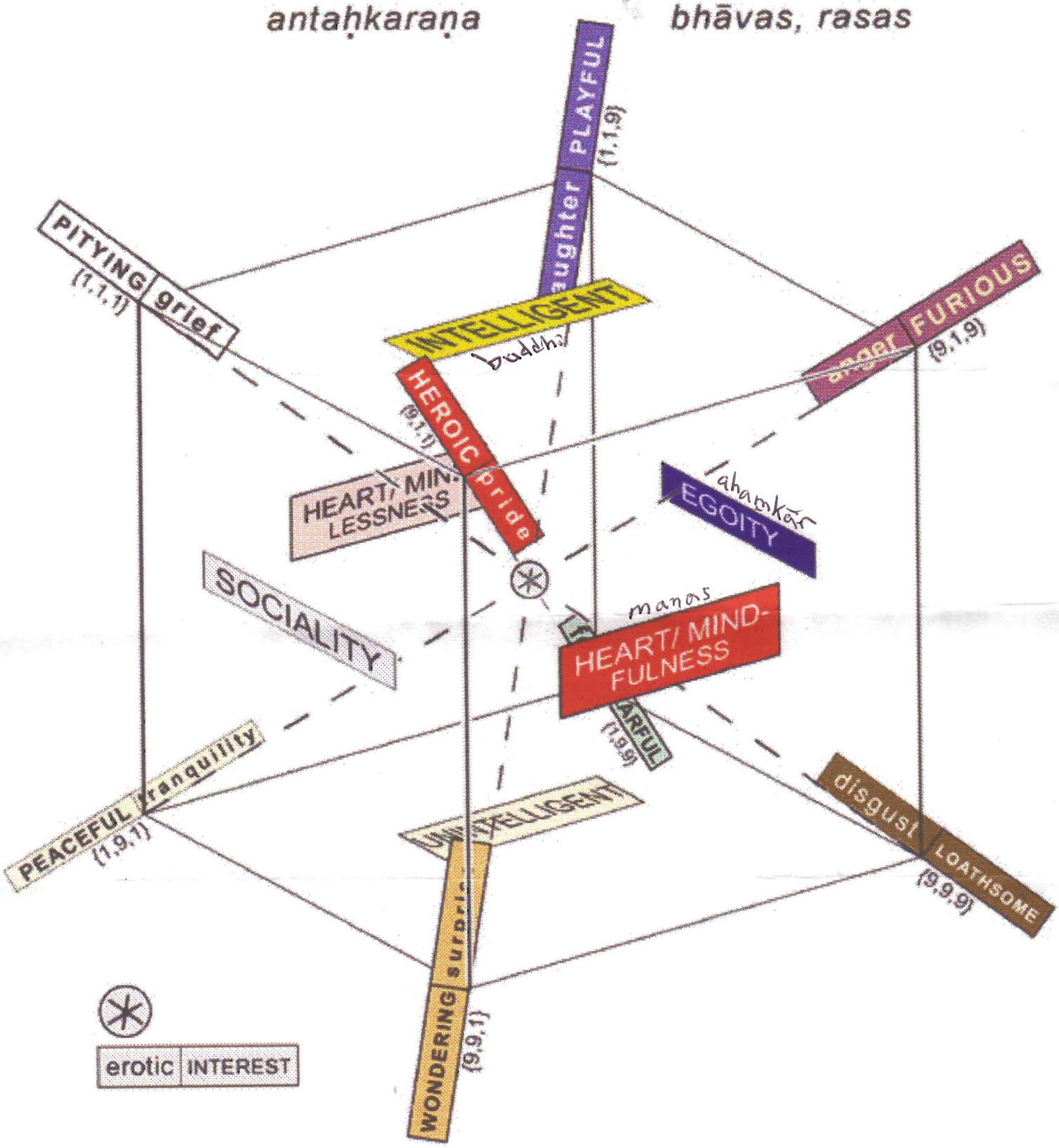
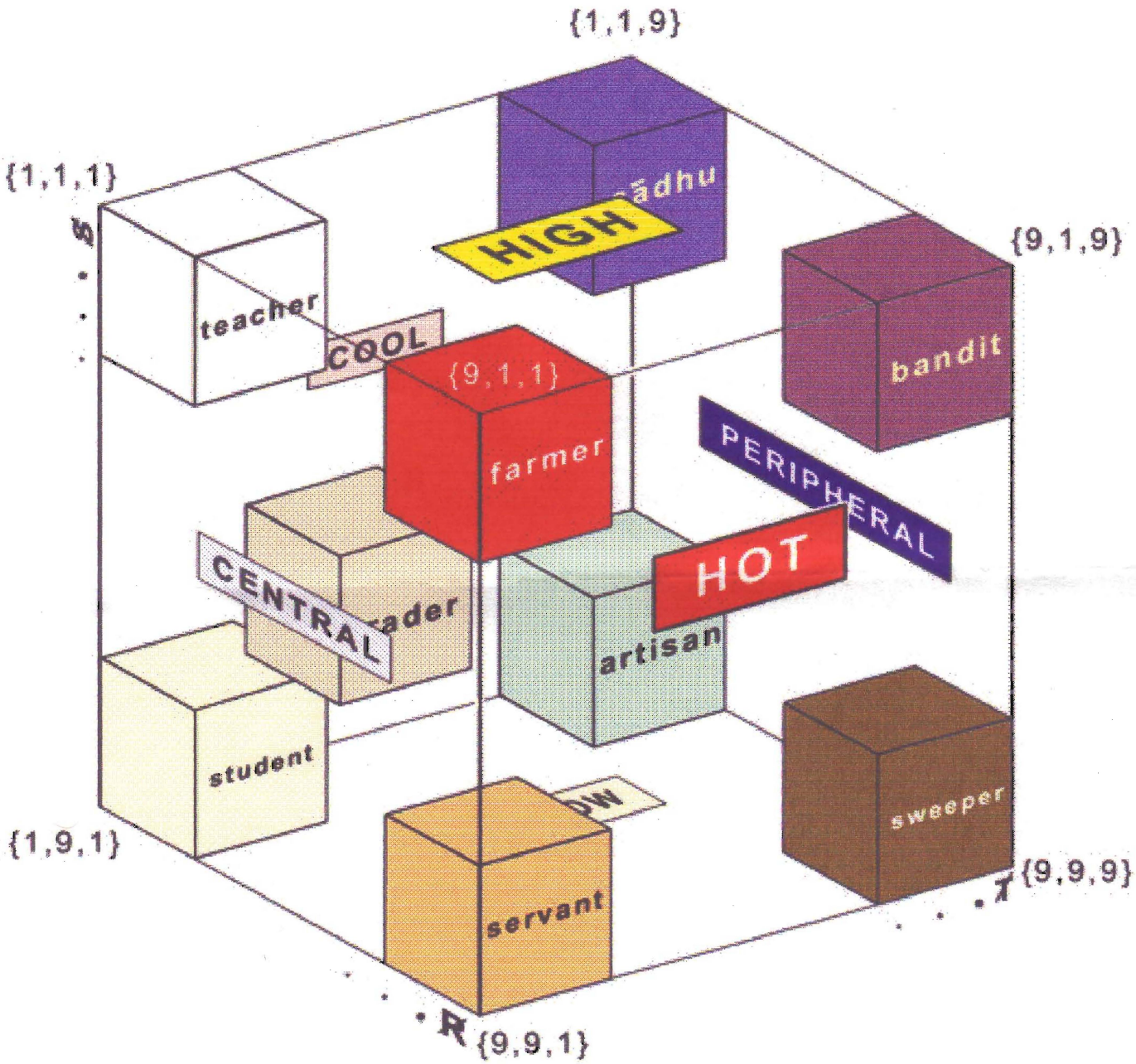
# psyche & affects

*antaḥkaraṇa* *bhāvas, rasas*



examples of

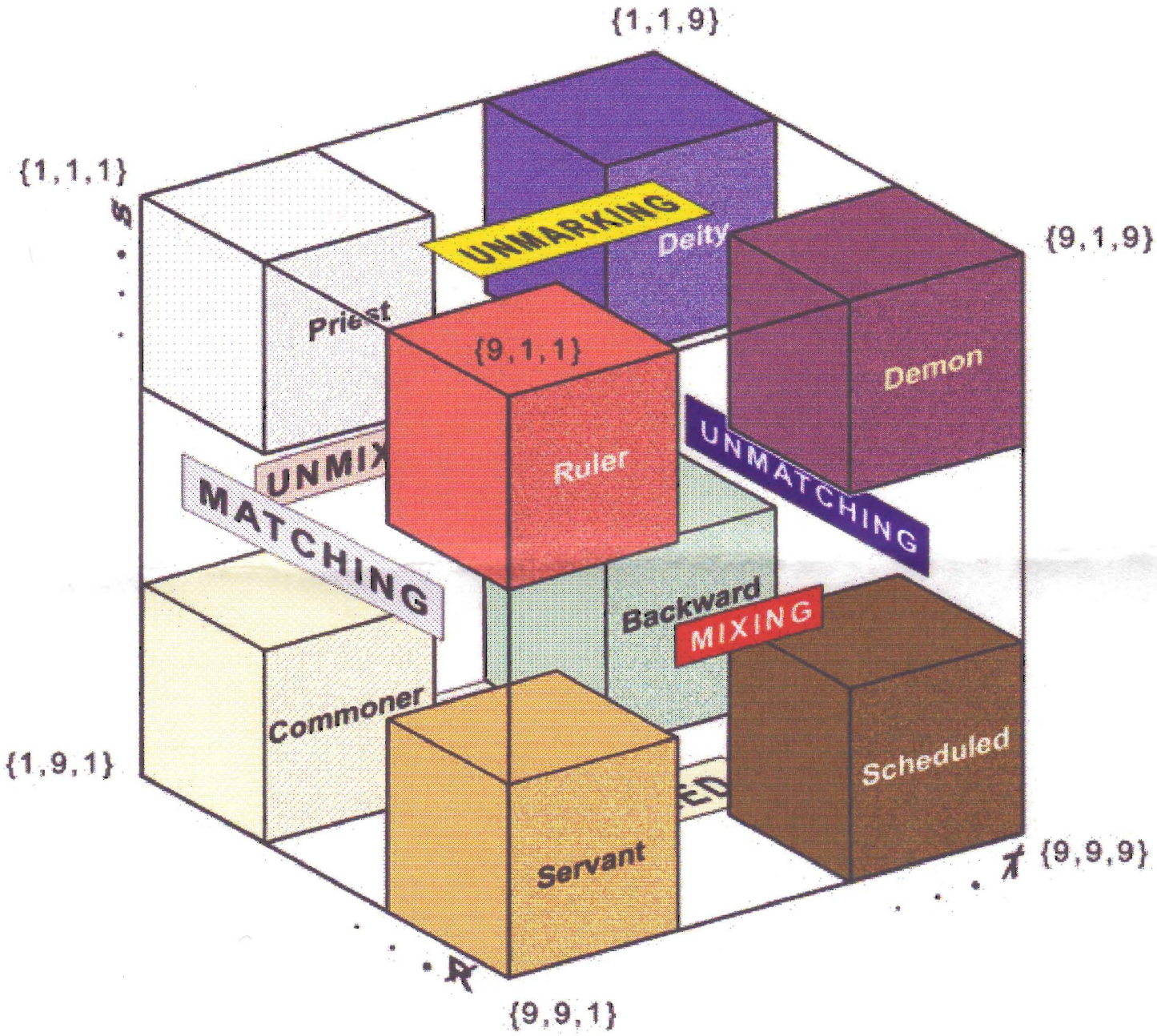
# occupations



20th c.

