

THE FAMILY OF RAMA: KINSHIP STRUCTURES AND THE DANCE

Introduction

This paper is the result of a preliminary investigation into an anthropological approach to the study of dance, in which an analysis of the Hindu traditional family led to certain insights with regard to Indian Classical Dance. I attempt to present some of these insights and their importance to an understanding of the dance, and later to propose that the dances in their turn can help explain matters of anthropological concern.

Indian Classical Dance

There are many classical dance forms in India today, each of which is particular to a region. For instance, in Madras State the two main forms are called Bharata Nāṭyam and Bhagavad Mela; in Kerala there are Kathakali, Krishna Attam, Ollan Tullai and Mohini Attam. Yakshagāna is performed in South Kanara; Kuchipudi in Andhra; Odissi is the dance of the temple maidens of Orissa; Chhau the masked dance of Seraikela in southern Bihar; Manipuri is the name given to the dance form of Manipur in Eastern India, and Kathak is the form that exists in Muslim influenced North India. Some of these like Bharata Nāṭyam, Kathak and Odissi, developed as solo forms, in which a complete recital is presented by a single performer accompanied by musicians. Others, like the Yakshagāna, Kathakali and Kuchipudi are performed in groups, though even in the group forms there are many solo dances and few examples of dances performed in unison.

The costumes, style and technique of these dance and theatre forms differ according to region, but they are all based on the same religious tradition, share a common origin and theoretical base, and the content of the dances is similar. The dancer usually attempts to interpret the music by which he or she is accompanied. It is the music that leads, that inspires the performer, and many of the dances are improvised in performance on the basis of the music. When the music has no lyrics or words, the dancer exposes the melodies and rhythms through intricate footwork and what are usually called 'abstract' movements, or movements that have no specific plot or role significance. Most of the time, however, the music includes words, lyric poems or narrative verse which are either sung or chanted by one or more singers. In this case the dancer uses hand gestures, face and eye movements, as well as movements that involve the whole body, in order to interpret the lyrics.

A line of verse or phrase may be repeated an indefinite number of times while the dancer either interprets them literally, using a single gesture for each word or improvises on the ideas suggested by the phrase. In the latter case the dancer may develop the thought with the help of similes to expand the descriptive nature of the poetry or (and this is more common) he or she might allude to Hindu legends and epics by the enactment of a particular episode, which illustrates the thought contained in the phrase. Equally important as technical skill and mastery over limbs and body is the dancer's understanding of these legends and their

meaning, and the ability to relate them to poetic, moral and philosophical ideas. Our interest here is in a new point of departure: the structures in these legends, their anthropological interpretation, and their relation to the movements themselves.

The Ramayana

One of the most popular epics of India is the Rāmāyana, or story of Rama¹, which is an early history of the Hindus and contains a partial genealogy of the people. To the Hindu, Rama is not only a revered ancestor but also the epitome of Ideal Man. His deeds and in particular the ethical decisions that he made during his life as revealed in the Rāmāyana, represent the paradigm of 'right conduct' or dharma² to which every Hindu aspires. Since Vedic literature is still the authority and final arbiter where there is doubt concerning Hindu tradition, the family of Rama could be considered the most typical and exemplary Hindu traditional family. Based on data from the earliest extant literary version of the story³ the family of Rama was analysed in order to investigate the central relationship and pivotal role in a traditional Hindu family. It will be argued that this relationship and a role that arises from it is a factor which not only influences the composition of the basic Hindu family unit, but also helps explain the importance of family in Hindu society.

Rama was the eldest son of Dasharatha, ruler of Ayodhya. Dasharatha had three wives, Kaushalya, Kaikeyi and Sumitra, who bore him, respectively, Rama, Bharat, Lakshmana and Shatrughna (the latter were twins). The brothers were brought up together and made no distinction based on their different genetresses. In fact, Lakshmana was closer to Rama than to his twin brother and considered himself Rama's shadow. When he grew up Rama married Sita,⁴ the only child of a neighbouring ruler, and brought her to his family home in Ayodhya.

