Dasabandam inam for digging a well in Sunkesula village in Kurnool district.\textsuperscript{40} Around 1646 in the village of Tappatu where the canals were in a ruined state, Syed Mirza Hussain made Reddis and Karanams of that village construct a tank and granted them Dasabandam inam.\textsuperscript{41} During the rule of Abdul Nabi Khan Saheb, village Karanam Subbaiah and Gangireddi constructed a tank to the south of Kotapadu village in Siddavatam taluk and got the Dasabandam inam.\textsuperscript{42} During the same period, the tank constructed by Rayareddi, Channureddi and Chennareddi in the past in Vetapalli village, had breached. Their family members were called to undertake the necessary repairs. Since they did not have the capacity to repair the source at that time they gave half of the Dasabandam to one by name Chavulli Lingareddi and got it repaired.\textsuperscript{43} Around the same time, a canal in Thumroaluru village, which was constructed by the inhabitants of the village in the past, was ruined obstructing the flow of water. The person in charge of this taluk (by name Ramachandrarayudu) got
it repaired by Narayana Reddi and gave him Dasabandam. In 1653, during the rule of Nawab Mirjumla Syed Mohammad, a Dasabandam inam was granted for constructing a bund to a tank. Around 1746 a Dasabandam inam was granted for repairing a tank bund. It was stated that the inam could be enjoyed by their descendants also with usual caveat.

In 1761 a Dasabandam inam was granted for constructing an anicut and digging a canal in Chintapallipadu village. Several wells were also constructed in return for Dasabandam grants by persons belonging to different communities in various villages under different Amals. Grant of Dasabandam inams for the construction of various wells under different Amaldars was attributed to the expected and ultimate increase in the tirvajasti (water tax) to the government. There were instances of resumption of some of the Dasabandam inams when the Dasabandamdars failed to undertake the necessary repairs.

The available evidence suggests that the practice of encouraging and ensuring the construction and maintenance of minor irrigation works through granting of different types of Dasabandam inams by the native rulers continued into the eighteenth century regardless of whether the rulers were of the Hindu or Islamic faith. The overwhelming concern appears to be of harnessing the scarce rain water for crop production. There was complete recognition of the fact that such works would predominantly be small and scattered and the construction and maintenance would be best done by the local interest and initiative. The State would nurture these initiatives by enacting appropriate institutional arrangements like Dasabandam. In fact the system
of Dasabandam and Wittfogel's thesis on Public Works run in diametrically opposite directions.

4.3 Dasabandam Under the British Rule

A. The East India Company Tears (1800 – 1857)

The region under study was Ceded to the East India Company in 1800 and remained under the Company governance until 1857. The primary concern of the company was the maximisation of revenue and this made it look into the various revenue related aspects of the rural economy under its rule.

The Company government had very well recognized the existence of the Dasabandam works though it did not have a clear idea about the origin and development of such works. First the government had tried to look into the condition of the already existing works. The Company government had realised that some of these Dasabandam works were not being repaired regularly by the Dasabandamdars. It was to a large extent due to a lack of adequate financial resources at the disposal of the inamdars. Most of the time the season was unfavourable as a result of which people could hardly have any savings to undertake the repairs. Even where people were able to make the repairs, they did not or they undertook only a few repairs that would enable them to cultivate their own inam land.

The functioning of the Dasabandam network should be discussed in the context of the evolving land revenue policies of the British government during the first half of the 19th century. In the region of Rayalaseema, Ryotwari Settlement of land revenue was introduced. Under this settlement the annual land revenue was fixed for each individual cultivator. Moreover
land revenue was to be paid in cash to the government. After paying his land revenue in cash the ryot hardly had enough money left with him to undertake the repairs of the community based Dasabandam works. Moreover the attitude of the ryots, given the changes in the tenurial systems, also changed. Effective functioning of Dasabandam required vigilant and responsible peoples' organisation at the village level. The roots of such community organizations would tend to be undermined with the evolving Ryotwari revenue settlement which replaced community interest in the productive forces of land and in the supply of irrigation water by contractual revenue obligations.

The Company government did not want to lose any revenue in connection with the maintenance and repairs of irrigation works. So it had thought of undertaking the repairs first at its cost and then collecting it from the Dasabandam inamdar. Hence, the Company government had made the following rules in 1820s with regard to the cost of undertaking the repairs; and consequent assumption of the Dasabandam inam when the Dasabandamdars failed to undertake the repair of those tanks under which they held certain portions of land as inam.\footnote{53}

1. If the cost borne by the Circar was to be made good by the produce of Inamdars' lands in two years, the lands were to be placed under government till the amount was made good, and after that restored to the owner.

2. If the cost borne by the Circar amounted to so much as the produce of three years of the Inamdars' lands to make it good, three fourths of the inam was to be continued to the Inamdar from the year the repair was made, and the
remaining one fourth to be appropriated to the Circar.

3. If it would require four years' produce of the inamdar's lands to make good the cost of the repairs a half of his inam land was to be sequestrated and the remainder continued with the inamdar.

4. If it would require five or more years' of produce of the Inamdars' lands to make good the cost of the repair, three fourths of the inam was to be sequestrated and the remaining one fourth continued with the Inamdars.

These rules were adopted for the various tanks. However, the kind of rules that the government tried to implement spread the burden on the Dasabandamdars over a period of time. Given the uncertainty of realising the expected produce, there was always the fear on the part of the Dasabandamdars as to how to repay their debt, which was equivalent to the amount spent by the government on repairs, on their behalf. Hence many Dasabandamdars did not come forward to undertake the repairs. Nor did the government undertake repairs to all these tanks. The result was a gradual increase in the number of Dasabandam works which were out of repair, as shown in the table.4.1

Table 4.1
THE STATE OF DASABANDAM WORKS IN CUDDAPAH DISTRICT: 1834

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>In Repair</th>
<th>Out of Repair</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanks</td>
<td>2384</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>2697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nallahs</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wells</td>
<td>8819</td>
<td>1655</td>
<td>10474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11641</td>
<td>2102</td>
<td>13743</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: PBR, 4 December 1834, V. 1432, No.35, P.13588
The rules of 1920s were largely an outcome of lack of appreciation of the system of Dasabandam inams in the construction and preservation of minor irrigation works. It took almost thirty years for the Company to understand the system of Dasabandam inams and to come out with its own rules. In the meantime there were hardly any new Dasabandams either for construction or maintenance. The Company promulgated the following rules relating to Dasabandams in the 1830s.\textsuperscript{54}

1. If a large tank is formed at the private charge of an individual, one fourth of the land brought into wet cultivation by means of its water shall be held as inam as long as the tank is kept in repair.

2. If watercourses, anicuts are dug from a river and through their means and by the use of which, land is brought under cultivation, one fourth extent of such land shall be granted as inam as long as the works are kept in good repair.

3.a. If a well is dug at the private charge of an individual and the expense incurred is from 750 to 1500 Rupees, one fourth extent of such garden land as is cultivated under it shall be granted as inam.

b. If the expenses incurred is between 1500 and 3000 Rupees, one third of the area of each garden land as is cultivated under it shall be granted as inam.

c. The inams are to be held as long as the wells are kept in perfect repair.

4. Persons wishing to undertake works of this nature must, prior to commencement, give information to the taluk
authority, who is to visit the spot and report to the collector.

