CRAFT AND TRADE IN THE 18th CENTURY RAJASTHAN

ABSTRACT
OF THE
THESIS
SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF
Doctor of Philosophy
IN
HISTORY

BY
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ABSTRACT

The study on the 18th century has been attracting the attention of the historians such as Richard Barnett, C.A. Bayly, Muzaffar Alam, Andre Wink, Chetan Singh and others. Two subsequent works on the eastern Rajasthan by S.P. Gupta and Dilbagh Singh and on the northern Rajasthan by G.S.L. Devra have added new dimensions to the whole issue of existing debate on the 18th century, a period of transition in the history of India. Therefore, the importance of the studies on Rajasthan assumes significance which contains a treasure house of archival records, hitherto largely unexplored. My work is consisted of eight chapters with an introduction and conclusion.

The first chapter deals with the study of geographical and historical profile of the Rajasthan. The geographical factor such as types of soils, hills, river and vegetation always nourishes the economy of the region. The physical location of Rajasthan had influenced its history to a greater extent. The region bears the physical diversity and we can divide it into two parts namely in the fertile south eastern zone and the thar arid zone. It was bounded by the Mughal subas (provinces) like Multan, Sindh, Delhi, Agra, Gujarat and Malwa.

The next chapter deals with the various categories of contemporary source materials of the different Rajput states. The information they contain is about the attitude of the rulers of the region towards different social groups, artisans and the trade relation of the Rajput states.

The third chapter covers the routes. As Rajasthan has been the junction of major trade routes of the Mughal high ways which served as link between
the Mughal capitals Agra and Delhi and the commercial capital Ahmadabad. Besides imperial route, there were many other routes which were frequented by the merchants to reach Sindh, Multan, Lahore and other significant towns of Punjab. It was also well connected with Deccan. This shows that a viable contact of Rajasthan was established with the regions in and outside. The means of transportation is determined by the nature of the land. In the period under study the beast of burden were bullocks, camel, and horses. The cart drawn by camels and bullock depended upon the suitability of the ground.

The fourth chapter encompasses the study of rural urban linkages is also of great value. The commercial towns were emerging due to its activities at state initiative. These activities generated the interaction between a town and its hinterland and other function were appended to it later on. The interaction is apparent from the fact that the goods produced in rural areas were regularly marketed in towns/cities or chief mandi of the state and outside of it. Their increasing involvement in long distance trade drew them into an economic relationship with the more far flung areas some of which lay within the region and others beyond regions. Thus Rajasthan was emerging as a well knit trading unit and was becoming an important part of subcontinents trading world. This integration was being facilitated by trade and commerce.

In the fifth chapter trader of Rajasthan with other parts of India has been discussed. The economic prosperity of region is measured by the amount and the nature of its trade with other region. All regions do not produce all items they needed. Rajasthan received many luxurious items from Gujarat, Kashmir,
Multan, and Sindh. The production in Rajasthan was confined to few selected areas. The internal and external trade is characterized by the movement of bulk of commodities. Many traders conducted trade on behalf of the state in both luxury and common items. The role of fair in the promotion of regional and inter regional trade is appreciable. The rulers issued parwanas to traders of neighboring states and various other places ensuring them concession in the taxes from one fourth to one half. The security measures for the route were also adopted by the state for the safe journey of the traders.

The sixth chapter deals with the mercantile communities. Besides the traditional commercial groups like, mahajans, sah, sahukar and bohra etc; Charans and Bhats along with Brahmins, Gosain have also been adequately dealt. Their involvement in trade is appreciably highlighted. The term Mahajans incorporates Agarwal, Oswal, Maheshwari, Khandelwal, and Khatri etc and their large number of sub castes. Some merchants adopted the nomenclature of their place instead of their caste had been tapped meticulously. The goods were marketed by various categories of merchants at different levels. This in fact demonstrates the existence of hierarchy of merchants. To promote trade in their respective territories the rulers gave various concessions to these trading groups.

The seventh chapter deals with the artisans and crafts. The role of the villages as the manufacturing unit is not properly investigated due to the paucity of material. We have some information which is utilized to appreciate the role in this context. Many part time artisans produced goods for market.
Some *karkhanas* (royal workshops) were maintained by the Rajput rulers at various *parganas* for royal as well as domestic usages. Thus the Rajput rulers appeared to promote a variety of articles which could meet the requirements at upper groups as well as local people. Therefore we see the manufacture of arms and ammunition, utensils of different metals and luxurious items. Many of the articles produced by the artisans in towns and cities were transported out of the region. In addition to commercial activities some towns are referred as manufacturing nucleus. The state patronized the artisans. The rulers employed the artisans of different categories in *Karkhanas* whenever the specific need arose. Besides state patronage and concession given to artisans they were not free from *begar*.

The eighth chapter discusses in detail the various taxes imposed and realized from the different categories of artisans and merchants and traders. The identification of taxes and cesses is worked out from the sources at our hand. Therefore, it is difficult to estimate the incidents of the taxes imposed on the traders and artisans.

The process of growth in the trade and trade routes did not stop even in the late 18th century. After the disintegration of the Mughal Empire, the Rajput rulers systematically organized their financial resources especially through trade and commerce. This resulted in the enlargement of area of commercial activities and the opening of new routes as well. The increase in the number of *mandis* and *chowkis* which cropped up and developed in the vicinity of the towns and in the remote areas of the state testifies the growth of trade and
commerce in the 18\textsuperscript{th} Century Rajasthan. On the basis of this study one can call 18\textsuperscript{th} Century as a century of prosperity especially for trading groups of Rajasthan who later on migrated to greener pasture land.
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2008
CERTIFICATE

Certified that Mr. Athar Hussain worked under my supervision on the topic “Craft and Trade in the 18th century Rajasthan”. This thesis is the original work of the candidate and I find it suitable for submission for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

(Prof. B.L. Bhadani)
Supervisor
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INTRODUCTION

The eighteenth century in India was characterised as a century of transition which changed the structure of power and initiated important social and economic reconfigurations.

The factors regarding the political decline of the Mughal Empire has triggered a debate on the nature of economic and social change in the wake of imperial collapse. The political disintegration of the empire is the most important development of the first half of the 18th century. The cataclysmic event has attracted the attention of generation of historians who continue to debate the causes of decline of Mughal empire, opinions are sharply divided between those who view the decline as a consequence of economic crisis and exploitation by the ruling classes and those who regard the political turmoil in terms of regional assertiveness triggered by certain degree of economic prosperity. The interest in the study of imperial decline had brought the economy and society of the 18th century under sharper historical scrutiny. The explanations regarding the Imperial decline are contested, so too was the understanding of change during this period. The historians are divided on the matter of examining the century in the shadow of empire alone. A strong case has been built to view, the period on its own term. Those who support this view see the century being characterised by economic and social reconfigurations that resulted in the emergence of regional political order. The argument in opposition to interpretation is that the imperial political collapse
initiated a process of economic and social decay as well. These counter views initiated debates on 18th century in the determining of, Dark Age versus Economic Prosperity.

Second set of arguments around the late 18th century transition in the polity, society, and economy of India as the English East India Company acquired political supremacy. The third important consideration is the state and governance. Lastly, the detailed exploration of regional histories of the period opened new dimensions.

The early historiography of the decline/disintegration of Mughal Empire was around administrative and religious policies of the individual rulers and their nobles. Both the British administrator Scholars and Indian nationalist historians of late 19th and 20th centuries assessed the empire in terms of the character of the ruling elite.1 Whereas Jadunath Sarkar focused on Aurangzeb and his religious policy in particular and later his Deccan campaign were identified as instrumental for the Mughal decline.2 In the later years he revised his argument and identified the peasant rebellions (that destroyed the Mughal political stability) as a ‘Hindu reaction’ to Aurangzeb’s Muslim orthodoxy. The religious policy of the rulers constituted the chief explanatory points in the subsequent works on Mughals by

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Sri Ram Sharma and Ishwari Prasad.\(^3\) From the late 1950s, Marxist historians started to look at Mughal Empire from objective and scientific point of view. Satish Chandra writes in his book, that structural flaws in the working of the Mughal institutions of *jagir* and *mansab* were responsible for the fiscal crisis of the late 17\(^{th}\) century. He argued that the efficient functioning of these two institutions depended upon the availability of revenues its collection and distribution. The Mughal failed to maintain the smooth functioning of these two institutions which became vulnerable during the last days of Aurangzeb which led the decline of the Mughal Empire.\(^4\)

From the 1960s onwards some economic historians particularly, Irfan Habib looked Mughal decline from political and social unrest in fiscal terms.\(^5\) He argued that high rate of land revenue demand by Mughal authority which caused rural exploitation leading to peasant migration and rebellions. This facilitated an agrarian crisis that resulted in the weakening of the empire's political foundation. M. Athar Ali followed Irfan Habib's model of fiscally centralized state, but attributed its decline not so much to the high rate of revenue demand but rather a shortage of *jagirs*. This shortage was created due to geo-political expansion of empire in Deccan which was considered a less fertile track. This increased the number of nobles with no *jagir* land to be assigned. This lack of *jagir* created an

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administrative problem, resulting economic crisis. John F. Richard, refuted the idea that there was lack of useable jagirs in Deccan. He argued that Deccan was not a deficit area, that bejagiri (the absence of jagirs) was a major factor of the economic crisis of empire.

In 1980s Satish Chandra revised, his notion and shifted to the economic aspects of the politico administrative imperial crisis. He argued that the quantum of land to be given as jagirs became few and relatively infertile. Therefore, the discrepancy between the estimated revenue (jama) and actual yields (hasil) intensified. This had an adverse impact on the ability of state functionaries to ensure the regularity of revenue collection. A jagirdari crisis with distinct economic undertones finally ended Mughal stability.

Besides these, the downfall of the Mughal Empire is also viewed as a cultural failure. Here ‘cultural’ represents technological, intellectual and economic referents. Here the economic crisis that underlined the decline is attributed to the relative economic, technological and intellectual rise of Europe in the period 1500-1700 as a centre of world commerce. As Europe emerged as the principal market for luxurious crafts manufacture of the world and it attracted high value products from its traditional Eastern markets. This was compensable through intensified agrarian exploitation. The intellectual and technological aridity of India did not allow towns to emerge as ‘safety valve’ for the people. These were therefore, no

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escape from fiscal arm of the state. All these reasons made the empire politically
and economically vulnerable. Even agrarian/jagirdari crisis could be taken as an
explanation. It may be argued that this crisis was not sought to be confused with
diversification of economy through overseas trade on a big scale, for which some
identifiable potentials were certainly there.

Above surveyed literature identify the 18th century as a ‘Dark Age’. The
historians were occupied with the notion of the imperial centre alone but they did
not pay attention to the Mughal institutions which were being modified and
transformed at local and regional level which paved the way for shift of power
from centre to periphery. The emergence of the Marathas, the Sikhs and the
Satnamis was due to the exploitative policy of the state to peasantry. It was argued
that the emergence of regional politics the Marathas, the Sikhs continued the
exploitative tendencies of their predecessors, the Mughals. Thus, regional political
realignments were explained within the framework of the functioning of the
Mughal ‘agrarian system’ alone. The focus remained on the structures of revenue
extraction and not so much on other forms of production or trade.

Apart from these some scholars look from different angle. This can be
traced in the work of Herman Goetz on eighteenth century music and architecture
and Bernard S. Cohn’s study of Banaras. Goetz argued the resilience of Mughal

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9 M. Athar Ali, *The Passing of Empire: The Mughal Case*, Modern Asian Studies, vol. 9, no. 3,
1975, pp. 385-96.

10 Irfan Habib, *Potentialities of the Capitalistic Developments in the Economy of Mughal India*, in

society as reflected in the involving musical and architectural style in the wake of imperial collapse.\textsuperscript{12}

Scholars, who engaged regional study, emphasize a range of factors that fuelled the imperial decline and encouraged regional economic and political buoyancy. The emphasis was on different non-agricultural strands that sustained the local economy. The regional economy based on shifting patterns of trade, movement of mercantile capital from centre to periphery, war, pillage and political manoeuvring by regional elites were tapped in the works of Ashin Das Gupta, B.R. Grover, Steward Gordon and Richard B. Barnett.

Ashin Dan Gupta displays that the corporate mercantile institutions transcended political boundaries for overseeing the transportation of goods and the provision of credit and insurance services in the period of decline. Even though inland trade increased, export trade and port cities of Surat in Gujarat declined around 1720, as did Masaulipatam in Madras and Dhaka in Bengal, whereas colonial port cities such as Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta rose to prominence.\textsuperscript{13} Karen Leonard argues that “indigenous banking firms were indispensable allies of the Mughal state” and the great nobles “were more likely to be directly dependent upon these firms when in period 1650-1750, these banking firms began the redirection of their economic and political support” towards regional politics and rulers, including the English East India Company in Bengal, this led to

\textsuperscript{12} Herman Goetz, \textit{The Crisis of Indian Civilization in the eighteenth and nineteenth Centuries: The Genesis of Indo-Muslim Civilization}, Calcutta, 1938.

bankruptcy, a series of political crises and downfall of the Empire. M.N. Pearson gave some evidence of merchant’s participation in politics. However, Pearson refrains from suggesting that the Mughal finance system was dependent on merchant’s credit.

The studies highlighted regional level changes in the period of transition, provoked reconsideration among historians working on Mughal India as well. They are now making a strong case for studying the 18th century on its own terms as a phase which saw the emergence of regional political orders. The studies are significant in that they throw new light on both the nature of the Mughal Empire as well as the process of its weakening and eventual decline in the 17th and early 18th century.

Viewing the Mughal state from the perspective of the regional literature of the Mughal subah of Awadh, Muzaffar Alam Suggests that the Mughal Empire signified a coordinating agency between conflicting communities and various indigenous socio-political system at different levels. Muzaffar Alam’s study of early 18th century Awadh provides evidence of the remarkable economic growth and prosperity which resulted in zamindari unrest in the region. Economic prosperity was a consequence of increased commercialization and monetization of the economy that was initiated in the heyday of the Mughals. The affluent zamindars took advantage of their newly accumulated assets and disobeyed the

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order of the Mughal commands. As they rose in rebellions the Mughal subedar (governor) in the region enhanced his power by using the unrest as bargaining chip with the emperor. It is under his patronage that regional assertion ultimately buoyed the suba to political autonomy. In a later article on 18th century Bihar, Alam reiterates his fiscal growth argument with evidence from both regional and imperial Persian literature and Urdu poetry. This material, unlike the court chronicle, touches on the life of different social groups. On the basis of this material, Alam infers that 18th century "crisis" is a more complex issue than the Delhi centered administrative and fiscal studies of empire have so far done. For the numerous voices of different social groups as tapped in the regional Persian sources suggest that one's order was another's disorder. The experiences of the crisis were felt differently in Delhi also.

Following the general region-centric trend laid out by Alam, Chetan Singh indicates that the political unrest in some provinces such as Punjab was linked to tensions generated between the agrarian economy of the Mughal plains on the one had and fringe tribal societies as they moved towards a sedentary existence on the other. The latter process altered the structure of tribal societies and increased pressure on the agrarian economy which was already under stress. Thus the events of the 18th century were rooted in the economic processes that shaped the

functioning of the empire from its very inception. The evidence from most of these regions indicates economic realignments that ensured the dissociation of the regions from imperial control. These studies thus considerably alter the notion of the 18th century as a “Dark Age”.

These new studies also find that the trajectories of regional dissociation from the centre were varied even though some general features can be identified across the board. C.A Bayly has articulated these features in his studies. He argues that regional political crystallization was a consequence of three important developments. (a) the emergence of a vibrant cross-caste mercantile organisation and its development in politics. The proliferation of the Mughal practice of revenue farming meant a coalescing of merchant and agrarian interest resulting in the emergence of new class of intermediaries (b) the gentrification process, which brought together a class of scribes, accountants and other Mughal service groups that served the new powers locally and sank their feet deep into society, investing in the small towns or qasbas, (c) the practice of military fiscalism, which meant the maintenance of large armies and their deployment in revenue collection. Bayly gave emphasis on the rise of intermediaries, complete with the trappings of royal power drawing on Mughal military and fiscal institutions and their emergence as new power centres. These revenue collecting intermediaries, who derived their

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power from a variety of portfolios, have been categorized by C.A. Bayly and Sanjay Subrahmanyan as ‘portfolio capitalists’.

The ‘revisionists’ seem to be more coherent in their explanation. As different point of emphasis emerge in this direction with clarity of landed interests, merchants and trading communities and their relationship with political power is now available. This helped Bayly to come out with this argument about the centrality of intermediary groups in the 18th century transition. There are indications that this growth was maintained over much of India in the first half of the 18th century as well.

Growth in the first half of the century in Rajasthan has been clearly documented. Price rose faster than the level of revenue demand. This provided the incentive for increasing the area under cultivation and for growing more valuable crops. Both grain, taken by the state as taxation and cash crops were traded out of the province in large quantity.

The study of craft productions of pre colonial India and their distribution by merchants group has been attracting the attention of the historians from India and abroad. Some of these studies are of general nature and primarily based on European and Persian sources. The regions covered primarily by these scholars

are, Gujarat, South India and Bengal. However, Rajasthan could not get much attention of scholars though it possesses a treasure house of archival and private records of business families. This enormous material would enable us to trace the growth and development of crafts in the different states (Jodhpur, Jaipur, Bikaner and Kota).

Besides these, it also had a well developed trading and manufacturing unit in town and cities. The significance of trade and commerce for some works has been done at the regional level in which local documents were tapped appreciably.

With the growing interest in the area-specific social and economic history, materials from regional sources acquired a new crucial importance. The study on eastern Rajasthan by S.P. Gupta provides the picture of progress in agricultural production in the area during the entire period 1650-1750.\(^{21}\)

These studies provided a new insight into the agrarian economy of 17\(^{th}\) and 18\(^{th}\) century. It paved the way for evaluating the structure and stratification of the village society in terms of changes taking place. These studies also provided a new dimension to the whole issue of impact of state policies on agrarian economy. But remained confined to the rural economy ignoring the trading and manufacturing urban centres, they were not unworthy of consideration.

Trade in crafts depended much on the merchandise produced by various artisan groups in urban as well as rural areas. The goods produced and

\(^{21}\) S.P. Gupta, *The Agrarian System of the Eastern Rajasthan, (C 1650-1750)*, New Delhi, 1986, however Dilbagh Singh, *The State, Landlords, and Peasants on 2\(^{nd}\) half of the 18\(^{th}\) century*, has a different thing to say that the economy was shattered when the Mughal administration had declined.
manufactured by the artisans were brought to the market for sale. Some of these products such as earthen pot, metal utensils, ornaments, were meant either for local consumption or distant areas. While the textile, calico-prints, indigo assumed added importance besides satisfying the local need they were available for export.

The policy of the Rajput states in their respective regions is quite interesting. Every Rajput state made administrative efforts to regulate the trade and artisan production to augment their income. To achieve this, it appears that they had established separate offices to look after trade and craft sector. Special attention was paid to promote trade and commerce and safety and protection was provided to traders on trade routes. Similarly the interests of the artisans were also looked after. In return the state got appreciable income in the form of the taxes from these two sectors. Besides these, the role of mercantile community and involvement of some other sections in trade (including not so rudimentary banking system) led to the emergence of cross-caste mercantile class. Many towns had emerged as a commercial towns due to their location on the trade routes. Besides some had become a producing units.

Rajasthan was on the Mughal highway junction connecting Agra to Ahmadabad and to some other regions of India which facilitated the accessibility of merchants to it. The eighteenth century Rajasthan witnessed flourishing internal trade. Different Rajput states carried on trade by land route with other parts of the country.
CHAPTER - I
CONTEMPORARY ARCHIVAL RECORDS: A BROAD PRESENTATION

This chapter catalogues the details of all archival documents which record comprehensive information about the traders, trading communities, manufacturing techniques and technologies, artisan, their wages, the social composition of the traders and artisans, trade routes policing of trade, transportation toll, administration, arrangements of recovery and compensation etc.

The erstwhile princely states of Rajasthan had developed their own system of government in which various departments were established to run the administration on efficient lines. Each department had a paraphernalia of officers (hakims), clerks and other petty functionaries. It was the primary duty of the officers in-charge to keep the records of daily transactions. They maintained a document invariably in two forms i.e. bahis and tozis (loose papers). For maintenance of documents, writers were appointed in different departments. The documents maintained by these officers came to be known as, Jamabandi, Sanad Parwana Bahis, Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur Bahiyat, Kagadon-ri Bahis, Kamthana Bahis, Sawa Bahis, Mandi Sadar, Zakat Bahis, Arhsattas, Kharitas, Parwanas, Chhitthis and Karkahanjat documents of Jaipur such as Khusbu khana, Rang Khan, Surat Khana, Top Khana, Sileh Khana, Palki Khana, etc. The Bhandar series of Kota contain series of records such as Zakat Bahis, Bohron ke khate lekha Bahis and Talik Bahis.
MARWAR RECORDS:

Sanad Parwana Bahis:

These bahis are the compilation of the copies of official orders and letters issued by the Maharaja and officers. These are in large numbers and each bahi contains more than four hundred folios. Forty bahis from No. 1 to 40 belonged to the period between V.S 1821-1845/1764-1888 A.D which covers the period of my research. They provide useful information on handicrafts, artisans and their wages, inter-regional and inter-provincial trade, trade routes and commercial taxes. It also offers data on various taxes such as sair-dan, mapa and rahdari. Orders of remissions and exemptions in taxes to traders are also compiled. Besides these, the data on coins, markets, means of transport and postal system are available in these official registers.

Khas Rukka Parwana Bahis:

Total bahis are ten. First bahi (V.S 1822-1774/ A.D 1765-1831) provides important information for my period. This bahi is comprised of letters sent to the officers of the state informing them about the concession granted to the individuals. It furnishes evidence about the various commercial taxes levied by the state from the traders such as rahdari, mapa and dan. Besides this, the names of the noted Kothiwals (big merchants with big commercial establishment) and other important traders of Marwar and outside state. The remission in taxes given by the rulers to the merchants to promote trade in Marwar has been recorded in detail. The data on annual fairs (mela) organized in the territory of Jodhpur and letters of
invitations extended to the merchants of different Rajput territories such as Nawalgarh, Churu, Fatehpur, Bikaner, Jaipur, Jaisalmer and Kota are entered in it. Besides invitation to traders in the territory of Marwar they were lured to settle down permanently in Jodhpur and other towns of the state and to establish their business establishment. They were given assurance of safety and protection on the trade routes passing through the jurisdiction of the state.

**Jodhpur Bahiyat:**

These *bahis* cover the period between V.S 1810-1850/A.D 1753-93. The *bahi* V.S 1821/ A.D 1764 records construction and repair work pursued by the State. Another *bahi* which covers the period V.S 1823/A.D 1766 bears information about *Khem Khana* and about its accounts.

**Kotwali-chabutra Jamabandi Bahis No. 753-754 of Pargana Jalor:**

These two *bahis* record the evidence on prices of different commodities namely local made clothes, *ghee* (milk fat), edible oils, iron, grains, handicrafts of Jalor and wages of artisans.

**BIKANER RECORDS**

**Kagadon-ri Bahis:**

First twelve *bahis* (no. 1 to 12) cover the period V.S 1811-1858/A.D 1754-1801). They are arranged year wise. *Sanads* and *Likhats* are the categories of documents dispatched to the traders. Through these documents they were given assurance of safety and assurance at the check post of neighboring areas. These *bahis* also provide information on trade routes, transportation system and charges,
commercial taxes, *hundi, ijara*, local, regional, inter-regional marketing and inter-provincial trade. Various concessions given by the state to the internal as well as external traders of all categories are of great importance. The names of the coins in use in the state viz. Gujshahi, Muhammadshahi, Farrukhshahi, Suratshahi, and their cash values are recorded.

**Zakat Bahis (V.S 1799-1833/A.D 1742-76):**

The literal meaning of *zakat* is transit tax. These *bahis* contain data on this tax are styled as the *zakat bahis*. They provide extremely valuable information about the commercial products, inter-regional and inter-provincial trade, trade routes, means of transport (such as cart, camels, oxen etc) and cost of transportation. The amount charged on the articles according to their weight and measurement. The names of traders along with their caste designation are recorded in these *bahis*. In this way such *bahis* are useful from the point of view of writing social history of 18th century Rajasthan. The information on the functioning of *zakat chowkis* at every entry point is extremely useful. Through these *chowkis* the state earned an appreciable amount of revenue.

**Sawa Bahi Mandi Sadar (V.S 1796-1826/A.D 1739-69):**

Another category of documents is called *Sawa Bahis Mandi Sadar*, which furnishes information about the chief *mandi/marketing complex. The state created *mandis* in entire state to collect taxes from traders and others. The chief *mandi* was located at Bikaner and its branches were called *mandis* located at all the entry points on important trade routes and commercial towns viz. Rajgarh, Reni, and
Anupgarh etc. These *chowkis* enjoyed the power to realize *zakat* (transit duties) passing through their jurisdiction. They also contain informations on the articles of trade and rates of taxes imposed by the state. The evidence on remissions given to the traders to conduct trade and commerce in the region is also recorded. This kind of meticulous elaborate administrative arrangement helped the state in realizing the sales taxes.

**Sawa Bahis:**

These *bahis* belonged to the different *qasbas* of the Bikaner state namely Rajgarh, Reni, Suratgarh, Anupgarh and Nohar which contain data on commercial taxes imposed in different *qasbas* such *rahdari, kval, changi, bhochh* etc. These *Sawa Bahis* also provide information about trade among the Rajput states viz. Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer and even outside Rajasthan with Multan and Sindh etc. To ensure safe transaction of trade rulers of Bikaner deputed armed personnel on important trade junctions who also used to escort the merchants if it was required by the traders.

**Kamthana Bahis:**

These *bahis* pertain to the period between second half of the Seventeenth century and late eighteenth century. These are seven in all, which furnish data on wages of artisans and laboures e.g *karigars, majurs, chungar, usta, sunthar, potters, lohar, silabeti* etc. These *bahis* contain evidence about the mode of payment to the artisans and labourers by the state. The wages were paid to the artisans, generally on daily or monthly basis. The names of individual artisans and
some times a group of labourers and artisans are recorded and a consolidated amount paid to them recorded against them. The wages of skilled and unskilled ones are recorded along with the artisans called from Jaipur and Deccan to be employed in the construction work at different sites. Outsiders were paid better, in accordance with their experience and skill.

**Byav-ri-Bahis (V.S 1827/A.D 1770):**

The title of the *bahi* indicates that it related to the marriages of the royal families. But they also provide evidence about the articles which were bought for royal marriages. Ordinarily, these items were purchased from outside Rajasthan. The *bahis* record the cost and places from where they had been brought. Various kinds of cloths and dry fruits from far off places were purchased. Therefore, we find prices of food grains, opium, sugar, dry fruits and spices. These *bahis* also record the cost of transportation incurred on importing goods from different destinations. Besides, we get descriptions about ornament and jewellery made by the local goldsmiths. Similarly, we get evidence about the utensil makers (*thatheras*) also.

**Parwana Bahis (V.S 1748-1800/A.D 1691-1743):**

These *bahis* contain the copies of the *parwanas* issues by the state and provide variety of information. The *parwanas* were issued in favour of the state officials authorizing them to levy *zakat* and other taxes on the articles and goods passing through the territory. It also records evidence on trade with Sindh and other adjacent regions particularly with Bhawatpur and Multan. It also offers data
on the items of trade and certain remissions to traders to encourage them to do trading activities in the territory of Bikaner.

**JAIPUR RECORDS:**

*Kharitas* (letters) refer to the correspondence made between the erstwhile princely states of Rajasthan and by others states, outside Rajasthan and the rulers of the Jaipur state. Besides furnishing details of political significance, these letters are also important source about trade and commerce. A large number of *Kharitas* provide ample information on the policy of the government towards trade and its trade routes including regional as well as provincial. Besides, they also record the details about the *hundi* system and the security arrangements made by the Jaipur state for the safety of merchants in the territory. The evidence on fairs (*mela*) is in abundance which were organized by the rulers and offered numerous concessions to internal as well as external traders. The traders were lured to conduct trade which facilitated the process of development of the new commercial towns in the territory of the state. Thus, such annual fairs gave impetus to growth of new urban centres.

**Arhsatta Rahdari:**

These are in *tozi* (small loose papers) form which contain useful information on commercial taxes like *rahdari*, *vatvali*, and *kyali*, etc imposed on the goods passing through the Kachhwah territory. We also know about various kinds of articles of trade. They also provide data on the *Ijara* system as well as the various castes involved in trading activities.
Parwanas:

*Parwanas* refer to those letters which were issued by the rulers of Jaipur to their senior officials and traders of different destinations of Rajasthan and outside of it, like Multan, Lahore, Delhi, Qandhar and Agra etc. Through these letters, traders were invited to start trading in the Kachhwaha territory. They were asked to establish their business establishment and were offered free land to construct their *havelis* in the areas of their interest. These invitations got favorable response from the traders who had settled at different places. There were partial exemptions in *rahdari*, *mapa* and full exemptions in *kayali*, *vacch-varar*, *parna*, *mohrano*, *nikasu*, etc. Police protection on trade routes was also assured.

Dastur ámal and amal Dastur:

The *dasturul amals* (schedule of revenue rates) were framed from time to time by the state. This was a body of instructions for local officers. The references of *dasturul amal* are found in *chitthis*, *arhsattas* and *parwanas* at a regular and frequent interval.

The *amal dasturs* usually provide instructions or rules for the exaction and levies particularly on local trade and commerce. The *dasturul amal* and *amal dastur* in fact comprise together the entire rules and regulations providing us with a comprehensive schedules of the local revenue rates levied on agricultural or non-agricultural products.
**Dastur Komwars:**

They form an important category of documents of the Jaipur state. Literal meaning of the document is the custom of castes which contains the details of socio-economic life in Jaipur region. These are thirty two volumes in total and they have been arranged caste wise in alphabetical order. They contain the *dastur* or usages observed in respect of persons of different castes and communities and their socio-economic status in the society of Jaipur in the eighteenth century. The occupation and work of different castes of artisans had found appropriate place in volume 32. Other volumes throw light on the prices of different commercial items like gold, silver, cloths, dry fruits, horses and ornaments.

