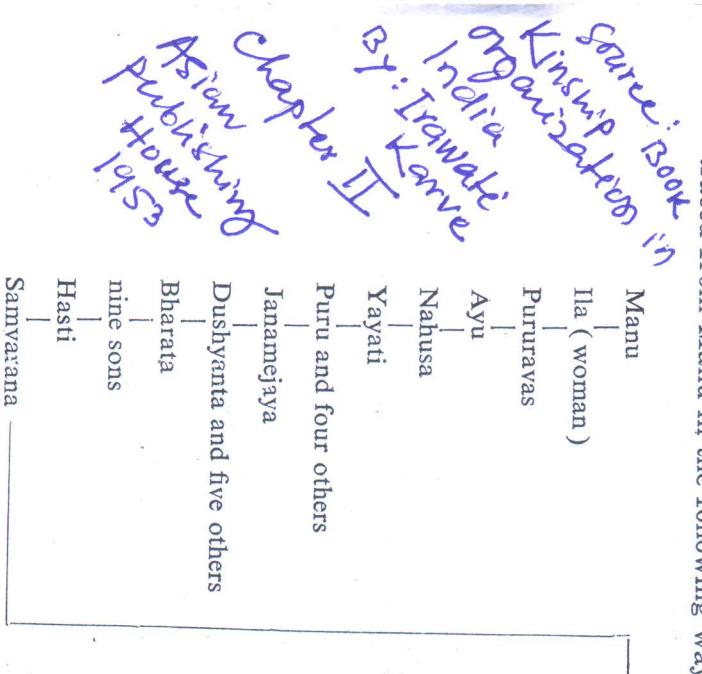


~~FOR GOTRA~~

marry a person from the patri-familial located at one place. In this connection, it is necessary to be quite clear about the meaning of a patri-family. In order to understand the actual practice well, we must describe what was meant by a family in ancient times. The words *kula*, *vamśa* and *gotra* were used for a family in Sanskrit, a person naming his *kula*, *vamśa* or *gotra* always mentioned his patri-family. The word *gotra* will be considered later, but these words were very loosely used. A man could mention or be known by the name of any of his famous ancestors, and not necessarily always by the name of the man whom he considered as the founder of the family.

The *vamśa* is an enumeration of the patrilineal descent in a line where collateral branches are ignored. The line of the Pandavas is traced from Manu in the following way:



when telling about their families. The princes who fought in the Mahabharata battle were addressed as Bhārata or Kaurava or Paurava after Bharata, Kuru and Puru. The famous kings who brought glory to the family were called *vamsakara* (makers of a *vamśa*) or *kukkura* (makers of a *kula*). The descendants of Bharata practised inter-marriage. The descendants of Yādu, a son of Yāyati, founded a line or *vamśa* called Yādava and they also married among themselves. In the same way, descendants of the other sons of Manu also married among themselves as the following genealogy will show.

Manu

*No dushkhī*

Ikshvaku, founder of the Ayodhya dynasty.

Nimi, founder of the Janaka Line in neighbouring Videha

Puru, founder of the Paurava of Hastinapur

Anu, founder of the Anava Line etc

Sasada

Bharata, founder of Bharata kingdom which became synonymous for India.

Yadu, founder of the Yadava line

Dusyanta

Sahasrajita

Vidarbha, Mathura, Kuntibhoja and many others who married among themselves and also others outside the Yadu line.

Panchala

Hastin of Hastinapura

Draupadi

Panchali—married—Arjuna

Many of these king's had sons who founded other kingdoms, but in this genealogy the names of only those who are connected with the kingdom of Hastinapur, the city founded by Hasti, are given. In this genealogy some king's like Puru, Bharata, Samvarana, and Kuru were very famous, and the descendants gladly named them

