Kinship and History in South Asia

Four Lectures

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KINSHIP AND HISTORY IN SOUTH ASIA

Edited by

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PREFACE

The study of South Asian kinship has largely remained
the special preserve of anthropologists and sociologists.
While the historical dimension of kinship in the Subcontinent
has not been ignored, few historians and students of Indian
literatures have played a part in its elucidation. N.K. Wagle
and myself, historians of India with an interest in kinship,
believing that Indianists of various disciplines have much to
say to one another on the subject of "Kinship and History in
South Asia," and hopefully much to learn as well, organized
a small conference under that title at the University of Toronto
on May 12, 1973. The conference did not address itself to the
difficult theoretical issues posed by the conjunction of sociolog-
ical and historical knowledge; rather, scholars known to be
engaged in kinship studies were invited to present and discuss
papers on their current research, in hopes of broadening the
base of kinship studies by bringing together the specialized
works of scholars from different disciplines.

Four of the conference papers are published here.
Scholarship is a community venture, but it proceeds through
individuals, and although these papers draw upon one another,
and show several common concerns (in particular the theoretical
importance of Dravidian systems), they remain specialist
studies each with its own raison d'être. Brenda E.F. Beck
contributes a study of the "kinship nucleus" in Tamil folklore,
Lévi-Straussian both in its treatment of kinship and of
mythology; George L. Hart's study of woman and the sacred
in the ancient Tamil literature of the Sangam attempts to
elucidate the data of this literature in its own terms, and also
to relate it to Beck's "kinship nucleus"; Trautmann's is a
critical examination of the evidence for cross-cousin marriage
in early North India, essentially a question of determining
historical fact from literary materials; and Wagle presents a
survey of the data on kinship categories to be found in the
Pali Jātakas.

Two of the papers which were read at the Toronto conference do not appear in this volume. Ronald Inden and Ralph Nicholas' eighty-page paper on Bengali kinship is still growing and will, I am told, be published in monograph form when it reaches maturity. Clifford R. Jones' excellent paper on inscriptional evidence for the antiquity of the Cākyār community of Kerala will appear in a volume devoted to Sanskrit drama to be published in Hawaii. All of the papers published here have been revised since the conference; thus the Tamil folktales recounted in Beck's original paper, to which Hart and Trautmann refer, have been compressed in the published version, and will be presented more fully in a later work.

It is my pleasant duty to acknowledge the support extended by the South Asia Regional Council, the University of Toronto through its South Asian Studies Committee of the International Studies Programme, and the Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies of the University of Michigan, which made the holding of the conference and the publication of this volume possible. We are grateful to the Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, University of Toronto, for its hospitality during the conference.

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THE KIN NUCLEUS IN TAMIL FOLKLORE[1]

by

BRENDA E. F. BECK

    This paper builds on the idea that there are two dimensions or levels to any kinship structure. One level describes relations between descent groups, the other certain special bonds that exist between the members of a small "kin nucleus." The discussion will pursue this idea as it relates to Dravidian kinship in general, and to the Tamil-speaking groups of South India, in particular.

The Idea of Opposing Forces Within the Kin Nucleus

    A.R. Radcliffe-Brown was the first to suggest the idea of a kin nucleus defined by certain complementary forces or senti-ments. He noticed that ties of sentiment and of familiarity seemed to counterbalance relationships of descent and authority in many societies. He particularly singled out ego's father and ego's mother's brother as men whose attitudes were patterned so as to make an opposing pair. Where the father's role was authoritarian, he observed, the mother's brother's was equali-tarian. He also observed that familial authority tended to follow lines of descent and inheritance, so that in a matrilineal society the mother's brother could be expected to occupy a position of command and the father to take on the role of friend and sympathizer. Radcliffe-Brown also noticed that the focal members of this counterbalancing structure were males who belonged to two different descent groups. [2]

Claude Lévi-Strauss has picked up on Radcliffe-Brown's observations and expanded them so as to encompass a family "nucleus" of four relationships. This well-known author suggests that not only is the relationship of father to son opposed in quality or type to that between mother's brother and sister's son, but that a related opposition between husband/wife and brother/sister bonds is equally important. Lévi-Strauss has further tried to illustrate this enlarged set of oppositions with a series of diagrams. He depicts related patterns behind these "balancing forces" in four different societies.[3] More recently Pierre Maranda has tried to generalize Lévi-Strauss' suggestion by finding a mathematical expression for it. In words rather than in symbols his reformulation of the idea reads:[4]

$$\frac{\text{father/son (1)}}{\text{mother's brother/sister's son (2)}} \; :: \; \frac{\text{husband/wife (3)}}{\text{brother/sister (4)}}$$

This equation suggests that if relationships 1 and 2 are opposed in type, then relationships 3 and 4 will be similarly opposed. A similarity in type between 1 and 2, or 3 and 4, though allowed by the formula, is taken to be a very rare occurrence. Indeed Lévi-Strauss suggests that this latter type of structure could well be expected to break down or at least to change rapidly into some other form. The change would be caused by a "lack of balance" in such cases, in the structural tensions of various parts of the nucleus.[5] Pierre Maranda carries these ideas one step further by suggesting that it becomes the function of the wife and children to mediate between a brother's and a father's descent group and their structurally opposed roles.[6]

In addition to these interesting theoretical developments it is important to note that the kin nucleus under discussion is not meant to model an actual day-to-day kin unit. Instead it is concerned with a set of preconceived connections between close relatives. Members of the "nucleus" need not live together or even see one another frequently. The pattern these analysts have attempted to describe, therefore, can not be linked directly to action. It builds, rather, on concepts and feelings about kinsmen that are expressed less directly in mediums such as folklore and ritual prescription.

Dravidian Kinship, an Overview

Previous studies of Dravidian kinship have made the complementarity of cross and parallel male groupings a fundamental characteristic of South Indian kin organization. On the one hand, there are wife-givers and wife-takers, and on the other, ego's own descent group members and their associates.[7] The logic is binary in type, so that "givers" to one's own givers become classified as members of one's own group. The cross/parallel distinction subdivides ego's larger kin universe into two complementary halves. Despite repeated work on this aspect of South Indian kinship, however, the presence or absence of a "kin nucleus" within this larger system of relationships has not yet been discussed.
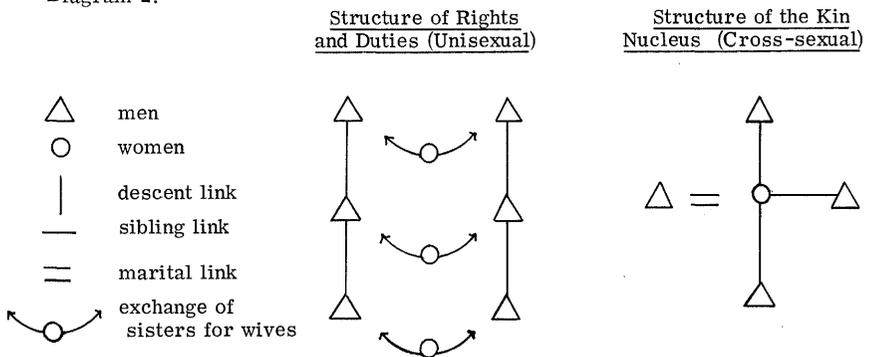
In the light of the above it is interesting to discover that Tamil folklore rarely mentions larger, opposed groupings of cross and parallel males. Instead one can say that the folklore complements the above analysis by placing a marked stress on relationships between immediate family members. Such a finding suggests that the folklore itself acts as a kind of counter-weight to the formal exchange relationships of everyday experience. As Lévi-Strauss has already argued, the stories a culture develops often "mediate" between the categories in which normal life is structured.[8]

It is also important to note that the three biologically determined cross-sex ties in the nucleus receive very special status in the Dravidian cross-parallel scheme. These three basic bonds (father/daughter, mother/son, and brother/sister), unlike other more distant cross-sex links, are not viewed as creating "cross" relationships. Instead a seemingly inverse logic is applied to these critical cross-sex relations within the nucleus itself. Here any implication of sexual attraction is forbidden (unlike cross-kin relations where sexual joking is encouraged), and substituted for any hint of erotic interest is the notion of very profound respect. It is by reference to this pattern that the mythology makes such an issue of incestuous desires.

The notion of diffuse but powerful cross-sex bonds in the kin nucleus thus serves to "complement" the larger and more nearly unisexual and role-specific structure of other relations

between parallel kinsmen. Nuclear cross-sex bonds are a
private family generator, so to speak, of productive energy.
Cross-sex bonds in the nucleus, when properly managed, can
lead to special power. They are expected to serve as a well-
spring of potential prosperity for the family as a whole. The
proper control of incestuous desire can thus transform poten-
tially destructive force into a very special creative energy.
Indeed, a Tamil might call this the secret of "culture" itself.
No wonder the mythology and folklore deal so extensively with
the kin nucleus and repeatedly link it to a special kind of human
power. And no wonder incest is an important theme in these
stories, a drive whose goal is generally thwarted by some
violent act that serves to convert its force into a diffuse and
divinely inspired blessing. [9]

This paper will attempt to develop in some detail the
possibility that there is a "kin nucleus" described by Tamil
folklore, and particularly by Tamil mythology. In this develop-
ment it will be seen that my formulation of the nuclear structure
in the Tamil material builds on Lévi-Strauss' and Maranda's
ideas. But the conceptualization of the nucleus put forward here
also builds on these more general accounts in several ways.
Before proceeding, therefore, let us try to sketch the structure
suggested by previous authors. Lévi-Strauss, and particularly
Maranda, make the point that a wife and son can be seen to act
as mediators between opposed male groupings. Such mediating
roles are accompanied by the mediating or transitional actions
which such characters perform in myth. Their conception of
the nuclear structure can be said to resemble that provided by
the following diagram:

Diagram 1: Sketch of Lévi-Strauss' and Maranda's Conceptual-
              ization of the Kin Nucleus

O female

△ male
— marriage

——— sibling

| parent/
 child

pole 1

pole 2

mediators

My own work on Tamil folklore supplies support for the universality of this general structural form, but also adds to it certain unique features. In Tamil society we have seen that uni-sex relationships, (those of male to male or female to female), are concerned with the transmission of rights and duties, while cross-sex relationships (male to female) seem to be differently conceived. They are, by contrast, mainly concerned with basic issues underlying the family structure as a whole. Basic to this male/female relationship are such important themes as procreation, prosperity, well-being and the magical force of blessings or curses. Hence, where uni-sex relationships are concerned with authority and with practical matters, cross-sex relationships can be characterized by a complementary aspect of life, the ebb and flow of life-force and of good luck in general. If rights and duties stem primarily from men's relationships to other men,[10] then magical increase stems from men's relationships to women. This makes for two levels in the Tamil kin structure, as diagramed below. Note that the second level differs from the sketch in Diagram 1 by adding wife's father, and by putting the female in an even more central position than in the version drawn above. The pattern of "balance" between attitudes of male authority and male familiarity remain similar in this nucleus to that noted by previous authors. Wife and child, furthermore, continue to serve as mediators. I shall not discuss these "general features," but concentrate on the more unique aspects of the Dravidian model.

Diagram 2:

Structure of Rights and Duties (Unisexual)

Structure of the Kin Nucleus (Cross-sexual)

△ men
○ women
| descent link
— sibling link
= marital link
⌣ exchange of sisters for wives

This discovery of a family nucleus rather than a cross/
parallel or section-system structure in the kinship relations
described by folklore does not, of course, negate the former
perspective. We are dealing here with two very different
"levels" in the conceptualization of kinship organization. It is
not just that lineages and cross/parallel categories are larger
units built by putting a number of family nuclei together. They
are rather two different perspectives on kinship as such. In the
first, relationships between descent groups, sections or termi-
nological categories of kinsmen are stressed. On this level
relationships are thought of in terms of sharing versus giving
away, or of authority and submission versus mutuality and
spontaneity. On the other level, by contrast, basic biologically
defined bonds between cross-sexed individuals are stressed,
rather than "cultural" ties arising from the social organization
of men in groups. [11] Both these perspectives must be taken into
account in our efforts to understand Dravidian kinship as a
whole.

Diagram 3: Layers of Dravidian Kinship, Showing the Effects
of "Interference"

| parallel relatives | 1 |
| cross relatives | |
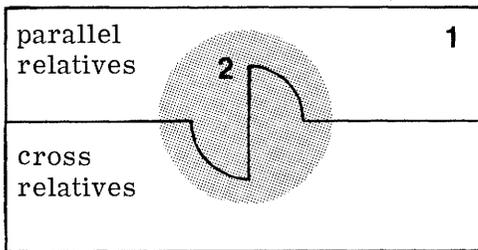
Dimension 1: The structure of the larger kin universe

Dimension 2: The structure of the kin nucleus which converts sexual attraction into magical or divine power

The Central Position of the Female

In the above account we suggest that a "kin nucleus" lies at the heart of South Indian kinship. At the center of this nucleus, furthermore, is a female who is surrounded by males. This placement of the female at the center of things is not something derived from other characteristics of the structure. In the South Indian view this placement of a female in the center is quite positive, conscious and direct. Women, it is said, are a source of power. Their sakti lies behind everything, every event in the world. Furthermore, a female is often taken as the first principle in Tamil accounts of the creation. A woman is also the first among gods in several well-known stories. Indeed Sakti (female force or power personified) created Siva. As first principle she provided the energy potential from which all else, including her husband, was later formed.[12]

It is important to point out, however, that the Hindu goddesses (dēvi) have destructive potential as well as basic creative power. A dēvi may bring prosperity and rain, but also famine and disease. Having this dual energy, the goddess is always feared as well as respected. She is essential to human prosperity, but she is also dangerous. And the female in folklore is similar to the dēvi of myth. Any female is a potential wellspring of fertility, abundance and good luck, but she is also a source of "heat" or fire that can "burn" those who behave unrighteously. The power of the female can cause a male to be successful, strong, and prosperous, or it can cause him to suffer defeat, misfortune and poverty.

In order to minimize the danger of female anger, and to maximize the constructive application of their power, women must at all times be connected to and contained by their male relatives. In compensation such men stand to benefit from the blessings and good luck that flow from a woman who is chaste and whose power is controlled and well managed. A virgin sister's blessing can win battles for her fathers and brothers, while a chaste wife can increase a husband's prosperity and fighting power.[13] But if a man should mistreat a woman who is under his protection, or ignore her just demands, he opens himself to her curse. And a woman, when upset, has a destructive power equal to her previous creative potential. In Tamil folklore men and their entire families sometimes suffer

impoverishment and even death when they become objects of such righteous female anger.

In the folklore there are numerous examples of the extensive "influence" of a female upon the lives of her father, brother, husband and son. Take the case of a daughter. Young unmarried girls are often identified with a group of seven goddesses called the Kaṇṇimār. Their playfulness and unconscious sexuality are viewed as a kind of power which can be transferred to brothers and fathers in the family in the form of increased prosperity. If such girls die before marriage they are quite explicitly merged with these seven divinities and later worshipped as one of them. A clan song, from which I quote a few verses below, makes the point of this transference of sakti or power from young girls to their fathers and brothers (the clan's adult members) quite vivid. [14]

> The Kaṇṇimār are playing in the prosperous
>   village of Taiyanur
> Their black hair flows and they are singing
> Their bangles are shaking and tinkling
> They raise their arms and toss their seven balls
>
> The five hundred men of Taiyanur live like
>   Kuberan with plenty of wealth
> Their hearts are kind and they speak softly.
>   Let their descendents live long
> In order that they may live, our Kaṇṇimār
>   are playing like this. Making noise with
>   their anklets they play happily
>
> For the prosperity of the five hundred these
>   girls are playing
> While they play their gold ornaments sway
> You can see the beauty of the muscles in their
>   waists contracting
> Their braids of hair are swaying
> The devotees are asking for grace. All the
>   gods are praising them
> Let the five hundred live long

At marriage, however, a girl's potential power becomes the property of her husband. There are many folk stories where men are aided in battle by chaste wives. Sometimes this is

carried to an extreme where they simply sit in a locked castle and spin, a kind of symbolic expression of productivity resulting from their carefully guarded sexuality. [15] Sons are similarly aided by chaste and ritually pure mothers. Indeed, the ritual status of the mother has a critical influence on the ritual status of her children. [16] Her responsibility for the purity of the family food and of the family home are also thought to be directly linked to the prosperity of the household as a whole.

In all these ways, then, the female is quite explicitly surrounded and constrained by four male relatives: her father, brother, husband and son. These four males must guard her in order to direct her energies towards constructive ends. But her relationship to these four males is always ambivalent. Her power will be greatly respected by them, if well controlled, but it will also be feared. The female is the material or source of productive energy on which the kinship system is built, but she is also a kind of watch dog who ensures its proper functioning. Her curse can destroy evil relatives as fast as her blessings can advance the interests of the just.

The above description makes it clear that because of the dual nature of female power, relationships between males and females in Tamil kinship are of a different order than those between persons of the same sex. Cross-sex links have to do with the general themes of prosperity and power (and their opposites), while uni-sex relationships have to do with descent, authority, and rights and obligations of a more formal and everyday sort. The kinship terminology stresses this difference by distinguishing between "cross" and "parallel" relatives, while customary practice reinforces this contrast. Cross relatives are people with whom one should joke, be friendly and familiar and, above all, exchange gifts. Parallel relatives, on the other hand, are people with whom more formal and more restrained interaction is expected. Such behavior patterns are suited to relationships involving authority, responsibility, and rights of inheritance.

The Dravidian Pantheon and Its Supporting Mythology

Let us now turn to a vivid demonstration of how Tamil myth builds on the "kin nucleus" just described. In finding supporting data we can use stories about the very greatest of

the Hindu gods, Siva and Vishnu themselves. Unlike North India, where Siva and Vishnu are thought of as unrelated, in the Tamil mythology they are said to be brothers-in-law. This emphasis on bringing Siva and Vishnu together illustrates the Tamil genius for perceiving order in seemingly disparate material. But it is also related to the fact that in Tamil-speaking areas there is a great stress laid on brother-in-law cooperation and friendship. Indeed, there is an important contrast here with North India where the relationship between wife's brother and sister's husband is generally said to be strained.

In the North a woman is seen as almost totally transferred from her brothers (and father) to her husband at marriage. Furthermore, the separation of these two men and their families is strongly supported by custom. In practice this is done by insisting that the wife's brother always give gifts to his sister but never receive them. Visiting between these two men, furthermore, is purposefully kept to a minimum.[17] In several North Indian languages, wife's brother is actually a swear word,[18] while it is a term of affection in the South. Even here some evidence of strain is apparent, as brothers-in-law in Tamilnad have a "joking relationship." Nonetheless, according to Dravidian tradition the relationship between two men who have exchanged a woman is expected to be equalitarian and friendly in a general sense. Thus, in Southern perspective, Siva and Vishnu make appropriate brothers-in-law,[19] while such a relationship would seem to create too great a gulf and status inconsistency between them in the eyes of Northerners. The basic pantheon of deities, as viewed by a Southerner, can now be sketched below.
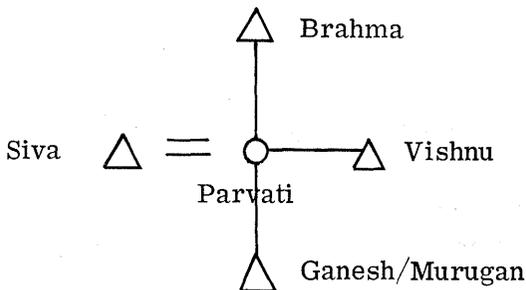

Diagram 4: The Structure of the Southern Hindu Pantheon

The basic South Indian Hindu pantheon thus contains a married couple (Siva and Parvati), plus Parvati's all-important male sibling (Vishnu), their father, Brahma,[20] and two sons, Ganesh (also known as Ganapati or Vināyakar), and Murugan (also known as Skanda, Kartikeya, or Subrahmaniam). The two sons are structurally equivalent. As brothers they are, in many ways, mutually interchangeable.[21] For this reason Ganesh and Murugan can be grouped together in illustrating the basic pantheon structure.

There are also some interesting differences between Ganesh and Murugan, however, which help to illumine the importance of incestuous desires in structuring "nuclear" relationships. I will briefly discuss these first. Ganesh, who is the elder son, is more closely associated with his father. He is generally taken for an ascetic (like Siva himself) though in mythology he is said to be married to one of his mother's brother's daughters.[22] His elephant-style head is generally explained by the story that his father cut off his former, human head when Ganesh one day refused his father access to the place where his mother was bathing. Siva later replaced his son's head with that of the first animal he could find, an elephant.[23] The coincidence of finding "an elephant" can hardly be passed by without hinting at its symbolic significance. An elephant's trunk can be said to reach out like a penis, and to symbolize sexual yearning on the part of the son for the mother. But at the same time it makes cruel fun of that desire, for a "trunk" is blatantly in the wrong place for sexual purposes.

This incestuous striving towards his mother which Ganesh exhibits is further confirmed by other stories. For example, there is one tale that purports to explain why his images are so often found on river banks and at the edges of ponds. Ganesh, it is said, is waiting patiently, watching all the women who come to bathe, until he can find one as beautiful as Parvati herself. This is the woman he will marry.[24] And the fat belly of Ganesh can also be linked to his frustrated and rather ludicrous position as eldest son. Ganesh is an ascetic, like his father, but being so fat his asceticism itself is a kind of joke. Both the elephant's trunk and the fat belly, I think, suggest the paradox that Ganesh is like his father in essence, but at the same time is so totally dominated and immobilized by the latter's presence that he cannot possibly challenge him. In Tamil folklore and myth more

generally, the Greek oedipal theme can thus be seen to be present in an "inverted" form.[25] Here the son is murdered, not the father. The incestuous act itself, furthermore, is rarely committed.

Murugan, Siva's other son, is a handsome child. He is the "baby" doted upon by his mother, Parvati. In pictures he has soft, pinkish skin like hers, and he is often portrayed sitting in her lap or arms. Unlike his elder brother, Murugan is "too young" to be sexually challenging. He is the respectable and adorable aspect of "son" whose close bond to his mother can be portrayed legitimately and without sexual overtones. In regard to his father, furthermore, Murugan's relationship is one of simple distance and there is little in the mythology that describes them together. An exception is the time Siva set his two sons to a test. They were to travel in a circle around the entire world, and whoever returned first would be rewarded with a lovely fruit. Murugan took his father's words literally and set off at a run. Ganesh, however, sat a moment and thought. He remembered that his father and mother were equivalent "to the entire world" and resolved to simply walk around them once, recognizing their status with this gesture of homage or worship. Ganesh, of course, won the contest as a result. Murugan, on the other hand, was angry when he discovered he had lost and ran away from home.[26] Thus, in order to win, Ganesh had to reaffirm his parents' absolute authority, while Murugan chose to run away. Both sons, therefore, have a rather negative relationship to their father, but only the elder is truly dominated by him.

This contrast between Siva's two sons is also evident in the roles they play vis-à-vis their worshippers. Ganesh, the elder, is mainly seen as someone who helps overcome obstacles and inauspicious influences. Murugan, on the other hand, has a more positive personality and is a granter of favors or boons. Murugan is known to respond to a devotee's expressions of affection and of need. He is, accordingly, the more popular god and indeed his worship has witnessed a particularly important upsurge in the past few years. He may well be the most important figure in Tamil Saivite worship today.[27]

What about Vaisnavite devotionalism however? How does this fit into the nuclear family picture just sketched?

Vaisnavites, for a start, contend vigorously that Vishnu is the supreme deity.[28] While Saivism can be said to be eclectic and monotheistic at the same time (recognizing many gods but seeing them all as an emanation of one great and unified god-head), Vaisnavism has a stronger sectarian flavor. Furthermore, Vaisnavite theologians stress the value of bhakti or personalized and ecstatic worship.[29] This has made Vishnu a generally warm and personalized godhead by comparison to Siva. Viewing this Vaisnavite/Saivite contrast from the perspective of the nucleus just outlined, Siva and Parvati and their two sons can be seen as symbolizing the human family. Such a unit necessarily involves overtones of paternal authority, coupled with a pattern of submission by their sons. Vishnu, on the other hand, is a less forbidding figure. He is Siva's ally and he helps him in numerous circumstances. He is also independent. Vishnu is his own man. He is not required to submit to the rigid rules and authority patterns which are meant to block any incestuous interest that might develop between parents and children. He is therefore the perfect symbol of a countervailing religious theme, that of god's giving, helpful qualities. Vishnu also responds to expressions of personal affection. In principle (if not always in practice) his worship need not be hampered by excessive ritualism and priestly authority.[30]

Consistent with this devotional theme in Vaisnavism is the fact that Vishnu has no "family" in the normal sense. It is true that he has a wife, Laksmi, but she has become a simple symbol of wealth and good fortune, rather than a symbol of motherhood in any form. Instead of having sons, Vishnu unselfishly appears, himself, to save the world from destruction. These are his "avatar" forms, a kind of series of reincarnations for which he is famous. Some stories do refer to Vishnu's daughters but these women are certainly not the offspring of Laksmi and Vishnu as a couple. Instead, Vishnu's so-called "daughters" are merely vehicles for arranging cross-cousin marriages (mother's brother's daughters' marriages) for Siva's two sons.[31] These marriages complete the "family" structure from the Saivite perspective, but they are not given any importance at all from the Vaisnavite standpoint.

Father and Son Confusions

One further important figure in Vishnu's "family" remains to be discussed. This is the puzzle presented by the god Brahma, who is the third male in the great Hindu triad. The general tradition concerning Brahma is that he is the "creator," the "lord" and the "father" of all beings. In the earliest texts, such as the Satapatha Brahmana, he was the very first being to arise from the waters. [32] Vishnu and others were created by him. With the increasing stress on Vishnu as a supreme god, however, Brahma's role became merged with that of this latter divinity. Several avatar forms, such as that of the tortoise and the boar, for example, were first considered forms of Brahma, but in later mythology are taken as forms of Vishnu. [33]

The historical "merging" of Brahma and Vishnu has made their relative positioning quite ambiguous. Nowadays Brahma is said to be Vishnu's son, but various stories and iconographic traditions suggest that the earlier idea of Brahma as "father" is still alive. This idea is now heretical, when made explicit, because it suggests that Brahma and not Vishnu is supreme. It also introduces overtones of "family" into Vishnu's background. Nonetheless, several kinds of evidence can be cited for an indirect "inversion" or counter theme that makes Brahma into father and Vishnu into son.

First, in both the puranic and the iconographic tradition Vishnu is said to have given birth to Brahma via a lotus stalk that springs from the former's navel. This event has been represented pictorially by showing Brahma high up in the clouds, sitting on a lotus whose stalk is firmly connected to Vishnu's stomach. Not only does this make Brahma "higher" than Vishnu, hence the suggestion of priority in time, but the stalk, like an umbilical cord, connects from a space between the buttocks of Brahma to the navel of Vishnu, [34] just as would be the biological reality if Vishnu were the "child." In addition, in iconographic representations of Parvati's wedding, Vishnu and Brahma often stand together at Parvati's side. Vishnu is explicitly Parvati's brother, while Brahma stands, spatially, where any other members of Vishnu's descent group should be who participate in "giving" the woman away. Such a role in the wedding would certainly devolve on Brahma as "father" of the bride and not as her brother's "son."

There are also hints in the mythology that Brahma, as the symbolic "father" of Parvati, is incestuously attracted to her. In this role he becomes a rival of her husband, Siva. For example, there is the famous story of how Siva cut off Brahma's fifth head when Parvati one day mistook this interloper for her own conjugal mate. Siva responds by beheading the intruder, just as in the story described previously he once cut off his own son's head for similarly symbolic behavior. In the one story this incestuous interest emanates from the son. In the other (by implication), it comes from the father. This leaves Vishnu himself as the third male in a potentially incestuous triad. And Vishnu's incestuous interest in his sister is well-known, at least in Orissan tradition. [35]

Finally, there is the famous story of Daksha's sacrifice. Daksha, who is described as Parvati's father in this story, was in turn fathered by Brahma himself. Siva destroyed Daksha's sacrifice and decapitated his father-in-law in an argument over powers the latter was trying to obtain. [36] In this description Brahma is one step removed, in that he is "grandfather" and not father of Siva's wife. But father and father's father are difficult to distinguish socially, and are perhaps even more intimately linked in ritual and mythological perspective. For all these reasons, then, it would seem that Brahma as "father" and Brahma as "son" have become merged in popular perspective. From the current theological perspective Brahma is unambiguously "son," but in terms of more hidden forms of evidence such an argument is not totally persuasive. Father and son are one in terms of orthodox values and also merge in terms of personal family bonds. [37] In symbolic discourse we find that the roles of these two become inverted with ease. In addition to incestuous desire, therefore, the interchangeability of father and son is an important theme underlying the structure of the Tamil kin nucleus. To accord with the above the two relationships marked with an X in the diagram below should always be understood as near equivalents.

Diagram 5: <u>The "Confusion of Father and Son" as Built into the</u>
            <u>Structure of the Kin Nucleus</u>
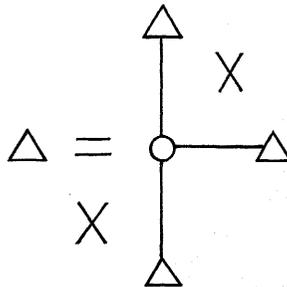
     The same father/son confusion can be observed in popular
worship. If we take the case of Murugan we can see this very
clearly. Murugan is always represented as a young boy. Often
pictures show him as a child, while many of his temple images
represent him as an adolescent. Murugan thus stands for the
very idea of "son," the apple of his mother's eye. Yet his
devotees address him as "father" and as "lord." They come to
him calling themselves his "sons" and ask him for boons or for
help in distress. Self-abnegation and physical penance are also
important themes in his worship. [38] Such gestures of submission
and of self-discipline in his presence remind one, in principle
(if not in severity) of the symbolic submission Siva demanded of
his own senior son, by cutting off his head. Here the junior son,
less dominated by his own father, in turn becomes "father" to
adult devotees.

     Furthermore, this father/son paradox reaches right into
the terminology of address used in the normal family. Young
male children, for example, are often called <u>appa</u> (father) and
<u>sāmi</u> (lord), just as Murugan himself is addressed in this fashion.
The equation of one's own son with this god is indeed often made
explicit, for when a young boy is taken to a Murugan temple for
worship he can be addressed like the god himself. His head will
be freshly shaven and covered in sandalwood paste, his chest
garlanded, and he will be treated with special respect. Hence
child and god merge in Tamil tradition, just as the roles of son
and father become confused. Indeed one might almost see the
strongly hierarchical relations between the members of these
dyads in everyday life as the force behind such inversions as
they occur in the mythological and ritual realm.

Lastly, it should be noted that Murugan is not the only youthful male who receives the special attention of devotees. Krishna, an incarnation of Vishnu in childlike form, is of course one of the most popular Vaisnavite deities. His character, and even the stories about him, resemble those told about Murugan.[39] There is also the famous deity of Andhra, Lord Venkateswarar, who is a youthful male living on a mountain top and married to two women (as Murugan and Krishna also are). And finally there is the famous Ayappan of Kerala, located high on Saberi mountain, who is also youthful and wedded twice.

Besides their youth, their handsomeness, and their dual marriages, however, all these deities (with the possible exception of Krishna) have a further intriguing trait in common. Each of them combines the attributes of Vishnu and Siva in some way. Murugan is understood to be the offspring of Siva's union with Vishnu's sister. Venkateswarar, officially claimed as a Vaisnavite deity, has the ending eswarar on his name which implies a relationship to Siva. Aiyappan, best of all, is explicitly the product of Siva's sexual union with Hari (who was Vishnu in female form). Hence, in all three cases a junction of Siva and Vishnu is symbolized by these popular and youthful male forms. A tendency towards religious syncretism may be a factor in this, but surely there is also a structural predisposition towards it, as earlier pointed out by Lévi-Strauss and Maranda. The son is linked via the mother, both to father and to mother's brother. He is the end result of the transformation of the sister into a wife in the previous generation, and is ultimately the product of a conjunction between two male lines. While the father/son theme and its curious inversions account for the repeated stress on a youthful but authoritative and demanding male deity, the conjunction of male lines represented by a son accounts for the common syncretic character of these several popular young gods.

The Ritual Calendar

A final direction in which the theme of a kin nucleus may be taken is as an aid in understanding the cycle of the Hindu festival calendar. This is a vast subject requiring separate treatment. However, one may just briefly point to certain Hindu festivals that correspond in a general way to the structure of the Dravidian kin nucleus taken in successive steps.

In this regard compare the two sketches below.

Diagram 6: The Kin Nucleus Compared to the Festival Cycle
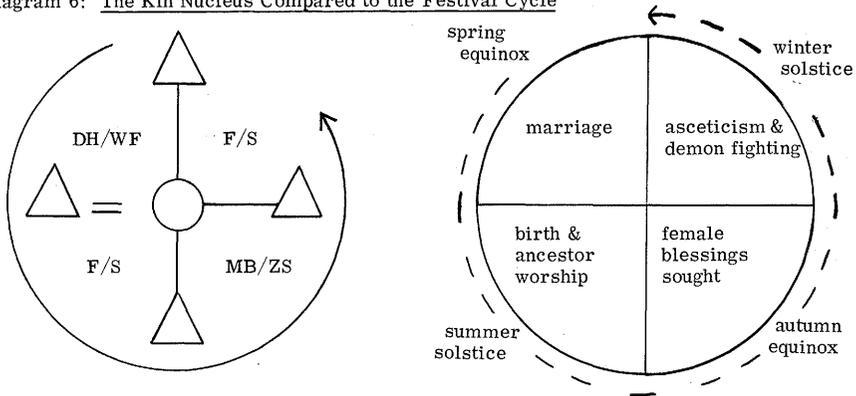
During the period around the spring equinox[40] an emphasis is placed on the weddings of the gods, particularly the wedding of Siva and Parvati. In the ensuing quarter of the cycle, in the neighborhood of the summer solstice, the emphasis is on the birthdays of the gods, particularly the god Murugan. The child Krishna is also worshipped at several festivals that occur during this period. Interestingly, however, this same quarter is a time for ancestor worship, and is particularly appropriate for the setting out of offerings to deceased "fathers." In this second quarter of the ceremonial calendar, therefore, the father/son and related birth/death themes again are seen to merge. After the summer solstice, however, the emphasis shifts to the brother/sister bond, and to the trouble females can cause if their blessings are not sought. Finally, in the fourth quarter that lies in the neighborhood of the winter solstice, rituals are devoted to male asceticism and to the celebration of their role as warriors and demon fighters. Asceticism lends these young men strength and leads to their eventual victory in battle. Victory in turn discharges their responsibilities as renouncer/students or brahmacaryas and readies them for marriage. The nuptial ceremonies performed in the following quarter begin the entire round of ceremonies again.