**Chitthis (Muwazna Kalan & Khurd):**

The *Chitthis* (letters) were written by the *Diwan* (Prime Minister) of Jaipur state to the administrative officials of the *parganas*. They contain variety of evidence which range from the working of the *jagirdari* and *zamindari* system to the methods of arbitration and adjudication, to the structure and organization of trade, commercial practices, the position and role of the mercantile community and the rural-urban interaction. Besides these, they also contain information about the concessions granted to the traders in the payment of *mapa*, *rahdari*, *parna*, *bhacha* and *virar* etc. Specific instructions (to the officials) were issued to the effect that no traders are harassed. The *chitthis* also contain the format of invitation to be written by the officials to the merchants for establishing their shops or to transact business in different towns of the state such as Sawai
Madhopur, Sawai Jaipur and Qasba Sawai Jaipur. These chitthis are available for the entire Kachhwa territory under the head of Mawazna Kalan and Mawazna Khurd. Basically, these letters demonstrate the policy and attitude of the state towards various groups of the society.

**Amber Records:**

Amber records are in bundles which are in the form of letters but there is difference between the size of the chetthis of Jaipur and Amber records. The former is smaller in size while the later is longer in size. It is like Kharita (letters).

... They contain information about the concessions granted to both type of merchants local as well as outside of the state. The rates of the taxes levied on the trader who were involved in the 18th century Jaipur are also entered into the Amber Records. They also throw light on the system of Ijara prevalent in the territory of Amber during 18th century.

**Khushbu Khana:**

The nomenclature of the documents is self explanatory. The place where various kinds of perfumes were prepared. The officers’ in-charge maintained documents. This records the name of perfumes such as gulab, khas, sandal, fitna, nagesuri, sugar, musk, amber; makhloni etc. and the details of the process of making of these perfumes are also recorded.
Rang Khana:

The dying of cloth and other items was done in the Rangkhana. Various kinds of cloths such as silk and cotton mixed cloth (mashru) low price cotton cloth (gazi), high quality calico (bafia), soft silk stuff (tafta) etc for the preparation of dresses like turban (sarpech), and long piece dress (sari) were dyed in the department. This also throws light about the types of designs were made on cloth materials for instance plain colored out line, floral motifs, forest, like pattern. This gives details of ingredients utilized for making of different colours and the expenses incurred on the process was also mentioned. This also records the wage structure of the workers employed in the department.

Surat Khana:

This is also an important department which maintained the documents under the same titles. It is evident from its name that it not only prepared paintings, sketches, sceneries, albums, but also maps containing routes, survey maps, and sketches of religious themes/icons. Enameling and coloring (rang roghni) of dress of honour (khilat), draperies beg (thaila, juzban). This document devotes considerable space to describe the paintings done in the royal workshop. Its range was wide and it includes portrait paintings of animals, flowers, season, woods and landscape, romantic ballads, divine figures such as Ram, Sita, Shiva, Parvati, Nathuji, and Krishna Lila etc.
Top Khana:

It is an important category of the Karkhanajat series. It was not only a unit for manufacturing and repairing of explosive, armour and trapping carriages. Besides, making guns and muskets it deals in various armours for men and beasts (like elephants and horses) utilized in the wars. It also records the methods and processes of making muskets and explosives and the ingredients such as lead, copper, brass, zinc, iron, sulphur, saltpeter, wax, jute and rope used in their preparation. It also mentions the materials used in casting of guns (tops) namely iron, copper, and zinc. In this way the above mentioned documents are quite useful in tracing the history of science and technology in 18th century Rajasthan.

Sileh Khana:

The term is self explanatory. It was a karkhana which dealt with the weapons. The arms were produced and repaired. The items made in the establishment were arrow (tir), bow (kaman) which was long range weapons while the short range items were lance with pointed head (bhala), a thick straight blade (qabda) and a narrow blade (patti). The people employed in this department consisted of three categories: (a) professional wielders of arms (b) artisans specializing in the manufacture of weapons and (c) Other craftsmen who were expert in their professions etc.

Palki Khana:

The Palki Khana was related to making and repairing of Palkis (palanquins) and its related accessories. It catered to the needs of royal household and the
nobility. This also records the expenses on the materials and the payment made to
the artisans involved in the making of palanquins.

**KOTA RECORDS:**

The kota records have been arranged in *bhandars* (section) chronologically,
from the 17th century to 20th century which furnish a mine of informations on
social, cultural, economic and other aspects of the period. Each *bhandar*, contains
number of *bastas* (bundles). Each *basta* possesses a variety of documents such as
*Zakat Bahis*, *Talik Bahis* and *Bohron ke Rajya Lekha Bahis* of various years of
different *qasbas* and *parganas*.

**Zakat Bahis:**

Basically these *bastas* comprised of number of loose papers as well as small
and big *bahis* and each of them contains 100-150 folios. They provide data on
trade both external as well as internal, trade routes, groups engaged in trade and
the names of the big and influential merchants of the state. They also acquaint us
with the various commercial taxes realized from the traders such as *rahdari*, *mapa*,
*vatvali*, and *kyali* etc. The rates on various items are also mentioned in the
documents. The invitations were extended to traders of various places for the fair
of Umedganj. These traders belonged to the far flung destinations of Central and
Western India. Such as Ujjain, Surat, Sironj, Chanderi, Burhanpur, Aurangabad,
and other important towns of the state. These merchants were offered concessions
in levies on their way to the fair and exemption in other taxes were also assured.
The _basta_ number 1 to 4 of bhandar no. 16 is extensively useful which provide information about the merchant groups involved in trade and commerce and money lending such as Gosain Bohra, Charans and Bhaps. Apart from them there were many big traders who specialized in various kinds of luxury goods. They traded on behalf of the state between Kota and other places like Burhanpur, Multan, Chanderi, Jahanabad, Kashmir, Indaur, Amarkot, Hyderabad and many other prominent towns. Cloths from Burhanpur, Chanderi, Jahanabad and chints from Multan, *Pashmina* of Kashmir, as well as pearls, jewels and horses. State purchased these items from traders. These records also reveal trade routes between Kota and other centers with the points of diversion. They throw light on trade network of the traders in the state. They also offer information on the mode of transfer of money and the mode of the payment of loan taken by the chiefs of Kota from the _bohras_, obtained from _Bohron ke Khate Lekha bahis_ of various years of eighteenth century.

_Talik Bahis:_

These records provide valuable evidence about the setting of new _qasbas_ and facilities extended to merchants to settle down there and to do their business. These _bahis_ also provide data on the composition of population in the towns such as mahajans, brahmins, artisans and menial castes living in the towns and their socio-economic status. The evidence on trade recorded in these documents can be utilized for the comparison with other areas. They may also help us in estimating population of various towns.
In the following chapters the information on craft production and trading activities is derived to know about their status in the state.
CHAPTER -II
Plate I

(Political Map of Rajasthan, India)
GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF RAJASTHAN

Rajasthan is the collective and classical denomination of western India which, for centuries, remained as the territory controlled, ruled and predominantly inhabited by the Rajput Princes. Locally, this region has been known as Rajwara which later came to be designated as Raethana. Subsequently, during British period, the Rajput principalities came to be known as Rajputana. Before 1956, Rajasthan consisted of as many as nineteen (19) princely states and three chiefdoms. These states varied largely in area, population, level of economic development and resources. Their course of history has largely been determined by their social setup, cultural heritage and administrative organisation. These Princely states extended over one or more geographical regions. The state of Rajasthan with its present boundary came into existence after promulgation of the States Reorganization Act of 1956.

Along the western boundary of Rajasthan, India and West Pakistan face each other across the international boundary. This boundary separates the Indian districts of Ganganagar, Bikaner, Jaisalmer and Barmer of Rajasthan state from the Pakistan districts of Bhawalpur, Khairpur and Mirpur Khas. Before the Partition (1947) it was the provincial boundary demarcating the princely states of Rajputana namely Bikaner, Jaisalmer, and Marwar from the Bombay presidency and Punjab. The partition of India made this boundary an international boundary.

23 V.C. Misra, Geography of Rajasthan, New Delhi, 1967, p. 3
The readjustment of the provincial boundary in the north east and south. In the north and north-east it is surrounded by Punjab and Uttar Pradesh; in the east and south-east by Madhya Pradesh; and in the south-west by Gujarat. In terms of areas, Rajasthan has become the first largest state in the Indian union. In shape, it is an irregular rhomb with north-south and east-west diagonals, the former about 784 Km. and later about 850 Km. long.

Broadly, we can divide Rajasthan into two unequal halves that are western and eastern Rajasthan. The western Rajasthan includes the whole of the arid plain of Marwar and part of Jaisalmer, Barmer and Bikaner. This region is sparsely populated. The whole of this region is deficient in rainfall; climatic conditions are inhospitable, the surface topography is marked by windblown sand ridges and drainage is characteristically internal. In spite of these, people succeeded in settling down even in these remoter parts of the state.

The eastern Rajasthan, though slightly bigger in area than the western part, contains more than four times the population of the western part. The Mewar plain covers the eastern and southern part of eastern Rajasthan. This area is drained by the river Banas and its two tributaries Kothari and Khari. These areas receive considerable rainfall resulting into having fertile soils and better irrigation facilities from wells and tanks. Hence, such area has larger dispersal of population. The rural population is concentrated along the river courses and around irrigation tanks. The Jaipur plain occupies the northern part of eastern Rajasthan and the soil consists of alluvium and sand drift. Jaipur, the capital city of the state, is situated
on an outskirts of the Aravallis at the northern edge of the alluvial plain. In eastern Rajasthan, the plateau and forest ridges are sparsely populated. These plateau and ridges are formed of sandstone rocks of the Vindhyan age. Bundi town is located on a sandstone ridge and Kota town at the edge of the flat land drained by the river Chambal, Kali, Sindh and Parbati.

The people of Rajasthan plain reside primarily in villages of different sizes. The density of villages reflects the density of population in general. The villages in Rajasthan plain are generally of compact type, with some variation in degree of compactness in different parts. The compactness is the result of combination of physical and cultural factors. The limited and widely scattered patches of cultivable land and pastures and availability of water. The need for cooperation in pooling the available human and technological resources to extract the maximum from the limited and spatially concentrated resources on the one hand and for security against the maruadars and aggressors on the other.\textsuperscript{24} This had enhanced the sense of gregariousness and common living among the people. “Beset of centuries by dangers of political instability e.g organized, banditry, confiscatory taxation, military looting and local tariffs, the whole population in general and urban population in particular has agglomerated for mutual protection in compact units.”\textsuperscript{25} The settlement pattern is quite naturally governed by the factor proximity with the availability of water supply. The actual setting, at least of sizeable and

culturally important settlements had to be necessarily located from the point of view of defence and security for instance many villages have been fort and or walled settlements, and such forts have to be established on some physically and strategically vantage sites even though the water source was away. In several cases the sites were also selected for security against flood hazards as on the nearest levee or high mound the highest flood level.26

In the compact areas, core families have been clustered by castes. Out of 36 castes in the rural areas, as many as 20 are living in compact zones. Castes, at the opposite ends of hierarchy, rarely live adjacent to each other. Harijans (scavengers), Bhambis (leather workers), Jathiyas (tanners) and Bhill (casual labour and cultivating tribe) always live on the outer fringe of the villages. The only exceptions are the Dholis (drummers) who were permitted by the jagirdars to live near the centre. Such residential location is expressive of the social distance between them and the upper castes. In some case Brahmins are also found to be living in segregated parts of the villages with living around to serve them, Ghanchis (oil presser), Raikas (stock raisers), Darji (tailors), lohar (blacksmith), Darogas (Rajput serving castes), Nais (hair dresser), and Sants (religious service). The occupation, followed by the castes is important consideration, in their residential location. Agricultural and stock raising castes are found at the outer fringe, while the castes whose occupation does not demand much of out door life, live near the centre.

The upper castes such as Rajput, Brahmin and Chaudhry, occupy the central portion of the village, while the lower casters are settled on the fringes. The variation is found in their socio-economic position depending on basis of caste hierarchy.\(^{27}\)

There are varying regional trends of the growths of urban population. Most of the towns originated as centres of regional, military, and political control and administration. It was only with the establishment of feudal system of society and the division of the area into a number of small states ruled over by local tribal chiefs that condition became favorable for the growth of towns and small cities. The centripetal force acting to concentrate the population was the high walled residence or the fort of the ruler known as \textit{garh} surrounded by quarters of a large group of professional warriors. They furnished some degree of protection in a period when internecine warfare was scourge and they afforded to a greater degree than was possible in a village. Thus, most of the towns, in this region, originated as strategic, political, administrative manufacturing marketing centres of small semi independent territories. Artisans and traders gravitated to these centres, and in a number of instances, a centre became so specialized in some features of trade and commerce or manufacture as well, to acquire a considerable fame in the course of time. The capital towns like Jodhpur, Bikaner, Jasialmer and other towns like Jalor, Nagor, Pali and Kota originated as administrative centres of regional importance to which other functions were appended later on. There are some

\(^{27}\) Ibid, p. 64.
places in the parts of the state Bikaner, their names end with *garh*, which hold some strategic importance of the site and nature of military or political origin of towns such as Suratgarh, Ratangarh, and Rajgarh. Other names also end as ner, pur, shahar, nagar etc (all meaning settlement or town) and names of the founder mostly speak for their political or administrative origin although in subsequent times some of them were located for economic advantages as market towns such as Rajgarh, Bikaner, Jodhpur, Nagor, Pali etc. Jaisalmer is situated on a rocky basement. Many other towns had similar origins although their names do not directly speak for the founder, names or even other unique characteristics.

Analysis of sites of some towns will explain their intrinsic advantage for defence and control as much as having dependable water supply and other advantages such as safety from sand and dust storm for sustaining urban life. Some towns have originated and developed because of the availability of minerals or salt deposits. Salt pans or *sars* where salt deposit are thick enough to be of commercial value, have given rise to many urban settlements in this arid land. A number of settlements which are located near such salt deposits derive their significance from salt, and a few of such settlement have become important salt producing centres. The importance of such settlements had declined but quite a number of them still retain their names which end with *sar* (meaning salt lake) namely Napasar, Lunkaransar, Rajaldesar, Bhinasar and Bachasar. Mining industry also led to the establishments of some towns like Gudha (salt),

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Lunkaransar (gypsum), Makrana (marble), etc. The morphological patterns of the towns of Rajasthan plain resemble the general pattern of the villages, both partaking similar physical and functional characteristics although in varying degrees. "There are walled villages and walled towns, market villages and market towns, track junction villages and cross-road towns.....etc, and many are generally amorphous or irregular in shape particular at the core".²⁹

Larger towns like Jodhpur and Bikaner showed distinct signs of a modern city explosion developing typical inner, middle, outer and suburban zones and also throwing their tentacles (sub-urban centres) along the regional routes. We also find that in many towns mandis were developing and attracted the merchants and people of the adjacent villages. These towns acquired the status of economic and political function of the time. Apart from the above factors some settlements have developed because of being pilgrim centres or having some religious buildings. This part of India has been important for Jainism since ancient times.³⁰ This gave rise to the establishment of a few settlements to which traders and merchants have been attracted by the commercial advantages, offered by numerous pilgrims. Ramdevra is one such settlement. The dargah of Ajmer also attract pilgrims from all over India, and even beyond, which has enhanced the economic activities of Ajmer.

Agriculture and livestock raising are the most important economic pursuits of the people. However, processing and manufacturing industries, household industries hold importance. Agriculture is the main occupation of the people in Rajasthan plain. The cropping pattern of the region reveals that cultivation of cereals is most important. Among the cereals, millets like jower and bajra predominate in both areas and production in the southern and western parts while in north eastern portion also they cover more than ¼ of the total cropped area. Gram and pulses, however replaced millets as the most important crops in northern part of the region. Wheat, barely and maize come next to gram and pulses followed closely by millets. Among commercial crops, oilseeds are of some importance, cotton and opium are also grown in the south-eastern part of the state.

Livestock raising is the subsidiary occupation of the people of the region. A large number of people entirely depend on livestock raising for their livelihood. Camels of high breed are/were raised in Bikaner, Nagor and Jaisalmer etc.

The princely states helped in the past to develop a number of handicrafts, mainly in urban areas. The salt industry holds importance in the region. In the past Pachpadra salt producing area is the most important in Rajasthan. Other major salt works are located at different places such as Sambhar and Nawa in the Sambhar salt lake area. Besides, these salts were produced at Kuchaman and Didwana.

The chief means of transport were bullock carts, camel carts, pack horses, camels and bullocks. In the eastern Rajasthan cart drawn by camels and bullocks were used as means of transport. The region was plain and hard, while in western
Rajasthan where the land was uneven so, camel, bullock and pack horses were used in transportation sector in large number in the state.

Rajasthan possesses regional variation. Its location on the major trade routes to other coastal Mughal provinces like Gujarat, Sindh, Multan, Malawa and the imperial capitals of Agra and Delhi. This helped it to expand its trade network beyond its boundary in the 18th century Rajasthan. Geographical factors always condition the economy of any region.
CHAPTER -III
ARTISANS AND CRAFTS

The craft production constituted an important sector of the economy and the artisans played a significant role in satisfying the needs of rural as well as urban population in the 18th century Rajasthan. The traditional village crafts were not yet separated from the agrarian sector, whereas in the urban centres, it was becoming more or less an important profession either due to larger demands or commodity money relation because of rising cash nexus. These aspects have been explored in details by modern scholars.\(^1\)

The Mughal chronicles record the terms, Karigran, Ahl-i hirfa and Kasib while referring to these occupational castes. The archival documents of the different Rajput states also record the existence and functioning of various crafts in rural as well as urban sector at varying level in the 18th c. Rajasthan.\(^2\) The Ghazals, literary compositions composed by the Jain munis employ a single term Chattis Pawan\(^3\) to indicate thirty six occupational castes. This incorporates range of people from artisans, professionals, service castes, performing artists to prostitute and beggars who were getting remuneration for their services to the village community, across India.


\(^2\) Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur; Kagadau-ri- bahis and Sawa bahis; Bikaner and Dastur Komwar, Jaipur all of different Vikram Samvat.

\(^3\) Shri Khetal, *Chitord Ki Ghazal in “Shri Nagar Varnatmak Hindi Padhya Sangrah”,* Muni Kant Sagar ed. Surat, 1948.
The evidence on crafts and artisans is scattered in our sources. But they mostly provide data about cotton carders (pinjaras), weavers (julahas), dyers (rangrej), indigo dyers (neelgars), calico printers (chhinpa), tailor (darji), goldsmith (sunar), copper and bronze castes (kansera), carpenters (khati), luhar (ironsmith), potters (kumbhars), stone cutters (silawat), bangle makers (lakhera), cobblers (mochis), oil pressure (teli) and distiller (kalal). The epithet ‘Pawana Chhatis’ is derived from the term pawana the recipient for those who received payment in lieu of their services and patronage from the village community as well as from individual landowners.\(^{34}\)

The craft production was carried out in two sectors: rural and urban. The traditional rural craft production was subordinate to the agriculture. Secondly, the craft production in urban sector was not blended with agriculture. It was an autonomous commodity production done by the professional artisans. Another category of artisans were employed in different departments and karkhanas of the state. Moreover, some artisans like teli (oilmen), sunthar (carpenter), luhar (ironsmith), kalal (distiller), dhedh (leather workers) etc were doing cultivation along with their craft in the towns.

Artisans as a part of the village community:

The rural crafts were mainly based on the agricultural production. The rural artisans combined craft production with cultivation. There used to be some traditional crafts in almost every village to meet the local demands. Out of them, some were seasonal or irregular crafts while others were regular crafts undertaken by the artisans. The workers of oil extraction and vegetable growers were quite seasonal. Besides them, there were some craftsmen who were permanent residents of villages such as carpenters, luhar, dhedh, mochi, kumbhar and kalal. They carried on their rural crafts alone or sometimes assisted by their family members. Whatever was produced with the help of the raw material obtained from villages was simple and rather unfinished in quality. The scale of production was restricted to the village requirements only.\(^\text{35}\) The artisans like ironsmiths and carpenters continued to live in village. Generally ironsmiths repaired and manufactured the items like the plough, tools and the implements needed by the agriculturists and wood wares by carpenters. The village luhar manufactured domestic items like knives, sickles, axes, yokes and spades while balais were engaged in tanning of animals skins where as chamar prepared shoes, leather buckets (charas) for lifting water from the well and other artisans who also helped the villagers in many ways such as kumbhars who prepared earthen wares of different types and size for cooking food, drinking water, storing grains and seeds. Besides, there were other crafts also being carried in the rural areas. The agriculturist artisans

\(^{35}\) A.I. Chicheron, op. cit., p. 41.
utilized their time by doing extra work for entire village. The rural women also
took interest in spinning cotton hairs on their spinning wheel or charkha apart
from their regular domestic works.\textsuperscript{36} Chhajlas the basket of grass sticks were
manufactured for winnowing grain at field; tailoring bags of coarse cloth spinning
of cotton or hairs of animal like camel or goats preparation of gur, raw sugar were
some other crafts under taken in the rural sector.

Since the artisans worked for the superior class in the society and the
responsibility of their maintenance fell on the village community. Hence, on the
basis of the Jajmani system for their service was being paid in kind, out of the
village agricultural production, often in exchange of commodity.\textsuperscript{37} Sometimes
artisans were granted a tax free land for their maintenance. For instance, an
ironsmith Dedo, son of Gidha, was granted a tax free land in 1774 A.D.\textsuperscript{38}

The main function of the artisans was to serve either to entire village
community or individuals. They were, therefore, called village servants and are
designated in our documents as karu kamin. The word karu means a person who
earns his livelihood by doing labour for other and kamin means a menial. These
two words are jointly employed which assigns them a lower social status in
society.

They formed an inalienable segment of the rural economic organization and
acquired important place in the social set up. The village servants of individuals

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid, p. 45.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid, p. 40.
\textsuperscript{38} Parwana Bahi, Bikaner, V.S 1831-A.D 1774.
belonging to higher castes such as Brahmans, Rajputs and Vaishyas used to receive some customary dues from their patrons in lieu of services rendered by them. Similarly, the rural artisans attached to the village community were often enlisted by the peasants for the auxiliary agricultural works.

**Urban Crafts:**

The urban based small scale commodity handicrafts was a new form of economic organisation of craft and it introduced qualitative new stage in comparison with the traditional village community craft. During the period under study, three forms of small scale commodity handicrafts production existed in Rajasthan: (a) the association of craft production with agriculture; (b) production carried out exclusively by professional artisans; (c) and production by the artisans employed with the state workshop (*karkhanas*) on regular or contract basis.\(^{39}\)

The growth and steady development of the urban craft industry and a consequent larger production as a commodity to meet out the increasing demands was due to following reasons:

The decline/disintegration of the Mughal Empire in the mid 18th century diminished its grandeur and glory affecting patronage to skilled artisans and craftsmen. They were skilled in a variety of vocation yet they were ousted of the Mughal employment leading to loss of their means of subsistence. Having been rendered unemployed, they were looking for new opportunities of livelihood

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\(^{39}\) *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1835-A.D 1778, f. 17 (b) and No. 11, V.S 1828-A.D 1771.
cities as well as towns (qasbas) in the Rajputana. The rise of the petty principalities proved beneficial for them and offered employment opportunities to the artisans. These artisans brought with them new forms of techniques and designs of arms manufacturing which were now introducing in princely states. The autonomous Rajput Chiefs made efforts to establish the state workshop in their respective principalities to meet the luxury and military requirements.

Moreover, the aristocratic and rich class (as well as others) had developed taste for decorative products in wood, metal, stone and leather etc. Princely demands of these items further expanded the artisan production sector.

**Metal Works (Iron):**

The 18th century documents mention various kinds of metal workers who were engaged in production activities. Some of the metal workers were making their wares and selling them into the open market while some were giving to the middlemen or merchant. Third categories of artisans in metal were offering their services on wages. Generally these kinds of artisans were employed by the state karkhanas.

Numerous metal works were developing in the 18th century Rajasthan. Prominent among them was iron industry. After the disintegration of the Mughal Empire, the Rajput states were consolidating their position and for that they concentrated on reorganization of their army. Besides, the adventurers and free booters were emerging on the political scene, which also needed arms and ammunition. All these developments stimulated the iron production. It suggests a
growing concentration of artisans involved in arms manufacture in the towns. Thus, after the emergence of the Rajput principalities, ironsmiths or arms manufacturers got prominence in the 18th century production activities. After that they started reaching qasbas to meet the demands of the urban population. They were often employed in the state karkhanas. They manufactured iron commodities catering to domestic as well as military demands.

**Commodities for Domestic Use:**

The documents of the period provide information about many items of domestic purposes. The iron utensils of daily use were manufactured by the artisans on the order of the consumer. Following were the few items which were being manufactured by them for the consumers as well as open-market;  

**Name of the items**

- karahi (a shallow iron pot for cooking)
- lorda
- Datilo
- Taita
- Kudchi (ladle)
- Tawa (griddle)
- Chhanni (sieve)
- Dol (bucket)
- Chhuri (knives)
- Katarni (scissors)

Ordinarily these items were manufactured on specific order, but these were also available in open market. Nagaur and Pali earned fame for their iron utensils.

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We get information that items of everyday domestic use were also supplied to the Royal household at Jodhpur besides being sold among the common folks.\textsuperscript{41}

There were other implements manufactured mainly for masonry works e.g. implements like, surad (karni), crowbar (sabal), sandsi (a pair of pincers), sikanje (clamps) and heavy chains to tie the horses and camels\textsuperscript{42}. These items were for the procurement of the masons and lohars (ironsmith). Iron boxes of fine quality were also manufactured at Pali and Nagaur in Rajasthan.\textsuperscript{43} Besides these, we find in the records that some delicate items were also manufactured such as Kalamdan.\textsuperscript{44} The wire of musical instrument guitars was also made in the 18\textsuperscript{th} century Rajasthan at Nagaur.\textsuperscript{45} The experts of wire making for guitar were required by the princely courts (darbar).

\textbf{Weapons and Military Items:}

The documents of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century Rajasthan provide ample information about the weapons which were casted such as canons, guns, swords, daggers, javelin and long pipe etc. All of them were manufactured either locally or outside the state. We get information that Jodhpur darbar issued an order for one hundred twenty five guns with long neck to manufacture and be sent to darbar urgently.\textsuperscript{46} Besides guns, other weapons such as swords (talwar), javeline, katari (dagger)

\textsuperscript{41} Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 9, V.S 1826-A.D 1769 and Sanad Parwana, Jodhpur, no. 17, V.S 1833-A.D 1776.
\textsuperscript{42} Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 12, V.S 1829-A.D 1772.
\textsuperscript{44} Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 9, V.S 1826/A.D 1769, f. 17.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{46} Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 17, V.S 1833/A.D 1776.
were also manufactured. The cannons (top) with long pipe (nal) and lances were manufactured in large quantity in the 18th century Rajasthan. Lances and swords were used in large number by the Rajputs in war. Augmented weapon manufacturing is attested by the statement of Tod, who writes [in the early 19th century], “the artisans manufactured with deftness in their own shops, swords, blades, matchlock, dagger, iron boxes, iron lances etc. The Nagaur Ki Ghazal and other sources also provide adequate information about the localities where large number of skilled luhars lived to prepare sharp headed spear and sword. Along with offence items, defense items are also mentioned in the sources such as dhal (shield) and iron pusak for the self defence of the soldiers. Sword was the most important weapon and was generally known as Talwar which was used in all the localities of Rajasthan. Its shapes and sizes varied from region to region.

Another item which was prepared in 18th century Rajasthan was the cannon balls. The cannon-balls were made at kilkhana. We are informed that ironsmith named Tilok was involved in making cannon balls; similarly Jodhpur darbar wrote a letter to Moji Ram asking to send one and half maund of iron canon balls made of hammer. We also find [in the sources] that cartridges of guns were made of

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47 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 9, V.S 1826/A.D 1769, f. 57.
48 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 13, V.S 1830/A.D 1773.
49 James Tod, op. cit.
50 Muni Kant Sagar (ed.), Shri Nagar Varnatmak Hindi Padhya Sangrah, Surat, 1948; Yatmanrup, Nagaur Ki Ghazal, pp. 64-65; Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur.
51 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 9, op. cit.
different varieties in the 18th century Rajasthan. Kilkhana was an important department where other items were also made. The term for iron smith in the sources has been used as luhar and sikligar. It would be worthwhile to elaborate upon the use of different terms for same set of artisans. It was related to their specialization in different branches of the same skill. Sikligar was expert in manufacturing items like banduq (guns) and other sharp edged weapons; while the luhars prepared doors, gates, lances, rings, door chains, and they also repaired guns etc.

Another set of information contained in our documents is primarily related to the variety of utensils made of different metals. These were manufactured either on specific order or for open market. The objects of different metals such as brass, copper and bronze appear to have been produced at large scale because of their great demand in market. The artisans involved in manufacturing the utensils of brass, copper and bronze were termed as thatheras (brazier). The specific items were made only on demand. In that case, the customers had to furnish the quantity, size and weight specifications.

\[52\textbf{ Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 12, V.S 1829/A.D 1772.}\]
\[53\textbf{ Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 17, V.S 1833/A.D 1776.}\]
Items of Brass

Degchi (pot)
Charipa (water vessels)
Parat (a large circular metal plate having a raised edge)
Chalni (seive)
Kudchi (ladle)
Lota (a small round pot)
Kada Charpa (rafter of water vessel)
Dhakkan (lid/cover)
Thali (small metal plate)
dukdiya
Chariya (water vessels) of three different sizes.

The mentioned item Charia varied working to the material of different weight they would contain. Besides size of commodities, order for specific look or appearance were also placed. For example, matli (a large vessel/jar) for cooking of rice from 2.5 ser to 5 sers and patila (pot) for cooking pulses in large quantity were ordered. Jars for keeping ghi were manufactured by artisans. Beside these items, some other objects such as:

Katora (bowls with cover)
Doharia (large ladel/spoon)
Parat (a large circular metal plate having a raised edge)
Dabra (a kind of pot to keep water) were also manufactured on considerable scale.

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54 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 9, V.S 1826/A.D 1769, f. 17.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid, f. 18.
57 Ibid, no. 21, f. 18.
Bronze

Bronze metal also been recorded with which a large number of potteries were made. Some of the items are given here:

- *Thal* (tray)
- *Vatka*
- *Dabra* (small tank)
- *Katori* (small bowls)
- *Jhaler* (small cymbal)
- *Katora* (bowls)

These were the items both of domestic use as well as of decorative purposes.

Copper Commodities

Next important metal which registers its presence in our document is copper. The utensils like *Kalash* (water pot/jar), *Lota* (a small round pot) were made of bronze.

The water pitchers were the commonest items of brass and copper and were designed in the Rajasthans style. They contained small mouth and narrow neck. Thus, it seems to us that these items of brass, copper and bronze were popular among the people as well as to the ruling elites of the *parganas* or state. So they got these items crafted according to their liking and utility. The items of these metals such as brass, copper, iron and bronze were manufactured in almost all big and small towns by the craftsmen. The chief centres of this industry were Nagaur, Pali, Bikaner, Jaipur and Jodhpur.

