



## Fresh Light on the Peninsula of Gujarat in the Early Nineteenth Century

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## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

### *Fresh Light on the Peninsula of Gujarat in the Early Nineteenth Century*

The absence of a history of modern Gujarat which also includes a fuller history of modern Kathiawar is keenly felt. In this paper, one of the very useful sources for such a history which may be undertaken later, namely, *Journal of a Route through the Peninsula of Guzeraut in the year 1809-10* by James Macmurdo, is highlighted. This *Journal* which is not certainly a dull account of a day to day march of an army *en route* throws very interesting light on the different aspects of life at Kathiawar in the early nineteenth century.

In 1834 in the first volume of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* appeared James Macmurdo's "Dissertation on the River Indus."<sup>1</sup> This *Paper* which was published posthumously, almost 14 years after Macmurdo had died,<sup>2</sup> was sent to the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society by Lieutenant Colonel Edward Frederick, M.R.A.S., Commissary-General of Bombay in 1833. At the time when Frederick sent it, he had been in possession of two more *Papers* of Macmurdo: one of which was a "Description of the River Indus," which the Geographical Society at Bombay prepared for publication and the other a "History of Sind." "This latter," Frederick wrote to the Secretary, "I shall do my self the pleasure to forward, by an early opportunity."<sup>3</sup> And it appeared in the *Journal* towards the end of 1834.<sup>4</sup>

Frederick, however, did not know the existence of a further *Paper* which Macmurdo prepared, not for his own interest alone, but for the sake of the Bombay Government also. For nearly a century and a half, this paper lay buried in the heap of *Walker of Bowland Papers*, at the Manuscript Section of the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. One wonders how it came to be listed in the *Walker of Bowland Papers* since its proper place would certainly have been in the folders containing either the *Bombay Government Papers* or his own *Papers* if only he could have been half as great as the illustrious General<sup>5</sup> he served most of the time in India. Indeed, Macmurdo was too ordinary a person to have been

mentioned in Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*<sup>6</sup> and too humble a military officer to claim a place in Kaye's *Lives of Indian Officers*<sup>7</sup> or a share in Mason's *Men who Ruled India*<sup>8</sup> and the main events of his brief but chequered career were almost wrapped with obscurity. Nevertheless, after combing through the *Cadet Papers*, *Cadet Register* and *Personal Records* at the India Office Library, London, and several other sources, it is possible to gather the following information about Macmurdo.

Macmurdo, who was born on 30 November 1785 and was baptized at Sunderland Hall by the Rev. Mr. Robert Douglass on 12 December 1785 by the name James, was the youngest of the four sons of Major George Macmurdo of the Dumfrieshire Militia in Scotland and his wife, Anne Pringle.<sup>9</sup> Like his elder brothers who had earlier chosen military careers, Macmurdo also opted for it when he grew up and in 1800 he was nominated a cadet for Bombay and went out to India on board the ship *Worcester*.<sup>10</sup> The reason why Macmurdo chose India as his career was that an appointment in India in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries was considered to be the surest road to fortune or opulence and the Court of Directors which controlled such appointments was always subject to a variety of pressures and corruption.<sup>11</sup> No doubt the influence of a Scottish

<sup>6</sup> C. E. Buckland (ed.), *Dictionary of Indian Biography* (London, 1906).

<sup>7</sup> J. W. Kaye, *Lives of Indian Officers* in 2 Vols. (London, 1867).

<sup>8</sup> Philip Mason, *The Men Who Ruled India* in 2 Vols. (London, 1953-4).

<sup>9</sup> *Cadet Papers* L/MIL/9/111, p. 426. Macmurdo's baptismal certificate no. was 290.

<sup>10</sup> *Cadet Register* L/MIL/9/257, p. 35.

<sup>11</sup> For details about this, see chapter II in Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *The Social Condition of the British Community in Bengal, 1757-1800* (Leiden, 1970).

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (hereinafter cited as *JRAS*), Vol. 1., 1834, p. 21, *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See below.

