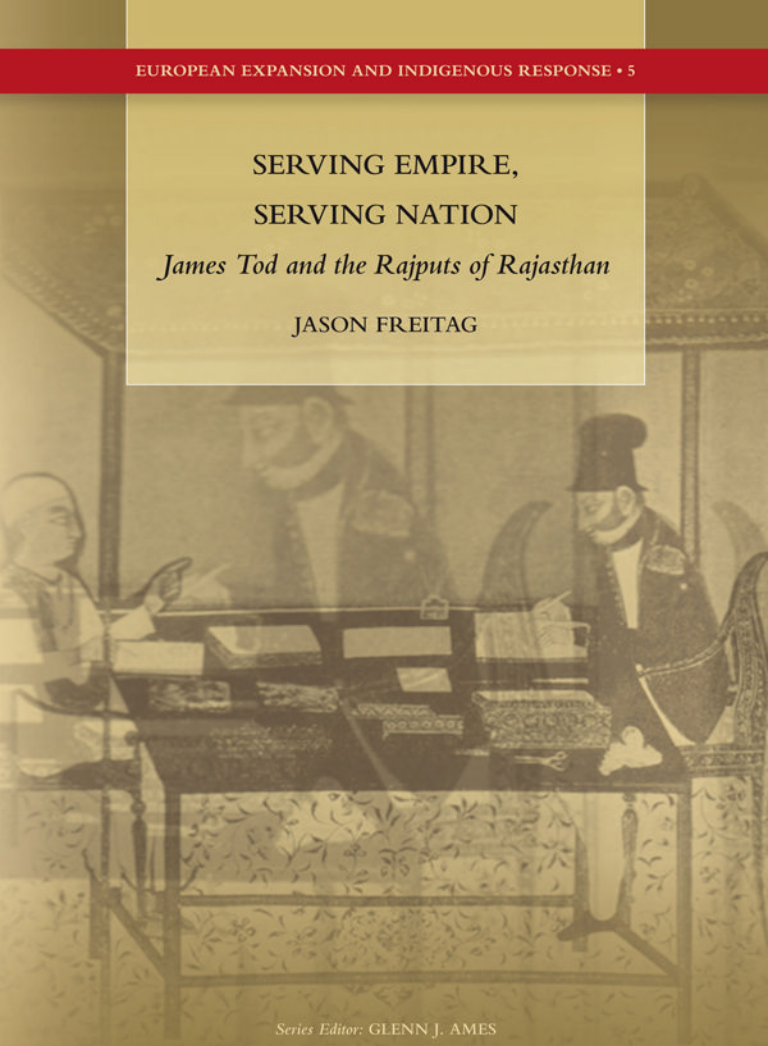
EUROPEAN EXPANSION AND INDIGENOUS RESPONSE • 5

SERVING EMPIRE, SERVING NATION

James Tod and the Rajputs of Rajasthan

JASON FREITAG



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BRILL

Serving Empire, Serving Nation

European Expansion and Indigenous Response

VOLUME 5

James Tod on elephant with companions and escort. Attributed to Chokha. Mewar (Deogarh), 1817.
Image used with permission of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Serving Empire, Serving Nation

James Tod and the Rajputs of Rajasthan

By

Jason Freitag

BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2009

On the cover: James Tod with Jain scholar Gyanchandra. Attributed to Ghasi. Digital image from William Crooke's edition of the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1920) courtesy of Giles Tillotson.

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To Karla,
without whom this was not possible,
and to Lizzie and Megan,
possibly my most enthusiastic readers.

Agastya left his chair for the huge district map on the wall behind Srivastav. For the first few minutes nothing made sense. He finally located Madna town. God, the district was huge. The Southern bits seemed heavily forested, that would be a good area to visit. Srivastav's voice penetrated intermittently. "I want to suspend this Supply Officer bugger. That corrupt cement dealer in Pinchri taluka has been passing off bloody sand as cement and this Supply Officer can't haul him up because he's getting his cut too …" Agastya contemplated the improbable, that soon, in a few months, he would be mouthing similar incomprehensibilities and acting appropriately. Chidambaram touched his elbow with a huge black book. He returned to his chair with the *Madna District Gazeteer*.

"Don't read that now, take it back with you. It's wonderful reading."

Agastya opened it. "It's ancient, sir. It hasn't been updated since 1935."

Srivastav scowled. "Who has the time? Either you work, or you write a history. Those fellows never worked." He picked up his cup. "You'll soon see how the people here drink tea. Always from the saucer, look."

Upamanyu Chatterjee, English August: An Indian Story

… colonial administrators are not paid to read Hegel, and for that matter they do not read much of him, but they do not need a philospher to tell them that uneasy consciences are caught up in their own contradictons.

Jean Paul Sartre, Preface, Frantz Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth

CONTENTS

GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

As Adam Smith wrote in his seminal *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), "The discovery of America, and that of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, are the two greatest and most important events recorded in the history of mankind." It is hardly surprising, therefore, that this process of European expansion and global colonization from ca. 1450 to 1900 has attracted extensive historical research and debate over the years. Since the Enlightenment, philosophers, economists, and historians have all sought to analyze and understand the vast range of human experiences embodied in this creation of a world market economy and global society. Much of the scholarly work completed from ca. 1880 to 1940 fell within the limits of what M.N. Pearson has aptly described as the "seeds of empire" school of imperial historiography. Eurocentric, Whiggish, even jingoistic, this work was largely compiled by English, Dutch, French, and Portuguese civil servants active in the administration of the twilight empires of those European powers. It was engendered by a need to glorify past colonial adventures as a means of legitimizing modern European imperialism and, as such, was less than objective. In the decolonization period from ca. 1945 to 1975, the field was tainted by this legacy. In the 1970s, the focus shifted to the long-ignored experiences of the indigenous peoples, sometimes characterized as "the Other", in this process and their relationship with the Europeans, who were largely re-cast as aggressors and not "heroes."

Recently, more balanced studies have appeared, embracing both the European and indigenous perspective. This recent historiography has laudably succeeded in providing an analysis of the *symbiotic* economic, social, religious, and cultural interaction between Europe and the wider world which accelerated following the voyages of Columbus and Vasco da Gama. *European Expansion and Indigenous Response* is a series dedicated to contributing to this more balanced historiography. Its volumes will present a broad intellectual perspective, examining whenever possible European and non-European perspectives. These volumes will also utilize a multi-disciplinary approach with diverse forms of analysis from all relevant scholarly disciplines. Its monographs, edited volumes and edited translations will provide new ideas and new perspectives on a topic that has fascinated scholars for the last half millennium.

Glenn J. Ames

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I owe a great debt of gratitude to the many institutions and individuals who have supported this project at the various stages of its development. All of the people listed here, and I am certain some that I have left out, deserve a share in the value of this work. Any faults, however, accrue solely to me.

The Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad program (Award P022A60007) funded my field research in India and England from 1996–1997. I received support for dissertation write-up in 1999–2000 through a generous fellowship from the Whiting Foundation. My initial years of graduate study were aided by fellowships from the Roothbert Fund. I would also like to thank the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at Columbia University, the Department of Middle East and Asian Languages and Cultures, and the Contemporary Civilizations program of Columbia College for the valuable fellowships and teaching positions that enriched my graduate experience.

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In England, the staffs of the British Library main and manuscript reading rooms, as well as the Oriental and India Office Collections, throughout multiple visits over many years were indeed as excellent as their reputations. I am grateful to the fates that I was able to work in the library's famous round reading room during its last summer of operation. Kathy Lazenbatt and Michael Pollock, the current and former librarians of the Royal Asiatic Society, have been immensely helpful in locating and navigating the Tod materials remaining in their collection. Robert Skelton and Andrew Topsfield were very generous with both their time and interest.

At Columbia, there is no single person to whom I owe more than my advisor, guru, mentor, critic and most importantly friend, Theodore Riccardi. His unfailing enthusiasm, support, insight, guidance and incredible depth of knowledge have made this a far better work than I would ever have produced alone.

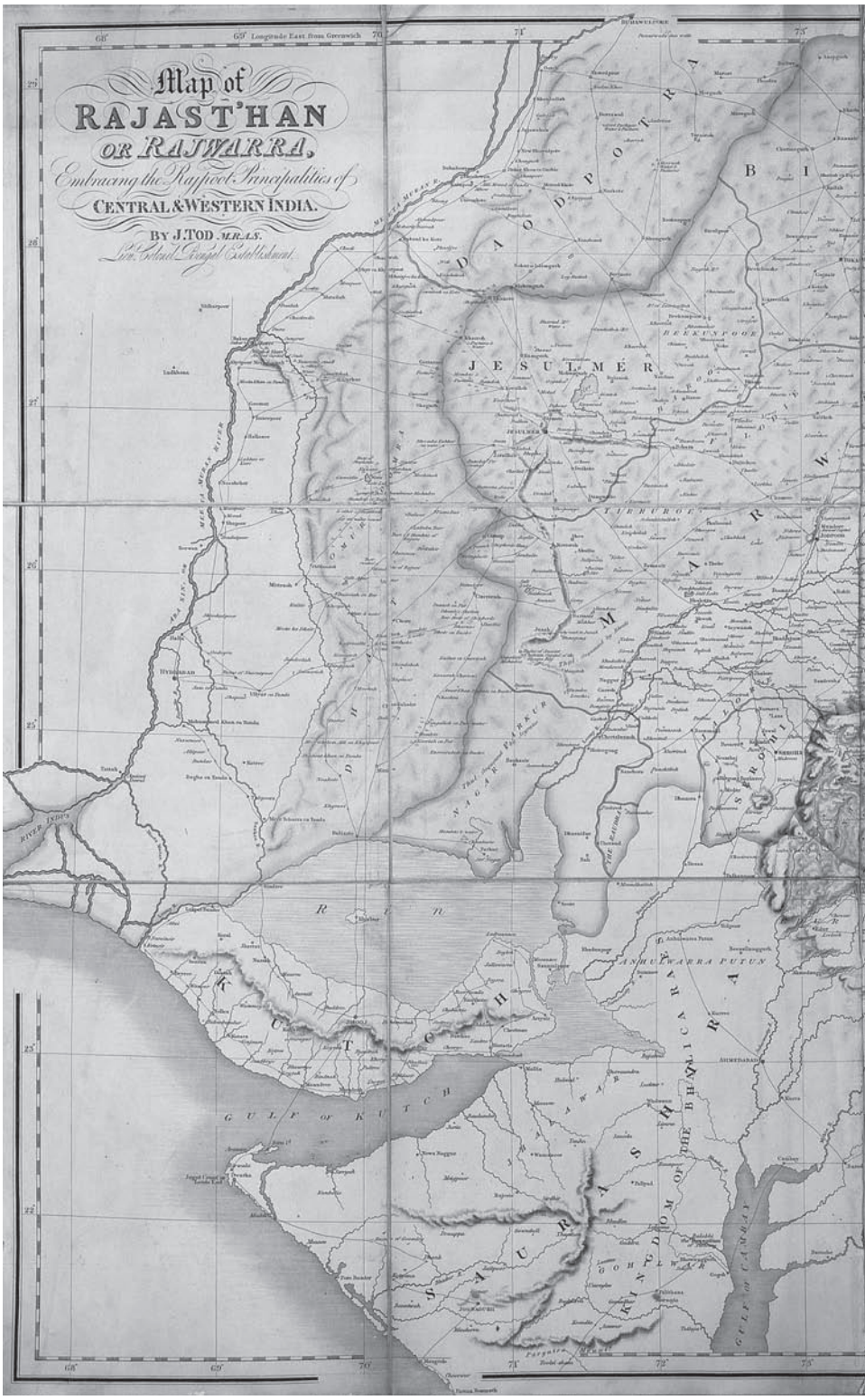
Fran Pritchett's careful reading of the text has not only alerted me to important future topics of study, but also kept me on the diacritic straight and narrow! I would also like to thank the other members of my dissertation committee, Magda al-Nowaihi, whose life and work were cut far too short, Maxine Weisgrau and Hamid Dabashi for their careful readings and the perceptive comments they shared.

Lloyd and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph have been unfailing in their support, and generous in sharing their many years of experience as leaders in the field of Rajasthan studies. Norbert Peabody is a rich mine of insight and information about Rajasthan, in general, and Tod, in particular, and I value his deep thoughtfulness over the course of this project. Lynn Zastoupil's generosity is exceeded only by his acumen and his immense knowledge of resources and archives, both in London and India. Cynthia Talbot has been an immense source of support, advice and enthusiasm. I cannot fail to mention the counsel and support of John Stratton Hawley, Ronald Inden, David Lelyveld, Rachel McDermott, Ramya Sreenivasan, Giles Tillotson, and Thomas Trautmann.

This book was much improved by the thoughtful comments of the manuscript's anonymous reviewers. I also want to thank Hylke Faber and the editorial staff at Brill for their patience and understanding through the production of this book.

No project like this can be completed without the backing of friends, and I have been very fortunate in this regard. I do not know what I would have done without Debra Diamond's patience and perceptiveness through innumerable, anxious phone calls and conversations. Karin Breuer was immensely giving of her time and energy in reading, and sometimes re-reading, many of these chapters. Jonathan Ablard, Molly Aitken, Amy Bard, Nancy Coffin, Vivian Bruce Conger, Steven Garfinkle, Karen Kern, Seth Richardson and Samah Selim deserve more than the mere mention they will receive here. I value you all.

Finally, to my wife, Karla, who has stuck with me in this venture from e.coli through editing. You were the first reader, often the last word, and I cannot express what I feel for your patience and devotion. I dedicate this work to you, and to my daughters Lizzie and Megan, who may someday read this and finally understand what I was doing "at work."



Tod's Map of Rajasthan. Image courtesy of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland

DELHI
NERBUDDA RIVER
Longitude East from Greenwich

INTRODUCTION

Tod evidently knew so much at first hand; he read everything bearing on his subject that he could come across, and he wrote it all down with such honesty of purpose and in so entertaining a style that he produced a classic: and classics are apt to be dangerous things …[1]

"His Highness Arvind Singh Mewar would be very grateful if you could telephone him as soon as possible …" A messenger from the calling booth near my apartment in Jaipur delivered the fax on a hot afternoon in late March. I had met Shri Arvind Singh two weeks earlier at one of his hotels in Bikaner. He had graciously made time for a private meeting to discuss my work on James Tod and invited me to lunch with a Brazilian polo player he was recruiting for his team, his English media consultant and his daughter—a daunting crowd, and not the company in which I typically find myself.

Because he was the "Mahārāṇā," were such titles still possible, I wanted to learn what he knew of Tod. He had a reputation for being well disposed towards scholars, and I harbored the hope that he might have a cache of materials in his possession, or at least family lore that would be of use to me. There was no archive, but he was friendly, interested, and very supportive of my work.

I went quickly to return his call and found that he had a task for me. His trust, the Maharana Mewar Charitable Foundation (MMCF) every year gives out a series of awards to individuals who exemplify the ideals that the foundation was instituted to support. There are awards for social service, scholarship, art, and economic initiative, and they traditionally had been given to local residents and all-India national figures for their role in improving the quality of life in the Mewar (Udaipur) area. Each award is named after a figure in the history of Mewar who typifies the value being lauded, and consists of a plaque or trophy, a shawl and varying amounts of cash, depending on the prestige of the award.

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[1] R. C. Temple (1921).

In that year (1997), a new award was instituted: the Lt.-Col. James Tod Award. This award, the first to be designated for a foreign national, was to be given annually to a person "who, like Colonel Tod, has produced a work of permanent value, and has contributed through his works an understanding of the spirit and values of Mewar."[2] My task was to write the biography of Tod that would appear in the English version of the awards ceremony program. The Mahārāṇā invited me to come to Udaipur for the next morning, all expenses paid. Seizing the opportunity for a break from the routine, my wife and I packed our bags, and headed for the airport at dawn.

For the next three days, my laptop and I sat in a well air-conditioned room in a hotel that had once been the royal, palatial guest quarters, but now featured poolside dining to wealthy foreigners. Such a world, of course, was unimaginable in Tod's day, as heat, bugs and disease were the inescapable companions of the Europeans in early nineteenth century India. The irony was rich, however, in that I, who had gone to India to trace Tod's footsteps, was now practically standing in his shoes. As Tod once constructed the history of this place, I was now constructing Tod in this place. In a curious way, I was Tod.

There are, of course, many reasons why an analogy between my position and Tod's would fail. I was not an imperial agent, and I had neither an armed force nor the fiscal resources of one of the greatest empires on earth behind me. I wasn't there to bring order, or enforce a treaty. The power relation, in truth, was exactly reversed, as Shri Arvind Singh clearly had the upper hand on almost every measure. I was, however, writing history *there*. Just as Tod constructed the Rājpūt past there, so did I. At base, this is the point. This book is about construction—the construction of history, the construction of identity, and the construction of the identity of the architects of this history. Serving as Tod's official English-language biographer for the modern court of Udaipur[3] provided a fascinating anecdote with which to amuse friends and family, but it also provided insight into the forces at play in constructing a history *in vitro*.

In the end, I was asked to produce two pieces: one on Tod, and one on Mahārāṇā Udai Singh (1534–72 AD), the founder of Udaipur, in

[2] MMCF Program booklet (1997).

[3] A Hindi version had already been written, in which Tod is claimed, through karma and rebirth, as a Rājpūt—notions that Arvind Singh astutely noted may not have been appropriate for the wider, English-speaking audience.

association with the new award for environmentalism being given in his name. The one on Tod was easy, in one way: the information was available right out of my head. In another, it was immensely difficult, in that even though I was not forced to say anything in particular—the content was not dictated in any way—the frame was inescapable. I knew what and whom the piece was for, and so felt constrained to avoid an academic treatment or deep critical analysis of Tod. In the end, I produced a general piece for public consumption.

The Udai Singh article was much more difficult. The difficulty arose not from any lack of information—all the history I needed was at hand, I had my copy of Tod with me, after all—but because history, Tod especially, had not been kind to Udai Singh. As Chitor fell in 1568 CE, and innumerable Rājpūt lives were lost, Udai Singh fled to the south and took cover in the hills, a maneuver that has been interpreted as cowardice from Tod onwards. My depiction of Udai Singh, however, was that of a man who used his wiles to escape to safety and preserve the Mewar royal line. In the place in which I found myself, there could be no other way. In the end, who was I to pass, or even merely perpetuate, previous judgements on this historical figure?

Though I was not paid directly, I was a guest of the "Mahārāṇā" and therefore felt something of an internal, self-imposed pressure to address his desires and attitudes. My position within a material, economic structure, though lightly applied and not at all connected with my ultimate purpose in India, had its effect. I was a temporary guest, with little to gain, and no consciously preconceived program to implement. I was also a player in a much larger drama who had no choice but to meet the strictures of the situation. I then thought of Tod. As I will show, he was enamored of the Rājpūts, the most martial of the "martial races," for years before he was assigned to administer their affairs. He came to them with a sense of his own martial identity (both as a Scot and as a soldier in the East India Company's army). He wrote his history with the support and guidance of the Mewaris themselves. What must the pressures, internal and external, have been? Did he even see them as pressures? How did he reconcile his imperial duties with his historical interests? What must have been on his mind as he wrote his manifestly biased annals?

I mention this episode from my research trip to India to illustrate some points about construction and history. There are forces that shape a work in seen and unseen ways. I became part of an historical process in my decision to write those pieces for the MMCF, and this process is

exactly the process that forms the basis of this book. That it was even possible for me to "become Tod," virtual though it was, necessarily changes the meaning of my work. That the historical figures he was so keenly involved in preserving are now alive, via these awards, and serve as exemplars of the values of a no longer functioning princely state attest to preservative and nostalgic forces at work in the collective recollection of modern Udaipur looking back, with some tragedy, at historical Mewar. Moreover, Tod has now become an historical figure in this process, as he takes his place alongside the heroes who represent the best of Mewar. I have assumed a role in the preservation, through a construction of Tod in this historical mode.

The "historical" mode, however, is a misnomer. Tod is not simply a character in history, but is alive in modern day Rajasthan in ways that I did not anticipate, and could never have imagined before starting this project. He is now the active symbol of the transmission of the values of Mewar to a potential global audience through the agency of the MMCF award. Within Rajasthan, he is the marker and preserver of the bygone glory of the Rājpūts. Some of the old Indian Civil Service officers I had the good fortune to meet, men who served under the British, could not praise him enough. One has even started the "Tod Memorial Society" out of his home in Udaipur. This gentleman has commissioned paintings of Tod, one in particular placing Tod in a central position—like the sun—with multiple Indian historians of Rajasthan (including Śyāmaldās, Ojhā and Nainsi[4]) surrounding, as if to radiate out from the source of light. This man also has worked actively to preserve the only remaining part of Tod's residence in the village of Dabok just outside of Udaipur. A single room remains.

Another made me take dictation about Tod's greatness:

> Really the spirit of Rājpūts was understood by Tod…The work of Tod is not much of history, but you can call it an Encyclopedia of Rajasthan, Rājpūt culture and other things. There are 12 eminent historians of Rajasthan and from historical point of view they may be more correct than Tod, but Tod was the first. … is men, mahākavye kī bhavyatā ke itihās kī satyatā kā miśran hai ('In this, it is a mixture of the truth of history and the splendour of the epic poem').[5]

[4] The positioning of Nainsi is particularly interesting here, as he died at least a century before Tod lived, and was an actual source for Tod on the history of Marwar.

[5] S. S. Chundawat (1997). Translation mine.

Tod, here, is not about history as such, but is a repository for "truth" and "splendor." Taken this way, he is not only alive, but can never die as long as these values are associated with the Rājpūts.

Not all of the vitality associated with this living image is positive, however. The director of a museum in Jaipur was only too happy to discuss Tod with me, but nearly jumped out of his chair with anger as he spoke. He has an active hatred of Tod. Given his family's eleven generations of service to the Maharaja, the director was adamant that he could not abide anyone saying the kinds of negative things about the house of Jaipur that Tod said![6] This man has spent time in the palace *pothīḳhānā,* or book depository, looking for evidence to refute Tod's claims about the history of Jaipur. He says that he has even tried to sway the opinion of the current "Maharaja," who had never read the *Annals*, and therefore did not know what was said about his family. According to him, the Maharaja won't publicly say anything but praise, however, so as not to break ranks with his royal peers in other areas of the state.

At the time of these conversations, Tod, the man, had been dead for 162 years. Yet Tod and his work are still very much alive in the consciousness of many people. These people, however, represent a generation that is dying. Almost all of the professors and historians with whom I talked in Rajasthan were retired, some long ago. The most popular university departments today are commerce and the sciences, and the humanities are floundering. White ants and termites are eating away a huge collection of historical records in the university library at Jaipur, and there are no resources to save them. Some of the active professors I dealt with have been forced to take up side businesses (e.g., translating, working with the tourist development board). It is not clear what will happen in the next few years, but I imagine that an even stronger stagnation may set in. The danger, therefore, is that the old received wisdom—evident and expressed in the work of people like Tod—will not be challenged at all, but will become much more deeply ingrained. When truth and splendor can be found together in the same place, regardless of the age of the work or the historical context from which it arose, there seems to be no need to look any further.

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[6] Jaipur comes in for especially heavy damnation from Tod for having married off a daughter of the royal house to the Mughals, tainting the purity of the blood and abandoning the Rājpūt stance of resistance to the Mughals.

I was an outsider to the place and the historical processes involved, though much less so than Tod, given the globalizing forces of the modern economy and modern academic knowledge. I, however, was located within a discourse of economic, political, and cultural power. I represented the great, neo-colonial power. My very presence there obviously required more money than many of the people I was dealing with would see in one, or even many years. I represented the "superpower" as I was told tales by auto-rickshaw drivers of the force of the Agni missiles (even before the May 1998 nuclear tests were performed in the Rajasthan desert). In part, because of what I represented, I had access to social circles that included Mahārāṇās and industrialists. But, I was also only given what people wanted to give me, and shown what people wanted me to see.

Tod was the representative of the British imperial power, the mightiest economic and military power on earth at the time. His presence there, and the work he was performing, entailed resources that, if ever, could only have been marshaled by a select few native elites. Tod, the soldier, was greeted with tales of the power and resistance of the Rājpūt armies, holding out for hundreds of years, against the Mughal Empire. Clearly, Tod was given only what people wanted, and needed, to give him, and shown what people wanted him to see. I am certain that this son of an indigo planter, who became the architect of the restoration of the court of Mahārāṇā Bhīm Singh, had no access to the Royal Family in England.

In the end, Tod and I had much more than three days in common.

Rajasthan Today

Every day, the same ritual is enacted by millions of people all over India. The faithful Chetak is mounted and entrusted with delivering them to victory through a dangerous battlefield teeming with adversaries. Today, Chetak is the ubiquitous scooter manufactured by Bajaj, and the treacherous battlefield is the city street overloaded with all manner of vehicles, from trucks to bicycles. In the past, however, Chetak was the heroic steed of the even more heroic Mahārāṇā Pratāp Singh. Pratāp Singh fought a devastating battle with the great Mughal Akbar on the plains of Haldighat, in the north of India, a battle in which the horse performed majestically, but eventually lost his life. Monuments to Pratāp abound in modern day Rajasthan; there are

monuments, though less numerous, to Chetak as well. The train from Delhi to Udaipur is even called the Chetak Express.

The riders of these scooters are clearly not reliving the epic battle to which they are symbolically connected. Many may not know of the historic resonance of the name Chetak. There is, however, a symbolic presence of Rajasthan within India today. That the scooter, the train, and any number of other things bear the name of Rājasthānī heroes is the important matter to note. Rajasthan is not wholly unique in this sense, for one could name all manner of items, streets, buildings, etc. that bear the name of the thousands of notable persons and events from India's long history. To a great degree, however, the image of Rajasthan is one of the predominant images of India that is projected both within India to Indians, and abroad to the world and, not coincidentally, to its tourists.[7]

The most prevalent and stereotypical of the images of India is the Taj Mahal. Scenes of overcrowded, poverty-stricken cities may come next. High on the list, though, would be the image of fierce and glorious warriors, fighting battles from magnificent palaces in the desert. Jaipur, the city in Rajasthan closest to India's capital New Delhi, is one corner of the "Golden Triangle," the heavily traveled area of North India completed by Agra, home of the Taj, and Delhi. The Golden Triangle attracts tourists from within and outside of India, and is often the only area that travelers, especially those from abroad on arranged tours, will see. Delhi is the metropolitan seat of government, an international city, with international facilities and appeal. Agra houses the Taj, the eternal symbol of love for the dear, departed Mumtaz. Rajasthan functions within this structure as a sort of Indo-Disneyland, the theme park corner of the triangle: ride an elephant, go on a camel safari, stay in a palace, experience India.

Attesting to this importance, in recent years there has been a growing body of academic work on Rajasthan. Art history provides one of the major sources of scholarship, and the field of Mughal and Rājpūt miniature painting has enjoyed a long and prolific history.[8] Studies of folk

[7] The official Rajasthan State Tourist board website advertises the state as an "open air museum." *http://www.rajasthantourism.gov.in/new/site/index.htm* accessed February 1, 2008. For an extended treatment of the relationship between tourism and the construction of history in Rajasthan, see C. Henderson & M. Weisgrau (2007).

[8] Beach (1992) is authoritative on Mughal and Rajput painting. Topsfield (2008) is definitive on Mewārī Rājpūt court art. See also Aitken (2000) and Diamond (2000) for excellent overviews of the state of the discipline of Rājpūt art history.

art, music, and traditional performance also are well represented.[9] With the rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party, and their successful campaigns in Rajasthan state government, studies of modern-day politics are beginning to appear. Important studies of environmental degradation, desertification, and local efforts to preserve arable land also are being carried out.

Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph have, for many years, provided a sustained historical and political discussion of Rajasthan. G. N. Sharma, the world's leading expert on Rājasthānī, and especially Mewārī history, provided an invaluable life's work on the area. The recent historical works of scholars such as Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya, Rima Hooja, Dirk Kolff, Norbert Peabody, Richard Saran, Ramya Sreenivasan, Cynthia Talbot and Norman Ziegler also contribute to this rich corpus of historical work.[10] Recent critical historical studies of Rajasthan—studies that attempt to examine the discourses that have structured this history—are still somewhat lacking. Astonishingly, nine hundred pages of the *Oxford History of the British Empire* volume on the nineteenth century fail to mention the Rājpūt states in a serious way. Despite, or possibly because of, its romantic image, the history and particularly the historiography of Rajasthan do not enjoy the same level of attention as other Indian states.

To this day, the history of Rajasthan has one major source. This situation is attested over and over, both explicitly and implicitly in the notes and references of any work on the area within the last 170 years. This source is the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* written by Lieutenant Colonel James Tod, originally published in two volumes in 1829 and 1832. It is no overstatement to say that Tod's Rajasthan is "the" Rajasthan. It is the standard reference work on Rajasthan for scholars within and outside of India. No work on Rajasthan, or even one that makes passing reference to Rajasthan, fails to refer to Tod. The information age also has anointed Tod as the spokesman for Rajasthan, and

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[9] The late Komal Kothari's Rupayan Sansthan, or the Rajasthan Institute of Folklore in Jodhpur is a rich resource and archive for folklore and local performance studies. Ann Grodzins Gold (1988, 1992, 2002 with Bhoju Ram Gujar) continues to produce excellent anthropological studies of ritual, pilgrimage and memory. See also *The Idea of Rajasthan* volumes (Schomer, Erdman, Lodrick & Rudolph, 1994) for the most recent snapshot of the field of Rajasthan studies as a whole.

[10] See, for example, B. Chattopadhyaya (1997), R. Hooja (2006), D. H. A. Kolff (1990), N. Peabody (1996, 1997, 2003), L. I. Rudolph (1993, 1996), R. Saran & N. Ziegler (2001), R. Sreenivasan (2007), and C. Talbot (2007a, b).

the glories of India in general, as attested by the prominent quotations from him that appear in tourism related websites.[11]

Given Tod's central position, it would seem crucial to know something about the man himself and the way in which he performed his work. In the more than 150 years of scholarship that has been produced since his death, there is surprisingly no major study. There are many biographical essays on Tod, all of them about fifteen pages long, all of them rehearsing the same events of his official career as Political Agent to the Western Rājpūt States. There are no full-length biographies.

Given the span of time since the publication of the *Annals*, one would also expect to see volumes of recent scholarship that advance the field of Rājasthānī history by taking in recent theoretical and academic developments. There are many historical treatments of distinct areas of Rajasthan that cover circumscribed historical periods.[12] Though they correct Tod's dates, place names, and other details, and also cover events occurring since the publication of the *Annals*, they do not deviate from the basic narrative that Tod laid out, nor do they evaluate the historical construction that is Tod's *Annals*. Tod's Rajasthan remains "the" Rajasthan to the extent that he laid out the image and the basic set of questions that formed the study of this area of India. Generations of scholars have endeavored to refine the answers to these questions, without examining the bases of the questions themselves.

This book examines the life and work (both official and scholarly) of James Tod, the historical consequences of his actions, and the significance of his *Annals* for both European and Indian understanding of his Rājpūt subjects. The primary interest here is in the construction of British imperial discourse in the early nineteenth century, and the persistence, stability and legitimacy of this discourse over time. The years from 1790–1835 were immensely important not only in the formation of the actual political entity which was to become the British Empire, but also in the formation of the historical scholarship that was to become the intellectual entity known as India. Just as these projects were contemporaneous, so were they epistemologically inseparable. Tod's work is a particularly good case study of the relationship between

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[11] For instance, see the Tour Rajasthan tour operator's website, *http://www.tourrajasthan.com/history_rajasthan.htm* accessed February 1, 2008.

[12] See, for example, V. S. Bhatnagar (1974), R. K. Dave (1992), K. S. Gupta (1971), R. V. Somani (1985) and G. V. Vyās (1989).

the imperatives of empire and the process of historical construction because it arises out of the early colonial milieu, and contributes itself very much to the processes of empire building. What makes Tod and his *Annals* unique, however, is the lasting effect the work has come to have. The *Annals* has taken on a life of its own far outside the context of empire, and, in an ironic twist, served the ends of anti-imperialist, nationalist discourse in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century India.

This example of the construction and life of an imperial discourse is a stark one. Tod and the *Annals* occupy a dominant position in the history of Rajasthan. The *Annals* have become canonical—the standard and authoritative historical account of the Rājpūts. As I will show, the situation is extreme: Tod's *Annals* have often replaced indigenous historical accounts of Rajasthan. Everyone knows Tod and the *Annals*. Very few know the works on which Tod based his account. Hardly anyone reads the *Prithvīrāj Rāso* or *Nainsī rī Khyāt*;[13] they simply read Tod. His historical work, constructed in an imperial idiom, has, in effect, replaced other histories and sources of Rājasthānī history. In an important way, the sun has never set on this corner of the British discursive empire.

Contexts

> It is only if we grasp these techniques of power and demonstrate the economic advantages and or political utility that derives from them in a given context for specific reasons, that we can understand how these mechanisms come to be effectively incorporated into the social whole.[14]

Studies of imperialism are necessarily studies of power. The study of an historical work by an agent of the empire requires vigilant attention to the presence of power, and the relationship between power and the creation and structure of knowledge. In the early part of the nineteenth century, through a long process of expansion and conquest, Britain had emerged as the paramount military and economic power in the world. By 1815, the great struggles with France in America, the Middle East and on the Continent were over, with Napoleon defeated and the

[13] Nainsī's *Khyāt* is a seventeenth century chronicle of Marwar. For an interesting discussion of the *Khyāt*, see N. P. Ziegler (1976a, b) and Saran & Ziegler (2001).

[14] From the essay "Two Lectures," M. Foucault (1980), p. 101.

British left not only standing, but essentially unrivalled. The British, by 1800, had eradicated the most threatening French presence in the subcontinent with the defeat of the French-backed Tipu Sultan in Mysore. Beginning in 1805 British armies engaged in active combat with Marāṭhā forces that were supported by French military experts, and after a long struggle, the British were ultimately successful upon the resignation of the Marāṭhā *Peśvā* in 1817. By 1818, the year Tod took charge in Udaipur, the British had emerged with a formidable empire in both India and the world, through a relatively steady process of conquest and consolidation of power.[15]

During this period, the East India Company found itself in an identity crisis: it was living through the transition from a mercantile to a governmental entity. In the sixty years from 1757, when Clive was given the *dīwānī* of Bengal, to 1818 when the British had secured their victory over the Marāṭhās, and therefore supremacy in North and Central India, the Company was forced to face the growing responsibility of governing large areas of foreign territory. The Company also was under increasing pressure from its controlling English authorities to justify its accessions, cease hostilities, and limit further expansion. For years, the steady profitability of the company was justification enough for its activities, but as time wore on British political attitudes made it impossible for this, in effect, commercial government to continue. The Charter Act of 1813 deprived the East India Company of its monopoly on Indian trade, while giving the Company another 20 year lease on life. This same act also addressed the growing calls in England for the moral uplift (i.e., Christianization) of the natives, and provided for the introduction of missionaries into India to aid in bringing about spiritual improvement. With the Charter Act of 1833, the transition from commercial to governmental agency was complete, as the East India Company became the Political Agent for the Crown in India. In the aftermath of the mutiny/rebellion of 1857, the Company found itself officially divested of India as the Crown assumed control.

The imperatives of the Company's commercial activity were wholly compatible with the new necessities of governance. The maintenance of order as a mechanism for insuring both the stability of the government and the steady and predictable flow of income was a paramount

[15] For more on this crucial period in the history of the British Empire, see C. A. Bayly (1989) and A. Porter and A. Low (1999).

concern, despite its growing governmental authority. At first, this meant the operation of the army to settle hostile and disobedient territories. Military intelligence, therefore, was a key priority for the commanders engaged in the campaigns against local forces. As the lands under Company management grew, however, the governmental task shifted to the maximization of revenue through rent and tributary mechanisms. Under each scenario the importance of information about the Indian native was crucial to the success of the endeavor. As Said has made clear, it was no accident that Napoleon took a virtual university with him to Egypt.

Antonio Gramsci's discussion of hegemony and direct domination becomes crucial at this point.[16] Gramsci did not see these two forces as separate but exactly as "organisational and connective." Hegemony, or "the 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group" combines with the disciplining, coercive power of the juridical government over those groups who do not "consent" in the formation of the "State" as an expression of political order.[17] Here, state and government are not identical, for government forms the crucial coercive aspect of the State.

Gramsci recognized, however, a state in which the coercive elements slowly "wither" away under the force of the regulative aspects of the hegemonic control of the dominant civil classes and their ideas. In his words:

> In the doctrine of the State as regulated society, one will have to pass from a phase in which "State" will be equal to "government", and "State"

[16] Max Weber, the great theorist of power, made a critical distinction between power and authority that relied on the factor of legitimacy. Where power is the ability to force one's will upon another, authority entails an agreement in an unequal relationship between people. A ruler rules legitimately through the assent of the ruled, and the recognition on their part of the authority of the ruler. The ruler may derive his legitimacy through his exceptional personal charisma, the force of tradition, or the rational and legal structure of a bureaucracy, but the essential feature of assent on the part of the subjects must be present in all cases to make the rule legitimate, and not simply an exercise in force. Legitimation becomes, in Weber's scheme, a supple force that is at play in the larger socio-political discourse of a society. Gramsci's notions of hegemony and direct control resonate with these notions of legitimacy, but as we will see, they go far beyond Weber in their utility and import for understanding the structures and processes of empire. For Weber's complete discussion of domination and the forms of legitimate authority, see M. Weber (1978), Vol. 1, Ch. III, "The Types of Legitimate Domination," pp. 212–301.

[17] A. Gramsci (1971), p. 12.

> will be identified with "civil society", to a phase of the State as night-watchman—i.e. of a coercive organisation which will safeguard the development of the continually proliferating elements of regulated society, and which will therefore progressively reduce its own authoritarian and forcible interventions.[18]

Being a Marxist, Gramsci saw this process primarily in terms of its function in protecting the economic order. The idea of hegemony clearly has much broader implications in the imperial context, as hegemony is exercised also in the realms of knowledge and historical construction.

This book charts the life of an imperial discourse, Tod's *Annals*, as it is constructed within the realm of power and dominance, and then slowly, over time, insinuates its way into a position of hegemonic control over historical discourse. The groundwork for Tod's *Annals*, however, was laid much earlier.

In the midst of the Company's colonizing activity, the young discipline of Indology had begun to take shape. The pioneering works of men like Charles Wilkins, Sir William Jones, Henry Colebrooke, Alexander Dow and Nathanial Brassey Halhed in the late eighteenth century laid the groundwork for scholarship in the exciting new fields of comparative philology, Sanskrit, and the study of the religious and social texts that were thought to provide the keys to the authentic traditions of the Hindus. In England, the discoveries of the affiliations between Greek, Sanskrit, and Germanic languages generated great scholarly excitement, and a new science of linguistic-racial analysis was under intense study.[19]

Such texts as the *Bhagavad Gītā*, the *dharmaśāstras* and the works of Kālidāsa, however, could not have been of real use to the Company in the military campaigns in which it found itself.[20] The philosophical, Brahmanic texts could not serve the secular, politico-military needs of an expanding imperial presence. A different sort of scholarship evolved to fill this gap, and it came not from the metropole in London, nor the colonial center of Bengal, but from the administrators in the outlying areas of the country. Grant Duff's *History of the Marathas* (1826), Malcolm's *Memoir of Central India* (1823) and Tod's *Annals* formed the

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[18] Gramsci, p. 263.

[19] See P. J. Marshall (1970) for an interesting overview, and a well-chosen selection of the works of this generation of scholars.

[20] See R. Lingat (1973) for a history of the British discovery, and disastrous attempt at juridical use, of the traditional *dharmaśāstra* texts.

basis of an image of India that did not rely solely on religious, Sanskrit-centered, orthodox philological analysis. These local histories dealt with vernacular materials and did not exclusively pertain to Brahmans. Neither academics involved in orientalist intellectual projects, nor members of the English judiciary in India drafting an overarching legal code wrote these foundational texts. Rather, their authors were administrator/historians who were motivated by military and political advantage. Frequently, though, because of their familiarity with Indians these men focused on the positive consequences of understanding native histories and customs. The texts that resulted produced useful strategic knowledge, but more importantly were crucial sources of cultural and historical information that subsequent scholars drew on for generations.

The French Revolution also had engendered a fear of republicanism that was still having repercussions throughout Europe—most notably in England, where the Protestant monarchy and aristocracy felt particularly threatened by the idea of the mass of newly empowered Catholic and/or radical Frenchman. The move by the British administrator/historians away from the orthodox Brahmanical sources reflected a concomitant anti-clericalism that is also found in their writings, and others of the period. The Brahmans, on whom earlier generations of scholars relied, suffered in these narratives, on account of their priestly office, and were increasingly being identified as the agents of "Oriental despotism" and therefore a threat to British control. The imperatives of governance made an understanding of the princes, *nawāb*s, *nizām*s and *peśvā*s critical to the longevity of the Company state, and the military men looked to the political and martial sources of power in their Indian social and political environments.

Men like Malcolm, Tod, Grant Duff, Hodgson in Nepal and Lionel Place in South India, therefore, existed directly in the center of the power/knowledge nexus. Both in their official dispatches to government, and in the historical works that they later produced, they played integral roles in the projects of conquest, expansion, assimilation and administration that marked the developing position of the East India Company. The fit between power/knowledge and the administrator/historian, however, goes to the very bases of the institutional forces at work in the construction of any knowledge.[21] Discourse—knowledge

[21] See M. Foucault (1973, 1979, 1987 and 1990).

constructed by experts—is structured by the social, political and economic forces at play at any given historical moment, and in turn serves to structure these forces.

Not a single line written by any historian in imperial service, or even in the imperial context, can be properly understood without also understanding the sheer discrepancies in power relations that existed between the historian and his subjects, and which were perpetuated by the histories that were produced. The case of Tod is particularly interesting in that the disciplining effect of imperial power proves so successful as to become historical irony. Foucault notes:

> … we should try to discover how it is that subjects are gradually, progressively, really and materially constituted through a multiplicity of organisms, forces, energies, materials, desires, thoughts, etc. We should try to grasp subjection in its material instance as a constitution of subjects.[22]

The Rājpūts, as subjects of the British, are "constituted" by Tod as narrative historical objects, through the "multiplicity of organisms" that was the empire. The constructed oriental objects and orientalist discourses are the results of imperial imperatives operating in the intellectual representations of the colonized "other."[23] The same forces that allowed Tod to extract revenue from the native princes and rebuild their courts eventually raised those native princes to an historical power, as objects of Tod's discourse, which challenged the institutions of empire itself. The eager use of Tod's narrative of the heroes of Rajasthan within the cultural identity-building literature of the Indian nationalist movement, and the current position of the *Annals* as the foundation of Rājasthānī historiography, are evidence of the *Annals*' migration out of the authoritarian empire and into an authoritative historical position.

Intellectual developments in Europe also had an effect on the historical discourse being shaped in the colony. Enlightenment rationalism, its concomitant ideas of progress and the evolutionary development of civilizations had reached new heights in the early nineteenth century. The increasing scientism of all disciplines led to classification projects that were modeled on the natural sciences, producing notions

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[22] "Two Lectures," in M. Foucault (1980), p. 97.

[23] Edward Said's *Orientalism* is foundational in this realm, and an immense, and valuable literature has flowed in the wake of Said's work. See E. W. Said (1979), E. W. Said (1994), R. Inden (1990), C. A. Breckenridge and P. van der Veer (1994), N. B. Dirks (1992), L. Lowe (1991), S. Suleri (1992), G. Viswanathan (1989) and R. Irwin (2006).

of correspondence between human languages and races, by analogy with the burgeoning science of genetics and Linnean classification. The idea of progressive evolution in civilization itself, when applied to these new ideas of classification, led immediately to a rank ordering of racial groups. The racialism that is the hallmark of the nineteenth century historical imagination takes its root in the rationalist scientism inherent in the Enlightenment project of intellectual maturity and rational understanding.[24]

The Utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham had moved to the forefront of English philosophical thought and was, in the person of James Mill, another strong influence on the debates surrounding the governance of this growing empire.[25] Bentham's idea of a systematic and rationally formed legal code as the basis of the uplift of the mass of society were applied by James Mill, in his position at the India House, as part of a liberal program of Indian social re-engineering. Placing the Indian native masses low in the scale of civilizations, Mill applied the Utilitarian bias in favor of a strong group of qualified leaders, leading for the good of the ill-equipped masses, to argue for a systematically applied renovation of the Indian political landscape which would place the British in direct control of the native masses, all in the name of good government and moral improvement.[26] Mill's political power, and the great intellectual sway held by Utilitarianism in general, had a lasting effect on Indian governance.

Strong conservative voices, however, staked out an alternative position. Sir William Jones argued powerfully for the validity of the native cultures, and for the maintenance of Indian social, political and intellectual forms.[27] Romantic notions regarding the inherent genius of

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[24] The theme of maturity, which has implicit notions of progress from a state of "nonage," is a hallmark of many of those thinkers who have come to be associated with the Enlightenment. For example, see Kant's "What is Enlightenment?" I. Kant (1997 (1784)).

[25] For an excellent introduction to the relationship between Scottish Enlightenment thought and Orientalism, see J. Rendall (1982).

[26] Mill's major historical work was *The History of British India*, but his position writing dispatches out of the India House gave him influence far beyond what would have simply ensued from the history. See J. Majeed (1992) for an excellent discussion of Mill's relation to orientalism and the British Empire, and Mehta (1999) for an original intellectual analysis of political liberalism and its relationship to empire.

[27] See, for instance, the essays "On the Gods of Greece, Italy and India," On the Hindus," and "On the Chronology of the Hindus" in P. J. Marshall (1970). See also "On the Origins and Families of Nations,"S. W. Jones (1792). There is an interesting discussion of Jones' support for separate Hindu and Muslim legal codes in L. I. Rudolph and S. H. Rudolph (1997).

each of the world's peoples, the essential connection between a people and their place,[28] and the nascent nationalism implied by this pairing of inherently valuable characteristics of a people and their natural location, formed a strong counterpoint to the liberal, Utilitarian political program. Additionally, the Romantic emphasis on the value of tradition and traditional societies was emerging within Britain as a critique of the burgeoning industrial revolution and the effects of mechanization and technology on the individual worker, and on society in general.[29] Far from being the engine of economic prosperity that would result in general social uplift, industrialization was seen as a de-humanizing, mechanistic retreat from the individuality and distinction that were the traditional hallmark of human societies.

Further, as Dirk Kolff notes, the coming of the British to India meant not only the addition of a new entity within the Indian political landscape, but the introduction of a novel political ideal, as well. Specifically, the idea of a centralized and total rule over the whole of the subcontinent was new to an Indian political environment that had formerly assumed a large military labor market and alliances between military powers for stability and order. As Kolff states:

> Never before in Indian political history, had a centre emerged that convincingly presented itself as strong enough to impose its peace on the subcontinent to such a degree. The year 1818 stands not only for the effective demilitarisation of Indian regional leadership, but also for the abolition of a phenomenon that had been crucial to the old Indian order: a military labour market, characterised by the practical impossibility for any power, whether Mughal *badshah* or Maratha confederacy, to monopolise the employment of its endless recruits or to impose its regulations upon it.[30]

Tod worked in the midst of this social, political and intellectual milieu. As we will see, by 1806, as Napoleon was marching across the world, Tod was lamenting the faded glory of the Rājpūt princes, and planning the mechanism for their restoration. In 1818, James Mill published his *History of India*, with its Utilitarian, manifestly negative bias against the native populations. Tod had just taken up his post as the Political Agent in Mewar, and had begun in earnest the project of rebuilding the court at Udaipur to a sort of prelapsarian, expansive state with the Mahārāṇā

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[28] See, for instance, the discussion of the four great civilizations (Egyptian, Hebrew, Chinese and Indian) and their characteristics in F. v. Schlegel (1890).

[29] See P. Brantlinger (1988) and N. Leask (1993) for further discussion.

[30] D. H. A. Kolff (1989), p. 48.

firmly at the center. In 1835, the year of Tod's death, Macauley published his "Minute on Indian Education," famously declaring the worthlessness of the sum of Indian literature as compared with that of Europe.[31] Tod had, by then, devoted over thirty years of his life, and unknown sums of money, to the collection, analysis and publication of this very literature and history. The dynamism of colonial discourse, as well as the historical situation of the colonial state, and Indology within it, is evident.

In this book, I examine discourses, narratives, and their lives in the world. As Hayden White has so brilliantly shown, historical narratives are plotted to unfold in a certain way. Different narrative structures and devices are employed to move the action of the story. To the extent that discourse and narrative are interwoven, the tools of historical analysis must necessarily become the tools of narrative analysis.[32] Tod's *Annals* is first and foremost a story of the heroes of Rajasthan. That story is plotted in a certain way—there are villains, glorious acts of bravery, and a chivalric code to uphold. The history of the *Annals* as a scholarly artifact is another narrative—the story of the life of imperial discourse in the world of the empire and after. It too is plotted in a certain way, with its diminishing import in Europe juxtaposed to its contemporaneous rise in import in India. This recognition of the play of narratives and critical discourses opens up a ground on which to write new histories. The necessary first step, however, is an excavation through the foundations of the historical edifice we have inherited, and the narratives at play in this history.

Discourse and narrative are operating in two senses, therefore. The first is the imperial discourse that forms the substance of this study. The second is the narrative that I place on my treatment. I have plotted the life of this imperial discourse in a series of acts, not unlike a literary or dramatic work. Given the substance of this history, I conceive of the story on an almost operatic scale, involving distant lands, heroic warriors, the restoration of kings, foreign oppression, and eventual victory. History is narrative, and I will use the structures of narrative to provide insight into the scope and character of the events and ideas that form my study.

Finally, this book spans more than one hundred years, and almost the entire width of the subcontinent, reaching late nineteenth and early

[31] T. B. Macaulay (1972 [1835]).
[32] See H. White (1973 & 1978).

twentieth century nationalist writers and activists, particularly in Bengal. The image and stories of the heroic Rājpūts in Tod's *Annals* had become transformed into inspirational historic images in the rhetoric and literature of the nationalist movement. Partha Chatterjee's insight into the connections between colonial and nationalist discourses informs the theoretical background for this part of my study.[33] Where Chatterjee looked to the political discourses of empire in order to locate his derivative discourse, I explore the mechanism by which some of this derivation has occurred. The ironic turn in Tod's discourse, from the imperial to the nationalist, is again on the level of narrative. The stories of the heroes of Rajasthan are meant both to inspire national feeling and heroic action in the audience, and to authenticate the character of an Indian people as worthy of modern independence akin to their independence in the past. The precondition for these inspirational Rājpūts, far from the *vamshāvalī*s, or chronicles of the bards, were the Rājpūts of the *Annals*. This Rājpūt of the imperial discourse was constructed and delivered, ready for immediate use in the search for what was valuable and heroic in the Indian past. Here, Chatterjee's word "derivative" almost implies a greater degree of effort than was necessary in the transformation of the imperial into the nationalist. The point remains, however, that the end of the imperial narrative was pure irony. The British construction of India actually helped usher the British back home.

The Power which Raised them from Ruin and Oppression

> … I allude to creating a sensation of disgust at being encompassed in the grasp of power from which they [the Rajput princes] have no chance of extrication instead of gradually being brought to recognize [their position under the British] in the light of a protecting one alone, and to repose in safety and with pleasure render it. [without that recognition of protection and safety, the Rajputs]… may in time prove the most formidable opposers of the power which raised them from ruin and oppression.[34]

Mahārāṇā Bhīm Singh of Udaipur was, by all accounts, an ineffectual leader. When the British arrived in 1818, the nobles of the court,

[33] See especially P. Chatterjee (1986 and 1993).
[34] Tod to Adam, F&S 24th July, 1818 #804, paragraphs 4 and 5.

for their own gain, had usurped large portions of Bhīm Singh's most productive crown lands. Additionally, the Mahārāṇā's treasury had been almost completely spent down, his remaining lands were non-productive, and he was surviving in large part on an allowance of Rs. 1,000 per month from Rāj Rāṇā Zalim Singh, the administrative head (but de facto ruler) of nearby Kota. Tod's first acts as Political Agent in Udaipur were literally to rebuild the court and replace the Mahārāṇā in a structure of rule, while making him accountable to the British Government through the agency of the treaty between them.

The actions of the British, however, did not change the Mahārāṇā's patterns of behavior and, within a very short time, he was granting the newly restored lands, spending lavishly and therefore, in the British eyes, jeopardizing the potential for realizing the monetary tribute due to them. In a number of dispatches sent to the Mahārāṇā, by both Tod and more senior officers, an effort was made to impress upon Bhīm Singh that the British were unhappy with this state of affairs and that his behavior must change. In order to add rhetorical force to their arguments, as well as an implied physical threat, they often euphemistically referred to themselves with such phrases as "the power that protects you," emphasizing both the actual political relations between the prince and the Company, and Bhīm Singh's indebtedness to them for his continued rule.