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58 Ibid, no. 9, f. 22.
59 Ibid, f. 18 (a).
Besides these metals, utensils of silver were also prepared by the craftsmen for special occasions e.g., on the marriage of Princes Suraj Kunwar, the items like Kundi, Chara, Kalash, Chamcha, Thali, Jhari, Bajor, Rambro, Katora, Kumbha and Lotah (gold) were ordered to be manufactured.

Carpenters (Wood Works):

The contemporary records of the period refer to the term, Khati/Sunthar for the carpenters, who were involved in manufacturing the wooden articles of domestic as well as of public utility. The articles they manufactured include a wide range, such as bullock’s carts for carriage, wooden ladders, windows, doors, wheels for carts, raths, palanquins, saddle, scabbards, for swords, toys, grills for wells and agricultural implements. The carpenters lived in almost every village and town. From our sources we come to know that many carpenters had acquired great eminence in manufacturing of some specific items. In Jaipur, Pema, Harya and Bihari had been referred as famous carpenters. They were expert in making chariot and palanquins (palki). In Jaipur there was a separate Karkhana for the manufacturing of palanquins and for its maintenance. The rulers used to travel to different places on the back of the elephant and camel. Hema and Bhima prepared beautiful elephant seat for the rulers of Jaipur and they were rewarded by the ruler for their artistic skill. In another set of documents we find that a luhar, Ajmeri of a village Rohal along some other carpenters of a village Panchale were called at

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61 Dastur Kharch Palki Khana, Jaipur, V.S 1800/A.D 1743.
62 Dastur Komwar. vol. 23, op. cit.
Khinwasar for making camel seats (palan). These Khatis/carpenters called for special work were paid usually more than the other workers of the same profession.\textsuperscript{64} Beside these luxurious items for the rulers and their subordinates, some items for children’s amusement were also made by them.

The wood toys were also made. The toys were such as a child’s rattle (jhunjhuna), wheels (chakriyan) and chatpatri.\textsuperscript{65} These were made on demand from the ruler of Jodhpur at Sojat with artistic quality. Beside these items, some figures of domestic/pet animals were also prepared by the carpenters on specific order and designs. We get an instance that these items were ordered by the rulers of Jodhpur for royal household which specified that such things had to be made for as many as ten elephants, ten cows, ten parrots, ten horses and ten peacocks.\textsuperscript{66}

**Darzi (Tailor):**

The sources of the period record the presence of darji (Persian: darzi) their main occupation was sewing cloths on contract basis both for elites and common people. We also find some information that they were employed at Khemakhana for making and repairing the items of the royal household.\textsuperscript{67} When the ruler intended to visit a place or went on a war expedition then he had to move with a large caravan. His party consists of army, his personal attendants and those who

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\textsuperscript{63} Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 23, V.S 1836/A.D 1779, f. 35 (b); no. 41, V.S 1846/A.D 1789, f.441 (b) and no. 48, V.S 1848/A.D 1791.
\textsuperscript{64} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{65} Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 17, V.S 1833/A.D 1778, f. 153 and no. 25, V.S 1830/A.D , f. 257.
\textsuperscript{66} Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 17, V.S 1833/A.D 1778, f. 153.
\textsuperscript{67} Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 9, V.S 1826/A.D 1769, f. 82 (b).
made the tents for stationing. For instance, a darzi, named Dula of Merta was employed in this department of Khema doz (sewing of tent). Another darzi named Bagho was getting Rs. 4 for stitching cloth each of royal household and the nobility. We also come to know from the sources that a tailor of Jodhpur was given one paisa for sewing a tang for royal household. These tailors were rewarded by the rulers on many occasions for their work. A tailor of Nagaur was given a reward of Rs. 100 by the ruler of Jodhpur in the year 1774 A.D. In the same fashion a tailor Jiwa in Jaipur was given a white chira cloth for sewing cloths for the royal household on the festival of Dasehra. In the state of Jaipur there was a Palkikhana (planquins) which also employed tailors. Different types of cloths were used for the decoration of palki by the employed tailors. Besides these, there was another category of darzi who were fully dependent on the common customers in the markets.

Potters (Kumbhars):

Potters are entered in our documents who were engaged in making the earthen pots for domestic as well as common use. It is mentioned in the sources that a Padam khumbhar named Pema who prepared Padam ra pots on demand from the state and he was given the transport charge by the state to bring the

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68 Ibid.
70 Jodhpur Bahiyat, no. 9, V.S 1823/A.D 1766.
71 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 14, V.S 1831/A.D 1774.
72 Dastur Komwar, no. 23, Jaipur, p. 411.
73 Jamakharch Palki Khana, Jaipur, V.S 1800/A.D 1743.
74 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 8, V.S 1825/A.D 1768, f. 95.
required items. At another place the same potter, who used to make clay lamps and clay toys for the state on the occasion of Diwali and holi. In return he used to get Rs. 10 from the darbar invariably for the wares he brought. There are references of Khaprail (roof-tiles) being prepared at Sojat, which was supplied to the Sojat Chauntra. In another set of documents we find Kolhas was made in Kota it was also used in mud houses for making roof.

The Weavers (Julahas):

The sources at our disposal are replete with references to julahas (weavers). Their main occupation was weaving of cloths. They were present almost all the important centres of trade and had a separate settlement there. Cotton being an important and extremely widespread crop and spinning was a universal phenomenon of Indian village life. The references of cotton production in the 18th century Rajasthan is referred in our sources. Cotton (ban) was produced in large scale in Kota due to the availability of black soil there. As a result spinning and weaving were a major craft practiced by the julahas and by some others like kolis and balahis. There were a large number of populations of weavers living in a particular part of hamlet a village known as pattis. We do not get direct reference from our sources about the variety of cotton textiles produced in the region but we

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75 Ibid.
76 Sanad Parwana, Jodhpur, no. 9, V.S 1829/A.D 1777, f. 12 (b).
77 Ibid.
78 Sanad Parwana, Jodhpur, no. 50, V.S 1854/A.D 1797, f. 30 (a).
79 Bhandar no. 20, Basta, no. 10, V.S 1890/A.D 1833, Kota.
can infer from the varieties available with the *cheepas*, such as *ata, gon, sati, kunwar-joli, jola, pagh, kora, dhola-joda, bhandana, ligi ka patka* and *sarees*.\(^{82}\)

From the Jodhpur Records we get information that weaving was practiced at Nagaur. The state issued an order for the weavers of Nagaur to weave only for the state.\(^{83}\) A similar type of document tell us that when weavers were not available in large numbers, the state issued an order to the concerned authorities of Nagaur to give a remission of Rs. 300 on the *peskas* tax to the weavers of Nagaur.\(^{84}\) It gives us a clue that the state took keen interest in promoting the weaving industry at Nagaur. It was a famous centre for production cotton cloth since the early medieval period. During the Mughal period, besides cotton cloths, woolen cloths of different variety were also woven.\(^{85}\) It becomes clear from our sources that the rulers of Jodhpur placed an order to purchase blanket from Nagaur for the royal household.\(^{86}\) Pali was also an important centre for cotton cloth and muslin.

Sanganer is a *qasba* near Jaipur which was an important centre of weaving, spinning and dying in the 18\(^{th}\) century. Cotton was produced there on large scale and cotton cloth like *sarees* and printed scarves were manufactured there.\(^{87}\) *Mirat-i Ahmadi* a Persian chronicle of 18\(^{th}\) century informs us that Raja Jai Singh took

\(^{82}\) Ibid.
\(^{83}\) *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 5.
\(^{84}\) Ibid.
\(^{85}\) Hamida Khatoon Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India, 1556-1803*, Bombay, 1968.
\(^{86}\) *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 13, V.S 1830/A.D 1773.
\(^{87}\) *Arhsatta Qasba*, Sanganer, V.S 1778/A.D 1721, and *Vigat*, II, p. 449.
many weavers from Ahmadabad to settle at his newly built town Jainagar and paid them handsomely. They were also paid for the transport of their implements. Besides these, we also get information from other sources that good quality of phenta and velvet manufactured in Jaipur state. The weavers played an important role in the textile manufacture as is evident from the concession granted and other facilities extended to them for settling down in the town.

**Tie and Dye Works:**

The contemporary records of the 18th century Rajasthan refer to calico printers (cheepa) and dyers (rengreze and neelgars) which indicate that the industry associated with them was emerging as an important component. We also get information about the emergence of specialized centres of dyeing and printing in the region. The major centres of calico printing in the state of Kota were Chechat, Basai, Baran and Rampur. Chechat had emerged as a major calico printing centre and the particularly of cloth a variety was named after this place Chechat. Other varieties were Jaffrani, Damami, and mot, rati etc. The other centres of calico printing had acquired importance in the 18th century. Due to its popularity, a large number of calico-printers settled in the 18th century Rajasthan.

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91 Madho Tondon Sethia, op. cit., p. 239.
92 Ibid.
The kachhwaha rulers took keen interest in the development of trade, commerce and industries in the 18th century. Sanganer is a qasba near Jaipur, which had emerged as an important centre of calico printing. The people of Rajasthan were fond of wearing colours such as red, saffron, blue and black. Sanganer had acquired eminence for its tie and dye works particularly in Chundries and Laheriyas all over the northern Indian. In chint production the name of Sanganer and Bagru had acquired importance in Jaipuri textile. The Karkhanajat records of Jaipur mention the name of two craftsmen such as Fateh Mohammad and Dost Mohammad as famous calico printers of Jaipur.

The history of tie and dye in the Rathor dominion begins with the emigration of Muslim community in the 15th century from Multan to Nagaur, then the capital of Marwar. Indigo dyeing was a specific skill which was done by nilgar. Tie and dye printing was practised by chenpas, Bandhej and Laheriyas of Jodhpur are famous not only in India but abroad too. The chenpas were found in large numbers in Marwar who employed a variety of printing techniques most important and popular being the block printing. The Rajasthani tie and dye work could not remain popular in India but bandhej, chunderies and laheryyas had earned their market abroad particularly in European countries and even as far as in America.

93 Arhsatta Qasba, Sangnaer, V.S 1878/A.D 1721.
94 Arhsatta, Karkhanajat, (Chhapa Khana), V.S 1794/A.D 1737, Jaipur.
95 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur.
Ivory Works:

Information about ivory work gets sufficient place in the records of the 18th century. The artisans in making ivory items were making bangles (*chura*), bracelet, handles of swords and toys. The ruler of Jodhpur ordered the specific animal ivory.\(^7\) Ivory works with light weight and artistic in design were on top priority. [These items were ten horses, cows, peacocks, parrots and rabbits].\(^8\) The state had also sent a messenger (*qasid*) for the purpose of transporting these articles for royal household.\(^9\) In another document it is mentioned that fourteen *bugdiya* of ivory were manufactured at Sojat for the use of the royal household and special messenger (*qasid*) was sent for this.\(^10\) Besides these, some luxurious items like elephant seat and chariot of ivory were prepared by two craftsmen named Bhima and Bihari in Jaipur.\(^11\)

Sonars (goldsmith):

The goldsmiths are noticed in our documents whose main profession was manufacturing of silver and gold ornaments. They have been recorded in almost all big and small towns of Rajasthan. From our sources we get information that on the marriage of Princess Suraj Kunwar of Bikaner, some items of gold were made by goldsmiths. Items made by them were one pair of *Kankan, Satlaro* of pearls,

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\(^7\) Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 19, V.S 1834/A.D 1777, f. 11.
\(^8\) Ibid and Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 10, V.S 1841/A.D 1784, f. 371.
\(^9\) Ibid and Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 19.
\(^11\) Dastur Komwar, Jaipur, no. 4, ff. 319-323.
Veno, Asthano, Pholari, Ariawat, Binti rings, Teghra, Nath (nose ring), Kara (bangle), Binti (ring diamond), Tora (wristlet), Satlaro.

Besides Bikaner, Jaipur was also very famous for its jewellery and enamel work. The Maharajas of Jaipur were also very fond of ornaments therefore they encouraged and promoted this industry. Some craftsmen of far off places like Delhi and Lahore were called at Jaipur. They were extended various facilities to settle down there and practice their craft. For example it is mentioned in the sources that Heera Nand and Prushottam Das Johri were invited from Delhi.

In another category of documents we find that a sunar named Khushal Chand of Kota who manufactured an artistically designed hukka and other parts of it such as pipe, chain, and rod were of gold and silver. Goldsmith named Birdha, Jethi, Nanda and Kalyan made hauda (elephant seat) for the royal elephant.

Moreover Jodhpur was also a centre of ornament production. Some goldsmith of Merta such as Heera Chand and Manak Chand, who emerged as famous goldsmith were given a haveli and some land in Merta in recognition of their art.

103 Ibid.
104 Bhandar no. 19, Basta no. 3, V.S 1826-32/A.D 1769-75.
105 Bhandar no. 21, Basta no. 150, V.S 1883/A.D 1726, Kota.
106 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 02, V.S 1822/A.D 1765.
Perfumery:

The heading is self explanatory, where perfume and its allied items were prepared. This sector developed due to the liking of common people as well as of the ruling and wealthy section of the society. From the contemporary documents we come to know that scents such as ambar, agar, ketaki rose, kewada, and sandal were made in profusion. Rose water from flowers of rose and oil from jasmine flowers was prepared.\(^{107}\) In the sate of Jaipur there was a separate department of perfumeries popularly known as Khushbukhana. From the records of this karkhana we came to know that different kinds of perfumes like rose, sandal, khas, sukhvil, sakhwas, makhluti and fulkheri etc. were made.\(^{108}\) From the same nature of record we know about the prices of the various scents which are registered. The abir was purchased at the rate of Rs. 1 for 2 \(\frac{1}{2}\) seer where as sandalwood at the rate of Rs. 1 for a seer were purchased for the manufacturing of scent and oil.\(^{109}\) Kishangarh near Ajmer was famous for the manufacture of rose water and scents.\(^{110}\) We learn from our sources that Surat Ram and Dola were given some rent free land by the ruler of Kota.\(^{111}\)

Building Industry: Silawats & Sangtarash:

The contemporary records of the period for different states of Rajasthan refer two terms for the stone cutters i.e. silawat and sangtrash. Their main work

\(^{107}\) Bhandar no. 16, Basta no. 1, V.S 1878/A.D 1774, Kota.

\(^{108}\) Arhsatta Karkhanajat, (Khushbukhana), Jaipur, V.S 1776/A.D 1719.

\(^{109}\) Ibid.

\(^{110}\) Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 30, V.S 1841/A.D 1784, f. 78.

\(^{111}\) Bhandar no. 16, Basta no. 1, V.S 1878/A.D 1774, Kota.
was the construction of the palaces, havelis, and forts. Besides these, they also worked for the buildings of public utility such as sarais, temples, and baoris.\textsuperscript{112}

The stones and marbles of different kinds were available in large number in Rajasthan. These stone cutters/masons were employed in the state owned buildings as well as by the affluent people. It is mentioned in the sources that nine silawats of Nagaur were called in at Jodhpur for the constructions of the Naulakhatal.\textsuperscript{113} Again in a similar parwana 30 expert silawats were called in the same area. We also know from the sources that some karigar of Jaipur and Deccan were employed in the fort of Jungarh at Bikaner.\textsuperscript{114}

The availability of stone in Marwar and south-eastern Rajasthan led to the development of building and its allied industries like stone carving, sculpture, and engraving. The physical remains of the palaces, mausoleums, temples and the havelis of the affluent merchants speak themselves of high grade of architectural feature. From our sources we come to know that the ruler of Jodhpur ordered for the sculpture of Parvati made of Makrana marbles. A stone cutter, Bhu Dhar of Jaipur was rewarded for constructing a beautiful cenotaph of Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh in 1775 A.D. Stone cutting and engraving is still a thriving profession in Jaipur.

\textsuperscript{112} Shahar Kot Kamthana, Kota, V.S 1777/A.D 1720, f 1/8.
\textsuperscript{113} Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 19, V.S 1834/A.D 1777, f. 47.
\textsuperscript{114} Kamthana Bahi, Bikaner, no. 4 & 5, V.S 1712/A.D 1755 and V.S 1819/A.D 1762, f. 16.
Leather Works:

The terms used for leather workers in the contemporary documents are is mochi, raigars and baloi, chamar. From the documents we come to know that large number of leather articles was manufactured such as shoes, scabbards of sword and dagger, saddle shield, bridle, cover of books, leather bucket, mashaqs, case for gun and oil jars.\textsuperscript{115} A chamar named Dola of Jaipur who artistically made saddle for royal household.\textsuperscript{116} Before leather could become fit for manufacturing the items it has to go through a process. It was tanned by balais.\textsuperscript{117} We come to know from our sources that a mochi Kamal Mohammad, who made one pair of shoes and brought to the darbar of Jodhpur for which he was given by the Raja. He used to bring the shoes for many years and he received the fixed amount from darbar of Jodhpur irrespective of the nature and quantum of the articles.\textsuperscript{118} In another set of documents it is recorded that the Raigars of qasba Mau in Kota, were famous for their artistic designs of shields and oil jars.\textsuperscript{119} From the same set of records again we come to know that chamar/mochi was also employed in the state naubatkhana for repairing the skin of dhol and nagara (drum).\textsuperscript{120} Besides these, there are references of other items mentioned in our sources such as leather boxes and jandanis were particularly prepared in Jodhpur by the Muslim

\textsuperscript{115} Sawu Mandi Sadar bahi, Bikaner, no. 8, V.S 1815-16/A.D 1758-59 and Jodhpur Bahiyat no. 9, V.S 1823/A.D 1766.
\textsuperscript{116} Dastur Komwar, vol. 23, Jaipur, f. 414.
\textsuperscript{117} Khate Bighori Jamdari, Kota, 1/66, V.S 1843/A.D 1786.
\textsuperscript{118} Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 9, V.S 1826/A.D 1769, f. 58.
\textsuperscript{119} Bhandar no. 3. Bastu no. 2, Kota, V.S 1853/A.D 1796. A Parwana was written to Shah Ugarchand Samariya from Maharao Ummed Singh to exempt them from taxes.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid.
From the sources it becomes clear to us that the people involved in leather works were from both Hindu and Muslim society. In Kota there is a reference that they lived in a separate locality known as Mochi Katla.

**Bangle Industry:**

The contemporary records of the period refer to two different terms for one set of artisans e.g., *churigar/dantia churigars* and *lakharas.* The term Chura denotes bangles. The Churigans made Chura of ivory. It is generally used by the women of aristocratic class as well as of the affluent families. A *churigar* named Kabir of Bikaner was famous for his products. Six pairs of his bangles were sold at Rs. 54 and *takka* 1 and *dam* 25. In another category of records we find the name of some other famous *churigars* of Jodhpur who were Allah Baksh, Syed Azam, Jiwar, Mohammad Bagha, Maruf etc. Since wearing bangles was common and popular habit of all classes of women therefore the industry associated with it flourished.

Bangles were also manufactured in Jalor. Majority of the bangle makers are reported to have been Muslims. *Lakheras* were involved in making of the bangles of *lac* and it was also called *chura.* It was worn by the lower section of the society. For the manufacturing of the bangles of *lac* it was procured from all over

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122 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 9, V.S 1826/A.D 1769.
123 Sawa Mandi Sadar Bahi, Bikaner, no. 11, V.S 1822/A.D 1765.
124 Kotwali Chabutra Jamabandi Bahi, Qasba, Jodhpur, V.S 1832/A.D 1775. Jodhpur District Depository.
126 It is assumed from the taxes paid by these artisans mentioned.
the Rajasthan as well as from Multan. We get in instance of a *lakhera* named Karna of Jaipur who brought *lac* from Tonk for making bangles.

**Nature of Urban Crafts:**

The urban handicrafts were more in the nature of commercial production because they had a wider clientele as ruling and affluent classes were living in the town. Therefore, their output had to be larger and more refined. The skilled and refined artisans and craftsmen migrated to towns and contributed to the steady growth in the production (during the period of our study). One more interesting point was that the crafts production in the town was not for a remunerative service but a production for money and market. That testifies stronger commodity money relation, commercialization and cash nexus. The artisans therefore, had no obligation towards the urban population in the way they had in the villages under *Jajmani* system. It was a stage towards segregation of agriculture and crafts in urban centers.

Thus, the urban crafts went under significant transformation both in terms of quality as well as in the quantity of production. The process of change in segregation of crafts and agriculture and from community craft to commodity craft particularly throughout the 17th and 18th century India is quite significant from historical point of view. However, it is difficult to appreciate the degree of

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127 *Zakat Bahi*, Bikaner, no. 81, V.S 1870/A.D 1750.
segregation of craft (cottage industry) from agriculture. But one thing is sure
that it got intensified during 18th century, resulting into offering seasonal
employment to the artisans. It consequently replaced the community maintenance
system i.e. Jajmani.

The change, in itself had a cumulative impact population growth, urbanization process etc. The growth and development of trade and commerce
further encouraged these processes.

STATES AND THE ARTISAN CLASS

Taxes and Cesses on artisans:

The sources of the 18th century provide information that every artisan had
to pay tax to the state. In the rural areas, this process operated through the Jajmani
system while in the urban areas cash naxus emerged. This is evident from the fact
that in the urban areas the state started realising taxes from the artisans. Various
taxes such as, Bansoli ri vachh, chothai pinjara-bab and rangare pate etc are
mentioned in our sources. For instance, a carpenter was expected to pay Rs. 2 per
annum known as Bansoli ki vachh. A rangrez was to pay a tax at the rate of Rs.
2 takka, 2 per pata (cot of dyeing) known as ranga ra pata in Bikaner.

Churigars (bangle makers), were also expected to pay chothai (a tax realized from

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129 Irfan Habib, op. cit., p. 67.
130 C.A Bayly, Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaar: North India Society in the age of British
Expansion, Cambridge, 1903, pp. 110-11. For a different view on the working of the Jajmani
System in rural society, See Hetukar Jha, Social Structure of Indian Village: A Study of Rural
Bihar, New Delhi, 1991.
131 Sawa Bahi, Rajgarh, Bikaner, no.1, V.S 1833/A.D 1776, f. 13; no. 9, V.S 1837/A.D 1780, f.
129 and Kagadar ri Bahi, Bikaner, no. 12, V.S 1829/A.D 1802, f. 200(b).
132 Kagadar ri Bahi, Bikaner, no. 11, V.S 1828/A.D 1771, f. 131.
the churigars) one fourth of their income to the state.¹³³ A pinjara (cotton carder) was forced to pay the pinjara bab (a tax levied on the pinjara) more than the fixed rate generally.¹³⁴ Likewise, all the professions such as goldsmith, potters, silawat etc were to pay taxes to the state from their income. Such arrangements of taxation also indicate the firm entrenchment of the state apparatus.

**Wages of the artisans and the state:**

The contemporary documents of the 18th century Rajasthan do not provide sufficient information about the wage structure of artisans and craftsmen. But sparse references are available in the sources of different regions. We also do not get detailed information on the process of recruitment of artisans. The references of contract employment of the independent artisans are adequately recorded. From the sources we come to know that there was no permanent method of employment in the state karkhanas (imperial workshop) but whenever a specific need arose then the state appointed some artisans of related department, for the fixed period of time and to the terms and conditiones of the state. For example, it is mentioned in the sources that two ironsmiths with good experience should be sent to Jodhpur; they were to be deployed at Amarkot for repairing the butt of the guns and that they would be employed only for a month.¹³⁵ In the same category of the document we get information that a Khati, Rahman, was recruited for four

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¹³³ *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 35, V.S 1843/A.D 1786, f 37 (b).
¹³⁴ Ibid, no.13, V.S 1830/A.D 1773, f 165 (a).
¹³⁵ *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 35, V.S 1843/A.D 1786, f 134.
months. Again at another place we find that one Rupa was employed in topkhana for a period of four months. From the same type of source material we know that a khati, Hakim (carpenter), was employed in the state Karkhana at the rate of Rs. 6 per month for the fixed period of time six months. In the 18th century, the wages of the ironsmith was Rs.6 per month due to the increasing demand of guns both at local as well as at state level. Similarly we get information that Khati Mohammad was ordered by the ruler to employ him for six months but the rate of remuneration is not mentioned. Besides the imperial workshop, the carpenters and ironsmiths were also hired by the private party and their daily wages varied between 3 ½ - 4 takas per day.

Another set of artisans were silawat (sangtrash), they were also sometimes employed on monthly basis. For example, it is mentioned in the sources that, a group of silawats were called from Nagaur, at Jodhpur for the construction of Naulakha tal. Some stone cutters, who were skilled, paid at the rate of Rs. 7 per month where as those who helped were paid less than half of their masters just Rs. 3. Then different wage level leads us to believe that those who received higher wages in the same craft were master stone cutter. We also get information that the stone cutters were also hired by the private party and paid on daily basis. From

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136 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1821/A.D 1764, f 17 (b).
137 Ibid.
139 Ibid.
140 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 9, V.S 1829/A.D 1772, f 12 (b).
141 Ibid.
142 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 19, V.S 1834/A.D 1707, f 47.
another set of documents we come to known that 12 stone cutters were hired at a consolidated amount of 48 takas. If we divide the 48 takas among 12 stone cutters then we find that each individual received 4 takkas.\textsuperscript{143} It was their daily income. It appears from above documents that there were three grade systems in wage structure. The variant wage structure seems to be the norm in the 18\textsuperscript{th} century Rajasthan. One more point emerges very clearly that the workers on monthly wages were better off than those of others. This also becomes clear to us that the craftsmen in the state were not employed on permanent basis but one purely temporary basis, i.e., for certain fixed period; when their contract was over they were free to work independently in their shops for the common people or could be hired by the people on daily wages. The state could reemploy them when need arose.

Due to the paucity of data on wage structure we can not generalize it. But the general range of wage stretched from Rs. 3-7 per month, the skilled artisans received Rs. 7 a month whereas the unskilled ones were paid Rs. 3 a month as salary.

Besides the cash wages the workers were also remunerated in kind against the wages fixed in cash.\textsuperscript{144} The practice of this kind of payment was fully replaced by cash from Rajasthan from last quarter of 18\textsuperscript{th} century. It signifies replacement of ‘barter’ by cash economy.

\textsuperscript{143} Kamthana Bahi. Bikaner, no. 4, V.S 1812/A.D 1755.
\textsuperscript{144}Ibid.
Besides these, we come to know from our sources that when state delayed the payment of artisans, then they had recorded their complaint for the redressal. For example it is mentioned in the record that a luhar named Issa petitioned to the ruler that he along with some other companions’ casted iron at the darbar and had not received the due payment and they had urged the state in their complaint to issue an order to pay the remaining amount of the wages.\textsuperscript{145} Similar nature of document offers evidence that a luhar named Buddha who had worked in the darbar his full payment was made but mehtar Vijay (head lohar of Nagaur) who was paid only half of his wage and his another half amount was stopped.\textsuperscript{146} On receiving such complaints the state redressed the grievances of the artisans.

**State Patronage to the Artisans:**

The sources of the period under review provide ample evidences that the state extended various kinds of favour to the artisans in their respective territories. Besides, better wages, petia (allowances) were also given by the states to attract the artisans to state services when required and encouraged them to remain in the state. For instance, when some oilmen of Lunkaransar intended to leave village due to excessive taxes, then state assured them that nothing other than due would be collected from them.\textsuperscript{147} Again in a similar event a luhar, Ubaid Ahmad, was willing to shift to Patiala in Punjab, was given relaxation in the taxes and was

\textsuperscript{145} *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 35, V.S 1843/A.D 1786, f 68.
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{147} *Kagadon ri Bahi*, Bikaner, no. 3, V.S 1827/A.D 1770, f. 10 (b).
rehabilitated at Nohar.\textsuperscript{148} The sources also record that on the marriage of their sons and daughters, state extended financial assistance or paid their payment in advance so that they could meet the expenses of the marriages and provided employment in state workshops. For example, a \textit{Khati Rupa} of \textit{topkhana} was given employment for four months on the occasion of the marriage of his son.\textsuperscript{149} Again at another place it is stated that a Khati Rupa of \textit{Kilikhana} was given employment for fixed period of ten months on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter.\textsuperscript{150} In a similar event, two \textit{darji}, named Dulo and Asa, were employed in \textit{khema khana} (tent workshop) and were given Rs. 12 and 100 on the marriage of their son and daughter respectively.\textsuperscript{151} Records of the similar nature offer an interesting point that the state was not really as much generous towards its bonafide employees or workers as towards it former employees, such as khati Hakim who had left his job earlier from \textit{kilikhana} but was re-employed with all the allowances (\textit{petia}) and salary of six months worth Rs 36 which was paid to him in advance to meet marriage expenses of his daughter.\textsuperscript{152}

Besides these, state also granted many other privileges to the different artisans in the payment of taxes. For instance, sometimes \textit{churigars} (bangle makers) were exempted from the payment of taxes known as \textit{chothai}.\textsuperscript{153} When the office of the \textit{Sair} known after its place name Sojat Sair tried to extract the \textit{chothai}

\begin{flushright}
148 Ibid, no. 4, f. 52
149 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 9, V.S 1826/A.D 1769, f 42 (b).
150 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 13, V.S 1830/A.D 1773, f 64 (b).
151 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 9, V.S 1826/A.D 1769, f 82 (b).
152 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 11, V.S 1828/A.D 1771, f 14.
\end{flushright}
from the bangle makers and when it was brought to the notice of the state then the state issued an order and forbade the officials not to realize from them because they enjoy exemption. In a similar case, Bansoli-ri-vachh, a tax was realized from ironsmith. An ironsmith named Mohammad had to pay state due of Rs. 10. He was unable to pay it and when it was brought to the notice of the ruler, then the ruler exempted half of the said tax. These ironsmiths were also given remission from the payment of this tax.\(^{154}\) A khati of Sojat also enjoyed exemption in the payment of kabada tax.

