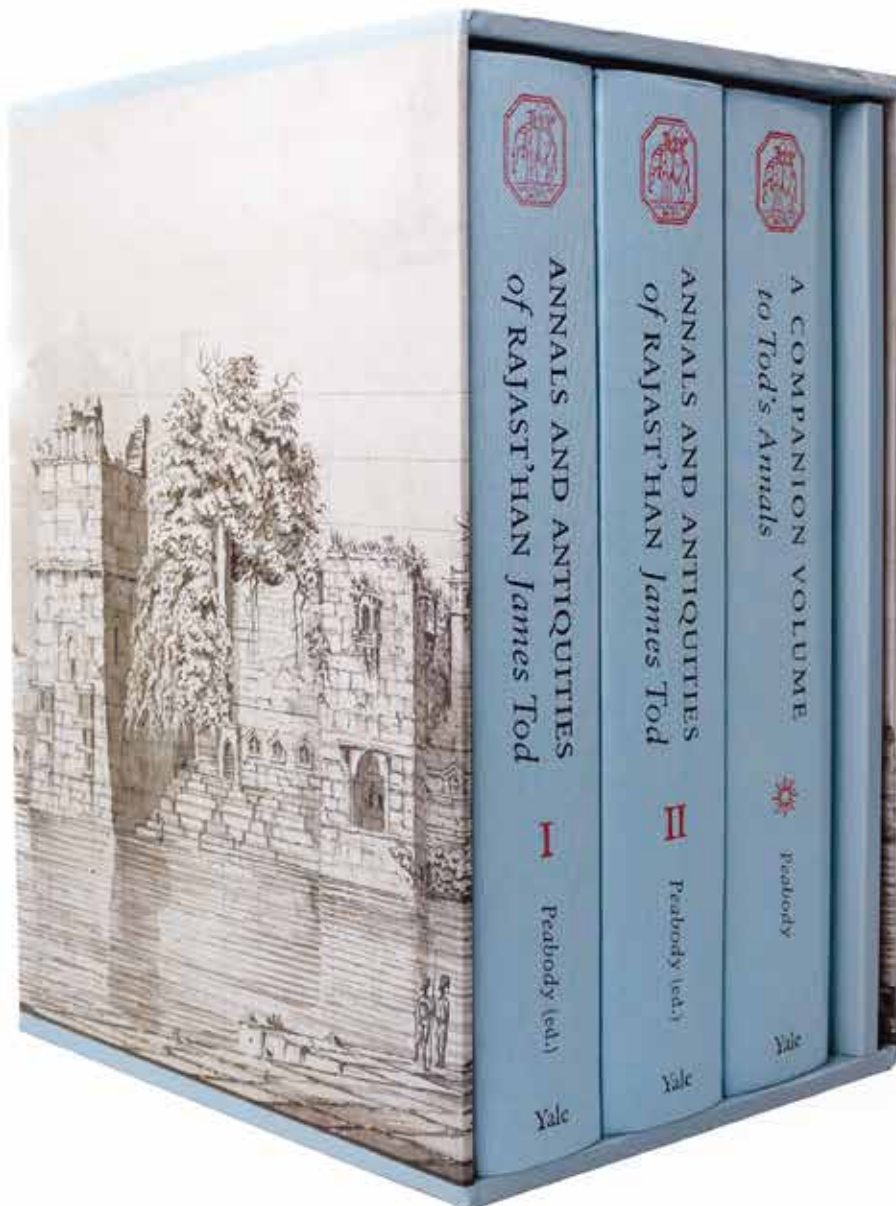




James Tod's
Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han
with a *Companion Volume*

BY NORBERT PEABODY



Both the *Annals* and the *Companion Volume* remind us of the complex histories that we need to take into account when we address key issues in contemporary debates about decolonising knowledge.

PROFESSOR JAVED MAJEED, FBA, KING'S COLLEGE LONDON



Drawing Attrib. to Thomas Stothard.

After a painting Attrib. to Ghasi Feat. Chokha.

MAHARANA BHEEM SING.
PRINCE OF OODIPOOR.

