



1823-2023

A NEWLY RESTORED EDITION *of* JAMES TOD'S

ANNALS AND ANTIQUITIES OF RAJAST'HAN

with COMPANION VOLUME *by* NORBERT PEABODY



Published in association with Yale University Press



Jain temple in the fortress of Komulmer, unknown artist, after a drawing by P.Y. Waugh, RAS 063.023

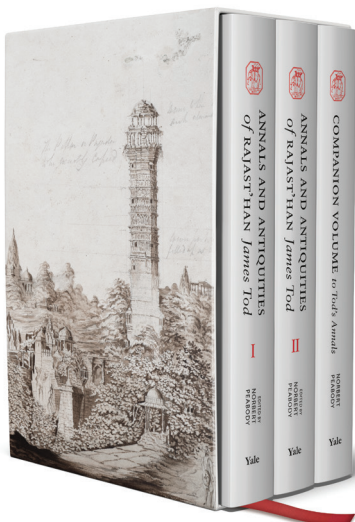
TO COMMEMORATE ITS BICENTENARY, the Royal Asiatic Society has commissioned a limited edition re-issue of Lt.-Col. James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han*, with a new *Companion Volume* by Norbert Peabody (to be co-published by the Society and Yale University Press in Summer 2023).

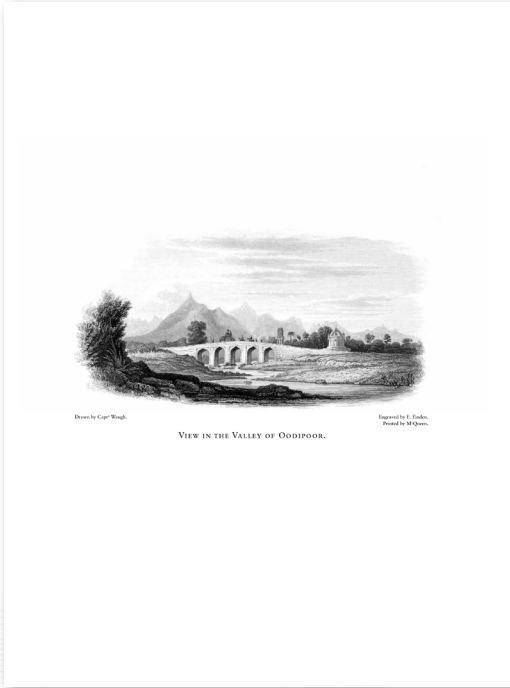
Tod was a founding member of the Society and its first librarian. While librarian, he completed his *Annals* (originally published in 1829 and 1832), which was the literary fruit of his 23-year East India Company

career, during which he served as the first Political Agent to the Western Rajput States of Rajasthan (1818–22).

The two volumes of his now classic text remain essential reading for anyone interested in the history and culture of Rajasthan and the early colonial encounter in India. The text also became an inspirational source for early Indian freedom fighters, who drew on Tod's rich narrative of Rajasthan's history, which he articulated in explicitly nationalist terms, as a call for India's independence from British rule. The book continues to exert a subtle influence on the national imagination of contemporary India. Tod's text, thus, remains an indispensable source for understanding not only Rajasthan's historical past but also important aspects of India's political present.

Although this text has remained in print since its first publication, almost all currently available reprints of it derive from the 1920 'Crooke edition' in which the editor heavily edited Tod's text – silently distorting it in the process – so that much of its original intellectual intent and expressive force became lost. The RAS's anniversary edition, with the accompanying *Companion Volume*, returns the text to its original





PERSONAL NARRATIVE
of
THE AUTHOR

JOURNEY TO MARWAR

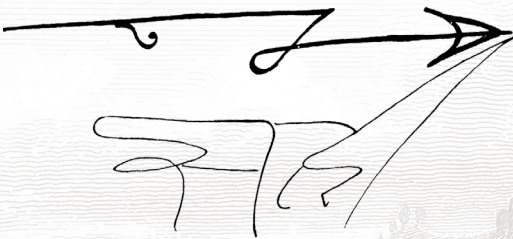
CHAPTER XXX.