We have in the festival cycle, therefore, a replication of the life cycle of individual males. This is not in itself surprising, as many festival cycles take this basic form. But it is interesting that in Southern India the yearly round should highlight some of the characteristics of the structure of the kin nucleus so clearly. The cycle begins with marriage, the joining of male and female, and the creation of a new nucleus. There is in this union, how- ever, the potential for a new bond, that between mother and son. The appearance of this new tie is celebrated in quarter two. Soon thereafter there is a festival marking the main period of ancestor worship. Now that a man's son is born the tie with his own father is transformed. Grandfather is soon to become ancestor and his death is complemented by his symbolic rebirth in the nether world.

Following birth, in the third quarter, is the recognition of the young son's bond to two females, his mother and his sister. A man must give due recognition and assistance to both these women, lest they harm him and cause him suffering. The festivals of the third period are hence devoted to the power of women both to aid and to harm. The blessings of the sister are particularly sought. In the final period or quarter, after these blessings have been obtained and the proper responsibilities discharged, the young man becomes ready for studenthood and warrior status.

The festivals of this fourth quarter, therefore, stress the single male and his success in battles against demons. Fasting is also popular, particularly among women who are thought able to aid male relatives in this way. The fourth quarter thus represents a period of asceticism. It also suggests the loosen- ing of bonds between a young man and his family of origin. This is the period when he prepares to enter the world on his own, and eventually to marry and to start the cycle once more. In this sense, then, the yearly festival cycle serves as a ritual expression of processes that occur "naturally" and sequentially within the kin nucleus itself. Such festivals re-enact the gradual grafting of new points onto a larger network and the slow shifting of bonds in the direction of members of new generations.

Conclusion

In the foregoing pages it has been suggested that there are
at least two levels to the Dravidian kinship structure. There is
the already well-attested level of organization that conceives of
kinship in terms of male and/or female descent lines. Even
where actual descent lines are absent, the notion of two comple-
mentary, exogamous male groupings is preserved by the cross/
parallel structure of the terminology. However, the way in
which cross-sex bonds within the kin nucleus are given special
status only makes sense if viewed as a response to an additional
concept of nuclear family bonds. An examination of themes in
folklore and myth, furthermore, suggests that these nuclear
bonds primarily link a solitary female to four males, a father,
a brother, a husband, and a son. These men are jointly
responsible for protecting that female and managing her special
powers. Their control and respect redirect potentially inces-
tuous drives and focus this "nuclear" force on constructive ends.

In the Tamil view men are responsible for structuring and
maintaining the kinship system. They are the primary actors in
the network that surrounds the female. Females, however,
"underlie" this system in the sense that males are linked to one
another via biological and cultural ties to women. Women serve
as "cement" while men are girders or beams of the structure.
In a day-to-day sense this makes the females subordinate to men.
But ultimately they are the very source of that fertility and human
abundance which the kinship system tries to manage. When
mistreated or angered, a woman can utterly destroy those men
who are linked to her and the entire structure of kin bonds they
struggled to build.[41] Lévi-Strauss has called this kind of
complementarity between men and women one of nature and
culture. He would label women as the "natural" source of human
energy and well-being, and men the representatives of the
"culture" intended to utilize and control their power.[42]
However, females in Tamil folklore can also control and manage
themselves if there is need to. It is precisely female self-
control and their private judgment about correct human (rather
than natural) behavior that makes women secretly into goddesses.[43]
When single-minded, a woman can bring together the power of
her "nature" with the force of her chastity (culturally developed
control) to become a representative of a super or divine force
(called dēvi).

The concept of female power as bonding or cementing males
together to create structures is attested by many stories in the
folklore.[44] But the most forceful illustration of this theme is
to be found in the structure of the South Indian pantheon itself.
Here the nuclear kin structure is laid out in its entirety, with
Parvati the bonding link between Brahma (her proto father),
Vishnu (her brother), Siva (her husband), and Ganesh and
Murugan (her sons). Her purity and self-control are the concern
of all four, for their own well-being and status rests upon hers.
In real life the purity of a woman as sister and as daughter
stands to increase family prosperity, while her purity as wife
and mother can affect the social rank of her husband and sons.

The concept of a kin nucleus in Tamil folklore thus helps
us to understand the complexity of the kinship system. We can
now interpret various aspects of terminology and behavior in
terms of the interaction of two complementary structures, one
having a nuclear and the other a bifurcate or moiety pattern.
The introduction of such an idea helps make sense of a great
deal of the folklore. It also helps us understand the Hindu gods
themselves. Finally, such a concept helps to make sense out
of the Hindu festival year. We have seen that the nuclear
view is one which puts the female at the center. In this sense
it is kinship viewed from the female perspective. But such a
structure should be seen as only half the picture. In a second
and complementary dimension opposed male groupings stress
the larger pattern of exchange.

Notes

2.   A.R. Radcliffe-Brown as summarized in Pierre
     Maranda's "Note sur l'élément de parenté,"
     Anthropos, Vol. 58, 1963.

3.   Claude Lévi-Strauss, p. 45 of "Structural Analysis in
     Linguistics and Anthropology," in C. Levi-Strauss'
     Structural Anthropology (C. Jacobson and B.G. Schoepf,
     trans.), New York, Basic Books, 1963.

4.   Pierre Maranda, "Note.....", op. cit., p. 812. I have
     rewritten the formula in words for ease of understanding.

5.   Claude Lévi-Strauss, p. 73 of "Linguistics and Anthro-
     pology," in Structural Anthropology, op. cit.

6.   Although this idea is already latent in Lévi-Strauss'
     work, Maranda brings it to the forefront. See P.
     Maranda, op. cit., p. 825.

7.   The references are numerous. I cite only a few
     examples. Louis Dumont, "The Dravidian Kinship
     Terminology as an Expression of Marriage," Man 54,
     article 224 (1953), Hierarchy and Marriage Alliance in
     South Indian Kinship, Occasional Papers of the Royal
     Anthropological Institute, no. 12, London, 1957,
     "Structural Theory and Descent Group Theory in South
     India," Man 60, article 125 (1960), Edmund Leach,
     Pul Eliya, a Village in Ceylon: A Study of Land Tenure
     and Kinship, Cambridge University Press, 1961,

Nur Yalman, <u>Under the Bo Tree</u>, University of California Press, 1967, and Brenda E. F. Beck, <u>Peasant Society in Koṅku: A Study of Right and Left Subcastes in South India</u>, University of British Columbia Press, 1972.

8. Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The Story of Asdiwal," (Nicholas Mann, trans.), in Edmund Leach, ed., <u>The Structural Study of Myth and Totemism</u>, London, Tavistock, 1967, and "The Structural Study of Myth," in <u>Structural Anthropology</u>, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 167-185.

9. This interpretation of the function of incest prohibitions is somewhat different from that developed by Claude Lévi-Strauss. My view does not dispute the suggestion that a prohibition of sexual liaisons within the family serves the positive function of requiring the creation of new bonds with outsiders, as developed in <u>Les Structures Élémentaires de la Parenté</u>, (2nd ed.), Paris, Mouton, 1967, pp. 29, 37, and 549-551. However, it does suggest that an additional mysterious or "nuclear" power is created when sexual attraction between the biologically related members of the nucleus is commuted into a kind of atom where oppositely charged particles revolve around one another without uniting. One might almost speak of the proton/neutron bond in the center of an atom as an analogy for the wife's union with her husband, while the electrons which evolve around this unit structurally resemble the position of the wife's father, brother and son. These three latter males retain a tie to the female in the center, but are never able to physically join her, their "natural" opposite. Such a union would cause an "explosion" and dissipate the special force that exists between them.

10. There are also, however, rights to certain household objects and to jewelry that link mother and daughter. Taking these into account one can speak of a complementary set of rights defining descent chains of women.

11. Take, for example, the difference between the brother/ sister tie and the mother's brother/sister's daughter bond. This latter relationship is also very important. Indeed, it is given great attention in ritual. This linkage

has not been included in the nucleus, however, for
several reasons: 1) it is not prominently discussed in
the folklore, 2) it seems to involve a "transfer" of the
brother's interest from sister to daughter and is, in a
sense, a "repeat" of the former link, but in a new
generation where incest is no longer an issue, and 3)
the ritual concern of the mother's brother revolves
around the marriage of this girl, either to himself, or
to one of her cross-cousins. It is thus more properly
discussed at the level of kinship alliance than at the level
of the family nucleus (see diagram 3).

12. Sri Dēvi Karumāri Tāsar, Sri Dēvi Karumāri Amman
Purānam (Story of the goddess Karumāri), Madras,
Super Power Publications, 1969, pp. 511-520, 940-946
and 112-172, and the popular 1972 Tamil film entitled
Ati Para Sakti.

13. See, for example, the Annanmar Katai (Story of the
Brothers) which is an epic story popular in the Kōnku
region. A readily available printed version (which does
not do the story justice) is Ponnaraka Rennum
Kallarakar Ammanai (Story of Ponnar, the Kallar),
Madras, R.G. Pati Co., 1965, 144 pp.

14. The song, of which only a part is given here, was copied
from an MS held by the Ainūru Chettiar of Taiyanūr,
Coimbatore District, in 1966.

15. Story of the Brothers, op. cit.

16. Nur Yalman, "On the Purity of Women in the Castes of
Ceylon and Malabar," Journal of the Royal Anthropological
Institute, 93, part 1, 1963, pp. 25-58.

17. Sylvia Vatuk, Kinship and Urbanization, Berkeley,
University of California Press, 1972, pp. 112-115 and
"Reference, Address and Fictive Kinship in Urban North
India," Ethnology, Vol. VIII, No. 3, 1969, p. 260.

18. Ralph W. Nicholas, p. 33, "Factions: A Comparative
Analysis," in Michael Banton, ed., Political Systems
and the Distribution of Power, New York, Praeger, 1965.

19. Sri Dēvi Karumāri Tāsar, Sri Dēvi.....op. cit.,
    M. Tevaraja Mutaliyar, Amman Urpatti Pūsārippāṭṭu
    (Songs for establishing a new goddess), Madras, R. G.
    Pati Co., 1966, pp. 39-47, and Mullai Thangarasan
    and S. Ganesan, Sri Balaji Story in Pictures, Sivakasi,
    Sekar Litho Works, 1971, p. 16.

20. Many people say Brahma is Vishnu's son, not father.
    This contradiction will be discussed at length at a later
    point.

21. Kathleen Gough, "Brahman Kinship in a Tamil Village,"
    American Anthropologist, Vol. 58, 1956, p. 846 (see
    p. 839 for the contrasting, Brahman pattern).

22. Vināyakar Arut Perumai (Great and Precious Ganesh),
    Madras, Pāri Nilayam, 1967, pp. 19-21 and S. Rama-
    nathan, Vināyakar Purāna (The Story of Ganesh),
    Madras, Vācu Picacuram, 2nd ed., 1966, pp. 36-45.

23. Sri Pañcāsara Vināyakar, Tiruvāturai Ātīnam (A Dis-
    cussion of Sacred Events), no publisher mentioned,
    1965, p. 14 (said to be taken from the Matīswara
    Purānam). In Hindu mythology cutting off heads seems
    to have a sexual connotation similar to castration in
    significance.

24. Story from my field notes.

25. A.K. Ramanujan, "The Indian Oedipus," in Indian
    Literature, A. Poddar (ed.), Vol. 16, Simla, Registrar,
    Indian Institute of Advanced Study, March 1972.

26. S.K. Swami, Civamāka Purānam (The Great Siva Story),
    Madras, Pīrēma, 1968, pp. 157-160.

27. Fred W. Clothey, "Pilgrimage Centers in the Tamil
    Cultus of Murugan," Journal of the American Academy
    of Religion, Vol. XL, no. 1, 1972, pp. 79-95.

28. Joseph Richardson, Department of Religious Studies,
    University of British Columbia, in conversation.

29. Of course, a number of Saivite saints have also tried to do this, but the bhakti theme is more commonly identified with Vaisnavite tradition.

30. Interestingly, the result of this Vaisnavite philosophical emphasis on bhakti has been the development of an even greater counter stress on ritualism amongst Vaisnavite Brahmans than amongst Saivite ones.

31. C.A. Iramacāmippulavar, Tiruttanikai Varalāru Curukkam (Story of a Murugan Temple), Madras Saiva Cittānta Karakam, 1965, pp. 20-22, Vināyakar Arut Perumai, op. cit., pp. 19-21, and S. Ramanathan, Vināyakar Purāna, op. cit., pp. 36-45.

32. John Dowson, A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History and Literature, New Delhi, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1973, pp. 56-59.

33. Ibid.

34. Pierre Grimal (ed.) Larousse World Mythology, Toronto, Paul Hamlyn, 1965, p. 208.

35. "The Story of Jaganātha and Subhadra," John Dowson, op. cit., p. 305.

36. Ibid., pp. 76-79. Interestingly, at other points in the myths a girl named Vāch is said to be variously 1) a daughter of Brahma (p. 57), 2) a daughter of Daksha (p. 330), and 3) Parvati or Sati, Siva's wife, (p. 77).

37. Kathleen Gough, "Brahman Kinship...," op. cit., p. 838.

38. Gannanath Obeyesekere, Department of Anthropology, University of California, San Diego, in a seminar at the University of British Columbia, 1973.

39. For example, Krishna is often described as stealing butter, while Murugan is depicted as putting his hand in the milk pot. More striking still is the stress in both cases on the deity marrying a second wife, a girl of the forest or countryside whose wedding with the god is quite unorthodox. For further discussion see B. Beck, "A Praise Poem for Murugan," to appear in <u>The Journal of South Asian Literature</u>, 1974.

40. I refer to the equinoxes and the solstices because I believe they were symbolically important in establishing the structure of the ritual cycle.

41. An example of this is the story of Nallataṅkāl who caused both her brother and her husband to commit suicide after she was mistreated by them. Pukaṟēnti Pulavar, ed., <u>Nallataṅkāl Katai</u> (Story of the Good Younger Sister), Madras, R. G. Pati Co., 1965, 52 pp.

42. Claude Lévi-Strauss, <u>Les Structures</u>.....," <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 38 and 569.

43. One of the most famous and beloved epics of South India, <u>The Silappadikaram</u>, is built around this theme. An available but rather poor translation is Prince Illangô Adigal (Alain Daniélou, trans.), <u>Shilappadikaram</u>, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1965.

44. The image of "cement" is borrowed from Sri T. S. Balakrishna Sastrigal, "Discourse on the Mahbharata," Purasawalkam, Tamilnadu, as reported in <u>The Hindu</u>, August 10, 1973, p. 14.

SOME ASPECTS OF KINSHIP IN ANCIENT TAMIL LITERATURE

by

GEORGE L. HART, III

In the course of the conversation, it was established that
Tañkammāḷ was an agnate of the sort which is polluted for 10
days on death (pattu nālaiya tāyāti) of Cūrañkuṭi Cuppukkuṭṭi
Ayyar. At once, Kāmākṣi Ammāḷ said that her husband was
the second cousin once removed (onruvitta attān) of the brother
of the husband (maittunan) of the sister of the husband
(nāttanār) of the granddaughter (pētti) of the younger sister of
the mother (cirutāyār) of the younger brother of the father-in-
law (iḷaiya māmanār) of the above-mentioned Cuppukkuṭṭi
Ayyar, and she established their relationship (and ceased
quarreling and treated Tañkammāḷ with respect).
>   --Tēvan, Maitili, p. 100.

The eight Tamil anthologies which comprise the most
important part of what has been termed Sangam literature
were written between the first and third centuries A.D . They
consist of poems which vary in length between three lines and
several hundred lines; most are relatively short. They are
divided into two broad divisions termed puram, or exterior,
and akam, or interior. While these terms have various
interpretations, an examination of the poems discloses that
the akam poems concern life inside the family, and the puram
poems concern life outside the family. In other words, in the
most basic division of their most ancient literature, the Tamils
have used the family as the unit of differentiation. Specifically,
puram poems concern society at large -- the king, war, poems
of morality -- while akam poems concern the development and
fulfillment of love between man and woman.

29

Obviously, it is the <u>akam</u> poems which are most relevant
to the subject of this paper, as it is in them that the role of the
various family members is most often described. Each <u>akam</u>
poem describes a situation in the development and fulfillment
of love between man and woman; however, the poems do not
describe the history of any one idealized relationship, but
rather describe various situations, some of which could not
happen to the same couple. It is important to realize that they
are not merely love poems to be read for pleasure; rather,
they concern the most important of South-Indian values, namely
the place of woman, her proper relationship with man, and the
nature of the power which she possesses through her chastity.
The poems are the highest expression of the most important
aspect of life for the Tamil man, whether ancient or modern--
his family life and his relationship with his wife.

All of the <u>akam</u> poems are placed in the mouth of someone
involved in the situation. These characters include the heroine
(the girl who has fallen in love), the hero, the female friend of
the heroine, the male friend of the hero, the low-caste bard,
who serves the hero as a messenger, the real mother of the
heroine, the foster mother of the heroine, and occasionally the
onlookers who observe the eloping hero and heroine or who ob-
serve the married life of the hero and the heroine. Several of
these characters need some further explanation. In ancient
Tamilnad, bards would play in the houses of the rich to lend to
them an air of fitness and to help keep away dangerous forces.
Such bards would also be employed by their masters for various
tasks, especially taking messages. Regarding the foster
mother (<u>cevilittāy</u>), U.V. Swaminathaier writes, "The foster
mother is a friend of the real mother and the mother of the
heroine's female friend, according to the grammar books.
She loves the heroine very much, protects her, gives her the
food she needs, lets her sleep next to her at night, guards her
(from going out to meet her lover), is distressed and searches
for her when she elopes, and rejoices when she sees her (happy)
domestic life."[1]

It is quite important that on no occasion do the relatives of
the hero utter the poems; with only one or two exceptions they
are never even mentioned. The reason for this is, I believe,
that they are not felt to be part of the new unit which is created
by the union of man and woman. This fact is elucidated by

Brenda Beck, who describes the Tamil kin nucleus as consisting
of a woman, her father, her brother, her husband, and her son.[2]
The Tamil poems of nearly two thousand years ago confirm her
insight that the kin nucleus consists of the woman's relatives,
not of her husband's. Reasons why this should be so are
discussed below.

If Brenda Beck is correct in her analysis of the Tamil kin
nucleus, then an investigation of its members in the light of the
most ancient Tamil poetry is in order. Most striking is the
inclusion of a woman's brother in the kin nucleus. It is true
that this brother does not narrate any of the poems in the eight
anthologies, any more than her father, who is also a member;
still, he plays an important role in several poems. In general,
his role is to deny the girl to her lover, to try to keep her un-
married. This is hinted at in Kur. 123, a poem in which Aiyūr
Mutavan, the poet, describes the heroine waiting to meet her
beloved:

> With sumptuous cool moist shadow
> like thickened darkness
> amidst white sand
> like gathered moonlight,
> the lovely grove
> of black-branched punnai trees
> is alone.
> Still he does not come.
> But the boats
> of my brothers
> hunting many fish
> are drawing near.[3]

The brother plays an important role in one of the most
prominent puram themes. A girl who has just reached puberty
has attracted kings and warriors from far and near by the
sudden flowering of her beauty. They wish to marry her, but
her father will give her to no one, and therefore they attack the
city to take her by force. In many poems on this theme, the
role of the brothers of the girl, who also seek to prevent any of
the suitors from marrying her, is stressed. In Pur. 350,
for example, the poet says,

> The moats are filled with dirt,
> the bastions ruined,
> and the walls broken
> in our scarred, ancient city.
> It cannot prevail in battle;
> what will become of it?
> Kings with swift horses
> and drums
> which roar like thunder during the rains
> came in the morning
> and roamed about the lofty gate.
> Her brothers,
> strong in the hatred of murderous battle,
> will not be content without a fight.
> For spots have spread
> on the breasts (a sign of puberty)
> of the young girl
> whose red, blackened eyes
> are like the sharp blades of brandished spears
> and whose bangled arms sway. [4]

The treatment of a woman's brothers in these poems may be compared to the folk stories described by Brenda Beck in which a girl's brothers try to keep her from being married so that they may profit from her sacred power. [5] It is important that the brothers benefit from their sister's power only so long as she is not married. The exact nature of a woman's power, and its relationship to other sources of sacred power for the Tamils, is a complex matter which I have treated elsewhere. [6] Here it is enough to point out that from the moment she reaches puberty, a woman is thought to be filled with a force which, if controlled, can produce auspicious results, but which if not controlled is extremely dangerous. It is especially menacing when a woman is menstruous, when she has just given birth, and when she is a widow. During those periods, a woman must observe strong ascetic practices.

Along with the brothers, the father tries to protect his daughter and to keep anyone unauthorized from marrying her. Akam 158, in which the girl's friend tells her mother that she must be mistaken and that her daughter is not meeting a lover secretly at night, makes this point well:

Do not frighten me by saying,
"At midnight
when darkness lay thick
and the rain
after pouring down from great clouds
with thunder and lightning
had stopped,
its noise stilled,
I saw her,
her heavy earrings flashing
like lightning on high,
her thick curly hair
let loose in the back,
walking very stealthily
like a peacock coming down from a mountain
as she climbed the platform in the field
and descended."
Listen, mother.
On the haunted slope
where our garden is,
a spirit comes
wearing bright flowers,
taking whatever form it wishes.
There dreams delude those asleep,
seeming as if they were actually happening.
This girl
trembles even if she is alone
without a light.
And if the owl in the courtyard mara tree
hoots fearfully,
her heart seems to break
and she seeks refuge.
And father,
as strong and wrathful as Murugan,
is at home
and has let his dogs,
like a pack of tigers,
run loose.
She is much too afraid
to have done what you say.

The father here is homologized with Murugan, the god who is
said to wipe out those who do not bow to him, and who is said
to possess women and create in them the same symptoms
which they experience when they are in love. Indeed, one class
of poem concerns a woman in love whose sickness is mistaken
for possession by the god. Her relatives mistakenly perform
worship to the god in order to cure her. Akam 98 makes it
clear that Murugan is a competitor with the lover, for in it
the heroine exclaims,

> ...If,
> now that the dance has been performed
> making deluded girls
> suffer in ecstasy,
> my thin body
> does not regain
> its former state,
> it will be impossible for my secret
> not to become common gossip.
> But if,
> seeing the suffering
> inflicted by my wise lover
> the long-speared sweet-smelling god
> should show mercy
> and the man from a forested land should hear
> that the suffering
> of his girl with tiny bangles
> is not from him,
> it will be even harder
> for me to live.

In other words, in Akam 158 above, by comparing the father
with Murugan, the poet is making the point that, like the god,
the father is a competitor with the lover. Like the brothers,
he loses the protection imparted by his daughter when she
marries.

If a woman's power influences her father and brothers
before she is married, it extends to her husband and son after-
wards. Its importance to the husband is obvious to anyone with
any acquaintance with South India; her relationship with him is
the primary one, to which the others are merely secondary.

Thus in Thakazhi Sivasankara Pillai's novel Chemmeen, it is
the husband who perishes when his wife is unfaithful; in the
ancient epic Cilappatikāram, it is upon the husband's death
that Kaṇṇaki's power becomes uncontrolled.

The poems indicate that a woman's power is important for
the son as well as the husband. There are many poems in
which the woman rejoices to discover that her son has died a
hero in battle, for that means that the power which she has
passed on to him has found fulfillment. For example, in Puṟ.
277, the mother says,

> When she learned her son had died killing an elephant,
> the joy of the old woman,
> her hair pure grey like the feathers of a fish-eating
>   heron,
> was greater than the day she bore him;
> her tears were more
> than the drops which quiver on strong bamboo
> on mount Vetiram
> after a rain.

Puṟ. 279 is remarkable in that it describes a woman sending
her father, her husband, and her son, the three most important
members of the kin nucleus, to battle:

> May her intention perish;
> her resolve is cruel.
> Surely it is fitting that she was born
> in an ancient house.
> In the battle the day before yesterday,
> her father killed an elephant and fell.
> In the battle yesterday her husband
> keeping off a great row of troops fell.
> And today
> she hears the battle drum,
> is filled with eagerness,
> and,
> deluded,
> gives him a spear in his hand,
> wraps a white garment around him,
> smears oil on his dry top-knot,

> and, possessing nothing but her one son,
> sends him,
> saying, "Go to battle."

These poems suggest that a man derives strength to face the
other-world of battle at least in part from the women who are
part of his kin nucleus. Another poem which gives insight into
the relationship between a man and his mother is Pur. 254, in
which the wife of a dead hero says,

> The young men and the old
> have gone to another field.
> Your breast pressed to the earth,
> you do not rise
> as I life you,
> warrior who have fallen
> in this barren place.
> If I should go with news of you
> and say to your family,
> "That youth is dead,"
> as I raise my bare arms
> discolored white where my bangles were,
> what will become of your mother
> who every day without fail
> praises you
> and says,
> "Like the produce
> of the ripe banyan tree
> filled with birds
> in front of the town
> is my son's strength and excellence
> to me"?
> She is to be pitied.

This poem makes it clear that a man is nearly as closely tied
to his mother even after marriage as he is to his wife; it sheds
light on the ubiquitous South-Indian convention that a wife and
a mother-in-law fight.

If there is competition between wife and mother after
marriage, then after the birth of a son, there is competition
between son and husband. The Tamil convention is that after a
son has been born, the hero ceases to live with his wife and

begins to frequent courtesans. One lovely poem, Akam 66,
describes the role of the son in reuniting his parents, if only
for a short time. The poem achieves much of its effect through
the unconscious awareness of the listener that it is the son who
has occasioned the separation in the first place:

                    I have seen for myself
                    that the old saying
                    which many repeat
                    is true:
                    "Those who get children
                    of faultless appearance
                    so that even their enemies love them
                    prosper with fame in this birth
                    and reach the world of the next birth
                    without having incurred sin."
                    Friend,
                    yesterday
                    he whose breast
                    has a full garland
                    wished to make love
                    with one of his women.
                    Wearing a newly made ornament,
                    he was going along this street,
                    the finely made bells
                    on his horses
                    ringing,
                    when his flower-eyed son
                    desiring to see him
                    ran out shakily
                    from our front door.
                    Looking at the child,
                    he said,
                    "Stop the high chariot, driver,"
                    and got down.
                    At once
                    he embraced the child,
                    holding him so his mouth
                    red as coral
                    pressed his chest.
                    Then he said,
                    "Now, charioteer, to her house!"
                    But his son cried

and did not let him go.
He entered with the boy,
looking as if the god of wealth himself
had been detained.
Ashamed that he would think I had planned it,
I scolded the child
saying,
"It seems this naughty little fellow
has ruined things for his father,"
and approached him
with a waving stick in hand.
But he took the child to him
and was not tempted
even when the sweet beat of the drum
with a resonating eye
seemed to beckon
to her house.
Indeed, he gave up the idea
of making love to her
and felt guilty
as he remembered the kindness
he had shown to me
the day I and my friends
were playing
with molucca beans.

Another poem, Akam 28, describes how the hero is hesitant
to embrace his wife, afraid that some of her milk, a substance
dangerous to him, might fall on him. She exclaims, "I love our
son; you, your women," at which he embraces her carefully
from behind.

Several customs throw light on the relationship between
mother and son. Today, and very likely two thousand years
ago, Tamil women go to their mothers' houses to give birth to
their first children. This custom is motivated at least in part
by the belief that the father represents potential danger to the
child and vice versa, for both must compete for the power of
the mother. No doubt, it is felt that in the critical months
after birth, any source of competition for the power of the
mother must be absent. One poem, Pur. 100, strongly
suggests that when he first saw his son, the father would appear
in war dress to offset the dangerous qualities of the mother and

new-born son. Similarly, in modern Andhra, a father must first see his son or daughter as a reflection in a cup of oil as the child and its mother sit behind a curtain. [7] All of these customs may be understood in terms of disorder and danger which exist upon the birth of a son until harmony is re-established. From the moment when a son is born, the mother's powers are shared between the son and husband; great care must be taken to control this danger until the adjustment is made.

To sum up, the Tamil kin nucleus consists of a woman and the men who are affected by her power -- her husband, brothers, father, and son. It is the woman who with her power animates the family and makes it a viable unit. If she fails to exert the proper restraint upon her power, for example by being un-chaste or by marrying an unacceptable man, then her entire family is affected adversely; therefore the pressure placed upon women to conform, both in ancient times and modern times, is extreme and sometimes quite cruel. One result of the Tamil kin nucleus is the pattern of acceptable marriages within the society. This is investigated below.

Cross-cousin marriage is, of course, the most obvious feature of the Dravidian kin system. There are two poems which suggest that such marriage was the acceptable form in ancient Tamilnad. In Kur. 40, the hero indicates that it was common to marry a relative when he says,

> My mother and yours,
> what were they to one another?
> My father and yours,
> what kin?
> I and you,
> how did we come to know each other?
> And yet
> like rain falling on red fields
> our loving hearts
> have mixed together.

In Kur. 229, a friend says,

> He would take her hair
> and pull;

and she would grab his hair
not yet thick
twist it
pull it
and run.
And though their loving foster mothers
stopped them,
they paid no heed
but right in front of them
had their little fights.
Certainly fate is a wonderful thing,
for now it has made them rejoice in marriage
like a garland
woven of two strands of flowers.

There is much evidence in addition to these two poems that
cross-cousin marriage was in fact practiced in ancient South
India. The Baudhāyanadharmasūtra (1.1. 19-26) states that the
practice of such marriage was peculiar to the South, and Thomas
Trautmann has adduced many cases of cross-cousin marriage
being introduced into Sanskrit and Pali stories by the Ceylonese
Buddhists and by South Indians.[8] So persuasive are Traut-
mann's arguments that they admit no reasonable doubt. Thus
it is virtually certain that cross-cousin marriage was practiced
in ancient South India, and in Tamilnad when the anthologies
were composed.

The most common explanation of cross-cousin marriage,
which is found among the Australian Aborigines and the Ameri-
can Indians as well as in Dravidian India, is that it is a
reciprocal exchange of daughters between families or lineages
to perpetuate alliances between them.[9] It seems to me that,
in the Dravidian case at least, more is involved than this. It
has been seen above that a relationship of mutual protection
exists between a woman and the men to whom she is most
closely related. The relation between such a man and woman
is complementary not only in respect of their difference in sex,
which is universally true, but also in respect of the different
sources of the protection they afford one another in Tamil
thought, namely the physical power of the male and the super-
natural power of the female. Together they form a unit less
vulnerable to the dangerous forces which abound in the world
than either would be alone. On the other hand, the relation

between two relatives of the same sex is not one of comple-
mentarity, but rather of identity both in respect of sex and of
inherent protective powers. Thus two sisters, for example,
do not protect one another in the Sangam literature, as indeed
they cannot in this ideology.

Now in the South Indian system, one must marry one's
mother's brother's daughter (MBD) or one's father's sister's
daughter (FZD). This may be diagrammed as follows:
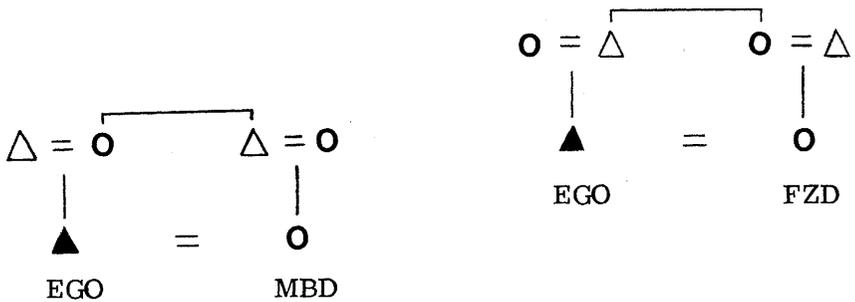
If a line is drawn around each kin nucleus, that is, around each
unit consisting of a woman and the men she protects (her
father, her brother, her husband, and her son), then before
marriage the diagram is as follows:
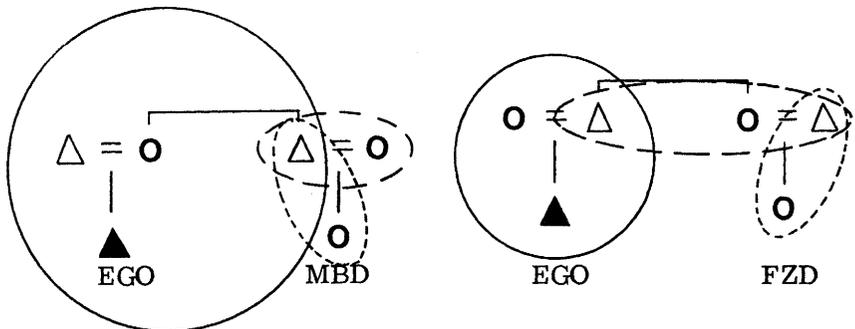
After marriage, the kin nuclei form a tightly integrated whole:
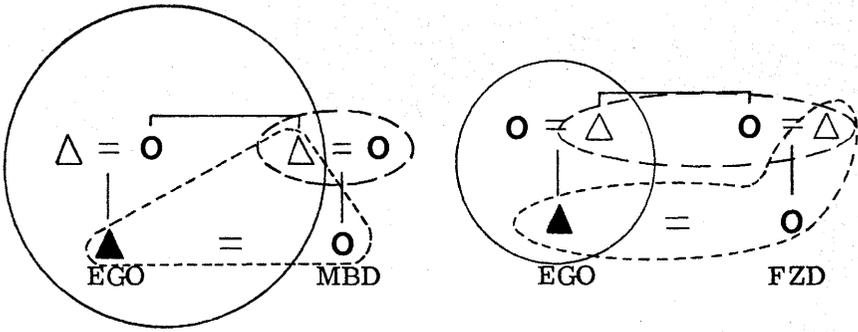
On the other hand, for parallel cousins (FBD, MZD), the
pattern of kin nuclei is not an interwoven continuity, but is
broken, as it does not extend between two brothers or two
sisters; hence, the prospective partner is no longer part of the
extended unit and on that account such marriages are not
permitted:
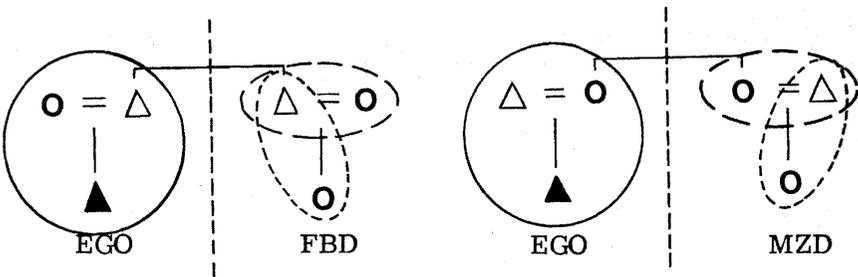
Should such a marriage occur, the only link between the two
families would be between the husband and wife:
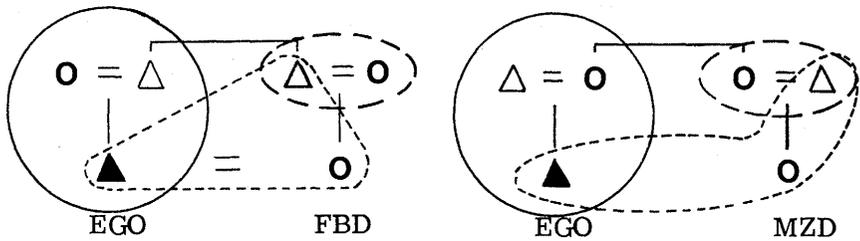
It is also possible to see why the parallel-cousin marriage is
prohibited if one assumes a relationship of identity between two
brothers or two sisters. In that eventuality, in a parallel-
cousin marriage one is marrying his own sister or his own
brother, in effect, and thus is transgressing the incest taboo,
which is universal in human society.