As it is clear from the above rules, the Company government wished the continuance of Dasabandam works. An interesting feature of the above rules is that the onus of maintaining the work is necessarily on the person constructing the work, which was not so in the pre-British period. Further, there was considerable flexibility and local specificity in the earlier arrangements which was being replaced by a set of centralised rules and bureaucratic procedures. Moreover, the available evidence pertaining to that period does not give us any idea about the new works being placed under the Dasabandam tenure. In respect of wells, none were constructed as to fall under the rules of 3a and b, in these districts. The usual cost was from Rs. 100 to Rs. 500. The privilege of digging wells in dry lands without being subjected to any additional assessment, a provision offered by the Company government itself might have rendered the grant of Dasabandams altogether unnecessary to works of this nature. 55 Hence, whatever Dasabandam works were there in Rayalaseema in the early half of the nineteenth century might have been those of the earlier century.

With no new Dasabandam works coming up and the already existing ones falling into disrepair, there was a decline in the number of Dasabandam works. (Table 4.2) Part of the decline might also have been because of the resumption of the Dasabandam inams by the government and the consequent conversion of inam land into circar land. The process of resumption and causes for it are well discussed in the forthcoming pages.
Table 4.2

DASABANDAM WORKS IN BELLARY DISTRICT

<table>
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<th></th>
<th>1836</th>
<th>1856</th>
<th>Difference</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanks</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nallahs</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wells</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: For 1836 figures, PBR, 17 November 1836, V. 1533, Nos. 49,50, P.16443; For 1856 figures, PBR, 14 February 1856, V.2514, P.2446.

In 1844 the Company government declared that, "the Governor in Council..., is of the opinion with the Board of Revenue, that it is not necessary to extend the Duswandum Rules to Districts where they are now unknown, or even to apply them to new works where the system obtains. In respect of existing Duswandums, His Lordship in Council approves of the proposition that they should continue undisturbed as long as the original terms on which they were granted are fulfilled; but in all cases of neglect, or failure, either past or future, that they should be permanently resumed, and the repairs entrusted to the Maramut Department."56

B. Dasabandam Under the Crown (1858 – 1947)

The year 1858 marked the transfer of power from the East India Company to the Crown. By 1858 some of the Dasabandam inams had been resumed by the Company government, some had fallen into disrepair. But still there were thousands of Dasabandam works existing on the eve of Crown's administration. These were a legacy of the pre-British community, based on local initiatives only. There were no additions during the period 1800-1857, because of the overall changes brought about by the imperial
government in revenue administration and also the policies relating to minor irrigation works.

Between 1858 and 1947, the Crown tried to consolidate its power over the Indian subcontinent in several ways. Maximization of land revenue was still the prime factor influencing the agricultural policies of the Crown's government. 1858-1947 was a period of settlement and resettlement of land revenue. Along with land revenue, other tenures were also being settled from time to time. Dasabandam was not an exception to this resettlement. There was a systematic survey of inam Fair "B" registers which give particulars like the name of the Dasabandam work, village in which it was situated, extent of the inam and government ayacuts and the names of the Dasabandamdars. In 1860 an inam Commissioner was appointed to look into the matters dealing with various kinds of inams of which Dasabandam was one. Shamilat Dasabandam inams (SDI) were not brought under the inam settlement. However, it was decided not to alter the nature of SDI as it was considered that this system was a more powerful inducement to the inamdar to keep irrigation work in repair, than the grant of a specific area as inam.

The Crown's government formulated various policies, from time to time, with regard to the Dasabandam works. In 1875, the government decided that when the water of a Dasabandam well irrigated dry land beyond the actual ayacut of the work, the Dasabandamdar should be given a share in the enhanced revenue.\(^57\) In 1879 the principle was extended to the case of dasabandam tanks and the Board was asked to give it a general effect.\(^56\) These could be interpreted as frantic efforts to
restore the tanks but the damage was already done. These efforts could be seen as immediately preceding the TRS as well. In 1880 it was declared that the concession was applicable to dasabandam works of every description. The Inamdars were allowed a share not only in the tirvajasti revenue derived from dry lands but also in fassaljasti revenue realised from wet lands. A limitation on this rule was imposed in 1908 in which the Board prohibited the grant of a share of tirvajasti charged on the irrigation of dry lands if remission had been granted in respect of any part of the recognised ayacut of the source in question. The object of this limitation was to prevent the Dasabandamdars from improperly diverting water to dry lands to the prejudice of the holders of wet lands who had a legitimate right to the use of the water.

However, there was a petition in 1901 (fasli 1311) by one Chapa Srinivasa Rao against the Collector's order of disallowing enhanced revenue to which he was legally entitled on the assessment of the lands irrigable under Chapa Chenchal Rao's channel of the village of Pedda Chappalli in Kamalapuram taluk of Cuddapah district. This petition gained so much of importance that the Board had to ultimately pass an order withdrawing the prohibition of a share to the Dasabandamdars in the enhanced revenue. The Board added later that "They are not however entitled to any share of any enhanced water rate that may be levied for irregular irrigation from the sources maintained by them."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taluks</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Area under Each</th>
<th>Dasabandam Granted</th>
<th>Remission of Asst.</th>
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<td>Govt.</td>
<td>Inam</td>
<td>Total</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>(7) Acs.</td>
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<td>Channels</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Wells</td>
<td>97</td>
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<td>Tanks</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>659</td>
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<td>(1) Sidhout</td>
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<td>21</td>
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<td>Wells</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>548</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>1228</td>
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<td>Tanks</td>
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<td>(1) Pullampet</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wells</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>2675</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: PBR, 10 August 1874, No. 2168, p. 6173.
### Table 4.4

**DASABANDAM WORKS IN CUDDAPAH DISTRICT: 1890**

(Which were in repair)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Taluk</th>
<th>Dasabandam Works by Ayacut</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;50 Acs.</td>
<td>&gt;50 to &lt;100 Acs.</td>
<td>&gt;100 to &lt;200 Acs.</td>
<td>&gt;200 to &lt;300 Acs.</td>
<td>&gt;300 to &lt;400 Acs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sidhout</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Proddatur</td>
<td>121</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Budwel</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Cuddapah</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Jammalamadugu</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Pulivendla</td>
<td>309</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Rayachoti</td>
<td>3332</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kadiri</td>
<td>2027</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Vayalpad</td>
<td>2921</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Pullampet</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Madanapalli</td>
<td>1146</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10785</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Kadiri Taluk also had two river channels whose ayacut was under 200 acres. Madanapalli had two river channels and two spring channels each having an ayacut of 200 acres.

Dasabandam works vis-a-vis other types of works are found in Appendix II.

**Source** Cuddapah RDs. 22 November 1890, No.6515.
Table 4.5

SHAMILAT DASABANDAM INAMS IN THE
CUDDAPAH DISTRICT:1899

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taluks</th>
<th>Number of Villages</th>
<th>Number of Cases</th>
<th>Extent Acs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madanapalli</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1282</td>
<td>3208.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kadiri</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>1769</td>
<td>1675.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vayalpad</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>3009</td>
<td>6100.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rayachoti</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>3680</td>
<td>5933.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulivendla</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>256.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidhout</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>401</strong></td>
<td><strong>10089</strong></td>
<td><strong>17197.28</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Board of Revenue (Rev. Sett, L.Rds., and Agri.), No. 351, 1 November 1899, P.2, Revenue, 26 December 1899, No.868, Cuddapah Rds, 17 September 1900, No.315.