ANNALS AND ANTIQUITIES
of
RAJAST'HAN,

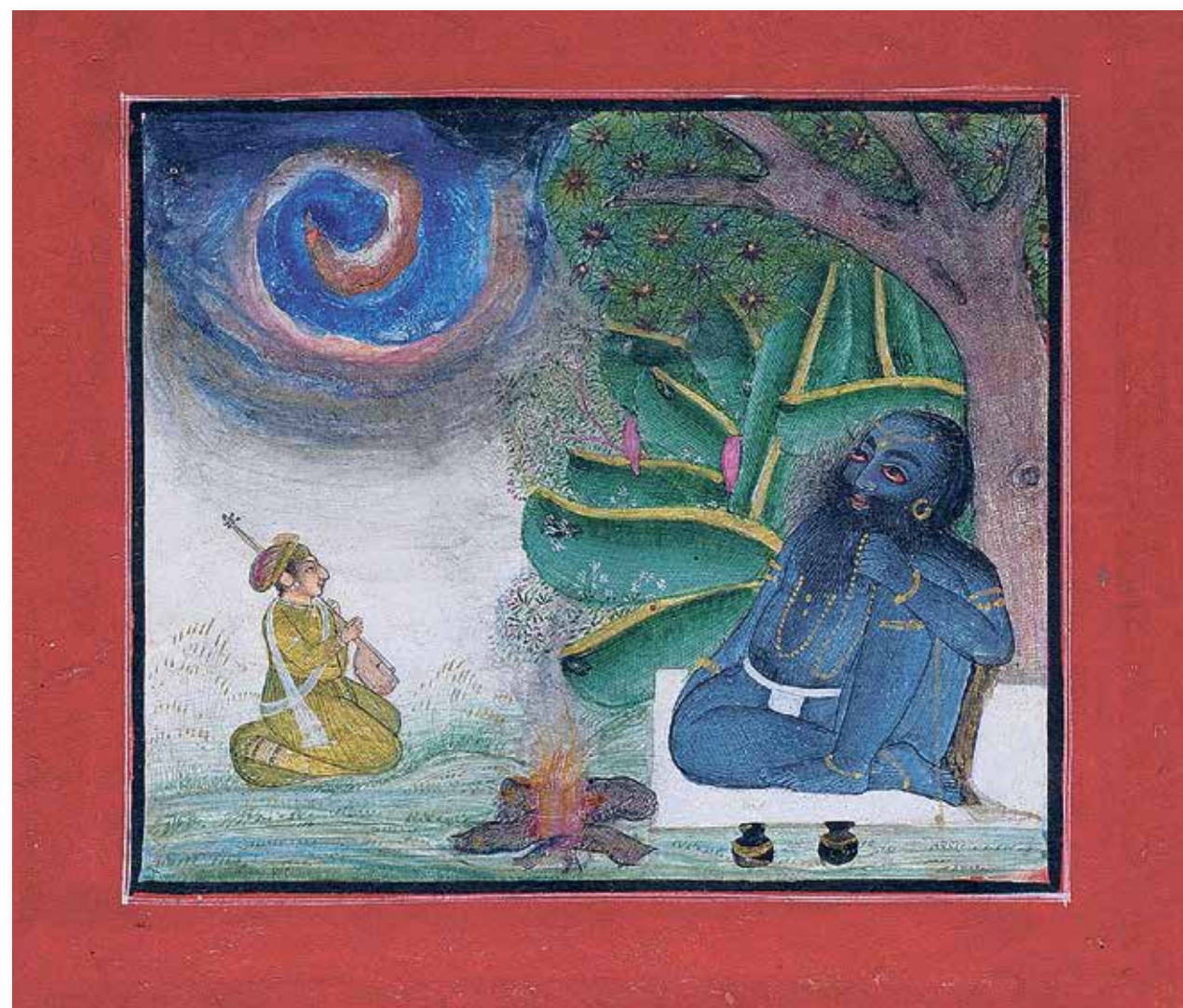
or the
CENTRAL AND WESTERN RAJPOOT STATES
OF INDIA

By
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JAMES TOD,
Late Political Agent to the Western Rajpoot States.

Edited by
NORBERT PEABODY

VOL. I

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY – LONDON
YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS – NEW HAVEN AND LONDON



A sadhu and his devotee
 Chokha, c.1811, Jagdish and
 Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian
 Art, Hyderabad, 76.182 R.67

James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han* with a *Companion Volume* by Norbert Peabody

Yale University Press and the Royal Asiatic Society are pleased to announce the publication of a new edition of James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han* with a *Companion Volume* by Norbert Peabody.

ESSENTIAL READING FOR ANYONE INTERESTED IN THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF RAJASTHAN AND THE EARLY COLONIAL ENCOUNTER IN INDIA

This thoughtfully designed, richly illustrated, and sumptuously produced edition of Tod's classic text about western India will immediately appeal to collectors of fine books and enthusiasts of the region. Tod's *Annals* remains to this day essential reading for anyone interested in the history and culture of Rajasthan and the early colonial encounter in India. Moreover, the innovative scholarship of the *Companion Volume* uses Tod's text to engage a wide range of theoretical and methodological issues of scholarly interest including historiographical practices across cultures, conventions of translation, literary criticism and the post-colonial critique, and the semiotics of knowledge systems.

James Tod was the first British Political Agent to the Western Rajput States (1818–22), a position that capped a 23-year career of continuous service in India, most of which was spent in Rajasthan. The two volumes of his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han* (originally published in 1829 and 1832) was the literary fruit of his long experience in western India.

