

# Internal Structure of *Qasbā* (Town) in the Marāṭhā Kingdom with Special Reference to *Qasbā* Indāpūr in Pune Suba (District)\*

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The study of British colonial rule has been a primary focus of Indian historiography for a long time. However, studies that justified the process of colonization in India tended to present the eighteenth century as a 'Dark Age' marked by political chaos and economic decline (Alavi 2002b: 5). Opposing this view, the following two edited collections of essays, P.J. Marshall (ed.), *The Eighteenth Century in Indian History: Evolution or Revolution?*, and Seema Alavi (ed.), *The Eighteenth Century in India*, both published at the beginning of this century, prompted the reconsideration of the eighteenth-century Indian history (Marshall 2005a; Alavi 2002a).

The so-called 'eighteenth-century problem' began with the collapse of the administration of the Mughal Empire after the death of Aurangzeb (A.D. 1707). In the eighteenth century, local chiefs called *zamīndār* were more closely connected to the local administration than ever before (Ali 2005: 95). The Mughal governors, such as Nizam, or new political units like the Marāṭhās, made compromises with *zamīndār*s. The tax farming, which united merchants and agrarian interests, resulted in the emergence of a new class of intermediaries. They derived their power from a variety of portfolios in the eighteenth century (Alavi 2002b: 12), leading Sanjay Subrahmanyam and C.A. Bayly to call them 'portfolio capitalists'. They were great merchants who came from the merchant caste (Subrahmanyam and Bayly 1990: 256). Frank Perlin argued that the collapse of the Mughal system, essentially the decentralization of the state power that occurred in the eighteenth century, led to the economic development in rural areas

\*I acknowledge the financial support from FY 2013 Grant-in-Aid for Research Activity Start-up of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS). A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the twenty-fifth annual session of the Japanese Association for South Asian Studies in 2012. I am grateful for the constructive comments there.

like villages and local towns (Perlin 2005: 54-5). In the same context, P.J. Marshall explained the economic development in the early eighteenth century by indicating the proliferation of market towns (*qasbās*) in rural areas (Marshall 2005b: 15). C.A. Bayly, on the other hand, argued that the economic transition under the British colonization process in north India in the late eighteenth century was marked by the decline in the number of *qasbās* (Bayly 1983: 113). As these studies showed, it is impossible to ignore the importance of *qasbā* in the economic history of eighteenth-century India.

The essays collected in Banga (ed.), *The City in Indian History*, are noteworthy for the study of *qasbā* itself, which was not undertaken in the previously mentioned works. In this book, Satish Chandra provided a general history of *qasbās*. In another work, he examined the relationship between *qasbā* and countryside, mainly from the agricultural viewpoint (Chandra 2008: 95-6). T.T. Mahajan's study of the Marāṭhā administration covered some parts of the administration of *qasbās* (Mahajan 1990: 188-216). G.D. Sharma investigated the financial transactions performed in *qasbās*, and pointed out the importance of bankers in those spaces (Sharma 2005: 110). These works generalized the characteristic of *qasbās* from examples of different towns in medieval India, but did not explore aspects of *qasbās* themselves, including their internal structure. In the 'eighteenth-century problem' *qasbā* was a minimal unit to explain the economic development. So only the number of *qasbās* was focused on, not a *qasbā* itself. Some essays in *The City in Indian History* tried to make clear the structure of *qasbās* examining the relations between *qasbās* and outer areas. These studies examined *qasbās* from the outside only. But it is impossible to see the whole of the Indian economy in the eighteenth century without finding out the characteristics or the internal structure of a *qasbā*, which was a minimal unit. More precisely, the above-mentioned previous works did not discuss land use in a *qasbā*, the industrial structure of a *qasbā*, the administrative structure of a *qasbā*, the system of tax collection in a *qasbā*, the roles of artisans, merchants, village officers and religious institutes in a *qasbā*, which are essential points to study the socio-economic status of a *qasbā* itself, were not discussed in the previous works. In order to make the above points clear, this paper focuses on the internal structure of a *qasbā*.

In this regard, Sumitra Kulkarni studied the internal structure of *qasbās* in eighteenth-century western Maharashtra (Kulkarni 2008), while A.R. Kulkarni examined the history of Qasbā Indāpūr in Pune district, basing on the records of the early British period (Kulkarni 2008d). These works are particularly suggestive for the present research.

To clearly understand the character of *qasbās*, which occupy a very important position in the economic history of India, the present paper tries to make clear the internal structure of *qasbās* in the Marāṭhā kingdom.

The historical study of the Marāṭhās, which was the largest polity in the eighteenth century, has an advantage over that of other areas in the abundance of its primary sources. Exceptionally large quantity of unpublished Marathi documents written in *modi* or medieval scripts are preserved in the Maharashtra State Archives in Pune. These documents provide the most detailed information about *qasbās*, as was shown by the works of Sumitra Kulkarni and A.R. Kulkarni.

Before exploring the internal structure of *qasbās* in the Marāṭhā kingdom, however, the definition of *qasbā* has to be clarified. The word *qasbā* is derived from an Arabic word, *qasabat*, which means 'capital, town, large village' (Steingas 1884: 839). According to Wilson's *Glossary*, this word means 'a small town, or large village, the chief or market town of a district' (Wilson 1997: 266). Molesworth's *Marathi Dictionary* defines this word as 'the chief town of *mahal* or *parganā*' (Molesworth 2005: 145). Steingas' *Arabic Dictionary* and Wilson's *Glossary* show that *qasbā* was both a large village and town. Previous works remarked that agricultural activity was the major industry of *qasbā* as well as village (Misra 2005: 2; Kulkarni 2008: 46). In this sense, *qasbā* was regarded as something like 'an extension of the village' (Misra 2005: 2), or 'an overgrown village' (Sarkar 1987: 219).

In addition, Molesworth's *Marathi Dictionary* describes *qasbā* as the centre of a *parganā*. *Parganā*, which is a Persian term meaning district or region, was a group of 50 to 200 villages in medieval Deccan (Fukazawa 1991: 6). It was a local administrative unit under the Marāṭhās. In the seventeenth century, *parganā* in western Maharashtra was known by the name of the largest village within the *parganā*, and this village served as the administrative headquarters of the *parganā*. Such a large village was called *qasbā* (Kulkarni 2008: 14). In this context, *parganā* was closely connected to *qasbā*.