The motivation for cross-cousin marriage can be under-
stood as follows: the commonly adduced theory of cross-cousin
marriages, that it is a reciprocal exchange of daughters be-
tween families or lineages to perpetuate alliances between them,
can be invoked to explain why there is hostility on the part of
the father and brothers to a woman's marrying a stranger;
yet there is another reason which I feel is equally important
why they should want a woman to marry her cross-cousin.
One of the most persistent elements in Tamil culture is the
importance of keeping a woman's power under control, so that
it can help the men around her rather than destroying them.
A woman's power is kept under control to a large extent through
her relationships with the men around her. If that pattern of
relationships is compromised through sudden change or compe-
tition -- between father and husband, or father and son, for
example -- then the restraint on the woman's power is weakened
and it becomes dangerous. In cross-cousin marriage, there is
a pattern of relationships whose effect is to minimize the strains
created by sudden change or competition. Even before marriage,
a woman's father and her prospective husband are included in
the same pattern of kin nuclei; the marriage cannot seriously
weaken the pattern of protective relationships with women of

which her father is a part. In the folktale cited by Brenda
Beck, a woman's brothers try to keep her from marrying so
that they can retain the benefit of her power; however, if she
had married a cross-cousin, he would already have been part
of the pattern of protective relationships to which the brothers
belonged, and they would have less reason to fear the marriage:

EGO   MBD MBS MBS   FZD FZS FZS   EGO
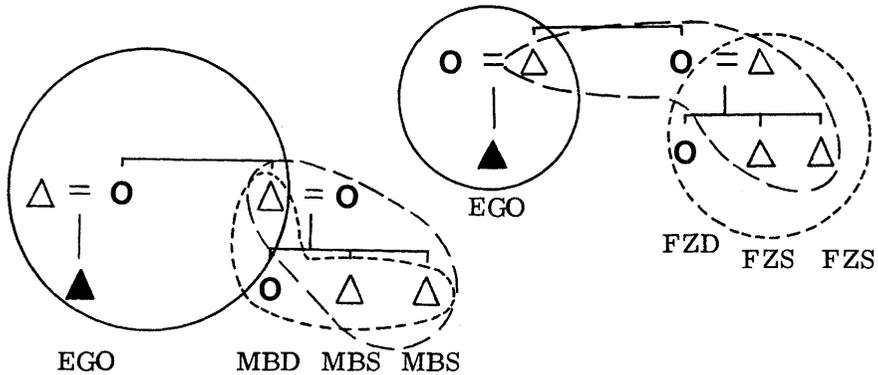
The same is true for a woman's son: he is part of an inter-
locking pattern of protective relationships, and therefore his
birth does not represent as great a threat to the father as if
there is no such pattern.

Parallel-cousin marriage can be seen as undesirable in two
ways. Either the marriage is prohibited out-of-hand because of
the incest taboo, since a relation of identity exists between two
brothers or sisters, or else it is undesirable because the
pattern of protective relationships between man and woman is
broken.[10]

The crux of the above argument is that cross-cousin
marriage in Dravidian India is motivated at least to some ex-
tent by beliefs regarding the power of woman and the need to
keep that power under control. There is circumstantial evidence
in addition to what has been said above that this is so. In a
recent paper I adduced evidence that much of the Indian mystique
surrounding women can be traced back to the megalithic
Dravidian society which flourished in the Deccan in the latter
part of the first millenium B.C. It was possible to show that
woman's chastity as a source of power for her husband, suttee,
widow asceticism, impurity during the menstrual period, and

several other elements relating to women came from this culture.[11]   It is significant that the practice of cross-cousin marriage is found just in those parts of India which are heir to the megalithic culture, as Thomas Trautmann has shown,[12] for this suggests that there is a connection between the South-Indian form of marriage and South-Indian ideas regarding women.

Given the importance of cross-cousin marriage to the Tamils, it is intriguing that most of the poems describe marriage with men who are not relatives, or even neighbors, but who are strangers. In Kur. 179, for example, a woman initiates a relationship with a strange hunter:

> You torment stags
> in the noisy forest.
> But now the sun's light grows less
> and your dogs have tired.
> Do not go, lord!
> Over there is our town,
> among the hills
> where green bamboo is stunted,
> eaten with relish
> by stupid elephants with deep mouths
> who tear sweet honeycombs
> from the slopes
> of towering mountains.

It has already been seen that in Kur. 40 a man celebrates his love even though his beloved is not a relative. In many poems, the man is forced to elope with his beloved because he has no hope of obtaining her father's permission, as in Kur. 7, where people who see the couple traveling through the wilderness say,

> On the feet of the bowman
> are war rings
> and on the soft legs
> of the bangled girl
> are anklets.
> Who are these good people?
> To be pitied,
> certainly,
> for they go towards the wasteland

thick with bamboo
where white pods of vākai
rattle
as they hit
pushed by the wind
like the drums
when Aryans dance
on tightropes.

In almost all of the poems, the love between the hero and
heroine is not sanctioned by the parents of the girl, as is
shown by the measures to which the heroine goes to keep the
affair a secret from her mother.[13] Thus it is not reasonable
to suppose that more than a few poems concern love between a
woman and her first cousin.

There are several reasons why the poems should describe
a situation which did not accord with the norm of the society.
For one thing, the description of the common sort of arranged
marriage with a cousin simply would not make very interesting
poetry. Today, few Tamil movies describe arranged
marriages; yet the love marriages which they concern are far
from common in South India. But this is a minor consideration.
The Tamil akam poems concern the nature of woman and of her
power. When everything is ordered and in its proper place,
the power of woman is under control; however, when the proper
order is broken and a woman takes a lover or husband who is a
stranger, her power is no longer so well controlled and its
effects become stronger and more mysterious. The man falls
so much under her spell that he loses control of himself in some
poems, as in Kur. 165:

Like a man who drinks
even after he has drunk himself to happiness,
seeing the natural loveliness
of her thick black hair,
you kept longing for her
even after you had first desired her
like a cart carrying salt
along a hard shore
which overturns
in a pouring rain.

In Akam 198, the hero exclaims, "She was no woman with perfect chastity, but an afflicting goddess (cūr makal) who inhabits the spring full of soft flowers."

For the woman also her love has frightening results. She becomes terrified that someone may learn of her secret, and grows thin and sickly. Her family thinks that she must have been possessed by a god, and performs rites to save her, but to no avail, since in fact it is her lover who has possessed her. Thus in Kur. 263 she says,

> They cut the throats of goats,
> spread millet around,
> and make many instruments sound
> on an islet
> in a moving river --
> all a show
> which does nothing
> to cure my sickness.
> And they praise
> all the gods but my lover
> as if a demon
> had possessed me.
> How painful
> to submit to this,
> friend,
> and remain faithful to him
> from a land
> where clouds
> play
> around dark summits.

The extremely sacred state of union in which the unmarried couple participates is described in many poems. In Akam 128, the heroine awaits the arrival of her lover:

> The houses,
> their public talk stilled,
> sleep.
> Now as night comes
> and takes possession,
> desire spreads wider than the sea,
> overflowing its bounds.

What is this, friend?
I am distraught,
and my good heart,
paying no heed to me or to you,
goes unwilled
to guide his unsure steps
as he comes
wearing so bees swarm around him
a lily from a little spring
which gushes from a hard-to-cross slope
dark with a forest,
looking carefully
as he walks
at each place he puts his foot
in the darkness
on paths full of little pitfalls
flowing with water
as clouds shower down rain
on little ways over rock hills
like ropes stretched across the backs
of elephants.

The symbolism of this poem and of others like it is that the hero is crossing into the other world of sacred experience, where he will meet his beloved. In order to reach this state, he must cross over the world of death, something which can be done only with the help of someone who has power to assist him, in this case his beloved. In Akam 158, given above on page 33, the relationship between the woman and her lover is so sacred that she can go against her father and against the omens which normally signify the presence of dangerous sacred forces.

It is in illicit relationship, in which the power of the woman is not carefully controlled by the proper kinship and social context, that her power can manifest itself and produce complete, albeit dangerous, fulfillment. Brenda Beck has had this same insight when she points out that in folklore, harmony and balance rule out contact between god and man, while disorder contains potential for man-god interaction.[14] It is a universal human theme that an approach to a divine state is often preceded by some transgression which breaks the normal rules for human behavior. What makes the South-Indian case special is that such transgression most often consists of the breakdown of

normal kinship relationships. Thus when a woman's husband is dead, and she is no longer in an ordered kinship context, she becomes dangerous and inauspicious. Similarly, when a woman has just given birth, the pre-existing kinship context is suddenly disrupted, and she is temporarily dangerous. The akam poems investigate for the most part the special case when a woman takes a lover who does not fit in with what is sanctioned by the society. The state which the two reach in union is extremely sacred, as it is not restrained by human bonds; but it is also extremely dangerous, especially for the woman, and if it does not work out, her entire life is ruined. Thus in Kur. 28, the heroine, abandoned by her lover and condemned to a life of being scorned by the society, says,

> Shall I strike it,
> attack it?
> I do not know.
> Or shall I find some pretext
> and cry out
> aloud
> to this city
> which sleeps
> unaware
> of my terrible suffering
> as the wind
> vexes,
> moving and whirling?

The importance of woman as a source of sacred power for those in her kin nucleus has many interesting consequences. Brenda Beck points out that Pārvatī comes to earth to leave her consort Śiva to meditate. When her chastity is tested by a demon lover, he is burnt up, as he is not a proper receptacle for her power. But when the men who serve her refrain from sexual intercourse, shave their pubic hair, and rigidly control themselves through ascetic conduct, they become proper receptacles for the power of the goddess.[15] It seems to me that these men are homologized to the demon lover; but while he is unclean, and hence perishes, they are clean and can receive the goddess's power -- albeit with some danger to themselves, as they may be burnt for any oversight. I would suggest that the relationship between the goddess and her devotees is here modeled on the relationship between wife and husband.

That such a relationship is the model seems especially likely to me because there are some Tamil sources in which such a relationship is set forth. Chief among them is the Tirukkōvaiyār, a sacred poem by Māṇikkavācakar, one of the greatest Tamil devotional poets. In this poem, which uses the akam conventions, the soul is treated as male while God is treated as the woman with whom he falls in love. It is only in Tamil that I have found this reversal of the almost universal imagery of the soul as female and God as male. The first few verses of this rather strange poem follow:

1. The Vision

A lotus where bliss thrives,
dark lilies full of loveliness,
blossoming kumil flowers
which increase the beauty
of our Lord's Tillai,
koṅku and kāntal
all together
make a garland
redolent with the divine
and glisten like lightning
and walk like a swan
and shine
like the banner of victory
over fearful Desire.

2. Doubt

Is it a flower,
the skies,
the waters,
the pleasure city
of the Nāgas?
Hard to discern
is the home
of Her who stands here
a messenger from Death
or helpmate of Eros,
a woman of ancient and unequalled Tillai,
like an innocent peacock.

4. Desire

There are her wide, deep loins
and there her breasts.
Why do you doubt, heart?
There will be a time
to possess that many-ornamented one
who is like Palaṇam
where He resides
who with His warlike bow
brought to nought
the cities of those
who did not worship Him,
our lord of Tillai
who extracted the teeth
of the opposing sun.

5. Faith

He,
the wishing stone of Tillai,
the Vedic one
whom the gods know not,
is my beauty,
my nectar,
my life.
Her weapon eyes
cause pain
like the grief of those
who do not worship Him.
Yet
as they twinkle
and twinkle
in her face
whose arms are large
and whose waist is as small
as a lightning streak
or as a cobra,
they remedy
the pain they cause.

Another facet of the male-female relationship in Tamil folklore elucidated by Brenda Beck is that man is homologized to nature while woman is homologized to culture.[16] This notion, which is also commonly found in ancient Tamil, is excellently expressed by Pur. 86:

> Holding the pillar
> of my small house,
> you ask,
> "Where is your son?"
> Wherever my son is,
> I do not know.
> This womb
> which has given birth to him
> is like a rock cave
> which a tiger has inhabited
> and left.
> Somewhere on the battlefield
> you will find him.

Here, the woman is likened to the house which has a pillar to hold it up; she is like something artificial and weak. But the son is like a tiger who lives in a rock cave, a natural and very strong dwelling. The same contrast is expressed in Pur. 251, which describes a man who has become an ascetic:

> We saw then
> a warrior
> who made loose the ornaments
> of girls with small bangles
> like dolls
> in their houses
> which seemed paintings.
> Now
> he bathes in a falls
> from a high summit
> full of bamboo,
> goes to a red fire
> hot and raging
> on logs
> brought by forest elephants
> and dries

> his curly matted hair
> which hangs low
> on his back.

The woman is like a doll; her house is like a painting. But the man lives in the midst of nature, in his natural state, after he has renounced woman and family life.

The reason for this contrast between man and woman is partly a facile one. As in the poems adduced above, woman is associated with the home and with domestic life; indeed, her most common name in Tamil is manaivi, "she who is associated with the house." On the other hand, the man is commonly associated with the harvest and with battle, both occupations which center on the real, undomesticated world.

But another, more significant reason can be found. Woman is dangerous unless she is carefully controlled; left in her natural state, she is a threat. Thus women are supposed to do many things to remove them from their natural state. They are supposed to put their hair up, to wear flowers in their hair, to wear a mark on their foreheads, and to wear many ornaments. Indeed, so strongly was the use of ornaments associated with women that a word meaning lovely ornament (cēyilai) is used by metonymy to mean woman in ancient Tamil. It was not only by physical means that a woman is supposed to remove herself from the natural state; it has been seen above that she is supposed to be bound in a tight, interlocking family relationship. Ain. 405, which describes woman in her most auspicious state, makes the cultured, domestic nature of such a person clear:

> She has become
> the light of her house,
> like the red flame
> in the bowl
> of a shining lamp
> for she gave birth
> to his son
> whose land
> is ornamented with meadows
> made lovely with flowers
> in the pattering rain.

The woman here is compared to the light in a man-made lamp;
she is ultimately like a natural thing, fire. But just as fire,
while destructive in its natural state, is a source of light when
constrained by the wick of a lamp, so the woman, potentially
dangerous if her power is not constrained, is a source of
happiness and fulfillment if her power is controlled in artificial
ways. The poem suggests that just as a house has no use if
there is no lamp to enlighten it, so the distaff things and
structures around which the Tamil woman's life is centered are
meaningless unless there is a woman to animate them. More-
over, just as the flame can burn down the house if it goes out of
control, so the power of woman can destroy those things about
her if it is not restrained. On the other hand, the man in this
poem is referred implicitly to the natural phenomenon of
meadows with flowers in the rain.

Several poems and customs show the danger unleashed when
a woman ceases to be surrounded by articles of culture. In
South India today, it is bad luck to see a woman with her hair
untied and spread down her back. In the Cilappatikāram, the
widow Kaṇṇaki is described in frightening terms by an onlooker:

> What evil have I done
> that I saw her,
> her black hair
> spread
> like a forest?[17]

The most fearful aspect of this description is that the woman is
likened not to something artificial, not to an article of culture,
but to the natural forest. Moreover, the natural phenomenon
to which she is compared is not an auspicious one, like a cloud
or a meadow, but a place of chaos and disorder. Indeed, one
of the meanings of kāṭu, forest, is burning ground. Kaṇṇaki's
power, increased by years of chastity and restraint, are no
longer under control, as she demonstrates when she burns up
the city of Madurai. In Puṟ. 247, the poet describes a woman
going to burn herself. While the image at the beginning of the
poem is unclear regarding its exact intent, it shows clearly
that there is danger, and it associates the widow with a
natural scene:

In a place of ominous power
a herd of simple deer
slumbers in the light of a fire
kindled by forest men
from dry wood
brought by elephants
and is roused from sleep
by monkeys rooting about.
There
a woman wanders toward the burning ground,
her hair
streaming with water
spread down her back.
Though she is alone for only a moment
in the vast guarded palace of her husband
where the eye of the drum never sleeps,
her sweet life trembles
fleeing headlong from her youth.

Occasionally, a woman as beloved is likened to natural
phenomena. For example in Akam 158, given above on page 33,
the woman's earrings are compared to lightning and her hair
(by implication) is compared to a cloud. By this comparison,
the poet wishes to stress the dangerous and uncontrolled nature
of the powers of woman as lover. It should be pointed out that
when the woman is in an auspicious state, then the natural
symbols to which she is compared are invariably benevolent
ones, as a cloud or the fertile earth, and not symbols of chaos
and disorder like the forest.

In several poems, the harlot compares herself to the
natural symbol of a warrior killing in battle. In Kur. 80, for
example, she says,

Putting in my hair
the inner petals of a waterlily,
and desiring the large bay
to which a great flood has come,
I will go and do it.
If she fears that,
then let her and her friends
protect
her husband's breast

as Elini protected his cattle herd
with his many spearmen
in the forefront of fighting,
conquering
and reducing his foes
in raging battle.

Elini is a chieftain. In this poem, the harlot compares herself
to a man engaged in the undomesticated activity of battle, for
she has no family to give her a well-regulated place in society.
She says that only if the wife becomes as divorced from the
normal structures of family as she is can she hope to become
appealing to her husband and compete with her.

This leads to one final aspect of the kinship system. Many
who have known South India well, whether natives or foreigners,
have come to feel that the society is extremely unfair in one
respect: it demands absolute chastity of the woman, but fails
to do so for the man. Indeed, in the literatures and other
cultural expressions of South India, the man generally consorts
with many women (only one of whom is his wife), while the wife
never does so. The reason for this has been suggested above:
the woman's power is such that, should she be unfaithful, all
those under her protection, and especially her husband, are in
great danger. Even in Kerala and other parts of South India
where women of some castes were allowed to consort with more
than one man, those men with whom such women were allowed
to have sexual contact came from a small group; should a woman
go outside that group, the consequences were as dangerous as
they are if a Tamil woman is unfaithful. In the Tamil case,
this system is unfair to the man as well as the woman. His wife
is placed in the most artificial possible environment, surrounded
with relatives and severe regulations; indeed, in a traditional
family she is lucky if she has been able to obtain any education
at all, as many parents are reluctant to let a girl out of the
house after puberty. In the most traditional cases, it is thought
that a girl should be married even before puberty; even to have
her at home after puberty may ruin her reputation. It is scarcely
any wonder that such women are not satisfying to their husbands.
The men therefore have little choice but to search out other
women. Traditionally, at least, this difficulty is compounded
by the fact that the courtesans associated with temples were

well-educated, skilled women attractive to men in just the way that their wives were not.

In sum, the kinship system of South India, which pervades virtually every area of life and of human endeavor, is motivated by the rôle of woman in the culture. That rôle is well expressed in a common Tamil proverb:

Āvatum peṇṇālē, aḻivatum peṇṇālē.

That is, through woman is being and through woman is downfall.

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NOTES

1. Kuṟuntokai (Madras, Kapīr Accukkūṭam, 1965),
   Introduction, p. 73.

2. Brenda Beck, "The Kin Nucleus in Tamil Folklore," in
   this volume. The extent of my indebtedness to Professor
   Beck is evident throughout this paper. Suffice it to say
   that most of the topics I have treated, as well as the
   method in which I have treated them, have been suggested
   by Brenda Beck's paper. My concern has been largely to
   examine Brenda Beck's ideas, which are based on Tamil
   folklore, in light of the ancient literature. I am most
   grateful to her for her help, and for her permission to
   borrow so much from her paper.

3. See Pur. 336-355.

4. See Pur. 352, 353, 355.

5. Brenda Beck, op. cit. (This story, discussed in Beck's
   original conference paper, is omitted from the version
   published here. --Ed.)

6. George L. Hart, III, "Woman and the Sacred in Ancient
   Tamilnad," Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. XXXII, No. 2
   (February, 1973).

7. Ibid., p. 234-235. I am indebted to Velcheru Narayana
   Rao for information regarding the custom in modern
   Andhra.

8. Thomas R. Trautmann, "Cross-Cousin Marriage in
   Ancient North India?" in this volume.

9. See Claude Lévi-Strauss, The Elementary Structures of
   Kinship (Boston, Beacon Press, 1969), chapter 9. Lévi-
   Strauss shows that in cross-cousin marriage, a daughter
   is given to someone to whom one is indebted through having
   received a daughter from them. He writes, "In the final
   analysis, therefore, cross-cousin marriage simply ex-
   presses the fact that marriage must always be a giving and
   a receiving, but that one can receive only from him who is

obliged to give, and that the giving must be to him who has a right to receive, for the mutual gift between debtors leads to privilege whereas the mutual gift between creditors leads inevitably to extinction."

10. I am quite heavily indebted to Thomas Trautmann for his suggestions on the section concerning cross-cousin marriage.

11. George L. Hart, III, op. cit.

12. This area includes the regions of Dravidian speech, Maharashtra (all castes except the Chitpavan Brahmins), much of Gujerat including Saurashtra, parts of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, and the whole of Ceylon. See Thomas Trautmann, op. cit.

13. See Ak. 52, 112, 158, 190; Aiñ. 261.

14. Brenda Beck, op. cit. (This point, made in Beck's original conference paper, is omitted from the version published here. --Ed.)

15. Ibid. (This point, made in Beck's original conference paper, is omitted from the version published here. --Ed.)

16. Ibid.

17. Iḷaṅkōvaṭikaḷ, Cilappatikāram (Madras; Kapīr Accukkūṭam, 1960), 20, Veṇpā 2.

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE IN ANCIENT NORTH INDIA?

by

THOMAS R. TRAUTMANN

From the medieval jurists of the Deccan to modern sociologists and social historians, scholars have for centuries attempted to show that cross-cousin marriage was practiced in North India in ancient times. This contention, if it is valid, opens up several avenues of interpretation: for Mādhava, the Dravidian-speakers of the South can claim the sanction of Śruti for their marriage customs;[1] for Karandikar, cross-cousin marriage is an early stage in the evolution of Hindu, which is to say Indo-Aryan, exogamy;[2] for Ghurye it shows that the kinship practices of the Aryans of the "Outland" differed significantly from those of the Madhyadeśa.[3] The presence of peoples of non-Aryan cultures in ancient North India might be thus supported: E. J. Thomas thought of Kolarian (Munda) influence.[4] Thus while there is considerable disagreement as to what the significance of such a fact, if it is a fact, would be, everyone agrees that it is significant of something rather important.

No one, surprisingly, has attempted to sustain the argument of a Dravidian presence in early North India on the basis of the cases of cross-cousin marriage we are about to examine. Yet that is the natural hypothesis which they might be expected to validate. A rule of cross-cousin marriage (i.e. marriage with one's mother's brother's daughter, one's father's sister's daughter, or their terminological equivalents) is typical of Dravidian-speaking groups; it is incompatible with the Indo-Aryan rules of exogamy as propounded in the brahmanical lawbooks (though permitted to Southerners as local custom by Baudhāyana and others) and the rules encountered today among

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most castes in the plains of North India; and we have evidence
that the Indo-Aryan speaking invaders of India in the second
millenium B. C. encountered Dravidian speakers in the Punjab
and the Gangetic valley from the presence of Dravidian loan-
words in Indo-Aryan texts from the Ṛgveda onwards.[5] Thus
instances of cross-cousin marriage, properly handled, could
prove to be reliable indicators of the presence of peoples of
Dravidian kinship.

Let us define terms. We may characterize the Dravidian
kinship system simply but in a way adequate to our present pur-
pose by contrasting it with the Indo-Aryan. The Dravidian system
consists, at the cognitive level, of a set of kinship terms whose
structure differs most strikingly from the Indo-Aryan system in
making a radical distinction between parallel and cross kinsmen,
and merging consanguineous and affinal kin. Congruous with this,
at the normative level, is a rule of cross-cousin marriage.[6]
The Indo-Aryan system, on the other hand, has a terminological
structure which distinguishes consanguines from affines, kins-
men by blood from kinsmen by marriage, and a rule of exogamy
which prohibits the marriage of close blood relations, of which
the minimal set is comprised of siblings and first cousins. In
a word, the Dravidian kinship system obliges one to marry a
relative, the Indo-Aryan obliges one to marry a "stranger."

In the study of examples of cross-cousin marriage culled
from early Indian literature, certain principles of analysis must
be observed. First, using the methods of source-criticism, we
must specify the period and region in which each instance was
written down as closely as we may. This elementary rule, much
ignored as we shall see, is critical to the correct interpretation
of literary instances of cross-cousin marriage. If, for example,
a case of cross-cousin marriage occurs in a story about North
Indian kings, it is not evidence as to North Indian marriage
practice if the text was written in the South. Secondly, we must
keep in mind that the existence of a rule cannot strictly be inferred
from behavior. Many marriages among peoples having a cross-
cousin marriage rule do not conform to rule, and cross-cousin
marriages occur from time to time among peoples lacking such
a rule, or possessing a rule which forbids cross-cousin marriage.
The proof of the existence of a rule of marriage is not supplied
by a statistical survey of marriage practices, but by the explicit
statement of an informant of the culture under study. A state-

ment of rule in a lawbook, by a character in literature, or in a royal edict might provide the historian such proof, but in their absence, factual instances of cross-cousin marriage constitute circumstantial evidence at best. In the search for cultural rules, however, fiction may be more significant than fact; for when a hero of legend marries his cross-cousin, and we are sure that the relationship is deliberate and that the characters are the embodiments of correct behavior, we have to do with the concrete expression of a rule, rather than the behavioral survey research data of the social scientist. Thirdly, just as we must respect the gap between rule and behavior, we must be equally cognizant of the gap between kinship and language. I borrow the terms "Dravidian" and "Indo-Aryan" from philology to distinguish two Indian kinship systems which coincide roughly, but not exactly, with the language families of those names. If we take the linguistic map of contemporary South Asia, and to the regions of Dravidian speech we add Maharashtra (all castes except Chitpavan brahmins and a few others), some of Gujarat including Surashtra, parts of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, and the whole of Shri Lanka, we have crudely delimited the area in which the Dravidian kinship system prevails today, noting that several of these communities, though they speak Indo-Aryan languages-- Marathi, Gujarati, Sinhalese--are nevertheless Dravidian in respect of kinship. The Indo-Aryan kinship system prevails to the north of this region.

Taking the contemporary kinship map as our datum line, we may then survey the ancient evidence to answer the question, what is the age and former geographical spread of the Dravidian system? To make the question operational we can divide it in two: (1) Was cross-cousin marriage anciently practiced within the present boundaries of the Dravidian kinship system, i.e. can it be shown that the system itself is ancient? (2) Do we have authentic examples of cross-cousin marriage to the north of the boundaries, i.e. can the presence of peoples of Dravidian culture in ancient North India be corroborated by this means?

It is in this framework that I wish to re-examine the alleged instances of cross-cousin marriage in early North India. It is my contention that failure to follow the analytical principles mentioned has led to repeated misinterpretation of the data. The study which follows is based on Ghurye's cases,[7] with a few additions, not because I wish to single out the distinguished

sociologist for special criticism, but because his is the most comprehensive collection of instances.

I. Cross-Cousin Marriage in Pali Literature

Ghurye offers ten instances of cross-cousin marriage in Pali literature as evidence that the practice was known in North India: (1) The genealogy of the Buddha (Mahāvaṃsa 2.14-24); (2) Ajātasattu and Vajirā (Dhammapadatthakathā 3.264, Jātakas nos. 283, 492 and others); (3) King Brahmadatta's daughter and sister's son (Jāt. nos. 126, 262); (4) the fallen woman and her crippled paramour (Jāt. no. 193); (5) Ānanda and Uppalavaṇṇā (DhA 2.49); (6) Magha and Sujātā (DhA 1.264 ff.); (7) Nandiya and Revatī (DhA 3.290 ff.); (8) Dīghagāmaṇi and Cittā (MV 9.15-21); (9) Paṇḍukābhaya and Suvaṇṇapāli (MV 10.29-40); (10) the Vaṅga princess and her father's senāpati (MV 6.20). The last three cases belong of course to the legends of early Ceylon. The collection would be made more complete by the addition of: -- (11) the legend of the Śākyas and the Koliyas (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī 1.258-262); (12) Candagutta and his chief queen (Vaṃsatthappa-kāsinī 1.187.27-29); (13) Aggibrahmā and Saṃghamittā (MV 5.169); and (14) Vessantara and Maddī (Jāt. no. 547). I have discussed these cases in a previous paper, [8] in which a detailed argument leading to the following conclusions may be found. As a glance at the references will show, all of the instances derive exclusively from the post-canonical commentatorial and chronicle literature of Ceylon. Not one of them is supported by the Pali Canon itself, and several are contradicted by it or by parallel versions of these stories in other literatures both Buddhist and non-Buddhist. What these data show, it follows, is that cross-cousin marriage was practiced not in ancient North India, where the various canons were formed, but in early Ceylon where the cited texts were written, and where the Dravidian kinship system persists to this day. They testify to the great antiquity of the Dravidian kinship system in Ceylon, as do the abundant examples of cross-cousin marriage among Ceylonese royalty which the chronicles also yield. They are examples of the accommodation of received traditions, many of demonstrably North Indian provenance, to Ceylonese social norms.

II. Cross-Cousin Marriage among the Epic Heroes

If cases of cross-cousin marriage were found in the Mahā-
bhārata they would certainly support the contention that the
practice was known in early North India. But the instances
hitherto noticed turn out on closer inspection to be no more
solid than those from Pali literature.

(1) Kṛṣṇa and Bhadrā. According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa,
Kṛṣṇa was given Bhadrā, daughter of his father's sister Śruta-
kīrti, by her brothers Santardana, etc., in patrilateral cross-
cousin marriage (FZD).[9] This tradition, however, is not found
in the Mahābhārata, which does not know of a wife of Kṛṣṇa by
that name (though Vasudeva, Kṛṣṇa's father, has a wife and a
daughter named Bhadrā), nor of her mother Śrutakīrti; it is in
fact confined to the Bhāgavata.[10]

(2) Kṛṣṇa and Mitravindā. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa says that
Kṛṣṇa forceably abducted Mitravindā, daughter of his father's
sister Rājādhidevī and sister of Vinda and Anuvinda, before the
very eyes of the kings assembled at her svayaṃvara (FZD). The
Mahābhārata knows the brothers Vinda and Anuvinda, but not
the lady in question, or her mother Rājādhidevī, and again the
Bhāgavata seems to be unsupported by other works either epic
or post-epic.[11]

(3) and (4) Pradyumna and Rukmavatī, Aniruddha and
Rocanā. Rukmin, king of Vidarbha and brother of Rukmiṇī,
Kṛṣṇa's wife, gave his daughter Rukmavatī to his sister's son
Pradyumna, and his son's daughter Rocanā to his daughter's son
Aniruddha, in spite of his enmity for Kṛṣṇa, in order to please
his sister. The text says that although Rukmin knew these
marriages to be contrary to dharma, yet he was bound by the
fetters of affection, a curious confession of bad conscience by
the brahmanical custodian of the Bhāgavata, which perhaps
drew on local, i.e. Dravidian, traditions about the res gestae
of the epic heroes. The case is of special interest in that it
illustrates how two dynastic houses can perpetuate marital ties
over several generations by virtue of matrilateral cross-cousin
marriage (MBD) -- see Figure 1. It is also of interest in that
the Mahābhārata which of course knows Kṛṣṇa, his wife Rukmiṇī,
his wife's brother Rukmin, his son Pradyumna, and his son's
son Aniruddha, nevertheless knows nothing of the marriages in

FIGURE 1

Cross-cousin marriage among the descendents of Kṛṣṇa
according to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa
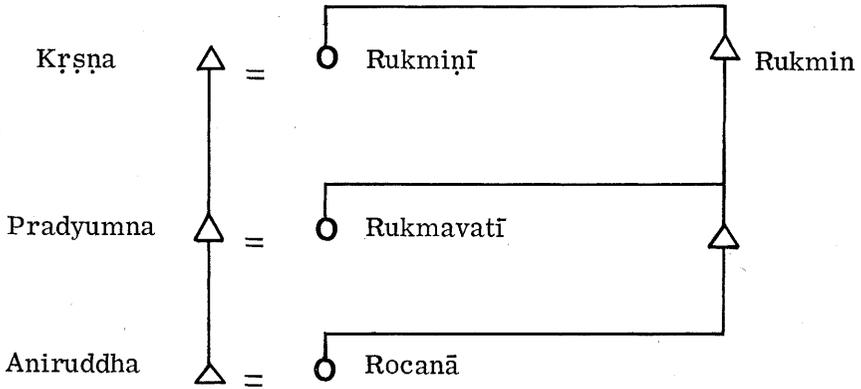
question or the ladies concerned.[12] These instances, then, are
also peculiar to the Bhāgavata.