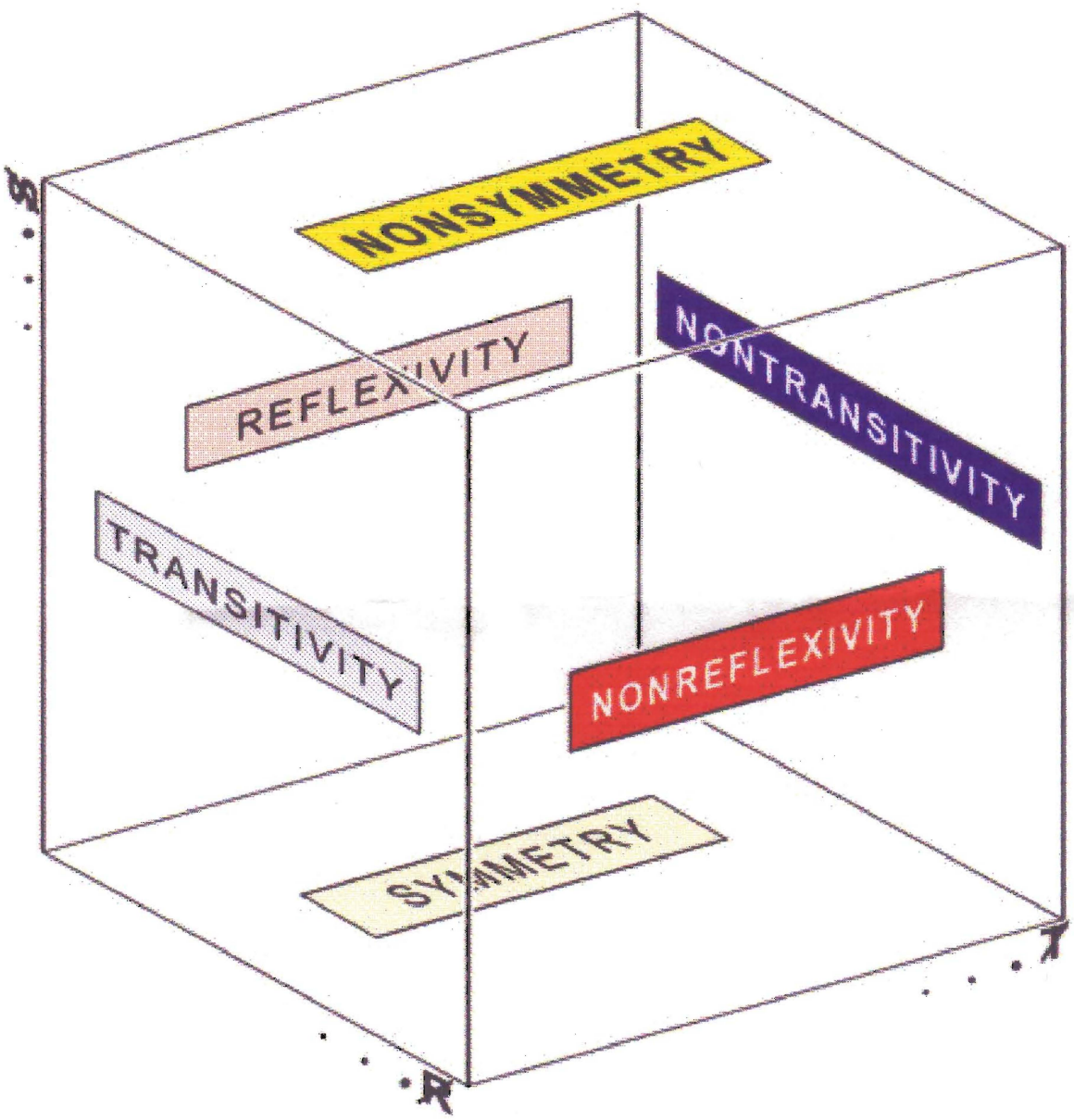
# classes

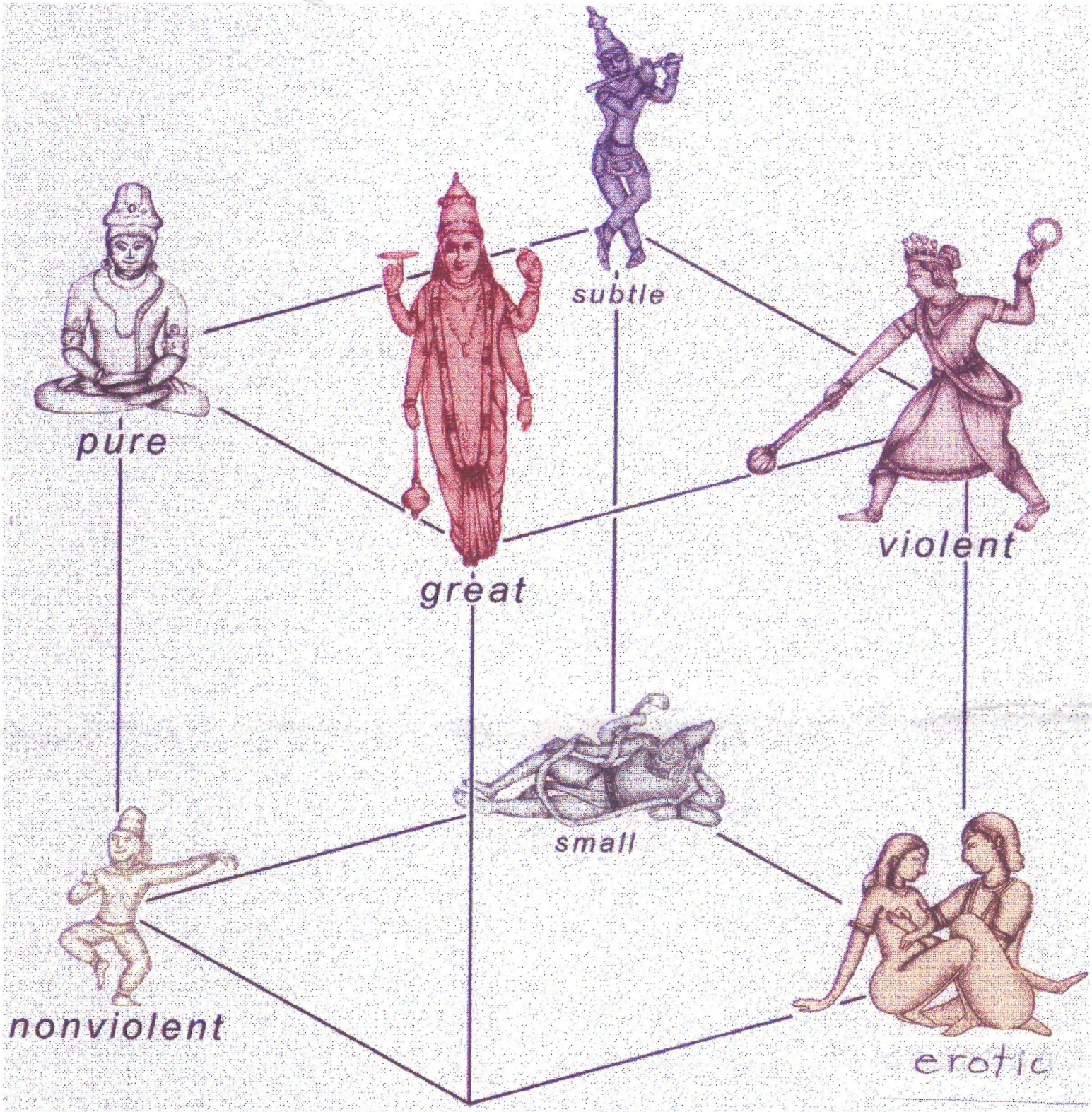
*varṇas*



# axioms compared

## EUROPEAN EQUIVALENCE and
## **INDIC ANTIEQUIVALENCE**






# forms of Viṣṇu

WULFF, DONNA MARIE. 1982. A Sanskrit portrait: Rādhā in the plays of Rūpa Goswāmī. *In* J.S. Hawley and D.M. Wulff, eds, *The divine consort: Rādhā and the goddesses of India*, pp. 27–41. Berkeley: Graduate Theological Union.

YALMAN, NUR OSMAN. 1963. On the purity of women in the castes of Ceylon and Malabar. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 93: 25–58.

ZIMMERMANN, FRANCIS B. 1983. Remarks on the conception of the body in ayurvedic medicine. *South Asian digest of regional writing* 8: 10–26.

# The female family core explored ethnosociologically

McKim Marriott

*Extended family households of South Asia distinguish their core female personnel as sexually active or inactive, junior or senior, and own or other. (i) Noting similar variables in the region's classical theories and elsewhere in its ethnography, and constructing from these a paradigm to assist further questioning, this paper finds (ii) eight major societal qualities generated by the same paradigm, (iii) eight corresponding domestic role-types, (iv) a common female life-course through those role-types, (v) characteristic relations of worship complementing that female life-course, and (vi) diverse related perspectives on male–female differences. So many results from questioning with this one paradigm make the common and congruent female family core a likely source of the civilisation's diversity as well as of its underlying assumptions.*

**Extended family households** of South Asia are being newly examined today from feminine perspectives. Long discussed as patrilineal[1] groupings of males and their dependents by male ethnographers (e.g., Madan 1965), comparative sociologists (e.g., Shah 1974), and critics (e.g., Kakar 1989), such households are now being observed, principally by female ethnographers, as having at their domestic cores groups of females. What makes observations of these groups most interesting is what makes them instantly recognisable as South Asian—their finding of an (at least) threefold internal differentiation by sexual activity, relative seniority, and variable belonging. That even these small, ubiquitous groups exhibit multidimensional logics that are peculiar to South Asia suggests again the need for an indigenous social science—an ethnosociology that can deal systematically (as conventional Western social science cannot) with the distinctive culture of the region.[2]

**McKim Marriott** is Professor Emeritus in the Department of Anthropology and in the Social Sciences Collegiate Division of the University of Chicago, 1126 East 59th Street, IL 60637, USA.

[1] Male landholding and patrilocality, virilocal marriage, and the consequent dependence of females upon males (Menon 1995; Reynolds 1980; Wadley 1995: 100) are all fundamental to the kinds of families discussed here, but typifying families as 'patrilineal' models only part of their structures (Uberoi 1995). Using the alternative common androcentric term 'patriarchal' would further ignore the separation of males, especially senior males, from the female domains of daily life (e.g., Lamb 1997; Papanek and Minault 1982).

[2] With editor Madan's encouragement, an outline of such an ethnosociology with specimens of its uses was first presented as vol. 23, no. 1 of *Contributions to Indian sociology*, then republished as a book (Marriott, ed. 1990); it was discussed critically in vols. 24, 25, and 26, and is further developed here.

*Contributions to Indian sociology* (n.s.) 32, 2 (1998)
SAGE Publications New Delhi/Thousand Oaks/London

# I

## *The general paradigm and its six components*

The three kinds of distinctions that women make in domestic groups are similar, respectively, to the distinctions of 'hot' and 'cold', 'high' and 'low', and 'near' and 'distant' that are repeated elsewhere throughout South Asian customary practice. They are, for example, much like the distinctions made within the best-known classical analytic sets of three or more variable properties—(a) *bhūta* 'elements' (ether, air, fire, water, and earth), (b) *doṣa* 'humours' (phlegm, bile, and wind), (c) *guṇa* 'strands' (goodness, passion, and darkness), and (d) *artha* 'aims' (coherence, advantage, attachment, and release) (Table 1). These sets are paradigmatic in the literatures of *sāṃkhya, āyurveda, dharmaśāstra*, and *jyotiśāstra;* in equivalent vernacular terms, their components and properties have been popularly understood as operative in most spheres of human life. Since the components are often treated by South Asians as mutually homologous, the sets are arranged here in parallel columns.[3]

Shared by all the classical sets (aligned with them in column [e] of the table) is an impartible set of three antiequivalent relational logics—nonReflexivity, nonSymmetry, and nonTransitivity.[4] The continuous variance expressed by each of these negatively prefixed terms fits well with the Hindu[5] assumption that all the ultimate components of the world are kinds of 'liquid substance' (*dravya*). Noting how this and other verbal, conceptual, and practical usages endow these components with motile tendencies as well as materiality (E. Daniel 1984; Larson 1987: 65–73; Marriott 1992: 270–73; Zimmermann 1983), I describe them (in column [f] as 'substantial processes', naming the top three (R) 'mixing–unmixing', (S) 'unmarking–being marked', and (T) 'unmatching–matching'.[6] In their definitions I attempt to summarise the kinds of actions that are commonly attributed to and shared by the terms in their rows.

[3] Exactly the alignments made here of sets (a), (b), and (c) have been reported independently from Nepal by Kondos (1982). My alignment of set (d) is supported by much ethnography and other indology, although it differs from the one stated in Manu 12.38 (Doniger and Smith 1991: 282), which is most often cited by today's scholars. Urdu equivalents for the Sanskrit terms of (a) and (b) are given by Pugh (1984).