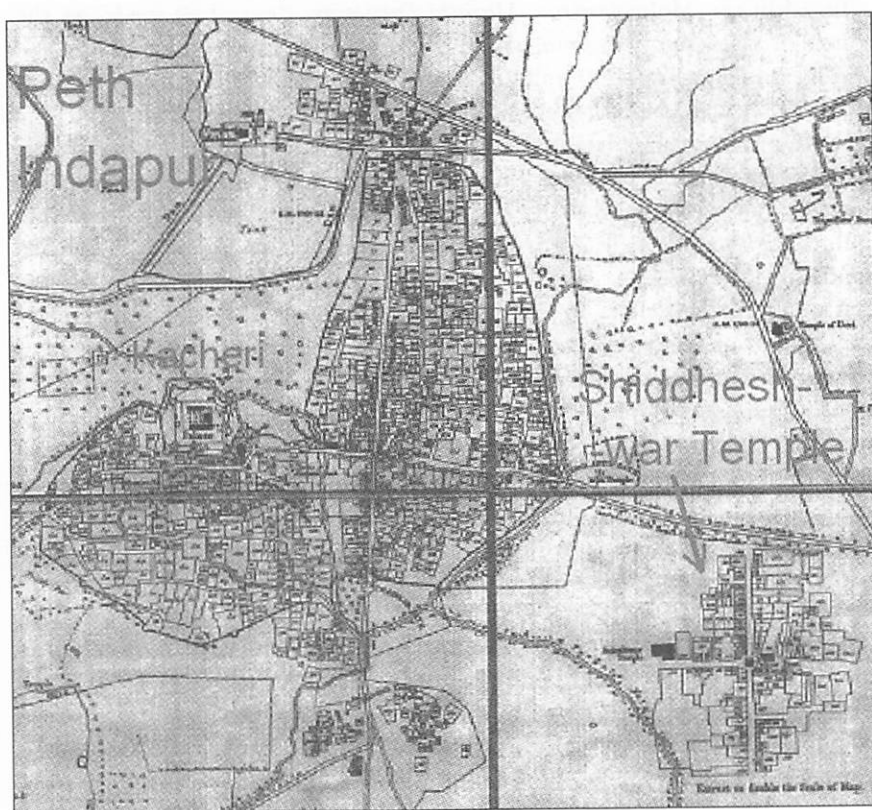
Among the *parganās* in the Marāṭhā kingdom, Indāpūr Parganā in Pune Suba, or District, was politically important because it belonged to Shivaji Bhonsle, the founder of the Marāṭhā kingdom. After Shivaji, the chief (*deshmukh*) of this *parganā* continued to be either the Marāṭhā kings or other descendants of Shivaji. Therefore, many documents pertaining to this *parganā* are kept in the Pune Archives. Indāpūr Parganā had Qasbā Indāpūr as its headquarters. Qasbā Indāpūr, which appeared as a village with a fort in the last years of the Bahmani dynasty (Chambell 1885: Part 3, 132), enhanced its administrative importance in the Marāṭhā period.

In the original documents, the phrase 'Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr' was used quite often. *Peṭh* means market or bazaar (Wilson 1997: 415). Peṭh Indāpūr was located in Qasbā Indāpūr and demarcated as a limited area (see Figure 1) from Qasbā Indāpūr by a streamlet (Kulkarni 2008c: 182). Among the collection of documents related to Qasbā Indāpūr, one *rumāl*

(Puṇe Jamāv, Rumāl no. 716) was separately formed to include exclusively the documents pertaining to Peṭh Indāpūr. According to the documents in this *rumāl*, the settlement of various taxes of Peṭh Indāpūr was made independently from that of Qasbā Indāpūr. Thus, Peṭh Indāpūr was geographically and administratively an independent area, and the remaining area was called Qasbā Indāpūr. Neither A.R. Kulkarni nor Sumitra Kulkarni paid attention to this distinction although it is very important for the study of the internal structure of Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr. Therefore, this paper focuses on the differences between Peṭh Indāpūr and Qasbā Indāpūr in order to explore the internal structure of Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr in more detail. While A.R. Kulkarni studied Qasbā Indāpūr in the early British period only (Kulkarni 2004d), this paper deals with the late Marāṭhā period (1761-1818), which many of the original documents cover.

The present study considers the relationship between Qasbā Indāpūr and Peṭh Indāpūr under the Marāṭhās (A.D. 1761-1818), and then tries to clarify the nature of *qasbā* in general. First, it is examined how different Qasbā Indāpūr and Peṭh Indāpūr were. The second question is how both

FIG. 1. PEṬH INDĀPŪR AND SHIDDHESHVAR TEMPLE<sup>1</sup>



areas were connected to each other. The fiscal account of the revenue of Qasbā Indāpūr, that was the most informative source on Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr, is used to explore the structure of Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr. The Marāṭhā kings were not only the chief (*deshmukh*) of Indāpūr Pargaṇā but the village-headman (*pāṭīl*) of Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr. Administratively he was expected to connect Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr. Accordingly the rights and duties of *Pāṭīl* are also studied in this work. This approach will lead to the analysis of the relationship between Qasbā Indāpūr and Peṭh Indāpūr from another viewpoint.

## 2. INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF QASBĀ AND PEṬH INDĀPŪR

The fiscal accounts of Qasbā Indāpūr and those of Peṭh Indāpūr were prepared separately in the Marāṭhā period. Following this arrangement, the structures of Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr will be considered separately here.

### 2-1. REVENUE

#### 2-1-1. QASBĀ INDĀPŪR

##### 2-1-1-1. Land Revenue

In the accounts of Qasbā Indāpūr, the land revenue was recorded as the main revenue item. The total registered land in Qasbā Indāpūr amounted to around 185 *chāwar*,<sup>2</sup> but was actually only 115 *chāwar* in the Marāṭhā period.<sup>3</sup> However, the following various lands on which the land tax was levied were included in this account.

##### 2-1-1-1-1. Inām Land

*Inām* means a gift, especially a grant of land to be held rent-free. There were two types of *inām* land under the Marāṭhās. One type was *sanadī inām* land (*inām* land granted by the state). In granting this type of *inām* land, a deed called *sanad* was issued by the Marāṭhā king or the *peshwa* (the prime minister of the Marāṭhā kingdom). The other type of *inām* was *gāvnisbatī inām* land (*inām* land granted by the village). *Gāvnisbatī* is a compound word made up of village (*gāv*) and charge (*nisbat*). Arrangement of this *inām* land was entrusted to the village. It was granted to local officers such as the *pāṭīl*, village-accountant (*kulkarnī*), chief of the *pargaṇā* (*deshmukh*), and accountant of the *pargaṇā* (*deshpāṇḍe*). The *inām* land that was granted to Mahārs (untouchables) for their services was included in *gāvnisbatī inām* land.<sup>4</sup>

According to the account of Qasbā Indāpūr in A.D. 1810, the total area

of *sanadī inām* land amounted to 26 *chāwar* 11 *bighā* 10 *pāṇ*. This total area did not change in the late Marāṭhā period.<sup>5</sup> The *sanadī inām* lands were granted to thirty-three individuals, who belonged to various social groups, including the Brahmans and Muslims. The details of *gāvnisbatī inām* land, except *inām* lands given to local officers and *Mahārs*, were recorded neither in the accounts nor in the lists of land in Qasbā Indāpūr. Except for grants to local officers and *Mahārs*, who served for the government in various ways, the arrangement of *gāvnisbatī inām* was not reported to the government.

### 2-1-1-2. Uncultivable Land

Next to *inām* land, came the waste land, which was entitled as *tuṭrān*. *Tuṭrān* consisted of the common pasture (*gāyṛān*), boundary land (*shīmā*),<sup>6</sup> small tank (*taḷī*), and residential land (*vastī*). Peṭh Indāpūr was included under the last heading. The total area of Peṭh Indāpūr amounted to 1 *chāwar* and 60 *bighā*. Peṭh Indāpūr was thus the residential area without agricultural land.

After deducting these lands, there remained land available for cultivation. This cultivable land was called *lāgavaṇ* land. Under the Marāṭhās, *pāṭīl* yearly conducted the eye-survey of village land, which was called *nazar-pahānī*, and deducted *paḍit* (uncultivated or fallow land) from the total *lāgavaṇ* land. The remaining area was the land that was actually under cultivation, which was called *lāvṇī*. According to the accounts of the 1810s, for example, the total area of cultivable land in Qasbā Indāpūr, which amounted to 116 *chāwar*, 60 *bighā*, and 10 *pāṇḍ*, remained unchanged in the 1810s while the area of *paḍit* land as well as *lāvṇī* land fluctuated every year, with their total area remaining unchanged.<sup>7</sup> Like the total area of cultivable land, the size of the *tuṭrān* land remained unchanged in the 1810s. Most likely, the uncultivable land was not included in the area, over which *pāṭīl* conducted the eye-survey. On the other, *kurān* (meadow) was included in the category of cultivable land. It means the meadow was subject to the eye-survey of *pāṭīl*.

