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# Exploring the Emergence of a New Political and Economic Order in 18th Century Rajasthan

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Meera Malhan<sup>1</sup> and Shalini Saksena<sup>2</sup>

## Abstract

The collapse of the Mughal Empire in Rajasthan during the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century initiated important reconfigurations in its polity, society and economy. Emergence of regional political order and a new notion of commercialisation widened the sphere of engagements of merchants and traders and this had enduring consequences for the economy of Rajasthan. This paper traces the trajectory of the structural changes that ensued from the political disintegration of the Mughal order and emergence of local princely governance. Specifically it looks at i) the emergence of the non-peasant sector in agriculture, ii) the rise of a cross-caste mercantile class in the state and iii) change in commercial relationships under the new governance between the principalities, traders, artisans and the merchants. The research is based on insights from rich archival primary sources from the Rajasthan State Archives in Bikaner, focusing primarily on careful and extensive examination of the *Bahis*, to ascertain the changes in the village structure that took place as the regional gentry tried to combat the political and financial crisis that it faced in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. This study finds ample evidence of thriving trade and growing commercialisation and monetisation in the regional economy, resulting in economic prosperity in most parts of Rajasthan, thus establishing the fact that the process of economic and social decay in 18<sup>th</sup> century, also referred to as a 'dark age' in existing literature, was not universal.

Keywords: Artisans, Merchants, Revenue, State, Towns, Trade promotion.

## 1. Introduction

Eighteenth century is referred to as a period of transition in the country, as India witnessed significant changes in its power structures, which initiated important socio-economic reconfigurations. Several states witnessed the emergence of a new regional political order as the Mughal Empire collapsed. Historians, who examine this century in the context of the fall of the Mughal Empire alone, focus primarily on the processes of economic and social decay that resulted in the political disintegration of the Mughal order, and label the era as a 'Dark Age'. However, there now exists extensive literature that establishes the fact that economic decline during the 18<sup>th</sup> century was not universal and that there were distinct pockets of economic prosperity in several parts of the country. Rajasthan in particular, witnessed interesting structural changes in its socio-political economy which encouraged political and economic buoyancy in most parts of the state. These changes included the emergence of new regional power centres co-constituted by the gentrification process characterised by (i) the emergence of a vibrant cross-caste mercantile class with significant political clout, (ii) a coalescence of traders, merchants and peasants as the system of revenue farming thrived and new towns and markets emerged, and (iii) growing

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commercialization and monetization as the economy consolidated its fiscal institutional framework.

With the collapse of the Mughal Empire in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the local ruling class in Rajasthan, the Rajput principalities, began consolidating their *jagirs* in order to maintain the necessary leverage required to safeguard their positions in the face of receding Mughal financial and military support, combined with the frequent overtures by the Marathas and Pindaris, resulting in an atmosphere of political uncertainty for them. The first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century witnessed considerable consolidation as Maharaja Jai Singh Sawai (1688-1743) gradually acquired most of the *parganas* in Rajasthan that were part of the ‘core’ Mughal territories (Raychaudhuri *et al.*,1883).

As the *jagirdars* often moved to new *jagirs*, the crucial tasks of local administration and revenue collection were assigned to the local functionaries who were skilled in such jobs. These local revenue officials such as the *Patels* and *Patwaris* constituted the new gentry group which rose to positions of considerable power and importance, serving as the crucial link between the Principalities and the agrarian economy. The engagements and alliances of the revenue officials with local level players such as the peasants, artisans, traders and merchants were imminent in order to find ways of clearing the financial mess created by the impending accumulated debt of the Principalities. In order to find sources of funds, the state (comprising of the Principalities and their local officers) relied on expanding agricultural production, trade and commerce. Systematic organisation of financial resources through trade and commerce helped expand the agrarian output, while the opening up of new trade routes enlarged the area of commercial activities as new markets and towns emerged. As trade and commerce flourished, the state earned vast sums of revenue from these activities through various taxes, levies and cesses. Most principalities in Rajasthan flourished as trade flourished and brought about economic prosperity in the region.

The rest of the paper is organised as follows. Section 2 of the paper elaborates on the extensive archival data referred to for this study. Through this paper, wherever a primary source needs to be cited, the details are provided in a footnote. Brief profiles of the state and the prevailing village structure in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century Rajasthan are presented in section 3. The structural changes in the agrarian economy which led to the rise of a powerful mercantile class in the state are outlined in section 4. Section 5 discusses the expansion of the trade network with the coming up of new cities and markets. The findings are summarised in section 6.