[4] In contrast to the dichotomous assertion or denial conveyed by terms like 'symmetry' or 'asymmetry', whose use is preferred by most logicians, 'non-' terms like 'nonsymmetry' allow that both properties may exist within the same universe (Carnap 1958: 117–20). Such equivocal, or 'antiequivalent' axioms allow for South Asian diversity and better approximate the apparent (and from a Western perspective pessimistic, if realistic) assumption that all relations are more or less irreflexive, asymmetrical, and intransitive.

[5] 'Hindu' in this essay refers to people and institutions operating with the properties defined in columns (a) to (d) of Table 1.

[6] To facilitate cross-reference among the figures, the slashed letters (R) for nonReflexivity and mixing, (S) for nonSymmetery and marking, and (T) for nonTransitivity and unmatching are inscribed along their corresponding dimensions. Like the prefix 'non-', the slashes indicate that these terms are contraries of the standard 'logics of relations' concepts. The same initials happen to alliterate with the similar Sanskrit 'strand' terms *sattva, rajas, tamas*, except that the slashed S indicates more markedness and thus less, rather than more of *sattva* 'goodness'.

**Table 1**

***Derivations and definitions for a South Asian ethnosociology***

| *Distinctions in families among females* | *Classical analytic sets* | | | | | *Relational logics* | *Variable properties (defined as substantial processes)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Elements (bhūtas)* (a) | *Humours (doṣas)* (b) | *Strands (guṇas)* (c) | *Aims (arthas)* (d) | (e) | (f) |
| Active, erotic, hot | 3. Fire (*agni*) | 2. Bile (*pitta*) | 2. Passion (*rajas*) (R) | 3. Attachment (*kāma*) | 1. NonReflexivity | MIXING... (opening, intersecting expanding) |
| Less active, cold | less fire | less bile | passionless [*tapas*] | nonattachment (*niṣkāma*) | // reflexivity | ...UNMIXING (closing, isolating, condensing) |
| Senior, ascendant, high | 4. Water (*āp*) | 3. Phlegm (*kapha*) | 1. Goodness (*sattva*) | 2. Advantage (*artha*) | 2. NonSymmetry | UNMARKING... (outranking, neutralising pervading) |
| Junior, descendant, low | less water | less phlegm | less goodness (*asattva*) (S) | disadvantage (*anartha*) | // symmetry | ...BEING MARKED (outranked, differentiated, pervaded) |
| Other, distant | 2. Air (*vāyu*) | 1. Wind (*vāta*) | 3. Darkness (*tamas*) (T) | incoherence (*adharma*) | 3. NonTransitivity | UNMATCHING... (reversing, negating, separating) |
| Own, near | less air | less wind | less darkness [*tejas*] | 1. Coherence (*dharma*) | // transitivity | ...MATCHING (continuing, affirming, uniting) |
| House, womb, connection | 5. Earth (*pṛthvī*) | [body, tissue, channel] | [entity, group, person] | [heaven, *svarga*] | [example] | PLACING (reifying, limiting, contextualising) |
| Name, deity, force (*śakti*) | 1. Ether (*ākāśa*) | [emptiness, *śūnya*, pores] | [life force, *jīva*] | [dissolution, *pralaya*] | [definition] | SPACING (communicating, dispersing, decontextualising) |
| Self | 0. None of the above (*puruṣa*) | [soul, *ātman*] | [strandless, *nirguṇa*] | 4. Release (*mokṣa*) | [none] | CONSCIOUSNESS (invariance, nonrelationality, transcendence) |

For the table's construction, see Marriott (1989: 6–9). Set components are numbered as conventionally recited. Square brackets indicate interpolations.

(ℝ) 'Mixing' is an intersective, irReflexive process that increases entities' kinetic 'heat' (or energy) and size by opening them and increasing their external exchanges of markable properties; 'unmixing' works against mixing to promote reflexive 'coolness' by reducing entities' external exchanges, closing and condensing them, internalising their resources, potentialising their energies. (𝕊) 'Unmarking' and 'being marked' are aSymmetric processes by which entities rise or fall in relative ranking as they move less marked (i.e., more 'neutral' [Waugh 1982]), more penetrating or pervasive properties in a 'higher' direction, and more marked and differentiated, less penetrating properties in a contrary, 'lower' direction. (𝕋) 'Unmatching' processes are in Transitive changes or differences—actions considered to be alien or inappropriate to entities' own properties, whether actual, past, imagined, or desired. Unmatching processes reverse or negate properties and separate one entity from another, while the contrary, transitive 'matching' processes continue or affirm actual or desired properties and move entities toward merger or unity.

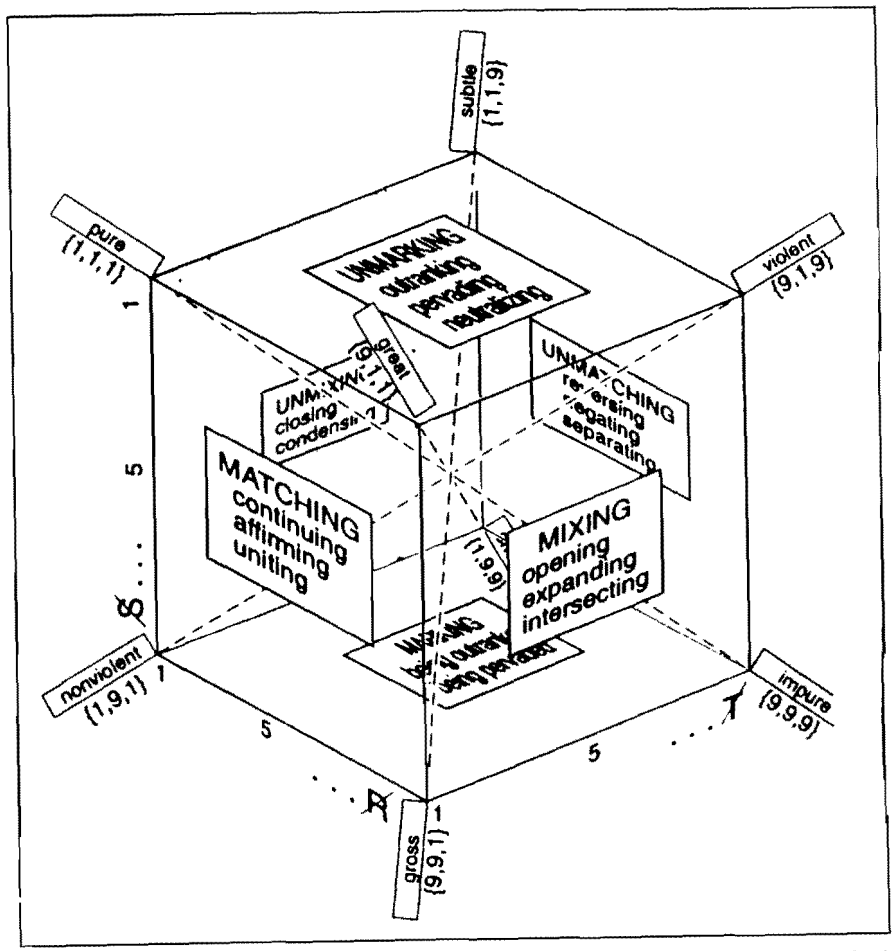
All the variables ℝ, 𝕊, and 𝕋 are assumed to compose every action and entity in some measure, so that while each is distinguishable and can vary in its incidence, each is found only in combination with the others. Thus the top three components in each column of Table 1 require common places where they can intersect as well as spaces where they can vary. These two background requirements, respectively satisfied in column (a) by the next pair of elements known as 'earth' and 'ether', are seen in such analogues as appear in those rows of the other columns. They are interpreted in the summary column (f) as processes of 'placing' and 'spacing', which raise the number of components to five. Placing is represented in the figures by the cubic outlines, spacing by the paper on which the diagrams are printed. In social life, the 'earth' process of placing is exemplified by collocations of the first three variables in such entities as worlds, regions, groups, households, families, persons, etc., and by the channels that connect such entities with each other. The spacing process (supplied by ether's property of emptiness) is evidenced socially by openings for communication and other action—notably for hearing, speaking, and the electronic media; these are vacuous but penetrating forces that move like *śakti*s (Wadley 1975: 53–58) within, among, and beyond all entities and places. 'Consciousness' or 'soul' (*puruṣa, ātman*) (Larson 1987: 73–83), a sixth, also intangible, variously named, but generally presupposed component, resides in and beyond all present and past lives; it may witness this page while simultaneously experiencing any or everything else, contingent on the other components.[7]

The reappearance of from three to six similar components in each of the sets and the three-dimensional 'property-space' (Barton 1955) which each set requires for its operation—these common features suggest that a construct like Figure 1 might fairly serve as the general paradigm of a comprehensive South Asian social

[7] This second trio of components facilitates the South Asian phenomenon that Ramanujan (1989) calls 'contextual sensitivity' and that Raheja illuminates ethnographically as 'shifting perspectives' (Raheja and Gold 1994: ch. 3).



**Figure 1**
***The general paradigm***




science (Marriott 1989).[8] It is offered as a device with which further empirical inquiry may proceed, generating questions that may be appropriate ones, and thus helping to perceive and describe much that has been real for 20th century people

[8] Algebraic, chromatic, kinetic, or hydraulic representations might all be appropriate for what is verbalised and tabulated above, but geometric diagrams are probably more easily grasped and published. To provide a system of coordinates (which should be understood as relative measures only), I use cubes calibrated from one (meaning 'less' of a property) to nine (meaning 'more') on each of their three dimensions. Each cube can be read like a book, first (ℝ) from left to right across the line, then (𝕊) from the top to the bottom of the page, then (𝕋) from the (left) front to the (right) back. The bracketed address of any place contains three numerals in the same order of ℝ (mixing), 𝕊 (marking) and 𝕋 (unmatching), so that an address such as '(9,1,1)' means $r = 9$, $s = 1$, and $t = 1$, and refers to the corner labelled 'great' in the cartouche attached to that address in each figure.

Following assertions that none of these analytics is ever completely absent from a given set and that no one ever completely displaces the others, also that the whole of anything cannot be known,

of South Asian culture. Like any other scientific tool, it needs critical testing: can the foregoing assumptions as to its form, properties, and applicability be either confirmed or denied? Does it produce valid answers and observations, or does it need to be reformulated? If it works, can it be extended to serve the next round of inductive studies?[9]

## II
## *Combining the components: Corner qualities*

Figure 1 illustrates this ethnosociology's deductive procedures: if the basic processual properties have been appropriately stated and diagrammed as orthogonally variable, then investigating the eight places where the contrary extremes of those properties combine—the corners of the metaphorical cube—should reveal diverse and triply significant contents.

Indeed, the variables' diverse corner combinations (which I shall call 'qualities') do form diametric oppositions that are extremely familiar to South Asians and to South Asianists of many disciplines. These diameters describe degrees of 'pure and impure', 'great and small', 'violent and nonviolent', also 'subtle and gross'. The continuing salience of these oppositions[10] may be attributed to the compelling logics by which they are continually reinforced through multiple experiences with the presupposed set of elementary processes.

In the {1,1,1} corner at the upper left front, the properties of mixedness and markedness are slight and actions are well matched, so the quality of '*purity*' should generally prevail there; conversely 'impurity' should prevail at the low, hot, diametrically opposite {9,9,9} corner where many mixings, markings, and unmatchings combine. '*Greatness*' is the quality to be expected at {9,1,1} where the most expansive, most energetically intersective entities raise and unmark themselves by marking others, thrusting themselves forward as more matched than the 'others' to their rear; conversely where such actions are few, as at the diametrically opposite, rear corner {1,9,9}, one expects 'small', cool entities, little involved in exchanges, weighed down by markings, themselves loosely assembled of unmatching actions. Actions and entities of '*violent*' quality may be expected at {9,1,9}, where as with greatness, the heat and strength of mixing may be used to mark others beneath it, but

the figures eliminate the zero base-points that are conventional in graphing and extend their numerals only as far as 9—not to the decimal wholes implied by numbers such as 10 or 100. (The diagrams herein were executed by Catherine Sexton.)