### 2-1-1-3. Cultivated Land

The actually cultivated land (*lāvṇī*) consisted of the garden land (*bāgāit*) and dry land (*jīrāit*). In the accounts of Qasbā Indāpūr, the land under the heading of the well land (*bhudkī*) was entered as a sub-category of *bāgāit*.<sup>8</sup> This term probably denoted the land irrigated by well water. According to Sumitra Kulkarni, *bāgāit* was subdivided into *moṭasthal*, or the land irrigated by well water, and *paṭasthal*, the land irrigated by canal water (Kulkarni 2008: 23). Thus it seems that *bāgāit* land, except *bhudkī* land or the land irrigated by well water, was watered by a canal, though

neither the term *moṭasthal* nor *paṭasthal* were used in the accounts of Qasbā Indāpūr.

The following descriptions were quoted from the report called *kaifiyat*, which the *pāṭīl* of Qasbā Indāpūr submitted to the British Government in 1824.<sup>9</sup> This *kaifiyat* reported the land settlement of Qasbā Indāpūr in the last phase of the Marāṭhā period in the following manner:

*Bāgāit*: [The area of *bāgāit*] amounted to 101 *bighā* 10 *pāṇḍ*. [I<sup>10</sup> was to collect twelve *rupees* [of land tax] per *bighā* according to the assessment. Checking water conditions and maturity of crops including fruit trees, however, [I] collected seven *rupees* per annum from some persons and eight *rupees* from others. When [many cultivators] died because of wars, disputes, or hard work, Bajirao [II, who was the last prime minister (*peshwa*) of the Marāṭhā kingdom] gave [me] the official deed (*haul*) of the reduction of the land tax in 1807. Since that day till the end of 1818, [I collected] six *rupee* per *bighā* and then paid it to the Government....

*Bhudkī*: [The area of *bhudkī*] amounted to 32 *bighā*. The land tax of *bhudkī* land was assessed at the rate of five *rupees* per *bighā*. [This year,] water remained only a little in the wells. So water came to some lands, which got wet. Other lands did not get water. Checking the maturity of crops, therefore, [I] collected two and a half *rupees* per annum from some cultivators and three *rupees* from others.... [The area of *bhudkī*] amounted to 185 *bighā* [at another place]. The land tax on this land was at the rate of two *rupees* per annum before....

*Jirāit*: *Jirāit* was not concentrated in one place. Seeing the conditions of the land, the land tax was assessed at the rate of six *anna*, eight *anna*, twelve *anna*, or fourteen *anna* per *bighā* per annum. And seeing crops, water, and sugarcane in poor condition, [I] reduced [the land tax], and then collected it. Twenty families of cultivators remained [in Qasbā Indāpūr]....

The word '*bāgāit*' in the first passage seems to mean the land irrigated by canal water, because the land irrigated by well water was described in the second passage. The land tax levied on the land irrigated by canal water was higher than that of the land irrigated by well water. According to the second passage, at least two sorts of land irrigated by well water existed in Qasbā Indāpūr. In one sort of land, the land tax was different in accordance with the conditions of water storage. *Jirāit* was scattered all over Qasbā Indāpūr. This description of *jirāit* implies the irrigated land was concentrated in one or two places in Qasbā Indāpūr. The limited water resources there must have caused this arrangement of the irrigated land. Irrespective of the category of land, the land tax actually collected by *pāṭīl* was less than that of the assessment because of the deteriorated situation of Indāpūr Pargaṇā in these years. According to the last part of the first and third passages, the assessment of the land irrigated by canal water was greatly reduced because of the two disasters of 1802-3 and the settlement of 1807.<sup>11</sup>

Table 1 shows the total area of cultivated land (*lāvṇī*) and the realized amount of land tax in the Marāṭhā period.

TABLE 1. TOTAL AREA OF CULTIVATED LAND AND ITS REVENUE IN QASBĀ INDĀPŪR

Year	Land ( <i>chāwar-bighā-pāṇḍ</i> )		Total	Revenue (Rupee- Anna-Paisa)		Total	Rumāl
	Garden Land ( <i>Bāgāit</i> )	Dry Land ( <i>ġirāit</i> )		Garden Land	Dry Land		
1771	1-91-12.5	85-105	87-76-12.5	1332-13	8406-3	9739	P.J.705
1782			88-87				P.J.707
1786			88-87				P.J.708
1787						10953-12	P.J.708
1788			88-87				P.J.709
1788			88-33-5				P.J.709
1789						10982-4	P.J.709
1794			80-37				P.J.710
1795			83-117-3.75				P.J.710
1795						10179-7	P.J.710
1809						1017-5	P.J.711
1810						1352-4	P.J.712
1810	2-80-10	31-113	34-73-10	566	738	1304	P.J.712
1814	2-87	69-36-15	72-3-15	781-4	2612-6	3393-10	P.J.712
1815	2-88-5	73-44-5	76-12-10	1126	3192-8	5258-8	P.J.712
1816			75-114				P.J.713
1816			74-102				P.J.713
1818	3-5-10	71-66-10	74-72	906-8	3946-6-6	4852-14-6	P.J.712
Inam	0-26-10	25-105	26-11-10	265	1552-8	1817-8	P.J.712

Unfortunately, the available data in Puṇe Jamāv are not enough to show the continuous changes in the area of cultivated land and its revenue throughout the Marāṭhā period. Its total area was probably around 88 *chāwar* in the 1780s. The data imply that its area slightly decreased in the 1790s. Then, its area and revenue were greatly reduced in the 1800s because of the two disasters of 1802 and 1803. In the 1810s, the area of cultivated land returned to around 70 *chāwar*, and the revenue also seems to have recovered from the disasters. As to the category of the land, most of the cultivated land in Qasbā Indāpūr was *ġirāit*. Judging from the above quotations and Table 1, *bāgāit* was concentrated in the limited place over which water could be supplied, while *ġirāit* was scattered all over Qasbā Indāpūr.

#### 2-1-1-2. Other Taxes

In the accounts of Qasbā Indāpūr, the headings of taxes other than the land tax varied from year to year. Among other taxes, only *balute* and *mohtarfa* were collected almost every year and were almost equal to the



total amount of all other taxes combined. *Balute* means 'a share of the corn and garden-produce assigned for the subsistence of the twelve public servants of a village' (Molesworth 1989: 567). The village in the Marāṭhā country used to have twelve servants, called *bārā-balutedār*. According to Grant Duff, *bārā-balutedārs* included carpenter (*sutār*), blacksmith (*lohār*), shoemaker (*chambhār*), mahār, māng,<sup>12</sup> potter (*kumbhār*), barber (*nhāvī*), washerman (*paṛī*), village temple priest (*gurav*), village astrologer (*joshī*), goldsmith (*sonar*), and Muslim jurist (*mulānā*) (Duff 1864: 23). As a reward for their services, they enjoyed *balute*, namely a share of grain, *inām* land, or *hak* (rights and perquisites), or some combination of these (Kulkarni 2008a: 1). The government levied a tax on the profession of *bārā-balutedārs*. This tax was also called *balute*.

*Mohtarfa* means 'a tax or taxes levied on trades and professions, on the artificers of a village or their implements' (Wilson 1997: 350). In short, this tax could be levied not only on merchants but also on artisans excepting *bārā-balutedārs*.

In the lists of taxpayers of these two taxes, the names of payers of *balute* and *mohtarfa* were entered together. It is thus not clear who paid which tax in the lists. According to the lists, carpenters, potters, barbers, goldsmiths, washermen, *gujārs*,<sup>13</sup> weavers (*koshtī*), oilmen (*telī*), butchers (*kasab*), shepherds (*dhanagar*), grocers or traders (*wānā*), tailors (*shimpī*), carriers and tanners (*dhor*), braziers (*kasar*), Muslim retailers of vegetables (*bagwan*), and betel leaf gardeners (*tirgūl*), all of them paid either *balute* or *mohtarfa*.