(5) Parīkṣit and Irāvatī. An additional instance of similar
type was put forward by Ghurye in an earlier publication.[13]
According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa Parīkṣit, son of Abhimanyu
and Uttarā, married Irāvatī, daughter of his mother's brother
Uttara. Here again a cross-cousin marriage of an epic hero in
the Bhāgavata is absent from the Mahābhārata. The latter knows
Parīkṣit as son of Abhimanyu and Uttarā, and that Uttara and
Uttarā are siblings, the children of Virāṭa; but Parīkṣit marries
Madrāvatī of unspecified parentage, while Irāvatī is only the
name of a river in the Epic.[14]

With these five cases we may say that a pattern has emerged,
a pattern which is exactly parallel to that of the Pali cases dis-
cussed above. For the most likely homeland of the Bhāgavata
Purāṇa is South India, more specifically Tamilnad, and this for
two reasons: the Tamil country was the principal center of
Vaiṣṇava devotionalism (especially under the Āḷvārs, seventh
through ninth centuries) previous to 1030 A.D., the terminus ad
quem provided by al-Bīrūnī, who names the Bhāgavata in his list
of Purāṇas; and the Bhāgavata itself specially commends the
Drāviḍa country and the holy waters of its rivers to the bhakta.[15]
On circumstantial evidence, then, the Bhāgavata is likely to
have been written among a Dravidian people who follow a cross-
cousin marriage rule. This conclusion is harmonious with the
fact that the marriages of epic heroes have been "Dravidianized"
in the Bhāgavata, just as the Pali chronicles and commentaries
have "Ceylonized" Buddhist traditions from North India. Else-
where in this volume Brenda E. F. Beck summarizes folk ver-
sions of the Mahābhārata story and local tales which have been
linked to the epic cycle in the Kongu region of Tamilnad, stories
in which cross-cousin marriages abound. This material gives
us some insight into the sort of local traditions the author of the
Bhāgavata Purāṇa was born to, for it seems probable that origi-
nally North Indian epic stories have been Dravidianized in just
this sort of local Dravidian oral tradition before being reconsti-
tuted in the Sanskrit of the Bhāgavata. Furthermore, the cases
before us demonstrate the age of the Tamil portion of our con-
temporary map of the Dravidian kinship system, but not its
northward extension in the past. It is perhaps in reference to
these cases from the Bhāgavata that, when Yayāti curses his son

Yadu for refusing to exchange his youth for his father's old age, the Padma Purāṇa adds the further curse that Yadu's descendants (which include Kṛṣṇa and Parīkṣit) will marry their mothers' brothers' daughters.[16]

Three further supposed epic examples of cross-cousin marriage cited by Ghurye appear to be spurious.

(6) Yadu and the five daughters of Dhūmravarṇa. In the Harivaṃśa Haryaśva, son of Ikṣvāku, marries Madhumatī, daughter of the Daitya Madhu, by whom he has a son named Yadu. The Nāga king Dhūmravarṇa gives his five daughters, born of Yauvanāśva's sister, to Yadu. Several points require comment. First, Yadu is of course generally regarded in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas as the son of Yayāti and Devayānī, not of Ikṣvāku and Madhumatī. Second, Dhūmravarṇa and his five daughters are not mentioned in the Mahābhārata nor, apparently, in the Purāṇas including the Bhāgavata, though they speak of a Haryaśva, king of Ayodhyā, who was briefly married to Mādhavī, Yayāti's daughter, and who begot on her a son named Vasumanas. Third, the Harivaṃśa which alone contains this tradition, does not make Haryaśva a brother of Yauvanāśva, as Ghurye assumed.[17] Thus this is not a case of cross-cousin marriage at all; a critical link in the supposed consanguinity between Yadu and his five Nāga wives is missing.

(7) Sahadeva and Vijayā. Ghurye says, "The wife of Sahadeva, Vijaya, is represented to have been the daughter of Salya, his mother's brother, the king of the Madras," a case, then, of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (MBD) among the Pāṇḍavas. All of the characters are known to the Mahābhārata itself: Sahadeva, his mother Mādrī, his maternal uncle Śalya, and his wife Vijayā. But is Vijayā in fact the daughter of Śalya? The text of the Critical Edition merely states that she is a Madra (Mādrī), to which the Northern Recension adds that she was daughter of the Madra (king) whom it specifies, not as Śalya, but as a certain Dyutimat. The Vāyu, Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas call her the daughter of king Pārvata. Nowhere in the many epic and Purāṇic references to Śalya is he stated to have been the father of Vijayā.[18] This instance is, therefore discredited.

(8) Abhimanyu and Vatsalā. Ghurye's earlier article referred to above cites the case of Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna and

Subhadrā, who married Vatsalā, daughter of his mother's brother Balarāma (Abhimanyu's principal wife was of course Uttarā, mother of Parīkṣit, as described in example (5) above). This is a matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (MBD). I can find no epic or Purāṇic mention of this Vatsalā, and thus am inclined to think this figure is entirely the creation of the popular Marathi kāvya, Vatsalāharaṇa, in which, according to Chitrao, she appears as Abhimanyu's wife.[19] The Marathi-speaking area is well known to be within the region in which cross-cousin marriage and kinship terminologies of Dravidian structure occur widely. Accordingly this case is another example of the Dravidianization of epic traditions. It demonstrates the age of the Dravidian kinship map in respect of Maharashtra, but it does not alter its boundaries.

The article in question further cites the only authentic case, to my knowledge, of cross-cousin marriage in the Mahābhārata itself.

(9) Arjuna and Subhadrā. In the Subhadrāharaṇaparvan of the Mahābhārata Arjuna, son of Pṛthā, while the guest of the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas in Dvārakā on the occasion of their festival in honor of Mt. Raivata, forceably abducted Subhadrā, sister to Kṛṣṇa and Vasudeva's daughter, with Kṛṣṇa's compliance and Yudhiṣṭhira's permission. Elsewhere the epic tells us that Kuntī (Pṛthā) and Vasudeva were the children of Śūra, though because his father's sister's son Kuntibhoja was without offspring, Śūra gave him his daughter in adoption. Taken together, these statements imply that Subhadrā was Arjuna's mother's brother's daughter.

This, then, is a genuine epic example of cross-cousin marriage, but its interpretation is surrounded by thorny problems which defy resolution. The Subhadrāharaṇaparvan does not itself note the fact that Arjuna and Subhadrā are related, and although it specifies their parentage it is only in other parts of the epic that Kuntī and Vasudeva are said to be siblings. This raises the possibility that the stories of the siblingship of Kuntī and Vasudeva, and of Arjuna's abduction of Subhadrā are separate developments in the formation of the epic; all relevant links of kinship are mentioned in the Critical Edition, but this restores the text of the mature epic, not its earlier form. Leaving these doubts aside, and supposing that the authors of the Subhadrāharaṇaparvan understood Arjuna and Subhadrā to have been cross-cousins, it seems scarcely likely that they

attached to the fact the importance to which, on Beck's evidence, the Tamil bards of modern Kongu manifestly do. For, on the one hand, Baladeva, who objects to the abduction of Subhadrā as a violation of hospitality, does not argue that cross-cousin marriage is at odds with the exogamous rules of the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas, nor, on the other, does Kṛṣṇa, who supports the match, do so on the grounds that a rule of cross-cousin marriage prevails among his people. Finally, if we discount the strange silence of the Subhadrāharaṇaparvan on this matter, and further assume that this single case is not a rare lapse from existing marriage prohibitions but is rather the expression of the marriage practices of an historical North Indian people, we must then ask to what region of North India does its testimony refer? Kṛṣṇa's associations with Dvāraka in the Kathiawar peninsula remind us that the cross-cousin marriage rule is in force among several groups there today. That being so, this instance does not unequivocally establish the practice of cross-cousin marriage to the north of the area in which the Dravidian kinship system is currently practiced.

III. Cross-Cousin Marriage in the Jain Literature of Western India

Another class of Ghurye's examples of cross-cousin marriage, those drawn from the Jain literature of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Surashtra, reflect the marriage practices of an area which even today although Indo-Aryan in language is Dravidian in the structure of its kinship terminology, and from which the contemporary practice or the memory, in folklore, of cross-cousin marriage is reported by ethnography. Thus, these cases demonstrate the antiquity of the Dravidian kinship system in this area. They do not, however, extend its known boundaries northward, certainly not into the Gangetic or Indus valleys.

The cases, very briefly, are these:

(1) Bambhadatta and Pupphacula's daughter. In the Mahārāṣṭrī kathānaka literature Bambhadatta, son of Bambharāja the king of Pañcāla, marries the daughter of king Pupphacula, his maternal uncle (MBD). [21]

(2) Jalanappaha and Citraleha. In the Surasundarīcariaṃ
of the Jain author Dhaneśvara who resided in Valabhī (Surashtra)
in the 10th or 11th century, the Vidyādara Pahajana and his
sister Bandhusundarī promise each other that their children
shall marry, "to implement the affection that they bore each
other."[22] Subsequently Jalanappaha, son of Pahajana, marries
his father's sister's daughter Citraleha (FZD).

(3) Satyabhāmā's son and brother's daughter. Somaprabha,
who wrote his Kumārapālapratibodha in honor of Caulukya
Kumārapāla, Jain king of Gujarat (1143-72 A.D.), has the
lady Satyabhāmā propose to her brother that he should give his
daughter, should he get one, in marriage to her son, should she.
The requisite offspring arrive and a matrilateral cross-cousin
marriage (MBD) ensues between them.[23]

(4) Grahāri and his mother's brother's daughter. The
great Jain savant Hemacandra (1089-1172 A.D.) who had con-
verted Kumārapāla to Jainism after serving under his Śaiva
predecessor Jayasiṃha Siddharāja, has Grahāri, king of
Surāṣṭra, marry his mother's brother's daughter in his work,
Dvyāśrayakāvya (MBD). The commentary of Abhayatilakagaṇi
adds that this was the custom of the people of Surāṣṭra.[24]

IV. Cross-Cousin Marriage in Sanskrit Secular Literature

The handful of cases culled from Sanskrit secular literature
similarly confirm the antiquity of cross-cousin marriage within
the present boundaries of the Dravidian kinship system but fail
to establish its practice further to the north.

(1) The Kāmasūtra. The Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana urges
a young man from the Deccan living off the family of his mater-
nal uncle, who has lost his parents and is poor, to marry his
maternal uncle's daughter, which of course confirms what is
already known of the customs of the Peninsula.[25]

(2), (3) Avimāraka and Kuruṅgī, Jayavarman and Sumitrā
(see Figure 2). A. D. Pusalker first brought to notice these
cases from the play Avimāraka attributed to Bhāsa.[26] Avi-
māraka, adoptive son of the king of Sauvīra, marries Kuraṅgī,
daughter of Kuntibhoja, the king of Vairantya, that is, Avimāraka

FIGURE 2

Marriages in the drama <u>Avimāraka</u> attributed to Bhāsa.
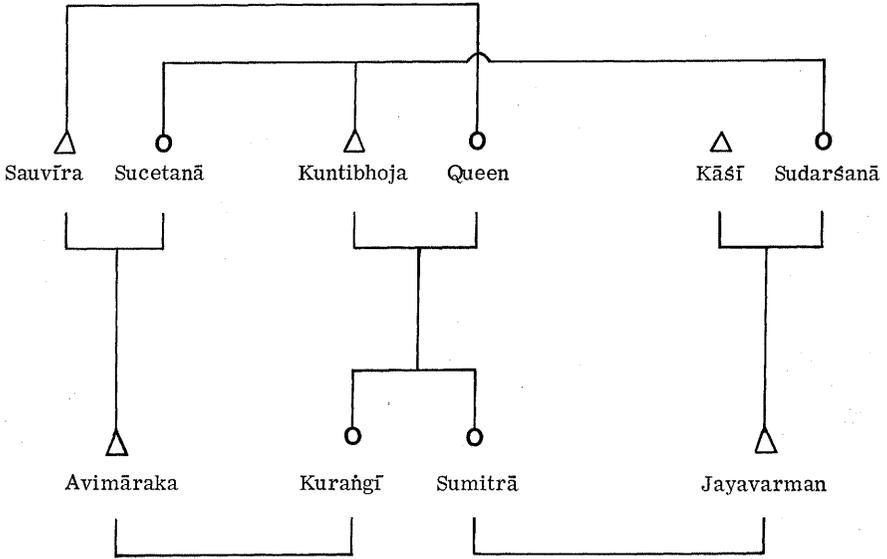
marries his double cross-cousin (MBD = FZD). (Avimāraka's pedigree as revealed at the end of the play is complicated further: he is really son of the god Agni and Sudarśanā, sister of Kuntibhoja and wife of Kāśī, so that Kurangī is actually related only matrilaterally (MBD)). Similarly the king of Kāśī who had unsuccessfully sought Kurangī's hand for his son Jayavarman, married him instead to Kurangī's younger sister Sumitrā, Jayavarman's mother's brother's daughter (MBD).

King Kuntibhoja's deliberations with his ministers on the relative political advantages of various offers for the hand of Kurangī illustrate the endogamous strategy of alliance, or the tendency to reinforce the ties between families already closely allied by marriage, typical of the Dravidian system of kinship. The minister Kauñjāyana reminds the king that of all royal lineages which had sought his daughter's hand he had thought the kings of Sauvīra and of Kāśī equally fitting suitors, since each had married a sister of Kuntibhoja; Bhūtika, another minister, points out that since Sauvīra is also the brother of Kuntibhoja's queen, i.e. since Sauvīra and Kuntibhoja are doubly related by marriage, his case is the stronger. [27]

There are however other versions of the Avimāraka story, discussed in a recent paper by J. Masson,[28] in which Jayavarman and Sumitrā are not known, and in which Avimāraka and Kurangī are differently related, or not related at all. The tale was probably contained in the lost Bṛhatkathā of Guṇādhya, which is the presumed source of the play. It is missing from the fragmentary Nepali version of the Bṛhatkathā, Buddhasvāmin's Bṛhatkathāślokasamgraha, but it is preserved in the descendants of the Kashmiri recension, Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara and Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī. In Somadeva's version Kurangī was the daughter of king Prasenajit of Supratiṣṭhita, and Avimāraka's parents were the god Agni and the daughter of the Brahmin Kapilaśarman. According to Kṣemendra's cryptic account Kurangī was daughter to king Senajit of Supratiṣṭha and "Caṇḍāladāraka" (Avimāraka) "is told to go and ask for the princess and to become a Brahmin (brahmano bhava). His impure contact with the lower classes /he had been raised by shepherds/ had been burned away by fire. . . . " Similarly the version of the tale in the Jayamangalā commentary on the Kāmasūtra makes Avimāraka the son of Ahalyā, the ṛṣi Gotama's wife, by Agni (subsequent to

her seduction by Indra) and his beloved is the daughter of a king. Rather more distantly related to these versions is the Kuṇāla Jātaka (no. 536). In it king Brahmadatta killed the king of Kosala, took the dead king's pregnant queen to Banaras and made her his own principal queen. The queen in due time was delivered of a son, the Avimāraka of these stories, whom she abandoned for fear the king would kill him as the son of his former enemy. Subsequently the boy made love to, and eventually married, Kuraṅgavī (v.1. Kuraṅgadevī), daughter of the king by his principal queen. There is no need to attribute the fact that Avimāraka and Kuraṅgī are here made uterine siblings, as Masson suggests, to a slip of the pen. [29] This detail would hardly have survived if it were not congenial to this literature and to the expectations of its readers to whom, for example, Rāma and Sītā were full siblings (Dasaratha Jāt. no. 461). Further, if cross-cousin marriage were an original feature of the story the prose Jātaka with its propensity for such unions would certainly have preserved it. In none of the descendants of the Bṛhatkathā, then, are the couple related to each other, much less as cross-cousins; and taken all together, the evidence suggests that the Bṛhatkathā itself asserted no such relationship, and that their relationship as half-siblings by the same mother in the Kuṇāla Jātaka is a special development of the story in Ceylon.

It is likely, further, that the relationships between Avimāraka and Kuraṅgī, Jayavarman and Sumitrā in the drama under discussion are the inventions of the playwright, improving upon his traditional materials as the rules of his art entitled him to do. Are we entitled to conclude thereby that the North Indian royal houses of Vairantya, Sauvīra and Kāśī historically practiced cross-cousin marriage? Certainly not; rather that our author favored the custom and imposed it on his characters. To Pusalker these marriages demonstrated the high antiquity of the play and its author, to a time when brahmanical rules of exogamy were as yet rudimentary, citing Karandikar's theory of the evolution of "Hindu exogamy." [30] To me they signify that the kinship system of the author of the Avimāraka was Dravidian, a fact which ought to be taken into account in the continuing debate over the ascription of this and its companion plays to Bhāsa.

(4) Caṇḍavarman and Avantisundarī. Ghurye says that in Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracarita Caṇḍavarman, regent of the throne of Mālava, had a passion for Avantisundarī, daughter of the king Mānasāra, his mother's brother (who had abdicated), which she did not reciprocate.[31] The only support for this statement which I can find in the text available to me is the passage in which Caṇḍavarman, having surprised Avantisundarī in the company of her lover Rājavāhana, rebukes her with the words, "How dare this wicked Avantisundarī become attached to him (Rājavāhana), treating noble persons like us with disdain?" (Katham ivainam anuraktā mādṛśeṣv api puruṣasiṃheṣu sāvamānā pāpeyam Avantisundarī?).[32] This may be the complaint of a disappointed lover, but I think Caṇḍavarman's ire is adequately accounted for by Avantisundarī's friendship with Bālacandrikā, whom Caṇḍavarman's younger brother Daruvarman lusted after, and by her lover Rājavāhana's friendship for Puṣpodbhava, Bālacandrikā's lover and the murderer of Daruvarman. In any case Caṇḍavarman's subsequent actions scarcely conform to what we expect of a man who is supposed to have a passion for Avantisundarī; for no sooner had he put Rājavāhana behind bars than he set off on an expedition against the king of Aṅga, who had contemptuously refused Caṇḍavarman's request for the hand of his daughter (tam avadhūta-duhitṛ-prārtanasyāṅga-rājasyoddharaṇāya . . .).[33]

(5) Arthāpala and Maṇikarṇikā. However that may be, the Daśakumāracarita contains an undoubted case of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (MBD), that between Arthapāla, prince of Kāśī, and Maṇikarṇikā. The girl had been won as a pledge at dice by Arthapāla's mother Kantimatī from her brother's wife Ācāravatī.[34]

Now our only sources for Daṇḍin's life, the Avantisundarī-kathā and its Kathāsāra, plant his family tree firmly in the known territory of the Dravidian kinship system. His ancestor came from Ānandapura in Gujarat, we are told, whence a branch of the family emigrated to the Nāsikya (Nasik) country; Dāmodarasvāmin, great-grandfather of the poet and a friend of Bhāravi (fl. 570) served as companion to the Cālukya prince Viṣṇuvardhana (Maharashtra) and of the Gaṅga king Durvinīta (Orissa), settling at last in the court of the Pallava king Siṃhaviṣṇu (r. c. 575-600) in Kāñcī (Tamilnad). There Daṇḍin was born and spent his adult life, though immediately after the sack

of Kāñcī by the Cālukyas in 673-4 A.D. he was obliged to flee his native place for a time. [35] The appropriate conclusion to draw from his works of fiction, surely, is that cross-cousin marriage was practiced not in the Magadha of Rājavāhana, nor in the Kāśī of Arthapāla, but in the Tamil homeland of their creator.

Our survey of Ghurye's cases so far (it is almost complete), establishes beyond doubt that the Dravidian kinship system has flourished within its present boundaries for a thousand years and more. No doubt the cases could be multiplied. There are probably a good many more to be found in ancient Southern works in Sanskrit and Prakrit; although the akam poetry of the Tamil Saṅgam literature contains little reference to cross-cousin marriage because its settings typically lie outside the framework of arranged marriage, according to George Hart's study elsewhere in this volume, other works in Dravidian languages may confidently be expected to yield further instances; the chronicles of Ceylon record numerous cross-cousin marriages among its kings, as already mentioned; and Peninsular epigraphy yields other examples among the Ikṣvākus of Andhra Pradesh, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Kalacuri alliance and the Coḷa-Eastern Cālukya alliance. The examples already given, however, in combination with our knowledge of the current existence of a rule of cross-cousin marriage, are sufficient to show the antiquity of the Dravidian system within its present boundaries.

The significance of this simple fact should be emphasized. The Dravidian kinship system is the only system of cross-cousin marriage whose history is not merely food for speculation, but can be traced in ancient documents. Neither historians nor anthropologists have begun to do justice to the privileged position which the Dravidian system occupies in respect both of Indian social history and the evolution of kinship systems in general. Too often they have done worse, either inferring the history of the system from contemporary practices alone while ignoring the ancient documents altogether, or misconstruing the import of the documents by failing to observe the most elementary canons of source criticism. Too often the documented instances of ancient Indian cross-cousin marriages have been referred to every kinship system but the Dravidian.

V. Cross-Cousin Marriage in Śruti

If cross-cousin marriage were indeed practiced in early
North India we might find traces of it preserved in the Veda,
whose northern origin is not in doubt. The fourteenth century
southern jurist Mādhava, seeking the sanction of śruti for the
marriage rule of his native land, has searched the scriptures
and found therein two passages which in his view establish the
legality of cross-cousin marriage on a basis more satisfying
and secure than local custom. In the judgement of a number of
modern scholars Mādhava's two passages show rather that the
early Aryans of North India followed a rule of exogamy much
simpler than that which ultimately found expression in the
brahmanical lawbooks. Or have we here rare notices of the mar-
riage customs of peoples of Dravidian or some other as yet
incompletely assimilated pre-Aryan culture of early North India?
Again, we must first look to the trustworthiness of the evidence
before entertaining these intriguing alternatives.

The first of these passages is as follows:[36]

> ā́ yāhīmdra pathíbhir iḷitébhir yajñam imám no
>   bhāgadhéyaṃ juṣasva /
> tṛptā́m juhur mā́tulasyeva yóṣā bhāgás te
>   paítṛṣvaséyī vapā́m iva //

> "Come, oh Indra, to this our sacrifice by the
> famed routes; and accept thy portion (which is)
> the dressed omentum, as the daughter of the
> maternal uncle, and as the father's sister's
> daughter (is one's portion in marriage)."

This is as clear a reference to a rule of cross-cousin mar-
riage as one could wish from the Vedic hymns; its credentials,
however, are doubtful. The verse is one of eleven attached as
khilas to the sleep-charm of Ṛg Veda 7.55. As a khila its age
is difficult to fix. The khilas as a class, accented verses of
archaic style, have a good claim to considerable antiquity, and
where individual verses are quoted in the Brāhmaṇas or Yāska's
Nirukta, for example, their claim is assured. The verse in
question is quoted in the Nirukta, as it happens, but it appears,
significantly, only in that portion of the longer recension which
was unknown to its 13th century commentator, Durga (although
Durga himself knew the khila literature), and which its learned

editor regards as a post-Durga addition.[37] The verse moreover
does not appear in all the khila collections, nor does it appear to
bear any relation to the verses with which it is grouped. Thus
its age and provenance are uncertain, at the very least; and its
value as evidence of cross-cousin marriage in early North India
is doubtful.

The second passage is Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 1.8.3.6, elabo-
rating on the significance of the separation of the juhū and
upabhṛt spoons during the new and full moon sacrifices:[38]

> tad vā etat / samāna eva karman vyākriyate,
> tasmād u samānād eva puruṣād attā cādyaś ca
> jāyete; idaṃ hi caturthe puruṣe tṛtīye saṃgac-
> chāmaha iti videvaṃ dīvyamānā jātyā āsata;
> etasmād u tat //

Eggeling, substantially in agreement with Mādhava, translates,

> Thus the separation (of the eater and the
> eaten) is effected in one and the same act;
> and hence from one and the same man
> spring both the enjoyer (the husband), and
> the one to be enjoyed (the wife): for now
> kinsfolk (jātyāḥ) live sporting and rejoicing
> together, saying, "In the fourth (or) third
> man (i.e. generation) we unite." And this
> is so in accordance with that (separation
> of the spoons).[39]

The commentator Harisvāmin so understood the purport of the
text, saying that marriage in the third degree was the usage of
the Kāṇvas, in the fourth of the Saurāṣtras, and again in the third
that of the Dākṣiṇātyas or Southerners who, he adds, marry the
mother's brother's daughter and the father's sister's daughter,
being in the third degree from the common ancestor.[40]

But there are difficulties. In the first place the passage as
interpreted does not imply a rule of cross-cousin marriage specif-
ically, since the relatives of the third degree comprise all first
cousins, both cross (MBD, FZD) and parallel (MZD, FBD). Now
the Dravidian kinship system forbids the marriage of parallel
cousins even more sternly than it enjoins cross-cousin marriage.
Mādhava, therefore, in his comment upon this text, was bound to
exclude parallel-cousin marriage from its scope on other grounds,

such as "condemnation of the learned," since the text itself could not be construed to deny it expressly. But we are in search of historical fact, and whatever the merits of Mādhava's legal point we are forced to the conclusion that as interpreted the passage cannot be used as testimony that early North Indians, whether culturally Dravidians or Indo-Aryans or whatever, had a rule of cross-cousin marriage as such.

Several eminent scholars (Weber, Fick, Eggeling, Macdonell and Keith)[41] have grasped the nettle, arguing that the passage implies that the marriage of first or more distant cousins of all types was permitted by the Aryans of this period, that in effect the Aryan notion of exogamy in the age of the Brāhmaṇas forbid one only to marry one's mother, sister or daughter. From such a vantage it is possible to look forward to the increasingly large exogamous bounds of the lawbooks, and backwards to the sibling marriage of the Yama-Yamī myth taken literally as representative of Indo-Aryan, or even Proto-Indo-European, mores. I do not share this interpretative vista as it concerns Indo-Aryan kinship prior to the lawbooks, for reasons which cannot be fully entered into here (some of them will emerge in the final section of this essay); suffice it for the present to state that the comparative data of early Indo-European societies suggest that the prohibition of marriage with close kin was a feature of Indo-European social structure from the period of unity.[42] The scholars named above, one suspects, take their inspiration from the notion of "primitive promiscuity," out of which more seemly concepts of exogamy may be claimed to have developed in the fullness of time. This nineteenth century notion is quite discredited: neither are contemporary tribes nor the earliest Indo-Aryans or Indo-Europeans "primitive," nor are any of them "promiscuous," in the required sense.

One suspects too that the interpretation of the Śatapatha passage would not have occurred to these authorities without the promptings of the jurist Mādhava and the commentator Harisvāmin. Mādhava's motives may be impeached on the grounds that he was himself a Southerner in quest of a legal basis for the support of cross-cousin marriage; and though we know nothing of Harisvāmin beyond the fact that he wrote a commentary, there are a few slender reasons for supposing the same of him.[43]

Let us take a fresh look at the text, beginning with the "eater

and the one to be eaten" (attā cādyaś ca) of which the juhū and
upabhṛt spoons are the ritual embodiments. Both Mādhava and
Harisvāmin take this pair as "husband and wife." In the Śata-
patha Brāhmaṇa's exposition of the new and full moon sacrifice
this meaning is not made explicit, though others are. The pas-
sage immediately preceding (1.8.3.5) is perfectly clear, and as
we have no quarrel with Eggeling on this one we quote his trans-
lation again.

> Behind the juhū stands the sacrificer, and
> behind the upabhṛt stands he who means evil
> to him: hereby, then, he brings the sacri-
> ficer forward to the front (or east), and the
> one who means evil /to/ him he drives back
> (or towards the west). Behind the juhū stands
> the eater (enjoyer), and behind the upabhṛt
> the one to be eaten (enjoyed); thus he now
> brings the eater (enjoyer) to the front, and
> the one to be eaten (enjoyed) he drives back.

The "eater" therefore is the sacrificer (yajamāna), and the
"one to be eaten" is "he who means evil to him" (yo 'smā
arātīyati). The manipulation of the spoons serves to drive away
or crush this enemy, or to render him tributary and prevent him
from doing so to the sacrificer. The political significance of the
manipulation of the spoons becomes even more marked when the
juhū and the upabhṛt are referred respectively to kṣatra and viś,
king and subjects. Taking half as much butter in the juhū as in
the upabhṛt, he strengthens the eater by compacting, and weakens
the one to be eaten by expansion; thus a single king dwelling
amidst a numberless people conquers them, taking from them
what he pleases. What is taken in the upabhṛt, however, is
poured into the juhū, whereby the Vaiśya under the dominion of
the Kṣatriya acquires cattle; he then offers the mingled butter of
both spoons from the juhū, whereby the people pay tribute (bali)
to the Kṣatriya, who may demand any of the Vaiśya's goods he
covets (1.3.2.14,15). Laying the juhū above the other spoons
makes the kṣatra superior to the viś, such that the people serve
a Kṣatriya seated above them (1.3.4.15).

We therefore have

juhū : upabhṛt ::
sacrificer : he who means evil to him ::
eater : one to be eaten ::
king : subjects.

Though the contents of these dyads are variable, their relation-
ship to one another is constant, and may be expressed as comple-
mentary, asymmetrical opposition, in which the sacrificer and
his homologues represent the superior pole. In the passage under
discussion the domain referred to is kinship, and within that do-
main we must distinguish the two sides of a polarity, one repre-
senting the sacrificer and the other his rival, whose relation
reproduces and extends the above series. Now the type of the
rival kinsman in the ritual literature is the bhrātrvya. This is
the brother's son (not the father's brother's son as many take
it),[44] who stands to the sacrificer in just that relation of inferior
status and potential hostility as do the people to their king, and
over whom the sacrificer assumes a kind of suzerainty through
the operations of the ritual. A consideration of the ritual role of
the bhrātrvya, who significantly is related to his father's brother
in the third degree in the Indian method of computing degrees of
consanguinity, helps to elucidate the composition of the "kinsmen"
group of the passage: we must think of them as two or more lin-
eages proceeding from a common ancestor, the one representing
the lineage of the sacrificer, the others those of his collaterals
in the third or fourth degree.

This leads us to a reconsideration of what transpires between
the kinsmen. The phrase videvaṃ dīvyamānā jātyā āsate which
Eggeling renders "kinsfolk live sporting and rejoicing together"
could with greater plausibility be taken as "kinsmen sit casting
dice." The original meaning of div- appears to have been "to cast
(e.g. dice)," subsequently generalized to "play," including erotic
play, the sense in which Harisvāmin and Mādhava take it; in any
event it is frequently associated with dicing in the ritual texts,
and Böhtlingk and Roth are probably right when they gloss its
rare derivative, videvaṃ as "Würfelspiel."[45] Now dicing, sim-
ilar to chariot racing and other contests, is an essential element
in several important rituals, and the sacrificer's opponent is
often a kinsman over whom he is made to triumph. For example,
in Kātyāyana's version of the game of dice in the Rājasūya the
adhvaryu, or perhaps the akṣavāpa, arranges the winning throw,
kṛta, for the king, the losing throw, kali, for the kinsman. He
opens play with the words, "Consecrated with the svāhā call,
compete with the rays of the sun, in order that this king may be
the centre of his kinsmen (sajāta-)."[46] The manipulation of the
spoons in our passage "fixes" the otherwise uncertain outcome
of the mundane game of dice, imposing on the world outside the
sacrificial field the control and predictability which, through the

magical aid of the <u>adhvaryu</u> and the acquiescence in their ritual roles of the participants, prevails in the ritual game to the sacrificer's advantage.

The operations of the sacrifice consist of a double movement in respect of the syzygies of sacrificer and rival, <u>kṣatra</u> and <u>viś</u>, etc., namely separation and reunion. Separation of the poles in complementary, asymmetrical opposition to each other effects the subordination of the inferior to the superior pole, neutralizing the threat which the rival poses. Separation must not be allowed to continue without hindrance, however, for that would be self-defeating. Thus if the butter taken in the <u>upabhṛt</u> were to be offered from it, rather than being poured into the butter of the <u>juhū</u> to be jointly offered, "the subjects would assuredly become separated from him" (<u>pṛthagdhaivemāḥ prajāḥ syur</u>), nor would there be either an eater or he who is to be eaten (<u>ŚB</u> 1.3.2.15). Separation and subordination, therefore, must be followed by reunion, which resolves the polarity (without eliminating it) in the desired asymmetrical alliance. This double movement informs the sense of <u>Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa</u> 1.8.3.6 as I understand it. To paraphrase: as the separation of the <u>juhū</u> and <u>upabhṛt</u> spoons springs from a single ritual act, so the sacrificer's lineage and those of his collaterals descend separately from a single common ancestor; thus kinsmen related in the third or fourth degree gather together for games of dice in which the sacrificer, by virtue of the ritual act, prevails over and is fortified by ("eats") his kinsmen, which is the object and effect of the separation of the spoons.

This is not to deny that Sanskrit words of "eating" and "enjoying" have sexual as well as political overtones in figurative speech. The king "eats" or "enjoys" the people, the kingdom, Earth (f.), or Royal Glory (f.), as lord and husband. The king is food for the brahmin, the people for the king, while the union of purohita and king is a marriage in which the purohita (eater) is male in respect of the king (eaten), the king in turn being male in respect of the people whom he "eats." Man and wife are undoubtedly a dyad in complementary, asymmetrical opposition, continuous with the dyads we have discussed above, also common to the thought of the Brāhmaṇas. But we must not be too literal-minded in moving from one dyad to another. Assuredly the purohita and his king are conceived to be man and wife in some sense, but they are assuredly not so in a literal

way; what reason to think the kinsmen of our passage literally marry each other?