## **2. State Archival Data**

The research is based on insights from various archival data maintained at the Rajasthan State Archives in Bikaner. The documents provide prolific data for the Amer administration. Some records have missing information on certain *jagirs* . This happened

whenever some *jagirs* or *parganas*<sup>3</sup> changed hands from one ruler to another. To the extent possible, this paper relies on continuous records of *parganas* (such as Amber or Jaipur, Baswa, Dausa etc.) that mostly remained under the authority of the Amber rulers. The main reference for the Marwar region is Nainsi's *Vigat*<sup>4</sup>.

The princely states of Rajasthan established various departments to run their administration, with several officers and other functionaries in charge of maintaining records of daily transactions. The documents recording such details were maintained in two forms i.e. *Bahis* (long documents which are folded) and *tozis* (loose papers). Some of these documents include: the *Jama bandi* (documents recording money transactions); *Sanad Parwana Bahis* (records of trade across regions and provinces, trade routes, taxes and tax-exemptions: A.D. 1764 - 1888); *Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi* (records of commercial taxes levied, exemptions, annual fairs organised in Jodhpur: A.D. 1765 - 1831); *Kagadon-ri Bahis* (documents sent to traders for smooth transit through check-posts on various trading routes, record of taxes, hundis, cash values of transactions, coins used in different provinces etc.: A.D. 1754 - 1801); *Kamthana Bahis* (details on wage paid to skilled and unskilled workers and artisans: A.D. 1751 - 1768); *Zakat Bahis* (documents commercial products traded, trade routes, means of transport, trader's name and caste, amount of transit tax (*zakat*) revenue collected etc., A.D. 1799 - 1833); *Byav-ri-Bahis* (documents all transactions related to marriages in the village included goods imported, expenditure on food, clothing, jewellery and artefacts: A.D. 1719 - 1752); *Sava Bahi Mandi Sadar* (documentation of mandi or the chief marketplace transactions between Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Jaisalmer and provinces outside Rajasthan, including details on taxes imposed on different *qasbas* etc.); *Arhsattas* (*tozis*, or loose papers with details on trade taxes, items traded, trader's name and caste); *Chitthis* (letters written by Diwan of Jaipur to *pargana* officials with details on the functioning of the *Jagirdari* and *Zamindari* systems, commercial practices, arbitration methods, concessions to traders and merchants etc.); and the *Karkahanjat* Documents (related to manufacturing units) of Jaipur such as *Khshbu Khana* (perfumes), *Rang Khana* (dyeing of cloth), *Surat Khana* (maps, sketches, paintings, landscapes etc.), *Top Khana* and *Sileh Khana* (production and repair of weapons and explosives armour etc.), *Palki Khana* (making and repairing *palkis* used for traveling) etc.

In order to enrich the present understanding of various aspects of the economy and trade, a careful examination of these primary sources was carried out to ascertain comprehensive information about the village communities, artisans and their wages, traders, the social composition of the traders and artisans, trading communities, manufacturing techniques and technologies, trade routes and policies regarding their protection, transportation toll, arrangements of recovery and compensation etc. These documents were identified as one of the following:

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<sup>3</sup> An administrative unit, a term used during the Mughal era.

<sup>4</sup> *Vigat* is like a travelogue / traveler's diary. Nainsi was considered to be one of the first Marwar historians.

- Documents giving various village-level details, area, tax on individuals etc. such as *Khasra*, *raqba-bandi*, *taqsim*, *terij*, *yaddasht of hal*.
- Document containing accounts of taxes of income, expenditure and balances at the village and pargana level, such as *arhsatta*, *Jama-bandi*, *Jama Kharch*, *muwazana*, etc.
- Price lists, *nirakh bazaar*, *nirakh –roznama*
- Collections of letters and documents issued by officials such as *chitthis*, *parawanas*, *sanads*, *arzdashts* etc.
- Administrative manuals such as *dastur*, *dastur-ul amal*, *amal dastur* etc., and
- Correspondence of the Amber/Jaipur court such as *Vakils reports*, *Khutut-i-Maharajgan* (both dated and undated).

