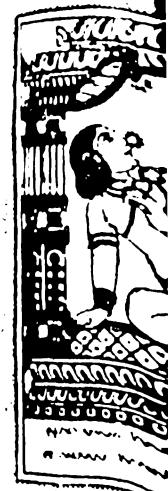


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History of Indian Erotic Literature

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History of Indian Erotic Literature

by

Narendra Nath Bhattacharyya



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Date 12-2-76
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First Published 1975
© 1975 Bhattacharyya, Narendra Nath (b. 1934)

Published by
Munshiram Manoharlal
Publishers Pvt. Ltd.
54 Rani Jhansi Road,
New Delhi-110055.

Printed in India by
Kirpal Printing Press
29/1, Shakti Nagar,
New Delhi-110007.

To
Prof. Nihar Ranjan Ray

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PREFACE

The present work is intended mainly for the general readers, the educated non-specialists who want to know something about the achievements of the ancient Indian civilization and also for the students and young researchers of Indology. This does not, however, mean that the advanced scholars will not get anything from this book. Rather, the odd questions which I have raised here are expected to evoke their genuine interest. The main purpose of this book is to give a clear-cut idea about the nature and contents of Indian erotic literature and to sweep away the fog of exaggerated notions which have so long characterised the study of this subject. I am in the habit of saying in all my books that the study of any aspect of Indology in itself is of no value unless it is used as a means to understand the vast and enormously complicated problems of Indian social history. In the present work, although the scope is limited, I have tried to utilise the history of Indian erotic literature for such an understanding, and the results thus obtained are expected to be tangible, though not amazing.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part, which is a sort of introductory, is subdivided into four chapters. In the first chapter I have dealt with the Indian attitude towards sex which is more ambivalent and paradoxical than any other nation's. It is due not to any peculiar and undefinable characteristic of Indian mind, as is sometimes held by the Western observers, but to the unnatural, crude and violent form of patriarchy which survives even today as the driving force of social life. The defenders of this order constantly fear that the abolition of their system will mean the end of civilization which they characterise as the 'Indian way of life.' But this so called 'Indian way of life' is essentially the affair of the dominant class, the higher castes, which has nothing to do with the greater section of the peoples, the lower castes and tribes, who still adhere to a different tradition. They are eighty per cent of the total population of India, and yet excluded from the scene of Indian

history. The second chapter which deals with the primitive sex rites and their survival in Indian life and religion is an attempt to find out the vestiges of the aforesaid alternate tradition. I have shown that, in almost every period, Indian literature shows traces of agricultural sexual rituals and a pattern of sexual behaviour different from the officially accepted norm. In the third chapter more about this alternative tradition has been discussed. In spite of the ruthless efforts to establish male-superiority through hypergamy, child-marriage and *sati* (burning of widows), the ancient female-dominated values, rituals and social relations could not be stamped out completely from the life of the masses. But it must be admitted that chronic insistence upon the class-divided, patriarchal and authoritarian social structure by the writers of the *smṛtis* and their violent enforcement by the ruling class in public life severely acted upon the natural development of sexual life in India.

The fourth chapter contains a few of my remarks on the erotic elements in Indian art. Of late, my esteemed friend Dr. (Mrs.) Devangana Desai has written exhaustively on this subject in her book *Erotic Sculpture of India—A Socio-Cultural Study*. Ritual drawings with pronounced erotic motives are quite common in different parts of India. There was obviously a link between the primitive fertility rites and sexual drawings and depictions, but when these came to reflect the art of the dominant class, they served a totally different purpose. The art of Khajuraho or Konarak is nothing but the reflection of the abnormal sexual desires of the dominant class, of the men whose munificence was responsible for the construction of the temples. The kings or land-lords spent money for the construction of temples and buildings, not from any artistic inspiration, but to give a show of their wealth. The copulative poses and techniques depicted on the temple walls have parallel existence in the *Kāmaśāstras* meant for the Nāgarakas or wealthy city dwellers. In fact, what this class of people wanted to have in their crude, perverse and fantastic imagination was supplied on the one hand by the writers of the *Kāma* texts and on the other by the designers of the temple-reliefs.

The second part of this book, which is divided into five chapters, deal with the erotic materials found in early Indian literature. In the fifth and sixth chapters, the erotic contents of the Vedic and post-Vedic literature have been discussed. What transpires from this study is the working of two main streams, one represented by the

simpler peoples and the other by the dominant class. To the former, things sexual had a social significance, quite in accordance with their beliefs, ideals and requirements, and these were reflected in the ancient texts of religious and semi-religious character. But in the case of the latter, i.e. in that of the dominant class, sex was for the sake of sex only, a source of physical pleasure and this had given rise to a social system marked by patriarchy, polygamy, concubinage and harlotry. The ideals of this section of peoples were reflected in secular literature, in the sophisticated dramatic and poetical works, and contributed to the growth of a specialised type of erotic literature. In the seventh chapter, which deals with erotic in sophisticated literature and the role of urbanism, these points are discussed at length with specific examples along with a general treatment of the erotic elements found in the celebrated works of Sanskrit literature. The eighth and ninth chapters deal respectively with Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and Hāla's *Gāthā—saptāśatī*. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya is important for its being the model of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*. It is also the earliest available work in which we come across the first attempt of canonisation, along with other aspects of life, of things sexual. Hāla's *Gāthā-saptāśatī*, besides its erotic contents, gives interesting information about the village life, particularly of the Deccan region. The characters, so nicely depicted, all come from village—the farmer and his wife, the village headman and his daughter, the householder, his wife and children and so on. The erotic elements have found expression in this work in isolated stanzas, each of them having a finished form and a charm of its own.

The third part which is also divided into five chapters deals with specialised works on sexology. The tenth, eleventh and twelfth chapters are concerned with the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana dealing respectively its sources, social contents and sexual knowledge. The thirteenth chapter is an analysis of the texts on prostitution while the fourteenth is concerned with the later erotic texts. Vātsyāyana's celebrated *Kāmasūtra*, as it appears from the analysis made here, is a pedantic and superficial production of scholasticism. His attempt to write a scientific treatise is praiseworthy but the difficulty is that he had no practical knowledge of the subject. The social contents of his work may be divided into two categories, the normative aspects and the observed facts. As regards the former, Vātsyāyana had bluntly followed the codifications made by the earlier *Dharmaśāstras*. These are mere restatement of what Manu and other say.

So far as the observed facts are concerned like the daily life of the Nāgaraka, etc., we find a faithful description. More significant in this respect are the texts on prostitution like Dāmodara's *Kuṭṭāṇīmata* or Kṣemendra's *Samayamātrikā* and *Kalāvīlāsa* in which the actual social conditions are described, and men of various professions like the officials, ascetics, astrologers, physicians, servants, traders, goldsmiths, actors, soldiers, singers, wizards, etc. are vindicated. These works may be described as a sort of manual for the *hetaera*, but because of their author's social consciousness and clarity of observation everything is presented with extraordinary faithfulness.