When Dasharatha felt he was too old to continue with the governance of his kingdom, he decided to crown Rama as his heir and make him de facto ruler of the kingdom. His proclamation was received with joy by everyone in the land, with the exception of Kaikeyi, Bharat's mother, who wished to see her son inherit the family patrimony. Urged by her nurse, Kaikeyi reminded Dasharatha of an unconditional promise he had once made her, when she had saved his life, to grant her any boon that lay within his power. She was now his favourite consort and Dasharatha willingly agreed to fulfill that promise. Kaikeyi then demanded that Dasharatha send Rama into exile for fourteen years and that her son, Bharat, be made heir to the throne of Ayodhya.

Aghast at her demand Dasharatha pleaded with Kaikeyi to rescind it, but she remained adamant. Dasharatha renounced her and sent for Rama in the faint hope that his son would not consider himself bound by his father's word. When he was apprised of what had occurred, almost without hesitation, Rama decided that he must uphold his father's promise and leave Ayodhya. On hearing the news both Kaushalya and Lakshmana tried to dissuade Rama. Angered by the injustice of Kaikeyi's demand, they proffered arguments against Dasharatha's right to deny Rama his legitimate inheritance. Rama, however, held to his resolve in spite of the personal

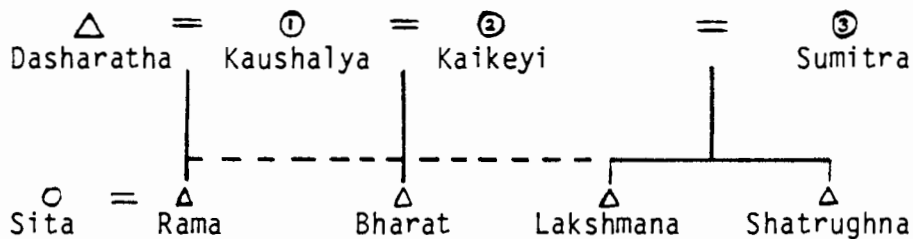
sacrifice it entailed. Both Lakshmana and Sita, therefore, decided to follow him into exile and they left on the first stage of their journey.

Bharat who had been absent during this time returned to Ayodhya and found his father dead. On hearing what had transpired, he reviled his mother Kaikeyi and hastened in pursuit of Rama, intent on persuading him to return to his rightful inheritance. Rama however explained to him why he could not disobey his father's word, and persuaded Bharat to return to Ayodhya as his deputy during his fourteen year exile.

For thirteen years Rama, Sita and Lakshmana lived an uneventful life in the forest. In the thirteenth year, Srupnaka, who was the sister of Ravana, demon king of Lanka (Sri Lanka) saw Rama and fell in love with him. She tried to seduce him but was insulted in return (some versions say that Lakshmana cut off her nose) so she rushed to her brother and demanded that he avenge her. Ravana sent his uncle in the form of a golden deer to lure Rama away from Sita's side, in which purpose he was successful, except that Lakshmana remained to protect her. The demon deer then called out for help, imitating Rama's voice, because of which Sita urged Lakshmana to go to Rama's aid. Before doing so however Lakshmana drew a protective circle round their hut and instructed Sita to remain within it.

Meanwhile Ravana, disguised as an old mendicant brahmin, approached the hut, lured Sita out of the circle in order to serve him some food, and then abducted her. The rest of the epic describes how Rama, Lakshmana and their allies attacked Lanka, killed Ravana and his demon hordes and returned with Sita to Ayodhya, now that the fourteen years had elapsed.

Rama's decision to go into exile was the most important one that he made with regard to his family. It is therefore this decision that is the key action on which an analysis of the intra-familial relationships was made.