Another rite, the Gosava, gives reason to think they did not. In this One-day Ritual (Ekāha) the sacrificer mimics the ox: he copulates with his mother, his sister or another woman of his own clan; he bends down to sip water and to take mouthfuls of grass; he moves his bowels wherever he happens to be when the urge comes upon him; winning thereby the World of the Ox.[47] Only the most hard-bitten literalist will see in this a vestige of a period in which intercourse with a close agnate was freely permitted. On the contrary, the Gosava implies that the order of nature inverts the order of culture, and that crossing the boundary between the two is permissible only in the sacrifice. It testifies that in the everyday world outside the sacrificial field sexual intercourse, much less marriage, with any female agnate as culturally defined (gotrajā, related to the sacrificer by patri- lineal descent from a common ancestor) was forbidden by a tabu which classified the more distant such relatives with the mother and sister.

* * * * *

We have come to the end of our search; for if Vedic literature contained other, unequivocal instances of cross-cousin marriage we may be sure that Mādhava and his fellow Southern dharma- śāstrins would have found them and exploited them to the full. And if, on the other hand, the Indo-Aryans had permitted cross- cousin marriage, or the marriage of cousins in general, previous to the development of the rules of exogamy which we find in the classical brahmanical law, we would surely have traces of the custom more trustworthy than a single instance from the Kṛṣṇa legend in the Mahābhārata, a khila verse of dubious age and origin and a passage from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa of questionable relevance. The structure of Sanskrit kinship terminology, for example, ought to be such that the practice of cross-cousin marriage could be inferred from it, but it is not. At the present state of knowledge, it seems to me, the existence of such a cus- tom among the early Indo-Aryans cannot be established from Indic documents exclusively. Only comparative Indo-European studies could hope to do so, and in the last section of this paper we shall examine Benveniste's argument on these lines. For

the moment I should like to make a few remarks about the Dravidian hypothesis.

As Burrow has shown, the presence of Dravidian loanwords in Vedic literature, even in the Ṛg Veda itself, presupposes the presence of Dravidian-speaking populations in the Ganges Valley and the Punjab at the time of Aryan entry. [48] We must further suppose, with Burrow, a period of bilingualism in these populations before their mother tongue was lost, and a servile relationship to the Indo-Aryan tribes whose literature preserves these borrowings. That Vedic literature bears evidence of their language, but little or no evidence of their marriage practices, is disappointing but not surprising. The occurrence of a marriage is, compared with the occurrence of a word, a rare event, and it is rarer still that literary mention of a marriage will also record the three links of consanguinity by which the couple are related as cross-cousins. Nevertheless, had cross-cousin marriage obtained among the dominant Aryan group its literature would have so testified, while its occurrence among a subject Dravidian-speaking stratum would scarce be marked and, given a kinship terminology which makes cross-cousin marriage a mystery to all Indo-European speakers, scarce understood, a demotic peculiarity of little interest to the hieratic literature of the ruling élite.

VI. Benveniste on Indo-European Kinship Terminology

Émile Benveniste, in his magisterial study Le vocabulaire des institutions Indo-Européenes[49] directs his attention to "le principe de l'exogamie et ses applications," asserting that only the rule of cross-cousin marriage can explain the fact that Latin avunculus, "mother's brother," is the diminutive of avus, "grandfather," as also that the reciprocal of these terms, nepos, means both "nephew" (especially "sister's son") and "grandson." If this is so, and if it can further be shown to represent the Proto-Indo-European situation, it will be of obvious importance to our understanding of Indo-Aryan kinship prior to the lawbooks. Let us examine the argument.

The Latin terminology of kinship illustrates the general truth that the descendants of Proto-Indo-European *awos show considerable semantic variation, chiefly between "grandfather"

and "mother's brother."[50] Similarly the descendants of Proto-IE *nepot- vary between "nephew (sister's son)" and "grandson."[51] How are these facts to be explained?

Suppose, with Delbrück and Hermann, that avus originally designated the maternal grandfather; then his son, the maternal uncle, would quite appropriately be called avunculus, "little avus." But Benveniste rejects this explanation. The following facts, according to him, oppose it: none of the examples of avus collected in the Thesaurus require the sense "maternal grandfather;" all definitions of the ancients connect the avus with the paternal line, as Isidore of Seville (Origines): "avus pater patris est; patris mei pater avus meus est;" in enumerating ancestors one begins with pater and continues with avus, proavus, etc., the maternal grandfather being specified as avus maternus; Hittite huhhaš is exclusively the paternal grandfather. There is also a theoretical objection: "In a classificatory kinship system, no special importance is attached to the mother's father. In agnatic /patrilineal/ descent one takes account of the father and the father's father; in uterine /matrilineal/ descent, of the mother's brother. But the mother's father has no special place" (p. 226). The original meaning of avus, it follows, was exclusively "paternal grandfather."

It is worth our while to have a close look at this point, which is both unique (I believe) to Benveniste, and crucial to his argument. The theoretical objection he sees to regarding avus as originally "mother's father" simply will not hold for patrilineal systems. The mother's patrilineage, or the mother's father as representative of that lineage, does on the contrary often occupy a special place in systems of patrilineal descent.[52] This appears quite clearly from Benveniste's own materials on early Indo-European societies, in which marriage is thought of as a sacrament between persons of two patrilineages the purity of both of which weighs in the determination of the status of the offspring. Marriage is moreover thought of as a "gift" by the head of one patrilineal household to the son of another. Benveniste himself points out that "the father, or in default, the brother has the authority to 'give' the daughter to her husband" (p. 240), thus demonstrating the unity of the pair which, from the point of view of the child of the marriage, will be his avus and avunculus. As to Benveniste's argument from fact, the special designation avus maternus tends to show on the contrary that no distinct term

existed for maternal grandfather, avus without qualifiers meaning
a grandfather of either variety. There is no evidence that a
terminological distinction of grandfathers, analogous to classical
Sanskrit pitāmaha/mātāmaha (paternal/maternal grandfather),
existed in Proto-Indo-European. Benveniste is probably right to
argue that avus cannot originally have meant the maternal grand-
father exclusively, but he has not also shown that it meant only
paternal grandfather.

Let us however grant the point and see where Benveniste
takes it. He believes that the difficulty which philology cannot
resolve by itself finds its solution in the assumption of a kinship
system consisting in two exogamous moieties, with resulting
cross-cousin marriage. He shows that under such a system the
avus, father's father, would always also be the mother's
mother's brother, or, to put it differently, the mother's brother
of the mother's brother (the avunculus of one's avunculus --
see Figure 3). We must posit, then, the sense of "maternal
grand uncle" before that of "grandfather" (father's father),
since the two roles were filled by one and the same person under
this marriage rule, though Benveniste does not explain how the
one sense can be prior to the other in a system which necessitates
their conjunction. The reciprocal term nepos is similarly ex-
plained as having meant both sister's son and sister's daughter's
son (the nepos of one's nepos); and since, under the marriage
rule described, the sister's daughter's son is also son's son,
"the increasingly rigorous patrilineal tendency of I-E kinship
often made the agnatic signification, 'son's son', prevail" (p. 234).
We may express the hypothesis in the following equations:

$$\text{avus}/\text{avunculus} = FF = *MMB = *MBMB = MB$$
$$\text{nepos} = ZS = *ZDS = SS$$

There is some confusion in Benveniste's argument as to the
form of the cross-cousin marriage rule which his hypothesis
requires. In the passage paraphrased above, and in the diagram
which illustrates it (pp. 228-29), he posits exogamous moieties
and patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (FZD), while in dis-
cussing affinal terms (see below) he specifies matrilateral cross-
cousin marriage (MBD). Now it can easily be shown that the
above equations can be satisfied by an exclusively patrilateral
rule (FZD but not MBD) or a bilateral or double cross-cousin
rule (FZD or MBD, who may be the same person, as in Figure 3),

FIGURE 3

Benveniste on the Latin avus / avunculus : nepos set.
The diagram assumes double cross-cousin marriage
(MBD = FZD).

AVUS
(FF, MMB)

AVUNCULUS
(MB)

EGO

NEPOS
(ZS)

NEPOS
(SS, ZDS)
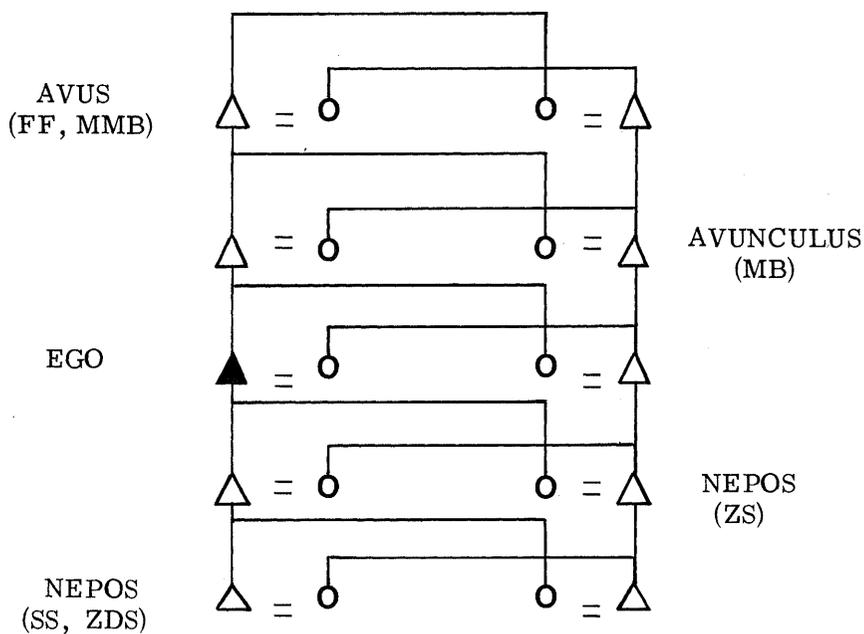
but not by an exclusively matrilateral rule (MBD but not FZD).
My Figure 3 which assumes double cross-cousin marriage is
therefore an improvement on Benveniste's diagram, reconciling
his reference to both types of cross-cousin at different points in
his exposition. It can further be demonstrated that exogamous
moieties, although they are compatible with the theory advanced,
are entirely unnecessary to it; and since their existence is not
required by evidence outside the theory we may ignore them and
concentrate on the hypothesis itself. We also skip over Ben-
veniste's further argument from the "avunculate," or the special
relation between a mother's brother and his sister's son (he
cites German, Celtic and Greek examples), for which current
kinship theory provides a well-tested alternative, namely that
this affectionate relationship flourishes in the degree to which
the father exercises jural authority over and commands the
respect of his son.

Returning to Benveniste's treatment of the avus/avunculus:
nepos set, ethnologists will recognize in this argument what
Radcliffe-Brown stigmatized as "conjectural history."[53] The
method consists of deducing the existence of a marriage rule,
for which no direct evidence exists, from kinship terms which
lump two or more denotata. Evidently this is a dangerous way
of proceeding. There is no reason to suppose that marriage
rules are the sole determinants of kinship terminologies; and if
we may judge the method by its fruits, its application to various
terminologies has "proved" the former existence of marriage
rules so bizarre as to have discredited the method altogether.[54]

We may test the hypothesis that early Roman society had a
rule of cross-cousin marriage by comparing its kinship terms to
those of societies which are known to have such a rule. A typical
Dravidian example which will be familiar to Indianists is supplied
by Tamil. In Tamil the term for mother's brother -- māman --
also includes father's sister's husband and spouse's father,
which fits very well the expectation that a Tamil boy will marry
his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter
or their terminological equivalents. The reciprocal term,
marumakan, includes sister's son (man speaking), brother's
son (woman speaking), wife's brother's son, husband's sister's
son, and daughter's husband, producing the same "fit" with
cross-cousin marriage. The consistent lumping of consanguin-
eous and affinal kinsmen under single terms (and the consistent

differentiation of cross and parallel kin) is found almost through-
out Tamil and other Dravidian terminologies, and of certain
Australian and other terminological systems which are also
labeled Dravidian in the ethnological taxonomy. The opposite is
true of Indo-European kinship terminologies; of the dozen Proto-
Indo-European affinal terms which have been reconstructed, not
one can be shown also to have a consanguineous referent. The
very terms "consanguineous" and "affinal" derive from Roman
law.

Benveniste recognizes that the Proto-Indo-European affinal
set of terms does not conform to the expectations of his hypothe-
sis (pp. 252-53). If, he says, a man marries his mother's
brother's daughter, then his mother's brother becomes his
father-in-law (WF). This however is not attested for Proto-Indo-
European: "We have no proof that *swekuros has ever been
anything other than 'father-in-law', that is husband's father,
probably also wife's father in certain languages, such as San-
skrit and Latin." He considers two interpretations. One may
follow the logic of the hypothesis and suppose that prehistorically
*swekuros designated mother's brother and *swekrū- the
father's sister, their historic sense (HF, HM) resulting from a
transfer; but this, he concedes, is wholly conjectural, without
linguistic confirmation. Alternatively we may decide that the
terms always had only their historic meanings, always strictly
applied to the kinsmen created by the wife through her entry
into the family of her husband. In that case we must suppose
that the "patriarchal system," having triumphed very early,
eliminated from the affinal terms all vestige of the double posi-
tion (affinal and consanguineous) which they occupy in "classifi-
catory kinship."

Thus conjectural history is abandoned even by the data of
philology and reduced to conjecture pure and simple. More than
that, the requirements of the hypothesis are incorrectly stated.
Assuming matrilateral cross-cousin marriage with Benveniste,
we must have *swekuros = *MB = *WF, and of these two senses
the first is without a scrap of evidence while the second is doubt-
ful for Proto-Indo-European. Only "husband's father" is estab-
lished for Proto-Indo-European *swekuros. For this we must
assume patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, and the equation
*swekuros = *MB (female speaking) = HF. The assumption of a
bilateral cross-cousin rule merges the two equations:

*swekuros = *MB (speaker of either sex) = *WF = HF, and
also = *FZH (speaker of either sex). Against this tissue of
speculation stands the incontestable fact that its daughter stocks
recognize the affinal/consanguineous distinction, which not only
fails to support the hypothesis at issue but strongly suggests of
itself that Proto-Indo-European terminology recognized it as
well.

Lounsbury has explained the avus/avunculus: nepos set in
Latin and early Germanic kinship terminologies as instances of
a different class of terminologies known as Crow-Omaha, specif-
ically his Omaha type III. [55] In Omaha terminologies the gener-
ations are skewed such that the members of the mother's patri-
lineage (who are "wife-givers" to one's own patrilineage) are
referred to by senior terms and the members of the patrilineages
into which the daughters of one's own patrilineage marry (the
"wife-takers") are referred to by junior terms. In Omaha III
the males of the wife-givers are equated with the mother's
father, i.e. a single "grandfather" term comprehends mother's
father, mother's brother, mother's brother's son, etc. The
children of the wife-takers are classed with the daughter's son,
i.e. a single "nephew" term comprehends daughter's son,
sister's son, father's sister's son, etc. (see Figure 4). If
Lounsbury is right, the supposition of cross-cousin marriage
is not only unnecessary to explain the terminology, but unlikely;
for unilineal societies with Crow-Omaha terminologies tend to
prohibit cross-cousin marriage, while those with terminologies
of other types tend to allow it. [56]

Friedrich, in a paper which synthesizes the findings of
philology, kinship theory and archeology, carries the argument
further, referring the kinship terminology of Proto-Indo-European
itself to Lounsbury's Omaha III. We quote his conclusions as to
the characteristics of the Proto-Indo-European kinship system,
referring the reader to his article for documentation: [57]

> In brief, PIE culture had patriarchal, patri-
> local families that probably lived in small
> houses or adjacent huts. Villages were small,
> distant, and presumably exogamous. In
> addition to a large virilateral affinal set
> (consonant with patrilocal groups), the
> terminology at the avuncular-nepotic and
> "brother-in-law" levels was of Lounsbury's

FIGURE 4

Latin kinship terminology interpreted as an Omaha III system.
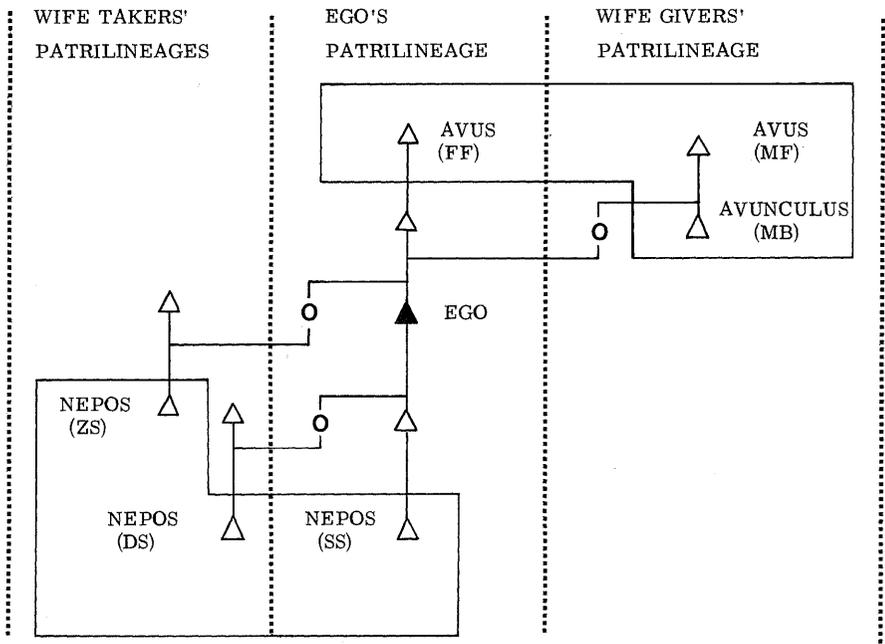
> Omaha III type. Both internal and external
> evidence for patriliny is excellent. The
> cross-cousin terminology was most probably
> asymmetrical Omaha, but cross-cousin mar-
> riage appears most unlikely. The entire
> mosaic provided by the linguistic, legal,
> ethnological, and archeological evidence
> indicates a system of the Omaha type, which
> White . . . has rightly called "typical of the
> patrilineate in its most highly developed form."

If this reconstruction is accurate, the consequences for the study of Indo-Aryan kinship prior to the lawbooks are plain: we must presume a society composed of exogamous patrilineages, without a positive marriage rule, a society in which one marries a "stranger." Such is the society of the lawbooks themselves, whose rules they elaborate; such is the society of the Ṛg Veda according to Brough's researches on gotra.[58] To believe that Indo-Aryan kinship in its earliest form differed profoundly from the form in which the lawbooks find it we should need the strongest proofs.

The picture of Proto-IE society to which these considera-tions lead us bears a strong resemblance to that which Maine, Fustel de Coulanges and Senart[59] have painted for us, one in which no "vestiges" of matrilineal descent, cross-cousin mar-riage or exogamous moieties are to be perceived. In the polemics of the hundred years which separate us from those pioneer historians of Indo-European kinship and social organiza-tion, however, we have not simply returned to the point of origin after a long detour down the theoretical dead-end of "Mutterrecht." For although we may not now trace Indo-Aryan exogamy backwards in ever-narrowing circles until it resolves itself into the marriage of cousins or sisters, back finally to a proto-human age which knows no law of incest, neither can the simplistic formulae of the law of patria potestas hide from us the importance of the cognatic kinsmen in general, and the mother's patrilineage in particular, within a system so em-phatically agnatic in its public formulations.

NOTES

1. The Parāśara Dharma Saṃhitā or Parāśara Smṛti, with the Commentary of Sāyaṇa Mādhavāchārya, vol. I pt. II, ed. Pandit Vaman Sastri Islampurkar (Bombay Sanskrit Series No. XLVIII), Bombay, 1893, pp. 54 ff. on vivāha, esp. p. 62 ff. Discussed in J. R. Gharpure, Sāpiṇḍya or the Law of Sapiṇḍa Relationship (Collection of Hindu Law Texts vol. XXVII), Bombay, 1949.

2. S. V. Karandikar, Hindu Exogamy, Bombay, 1929.

3. G. S. Ghurye, Family and Kin in Indo-European Culture, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1962, Appendix II.

4. E. J. Thomas, The Life of the Buddha as Legend and History, 2nd ed., London, 1931, p. 23.

5. Summary and references in T. Burrow, The Sanskrit Language, London, 1955, ch. 8.

6. The variety and richness of detail in the Dravidian system may be seen in Louis Dumont, Hierarchy and Marriage Alliance in South Indian Kinship, London, 1957 (Royal Anthropological Institute, Occasional Papers no. 12).

7. Cited above, note 3.

8. Thomas R. Trautmann, "Consanguineous Marriage in Pali
   Literature," to appear in Journal of the American Oriental
   Society. M. B. Emeneau had previously dealt with two of
   the cases (1, 11): "Was there Cross-cousin Marriage among
   the Śākyas?" JAOS 59 1939, 220-226.

9. Kinship notations employed in this paper are: F = father,
   M = mother, B = brother, Z = sister, S = son, D = daughter.

10. Maharṣivedavyāsapraṇītaṃ Śrīmadbhāgavatamahāpurāṇam,
    Gorakhpur (Gītā Press), Saṃvat 1998 (1940-41 A.D.)
    BhP 10.58.56:

    > Śrutakīrteḥ sutāṃ Bhadrām upayeme pitṛṣvasuḥ /
    > Kaikeyīṃ bhrātṛbhir dattāṃ Kṛṣṇaḥ Saṃtardanādibhiḥ //

    BhP 9.24.38 adds that Śrutakīrti was the wife of Kaikeya
    Dhṛṣṭaketu, who is known to the Mbh. Chitrao, whom Ghurye
    cites (Siddheśvaraśāstrī Citrāv, Bhāratavarṣīya Prācīna
    Caritrakoṣa, Poona, Saṃvat 2021/1964 A.D., s.v. Bhadrā[8])
    is quite clear as to the fact that this tradition is peculiar to
    the BhP, and S. Sørensen (An Index to the Names in the
    Mahabharata, London, 1904, s.vv. the several articles
    under Bhadrā) confirms its absence from the Mbh.

11. BhP 10.58.30-31:

    > Vindānuvindāv Āvantyau Duryodhanavaśānugau /
    > svayaṃvare svabhaginīṃ Kṛṣṇe saktāṃ nyaṣedhatām //
    > Rājādhidevyās tanayāṃ Mitravindāṃ pitṛṣvasuḥ /
    > prasahya hṛtavān Kṛṣṇo rājan rājñāṃ prapaśyatām //

    See Chitrao s.v. Mitravinda, which Sørensen lacks, though
    s.v. Vinda[1] in the latter.

12. BhP 10.61.23-25:

    > yady apy anusmaran vairaṃ Rukmī Kṛṣṇāvamānitaḥ /
    > vyatarad bhāgineyāya sutāṃ kurvan svasuḥ priyam //
    > Rukmiṇyās tanayāṃ rājan Kṛtavarmasuto balī /
    > upayeme viśālākṣīṃ kanyāṃ cārumatīṃ kila //
    > dauhitrāyāniruddhāya pautrīṃ Rukmy adadād dhareḥ /
    > Rocanāṃ baddhavairo 'pi svasuḥ priyacikīrṣayā /
    > jānann adharmaṃ tad yogaṃ snehapāśānubhandhanaḥ //

    See also BhP 10.90.35-37 where the marriages are recorded

without apology; Chitrao s. vv. Rukmavatī, Rocanā; Sørensen s. vv. Kṛshṇa[1], Rukmin, Rukminī, Pradyumna, Aniruddha[1].

13. G. S. Ghurye, "A Note on Cross-cousin Marriage and Dual Organization in Kathiawar," Journal of the University of Bombay 5.1 1936, 88-90.

14. BhP 1.16.2:

> sa /Parīkṣit/ Uttarasya tanayām upayema Irāvatīm /
> Janamejayādīṃś caturas tasyām utpādayat sutān //

Parīkṣit's mother was Uttarā (e.g. BhP 1.12.1); the Mbh and Purāṇas uniformly state that she was sister of Uttara and that both were the children of king Virāṭa (Sørensen s. vv. Uttara[1], Uttarā; BhP 1.8.14: Uttarā = Vairāṭī). Chitrao, s. vv. Uttara, Irāvatī, refers to the marriage without textual reference and, s. v. Janamejaya Parīkṣita[2], cites Mbh 1.40 as authority for the statement that Parīkṣit married the daughter of his maternal uncle, Uttara, and that she bore four sons, Janamejaya, Bhīmasena, Śrutasena and Ugrasena; the passage however says nothing of Parīkṣit's wife, while Mbh 1.90.93 says Parīkṣit married Madrāvatī, who bore Janamejaya. See also Sørensen, s. vv. Abhimanyu, Uttarā, Uttara[1], Parikshit, Madrāvatī, Irāvatī.

15. BhP 11.5.38-40:

> kṛtādiṣu prajā rājam kalāv icchanti sambhavam /
> kalau khalu bhaviṣyanti nārāyaṇaparāyaṇāḥ //
> kvacit kvacin mahārāja draviḍeṣu ca bhūriśaḥ /
> tamraparṇī nadī yatra kṛtamālā payasvinī //
> kāverī ca mahāpuṇyā pratīcī ca mahānadī /
> ye pibanti jalaṃ tāsāṃ manujā manujeśvara /
> prāyo bhaktā bhagavatī vāsudeve 'malāśayāḥ //

Discussion and further references in Thomas J. Hopkins, "The Social Teaching of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa," pp. 3-22 in Milton Singer, ed., Krishna: Myths, Rites, and Attitudes, Chicago, 1966 (esp. pp. 4, 5 and notes).

16. And inherit through the mother. See Chitrao, s. v. Yadu. śāpa. It would be interesting to know whether Kambaṇ's version of the Rāmāyaṇa also Dravidianizes its subject. This

and other vernacular versions of the Sanskrit epics in South
and Southeast Asia could be compared against the original to
further distinguish Indo-Aryan from Dravidian, or Indianate
features from the products of the "local genius." Departures
from the original, indicating the contribution of the compiler,
ought to reflect local culture.

17. HV 2.37 (esp. vs. 63) in Śrimanmaharṣi Vedavyāsapranīta
    Mahābhāratakhilabhāga Harivaṃśa ed. Paṇḍita Rāmanārāyaṇa-
    datta Śāstrī Pāṇḍeya, Gorakhpur, Gītā Press, Sam. 2016/
    1958-59 A.D. As to Yadu's parentage the editor states in
    a note that he was the son of Yayāti, but assumed the form of
    of Haryaśva's son by yogic powers. See also Chitrao, s.vv.
    Haryaśva[3], Vasumanas Kausalya; Sørensen, s.vv. Haryaçva,
    Vasumanas, Yuvanāçva.

18. Ghurye, Indo-European Kinship, p. 287. Ghurye's source,
    Chitrao s.vv. Vijayā[1], Sahadeva, is misleading: Chitrao
    cites Mbh 1.90.87 as authority for the statement that Vijayā,
    wife of Sahadeva, was daughter of king Śalya. Sørensen,
    s.v. Sahadeva, is more accurate: Sahadeva married Vijayā,
    daughter of the Madra king Dyutimat. See also s.v. Vijayā,
    Dyutimat, Çalya; Mbh Crit. Ed. 1.90.87 and note; V. R.
    Ramachandra Dikshitar, The Purana Index vols. II, III
    (Madras Historical Series No. 19, University of Madras,
    1952, 55, s.v. Vijayā (II).

19. Ghurye cites R. B. Godbole's Ancient Indian Historical
    Dictionary, in Marathi, unavailable to me; Chitrao, s.v.
    Vatsalā, however, clearly implies that this tradition is con-
    fined to the Marathi kāvya, Vatsalāharaṇa. Sørensen and
    Dikshitar make no reference to Vatsalā or, for that matter,
    s.v. Balarāma, to any daughters of Balarāma.

20. See Sørensen, s.vv. Arjuna, Kuntī, Kuntibhoja, Çūra[2]; so
    Mbh Crit. Ed. 1.104.1 (Pṛthā = Vasudeva's sister) and
    1.211 ff, the Subhadrāharaṇa (sub-) parvan (Arjuna married
    (Su)bhadrā, daughter of Vasudeva) and 1.90.85 to the same
    effect; also BhP 9.22.33 (Arjuna married Subhadrā) and
    9.24.55 (Subhadrā was daughter of Vasudeva). Irawati
    Karve, in her extensive study of kinship in the Mbh., notes
    six possible instances of cross-cousin marriage from the
    king lists of 1.90, in each of which a man and his son or

grandson take wives from the same named lineage. Failure
of the text to note consanguineous relation between the pairs
of wives in question renders these cases doubtful, and hardly
warrants the conclusion that "There was no bar against
cross-cousin marriage," though she is certainly right that
"it was certainly not a preferred type of mating." "Kinship
Terms and Family Organization as Found in the Critical
Edition of the Mahābhārata," Bulletin of the Deccan College
Research Institute 5 1943-44, 61-148; see p. 142.

21. Ghurye cites Hermann Jacobi, Ausgewählte Erzählungen in
    Māhārāshtrī, p. 8.

22. Ghurye cites Sur., ed. Rajavijaya, 5.28.45.

23. Ghurye cites Kum. pp. 260-63.

24. Ghurye cites Dvyāś. (or Kumārapālacarita) vol. 1, p. 346.

25. Kām. 3.3.3. The Kāmasūtram of Śrī Vātsyāyana Muni
    ed. Śrī Devdutta Śāstrī, Kāshi Sanskrit Series 29. Varavasi:
    The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1924.

26. A. D. Pusalker, "Critical Study of the Works of Bhāsa with
    Special Reference to the Sociological Conditions of his Age
    as Revealed in those Works," Journal of the University of
    Bombay 2.6 1934, pp. 174-203; see p. 191. Also Bhāsa--
    A Study, 2nd ed., Delhi, 1968, p. 377.

27.   Kauñjāyanaḥ--Svāmin! Bahuṣv api kṣatriyeṣu
           pūrvasambandhaviśeṣau Sauvīrarāja-
           Kāśirājau svāmino bhaginipatitve tulyau
           asmatsambandhayogyāv iti svāminā
           cintitau / . . . (p. 115)

           Bhūtikaḥ-- . . . Svāmin! Sauvīrarāja-
           Kāśirājau svāmino bhaginipatitve
           tulyau / atha devyā bhrāteti Sauvirendro
           guṇādhikaḥ / (p. 116).

Plays Ascribed to Bhāsa, ed. C. R. Devadhar, 2nd ed.,
Poona, 1951. J. Masson and D. D. Kosambi have recently
published a translation.

28. J. Masson, "A Note on the Sources of Bhāsa's (?) Avi-
    māraka," Journal of the Oriental Research Institute,
    Baroda 19.1,2 1969, 60-74.

29. So Masson, p. 68, note 21.

30. Cited above, note 26. At Bhāsa--A Study, p. 377 we read,
    "Now, in the Avimāraka, we find that the prince is marry-
    ing his maternal uncle's daughter, who is at the same time
    his paternal aunt's daughter. Marriage with a maternal
    uncle's daughter is not uncommon on this side /Poona?--
    Deshastha brahmins of Maharashtra marry MBD but not
    FZD/ being recognized by Baudhāyana and approved by
    local custom. Marriage with a paternal aunt's daughter,
    however, being rather uncommon and being with the third
    generation, suggests a fairly old time, before the composi-
    tion of the Smṛtis, which accords well with the time we
    have assigned to these plays." The idea seems to be that
    since sapiṇḍa-exogamy is stricter on the father's side, FZD
    marriage must represent a period at which the brahmanical
    law of exogamy was as yet rudimentary, as in the general
    scheme of Karandikar, whose work Pusalker cites. Quite
    apart from the question of the validity of Karandikar's
    thesis, Pusalker's argument ignores the obvious alternative,
    that the play's author, like its MS., was from the South.

31. Ghurye, p. 286.

32. The Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍin ed. and tr. M. R. Kale,
    2nd ed., Delhi, 1966, Pūrvapīṭhikā, ucchvāsa 1, p. 57.
    The Pūrvapīṭhikā is not, of course, Daṇḍin's, though it
    probably restored the story line of the lost portion of
    Daṇḍin's original with reasonable fidelity from Ketana's
    Telugu translation.

33. The same, p. 58.

34. Daś., ucchvāsa 4.

35. Dharmendra Kumar Gupta, A Critical Study of Daṇḍin and
    his Works, Delhi, 1970, pt. 1 chh. 3,4.

36. 14.6 (p. 87) in Isidor Scheftelowitz, <u>Die Apokryphen des</u>
<u>Rgveda</u> (<u>Indische Forschungen</u>, Heft 1), Breslau, 1906.
Quoted at Mādhava, pp. 65-66.

37. <u>The Nigaṇṭu and the Nirukta</u> (text), ed. Laksman Sarup,
University of the Punjab, 1926. The verse is in the
<u>pariśiṣṭa</u>, numbered 13.43 = 14.32, on p. 241; cf. n. 8--
"The entire secontion is omitted by MSS. of the shorter
recension . . . " and p. 12 ff. on the lateness of the
<u>pariśiṣṭa</u>.

38. <u>The Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa in the Mādhyandina-Çākhā</u>
ed. Albrecht Weber (reprint: <u>Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series</u>
No. 96), Varanasi, 1964. The Kāṇva recension is sub-
stantially the same, reading, according to A. C. Banerjea,
<u>Studies in the Brāhmaṇas</u>, Delhi, 1963 (from <u>jāyete</u>),

> uta hi tṛtīye puruṣe saṅgacchāmahe,
> caturthe saṅgacchāmaha iti videvaṃ
> vidīvyamāna āsate jātiyā asya sma iti.

Mādhava (p. 66), citing the "<u>Vājasaneyaka</u>," reads:

> tasmād vā samānād eva puruṣād attā
> cā 'dyaś ca jāyate (read jāyete) uta
> tṛtīye saṅgacchāvahai caturthe
> saṅgacchāvahai.