Most of these documents are in the Rajasthani script, dated mostly in the *Samvat* era which represents the Hindu calendar. In order to allow a uniform comparison, dates in the Hindu calendar were converted into the English calendar year by deducting 57 years from it. Some of the earlier documents are dated in the *Hijri* era (the Arabic era calculated according to the Islamic lunar calendar) while some others are dated in the *Fasli* calendar (based on Indian harvest seasons). Between the two, the *Fasli* calendar is more closely synchronized with the *Samvat* calendar.

### 3. Geography of Rajasthan and the village profile

The Rajputana region (now Rajasthan) is divided into two distinct regions by the Aravalli range which extends through the state from southwest to northeast (see Map 1). To the northwest of the range, lies 60 per cent of the area comprising of sandy tract which is unproductive and has little water. Most of it is covered by the Great Indian Thar desert. Most of this region is comes under what is called the Marwar<sup>5</sup> or the Jodhpur region of Rajasthan. To the southeast of the Aravalli range, lies the remaining 40 per cent of the area which is higher in elevation, has fertile soil and diverse topography ranging from hilly tract of Mewar<sup>6</sup> to tableland in Kota and Bundi, and the flat plains of Bharatpur in the alluvial basin.

The Mewar region has several rain-fed rivers and their tributaries flowing through it resulting in fertile soil and better irrigation possibilities. For most of the settlements in this region, agriculture was the main occupation. The Marwar region on the other hand, with inadequate monsoons, had infertile land that resulted in very low agricultural productivity. In the absence of any snow-fed river and the erratic nature of rainfall, the only viable alternative option for irrigation in this region was to tap underground water through artificial methods of irrigation<sup>7</sup>.

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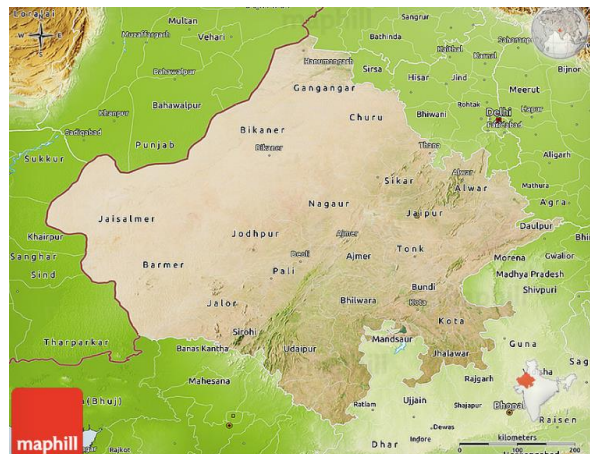
<sup>5</sup> The Marwar region includes the districts of Barmer, Jalore, Jodhpur, Nagaur, Pali and parts of Sikar and Bikaner, lying to the northwest of the Aravalli range.

<sup>6</sup> The Mewar region includes Chittaurgarh, Rajsamand, Udaipur and Bhilwara, lying to the southeast of the Aravalli range.

<sup>7</sup> Archival source: Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908, Rajputana, Provincial series, reprint, 1989.

Agriculture and livestock/diary were the main occupations in early 18<sup>th</sup> century Rajasthan villages. The importance assigned to the need for means of artificial irrigation for expanding agriculture (and hence stabilizing state revenue) is evident from the number of loans given out regularly by the state for their construction<sup>8</sup>. This facilitated the settlement of new villages, extension of cultivation, and in some parts of the southeast region, it enabled double-cropping, resulting in as many as 55 crops of *rabi* and *kharif* season which included *bajra*, *jowar*, *moth*, maize, pulses, wheat, barley and grain, cash crops like indigo, sugarcane, *singhara*, vegetables, tobacco and cotton, and commercial crops such as oilseeds, cotton and opium.

Pastoral activities such as rearing of sheep and manufacturing of wool were important activities in *parganas* like Merta and Jalore of Jodhpur<sup>9</sup>. Breeding of camels was an important economic activity in Jalore. In fact, the entire Marwar region was famous for its breeds of camels including Shoe, Mallani and Phalodi. The milch cows of Mallani and Sanchor and the bullocks of Nagaur were also famous for their milk and milk products at all the principal regional and local fairs<sup>10</sup>. Fancy blankets, turbans and scarves made from sheep wool, milk and milk products, wool and leather were produced and traded (Tod, 1832). The growing importance of pastoral activities can well be conjectured on the basis of the number of taxes imposed and revenue raised from such activities<sup>11</sup>. For example, *ghas-charai*, *korad* and *buraj* refer to fodder taxes imposed on cattle owners (Devra, 1981). Overtime, in some parts of Rajasthan, the pastoral economy assumed such significance that it was no longer a subsidiary and supplementary occupation to cultivation.