The Structure of Rama's Family⁵

Father-Son Relationships

The relationship between Dasharatha and Rama is not just a father-son (Fa-So) relationship but is further qualified as being the father-eldest son (Fa-ESo) relationship in that family. When Dasharatha was put in a dilemma by Kaikeyi's demand that Rama be exiled, he could not bring himself to accede to that demand and turned to Rama to solve the problem. He could not bear to lose his eldest son and, furthermore, could not reconcile the conflict between his duty to his word to Kaikeyi and his duty

to the eldest son (i.e. to hand over his patrimony intact). In the end he favoured the latter relationship and, while doing so, denounced his wife Kaikeyi as traitress to her king and husband, and destroyer of her race (i.e. the race of Dasharatha). In other words he gave preference to the role of father of eldest son over the role of husband.

Dasharatha's relationship with Lakshmana was not so important, since he did not question the latter's decision to follow his brother into exile. As for Bharat, Dasharatha died before he could derive any solace from his younger son and without even having sent for him in his time of trial, ergo the father-younger son relationship was minor in comparison with that of father-eldest son.

Conflict Between the Different Roles Held by the Same Individual

Rama's decision to go into exile was the most important decision he made in the context of his family since the other crises in his life did not directly concern his basic kinship group. He resolved the many conflicts that arose from the obligations, duties and responsibilities to each of his intra-familial relationships (MSo⁶-Mo, Hu-Wi, Fa-ESo, EBr-yBr) by choosing those that belonged to his relationship with his father as his eldest son. He ignored his mother Kaushalya's distress and pleadings, chose to disregard the fact that he would have to desert his wife and leave his brother unprotected, and prepared to leave Ayodhya.

Lakshmana, on the other hand, did not see his position with regard to leaving his family to be the same as Rama's. He had no conflict because he clearly saw that his most important duty was to Rama and chose to follow him into exile. This reflects the importance he gave to the eldest brother-younger brother relationship. It also indicates that the role of yBr takes precedence in the yBr/MSo/ySo combination.⁷

Mother-Son Relationships

In Hindu society the mother-son relationship is very strong, but where duty to the mother conflicts with that owed to the father or elder brother, loyalty to the male relationships takes precedence. Bharat cursed Kaikeyi both because she caused the death of his father and because she sent his elder brother into exile. Rama ignored Kaushalya's pleadings in order to be faithful to his father's promise.

This is why it is necessary to further break down the mother-son relationship. We must distinguish between father's son (So) and mother's son (MSo) because in the conflict caused by the simultaneously held roles of So and MSo, the individual acts as So. This is also true of women in Hindu society as long as they are unmarried. Once married the husband's parents are supposed to take precedence. It could also be shown that in Hindu society the mother-child relationship becomes more important after the father has died. In this case the mantle of the father is assumed by the mother, especially where the natal family of an individual remains the basic family group.

Husband-Wife Relationships

We must now look at the husband-wife relationship. Sita, when she married Rama, left her father's home and became part of Rama's household. When however her husband chose to go into exile, she could either have stayed in Dasharatha's house (as did her cousins) or have followed her husband. It was logical that she go with Rama (though it did demonstrate devotion above and beyond the call of her duty or notion of 'right conduct' as a Hindu wife) since her position in Dasharatha's house was as Rama's wife. By choosing to accompany Rama she re-asserted the precedence that her role of wife took over the secondary relationship which gave her the role of daughter-in-law (to Dasharatha, Kaushalya, Kaikeyi and Sumitra). Rama could have asked her to stay in order to fulfill on his behalf, his duty towards his parents and household. In this case, however, this duty was assumed by Bharat. Sita's main role in the family was basically singular, i.e. that of wife, since she had as yet borne no children. She was however a member of Rama's family and had renounced any roles she may have had in her natal family.

As for the relationship between Dasharatha and Kaikeyi, we have seen that he could not bring himself to accede to Kaikeyi's demand, even though he had given her his word in return for her earlier devotion to him. She made the mistake of thinking that since she was his favourite, the rights and obligations owed to her would supercede those that Dasharatha owed to Rama. Dasharatha turned away from her and left it to Rama to resolve the dilemma he faced between keeping his word of honour and losing his eldest son, hoping all the while that Rama would refuse to follow Kaikeyi's dictates.

