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**The Magic of Prithviraj, Padmini and Pratap
in the Vernacular Imaginaire:
Revisiting the Interface of
Colonialism, Orientalism, and Nationalism**

by

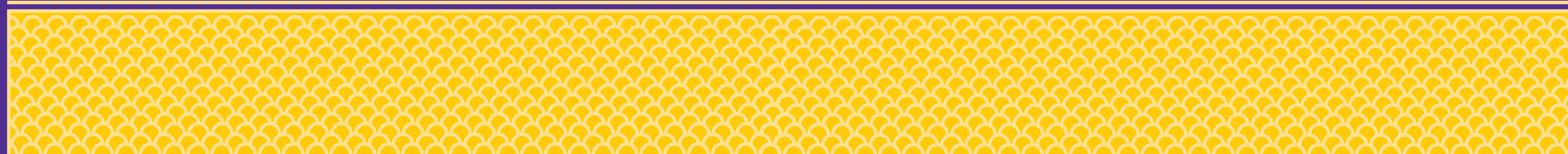
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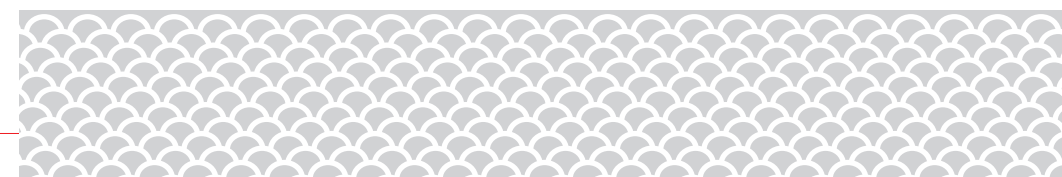
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Abstract

Few persons have had the kind of impact on the Indian popular nationalist imagination that scholar-administrator-colonialist James Tod (1782-1835) has had. Tod's words and images have echoed in prose and verse, been amplified in pamphlet and history and have resounded in theatre and podium. His has been a powerful, but essentially underestimated, influence. In an extraordinary afterlife Tod's writing has animated popular Indian nationalism through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He was among the first scholars who shifted Orientalist interest from the classical to the vernacular, from the written to the oral tradition, from the brahman to the bard. He made the three figures of Prithviraj, Padmini and Pratap iconic to the vernacular nationalist imaginary. Tod's work was inspirational to the literary modernity of several Indian languages including Bengali, Rajasthani, and Hindi. Ironically, although Tod's persona exemplified colonialism, it shaped powerfully the aesthetic of anti-colonial praxis and continues to inspire militant nationalist ideologies including that of the Visva Hindu Parishad. This paper examines afresh the relationship between colonialism, orientalism and nationalism.

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After his defeat by the Sultan Allauddin, the ruler of Mewar, Rana Bhim Singh, ponders the means where at least one of his sons might survive. A voice speaks “*main bhūkā hūn*” [“I am hungry”]. It is the guardian goddess of Chittor who is not satiated even by [the death of] his 8,000 kin and now demands twelve regal victims. She says, “If twelve who wear the diadem bleed not for Cheetore, the land will pass from the line” and then vanishes. The princes contend each wanting to become the first victim. After eleven have been killed, the Rana intends his self-sacrifice. But another awful sacrifice is to precede this act of self-devotion, in the *jauhar*, the rite through which females are immolated to preserve them from pollution or captivity (Tod 1, 213).

A near century later Abanindranath Tagore’s famous collection of children’s stories called *Rājkahānī* (1910) dramatically retells Alauddin’s siege of Chittor. The goddess appears before the Maharana Lakshman Singh and the room is filled with the fragrance of flowers and the sound of tinkling anklets. Lakshman Singh sees with amazement that it is the Goddess Chittor-Chittoreshwari Ubar Devi. He is paralysed with fear and a sense of wonder and devotion at this spectacular sight. The lamp drops from his hands as she says, “I am hungry. I am hungry for blood. My thirst will be quenched only with blood. Maha Rana, rise and awake. Sacrifice your blood for your Motherland. Quench my thirst with the blood of Rajput heroes. Every Rajput must make a great sacrifice for Chittor or else the great Surya Vamsa will never be able to retrieve the throne of Chittor from the Pathans” (Tagore 2006, 53-54).

Tod’s images have reverberated in prose and verse and been amplified in pamphlet and histories. Indeed, few persons have had the kind of impact on the Indian popular nationalist imagination that James Tod (1782-1835) has had.¹ His has been a powerful, but essentially underestimated, influence. In an extraordinary afterlife Tod’s writing animated popular Indian nationalism through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He was among the first scholars who shifted Orientalist interest from the classical to the vernacular, from the written to oral traditions, from the brahman to the bard. Three figures whom Tod wrote about—Prithviraj, Padmini and Pratap—captured the nationalist imaginary.

¹Revised text of a talk held at the India International Centre on 11 November 2008.

They became “Hindu” figures confronting respectively three “Muslim” ones, namely, the Ghurid Sultan, Shahabuddin Ghori (twelfth century); the Delhi Sultan, Alauddin Khilji (fourteenth century); and Akbar, the Mughal Emperor (sixteenth century). Tod’s work was inspirational to the literary modernity of several Indian languages including Bengali, Rajasthani, and Hindi. Ironically, although Tod’s persona exemplified colonialism, it continues to shape powerfully the life of popular Indian nationalism.

It is important then to look at James Tod’s life approximately two centuries later because of two themes where Tod’s life impinges on our present. First, because of the phenomenal impact of Tod’s writing, which indicates the making of the “popular.” Second, in terms of the recent debate on Empire. Niall Ferguson in his earlier book, *Empire: The rise and demise of the British world order and the lessons for global power* (2003) argued that British imperialism must be a model for the American. In *Colossus: The Price of America’s Empire*, he argues that America must assume responsibilities as a global power and not be a reluctant empire. The world hopes, of course, that Barack Obama’s electoral victory will help dismantle the Empire! But Tod’s life’s work reveals the immense sophistication of the Pax Britannica compared with the Pax Americana of our times.

Before proceeding one needs to emphasize the distinction made in some of the literature between different *kinds* of nationalism. Gandhi and Nehru represented a dominant strand of Indian nationalist thought and practice in colonial and post-colonial India. Although they differed on many questions both stood for more inclusivist models of Indian nationalism, cognizing Indian diversity and seeking to incorporate the lowest castes, women and minorities. But there were a series of overlapping publics more influenced by a subterranean popular nationalism oriented to Muslim otherness. This was a cultural consciousness that was suppressed by the nationalism of Nehru, Gandhi and Rammanohar Lohia but, nonetheless, held sway within both the Congress party and the country. It is a popular wellspring that is currently being drawn upon by right-wing organisations like the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP).