In the accounts of Qasbā Indāpūr, *balute* and *mohtarfa* were recorded separately. Carpenters, goldsmiths, shoemakers, washermen, potters, and barbers paid *balute*. All of them were included in the previous list of *bārā-balutedār*. In another type of list of taxpayers in Qasbā Indāpūr (1768) as well, the names of these six artisans were entered under the heading of *balute*.<sup>14</sup> In the account of 1771,<sup>15</sup> the total of this tax amounted to Rs. 318 (Table 2).

TABLE 2. BALUTE PAID IN QASBĀ INDĀPŪR (1771)

1771	Carpenter	Goldsmith	Shoemaker	Washer- man	Potter	Barber	Total
Rs.	30	33	90	75	40	80	348

Sources: Talēband or Jamābandī Kasbā Indāpūr, Shuhūr 1171, PJ, Rumāl no. 705, MSAP.

Table 3 shows the amounts of *balute* paid in Qasbā Indāpūr in 1814 and 1815.<sup>16</sup>

Unfortunately, it is impossible to clarify the fluctuation in the amount of *balute* paid because of a lack of information. However, the above tables

TABLE 3. *BALUTE* PAID IN QASBĀ INDĀPŪR (1814-15)

1814	Carpenter	Goldsmith	Shoemaker	Washer- man	Potter	Barber	Total
Rs.	29-8	6	90	49	39	48-12	262-35
1815	Carpenter	Goldsmith	Shoemaker	Washer- man	Potter	Barber	Total
Rs.	6-12	n/a	87	48-5-6	30-14-3	15-8	188-8-6

Sources: Ākār Kasbe Indāpūr, Fuslī 1223, 1224, PJ, Rumāl no. 712, MSAP.

show that the amount of *balute* varied from one *balutedār* to another. These tables show that not all the *balutedārs* listed by Grant Duff paid *balute*. First, Mahārs certainly lived in Qasbā Indāpūr because *inām* land was granted to them; but *balute* was not levied on them. There is a high possibility that *balute* was levied only on the actual artisans amongst *bārā-balutedārs*. This implies that *bārā-balutedārs* could be subdivided into two types according to their roles in Qasbā Indāpūr.

The accounts of Qasbā Indāpūr do not clearly indicate who paid *mohtarfa*. However, *mohtarfa* in the accounts often fell into the sub-category of 'mohtarfa-shop' (*dukān*). This sub-category included *gujārs*, grocers or traders (*wānī*), and weavers. In the list of taxpayers in 1771, *gujārs* and weavers were recorded under the heading of grocers (*wānī*). It means that they had shops in Qasbā Indāpūr and were engaged in the trade there. *Mohtarfa* was levied on their commercial activity on the per-shop basis.

To sum up, in terms of the collection of *balute* and *mohtarfa*, artisans and traders in Qasbā Indāpūr can be divided into three categories. The first category is *bārā-balutedārs*. *Balute* being not levied on all the members of *bārā-balutedārs*, there is a possibility this group could be divided into actual artisans and others, including astrologers (*joshī*) and Mahārs, on whom the *balute* tax was not levied. The second category is artisans who did not belong to *bārā-balutedārs*. *Bārā-balutedārs* were permanent residents of a *qasbā*, and enjoyed various *haks* (rights and perquisites) (Kulkarni 2008a: 26-37; Fukazawa 1991a: 219). Therefore, a special tax (*balute*) was levied on them, while *mohtarfa* was levied on other ordinary artisans, who formed the second category. *Qasbā* functioned not only as the local market but also as the centre of handicrafts (Chandra 2005: 86). A market economy developed under the Marāṭhās because of the flourishing crafts (Mahajan 1989: 197). Accordingly, the artisan communities (*castes*) expanded. *Mohtarfa* was levied on such artisans who recently settled in the *Qasbā*. This is the difference between *balutedārs* and other artisans, and between *balute* and *mohtarfa*. The third category is traders who

consisted of *gujārs*, grocers or traders (*wānī*), and weavers (*koshtī*). They kept shops in Qasbā Indāpūr and were engaged in the commercial activity. *Mohtarfa* was levied on them on the per-shop basis.

*Baṭṭā* was the commission that was paid to money-changers (*shroff*). Various kinds of *rupees* that circulated in Qasbā Indāpūr were exchanged for one which was appropriate for paying taxes to the government treasury. A tax was collected in order to pay the commission to the *shroffs*. This tax was also called *baṭṭā* and was collected from long-standing families (*kularag*).

## 2-1-2. PEṬH INDĀPŪR

Unfortunately, detailed accounts of Peṭh Indāpūr are not available. However, some lists of taxpayers are useful for the present study. A tax was levied on each professional group in Peṭh Indāpūr, though the name of the tax was not clearly mentioned in every case. According to the lists, Peṭh Indāpūr was home to grocers (*bakāl*), money-changers, cloth-merchants (*bajāj*), goldsmiths, braziers, shepherds, weavers (who were subdivided into two sub-categories), Muslim retailers of vegetables (*bagwan*), betel leaf-sellers (*tambolī*), perfumers (*aṭār*), butchers (*khāṭik*), oilmen, gardeners (*mālī*), barbers, village temple priests, and washermen.<sup>17</sup> At least in 1784 and 1788, tailors (*darjī*) and *burkūl* (?) also lived there. The government levied a specific tax on their commercial activities.

Table 4 shows that the largest community in Peṭh Indāpūr was grocers. Names of *balutedārs* were only entered under the heading of 'miscellaneous'. Most communities of artisans in Peṭh Indāpūr, unlike *bārā-balutedārs* in surrounding villages including Qasbā Indāpūr, probably came to settle in Peṭh Indāpūr when the market economy began to develop under the Marāṭhās. Among these communities, the group of money-changers (*shroff*) is worthy of notice here, even though their number was small. They worked as not only money-changers but as bankers in medieval India (Haider 2002: 63). The *baṭṭā* tax was recorded in the accounts of not only Qasbā Indāpūr but also Indāpūr Pargaṇā itself. As seen above, the main office of Indāpūr Pargaṇā was located in Peṭh Indāpūr. Therefore, the banking activity of money-changers served for the economy and the administration of Indāpūr Pargaṇā as well as Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr. Peṭh Indāpūr, where the group of money-changers worked, was the financial centre of this *pargaṇā*.

While in Qasbā Indāpūr, the land tax was the largest revenue, and *balute* and *mohtarfa* were next in the order of importance, in Peṭh Indāpūr, the land tax was not levied, *mohtarfa* and *balute* being the chief taxes. This indicates the difference in the industrial structure of Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr. As mentioned before, Qasbā was a village and agriculture was its main industry. Judging from the size of Qasbā Indāpūr in relation to

TABLE 4. THE NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS IN PEṬH INDĀPŪR

Tax-payers	1784	1788	1811	1814	1816	1818
Grocer	81	80	41	42	46	46
Money Changer	10	10	10	8	9	9
Cloth Merchant	24	26	9	13	17	21
Goldsmith	18	19	6	7	11	11
Brazier	19	20	3	4	5	5
Seti <i>Burkūl</i> *	4	3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
<i>Burkūl</i> *	18	16	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Shepherd	5	5	17	15	13	12
Weavers ( <i>Balgade Koshtī</i> )†	6	6	11	15	18	18
Weavers ( <i>Kande Koshtī</i> )†	6	6				
Muslim Retailers of Veg.	7	9	4	4	4	4
Miscellaneous	10	10	7	7	9	11
Betel Leaf Seller	3	4	4	7	7	6
Perfumer	2	3	2			
Tailor	23	24	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Butcher	11	9	8	8	7	7
Oilman	22	23	5	8	9	10
Gardener	12	14	13	13	13	12
Day Labourer	44	64	6	11	24	48

Notes: \* The meaning of *Burkūl* is not clear.

† The community (Caste) of weavers was sub-divided into *Balgade Koshtī* and *Kande Koshtī*.