[9] Readers of previous publications on this paradigm (Marriott 1989, 1991) should note some changes: elaborations of the corners where the first three components combine (Figures 1 and 2), kinetic treatments of relations among them (Figures 3 to 5), revised definitions and greater use of the earth and ether components *passim*, also mutually offset variants of the whole property-space (Figure 6). The form and presumed universal applicability of the paradigm have not so far had to be revised.

[10] In our time, 'purity' and 'impurity' continue to divide persons—vegetarians from carnivores, teetotalers from alcoholics, caste from caste. People of 'great' wealth, privilege, and numbers dominate 'small' followers, weaker minorities, and the poor. Tactics of 'violence' and 'nonviolence' are deployed on many scales. Religious and secular definitions of the nation, astrology and astronomy, faith and science, continue to exemplify numerous contentions between 'subtle' and 'gross'.



in disorganising—negative, separative, reversing—ways; at the opposite {1,9,1} corner, the lower and lesser entities that could be victimised (marked) by violence may prefer to shrink into unmixing cool in order to maintain matched, 'nonviolent' qualities. Whatever is at {1,1,9} shares a similar unmixing coolness and diminutive stature, but may also claim superiority through its unmarkedness and its distance from ordinary affairs—in effect its qualitatively '*subtle*' power; its 'gross' opposite, at {9,9,1}, is made large, warm, and familiar by open mixing, and is marked by many superiors, yet remains well matched within the centrally established order.

Notice that each of these eight qualities has three components, as may be illustrated by common talk about the 'purity' of things at the {1,1,1} corner such as ghee (clarified butter)—a quintessentially pure substance. Ghee is commonly praised for (ℜ) its 'cool', self-sufficient, resistant (i.e., unmixing nature), (𝔖) its refined, penetrating, unctuous (i.e., self-unmarking) capacities, and (𝔗) its lasting, incorruptible freshness (i.e., matchedness). Of this purity definition that fits ghee so well, one third—the unmixing component—may be extended to cool substances such as refined white sugar in the adjacent 'subtle' corner at {1,1,9}, although sugar's easy fermentation proves its corruptibility. The unmixing component of ghee's purity may on the other hand be attributed to gentle ('nonviolent') comestibles like rice water at {1,9,1}—a substance which is cool and not so easily fermented, but which as a residue of cooking lacks ghee's refinement—its unmarkedness. At a third angle, a purity of just the refined, superior kind may be attributed to a substance like unclarified butter, which is strengthening and costly ('great'), but also 'heating'. As each of the three components of ghee's 'purity' thus extends to adjacent corners, so the adjacent corners' partly similar qualities—subtlety, nonviolence, and great power—are commonly attributed to ghee itself (e.g., Alter 1992: 120, 126, 129).[11] Such qualities and their overlappings—all results of this world's (at least) three-dimensionality—systematically generate differences of perspective and perception, differences that should be conspicuous also among female role-types, according to the paradigm's logics.

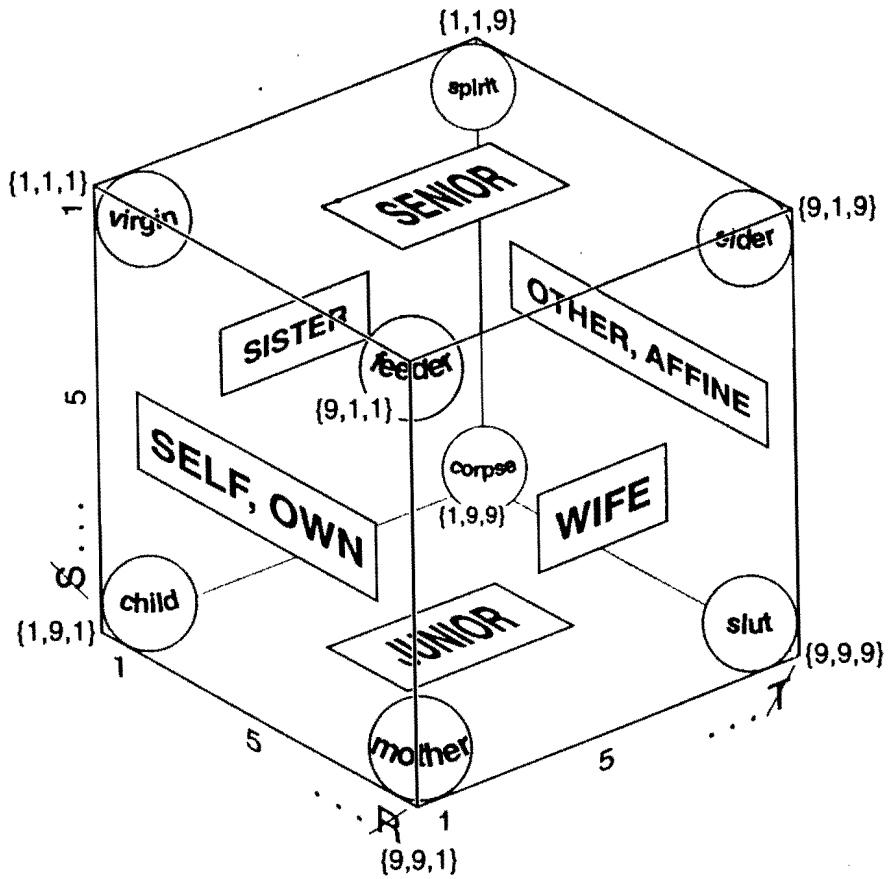
## III
## *Female roles and activities in the domestic core*

If questions about the eight qualities generated above are transposed to the domestic realm, they are readily answered by the eight corresponding female role-types in the corners of Figure 2.[12] Reading those corners in the order in which one reads a book, I attempt here to fill them with what I learn from the ethnographies.

[11] Conflation with adjacent loci also occurs with ghee as a dietary item. Being considered an appropriate food for priests and teachers whose role-types may be placed at {1,1,1} (Lynch 1990: 104), it is thought suitable in lesser amounts also for gods, children, and rulers, whose roles are at adjacent corners; but it is unsuitable for others who are more distant—servants, slaves, criminals, junglis.

[12] The brief labels invented here for the corner clusters of components that I call 'role-types', like those previously attached to the corners' qualities, follow some actual verbal usages, but are not intended fully to describe the corners, qualities, or roles, much less to represent as uniform what is in fact terminologically varied.

**Figure 2**
***Family role-types***




Beyond the initially subtle, theandric {1,1,9} state of infancy that some envisage (Minturn and Hitchcock 1963: 105; Misri 1986: 128–29, 131), the female who is 'purest' in all three senses is surely the nubile *virgin* at {1,1,1} (Wadley 1976: 155).[13] She is preserved as far as possible in a matching state, shielded from social mixing (Das 1979: 93; David 1980: 100–104; Jacobson and Wadley 1977: 37), often bathed and perhaps nourished on cooling foods, she is also kept relatively neutral, receiving fewer markings from her seniors than her brothers do through their outside work and additional samskara rites (M. Davis 1983: 96; Inden and

[13] The intense efforts by Rajputs to maintain what they call the 'honour' (*izzat*) of their virgin daughters (Minturn 1993)—efforts which might suggest actions more like those of the 'great' feeder at {9,1,1}—appear in fact to differ only verbally from what others call 'purity'



Nicholas 1977: 57–62; Jacobson and Wadley 1977: 35; Lamb 1997: 290–91; Menon 1995: 143, 166, 238–44). 'Greatest' in domestic influence is the *feeder* at the house and storeroom door {9,1,1} who commands the cooking and distribution of food to most others, notably including the domestic deities (David 1980: 113–21; Khare 1976: 70–93, 224, 253–54; Menon 1995: 261–68).

'Nonviolent' is a descriptor that is perhaps most applicable to the girl *child*, whose place is logically at {1,9,1}, below her senior, the nubile virgin. Her adjacent, earthbound *mother* at {9,9,1}, an icon of nourishment if she is pregnant or nursing, socially expanded if she is attending to youngsters, would have the strongest claim on the epithet 'gross'.

Moving now to the rear of the property-space, the 'subtlest' females of the household at {1,1,9} are undoubtedly the deceased, now invisible wives whose cool *spirits* have been absorbed namelessly into the collectivity of lineage ancestors (Lamb 1992: 290–303, 357–61). Among close contenders for accommodation in the subtle corner, however, may be those living wives who have secretly outwitted their husbands in money or love at {1,1,9} (Bonner 1991; Doniger 1994; Raheja and Gold 1994: 39–72).

Most likely to be 'violent' in her feelings—angry, aggressive, possibly suicidal—is the living, but peripheralised *elder* at {9,1,9} who sometimes aims hot, disordered criticism toward her juniors or the neighbours (Lamb 1997: 286–89; Menon 1995: 279–86).

Of 'small' social merit, at least in those classes where she is counted as the corrupt half-body of her deceased husband, is the *corpse*-like widow, also the sick or barren woman, all relegated to the {1,9,9} corner (Dhruvarajan 1989: 31, 92; Kolenda 1982b: 240–42; Lamb 1997: 292–95; Wadley 1995).

However essential to the family's continuance, the junior wife (or '*slut*', as some mothers-in-law designate her) performs sexual, reproductive, and infant care duties—all hot, low, unmatching tasks that tie her to the 'impure' site of {9,9,9} (Menon 1995: 148–49, 244–61; Raheja 1995: 49–50). Menstruating women may join her there periodically (Das 1979: 91; Egnor 1980: 28; Moore 1989: 173, 178, 196).

Daily activities in the household also readily respond to questions derived from the general paradigm and its qualities. 'Greatness' at {9,1,1} comes from the feeding of others, 'grossness' from being fed at {9,9,1}. 'Violence' occurs in quarrelling or working at rough tasks near {9,1,9}, 'subtlety' in play at {1,1,9}. 'Small' activity occurs during idleness or sleep at {1,9,9}, 'impure' activity in coupling, excreting, or carousing at {9,9,9}. Temporary 'purity' at {1,1,1} may be regained by an unmarking, heat-reducing, orderly bath which one may receive at {1,9,1}. For each of these activities women commonly develop routine procedures and places, thus reifying parts of the above paradigm (e.g., Moore 1989). Such recurrent activities and loci, together with the common role-types inventoried above, work as ever-present sources of awareness and concern with the paradigm's qualities. They are

reinforced further by the corresponding principal sentiments and emotions[14] of Indian dramatic and devotional theory (Rangacharya 1996: 53–67; Sinha 1961: 307–13, 432–35) and by the similarly patterned genres of women's stories, songs, and dances—blessing, celebrating, praising, begging, joking, insulting, cursing, crying, lusting, etc., reported by Trawick (1986) and by Raheja and Gold (1994: 39–67, 125–48).

So much apparent replication of the general paradigm among persons in the family core may suggest that a single outlook is being imposed. As shown in the example of ghee, however, three-dimensionality multiplies overlappings and perspectives and offers many different possibilities of interpretation. The contraries that are paired in the diagrams and table, the differing orders of recitation for the elements, humours, strands, aims, and sentiments all deny any one hierarchy. No single value, no one or two points of view or lines of analysis, however accurately depicted, can fully or definitively describe action within such a property-space—not the difference between wives and sisters highlighted by Bennett (1983), nor the tyranny over young wives by their marital kin stressed by many critics, nor any single quality, such as purity (Yalman 1963), even if assisted by a shifting, ego-relative value such as auspiciousness (Harlan and Courtright 1995: 5–8). Multiple contextualised views and larger syntheses are needed (Ramanujan 1989) and are richly supplied by Gold (1995), Raheja (1995,1998), Raheja and Gold (1994: 3–13), and Trawick (1986, 1988).

More than most males', a female's mixings may be seen as variable through time and space (S. Daniel 1980: 63; Jacobson 1977; Kemper 1980: 751; Lamb 1997: 290–92, 295). Since her markings depend more on others' markings, and since evaluations of her matchings differ with the perspectives of those evaluating her, each of these interpersonal contexts must be specified before her action at any moment can be stated or fully interpreted. Raheja shows how within either her natal or her marital house, a married women may be defined by rapid ritual turns as some residents' 'own' daughter, sister, or mother, then as 'alien' to those same residents, even if she is a current resident, because she is at some time also an affine—a wife, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, or mother-in-law. Raheja interprets such shifts among overlapping categories as evidence of North Indian women's 'double' kinship perspective (Raheja and Gold 1994: 73–120), a perspective which expands to triple or more when affiliation with a mother's natal family is also invoked (Madan 1965: 209–13).[15] Married women themselves may interpret their multiple but attenuated ties negatively–as proof that a wife fully belongs nowhere (Raheja 1995: 37, 1998; Trawick 1991: 236–45). Intensely overlapping

[14] The corners (in book order) should give rise to the following eight classical sentiments: {1,1,1} pity, {9,1,1} pride, {1,9,1} tranquility, {9,9,1} surprise, {1,1,9} laughter, {9,1,9} anger, {1,9,1} fear, and {9,9,9} disgust. *Śṛngāra* 'interest', a ninth sentiment that is arguably the source of all the others, might be located medially at about {5,5,5}.