<sup>3</sup> Frederick to the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, 20 September 1833. *JRAS*, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 223, *et seq.*

<sup>5</sup> Alexander Walker.

Director like David Scott or Hugh English, when another Scottish gentleman, Henry Dundas, was at the head of the Board of Control at London, was instrumental in obtaining a cadetship for Macmurdo.<sup>12</sup> After coming to India in 1800, Macmurdo probably stayed for one year at the Baraset Cadet College, taking lessons in military training as well as instruction in oriental languages. It was during his stay at Baraset that he might have been influenced by the spirit of inquiry into oriental institutions and customs which was then dominating the minds of the associates and followers of Sir William Jones who had founded the Asiatick Society of Bengal in 1783-4.<sup>13</sup> In 1801 Macmurdo was posted as Second Lieutenant with the Infantry at Bombay<sup>14</sup> and here he met Alexander Walker, the Resident at Baroda. His association with Walker, for whose humanitarian activities Macmurdo had a tremendous regard,<sup>15</sup> deepened his interest in oriental institutions and languages and he managed to take some time off from the obligations of a military career to continue his studies of Hindustani and Persian.

In 1807 Macmurdo joined Walker who as the Commander of a British force accompanied the Gaikwad Troops to Kathiawar to effect a settlement by which the 300 warring chiefs<sup>16</sup> of the country agreed to pay to Baroda an annual tribute of Rs. 9,79,882/-<sup>17</sup> thereby eliminating the periodical visits of a Mulukgiri force<sup>18</sup> which used to bring much devastation, disorder and bloodshed in its trail.<sup>19</sup> Walker also succeeded in persuad-

ing the principal chiefs of Kathiawar to sign a security bond against misbehaviour and disorderly conduct among themselves<sup>20</sup> but this proved illusory. For in 1809, Walker, accompanied by Macmurdo again, had to set on a chastising mission to Kathiawar. This time it was to check the depredations carried on by the Kathis and the other tribes from the Forts of Kundadar and Malia. The Fort of Kundadar was captured without any bloodshed on 10 June 1809 but the Fort of Malia, owing to its strength and the desperate character of its defenders, held out for some time before it finally surrendered on 7 July 1809.<sup>21</sup> It was after the capture of Malia that Macmurdo commenced his "Journal of a Route through the Peninsula of Guzerat in the year 1809 and 1810." In 1810-11 Macmurdo was employed on the staff of John Abercrombie, the Commander-in-Chief at Bombay.<sup>22</sup> He accompanied Abercrombie when the latter made an expedition against Mauritius and was selected by him for the honoured job of carrying to the Governor-General of India the dispatches of this island having surrendered. In 1812 Macmurdo returned to India and was employed as an Agent for Cutch. He conducted the negotiations with Fateh Muhammed who had usurped the power of that state and undertook a mission to chastise the pirates of Makran, Sind and Cutch. It was at this time that he started collecting his materials for his "History of Sind" and "Dissertation on the River Indus," mentioned earlier. Two years later, he was appointed an Agent for Jhalawar in Kathiawar and collected some information about the place and its inhabitants which was later published in the *Transactions* of the Literary Society of Bombay<sup>23</sup> and in 1815 he supplied the Bombay Government with full information about the military resources of Kathiawar and the places best suited for stationing British forces in it.<sup>24</sup> In 1816 Macmurdo was sent on a political mission to Cutch to compel its ruler to desist from giving shelter to the pirates who infested the north-western frontier of the Bombay territories.<sup>25</sup> Next year he was promoted to a captaincy and was appointed Resident at the Court of the Ruler of Cutch. Macmurdo however, could not enjoy his new position for long as fate had decreed other-

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50-1.

<sup>13</sup> There are a number of works on Sir William Jones. The most recent one is by S. N. Mukherjee, *Sir William Jones* (Cambridge, 1968).

<sup>14</sup> E. Dodwell and J. C. Miles (ed.), *Alphabetical List of the Officers of the Indian Army* (London, 1838), pp. 54-5.

<sup>15</sup> See below.