Apart from these exemptions and remissions some land grants were also given to the artisans along with some special favors in lieu of their work done. Some usta (painter) such as usta Isso Kayam, usta Hamid, Hasan and Abid were given tax free land in Bikaner\(^ {155}\) for their master piece work. In the same fashion a luhar Deldo was also given land in Reni in 1774 A.D. To keep the artisans in good honor, the state acknowledged the craftsmanship of some artisans such as Taman Das Gujarati who spun phenta (headgear) of fine quality was given a scroll in inam by the ruler of Jaipur state. Fateh Mohammad who manufactured cannon was awarded a Siropa by the ruler.\(^ {156}\)

Another kind of favour the artisans received from state was that a rangrez Ladu had a shop in Jodhpur that was confiscated by the state when he was away in Sindh. On his return he urged the administration to return the shop to him then the

\(^{154}\) Kagadon ri Bahi, Bikaner, no. 7, V.S 1840/A.D 1783, f. 43.
\(^{155}\) Parwana Bahi, Bikaner, no. 2, V.S 1800/A.D 1743.
\(^{156}\) Dastur Komwar, Jaipur, vol. 23, f. 395.
ruler ordered to do the needful. In a similar incidence a *kumbhar* of village Anandpur had migrated to Malwa to beat the famine, meanwhile his house was acquired by the village Chaudhry Ramchand, on return he pursued the state to get his house vacated then the state ordered to investigate the matter and restored the house to him.\textsuperscript{157}

Though they were getting concessions and favours from the state but were subjected to some exploitation by petty officials. In many cases they were subjected to *begar* (forced unpaid labour) and extortion. For instance the *Chaudhry* of a village Phidoth demanded water pots in *begar* from *Kumbar* Amare without paying for them.\textsuperscript{158} The extortion from the artisans was in the form of *begar* or of coercing them part with their products without any payment. Sometimes both were taken from them. *Begar* again could be either in the form of services rendered by them according to their profession or a different kind of services altogether.\textsuperscript{159}

The artisans satisfied the need and requirements of different sections of population as well as met the specific needs of the royal household. Their production activities gave light to the growth of trade and commerce in the state.

The foregoing description enable us to draw the following conclusions, artisans of rural as well as urban areas in their distinctive forms i.e. community crafts and commodity craft played an important role in the ‘feudal’ economy of

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\textsuperscript{157} *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1821/A.D 1764.

\textsuperscript{158} *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 13, V.S 1830/A.D 1773, f 49 (a).

Rajasthan during the period under study. The rural craft was combined with agriculture while in towns the two began to be segregated. The process became more acute in the 18th century resulting in changes in the traditional agrarian relations. The caste system played a decisive role in artisan’s lives.

The findings noted in this chapter also suggest that the generalizations made about economic and administrative decline during 18th century India are needed to be revised drastically.
large number of oxen.\textsuperscript{220} From the source materials, we came to know that a merchant of Nagaur transacted goods on bullock carts from Bundi to Nagaur in large quantity.\textsuperscript{221} Likewise, in a way, ten camel carts full of gunpowder were sent from Jalor to the Rathor capital at Jodhpur.\textsuperscript{222}

Apart from the above mentioned beasts of burden, \textit{gaadi} (carts) were also utilized in transportation sector. The carts could certainly carry more goods than single camel and ox could do, but these two were bit faster than the carts. The physical diversity of Rajasthan gives us clues that in eastern Rajasthan, grounds are even and hard where carts were drawn by bullocks while the western part is full of desert where grounds are uneven and therefore camels could draw carts at case. Now it becomes clear to us that in the 18\textsuperscript{th} century Rajasthan camels enjoyed formidable position in transportation sector than their rival carriers i.e., ox and bullock carts.

\textsuperscript{220} \textit{Sanad Parwana Bahi}, Jodhpur, of various years, \textit{Kagadau ri Bahi}’s Bikaner and \textit{Zakat Bahis}, Kota all refer them that they own large herds of oxen.
\textsuperscript{221} \textit{Sanad Parwana Bahi}, Jodhpur, no. 21, V.S 1835-A.D 1778, f. 294.
\textsuperscript{222} \textit{Kotwali Chabutra-Jamabandi}, no. 735, \textit{Pargana Jalor}, V.S 1833/A.D 1776, Jodhpur, District Depository. Oxen continue to be the chief means of transportation and annual fairs are frequent feature of rural life of a large part of India.
CHAPTER –IV
Trade Routes & Transportation

Trade and commerce requires good routes and occupies an important place in the economy of the state. The routes started developing in the early medieval period with the growth of urban life because they were the connecting links between the towns and cities and towns and rural areas. The trade routes were developed by the frequent use of traders. The traders always preferred routes which were safe from natural obstacles such as mountains, deserts and deep forests. In addition, they chose routes which had easy accessibility to supply centers.

Geographical location of Rajasthan offers some important linkages with numerous trade routes passing through it. The region was connected with important places/areas like Sindh, Multan, Agra, Delhi, Gujarat, Malwa and Punjab. The traders could pass through it with merchandise and the state earned revenue by levying duties upon them. To establish a trade link between the Mughal capitals of Agra, Delhi with the commercial centers of Gujarat such as Ahmadabad and Surat a route was marked out through Rajasthan, which created trading and revenue possibilities for the state.

The geographical location influenced its history to great extent. However, the state was surrounded by the prosperous provinces like Sindh, Multan, Punjab, Gujrat, Malwa, Agra and Delhi. This benefited its economy and subsequently many important trade routes were developed in the region which brought
prosperity to the state. These imperial highways were connected with numerous internal routes which created a network of the trade-routes in the state in the 18th century.

The contemporary records of various categories of the different Rajput states of 18th century, contain ample evidence about the important trade-routes connecting Rajasthan with the Mughal highways and other distant regions of India, various capital towns of the provinces. Sometime they provide references to the routes from starting to end point and sometimes mention only important towns on the way. In short, Rajasthan was a connecting link between Northern and Western India. Rajasthan could derive great advantage of its location between the two regions of India.

**MUGHAL HIGHWAYS THROUGH RAJASTHAN:**

As said above Rajasthan had been the junction of major trade routes of the Mughal highways. It served as a link between the Mughal capitals Agra/Delhi. Besides imperial routes there were many other routes which were frequently used by the merchants to reach Sindh, Multan, Malwa, Delhi, Agra, Deccan, Lahore and other important towns of Punjab.

The imperial route from Ahmadabad to Agra entered Rajasthan to the east of Aravali Range. This route proceeded directly northwards through Sidhpur, Palampur, Bhinmal, as far as to Jalor then bends via Pipar and Merta to arrive at
Plate II

(Mughal Highways through Rajasthan)
Ajmer. This route served market towns and joined the main route at commercial centres. This route, from Ahmadabad to Jalor, had two alternative ways: one went via Radhanpur, while another via Sidhpur passing east of Mount Abu and Sirohi. Then between Jalor and Merta diverted towards the princely capital city of Jodhpur and then again rejoined flourishing market towns of Pali. This route diverted at Ajmer for Agra passing through Kishangarh, Mozabad, Chatsu, Lalsot, Hindaun, Bayana, Khanwa, Fatehpur Sikri and finally reaches to Agra. On the main Mughal route the kosminars (milestones) were erected. This route is further bifurcated at Kishangarh to arrive directly at Amber (Jaipur) then to reach Agra through Banskoh, Todabhim, Khanwa and Fatehpur Sikri. The imperial capitals were not only linked only with Gujarat but also with other provinces such as Sindh, Multan and Malwa through Rajasthan. There was also in existence a well defined route between Delhi and Ahmadabad which ran through Bhiwani, Rajgarh, Churu, Landnu, Nagaur, Jodhpur, Jalor, Sirohi, Palanpur and Ahmadabad. We also get evidence of a route in use between Jaipur and Surat. This was through Ajmer, Bhilwara, Udaipur, Dungarpur and then connected with Mughal highway at Ahmadabad to reach Surat.

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161 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 26, V.S 1838/A.D 1781, f. 163 (b).
162 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 9, V.S 1826/A.D 1769, f. 125.
164 Powellet, Gazetteer of Bikaner State, Appendix 1.
165 Letter from Maharaja of Udaipur to Sawai Jai Singh, V.S 1784/A.D 1727; Draft Kharita and Parwana, Jaipur Record.
Besides this, the route between Multan and Delhi passed through Rajasthan by two alternative ways: one, Delhi to Multan via Bhatner, Rohtak, Hisar, Sirsa, Bhatner, Suratgarh, Anupgarh, Bhawalpur and Multan; while another was via Bhatner but its stages could had been little different which passed through Rohtak, Rajgarh, Reni, Bhadra, Nohar, Rawatsar. It also passed through Bhatner to reach Multan. There were many towns connected with Multan such as Bikaner, Jaipur, Jodhpur and Kota. Besides there were some other important commercial towns like Pali, Nagaur, and Rajgarh, etc. which had their connection with Multan. The route from Multan to Jaipur was connected with two other important urban centres. The stoppages were Bhawalpur, Anupgarh, Mahajain, Lunkaransar, Garab, Deshar, Churu, Ladnu, Didwana, Sambhar and Jaipur. Other alternative route was through Lunkaransar, Bikaner, Jarrasar, Ladnu, Sambher and Jaipur and Sindh on which Bikaner, Barsalpur or Pugal were located. The route from Multan to Kota was covered by many places such as Jaipur and then it goes from Jaipur to Tonk, Devli, Bundi and then Kota. There was a well crafted route between Multan and Jodhpur which was extended upto Pali. It was traversed through Bikaner that was Pugal, Barsalpur, Bikampur, Phalodi, Jodhpur and then

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166 K.R. Sharma, *Rajasthan Ka Samajik aur Arthik Itihas*, P. 96
167 Ibid.
168 *Kagadau ri Bahi* no. 2 V.S 1820/A.D 1763.
169 *Kagadau ri Bahi* no. 2 V.S 1820/A.D 1763.
170 Sawa Mandi Sadar Bahi no. 4 V.S 1807-10/A.D 1750-53; Bikaner Record *Draft Kharita and Parwana*; Jaipur Record, V.S 1826/A.D 1769, Maharaja of Jaipur wrote to Maharaja of Kota.
it detour to reach Pali. Nagaur was also advantageously placed on the way to Multan. The other important town that is found on the route of Multan is Rajgarh. It was a singular fortune of these towns that they were well in touch with Multan as well.

Besides these routes of different places, the Rajasthan had close relation with Khandesh and Malwa region. Apart from the above mentioned routes Burhanpur (of Khandesh area) and Indore (of Malwa area), were connected Central India with Western India. The route used by Malwa traders to reach Bikaner, and Rajgarh was through different ways. For instance, the route connecting Malwa with Bikaner passed through the places like Chitor, Mandalgarh, Badnur, Pali, Jodhpur, and Nagaur. Similarly the route between Malwa and Rajgarh, passed through the places like Bundi, Ajmer, Kishangarh, Merta, Didwana, Churu. Burhanpur was connected to Kota via Indore and then Ujjain, Jhalarapatan and Kota.

There are stray references in the documents of the period under study that Rajasthan had its connection with other regions like, Deccan, Kashmir, Jhansi, and Umar kot (Sindh). The trade link of Jodhpur with Kashmir was through Nagaur, Hardesar, Nohar, Sirsa, Bhatinda, Amritsar and Kashmir. Jammu was connected in the same way. The

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172 Kagadan ri Bahi no. 4 V.S 1820/A.D 1763.
173 Ibid.
174 Bhandar no. 16 Basta no. 2/1 Bohron Ki Lekha Bahi, V.S 1843/A.D 1786.
175 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 25, V.S 1838/A.D 1781, f. 77 (b); Tod, op. cit., p. 161.
176 Ibid.
merchants of Bikaner transacted business with Deccan. The route was through Nagaur, Merta, Tatoti, Bundi, Kota, Jhalarapatan via Ujjain to Deccan. There are stray references of a route from Mundawa to Umarkot which passed through Nagaur, Bikaner, Jaisalmer and terminating at Umarkot.

These major trade routes were well connected with other routes of India and also with major commercial urban centres viz, Rajgarh, Churu, Bikaner, Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Pali and Nagaur. These towns were linked with the routes of eastern and southern Rajasthan. Now we can say with certainty that all major routes (Delhi-Ahmadabad, Agra-Ahmadabad, Agra-Malwa, and Delhi-Multan) passed through Rajasthan. These routes assumed the status of commercial routes of the 18th century, and were used as alternative routes by the travellers which brought prosperity to various Rajput states, exemplified by a number of urban centres.

**INTERNAL TRADE ROUTES**

The contemporary documents testify that there were several internal trade-routes which connected all Rajput states of Rajasthan in 18th century. From these records a significant point emerges that the Mughal highways and the routes adopted by the indigenous traders were not always analogous but distinct. These help us gather the details of internal trade and trade routes in 18th century Rajasthan.

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177 *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 25, V.S 1838/A.D 1781, f. 38 (b).
178 *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 19, V.S 1834/A.D 1777, f. 436 (b).
(Internal Trade Routes, 18th century Rajasthan)
It also becomes clear from the documents that sometimes the traders of different regions had ‘discovered’ trade routes of their convenience to reach and serve specific destinations. The capital cities of the Princely states of Rajasthan also happened to be major commercial towns namely Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Ajmer, Udaipur, Jaisalmer and Kota etc. Apart from these major routes, there were some alternative routes which were used by traders, even though with lesser frequency.

The documents demonstrate that Jaipur was connected with Bikaner through various routes. One route which passed through Parbatsar-Maroth was most frequently used by the traders.\textsuperscript{179} Second route that linked Jaipur with Bikaner went via Sikar.\textsuperscript{180} A third route mentioned in a documents was through Mewar and Marwar which was used by the traders only in the period of crisis. Though it was quite a long route but was adopted to avoid heavy tax demand on other routes.\textsuperscript{181} In other words, this route appears to have been to protest against the heavy demand on some routes. Then the concerned states were compelled to reduce the tax demand on traders. The officials of Prvatsar-Maroth were given instructions to realize the transit tax exactly at the rates being realized on Sikar and Mewar-Marwar route and encourage the traders to use this route.\textsuperscript{182} A fourth route which connected Bikaner and Jaipur together was through Maroth, Daulatpur via

\textsuperscript{179} Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 10, V.S 1827/A.D 1770, f. 277 and Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1821/A.D 1764, f. 26, Jodhpur Records.

\textsuperscript{180} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{181} Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 7, V.S 1824/A.D 1767, f. 180.

\textsuperscript{182} Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1838/A.D 1781, f. 74, no. 5 & 10, V.S 1823/A.D 1766, f. 299.
Nagaur.183 Similarly, the link between Jaipur and Bikaner was via, Churu184 which merged at Sikar.

Two capital cities of the Kachhwahas and Hadas (i.e. Jaipur and Kota) were connected with each other. The major centres/stages between Kota and Jaipur were Bundi, Devli, Tonk, Niwai, Chaksu and Jaipur. Same stages were adopted in return Journey.185

The connection of Jaipur with the Bhati capital Jaisalmer was via Merta and Nagaur. The former was preferred more whose stages from Jaipur were Naraina, Kishanganh, Merta, Pokhran and Jaisalmer and vice versa.186 The route via Nagaur had the stages like, Jaisalmer, Pokhran, Phalodi, Nagaur, Rupnagar and Jaipur.187

The Rathor principality of Jodhpur and Jaipur had quite handsome trade. The route from Jodhpur to Jaipur ran through Merta, Parbatsar, Sambhar, and Jaipur.188 The commercial capital of the Rathors, Jodhpur and Merta had quite close link with Jaipur. The traders of this city adopted the route to Jaipur through Parbatsar, Naraina, and Jaipur,189 avoiding the route through Maroth. This multi-route connectivity of Jaipur brought prosperity to the Kachhwahas and Rathors.

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183 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 5, V.S 1824/A.D 1767, f. 52.
185 Arhsatt Rahdari, Pargana Sawai Jaipur, V.S 1845/A.D 1788, Jaipur Records.
186 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 13, V.S 1830/A.D 1773, f. 58; Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 20, V.S 1835/A.D 1778, f. 193.
187 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 9, V.S 1826/A.D 1769, f. 74.
188 Ibid.
189 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 19, V.S 1834/A.D 1877, f. 54.
The documents help us to trace the trade links of Jodhpur and its other towns with the Kota territory. The route between Jodhpur and Kota passed through, Merta, Ajmer, Devli, Bundi and Kota. Similarly, the other cities like Merta, Pali and Nagaur were well connected with Bundi and Kota. The goods destined for Merta, Pali and Nagaur from Bundi were captured at Jahazpur which indicates that this station was also on the route. Thus the stations between Bundi and Merta were Jahazpur, Devli, Ajmer and Merta and for Pali, it detours at Ajmer via Kotara and for Nagaur it goes straight from Merta to Nagaur.

A route from Bundi to Bihana appears to have been used by the traders more frequently. Our sources mention the stages which are Merta, Nagaur via Fatehpur to Bihana. The stages appear to have some missing links omitting some important stages. But we can reconstruct it with the help of other documents. Probably the stages between Bundi and Bihana were Jahazpur, Devli, Ajmer, Merta, Nagaur, Fatehpur, and finally Bihana. But sometimes the traders avoided using this route and started plying through Kishangarh, and then entered into Shekhawati to reach Bihana. This place could not be identified but it appears to have been an important place. This place must be somewhere in Shekhawati.

190 Ibid.
191 Ibid.
193 Bhandar no. 4, Basta no. 3; Zakat Bahi Pargana Jahazpur V.S 172/A.D 1815, Kota Records.
194 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 8, V.S 1826/A.D 1769, f. 176.
Two Rathor principalities of Jodhpur and Bikaner share boundaries with each other and had intimate trade relations. The traders of both the states adopted various routes which were beneficial to them. One route between Jodhpur and Bikaner traveled through Khinwasar, Nagaur and Bikaner.\textsuperscript{195} Bikaner had link with Pali through Nagaur, Jodhpur.\textsuperscript{196} Rajgarh and Pali, two important towns of these two different states, had links through Churu, Nawalgarh, Didwana, Nagaur and Pali.\textsuperscript{197} Rajgarh was an important grain mandi of Bakaner state while Pali was an emporium of Marwar.

Jaisalmer was also well in touch with Jodhpur and Nagaur via Pokhran.\textsuperscript{198} The route from Nagaur to Jaisalmer was through Phalodi and Pokhran. It is believed that it was a shorter route to reach at Jaisalmer. The two capital cities of Bhati and Rathor shared trade links through Gajasinghpura, Bap, Phalodi, Pokhran and finally Jaisalmer.\textsuperscript{199}

The trade link between Mewar and Bikaner is mentioned in our sources. The first stage from Udaipur was Jojawar then it goes to Sojat, Jodhpur, Nagaur and finally Bikaner.\textsuperscript{200} On this route traders had to part transit duties at three places viz. Jodhpur, Nagaur, and Sojat. In order to avoid multiple taxation (at three points) they adopted alternative route which was through Desuri valley, Pali and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{195} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{196} Ibid; \textit{Kagadau ri Bahi}, no. 6, V.S 1839/A.D 1782.
\item \textsuperscript{197} Ibid; \textit{Kagadau ri Bahi}, no. 6, V.S 1839/A.D 1782 & no. 11 V.S 1857/A.D 1800.
\item \textsuperscript{198} \textit{Sawa Mandi Sadar}, no. 10, V.S 1821-22/A.D 1764-65, f. 39, Bikaner Records.
\item \textsuperscript{199} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{200} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
after crossing desert villages arrived Jodhpur, then finally to Bikaner. On this route, therefore they had to pay transit duty only at Jodhpur.\textsuperscript{201}

The use of alternative routes by traders always depended on the quantum of taxation on particular routes. This becomes clear from an example. The traders preferred the route of Jaipur to Bikaner via Sikar where the transit duty was charged at the rate of Rs. 8.5 per camel while Rs. 15.5 per camel was charged on Maroth-Jharoth on the route of Nagaur to Bikaner. Obviously, the former route was avoided by the traders. The avoiding of Maroth alarmed the state authorities which immediately issued instructions to the \textit{chowki} officials to reduce the tax down to that of Sikar route.\textsuperscript{202} It, therefore, alarmed with lesser tax. Obviously, the route burdened became more popular among traders. This facilitated greater development of the routes unleashing the process of urbanization along such routes.\textsuperscript{203}

It is remarkable to note that the process of growth in the trade routes did not stop even in the late 18th century. After the disintegration of the Mughal Empire during the later half of 18th century, the Rajput rulers organized their financial resources primarily through trade and commerce. They provided many concessions, security on the way and all kinds of inducements to the traders. Such encouragement also opened new routes. This is evident from the increase in the number of \textit{mandis} and \textit{jagat} (Persian \textit{zakat}) \textit{chowkis}, which cropped up in the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{201}Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur.
\item \textsuperscript{202}Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1821/A.D 1764, f. 26.
\item \textsuperscript{203}Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, op. cit., no. 8.
\end{itemize}
vicinity of the towns even in the remote areas of the states. An increase in the income of zakat (custom duty) further testifies the fact.

The Maratha raids disrupted the trading activities in the region. In the later half of the 18th century, their raids increased, specially against Jaipur and Mewar. The battles of Patan and Merta (1790 A.D) caused irreparable damages. Subsequently, they captured Sambhar, Parbatsar and Rupnagar, temporarily terminated the trading activities between Jaipur, Bikaner and Jodhpur. But even their raids could not disturb the trading activities for longer period in entire Rajasthan. The traders continued their activities and goods were safely transported from one place to another. The credit and financial institution continued to develop all over the regions. This clearly shows growth of trade and commerce in the 18th century except partial disruption for short period.

TRANSPORTATION:

When there were no proper metallic (Meddnized) roads in the 18th century, the camels and oxen were used for transporting merchandise in Rajasthan. The contemporary documents contain numerous terms which indicate the means of transport such as Katar, Balad, Poth, and gaadi etc.204 The physical diversity of Rajasthan played a role in determining the mode of transport. Broadly speaking, Rajasthan has four divisions: (a) the western sandy plain which covers the areas of Barmer, Jaisalmer, Bikaner, and Jodhpur and stretched to the region of

204 These terms are found in all the Bahis viz. Sanad Parwana, Jodhpur, Kagadau-ri- bahis, Bikaner and Zakat Bahis, kota, pertaining to the period.
Shekhawati, (b) hilly/mountainous region, spread over Mewar; (c) the eastern plains and (d) south-eastern plateau consisted of Jaipur and Kota region which are in plains.

The term used for the camel carrier is *katar*. The camels were used mostly in desert region of north-western Rajasthan. The climate of the desert region is hot and the high velocity of winds raise sand and dust. In this part, camel was a natural choice of transport. This animal bears some unique features which were conducive for it. This is said that camels can survive without water and fodder even for several days. The region is covered with thorny bushes; camels can obtain fodder from these bushes. Precisely because of this kind of topography, climate and vegetation, the camels were bred at many places in Rajasthan such as, Ajmer, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Jaisalmer and Nagaur.

References of camel as a beast of burden is mentioned in our sources, that there were several routes joining the major trade routes on which camels were plying as a carrier. First one was the imperial (*Padshahi*) route from Agra to Surat. Surat was linked from Agra via Ajmer and Ahmadabad and it was further bifurcated at Jalor into two and was rejoined at Magarvada; another one passed through east of Mount Abu and Sirohi which was fit both for carts and camel [It was eastern branch]. While the western one passed through the desert region viz.

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205 *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1821/A.D 1764, f. 26 (b).
Merta, Bhimnal and Dantivada which was fit only for camels. Moreover, Agra was also connected with Lahore and Multan through Rajasthan via Ajmer, Merta and Jaisalmer. It is evident from the documents that on Jaipur-Sindh-Multan route, the camels were employed to carry goods. For example, a merchant was carrying indigo from Jaipur to Sindh via Bikaner. Similarly a trader brought tobacco from Sindh to Deshnok. A broker of Sindh had hired camels at Deshnok to transport the goods. Besides these major routes camels were used for transportation work on the internal routes also. Many major trade centres of Rajasthan were well linked with each others. Two Centerport of the Rathor principalities viz. Pali and Rajgarh, were well connected and camels were the chief means of transportation. On the route connecting Jaipur and Jaisalmer camels had borne the responsibility of transportation. On the Jaipur-Bikaner route also camels did the work of carriers. Goods were loaded on the back of the camels in two bales of equal weight on each side and were tied with rope. So, the beast of burden could travel with greater ease. The grain carriers or owners of the caravan were known as katariya.

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207 Joseph Salbarcke, Voyage, 1609, Purchase his Pilgrims, Pub. Maclehose, iii, p. 89.
208 Zakat Bahi, Bikaner, no. 81, V.S 1807/A.D 1750.
209 Sawa Mandi Sadar Bahi, Bikaner, no. 4 V.S 1807-10/A.D 1750-53.
212 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 20, V.S 1835-A.D 1778, f. 193 (b).
213 Sawa Mandi Sadar Bahi, Bikaner, no. 8, V.S 1815-16/A.D 1758-59.
214 Ibid.
In other parts of Rajasthan (such as south-eastern parts i.e., non desert regions), the oxen were used for transport. This is evident from our sources that the term which had been used to indicate the animal of carriage, were *Balad* and *Poth*. The literal meaning of *Balad* and *Poth* is ox or oxen. These two terms are synonymous, and are defined as a group of oxen carrying goods on their back for sale from one place to another. H. H. Wilson, describes *Balad* as herd of cattle and *Poth* as sack bales for loading bullock. To Wilson, former is ox or oxen while latter are sack/bales. Now it becomes clear to us that oxen were used in large number in the transportation sector. The owners of oxen were known as *baladiya*.

There are good number of examples mentioned in the sources that the goods from Kota were brought on oxen to Marwar and Bikaner. A trader Naik Nand Kishor Sangrola of Jhansi brought goods on oxen. From our sources we came to know that oxen were utilized as beast of burden for transporting goods in Kota for bringing and taking away from there to Malwa, Gujarat and Jhansi alike. Even the transportation between Kota and Multan was also done on oxen: Oxen were employed for transporting goods in all parts of Rajasthan and even outside it. *Charan, Bhats* and *Banjaras* were also actively engaged in this sector they owned

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215 *Bhandar* no. 4, *Basta* no. 2; *Zakat Bahi, Pargana* Bara Barod, Kota, V.S 1871/A.D 18147.
216 *Balad* and *Poth* define as a group of bullocks carrying goods on their back from one place to another in Badri Prasad, Sakariya and Bhuptiram Sakariya (ed.), *Rajasthan Hindi Sabad Kosh*, Jaipur. 1977.
218 *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, *Kagadau ri Bahi*.
large number of oxen. From the source materials, we came to know that a merchant of Nagaur transacted goods on bullock carts from Bundi to Nagaur in large quantity. Likewise, in a way, ten camel carts full of gunpowder were sent from Jalor to the Rathor capital at Jodhpur.

Apart from the above mentioned beasts of burden, gaadi (carts) were also utilized in transportation sector. The carts could certainly carry more goods than single camel and ox could do, but these two were bit faster than the carts. The physical diversity of Rajasthan gives us clues that in eastern Rajasthan, grounds are even and hard where carts were drawn by bullocks while the western part is full of desert where grounds are uneven and therefore camels could draw carts at case. Now it becomes clear to us that in the 18th century Rajasthan camels enjoyed formidable position in transportation sector than their rival carriers i.e., ox and bullock carts.

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220 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, of various years, Kagadau ri Bahi’s Bikaner and Zakat Bahis, Kota all refer them that they own large herds of oxen.
221 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 21, V.S 1835-A.D 1778, f. 294.
222 Kotwali Chabutra-Jamabandi, no. 735, Pargana Jalor, V.S 1833/A.D 1776, Jodhpur, District Depository. Oxen continue to be the chief means of transportation and annual fairs are frequent feature of rural life of a large part of India.
TRADE

Trade occupies an important place in the economy of the state. The rulers of the 18th century Rajasthan took keen interest in its organisation as well as in its promotion. The documents belonging to the states of Marwar, Bikaner, Jaipur and Kota provide ample evidence about the organisation of trade at every level viz, provincial, regional and local trade. Various facilities were extended to the traders. The states stood for the smooth transaction of the trade. The transit duties, custom tariffs and other taxes contributed to the treasury of the state which made their position strong.

Inter-regional Trade:

There is sufficient evidence of inter-regional trade in the 18th century Rajasthan. All Rajput states were well connected with each other through their trade routes. The articles of one state brought into other states were exchanged by the merchants with articles available in another state. The prominent traders were involved in carrying on the trade in their respective states. Large number of articles were exchanged between states. This shows widespread mutual trade relationship among all the Rajput states. In all the trading activities, the consumers were in the minds of traders.

Goods brought into Marwar from other states were quite numerous. For example, Bikaner supplied dry fruits, camels, sajji, aniseed, and nutmeg, and
asafetida, hard and dry ginger.\textsuperscript{223} In turn, Marwar sent to Bikaner bullocks, wooden furniture, chilly, turban and scarves for women; Jodhpur was famous for coloured turban for both men and women, wool, iron, lead, unwashed fabrics, bhodal, kasumba (zinc color), borex, incense asgandhi (medicinal herb), ivory, coconut, salt and silk etc.\textsuperscript{224} both the states had physical similarities and share common routes. Whereas the Jaipur state supplied paper, gold borders (to embellish expensive costumes), rice, tobacco and diamond.\textsuperscript{225} Kota was a relatively fertile part of the state and it supplied cereals like wheat, gram, sugar and jaggery. Opium was a much sought after articles in the 18\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{226} In turn Kota, received from Marwar, items like fuller’s earth (sajji), camels, horses, woolen cloth, dry fruits and borex.\textsuperscript{227} Jaipur also received, in exchange, some items of Marwar such as salt, turban, scarves and unwashed cloths.\textsuperscript{228} Now it becomes clear that items exchanged among the states were not so different from each other.

The documents pertaining to the period under study indicate that the traders of these states had their business firms and its branches in more than one

\textsuperscript{223} Sawa Mandi Sadar Bahi, Bikaner, no. 3, V.S 1805/1748 and Zakat Bahi, Bikaner, no. 81, V.S 1807/A.D 1750.

\textsuperscript{224} Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 2, V.S 1822-A.D 1765, f. 45 (b); Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 9, V.S 1826-A.D 1769; Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 25, V.S 1838-A.D 1781, f. 236.

\textsuperscript{225} Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 2, V.S 1822-A.D 1765, f. 22; Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 6, V.S 1826-A.D 1769, f. 48.

\textsuperscript{226} Byav ri Bahi, no. 158, V.S 1827/ A.D 1770; Bikaner; Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 25, V.S 1838-A.D 1781 and Bhandar no. 4, Basta no. 2; Zakat Bahi, V.S 1871/A.D 1714. The Imperial Gazetteer, Provincial series Rajputana, p. 375.

\textsuperscript{227} Bhandar no. 4, Basta no. 2; Zakat Bahi, pargana Jahazpur, V.S 1871, Kota Records

\textsuperscript{228} Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi, no. 1, V.S 1838/A.D 1781.
commercial centre. For instance, two traders of Bikaner had their business establishment (*kothi*) in the capital town Jodhpur as well as in other cities like Jalor, Pali and Nagaur. Pali and Nagaur were towns of considerable commercial importance. Jalor enjoyed the importance of being on the imperial Mughal trade route from Agra to Ahmadabad.²²⁹ Similarly, Shah Jaskaran Mandas of Jaipur had his trading branch in Pali.²³⁰ Regional trade had acquired importance in the economic life of the states of Rajasthan and had a well organized marketing system at both regional as well as national level. The importers and exporters were termed as *Kothiwals* (stockiest). They were affluent traders and had the potential to control the wholesale trade with their big investment. They had control over raw material and supplied to those areas where it was needed for manufacturing purposes.

