

The Patels and the Structure of their Landholding in South-eastern Rajasthan 1750–1850 A.D.¹⁾

SATŌ, Masanori

Introduction

After the death of Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D., the Mughal Empire rapidly lost its centripetal forces and became a local state exercising its sway over Delhi and its surrounding areas in the middle part of the 18th century. The result was that Rajput states of Rajasthan became autonomous and the provincial governors of the Mughals independent. The Rajput *rājās* had been so far striving for prevention from the interference of their nobles in the succession issues to the throne and the creation of powerful sovereignty over their nobles by the coalition with Mughal emperors, suppressing the rise of powerful nobles in their respective dominions.

The fall of the Mughal Empire confronted Rajput *rājās* with the defiance of the nobles. These nobles supported their respective princes struggling for the succession wars, which broke out almost the same time in the major Rajput states of Rajasthan during the latter half of the 18th century. Both parties of the respective states approached the generals of the Maratha army, which was invading Northern India. Thus, the Maratha intervention in the succession wars further worsened the matter and the major Rajput states of Rajasthan were thrown into confusion and disorder.

It was Zalim Singh (1739–1823 A.D.) who rose to power to rescue the Kota State from the depths of ruin in the critical years of the 1770s A.D. and exercised despotic power as regent of the state for 50 years. He brought about security and prosperity to the Kota State by keeping his sagacious and clever diplomatic relations with the Marathas and by carrying out the reforms of land revenue administration and military systems. Thus he made the Kota State 'the granary of Rajputana' where many refugees from different parts of Rajasthan flocked to escape from famines and depredation caused by the Marathas.²⁾

One of his most important administrative reforms was the creation of 'Patel System'³⁾ together with the reforms of land revenue administration. The headman of a village or wards of a town was called either *patels* or *muqaddams* according to locality in Mughal Northern India. They were the village officials in charge of revenue works and maintenance of peace and order under their jurisdiction, so they played very important roles in the local administration of the Mughals.

Generally *patelī* or *patelāī* (headmanship) of village was a sort of hereditary property (patrimony) maintained by the family of the first colonisers of the village and their descendants, and it was often divided among the families and also mortgaged and sold.

Zalim Singh tried to make *patels* through the *Patel* System directly responsible to the state for the taxation and collection of land revenue and maintenance of peace and order in wider areas including their own villages. Before the *Patel* System came into effect, *patels* were responsible to their *parganā* (county) officials under the official order. Zalim Singh also tried to utilise the *Patel* System to extend the state authority through *patels* more directly to peasants, placing them in the key-position of land revenue and local administration.

The Kota State granted *patels* the same privilege as the *Rājput*s to ride on horses, and tax-free land was given to them as *inām* or remuneration for their services. *Patels* were also given a certain amount of money to purchase horses to ride on and *sāj* (personal ornaments) to wear for symbolising their post and status as government officials. The *sājs* were such ornaments as *kaṛās* (bangles), *murkīs* (earrings), *kanthīs* (strings of beads) and *chausars* (necklaces), which were made of either gold, silver, or copper.⁴⁾ Thus Zalim Singh raised their status and vested them with much authority and power.

According to James Tod, Zalim Singh started the revenue settlement in V.S. 1864 (1807 A.D.), organising 'the Revenue Board' which consisted of 'four of the most intelligent and experienced' *patels* whom he elected.⁵⁾ Tod did not mention the names of the four *patels* in his book and neither R.P. Shastri nor G.C. Sharma do, though both of them list four persons among whom one was a *sūbehdār*⁶⁾ and the other three *patels*⁷⁾ rather than four *patels* mentioned by Tod.

The Kota Records of the Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner contain many copies of orders/letters (*tālīks*) dated to the V.S. 1860s addressed by either *Mahārāo* Ummad Singh, King of the Kota State, or Zalim Singh to the *patels*. These records concern the confirmation of their *patelīs*, the appointment to *patels* of the villages and tax-free land grant (*dōhlī/dōhōlī*) to the village temples. Most of them were addressed to *patels* through four *patels* such as *patel* Kushālā of *qasbā* (town) Kunjōr, *patel* Jōdhā of village Fatēpur, *patel* Bhōpā of village Sāl-kī-dūngṛī and *patel* Kāsī Rām of village Bapāwar. They and their families held several *patelīs* with *inām* land and large landholding in many villages as will be observed in the next section. It is not certain whether these four *patels* were the same persons forming Zalim Singh's Revenue Board, but the revenue documents reveal that many influential and powerful *patels* existed, including these four *patels* in the Kota State during the period under study.

It is a well-known fact that *patels* have been often pointed out to be *zamīn-dārs*/intermediaries between the state and peasants being often applied from rich farmers to 'feudal' lords in Mughal India.⁸⁾ Though so far quite many studies have been made on *patels* from a view point of land revenue administration, little is known about the nature and size of *patelīs* and their landholding.

This paper is intended to analyse the structure of *paṭelīs* and landholding of *paṭels*, to clarify the acquisition of *paṭelīs* and increased landholding in several villages, and to discern on what social basis *paṭels* held sway over village societies. Therefore, this paper does not deal with the *Paṭel* System directly, but it may be useful to understand the socio-economic and historical background from which Zalim Singh developed the idea of his *Paṭel* System.

The source materials of this paper are mainly based on the archival revenue records belonging to the erstwhile Rajput state of Kota including those of the Jhalawar State preserved at Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.

The *Paṭels* in the Early 19th century

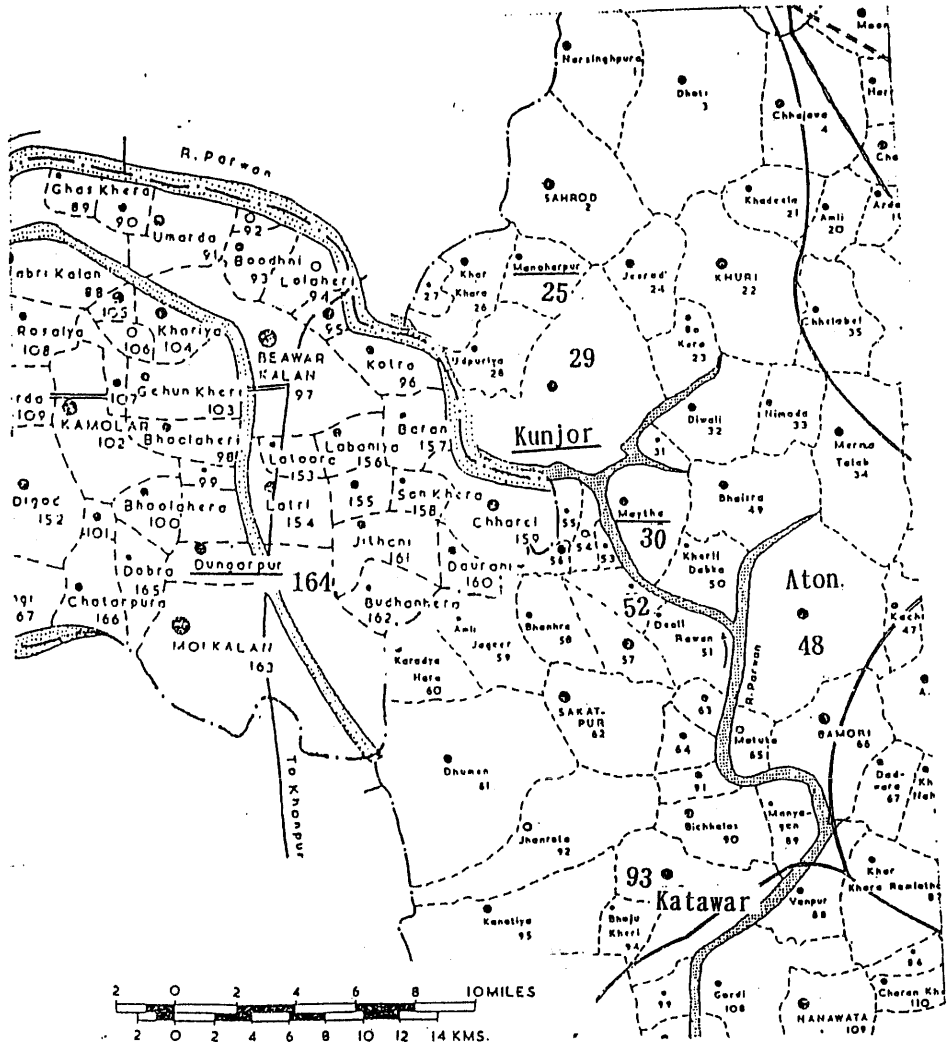
The purpose of this section is to examine the size of *paṭelīs* and landholding of the four *paṭels* with their above mentioned families, utilising the revenue documents around the year of V.S. 1862 (1805 A.D.) when Zalim Singh launched the reforms of land revenue administration.