<sup>16</sup> Elphinstone to Malcolm, 31 January 1821. See T. E. Colebrooke, *The Life of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone* in 2 vols. (London, 1884), Vol. 2., p. 122.

<sup>17</sup> *Walker of Bowland Papers 184/C/12*, pp. 36-8.

<sup>18</sup> The term "Mulukgiri" means "seizure of country," although applied by the Marathas to the collection of the annual dues from their tributaries. See *ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>19</sup> For a detailed account of the periodical visits of a Mulukgiri force in Kathiawar, see A. K. Forbes, *Ras Mala* (ed. by H. G. Rawlinson in 2 Vols., London, 1924), Vol. 2, pp. 53-66. It was to avoid the aftermath of a Mulukgiri visit to Kathiawar that the idea of a settlement was first suggested by Wellesley to the Gaikwad Government as early as 1802. See C. Mayne, *History of the Dhrangadhra State* (Calcutta, 1921), pp. 128-9.

<sup>20</sup> Among the first class chiefs who signed the security bond were Junagarh, Nawanagar, Porbandar, Bhaunagar, Dhrangadhra, Morvi and Gondal. See W. Lee-Warner, *The Native States of India* (London, 1910), p. 55.

<sup>21</sup> *Walker of Bowland Papers, 184/C/12*, pp. 41-2.

<sup>22</sup> In October 1812 Abercrombie quitted his post at Bombay to take command at Madras. See Dodwell and Miles, *op. cit.*, no pagination.

<sup>23</sup> *JRAS, op. cit.*, pp. 124-5.

<sup>24</sup> *Walker of Bowland Papers 184/C/12*, pp. 102-3.

<sup>25</sup> *JRAS, op. cit.*,

wise. He died of cholera at the age of 35 on 28 April 1820 at a place near Arressar in the district of Wagar.<sup>26</sup>

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Macmurdo wrote his *Journal* with a legible hand and divided it into two parts. The first part he wrote describing his journey from Malia to Samla for his own interest and the latter part describing his journey from Samla to Deodar and back to Radhanpur as per the instructions of the Bombay Government. He commenced his *Journal* when Lt. Col. Walker gave marching orders to his army which had encamped in the vicinity of Malia after its fall on 7 July 1809 in the first week of September. By the end of the month, the army reached Positra, passing through many villages and crossing many rivulets. The army remained at Positra for more than a month and a half because of the monsoon which had then broken out in Kathiawar. On 13 November 1809 the army de-camped and Macmurdo took leave of Walker "with sensations of real grief" and with a few armed followers, he commenced his journey "under the immediate orders of Government." By the middle of the next month, Macmurdo arrived at Samla where he remained only for a day. Macmurdo started his "Public Journal" which he later forwarded to the Bombay Government with his departure from Samla. He passed through Adriana and Radhanpur and arrived at Deodar by 12 January 1810. On his way from Deodar, he met with "a treacherous scheme" to plunder him but he saved himself and his men by placing themselves in the protection of "Hirbunjee" of Tharad. Unable to move forward, Macmurdo returned to Radhanpur by the end of the month. While at Radhanpur, Macmurdo awaited instructions from Baroda before he could retire further into the territories of the Gaikwad Government. The acting Resident at Baroda, however, asked him to contact Abercrombie at Ahmedabad on the propriety of resuming his journey. Abercrombie asked him to proceed to Baroda where Macmurdo prepared this *Journal* he had already written for the information of the Bombay Government.

It must not be thought from this bird's eye view of Macmurdo's *Journal* that it is a dull account of a day to day march of an army *en route*. On the other hand, it is a lively description of the places he passed through and their produce, the people he met and their customs and manners. Any random selection of extracts from his *Journal* will bring it out:

"21 September 1809. Camp on the River Oond.<sup>27</sup>

We marched this morning at the usual hour—and after a Journey of 12 1/2 miles, we reached the River

Oond, which we found very deep; the troops crossed immediately but the Guns waited an hour or two.

