Chapter II - Vedic patriarchy
Section I - Patriarchy of Rigvedic society:

Clan designations and patronymics of the Rikṣaṃhitā point to a patriarchal social system in which a man is known by lineage from the father's side. It has been assumed by scholars that patriarchy is the basis of the Rigvedic family. The Aryan names for kindred almost without exception refer to agnatic relationships. While the Aryan family is patrilineal and patriarchal, the clan or gens constitutes the general background of Aryan society as known from Vedic literature.

1-See p. 25, life in ancient India, A. Kaegi; Kaegi says that the foundation of the Aryan family proceeds from the man;
I. D. Barnett holds that the unit of society is the patriarchal household of freemen in the Vedic age, p. 3, sec. I, ch. I, Antiquities of India.


3-Morgan calls the clan a gens, pp. 142 - 143, Social organisation, Encyclopaedia of the social sciences, vol. 14.
It is male kinship which determines the clan organisation (gotra or gana) of the Vedic Aryans and the designations of the members of a clan are derived from the names of male ancestors regarded as the early patriarchs of the same clan. The gotra kinship is one-sided, as only the father's side is taken into account to the total neglect of the mother's side. In some instances the Vedic wife obtains social recognition by the husband's name to which a feminine suffix is joined.

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1 - It is the opposite of matrilineal descent; about matrilineal descent, see pp. 180 - 182, ch. VIII, Primitive society, R. H. Lowie.

2 - About gotra descent, see pp. 54 - 55, The Hindu law of marriage and stridhana, 2nd ed.


4 - The gotra indicates lignée (lineage), p. 223, Dictionnaire classique Sanscrit - Francais Par Emile Burnouf & L. Leupol.


6 - Vide Rv VII. 34. 22 - Varunāṇi; Rv X. 86. 11 - Indrāṇi; also KS 8. 17; the Vedic wife is subordinate to her husband, see p. 67, ch. II, sec. VI, Indian culture through the ages, S. V. Venkateswara, vol. I.
The Rigveda contains such appellations as 'Kāṇva', 'Bhārata', 'Bhāradvāja', 'Vādhryasva', 'Ājamiḍha', 'Ānava', 'Auchathyam' etc., which refer to clans or tribes named after patriarchs.

1 - Ṛv VIII. 1. 8 - Kāṇvasya; Kāṇva is a gotra name, see Baudh IV. 21.
2 - Ṛv III. 23. 2 - Bhārata; Bhārata is a tribal designation.
3 - Ṛv VI. 51. 12 - Bhāradvāja; Bhāradvāja is the founder of a gotra, see Baudh III. 17.
4 - Ṛv X. 69. 5 - Vādhryasva; Vādhryasva is the name of a pravara - Rśi, see Baudh I. 7.
5 - Ṛv IV. 44. 6 - Ājamiḍha; Ājamiḍha is the name of a pravara - Rśi, see Baudh IV. 21.
6 - Ṛv VII. 18. 13 - Ānava; Ānava is derived from Amu, the patriarch of a Rigvedic tribe.
7 - Ṛv I. 158. 4 - Auchathyam; Auchathyam is the name of a pravara - Rśi, see Baudh II. 13.
We may cite a number of patronymics from the Rigveda:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Patronymic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trasadasyu</td>
<td>Paurukutsi (son of Purukutsa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurusravana</td>
<td>Trāsadayava (son of Trasadasyu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīśījaya</td>
<td>Daivāta (son of Devāta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sārśījaya (son of Śrīśījaya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumara</td>
<td>Sāhadevya (son of Sahadeva)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kastrasrī</td>
<td>Prātardana (son of Pratardana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pṛithi</td>
<td>Vaiṁya (son of Vena)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devaka</td>
<td>Mānyamāna (son of Mānyamāna)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 - Rv VII. 19. 3.
2 - Rv X. 33. 4.
3 - Rv IV. 15. 4.
4 - Rv VI. 47. 25.
5 - Rv IV. 15. 7.
6 - Rv VI. 26. 8.
7 - Rv VIII. 9. 10.
8 - Rv VII. 18. 20.
In this connection it may be pointed out that certain Rigvedic names refer to maternal relations. A man's being known by a metronymic does not preclude the possibility of his having a patronymic. Dirghatamas is called 'Māmateya' and also 'Auchathya'. The former appellation is derived from the mother's name and the latter from the name of the father. Similarly, Nakṣīvān is known

1 = Rv I. 158. 6 - Dirghatamā Māmateyah.
2 = Rv I. 158. 4 - Auchathyam.
3 = Māmateya is derived from Mamatā; the Brhaddevatā speaks of Mamatā of the Bṛgu clan as the wife of Ucathya, Brd, pt. I, IV. 11; the Viṣṇupurāṇa mentions Mamatā as the wife of Utathya, Viṣṇu IV. 19. 5.
4 = Auchathya is derived from Ucathya; Brd, pt. I, IV. 14 - sach Dirghatamā nāma vabhūva ṛiṣih Ucathyajah; also Saḍguruśiṣya upon Sarvānumkramaṇī, p. 96 - Dirghatamā nāma Auchathyah Ucathya - putrah; the Purānic tradition represents Ucathya as Utathya, see Viṣṇu IV. 19. 5; according to a different account Dirghatamas is regarded as the son of Usija and Mamatā, see Matsya 48. 32 - 44.
by the appellations 'Auaija' and 'Pajriya'. The former designation seems to have been derived from 'Usij', alleged to be the name of a maid servant by the Brihaddevatā, Šaṅgurusisya and Sāyana; the latter, according to Sāyana, refers to Pajrā, the name of the Āṅgirasas.