The *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana was composed about the third century AD. Since then, up to the seventeenth century, so many treatises on *Kāma* had been composed, but there was no increase or addition to the knowledge of sexology during this long period of 1500 years. All the subsequent writers on *Kāma*—Kokkoka, Padmaśrī, Yaśodhara, Jyotirīśvara, Jayadeva, Devarāja, Kalyāṇamalla and others—were blind imitators. The lack of the spirit of scientific investigation in all spheres of life and in all branches of learning, the complete regimentation of thought, which characterised the history of this period, forced these writers to resort to fantastic imagination, to coin and multiply meaningless terms instead of forming creative hypotheses based on observation and experiment. It has been sufficiently demonstrated in last chapter of this book that the later works on *Kāma* show no feature of essential interest and they simply echo what has been said by Vātsyāyana and a few earlier authorities.

The authorities quoted here are acknowledged in the footnotes. Still special mention should be made of S.C. Upadhyaya's translations from which I have drawn heavily in this work. The monographs of S.K. Dey and Chandra Cakravarti on this and similar subjects have also been of immense help to me. I am greatly by indebted to Prof. Niharrajan Ray who inspired me to write on this subject. To Sri Devendra Jain of Messrs Munshiram Manoharlal Publications Pvt. Ltd. my sincere thanks are due for the great interest he has taken in bringing out this book.

Calcutta

15th August, 1975.

Narendra Nath Bahttacharyya

INTRODUCTION : SEX AND INDIAN SOCIETY

Virtually every developed society and certainly all modern societies have been patriarchal in which women are treated, consciously or unconsciously, as property, sometimes valuable, often not. But today if one looks carefully at the changing industrial societies of modern times, it will be seen that a renaissance of the female principle is in the move and that women are regaining once more the primacy they lost at the time of the Bronze Age. This upsurge in the power of women in contemporary life, which can be visualised even in India, though not among all sections of peoples, is not due to a re-awakened commitment to the humanitarian values like civil rights and equality, but to economic and technological changes.

Women are going to work, earning money, inheriting wealth and thus they have now clear access to power. The revolution brought by the contraceptives has put time into women's hands and given some measure of real power to them. This is very different from the changeover that happened in primitive times. Conventional standards of behaviour, which were simply the specific formulations of male-chauvinism, are going to become obsolete in near future. In the West, the concept of 'marivorce,' *i.e.* marriage on the assumption that divorce is natural and likely, is gaining ground. An increasing number of women are asserting their right and desire to have children without a husband. Unmarried mothers are thus unknowingly attempting to restore a matrilineal system of kinship and descent.

The same historical process, with some reservations, also holds good in the case of India where primitive and medieval techniques of production occur side by side with the modern and where the speed of social transformation is very slow. In 1880, when female education in India was at its infancy, a 'progressive' journal called *Tattvavodhini* remarked that since women were intellectually inferior they should be taught only in household arts, but subsequent history has proved that the observations of these patriarchal journals

were absolutely wrong and that, given proper chance, the females would surpass the males in every sphere of life. In the University examinations women are seen surpassing men in merit. In different spheres of profession they are distinguished by greater efficiency. But since even today 70 per cent of the Indian people are illiterate and the social values are patriarchally determined, time has not yet come for the enlightened women of India to assert their independent entity and also make themselves completely free from the traditional patriarchal prejudices. Here the patriarchal system, in a crude and violent form, still predominates, and defenders of this order constantly fear that the abolition of their system, which is of course inevitable, will mean the end of civilization which they characterise as 'the Indian way of life.' But this 'Indian way of life' which consists of the injunctions of the Brāhmaṇical law makers, is essentially the affair of the dominant class, the higher castes, which has nothing to do with the greater section of peoples, the lower castes and tribes, who still adhere to the surviving matriarchal values.

Baron Omar Rolf Ehrenfels, to whom goes the credit of collecting all the matriarchal data and organising them in a theoretical set up, observes that mother-right elements in India are stronger, both in extent and in degree, than those in any part of the world and that, in spite of the ruthless efforts to establish male-superiority through hypergamy, child-marriage and *sati* (burning of widows), mother-right elements could not be stamped out from the lives of the masses.¹ The special vigour to overthrow mother-right must have necessarily implied a corresponding special vigour which mother-right must have been enjoying in India since pre-Vedic age. Debi Prasad Chattopadhyaya argues that, if the undeveloped agricultural economy had a natural tendency to create matriarchal conditions (this is to be dealt with in a subsequent section) and if by far the largest proportion of the Indian masses remained predominantly agricultural, it was but logical that the most extravagant methods would have been necessary to coerce upon them the supremacy of the male, but the reason behind the peculiar tenacity with which the elements of mother-right have survived in the lives of the Indian people is that the majority of them remain the tillers of the soil.²

¹O. R. Ehrenfels, *Mother-right in India*, Hyderabad, 1941, pp. 18 ff., 121-29, 201-04.

²D.P. Chattopadhyaya, *Lokāyata*, New Delhi, 1968, pp. 232 ff.

This unnatural existence of Indian patriarchy of the dominant class through a constant struggle with the matriarchal leanings of the simpler peoples alone explains the ambivalent and paradoxical attitude of the high-caste Hindus towards sex, an attitude which has baffled some Western writers on Indian sex life. Here I like to quote the following from a book of Arthur Koestler: "The traditional form of marriage by arrangement, and the absence of privacy in the joint household, prevent the emergence of a genuine human relationship between husband and wife—until middle-age, when the education of the children and other shared worries provide a belated and unromantic tie. The young people meet as strangers, and for a long time they shared bed, or mat, remains the only common ground between them. During the day, they are hardly ever alone and have practically no opportunity to talk to each other, for such intimacy in the presence of the elders is considered offensive. Intellectual companionship, human understanding, shared interests, are absent to a degree which seems almost inhuman to the European....The Hindu pantheon knows no Eros; his place is occupied by Kāma, the prime force of Desire. Sex is the means by which the young husband can assert himself in the eyes of his stranger-bride, and the only token of affection that he can offer her. At the same time, sex is a source of anxious worry, a depletion of the vital forces of body and mind. As a result the Indian attitude to sex is perhaps more ambivalent and paradoxical than any other nation's. On the one hand, the rigid separation of sexes, prudishness, praise of the spiritual and physical value of continence, fussiness about 'cool' foods, thrifty hoarding of the precious fluid. On the other hand, the cult of the liṅgam, a sex-charged mythology, erotic sculptures in the temples displaying the most astonishing features of copulative acrobacy, the *ars amandi* of the *Kāmasūtras*, the hottest curries, shops with the alluring sign 'Sex Pharmacy,' an unrivalled trade in aphrodisiac preparations and spices.....The simultaneous shameful denial and triumphant affirmation of sex....is an indication of the deep and ancient roots of Hindu ambivalence. The erotic temple carvings, in which a luxuriant and feverish imagination overflows in endless and tireless variations in hundreds of scenes along the walls make the visitor feel that he has stumbled into a sacred bordello of the gods; and the temple dancers of a still recent past must have been a tangible confirmation of it. The ubiquitous colour reproductions of Śiva and his beguiling Pārvatī, of Kṛṣṇa's dalliance

with the Gopī's, the worship of the lingam, are perpetual reminders of the procreative force, and create an atmosphere saturated with insidious symbolism; yet at the same time, sex is to be feared and avoided, and the symbol denied its meaning. It is another example of the indifference to contradiction, of the peaceful co-existence of logical opposites in the emotional sphere. Indians hate what they love, and love what they hate—but more so than other people.....I have nowhere else seen a country where young people of opposite sex are so helpless and paralysed in each other's presence, and so intensely aware of each other's sex.”¹