The country is much improved in respect to cultivation—we passed Dhrole<sup>28</sup> a large and populous town surrounded by a wall—its environs are covered with gardens, and the town completely concealed by wood. A small clear stream of excellent water named the Chillee flows close under the place, and adds to the beauty and convenience of the Village—it was a charming sight to the Troops after the wide and waste plains of Moorvee and Mallia. Dhrole belongs to the *Byaud* of Jam<sup>29</sup>—the young Jharoan Chieftain named Bhoput Singh, came and paid a visit to Col. Walker; he is a handsome boy of about 12 years of age. The town is very populous and appears to enjoy perfect tranquillity—it had formerly 140 Villages subject to it; but Jam of Naggur had possessed himself of the greatest part.

Kumballia is a small neat Village subject at present to Nuggur; but formerly belonging to Dhrole. We observed a small, handsome Pagoda, and a Dhurmshalla<sup>30</sup> in the Skirts of the Village which is surrounded by Vegetable Gardens.

We passed two Boweries<sup>31</sup> of very ancient structure; but originally intended for the accomodation of travellers. This liberal practice [which] is so universal throughout India has its rise (I believe) in a religious motive and I am sorry to find that it is so little prevalent in the Part of the Peninsula through which we have travelled.

The Pagodas<sup>32</sup> of this part of the country, with the exception of a few very ancient ones, are by no means so Elegant as those of Guzerat—the Districts of Joonaghur<sup>33</sup> and Oka,<sup>34</sup> I believe afford some beautiful

<sup>28</sup> Dhrol.

<sup>29</sup> Bhayads. The male members of the family of a reigning chief are called the Bhyad or brotherhood, and the property to which they succeed is called giras or share. For Lee-Warner's comments on the Bhayad, see pp. 119-120 in *The Native States of India*. Also see R. R. Misra, *Effects of Land Reforms in Saurashtra* (Bombay, 1961), p. 6.

<sup>30</sup> Dharmśāla—pious edifice, usually rest house for wayfarers or pilgrims.

<sup>31</sup> A great, deep rectangular well, furnished with a descent to the water by a long flight of steps and with landings and loggia where travellers may rest in the shade.

<sup>32</sup> Temples.

<sup>33</sup> Junagarh.

<sup>34</sup> Okha.

<sup>26</sup> Dodwell and Miles, *op. cit.*

<sup>27</sup> Und.

specimens of Ancient Architecture.<sup>35</sup> The present pursuits and customs of the people are averse to the cultivation of arts or science.

22 September 1809. Camp at the River Oond.

We have been detained on this ground in consequence of business. When Col. Walker had been in the Country in the year 1807,<sup>36</sup> he had, with a great deal of trouble, succeeded in persuading the Jharajah Chieftains to desist from an inhuman and barbarous Practice which had prevailed from time immemorial of putting their female children to death in milk the instant after their birth. Any person thoroughly acquainted with the rooted prejudices of the Natives of India, in everything that respect Cast and Religion, will be able to appreciate the extraordinary difficulties Col. Walker must have had to encounter in the accomplishment of his design. These appear only to have served as spurs to his exertions, and by his own great reputation in the country, no doubt assisted by high public situation, he accomplished an end, in a few months, which appears to people versed in the Native Character, as next to an impossibility.

What must have been the feelings of Col. Walker, when the fruits of his exertions became evident throughout the country. How enviable his sensations when presented with numerous little infants, by Mothers whose minds, however clouded by prejudice, must feel grateful to the Saviour of their offspring.<sup>37</sup>

While encamped on this ground 12 or 14 covered carriages arrived with Infants, who, on being presented to the Col., received presents and the parents every encouragement to persevere in so praiseworthy a conduct.

23 September 1809. Camp near Suffra on the Roopa River.

[We] marched 12 1/2 miles this day; the soil and appearance of the Country are completely changed. Our Route lay through a mountainous and Rocky tract, but the valleys were covered with Rich Crops

<sup>35</sup> See J. Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh* (London, 1876) and H. Cousens, *Somanatha and other Mediaeval Temples in Kathiawad* (Calcutta, 1931).

