

Chapter II

HISTORY AS FICTION : TOD'S 'ANNALS'.

"You cannot fully understand or appreciate the work of the historian unless you have first grasped the standpoint from which he himself approached it, second that the standpoint is itself rooted in a social and historical background. ... study the historian before you begin to study the facts" (Carr 48). This observation is more than relevant to the case of Colonel James Tod who is considered the Walter Scott of Anglo-Indian writing. His Scottish heritage, his interest in Scott's historical novels and his romantic temperament had much to do with this image. Tod's tryst with Rajasthan began in 1805 when he became a subaltern and escort commander to Mr. Graeme Mercer, the then government agent at the court of Daulat Rao Scindia. Tod and Mercer came to Mewar in 1806 which was at that time a kingdom torn by civil strifes and devastated by the Marathas as well as the Pindaris. He was at once drawn towards the gallant people of Mewar and their related ethnic branches. This was a love-affair, a Romantic's fascination with a chivalrous medieval tribe. As Davenport comments, "all the elements were there; compassion, admiration, gentle tolerance of human weakness, respect" (80). Gradually colonel Tod became a great

admirer of Rajputana's ancient rulers, its traditions and its people. The chivalrous past of the Mewar Kingdom especially appealed to him since it had borne the brunt of the Moghul invader's fury.

This gentle administrator happened to observe the Rajputs when they were passing through a difficult stage of transition. Isolated by the inaccessibility of their country, they were the last guardians of Hindu beliefs, institutions and manners against the rising tide of Mohammedan invasions. To avoid anarchy and the ultimate destruction of their states, they were politically motivated to accept a close union with the British as the paramount power. In this bargain they lost something but gained much. The new connection involved new duties and responsibilities in adapting their traditional system of government to modern requirements. After the Treaty of Alliance in 1818 Tod was made political agent to the Western Rajput states of Mewar, Jessalmer, Kotah, Boondi, Sirohi and of Marwar in 1819. Out of his twenty two years in India eighteen were devoted to the uplift of these states. Tod had virtually no European companions. He spent most of his time with the Rajputs, loved them and received their love in return. We seldom hear the strains of alienation or exile in the works of Tod. This surely indicates his warm feelings for the people of this land.

When he finally left Mewar in 1822 his words were, "Mewar with all thy faults I love thee still" (qtd. in Davenport 80). From the very day of his appointment in 1818 he began the Herculean task of reconstructing Rajputana whose economy had been devastated by internecine feuds and the Maratha invasions. As William Crooke demonstrates only an administrator of Tod's calibre could undertake the political settlement and economic reconstruction of these feudal states at so critical a juncture :

The undertaking would have appalled any man but one who was already familiar with the intricate maze of Rajput politics, who had studied the institutions, the character and the prejudices of the people and was well-skilled in their popular literature, who could debate any difficult question with them in their own dialect on their own maxims and principles and above all whose temperament was sanguine, whose energy irrepressible and whose views were direct and disinterested.
(XXXIII)

Like Meadows Taylor, Tod too was a people-oriented administrator and his resettlement work at Mewar bears resemblance to that of Taylor at Berar. As an honest man he hated the shrewdness of the Marathas, the fanaticism of "sanguinary Allah who inspired the notion that conquest is not complete without conversion" (Travels 338), the zeal of the Portuguese and the avarice of the British. His ultimate ambition for the Rajputs was "the restoration

of their former independence which it would suit our wisest policy to grant" (Annals I). On account of his fearless advocacy for the Rajput cause he was misunderstood by the British officialdom in India and the company Raj. But to the people for whom he toiled he was a "father". "It would not become to speak of the expressions of gratitude from princes and nobles for their restoration from poverty to affluence, from intestine feuds to political tranquillity : but the epithet 'baba' or 'father' conferred by the peasantry may be appealed to as an unexceptional criterion of the nature of my service" (Travels 4). This was a tribute well-deserved.

Tod, in fact, deserves a much greater credit for his achievements in the realm of historiography and folk literature. In 1806 he began his laborious research into the geography, history and traditions of the Rajput tribes. He continued to do so till his retirement in 1824. In this context a recent tribute to his unsparing efforts from the Maharana of Mewar will not be out of place :

The more one studies the 1260 pages and the hundreds of footnotes and charts of his 'Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan' (1829) the more one realises what a great debt history and particularly we, the people of the former state of Mewar owe to this remarkable man. At a time when the world was busy expanding commercially, colonially and politically and when many of our unpublished archives, inscriptions, khyats and verbal treasures of our story tellers (bards) would have been lost or forgotten,

this sympathetic scholar or recorder came by great good fortune of Rajasthan. With complete dedication and involvement and even more important, with a fully equipped mind, he devoted much of his eighteen years in this part of India to meticulous analysis and recording of as much as he could unearth of the 'Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan' (qtd. in Davenport V).

Colonel Tod carried all these valuable records with him to England and after his retirement devoted all his time and energy for the completion of his two monumental works. The first volume of the 'Annals' was published in 1829 whereas 'Travels in Western India' was published posthumously in 1839.

Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan a classic in Indian historiography, was ostensibly meant for a noble cause, for remedying the paucity of historical materials on India. Tod felt that the tradition of authentic history had long ceased to exist in India. After sifting through hundreds of myths and legends he made the observation that the Hindus with the decrease of their intellectual prowess had lost sense for accuracy and had adopted the monstrous in their writing. Their priestly interpreters had given free reins to the flight of their imagination and as such "plain historical truths have long ceased to interest this artificially fed people (Annals 1:22). Tod's attempt was to remedy this sad state of historiography in India.