Valley of Oodipoor—Departure for Marwar—Encamp on the heights of Toos—Resume the march—Distant view of Oodipoor—Deopoor—Zalm Sing—Reach Pul-anoh—Ram Sing Mehta—Manikchund—Ex-rajah of Nursingpuri—False policy pursued by the British government in 1817–18—Departure from Pulanoh—Aspect and geological character of the country—Narhdowara ridge—Arrival at the city of Narhdowara—Visit from the Mookhats of the temple—Departure for the village of Gosarwas—be-nighted—Elephant in a bog—Oosarwas—A Sanyasi—March to Sumaicha—The Sheo Nullah—Locusts—Coolness of the air—Sumaicha—March to Kallwara, the capital—Elephant's pool—Moorcho—Kheylee—Maharaja Dowlat Sing—Komulmér—Its architecture, remains, and history—March to the 'Region of Death' or Marwar—The difficult nature of the country—A party of native horsemen—*divasuc* in the glen.

October 22th, 1819. — Two years had nearly sped since we entered the valley of Oodipoor, the most diversified and most romantic spot on the continent of India. In all this time, none of us had penetrated beyond the rocky barrier which formed the limit of our horizon, affording the vision a sweep of six miles radius. Each hill and dale, tower and tree, had become familiar to us; every altar, cenotaph, and shrine, had furnished its legend, till tradition was exhausted. The rains were explored, their inscriptions deciphered, each fantastic pinnacle had a name, and the most remarkable chieftains and servants of the court had epithets assigned to them, expressive of some quality or characteristic. We had our 'Red Rivers', our 'Roderic, Dhu', and a 'Fakhtar', at the courts our 'Catalani', our 'Vostri', in the song or the ballad. We had our palace in the city, our center on the lake, our villa in the woods, our fairy islands in the water; streams to angle in, deer to shoot; *we* *did* much, in short, to please the eye and gratify the taste—yet did *come* intrude, and all plotted to escape from the "happy valley," to see what was in the world beyond the mountains. In all these twenty moons, the gigantic portals of Dohari, which guard the entrance of the Girwah, had not once creaked on their hinges for our ingress; and though from

— The amphitheatrum, see *volume* —

ABOVE: Sample pages from vol. 1 of the new re-issue; BELOW LEFT: The sign-manuals of the Rawat of Salumbar (top) and the Maharana of Mewar (bottom), RAS TOD MS. 145; BELOW RIGHT: Maharana Bhim Singh of Mewar receives James Tod, inscribed to Chokha, c.1818, ANIL RELIA COLLECTION, AHMEDABAD

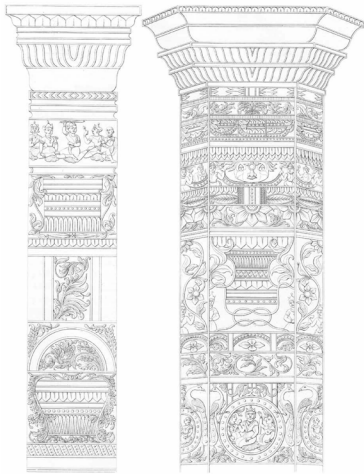


state and provides the contemporary reader with the necessary background, critical apparatus, and interpretive frames to better understand this monumental, but often misunderstood, work.

One of the principal contributions of the *Companion Volume* lies in its exploration of how Tod's *Annals* is a vibrantly collaborative text in which his authorship is continuously supplemented, and not infrequently destabilised, by the voices of his numerous Indian informants and interlocutors. The resultant cacophony renders Tod's text surprisingly multivalent

and discrepant in its significance and potential uses. In re-articulating the variety of Indian voices that simultaneously inhabit Tod's *Annals*, the *Companion Volume* makes a larger argument for a conjunctural, contingent, and open-ended reading of colonial history.