Paṭel Kushālā of *qasbā* Kunjōr and his families consisted of his *kākā* (paternal uncle) *paṭel* Sambhū with Kushālā's four brothers of *paṭel* Sō Lālā, *paṭel* Aukār, *paṭel* Bagtā and *paṭel* Udā, and Kushālā's son *paṭel* Dēwō. In V.S. 1862 (1805 A.D.) *paṭel* Kushālā and his families held *paṭelīs* in one *qasbā* (*qasbā* Kunjōr) and six villages (village Māythā, village Manōharpur, village Khērlī-shyām-kī (present Khērlī-rāwan), village Āṭōn, village Kaṭāwar and village Chōṭā). They were granted every 100 *bīghās* (1 *bīghā* = 5/8 acres) of land as *inām* (tax-free land grant) in *qasbā* Kunjōr, village Māythā, village Āṭōn and village Chōṭā respectively. They had six personal ploughs (*gharū hal*) in *qasbā* Kunjōr, which are equal to the cultivation of 360 *bīghās* during two harvests. Thus, they held 360 *bīghās* of land in the *qasbā*.⁹⁾ They also held 360 *bīghās* of land in village Māythā, 240 *bīghās* in village Khērlī-shyām-kī, and 120 *bīghās* in village Chōṭā. In addition to this, they held 120 *bīghās* of land in village Ḍūngarpur, though they did not hold its *paṭelī*.¹⁰⁾ Concerning their location, see Map 1.

Therefore, they held a total of 1,480 *bīghās* of land including 400 *bīghās* of *inām* land granted by the state for their services. Village Māythā was next to the southern border of *qasbā* Kunjōr, and village Manōharpur was next to its northern border. Village Āṭōn, once *qasbā* and headquarters of *parganā* Āṭōn, was the second village to the southeast of village Māythā. All these villages including *qasbā* Kunjōr belonged to *parganā* Kunjōr (present Atrū *Tehsīl*). Village Ḍūngarpur of *tafā* Mōi (present Sāngōd *Tehsīl*) was near the opposite side of the River Parwān in the west of *qasbā* Kunjōr. Ten kilometres southward from village Māythā there was village Kaṭāwar belonging to *tafā* Kūnḍī (present Atrū *Tehsīl*) and the far south village Chōṭā of *tafā* Chhīpābaṛōd (present Chhīpābaṛōd *Tehsīl*). Its exact location is not known.

Paṭel Kushālā and his families must have held their sway over the area in the east side of the River Parwān with their stronghold of *qasbā* Kunjōr. In V.S. 1867

Map 1



Map 1 is composed of a part of Atrū Tehsil and a part of Sāngōd Tehsil of the Census Atlas of 1971 A.D.

Village Code Number

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| 29 Kunjōr (Rāmpuriya) | 25 Manōharpur | 30 Māyṭhā |
| 48 Āṭōn | 52 Khēṛḷi-shyām-ki (Khēṛḷi-rāwan) | |
| 93 Kaṭāwar | 164 Dūngarpur | |

(1810 A.D.) *paṭel* Kushālā was entrusted to supervise (*tālak*) 24 villages including his *paṭelī* villages.¹¹⁾

Paṭel Jōdhā of village Fatēpur and his families consisted of Jōdhā himself, his two brothers *paṭel* Pōkryā and *paṭel* Pēmā, and his three sons *paṭel* Kālyā, *paṭel* Ṭōryā and *paṭel* Āshyā. They held *paṭelīs* in the following four villages; Village Fatēpur and village Māthnī of *parganā* Bārān, village Ṭisāyā of *parganā* Māngrōl, and village Gōrdhanpuro of *tafā* Mandāwar. The first three villages were located in the present Māngrōl *Tehsil* and the other in the present Jhāl-rāpāṭan *Tehsil*.¹²⁾

Obtaining land from three neighbouring villages of Raptāwan, Chāndpur and Sōmalpur, village Fatēpur was established in V.S. 1860 (1803 A.D.) by *paṭel* Ṭōryā of village Ṭisāyā.¹³⁾ Until V.S. 1865 (1808 A.D.) village Fatēpur extended its village area (*chak*) to 6,001 *bīghās* by getting additional land from nearby villages of Ghīnsrī and Niyānā. Some time after the establishment of village Fatēpur, *paṭel* Ṭōryā's son *paṭel* Jōdhā came to be called *paṭel* Jōdhā of village Fatēpur. *Paṭel* Jōdhā included the *paṭelī* of village Ṭisāyā, so after his father *paṭel* Ṭōryā's death, *paṭel* Jōdhā shifted his stronghold from village Ṭisāyā to the newly established village of Fatēpur.¹⁴⁾ Village Gōrdhanpuro, established in V.S. 1864 (1807 A.D.) by *paṭel* Jōdhā's son Āshyā, was 63 kilometres to the south of village Māthnī and adjacent to the south of *qasbā* Mandāwar.¹⁵⁾

Paṭel Jōdhā and his families were granted 100 *bīghās* of *inām* land in village Ṭisāyā, village Māthnī and village Gōrdhanpuro respectively. They held 600 *bīghās* of land in village Fatēpur, 300 *bīghās* in village Ṭisāyā and 660 *bīghās* in village Māthnī. They held a total of 1,560 *bīghās* of land including 300 *bīghās* of *inām* land in these three villages.¹⁶⁾ Village Ṭisāyā was the second village away from the northern border of village Māthnī, which was next to village Fatēpur. They held village Fatēpur as their stronghold and dominated its surrounding areas.

In V.S. 1862 (1805 A.D.) *paṭel* Bhōpā of village Sāl-kī-ḍūngṛī with his brother *paṭel* Bhuwāniyā and Bhōpā's two sons *paṭel* Pithā and *paṭel* Kāniyā held *paṭelīs* in his stronghold of village Sāl-kī-ḍūngṛī, village Guṛhā and village Chitāi. Village Guṛhā was next to village Sāl-kī-ḍūngṛī, from which ten kilometres northward was village Chitāi. *Paṭel* Bhōpā and his families held a total of 960 *bīghās* of land in these three villages. Moreover, *paṭel* Bhōpā held his *paṭelī* in *qasbā* Khānpur with 100 *bīghās* of *inām* land and 360 *bīghās* of his own land here in V.S. 1862. Thus the landholding of *paṭel* Bhōpā and his family amounted to 1,520 *bīghās* including 100 *bīghās* of *inām* land in village Sāl-kī-ḍūngṛī.¹⁷⁾

By V.S. 1865 (1808 A.D.) village Ganēshpura was established in the site of village Gaupura next to village Sāl-kī-ḍūngṛī. In that year both villages of Ganēshpura and Gaupura were under *paṭel* Bhōpā's supervision.¹⁸⁾ In the *Taqsim* of *parganā* Delanpur, V.S. 1883 (1826 A.D.), it is known that *paṭel* Bhōpā was mentioned as *paṭel* Bhōpā of *qasbā* Khānpur,¹⁹⁾ so by this year he must have shifted his stronghold from village Sāl-kī-ḍūngṛī to *qasbā* Khānpur, 27 kilometres to the north of his former stronghold. In the previous year he conducted a land survey of *parganā* Delanpur with *paṭel* Lālā of village Tāraj, to which village Sāl-kī-ḍūngṛī

belonged. In V.S. 1883 he and his son *paṭel* Pīthā took revenue farming (*mukātā*) of villages of Sāl-kī-ḍungrī, Guṛhā, Gaupura, Ganēshpura, Nalwā (Nala?) and Chāndkhērī (famous for its fair «mēlā»), and *qasbā* Khānpur.²⁰⁾ Considering the nature of this revenue farming, consisting of mostly *paṭel* Bhōpā's villages and *qasbā* Khānpur, it seems to have been a sort of tribute levied on *paṭel* Bhōpā and his family.