The appellation 'Āditya' is derived from

1 - Rv I. 122. 5 - Ausijah.
2 - Rv I. 116. 7 - Pajriyāya Kakṣivate.
3 - Vide Sāyana's com. upon Rv.125. 1; also Brd, pt. I,IV.24-25 - Usijam .. dāsim; Šaṅgurusisya upon Sarvāmukramāṇī, p. 93 - Āṅgarājasya ya maḥiṣi tasyāḥ ya pradhānadāsī sā Usik nāma; according to this account Ausija would appear to be a metronymic.

4 - Sāyana upon Rv I. 116. 7 - Pajrā iti Āṅgirasām ākhyā Pajrā vā Āṅgirasā iti āmnātatvāt. teṣām kule jātāya Kakṣivate.

5 - The association of Aditi with Ādityas is described in some Rigvedic verses; see Rv III. 54. 20 - Ādityaih nah Aditih śrīṇotu; Rv X. 66. 3 - Ādityaih nah Aditih sārma yachchhatu.
Aditi the mother and applied to a number of gods who form a ganā - group. The rivalry between the Ādityas and the Āṅgirasas is the subject matter of a number of Brāhmaṇa passages and this story may lead us to suppose that the Ādityas refer to a clan-group. A clan of the divine sphere bearing a metronymic may be regarded as evidential in the matter of proving Aryan matriarchy preceding the patriarchal system. But much stress should not be laid upon a metronymic of a group of gods in order to justify the hypothesis of maternal descent among Aryans. The Rigvedic pantheon imparting an inferior position to the female divinities - does not warrant any presumption of that kind.

1 - A. A. Macdonell remarks that the essential and characteristic trait of Aditi is her motherhood, pp. 120 - 122, sec. 41, Vedic Mythology.


3 - AB VI. 5. 8 - Ādityāḥ cha ha vā Āṅgirasah cha svarge loke aspardhanta vayām pūrve, esyāmah vayām iti ; also ŚNB 30. 6 ; TB II. 2. 3 - Ādityāḥ cha Āṅgirasah cha suvargē loke aspardhanta, vayām pūrve suvargam lokam iyāma vayām pūrve iti ; JB II. 365.
'Aida' is a metronymic of Pururavas, the son of Ida, according to a Rigvedic dialogue hymn. This maternal designation deserves special consideration, as it represents a main Indo-Aryan dynastic stock. In the Taittiriya Samhita and Brhma Br. Ida is called Manavi, i.e., the daughter of Manu. Thus, the maternal designation 'Aida' does not in any way suggest a conclusion relating to Aryan matriarchy prevailing among the Aida or Aila section of the early Aryans, since Ila the mother has obtained social recognition by means of a paternal appellation.

Thus, the metronymics under consideration do not presuppose any matriarchal system of the Vedic Aryans.

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1 - Rv X. 95. 18; also SB XI. 5. 1. 1.

2 - TS II. 6. 7 - Idm upahvate .. Msnvi iti aha;
TB I. 1. 4 - Idm vai Msnvi; Svyan Ida nma gorup kchit evat.

3 - Ida is known as Ila in the Puranas and Aila is the usual designation of Pururavas; vide Bgt IX. 15. 1 - Ailasya; Hari 26. 13 - Ailam.
Section II - The hypothesis of Aryan matriarchy:

It has been supposed that the Vedic Aryans passed through a stage of matriarchy before stepping into the patriarchal system. Such a hypothesis would naturally have its basis in the consideration of the metronymics as the means of identification of persons in Vedic and post-Vedic society as well as of the laxity of sexual relations revealed in certain social customs. An eminent scholar has remarked that 'there are clear indications of the survival of matriarchy, and the institution of marriage appears to have been very recent'.

1 - This supposition is based upon the sociological theory that the system of recognising the relationship to the mother excluding that to the father is followed by the contradictory system of reckoning paternal relations by excluding maternal relations; vide pp. 166 - 168, ch. IV, The origin of marriage, The origin of civilization and the primitive condition of man, Lord Avebury; this theory has been repudiated by R. H. Lowie, see p. vii, Preface, Primitive society.

2 - P. 26, ch. III, Prehistoric ancient and Hindu India, R. D. Banerji, book I; the opposite view is held by J. J. Meyer who maintains that since Vedic times, one wife is seen to be the usual, often the obvious thing, p. 108, ch. II, Sexual life in ancient India, vol. I.
According to another opinion there are strong evidences to prove that the family system among the Aryans of India or, among their predecessors was of yore rather matriarchal than patriarchal.

The instances of sexual laxity seem to favour the supposition regarding matriliny in ancient Aryan society and the Satyakāma episode may be considered as a distinct example of such laxity.

The absence of a gotra appellation in the case of Satyakāma is due to his obscure birth and the fact that his paternity is not discernible. But a general social atmosphere which lends support to promiscuity is not inferable from the picture.

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1 - P. 4, lecture I on tribal state of society, Evolution of Indian polity, R. Shamasastri.