[15] The marriage diagrammed in the centre of Figure 4 makes the bride an affiliate of two families, A and B. The marriages shown at the left and right margins of the same figure suggest how brides may at times calculate their affiliations with as many as four families.



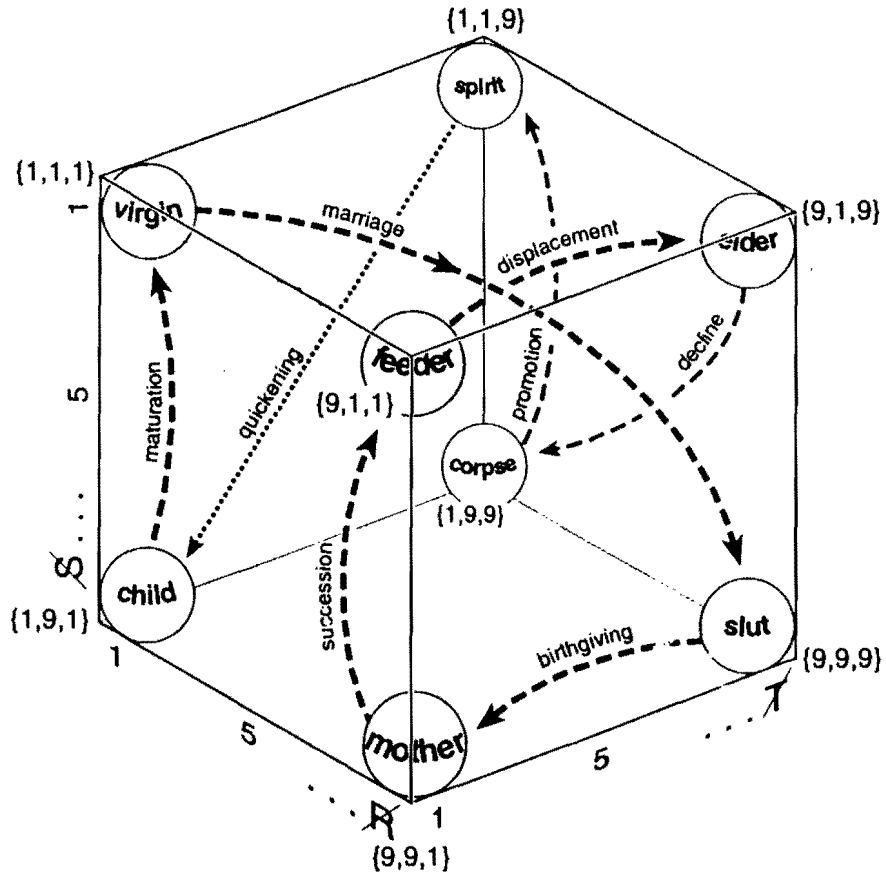
and contending calculations of female kinship are even more elaborated in the two- and three-dimensional South Indian networks presented by Trawick (1988, 1990: 117–86). These alternative perspectives enhance at an intimate level the multivocality for which India is justly famed.

## IV
## *Life-courses: Syntactics of the property-space*

Since the extremities and ambiguities of female roles thus typify a general paradigm for South Asia, should not movements among such role-types similarly reveal the diverse syntactics of that world? The evidences reviewed below indicate that they can.

As mapped in Figure 3, females' lives appear to develop mostly by short, orthogonal shifts up, down, and around the cube, usually along just one edge at a

**Figure 3**
***Female life-course***



time, stopping at an adjacent corner. While each of these eight common moves involves changes and is thus somewhat unmatching, five out of the eight moves are minimal, reversing only one of the three role- or quality-components. Two moves reverse two components by longer, diagonal paths—the transmission of a subtle life-force from a spirit source to a foetus or neonate (from {1,1,9} to {1,9,1}) (Gold 1987: 79, 201, 260; Misri 1986: 127; Trawick 1990: 274) and the decline of an elder from {9,1,9} toward death at {1,9,9}.

A major exception to the shortness of female moves is marriage. Although begun early in the South by the celebration of a virgin's 'flowering' (Good 1990; Kolenda 1984), and not followed there by such remote journeying as in the North, marriage everywhere effects a female's displacement from her natal household and her diametric, three-dimensional qualitative transition from virgin to slut, albeit joining a husband who is senior to her in another household that may be unmarked as 'higher' (Figure 4). The former virgin of {1,1,1} may be briefly celebrated as such in her marital household, even as its regnant goddess at {9,1,1} or {1,1,9} (a moment omitted from Figs. 3 and 4), but she is soon mixed and marked with the somewhat unmatching substance of her husband, and thereby lowered beneath him to {9,9,9} (Das 1979: 95–96). Here the paradigm's geometry corresponds well with cultural recognition, for its depiction of marriage as the longest, most unmatching leap of the female life-course correlates with the fact that in all regions marriage is ritually the most elaborated of female moves (Trawick 1990: 149). Like rituals at death, birth, and other disjunctures, the costly rites of marriage counter this drastically unmatching personal transition with vigorous actions of rematching.[16]

As a new wife succeeds at childbearing and gradually reduces her frequently unmatching tasks of infant care, she makes her way both forward to motherhood at {9,9,1}, and then upward toward the role of chief feeder and female ritualist at {9,1,1}—a role whose virtue Oriyas praise as 'distributivity' (*dāyitva*). Reverential actions such as massaging the legs, or washing the feet of her mother-in-law and drinking the washings, match her as well as mixing and marking her with superior properties from that senior source (Menon 1995: 26–27, 249). Women say that their sense of well-being is greatest while approaching this central peak of female life (ibid.: 204–207, 220), located as it is at the junction of Figure 2's three most preferred aspects—'senior', 'wife', and 'self'.

Motherhood at {9,9,1} and the roles adjacent to it during this middle phase of the female life-course offer the relational experiences most favoured by Oriya women, according to Menon's inquiries in old Bhubaneshwar. Being a mother is relished similarly by the women with whom Gold lived in rural Rajasthan, since

[16] Herself an irreversible *dāna* 'gift' to her less matching marital family, a bride may convey whatever is unmatching or *aśubh* 'inauspicious' in her natal family (Raheja and Gold 1994: 74–86); as receivers of such a gift, her marital family, too, may be anxious about the processes of matching.

The elaboration of marriage must also be understood as a celebration of *jāti* in the word's two senses of 'birth' and 'caste', since strings of maritally linked families like those in Figure 4 are the materials from which such cautiously mixing, marking, and matching communities of South Asia are continually reborn.

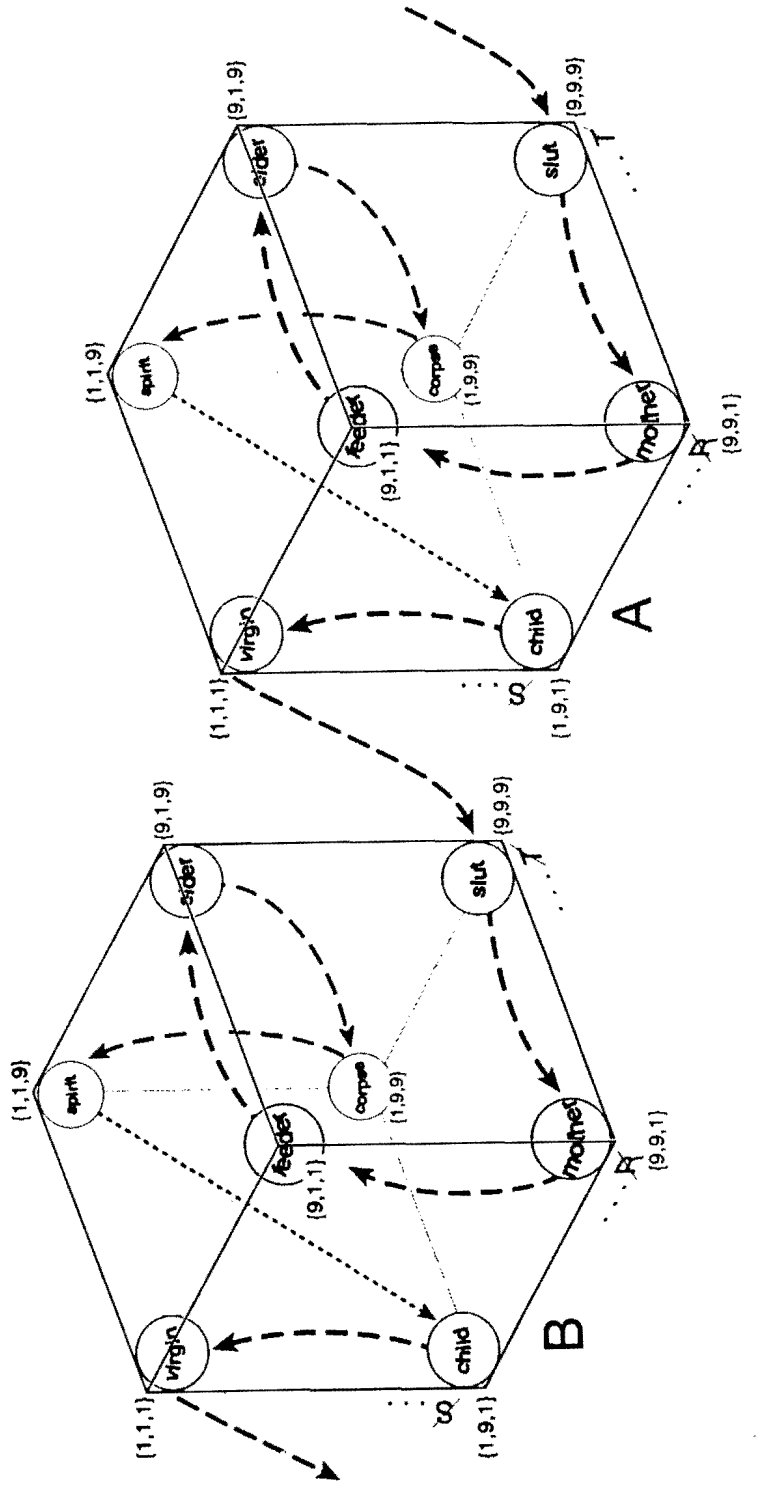



**Figure 4**
*Marriage and life-course*

in addition to reducing her messier duties of child care, anyone in that central and expansive corner can enjoy passive, succorant behaviour at {1,9,1}, yet may still have access to erotic pleasure at {9,9,9}, and is also occasionally privileged to perform senior group-nurturing and group-preserving functions at {9,1,1} (Raheja and Gold 1994: 31–38, 44; Vatuk and Vatuk 1967,1979).

Opportunities for combining or moving among these role-typed activities cast doubt upon interpretations by previous scholars who have reasoned only with Western psychologics (and with largely male reports); they have seen South Asian women as painfully 'split' between virginal purity and mature sexuality, {1,1,1} vs {9,9,9} (e.g., Hershman 1977; Kakar 1978: 79–112; 1989: 17–20; O'Flaherty 1980: 239–80). But giving or receiving nurturance at {9,1,1} or {9,9,1} and acting with anger at {9,1,9} are not so far apart for feeders as they seem to analysts who project incompatible 'breast' and 'tooth' aspects of motherhood from infant experience (O'Flaherty 1980: 90–91; Ramanujan 1986: 55). In a world of at least three intersecting dimensions, not all roles need be conceived as contradictory, for they are intercommunicating and share components that are easily joined (Kurtz 1992: 55–89, 143–52).