As this research has progressed, this phrase has resonated in a number of contexts. First, and most obviously, it refers to the actual political situation in existence in Rājpūtāna. A "pax Britannica" had been brought to Western India with the British victory over the Marāṭhās. The British negotiated treaties with the Rājpūt states in which they exchanged their protection for monetary tribute from the Indian princes. Secondly, the phrase resonates with Tod's explicit attempts to keep the Rājpūt states under indirect British rule, and the Indian princes nominal heads of their states. The dedications of volumes I and II of the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* are to Kings George IV (published 1829) and William IV (published 1832), respectively, and they are both pleas to protect the status of the Rājpūt princes from direct intervention by the British government.[35] Finally, the great

[35] This concern on Tod's part might also have grown out of his own awareness of his Scottish heritage, and the intervention in Scottish affairs perpetuated by the British Crown. For more on Tod's Scottish character, see Chapter 2. I thank Ronald Inden for alerting me to this possible interpretation of these dedications.

power of British historiographical discourse has been deployed over time within India to protect the image of the valorous Rājpūts as constructed in Tod. His influence preserves a picture of Rājpūtāna that has had an effect on everything from the imperial governance of Rajasthan to the modern-day image of India. This construction, and the power that has maintained and used it, form the basic substance of the present study.

Structure of the Work

This book contains seven chapters. They unfold chronologically over more than a century, beginning with a period of British expansion in India and continuing into the subsequent rise of an Indian nationalist consciousness.

Chapter 1, "Context," presents a brief summary of the state of historical knowledge about the Rājpūts before the nineteenth century. This chapter examines the treatment of the Rājpūts in Mughal imperial and European travel literatures to assess the state of knowledge and the expectations the British brought to their initial encounter.

Chapter 2, "Identification," covers Tod's biography and explores his psychological relationship to his Rājpūt subjects. In the end, the chapter argues that Tod exhibits an "identification" that was not so much with the Rājpūts that he encountered in his day, as it was with the assumed racial ancestors whom he theorized that both the British and the Rājpūts shared. This opens the discussion of Tod's antiquarianism, and the impact it had on his official acts and on his interpretation of Rājpūt history.

Chapters 3 and 4 examine the transformation of the Rājpūt courts through direct political action in India and through parliamentary process in London. Chapter 3, "Restoration," deals with Tod's official life in India and, in particular, his first major act of restoring the *ḳhālsā*, or crown lands to the Rāṇā of Udaipur, and the concomitant restoration of the Udaipur court itself. This chapter examines the *ḳaulnāma*, or agreement Tod negotiated between the Rāṇā and the nobles of his court as a case study in the manifold interactions of Tod's historical consciousness with the imperial objectives he was deputed to enforce and with the existing processes of legitimation within the Rājpūt courts themselves. Out of this encounter arose a political structure that was neither wholly Indian nor wholly British, but rather a hybrid formed by the meeting of these political, historical and intellectual forces.

Reconstruction of the courts throughout Rājasthān had a lasting impact on the administration of the Rājpūt states.

Chapter 4, "Protection," examines the 1832 debate in Parliament regarding the structure and proper role of the East India Company's government in India. An important element of the discussion revolved around the practice of indirect rule in India. In one of his last official acts, Tod argued for the maintenance of a limited sovereignty for the Rājpūt princes, under the umbrella of the British government in India. The ideological thrust of Tod's testimony stood in stark contrast to that of James Mill, who also provided testimony in the same proceeding, and who argued strongly for direct British control of all areas in which the British were involved. This chapter juxtaposes the testimony of these men to open a discussion of the conservative and liberal arguments regarding the administration of the Indian territories, and to show how each embodied a remarkably similar critique of the state of the empire in India, while offering radically divergent remedies. The ideological poles operative within British intellectual and political discourse in the early-nineteenth century were central to the structure of Indian government in the decades that followed.

Chapter 5, "Interpretation," begins the discussion of Tod's historical and analytic work, *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, and its meaning in its original context. The chapter pays particular attention to the ways in which Tod legitimated his image of the Rājpūts within the native historical tradition, while still operating within European historical discourses. The argument is that Tod successfully laid the groundwork for interpreting the Rājpūts both as the ancient legitimate princes of India, and as racial ancestors of Northern European, Germanic peoples. That future audiences seriously responded to both aspects of the text provides a clue to the lasting power of the work as a whole. Further, the chapter analyzes Tod's assumption of a common "Scythian" origin between Rājpūts and Europeans to make explicit the basis of his identification and to tie his thinking to larger currents of Aryan thought and the Indo-European construct that had taken shape in the late eighteenth century.

Chapters 6 and 7 conclude the study. Chapter 6, "Valuation," engages a detailed analysis of the available comment on the work from the leading literary and intellectual journals of the day, thereby beginning an examination of the life of Tod's *Annals* as it becomes an historical artifact. Between 1829 and 1832, at the height of a period of intense speculation and argument over the proper form of administration of the

Indian territories, early British commentators focused on the political relevance of Tod's *Annals*. Whether conservative or liberal, reviewers of the work saw information about these "new people" as crucial to contemporary political debates, and hailed Tod's text as a valuable resource and political aid. As time progressed, especially in the wake of the events of 1857, however, the political relevance of Tod's *Annals* to the British waned. The 1920 edition of Tod's work was praised as a classic solely for its antiquarian historical value, and not for its administrative potential. The elements of the work still thought useful were the images and stories of the valorous warrior Rājpūts that were distilled from Tod's *Annals*. The position of the text had changed from a politically important element in an imperial system in the process of consolidation, to an enduring historical image and legacy of the princes of Rājasthān. Further, the position of the princes had changed from valuable potential partners to imaginative relics of a bygone time.

As Tod's *Annals* was being written out of historical relevance in the eyes of the British intellectual establishment, it was acquiring a new life in India. Chapter 7, "Reconstruction," examines Tod's image of the Rājpūt as it circulated within Indian historical and historiographical discourses. By the 1870s Tod's *Annals* had lost its immediate relevance in Britain, but was the subject of a flourishing campaign of re-publication and translation in India. Condensed versions of the text also featured prominently in a series of school textbooks on the history of Rājasthān. The place of the Rājpūt hero as a symbol of the strength of the Indian people in general took hold within a romantic nationalist imagination of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Tod's *Annals*, and the Rājpūts therein, were again at the forefront of political debate as symbols of native power upon which the nationalist narrative could draw. Thus, Tod's *Annals* came to take a position of political power—now more subterranean than overt—within India itself. In the end, Tod's *Annals* fulfilled Tod's original stated intent of preserving the Rājpūt kingdoms. These were, however, no longer just political entities in Rājpūtana; Tod's images had become crucial elements of the discourse of Indian independence in general.

CHAPTER ONE

CONTEXT

"… defenders of the Kingdom, and Governors of the Country."
European Knowledge of the Rājpūts before Tod's Annals

The *Annals* served as the first systematic introduction of the Rājpūts to the European world. Before embarking on the discussion of Tod's image of the Rājpūts, however, it is important to assess the image of the Rājpūts current in both Europe and India as Tod was beginning his historical work. Early accounts of the Rājpūts come from Mughal sources, as well as from the travel narratives of early European visitors to the subcontinent. The image that arose was of a powerful, organized, military and landowning group. The Rājpūts were seen as a ruling class, who were extremely well respected by the Mughals, and who were deeply allied with the Mughal court through tribute and military service. The Rājpūts were also, however, depicted as victims of their own passions, and therefore controlled by the Mughals through the dexterous exacerbation of the internecine conflicts "which have ever proved the bane of this martial race."[1] Finally, the European accounts took particular note of the Rājpūt habits of meat eating and opium consumption. These practices explained the passionate fervor displayed by the Rājpūts.

In the Mughal sources, the Rājpūts were both valued and cursed for their military prowess. One of the key historiographical points to note, however, was that the Mughals did not refer to the Rājpūts as a coherent group with defining character traits, but clearly spoke of allies and enemies in relation to the Mughal emperor. Abu-l-Fazl's *Akbar Nāmā*, for example, noted approvingly the military service provided by some of the Rājpūt troops of Rajasthan, especially Mān Singh of Jaipur.[2] At the same time, the *Akbar Nāmā* was harshly critical of the Mewārī Rāṇā Pratāp Singh, noting the many times that Akbar's army was

[1] *Edinburgh Review* (1830) pp. 88–9.
[2] For example, Mān Singh was instrumental in a number of raids against the Mewar Rāṇā Pratāp Singh, as detailed in Abu-l-Fazl (1989 (1902–39)) pp. III.236–60.

required to commit troops to put down this Rājpūt's uprising.[3] Though Pratāp is identified with "the glory of his line of ancestors, who were in ancient times the rulers of India,"[4] he was also deemed a "wicked strife-monger."[5] There is a specificity and individuality in the Mughal sources when dealing with Rājpūts, and the characterizations of Rājpūts were congruent with the political relationships they had to the Mughals.

Regarding their character as warriors, the *Akbar Nāmā* was a clear indication of the general attitude of the Mughals towards the Rājpūts. In the face of Akbar's siege of Chitor in 1568, Rājpūt warriors "gave up the thread of deliberation and fought and were killed."[6] Their ferocity in battle, and loyalty both to their leader and cause, made the Rājpūts of Rajasthan, in the eyes of the Mughal emperors, especially important martial and political allies. Quite in contrast to what we will see was Tod's general ideological construction of separation and opposition, many Rājpūt groups were highly regarded members of the Mughal Army.[7]

This aspect of Mughal service is very clear in the European sources as well. A prominent feature of the Rājpūt identity was as a fierce component of the Mughal military forces. Nicholas Withington, a merchant who traveled extensively (including an overland trip from Allahabad to Sind) during his stay in India from 1612–1616, reports that the "Rasebooches" of Sind are mounted forces in Mughal service, who "as the Mogull sayes, knowe as well howe to dye as anye men in the world, in regard of their desparatenesse."[8] Entries in the Hobson-Jobson attest to this martial character. Quoting the Portuguese Barbosa from 1516, they note that the "… Razbutes … were Knights, the defenders of the Kingdom, and the governors of the Country."[9] The Dutchman Van Twist observed in 1648 that "These Resbouts (Resbouten) are held for the best soldiers of Gusuratta."[10]

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[3] Ibid, III.48, 57, 89, 236–7, 244ff, 274–6.
[4] Ibid, p. 244.
[5] Ibid, p. 274.
[6] Ibid, p. II.472–3.
[7] See J. F. Richards (1993) for a more complete account of the position of the Rājpūts within the Mughal imperial structure.
[8] Foster, p. 218.
[9] Duarte Barbosa, *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century* cited in H. Yule and A. C. Burnell (1904 (1994)), p. 755.
[10] Jehan Van Twist, *Gewesen Overhooft van de Nederlandsche comtooren Amadabat, Cambaya, Brodera, en Broitchia*, in *Generall Beschrijvinge*, quoted in H. Yule and A. C. Burnell (1904 (1994)) p. 755.

Francois Bernier[11] emphasized two key aspects of the Rājpūts. First, they were landholding military subjects of local Rajas, who must appear on the battlefield "on the summons of their chieftain"[12] and who "only require to be well led, for their minds are made up to die in his presence rather than abandon him to his enemies."[13] The Rājpūts are valuable not only to these local Rajas, but they are an important component of the Mughal imperial strategy as well.

> Who can then wonder that the *Great Mogol*, though a *Mahometan*, and as such an enemy to the *Gentiles*, always keeps in his service a large retinue of *Rajas*, treating them with the same consideration as his other *Omrahs*, and appointing them to important commands in his armies.[14]

Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, a French Baron and merchant who visited the Mughal court at Agra in the 1660s, noted that the Rājpūts "are considered to be the best soldiers in India, … and make no scruple of killing when it is a matter of attacking or defending."[15] He further noted that "These are the only idolaters who are brave, and distinguish themselves in the profession of arms".[16] He claimed only the Rājpūts go to war, and they are all cavaliers in service to the Mughal Emperor. They are, he continued, "the most firm supports of the Great Mogul's kingdom."[17]

Further, the Rājpūt ethos was not simply present in the men, but Dr. John Fryer, a colleague of Sir Thomas Roe, also noted that the Rājpūt wives served to uphold the masculine virtues their husbands were supposed to represent. He noted that their "very Women [are] disdaining to own them for their Husbands, when they turn their Back upon their enemies."[18] Fryer told the story of a Rājpūt soldier who

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[11] Francois Bernier (1620–1688) was a French physician who traveled to Palestine and Syria (1654), Egypt (1656–8) and finally India (1658–1668). While traveling from Surat to Agra, he met Dara Shikoh and became a physician at the Mughal court, while continuing his travels around India. The narrative of his journey was translated into and published in English in 1891, and provides a wealth of information about social and political relations in this dynamic period of Indian history. Traveling under Mughal protection, Bernier had a many opportunities to encounter Rājpūts, and he paints a picture of brave, valorous warriors willing to die in battle in great numbers in service to their leaders. Bernier's first mention of them, in fact, describes a battle in which more than 7000 died in the course of one day! Bernier (2006 [1891]), p. 39.

[12] Bernier, p. 39.

[13] Ibid, p. 40.

[14] Ibid, p. 40.

[15] Tavernier, p. I.50.

[16] Ibid, p. II.143.

[17] Ibid, p. II.143.

[18] Roe and Fryer, p. 445.

made a "prudent Retreat" from a battle, but who upon returning home was presented the indignity of being served his meal with a brass, instead of his usual iron ladle. When asked to provide the reason, his wife "tartly replied, Lest the sight of Iron should turn your Stomach from your Victuals, as it had done from Fighting."[19]

The Mughals skillfully deployed the Rājpūts in their service both to keep other local Rajas in check, and also to balance the various Rājpūt forces against one another. As Bernier explained, "[t]hey are necessary to keep in check such *Rajas* as are not in the *Mogol's* pay; to reduce to submission those who take up arms rather than pay tribute; or refuse to join the army when summoned by the *Mogol*."[20] They were particularly useful in aggression against other Muslims, specifically Persians, who made up a large number of the nobles and who were reluctant to fight against their co-religionists and countrymen.[21] While they formed a valuable internal security force, they were also susceptible to politically useful distraction. "It is the King's policy to foment jealousy and discord among the *Rajas*, and by caressing and favouring some more than others, he often succeeds, when desirous of doing so, in kindling wars among them."[22] Careri, an Italian lawyer who traveled in western India from 1695–1699, also detailed how Mughals strategically deploy the Rājpūt temperament against the soldiers. The Mughals worked to "sow discord and jealousies among them, by favouring one more than another, and by that means to be safer from their contrivances."[23] The Rājpūt temperament made them well suited to imperial defence, and their tempers prevented them from banding together to form a dangerous force to counter the Mughals.

Even more fundamental to the Rājpūt character, however, was that the Rājpūts "use animal food and spiritous liquor."[24] One of the defining marks of the Rājpūt was the "heroic repast of the flesh of the wild boar killed in the chase."[25] Every traveler comments on the Rājpūt penchant for meat eating. Edward Terry, a chaplain in service to Thomas Roe, traveled India from 1616–1619, noted the carnivorous

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[19] Ibid, p. 445.
[20] Bernier, p. 210.
[21] Ibid, p. 211.
[22] Ibid, p. 210.
[23] J. P. Guha, p. 295.
[24] Forbes' *Rās Mālā* 1878 reprint, pg. 537 quoted in H. Yule and A. C. Burnell (1904 (1994)), p. 754.
[25] Ibid.

aspect of the Rājpūts: "The Rashbootes eate swines-flesh, most hatefull to the Mahometans."[26] Careri sums it up well in noting that "There is some difference of sects among the Rajputs; but they all agree in eating fish, except beef, and tame swine."[27]

This trait was so central to the Rājpūt identity that it could be used as a measure of the purity or degradation of the constitution of an individual Rājpūt. An anonymous author quoted in the Hobson-Jobson was present at a *darbār* in Agra in which the Viceroy, Lord Canning, had publicly rebuked the Rājpūt Rājā of Alwar for his degenerate behavior. The offense that provoked this extreme response was that the Alwar Rājā, after a long association with Muslim colleagues, had decided to stop eating wild pig. When this decision had become known, the scorn was widespread, and the unnamed author was moved to note that "It seemed the *ne plus ultra* of Rājpūt degeneration!"[28]

Rājpūts are also distinguished by their use of intoxicants. Bernier observes that

> From an early age they are accustomed to the use of opium, and I have sometimes been astonished to see the large quantity they swallow. On the day of battle they never fail to double the dose, and this drug so animates, or rather inebriates them, that they rush into the thickest of the combat insensible of danger.[29]

Bernier, like all of the observers of the Rājpūts, noted the reliance on intoxicants was directly related to the sanguinary Rājpūt character. Fryer also noted the use of opium before battle as the force which "makes them run upon any Enterprize with a ringing Resolution to die or be victorious. Before Engaging, it is usual for them to embrace one another, as if parting for another World."[30]

Rājpūts are generally quick-tempered and sanguinary, though. Tavernier tells the story of a Rājpūt traveler in Surat in 1653 who was stopped by a local governor and was asked to pay duty on some cloth he was carrying. Angered by the request, the Rājpūt gave the governor "seven or eight stabs with his dagger in the stomach," killing the governor.

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[26] Foster, p. 324.
[27] J. P. Guha, p. 310. See also Thevenot's almost identical remark on p. 139 of the same volume.
[28] H. Yule and A. C. Burnell (1904 (1994)), p. 754.
[29] Bernier, pp. 39–40.
[30] Roe and Fryer, p. 445.

The Rājpūt was then set upon by the governor's attendants, and "was at once hacked to pieces."[31] Not even the certainty of death for his action deterred this Rājpūt from taking out his anger on the offending tax collector.

It is not simply in battle that the Rājpūts display their legendary sense of chivalry and valor. William Finch relates a story of Rājpūt heroism in the face of a beastly predator. While traveling with a prince outside of Agra in 1611, Finch witnessed a lion attack the prince. "… had not a captaine of his, a Resboot, … thrusting his arm into the lions mouth as hee ramped against His Majestie, he had in all likelihood been destroyed."[32] Tavernier also relays the story of a group of Rājpūts in a village outside Gwalior who slew a fourteen-foot long snake that had bitten and killed a woman.[33] Their commitment to defense extends even to protection from and retribution against the natural world.

Both Terry and Withington describe some Rājpūts as living by thievery and treachery. Withington describes an area in Gujerat where the Rājpūts, formerly having been great nobles, "nowe live by robbinge and spoylinge poore passengers by the way"[34] Terry also notes that "there is but one race of fighters, called Rashbootes, a number of which live by spoyle; who in troops surprise poore passengers, cruelly butchering those they get under their power."[35] Careri, also describes the Rājpūts as "very great thieves."[36]

European travelers, however, did identify differences between the Rājpūt groups and royal houses, though in a crude form. Thevenot, a French traveler who was in India from 1665–1666 noted that the province of Malwa "comprehended the countries of the Raja-Ranas."[37] He focuses on Chitor, the former capital of the Mewārī Rāṇās as the most famous, though by then ruined, province of these "raja-ranas." The exceptional genealogical claims of the Mewārīs was also clear to him, as he noted that they "deduced" their line of descent "from King Porus."[38]

This difference between the Rājpūts of Rājpūtāna and Rājpūts of in other places within India points to a key issue in Rājpūt identity

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[31] Tavernier, p. II.196.
[32] Foster, p. 154.
[33] Tavernier, p. I.50.
[34] Foster, p. 199.
[35] Ibid, p. 314.
[36] J. P. Guha, p. 298.
[37] Ibid, p. 117.
[38] Ibid, p. 118.

formation. As Crooke noted, "the term Rājput … includes all sorts of conditions of men; the proud tribes of Rājputāna who … by careful marriage regulations guarded the purity of their blood for many centuries; [and] others quite modern upstarts."[39] The geographical position of Rajasthan, as gateway to the Northwest and scene of many invasions over time was crucial to this difference. From the armies of Alexander to the coming of the Mughals, Rajasthan had been the arena for many a battle, and the profusion of fortifications attested to the position of danger in which the Rājpūts lived. To this harsh climate and history "may be attributed in a great measure, the heroic character, and martial propensities of the Rajpoot tribes, which have been cherished among them by institutions bearing a remarkable analogy to the feudal and chivalric customs of the West."[40] Within Rajasthan, as well, these processes of differentiation had been going on for centuries, and as Talbot makes clear it was not simply the matter of association with the old houses of Rājpūtāna, but even among them the Mewārīs actively promoted a vision of themselves as the most pure of all the Rājpūt houses.[41]

These are the images of the Rājpūts that served as the starting point for Tod's *Annals*. The information, especially the European depictions (from lack of extended contact) lacked depth and were incomplete. It is unfortunate that Tod did not address directly his familiarity with the Rājpūts either at the beginning of his career, or at the start of his studies in India. It is, however, clear that the image of fierce warriors and rulers of the country derived from the dynamic political and cultural environment into which the British arrived. This was the basic material with which Tod worked as he constructed his *Annals*, but as this book demonstrates, Tod helped transform these images of fierce warriors into inspirational national heroes.

[39] Crooke (1910), pp. 40–1.

[40] *Edinburgh Review*, 1830, p. 89. This remark is notable in that it explains, at least in part, the martial character of the Rājpūt, in terms of environmental factors. It is not solely the racial makeup of this group that makes them warlike, but the accident of their location and the history of warfare to which they have been exposed.

[41] Talbot (2007). See Chapter 5 for further discussion of this point.

CHAPTER TWO

BIOGRAPHY

"The Herodotus of the History of Rajasthan, James Tod, was born … "[1]

Tod's name is well-known, but the details of his life are not, so a basic biographical statement is in order to more completely understand his life and work. Further, noting the pitfalls of making ideological inferences from the details of biography, Tod's life opens a window into how he positioned himself in relation to his work. Tod's own words in letters to various colleagues begin the discussion of the displaced and ambiguous position in which he saw himself, and which he represented as a member of the early cohort of imperial operatives in India.[2] Far from being placed in this enigmatic position as a result of the hindsight of scholarship, Tod was acutely aware of his displacement and his uncertain relationship both to British and Rājpūt society. His persistent consciousness of his own dislocation is the focus of this chapter.

Life of James Tod

Born 20th March, 1782 at Islington, near London,[3] James Tod was the second son of James and Mary Tod.[4] James Tod the First, born in

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[1] V. K. Vashishtha (1992), p. 152.

[2] For a discussion and analysis of the displaced consciousness of the early cohort of company officials, see A. Nandy (1992).

[3] The record of Tod's christening notes a birth date of 19 March, and a baptismal date of 5 May, 1782. (OIOC L/Mil/9/107 f.187 Record #155) The 20th, however, is the date generally cited for his birth.

[4] The main sources for biographical information on Tod are the Introductions in his two major works, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (henceforth *Annals*) J. Tod (1983 [1829–32]) and *Travels in Western India* (henceforth *Travels*) J. Tod (1971 [1839]). The biographical introduction in *Annals* was written by Tod's editor William Crooke. The "Memoir of the Author" in *Travels* contains extensive biographical information but is unsigned; (1971). There are entries for Tod in G. Smith (1960); J. J. Higginbotham (1874); R. Chambers and T. Thomson (1971); E. E. Desplaces, J. F. Michaud and L. G. Michaud (1870); and V. C. P. Hodson (1947). Biographical overviews are also given in an article from S. Bhattacharyya (1973); and V. K. Vashishtha (1992). These latter two essays are only slightly more than reviews of the earlier works in this note.

Scotland on 26th October, 1745, was the eldest son of Henry Tod and Janet Monteith. The Tod family is reported to be an ancient one. John Tod, an early member of the family, was credited with "having rescued the children of Robert the Bruce, who were captives in England, and was appointed a knight banneret by the King's own hand, with permission to bear the crest of a fox rampant (*Tod* being the name of a fox in Scotland) and the motto 'Vigilantia,' which is still borne by the family."[5]

Tod hailed from families of high standing on both his maternal and paternal sides. James Tod the First married Mary Heatly in New York on 4th November, 1779. Mary Heatly was the daughter of Andrew Heatly, descendent of a family that had held a landed estate in Lanarkshire for four centuries.[6] Andrew Heatly settled in Newport, Rhode Island and married Mary Grant, the daughter of Suetonius Grant and Temperence Talmage (Tollemache). Suetonius Grant had left Inverness for Newport in 1725. Temperence Talmage was the great-granddaughter of a royalist and "Puritan who had quitted England in the latter end of the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell," and was one of the early settlers of East Hampton, Long Island, NY.[7]

After his marriage, Tod the First and his brother John left America for India to become indigo planters at Mirzapur in the provinces of Agra and Awadh.[8] There is no record of when they left India, but the younger James Tod's childhood was clearly in England. Both of Tod's maternal uncles, Patrick and S. Heatly, were members of the Bengal Civil Service. Following in the family tradition, in 1798, when Tod was sixteen years old, his uncle Patrick Heatly secured him a cadetship with the East India Company. Tod was assigned to the Infantry of the Bengal Presidency, and was formally nominated by a "Mr. Grant"[9] who was

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The final article, however, does have the special honor of containing the most entertaining opening line, which I have adopted as the epigraph to this chapter. I have found no book length biographies of Tod.

[5] *Travels*, "Memoir of the Author," xvii. The honor puportedly bestowed by Robert the Bruce on the Tod family, along with the motto "Vigilantia," though apparently never expressly referred to by Tod, must surely have been known to him, and I can only speculate on the relationship this had, if any, to his historical reconstruction of the valorous acts of the Rājpūts.

[6] *Annals*, Crooke introduction, xxv.

[7] *Travels*, xviii. None of the available sources explain Tod the First's presence in New York.

[8] *Annals*, xxv.

[9] As noted above, Tod's maternal grandmother was the daughter of Suetonius Grant, who had succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his grandfather. Since Suetonius Grant, however, intended to live in America, he sold the title to his cousin, Alexander

associated with a Company patron named Wilkinson.[10] Tod clearly had manifold connections to India through his father and uncles, and presumably had good connections within the London mercantile community. It is no surprise, therefore, that he sought, and obtained, a position with the East India Company.

After a course of training at the Royal Military Academy in Woolwich, Tod proceeded to Bengal in March 1799 and he was posted to the Second European regiment at Calcutta on the 9th January, 1800.[11] Tod volunteered for Wellesley's expedition to the Molucca Islands. He was

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Grant, a successful London merchant. Though I have not been able to trace the relationship, the coincidence of Tod's nomination by a Grant cannot be overlooked, and I am left to wonder whether the connection between the families is on display here.

[10] Oriental and India Office Collections (OIOC) L/MIL/9/255 f.141v, List of Cadets for the year 1798; L/MIL/9/255/149 #35, Certificate of Age of Cadets, Season 1798.

> As Farrington explains, being granted cadetship was a patronage affair: L/MIL/9/107-332 The Entry of Officer Cadets 1775–1940.
>
> Officer cadets were appointed to the East India Company's armies by the patronage of members of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. Each patron had a fixed quota of nominations for each season, and cadets were 'recommended' to him by a friend or acquaintance. After nomination, the cadet had to forward to East India House his formal application, a certificate of age, and relevant testimonials. Final approval was given after he had appeared before the Committee of Correspondence (to 1809), the Military Seminary Committee (1809–1834), or the Political and Military Committee (after 1834).
>
> The majority of cadets were appointed 'direct' to their regiments and received their training during their first years of service in India. During the eighteenth century some cadets, referred to as 'country', were actually living in India at the time of their appointment. However, the special technical requirements of the artillery and engineer branches led the Company initially to pay for the training of such cadets at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich and then, in 1809, to establish its own Military Seminary at Addiscombe near Croydon.
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> After 1858 all appointments were vested in the Crown. A. Farrington (1981). p. 132.

In the list of cadets, a name appears handwritten under the name of the cadet. Not all the cadets have this extra name, most do. For some, it is a paragraph—for example, under James Dickenson Crompton it says "Mr. Elphinston, in exchange for a Bengal addl for A.B." For others it is notes such as "Mr. Shaw not approved at Woolwich," or "To stand over till next season." This is the audit trail of a sort of horse trading among directors of the Company, acting as patrons for the nominees. For example, the one for a William Henry Forbes reads "Wm. Hunter in exchange for a Madras Cavalry on Sr. O.T. Burgess' nomination." The practice, or the recording of it in the ledgers starts in 1794. If there are comments prior to 1794, they are usually either "to the engineer corps," "died," or—more often—"ranks on the chairman's nomination."

[11] The biographical sources available do not contain information about Tod's early life or education, beyond what appears in the official records.

transferred to the Marines and served aboard the ship *Mornington*, though the expedition never actually took place.[12] On the 29th May, 1800 he was appointed Lieutenant in the Fourteenth Native Infantry and went to Delhi. In 1801, in recognition of his skills as an engineer,[13] he was commissioned to perform a survey of an "ancient canal" in the area.[14] In 1805, Graeme Mercer, a friend of Tod's uncle Patrick Heatly, became Envoy and Resident at the court of Daulat Rao Sindia.[15] Tod asked to be stationed at the court with Mercer, and Mercer convinced the government to assign Tod to his escort. The court moved from Agra through Jaipur to Udaipur, and came to settle in the Mewar area in 1806. All along Tod had continued to survey and study the areas in which he traveled, and it was at this point that he began the work which was to become the first part of the *Annals*, entitled "The Geography of Rajasthan."

The court continued to move within the Mewar region until coming to rest in Gwalior in 1812. Throughout this period Tod continued to gather topographical information on this and the surrounding areas.[16] In 1810, Mercer returned to England, and Richard Strachey was appointed Resident with Sindhia. Continuing his rise through the ranks, Tod was promoted in 1813 to Captain and given command of the escort. In 1815 he submitted a map to Governor-General Hastings, coining the term "Central India" for this area of the country.[17] This map became a crucial strategic tool in the British campaigns against the Marāṭhās beginning in 1814. By this time, Tod had been promoted to the rank of Second Assistant to the Resident at Sindhia'a court. In 1816, he attained the position of First Assistant to the Resident.

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[12] *Travels*, xviii, n. 1.

[13] Presumably acquired during his training at Woolwich.

[14] Ibid, xviii.

[15] In 1803, Sir Arthur Wellesley had defeated Sindhia at the battle of Assaye, thus occasioning the British accompaniment and surveillance of Sindhia. For more on the battle see D. C. L. Vaish (1972), pp. 330–1.

[16] Tod's clear and chief goal was to expand the topographical and geographical knowledge of this area of India. He was trained primarily as an engineer, and this cartographic task was most suited to his tastes and abilities. Historical study, at this point, seemed secondary to him. Tod did not actually do all of the surveying himself. He notes that he sent out survey parties (made up of hired Indians) from the home base in Gwalior, and he had native inhabitants of the area come to him in order to provide their geographical knowledge. Both of these issues will be discussed in greater depth during my analysis of Tod's methodology in Chapter 5.

[17] *Travels*, xx. Tod is credited in many contemporary sources with coining not only the term "Central India" but also the term "Rajasthan."

In 1814–15, as the British continued operations against the Marāṭhās, Tod's map, his personal geographical knowledge, and his knowledge of the history and current condition of the Marāṭhās and associated groups proved immediately invaluable.[18] He provided plans for possible military campaigns and oversaw the intelligence department.[19] In 1817, the Third Anglo-Marāṭhā war secured a final victory for the British over the Marāṭhā forces that had been the major challenge to British supremacy in North and Central India.[20] The East India Company, its position secured, then began the treaty negotiations with local Rājpūt princes that resulted in the indirect rule the Company came to exercise over Rajputana. By 1818, the alliances with the Rājpūt courts were set, and Tod, now thirty-six years old, was appointed by the Governor General to the position of Political Agent of the Western Rājpūt states.[21]

This new position involved the charge of the states of Mewar, Kota, Bundi and Sirohi.[22] In 1819, Tod was given charge of Marwar, and in

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[18] The primary group was known as the "Pindaris." Stuart Gordon (1993) defines Piṇḍārīs as "irregular troops attached to the Maratha armies used mainly for plunder" (p. xiv). They are distinguished from Marāṭhās, who possessed a "martial tradition … and the rights (watans and inams) they gained from military service" (p. 15). Vaish (1972) noted that "Pindaries were unpaid cavalry which was [sic] attached to Maratha armies from the days of Shivaji and Santaji Ghorpade. They were essentially part of the Maratha army" (p. 391). When the Marāṭhā state was strong, the central authority could control the Piṇḍārīs and "they were peaceful citizens and devastated only enemy's territory." The claim made in Vaish's extremely anti-British historical account, is that the British brought the problem of the Piṇḍārīs on themselves, by destroying the Marāṭhā forces, causing large numbers of formerly Marāṭhā soldiers to join the Piṇḍārīs and move "from peaceful citizens … into organized free-booters … [as Piṇḍārī] bands plundered the innocent citizens. … The British policy towards the Maratha states was responsible for the creation of dangerous activities of the Pindaries [sic] who got secretly encouragement and sympathy from the Peshwa, Bhonsle and Holkar" (p. 391). Also see Kolff (1990) for an excellent general discussion of the military labor market in North India, and the Piṇḍārīs in particular.

Tod's use of the term Piṇḍārī, often coupled with "freebooter," complicates the identity issue, as it appears to be overgeneralized to any group of thieves and/or miscreants, and not specifically those associated with Marāṭhā forces. In the case I am discussing here, however, though Tod is speaking of operations against "Pindarries," it is obvious that these were British military operations against Marāṭhā forces. I am using the term "Marāṭhās and associated groups" to capture this set of distinctions.

[19] See F&S 6 Feb. 1818 #49-51, F&S 15 May 1818, #22 for examples of Tod's mastery of the physical terrain and his military acumen in directing operations over this land.

[20] For more complete treatments of the relationship and rivalry between the British and the Marāṭhās see S. Gordon (1993), K. S. Gupta (1971), R. K. Saxena (1973) and D. C. L. Vaish (1972).

[21] Chapter 3 of this book is devoted to a more detailed analysis of Tod's official career.

[22] From this point on, the story of Tod's activities as political agent do not appear in the biographical sources previously mentioned, and are taken from histories of the East

1821 he was given Jaisalmer. During his rapid rise through the ranks and the expansion of his authority, Tod had to confront, persistently, the antagonism of a powerful figure: David Ochterlony, then resident in charge of Rajputana, and Tod's direct superior. Ochterlony became increasingly unhappy with Tod's growing sphere of influence and Tod's repeated unwillingness to seek Ochterlony's counsel and permission in performing his administrative duties. Tod would often fail even to inform Ochterlony of his activities, and a palpable tension pervaded their official correspondence.[23]

The Vakīl of Jodhpur also was unhappy with the authority Tod had been given over the affairs of his state. Raja Mān Singh and the British historically had a strained relationship,[24] and the administrators of the Jodhpur court wanted an absentee British overseer, not one present and active in the affairs of the state. Mārwārī officials appealed directly to Ochterlony to have Tod removed and to have their court placed

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India company. Specifically, I am using V. K. Vashishtha (1978), S. Bhattacharyya (1972) and R. M. Mathur (1979). I also have used many of the dispatches in the Foreign and Political (F&P), and Foreign and Secret (F&S) correspondences from the National Archives of India, New Delhi. These records are especially important for the discussion of Tod's official life in Chapter 3.

[23] The very strained relationship between Ochterlony and Tod is clear in the official dispatches sent between the two, and in those dispatches which were sent by Ochterlony to the government in Calcutta. A summary and reference to these appears in D. Ochterlony (1964) p. xxi–xxvi.

Much has been made in the historical literature on Rajasthan of the rivalry between these men, and perhaps the importance of their rivalry has been overstated. It is tempting to paint a picture of Ochterlony, famously clad in Mughal dress while parading around Delhi like a sultan, locked in romantic battle with saffron-clad Tod, whom Ochterlony characterized as "too much of a Rajpoot himself to deal with Rajpoots," (*Ochterlony Papers*, p. 305) both men re-enacting some mythic, heroic struggle of days gone by. Such a vision would be false and a profitless venture.

I think it is much more appropriate to see this as a struggle for influence and power within the East India Company's governance structure, waged more by Ochterlony than by Tod, but clearly facilitated by Tod's behavior. Tod did leave Ochterlony out of his decision processes, he did not inform Ochterlony of his activities, and he often skipped over Ochterlony in the chain of command. Tod was silent, however, almost suspiciously so, on the issue of Ochterlony. Tod's actions obviously betrayed a high level of disrespect for Ochterlony. The tension between the men indeed may have been fueled in part by Tod's sympathy with the Rājpūts, but it would be wrong to characterize it, as Ochterlony did, as the result of some deep identification with the Rājpūts as Tod found them. Ochterlony's statement expressed a frustration with the favoritism Tod showed in dealing with the Rājpūts, especially the Sesodias of Mewar, but this frustration seemed more based on Tod's persistent subversions of authority than on Tod's nativist favoritism. Further, whatever identification Tod may have had with the Rājpūts, I will argue, was based on the Rājpūt past, and not the present.

[24] See Diamond (2000) and Tod's remarks in the "Personal Narrative" of the *Annals* for a discussion of the British relations and attitude towards Raja Mān Singh of Jodhpur, *Annals*, pp. I.559–581.

under the supervision of the Resident in Delhi. Based on Tod's harassment of residents of Marwar territory, the Mārwārī officials made a successful case to the British authorities for a more impartial, and high-level representative of the British Government to be responsible for Jodhpur.[25] In 1819, Marwar was removed from Tod's charge.[26]

In 1821, a battle of succession to the throne of Kota broke out between Rāj Rāṇā Zalim Singh, the *pradhān*, or chief administrative officer of the state, and at the time de facto ruler of Kota, and Maharao Kishore Singh, the hereditary holder of the *gaddī*, or throne. The British had negotiated an unusual treaty with Kota, which recognized the divided political situation as they found it, but which had disastrous consequences in the near term. While maintaining the royal position of the Maharao, the treaty stipulated that Rāj Rāṇā Zalim Singh had administrative charge of the state. The treaty also made both of these offices hereditary, in effect permanently splitting authority within the state. By 1821, both men were ailing, and their sons had begun to subvert the treaty, each attempting to assume power. The Maharao's family was forced to leave Kota for Delhi, where the Maharao's heir appealed to the Governor General seeking clear succession and consolidation of power. The Maharao's appeal was denied, on the basis of the negotiated treaty, and Tod was ordered to support the Rāj Rāṇā's right to maintain the ministerial functions of the state. Tod was sympathetic to the Maharao's family, however, and allowed them to get close to Kota with an armed force. Tod even delayed an attack on them in the ensuing battle with the British army. The Maharao was eventually defeated by the Rāj Rāṇā's forces, and a rulership agreement was worked out between the Rāj Rāṇā and the Maharao, which restored the Maharao to possession of the throne, yet enforced the administrative bifurcation detailed in the treaty. Tod was reprimanded by his superiors for failing to follow orders, and was subsequently deprived of his independent charge of Kota. He also was placed under more strict supervision by Ochterlony.[27]

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[25] Tod had been engaged in a forcible repatriation of Mewārīs who were at the time resident in Marwar territory. See F&P 12th June, 1819 #67 for more details.

[26] For some of the details of the discussions, and the account of the meeting between Tod and the Jodhpur officials, see F&P 13th November, 1819 #26, F&P 18th December, 1819 #24 and F&P 10th May, 1822 #21.

[27] The most important of the official documents that detail the events at Kota are F&P 22nd April, 1820 #15–17, F&P 15th July, 1820 #17, F&P 6th October, 1821 #21, and F&P 20th October, 1821 #4–5. Tod was officially stripped of responsibility for Kota in a Minute dated 30th March, 1822 issued by Governor General Hastings and recorded as F&P 11th April, 1822 #1. Ochterlony's power was consolidated in the dispatch F&P 11th April, 1822 #5.

Tod's reputation among his British superiors for favoring Rājpūt rulers grew, and the heightened tensions occasioned by the conflict in Kota, resulted in Tod's removal from responsibility for Jaisalmer in 1822. At this point his escort was drastically reduced (a public sign of dishonor). This left him with only Mewar and, as noted, Tod was placed under the strict supervision of Ochterlony in conducting these affairs. He saw this decline in his jurisdiction, and concomitant decrease in authority, as injurious both to his reputation and his ability to manage Mewar effectively (for his own government was no longer in clear support of his actions). Tod resigned the post of Political Agent to Mewar under the pretext of ill health in June of 1822.

Tod did not leave India immediately, but set out for Bombay via Mt. Abu, Vijapur, Ahmedabad, and Baroda. This is the trip chronicled in *Travels in Western India*. He left Bombay for England in February 1823, and never returned to India. The rest of his life was spent arranging the materials for the *Annals* and *Travels*, and travelling around Europe presenting his observations on India. During this period, he also served as the first librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society. In 1826 he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel in the 2nd European Infantry, and later in that year retired from service.

In 1826 Tod married Julia Clutterbuck, the daughter of a London doctor. They had three children, two sons and a daughter. In October 1828, Tod took up residence at an estate named Birdhurst in Croydon, well away from the metropolitan life of London. He stayed there until October 1831, at which point he moved back to London.[28] Throughout, Tod traveled the continent, attended meetings of the Société Asiatique in Paris in 1827,[29] and made an extended trip to Paris and Italy in 1835. This final trip was taken for health reasons, as Tod was becoming quite ill in London. After moving into a residence in Regent's Park, London

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OIOC records L/PS/6/275 and L/PS/6/276 provide a complete review of the opinions of the Board of Control and the Governing Council of the East India Company on the affairs of Rajputana during this period. These documents also detail an extended debate on the proposed censure of both Tod and Ochterlony for their actions during this and other official affairs. In the end, the debate lasted so long, without resolution, that Tod had returned to England and Ochterlony had died, thereby rendering the deliberations moot. I would never have found this interesting source of information if not for Lynn Zastoupil's generous assistance.

[28] I thank Robert Skelton for providing me with a copy of the rent roll, maps and a brief history of Birdhurst, Croydon. What remains of the estate today is owned by the Mission of Hope, Inc. as a home for young women.

[29] *Journal Asiatique* (1827) Nouvelles: Seance du 9 janvier 1827.

in 1835, he died in November of the same year at age 53, as a result of an apoplectic seizure suffered in his banker's office.[30] He was survived by his wife, his sons Grant Heatly Tod-Heatly and Edward H. M. Tod, his daughter Mary Augusta Tod, and his mother, Mary.

From Without: A Portrait of the Agent as a Young Man

Tod's legacy after the publication of the *Annals* is a major topic of the remainder of this book. The later views of Tod, however, almost always concern the work, and not the man himself. This biographical chapter also offers a small window into his early career. Tod was a motivated, energetic young officer who eagerly made his way up the ladder of imperial administration, yet remained uniquely devoted to the project of learning about the local area to which he was assigned. Lt.-Col. William Nicholl, 14th Regiment wrote about his acquaintance with Tod in 1800, and described him as "a youth of amiable disposition, beloved by all his brother-officers, and exhibiting the promise which his talents afterwards realized."[31] Richard Strachey, who succeeded Mercer to the Residency at Sindhia's court, wrote in 1810 that Tod

> was engaged in collecting geographical materials, relating chiefly to the countries between the Indus and Bundlekhund, the Junma and the Nerbudda. "My official duties," that gentleman says, having constant reference to these countries, I derived great advantage from his geographical knowledge of that extensive tract. He was ever ready to communicate the information he had acquired, and which, at that important period, proved most useful: it was well appreciated by Government.[32]

Tod's health, even early on, was so much of an issue that outside observers took note of the persistent problems to which he himself made frequent reference in the *Annals* and in his letters to others. During the 1805–6 march of Sindhia's court, Mercer mentioned that Tod "in spite of very indifferent health … performed his task in a manner, which better means, and increased knowledge of practical theoretical surveying, could afterwards, I believe, but little, if at all, improve."[33] Later, with the camp at Gwalior from 1812–17, Mercer again noted both

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[30] *Travels*, lvi.
[31] Ibid, xviii.
[32] Ibid, xxiii.
[33] Ibid, xix.

Tod's devotion to his information gathering activities and his fragile health.

> During the period I remained in the Residency, he [Tod] continued to take advantage of every opportunity in his power to enlarge his knowledge of the geography of the country; and the greatest part of his allowances was, I am confident, expended in paying agents sent to various quarters to collect topographical information. His personal labour for the purpose was also unceasing; and instead of stimulating his exertions, I was sometimes obliged to endeavour to restrain them, as incompatible with a state of health which, from rheumatic affection, frequently disabled him from taking even common exercise.[34]

Admittedly, the picture of the driven young officer forging ahead at great personal expense to himself, despite debilitating health problems, is a romantic and dramatic one. It is, however, the picture of the man that has been perpetuated in the sources that discuss his life.[35] Whether or not we accept them as the whole truth, or an extended laudatory eulogy, we are left with this as Tod's lasting image. There is no doubt that he was an extremely hard working man, and given the general difficulty Europeans faced with their health in India, he was most likely beset by a multitude of physical concerns.[36] It does seem fitting, however, that such a romanticized and valorous picture of Tod remains, alongside his romanticized and valorous depiction of the Rājpūts. Such a picture of Tod facilitates the larger discourse of heroism and courage that, through his writings, the Rājpūts have come to represent. The heroic Englishman is crucial in legitimating the image of the heroic Rājpūt, especially given the relationship Tod believed existed between the Rājpūts and the British.[37]

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[34] Ibid, xxi–xxii. Tod also makes reference to this ill health in a letter from Udaipur written to Mackenzie in February, 1821, British Library (BL) ADD MSS 9868 F.114.

[35] Though the sources used here are from the period just after Tod's death, many of more recent vintage carry on the same image. It is not, therefore, simply a result of his recent death that the remembrances of him were so glowing. For example, Henry Cousens writing in the *Archeaological Survey of India* for 1907–8 noted that in the *Annals* Tod gave us "passing glimpses into his own daily life and methods of work, which show how he ever subordinated personal comfort to interest in this fascinating pursuit" H. Cousens (1907–8), p. 219. As I discussed in the Introduction, to this day in Rajasthan (with the possible exception of Jaipur, where Tod is not as universally adored), Tod is remembered with reverence.

[36] It is something of an accomplishment that he made it through twenty-two years in India at all. This was a very long time, given the period he was there, which attests either to his good fortune, or to the strength of his constitution.

[37] Tod's ideas will be presented in this and subsequent chapters.

From Within: A Tartar in the Town

Tod's letters provide a record of Tod's more personal side, and insight into the man himself.[38] They indicate that Tod had, from at least 1819 and most likely from much earlier, the idea of publishing his findings and speculations. Tod made clear statement in a letter to Colonel Colin Mackenzie dated 1821 that he had material of long standing which he then believed he would eventually send to the "Asiatic Society, of which I [Tod] am an unworthy member; but dreading a critique it has lain quiet since the day written, two years ago."[39]

Tod also often ruminated on the difficulty for anyone, including himself, who might try to turn his mass of materials into some coherent whole. The process of producing the *Annals* also seems to have been an arduous one for Tod. The mass of materials he had accumulated was indeed immense, and the scope of the project so large that it is easy to see where toil and struggle would have been the general tenor of the experience at times. Even before leaving India, he wrote to Mackenzie that

> my enquiries are unabated, but I have not a single tract, a single essay on any one subject (except on a Greek coin and that already sent to Mr. Adams). How or in what manner shall I attempt to reply to your letter? How enter the interminable field of Hindoo antiquity? Whither will it lead me? Where can I leave off? It is plunging me into a labyrinth of my own: but I have provided no clue for my exit and I may be left in the darkness of my own ideas without enlightening you.[40]

Back in England, exactly during the period of writing his *Annals*, Tod cursed his enemies with the experience of authorship.

> Here I am in a small mansion in the metropolis of smoke & bustle busy as my fingers can ply the pen to manumit myself if possible from ___[41]

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[38] Despite references in various places to collections of Tod's papers, I have found no such cache of materials. A search also was conducted through England and Scotland by Raymond Head, who kindly shared with me his methods and results. Unfortunately, his searches produced no new materials. R. Head (1997).

[39] BL ADD MSS 9868 F.133, Letter of Tod to Mackenzie, dated Oudipoor, February 17, 1821. These pieces were actually published as J. Tod (1835).

[40] BL ADD MSS 9868 F.114.

[41] Tod's handwriting is notoriously difficult to read. The papers on which these letters are written are also old, and in some instances damaged. In those cases in which I cannot render a word or passage, but I am confident that the ommission is sufficiently small as not to alter the meaning of the passage, I have used the characters '___' to represent the illegible portion of the text.

> drudgery—well might the old patriarch often say 'Oh that mine enemy would write a book' he might have tried his hand & known he could not wish him greater punishment. It enslaves me …[42]

The most telling and most productive material to come from these letters, however, is that which sheds some light on the ways in which Tod identified with the Rājpūts he studied. Despite Ochterlony's charge that he had become a Rājpūt, Tod seemed to identify not directly with the Rājpūts, but with the general characteristics of the assumed common ancestors—he called them the Scythians—that he believed the British and the Rājpūts shared. Tod had an obvious disdain for European ("Paris I detested"[43]) and especially British society life, and was not reluctant to express it.

> But ___[44] thing are as yet firm rooted on the flats of Hampshire from where I part to take flight for a period, & pursue my Scythian habits. But God help me I am knee deep in invitations, embedded in civilities but which will now soon be at an end. Tartar that I am, wholly unfitted for civilized life—for the speech of the ___[45] is different from ours.[46]

In another instance, Tod noted that he suffered under, "Invitations knee deep … & conferences which fell to my unlucky head. I always thank God when it is midnight. I shall never be broken in to this life. I can't put my legs on the table when at home, I don't know when the devil to go abroad, without being forced to talk and ___ myself agreeable."[47] Despite having a certain celebrity in society circles, Tod clearly felt himself an outsider and temperamentally not at all suited to life in these polite circumstances.

Tod also had a sense of melodrama about the time he spent in India, and he enjoyed the reaction that tales of his adventures produced amongst the socialites of London.

> Here I am shewn about like the "bear chained to the rugged staff" at Chepstow & obliged to talk on subjects I know nothing about. Pheasants

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[42] OIOC MSS EUR E 83/1 Frederick Collection, Correspondence April 1810 - Dec. 1827, Letter #20, folio 40.

[43] Ibid.

[44] One word completely illegible.

[45] The text is not clear. This word might possibly be "Pathans," but the context mitigates against this.

[46] OIOC MSS EUR E 83/1 Frederick Collection, Correspondence April 1810 - Dec. 1827, Letter #11, pg 24.

[47] OIOC MSS EUR E 83/1 Frederick Collection, Correspondence April 1810 - Dec. 1827, Letter #18, folio 37.

> & hay, Tartarian oats and Titian's paintings. I astonished a party by saying I did not see a white female face for 10 years. 'Gracious ___[48] were you not miserable.' Of course, madam, but a Scythian life has charms after all."[49]

Tod not only was an outsider in this social world, but also seemed to relish the display of his outsider status, and to cultivate it as an integral piece of his identity. In connecting the display atmosphere of these social gatherings to recounting his tales of the "exotic East," Tod evinced an ironic understanding of the element of exhibition which, in part, allowed him his entry into these social circles. Not only did he recognize the situation, he self-consciously played the part of the performer. He gave the people what they wanted and expected to hear, seemingly driven by his own disdain for the spectacle. Tod ended the same letter this excerpt was taken from with the words, "Adieu, tell me you are as miserable with the natives as I am."[50] The "natives" here were the English.

Many of the early imperial agents who went abroad turned notably "native" in their dress, manner and personal lives. As I have already mentioned, Ochterlony, Tod's superior, was famous for holding court in Mughal dress and parading on elephant back with his harem around the streets of Delhi.[51] Other examples are readily available.[52] It might seem, given Tod's self-professed feelings of displacement, therefore, that he too would have been an obvious candidate for this same type of pseudo-native alter ego. There is no evidence, however, of any such behavior on Tod's part. All portraits of him depict him in British official dress, not in Rājpūt *pagṛī*, or turban, as do the references he made to his own dress in the *Annals*. There are no records (not surprisingly), nor even rumors (which are generally much more readily available), of Tod's having native mistresses or children.

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[48] One word is completely illegible in the original manuscript.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

[51] See, for example, India Office Library Colour Prints No. 13, Company Painting series, "A European Watching a Nautch," (*Add.Or.2)*. Ochterlony's predelictions were so well known that the description of this painting notes "A European, probably Sir David Ochterlony (1758–1825), in Indian dress, smoking a hookah and watching a nautch in his house in Delhi." William Dalrymple has more examples of Ochterlony's behavior in W. Dalrymple (1993), p. 98.

[52] For an interesting social and psychological analysis of the process of early imperial agents "going native" see A. Nandy (1992), p. 4–11.