One of the burning questions in contemporary India today is where images of the Muslim Other and Hindu Self are coming from? Is it from some datum of Indian pasts involving memories of the Turk, Afghan, Mongol/Mughal, military defeats

and desecration of temples and deities? An ultra-nationalist line of argument would have one believe this. But where is the idea of the Muslim qua fanatic derived from? To answer this question is to track an entangled genealogy of imperialism, nationalism and orientalism. While the colonial sources of communalism have been examined, less attention has been paid to the precise registers of translation. The life and work of James Tod (1782-1835) gives us one set of clues. James Tod combined in himself the many aspects of the Pax Britannica intimating the shaping of colonial power that enabled colonial state formation. His career began with a cadetship in the East India Company when he arrived in Bengal in March 1799. As cartographer for twelve years he was involved with the first modern mapping of northern India and the early activity of what would grow into the Survey of India. His maps provided the basis for the British campaign and victory against the Marathas. He moved on to play a role that was military, political and diplomatic in negotiating treaties with the Indian States and in ensuring the expansion and fiscal stability of the Company Raj. Tod became Captain in 1813, then Second Assistant to the Resident at Sindhia's Court and the first Political Agent to the Western Rajput States in 1818 shortly after the treaties with the Rajputana states had been signed. He was given charge of the independent kingdoms of Jodhpur, Jaipur, Kotah, Bundi and Jaisalmer. Growing differences with his supervisor, David Ochterlony, led to his being forced to retire from the East India Company and departure from India to England. He worked here as the first librarian of the Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland till his death in 1835.

Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han* (1832) is one of the first examples of colonial ethnography and historiography, two particularly important genres of colonial writing. The volumes, first published in 1829 and 1832, were an important exercise in comparative history, bringing Indian (Rajput) and European feudalism into symmetric relation. Many of the images of Indian castes and tribes such as of the predatory Pindari (Afghan), the rapacious Maratha, the violent Turk, the heroic Rajput, the wild Mer (Merat/Rawat/Chita), the savage Koli and Bhil were first crystallised in his writing. Medieval Indian history is seen in terms of a virtual faultline between Hindus and Muslims. Tod's *Travels in western India* (1839) belongs to a third very important colonial genre of the travelogue. He is one of the founders then of the architectonic vision of the Pax Britannica with its multiple genres of cartography, historiography, ethnography, travel-writing and its practices of collection, museumification, archiving and cataloguing.

Two centuries after Tod's arrival in India an evaluation of his influence and through it a fresh understanding of Indian modernity is clearly overdue. This exploration is into the archaeology of contemporary Indian selfhood. It reopens the discussion on imperialism and orientalism, especially in view of the Raj nostalgia literature, seeking to cognize native agency through an inter-textual understanding of nationalism.

The Context: Enlightenment, Orientalism and Romanticism

James Tod was a product of the Enlightenment. Scholars of the Scottish Enlightenment such as David Hume, John Millar and Adam Smith left a deep impress on Tod. From Edward Gibbon he derived the idea of stages in the course of realising "civilisation" that he cites in "Sketch of the feudal system in Rajasthan." Tod's cultural imagination, however, seems to have been shaped by Sir Walter Scott who had invented the historical novel, a genre that had a deep influence on writers like Jane Austen, Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot and Anthony Trollope (Rudolph 2003). Scott's novels presented history as a series of "culture wars" of Frank versus Saracen, Jew versus Christian, Norman versus Saxon, Scotsman versus Englishman, Presbyterian versus Episcopalian. Tod's own Scottish background and the Victorian historian, Henry Hallam, defined his approach to feudalism. Hallam's *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages* (1818) was a best seller of its times in the western world.²

Romanticism had an even deeper impress on Tod.³ Halbfass (1988) and Bernal (1987) remark on the search for origins, especially racial ones, as an aspect of this project, which became a "quest for the original, infant state of the human race, for the lost paradise of all religions and philosophies." It was a move to the childhood of man, with the Orient being the innocent, pure, infantile state till it achieved adolescence and adulthood in Hellenic and Roman culture (Freitag 2001). Europe had during its "Renaissance" invented for itself the imagined community of the Hellenic Greeks. Byron who was Scot had even gone to support the Greeks in their War of Independence (1821-29) against the Ottoman Empire. Byron and Shelley iconicised ancient Greek classicism and the Ottoman Turk became (an) other, defined by violence and "oriental despotism." By a curious irony the word "Turk" had come to be synonymous with Muslim, ignoring the fact that the ancestors of the Ottoman Turks had been zealous Christians (Mingana 1925). Tod's first view of the

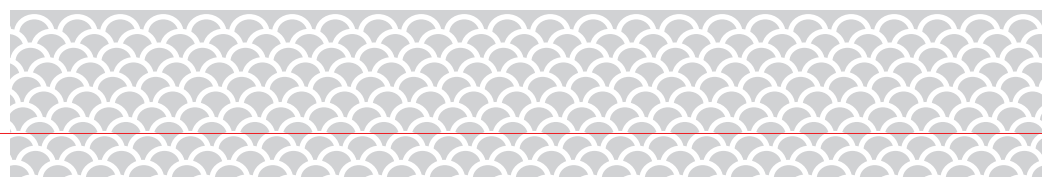
Ajmer fort “where the first Rajpoot blood which the arms of conversion shed” comes with the lyrical image of Byron’s *Childe Harold*.

Romanticism frames Tod’s perspective on young death in battle, identified as gloriously sacrificial. Rajputs are often assimilated to the Greeks as when the Mughal army sacks Chittor in 1568 and the Rajput queen “like the Spartan mother of old” commands her teenage son to don a “saffron robe.” The military defeat ends in the women’s collective self-immolation, the rite of *jauhar* and the death of 8,000 Rajputs as they refuse to surrender. Elsewhere Tod refers to Rana Pratap’s struggle against the Mughals as that of the Greeks against the Ottomans and of the ancient Spartans against the Persians.

There was a close relation between Tod’s romanticism and orientalism. The term Orientalism has come into currency with the writing of Said (1978) focusing on Europe’s construction of the Islamic Orient. Said acknowledges that the antecedents of this “constitutive otherness” go back to Christian perspectives on the Middle Ages, but he does not really distinguish between its pre and post-Enlightenment phases. The later writing on Orientalism, including by Inden, has sought to rectify the charge of essentialism (1986; Chadhand). Breckenridge and van der Veer identify orientalism in the postcolonial present (1993). Van der Veer argues that it orients both national and transnational processes (1993). Said identifies a reproduction of British and French Orientalism in post-World War II American Orientalism. But there are obvious dramatic departures. American Orientalism often appears as area studies. For a certain period a red fear dominated and the East meant Russia and China until the return to Islamophobia came with the Iranian Revolution in 1979 (Mamdani 2004; Nasr 2000). A further moment of Orientalism has commenced with the collapse of the World Trade Center twin towers. The identification of the Muslim as terrorist inaugurated what political theorist, Douglas Lummis, conceptualizes as the idea of the terrorist as a new human type (nd).⁴ The animosity to the Muslim continues through these various phases of Orientalism, pre and post-Enlightenment and post-11 September.

Tod belongs to a period in which colonial power was becoming formative for the construction of both Hinduism and Islam. The architecture of Orientalism included both Islamology and Indology. Hindu knowledge was seen as subsuming branches of poetry, philosophy and history. Charles Wilkins, Sir William Jones, Henry

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Colebrooke, Alexander Dow delved into Sanskrit texts including the epics and dharmasastras unravelling the “classical” period of ancient Indian civilisation. H.H. Wilson and James Prinsep followed in the first half of the nineteenth century. With Tod’s *Annals*, Malcolm’s *Memoir of Central India* (1823) and Duff’s *History of the Mahrattas* (1921) comes another arena of linguistic competence, in the regional and the vernacular. Let us turn, however, to explore Tod’s impact on the vernacular imaginaire.