This is undoubtedly a sincere description of the state of things prevalent among the higher-caste peoples, and that is why I have quoted the observation at length. But from a right understanding Koestler has come to a wrong conclusion. Evidently he is wrong when he traces the contradiction, so wonderfully he has demonstrated, to some peculiar and undefinable characteristics of Indian mind. That is quite vague and absurd. The root of this contradiction should be sought not in psychology but in the conflicts of patriarchal and matriarchal values by which the Indian patriarchy is constantly tormented. Secondly, Koestler and other sophisticated scholars of India and outside have no idea of the less-patriarchal societies of the simpler peoples. They are eighty percent of the total population of India, and yet they are excluded from the scene of Indian history. Among the simpler peoples of India there is no ambivalent and paradoxical attitude towards sex, because women in their societies enjoy considerable freedom. They work with men in the fields, in the mines and factories and in other spheres of worldly activities, and thus they have developed a more decent, healthy and human attitude towards sex. This reality of Indian social life with which the greater section of the people is concerned is generally and most unfortunately overlooked by most of the scholars.

I believe that my readers will agree with me on the point that the study of erotic in itself is of no significance unless it is used as a means to understand the vast and enormously complicated problems of Indian social history. My insistence on matriarchal values may be challenged from the viewpoint of a section of modern anthropologists, but they are observed realities which have strongly characterised the social fabric of India at all ages. With these few words I shall

¹A. Koestler, *The Lotus and the Robot*, Harper, New York, 1966, pp. 135-38.

proceed to deal with the basic features of Indian sex life and the extent of their contribution to the growth of the erotic literature of the dominant class.

THE PRIMITIVE SEX RITES : THEIR SURVIVAL IN INDIAN LIFE AND RELIGION

Historians have more or less subscribed to the myth that the ancient civilization of India was a concrete unity. The past is interpreted as if it was all part of a single cultural trend. All contradictions are smoothed out, and what cannot be fitted into the preconceived mould is simply ignored. It is easy to ignore the inconvenient because the texts themselves, even the oldest, attempted to accomplish the same purpose—to preach the male-dominated outlook. When the practices of the alternative tradition make a rare appearance, it is often for the purpose of abuse. Ingenious explanations were devised to explain away the vestiges of such practices among peoples who were eventually absorbed into the Vedic fold. Even then the evidences relating to the sexual rituals and their connection with the cult of the Mother Goddess could not completely be hushed up, and it is interesting to note that, in almost every period, Indian literature shows traces of agricultural sexual ritual and of a pattern of sexual behaviour different from the officially accepted norm. Many rituals of the other traditions which found their way into certain ancient texts became the visible portion of the Tantric iceberg, the significance of which were denied or distorted by subsequent generations.

“So intimate appeared to be the relation between the processes of birth and generation and those of fertility in general that the two aspects of the same mystery found very similar mode of ritual expression under prehistoric conditions.”¹ The magical rites designed to secure the fertility of the fields seemed to belong to the special competence of the women who were the first cultivators of the soil and whose power of child-bearing had, in primitive thought, a sympathetic effect on the vegetative forces of the earth.² Thus,

¹E.O. James, *Prehistoric Religion*, New York, 1957, p. 172.

²J.G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (abridged edition), pp. 11-82, 399-423.

when natural productivity came to be viewed in terms of human productivity, earth-mother in terms of human-mother, the agricultural rituals rested on the assumption that the productivity of nature or mother-earth could be enhanced by the imitation of human reproduction and this gave rise to the sex rites all over the world including the cults of *liṅga* and *Yoni* (male and female organs), the former symbolising the act of cultivation and the latter, the fruit-bearing earth. When human body and the earth are assumed to have the same nature, the two must be taken as interacting and dependent. *The mystery of nature must therefore be the mystery of the human body*, the *deha* or human body being the microcosm of the universe, and this alone accounts for the cosmogony of the Tantras which aims at explaining the birth of the Universe in terms of the mysteries of the birth of a human being.¹

The central feature of the cosmogony of the Tantras is the female principle, the male principle having only a secondary position. This female-dominated world view is in substantial agreement with that of the Sāṅkhya according to which the material *prakṛti*, conceived as a female principle, is the cause of the universe and the *puruṣa* or the male principle is nothing but a passive spectator. There is reason to believe that the Sāṅkhya philosophy was originally a development of the primitive proto-materialism which formed the substratum of Tantricism itself. The anomalous position of the male principle of the Sāṅkhya and the Tantra can presumably be traced to the anomalous position of the males in the primitive female dominated societies, in which the male had something to do in the matter of procreation but in the family he is insignificant and a passive spectator, exactly like the *puruṣa* of the Sāṅkhya.²

In primitive society the clan centred in the women on whose responsibility rested the essentially important function of rearing the young and of imparting to them whatever could then be characterised as human heritage. The woman was not only the symbol of generation, but the actual producer of life. Her organs and attributes were thought to be endowed with generative power, and so they had been the life giving symbols. In the earliest phases of social evolution, it was this *maternity* that held the field, the life-producing mother being the central figure of religion. But this female supremacy was short-lived in most of the cases. The growth

¹Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 269 ff.

²See my *History of Indian Cosmogonical Ideas*, New Delhi, 1971, pp. 50 ff.

of pastoral economy created conditions for the growth of patriarchal societies. In the sphere of religion, the male element was introduced at first as the insignificant lover of the goddess, but at length he became the co-equal and eventually the predominant partner. Still, where agriculture predominated over hunting in providing food, matriarchal conditions did not cease to exist, because agriculture was originally the invention and business of women, at least till the introduction of the cattle-drawn plough.¹

In the religious history of India the cult of the Mother Goddess never ceased to be an important cult of the peoples. It was so deep-rooted in Indian mind that even in the sectarian religions like Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc. the female principle had to be given a very prominent position. Even the basically atheistic religions like Buddhism and Jainism could not avoid this popular influence. Later Buddhism is, in fact, nothing but a disguised Tantric cult of the female principle. Among the vast masses of Indian peasantry male deities have only a secondary position. Indeed, a predominantly agricultural country like India, with her stunted economic development accounting for a strong survival of tribal elements, is only likely to be full of matriarchal relics, and this explains the cause of the popularity and survival of the cult of the female principle and kindred Tantric rituals.