Map 1. Map of Rajasthan

Note: This map is available in a common image format from maphill.com.

Source: <http://www.maphill.com/india/rajasthan/3d-maps/satellite-map/physical-outside/>

Rajasthan was rich in several non-agricultural and mineral resources and hence mining was another important occupation. These include the following: (i) Salt: salt and salt

<sup>8</sup> Archival source: Chitthi, Pargana *Bahi*, dated Pash Sudi 2, V.S. 1783/1726 AD, HS, JR RSAB

<sup>9</sup> Archival source: Sanad Parwana *Bahi*, No. 13, V.S. 1830/1173 A.D, Jodhpur Records RSAB

<sup>10</sup> Archival source: Rajputana gazetteer, vol. 1, 55

<sup>11</sup> Archival source: Qeura, Rajasthan Ki Prashashnik Vyavastha, op. cit, pp. 169

works was an important industry. *Banjaras* transported salt while the *baniyas* engaged in their trade<sup>12</sup>; (ii) Marble quarries of Makrana which exported marble to Delhi and Agra for construction of their mosques and tombs; (iii) Copper mined at Bairath (Jaipur), Chainpur (Maswas) and Bidasar<sup>13</sup>; (iv) Iron mainly mined at Malpur, Nagaur and Bhimal; (v) Silver, lead and tin found in parganas like Sojal, Jaitaran and Jowas; (vi) Lead mined in Taragarh Hills near Ajmer exported to Agra<sup>14</sup>; (vii) Gypsum found near Nagaur used as cement for plastering<sup>15</sup> (Tod, 1832) etc.

Non-agricultural production sector, closely tied to the agrarian sector in the rural sector, comprised of production of agro-based products and a growing class of artisans including the weavers, dyers, tailors, potters, ironsmiths, goldsmiths, oilmen, construction workers, carpenters etc. In certain villages, it can be conjectured based on archival evidence, that the relative share and importance of this sector was more than the agricultural sector. Taxes collected from the production of traditional village crafts (*jamdari*) often exceeded realisations from agriculture (*bighori*). Hence the state adopted a supportive and protective approach towards promoting the artisans and their craft. Craft production was gradually becoming important also in the urban centres, albeit as an independent and autonomous occupation. Production by artisans in urban centres was mainly for commercial purposes as demand for their products increased in the wake of growing monetization during the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Habib, 1963; Pearson & Naqvi, 1974; Bhadani, 1999; Bayly, 1988).

Rajasthan's location provided strategic advantage to the state as it served as an important link between Northern and Western parts of India. It lay on major trade routes to coastal Mughal provinces like Malwa, Gujarat, Multan and Sindh as well as the imperial capitals of Agra and Delhi. This helped the state to expand its trade network beyond its boundary.

## 4. Structural Transitioning in Rajasthan

### 4.1 Changing Agrarian Economy: Burdening of the Peasantry

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The village, perceived primarily as an agricultural settlement in Rajasthan, was the basic unit for generating revenue for the state. Peasants mostly cultivated their own land, unless the state approved their migration to deserted villages in order to generate more revenue for the state. Tax revenue to be paid by the peasants to the *Jagirdars* was assessed on the basis of (i) extent of cultivable land in the agriculture zone and (ii) cattle (in numbers) in the pastoral area. Crop sharing was the dominant form of tenancy in agriculture and very often the peasant had to deposit his crop-share in cash (Raychaudhuri *et al.*, 1883). However, the Jaipur records also clearly indicate instances of crop-share paid to the state

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<sup>12</sup> Archival source: The salt tariff Board Enquiry Mekhma Khas, Jodhpur Records, RSAB

<sup>13</sup> Archival source: Sanad Parwana *Bahi* No. 17, U.S. 1883 Jodhpur Records, RSAB

<sup>14</sup> Archival source: Rajputana Gazetteer, vol. 11, P. 59

<sup>15</sup> Archival source: Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908, Rajputana, Provincial series, reprint, 1989; and Vigat 11, pp. 423-24



in kind, which were later sold by the state to grain dealers, the total value of which were recorded in the *arhsattas*.