**Inter Provincial Trade:**

Sources are replete with evidence about the trade relations between the states of Rajasthan and other parts of the India such as Sindh, Multan, Punjab, Gujarat, Agra, Malwa, and Delhi. Its a singular point of importance that since early medieval period, Rajasthan was well connected with major states of the rest of India. Important Mughal trade routes passed through Rajasthan. If we look at the Mughal imperial route from Agra to Ahmadabad, we come across important manufacturing and commercial places of Rajasthan. Where as another route from

²²⁹Ibid.
²³⁰Ibid.
Agra to Sindh passed through Bikaner. The route destined from Deccan traversed via Kota. The location of Rajasthan helped immensely to expand its network beyond the state. Besides its location, the policy of the Rajput rulers towards trade also contributed. The traders of the adjoining states were invited to bring goods to Rajasthan; in exchange they took away the indigenous products which were in demand in their respective states. This helped in the acceleration of both import as well as export in the state. The state provided adequate necessary protection, incentives and encouraged the caravan trade to traverse through the territory of the state. The state tried to maintain the regular supply of the necessary goods. We do find, in the sources, that some of the traders were exclusively involved in long distance trade.

From the archival documents it is revealed that a large number of traders of different states were called upon to conduct trade in the Rajasthan. The traders of Multan, Sindh, Gujarat, Malwa, Punjab, Delhi and Agra, Burhanpur had been addressed by their name in the documents and assured of every possible help would receive from the rulers. For instance Gopal Das Khatri, Santram Khatri and Bhin Das Arora of Multan had settled down in Bikaner and extensively traded with many parts of Rajasthan and Multan. Similarly Shah Dwarika Das Jagjiwandas of Gujarat had acquired importance in Jodhpur, who traded between Jodhpur and Surat. In a similar nature of documents we came to know that a

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231 Sawa Mandi Sudar, Bikaner, V.S 1807-10/A.D 1750-53.
trader of Burhanpur, named Banarsi Das Kashi Das, brought cloth in large quantity from Burhanpur to Kota.\(^{233}\)

Another method to lure the merchants of the other provinces had been recorded is to grant them exemption in the payment of commercial duties realized from them. For instance, *Bohra* Daudyar Khan of Surat and Brahmin Chinaram, Sadaram of Gujarat they both brought merchandise from Surat and Gujarat respectively to Jodhpur and Jaipur for sale.\(^{234}\) They were granted one fourth exemption of one fourth in *dan-rahdari*, while Tej Bhan Hiralal Khatri of Multan, who conducted trade between Jaipur and Multan, was given one-fourth concession in the transit taxes and an assurance of protect against any kind of harassment.\(^{235}\) Our sources testify that a trader of Agra, named Ratan Chand Chiman Ram, was given 50% concession in the taxes like *dan-rahdari* etc and full remission in other taxes namely, *vachh* and *Virar*, *Kayali* and *Parna* by the ruler of Jaipur.\(^{236}\) This was not an isolated example. There were some indigenous traders who were involved in inter-provincial trade. Some big merchants are recorded as Baba Uttamgariji, Baba Basangar Ji and Baba Mohkamgar Ji who had specialized in various types of luxury cloths from Burhanpur, Sarangpur, Chanderi, Jehanabad, Gujarat, and Kashmir.\(^{237}\) Besides inter provincial trade, the big merchants had their branches in more than one town, such as Seth Mohanlal Khatri of Multan had

\(^{233}\) *Bhandar*, no. 2/2, *Basta*, no. 128, V.S 1871/A.D 1814, Kota.

\(^{234}\) *Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1824/A.D 1867.

\(^{235}\) *Draft Khaista and Parwana*, Bundel, no. 14, V.S 1829-30/A.D 1871-73, Jaipur.

\(^{236}\) Ibid.

\(^{237}\) *Bohron Ke Raj Lekhek*, *Bhandar*, no. 16, V.S 1840-45/A.D 1783-88, Kota.
his branches in Nagaur and Pali and similarly Bhij Raj Ganga Raj Agrawal of Jaipur and Shah Bholanath of Jodhpur had branches in Agra\textsuperscript{238} which functioned as collecting and distributing centres. The local traders were engaged in transaction between Malwa and Sindh.\textsuperscript{239} The goods of other provinces were transacted with the big commercial centres of Rajput states such as Pali, Nagaur, Rajgarh, Jaipur, and Kota, which functioned as clearing centres for rest of the states. In corroboration of it, Tod, writes, “None of the erstwhile states of Rajputana was without traffic, each had her mart or enterport and while Mewar could boast of Bhilwara, Bikaner of Churu and Amber of Malpura, the Rathor of Marwar could be proud of Pali, which was not only a rival of the places mentioned above but could very rightly claim the title of the emporium of Rajputana.”\textsuperscript{240} The traders brought items both of luxury and basic necessities of the people. Some traders had their specialisation in dealing in animals like horses, camels and bullocks. Horses were required for wars while the bullocks for ploughing and caravan trade.

\textbf{The Items of Import and Export:}

As it has been discussed earlier, the state is located at the cross roads and connected with the prosperous provinces such as Punjab, Multan, Sindh, Gujarat, Malwa, Agra and Delhi. The traders not only supplied various goods to meet the

\textsuperscript{238} Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi, Bahi, no. 1, V.S 1846/A.D 1789 and Draft Kharita and Parwana, V.S 1828/A.D 1771.
\textsuperscript{239} Bhandar no. 4, Basta no. 2; Zakat Bahi Pargana Sathmahla, V.S 1871/A.D 1814 and Sawa Mandi Bahi, no. 4, V.S 1807-10/A.D 1750-53.
\textsuperscript{240} Tod, op. cit., p. 554.
local needs but were involved in exchange of goods. They took away the indigenous products out of the state for sale.

The import was consisted of cloths of different varieties, date palm, coconuts, pashmina, horses, camphors, spices, pepper, velvet, embroidered curtains and other articles of decoration. We find in the documents that there were some big traders who had specialized in some articles such as fine quality of cloths from Burhanpur, Chanderi, Sarangpur, Jahanabad, Gujarat, Nagpur, Banaras, Chints of Multan, pashmina from Kashmir. Many dealt in pearls, jewels and horses.\(^{241}\) The cloth included a wide variety such as dorya, phulkari, bankaband, adras, chyar khana, meharmata, mahmudi, riyali, momjam, dhoti joda, ordinary sheets and tat ke lapela. For the more expensive materials like keemkhab, umda masru, elaicha, gulbaden, Burhanpuri poshaks and purabi sari entered into the sates directly from Gujarat. These wide varieties of clothes were used by both ordinary people and by the ruling elites. Besides these varieties of cloths, we find that the pashmina of Kashmir was well received in Jodhpur and Kota.\(^{242}\) There was a good demand of horse of high breed in the states of Rajasthan; they were utilized for transportation, used in the wars, racing and joy ride. The good qualities of horses were brought from Kabul and Multan.\(^{243}\) The Multani traders dealt in specific business of transporting horses to India right since Sultanate period. The documents reveal that Multan traders like Gulab Khan and Noor Khan frequently

\(^{241}\) Bohron Ke Raj Lekha, Bhandar no. 16/1, V.S 1840-50/A.D 1783-93.
\(^{242}\) Ibid; Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 25, V.S 1838/A.D 1781, f. 76.
\(^{243}\) Sanad Parwana, Jodhpur, no. 25, V.S 1838/A.D 1781, f. 76.
brought horses from Multan to Jaipur for sale.\textsuperscript{244} The traders were paid high price for horses of good breed. The horses of Turkey and Iraq were in great demand.\textsuperscript{245}

The other items which were much sought after were dry fruits and chints of Multan, besides perfumes and \textit{mom} (wax).\textsuperscript{246} From Sindh we get the references of articles of domestic use such as turmeric, betel nut, \textit{asafetida}, rice, coconut, even horses and camels.\textsuperscript{247} Our sources provide adequate information on the items which were transported into Rajasthan from Malwa. Opium and tobacco of Malwa were the principal items beside mercerized cloths.\textsuperscript{248} Burhanpur supplied readymade petticoats and blouses of fine quality and turbans, etc.\textsuperscript{249} These items were much in demand in the ruling class among men and women. We do find the reference of \textit{Kasi dupatta} and \textit{sarees}.\textsuperscript{250}

In return, Rajasthan, sent to these provinces items like \textit{sajji}, \textit{khar sangari}, \textit{multani mitti}, wool, woollen cloths, iron implements, indigo, sugar, sugar candy, turmeric, sodash, ginger, bullocks, camels, salt, ivory, bangles, ghee, cotton and matchlocks.\textsuperscript{251} On comparative study of the commodities of import and export, we find that the articles of imports were larger than the export. Moreover the nature of

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{244} Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 35, V.S 1843/A.D 1776, f. 326 and Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 19, V.S 1837/A.D 1780 and Sanad Parwan Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 13, V.S 1824/A.D 1767, f. 57.
\item \textsuperscript{245} G.N. Sharma, \textit{Social Life in Medieval Rajasthan 1500-1800}, Agra, 1968, p. 316.
\item \textsuperscript{246} Sawo Mandi Sadar, Bikaner, no. 3, V.S 1805/A.D 1748, f. 49 and Zakat Bahi, no. 81, V.S 1807/A.D 1750.
\item \textsuperscript{247} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{248} Bhandar no. 2, Basta no. 2; Zakat Bahi: Satmahla, V.S 1874/A.D 1810.
\item \textsuperscript{249} Bhandar no. 16, Basta no. 2/1; Bhoron Ke Lekha Bahi, V.S 1843-47/A.D 1786-89.
\item \textsuperscript{250} Bhandar no. 16, Bhoron Ke Lekha Bahi, V.S 1869/A.D 1812.
\item \textsuperscript{251} Kagadon ri Bahi, Bikaner, no. 10, V.S 1858/A.D 1801 and Sawo Mandi Sadar, Bikaner, no. 13, V.S 1824/A.D 1767, f. 57.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
the commodities imported, show that the state had to spend more on import items like horse, cloths, both silk and cotton, precious metal wares, arms, cosmetics, sugar and opium and on luxury items, pearls, jewels, and pashmina. Comparatively the export items were cheaper; therefore the balance of trade does not appear to be favorable to the states. Still the transit trade was significant for the state.

The transactions and movement of traders had been well tapped in various sources. The traders of different parts of India came to the state with large quantity of goods to the commercial towns of Rajasthan in the 18th century which was well linked up with outside state. The heavy trafficking on the routes signifies the expansion of such activities in the 18th century Rajasthan.

**Difficulties and Insecurity on the Trade Routes:**

The animal based journey took comparatively longer time to cover the route in the desert state like Rajasthan in the 18th century. The caravan had to procure sufficient water and fodder for their beasts of burden. The routes were generally not smooth and wide to pass through comfortably. The journey of the caravan was slow because of human settlement and long journey. The normal speed of a caravan was 5 miles a day.

In spite of all the possible arrangements and efforts the traders were, in general, not safe, particularly during the second half of 18th century. The references of theft, loot, seizure, and dacoity of caravan goods are recorded in our sources. Sometimes, these activities were conducted with the cooperation of
disgruntled *Jagirdars* and *zamindars*. For instance, it is mentioned, a caravan of merchants of Bikaner from carrying *pashmina* and cotton cloths from Bithod was looted near Rajpur\(^252\) in 1777 A.D by Kamardi Khan and his gang. Seth Kawal Ram and Bulaki of Bikaner, while carrying goods from Bikaner to Bhawalpur were looted at Pugal in 1802 A.D.\(^253\) likewise in 1806 A.D, two camels of a merchant of Multan, were looted by Rawal Jalim Singh. The names of the leaders of the robbers' gang were brought to the notice of the administration by the traders.

In a similar incident in the year 1775 A.D, two caravans comprising of sixty four camels of the merchants of Jodhpur carrying cotton, lead and ivory goods from Pali to Rajgarh were looted by a disgruntled Thakur Shekhawat Prithvi Singh and Dhiraj Singh near Nawalgarh.\(^254\) When this matter was brought to the notice of the Marwar ruler, a strong letter was written by the state to Prithvi Singh to recover the goods and that these should be handed over to the concerned traders.\(^255\) Another similar incident of loot had occurred in Bundi with the traders of Jodhpur while returning after selling their goods in Deccan. On the request of the traders, the ruler of Marwar wrote a personal letter to his counterpart of Bundi to help them in recovering the plundered goods.\(^256\) Besides these, the *Waqai Ajmer*

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\(^{252}\) *Kagadon ri Bahi*, Bikaner, no. 10, V.S 1859/A.D 1802.

\(^{253}\) *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 19, V.S 1834/A.D 1777, f. 280; *Kagadon ri Bahi*, Bikaner, no. 12, V.S 1859/A.D 1802.


\(^{255}\) *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 17, V.S 1833/A.D 1776, f. 299.

also records such incidents in the areas other than Marwar.\textsuperscript{257} These sorts of information are forthcoming even from the Kachhwaha territory. A complaint of theft was registered by a trader from Delhi that his 45 camels loaded with salt had been stolen away The administrative machinery of the state took it seriously and the officials of the areas were instructed to recover the stolen goods and should be handed over to the trader immediately.\textsuperscript{258}

The above mentioned examples explain that the routes were not completely safe. The disgruntled and hostile \textit{jagirdars} and the \textit{bhomias} always indulged in seizure and looting activity and had created havoc among the traders. By doing so they registered their protest against state during 18\textsuperscript{th} century.

However the state was committed to providing safety and protection to the traders. So, it made necessary directions to the officials of \textit{zakat chowki} (check post) and the \textit{jagirdar} concerned to ensure the safe passing of the traders from their respective territories. They were also asked not to harass the traders in anyway. We do find that the Rajput rulers adopted the Mughal style of handing over the task of the safety of the traders to the local officials, \textit{jagirdars} and \textit{bhomia}.\textsuperscript{259}

However, the state was instrumental in providing security and escorting the traders to reach their destination. The traders themselves were cautious and took precautionary measures (at their own) for such untoward incidents of loot. They

\textsuperscript{257} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{258} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{259} \textit{Sanad Parwana Bahi}, Jodhpur, no. 21, V.S 1835-A.D 1778, f. 239.
usually moved in caravan and often kept with them their own armed guards. Whenever they smelled any danger they would either stop at a safer place or alter their route and will seek the state help to avert the danger. When the traders expressed apprehensions that they might be looted on the route from Nagaur to Kota, the Maharaja of Jodhpur sent 400 gunmen to escort them till the boundary of Jodhpur.\textsuperscript{260} In same way, Moti Ram Vyas, was escorted to Ajmer, while transporting salt from Nawa.\textsuperscript{261} In another instance, it is mentioned that a Pathan bought buffalo who was escorted by gunmen to Kekri.\textsuperscript{262} There are evidences to prove that armed personnel were also stationed at the important junctions to provide armed escorts to the willing traders. However, the state charged, from the traders, for providing such escorts. In an earlier period, Tavernier was provided an escort for both ways from Burgaon up to the frontier of the Bhumia of that place.\textsuperscript{263}

Even if goods were looted by dacoits or seized by \textit{jagirdars}, the state ensured recovery of lost goods. From the documents, we come to know that when Rao Lunkaran Gumani Singhot plundered a merchant, who was on his way to Churu from Rajgarh with goods, the state helped in recovering the snatched goods which was later handed over to that merchant.\textsuperscript{264}

\textsuperscript{260} B.L. Bhadani, op. cit., p. 332.  
\textsuperscript{261} Ibid.; \textit{Sawa Bahi}, Rajgarh, no. 4, V.S 1835/A.D 1778.  
\textsuperscript{262} \textit{Sawa Bahi}, Rajgarh, no. 4, V.S 1832/A.D 1775, f. 48 (a).  
\textsuperscript{263} \textit{Sanad Parwana Bahi}, Jodhpur, no.2, V.S 1822-A.D 1722.  
\textsuperscript{264} Tod, op. cit., I, p. 554.
Some examples are recorded in our sources that even state paid compensation to the traders for their lost goods. When Dalel Singh, son of a big landed magnate Akhay Singh, had looted the goods of Seth Manakchand Anopchand and Chokh Chand of Bikaner, near qasba Mandana, the Jodhpur state paid Rs. 5000 as compensation from the custom treasury of Nagaur to these traders in 1765 A.D.\textsuperscript{265} In the subsequent years of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, Charans were utilized to transport goods to avoid such incidents of looting on the ways to protect the traders from the antagonistic Rajput jagirdars because the Rajputs considered them pious.\textsuperscript{266} Besides these, the Marathas and Pindaris, also created difficulties for traders. They looted the goods of a caravan of Banjaras near Manoharthana who were coming from Chhatarpur to Kota. Some caravans were plundered by the Marathas in the territory of Kota, Jaipur and Udaipur, but these kinds of episodes were not common. The inroad of Marathas and the plundering activities of Pindaris in the central India including eastern and southern parts of Rajasthans compelled the traders to find out some alternative routes.

**Periodic Fairs:**

There are considerable evidences that fairs (melas) were venues for the exchange of commodities in the 18\textsuperscript{th} century Rajasthan. In the beginning, the fairs started with religious identity around holy places but later on they acquired

\textsuperscript{265} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{266} James Tod, op. cit., vol. I, p. 554, For details on it pertaining to other regions of India see, Anand A. Yang, Bazaar India: Market, Society and Colonial State in Gangetic Bihar, Berkeley, 1998. Various District Gazetteers of India also contain some references about the trading in periodic fairs of India.
economic significance in local and regional economy of society. The interest shown by the rulers of different Rajput states in organizing annual fair in their respective territories converted them into intensive centres of economic activities. Besides, commercial activities, the rulers of every Rajput state found opportunity to raise the income of state by levying taxes on the wares brought for sale there.

From the source materials we come to know that the ruler of different states adopted a policy to provide a trans-regional character to the fairs to promote the economy of the state. Our sources are replete with information on fairs of different places such as Mundawa, Kaparda, Ramdevra, Tilwara etc, in Marwar, Umedganj, and Chand Kherei in Kota, Sawai Madhopur in Jaipur, besides these fairs were also organized at some towns like Pushkar, Kolayat and Ajmer etc.²⁶⁷

The fair of Mundwa was a famous annual fair which lasted for almost six weeks. It was organized in the name of Krishna. It was basically grain fair where dealers of different places such as Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Jaipur, Kishangarh, Sikar, Fatehpur, Bhilawara, Ramgarh and Laxmangarh were given invitation to come with their wares for sale there.²⁶⁸ Cattle's were also sold in Mundawa fair we obtain information from our sources that the Nawab of Awadh in 1773 sent his men to purchase camels from the fair of Mundawa.²⁶⁹ Next in importance was the fair of Kaparda which had acquired significance as cattle fair. Through a Parwana

²⁶⁸ Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, V.S 1844/A.D 1787, f. 67.
²⁶⁹ Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 13, V.S 1830/A.D 1773, f. 65.
of 1764, the ruler of Jodhpur extended invitation to the mahajans of thirty eight places to the fair of Kaparda in Jodhpur and offered half of the concessions in taxes. The customers and dealers far and near of places such as Shahpura, Fatehpur, Churu and Nohar came to buy and sell their wares and livestocks such as horse, camels and bullocks. It was basically cattle fair. Besides these, some fairs were organized in different places of Marwar such as Parbatsar, Ramdevra, Phalodi etc.

From other kinds of documents we get information that fashion fairs were also organized in Kota state. The fair of Umedganj was also of a trans-regional nature where traders of Agra, Delhi, Surat, Ujjain, Burhanpur, Chanderi were invited to participate with their commodities of sale. Another fair which comes in importance was of Chand Khedi. In the year 1789 A.D. the Nizam of Hyderabad sent his men to purchase horse, camels, and bullocks at the fair of Chand Khedi for the state. Besides these livestock, variety of goods were available including cloths from Chanderi, Burhanpur, and Jahanabad and other items of necessities of royal household and common people.

Besides these fairs of trans-regional and regional nature, fairs were also organized in numerous modest towns which became a meeting point for the

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270 Ibid.
271 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1821/A.D 1764, f. 7.
272 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 25, V.S 1838/A.D 1781, f. 237; For early century see B.L Bhadani, op. cit., p. 311.
273 Bhandar no. 4, basta no. 2; Zakat Bahi, Qasba Nandgaon, Kota, V.S 1873/ A.D. 1816.
275 Bhandar no. 3, Basta no. 2, Talik Bahi, Kota.
surrounding countryside and towns craftsmen. The fairs, in fact, provided additional avenues to traders for selling their goods. It is evident that the rulers of the Rajput states lured the traders of the neighboring states to come with their merchandise in the fairs and the official responsible to administer the fair offered exemption in cesses on sell and purchase, made. The traders were also exempted from all local levies on their way to fair which used to take about 15-20 days of travelling. The time chosen for these fairs invariably coincided with some local festivals and marriage seasons which generated demands. These fairs provided a chance to the local population and traders to buy a variety of catties, grain, and other small necessities for household and for marriages. As far as the big fairs are concerned, they could put the economy of the region on mobility. All such exercises and arrangements contributed to make these fairs an extra ordinary gathering.

However, the significance of the fair was economic as well as social and at the same time even religious also. Because, it served two purposes economic as well as cultural. The fair of Ramdevra is held twice a year. It is still held in Marwar in the honour of Ram Devji and the fair of Tilwara in the name of Mallinath. At the first place there was an extension in production and sale and secondly it became an occasion of cultural festival or event which broke monotony of everyday life and provided amusement and feeling of relief and respite.

276 *Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi*, no. 1, V.S 1844/A.D 1787, f. 67 and *Sanad Parwana*, Jodhpur, no. 21, V.S 1835/A.D 1778, f. 299.
277 *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 21, V.S 1835/A.D 1778, f. 299.
CHAPTER -VI
COMMERCIAL TOWNS

Towns and cities had been developing in the states of Rajasthan since the sixteenth century. This phenomenon was continued even in the 18th century. Various kinds of towns were developed such as administrative, religious, cultural and commercial. We will deal only the commercial towns in this chapter. If we look at the towns of Rajasthan in the 18th century then we would find that certain trading centres developed both on and away from the main trade routes. A large number of sub-routes came into existence, linking the new and emerging marketing/commercial centres. Rajasthan was well linked with the metropolis cities of other regions of the Mughal Empire such as Sindh, Gujarat, Malwa, Punjab and the imperial capitals of Agra and Delhi. The geographical location also helped Rajasthan to expand its trading network beyond it. Tod writes that “none of the erstwhile state of Rajputana was without traffic, s each had her mart or entrepot, and while Mewar could boast of Bhilwera, Bikaner of Churu and Amber (Jaipur) of Malpura, the Rathor of Marwar could be proud of Pali, which was not only a rival of the places mentioned above but could very rightly claim to be an emporium of Rajputana”. Sources of the 18th century provide ample evidence about the commercial towns, such as Pali, Nagaur, Jodhpur, Ajmer, Jaipur, Kota, Bundi, Bikaner, Rajgarh, Churu, and Jaisalmer. These towns had acquired paramount importance in commercial life also because of their strategic

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location/significance. The traders of Mughal provinces like Multan, Sindh, Punjab, Malwa and Gujarat, and the Mughal cities like Agra, Delhi and Burhanpur came to these towns of Rajasthan with their merchandise to dispose them off and take away the items which were in demand in their states.

**Pali:**

Being a *pargana* headquarter, it acquired the status of an important town of the Rathor principality of Marwar. It contained various categories of people such as officials, artisans, merchants and ordinary labour. The concentration of large number of population encouraged economic activities. To fulfill the basic needs of the people, Pali had to receive supply of goods from different places. Our sources tell us that it had connectivity with the networks of routes from the primary producing areas. Its location on the various routes also helped in its growth.\(^{279}\) It was situated at the intersection of the great commercial route from Mandavie in Cutch to the Northern Province and from Malwa to Bhawalpur in Sindh.\(^ {280}\) Pali as a commercial mart received the products of Marwar as well as the neighboring states of commercial note for sales and purchases. Items of Kota and Bundi were transported to Pali.\(^ {281}\) The city emerged as a commercial town therefore attracted the big and prominent traders of Rajasthan and other states. They all had their branches there. For instance a prominent trader of Multan namely, Seth Mohal Lal Khatri, who had his branch of commercial transaction in

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\(^{279}\) *Kagadon ri Bahi*, Bikaner, no. 4.
\(^ {280}\) James Tod, op. cit., p.
\(^ {281}\) *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur.
In a likewise event, a famous trader of Jaipur, Shah Girdhari Lal Da had his branch in Pali. Again a trader, Ramchandra Roop Chand, was invited by the state to open his shop in the town. These branches of prominent traders were managed by their *gumastas* (agents) in their absence. James Tod rightly informs us, “Pali was entrepot for the eastern and western regions, where products of Malwa, Kashmir, and China were inter-exchanged for those of Europe, Africa, Persia and Arabia. The caravans from the port of Cutch and Gujarat brought elephant's teeth, copper, dates, gumarabic?, borax, coconuts, broad cloths, silk, sandal wood, camphor, dyes, drugs, oxide and sulphur of arsenic spices, coffee etc. in exchange they carried chintz, dry fruits, *jeerah*, *assafoetida* from Multan, sugar and opium from Kota and Malwa and silk, fine cloths, *potash*, shawls, dyed blankets, arms and salt all locally manufactured”.

Beside, being collection and distribution centre of the region, it was also a manufacturing centre. For example, it is mentioned in the sources, that a *cheepa* Kamal was residing and carrying on his work of dyeing and printing textiles at Pali for quite long time. Other items which were prepared at Pali were ivory carving specially toys and bangles. Some items like matchlock, sword, and other war weapons were also manufactured. Pali was also famous for the manufacture of boxes of iron and tin which resembled like the tin boxes of

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282 *Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1846/A.D 1789.
Europe. Iron platters for culinary purpose were in such a big demand [as to keep the forges constant by going].\textsuperscript{288} As said earlier, Pali had earned the title of emporium of Rajputana. The huge amount of Rs 75,000 per annum being collected as commercial duty is in itself a strong evidence of huge commerce in Pali.\textsuperscript{289} The city remained an important commercial centre throughout 18\textsuperscript{th} century and lost its importance to Ajmer only early 19\textsuperscript{th} century.

**Nagaur:**

Nagaur was named after its founder Naga Rajputs. In Akbar’s time it was a sarkar (division) headquarters in the suba (province) of Ajmer and comprised of thirty parganas. In early 18\textsuperscript{th} century it was acquired by the ruler of Jodhpur. In addition to Pali, it was another pargana headquarters of Marwar and was an important trade centre. It was well connected with both internal as well as external trading centres. Its location on Sindh-Multan route benefited it a lot in developing close links with these places. The caravan destined for Sindh-Multan passed through this place.\textsuperscript{290} The traders of these places came with their merchandise for sale and took away the local items which were in demand in other places. These articles were bullocks, items of iron, copper, and brass for which Nagaur was famous.\textsuperscript{291} The *pashmina* of Kashmir was available at Nagaur for its local population.\textsuperscript{292} From our source materials we came to know that the policy adopted

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{288}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{289}James Tod, op. cit., vol. I, p. 554.
\item \textsuperscript{290}Zakat Bahi, Bikaner, no. 81, V.S 1807/A.D 1756.
\item \textsuperscript{291}Sawa Mandi Sadar Bahi, no. 4, V.S 1807-10/A.D 1750-53.
\item \textsuperscript{292}Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 25, V.S 1838/A.D 1781, f. 277.
\end{itemize}
by the rulers of the state helped in promotion of towns as a centre of trading activities. The rulers sanctioned tax remission to merchants. For example, traders such as Messr Sahib Roy, Navneet Roy, Thakur Das Bhilwani, and Bhawani Das Meghani, all were prominent traders of Multan, who settled down at Nagaur due its importance as a commercial centre and economic prosperity. \(^{293}\) In the same way Bikaneria Kanha Radha was extended invitation to open his sale counter at Nagaur and to transact business from there. \(^{294}\) The local traders of Nagaur such as Ram Nagauri and Akhari Ram were famous local traders. \(^{295}\) Another local trader who was engaged in trans-regional trade was Seth Khushal Chand Lohiya who conducted trade between Kota, Bundi and Nagaur. \(^{296}\)

Besides, Nagaur also had close connection with other commercial urban centres like Pali, Bikaner and Churu. The goods of these places were also exchanged with the items of Nagaur. The city acquired importance due to high purchasing power generated by the mobility of the traders of different places.

Nagaur was also an important centre for the manufacture of items such as utensils of iron, brass, bronze, and copper, both for the use of common people and for the royal household. \(^{297}\) The delicate iron strings for guitar were also prepared which displays the craftsmanship of the ironsmith of Nagaur. \(^{298}\) There are references of cotton cloths being woven and blankets were prepared and supplied

\(^{293}\) Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 21, V.S 1835/A.D 1778.
\(^{294}\) Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1827/A.D 1770.
\(^{295}\) Zakat Bahi, Bikaner, Jodhpur, no. 8, V.S 1807/A.D 1750.
\(^{296}\) Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 21, op. cit., f. 239 (a).
\(^{297}\) Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 13, V.S 1830/A.D 1773, ff. 23-30.
\(^{298}\) Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 30, V.S 1841/A.D 1784, ff. 371.
to the rest of Rajput states. The rulers of Marwar took interest in the weaving of cloths at Nagaur. Its products in wollen garments were in great demand. Thus we can say that the traffic of trade made the city a prominent centre.

Jodhpur:

Jodhpur derives its name from Rao Jodha who founded it in 1459 A.D. The presence of Maharaja and his paraphernalia attracted large number of people of different professions. Besides these, population of the city composed of artisans, professional groups, merchants and other labouring castes who made it a flourishing and populous city. The presence of such a large population created demands of various goods and to fulfill their demands the city received goods from surrounding places and neighboring states. Being the capital city it was well connected with other towns of Marwar like Pali, Nagaur, Merta, Jalor, and Sojat. All these were administrative cum commercial centres of the state. The big traders of Jodhpur had their branches in many towns to keep the supply of goods without any delay. For instance, Rao Shabha Ram a famous trader of the city, had his branch in Merta, a town on the imperial Mughal route to Ahmadabad from Agra which was managed by his agent.\(^{299}\) A firm of Bikaner namely, Vijay Chand-Santokh Chand had branch in Jodhpur to maintain the regular supply of goods between these two capital cities.\(^{300}\) The traders of Pali brought goods like utensils of iron and copper, opium, sandal wood, rice, saffron, wax, ivory bracelets,

\(^{299}\) *Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi*, no. 1, V.S 1823/A.D 1766, f. 17 (a).
\(^{300}\) Ibid.
coconuts and vermillion. The *pashmina* of Kashmir was available there. In exchange, the traders took away the local products to their respective places such as dyeing cotton cloths, colored turbans for men and scarves of women, *jamdanis*, leather boxes for keeping cloths and snuffs. At Jodhpur other items such as matchlock, swords and other warlike implements were prepared. As Jodhpur itself was a big cotton *mandi* therefore it developed as exchange centre. Tod writes that the annual income of Jodhpur city alone from the *sair* was Re. 76,000. This shows brisk trade in the city.