The Central Relationship and the Pivotal Role

When Dasharatha thus gave ultimate precedence to the father-eldest son relationship, he can be seen to have relinquished his right to his most important role: that of guardian of his dharma, which was seen by Rama to be the dharma of the family. In the conflict that arose between his roles as keeper of the family word/Husband/Father, Dasharatha chose the last role and, in doing so, actually handed his most important inheritance to Rama: that of protector of the family's dharma.

The most important kinship relationship, therefore, is seen to be the guardian of the family dharma-dharma, which since one cannot anthropomorphise dharma, is better phrased by saying that the most important relationship is that between the father and his eldest son, in that this is the relationship whereby the symbolic transfer of the guardianship of the family dharma usually takes place, and the pivotal role is that of the keeper of the family dharma.

Dharma is the main preoccupation of a Hindu, and following one's dharma is the ultimate goal. The above analysis seems to demonstrate that an individual's dharma is synonymous with family dharma,⁸ that right conduct to an individual means right conduct in the context of the family. This explains the importance of family in Hindu traditional society since it is in the context of family that one acts out one's dharma. Perhaps

it explains too why brothers (and their conjugal families) remain united to their natal families, not only in terms of a household but also as members of a basic family unit. It can also be seen that the Hindu kinship system is patrilineal and patriarchal, that Hindu marriages were polygynous and patrilocal; that fission in the Hindu family does not necessarily take place with marriage, and that when women marry, their dharma is the dharma of their husband's family.

With the above findings in mind, we can now look at the repertory of Indian classical dance forms to see how the kinship structures are reflected in Indian dance.

The Repertory of the Dance Forms

A central aspect of Hindu dramatic theory is the codification of the various ranges of mood and emotion into Nava Rasa⁹ or nine sentiments:

Sringāra or 'erotic', the mood of love and beauty;

Vīram or 'heroic', the mood of valour;

Adbhūta or marvellous, the mood of wonder;

Kārunyam or compassion, the mood of pity and grief;

Hāsyam or comic, the mood of laughter;

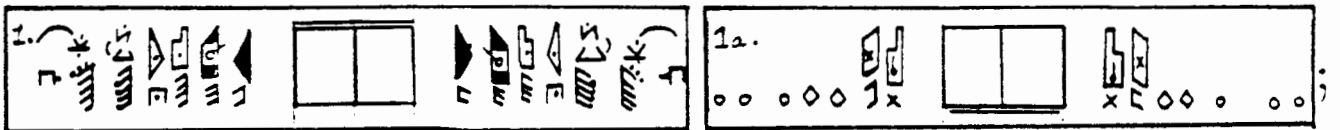
Vibhatsav or repulsion, the mood of disgust;

Bhayam or terror, the mood of fear;

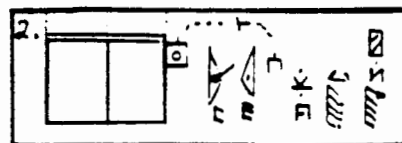
Raudra or fury, the mood of rage;

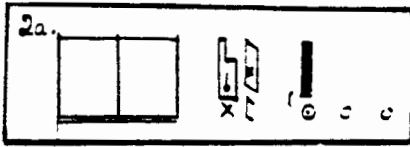
Shānta or peace, the mood of tranquillity.