2 - Chh. Up. IV. 4. 1 - 2; Javālā replies to the question of Satyakāma regarding his gotra, - vahvaham charanti parichārini yauvane tvām alabhē sā aham etat na veda yadgotrah tvam asi Javālā tu nāma aham asmi Satyakāmah nāma tvam asi sa Satyakāma eva Javālah vruvithā iti; the words 'vahvaham charanti' suggest various meanings; the more obvious sense is perhaps that her sexual life was unrestricted at the time of birth of Satyakāma.
In the case of Mahidāsa Aitareya, the supposed author of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the metronymic seems to have been the result of the low status of his mother and his failure to get the paternal appellation.

Thus, either the obscurity of birth or the low status of the mother may have caused the necessity of bearing the maternal designation.

We are informed of Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra and Rāma Mārgaveya.

1 - Chh. Up. III. 16. 7 - etat ha sma vai tadvidvān āha Mahidāsah Aitareyah.

2 - According to the traditional account of Sāyaṇa, the father of Mahidāsa Aitareya is known to be a Rishi; vide Sāyaṇa's introduction to AB I. 1. 1 - kasyachit khalu maharṣah vahvyah patnyah vidyante. tāsāṁ madhye kasyāśchit Itarā iti nāmadheyam. tasyāḥ Itarāyāḥ putrah Mahidāsākhyah kumārah .. tādiyasya tu pituh bhāryāntara - putreṣu eva snehātisāyah na tu Mahidāse ; it appears that the paternal indifference to Mahidāsa is due to the low status of his mother.

3 - Chh. Up. III. 17. 6 - Kṛṣṇāya Devakīputrāya.

4 - AB VII. 5. 1 - ayam aham asmi vah vīrāh iti ha uvācha Rāmāḥ Mārgaveyah ; Sāyaṇa - Mṛgavuh nāma kāchit yoṣit tasyāḥ putrah Rāma-nāma kāsāḥit brāhmaṇah evam uvācha.
The reference to the mother in such cases does not indicate her supremacy in the family or clan or prove the survival of any matriarchal system in the Aryan society of the Vedic age.

We have already seen that the maternal designation is not always conditioned by unknowable paternity. Even if the father is known, there is no social bar to one's getting recognition by the mother's name.

The metronymics, referred to by us, do not imply general matriliny or the domination of the mother in the family or clan.

We should not overlook the fact that the metronymics obtainable in Vedic literature are far outnumbered by the patronymics.

In this context the metronymics of some Vedic teachers draw our notice. We mention below a few of them:

1. Gautamiputra, i.e., the son of a woman of the Gotama gotra;
2. Bharadvājiputra, i.e., the son of a woman of the Bharadvāja gotra;
3. Pārāśāriputra;
4. Kausīkiputra;
5. Ātreyīputra;
6. Vatsīputra;
7. Sāunīputra;
8. Sāmkritīputra;
9. Sāndilīputra etc.

In all these instances the individual names of the teachers are not mentioned, but their metronymics are stated. These are not

1, 2, 3, 4, - Br. Up. VI. 5. 1.
5, 6, 7, 8, 9 - Ibid VI. 5. 2.
derived from the names of the mothers, but from their gotra designations which are respectively Gotama, Bharadvaja, Parasara, Ewika, Atri, Vatsa, Sunga, Samkriti, Sandila.

The designations 'Gautamiputra', 'Bharadvajiputra', 'Parasariputra' occur more than once in the list of teachers. This shows that different teachers may be known by the same metronymic.

Analysing the metronymics, we find that reference is made to the mother's gotra and not to her personal name. These gotras are, however, the names of male founders of clans and indicate in no way any matriarchal system.

These metronymics have been recently traced to the influence of non-Aryan matriarchy. Constant contact with matriarchal non-Aryan groups may have resulted in the adoption of the system of recognition by the mother's gotra name. But the gotra names refer to male patriarchs and to a patriarchal environment.

1 - Baudh II. 10 - 16.
2 - Ibid III. 17.
3 - Ibid VIII. 48.
4 - Ibid VI. 31.
5 - Ibid V. 27.
6 - Ibid I. 3.
7 - Ibid III. 17; Sunga is a sept of the Bharadvaja gotra.
8 - Ibid IV. 23.
9 - Ibid VII. 43.
10 - P. 7, A survey of Indian history, K. M. Panikkar, 2nd ed.
Section III - Recent viewpoints in defence of Aryan matriarchy:

A revision of the study of Indian social history strictly following the schematism of Morgan has been recently proposed. According to Morgan the matriarchate must have preceded the patriarchate in the social development and promiscuity is a necessary stage followed by the origin of marriage. This theory of social evolution is applied to the field of Aryan history and conclusions are deduced in accordance with it. The method of study is deductive and not inductive and consists in the interpretation of facts according to certain formulae regarded as the established laws of social science. The result is that facts do not lead to judgements and inferences, but conclusions are reached before the facts have confirmed them.

1 - Morgan arrived at a primitive stage in which promiscuous intercourse prevailed within a tribe; wherever promiscuous conditions prevail, descent is only traceable on the maternal side, and thus the female line is recognised; this argument in favour of mother-right was first put forward by Bachofen in his 'Mutterrecht' (Mother-right); vide pp. 17 - 18, Preface to the 4th ed., The origin of the family etc., F. Engels; also p. 27, ibid.