Tod seems to have remained firmly rooted in the British aspects of his identity during his time in India. Tod demonstrated a clear preference for the Rājpūts as a group, and for the Sesodias of Mewar in particular. Some of his official activities and a large part of the content of the *Annals* bear witness to this preference, and certainly contributed to difficulties in Tod's official career. Tod's own writings, however, demonstrate that his own identification is more subtle. As with most other things in his life, the antiquarian focus comes to the fore. Tod did not become a modern-day Rājpūt. Rather, he placed himself back in the mists of the common ancestry that he felt he shared with the Rājpūts, but also which he clearly felt a strong nostalgia for in his own life. This inference comes from very limited materials, admittedly, but the disdain Tod held for modern European, and especially London, society demonstrated, at the least, a clear preference for some other place, and possibly (given his antiquarian interests) some other time. Golden age thinking was a large part of Tod's published work on the Rājpūts, and its roots in his own views of himself and English society should not be overlooked.[53]

A Martial Race in Europe: The Scots

In the published biographical material on Tod, there is a general sense both of the valorous history of the Tod family, through the story of the coat of arms as well as the exceptional character of the Scot in general. Graeme Mercer, Tod's friend and Resident at the Court of Sindhia, noted that during the perambulating court's march to Udaipur in 1805–6, Tod "applied himself with much earnestness to making a survey of the route, and with imperfect instruments, by perseverance and the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*, which he possessed in a high degree."[54] The entry for Tod in the *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* states that

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[53] As Manning (2002) notes, "Antiquarian activities, then, were dialogically spacious, able to accommodate a range of discursive possibilities." (p. 105) She traces the discourses of antiquarianism in Scottish literary politics, and well demonstrates the activist nature of this position. For liberals, antiquarianism was a way to "look to ruins as evidence for advancement away from a barbaric era towards civility and enlightenment." (p. 105) Conservatives, on the other hand, "made a verbal elision between the 'constitution of things' (the self-evidence of objects) and the immutable truths of the British constitution." (p. 104) Tod seems to fall in the conservative camp here with his focus on the self-evidence of the value of the Scythian/Rājpūt, and his critique of modern English society.

[54] *Travels*, xix.

> His ardent enthusiasm, and the Asiatic character that was rapidly ingrafting itself upon his Scottish temperament, admirably fitted him for such a task; and seated amidst the ruins of ancient cities, with a group of these story-tellers around him, he listened for hours to their stirring tales of the wild chivalry of the East, and the patriotic deeds of their ancestors, until he felt as if he was a Rajpoot, and the bleak northern country in which his boyhood has been spent was nothing more than a dream of the night. But still his hereditary caution—*canniness* if you will—did not desert him under such tempting circumstances.[55]

Ironically, the ancient Scottish tradition that is paraded here as so deeply a part of Tod's self-identification was itself a relatively recent construction. Hugh Trevor-Roper clearly demonstrated that "[t]he creation of an independent Highland tradition, and the imposition of that new tradition, with its outward badges, on the whole Scottish nation, was the work of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries."[56]

Trevor-Roper examined the fraud perpetrated by James Macpherson with his 1760's publication of *Ossian*. The text, purportedly an ancient epic of indigenous Celtic Scotland, was meant to provide an authentic ancient history for the Scots. In truth, it was a restatement of ancient Irish ballads, re-cast in the Highlands of Scotland.[57] Trevor Roper then demonstrated that the kilt was introduced into Scottish fashion only after 1726 by an English Quaker from Lancashire, who devised the garment for his lumberjacks so they could more efficiently cut wood, unimpeded by their traditionally long tunics.

After subduing the Scottish rebellion of 1745, the British government, in an attempt to destroy the Highland way of life, disarmed the chiefs, removed their hereditary jurisdictions, and banned the wearing of their distinctive, supposedly traditional dress. The ban lasted for 35 years, during which the lower classes quickly adopted trousers, and lost the desire to wear the kilt. Over time, however, the kilt was adopted in private by the upper and middle classes, and made attractive by a

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[55] R. Chambers and T. Thomson (1971), p. 459.

[56] H. Trevor-Roper (1983). A recent monograph explores the invention of the Scottish Highland tradition in much more depth; see N. Davidson (2000).

[57] Trevor-Roper, 17. James Macpherson was aided in this quest by the Reverend John Macpherson (no relation), minister of Sleat in the island of Skye, who wrote a "*Critical Dissertation*" on Ossian which provided the historical context that the work (in actuality) lacked. Interestingly, the Reverend Macpherson's son, later Sir John Macpherson, served as Governor General of India.

combination of romantic nostalgia for the lost primitive Highlanders.[58] The Highland identity was furthered through the formation of the Highland Regiments of the British Army, who were exempted from the legal restrictions on Highland culture, and they adopted the kilt as a form of regimental dress. As the needs of war required the expansion of the regiments, tartan uniforms were used to differentiate the armed units. When the ban was eventually lifted on civilian dress, "and the romantic movement encouraged the cult of the clan, the same principle of differentiation was easily transferred from regiment to clan."[59] The history of the kilt, therefore, was completely implicated both in eighteenth century English economic and martial projects.[60]

Further, from the middle of the eighteenth century, there was serious debate in England about emigration to the colonies.[61] Much of the concern centered on the fear that the Isles were losing "their most industrious, rather than their surplus, population."[62] These industrious peoples were deeply connected to the growing sense of "Britishness" that began to develop in the nineteenth century. In particular, the Scots were "crucial to this new identity … from the early eighteenth century the Empire was never anything other than British, a setting for common action by the component populations of the British Islands."[63] Scots in general, therefore, had to negotiate this new imperial sense of being British, while at the same time feeling the historical weight, and importance, of the difference their Scottish traditions and identity bestowed upon them.

Tod was a part of a generation of British administrators and historians that included men like Thomas Munro, John Malcolm and Mountstuart Elphinstone. In her fine study of these three officials, Martha McLaren identifies a series of career patterns and intellectual attitudes that she argues form a Scottish school of Indian administration. First

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[58] In essence, a longing to preserve the "noble savage" threatened by civilization. This is a theme echoed in Tod's pleas on behalf of the Rājpūts 80 years later.

[59] Trevor-Roper, 25–6.

[60] Ibid, 26. He goes on to explore the manufacture of ancient clan histories to accompany the tartans, thereby providing historical legitimation for this eighteenth century cultural enterprise.

[61] On the debates over and development of the relationship between travel to the colonies and travel writing, see M. Hunt (1993).

[62] This argument was initially focused on emigration across the Atlantic, but the loss of highly qualified individuals to the India was also a serious concern. M. Harper (1999), p. 76.

[63] J. Mackenzie (1999), p. 273–4.

and foremost, the impetus for imperial service was the hope for social and economic advancement of a kind that was not possible in the metropole given the English aristocratic control of political and social life.[64] The best way to quickly advance was to produce well-written reports demonstrating deep familiarity with Indian history (which required facility in Asian languages) that could serve the increasing need for expert knowledge on the Indian territories.[65] Tod's career clearly follows a similar pattern, as he worked his way up through the ranks, eventually producing maps and dispatches that proved invaluable sources of military information in the Anglo-Maratha wars of 1806–1818.

Additionally, McLaren notes that the Scottish moral philosophers provided the framework of the belief that "the human nature of Indians was essentially the same as that of Europeans and equally capable of improvement if the system of government provided the right framework for progress."[66] Hence, these administrators tried to support Indian institutions, and install systems of government appropriate to the developmental stage of the Indian political consciousness.[67] In Tod's case, when he was named as the first Political Agent to the Western Rajput States of India, one of his stated goals was to protect the rights of the native princes and allow them to continue to rule in their traditional provinces in as undisturbed a way as possible.[68] Scottish moral philosophy provided a framework for the acceptance and positive valuation of Indian culture, here evidenced in part by Tod's deep respect for the Rajputs, and more particularly his attempt to provide national status for them as a reflection of both their political and human import.

This discussion demonstrates the stability and pervasiveness of romantic historical construction in the period during which Tod was working, and the impact which these constructions had on the constitution of Tod's identity itself. Tod was positioned as the staunch Scot, engaged in the English imperial, martial and economic enterprise, chronicling the valorous, martial Rājpūt tribes. Tod interpreted these

[64] M. McLaren, p. 8–9.
[65] Ibid, p. 4–5.
[66] Ibid, p. 242. See also Chapter 4 in this book for a discussion of liberalism and ideas of empire.
[67] Ibid, p. 253.
[68] See Chapters 3 and 4 for further discussion.

Rājpūts as ancestors of the British, but ancestors who were stuck in a medieval, feudal socio-historical condition. The image of the staunch Highland Scot itself, however, arose out of an English imperial, martial and economic enterprise, which romanticized the Highland Scots as a martial race, tied to a medieval European culture in dress and custom. The parallel narratives here demonstrate the romantic construction of the martial races, as well as the stability and almost recursive nature of the process of image construction, in general, within this imperial context.

As this book progresses, it will draw a more detailed picture of Tod's work, both official and literary. This chapter begins the discussion of the issue of displacement that will remain important throughout the rest of this work. Here, the focus is on the feelings of dislocation that Tod felt personally. The following chapters will examine how his official actions violated the boundaries between agent and antiquarian sympathizer, and explore the complex position of the *Annals* as an historical artifact.

CHAPTER THREE

RESTORATION

Can a nation which has run its long career of glory be regenerated? Can the soul of the Greek or the Rajput be reanimated with the spark divine which defended the kunguras of Chitor or the pass of Thermopylae? Let history answer the question.[1]

This chapter examines the political situation the British found in Rajasthan upon their arrival, and Tod's officially sanctioned program of rebuilding the court at Udaipur as Political Agent from 1818 to 1822. The following chapter focuses on the 1832 debate in Parliament on the affairs of the East India Company, and Tod's role in arguing the conservative political position for the protection of native political institutions. In both cases, this analysis pays particular attention to the relationship between Tod's sense of contemporary imperial concerns and his antiquarian historical interests. The multiform negotiations between these forces continue to illustrate Tod's dislocation, as well as the complex and dynamic situation of the empire itself during this period of consolidation of rule.

For Tod, the past and the present were inextricably linked and his administrative actions are best understood in the context of his view of the long history of the Mewar court. Tod had an acute awareness of his own place in that history, not simply as an actor in the present, but even more as a player in the long narrative of *Rājpūt* history. He saw himself as part of Rājpūt history in his role as their historian, but also Tod thought of himself as a kind of Rājpūt. The previous chapter demonstrates how he saw and wrote of himself as a "modern Scythian." Tod also readily took on the mantle of age-old Rājpūt conflicts when he was asked to adjudicate or intervene, frequently writing of the matters to which he was attending as if he were an inside party.

In retelling incidents in both the *Annals* and official dispatches, for instance, Tod often wrote such things as "the reader may transport himself to the glen of Kumbalmer, and listen to the history of one of

[1] Tod, *Annals*, I. 255.

the aboriginal tribes of Rajasthan."[2] This is, of course, typical of nineteenth century rhetoric, but the storyteller positioning also has the effect of making the author appear as a player in the episode. Tod created the narrator, then assumed the role of an insider directly connected with the events of the tale. In so doing, he was exercising his desire actually to be connected to these events.

In his official role as Political Agent, Tod was unique. He was antiquarian in his outlook and often presented extended historical studies as his official dispatches (some later incorporated almost verbatim into the *Annals*). In one instance, he gave a five-page excursus on the history of Sirohi province, stretching back more than 400 years, in the context of reporting on an 1818 border dispute.[3] In another, to illustrate the nature of contemporary relations between the government and the *raiyat* (ryot), or agricultural cultivator, he related an incident, not dated in the dispatch, but which, given the individuals involved, must have occurred before 1459 CE.[4] More examples are available, but this is sufficient to show that Tod's reports were very different from those filed by other officers, for whom history played only a minor role, if any at all.[5]

Tod, the narrator, assumed a "native" position in relating history and was in many instances a player in the stories he was relating. After the capture of a group of dacoits (*ḍākū*), or thieves, at a religious *melā* in Mewar, he noted with satisfaction: "[his battalion] has put an entire stop to the disorders inflicted by this race during a period authenticated by history of 800 years."[6] This was, therefore, not simply the record of a British police action. Tod and his men had insinuated themselves into an historical process in which the continuing criminal actions of a "race" of men – a criminality that Tod believed eternally present as a function of their natural, stable racial essence – had been

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[2] Tod, *Annals*, I. 538.

[3] F&P 24 July, 1818, #55.

[4] F&P 2 Aug., 1822, #7.

[5] In contrast to Tod, during 33 pages of a report on Jodhpur, Major General Sir David Ochterlony spent no time on historical context – F&P 26 Dec., 1818, #56 – and in 69 pages of a report on the state of Travancore, Munro devoted only 3 pages on the history of the area, going back only 118 years – F&P 17 July, 1818, #20. The deep historical exploration that marked Tod's dispatches was not generally evident in the work of his peers, and Tod alienated his colleagues with his behavior. The Agent in Marwar who succeeded Tod went so far as to say "I am really afraid of incurring further observations from that officer" (F&P 10 May, 1822, #21).

[6] F&P 2 Aug., 1822, #7.

stemmed, bringing an end to an eight-century-old scourge. The ends of contemporary social order had been served, but for Tod that was not the full story: history was consulted and served as well.

Tod's first major acts as Political Agent, immediately upon his arrival in Udaipur, were to rebuild the court around Mahārāṇā Bhīm Singh, to re-establish centralized royal authority, and thereby to restore Mewar to a present position worthy of its past glory. In so doing, Tod revealed a great deal about his own motivations, about his understanding of the uses of history, and about British rule in Rajputana. The reconstruction of the court was not only a representation of the political and administrative aims of the Company State; it also was a material instantiation of Tod's historical consciousness.

The Challenge of Order: Mewar and Tod's Arrival

By 1818, the court at Udaipur was riven by strife. A civil war among rival Rājpūt factions, the Chundāwat and the Saktāwat, had been raging for many years, rendering the court unable to function in a unified way. Marāṭhā incursions into Mewar territory took advantage of the distracted kingdom by conquering territory and exacting tribute. Internally, the nobles likewise took large parts of the *ḳhālsā*, or crown lands, for their own use and gain. These usurpations took three major forms. First, the economic straits of the Rāṇā were exploited: the nobles purchased those lands yielding high rental income for small amounts of cash. Second, most of the chiefs independently levied transit duties through their territories. Such had been solely the right of the Rāṇā, but those chiefs in heavily trafficked areas were now siphoning off a great deal of revenue. Finally, the chiefs practiced a form of extortion called "Bhoom Rekwarree," in which the villages within their estates were charged a share of the annual crop to ensure that the chiefs would abstain from violence against the village.[7] All three measures severely depleted the revenue stream to the Rāṇā's court. Additionally, due to his financial situation, the Rāṇā had been forced to sell more than land, with much of his personal treasury going to pay debts and finance the everyday running of the palace.

[7] F&S 5 June, 1818 #67.

The British, therefore, found a court in disarray, without a clear center of authority.[8] They could not tolerate this state of affairs. Because the British alliance with Udaipur was undertaken as a bulwark against the threat of Marāṭhā military action, Tod's first order of business was to "reestablish the Rana's authority and settle the country"[9] so that Mewar could be restored to economic productivity and political stability. In a letter to the Mewar *pradhān* Ṭhākur Ajīt Singh, Mr. Adam, Secretary to the Governor General, announced Tod's appointment, and described the program well:

> The interests of the British Government & the ancient & illustrious house of Oudypore having now become identified it is my first object to proceed to carry into effect in concert with your highness those arrangements which will most effectually conduce to the restoration of the prosperity of your state the reestablishment & confirmation of your authority & the augmentation of your personal comfort dignity & honor. On your Highness' part I confidently rely on the most cordial cooperation for the accomplishment of these objects & the promotion of the interests of both states.[10]

This served as a blueprint for the actions that were to ensue immediately upon Tod's arrival.

The disorder at the court created another problem for the British Government. A major stated principle of their administration was non-interference in the affairs of the native princes.[11] Udaipur, however, was deemed such an important strategic acquisition for the British that the principle of non-interference became subordinate to the military and economic needs of the Company. Lord Hastings clearly stated that:

> The distracted state of the Government of Oudeepoor, the impoverished condition of the country, and the degradation of the Rana's authority, and the dilapidation of his resources through the usurpations of the Nobles or Thakoors, and the ravages of the Marhattas, made it evident that our decided interference was requisite to restore the state to prosperity, and to enable it to perform with effect the stipulations of the treaty.[12]

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[8] For further discussion of the state of the Udaipur court, see Tod, *Annals*, I. 349–401, especially 362–387; Śyāmaldās (1738–46) and Ojhā (702–704).

[9] F/4/1104 29702 Affairs of Udaipur V1, Adam to Metcalfe, 28 Oct. 1817.

[10] F&S 6 March, 1818 #8.

[11] See M. H. Fisher (1991) for a complete discussion of the operation of indirect rule in India. Stokes (1992) gives a detailed discussion of the ideological/philosophical basis of non-interference in Indian affairs (Ch. 1–3).

[12] Letter to the Secret Committee, 1 Mar. 1820.

Interference in the affairs of the Udaipur court was deemed necessary in order to guarantee adherence to the terms of the treaty between the British and the Mahārāṇā. Specifically, the British were most worried about maintaining a steady flow of tribute from the Indian court to the company. Though the agreement of 1818 gave the British Government no right to interfere in the internal governance of the state, they believed that the fact that they had been promised a portion of the revenue allowed them a measure of influence in its administration.

> … a direct and positive concern in the improvement and good management of the country in the prevention of undue alienations, and in ascertaining the actual amount annually realized, to secure which interests, a certain right of scrutiny and interference, and a title to at least a negative voice in the selection of the principal ministers or managers follow as almost necessary consequences. We added (37) further that the utterly reduced and disorganized condition of Meywar, prior to 1818 (which your Honourable Court is aware had almost ceased to exist as a State) the Rana's total inexperience in the management of public affairs and the peculiar benefits which he has derived from his connection with the British Power, should naturally induce him to rely entirely upon our advice and guidance for a length of time to come, and to adopt without hesitation, the measures which we might recommend for the restoration of prosperity to his country, and stability to his finances.
>
> … Neither is it, we stated, at variance with the just principles of our alliance between two states of such unequal power and resources. Our right of control in order to secure our own interests and the punctual discharge of the tribute whenever the mismanagement of the Rana's government shall place it in jeopardy as at present, must, we added, be considered to rest on distinct and specific grounds inherent in the conditions of the alliance, and can admit of no question.[13]

The policy of non-interference and the requirement of realizing the tribute were neatly separated. The contract between the Rāṇā and the British government required that the British do whatever was in their power to secure the promised fiduciary benefits. The decimated state of the court and the defective nature of the Rāṇā's character made this interference, in the eyes of the British, inevitable. Tod stepped into this situation with the charge of reorganizing the court, maintaining stability in the countryside, and realizing the Udaipur tribute.

As the above dispatches noted, the state of affairs was bad, and it was not least due to the weakness of the Rāṇā. Dis-empowered by his

[13] BPL, Bengal Gov't to Court of Directors, 10 Sep. 1824.

nobles, Bhīm Singh also was impoverished. Tod noted that "the Prince often disburses his own *dinner expenses*,"[14] and was reliant on an allowance of Rs. 1,000 per month from the ruler of Kota, Jhāla Zālim Singh.[15] It was said that Bhīm Singh's personal character was so reckless that it prevented him from discharging his duties with any effect. Tod himself observed that the Rāṇā suffered from "habitual indolence and long depression which has weakened his mind [and] will prevent his exercising that commanding control so necessary at the present moment."[16] Further, he "veers with every breeze, has no steadiness, and is particularly led by female advice.[17] He can neither deny himself or others, and his profusion is Childish."[18]

Most important, though, is the advice Tod received in view of this situation. The British government believed that the exigencies of this case indicated a need to exercise covert leverage in Udaipur affairs. He was instructed to exert control over the operation of the court through personal consultation with the Rāṇā:

> In this actual state of the Court of Oudeypore some more active interposition on your part than would be justifiable in a more wholesome condition of affairs, may not only be excusable, but actually indispensable for the success of the measures in view. All such interventions must be exercised with the utmost moderation, caution and discretion, and in the form of private advice not of authority. It will be your endeavour to conciliate the confidence of the Rajah and his Ministers and lead them to seek your counsel and assistance rather than make it necessary for you to

[14] BSC, Tod to Adam, 15 May 1818.
[15] A. F. Pinhey (1996 (1909)), p. 37.
[16] BSC Tod to Adam, 15 May, 1818.
[17] A vice that, evidently, must be singled out in the pantheon of moral weaknesses. The theme of the effeminate Easterner appeared in many places. See A. Nandy (1992), R. Inden (1990) and the *Edinburgh Review* article on the first volume of Tod's *Annals*, p. 91. The image of the effeminate easterner was so pervasive as to appear in European feminist works. Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* contains the following passage:

> It were to be wished that women would cherish an affection for their husbands, founded on the same principle that devotion ought to rest upon. … It follows then, I think, that from their infancy, women should either be shut up like Eastern princes, or educated in such a manner as to be able to think and act for themselves. (M. Wollstonecraft (1992 (1792)), p. 135)

Feminine dependence and the "Eastern princes" are identified here, and set against a masculine independence that represented Wollstonecraft's ideal for the equality of women. This work will examine more fully the role of the hyper-masculine Rājpūt in the gendered discourse of empire in chapter 7.
[18] BSC Tod to Adam, 22 Apr, 1818, #67.

> offer it uninvited; and this will be best effected by your making your expositions to them display their own fundamental interest instead of any concern of ours to be advanced by enforcement of engagement.[19]

The instruction was stated even more boldly in a subsequent dispatch: "to make the Rajah the ostensible origin of the measures of Government."[20] These instructions clearly stated the nature of British rule. Tod was told to exercise influence through advice and private counsel, not public authority, and to make it appear as though the Rāṇā was the actual source of governmental activity. This policy completely undermined the public rhetoric about, and legal obligation to uphold, indirect rule and made plain the nature of the relationship between the British and the Rāṇā of Udaipur. The Rāṇā was to appear to be in charge, but the British Agent was to be the real source of governmental policy.[21]

Renovation

With his position and mission established, Tod then set out to rebuild the court. The restoration of the court was not simply a political maneuver, but a moral one as well. The Rāṇā and the nobles were characterized by "wretchedness" and a "generally demoralized" condition produced "by the tyrannical and oppressive system of the Mahrattas."[22] The form of governance had moral consequences for the governed. Tod, therefore, believed he was restoring not simply the political entity of the court, but also the spiritual health of the people. His plan involved placing the Rāṇā once again at the ceremonial center of authority and restoring the court to what Tod saw as something akin to a prelapsarian state.

> Before I came here I had formed the idea of bringing back matters of Government as regarded the Prince and his feudatories, to an era of their history wherein their respective rights were well defined, and to which they were fond of recurring. Either of the reigns of Omur Sing

[19] BSC, Adam to Tod, 26 March, 1818, #25.
[20] BSC, Adam to Ochterlony 9 May, 1818, #5.
[21] The case of the Udaipur Rāṇā was, of course, no exception. Indirect rule was not truly indirect in any of the areas in which it was practiced. In addition to Fisher, see C. Saunders and I. R. Smith (1999), C. Newbury (1999) and T. C. McCaskie (1999) on the forms of rule in Africa.
[22] F&S 24 July 1818, #804.

> [marginal note 1] or Sungram Sing [marginal note 2] would answer well for this…[23]

In Tod's eyes, the reigns of Amar Singh I or Sangrām Singh II, served as fit models for the reconstructed court. Most clearly, these choices have economic import. The treaty between Mewar and the British had two provisions relating specifically to monetary tribute. The sixth article, guaranteed that "One-fourth of the revenue of the actual territory of Oodeepoor shall be paid annually to the British Government as tribute for five years; and that after that term three-eighths in perpetuity." This stipulation applied to "actual territory" or the lands that were still under the control of the Rāṇā at the time the treaty was signed. A five-year period of reduced tribute was offered to allow Udaipur to recover some revenue in the short term.[24]

The seventh article, however, applied to those territories that might be recovered by the British.

> Whereas the Maharana represents that portions of the dominions of Oodeepoor have fallen, by improper means, into the possession of others, and solicits the restitution of those places: the British Government from a want of accurate information is not able to enter into any positive engagement on this subject; but it will always keep in view the renovation of the prosperity of the state of Oodeepoor, and after ascertaining the nature of each case, will use its best exertions for the accomplishments of the object, on every occasion on which it may be proper to do so. Whatever places may thus be restored to the state of Oodeepoor by the aid of the British Government, three-eighths of their revenues shall be paid in perpetuity to the British Government.[25]

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[23] BSC Tod to Adam, 22 Apr, 1818, #67. The two marginal notes referred to in the text read as follows. Note 1: "S 1653 to 1677 or AD 1596 to 1621," and Note 2: "S 1772 to 1790 or AD 1716 to 1724." Tod's dates for Sangram Singh, however, were incorrect. Both Śyāmaldās and Ojhā note the correct dates as 1710–1734 AD (1767–1790 VS).

[24] Metcalfe's account of the reasoning behind the divided tribute is as follows:

> On account of the actual poverty of that state it was impossible to procure the payment of an adequate tribute in a fixed sum. The present arrangement will perhaps produce little in the beginning of our connection; but there is ground for hope that eventually the tribute will be considerable, and constantly increasing. At the same time, we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that every increase of the tribute paid to us, so far from being burthensome to the tributary, must be attended in a greater degree with an augmentation of the wealth and resources of Oudeepoor; so that our advantage will advance hand in hand with the prosperity, security and happiness of a free country under our protection. (F&S 6 February, 1818 #107)

[25] Tod *Annals*, I. 631.

The economic incentive for the Company to restore lands is obvious. Three-eighths of the revenue of some of the most productive land in the Mewar territory would flow to the British upon reattachment to the Mewar crown. This percentage was to take effect immediately, and was not subject to the period of reduced tribute negotiated for existent *ḳhālsā* lands. Any territory that Tod could recover, therefore, produced a high return for the British Government.

While it was true that Tod was a zealous young officer interested in performing his job well and furthering the aims of the British in India, this does not fully explain his explicit reference to the relatively remote times cited above. It is clear from the materials Tod was using that the problems within the court could be traced back roughly to 1766,[26] and this much was even attested in the text of the *ḳaulnāma*, or agreement, which he negotiated with the nobles.[27] The question, therefore, of why Tod referred to any period more distant requires explanation. Two additional factors are at work here. First, the reigns of Amar Singh I and Sangrām Singh II, as already stated, were periods of great expansion in the size of the Mewar court. The twin goals of maximizing the revenue from tribute and maximizing the degree of centralized court (and, therefore, British) power, were both well served by an expansive court. Secondly, Tod's historical narratives of each of the two reigns contained the theme of the ultimate submission of the Mewārī court to a stronger, outside power. Such submission was exactly the situation of

[26] The difficulties in 1766 stemmed from the ill-treatment of the nobles at the hands of Mahārāṇā Ari Singh (reigned 1761–73). Ari Singh suceeded Mahārāṇā Rāj Singh II (reigned 1754–61). Upon the posthumous birth of a son, Ratan Singh, to Mahārāṇā Rāj Singh II, a faction of nobles had an alternative to Ari Singh. Jaswant Singh, the chief of Gogunda and maternal uncle of the child, sent Ratan Singh to Kumbhalmer for protection in 1766, and declared him to be the true heir to the Mewar *gaddī*. (See Misra, 53; Śyāmaldās, 1550; Tod *Annals*, I. 338–346) This occasioned an open war among the Mewārī nobles, into which the Marāṭhā Mahādjī Sindhia entered on the side of the child heir, with the promise of 1.25 crore rupees as a reward for Ari Singh's dethronement (Tod *Annals*, I. 341; Ojhā II. 651). Ari Singh responded with attempts at sowing dissension in Sindhia'a camp, and Sindhia and Ari Singh eventually battled in 1769. After the battle, Sindhia engaged in a siege of Chitor, which was held off by the supporters of Ari Singh. Sindhia's chief rival, the Marāṭhā leader Tukojī Holkar, saw the battles and sensed an opportunity to increase his influence. Holkar sent 2,000 troops to the aid of Mahārāṇā Ari Singh. With the degree of opposition now significantly increased, Sindhia agreed to cease hostilities for a sum of money, and Ratan Singh was denied the throne, but was given a *jāgīr* instead. (Misra, 53–56) This episode allowed Sindhia to consolidate power in Mewar, and the divisions within the court that provoked this conflict continued and widened.

[27] A discussion of the negotiation process appears below. The full text of the *ḳaulnāma* appears in Appendix 3.

the Udaipur court in relation to the British. This theme of submission held great symbolic importance for Tod in his choice of models for the reconstruction of the court. Though it might seem paradoxical that Tod, who restored power to these courts, also would have desired their submission to the British, restoration is only one part of the story. Tod's desire was to bring the court, once restored, *under* (a key word in this context) the political and moral protection of the British.

Mewar and the Mughals I: Amar Singh I

Amar Singh I ruled in Udaipur from 1597–1620 CE, the period directly following the turbulent reign of the renowned Rāṇā Pratāp Singh.[28] Rāṇā Pratāp (1572–97 CE) is a legend among Rājpūts, and has taken on a mythic stature within Rajasthan and beyond. His reign was marked by a series of famous and devastating battles against the Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556–1605 CE). The final battle, on the plains of Haldighat, became emblematic of Mewārī resistance to the Mughal Empire. Though Pratāp was defeated, the legends surrounding his valorous resistance make him the main hero in the pantheon of Rājpūt warriors.

Akbar survived Pratāp by eight years but initiated no further military action against Mewar. Upon the death of Akbar, Jahāngīr took the throne, and for the first four years of his reign he also left Mewar in peace. This extended period of quiet allowed Amar Singh I wide scope for making great changes in the state of Mewar. Amar Singh constructed the first palace on Lake Pichola,[29] and made many changes to the assessment of lands, distribution of fiefs, and gradations of rank within Mewar.[30] More importantly, however, Amar Singh I regained control of Chitor and its surrounding areas and, in so doing, he greatly expanded the territorial reach of Mewar. As Tod stated, "With Chitor,

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[28] For more on Rāṇā Pratāp, see Tod *Annals*, I. 264–278; A. F. Pinhey (1996 (1909)), p. 27–28; Śyāmaldās (1986 (1886)), p. I. 145–214; G. H. Ojhā (1996 (1928)), p. 423–474. K. Singh (1996) presents a book-length examination of the story of the battle of Haldighati. This text exists at the intersection of Hindu cultural nationalism and the modern rehearsal of Rājpūt historical tales (in this instance by "the first General Secretary of the Swantantra Party in the State [Rajasthan]" and "a Vice President of the Rajasthan State Unit of the Bharatiya Janata Party," as noted on the cover of the book). The present book explores this further in Chapter 7.

[29] Tod *Annals,* I. 280; Pinhey, 28. As Tod noted, "… Umra constructed a small palace on the banks of the lake, named after himself 'the abode of immortality,' still remarkable for its Gothic contrast to the splendid marble edifice erected by his successors, now the abode of the princes of Mewar." (I. 280)

[30] Tod *Annals*, I. 280.

the Rana acquired, by surrender or assault, possession of no less than eighty of the chief towns and fortresses of Mewar."[31] The lands that had been lost to Akbar were thereby resumed, and the power of Mewar was again on the rise.

Jahāngīr, moving against "the only Rajput Prince who declined to acknowledge his supremacy"[32] engaged Amar Singh's forces in seventeen battles between 1608 and 1614, with Amar Singh proving victorious in these contests. In 1614, after years of frustration, Jahāngīr, now fully established at Ajmer, sent his son Prince Khurram[33] into Mewar with a large army. Amar Singh was finally forced to submit and, as a mark of obedience, sent his son Karan Singh to wait on Jahāngīr in Ajmer. After a year, Karan Singh was allowed to return to Mewar, after "having received gifts of the value of ten lakhs of rupees and having been appointed a 'commander of five thousand.' "[34] With the grant of this *mansab*, Mewar's much-hallowed independence was gone,[35] but the terms of the submission were relatively light. "It was agreed that no Rana of Mewar should attend the Emperor in person; on succeeding to the throne each Rana was to receive the Emperor's *farman* confirming his accession without the walls of his capital, and Mewar was to send a levy of a thousand horse to the Imperial forces."[36] As Tod described the arrangements, Jahāngīr acknowledged the symbolic position of the Mewar Rāṇā as "chief of all the Rajputs, by placing the heir of Mewar, even above all the princes of his own house, 'immediately on his right hand'… seldom has subjugated royalty met with such consideration."[37] Despite the preferential treatment by Jahāngīr, Amar Singh I "spurned the proposition of acknowledging a superior," and abdicated the throne in 1616.[38] Amar Singh I spent the last five years of his life in seclusion outside the city walls.

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[31] Tod *Annals*, I. 282.
[32] Pinhey, p. 28.
[33] The future Shāh Jahān.
[34] Pinhey, p. 29.
[35] A typically nostalgic account of the event reads "It was only in 1615 A.D., during the reign of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir with the acceptance of terms of Subordination by Maharana Amarsingh of Udaipur that the foreign conquest of Rajasthan or for that matter of India could be called complete." S. Chaturvedi (1966), p. 2.
[36] Pinhey, p. 29.
[37] Tod, *Annals*, I. 291.
[38] Tod, *Annals*, I. 291. Crooke noted that there was no corroboration for Tod's assertion of Amar Singh's abdication. I have found no other works that note this event. In Tod's narrative of honor, however, the romance of lost independence and shamed abdication heighten the dramatic effect of the episode.

Even though this was a time of expansion and regeneration for Mewar, this narrative also paints the time as a period of shame because of Amar Singh's submission to the Mughal emperor. In the 1818 reconstruction of the Udaipur court, the obvious reason for Tod's selection of this period as a model was the re-acquisition of Chitor and other large tracts of Mewar territory. Tod saw his work resuming *ḳhālsā* lands from the rebellious nobles as analogous to these earlier acts of re-acquiring lands lost to the Mughals. It was not a coincidence, however, that the period in which the Mewar Rāṇā was first made submissive to a Mughal emperor also was a period that Tod intentionally emulated. There is a clear discourse of Rājpūt submission to the leading power – first Mughal, then British.

Pinhey noted the admiration for Amar Singh I that Jahāngīr expressed in his diary, writing,

> … that these, the ancient possessors of the country, should not be driven from it. The fact is Rana Amra and his ancestors were proud and confident in the strength and inaccessibility of their mountainous country, and its strongholds, and had never beheld a king of Hindustan nor made submission to any one. I instantly forgave the Rana and sent a friendly *farman* that he might rest assured of my protection and care.[39]

Tod, quoting from the diary, also noted that Jahāngīr had instructed his armies, in exchange for submission from Amar Singh and his son Karan Singh, "to receive them with becoming attention, and to offer no molestation to the country."[40] In essence, Jahnāgīr was offering the same deal to the Rājpūt Rāṇā in the early 1600s that the British were offering in the early 1800s. This structure of indirect rule was nothing novel to the imperial formations on the subcontinent. Tod's stated goal of restoring the geographical and political entity that was Mewar clearly parallels the political situation under the Mughals in which Mewar was a submissive, yet honored, court under the paramount power in India.

Mewar and the Mughals II: Sangrām Singh II

The second "ideal" period mentioned by Tod is the reign of Sangrām Singh II. Sangrām Singh II ruled from 1716 to 1734 CE, shortly after the death of the Mughal Aurangzeb and shortly before the 1766 strife within the court arose. The period was similar to that of Amar Singh

[39] Pinhey, p. 28, quoting the diary of Jahangir.
[40] Tod, *Annals*, p. I. 285.

I. Mewar had lost a great deal of territory in conflicts with Aurangzeb. After his death, and the rise of Sangrām Singh II, Mewar again began to expand and consolidate around "her ancient feudatories of Aboo, Edur, and the petty states which grew out of her, Dongerpoor and Banswarra."[41] Tod noted that during this period "Mewar was respected, and the greater portion of her lost territory was regained."[42] In addition to resuming these territories, Sangrām Singh instituted internal policies designed to decrease strife from factional struggles. No vassals had the authority to establish independent power centers in their domains, and these domains were made temporary and subject to triennial change.[43] With the death of Sangrām Singh II, however, Marāṭhā incursions into Mewar began the process of decline that left the Mewar court in its decimated, pre-British condition.

Again, the nineteenth century reconstruction of the court bore obvious analogies to a prior time when lost territory was restored to Mewar. Sangrām Singh's limitations on the power of landholding vassals also had resonance, as Tod himself faced the prospect of having to rein in nobles who had arrogated great power and resources to themselves. In the Sangrām Singh II episode, as well, there was the end result that Mewar became subservient to an outside power: the Marāṭhā armies.

Tod was clearly aware of the symbolic importance of submission in the Sangrām Singh II period and just after. He noted:

> During the reign of Sangram, from A.D. 1716 to 1734, this mighty empire [Mughal] was dismembered; when, in lieu of one paramount authority, numerous independent governments started up, which preserved their uncertain existence until the last revolution, which has given a new combination to these discordant materials – Mahomedan, Mahratta, and Rajpoot, in the course of one century under the dominion of a handful of Britons![44]

Tod recognized the contestants in the struggle for paramountcy—Muhammadan, Marāṭhā and Rājpūt—and he noted that each had their successes, but he saw British rule as the "last revolution."[45] In each of the

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[41] Tod *Annals*, I. 325.
[42] Tod *Annals*, I. 326.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Tod *Annals*, I. 322.
[45] Tod clearly meant the word "last" in the sense of most recent, and this reference has great resonance, for the British defeat of the Marāṭhās did indeed help to cement their position as the paramount power in India. The meaning of "last" as final, however, could also resonate with an impression of permanence that was to become a hallmark of the ritual aspects of the British Empire.

two historical, exemplary kingdoms that Tod attempted to emulate, the Rājpūt court became subservient to the other members of the aforementioned trio, Mughal and Marāṭhā, respectively. Tod's political work brought the Rājpūt court under the British government. Rājpūt submission in each of the exemplary periods was integral to the structure that Tod was attempting to emulate and re-create. He understood clearly the British presence as the new paramount authority, and was active in inculcating obedience in the Rājpūt court. While the court needed to be expanded and its authority internally consolidated in order to meet the fiduciary imperatives of the treaty, it also had to be brought under British control, in Tod's eyes, to protect its very existence. This dynamic of submission is critical to understanding the project Tod undertook.

Further, as he devised the new structure of the Mewārī court, Rājpūt glory and honor were at stake for Tod. Had his concerns been solely bureaucratic, the date and historical situation of 1766 would most likely have been the starting point for his program. Tod's historical consciousness, however, played a very large role in the way he approached his official tasks, and he himself gives us some clues to his deeper motivations.

The Tragedy of Fading Glory: Kṛṣṇā Kumārī

Kṛṣṇā Kumārī was the daughter of Mahārāṇā Bhīm Singh of Udaipur.[46] She had been betrothed to Mahārājā Bhīm Singh of Jodhpur, but in 1803, the Jodhpur Mahārājā died before a wedding could take place. Kṛṣṇā Kumārī was then offered in marriage to Mahārājā Jagat Singh of Jaipur.[47] Upon hearing of this second betrothal, Mahārājā Mān Singh of Jodhpur (Bhīm Singh of Jodhpur's successor) sent word to the Udaipur Rāṇā that he desired the hand of Kṛṣṇā Kumārī in marriage. Mān Singh felt that his claim took precedence on the basis of the original promise of marriage to the Jodhpur house (in essence, arguing that the woman had been

[46] Detailed accounts of the episode appear in Tod *Annals*, p. 365–371, Śyāmaldās p. 1736–9, Ojhā p. 695–9, R. V. Somani (1985) p. 124–43, K. S. Gupta (1971) p. 175–187, S. C. Misra (1981) p. 171, 183–4, and R. K. Saxena (1973) p. 195–228.

[47] Saxena claims that after the death of Mahārājā Bhīm Singh, the princess was affianced to Mān Singh of Jodhpur. Mān Singh offended the Udaipur Rāṇā, however, thus precipitating a break with Jodhpur and the subsequent re-engagement of Kṛṣṇā Kumārī to Mahārājā Jagat Singh of Jaipur (p. 195–6). None of the other sources attest to this aspect of the story. This detail, however, does not alter the main point of the episode for the present purposes.

promised to a place and not a particular person). Mahārāṇā Bhīm Singh denied the claim, and this crisis aggravated the already existing political fault lines in Rajputana. Jagat Singh sent a military detachment from Jaipur to Udaipur, in order to insure that the marriage promise was kept, while Daulat Rāo Sindia[48] took a public stand in support of Mān Singh of Jodhpur. Eventually, large Marāṭhā forces were drawn into this Rājpūt conflict, taking sides and using the fractious atmosphere to reap territory and tributary benefit. The crisis lasted for years, with Mewar coming under increasing duress due to the military incursions from both disputants in the struggle for Kṛṣṇā Kumārī. Finally, the episode came to an ugly end when, in 1810, after years of conflict and at the behest of Amīr Khan,[49] Kṛṣṇā Kumārī was put to death, thus ending the dual claims to her hand. As Gupta noted, "The Maharana most disgracefully yielded to the threat and on the 21st July, 1810 the princess was offered 'sharbat' mixed with poison."[50] Her death became a symbol of the Rājpūt warrior ethos, present even among the women, and also a point of bitter resentment within Mewar against both the Jodhpur house and the Marāṭhā leaders who had interfered in the political crisis. A Mewārī desire to exact revenge on the Marāṭhās played a significant part in the alliance between the Udaipur court and the British East India Company.

In 1806, Daulat Rāo Sindia met with Mahārāṇā Bhīm Singh at the sacred temple site of Eklinga, outside Udaipur, in an attempt to bring about an end to the conflict. Sindia invited the British envoy and military entourage to accompany him in this meeting. Tod, who was a part of this group, was therefore present, and he recorded his assessment of the meeting as follows:

> The impression made on the author upon this occasion by the miseries and the noble appearance of this 'descendant of a hundred kings,' [the Mewar Rāṇā] was never allowed to weaken, but kindled an enthusiastic desire for the restoration of his fallen condition, which stimulated his perseverance to obtain that knowledge by which alone he [Tod] might be

[48] A Marāṭhā leader who had been making inroads in Mewar at the time the British exerted power in Western India. Tod was commander of the British escort to Sindia's perambulating court, and was present as the British shadowed Sindia (both as a means of control and in fulfillment of a treaty of protection between them).

[49] Amir Khan was a Piṇḍārī leader, and an ancestor of the royal family at Tonk. Piṇḍārīs were irregular troops associated with the Marāṭhās, and they often prospered from raiding the lands conquered by the Marāṭhās. Amir Khan was a staunch enemy of Mān Singh of Jodhpur, and had insinuated himself into the conflict in order to interfere with Mān Singh's efforts.

[50] Gupta, p. 186.

> enabled to benefit him. Then a young *Sub*.,[51] his hopes of success were more sanguine than wise; but he trusted to the rapid march of events, and the discordant elements by which he was surrounded, to effect the redemption of the prince from thraldom. It was a long dream—but after ten years of anxious hope, at length realized—and he had the gratification of being instrumental in snatching the family from destruction, and subsequently of raising the country to comparative prosperity.[52]

This sight of grandeur and suffering, combined in the person of the Mewar Rāṇā, stirred in the young British officer[53] a desire to know the history and situation of this "fallen" prince, and to use this knowledge to restore the Rāṇā and his land to their past states of glory.[54] The rhetorical force of this passage is more a mission statement than the perfunctory work of administration that might be expected of a British officer. The sense of despair over the "thraldom" of the Rāṇā, and the ten years of anticipation that Tod had to suffer before coming to his aid, are palpable, as are Tod's relief and pride in reaching his goal. The emotional strength of this passage cannot be overestimated.

This passage also is one of the few clues from Tod himself about the genesis of his interest in Mewar. Chapter Five demonstrates that Tod saw deep connections between the Rājpūts and European peoples through relations with ancient Germanic/Scythian tribes. The initial spark of interest, however, seems to have come from this highly charged moment of political drama. That the incident ended in tragedy only enhanced the importance of this event in Tod's mind.[55] The dual images of valor and ruin fed a romantic motivation in Tod's behavior as Political Agent, and in his historical work as author of the *Annals*.

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[51] Abbreviation for "Subaltern."

[52] Tod *Annals*, p. I. 366 n.1.

[53] Tod was 24 at the time.

[54] Graeme Mercer reflects on Tod's first meeting with the Rāṇā of Udaipur:

> "I well remember the enthusiasm he [Lieut. Tod] evinced when he was introduced to the Rana of Oodeypore, at a conference to which he accompanied Dowlut Rao Sindia. The appearance of the Rana and his attendants, the ancient nobility of Hindust'han, was certainly highly impressive; and although I had been previously present at almost every court in India, I was much struck with the aspect and demeanor of a family which had been entitled to the appellation of 'King of the Hindus' before the Musulman conquest." ("Memoir of the Author" *Travels*, xxv)

[55] This episode had a lifelong effect on Tod, for he laments Kṛṣṇā Kumārī even after his return to England. At a recitation of Handel in 1823 at York Cathedral, Tod hears the story of the Indian princess in "Jeptha's Vow." Soon after he sees Racine's "Iphigenie" and recalls the tragedy in Mewar, quoting a long lament from Racine in *Annals*, p. 369 n.1.

The Ḳaulnāma

Tod discussed the work of arriving at the *ḳaulnāma*, or agreement, between the Rāṇā and the nobles in a series of dispatches to the British government[56] and in an extended discussion in the *Annals* of the 1818 condition of Udaipur.[57] The goal of the negotiations was to remove land from the hands of the nobility and put it back into the *ḳhālsā*. The minute details of the negotiations are available elsewhere.[58] Tod's version, in sum, went as follows. The nobles were assembled by the Mahārāṇā in late April 1818 and presented with the list of demands to be made against them.[59] They listened to the demands and then asked to be excused to discuss them in private. Tod was against their meeting alone, unsupervised, and they agreed that they would meet not in the house of any of the *umrā*, but in an assembly hall in the palace. When

[56] F&S 5 June 1818 #67, 69; 24 July 1818, #804; 7 Nov. 1818, #104–106.

[57] Tod *Annals*, I. 379–401.

[58] Refer to the Foreign and Secret files noted above. To date, I have not been able to locate any detailed records from the point of view of the Court or the *umrā* regarding either the EIC Treaty or *ḳaulnāma* negotiations. Neither the Rajasthan State Archives in Bikaner, nor the Mahārāṇā Mewar Charitable Fund (MMCF) Archive in Udaipur have any court records from the period. This paucity of records is generally blamed on the political disorder at the time, which made keeping notes a matter secondary to simple survival.

[59] Tod gives a list of the names of the *umrā*, lineages, location and size of the estate and value of the estate as of 1760 A.D. in the *Annals*, I. 401. The names and estate locations are given below, as they appear in the original.

Name	*Estate*	*Name*	*Estate*
Raja Chundun Sing	Sadri	Raj Kalian Sing	Dailwarra
Rao Pertap Sing	Baidla	Rawut Salim Sing	Amait
Rao Mokim Sing	Kotario	Raj Chutter Sal	Gogoonda
Rawut Pudma Sing	Saloombra	Rawut Futteh Sing	Kanorh
Thacoor Zorawur Sing	Ganora	Maharaja Zorawur Sing	Bheendir
Rao Kesudas	Bijolli	Thacoor Jeyt Sing	Bednore
Rawat Gokuldas	Deogurh	Rawut Salim Sing	Bansi
Rawut Maha Sing	Beygoo	Rao Soorajmul	Parsoli

Two other people are named who seem to have moved into the first rank of nobles after 1760, when the last two names above "lost all of their influence and half their estates."

Rawut Kesari Sing	Bhynsror
Rawut Jowan Sing	Korabur

the time came for the final acceptance of the articles of the *ḳaulnāma*, not surprisingly, the nobles who had the most land and resources to lose—those of Devgarh and Bhindar—claimed illness and were absent from the meeting. Tod arranged for the British doctor to care for their ailments, and gently negotiated their assent in the process. Tod was able to arrange the final assembly on the fourth of May. After a day of debate, sometime after midnight on the fifth of May, the signing of the agreement began. The chief of Begun was the first of the *umrā* to assent officially to the agreement, followed by Amet and Devgarh. The Bhindar chief, the person with the most to lose, was the last to sign. Tod then sent details of the agreement, and therefore of the new governmental order, "wherever there are Subjects of Meywar both by Dak and by Hircarrahs in every direction and surrounding state." With that the job was done.

The level of detail Tod provided is extraordinary, but the facts of the case—especially the ease with which the nobles were brought into cooperation—do not agree with the accounts provided by Indian historians. Tod tells a tale of the unfailing authority of the Mewar Rāṇā and the understanding allegiance of the aristocracy. Śyāmaldās and Ojhā, the two leading Hindi language chroniclers of Rajasthan, make clear reference to the coercive authority of British armed forces standing behind Mahārāṇā Bhīm Singh.

Tod's blindness to the power of British force was not accidental. The use of British arms, according to Tod and other officials, was neither the most acceptable nor the most efficacious explanation for the nobles' compliance.[60] The rhetoric of indirect rule required that order in the court follow from the recognition of the authority of the Rāṇā, who once again was placed at the official center of the court. There was, therefore, a strong, general unwillingness on the part of any member of the Company to appear to be operating by force. Tod's self-proclaimed project of the restoration of Rājpūt glory also required a narrative of peaceful obedience within the court to the legitimate, ancient authority of the Rāṇā. This narrative of order was the version of events that Tod chose to emphasize in his official dispatches and his historical work.

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[60] "Pax Britannica" allowed force against the disorderly elements of society, but did not refer, at least not as the British meant it, to a coercive presence in the colonies,.

An intricate dance of power and influence lay behind this treaty negotiation. Tod, and the Company, tried to remain separate from the authority of the Mahārāṇā they were trying to restore. Though both treaty and ideology bound Tod in this way, it is impossible to overlook the assertion and apprehension of his own power, in a direct, not disguised, way. The mere fact of the attendance of the *umrā*s at court was the first sign of the shifting power relations in Mewar. Tod noted that the nobles had "long been familiar to a life independent of the Sovereign,"[61] and "they have lived in a state of entire independence of their prince in their own forts for many years."[62] The first indication that they recognized the "restored power" of the Rāṇā was their presence, since "so splendid a court has not been known for the last half century. This which has been brought about by influence alone has created no small surprise, not only to the Rana and his family, but to the Chiefs themselves individually, who were amazed to know by what secret power they were brought into each other's presence."[63]

According to this telling, some magical and unknown force had recreated the court around Bhīm Singh, and all of its members were in awe not only at the presence of each other, but seemingly at their own, inexplicable presence as well. Clearly, the attendance of the nobles at this *darbār* had not at all "been brought about by influence alone." The mere fact of the assembly indicates that the nobles rightly perceived the British government to be the force behind the Rāṇā's position. Tod's rhetoric provided the appearance of voluntary attendance by the assembled chiefs at the court, but even he understood full well the operation of British force in bringing this gathering about. Tod reported in his dispatch that he sent a private message to the Rāṇā noting the nobles' "perfect resignation to his [Bhīm Singh's] will in all things. …[Bhīm Singh had] only to command to be obeyed and he would find there existed no reason to have recourse to my [Tod's] authority to enforce compliance with his sovereign wishes."[64] Tod recognized the power inherent in his presence, but he nevertheless chose to downplay this aspect of the situation, in favor of a narrative of authority within the court.

The *ḳaulnāma* required that the *umrā*s return the former crown land, renounce the right of levying transit duties through their areas,

[61] F&S 24 July, 1818 #804.
[62] F&S 5 June, 1818 #67.
[63] Ibid.
[64] F&S 5 June, 1818 #69.

and cease their extortion towards the villages. As Tod described the process, however, "the last three months have been passed in the most painful discussions."[65] Convincing the individual landholders to return land proved quite difficult. Though some areas had obviously been taken by violence, others were bestowed by official *sanad*, or deed, issued either by Rāṇā Arsi, Bhīm Singh's father, or by Bhīm Singh himself. Tod's resolve, however, was that all situations were to be treated with "perfect uniformity on their settlement, Vizt. unconditional surrender to the Rāṇā."[66] It was of no consequence whether the land was justly or unjustly acquired. The court was to be returned to its S1822/CE1766 extent, at least, and not even legitimate land grants would impede this process. As discussed above, there was a great deal of money at stake for the British government but, according to Tod, there was principle as well:

> I could only say to all their [the nobles'] appeals to my justice and the hardship and severity of the cases, that from time immemorial it was the custom of the Princes of Meywar to bestow and resume their grants at pleasure that when the Rana made these gifts often inconsiderate, it was because he saw no harm resulting from giving what the Mahrattas had merely left nominally his and of which they took advantage, but now that that prospect of happiness and prosperity once more opened on Meywar, it could not be fair or just that the prince alone should be placed in a predicament from which he could derive no advantage from the change which would actually be the case of all these grants extorted either by violence, the necessities of the times or what I could but indistinctly urge the weakness of the prince were not restored to his khalisa.[67]

Tod was not asking the nobles to do anything for which there was not already precedent in Rājpūt history. Ancient custom provided for the resumption of granted lands. More importantly, Tod felt justice was at stake. It was most just to restore the Rāṇā to his position, and to allow him to enjoy, as was his right, the benefits that would ensue from the new alliance between Mewar and the British government.