Sources: Kuḷārag Jamā Peṭh Indāpūr, Shuhūr 1188, Yadi Wasul Baki Peṭh Indāpūr, Fuslī 1220, and Gāv Jhada Peṭh Indāpūr, Fuslī 1225, PJ, Rumāl no. 716, MSAP.

Indāpūr Pargaṇā, Qasbā Indāpūr was the largest village in the *pargaṇā*. On the other hand, Peṭh was a market area, in which various traders, artisans, and bankers resided and conducted their respective business there. Handicrafts-business, commerce, and banking were the main industries of Peṭh Indāpūr. This was the economic centre of Indāpūr Pargaṇā. Peṭh Indāpūr, whose area was only 1 *chāwar* and 60 *bighā*, was demarcated from Qasbā Indāpūr by a streamlet (Kulkarni 2008c: 182). This demarcation was characteristic to Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr (see Figure 1). It could not be found between Qasbā Indāpūr and another villages in Indāpūr Pargaṇā. In this sense, Qasbā Indāpūr was the extension of a village in Indāpūr Pargaṇā, while Peṭh Indāpūr was the urban area in Indāpūr Pargaṇā distinct from the other parts of this *pargaṇā*.

Interestingly, a few *gujārs*, who were registered under the heading of 'grocer' in the lists of tax-payers in Peṭh Indāpūr, held land and paid the land tax in Qasbā Indāpūr. For example, Mukūnd Seṭh Gujār held 30 *bighā* of *ṣrāit*, and employed two peasants to cultivate part of his land while cultivating the remaining area himself.<sup>18</sup> In this sense, Mukūnd

Seth Gujār was not an absentee landlord, unlike Gujārati merchants in the late-nineteenth century. *Gujārs* raised grain in Qasbā Indāpūr and sold them in their own shops in Peṭh Indāpūr as grocers. Landholders in other mercantile communities also kept shops in Peṭh Indāpūr. These landholders, including the *gujārs*, connected agriculture in Qasbā Indāpūr to commerce in Peṭh Indāpūr.

## 2-2. EXPENDITURE

### 2-2-1. QASBĀ INDĀPŪR

Continuous accounts of Qasbā Indāpūr in the late eighteenth century are not available. It is therefore impossible here to examine the changing expenditures of Qasbā Indāpūr in the late eighteenth century. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, much of the revenue from Qasbā Indāpūr was remitted to the central government.<sup>19</sup> This remittance was called *sarkār bharna*. Its amount corresponded to the revenue from Qasbā Indāpūr in the accounts of Indāpūr Pargaṇā. According to the accounts of Indāpūr Pargaṇā, the revenue was not only remitted to the government but used in the administration of this *pargaṇā*.

Part of the revenue was spent on religious purposes. *Dewasthān* was the expenditure spent to support a temple (Wilson 1997: 133). In Qasbā Indāpūr, *dewasthān* was used for the maintenance of Shiddheshwar Temple near Peṭh Indāpūr (see Figure 1) and the idol house of *khandobā*. *Dewasthān* was also used for various religious events such as *nawrātri* in Qasbā Indāpūr.<sup>20</sup> *Dharmadāy* was the endowment, grant of food, or lands or funds for a religious or charitable purpose (Wilson 1997: 137). In Qasbā Indāpūr, *dharmadāy* was annually granted to such personages as astrologers (*joshi*), religious mendicants (*gosāwī*), and *brahmans*. In addition, money was spent to reward astrologers at various festivals, such as *diwālī*, and Muslim judges (*qāzī*) for their speeches at a mosque. At the *dasarā* festival, part of the revenue from Qasbā Indāpūr was given to the government officer (*kamavisdār*) and hereditary district officers (*deshmukh* and *desh-pāṇḍe*), village-headman, and village-accountant as the substitute of presents (*bhent*) and goats (*bakrī*) that used to be offered to these officers on this occasion. Money was spent on a sesame candy (*tilgūl*) that was distributed at the *saṅkrānti* festival and for a Marathi traditional dance (*tamāshā*) at the *holī* festival. The village expenditures were not only used to celebrate these Hindu festivals but also spent for alms (*khairat*) to Muslims.<sup>21</sup> The revenue from Qasbā Indāpūr thus was partially returned to the local community for social and religious purposes.

In addition to religious payment, *haks* (rights and perquisites) were granted to the hereditary officers (*deshmukh* and *deshpāṇḍe*) of Indāpūr Pargaṇā and village officers (*pāṇḍil* and *kulkarnī*) of Qasbā Indāpūr. Part

of the revenue was paid, as salaries, to government officials of Indāpūr Pargaṇā (*darakdār*), such as the registrar (*jadnīs*), treasurer (*poṭnīs*), and record-keeper (*daftardār*). Their salaries consisted of the payment made to them by all the villages of Indāpūr Pargaṇā. Some money was spent for the maintenance of the record room (*daftar*) in Peṭh Indāpūr. In the accounts of Qasbā Indāpūr, the heading of 'papers of *kulkarnī*' was entered. This item was used not only for *kulkarnī*'s papers but for the administrative procedures of Qasbā Indāpūr. Four foot-soldiers (*pyāḍa*) were employed by the revenue of Qasbā Indāpūr as well. They lived in Qasbā Indāpūr and served in the revenue collection department.<sup>22</sup> Some expenditure items in Qasbā Indāpūr thus were used for the administration of Qasbā Indāpūr and Indāpūr Pargaṇā.

The accounts of Qasbā Indāpūr include the heading titled '*uchāpat kharch*'. *Uchāpat* means 'taking goods on credit'. Under this heading, money was paid to grocers or traders (*wānī*) and oilmen. In other words, the village-headman took goods on credit from *wānī* and oilmen, and then repaid later by the revenue of Qasbā Indāpūr. According to the accounts of Qasbā Indāpūr, money was paid back to *wānī* for the village-expenditures and sometimes for religious performances at Shiddheshwar Temple.<sup>23</sup> In this instance, the village-headman took money, not goods, on credit from *wānī* in order to make up the deficit. This indicates some *wānī*, especially *gujārs*, lent money for the administration of *qasbā* as money-lenders. According to the accounts, the village-headman took oil from oilmen on credit. Oil was used to light not only religious places such as Shiddheshwar Temple but also offices such as the record-room (*daftar*).<sup>24</sup> It was also used on the occasion of rituals in Hindu festivals. Producing oil was one of the major industries in Qasbā Indāpūr. Oil was bought from particular oilmen on credit.<sup>25</sup>

As mentioned before, the heading *baṭṭā* was included in the side of expenditure in Qasbā Indāpūr. The commission called *baṭṭā* was paid to money-changers when the exchange of rupees was administratively necessary. The payment of these two items, *uchāpat kharch* and *baṭṭā*, indicates that the administration of Qasbā Indāpūr was closely related to the industry and banking there.

## 2-2-2. PEṬH INDĀPŪR

From Peṭh Indāpūr as well, money was remitted to the central government in monthly instalments, called *sarkār bharna*. The money remitted to the government corresponded to the revenue from Peṭh Indāpūr recorded in the accounts of Indāpūr Pargaṇā. In these accounts, the *sarkār bharna* of Qasbā Indāpūr and Peṭh Indāpūr were entered separately.

In Peṭh Indāpūr also, money was used for *dewasthān* and *dharmadāy*. *Dewasthān* was used for Shiddheshwar Temple as well as for various

individuals such as religious mendicants (*gosāwī*).<sup>26</sup> *Dharmadāy* was given to such individuals as astrologers (*joshā*) and religious mendicants. Some persons were granted *dharmadāy* both in Qasbā Indāpūr and Peṭh Indāpūr.<sup>27</sup> Money was also spent for alms (*khairāt*) to Muslims, including Muslim judges (*qāzī*). As in Qasbā Indāpūr, money was given for sesame candy (*tilgūl*) distributed at the *saṅkrānti* festival and Marathi traditional dances (*tamāshā*) performed at the *holī* festival. Some of the revenue from Peṭh Indāpūr thus was also returned to the local community. However, money was not given to various hereditary officers such as *deshmukh*, but only to the government officer on the occasion of the *dasarā* festival.