**Bikaner:**

Another capital city of Rathors was Bikaner which was in close proximity to Delhi. The importance of Bikaner arose due to its geographical location. The routes from Multan-Sindh to Delhi and Jaipur passed through Bikaner. Another route from Jaisalmer destined for Delhi touched Bikaner that offered some important city. All these factors show that the city had a well developed route which made its accessibility quite easy. Besides these external connections, it also had close links with other towns of Rajasthan like Kota, Jaisalmer, Jaipur, Pali and with its own mart Rajgarh and other *mandis* such as Nohar and Reni etc of the Bikaner principality. It is mentioned in the sources, that traders of Bikaner had their branches in other towns of commercials manufacturing significance; the city

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301 *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 19, V.S 1834/A.D 1777, f. 17 (a).
302 Ibid., no. 25, V.S 1838/A.D 1781, ff. 204 and 210.
303 *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 9, V.S 1826/A.D 1769.
304 *Sawa-Mandi Sadar*, Bikaner, no. 4, V.S 1808/A.D 1751.
needed large amount of commodities to fulfill the demands of a large population. We find in our sources that a trader of Jaipur who had opened his shops at both towns (that is Jaipur and Bikaner) simply to ensure regular supply of goods in both the cities.\(^{305}\) The traders of Kota and Bundi also reached to Bikaner with their merchandise to sale.

Bikaner was the chief mandi and was well connected with other mandis of the state, namely, Nohar, Reni and Pugal etc. The traders of these mandis sent merchandise to Bikaner and these items were taken by the traders of different places who came for marketing there.\(^{306}\) Besides, it was also a producing place of many items like, woollen cloths, carpet and rugs blankets, etc.\(^{307}\) Other articles which were produced there are; ivory bracelets, sugar candy, and iron goods, like swords-blades, matchlocks, dagger, and handles of sword of high quality.\(^{308}\) In short, Bikaner served as distributing and producing centres along with its administrative functions.

**Rajgarh:**

Maharaja Gaj Singh (?) founded this town in 1766 A.D. and named it after his son, Raj Singh (?). It is situated in the north-east of Bikaner and gradually it grew to the position of chief marketing centre of Bikaner. Tod writes “Rajgarh was rendezvous for caravan from all parts. The products of the Punjab and

\(^{305}\) Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1821/A.D 1764, f. 26 (b).

\(^{306}\) Kagadon ri Bahi, Bikaner. And Sawa Bahis of Reni, Pugah and Nohar.

\(^{307}\) Sawa Mandi Sadar Bahi, no. 3, V.S 1805/A.D 1748.

\(^{308}\) Kagadon ri Bahi, Bikaner, no. 12, V.S 1859/A.D 1802.
Kashmir came formerly direct by Hansi-Hissar that of the eastern country by Delhi Rewari, Dadri etc. consisting of silk, fine cloths, indigo, sugar, iron, tobacco, etc. from Haroti and Malwa come opium which supplied all Rajput states. From Sindh via Jaisalmer by caravan from Multan and Shikarpur dates, wheat, rice, lungis and silk vests for women, fruits etc. arrived there. This statement of Tod is further corroborated by the contemporary sources which record the connectivity of Rajgarh with both external and internal towns of Rajput states as well as outside Rajputana. Pali supplied the imports from maritime countries, as spices, tin, drugs, coconuts, and elephant teeth etc. Salt from Sambhar was brought here. Exchange of goods was very common between Bikaner and Rajgarh. Much of this was for internal consumption. Regular traffic provided appreciable revenue to the state exchequer.

Churu:

Churu, a town in the northern Rajasthan, is situated in the east of Bikaner state. It was yet another centre of trade. It is said that it was founded by a Jat named Churu around 1620 A.D. It was a desert city and surrounded by sand dunes. It acquired prominence in the 18th century due to its location on Delhi-Multan-Sindh and Delhi-Kabul routes. It was also connected with Malwa through Ajmer. Besides these, it was also an important junction of the traders of northern India who came with their merchandise to sell there and used Churu as an

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310 Kagadon ri Bahi, Bikaner, no. 6, V.S 1839/A.D 1782.
escalator to reach other places. The presence of goods of foreign countries like Europe, Persia and Africa provided an opportunity to many traders to exchange their goods with that of alien countries. Besides these, external links, it was also well connected with the towns of Rajput states such as Pali, Rajgarh, Nagor, Ajmer, and Jaipur. They also helped it in its emergence as a trading centre.

Its emergence as a commercial centre was due to its location on trade junction. It was a pargana headquarters, rose to a township and as a major trade centre in the 18th century. It owes its emergence to the socio-economic factors of the area and the presence of the trading caste of banias. Its popularity and prosperity was due to bania population. This is attested by the parwanas issued by the rulers of Marwar to the traders of Churu for their participation in the annual fair of Mundawa during subsequent years. We also come to know from our sources that the traders of Churu came to Pali for taking away goods. Seth Bhagoti Ram of the Poddar family of Fatehpur left his native place and settled down at Churu in the last quarter of the 18th century. If we estimate the demographic profiles of the town then we find that banias were in larger number than other people.

312 Khas Rakka Farwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1823/A.D 1766 and of many subsequent years.
Among the bania the Poddars had leading position. Other professional groups were very less in number. It is very surprising as well as interesting to find that Churu, despite being a desert city succeeded in attracting the traders and merchants, and prospered as brisk trading centre. The presence of large number of banias led it to an active trading and commercial activities there.

**Jaisalmer:**

Jaisalmer was a capital city of the Bhatti Rajputs in western part of the present Rajasthan. It was an administrative cum trading centre. It was also benefited due to its geographical location. The routes destined for Sindh, Thatta from Delhi, Bikaner, Jodhpur and Jaipur passed through it. Besides, its connectivity with the major towns of Rajasthan as well as of Sindh, Multan, Gujarat and Delhi provided it with a sound economic basis. The caravan from Kota and Malwa frequently came in Jaisalmer with products like opium, and grain. The famous sugar candy of Bikaner and other items of daily use reached there. Similarly, the products of Jaipur were also available. Marwar shares its boundary with Jaisalmer, the transit trade with Marwar was always from the side of Pokhran and Phalodi. The chief items of import and export were not equal as Jaisalmer was a deficit area. From another category of literary source we get full description of the market and the business deals in Jaisalmer carried on by the

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315 *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 9, V.S 1826/A.D 1769.
317 James Tod, op. cit.
It also informs us about the different categories of artisans doing their business in separate market lanes. The transit duty was an important fiscal income to state, when Tod records that “the transit duty of state reached up to the ‘figure of about three lakhs of rupees per annum.” From this, we could infer that brisk trade was done on these routes, which is testified by handsome amount of custom duties earned by the state of Jaisalmer.

Kota:

Kota a capital town of the Hada Rajputs, acquired good reputation among the commercial towns of Rajasthan. It is situated in the south-east of Rajasthan. The territory is surrounded on the southern and eastern sides by Malwa on the other sides by other districts of Rajasthan itself. The sources inform us that big traders of the area had specialized business of luxury goods. These traders brought cloths of different quality to Kota from various destinations such as Chanderi, Jahanabad and Chints of Multan and pashmina from Kashmir. The involvement of the Gosain traders in trading activities is testified by our sources that brought goods from far places to Kota. From these traders the rulers of Kota purchased their cloths. Besides more expensive cloths like keemkhab, umda masru, elaicha and burhanpuri poshaks were brought from Gujarat for the rulers of Kota. They also dealt in the coarse cloth for the common people. In Kota the concentration of population of different categories created market for the expensive and low rate

318 Bhandar no. 16, Basta no. 20 Bohron ke Lekha Bahi, Kota, V.S 1869/A.D 1812.
319 Ibid.
320 Bhandar no. 16, Basta no. 3, Bohron Ke Lekha Bahi, Kota, V.S 1843/A.D 1876.
items. It also had close proximity to the trade routes passing through it to Deccan.\footnote{Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no.25, V.S 1838/A.D 1781.}

Besides, these external links, the goods from other towns like Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, and Jaisalmer were available for the people of Kota. Functioning as a capital and distributor centre, it brought economic prosperity to the city. Its impact was felt in the society and the elites maintained their luxurious life style. Many states workshops were situated in the locality for the making the items for royal household, as well as for military use.

**Ajmer:**

The history of Ajmer begins with the rule of the Chauhan Rajputs. It is said that the city was founded by Raja Aja in \footnote{J.D. Latouche, Gazetteer of Ajmer Merwara in Rajputana, Calcutta, 1875, p. 12 and James Tod, Annals and Antiquities in Rajasthan, New Delhi, 1990, p. 12.} It had derived its name Ajmer from its founder Raja Ajay. It was an entrepot for trade between Bombay and upper India in ancient times. Its advantageous location also helped in its progress as an entrepot. It got prominence during the time of the Mughals; Akbar made the city the suba (headquarters) of his empire and made headquarter of the Suba (province).\footnote{Irfan Habib, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, New Delhi, 1982, Map 6B.} It remained base of operations of the Mughal Empire in the Rajput principalities throughout its rule. Besides base operation, the religious sentiments of the Mughal Emperors were also attached with Ajmer. Akbar (1512-1605) during his reigns frequently visited the shrine of Khawaja Moinuddin
Chishti. The concentration of the Mughal officials, military personnels as well as the civilian population in Ajmer created demands of various commodities. As the city was not a centre of manufacture and production, therefore it had to depend on neighboring towns such as Merta, Jalor, and its adjacent Kishangarh for supply. Since it was located on the Agra-Ahmadabad Mughal highways therefore the entire caravan going to either of the cities had to pass through it. Besides, caravan from Kota also fed this town with grains.\textsuperscript{324} Many merchants of Merta had their firms in Ajmer. We get reference that Merta supplied grains to the city of Ajmer.\textsuperscript{325} Besides in the early seventeenth century an agency of the East India Company was established and served for many years as mart for Rajput states for the produce of northern India and Europeans goods. It is recorded in our sources that Ajmer has had its connectivity with the towns of its neighboring state such as Pali, Churu, Fatehpur, Nagaur, Kota and Jaipur.\textsuperscript{326} At other place it is mentioned that Ajmer exported lead (\textit{sisa}) to the towns of Churu and Bihana in Shekhawati.\textsuperscript{327} It also supplied cotton to Agra and Ahmadabad. Both these towns were centres for cotton cloth manufacturing. Thus, we can say that it was an emporium from medieval period down to the beginning of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. It served the dual function of the headquarters of the Suba as well as entrepot.

\textsuperscript{324} \textit{Bhandar} no. 4, \textit{Basta} no. 2, Zakat Bahi, Jahezpur, Kota, V.S 1845/A.D 1788.
\textsuperscript{326} Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 13, V.S 1830/A.D 1773.
\textsuperscript{327} Ibid.
Jaipur:

The city was named after its founder Sawai Jai Singh which was founded in 1727 A.D. In the same year it was made the capital town of Kachhawaha territory. The ruler of Jaipur issued large number of parwanas to merchants inviting them to settle in the town. They were provided space for shops and havelis to settle down in Jaipur and exemption in taxes from 25 to 50 per cent was granted. Besides, total exemption was granted in many taxes such as vachh-virar, mohrano, and kayali. The rulers also issued parwanas instructing the custom officials not to harass the merchants illegally. We get the parwanas addressed to individual merchants by the Kachhwaha rulers inviting them to settle in the city. For example, Seth Rekh Raj Sethmal was invited to qasba Sawai Jaipur and was extended space for shops and havelis beside other incentives. In other reference Tej Bhan Hiralal Khatri of Multan who did business at Jaipur was assured that would not face any problems here in the city.

The connection of Jaipur with other states like Multan, Sindh, Delhi, etc also helped it to grow as a centre of trade and commerce. Banking business was in operation there and many firms and branches of others were also established.

Jaipur was also centre of inter-state trade during the period under study. It was well connected with the towns of Marwar. For example, a trader Narain Gordhan who brought til (sesame) from Pali and sold in the city. References show that this city received many items of daily life from Pali such as Khand

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(gur), grain and cloths. For such transaction the Kachwah capital maintained its accessibility with other towns too namely Jalor, Phalodi, Jaisalmer, Ajmer, Kota and Merta. In turn, Jaipur also supplied grain and tobacco to these towns particularly Bikaner. It also maintained trade relations with Bhilwara and Chittor, the major towns of Mewar.

Besides being a trading centre it was also a unit of manufacture of some commodities. Generally in the 18th century production was carried in the state regulated workshops for the consumption of royal household and nobility. Other centres of production were the houses of the artisans. They made their items and sold them at their home and market places. The city was famous for textile works of Sanganer a small town in the vicinity of the city Jaipur.

The Chints of Jaipur were also transported to other Rajput states. The work of embossing in silver and gold was done in a very delicate manner there. Enameling work was also famous. Besides there, the work of brass, copper, stone carving, sculpturing and engraving was done on large scale in and around the city. These articles made at Jaipur were supplied to many places in India and specially Rajasthan.

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329 *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 8, V.S 1821/A.D 1764, f. 26 (b).
330 *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 1 V.S 1824/A.D 1767
331 *Arhsatta, Qasba Sanganer*, Jaipur, V.S 1878/A.D 1721.
Bhilwara:

In every Rajput state there was a principal commercial mart. Bhilwara the trading centre of Mewar, falls into this category of urban centre. The ruler of Mewar took keen interest in the development and organisation of trade in the state as a whole and at Bhilwara in particular. Various measures were adopted by the ruler, by extending invitation to the merchants of the distant places, namely Jaisalmer, Surat, Banaras and Delhi. It becomes clear with the account of Tod who writes that, there were twelve hundred houses in Bhilwara and half of them were occupied by the foreign merchants.\(^{332}\) They were provided with shopping and residential houses at a moderate rate of rent in the town. The striking policy which had attracted the merchants more was that they were given full tax exemption in the first year and from the second year they were charged at lower rates.\(^{333}\) Tod further provides us information that the streets of Bhilwara were full with the merchandise of the distant places.\(^{334}\) The custom policy of the state was softened and one time transit duty was realized at entry point of the state and all subsidiary taxes and custom chowkies were abolished. The duties were revised and reduced from thirty and fifty per cent. That also helped to grow trading activities in the city. There were large number of population of different categories of people such as merchants, bankers, and different professional groups. The big bankers and merchants had their branches in other towns of Mewar. One more striking point of


\(^{333}\) Ibid.

\(^{334}\) Ibid.
the policy adopted by the ruler of Mewar particularly in the case of Bhilwara was that the merchants of distant places for example, Jaisalmer, Surat, Banaras and Delhi had to pay less to their counterpart local merchants. Besides these, caravan destined for many distant destinations passed through it. Bhilwara was well connected with Jaipur, Ajmer, and other towns of the Rajput states. The state authority also organized weekly *bazaars* (market) to promote the sale of local products of the city. The town received items from other places. These were salt, tobacco, coconut, oil, sugar candy, rice, indigo, and drugs. In turn it supplied commodities like opium, turmeric, red chilies, grain, cotton, cloth, iron, ghee and groceries to many places in Rajasthan and outside it. It shows that the city remained important centre of trade during 18th century. Its income from trade transit duty and other taxes appears to have been quite appreciable. These centres had direct link with other roues and towns of the other regions of Rajasthan in the 18th century.

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335 Ibid.
Plate -IV

Development of Custom Chowkis on the Trade Routes

--- Custom Chowkis on Mughal Highways

- ----------- Custom Chowkis on Inter-regional Trade Routes
Besides these commercial towns, some other towns also served as entrepot of commercial centres. These towns were well placed at the various entry points of the Rajput states and on the important trade routes. For instance if we look at the towns situated on the imperial route from Agra to Ahmadabad then we find three towns of Marwar, viz, Bhinmal, Jalor, and Merta. Bhinmal was a *tappa* headquarters with a sizeable population and a market which catered their demand.\(^3^3^6\) Next in importance comes Jalor, which was a *pargana* and had a large number of population and a commercial market.\(^3^3^7\) For example during the reign of Maharaja Vijay Singh (of Marwar) a *bania*, Vijay chand of Bikaner, was granted permission to open the shop of *pashmina* at Jalor.\(^3^3^8\) Now we can infer that Bargoan was first entry point from Ahmadabad side and would be easy to maintain trading activities with Gujarat with the villages of Jalor. It was not only a trading centre but a manufacturing unit such as an imperial workshop of *Shor Khana*, was there and gun powder was prepared and supplied.\(^3^3^9\) Being on the imperial route it served the dual purpose as commercial cum administrative centre.

In the similar fashion Merta was also a big commercial town of the Western Rajasthan on the imperial route of Agra to Ahmadabad, with huge population. It was a flourishing market as described by the European travelers.\(^3^4^0\) For other parts of Rajasthan like the Kota state, we do find that some towns like Mukundgarh,
Gagron and Khatakheri emerged as markets due to their location at the entry point into the state from Malwa. The emergence of towns (qasba) as markets because of their geographical location and centre of local administration: the population living there was consisted of different categories such as professional groups, merchants and service class. They were primarily centres of exchange of commodities between the neighboring villages. Thus, the growth of qasbas was linked to the increasing need of markets located in space where exchange could take place. Likewise some villages of previous century had developed as qasba in the next century, that is, Kethun and Barod. In that way some old qasba came to acquire new market centres. This is attested by Rampura which was new township added to qasba Kota in this manner. Some of the towns had emerged as market centres which not only functioned as market but also as a production centres. There were Chechat, Baran and Sangod as a major printing centre in the 18th century. The stationing of custom houses and realising of duties testify their connection with the important trade routes and the volume of trade traffic in these towns. Exchange between these towns and Malwa could be maintained easily located at the entry point in Kota state from Malwa.

Form the contemporary sources we find that there were many other towns such as Reni, Nohar, Ratangarh, and Mahajan etc. where commodities were procured. So, there were trades below qasba level. These places were the seat of

341 Madho Tandan Sethia, Rajput Polity, Warriors, Peasants, and Merchants (1700-1800), Jaipur, 2003
local administration and the centre of exchange of commodities with the adjacent villages. They collected the items from adjoining places and supplied to mandi sadar in Bikaner. The policy of the Rajput rulers towards diverse social groups of artisans and merchants facilitated the expansion of the markets and its wide marketing network in the 18th century made the state earn handsome amount in the form of revenue realized from the trading communities.

343 Kagadon ri Bahi, Bikaner, no. 10, V.S 1854/A.D 1787.
CHAPTER - VII
MERCANTILE COMMUNITIES

The role of mercantile communities in the development of trade and commerce in the 18th century Rajasthan and India have attracted the attention of several historians. The main caste involved in the trade (since 17th C.) of northern India was of Bania and for which plenty of information is available. This community controlled the whole inland trade and credit system in Rajasthan and outside of it through branches at different places in India. On the basis of their conspicuous position, James Tod, writes, though in exaggeration, that nine out of ten of the bankers and commercials men of India are native of Maroodesh (Marwar) Rajasthan. Thus the importance of the traders and merchants in the economy of Rajasthan can hardly be denied.

The contemporary archival records as well as private records employ various terms for the trading group such as Mahajans, Sah, Veoparis, Sahukars and Bohras. However we should not consider mahajan as a caste but as profession. This generic term includes the Agrawal, the Oswal, the Maheshwari,

346 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, of various Vikram Samvat from V.S 1821-1850; Khas Ruqqa parwana Bahi, no. 1; Kagadonri Bahis, Bikaner, no. 1-12 of various Vikram Samvat, Zakat Bahi, Bikaner no. 80, V.S 1807/A.D 1750; Sawa Bahi, Bikaner of different Parganas and Qasbas, such as Rajgarh, Churu, Reni etc. and Zakat Bahis, Kota of various Bhandars corresponding different years.
the Khandelwal, Porwals, Palliwal and Srimal and Khatri. Sometimes alongside the caste designation the place name was prefixed or suffixed which help us to identify their association with the locality. Besides these caste groups, other castes were also involved in trading activities such as Brahmin, Gosain, Charans and Bhats etc.

**The Oswals:**

The most important and dominant trading caste was the Oswal, who are the believers of Jainism. The origin is traced from Osia a small town in Marwar\(^{347}\) and they spread all over the Rajasthan and northern India. Our sources provide data which help us to estimate their population in Marwar. Besides Marwar, they were found in large numbers in Bikaner, Mewar, Jaipur, Shekhawati and Ajmer. The Oswal is a broad term which comprises of numerous castes. The sources had recorded them such as Bhansali, Mehta, Kothari, Khajanchi, Bothra, Surana, Seth, Nahta, Gulcha, Saonsukho, Malpani, Baid, Pothio, Chaudhary, Muwa, Sipani, Pugalia, Lotho, Asano, Sadani, Singhvi, Srimal, Johari, Daftri, etc.\(^{348}\) So their involvement in trade and commerce in the different regions of Rajasthan can be determined on their caste designation. Their control over the trade brought favour and concession from the states. Various Rajput states extended invitation to the members of this community to start business in their respective territories. There

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\(^{348}\) Some of them had been recorded in the document such as, *Zakat Bahi*, Bikaner, no.80, V.S 1807/A.D 1750 had been identified as sub group of Oswal, in Mangilal Bhatudia, *Oswal Jati Ka Itihas*, part I, Calcutta, 1988, pp. 161-63.
are various examples which clearly show this kind of favour to them. Our sources enable us to estimate their population in Marwar who were in larger number than others. In the town of Merta they were in bulk than other towns of the state. Their concentration in Merta was due to its location on the Mughal highway of Agra-Ahmadabad.\textsuperscript{349} One, Vardhan Rupchand, was invited by the ruler of Jaipur to conduct trade in his territory and allowed him to pay half of the taxes such as mapa, rahdari and was exempted from the payment of other cesses like berar, vachh and parna forever.\textsuperscript{350} Singhvi is another sub caste designation of the Oswal community. Singhvi Fatehchand who did his business in the territory of the Marwar, was given Rs. 1 and 2 annas rebate in the taxes like sair, dan and rahadari in the year 1769 A.D.\textsuperscript{351} In a similar kind of document, Maharaja Chhattar Singh (?) of Marwar, extended invitation to Oswals to establish their firms in the state and they would not face any kinds of difficulties.\textsuperscript{352} We find the references of some individual traders with caste designation which provide us clue to identify their association to a particular community. Dev Chand Golchaa and other members of the Golcha sub caste were also involved in trade.\textsuperscript{353} In the same way, other sub groups of Oswal was Baid such as Birbhan Baid dealt in grocery through out the length and breadth of Rajasthan.\textsuperscript{354} Johari Purshottam Das, traded

\textsuperscript{349} B.L. Bhadani, op. cit., p. 329.
\textsuperscript{350} Draft Kharita, Jaipur, no. 10 V.S 1820/A.D 1763.
\textsuperscript{351} Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no.9 V.S 1826/A.D 1769, f. 3(a)
\textsuperscript{352} Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1827/A.D 1770.
\textsuperscript{353} Zakat Bahi, Bikaner, no.80 V.S 1807/A.D 1750.
\textsuperscript{354} Ibid.
between Jaipur and Marwar who was also given fifty per cent relaxation in the payment of taxes.\footnote{Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no.9 V.S 1826/A.D 1769, f. 206.}

Besides these sub caste designations, some merchants of the different localities had prefixed with their name, the name of their specific localities, such as Srimal Mai Das.\footnote{Ibid.} The term Srimal is probably derived from Bhinamal a place in Marwar. The presence of Srimal anywhere in the country gives us a clue that they are from Bhimanal. Similarly, other sub caste of the Oswal community had derived its name from the name of a place viz. Jalor,\footnote{Ibid; Mangilal, op. cit., p. 162.} which was a \textit{pargana} headquarter in the state of Marwar. The persons with such designations are from Bhinamal and Jalor of Marwar. Sometimes they attached their ancestors name at the end of their name.\footnote{Ibid.} In the second half of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century, Hiranand Sah who migrated from Nagaur to Patna spread his business as far in eastern India as to Bengal. In the 18\textsuperscript{th} century the successors of this family of Hiranand Sah, Manik Chand had acquired prominent position in the trading and credit world of India. The title of Jagat Seth was given by the ruler of Bengal. This family was also from the Oswal community.\footnote{Bhadani, op. cit., p. 348. The role of Merchant Bankers in colonization of India by the British in 18\textsuperscript{th} century has been explored by many historians Ayesha Jalal and Sugata Bose, (eds.), Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy, New Delhi, 1998; R. Mukherjee, \textit{Trade and Empire in Awadh, 1765-1804}, Past and Present, no. 94, February 1982, pp. 85-102.}
The Maheshwaris:

The Maheshwari is the next in importance as a trading community. They trace their origin from a village Khandela in Jaipur district. They have derived their nomenclature from the name of the God Mahesh. That’s why they call themselves Maheshwari. From the documents of the 18th century Rajasthan, we find their involvement in trade and commerce. The Maheshwari is a broad term which is consisted of numerous sub-groups such as Daga, Damani, Chejleni, Lakhotia, Parekh, Lodha, Lahotia, Ratho, Bhutra, Bhandari, etc. are mentioned doing business in Bikaner and other parts of Rajasthan. When Maharaja Chhatter Singh of Marwar invited the members of merchant groups for the purpose of doing trade in his state Maheshwaris were also invited. In the year 1748, they along with Oswals and Khatris had been recorded doing business in Bikaner and the adjacent parts of it. Both the Rathor states had assured them that they would not face any difficulties in doing business and would be given concessions in taxes up to fifty per cent. Some names of this trading group namely, Gokul Chand Daga, Rajaram Daga, Guman Kothari, Rupram Lakhotia, who have been recorded as the prominent grocery traders of Bikaner and their trade networks were in all parts of Rajasthan. Besides these, some of the sub castes of the Maheswari had suffixed name of their native place such as Akhe Ram

360 Zakat Bahi, Bikaner, no.81, V.S 1807/A.D 1750.
361 Khas Ruqqa Purwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1827/A.D 1770.
363 Ibid.
364 Zakat Bahi, Bikaner, no.81 V.S 1807/A.D 1750.
Nagauri. The place was a *pargana* in the state of Marwar and another is the Pugalia which derived its name from the place Pugal which was also a *pargana* in Bikaner. There are some sub groups both in Oswals as well as in Maheshwaris who bear the common affinities such as Kothari, Bhutra, Bhansali, Seth, Sethi, Sukhani, Nagori, Pugalia, Soni etc. They are so closely linked and it becomes difficult to separate them. Even they share close cultural relations.

**The Agarwal:**

The Agrawal are said to have originated from Agroha in Haryana. The documents of the 18th century had tapped their engagement in trade and commerce in Rajasthan. Like the other merchant groups such as Oswals and Maheshwaris, the Agrawals are also consisted of large number of sub castes. Such as Konoi, Qanungo, Kanoria, Lohia, Potedar, Fatehpuria, Mehta, Modi, Nagauri, Chaudhari, Devra and many more. They formed an important trading group in Rajasthan. Therefore, the rulers of various Rajput states invited them to conduct trade in their respective territories. They were invited in the state during the reign of Maharaja Chhattar Singh of Marwar to do business there. They were assured of every facility by the state. At other place a trader of Churu, Agrawal Surab Sukh was invited by the ruler of Bikaner to open the shop and carry on trade there. Another Agrawal trader of *gasba* Bitta in the state of Kota who did his business

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365 Ibid.
366 Manilal Bhatudia, op.cit.
367 *Khas Ruqqa Parwana Bahi*, no. 1, Jodhpur.
368 *Kagadon ri Bahi*, Bikaner, no.10 V.S 1854/A.D 1797, f. 64 (b).
between Kota and Kishangarh. Shah Dharam Das Rangil Chand Agrawal who was a merchant of Kota did brisk trade between Kota and Malwa. There are references of some other merchants of Agrawal community who were grain merchants and bought grain from the villages of qasba Ratangarh and disposed them off at Ratangarh. Besides local and inter regional trade, we find their involvement in inter provincial trade. Seth Harnath Agrawal and Shah Moolchand were the famous traders of Jaipur. Their main area of operation was Sindh. One trader of Udaipur namely, Derva Khusyal, was invited to do business at Pali and assured protection.

Besides these, we find the frequent reference of Shekhawati merchants particularly the Fatehpuria merchant mentioned in our documents in large number. They had been named after a place known as Fatehpur in Shekhawati. They had used this instead of their caste designation and are from the Agrawal community. During the period of Vijay Singh in Marwar Fatehpuria merchants Sawant Ram and Moti Ram were called in Jodhpur for doing the grain trade there and were assured of help from the state. In the same nature of documents we find a complaint by a Fatehpuria trader in which he made complaint that the concession granted by the state in tax is not implemented by the officials. On his complaint

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369 Bhandar no. 4, Basta no. 1, Zakat Bahi, V.S 1865/A.D 1808.
370 Bhandar no. 4, Basta no. 2, Zakat Bahi, Pargana Satmahla, Kota, V.S 1871/A.D 1814.
372 Zakat Bahi Bikaner, no. 81, V.S 1807/A.D 1750.
373 Khas Ruqqa Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1852/A.D 1795.
374 Khas Ruqqa Parwana Bahi, no. 1, op. cit.
the previous order was restored to him.\textsuperscript{376} Shekhawati traders had acquired reputation in the trading world. They were invited by the rulers of many Rajput states.