<sup>36</sup> See above.

<sup>37</sup> For the role of Col. Walker in the story of the suppression of infanticide in India, See John Wilson, *History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India* (Bombay, 1853) as well as J. W. Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company* (London, 1853), pp. 556-9. For the story of the suppression of infanticide in Kathiawar in particular, see *Walker of Bowland Papers 182/a/3*, pp. 30-44.

of grain—chiefly Bajaree<sup>38</sup> and Jowaree<sup>39</sup>—which will be cut in a few days, and the ground prepared for the reception of wheat, which is reaped in May and June.

We had a view of the town of Nawannuggur about 5 Coss distant; it appears very extensive, and to have abundance of substantial buildings.

On our Route we passed numerous little streams of clear and excellent water, and our present encampment is one of the most charming spots I have ever beheld in India.

We are at the mouth of a Valley and immediately on the skirts of small Hills covered with a short green Grass, with a beautiful little stream, the Roopa River, pursuing its course through our camp over a very Rocky bed.

A Hyena was seen near our ground, but owing to the roughness of the country he made his escape.

24 September 1809. Camp at Kullana on the Nagna.

Our march this morning proved only to be 11 1/2 miles—the guides misled us to prevent the troops passing through Jam's Villages—and conducted us through Hills more Rocky than we had just experienced, luxuriant crops of Jowaree growing apparently out of the stones, so entirely was the soil concealed.

We have these few days remarked the cultivation of Sugar Cane in the environs of small villages, which would be considered, from their appearance, as inadequate to the means for the cultivation of so expensive a Crop.

The Sugar Cane is so hazardous a crop, that it is only reared under peaceful governments and when the Ryots are rich and secure. In this country, however, the expenses are by no means great comparatively speaking; because the water is so very near the surface and the whole face of the Peninsula, so much intersected with small streams, with very low banks, that the Ryot incurs no expense on the score."<sup>40</sup>

This is just to give an example. In fact, a careful perusal of Macmurdo's *Journal* reveals that he had the same historical perspective of Tod who visited Kathiawar twelve years later and recorded his impressions in his book, *Travels in Western India*. Referring to the inhabitants of Kathiawar, Tod has observed that "for diversity of races, exotic and indigenous, there is no region in India to be compared with Saurashtra, where there may

<sup>38</sup> Bajra, Pennischim typhoideum, see O. H. K. Spate and A. T. A. Learmonth, *India and Pakistan* (London, 1967) pp. 236-239.

<sup>39</sup> Zowar, Sorhum Vulgara, *ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> The extracts are from Chapter I in Macmurdo's *Journal* which I have just completed editing.

be seen of all shades, from the fair and sometimes blue-eyed Catti, erect and independent as when his fathers opposed the Macedonian at Mooltan, to the Swarthy Bhil, with keen look the offspring of the forest."<sup>41</sup> The same impression has been recorded by Macmurdo who while speaking about the inhabitants of the places he passed through, he tried his best to give an account of their social and cultural background and no doubt this gives his *Journal* an anthropological look. Certainly Macmurdo's *Journal* will justify Wilberforce-Bell's observation that "there is hardly a clan of Rajputs in Rajputana which does not either trace its origin through this province [Kathiawar] or claim connexion with it either through conquest from the north or through inter-marriages."<sup>42</sup>

This will not, however, lead one to believe that Macmurdo's *Journal* neglects the political life of Kathiawar in the early decades of the nineteenth century. As a matter of fact, Macmurdo was as interested in the politics of the local chiefs and tribes as he was in their socio-economic and cultural life. Indeed, his observations on the politics of Kathiawar are as vivid and acute as his observations on the other aspects of life in Kathiawar. His *Journal* gives a true picture of the mutual jealousies and hatred, rivalries and conspiracies which then characterised the life of the ruling chiefs in Kathiawar.