Manu's son Ikshvaku founded the Ayodhya dynasty. His eldest son carried on the main line. His younger son Nimi founded a kingdom in the neighbouring country of Videha, where the kings

were called Janakas. Later on Rama, a prince of the Ikshvaku dynasty, married Sita, a daughter of the Janakas, who also were Ikshvakus. Manu's daughter Ila had a son Pururavas who founded the Hastinapura dynasty. His descendants were the five princes who founded a new house each and a new dynasty called Yadava, Paurava, Anava etc. Yadavas in their turn gave rise to many separate kingdoms and dynasties. Many among them intermarried. They also married into other Kshatriya lines. In the main Puru line was born Bharata who gave his name to his descendants. Bharata's descendants founded three lines — the north Panchala, the south Panchala and the main Hastinapura line. Kuru was a famous king in this line. He gave his name to his descendants who were called Kauravas. The Kauravas were thus Bharatas also, and the Pandavas married a descendant of the Bharatas and Kauravas, the princess Draupadi, who belonged to the north Panchala house and was, therefore, herself a Bharata. In these marriages, of Rama and Sita (Ikshvakus), Krishna and Rukmini (Yadavas) and Pandava and Draupadi (Bharatas), the spouses were so far removed from their common ancestor that they could not be called near relations.

When certain kings are called *kulakara* or *vamśakara* the two words *kula* and *vamśa* seem identical, but in other contexts their connotation is different. *Vamśa* seems to be the name given to a successive line of descent from father to son. When a *vamśa* is set forth, names of kings are given one after another in a succession. When several sons of a king are mentioned, only that one who is in direct ancestral line of a given prince is picked out as belonging to the *vamśa*. The word *vamśa* is used also for a bamboo or cane tree which grows straight in nodes. On this analogy the whole line or *vamśa* is like a bamboo tree and each member in it is a node. The connection between the two ideas is well brought out in the Mahabharata in the following account. King Yudhisthira was advised to visit a holy place on the banks of the Narmada where bamboos grew in great abundance. This place was called *vamśamulaka* and a visit to it was supposed to ensure the continuance and prosperity of the line (*vamśa*). *Kula*, on the other hand, in its narrower meaning seems to refer to the whole of the patri-family residing at one place. *Kula* is thus the aggregate of kin in a great family. The expression *kula-vyddha* means the elder males of a great family. *Kula-ghnī* (the destroyer of a *kula*) is used as an adjective to a bride under certain circumstances.

An expression occurs in later Smṛtis, which proscribes "the giving of a girl to a *kula*" (*kule kanyā pradāna*). This is interpreted as giving a girl as a bride to many brothers or cousins i.e. to the *kula* as a whole.

We may differentiate *vamśa* and *kula* and say that *vamśa* is a linear arrangement while *kula* refers to an "aggregate". This meaning is also brought out in expressions like *pakṣi-kula* — the *kula* of birds, a flock of birds. A *kula* however was never a simple aggregate; it was a kin-group under the leadership of a male. A man would use the words *māṭy-vamśa* and *māṭy-kula* to designate his mother's line and mother's family.

From the genealogies given above, it would seem that it was quite customary among the princely houses to marry within the *vamśa* if the families (*kula*) resided in different places and if the kinship was distant. There were a few cases of a man marrying his mother's brother's daughter, but they seem to be confined to houses from the north-west and the west and to the south-western kingdoms along the Narmada river. The epic lists show that the husband and wife never (except in the case of Dasharatha, as mentioned above) have the same *kula* names.<sup>38</sup> That there could be marriage between persons who had the same distant male ancestor is also seen.

Neither the *vamśa* nor the *kula* possesses the characteristics of a clan, *Vamśa* is a line of patrilineal descent. *Kula* is patri-kin based on locality. If a junior branch in a *kula* wandered away, established itself elsewhere and changed its name, marriage between it and the original *kula* could take place. The name of a clan is fixed. The *vamśa* and *kula* names on the other hand had no fixity. They were patronymics derived from the names of some famous ancestors and when a new hero arose he gave his own name to his descendants. A man could use the name of his father as his patronymic. The five brothers in the Mahabharata are referred to as Pandava (sons of Pandu) far oftener than as Kaurava.

The *kula* may be called a phratry, a *gebrüderschaft*, which remained an exogamous unit as long as it was based on one locality. This dependence on locality was due to the custom of changing the name of a *kula* either through change in locality or through choosing any one of the different ancestors as *kulakara*.