There is a series of slokas or Sanskrit couplets which further qualify these sentiments with reference to Rama. Most of the dance traditions have in their repertoire a dance performed to a recitation of these couplets in which many of the sentiments are interpreted in the context of kin relationships. For instance Bhayam is qualified as "bhayam aghe" (fear of committing adharmā), and may be performed thus¹⁰: Figs. 1 and 1a signify 'path' or 'road':—



Figs. 2 & 2a signify 'follow or 'go' —

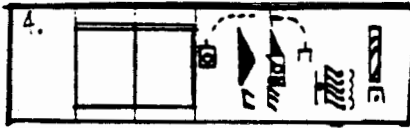




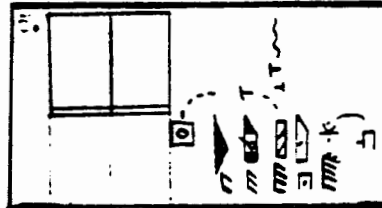
; Fig. 3 signifies 'man' or 'father'—



; Figs. 4 & 4a signify 'give my heart' or 'love'—



and Fig. 5, which signifies 'no' is accompanied by a trembling of the facial muscles to show 'terror'—



The five action signs taken together refer to the conflict that Rama faces between following his dharma, here literally the path into the forest, and his love for his father, which he must deny or else commit adharma hence his 'fear'.

"Vibhatsam anyā mukhē" (repulsion: another face) is often shown as follows: Fig. 6 signifies 'that' or 'there'—

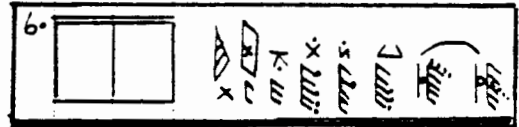
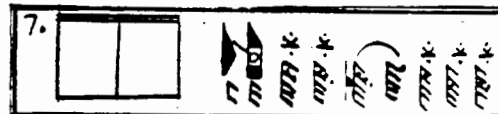
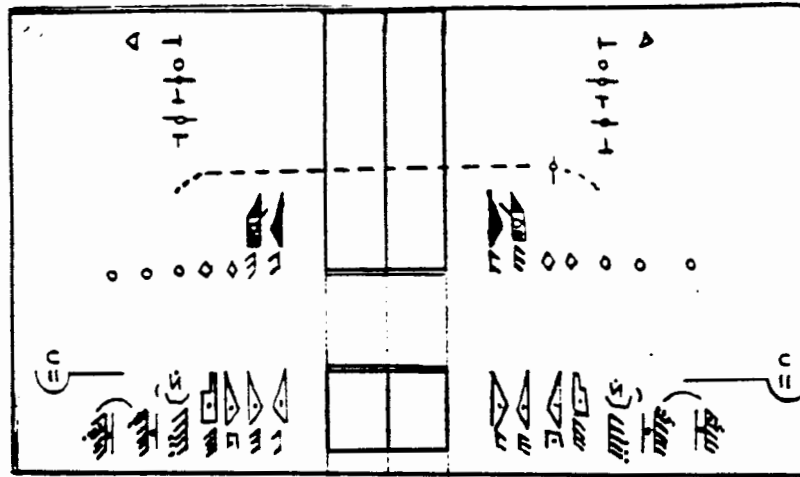


Fig. 7 signifies 'woman'—



and Fig. 8 which signifies 'marriage necklace' or 'marriage', is followed by turning the face away and curling the lips in 'disgust' —



These movements are used to represent the 'repulsion' that Rama felt at the idea of marrying another woman, and reflect a monogamous ideal within a society that permitted polygyny. "Hāsyam Srūpnaka mukhe" (comic: Srūpnaka's face) is shown by a series of gestures which signify the demoness' attempt to seduce Rama. As a member of the demon clan she is outside the social limits within which he may marry, so her overtures are shown to be ridiculous, whereas "kshitinandini viharane" (love-play or dalliance with Sita) qualifies sringāram, the most important rasa in the Hindu dance tradition.¹¹