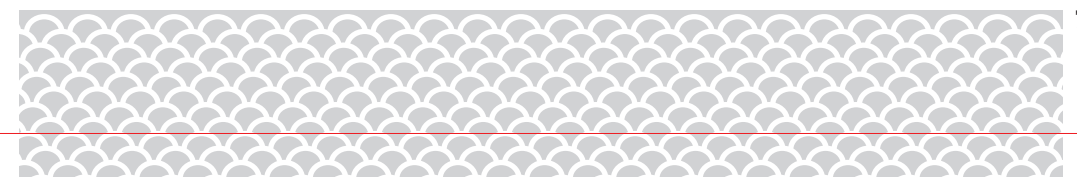
Life of a Chronicle: *Annals* and the Making of Popular Indian Nationalism

In 1829 Tod published at his own expense the first part of *Annals* that became an instant hit (Tod 1983; Head and Archer 1991: 107-9).⁵ The volumes comprise a dense text with certain central themes including Tod’s reflections on Indian history (or its lack); on bardic traditions and folklore as sources of history; and his construction of Rajput identity as a contrastive identity to that of the Muslim. Tod’s framing of the Hindu-Muslim relation in terms of the European experience of religious communities had a profound impact. His making available of a “vernacular” to reading publics, particularly in Bengal, contributed to a efflorescence in literary production. This was grounded in the image of Rajput/Hindu/Indian heroism, a masculine virility in the past made available for the future.

The *Annals* was translated into many languages and had a deep and lasting impact on the articulation of nationalism.⁶ Both the English and later Bengali editions of *Annals* had a profound impact on Bengali’s literary modernity. Shiv Kumar’s *Banglā sāhitya main Rajasthān* (1989, 1991) traces the trajectory of Tod’s impact on Bangla and through Hindi onto Rajasthani. He asks how Bengal, a thousand kilometers away, was so influenced by the *vīra* and *vīrāṅganās* (heroes and heroines) of Rajasthan? Shiv Kumar maintains that Tod gave a new direction to the Indian Renaissance or awakening (*navjāgaran*).

Over a hundred narrative texts published between 1858 and 1920 drew their raw material from a single work feeding into Swami Vivekananda’s statement that about two thirds of ideas about nationalism current in modern Bengal are derived from Tod’s work. Bengal was most profoundly influenced because the *Annals* filled a demand to historicize, a newly awakened hunger for history, Mukherjee points

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out, referring to *itihāsa-bubhukshā*, a term coined by Rabindranath Tagore. To have history was to have masculinity and self-respect countering the subjugation entailed in Bakhtiar Khilji's supposed conquest of the entire Bengal suba with a mere seventeen soldiers (for details see Mukherjee 2008). Among Bengali literary genres Tod's impact was less on poetry and mostly on theatre. The creative imagination of each writer, however, invests in the Tod-inspired story her own narrative, language, and imagery. Here we recover from the Oriental an active subjectivity. The following sections plot the representation of the *Annals* in relation to three figures, Prithviraj, Padmini and Pratap, and examine how they were animated in the different literary genres of the Indian vernaculars. It is particularly important to mark Tod's prose as his work is mined by Indians in much the same way as Europe used Greek epic poetry.

On Prithviraj

The Chauhan Rajputs were for Tod the most valiant of all the Rajput fire clans and of "the whole Rajpoot race" and the last creation of the Brahmins to fight their battles against infidelity (1, 79-80, 574). Manika Rai is said to be the first ruler to oppose Islam as he put up the "strongest resistance" to Mahmud of Ghaznavi, and was slain when Muslims conquered the Gangetic plain. Guga, the Chauhan, also fell along with forty seven "sons" while defending the passage of the Sutlej against Mahmud's invasion. Another Chauhan ruler, Bisaldeva, is claimed to have headed a confederacy of Hindu kings and chased the descendants of Mahmud from Hindustan.

Most dramatically there was the "Ulysses of Rajast'han, [and] the brave Samarsi, who fell with 13,000 of his kindred." This was Prithviraj "the last of the Hindu emperors of India" who was valorous despite being defeated and blinded. He is the model of every Rajput who "seven times captured the sultan [Shahabuddin Ghori], and seven times released him" (Tod 1, 79, 574, 607-8). Tod's text for the Turk-Rajput encounter is the *Prthvīrāj rāsau*, a "universal history of the period" authored by Chand, the "last great bard of the last Hindu emperor of India," (1, 57n). The lyric poem is no longer a bardic text arising from an oral tradition but part of a larger corpus of "national works on history" that disappeared in the convulsions that

followed Mahmud of Ghaznavi's invasion. What else could one expect, Tod writes, after "eight centuries of galling subjection to conquerors totally ignorant of the classical language of the Hindus; after almost every capital city had been repeatedly stormed and sacked by barbarous, bigoted and exasperated foes..." (Tod 1, xiv).

After Shahabuddin Ghori's victory over Prithviraj "scenes of devastation, plunder, and massacre commenced, which lasted through [the] ages; during which nearly all that was sacred in religion or celebrated in art was destroyed by these ruthless and barbarous invaders.... Every road in Rajast'han was moistened with torrents of blood of the spoiler and spoiled." "Rajast'han exhibits the sole example in the history of mankind, of a people withstanding every outrage barbarity can inflict, or human nature sustain, from a foe whose religion commands annihilation." The Rajputs are contrasted to the Britons who succumbed to the Danes and Normans. The Chauhan capital of Ajmer has been for too long, Tod asserts, "the haunt of Mughals and Pathans, the Goths and Vandals of Rajasthan." In his account the much greater violence of English colonialism is rendered benign since "the cross of St George" is "planted not for the purpose of conquest, or to swell the revenues of British India, but to guard the liberties and the laws of these ancient principalities from rapine and disorder" (1, 594).

Several literary works reiterate Tod's construction of the encounter between Prithviraj and Ghori. The periodisation of Indian history follows with the "Aryan age," the original golden age, "*mirrored faithfully*" in the Vedas, Brahmanas, the epics and the Sastras.... Decadence follows with Prithviraj Chauhan's defeat by Ghori (Chandra 1992).

Bhartendu Harishchandra (1850-85) is a canonical figure who has been described as the father of Hindi literature. He belonged to an affluent *baniya* family of Banaras and is associated with the idea that the nation has a single language. Bhartendu recast drama framed by a nationalist historiography that drew substantially upon Orientalist knowledge. Muslim rule was identified with the defeat of Prithviraj and the earlier desecration of Somnath. Bhartendu writes of the natives possessing a rich and fertile imagination of being "imperceptibly transposed to the India of Prithviraj and...[the] dream of the Chouhan carrying off the princess of Kanouge..." In a celebrated public speech at Ballia (1884) Bhartendu recounts the dramatic moment of Prithviraj's capture by the Ghors when,

someone told Shahabuddin's brother, Ghyasuddin, that he was accomplished at aiming arrows at a sound. A gathering was called one day, and seven iron shields placed in position to be broken by arrows. Prithviraj had already been blinded and was told that at Ghyasuddin's command, he should shoot at the shields [which would be sounded]. Chand was also a prisoner along with Prithviraj and recited this verse: The arrow that is strung now, may be the last you string: "Let the Chauhan not err: one arrow, one target."