In a subsequent dispatch, Tod stated the case even more directly, that "justice no less than duty makes it incumbent on them to renounce" the lands.[68] That this process remained a principled exercise, rather

[65] F&S 7 Nov. 1818 #104.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.
[68] F&S 5 June 1818 #67.

than one based on any sort of force by the British government, was very significant to Tod. He sought:

> … important advantages through the influence of reason and conciliatory means instead of more dictatorial methods which tho their advantages might have been more immediately apparent would have been more than doubtful in their ultimate effect. It has always been my endeavour to keep this in view and to discard all arrangements however temporarily beneficial which do not appear calculated to leave a lasting impression of good.[69]

The use of force to extract the lands from the nobles likely would have been much more efficient and rapid, but would not, in the end, have been truly expedient. According to Tod, the application of reason in the service of convincing the *umrā*s of their duty, and the ultimate justice of their renunciation, was the higher and more prudent course.

In these passages it is clear that Tod relied on the rhetoric of justice and morality to describe the negotiations and fulfillment of the *ḳaulnāma*. His narrative relied on appeals to the nobles' sense of justice for the right of the Rāṇā to take part in the promised rejuvenation of the state. As such, Tod displayed the sense of honor that was central to the image of the Rājpūt that he held and that he reified in his *Annals*. Given that one of the expressed goals of the British mission in India was to effect a moral uplift of the "native," the successful appeal by Tod to a sense of justice within the nobles was congruent with this moralizing project.

"… the English government is ready to punish …"

I could locate no accounts of the *ḳaulnāma* negotiations from the perspective of the *umrā*s themselves. As with most of the history of Rajasthan from this period, Tod is the major contemporary source. The depiction of the negotiations presented by Śyāmaldās and Ojhā, however, stands in stark contrast to Tod's version of events. Where Tod actively attempted to downplay the role of British power he carried into the negotiations, the Indian accounts made it a primary consideration as the source of the nobles' obedience. Śyāmaldās described the initial *darbār* that began the *ḳaulnāma* negotiations this way:

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[69] F&S 7 Nov. 1818 #104.

> One day there was a big *darbār*, at which all *sardār*s and *jāgīrdār*s were present. Such a *darbār* had not occurred in 50 years. Colonel Tod, having stood up, said "Point out to me those who would wish ill of you, Mahārāṇā Sāhib; the English Government is prepared to deliver punishment." The Mahārāṇā answered with compassion, forebearance and wisdom, "I excused all previous offenses up to this time, but now whoever shall commit them, Sahib [Tod] will be notified immediately." To this day, people remember the greatness of the Mahārāṇā's answer.[70]

Tod was depicted as the enforcer, plainly stating that the British government was prepared to punish miscreant *umrā*s. Bhīm Singh was the great and forgiving Mahārāṇā, dispensing compassionate tolerance for those events that occurred in the past, and averring to Tod (and, therefore, the British force behind him) to ensure order in the future. This was not the picture of a British officer, hidden, offering private counsel and avoiding the appearance of governance. Tod was the acknowledged source of order, and the source of his power was clearly depicted as domination based on force.

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[70] Śhyāmaldās, *Vīr Vinod*:

> Ek din baṛā darbār huā, jismen kul sardār jāgīrdār maujūd the. Aisā darbār 50 varṣke arsemeṇ kabhī na huā thā. Karnal Ṭāḍne khaṛe hokar kahā, ki "Mahārāṇā Sāhib āpkā jo badḳhvāh ho, usko mujhe batlāiye; gavarmeṇṭ angrezī use sazā deneko tayyār hai." Mahārāṇāne rahmdili, burdabārī aur aklmandīse javāb diyā, ki "Is vaḳtse pahilā kusūr hamne sabkā muāf kiyā, lekin ab jo koī karegā, uskī ittilā sāhibko fauran hogī." Mahārāṇāke is baṛappanke javābko log ājtak yād karte hain.
> Śyāmaldās (1986 (1886)) p. 1744.

Ojhā presents the same episode in the following passage from *Udaypur Rājya kā Itihās*:

> Ek din, Mahārāṇā ne sab sardāron ko bulākar baṛa darbār kiyā, jismen Kaptān Tāḍ ne kahā ki jo sardār āpke virodhī hon unhen batlāiye, angrezī sarkār unhen daṇḍ dene ke liye taiyār hai. Ispar, Mahārāṇā ne apne baṛappan ke yogya yahī uttar diya ki ab tak to maine sab kā aparādh kṣamā kar diyā hai, parantu bhaviṣya men jo sardār ḳasūr karenge, uskī sūcnā āpko dī jāygī.
> G. H. Ojhā (1996 (1928)) p. 705–706.

> One day, the Mahārāṇā, having called all the sardars, held a large darbar, in which Captain Tod said "Point out those sardars whose hostility would remain; the English government is prepared to punish them." With this, the Mahārāṇā, out of his own greatness, answered that up to now I have pardoned all offenses, but in the future those sardars who commit faults/crimes shall be made known to you. (this is cited from VV bhag 2, prakaran 15)

Ojha cites Śyāmaldās (bhag 2, prakaran 15) as his reference here. There is no independent, archival, contemporaneous source for this version of events at the *darbār*.

It is not surprising that these Indian historians would not present the same depiction of Tod's actions and demeanor that he provided in his reports. Neither is it surprising that in the Indian version there would not be the rhetoric of British persuasion, justice and fairness, but rather a narrative of Indian obedience in the face of British military might. The issue here is not a demonstration of the obvious nature of perspective, but rather one of source material. Tod's version was based on his own experience, and took its legitimacy from its position as an eyewitness account. Śyāmaldās' version was unattributed. Its legitimacy came from the author's obvious historical abilities, and in this case, also from his physical and temporal proximity to the court in question. There was no obvious source of information about the court at this time in the collection of materials he used to write his history.[71] Presumably, he had access to common oral knowledge and opinion within a Mewar court that was only forty years removed from the events he was describing, but the exact source is unclear. Ojhā related the same events with the same valence, citing Śyāmaldās as the authority. While the act of subsequent citation itself may grant legitimacy to the original work, it does nothing to change the lack of attribution in the original.

Historians are placed in the position of navigating between two opposed and obviously interested depictions of the same events. This is not particularly surprising, since the work of history is the work of analyzing and synthesizing narratives that are not identical, and are often incompatible. This microcosmic example, however, represents the central problem of this manuscript (and all too often a general issue in Indian history). Whether dealing with the 1818 *darbār*, or a sixteenth-century battle, we are often left with Tod's account alone. In many instances, his *Annals* remain unchallenged, leaving only one story, repeated again and again. For manifold reasons, which will continue to emerge throughout this manuscript, Tod and his *Annals* have become authoritative. His official work in the court laid the foundation for this authority.

The next chapter analyses the debate in Parliament on the proper role of the East India Company in the administration of the Indian territories. Tod and James Mill both provided testimony in the debate, and through their statements come to represent the main opposing

[71] The catalog of the Śyāmaldās Collection of the Rajasthan State Archives in Bikaner listed no court records or other accounts from this period.

viewpoints of the day. At the time of Tod's testimony, Volume One of the *Annals* had been in circulation for three years, and Volume Two had not yet been published. Despite his position as author and historian, Tod's authority in matters of Indian policy still stemmed from his more than twenty years of actual experience in India.[72] The power of the imperial state allowed Tod to implement materially his plan of restoration for the court at Udaipur. This same power bestowed upon him the opportunity to protect that restored entity.

[72] This also was noted as a source of legitimacy for his books in early reviews of the *Annals*. See Chapter 6 for a more complete examination of the commentary on his work.

CHAPTER FOUR

PROTECTION

The Tartar invasion was mischievous; but it is our protection that destroys India. It was their enmity, but it is our friendship.[1]

In 1832, Parliament undertook deliberations on the proper role of the East India Company (EIC) state in Indian administration, as well as the governance of the East India Company itself. As the epigraph from Burke demonstrates, debate on the nature and propriety of rule in the colonies had been a heated topic for decades. Each new act or charter revision brought greater Parliamentary oversight, and increasing centralization of power. In 1773, the "Regulating Act" established Parliamentary control of the EIC, as well a supervisory role for the British government over the Bengal, Bombay and Madras presidencies. All of these areas were placed under the newly defined office of Governor-General and his Council. The India Act of 1784 established a Board of Control, a new governing body that served as a sort of intermediary between Parliament and the directors of the Company. The Charter Act of 1813 abolished the Company's trading monopoly and strengthened the Governor-General and Council's ability to engage in more aggressive social reform through legislation.

With the renewal of the EIC charter once again before Parliament in 1832, indirect rule and the role of the British government in India was at the forefront of the conversations on imperial governance.[2] The Utilitarian, or liberal, position favored a direct assertion of British legal and moral ideology in an attempt to deliver those elements of justice and civilization that Indians lacked. Among its most forceful proponents were Jeremy Bentham, James Mill and his son John Stuart Mill. The conservative position, whose most famous representative was Edmund Burke, had long opposed such an aggressive stance, valuing instead the integrity of native institutions and the longevity of native traditions.

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[1] Burke (1783) in Fidler, D. P. & Welsh, J. M. (1999), p. 180.

[2] Excellent sources for the study of indirect rule in India include Ramusack (2004) and Fisher (1991).

This chapter will focus on the testimony of two men: James Mill and James Tod. Mill, the noted liberal thinker and author of *The History of British India,*[3] represents the position polar opposite to Tod's within the contemporary intellectual context, and specifically within the debate over Company governance. Mill's testimony well captures the assimilationist, liberal view of the governance of the colonial territories. For Mill, the Indian princes were inept or corrupt – "rude" in his parlance[4] – and in either case not suitable for self-governance. His cry, however, for direct British rule is clearly also a sharp critique of the current state of the administration of the Indian territories. British support for Indian rulers, according to Mill, had changed the traditional balance of power in these states, thereby actually creating despotisms where none had been before. The direct application of British rule in these portions of the empire should be undertaken in earnest in order to restore the damaged sense of British justice, to provide the groundwork for real, utilitarian progress, and to ensure the safety of the newly acquired empire against outside encroachment.

Ideologically, Tod represented the romantic, conservative answer to this call for a direct reform of Indian governance and society. Tod argued for the integrity of Indian social, cultural and political institutions, and for a staunchly indirect approach to Indian administration. Tod's position, as well, contained a sharp critique of the current state of British governance that was quite similar to Mill's. Tod also saw despotic influences being driven by British interference in the native states, with potentially dangerous weakening of the empire as a result. Tod's solution, however, was a call for complete non-interference in the affairs of the Indian (here specifically Rājpūt) princes. For Tod, the ancient royal position and honor that is the legacy of the Rājpūts served to legitimate their modern royal position and honor. Far from bringing an alien system of administration, the British were duty-bound to restore, foster, and protect the ancient customs of their imperial charges, and in so doing win their loyalty. This loyalty would guarantee the security of the empire, for through bonds of fealty the martial Rājpūts would fight on the side of their British overlords.

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[3] Mill (1817).

[4] In fact, rude in the sense of unrefined applies to the whole of India. For example, Mill starts Chapter I of Book II of his *History* by noting India's inclusion among the "Rude nations" who "derive a peculiar gratification from pretensions to a remote antiquity."

This chapter argues that Mill and Tod, despite their ideological differences, are both harshly critical of the current state of British administration in India, and both see the security of the empire as the ultimate reason to arrive at a program of good governance in India. True to their respective positions, however, they diverge completely when discussing the nature of the solution that should be imposed. Mill argues for complete British control of the native territories, while Tod urges, as much as possible, non-interference in native affairs.

Uday Singh Mehta's analysis of the nineteenth century liberal/conservative debate unearths the intellectual bases of these positions in their attitudes towards empire. For Mehta, the problem of empire lies in the way it forces an encounter with "unfamiliarity" in the subject populations. The British were not "familiar with what was experientially familiar to others in the empire."[5] The liberal and conservative political positions, therefore, become discourses on the issue of familiarity and the role of acceptable difference in this imperial setting. Mehta argues that the urge to imperialism is "*internal*" to liberalism,[6] because liberalism "is nothing if not reformist and activist."[7] The kinds of paternal progressivism that liberalism displays, however, could only be possible with the assumption of a basic familiarity between the British and their subjects. What Mehta calls the "cosmopolitanism of reason" allows this assumption of equality, in that "the strange is just a variation on what is already familiar, because both the familiar and the strange are deemed to be merely specific instances of a familiar structure of generality."[8] Reform is possible only because the reformer and the reformed are similar enough to relate, or at least to familiarize in some way the unfamiliar.

Conservatism, on the other hand, accepts the possibility of real difference in the unfamiliar. There is a "cosmopolitanism of sentiments" in Burke and other conservatives that sees the project of empire as a "conversation between *two* strangers" that can lead to "wider bonds of sympathy" through "the understanding of the sentiments that give meaning to other people's lives."[9] Much like the romantics, for conservatives these sentiments are rooted in a place and a tradition. For Burke, place supplies "from the very outset, the conditions for the

[5] Mehta (1999), p. 2.
[6] Ibid, p. 20, emphasis original.
[7] Ibid, p. 13.
[8] Ibid, p. 20.
[9] Ibid, p. 22, emphasis original.

experiences that become habitual to us."[10] Mehta argues that, for conservatives, political identity derives from this meeting, in a particular location, of social practice and political institutions. Place and tradition, therefore, form the basis for the "psychological and moral integrity of individuals and communities,"[11] and being locally bounded they also form the basis for the difference that lies at the root of the imperial encounter between Britain and India. The problem of empire, therefore, becomes the problem of the meeting of complete communities that do not share the basic traditions and histories that would provide an easy commensurability.

Anglo-Oriental Despotism: A Convergence of Critiques

James Mill (1773–1836), the father of John Stuart Mill, was a Benthamite Utilitarian, and one of the first spokesmen for the Liberal movement in shaping the policies of the East India Company and, therefore, the governance of British India.[12] Mill wrote his hegemonic text, *The History of British India*, from 1806–1817, in direct response to Sir William Jones (1746–94) and the first generation of orientalist scholars. On account of the work, Mill obtained a post with the East India Company in 1819, and rose to the position of Examiner of Correspondence in 1830. The text had an immense impact in Britain and abroad for almost the whole of the next century.[13] Mill's *History* directly shaped attitudes about India in its role as required reading at Haileybury College, which served as the training institute for East India Company civil servants until 1855. Though Mill never went to India, his *History* presented a sharp critique of Indian social, political and religious institutions, and he depicted Indians themselves as indolent, unclean, ignorant and inherently submissive. Mill deemed Indian political systems despotic, and he blamed them for exploiting this submissiveness in the population.[14] For Mill,

[10] Ibid, p. 160–1.
[11] Ibid, p. 182.
[12] For more on Mill the elder, apart from Majeed and Mehta, see Inden, pp. 45–6 and 165–73; G. D. Bearce (1961), pp. 65–78; and C. H. Philips (1961). For an excellent examination of Mill's influence on his son's attitudes towards India, see L. Zastoupil (1994).
[13] According to Inden, Mill's *History* was not seriously challenged until 1904, with the publication of Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*. (p. 45)
[14] Oriental Despotism was a well-known conceptual category at this point. Mill draws directly on the idea in his work.

the justice and rationality of direct British government was necessary in order to raise them from their state of relative depravity.[15]

James Mill appeared before the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, chaired by the Right Honorable Sir James Macintosh, on the 16th February 1832. Mill's testimony centered on the issue of the subsidiary alliances and protected native states. The first question asked him to provide a list of all of these entities, and to reflect on the status of those situations that seemed for one reason or another particularly unclear, such as the Sikhs in the Punjab, the areas of Nepal and Ava, and the position of Sindhia with respect to the British government. Mill made scant attempt to maintain subtle administrative distinctions between these areas, and immediately made the blanket statement that "The subsidiary and protected states are, in truth, part of our empire."[16] Mill's groundwork was apparent right away: any native community that had entered into any type of agreement with the British was part of the empire. Mill required an expansive definition of empire in order to complement his extensive program of administrative reform and expansive political consciousness.

Mill's rationale for this definition hinged on the British assumption of the military powers of government in all of these territories. He saw the military, essentially, as the entire function of government.

> … we take the military powers of government entirely into our own hands, allowing them to keep only a small number of troops, to be employed in preserving internal order. Now if it is considered what the military power implies; that is, in truth, the whole power, it will be seen that what we do with those protected princes is merely to delegate to them the powers of internal administration, which, in such a case in their hands, are in truth the powers of oppressing their subjects. This unfortunate intermediate state between British government and native, is filled up with nothing but abomination.[17]

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[15] See Majeed (1992) pp. 129ff, however, for the argument that Mill's work itself is not as confident about the merits of the importation of utilitarianism to colonial territories as it typically has been characterized. Rather, according to Majeed, Mill's work was rooted firmly in the utilitarian critique of British society, and therefore "reflects the ambivalence to imperialism which characterized philosophical radicalism as a whole." (129) Majeed contends that Mill's liberalism has been exaggerated by Mill's editor H. H. Wilson, who was a strong proponent of the revolutionary role of the British in India, and who therefore conceived of and presented Mill's *History* in that same light.

[16] J. Mill (1832) *Testimony*, p. 5.

[17] Ibid.

Mill saw the basic function of government as external, or dealing with threats from without. The fact that the native authorities were left with internal, or civil, administration was nevertheless problematic for him. Mill believed that the Indian princes were at least inept and at worst corrupt, and therefore unfit to preside over the internal affairs of the state.

The prince's corruption was most apparent in the two main functions of civil government: revenue collection and the administration of justice. In revenue policy, the native princes "extort to the utmost limits of their power, not only impoverishing, but desolating the country."[18] As for justice, "There is no regular establishment for the administration of justice in any native state of India."[19] In the native states, therefore, power was applied capriciously and corruptly. While this was a terrible state of affairs, the worst part of it, according to Mill, was that the native alliances and treaties with the British created a form of divided rule that made the situation worse for the mass of the native people.

> In the ordinary state of things in India, (though under such governments as that of India there was little of anything like a regular check) the princes stood in awe of their subjects. Insurrection against oppression was the general practice of the country. The princes knew that when mismanagement and oppression went to a certain extent, there would be revolt, and that they would stand a chance of being tumbled from their throne, and a successful leader of the insurgents put in their place. This check is, by our interference, totally taken away; for the people know that any attempt of their's [sic] would be utterly unavailing against our irresistible power, accordingly no such thought occurs to them, and they submit to every degree of oppression that befals them.[20]

The treaty alliances with a British power fundamentally distorted the natural processes of regulation within these native states. The terms of the alliance with the native princes forced the Company to support the ruler of the state, regardless of that prince's oppressive or unjust activities. With a British force legally bound to support the ruler, the people, who might have otherwise rebelled, became powerless against any of the depredations of their princes. This situation was doubly galling for Mill because he saw the British as a potential source of justice in India, yet ironically they had become responsible for supporting and defending oppression. Rather than elevating the condition of the people, the British government corroded their situation.

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[18] Ibid, p. 6.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.

The Utilitarian and Romantic positions converge wholly at this point. Tod, in his testimony, agreed with Mill that British interference in native political affairs was destructive and unwarranted. Tod did not appear personally at the hearings, but responded to a written list of questions in a letter to T. Hyde Villiers, Esq., dated 23 March, 1832. Immediately, in the opening paragraph, Tod clearly positioned himself. "If any influence preponderates, it is, perhaps, in favour of the governed; and with this object in view, if I should utter truths somewhat unpalatable, I disclaim every motive but the desire of being instrumental to good."[21] Tod obviously was aware that his opinions might be seen as favoritism for the Indian princes, but he felt that his views were the best course of action, and he stood behind them as the "good."

The first question to Tod, as to Mill, related to the British acquisitions since 1813. Tod restricted his remarks to the areas of "Central and Western India," citing his familiarity with this particular area.[22] He detailed the territories that came into British hands with the defeat of the Marāṭhās, and noted the existing size of the Rājpūt areas. He also noted that many of the districts that had been resumed by the British from Sindhia and Holkar had been returned to them by the British. Tod believed many of these areas properly belonged in Rājpūt hands, and he named eight districts, worth twenty *lākh* rupees annually in revenue, that he saw as rightly Mewārī, given over to Sindhia or Holkar. "Who will question that those 20 lacs of territory should rather have reverted to a state of 1,100 years duration, than have been assigned for the support of a mercenary soldiery, who would turn against us on the first prospect of success?"[23] These lands belonged to their ancient, and therefore rightful owners, and over a thousand years of history were cited to legitimate this argument. The Rājpūts were loyal allies of the British,[24] who deserved their due respect not only because of their heritage, but because of their fealty as well.[25] Tod's overriding concern here was the ancient rights of

[21] J. Tod (1832) *Testimony*, p. 122.

[22] Tod refers to two separate colored maps in his testimony, which he had planned to prepare showing the change in scope of British territory from 1813 to 1832. He was unable to complete them, however, due to "the necessity of concluding my work on Rajpootana," so he refers the questioner to "documents at the India House [which] would aid to give a rapid and correct view of the question." (p. 122, paragraph 1 and n.1) Tod did provide his own map of Central and Western India to show the existing political boundaries at the time of his writing. (n.2)

[23] Tod, *Testimony*, p. 123.

[24] And, as I will demonstrate in Chapter 5, distant relatives in Tod's eyes.

[25] Tod also noted that he believed the British should have totally defeated Sindhia in 1818, when they had their best chance. Doing so would not only have removed

the princes, and the injustices perpetuated by the British in assigning the rightfully Rājpūt lands to outside marauders and Marāṭhās.

Further, Tod did not see the treaty relationships the British had with Indian princes as tantamount to actual control over those princes. Tod noted with legal accuracy that "our sole acquisition of territory is the important fortress of Ajmer and its lands, yielding about four lacs annually."[26] He later reiterated this position quite clearly; "With the exception of the district of Ajmer, we possess not a foot of land in sovereignty in all the regions under our infuence."[27] There is no more transparent statement of difference between Tod and Mill on this topic. Further:

> The treaties with the Rajput States differ from all our former engagements in this important point, that there is no mention of *subsidiary* alliance; and the tribute which we draw from them, though galling in a financial point of view, has none of the odium that attached to paying for a force which, under the name of protection from external danger, was in fact a degrading check upon themselves.[28]

In Rajasthan, the British only held a small number of permanent camps chosen for their military and political advantage, which allowed them excellent security while preserving the most important tenet of the non-interference aspects of the treaty.[29] "Thus we do not exhibit a single red coat upon the lands of our Rajpoot allies to excite a feeling at variance with the independence solemnly granted to them."[30]

There remained obstacles to the full flowering of this relationship. Tod fully agreed with Mill that the British treaties with the native states created a politically distorted, tyrannical situation in the courts that had not existed prior to the British arrival. The British notion of monarchy, by which "we recognise only the immediate power with whom we

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a "mortal foe in the heart of a warlike and idle population, who from mere want of employment, would join in any commotion," but it would also have given the British "the power of restoring all those ancient petty states in Central Rajwarra, which fell a prey" to the Marāṭhās as they were driven back by British forces in the wars of 1803–4. (p. 123) Again, the power of ancient standing was evoked as the argument for contemporary sovereignty, placing Tod directly in the conservative camp.

[26] Tod, *Testimony*, p. 123.

[27] Ibid, p. 125.

[28] Ibid, p. 124.

[29] "Nusseerabad" was located just outside of Ajmer, "Neemutch" which "was alienated by Sindha from Mewar; and Mhow is in Holcar's territory of Indore." (ibid, p. 124)

[30] Ibid.

treated," removed any of the checks on the "passions" of the princes that had existed before. "The ancient balance of power, which often ended in the deposal or death of a tyrant, we have thus completely destroyed."[31] It was especially important for the British government to try to understand what occurred in the courts, for "It never occurs to us that rebellion may be justifiable; it is enough that tumult exists, and that it must be repressed. The whole history of our power shows that we have hitherto acted in ignorance of the mutual relations of the princes and their people."[32] Tod argued for a much more nuanced understanding both of the history and social dynamics of the Rājpūt courts, which few had any interest in pursuing in the governance of these Indian territories.[33]

When the questions turned to the role of the Political Agents, and the degree of interference actually exercised by them, Tod admitted that the stipulations of the treaties could not always be upheld. In Mewar, direct interference was necessary, "since the balance of authority between the prince and his feudatories had been annihilated, and the country, from being a garden, had become a wilderness."[34] As soon as the proper machinery for state functioning was set up, however, the agent was to:

> withdraw from interference, a task of no little difficulty where there were continual demands for it, arising out of the indolence of the ruler, the intrigues of men in office, the turbulence of the feudal interest, or undue pressure upon them, or the abundant grievances of the mercantile and cultivating classes.[35]

By his own assessment, therefore, the goal of non-interference was unattainable in practice.

Interference, however, was not the only problem. Tod recognized that elevating the Rāṇā or Rājā to a position of supreme power fundamentally changed the governance structure of the state.

> Here a question arose, as, in all those feudal principalities the rights of the princes and their vassals are co-eval, being all, in fact, members of

[31] Ibid, pp. 131–2.
[32] Ibid, p. 132.
[33] Burke, nearly half a century earlier in his "Speech on Fox's India Bill," also vigorously and at length demonstrated the deleterious effects of interference with native rulers. See Burke in Fidler & Welsh, pp. 177–199.
[34] Tod, *Testimony*, p. 125.
[35] Ibid. In a letter of testimony in the same series, Sir John Malcolm is quoted on the conditions in Mewar, noting they were so difficult as to warrant a much greater degree of interference than was desired.

> one great patriarchal family, whether we should only proffer auxiliary mediation to the sovereign, thus applying our own monarchical principals to a dissimilar form of government; or, whether, if we interfered at all, it was not equally incumbent on us to guard the well-defined rights and privileges of the feudatories against the abuse of authority, which these engagements tend to increase. This was the origin of an interference, in which, notwithstanding the stipulation of the treaties, we at once found ourselves involved.[36]

The agents were required to take action in places like Mewar and Jaipur in order to ensure that anarchy between the prince and the nobles did not undermine the ability of the state to function. Acting on behalf of the prince impelled the British Agent to impose an alien form of government. Tod considered this, however, the lesser evil and maintained that interference in the internal machinations of the state was justified in order to preserve the natural, indigenous power structure, which Tod still believed possible, even under British rule. Though it seems that in the substance of the *ḳaulnāma* (as well as in the initial treaty with the British, being with the Rāṇā alone and not the assembled nobles) Tod had privileged the Rāṇā against the nobles, Tod saw this as simply a step in restoring the natural native order, and putting the proper prince-noble relations back into place.

Rājpūt sovereignty, and the capability Rājpūts had for self-governance, however, was not apparent to all involved. "In all those states there exist the materials of government; and the cement that has held them together for a period of from 700 to 1,000 years is still undestroyed, although not perceived by ordinary observers; and it is

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> The only thing to lament … is, that necessity which has compelled us to so minute an interference with its collections and internal arrangements. This interference must be gradually withdrawn, or the objects of the alliance will be lost. This country, however, will always require our peculiar care and attention; and in every measure which a regard for our interest and security force us to adopt, we should mix as much of consideration as is possible for the usages, the pride, and the fallen fortunes of the prince and the dependent Rajahs and Thakoors of Mewar. (Letter from B. S. Jones, Esq. to The Right hon. Charles Grant, Chairman of the Select Committee on East India Affairs, Appendix 20, p. 291)

The belief in the exceptionalism of Mewar court was widespread. Tod's influence, as we shall see from the reviews of the *Annals* in Chapter 6, was crucial in shaping and preserving this view.

[36] Tod, *Testimony*, p. 125. The system was known as *bhāī band*, and was discussed in more depth by Tod himself at *Annals* 166–184. For a full examination of the structure of the Rājpūt court, see also R. K. Saxena (1996) and A. C. Lyall (1882). All refer to the system as *primer inter pares*, or first among equals.

equally our duty and our interest to foster the principle of regeneration."[37] The Rājpūt-insider Tod was on display here, as he made the case for action based on evidence that was not seen "by ordinary observers." Tod again[38] casts himself as an outsider to his own British identity. Beyond that, the apprehension of the rights of the native princes, once delivered to the British authorities – no matter how or by whom, and no matter whether these rights were obviously apparent – made granting sovereignty to the Rājpūts not simply in the best interests of governing the native areas, but a positive duty on the part of a just, British governing force. Tod also brought antiquity to bear, as he trotted out 1,000 years of history to argue for the restoration and preservation of the native governments. For him, the long history of these people sufficiently proved the propriety of their continued rule. The ancient was a powerful legitimating force for Tod, and the arguments he made based on history continued as a distinct discourse within his official and written work. This emphasis on history connects Tod, as well, to central principles of conservative and romantic thought.

Tod saw the Rājpūt courts, therefore, in a specific relationship with the British government:

> … namely, protection on our part, for the admission of supremacy on theirs; and while we guarantee them from every species of interference in their internal administration, we claim the privilege of arbitrating their international disputes, and the control of their mutual political relations.[39]

Where Mill considered the Indian princes as denatured monarchs placed in absolute domination over an oppressed populace, Tod saw princely states returning to their traditional function under the protection of the British government, and thereby enabled to address their domestic issues in peace and security. "They are, both by treaty and their own desire, politically severed from the rest of India."[40] For Tod, the Rājpūt states were individual units that interacted with the rest of India only through the agency of the British government. It would not be too extreme to say that, to Tod, the architect of the restoration of the Udaipur court, this was an almost ideal situation. Saved from the rapacious onslaughts of invading bands, the ancient races were allowed to

[37] Tod, *Testimony*, p. 125.
[38] See the discussion of Tod's perceived alienation and dislocation from British society in Chapter 2.
[39] Tod, *Testimony*, p. 124.
[40] Ibid.

flourish in a pure and safe environment, under the relative justice of the British. The protection of his reconstituted courts had thus begun.

Economic Critique: The Tyranny of Taxes

The protection, however, was not complete, and the justice was only relative. Tod deployed quite striking critiques of the British governing and economic policies in the ensuing passages of his testimony. He began with a financial critique. The degree to which the Rājpūt states were taxed, through the vehicle of the tribute, was either at the maximum of their ability to pay, or beyond. This was not only a short-term affair, but rather, "none of these states can *ever* bear any advance on the amount now exacted, … and that Jeipoor and Mewar are even too heavily taxed."[41]

Though Tod considered the British government wise to negotiate a treaty which calculated the tribute only from "the khalisa or fisc,"[42] the graduated nature of the tribute posed a problem for the pledge of non-interference. The treaty with Mewar, as well as with Jaipur, stipulated that a larger share of the revenue of the land be paid as time went on and, presumably, the land became more prosperous under British protection. Tod thought this arrangement pernicious, in that it "left the door open to interference by the undefined nature of our tributary exactions."[43] The lack of a standard and certain due amount from the native territories "leads to the worst kind of interference in their financial and territorial arrangements; for there cannot be a shadow of

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[41] Ibid, pp. 123–4, emphasis original. In a note, Tod supplies a table of the tributes as they were due at the time.

Jeipoor	8,00,000
Mewar	4,00,000
Kotah	2,60,00
Boondi	80,000
Marwar	1,08,000
Ajmer	4,00,000
Total	20,48,000

[42] This wise move avoided the "serious and endless disputes" (ibid, p. 125) that inevitably would have arisen from trying to collect from each feudatory.

[43] Ibid.

independence while such a system is tolerated, which, moreover, will not fail to generate hatred and mistrust of the protecting power."[44] The only way, in Tod's mind, to restore justice to this situation and to prevent the eventual slide into direct rule of these territories was to impose a flat tribute on these courts. Not only should the tribute be fixed, but it should be fixed "as low as possible; since the sacrifice of a lac or two, while it will be a trifle to us, will be a vast benefit to these impoverished princes, whose good-will will be proportioned to the comfort and respectability we ensure to them."[45] This fixed, lowered tribute was the best policy measure and it would benefit the "comfort and respectability" of the princes.[46]

In his most strongly worded statement, Tod named economic interference as the most destructive policy for both the British and the Indian natives.

> They [the Rājpūt princes] should not imagine that, like the Moguls, we desire to subvert either their religion or their power. Let the line of separation between the controlling agent and the Rajpoots be as broad as possible; remove whatever may appear to menace their *guaranteed* independence. By these means alone can we secure in them the barrier we require against any foreign foe. Our local governments of India, which derive half their credit at home from the strength of their treasury, may not be inclined to the lessening of the tributes; but be it remembered that one lac of rupees extorted by force will cost millions in the end.[47]

Tod warned that to lose the Rājpūt alliance, for want of some extra returns to British investors, would be a shortsighted and foolhardy maneuver that would assuredly threaten the financial and political security of the empire as a whole.

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[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Maintaining the dignity of the native princes was a great concern for Tod. "Those who look upon the several nations of India as similar in mind as in complexion can perceive no danger in extending our interference throughout the protected states. … The evils of *non-interference* may be many. … But are we to destroy because we cannot at once amend? or are the checks to such evils, when they *do occur*, to be compared with an interference whose very nature must create such occasions?

The only safe alternative, therefore, is the remodelling of the alliances, lessening the causes of interference, by diminishing the tributes, and providing for their realization in a manner to prevent the least chance of collision; and rendering the alliance, as far as possible, one of mutual benefit and support." Ibid, p. 131.

[47] Ibid, p. 132.

For Mill, as well, finance is a central problem with the current state of British administration. Though what Mill termed "conservative policy"[48] would maintain these intermediate states for as long as possible in the name of native sovereignty and cultural preservation, it was a clear financial loss for the British authorities. The British "bear all the expenses of government, pretty nearly, while we obtain but part of the revenue." Further, the aforementioned "perfect misgovernment" of the native princes was only serving to waste the revenue that remained in their hands and, through their rapaciousness, destroy "the rest of the country."[49] Replacing the added expense of subsidiary native troops with, presumably superior, British regular troops would require a smaller force to manage the same territory with equal efficiency. Such measures not only would increase the security of the Indian territories, but have the added benefit of increasing revenue through cost savings.

The Dignity of the Princes

Respect for the Indian princes played a much larger role in Tod's thinking than it did for Mill, and it appeared in Tod's policy recommendations in a number of ways. The military duty required of the Rājpūts was another area where justice for and respect of the princes required protection. Though Tod did not think that the requirements of military service were too onerous (in contrast to his view of the monetary tribute), he did note that if the Rājpūts were called upon to provide troops, it should be for mutually advantageous, and not arbitrary reasons.[50] "It must ever be borne in mind, that any species of service from the Rajpoots, not arising out of a sense of benefits conferred upon them, would not only be worthless, but may prove a positive evil."[51] The British had to ensure the happiness of these important allies in order to preserve the strength of the alliance. Tod operated with the assumption

[48] Mill was referring here to the practice of indirect rule in India. See J. Majeed (1992), p. 123–50 on the role of Mill's work in the dialogic formation of the "conservative" and "liberal" positions within early nineteenth century British political discourse.

[49] Mill, *Testimony*, p. 9.

[50] Tod did not provide the level of detail on military service due that he did on monetary tribute due. While it is most likely that he saw the agreement as much more fair, and therefore less in need of comment, the martial character he so clearly had identified in the Rājpūts might have played a role here. He may have believed that there was an elective affinity between the Rājpūts and miliary service that made service a much more natural thing for them to provide than money.

[51] Tod, *Testimony*, p. 124.

of a much greater degree of equality between the parties than Mill allowed, and the emphasis on respect for the Indian princes placed Tod in a much different position regarding the British-native relationship than Mill ever would have considered.

Mill too appealed for the dignity of the natives, however. The diminished status of the Indian sovereign, occasioned through subsidiary alliance with the British, made a mockery of both the princes and the subjects. "The pageantry kept up at Delhi by the Moghul is an example. He holds his durbar every day, and gives pensions to people to come and present nuzzers, morning and evening, as if he were on a real throne."[52] Because "nothing is more ridiculous than their attachment to their mock majesty,"[53] it was time to end the deception, make the chiefs direct pensioners of the British, and deliver the order and justice that the English government rightly represented.

For both men, it is clear, the economic and social support of the natives were necessary steps in securing the empire. Tod's vision of the natives in this process again reveals his deep connection to both the romantic and conservative paradigms that shape his thought.

Security

The maintenance of peace in the empire, and security against internal and external threats, not surprisingly for Tod, involved good relations with the Rājpūts. Tod noted the hatred the Marāṭhās felt for the British, who "bound down the evil spirits of these regions, not by the bonds of kindness, … but by the manacles of fear."[54] Tod saw a Russian invasion as a remote possibility, since the Russians had to solidify their power in Central Asia before they could think about any aggression in India. The real Russian threat to the British Empire was their economic influence in Central Asia "from Bokhara to Lahore." This influence "answers all the purposes of a state of actual hostility, by its operations on our finances."[55] The best defense against this influence and possible invasion, therefore, was to ensure that relations with the Rājpūts were at their most positive. Geographically, they stood on the front

[52] Mill, *Testimony*, p. 10.
[53] Ibid, p. 10.
[54] Tod, *Testimony*, p. 127.
[55] Ibid, p. 128.

lines of any possible external threat. Historically, the Rājpūts had no complaints or vendettas against the British, as opposed to the Marāṭhās, or any other "discontented individual in India" who might side with the Russians.

Tod emphasized proper treatment of the Rājpūts, and he promised, again invoking his deep familiarity with them and their history, their allegiance. "If the *spirit* of the treaties be upheld,[56] it is no exaggeration to say, that, with a few years of prosperity, we could oppose to any enemy upon this one only vulnerable frontier, at least 50,000 Rajpoots, headed by their respective princes, who would die in our defence. This is asserted from a thorough knowledge of their character and history."[57] Fealty was the key to this relationship on both sides, and it was the bonds of ancient allegiance that the British had to cultivate in their treatment of the Rājpūt princes. Ancient fealty was a dangerous force, however. Though the bonds of deep ancestral loyalty could bring the Rājpūts closer to their ancient brothers, the British, the proximity of Rājpūt sepoys to their much more closely related Rājasthānī brothers could be a dangerous situation for the British.[58]

Tod felt that the practice of stationing sepoys (*sīpāhi*) of the Rājpūt caste in Rajasthan, even though they may be from other parts of India, would endanger their allegiance to the British. These Rājpūts came usually "from the Gangetic provinces," they had served under the Mughals and "had long been deprived of all their old chieftains, by which the spirit of clanship was destroyed, and they consequently knew no immediate head."[59] With the restoration of order in Rajasthan, and the British involvement in Rājpūt affairs, the

> Rajput Sipahis, when quartered in Rajpootana, will become better acquainted with their origin, and renew their sympathies. … Hitherto there had been no community of sentiment between the Sipahis and the upstart families of Bengal, Lucknow, Hydrabad, or the Mahrattas. How widely different the case will be when the Rajput Sipahi is associated

[56] Emphasis on "spirit" original. Tod was obviously warning against an overly legalistic adherence to the letter of the treaties.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Inden notes that the type of feudalism Tod attributed to the Rājpūts was a more primitive type based on notions and structures of ancient heritage. The practical effect of this conception becomes clear here, as the ancient ties between Rājpūts, simply on the basis of this caste identity, becomes a potential danger.

[59] Tod, *Testimony*, p. 128.

> with, or called to act against, a race with which they claim common origin, and with whose prejudices and associations their own are knit.[60]

The force of their common origin would serve to re-unite these long lost Rājpūt brothers, and this renewed union would make it impossible for the sepoys to actually perform the military functions they were hired to perform against other Rājpūts. "One-third of the Bengal army thus paid is calculated to be Rajpoot, all of whom can look back to some period when their ancestry possessed sovereign power; and these are the men now brought for the first time into contact with the Rajpoot tribes, still preserving a slender portion of their ancient independence."[61] The practice of moving Indian soldiers out of their home areas was widespread for fear of their potential allegiance to the locals over the British.

Again, the force of the past is the force that is the most important in Tod's mind, and he alleged that the past was the most important in the minds of the Rājpūts as well. Tod interpreted, in their tales of past glory, deep identifications with their heritage. Tod assumed the wholesale defection of Rājpūt sepoys simply on the basis of contact with their caste brothers in Rajputana. The ancient connection and identification between Rājpūts were the key factors here. Tod's reasoning, however, provides a deeper insight into what he must have felt was possible, eventually, between the British and the Rājpūts, who he believed also shared a common ancestry. Ancestral connections, whether Rājpūt-Rājpūt or British-Rājpūt, led to allegiances in the present. Heritage, the ancient, and the original were the key motivating forces in Tod's worldview, and he both sought them in his subjects and wrote them into his narrative of the Rājpūts.

Tod's drive to re-establish the Rājpūts in their native lands and nurture their growth stemmed from the view not only that the ancient position and splendor of the Rājpūts would return, but also that the deep racial connection between the Rājpūts and the British would strengthen their alliance in the encounter. Once the Rājpūts and the British saw their ancient brotherhood, under the proper guidance of the British, the Rājpūts would take their place and remain "one of the strongest pillars of our empire."[62]

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[60] Ibid, pp. 128–9.
[61] Ibid, p. 129.
[62] Ibid.

Hats for Turbans: Mill's Plan of Administration

While many of the critiques of imperial administration forwarded by Mill and Tod display a surprising similarity, it is in their proposed solutions that their ideological differences become most clear. Mill here, representing liberalism, forcefully makes the case for direct British control of India. Tod, the conservative, argues clearly for the integrity of native rulers and institutions.

Mill saw two ways to rectify the deleterious administrative system the British had created. The first, and clearly not Mill's choice, was "that of letting them alone altogether, not meddling with them." The second option open to the British government was "to take the government of it [India] wholly into our hands; and instead of leaving it to be governed abominably by the old rulers, to govern it ourselves as well as we can."[63] When asked about the possibility of government by *dīwān*, or the appointment of responsible ministers in the Indian courts to prevent corruption, Mill was clear: no middle ground was possible between the two options he presented.

The use of the *dīwān* was not a real improvement on the practice of placing a resident in the country. The resident "really is king of the country, whatever injunctions of non-interference he may act under," and can actually avoid meddling in native affairs only so long as the native "prince acts in perfect subservience, and does what is agreeable to the residents, that is, to the British Government." As soon as there was a conflict, the calm was shattered, and the illusion of non-interference was overturned. To overcome the problem of direct British influence, a *dīwān,* or Prime Minister, was often appointed to run the country. The problem, however, was that the minister "knows he depends on the support from the British power, and would be dismissed the moment that support should be withdrawn from him, [therefore he] takes care to conduct business in conformity with the inclinations of the British Government."[64] This did not solve the structural problem of non-independence, and the claims of non-interference remained an illusion. Further, the fact that the *dīwān* was a middleman, and therefore in a way independent of both sides, meant that "you still can interfere only in a very imperfect degree for the prevention of misrule."[65]

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[63] Mill, *Testimony*, p. 7.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.

The only way to guarantee fully the prevention of misrule, without the hypocrisy inherent in the rhetoric of non-interference, was to take all of the functions of government into British hands. "Unless you take the collection of the revenue into your hands, and appoint your own collectors, with your own people to supervise those collectors, you may be perfectly sure the people will be plundered. In like manner, there will be no justice unless you administer it."[66] Indirect rule was a practice of trying to make the expanding conquests of the East India Company[67] acceptable to public opinion in England by not acknowledging that they were conquests. This only served to distort the reality of the situation, however, and expose the native people to "perfect misgovernment."[68]

The supposed public relations benefits of indirect rule, both at home and abroad, were not as impressive as its supporters believed. The thought that in India "old military families, who formerly enjoyed power, and do not willingly give up the hope of it, [would be] gradually worn out, without bringing odium upon us," was a sham. Hiding behind a form of indirect government as a way of avoiding blame when the native government withered was, for Mill, a "facilitation more with respect to English feeling and prejudice than to India." Mill believed that a conservative route was the least controversial, and therefore most politically palatable option at home. He noted, however, that the Indians "are not so ignorant as not to know that we are the cause of all the change which has taken place."[69]

Further, according to Mill, the attitudes of the Indian people toward British governance varied with their social position. The princes, who had the most to lose, were:

> … of course averse to our rule. The mass of the people, I believe, care very little by what sort of persons they are governed. They hardly think at all about the matter. They think of the present pressure and of relief from that pressure; but if they find themselves at peace in their dwellings and their fields, and are not burthened by too heavy an annual exaction, they are equally contented whether their comfort is under rulers with turbans or hats.[70]

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[66] Ibid.
[67] Which Mill believed were usually wars of necessity, and not of choice. He offered the examples of Tipu Sultan and the Marāṭhās as examples. (ibid)
[68] Ibid, p. 8.
[69] Ibid, p. 10.
[70] Ibid, p. 8.

As long as the taxes were not too high, and the peace was kept, the mass of Indians would be happy, regardless of the structure of their government or the identity of the governors.[71] Mill's unflattering picture of the Indian people presents a passive mass, without an acute political sense.[72] The princes were despotic and oppressive, while the people were so shortsighted and shallow as to seek only their own basic security in life. If that was threatened, then they functioned honorably, though as a mob, to bring about a change in their ruler and alleviate the oppression. Mill believed that the imposition of direct British rule, and the inherent justice this implied, should pose no problem for these people who would go happily and quietly about their simple business.

Mill proceeded to make the case for direct British government based both on this critical portrait of the Indians, and the potential threat to British economic and military security posed by Indian self-governance. If the British allowed some areas of India to remain under native rule, then bordering on the British areas would be lands ruled by "princes whose great and almost sole object of ambition is to maintain a great rabble of irregular troops, more than they are able to pay." The economic pressures put on the princes by these armies would necessitate that the princes engage in plundering raids whenever possible in order to raise enough money to pay the troops. As Mill eloquently put it, such a situation would be "inconsistent with relations of amity." Therefore, if the British areas ever were to be secured against such predatory neighbors, a large, and expensive, standing army would be required to deal with this equivalent "of a perpetual war."[73]

Mill's solution, therefore, was to wage war on the border areas to conquer and subdue native forces, in order to ensure that the rabble were defeated or contained. Mill was clear:

> The most obvious policy would call upon us to make war on those states and subdue them; which, to any power so far advanced beyond the native civilization as the English, is never likely to be a matter of difficulty. Such a power, finding its own views of order and regularity constantly broken in upon by neighbours of that description, is not only naturally, but in some sort inevitably, induced to go on conquering one state after another,

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[71] A position that is in perfect accord with the Utilitarian credo of "good laws and low taxes."

[72] See also the second book of Mill's *History* (1858), "Of the Hindus."

[73] Mill, *Testimony*, p. 8.

> until it has got the whole territory. When you have proceeded to the extent, where nature seems to have pointed out the most admirable boundary, then you should stop, and govern what is included as well as possible.[74]

Not only was expanded conquest the most prudent course of action from this point of view, but it was also the natural course of action in this situation. The respective civilizational differences between England and India added an ethical element to this political interaction.

Delivering both justice and order, the English civilizing force must "not only naturally, but in some sort inevitably" continue its acts of conquest until nature itself "seems to have pointed out the most admirable boundary." The conquest of India was not solely a matter of policy, therefore, but a matter of the forces of nature working in their inescapable and necessary way. Mill also felt it crucial to note that conquest would continue not simply until the most efficacious or secure position was established, but until the "most *admirable*" (emphasis added) boundary had been reached. Nature would reach the state of the good, or the most right—the admirable. In Mill's mind, conquest and administration had moved from what was of utmost practicality in the political realm to what was right and necessary in the ethical realm.

According to Mill, the only desirable areas left to conquer in India were those of the Punjab and Kashmir, which were then under the control of Ranjit Singh, an infamous nemesis of the British. Mill thought that if the Russians ever threatened the British on the Northwest frontier, then the annexation of the hill states would be necessary, again for purposes of British security. When asked if "India has been conquered and administered in spite of instructions from England?" Mill could easily reply "To a considerable degree that is the truth."[75] Now that the Company had achieved this conquest, Mill thought that the best situation would be for the British Crown government, the recipients of this unintentional empire, to administer it.

For Mill, therefore, imperialism was a project of direct governance meant to save both the British and the natives from the worst of themselves. An interventionist British force bringing political and economic justice would improve conditions in the lands under administration, as well as free the British government from the hypocritical veneer of

[74] Ibid, p. 8–9.
[75] Ibid.

indirect rule. In both cases, according to Mill, justice would be maximized, and the security of the empire would be increased.

"Not a single red coat upon the lands of our Rajpoot allies": Tod's Plea for Independence

Tod's imperial critique of focused not just on politics, but on British economic policy, and the rise of industrialization in India itself. The critique takes two forms: one directed at the British opium monopoly, and a second aimed at the introduction of British goods and manufacturing processes into Rajasthan.

Tod saw the opium monopoly as unjust, not out of temperance, but for the financial hardships the monopoly would bring on the areas affected by it. Specifically, in 1817–8 it became clear that a chief agricultural product of Malwa and southern Rajasthan was opium, and "we at once interposed, invading the rights of the native speculators, in order to appropriate the profits to ourselves."[76] Had the profits been left to the natives, there would be no issue. As things stood, however, the actions of the British led to three evils. The first was injustice, "because we assumed fiscal powers in a country where our duties were simply protective." The second was impolicy, "because we diverted the efforts of the agricultural classes from the more important branches of husbandry; thus in a two-fold sense affecting the financial resources of our allies." Finally, "it was inquisitorial, because we not only sent circulars to chiefs, calling for a statement of the cultivation of the plant, but despatched agents to the opium districts to make personal inspection and reports."[77] For Tod, the immorality was not the opium itself, but the fraud, in the name of acquisition, with which the profits were associated. "The gambling in opium was not surpassed by that of the London Stock Exchange; it seduced into speculation individuals of all ranks, from the prince to the scavenger."[78]

It was only after this long series of financial arguments that Tod touched on the effects of the drug itself, and even then the argument was that the foreign-imposed commercialization of it, again, was to blame. Though there should have been no interference in the internal agricultural

[76] Tod, *Testimony*, p. 125.
[77] Ibid, pp. 125–6.
[78] Ibid, p. 126.

affairs of these areas, once the interference was broached, "we might have exercised it more judiciously by following the sumptuary laws already known to them, and which restrict the culture of this pernicious weed." Proper economic balance would have been maintained, the rural economies would not have been affected, and they would have "checked the degeneracy so rapidly spreading all over Northern Asia, from the abuse of this destructive drug."[79] Tod wholeheartedly believed that the native systems and customs for controlling the abuse of the drug were fully capable of operating to produce the best outcomes, without the interference of the British government. Tod continued to testify to his faith in the power and the ability of the natives in India.

Tod's critique next focused on the effects of British goods, trading, and manufacturing practices in India. Unfettered access to all of India's markets by British mercantile agents, who were, in Tod's eyes, unfamiliar with the customs, practices and beliefs of the areas was bound to create hatred between the Indians and the English. Inevitably, the British government would become embroiled in disputes arising from the "incautious acts"[80] of individuals not well versed in the local ways. Only those with a sensitivity to the ways of the natives should be allowed to engage in commercial activities, and commercial agents should not be allowed absolutely free and unrestricted operation in the native areas. Tod claimed that the local merchants had the "means of obtaining every article of our commerce without our intervention" and that any attempt through governmental policy to make British goods more readily available in the local areas, "will be imputed solely to the desire of enriching, not *them*, but *ourselves*."[81]

British economic policy was disastrous in that it destroyed the local economies that had for centuries been productive and famous.

> The looms of Chandeli and Runnode, so famed for the beauty of their fabrics, are now for the first time made known to the Board only to announce their destruction, together with the more ancient and better known products of Dacca and Boorhanpoor, whose purple *sindones* clad the Roman senator. Even Cashmere itself, whose name was connected with an article of universal luxury, bids fair to lose this distinction, and itself be indebted to Norwich.[82]

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[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid. Again, note the power of Indian antiquity, this time enhanced by contact with Greco-Roman antiquity.

The extraction of resources from India, coupled with the high tariffs on Indian goods back in England, spelled, in Tod's mind, both ruin and bad faith. Until a share of the wealth taken from India was returned "for the purposes of its [India's] general improvement," and until the duties in England were abolished, the English legislature would receive no "credit for good intentions towards them [the Indian native merchants]."[83]

Tod's most incisive critique, however, lies in the preparation, or lack thereof, for a modern economy itself in India.