I surmise that Mādhava (quoting from memory?) put
<u>saṃgam</u>- in the dual, as against the plural of the original,
under the influence of the marital interpretation of the
passage.

39. <u>The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa</u> Part I Books I and II (<u>Sacred</u>
<u>Books of the East</u> vol. XII), Oxford, 1882 (Mādhyandina
recension). Here and elsewhere I normalize the <u>SBE</u>
transliterations.

40. P. 128 in Weber's <u>ŚB</u>. Ghurye (p. 254) observes that the
Surashtrians are also known to practice MBD (i.e. third
degree) marriage. The Kāṇvas here are probably Deccani
brahmins of that <u>caraṇa</u> or <u>gotra</u>. Since the statement is
hardly likely to have been true of Northern Kāṇvas in
classical times, the probabilities are that Harisvāmin was
himself a Southerner.

41. Albrecht Weber, Indische Studien 10, Leipzig 1868, pp. 75-6;
    Richard Fick, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, s.v.
    gotra; Julius Eggeling, Śat. Br. tr. 1.8.3.6 and note;
    A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, Vedic Index s.v. gotra.

42. In this view I find I have the equally eminent company of
    Louis de la Vallée Poussin, Indo-Européens et Indo-Iraniens,
    Paris, 1924, pp. 152-53 and fn. 1.

43. Harisvāmin's fragmentary Śatapathabhāṣya was bound with
    and copied by the same scribes as the Mādhavīya-
    Vedārthaprakāśa of Sāyaṇa (see Weber's Śat. Br.) who was
    of course a Southerner. See also note 40 above.

44. Many modern authorities (e.g. Böhtlingk and Roth, Delbrück,
    Whitney, Macdonell and Keith, Heesterman) take bhrātṛvya
    as FBS in Vedic passages in which he appears as the rival.
    This is mistaken. Pāṇini 4.1.144 clearly establishes the
    exclusive sense of FB in the classical language, and Videv-
    dāt 12 gives the Middle Iranian brāturya, "BS" in a context
    which distinguishes it from turya.puθra, "FBS," comparable
    to Skt. pitṛvya-putra (Ernst Herzfeld, Zoroaster and his
    World, Princeton 1947, vol. 1 pp. 111-112), which guaran-
    tees this meaning for Proto-Indo-Iranian. I find no positive
    evidence in favor of an extension of the meaning of bhrātṛvya
    to include FBS in Indic texts, and it is clear that the above-
    mentioned authorities have imposed it from an a priori
    belief that a cousin (FBS) is a more fitting rival than a
    nephew (BS). Berthold Delbrück, for example, argued that
    "the cousin is in the very rank at which the struggle over
    inheritance begins" (Die Indogermanischen Verwandtschafts-
    namen, Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe
    der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften,
    Band 11, No. 5, Leipzig, 1889, p. 507), a line of reasoning
    echoed by successive scholars. I would suggest however
    that the theory of the avunculate offers equally good a priori
    reasons for presuming the opposite, namely that in a patri-
    lineal joint household in which a brother participates in the
    jural authority which a man exercises over his son, the
    FB:BS relationship (like the F:S relationship) will be
    characterized by distance and conflict as its converse, the
    MB:ZS relationship, where authority is lacking, is charac-
    terized by proximity and cooperation. Adrian C. Mayer's

study of a Malwa village offers an illustration: there the
FB : BS relationship "is, in fact, an extension of that
between brothers which I have characterized as being
'correct' and restrained as often as it is warm and co-
operative, and which always carries the seeds of rivalry
and division and of superiority and subordination. The
mother's brother, on the other hand, avoids the more
mundane types of kinship obligation since he lives in
another settlement, and usually appears only as a gift-
maker or as a helper in time of financial trouble." (Caste
and Kinship in Central India, Berkeley 1960, p. 224.)
Further, the asymmetry of the dyads of the Brāhmaṇas
(sacrificer : rival, kṣatra : viś, etc.) suggests that the
bhrātrvya must be junior to the sacrificer, hence BS but
not FBS. A. C. Banerjea's argument that bhrātrvya meant
"brother-in-law" in these texts is unconvincing (Studies in
the Brāhmaṇas, pp. 52-60.

45. Petersburg Dict., q.v. The passage under discussion is
its unique recorded instance. Videva adj. "godless" in
AV and elsewhere is quite different.

46. Quoted by J. C. Heesterman, The Ancient Indian Royal
Consecration, 'S-Gravenhage, 1957, p. 145.

47. JB 2.113, p. 157 in W. Caland, Das Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa
in Auswahl (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van
Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde,
Deel 1, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 19 no. 4), Amsterdam, 1919.
The Gosava cannot have been very frequently performed;
king Janaka of Videha, when its content was explained to
him, paid the priestly fee but declined to go through with
the actual observance, while the Śibi king Puṇyakeśa, who
did undertake the rite, heard the call of nature when he
was in the assembly (sabhā) and observed as he bared
himself that this ritual was meant for an old man (stha-
virayajña), to whom "all this" was permitted, by which
perhaps he was referring to loss of control over the bowels
among the elderly, a judgement which the Brāhmaṇa text
goes on to endorse.

48. Cited above, note 5.

49. 2 vols., Paris, 1969. See vol. 1, p. 223 ff.

50. Hittite, huhhaš, Armenian haw, "grandfather;" Balto-Slav
    *auios, "uncle," with Lithuanian avynas, "maternal uncle"
    as a secondary derivation; in Celtic, O. Irish aue, etc.
    "grandson," but Gaulish ewythr, Breton eontr "(maternal?)
    uncle;" O. High German ō-heim, O. English ēam, O. Fri-
    sian ēm "uncle." The word is, however, unrepresented
    in Greek and Indo-Iranian, which have other terms for
    "grandfather:" Gk. páppos, Skt. pitāmaha "father's father"
    and mātāmaha "mother's father," Avestan and O. Persian
    nyāka. The same, pp. 224-225.

51. Vedic napāt, "grandson, descendant" (also naptr, "grand-
    father"), Av. napāt, O. Pers. napā, M. Pers. nave,
    "grandson;" in the western IE languages, Latin nepōs,
    "nephew (sister's son), grandson, descendant" is inter-
    mediate, while in Germanic, Slavic and Celtic the corre-
    sponding term is always "sister's son:" O. Lith. nepuotis,
    O. Eng. nefa, O. H. Germ. nefo, O. Slav. netĭjĭ◁*neptios,
    O. Irish nia, Gaul. nei. Greek preserves the word in
    anepsiós which, however, means "cousin." The same,
    pp. 231-232.

52. See Thomas R. Trautmann, "Licchavi-dauhitra," Journal
    of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1972, 2-15, for Indian
    examples.

53. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "The Study of Kinship Systems,"
    ch. 3 in Structure and Function in Primitive Society, Lon-
    don, 1952. Reprinted from Journal of the Royal Anthropo-
    logical Institute, 1941.

54. The greatest exponent of this method was W. H. R. Rivers
    (see his Kinship and Social Organization, 1914, reprinted
    as London School of Economics Monographs on Social
    Anthropology No. 34, with commentaries by Raymond
    Firth and David M. Schneider, London, 1968), who hypoth-
    esized for various systems the former existence of rules
    requiring the marriage of a mother's brother's wife (Banks
    Island), daughter's daughter (Pentecost), and father's
    father's wife (Viti Levu, Fiji)! Still, it is doubtful whether
    Rivers, who contributed so much to the elucidation of the

terminology of societies practicing cross-cousin marriage, would have concurred in Benveniste's explanation of Latin terminology, which differs essentially from the type we now call Dravidian.

55. Floyd G. Lounsbury, "A Formal Account of the Crow- and Omaha-type Kinship Terminologies" in Ward H. Goodenough, ed., Explorations in Cultural Anthropology: Essays in Honor of George Peter Murdock, New York, 1961, pp. 351-393 (see p. 375).

56. Robert McKinley, "Why do Crow and Omaha Kinship Terminologies Exist? A Sociology of Knowledge Interpretation," Man 6.3 1971, 408-426; see p. 422 f.

57. Paul Friedrich, "Proto-Indo-European Kinship," Ethnology 5 1966, 1-36. In a recent study Frank J. F. Wordick has tested PIE kinship terms against four hypotheses as to the system to which they belong, the descriptive, the Dravidian, the "patriarchal," and Omaha III, concluding that only Omaha III explains the data without doing violence to it: "A Generative-Extensionist Analysis of the Proto-Indo-European Kinship System with a Phonological and Semantic Reconstruction of the Terms," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1970.

58. John Brough, "The Early History of the Gotras," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1946, 32-45; 1947, 76-90, and The Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara, Cambridge, 1953.

59. Henry Sumner Maine, Ancient Law, London, 1861; Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, La cité antique, Paris, 1864; Emile Senart, Les castes dans l'Inde: les faits et le système, Paris, 1894.

KINSHIP GROUPS IN THE JĀTAKAS

by

NARENDRA K. WAGLE

This paper is essentially an exercise in discerning the kin-
ship groups and the principles of such groupings in the Pali
Jātakas. The description of the kinship groups attempted here
is mainly derived from the Jātaka prose "stories of the past"
(atītavatthu), and the verses (gāthās) which form part of the
"stories of the past." The other individual components of the
Jātaka story which are not used in the present paper are: the
introductory story, i.e. "story of the present time" (paccu-
ppannavatthu), short commentary (veyyākarana), and the
connection (samodhāna) in which the actors appearing in the
"story of the present" are identified with those of the "story of
the past."[1]   Generally speaking, the Nikāya and Vinaya texts of
the Pali canon are left aside, since these texts were composed
much earlier than the Jātakas. The Jātakas as we have them in
the present form were the works of the compilers of Ceylon.
The exact chronology of the Jātakas is not yet fixed, but there
seems to be a growing consensus among the historians of ancient
India to assign the texts a date extending well into the early
centuries of the Christian era (cir. A.D. 100-200).[2]

The limitations of the paper are many; it does not pretend
to be a detailed analysis of the total kinship system found in the
Jātakas--desirable as it is to do so--since such an endeavor
would necessitate, among other things, a detailed examination
of the interpersonal relationships among consanguineal and
affinal kin. Scholars like Karve and Kapadia have tried to
elaborate on kinship usage, terminology and organization found
in the texts of ancient India, including the Jātakas.[3] Ghurye is
preoccupied with the concept of varna (caste) hierarchy, and the

intergroup jāti-varṇa relationships.[4] Fick[5] and Mehta[6] in
their studies on the Jātakas examine the jāti-varṇa relation-
ships, concentrating also on such elements of social organiza-
tion as marriage, position of women, and family. None of the
above scholars have made any attempt to study systematically
the kinship groups found in ancient Indian literature, let alone
the Jātaka texts. In this paper I have attempted to ascertain
the kinship groups in the Jātakas by examining a number of key
terms and expressions. We may note in doing so that some of
these terms carry at various times different connotations, or
the different terms denote the same groups. It is precisely
through an examination of the meaning of the terms that we can
arrive at an understanding of the system of kinship groupings.
We find the concepts of household, family, ñātaka, ñāti, jāti
and gotta used in the texts.

The Household Group: putta-dārā

The primary duty of a person is to support one's putta-dārā
(literally, son and wife) in the household and this is emphasized
in the texts. The Bodhisatta when he grows up sets up a house-
hold (kutumba), has a son and daughter and supports his putta-
dārā by his potter's skill.[7] The grateful deer gives a magic
jewel to the hunter, and says to the hunter that with that jewel
he should set up a household and maintain putta-dārā, give alms
and do other good work.[8] The Bodhisatta, born as a Caṇḍāla,
sells fruit and so supports his putta-dārā.[9] The Bodhisatta is
born in a potter's kula and plies the potter's trade, and has
putta-dārā to support (putta-dāraṁ posesi).[10] The king,
summoning a skilled fowler, presents him with a thousand
pieces of money and says, "Henceforth give up your occupation,
I will support your putta-dārā."[11] Mahaosadha sends a hundred
and one soldiers on a secret and dangerous mission. He asks
the soldiers to take up service in other kings' courts and provide
him with information. And he assures them that he will support
their putta-dārā.[12] The men live in the forest killing meat for
themselves and supporting their putta-dārā.[13]

That the term putta-dārā is an inclusive term, incorporating
within its wider context the entire household unit, is evident
from the following instance. The king being pleased with the
brāhmaṇa wants to give a boon to him. The brāhmaṇa says,
"I shall leave to consult with my putta-dārā."[14] The brāhmaṇa

then goes to his household and summons his wife, son, daughter-
in-law and a female slave, and asks them to tell him what each
of them wanted as a boon from the king. The solidarity of the
putta-dārā is indicated also in a number of examples. Before
giving up the family life the householder is advised: "Do what-
ever needs to be done in the ghara; instruct today your putta-
dārā so that they may be happy after you are gone."[15] Having
got the king's consent to become an ascetic, the hunter hands
over the king's rich gifts to his putta-dārā and goes away to
the Himalayas.[16] The Yakkha before taking away his prisoner
Vidura asks him: "Have you instructed your putta-dārā and
dependents?"[17]

The emotional ties between a person and his putta-dārā is
indicated in the following examples. A thunderbolt falls upon
the wicked brāhmaṇa's geha and burns up his wife and two
children. Sorrow for his putta-dārā overcomes him and he
becomes mad.[18] The Yakkha asks Sutasoma, who is about to
be devoured by him: "What caused the tears to flow from the
king's face? Is it your putta-dārā or ñāti?"[19] Conversely, the
putta-dārā reciprocate the feeling of concern. The brāhmaṇa
sets up a household, but falls sick of the jaundice. Even the
physicians can do nothing for him, and his putta-dārā are in
despair.[20] The cook, caught by the people for killing persons
for the sake of eating them, pleads that he did so "neither for
his putta-dārā, nor for his friends and ñāti nor for money and
gain but for his king he did so."[21] There is a criticism of the
miser seṭṭhi that he continues to hoard money, but he neither
enjoys it himself nor shares it with his putta-dārā.[22] The king
of Mithila thinks, "So what will king Videha do to my putta-dārā?
He does not know that I have set a careful guard over my putta-
dārā."[23] The Bodhisatta says, "Send me, my putta-dārā, all
my friends, I will not do (those things)."[24]

That a person has an obligation to maintain the putta-dārā
is quite clear. He cannot abandon them, dependent as they are
on him for their survival. A thousand carpenters build a mighty
ship and in it they go on a long voyage with their putta-dārā.[25]
Sumaṅgala, the park keeper, accidentally shoots and kills a
paccekabuddha who is a royal guest. The keeper, thinking that
the king would not pardon him for such an act, takes his putta-
dārā and flees the kingdom.[26] In anger the king asks the puro-
hita to leave Banares. The purohita takes his putta-dārā and

takes up residence in a certain village of Kāsi.[27] Because of
the king's atrocities, in order to avoid his men, an old man of
the village, carrying branches of thorn from the forest, and
putting them all round his house, closes the door, and with his
putta-dārā goes to the forest.[28] The commander-in-chief, in
fear of his own life, returns to his own geha (household) and
taking his putta-dārā with him he flees to another kingdom.[29]
The king knows about the treachery of one of the men in his
confidence, and he orders him to take his wealth and putta-dārā
and leave the kingdom.[30]

The king invites the teacher's putta-dārā to come and live
in his kingdom; he gives much wealth to the brāhmana and makes
him a purohita.[31] The king sends for the man's putta-dārā and
had a house built for them in the city.[32] The setthiputta, being
pleased with the hunter's gift of a cartload of meat, treats him
with great hospitality, and sending for his putta-dārā, he takes
him away from his "cruel occupation," and settles him on his
own kutumba (household).[33] With his putta-dārā, Māndavya,
the gahapati, comes to the hut to pay homage to the sage
Dīpāyana.[34]

Vidura gives a discourse to his putta-dārā and friends, and
then goes to the king's palace surrounded by a company of
ñātigana.[35] The king frees a bird and then calls his putta-dārā,
friends, and servant to witness the act.[36]

Mātā-pitā

Within the household, the mother and father too have to be
supported, looked after. But it is more than that. The mother
and father rank higher than the putta-dārā. Mātā-pitā deserve
respect and care. It is deemed a righteous act to support them.
There are many examples in the text which bring out this point.

The Bodhisatta, born as a lion, lives with a lioness, and
has two children, a son and daughter. His son's name is
Manoja, and when he grows up he takes a young lioness for his
wife, and so they become five. Manoja kills wild buffalo and
other animals and so gets meat to support his mātā-pitā, sister
and wife.[37] One should act righteously towards mātā-pitā, putta-
dārā and by doing so one reaches heaven.[38] The Bodhisatta
says, "My mātā-pitā I have cherished, and I have done due

service to my ñāti and friends."[39] "One thing Dasaratha has
taught me," says the Bodhisatta, "such a (mean) creature would
give no support to mātā-pitā, to brother and sister."[40] In the
kula of the brāhmaṇa the inmates act righteously; mātā-pitā,
sister, brother, son, wife, dāsa (slave), kammakāra (servants)
and all.[41] In a cynical statement it is observed that even mātā-
pitā, brother, wife, "can be bought with money," One should
therefore be careful, and follow true dhamma.[42] By following
ten dhamma ways one can bring heaven to mātā-pitā, putta-dārā
and friends.[43]

An eldest son has a heavy responsibility of keeping the
dhamma and of seeing to it that his mātā-pitā, his brothers, his
sister and ñāti never go the false way (duggatiṁ).[44] Jotipāla,
the purohita's son, resolves to go forth from the world alone,
without letting anyone know his whereabouts. Not seeing him,
his mātā-pitā, friends and comrades and ñāti group roam about
disconsolate.[45] The Bodhisatta born as a vulture supports his
mātā-pitā.[46] We find a number of instances where mātā-pitā [47]
arrange for a son's marriage, and set him up as a householder,
sometimes even against his wishes.[48] Only after his mātā-pitā's
death, the Bodhisatta, distributing his vast wealth, accompanied
by his brothers, his sister, a slave, a female slave and a com-
panion, retires to the forest.[49] The Bodhisatta says, "I will
foster my mātā-pitā as long as they live, and at their death I
will renounce the world, and become an ascetic."[50] The puro-
hita's son, not wanting the household life, has to seek permission
of his mātā-pitā before he could join the mendicant's order.[51]

Not only has one to obediently take care of one's mātā-pitā,
but has also to heed their wishes, act according to their counsel,
and seek out their permission. The respect given them must be
of the highest order. The rewards for such deeds is heaven.
The Bodhisatta says, "I will foster my mātā-pitā as long as
they live and on their death I will renounce the world and become
an ascetic." However, his mātā-pitā think otherwise; they
want him to enter the householder's life. The Bodhisatta muses,
"It is not fitting to be in complete opposition to one's parents;
I will devise something."[52] The sons have to support their
mātā-pitā.[53] One should be willing to give one's life for the
sake of mātā-pitā.[54]

Prince Dīghāvu wants to have revenge on a king who has murdered his mātā-pitā. However he recalls the advice given him by his mātā-pitā, and he thinks, "Though I should sacrifice my own life I will not trample under foot their counsel."[55] The king grieves for his impending death. His mātā-pitā, ñātaka, mittamacca (friends and advisers), brāhmaṇas and gahapatis bid him not to do so, but without any success.[56]

The man is born a deva because he did his duty to mata-pitā and paid respect to the head of the family (kula).[57] He who loses his life for mātā-pitā is born at once in heaven.[58] The deity of the sea, Maṇimekkela, has standing instructions from four guardian deities: "Those shipwrecked people who worship their mātā-pitā as if they are deities, you should save them."[59] It is stated: He who hurts his innocent mātā-pitā with intent shall go to hell in the next birth, whereas one who fears them shall be rewarded with a life in heaven.[60] Because of king Brahmadatta's dislike for old people, the people send their mātā-pitā outside the boundaries of the kingdom. No more did men tend or care for their mātā-pitā.[61] Eventually, the god Sakka intervenes, and makes the king respect mātā-pitā in the future. Mātā-pitā are the best of kinsmen (bāndhava) but even to them one should never betray one's secret thought.[62] A man may kill, if the occasion justifies, his mātā-pitā, elder brother or putta-dārā.[63] On the other hand, a certain man gets turned out of the household (geha) by his mātā-pitā as a ne'er-do-well.[64] The parents beat Mittavindaka and drive him away.[65] It must be pointed out here that in both the cases where the parents throw their sons out, the sons meet a bad end. The point the texts seem to be making is that those rejected by their parents are a thoroughly bad sort and they deserve the treatment given them. Those children who mistreat either mother or father (there are many cases) are never spared in the text; they are made to see their "evil ways."

The Household: geha

The term for the household is geha. That the term refers in a primary sense to a dwelling place is indicated clearly in the text. A certain man's geha was on fire and he asks another man to enter it. But the man who enters finds the door of the house closed.[66] The king's men, having had a large geha made with many doors, cover it over with palm leaves, and eventually

set fire to it.[67] One may stand in the middle of a geha (geha-
majjhe) and not find the granary.[68] The purohita's geha is
seven stories high and has seven gateways at each of which a
guard is set.[69] A setthi seeing the robbers hurries to his geha
and exclaims: "I have escaped from the robber's hand to my
own geha where fear dwells not."[70] The people follow their
king and queen, leaving their gehas and all that was in them.[71]
In another passage there is a village of carpenters, and people
ask them: "Build us a geha."[72]

Geha is not simply a house or dwelling place but a house-
hold, and it is in this sense that it is often used in the texts.
The following examples clearly establish the meaning of geha
as a household. Canda is sued in the king's court for causing
the death of an unborn child; his host's pregnant wife trips
accidentally from a stand while serving food to him. In the
second case, Canda, wanting to commit suicide from a hilltop,
falls on a reedmaker and kills him. The husband of the wife
and the son of the reedmaker seek justice from the wise king.
Concerning the first case of injury the king says to Canda:
"You take the man's wife to your geha, and when a son shall be
born to you, hand him over to the husband." Hearing this
verdict the man falls at Canda's feet, crying, "Do not break up
my geha (geham bhinditi)."[73] In the second case, the king says
to Canda: "This man must have a father. But you cannot bring
him back from the dead. Then take his mother to your geha,
and do you be a father to him."[74] The son implores Canda not
to break up his dead father's geha.[75]

The expression "bringing a girl into the geha" implies
marriage. It is stated that the Bodhisatta's mother, much
against his will, brings a girl of the family into the geha
(kuladhītaram gehe katvā) and dies soon after.[76] A young
woman tells Gāmani that she can live neither in her husband's
geha nor with her own kula (meaning her parents' household).[77]
A setthi of Rājagaha brings for his son's wife the daughter of
some country setthi. But she is barren, and they all talk that
she might hear: "While there is a barren wife in our son's geha
how can the family line (kulavamsa) be kept up?"[78] A woman
who has a lover, remembering him, cannot stay in her husband's
geha (sāmikassa geha); she stays a few days in her lover's
geha, and from there goes to her parents' geha (mātapitūnam
geham gacchati).[79] However, she is admonished by the king

that she must dwell in her husband's geha. [80] The head of the
geha is called the geha svāmi (the lord of the geha). [81] We find
the geha comprising the father, mother, son, daughter, wife,
slave and servant. When Sakka taking the shape of Illisa Setthi
goes to his geha, all the servants gather round him. Sakka then
gives instructions to the doorkeeper that if anybody resembling
himself should appear and say, "This is my geha (mama etam
geham)," that person should be shown the door. In this story
the setthi's geha was composed of his wife, slaves and servants. [82]
We find Caṇḍa coming to a village, and finding himself hungry,
he enters a friend's geha. The friend was not in but his wife
gives Caṇḍa food. [83] The same Caṇḍa goes to the owner of some
oxen. He goes to his geha to give him back the oxen. The
owner was having his meal, his wife serving him. [84] The Bodhisatta
born into a certain brāhmaṇa family goes to study at Takkasilā.
On returning to his geha he finds his parents in poor straits.
He bids farewell to his parents saying to himself, "I will set up
my fallen kula again." [85] Here the terms geha and kula are both
used to indicate the household. Tiṛṭṭavaccha Setthi goes to the
king and says, "In my geha I have a treasure of a daughter," [86]
and gives his daughter in marriage to the king. [87] At Banares
we find a wicked king Mahāpiṅgala. In his geha, he is harsh
and implacable towards his wives, his sons and daughters. [88]
The man takes the king to his geha and makes him sit down, and
with the help of his wife offers him the hospitality of the geha. [89]
A miserly setthi goes to the geha of another setthi and finds the
latter seated amidst his wife and children eating pāyāsa (sweet
dish). When he sees the pāyāsa his mouth waters and he longs
to partake of it, but he thinks, "If I should take some pāyāsa,
when the upa-setthi (deputy setthi) comes to my geha I shall
have to return the hospitality and in this way my money will be
wasted." [90]

The purohita states that in his geha there is a great deal of
wealth which has been given to him by the king, by his mother,
by his father, and by what he gained himself. [91] The brāhmaṇa
father warns his son that unless he abstains from drinking strong
liquor, he will throw him out of his geha. [92] The Bodhisatta and
his sister, after their parents' death, leave the geha with all its
riches and become ascetics. [93] The Bodhisatta says to his
wife, "Do you take care of the children and stay in the geha." [94]
There are slaves too in the household as stated earlier and we
may give here two more instances. The mendicant comes to a

village, and stays the evening in a certain man's geha; in that geha, a female slave (dāsi), after she has bathed the masters' feet, when they had laid down, waits for her lover.[95] The brāhmaṇa's wife complains of heavy work and says to her husband, "Brāhmaṇa, I cannot do the work of your geha. Get me a slave (to help me out)."[96]

The term geha, not surprisingly so, is used to denote family. King Esukāri says to his purohita, "If a son is born in your geha, he shall be the owner of my kingdom, but if I have a son, he shall be master of wealth in your geha."[97] The four gods in Sakka's heaven, when urged to descend to earth, express their wish to be born in the purohita's geha.[98] Sujāta, dying as a crane, is reborn into the geha of a potter in Banares.[99] The Bodhisatta, having been born into the purohita's geha, on his father's death becomes a purohita.[100]

The Household: ghara

The term ghara conveys the same meaning as geha. However, the term seems to have been used more in the sense of a household, an establishment, rather than a dwelling or a building.

The brāhmaṇa woman upbraids her husband and asks him to leave her ghara. But the brāhmaṇa tells his wife that she should not be angry. "As long as there are deer in the forest," says the brāhmaṇa, "I will support you and your children."[101] The Bodhisatta is told, "Do whatever needs to be done in your ghara; instruct today your sons and your wife, that they may be happy after you are gone."[102] A family near Banares has an only son. He has a wife and is blessed with numerous sons and daughters. His mother lives in the ghara, also his wife's mother.[103] The mother bemoans the fact that she brought the happy bride for her son to the ghara to manage it.[104] The people seeing their beloved king contemplating becoming an ascetic leave all the belongings of their ghara and taking their children by the hand they repair to the Bodhisatta.[105] A woman is made to realize the folly of mistreating her husband's father--she had plotted with her husband to kill him. Her son discovers the plot, and the mother runs away from the household. However, she goes to her son, and entreats him, "Give me entrance to this ghara once more." The text adds that from then onwards she watches over her husband, and his father and her son.[106]

A mother tries to dissuade her son from undertaking a sea voyage. She says, "You are my only son and in this ghara there is plenty of wealth."[107] The Bodhisatta had to return empty-handed from a setthi ghara. The setthi sees him and leads him back to his ghara. The setthi apologizes to the mendicant, saying, "Today, owing to your not being seen by our children, you were sent away."[108] The Bodhisatta's mother dies. At the end of six weeks after her death, the Bodhisatta gives away in alms all the wealth that was in the ghara. Taking his old father and younger brother with him, he adopts a life of an ascetic.[109]

The term ghara in its economic and non-kinship aspects refers to a large establishment which includes kinsmen but may also contain others as well. In the ghara (court) of Vidhura the wise minister of the king, there are a thousand sons, a thousand daughters, a thousand wives, seven hundred courtesans and also slaves, servants, ñāti and friends.[110] In the ghara of a gaṇikā (courtesan) there are slaves, and the people who visit her. Her brother lives in it too.[111] The Bodhisatta, born in a poor family, in the hope of getting work, comes to the setthi Suciparivāra and tells him, "It is to get wages in your ghara that I have come."[112] The Bodhisatta comes to life as a bull. While he was still a young calf, his owners, who had been staying in the ghara of an old woman, make him over to her in settlement of their dues.[113] Prince Juṇha studies at Takkasilā and leaves the ghara of his teacher, and sets out for his own dwelling place (nivāsanaṭṭhānam).[114] The people of Aṅga-Magadha, while travelling from one land to the other, stay in a ghara. There they drink liquor, eat the flesh of fish, and early in the morning they yoke their carts and leave.[115]

The Householder's Estate: gharāvāsa

The term gharāvāsa is used in the texts to indicate the householder's married state, and the assumption of the responsibility of managing the ghara (household). Mahākāñcana Kumāra's parents desire to bind him to the householder's life.[116] They say to their son: "We will bring you a girl from a family (kula) of the same social status and then you shall set up your own household (gharāvāsaṁ santhāpehīti)."[117] But he says, "I want nothing to do with the household.[118] You have other sons, bid them to set up the household and leave me alone."[119] When the parents die, he distributes his vast riches

and taking with him his six brothers, his sister, a slave, female slave and a companion, retires to the Himalayas. The brāhmaṇa student after completing his education sets up the household (gharāvāsaṁ gahetvā). Not being able to earn a livelihood by another of his arts, he lives by his bow. He kills monkeys and brings them home for his wife and two children.[120] The Bodhisatta is born of a seṭṭhi kula, in a town. When he comes of age he lives as householder (gharāvāsaṁ vasento) and is blessed with sons and daughters. For his son's wife he chooses the daughter of a seṭṭhi of Banares.[121] The Bodhisatta is born of a gahapati kula. When he comes of age he sets up a household (gharāvāsaṁ gaṇhi). However, he has an unfaithful wife. We also hear of his children for whose sake he borrows money from the village headman.[122] One young brāhmaṇa expert in the Vedic ritual could repeat the whole of the sacred texts without stumbling in a single line. By and by he sets up a household (gharāvāsaṁ gahetvā). Then household cares (gharāvāsa cintāya) cloud his mind. No longer can he repeat the sacred texts. To top it off, his wife cheats on him.[123]

We find several instances of people--mostly the Bodhisattas--who realize the worthlessness of the householder's life and give it up. Some Bodhisattas do not enter it in the first place, and, even if they do, leave it sooner or later to accept a mendicant's life. A brāhmaṇa, completing his education in Takkasilā, returns to Banares and marries. On his parents' death he performs their obsequies. He lives a long time in the household (gharāvāsa ciram vasento). Eventually, reflecting on the unsteadiness of this ephemeral way of life he leaves the household.[124] Another brāhmaṇa after his wife's death becomes disenchanted with household life (gharāvāsa), and takes his son and becomes an ascetic.[125] The Bodhisatta blessed with sons and daughters grows discontented with household life (gharāvāsa), and becomes an ascetic.[126] The hunter says to the king, "No householder's life for me, grant me to become an ascetic." The king gives his consent. The hunter then hands over the king's rich gifts to his putta-dārā (sons and wife) and embraces the ascetic life.[127]

Nanda and his two brothers and sons do not want to enter the householder's life. The parents want them to be tied down to the ghara. In the end the parents give up. Disposing of their riches in the way of charity, freeing their slaves and

distributing the assets among their ñātis, they leave the world and become ascetics.[128]

The Bodhisatta, not wanting the householder's life (gharā-vāsa) wants to become an ascetic. But only after securing his parents' permission to become a recluse does he give up his wealth and enter the Himalayan country.[129] In one instance, the life of a householder is compared with that of a mendicant. The seṭṭhi tries to persuade the Bodhisatta to give up the life of a mendicant by arguing, "Unhappy is the life of a mendicant and pleasant is it to live in a household."[130] However, the Bodhisatta lets the seṭṭhi know of the defects of the householder's life.[131]

The Household: agāra

The term agāra refers to the household. The son, comprehending the misdeeds of his mother, urges his father to expel her from the agāra, so that she will not be able to bring unhappiness to his father.[132] The young brāhmaṇa confesses that with his own eyes he has seen the wickedness of womankind and that he will have nothing to do with a life in a household (agāra).[133] The expression agāramajjhe vasanto means "living in the midst of a household." We find the Bodhisattas, after receiving their academic training from Takkasilā, returning home to live in the household (agāramajjhe vasanto).[134] The parents give a choice to their beloved son. They say, "Will you leave the world to tend the fire, or will you choose to live amidst the household (accept the householder's life, agāramajjhi vasissasīti).[135] The Bodhisatta lives as a householder (agāram ajjhāvasi). A son is born to him. Handing over all his household assets (gharavibhavam), together with his wife and child, to his younger brother, he leaves the world.[136]

The Household: kuṭumba

Another term for a household in its economic aspect is kuṭumba. The expression "kuṭumbaṁ santhāpetvā" refers to the act of managing the household. The Bodhisatta is born in a potter's family (kula). When he grows up, he sets up a kuṭumba (kuṭumbaṁ santhāpetvā). Soon he has a son and daughter and supports his wife and children by his potter's craft.[137] The Bodhisatta at his parents' death provides for his younger brother

and sets up the kutumba. After the birth of his son, he puts his
son and wife under his brother's charge, giving him the entire
household assets, and himself becomes an ascetic. The younger
brother accepts the Bodhisatta's son. But seeing him grow up
he thinks: "If my brother's son lives, the kutumba will be divided
in two parts. I will kill my brother's son."[138] And so he kills
him. As a token of gratitude the great deer gives the hunter a
magic jewel and says to him, "Henceforth take not the life of
any creature, but with this jewel set up a kutumba, and main-
tain a wife and children."[139] The Bodhisatta sets up a kutumba
and maintains himself by farming. He has two children, a son
and a daughter. When the son grows up the father brings a wife
for him from a family of equal rank with his own. Thus, with a
female slave, they were a household of six: the Bodhisatta, his
wife, the son and daughter, the son's wife, and the female
slave.[140]