Prithviraj understood the poet's words, and when Ghyasuddin gave the signal by a sound, Prithviraj shot Ghyasuddin with his arrow. The bardic lyric is imbued with historical consciousness to suggest that the Hindu-Rajput heroism of Prithviraj lies in killing the invader (Bhatnagar et al 2005).

Bhartendu had read considerable Bengali literature, particularly the work of Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay (personal communication, Frances Bhattacharya, Paris, April 2006). In Bhartendu's telling the story of Prithviraj's revenge becomes an allegorical representation of the progress of India, which could be achieved under colonial rule in the light of a reformed tradition. The antiquity of a Hindu regional kingdom is traced to the Sisodiyas of Mewar.⁷ Bhartendu's contemporary, Radhacharan Gosvami (1859-1923) identifies Aryans as ancient inhabitants of the country who ruled till Prithviraj after which the country came under Muslim and British rule (1990). He valorizes British rule for returning its stability and sovereignty that offset the darkness that set in after Prithviraj. Gosvami's play, *Bhārat mein yavan rāj*, refers to Muslims as *mlechha* and *yavana* who killed cows, butchered children, defiled temples, raped women and robbed people. Vamadev thanks the Englishman for uprooting their raj. Gosvami claims that Hindus never fought Musalmans without being provoked (Chandra 1986). Sudhir Chandra highlights the ambivalence of Hindi writing involving the coexistence of nationalism and communalism. He points out that alongside the otherness of the Muslim, Bhartendu, Gosvami and Pratap Narain Misra (1856-94) were conscious of the "need to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity" in order to deal with "political subjection." Bhartendu invited Muslims to join the race for progress. He saw Muslim figures such as Kabir, Rasakhan, Tansen and Pirezadi Bibi as invaluable for whom crores of Hindus could be sacrificed. Gosvami's play *Budhe munha munhase*

actually highlights unity between Hindus and Muslims in rural India. In his Ballia lecture Bhartendu stated that all those who inhabit Hindustan are Hindu and that Bengali, Maratha, Punjabi, Jain, Brahmo, Muslim "all should hold one another's hands." Yet all three attributed India's backwardness to Muslim rule. Gosvami and Bhartendu's journals like *Hindī Pradīp* and *Bhārtendu* in which both language and history were standardized had a readership comprising the mahajan, the landlord, the schoolmaster, the patwari and qanungo (Amin 2005). Ramkumar Varma's play, *Prithvīrāja kī āñkhain* suggests the important metaphor of Prithviraj's eyes, blinded, and yet, capable of a deeper seeing (1935). It describes Prithviraj's imprisonment at Ghor and his proficiency in archery. The eyes of Prithviraj symbolise honour. This is his account to Chand Bardai, in Ramkumar Varma's telling:

Ghori and four of his soldiers visit Prithviraj in the prison and tell him, "Prisoner, your eyes are to be removed." Prithviraj says, "Even after capture, such injustice? Learn to live by humanism, creatures of God! Take my life, but let a raja's honour remain." Insulting him, the soldiers tell him, "Shut up."

"Two hot iron rods were brought near my eyes. I felt their heat coming towards me. I remembered then that Sanyogita had slowly come close and kissed those very eyes. I remembered the moistness of those lips in that same way slowly coming close to me."

To begin with, Prithviraj is fully despondent and wants to commit suicide. Chand Bardai tells him, "A tiger's eye's are in his heart" and then gives Prithviraj the opportunity to take revenge. In the end Prithviraj changes, exuding a sense of inner determination. Prithviraj emerges from the dramatic text as a human being and lover rather than merely a king who confronts crises courageously. Ghori is, interestingly, depicted as a fairly complex character who is wily, cruel but also capable of statements to Chand, "Instead of a Sultan, treat me like a soldier." And then when he more philosophically reflects to Prithviraj, "Sardar, what is life. This world is like this and will continue to be so. Why are you so despondent?" Swarna Kumari Devi's historical novel, *Dillīsvar Prithvīrāj* is another literary milestone in Hindi, suggesting how Prithviraj, ruler of Ajmer becomes "Lord of Delhi."

A significant body of Hindi scholars has challenged the historicity of the *Prithvīrāj rāsau*, in particular, Ramchandra Shukla and Namvar Singh. Singh refers to it as the

most controversial work in Hindi (1956). Much earlier Shyamaldas had challenged its antiquity and authenticity pointing out that it was a bard's attempt to claim high status for his own Charan caste and for the Chauhan Rajputs (1886; Talbot 2007). The consensus is that this is not a contemporary account, but instead produced in Mughal rule when Rajputs entertained ambitions of being successor states to the Mughal Empire. The magic of Prithviraj, however, continues unassailed, mined most recently by the Vishva Hindu Parishad. Its so-called *parāvartan* or reconversion programme uses the Amar Chitra Katha's Prithviraj comic demonising Ghori as evil in his reference to Prithviraj as "kafir" (infidel) and the visual enactment of blinding. Prithviraj has been the subject of a TV serial on Star Plus. A forthcoming film on Prithviraj and Sanyogita has been announced by Chandra Prakash Dwivedi and Rajkumar Santoshi (2005).

On Padmini

Tod's account of Padmini is particularly evocative as he carves for later historiography the figure of the beautiful, tragic queen and her sacrificial death in an act of the collective self-immolation of women (*jauhar*). This after she had besotted the Sultan Alauddin Khilji and the military encounter between Alauddin and her husband, the Rana of Mewar. Here are the elements of the construction of a Hindu woman eroticised by the lecherous Musalman of later day pamphlets and tracts. Chittor "the repository of all that was precious yet untouched of the arts of India" was "stormed, sacked and treated, with remorseless barbarity, by the Pathan emperor, Alla-o-din," Tod tells us. Padmini, the daughter of Hamir Sank Chauhan of Ceylon, is "a title bestowed on the superlatively fair. Her beauty, accomplishments, exaltation, and destruction, with other incidental circumstances, constitute the subject of one of the most popular traditions of Rajwarra." "The Hindu bard recognises the fair, in preference to fame and love of conquest, as the motive for the attack of Alla-o-din, who limited his demand to the possession of Pudmani, though this was after a long and fruitless siege." The Sultan "restricted his desire to a mere sight of this extraordinary beauty and acceded to the proposal of beholding her through the medium of mirrors." Alauddin enters Chittor with little guard risking his safety, "relying on the faith of the Rajpoot." He then lays an ambush for Bhim Singh "relying on the superior faith of the Hindu." The Rana is "hurried away to the Tatar camp and his liberty made dependent on the surrender of Pudmani" else he threatens to burn Chittor (all citations are from Tod 1, 213).

The past tense signifies the transformation from the bardic to the production of "facts of history." Padmini consulted with two chiefs of her natal clan, Gora and Badal, and formulated a plan. Seven hundred covered litters were sent to the royal camp (supposedly accompanying the beautiful queen), the condition being the Sultan's retreat. "In each was placed one of the bravest of the defenders of Cheetore, borne by six armed soldiers disguised as litter-porters." Battle resulted leading to the "slaughter of the flower of Mewar."