Though his intentions were genuine he too could not avoid the mingling of fact with fiction. No doubt, as an individual he had his limitations and obsessions. First of all, his inadequate knowledge of Sanskrit made him dependent on his guru, the Jain Yati, Gyanchandra and the Brahmin pundits whom he consulted. As William Crooke rightly observes, "they too were not trained scholars in the modern sense of the term and many of his mistakes are due to his rashness in following their guidance, ... his diversions into philology are the diversions of a clever man and not that of a trained scholar" (XXIX). Understandably, on this shaky linguistic foundation Tod establishes links between the royal houses of Mewar and Iran and includes the "Jats" among the Rajput tribes though the "Jats" form a distinct Hindu caste and have nothing to do with the Rajputs. Tod also refers to the bardic tradition which traces the origins of the Rajputs to the Suryavansha and Induvansha of Rama and Krishna. In a similar vein he equates the Rajput dynasties with the Jewish, Babilonian and Median dynasties. The bases for such an inference are the legends about the geneology of kings, mythological allusions, personal habits, religious and martial rites, belief in omens and auguries, love of game and drinks and finally delicacy towards women. These resemblances are sufficient for him to conclude; "These traditions appear to point to one spot and to one

individual, in the early history of mankind, when the Hindu and the Greek approach a common focus; for there is little doubt that Adinath, Adiswara, Osiris, Baghes, Bacchus, Manu, Menes designate the patriarch of mankind Noah" (Annals 1: 18). In short, Tod embarks on his Annals with a protest against the mythmaking habits of the East but he falls prey to the very evil he condemns.

The form and character that the Annals took were also dependent on certain other factors. Essentially, colonel Tod was trying to achieve in the historical sphere what Sir William Jones and other early orientalist had achieved in the intellectual and philosophical spheres. In his introduction to the first volume of the 'Annals' he expresses his disappointment at the sterility of the historic muse of Hindostan and the apathy and indifference of Europeans despite the hopes kindled by Jones's exploration of the vast mines of Sanskrit literature. Moreover, as the title of one of his chapters - "Genealogies continued-comparisons between the lists of Sir. W. Jones, Mr Bentley, Captain Wilford and the author - synchronisms" - suggests, there was on Tod's part a studied effort at synchronizing his findings with those of the earlier groups. He followed Jones in other areas too. To cite but one example, Jones's essay "On the Gods of Greece, Italy and India" contains many striking instances of myths shared by the Hindus with

the Greeks, the Romans and the Egyptians. It also makes a pointed reference "to the identity of Vedanta and Platonic philosophies" (Drew 48). In Tod too we find such cross-identification of gods, myths and philosophies. This sort of synthesizing seems to have been quite a tradition among the orientalist who were well-read in the classics. It goes to prove that Tod did not operate in isolation but within the intellectual tradition of his times.

Obviously his primary audience was the intelligentsia of the West and his findings were mainly addressed to them. However at the same time he was doing yeoman service to India in general and to Rajsthan in particular. One might also add that his contribution was as much to literature as it was to history. Like his contemporary in Gujarat, Alexander Kinloch Forbes, also a Scottish highlander, who compiled Ras mala or a garland of chronicles (1856), Tod collected Rajasthani myths, legends, songs, folklore and fragments of remembered history and thus providentially preserved them. He must have been imbued in similar traditions in his own homeland which had been reinforced by the movement for Scottish revival. The memory of Macpherson's The Works of Ossian, Bishop Percy's Reliques and Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel must have been quite fresh in his mind. Consciously or unconsciously he was

following in their footsteps and contributing to the revival of the Rajput spirit by bringing to light the rich legacy of Rajasthani folk literature.. From another point of view the annalist was doing for the Rajputs what the Welsh Bishop Geoffrey of Monmouth had done for the British in the 12th century, underlining the Trojan British origins, giving impetus to the notion of celtic Britain. While the Welsh Bishop proposed the Celtic myth as an answer to the political exigencies of a particular period in British history, Tod re-affirmed for the Rajputs the validity of their myths of origin, the charm of their vibrant way of life and the relevance of their age old customs. Indirectly his Annals enlivened the hopes of a tired race and boosted its sagging morale; for as Hugh A. Mac Dougall says, "Myths of origin enable people to locate themselves in time and space. They offer an explanation of the unknown and hallow the traditions by linking them to heroic events and personages of the distant past. In addition they form the ground for belief systems or ideologies which providing a moral validation for attitudes and activities, bind men together in a society"(1).

The effort of this study, so far, has been to identify the varied intellectual currents that shaped the Annals, indeed, a monumental work which does not easily lend itself to any easy sort of categorizing. Yet one might venture

to say that in its broad-based, ideological design, great intellectual power, critical sense of values and its near scientific empiricism, the Annals^o exhibits the rationality and analytical bent of mind associated with the eighteenth century Enlightenment. The spirit that animates this work, however, is the romantic belief in the universal brotherhood of man and the Romantics' love of myths, legends and the chivalrous past. Apart from these twin legacies Tod was also an heir to the classics of European historiography, then taught in every English public school. Inevitably then at the back of his mind must have hovered Herodotus and his History^o, Thucydides and his History of the Peloponnesian War^o, Xenophon and his Anabasis^o, Tacitus and his Annals^o and above all Gibbon and his The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire^o. Tod's Annals^o shows their imprint in quite unmistakable terms. Among the historians both ancient and modern Gibbon seems to be the moving spirit behind Tod's appraisal of the Rajput customs, personalities and events. Like Gibbon he believed "that history should recreate the past, not merely dig out facts but explain causes." (Encyclopaedia Americana 10:470). It is not practical, nor is it necessary to point out every reference to these historians. A few illustrations from their works should suffice. The worship of the double edged sword among the Rajputs, for example,