The Bodhisatta, born as a Caṇḍāla, sets up a kutumba,
takes a wife and makes a living by selling fruit.[141] The Bodhi-
satta after setting up a kutumba falls sick of the jaundice. Even
the physicians can do nothing for him. His putta-dārā(son-wife)
become desperate.[142] The Bodhisatta is born in a kutumbika
family; he soon sets up a household. He has a younger brother.
After their father's death, the two brothers decide to arrange
some business of their father's. This takes them to a village
where they are paid a thousand pieces of money.[143]

The Bodhisatta Mahāosadha comes to the place where there
is an ancient and decayed seṭṭhi kula. And in that kula (family)
there was a daughter. When she sees the Bodhisatta she thinks,
"If I could live in the household (geha) of such a man I might be
able to set up the affairs of my kutumba (household)."[144]
The mother tells her son that he should seek for his father's
hidden treasure, known only to his slave Nanda, and with the
help of the treasure he should manage to set up a kutumba.[145]
The parents say to their son that if he prefers to live a house-
holder's life, then he should go to Takkasilā, and there learn
a skill under a famous teacher with a view to setting up a
kutumba.[146]

The Bodhisatta with a large retinue of servants returns
laden with wealth to Rājagaha, where he sets up his kutumba.[147]
The Bodhisatta is born in a brāhmana family; when

sixteen years old, his parents ask him: "Will you learn the
three Vedas, enter the householder's life and set up a kutumba?"
The son says, "No householder's life for me."[148]

From the examples cited above, the expression kutumbaṁ
santhāpetvā and its variants clearly implies the ownership of
the economic assets of the household. The term kutumbika
refers to the owner of a kutumba, a man of means. We find a
kutumbika who, loaning a thousand kahāpanas to someone, dies
before receiving it back again.[149] Alāra kutumbika travels with
five hundred carts. He sees the Nāga king being tortured at the
hands of sixteen thugs. He gives each of them one ox, a handful
of gold coins and ornaments for their wives, and obtains the
release of the Nāga king.[150] Another kutumbika going to the
park with a great entourage gives food to the king.[151] The
kutumbika waits upon four ascetics by giving food to each of
them in his house.[152] Yet another kutumbika, in order to
appease the tree deity, prepares to sacrifice a number of
animals.[153] The Bodhisatta is born into a family of kutumbikas
and becomes a dealer in grain.[154]

The Household: kula

Another term denoting the household group is kula. The
term kula as indicated elsewhere refers to family in general.
In the kingdom of Kāsi there is a village named Dhammapāla
and it takes the name because the kula of one Dhammapāla lives
there (Dhammapāla kulassa vasantaya). In this kula even the
slaves and servants give alms, observe sīlas and observe fast
days.[155] The king brings a thousand kulas with much treasure
and establishes a big village. This village grows into a town.[156]
Near Banares there stands a great village of carpenters, con-
taining a thousand kulas, and over each five hundred kulas there
is an elder (jetthaka).[157]

The mendicants seeking alms are described as being
dependent on a household (kulupaka) or as going to a household
of a believing family. The dwellers of the city arrange a
marriage with a daughter of the country dwellers and name the
day for the event. Having already made the arrangements, they
ask an Ajīvika dependent on their kula[158] whether the stars
were unfavorable for the marriage at the present time.[159]
The elephants inform the paccekabuddhas that the elephant on

whose household they were dependent (kulupaka paccekabuddhā-nam) has died from the wound of a poisoned arrow.[160] Seeing her husband beating the ascetic, the wife of a boatman urges him not to do so because, "This is an ascetic supported by the rāja's kula (rājakulupako), do not strike him."[161] The "false" ascetic is set on becoming a dependent in a rāja's kula (rājā kulupako bhavissāmīti).[162] Another false ascetic eats some savory food in the lay follower's household (kula).[163]

The terms rāja kula, ācariya kula denote the royal and teacher's household establishment respectively. The young parrot brother complains to his elder brother that formerly in the rājakula men gave them savory food.[164] Mandhātā falls from heaven and descends in a park. The gardener makes known his coming to the rājakula.[165] Both the prince and the son of the purohita grow up in the rājakula.[166] Young Brahma-datta and young Mahādhana, son of a seṭṭhi of Banares, are friends. Both are educated in the same teacher's kula. Mahādhana comes to see the king frequently. One day he leaves the rājakula, a little too late at night.[167]

The king Sutasoma and the Bodhisatta entering the city go to the teacher's kula and salute the teacher and after declaring their origin (jāti) say that they had come to be instructed in sippās (arts).[168] The Bodhisatta says to the wandering mendi-cants: "The geha (household) you come to for food, when men sit down to eat, if you see good in that house there you should eat; when entertained with food or drink by another kula (para-kulam), this you do: eat not too much, nor drink too much."[169]

The terms kulaghara, kulageha literally mean the house-hold of the family. The miser is annoyed at his wife's intention of cooking pāyāsa (sweet dish) to serve many people. He says "I am well aware that you are very rich. If (the money for) it comes from your kulaghara you may cook and give pāyāsa to the whole city."[170] The daughter-in-law of a seṭṭhi on her way to her kulaghara (parents' household) brings forth a son beneath the branches of a tree.[171] In the same story, a little earlier it is stated that another daughter-in-law of a seṭṭhi goes to her pitu-kula (father's household) to give birth. The Bodhisatta approaches the city and asks which is a believing kulaghara.[172] Because of good deeds done in previous lives, the women are born as daughters of the god. One such woman had heard the

discourse of monks and nuns such as had taken up their abode in
the kulageha of a certain man.[173]

The Family

The most obvious term which refers to the family is kula.
In the beginning of most of the Jātaka stories reference is made
to the kula (family) of the Bodhisatta. This preoccupation with
the kula of the Bodhisattas makes kula, not jāti, the single most
important criterion of an individual's status in society. There
are a number of instances in the text where the kula, not the
individual, functions as a unit of interaction. In a city there is
a decayed setthi kula. They had lost all the sons and brothers
and all their wealth. The sole survivors were a girl and her
grandmother, and they get their living by working for hire.[174]
The bad monk is born into a poor kula (duggatikula) in a Kāsi
gāma. From the hour of his birth, that kula becomes still more
poor. His father and mother drive him away crying: "Begone
you scourge."[175] The Bodhisatta, born as an ox, has a younger
brother and both of them work for a kula. There is in this kula
a grown-up girl, who was asked in marriage by another kula.
Now in the first kula a pig called Saluka is being fattened on
purpose to serve for a feast on the wedding day. One day the
little ox brother says to the elder, "We work for this kula and
help the kula get their living."[176] A certain old brāhmaṇa
begging for alms gets a thousand pieces, and deposits them in a
brāhmaṇa kula,[177] and goes to seek alms again. When he had
gone that kula spends all his kahāpaṇas. He returns and wants
his kahāpaṇas back. The brāhmaṇa, unable to give them, gives
him his daughter to wife in compensation.[178] The setthi who
supports a prince requests him to remit the taxes imposed by
the prince's younger brother. The prince agrees to do so, and
he writes as follows: "I am living with the kula of such and such
a setthi, I urge you to remit their taxes for my sake."[179]
Evidently for taxation purposes the kula is the unit of recogni-
tion. Kesa, born into a brāhmaṇa kula, becomes an ascetic.
He suffers from loss of sleep and is afflicted with severe pains.
The king with his five kulas (families) of physicians watch over
him.[180] The old woman complains that her son's wife beats
her, for the latter has now a son and enjoys the supremacy of
all the kula.[181] It was the seventh day since the king of Banares
had died and the royal kula is without an heir (aputtakam rāja-
kulam).[182] A woman causes her husband's death, being

enamored of a robber chief. She explains to the robber chief that because she fell in love with him, she let him kill her hus- band given by the kula (kuladattikā sāmikaṁ).[183]

The designation of the family by the term kula is also apparent in the use of such terms as kulaputta, kuladhīta, kula- jettha. In the famous teacher's house there is a kuladhīta (daughter of the kula) and the teacher gives her in marriage to his eldest pupil. That pupil marries the daughter but abandons her. Falling in love with her, the king of the land asks her whether she is married. She replies, "I have a husband to whom my kula gave me, but he has gone away and left me here alone."[184] There are two instances in the text where we are told that the parents bring home the kuladhītas,[185] as wives to their sons, much against their wishes. Bodhisatta is born in the gahapati kula; when he comes of age, his parents fetch him Sujātā, the kuladhīta from Banares, to marry him.[186]

The term kulaputta refers to a junior member of the family. Having heard that Samkicca Kumāra had adopted the life of a mendicant, many kulaputtas give up the world and become ascetics.[187] The Bodhisatta comes on a dead mouse lying on the road, and taking note of the position of the stars at that moment, predicts: "Any kulaputta with his wits about him has only to pick that mouse up and he can support a wife and start a business." His words are overheard by a kulaputta of re- duced circumstances (duggati kulaputta).[188] At the end of the story the Bodhisatta gives his own daughter to the kulaputta.

Kulajettha obviously means the head of the kula. Interest- ingly, in the following example, the text distinguishes between the parents and the head of the family. The advisers to the prince tell him about a person, saying, "In the time of the king, your father, this man did his duty to mother and father, and paid respect to the head of the kula."[189]

Whereas the term kula denotes family in general, whether one's own or somebody else's, the compound term ñāti-kula denotes families other than one's own but belonging to the same ñāti group. That it appears to be so is indicated in the following instances. The husband says to his wife, "I brought you from (our) ñāti-kula when you were a young girl, with your under- standing not fully developed. You did not tell me of your

indifference. How have you remained without love (for me) all your life?"[190] A householder looks after his children since his wife had left the household to become a mendicant. When the children grow up a little, he comforts himself with the thought that they will be able to live in their own way. So handing them over to his ñāti-kula, he becomes a mendicant.[191]

The Lineage: kula

That the term kula may also denote a lineage is indicated in the following examples. The traditions of the kula are empha-sized, and one is proud to maintain them. The gahapati's wife says to her husband that she did not leave him, however much she wanted to do so, because, "It is not the tradition in this kula (parampara nāma kule imasmim), nor ever has been; and this custom of the kula I would keep (kulavattam anuvattamānā), lest my kula (her lineage as opposed to her husband's) be called degenerate. It was fear of such reports that promoted me to stay and live with you in this unloving way."[192] In another example, a young boy admonishes his father, who is bent on killing his father. He symbolically digs a ditch. When asked to explain this act, the son replies: "I, too, will bury you deep in a pit, following the custom of the kula (kulavattam anuvattamāno)."[193]

The lineage is traced back for seven generations. Dhamma-pāla, the brāhmana youth, boasts to his colleagues that it is the tradition of his kula (kula-paveniti) that its members do not die young. It is only when they are grown old that they die. The teacher, wanting to verify the truth of Dhammapāla's statement goes to his father and informs him falsely about the death of Dhammapāla. But Dhammapāla's father insists that his son is alive, saying, "In our kula, for seven kulas in succession, no such thing has been, as a death at a tender age. You are speaking falsehood."[194] The teacher then inquires: "Brāhmana, this custom in your kula line (kulapaveniyam) cannot be without cause."[195] The lion and jackal live in friendship. Their young ones too become friends. When the parents die they do not break the bond of friendship (mittabhāvam abhininditvā), but live happily together as their parents had lived before them. Indeed, the friendship remains unbroken through seven kulas in succession.[196]

The expression kulasantaka deals with the right succession in a lineage. And it is not without interest that most of the cases we encounter are associated with royal lineages. Knowing the yakkha to be his father's elder brother, the prince says, "You are no yakkha, you are my father's elder brother. Come with me and accept the royal throne which is yours by (your) kula rights."[197] The exiled son of a king, hearing about the king's death, sets out to go back to Banares, so that he may receive the kingdom which is his by kula right.[198] The king Dasaratha asks his sons to go to some neighboring kingdom or to the forest, and says to the eldest son, Rāma Pandita, "When my body is burnt, then return and claim the kingdom which is yours by kula right.[199] The Bodhisatta asks the paccekabuddha about his chances of acquiring the kingdom which is his kula right.[200]

The traditions of the patrilineal ancestors (pitu-pitāmaha) are remembered, and the ancestors themselves are evoked. In fact, the expressions pitusantakaṁ and kulasantakaṁ are used as synonyms in the text. Chatta, the prince of Kosala, knows a spell by which he comes to find the buried treasure which belonged to his patrilineal ancestors (pitusantakaṁ). And thinking that with that money he would recover the kingdom, he confides in his ascetic friends. "I have got the wealth," he explains, "which is my kula right (kula santakaṁ dhanaṁ). With this I will go and recover my kingdom."[201] The householder confesses that his pitaro pitāmaha (patrilineal ancestors) were believers and lavish in giving gifts. The householder adds, "I followed with all care our kula's tradition (kulavattaṁ). However I did give unwillingly."[202]

The strong ties of solidarity and affinity with the patrilineal ancestors are more than once indicated in the texts. Macchari-kosiyo setthi is worth 80 crores. But he thinks, "My pitupitāmaha (patrilineal ancestors) were fools. They flung away the wealth." So he decides not to give alms any more. The beggars assemble at his house gate, and say, "Do not let go the (tradition of) distributing charity which is in the vaṁsa of your pitu-pitāmaha."[203] The multitude of people also say that Maccharikosiya is destroying his own vaṁsa.[204] The Bodhi-satta states, "The tradition of our kula (kuladhamme) received by us from our pitu-pitāmaha was so: To provide the stranger with a seat, supply his needs, bring water for his feet, and to treat every guest as one would best treat a ñātaka."[205]

In an example requiring satirical observation, a statement is
put in the mouth of a jackal, who says: "This is the tradition of
all the jackals (dhammo sigālānam) to foul when they have drunk
in any place. This is the dhamma (tradition) of my pitu-pitāmaha,
so there is no reason for your blame."[206]

The king of Banares got a courtesan with child and she per-
ceived her condition. She says to him, "I am with child; when
he is born, and I am to name him, I will give him his pitāmaha's
(father's father) name." But the king thinks, "It can never be
that the name of my kula should be given to a slave girl's son."[207]

The patrilineal ancestors, too, feel obliged to tender help to
their descendents; they come down to earth to console them.
They help them materially, and generally correct their behavior,
when they go wrong. The Bodhisatta is born in the family of a
setthi and, after his father's death, takes his place. He gives
alms and does good until he dies only to come to life as the god
Sakka in heaven. His only son squanders all his wealth and
becomes poor in no time. Sakka, overcome with love for his
son, gives him a wishing cup with these words, "Son, take care
not to break it. So long as you keep it, your wealth will never
come to an end." And then he returns to heaven.[208] The son
of a wealthy brāhmaṇa dies at the age of sixteen and comes to
being again in the world of the gods. From the time of his
son's death the brāhmaṇa goes daily to the cemetery and, ever
sorrowful, gives up his daily business. His son, now a deva-
putta, sees his father in such a sorrowful state and descending
to earth, successfully devises a plan to console his father's
misery.[209] The most eloquent testimony concerning the efforts
made to preserve the tradition of the lineage is found in the
following example. The god Sakka is disturbed when the news
reaches him that Bilārakosiya, his descendent, seventh in line,
was ignoring the lineage tradition of giving gifts to the poor.
Sakka actually comes down to earth accompanied by five other
patrilineal ancestors of the setthi, and admonishes him. Sakka
addresses the multitude of people, saying, "We left our heavenly
glory in coming here, and we come on account of this bad
Bilārakosiya, this one, last of his kula, the devourer of all his
kula. In sympathy for him we have come....By mistreating
beggars and destroying and burning the almonery, he has
destroyed our family line (kulavaṁsam nāsetvā)." Bilārakosiya
promises Sakka that from that time onward he will no more
destroy the old family line (porāṇa kulavaṁsam).[210]

The Lineage: vaṁsa and kulavaṁsa

That the terms vaṁsa[211] and kulavaṁsa refer to the patri-lineal descent group is well brought out in the text. The king is told that "If no son is born to you to perpetuate the vaṁsa, a stranger will seize upon the kingdom and destroy it." He is therefore urged to pray for a son who can rule the kingdom righteously.[212] A group of ascetics show their concern about a childless king who desires sons. There is no son, they say, in the rāja's household to keep up the line.[213] The people urge a king who is otherwise faultless in his behavior to have a son to keep up his vaṁsa (vaṁsānupālako vo putto).[214] A seṭṭhi's wife is barren. In the course of time less respect is paid to her for this cause. They all talk so that she might hear: "While there is a barren wife in our son's household, how can the kula-vaṁsa be increased?"[215]

Rights, privileges, traditions, duties and obligations are handed down to the descendents, which they must comply with. The Bodhisatta's mother--his father had died--hears that in four days there is to be an elephant festival. She informs her son that their kula right to conduct the festival might be given away to another. She says, "For seven successive kulas, the right to manage the elephant festival is in our vaṁsa."[216] Her son assures her that he shall not lose that right of their vaṁsa. The Bodhisatta goes to the king and asks him, "Is it really true that you are going to deprive our vaṁsa of our right and give it to another?"[217] The seṭṭhi known for his charitable activities instructs his son: "See that you do not break away from our vaṁsa tradition of giving away gifts in charity (dānavaṁsam nā ucchidittha).[218] The queen, the mother of an ugly son, says to the Madda king: "My daughter-in-law is quite worthy of my son. However, we have an hereditary observance in our kula (kula paveṇiya). If she will abide by this (custom), we will take her to be his bride." When asked, "What is this observance of yours?" the queen replies, "In our vaṁsa a wife is not allowed to see her husband by daylight until she has conceived."[219] For seven generations (sattamā kulaparivaṭṭa) the seṭṭhi's ancestors had been generous. When he becomes the seṭṭhi he breaks with the (tradition of) his kulavaṁsa.[220] Mahākamsa has two sons, and one daughter. On his daughter's birthday the brāhmaṇa who foretells the future says, "A son born of this girl will one day destroy the country and the vaṁsa of Kaṁsa (Kaṁsavaṁsaṁ

nāsessatīti).[221] The brāhmana repeatedly beseeches his son to
give up drinking. The son refuses to do so. Then the brāhmana
thinks, "If this is so, our kulavamsa will be destroyed and our
wealth will perish."[222] We find the king Makhadeva becoming a
king again in Mithilā, under the name of Nimi. After uniting his
scattered vamsa, he once more becomes an ascetic in that same
mango grove.[223]

The kula in Intergroup Organization

We have indicated earlier how the term kula represents
family and lineage. We should not be surprised to find kula
making its appearance at the intergroup level. The following
examples may be given to illustrate kula as the unit of inter-
action at a group level.

The brāhmana father, finding out that his son had been
drinking, scolds his son: "You have done very wrong, being a
member of a sotthiya kula (sotthiya kula jātena), to drink strong
drink." The brāhmana adds that if his son persists in drinking,
the entire kulavamsa will be destroyed.[224] The evil effects of
strong drink are underlined by a saying: "Kulas may be wealthy,
but drink will destroy the kula."[225] It is stated that one should
never succumb to anger: "If that should happen then even a
great kula will become a degraded kula."[226] Mahaosadha re-
moved all the poor kulas (duggatakulāni) who resided in the city,
and settled within the city the rich kulas of the powerful (issara
kulāni).[227] The Bodhisatta born in a brāhmana kula, finding
his parents in poor straits, resolves to restore his fallen kula.[228]
A woman born in a poor kula (daliddakula) wants to buy a costly
garment for which she asks her parents. The parents say that
they cannot afford it, being poor. The woman then asks her
parents' permission to earn wages in a wealthy kula (addhakula).[229]
We do find stories in the texts of parents bringing a wife home
for their son from a kula of equal rank with their own.[230] It is
evident from all the above examples that the different kulas are
thought of as units of interaction at a group level and that in each
case we may discern a preoccupation with status or prestige.

That the high and low status of the kula and the individual
belonging to it is correlated to the issue of birth is evident from
the following instances. The brāhmana purohita asserts: 'I am
a brāhmana of sotthiya kula, I have never taken what was not my

own; nor looked with craving eyes upon another woman, nor
spoken falsely, and not a drop of strong drink have I ever
drunk."[231] The jackal falling in love with the lioness praises
her beauty. The lioness thinks to herself: "This jackal here is
the basest of four-footed beings, vile, like a Candāla, but I
belong to the best of royal kula (uttamarājakula). That he
should speak to me (in this manner) is unseemingly evil. How
can I live after hearing such things said?" She wants to commit
suicide. Eventually, the eldest brother avenges the "honor" of
his lion sister by killing the jackal.[232] The Bodhisatta says that
those who are born of well known kula and who are without
malice, with such the wise should form the ties of friendship.[233]
Setaketu, born in a brāhmana kula of the north (udīcca
brāhmaṇakula nibbato), is proud on account of his jāti (birth).[234]
A gaṇikā made pregnant by a king wants to give her newborn babe
the name of the king's grandfather. The king thinks: "It can never
be that the name of my kula should be given to a slave girl's
son."[235] He who is high born (uccakulamhi jāto) remains steady
even if he drinks most potent liquor. The low born (nīcakula)
even if he sips a few drops of liquor becomes drunken by and
by."[236]

The Bodhisatta is born in the family of poor nāṭaka kula
(artists' family) that lives by begging. So when he grows up he
is needy and his circumstances are squalid,[237] whereas elephants,
cattle, horses, jewelled carriages and women are to be found in
rich kulas (iddhesu kulesu jātā).[238] The king is convinced that
his daughter has fallen in love with a commoner and he says to
her: "Are you a Caṇḍāli? You are a disgrace to your kula
(kulaghathini). By being born into a Madda kula (Maddakule
jātā) you take a slave for your true love."[239] The governess
(dhātī) of the prince scolds her: "You are a disgrace to the kula
(kula lajjaparike), that you stand here alone on the highway
unescorted. Should the king hear of it, he will be the death of
us."[240]

Kula is mentioned along with jāti-gotta. That all these
three terms are important to evaluate status of a person is clear
from the following three instances. The brāhmaṇa purohita feels
that in this world jāti, gotta, and kula are no match for the best
in virtue.[241] King Mallika of Kosala confronts Brahmadatta of
Banares in a narrow single lane highway both travelling in a
horse-drawn carriage. One has to give way to another.

Then a thought struck the driver of the king of Banares. He
would enquire what should be the age of the two kings. He
learns that both are of the same age. Then he asks about the
kings' power, wealth and glory, and all points touching their
jāti, gotta and kula. [242] And he finds that the kings are evenly
matched. The udiccakula brāhmaṇa eats the leavings of a
Candāla's meal. As soon as he has eaten, he is full of remorse
and thinks, "How I have disgraced my jāti, gotta, kula." [243]

Social Stratification: jāti

Jāti, often translated as "caste" by Indologists, is merely
one of the concepts found in the Jātaka which ascribe status on
account of birth. Jāti, indeed, may not refer to actual kinship
groupings, but to a category useful in social stratification.
Setaketu is a pupil of the Bodhisatta who is born of an uddīca
brāhmaṇa kula and is very proud on account of his jāti (birth
in a northern family). [244] A mendicant feels that he is honored
by a ram on account of his birth as a brāhmaṇa. [245] The wife
of a Caṇḍāla says of a brāhmaṇa youth that "Although well born
(jātisampanno), for the sake of learning the charm her husband
knows, he performs menial service for us." [246] It is observed
cynically that wise men, fools, men educated and uneducated,
do service to the successful (and wealthy), although they be
high born and he be low born. [247]

Birth in a Caṇḍāla family is considered the lowest form of
existence. Whereas the other men are described as being born
in a kula (family), the Caṇḍāla are born of a womb (yoni); only
animals are described in the texts as "womb-born." [248] It is
observed that the lowest jāti that go upon two feet are the·
Caṇḍālas. [249] A rāja is pleased with the Caṇḍāla's discourse
and asks him, "What jāti do you belong to (kiṃ jātiko)?"
He replies, "Caṇḍāla." The king says, "Had you been a member
of a high jāti (jātisampanno), I would have made you sole
king...." [250] The king of the iguanas implores his son to give
up his friendship with a chameleon, for such friendship accord-
ing to the king is misplaced, since chameleons are low born
(nīca jātika), [251] and would cause the destruction of the whole
iguana's kula.

The king Arindama is very much dismayed by the brāhmaṇa's
behavior which causes the dirt from the brāhmaṇa's feet to fall

upon his head. The king calls the brāhmana low born
(hīnajacco) and attributes to himself the status of a true
khattiya of unbroken lineage.[252] The queen mother is in-
furiated at the friendly manner with which the paccekabuddha,
who was formerly a barber of the king, addresses the king.
She says, "This son of a barber, the dirt remover, a (man) of
low birth (nihīna jacco) does not know his station. He calls my
son, who is the ruler of the world, a true khattiya by birth
(jātikhattiya), by his name.[253]

Jāti is a means of identification of a person. The king
Sutasoma and the Bodhisatta entering the city go to the teacher's
kula. Saluting the teacher, they declare their jāti (origin).[254]
The Nāga prince says to his younger brother: "An exile driven
to another land must endure a good deal of abuse, for his jāti
(origin) and virtue, none can know. He who at home is a shining
light may suffer abroad the life of a dāsa (slave)."[255] A
thoroughbred horse does not touch rice scum when offered to
him. He says to the new owner, "When people do not know one's
jāti and virtues, rice scum is good enough to serve one's need.
But you are aware that I am a thoroughbred; therefore from
you I will not take this food."[256] The Candāla brothers admit
to themselves that they were beaten by the crowd on account of
their jāti and they make an attempt to conceal their jāti.[257]
The queen worries that people might criticize her by saying,
"Who know who your father and mother are, or anything about
your jāti-gotta? You were picked up by the wayside."[258]

The Clan: gotta

There are comparatively very few references made to
gotta, in the text. Gotta, in the Jātaka, is used as a means of
identifying a person. The sage Nārada says, "When asked
about my nāma-gotta (name and gotta), I am Nārada of Kassapa
(gotta).[259] The wandering mendicant tells the king his nāma-
gotta and exchanges greetings with him.[260] The king asks the
person whom he shoots down accidentally:"But who are you?
Whose son are you? How are you called? Tell me your nāma-
gotta."[261] The god Sakka tells the king: "Gods do not tell the
nāma-gotta of saints."[262]

The Bilateral Kin Group: ñātaka

That the ñātaka group subsumed consanguineal kin (and
possibly affinal kin) is indicated in the following instances.
The wounded lion comes with a rush and throws the horse at
the den's mouth, falling dead himself. His ñātakas emerge
from the den and are deeply moved by the sight of him. His
father, mother, sister and wife utter their regrets. [263] The
king who is against his only daughter--he has no son--getting
married to his sister's son thinks, "I will bring home some
other man's daughter for my sister's son (bhāgineyyassa), and
my own daughter will I marry into another king's family. In
this way I shall have many ñātakas." [264] The Bodhisatta on the
death of his parents looking at his pile of money thinks, "My
ñātakas who amassed this treasure are all gone without taking it
with them. Now it is for me to own it and in my turn to
depart." [265] Surely, the parents in the above example are
included in the ñātaka group.

There are many instances in the text concerning the respon-
sibility and the obligation of the ñātakas towards a person. When
the king's favorite wife dies his ñātakas along with the friends
try to console the king. [266] The king's favorite son is beyond
the control of his father and his ñātakas. They all point out to
the young prince the error of his ways, but in vain. [267] The
Bodhisatta's brother dies of a fatal disease, but the Bodhisatta
neither laments nor weeps; ñātakas reprove him, saying,
"Though your brother is dead, you do not shed a tear." [268]
A person who is about to become a mendicant entrusts his
children to the ñātaka's kula (household), and then only is
ordained to the religious life. [269] The setthi's daughter is found
missing and a search is made by her ñātakas, but not a trace
of the missing girl could be found. [270] A man is bitten by a snake
and without delay his ñātakas quickly fetch the doctor. [271] The
ñātakas of the foolish boar who wants to fight a lion advise him
not to do so. [272] The pupils of the Bodhisatta, the famous teacher,
follow their teacher to the forest, where they build huts. Their
ñātakas provide them with rice and the like. [273] The grateful
parrot whose life was saved by the Bodhisatta wants to return
the favor; he says, "Should you ever want choice rice, come to
where I dwell and call out for me, and I with the aid of my
ñātaka will give you many wagon loads of rice." [274] The queen
of Mithilā escapes to Campā where a brāhmaṇa enquires after

her welfare and asks her: "Is there any ñātaka of your city in this city?" "There is none," says the queen. The brāhmaṇa assures her that he will watch over her as if she were his sister.[275] The brāhmaṇa thus assumes the role of a ñātaka. The child plays about the whole day and evening; not daring to come home he goes to the house of some ñātaka.[276]

A person has an obligation to maintain and support the ñātakas. A wise man's resolution is that he will give, support and feed his ñātakas; he will maintain himself in all that remains.[277] A wise man, gaining great wealth, will, if he is helpful to his ñātaka, win good reputation on earth and heaven. A miser, on the other hand, may accumulate enormous wealth, and yet he divides it not between himself and his ñātakas, and so neither he nor his ñātakas will enjoy the luxuries of life.[278] The tradition of the Bodhisatta's kula is to treat every guest as one would treat a ñātaka dear to one.[279]

In times of need a person must help out his ñātakas, properly guiding them in their difficult situations. The Bodhisatta, coming to life as a tree deity in a sāla tree forest, gives advice to his ñātakas: "In choosing your habitation shun trees that stand alone in the open and take up abodes round copses of sāla trees."[280] One day the Garuda (eagle) king comes to the false ascetic and says, "Many of our ñātakas perish when they attack snakes. We do not know the right way to seize snakes."[281] The Bodhisatta, a leader of the dogs, learns of the unnecessary destruction of the dogs. He comforts his ñātakas by saying, "Have no fear; I will save you."[282] The Bodhisatta, this time as the head of the crows, resolves to free his ñātakas from their great fear.[283] The Bodhisatta, born as a quail, seeing the capture of quails at the hands of a fowler, says to the quails: "This fowler is creating havoc among our ñātakas. I have a device whereby he will be unable to catch us."[284] The parrot king finds his foot fast in a snare, and he thinks, "Now if I cry out the cry of the captured my ñātakas will be so terrified they will fly away foodless. I must endure until they have finished eating their food."[285] The king of the geese expresses similar concern about his ñātakas.[286] A fowler (sakuno) trains a partridge and by its cry decoys all the other partridges that come near. The partridge thinks: "Through me many of my ñātakas come by their death. This is a wicked act on my part."[287]

A person is desolate without the presence of his ñātakas. The carpenter lets his pet boar go free in the forest. The boar thinks, "I cannot live alone myself in this forest. What if I search out my ñātakas and live in their midst?"[288] The king thinks, "The golden goose cannot be dwelling alone in this forest, his ñātakas no doubt must be here. I will ask him about them."[289] The Bodhisatta reflects that he will go to the world of men and see his ñātakas and will then leave the world and accept the dhamma of a samana.[290]

A she jackal pretends that her husband is dead and entices the she goat to come near her husband's body. She says, "I have no ñātaka, I have only you. So come let us weep and lament and perform obsequies." The goat replies, "All my ñātakas have been eaten by your husband, I am afraid I cannot come."[291] Jūjaha, the brāhmana, dies; no ñātaka could be found and his goods fell to the king.[292] The king says that he wants to see his ñātakas once more. The ñātakas include his grandson.[293]

The Extended Kin Group: ñāti

A person strives to move in the world of ñāti, his own notion of his extended kin group, for its presence he feels could afford him security and comfort. The ties of blood and marriage which binds one individual to another, one family to another, within the ñāti have to be actively nourished. The passages in the texts concerning ñāti are replete with rhetoric of solidarity and affinity. About a virtuous purohita it is said that he is dear to his ñātis and shines among his friends.[294] The king Saṁvara is advised to rule his kingdom righteously, to rise above his ñāti. It is added: by acting wisely and prudently he will benefit his ñāti. His treasure will then be free from all his enemies.[295] Citta, the deer, thanks the hunter for freeing his elder brother and sister, by saying, "Hunter, be happy now and may all your ñāti live happily."[296] Similarly, when the hunter frees the vulture who tends his parents, in his joy the vulture says to the hunter: "O hunter, let happiness be yours with all your ñāti."[297] Thus, the form of expressing gratitude is to bless the person along with his ñātis. The people go in search of their beloved king. Not finding him, they say that the king is not to be observed in his palace, usually surrounded with all his ñātisaṁgha by his side.[298] He who is faithful to his friend is the best of all

ñāti.[299] The yakkha says to the prince: "Mānava, you are a lion among men, I will not eat you. Go forth from my land and return to make happy your circle of ñāti and friends (ñāti-suhajja-mandalaṁ)."[300] The king gives the elephant his freedom and says: "Let this elephant go free. Let him go to his mother, and to all his ñāti."[301]

A proper homage and service to ñātis is required. The Bodhisatta proclaims that he cherishes his parents with loving care. He has done due service to his ñātis and friends.[302] The king of the geese while caught in the snare thinks only of the welfare of his ñātis. He thinks, "If I should utter a cry of capture my ñātakas would be alarmed and without feeding would fly away famished and through weakness they would fall into the water." So he bears with the pain. Only when his ñātis had eaten does he frighten them away from the snares.[303] The god, who dwells in the tree about to be cut, thinks: "These builders are determined to cut down this tree, and to destroy my place of dwelling. Now my life only lasts as long as this place of residence. There are many young sāla trees that stand round this tree, wherein live the deities who are my ñātis, and they will be destroyed. My own destruction does not touch me so closely as the destruction of my ñātis, therefore I must protect their lives." The tree devatā requests the king to save his ñātis by asking him to cut the tree into small pieces. He argues: "The reason why I should be cut piecemeal is my ñātis. All prospering round me, they grow well sheltered. These would be crushed by one huge fall, and great would be their sorrow." The king hearing this was much pleased, saying: "He is a worthy god. He does not wish that his ñātis should lose their dwelling place, because he loses his; he acts for his ñātis' good (ñātīnaṁ atthacariyaṁ carati)." The king continues: "Your thoughts must be noble that you would help your ñāti (hitakāmo ñātīnaṁ), so I set you free from fear."[304]