Tod relies heavily on the bardic text, called *Khumman rāsau* that begins with the attack on Chittor by Mahmud, supposedly the son of Qasim of Sind, and continues through the sack of Chittor by Alauddin Khilji to the wars between Rana Pratap and Akbar (Shrotriya 2000). This is a sixteenth century text of 3600 verses, which Tod regards as historical. The narrative comprises the twelve year old Badal's description of the feats of his uncle to his wife who died after he left "no foe to dread or admire him." After listening to these she leaps into the flame. In the self-immolation of several thousands that follows "the fair Pudmani closed the throng, which was augmented by whatever of female beauty or youth could be tainted by Tatar lust." The Tatar conqueror takes possession of an inanimate capital with Rana Ajeysi, the only survivor, whose son is Hamir. Allauddin commits "every act of barbarity and wanton dilapidation which a bigoted zeal could suggest, overthrowing the temples and other monuments of art" with the exception of the palace of Bheem and Padmini (Tod 1, 213-16).

Both Ojha (1996) and Qanungo (1960) critique Tod's version. Qanungo points out its derivation from the Sufi poet, Malik Muhammad Jayasi's sixteenth century *mathnawī*, *Padmāvat* (1911). This lyric used a story popular in Ayodhya and Middle India about a Raja Ratan Sen and his love for Padmini as an allegory of the Sufi quest. Shukla (1952) explodes the idea that Padmini could have come from Singhaldivip (Sri Lanka). He maintains that Jayasi who was influenced by yogic traditions used Hindu stories to propagate Islam.⁸ Shukla argues that Nath traditions include stories of Macchandranath being ensnared by Padminis and his rescue by Gorakhnath. Dashrath Sharma maintains that the story was in circulation much before Jayasi. He refers to *Chhitāi-charita* written at Sarangapur in Malwa in Vikrama 1583 (AD 1526), fifteen years before *Padmāvat*, which mentions the capture of Ratan Sen and her rescue by Badal (1966, 664).

There is no mention of Padmini by Alauddin's contemporary chronicler, Ziya' al-Din Barani (1958). Amir Khusrau, the chronicler-scholar, poet and musicologist, who accompanied Alauddin Khilji on his Chittor expedition, writes of the fort being taken in August 1303, the surrender of the Rai, the massacre of thirty thousand Hindus and the handing over of the charge of Chittor to Khizr Khan (Dihlavi 1976). Shams-i Siraj Afif's *Tārīkh-i Firuzshāhī* (801/1398) refers to the siege of Chittor. These historians along with Sirhindi's *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* of the fifteenth century are silent on the purported collective self-immolation of women. Firishtah writes of the story seventy years later as also Abul Fazl (Allami 1978). In Firishtah's account the siege of Chittor lasted six months at the end of which Alauddin took Rai Ratan Sane prisoner and the Rana escaped after a year with the help of warriors concealed in litters (1864-1884).

Rangalal Bandhopadhyaya is the author of three *kāvya*s inspired by Tod, *Padminī upakhyān*, *Karmādevī* and *Shūrsundarī*. The dominant theme of all three is *deś prem* (love of country) that displaces *narī prem* (love from woman), as *śringār rasa* (the mood of love) is subsumed by *vīra rasa* (the heroic flavor). Rabindranath Tagore in his address to the Rajasthan Research Society, Calcutta (18 Feb 1939) states that while *bhakti rasa* (the mood of devotion) is to be found in poetry all over India, the poetry of Rajasthan is unparalleled for its *vīra rasa* (cited in Svami 1961). *śringār rasa* continues to be a subsidiary theme as when the story involves a beautiful woman as in the Prithviraj and Hammir stories.

Padminī upakhyān was published in the aftermath of the Revolt of 1857 that had begun with the Barrackpore Mutiny in Calcutta. It was patronized by zamindars, Kalicharan Raichaudhuri and Satyacharan Ghosal. *Padminī upakhyān* begins with scenes of Badal fighting the Pathan army (Bandhopadhyaya 1951). A tourist visits Rajputana and encounters a Charan bard who tells him the story of the sacrificial death of Padmini and shows him the site. The elements are much the same as in Tod's narration except that Ratan Singh is the ruler while Tod's hero was (wrongly!) Bhim Singh. The Sultan Alauddin is so besotted by the beauty of the Rajput queen, Padmini, that he decides to conquer Chittor. When military force does not work he beholds her face in the mirror. Alauddin deploys treachery to make Ratan Singh captive. Padmini counters Alauddin's force with the help of the celebrated warriors, Gora and Badal.

Rangalal's script reiterates Tod's evocative imagery when Kali appears to the Rajput ruler at night saying, "*main bhūkā hūn*" [I am hungry]. Padmini is the *deux et machina*. For three days the *yavanas* (Muslims) and Rajputs battle. As Ratan Singh enters the fray, the famous phrase, "*svādhintā-hintay ke banchte chay*" is uttered. Padmini along with thousands of other Rajput women commits *jauhar*. Alauddin finds only a heap of ashes and burns in an agony of remorse. In a famous passage Ratan Singh exhorts his soldiers to fight for *svādhintā* (freedom) that is described as *svarga-sukha* (heavenly pleasure) (Shivkumar 1989: 1, 100-101). There are echoes here of Thomas Moore's "For one day of freedom, Oh! who would not die?" Rangalal was inspired by Scott and Byron as also by Moore, the poet of the subordinated Irish. While the theme is Indian, it is stylistically influenced by English poetry.

Michael Madhusudan Dutt is the author of the *kāvya*s, *Sharmishthā* (1859), *Padmāvati* (1860), and *Krishnakumarī* (1962).⁹ The story also inspires Kshirod Prasad Vidyavinod's play, *Padminī* (1906). Both Vidyavinod and Abanindranath Tagore's *Rājkahānī* follow Tod's description of Bhim Singh as Padmini's husband and describe Padmini as belonging to Singaldvip. Tagore's *Rājkahānī* was read avidly by children. He imbibed Tod's pro-Mewar orientation including the critique of Rathors having usurped the territory of Sisodias. In Abanindranath's account the Sultan tells Pyari Begum, a slave woman that he is tired of listening to ghazals and would like to hear a "song of Hindustan." She then sings of the unparalleled beauty of the flower, Padmini, whom "no one dared to pluck...even the gods were afraid...." Alauddin responds, "I am the Badshah of Hindustan. I am not afraid of any king nor of gods. I will bring that flower to my palace" (37).

Dwijendralal Roy used Tod the most extensively in his Rajput-oriented dramas, patriotic songs and parodies. His *Rānā Pratāp Singh* (1905) reinforces the image of Akbar as a lecherous, male patriarch who uses Rajputs like Man Singh. His daughter Meher challenges him, "Are women not human? Should they always be locked up? Do they not have pleasures?" She leaves his palace and goes to live in that of Rana Pratap. Eventually Akbar expresses admiration for Rana Pratap when he says, "Had I not been Akbar I would have wanted to be Rana Pratap. Such an enemy brings glory to my state." Ray's famous lines *Mewār pahār Mewār pahār* evoke the hills of Mewar and its victorious-valorous fort.