But once a wife attains at {9,1,1} the role of chief feeder in an extended family, she may find that the two-step path back to sexual and reproductive activity at {9,9,9} is blocked, for on that path she will confront other, more junior women who aim to unmark themselves by bearing offspring and succeeding her. Competition among adjacent wives along this channel among {9,9,9}, {9,9,1}, and {9,1,1}, is in fact parlous (Bennett 1983: 180–81; M. Davis 1983: 129–30; Raheja 1998). A once-dominant feeder wishing to avoid such conflict and wishing more broadly to reduce her own mixing usually shifts toward a celibate *sādhvī* role (Lamb 1997: 288). Shown in Figure 5 along the marriage diameter at about {2,2,2} is a virgin's rejection of marital sexuality; a senior feeder's move toward celibacy would place her rather along the top front at about {5,1,1}, midway between feeder and virgin, where she may combine degrees of both greatness and purity.

Displaced in the unmatching course of time from the feeder's duties by a junior successor, a woman who retains much personal heat from her former distributive and reproductive roles may continue dominating others verbally, operating from the agonistic top rear corner titled 'elder' at {9,1,9}. Self-cooling by change of clothing style, diet, ritual, location, etc., are among the widely recommended remedies (Lamb 1997: 292–93). Overheated and unmatched female elders may otherwise be reputed as witches who are particularly dangerous to their diametric opposites—foetuses and children at {1,9,1} (Bardhan 1990: 110–27; Carstairs 1983: 14–25, 56–57; Kolenda 1982a). As an elder woman's resources shrink and as her mixing, marking, and matching distributions dwindle she inevitably declines along a diagonal course toward death at {1,9,9}.

Still further moves are faced by widows—women terminally unmatched from their spouses—whose large population is a product of the demand for young, unmarked brides. Like widows, women who lack offspring whom they can mark are also liable to be nudged by family members toward the low, cold corner of {1,9,9}. There the homonymy between words for 'widow' and 'prostitute' tells



that a woman's search for a new partner could bring additional markings to her family from outside males (Das 1979: 97–98; Lamb 1997: 293; Minturn 1993: 235–36). Her recoupling within, or extrusion from her deceased husband's family are alternatives (Dhruvarajan 1989: 95; Wadley 1995), but her remaining there in active dedication to some superior deity or spirit offers a third exit from the widow's corner–one that can be matching for all concerned without her remating (Minturn 1993: 236–38). Courtright (1995) and Gupta (n.d.) report that such devotion can shift a widow back toward the properties of a child or virgin, bringing her peace and virtually completing a living cycle of the domestic property-space. Oldenburg (1991) describes prostitutes who, similarly lacking husbands, themselves elicit such unmarking devotion from their clientele that they may be raised to occupy spirit-like {1,1,9} roles.

Unmarked and unmixed after her death by the rematching ritual efforts of her survivors, a decedent married woman's soul may be merged with her husband's ancestral spirits at {1,1,9}. From that collectivity, if it is benevolent, new life-forces are expected to descend to quicken embryos in the family's wombs (Gold 1987: 66, 91, 96, 255–60; Harlan 1992: 140, 156; Mines 1989; Steed 1955: 140; Vatuk 1990). Marking processes operating thus through a family's ultimately circular life-course channel may be conceived as sustaining it through time, as an organic growth.

Striving through this channel from role to role, females circumscribe the core of the family and in so doing help to propel those ahead of and behind them. By providing the nurturant routines or samskaras that remark and advance their juniors, seniors of both sexes also make self-unmarking, downward transfers of properties that deplete their own capacities for further economic and reproductive expansion; while thus exhausting themselves and vacating their former roles, they may ask the juniors whom they are leading to reciprocate with later care. By such transactions members construct the interpersonal 'network of attachments' (*māyājāl*) (Lamb 1997: 283–86; Vatuk 1990) which supports the life-course channel.

Certain backward moves, or failures to move, may be counted as unmatching for the family because they block the progress of others ahead of and behind them in this main channel. Thus the failed marriages of Mira Bai (Harlan 1995: 214) and Balasatimata (Courtright 1995: 195) (represented by the *sādhvī* in Figure 5), who both devoted themselves fervently to gods or spirits at {1,1,9} and thus became exemplars to some women, also prevented their parents' repose and might have delayed any younger sisters' marriages. Similarly a wife's childlessness, absence, or early death may deprive senior females of a follower who could advance them in their life-cycles by helping to unmark and unmix them, and ultimately to unmatch them from this world (Vatuk 1990; Wadley 1995). So also untimely deaths, particularly those of mothers or children, or of others who have not detached themselves from life, produce ghosts that linger nearby and can obstruct a variety of other moves (Gold 1987: 63–79; Lamb 1997: 280, 286).

Most unmatching of all may be the death or widowing (which some women regard as equivalent to death) of a chief feeder in midlife: she falls from a warm optimal {9,1,1} to a cold, corpse-like, pessimal {1,9,9} position (Lamb 1997: 288,

294), and in so doing traces a diameter as long as that of marriage. The rituals attempting to heal such traumata are often large. Traversing this path in spectacular reverse is the Rajput *satī*, who rises from the threat of a corpse-like existence to regain in some outer sphere the vital role of royal wife (Weinberger 1996: 141) (Figure 5). Those who would maximise greatness over all other aims may see the upward course of a *satī* seeking final apotheosis with a fierce goddess at {9,1,9} as approximating the path of a warrior who rises through self-sacrifice in battle from ignoble death at {1,9,9} to heroic triumph at {9,1,5} or {9,1,1} (Harlan 1992: 118–33; Weinberger 1996: 78–79, 82).

## V

## *Family life and worship—complementary planes*

The above review of female coursings through eight extreme role-types has displayed the outer limits more than the interior of the domestic property-space. Inspection of the four transecting diameters should tell more, as along those diameters are encountered many other, intermediate female role-types.

Two of the diameters, both vital to family life, appear in Figure 3, but may be seen more clearly from the matching front. The smaller cube at the lower left of Figure 5 simplifies and shows these diameters as two descending and intersecting arcs, one from adolescence at {1,1,1} to birthing at {9,9,9}, the other from seniority at {9,1,1} to demise at {1,9,9}. Together they define a plane that slopes from the figure's upper front to its lower rear, connecting four issues that are critical for families—fertility and sustenance above, death and birth below. They are congruent with the intersecting diameters of the general paradigm that connect the corners 'pure' with 'impure' and 'great' with 'small'.

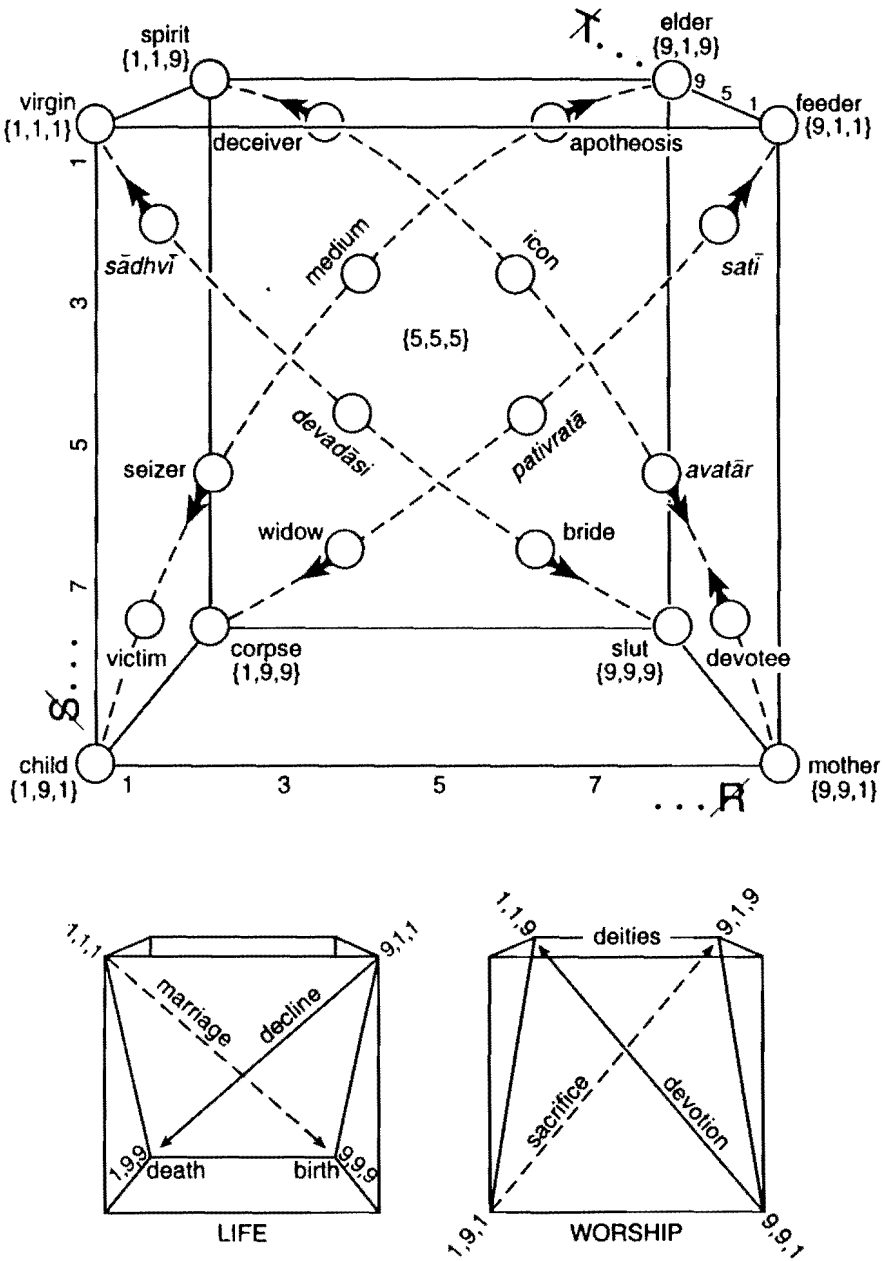
Shown in the larger diagram of Figure 5 are *devadāsīs* like those of Jagannatha at Puri, who dance over this family-life plane at about {5,5,5}, as if suspended between virginity and mature sexuality; they mark humans with a fertility which they owe to their deathless coupling with a deity both subtle {1,1,9} and royal {9,1,1} (Marglin 1985: 46, 169) who may be figured to reside above them at about {5,1,5}. Nearby, holding steady along the other family diameter that connects sustenance with death is the 'husband-devoted' *pativratā* widow, who neither dies with her spouse nor dishonourably recouples with another, but remains devoted to his memory in neutral celibacy (Harlan 1992: 118–19; Lamb 1992: 371–77; Leslie 1989: 298–304).

Physically less often travelled by females in the ordinary course of life is the other, orthogonally placed plane—that of worship.[17] Shown in the small cube at the lower right of Figure 5, this plane is defined by the other two main diameters, which are identical with the 'gross–subtle' and 'nonviolent–violent' diameters

[17] The ancestral grant of fertility (dramatised in the Brahmanic rite of *sapiṇḍīkāraṇa* (Knipe 1977) and in the Ganga pilgrimage from rural Rajasthan reported by Gold (1987: 241–60), as in Fig. 3), and also the gradual descent of a divinised neonate into childhood—all downward movements along the unmixing edge of Fig. 5's plane of worship—are liminally human exceptions to this claim of rarity. Blessings and boons, threats and attacks are the more usual downward traffic on this plane.



**Figure 5**
***Family life and worship roles***



of the general paradigm. This plane reaches up from the potentially most marked and matched domestic juniors (children and mothers at {1,9,1} and {9,9,1} respectively) to the least marked, least matched seniors—ancestral spirits and elders (who are often male) and their divine or demonic analogues who reside between 'subtle' {1,1,9} and 'violent' {9,1,9}. Across this slope the crossed pairings of both divine with human and warmer with cooler beings constitute modes of worship that may be distinguished as 'devotional' and 'sacrificial'.

'Devotion' of this type—initiated by a warm worshipper from below toward a cool divinity above—is sometimes compared by Hindus to a young monkey's avid clinging to its apparently insouciant parent. Such devotion may arise from any lower place, but its diametric extreme is commonly that of a gross, earthbound junior {9,9,1} who opens her desirous gaze to a subtle—superior, unmixing, and remote—beloved object at {1,1,9} (Ramanujan 1982). 'Sacrifice' in the extreme case is rather initiated by a superior, potentially violent, alien being at {9,1,9} who seizes or forcefully demands something from a human, typically juvenile victim at the diametric locus of {1,9,1}. The contrast between such devotional and sacrificial modes of worship is much like the difference between desired or compliant possession by a god and undesired possession by a ghost (Stanley 1988).