The patri-family was not equated to a patri-clan until a little later. In the northern tradition, this change occurred during the epic period and, in the case of Brahmins, with their *gotra* system,

In the period immediately following it. This *gotra* system, which belonged originally to Brahmins, has remained predominantly a Brahmin system and does not seem to have affected many northern castes.<sup>39</sup>

The question of *gotra* leads us directly into the period following the epics and gradually right into the mediaeval period of India. The question of inheritance and succession in the epic period has already been dealt with.<sup>40</sup> Before considering *gotra*, it is necessary to deal with a concept which has played an important role in connection with the marriage regulation, death ritual and inheritance. This is the concept of *sapinda* (*sa* = together; *pinda* = a ball of rice; a body). A ritual had been known since the Vedic times, by which a man solemnly offered balls of cooked rice to his dead ancestors on the full moon and new moon days. This ball of rice was known as *pinda*. *Pinda*<sup>41</sup> also meant any lumped thing — a bit of flesh for example. The term *sapinda* occurs in the *Smyritis* and in all the commentaries on them. It meant (1) all those who had the right to offer *pinda* (the rice ball) to a man, or (2) all those who shared the same body (according to Mitakshara, see Chap. VIII).

According to a second meaning, a person was *sapinda* of his father and mother and, through them, a *sapinda* of their *sapinda*. In the patriarchal family we have described, a wife was not *sapinda* of her husband, father-in-law etc. She did not have the right to offer *pinda* to any one in her husband's family. She had no right to inheritance.

The position of a girl born in the family was such that she was valued as a material for marriage or exchange, and occasionally for lending. If a man had only daughters, he could have the son-in-law staying with him and could adopt one of his daughter's sons. The type of adoption would have been possible only if a man lived alone, in a single, non-joint family. In a joint family such an adoption would be resented by the collaterals. That an adoption is possible, however, has been known from the earliest times and mentioned by all commentators.

We are concerned here with the concept of *sapinda* (*sāpīndya* — an abstract noun) as an exogamous unit. A man was barred from marrying a woman who was his *sapinda*. This was the primary rule of marriage and, as we have seen, it might mean two things. In the sense of *pinda* meaning a rice ball (a) the taboo extended primarily to some generations of relatives through a male ancestor,

or (b) to all near or known relatives through the father and mother.

The epic data show that the first rule was applied to the patriarchal family in one locality, the locality itself becoming a kind of symbol for *sāpīndya*. As regards the second rule, it seems to have been in practice, but not as rigidly as the first.

According to the mediaeval commentaries, the rule of *sapinda* is that a man must not marry anybody who may have a common male ancestor in the direct male line up to the seventh ascending generation or who may have a common ancestor up to the fifth generation in the mother's line.

For marriage, the two people are supposed to be not *sapinda*, even if they have a common eighth ancestor in the father's line or a common sixth ancestor in the mother's line. The following illustrations from a late commentary will make clear the method of counting the generations.<sup>42</sup> In all the genealogies given below the man Vishnu is the original founder of the families.

1 Vishnu △

2 Kanti ○

2 Gauri ○

3 Sudhi △

3 Hari △

4 Budha △

4 Maitra △

5 Caitra △

5 Siva △

6 Gana △

6 Bhupala △

7 Mṛda △

7 Acyuta △

8 Rati ○ — can marry —— 8 Kama △

1 Vishnu △

2 Datta △

2 Caitra △

3 Soma △

3 Maitra △

4 Sudhi △

4 Budha △

5 Syama ○

5 Rati ○

6 Siva △ — can marry —— 6 Gauri ○

The girl Rati and boy Kama can marry because counting in their father's (Mṛda and Acyuta) lines they are the eighth from the common ancestor Vishnu.

Siva and Gauri can marry because though they are sixth from the common ancestor, it is through their mothers Syama and Rati that this connection is there and *sāpindya* (consanguinity) ceases when removed by five degrees in the mother's line.