PART HISTORY, PART ETHNOGRAPHY, PART EXPLORATION OF RAJASTHAN'S ORAL AND LITERARY TRADITIONS, PART DIARY, AND PART CRITIQUE OF BRITISH POLICY

The text itself defies modern-day classification. It is part history, part ethnography, part exploration

of Rajasthan's oral and literary traditions, part diary, and part critique of British policy towards the region. It draws on an astounding array of primary sources – many of which are reproduced in these volumes – whose breadth and number have rarely been matched by scholars since, and is written in an unusually exuberant, heroic style that, remarkably, often draws on previously unrecognised, traditional Rajasthani expressive practices.

AN INDISPENSABLE SOURCE FOR UNDERSTANDING NOT ONLY RAJASTHAN'S HISTORICAL PAST BUT ALSO IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF INDIA'S POLITICAL PRESENT

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 blueprint for India's independence from British rule. The book continues to exert a palpable influence on the national imagination of contemporary India, where it remains widely cited in present-day debates concerning the key foundations of Indian society. 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.

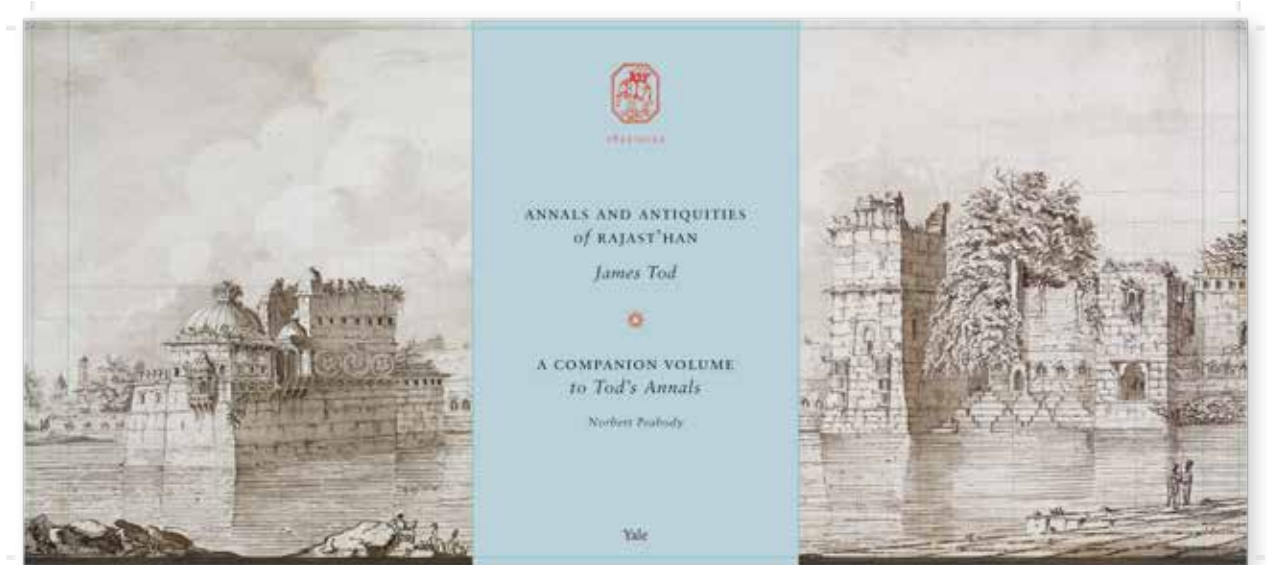
Although this text has remained in print since its first publication, almost all currently available reprints derive from the 1920 'Crooke edition' in which the editor heavily edited Tod's text – silently distorting it in the process – so that much of its original intellectual intent and expressive force became lost. This new edition returns the text to its original state while the accompanying *Companion Volume* provides the contemporary reader with the necessary background, critical apparatus, and interpretive frames to better understand this monumental, but often misunderstood, work.

A VIBRANTLY MULTI-VOCAL TEXT IN WHICH TOD'S AUTHORSHIP IS CONTINUOUSLY FRAGMENTED, AND NOT INFREQUENTLY DESTABILISED, BY THE VOICES OF HIS INDIAN INTERLOCUTORS

One of the principal contributions of the Companion Volume lies in its exploration of how Tod's *Annals* is a vibrantly multi-vocal text in which Tod's authorship is continuously fragmented, and not infrequently destabilised, by the voices of his Indian interlocutors.

The resultant cacophony renders Tod's text surprisingly discordant in its ambitions and effects. In recuperating the variety of Indian voices inhabiting Tod's *Annals*, the *Companion Volume* supplements aspects of the post-colonial critique and its understanding of how colonial power operated through the imposition of overdetermining, orientalist knowledge systems. The *Companion Volume* reveals a fractious, contingent, and open-ended reading of early colonial history.