Love Poems in the Solo Dance Forms

In many of the solo dance forms performed by women (devadāsīs) in temples as part of the ritual or worship, a large portion of a recital is devoted to the interpretation of love poems, where sringāra rasa dominates. The dancer represents the human spirit; her lover, who is often named in the lyrics as a particular enthroned deity, represents the Eternal divinity that has no name or form. The marriage or sexual union that the dancer seeks symbolises the human goal of becoming one with the Infinite. In many songs a woman complains to her friend that her lord is with another woman. Many contemporary dancers show the 'other woman' as a usurper, an upstart, even as a prostitute, and interpret the situation by miming righteous anger against the husband. If, however, one were to take into account that the Hindu traditional marriage permitted polygyny then one might discover that 'the other woman' was a co-wife. This would explain why, in many of the verses, the friend exhorts the dancer to show restraint, not to languish in self-pity or to be jealous if she does not wish to be socially rejected and ridiculed by others. (Nowadays these passages are either ignored, i.e. excluded, or they are interpreted as a social sanction of male promiscuity.) Moreover one might discover that the allegory of human love is meant to be seen in terms of a polygynous union rather than a monogamous one, which in turn would explain much of the mystical Rāsa Līla associated with Krishna worship, but that is beyond the scope of this paper.

Narrative Sections

In many narrative sequences a popular scene is that between Lakshmana and Sita, where he draws the protective circle around their hut and asks her to stay within it. Lakshmana never once looks at Sita; he never gazes upon her face. The prevalence of this convention is borne out in the epilogues and additions to the Rāmāyana, where many years later Sita comes across Lakshmana in a forest and has to prove who she is by showing him her two sons who resemble Rama. Lakshmana does not recognize her because he never knew what she looked like.

Although in reality a husband's brother does know what his sister-in-law looks like, this convention in the drama could be seen to express an incest taboo, or at least the conventions of relations between affines. As an unmarried woman Sita belonged to a family with whom it was not only permissible but desirable for members of Rama's family to form affinal connections, (in fact Lakshmana married one of her 'sisters'). Once she became a member of Rama's family, she was expected to be regarded as a sister whom one could not marry or look on as a prospective bride. On the other hand, in the context of the practice of levirate (Karve, 1968: 63-63) by 'not looking' at Sita, Lakshmana could be signalling his renunciation of this right.

The Hand Gestures of Indian Classical Dance

The importance of affinal relationships in Hindu society is also reflected in the codification of hand gestures that denote kin relations. According to the many ancient authorities and observers of dance technique there are approximately 28 single hand and 24 two-hand gestures. These are only the 'alphabet' as it were of the gesture language. In the Abhinaya Darpanam, a 13th century treatise on the gesture language of Indian dance and theatre, Nandikesvara not only describes and names the hand positions, but also mentions some of their usages, including 12 that denote kin relations.¹²

It is noteworthy that except for the elder brother-younger brother gesture which refers to a relationship, the others can be seen in relation to ego, a woman, where apart from her relationship to her parents the rest are relationships brought about through marriage, and where the roles are those held in an affinal family.¹³

The codified gestures, however, are only basic examples of usage. An accomplished dancer would employ a far larger range of gestures to represent a single relationship, and which might for instance refer to the social customs and conventions associated with that relationship. At present in India the trend in dance scholarship is to use the old texts as data bases for how the dance should be performed. Meanwhile, great exponents of the art, both performers and teachers whose compositions are practical examples of the application of the gesture language, grow old and die, lacking any systematic study of their usage of the gesture language. Here is a body language that is not documented through non-literacy and a lack of recognition that the tradition is contained in current practice and cannot be fully analysed from the minimal information

given in the ancient texts. Unfortunately, for many scholars historical reconstruction is more attractive than anthropological research.

Kinship Structures and Dance Forms in Other Societies

I will conclude with two examples from different dance traditions to draw the reader's attention to the fact that the importance of the relations between kinship structures and dance forms is not limited to the classical dances of India. In Martha Graham's only full-length, three-act composition, Clytemnestra, the characters portrayed symbolic conflicts that arose from their duties and obligations to the simultaneously held roles that they represent.

It is not only a queen, Clytemnestra, who kills a king¹⁴, Agamemnon, but also a wife and mother who kills her husband and father of her children. This in turn involves her children, particularly Orestes who is duty bound to avenge his king, even if this makes him a matricide, who in turn has to be punished. The semantic space of the dance, then, is where the political and kinship role rules overlap, and which is seen as an area of irresolvable conflict. In order therefore to fully understand the danced drama, there are many levels at which the relationships between the characters could be analysed (not to mention the gestures Miss Graham employed in reference to these social rules).