2 - The correct method of sociology is, according to M. Ginsberg, in essentials a combination of inductive generalisation with deduction from more ultimate laws; p. 24, I, Scope and method of sociology, Sociology.
One of the followers of Morgan's evolutionism has put forward the hypothesis that the Indo-European word 'jana' indicates a matriarchal organisation which marks the transition from matriliny to patriliny. This interpretation of jana is based upon the study of gens as made by Morgan who applies the term to matrilineal as well as patrilineal kinship groups.

But, the jana, as it is represented in the Rigvedic tradition, appears to be a kind of organisation which is definitely patriarchal.

The Bharata and Yādva janas are respectively named after the patriarchs Bharata and Yadu.

Another disciple of Morgan has proposed the interpretation of gotra as a system of group marriage characterising the Aryan

1 - Vide pp. 42 - 43, Mānava samāja, Rahul Sankrityayan, Bengali Tr. by Subodh Chaudhuri, pt. I.
3 - Rv III. 53. 12.
4 - Rv VIII. 6. 48.
5 - See pp. 72 - 82, India from primitive communism to slavery, S. A. Dange; Dange's approach to the problems relating to the early social organisation of the Indo-Aryans has met with a sharp rejoinder from D. D. Kosambi; vide p. 30, Kosambi's article entitled 'Marxism and ancient India', India To-Day, vol. I, No. 2, June, 1951.
commune (which is supposed to be the meaning of the word 'brahman').

The matriarchal rule in the early Aryan commune is the necessary conclusion drawn from the premise of unascertainable paternity in the conditions of the gotra form of communal marriage.

Nothing perhaps can be so arbitrary as the linking up of gotra with matriliney and group marriage, since the word conveys the sense of 'clan', as founded by a patriarch. The gotras, preserved by tradition, bear the names of the founder - patriarchs. The Ausija Gautama gotra may appear as one exception, if it be traced to Usij who is a maid servant according to the Brihaddevata. But, Apastamva derives Ausija from Usija, a male Rishi, whose name occurs in the pravara, assigned to this gotra. In either case, the Ausijas are traceable to the line of the patriarch Gotama.

1 - Vide p. 47, op. cit.; Dange's translation of the word 'brahman' as 'commune' is contrary to tradition; the earliest significance of the word appears to be 'magic formula'; see p. 98, Notes, The Rigveda, A. Kaegi, Eng. Tr. by R. Arrowsmith; Sayana interprets 'brahman' as 'laud'; vide TB II. 4. 1 - brahmāṇi; Sayana - brahmāni parivṛṭhāni .. stotrāṇi ; TB II. 4. 3 - brahmaṇa; Sayana - brahmaṇā .. parivṛṭhena stotreṇa.


The question of matriarchy is connected with that of uncertain paternity in the conditions of unrestricted sexual relations.

Certain ancient rites and customs seem to have a background of sexual laxity. We may mention the ceremonial part of the Asvamedha sacrifice in which the queen has to lie beside the slaughtered horse or the Varunapraghāsa in which the priest

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1 - The question of Aryan group - marriage has drawn the attention of scholars; vide p. 22, Urvasī and Purūravas, D. D. Kosambi, JEBRAS (New Series), vol. 27, pt. II, 1951.

2 - Vide p. 32, Religions of ancient India, Louis Renou; as regards the obscene part of Asvamedha see VS 23. 20 - 31; also TS VII. 4. 19; TB III. 9. 6 - 7; Sō XIII. 5. 2. 2 - 8; the Rāmāyaṇa relates that Kausalyā passes one night with the slaughtered horse, Rām I. 14. 34; in this connection see also p. 103, Mother right in India, B. O. R. Ehrenfels; the attempt to trace the obscene part of Asvamedha to non-Aryan influence is not free from doubt, but cannot be altogether undermined; it is not improbable that the obsceneities of Mahāvrata and Gosava may have been absorbed from non-Aryan society; see JB II. 405; II. 113.
asks the wife (of the sacrificer) how many lovers she has and she answers by catching hold of as many blades of grass as the number of lovers.

These rites point out the sexual relation of the wife with persons other than the husband. The levirate seems to be in vogue from very early times, not, of course, as an institution. In such an atmosphere it becomes apparent that physiological paternity is not always expected and the factor of procreation may or may not decide paternity; the legal husband of the procreating mother may without participating in the act of procreation be considered as the father of a child. The wife's unrecognised sexual relations do not negate patriliny.

1 - TB I. 6. 5 - patnim vāchayati .. yat jāram santaṁ na pravrūyāt priyam jñātim rundhyāt. asau me jārah iti nirdiśet; also Kāt. Śr. S. V. 5. 5 - 8 — pratiprasthātā patnim āneṣyan āha kena charasi iti. saṃstutān āchaṣṭe. triṇāni vā udgriṁṛati pratisaṃstutam. anākhyaṁ ahitaṁ jñātibhyah iti sruteh.

The rule of the mother as the essential feature of the matriarchate is not at all detectable in the indecent ceremonial parts of the Asvamedha, Varunapraghāsa, Gosava and Mahāvrata. Even the Mahābhārata story of the origin of marriage does not hint at the domination of the mother in clan life. What is palpable is the permissibility of the wife's sexual connections with persons other

1 - JB IX. 113 - atha esa gosavah .. tasya vratam. upa mātaram iyāt upa svasāram upa sagotrām .. tena ha etena Janakah Vaidehah iyākṣaṁchakre.

2 - Ibid II. 405 - māgadham cha pumsōhalum cha daksīne vedyante mithunikārayanti, mithunatvāya prajananāya. pra mithunena jāyate ya evaṁ veda.