THE COMPANION VOLUME REVEALS A FRACTIOUS, CONTINGENT, AND OPEN-ENDED READING OF EARLY COLONIAL HISTORY



KEY FEATURES OF THE NEW EDITION

- ◆ A complete restoration of the two volumes of Tod's original text and the over 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 Royal Asiatic Society. Reproductions of five additional previously unpublished engravings from the Tod collection at the RAS supplement the restored text.
- ◆ A third *Companion Volume* including a preface, two introductory essays, over 100,000 words of annotations, a comprehensive bibliography, and an extensive glossary of Indian terms used by Tod.
- ◆ High quality colour reproductions of approximately 120 Rajasthani paintings and drawings and 25 European watercolours of Rajasthan from the Tod collections in the RAS, the British Library, and the Victoria and Albert

Museum. This visual material is supplemented with a further 50 reproductions of other Rajasthani paintings that have a direct bearing on Tod's life in and writings on Rajasthan. A significant proportion of this material has never been published before and most of the reproductions are produced from newly photographed artwork.

- ◆ A slip case with five 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 are case bound with ribbon bookmarks and cloth headbands. The entire set is boxed.
- ◆ Printed by Conti Tipocolor in Florence for Yale University Press and the Royal Asiatic Society.
- ◆ Edition Limited to 750 hand numbered copies.

Dr Norbert Peabody has taught at Harvard University, the London School of Economics, and the University of Cambridge. He is the current President of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. His first book *Hindu Kingship and Polity in Precolonial India* (Cambridge University Press, 2003) was co-winner of the Royal Historical Society's Gladstone History Book Prize.

Praise for the re-issue of *Tod's Annals* and the *Companion Volume*

Norbert Peabody's new edition of *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han* is much more than a restoration of an influential early nineteenth-century work on India's history and culture. A return to British political agent James Tod's original 1829-1832 text, cleansed of the many "corrections" made by William Crooke in 1920, is valuable in and of itself for the fresh insights it provides into Tod's understanding of Rajasthan's past and present. However, it is Peabody's *Companion Volume*, with a long introduction to the *Annals* and its author plus hundreds of detailed annotations of the text, that elevates the edition's significance to a new level. Peabody's extensive research on Tod's "facts" and interpretations, sources of information, social and intellectual context, and impact over time make this work an exceptionally rich case study in the formation of knowledge in early colonial India. While the process of knowledge-formation occurred in numerous other times and places as cultural encounters between the West and other regions progressed, it is seldom this thoroughly investigated or astutely analyzed. Peabody thus provides an exemplary model of how to study the multiple motives and diverse actors that came together to produce new types of cultural knowledge in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a model that would surely be beneficial to scholars of areas far beyond South Asia.

CYNTHIA TALBOT, Professor Emerita,
History & Asian Studies, University of Texas at Austin

Norbert Peabody's interdisciplinary *Companion Volume* to this beautifully reproduced first edition of James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han* is a tour de force. His reading of the hybrid literary and linguistic qualities of Tod's *Annals* is insightful, and he shows how these qualities mesh with the *Annals'* complex and dialogically created historiography. His *Companion Volume* is a must read for students and scholars interested in the production of colonial knowledge and its many dimensions, as well as its co-creation and appropriation by Asian interlocutors, writers, and politicians. It is also a significant intervention in the history of translation and transliteration studies in the colonial era,

and it casts new light on Asian-European literary creativity in this period as well. Both the *Annals* and the *Companion Volume* remind us of the complex histories that we need to take into account when we address key issues in contemporary debates about decolonising knowledge.

JAVED MAJEED, FBA, Professor of English and
Comparative Literature, King's College London

It is hard to overstate the range of topics that Tod investigated with his Indian informants, from architecture, painting, language, and folklore to ethnography, numismatics, ritual, ecology, and kingship. Restored and expanded, this stunning definitive edition has a *Companion Volume* designed to guide a new generation of researchers.

