Conclusion

The eighteenth century has been regarded as a “Dark Age” in Indian History especially in the study of the British colonial rule. The eighteenth century problem in Indian History was proposed in order to re-consider this age from various view points. Successive studies regarded the century of 1757-1857 as the period of the transition to Colonialism. This thesis focused on Indapur Pargana in the period of 1761-1828 in order to study the socio-economy and the administration under the Marathas in the period of the transition

The administration of Indapur Pargana under the Marathas was divided into three sections: Revenue Administration, Judicial Administration and Military Administration. In Revenue Administration, Kamavisdar settled the land revenue with the Government, and collected it in Indapur Pargana, and remitted money to the Government. As hereditary local officer of Pargana, Deshmukh, more precisely his agent Nadgauda watched and supported the settlement and the collection of the land revenue. In this procedure, Nadgauda collected Kabulat Patti as part of his allowance (Nemnuk). In addition to the allowance, Deshmukh held Izafat villages in Indapur Pargana. Nadgauda also held one Izafat village in Indapur Pargana. Under the Marathas, the land revenue of a village was assigned to Sardars, Silhedars etc. as Saranjam. In Indapur Pargana, the number of Saranjami villages increased at least throughout the period of 1768-1802, and reached fifty and a half in 1802. This arrangement of the land revenue indicates the
Peshwa Government regarded the local military powers such as Silhedars and Sardars as more important in the late eighteenth century than the revenue secured directly by the Government. The greatest Saranjamdar in Indapur Parāna viz., Bapurao Sadashiv directly got involved in the settlement of the land revenue. Interestingly Nadgauda himself held two Saranjami villages. The Saranjam system was closely connected with the interests of hereditary local officers also.

Next to the land revenue, Jakat was an important source of income. In order to collect this item, many custom houses were set up in Indapur Pargana. Two main custom houses were placed in Qasba and Peth Indapur, and in Palasdeo respectively. Indapur Pargana was divided into two jurisdictions according to the location of these main custom houses. Staffs at a Custom House collected Jakat and sent money to the main Custom Houses. And Jakatdar received the revenue of Jakat there. Finally Kamavisdar collected it from Jakatdar. Deshmukh also received part of the revenue from Jakat as Hak. The collection of the land revenue and Jakat could affect the productivity and the trade viz., the economy of Indapur Pargana, and vice versa. So Kamavisdar often reduced these taxes according to the Government order. Hereditary local officers such as Deshmukh petitioned the real situation on the economy of Indapur Pargana to the Government.

In Judicial Administration, Kamavisdar played important roles as the Government officer. In Criminal Affairs, he tried pretty crime, levied a fine (Khandfuroi), and took action against forgery, etc. In Civil Affairs, he summoned Panchayat, and authorized a decision there after collecting Khandfuroi. Deshmukh received part of Khandfuroi as his
share. In Izafat villages, however, Deshmukh collected full judicial fees in Criminal Affairs, and summoned Panchayat, and authorized a decision as Kamavisdar did in other villages. In Izafat villages only, Deshmukh exercised judicial power. Deshmukh partly participated in Judicial Administration of Indapur Pargana. Saranjamdars did not get involved in Judicial Administration.