### 1 Vishnu △

2 Datta △	2 Caitra △
3 Soma △	3 Maitra △
4 Sudhi △	4 Budha △
5 Syama O	5 Siva △
6 Kanti O—cannot marry	6 Hara △

The girl Kanti has the mother Syama and through her she is the sixth from the common ancestor of herself and Hara; but Hara, in whose case the ascent is traced through the father Siva, is only the sixth, whereas he should have been the eighth for the removal of the bar for marriage, and so Kanti and Hara cannot marry.

There are quite lengthy discussions and some curious cases where the *sāpindya* bar is removed according to the particular rule in a generation and is re-established among the immediate descendants. Further particulars about all these curious cases can be found in the book referred to above. However, the examples given above will suffice to show how consanguinity or *sāpindya* was generally reckoned by the Brahmin priests at least in mediaeval times.

The rigidity of the *sāpindya* rule for the father's or the mother's line vary in different regions, at different times and for different castes, but as we shall see, it may be taken as the "type" rule for the northern region.

One direction in which it became rigid was where it excluded the "whole" of the real or imagined patri-family, making it function almost parallel to that of a patri-clan. This happened very early in the case of Brahmans. A careful reading of the early literature shows that the Brahmans, including the most famous among them, were known by their own names, or by the names derived from those of their ancestors but *not* the localities. Gargi came from the patri-family of a man named Garga. A number of men were known as Bhargava or Vasishtha. About half a dozen individual Bhar-gavas and Vasisthas are known to legend because of their individual learning or prowess or because of their connection with some royal family. Though some Kshatriya princesses were known

as singers of the sacred hymns or as learned and wise men, the main body of Vedic verses is supposed to have been composed by Brahmans. The Brahmans were also skilled in performing sacrifices needing great accuracy and were in possession of magic incantations. They hawked their knowledge from one king to another and flocked to wherever great sacrifices were being performed or moneys distributed. As mediaeval inscriptions show, grant of land induced them to go to distant places. They needed to keep their knowledge sacred, magical and esoteric. As they were mostly on the move, the family identity had to be kept for the sake of this knowledge as also for the sake of the rules of marriage. A Brahmin was known by his own name, by the *gotra* to which he belonged, and also through *pravaras*.<sup>43</sup>

The word *gotra* means "a cattle enclosure" and possibly represented a complex of houses or a house and cattle-shed belonging to a patri-family. A *gotra* was known by the name of the male head. Occasionally, a *gotra* was the name of a rather well-known immediate ancestor. *Pravara* was something like the *kulakara* or *vamsakara* in Kshatriya genealogies. *Pravara* means "the great one" in the singular, "the great ones" in the plural. On certain occasions a Brahmin had to declare his *gotra* and *pravara*. A Brahmin who could not do so was not supposed to be a proper Brahmin.<sup>44</sup>

Just as the Kshatriyas named certain very famous warriors as *kulakara* kings or *vamsakara* kings and were proud of using their names as patronymics, the Brahmans also seem to have followed the custom of naming certain famous ancestors when performing sacrifices or when the need arose to declare the *gotra*. These ancestors were called *pravara*.<sup>45</sup> The term means "excellent ones." These *pravaras* were, in a majority of cases, more than one and a man could name one, two, three or five *pravaras*, but not four. Some of the *pravaras* seem to have been mentioned in the early texts, and apparently known to the grammarian Panini who is supposed to have lived in the 7th century B.C. The Brahmans had *gotras* as family names and each *gotra* claimed to have certain famous ancestors called *pravaras*. *Gotra* probably did not mean more than a patronymic used as a family name.

Some centuries before the Christian era the whole of the Brahmin *gotras* and *pravaras* were organized into a system of exogamous clans. The man who did this was called Baudhayana, and the tradition has it that he was a southerner. Whether any attempt was made before this at systematizing the *gotra* and *pravaras* is

not known now. Baudhayana, for the first time, gave a rigid definition to the word *gotra* and the technical meaning given by him is used in all the Brahmanic texts about the *gotra*. He says

that a *gotra* is the whole group of persons descended from any one of the "seven sages" or Agastya. The seven sages are Jamadagni, Gautama, Bharadvaja, Atri, Vishvamitra, Kashyapa and Vasishtha. Thus according to Baudhayana there are only eight *gotras* and people belonging to the same *gotra* cannot marry.