My second example is that of the story of Giselle as it is treated in the ballet by Perrot and Coralli. This dance has a scenario that is potentially confusing if one is not aware of certain social rules and relations that govern the action. A peasant girl is wooed by and falls in love with a prince disguised as a peasant. She then encounters the princess (to whom the prince is betrothed) and there is general festivity among peasants and courtiers as they celebrate Giselle's anticipated nuptials. The prince appears and Giselle discovers that her lover is in fact a person of higher station. She loses her mind and dies.

The tragedy of Giselle is normally attributed to the fact that she was betrayed by Albrecht. On closer scrutiny, however, one finds that the prince is faithful to her even after her death, so it is only wrongly interpreted as a simple emotional betrayal. If Albrecht is faithful to her then we might imagine that her suicide is illogical, but if one is aware of rules of endogamy and exogamy, and the absence of the hypergamous category that governs the society portrayed in the ballet, then one might understand Giselle's reaction better.

The tragedy of Giselle lies in the fact that when she realises that Albrecht is a prince, she also realises that he cannot marry her. Her reaction of withdrawal from the world in which she lives results in her death and later resurrection in a different world, governed by different rules - the world of Act II, the society of the Willis. Albrecht's irresponsibility lies in his initial deception brought about by his assumption of a peasant disguise. He pretended to rights that he did not have as a prince, and it was the social sanction against his marrying a peasant, Giselle, rather than personal choice that led to his betrayal of her.

The choreography of Act I then takes on added significance as one sees in it a demonstration of the opposition of two mutually exclusive social classes.¹⁵ An analysis of the movements would perhaps demonstrate the way in which this confrontation is manifested in the gestures, postures and dance patterns of the two groups.

Conclusion

A study of kinship structures reveals patterns of social actions and values that illuminate many assumed elements in the dances of a society, without an understanding of which much of the content of the dances might remain obscure. As a corollary I would suggest that the dances represent an immense source of data for the investigation of social relations and are an important aspect of the holistic study of any society.

Rajika Puri

FOOTNOTES

The Labanotation transcriptions were done by Ray Cook, a certified Labanotator with much experience in the field. Due to the intricacy of Bharata Nāṭyam hand gestures, the task was a time-consuming one. My personal thanks are due to Ray for the patience and diligence with which he transcribed my movements.

1. Literally translated, Rāmāyana means the 'path', 'gait', 'era' of Rama.
2. Dharma is a complex concept in Hindu philosophy. In the Rāmāyana it is used in the main to mean 'right conduct', 'duty', 'honour'. Adharma, its antonym, for example means to act against the dictates of dharmā, i.e. it refers to conduct or deeds that are dishonourable or which go against the Hindu code of ethics.
3. The story of Rama had its origins in oral tradition. The first literary version is attributed to the poet Valmiki (circa 700 B.C.). There are many recensions of the text, but they do not differ with regard to the basic facts relevant to the present analysis.
4. When Rama married Sita, his brothers each married one of her 'sisters', probably 'cousins' since there is no separate term in Sanskrit. They are however not mentioned again.
5. The problem of co-wives has been dealt with by placing them on the same line with an = between them. The broken line differentiates half-brothers from full brothers.
6. MSo stands for 'mother's son'. See below for an explanation of the category.
7. As well as the role of husband which as noted above is not mentioned in this part of the Rāmāyana.