In Military Administration, Kamavisdar established Shibandi in order to keep the order in Indapur Pargana. Besides, Deshmukh kept his Shibandi. Some Saranjamdars were actually stationed in Indapur Pargana, and used the assigned revenue to keep their military equipments, mainly horses. And they took part in military power in Indapur Pargana. As the revenue was assigned in more and more villages, the allowance to Shibandi under Kamavisdar decreased, because this allowance was financially based on the land revenue. So Shibandi under Kamavisdar and Saranjamdars were complementary in Military Administration in Indapur Pargana. In the late eighteenth century, military forces greatly relied on the Saranjamdars who were stationed in Indapur Pargana. As the Government officer, Kamavisdar supported Ushtarkhana, Pilkhana, and Tofhana around Indapur Pargana. Kamavisdar, Deshmukh, and Saranjamdars assisted the Sardars who came into or went through Indapur Pargana by supplying fodder, foods, etc. Indapur Pargana was near from Pune and horses were raised on the banks. Because of this strategic position of Indapur Pargana, military assistance was very important in this Pargana.
The activities of Kamavisdar, Nadgauda, and Saranjamdars were connected with the socio-economy of Indapur Pargana. The trade network in Indapur Pargana had two main trade centres and three subordinate trade centres under the Marathas. The Government placed two main custom offices at one main trade centre viz., Qasba and Peth Indapur, and at one subordinate trade centre viz., Palasdeo. The Government or Kamavisdar comprehended the situation about the trade in Indapur Pargana through these custom houses, and could interfere with it by the collection of Jakat. Deshmukh collected a betel nut on a bazaar day in Qasba Bawde, Palasdeo, and Selgaon, all of which were subordinate trade centres. This indicates Deshmukh had influence in these centres. Moreover he was Patil of Qasba and Peth Indapur. Qasba and Peth Indapur was located at the point where Pune-Solapur Road and Saswad-Indapur Road crossed, and had outports on the bank of the Bhima river. So Qasba and Peth Indapur was at a strategic point both in land transport and in water transport. Qasba Indapur was the largest village in Indapur Pargana, and Peth Indapur was a market place, where many artisans and traders worked. Patil collected agricultural products such as jowar in Qasba area, and handicrafts etc. in Peth Indapur according to the industrial structure. Kamavisdar and Deshmukh or Nadgauda were closely connected to the local economy especially through the trade centres. But the powers of Kamavisdar and Deshmukh didn’t reach the other main trade centre viz., Tawasi. This indicates that the administration of Indapur Pargana did not cover the entire economic sphere of this Pargana. Probably the economic activity in Tawasi was carried out beyond the territory of Indapur Pargana.
The Saranjamdars who were stationed in Indapur Pargana purchased rice, salt, and grocery such as sugar there in order to keep their military animals such as horses. They sometimes bought horses themselves in Peth Indapur. In Saranjam villages, they paid money to their staffs. In these villages, they promoted monetization and ruralization while they still used forced labour, in other words, an un-monetized element, to collect fodder. They occupied an important position in the local economy as the local magnates who paid back much of the assigned revenue So Saranjamdars were also connected to the local economy of Indapur Pargana mainly thorough consumption.

Kamavisdar of Indapur Pargana remitted Rasad and Antastha to the Government in Pune. Nadgauda also sent the money which he collected in this Pargana to the Satara Raja as Rasad. These activities were also connected to the economy under the Marathas. In both cases, money was basically remitted by warat or a bill of exchange issued by the Government. In the eighteenth century, the network of a bill of exchange covered most part of India. So the remittance by Kamavisdar and by Nadgauda is not merely to connect Indapur with Pune and with Satara financially but to connect the local economy of Indapur with the broader financial network which warat covered.

So Kamavisdar, Nadgauda, and Saranjamdars approached the economy in two different ways. In other words, they got involved in the local economy of Indapur Pargana in one way, and in the wider area of the economy, at least covering Pune and Satara or the two centres in the Marathas territory in the other way.
Kamavisdar, who represented the Government, collected various items including Yatra Dabi or a pilgrimage tax, and she-goats at Dasara festival. The collection of these items indicates that the Government had some interests in society and culture of Indapur Pargana. As the agent of Deshmukh, Nadgauda also collected Yatra Dabi, she-goats at Dasara festival which was to be given to Naikwadis under him, and received presents at Sankrant and Dasara festival. Kamavisdar and Nadgauda collected the same items on several occasions. This indicates Kamavisdar and Nadgauda confronted each other in cultural and social spheres also. Saranjamdars did not have any rights in society and culture at the Pargana level, although there is a possibility that they received some items in their Saranjami villages.

The late eighteenth-century Indapur Pargana had three powers: Kamavisdar, Nadgauda, Saranjamdars. They got involved in the administration of Indapur Pargana in different ways, and their rights and duties were connected to one another. In the late eighteenth-century Indapur Pargana the administration was carried out in the balance of these three powers. Among them, Kamavisdar and Nadgauda confronted each other in order to lead the administration. Their interests were connected to the local trade centres of Indapur Pargana. Politically and financially Kamavisdar was linked to the Peshwa Government in Pune, and Nadgauda was to the Satara Court.