We thus find that Baudhayana has given a new meaning to the word *gotra*. Prof. Brough thinks that the meaning of Baudhayana was the older meaning of word and that in course of time the word *gotra* came to be applied to great families or even to mere patronymics. I think, however, that the evidence does not warrant this conclusion. On the other hand, the word *gotra* was used in the same way as *kula* in various allied connotations and Baudhayana fixed its meaning by a definition. This is evident from the introductory remarks of Baudhayana where he says, "of the *gotras* there are thousands, millions and tens-of-millions, but the *pravasas* — of these are (forty-nine) . . . ."

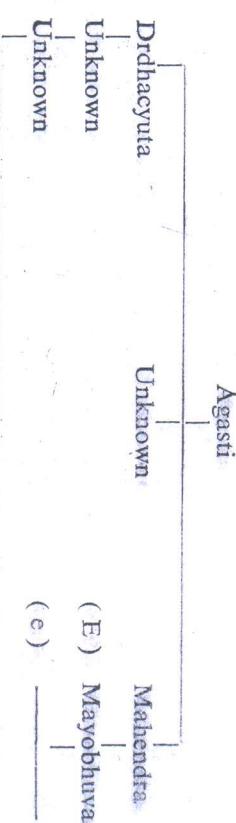
When Baudhayana himself makes this admission, it is clear that the word *gotra* was used for a *vamśa* or *Kula* or even a smaller unit as I have tried to show. It may be noted that epigraphical evidence also present practice show that the word *gotra* was being still used among Brahmins for smaller sub-divisions of the groups named as *gotra* by Baudhayana.

The following is the scheme as described by Baudhayana. The *gotra* as we have seen are eight. Each of these consists of several divisions and subdivisions. The divisions are called *gana*. Baudhayana gives the *pravaras* for each of the divisions called *gana*. He further says that those who have even one *pravara* in common should be held to belong to one *gotra*, except in the case of the *Bhrigu-gana* and *Angira-gana*.

The *gotra*, *gana* and *pravara* scheme can be best understood by an illustration. Below are given the *gana* and *pravara* of the *Agastya gotra* according to Baudhayana and other writers.

<i>Ganya</i>	<i>Agastya Gouri</i>	<i>Pravara</i>
1. Idhmavaha ..	(1) Agastya (3) Aidhmavaha	(2) Dardhacyuta
2. Sambhavaha ..	(1) Agastya (3) Sambhavaha	(2) Dardhacyuta

All the *ganas* have one *pravara* (Agastya) in common and so they cannot marry. The same type of *gana* and *pravara* arrangement is found among the *gotras*: Vasishtha, Vishvamitra, Kashyapa and Atri. If one were to fit the scheme of *gotra* and *pravara* in a genealogical representation, it would be somewhat as follows:



In the above scheme, a, b, c, d and e are sub-divisions of *gana*. A, B, C, D and E, and are the descendants of the *gana*. When these descendants pronounced their *gotra*, they would recite the names of their ancestors. a, b, c and d have each two common ancestors—Agasti and Drdhacayuta, while e has only one ancestor common with the others, viz. Agasti. These are the *pravaras*. In this scheme, inasmuch as all the people have the *gotra*-name Agastya, the reference to *pravara* for the establishment of the sameness of a *gotra* seems to be superfluous. Some anthropologists have even argued that *pravaras* are a later addition to the *gotra* system. This is however not the case. We can take it that in pre-Baudhayana days *gotra* was the name applied to what he calls *gana* and even smaller divisions than *gana*. In that case a recital of the *pravara* would be absolutely necessary for establishing common descent. The common *pravara* Agastya, includ-

ing divisions and sub-divisions, would establish them as descendants among others of the sage Agasti and marriage would not be possible among them even though they may have different *gotras*. To take a parallel on the Kshatriya side, Janamejaya, the grandson of Abhimanyu, would call himself Arjuneya, Santanava and Kaurava. Similarly, Yuyutsu, the son of Dhrtarashtra, could call himself Dhartarashtra, Santanava and Kaurava (see genealogy in the appendix to this Chapter). This recital would show that the two are descendants of the same ancestors.

