

getting things from her husband by cajolery at night. On the other hand must be set the encomia on woman: a woman is half her husband,<sup>115</sup> and completes him;<sup>116</sup> and in the Rigveda<sup>117</sup> attacks on women mingle with the general assumption of their good qualities. None the less, the Brāhmaṇas clearly indicate a gradual decline in their position, which is evident from the rule that requires the wife to eat after her husband.<sup>118</sup> Scolds were also known: the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa<sup>119</sup> praises the wife 'who does not answer back' (*aprativādinī*). Women bore no part in political life: men go to the assembly, not women, the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā<sup>120</sup> expressly says. On the other hand, with the advance of education, women shared in the intellectual interests of the day, as is exemplified by Yājñavalkya's<sup>121</sup> two wives, of whom one was interested in his philosophical discussions, the other not. Other women are also referred to in the Upaniṣads as teachers, but whether they were married is not certain.<sup>122</sup>

But the main object of a woman's marriage was the production of children, this being repeatedly asserted in the Rigveda and later.<sup>123</sup> The desire for offspring, as was natural in a society which mainly counted relationship through the father, took the form of a wish for a son to perform the necessary funeral rites for the father, and to continue his line. It was no doubt possible to adopt a son, but in the Rigveda<sup>124</sup> this custom is plainly viewed as unsatisfactory. The practice

<sup>115</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, v. 2, 1, 10.

<sup>116</sup> Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, i. 4, 17.

<sup>117</sup> In viii. 33, 17, Indra is credited with a poor opinion of woman's intelligence, and Purūravas in x. 95, 15, frankly calls them hyenas. They are defended in v. 61, 6-8, but only against mean men (Paṇi). Cf. Kaegi, *Der Rigveda*, n. 351.

<sup>118</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 9, 2, 12; x. 5, 2, 9. Cf. Vāsiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra, xii. 13; Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra, i. 1, 2, 2; Weber, *Indische Studien*, 5, 330, n.; Hopkins, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 13, 365, n.

<sup>119</sup> iii. 24, 7. Cf. Gopatha Brāh-

maṇa, ii. 3, 22; Bloomfield, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 19, 14, n. 2.

<sup>120</sup> iv. 7, 4. Cf. Av. vii. 38, 4.

<sup>121</sup> Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, iii. 4, 1; iv. 5, 1.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. the epithet *gandharva-grhītā*, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, v. 29; Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, ii. 9; Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, iii. 3, 1; 7, 1; and see Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, iii. 4, 4; Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, iv. 10.

<sup>123</sup> Rv. i. 91, 20; 92, 13; iii. 1, 23; x. 85, 25. 41. 42. 45; Av. iii. 23, 2; v. 25, 11; vi. 11, 2, etc.

<sup>124</sup> vii. 4, 7. 8. Cf. Nirukta, iii. 2.