reminds Tod of Gibbon's animated account of the Greek's adoration of "Scymitar, the symbol of Mars" (Annals 1:63), and the sepulchre of Jhangeez Khan has its parallel in the sepulchre of the Getic Alaric (Annals (1:62). While commenting on the worship of the horse (Ashwamedha) in Rajasthan he recalls Herodotus and the Scythian tribe of Getae which had an identical custom (Annals 1 :63). Similarly the festival of Gouri and Isara at Udaipur is traced back to the ancient festivals of Isis and Osiris as recorded by both Tacitus and Herodotus (Annals 1:56). To Tod even the chivalry he noticed in Rajputana is not an isolated quality but an inherent attribute to all the martial tribes which have a common ancestry. The customs he observed in Rajasthan, Tacitus had noted in Germany centuries earlier. "The Germans", says Tacitus, deemed the advice of a woman in periods of exigence, oracular, so does the Rajput as the bard Chand often exemplifies; and hence they append to her name the epithet 'devi', ... godlike" (Annals 1:58). Significantly, Tod has a tendency to see or to corroborate every aspect of Rajput life and history against the background of these great classics of European historiography. They become the unerring points of reference both for the historian and his exo-cultural audience at home.

Often enough, along with or in addition to these classics, the great epics of Greece and Rome are also evoked so as to project a panoramic view of human history. In effect, a single, localized event in Mewar or Marwar thus acquires an epic dimension^a universal quality. There are numerous instances in The Annals wherein Tod invests a particular event or character with epic universality. The death of Krishna Kumari is a case in point. While recalling the sad tale of that fair flower of Mewar, Tod draws remarkable parallels from the great epics of the West :

When the Roman father pierced the bosom of the dishonoured Virginia, appeased virtue applauded the deed. When Iphigenia was led to the sacrificial~~alter~~^a, the salvation of her country yielded noble consolation. The votive victim of Jephtha's success had the triumph of a father's fame to sustain her resignation and in the meekness of her sufferings we have the best parallel to the sacrifice of the lovely Krishna (Annals 1:368).

As said earlier Tod addressed his history primarily to the intellectuals of the West and one can assume that they were alive to the intensity of meaning that such passages evoke. It is this supra-historical dimension of the Annals that appeals to both men of history and literature even today. Tod's history is then fraught with literariness as that of Macaulay, Gibbon, Lord Roseberry and Churchill.

There is also another aspect of this historical document which becomes all the more significant to this study, particularly in the light of recent pronouncements on colonial discourse. Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan¹ despite its historical intent, presents a personal vision within the colonial set up. From this perspective it can be looked upon as a projection of the colonizer's historical vision of a colonized race, a foreigner's interpretation of an alien culture. In effect Tod was interpreting Indian history through Eurocentric historiography thus effecting a divergence between Indian history and Hindu metaphysics oriented toward other worldliness. The lack of historical consciousness he noticed in India is tied up with the typological imagination of a culture where art, history and religion exist on the same continuum. In this context one is reminded of the distinction which Auerbach makes between Greek and Christian historiography. That distinction more or less is valid for Hindu and Christian historiography too. Their perception of history seems to operate from two different axis. Moreover, the Annals² falls within the second phase of orientalism in India, a period during which the vision of the Orient was no more thrilling or ecstatic. What is remarkable in Tod's writings is the absence of colonial prejudice in all its connotations. He does not see the Rajputs as

"noble savages" to be protected, educated and to be goaded on the right path. On the contrary he considers them as equals worthy of comradeship, intellectual sympathy, respect and love. As a Scotsman with a similar clan culture, he can understand the clanish configurations of the Rajput society, appreciate their sense of pride and honour their valour and readiness for sacrifice. He views the Rajput race and their history from the standpoint of a historical thinker, an ideologue recounting the saga of a heroic race through the vicissitudes of centuries. Their glorious past captivates him. Their present decay saddens him. He comes to know the historical circumstances, their personal weaknesses and the characteristic flaws that brought about their downfall. Yet he paints the Rajput men and women as knights and their "fair loves" from a hazy past. He was indeed the first to bring their past to life, to portray the exceptional and unequalled human greatness of their social order as well as the inner compulsions of their tragic downfall. According to a well-known Indian historian, "There is virtually no other comparable personality traceable in the colonial set up who had got so much involved in Indian traditions and who had developed so much genuine understanding, love, respect and consideration for any Indian traditions as had been the case with this august person of alien origin" (Ganguli 244).

Thus he adopted an attitude contrary to the then prevailing trend of Orientalism which ordinarily tended to vilify Indian customs and rituals and denigrate Indian events and personalities. Tod's romantic attitude towards Rajput history and culture did not amount to any deliberate falsification of history. His greatness as a historian lies in the fact that he could rise above the then prevailing orientalist's myopia and colonial blindspot. Similarly the uniqueness of his Annals lies in his own philosophic vision of history and the mode of historiography he adopted.