Several regions in Rajasthan were innately fragile and disaster prone resulting in very low agricultural productivity. For instance, in the desert region of Bikaner, low agricultural productivity meant that average income from *hasil* (revenue realisation) was less than 40% of its total income. Most peasants with meagre resources engaged in subsistence and extensive farming. Massive state demand and the threat to their crops and cattle because of unusually high Maratha and Pindari army movement compelled them to seek constant support from the state and local moneylenders. With only a small fraction of land suitable for double-cropping, scope for intensive farming remained limited.

The political ideology of the state was predominantly shaped by its need to maintain a steady flow of income from the villages. The first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century saw prices rising faster than revenue demand. This motivated increase in area under cultivation of cash crops which fetched higher prices and also attracted higher state taxes (Singh, 1974; Gupta, 1986; Bajekal, 1988). In the absence of financial support from the Mughals, the state was keen on expanding agricultural production, as well as tapping other non-agricultural taxes (Devra, 1978; Devra, 1981). There was growing realisation that the state could no longer rely on the peasant economy to bring about the needed expansion in agricultural production without constant provision of credit to peasants and state patronage. The state realised and made conscious efforts to harness the surplus resources accumulated by the moneylenders and the merchants in the village, thus paving the way for their widespread participation in agriculture.

#### ***4.2 Emergence of the non-peasant sector in Agriculture***

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The state recognising the need to support peasant agriculture and tap more avenues of income made all out efforts at expanding the credit network with the objective of ploughing back the capital resources accumulated by merchants and moneylenders in the village into agriculture through various arrangements. These resourceful persons included the non-peasant middle and upper order caste individuals, small and big traders and moneylenders and state as well as village level officials, jointly comprising what Sethia (2003) calls the ‘non-peasant sector’. What followed was the emergence of various new forms of organising and managing agricultural production. The big and powerful merchants, who initially only lent money to the state to meet state’s financial exigencies, penetrated agricultural production through participation in *revenue farming* during the second half of 18<sup>th</sup> century. The state also organised agriculture as ‘*sarkari halas*’ and thus the number of cultivators increased. Produce from state *halas* was sold in the market at the right time to get maximum profits for the state.

Increased participation of non-peasants and the state in agriculture resulted in expansion of agricultural output. With huge stocks of grains, the non-peasants started looking for



more markets to sell their surplus, at a time when they would fetch the best price (during the scarcity years). New villages came up as the state entrusted the non-peasants with land as *talukas* or *jagirs*. Tying up of agriculture with markets resulted in profitable commercial production and this further helped expansion of the non-peasant agriculture.

### **4.3 Emergence of a composite and powerful mercantile class**

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The state patronised the emerging mercantile class comprising of persons engaged in lending money, exchange and transfer of money and trade. The channelling of accumulated capital with the merchants into agriculture helped propel the rural agrarian economy and new markets and cities developed as a spin-off of such growth. A nexus between revenue collection and trade was created.

The merchant community included not just the traditional ‘*vaishya*’ subcastes, but also the *Agarwals*, *Oswals*, *Maheswaris*, *Khandelwals*, *Porwals*, *Paliwals*, *Srimals* and *Khatris*. It also included the *Brahmins*, *Gosains*, *Charans* and *Bhats*. *Baldiyas* and *Banjaras* were the retailers who also transported goods and were an important part of the trade network<sup>16</sup>.

Towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Principalities were already dependent on the merchants for financial support to meet the expenses related to the maintenance of the regalia and the administrative apparatus. During the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, increased expenditure on the army and the increasing demands of the Marathas further increased the dependence of the rulers on merchants and moneylenders. Consequently, while the state’s borrowings transformed into perpetual indebtedness, the merchants assumed considerable importance in the political economy of the state. Involvement of the mercantile class in revenue farming was encouraged by the state in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century to revive the rural agrarian economy. By late 18<sup>th</sup> century, it became an acceptable form of repayment of state debt to the merchants. This provided the merchants direct access to agrarian surplus which they disposed off in grain markets.

The *sahukars* were the big merchants who raised money for the state from small merchants. They also lent money to small merchants and traders against their stock of grains. Grains were pledged by the borrowers when prices were low during the harvest season, with the hope of fetching better prices later. The moneylenders were paid interest in kind, which they later sold at higher prices (particularly during the famine years)<sup>17</sup>. With considerable volatility in grain prices due to seasonal and random fluctuations, grain trade was highly speculative. When small merchants were unable to repay the loans raised from the market, the state often intervened to extend the recovery period or reduce the interest amount due. This intricate system of internal credit that emerged in the grains market tied the big merchants to small merchants, and the

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<sup>16</sup> Archival source: Bhandar No. 4, Basta No. 1, Zakat *Bahi* V.S. 1865/AD 1802, Kota; and Bajrang Lal Lohiya, Rajasthan Ki Jatiya, Calcutta, 1954, pp. 167-68.