The contrast to Akbar and Aurangzeb is Bankimchandra Chattopadhyaya's *Raj Singha*, based on one of Tod's small stories in which the princess of Roopnagar writes to Raj Singha, the brave Rana of Udaipur seeking protection against Aurangzeb who was about to attack the kingdom and abduct the princess. It figures in two novels in Marathi and Hindi—Harinarain Apte's *Rūpnagarchuī rājkanyaī* (1900) and Kishorilal Goswami's, *Tārā* (1902). The Princess of Rupnagar assumes the attributes of the motherland and the noble Raj Singha prevents her violation at risk of death (Mukherjee 2008).

Dingal, the bardic language referred to as Old Western Rajasthani or Old Gujarati, includes recent compositions on Padmini such as of Nahta (1981), Bhatnagar (1997) and Sharma (1999). In Dingal accounts Padmini leads Rajput warriors hidden in seven hundred palanquins into Alauddin's harem and the battle is recounted in passionate prose. Alauddin's conciliatory letter that his desire is for Padmini only serves to invigorate the Rajput ruler's masculinity.

Bhartendu's *Nil Devi* expresses admiration of ancient satis and valorous Rajput women who burnt themselves for honour and chastity (Chandra 1982, ch 2). Pratapnarayan Misra refers to Hindu princesses who were carried in palanquins to the houses of Turks. He exhorts Hindus to avenge humiliation, recover courage and become warriors of a proud Hindu identity (123). Premghan likewise refers to Hindu princesses kept by Muslims in their palaces in a fashion very similar to Bhartendu.

In Hindi the Padmini theme is explored in Shyamnarayan Pandey's *kāvya* titled *Jauhar* (1970). This reiterates episodic sequences of Rangalal's work including the framing encounter between a tourist and a brahman returning from a *pūjā* of Padmini. Ratan Singh pursues a female deer, is cursed by the forest goddess, Vandevi, and is taken captive by Alauddin's soldiers that lie in hiding. He is rescued by Rajput warriors and Gora dies in the resultant fighting. Alauddin attacks again, the women undergo the collective sacrificial death of *jauhar* and the victorious Sultan is confronted by the eight-armed goddess. He returns to Delhi, but is reproached by everyone, above all, by his own conscience....

On Pratap

In Tod's text Akbar is the founder of the Mughal Empire and the first conqueror of the Rajput. The third sack of Chittor, we are told, is marked by enormous violence.

The battle of Haldighati and the flight of Pratap on his gallant horse, Chetak, both of whom are wounded, follows. Pratap's brother, Sukta, hitherto a traitor to Mewar, embraces him in friendship. Chetak, the blue horse falls and an altar marks the spot. Tod describes the day in July 1632 as "a day ever memorable" in Mewar's annals, [when] "the best blood of Mewar irrigated the pass of Huldighat" (1, 266-71).

As a national hero Pratap vies with Shivaji and easily outpaces Prithviraj in the vernacular literary imagination. He is also a modern hero in the sense that there are no medieval texts on Pratap. Premghan who belonged to Bhartendu's circle identified India's diversity of gods and heroes as a problem and suggested that instead someone like Maharana Pratap be elevated to the status of a national hero for the restoration of modern national glory (*ādhunika jātīya gaurav*).

Maithilisharan Gupt's *Bhārat-Bhāratī* (The voice of India, 1912) was the poet's foremost work. It was a "rousing nationalist survey of the state of the nation and particularly of the *hindu jāti* (Hindu community)," writes Trivedi (2004, 988). Here was a modern classic, highly cited and the first full-scale poetic elaboration of debates on the Indian history of India (Orsini 2002). This "song of the age" made use of a range of historical and scriptural sources including the Manusmriti, the Puranas, Tod's writing, the Gospels and the Qu'ran. *Bhārat-Bhāratī* tried to capture the epic unity of the Indian nation in its ancient golden past. Maithilisharan (1886-1964) identifies successive periods of the decline of Hinduism including the Mahabharata war, the rise of Jains and Buddhists, the dissensions in vaidika religion, the emergence of different creeds and languages and the arrival of Muslim rule. Chandra foregrounds the influence of Romesh Chunder Dutt's, *History of Civilization in Ancient India*, in his reconstruction of the Aryan past and its accomplishments. Muslim rulers are seen as source of tyranny who met their nemesis in British rule (Chandra 1982).

The theme of a counter-narrative of Hindu resistance runs through *Bhārat-Bhāratī* with Maharana Pratap as an instance of Hindu pride. The section called *Bhavishyati khanda* details the stories of Prithviraj and Pratap. Self-respect returned to India only after the rise of ksatriya kings like Rana Pratap who caused the decline of Muslim rule (Gupt 2000). Even today, he asserts, the name of Chittor evokes magic (*āj bhī chittor kā sun nām kuch jādu bhārā, chamak jāti chanchlā-sī chitt main karke tvarā*). The poem ends with a reminder to Hindus to forge ahead but remember their cultural origins.

In Ramkumar Varma's play *Mahārānā Pratāp*, Rana Pratap tells his brahman priest, "It is not the work of ksatriyas to ruin the universe made by God unnecessarily and become culprits. We are Hindu, our religion is liberal and tolerant. Protection of life is our dharma. But the reason for our anger is different. Our duty is to protect our dharma and our country. When someone provokes [us], we should not keep quiet. We were attacked several times, our heroes were fewer in number. We were martyred, our women committed *jauhar* and so kept their honour." Mark how caste hierarchy is legitimised in an otherwise nationalist text when Rana Pratap exhorts, "*Ekū vis kī būnd amrita ke kumbha ko dūshit kar de, ekū śudra veda richāyon ka aśuddhū ucchāran kar de, main use nā roki?*" (A single drop of poison can spoil or pollute ambrosia, a sudra can by incorrect enunciation, destroy/pollute vedic recitation). (Varma 1992).

Chittor becomes a metaphor for India as the Rana asserts, "Till Chittor is not independent (*svādhīn*), the clan of the Sisodiyas, male or female, will not use any luxuries (*sukh aur vilāstā*)." He concludes, "*svatantratā kā ek shan partantratā kī shatābdīyon se mahān hai*" [a single moment of freedom is equivalent to centuries of despotism].

Other literary milestones are Suryakant Tripathi 'Nirala's *Mahārānā Pratāp* and the romantic poet Jaishankar Prasad's *kāvya, Mahārānā kā mahattva* (1962/63). Rajasthani works articulated the idea of Pratap as *yuga purush* (Bhati 1991), as *mahān* (Palival 1994) and as *hindu pati* (Sarda 2000; also Barhath 1951).

In Bengali Rangalal's *Shūr-sundarī* (1868) returns to the theme of the lascivious Musalman. It is based on a letter that Akbar's poet, Prithviraj, actually wrote to Rana Pratap disheartened by his exile, in order to rekindle his courage. Once again the figure of the Charan is used to narrate the story to a visiting tourist: Raja Man Singh tells Akbar of his humiliation at the hands of Pratap. Akbar sends an army against him under his son, Salim. After Pratap's horse, Chetak, dies Shakti Singh lends his horse to his brother, Pratap. This enrages Akbar and he organises the fair of Nauroj (Meenabazar) to molest Hindu Rajput women. Disguised as a yogi Akbar attempts to seduce Shakti Singh's daughter who is married to Prithviraj. When she confronts Akbar at the point of a dagger and scolds him the Mughal Emperor is reduced to trembling and asks her forgiveness. Prithviraj then writes his fiery letter to Rana

Pratap and the battle of Haldighati results. It is interesting that the story is not used to give an account of the friendship between Akbar and Man Singh or of his eclectic court that could include, minimally, a non-Muslim poet.