It needs to be emphasized that Tod's vision of history was essentially different from that of his contemporaries in India and England. There were already a number of histories of India in circulation. Penant Thomas's The view of Hindostan (1798), Robert Orme's History of Hindostan (1805) James Mill's History of British India (1817), and Edward Thronton's India, Its State and Prospect (1830) were some of the pioneering works read and admired by Tod's age. These historians were the servants of the East India company and their on the spot study of India could be used by the company to assess its trade prospects. They were thus analytical in approach and utilitarian in aim. Even a contemporary like Grant Duff in the neighbouring Maharashtra did not use Tod's

methodology and was quite analytical in his The History of the Marathas³ (1826). In England too the scenario had changed. There was a reaction against the falsification of historical events and personages in historical novels. This made a new generation of writers more careful about history. The result was that historical fiction in the 1830s began to assume a new shape. A handful of writers, all of them formal historians in one capacity or other, started a new type of historical fiction which answered the demands of the new generation, historically more aware than the early Victorians. "They did so in the easiest and most logical manner, one which would suggest itself naturally to men and women accustomed to work as historians. They all emphasized the historical aspect of the genre at the expense of the fictive and wrote as historians rather than romancers. For them the historical romance became a vehicle for the popularisation and commercialization of the most recent findings of historical research... The historical novel in their hands became a vehicle for the exegesis of a historical period, an exegesis from the standpoint of historian, not a romancer" (Simons 296). This movement was an indication of the mood of the times, a shift from fictive history towards authentic history. On account of the changing currents of public opinion the 19th century England became an arena for various types of

historians and histories. It saw the rise and fall of historical romancers (Grand, Ainsworth, Lytton),
 • historian novelists (Mortineau, Howard, Macfarlane), professional historians (Turner, William, Mill) and light historians (Macaulay, Carlyle, Froude). James Tod, obviously, cannot be classified among any of the above groups. Yet Tod answers to Carlyle's idea of a historian. According to James C. Simons, "Carlyle wished to reinstate the historian as the teller of tales whose finished works, reconstructing the past in the most graphic, dramatic and detailed manner possible permitted the reader to experience history and to be made contemporary with facts acquiring them with the ingenious spirit of contemporary" (298-99).

Like Carlyle and Macaulay, Tod looked upon history as an adjunct to belles letters rather than a science. As Tod himself attests, "before fiction began to engross the attention of the poets or rather before the province of history was dignified by a class of writers who made it a distinct department of literature the functions of the bard were doubtless employed in recording real events and in commemorating real personages" (qtd. in Crookie VII).

— A bard can very well play the dual role of the historian and litterateur; a chronicler as well as entertainer. This twin role of the historian seems to have appealed to

his imagination. So when confronted with a history stretching from pre-historic times, a culture embedded in endless mass of rituals and customs and a literature orally transmitted from generation to generation, Tod chose the most obvious and the most natural form of historic transcription, the bardic tradition dead in Europe but still alive in Rajasthan. Tod's vision of history too corresponded to his idea of the bardic historian. Historical authenticity, fastidious documentation and professional knowledge are but secondary to the aesthetic enjoyment, panoramic vision of humanity and moral sympathy that history offers. In his introduction to the second volume of the Annals Tod makes it explicit. "Whatever novelty the enquirer into the origins of nations may find in these pages, I am ambitious to claim for them a higher title than a mass of mere archeological 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 and I may hope that the personal qualities herein delineated will allow the labourer in this vast field of philosophy to enlarge his sphere of acquaintance with human variation" (qtd. in Crookie IXVII).

In short, the twin roles of the bard and the chronicler are inscribed in the text of Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan⁽⁶⁾. At the deeper level the text

combines the two modes of historiography, the annalistic and the romantic. Both these modes or schools of history had ceased to be major trends in Tod's time. In his choice he was thus guided by the earlier traditions of European historiography though in his own motherland the annalistic and romantic modes were already out of favour. The chief influence on the English historical scene of those days was that of Hume, Robertson and above all of Gibbon. These thinkers dissolved the distinction between history and fiction, a theory on which earlier thinkers such as Bayle and Voltaire had based their historical enterprise. Similarly the rationalist leaders of Enlightenment had ruled out the use of legends, myths and fable for reconstructing the past. Historiography was in the process of harmonizing erudition with the contemplation of the philosophical historian. As Denys Hay remarks in his work 'Annalists and Historians', "With Hume, Robertson and above all with Gibbon the erudition of the Seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was to be welded to the exposition of the historian so that the discipline of historical research that we are familiar with in the ~~canonical works~~ of the nineteenth century was established" (184). Tod, if we are to judge from his references, was greatly influenced by Hume, Gibbon, Hallam, Mallet, Montesquieu and D'Anville. He followed their spirit of erudition rather than their format of a philosophical design

in history. In his craft, as his title indicates, he was closer to the great annalists of the eighteenth century Mabillon, Tillemont and Muratori. The annalists were more authentic and less prejudiced than the other groups. In the opinion of Hayden White,

As a form of historical representation, the annals represented an advance in critical consciousness over the work of the great confessional historians (such as Foxe) and the great ethnographers (such as Las Casas). The annalists sought to rise above the prejudices and party biases of a historiography with religious disputes and racial conflicts in mind. ... But in the end they were able to provide only the materials out of which a true history must be written, not true histories themselves (59-60).

James Tod was quite aware of the limitations of the annalistic mode. He makes it explicit on more than one occasion. In his introduction to the first volume of the Annals he remarks almost apologetically;

I should observe, that it never was my intention to treat the subject in the severe style of history, which would have excluded many details useful to the politician as well as to the curious student. 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 (XX).

Here it is amply clear that as a collector of Rajputana's legends, myths, folklore, and oral history Tod's instinct does not allow him to disregard materials which some other historian would have easily left-out. The same idea is reiterated in his introduction to the second volume, wherein he says, "that it professes not to be constructed on exact historical principles; non historia, sed particulae historiae" (qtd. in Crookle XIX).