The identification of earth with woman implies that the functions of the earth and those of women are alike. The same preconditions which fertilise women are also thought to fertilise Mother Earth. In Bengal, it is believed that during the days of the *ambuvācī* ritual Mother Earth menstruates in order to prepare herself for her fertilising work. This explains why in the Punjab and also in different parts of the Deccan, Mother Earth is given time to have rest and why special importance is attached to the menstruation of the goddess Pārvatī in different parts of India and that of the goddesses Bhagavatī and Kāmākhyā of Kerala and Assam respectively. In the Tantras, for the same reason, special importance is attached to the menstrual blood. In primitive thought, all fluxes of blood, menstrual as well as lochical, were treated alike as manifestations of the life-giving power inherent in the female sex. This also explains the use of vermillion or red-ochre on cult objects and on female bodies. The relation of vermillion or red ochre with the menstrual blood and

¹For details see my *Indian Mother Goddess*, Calcutta, 1970, pp. 65 ff.

also with the productive aspects of nature has been shown by Robert Briffault and George Thomson, and here we do not want to fill the pages with illustrations.¹

The fertility of the field when linked up with that of the woman has given rise to the universal belief that whatever is planted by a pregnant woman will grow well while a barren woman is expected to make the field barren. The commonest Sanskrit word for child-birth is *bhūmiṣṭha* which means simply 'being placed on the earth.' This belief may have resulted from a simple association of ideas: women bring forth children as the land yields fruit. But this belief also has an economic basis. Primitive agriculture was women's work. Primitive myth ascribing the invention of agriculture to women are found all over the world. Because primitive agriculture was a chancy thing, dependent on the weather and on techniques which were barely understood, magic accompanied every phase of the mysterious operation, from sowing to reaping. The primary purpose of agricultural magic was to communicate to the fields the fertility of women. Two basic methods were therefore used to enhance the fertility of the fields: ritual nudity (the exposure of the female sexual organ to the fields) and sexual union.

Women of many tribes all over the world are known to strip naked periodically for the benefit of crops. The custom was followed by the ancient Greeks in a rite associated with Demeter, by Flemish women and British priestesses of the pre-Christian era, and was associated with the shamanistic practices of the Taoist in China, especially with regard to rain-making. The same custom was widespread in India and persists until this day.

Festivals marking various agricultural operations are almost invariably marked by ceremonies involving sexual intercourse. As we have stated above, primarily the *linga* or male organ was the symbol of the act of cultivation while the *Yoni* or the female organ represented Mother Earth. This finds support in a statement of Manu: *iyam bhūmirhi bhūtānāṁ śāśvatī yonirucyate* (IX. 37). Elsewhere he identifies man with seed and woman with seed-field: *kṣetra-bhūtā smṛtā nārī vīja-bhūta smṛtah pumān* (IX. 33). The association of sexual union with agriculture is universal. The tribes of Central America employ some persons for the purpose of sexual union on the eve of sowing. The Musquakis select a man and a

¹For everything about menstrual beliefs and rituals see my *Indian Puberty Rites*, Calcutta, 1968, pp. 8-19, 53-59.

woman to make sexual intercourse in the field. Similar customs are in vogue in Peru, Chile, New Mexico, Nikaragua and other Latin American countries. Referring to these customs Briffault observes that "the belief that sexual act assists the promotion of abundant harvest of the earth's fruits and is indeed indispensable to secure it, is universal in the lower phases of culture."¹ Among the Hos of Chotanagpur, during the harvest festival, complete sexual liberty is given to the girls. The Kotas of Nilgiri hills have a similar festival of sexual freedom. In Orissa, among the Bhuiyas, sexual freedom is given to the girls during their harvest festival called *māgh porāi*. In Assam, women are allowed during spring festivals complete freedom 'without any stain, blemish or loss of reputation.' The same holds good in the harvest festivals of many other tribes of India. The Zemi villagers (Kacha Nagas) at their sowing season make a model of the sexual organs in coitus. The female organ is exactly modelled in clay, with dry grass representing the pubic hairs, while a wooden stake serves for the male organ. Young men and girls surround this model, and one of them work the stake in the appropriate way, to the great amusement of the rest of the party. In some cases their original purposes have been forgotten. The *Holi* festival was a celebration of this type in which even persons of great responsibility were not ashamed to take part in orgies which mark the season of the year. Today men run about the street dousing each other with *red* powder or water, the significance of which is entirely forgotten.²

The origin of the Tantric sex rites is therefore to be sought in the aforesaid beliefs and rituals. In fact, erotic practices associated with the Mother-Goddess cult appear to be older than the Tantric texts themselves. The adoption of the ritual of a particular group of people by another group is essentially connected with the social changes caused by the shifting tensions in the primitive mode of food production. The pastoral tribes must have borrowed or inherited many of their ritual features from the hunting tribes, since hunting led to the domestication of cattle. In the second pastoral grade, as the case was with the Vedic peoples, when stock-raising was supplemented by agriculture, some agricultural features were also incorporated in the pastoral rituals. In the later *Samhitās* and

¹R. Briffault, *The Mothers*, London, 1952, Vol. III, pp. 207 ff.

²For these and other examples see my *Indian Puberty Rites*, pp. 45 ff.; *Indian Mother Goddess*, pp. 34 ff. For *Holi* see my *Ancient Indian Rituals*, Delhi, 1975, pp. 114-29.

Brāhmaṇas, for example, we have references to agricultural rituals while they are conspicuously absent in the earlier portions of the *Rgveda*.

The central ritual of the Aśvamedha was originally the queen's sexual union with the priest.¹ According to the evidence furnished by the *Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā* (XXIII) this union used to take place in a curious way. The queen was raised up high by a few men, and so was the priest. And in that condition they were to make sexual intercourse, according to the demand of the ritual (see Uvāṭa's commentary on *Vājasaneyī*, XXIII, 26-27). This was evidently a fertility ritual which is proved by the fact that the ancient commentator explained the sexual act in terms of the act of sowing in the field: *Yathā kṛṣivalaḥ dhānyam vāte śuddahm kurvan grahaṇamakaśau jhaṭiti karoti*.