Once a rule of marriage outside the patri-clan was established, with the custom of taking on any patronymic from among the ancestors as a family designation, it was absolutely necessary to recite the *pravaras*. Local exogamy was not helpful to the Brahmins because of their social mobility.

We may safely say that the arrangement of all prevalent *gotras* into *ganas*, the classification of the *ganas* into eight different categories and reservation of the term *gotra* to these highest categories was the work of Baudhayana.

This attempt of Baudhayana to bring order into what he considered chaos was, however, not entirely successful as he had to make exceptions and compromises. He enunciated the rule that those who had one *pravara* in common should be held to belong to one *gotra*, except in the case of those who had Bhrgu and Angirasa among their *pravaras*. For these latter the rule was that those who had a majority of *pravaras* in common should be held as belonging to one *gotra*. The rule works out as follows :

In Jamadagni *gotra* there are seven *ganas*. Each *gotra* has either three or five *pravaras*. They all have, however, three *pravaras* (Bhargava, Cyavana and Apnavana) in common, so that according to the majority rule none of the seven *ganas* can intermarry.

In the Gautama and Bharadvaja *gotra* also the same situation is found.

Thus the eight *gotras* enumerated by Baudhayana are exogamous. There are, however, two branches, descendants of Bhrgu and Angirasa, called Kevala Bhrgu and Kevala Angirasa, who do not fit into the above scheme. The Kevala Bhrgu are as follows:

#### KEVALA BHRGU

##### *Gana*

##### *Pravara*

1. Yaska (1) Bhargava (2) Vaiteheyya.
- (3) Savetasa

<i>Gana</i>	<i>Pravara</i>
2. Mitrayu (1)	Bhargava (2) Vadhrayasya
	(3) Daivodasa
3. Vainya (1)	Bhargava (2) Vainya
	(3) Partha
4. Sunaka (1)	Bhargava (2) Saunahotra
	(3) Gartsmada

We find that the *ganas* have each three *pravaras* of which only one (Bhargava) is common, and so they can intermarry. The same situation is found among the *ganas* of Kevala Angirasa. This practice is akin to that of Kshatriyas who intermarried even if they were descendants of one distant ancestor. Puranic tradition says that the Kevala Bhrgu and Kevala Angirasa were originally Kshatriyas adopted into Brahmin families.

The Brahmins thus evolved a system of exogamous patri-clans starting from a more or less common rule of marriage as the *sapinda* avoidance was very strictly adhered to among the Kshatriyas. Even after establishing the *gotras*, the ancient law of *sapinda* avoidance was very strictly adhered to among the northern Brahmins. The southern Brahmins, on the other hand, did not adhere to the bilateral *sapinda* rule of the ancient north, practised cross-cousin marriage, which did not run counter to *gotra-pravara* exogamy and thus completed the change of orientation for marriage from a bilateral family to a unilateral exogamous patri-clan.

Ancient records show that Brahmins were not only a mobile group but also an extremely elastic group which admitted many outside elements within its folds. Besides the mass adoption of Kshatriyas, they admitted to their fold people whose ancestry was not known, but who distinguished themselves in learning, for example Satyakama Jabala and Mahidasa Aitareya.

The Brahmins also occasionally married outside their caste. There are records of famous sages getting Kshatriya princesses as wives. Sometimes they also married women belonging to non-Aryan aboriginal tribes and lived among the tribal people. There are instances of such unions in the Mahabharata.<sup>46</sup> They had early contact with the non-Aryans and may have known their system of exogamous clans.

Besides a wandering mode of life and contact with non-Aryan people, the Brahmins were reciters of magic formulas, discoverers and seers of rituals. These magical discoveries were kept within

the family and were its monopoly. Because of these esoteric possessions also a family may have become a closed group.