*Haks* (rights and perquisites) were granted to the hereditary officers of Indāpūr Pargaṇā (*deshmukh* and *deshpāṇḍe*), village officers (*pāṭil* and *kulkarnī*), chiefs of a market (*shet*), and accountants of a market (*mahājan*). *Shet* oversaw the trade and commerce of a market and settled commercial disputes there (Kulkarni 2008c: 184; Mahājan 1990: 189). Money was paid to the government officials (*darakdārs*) also. In addition, the headings of ‘*daftar kharch*’ and ‘unwritten papers’ (*kore kagad*) were entered in the accounts of Peṭh Indāpūr. The former was used for the expenditure of record room, while the latter was used for the administrative procedures of Peṭh Indāpūr, in the same manner as the ‘papers of *kulkarnī*’ in Qasbā Indāpūr.<sup>28</sup> Part of the revenue of Peṭh Indāpūr thus was used for administrative purposes.

The expenditure item designated as *uchāpat kharch* was paid to *wānī* and oilmen in Peṭh Indāpūr as well. In 1788, for example, a *gujār* lent money for such expenses as *dewasthān* and *dharmadāy*.<sup>29</sup> He paid money to the individuals, to whom *dewasthān* or *dharmadāy* were granted, instead of *pāṭil*, and he was paid back later by *uchāpat kharch*. Therefore, *wānī*, including *gujārs*, were closely connected to the administration of Peṭh Indāpūr. In Peṭh Indāpūr, also, oil was used to light both religious places and administrative offices. Oil was bought from oilmen on credit and paid back to them by *uchāpat kharch*. *Baṭṭā* was paid to money-changers (*shroff*). The administration of Peṭh Indāpūr thus was closely related to the industry and the banking there.

There was no structural difference in the expenditures of Qasbā Indāpūr and Peṭh Indāpūr. The revenues of Qasbā and Peṭh were used not only for local administration but also for the Pargaṇā administration. The main office for Indāpūr Pargaṇā was located in Peṭh Indāpūr. Therefore, the administration of Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr was related to the administration of Indāpūr Pargaṇā. As well, the religious expenditure in Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr was sometimes spent for the same persons and Shiddheshwar Temple. This indicates Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr were closely connected to each other religiously. Taking *uchāpat kharch* and *baṭṭā* into consideration, it is clear that bankers and artisans played a very active role in the administration of Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr.

### 3. THE VILLAGE-HEADMAN OF QASBĀ AND PETH INDĀPŪR

In this section the duties and rights of the headman (*pāṭil*) of Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr will be examined. Under the Marāṭhās, his duties and rights named *pāṭilki watan* were inheritable. The Marāṭhā kings at Satara inherited *pāṭilki watan* of both Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr for generations. As the Marāṭhā kings did not live in Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr, the agents stationed there by the kings prepared the accounts of the *pāṭilki watan* in minute details and sent them to the kings.<sup>30</sup>

#### 3-1. REVENUE

*Pāṭil* of Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr held *inām* land in Qasbā Indāpūr. This land measured about 5 *chāwar* 22 *bighā* 10 *pāṇḍ* including 30 *bighā* of pasture land (*gāyṛān*). Its cultivable land consisted of 22 *bighā* 10 *pāṇḍ* of *bāgāit* and 4 *chāwar* 90 *bighā* of *ṣṛāit*. It is not clear from the accounts whether *bāgāit* was irrigated by well water or canal water. This *inām* land was included in the above-mentioned *gāvnisbati inām* of Qasbā Indāpūr.

*Pāṭil* had the right to collect *jowar* (a species of sorghum) from the peasants who held the cultivated land (*lāvṇi*) in Qasbā Indāpūr. This collection was called *ghugarī*. *Ghugarī* was collected at the rate of two *maṇ*<sup>31</sup> per *chāwar*. After preserving the grain for his official expenditure, which will be discussed later, *pāṭil* converted the remaining grain into money at the market of Peṭh Indāpūr. In the accounts of *pāṭilki watan*, the amount of *ghugarī* fluctuated according to the rate of the grain rather than the total area of the cultivated land. The village accountant also collected this item in Qasbā Indāpūr.

*Pāṭil* collected fodder at the rate of 200 bundles per *chāwar* from the cultivated land. After preserving the fodder for the *pāṭil*'s official expenditure, the *pāṭil* converted the remaining fodder into money.<sup>32</sup>

In addition to such agricultural products as grain and fodder, *pāṭil* collected various handicraft products from artisans of both in Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr. *Pāṭil* had the right to take one shawl (*pasodī*) from weavers (*koshṭi*) for every two looms.<sup>33</sup> Three or four looms belonged to the headman of the community (caste) of weavers, who was exempted from this collection. In case a loom was not used, this item was not imposed on the loom. Therefore, the number of collected shawls yearly fluctuated. In the accounts, the conversion into money of shawl was calculated at the rate of one to four rupees per piece of shawl after preserving the shawls for the *pāṭil*'s official use.<sup>34</sup> *Pāṭil* collected one woollen blanket (*ghogdī*) from the shepherds (*dhanagar*) for each loom. The looms of the headman of shepherds were exempted from this collection. In case a loom was not used, this item was not collected. In the accounts, the conversion into



money of blanket was calculated at zero to eight rupees per piece of blanket.<sup>35</sup> *Pāṭil* collected nine *ṭāṇk*<sup>36</sup> of oil (*tel*) from each oil-mill when it was necessary. The oil-mills of the headman of the community (caste) of oilmen (*teṭi*) and the oil-mills which did not work were exempted from this collection.<sup>37</sup> In the accounts, oil was converted into money after preserving the oil for the *pāṭil*'s official use.

In Peṭh Indāpūr, *pāṭil* received one betel nut per shop of *wānī* on a market day, and raw sugar (*gūḍ*) per shop of *wānī* on the occasion of *nāga panchami* festival and *holī* festival. *Pāṭil* collected two *ser* of iron per pair of pincers from ironsmiths (*lohār*) in Peṭh Indāpūr. In the accounts, it was converted into money at the rate of eight rupees per *maṇ*.<sup>38</sup> The *pāṭil* collected his perquisites of shawls, blankets, and oil in Qasbā Indāpūr as well as Peṭh Indāpūr. This suggests that these handicraft items were produced in Qasbā Indāpūr as well.

In Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr, *pāṭil* received a half shell of kernel of coconut on the occasion of marriage ceremonies of *shūdras*. In the accounts, this item was also converted into money, though the rate was not recorded. When a *shūdra*'s widow performed a second marriage, *pāṭil* collected 1.5 *ṭakā* (copper coin) from her. This collection was called *pāṭdām* (Molesworth 2005: 501). In the accounts, the collection was exchanged into *rupees*. The amount fluctuated according to the number of their marriages and the exchange rate between *ṭakā* and rupee. These collections were closely connected to social customs in Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr.

*Pāṭil* provided horses, bearers, and runners to convey the post and travellers at several spots along roads in Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr, and collected 1.5 *ṭakā* at each spot for this service.<sup>39</sup> Both this postal system and the collection therefrom were called *ḍāk*. In the accounts, *ṭakā* was converted into *rupee*. The amount fluctuated according to the number of postal spots and the exchange rate.