Over a period of time the Dasabandam works came to be looked upon as government sources. This was partly because of the indifferent attitude shown by the Dasabandamdars towards such works. Many times either the Minor Irrigation Department (MID) or the Revenue Department would prepare an estimate for the repair of a Dasabandam work and the cost was to be shared between the government and the Dasabandamdars. The actual repair work would in many cases be undertaken by the MID, the share of Dasabandamdars being collected by the department from them. Sometimes, the Dasabandam works would be granted to the largest shareholders of the Dasabandam on request, on contract and on the condition of receiving the government's share of cost of repair and the amount collected from the rest of the Inamdars, if any.
Regarding the Dasabandam tanks irrigating more than 200 acres, the government declared that while the Dasabandamdars cannot be required to carry out "special improvements" to their tanks at their own expense, they should be held liable to maintain them in a proper state of repair. The duty of enforcing this obligation would of course devolve upon the Collector of the district, and it would be the duty of the PWD to move that officer to enforce the obligation of repairing it. As Dasabandam tanks were not in any sense private works, all those irrigating 200 acres and upwards were to be included in the lists of Imperial Works.\textsuperscript{66}

Regarding the repair and maintenance of all the other Dasabandam works, it was the intention of the government that the cost of all ordinary repairs should be borne in full by the dasabandam inamdar, but that when any construction or reconstruction of sluices and surplus escapes was involved, the cost of such structural alterations should be divided between the government and the inamda, in the ratio of their respective interests.\textsuperscript{67}

From the preceding account it is very clear that the government under the Crown had to interfere with the repair and maintenance of the Dasabandam sources of irrigation. Dasabandam works, by their nature were public sources, for the maintenance of which the Dasabandamdars enjoyed some inams. Why did they have to be looked upon as government sources? How far the Dasabandamdars were able to maintain their respective sources? What made them lose interest in the maintenance of tanks and
other sources? Answers to these questions could be sought from the analysis of the process of resumption of the Dasabandam inams.

After the consolidation of its power, the British government tried to expand its bureaucratic structure to all the possible fields. Several new departments were established and the PWD was one. In 1870, Irrigation Department was made a separate branch of the PWD. Later came Minor Irrigation Department. The government had thought that these departments could very well take care of all the aspects of irrigation. The guiding policy right from the East India Company days, and later under the Crown, was the maximisation of land revenue to which irrigated land contributed substantially. So, naturally the irrigation works that would fetch more revenue were sought to be taken care of whether they were government sources or Dasabandam sources, by the Irrigation Department. The Dasabandam works having small ayacuts were to be maintained by the Dasabandamdars. There were several reasons for the improper maintenance of these smaller works. The period 1890-1930 witnessed several petitions by and against the Dasabandamdars.66

As pointed out earlier the government initially, had thought that it would not have much problem with the SDIs. But very soon it was realised that in dealing with the cases of Khandam Dasabandam inams (KDI) there was no difficulty. But the position of the SDIs was unsatisfactory. The right to enjoy a fraction of every field under a well or tank was attended by a number of complexities.69
There were instances of both the KDI's and SDI's being resumed by the State. In the case of wells those with ayacut less than one acre were more in number.

It was declared by the government that "Dasabandam inams may be resumed and fully assessed by the Collector without reference to the Board or the government, in cases where the original grant is subject to the condition that the works for which inams were granted, should be kept in repair failed to do so. Where the grant is not subject to such a condition, the order of the Governor, in the exercise of his individual judgement, should be obtained."  

During the resettlement of one of the taluks of the region it was recommended that "the government consider that the dasabandam tenure, regarded as a means of keeping irrigation works in repair, is out of date, but having referred to the immense protective value of these wells and other irrigation works in the Ceded districts they accept the Board's recommendation to waive the claim of government to these wells, converting them into private property, discontinuing the remissions and registering their ayakats as "dry". These concessions should however be given effect to only in those cases in which the inamdars agree to the resumption of the inam by the government. Where agreement cannot be arrived at, the land should be classed as "wet" and allowed a baling remission of one-fourth of the assessment, the wells being classed as third-class sources. These orders apply both to Shamilat and to khandam dasabandam wells." This was equally applicable to the other taluks of the region as well. The Retained Revenue Disposals of
the different district collectorates of the region under study
give hundreds of such cases.\textsuperscript{72}

The available evidence shows that right from the beginning
of the British rule, Dasabandam as an institutional arrangement,
which served so well in the construction and maintenance of a
network of public works for the utilisation of the scarce water
resources, was under pressure of disintegration. The growing
transactions in land, the emergence of a land market, the limits
on the expansion of cultivation on new arable land, and the
division of Dasabandam land by inheritance and sale, the slow but
growing mobility of people away from land based livelihood
activities brought about instability in the institution of
Dasabandam. There was a clear need for an alternative
institutional arrangement for harnessing the insitu water
resources. But instead what was emerging was a centralised
bureaucratic system which was hardly an answer to the emerging
crisis. But one thing that was clear in evidence was the decay
of the Dasabandam, the reasons for which were innumerable. The
following account documents some of the circumstances leading to
the resumption of Dasabandam inams.

Dasabandam inam lands, in the case of Khandam Dasabandams
and the right for remission, in the case of SDIs, were undergoing
several transfers either through inheritance or sale. So the
enjoyers of these inams, in almost all the cases, during the
later half of the 19th century and early half of the 20th century
were not the original grantees, but only the enjoyers by virtue
of inheritance or sale.\textsuperscript{73} In the process of sale transactions
or inheritance rights being passed down from one person or persons to the others, the inam lands were getting more and more fragmented with too many shareholders, making it difficult for the government to maintain the inam "B" registers and identifying the particular enjoyers of the inam at a point of time. In some cases roost of these enjoyers would belong to the same family (specially in case of inheritance) - like sons, grandsons, brothers and wives. Sometimes the relation of one enjoyer to the other was shown clearly in the statement itself or it can be made out by looking at their surnames.\textsuperscript{74}

Each shareholder would not necessarily feel the obligation of maintaining the source in question in good repair as the original grantee would have felt. Absentee (non-resident) inamdars did not show any interest in repairs since they would hardly be seen in the particular village. The result would be resumption of the Dasabandam inams.\textsuperscript{76} Sometimes the resumption was due to the out-migration of the Dasabandamdars without giving any notice to the government or when the whereabouts of the Dasabandamdars could not be traced.\textsuperscript{76} Sometimes resumption was due to the disputes among the Dasabandamdars each one claiming the inam for himself and in the process not caring for the repairs.\textsuperscript{77}

There were also instance of voluntary surrender. The enjoyers of the inams themselves stated that they could not repair the source and their inams, could be resumed.\textsuperscript{78} In some other cases the inamdars said that they did not have enough finances to repair the sources immediately and would ask for an extension of time to repair the source. If they failed to
undertake the repair at the expiry of the extension period also, then the inams were resumed.\textsuperscript{79}

If an inam was held by a group of people, and if there was a lack of understanding among the shareholders to undertake the necessary repairs, then it would lead to resumption.\textsuperscript{80} Difficulties in coordinating the repair works because of shareholders residing in various places also led to resumption of the inams.\textsuperscript{81} Too many shareholders for very small ayacut lands also resulted in each shareholder feeling disinterested towards undertaking the repairs. Table 4.6 gives an idea about a few of such extreme cases.