> But it is said that steam, that agent of destruction to manual labour, (which long must, and perhaps always will, be the sole means by which the vast population of India can be employed advantageously to themselves), has already been introduced at two of our Presidencies, and that some of our philanthropists calculate on a monopoly of grinding all the flour. Let it be remembered, however, that the sole occupation of the helpless and aged females throughout India is the grinding of flour by hand-mills; and if we deprive them of this, we consign them to certain destruction. It may be urged that many of those evils are inseparable from the age, and the inevitable results of an ever-progressing civilization; but it is a duty to retard the introduction of these innovations of genius into India, until wealth shall be more abundantly diffused by a lighter rate of taxation, and a cheaper system of government, when a taste may be generated for the luxuries so cheaply supplied by this potent substitute for human labour; but till this period arrives, it would be enlarging the circle of misery, and carrying to a most mischievous excess the almost unavoidable vice of our Government, that of enriching a few ephemeral strangers by taxes drawn from India, to open the wider gates of intercourse which, without great checks and limitations, would be the certain precursor of general demoralization.[84]

The problem with the great (and at this point still largely incomplete) revolution in industrial practice, when applied to the case of India in the 1830s, was not the technology in itself, but the fact that the basic structure of the economy was not compatible with this new technological advance. Too many people had no access to anything but the most basic forms of subsistence, so the introduction of machinery that would radically decrease the numbers of people required to perform these tasks would serve only to spread unemployment, financial misery, and "general demoralization."

Tod's argument was not that the Indians were incapable, by some accident of their constitutions, of embracing and running successfully

[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid, p. 126–7.

a modern economy. Rather, consistent with much of his thinking, and of romantic thought in general, the Indian economy was simply in a prior stage of development which was not ready for the advance to modern manufacturing. Nothing inherent in the Indians disqualified them from this mode of production. The existing structure of their economy would not allow for successful implementation of modern industrial practices. It would happen eventually, when certain conditions of general wealth and decreased taxation were met, and Tod believed the British government was duty-bound to stop the rush of new technologies and encourage the general development of India, so that it might one day join the modern nations.

This is also an implicit critique of modern economy and the inevitable vices of the British government. The forces that served to destroy the ancient customs of the world were "evils [which] are inseparable from the age, and the inevitable results of an ever-progressing civilization." Progress, in and of itself, produced inescapable evils. Modernity was an evil, for Tod, for it represented exactly the opposite of the ancient social forms and customs that he was most actively interested in protecting. In this, Tod was wholly consistent with the Romanticism that embraced the Orient as a protest against contemporary English society.[85]

In his concluding remarks, Tod went so far as to argue that the position he himself held in India should be abolished. "There should be no resident agents at the courts of the native princes, each of whom should have a political deputation at Ajmer."[86] The key to his reorganization plan was the centralization of authority in a resident in a British administrative center set apart from the native territories—in this case Ajmer. The native courts would send representatives to this center, and the British would have a series of assistants there who would be responsible for the respective courts.[87] Though the administration was to be centralized, the contact with the representatives of the courts was to be as direct as possible. The British resident would convey instructions to

[85] On the nineteenth century Romantic critique of contemporary English society, see N. Leask (1993), P. Brantlinger (1988), and J. Chandler (1998).

[86] Tod, *Testimony*, p. 132.

[87] Though Tod had argued for a basic change in his old job, not surprisingly he proposed that, among the assistants at the central court, the assistant for Mewar have the first rank, followed by the assistant for Marwar, followed by Jaipur and Kotah/Bundi. (ibid, p. 133) This ranking roughly mirrored Tod's notions of the relative age and purity of the Rājpūt lines.

the assistants, who then would convey them to the native representatives. The resident would also hold a *darbār* at set intervals in which all matters would be discussed openly before both the British assistants and the Indian representatives. "[M]utual checks would thus be imposed."[88]

As a further assurance against corruption:

> all correspondence should be carried on in the vernacular dialects of the principalities, by which means the princes would be able to judge for themselves, instead of being at the mercy of some ignorant or unprincipled moonshee expounder of a foreign language. Nothing can be more absurd than that we should continue the use of the Persian language in these regions, in which not a word of it is understood; in fact, this principle should be extended to all countries with which we have transactions.[89]

Again emphasizing the importance and integrity of the natives, vernacular language would be used in administrative intercourse. The use of a vernacular also would remove a possible source of corruption and misunderstanding in the person of the *munśī*, or translator, who mediated the use of Persian in the courts. Additionally, discourse in local languages would protect the local culture against outside interference in the most basic of all functions: communication.

True, as well, to the character of the local population, the personnel in the proposed administration should be mature military men. These administrative positions should not be seen as stepping stones to greater career exploits; rather, they should be valued as high positions in their own right. The most qualified individuals, and the ones who would not be motivated wholly by the entrepreneurial spirit of advancement, would be military men, not members of the civilian establishment.

In the end, remarkably, Tod proposed a plan for the administration of the Rājpūt territories that, essentially, was a court made of up martial individuals, presided over by a supreme resident who was attended by representatives of the vassal states. In other words, an institution that looked very much like the institution Tod envisioned and created as the Rājpūt court in Udaipur. With this, the protective project was complete. The British—who, as we shall see in the next chapter, were fully evolved Rājpūts in Tod's eyes—would have taken their true place at the head, and for the protection of all of their ancestral brothers.

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[88] Ibid, p. 133.
[89] Ibid.

Ancient connections, fealty and honor, and the value of the military and respect for the Indian people, especially the Rājpūts are the themes to which Tod returned again and again in this testimony. These values underly a plan almost diametrically opposed to the one espoused by Mill. Mill would have characterized Tod's plan as "conservative," a term that he first helped to define as applied to the work of Sir William Jones. Tod's reiteration of this romantic, conservative rhetoric in Mill's time, showed that conservatism was not at all a thing of the past, but was an active intellectual force against the strong currents of the utilitarianism of Bentham and Mill.[90] This philosophical dance continued.

In the end, neither Tod nor Mill could have been fully satisfied with the outcome of the Charter Act of 1833. That the company lost its economic function and became a political agency of the crown must have pleased Mill, and as Stokes noted this was a de facto, though not de jure, victory for the utilitarians.[91] Dalhousie, only a few decades later, certainly put assimilationist utilitarianism at the fore of British policy. The fact that the Charter Act also provided wider access to India by missionaries raised liberal hopes for the success of large-scale social re-engineering on the subcontinent. On the other hand, formal indirect rule was maintained (despite the doctrine of lapse) in many areas of India, the Rājpūt states included, right up until the formation of the Indian nation in 1947. Tod may have had the ultimate victory in this arena as the image he drew of the Rājpūts, under the protecting power of British historical and historiographical processes, lived long and continues to prosper.

[90] See Mehta's important discussion of Burke.

[91] See Stokes (1959) p. 179–190 on the framing and final stipulations of the Charter Act of 1834.

CHAPTER FIVE

INTERPRETATION

This chapter focuses on the many layers of interpretation involved in the production, substance and life of Tod's main historical work, *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*. The analysis examines three main themes: Tod's own vision of what the *Annals* was to be, his definition of the Rājpūts and how he positioned them in the overall context of the work and, finally, Tod's part in the Romantic project of social and historical reinterpretation. The argument here is that the amazing longevity, both of Tod's *Annals* itself as well as of the vision of the Rājpūts and Rājpūt history that he crafted, are the results of a dual positioning by Tod. On the one hand, Tod clearly operated within the European historical constructs of his time, examining Rājpūt history and politics through the lens of European feudalism, and on analogy to the perfected traditions of classical Greece and Rome, in order to render the foreign Indian materials more intelligible to a European audience. On the other hand, Tod distinguished himself from his early-nineteenth century intellectual milieu through his steadfast adherence to the notion that the Indians had a historical sense and his willingness to enter into Indian discursive practices in order to understand the materials he encountered. In turns, therefore, Tod operated both as a European historian and as an Indian bard. In so doing, his work made (and continues to make) simultaneous appeals to multiple audiences.

This chapter looks more at the construction of the *Annals* than its factual accuracy. This chapter is not an attempt to "correct" the history of Rajasthan. There is no independent or superior cache of materials that provide a "better" history, nor is there a revolutionary method that will make the existing materials coalesce into some new narrative formation. An exploration of the construction of the *Annals*, however, reveals much about the time, people and influences that have affected the text, and the role they have played in the life of the historical narrative.

Mapping the Terrain

To understand the interpretive project of the *Annals*, it is crucial first to understand the structure of the work. The *Annals* was originally

published in two volumes, each volume composed of eleven books, and each book covering a major area of study.[1] The earliest books are most important here. Book I is devoted to the geography of Rajasthan. This book sets the physical stage for the work, as Tod described the landscape, climate and agricultural production of the region, and then presented the results of the survey activities he undertook early in his career. This section of the work, in both substance and rhetoric, was presented in the mode of science. Tod used great precision in his description, for example he provided the longitude and latitude measurements of the area then known as Rajputana.[2] Tod also used rhetorical devices to access a scientific discourse. He wrote, "Let me place the reader on the highest peak of the insulated Abu … and guide his eye in a survey over this wide expanse."[3] Tod then described the scene through all points of the compass, giving a physical account of Rajasthan and the subcontinent in general from this imagined vantage point. Spurr has noted that this rhetorical device—known as parataxis, or "placing things side by side"—had become in mid-nineteenth century colonial discourse "a standard adaptation of language to the scientific method, in which the process of knowing the world became largely a matter of establishing natural objects as visually accessible."[4] In his cartographic work, and his rhetorical presentation, Tod had literally "worlded" Rajasthan. Previous European knowledge of the area was minimal,[5] so introducing the terrain became the entry point into his study. Tod had to present the world he had mapped, and the reader had to be given a spatial domain in which to operate before proceeding into the work. This done, the geographic entity of Rajasthan became an object which could be studied and known.

In the imperial context, this maneuver also resonated with the relationship between surveillance and power. On the most basic level, Tod's geographic knowledge provided the British with a decided military

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[1] *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, (1829, 1832), reissued with an introduction by Douglas Sladen in 1914. The text was then edited and reissued in 3 volumes by William Crooke (1920). Citations here refer to the original two-volume format unless otherwise stated. Crooke's editorial maneuvers are examined more thoroughly in Chapter 6.

[2] *Annals*, I.1.

[3] Ibid, I.7.

[4] D. Spurr (1993) p. 17–8, citing Stafford, B. (1984) *Voyage into Substance: Art, Science, Nature, and the Illustrated Travel Account, 1760–1840*, p. 34.

[5] For instance, the fact that Chitor and Udaipur were reversed on previous maps. See *Annals*, p. 2, *Travels*, p. xix.

advantage in their wars with the Marāṭhā forces.[6] Knowledge was directly transformed into power. On a much more subtle level, however, the importance of being able to present Rajasthan as mapped was that it created[7] a region that could then be studied, known and, finally, administered. Knowledge of the physical features of the region served simply as the first step on the path towards political, economic and, as further discussion will demonstrate, intellectual rule.[8]

Tod next moved from the physical to the racial geography of the area. Book II, "The History of the Rajput Tribes," presents the genealogies of the "36 Royal Races of Rajasthan." These genealogies are based on puranic and bardic sources. The key point here is that Tod proceeded in what he saw as, again, a scientific method. He compared his conclusions to the works of previous scholars, both William Jones and native sources, drew connections between the Rājpūt genealogies and other ancient sources, and eventually collated his results in a comparative table, culminating in the "Corrected List" of the Royal Races of Rajasthan. This meticulous work was a continuation of the scientific project on which Tod embarked in Book I. Where the first book was a mapping of the spatial terrain, the second book was a mapping of the racial terrain. Just as the reader could not enter the area without knowing the physical landscape, so they could not progress in understanding the people without the racial landscape being constructed as well. Just as with the land, there could be no rule of a "people" without first "knowledge" of that people. The same dynamics of power and knowledge apply.

Tod then proceeded through a discussion of the "Feudal System of Rajasthan," and the histories of each of the states of Rajasthan. Strongly influenced by the work of Henry Hallam on European feudalism,[9] Tod took very seriously what he believed to be the analogy between the Rājpūt and European feudal social structures. Tod used this perceived

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[6] A series of dispatches in the Foreign and Secret records displays both Tod's geographic knowledge and his military expertise. See, for example, F&S 6 Feb. 1818 #49–51. Tod himself discusses the use of his map in the campaigns against the Marāṭhās in *Annals*, p. 2, text and n.2 to the same page.

[7] A carefully chosen word, as there are people who credit Tod with coining the word "Rajasthan," and the modern boundaries of the state are not materially different from the region Tod covered in the *Annals*. See p. 2 n.1 of the Crooke edition to note that the longitude and latitude measurements were essentially unchanged in 1920, and they remain basically the same today.

[8] Chapter 7 explores the use of the *Annals* as a textbook for use in Indian schools.

[9] Hallam (1871 [1818]).

shared feudalism as a major mechanism of identification between the Rājpūts and Europeans in their forms of government. Tod's analysis of feudalism has been one of the areas in which the *Annals* has received its most sustained criticism, and it no longer stands in the face of recent scholarship, especially the work of Dirk Kolff.[10] Further, as Inden has noted, Tod's analysis of feudalism also separated his notions of Hindu kingship from the Oriental despotism posited by Mill. "Tod depicted the Rajput 'system' as an early, pristine form of governance … and not as the late, over-ripe feudalism of Germany." Tod's Rājpūt was "the instrument of a transcendent structure of clan rivalries" and the "perennial patient (and sometime victim) of the despotic king who stood outside it. That despot was Mill's prince, the instrument of the Brahmanical caste system." Inden rightly saw that Tod and Mill would have agreed on the despotic nature of Marāṭhā and Mughal rule but that Tod held out the return to the "natural" Rājpūt form of feudalism as the ideal form of governance. For Mill, any Indian prince was by nature a despot, and therefore the indirect rule advocated by Tod and others was inappropriate.[11] Understanding the perception of feudalism within the larger Indological discourse is crucial to the proper ideological positioning of Tod's work and policy recommendations.

Chapters on each of the Rājpūt states follow Tod's discussion of feudalism, with Mewār receiving the most attention (twenty-four chapters and an appendix) and Jaisalmer and Bikaner receiving the least (three chapters each). There are also twenty-one chapters of "Personal Narrative" which form a running diary-like parallel commentary to the historical narrative in the text. Two appendices to the work, one following the section on Mewār, and one following Tod's first personal narrative of his time in Udaipur, present an assortment of materials. In the first, Tod gave translations of land grants, temple inscriptions,

[10] Kolff argued that the Rājpūts as a group arose out of what must have been a skilled, armed peasantry in the Indian countryside. He provides persuasive evidence that the Indian peasantry must have been a more aggressive and capable military resource than other histories have presented. Therefore, theories of a European-style feudalism in Rajasthan cannot operate, because "models inspired by the phenomenon of the early modern European state … presuppose the achievement of a central monopoly, or something nearly approaching it, on the use of arms" which could not have existed under conditions of an armed peasantry, necessarily a decentralized group. D. H. A. Kolff (1990), p. 9.

[11] Inden (1990), p. 175–6. Chapter 4 in this volume further explores the relationship between the visions of imperial administration held by Tod and James Mill. For a critical response to Inden, see N. Peabody (1996).

legal announcements and letters between himself and various local princes. In the second, he presented the treaties between Charles Metcalfe on behalf of the British East India Company and the Rāṇās of Udaipur (January, 1818), Jodhpur (January, 1815), Jaisalmer (December, 1818), Jaipur (April, 1818), Kota (December, 1817) and Bundi (February, 1818). These treaties formed the basis of indirect rule in the Rājpūt states. They were presented in the order just given, which roughly reflects the order of racial purity, and therefore priority, Tod attributed to these Rājpūt "races." They are historically important in assessing the nature of the British relationship with the princely states, but lack integration into the larger structure of the work.[12]

To understand how these elements of the text fit together overall, it is helpful to take note of Tod's own assessment of his project. Tod did not see himself as having produced an historical analysis, but rather he saw himself as the compiler of a great archive of the history of Rajasthan. He noted that

> … it never was my intention to treat the subject in the severe style of history … I offer this work as a copious collection of materials for the future historian; and am far less concerned at the idea of giving too much, than at the apprehension of suppressing what might possibly be useful.[13]

Tod admitted that there was little coherent analytic order to his work, and implied that there was no master narrative in the *Annals*. According to Tod, the work should be treated as an archive, or repository of information from which others were to make analyses and draw conclusions. The organization of the work certainly lived up to this claim, and the *Annals* have indeed served as a repository (in many instances, *the* repository) for historians of Rajasthan. While the "severity" of history has not been brought to bear here in Tod's method, there are strong narratives at play in this text which structure the work and later serve to structure Rājasthānī history as a whole. The themes of racial purity amongst the Rājpūts, the assumed racial connections between the

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[12] A more complete picture of the various material exchanges between the British and the Rājpūts does emerge from these treaties. For instance, the treaty with Jodhpur had a clause that demanded the provision of horses to the British. The treaties of Jaipur and Kota had clauses requiring the provision of troops. The treaties with Jodhpur and Kota also explicitly detailed that all monetary tribute formerly going to Sindhia and the Marāṭhās, respectively, was to be transferred to the British at Delhi. Finally, all of the treaties had clauses that declared the absolute allegiance of the Rājpūts to the British.

[13] *Annals*, p. xx.

Rājpūts and their British overlords and the romantic valorizations of the chivalry and honor of the martial Rājpūts, taken together, are the basis of an extended narrative on the exceptional status, and eventual call for independence, of these very special Indians.

The final structural elements of the *Annals* are Tod's personal narrative accounts of his time in India. The publication of the personal narratives seems to put him squarely in the genre of travel writing typified by writers such as Sir Richard Burton.[14] There is also a direct line from Tod to Kipling's travel writing, in the form of *Letters of Marque*, an account of Kipling's travels through Rajasthan in which he cited Tod extensively.[15] In Tod's narrative, the reader is treated to tales of Tod and his party being attacked by a bear, a tiger and an elephant. We hear of his brushes with death resulting from negligent elephant drivers, sickness and attempted poisoning. There are also important details in Tod's descriptions of his meeting with local princes, the details of court protocols, and the story of an extraordinary episode in which Tod himself was the first official to perform the *rājtilak* ceremony to install the eleven-year-old Rāṇā of Bundi.[16] Tod also put translations of inscriptions, as well as histories of small village areas and little kingdoms within his personal narrative. At the same time, however, because these are journal entries his style appears much more relaxed than in the historical sections of the work.[17]

"…light upon a people scarcely yet known in Europe…"

Tod began the introduction to Volume I with a refutation of the idea, which had clearly begun to hold sway even then, "that India

[14] For more on this aspect of Tod's personal narratives, see Freitag (2007).

[15] R. Kipling (1899) Kipling lauds Tod, calling him "Tod, the accurate" (195) and "Tod, who is far too good to be chipped or sampled; read Tod luxuriously on the Bund of the Burra Talao, and the spirit of the place will enter you and you will be happy." (214) A more in-depth analysis of the *Letters of Marque* appears in Conde (2004).

[16] *Annals*, II.556–560. A representative of the paramount power, who at the time was nominally the Mughal Emperor at Delhi, typically performed the rājtilak ceremony. That Tod performed the ceremony, and it was accepted as legitimate within the Bundi court indicates the degree of his personal, and British governmental power within the Rājpūt courts.

[17] This material is similar to that in *Travels in Western India* (1997 [1839]), Tod's second major work, which covered the period from his resignation to his departure from India. Though there was a great deal of historical and cultural material in *Travels*, this work has been not enjoyed neither the readership nor the impact of the *Annals*.

possesses no national history."[18] Though the high hopes for historical documents that accompanied Sir William Jones' mining of Sanskrit manuscripts had not been realized, Tod did not feel this was a reason to believe that no historical documents existed. Tod cited the translation of the *Rājataraṇgiṇī* by Wilson[19] as evidence for the presence of the kind of historical material that he believed further research might uncover. That India would not have the "art" of history was a ludicrous suggestion:

> Is it to be imagined that a nation so highly civilized as the Hindus, amongst whom the exact sciences flourished in perfection, by whom the fine arts, architecture, sculpture, poetry, music, were not only cultivated, but taught and defined by the nicest and most elaborate rules, were totally unacquainted with the simple art of recording the events of their history, the characters of their princes, and the acts of their reigns? Where such traces of *mind* exist, we can hardly believe that there was want of competent recorders of events, which synchronical authorities tell us were worthy of commemoration.[20]

Tod here did not share in the bias that we have come to associate with later, more Anglicist Indologists, who not only produced but also sustained the notion that India was without a trail of historical documentation. Tod thought that the lack of historical documents was more indicative of political and social events, such as the destruction wrought by waves of invading Muslims over time, than anything inherent in Indian culture.[21] He cited the following comment made to him regarding the poor condition of the annals of Rajwara:

> … when our princes were in exile, driven from hold to hold, and compelled to dwell in the clefts of the mountains, often doubtful whether they would not be forced to abandon the very meal preparing for them, was that a time to think of historical records?[22]

Though Tod's stance on the existence of an historical consciousness in Indian culture distinguished him within early nineteenth century

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[18] *Annals*, I.xiii.

[19] Published in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv, according to Tod's notes.

[20] *Annals*, I.xiv, emphasis original.

[21] This notion of marauding bands of conquering Muslims, of course, was itself a construction arising both out of an Indian interpretive universe which saw Muslim rulers as historical threats to their well-being and sovereignty, as well as a British (and, in some cases, highly Christianized) discursive practice, particularly active in Tod, of demonizing Islam.

[22] Ibid.

Indology, he did not in any way escape essentialist notions of India completely. In his discussion of the character of the available historical works, he noted:

> Those who expect from a people like the Hindus a species of composition of precisely the same character as the historical works of Greece and Rome, commit the very egregious error of overlooking the peculiarities which distinguish the natives of India from all other races, and which strongly discriminate their intellectual productions of every kind from those of the West. Their philosophy, their poetry, their architecture, are marked with traits of originality; and the same may be expected to pervade their history, which, like the arts enumerated, took a character from its intimate association with the religion of the people.[23]

Tod clearly articulated the very familiar trope of the religiously infused Indian. The distinctive nature of Indian culture in general, that which inevitably set it apart from the West, was its close association with religion. Religion, however, did not rise to the fore in the *Annals*. As discussed in the introduction, the Orientalist project was, in general, an elite project. In the specific case of Indology, this meant that the main course of Orientalist production was Brahmanical, or concerned with the ideology of the most elite class, in the elite language of Sanskrit. The British administrative discourse was clearly Brahman-centered, and the passion for things Indian in European intellectual circles was largely fueled by the philological revolution in part occasioned by the "discovery" of Sanskrit.[24] As part of a class of administrator/historians working outside of the colonial centers of learning and jurisprudence, Tod was integral in the formation of an alternative historical discourse, not of a less elite strata of society, but certainly of a non-Brahmanical one. Though European constructions of India may have been religious ones, the character of the unique natives that Tod had chosen to present was not as permeated with this imaginative faculty. Tod wrote of the princes, the leaders, the *kṣatriya*s, and Brahmans did not play a large role in the *Annals* at all.[25]

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[23] *Annals*, I.xiv–xv.

[24] See, for example, R. Lingat's (1973) discussion of the use of *dharmaśāstra* texts in early colonial legal administration. For treatments of the role of Sanskrit in eighteenth and nineteenth century European philology, see T. R. Trautmann (1997), the collection of original texts in P. J. Marshall (1970) as well as M. Bernal (1987).

[25] Tod often depicted the priests as scheming, somewhat evil, and certainly an unwelcome check on the power and activities of the Rājpūt princes. See *Annals* I.403–410.

One of the most persistent criticisms of Tod has been that only the Rājpūts appear on his pages.[26] Though Tod's was a narrow social picture, it was noteworthy given the Brahman-centrism of the Indological scholarship of his day. The *Annals* was not, and was not intended to be, the equivalent of the *Bhagavad-Gīta* or the *Manu Dharmaśāstra*. It was not the translation of the Sanskrit religious heritage of India into English. Worship was quite clearly not the only activity of the Indian people, especially the Indian princes. Nor, for similar reasons, was the *Annals* comparable to the *Rājataraṇgiṇī*, from which Tod obviously drew inspiration for his project. The *Annals* is the record of a martial people by a military man. This fact is crucial to our understanding of Tod's construction of the *Annals*.

Tod's introduction continued with a discussion of the many types of source material he used to build the *Annals*. The first were the *Purāṇa*s and genealogical legends of the princes. Though obscured by mythology, Tod felt that they contained enough factual material, or at least records of names, to be a useful guide to the historian. Another source were heroic poems, generally sung by bards.[27] Tod regarded bards as "the primitive historians of mankind,"[28] for before there was a class of writers that specialized in fictional poetry, these bards "were doubtless employed in recording real events and commemorating real personages."[29] The chief drawback of bardic sources was the fact that they were concerned mostly with martial exploits and tales of great battles, to the exclusion of details of civil life. Tod thought, however, that the records kept by Brahmans regarding the endowment, repair and building of temples would furnish historical and chronological details left out of the poetic sources. He also sought out the legends surrounding sacred places, local *purāṇa*s, rock inscriptions, coins, copper-plate grants, and, seemingly, anything else he within his grasp. He appears to have been an excellent collector of the kinds of materials which make

[26] See K. R. Qanungo (1957).

[27] Tod relied especially on "the heroic history of Prithiraj, by Chand." (*Annals*, I.xv–xvi) Crooke directs us to the *Chand-raesa* or *Prithiraj Raesa*, as discussed by V. A. Smith in his *Early History of India.…* (*Annals*, (1920 ed.) I.lx n1).

[28] *Annals*, I.xv.

[29] Ibid. It is important to note that in nineteenth century European historical discourse, bards were considered the original class of historian across all societies. See Tod's further discussion of the role of the bard in the development of history in general (ibid, I.57). As a comparison study that informs the analysis of Tod's Scottish background, see Trevor-Roper (1983) on the role of bards in the invention of the Scottish Highland tradition.

up a serious, comprehensive archive, for he was not only interested in the elite texts, but also those materials which might provide information regarding local customs and society.

Another source of information of which he made use is "The controversies of the Jains,"[30] which are records of the Jain communities in Gujarat and Nahrwala, dating from the Chaulukya dynasty. Tod valued these records very highly,[31] and noted that "[f]rom a close and attentive examination of the Jain records, which embody all that those ancient sectarians knew of science, many chasms in Hindu history might be filled up."[32] He further notes that:

> The party-spirit of the rival sects of India was, doubtless, averse to the purity of history; and the very ground upon which the Brahmans built their ascendancy was the ignorance of the people. There appears to have been in India, as well as in Egypt in early times, a coalition between the hierarchy and the state, with the view of keeping the mass of the nation in darkness and subjugation.[33]

Tod's persistent critique of the Brahmans here looks past the complicity of the "state" or the princes in the "subjugation" of the people. Concern for the purity of the historical record, as against the distortions introduced by interested factions, would not likely have turned Tod so against the Brahmans. This "Brahman bashing" may, however, stem from anti-Brahman sentiments on the part of the Rājpūts and Jains who were Tod's informants. There was also, as mentioned above, a clear strain of English anti-clericalism within Tod's work. At the very least, this stance further distinguished Tod from the Brahman-centric discourse that characterized early British historical work.

Tod noted the importance, and ultimate aim of the *Annals*, however, in stating that:

> I applied myself to collect and explore its [Rajasthan's] early historical records, with a view of throwing some light upon a people scarcely yet known in Europe and whose political connexion with England

[30] *Annals*, I.xvii.

[31] It should be noted here that Tod's main informant was a Jain named Yati Gyanchandra. However, that he paid attention to the Jain records at all is another factor that sets him apart from the British tendency to rely mostly on Brahman sources. See Talbot (2007a),. Especially pp. 13–15, for more on Gyanchandra, and Tod's reliance on local knowledge.

[32] *Annals*, I.xvii.

[33] Ibid.

> appeared to me to be capable of undergoing a material change, with benefit to both parties.[34]

Tod saw himself working within two frameworks, that of the humanist project of raising awareness about a little known group of people, as well as the project of administering and improving the political relations between two treaty-bound peoples. Tod did not believe that he provided this history for the benefit of the British only, but he intended it for the benefit of *both* parties. He was deeply disillusioned with the economic policies imposed by the British. We also know, from his official career, that he often disagreed with Company administrative policies, and was not averse to acting on his convictions. His statement of purpose seems to reveal his hope that the *Annals* would have some lasting effect on administrative policy in Rajasthan, which his actual political work could, or did not accomplish.[35]

Tod was clearly a sympathetic investigator. He spoke of the Rājpūts in very favorable—almost glowing—language. He was also very clear to speak against a discourse prevalent among the writers and administrators of his day: "… I should not despair of triumphing over the apathy which dooms to neglect almost every effort to enlighten my native country in the subject of India."[36] He continued this theme, somewhat more strongly, in the introduction to his second volume. Here Tod was more direct in saying that the *Annals* was not meant to "court [public] approbation" but "to awaken sympathy for the objects of my work, the interesting people of Rajasthan." Tod thought his "sacred obligation" to them was:

> … to claim for them [the pages of the *Annals*] a higher title than a mass of mere archaeological data. To see humanity under every aspect, and to observe the influence of different creeds upon man in his social capacity, must ever be one of the highest sources of mental enjoyment … In the

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[34] Ibid.

[35] Tod provided a glimpse of his disappointment in having to leave India when and how he did. He noted that "[ill-health] forced me to revisit my native land just as I obtained permission to look across the threshold of the Hindu Minerva; whence, however, I brought some relics, the examination of which I now consign to other hands." (*Annals,* I.xviii) Exactly what he meant by "the Hindu Minerva" is not clear, but he noted that he had deposited a large number of unexamined "Sanskrit and Bhakha MSS" in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society. This historical work, therefore, was not only provided for longevity, but was intended to continue the program of heritage construction and protection that Tod began during his tenure in India. A complete catalog of the Tod collection of manuscripts appears in L. D. Barnett (1940).

[36] *Annals*, I.xix.

> present circumstances of our alliances with these States, every trait of national character, and even every traditional incident, which, by leading us to understand and respect their peculiarities, may enable us to secure their friendship and esteem, become of infinite importance. The more we study their history, the better we shall comprehend the causes of their international quarrels, the origin of their tributary engagements, the secret principles of their mutual repulsion, and the sources of their strength and their weakness as an aggregate body: without which knowledge it is impossible we can arbitrate with justice in their national disputes; and, as respects ourselves, we may convert a means of defence into a source of bitter hostility.[37]

This is a stark challenge to the developing imperial administration. Tod noted the importance of understanding these people, in depth, in order to deal with them effectively. Apart from the immediate political benefits, however, he made the sheer human enjoyment of learning about others a central part of his program. With this rhetorical maneuver, he continued to press the program of separating and elevating the Rājpūts as a group. By making an association between the humanist and the political programs, Tod displayed his larger concern, that the Rājpūts be recognized for their place in the human hierarchy. Tod believed the Rājpūts to be part of an ancient "Scythic" racial tradition that included many Northern European peoples. The ends of political order were served through Tod's actions and analyses, but the important task of understanding human ancestry in general was also at stake.

Romanticism and the Rājpūts

"Tod was a Romantic," is a statement that is often seen in scholarly treatments of his work.[38] This statement, however, is not nearly as intelligible as it is ubiquitous. There is no single, straightforward definition of Romanticism. Many of the attempts to define it are tentative, noting the enormous time frame, historical and literary variations, and genres and ranges of materials that fall under this rubric.[39] This discussion will wade carefully through these waters, and deal with those general themes resonating within Tod's work. This treatment will be very

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[37] *Annals*, II.vii.

[38] For discussion of Tod's romanticism see, for instance, L. Rudolph and S. Hoeber Rudolph (2003), pp. 260–7.

[39] See I. Berlin and H. Hardy (1999) and J. Chandler (1998) for more complete discussions of the complexities in defining romanticism.

selective within a vast and somewhat conflicting literature. The goal is not to shed any new light on the study of those things called Romantic, but to discuss the ways in which some general, common themes, associated with Romanticism, play themselves out in the context of the *Annals*.

Isaiah Berlin describes a "great break in European consciousness" during the years 1760–1830. Traveling amongst a certain literary set in the Western Europe of 1820,[40] one would have encountered a complex of ideas that we now associate with Romanticism.

> The values to which they attached the highest importance were such values as integrity, sincerity, readiness to sacrifice one's life to some inner light, dedication to some ideal for which it is worth sacrificing all that one is, for which it is worth both living and dying. You would have found that they were not primarily interested in knowledge, or in the advance of science, not interested in political power, not interested in happiness, not interested, above all, in adjustment to life, in finding your place in society, in living at peace with your government, even in loyalty to your king , or to your republic. You would have found that common sense, moderation, was very far from their thoughts. You would have found that they believed in the necessity of fighting for your beliefs to the last breath in your body, and they would have believed in the value of martyrdom as such, no matter what the martyrdom was martyrdom for. You would have found that they believed that minorities were more holy than majorities, that failure was nobler than success, which had something shoddy and something vulgar about it. The very notion of idealism, not in its philosophical sense, but in the ordinary sense in which we use it, that is to say that state of mind of a man who is prepared to sacrifice a great deal for principles or for some conviction, who is not prepared to sell out, who is prepared to go to the stake for something which he believes, because he believes in it—this attitude was relatively new. What people admired was wholeheartedness, sincerity, purity of soul, that ability and readiness to dedicate yourself to your ideal, no matter what it was.[41]

Berlin presents the romantic as the one who is tied to ideals and virtue. Passion, with no need for moderation or common sense, becomes the highest ideal. The martyr is revered. Devotion, sincerity and purity become highly valued.[42]

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[40] Berlin names Victor Hugo, Madame de Stael, the Schlegel brothers, Goethe, Coleridge and Byron.

[41] Berlin, pp. 8–9.

[42] Bernal also notes that "Romanticism maintains … that reason is inadequate to handle the important aspects of life and philosophy," p. 204.

From the value of purity, springs an interest in the most original, pure forms of existence. Wilhelm Halbfass and Martin Bernal both note the focus on the search for origins, specifically racial ones, as a crucial aspect of the Romantic project. Though the notions of origin and purity were also concerns of the Enlightenment thinkers, the Romantic view of them brought a different emphasis, that of the purity of origin as a response to a perceived loss in the present; "the sense of unity and wholeness."[43] As Halbfass states, "the turn towards India became the quest for the true depths of our own being, a search for the original, infant state of the human race, for the lost paradise of all religions and philosophies."[44] The affliction of the present time was the sense of a "quantifying, mechanical, merely rational way of viewing the universe,"[45] against which the idea of India held out a potential remedy.

The remedy was reversion into human being itself, back to the childhood of man.

> The Orient was the infant state, and thus innocent, pure, and with unexhausted potential. Hellenism was adolescence, Rome adulthood. The Orient represents Europe's own childhood. "All the peoples of Europe, where are they from? From Asia." In other words, we find here a new willingness to acknowledge the cultures of the Orient as autonomous structures in their own right. And yet they are also simultaneously viewed as the cultures of our own origins, the sources of our own historical being.[46]

In the Romantic imagination, childhood was "seen as a period of emotion and feeling before rationality, but also as one that was without the sexuality and corruption of adulthood."[47] The value of childhood lay in its unsullied potential. Enlightenment notions of "progress" add to this valuation of childhood. Rather than a period of underdevelopment, childhood became the initial period of potential, out of which maturity sprang. Asians, as the ancestors of Europeans, became the living embodiment of this potential.

Further, the search through history for an original place took certain characteristic forms. As Bernal puts it, "Romantics longed for

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[43] W. Halbfass (1988), p. 72–3.
[44] Ibid, p. 72.
[45] Ibid, p. 73.
[46] Ibid, p. 70, citing Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit, Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 13, p. 406.
[47] Bernal, 208.

small, virtuous and 'pure' communities in remote and cold places: Switzerland, North Germany and Scotland."[48] The emphasis on place became another key feature in the Romantic project, especially the idea of the rootedness of a people in a place, and the notion that their essence would flourish in a special place.[49] The image of the tree, notes Bernal, becomes the ideal Romantic image, as trees are "rooted in their own soils and nourished by their particular climates; at the same time they are alive and grow."[50] Trees are separate entities in the world, almost pure worlds in themselves, roots and branches self-contained parts of a single system, or as the metaphor went, a single race.

> The two purest essences of a "race" were seen as being its language and folksong. As sounds they were temporal, not spatial. They were not stable but moving, if not "living," and they were seen as communicating feeling, not reason. Furthermore, they were felt to be expressions not merely of the whole race, but of its most characteristic and vital period, its "childhood" or primitive stage. At this point, then, we focus on folksong and ballads.[51]

The dual projects of philology and genealogy, present in this early Indological discourse, were ideally suited to the imperatives of the Romantic ideal.

The stages of man that Halbfass took from the Romantic texts (Asia as childhood through Europe as adult) form a coherent narrative that is of great use in the interpretation of a text like the *Annals*. This is especially so with respect to Tod's speculations on the relationships between Rājpūts and Europeans, through the mediation of the Scythians. For Tod, the case of the Rājpūts brought an historical reality to this very phenomenon. They were the historical children to the matured British adult.

Tod displays his Romanticism, therefore, through his fascination with the high-minded, idealistic Rājpūts, whose main defining characteristic was their attachment to the ideals of valor, honor and glory. The fact that the Rājpūts so readily faced death for their beliefs placed them

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[48] Bernal, 209. See also Trevor-Roper (1983) on the attention paid to the Highland tradition of Scotland in the Romantic imagination.

[49] F. v. Schlegel (1890), also established the importance of place when he described the four mental faculties of Understanding, Will, Reason and Imagination in association with the four racial and spatial locations, Egyptian, Hebrew, Chinese and Indian, respectively (p. 165–6).

[50] Bernal, 205. Halbfass (69–70) also notes the tree metaphor in Herder, 69–70.

[51] Bernal, 206.

squarely within Berlin's paradigm. Tod's hypothesized ties of ancestry could only have added to the sense of attraction, for the Rājpūts could then represent the lost values and ideals of Europe. The Rājpūts became powerful symbols in a critique of European society, as living exemplars of what Europe had lost over time. For the Romantics, the Enlightenment concern with rationality and progress was actually a sign of a retreat from aspects of the essential humanity that we all share. The "sanguinary" passions of the Rājpūts were exactly those aspects of the unified human being that had been expunged by an Enlightenment rationalism that emphasized reason and individual maturity at the cost of basic aspects of humanity.

Further, Tod's emphasis on maintaining the traditional native economies fit well with the aspects of the romantic paradigm that emphasized the local, particularistic aspects of human existence.[52] The critique of modern economy was just as much an attack on the mechanistic and atomistic impulses inherent in the new modes of production as it was an attack on the uniformity that they implied. This uniformity was a process that obliterated the distinctive character of the individual peoples of the world in their distinctive habitats. The zoological overtones here are not accidental, in that the focus on the local is intimately tied with notions of the exotic and attractive other, and served the purposes of display that we now associate with the early sciences of ethnology and anthropology. In this context, however, the historical relic that is the traditional society was valued not simply for its exhibitionary value, but for the viable, alternative way of life that it represented.

Tod's Rājpūts became Romantic heroes by virtue of virtue, but also by virtue of the historical and social schemas that were placed upon them. Their spot in the ladder of progress, their position as a reflection of the pure ancestor, and their local particularity—valiant sons of the blazing desert, forged in the crucible of never-ending battles in resistance to oppression—these are aspects of the too-neat counter-image to the "modern" European that were massaged into an alternative reality and social critique.

If Tod was a Romantic, he was a limited one. The religious aspects of the Romantic program were completely lost on him.[53] As noted above,

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[52] N. Leask (1993) presents well the complex relationship between the Romantic attack on mercantilist economy in the absence of a general critique of the imperialist project. See especially p. 91–5.

[53] All of the above cited authors note the Romantic fascination with Hinduism as the symbol of the unity and wholeness that is lacking. Halbfass quotes Novalis,

Tod rejected the Brahman-centered view of Indian society, and saw evil in the possible influence of the priests over the princes. To the extent that Tod allowed a religious consciousness in his work, it was of the presumed unity of the political and the religious that he saw in the mists of history. He had no problem extracting what he believed was actual history from the epics and mythical genealogical texts. His reliance on the ballads of native bards was wholly in accord with the previous definition of romanticism. Small, local, German and Scottish bardic literature must have served as the model of the types of materials that Tod sought out, and of the scholarship he attempted to emulate (i.e. the importance of adhering to the standards of the *cāraṇs*). The romantic emphasis on the local ballads had a clear relationship to the structure of the *Annals* as a whole.

Tod's attempt to legitimate the Rājpūts both within their own setting, and outwardly to the European audience is intimately tied to this historical project.[54] Specifically, there are two major narrative strands in Tod, both of which deal with the identity of the Rājpūts. The first is Tod's reconciliation of the various Indian genealogies he had available to him, and his creation of a master list of the "Thirty-Six Royal Races of Rajasthan." The second is his project of reconciling Indian mythological and historical figures and events with those of the ancient Hellenic and Roman worlds, and the implications of this for Tod's theory of the racial origin of the Rājpūts. Both narratives legitimize the status of the Rājpūts. The first serves to legitimize the Mewārī Rājpūts *internally* amongst all the other Rājpūt groups in Rajputana, and the second serves to legitimate the Rājpūts *externally* to the British government and European reader. This second project revealed a great deal about colonial discourse in the early nineteenth century, and suggests avenues of inquiry about the effect of colonial histories on the later development of Indian histories, and Indian society in general.

"Religion is the great Orient in us, which is seldom obscured." (74, quoted from "Letter to Just, *Schriften*, ed. P. Kluckhohn and R. Samuel, second ed., vol. 4, 341f")

[54] The object of this analysis is not to discuss the origins of the Rājpūts as such, but to discuss the interpretation of the origins of the Rājpūts that appeared in Tod. There is an extensive literature on the origins of the Rājpūts, of which Tod is an integral part. For an historical overview of the arguments, see J. N. Asopa (1976). B. Chattopadhyaya (1997) presents an interesting discussion of the political and economic processes affecting early Rājpūt clans. For a definitive discussion of the Rājpūts emerging as a service elite out of the military labor market, see Kolff (1990). Finally, see Freitag (2008) for an examination of how the processes of service and power operated in forming Rājpūt identity in Marwar. The state of European knowledge about the Rājpūts just before Tod's arrival in India is the topic of Chapter 1 in this volume.

Internal Legitimation

Within this "internal" rubric, Tod engaged in two sub-projects. The first was establishing the line of the oldest, and in his mind, therefore, most pure, Rājpūt Royal Races—those of the "Solar/*Surya*" and "Lunar/*Chandra*" lines. Tod's source materials for these genealogies are the *purāṇa*s he obtained from the library of the Rāṇā of Udaipur; primarily the *Bhagavat*, *Skanda*, *Agni* and *Bhaviṣya purāṇas*. Tod convened a panel of *paṇḍit*s, presided over by his main informant, a Jain named Yati Gyanchandra, to extract all of the information they could find from these *purāṇa*s regarding the *Surya* and *Chandra* races.[55] Tod then collated and analyzed the results. Though the chronologies from the individual *purāṇa*s did not match exactly, they were sufficiently similar as to indicate to Tod that they were "the productions of various writers, borrowing from some common original source."[56]

In addition to the *purāṇa*s, Tod used the work of other orientalists (William Jones, Mr. Bentley and Colonel Wilford[57]), as well as the *Rājataraṇgiṇī* in analyzing the genealogies of the two main martial lines. In an extensive and meticulous way, Tod compared the number of rulers and dynasties that he deemed the most probable, determined the proper ordering of rulers where the texts disagreed, and fixed a standard spelling of the names of the rulers. Though the use of European scholars broke with the native tradition somewhat, in effect Tod was engaged in the work of the traditional *bhāṭ*s and *cāraṇ*s.[58] In the end, he traced the Solar line from before "The Great War"[59] to Rāma, and from Rāma to the Rāṇās of Mewār through Rāma's eldest son Lava. The Kachhwaha, Amber and Mārwār princes trace their own genealogies from the younger son of Rāma, Kuśa (although in the case of Amber

[55] This is the mechanism by which the interests of the native paṇḍits, who must have been closely allied with the Rāṇā of Udaipur, becomes clear in creating the legitimized royal line. Cynthia Talbot (2007a, b) discusses Tod's use of the *Pṛthvirāj Rāso* and the way his acceptance of the Rājpūt narrative (enhanced by Tod's reliance on Gyanchandra) elevates the *Rāso* to a place of historical importance that this text does not deserve. Since the 1870s, scholars have believed that the text's claim to twelfth century authorship is a fabrication, and have documented numerous examples of historical inaccuracy. The text's real value lies in the uses to which the Rājpūts have put it in constructing their historical identity.

[56] *Annals*, I.17.

[57] All having published work on the *purāṇa*s in *Asiatic Researches*.

[58] *Bhāṭ*s and *cāraṇ*s are hereditary groups of professional genealogists, bards and panegyrists.

[59] A reference, presumably, to the *Mahābhārata*.

and Mārwār, they are actually mistaken, according to Tod). The Lunar line supplies the list of princes that lead to the Pāṇḍavas, through Yudhiṣṭhira, and follows through the Mahabharata. Each of the two major royal lines was thus associated with one of the great epics.[60]

The end result of Tod's analysis placed the Mewārī Rāṇās in the line of the eldest son of Rāma, and therefore they occupied the most highly prized place in Tod's genealogical imagination. Mewār was given this pride of place in his work and in Mewār Tod saw the oldest and most pure form of Rājpūt society. He noted:

> With the exception of Jaisalmer, Mewar is the only dynasty of these races which has outlived eight centuries of foreign domination, in the same lands where conquest placed them. … we can carry [the line of the princes of Mewar] into the regions of antiquity more remote than the Persian, and which would satisfy the most fastidious in respect to ancestry.[61]

This is where Tod's ideological and historical projects converge. The demonstrated antiquity of the Mewār line has now bestowed upon it the legitimacy that Tod quite self-consciously set out to achieve.

Once the main royal lines were set, Tod turned his attention to the delineation of the remaining races of Rajasthan. His sources range from an ancient manuscript found in a Jain temple at Nadol, Mārwār, again the poems of Chand, a source supposedly contemporary with Chand entitled *Kumarpal Charitra*, a living bard named Moghji, and an unnamed bard from Saurashtra. Tod analyzed all of these, and developed his "Corrected List," which was, as he stated, "admitted by the genealogists to be more perfect than any existing document."[62] The exact components of Tod's list are not the main object of interest here. What is important is that Tod had produced a list of the *kul*s (families/clans) of Rajasthan as he had been able to legitimate their history, and he (by his own report) was able to do such to the satisfaction of the

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[60] From a modern perspective, it is, of course, absurd to attempt to draw genealogical conclusions from the mists of mythology. Within Tod's worldview, however, it was an accepted discourse (see Trautmann (1997) on the Mosaic ethnology in the work of Sir William Jones). Further, this type of work indicates the power of textual legitimation in the context of the philological model of scholarship that was current at the time, and demonstrates the power of the epics as discursive limits upon historical narrative. Greek epics powerfully conditioned European historical thought, and Europeans placed Indian epics in a similar central position within their constructions of Indian historical discourse.

[61] *Annals*, I.173–4.

[62] Ibid, I.68.

*paṇḍit*s with whom he had been working. As Tod tells us, this was information that "Every Rajput should be able to repeat …[their *gotrācārya*, or family lineage]; though it is now confined to the family priest or the genealogist."[63] Tod had deliberately entered into an analysis, in form and substance, which was the domain of the native professional. The process proceeded largely along traditional lines, and Tod was proud to note that he performed the work in a way that was both intelligible and acceptable to the native genealogical authorities.[64]

The European reviewers of the *Annals* also noted that Tod operated within a native framework. *The Edinburgh Review* articles of 1830 and 1832 both comment on Tod's use, detailed presentation and attitude towards traditional Indian materials, and they both note the native character of Tod's work.[65] In both reviews, the heavy use of such materials was lauded for it imparted to Tod's work "much of the freshness and fidelity of a native composition."[66] Tod's immersion in the native sources with the native authorities has also gained him "much information that a cold enquirer never would have obtained."[67] The use of the native materials, however, came at the price of native defects as well, namely, "… a diffuseness, and an occasional turgidity of style."[68] The native character of the *Annals*, therefore, was an immediately apparent aspect of the text.

Tod was behaving like a *bhāṭ;* or *cāraṇ*, first working to produce the most perfect list of the *suryavaṃśa* and *chandravaṃśa*, the most ancient of the Rājpūt races, and then a list of the whole of the royal families of Rajputana. These actions worked within the native tradition, using mostly traditional materials, for the purpose of legitimating the line of the Mewārī Rāṇās as the most pure and revered within the native tradition.

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[63] Ibid.

[64] Tod did not at all subscribe to the native system of dating. Tod followed the Mosaic chronology supported by Jones, as we see in the following: "I venture to place the establishment in India Proper of these two grand races, distinctively called those of the Soorya and Chandra, at about 2256 years before the Christian era; … and about a century and a half after that great event, the Flood." (*Annals*, I.32) Tod's analysis of the Scythic origin of the Rājpūts, however, does not agree with Jones' ideas of the ancient origins of the Indians. For a complete discussion of Jones, see Trautmann (1997), "The Mosaic Ethnology of Asiatick Jones."

[65] *The Edinburgh Review* (1830) Vol. LII, 86–109; (1832) Vol. LVI, 73–98.

[66] *Edinburgh Review* (1830), p. 92.

[67] *Edinburgh Review* (1832), p. 87.

[68] *Edinburgh Review* (1830), p. 92. See Chapter 6 for a more detailed exploration of these critiques within the ER reviews.

External Legitimation

> *Since each purana contains a cosmogony, both mythological and heroic history, the works which bear that title may not unaptly be compared to the Grecian theogonies.*[69]

References to Greek and Roman mythology and history saturate the *Annals*. Tod was obviously very well versed in the substance of European ancient history. In the course of his work, he made great use of this knowledge in a number of ways. For example, he often used analogies to Greece or Rome as a translation mechanism to make episodes in Indian history intelligible to the European reader, who would have been almost totally unfamiliar with India at the time. In discussing the origins of the various Rājpūt royal families, Tod noted, "The origin of every family, whether of east or west, is involved in fable. That of the Pandu is entitled to as much credence as the birth of Romulus, or other founders of a race."[70] Here, he made a comparison to classical antiquity as a way of illuminating his point about the relative reliability of discussions of origins. He also used ancient Greek and Roman historical sources to verify historical information about India from the period contemporary to the classical source. For example, Tod made frequent reference to Arrian and Herodotus in order to establish the antiquity and splendor of early Indian civilization.

Though interesting, these are not the most significant uses of classical antiquity in Tod. Tod's explication of the perfecting power of classical thought was a major aspect of his analysis. In discussing the state of Indian historical work in general, Tod stated:

> It must be recollected, moreover, that until a more correct taste was imparted to the literature of England and of France, by the study of classical models, the chronicles of both of these countries, and indeed of all the polished nations of Europe, were, at a much more recent date, as crude, as wild, and as barren as those of the early Rajputs.[71]

This is a complicated and revealing sentence. According to Tod, the classical models civilized European works, and the fact that these European texts required such external perfection did not empty them,

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[69] H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. "Essay on the Sanskrit and Pracrit Languages," Asiatic Researches, vii, 202, reprinted in P. J. Marshall (1970).

[70] *Annals*, I.41.

[71] Ibid, I.xv.

ultimately, of their value. On analogy, the Indian works should be accorded careful attention as well, for they were simply in a state of development that the European used to inhabit. Tod considered the Indian historical works he consulted as simply not as advanced as those of the Europeans, since they had not had the benefit of this civilizing influence of the classical models. This is notable, in that it placed Europeans and Indians at different points on the same temporal continuum, and not on separate lines of historical development. In other words, the Indians needed time and the proper influence; they were not essentially different from the Europeans. The classical world was not only the common ancestral property of both Europeans and Rājpūts, but access to it was the factor that separated the two peoples with respect to their relative historical consciousnesses.

Tod equated the figures of classical mythology, and the figures of Indian mythology to argue explicitly for a direct connection between the two peoples. Throughout his discussion of the genealogies of the Rājpūts in the *Annals*, Tod specified the correspondences that arose out of the racial relationship he assumed existed between the Europeans and the Rājpūts. For example, he equated Hercules and Krishna. Tod explained this identification on a number of levels. In the *Annals*, as well as in an article entitled "Comparison of the Hindu and Theban Hercules, illustrated by an ancient Hindu Intaglio,"[72] he made analogies on the basis of costume,[73] nominal,[74] legal[75] and cultural/customary similitude,[76] the resemblances of material culture and architecture,[77] and, finally, historical/narrative structure.[78] Tod also used (amateur) etymological reasoning to attempt to demonstrate nominal similarity: Hercules = Hari kul īś = chief of the race of Hari.[79] Tod was making a serious attempt at a deep cultural connection between those he considered Scythic Europeans and the Rājpūt races.