3 - Mbh I. 122. 4 - 7; Nīlakaṇṭha upon Mbh I. 122. 7 - drisyate cha vede 'na kāṇchana parihaṛet' iti Vāmadevya - vrataśca maithunārthinyāḥ striyāḥ pratyākhyānanīśedhah.
than the husband, though there is no formal sanction for
polyandrous marriage.

It is thus clear that the hypothesis of Indo - Aryan matriarchy cannot be established by adequate data.

The Vedic organisations, denoted by the words 'jana', 'gana' and 'gotra', exhibit a patriarchal and patrilineal structure. The conceptions of Pitaras (early patriarchs), Pitriyāna (the paternal way) and Pitṛiloka (the abode of the manes) point to descent from the male. The inferior position of goddesses in the Vedic pantheon is a reflection of the patriarchal background of Indo - Aryan society.

1 - KS 29. 8 - dve dve rasane yūpam ṭichchhatah tasmāt striyah pumāsah atiriktāh tasmāt .. ekah vahvīh jāyāh vindata na ekā vahūn patīn ; AB III. 2. 12 - tasmāt ekasya vahvyah jāyāh bhavanti naikasyai vahaveh sahapatayah ; J. Jolly does not disbelieve Aryan polyandry, but disallows the hypothesis of Aryan matriarchy, pp. 104 - 106, Hindu law and custom, Eng. Tr. by Batakrisna Ghosh.

2 - Vide Rv X. 14. 2 & VI. 22. 2 - pūrve pitarāh ; Av, Berlin ed., 18. 4. 1 - pitriyāṇaḥ ; 18. 4. 64 - pitṛilokam.
Section IV - Male progeny preferred in the Vedic household:

The Vedic household is called griha or dam; the householder is known as grihapati or dampati and in his role of the family patriarch designated as kulapa, while his female partner is spoken of as kulapā. He attaches much value to progeny and cattle which are counted as wealth. The sacrificial prayers contain earnest craving for children and cattle, but preference for the male child concurs with the needs of clan life. A son is termed

1 - Rv VI. 53. 2 - grihapatim.
2 - Rv V. 22. 4 - dampate; Sātya interprets the word as 'grihapate'.
3 - Rv X. 179. 2 - kulapāh.
4 - Av I. 3. 3. 3 - kulapa.
5 - JB I. 66 - prajanaṃ jyotih; II. 81 - Kasýapah vā akāmayata .. prajyā paśū .. prajyeya iti. sa etam yajñam apasyat; II. 108 - Manuh vā akāmayata valuḥ prajyā paśubbhih prajyeya .. sa etam yajñam apasyat; II. 89 - prajananakāmah ha etābhyāṃ yajeta.
6 - Rv X. 85. 45 - dasā asyāṃ putrān ādhehi patim ekādasāṃ kṛdhiḥ; Av V. 5. 4. 13 - pumāmsaṃ putram ādhehi; KS 18. 16 - asmabhyaṃ seahavīrāṃ rayim dāh; 17. 18 - Brihaspate suprajah viravantah vakṣam syāma patsyo rayinām.
vīra, who, being grown up, is expected to be seen in future as playing the role of a hero in cases of conflict between his clan and an enemy clan. A woman giving birth to a male child (vīraṅkuṣi) makes her position secure in the family. Living sons are coveted by a couple. In a Rigvedic hymn intended for the pregnancy ceremony the sacrificer and his wife are respectively addressed as 'putrakāma' (one who hankers after sons) and 'putrakāme' and directed to produce male children.

1 - The ideal wife is called vīrasū, see Av XIV. 2. 1. 17, 18; VS 7. 29 - suprajāh prajābhīḥ svām suvīrah vīrhīḥ;
2 - Rv X. 80. 1 - nārīṁ vīraṅkuṣim.
3 - Av XII. 3. 1. 35 - dampatī jīvantau jīvaputrau.
4 - Rv X. 183. 1 - 2; see also KS 9. 14 - yājāyet putrakāmam.
The son is regarded as the splendour of the house, while the daughter is a liability. A passage of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa states that the woman and the Sudra are unreal (members of society).

The inferiority of the daughter to the son and the subordinate position of woman give us the picture of the patriarchal set up of things.

Section V - Male lineage:

The Rigveda refers to the Pitaras or patriarchs. The passage by which the deceased ancestors make their post-mundane journey is described as the Pitriyāṇa and the world in which they dwell is called the Pitriloka.

1 - AB VII. 3. 1 - sāsvat putreṇa pitarah atyāyan vahulam tamah .. kripanam ha duhitā jyotih ha putrah; Sāyaṇa - kripanam kevaladuhkhakaritvāt dainyāhetuh.

2 - SB XIV. 1. 1. 31 - anritam stri sūdraḥ.

3 - Rv X. 14. 2 & VI. 22. 2.

4 - Rv X. 2. 7 - paṃthām aru .. pitriyāṇam ; Av, Berlin ed., 18. 4. 1 - pitriyāṇaiḥ ; also 18. 4. 62 ; in this connection see p. 55, Yama and Yami, V. A. Gadgil, JBBRAS (New series), vol. 20, 1944.

5 - Av, Berlin ed., 18. 4. 64 - pitrilokam ; also KS 3. 3 - pitriṣadanaṃ.
The Atharvaveda regards the family as patrilineal, since it counts three degrees from the father in an ascending line.