Table 4.6

RESUMPTION OF SOME OF THE DASABANDAM INAMS IN CHITTOOB DISTRICT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Name of the Source</th>
<th>No. of Dasabandamdars</th>
<th>Dasabandam Inams Extent</th>
<th>Asst. Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Patha Cheruvu, Kosavari Palli village, Madanapalli Taluk</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>12.57</td>
<td>62.13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ankalamma Cheruvu, Kalakada village, Vayalpad Taluk</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>7.37</td>
<td>44.3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Buragala Cheruvu, Karahalkata village, Madanapalli Taluk</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>8.82</td>
<td>35.4.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Chittoor RDs (1) No. 529, 24-6-1926.  
(2) No. 6461, 20-7-1922.  
(3) No. 3849, 12-10-1918.

The Dasabandamdars could be grouped under two classes. First, those whose shares were few in number, like two brothers
or cousins, and who agreed to undertake the necessary repairs. The second class was the ordinary Dasabandamdar. The inam here was divided into ten, twelve, fifteen, or more shares, some of which had been mortgaged or sold. Many share-holders were in different places or the others quarrelled among themselves over the repair of the irrigation sources in question. The burden was ultimately thrown on the resident larger share holders. The smaller share-holders, were often either not found, or were ready to surrender their share of the inam. If the larger share-holders had the means, they did all the work and bore all the expenses; but generally they could not, and this class of inam was the class which was continually under attachment, sometimes seeking extension of time, and finally they were either relinquished or incorporated with the government ayacut for failing to keep to the terms of the agreement under which it was given. \(^8^2\) This, in a way, sums up the causes for the resumption of Dasabandam inams.

A significant fact to be noted is that most of the Dasabandam sources that were being resumed were wells. Annexure 4.2 gives the details of a few such wells resumed.

An important aspect of the pre-British water resource institutions is their community character. This may be better appreciated by a look at the large number of Dasabandam wells. A Dasabandam well was essentially a kind of community well, the maintenance of which was looked after by a Dasabandamdar. The preponderance of Dasabandam wells in the early British Rayalaseema and its disappearance by the turn of the 19th century and the first few decades of the present century, is an adequate
reason to believe that with the land, water also increasingly turned from being a public resource to a private resource.

Besides the above mentioned causes there were some administrative inconveniences also for the government while dealing with the Dasabandam inams. One of the major problems that confronted the Crown's government while reviewing the inam Fair 'B' Registers (pertaining to Dasabandam inams) was that in many cases no distinction was shown between the Khandam and SDIs. KDI\textsuperscript{s} were the inams which should have specifications of lands granted as inams. SDI\textsuperscript{s}, on the other hand, did not have by their nature, any spatial location since they were only remissions on land revenue assessed and collected. This distinction was not observed in inam registers. Even in the case of SDI\textsuperscript{s} the extent of Dasabandam inam and its corresponding assessment was shown. This led to a confusion on the part of the government officials in distinguishing and dealing with these inams separately.\textsuperscript{83}

Even in cases where SDI remissions were shown clearly, dealing with the remissions themselves gave a lot of inconvenience since these remissions were paid to the Dasabandamdars after the land revenue was collected. The calculation of the mode of payment, recovery of remissions etc. every year proved to be an extra burden on the existing bureaucratic structure since special provisions had to be made for these remissions after every harvest.\textsuperscript{84} Over a period of time the entire exercise became difficult and impracticable for the government.\textsuperscript{85} So the easiest way out was to resume these inams and grant fresh pattas.
There were difficulties in granting pattas since the ayacut land under SD sources was not of uniform type. There were cases (i) where the inamdars and the pattadars were the same individuals, (ii) where the inamdar was different from the Circar pattadar and (iii) where the Circar portion was government waste.\(^\text{86}\)

Confirming the ownership of these inams was also a problem for the government as many Dasabandamdars were not able to produce the original orders of granting Dasabandam. Those who had submitted the orders sanctioning the grant of one-fourth Dasabandam were allowed to continue the enjoyment of the remission and in other cases the proposal of resumption was considered.\(^\text{87}\) As a result of some of the Dasabandamdars claiming superior authority over the sources of irrigation, there were petitions to the government against them.\(^\text{88}\)

Thus, the failure on the part of the Dasabandam holders to carry-out the repairs as and when the need arose, together with the practical problems realised by the government while dealing with these inams intensified the process of resumption of these inams during the Crown's regime. However, in a few of the cases where the repairs were carried out properly the inams continued to be enjoyed by the Dasabandamdars.\(^\text{89}\)

After the resumption of the Dasabandam inams, the ayacut under these sources was normally transferred as dry land. In some cases where there was an alternative source and its ayacutdars were willing for the transfer, these ayacuts were also...
transferred to the other sources. This was possible because in some cases both the sources had one or two common dasabandam enjoyers.\(^{90}\)

Resumption of Dasabandam inam and granting the same source to others, on the same tenure, on a petition that the particular source be made over to them under the Dasabandam tenure, was also found in some cases. In such cases the pattadars of the Dasabandam inam lands in question agreed in writing to relinquish the same if the petitioners undertook the repair of the Dasabandam source.\(^{91}\) In Kurnool district most of the resumed Dasabandam inam lands were granted to the Taluk Boards for either maintenance of the same Dasabandam source or for the maintenance of water pendals.\(^{82}\) What is to be noted here is, in earlier tiroes the solutions for the multiplication of the Dasabandamdars with the natural division of their households were perhaps found at the village level where as with the British regime it had assumed centralised rule making.

In a general way the government had directed that the resumed Dasabandam wells should be sold by auction and the purchasers were left to make their own terms with the holders of the lands under the wells. However, this did not gain much importance since roost of the tiroes it was not profitable to buy such wells.\(^{93}\)

4.4 Kudimaramat

Kudimaramat or Customary Labour or literally 'collective repair,' was yet another institution that played a very important role in maintaining the minor irrigation sources in several parts of South India from the remote past. It was more effective in
areas where river and spring channels were the dominant sources of irrigation. Under Kudimaramat repairs to the various sources of minor irrigation were carried out by the ryots in the neighbourhood of a particular source.

Why do people in some regions come together to undertake the necessary repairs either under Kudimaramat or under some other local institution? Lack of continuous flow of water increases its value for irrigation purposes, which in turn necessitates continuous and sometimes immediate care of the irrigation works including tanks. This has to be undertaken by the ryots in the neighbourhood of these irrigation works, in the absence of which the crops would face the effects of improper water management. This sort of necessity brings about co-operation among the ryots, so as to minimise the negative impact of the constraints imposed by geography. Kudimaramat roust have been an outcome of one of such necessities in South India from ancient times. Even today we find such local institutions operating in several parts of the world. 'Subaks' in Indonesia, and 'Zangjeras' in Philippines, are the best institutional examples for the effective management of irrigation sources and distribution of irrigation water. Local conditions, social structures, ecology and government's role might alter the ways of functioning of these institutions but one common feature among them all is the community participation in the management of irrigation sources. According to some, scarcity and risk are the two most important factors that make people form cooperative and community organizations.
A.Kudimaramat During the Pre-British Days

Inscriptions mention a very large number of instances where people's participation in irrigation management was customary during the medieval times in several parts of South India.\textsuperscript{96} In cases where the ryots did not put in physical labour, they contributed their share through other means.