The particulars of Rajput history such as the geneology of its tribes, lineage of its kings, etymology of names, details of feudal and social customs, insight into rituals as well as religious practices and above all, the personal narrative of the author are bound to test the endurance of most modern readers. Tod, however, had a definite design behind his scheme; his paradigm of the history of Rajputana. Here he follows a synchronic or static structure and aims at a panoramic or pictorial reconstruction of the past. The barren facts point towards the genesis of a race, its evolution through the ages, and its inherent weaknesses and strengths. This in turn forms the backdrop for Tod's dramatization of Rajput history, the vicissitudes of its fortune down the centuries. Thus, as Nietzsche says in his Use and Abuse of History,

Creatively antiquarian history engenders a respect for origins, it is like the feelings of the tree that clings to its roots, the

happiness of knowing one's growth to be not merely arbitrary and fortuitous but the inheritance, the fruit and the blossom, of a past that does not merely justify but crown the present - this is what we now a days prefer to call the real historical sense (qtd. in White 350).

In the light of Nietzsche's remarks, one might venture to say that in the overall design of Tod's history, the annalistic trend counterbalances the romantic and as such the two contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the Rajput culture.

The aim of this study is to evaluate the romantic or fictional aspects of the Annals. This involves a study of the fictional techniques employed by Tod in romanticizing the past. In other words, how does Tod use historical facts, personages, philosophy of history and language - historic content and artistic form - to weave his tales. Modern thinkers have advanced the view that there is a mode of thought called "historical" and it can be transcribed either into fictive structures or factual statements. Continental European thinkers like Valery, Heidegger, Sartre, Levistrauss and Foucault have stressed the fictive character of historical reconstructions. Anglo-American philosophers, on the other hand, have stressed the epistemological status and cultural function of historical thinking. One may safely conclude that historiography is neither a rigorous science nor a genuine art. Hayden White who has made a comprehensive study of historical

imagination comes to the conclusions that "historical work represents an attempt to mediate among the historical field, the unprocessed historical record, other historical accounts and an audience" (5). The historian's success depends upon his successful mediation. The all time favourite historians, ancients like Thucydides and Tacitus and moderns like Gibbon are the ones who could successfully mediate among their respective historical field, resource materials and their audience. In brief, they are men who could dramatize or fictionalize history.

Colonel Tod in assimilating Rajput figures and events to Eurocentric typology, is writing a different sort of history from Hayden White, Foucault et al. They by using fictional techniques monumentalize history but they also move across several enunciatory modalities which include besides history, religion, economics, social theory, political theory, statistical records and so on. Tod on the other hand, seems to fictionalize history without offering discourse analysis. As such he conforms to A.B. Hart's idea of the dramatic historian.

To Hart's way of thinking, the scientific historian and the picturesque historian were plainly inferior to the dramatic historian. For the scientific historian contented himself with presenting facts; and the picturesque historian contented himself with presenting striking facts; but the dramatic historian contented himself with nothing less than transmuting 'the lifeless lead of the annals into the shining gold of the historian (Ausubel 130).

To a very large extent this notion can be applied to Tod who presented the chief events and characters of the Rajput history in a diachronic or processional process, in a dramatic reconstruction of the past. At least in parts, Tod's Annals possesses a genuine vigour and moves forward with a powerful sweep characteristic of high drama. Rani Padmini, for example, has the aura of Penelope; Krishna Kumari who was sacrificed at the altar of rivalry between two lusty suitors is the Indian version of Iphigenia and Rana Pratap has the halo of an oriental Ulysses who had to steer the fortunes of a tiny but proud state through a sea of troubles. This sort of history is typographical. It dehistoricizes events and assimilates them into universal archetypes.

The above examples undoubtedly show that Tod fictionalized history. The central question to be answered here is how did he manage to do it? How does any historian, for that matter, fictionalize the bare facts of the past? Hayden White's 'Metahistory' offers valuable insights into the historian's imaginative response to historic material and his methodology of fictionalization. According to White the process of fictive reconstruction begins with the process of prefiguration or conceptualization of a set of historical events :


In order to figure 'what really happened' in the past, therefore, the historian must first prefigure as a possible object of knowledge the whole set of events reported in the documents. This prefigurative act is poetic in as much as it is precognitive and precritical in the economy of the historian's own consciousness. It is also poetic in so far as it is constitutive of the structure that will subsequently be imaged in the verbal model offered by the historian as a representation and explanation of 'What really happened in the past'. ... In the poetic act which preceeds the formal analysis of the field, the historian both creates his object of analysis and pre-determines the modality of the conceptual strategies he will use to explain it (30-31).

Prefiguration of the whole set of events in a particular historical field evolves a kind of comprehensive visualization. White holds the view that the theory of tropes can provide us with tentative models for structuring historical imagination in a given period of its evolution. The pendulum of historical imagination is seen to be oscillating from metaphor to irony. Consequently the vision of the historian can be either representational (metaphoric), or reductionist (metonymic), or integrative (synechdochical) or negational (ironic). According to White Croce, saw history in the ironic mode, Marx saw it in the metonymic mode and Nietzsche viewed it from the metaphoric angle. Tod stops at the poetic act and does not go on to complete the task set by White of "formal analysis of field." He is metaphoric rather than metonymic but his

metaphors are poetic and figural. They do not resonate to the dynamics of socio-economic forces.

Once the poetic or the fictive act of prefiguration is effected, the historian is able to emplot his historical material or chronicle it in accordance with any one of the four archetypal plot structures namely romance, tragedy, comedy and satire. Emplotment is the process by which a sequence of events is fashioned into a story, a particular kind of story. The historian has to deal with a chaotic mass of barren and pregnant facts; his bricks and mortar to build a historical mansion of his own choice. He does so by grouping some facts in the foreground and others in the background, and by subordinating minor and accessory facts to a central theme. As Carl L. Becker says in "Everyman His own Historian" ;

Left to themselves the facts do not speak; left to themselves they do not exist, not really since for all practical purposes there is no fact until someone affirms it. The least the historian can do with any historical fact is to select and affirm it. To select and affirm even the simplest complex of facts is to give them a certain place in a certain pattern of ideas, and this alone is sufficient to give them a special meaning. However 'hard' or 'cold' they may be historical facts are after all not material substances which like bricks or scantlings, possess definite shape and clear, persistent outline. To set forth historical facts is not comparable to dumping a barrow of bricks (qtd. in Ausubel 179-80).