James Tod



Drawn by George D'Ottavio del. Engraved by G. D'Ottavio.
COLUMNS IN THE FORTRESS OF CHITTORE.

under the same family. Being now within two hundred yards of the southern bastion, I returned by the mullahs of the once vassals of Chittore, viz. Shiba, Pooadi, Soti, Luvavara, to the Chagotin, or 'field of Mars,' where the military festival of the *Dassara* is yet held by the slender garrison of Chittore. Close to it is a noble reservoir of a hundred and thirty feet in length, sixty-five in width, and forty-seven in depth. It is lined with immense sculptured masses of masonry, and filled with water.

Higher up, and nearly about the centre, is a remarkable square pillar, called the *Koonastambha* (column). It is seventy-five feet and a-half in height, thirty feet in diameter at the base, and fifteen at the top, and covered with Jain figures. It is very ancient, and I found a fragment of an inscription at its base, which shows that it was dedicated to Adinath, the first of the twenty-four Jain pontiffs: "By Sri Adinath, and the twenty-four *Jin-Devata*, Poonarika, Ganika, Savya, and the nine planets, may you be preserved! S. 952 (A.D. 896) Byak (*aidi*) the 50th, Gaurar (Thursday)." [764]

I found also another old inscription near the very antique temple of Kookroowar Mahadeo—"S. 811, Mahsood 5th, Vrishparwar (Thursday), A.D. 755, Raja Kookroowar erected this temple and excavated the fountain."

There are many Jain inscriptions, but amidst the heaps of ruins I was not fortunate enough to make any important discovery. One in the temple of Sumath's was as follows: "S. 1505 (A.D. 1449), Sri Maharan Mikal, whose son Koombkure's treasurer, by name Sah Kolah, his son Bindarti Rama, and wife Beelundei, erected this shrine to Sumath's. The chief of the *Khatragutha*, Jintal Soor and apparent successor, Sri Jin Chandra Soor ji, made this writing."

Close to the *Sootarpal*, or gate in the centre of the eastern face, is an altar sacred to the *manes* of Sahadeo, the chief of the Chondawars, who fell at his post, the gate of the sun, when the city was sacked by Bahadour Shah.

At the north-western face is a castle complete within itself, the walls and towers of which are of a peculiar form, and denote a high antiquity. This is said to be the ancient palace of the Moris and the first Rana of Chittore. But it is time to close this description, which I do by observing,

that one cannot move a step without treading on some fragment of the olden times:

"Columns strewn, and statues fallen and cleft,
Heaped like a host, in battle overthrown."⁷⁶⁵

Before, however, I quit this spot, hallowed by these remains, I may mention having seen a being who, if there is any truth in Clutterbuck, must be a hundred and sixty years old. This wonder is a Fakir, who has constantly inhabited the temples, within the memory of the oldest inhabitants; and there is one carpenter, now upwards of ninety, who recollects "Rohaji as an old man and the terror of the children." To me he did not appear above seventy. I found him deeply engaged at *padfensi* with one of the townsfolk. When I was introduced to this extraordinary personage, he looked up at me for an instant, and exclaiming, "what does he want here?" quietly resumed his game. When it was finished, I presented my *mazzar* to the inspired (for madness and inspiration are here synonymous), which he threw amongst the bystanders, and bowed over the ruins, dragging through the branches a fine shawl some one had presented to him, and which, becoming an impediment, he left there. In these moods none dare molest him, and when inclined for food or pastime, his wants were quickly supplied. For one moment I got him to cast his mental eye back (766) upon the past, and he mentioned something of Adina Beg and the Punjab (of which they say he was an inhabitant); but the crack-brained nothing farther.