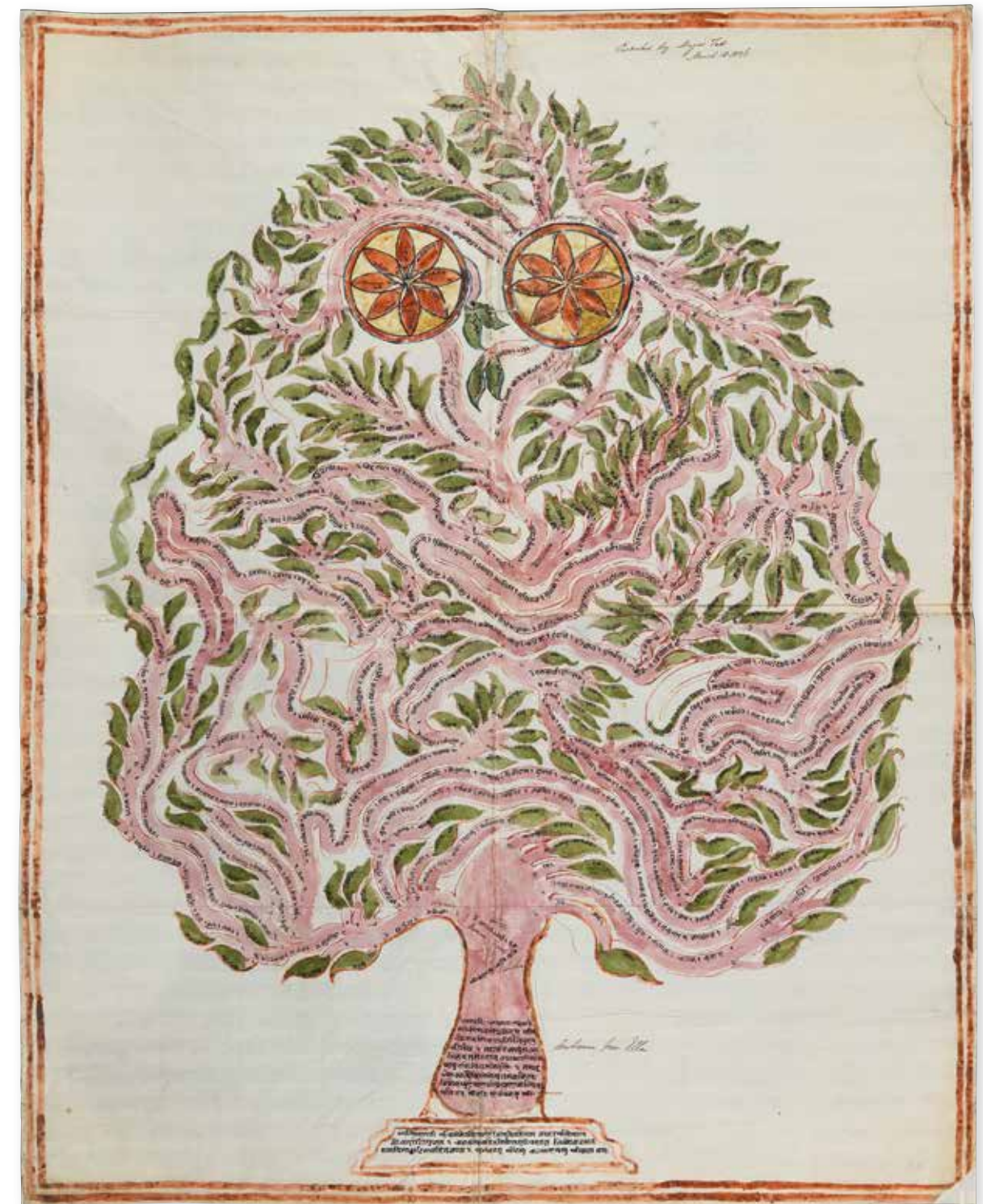
NILE GREEN, Ibn Khaldun Endowed Chair
in World History, UCLA

Norbert Peabody's edition of Tod's *Annals* has been eagerly awaited by so many scholars and students not only of Asia, but of interactions between cultures and forms of thought. This is because of the high esteem in which Peabody's work is held and for how this publication interrogates this crucial text from the lens of current concerns, for instance about the role of interlocutors and the practices through which knowledge is forged. One can easily imagine it being used in many university courses as an introduction to how a historical text should be read.