Tod  does not "dump" his materials but exercises his choice in the selection of details, events and personages. From among the numerous myths, legends and folklore of Rajasthan, Tod chooses elements, pregnant facts of particular kind to weave a particular kind of story about the Rajputs which shows them as a noble and chivalrous race. In the process he leaves out or subordinates many of the less inspiring characteristics and events. When White or Foucault use fictionalizing techniques the veracity of factual events is not undermined. They are merely treated as fictional structures. In Tod, however, there is a willingness to accept hearsay and materials of legend as though these were historically documented facts.

The transformation of these historical or non-historical material into a linear story is effected through motific characterization, that is, arrangement of materials in terms of minor or major motifs. When the events have been motifically encoded they become a story and the chronicle of events is thus transformed into a completed diachronic process. From this point of view, the historian also "invents" his stories, gives a special colouring to the events and personages from the hoary past. In the opinion of Hayden White, "the same event can serve as different kind of element of many different historical

stories, depending on the role it is assigned in a specific motific characterization of the set to which it belongs" (7). To take an instance from the 'Annals', the death of Krishna Kumari - a true historical event can be looked upon as an example of misguided Rajput chivalry or inhuman obstinacy on the part of the rival suitors; weak-kneed diplomacy or outright cowardice on the part of her father. To Tod, however, it is a shining example of the Rajput sense of honour and sacrifice. This shows how Tod disregards other competing modalities and interprets events in terms of chivalric codes. The story of Sadoo and Korumdevi is almost similar but to Tod, however, its message or theme is totally different. Korumdevi, though betrothed to Irrinkowal, the heir of Mundore, falls in love with Sadoo of Poogul, the son of a petty chief, for "she loved him for the dangers he had passed" (qtd. in Annals 1:498). After the nuptials, on his return journey, Sadoo is challenged by Irrinkowal. A series of duels take place. In the final combat, inspite of his beloved's encouragement and assurance, Sadoo is struck down. Tod continues the story in his inimitable style :

Korumdevi, at once a virgin, a wife and a widow, prepared to follow her affianced. Calling for a sword, with one arm she dissevered the other, desiring it might be conveyed to the father of her lord - 'tell him such was his daughter'. The other she commanded to be struck off, and given with her

marriage jewels thereon, to the bard of Mohils. The pile was prepared on the field of the battle; and taking her lord in her embrace, she gave herself upto the devouring flames (Annals 1:499).

Tod emplots this event around the twin motifs of "romantic chivalry of the Rajput and the influence of the Fair in the formation of character" (Annals 1:498). Thus the valency of any event or set of events depends upon the motific characterization it receives from the historian.

It seems to me that White's characterization of the synechdochical mode indicates an emplotment similar to Tod's in so far as a singular event is assimilated to the mode of an overarching romance. The early romances of France, Spain and England as well as the historical romances of Sir Walter Scott were built around love, intrigue, chivalry and adventure, often set against an environment of aristocratic culture. These characteristics of romance are quite evident in the text of the Annals particularly in the annals of Mewar and Marwar. Consequently Tod's style tends to be more and more of a historical novelist rather than that of a mere historian. His choice of critical or ennobling events, flamboyant characters, easy flow of language punctuated with humour, wit and irony and his descriptions of breath-

taking scenes make history read like a thrilling story. Rana Pratap's exploits for example, speed with all the impetuosity of a romance. His heroic fight with Salim and Raja Maun, his flight and his eventual protection by his brother Suktta have all the elements of a historical romance. Even his horse "Chetak" comes alive in the narrative. Then there are the exploits of Prithviraj and Soorajmool which read like the adventures of the knights of the Round Table. The story of Ood Singh and his faithful nurse Punna who sacrifices her own child for his sake has all the qualities of a historic thriller. In short, there are epic struggles between internal and external forces, at times Manichean or Hegelian. There are individual tragedies of men and women. There are more reverses than victories. Yet through it all the Rajput race emerges triumphant, upholding its honour, its valour and its nobility. The individuals are but knights who uphold these ideals or die in their cause. Bheemsi, for instance, along with his sons and nobles perishes on the battle field but Rajput valour and chivalry live on. Rani Padmini and her companions are swallowed by the flames of "geur". Yet the honour and purity of the Rajput women emerge unscathed from the ordeal. Krishna Kumari and Rajput beauties like her are sacrificed at the altar of expediency and still the grace and nobility of the Rajput virgin remain unsullied. In a synecdochical

vision Tod sees these individuals and their heroic sacrifices as elements that sustain the integrity of the whole race.

The Romantic emplotment implies a variety of fictional devices such as characterization, dialogues and descriptions which are not usually found in straight forward historical narratives. Characters do figure in histories and very often history is nothing but the story of the rise and fall of great men who guide the destinies of peoples and nations. Tod's heroes and heroines are not historical types but real personages from actual history yet they seem to be acting out a collective chivalric tradition. What Tod does is to introduce them as though each one of them were a "personal acquaintance of the writer." Furthermore there is no difference in the way the contemporary and the historical figures are described. Those whom he knew as a political agent and those he reads or heard about are presented in the same vividness of perception. This is evident in Tod's appraisal of two Rajput princes Juggat Singh ~~belonging to the~~ seventeenth century and Javan Sing with ~~whom~~ Tod had close contacts as political agent :

Juggat Sing was a highly respected prince, and did much to efface the remembrance of the rude visitations of the Moghuls. The dignity of his character, his benevolence of address and personal demeanour, secured the homage of all who had access to him, and are alike attested by the pen of the emperor, the ambassador of England and the chronicle of Mewar (Annals 1:297).