Paṭel Kāsī Rām of village Bapāwar and his son *paṭel* Bajnāth had *paṭelīs* in village Bapāwar and the northern village Khāṛiyā. In V.S. 1862 (1805 A.D.) they held 750 *bīghās* of land including 150 *bīghās* of *inām* land in these two villages. They also held 120 *bīghās* of land in village Lasāṛiyā adjacent to the northwest of village Bapāwar, but did not have *paṭelī* in this village. Village Bapāwar was a very large village with *chak* of 9,500 *bīghās* and formed *paṭel* Kāsī Rām's stronghold with their two villages.²¹⁾

Though *paṭel* Kāsī Rām held his *paṭelīs* only in two villages, he was entrusted to supervise eight villages in V.S. 1863 (1806 A.D.).²²⁾ It should be noted here that it was through *paṭel* Kāsī Rām that an order of Mahārāo Umed Singh dated V.S. 1862 was given to *paṭel* Bhāgliyā of village Gurāithān, who held *paṭelīs* and 420 *bīghās* of land in four villages.²³⁾ This means that the state utilised *paṭel* Kāsī Rām's local influence for its administration.

Examining the *paṭelīs* and landholding of the four *paṭels* and their families, we have obtained some interesting and important information. First, the extent of family relationship of the *paṭels* was limited to only their brothers and paternal uncles and not beyond them. Second the *paṭels* selected one village among their *paṭelī* villages as their stronghold and exercised their influence over its surrounding areas, but some of their villages were remote from their stronghold. Third, *paṭel* Bhōpā must have obtained his *paṭelī* and landholding in *qasbā* Khānpur through either colonisation or purchasing and thus changed his stronghold from village Sāl-kī-ḍungrī to the *qasbā*. The same case can be seen with *paṭel* Jōdhā of village Fatēpur.

Taking these points into consideration, it can be presumed that *paṭels* recently acquired some important *paṭelīs* and landholding. In other words, it may be assumed that the remarkable growth of *paṭels* and the increase of their landholding occurred during this period under study. In this connection, I will discuss this issue in the next section by analysing the nature and the structure of landholding of *paṭel* Ṭōryā and his families. *Paṭel* Ṭōryā and his families kept their stronghold in village Rāmpurā and held *paṭelīs* of several villages with large landholding in villages around and away from his stronghold.

The Nature of *paṭelīs* and the Structure of Landholding

In V.S. 1862 (1805 A.D.) *paṭel* Ṭōryā of village Rāmpurā and his families consisted of Ṭōryā himself, his paternal uncle Dāmā, Ṭōryā's three brothers Sadā Rām, Miyā Rām and Mahā Rām, Ṭōryā's three sons Lakhā Rām, Lādhārū and

Table 1 *Paṭelī* Villages and Landholding of *Paṭel* Ṭoṛyā and his Family

Names of Village Names <i>Paṭels</i>	Ṭoṛyā	Sadā Rām	Miyā Rām	Mahā Rām	Dāmā	Total
Rāmpurā*	840 +50	300 240 +50		180	300	1,860 +100
Mūṇḍlī*	+50		240 300 +50		180	780 +100
Ḍoṛlī			60			
Bambhōrī- khurad		60	120			180
Kōṭṛō- Īsar-kō*	+100					+100
Gandhōl*			300 +100			300 +100
Rārthal*					480 +100	480 +100
Ḍaḍwārā*	+100					+100
Total	840 +300	1,620 +200		180	960 +100	3,600 +600

Note: Asterisk (*) indicates *Paṭelī* village.

Plus (+) indicates *inām* land.

Figures in Table 1 are expressed in *bīghā*.

Jīwniyā, Dāmā's three sons Bagshiyā, Bhīwriyā and Kēshā, Sadā Rām's three sons Ghāshiyā, Har Kisniyā and Channā. All of them were *paṭels*.²⁴⁾

Table 1 illustrates the names of villages of which they had *paṭelīs*, in which they held the *inām* land granted for their *paṭelī* services and their own land, and the size of their landholding.²⁵⁾ The size of landholding was represented in the number of *hals* (ploughs) in our revenue documents, but they were here converted into *bīghās*, that is, one plough is equal to sixty *bīghās*.

As we did not prepare the columns of Ṭoṛyā's sons, Dāmā's sons and Sadā Rām's sons respectively in Table 1, we explain their *paṭelīs*, *inām* land and landholding. Table 1 indicates that Ṭoṛyā's 840 *bīghās* of land in village Rāmpurā includes his sons' 480 *bīghās* of land in the village. Sadā Rām and Miyā Rām with Sadā Rām's three sons held their *paṭelīs* of villages Rāmpurā (*paṛganā* Māṅgrōl), Mūṇḍlī (*paṛganā* Baṛōḍ) and Gandhōl (*paṛganā* Urmāl), but 240 *bīghās* of land in

village Rāmpurā, 300 *bīghās* in Mūṇḍlī and 300 *bīghās* in Gandhōl were mentioned in the revenue documents in the possession of Sadā Rām and Miyā Rām regardless of their respective shares, still less than Sadā Rām's sons' landholding. Likewise 50 *bīghās* of *inām* land in village Rāmpurā and village Mūṇḍlī respectively, 100 *bīghās* of *inām* land in village Gandhōl and 50 *bīghās* of landholding in village Ḍōrlī were in the possession of Sadā Rām and Miyā Rām. In addition to the *paṭelī* of village Rāithal, *tafā* Sīswālī with 100 *bīghās* of *inām* land, Dāmā and his three sons also held the *paṭelīs* with *inām* land and their own land in villages Rāmpurā, Mūṇḍlī and Ḍōrlī.

Village Rāmpurā was founded in V.S. 1838 (1781 A.D.) obtaining 4,000 *bīghās* of land from neighbouring village Līḍī Mau and 1,000 *bīghās* from village Bambhōrī-khurad. Its founder was *paṭel* Bhagōtan of village Mūṇḍlī, which belonged to the agricultural caste of Dhākār.²⁶⁾ In V.S. 1841 (1784 A.D.) the village was extended with an additional 1,100 *bīghās* of land consisting of 250 *bīghās* from village Khānpur, 350 *bīghās* from village Māl Bambhōrī (Māl Vamōrī), 150 *bīghās* from village Rāwal Jāwal and 350 *bīghās* from village Kawaldā.²⁷⁾

The original name of village Līḍī Mau was village Mau, which continued up to V.S. 1822 (1765 A.D.), but its name was village Līḍī Mau in V.S. 1826 (1769 A.D.). So the name change must have happened between these years.²⁸⁾ According to the revenue records of V.S. 1865 (1808 A.D.), 1879 (1822 A.D.) and 1883 (1826 A.D.), its name was still village Līḍī Mau in these years, but in the *Taqīm* of V.S. 1912 (1855 A.D.) we find the village name of either Līḍī Mau or Mau-khurad used. Therefore it was after V.S. 1912 that it took its original name again, which is also the present name. It should be noted here that a land survey of this village was conducted in V.S. 1873 (1816 A.D.) by *paṭel* Kushālā of *qasbā* Kunjōr mentioned in the previous section.²⁹⁾

Village Bambhōrī-khurad was a very old village to be traced to V.S. 1753 (1696 A.D.) in our revenue records,³⁰⁾ the name of which was often changed to village Māl Bambhōrī in V.S. 1841 (1784 A.D.), village Bambhōrī Māl-khurad in V.S. 1867 (1810 A.D.), Bambhōrī-khurad in V.S. 1883 and Māl Bambhōrī (Māl Vamōrī) in and after V.S. 1912 (1855 A.D.).³¹⁾ As seen in Table 1 Sadā Rām and Miyā Rām held 50 and 100 *bīghās* of land in this village respectively in V.S. 1862 (1805 A.D.). It seems that they or their father Bhagōtan utilised most of their or his landholding in this village for founding village Rāmpurā.

Bhains Barār (buffalo tax) of V.S. 1867 (1810 A.D.)³²⁾ levied on villages of *paraganā* Māngrōl reveals to us some socio-economic conditions of village Rāmpurā. This tax was, of course, levied only on buffalo owners of the village and the documents of this tax record the names of buffalo owners and number of buffalo. But we can also know the size of landholding of the villagers because the tax documents record their landholding related to the tax. It should be noted here that the names of those who held land, but not buffalos, do not appear in these documents. However, there must have been very few landholders in the village who did not own buffalos, which were indispensable for agriculture and daily life.