The nationalist historical imagination marks the ancient past as a realm of freedom. The medieval is instead represented as the site of struggle for honour, as civilisation, religion and nation battle enslavement. A literary vision of an Indian Future.

Conclusions: Orientalism, Colonialism and Nationalism

The Cambridge School continues its denial of the decisive role of colonialism. In a recent caricature of postcolonial research Bayly writes, "The officials of the British Empire fomented ethnic conflict, created the caste system, subordinated women, and ruptured happy pre-colonial communities" (2007; see also 1996). The point is not that they created either ethnic conflict or caste but that they crucially transformed it. Peabody attempts to go "beyond orientalism" emphasising the idea of many colonialisms; as also "that colonial power did not impose itself monolithically from outside, but arose much more dialogically from within the conditions that were manifest locally," with local agents often able to overturn the agendas of colonial power (2003, ch 2). Clearly this "dialogic" historiography tends to undermine the violent racism of colonialism and its consequences for the political futures of the colonised. Peabody asks rhetorically whether essentialisation is a uniquely European predilection (n2, 186). Surely not, but in the case of Europe Orientalist essentialisation had enormous consequences both for structures of power and the self-knowledge of the colonised unlike, say, that of the Chinese.

In fact, colonialism and nationalism were often mediated by Orientalism. In reviewing Tod as an Orientalist one needs to underline the idea of many Orientalisms and that Tod is representative of one such strand in a highly complex and differentiated body of knowledge.

Tod marks the beginning of a new Orientalist interest in the "vernacular" rather than in Sanskrit as also the idea that there is "history" in bardic and other indigenous sources such as Kalhana's *Rajataranginī*. The vernacularisation of tradition matches the "classicisation of tradition" that had already been undertaken by Sir William Jones and Max Mueller. The volumes of the journal of the Asiatic Society founded in

1784 by Jones called the *Asiatic Researches* were enjoying a phenomenal impact on Europe (see Rudolph and Rudolph 2003). Tod inaugurates the importance of the use of non-Sanskrit sources and a non-brahmanical perspective. The creation of his master list of the “Thirty Six Royal Races of Rajasthan” was, however, mediated by brahmans. Puranic genealogies such as the Bhagavat, Skanda, Agni and Bhavisya Puranas obtained from the library of the Rana, were read by a panel of pandits presided by the learned Jain scholar, Yati Gyanchandra (Shivkumar 1989). But the categories and vocabulary of historicism are Tod’s own. The plurality of manuscript cultures is thus singularized as they enter print. Freitag maintains that Tod speaks two historical languages, those of India and Europe in that he uses the idiom of the bards and Charans as also events and figures of ancient Greek history (2007). The question, however, is whether Tod really deployed an Indian language or read Indian materials through a European lens?

Further, Tod stands in opposition to Mill. Mill’s *The history of British India* (1958) was a strong refutation of William Jones. He saw India as civilisationally inferior and characterised by dirt, laziness, ignorance and passivity with the British endowing it with law and justice. Liberal institutions were unsuitable given the civilisational and racial inferiority of Indians. While Tod saw Indian kings as the fount of law, Mill saw them as irredeemably despotic. Tod’s critique of the East India Company’s governance highlights the financial burden of tribute, the unfair opium monopoly and his concern that British technology will displace manual labour. Good relations with Rajputs are seen as safeguarding the British Empire against the Russians whose influence extended from Bukhara to Lahore (Rudolph 2007). Tod’s conservatism seemingly prevailed over the utilitarianism of Bentham and Mill in the Charter Act of 1833 by which the Company became a political agency of the crown while assimilationist utilitarianism was identified with Dalhousie. But Tod had the last word on annexation: his image of the Rajput prevailed and indirect rule was maintained up to 1947.¹⁰

For Inden the pillars of Indological discourse are caste, Hinduism, village India and sacred kingship (although each of the latter three, plus numerous other derivative “essences” that Inden uncovers, such as Tod’s “Rajput feudalism” are all reducible in one way or another to caste). Tod’s construction fused caste and nation, making the Rajputs exemplary Hindus. Religion was an important variable for Tod. While he assumes an anti-clerical stance following Hallam’s critique of the church in feudal

Europe, he essentialises Muslims drawing upon a history of Christian othering. Tod cognizes an internal diversity among Hindus: the Marathas are different from Rajputs who are themselves internally differentiated, with the Sisodiyas being the most pure-blooded of Rajputs and he recognises ethnic difference among Muslims. The Muslim, however, serves as a contrastive identity to the Rajput: if the Muslims are invaders, Rajputs are migrants and Mughal despotism is contrasted with Rajput feudalism.

Oral traditions are read to affirm a history of animosity between Hindus and Muslims. Ahmad identifies Indo-Persian histories and bardic accounts as epics and counterepics of resistance (1963). But these texts also suggest a more complex relationship between Hindus and Muslims. Both the *Prthivirāj rāsau* and *Hammīra-mahākāvya* describe dissident Muslims who seek refuge with Rajput rulers and are extended protection. Moreover the life of court and military camp also reveal the close relations between Rajputs and Muslims (Ziegler 1976). Alauddin Khilji’s army had many Hindus, Akbar’s army was commanded by the Rajput, Man Singh, and Pratap’s army included Muslims such as his cannon-driver. This other history has no place in Tod.

Instead, Tod’s Orientalism fed the Victorian literary imagination. *The lay of Alha* and *The romance of the twisted spear* were texts inspired by Tod but were far more dramatised (Grierson 1990; Sherring 1990). In G.H. Trevor’s *Rhymes of Rajputana* (1990) that claims to be based on bardic material collected by Tod, the Muslim often figures as the evil oppressor. Similarly Heinemann’s *Poems of Mewar* (1990) and Festing’s *From the land of Princes* (1904) derive from Tod. In contrast to the chivalry, glory and truth of the Rajput, are the vulture-like Mughals, “awaiting their prey, ready to raid, pick and oppress” (see Freitag unpub, 212).

Much more powerful was the impact of Tod’s icon on the nationalist imagination. The 1920s and 1930s witnessed a proliferation of printed texts including plays and novels that carried with them a series of messages on social and political reform (Jayantiprasada 1923; Gosvami 1927; Pathak 1927; Gupt-Basant 1929; Marala 1930; Gupta 1930).

Chatterjee criticises Anderson for attributing all agency to European modernity pointing to the creative force of anticolonial nationalism in Asia and Africa, which divided the world of social institutions and practices into two domains—the material and the spiritual which sought sovereignty over a spiritual inner domain (1993, 6).¹¹

I have tried to demonstrate how this sovereignty was compromised by ideas that derive from the nonwest manifest in the ways in which a non-classical, vernacular past is constructed that is not the dark age of medievalism but one illumined, made glorious by values of warrior groups, their histories, their literature and art and aesthetic discourses. This is what defines the domain of values for both male and female behaviour. Chatterjee refers to Bankim's modern "ideal of masculinity as standing for the virtues of self-respect, justice, ethical conduct, responsibility, and enlightened leadership and of femininity as courage, sacrifice, inspiration, and source of strength" (1993, 71). Both public/private and outer/inner are compromised by the metropolitan universe. The story of the daughters of the defeated Dahir and how they obtain their revenge for the death and defeat of their father after the Arab invasion of the Sind assumes new meaning. Kaviraj acknowledges this when he states that Tod alters the structure of the inner world of literature (1955: 195).