The invasion of Holkar army in 1802 and the drought in 1803 totally destroyed the agricultural productivity, industrial productivity and the trade network of Indapur
Pargana. No accounts of Indapur Pargana which cover the period of 1803-06 are available in Pune Archives. The accounts of Deshmukhi Watan in the period of 1802-09 are no. available, either. This implies the political and financial linkage between Kamavisdar and the Peshwa Government and between Nadgauda and the Satara Raja were cut by these disasters. In 1807, Malhar Mukund Kamavisdar settled with the Peshwa Government. In the new settlement, the number of Saranjami villages reduced into twenty nine. And most of ex-Saranjami villages were devastated. So there is a high possibility that Saranjamdars gave up keeping their Saranjams. Even in the reign of Bajirao II, who resumed many Saranjams\(^1\), the number of Saranjami villages still increased in Indapur Pargana probably because many Saranjamdars needed to be stationed for the defense of Pune Subha. However these disasters broke down the Saranjam system in Indapur Pargana. Nadgauda also lost his Saranjami villages after these disasters. The revenue from Deshmukhi Watan also greatly decreased. In consequence of the crisis of the Saranjam system, Shibandi under Kamavisdar got more important relatively.

In the new settlement of 1807, the land revenue was reduced and Istawa was introduced. In 1811-12, the agricultural productivity recovered by the Istawa plan. In those years Sadashiv Mankeshwar appeared to start administering Indapur Pargana instead of Malhar Mukund. Sadashiv Mankeshwar promoted his career in the Central Government at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He held huge amounts of Saranjams and Kamavis in various areas under the Marathas replacing Pandurang Bapurao, who was one of the greatest Saranjamdars in the late eighteenth century. He

\(^1\) Andre Wink, \textit{op. cit.}, p.326.
maintained a lot of Kamavis especially in Solapur Taluka. And he set up a fort and a mint in Tembhumri Pargana, which was next to Indapur Pargana. For him, Indapur Pargana occupied a strategic position. So he held three Saranjami villages even after the disasters, and Kamavis of Qasba Bawde and some villages in Indapur Pargana. And he managed this Pargana instead of Kamavisdar. Deshmukhi Watan itself was not changed even after the disasters of 1802-03, and Nadgauda still worked as the agent of Deshmukh. However the linkage between the Satara Raja and Nadgauda was not smoothly recovered. So the Peshwa Government began to interfere with their relationship. The interference of the Peshwa Government led to upsetting the balance of the relations between Kamavisdar and Nadgauda, which had been the core of the administration of Indapur Pargana in the late eighteenth century. In 1814, Sadashiv Mankeshwar sent his staffs to Indapur Pargana as Fadnis and Majumdar under Deshmukh, taking advantage of change of the balance. In 1810s, the administration power was centralized into Sadashiv Mankeshwar.

The trade network itself got back in a certain degree at least in 1812. To be concrete, most of goods in Indapur Pargana gathered into the five trade centres. According to the accounts of Deshmukhi Watan (1810s), Deshmukh couldn’t collect betel nuts in Palasdeo, Qasba Bawde, and Selgaon because a market was not opened in these places. This indicates the trade network did not recover enough to open a regular market, although goods were moved as in the late eighteenth century. The disasters badly hit Peth Indapur, which was depopulated even in 1807 (See Table 3). Patil collected various items from artisans in Peth Indapur. In 1817, the collection was finally re-started in consideration of the recovery of the industry there. These facts indicate it took longer
that the trade network and the industrial productivity of Indapur Pargana recovered than the agricultural productivity. Kamavisdar and Nadgauda still continued to collect some customary fees or taxes even after the disasters, though they did less often than before.

After the British rule was established in Indapur Pargana in 1818, Assistant Collector took the administrative position of Sadashiv Mankeshwar, who died in 1817. Assistant Collector settled the land revenue of Indapur Pargana. Mamlatdar supported him. Deshmukh, more precisely Nadgauda still watched the settlement made by the Government officers as in the Peshwa period. Deshmukh held Izafat villages and collected Nemnuk in the British period, but could no longer collect betel nuts on a bazaar day, Yatradabi, and she-goats at Dasara festival. Though most of the income from Deshmukhi Watan was maintained, this change indicates that Deshmukh lost his power as a local chief in the economic and social spheres of Indapur Pargana. While the change about Deshmukh in the last phase of the Peshwa period was mainly concerned with the relationship between Deshmukh and Nadgauda, the change in the British period was with his local influence in Indapur Pargana. The latter change was much more serious for the position of Deshmukh in this Pargana. Assistant Collector or the Government were still connected to the local economy by the collection of Jakat, and collected Yatradabhi and she-goats as in the Peshwa period. The difference of power between the Government officer and the local hereditary officer especially in economic and social spheres was decisively widened in the first decade of the British period. Probably the change of the local influence of Deshmukh brought about the debates on the continuance of Deshmukhi Watan in this period.
As a result of the change of government, a lot of Saranjams were resumed again. Only seven assigned villages remained in Indapur Pargana. Shibandi under the Government officer became more and more important, though some Saranjamdars still kept their horses for military purposes. The administrative power in Indapur Pasrgana was almost completely centralized under the Assistant Collector in the first decade of the British period.