Gudipoor, March 8th, 1822.—Here I am once more in the capital of *Hindupatt* (chief of the Hindu race), from which no creature shall move me until I go to "eat the air" of my native land. I require repose, for the last fifteen years of my life have been one continuous scene of toil and accident, such as are narrated in these records of a few of my many wanderings. The bow must be unstrung, or it will snap, and the time for journalizing must cease with every thing else under the sun. I halted a few days at Maarra, and found my house nearly finished, the garden looking beautiful, the *arao* or peach-tree, the *soo* or apple, the *suntra*, *narinj*, and *nimboo*, or various orange and lime-trees, all in full blossom, and showing the potent influence of

ABOVE: Sample pages from vol. 2 of the new re-issue; BELOW: Woodcut print by Mary Byfield, c.1828, from vol. 1 of the new re-issue.

KEY FEATURES of the RE-ISSUE

A COMPLETE RESTORATION of the two volumes of Tod's original text and the 80+ original copperplate engravings, woodblock prints, and lithographs to its first edition state. All the illustrations have been digitally restored from proof prints in the RAS. Reproductions of five additional, previously unpublished engravings from the Tod collection supplement the restored text.

A THIRD, COMPANION VOLUME including a preface, two introductory essays, 125,000 words of annotations, a full bibliography, and an extensive glossary of Indian terms used by Tod.

HIGH QUALITY COLOUR REPRODUCTIONS of approximately 130 Rajasthani paintings and drawings and 25 European watercolours of Rajasthan from the Tod collections in the RAS, the BL, the BM, and the V&A. This visual material is supplemented with reproductions of other Rajasthani paintings that have a direct bearing on Tod's life in and writings on Rajasthan. A significant amount of this material has never been reproduced before.

OVER-SIZED, FOLD-OUTS of maps (including a full-size reproduction of Tod's historically important, hand-coloured map of Rajasthan), tables, and an additional reproduction of one of the engravings.

THE THREE VOLUMES WILL BE case bound with ribbon bookmarks and cloth headbands. The entire set will be boxed.

DESIGNED IN ENGLAND and printed in Italy to a high production standard, befitting the sumptuous (but now rare) first edition.

EDITION LIMITED TO 750. EACH HAND NUMBERED.



PAEKS OF MARWAR.



FIG. 19. Palace and Town Seen from the Shivajighat Enclave.¹ Patrick Waugh, c.1820. Sepia wash and graphite on European paper. RAS 037.003.

FIG. 20. East View of the Palace of Oodipoor. Engraving after the above drawing. Artist and Antiquary of Rajapur, Vol. 6, p. 142.

Nagar, Bikaner, Bhatner (Hamunagar), and the adjacent portions of Haryana, which were known locally as the 'Lakhi Jangal' (लखी जंगल), a designation which will be encountered often in these Annals.²

This shift in the meaning of the term 'jangal' is witnessed in how many of Patrick Waugh's drawings from Rajasthan were transformed by the professional British artists in England during the process of translating his original artwork into engravings. Significantly, Rajasthan of the decade 1811–20 was wracked by plagues of locusts and drought that accentuated the sterility of the landscape. The period 1813–14, in particular, produced one of the most severe maldahls ('great famines') ever recorded in the region. Rajasthan was fast beset by locusts in 1814; the rains completely failed each of the following two years; and deficient rains the year after only provided scant relief. Although the monsoon improved somewhat during the middle years of the decade, they completely failed again in 1819.

Waugh's original drawings typically depict the resultant landscape as crisply desiccated. But when placed in the hands of Indian and other British artists in

¹ The term 'Lakhi Jangal' has many popular etymologies and associated meanings, with some being provided all the time. One of the simplest, however, might translate as the 'New Jangal', a lakhi being a common metaphor for an establishment, large number.

England, these landscapes of hardship were much reduced in scope and rendered much more verdant and lush.