It is not suggested that these internal necessities led to the formation of clan-like *gotra* groups, but it seems very likely that the closer contact of the Brahmins with the non-Aryan priesthood, the necessity of keeping certain magical formulas in the family, and their peculiar mode of livelihood, all combined to create a system which was foreign to the ancient Aryans and was not adopted by the Kshatriyas.

As stated above, the ancient regulations about consanguinity were also strictly adhered to over and above the *gotra* and *pravara* rules. Southern Brahminism succeeded ultimately in freeing itself from the northern rules of consanguinity and adopting a procedure of marriage native to the south and based entirely on clan-exogamy.<sup>47</sup>

It is difficult to get a clear idea about the customs of the common people in ancient times as nowhere does one find a record of their marriages. Sanskrit literature does not mention cousin-marriages or a clan system and so it can be assumed that the system of the common people was like that of the Kshatriyas. As the villagers rarely moved out of their villages, it is also very probable that they practised a kind of village exogamy similar to that practised by the Kshatriyas. The kinship terms, the organization of the kin and the mention of the distant town to which the groom or bride belonged make it likely that the marriage regulations of the common people were generally like those of the Kshatriyas.

Though consanguinity was defined in later texts as descent in the eighth generation from a common male ancestor on the father's side and in the fifth generation on the mother's side, we find that older texts mention marriages of nearer relations. This is also borne out by the kinship terms. There are definite kinship terms for the great-grandfather (*pra-pitā-maha*) and great grandson (*pra-napty*) but not beyond these. Also, in making an offering to the dead, the three ancestors father, grandfather and great-grandfather are called by the kinship designation and name, while a general offering is made to all beyond these. It would thus seem that when families split, the memory of common ancestry would be kept up to four generations and then marriages could take place.

We can summarize and say that among the ancient Aryans the rule of marriage was that one could marry a person who was not a near relation on the father's and mother's side. Near-relation-

ship or consanguinity seems not to have reached beyond four generations, as kinship terms, practices about offerings to the dead and certain ancient references show. In the late Brahmanical books, however, consanguinity was extended very much farther to eight generations in the father's line and five in the mother's.

It seems that gradually the whole of the father's family (patrifamily) localized in one area became taboo for marriage.

The Brahmins, starting from the same marriage regulations, established in the end truly exogamous patri-clans independent of the locality in which they lived. These were called *gotras*.

In order to realize fully the extent of a family and further kinship usages, it is necessary to understand the composition of the ancient family.

In spite of a few exceptional occurrences the picture of a family given in the Mahabharata may be taken as an illustration of the type of family of the ancient Aryans. Udyogaparvan relates of the last-minute attempts at reconciliation of the cousins and, after their failure, the efforts (*udyoga*) for securing allies and preparation for the war.<sup>48</sup> In the following passages we get an idea of who lived in one family. Dharma sent his greetings to the family at Hastinapur in the following way:

"Sanjaya, convey my respectful greetings to all the Brahmins and the chief priest of the House of Dhrtarashtra. "I bow respectfully to our teacher Drona, I hope his son Asvatthama enjoys good health, I hold the feet of our preceptor Kripa. "Hold the feet of the chief of Kurus, the great Bhishma. To the old king (Dhrtarashtra) I bow respectfully.

"I greet and ask after the health of his son Duryodhana and his younger brother and also of the dear peace-loving prince, the son of the concubine. I bow to Balnika and greet his son, our brother Saumadatti. Also greet all the young Kuria warriors who are our brothers, sons and grandsons.

"Greet the king's brought together as allies by Dhrtarashtra, greet the commanders of the armies and the king's ministers. Greet above all him, who is to us like father and mother, the wise Vidura. I bow to the elderly ladies who are known as our mothers. To those who are our wives you say this, 'I hope they are well-protected, that they keep to the house and behave properly and that they are loyal to us — their husbands'. Our daughters-in-law born of good families and mothers of children, greet on my behalf. Embrace for me those who are our