Bhains Barār was levied on 13 villagers in village Rāmpurā. Among them *paṭel* Ṭōryā held 660 *bīghās* of land, his brothers Sadā Rām 480 *bīghās*, Miyā Rām 300 *bīghās* and Mahā Rām 180 *bīghās*. There were four buffalo holders belonging to the same caste of *Dhākaṛ* with that of *paṭel* Ṭōryā and his families. Assuming that these four *Dhākaṛs* were *paṭel* Ṭōryā's relatives with holdings of a total of 540 *bīghās* of land, the landholding of *paṭel* Ṭōryā and his families would have included a total of 2,160 *bīghās* of land. Their landholding in this village increased by 300 *bīghās* compared with that of V.S. 1862. The other buffalo tax payers were one *Nāī* (barber), two *Kumhārs* (potters), one *Chamār* (leather worker) and one unknown, each of whom held 60 *bīghās* of land respectively.

The total number of buffalos of village Rāmpurā amounted to 47, among which 41 buffalos were owned by *paṭel* Ṭōryā, his three brothers and the four *Dhākaṛs*. *Paṭel* Ṭōryā owned 13 buffalos, Sadā Rām 11 buffalos, Miyā Rām two buffalos and Mahā Rām three buffalos. Concerning the number of bulls related to the *Bhains Barār*, 164 bulls were owned in the village. *Paṭel* Ṭōryā and his three brothers owned 108 bulls in all and the four *Dhākaṛs* 36 bulls. Judging from these facts, we know that *paṭel* Ṭōryā and his families were engaged in agriculture on a large scale.

In V.S. 1879 (1822 A.D.) the state requisitioned *paṭel* Ṭōryā's 25 *bīghās* of *inām* land and each of his three brothers received 25 *bīghās* of *inām* land. The brothers' *paṭelīs*, including the *inām* land, were confirmed by the Kota State at that time. Thus 50 *bīghās* of *inām* land granted to *paṭel* Ṭōryā in V.S. 1862 (1805 A.D.) were already reduced to 25 *bīghās* in V.S. 1879.³³⁾ The reason why *paṭel* Ṭōryā lost his *inām* land must have been due to his death. According to the *Taqsim* of V.S. 1912 (1855 A.D.), *paṭel* Miyā Rām's 25 *bīghās* of *inām* land and *paṭel* Rāmlā's 12.5 *bīghās* of *inām* land were also requisitioned, and only 25 *bīghās* of *inām* land were maintained together by Har Kisan's two sons, *paṭel* Chenā and *paṭel* Bhār Mal, and 12.5 *bīghās* of *inām* land by *paṭel* Amrō. Taking over the *paṭelī* after his father Sadā Rām's death, Har Kisan might have died in or before V.S. 1912.³⁴⁾

There seems to have been a general tendency of cutting down the size and of withdrawing the privilege of tax-free land grant to *paṭels* by the Kota State, not the confiscation of *paṭelīs* from particular *paṭels* that *paṭel* Miyā Rām and *paṭel* Rāmlā had their *inām* land requisitioned. As shall be seen later, it is mentioned in the revenue documents of the period under study that the state granted the land with tax-free privileges to the temples and *sānsarīs* (village watchmen) of the newly founded village. It should be considered that the founder of the village gave the temples and *sānsarīs* the land and the state authorised their land grant through the grant of tax-free privileges to them.

Village Rāmpurā was to be called village Rāmpurā Bhagtān-kō (Bhagtān's village Rāmpurā) by V.S. 1912 (1855 A.D.). It must have been necessary to tell village Rāmpurā from other Rāmpurās because three villages were newly established with the same name of Rāmpurā between V.S. 1891 (1834 A.D.) and V.S. 1893 (1836 A.D.) in this area bordering on *parganā* Baṛōd.³⁵⁾ The name

Bhagtān added to the village must be derived from Bhagōtan, founder of this village, *paṭel* of village Mūṅḍlī. The *chak* (village area) of village Rāmpurā must have been the area consisting of village Rāmpurā Bhagtān and village Bālāpura Rāmpurā of the Census Atlas of 1961 A.D. or of village Rāmpurā Bhagtān and village Bālāpura of the Census Atlas of 1971 A.D. It is not known why village Bālāpura Rāmpurā became Bālāpura in the Census Atlas of 1971 A.D. as is shown on Map 2. The name change might have happened.

Bhagtān or Bhagōtan, founder of village Rāmpurā, was father of *paṭel* Ṭōryā of village Rāmpurā. It must have been after his succession to *ṭhākur* (headship) of his family after his father that *paṭel* Ṭōryā chose village Rāmpurā as his stronghold. In V.S. 1862 (1805 A.D.), *paṭel* Ṭōryā's *paṭelī* was confirmed by the Kota State. His *paṭelīs* consisted of village Rāmpurā and other *paṭelīs* of several villages including village Mūṅḍlī.³⁶⁾ In V.S. 1883 (1826 A.D.) his sons Rādhā (also written as Lādhā) and Jīwniyā were *paṭels* of village Mūṅḍlī with 100 *bīghās* of *inām* land.³⁷⁾

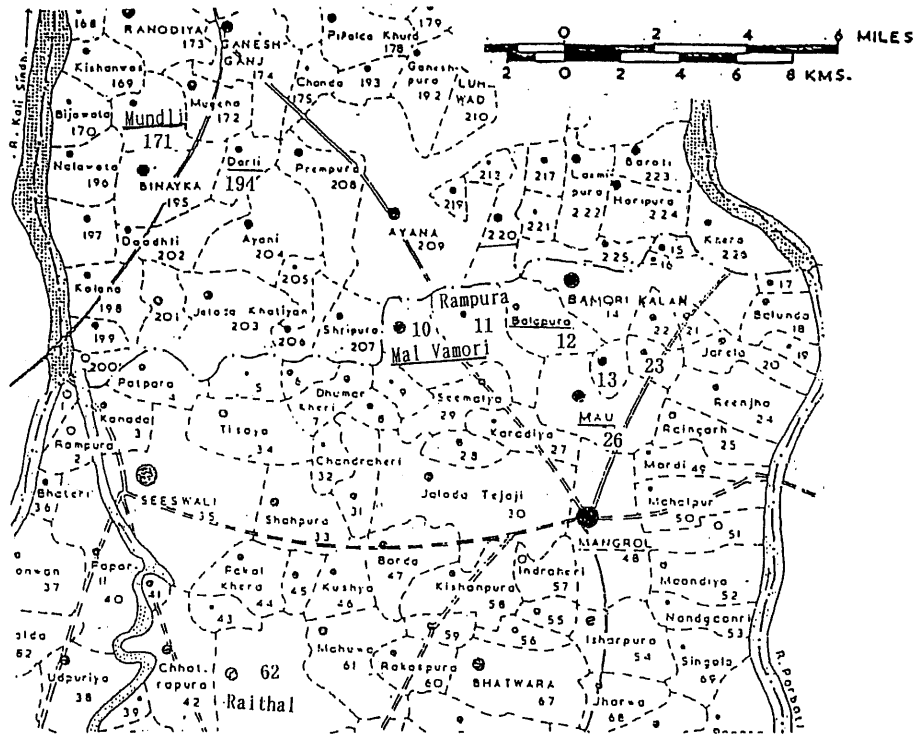
Village Ḍōrlī was the second village to the southeast of village Mūṅḍlī. Both villages of Mūṅḍlī and Ḍōrlī belonged to the present Pīpaldā *Tehsīl* according to the Census Atlas of 1971 A.D. *Paṭel* Ṭōryā and his families held no *paṭelīs* in village Ḍōrlī but his two brothers, Sadā Rām and Miyā Rām, held only 50 *bīghās* of land in V.S. 1862 (1805 A.D.). Aforementioned village Bambhōrī-khurad was situated 15 kilometres to the south of village Mūṅḍlī. Sadā Rām and Miyā Rām held only 150 *bīghās* of land in this village; they must have provided most of their landholding in this village for founding village Rāmpurā.

To the southwest of the village Mūṅḍlī, there was village Kōṭṛō-Īsar-kō, in which *paṭel* Ṭōryā held his *paṭelī* with 100 *bīghās* of *inām* land. According to the *Taqsim* of V.S. 1912 (1855 A.D.), Rāmliyā and Amrō, *paṭels* of village Rāmpurā held *paṭelīs* of this village. This village was so active that it created a small village (*mājṛā*) and made it independent with the name of Harīpura while still creating two small villages under its jurisdiction.