The heroism of Pratap and the conception of Padmini as *vīrāṅganās* or heroic queen provide new models for the nationalist self. Mukherjee points out that Tod's female figures are either passive and in need of protection or constituted by the *vīrāṅganās* or the idea of the heroic woman. Three images of women recur—as submissive wives who uphold traditional values, as *vīrāṅganās* or empowered women, and as mothers. Of these in the nationalist agenda, the image of woman as mother had the greatest potency.

As Chatterjee has pointed out more recently, in each region of India, the vernacular is the space where the non-existent nation is sought for in language. The projects of the vernacular thus diverge from those of the folk. In the crafting of folklore through a nationalist lens the bard becomes a source of "information" rather than a repository of values (Chatterjee 2004; Bhatnagar, 2005a, 2005b).

The anti-colonial movement that gained momentum in India was deeply imbricated and compromised by colonialism. Tod had a profound influence on colonial and Hindu nationalist constructions of Hinduism and Islam. The reproduction of the nation-state or what is called cultural nationalism refers us back, again and again, to Tod's ideas of the Hindu and Muslim, defined in terms of absolute difference.

Certainly, Indian nationalism was multi-hued. The Gandhian and Lohiaite were among the most critical nationalist projects. The Indian National Congress itself

was an exceptional party-cum-movement as a forum of numerous ideological streams and currents. But nationalism was a much vaster phenomenon than the Congress and the contemporary BJP with its valorisation of Hindutva. It is the making of this everyday national political culture that I am referring to in the 1920s, 40s and most fervently since the 80s with the activation of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad at the juncture of critical processes with respect to state, caste and religion formation. This World Hindu Council represents the new and dynamic field of transnational religion and religious civil society. The historical imagination of the VHP derives centrally from Tod, including the references to Prithviraj as the "last Hindu Emperor"—a decisively north India centric perspective—and the treatment of the *Rāsau* as historical truth. The images, further mediated by the genre of the Amar Chitra Katha comic book and the cinematic version of the Prithviraj-Ghori story, are adeptly used in the VHPs *parāvartan* or reconversion campaign, so called. This represents a masculinist hyper-nationalism that seeks power and has repeatedly orchestrated violence.



Notes

¹This paper is part of a larger book project on Nationalism in the Age of Imperial Terror that tracks the conjoined processes of religion, state, caste, community and subject formation. Previous incarnations have been presented at the National Seminar on Reconstructing Democratic Concerns in Modern India, Lokniti, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi, 8-10 October 2004; the International Conference on The Vernacular in History, Centre for Studies in the Social Sciences, Calcutta, 28-30 December 2004; CERI, Paris, 3 April 2006; Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 10 April 2007. I am indebted to several audiences including friends and colleagues at CSDS, IIC and elsewhere and for discussions to Paola Bacchetta, Gautam Bhadra, France Bhattacharya, Christophe Jaffrelot, Rima Hooja, Douglas Lummis, Lloyd Rudolph, Francis Robinson, Norbert Peabody, Sudhir Chandra, Harish Trivedi, Abhay Dube, Tarun Saint, Partho Datta and specially to Namvar Singhji. The research assistance of Anil Sinha, Saswata Ghosh, Dwaipayana Sen and Mahinder Pal is gratefully acknowledged as also the support of archivists at the British Library, the Royal Asiatic Society Library of Great Britain and Ireland and the National Archives of India. Abbreviations used are as follows: H=Home; IOR=India Office Records; OIOC=Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library, London.

²For a critique of Tod's notion of feudalism see Stern (1988).

³The Rudolphs refer to Tod as "romanticism's child" that is the title of their forthcoming book (2003).

⁴There have been terrorists before, Lummis (nd) points out, but with the beginning of the US government's War on Terrorism, "terrorist" has come to mean not just a person who engages in a certain form of combat, but a separate human type. President George W. Bush referred to the terrorist as evil, a concept that derives from religious discourse. Lummis writes, "The terrorism discourse is based on a form of essentialism: once a person is categorized as a terrorist-in-essence, that person can be placed in a separate legal category." No court can pass a verdict on who is good or evil except for the court used in witch trials. "The logic of present terrorist discourse is witch-hunt logic," evidence is only relevant insofar as it indicates whether a person is a witch or is not.

⁵A three volume edition edited by William Crooke was published in 1920 by Oxford University Press. Two volumes in one called the Central and Western Rajput States of India were published with a preface by Douglas Sladen in 1914 and reprinted in 1923 and 1950.

⁶Freitag tracks versions of the Annals in five major Indian languages including Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati, Marathi and Bengali, the only exception being the south Indian languages. Bengali editions appear in 1872, 1883 and 1884 that are updated in 2nd, 3rd and 4th editions from 1898 to 1906. An Urdu-Hindustani edition appears in 1875 and Hindi editions in 1906 and again in 1907-10, 1909 and 1913-16.

⁷See Bhartendu's *Udaypurodaya (arthāt Mevār kā puravritta sangraha)* (Harishchandra 1989); also Pandey (2003, 163, 177-8).

⁸*Padmāvatī* describes Ratansen who hears of the beauty of Padmavati, the princess of Singhalidip, from a wise parrot (Hindu guru/Sufi pir figure). He becomes an ascetic and goes with 16,000 vassals to the island kingdom, is imprisoned and is about to be executed even as Padmini undertakes to commit sati. But his identity is revealed, the couple are married and return to Chittor. A vengeful minister of the court of Ratan Sen, disgraced for sorcery, praises the beautiful Padmini to the Sultan. He demands Ratan Sen surrender Padmavati whose reflection he has seen in a mirror and when he refuses lays siege to Chittor. Alauddin tricks the king into his camp and imprisons him. Gora and Badal enter the imperial fort and release Ratan Sen who returns to Chittor and defeats Deopal who had insulted Padmavati in his absence. Alauddin besieges Chittor. Padmavati sends word that she will join the Sultan's harem and proceeds with two brave warriors to rescue the king. Ratansen is attacked by Deopal who asks Padmavati to be his queen. The two kings kill each other and Padmavati commits *jauhar*. Allegorically Padmavati represents intelligence while Ratan Sen is the mind struggling against Alauddin who is (illusion).

⁹Sukumar Sen considers Rangalal as heralding a new age involving a dawn of freedom. Srikumar Bannerjee maintains that Rangalal gives a new direction to Bangla literature (cited in Shivkumar 1989, 1).

¹⁰This section draws upon Freitag (2001, ch 3).

¹¹In this later work Chatterjee seems to be arguing for a "multiple modernities" position, i.e., that nationalism is not derivative and that there is heterogeneity of pasts and of nationalisms inherent in the postnational. He maintains a la Gyan Pandey that there are "fragments" that allude to a potentially richer definition of the nation and the future political community. This is akin to Charles Taylor's idea that there are social imaginaries that are not quite consonant with the political imaginary of nationalism.

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