In most cases where possible Macmurdo tried to trace the political history of a ruling dynasty and for this purpose he relied mostly on literary works and Persian histories which he could collect on the spot and acquaintances which he could form with the local and respectable people there. Wherever he went, he tried to contact the latter for information and whenever they failed to quench his thirst for more information, they incurred his displeasure. He however accepted all sources critically. As he remarked while speaking about Okhamandel:

"The ancient History of Oka, which is only to be found in the sacred writings of the Hindus, is so much mixed with fable that it would be a hard task to discriminate between truth and fiction."<sup>43</sup>

It is the *premier motif* of a historian to discover the truth not only by accepting all sources critically but by expressing his opinion carefully. There is ample evidence in Macmurdo's *Journal* to the existence of this principle of historical investigation. In 1834 Frederick was pleased

with its presence in the *Papers* of Macmurdo he sent to the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society for publication. As he observed in his letter to the Secretary:

"He [Macmurdo] might be said, in his assertions of historical accounts to have adopted the principle of Herodotus—of advancing as a fact only what he had seen, and relating as tradition what had been mentioned to him by others."<sup>44</sup>

Frederick's comment is equally applicable to Macmurdo's *Journal*.

It is obvious from the foregoing discussion on Macmurdo's *Journal* that its authenticity will make it one of the most valuable sources for a history of modern Gujarat which also includes a full history of modern Kathiawar. It is regrettable that scholars are least interested in such a work though as early as 1935 Sir Patrick Cadell, the Diwan and later the Prime Minister of Junagadh state pointed it out in his foreword to Professor M. S. Commissariat's *Studies in the History of Gujarat*:

"The province of Gujarat, described, as Professor Commissariat tells us, by the Emperor Aurangzeb, as 'the beauty and ornament of India' has been sadly disregarded by modern historians. An ever greater measure of neglect has been accorded to the peninsula of Kathiawar, though it is historically among the most interesting portions of India, as the home of Krishna's exploits and the scene of Persian and Scythian invasions down to the present day, when it contains many of the most picturesque states of Indian India."<sup>45</sup>

Since then only two works about Gujarat by modern historians have made their appearance. Professor Commissariat's *History of Gujarat* in 2 vols which came out during 1938-1957 cover the history of the country from 1297 to 1758. The other, *The Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat* which came out in 1962 treads "a part of the field" already covered by Professor Commissariat though its author, Dr. S. C. Misra, had "made use of more varied sources" and has approached the subject more critically. So a history of modern Gujarat which also includes a full history of modern Kathiawar is yet to be written. It is important that it should be written, for Gujarat, particularly Kathiawar, has played an important role in the regeneration of modern India. Kathiawar has offered us two outstanding personalities—a fact which has been overlooked by Cadell—one is Swami Dayananda, the founder of the Arya Samaj in 1875<sup>46</sup> and the other

<sup>41</sup> James Tod, *Travels in Western India, 1822-35* (London, 1839), p. 257.

<sup>42</sup> H. Wilberforce-Bell, *The History of Kathiawad* (London, 1916), p. viii.

<sup>43</sup> Macmurdo's *Journal*.

<sup>44</sup> Frederick to the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, 20 September 1833. *JRAS*, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-1.

<sup>45</sup> See Cadell's foreword in M. S. Commissariat, *Studies in the History of Gujarat* (London, 1935), pp. II-IV.

<sup>46</sup> For Dayananda and his Arya Samaj, see J. N.

is M. K. Gandhi,<sup>47</sup> the father of the Indian Nation. If such a work is undertaken by a future historian of modern

Gujarat, it may be hoped that Macmurdo's *Journal* will be quite useful for him.<sup>48</sup>

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Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India* (London, 1919) and H. B. Sarda, *Life of Dayanand Saraswati*. (Ajmer, 1946).

<sup>47</sup> The most detailed biography on Gandhi is by D. G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma* in 8 vols. (Bombay, 1951-54).

<sup>48</sup> Lambrick has made good use of Macmurdo's articles on the Indus and Sind which were published posthumously in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1834 for his *Sind* (Hyderabad, 1964).