Counting up to the third degree seems to be in vogue in Vedic society. That is, the father and his two ancestors in the ascending line are taken notice of. In the descending line three degrees from the son are mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

The Kāṭhaka Samhitā in dealing with Pitṛiyajāṇa refers to three generations.

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1 - AV, Berlin ed., 18. 4. 35 - pitaram pitamahān prapitamahān; KS 38. 2 - punantu mā pitarah somaśāh. punantu mā pitamahān. punantu prapitamahāh; TB II. 6. 3 - pitribhyah svadhāvibhyah svadhā namah. pitamahebhyah svadhāvibhyah svadhā namah. prapitamahebhyah svadhāvibhyah svadhā namah.

2 - AB VII. 2. 10 - putrān pautron napṭṛṭin iti āhuh.

3 - KS 36. 13 - mamsyaṇān pitṛṇān yajati. trih nidadhāti. trīn hi idam purusān .. anvāchaṣte.
It appears that the sapinda relationship including three generations upwards and three generations downwards has been recognised in Vedic society. This relationship seems to be agnatic and gets clear expression in Baudhāyana’s definition of sapinda.

Baudhāyana maintains that the sapindas consist of three degrees from the father, one's own self, and three degrees downwards from the son.

Thus, the family line is considered as patrilineal and its basis is obviously patriarchal.

A deviation from this point of view seems to have taken place even in the Vedic age. Even cognates get entrance in sapinda.

1 - Baudh. Dh. S. I. 5. 11. 7 - api cha prapitāmahah pitāmāhah pitā svayam sodaryāh bhrātārah savarnayeḥ putraḥ pautraḥ prapautraḥ tatputrārjavām teṣām cha putraḥ pautraḥ avibhaktadāyaṃ sapindāṃ āchakṣate; see also Manu IX. 186 - trayānām udakom kāryam triṣu pindāḥ pravartate. chaturthāh sampradātā ēsāṃ pāchchāmah na upapadyate.
relationship. One aphorism of the Gohhila Grihya Sutra enjoins that the marriage of a sapinda of the mother is unlawful. From another aphorism attributed to the same author we come to know that three degrees from the father as well as the mother's father in the ascending line are counted in the Abhyudayika - sraddha ceremony. This extension of the sapinda relation to cognates is a later development and may perhaps be due to growing complications in Aryan society necessitating a definite change in the conception of kinship.

1 - Gohhila Gr. S. III. 4. 3 = 5 — amujñātah dārān kurvīta. asagotrān. mātuh asapindān.

2 - Gohhila Sraddhakalpa IV. 1-10 — atha abhyudayike sraddhe .. pitribhyah pitāmahebhyah prapitāmahebhyah mātāmahebhyah pramātāmahebhyah yṛiddha - pramātāmahebhyah svāhā uchyatām iti.
The sapindas, according to Gobhila, includes both agnates and 1 cognates. The sapinda relationship is more and more extended both in the father's line and in the mother's father's line according to requirements of time.

It is apparent that the Vedic family is based upon patriliny and the mother's side is taken into account in the later part of the Vedic age. This is made clear by the evolution of the implication of sapinda relation.

Section VI - Sagotra and sapinda:

As the founder of a gotra is a male, it indicates a clan which consists of his descendants. In other words, the constitution of a gotra is patrilineal and agnatic. Cognates cannot have a place in the gotra relation. As the size of the gotra - clan increases, it is divided into family - groups. Such a family - group at first

1 - Vide the saying of Paithinasi, as quoted by Raghunandana, p. 571, Astavimsati - tattvani, Udvaha - tattvam, sec. on Udvaha - nirnayah — 'asamāṇārṣeyīṁ kanyāṁ varayet pāṇcha mātrītaḥ pariharetaḥ sapta pītrītaḥ trīṁ mātrītāḥ pāṇcha pītrītāḥ vā' iti Paitihinasi - vachanaikavākyatvāt trīṁ pāṇcha iti āsurādiyivāhe eva viṣayam ; see also Mitakṣara on Yājñī I. 53.
consists of only sapindas who are agnates and live together. At this stage the sapinda relationship gives us the picture of family collectivism. Those who are sapindas jointly inherit property (immovables) from ancestors and probably have a common dwelling. In all appearances the sapinda kinship is conceived on the basis of gotra kinship in the first stage of its origin within the gotra. While the gotra is more extensive, the sapinda kinship has a narrower scope. With the growth of the size of the gotra - clan, its membership increases to such extent that living together becomes impossible; only then the division of the gotra into smaller sapinda groups takes place out of social necessity. We may guess that in the beginning all sapindas are also sagotras.

1 - Op. cit., Baudh. Dh. S. I. 5. 11. 7 ; according to Baudhāyana's definition, all sapindas are agnates and jointly inherit property (immovables); the Dāyabhāga quotes this Sūtra of Baudhāyana and remarks - idam cha sapindatvam sakulyatvam cha dāyagrahapārtham uktam, vide Dāyabhāga 125 - 126, pp. 279 - 281; Bhupendranath Datta is of opinion that the sapinda kinship reminds us of family communism; see p. 72, Bhāratiya samāja - paddhati, pt. III.
In its later import the term 'sapinda' is applied to both agnates and cognates.

Section VII - Inheritance in the male line:

The Brähmanas report that the sons inherit paternal property. It seems to be the early practice of Vedic society.

According to the Aitareya Brähmana the sons of Manu apportion paternal property among themselves without allotting a share to their brother Nābhānedistha. The same text...