<sup>17</sup> Archival source: Yati Jai Chand, Saiki, pp. 40-46.

merchants to the state, making them indispensable for each other. Grain trade occupied a significant place of pride in the economy of Rajasthan (Raychaudhuri, 1983; Gupta, 1986; Bajekal, 1988; Bhadani, 1992, Pp. 9215-225).

### 5. Thriving Trade with Expansion of Markets and Market-towns

The mid-18<sup>th</sup> century Rajasthan witnessed the rise of the *baniya-rajya* under the control of the powerful group of traders and merchants (Bhargava, 1935). With greater involvement of merchants in production and marketing of grains, the state's control over grain trade weakened. However, it led to widespread commercialisation and widening of markets as peasants, artisans, merchants and traders from the same as well as adjoining principalities participated in the trade network. The state also actively promoted and supported the strengthening of the trade network. It granted various facilities and incentives to develop new *kasbas* (market-towns or cities) which would serve as centres of exchange of commodities between neighbouring villages. Many cities like Bhinmal, Jalore, Mandor, Nagaur and Pali in the Marwar region developed into an important commercial centre for both Rajasthan and Northern India (Gupta, 1986).

Merchants as well as the *banjaras* were granted shops and *godowns* (storage facilities) among other incentives to settle in these *kasbas*. They were ensured protection from any act of exaction or extortion by the local influential persons or the invaders. Traders and merchants were exempted from various transit and sales taxes such as *sair-dam*, *mapa-dam* and *rahdari*, and given free land to build their houses and shops (Sharma, 1980). A more lenient system of taxes on trade transactions<sup>18</sup> in the new *kasbas* ensured considerable profit margins for not just the big merchants, but also for the small traders and the *banjaras*, tying the latter also closely to an expanded trade network.

Some *kasbas* functioned both as markets and production centres, involving artisans from various social groups. Peasants sold their grains for cash (either for themselves or to be able to pay revenue in cash) in such grain markets, representing trade of goods from villages-to-towns. Artisans in these markets catered to not just the demands of the locals in the *kasba*, but also demand of neighbouring villages generated due to festivals, marriages and other special occasion needs of the rural population. This represented trade from the towns-to-villages.

Periodic markets called *hats* were organised at a smaller scale for the village population where peasants from the village brought their surplus grain and cattle for sale while the artisans and traders brought several items from the *kasba* for sale. The state realised the customary levies on transactions in such *hats*. *Melas* (fairs) were organised on a bigger scale with greater participation of local traders and artisans as well as those from adjoining regions. They represented not just an economic, but a cultural event often with

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<sup>18</sup> Grain trade was exempt from the '*mapa*' (cess) in such *kasbas*.

social and religious connotations<sup>19</sup>. Transactions in *melas* were exempt from all local levies to encourage greater participation. Thus, active state patronage strengthened the trading network through *hats* and *melas* which tied the kasbas and villages to each other.

## 6. Conclusion

Early 18<sup>th</sup> century Rajasthan witnessed the disintegration of the Mughal empire coupled with repeated attacks by the Marathas who exacted considerable tributes from the Rajputs. This drained the region financially and created a climate of political uncertainty. The state made targeted efforts to expand the agrarian economy by roping in the resourceful mercantile class. State policies pertaining to trading activities facilitated the emergence of a cross-caste mercantile class. Indigenous growth was facilitated by the participation of traders and merchants in agriculture and local markets, which got integrated with the wider trade network. Thus, this period witnessed considerable agricultural expansion as well as expansion of trade networks in most principalities in Rajasthan. Findings based on analysis of information and data from archival records considerably alter the notion of the 18<sup>th</sup> century as a 'dark age'.

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<sup>19</sup> For example, the famous annual fair of Mundwa lasted for almost six weeks, was both a 'grain fair' and a fair for religious celebrations (pilgrimage) (Archival source: Khas Rukka Parwana *Bahi*, Jodhpur, V.S. 1844/AD 1787, f. 67.). 'Fashion fairs' were organized in Kota (Archival source: Bhandar No. 4, Basta No. 2; Zakat *Bahi* Qasba Nand gaon, Kota V.S. 1873/A.D. 1816).

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