A move upward along the devotional diameter occurs in a famous myth (on which certain Vaisnava rituals are based) when Rādha and other wives tryst with Krsna, whom they image as an evasive lover (Kakar 1978: 153; Wulff 1982: 27–31). In epic and puranic tales of adultery (e.g., Doniger 1994), women lift themselves along this diameter—the same deceptive path whose tactics are recommended to wives by the secular medieval aesthetician Mammata as an escape from spousal neglect (Bonner 1991). A similar rising angle is followed bodily by pilgrims, mainly women, who climb to the Himalayan shrines. Also motivated by devotees' wishes, but moving downward from subtle to gross, from spirit into flesh, is the process of divine descent called *avatār*, of which the deity's possession of a devotee may be counted as a miniature specimen (e.g., Stanley 1988: 51–53). Along the devotional diameter also occur a variety of other, partial transformations—the divine empowering of devotees (e.g., Hancock 1995), their devising of kinship with an otherwise remote divinity (Stanley 1988: 46–47), and also service by some professional devotees as divine icons or agents to facilitate worship by other terrestrial humans (e.g., Assayag 1990; Dhere 1964).

The remaining, orthogonally related violent–nonviolent diameter that is here called 'sacrificial' worship is sometimes popularly likened to a mother cat's grasping of her kittens by the napes of their necks. In early life a recurrent source of worshippers' anxiety about such a possibility is imagined by Kurtz (1992: 104–107) as a nursing infant's occasional removal from its own mother by a nonlactating elder female. An adult wanting to know the intentions of such a strange and forceful superior may consult a professional trance medium whose components would locate her, too, near {5,5,5}; she usually speaks as a deferential mother sometimes does—in unmatching, windy whispers (Erndl 1993: 107–109; Stanley 1988: 41–42, 46–47; Trawick 1988). Examples of such trancers are the *joginīs*



of Karnataka–daughters whom suffering families have dedicated to a threatening female divinity both as trance mediums and as icons (Assayag 1990). After heavy marking with the properties of such a divinity, many a victimised female elsewhere in villages of So... ndia is said to have merged with the attacker, founding by her apotheosis a new local goddess cult (e.g., Beck 1981; Egnor 1984; Trawick 1991). Thus at least four intermediate types of females, each combining contrary corner qualities, cluster near where the planes and most active diametric paths of family and worship intersect—at {5,5,5}. Precisely at this junction, the princess Mira Bai's devotion to the god Krsna blocks her self-sacrificial yielding to the angry demands of her late husband's surviving kin (Harlan 1995: 209–11).

While distinct from and complementing the usual moves of the female life-course, these relations of worship are congruent with quotidian affects among human seniors and juniors of either sex, affects which may sometimes take simian, sometimes feline, and sometimes other forms. Between, beyond and combining them also are many other varied pairs, both familial and worshipful, that are situated in diagonal or adjacent relations of respectful love or fear, compliance or defiance (e.g., Chandola 1991; Moreno 1985; Moreno and Marriott 1989).

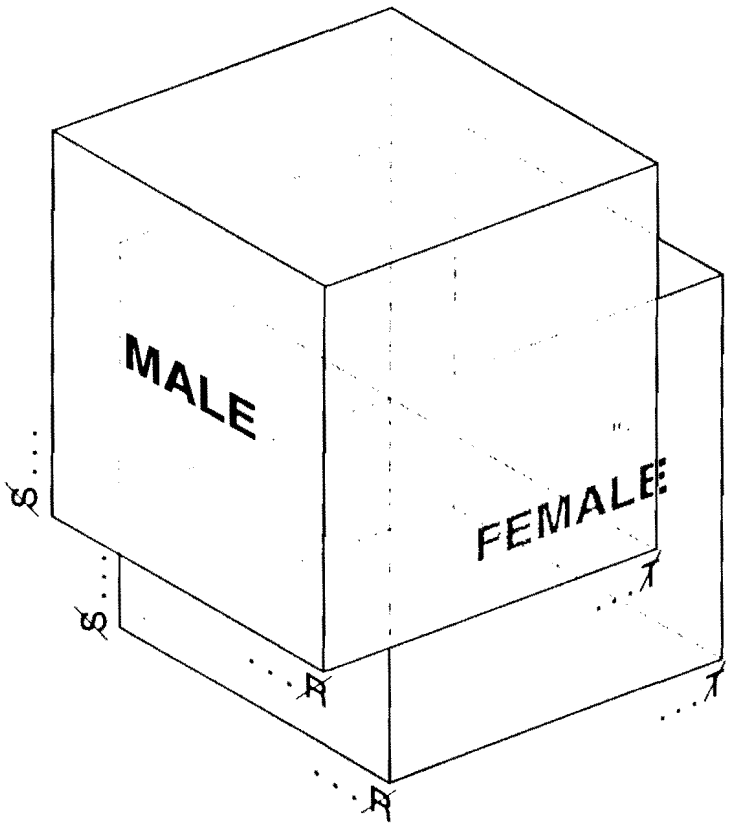
Figure 5's resemblance to a horoscope or map of astral movements is enhanced when one notices that the gravities of the persons or qualities at the corners seem to bend the trajectories of the passing personnel. Subtlety appears to pull upon potential sluts, celibates, *devadāsīs*, and spirit mediums, as it does upon the fabled 'Jungli Rani' (Gold 1995), who without her devotion to Surya would have been unable to move from wild child or witch to queen. Violence also may attract passing *satīs*, junior wives, and apotheoses (Raheja and Gold 1994: 149–63), although it has been known to deflect the marches of satyagrahis between small and great roles. Greatness and impurity seem variously to lure certain *avatārs*, widows, and others. Such lateral forces invite systematic inquiry, adding a realistic note of multivalence to all internal moves.

## VI
## *Conclusions: Females, males, and civilisation*

The recent female-focused, extended family ethnographies examined here have responded clearly to questions posed by a South Asian ethnosocial paradigm, one that had been constructed both from other ethnography and from the civilisation's classical elements, humours, strands, and aims. Eight recognised female family role-types have been found to correspond closely to the composite qualities previously generated from that general paradigm. Movements through these roles in the usual course of female lives have also been found to demonstrate, often in explicit detail, the paradigm's core processes of mixing–unmixing, marking–unmarking, and matching–unmatching. Both personal experiences and ritual usages have confirmed the shifting perspectives on social reality that develop in the female core's multidimensional property-space. These evidences suggest that practice in the female domestic core is and may long have been a powerful source of

what appears to be a South Asian ethnosocial paradigm of general and continuing import—one as relevant to medieval and modern politics and religion[18] as it is to today's extended family households.

**Figure 6**
***Males and females?***




That this may be true is further supported by the fact that females have been widely regarded as archetypic and iconic of the region's civilisation. The archetypy of females (noted again recently by Kakar 1989: 129–40, 143; Marriott 1992: 266–67, and Menon 1995: 367–79) appears to be more enduring and significant than either the negative colonial stereotypes or the positive nationalist responses noted by historians such as Chatterjee (1993: 116–34). Females are exemplary of the postulated paradigm because as a class they are more participant in mixing flows than males, and also more subject to fluid markings and unmatching

[18] See footnote 10.



flux (S. Daniel 1980; Das 1979; Dhruvarajan 1989: 27–34; Lamb 1997: 290; Ramanujan 1982).

But females' greater liquidity and internality are also understood as making them potentially more skilled at contrary strategies—at closing to potentialise their inner heat (Menon 1995: 399), at matching with others to promote their interests (Raheja 1998), or at concealing their evasions of male controls (David 1980; Narayana Rao 1991; Narayana Rao and Ramanujan 1994: 14–16; Raheja and Gold 1994; Ramanujan 1991). Their greater inner-bodily space, if firmly contained by their greater earth component, is felt by some to give them greater *śakti* (Egnor 1980); they may apply such a force even to the self-sacrificial shaming of insufficiently aggressive husbands (Harlan 1992: 158–66). Otherwise males' putatively harder, cooler, less open natures are felt as permitting or encouraging them to mix in wider, more alien worlds, although not without unmatching effects (Reynolds 1980); and the kinetic energy males may develop outside the household enables them also to mark females and to represent themselves as restraining and domesticating what some see as females' generically greater tendencies toward mixing, being marked, and unmatching (Inden and Nicholas 1977: 23, 30–31).

The differences between females and males that are thought by some to cause and/or to result from these contrary processes are summarised in Figure 6, which shows males in their usual public posture—as more inclined to mixing, as less marked, and as more matched than females. A more defensible modelling of male–female ethnodialectics will require more two-sexed ethnographies than now exist, and so must be left to future research. Special complexities loom in this comparative task as partisans of both sexes accept, contest, and/or attempt to counteract any such configuration as the one diagrammed here (S. Daniel 1980; Derné 1995; Jacobson and Wadley 1977: 59–69; Raheja and Gold 1994; Menon 1995: 157–72, 367–79). Some would reverse the relative placing of the cubes, others would merge the two. Both those who would affirm and those who would deny these placings agree, however, that the issues of their argument are the same as those posed by the variables of the present paradigm.

Much more is reported in the recent gynocentric ethnographies than has been examined here. While processes of mixing, unmarking, and unmatching (analogues of fire, water, and air) have been traced, less explicit attention has been given to the background processes of placing, spacing (analogues of earth and ether), and consciousness. Only about half of the sixty-two possible moves between the property-space's corners have been noticed here, mostly shifts between adjacent or diametrically related roles. Recurrent patterns of female and female–male alliance and rivalry (such as those reported by Raheja and Gold 1994: 73–148 and by Raheja 1998), for example, have yet to be generally incorporated into an ethnosociology of the female family core. But even the present limited beginnings could not have been made without the questions generated from the postulated paradigm. By systematic deduction, testing of hypotheses, and discoveries of gaps in knowledge as well as by eliciting new findings, an indigenous South Asian ethnosociology itself continues to develop.

## REFERENCES


Alter, Joseph S. 1992. *The wrestler's body: Identity and ideology in North India.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Assayag, Jackie. 1990. Modern devadasis. *In* G. Eichinger Ferro-Luzzi, ed., *Rites and beliefs in modern India*, pp. 53–65. New Delhi: Manohar.

Bardhan, Kalpana, ed., trans. 1990. *Women, outcastes, peasants, and rebels: A selection of Bengali short stories.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Barton, Allen H. 1955. The concept of property-space in social research. *In* P.F. Lazarsfeld and M. Rosenberg, eds, *The language of social research*, pp. 40–53. Glencoe: Free Press of Glencoe.

Beck, Brenda E.F. 1981. The goddess and the demon. *Purusartha* 5: 83–186.

Bennett, Lynn. 1983. *Dangerous wives and sacred sisters: Social and symbolic roles of high-caste women in Nepal.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Bonner, Rahul. 1991. Sexual dynamics in the Amarusataka. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago.

Carnap, Rudolf. 1958. *Introduction to symbolic logic and its applications.* New York: Dover.

Carstairs, G. Morris. 1983. *Death of a witch: A village in North India, 1950–1981.* London: Hutchinson.

Chandola, Anoop. 1991. *The way to true worship: A popular story of Hinduism.* Lanham: University Press of America.

Chatterjee, Partha. 1993. *The nation and its fragments.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Courtright, Paul B. 1995. *Sati*, sacrifice, and marriage: The modernity of tradition. *In* Lindsey Harlan and P.B. Courtright, eds, *From the margins of Hindu marriage*, pp. 184–203. New York: Oxford University Press.

Daniel, E. Valentine. 1984. *Fluid signs: Being a person the Tamil way.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Daniel, Sheryl B. 1980. Marriage in Tamil culture: The problem of conflicting models. *In* Susan S. Wadley, ed., *The powers of Tamil women*, pp. 61–92. Syracuse: Maxwell School, Syracuse University.

Das, Veena. 1979. Reflections on the social construction of adulthood. *In* Sudhir Kakar, ed., *Identity and adulthood*, pp. 89–104. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

David, Kenneth A. 1980. Hidden powers: Cultural and socio-economic accounts of Jaffna women. *In* Susan S. Wadley, ed., *The powers of Tamil women*, pp. 93–136. Syracuse: Maxwell School, Syracuse University.