Tod followed almost wholly in the footsteps of William Jones in this particular train of thought. In an article from 1789 entitled "On the

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[72] *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1835), III 139–159. Tod read the paper before the Society on December 4,1830. This henceforth will be cited as TRASIII.

[73] Ibid, p. 140. The genesis of the article is an intaglio featuring a robed figure.

[74] Ibid, pp. 142, 146, 150, 155, 156.

[75] Ibid, p. 144.

[76] Ibid, pp. 145, 147, 150, 154.

[77] Ibid, p. 152.

[78] Ibid, p. 156.

[79] *Annals*, I.27. Tod's etymological adventures meet with particularly harsh criticism from later readers of the work. See Chapter 6 for details.

Gods of Greece, Italy and India,"[80] Jones made a detailed and rather complete comparison between the mythologies of these three regions. Tod did not materially deviate from the basic plan of correspondences that Jones had laid out. Where Tod differed was in the application and ramifications of these correspondences.

Ramifications

Tod was clear to say that he assumed "a common origin of the tribes of early Europe and the Scythic Rajpoot."[81] Continuing his scientific rhetoric, Tod went on to state the latitude and longitude of the area from which the original peoples were thought to have fanned out, in the "highlands of Central Asia," midway between the "fires of the equator and the cold of the arctic circle."[82] Tod then constructed, through a detailed explication of these similarities, a shared cultural past between the British and the Rājpūts. This is a distinctive type of orientalist discourse. Tod is saying, in effect, "They are Us, or what we were." He had in mind an historical European culture with which the Rājpūts specifically are identified. Take, for instance, the following quote:

> I have in contemplation to give to the public a few of the sixty-nine books of the poems of Chund, the last great bard of the last Hindu emperor of India, Pirthwirájá. They are entirely heroic: each book a relation of one of the exploits of this prince, the first warrior of his time. They will aid a comparison between the Rajpoot and Scandanavian bards, and show how far the Provencal Troubadour, the Neustrienne Trouveur, and the Minnesinger of Germany, have anything in common with the Rajpoot bardai.[83]

Thus, according to Tod, the Rājpūts were part of a pan-northern European Germanic/Scythic (and Celtic) culture. The ramifications of this identification are vast. Tod assumed that the Rājpūts and the British were of the same racial stock. Tod's assessment of the classical world combines with his subsequent discussion of the similarities between European and Rājpūt feudalism in the *Annals* to argue that the difference between the Rājpūts and the British was merely temporal.

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[80] Cited here from P.J. Marshall (1970).

[81] *Annals*, I.51. An extended discursis on the relations between the Rājpūts and the Scythians appears ibid I.48–67.

[82] 30–50 degrees north latitude, 75–95 degrees east longitude. *Annals*, I.51.

[83] *Annals*, p. I.57 fn.3.

The Rājpūts were in a stage once inhabited by the British, and all of Europe. This implied that with time and the proper training, they too would be able to attain the heights of European civilization. Further, the fact of this identification, Tod felt, should have a material impact on the way in which the British government governs the Rājpūt princes. The arguments for the nobility, ancient hereditary rights, and distinction of the Rājpūts, in which the Scythian origin thesis plays a crucial part, also played into Tod's pleas to leave the Rājpūts under indirect rule. One way to see Tod's message is that the Rājpūts could be elevated near to the status of the British, should the proper conditions arise. Therefore, the British had a responsibility to raise their "Indian brothers" to their highest potential. Though this is only one example, all manner of practical issues with respect to the problem of colonial governance arise out of the assumption of a common racial heritage.

One very famous and widely quoted passage from the *Annals* illustrates the nature of these problems, as well as Tod's implication in the processes of legitimation and knowledge construction. As part of his introduction to the first volume of the *Annals*, Tod says "… there is not a petty State in Rajasthan that has not had its Thermopylae. …"[84] The quote functions in many of the ways already described. The heroic defense of Thermopylae would have been a cultural reference accessible to virtually all of Tod's contemporary European readers.[85] Further, the equation of such a well-known episode from classical antiquity with the historical events in Rajasthan placed Indian history within this ennobling, perfecting classical discourse, and within the scope of the racial identification under discussion. This example, however, also illustrates one more facet of his use of the classical world—the legitimating discourse of these examples takes on a long-term life of its own.

In Udaipur in 1997, while discussing my research with an older Rājpūt gentleman, he said to me: "Tod compared Mewar history

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[84] *Annals*, I.xviii.

[85] The valiant defense of the entrance to Greece by the Spartans allowed the Athenians to leave, thereby saving Greece. This is a story of a small group against overwhelming odds who fought to the death, a very "Rājpūt" type of tale. To the nineteenth century European reader, in addition, this referent would have meant the protection of "our" way of life, against the barbarian (I am grateful to Steven Garfinkle for this last insight). It is not at all clear to what degree a contemporary Indian audience outside of a small, English educated elite would have understood this reference. Gandhi, and others, used the mere equation of an episode from Rājpūt history with classical Greece in a British historical text to great inspirational effect on a large scale.

beautifully giving analogs with ancient Greek history and he was so much influenced that there is only one Thermopylae in Greece but Mewar has Thermopylae in every village."[86] Tod's attempt at rhetorical clarity combined with his romantic speculations on racial identification have now become evidence of the greatness of the Rājpūt, expanded and interpreted further by Rājpūts themselves.

The Thermopylae passage in the *Annals* has a long history. Gandhi, for instance, repeatedly picked up the themes of courage and heroism in this same Thermopylae quote, made great rhetorical use of the Thermopylae image, and clearly cited Tod as the source. In a speech at Palitana in 1925, Gandhi extended the symbol of heroism to the inhabitants of Kathiawar: "Tod has stated that there were many Thermopylaes in Rajasthan. How many Thermopylaes do we see here in Kathiawar?"[87] In a lecture to to the students of Law College, Madras in 1920, Gandhi addressed the problem of Hindus not cooperating with Muslims, out of fear that the Hindus would be overrun and terrorized by the Muslims. He said that this fear on the part of Hindus was degrading both to Hinduism and Hindus, "whose land was dotted, as Col. Tod said, with a thousand Thermopaelies. The death of a martyr is far more preferable to the death of a coward."[88] Another example comes from a 1921 speech at a meeting in Navsari. Gandhi said:

> What shall I say about the Hindus' contribution to the history of the world? We have had a glorious past; if, however, we fight merely on the strength of our ancient heritage, we shall lose the battle. We should show ourselves as great as our forefathers. Our sages let their bodies be cut into pieces in order to preserve their dharma. Todd (sic) tells us that, whereas in Europe there was but one Thermopylae, in India we find every street and lane to have been a Thermopylae. I shall not go into history to tell you what great heroes India has produced. I shall say this: let us place our hands on our hearts and ask ourselves whether we have that heroism in us today.[89]

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[86] Personal communication with S. S. Chundawat (1997).

[87] *Collected Works* (CW), (26) p. 461.

[88] Ibid, (18) p. 189.

[89] Ibid, (20) p. 29. The distinction between Muslims and Hindus here also resonates with many other such distinctions, for example the relative place of the imaginative faculty in Muslims and Hindus, and the relative worth of Mughal art as compared to Hindu art. The Mughals, and the Muslims by extension are seen as capable and mature, while the Hindus are seem as helpless and childlike. It may be that the Muslims, coming from a judeo-christian tradition, are seen as more like the English, despite the evidence of race theory. I thank Ted Riccardi for this insight.

A note to the text says that the final two paragraphs of the speech, within which this quote appeared, were addressed specifically to the Hindus in the audience. For Gandhi, it was most critical that the ability of the Hindu to defend himself be established to the Hindu himself. The martial races were the perfect antidote to the image of effeminacy and weakness in the negative strains of Orientalist discourse operative in Gandhi's time, and long before. The fact that this exhortation is not directed to Muslims fit well with the martial, imperial image of the Mughal in India. There was no need to prove the self-sufficiency of the Muslim, as the fact of the Mughal Empire had already established their martial credentials.

Finally, in London, in 1931, Gandhi attended a meeting of the Federal Structure Committee to discuss the topic of Indian defense. Arguing for an Indian military defense force, Gandhi stated:

> After all, India is not a nation which has never known how to defend herself. There is all the material there. There are the Mohammedans, standing in no dread of foreign invasion. The Sikhs will refuse to think they can be conquered by anybody. The Gurkha, immediately he develops the national mind, will say, "I alone can defend India." Then there are the Rajputs, who are supposed to be responsible for a thousand Thermopylaes, and not one little Thermopylae [as] in Greece. That is what the Englishman, Colonel Tod, told us. Colonel Tod has taught us to believe that every pass in Rajputana is a Thermopylae. Do these people stand in need of learning the art of defence?[90]

Gandhi used the Thermopylae image once again, but this time to thrust an Englishman back in the face of the English themselves. The irony is quite rich.

This progressive expansion in scope employed by Gandhi increased the rhetorical power of each of these speeches. From Tod's original intent, the quote was extended to an indefinite number of instances in Kathiawar, then to every street and lane of India. Then, though the scope remains the whole of India, through the persons of the martial races, the audience is extended to the Englishman as well. The image had come full circle. Though Tod had become the apparent bludgeon over English heads, it was this transformation of the quote that added the real rhetorical force.

There is much in the *Annals* that is supple, and that lends itself to interpretation and amplification. Tod's interpretation of the Rājpūts

[90] Ibid (48) p. 307.

themselves is one of those supple, elastic features. The end product of what is here termed Tod's "legitimation projects" was an actually legitimate image of the Rājpūt that was then ripe for use in ethnocentric, and nationalist ways. A full discussion of the inspirational force of this image will occur in the final chapter of this book. The fact that Tod's *Annals* operated in such an expansive way, with multiple, simultaneous discourses, was also part of what bestowed upon it the great influence it has had, and continues to have, both within and outside of India. His work acts as an oracular text that provides authority, in both form and substance, to a number of audiences, for a number of purposes.

This analysis will now begin to explore the life of the text after its publication. Each of the next two chapters will detail the impact of the *Annals* in the European and Indian contexts, and particularly the opposite trajectories of this impact in each of these circumstances. It was exactly as Tod's *Annals* declined in its political influence in England that its greatest impact in India began.

CHAPTER SIX

VALUATION

Accuracy begins with contemporary historians.[1]

With the publication of the *Annals*, Tod's work moved into the world, and became an artifact for examination, opinion and exegesis. This chapter focuses on the critical reception of the *Annals*, over time, in British social, political and literary circles from mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century. The discussion begins with the impact of the text upon its initial publication in London in 1829/32. The *Annals* was a politically important element in an imperial system that was still in the process of consolidation. The first comment on the work, therefore, concentrated on the usefulness of the text in determining the best form of governance in the Indian territories. Here again, the *Annals* was useful to both Whig and Tory, liberal and conservative, and the reviews delineate the usefulness of the text to each ideological position.

The chapter then moves forward half a century, still in England, to a period of political decline, but great literary impact for the *Annals*. Tod's stories of Rājpūt heroes inspired a series of epic Romantic adventure poems intended for an English popular audience. This part culminates with the 1920 edition of the *Annals* which shifted praise to the man and his project, but damned the scholarship itself.

At the time of its publication, the *Annals* took a position of prominance at the ground of what has more recently become known as the "power/knowledge nexus"[2]—the deep relationship between information and control. In the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, the East India Company sought to secure its position within a rapidly changing political situation in India. Additionally, Britain itself had to negotiate a change in its national identity in order to come to terms with its evolving position as an imperial power. Works like Tod's were

[1] Review article: *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Edinburgh Review*, 1832.

[2] As noted in the Introduction, Michel Foucault explored the power/knowledge nexus in his work on the discourses of rationality in the construction of European institutions of madness, criminal deviance, and sexuality. See M. Foucault 1973, 1979, 1987 and 1990.

crucial to both of these aims. The *Annals* fed the requirements of the Company's political processes in India, as well as the needs of British critics of the Company's administration of the people who were rapidly coming under the umbrella of the British Empire. At the outset, Tod's *Annals* served as a bridge between two very disparate worlds. This initial focus on English national interests demonstrated the extent to which the imperial knowledge enterprise had always been tied to the basic stability and functioning of not only the Empire, but the nation itself. To understand the Empire was to ensure the stability and good order of the Empire, as well as to grasp the nature of Britain in the early nineteenth century.

The Company and its Discontents: The Asiatic Journal *and the* Oriental Herald

The first volume of the *Annals* was published in 1829, eleven years after the end of the wars with the Marāṭhās, which left the British with a firm hold on North and Central India, and during a period of intense discussion within Britain about the proper role and form of administration in the Indian territories. Reviews of the *Annals* in both the *Asiatic Journal* and the *Oriental Herald* attested to this social and political situation in their emphases on the political relevance and ramifications of Tod's work. In particular, these reviews shared the view that the general lack of interest in India among the English might be rectified by an explication of the national interests at stake in acquiring knowledge of, and establishing relationships between, the two countries. These journals, however, existed at opposite ends of the ideological spectrum, and the visions they had for the encounter with India were markedly different.

The *Asiatic Journal* began publication in 1816, sponsored by the East India Company, to cover political, literary, economic and cultural issues within the Company's territories. Their review of Tod's work states that the *Annals* had long been awaited in India and Europe, "with an anxiety proportioned to the interest of the subject, and to the opportunities and known qualifications of the author." Though a statement both of the enthusiasm for Indian topics, as well as the generally high regard for Tod at the time—despite the cloud under which his career in India had ended—it was not sufficient that the *Annals* filled a void in the knowledge of Hindustan. The real value of the *Annals* was in its import for promoting the national interest.

> … there exists a general aversion, in this country, to writings upon oriental topics, which seems unconquerable, unless some happy expedient can be devised of bribing the people of England to become better informed upon a subject which very nearly concerns the national interests.[3]

Tod, the Company agent, becomes a heroic figure in this national project, as "the legitimate desire of fame has been with Colonel Tod a very subordinate consideration, compared with a motive far more generous and distinterested." Tod's residence among the Rājpūts provided him special insight into their character, and led him to note that the current model of relationship with the Rājpūts was:

> … totally erroneous [and] a different species of connection, founded upon a juster notion of their true character, would promote the benefit of both parties, and cement a kind of intimate union between them, which would, upon any political contingency, provide a bulwark of defence to the British power in Asia.[4]

Tod's work, therefore, was significant for its role in maintaining and strengthening Britain's, and hence the Company's, position in Asia.

> Independently, therefore, of its literary pretensions, this work claims the attention of the politician and the legislator, and may be regarded, at this critical juncture, as a portion of the evidence which Parliament will have before it, in adjudicating the great question respecting the East-India Company's charter, and the future government of our Indian Empire.[5]

The *Asiatic Journal*, in line with its close association with the Company, put the problem of imperial security at the forefront of its concerns. Tod's observations on the value of the form of government in India for the governed was ignored in favor of the importance of good government for the administrators. Others saw the issue differently.

The *Oriental Herald* began publishing in 1824, founded by James Silk Buckingham, an ardent free-trader and extreme critic of the East India Company. Buckingham had twice been removed from India, once simply for being there and attempting to trade without Company permission, and the second time for his vocal criticism of the Company as founder and editor of the *Calcutta Journal*.[6] Buckingham intended

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[3] *Asiatic Journal*, p. 187.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid. Chapter 4 discusses the Parliamentary debate on the matter of East India Company administration of India.

[6] For Buckingham's narrative of his experiences in the Middle East and India, see J. S. Buckingham (1829).

the *Oriental Herald* as a venue in which "… we might traffic in the ideas of Asia with as much advantage as we have long done in her material riches,"[7] so they might, among the nation's youth "by judicious management be ripened into enlightened tastes."[8] The journal was meant to help British youth acquire the taste for more than just the wealth Asia offered, but for its culture as well.

The *Oriental Herald* was even more direct in its immediate focus on the political ramifications of the *Annals*.

> Perhaps, indeed, there is no branch of Indian policy more worthy of anxious and deliberate investigation, than the character of our relations with the monarchs[9] and great princes of Rajast'han. The warlike Rajpoot differs more from the timid and gentle native of Bengal, than the people of any two European nations from each other. The terms of subjection, treaty, and alliance, which would obtain for us the grateful acknowledgements of the inhabitants of Eastern India, might excite discontent and insurrection in the west. Already it has been too much our policy to frame general regulations on partial experience, and it is by no means uncommon, for men whose observations have been confined to the lower provinces, or to occasional glimpses of the banks of the Jumna or the Ganges, to generalize the opinions they have formed with very limited opportunities of knowledge. Until the publication of the work before us, there was no part of India respecting which so much misconception prevailed as the western Rajpoot states; and we look upon the very valuable information which it contains as an important portion of the evidence on which Parliament must proceed in providing for the future government of our East Indian empire.[10]

The conservative and romantic implication here is that the proper form of government is one that is congruent to the natural characteristics of the people to which it was applied. Effective administration, therefore, was not simply a benevolent desire to effect the best match between the governed and the form of government, but this match was necessary to prevent the possibility of revolt among a set of possibly disaffected, martial Indians. The *Annals* would be a valuable part of the debate on the future of the East India Company because Tod's work provided the

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[7] Buckingham (1824), p. 89.

[8] Ibid, p. 90.

[9] East India Company documents typically referred to the "native princes," and did not grant them the status of monarch, so as not to challenge the authority of the only true monarch—the British King. That this British journal should grant the Indian princes the staus of "Monarch" belied a strikingly favorable position with respect to the Rājpūt rulers.

[10] *Oriental Herald* (1829), p. 505–6.

Parliament the knowledge of the people, their character, institutions and history that was crucial to the nature of their proper government.

The problem of imperial security was clearly present here, but the main concern was for the situation of the Rājpūts themselves. The *Oriental Herald* insisted that the Rājpūts have "the enjoyment of perfect internal independence, and their ancient institutions" in order that they can "be retained as useful friends."[11] Further, "On our cessation from every species of interference alone depends their independence or their amalgamation,—a crisis fraught with danger to our sovereign rule."[12] Finally, the reviewer presented Tod's quote from none other than Alexander of Macedon to note the importance of favoring foreign allies.

> The possession of what we got by the sword is not very desirable, but the obligation of good offices is eternal. If we have a mind to keep Asia, not simply pass through it, our clemency must extend to them also, and their fidelity will make our empire everlasting. As for ourselves, we have more than we know what to do with, and it must be an insatiable avaricious temper which desires to continue to fill what already runs over.[13]

This passage highlights the perceived danger in mis-governing a people as valorous and warlike as the Rājpūts. The proper form of government, as proposed by the *Oriental Herald*, was wholly congruent with Tod's plan of "perfect internal independence," and the consequences of ignoring these considerations could be a crisis of imperial rule itself. In the end, the message was, emphatically, that familiarity with the Rājpūts was the primary necessity for the proper governance of the Rājpūts, which would then result in the stability of the empire.[14]

Tod's discussion of feudalism in India was a prominent, yet problematic, feature of the history and reception of the *Annals*. As discussed in Chapter 5, the fact that the feudal form of goverment was present in both Europe and, as Tod understood it, among these Indian princes, served as evidence in the *Annals* for an actual racial connection between the Europeans and the Rājpūts. The *Asiatic Journal* noted that

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[11] Ibid, p. 516.
[12] Ibid, p. 517.
[13] Ibid, quoting Tod's reference to Alexander's speech to his forces upon their refusal to cross the Hyphasis.
[14] The argument here focusses on the Rājpūts, but was applied to all Indians. The review began with the evocation that Bengalis, because of their different constitutions, required different administration than Rājpūts.

> … there is probably some truth in the remark of Colonel Tod that "we may have been induced, by the multitude of false theories which time has exposed, to fall into opposite error, and become too sceptical in regard to the common origin of the people of the east and west."[15]

Although Tod's argument was met with some doubt by the *Asiatic Journal* reviewer, the idea of Rājpūt feudalism had two useful narrative effects. First, it presented another avenue of current connection between the British and the Rājpūts. Logically, this identification was an exercise in self-understanding for the British. The emphasis on feudalism demonstrated the great weight of the construct feudalism itself. Feudalism was a key component of British historical self-identity, and it served as a central organizing principle around which an early nineteenth century intellectual sensibility would turn in order to evaluate the development of different "races" or societies.

The second discourse arising from the discussion of feudalism is that of the military and heroic character of the Rājpūts, especially those in Mewar.[16] The *Asiatic Journal* spends pages noting the chivalrous nature of the Rājpūts. "In points of honour the Rajpoot is centuries in advance of our Saxon forefathers."[17] The review then dwells deeply on the glories of their military history, focusing on the stories that demonstrate the value of their perseverance and valour throughout. The now well-rehearsed, but then novel, story of the history of Mewar followed Tod's narrative closely. Bappa Rawal founded the main Rājpūt line. Bard Chand acted as the great chronicler of Rājpūt valor. Muslim aggression led to the heroic acts of legendary figures such as Queen Padmini of Chitor and Pratāp Singh. Mīra Bāi represented the poetic genius of the Rājpūt. Finally, the contemporary situation of Mewar saw the kingdom plundered by the Marāṭhās, yet revived under a British government "which broke the talisman which kept the Rajpoots in degradation [and] which regulates its policy by justice and moderation."[18]

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[15] *Asiatic Journal*, p. 189.

[16] These reviews only cover the first of the the two published volumes, which consists of the history of Mewar and a personal narrative. The second volume, which contained the other areas of Rajputana, was not issued until three years later, and there are no reviews of this volume in either the *Asiatic Journal* or the *Oriental Herald*.

[17] Ibid.

[18] The historical summary appeared in *Asiatic Journal* 191–8. The quoted passage appeared on p. 198. The *Oriental Herald* review specifically referred to the quality of the *Asiatic Journal* review in presenting the historical summary of Tod's work. See *Oriental Herald*, pp. 507–17 for its version of the historical narrative.

It is the meeting of Rājpūt valor and British justice that is, for the *Asiatic Journal*, and for the needs of the Company, the real import of the *Annals*. They quote Tod's assertion that:

> … if a Tatar or Russian invasion threatened our eastern empire, fifty thousand Rajpoots would be no despicable allies.
>
> Let us call to mind what they did when they fought for Aurungzeb: they are still unchanged if we give them the proper stimulus.[19]

Just as the Rājpūt fought to protect Mughal interests, so would they protect British interests if given the right treatment and motive. The Company's concern for security, therefore, is well served by learning the lessons Tod has to offer.

For this very reason, the *Asiatic Journal* deemed Tod's work "magnificent," and outlined its hope that the reading public would repay Tod with their patronage. The review also stressed the desire that, "… the interesting people, who have already reaped so much advantage from his able and benevolent plans, whilst he was the representative of the British Government at Oodipoor, may through his means be better known and better appreciated."[20] This statement is a perfect summary of the dual way in which the interest of the Rājpūts was served by Tod's work. First, it foregrounded the "benevolent" service that Tod performed on behalf of certain of the Rājpūt princes. Secondly, it focused on the long-term imperial benefits to come from the exposure given to the Rājpūts in the pages of the *Annals*.

The *Oriental Herald* took note of this glorious history, but looked beyond this narrative to present Tod's critique of the state of Rājpūt-British relations. In an extended series of direct quotes from the *Annals*, the *Oriental Herald* outlines the conservative argument that the British risk their positive alliance with the Rājpūts through interference in their affairs:

> There is perpetual variation between the spirit and the letter of every treaty [to such a degree] that it is apparent that [Rājpūt] independence cannot exist under such conditions …
>
> But the hope is cherished that the same generosity that snatched the Rajpoots from degradation and impending destruction will maintain the pledge given in the fever of success 'that their independence shall be sacred.'[21]

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[19] *Asiatic Journal*, p. 190.
[20] Ibid, p. 198.
[21] *Oriental Herald*, pp. 514–5.

Here, the true value of the *Annals* was in its critique of the Company's administration, and its plan and pleas for the independence of Rājpūt princes. Without this independence, not only do the British risk making enemies of the Rājpūts, but they risk imperial security itself.

At the end of the *Oriental Herald* article, the reviewer stated his agreement with the *Asiatic Journal* that the *Annals* was a "magnificent" work. Further:

> The service of the East India Company, civil and military, may bear comparison with that of any Monarch, for the ability and attainments of its members. Among them none is more distinguished than Colonel Tod. Men may differ as to theories of government and maxims of state policy, but no one can doubt or deny that so splendid a monument of zeal, learning and talent, devoted to the most benevolent and patriotic of objects, is alike honourable to himself, his employers and his country.[22]

No matter the political leanings of the reader, Tod's value for the Company and the country were clear. With that stirring evocation of pride in commercial and national service, the review closed.

Edinburgh Review *and the* Quarterly Review

A further testament to the influence of the *Annals*, and to the importance of India in the British world view, was the fact that it attracted the attention of the premier literary and political reviews of its day. The *Edinburgh Review*, founded in 1802 by group of Scottish Whigs and edited by Francis Jeffrey, set the standard for literary and political commentary, and helped define the position of the quarterly review periodical in English intellectual society. The *Quarterly Review* was established in 1809 by a group dissatisfied with the politics and style of the *Edinburgh*, and it quickly became a major Tory outlet.[23] Each published reviews of the *Annals*, the *Edinburgh Review* publishing two essays following the publication of each of the two volumes of the *Annals*, while the *Quarterly Review* published a single comment on both volumes. These reviews provide some of the most complete analysis of the *Annals* in its time, and again situate Tod's work within a

[22] Ibid, p. 517.

[23] For excellent works on the rise and development of both the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly Review*, see Shattock (1989), Clive (1957), Pottinger (1992) and Wu and Demata (2002).

nineteenth century ideological struggle between conservatives and liberals over the meaning of the growing British empire and its proper administration.

The identities of the reviewers in these journals, typically, were not published, but subsequent scholarship has been able to uncover, or make educated guesses as to the writers of these essays. The Edinburgh reviewer for both volumes of Tod's *Annals* was William Erskine. Erskine was an accomplished Indologist himself who had spent nineteen years in Bombay in the Company's employ. In 1808, Erskine helped found the Literary Society of Bombay, which later became the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society . He translated the *Memoirs of Babur* (1826), completed Sir John Malcolm's *Life of Clive* (1836) and worked for much of his life on a history of the Mughals, left unfinished at his death. Erskine's son published the work on the first two Mughals, Babur and Humayun, in 1854.[24] Politically, as I will demonstrate below, Erskine is clearly conservative in his emphasis on the value and distinction of native groups, and whiggish in his support of the natives' self representation and their independence from British interference.

The *Quarterly Review* article was written by Henry Hart Milman, the Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, a poet, and well-known liberal Anglican historian. His poetry dealt with dramatic episodes from history, covering a range of topics from the Saxon invasion of Britain to Anne Boleyn. Milman's multi-volume histories, including *The History of the Jews* and *The History of Latin Christianity*, attempted to write Christian histories of Europe in a modern historical idiom. Milman also became the premier British editor of Gibbon in the nineteenth century, and published a biography of him as well. To increase his poetic range, he became interested in Sanskrit, and with the esteemed Indologist Horace Hayman Wilson translated parts of the *Mahabharata* in 1835.[25]

Erskine's review began, like the *Oriental Herald*, by attacking the mistaken notion of the homogeneity of the Indian peoples.

> The bulk of Europeans conceive of the people of India, as a homogeneous mass; yet its various nations are as much disunited by physical

[24] For the identities of the reviewers of a range of periodicals, see the *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals* by W. E. Houghton (1966). William Erskine is identified as Tod's reviewer on pp. 473–6. Biographical information for Erskine comes from Prior (2004) in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[25] Milman is identified as the reviewer in the *Wellesly Index*, W. E. Houghton (1966). Biographical information is from Matthew (2004) in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

> circumstances, and as broadly discriminated by language, complexion, habits, and character, as are the inhabitants of the different countries of Europe, not excluding even the Turks.

European knowledge on India to this time was based largely on Bengal:

> … rich indeed and productive, but in which the Hindu political and civil institutions are more broken down, and the character of the inhabitants, from ages of foreign servitude and oppression, more injured, than in any other portion of that great country. From these provinces, however, were our ideas of the Hindu laws and character taken, and most mischievous in many instances have been the practical consequences of acting on conclusions drawn from a too limited induction of facts.[26]

The myopic reliance on Bengal for information had, in Erskine's eyes, led to an inaccurate picture of the rest of India. From this perspective, a history of foreign (i.e. Muslim) rule in Bengal had corrupted the nature of the basic Hindu institutions that were once prevalent, and acquaintance with these institutions was only now possible through an examination of other areas of India.

For Erskine, the battles with Tipu Sultan in the South, the expansion of the Bombay Government to Gujarat and the defeat of the Marāṭhā armies opened up not only new political territories, but new areas of historical and cultural information. There was a persistent connection between conquest and information. Colonel Wilks in the South, John Malcolm in Central India, Mountstuart Elphinstone in the North West, and Captain Pottinger in the extreme North West (Baluchistan) filled large gaps in knowledge about these areas of India. Tod covered the areas in the west, adding them:

> … to the domain of science, and discharged some part of the great debt which our possessions and political situation in the East impose upon us in the eyes of the world. We have here a new country and a new people; for the little previously and inaccurately known of them was less calculated to satisfy than to excite curiosity.[27]

Until Tod wrote of the Rājpūts, they were exotic objects of curiosity. Once they became objects of Indological study, however, they become a people, and their land became a country. It was the process of being studied, understood, classified and codified which bestowed humanity on the objects of observation. As far as the *Edinburgh Review* was

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[26] *Edinburgh Review* 1832, p. 73.
[27] Ibid, p. 74.

concerned, therefore, Tod effected the amazing task of actually bringing an entirely new set of people to the world. This was not simply an intellectual achievement, but made payment on the "great debt" owed the Rājpūts, and all Indians, arising out of the fact of British dominion itself. This, again, was testament to the complex position Tod represented between England and India, and the service he was providing to both.

Furthermore, Rajputana represented a romance of India "where the primitive institutions of its singular people have been, perhaps, less impaired by time, and by the rude hands of the Moslems, than even in Southern India." Tod showed the Rājpūt as "the same singular being as in the days of Alexander."[28] The standard references to the power of Northwestern India were rehearsed (e.g. Herodotus' assertion that India was the richest Satrapy of Darius), but then Erskine made the true nature of his project clear:

> It is highly interesting, then, to investigate the traces of this ancient civilization—to search for even the mutilated relics of a government 2000 years old; and, after having expended so much laborious study, with so little comparative effect, in the south and east of India, it may be expected that the facilities now afforded for research in the west, will not be neglected.[29]

Writing history in India, however, was not a straightforward task. Erskine notes that "History is considered to be an art unknown in India. If by *history* we understand that specific form of composition adopted by Thucydides and Livy, Hindu science cannot be vindicated from this reproach."[30] Wilson's *Rājatarańgiṇī* was considered an "ancient anomaly." Orissan chronicles of their modern kings through the sixteenth century existed, and were being published at the time in *Asiatic Researches*. The presence of these historical works, in the eyes of this reviewer, refuted the sterotypical modern opinion of the Orissan people. "It is remarkable that the people of this province are described as the most effeminate, as well as the dullest and most stupid, throughout India."[31] Recognizably historical works amongst these people indicated

[28] *Edinburgh Review* 1830, p. 87.
[29] Ibid, p. 88.
[30] Ibid, p. 91.
[31] Ibid. The harshly gendered evaluation of the Orissans contrasts with the very positive, but equally gendered, reception of the Rājpūts. Race explains the difference. The northern, Aryan, martial, chivalric Rājpūts were the prototype of masculinity. They stood in higher racial standing and therefore closer racial relation to the British, than the Orissans.

the masculine faculty for this higher order of thought, and entirely altered the evaluation of their character. Modern histories in Persian were common, but they were the product of a Muslim mind that, stereotypically, was not considered to be in the thrall of the imaginative faculty in the same way as the mind of the Hindu.[32]

Imagination was the key defect in the mind of the Hindu. Even the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the flagship text of native history, strained credulity in that it "records reigns of 190 and 300 years!"[33]

> The truth is, that a mode of writing so severe as our historical composition, and which chains down the mind to a narrative of facts, seems unsuited to the taste of Asiatics, and inconsistent with the peculiar character impressed upon Eastern literature in general. All the intellectual offspring of the Hindus bear the mark of imagination upon them. Poetry tinctures their astronomy, their metaphysics, even their musical treatises, in which modes, and their subordinate modifications, are personified as Ragas and Raginis. To assert, however, that India is destitute of works of an historical nature, is, we apprehend, to assume that which is utterly impossible, as well as contrary to the fact. The Puranas, the Cheritras, the heroic poems, the dramas of the Hindus, are historical works, more or less adulterated and debased with absurdities, from which, however, the work of Herodotus himself is by no means exempt.[34]

In the *Quarterly Review*, Milman begins with an even stronger condemnation of the mythic and poetic elements in Indian history. For Milman, "until history has condescended to the sober march of prose, it does not restrain itself from the licence of fiction, or assume the authority of truth."[35] No aspect of native historical traditions rises to this level of severity. "The native annals of India seem to present one great mythic period; in all their vast literature, history, properly speaking, has hitherto appeared almost unknown."[36] According to Milman, even if there is somewhere history among the Indians, "we almost despair of ever discovering their hidden secrets, or of obtaining the key to their vast system of poetical hieroglyphics."[37]

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[32] For discussions of this perceived difference between the Hindu and Muslim minds, refer to the discussions of realism and abstraction in Mughal and Rājpūt art in M. C. Beach (1992), P. Mitter (1992) and D. Diamond (2000). This aspect of Indological ideology endowed realism on Muslim artistic production, and criticized Hindu art as often grotesque, imaginative abstraction.

[33] *Edinburgh Review* 1830, p. 91.

[34] Ibid, pp. 91–2.

[35] *Quarterly Review*, p. 1.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid, p. 2.

It is H. H. Wilson's recently published translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that, again, becomes the representative of "history, in the European sense of the word."[38] While this text "*almost* warrants the hope"[39] that more straightforwardly historical texts will be found, its publication serves the glories of England much more than the glories of India. In a footnote, Milman praises the appointment of Wilson (his friend and colleague) to the prestigious Boden Chair in Sanskrit at Oxford, noting that "All that is valuable in Sanscrit antiquities will now issue, under the ablest auspices, from the Clarendon press, instead of being brought back to this country from Bonn, and Berlin and Paris."[40] Indology is crucial as a British nationalist project, demonstrating the power of British learning. That this research brings information about new people to Britain is not the foremost issue, as it is for Erskine. It is, rather, that the British are leading the way.

Erskine believed that no subject, no matter how technical, was free from the adulteration and debasement of the poetic imaginative inclination. Tod's work, however, was proof that history was possible in India. In a rhetorical move that Tod himself used, the reviewer notes the faults of the Western cultural fathers to rescue this perceived defect in the Indian tradition. Even Herodotus, in places, strained credulity and fell into the trap of poetic debasement. If the father of history was liable to this criticism, Indian texts certainly had to be allowed some latitude. Greater knowledge of ancient Hindu texts would help to settle the question of the value of Hindu historical work, and Tod's *Annals* were integral to this evaluation.

Milman agreed with the ubiquity of the poetic in India, noting that "we can scarcely indulge the hope of discovering the noble stem of history, unencumbered and unchoked by the parasitic growth of mythology." What history there is, however, will be that which stems from "the foreign, the Scythian or Tartar, origin of the race."[41] Once more, for Milman, what there is of historical value in Indian traditions reflects more on the nature of Europe and the original peoples of Europe than on India.

The *Edinburgh Review* praised Tod's official work, and the reviewer noted that the depressed condition in which the British found Mewar

[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid, p. 3, emphasis added.
[40] Ibid, p. 2, note.
[41] Ibid, p. 4.

"afforded a fine opportunity to a person of his [Tod's] ardent temperament to endeavour to readjust the scattered fragments of government. He tried and he seems to have succeeded almost beyond hope."[42] Tod's official success in rebuilding the society of this people was mirrored in the success of the historical task he undertook, and rose the real possibility of restoring them to their ancient greatness. Tod's book is "splendid." Using every opportunity afforded by his station and by the generally cooperative and grateful posture of the "Rajpoot authorities," Tod collected historical data of all kinds and "the result has been the accumulation of a prodigious mass of materials, which diffuse a clearer and steadier light than has hitherto been cast upon Hindu antiquities."[43] In the context of the early work of men like Jones and Colebrooke, to say that Tod had provided the best look at Hindu antiquities to date was very high praise. The antique and the modern, though, are in close conversation, and this project works for the benefit of the Rājpūts.

Tod's work, Erskine notes, did have defects, however. For example, Tod attempted, in a particularly suspect type of inquiry, to read too much into the archive of textual and inscriptional materials at hand. The *Edinburgh Review* was an early, but certainly not the only, critic of Tod's ubiquitous voyages of etymological discovery. As discussed below, Tod's editor William Crooke took great pains to point out that many of Tod's etymological conclusions were baseless, overextended and incorrect. Crooke was not the first, though, to notice this problem in the text. As Erskine states:

> Perhaps, in his wide range, he has indulged too much in analogies and inferences from mere names,—an error from which it is difficult for a lively imagination to escape; while he founds his conclusions too little on general similarity or dissimilarity of language, whence, in such subjects, inferences the most decisive of any may, in our opinion, be drawn. The frequent etymologies of words in which he has indulged we do not consider as supplying this defect; and they do not seem to us the happiest part of his work.[44]

Equally problematic for Erskine were the Hindu sources Tod used. "No chronicles founded, as these [the Hindu sources] must be, on romantic ballads and on tradition, can be accurate. Accuracy begins with

[42] *Edinburgh Review* 1830, p. 89.
[43] Ibid, p. 90.
[44] Ibid, 1832, p. 86.

contemporary historians."[45] These bardic stories spoke to the spirit of the people of their age, and they were meant to delight the local audiences. Tod's work partook almost too much of the Hindu antiquities it so ably presented. The reviewer noted that both the volume of historical material Tod consulted, and the fact that Tod was able to write his history in Mewar itself ("where every valley is eloquent with tradition"[46]) conferred great advantages on the work, but resulted in faults as well. "These favourable contingencies have imparted to his work much of the freshness and fidelity of a native composition, with some of its defects, particularly a diffuseness, and occasional turgidity of style."[47] The immersion in the history-rich environment of Mewar, and the immediate contact with the antiquities and people who form the subject of his work, endowed Tod's *Annals* with a depth and authenticity that other works on India had not been able to achieve. These rewards, though, came at the price of native defects.

For Erskine, the sharp, focussed, comprehensive logic typical of European scholarship was replaced in the *Annals* in some instances by the swollen, bombastic, scattered wordiness typically associated with the native. This observation speaks directly to the way that Tod's genealogical work resembled that of the native *cāraṇ*s.[48] Whether intentionally or through some effect of immersion, it was immediately obvious that Tod was not writing the *Annals* wholly in the mold of European historical analysis.[49] For Erskine, this defect demonstrated the deeply held Romantic notion of the power of place in shaping consciousness, even the consciousness of the British agents in India. In a more severe Orientalist discourse of the time, however it was a defect in the native mind itself.[50]

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[45] Ibid, p. 87.

[46] *Edinburgh Review* 1830, p. 92.

[47] Ibid.

[48] See the section *Internal Legitimation* in Chapter 5.

[49] As discussed in Chapter 5, even Tod noted that the he was not writing in the "severe style of history." His contention, though, was that he had left an archive for future scholarship. Tod was silent on the issue of the effect of native thought on his own style. The standard Orientalist discourse on Indian thought was that it was essentially imaginative, and not logical. That Tod's work, which he admitted was deliberately, in places, not analytical should be seen as native in character is a demonstration of the power of this stereotype. The "logic" has been left out, so the text is a "native" one.

[50] As I will explore below, the *Quarterly Review* presents an extended argument for the impossibility of true history in India because of the mythic elements of their early works and the imaginative element of their thought.

Even though the Indian chronicles agreed with the accounts of contemporary historians and travellers, and the "narrative is probably substantially correct" for those events temporally closer to the chroniclers, Erskine believed their native, local character disqualified them from serious consideration as stand alone histories. Accuracy resided in contemporary sources, or at least with an outsider who understood and could interpret the native mind. Therefore:

> The Rajpoots have been fortunate in Colonel Tod as an historian. He seems to have identified himself with the race, loves their character, enjoys their ancient romance and modern fame, and enters with enthusiasm into all that concerns them. The reader is no loser by this temper. He knows when allowances are to be made for the partiality of an admirer, and gains much information that a cold enquirer never would have obtained for him.[51]

Tod's partiality towards his subjects, for this reviewer, were in the end an asset for the information it afforded. Whatever defects of favor arose from Tod's stance could be easily overcome by an intelligent reader who knew how to read past the partiality, and take advantage of the increased information and insight that a man in Tod's position could provide about the Rājpūts.

For the *Quarterly Review*, as for the *Asiatic Journal*, the benefit is primarily to Tod, as a representative of the English, not his native subjects. Milman notes, "The author of the splendid work before us is a bold adventurer into these regions of proto-historic history."[52] Tod's work, and especially his strong personal attachment to the Rājpūts, has provided a narrative that is:

> … equally honourable to the high-spirited Rajpoots, and to the generous, frank, and conciliating demeanour of the British officer. In justice to his warm-hearted friends, they [traits of the Rājpūt character] could not have been surpressed by Colonel Tod, and they are related in a manner so modest and unaffected, as still further to raise the character of the author in the reader's estimation.[53]

It is Tod's value here, not the Rājpūts', that is important to Milman. Tod becomes the representative of a particular, liberal vision of the nature of British rule in India: generous, frank and conciliating. His work is

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[51] *Edinburgh Review* 1832, p. 87.

[52] Which, as Milman notes, require "peculiar rules of historic criticism." *Quarterly Review*, p. 4

[53] Ibid, p. 5

testament to that, and the import of his subjects simply shows through in a way that illuminates Tod's character, not the Rājpūts'.

For Milman, the problems with Tod's work ultimately have less to do with Tod than with the subject itself. Milman is concerned that Tod's "almost national zeal … for the brethren of his adoption" accounts "for the interminable length into which he has drawn out their annals." It is not Tod's narrative, though, for the reader is liable to a sort of "*amabilis insania*" (loveable madness) when reading of Tod's "bold adventure" into the "scenery, the grandeur of which seems scarcely to be surpassed in any part of the world."[54] Rather, Tod "may have over-calculated the interest of Europeans about the earlier history of India"[55] Clearly, the adventure of the English encounter in India is more generally interesting, for Milman, than the substance of the history itself.

Both reviews presented detailed précis of the historical material in the *Annals*. Regardless of their political leanings, both follow Tod's clear discourse of favoritism for Mewar. In his work, as in the comments, the lengthiest and most detailed treatment belongs to Mewar. For Erskine the detailed account, however, ended with the victory of Akbar over Rāṇā Pratāp. The history of the Rājpūts ended on the battlefied of Haldighati. Once the Mughals gained suzerainty over the Rājpūts, the review implies that Rājpūt history itself was over. It was as if Rājpūt independence was the only characteristic which qualified them for historical consideration. It is especially ironic that the end of the history of the Mewārī Rājpūts came at exactly the moment that they were brought into the service of the Mughals, the scholarly perception of whom contrasted strongly with that of the debased imagination of the Hindu mind. The only historically-minded inhabitants of India, therefore, were actually responsible for the end of meaningful history among the Rājpūts, some of the poetically defiled natives.

Milman's *Quarterly Review* essay dealt with both volumes of the *Annals*, and he presented a master narrative of native degradation and degeneration as he marches through the history of the Rājpūts. Like all the reviewers, Milman rehearses the same set of early, major historical events. Moreso than Erskine, however, Milman follows Tod's narrative of the decline of Mewar as a function of Mewar's loss of their ancient capital Chitor at the hands of the Mughal Emperor Akbar, and the

[54] Ibid, p. 6.
[55] Ibid, p. 7.

degradation of the royal line that led to this. Chitor had been the "proud seat of national glory – the hereditary capital of the free sovereigns of Mewar." The throne of Mewar, however, was held by Rāṇā Udai Singh, "a degenerate descendant of the race of Bappa Rawul."[56] Udai Singh suffers particular scorn in Tod's narrative for both losing Chitor, and for leaving the battle in order to preserve the royal line. For the monarchist-leaning Milman, the degradation of the royal line is concomitant with the degradation of the Rājpūt culture itself. The apotheosis of this fall in their character comes in the Kṛṣṇā Kumārī episode discussed earlier. The murder of the princess to bring about peace between the kingdoms was the act of an "imbecile Rana" and was the "most sad and certain omen that the glory of the royal house of Mewar was on its lees. What greater proof, that the high sense of honour, the living principle of the feudal monarchy was extinct, and that it had sunk to the ordinary state of an *effete* oriental despotism."[57] For Erskine, and Tod, the modern state of the Rājpūt princes was an historical anomaly that could be rectified through British stewardship, restoring the Rājpūts to their ancient glory. For Milman, the modern condition is a reflection of the extinction of the Rājpūt monarchy, and therefore greatness, and the assumption of the more typical despotism to be expected from the orient.

This issue of redemption, ultimately, is an issue of the deep, ancestral relationships Tod theorized between the Rājpūts and the Europeans. In the *Edinburgh Review's* precis of the second volume of the *Annals*, Erskine noted his disdain for Tod's theorizing on the origins of the Rājpūts. "He is disposed to bring most of them originally from the countries beyond the Oxus, and has exerted much learning and ingenuity, with unwearying industry, in the attempt." The *Edinburgh Review* took great issue with emphasis on origins:

> Of what nation have we Origins which have yet met with general acceptance? What controversies do we see daily waged even regarding those of our own country! The truth is, that, instead of being the first portion of history to be settled, they are the very last, the sum and completion of an immense concourse of historical facts and observations. We think that nearly all our writers on Indian subjects have erred in going so deeply into them. They have been misled by bad models, and by great learning

[56] Ibid, pp. 28–9.
[57] Ibid, pp. 32–3.

> unprofitably employed. … Of such false guides Colonel Tod's learning and judgement have kept him clear.[58]

This was a grand slap at the general state of Indian historiography. Quite perceptibly, the *Edinburgh Review* noted that far from being the starting point that they purport to be, theories of origin were actually highly contested, ideologically infused end-products of historical inquiry. The search for the origins of the Rājpūts, or any other people was, therefore, bound to produce dubious results.

A more grounded analysis of the relationships between the Rājpūts and the British centered on the construct of feudalism. Arms "exert[ed] the strongest influence over the Rajpoots, and seem to have moulded their character and institutions into their present shape."[59] Feudalism was an aspect of the martial character of the Rājpūts, and Tod had tried to show an identity between the military structures of the Rājpūts and the feudal system of Europe. To Tod, this indicated a common ancestor for both people. Erskine, however, did not accept the deeper connection between the Rājpūts and Europeans Tod tried to construct. Any tenure of land dependent on military service, "must everywhere produce incidents more or less alike."[60]

> As the country [Rajputana] is broken down into little chiefships, in which every chieftain has his castle for defence, and his tribesmen, who share in all his feelings, and conceive his honour to be their own; and as these neighbouring chiefs are sometimes friends and sometimes foes, the importance of each depends on the number of followers he can bring to support his pretensions. This peculiar position, so much resembling that of the different classes in ancient feudal times, is quite sufficient, without going farther, to account for a great part of the resemblances which certainly exist between some of the institutions of that period and those of the modern Rajpoots.[61]

Milman agreed that Tod need not have interpreted the presence of feudalism among the Rājpūts to mean that they shared some inheritance from a common ancestor. This shared political system was evidence more of the "tendency of human society to assume the same forms under similar circumstances."[62] As discussed in Chapter 5, liberals

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[58] *Edinburgh Review* 1832, pp. 85–6.
[59] *Edinburgh Review* 1830, p. 101.
[60] Ibid, p. 102.
[61] *Edinburgh Review* 1832, p. 77.
[62] *Quarterly Review*, p. 13.

assumed universal tendencies within human societies as a way to justify applying common utilitarian manipulations to different societies. Milman's easy acceptance of the idea of feudalism among the Rājpūts was a reflection of this assumption.

Further, Milman believed that feudalism was something that may have existed "among our German ancestors"[63] and was the basis of the hereditary descent system of the Rājpūts. He goes on to provide a detailed explication of this feudalism, paying close attention to the honors and privileges of the nobles, the armorial bearings of the Rājpūt tribes, the structure of the *ḳhālsā*, or crown lands (which he likens to the demesne), and the resultant system of vassalage.[64] Throughout, he makes frequent comparison to Europe, a further reflection of the commonality he assumes the two cultures share. Finally, Milman is not dismayed by the oppressive nature of this feudalism, but rather sees the chivalry associated with it as the basis for the advance of Rājpūt society:

> … may we not rather express a hope as benevolent, and we trust more likely to be fulfilled, that while the gallant Rajpoots retain the nobler qualities of barbarism, the high sense of honour, loyalty and independence, they may acquire some of the milder virtues of a more advanced state of civilization?[65]

The noble basis of Rājpūt society needs to be tempered to achieve a more advanced state of civilization, but in good Tory form, the system of nobility serves as the basis of this civilization.

For both reviewers, the martial character of the Rājpūts is what truly distinguished them through time. Milman deals with their martial character in some detail in his analyses of feudalism, and in his précis of the history itself.[66] For Erskine, "The courage and physical energies of the Rajpoots distinguish them broadly from other Hindu races."[67] The stories of heroism in Tod's *Annals* demonstrated the central importance of valour in the lives of the Rājpūts. For Erskine, however, the negative side of the extreme courage that marked the Rājpūts was the deep superstition evidenced by Rājpūt behavior. The tension between courage and superstition was demonstrated most clearly in

[63] Ibid, p. 12.
[64] Ibid, pp. 11–18.
[65] Ibid, p. 18.
[66] Ibid, pp. 11–18, 19–33.
[67] *Edinburgh Review* 1830, p. 102.

the treatment of women in Rājpūt society. Women were protected and sheltered (though educated in their seclusion), and they were even consulted, in an oracular way, before any military campaigns were undertaken. On the other hand, the princesses had the courage to engage in *jauhar*, ritual self-immolation, which provided "a kind of supernatural impulse to the furious valour of the Rajpoots."[68] The courageous woman, who could act as a catalyst to historical change (Sita, Draupadi, Padmini) was one site of the nexus of courage and superstition in the Rājpūt character.

Erskine also reflected on the central role that opium played in Rājpūt existence. He believed that whatever natural virtues the Rājpūts possessed, opium pushed them to the extreme and transformed them into grotesque vices. "Opium to the Rajpoot is more necessary than food."[69] The image of the Rājpūt living on opium, and teetering on the edge of a sanguinary insanity is one of the enduring historical images of the Rājpūt, but also one of the major contradictions in Tod's image of the them. In the *Annals*, the redeeming trait of remorse arises seemingly as an offset to the problem of superstitious, opium influenced irrationality. "One is surprised to find the visitings of remorse so frequent and so powerful among a race, by whom atrocious crimes are committed in the first instance with apparently so little compunction."[70] To this reviewer, examples of Rājpūt actions undertaken out of sorrow, contrition and gratitude indicated the "seeds of nobler virtues" which might be buried under their "half-civilized" character. There is a discourse of valuing then devaluing, identifying then distancing the Rājpūts that evinced an overriding ambivalence in the European image of the Rājpūt character. There was a clear tension between the virtues of courage and valour and the extreme vices of irrationality and ferocity in this image of the Rājpūt.