In V.S. 1862 (1805 A.D.) *paṭel* Dāmā, paternal uncle of *paṭel* Ṭōryā and his three sons held their *paṭelīs* with land in village Rāīthal, *tafā* Sīswālī (present Māngrōl *Tehsīl*) 18 kilometres south of village Mūṅḍlī and 12 kilometres southwest of village Rāmpurā. *Paṭel* Dāmā of village Rāīthal supervised some other villages nearby his village Rāīthal. His son Kēshniyā (also written as Kēshā), *paṭel* of this village, was granted 100 *bīghās* of *inām* land in V.S. 1865 (1808 A.D.). It was to *paṭel* Bagsun that *inām* land was granted in V.S. 1883 (1826 A.D.) and a tribute (*nazarānā*) was paid to the state by *paṭels* of Bagsun and his sons Ukār, Mān, Chatā and Sukdēv in V.S. 1912 (1855 A.D.).³⁸⁾

Moreover, there was village Gandhōl about 100 kilometres to the south of village Mūṅḍlī, which belonged to *parganā* Urmāl (present Jhālrapātan *Tehsīl*) and was next to the north of *qashā* Jhālrapātan. In V.S. 1862 (1805 A.D.) Miyā Rām's and Sadā Rām's *paṭelīs* were confirmed by the state. Their *paṭelīs* consisted of village Gandhōl with 100 *bīghās* of *inām* land and 250 *bīghās* of their own land. In the documents of *Bhains Barār* of V.S. 1867 (1810 A.D.) we find that Miyā Rām in-

Map 2



Map 2 is composed of a part of Pipaldā Tehsil and a part of Māngrōl Tehsil of the Census Atlas of 1971 A.D.

Village Code Number

171 Mūndlī	194 Ḍōrlī
11 Rāmpurā (Rāmpurā Bhagtān)	220 Kawaldā
12 Bālāpurā (Bālāpurā Rāmpurā)	10 Bambhōrī-khurad (Māl Vamōrī)
23 Khānpur (Khānpuriya)	13 Rāwal Jāwal
62 Rāiṭhal	26 Liḍī Mau (Mau)

creased his landholding in this village to 400 *bīghās*, and a tax of *Bhains Barār* was levied on his ten buffalos and six calves.³⁹⁾

Paṭel Sadā Rām and *paṭel* Miyā Rām still maintained their *paṭelīs* with 100 *bīghās* of *inām* land in village Gandhōl in V.S. 1883 (1826 A.D.). This village created two small villages and made them independent, one was village Gōvindpura in V.S. 1867 (1810 A.D.) and the other village Malīpura in V.S. 1875 (1818 A.D.).⁴⁰⁾ We know from this that village Gandhōl was developing agricultural activities.

From the above observation, we know that *paṭel* Bhagōtan of village Mūndlī

and his son *paṭel* Ṭōryā of village Rāmpurā with his families made their efforts to obtain *paṭelīs* of several villages and increase their landholding. Starting to exercise his sway over a certain small surrounding area of his stronghold of village Mūṅḍlī, *paṭel* Bhagōtan seems to have taken the first step to colonise village Bambhōrī-khurad and then founded village Rāmpurā with his brother Dāmā and Bhagōtan's son Ṭōryā. Bhagōtan must have sent his brother Dāmā to develop village Rāithal and his sons to develop village Gandhōl and village Kōṭṭō-Īsar-kō. After the death of his father Bhagōtan, *paṭel* of village Mūṅḍlī, *paṭel* Ṭōryā shifted his stronghold from village Mūṅḍlī to village Rāmpurā, and he and his families increased their influence by further colonisation and village establishment.

Village Societies under the *Paṭels'* Domination

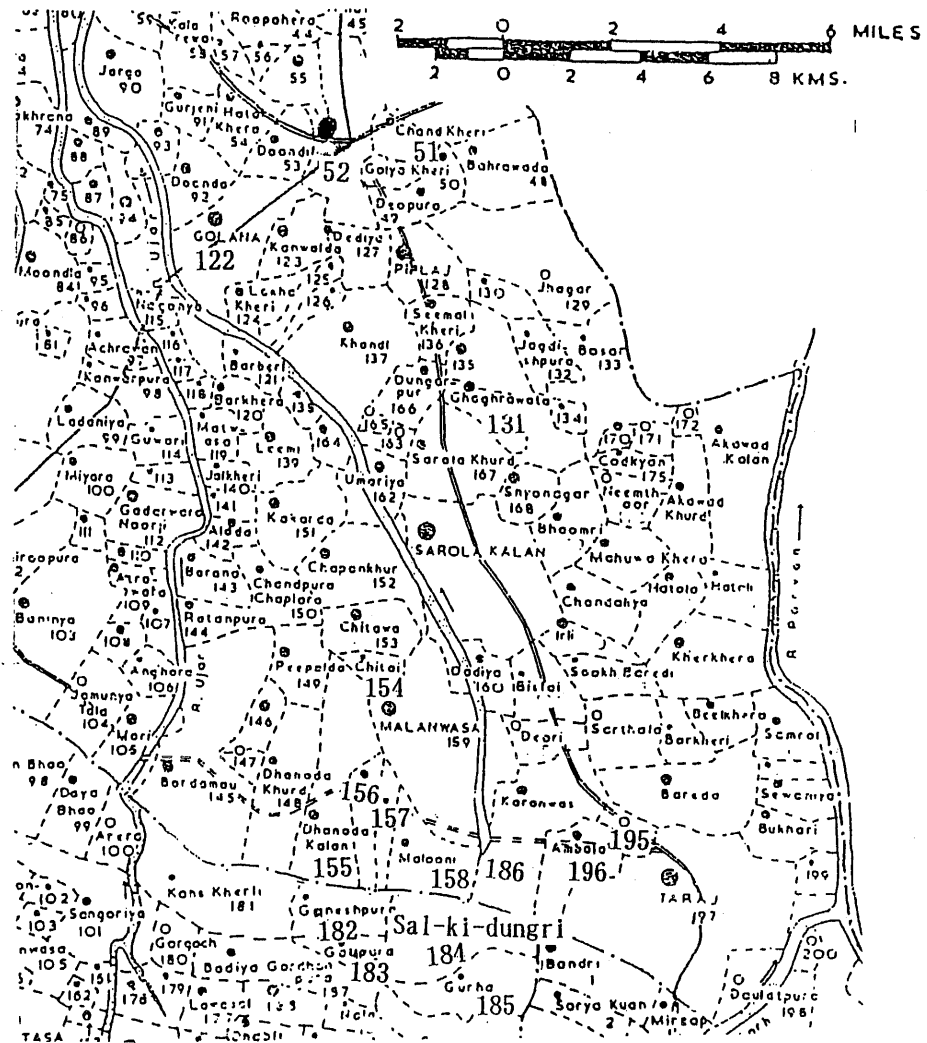
In the course of my research, I came across six copies of addressed orders dated Chait Budī 10, V.S. 1862 (1805 A.D.) by Mahārāo Ummed Singh, King of the Kota State, through *paṭel* Bhōpā of village Sāl-kī-ḍūngṛī to *paṭels* and *paṭwārīs* (accountants) of the villages, concerning tax-free land grant by the king to the temples which were newly constructed in *paṭel* Bhōpā's and his nearby villages.⁴¹⁾ Out of six orders two were addressed to the *paṭels* of villages Sāl-kī-ḍūngṛī and Guṛhā, whose *paṭel* was Bhōpā himself and one to the *paṭel* of village Ganēshpura newly established which was under Bhōpā's supervision (*samāl/sambhāl*). The other three were to the *paṭels* of village Karanwās (Karḍwās), village Baldēopura and village Ambālā (Amāilā), all belonging to *tafā* Sārōlā/Sārḥelā (present Khānpur *Tehsīl*).

The newly constructed temples in villages of Sāl-kī-ḍūngṛī, Guṛhā, Baldēopura and Ambālā were all the branch temples of Shṛī jī of Nāthdwārā in the neighbouring Rajput State of Mewar. The temples constructed in villages of Ganēshpura and Karanwās were village temples of Ṭhākurjī diwār. The state granted these temples tax-free land from five to 15 *bīghās*.