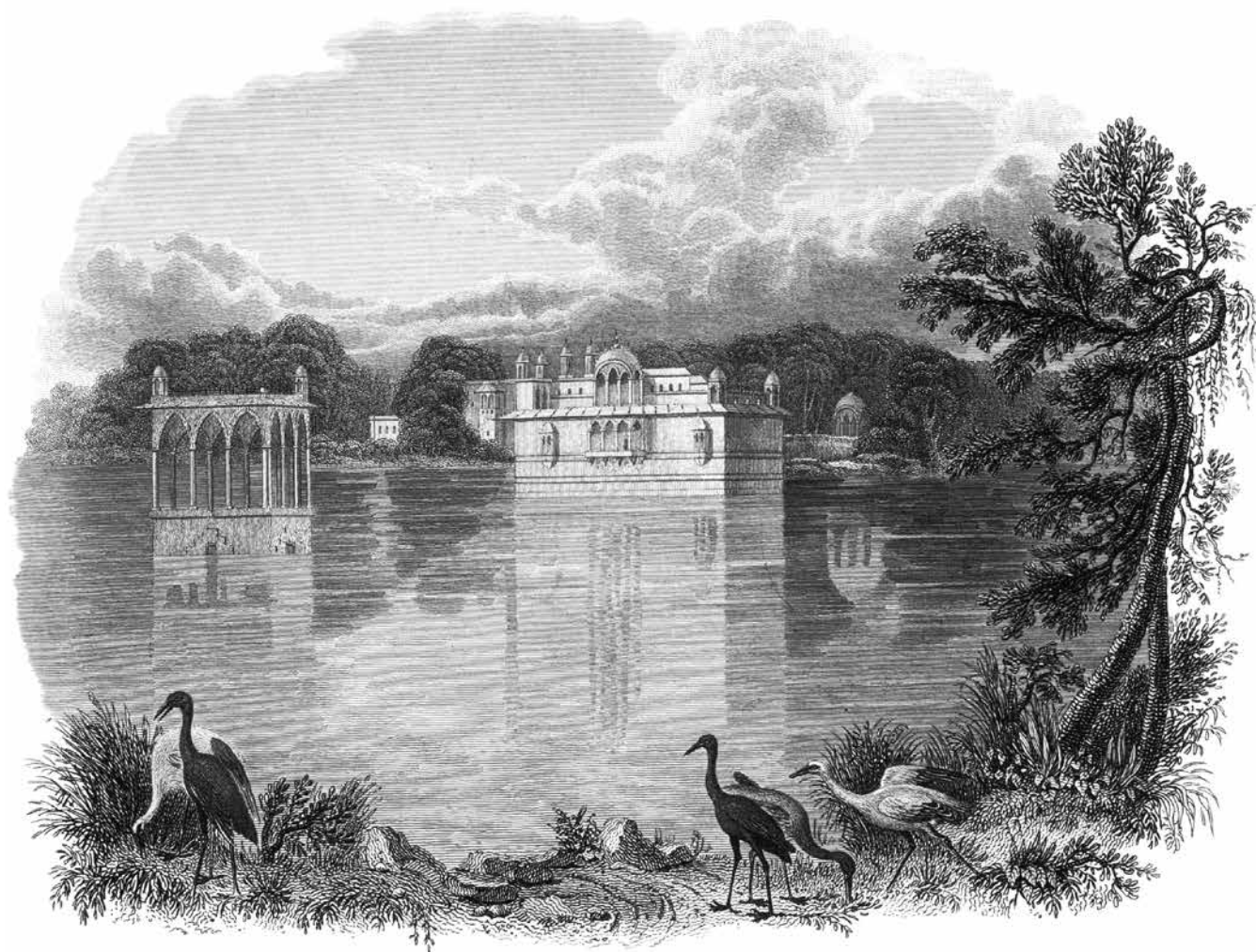
SUJIT SIVASUNDARAM, Professor of World History,
University of Cambridge

James Tod belongs to the heroic days of Britain's engagement with India. His *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han* are of a piece with their time. This new edition is not a reworking of the many editions which have gone before, but a new edition which brings much modern scholarship into play. At the same time, it removes many errors which have crept into the text. Excellent illustrations, largely in colour, which are scattered through the 1,500 pages of text, enable a serious engagement with this remarkable work.

FRANCIS ROBINSON, Emeritus Professor of
the History of South Asia, Royal Holloway,
University of London



Somavamsi genealogical tree
Prepared by Vasudev for James
Tod, 1821, Royal Asiatic Society,
London, 037.177



Drawn by Capt^o Waugh.

Engraved by E. Finden.


HUNTING SEAT OF THE KOTAH PRINCE.

ANNALS of HÁRÁVATI

KOTAH

CHAPTER V.

Separation of Kotah from Boondí.—The Koteah Bhíls.—Madhú Sing, first prince of Kotah.—Its division into fiefs.—The Madhani.—Raja Mokund.—Instance of devotion.—He is slain with four brothers.—Juggut Sing.—Paim Sing.—Is deposed.—Kishore Sing.—Is slain at Arcát.—Law of primogeniture set aside.—Ram Sing.—Is slain at Jajow.—Bheem Sing.—Chukersén, king of the Bhíls.—His power is annihilated by Raja Bheem.—Omut tribe.—Origin of the claims of Kotah thereon.—Raja Bheem attacks the Nizam-ool-Moolk, and is slain.—Character of Raja Bheem.—His enmity to Boondí.—Anecdote.—Title of Maha Rao bestowed on Raja Bheem.—Rao Arjoon.—Civil contest for succession.—Siam Sing slain.—Maharao Doorjun Sal.—First irruption of the Mahrattas.—League against Kotah, which is besieged.—Defended by Himmut Sing Jhala.—Zalim Sing born.—Siege raised.—Kotah becomes tributary to the Mahrattas.—Death of Doorjun Sal.—His character.—His hunting expeditions.—His queens.—Bravery of the Jhala chief.—Order of succession restored.—Maharao Ajít.—Rao Chuttersal.—Madhú Sing of Ambér claims supremacy over the Hara princes, and invades Harouti.—Battle of Butwarro.—Zalim Sing Jhala.—The Haras gain a victory.—Flight of the Ambér army, and capture of the “five-coloured banner.”—Tributary claims on Kotah renounced.—*Death of Chuttersal.*

THE early history of the Haras of Kotah belongs to Boondí, of which they were a junior branch. The separation took place when Shah Jehan was emperor of India, who bestowed Kotah and its dependencies on Madhú Sing, the second son of Rao Ruttun, for his distinguished gallantry in the battle of Boorhanpoor. 