### 3-2. EXPENDITURE

*Pāṭil* gave some of the items he collected to another person. In Qasbā Indāpūr, he collected *jowar* (a species of sorghum) as *ghugarī* and used part of it for *dharmadāy* and the payment to his registrars (*jadnīs*). In the former case, grain was sent to five persons as *dharmadāy*. Among them, Udhav Bata Rāmdāshī and Rādhū Nhāvī, who performed a ritual in Shiddheshwar Temple, were granted *dharmadāy* by the *Pāṭil* Yadav Bapuji, and Sadashiv Yadav worked as registrar and received not only *jowar* but also two thousand bundles of fodder. In addition, the *pāṭil* gave two shawls as presents to his registrar and Rādhū Nhāvī who performed a ritual in Shiddheshwar Temple. Out of the oil collected by the *pāṭil*, 20 *ser* of oil

was given to Shiddheshwar Temple. It was used to light the temple in the Hindu month of Kārtik (October to November). Another 10 *ser* of oil was also used for public purposes.<sup>40</sup>

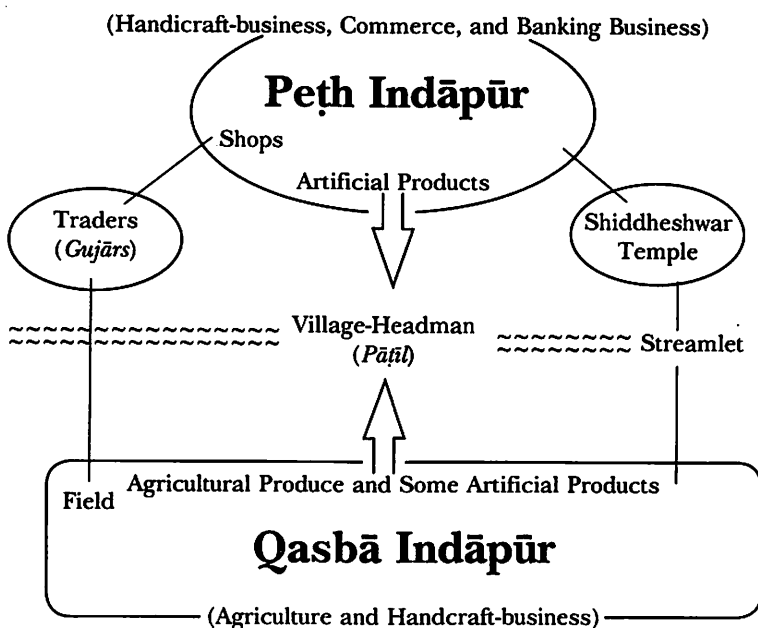
The rights and duties of *pāṭil* were closely related to the industrial structure in both Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr. As the accounts of Qasbā Indāpūr show, the main industry of Qasbā Indāpūr was agriculture. The settlement with government of the land tax that was levied on the village as a whole, and its collection from peasants were entrusted to *pāṭil* under the Marāṭhās (Mahajan 1990: 44). For performing these principal duties, *pāṭil* was entitled to take *ghugari* from each land-tax payer, and held *inām* land as his reward. His duties and rights in Qasbā Indāpūr were thus closely connected to agriculture. On the other side, the main industry of Peṭh Indāpūr was handicraft-business. *Pāṭil* was entitled to collect handicraft products produced by artisans in these industries in Peṭh Indāpūr. *Pāṭil* also collected handicraft products in Qasbā Indāpūr as some handicraft-businesses were operating out of Qasbā Indāpūr as well.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

To conclude, the relationship and difference between Qasbā Indāpūr and Peṭh Indāpūr could be schematized by Figure 2 below.

As Figure 2 shows, Qasbā Indāpūr and Peṭh Indāpūr were geographically apart and their industrial structures were different. However, the *pāṭil*, the main Hindu temple (Shiddheshwar Temple), and such traders as *gujārs* connected both areas in social, administrative, religious, and

FIG. 2. THE STRUCTURE OF QASBĀ AND PEṬH INDĀPŪR IN THE MARĀṬHĀ PERIOD



economic relationships. Thus it is impossible to consider both areas separately.

Peṭh Indāpūr consisted of the market area, while Qasbā Indāpūr was the agricultural area. Many artisans and traders probably came from outside the region to the market area in the Marāṭhā period. Its development corresponded to the general economic growth in early eighteenth-century India. The revenue from land tax in Qasbā Indāpūr, however, was much larger than the revenue from *mohtarfa* in Peṭh Indāpūr. In this sense, Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr was still a village. Satish Chandra concluded that *qasbā* should be studied not in isolation but in relation to the countryside (Chandra 2008: 97). He defined the countryside more precisely, as the agricultural area outside of *qasbā*. However, *qasbā* itself had a large agricultural area. It means the market area and the agricultural area were connected not only socially but economically. When the development and the decline of *qasbās* are discussed, both of these areas should be considered together.

The present study clarified that a *qasbā* itself included an agricultural field and that an agricultural and rural society met a commercial and urban society, whose centre was a market (*peṭh*), within a *qasbā*. On the one hand the urban area highly developed in the eighteenth century. On the other hand eighteenth-century India was predominantly an agricultural society (Marshall 2005b: 14). The previous works on the 'eighteenth-century problem' have not treated the connection of these different societies.

This study clarified not only where a rural society met an urban society but how these different societies were connected with each other. As Figure 2 shows, the village headman, traders, and a Hindu temple connected the different societies in a *qasbā*. In 'the eighteenth-century problem' it is argued that *zamīndārs* or local chiefs supported the successor states as hereditary officers of a *pargaṇā*. In the Deccan a *deshmukh* was called *zamīndār*, to whom the *pāṭīl* was subordinate. Because a *qasbā* was the administrative headquarter of a *pargaṇā*, *deshmukh* was basically *pāṭīl* of a *qasbā* in Deccan. In Indāpūr Pargaṇā, *paṭīl* of Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr was *deshmukh* of the *pargaṇā*. *Zamindars*, who administratively supported the successor states, connected a rural society and an urban society at the micro level. Traders, especially, *gujārs* also connected two different societies. *Gujārs* were closely connected to the local administration as moneylenders. In eighteenth-century India, Portfolio capitalists served for the successor states and developed as tax farmers and moneylenders. In that both of them grew up by being tied up with the administration at the macro and micro levels, their activities corresponded to each other. The growth of *gujārs* in a *qasbā* was linked with that of Gujarati merchants at the all India level in the eighteenth century. A Hindu temple, in which donations from an urban society and a rural society gathered, worked for the connection of these different

societies. A village temple offered the place where people from both an urban and a rural society actually met in various social events such as a festival. However the roles of religious institutes in eighteenth-century India have never been discussed.

The present study contributes to the discussion of 'the eighteenth-century India' in two different ways. *First*, this study clarified the connection of horizontally different society, viz., an urban and a rural society, which has never been discussed in 'the eighteenth-century problem', considering vertically different classes of officers and merchants. *Second*, it shows the necessity of considering the eighteenth-century India from social and religious viewpoints by clarifying the roles of a Hindu temple.