As shown on Map 3, village Karanwās was next to the northern village Sāl-kī-ḍūngṛī and to the southeast of village Baldēopura. Village Ambālā was next to the northern village Sāl-kī-ḍūngṛī, to the east of village Karanwās and to the south of village Baldēopura. In V.S. 1865 (1808 A.D.) *paṭel* Pēmā of village Karanwās belonging to *Dhākaṛ* caste held his *paṭelīs* of village Sārōlā-khurad ten kilometres away to the north of his village and of village Ghāghrawāṭā, which was the second village to the north of village Sārōlā-khurad. He and his families were granted 50 *bīghās* of *inām* land in these three villages respectively, so they held a total of 750 *bīghās* of land including the *inām* land in these villages.⁴²⁾

Village Baldēopura was founded in V.S. 1861 (1804 A.D.) by Kānā belonging to *Dhākaṛ* caste getting 1,000 *bīghās* of land from village Tāraj, 500 *bīghās* from village Barēḍā, 250 *bīghās* from village Ambālā and 50 *bīghās* from village Karanwās, and Kānā, its founder, became the *paṭel* of this village.⁴³⁾ Village Ambālā was the stronghold of *paṭel* Ruḡā belonging to the agricultural caste of *Jāṭ*. He held 300 *bīghās* of land with 100 *bīghās* of *inām* land in this village. In addition to this, *paṭel*

Map 3



Map 3 is composed of a part of Jhālrapāṭan Tehsīl, a part of Khānpur Tehsīl and a part of Aklerā Tehsīl of the Census Atlas of 1971 A.D.

Village Code Number

- | | | |
|---------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|
| 52 qasbā Khānpur | 52 Chāndkhērī | 122 qasbā Gōlānā |
| 131 Ghāghrawāṭā | 154 Chitāi | 155 Dhānōda-bujarkh(-kalān) |
| 156 Barēḍī | 157 Dhagāriyā | 158 Mālōnī |
| 184 Sāl-ki-dūngri | 182 Ganēshpura | 183 Gaupura |
| 185 Gurhā | 186 Karanwās | 195 Baldēopura |
| 196 Amāilā (Ambālā) | | |

Ṛugā held the *paṭelī* of *qasbā* Gōlānā as well as 50 *bīghās* of land in village Pīpaldā. Qasbā Gōlānā was located 28 kilometres north of village Ambālā, and village Pīpaldā was 11 kilometres north of village Ambālā. The revenue documents of V.S. 1867 (1810 A.D.) tell us that he was *paṭel* of *qasbā* Gōlānā,⁴⁴⁾ so we know that he shifted his stronghold from village Ambālā to the *qasbā* by this year.

Concerning tax-free land grant to temples in the villages concerned, it must be remembered that it was through *paṭel* Bhōpā of village Sāl-kī-ḍuṅgrī that the orders were addressed by Mahārāo Ummed Singh to *paṭels* of village Karanwās, village Baldēopura and village Ambālā. We know from this fact that Mahārāo Ummed Singh accepted *paṭel* Bhōpā's local influence over these *paṭels* and their villages. Therefore, there must have been some stratification among *paṭels* whose social relationships were neither equal nor flat. It seems that *paṭels* formed a multi-tier structure of high and low ranks.

In V.S. 1861 (1804 A.D.) *paṭel* Bhōpṛā of village Barēḍī, next to the southern village Ganēshpura, established village Ḍhagāriyā on the site between village Mālōnī and village Dhānōda-kalān (bujarkh) from which the village obtained 541 *bīghās* of land.⁴⁵⁾ Both *paṭel* Bhōpṛā and *paṭel* Bhōpā who put village Ganēshpura under his supervision belonged to the agricultural caste/tribe of *Gūjar*. *Paṭel* Kānā, founder of village Baldēopura belonging to *Dhākar* caste obtained land for the foundation of his village from village Karanwās, whose *paṭel* belonged to *Dhākar* caste. They would have utilised the caste relationships and kinship relations a lot to found a village.

But it was a new trend of founding villages in mutual cooperation with different castes/tribes irrespective of caste/tribe distinction. In V.S. 1839 (1782 A.D.) a Brāhman named Narāin, *paṭel* of *qasbā* Māngrōl and Gēgō from *Mīnā* tribe established village Devīpuro, getting land from *qasbā* Māngrōl and village Bōrdā.⁴⁶⁾ Also in V.S. 1854 (1797 A.D.) village Shyāmpuro was established by Shyāmō of *Dhākar* caste and Ratnā of *Khātī* (carpenter) caste getting land from village Manda, *parganā* Urmāl.⁴⁷⁾ But the village name of Shyāmpuro must have been named after the founder Shyāmō. Village Madanpuro (*parganā* Jaitpur) was founded around V.S. 1882 (1825 A.D.) by Gōvind of *Karār* (wine distiller) caste and Ghāshiyā of *Rāṭhī* (merchant ?) caste.⁴⁸⁾

Generally *paṭels* of the village were very eager to construct village temples of Ṭhākurjī diwār, which was worshipped by all the villagers and gave them the unity of the village when a village was newly founded. After *paṭels* established villages, they must have asked head temples such as temple Shrījī of *qasbā* Nāthdwārā and temple Keshō Raijī of *qasbā* Pāṭan for permission to found branch temples in their newly established villages. *Paṭels* took keen interests in inviting reputable priests to look over the branch temples. They also made efforts to invite *atīts* or *paṇḍas* (temple priests) to newly constructed temples. *Paṭels* often donated land to the temple priests for their *bhōg* and *tēl* (subsistence and maintenance).

Paṭels and priests, especially temple priests contributed to digging *kuwōs* (wells) and constructing *kunḍs* (reservoirs or tanks) for drinking, bathing and ir-

rigation as well as making new land for agriculture. Temple priests used to lay out *bāgs* (gardens) and *kunjs* (arbors) in towns and big villages for people's recreation. In V.S. 1840 (1783 A.D.) a *panda* named Gōrdhan received a tax exemption on his 25 *bīghās* of land, which was irrigated by a *kund* that was constructed by him in village Daulatganj, *tafā* Rāipur.⁴⁹⁾ In V.S. 1860 (1803 A.D.) *patel* Tōryā of village Tisāyā dug a *kuwō* in village Fatēpur which he founded.⁵⁰⁾

Temple priests would have encouraged villagers to construct *kunḍs*, *bāgs* and *kunjs* as good and pious deeds. And villagers would have also participated in the construction works irrespective of their own initiative. In V.S. 1910 (1853 A.D.) *patel* Fetā and *patel* Mōtā of village Murānō, *parganā* Baṛōd founded village Rām-nagar with mobilisation of *gaon machkūr kisān* (village agricultural workers).⁵¹⁾ It seems that they have exercised their social influence over village societies to found the village and also got some religious and spiritual support from temple priests or *gaon gurus* (village religious leaders) to encourage villagers to cooperate with their *patels* for the work.

Concerning tax-free land grant by the state, it seems as if the state actually granted land to temples and priests, but it must be the fact that the state had authorised the land grant done by *patels* by adding tax-free privileges to the land. The construction of village temples and branch temples of famous head temples, donation of land to priests and temples and invitation of priests to village by *patels* would have contributed greatly to increasing *patels*' authority and adding dignity to their status in village societies.

Patels and priests exploited villagers to participate in the works of construction through their community relationship, which was highly utilised by *patels* for maintaining the integrity of the village. As has been observed in my article,⁵²⁾ the state and *patels* utilised this community relationship for the taxation and criminal law with the collective responsibility of villagers. They also utilised caste *pañchāyat* (council) to extend their authority to every individual member of the caste community.

Patels were generally granted a right to collect a *haṭwārā* (weekly market tax) as well as other taxes as remuneration for their official services. We find *patel* Bhōpā, *patel* Kāsī Rām and other *patels* were given a *haṭwārā* in the villages and *qasbās* under their sway.⁵³⁾ They must have had a privilege to allow merchants and traders to open their shops at *hāṭs* (weekly markets) in the village and *qasbā* under their sway. There also existed some markets (*mandīs*) and grain markets (*ganjs*) in big villages and *qasbās* during the period under study. They had a *ganj* of *mūng* (green lentil), *mōṭh* (lentil) and *tīl* (sesame) in the big village of Keithon in V.S. 1779 (1722 A.D.) and also a grain market (*ganj kā nāj bikrī*) near village Pairā, *tafā* Palāithā in V.S. 1859 (1802 A.D.).⁵⁴⁾ These *ganjs* and *mandīs* sometimes grew and developed to market villages/towns with a suffix of either 'ganj' or 'mandī' during the period under study.⁵⁵⁾

Village Kishanganj, a market village, was established in V.S. 1887 (1830 A.D.), receiving land from *qasbā* Baṛōd, village Tākarwārā and village Buḍādīt.