In Nellore, it is found that, for the proper maintenance of irrigation tanks contributions of grain were levied on each cultivator at the rate of a Kuncha of grain on every Futti annually. The grain so collected was to be entirely spent upon the repairs and upkeep of the concerned tank. Woddars [tank-diggers] were employed for that purpose. Moral obligations and religious sentiments also played an important role in its effective implementation. It was proclaimed that, "Whoever misappropriate the grain, not carrying out the provisions of their edict, if Muhammadans, will incur the sin of killing a pig at Mecca, if Brahmans or Sudras, will incur the sin of killing cows and Brahmans on the Ganges. If any one does this (i.e., obstructs the charity), of whatever caste he be, his wife will be considered to have been given to a vetti."\textsuperscript{97}

Where the repair and maintenance of irrigation works was done in partnership, the distribution of water was regulated in proportion to expenses met by individual parties. When disputes concerning such distribution of water took place, they were often amicably settled by the cultivators themselves, or through the arbitrators and the decision of the arbitrators was generally accepted.\textsuperscript{98} One of the very common methods of arranging for
the maintenance of irrigation works was the provision of servants and necessary materials for such works.  

As in the case of the construction of tanks, native governments encouraged community efforts in the maintenance and repair of irrigation works. In 1541 when the residents of Tirumadadhalli (Anantapur district) repaired the breaches in the tank in their village, the government granted them one Kanduga and Kattukodage.

From the way the system of operation of the indigenous institutions like Kudimaramat was understood by the early East India Company servants also, one can have an idea about their functioning in the pre-British days.

Thomas Munro, the Principal Collector of the Ceded Districts writing as early as 1803 stated that, "It is usual in many places when the damages of Tanks are trifling not amounting to above ten, twenty or thirty pagodas, for the cultivators themselves to make the necessary repairs either by their own labour or by an assessment of grain for the help of Waddiwars." Thomas Munro further stated:

The repair of watercourses is still more common than that of Tanks by the labour of the Cultivators. In every part of the country (Ceded Districts) watercourses are annually cleared out by them and the performance of such works is not regarded as any extra duty more than the payment of their rents. In my own division all the watercourses from the Pennah and the smaller rivers are kept in repair by the cultivators, those from the Toombudderah being upon a greater scale and more exposed to damage may perhaps have been roost frequently cleared out at the expense of the Sirkar but even in those I imagine that a part of the work had always been done by the cultivators. There is nothing in the expense that ought to be too heavy for them to bear, but it is possible that the work is chiefly required near the heads of the
watercourses, that it is too much for the Inhabitants of the adjacent villages to perform and that those of the villages lower down could not assist on account of the distance without suffering great inconvenience. All watercourses from Tanks ought invariably to be kept in good order by the cultivators themselves. It is only in cases where they may have been choked up from the neglect of many years that they ought to be cleared out at the public expense.

B. Kudimaramat under the East India Company

The system of Kudimaramat or collective repairs to irrigation and drainage works which by local custom had to be performed by the joint labour of the village community continued to be in practice even in the first quarter of the 19th century in almost all the regions of the Madras Presidency, excluding the districts of Madras, Malabar, South Kanara, the Nilgiris and Anjengo.103

In the Ceded Districts the kind of work performed, under Kudimaramat, by the ryots included filling up gutters at all tiroes, repairing tanks when there was a breach, raising the bund to prevent any possible breach and turf work to leaky parts of the bunds, opening the Calingulah, making a passage for surplus water when Cuttacalwah or supplying channel had abundance of water and closing the same when the supplies were limited, constructing a bund across the supplying channel in order to divert water, opening and closing of the bund and tamping.104

We don't have much information available on the way of functioning of Kudimaramat during the first half of the 19th century, except some reference to it in the later day reports. A Report of 1879 states that during the first half of that century the ryots were admittance under the obligation to watch over the safety of their tanks and to carry out the petty repairs.
necessary from month to month. They received no pay for their labour, nor was any deduction made from the land assessment on account of it.\(^{105}\) Sometimes Tahsildars were being expected to enforce it.\(^ {106}\) Thus, **Kudimaramat**, which was supposed to be voluntary contribution of labour seems to have been made obligatory by the British government. That means people were not coming forward voluntarily to undertake the repairs, as they used to do before.

This could be because of several reasons. The advent of the British had brought in several changes in the land tenurial systems. With land coming into the market, with the development of individual property rights, with the control of tanks passing over to the government, with the development of private sources such as wells, the local institutions like **Kudimaramat** seemed to have lost much of their status and importance.\(^ {107}\)

**C. Kudimaramat under the Crown**

By the time the Crown had taken over the power from the East India Company, **Kudimaramat** of the pre-British days ie., people of a village coming together to repair their irrigation works, was dying down. Faced with the problem of thousands of small tanks and channels being in disrepair all over the province, the Madras government realised the importance of local institutions and initiatives in maintaining the scattered system of small irrigation works.

Since voluntary contributions were not forthcoming, the government felt that, "This long established custom has wanted only a formal enactment to give it the force of law, and that formality being refused; the government are of opinion that, at
no distant day, the custom itself will cease; with its cessation, the expense of all the repairs hitherto made by the people roust be provided by the State, and the expenditure of this government in the Department of Public Works will in consequence be much increased."

An Act providing for the enforcement of customary labour was passed in 1858. While the land tenure and revenue policy of the British government took away all surplus resources from the hands of the village communities and asserted that common resources such as the tanks belonged to the State, in actual practice it was impossible for the PWD to maintain thousands of small tanks without any cooperation from the locally based village communities. Hence, the government had tried to give impetus to the provisions of the Act of 1858.

Under the Act the government had declared that,  

Whenever by local custom any work for the purpose of irrigation or drainage, or connected therewith, is usually executed by the Joint labour of a village-community, any person bound by such custom to contribute labour to such work, who neglects or refuses without reasonable cause to comply with a requisition for such customary aid made to him by the head of the village under the orders of the tahsildar or other superior Revenue-officer, shall be liable to pay a sum equal to twice the value of the labour which he is bound to contribute.

The amount so payable shall, in case of dispute, be determined summarily by a Village Panchayat assembled by order of the Collector through the Village Munsif...

Such amount shall be payable on demand; and on nonpayment, the same may be recovered by the same means by which arrears of land-revenue are recoverable.
All sums paid or recovered under this section shall be applicable to the expenses of any works for the purpose of irrigation or drainage executed for the benefit of the village-communities to which the defaulters respectively belong.
Still the government felt that the enforcement of the liability of the ryots to perform customary labour on irrigation works had become a matter of increasing difficulty, in later years, and that the unsatisfactory state of many of the tanks and channels was in a great measure attributable to this cause. Ryots showing indifference or carelessness in the preservation or repair of their tanks was noticed by the irrigation officials in several instances.\textsuperscript{110} Hence, the expediency of imposing a cess in lieu of customary labour on irrigation works required from ryots was being considered by the Collectors of various districts, and also the Board of Revenue and ultimately the Irrigation Cess Act of 1865 was passed.\textsuperscript{111} Under this Act, the government would first undertake the repairs at its cost and later collect from the ryots their due share.