1 - Op. cit., Govila Gr. S. III. 4. 3 - 5; also Mitākṣarā on Yājñ I. 52 - sapindaṭā cha ekasārīrāvayavānvayena bhavati. tathā hi putrasya pitrisārīrāvayavānvayena pitrā saha. evaṃ pitāmahādibhiḥ api pitṛdvāreṇa. 

evam mātrisārīrāvayavānvayena mātā. tathā mātamahādibhiḥ api mātrīdvāreṇa.

2 - AB V. 2. 9 - Nābhānedisthaḥ vai Mānavaḥ brahmacharyaṃ vasantam bhrātarah nirabhajan; Sāyana - pituḥ dhanaṃ ... vibhajentah tāṃ vālakāṃ nirabhajan bhāga - raḥitam akurvan; see also TS III. 1. 9 - Manuḥ putrebhyah dāyāṃ vyabhajat sa Nābhānedisthaḥ brahmacharyaṃ vasantam nirabhajat.
informs us that Visvāmitra speaks of transmitting his property to his adopted son Sūnahsēpa.

The Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa refers to inheriting paternal property by the sons and relates an incident of dividing paternal property by the sons of one who is living.

We know from the Taittiriya Samhitā that the father is in a position to deprive any one of his sons of his property or bequeath his property to the eldest son.

Baudhāyana and Āpastamya quote a passage of the Taittiriya Samhitā (III. 1. 9) and enjoin inheritance by sons.

1 - AB VII. 3. 5 - sa ha uvācha Visvāmitrah jyeṣṭhah me tvam putrāṇāṁ syāh ... upeyāḥ .. me dāyam ; also Sāyana’s com.
2 - JB I. 18 - tasya putrāḥ dāyam upayanti.
3 - JB III. 156 - tasmai ha uchuh. putrāḥ te bhagavah dāyam vibhajanta iti .. jīvataḥ asya putrāḥ dāyam upayanti.
4 - TS III. 1. 9, op. cit.
5 - TS II. 5. 2 - tasmāt jyestham putram dhanena niravasāyanti.
6 - Baudh. Dh. S. II. 2. 3. 2 - Manuḥ putrebhyaḥ dāyam vyabhajat iti śrutih ; Vivaraṇa comments - putragrahanāt pumsah eva vibhajat na duhituh.
As regards the woman's right to inherit property, opinions differ. Baudhayana quotes Sruti which denies such right. Āpastamva cites a view which admits the right of the daughter to inherit property in the absence of sons, but his own opinion is that in such a case a closely related sapinda is eligible for inheritance.

Yāska says that the vahni (son) and not the avahni (daughter) inherits paternal property. He also refers to the opinion of a school of thinkers who regard women as non-inheriting members of the family.

1 - Baudh. Dh. S. II. 2. 3. 47 - adayāḥ cha striyāḥ (striyah) matāḥ iti srutih.
2 - Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 4 - duhitā vā; Ujjvalā comments - duhitā vā dāyam haret, putrābhāve iti eke.
5 - Nir III. 4 - na duhitarah iti eke. 'taamāt pumān dāyadāḥ adāyādā stri'; V. K. Rajavade remarks that women could not claim a share in the paternal property in the age of Yāska; see p. 422, Yāska's Nirukta, vol. I.
The denial of the right to inherit paternal property in the case of women is due to the patrilineal pattern of the Vedic family. From textual evidences we know that sons and not daughters can inherit property. The natural reason would appear to be that the nuptial ceremony causes a transference of the daughter from the gotra - clan of her father to that of her husband and consequently she loses the qualification of becoming a legal heiress of her father.

We have noticed that either the father divides his property among his sons or the sons divide it among themselves. Such property or dāya seems to be consisting of movable articles. When Baudhāyana enjoins that the sapinda cannot divide (?) the inherited property, he probably refers to immovable property. In the conditions of a joint family of sapinda who are agnates, private ownership is perhaps allowed with regard to

1 - See p. 388, Saṃskāra - tattvam, sec. on Pāṇigrahaṇam, Aṣṭāvimsātitattvāni, - gotreṇa patigotreṇa 'svogotrāt bhraṣyate nāri vivāhāt saptame pade' .. iti vachanāt.

2 - Baudh. Dh. S. I. 5. 11. 7, op. cit.
movable articles. The joint family outlook is represented by a verse quoted by Mitākṣarā which belongs to a much later age. According to the statement of this verse the grandfather or the father is not considered as the owner of immovable property. Relying on it, we may guess that the Vedic family consisting of agnates is not indifferent to joint ownership of immovables.

1 - Mitākṣarā on Yājñ II. 113 quotes a verse - 'manimuktāpravālānām sarvasya eva pitā prabhuh, sthāvāsya tu sarvasya na pitā na pitāmahah', see p. 199; see also p. 209, ch. IV, sec. V, 577-578, Sūkraniti, Eng. Tr., - the father or the grandfather is denied authority over immovables; N. C. Sen Gupta maintains that the term 'sapinda' in its origin was confined to agnates and that 'there was no such thing as a joint family of the father and grown-up sons' in Vedic society; see p. 127, ch. XIII and pp. 141-142, Appendix, The evolution of law; what seems to be plausible is that the term 'sapinda' in its earlier import implies not only agnates, but also their membership of a joint family.
From the above analysis we may conjecture that

(i) the gotra of later Vedic age is divided into families which are sapinda groups;

(ii) the sapinda are agnates;

(iii) the family has a joint structure in which private ownership of movable articles is allowed;

(iv) inheritance in the male line is the general law and women are ordinarily denied the right of inheriting paternal property;

(v) consequently, the basis of the family is patriarchy and patriliny and not matriarchy and matriliny.