Erskine concluded with a discussion of the political relations between India and the British empire. The *Edinburgh Review* took a firm stance against the institution of indirect rule, forwarding the standard argument that indirect rule encouraged the development of despotic, rapacious rulers under the protection of the British government. The form of the treaty alliance with the Rājpūts was not novel, but was the same sort of subsidiary alliance as the British entered into

[68] Ibid, p. 94.
[69] Ibid, p. 105.
[70] *Edinburgh Review* 1832, p. 79.

with the *Nawāb* of the Carnatic and the *Nizām* of Hyderabad. The faults of such a system were well established at this point:

> The effects in all former instances have been nearly the same. The *socii populi Romani* appeared in the treaties and the armies of the victorious commonwealth, as long as it was convenient or decent, but all finally shrunk into insignificance and vanished. So has it been with our faithful allies; all of whom have really lost the government of their own country. But that issue is perhaps less to be regretted than the previous stage of wretchedness and disorder that ushers in our final assumption of power. Every independent nation, even where it does not possess free institutions, has, to a certain extent, a remedy for its own evils within itself: that remedy is a severe but necessary one, revolt. … The tendency of our treaties with native princes has been to deprive their subjects of this last melancholy hope. Whatever misrule exists, under pretence that we are not to enquire into the nature of the domestic government, or to interfere in its concerns, our force is ranged on the side of the prince, and resistance, however legal or patriotic, is uniformly crushed.[71]

The subsidiary alliance agreements, in the end, were assailed as pernicious, both politically and morally. An extended quote captures the depth of feeling held by the reviewer:

> The difficulties of government under the most favorable circumstances are great. They are greater where, as in India, we succeed to ignorant and despotic rulers. But a system which is uniformly pernicious in its operation, like that of our alliances, which destroys all public spirit within the country; which places everything at the disposal of a despot supported by foreign troops; which deprives an oppressed people of the last wretched hopes of relief, from the effects of the natural workings of discontent within the country; which in the end has always transferred the direct government of the country itself to the foreigners who furnish protection, when the internal disorders become insufferable even to the foreigners themselves, must have some radical defects, and certainly calls for serious revision. … We confess we like to see men left to act for themselves. We like the variety of human nature. We like to see different races of mankind advancing, each by his own road to civilisation. The minds of men are then in a more vigorous and healthy state. We dislike the lonely dead level of an universal or far extended empire, whether Roman, or Russian, or British. Such empires … are so circumstanced as to be under a moral impossibility of greatly improving the condition of those among whom they are. This can only be done by the people themselves … better by men left to themselves, to find out and remedy their own wants.[72]

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[71] Ibid, pp. 90–1.
[72] Ibid, pp. 95–7.

This was a bold and impassioned critique of the British administration in India, and empire in general, as well as a political, moral and social tract on the rights of men, and the proper relations between countries. Erskine adopted a clear conservative position: men should govern themselves, in their own ways and on their own paths. The only valid and effective political and social institutions are the ones that arise from within a society, and that deal with their local particularities, as opposed to dead, universal maxims. In this instance, the position of British power behind native princes, who were often thought corrupt and greedy, allowed the unscrupulous native princes a stronger hand in usurping resources from their subjects. By propping up certain leaders, the reviewer felt the British were defeating the natural political processes which may have altered the behavior of, or even removed, wicked princes. Though this was not in the motivation of indirect rule, it was the effect. Tod's plea for the independence of the Rājpūt princes resonates well with this Erskine's conservative call for self-determination.

Further, Erskine posits as inevitable that nations under the yoke of another would eventually be free, so it is incumbent on the "master" to provide the best environment in which the ruled can develop their own procedures for independent living. This would not only provide moral and intellectual uplift to the ruled, but it would also lay the foundation for a future of good relations between the, eventually two, free nations. He understood how foreign such suggestions would be to the majority of the English population, but still contended that this was not just the most obvious and most simple, but the superior course of action.

In contrast to the *Edinburgh*'s review, British liberalism shows once again in the *Quarterly*'s analysis of the current state of Rajasthan. Milman takes up the case of the disputed claims to power in Kota that proved to be Tod's downfall, and which I discussed in Chapter 3. In his telling, though, the strict British adherence to the terms of the treaties with the state, and therefore support of Zalim Singh regardless of the historical claims on the throne that either side might have, was the key to the successful resolution of this issue. "At all events, the intervention of the British secured a less sanguinary termination of the civil conflict, enforced a general amnesty, and tempered with European clemency the counsels of the triumphant regent."[73] This is a stirring evocation

[73] *Quarterly Review*, p. 38.

of the redeeming power of the British presence to bring peace and "European clemency" to India. Far from creating or perpetuating despotisms, British influence advances the political culture in India.

Finally, both reviews turn back to Tod, and the value of his work in general. For Erskine, Tod's close relation to the Rājpūts during his time in Rajasthan served as an excuse for certain defects of style in the *Annals*. Tod may be charged with an:

> … occasional diffusion of language and defect of arrangement; but when men employed in active life communicate their researches to the public, and enrich our literature by a large addition of new and valuable matter, which they alone have had the means of collecting, we are not much disposed to quarrel with them as to the manner; especially where the style has so many spirited and characteristic traits as in the work before us. We would always rather see the thoughts of such persons in their original dress, than cut and fashioned, and perhaps distorted by a professional bookmaker.[74]

Erskine here praised the *Annals* as a "valuable magazine of Oriental information" with an "arrangement and style as somewhat irregular and diffuse." Many passages, however, are expressed with "much feeling and eloquence," and its "typography and beautiful plates" recommend it as well to "lovers of fine books."[75]

Milman, as well, closed with an appreciation for Tod, who deserves praise "most diligent" for his collection of historical materials, for:

> …no one but Colonel Tod could have gathered the materials for such a work, [and] there are not many who could have used them so well. No candid reader can arise from its perusal without a very high sense of the personal character of the author – no scholar, most certainly, without respect for his attainments, and gratitude for the service which he has rendered to [this] branch of literature…[76]

Milman continued his emphasis on Tod's heroic attainments and service to European scholarship. Within the liberal paradigm, Tod represents the transformative and positive power of the British presence in India.

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[74] *Edinburgh Review* 1832, p. 98. This raises the issue of how Tod financed the *Annals* project. Tod noted that he used his own money in the collection of manuscripts in India. Philips noted that Grant Duff self-published his book on the Marāṭhās, but it does not seem that Tod did the same for the *Annals*.

[75] *Edinburgh Review* 1830, p. 109.

[76] *Quarterly Review*, p. 39.

In sum, the early reviews of the *Annals*, though concerned with the historical content of the work, were more political comments on the relations between Britain and the native territories. The ultimate importance of Tod's *Annals* was in its service to the empire through the dissemination of knowledge about previously little-known peoples, and through the implications of this increased knowledge and alliance with the Rājpūts for imperial security and administration. Within Tod's analysis, both conservatives and liberals found abundant material to support their ideological positions. The *Annals* was an integral voice in an active political discourse, and problems with the work, whether of style, historical imagination or scholarly execution were secondary to this voice. Over time, however, the political relevance of the work faded, and the defects of Tod's *Annals* as an historical text moved to the fore.

Indian Antiquary, *1873*

After its initial publication, the *Annals* quickly went out of circulation, and the next edition of the text came out forty years later, in 1873. This English language edition was published not in London, but by Higginbotham & Co. in Madras. The *Indian Antiquary* ran a one-page review of this edition. By this time, the original version of the *Annals* had long been out of print, and as the review noted was "excessively dear," making the reprint a welcome event. Though the text had been reprinted in full, the plates had been removed from the edition, "apparently at the suggestion of Colonel Keatinge as being 'very inaccurate.'"[77] Tod's text was also assailed for its perceived inaccuracy and fancifulness:

[77] J. A. S. Burgess (1873), p. 204. This edition of the text resides in the Abu Collection, the former library of the British hill station at Mount Abu, now housed in the library of the University of Rajasthan, Jaipur. The publishers note that they omitted the plates because they were very expensive to reproduce, and, at the time, were not considered accurate enough to warrant the expense. Lynn Zastoupil (1995) remarked on the transformation that the plates underwent from the original drawings executed in India to the renditions published in the first edition of the *Annals*. Each step in the transformation is visually accessible, as the Royal Asiatic Society in London possesses all of the drawings used in creating the plates for the text. Where the original drawings depicted a relatively true-to-life barren desert landscape, the finished watercolors became highly aestheticized, lush, exotic, yet Turner-esque landscapes. The publisher in 1873 was, therefore, entirely correct that these plates, from the standpoint of strict accuracy, were not worth the expense to reprint. From the standpoint of the imperial construction of the Indian landscape, however, the illustrations are crucial evidence of the transformative power of imperial discourse, in the visual as well as the textual realm. The illustrations were restored to the *Annals* in Crooke's 1920 edition.

> But no writer is more in need of careful editing than Tod: his book is as readable as his opinions are often rash and fanciful. His facts—where he confines himself to facts—are interesting and important, and are fortunately so numerous as to give his work a high value in spite of his very illegitimate and misleading etymologies, on which he frequently hangs whole theories of ethnology. His imagination is never at a loss: from a few names having each a syllable or two alike, he can reconstruct whole chapters of lost history.[78]

The emphasis has now shifted in the evaluation of the *Annals*. In the early reviews, Tod's wild speculations on etymology and ethnology had been interesting, though improbable and somewhat unimportant theories in the context of the high political value of the book. Now, Tod's speculations are a major issue in the reception of his work, and only the volume of facts that he collected in producing the *Annals*, in the eyes of this new scientific era of history, saved the work from much harsher rebuke.

The reviewer went on to list a number of inaccuracies, in the order in which they appear in the text, but they fall into two distinct categories of error. First, factual, technical errors in the discussion of Indian names, historical figures and genealogies. For example, making "the Pāṇḍavas the sons of Vyasu by Pandea," saying that "'Dushkhanta' as he names Dushyanta, is "the father of Śakuntalā, married to Bharat," or stating that '"Valmika' (as he calls Valmiki) and Vyasu 'were contemporaries.'"[79]

The second type of inaccuracy was the error of mistaken association between Indian and non-Indian people and places. Such errors include the identification of "'Barusar the son of Chandragupta'" with "the 'Abisares' of the Greek writers," making Tanjore "the probable capital of the '*Regio Pandiona*' of Ptolemy," identifying the Jaxartes and the Jihoon rivers, likening the *ficus religiosa* to the poplar of Germany and Italy.[80] The author never explicitly stated the exact nature of the problem with these examples, nor did he offer counter-interpretations. The most obvious implication was that subsequent research had proven these assertions false, and further that the assumption of a connection between India and the Europe in the ancient world was baseless. Such connections, however, were basic structuring elements in the *Annals*, and to attack them was to attack, implicitly, the project behind the work itself.

The author faulted Tod for excessive antiquarianism in the drive to connect India to the classical world. He wrote that "… even in what

[78] Ibid, p. 205.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.

came under his own eye he sometimes sacrifices truth to effect." For example, Tod placed the design and construction of a Jain temple at Kumbhalmer to the period of Sampīti Rāja of the Chandragupta family (c. 200 BC). "It is curious to contemplate the possibility, nay the probability, that the Jain temple now before the reader may have been designed by Grecian artists, or that the taste of the artists among the Rajputs may have been modelled after the Grecian."[81] The problem, however, was that an inscription from the temple clearly indicated that it was built c. 1514 AD/1582 VS, during the reign of Rāṇā Sangrām Singh. To Burgess, Tod sacrificed direct inscriptional evidence in favor of the grand theory which stood near the heart of his work, and this sacrifice was all to the detriment of the *Annals*.

Despite the problems outlined here, and the admission that they continued beyond the scope of the review—"rendering Tod most untrustworthy as a guide"—the reviewer still praised the *Annals*. He noted that "with all its errors and defects, Tod's work is one of sterling value, and well worthy of careful study." Burgess regretted that this edition was simply a reprint, and not more of a revised edition, which would have made reference to later and more "trustworthy" scholars, corrected errors and engaged in the "judicious omission of the greater portion of the merely fanciful speculations of the author." Nevertheless, all interested readers should be "grateful to the publishers for bringing so convenient and careful a reprint within their reach."[82]

From an imperial perspective, by 1873 crown rule had been achieved. The Rājpūts remained loyal through the Mutiny/Rebellion of 1857, in effect removing that wildcard from the political deck. Relations between Britain and the native peoples were no longer the paramount issue, so the direct political relevance the text had upon its initial publication was gone. The faults in the text now became its defining feature, as it was now beginning to be measured for its scholarly merits, not its political utility.

From Parliament to Poetry: The Victorians and the Rājpūts

The story of Tod's impact is not told only within the political and historical journals of the day. What life the text had at this point came

[81] Ibid, quoting Tod, *Annals* I.394.
[82] J. A. S. Burgess (1873), p. 205.

in the form of inspiration for a Victorian literary imagination hungry for images of the exotic Orient. The late-nineteenth century saw the flourishing of a series of epic poems and stories of the heroism of the Rājpūts. Works with titles such as *The Romance of the Twisted Spear, The Lay of Alha*, and *From the Land of the Princes* take direct inspiration from Tod for their excursions into romantic exotic fantasy. Further, these works were responsible for reiterating a discourse of the glory of the Rājpūt in an English literary context, thereby popularizing the image that had been constructed and transmitted through Tod. These works also made their way back to India, for as recently as 1992 they were featured as a reprint series out of Gurgaon under the title "Studies in Rajasthani Folk Legends." Such publication bestows the imprimatur of scholarship once again to Tod-inspired material, but more importantly to this derivative and essentially fantastic literary production.

These texts are not among the classics of the English literary canon. They do, however, provide us an important window into what aspects of the "native peoples" the nineteenth century popular audience found appealing. The narratives were usually based on actual historical episodes, and they depicted martial adventures, heroes (often defending their homelands against oppressive Muslim invaders) who are willing to die for their principles in glorious battles in exotic, far away lands. The texts emphasize the opulence of the princes who command these forces, and develop the exotic essence of the far-away land. Though the narrative in Tod was romanticized and dramatic, these later adaptations were even more highly dramatized, and were written to highlight the heroic and tragic elements within each episode. The literary aspects became foregrounded, and history often took the form of a morality play. They were popularized works meant for a mass audience, and the narratives titillated and excited the imagination. In short, these were adventure stories, with Tod's Rājpūts of Rajasthan as the heroes.

A typical example of the kinds of material that comprised these works comes from *Rhymes of Rajputana* by G. H. Trevor. The book purports to be actual bardic material collected by Tod and translated into English, but there are absolutely no citations to original texts, nor are there Indian language versions provided. Trevor appended a series of excerpts from the *Annals* to the text which were meant to give the reader historical background for the poems. The poems are unremarkable from a literary point of view. A passage from a poem on the Padmini episode at Chitor reads as follows:

> A sea of steel, and hosts of hell,
> On which our heroes clashed and fell.
> Tho' ancient bards have said that then
> We lost perchance eight thousand men,
> We kept brave Bheemsi and his queen
> and beat back the false Allah-ud-din.
> 'Twas some time after, months and more,
> Before the tyrant sacked Chitor;
> But tho' that day we drove him back,
> We count the slaughter half a sack[83]

Even in this small section of the poem, many of the basic themes in the Rājpūt narrative appear: valorous battle in the service of the king, the authority of the ancient story-tellers, and the development of the persistent narrative which places the Muslim, in this case Ala-ud-din Khilji, in the position of evil oppressor. The use of the first person here would appear to represent a native point of view, but, again, there are no firm attributions, so the actual source remains hidden.

Heinemann's *Poems of Mewar* is very similar Trevor's *Rhymes*. The text is a series of epic poems based on historical episodes from Tod's *Annals*, and very much derivative as well of a contemporaneous book named *The Land of the Princes*, by Gabrielle Festing.[84] From the start, the tone of the work is very clear:

> The story of such a race of men, whose attributes were unswerving loyalty to their creed, unquenchable love for their country, high courage, contempt of death and respect for woman-hood, is one that must inspire admiration and respect, and in this spirit I have ventured to write these Poems of Mewar.[85]

Chivalry and glory are the key elements here. The same basic themes as in the Trevor are rehearsed, and the tenor of the work is apparent in this introductory passage to the poem devoted to Rāṇā Pratāp:

> How often when a country's history shows
> All overcast by trouble's darksome cloud,
> And there appear oppressors all around,
> And enemies implacable awaiting crowd
> On every hand, thirsting for plunder, loot,
> While ever day by day, they are increased

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[83] G. H. Trevor (1990), p. 31.

[84] Heinemann even says that "many lines in these verses are simply transcript from her book, for which I trust she will forgive me." S. O. Heinemann (1990), p. i.

[85] Ibid, p. ii.

> By fresh arrivals, like vultures do they watch
> The last death struggles of their of their promised feast;
> …
> Yet rose there one in Pertap, the bold, the strong,
> Who had the power all others to inspire
> With his own prowess, honesty and truth,
> Inflaming all with his own spirit's fire.[86]

In this poem, the Mughals are like vultures awaiting their prey, ready to raid, pick and oppress. One man, the heroic Pratāp, embued with strength, honesty, bravery and truth represents the best hope for the Rājpūts against this Muslim threat. The remainder of the poem, and many of the others in the collection, dwell on the valiant exploits of Pratāp, or other Rājpūt heroes, and the glorious martial feats they accomplished in the typical historical narrative.

The goals of some of these works, however, were quite a bit loftier then mere adventure. In the Preface to Gabrielle Festing's *From the Land of Princes*, Sir George Birdwood noted that:

> Miss Gabrielle Festing was happily inspired in determining to dare and do for the stirring national traditions and dynastic chronicles of Rajasthan, 'the land of Kings,' the Hellas of India, what Charles Kingsley and the Rev. Alfred J. Church have done for the tales, from Homer, and Hesiod, and Herodotus, of the gods and heroes of ancient Greece.[87]

The project here, as in much of Tod's *Annals* itself, was to classicize the history of Rajasthan.[88] The Rājpūts, and their "stirring national traditions," were deemed important enough to engage the elevated traditions of the Hellenic world. In fact, by the time of this writing (1904), the Rājpūts seem to have become wholly identified with the Hellenes, and all that was lacking was their proper interpretation to the modern reader.

Though Festing imagined herself as the interpreter who would place the Rājpūts on their proper stage, it was Tod who, in the first place, was responsible for the redemption of the Rājpūts from their historical thralldom in the early nineteenth century. According to Festing, domestic Rājpūt histories, "in every instance … associate the redemption of Rajputana, as of a brand plucked out of the burning, with the ever revered and beloved name of Colonel James Tod."[89] Festing's work, in

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[86] Ibid, pp. 221–2.
[87] G. Festing (1904).
[88] See Chapter 5 for a discussion of Tod's use of classical historical models in the *Annals*.
[89] Festing (1904), p. lxv.

the end, was not simply a glorification of the Rājpūts of Rajasthan, but also a glorification of Tod and the British government of India.[90] Tod was the only source for the re-tellings of the episodes in this book, and there were no episodes from a time later than the publication of the *Annals*. Tod, however, did not only function as the wellspring of the history of the genius of these people, but in the end he became an actual player in the dramatic narrative.

Festing's discussion of the Kṛṣṇā Kumārī affair ends in the following way:

> It is probable that the poisoned draught was less cruel to Kishna Bhai than life with Juggut Singh. She saved her country, though not as she deemed. Among those who were in Sindhia's camp when he came to forbid her marriage with the Prince of Amber, was a young subaltern in the East India Company's service—an insignificant personage, to whom none paid much heed. As he saw the humiliation of the Rana, and heard the fate of the princess, his heart swelled within him, and he vowed to save Rajast'han from the wolves that were quarrelling over her. Many years passed ere the vow was fulfilled; but when James Tod bade farewell to India in 1822, after spending himself in labours for the good of the Rajput states, the 'land of princes,' no longer the prey of Pathan and Rohilla, of Mahratta and freebooter, was under British protection, and once more enjoyed peace and prosperity.[91]

Tod now became a major player in the Rājpūt history itself, as savior and protector. His presence in the narrative, as it was re-presented to the English popular audience, brought Tod's identification with the Rājpūts full circle. He had actually become an integral part in their story in the English imagination.

Though the clear presence of the *Annals* in these texts indicates the very strong impact it had in literary circles, it is exactly this move into romantic inspiration that signalled a general decline in the scholarly and political relevance of the text. By the start of the twentieth century, the *Annals* was the basis for a series of romanticized adventure poems. The *Annals* had been out of print anywhere for nearly thirty years, almost seventy in England, and it would be another twenty before it would be published again. The last scholarly comment on the text was harsh, and the one to come would be even more so. The

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[90] Festing also claims that "The Marquess of Hastings rescued 'the only ancient political structures in Northern India.'" (ibid, lxxvii) The power of the British to effect the moral uplift of the Indians is a major theme in these narratives.

[91] Ibid, p. 288.

political situation of the empire was strong, and the issues of imperial security and administration which surrounded Tod's work on its initial publication were a thing of the past. The *Annals* became a tool to extol the virtues of one of the men who built this mighty empire, and a tale to fill the taste for the exotic in the European imagination. This new project foreshadowed the nationalist appropriations of Tod's Rājpūts, as they both focused more on Tod's narrative of heroism than the value of his history.

The Last Word: William Crooke's Edition of 1920[92]

Currently, one of the more widely available versions of the *Annals* is the one edited, introduced and annotated by William Crooke, published in 1920. In general, Crooke was highly critical of the assumptions that

[92] William Crooke was born the eldest son of Warren Crooke, a physician in Cork, Ireland in 1848. The family seems to have had some prominence, for beside William, his younger brother, Col. Sir Warren Crooke, served in the Coldstream Guards and as Surgeon to Lord Minto during Minto's Viceregal tenure in India. William Crooke was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and entered the Indian Civil Service in 1871. He served as Collector and Magistrate in the districts of Saharanpur, Gorakhpur, and Mirzapur in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and retired from service in 1895. It was not until late in his life that he became recognized for the many works he either authored or edited. In 1910 he became President of the Anthropological Section of the British Association and in 1911–12 of the Folklore Society. In 1919 he was awarded an Hon. D.Sc. of Oxford, and in 1920 and Hon. Litt. D. of Dublin. He was awarded the C.I.E. by the Indian Government in 1919, and in 1923 he became a fellow of the British Academy. On October 25, 1923 he died "somewhat suddenly." Crooke was survived by his wife, Alice, whom he married in 1884. They had five sons together, of which only two survived him. The eldest died in childhood, and the 3rd and 4th died in France in 1916. His second son worked in the Home Civil Service, Ministry of Health. (R. C. Temple (1924))

Intellectually, Crooke had a huge impact on Orientalist scholarship, and he left behind a large corpus of historical and ethnographic material. (Though Temple was sure to note that "He was, however, not altogether a literary man, for he was a good sportsman and had shot many tigers during his career." (ibid)) As an author, he wrote the *Rural and Agricultural Glossary, North-West Provinces and Oudh* (1896), *Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces* (1896), *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (1894), *Things Indian* (1896), Natives of Northern India, (1906) and with H.D. Rouse a collection of folk tales entitled *The Talking Thrush* (1899). Apart from the *Annals*, his edited volumes are many: Yule's *Hobson Jobson* (1903), *Fryer's New Account of East India and Persia* (1909–15), Risley's *The People of India* (1907, 1915), Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali's *Observations on the Mussulmans of India* (1932), Herklot's translation of the Ja'far Sharif *Qanun-i-Islam* (1922), and Tavernier's *Travels* (1925). Crooke added notes on folklore to a project of Aurel Stein and G.A. Grierson entitled *Hatim's Tales: Kashmiri Stories and Songs* (1923). Finally, he served as editor of the journals *North Indian Notes and Queries*, and *Folklore*.

Tod laid out on the nature and possibility of an Indian history. Additionally, Crooke expended great effort to critique and correct the philological and racial projects that Tod undertook. In so doing, Crooke provided both a counter-text within the text of the *Annals*, and a window into the character of Indological and Orientalist scholarship in the early twentieth century.

Crooke's edition began with a biography of Tod, which served as major source material for the biographical chapter in this book. Crooke not only gave the details of Tod's life, but wove an imperial adventure story, mostly from the events of the personal narrative which Tod included in his work. Tod was apparently beset by a series of maladies during his trip in India: a long bout with malaria, "an attempt by one of his servants to poison him with Datura,"[93] and an accident in which his elephant driver "by chance or design" crashed the howdah against the gate of a fort in Mewar. The sense of intentionality Crooke bestowed on these events mirrored Tod's accounts, but also emphasized at the outset literary, fictive elements in reading this text. That Tod's work now included the Kipling-esque elements of the staunch imperial agent facing disease, danger and intrigue marked a movement in the intended reception of the work. The reader was directed to the author, the man, before proceeding to the text. Crooke's primary aim was to introduce Tod, not the *Annals* or the Rājpūts. This separation between the author and the work allowed for an elevation of the figure of the imperial agent, while the work that he produced could remain vulnerable to heavy critique.

This development parallels the position of Tod in Festing's story. By the 1920s, the early concern with knowledge about the peoples and customs of the newly acquired lands had faded, and the emphasis, in the wake of the very high imperialism of the 1890's, had shifted over to the empire itself. The empire and its agents were then paramount, not the lands or the peoples that comprised the empire. Crooke's edition marked the final step in the European evolution of the *Annals*, as the text came under scholarly attack and was relegated further to inspirational material for imaginative writing. Tod himself, however, the representative of empire, maintained an elevated status.

Instances of this separation abound in the introduction. For example, Crooke provided the identity of Tod's Jain guru, a man named

[93] *Annals* (1920), I.xxviii.

Yati Gyanchandra, and he explained that Tod, who was not a philologist, relied on Gyanchandra and some "Brahman Pandits" for help in translation.[94] Because these men "were not trained scholars in the modern sense of the term, … many of his [Tod's] mistakes are due to his rashness in following their guidance."[95] This statement both denied that the Indians were capable of properly translating Indian languages, because they did not have the scholarly apparatus of the "modern," and absolved Tod from responsibility for whatever philological mistakes may have been made in *Annals* by placing the fault onto his Indian informers. This was a radical shift from Tod's attitude on his text, in that he placed great faith on the abilities of his Indian colleagues. While it would obviously have been the case that the Indians would not have been at all versed in the "science" of nineteenth century philology, this fact in itself should not have been enough to invalidate their ability to deal with their own languages. If anything, Crooke thought the philological lapses in the *Annals* should fall on Tod's shoulders alone, for he was the driving force behind his etymological and linguistic hypotheses and he was the one in that situation with sufficient experience in European classical languages to make such speculations. Crooke, however, placed far greater blame on the Indian informants as a source of error and distortion. Their historico-temporal position—Indian, and therefore not "modern"—invalidated them as acceptable sources of textual, historical material. Tod may have been "rash" but, for Crooke, the error came from the Indians.

Later in the introduction, Tod again received absolution for his mistakes. Crooke noted that Tod could not be held accountable for his reliance on the journal *Asiatic Researches*. The absolution took a different form here, however, than it did in the earlier passage. Here, "Tod is not to blame because he followed the guidance of scholars who contributed articles to the leading Indian review of his time."[96] To Crooke, Tod engaged in the understandable act of using the best available information of the day, but information that has since been superseded. The double standard is striking, however. Reliance on native informants

[94] A fact that Tod also gives us in his introduction. A well-known painting depicts this exact situation, as Tod is clearly shown taking dictation from an Indian informant. The general lack of information about Tod's informants, however, allows only speculation on the exact nature of the information and the biases transmitted to him.

[95] Ibid, I.xxix.

[96] Ibid, I.xl.

engendered the harsh critique of "rashness," while reliance on European informants who are shown wrong by subsequent scholarship was presented as an unfortunate problem in historical scholarship. Crooke defined legitimate knowledge as European knowledge. The evolution of European knowledge served as its own mechanism of absolution, whereas Indian knowledge, even knowledge of their own languages, was a clear source of error.

Crooke saw his own role as editor to correct Tod's work. The majority of the remainder of Crooke's introduction was devoted to examining the faults and significant omissions of the *Annals*. Throughout, Crooke made use of the works of Vincent Smith, T. W. Rhys Davids, J. G. Frazer (*The Golden Bough* and *Lectures on the Early History of Kingship*) and D. R. Bhandarkar as the authorities who superseded and corrected Tod. One of the chief features of Crooke's project was to remove the poesy from the information presented in the *Annals*. "In estimating the value of the local authorities on which the history is based, Tod reposed undue confidence in the epics and ballads composed by the poet Chand and other tribal bards."[97] The more recent work that had been done, according to Crooke, would "enable us to correct the bardic legends on which the genealogies recorded in *The Annals* were founded."[98]

The form that the legends took and the stories that they told could not stand up to a standard of accuracy scholarship had, by Crooke's time, achieved. Crooke believed that the truth of what actually happened could now be known, and the native record could be corrected. In other words, Europeans appropriated the relevant knowledge, and could now set not only history, but the Indian mind, straight. Crooke completely overlooked the point, made over and over by Tod, that the *Annals* were not meant to be held to the strict standards of "the science of history," but were meant as an archive and collection from which others might work. Crooke, therefore, worked hard to transform the *Annals* into something that it was not intended to be. This was not a matter of Crooke alone, but a reflection of a different attitude towards the materials and requirements of history current in the early twentieth century. At this time, historical knowledge was thought to be progressively moving towards the final, corrected state, otherwise known as truth.

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[97] Ibid, I.xxx.
[98] Ibid, I.xxxv.

Specific examples of the type of commentary and correction Crooke made show the nature of the differing attitudes between the two men. In discussing the nature of the Rājpūt personality, Crooke noted that Tod presented their strengths—loyalty, devotion, chivalry, honor—but omitted their weaknesses. Crooke stated:

> Their weaknesses … are obvious from a study of their history—their instability of character, their liability to sudden outbreaks of passion, their tendency to yield to panic on the battlefield, their inability, as a result of their tribal system, to form a permanent combination against a public enemy, their occasional faithlessness to their chiefs and allies, their excessive use of opium. These defects they share with most orientals, but, on the whole, they compare favorably with other races in the Indian Empire.[99]

Where Tod enumerated the positive, Crooke clearly defined the negative. Not only were these negative character traits, but this list defined what seemed to be a rather barbarous group, beholden to their passions and steeped in drug. What is even more astonishing, is that this was a description of one of the more favorably received Indian "races."

The tenor of Crooke's piece was wholly different from Tod's original edition. Not only was the favorable light that Tod generally cast on his subject extinguished, but an openly hostile view had taken over. Physically, Crooke's introduction appeared before Tod's. Therefore, the reader first encountered the discussion of the text's faults and Crooke's negatively-biased corrections, and then the reader arrived at Tod's presentation. Having been primed by Crooke's introduction, however, the reader could not possibly have taken the *Annals* as seriously as they might have before they knew of the "corrections" which the work had undergone.

It was not just the introduction that provided this kind of critical framing, but the notes as well. Throughout the work, Crooke's footnotes remind the reader of the persistent unreliablility of the *Annals*. Many of the notes are clarifications and amplifications of the material that Tod presented, and therefore are not meant to correct the text, but to function as an enhancement.[100] Crooke's notes are quite successful in this regard, as they contain a great deal of information, and references to the most current scholarship of his day.

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[99] Ibid, I.xxxviii.

[100] For example, in note 1 to page 166, in discussing the typical structure of villages within a larger estate, Tod provides only the translation of the word "Chaurasi" as "The numeral eighty-four." Crooke then explains that the typical ancient Hindu kingdom was comprised of 84 villages arranged in a particular way, and cites Baden-Powell and Eliot for further clarification.

A distinct discourse within the notes, however, is a sort of dismissive disdain for Tod's adventures in etymological and ethnological speculation. For example, following Tod's theorizing on the identity of some of the Indian tribes encountered by Alexander of Macedon, Crooke stated, "All these speculations are valueless."[101] Again, following a long historical discursis by Tod on the lingering "Scythic barbarism" displayed in the treatment of Rājpūt woman during the Mughal Emperor Akbar's time, Crooke was plain to say that "The ethnological views in this note do not deserve notice."[102] At other times, Crooke was obviously frustrated with Tod's speculations. After a particularly long attempt in the *Annals* at a racial identification between the Rājpūts and the Greeks, Crooke noted that there was so much in error that correction "cannot be done in the limits of a note."[103] In reference to some unusually obscure etymologies on Tod's part, Crooke's only comment was a single character: "?"[104]

The running critical dialogue provided by Crooke functioned as a counter-text within the *Annals* which served to undermine its authority. The experience of reading Crooke's edition, therefore, was an experience filled with uncertainty in the reliability of the text.[105] Uncertainty is inherent in any reading, but the placement of the critical sentiments in footnotes on the same physical page as the source text served to foreground the issue of source reliability, or in this case, unreliability.

The running critical commentary also provided a window on the process of a discourse examining its own history. In this case, early twentieth century Indology looked back nearly one hundred years on the foundations of the field. By 1920, speculations on the ethnological similarities between ancient Indians and Greeks had become meaningless and not worthy of comment. The racial and linguistic projects of the early nineteenth century were over, at least in active historical discourse, and needed to be purged from the legacy of the past.[106]

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[101] Ibid, I.125 n. 1.
[102] Ibid, I.401 n. 2.
[103] Ibid, I.289–90 n. 3.
[104] For example, ibid, p. 142 n. 5, or 191 n. 1.
[105] The uncertainty grows with each passing year. The 80 years of scholarship since the Crooke edition most assuredly contain further information which would invalidate even more of Tod's discussion. The intervening years also open the possibility of a critique of Crooke's emendations.
[106] Many works can attest to the latent effects of these projects even up to the relatively recent past. See R. Inden (1990), S. Pollock (1994), and E. W. Said (1979, 1994) for a sample.

Crooke did go on to credit Tod's *Annals*, despite its faults, on a number of measures. He wrote that it took a central position and "represents a phase in the study of Indian religions, ethnology and sociology." Additionally, it was the first real attempt to deal with peasant society as opposed to the elite culture of the Brahmans. Finally, it served as a record of the last vestige of the ancient, pure Hinduism, unsullied by "the rising tide of the Muhammadan invasions."[107] Crooke also noted that Tod was at his best when recording the legends and tales of the people he studied.

The *Annals*, in addition, could be useful as a guide to the newcomer in imperial service:

> To remove these difficulties [of giving accidental offense by violating custom] which obstruct friendly and confidential intercourse, the young officer in India may be advised to study the methods illustrated in this work. But he will do well to avoid Tod's openly expressed partisanship. … He studied the national traditions and usages; he knew enough of religious beliefs and of social customs to save him from giving offence by word or deed; he could converse with the people in their own patois, and could give point to a remark by an apt quotation of a proverb or a scrap of an old ballad.[108]

Crooke knew that Tod was looked on suspiciously by his superiors for his favorable feelings towards the Rājpūts, and of the detrimental effect this open partisanship had on Tod's career. The "young officer" of Crooke's imagination should understand the pitfalls of such partisanship.

Finally, Crooke noted:

> For the Rajput himself and for natives of India interested in the history of their country, the work will long retain its value. It preserves a record of tribal rights and privileges, of claims based on ancient tradition, of feuds and their settlements, of genealogies and family which, but for Tod's careful record, might have been forgotten or misinterpreted even by the Rajputs themselves.[109]

With that, the European appropriation of native knowledge was complete. In Crooke's mind, Tod had not only saved what the Indians may have lost, but he also provided them with the sole meaning of the material he compiled about them, lest they attempt to do such on their own.

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[107] *Annals*, I.xli.
[108] Ibid, I.xliii.
[109] Ibid, I.xliii–xliv.

For Crooke, Tod had already saved the Indians from themselves, and for this;

> … the Rajput will enjoy the satisfaction that his race has been selected to furnish the materials for the most comprehensive monograph ever compiled by a British officer describing one of the leading peoples of India.[110]

Crooke's introduction ended as it began. Tod the man was elevated and praised for his wisdom in choosing the Rājpūts for his scholarly study. Though the Rājpūts were some of the "leading peoples of India," they should be grateful to Tod for preserving that greatness for them.

Indian Antiquary, 1921

The review of the three-volume edition, edited by Crooke and issued by the Oxford University Press in 1920 picked up from exactly where Crooke left off:

> Tod had many opportunities of studying his protégés, the Rajputs, denied for many reasons to his successors in office, of which he had a natural aptitude for taking full advantage; and though his official career was not a success, his bent of mind, his wide reading and devotion to the study of the people he so loved in their every aspect, enabled him to produce, to use his editor's words, "the most comprehensive monograph ever compiled by a British officer describing one of the leading peoples of India."[111]

The *Annals* was again situated as a central text in the history of the Rājpūts. Though Tod's work represented the height of Oriental scholarship of his day, one hundred years of subsequent scholarship have demonstrated it to be:

> mostly erroneous. It had its value, however, in setting generations of patient scholars and searchers after truth on to lines of study, which have produced much knowledge that must be for ever sound. And although one knows that a great deal of what Tod thought and read is wholly inadmissible as the truth, one cannot help being struck by the extent of the learning of his time. The serious writers and thinkers that were his contemporaries were much more often on the right track than is perhaps nowadays acknowledged, … their method was at bottom truly

[110] Ibid, I.xliv.
[111] R. C. Temple (1921), p. 246.

> anthropological, i.e. they tried to find the springs of action of the Indian people in their history and ethnology as well as in the society they observed about them. When, however, as in the case of Tod, they presented the narrative of their observations, and the speculations based thereon, in an attractive literary form, they produced a danger to succeeding students. Tod evidently knew so much at first hand; he read everything bearing on his subject that he could come across, and he wrote it all down with such honesty of purpose and in so entertaining a style that he produced a classic: and classics are apt to be dangerous things, if accepted as gospel and not read with the discretion that subsequent study should induce in the reader. For this reason it is high time that such a guide to the truth, as we now understand it, should be produced by one so competent to provide it as Mr. Crooke.[112]

This is a perfect depiction of the state of the *Annals* in the 1920's. Tod was at the height of Oriental scholarship in his day, and the *Annals* served as an inspiration for generations of scholars. The work of these scholars, however, had demonstrated the serious defects in the *Annals*, and therefore shown its unreliability for modern use. Tod's text remained valuable, however, for it inspired a corpus of sound knowledge on India. Though Temple's objection to the canonization of the *Annals* had to do with the quest for historical truth, the real danger to the Empire from this classic was, and had been for some time, exerting itself in India. The inspiration that the *Annals* provided to the likes of Festing and Trevor was harmless, exotic fantasy. The stories of the Rājpūt heroes, however, were also being read into an anti-colonial, nationalist discourse within India.

The following chapter will conclude the story by shifting the focus over to India, to explore the inspirational power of the *Annals* in a completely different context, the rise of the nationalist movement. Specifically, the heroic Rājpūt of Rajasthan, constituted and constructed in Tod's *Annals*, provided images of "indigenous" heroes and modes of resistance for Indian nationalist intellectuals.

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[112] Ibid, p. 247.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RECONSTRUCTION

If any part of a land strewn with dead man's bones have a special claim to distinction, Rajputana, as the cockpit of India, stands first. … The tangled tale of force, fraud, cunning, desperate love and more desperate revenge, crime worthy of demons, and virtues fit for gods, may be found, by all who care to look, in the book of the man who loved the Rajputs and gave a life's labours in their behalf.[1]

… for princes and nobles, Hindu and Toork, vied with each other in exalting the patriot Pertap, in strains replete with those sentiments which elevate the mind of the martial Rajpoot, who is inflamed into action by this national excitement.[2]

The preceding chapters have explored the construction of historical knowledge about the Rājpūts in the contexts of their encounters with East India Company political apparatus, as well as in the theater of administrative and historical discourse at the imperial center. Tod's image of the Rājpūts, immersed in the power and then legitimated by the authority of the imperial state, took on the status of dominant knowledge both in Europe and in India. This chapter examines the mechanisms that reiterated and reproduced this knowledge in India, from the middle of the nineteenth century and throughout the nationalist period. From the 1870s through the early 1900s, publications of the *Annals* flourished in the vernaculars of India while nationalist literary and political works with Rājasthānī themes proliferated simultaneously. Though European intellectuals scrutinized and disqualified Tod's *Annals* on account of factual errors and undisciplined etymological and racial speculations, in India the *Annals*' narratives of Rājpūt warriors filled a growing need for strong Indian heroes. Tod's *Annals* served as a storehouse of symbols from which Indian authors could, and did, draw to resurrect heroes from his narrative of Rājpūt resistance to outside oppression. The struggles of these Rājpūt heroes served

[1] R. Kipling (1899), p. xx.
[2] Tod, *Annals*, p. I.271.

as a parallel, inspirational discourse to the Indian nationalist struggle against British oppression.

The Rājpūt narrative in Tod reflected the imperatives of empire (the demands of social order and revenue collection) and nineteenth century Romanticism and racial/linguistic theory (notions of racial essences, hierarchies of civilizations and civilizational progress). Tod valorized the martial Rājpūts through a deep identification with their presumed "Scythian" character and their concomitant relation to the ancient peoples of Europe. Tod's construction of Rājpūt heroes took part in a program of heritage construction and resurrection that was intimately connected to an English economic and martial enterprise, as well as the larger currents of European thought in the early nineteenth century. The Indian nationalist discourse that drew on this construction, therefore, necessarily assumed these aspects of indological and orientalist thought. The appropriation of this British valorization of the Rājpūts into an Indian valorization of these same people demonstrated the stark irony of colonial knowledge being used to anti-colonial ends. It also provides a clear example of the mechanism of transmission, and the power of Indian intellectuals to refashion actively European discursive material into new forms that met the needs of the Indian historical and political situation.

Publication History

Before analyzing the uses of the *Annals*, it is important to look at the history of the work itself to see where, when, and in what forms the text had become available in various Indian and European contexts. The most crucial point to note from this chronology is that just as the *Annals* was being written into antique irrelevance in Britain, it rapidly was becoming available in Indian languages in India. There was a particular flourishing of the *Annals* in Bengal in from the late 1870's to the late 1890's, exactly congruent with a burgeoning nationalist intellectual and literary production.[3]

The London publishing house of Smith, Elder and Company published the first edition of the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* in

[3] For studies of the rise of nationalism in India, see P. Chakravarty (1992), P. Chatterjee (1993a,b), D. Kopf (1969), D. Ray (1990), and A. Sanyal (1989).

two volumes in 1829 and 1832. Higginbotham reissued the text in English in Madras in 1873,[4] and again in 1880. English versions also appeared in 1884[5] and again in 1894 in Calcutta. None of these reprints included the plates from the original edition, which publishers now deemed too inaccurate to be worth the expense of reproduction.[6] Hari Mohun Mookerji in Calcutta issued an English language serialized pamphlet edition in 1877, in 32 parts of 40 pages each. The cost of each issue was an inexpensive 12 annas, or a total of 16 rupees for a complete subscription.[7]

The *Annals* was issued again in England in 1914, due to the efforts of Douglas Sladen, and financed by "H. H. The Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar, the heir of Zalim Sing the Great, the hero who figures most largely in its pages."[8] Sladen's edition also omitted the plates and included only minor editorial changes to the text.[9] In 1920, William Crooke reissued the Annals in England, this time dividing the text into three volumes, with chapter and section headings added as an aid in reading, as well as notes and a critical apparatus authored by Crooke throughout. Here the plates were restored, though in a much smaller physical format. The Crooke version is popular and is widely available, but copies of Sladen's two-volume version of the *Annals* continue to be produced. It is, therefore, not possible to speak of a definite standard for the work. If for no other reason, the inclusion of the modern scholarly apparati of standardized transliterations of Indian names, and the commentary of recent authorities makes the Crooke edition the more interesting for historiographical purposes. As an historical document, however, the unchanged two-volume edition is obviously more representative of Tod's initial intentions.

The *Annals* has had a rich history of translation and publication in Indian vernaculars. I have located versions of the text in five major Indian languages—Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati, Marathi and Bengali. At least one edition of some portion of the text existed in each of these languages by 1912, 83 years after the initial publication of the first volume. Table 1

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[4] J. Tod and C. H. Payne (1912), Payne's preface to the work, p. vii.

[5] N. Peabody (2000).

[6] Payne's preface to the work, p. vii.

[7] Peabody Personal Communication (2000). Hari Mohan Mukerji also produced a serialized version of the text in Bengali, which I will discuss below.

[8] J. Tod (1914), Sladen's preface, p. ix. Jhala Zalim Singh was the de facto ruler of Kota, and a key British ally at the time of the their arrival in Rajputana.

[9] The spelling of names and places was standardized, and the index was revised.

Table 1. Publication History of Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* Indian Languages

Language	Date of publication	Location	Translator, editor	Title	Comments	Reference
Bengali	1872	Calcutta		Rājasthāner Itivṛitta[i]	"A translation of Tod's 'Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan' Pts I and II"	*India Office Library Catalogue*, Vol. II, Pt. IV. Bengali (1905) J. F. Blumhardt, p. 50
Bengali	1880 and forward (This is a serialized publication. Between 1,000 and 2,500 copies are presented in approximately 50-page issues)	Calcutta	Durga Chandran Banerji	*Rajasthan*	"A literal Bengali prose translation of Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan."	Appendix to the *Calcutta Gazette* of 2 June 1880, Bengal Library Catalogue of Books for the 1st Qtr.
Bengali	1883	Calcutta: Aghornātha Barāṭa	Yajñeṣ vara Vandyopādhyāya	*Rājasthān*	A history of Rajasthan based on Tod's Annals. pp. 616. Also has the word "Mivār" next to the title.	*Catalog of Bengali Books, Q-R, 1920–45.*
Bengali	1883 and forward (This is a serialized publication. Between 2,000 and 2,500 copies are presented in approximately 50-page issues bi-weekly)	Calcutta	Jnajneswar Banerji (tr.)	*Rajasthan*	"This is a translation of Col. Tod's great work. The publisher says that errors contained in the original will be corrected in the translation." (1st Qtr. 1883)	Appendix to the *Calcutta Gazette*, Bengal Library Catalogue of Books for the 1st, 2nd, 3rd & 4th Qtrs. 1883; 1st, 2nd, 3rd & 4th Qtrs. 1884.

Language	Date of publication	Location	Translator, editor	Title	Comments	Reference
					Subsequent entries in the series note, "This is another Bengali translation of Tod's great work, containing cultural and explanatory notes by the translator himself," (2nd Qtr.) "Goes on with the translation of Tod's great work," (3rd Qtr.) "This is an annotated version of Mr. Tod's great work. The translation is not very literal," (4th Qtr.) and "This is not a close translation of Tod." (2nd Qtr. 1884).	
Bengali	1884	Calcutta	Gopal Chandra Mukherji	*Rajasthan* (Vol. I)	"This is a new Bengali translation of Colonel Tod's great work. It is published in the hope that its perusal will rouse the historical sense of the Hindus, and enable them to	Appendix to the *Calcutta Gazette*, Bengal Library Catalogue of Books for the 1st Qtr. 1884.

(*Continued*)

Table 1. Continued

Language	date of publication	Location	Translator, editor	Title	Comments	Reference
					understand their position as the descendants of the brave, warlike, chivalrous and patriotic people whose achievements it records."	
Bengali	1884	Calcutta	Hari Mohan Mukherji	*Rājasthāner itihās*	"A Brief history of the Rajput states, from the earliest times to the present, compiled from Tod's great work and other sources."	Appendix to the *Calcutta Gazette*, Bengal Library Catalogue of Books for the 3rd Qtr. 1884.
Bengali	1898	Calcutta	Upendranātha Mukhopādhyāya (tr.); Yajñeṣvara Vandyopādhyāya (ed., 2nd ed.)	*Rājasthāna* (2nd Edition)	Tod's 'Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han,' translated into Bengali by Upendranātha Mukhopādhyāya. Second edition, revised, with the addition of an appendix, by Yajñeṣvara Vandyopādhyāya.	*Supplementary Catalog of the Bengali Books in the Library of the British Museum Acquired during the Years 1886–1910*, J. F. Blumhardt (1910).

Language	date of publication	Location	Translator, editor	Title	Comments	Reference
Bengali	1906	Calcutta	Ditto	3rd Edition		ditto
Bengali	1906	Calcutta	Yajñeṣvara Vandyopādhyāya (ed.)	*Rājasthāna* (4th Edition)	A history of Rajasthan based on Tod's Annals.	*Catalog of the Library of the India Office*, V. II, Pt. IV, Supplment 1906–1920: Bengali Books Supplement 1906–1920
Gujarati	1912	Bombay	Bhagubhai Phatecanda Kārabhāri	*Rājasthāna*	2 vols.	India Office Library, *Catalog of Gujarati Books, 1909–1945.*
Gujarati	1925	Bombay	Sastun Sahitya Vardhaka Kāryālaya	*Rājasthānano itihāsa*		Do.
Hindi	1906-	Bankipur			Tod, James Captain Annals of Rājasthān. pp. 1–386.	India Office Libraray *Catalog of Hindi Books.*
Hindi	1907–1910	Bombay	Baldao Prasād Miśra Paṇḍit	*Rājasthāna itihāsa*	Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan by Lt.Col James Tod.	India Office Libraray *Catalog of Hindi Books.*
Hindi	by 1908	Bombay			Published "under the auspices of the *Venkatesasamacar*, a well known Bombay daily."	*Archeological Survey India, Western Circle, Bombay*, 1908. D. R. Bhandarkar.

(*Continued*)

Table 1. Continued

Language	Date of publication	Location	Translator, Editor	Title	Comments	Reference
Hindi	1909	Lahore	Bābū Śivavrata Lāla Varmā	*Rājasthāna kā itr*	An abstract of Tod's "Rajasthan" translated from the Hindustani version of Bābū Śivavrata Lāla Varmā.	*A Supplementary Catalog of Hindi Books in the Library of the British Museum Acquired during the years 1893–1912*, J.F. Blumhardt (1913). Also in: Barnett, Blumhardt & Wilkinson, 1957.
Hindi	1913–1916	Bankipore	Rām Gharīb Choube	*Rājasthāna*	A Hindi translation of Tod's "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan." Edited with a life of Tod and notes by Gaurī-Ṣankara Hīrachand Ojha. Vols I-II.	*A Second Supplementary Catalog of Printed Books in Hindi, Bihari (including Bhojpuria, Kaurmali and Maithili), and Pahari (including Nepali or Khaskura, Jaunsari, Mandeali &c.) in the Library of the British Museum*. Comp. by L.D. Barnett, J.F. Blumhardt & J.V.S. Wilkinson (1957), p. 1039.
Hindi	1996	Jodhpur	Devīlāl Pālīvāl	Ṭāḍ kṛt: *Rājasthān meṇ Sāmantvād* (*Feudalism in Rajasthan*)	A Hindi translation of "The Feudal System of Rajasthan" from Volume 1 of Tod's *Annals*.	Published by Rājasthānī Granthāgār.

Language	date of publication	Location	Translator, editor	Title	Comments	Reference
Marathi	1908	Bombay	Author not known	*Vīramatī*	Identified as an "adaptation" of the Annals.	India Office Libraray, *Catalog of Marathi Books 1909–45*
Marathi	1919	Bombay	Nārāyaṇa Hari Āpṭe	*Rajputāncha Bhīsma*		India Office Libraray, *Catalog of Marathi Books 1909–45*
Urdu	1877	Lucknow		*Tārīkh i Rājastān*	Tod's "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan" translated into Urdu. 2 vols.	*Catalog of the Library of the India Office Vol. II-Pt. II Hindustani Books*. J.F. Blumhardt (1900) p. 90.
Urdu	1878	Agra	Jvālā Sahā'e	*Vaqā'i Rājpūtānaḥ*, Vol. 1	Published by Maṭba'-i Mufīd-i 'Āmm. Also listed in Blumhardt (1900) as 3 vols.	*Catalog of Urdu Books in the India Office Library 1800–1920*. (Supplement to Blumhardt catalog of 1900) 2nd E. Comp. by Salim al-din Quraishi (1991) p. 141.
Urdu	1905–6			*Rājasthān*		*India Office Libraray Catalog of Urdu Books 1900–39.*

[i] Diacritical marks are provided in this table only for those entires which were marked in the reference source, or for those works that I have seen in the original. I have not added marking to those words that were unmarked originally. I thank Priya Joshi for bringing the *Calcutta Gazette* catalogs of books to my attention.

presents a publication history of the *Annals* in Indian languages.[10] The earliest translation of the work that I have found is a Bengali edition of 1872, followed closely by Urdu editions in 1877 and 1878. Two serialized Bengali editions appeared beginning in 1880 and 1883 respectively, with other editions in Bengali appearing in 1884, updated into 2nd, 3rd and 4th editions from 1898 to 1906. More editions in the languages of northern India appeared in the early twentieth century. The first Hindi edition comes in 1906, followed by editions in 1907–10, 1909 and 1913–16. Marathi translations appear in 1908 and 1919, and there is a Gujarati translation from 1912.

The pattern of translations places the earliest vernacular versions of the work in the Bengali language published out of Calcutta, and not in Hindi out of Rajasthan. The Hindi translations do not occur until much later, in the early twentieth century, and they were published outside of Rajasthan. Whatever importance the *Annals* may have had to the Rājpūt princes at this point, therefore, it does not appear in the form of a program of translation or publication sponsorship within the Rājpūt states themselves. In contrast, the Bengali translations of the Annals appeared at exactly the period in which the intellectual foundations of the nationalist movement in India were being built. If the work were for the use of the Indian Civil Service, or English colleges in Bengal, the English versions clearly would have been used. These Bengali versions must have been either for the wider, Bengali reading audience, and/or for an intellectual elite for whom the use of native languages was a part of a much larger program of resistance against the English.[11]

The fact that two of the Bengali versions of the *Annals* were serialized is also a clue to the audience for the work. Publishers obviously targeted these to a mass audience, producing short versions that came out at regular intervals (usually bi-weekly), in relatively large numbers (2,000–2,500 copies per issue) and at a low price (4 annas per issue).