This was one of the ten villages which were established in *parganā* Barōd between V.S. 1887 (1830 A.D.) and V.S. 1911 (1854 A.D.).⁵⁶⁾ However, this was not a newly established ordinary village in the sense of word, but a newly established 'market' village. The appearance and formation of this market village must have been a product of village construction activities by *paṭels* closely related with the development of economic activities of this area.

Qasbā Barōd was the stronghold of *paṭel* Sambhā and his families belonging to *Gūjar* caste/tribe. They held *paṭelīs* of the *qasbā* and its four nearby villages with 300 *bīghās* of *inām* land and 1,140 *bīghās* of landholding. Adding to this, they held 100 *bīghās* of land, but no *paṭelī* in village Bhūren.⁵⁷⁾ Village Murānā, one of *paṭel* Sambhā's *paṭelī* villages, established a new village of Rāmnagar in V.S. 1911 (1854 A.D.)⁵⁸⁾ as above mentioned. Judging from their activities of village construction, it is likely that *paṭel* Sambhā and his families participated in the establishment of the market village of Kishanganj.

The revenue documents of V.S. 1861 (1804 A.D.) record the names and titles of six persons who purchased bulls in the *mēlā* (fair) held at village Chāndkhērī next to the east of *qasbā* Khānpur.⁵⁹⁾ They were five *paṭels* and one person belonging to *Bhīl* tribe. Among *paṭels* there were *paṭel* Bhōpā of village Sāl-kī-dūngrī, *paṭel* Nāthō of village Durgapuro (*parganā* Gāgrōn) and *paṭel* Lachhā of *qasbā* Aklerā.⁶⁰⁾ *Paṭel* Nāthō kept his stronghold at village Durgapuro, and held *paṭelīs* of village Chhutrabhūjpuro and *qasbā* Mandāwar with that of village Durgapuro. He held a total of 1,200 *bīghās* of land in two villages and one *qasbā*, and he shifted his stronghold from village Durgapuro to village Chhutrabhūjpuro in V.S. 1872 (1815 A.D.). In V.S. 1879 (1822 A.D.) his landholding increased 360 *bīghās* to 600 *bīghās* in village Chhutrabhūjpuro and 300 *bīghās* to 600 *bīghās* in village Durgapuro.⁶¹⁾

We have observed how *paṭels* acquired their *paṭelīs*, and extended their *paṭelīs* and increased their landholding in several villages. However, we have not examined the purchasing of *paṭelīs* and land. But according to the revenue records of the period under study, it seems that *paṭels* increased *paṭelīs* and landholding mainly through colonisation and village construction activities and not through trading.

Conclusion

From the middle part of the 18th century onward, we witnessed the growth and development of new *qasbās* and the appearance and formation of market towns/villages with the suffix of 'mandī' (*market*), especially the suffix of 'ganj' (grain market). The development of new *qasbās* and market towns/villages sustained and brought about the prosperous *mēlās* (fairs) in this region. Village Chāndkhērī and *qasbā* Ummeganj in the Kota State and *qasbā* Pāṭan in the Bundi State were very famous for their *mēlās* in this region. Another big *mēlā* came to be held in *qasbā* Jhālrapāṭan in the V.S. 1890s (around the 1840s A.D.).

We can say with fair certainty that the growth and development of new *qasbās*

and market towns/villages after the middle part of the 18th century coincided with *patels*' vigorous activities of colonisation and village construction. Considering this, it seems that the reason why some powerful or influential *patels* shifted their strongholds either to the newly established village or to a *qasbā* was due to their motives to construct the new headquarters of their economic and political activities there.

It was during the first half of the 19th century that the word '*zamīndār*' came to appear in the revenue documents of the Kota State.⁶²⁾ The word '*zamīndār*' in the Kota State was so far applied to 'feudal' lords who paid but a nominal allegiance to the king of Kota.⁶³⁾ However, it is quite interesting that this word was being applied to big landholders during this period when the growth of *patels* and extension of their landholding were remarkably witnessed.

Notes

- 1) When referring to the Rājasthānī documents of the Kota Records available at the Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, the following abbreviations are used:
 K.T.A.J.: Khātā Tālik Ahkām Jāgīrdār, B.N. nil, Bh.N. nil, V.S. 1860
 M.J.w.U.: Māfiyāt Jāgīr wa Udak, B.N. 10, Bh.N. 7, V.S. 1872
 T.B.: Tālik Bahī, B.Ns. nil, Bh.N. 3, V.S. 1861–63
 Taq̄sīm: Taq̄sīm Parganāwār
 Kāgzāt: Miscellaneous Documents
 V.S.: Vikram Samvat
 B.N.: Bastā Number
 Bh.N.: Bhandār Number
- 2) James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, edited with an introduction and notes by William Crooke, 3 vols., London, 1920, rpt. Delhi, 1971, Vol. 3, pp. 1550–77, 1613.
- 3) *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, pp. 1552–59.
- 4) *Tāliks*, T.B., V.S. 1861–63. James Tod, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 1552.
- 5) James Tod, *ibid.*, p. 1552.
- 6) *Sūbehdār* was the official name of provincial governors in Mughal India, but neither *sūbehdār* nor province existed any more in the period under study after the fall of the Mughal Empire. But it was used as a honorific title to Mehrāp Khān who was the *hawālگیر* (*parganā* <county> official) in the V.S. 1860s (around 1810 A.D.) in the Kota State. Assuming that one of the 'Four of the Revenue Board' was a *sūbehdār*, according to R.P. Shastri and G.C. Sharma, it was Mehrāp Khān who held the title of *sūbehdār*.
- 7) R.P. Shastri, *Jhala Zalim Singh (1739–1823)*, Jaipur, 1972, p. 309. G.C. Sharma, *Administrative System of the Rajputs*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 50.
- 8) Irfān Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India (1556–1707)*, Bombay, 1963, pp. 133–34. Dilbagh Singh, "Position of the Patel in Eastern Rajputana during the Eighteenth Century," *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Jabalpur, 1970, Vol. 1, pp. 360–66. Do., *The State, Landlords and Peasants: Rajasthan in the 18th Century*, New Delhi, 1990, pp. 176–79.
- 9) The size of landholding of *patels* was represented in the number of personal ploughs (*gharū hals*) in the revenue documents. One *hal* (plough) indicates 60 *bighās* of land, so the number of *hals* is converted into *bighās* hereafter. See, James Tod., *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 1562. Regarding '*gharū hals*', see Dilbagh Singh, "Caste and the Structure of Village Society in Eastern Rajasthan during the