We have pointed out that the members of Vedic society bear patronymics and in a very few cases maternal designations. These metronymics do not indicate matriliny. Recognition by the mother's gotra does not seem to be a survival of Aryan matriarchy, since the gotra of the mother is a male name. As the gotras happen to be male names, the structure of the clan is patrilineal. Even a jana is found to bear a male name. This shows that the constitution of a jana is patriarchal. All these facts give us the picture of a patriarchal system.
Appendix - Vedic patronymics:

We mention below a number of paternal and gotra designations of the Vedic age:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Patronymic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Akūpārā</td>
<td>Āṅgirasī (of the Āṅgiras clan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ghora</td>
<td>Āṅgiras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Akūpārā</td>
<td>Kasyapa (of the Kasyapa clan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Śāmyu</td>
<td>Bārhaspatyā (of the Bṛihaspati clan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Śāmyu</td>
<td>Ātharvāna (of the Ātharvan clan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Chyayana</td>
<td>Bhārgava (son of Bṛihigu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Asita</td>
<td>Daivala (son of Devala)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Asvādamśtra</td>
<td>Vairūpa (son of Virūpa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Veṇusu</td>
<td>Vaisvāmitra (son of Vīṣvāmitra)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 - SNB 30. 6.
3 - JB III. 273.
4 - SNB 3. 8; Baudhāyana does not regard Bṛihaspati as a gotra name, see Baudh III. 17.
5 - GB I. 2. 18; Ātharvan is not regarded as a gotra name in the Sūtra tradition.
6 - AB VIII. 4. 7.
7 - JB I. 233; see also Baudh VII. 43.
8 - JB I. 191; see also the pravara of Rathītara gotra,
9 - JB I. 220; also Āsv. Sr. S. II. 6. 14 - Veṇūnām

Vaisvāmitra - Gāthina - Vaiṇava iti.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Patronymic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madhuchchhandas</td>
<td>Vaisvāmitra (son of Visvāmitra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syāvasva</td>
<td>Archanānasa (son of Archanānas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drīḍhachyut</td>
<td>Āgasti (son of Āgasti)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śakti</td>
<td>Vasiṣṭha (son of Vasiṣṭha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaurivīti</td>
<td>Śāktya (of the Śakti clan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vatsapri</td>
<td>Bhālandana (son of Bhālandana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pṛithu</td>
<td>Vainya (son of Vena)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divodāsa</td>
<td>Vadhryasva (son of Vadhryasva)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛihaduktha</td>
<td>Āṅgirasa (of the Āṅgiras clan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māndhātā</td>
<td>Yauvanāśva (son of Yauvanāśva)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 - JB III. 27; see also Baudh VI. 36, 37.
2 - JB I. 163; see also Baudh V. 27.
3 - JB III. 234; see also Baudh IX. 49 - 51.
4 - JB II. 392; see also Baudh VIII. 48.
5 - JB III. 197; see the pravara of Saṃkṛiti gotra, Baudh IV. 23.
6 - JB III. 81; see also Baudh X. 53.
7 - JB III. 25; see also Baudh I. 8.
8 - JB I. 222; see also Baudh I. 7.
9 - JB III. 219; see also Āśv. Sr. S. II. 6. 11 - Bṛihadukthānām Āṅgirasa - Bṛihaduktha - Gautama iti.
10 - GB I. 2. 10; see the pravara of Harita, Kutsa and other gotras, Āśv. Sr. S. II. 6. 12.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Patronymic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purukutsa</td>
<td>Aikṣvāka (of the Ikṣvaku clan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhuksit</td>
<td>Bharata (of the Bharata tribe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uchchaisravas</td>
<td>Kauravya (of the Kuru tribe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idā</td>
<td>Mānavī (daughter of Manu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nābhānediśṭha</td>
<td>Mānava (son of Manu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atidhanva</td>
<td>Śāunaka (of the Śunaka clan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medhātithi</td>
<td>Kāṇva (son of Kaṇva)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apālā</td>
<td>Ātreyī (daughter of Atri)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nodhā</td>
<td>Kākṣīvata (of the Kākṣīvat clan)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 - ŚB XIII. 5. 4. 5 ; see also Baudh IV. 20.
2 - JB III. 82.
3 - JB II. 280 ; the Viṣṇupurāṇa places Kuru in the Pūru - Bharata line, IV. 19. 18 ; the Purānic genealogy indicates that the Pūru and Bharata tribes have been united under a new name 'Kuru', vide p. 110, ch. VII, The Aryanisation of India, N. K. Dutt.
4 - TB I. 1. 4 ; see also Baudh X. 52.
5 - AB V. 2. 9 ; see also Baudh X. 52.
6 - JB I. 190 ; see also Baudh I. 9.
7 - PB 14. 6. 6 ; see also Baudh IV. 21.
8 - JB I. 220 ; see also Baudh V. 27.
9 - JB I. 147 ; see also Āśv. Śr. S. II. 6. 11 - Kākṣīvatām Āṅgirasa - Anūchathya - Gautama - Ausija - Kākṣīvata iti.