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[10] This information comes from an analysis of the holdings of the India Office Library, the catalogs of Hindustani (Blumhardt, 1900), Bengali (Blumhardt, 1910), and Hindi (Blumhardt, 1913) books in the Library of the British Museum and the "Library Catalogue of Books" appendices to the *Calcutta Gazette* (1878–1890) and the *Bombay Gazette* (1878–1909). I thank Priya Joshi for bringing these latter, valuable sources of information to my attention.

[11] Assuming, therefore, a relationship of the sort imagined by B. Anderson (1991) between linguistic identity, print, and the nation.

These editions, like later serialized versions of serious works, were certainly much more accessible than scholarly tomes.[12]

In sum, the publication history demonstrates the widespread availability of the *Annals* to an educated Indian audience, in both English and major Indian languages. The text seems to have enjoyed readership exclusively in North India and Bengal, though it is possible that the text was read in English in the South. It is also noteworthy that the *Annals* was not the recipient of an obvious program of translation and publication in Rajasthan itself, but flourished to a much larger and speedier extent elsewhere in India. The social and political ramifications of these geographic findings will be taken up below.

The Annals *as Textbook*

The use of the *Annals* as a textbook for Indian students marked one of the clearest ways it came to predominate over the image and history of the Rājpūts that were presented to Indians themselves, and that shaped the self-image of Indians in the process. Tod's narrative first exercised its dominance in the school system before it moved to the more consensual status of hegemonic knowledge.[13] The educational uses of Tod's *Annals* placed it in the role of indoctrination, for lack of a better word, as the discourse arising out of a position of dominance became internalized into an authoritative discourse for, and eventually of, the subjects themselves. Much anecdotal evidence suggests that Tod's *Annals* has been, and continues to be used, as a primary work in the classrooms of India. Even during the tenure of my research in 1997, I met people, in Rajasthan and younger than I, who had read Tod, or portions of his work in their high school history classes.[14]

Three textbooks, in particular, shed light on Tod's impact on the image of the Rājpūt, and Rajasthan in general. The earliest version of a Tod inspired textbook history of Rajputana was that of Amrita Lal De,

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[12] Gandhi's *Autobiography*, for example, was published chapter by chapter in a Gujarati newspaper. See, M. K. Gandhi (1957).

[13] Guha, following Gramsci, notes that hegemony is not implied in dominance. Hegemony arises out of dominance, but does not come until the subject takes the hegemon for herself. R. Guha (1997).

[14] In one particular case to the great consternation of the student, who took the opportunity of our conversation to complain about the archaic language, dry tone and idiosyncratic spelling of Indian terms and place names that is typical of the *Annals*.

a professor at the Maharaja's College in Jaipur, though the book was published out of Calcutta in 1889. It is a small work, only 78 pages, and De noted that, with it, he attempted to rectify lapses in the knowledge of the students in Rajputana of their own history: "The boys in the schools of Rajpootana know well the facts and events narrated in the histories of England, Greece and Rome, but an account of their own native land, *Rajpootana*, they are almost, if not wholly, ignorant of." Whatever other histories exist were "bulky in size, voluminous, difficult of understanding, and not suitable to serve as a stepping-stone for the youths of Rajpootana to the learning of the history of the Rajpoot States."[15] De meant this work, therefore, both to redress the bias towards European classicism that was operative in the curriculum at the time, and to transform the works that currently existed on Rajputana into a form more suitable for student use.[16]

These physically and intellectually cumbersome books were the following: "'The Rajpootana Gazetteer,' Colonel Tod's 'Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan,' and Colonel G.B. Malleson's 'The Native States of Rajpootana.'"[17] De did not report using any Indian authority or work in the production of this text, and he even went so far as to note that in instances of historical discrepancy (dates, accession order…) he deferred to "that which has stood comparison with those fixed by distinguished historians of the Indian Empire of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen Empress."[18] In other words, English historians, in all aspects, set the terms of the historical work that De intended "as a *text-book* in history in the higher classes of the Junior Department of the schools in Rajpootana."[19]

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[15] A. L. De (1889), vii.

[16] The implicit critique is that Tod, as a source, is voluminous and unwieldy. De's work, therefore, was meant to produce a more sleek and streamlined version of the basic story that is the history of Rajputana.

[17] Ibid, viii. The inclusion of the Malleson book is especially important, as it represents the possibility of a sort of early hidden intellectual presence of Tod. In the introduction to the work, Malleson noted that:

> Such a work [as the Malleson] must necessarily be of the nature of a compilation. This aspires to be nothing more. I have gone to the best authorities and have deliberately robbed them. In the widest sense of the term, I have been 'the burglar of others' intellects.' Of Colonel Tod's 'Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan;' of Captain Grant Duff's 'History of the Mahrattas;' of Sir John Malcolm's 'Central India,' I have availed myself largely. (G. B. Malleson (1875), viii)

[18] A. L. De (1889), viii.

[19] Ibid, vii.

De's text treats each of the states of Rajputana, and they were ordered, rather democratically, with respect to the size of the state,[20] and not some pre-ordained notion of purity or importance.[21] Before the treatment of each state, there are general sections on the geography and climate of Rajputana, the tribes and castes of the area, fortifications, religion, economy, manners and social customs, and the boundaries and populations of each of the princely states. The tie to European feudalism was present here just as in the English works that served as its source. The Rājpūts were assumed to have invaded the area, and settled themselves as the rulers of the land by the eleventh century, claiming the title of *kṣatriya*, which had formerly been "applied to the warlike Aryan race."[22]

All of the notions of racial typing, linguistic and racial identities, and the relationships between races entered this now "native" historical discourse through the ideology of the source material. The pejorative orientalist assumptions of the nineteenth century have been transmitted into the Indian educational text. To the extent that this text was used in the schools,[23] this type of work served as the introduction to historical discourse, and the groundwork of students' historical consciousness. Here, the British, and especially Tod, structured the knowledge that was presented to "every youth in Rajpootana, if not in India".[24]

De's text was not an isolated one. In 1912, a book entitled *Tod's Annals of Rajasthan: The Annals of Mewar* was published in London abridged and edited by C. H. Payne. Payne intended to make Tod's work available to the current generation of scholars of India, for at the time Tod's *Annals* was "practically unknown … and is all but unprocurable."[25] Additionally, in its original and complete form, "it must be doubted whether [the *Annals*] could ever have become popular, … [the] author's style, which though rich and picturesque, is, at times, so loose as to be

[20] The order of coverage is as follows: Marwar, Bikaneer, Jeypore, Jeysulmere, Meywar, Kotah, Ulwur, Sirohee & Abu, Ajmere-Marwara, Jhalawar, Bundi, Bharatpur, Karowlee, Tonk, Dholpur, Banswara, Partapgarh, Dungarpur and Kishengarh.

[21] There is a clear bias towards Jaipur state here, though, with a great effusion of emotion by the author for Sawāi Rām Singh, whom the author served under in the Maharaja's College. There is even a poem to Jaipur, extolling her virtues, and the great work of Rām Singh (ibid, p. 36).

[22] Ibid, p. 21–4.

[23] I assume that the text's appearance in the British Library indicates some importance, although it is difficult to gauge how much.

[24] Ibid, p. viii.

[25] J. Tod and C. H. Payne (1912), p. viii.

almost incoherent."[26] This edition, therefore, attempted to present the history of Mewar,[27] as much as possible in Tod's original language, but "omit [ted] such details as seemed to [the author] to confuse the action, or break the continuity of events, and occasionally introducing, from other portions of the original work, anecdotes and descriptions illustrative of the Rajputs of Mewar."[28] Additionally, the spelling of proper Indian names was standardized to the system employed in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

Payne's text, therefore, represented another attempt to produce a streamlined product out of the original *Annals* that distilled the most important aspects of the history of Rajputana into an accessible form for a more mass audience. The distillation process necessarily produced a more skeletal story, but one that presented the essence of the historical narrative in the eyes of the author. As in the initial reviews of the *Annals* discussed previously, a clear narrative of particular major historical episodes formed the story: Bappa Rawal; the sieges of Chitor, including the story of Padmini; Rāṇā Pratāp and the struggles against the Mughals; the founding of Udaipur; decline and the Rājpūt internecine conflicts; Marāṭhā depredations and the rise of the British. The basic narrative of heroism and valor remained in place, both as the legacy of Tod and as the knowledge of Rajputana that had to be preserved.

Payne's text was produced in London for an English audience, and so it would seem out of place in a discussion of the *Annals* as an Indian school textbook. There was, however, an almost identical book published in a series called "The Shanti Press Series of School Classics" out of Allahabad in 1932 entitled the *Annals of Rajasthan*. This text was Tod's section on Mewar, "Abridged and Adapted for Indian Schools" by Basudeva Mukerji.[29] This book was in form and substance almost exactly the same as Payne's text. Though Mukerji produced a more readable text out of Tod's original language, the representation of the history of Mewar remained the same across editions. These books are astonishingly similar, and the fact that one was produced for an English

[26] Ibid, p. ix.

[27] "Mewar, or Udaipur, with which alone it deals, is, historically, the most important of all the Rajputana states; for the history of Mewar was, for centuries, the history of Rajputana, while, at one period, it was almost the history of India." Ibid, p. ix.

[28] Ibid, p. x.

[29] J. Tod and B. Mukerji (1932).

audience and one was published in a series of "Classics" for "Indian Schools" demonstrates not only that the work of an English colonial historian assumed a central role in the construction of the historical entity and identity of Rajasthan's (and India's) school children, but that the English adaptation of the English historian had even become canonical. There was, therefore, a double injection of the English historical discourse, from two distinct historical epochs with distinct discursive issues and boundaries, directly into the education of the Indian school student.

In effect, there was no clear "Indian" historical narrative in these example textbooks, even in the texts prepared by Indian scholars. Tod initially set the field and the limits of inquiry that reflected nineteenth and twentieth century English intellectual environments. Educators propagated these narratives directly in the Indian classroom, thereby firmly, though stealthily, instantiating an Indological and Orientalist ideology into the school curriculum.

Heroes for the Nation: The Annals *and the Nationalist Movement*

Tod's work assumed an important position within cultural nationalist movements in late nineteenth and early-twentieth-century India. Partha Chatterjee, in a discussion of the Bengali nationalist historian Tarinicharan Chattopadhyay, unpacked a pertinent example. Chatterjee discussed Tod and the Rājpūt ideal in the construction of an historical episode of Indian "resistance" to the invasion of Sind by Muhammad Ibn Kasim. In relating the story of the defeat of King Dahir of Sind, Chatterjee noted that:

> What is a story from Rajput folklore in Tod, having entered modern historiography in Elphinstone as the slaughter of a "Rājpūt tribe by the Mahometans," becomes in Tarinicharan an episode in the history of the resistance by "Indians" to Muslim conquest.[30]

Chatterjee traced the life of a story, reported as *folklore* by Tod, as it was taken up into a modern nationalist historical narrative. The excavation of this instance not only indicated the depth of Tod's influence, but also how subsequent layers of scholarship disguised Tod's presence.

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[30] P. Chatterjee (1993), p. 249 n. 11.

This is another crucial aspect of the story of preservation and transmission of these narratives. The fact that Tod was a source for so many generations of scholars and writers often masked his presence behind layers of previous scholarship. This is testament to the fact that Tod, like many other administrator/scholars of his time, laid the basic groundwork for most of the work that was to come. Subsequent generations of scholars neither fundamentally questioned, nor even examined the structure of Rājasthānī historical work, and thereby unconsciously transmitted the imperial and orientalist paradigms. Throughout the nationalist era (and even into the present) many Indian sources remained in the thrall of the nineteenth century.

These hidden, and not so hidden, influences are numerous. Lloyd Rudolph discussed Tod's importance for Shyāmaldās' *Vīr Vinod*. Kavirāj Shyāmaldās (1836–1893) was the official historian for the princely state of Mewar under Mahārāṇā Sajjan Singh (d. 1884) and the *Vīr Vinod* is his four-volume history of Mewar. In the *Vīr Vinod*, Shyāmaldās eagerly accepted Tod's romantic view of Mewar's past "heroic fight for independence" and "national liberty" against the Mughal Empire.[31] Publishers first printed the work in 1892, but then-Mahārāṇā, Fateh Singh (d. 1930), ordered it sealed. The text was made available only in 1947, on "the eve of independence and the subsequent 'integration' of the princely states."[32] Though Shyāmaldās did not actively participate in any nationalist movement, the timing of the re-release of his *Vīr Vinod*, just at the founding of the republic, and the heroic image of the Rājpūt fighters for "national liberty" it captured, emphasized the importance of the narratives of Rājpūt struggle against the Mughals in the nationalist/independence narrative against the British.

Historian K. K. Ganguli noted the extensive influence Tod's depiction of the Rājpūts had on Bengali intellectuals in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: "[M]any of the leading figures in Bengal appear to have gone back repeatedly to the fountain of Tod's exposition of Rājpūt traditions in order to regain sustenance in the age old culture of their own."[33] Ganguli stated that such notable Bengali nationalist intellectuals as Bankimchandra, Dwijendralal Ray and both Rabindranath and Abindranath Tagore all referred to Tod in their patriotic works.[34]

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[31] L. I. Rudolph (1993), p. 13.
[32] Ibid, p. 3.
[33] K. K. Ganguli (1983), p. 245.
[34] Ibid, pp. 254–266.

Michael Madhusudan Dutt composed a drama entitled *Krishṇakumārī* after the nationalist thinker Rajnarayan Basu advised him to consult Tod for a suitably epic and emotional topic for a play.[35] Both Raṇgalāl Bandyopādhyāy, in his poem entitled "Svādhīnatā," (1858) and Jyotirindranath Tagore in the play "Sarojinī" (1875) rehearsed the Padmini episode, while Annada Prasad Bagchi painted an image of Padmini's final *jauhar*. Each referred to Tod as the source for this historical episode.[36]

Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay based an historical novel on Mahārāṇā Rāj Singh of Mewar and his struggles against the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb entitled *Rājsiṁha* (1877–78).[37] Dwijendralal Ray, poet and dramatist, composed a drama entitled *Tārā Bāi* in 1904, another named *Pratāp Siṁha* in 1905, *Durgādās* in 1906, and *Mebār Patan* in 1908. The last of these came amidst the popular upsurge against the British partition of Bengal, and it re-told one of the many episodes of valiant resistance of the Rājpūts at Chitor, in obvious reference to the resistance against the British.[38] Rabindranath Tagore's poems *Nakal garh* (1899), *Paṇ raksā* and *Achalgarh* are all based on accounts in Tod.[39] Finally, *Rāj Kāhinī* by Abinindranath Tagore, published in 1910, was a chronicle of nine of the most renowned rulers of Mewar, all based on Tod's *Annals*, but refashioned with a literary flair that appealed to a mass audience.[40]

Apart from this impressive impact on the literary imagination in Bengal, the image and history of Rajasthan prevailed in nationalist political publications, as well. For example, issues of *The Modern Review* from 1912 and 1915 both contain significant articles on Rājasthānī

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[35] Rajnarayan Basu was an adherent of the Brahmo Samaj, and wrote tracts on the greatness of Indian culture and tradition, including *Hindudharmer Śreshṭhatā* (Greatness of Hindu Religion), and he founded the "Jātīya gaurava sampādani Sabha" (Society for the generation of national glory), both in the 1860s. Basu was influential in a movement devoted to a return to Hindu culture, and numerous spin-off groups, such as the Hindu Melā, were inspired from his teachings. Therefore, as part of the drive towards the discovery of basic Hindu culture and values, Tod has taken a central role as an archive of data supporting this greatness. Ibid, pp. 250–252.

[36] Ganguli also notes that the Bagchi painting was reproduced and widely distributed in Bengali households. Ibid, p. 253.

[37] Ibid, p. 255.

[38] Ibid, p. 262.

[39] Ibid, p. 263–4.

[40] Ibid, p. 265. The popularity of *Rāj Kāhinī* was immense, and it was read even to schoolchildren for both its national significance, and for the storytelling value in its heroic narrative (Personal Communication with Gayatri Spivak, 1998).

themes that highlighted the heroism of the Rājpūts, the duty of the individual to the nation, and the evils of foreign oppression.

In a 1912 article entitled simply "Chitore," Sister Nivedita[41] recounted a visit to the massive hill fortress that had served as the original capital of Mewar and the Sisodia Rājpūts. Chitor became legendary for the battles between the Rājpūts and Mughals that occurred there, as well as the dramatic and tragic episodes of mass female immolation (*jauhar*) that marked this history. In Sister Nivedita's account, Chitor stood for the eternal and heroic aspect not simply of the Rājpūts, but of Indians (most clearly read Hindu) as a whole.

> Wherever the mists of history lift, there is revealed the old time ideals of courage and pride of women, and the glory of man. Chitore is no mere chronological record: she is an eternal symbol, the heart's heart of one phase of the *Indian genius*. (emphasis added)[42]

The language of the account emphasized the essential and eternal, spiritual aspects of the heroic history of Chitor. In her evocation of the "Indian genius,." Sister Nivedita hearkened to the essentialist philosophy that was the stock and trade of both Hegelianism and Orientalism, but she reversed the valence of the excessive spiritualism that marked the Indian. From the empire of imagination and dreamy spirituality, she transformed the spiritual genius of the Indian into an eternal glory, courage and pride, distributed amongst both men and women. The evidence of this pride came from the history of this Rājpūt stronghold and the actions of the warriors and princesses who peopled it, and died for it.

The major historical narrative that Sister Nivedita used to structure the piece was the oft-told story of Padmini, the "fair princess" of Chitor, who Ala-ud-din Khilji prized in the fourteenth century. The fort had been besieged by Ala-ud-din, and Padmini was demanded as ransom.

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[41] Sister Nivedita (a.k.a Margaret Noble, 1867–1911) was an Irish woman who studied Hinduism under Swami Vivikenanda, and became active in the Ramakrishna Mission in the late 1890s. After Vivikenanda's death in 1902, she had an influential voice in nationalist circles, associating spiritual with political freedom. While it is true that she was not an Indian, but rather a European, this does not disqualify her work from consideration in this context. The use of the history of Chitor in this way, no matter by whom, demonstrates the importance of this history in the nationalist narratives of the time. Further, the fact that it was a European who, in part, injected this into the narrative only strengthens my argument about the deep connections between European thought and the nationalist narrative.

[42] S. Nivedita (1912), p. 532.

Padmini was not given, and the "saffron-clad" Rājpūt warriors set out for a final suicide battle, as the Rājpūt women consigned themselves to the flames, in the mass immolation known *jauhar*.

Tod presented the story of Padmini as a prototypical story of both male and female heroism of the Rājpūt, and it became one of the key episodes of Rājasthānī history. Although she represented the story of Padmini in its typical form, Sister Nivedita transformed the episode by reading it in a religious and spiritual sense. Her narrative emphasized the eternal aspects of the heroism of the Rājpūts and implied a continued heroism as part of the essence of the India. Karma and transmigration came to the fore in a meditation on Padmini's state of mind as she arrived at Chitor:

> Within her was the confidence of the Indian wife, who thinks of herself as commencing what is only a new chapter in an old story, as recovering a thread that was held but a while ago, and dropped, at death. Not for the first time were they [Padmini and her husband Rāṇā Bhīm Singh] to take up tomorrow the tale of life together—it was and ancient comradeship of the soul.[43]

The crucial element of eternality, however, was not simply hearkening to the past, but also understanding the continuity of this eternal nature into the future. Padmini acted simply out of the duty incumbent then and always on the Rājpūt.

> To her, what would be, was but the following of the path of Rajput honour. Was it not always said, that in the hour of birth, the eyes of a boy were set upon a knife, and those of a girl upon a lamp, for the man must leave life by way of the sword, and the woman by that of fire?[44]

This is somewhat ambiguous. The clearest intention is that Rājpūt men and women meet fates in the throes of glory. However, the focus on the future, and the progressive maturation of the terms boy/man and girl/woman, combined with her earlier reference to the historical phase of "Indian (no longer just Rājpūt) genius" of this heroism implied that these duties and responsibilities adhered to all Indians, and were available options for future action.

Chitor is an unambiguous symbol of oppression of the native Indian population by Muslim invaders, and the strong Rājpūt resistance to

[43] Ibid, p. 535.
[44] Ibid, p. 536.

this aggression. In 1912, contemporaries would not have missed the relevance of such a narrative. The only difference was the identity of the oppressor, historically Muslim, then British. The narrative of men dying by the sword, and women by the flames in this twentieth century nationalist context both recalled this previous "phase" in Indian genius, and implied its continuity through the mechanism of transmigration. Just as Padmini in her time continued along a path ordained by previous lives, that path continued into contemporary time, and had to be picked up again. This spirit of glory, valor and the possibility of heroic death for the cause of freedom were themselves being reborn as facets of this "Indian genius." This episode from Rājpūt history has also been reborn in a modern, political form.

A second example of the parallelism between the historical image of Rajasthan and the colonial/nationalist situation comes from another article in *The Modern Review*, published in April 1915. This article is an extended segment from Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb* published under the title "The Rajput Struggle for Independence, 1679–1709." The article covers the incursions made by the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb against both Marwar and Mewar in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. A brief summary of this episode is necessary to understand the importance of Sarkar's narrative. Aurangzeb saw Marwar as the most important Hindu state in North India in the mid-17th century, and therefore sought to acquire it for strategic and economic reasons. In 1678, upon the death of the Marwar Mahārājā Jaswant Singh, Aurangzeb began his incursions into Marwar territory, only to be met with resistance from the soon-to-be Rājpūt hero, the Rathore chieftain Durgadās. Durgadās led armies on behalf of the heir apparent to the throne Ajīt Singh, and held off the Mughals for months before Jodhpur and other major states of Marwar fell. The fall of Jodhpur and Aurangzeb's "religious persecution" brought the Sisodias of Mewar to the side of the Marwārīs. The combined forces of Mewar and Marwar were too much for the Mughal forces led by Prince Akbar, the son of Aurangzeb, and the Rājpūts were able to convince Akbar to rebel against his father. Though the rebellion was not successful, it inflicted great damage on Aurangzeb's armies during the almost three years of fighting, and eventually forced Aurangzeb to settle a truce with Mewar. Prince Akbar remained in the protection of the Rathore Rājpūts, and the level of military engagement with Marwar decreased (though hostilities continued for a total of 30 years, wreaking great havoc in western Rajputana).

The significance of this story comes not from the substance of the episodes themselves, but from the rhetoric that surrounds them in Sarkar's text. Once again, the heroism and valor of the Rājpūts define them. The Mughal forces were wary of provoking the "death-loving Rajputs."[45] Durgadās took the rebellious Akbar under his protection because, "Rajput honor demanded that the refugee should be defended at all costs."[46] Against Aurangzeb's offer that the heir apparent Ajīt Singh convert to Islam and take the throne, the Rathore "clansmen vowed to die to a man to save their chieftain's heir."[47] The standard image of the chivalrous martial caste had appeared.

Sarkar provided a crucial innovation in his rhetoric, however, in that he cast the Rājpūts as a nation, fighting self-consciously as nationalists against the imperialist forces of the Mughal Aurangzeb. Over and over again, the Mughals were referred to as imperialists,[48] and the Rājpūt armies were "the nationalist party," or simply the "nationalists" in battle.[49] In supporting Prince Akbar against Aurangzeb, the Rājpūts attempted "to place a truly national king on the throne of Delhi [backed by] the armed strength of the two greatest Rājpūt clans, the Sisodias and the Rathors."[50] The Mewar Rāṇā chose to join the Rathore chief, despite his formal alliance with the Mughal court, and therefore chose "between rebellion and the loss of whatever is dearest to man [i.e. freedom] … If the Sisodias did not stand by the Rathors now, the two clans would be crushed piecemeal, and the whole of Rajasthan would lie helpless under the tyrant's feet."[51] Finally, as the "Rajput nationalists" succeeded at "harassing and exhausting the Imperialists," Aurangzeb was left without the lands he had originally desired, with hostility in the major Rājpūt clans, and with an army depleted of its best soldiers. "This was the harvest that Jalaluddin Akbar's great-grandson reaped from sowing the whirlwind of religious persecution and suppression of *nationalities*."[52]

Sarkar rhetorically equated the eighteenth century "Rajput Struggle" with the twentieth century Indian struggle for independence. His

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[45] J. Sarkar (1915), p. 391. Sarkar applies this title to the Rājpūts on more than one occasion, and it is presented as a quote from some other, unnamed source.
[46] Ibid, p. 399.
[47] Ibid, p. 391.
[48] For example, ibid, p. 391–393, 401.
[49] For example, ibid, p. 392, 401.
[50] Ibid, p. 396.
[51] Ibid, p. 393.
[52] Ibid, p. 401 (emphasis added).

emphasis on religious persecution alludes to the British persecution of Hindus and Muslims that led to the Rebellion/Mutiny of 1857. In order to attack the imperialist state, Sarkar also referred to the Britons' secular oppression of Indians. The introduction of the dyad nationalist/imperialist into the history of the Rājpūts and Mughals accomplished not only the rhetorical goal of using the past glory and valor of the Rājpūts to inspire the contemporary Indian to similar heights of glory, but it also rewrote the history of the Rājpūts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with categories of modernity that had not been current at the time. Sarkar wrote a European, Enlightenment-influenced discourse of the nation back into an historical context that partook of no such discourse, thereby also injecting intellectual elements of the imperialism that he opposed. In writing anti-imperialism back into Rājpūt history in such a visible way, however, he brought the past into alignment with contemporary concerns, marking a continuity of the oppression of the Indian people that spanned, at least rhetorically, more than one empire, and stretched back hundreds of years.

Both Sarkar and Nivedita rhetorically emphasized the past glory and the continuing value of the Hindu race, people, or nation. Whether it was from the spiritual/religious point of view, or the political/historical point of view, the clear message was that the glories of the past, far from being lost, continued and were available in the present to those who were willing to embrace their past and join in the present struggle.

Reflections

These episodes and images from Rājpūt history, and the direct movements of information from Tod into Indian nationalist historiography are important examples of Tod's impact on the development of Indian historiography and political consciousness. Tod's work, most especially his depiction of the valorous Rājpūts of Mewar, demonstrably affected not only historical scholarship, but also the political configuration of modern India itself. Therefore a critical understanding of Tod and the forces that shaped his work was crucial to an understanding of the colonial period in Rajasthan, as well as the legacy of imperialism in India.

The most important aspect of this story of the British text becoming the text of historical record is the way in which Indians appropriated

the image of the Rājpūts from Tod's *Annals* for the their struggle against British imperial rule. Yet the conflation of the image of the *Hindu* Rājpūt and the "indigenous" heroes for the *Indian* nation presents a problem of audience, and mirrors the basic communal cleavage that was a persistent problem in the reality and rhetoric of twentieth century South Asia. Many of the stories of Indian heroes were the stories of the Rājpūt struggle against the Mughal Empire. While this can be read on one level as simply a metaphor for a parallel political situation of the nineteenth and twentieth century—native Indians resisting the oppression of an invading foreign power—the communal structure of many of the stories of Rājpūts was specifically one of Hindu against Muslim.

Tod imagined that the highest mark of honor amongst the Rājpūts, and the one that distinguished the house of Mewar from all other Rājpūt states, was the purity of the line maintained through the prevention of intermarriage with the Mughal emperors. As noted earlier, Tod treated the Kacchvahas of Jaipur with outright scorn for the fact that they married some of their daughters to Mughals, beginning in the reign of Akbar. This reading of the history of Rājpūt-Mughal relations easily became an issue of the ritual purity of Hindus avoiding intermarriage and the mixture of blood with Muslims. The stereotypical narrative of caste purity in Indian history, passed metaphorically into the political imperatives of the nationalist search for heroic and purely "indigenous" role models, thus became an historical blueprint for the communal tensions that would become synonymous with the modern South Asian political environment.

Further the appropriation of heroic Rājpūt figures from Tod's *Annals* raises the question of the nature of the "indigenous." For the nationalists, it was important to have a storehouse full of examples of the power and capability, both historical and current, of the people in whose name the struggle for independence was being waged. The impulse to go to the history of the Rājpūts as a group marked by virility,[53] honor, martial

[53] It is crucial to remember that this is an image that was put to use by a Bengali elite often derided in British sources as effeminate and weak. Imperial historical discourse was highly gendered in the nineteenth century, resulting in a dichotomy between the masculine British colonizers and the effeminate Indian subjects. Tod's hyper-masculine, martial Rājpūts provided an ideal counter-narrative to the imperial feminization of the Indian. For more on the gendered discourse of imperialism, see S. Basu and S. Banerjee (2006), as well as M. Sinha (1995). For a discussion of Gandhi's gendered use of martial race imagery, see S. H. Rudolph and L. I. Rudolph (1967).

glory and, most importantly, independence, is wholly understandable. The theoretical problem arises out of the source of these images—Tod's *Annals*—and the construction of the Rājpūt contained therein. Regardless of the information presented to Tod by his native informants, his presentation of the Rājpūts was a nineteenth century European Romantic construct shaped both by his service of the British imperial mission and by his self-image of a Scottish martial heritage, which itself was the product of a seventeenth and eighteenth century English encounter with the highland peoples of Scotland.[54] That this image of the Rājpūt was anointed with the position of the "indigenous" heroic forms the central problem of the final part of this book.

There was no real basis upon which to call the Rājpūt that Tod had constructed and delivered to the Indian reader "indigenous." The heroic past of Indian nationalist rhetoric came out of an European, therefore alien discourse. This narrative of Rājpūt heroism was well suited to the terms of the Indian nationalist narrative within which it was set, but this nationalism itself was derivative and mediated by European imperial scholarly and political narratives.[55] Indian nationalism, therefore, was contaminated both in its politico-philosophical conception and in its historico-empirical support.

There is an important irony in this situation. I have documented the clear criticism in Tod of the imperial project in general, and of the policies of the British in particular.[56] Due to his criticism of imperialism and British policies, the appropriation of Tod's work might seem wholly consistent with the project of independence. After all, both shared a critique of the behavior of the British government as overlord of the Indian people. Such a surface reading of this situation would be misleading, though, as Tod's position was not as straightforward as his critique indicated. Actually, Tod not only thought that the presence of the British government was a good thing in general, but that the British government could and should be a force for the moral and intellectual uplift of the Indians. As discussed in Chapter 4, Tod's ultimate aim was not Rājpūt independence, but Rājpūt protection under the umbrella of the British Empire. In this sense, he was not at all a clear candidate for nationalist rabble rousing.

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[54] See my discussion of Tod's Scottish self-identification, and the construction of the Scottish Highland tradition, in Chapter 2.

[55] P. Chatterjee (1993).

[56] See, for example, my discussion of Tod's testimony to Parliament in Chapter 4.

For Tod, "indirect" rule in Rajputana was the model for the treatment of the Indian natives—they were to be left alone to rule themselves, but *under* the protecting, ordering and moral force of the British government. The protection was not benign, though; it was engineered to produce the moral uplift of the Rājpūts that their own corrupt position in the modern day could not provide. The goal was to bring them as close as possible to the state of the modern day Briton (to whom Tod thought them ancestrally related). Tod never imagined an end to the process that left the Rājpūts, or any natives, to their own devices altogether. There were broad temporal and cultural, qualitative differences between the Rājpūts and the Europeans that would prevent them from assuming the role of equals, and Tod never made the argument for such an eventuality. The goal was cultural improvement, under the supervision of the clearly superior imperial power, and Tod never questioned the benefits or the propriety of this general framework.

Therein lies the irony of the nationalists' use of Tod, and especially the irony of Gandhi's use in the roundtable conference.[57] The expressed purpose of the nationalist thinkers was independence, and not subsidiary alliance. Tod's final goal, however, was only subsidiary alliance, and not independence. There is a sharp incongruity in his adoption for a purpose that he would not have supported. Even more incongruous, however, was the use of the royalist-leaning.[58] Tod in the service of anti-imperialism. Given the lack of republicanism in Tod's thought, that the historical work he produced was put to the ends of the creation of a republic, is particularly ironic.

This irony displays the deep relationship between European intellectual currents, educational practices, and the idea of the nation in the imperial context. The production of knowledge that was so instrumental in assuring power for the imperial state early on eventually became entwined in another play for power, only this time one for independence. The notions of identity, race and nation which served as the intellectual backdrop of the European works, and which had once served as part of the process of imperial expansion, now become weapons in that hands of an oppressed people who could finally partake of the political discourse that represented their freedom. In the process of

[57] See my discussion in Chapter 5.

[58] Tod supported royalty in many forms, from his loyalty to the English monarch to his clear affection for the Rājpūt princes. Republicanism was not one of the hallmarks of Tod's thought or actions.

understanding, classifying and then informing a foreign world through imperial historiography, imperialists taught their subjects about themselves, and about their potential, albeit in the discourse of Europe. Their nation, therefore, and the claims for it, were also thus conditioned. This was a passive revolution in action—a change in leader, not a change in the bases of leadership.[59]

In conclusion, Indian nationalist intellectuals exercised clear agency in deploying the European historical and political information in their environment to forceful and impressive anti-imperial ends. Yet their historical and political consciousnesses were conditioned and mediated by European discourses, and the imperatives and structure of imperial historiography. Theirs was an imperfect agency, for it did not actively refashion the bases of the discursive terrain in which the Indians operated. At the end of two centuries of imperial rule and discursive objectification, the Indians were allowed to play, albeit still on European terms.

[59] See A. Gramsci (1971), p. 105–120 on the concept of the passive revolution. P. Chatterjee (1993) provides a discussion of passive revolution in the Indian nationalist context specifically, p. 50–2, 167–70.

CONCLUSION

This book ends more than one hundred years, and almost the entire width of the subcontinent away from where it began. The process started with Tod, who identified both with a European martial heritage as a British officer, and also with his subjects, the martial Rājpūts. Once identified, he moved to restore and protect his subjects, both in the form of the actual re-placement of the Rāṇā at the ceremonial head of the court at Udaipur as well as the proposed institutional protection of the Rājpūt princes presented in Tod's testimony to Parliament. Note the deliberate ambiguity in the words subject and subjects. While the Rājpūts were Tod's historical subject, they were also his administrative subjects. As is clear by now, the subjecthoods inherent in each of these positions were wholly related.

The interpretive project of the *Annals* drew the fundamental connections between the Rājpūts and the British that justified Tod's official actions. The ancient ancestral connection warranted the special case of indirect rule that was proposed in the political realm. It is with the interpretive step that the ramifications of Tod's project begin to unfold, as the *Annals* became the work through which a much wider audience came to know the Rājpūts. As the image of the Rājpūt moved into European scholarship, it became bound intimately to the changing discourse of Orientalism and the evolving political relationships between Empire and Colony. Finally, the process ends in the move from the European intellectual forum to the Indian, as the image of the Rājpūt becomes an inspirational figure for the power of the Hindu in resistance to the oppression of the British Empire. Tod's Rājpūts have been lifted from their political ruin in Rajasthan, valorized, dramatized and deployed in the service of the nation.

At each stage, the image of the Rājpūt was defined and refined – distilled into the pure heroism of the Hindu that became the hallmark of the Rājpūt we know today. The final twist in the story is the appropriation of the Rājpūt as an economic symbol. Rajasthan and the life of the romantic Rājpūt have moved to the forefront of the tourist industry. Heritage hotels and palace museums have become the image of India

that wealthy Europeans and Indians associate with India's past. The sacred Brahman and the martial Rājpūt form the poles not only of the historical (and modern) Indological project, but also of the popular, recreational image of India as well. Imperial scholarship clearly has had much more than a passing effect on the present day apprehension of India as a political and historical entity.

Rajasthan and the Rājpūts have served a visible and important role in the history of India and the formation of the Indian republic. This book has demonstrated the continuing import of the image of the Rājpūt, and the inseparable relationship between this image and the European intellectual and Orientalist milieu in which it arose, and was preserved over time. Given the overwhelming impact Tod's work has had on subsequent scholarship, it is appropriate and necessary to locate the effects of this image of Rajasthan within imperial knowledge and power relations, even in the cases in which the image was used in the service of "indigenous" nationalist ends.

It is this part of the work that suggests a major avenue of future investigation. While I was able only to summarize and speculate here on the relationships between the emerging nationalist discourse, mostly in Bengal, and the image of the Rājpūt which sits so firmly in the cradle of imperial knowledge construction, there is much more to this story. The degree to which nationalist discourse is "derivative" of the discourse of the imperial state has been well discussed in theoretical terms. A further examination of the image of the Rājasthānī Rājpūt in the literary and historical productions of Indian nationalist intellectuals would reveal the actual instruments of this derivation, and the mechanisms by which the discourse of the imperial state both overtly and stealthily seeped into "indigenous" intellectual currents. Further examination of the rhetoric of Indian (or Hindu) heroism in nineteenth and twentieth century Indian nationalist discourse is also needed. Though the image of the Rājpūt will be central to this investigation, the more basic question of the valuation of virility in political discourse in general, and the role of European intellectual preferences in this valuation is also at issue.

I hope that the lasting importance of this book will come from the specific examination of the mechanism of construction and then transmission of imperial knowledge that it presented. It is no secret that Orientalist knowledge was neither benign nor objective, but specific and detailed studies of the exact mechanism of the infiltration of imperial knowledge (and all of its associated intellectual assumptions and

original political intentions) into both European and native discourses are not as plentiful. In looking at Tod, I looked not just at a man and his work, but at a global process of power literally writing itself into existence, and then insinuating itself into ongoing cultural processes so fully that it eventually became sufficiently ubiquitous and central as to become invisible.

The subterranean nature of imperial historical narratives through time is a major problem in the study of Indian history, literature, society and culture. Though the quest for "authenticity" is a project flawed in its very inception, the structuring impact that processes of imperial knowledge impose upon modern day scholarship make the attribution of native knowledge or cognition, native historical agency, or indigenous political narratives extremely difficult ones. So much of the European intellectual world has invaded Indian historical discourse that certainly "Rājasthānī," and to a great degree "Indian" discourse in general, must for now, and the foreseeable future, be vigilantly viewed for the European Imperial foundations at their base.

APPENDIX ONE

TOD'S PUBLICATIONS

The following is a list of Tod's publications.[1]

"Translation of a Sanscrit Inscription, Relative to the Last Hindu Monarch of Delhi with Comments Thereon." *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1 (1827): 133–154

"Comments on an Inscription upon Marble at Madhucarghar; and on Three Grants Inscribed on Copper, Found at Ujjayani." *Trans-actions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1 (1827): 207–229

"An Account of Greek, Parthian, and Hindu Medals, Found in India." *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1 (1827): 313–342

"De l'Origine asiatique de quelques-unes des anciennes Tribus de l'Europe établies sur les rivages de la mer Baltique, surtout les Su, Suedi, Suiones, Asi, Yeuts, Juts, ou Gètes Goths, etc., etc." *Journal Asiatique ou Recueil de Mémoires, d"Extraits et de Notices Relatifs á l'Histoire, á la Philosophie, aux Sciences, á la Litérature et aux Langues des Peuple Orientaux*, 10 (1827): 277–309

Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han or the Central and Western Rajpoot States of India, Volume 1. London: Smith Elder (1829)

"On the Religious Establishments of Mewar." *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 2 (1830): 270–325

"Remarks on Certain Sculptures in the Cave Temples of Ellora." *Trans-actions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 2 (1830): 328–340

"Observations on a Gold Ring of Hindu Fabrication Found at Montrose in Scotland" *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 2 (1830): 559–572

"Feudal System in Rajasthan." *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China and Australasia (New Series)*, 5 (1831): 40–48.

"Geographie du Radjast'han." *Nouveau Journal Asiatique ou Recueil de Mémoires, d'Extraits et de Notices Relatifs á l"Histoire, á la Philosophie,*

[1] I am grateful to Norbert Peabody, who shared his well-researched notes on Tod"s publications. This list is richer for his generosity.

aux Sciences, á la Litérature et aux Langues des Peuple Orientaux, 8 (1831): 46–66.

Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han or the Central and Western Rajpoot States of India, Volume 2. London: Smith Elder (1832)

"Comparison of the Hindu and Theban Hercules, Illustrated by an Ancient Hindu Intaglio." *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3 (1835): 139–159.

"Sketches of Remarkable Characters in India." *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China and Australasia (New Series),* 16 (1835): 262–270

"Indo-Grecian Antiquities." *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China and Australasia (New Series)*, 17 (1835): 915

"The Vow of Sunjogta: An Episode from the Fifth Book of the Epic Poem of the Rajpoot Bard Chund." *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China and Australasia (New Series)*, 25 (1838): 101–112; 197–211; 273–286

Travels in Western India Combining a Visit to the Sacred Mounts of the Jains and the Most Celebrated Shrines of Hindu Faith Between Rajputana and the Indus: with an Account of the Ancient City of Nehrwalla. London: Wm. H. Allen and Co. (1839)

APPENDIX TWO

TOD'S DONATIONS TO ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

The following are excerpts taken from the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society appendices on donations to the library and the museum. Tod gave the vast majority of his materials to the Royal Asiatic Society, and a note in the "Memoir of the Author" in *Travels* indicates that he paid a high price to donate them. "His collections of MSS., coins, and antiquities, the most valuable of which were presented to the India House or the Royal Asiatic Society, were subjected to heavy duties and charges in this country,[1] and there is amongst his papers a list of these articles, with the charges upon them paid by him, amounting to £72, headed, in his hand-writing, "Encouragement to Oriental Literature.' "[2]

Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society
Volume I, 1827
London: The Royal Asiatic Society

II. Donations of Books
By Lieut.-Col. James Tod, M.R.A.S.Feb. 21, 1824

Part of the Poems of Chanda, in the mixed language of the Western Rajput States.
A Genealogical Tree of the Chandravansa race.
A Genealogical Tree from Swayambhuva to Brij.
A Drawing, by a Native Artist, of some columns in the fortress of Chulni.
A Collection of MSS. in the Rajputana dialect, relating to the History, &c. of the Rajput States.
A Coloured Drawing of the Hindu Divinity Lacshmi.

[1] England.
[2] *Travels*, xlvi–xlvii, n.2

The following Sanscrit MSS.

1. The Mahabharata; complete in eighteen books.
2. A Duplicate of the Asvamedha, or Eighteenth Book of the Mahabharata.
3. The Harivansa.
4. A Duplicate of the Same.
5. The Kurma Purana.
6. The Vayu Purana.
7. The Aditya Purana.
8. The Skanda Purana.
9. A Duplicate of a Part of the Skanda Purana.
10. The Brahma Purana.
11. The Padma Purana.
12. The Nrisinha Purana.
13. The Garudha Purana.
14. The Agni Purana.
15. The Bhavishyat Purana.
16. Raghuvansa, a Poem by Kalidasa.
17. Kiratarjuniya, a Poem by Bhairavi.
18. The Bhoja Prabandha.
19. The Bhoja Charitra.
20. The Vikrama Charitra.
21. Paddhati, a Collection of Poems. by Sarngadhara.
22. A Part of the Silpisastra.
23. Sarasvati, A Grammar.

(Appendix, pp. 612–3)

III. Donations of Articles for the Museum
By Lieut.-Col. James Tod, M.R.A.S June 19, 1824

Three Sanscrit inscriptions on Copper: Fac-Similes, a Transcription in Modern Sanscrit, and Translations of these Inscriptions are given in this Volume. Plates 1,2,3, Pages 230–239 and 463–466, and Art. XII and XIII.

Three Ancient Sanscrit Inscriptions on Stone.

Six Plaster Casts with a Sanscrit Inscription, supposed to be given to Pilgrims at the Temples of Buddha.

A Bust of Brahma, in Stone.

A Fragment of a Cornice, with Two Female Figures.

A Stone Fragment, with Two Hindi Male Figures, in Niches.

A Stone, with an ancient Sanscrit Inscription, and a Stag on each side of a Wheel.
The Capital of a Hindu Column, ornamented with a Yāli and a Human Head.
A Fragment of an Impost, with the Varāha avatār, and a Dvāra Pālah.
(Appendix, pg. 635)

Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society,
Volume II, 1830
London: The Royal Asiatic Society
Appendix, No. VII
Donations to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
Donation of Books, &c.
By Lieut.-Colonel Tod, M.R.A.S.June 16, 1827, &c.
His Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han. London, 1829, Vol 1.
Gazzera's Descrizione dei Monumenti Egizi del Regio Museo, Turin, 4to.
A Map of India, from Native Authority. Printed on Cloth.
The Kholasat ul Tuwarikh. Persian MS. folio.
A History of the Ghelote Dynasty of Mewar, on a cloth roll, 63 feet in length, with pictorial Representations of the principal Events.
A Persian Letter, addressed to Col. Tod.
A Letter from his Highness Dowlat Rao Scindia.
A Collection of Persian Ukhbars, of the Reign of Feroksere, &c.
The Sungram Sar, a Rajput Work on the Art of War. 4to. MS.
(pg. ci)

Donations to the Museum
by Lieut.-Colonel James Tod, Librarian R.A.S. November 17, 1827
Two copper plates, containing grants to the temple of Nadali in Marwar.
Two smaller copper plates, with Coptic inscriptions.
A *Chāp* or stamp, representing the lotus used for marking the foreheads of the Vishnavite pilgrims at Dwarica.
A *Chāp* or stamp, representing the conjoined triangles inclosing a circle, for marking the foreheads of the Sivite pilgrims at Dwarica.
A Hindu ring dial of iron.
A pair of bracelets worn by Hindi females, made from the tusks of the elephant.
An ancient Jain inscription on stone.

An ancient Jain inscription on copper.
A statue of a Hindu female divinity.
The fragment of a statue.
A conch or chank shell (ṣanka).
A richly embroidered quiver of blue velvet, filled with Lahore arrows.
The shooting apparatus of a Rajput chieftain, comprising the powder-flask and shot-case, of embroidered green velvet, a coil of match-cord, and a priming-horn made of an antelope's horn with a carved ivory head.
A cup of steatite, turned on a lathe.
A vase and cover of steatite, turned on a lathe.
A cone of the edible pine from the Himalaya.
(pp. cxxi–cxxii)

Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society
Volume III, 1835
London: The Royal Asiatic Society
Appendix, No. IV
Donations to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland

Donations of Books, &c.
By Lieut.-Colonel James Tod June 18, 1831, &c.
An Universal History, from the earliest account of time to the present, compiled from original Authors, and illustrated with Maps, Cuts, Notes, Chronological and other Tables. 7 vols. folio. Dublin, 1744.
Cosmography, in four Books, containing the Chorography and History of the whole World, and all the principal Kingdoms, Provinces, Seas, and Isles thereof; by Peter Heylyn. Folio. London, 1670.
A. de la Motraye's Travels through Europe, Asia, and into part of Africa, with proper Cuts and Maps. Three vols. folio. London, 1723–32.
Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han, or the Central and Western Rajpoot States of India. By Lieut.-Col. James Tod. Vol. 2. London, 1832.
A Hindu Almanac, written on a roll of canvas, six feet four inches in length.
An original Grant of an estate and various privileges from Rana Ursi of Mewar, of which there is a fac-simile and translation in Vol. I of the Annals of Rajast'han.
(pp lxi–lxii)

Donations to the Museum

By Lieut.-Colonel James Tod, M.R.A.S. Jan. 21, 1832, &c.

A fragment of an inscription on stone, in Devanagari characters of considerable antiquity, from the temples of *Barilli*, at the falls of the *Chambul*, in the *Upermal*, or Highland of *Mewar*.

A *Hindu* drawing representing the *Durbar* or levee of Doulat Rao Sindia, with portraits of his principal chiefs and ministers; framed and glazed.

A *Hindu* Almanac, written on a roll of canvas, six feet four inches in length.

A cast in glass of a seal bearing the figure of Hercules, and described by Colonel Tod in the 2d vol. of the *Transactions* of the Society.

An original grant of an estate and various privileges from Rana Ursi of *Mewar*, of which there is a fac-simile and translation in the 1st volume of the *Annals of Rajast'han*, published by Colonel Tod.

(pg. xc)

APPENDIX THREE

TEXT OF 1818 ḲAULNĀMA

Foreign and Secret Consultation: 5 June, 1818 #69
Tod to Ochterlony

Articles of Settlement between the Rana and his Chiefs as agreed to the 4th May, 1818.

Sid Shree "To all the Omrahs, relations and kindred, Rajas, Potails, Jhalas, Chohans, Chandawats, Punwars Serangdeot Suktawats, Rahtores, Ranawats.

Now since the time of Maha Rana Sree Urseejee, that is from Sumbut 1822 [marginal note "AD 1766"], when the troubles commenced, laying aside the customs of old times, undue usurpations have been made on the property of the Durbar. This day Bysuck budee Choudas Sumbut 1874 [marginal note "4th May 1818 AD"], the Sree Durbar assembled all his Chiefs, and laid down a new path for them to proceed in.

1st All lands Khalsa obtained since the troubles, and all lands seized by one Chief from another shall be restored.

2nd All new Rekwarrie Bhom Lagut shall be renounced. [marginal note "These terms are explained in my letter of the 22nd Ulto."]

3rd Dhan Biswah the right of the Government shall be renounced from this day such belongs to the Durbar alone.

4th No Chiefs shall commit thefts in their estates, they shall entertain no thieves, home or foreign, as Mogees, Baories, Thories etc., nor shall any be permitted to remain, but those who may return to honest pursuits. Should any of them revert to their old habits, they shall instantly be cut off. All property stolen shall be made good by him on whose Estate the theft is committed.

5th Home or foreign merchants, all Kaffilas, Beoparees, Bunjarries, who enter the Country shall be protected, they shall in no ways be injured or molested. Whoever offend against this, his Estate shall be confiscated.

6th According to command, at home or abroad service shall be performed, the Chiefs shall be formed in four divisions, each shall remain in attendance on the Durbar for three months, and then be dismissed to their homes. Once a year a general assembly of the Chiefs shall take place, it shall be on the festival of the Dusserah commencing 10 days previous, and 20 days subsequent, with the exception of the Omrahs on duty, they shall be permitted to retire to their homes. On urgent occasions, or when their services are required all shall obey the summons to the Presence.

7th All Feudatories (Pullaiet) relations and kindred, holding by Sunnud from the Durbar, shall perform separate service. They shall not perform service with or remain united in the larger fees (Puttas) of others. Relations and inferior vassals of Chiefs from whom they hold in fee, to them shall their services be rendered.

8th No Chiefs shall oppress or commit violence on their Ryots, there shall be no new extractions or fines. This is ordained.

9th What has been executed by Ajeet Sing, sanctioned and approved of by the Durbar, all shall agree to.

10th Whoever shall depart from the above, the Prince shall punish. In this the fault will not lie in the Durbar. Whoever fails, on him be the Oath (are[? au]) of Eklungee and the Sree Durbar. The signatures follow, each Chief signing his own name, with the addition "whatever is above written is agreed to."

GLOSSARY OF INDIAN TERMS

Bhāṭ	name of a mixed caste of hereditary bards; panegyrist; often serve as royal genealogists
Cāraṇ	bard, singer, genealogist
ḍāk	(dak) post
ḍākū	(dacoit) a robber, or one of a band of robbers
darbār	a royal court, and also the holding of a court
dīwān	minister of state, chief minister
dīwānī	jurisdiction, esp. the right to collect land revenue
gaddī	throne or royal seat
gotrācārya	the lineage of an exogamous sub-division of a caste group (*gotra*)
harkārā	(hircarrah) messenger
jāgīr	a land grant from the state, used as the basis for salary or given in reward for services performed
ḳaulnāma	agreement
ḳhālsā	crown or government lands; fisc
kṣatriya	a member of the second *varṇa*, or warrior class, in the traditional Sanskritic social order
kul	tribe, family
mansab	rank
mansabdār	the holder of rank, typically a member of the Mughal nobility
marāṭhā	(Marhatta) contestant for power in North India in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, power centerered in what is now the state of Maharastra
melā	a religious or secular fair or festival
muńśī	a teacher or tutor, often used for translator
nawāb	nobleman's title
nazar	(nuzzer) a ceremonial present, usually from an inferior to a superior
nizām	rule or ruler

peśvā	(peshwa) guide, leader, historically a leader of the Marāṭhās
piṇḍārī	a Marāṭhā freebooter
paṇḍit	a scholar, teacher, learned Brahman
pothīḳhānā	a palace book depository
pradhān	chief, principal minister or counselor
purāṇa	a class of Sanskrit literature dealing with ancient history, myth, legend or theology
raiyat	(ryot) a peasant cultivator
rājpūt	lit. "son of a king," the princely class, esp. in Rājasthān, but found throughout India
rājtilak	a ceremonial mark on the forehead (*tilak*) serving as a sign of investiture or coronation
sanad	deed, or other authoritative document
sardār	leader or chief
sipāhī	(sepoy) soldier, specifically an Indian soldier
vakīl	an agent or representative; lawyer or barrister (in modern usage)
vaṃśa	family line, succession, dynasty
vaṃśāvalī	genealogy
umrā	(omrah) persons of high birth or rank, nobles
zamīndār	landholder

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