One might contrast this with Tod's first impression of the prince Javan Sing who came to Nathdwara to receive the English Mission :

His bearing was courteous and dignified ; indeed it might have been said of him as Jahangir said of the son of Rana Umra that his countenance carried the impression of illustrious extraction (Annals 1:375).

Tod's subsequent impression of the Rana was far from satisfactory :

The Rana's character was little calculated to supply the deficiency of his officers. Though perfectly versed in the past history of his country and possessed by ability learning and sound judgement his powers were almost completely nullified by his weak points. Vain displays, frivolous amusements, and an ill-regulated liberality were all that occupied him; and so long as he could gratify these propensities, he trusted complacently to the exertions of others for the restoration of his authority (Annals 1:381).

Since a historical narrative by its very nature limits the scope for a full delineation of characters on the scale of fiction, historic personages are bound to appear as one dimensional or static. Yet Tod makes an effort to infuse individual and racial traits of the Rajputs into his characters both male and female only a few like Bappa, Rana Pratap, Rani Padmini and Soorajmool are fully developed as dynamic characters. The others are but statues in a historical museum; some noble, some ignoble but all static.

The particularity that we notice in Tod's characterization is that unlike other Anglo-Indian historians of his time he is impartial and unbiased though he does try to adjust his Rajput characters to the European chivalric paradigm. There was a personal reason for this kind of portrayal. Tod was content to live among the Rajputs as one of them, adopt the same traditions, cultivate the same enthusiasms and maintain the same attitudes. The personal and the general are fused in the fictional character and as such he or she becomes the embodiment of the most prominent traits of a particular people. While rendering a historical character as an embodiment of an age the writer interprets him as others would a fictional character. Lukacs in his Historical Novel⁰, stresses this idea :

The important thing for these great writers is to lay bare those vast, heroic human potentialities which are always latently present in the people, and which on each big occasion with every deep disturbance of the social or even the more personal life emerge suddenly with colossal force to the surface. The greatness of the crisis periods of humanity rests to a large extent on the fact that such hidden forces are always dormant in the people and that they require only the occasion for them to appear on the surface (56).

As far as the Rajputs were concerned this was very true. History for them had been a mass experience. The qualities of heroism, self-sacrifice, endurance and loyalty were their geneological traits. In periods of crisis they always came

to the fore. Tod's heroes and heroines remain true to this general picture of the Rajputs.

Tod also pictures several Rajputs who were traitors to their own blood. In his scheme of values they are the villains of the piece. With an insider's insight, he reveals the depth of shame to which they had fallen. Some Rajput houses had given their daughters to the Moghuls. Kingdoms like Marwar and Amber gained in importance and power and were transformed into satraps of Delhi through matrimonial exchanges. To the historian who looked at such alliances from the Rajput angle, they were clearly instances of racial pollution. Mewar alone refused to surrender the purity of the Rajput blood even at the cost of a terrible price. It was this racial pride which prompted Rana Pratap to tell Raja Maun, the most powerful of the Rajput princes of the time, "I cannot eat with a Rajput who has given his daughter to a Turk and who has probably eaten with him." (Annals 1:268) This insult Raja Maun could neither forgive nor forget and he made Rana Pratap pay for it dearly. Raja Maun turned out to be Pratap's bitterest enemy and he pursued him everywhere. He reduced him to misery yet could not break his will. Tod could very well understand and appreciate such racial pride and belief in the pure blood theory.

As hinted earlier Tod reveals an insider's insight into Rajput characters and affairs. His Scottish background had something to do with it. Like Walter Scott, he saw events and interpersonal relationships as understood in Scotland on a clan pattern. He fictionalizes the Rajputs and in the process transforms them into stereotypes on the Scottish model [redacted] with their blood feuds, their sense of honour and their vendetta. At times it leads to a simplification of character and loss of Indian substance. Such characters could be more readily understood by the Britishers. In this process the characters undergo a cultural transformation as well as fictional de-racination making them less Indian and more Scottish. Just as in the early Anglo-Indian paintings Indian forts tend to become European castles, Rajput Ranas become Scottish clansmen. If one glances at the drawings of forts and Rajputs in the first edition of the 'Annals' this Anglicization becomes quite evident.

An incident, [redacted] as narrated by Tod might make this Anglicization clearer. It was rumoured that at one moment of extreme crisis Rana Pratap thought of surrendering to Akbar. This somehow hurt the concealed pride of a Rajput in Prithwi Raj, Akbar's charioteer. Keeping in view his exo-cultural audience, Tod dramatizes the incident as follows.

"Prithwi Raj was one of the most gallant cavaliers of the age, and like the Troubadour princes of the West he could grace a cause with elegant verse as well as aid it with the sword" (Annals 1 : 273). The stirring couplets he sent to boost the drooping spirit of the Rana is rendered thus :

The hopes of the Hindu rest on the Hindu ;
yet the Rana forsakes them. But for Pratap
all would be placed on the same level by Akbar;
our chiefs have lost their valour and our females
their honour. Akbar is the broker in the market
of our race ; all he has purchased but the son
of Udai; he is beyond his price. Despair has
driven many to this market to witness their
dishonour ; from such infamy the descendant of
Hamir alone has been preserved. The world asks,
whence the concealed aid of Pratap? He has no
aid but the soul of manliness and his sword;
with them well has he maintained the Khatri's
pride. This broker in the market of men will
one day be over-reached; he cannot live for ever ;
then will our race come to Pratap for the seed
of Rajput to sow in our desolate fields. To him
all look for its preservation, that its purity
may again become resplendent. (Annals 1 : 273)