Madhú Sing was born in S. 1621 (A.D. 1565). At the early age of fourteen, he displayed that daring intrepidity which gave him the title of Raja, and Kotah with its three hundred and sixty townships (then the chief fief of Boondí,

and yielding two lakhs of rent), independent of his father.

It has already been related, that the conquest of this tract was made from the Koteah Bhíls of the *Oojla*, the ‘unmixed,’ or aboriginal race. From these the Rajpoot will eat, and all classes will ‘drink water’ at their hands. Kotah was at that time but a series of hamlets, the abode of the Bhil chief, styled Raja, being the ancient fortress of Ekailgurh, five coss south of Kotah. But when Madhú Sing was enfeoffed by the king, Kotah had already attained extensive



Inscribed on verso:

श्री मा[हा]राणा जी श्री १०८ श्री भीम सीघ जी फिरंगी टाड साब री छबी छोषो छते[रो] ॥

A picture of Shri Maharanaaji Shri 108 Shri Bhim Singhji and Firangi Tod Sahab by the painter Chokha.

डंकीन समिलि हलि टाट साह ।
तिन संग फौज इक लखव अथाह ॥

हुररा रु रायपुर तिहिं छुडाय ।
लिय राजनगर अरिहर पुलाय ॥

खाली कराय फिर कुंभमेर ।
रुकसत कराय दल उतर फेर ॥

फिर टाट आय माहारांन पाय ।
मिल निजर कीन्ह चित हर्ष चाय ॥

किय निजर पत्र जे कंपिनीय ।
ममारखी सुफिर मुलक दीय ॥

जालमह पास लीय जाजनेर ।
सब सुभट आय पय भीम फेर ॥

वंधि भूमिराह वेराह खंडि ।
सिवलाल तांम परधानं मंडि ॥

तपवांन भूप महारांन भीम ।
भुजवलह लीन जिहि अथ सीम ॥

साहाब टाट से अकलवंध ।
तिह मुलुक राज वंधीय प्रवंध ॥

अगजीत स्वामिध्रंम जगत जानं ।
भुज चूड विरद दिय भीम रानं ॥

कीय मेर जेर खग वज्जि झाट ।
रचि भीम दुर्ग इक दुर्ग टाट ॥

लुंटाक चोर ठग गय विलाय ।
अज सीह इक घाट पाय ॥

Major Donkin joined forces with Tod Sah,
their combined army exceeding a lakh:

They liberated Raipur and Hurda,
the foes at Rajnagar fleeing attack –

Tod also cleared the fortress of Kumbha,
its garrison stood down and dismissed:

Then to Udaipur to meet the Rana,
where Tod presented a heart-pleasing gift.

This gift, a treaty with the Kampini,
restored the lands that Tod had subdued;

Next Jahazpur was seized from the Jhala,
to Bhim's service soldiers once again hewed;

Named Pradhan was Shivilal Galundiya,
unruly lords of the soil brought to heel –

From the ascetic practice of Bhima,
the entire country partook of his zeal.

With wisdom and good sense from Tod Sahab,
regular rule the kingdom obeyed:

The world knew him as loyal and steadfast;
'my champion', from Bhim the accolade;

The onslaught of Tod's sword smote the Meras:
Bhim's fort and Tod's fort held in one account –

Plunderers, thieves, and thugs became downcast,
as lion and kid drank from the same fount.

FIG. 1: James Tod presents a document to Maharana Bhim Singh, inscribed to Chokha, c.1818. Gouache, gold, and silver on *vasli*, 35.6 x 26.7 cm. Anil Relia Collection, Ahmedabad

FROM KISNA ARHA'S *Bhimvilas* (1822)



FIG. 35: A European concoction, unidentified artist working at Udaipur, c.1760. Gouache, gold, and silver on *vasli*, 27.3 x 38.1 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, 125th Anniversary Acquisition, Alvin O. Bellak Collection, 2004-149-59

and embassies in the eighteenth century – most notably the Dutch mission in 1711 of J.J. Ketelaar (fig. 34).¹ The periodic presence of Europeans in Mewar stimulated and sustained a deeply perplexing genre in Mewari painting of foreign exotica that flourished for well over a century resulting in a large number of unsettling compositions that Tod likely knew including several by his contemporary, Chokha (figs 35 and 36).²

Although Rajasthan was quite removed from the major centres of Company rule in India, Tod consistently overstated the extent to which he was the first to undertake this voyage of discovery and his utter isolation from other Europeans, apart from his immediate cohort of subalterns (that is, Duncan, Waugh, and Carey). Tod was periodically visited by other Company officials from neighbouring jurisdictions, including, most famously, John Malcolm in March 1821.³ Judging by his generally spikey relations with fellow Company officers elsewhere in the region, Tod may have wished he were a lone European in Rajasthan, but he was not.