The leading setthis were put in prison and were about to be killed. The other setthis organize a protest against this uncalled-for act. They go with their ñāti vagga (ñāti group) into the king's presence. The setthis surrounded by their ñāti people (ñātijana parivuta) beg the king to spare their lives.[305] Hearing the massacre of the dogs, the leader of the dogs thinks: "What if I were to discover the real culprits to the king and so save the life of my ñātisaṁgha (ñāti group)?" He then comforts his ñātakas by saying, "Have no fear, I will save you."[306]

The snake king tells the ascetic that if he were to divulge the secret of escaping from the garuda attack, he would bring about the destruction of all his ñātisaṁgha. After much persuasion the secret is let out. The ascetic in turn reveals the secret to the garuḍa (eagle) king. The garuḍa king comments: "The nāga king has made a great blunder; he ought not to have told another how to destroy his ñātis."[307] Ananda, the big fish, got into the habit of eating small fish. The fish, as their numbers gradually diminish, think: "From what quarter will this peril to our ñātis be threatening us?"[308]

However, ñātis could remain indifferent and apathetic in times of need; at times, they may even prove dangerous. The king wants to kill his only son and the Jātaka authors lament that neither the friendly ñātis nor friends and advisers could persuade the king not to kill his son.[309] The ñātis and friends do not give respect to the king as they used to do before, because he is now deprived of his kingdom with all its wealth.[310] It is pointed out that a man may say, "This is my ñāti and friend. But friendship goes, giving way to hate and enmity."[311] The eldest son of the queen seeing his mother cry asks her: "Who has annoyed you? Why do you weep and stare at me? Whom of my ñātis I see here are impious, and must be slain for you for that reason?"[312] The king of the geese saves his ñātis' lives when he himself was caught in the trapper's snare. Later he complains that his ñātigaṇa (ñāti cluster) deserted him, without ever thinking about him.[313] The parrot king expresses a similar opinion about his ñātis, but differently. He, too, saves his ñātis, but afterward, "They were all his ñātis and yet there was no one among his ñātis to look back at him." He asks, "What pāpa (evil) have I done?"[314]

Earlier we saw how a person conceives of his ñātis' role as an effective group to safeguard his interests. We also noticed that a person, in turn, is expected to give his loyalty to his ñāti. I give below a few more examples concerning the duties and obligations expected of an individual and his ñāti. A fool, however strong, it is said, is not good to guard the herd, he is the bane of his ñāti (ahito bhavati ñātīnaṁ). One who is strong and wise is good to protect the group; he is beneficial to his ñāti.[315] The Bodhisatta, the leader of the herd of deer, speaks approvingly of Lakkhaṇa in a verse: "The upright and diligent man has his rewards. Look at Lakkhaṇa leading back his

ñātisaṃgha (the group of ñātis), while here comes Kāla shorn of all his ñātis."[316] Sumukha, the army chief, gives the reason why he chose to remain with his lord, the king of geese after he had been captured. Sumukha says to the king: "Returning to your ñāti (ñātimajjhe ito gato) what could I have to say? I would rather die than live."[317] Kālahatthi, the army chief of the king of Banares, advises the king to give up his unnatural taste for human flesh, which the king wants to eat regularly. Kālahatthi warns, "Should you not desist, you will gradually be dropped by your ñātimaṇḍala and be deprived of your kingly glory."[318] The king is asked: "Have your subjects, your friends and advisers or ñātaka wounded your heart by treachery that you have chosen this refuge here?" The king replies, "Never have I done wrong to any (of my) ñāti or any ñāti done wrong to me."[319] One should be aware of treachery, and should not divulge secret thoughts to anyone including one's parents, sisters, brothers, wives, sons and the circle of ñāti.[320]

There are still many examples that illustrate the importance of ñāti to a person's total existence in the society depicted in the Jātakas. Puṇṇaka, the yakkha, wanting to marry Irandatī, a Nāga princess, goes to her father to ask for her as his wife. The Nāga replies: "Wait while I consult my ñātis, my friends and acquaintances; a business done without consultation leads afterwards to regret."[321] Nāti, it is said in a Jātaka verse, tiger-like combine to make a stand against the common enemy.[322]

The cook, who kills human beings for the sake of their flesh for his king, is caught, He pleads for his life saying, "Neither for son and wife, nor for ñātis and friends,[323] nor for money gain did I slay this woman." The yakkha turns out to be the Bodhisatta's father's brother. In order to convince the yakkha that this was so, the Bodhisatta takes him to an ascetic and the latter, no sooner than he catches sight of them, says, "With what object are you two descendents from a common ancestor (kim karonto pitāputta) walking here?" And with these words he tells them how they are of the same ñāti.[324] In this example, clearly the term ñāti refers to the patrilineal group. The Bodhisatta indicates the importance of the eldest son. He says that as the eldest son he would guard his charges with right dhamma. His charges include: his parents, his brothers and sisters and his ñāti bandhava.[325] Prince Saṃvara, the youngest of the king's sons, gets the throne in preference to his elder

brothers. The other brothers say to Saṁvara: "His ñāti,
seeing their own benefit, gave their consent, either when the
king was alive or dead. Say by what power do you stand above
your other ñāti (sañāte)? Why do your ñātisaṁgha not unite to
deter you from winning your throne?"[326] The Bodhisatta says
to his ñātakas, "United, forest-like should ñāti stand: the
storm overthrows the solitary trees."[327]

Puṇṇaka says to Vidūra: "In my love for the daughter of
that mighty nāga, I consulted her ñāti (ñātigato) and when I
sought her hand my father-in-law told me that they (the ñāti)
knew that I was moved by honorable intentions."[328] A wealthy
man in high position may lack all self control, but if he says
anything to others, his word has weight in the midst of his
ñāti; but the wisdom (paññā) has not that effect for the man
without wealth.[329] After inspecting his treasure house, the
Bodhisatta takes in his hand a golden plate and reads the lines
inscribed on the plate by his ñātis of former days (iti pubbañātihi
suvaṇṇapaṭṭe likhiti). And this incident sets the Bodhisatta
thinking. He muses: "Those of his ñātis who won this dhana
are seen no more, but the wealth is still here, not one of them
could take it where he is gone...."[330] Sakka, accompanied by
five patrilineal ancestors of Kosiya, comes to him disguised
as a brāhmaṇa and says to him: "Kosiya, we have not come to
you for the sake of the pāyāsa (sweet dish), but from a feeling
of pity and compassion for you we have come." And to make
this point clear to him, Sakka adds, "You, although you are our
ñāti in (our) former births (as human beings), are a miser, a
man of wrath and evil actions. It is for your sake we have come
down to earth to avert your birth in hell."[331] Ñāti solidarity
evidently persists in the hereafter.

A single man may win enormous wealth, and yet may not
divide it fairly between himself and his ñātis.[332] He shall not
be able to enjoy food, clothing, perfumes, nor are his ñātaka
able to share in his enjoyment. Sona and Nanda along with
their parents-leave the householder's life. They dispose their
dhana in the way of charity. They free their dāsas (slaves),
distribute what is right and proper amongst their ñātis (ñātīnaṁ
dātabbayuttakaṁ datvā), and then leave for the Himalayas.[333]
A person, thus, has an obligation to share his wealth with his
ñātis.

The carpenter lets his pet boar go free in the forest. The boar thinks, "I cannot live alone by myself in this forest. What if I search for my ñātakas, and live in their midst?"[334] Eventually he sees a herd of boars, and seeing them he says, "I wandered searching for my ñātis...and now my ñātis are found." The above story expresses a person's need to have his ñāti, without whom there is no life. A person's activities revolve around his ñātis. The Bodhisatta hands over his king-dom to his friend and amid the loud lamentations of his ñātis, friends and well-wishers, he becomes a mendicant in the Himalayas.[335] In the second instance, the Bodhisatta, with the king's permission, gives up the world, and quits his tearful ñāti-jana and his great wealth to become a recluse.[336] In the third instance, the Bodhisatta, after his wife's death, leaves his ñātimittavagga (group of ñāti and friends) and goes with his son to the forest.[337] The Bodhisatta lives a long time the life of the householder, and eventually leaves his weeping ñāti-saṁgha, and becomes a recluse in the Himalayas.[338] In the fourth instance, the Bodhisatta, and his sister, with their ñātimandala weeping around, depart.[339] In the fifth instance Ganagamāla, the barber, leaves all his ñāti and worldly goods (ñātibhogaparivattam),gains the king's permission to become a religious mendicant and goes to the Himalayas.[340] In the sixth instance, the eldest son of the famous teacher dies, and the teacher surrounded by his pupils in the midst of his ñātigana (ñātiganena saddhim), weeping, performs his son's obsequies. After the ceremony, the teacher with his company of ñātivagga and his pupils, start weeping and wailing.[341] Nātis, it is clear, are ever present in large numbers, as indicated by the Pali terms such as saṁgha, gana, varga, jana, mandala used as suffix to the term ñāti in important "life-crisis" situations, such as the leaving of the householder's life permanently to become a recluse, and death.

Probably the big problem before the practicing Buddhists--the monks--is precisely to undo the ñāti ties which are, indeed, hard to break. The Bodhisatta, the ideal "Buddhist" father, is unmoved by the death of his son, because he states, "No ñāti's lament can touch the ashes of the dead, then why grieve?"[342] Friends exist and they cease to be. Each one shows his love to his ñātis and mittas (friends), not knowing to whom they owe their love.[343] The Bodhisatta's elder brother dies of a fatal disease. His ñātis, friends, advisers all come together, and,

throwing up their arms, weep and lament, and no one is able to
control himself. Even his ñātakas reprove him, saying, "Though
your brother is dead, you do not shed a tear."[344]

Summary

The household group, as I indicated earlier, consists of the
mother and father (mātā-pitā), son and wife, daughter, son's
wife. It also includes such quasi-kin as the slaves (dāsa) and
household servants (kammakāra purisa). From many examples
cited above it is very clear that a person is expected to assume
total responsibility of maintaining his household group. The
bonds of affection and solidarity which bind a person to his
putta-dārā (immediate "restricted" family) are constantly
emphasized in the texts. It is noteworthy, however, that the
expression putta-dārā in its wider context includes not only son
and wife but also daughter-in-law and slaves. A person must
discharge his duties to his parents, but the mother and father
rank higher than the putta-dārā. It is a righteous act to support
the parents. A person must abide by the parents' wishes, cater
to their needs dutifully, and seek out their permission before
undertaking any major enterprise. A son is assured of his re-
ward; he will become a god in heaven. An ungrateful son will
be shown the door.

The terms such as ghara, geha, kuṭumba and kula denote
the household group. A person must constantly strive to sustain
the unity of the household. At no cost should the unity of the
group be disrupted. The setting up of the household group and
assumption of responsibility for it is a serious business. There
is a standard formula in the texts which says that the Bodhisatta,
coming of age, must complete his education, preferably at Takka-
silā, and then either has to set up a household or take charge of
the existing one.[345] It seems clear from the texts that one
needs to be married before becoming a full-fledged "house-
holder." Often we find the reluctant Bodhisattas being urged by
parents to get married, and to manage the household group.
The expressions gharāvāsaṁ ajjhāvasati, kuṭumbaṁ santhāpesi
and agāramjjhe vasento, which have been elucidated in this
paper, ascribe the status of householder to the Bodhisattas.

The term denoting the family is the familiar kula. The
Bodhisatta's kula, if he is born as a human being, is mentioned

in most Jātaka stories. Indeed, the Jātaka tales open with the
formal recognition of the Bodhisatta's kula. This preoccupation
with the kula of the Bodhisattas places kula, not jāti, as the
single most important criterion of an individual's status in the
society of the Jātakas.

From the numerous instances I have discussed in relation
to the household group, it is evident that kula denotes a patri-
lineal "extended family" (rather than a "restricted" one). Like
the household group, the kula comprises mother, father, son,
wife, son's wife, and possibly other relatives, especially in the
affluent setthi and royal kulas. Although the household group
too represents family, an important difference between the con-
cept of household and family is that in the latter there is a greater
emphasis on the recognition of kinship ties. The members of
the household do consist of kinsmen, but other persons (quasi-
kin) such as slaves and servants are also present.

The designation of the family by the term kula is also
evident in the use of such terms as kulaputta, kuladhītā and
kulajetṭha. We may also note that in many instances in the
texts, the kula and not the individual functions as the unit of
interaction.

That the term kula denotes lineage group is evident from
such expressions as kula santakaṁ (the right of succession in a
lineage, which is the prerogative of the son), kula paveniyaṁ,
kula vaṭṭam, kula paramparā (all the terms having to do with
the tradition of kula). Due homage is paid to the patrilineal
ancestors (pitupitāmaha), and the tradition they represent.
The term vaṁsa and kulavaṁsa denote the patrilineal "descent
group." Interestingly enough, most references to the vaṁsa are
mentioned in connection with royal households. Kings are the
keepers and protectors of the vaṁsa. Obviously, royalty would
have a vested interest in preserving their lineages. The upkeep
of the vaṁsa is also considered important by the "lesser" people
such as the millionaire setthis and the kings' brāhmana
purohitas.

In the organization at the intergroup level, that is, in social
stratification, both kula and jāti figure prominently. The kulas
are classified as low and high; jāti, too, is resolved into high
and low. That the high and low status of the kula and the

individual belonging to it is correlated to the issue of birth is
emphasized in many examples. This point is underscored in an
example where it is stated that the Bodhisatta, born in the family
of poor actors' kula, lives by begging and remains as needy and
wretched as ever when he grows up. On the other hand, the rich
kulas are said to be repositories of elephants, cattle, horses,
jewels and women. The contrast between a low and high jāti is
brought out sharply in the text dealing with a story of a Caṇḍāla
and a brāhmaṇa: The brāhmaṇa proud of his jāti is humbled by
one of the Caṇḍāla jāti, "the lowest jāti that go upon two feet."

In the light of the Jātaka examples concerning jāti, I may
reiterate a statement I made in connection with my study of the
Nikāya and Vinaya texts: [346] "I find jāti and vaṇṇa useful con-
cepts found in the texts in relation to social stratification. . . .
It (jāti) occurs where status position is claimed or denied be-
cause of it. The most we can claim about the reality of jāti and
vaṇṇa is that they were criteria in terms of which high and low
status was contested by an individual." In my recent study of
kinship groups in the Rāmāyaṇa I have indicated that the term
jāti ascribes status by birth to both animal and human species.[347]
In my concluding remarks concerning kinship in the Rāmāyaṇa
I noted that in the political and social arena of the Rāmāyaṇa
bandhus, bāndhavas, kulas and jñāti functioned as effective kin-
ship groups, whereas varṇa and jāti are concepts hardly ever
referred to in the text, playing rather insignificant roles. The
term jāti in the Jātaka, as in the Nikāya and Vinaya literature,
is indistinctive as a kinship group; at best it is a category useful
in intergroup organization. Nātaka, ñāti, kula, etc. are the
"real" kinship groups which I dealt with in this paper.

The reference to gottas in the Jātakas are extremely scanty,
where the term is used as means of identifying a person. It is
mentioned in conjunction with nāma (name) and jāti (birth).

Nātakas denote the bilateral kin. Nātakas offer one another
their condolences in respect of their dead and departed. They
admonish a person when they feel that it is necessary to do so.
Ever resourceful, they come to the aid of their members in
need. In one Jātaka example, the brāhmaṇa teacher, who wants
a dowry for his daughter's marriage, actually asks his pupils to
steal from the homes of their ñātakas, and not from any other
source. Presumably, taking things away from the ñātakas

without their knowledge does not constitute a crime in the legal sense of the term.[348] A person must share his wealth with his ñātakas. He must save his ñātakas from calamities even at the risk of his own life. If there is no ñātaka survivor, a person's property, after his death, is taken over by the king.

The use of the term ñātaka also covers affines (kin by marriage). The king of Kosala, opposed to the marriage of his daughter to his sister's son, wants to marry both of them into other royal families, on the grounds that if he did so then he could have more ñātakas (by marriage) to count on. In the Jātaka story of a wounded lion who dies at the mouth of his cave, ñātakas come out to meet him. And those ñātakas include his mother, father, sister and wife. That the wife would be included in the ñātaka group is not surprising in a society practicing cross-cousin "preferred" marriages. There are several instances of the practice of cross-cousin marriage in the Jātaka "stories of the past" found among all social strata, from the families of kings to those of the commoners.[349] In the Nikāya and Vinaya texts, however, the affines are not included under the term ñātaka. On a number of occasions in these texts a ñātaka is related on the mother's side or on the father's side, back through seven generations. Marriage, too, most likely should be avoided within the confines of the ñātaka group, for there are hardly any references to marriage taking place with the ñātaka kin.[350] On the contrary, a woman who goes to the family of her husband is described in the Nikāya as becoming shorn of her ñātakas (ñātakehi vinā hoti).[351] In an example from the Vinaya, the monk Udāyi, on being questioned by the Buddha whether a particular woman is his ñātaka or not, denies that she is one, although she is his wife.[352] Apparently, a wife remains outside the bilateral kin group of her husband. The Vinaya, interestingly enough, permits a monk to visit his sick mother, father, brother, sister and ñātaka if he is sent for.[353] The wife evidently is not included in the above categories of kin.

Trautmann, in his study of cross-cousin marriage in the Jātakas has pointed out that such marriages indicate the familiarity of the Jātakas with the "Dravidian" system of cross-cousin marriage, typical of Ceylon.[354] Elsewhere in this volume he has convincingly argued for the relative absence of evidence concerning cross-cousin marriage in the ancient texts of North India. These texts, including the Nikāya and Vinaya

texts of the Pāli Canon according to Trautmann, basically refer [355]
to North Indian social practices which prohibit such marriages.

In the Nikāya and Vinaya texts, we find several instances of
the use of the term ñātisālohita (ñāti by blood) which refer to the
patrilineal (agnatic) kin group. [356] The term ñātisālohita there
is a group contained within the bilateral ñātaka; the ñātaka
relationship is similar to that of the ñātisālohita. [357] Indeed, it
is rather puzzling that the term ñātisālohita is completely absent
from the Jātaka stories of the past. The Jātaka evidence con-
cerning descent and inheritance is patrilineal and yet the texts
make no special effort to designate the agnatic relationship
through the use of a separate term. In the Rāmāyana, which
does not refer to a single instance of a cross-cousin marriage,
there are two terms, bandhu and bāndhava, approximating the
agnatic and bilateral kin groups respectively. The term jñāti
in the Rāmāyana refers to an extended kin group. [358] The
Dharmaśāstra writers such as Manu and Yājñyavalkya, too,
mention jñāti, and distinguish it from the terms bandhu and
bāndhava. [359] Thus, on the one hand, the North Indian texts,
including the Pāli Nikāya and Vinaya, seem to make a conscious
attempt to distinguish the agnatic and consanguineal groups from
each other. On the other hand, there does not seem to be a
special attempt made in the Jātaka to designate the agnatic
group, which is most likely subsumed under the ñātaka and ñāti
groups.

Many passages are found in the texts indicating the vital
links which a person conceives of towards his ñātis. Nātis are
consulted on important issues such as the arranging of marriages
and political alliances. A king has to rely on his ñātis' support
and considers them a source of power. Only with the consent of
his ñātis could a prince become king. The king is surrounded
by his ñātis ever ready to defend him. A person has constantly
to bear in mind the interest of his ñātis and must render proper
services to them, including giving them a share of his wealth.

The term ñāti is coupled with such terms as samgha, jana,
vagga, mandala, gana, which themselves indicate groupings.
The term ñātikula denotes families other than one's own but
belonging to the same ñāti. Marriages too seem to have taken
place between ñāti. Nowhere is this more concretely illustrated
than in a statement made by a householder when he admits that

he brought his wife from his ñātikula when she was but a young
girl. A householder about to become a mendicant hands over
his children to ñātikulas, apparently confident that his ñātis
would take care of his charges.

From the instances cited above it is apparent that the term
ñāti is used in a variety of ways depending on context; it is, in
two or three instances, resolved into ñātaka, bilateral kin
group. It is equally evident that in terms of solidarity and
affinity the ñātaka relationship is similar to that of ñāti. Agnatic
kin, too, as the Jātaka examples indicate, are covered under
the term ñāti. As stated earlier, a person moves in the world
of his ñāti, his own conception of extended kin group within
which he finds comfort and security.

On a number of occasions the term mitta and suhajja are
used in conjunction with and immediately after ñāti; the relation-
ships appear to be similar in both cases and as such are evoked
on the same occasions. Ñāti, as well as friends, have to be
consulted and listened to; from them help is readily sought, and
to them it is given willingly. Ñāti and friends have to be
supported and taken care of. Mittas are present on important
events alongside the ñatis. Both ñāti and friends offer their
condolences to a dead man's primary kin.

NOTES

1. See Maurice Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol.
   II, Calcutta University Press, 1933, pp. 115 ff. Winternitz
   holds that there is no chronological significance in the
   distinction between the "stories of the present" and the
   "stories of the past," for both are the work of the same
   compilers. However, he has not substantiated this observa-
   tion on linguistic or other grounds. Moreover, Winternitz
   admits that the "stories of the present" can certainly be
   left aside for "they are sometimes only duplicates of the
   'stories of the past,' some times foolish and entirely worth-
   less inventions and at best narratives which have been
   borrowed from other parts of the Canon. ... So much the
   more valuable are the actual Jātakas or the 'stories of the
   past.' " Ratilal Mehta (Pre-Buddhist India, Bombay
   Examiner Press, 1939, pp. xix-xxv) also feels that the
   "stories of the past" are homogeneous as compared to the
   other components of the Jātaka stories.

2. D. D. Kosambi, An Introduction to the Study of Indian
   History, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1956, pp. 259-260,
   and also his "Early Stages of the Caste System in Northern
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10.   J. II. 79-80.

11.   J. V. 356.

12.   J. VI. 390.

13.   J. IV. 289-290.

14.   Puttadārena saddhiṁ mantetvā gaṇhissāmīti, J. II. 428.

15.   J. VI. 288 vs.

16.   J. IV. 423.

17.   Putta ca dārā ca anujīvino, J. VI. 302 vs.

18.   J. II. 201.

19.   J. V. 478 vs.

20.   Puttadāro pi vippatisārī ahosi, J. II. 487.

21.   J. V. 460 vs.

22.   J. V. 383.

23.   J. V. 383.

24.   J. IV. 273.

25.   J. IV. 159.

26.   Puttadāraṁ gahetvā palāya, J. III. 440.

27.   J. II. 173.

28.   J. V. 102

29.   J. I. 262.

30.   J. I. 262.

31.   J. II. 282.

32.   J. III. 11.

33.   Kutumbamajjhe vasāpento, J. III. 50.

34.   J. IV. 30.

35.   J. IV. 298.

36.   J. V. 343 vs.

37.   J. III. 321.

38.   J.V.223 vs.

39.   J.V.492 vs.

40.   J.II.299 vs.

41.   J.IV.53.

42.   J.IV.112 vs.

43.   J.VI.94 vs.

44.   J.V.326.

45.   J.V.132.

46.   J.II.50.

47.   See J.IV.305; J.II.256, dārena samyojetvā.

48.   J.III.139.

49.   J.IV.305.

50.   J.V.282.

51.   J.III.31.

52.   J.V.282.

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55.   J.III.211.

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57.   J.II.298.

58.   J.II.398.

59.   J.IV.17.

60.   J.IV.47 vs.

61.   Mātupitu patthānadhammo, J.II.143.

62.   J.V.80 vs.

63.   J.V.240 vs.

64.   Mātāpitūhi geha nikkhaddhito.

65.   J.I.238.

66.   J.II.509.

67.   J.VI.6.

68. J.IV.267.

69. J.I.290.

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78. J.IV.37.

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83. J.II.301.

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86. Mama gehe itthiratanam uppannam, J.V.210.

87. Ibid.

88. J.II.240.

89. J.III.9.

90. J.V.384.

91. J.II.430.

92. J.V.467.

93. J.IV.237.

94. Tvam puttake samganhanti gehe vasā, J.III.381.

95. J.III.101.

96. J.III.343.

97. J.IV.473-475.

98. Purohitassa gehe nibbattitvā, J.IV.475.

99. J.I.205.

100. J.I.437.

101. J.VI.177.

102. J.VI.288.

103. J.III.510.

104. J.III.512 vs.

105. Gharavibhavaṁ panāya puttadhītaro hattesu gahetvā nikkhamitvā...J.V.190.

106. Sāmikañ ca sasurañ ca puttañ ca patijassi, J.IV.49.

107. Imasmiṁ ghare dhanaṁ pi bahuṁ, J.IV.2.

108. J.III.119-120.

109. J.III.37.

110. J.VI.300.

111. J.IV.249.

112. J.III.444.

113. Ghare avistvā nivāsavetanaṁ paricchinditvā adiṁsu, J.I.194.

114. J.V.59.

115. J.II.211.

116. Mātapitaro gharāvāsena bandhitukāma, J.IV.305.

117. Ibid.

118. Ibid., na mayhaṁ gharāvāsena attho.

119. Ibid., gharāvāsena nimantetha.

120. J.II.200-201.

121. J.II.225.

122. J.II.134.

123. J.II.100.

124. J.II.272.

125. J.IV.220.

126. J.II.177-178.

127. J.IV.423.

128. J.V.313.

129. J.III.31.

130. Pabbajjā nāma dukkhā sukho gharāvāso, J.II.232-233.

131. Ibid., gharāvāssa te agunaṁ kathessāmi.

132. J.IV.48 vs.

133. J.I.288.

134. J.V.22, see also J.III.403.

135. J.I.288.

136. J.III.300-301.

137. J.III.376.

138. Mama bhātuputte jīvante kuṭumbam bhijjitvā dvedha bhavissati bhātu puttam maressāmīti, J.III.300-301.

139. Kuṭumbaṁ sānthāpetvā puttāre posento, J.II.187.

140. J.III.162.

141. J.III.27.

142. J.II.487.

143. J.II.423.

144. J.VI.364.

145. J.I.224-225.

146. J.I.285.

147. J.I.469.

148. Tayo vede ugganhitvā kuṭumbaṁ santhāpetvā gharāvāsaṁ vasissasīti, J.II.43.

149. J.II.387.

150. J.V.164.

151. J.IV.370.

152. J.VI.256.

153. J.I.169.

154. J.III.202.

155. J.IV.159.

156. J.V.35.

157. J.IV.161.

158. Kulupakaṁ ājīvikaṁ, J.I.257.

159. Ibid.

160. J.V.54.

161. J.III.231.

162. J.IV.445.

163. Upaṭṭhākakulesu sampādita madhuramaṁsaṁ labhitvā, J.III.84.

164. J.II.396.

165. J.III.97.

166. J.II.313.

167. J.III.238.

168. J.III.475.

169. J.V.457.

170. Sace te kulagharā ābhataṁ atthi pāyāsaṁ pacitvā nāgarānaṁ dehīti, J.V.385.

171. J.IV.37-38.

172. J.III.119-120.

173. J.II.256.

174. Seṭṭhikulaṁ parijjinnam ahosi, J.I.11.

175. J.I.238.

176. J.II.419, mayaṁ issmiṁ kulaṁ jīvati.

177. Brāhmaṇakule nikkhipitvā, J.III.342.

178. Ibid.

179. Aham asukaseṭṭhi kulaṁ nāma upanissāya vasāmi, J.IV.169.

180. J.III.143.

181. Sabbassa kulassa issarā, J.III.426.

182. J.V.248.

183. J.III.219-221.

184. J. VI. 347.

185. Kuladhītaraṁ gehe katvā, J. III. 510; II. 139.

186. Kuladhītaraṁ ānesuṁ, J. II. 121.

187. J. I. 120.

188. J. I. 120 ff.

189. Mātūpatthāna pitupatthāna pūrako kule jetthāpaccāyikakaṁ kārato, J. II. 298.

190. Daharaṁ kumāriṁ asmatthapaññām yan ta ānayim ñātikulā suggate, J. IV. 35.

191. J. III. 382.

192. J. IV. 35 vs.

193. J. IV. 47 vs.

194. Amhākaṁ kule yāva sattamā kula parivattā tarunakāle matapabbā nāma na atthi, J. IV. 51, 52.

195. Ibid.

196. Sattakulaparivatte abhijjamāna metti agamāsi, J. I. 29-30.

197. Kulasantake rajje chattam ussāpehīti, J. V. 34.

198. J. II. 203.

199. J. IV. 124, see also J. II. 116.

200. J. I. 395.

201. J. III. 116.

202. J. IV. 34 vs.

203. Mā attano pitupitāmahānaṁ vaṁsaṁ nāsajji, J. V. 283 ff.

204. Ibid.

205. J. III. 120 verse and prose.

206. J. IV. 298 vs.

207. J. IV. 298.

208. J. II. 431.

209. J. IV. 59-60.

210. J. IV. 69, see also J. V. 284.

211. See Irawati Karve, op. cit., p. 50, who, on the basis of Mahābhārata material, also observes that vaṁśa refers to a successive line of descent from father to son. "The word vaṁśa is used also for bamboo or cane tree which grows straight in nodes. On this analogy the whole of vaṁśa is like a bamboo tree and each member in it a node."

212. J.V.279.

213. J.IV.444.

214. J.IV.317.

215. J.IV.37.

216. Sattamā kulaparivattā amhākaṁ vaṁso, J.II.47.

217. Ibid., 48.

218. J.V.383.

219. J.V.285.

220. J.IV.68.

221. J.IV.79.

222. J.V.467.

223. Attano vaṁsaṁ ghatetvā, J.III.237.

224. J.V.467.

225. J.V.16 vs.

226. Bahu pitā kulā akulaṁ gatā, J.V.117.

227. J.VI.393.

228. Parihīnam kulaṁ paṭiṭṭhapessāmīti.

229. J.V.211.

230. Samāna jātiya kulato, J.IV.305.

231. J.I.439.

232. J.III.6.

233. J.III.198 vs.

234. J.III.232-233.

235. J.IV.298.

236. J.II.vs.

237. J.III.167.

238. J.VI.361.

239. J.V.306.

240. J.V.248.

241. J.II.430.

242. J.II.3.

243. J.II.83.

244. Jātim nissāya mahanto māno ahosi , J.III.232-33

245. J.III.82.

246. J.IV.201.

247. Sūjātimanto pi ajātimassa yasassino pessakāra bhavanti, J.VI.356 vs.

248. J.IV.397 vs.

249. J.IV.397 vs.

250. J.III.30.

251. J.I.487.

252. Asabhinna khattiya vaṁse jātassa, J.V.257.

253. J.III.452-453.

254. J.V.457.

255. J.III.17 vs.

256. J.II.289 vs.

257. J.IV.390.

258. J.I.398.

259. J.IV.243.

260. J.V.252.

261. J.VI.78.

262. J.III.305.

263. J.III.323.

264. J.II.324, ñātakā bahū bhavissantīti.

265. J.III.39.

266. J.II.155.

267. J.I.506.

268. J.III.56-57.

269. J.III.382-383.

270. Ñātakā vicinitvā pi na passiṁsu, J.I.295.

271. J.I.310.

272. J.II.11.

273. J.III.537.

274. J.I.325.

275. J.VI.32.

276. J.VI.377.

277. J.IV.127 vs.

278. J.III.302 vs.

279. J.III.120 vs.

280. J.I.328.

281. J.V.75,76.

282. J.I.175-176.

283. J.I.485, mayham ñātakānam uppannaṁ bhayaṁ harituṁ.

284. J.I.208.

285. J.IV.279.

286. J.V.338.

287. J.III.64.

288. J.IV.344.

289. J.VI.79.

290. J.VI.173.

291. J.III.533.

292. J.VI.581.

293. J.VI.175 vs.

294. Ñātīnañ ca piyo hoti mittesu ca virocati, J.II.430; V.66.

295. J.IV.135 vs.

296. J.IV.418.

297. J.III.331; 186; 329.

298. J.V.188-189 vs.

299. J.VI.14 vs.

300. J.I.274.

301. J.IV.93 vs.

302. Ñātisu mittesu katame kara, J.V.492 vs.

303. J.V.338.

304. J.IV.154, 156-157.

305. J.VI.135.

306. J.I.175-176.

307. J.V.76-77.

308. J.V.463, kuto no kho ñātīnam bhayam uppajjissatitu.

309. J.III.181 vs.

310. Ñātimitta suhajja, J.V.100 vs.

311. J.IV.226.

312. J.V.182 vs.

313. J.V.359 vs.

314. J.IV.279.

315. J.III.357.

316. J.I.144 vs.

317. J.V.360 vs.

318. J.V.466.

319. J.VI.59 vs.

320. J.V.80 vs.

321. J.VI.266 vs.

322. J.IV.347.

323. Puttadārassa sahāya ñātīnaṁ, J.V.460 vs.

324. Tesam ñātibhāvam kathesi, J.V.34.

325. J.V.326.

326. J.IV.134 vs.

327. J.I.329.

328. J.VI.357.

329. J.VI.360-361 vs.

330. Ñāti purimāsu jātisu, J.IV.7.

331. J.V.391 vs.

332. Attano na ñātīnaṁ yathodhim patipajjāti, J.III.302 vs.

333. J.V.313.

334. J.IV.344.

335. J.III.396.

336. J.III.440.

337. J.II.68.

338. J.II.272.

339. J.IV.337.

340. J.III.452.

341. J.IV.50-51.

342. J.III.164.

343. J.V.208.

344. J.III.56-57.

345. J.I.356, 436, 505; II.52, 277; III.171, 197, 228; IV.237; V.127, 162, 227.

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347. Narendra Wagle, "Kinship Groups in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki" in Family in India, ed. George Kurion, Mouton, The Hague (forthcoming).

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349. J.I.457; II.119, 327; VI.49, 486.

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353. Vinaya, III.147-148.

354. Thomas R. Trautmann, "Consanguineous Marriage in Pali Literature" in Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 93, No. 2, 1973, pp. 158-180.

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357. Ibid., p. 117.

358. Narendra Wagle, "Kinship Groups in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki," cited above, n. 347.

359. Manu.III.26; Yāj.II.149. See also P.V.Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. III, Bhadarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1946, pp. 754 ff.