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (I. 9.2.7, 11; VI. 4.3.7; VI. 6.2.8; VI. 6.1.11; etc.) we come across numerous passages in which sexual union is identified with sacrifice. In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (II. 1.3.) we have the following passage: "One summons; that is a *hirṇikāra*. He makes request; that is a *prastāra*. Together with the woman he lies down; that is an *udgṛ̥tha*. He lies upon the woman; that is a *pratihāra*. He comes to an end; that is a *nidhāna*. He comes to a finish; that is a *nidhāna*. This is the *Vāmadevya Sāman* as woven upon copulation. He who knows thus this *Vāmadevya Sāman* as woven upon copulation, comes to copulation, procreates himself from every copulation, reaches a full length of life, lives long, becomes great in offspring and cattle, great in fame. One should never abstain from any woman. That is his rule."² In many scattered passages of the Upaniṣads (cf. *Chāndogya*, V. 8. 1-2; *Brhadāraṇyaka*, VI. 2.13 etc.), the woman is conceived as the sacrificial fire, her lower portion as the sacrificial wood, the genitalia as the flames, the penetration as the carbon, and the copulation as the spark. The *Brhadāraṇyaka* (VI. 4.3) says that the lower portion of a woman (*upastha*) is to be conceived as the sacrificial altar (*vedī*), the pubic hairs (*lomāni*) as the sacrificial grass, the outer skin (*bahiścarman*) as the floor for the pressing of the soma plants (*adhiśavana*), and the two labia of the vulva (*muskau*) as the inmost fire. He who remembers this during copulation gets the reward of the *Vājapeya*

¹See my 'The Priest and the Queen: A Study in the Rituals of the Aśvamedha' in *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXI (1971), pp. 1-21.

²Hume's.

sacrifice. Since *Vājapeya* means 'food and drink,' there is no difficulty in thinking that by sexual union, as the said Upaniṣad suggests, one is entitled to get food and drink. In other words, here sexual union is regarded as a means, or rather a technique, of food production. The same text (VI. 4.6.7) goes on so far as to state that if a woman refuses sexual union, she must be forced to do so.

In Tantricism special importance is attached to the rituals centring round the female genital organ and these rituals are called *bhagayāga* or *latā-sādhanā*. The word Tantra is derived from the root *tan*, the most simple meaning of which is 'to spread,' 'to multiply.' The Tāntric Śricakra is nothing but the representation of female generative organ.¹ In the Durgā worship, a Tāntric diagram showing the pictures of female generative organ, called *Sarvatobhadramāṇḍala*, is drawn upon the ground and a *pūrṇa-kumbha* or *pūrnaghāṭa*, i.e. an earthen vessel filled with water, a symbol of the female womb, is placed on it. The figure of a baby, called *sinduraputtalī*, is drawn on the surface of the vessel. The open mouth of the *pūrnaghāṭa* is covered with five kinds of leaves, and a cocoanut, smeared with vermillion, is placed on it. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* (LXX. 122) identified *kumbha* or *ghaṭa* explicitly with uterus. What is stated above is simply a fertility rite by which the plants are brought into contact with female reproductive organ to ensure multiplication.² This also finds expression in a piece of sculpture of the Mother Goddess found at Nagarjunikonda which depicts the lower portion of a female figure in a sitting posture with legs doubled up and wide apart and feet pointing outwards. The bifurcated lower portion of the vulva is very prominently indicated, while the area between the broad belt below the navel and the upper portion of the vulva is used to make a *pūrnaghāṭa* highly decorated with an ornamental belt around it.³

Later religions like Buddhism and others, in order to get themselves popular among the masses, had to make compromise with these existing cults and beliefs, and it was one of the processes through which the Tantric deities and rituals of the lower strata of society could have access to the upper levels. This process began to work in full motion from about the beginning of the Christian era, and the subsequent history of the Indian religions was the history of the

¹R.G. Bhandarkar, *Collected Works*, Poona, 1936, Vol. IV, p. 209.

²Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 294 ff.

³N.N. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Mother Goddess*, p. 42.

conflict and fusion of the Tantric elements with the so-called higher religions. Tantric elements profoundly influenced Buddhism and transformed it beyond recognition. Śaivism, due to its popular character, was saturated with Tantric ideas, practically since its inception as an organised religion. Vaiṣṇavism too, could not avoid this popular influence. Jainism alone withstood this current and could largely maintain its rigid orthodoxy. Still it had to make room for a good number of Tantric goddesses. The mass strength behind the Tantric cults also created a new religion, entirely female dominated, a religion in which even the great gods like Viṣṇu or Śiva would remain subordinate to the goddess. This new religion came to be known as Śāktism.

Tantric Buddhist texts like the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* or the *Guhyasamāja* say that creation is due to the Śakti or female energy of the Ādi Buddha, and as such the adepts should realise that the female sex is the source of all. They are therefore to be initiated by *prajñā* or *śakti*.¹ The aim of the Śākta-Tantric worshipper is to realise the universe within himself and to become one with the goddess. In the Tantras, all women are regarded as manifestations of Prakṛti or Śakti, and hence they are object of respect and devotion. The Tantras do not make any distinction between a so-called virtuous and a so-called fallen woman. The patriarchal concept of female chastity has nothing to do with the Tantras. Every aspirant has to realise the latent female principle within himself, and only by becoming a female he is entitled to worship the supreme being (*vāmā bhūtrā yajet parām*). A woman is entitled to function in the role of the preceptor and she has no sexual obligation to anyone.

It is therefore obvious that such a socio-religious viewpoint is bound to be discouraged by the orthodox upholders of Brāhmaṇical patriarchal traditions. Very naturally therefore this viewpoint had its solid base among the lower section of the peoples who did not follow the injunctions of the Smṛtis and whose women worked freely in the fields, markets, mines and industries, as they do even today. Seclusion of women was essentially the affair of the higher caste peoples who were guided by the patriarchal *Smārta* tradition. In the Tantras supreme importance is attached to such characters as the Candālī, Dombī, Rajakī, Śabarī, etc. These were all female names representing some of the lowest castes carrying on despised

¹P.C. Bagchi *Studies in the Tantras*, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 100 ff.

occupations. According to the Nātha tradition, the queen Mainamati was initiated by a Hādi, a member of a despised caste. Saraha of the Sahajiyā tradition says in his *Dohākoṣa* that the Brāhmaṇas as a caste cannot be recognised to be the highest of men, because their only task is to deceive the people. Such examples can be multiplied. Chronic insistence upon the class-divided, patriarchal and authoritarian social structure by the writers of the *Smṛtis* and its violent enforcement by the ruling class in public life severely acted upon the natural development of sex and social life in India. But in spite of all ruthless efforts, the triumph of extreme patriarchal values was confined only among the dominant class. The cause of this limited success cannot be properly understood unless a clear picture of the influence of mother-right in Indian life is revealed, which I propose to do in the next chapter.