¹ Tod read earlier accounts of Chittor by both Roe's chaplain Edward Terry and Herbert (with the latter perhaps being based on the former), and Terry's account mentions his meeting Coryat. Around this same time Peter Mundy also visited Mewar, and his writings referred to an earlier Dutch embassy. For Tod's references to both Herbert's and Terry's texts, see Tod, 'Annals of Méwar', *Annals* vol. 1, pp. 177 n. * and 234 n. ¶. For the version of Terry that Tod read, see Della Valle, *Travels of Sig. Pietro della Valle* (1677), p. 355. For a modern reprint of the 1677 edition of Sir Thomas Herbert's account, see *Travels in Africa*, ed. (2012), pp. 227–8.

² Topsfield, 'Ketelaar's Embassy' (1984), pp. 350–67.

³ Characteristically, Tod nowhere mentions this significant visit, though both Malcolm and Maharana Bhim Singh of Mewar noted it in their respective correspondence and diaries. See Malcolm, *Malcolm: Soldier, Diplomat, Ideologue* (2014), p. 433; *Haqiqat babida* of Maharana Bhim Singh, v.s. 1877, *Chet badi* 2 and 3, BH686, Maharana of Mewar Charitable Foundation, Udaipur.

P. 2, COL. 2: *Oojein, ... the first meridian of the Hindus*

Tod was aware that India had its own geographic traditions with an ancient notion of longitude in which the prime meridian passed through Ujjain. He collected, for instance, an Indian diagram (fig. 37), which he titled 'Map of Locations with Ougein as the Meridian'.¹ Tod visited Ujjain with his 'Jain Gúru', Gyanchandra, in 1812, and it is possible that, while there, Tod acquired this 'map' under Gyanchandra's direction. This schematic, in which Ujjain is referenced by its ancient historical designation, Avanti, took the form of a mandala, or perhaps a temple plan,² and it may have been intended for a Jain audience (as suggested by the 'absent presence' at its centre and the number of Jain holy sites indicated among the 'locations').³

The purpose of this plan remains uncertain. It has been suggested that it could have been used as a 'route map', but it may have also been used for making adjustments to astronomical and astrological calculations based on the deviation of the various locations from the Ujjain meridian. This topic requires further research, as does the precise significance of the metrics accompanying most of the 'locations'.

Although it remains unclear whether this map was used for navigation across a physical landscape, it is clear that its conceptual organisation, as a space radiating

FIG. 36: Two Chinese ladies in the garden of a French chateau, attributed to Chokha, c.1810–20. Gouache on *vasli*, 33 x 46.4 cm. Private Collection, Cambridge, Massachusetts



¹ He also collected a 'Map of India, from Native Authority', gifted to the RAS in 1824 (alas, now missing), which, presumably, was a cosmological diagram of Jambudvipa as described in the Puranas. For reference to this donation, see Freitag, *Serving Empire, Serving Nation* (2009), p. 205.

² For two similar diagrams, see Gole, *Indian Maps* (1989), cat. nos. 8 and 9, pp. 50–51.

³ I am indebted to Mudit Trivedi for this interpretation.

Yale

James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han* with a *Companion Volume* by Norbert Peabody

Distributed for the Royal Asiatic Society

A sumptuous re-issue in two volumes of James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han* (1829–32) alongside a new critical volume which reframes this monumental, but often misunderstood, work

The two volumes of James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han*, first published in 1829–32, remain to this day the first port of call for anyone interested in the history and culture of Rajasthan and the early colonial encounter in India. Written by the first East India Company official to the region, the text was also seminal for the early figures in India's independence movement who reworked Tod's imagined ancient Rajput national identities into a call for India's national liberation from British colonial rule.

Now available in a numbered limited edition of 750 copies, this re-issue of the original text

including over 80 original copperplate engravings, woodblock prints, and lithographs returns the text to its original state, while the accompanying *Companion Volume* critically reframes this monumental, but often misunderstood, work. The new volume shows how Tod's *Annals* is not merely the product of the singular voice of a Western "orientalist" imagination, instead revealing a richly complex work in which Rajasthani voices provide a "multi-authored" heterogeneity to the text which is often discordant and unpredictable. Re-articulating the variety of voices that simultaneously inhabit Tod's *Annals*, the revised volume argues for a more conjunctural, contingent, and open-ended reading of colonial history.

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