- Eighteenth Century," *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. II, No. 2, 1976, pp. 299–311.
- 10) *Tālik* to the *paṭels* of *qasbā* Kunjōr, dt. Phāgun Budī 4, V.S. 1862, T.B. *Taq̄sīm, parganā* Kunjōr, V.S. 1865, B.N. 23/2, Bh.N. 6.
 - 11) *Kāgzāt* of *paṭelā kā tālak gaon*, V.S. 1867, M.J.w.U.
 - 12) *Tālik* to *paṭels* Jōdhā and his sons, dt. Phāgun Budī 2, V.S. 1862, T.B. *Tālik* to *paṭels* Jōdhā's brothers, dt. Phāgun Budī 2, V.S. 1862, T.B. *Taq̄sīm, parganā* Bārān, V.S. 1865, B.N. 23/2, Bh.N. 6. U.B. Mathur, *Census of India 1971*, series 18—Rajasthan, part IX—A, Administrative Atlas and Supplement to Administrative Atlas, Jaipur, 1976. → *Census Atlas of 1971 A.D.* C.S. Gupta, *Census of India 1961*, Vol. XIV, Rajasthan, part IX—A, *Census Atlas*, New Delhi, 1967. → *Census Atlas of 1961 A.D.*
 - 13) *Tālik* to the *hawālgūr* of *parganā* Bārān, dt. Pōsh Budī 3, V.S. 1860, K.T.A.J. *Taq̄sīm, parganā* Bārān, V.S. 1865, op. cit.
 - 14) *Tālik* to *paṭel* Jōdhā of village Fatēpur, dt. Chait Budī 4, V.S. 1860, K.T.A.J.
 - 15) *Taq̄sīm, tafā* Mandāwar, V.S. 1865, op. cit.
 - 16) *Tālik* to *paṭel* Jōdhā and his sons, op. cit. *Bhains Barār, parganā* Māngrōl, V.S. 1867, B.N. 1, Bh.N. 7.
 - 17) *Tālik* to *paṭel* Bhōpā, his brother and sons, dt. Chait Sudī 8, V.S. 1862, T.B.
 - 18) *Taq̄sīm, parganā* Delanpur, V.S. 1865, op. cit.
 - 19) *Taq̄sīm, tafā* Khānpur, V.S. 1883, op. cit.
 - 20) *Taq̄sīm, parganā* Delanpur, V.S. 1912, op. cit.
 - 21) *Tālik* to *paṭel* Kāsī Rām, dt. Ashādh Budī 4, V.S. 1862, T.B. *Tālik*s to *paṭels* Kāsī Rām and his son, dt. Jēth Sudī 15 and Phāgun Budī 2, V.S. 1862, T.B.
 - 22) *Tālik* to *paṭel* Kāsī Rām, dt. Sāwan Budī 6, V.S. 1863, T.B.
 - 23) *Tālik* to *paṭels* Bhāgliyā and his sons, dt. Phāgun Budī 2, V.S. 1962. *Tālik* to *paṭel* Bhāgā, dt. Sāwan Budī 12, V.S. 1863, T.B.
 - 24) *Tālik* to *paṭels* Ṭōryā and his sons, dt. Phāgun Budī 2, V.S. 1862, T.B. *Tālik* to *paṭels* Ṭōryā's brothers Miyālā (Miyā Rām?), Sadā Rām and Mahā Rām, and his kākā (paternal uncle) Dāmā, dt. Phāgun Budī 2, V.S. 1862, T.B. *Tālik* to *paṭels* Ṭōryā's brothers Sadā Rām and Mayā Rām (Miyā Rām), and Sadā Rām's sons, dt. Phāgun Budī 2, 1862, T.B.
 - 25) *Tālik* to *paṭels* Ṭōryā's uncle Dāmā and Dāmā's sons, dt. Chait Sudī 1, V.S. 1862, T.B.
 - 26) *Taq̄sīm, parganā* Māngrōl, V.S. 1842, B.N. 13, Bh.N. 6.
 - 27) *Taq̄sīm, parganā* Māngrōl, V.S. 1843, B.N. 12, Bh.N. 6.
 - 28) *Taq̄sīm, parganā* Māngrōl, V.S. 1822 and V.S. 1826, B.Ns. 3/2 and 4, Bh.N. 6.
 - 29) *Taq̄sīm, parganā* Māngrōl, V.S. 1865, V.S. 1883 and V.S. 1912, B.Ns. 23/2, 30 and 51, Bh. 6. *Bhains Barār, parganā* Māngrōl, V.S. 1879, B.N. 2, Bh.N. 7.
 - 30) *Taq̄sīm, parganā* Māngrōl, V.S. 1753, B.N. 1/1, Bh.N. 6.
 - 31) *Taq̄sīm, parganā* Māngrōl, V.S. 1843, op. cit. *Bhains Barār, parganā* Māngrōl, V.S. 1867, B.N. 1, Bh.N. 7. *Taq̄sīm, parganā* Māngrōl, V.S. 1883 and V.S. 1912, op. cit.
 - 32) *Bhains Barār, parganā* Māngrōl, V.S. 1867, op. cit.
 - 33) *Taq̄sīm, parganā* Māngrōl, V.S. 1883, op. cit.
 - 34) *Taq̄sīm, parganā* Māngrōl, V.S. 1912, op. cit.
 - 35) *Taq̄sīm, parganā* Barōd, V.S. 1912, ibid.
 - 36) See Note No. 24 and Table 1.
 - 37) *Taq̄sīm, parganā* Māngrōl, V.S. 1912, op. cit.
 - 38) *Taq̄sīm, tafā* Sīswālī, V.S. 1865, V.S. 1883 and V.S. 1912, op. cit.
 - 39) *Bhains Barār, parganā* Māngrōl, V.S. 1867, op. cit.
 - 40) *Taq̄sīm, parganā* Urmāl, V.S. 1883, op. cit.
 - 41) *Tālik*s to *paṭels* and *paṭwārīs* of village Sāl-kī-dūngri, village Guṛhā, village Ganēshpura, village Karanwās (Karḍwās), village Baldēopura and village Ambālā (Amāilā) through *paṭel* Bhōpā of village Sāl-kī-dūngri, dt. Chait Budī 10, V.S. 1862, B.N. 9, Bh.N. 14.
 - 42) *Taq̄sīm, tafā* Sārhlā (Sārōlā), V.S. 1865, op. cit.
 - 43) Ibid.

- 44) *Kāgzāt of paṭelā kā tālak gaon*, V.S. 1867, op. cit.
- 45) *Taq̄sīm, tafā Sār̄hēlā*, V.S. 1865, op. cit.
- 46) *Taq̄sīm, parganā Māngrōl*, V.S. 1842, op. cit.
- 47) *Taq̄sīm, parganā Urmāl*, V.S. 1856, B.N. 21/2, Bh.N. 6.
- 48) *Taq̄sīm, parganā Jaitpur*, V.S. 1883, op. cit.
- 49) *Tālīk to the paṭel and paṭwārī of village Daulatganj*, dt. Jēṭh Sudī 6, V.S. 1841, B.N. 65, Bh.N. 1.
- 50) *Tālīk to the hawālgīr of parganā Bārān*, dt. Pōsh Budī 3, V.S. 1860, K.T.A.J.
- 51) *Taq̄sīm, parganā Baṛōd*, V.S. 1912, op. cit.
- 52) Masanori Sato, "The Chamars of South-eastern Rajasthan 1650–1800 A.D.", *Caste System, Untouchability and the Depressed* (Japanese Studies on South Asia No. 1) edited by H. Kotani, New Delhi, 1997, pp. 39–42.
- 53) *Tālīk to paṭel Bhōpā*, dt. Ashādh Budī 4, V.S. 1862. *Tālīk to paṭel Kāsī Rām*, dt. Ashādh Budī 4, V.S. 1862, T.B. *Jamā Bandhī, qashā Chēchat*, V.S. 1862, B.N. 9, Bh.N. 14.
- 54) *Tālīk to (the hawālgīr of tafā Keithōn ?)*, dt. Māgh Budī 3, V.S. 1779, B.N. 37/2, Bh.N. 1. *Tajkarā*, village Pairā, *tafā Palāithā*, V.S. 1859, B.N. nil, Bh.N. 14.
- 55) Masanori Sato, "The Formative Process of Towns and Market Towns/Villages in Southeastern Rajasthan, 1650–1850 A.D.," *KEIZAIGAKU-KIYO* (The Journal of Economics, Asia Univ.), Vol. 19, No. 2, April 1995, pp. 1–25.
- 56) *Taq̄sīm, parganā Baṛōd*, V.S. 1912, op. cit.
- 57) *Tālīk to paṭels Sambhā, his brothers and son*, dt. Chait Sudī 6, V.S. 1862, T.B.
- 58) *Taq̄sīm, parganā Baṛōd*, V.S. 1912, op. cit.
- 59) *Tālīk to dhābhāī Kanī Rām, paṭel Dēvlā and shāh Gōpālyā*, dt. Phāgun Budī 7, V.S. 1861, T.B.
- 60) *Tālīk to paṭels Lachhā and his sons*, dt. Chait Sudī 3, V.S. 1862, T.B. *Taq̄sīm, parganā Delanpur*, V.S. 1865, op. cit.
- 61) *Tālīk to paṭels Nāthō and his son*, dt. Phāgun Budī 2, V.S. 1862, T.B. *Bhains Barār, parganā Gāgrōn*, V.S. 1879, op. cit.
- 62) *Tālīk to the hawālgīr of tafā Chhīpābaṛōd*, dt. Chait Sudī 15, V.S. 1860, K.T.A.J. *Bhains Barār, parganā Urmāl*, V.S. 1867, op. cit.
- 63) *Taq̄sīm, parganā Khātākhērī*, V.S. 1773, B.N. 1/2, Bh.N. 1.