Seth Bhagoti Ram Poddar was the native of Fatehpur, a \textit{thikana} in the Shekhawati region.\textsuperscript{377} Later on he shifted to Churu.\textsuperscript{378} In the last quarter of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, Chaturbhuj, the son of Bhagoti Ram went Punjab for grain trade and started his business at Bhatinda.\textsuperscript{379} He acquired ample wealth there. Over the custom duty differences with Thakur Shiv Singh surfaced and he migrated to \textit{Nosa Ki Dhani} present Ramgarh on the invitation of Rao Devi Singh of Sikar.\textsuperscript{380} After being shifted at Ramgarh he expanded his business and opened branches at different commercial centres of India.\textsuperscript{381} The different branches had been named after their family members for instance Chaturbhuj Jenda Ram, Mirzamal Mangniram and Tarachand etc. Their main business was mostly import and export as well as the \textit{hundi} business and had acquired prominence in the business world of India. In the next century one of their family members Seth Mirzamal is said to have emerged as one of the biggest trader of India. They are from the Agrawal community of Bansal caste.\textsuperscript{382}

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{376} Ibid.
\bibitem{378} Ibid.
\bibitem{379} Ibid.
\bibitem{380} Ibid.
\bibitem{381} Ibid.
\bibitem{382} Ibid.
\end{thebibliography}
The Khandelwal:

The other community who are recorded in the documents as merchants is the Khandelwal. Like other mercantile communities they too had derived their nomenclature from a place Khandela Shekhawati region. In its initial stage it might had denoted a place name only but in later years it became a community in particular. It is divided in numerous sub castes such as Patni, Gaudha, Ajmera, Soni, Gangwal, Binayakia, Bakliwal, Karliwal, Bohra, Bhandrali etc. In the 18th century they were invited by the rulers of Rajput states for trade. They were invited by the Maharaja Chhatar Singh for trade in territory of Marwar. A Khandelwal trader Balkishan Das Gya Das of Bharatpur in the time of Maharaja Vijay Singh of Marwar, who did trade in the state, was granted fifty per cent rebate in taxes such as sair, dan and rahdari etc. Khandelwal Kasiram Rajaram was invited for doing business in the qasba Sawai Jaipur in 1751 and he had to pay fifty per cent of the taxes such as mapa and rahdari. Again another Khandelwal trader was lured by the ruler of Jaipur to expand his business activities in the state. He was given one fourth concession in taxes such as rahdari and mapa and exempted from customary taxes like nikasu, vachh and verar forever. It becomes clear from our documents that when Maharaja Vijay Singh invited the Khandelwal traders in the year 1787 from different places of Rajasthan

383 These sub castes of the Khandelwal had been taken for identification from, Mangilal Bhatudia, op. cit., vol. II, p. 321.
384 Khas Ruqqa Parwana, Jodhpur, no.1 V.S 1839/A.D 1792, f. 139.
385 Ibid, V.S 1847/A.D 1790, f. 80.
386 Draft Kharita, Jaipur, Bundle no. 4, Jaipur, V.S 1808/A.D 1751.
387 Ibid, V.S 1800/A.D 1743.
to Marwar. It provides us a clue that they had spread their networks throughout Rajasthan and had registered themselves as an important segment of trading world in the 18th century Rajasthan.

Besides these main castes of traders, some other castes were also involved in trade and commerce such as Brhamins and its sub castes i.e. Purohit, Acharj, Joshi, Palliwals, Gusai and Baba etc. It is mentioned in the documents that Purohit Surajmal and his son and grandsons did business in the territory of the Marwar and were given fifty per cent concession in the payment of taxes such as sair, dan and rahdari etc. Another category of document also records, the involvement of Brahmins in trade. Hardat Purohit, Rodhnath Acharj and Mayaram Joshi, were traders of Bikaner and they did brisk trade between Bikaner and other parts of the state in various items. Again we find a Palliwal Brahmin, Harnath, transporting 14 camels loaded with tobacco and paid appreciable amount in tax to the state. He complained to the ruler against excess realization by the tax collectors. The ruler issued an order and assured him that if it finds to be correct then the excess amount would be compensated subsequently.

Scanty information about Khatris is available in our documents. Khatri Thakur Das and Bulaki Das did trade in Nagaur and they brought goods in the fair of Mundwa. The state provided them facility. Maharaja Chhattar Singh during

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388 Khas Ruqqa Parwana Bahi, no. 1, op. cit., f. 68.
390 Zakat Bahi, Bikaner, no. 81, op. cit.
391 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 10, V.S 1827/A.D 1770, f. 149 (b).
392 Khas Ruqqa Parwana, op. cit., V.S 1848/A.D 1791, f. 85.
his reign extended invitation to do business in the state and protection was ensured.\textsuperscript{393}

The \textit{Baba} and \textit{Gosain} were also engaged in trade, for instance many members of the Baba and Gosain groups brought different qualities of cloths from various places like Burhanpur, Ahmadabad, Patan, Indore, Nagpur and Jahanabad etc. Baba Uttamgiri and brought \textit{dhoti}, \textit{sela dupatta}, horse and camels from Nagpur\textsuperscript{394} to Kota which Baba Sitalgiri and Chengiriji plied between Chanderi and Kota. Similarly Bakhtar Gosai and Amralgiriji brought Multani chint to Kota.\textsuperscript{395} Again Baba Umedgiriji brought \textit{pashmina} from Kashmir to the state of Kota.\textsuperscript{396} These merchants transmitted these goods on behalf of the State and it was purchased by the ruler of Kota.

\textbf{Charans and Bhats (the grain carriers):}

Charans and Bhats occupied an important place in the social history of Rajasthan. Charans were popular for their literary pursuits while Bhats were the genealogist. So they acquired distinction in their respective fields. But their role in trade and commerce could not get the required attention. The contemporary documents of the Rajput states of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century mention them as traders. Their areas of operation were not limited to Rajasthan but outside it too. In the documents it is mentioned that, the \textit{Charans} and \textit{Bhats} brought grain from far off

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{393} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{394} \textit{Bhandar}, 16, \textit{Basta}, 2/1, \textit{Bohron ke Khate Lekhe}, V.S 1845/A.D 1788.
\item \textsuperscript{395} Ibid, V.S 1843/A.D 1786.
\item \textsuperscript{396} Ibid, \textit{Bhandar no.} 16, \textit{Basta no.} 6, Kota, V.S 1855/A.D 1798.
\end{itemize}
places like Malwa, Mewar, Haroti and Marwar into Bikaner and took away the items which could fetch them good profit.\textsuperscript{397} Two wealthy Charan traders of Kota had been recorded with their name, such as Charan Dev karan and Nathu. Their area of operation was Gujarat. Charan Dev Karan who transported 49 oxen loaded with \textit{al} (an item from which red colours is prepared) to Gujarat.\textsuperscript{398} Another merchant who dealt in multiple items such as \textit{al}, cotton and iron goods. He took these items from Kota to Gujarat.\textsuperscript{399} One \textit{Maru} Bhat of Marwar who supplied salt in big quantity from Panchbhadra to Jhansi through Kota.\textsuperscript{400} In the same way Charan Pitha and Dullah from Marwar carried salt of Panchbhadra in large amount to Ujjain via Kota.\textsuperscript{401}

Besides inter provincial trade, their involvement in inter regional trade is appreciable. Heera Bhat was engaged in trade between Marwar and Kota, who supplied more than two thousand oxen full of salt to two \textit{parganas} Baran and Chhinpa Barod in Kota.\textsuperscript{402} In the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, the beasts of burden in use were camel and bullocks for transportation in inland trade. For the purpose of carrying goods, they bred large number of camels and bullocks. They moved in groups, precisely for security reasons. They carried commodities of various kinds such as salt, grain, spices, tobacco as well as opium.\textsuperscript{403}

\textsuperscript{397} \textit{Kagadon ri Bahi}, Bikaner, no. 12, V.S 1859/A.D 1802.
\textsuperscript{398} \textit{Bhandar no. 4, Basta}, no. 2, \textit{Zakat Bahi, Pargana Satmohla}, Kota, V.S 1871/A.D 1814.
\textsuperscript{399} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{400} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{401} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{402} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{403} Ibid.
Some of them had been recorded with their name such as Naik for example Naik Kalu Bhat, Heera Bhat and Naik Guman Bhat etc. as the literal meaning of the word Naik is the chief, so it appears to us that those who had specific number of animals were called by their fellow trader as naik or chief of the caravan.

The Charans and Bhats enjoyed the privilege of exemption from the payment of transit taxes on taking their own goods to other regions due to their sacred position in the society. They started exploiting this facility by taking the goods of other merchants in their caravan. One piece of document reveals that the Charans and Bhats along with their animals passed the goods of a Jat trader. Later on it was discovered by the officials posted at custom chowki that in the caravan of Charans and Bhats those goods of a Jat trader had passed without paying the state tax. These officials alarmed the other station to realize the tax from the Jat trader, and were asked to remain vigilant in future.

From the same kind of documents we find that when the Charans and Bhats needed more animals for carrying the goods outside the state they hired the animals of Adejgars and included in their caravan and passed without paying the taxes. When the state came to know about this kind of fraud then they alerted the Adejgran not to give their animals to Charans and Bhats. If anybody gave them

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404 Ibid, Pargana, Bara Barod.
408 Ibid.
409 *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no.17 V.S 1833/A.D 1776, f. 6(a)
their beast he would be fined for.\textsuperscript{410} Again we find that Adejgars (?) with them passed the goods of Jat traders when it was discovered they were detained and tax was realized with fine from them.\textsuperscript{411} It is further made clear that only the Charan Purohits of Deshnok are exempted from transit tax forever and no Charans Purohit of any other villages were exempted from the payment of any tax if they were caught in indulging any kind of fraud then they had to pay tax with fine. Besides if any other traders tried to escape without paying taxes with Adejgars them a penalty was realized from them.\textsuperscript{412} In the same documents it is mentioned that if Adejgars take goods for personal use on their camels then the \textit{rahdari} is to be realized at the house of the brokers.\textsuperscript{413} The Charan Purohit took the articles of other traders in their own name and the state lost its revenue in that way.\textsuperscript{414} The state alarmed all the custom \textit{Chowkis} to remain vigilant that no traders should pass without parting the stated transit tax. Those Charans and Bhats who had taken away the goods in their own name apprised them of the measures taken and tell them not to do so.

The other aspect which comes out of the sources is that they offered their services on payment to the traders to carry their goods. It is evident from a record that \textit{Parbatsar Sair daroga} informs the top officials of the state that lead (\textit{shisha}) was transported from Ajmer to Churu via Fatehpur. The trader of Fatehpur had

\textsuperscript{410} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{411} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{412} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{413} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{414} Ibid, no. 25, V.S 1838/A.D 1781, f. 17.
hired the services of Charans for transportation in turn Charans passed with loaded camels as their own which means clear cut loss to the state.\textsuperscript{415} In the similar way a broker of Sindh hired the Charans of Deshnok for taking the articles from there and escaped from the payment of state tax.\textsuperscript{416}

The trade route in the 18\textsuperscript{th} century was generally not very safe. Our sources are replete with the incidents of looting and seizure of goods by plunderers and highway robbers. Sometimes \textit{Jagirdars} and \textit{Zamindars} of the areas also captured the \textit{caravan} passing through their territories. The Rajput \textit{Jagirdars} and Marauders had great respect and regard for the Charans and Bhat therefore their caravan escaped from their pillages. This opportunity appears to have played a positive role in bringing both these caste group in the arena of trade and commerce especially in \textit{caravan} trade. The advantage of tax exemption and "exemption from plundering" of the caravan of the Charans was well utilized by the traders for their own interest to avoid the payment of transit duties and other taxes.\textsuperscript{417}

In our sources some of the Bhats have been recorded simply as Bhats, whereas Bhats are other suffixed with the term \textit{maru} such as Naik Guman Bhat Maru, Hari Ram Keso Maru and Lachhe Ram Bhal Maru.\textsuperscript{418} The \textit{maru} is probably

\textsuperscript{415} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{416} Zakat Bahi, Bikaner, no. 153, V.S 1890/A.D 1833.
\textsuperscript{417} In Rajasthan Charans played and important role in grain trade. They were the owners of camel caravan (cf. Rathor Thakursi Jaitsi \textit{ri Varta, Parampra}, no. 79, p. 62); Sometimes, their services were used to escort the merchants safely through the areas frequented by robbers, cf. \textit{Indian Travels of Thevenot and Carri}, ed. S.N. Sen, New Delhi, 1949, p. 90; Peter Mundy took camels on hire in Jalore (\textit{Travels}, vol. II, pp. 290-91)
\textsuperscript{418} Bhandar no. 4, Basta no. 2, Zakat Bahi, V.S 1871/A.D 1814, Kota.
a sub caste designation of the Bhats. It becomes clear to us that both the Charans and Bhats had emerged as an active segment of the trading community.

**Banjaras:**

There was another community which transported the goods in abundance since medieval period was *banjaras*. They had been mentioned in the documents. They were the transporting groups engaged mainly in long distance trade. They had large herds of animals with pack wagons on their back to distance trade. They carried the necessary articles such as grains, salt and grocery from the surplus areas, to where these items were in demand and can fetch them more profit.

One interesting point emerges from our documents is that we find *banjaras* mentioned along with Charans and Bhats of Rajasthan.\(^419\) We find mention of many Bhats and Charans along with other carriers and merchants transporting goods and had paid required transit duty. For instance one Naik Guman Moti Bhat had paid Re. 27, for 350 bullocks for carrying grain, while a Charan Jivo, carrying 335 bullocks had paid Re. 26.\(^420\) Beside these, other caravans had also been adequately registered such as Naik Sujat Khan Multani carried 677 bullocks of grain who paid Rs. 55. Goods were carried on carts, camels and bullocks. They had large herds of oxen they could travel with their herds over long distance. They had to move in large groups for the safety reasons. The word *Naik* is just like chief of the caravan or grain carriers.

\(^420\) Ibid.
This gives us a clear clue that in the 18\textsuperscript{th} century Rajasthan, there emerged a cross caste mercantile groups, which was earlier dominated by the banias only. The trade had emerged as a lucrative sector that attracted the traders of different cecastes and helped the rulers of different Rajput states in consolidating their financial power of their respective states.
TAXATION SYSTEM

The taxation constituted the chief instrument of governance. The documents of the 18th century Rajput states are replete with evidences that numerous taxes were imposed and exacted from merchants and traders. The inland trade was carried by the professional groups termed in the sources as mahajans, sahs, veoparis, sahthanis and bohras. Besides them, some other castes were also involved in trading and transporting activities such as banjara, Charans and Bhatas. The taxes were levied at several entry points of various states and on the ways to markets and commercial towns. The custom duties were the most important income of the state.

The Rajput states levied taxes on import and export of goods from one state to another. They were broadly categorized into three headings such as sair mapa, rahdari and dan along with a large number of local taxes constituting a single taxation system. Every Rajput state had a set principle for levying duties on different categories of merchants and traders and had fixed the rates of taxes imposed upon them. It is also testified by our documents that many traders who had their establishment (kothis) in the pargana towns, kept links between the towns and its rural areas on the one hand and between various towns on the other hand. There were other categories of traders who carried articles from one place to other. They paid mapa and rahdari at concessional rates while an additional tax
namely *dan* was levied on external traders. The last one was realized only in Marwar.\(^{421}\)

The taxes realized from the traders in Rajput states show that apart from traditionally recognized taxes such as sale tax, entry tax and transit tax, there were other numerous local cesses. The contemporary documents contain numerous taxes which were realized under different names such as *nikasu, parna, vachh-\(^{422}\)verar, mohrano, kayali, vatvali, pasaru, bahetwani, hundo-bharo, chungi* and *qanungi*. Sometimes many of them were forbidden by the state forever to attract the merchants to their respective territories. The definition, nature and incidence of these taxes are as follows:

*Rahdari:*

The term *rahdari* occurs frequently in our sources which mean a transit-tax. It was a levy realized on the goods passing through the jurisdiction of a state. It was collected at custom *chowkis* stationed at entry points and on trade routes. It was levied on food grains and other items of public use. The documents of our period under study reveal that different rates in the realization of *rahadari* were

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\(^{421}\) *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1821/A.D 1764, f. 26(b) & *Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi*, no. 1, V.S 1824/A.D 1767, f. 225.

\(^{422}\) *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 25, V.S 1838/A.D 1781, f. 52(b); *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 35, V.S 1843/A.D 1786, f. 128(a); *Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi*, no. 1, V.S 1825/A.D 1768, f. 232 and *Draft Kharita and Parwana*, bundle, 4, V.S 1800-08/A.D 1743-51.
adopted by the states for different categories of traders such as sahthani, vichhayat, veoparis. A trader named Balkishan Das Gaya Das of Bharatpur was also granted one half exemptions in the rahdari tax, who conducted trade in grain between Jodhpur and Bharatpur. From our documents, we come to know that there were some traders who got concession in rahdari, only because their father had enjoyed this concession. Another trader, Muhta Kilanot, was also granted such concessions in rahdari on doing business of Kirana (grocery), rut (cotton), dhan (grain) etc. So, there was no uniform rates of taxation but differed from place to place and person to person. In other kinds of documents we find that traders of Jaipur transported Kirana to Jodhpur. They paid 1 ½ takka rahdari per camel. Again a trader Singhvi Fatehchand who conducted grain trade in the territory of Jodhpur, was granted rahdari concession at the rate of Re. 1 annas 2. Similarly, a Sahthani, who did business in Qasba Sawai Jaipur, was granted one half concessions in the

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423 Dasturul Amal Mapa-rahdari, pargana Hindaun, V.S 1890/A.D 1741; Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi, no. 1, V.S 1824/A.D 1767, f. 225; Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 9, V.S 1826/A.D 1769, f. 52.
424 Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi, no. 1, V.S 1824/A.D 1767, f. 225.
425 Ibid, no. 1, V.S 1847/A.D 1790, f. 80.
426 Ibid, no. 1, f. 225/
428 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 17, V.S 1833/A.D 1776, f. 128(b).
429 Ibid., no. 9, V.S 1826/A.D 1769, f. 3 (a).
rahdari. A Jaipur trader Vanmanu Ram Ramgopal who had shop in Pali was given concession of Re. 1 and annas 2 in rahdari.

Mapa:

Next to rahdari in order of importance, was mapa. The term was employed to denote two meanings: one, sales tax while another sales tax cum transit tax. It was imposed on articles sold on the markets of Marwar brought by merchants from within and outside Marwar. It was realized on sale and purchase of various commodities at markets, qasba, mela (fairs) and hatwara. It was exacted in proportion to the value of goods sold and purchased. It was not realized on some specific items bought for specific use such as seeds purchased by peasants, oil seeds for extracting oil and indigo taken for dyeing cloths. When the state imposed tax on the goods passing through its territory, then an amount under the head of mapa-rahdari was deposited [which includes both sales and transit tax]? In that situation the state charged in accordance with the medium of carriage. For instance, a cart, full of grain, was charged at the rate of takkas 6 while pack bullock carrying was charged only 0.75 takkas. Again a cart loaded with sugar was charged at the rate of takkas 1 and 19 dams where as a pack bullock was exacted at the rate of 6 takkas. Therefore, it becomes clear to us from above examples that it was a lump sum tax on the goods carried.

430 B.L. Bhadani, op. cit.
431 Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1847/A.D 1790, f. 81.
432 Dilbagh Singh, Nature and Incidences of Taxes.
433 Ibid., p. 319.
434 B.L. Bhadani, op. cit., p.
Dan:

It also occupies important position in the taxation documents related to trade and commerce. The term dan attaches two meanings: first as import tax which was imposed on goods brought into the town for sale and second, transit tax. It was collected in Marwar. The documents of the 18th century contain information that a trader of Kishangarh namely Pataudi Daulat Ram who conducted trade in Marwar was granted one fourth exemption in dan. Again a trader of Bharatpur, who traded in grain in Jodhpur, was given a rebate of one half in the payment of dan. At other place, a trader from Bikaner, Dinani Hamarain, carried grain trade between Parbatsar and Bikaner enjoyed one fourth concession in dan because his father enjoyed earlier. Sah Dawarika Das Jagjivan Das Gujarati who did business in the territory of Marwar was extended fifty per cent concession in dan and parwana to this effect was sent to all custom chowkis. It can be inferred from above examples that it was realized from the merchants who brought goods into towns and take way items of Marwar outside the state. The rulers of Marwar always instructed the custom officials not to harass traders unreasonably, and realize from them what is appropriate. The official in charge of

435 Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 1, f. 80.
436 Ibid., f. 80.
437 Ibid., f. 225.
438 Ibid., f. 222.
439 Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 1.
collecting dan was called dani. It was a sales tax in Marwar while in Jaipur its equivalent term is mapa.

**Bahetiwan:**

The term ‘bahetiwani’ appears in our documents as a toll tax or road tax. It was charged on goods carried from one state to another or within the state at different check posts (custom chowkis). It was collected by various authorities controlling the routes. Some traders of Fatehpur, Nagaur and Pipar who conducted trade between these places and Pali were charged ‘bahetiwan’ at the rate of takkas 4 per camel cart. While in Kachhawaha territory, it was also exacted at the rate of takkas 4 per cart. In Bikaner it was adjudged to the value of the goods being carried on camels. Therefore, we can infer that in Marwar and Kachhawaha territories it was charged at a uniform rate, but in Bikaner it depended upon to the value of the goods. It is equivalent to rahdari. Thus, it becomes evident that this transit duty was realized under two different designations in different states.

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440 Ibid.
441 Dasturul Amal Mapa Rahdari, pargana Dahatri.
442 Zakat Bahi, Bikaner, no. 80, V.S 1807/A.D 1750, f. 3.
443 Draft Khariaa and Parwana, Jaipur, bundle no. 10, V.S 1820/A.D 1763.
**Parna:**

It was a tax charged from the grain traders. There are various parwanas which contain information about this levy. The traders invited by the rulers of Jaipur to the newly founded qasbas were given various kinds of facilities but were exempted from parna forever.\(^44^4\) Vardhan Rupchand Oswal who was invited at qasba Sawai Jaipur as per the policy of the state for expansion and promotion of trade, was exempted from the payment of parna forever.\(^44^5\) At other place, a Sahthani who was invited for doing business at Sawai Madhopur, was also awarded exemption from the payment of parna forever.\(^44^6\) There are numerous references in our documents such as Malook Chand Motiram and Balkishan, they conducted trade at qasba Sawai Jaipur were given exemption in the said tax.\(^44^7\)

Sometimes, the rulers issued parwanas of general remission (without addressing any specific name) as an open policy of the state to attract the traders. Open invitations to traders contributed in the expansion of trade network and emergence of new market towns as well.\(^44^8\)

**Vachh-Virar:**

This was another cess which was realized from grain merchants at the time of sale of grain in the market. The parwanas containing information of exemption

\(^{44^4}\) Ibid.

\(^{44^5}\) Ibid.

\(^{44^6}\) Ibid.

\(^{44^7}\) Ibid., bundle no. 4, V.S 1800/A.D 1743.

\(^{44^8}\) Ibid., bundle no. 14, V.S 1828-30/A.D 1771-73.
of vachh-virar do not provide us data about its incidents. But only carry exemption order for traders doing business in Rajput states.\footnote{Ibid.}

\textit{Mohrano:}

The term \textit{mohrano} is also recorded in the revenue records of the Rajput states in the 18\textsuperscript{th} century. It was a cess which was charged from the grain merchants. In a \textit{parwana} of the year 1765 a trader named Rekh Raj Seth Mal who conducted grain trade in the territory of Jodhpur was given fifty per cent rebate in the payment of \textit{mohrano} along with other taxes.\footnote{\textit{Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi}, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1825/A.D 1768, f. 232(a).} In other kinds of records it is mentioned along with other levies but its nature and incidence is not recorded.\footnote{\textit{Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi}, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1825/A.D 1768, f. 232(a).} While in Jaipur region it was collected at a uniform rate of Re. 2 per cart at the check post of \textit{pargana} Phagi,\footnote{\textit{Bhandar} no. 4, \textit{Basta} no. 1, \textit{Zakat Bahi}, Kota, \textit{Qasba}, Kanwas V.S 1834/A.D 1777; \textit{Bhandar} no. 4, \textit{Basta} no. 3, \textit{Zakat Bahi}, \textit{Qasba}, Manohar Thana, V.S 1873/A.D 1816.} in Bikaner it was estimated on the quantity of the goods carried. But here we do not find any uniform rate.\footnote{\textit{Sanad Parwana Bahi}, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1821/A.D 1764, f. 40(b).}

\textit{Kayali:}

The revenue documents of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century record the terms ‘\textit{kayali’}. It was a weighing tax which was charged from grain traders at the time of weighing their goods. The person responsible for collecting this tax was known as \textit{kayala}.\footnote{\textit{S.P. Gupta}, \textit{Agrarian System of Eastern Rajasthan}, Jaipur. \textit{Sanad Parwana Bahi}, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1821/A.D 1764, f. 40(b).} The ruler of Marwar in the year 1768 A.D issued a \textit{parwana} to a trader granting fifty
per cent relaxation in the payment of *kayali*. But its rate is not mentioned in the *parwana*. The rate of *kayali* was not uniform but it varied form place to place. In Kota it was exacted at a uniform rate of 12 \( \frac{1}{2} \) dams per *maund* on all goods. While in *qasba* Amber of Jaipur; it was charged at the rate of 32 \( \frac{1}{2} \) dams per rupee, or one seer per *maund* on all types of goods. But at *qasba* Tonk it was realized at the rate of 6 \( \frac{1}{4} \) dams per rupee. So, in Jaipur territory the rate differed from one place to another. In Bikaner it was fixed to the value of the goods. In general there was no uniform rate of *kayali* in Rajput states in the 18\(^{th}\) century.

**Baihak (Display):**

This was also charged from traders and artisans who came with their finished items and commodities for sale to *hatwara* organized in big villages on different week days. These artisans and traders were charged separately proportionate to the value of the commodities. Different artisan groups were charged at different rates. The rates varied on different artisans at different places. It was charged at the following rates in different sates which are given below:

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455 *Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi*, op. cit.
456 *Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S 1841/A.D 1784, op. cit.
457 Ibid.
Table I

*Baithak realized at two qasbas of Jaipur*\(^\text{458}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artisans</th>
<th>Qasba Phagi (Rate in dam)</th>
<th>Qasba of Todabhim (Rate in takka &amp; dam)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mochi/Chanmar (Leather maker)</td>
<td>0.50 dams</td>
<td>2.5 dams per pair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thathera (Utensil maker)</td>
<td>0.50 dams</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kander</td>
<td>0.50 dams</td>
<td>31 dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panchari (Grocer)</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonar (Goldsmith)</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>15 dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakhera (Bangle maker)</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bajaji (Cloth merchants)</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>1.25 takka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarraf</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siktigar</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyer (Rangrez)</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasera (Brass worker)</td>
<td>N.A</td>
<td>1.25 takka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khatik (Meat seller)</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>31 dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luhar (Blacksmith)</td>
<td>N.A</td>
<td>1.25 takka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the basis of the above table we can infer that artisans such as tanners, utensil makers, *pansari* (one who sells spices and herbs into open market) and calico printers were clubbed in one category. They paid 50 *dams* per *baithak* in *qasba* Phagi at a uniform rate. Others were realized at the rate of 25 *dams*. But

\(^{458}\) *Dasturul Amal, Chabutra Kotwali, Qasba, Phagi, V.S 1746/A.D 1689.*

155
dyers were paid at a higher rate of 75 dam at qasba Toda Bhim. The different artisans were charged at different rates. Different states and towns had different rates of taxation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artisans</th>
<th>Qasba Manoharthana (Rate in takka &amp; dam)</th>
<th>Qasba of kanwas (Rate in takka &amp; dam)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mochi/Chanmar (Leather maker)</td>
<td>0.25 dams</td>
<td>0.6 dams per pair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kander</td>
<td>0.25 dams</td>
<td>19 dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheepa (Calico Printer)</td>
<td>1 takka</td>
<td>19 dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonar (Goldsmith)</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>19 dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakhera (Bangle maker)</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confectioner</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luhar (Blacksmith)</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>19 dams</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar position emerges from the region of Kota, where the different artisan groups were charged at different rates. The dyers and calico-printers had paid baithak at higher rate. So, we can understand that these two industries had emerged prominent in the 18th century. It also appears that baithak tax was not uniform but varied in nature and it also differed from state to state, and place to place.

Besides these taxes, there were some other taxes which were also realized from traders:

Pesar and Nikal:

A cess on entry and exit of the commodities. Nikal was the duty levied on the goods passing out of a town or pargana while pesar is tax on imports.\textsuperscript{460}

Chungi:

This was a tax charged from grain traders. Solitary evidence enables us to write that a trader Rekh Raj who conducted trade in Jodhpur was given fifty per cent concession in the payment of Chungi. However, its rates are not recorded properly.\textsuperscript{461}

Qanungi:

It was a tax realized in the name of qanungo, who was responsible for keeping revenue records at pargana level.\textsuperscript{462} Its rate is not recorded.

Khunci:

It was a cess levied on exchange of goods between two parties in village or the qasba. This was also charged from those traders who sold their items either to local traders or to the vichhayat (one who sells his merchandise by spreading mat in the market). It was collected at a uniform rate of 6 dam per rupee.\textsuperscript{463}

\textsuperscript{460} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{461} Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur.
\textsuperscript{462} Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{463} Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 1, op. cit.
Singoti:

It was realized from traders who dealt in domestic cattles such as buffalo, camel, horses and bullock in the weekly markets and fairs.464

Tehbazari:

It was levied upon those sellers who put their temporary shops in hatwara and fairs organized by the state. They paid for the space they had used in fair or market.465

Vatvali:

Vatval was an officer concerned with Chabutra Kotwali in the qasba. He was responsible for collecting transit duty from traders passing through his chowki. In a document it is referred that traders had accused Vatvals for illegal extortion.466 However, its incidence is not recorded properly.

After examining the nature of the taxes levied on inland trade in Rajput states which shows that apart from traditionally recognized taxes such as sales tax, entry tax and transit tax, there were a number of imposts borne by the internal and external traders in the 18th century. Thus, we come to know from the documents of the Rajput states that taxes were levied under different heads on the sales, imports and exports of articles. Many of these taxes were collected by the states. On the basis of the complaints recorded against the officials to the ruler that lead us to believe that some forbidden taxes were also collected from the traders and

465 Dasturul Amal and Mapa Rahdari, pargana Malpura.
466 Zakat Bahi, Bikaner, no. 80, V.S 1807/A.D 1750.
merchants. These taxes imposed on traders were not only very large in number but also considerable in magnitude. Some of them like mapa, rahdari, and dan were quite burdensome.