Interestingly, if the 'jangal' landscape was not *karavim*, nor was it 'wild' or devoid of human presence as also commonly conjured by the term 'jangal' (or 'desert', for that matter). Tod's descriptions, especially in his 'Sketch of the Indian Desert', which were largely based on the reports of Madurai Lal, reveal it to have been explored both for transhumant pasteurisation as well as intermittently opportunistic agriculture, often enabled by a sophisticated knowledge of the landscape and its subtle manipulation in order to harness scarce water resources. The productions of these meads and the human resources sustained by them, moreover, were deeply implicated in areas of more settled agriculture around which royal polities coalesced.³ For instance, Tod noted that the Lakhi Jangal had been a major source for a superior breed of horse on which Rajput military power once depended.

Although Tod may have redefined the political geography of Rajasthan (keeping in mind that his definition of Rajasthan was much more far reaching than what became Rajputana), a close reading of his text reveals a surprisingly rich interest in local geographic designations and culturally informed understandings of the physical landscape.

FIG. 20. 1. 1771a 'The map'

This map may be found in the slip case.

FIG. 20. 2. 1771a 'The distinguished Rennell.'

James Rennell (1742–1830) was an English geographer who produced a series of influential maps of different regions of India, especially of Bengal, Bihar and the greater Gangetic plain. His famous map of 1782 depicting the entire Indian subcontinent ('A map of Hindostan'), while an improvement upon earlier maps, still depicted vast regions, such as Rajasthan, with only the barest detail and often inaccurately so. Tod noted that the best extant maps of Rajasthan, including Rennell's, often flopped the relative positions of Udaipur and Chittor along a north-south axis.⁴

However, Tod oversteered the matter when claiming that Mewar was 'almost a terra incognita' (here presumably meaning 'to Europeans'). Tod would have known that Mewar had been frequented by the 'three Thomases' of the early seventeenth century (Roe, Coryat, and Herbert)⁵ and by various other European emissaries in the eighteenth century (most notably the Dutch mission of J.J.

³ A social history of the Lakhi Jangal has yet to be written. However, for a superb discussion of the geology and politics of the arid zone area to the west, see Kishorji, *Kanishk Naravati* (2017).

⁴ Rennell eventually corrected this error in later editions of his map. For an extended discussion of Rennell's hybrid survey methods, see Trautmann, *Club of Chronologies* (2016), pp. 170–71.

⁵ Tod and both Roe's and Herbert's accounts of Chittor (with the latter perhaps being based on the former), and Roe's account mentions his meeting Coryat on the road just outside Chittor. Annals this same time Peter Morley also visited Mewar and his writings referred to an earlier Dutch embassy. For both's references to both Roe's and Herbert's texts, see 'Annals of Mewar', vol. 2, pp. 244 & 277. For the version of Roe that Tod most likely read, see Dhilli, *India, Desert of Raj*, *Peter Morley* (1961). For a modern report of the 1577 edition of 'Thomas Herbert's account, see Taranvir in *Herodotus*, pp. 10–14.

Sample pages from the *Companion Volume* to the new re-issue

SUBSCRIPTION APPEAL to the RE-ISSUE

Fellows and friends of the Society are offered the opportunity to subscribe to the anniversary re-issue in advance of its publication for the discounted price of £725 (the standard list price will be £850). To qualify for the reduced price, full payment must be received by 16 December 2022. Subscribers will have their names published (if they so wish) in the List of Subscribers that will appear in the *Companion Volume*.

For further information on how to subscribe and make payment, please visit the 'Tod Subscription' page on the Society's website:

<https://royalasiaticsociety.org/tod-subscription>

If you have questions regarding the subscription, please email Camilla Larsen, cl@royalasiaticsociety.org



Bundi Princesses hunting a lion (and vice versa), unknown artist, c.1820, RAS 061.002

ON THE FRONT COVER: Maharana Bhim Singh of Mewar, attrib. to Chokha, c.1805–10. RAS 063.027



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