*THE TWO STREAMS : MYTH AND REALITY
OF THE MATRIARCHAL VALUES*

The matriarchal traits are historical realities in India which can be identified, traced and documented. As an undifferentiated cultural complex they stood in sharp opposition to a male dominated outlook inherited from the Vedic atmosphere. The Vedic peoples were originally bands of warlike stock breeders, organised in tribes and clans, and ruled by chiefs, elders and tribal councils, staunchly patriarchal and patrilinear, and frankly polytheistic. For these tribesmen cattle was everything. In fact, out of 10,462 verses of the *Rgveda* only 25 refer to agriculture.¹ In the older portions of the *Rgveda*, we have only three words of agricultural significance. Side by side, the importance attached to the possession of cattle is shown in numerous passages. The word *go* denoting the cow is used as one of the synonyms for *prithvî*, the earth. According to the *Nighantu* (II.11), nine other terms were also used to denote the cow. Even in the *Rgveda* the gods are invoked as offsprings of the cows (VI.50.11) and the poets did not hesitate to compare their songs with the lowing of the cows (VII.32.22; VII.106.1; IX.22.2, etc.) or to designate the starry heaven after the term *gâvah* (I.154.6; VII.36 1). "Again and again in the songs and invocations to the gods, the prayer for cattle and horses occurs. Also the strife amongst the hostile aboriginal inhabitants turns on the possession of cattle. Therefore, too, the old word for 'war' or 'battle' is originally desire for cattle (*gavisti*). In the most extravagant expressions, cows and bullocks are praised as the most precious possessions."²

There is a close relation between a pastoral economy and patriarchy. The accumulation of wealth in primitive societies came in

¹For the verses concerned see my *Indian Mother Goddess*, p. 9n.

²M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Calcutta, 1927, I, pp. 64-65.

two ways: (1) by the development of agriculture and (2) by the domestication of animals. As Briffault has nicely shown, where agriculture developed considerably *without any intervening pastoral stage*, mother right elements became the guiding forces of society, but where agriculture developed in its most productive form *in the societies which were originally pastoral*, we have the opposite result. Instead of raising the economic power and importance of the earth-cultivating women, it gave rise to the most pronounced type of patriarchal societies.¹ The religion of the *Rgveda* is therefore patriarchal, a reflection of the society of pastoral warriors. Since cultivation was not the predominant mode of food production among the *Rgvedic* peoples we find that the Vedic conception of the Earth Mother (*Rgveda*, V. 84; *Atharvaveda*, XII.1; etc.) is totally different from the Earth of Mother Goddess of the older peoples. Goddesses occupy a subordinate position in Vedic religion. As wives of the great gods they play a still more insignificant part. Even the so-called important goddesses like Aditi and Uṣas have no significance in subsequent religious history. We do not find in the early stratum of Vedic literature the names of such Purāṇic goddesses as Durgā, Kālī, Ambikā, Umā and others.²

So the Vedic gods were male and with the exception of Agni they were mostly sky-gods and war-gods.¹ As raids and war were the characteristics of pastoral life, the war-god Indra headed the pantheon. Invincible in battle, Indra crushed his enemies, shattered dams, devastated cities and his endless victories finally made him the monarch of all that 'moves and rests,' 'the tame and horned animals.' This Indra was the successor of Varuṇa, a different type of god who was the protector of *Rta*, the natural equality and justice. Before prosperity had made war commonplace, when tribal life was still in harmony with world, when tribal equality was the rule, when the natural order and social order seemed to follow their course without effort, Varuṇa was Supreme. This at least is how the poets saw the life of their ancestors, to which already, when the *Rgveda* was written down, they looked upon as a lost golden age.³

The *Rgveda* was composed over a period of many centuries. The purely pastoral economy of the *Rgvedic* tribes eventually declined,

¹R. Briffault, *The Mothers*, II, pp. 251-52.

²cf. A. A. Maedonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 127.

³Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 560 ff.

but a patriarchal social organisation and a patrilineal inheritance outlived the eventual decline of the pastoral economy. The universe was conceived as created by the all-pervading male principle (*Rgveda*, X.90). This idea was so natural to the Vedic poets that even in their most inspired speculative moments, they could not get away from it. The explanation of this bias must be sought in the pastoral economy which confers superiority on the male.

The emphasis on celibacy should demonstrate finally that sexual restrictions were inherent to the patriarchal tradition and not to mysticism. The severe prohibition on sexual relations outside of marriage, evidently in the cases of women, were due to the overwhelming demand of private property, to make sure of the ancestry of the child. With property is associated the question of inheritance, and herein lies the economic significance of the female chastity which is the contribution of the patriarchal society. In pure tribal life, the ceremony of initiation was invariably an introduction to maturity and participation in the sex life. The patriarchal society was designed to exclude all these from its structure. Thus in the Brāhmaṇical system the original purpose of initiation had been distorted beyond all recognition and turned into its opposite. The initiate was surrounded by elaborate prohibitions. He must observe celibacy and avoid women. Even he is not entitled to touch the feet of his teacher's wife. This shows that it was not the act itself, nor the spiritual well-being of the Brahmacārin, but the consequences of the act upon the patriarchal class society that led to such severe prohibitions on sexual relations.

As we have stated above, this Vedic or male dominated tradition stood in sharp opposition to an entirely different cultural complex, a female-dominated outlook, with which it was in constant conflict. This female-dominated outlook must have evolved out of ancient matriarchal conditions. Matriarchy or mother-right is a point on which there is controversy among modern anthropologists. The history of this controversy is interesting and it should throw some light on the right understanding of the subject.

In 1861, Bachofen formulated that before the establishment of patriarchy a condition of promiscuity prevailed which was followed by mother-right. A few years later (1865) McLennan set forth the same hypothesis. In 1869, Morgan contended that marriage was evolved from promiscuity through a series of progressive stages to monogamy and that descent through the maternal line

was preceded by that through the paternal line, the former passing to the latter when property-relations were established and paternity was no longer doubtful. Later writers like Bloch, Maine, Hartland, Thomas, etc. also thought that mother-right was the natural consequence of promiscuity and that it had preceded father-right in most of the cases. Graebner and Schmidt, on the other hand, believed that in most parts of the world matrilineal migrants must have settled among earlier patrilineal peoples so that the main change had been from father-right to mother-right and not in the reverse direction. Frazer used the principles of mother-right to explain certain features of religious beliefs and practices, especially those concerned with the cult of the Mother Goddess. Rivers considered mother-right as a highly complex condition in which a good number of social processes were involved and came to the conclusion that an existing condition of mother-right was eventually changed either into one of father-right or into a form of social organisation in which social rights were recognised with the relatives of both father and mother. But Westermarck made a violent charge against the validity of the hypothesis of mother-right, and his stand was supported by Goldenwiser, Horatio Hale and Van Gennep. Westermarck's views were refuted by Briffault who in his great theoretical contribution, *The Mothers*, re-established the matriarchal theory from a new angle of vision with a mass of data, copious and concrete.

From Bachofen's striking formulation in 1861 to Briffault's extraordinary publication in 1927, the concept of mother-right was accorded a special place in anthropological studies. But with the decline of the evolutionist method of approach, the principles of mother-right began to be treated with diminishing importance by a section of the anthropologists. In 1926, Malinowski declared that the task of social anthropology should be aimed at the understanding of the nature of culture, rather than at conjectural reconstructions of its evolution or of past events. Following Malinowski, Radcliffe Brown defined a social system as consisting of "the total *social structure* of society together with the totality of *social usages* in which that structure appears and on which it depends for its continued existence." As his theory developed, he laid increasing stress on the comparative analysis of social structures as the primary aim of social anthropology. Applying this principle Radcliffe Brown and later Functionalists insisted on specialised analysis and comparison of existing systems and institutions like matriliney,

matrilocal marriage and residence, etc. without bothering whether these might be regarded as the vestiges of the earlier presence of mother-right.