It also appears from the revenue records that some influential and big merchants were exempted from the payment of taxes like rahdari, mapa and dan. The exemption granted to influential merchants was not uniform but differential in nature. In one reference, it is mentioned that Singhvi Vardhman Ratan Chand Jorawal Mal's sons and grandsons were fully exempted from the payment of dan, rahdari on the ground that their predecessors were big and influential merchants and had enjoyed this privilege during their life times.\textsuperscript{467} Parwana to this effect was sent to the various custom chowkis located at different places in the territorial limit of Marwar. Other categories were of those merchants who were granted exemption in the payment of taxes up to fifty per cent. A trader, named Khatri Gopal Das of Multan, was granted one half exemptions. For this category of merchants states extended invitation for the merchant of the neighboring states for doing business in their respective regions.\textsuperscript{468} The last category of the merchant was given exemption of one fourth. Many other traders of different places also enjoyed exemption due to their families had enjoyed earlier.\textsuperscript{469}

Besides these favour given to the merchants, we find some complaints lodged by the traders. For example, a trader wrote to the ruler for the redressal of

\textsuperscript{467} Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 25, V.S 1838/A.D 1771, f. 52(b)
\textsuperscript{468} Bhandar no. 8, Basta no. 30, Zakat Bahi, Kota, pargana Baran-Barod, V.S 1884/A.D 1827.
\textsuperscript{469} Rojnama Chabutra, Kotwali, Qasba Averitas, V.S 1750/A.D 1693.
his grievances praying that he was given fifty per cent exemption in *dan* and *rahdari* and that this exemption should not be withdrawn. Now it has been reduced to one fourth. The ruler of Marwar restored the previous order of exemption. The differential nature of exemption emphasizes its symbolic significance. It also remains ambiguous that no ceiling amount is mentioned in the sources that the traders taking goods of certain price would be granted certain per cent of concession.

All along it needs to be kept in mind that the state taxes co existed with local exactions. In addition to the so called legal taxes the merchants had to part a large number of illegal cesses being realized since time immemorial. The local taxes along with state levies made a commercial taxation system of states. Transit duties (*rahdari*) were perhaps the most regular and burdensome of the local levies. Its rate varied from person to person and place to place. The Rajput states managed the taxation system by issuing orders for the imposition of tax or revising rates of taxation. The sources also record the number of *sair chowkis* in a *pargana* on different routes where all taxes were exacted.

In spite of all the burden of taxes imposed upon the traders and measure adopted by the states, the sheer scale of the organization of commercial administration helped in the growth of trade and its networks. Trade was brisk and

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470 *Zakat Bahi*, Bikaner, no. 80, V.S 1807/A.D 1750; *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, Jodhpur, no. 9, V.S 1826/A.D 1769.
flourishing and traders were benefited from inland trade. These trades gave rise to urbanizations.
CONCLUSION

This study arose in the context of the attention being paid by the historian (from India and abroad) to the regional studies to determine the 18th century, as to whether it was a period of decline or growth. This region of Rajasthan has remained largely unattended. This could be a link to the existing studies at the regional level in determining the nature of the 18th century Rajasthan in particular, and India, in general.

The geographical location of the region influenced its history. The location of Rajasthan on the major Mughal routes, served as a link between the Mughal capital cities of Delhi/Agra and the commercial cities of Ahmedabad and Surat. Besides these imperial routes, there were many other routes which were frequently used by the merchants to reach Sindh, Multan, Lahore and Punjab. It was a link between north and western India. Many European merchants exploited these routes to reach the towns and cities of the state to procure merchandise with the help of petty dealers. In this manner, from petty dealers to big magnates were tied together in the trade structure of Rajasthan.

The policy of the Rajput rulers in regulating the trading activities helped the Rajasthan to spread its trading network beyond its boundaries. The trade links of the region was established with Kashmir in the north and Burhanpur in the south. It had become centre of a transit trade. The economic prosperity of any region is measured by the amount and the nature of trade with other regions. All regions do not produce all items they need. Rajasthan received many items from Gujarat,
Malwa, and Sindh. The internal and external trade is characterised by the movement of the bulk of commodities.

Besides these, the information about the encouragement of traders by different rulers of various Rajput states is spectacular. They extended open invitation to merchants to settle down in the towns of their states. For this they were given space for shops and residence and various concessions in the taxes. This facilitated the urbanization process in 18th century Rajasthan.

In accelerating the economy of the state, the role of the periodic fairs (mela) can not be denied. The annual and biannual fairs of trans-regional character helped Rajasthan in promoting the trading activities of the states. It is evident that for the fair of Kaparda, the ruler of Jodhpur in 1764, issued invitation to mahajans of thirty eight places. This parwana contained information about the facilities and concessions to be provided to them.

The rural urban linkages are also of great value. The transactions between the rural urban centres of the region drew them into an economic relationship within the regional and more for flung areas. Thus Rajasthan was emerging as a well knit trading unit and was becoming an important part of subcontinents by trade and commerce. This integration gave impetus to the urbanization process of the towns of the states of Rajasthan in the 18th century.

Economic growth in the region was more clearly visible in the emergence of a composite mercantile community. Besides the various Vaishya castes, like Oswals, Agrawals, Maheshwaries, Khandelwals, Paliwals and Khatris, who had
dominated the trading activities, the entry of Brahmins had made it more pertinent. These Brahmins and Gosains had also developed big business establishments in the state of Kota and other parts of Rajasthan. The increasing participation of the Charans in trading activities is quite evident. The traders also utilized their services to escape from the loot and plunder of their goods. They had emerged as big grain carriers.

The policy of the Rajput rulers in promoting trade and various facilities extended to traders for many new qasba (urban centres) played positive role in the extension of trade. In the 18th century many towns, such as Umed Ganj, Shahbad and Ganesh Ganj emerged at state’s initiative, whereas in the other parts of Rajasthan, Sawai Madhopur, Sawai Jaipur, Rajgarh, Nagaur, Pali, Bhilwara and numerous others emerged as commercial centres in different Rajput states. This policy of the Rajput rulers to fill the rural-urban gap and tied them to each other and to near by towns inhabited by the merchants or big traders. So many towns had a large number of composite populations overlapping each other like, Brahmin and mahajans.

This is also evident that many of the commercial towns functioned not only as a market but also as production centres. The urban centres such as Nagaur, Pali, Sojat, Merta, and Jalore, etc. had many state controlled workshops which catered the demand of both royal household as well as the common people. Bikaner, itself was a big production centre, where large numbers of articles were produced. Its marketing centres were scattered at Rajgarh, Churu, and some subsidiary centres.
were Anupgarh, and Pugal, etc. In Jaipur, the capital city itself and its setlight city Sanganer were producing the items of basic needs and luxury. These production as well as commercial centres gave impetus to the process of the urbanization. They had substantial population of officials, merchants, professional groups, artisans and labouring class. The demand for the goods manufactured in the towns was created by social as well as political factors. The local demands were fulfilled by the local production and small traders, whereas the luxury items were procured from far off places by the big traders. The pashmina of Kashmir, and masur-lapetta and pagh-phenta, were brought from Gujarat, Chanderi, Jahanabad etc. by the Baba and Gosain trader. The artisans were involved in manufacturing domestic, luxury and military items. The construction workers were also the part of the city population; the artisans were employed at construction sites at a fixed pay for the specific works which arose.

Besides various concessions and favour given to the artisans, they were subject to begar (forced/unpaid labour). The officials of the parganas exploited their power. The state took active role to check this practice. This shift in the state policy towards the artisans and menials was an indication of the state control. Besides these, condition of the artisans was not satisfactory.

Thus, the 18th century Rajasthan witnessed the expansion and growth in the process of urbanization. The trade, commerce and craft production flourished. The Rajput states had trade relations with different parts of India. The Maratha inroads had temporary impact confined on trade routes of south-east Rajasthan but it could
not disrupt the trade as a whole which is witnessed by the continuous trading activities and brisk trade in whole of Rajasthan in the 18th century Rajasthan.
APPENDIX- I

(Sanad Parwana Bahis)

Various Karkhanas/Artisans
Sanad Parwana Bahi, V.S 1820/A.D 1763

हा जाने हुसीरागियानी जांगीनाथदेव 
गरी उपास्यारोहि गौरीपीपाणीपालि 
मारात्मकतेव दुर कवीय प्राण ही गांधीय 
 leichter राणी लाहानुष्पाद पुरातित 
 'दिलायारी' कर्णक विद्यावधें ही गांधी 
 'ता जन' उपनिषता जग ताब्ज जग द्रौपदी 
 शामिल दयालार जाना गइ युक्त ही 
 शेष बन्धुगी बनावा उपदेतो है 
 गांधीरुप नदिया राराजपालीको 
 "सुरक्षा" सत्तात निभाया विषय 
 पोहावा तिराजारुक्त हारे 
 रायक निरीक्षण निरंजनी राज्य 
 जादिके जावदी रंगराजस्वर 
 छाया हुआ ही कसाना धर्म राहा
अलकारक
तेजः शिवाजीनगरी - शाखा १५७२
दिनांक: शाखा २५ मागजनवींघट
मेडिकल लाइनर्स हेमदर्जी जीई
क्रयोमेट्री दीवार्यलाभावी उत्तराधिकार
गोंडौरपैका सावित्रिराहि इंजन
गांधरेपेटिकागार दिल्ली मुद्रण
जंगली होरेरा लोहासुरुवात गांधरेपेटिकागार
मांधान जीडी आहुरजस्वी हृदयर
वमात जुंक्टिक साहित्य प्रकाशित
जीन जुंक्टिक साहित्य प्रकाशित
रीता गांधरेपेटिकागार हृदयर
गांधरेपेटिकागार
रणाव तोमर
लोपोलिनातबाहुसारसुरझी केरोसरसांसीलानासौरणरो
पालकरसांसीलानासौरणरो पालकरसांसीलानासौरणरो
पालकरसांसीलानासौरणरो पालकरसांसीलानासौरणरो
जीनां पुडारेलीपणाचार सुकुणालं प्रमोदनाथाय
गोवर्द्धनराजस्थानशिक्षापाणीराजस्थानीहुइँचक
रुकसिंहरेलीपुरेलीहुसीररघवीपिंगे
हैतं देशमंगलो श्रीमानकुंजीवर
पीनु चामीरी गंगा जामूरे
पूर्णां भार्याहु ताशबेहनी
सातसीतृती वाजुदाधरे
जारोपाती जिंदागीराष्टिनाथी
कर्नाटिक उपलब्धि की चेतना सुधारक कहीं

रचनातील जीवनाताने आटोलमुक्ते पार्श्वी 

शिवाराज्याकृत नवीमुक्तागारसहस्रावर
dहा प्रेमावरप्रेरित अतिथीही दिवसमयी 

भारतीय सरकार राष्ट्रवादी संगठनातील आयुक्त विषये

मात्र निम्नलिखित शहीद वृत्तचित्रात

रचनास्री नेना गिकिमो वरारूड़ी वाराणसी

झेरी मुं्ना राजपूत रामगंगाराजी

सेवानिधी महादेव सुरेंद्रनाथ
राजू उपकारिकाने गाव गाव म्हणजेच गाव म्हणजे

1. तालुका फार्माचे नाव
2. राज्य सरकार की ओबर अपाराजी"ना
3. मोठ्या पत्ती देण्यासाठी की पत्ती देण्यासाठी
4. कृपया अंदाज घेंगा

प्राप्त निर्दिष्टपणे

कावळी नाळे

मान्यतेची

पातळी

2. फार्माचे नाव
3. मान्यतेचे नाव
4. फार्माचे अंदाज
5. कावळी नाळे


26. તેજપેઠિયા, મુરધા લેતા
સોનાં ખડીયેમાં બીચામાં
શાયધારિયા યાંત્રયાંકન નીચે

62. દેશદકારી
વિડીયા કયા?
69. દાઉડી
1. लोकों के दरों में गीत १७९-६६-४९

2. सच्चाई की बातें की जाती हैं जहाँ-जहाँ यथार्थता राज्य है

3. नाते की लाइटें जो गुरु गोरे अगुआ गुरीया जी ने कहीं

4. यह धर्म का है जो तब कारक नील रहती है तब नाम लाग जाता है

5. सौंभाग की है जो हरी रसीदा रहती है तब तवीर मानी जाती है

6. अब गान का जीतोगी है

7. सुतारकीच गायक की लाइटें

8. जो रहे गोरे अगुआर में अक्षर की लाइटें
तत्त्वावलम्बीयोऽसे वास्तविकता स्वप्नेशु गणवेदीया पञ्चमृतः नानाभवताः ब्रह्मं विद्यमानाम्।

तत्त्वावलम्बी।

पञ्चमृतः नानाभवताः।

विद्यमानाम्।

तत्त्वावलम्बी।
APPENDIX- II

(Sanad Parwana Bahis/Bohron ka Khate Lekha Bahi)

External Trade Routes
प्राणान्तरकोशलस्वरूपी
मेजलालस्वरूपी
क्रियान्तरस्वरूपी

हृदरूप

उच्चेदं बुध्क्रियामहस्त श्रीव नाभिकीयः सूक्ष्मान्यकीयः कौशलमुखः
मुख्यां स्वरूपां कौशलमुखां रूपमुखां निग्राणां रांगिनां
लक्ष्यमं स्वरूपमुखां

उद्देश्यमस्यां तीशांमपि
मुख्यां स्वरूपां प्रवृत्तिमेति
कौशलमुखां वर्गपरावर्त्तिः

अष्टमां
APPENDIX- III

(Sanad Parwana Bahis/Bohron ka Khate Lekha Bahi)

Internal Trade Routes
शाहरुख़ नाथक बनाकर साहित्यकृति निऱ्पादयारुत्तमतिपाठ ।

अनेक नायकानाथक नामाले शुभमान देवान आपूर्वकर्ता ।

कुछ रागों में नायकालेक भुवनेश्वर अभियुक्ता ।

नेत्रलय वार्तवारहेंमुखुण्डवाला ।

सुधानी मन्दिराध्यक्ष हरिशंकर अभियुक्त ।

हारिकान्त स्वरूपालागाँधर्मी ।

1. हीनाभी ।

2. दीना नापूरी ।
तात्पर्यात येथे जसे प्रकाशित आहे, तसे अंग्रेजीतील काही असतील होती.

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मीराबाई ने सारखे गान आएँ जायँगी रूपसे, कैसे रूपसे सारखे सारखे गान आएँ जायँगी रूपसे, कैसे सारखे गाय़क हैं।
प्राचीन महाभारतेतील १४

1. सप्तवृंदिकीडाबळणीपार्थीती तुलसीदास गांगागढे
2. स्मृतिविनोभे नेकनगणे कुंभकोण दिशाने
3. शृंगारभारते नेमकर ज्ञानेन चक्षुसिन्धुलने

हृदयकिर्ति

1. सुप्रसिद्ध भारतवाणिज्यी
2. पुरुषोत्तमवाणिज्यी
3. सुन्दरवाणिज्यी

1. अनुभूती गाजिपुरवरसे
2. तेजस्वी गाजिपुरवरसे
3. सागरमांडलासे कृष्णोऽपि
4. ब्रह्माण्यांसे नातोऽपि
5. तेजसीर्गाजिपुरवरसे
मेराज

dरलिकोठांगी इतिहास ऊळवण

लोकांनी १९५५. मान्य ४५व्यत

तपायांकुशी वागापाऊणांी शारीरकीय गौरवकी उद्देश्यमुळे नसल्याबाबत राष्ट्रीय समागम राज्यानंतरी
नागराजकोठी लोकगृही राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रताचे या दरवर्ती गुरुवारानंतरी नागराजकोठी लोकगृही राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रताचे या दरवर्ती गुरुवारानंतरी नागराजकोठी लोकगृही राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रताचे या दरवर्ती गुरुवारानंतरी नागराजकोठी लोकगृही राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रताचे या दरवर्ती गुरुवारानंतरी नागराजकोठी लोकगृही राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रताचे या दरवर्ती गुरुवारानंतरी नागराजकोठी लोकगृही राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रताचे या दरवर्ती गुरुवारानंतरी नागराजकोठी लोकगृही राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रताचे या दरवर्ती गुरुवारानंतरी नागराजकोठी लोकगृही राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रताचे या दरवर्ती गुरुवारानंतरी नागराजकोठी लोकगृही राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रताचे या दरवर्ती गुरुवारानंतरी नागराजकोठी लोकगृही राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रताचे या दरवर्ती गुरुवारानंतरी नागराजकोठी लोकगृही राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रताचे या दरवर्ती गुरुवारानंतरी नागराजकोठी लोकगृही राष्ट्री�
दियुतानेका पृथ्वीस्वरूपी जीवन की जीवनी के पुरातन उपमा। 

दियुतानेका पृथ्वीस्वरूपी जीवन की जीवनी के पुरातन उपमा।

दियुतानेका पृथ्वीस्वरूपी जीवन की जीवनी के पुरातन उपमा।

दियुतानेका पृथ्वीस्वरूपी जीवन की जीवनी के पुरातन उपमा।

दियुतानेका पृथ्वीस्वरूपी जीवन की जीवनी के पुरातन उपमा।

दियुतानेका पृथ्वीस्वरूपी जीवन की जीवनी के पुरातन उपमा।

दियुतानेका पृथ्वीस्वरूपी जीवन की जीवनी के पुरातन उपमा।

दियुतानेका पृथ्वीस्वरूपी जीवन की जीवनी के पुरातन उपमा।

दियुतानेका पृथ्वीस्वरूपी जीवन की जीवनी के पुरातन उपमा।

दियुतानेका पृथ्वीस्वरूपी जीवन की जीवनी के पुरातन उपमा।

दियुतानेका पृथ्वीस्वरूपी जीवन की जीवनी के पुरातन उपमा।

दियुतानेका पृथ्वीस्वरूपी जीवन की जीवनी के पुरातन उपमा।
गणिताशृंखला की सिद्धांत से संबंधित
साधनों की गणितीय भाषा में उल्लेख
शास्त्रीय विकास की नवीनताओं
वह गणित के साक्षरता की सीमाओं
वन्देमाता गणित 
वन्देमाता गणित
APPENDIX- IV

(Sanad Parwana Bahis/ Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi/Chitthis Muzawana Khurd/Kalan)

Concession and Space given to the Traders for Shops and Havelis
तत्त्वज्ञानीय विद्वान ज्योतिष वैदिक ग्रन्थों में बहुत अमूर्तता के साथ कार्य करते हैं। उन्होंने बहुत से विभिन्न प्रकार के ग्रन्थों का अध्ययन किया है। ज्योतिष की विविधताओं का अध्ययन करने में उनकी अत्यंत उच्च मजबूती रही है।
महाराज स्वामी जातनाथ जीका वास्तवमें सिद्ध हो गए हैं। यथार्थी हेवल्लो राजकीय वारंभ हेतु कारकी हेतु राजकीय वारंभ हेतु राजकीय वारंभ हेतु राजकीय वारंभ हेतु राजकीय वारंभ हेतु राजकीय वारंभ हेतु राजकीय वारंभ हेतु राज

नीलन" इंग्रजी में "नीलरेखा" का अर्थ है।
संवत १५१५
प्रियामा जयमानियोहरु
भगवान सुभ्रा ज्योति भक्तिक नीतिने
साहित्य शोधक श्रीमहाकाव्य
केशव पाणि
नामोमरण जीवन वृत्त विषय सिद्धांतातुलिता
हस्तिकाल कृतें अनुशासन की संस्कृति अध्ययन
एम.म. हस्तिकाल सुधारण अभ्यासक्रम है।
मद्वीप नाम की जीवन ग्रंथ को लाभादी (हस्तिकाल)
हस्तिकाल संग्रहीत देवकाको नामोमरणी
अनुशासन दिव्य नाली जीवन वृत्त
प्रकाशधारी नावास्वरूपा विज्ञानकाल
के गये।
स्वायत्तशासी अंग्रेजी प्रचारक साहित्य संगीत नोट
गर्वरहित के हैं।
भारतवासी प्रशिक्षणीय काल सम्बंध होते।
पुरातात्विक पुस्तकों का हाल देखा गया
अर्थशास्त्र में, अंग्रेजी संस्कृति के विकास
होते हैं।
अस्तिकाल प्रचारक अंग्रेजी संस्कृति के विकास
के लिए।

लेखन फिरे
नामस्थापीवाणी राजस्थान
सीरीलापीबाणप्रदेशमाते
सनायुवा रिशा संगीतागाराधन
वायरलेन्ड वन्दे}

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APPENDIX- V

(Selected Documents)

Business Community
Bohron Ka Khata Lekha Bahi, V.S 1856/A.D 1799

चौराहा प्लेट पुरुष प्रजावि
कृपा स्वाद्यात्मक नामित

वाहनमुद्रा दुग्धविनी

लाभित कारुणिकी माता की अंगि
वेदांत आचार्य कृष्णैश्वर नामित

प्रागैतिहासिक सुप्राचार्य साहित्य मोहित

भीमेश्वराज गुरु आर्य राजनीति
स्वर्गीय गौतम श्रीमान जी भद्राभोजी

ब्रजेश्वरी गुरु की ज्वाला धन्यवाद

ब्रजेश्वरी माता नवाब नामित

रुद्रदेव दृश्यालासा साहित्य

पुष्पविक्षु ज्ञानसाहित्य विद्यार्थी

मायावती पुनः नामित
शिवगणेश सरासरी साहित्यज्योति
विद्यालयात विद्यार्थ्यांना
मराठीत स्पष्टीकरण करुयावा
प्राण्यांना संकल्पना करुयावा

1. वीरगणेश गणेश तांबोळपासून
दाळदेशावली गावपाली
मागणी व गावपालीक विभागात
रचणार्थी सरेदेव गावपाली

2. वीरगणेश गणेश तांबोळपासून
विद्यार्थ्यांना संदर्भात
रचणार्थी जे. पुणे
राजनाथ सरेदेव जे. पुणे

3. अपराध रूपानांनी
लागणाऱ्यांनी गुढ मुळ
महाकालात काहीही सुरु
लेखकांनी मानायात

अपराधरूपानांनी गुढ मुळ
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PRIMARY SOURCES
Marwar Records:

(A) These Bahis have been chronologically arranged. Which have been found that sometime one Bahi stretches over upto two years and sometimes one single year consist of one Bahi or two Bahis;

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Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 2, V.S. 1822/A.D 1765.
Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 3, V.S. 1822/A.D 1765.
Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 4, V.S. 1823/A.D 1766.
Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 5, V.S. 1823/A.D 1766.
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Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 8, V.S. 1825/A.D 1768.
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Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 13, V.S. 1830/A.D 1773.
Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 15, V.S. 1832/A.D 1775.
Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 16, V.S. 1833/A.D 1776.

Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 17, V.S. 1833/A.D 1778.

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Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 19, V.S. 1834/A.D 1778.

Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 20, V.S. 1835/A.D 1778.

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Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 26, V.S. 1841/A.D 1784.

Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 27, V.S. 1841/A.D 1784.

Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 28, V.S. 1839/A.D 1782.

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Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 30, V.S. 1841/A.D 1784.

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Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 36, V.S. 1844/A.D 1787.

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Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 38, V.S. 1845/A.D 1788.

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Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 42, V.S. 1847/A.D 1790.

Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 43, V.S. 1848/A.D 1791.

Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jodhpur, no. 44, V.S. 1849/A.D 1792.

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(B) **Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi**, Jodhpur, no. 1, V.S. 1822-1888/A.D 1765-1831.

(C) **Byav ri Bahis, Jodhpur:**

(D) **Kotwali-Chabutra, Jambandi Bahi**, no. 753-854, **Pargana Jalor.**

   **Kotwali-Chabutra, Jambandi Bahi**, no. 753-854, **Qasba Jodhpur.**

(E) **Jodhpur Bahiyat:**
2. **Jodhpur Bahiyat**, no. 9, V.S 1823/A.D 1766.
(F) Bikaner Records:

(a)  *Kagadon ri Bahi*, Bikaner, no. 1, V.S 1811/A.D 1755.

*Kagadon ri Bahi*, Bikaner, no. 2, V.S 1820/A.D 1763.

*Kagadon ri Bahi*, Bikaner, no. 3, V.S 1828/A.D 1770.

*Kagadon ri Bahi*, Bikaner, no. 4, V.S 1831/A.D 1774.

*Kagadon ri Bahi*, Bikaner, no. 5, V.S 1838/A.D 1781.

*Kagadon ri Bahi*, Bikaner, no. 6, V.S 1839/A.D 1782.

*Kagadon ri Bahi*, Bikaner, no. 7, V.S 1840/A.D 1783.

*Kagadon ri Bahi*, Bikaner, no. 8, V.S 1849/A.D 1792.

*Kagadon ri Bahi*, Bikaner, no. 9, V.S 1851/A.D 1794.

*Kagadon ri Bahi*, Bikaner, no. 10, V.S 1854/A.D 1797.


*Kagadon ri Bahi*, Bikaner, no. 12, V.S 1859/A.D 1802.

(b)  *Parwana Bahi*, Bikaner, no. 1, V.S 1749/A.D 1692.

*Parwana Bahi*, Bikaner, no. 2, V.S 1800/A.D 1743

(c)  *Kamthana Bahi*, V.S 1749/A.D 1792.

*Kamthana Bahi*, V.S 1807/A.D 1750.


*Kamthana Bahi*, V.S 1819/A.D 1762.
Kamthana Bahi, V.S 1821/A.D 1764.


Kamthana Bahi, V.S 1825/A.D 1768.

(d) Zakat Bahis:

Zakat Bahi, no. 81, V.S 1807/A.D 1750.

Zakat Bahi, no. 80, V.S 1799/A.D 1742.

Gawan ri Zakat Bahi, no. 84, V.S 1865/A.D 1808.

(e) Byav ri Bahi, no. 158, V.S 1827/A.D 1770.

Byav ri Bahi, no. 154, V.S 1828/A.D 1771.

(f) Sawa Bahis:

Sawa Mandi Sadar Bahi, no. 3, V.S 1805/A.D 1748.

Sawa Mandi Sadar Bahi, no. 8, V.S 1816/A.D 1758.


Sawa Mandi Sadar Bahi, no. 11, V.S 1822/A.D 1765.


Sawa Mandi Sadar Bahi, no. 13, V.S 1825/A.D 1768.

Sawa Mandi Sadar Bahi, no. 25, V.S 1845/A.D 1788.

(g) Sawa Bahis of different Qasbas:

Sawa Bahi, Rajgarh, V.S 1828/A.D 1771.

V.S 1831/A.D 1774.

V.S 1841/A.D 1784.

V.S 1851/A.D 1794.
Sawa Bahi, Reni, V.S 1815/A.D 1758.
V.S 1825/A.D 1768.
V.S 1835/A.D 1778.
V.S 1845/A.D 1707.

Sawa Bahi, Nohar, V.S 1822/A.D 1825.

(h) Jama-Kharch Bahi, no. 240, V.S 1767/A.D 1710.

Hasil Bahi, no. 1, V.S 1803/A.D 1746.

(G) Kota:

Bhandar no. 4, Basta no. 1, Zakat Bahi, Qasba Nandgaon, V.S 1827-30/A.D 1770-73.

Bhandar no. 4, Basta no. 1, Zakat Bahi, Qasba Kanwas, V.S 1833-36/A.D 1776-79.

Bhandar no. 4, Basta no. 2, Zakat Bahi, Qasba Baran Barod, V.S 1871/A.D 1814.

Bhandar no. 4, Basta no. 2, Zakat Bahi, Pargana Satmahla, V.S 1871/A.D 1814.

Bhandar no. 4, Basta no. 2, Zakat Bahi, Pargana Jahazpur, V.S 1871/A.D 1814.

Bhandar no. 4, Basta no. 2, Zakat Bahi, Qasba Manoharthana, V.S 1871/A.D 1814.

Bhandar no. 4, Basta no. 3, Zakat Bahi, Pargana Jahazpur, V.S 1871/A.D 1814.

Bhandar no. 4, Basta no. 3, Zakat Bahi, Qasba Jahazpur, V.S 1872/A.D 1815.

Bhandar no. 4, Basta no. 3, Zakat Bahi, Qasba Manoharthana, V.S 1873/A.D 1816.
Bhandar no. 5, Basta no. 21, Mela Bahi, Chandkhedi, V.S 1858/A.D 1801.

Bhandar no. 8, Basta no. 1, Bohron ke lekha Bahi, V.S 1859/A.D 1802.

Bhandar no. 8, Basta no. 19, Zakat Bahi, Jhalawar, V.S 1861/A.D 1804.

Bhandar no. 10, Basta no. 1, Mal Hasil Bahi, V.S 1840/A.D 1883.

Bhandar no. 16, Basta no. 1, Bohron Ke Lekha Bahi, V.S 1828-37/A.D 1870-80.

Bhandar no. 16, Basta no. 1, Zakat Bahi, Qasba Manoharthana, V.S 1828-37/A.D 1870-80.

Bhandar no. 16, Basta no. 2/1, Bohron Ke Lekha Bahi, V.S 1843-47/A.D 1886-90.

Bhandar no. 16, Basta no. 2/2, Bohron Ke Lekha Bahi, V.S 1843-50/A.D 1886-93.

Bhandar no. 16, Basta no. 1, Tan Kharch Bahi, V.S 1856/A.D 1799.

Bhandar no. 16, Basta no. 4, Bohron Ke Lekha Bahi, V.S 52/A.D 1795.

Bhandar no. 16, Basta no. 6, Bohron Ke Lekha Bahi, V.S 1855-57/A.D 1798-1800.

Bhandar no. 16, Basta no. 6, Bohron Ke Lekha Bahi, V.S 1869/A.D 1812.

Bhandar no. 16, Basta no. 3, Bohron Ke Lekha Bahi, V.S 1852/A.D 1795.

Bhandar no. 4, Basta no. 1, Zakat Bahi, Qasba Bilha, V.S 1865/A.D 1808.
Bhandar no. 1, Roznamah, Selehkhana, V.S 1726/A.D 1669.

(H) Jaipur:

(a) Draft Kharita and Parwana, bundle no. 3, V.S 1783/A.D 1726.
Draft Kharita and Parwana, bundle no. 15, V.S 1811/A.D 1753.

(b) Draft Kharita, no. 09, V.S 1818/A.D 1761.
Draft Kharita, no. 10, V.S 1820/A.D 1763.

(c) Arhsatta Rahdari, Qasba Sawai Jaipur Chabutra, V.S 1823/A.D 1766.
Arhsatta Rahdari, Pargana Naraina, V.S 1824/A.D 1767.
Arhsatta Rahdari, Manoharpur, V.S 1824/A.D 1767.
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(c) Chittis (Mawazna Kalan & Khurd), V.S 1815, 1820, 1822.
Rojnana Chabutra Kotwali, Qasba Averi and Tonk.
Yaddashti, Dastur Amal, Pargana, Todabhim.

(f) Dastur Komwar

(g) Arhsatta Naqdi, Sugandhgrih, V.S 1798/A.D 1741.
Arhsatta Naqdi, Chappagrih, V.S 1798/A.D 1741.
Arhsatta Naqdi, Ranggirah, V.S 1798/A.D 1741.
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Arhsatta Silah Khana, V.S 1800/A.D 1743.
Jama Kharch Palkikhana, V.S 1800/A.D 1743.
Khaloot, Ahlekaran, V.S 1769/A.D 1712.
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