The Commission on Minor Irrigation Works, reported in 1870 that Kudimaramat in respect of minor repairs to small tanks had died out, in respect of minor repairs to channels was fast dying, that there was a general agreement as to the necessity for providing more definite powers for the enforcement of the obligation than were conferred by Section 6 of Act I of 1858, that it was necessary to make a careful enquiry in each district to ascertain what kinds of Kudimaramat works had been customary and to make such works compulsory.\textsuperscript{112}

A Bill was drafted to legalise Kudimaramat and was introduced into the Legislative Council of Madras in June 1883 but it was subsequently dropped. The first Irrigation Commission (1901-1903) talked of the "Cultivators losing all sense of responsibility for the maintenance and upkeep of tanks, which
custom had formerly imposed on them" and recommended that all routine maintenance work be handed over to the ryots after persuading them to undertake Kudimaramat. The Commission further recommended that if Kudimaramat could not be enforced without legislation, then legislation should be undertaken. If Kudimaramat did not work, then legislation should provide for a cess on land irrigated from tanks whose funds would be administered by local Panchayats. In accordance with the recommendation of the Irrigation Commission, attempts were made again and again to bring in legislation for enforcing Kudimaramat or for imposing an irrigation cess in its place. But all these attempts proved abortive. The Irrigation Bills of 1906, 1922, 1924, 1928 and 1934-36 were all such abortive attempts.\textsuperscript{113}

However, the functioning of the institution of Kudimaramat was not uniform throughout the Madras Presidency. In some districts it was working very well whereas in some other districts it was fast dying out. Even in the four districts of the region under study there was variation. In the Kurnool district, the following works were expected to be done by Kudimaramat labour in the first half of the 20th century:\textsuperscript{114}

a) Clearance of deposits from river and spring channels,  
b) Clearance of silt and bushes from distributary channels under tanks,  
c) Closing small breaches in supply channels to the tanks,  
d) Clearance of bushes from supply channels to tanks,  
e) Removal of prickly-pear and other undergrowth from tank bunds, and
f) Cutting open the bund at the site of sluices for the examination of sluices, when necessary.

In Anantapur district river and spring channels were the more dominant sources of irrigation. River channels were those which were dug in the beds of rivers. Spring channels were those which issued from the beds of hill streams, and these channels depended for their supply on frequent freshes in the streams during the rainy season as well as the surplus of upper tanks. Kudimaramat work, here, generally consisted of the removal of prickly pear or scrub jungle on tank and channel bunds, clearance of silt and vegetation from the bed and banks of channels and earth work for the inspection of sluices when required. The holders of lands under each river channel formed themselves into a committee (locally known as "Gonchi") with a headman called 'Gonchidar' or Pinnapedda. He enforced the work from the ayacutdars. The clearance of silt was made all along the course almost everyday to tap sufficient supply during the cultivation season when the river was not in floods. Besides, channels were dug in the bed of the rivers. One man for every acre of land had to contribute labour; the defaulters were fined by the "Gonchidar". It was more of a Panchayat functioning than Kudimaramat.

In almost all the taluks of Cuddapah district Kudimaramat (of British sense) repairs were being carried out by the farmers, in some form or the other. The obligation of the ryots to furnish labour for the repairs of petty injuries to tanks and for the removal of silt from minor channels was fully recognised and endorsed. If the ryots failed to do so the labour was contributed
in the form of money, failing which notices were issued for the money value of the labour and collected and credited to the Treasury. It was in the matter of removal of vegetation from tank bunds that the ryots were found reluctant and very frequently the penal provisions of the act had to be put in operation for getting the work done. The reason is that while neglect to clear channels produced an immediate result which affected their living, a similar neglect in respect of removing vegetation had only a distant effect which they did not perceive as an immediate impediment to their water needs.\textsuperscript{115}

In 1927, the Ceded Districts Irrigation Committee had made the following observations regarding the manner of working of the Kudimaramat Act with respect to spring channels - the manner of working of the Customary Labour Act rules, was extremely illiberal, resulting in considerable loss and hardship to the ryots concerned. In several cases rock had to be blasted. The illiberal and unsympathetic interpretation of rules had resulted in the abandonment of several channels.\textsuperscript{116}

As mentioned above there were instances where people in the neighbourhood of a particular minor irrigation source were coming together on and off to undertake the necessary repairs. It was largely due to the pressure brought about by the British officials. It could also be due to the fear that not undertaking the repairs when called for would result in the payment of huge amounts as fine by the farmers. But it was definitely not the kind of voluntary contribution of labour by the farmers of the pre-British days. Contribution of labour which was supposed to be voluntary was made compulsory, still with little impact.
The causes for the unsatisfactory working of Kudimaramat in the Madras Presidency in general, and in some areas of the region under study in particular, can be summed up as follows.  

1. There was often an inadequate co-operation by the ryots with officials and a want of co-operation among the ryots themselves;  
2. There were factions in many villages;  
3. There was absenteeism of some of the landowners who were expected to participate through their own or hired labour;  
4. The general growth of the individualistic spirit in villages;  
5. The cumbrous nature of the procedure under the Madras Compulsory Labour Act of 1858, and  
6. The absence of a regular system of obtaining information regarding the condition of irrigation works.

Above all, was the nature of the State itself. During the pre-British days, the Native rulers had encouraged the system of voluntary contribution of labour for Kudimaramat by granting concessions in land revenue payments and such other incentives. The imperial policies of the British tried to enforce Kudimaramat through laws and procedures in order to enhance their revenues. There was already the existence of a complex bureaucratic structure serving the imperial interests in the periphery. PWD was supposed to look after the matters relating to irrigation development. Over a period, this department had taken greater responsibility for irrigation management into its hands to ensure improved land revenue collections. As a result community action, based on local initiatives, on the part of the cultivators diminished. Seeking legal remedies for the preservation of an
institution based on community spirit had to face the inevitable failure.

4.5 Irrigation Panchayats

The first quarter of the present century witnessed the development of Irrigation Panchayats in the various districts of the Madras Presidency, by the British. They were also known as Irrigation Boards in some areas.

F.W. Schonemann, Superintending Engineer of Punjab made a tour of inspection of certain engineering works in France and Spain in 1913. On his return, in his report, he advocated the introduction in India of the system obtaining in Spain and elsewhere, of entrusting to village communities, absolutely and without interference by government officials, the management of the internal distribution of water for purposes of irrigation. The total quantity of water which each community was entitled to utilise was to be allotted in bulk by the officers of government.

In the wake of Schonemann's proposals, the Government of India wanted to know the existing community-based practices in various parts of the country, regarding the distribution of irrigation water and also the opinion of the different district collectors on the feasibility of introducing Schonemann's proposals in their respective districts.

However, it was found that Schonemann's proposals were not suitable for adoption in the Madras Presidency. Informal Irrigation Boards had already been formed in several of the districts of this Presidency, at the government's initiative.

In the region under study, the applicability of Schonemann's recommendation was limited. In this region water as such was not
sold to ryots, as a commodity to be marketed; the charge for water was supposed to be based upon the settlement classification of each field. The system here dealt with each individual pattadars with whom the annual demand was fixed, and not with the village community, as suggested by Schonomann. In this region there were already some Panchayats looking after some of the minor irrigation works.

The nature of the constitution of the Irrigation Boards or Panchayats might differ from one village to the other depending on the local circumstances. However, the overall aims and objects of these Panchayats can be summarized as follows.\(^{118}\)

1. to manage efficiently the irrigation under each of the sources,
2. to see that the irrigation channels get adequate supply,
3. to exercise a general supervision over the work of the members elected for the management of supply channels and sluices,
4. to guard specially that the richer ryots are not benefited at the expense of the poor ones,
5. to execute necessary repairs to the supply channels etc.,
6. to secure a fair distribution of water of the tank, under each sluice, and settle disputes that may arise,
7. to settle what lands are to receive irrigation when the supply in the tanks is insufficient for the whole ayacut and
8. to supply labour when urgently required for repairs to the tanks by the Public Works Department or Revenue authorities.
Each Irrigation Panchayat would perform those of the above mentioned duties as its particular source demands in its neighbourhood.