Indapur Pargana saw centralization of the administrative power twice in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The first centralization occurred in consequence of the disasters of 1802-03. In 1810s Pargana Administration was greatly changed and the administrative power finally gathered into Sadashiv Mankeshwar in the first centralization. The second centralization occurred in consequent of a change of government in 1818. In the first decade of the British period, the administrative power was centralized under Assistant Collector of Indapur Pargana.

Interestingly the disorder at the end of the Peshwa period consequently brought about not the development of the local magnates such as hereditary local officers but the first centralization of the administrative power. And it is worthwhile to note that the first centralization had already started before the new British rule was established in 1818. And the British officer took advantage of the position of the person under whom the administrative power had been already centralized. And the second centralization
started in this situation. Both the first and the second centralization went ahead by breaking down the Saranjam system which had been established in the late eighteenth century. Interestingly the process of changing the system which had been in the eighteenth century went on in Bengal, Madras, and Northern India under the colonial rule almost simultaneously. Though P.J. Marshall regarded this process as the change under “the new colonial order,” the process in Indapur Pargana tells that the colonization viz., a change of government was not always necessary to start to change the system had been established in the eighteenth century.

But it has to be still remembered that the process of the centralization had not completed before the colonization in Indapur Pargana. And the second centralization under the colonial rule was more crucial than the first because not the relations but the system and the power themselves changed in the second. In the second centralization, Assistant Collector greatly curtailed the power of Deshmukh, Nadgauda, and Mamlatdar, who were intermediaries between the Government and the village officers such as Patil. So it is not until the second centralization, that Assistant Collector gained the administrative capacity enough to carry out the Rayatwari settlement smoothly at the Pargana level.

And Rayatwari settlement, which was introduced after 1828, was different from the land settlement between 1761 and 1828 in the following respects: Firstly, Rayatwari settlement was literally carried out per cultivator (Rayat) while the settlement in the period of 1761-1828 was per village (Maujwar). The help from Patil and from the village

community was indispensable in the latter settlement. In the former settlement the British officers such as Goldsmid and Wingate aimed at direct contracts between cultivators and the Government excluding Patil and the village community\(^3\). For that purpose, they tried to degrade Patil to the level of other cultivators\(^4\). And the Government abolished miscellaneous cesses and prohibited not only village local officers such as Patil but also Pargana local officers such as Deshmukh from collecting customary perquisites\(^5\). In Indapur Pargana, however, it had become impossible for the chief hereditary local officer viz., Deshmukh to collect his perquisites. In other words, his social status and influence in Indapur Pargana had got week before Rayatwari settlement was introduced. Secondly, the classification of soils was in Rayatwari settlement than in the settlement between 1761 and 1828. As seen in Chapter 4, assessable land was divided into Jirait and Bagait in the latter settlement. And Bagait was subdivided into the land irrigated by well and the land by canal. In other words, soils were classified under three categories. In the survey for Rayatwari settlement, R.K. Pringle classified soils under three categories viz., black (fertile), red (medium), and yellow (least fertile). And each category was subdivided into three types\(^6\). In short, soils were classified under nine categories in Rayatwari settlement. Moreover climate, market facilities etc. were also taken into account for the classification in Rayatwari settlement\(^7\). In other words, preparation of various facilities such as the construction of a road became quite important for Revenue Administration also. Lastly, a cultivator, who did not pay the land revenue, could forfeit his land in Rayatwari

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\(^4\) Neil Charlesworth, *op. cit.*, p.47.


settlement\(^8\) while he did not have to in the settlement between 1761 and 1828. Under the Marathas, the village community protected a cultivator in a village. As seen in Chapter 1, \textit{Ain Jama} which was collected both from \textit{Kamavishi} villages and \textit{Saranjami} villages in Indapur Pargana had never reached \textit{Kamal} Assessment in the late Maratha period. In order to overcome this failure in Revenue Administration under the Marahas, the British officers considered it the most important to collect the land revenue surely. This new policy meant to challenge the village community. These differences were supposed to bring about further change in the administration and the socio-economy of Indapur Pargana after Rayatwari settlement was introduced there.

\(^8\) Hiroshi Fukazawa, “Western India,” p.185.