### *Hittite huelpi*

The term *huelpi* in the Hittite text "Instructions for Temple Officials" is interpreted to mean "first-fruits" in IV. 3-10 and "firstlings" in IV. 34-55.

The Hittite term *huelpi* in the "Instruction for Temple Officials" (IV, 3, 39, 43, 49) is rendered "young animal" (*ANET*) and "first-fruits" (*HC*).<sup>1</sup> It also occurs in other texts.<sup>2</sup> Its earliest researchers, H. Ehelolf, F. Sommer<sup>3</sup> and C.-G. von Brandenstein<sup>4</sup> admit that *huelpi* can mean "firstling" but deny the rendering "first-fruits." J. Friedrich translates "jung, zart, frisch (grün), unreif" and for our text, "auch Jungtier."<sup>5</sup> A. Goetze apparently contradicts his *ANET* translation when he cites our text in support of the institution of *Erstlinge* among the Hittites.<sup>6</sup> H. A. Hoffner renders it "fresh, first-fruits, young (?)" as opposed to *hadant* "dried (meat), cured."<sup>7</sup>

The above-cited scholars unanimously agree that *huelpi* as an adjective means "fresh, newly produced." But in the "Instructions" it occurs as a neuter, collective substantive, and in two different contexts. In the first (IV, 3-10), the text addresses the farmers (LÚ.MEŠ APIN. LAL). Since the *huelpi*, the "newly produced," comes from the fields and is offered to the gods, there can be no question that it must refer to "first-fruits" (*HC* versus *ANET*). In the second context (IV, 34-50), the decision is not as clear. Since here the text addresses the cowherds/

shepherds (LÚ.MEŠ SIPAD GUD[UDU]), the rendering "first-fruits" (*HC*) is out of the question, for the "newly produced" is from animals. But does *huelpi* therefore mean "young animal" (*ANET*)? The answer, I believe, derives from a more precise study of the context. Again, we are dealing with a rite, but this one carries the specification, "at the time of bearing young" (IV, 35), where the required sacrifice is "either a calf, a lamb, a kid or . . ." (IV, 36f.). Thus even though the text speaks throughout of "young animals" (pl.), when the animal has to be specified it is so done by "either . . . or." In other words, the possibility exists that in any particular year all the species of the *huelpi* may not be represented in the pasturage. This situation, I submit, can be explained only if *huelpi* does not carry the general designation of "young animals" but is restricted to "firstlings." There always will be newly born "young animals" each year but the possibility exists that there may not be a firstling of each species.

These contextual deductions are bolstered by semantic considerations. If the range of *huelpi* covers both newly produced fruit and first-fruits in regard to the yield of the fields, does it not stand to reason that it will also stand for the newly produced flocks and herds as well as their first-born? Moreover, even assuming that the herdsman could choose the god's sacrifice from any of the new offspring, would he not select the firstling which, in every cultic tradition in the ancient Near East, was inherently more sacred than other animals?

Perhaps it will not be amiss to note that in Hebrew the same root *bkr* yields the two substantives *bkwrym*, "first fruits" and *bkwrt*, "firstlings," and its *piel* denominative, *ybkr*, can mean both "bear first-fruits" (Ezek 47:12) and "treat as first-born" (Deut 21:16). Accordingly,

<sup>1</sup> A. Goetze, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 2nd edn. (1955), 207-210 and *A Hittite Chrestomathy*, E. H. Sturtevant and G. Bechtel (1935), 149-174.

<sup>2</sup> KUB X 27 I 25; XI 22 II 2f.; XVIII 14 III 8'; XXIV 7 II 5, 58, XXIV 9 III 25; XXVII 16 IV 6, 13; KBo III 8 III 32.

<sup>3</sup> *OLZ* (1933), Sp. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Orientalia* NS 8 (1939), 74.

<sup>5</sup> *Helhitisches Wörterbuch* (1952).

<sup>6</sup> *Kleinasiatic* <sup>2</sup> (1957), 164, note 10.

<sup>7</sup> *Alimenta Hethaeorum*, 16-18.