The number of members also differs from Panchayat to Panchayat, depending on the size of the source and the ayacut under it. The Boards will meet twice a year at the beginning of every working season or as often as there is a necessity for them to meet.

In some parts of some of the divisions like Rayachoti and Jammalamadugu taluks of the Cuddapah district, the distribution under smaller works and under river and spring channels was managed under the supervision and control of a manager who was a locally influential man appointed in some cases by the Tahsildar with the consent of the ryots and in others by the ryots themselves. This manager was known as "Kalvapedda". This system had been working well and needed no alteration. A.R.Banerji, the Collector of Cuddapah, had, however, felt that in other parts of the district the spirit of cooperation and self-help had not much developed among the ryots. Any official initiative in such matters might not give successful results.\textsuperscript{120}

In the Kurnool district there were a number of Irrigation Panchayats already looking after the working of various minor irrigation works.\textsuperscript{121}

There was no need for the formation of Irrigation Boards in the villages commanded by the K-C canal. An Irrigation Board was considered necessary only when there was a deficit supply of
water, in consequence of which economic use and efficient management of water would become indispensable. As under the canal there was no likelihood of a deficient supply, the formation of an Irrigation Board was not considered necessary.

In Anantapur district, as mentioned earlier, "Gonchidars" or "Pinnapeddas" were playing a very important role in looking after the minor irrigation works, and the distribution of water under them.122

Thus, during the pre-British days, the local institutions of Dasabandam and Kudimaramat had played a very important role in the construction and maintenance of minor irrigation works, in the region of Rayalaseema. Under Dasabandam, the construction of a majority of the minor irrigation works like tanks and wells was undertaken from time immemorial. Kudimaramat was taking care of the maintenance of the minor irrigation works, particularly river and spring channels. These institutions which had evolved through indigenous initiatives as well as State patronage required a grassroots level involvement of the people for their survival.

The British government, under the Company, had recognised the existence of these local institutions and wished them to continue to serve their revenue interests better, but with little success. Voluntary participation of people at the grass root level in irrigation management was not forthcoming in the newly emerging environment. Hence, the imperial government, under the Crown, tried to make the functioning of these locally managed informal institutions more formal as part of the overall changes in the irrigation policy as well as the irrigation bureaucracy.
The work which was supposed to be voluntary contribution was made compulsory contribution through various Bills and Acts. Formation of Irrigation Panchayats was one of such bureaucratic reforms. Thus, the imposition of the British rule and the process of incorporation had brought about certain strong but gradual alterations in the tenurial relations, which had struck at the very roots of the indigenous institutions. The incorporation and the resulting process of subordination of all institutions to subserve the metropolitan interests brought a revenue orientation to the utter neglect of the regional specifications in the evolved productive forces.
Notes

1. The derivation is either das=ten, and bandam, from the Sanskrit root signifying a compact; or else das = ten and vanda, a pure Telugu word signifying one hundred. The former seems more probable, as the combination would be of two Sanskrit roots, whereas the latter has one Sanskrit and one Telugu word. J.D.B. Gribble, Manual of the District of Cuddapah in the Presidency of Madras, Madras, 1875, (Rpt.) Hyderabad, 1992, p.19; According to MaClean's Glossary, the term Das refers to Dasha in Sanskrit or Das in Hindi, Bundh in Sanskrit refers to bind. Hence Dasabandam is abatement of ten in hundred or one-tenth of the revenue on account of compensation for some public work, as the construction of a tank.

2. Tank -digging was looked upon as one of the seven meritorious acts which a man ought to perform during his life time: (the procreation of ) a son, the composition (of a poem) (the hoarding of) a treasure, (the planting of ) a grove, the marriage (of a girl to a Brahmana), (the consecration of ) a tank. The Ganapavaram Inscription of Ganapati, Epigraphia Indica, III, P.88, A. Appadorai Economic Conditions in Southern India (1000 - 1500 AP), Vol.1, Madras, 1936, P.201.


7. Chittoor RDs, 4432, 3 August 1928, 4433, 3, August 1928, 4435, 23 November 1928, 9402, 21 December 1927, 9403, 10 January 1928; PBR, 17 November 1836, V. 1533, Nos. 49, 50, P.16443.

8. A Scheme for the Settlement of the Rayachoti Taluk of the Cuddapah District. Letter from J.H.M. Cox, Deputy Director of Revenue Settlement, Cuddapah, to W. Wilson, Director of
While documenting the Mackenzie Manuscripts, the information available in Telugu Kaifiyats is translated into English, to the extent possible. The details of each Kaifiyat are retained as they are in the original.


SII, XX, 93.


MM, V. 145, Chitvel Kaifiyat, P.102 - 103.

MM, v.125, Brahroanapalli Kaifiyat, P.34-36.


MM. V.127, Some of the Laws in Koilkuntla Taluk, P.112.

MM, V. 129, Akavidu Village Kaifiyat, Griddalur, P. 45-49.


MM, V. 115, Duvvuri Paragana Kaifiyat, Cuddapah Taluk, P.34-36.

MM. V. 265-II, Badvel Taluk, P. 65-66. Similar obligations are found in MM, V. 2 65 -1, P.61; V. 98-II, Chilaraaruru kaifiyat, P. 43, 44, 109. Cow is a sacred animal to the Hindus. Varanasi is religiously considered to be the roost important place of pilgrimage by the Hindus. Brahmans are respected a lot since they perform all the religious activities for the Hindus. So doing anything against a cow or a Brahmim, that too in Varanasi, is considered to be a big sin by any Hindu. This must have been the reason for the Hindu rulers during the medieval period to pass such statements as social codes to be observed by the people. It might have been thought that observing such religious norms would reduce irresponsibility among the people in community work.

MM, V. 12, Hanumadgundam Village Kaifiyat, P.68 - 73.


26. IAP, Cuddapah District, Part III, 239.

27. SII, IX, Part I, 21; Also in Andhra Pradesh Archaeological Series, 3, P.47; Hyderabad Archaeological Series. 18, P.44-46. Bittuvata or Bhattavarti was basically an assignment of revenue or lands granted to Brahmins at a low rent, or rent-free, for their subsistence; the lands in such cases being mostly held in severalty. The term sometimes designates a village, the lands of which are permanently distributed among hereditary shares. In the present context it simply refers to the free gift of land for the upkeep of a tank.


29. SIX, XX, 116.

30. IAP, Cuddapah District, Part-Ill, 61.

31. SII, III. 99.

32. SII., XIV, 231; XIII, 173A.

33. SII, XVIII, 65, 111.

34. SII, XV, 57.

35. MM, V.106, Avudur Kaifiyat, Chintakunta Taluk, P.305 - 308, 319 - 320; V.118, Toollamadugu Kaifiyat, P.179-191; V.136, Podathurthi Kaifiyat, P.40; V. 142, Pedavenuthurla Kaifiyat, P. 5; V. 142, Yerragudigramam Kaifiyat, P.42; V.145, Chitvel Kaifiyat, P.51 - 79.