8. As Dumont (1970) points out, this is very different from western notions of individuality. I would like to make a statement about traditional Hindu society that parallels that of Williams (1975) with reference to members of Catholic religious Orders: "Individuals are seen as more or less successful expressions of the whole, and as having resulted from the 'whole'" (1975:107), where she, too, follows Dumont.
9. Although the Nāṭya Shāstra mentions only the first eight, other texts refer to nine rasas, as do the slokas mentioned below.
10. The actions signs described are in the body language of Bharata Nāṭyam.
11. It can be seen from the above that an understanding of the dance leads one into the complexities of the Hindu's moral space, to use a term from Crick (1976).
12. See Appendix I.
13. See Appendix Ia.
14. The distinction between the social symbol (the kingship) and the social persona (the king), well represented in Evans-Pritchard's discussion of the Shilluk (1964:201) is also evident in the British proclamation - "The King is dead. Long live the King."
15. It is interesting to note that in most ballets, when courtiers are shown outside the court (literally their social space) they are dressed as hunters, which can be seen to represent a nature/culture opposition. In some sense it could also be said that the peasant society in Giselle is part of the world of 'nature' that the courtiers 'invade' dressed as hunters or predators.

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APPENDIX I

COMPOUND HAND GESTURES (HASTA MUDRA) WHICH DENOTE KIN RELATIONS¹

| <u>Sanskrit Name</u> (translation) | <u>Description</u> | | <u>Usage</u> | Concepts most commonly signified by each individual mudra |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| | <u>left hand</u> | <u>right hand</u> | | |
| 1. <u>Dampatī</u> (Hu. & Wi.) | Shikhara ² | Mrigashīrsha | Husband & Wife pair | man woman |
| 2. <u>Mātr</u> (Mo.) | Ardha-chandra on womb | to Samdamsa Mrigashīrsha | Mother, daughter | birth woman |
| 3. <u>Pitr</u> (Fa.) | AS ABOVE | + Shikhara | Father, son-in-law | birth man |
| 4. <u>Svasrū</u> (Mo-in-law) | Samdamsa on womb | Hamsāsya at throat | Mother-in-law | birth marriage necklace |
| 5. <u>Svasūra</u> (Fa-in-law) | AS ABOVE | + Shikhara | Father-in-law | ABOVE man |
| 6. <u>Bhartr-bhrātr</u> (Hu's Bros) | Shikhara | Kartarīmukha | Husband's elder and younger brother | man separation (apart) |

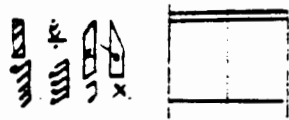
APPENDIX I (CONTINUED)

COMPOUND HAND GESTURES (HASTA MUDRA) WHICH DENOTE KIN RELATIONS¹

| <u>Sanskrit Name</u> (translation) | <u>Description</u> | | <u>Usage</u> | Concepts most commonly signified by each individual mudra |
|--|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|--|---|
| | <u>left hand</u> | <u>right hand</u> | | |
| 7. <u>Nanandu</u> (Hu's Si.) | AS ABOVE | + Mrigashīrsha | Husband's sister | |
| 8. <u>Jyēsta-kanistha</u> (EBr-yBr) | Mayūra one behind | Mayūra the other | Elder-Younger brother relationship | |
| 9. <u>Putr</u> (So.) | Shikhara circled round womb | Samdamsa on womb | Son | |
| 10. <u>Snusā</u> (Da-in-law) | AS ABOVE | + Mrigashīrsha | Son's wife | |
| 11. <u>Bhārtr</u> (Hu., lord) | Shikhara | Hamsāsya | Husband | man marriage necklace |
| 12. <u>Sapatni</u> (Co-Wi.) | | Pāsha Mrigashīrsha | Co-wife | enemy, conflict woman |

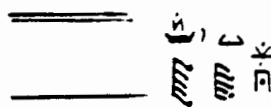
Notes to Appendix I

1. The above table is constructed on information from Nandikesvara's Abhinaya Darpanam.
2. These are names of hand positions earlier described in the text, e.g. Shikhara is



for the left hand,

Mrigashīrsha is



for the right hand,

and are static hand positions or kinemes. The compound gestures are clearly meant to be kinesemes, i.e. they involve the whole body and include movement.

APPENDIX Ia