### GLOSSARY

- Balute* : a share of the corn and garden-produce assigned for the subsistence of the twelve public servants of a village, or a tax levied on these servants
- Bharṇa* : paying or remitting money in full
- Dasarā* : a popular festival for *Durgā* who is a warrior goddess. It starts on 10 Ashwin (the seventh month of the Hindu year), which overlaps September and October.
- Diwālī* : the feast of lights, a popular festival of the Hindus, which is held on the last two days of the dark half of Ashwin and the new moon and the four following days of Kartik (September to October).
- Gujār* : traders and dealers from Gujarat, a province in north-west India
- Kacheri* : a court, a hall, a public office
- Mahār* : a caste of untouchables in western India. Mahars carried out various works. For example, they worked as guardians of a village and public servants of a village headman.
- Māṅg* : a caste of untouchables in western India. They worked as scavengers, and skimmers; as tanners, they supplied leather materials like ropes. They also acted as watchmen.
- Mohtarfa* : a tax levied on traders and professionals, on the artificers of a village or their implements
- Pargaṇā* : a district, a province, a tract of country comprising many villages
- Peṭh* : a market, part of a town where shops are assembled, a trading or manufacturing town
- Sankrāntī* : the passage of the sun from one sign of the zodiac to another, and the day of the transition of the Sun into Makar (Capricorn) (14 January), which is celebrated in almost all parts of India.
- Uchāpat* : taking goods on credit
- Wānī* : a trader, a grocer or corn-chandler

## NOTES

1. This is based on a map in the British Library. Municipal Town of Indāpūr, District Poona, 1877-8, Maps, I.S., Map Collection, British Library.
2. *Chāwar* was the term of a land measure; 1 *chāwar* was equal to 120 *bighās* (Wilson 1997: 107).
3. Ākār Qasbe Indāpūr Fusli 1219, Puṇe Jamāv (hereafter PJ), Rumāl no. 712, Maharashtra State Archives, Puṇe (hereafter MSAP).
4. In some villages under the Marāṭhās, *gāvnisbati inām* land was given to village artisans (*balutedārs*) (Kulkarni 2004d: 207-8; Kulkarni, Sumitra 2008: 21-2).
5. The list of land Qasbe Indāpūr-Shuhūr 1181, 1194, and 1216, etc., PJ, Rumāl nos. 707-13. MSAP.
6. In the 1810s, there was a boundary dispute between Qasbā Indāpūr and Wadeपुरi. Nobody could collect the land revenue there. Ākār Qasbe Indāpūr, Shuhūr 1210, PJ, Rumāl no. 712, MSAP.
7. Ākār Qasbe Indāpūr, Shuhūr 1210, 1214, 1215, and 1218, PJ, Rumāl no. 712, MSAP.
8. Ākār Qasbe Indāpūr, Shuhūr 1210 and Shuhūr 1215, PJ, Rumāl no. 712, MSAP.
9. Kaifiyat Mokadam, Qasbe Indāpūr San 1233 (Fusli), PJ, Rumāl no. 714, MSAP.
10. In this quotation, 'I' means *pāṭil* of Qasbā Indāpūr.
11. At the end of the eighteenth century, a civil war occurred in the Marāṭhā Confederacy. In 1802, the army of the Holkar, who was one of the chiefs in the Confederacy, attacked Indāpūr Pargaṇā. In 1803, drought hit this *pargaṇā*. After these disasters devastated Indāpūr Pargaṇā, the land tax was reduced in the settlement of 1807.
12. Mahār and māṅg were untouchables. While mahār disposed of a dead cow, māṅg made ropes from skin.
13. *Gujār* was a subcaste of Gujarati traders (*wānī*) (Enthoven 1997, vol. II: 23 and 34; Campbell 1885, part 1: 273).
14. Terīj Adan Balute wagaire Kasbā Indāpūr, Fusli 1177, Prānt Ajmās Puṇe, Rumāl no. 64, MSAP.
15. Tālēband or Jamābandī Kasbā Indāpūr, Shuhūr 1171, PJ, Rumāl no. 705, MSAP.
16. Ākār Qasbe Indāpūr, Fusli 1223, 1224, PJ, Rumāl no. 712, MSAP.
17. The communities registered under the heading of 'miscellaneous' chiefly consisted of barbers, village temple priests, and washermen.
18. Jama Mukūnd Seth Gujār (Shuhūr 1191 and 1195), PJ, Rumāl no. 710, MSAP.
19. For example, Rs. 101-8 out of the total expenditure of Rs. 241 in 1808, Rs. 625 out of Rs. 981-10 in 1809, Rs. 823-2 out of Rs. 1164-12 in 1810, Rs. 3849-11-6 out of Rs. 4781-4 in 1814, Rs. 3763 out of Rs. 4721 in 1815, and Rs. 4016-3 out of 5134 in 1816 were remitted to the government. PJ, Rumāl nos. 711-13, MSAP.
20. Ākār Qasbe Indāpūr, Shuhūr 1214 etc., PJ, Rumāl no. 712, MSAP.
21. Ākār Qasbe Indāpūr, Fusli 1223, 1224, and 1225, PJ, Rumāl nos. 712 and 713, MSAP.
22. Tālēband Qasbe Indāpūr, Shuhūr 1188 and 1189, PJ, Rumāl no. 709, MSAP.
23. Nemnūkbād Qasbe Indāpūr, Shuhūr 1195 PJ, Rumāl no. 710, MSAP.
24. Kacherī was located in Peṭh Indāpūr. See Figure 1.
25. For example, five oilmen provided oil for use in Qasbā in the period from 13 Sawāl of 1801 to 28 Jamadilakhar of 1802. Hiseb Teli Kasbā Indāpūr, Fusli 1210, PJ, Rumāl no. 710, MSAP.
26. Hiseb Peṭh Indāpūr, Shuhūr 1184, PJ, Rumāl no. 716, MSAP.
27. In 1816, for example, Falṭankar Gosāwī received Rs. 3-4 in Peṭh Indāpūr and

- Rs. 3 in Qasbā Indāpūr as Dharmadāy. Jhāḍṭi Qasbe Indāpūr, Fusli 1225, PJ, Rumāl no. 713 and Gāv Jhāḍā Peṭh Indāpūr, Fusli 1225, PJ, Rumāl no. 716, MSAP.
28. Yadi Wasūl Bāki Peṭh Indāpūr, Fusli 1220, and Gāv Jhāḍā Peṭh Indāpūr, Fusli 1225, PJ, Rumāl no. 716, MSAP.
29. Kularag Jama Peṭh Indāpūr, Shuhūr 1188, PJ, Rumāl no. 716, MSAP.
30. The accounts of *pāṭilki watan* was included in the account of *deshmukhī watan* because the hereditary officer (*deshmukh*) of Indāpūr Pargaṇā was the village-headman (*pāṭil*) of Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr.
31. *Maṇ* or *maund* was a unit of weight. Forty *ser* was equal to one *maund* (*maṇ*). The ratio with kilogram varied from place to place (Wilson 1997: 389).
32. The account of Deshmukhī Watan (1789), PJ, Rumāl no. 797, MSAP.
33. According to the account of Deshmukhī/Pāṭilki Watan (1772), there were sixty looms in Peṭh Indāpūr and sixteen looms in Qasbā Indāpūr. The weavers worked not only in Peṭh Indāpūr but also in Qasbā Indāpūr. This fact supports that *mohtarfa* was collected from weavers in Qasbā Indāpūr as well. The account of Deshmukhī Watan (1772), PJ, Rumāl no. 797, MSAP.
34. For example, the account of Deshmukhī Watan (1784), PJ, Rumāl no. 797, MSAP.
35. For example, the account of Deshmukhī Watan (1782), PJ, Rumāl no. 797, MSAP.
36. One *ṭāṅk* was one seventy-seventh of *pakkā ser* (Molesworth 2005: 337).
37. In 1783, for example, there were 37 oil mills in Qasbā and Peṭh Indāpūr. Three mills belonged to the headman of oilman caste, and four were not operational. So the *pāṭil* collected oil from twenty-nine oil mills. Customarily he collected nine *ṭāṅk* oil from each mill each time it was needed. In 1783, oil was collected 2026 times, which amounted to 9 *maṇ* 18.25 *ser*. The account of Deshmukhī Watan (1783), PJ, Rumāl no. 797, MSAP.
38. For example, the account of Deshmukhī Watan (1772), PJ, Rumāl no. 797, MSAP.
39. For example, the account of Deshmukhī Watan (1783), PJ, Rumāl no. 797, MSAP.
40. The account of Deshmukhī Watan (1812), PJ, Rumāl no. 795, MSAP.

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*Municipal Town of Indāpūr, District Poona, 1877-8, Maps, I.S.*

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