36. MM, V.106, Nandimandalam Kaifiyat, Chintakunta Taluk, P.141 - 146. The reference point is sometime between 1796 and 1806.

37. Chittoor RDs, 3 March 1917, No.98.

38. Dasabandam inams did find their place in the Kaifiyats of the Mackenzie Manuscripts. They record not only the grant of Dasabandam inams but also resumption of some of these inams wherever the Dasabandamdars were not properly carrying out their repairs.


40. MM, V.138, Sunkesula Kaifiyat, P.82.
Violation of the obligation of maintaining the source in good repair would amount to killing a cow in the city of Kasi (Varanasi). Though it was a period of Muslim rule, the social code and the popular belief system was not interfered with by the rulers.
58. Revenue, 17 July 1879, No.1489.
59. Revenue, 19 March 1880, No.342.
60. Revenue, 18 November 1904, No. 1285.
62. Revenue, 21 June 1913, No. 1842 (Misc.)
63. Revenue, 4 January 1933, No.24.
64. Revenue, 9 September 1919, No.2100.
65. PWD(I). 10 September 1892, No.772.
67. For details of the rules made by the government see Annexure 4.1.
68. Some of these petitions are found in Land Revenue (Misc.). 19 Jan. 1891, No.436; Land Revenue (Misc.). 15 June 1893, No. 3560; Land Revenue. 18 March 1911, No.1133; Land Revenue. 19 June 1911, No.2346.
70. Standing Orders of the Board of Revenue (Land Revenue, Settlement and Miscellaneous) Revised upto 30 September 1930. Madras, 1931, P.414.
Kurnool RDs. No.3423, 5-8-1929, 124, 19-6-1907, 313, 29-9-1917; Anantapur RDs. No. 845/20-A-10, 3-9-1921, 2474/40, 3-2-1942; The details of the enjoyers of the Dasabandam Inams are found in Appendices III & IV.

Cuddapah RDs. No 168, 24-3-1908; 323, 29-6-1909; 185, 16-5-1914; 127, 27-3-1714; Chittoor RDs. No. 9984, 20-1-1928, 219, 29-1-1928, 7042, 12-12-1926.

Anantapur RDs. No.2230, 17-11-1925, 2672, 30-4-1930, Chittoor RDs. No.4186, 8-6-1920.

Kurnool RDs. No. 1134, 5-3-1895; North Arcot RPs, No.4812, 24-9-1894.

Kurnool RDs. No. 4022, 15-11-1896.

Cuddapah RDs. No. 579, 14-7-1905.
It is quite possible that when the SDI was conceived, the inamdar himself was responsible for the collection of the revenue and transferred the same after retaining his Shamilat share. The new tenurial system with the revenue collecting bureaucracy made matters very cumbersome.

A detailed discussion on the various aspects of these institutions is found in E.Walter J. Coward's Irrigation and Agricultural Development in Asia: Perspectives from the Social Sciences. Cornell, 1980.


98. Appadorai, Economic Conditions, p.228.


100. Mahalingam, Economic Life, p.57; Kanduga means a field of corn and kattukodage, a large channel for irrigating the land and supplying reservoirs, according to Wilson's Glossary.

101. Letter from Thomas Munro, to the Collectors of Harpanhally and Cumbum, CDR. V.648, p.170.

102. Letter from Thomas Munro, to the Collectors of Harpanhally and Cumbum, CDR, V.648, p.172-173.

103. PBR, 26 Nov. 1917, No.279, P.1.

104. Extract from a Letter of Colonel Munro to the Private Secretary to the Governor, dated 20 June 1806, PBR, 17 July 1856, V.2538, No.62, P.12917.


Extracted from the aims and objectives of different Irrigation Panchayats in the region under study.


Nirmal Sengupta's study reveals the existence of similar kind of institutional framework in some areas of the Anantapur district even today though with little variation. Neither the caste nor the village panchayat presides over irrigation tasks as there is a specific irrigation organisation for that. Each main distributary is under the supervision of a leader locally called Penna Pedda. For actual works, there are water distributors called Neeru Kattudar. The Penna Peddas must not be confused with the water distributors. The Neeru Kattudars are paid in kind by the farmers. The Penna Peddas do not receive any compensation and hold their position in an honorary capacity. Nirmal Sengupta, Managing Common Property: Irrigation in India and the Philippines, New Delhi, 1991, p.118.
RULES MADE BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT UNDER THE CROWN, REGARDING
THE REPAIR AND MAINTENANCE OF DASABANDAM WORKS:

1. In as much as dasabandam inams were originally granted to encourage the construction of irrigation works in districts ill-supplied with means of irrigation (and the amounts of the inams were presumably calculated on the assumed capital 'cost and annual cost of maintenance), the dasabandamdars should be required to maintain the works in a due state of repair.

2. When a dasabandam irrigation work is reported to be in a bad state of repair and the restoration involves the construction or re-construction of sluices and surplus escapes, the Collector, or, in the case of works included in the list of minor works in charge of the PWD, the Executive Engineer, shall cause an estimate to be prepared for the thorough repair of the work.

3. The cost of restoration of a dasabandam irrigation work, as provided in rule 2, shall be divided so far as it relates to the construction, or re-construction of sluices and surplus escapes, between government and the dasabandam inamdars in proportion to the interest each has in the work, this interest being determined by the ratio of the value of the inams to the average annual collection of revenue during the previous five years, but the inamdars should be first asked to give their consent to the execution of the necessary works, the cost of ordinary repairs included in the estimate being met wholly by the inamdars. If they refuse to consent, or, having consented, subsequently fail to pay their share of the cost, the inam will be resumed.
4. When a dasabandam irrigation work is reported to be in need of ordinary repairs, which do not involve the construction of any masonry work, the Collector shall call upon the dasabandam Inamdars to execute the repairs necessary to bring the work up to the standard of efficiency ordinarily considered necessary in the case of ordinary government irrigation works and shall fix a reasonable time within which the repairs shall be carried out, failing which the inam should be fully assessed.

5. The restoration of dasabandam irrigation works, as provided for in rule 2, shall be carried out by the PWD, or by the establishment under collectors, the actual execution of the work being entrusted to the dasabandara Inamdars. If they fail to execute the work in a satisfactory manner, the inam may be fully assessed.

6. In the case of dasabandam irrigation works, a fixed charge of 16.5 per cent on "works" outlay - 12 percent for establishment, 1 percent for audit and account establishment, 2.5 percent for pensionary charges - should be levied, where the cost amounts to Rs.1000 or over. Percentage charges should also be levied on such works costing less than Rs.1000 unless the levy is specifically remitted by the State government.

Source: Kurnool RDs, No.49, 2 April 1900; G.O.No 154, PWD(I), 10 Feb. 1900, PBR (Rev. Sett., L.Rds, and Agri.), No. 103, 12 March 1900; For rule 6, Standing Orders of the Board of Revenue (LR. Sett., & Misc.), Vol.11, Madras, 1958, P.77.
## Statement Showing the Khandam Dasabandam Inam Lands Transferred To Circar at the Resettlement in the Several Villages of the Chittoor Taluk of Chittoor District (1916)

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<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Village</th>
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<td>Kothakota</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Kothakota</td>
<td>Palepalle Papireddi Bhavi</td>
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<td>Dasabandam Niru Katta Raraigani Bhavi</td>
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<td>Peddavandla Bhavi</td>
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Note: The remaining villages contain no cases
Source: Chittoor RDs. No. 98, 3-3-1917.