Evidently the passage builds a commercial analogy which is cleverly intend to alert the Rana of his status as a warrior who should not compromise his Rajput codes by embracing the commercial codes rooted in the ideology of bargain. Less evident perhaps is the fact that here Prithwi Raj- is transformed into a Cavalier poet who could weild both the sword and the pen with equal ease. Such transforation is not always the rule but there are instances enough which illustrate this aspect of Tod's approach to Rajput characters

and details of their life. Tod is less original when he uses anglicized expressions to qualify his characters' traits. To cite a few examples, Udai Sing was of uncommon bulk and hence he was called "mota raja" or "Udai le Gros." Rana Pratap killed a disobedient cowherd and hung him up "in terrorem," And curd is a dish which has a place in the dinner "carte" of every Rajput. Such expedients rob the persons, things and events of their Indian context.

Another fictional device that Tod has often recourse to is the use of dialogues quite in the manner of a historical novelist. Here one is reminded of Sir Walter Scott who uses dialogues with thrilling effect. Tod is no less effective in his selective use of the same especially when he wants to dramatize a critical event from the past. For instance the story of the self-immolation of Rani Padmini and the other Rajput ladies of Chitore and of Krishna Kumari obviously made a tremendous impact on Tod's imagination. Notice how he closes the sad account of the ill fated beauty whose hand was sought by two equally hot-headed rival princes, Jaggat Singh of Jaipore and Raja Maun of Marwar. The girl, resigned to her cruel fate, tries to console her afflicted mother :

Why afflict yourself, my mother at the shortening of the sorrows of life? I fear not to die. Am I not your daughter? We are marked out for sacrifice from our birth, we scarcely enter the world but to be sent out again. Let me thank my father that I have lived so long (Annals 1: 368-69).

The heroic nature of the Rajput women when faced with agonizing death is made evident in the case of Rani Padmini who along with all her retinue chose to perish in the flames rather than lose her honour and virtue at the hands of Alla-ud-din's cohorts. One of these brave women married to Gora who had laid down his life for his sovereign, asks Badal, her nephew, to relate how her lord had conducted himself. Tod quotes the lad's reply from Khoman Rasa :

'He was the reaper', the youth replied, 'of the harvest of battle. On the gory bed of honour he spread a carpet of the slain. A barbarian prince his pillow he had laid down, and he sleeps surrounded by the foe'. Again she said : 'Tell me Badal, how did my love behave?' 'O mother', said the lad, 'how further describe his deeds, when he left no foe to dread or admire him?' She smiled farewell to the boy, and adding 'my lord will chide my delay' sprang into the flames. (Annals 1 : 214)

Tod thus reenacts the tragic and glorious moments of the Rajput history for his audience abroad. Mere narration of a chronicler will not suffice his purpose of resurrectoring the lost glory of a noble race. So he revitalizes past events and personages employing narrative techniques that are reminiscent of Sir Walter Scott :

to awaken distant, vanished ages and enable us to live through them again he had to depict the concrete interactions between man and his social environment in the broadest manner. The inclusion of dialogue, thus is intimately linked with the attempt to portray historical reality as it actually was, so that it could be both humanly authentic and yet be relieveable by the reader of a later age (Lukacs 42).

The 'Annals' also contain many excellent descriptions of Rajput palaces, forts, lakes, festivals and historic scenes, some of which are historically relevant and some irrelevant. To quote or analyse even a few of them will be beyond the scheme of this study. Probably none of them can excel the description of the Lake Palace of Udaipur which creates an atmosphere almost similar to that of the 'Lotus Eaters'. Such a description can scarcely be found in any text of history unless the text in question belongs to the Romantic school of historiography. Udaipur was Tod's favourite city and the Lake Palace its centre of attraction. Tod describes it in lyrical terms :

Here (Lake Palace of Udaipur) they listened to the tale of the bard, and slept of their noonday opiate amid the cool breezes of the lake, wafting delicious odours from myriads of the lotus flower which covered the surface of the waters; and as the fumes of the potion evaporated, they opened their eyes on a landscape to which not even its inspirations could form an equal; the broad waters of the Peshola, with its indented and well-wooded margin receding to the terminating point of sight, at which the temple of Brimpoori opened on the pass of the gigantic Aravalli, the field of the exploits of their fore-fathers. Amid such scenes did the Sesodia princes and chieftains recreate during two generations exchanging the din of arms for voluptuous inactivity. (Annals 2;173)

In this brief study of a monumental work, which in itself should form a thesis, an attempt has been made to view Tod's masterpiece from the historical and fictional perspectives. The principal aim of the study however, has

been to evaluate it as an example of fictionalization of history. In conclusion one has to admit that the Annals does not lend itself to a simple definition. It is not a mere collection of annals nor is it a collection of myths and folktales. Though it exhibits certain qualities of the historical romance one cannot call it so. Similarly though it has all the characteristics of a scholarly historical document, in its totality we cannot accept it as one in the modern sense. Indirectly this is Robert Sencourt's conclusion when he says, "Tod's long romantic book is the labour of his love, a record of the highest value. A passionate interest in the stories and life of Rajputana raises his long researches to an almost poetic standard. Tod's Rajasthan is one of the most thorough of all histories dealing with India, full and exact in details, erudite, authoritative as it is, yet reads more like a romance than the sober work of a scholar" (416). To put it in other words, the Annals in its outward structure combines fictive and historical elements in an unequal synthesis. Nonetheless the imaginative structure it embodies and the fictional devices it employs clearly indicate that in Tod's case the fictional intent was dominant over the historical.

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Chapter II

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