But to a historian things like matriliney or matrilocal marriage are not and cannot be regarded as 'things-in-themselves'. The early evolutionists, however, offered an explanation taking matriliney, matrilocal marriage, avunculate, etc. as the natural concomitants of a system called mother-right and attempted to account for the origin and development of the latter. But the defect of their explanation lay in the fact that they overlooked the material basis of such systems and institutions, the economic basis of the social domination of the sexes. On the other hand the major defects of the Functionalists are that they fail to see that the evidences which they frequently cite are largely of the nature of the extant cases from one stage to another, that the growth of many primitive communities have been retarded by the economic difficulties of their habitat, and that the more backward peoples have been continually subject to the cultural influence of the more advanced.

On primitive societies the *patria potestas* was imposed step by step in accordance with the progressive changes in the mode of food gathering and food production. The process began with hunting, probably with the invention of spear, and in the post-hunting age, among those peoples that developed pastoral economy, male supremacy came to exercise even greater hold, because stock-raising is almost everywhere man's work. But where agriculture predominated over hunting in providing food, it accordingly raised the status of women for reasons given above. It is often found that some of the most backward peoples reckon descent through the father, while others, more advanced, retain the older form of matrilineal descent. The explanation, as given by George Thomson, is that "the sexual division of labour characteristic of a hunting economy is such as to impart that economy an inherent tendency to paternal descent. The reason why so high a proportion of modern hunting tribes are patrilineal is that their economic life has been arrested at that level. Conversely, when we find, as we shall find, that in the prehistory of civilized peoples matrilineal descent persisted to a much higher stage than the ethnographical data might lead us to expect, the explanation is that these peoples passed rapidly through hunting to agriculture."¹

¹G. Thomson, *Studies in Ancient Greek Society*, London, 1949, Vol. I, p. 43.

Indeed, a predominantly agricultural country like India with her stunted economic development accounting for a strong survival of tribal elements, is only likely to be full of matriarchal relics. *Strī-rājya*, 'the women's kingdom', is frequently mentioned in Indian literature. Their existence in ancient India was not merely a flight of fancy, as the seventh century Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang found one such country (Su-fa-la-na-kin-ta-lo, Suvarṇagotra) in the Kumaun-Garhwal region and another near Lāṅgala in the present Baluchistan region.¹ The Suvarṇagotra country with its typical social system is mentioned in the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (LV) and the *Vikramāṇka-devacarita* (XVIII, 57), while the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (XIV.22) and the *Skanda purāṇa* (M/K, XXXIX. 27ff) refer to women's kingdoms in the north-west of India. In Yaśodhara's *Jayamanigalā* commentary on the *Kāmasūtra* we have also reference to a *Strī-rājya* lying to the west of Vajravanta country. Vatsyāyana connected *Strī-rājya* with the Bāhikas with whom it had certain customs in common. The *Mārkanḍeya Purāṇa* (LVIII. 39) also refers to women's kingdom in north west India, and this is supported by the evidence of the *Mahābhārata* (III. 51 ; XII.4) which locates it to the north of the Himalayas near the regions inhabited by the Hūṇas and the Taṅgaṇas, and also by that of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (IV.43.20). *Strī-rājya* is mentioned in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (IV. 173, 185, 587, 666) which probably lay in the extreme north-west. Megasthenes heard of queen-rulers in the Pāṇḍya country, and this tradition was confirmed by Arrian, Polyaenus and Solinus.²

In India, particularly in her eastern and southern zones, there are various peoples who have retained to this day a primitive social organisation of matriarchal character. The Khasis of Eastern India trace descent from an ancestress (*ki lawbei tynrai*), the root of the clan-tree from which spring up matrilineal specialised clans (*shi-kur*) and sub-clans (*kpoh*) and families (*iing*) consisting of grandmother, her daughters and their children. The man, if he is a brother, has to become a member of the family or clan he marries, and if he is a husband, he is looked upon merely as a begetter. Only the daughters are entitled to the share of property which belongs to the

¹T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels In India*, London, 1904, I, p. 330; II, p.257 ; S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1884, II, pp. 227 ff.

²R.C. Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India* Calcutta, 1960, pp. 222-23, 456-58.

mother. The Khasi, Synteng and Lynngam laws of inheritance are practically the same. The income of the land belongs to the *Kur* (clan) which is divided among the constituent *iings* (families) in which the mother is the head and only bond of union. The priests (*Lingdoh*) act merely as deputies of the priestesses (*ka-lingdoh*), and in many Siemships (tribal settlements) the High Priestesses once used to head the administration. These matriarchal traits were observed by Lyall and Gurdon about the beginning of this century.¹

Matrilocal marriage was the system of the Lalungs, another tribe of the Khasi and Jaintia hills. Hodgson and Dalton in the last quarter of the nineteenth century found vestiges of mother-right among the Kochs who have now become patriarchal. Among the Garos, Playfair found the clans subdivided in *maharis* or 'motherhoods'. All property went through women and men were incapable of inheriting in their own right. The husband entered the wife's family and the children belonged to the wife's clan.² Before Playfair Gait also observed the same which he recorded in the census report of 1891.

In Kerala, the Nayar joint family or *tarwad* consists of a woman, her daughters and grandchildren, and when it grows unusually big it often splits into smaller family units called *tavazhis*. The property of the *tarwad* is divided equally among the *tavazhis* into which it is split up. Nayar women are entitled to keep more than one husband. The *sambandham*, the term by which the Nayar marriage is generally known, though recognised as legal, is dissoluble at will, and the husband has no legal obligation of maintaining his divorced wife. Today much of the social organisation of Nayar motherhood have suffered the disintegrating influence of modern conditions. Still it is difficult to say whether the Nayars in the near future will change over to the patrilineal family prevalent in other parts of the country.³

In the *Mahābhārata* (VIII. 45.13) it is stated that among the Āraṭas and Bāhikas the sister's son inherits the property of his maternal uncle. The kings of Travancore followed the *alia-santāna* (from mother's brother to sister's son) system of inheritance and

¹P.R.T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, London, 1907. pp. 62ff.

²A. Playfair, *The Garos*, London, 1909, pp. 80 ff.

³K.M. Kapadia, *Marriage and Family in India*, Oxford, 1966, pp. 336ff; G.D. Mayne, *A Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage*, 1938, pp. 969, 976ff; L.K.A.K. Iyer, *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Madras, 1909, II, p. 49.