Davis, Marvin G. 1983. *Rank and rivalry: The politics of inequality in rural West Bengal.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Derne, Steve. 1995. *Culture in action: Family life, emotion, and male dominance in Banaras, India.* Albany: SUNY Press.

Dhere, Ramchandra Chintamani. 1964. *Marāthi lokasamskrtīce upāsaka.* Pune: Jnanaraja Prakashan.

Dhruvarajan, Vanaja. 1989. *Hindu women and the power of ideology.* Granby: Bergin and Garvey.

Doniger, Wendy. 1994. Playing the field: Adultery as claim-jumping. *In* Ariel Glucklich, *The sense of adharma*, pp. 169–88. New York: Oxford University Press.

Doniger, Wendy and Brian K. Smith, trans. 1991. *The laws of Manu.* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Egnor, Margaret Trawick. 1980. On the meaning of śakti to women in Tamil Nadu. *In* Susan S. Wadley, ed., *The powers of Tamil women*, pp. 1–34. Syracuse: Maxwell School, Syracuse University.

———. 1984. The changed mother or what the smallpox goddess did when there was no more smallpox. *Contributions to Asian studies* 18: 24–45.

Erndl, Kathleen M. 1993. *Victory to the Mother: The Hindu goddess of Northwest India in myth, ritual, and symbol.* New York: Oxford University Press.





Gold, Ann Grodzins. 1987. *Fruitful journeys: The ways of Rajasthani pilgrims.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

———. 1995. The 'Jungli Rani' and other troubled wives in Rajasthani oral traditions. *In* L. Harlan and P.B. Courtright, eds, *From the margins of Hindu marriage*, pp. 119–36. New York: Oxford University Press.

Good, Anthony. 1990. *The female bridegroom: A comparative study of life-crisis rituals in South India and Sri Lanka.* Oxford: Clarendon.

Gupta, Sanjukta. n.d. Hindu woman, the ritualist. Paper presented at the European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies, Toulouse, 1994.

Hancock, Mary. 1995. The dilemmas of domesticity: Possession and devotional experience among urban Smārta women. *In* L. Harlan and P.B. Courtright, eds, *From the margins of Hindu marriage*, pp. 60–91. New York: Oxford University Press.

Harlan, Lindsey. 1992. *Religion and Rajput women: The ethic of protection in contemporary narratives.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

———. 1995. Abandoning shame: Mirā and the margins of marriage. *In* L. Harlan and P.B. Courtright, eds, *From the margins of Hindu marriage*, pp. 204–27. New York: Oxford University Press.

Harlan, Lindsey and P.B. Courtright. 1995. Introduction: On Hindu marriage and its margins. *In* L. Harlan and P.B. Courtright, eds, *From the margins of Hindu marriage*, pp. 3–18. New York: Oxford University Press.

Herdman, Paul. 1977. Virgin and mother. *In* I.M. Lewis, ed., *Symbols and sentiments*, pp. 269–92. London: Academic Press.

Inden, Ronald B and Ralph W. Nicholas. 1997. *Kinship in Bengali culture.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jacobson, Doranne. 1977. Flexibility in Central Indian kinship and residence. *In* K. David, ed., *The new wind*, pp. 263–83. The Hague: Mouton.

Jacobson, Doranne and Susan Snow Wadley. 1977. *Women in India: Two perspectives.* New Delhi: Manohar.

Kakar, Sudhir. 1978. *The inner world: A psychoanalytic study of childhood and society in India.* Delhi: Oxford University Press.

———. 1989. *Intimate relations: Exploring Indian sexuality.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press and Penguin/ India.

Kemper, Steven E.G. 1980. Time, person, and gender in Sinhalese astrology. *American ethnologist* 7: 744–58.

Khare, Ravindra Sahai. 1976. *The Hindu hearth and home.* New Delhi: Vikas.

Knipe, David M. 1977. *Sapiṇḍīkāraṇa*: The Hindu rite of entry into heaven. *In* Frank E. Reynolds and E.H. Waugh, eds, *Religious encounters with death: Insights from the history and anthropology of religion*, pp. 111–24. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Kolenda, Pauline M. 1982a. Pox and the terror of childlessness. *In* J. J. Preston, ed., *Mother worship*, pp. 192–209. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

———. 1982b. Widowhood among 'untouchable' Churhas. *In* A. Ostor et al., eds, *Concepts of person*, pp. 172–220. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

———. 1984. Woman as tribute, woman as flower: Images of "woman" in north and south India. *American ethnologist* 11: 98–117.

Kondos, Vivienne. 1982. The triple goddess and the processual approach to the world. *In* M.R. Allen and S.N. Mukherjee, eds, *Women in India and Nepal*, pp. 211–49. Canberra: Australian National University.

Kurtz, Stanley N. 1992. *All the mothers are one.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Lamb, Sarah Elizabeth. 1992. Growing in the net of maya: Persons, gender and life processes in a Bengali society. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago.

———. 1997. The making and unmaking of persons: Notes on aging and gender in North India. *Ethos* 25: 279–302.

Larson, Gerald James. 1987. Introduction to the philosophy of *Sāṃkhya*. *In* G.J. Larson and R.S. Bhattacharya, eds, *Sāṃkhya, a dualist tradition in Indian philosophy*, pp. 3–103. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Leslie, I. Julia. 1989. *The perfect wife: The orthodox Hindu woman according to the Stridharmapaddhati of Tryambakayajvan*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Lynch, Owen M. 1990. The masterām: Emotion and person among Mathura's Chaubes. *In* O.M. Lynch, ed., *Divine passions*, pp. 91–115. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Madan, Triloki Nath. 1965. *Family and kinship: A study of the pandits of rural Kashmir*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House.

Marglin, Frederique Apffel. 1985. *Wives of the God-King*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Marriott, McKim. 1989. Constructing an Indian ethnosociology. *Contributions to Indian sociology* (n.s.) 23: 1–39.

———. 1991. On 'Constructing an Indian ethnosociology'. *Contributions to Indian sociology* (n.s.) 25: 295–308.

———. 1992. Alternative social sciences. *In* John MacAloon, ed., *General education in the social sciences*, pp. 262–78. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Marriott, McKim, ed. 1990. *India through Hindu categories*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Menon, Usha. 1995. Giving and receiving: Distributivity as the source of women's well-being. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago.

Mines, Diane Paull. 1989. Hindu periods of death 'impurity'. *Contributions to Indian sociology* (n.s.) 23: 103–30.

Minturn, Leigh. 1993. *Sita's daughters: Coming out of purdah*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Minturn, Leigh and John T. Hitchcock. 1963. *The Rājpūts of Khalapur, India*. New York: John Wiley.

Misri, Urvashi. 1986. Child and childhood: A conceptual construction. *Contributions to Indian sociology* (n.s.) 19: 115–32.

Moore, Melinda Ann. 1989. The Kerala house as a Hindu cosmos. *In* M. Marriott, ed, *India through Hindu categories*, pp. 169–202. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Moreno, Manuel. 1985. God's forceful call: Possession as a divine strategy. *In* J.P. Waghorne and N. Cutler, eds, *Gods of flesh, gods of stone: The embodiment of divinity in India*, pp. 103–20. Chambersberg: Anima.

Moreno, Manuel and McKim Marriott. 1989. Humoral transactions in two South Indian cults: Murukan and Mariyamman. *Contributions to Indian sociology* (n.s.) 23: 149–67.

Narayana Rao, Velcheru. 1991. A Rāmāyaṇa of their own: Women's oral tradition in Telugu. *In* P. Richman, ed., *Many Rāmāyaṇas*, pp. 114–36. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Narayana Rao, Velcheru and A.K. Ramanujan. 1994. *When God is a customer*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

O'Flaherty, Wendy Doniger. 1980. *Women, androgynes, and other mythical beasts*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Oldenburg, Veena Talwar. 1991. Lifestyle as resistance: The case of the courtesans of Lucknow. *In* Douglas Haynes and Gyan Prakash, eds, *Contesting power: Resistance and everyday social relations in South Asia*. pp. 23–61. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Papanek, Hanna and Gail Minault, eds, 1982. *Separate worlds: Studies of purdah in South Asia*. Delhi: Chanakya.

Pugh, Judy Fayrene. 1984. Concepts of person and situation in North Indian counseling: The case of astrology. *In* South Asian systems of healing. *Contributions to Asian studies* 18: 85–105. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Raheja, Gloria Goodwin. 1995. 'Crying when she's born and crying when she goes away': Marriage and the idiom of the gift in Pahansu song performance. *In* L. Harlan and P.B. Courtright, eds, *From the margins of Hindu marriage*, pp. 19–59. New York: Oxford University Press.



Raheja, Gloria Goodwin. 1998. Negotiated solidarities: Gendered representations of disruption and desire in North Indian oral traditions and popular culture. *Oral traditions* 12. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (forthcoming).

Raheja, Gloria Goodwin and Ann Grodzins Gold. 1994. *Listen to the heron's words: Reimagining gender and kinship in North India*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Ramanujan, A.K. 1982. On woman saints. *In* J.S. Hawley and M. Wulff, eds, *The divine consort*, pp. 316–24. Berkeley: Graduate Theological Union..

———. 1986. Two realms of Kannada folklore. *In* Stuart H. Blackburn and A.K. Ramanujan, eds, *Another harmony*, pp. 41–75. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

———. 1989. Is there an Indian way of thinking? *Contributions to Indian sociology* (n.s.) 23: 41–58.

———. 1991. Toward a counter-system: Women's tales. *In* Arjun Appadurai et al., eds, *Gender, genre, and power*, pp. 33–55. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Rangacharya, Adya, trans. 1996. *The nāṭyaśāstra: English translation with critical notes*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

Reynolds, Holly Baker. 1980. The auspicious married woman. *In* Susan S. Wadley, ed., *The powers of Tamil women*, pp. 35–60. Syracuse: Maxwell School, Syracuse University.

Shah, Arvind M. 1974. *The household dimension of the family in India*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Sinha, Jadunath. 1961. *Indian psychology*, vol. 2. *Emotion and will*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Stanley, John M. 1988. Gods, ghosts, and possession. *In* Eleanor Zelliot and Maxine Berntsen, eds, *The experience of Hinduism: Essays on religion in Maharashtra*, pp. 26–59. Albany: SUNY Press.

Steed, Gitel Poznanski. 1955. Notes on an approach to a study of personality in a Hindu village in Gujarat. *In* M. Marriott, ed., *Village India*, pp. 102–44. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Trawick, Margaret. 1986. Internal iconicity in Paraiyar 'crying songs'. *In* Stuart H. Blackburn and A.K. Ramanujan, eds, *Another harmony*, pp. 294–344. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

———. 1988. Spirits and voices in Tamil songs. *American ethnologist* 15: 193–215.

———. 1990. *Notes on love in a Tamil family*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

———. 1991. Wandering lost: A landless laborer's sense of place and self. *In* A. Appadurai et al., eds, *Gender, genre, and power in South Asian expressive traditions*, pp. 224–66. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Uberoi, Patricia. 1995. Problems with patriarchy: Conceptual issues in anthropology and feminism. *Sociological bulletin* 44: 195–221.

Vatuk, Sylvia J. 1990. 'To be a burden on others': Dependency anxiety among the elderly in India. *In* O.M. Lynch, ed., *Divine passions*, pp. 64–88. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Vatuk, Ved Prakash and Sylvia Vatuk. 1967. Chatorpan: A culturally defined form of addiction in North India. *International journal of the addictions* 2: 103–13.

———. 1979. The lustful stepmother in the folklore of northwestern India. *In* Ved P. Vatuk, ed., *Studies in Indian folk traditions*, pp. 190–221. Delhi: Manohar.

Wadley, Susan Snow. 1975. *Shakti: Power in the conceptual structure of Karimpur religion*. Chicago: Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.

———. 1976. Brothers, husbands and sometimes sons: Kinsmen in North Indian ritual. *Eastern anthropologist* 29: 149–70.

———. 1995. No longer a wife: Widows in rural North India. *In* L. Harlan and P.B. Courtright, eds, *From the margins of Hindu marriage*, pp. 92–118. New York: Oxford University Press.

Waugh, Linda. 1982. Marked and unmarked: A choice between equals in semiotic structure. *Semiotica* 38: 299–318.

Weinberger-Thomas, Catherine. 1996. *Cendres d'immortalité; la crémation des veuves en Inde*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.