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this was followed also by many other tribes and castes of Southern India. Thurston in his *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (1909) and Nanjundayya and Iyer in their *Mysore Tribes and Castes* (1928-35) have referred to numerous tribes and castes of Southern India who still follow various forms of matrilineal inheritance. Of such tribes and castes mention may be made of Ambattan, Ampalavasi, Agasa, Bedar, Bestha, Bant, Billava, Chakkyar, Chaliyan, Chetti, Gurukkal, Gudigara, Helava, Holeya, Kudan, Kudiya, Kallan, Kalasi, Kannuvan, Koragai, Kottai, Kumbara, Kavati, Krishnavakkar, Kuduni, Kurava, Kurukal, Malayarayan, Maravan, Madiga, Mukkuvan, Mali, Mannan, Mappila, Nangudi, Nattuvan, Paliyan, Panan, Paravan, Pattaria, Pushpakan, Parayan, Pallan, Samantan, Tiyan, Unni, Ulladon, Variyar, Villas, Velutedan, etc. In the pure form of matrilineal inheritances succession passes from mother to daughter, as among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona or the Khasis of Assam. In the transitional stage leading to patriarchy, the woman's function is deputed to the man, either the brother, as among the Iroquois, or the husband, as in the Roman monarchy. Succession thus passes from man to man, but in the *female* line, from mother's brother to sister's son, or from father-in-law to son-in-law.

Al Berūnī remarked that, according to the original Indian custom, the child belonged to the caste of the mother and not to that of the father.¹ It appears that he had personal experience of the common people of north-western India. Russell in his *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, (1916) has given us a list of tribes and castes of Madhya Pradesh, parts of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, who still adhere to matrilineal inheritance and matrilocal marriage. Even among tribes who have now theoretically acknowledged the patriarchal pattern, matriarchal values are dominant in reality. Thus among the Badagas, women can change husbands as often as they please by a simple system of divorce. It is not uncommon to find them changing husbands, so long as their youth and vigour tempt them to do so. It is also the etiquette among the Badagas that, when a woman's husband is away, she should be accessible to her brothers-in-law.

In ancient texts references to sister-marriage are frequently found. In the *Dīghanikāya* (III. 14) and the *Mahāvastu*² we find that the

¹E.A. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, London, 1888, I, p. 156.

²J.J. Jones. *The Mahāvastu*, London, 1949, I, p. 296.

Sākyas used to marry their sisters. This is also referred to in the commentary on the *Suttanipāta* (1. 357).¹ In the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, Sītā is represented as the sister as well as the wife of Rāma. According to the Ceylonese *Mahāvāriṣa* (VI. 36-37), Sīhavāhu, king of Vaṅga and Rāḍhā, married his sister Sīhasivalī. According to the Jain Āraśyaka-cūrṇi (II. 81, 178), king Uṣabha married his own sister ; king Pupphaketu allowed his son to marry his own sister and this kind of marriage was prevalent in the country of Golla. Relics of sister-marriage are found in many places, but it is in ancient Egypt that the system of sister marriage was developed to its fullest extent. This can only be explained in terms of matrilineal inheritance. When the property passes from mother to daughter, only two choices are left to the sons of the family. Either they can leave their own homes and reside in their wives' families, or they can live in their own homes, marrying the real heiresses, that is, their sisters.

In the *Mahābhārata* (VIII. 40. 24ff) it is stated that the women of the Madrakas, Sindhu-Sauvīras, Āraṭas and Bāhikas had complete sexual freedom. The same held good for the Utsava-Saṅketas (II. 27. 16) among whom there was no system of marriage. In the stories of Dīrghātamas (I. 104) and also in the Pāṇḍu-Kuntī discourse (I. 122) we find that formerly women did not adhere to their husbands faithfully and yet they were not regarded as sinful and that the system of patrilocal marriage was indeed aggressively imposed on society by individual upholders of patriarchal ideals. The legend of Gālava and Mādhavī, as found in the *Udyogaparvan*, also points out to a time when the ideals of patrilocal marriage, especially the concepts of female chastity and others, were not ingrained in social life.

Draupadī's polyandrous marriage was not an isolated event in the *Mahābhārata* which also refers to two other cases. Polyandry is found among the Kallan of Madura, the Kaniyan, Mannan, Mudvar and Tottiyan peasants of Kerala as well as among the Telugu Kapu or Reddi while its relics are found among the Bagada peasants of the Nilgiri hills, the Cheruman or Pulayan, the Telugu Jogi, the Kanarese Kappilian peasants, the Khond and the Nayadi peasants. In Madhya Pradesh relics of fraternal polyandry are found among the Bhuiya, Bari, Chamar, Gowari, Karku and other tribes and castes. Among the Jadams of Hoshangabad one woman can have

¹See also *Kuṇāla Jātaka* (No. 536).

upto ten husbands in the course of her life. Tibetan polyandry has been mentioned almost in every reference to that country. In Lahul, polyandry is a recognised institution and is very general. It is likewise general in Saraj, the Simla hills and the Manaur district of Upper Sutlej. Polyandry was once general in Hindukush and Chitral, and this is also supported by the testimony of the eleventh century Arab traveller, Al Berūnī. These facts may account for the polyandry of Draupadī.¹

The facts referred to above at least indicate that there are vestiges of mother-right in different parts of India and that the reality of the Indian social life does not tally with the norms prescribed by the law books of the Vedic patriarchal tradition. In the fields of religion and rituals the influences of matriarchal values are more prominent, as we have pointed out already. Unfortunately the historical role of mother-right in India, has not been properly investigated. Of the works done so far, Ehrenfels in his *Mother-right in India* (1941) had practically initiated the study and asserted that a primitive form of agriculture and along with it a form of mother-right first developed originally in India, and this Indian mother-right appeared to have created the ancient matriarchal civilizations in the Mediterranean basin, Oriental Africa, the Near East and specially Southern Arabia. His hypothesis of India being the original home and migration centre of mother-right may not be correct, since he was influenced by the diffusionist theories of Ratzel, Graebner, Schmidt, etc., but the fact remains that the extensive survivals of mother-right in India, of which copious examples are furnished by him, require positive explanation. Debi Prasad Chattopadhyaya whose contribution (*Lokāyata*, 1959) to the study of Indian mother-right is really significant after the work of Ehrenfels, has treated the subject from a strictly economic point of view and initiated a new line of research following which I have in my *Indian Mother Goddess* (1970) demonstrated that the principles of mother-right give the only possible background to understand the sources of the widely prevailing Tantricism, of the Sāṅkhya philosophy which forms the substratum of Tantricism itself and of many customs and

¹Polyandry is not always a feature of female-dominated society. The Todas of the Nilgiri hills are polyandrous, but they are purely pastoral-patriarchal peoples. The scarcity of women, due to their custom of female infanticide, is responsible for Toda polyandry.

rituals associated with the cult of the Mother Goddess. The same principles are also expected to explain many problems of sex life found in the ancient texts as will be seen in the subsequent chapters of this work.¹

¹For details regarding the matriarchal vestiges in India and their working in Indian tribal and rural life see my *Indian Mother Goddess*, Ch. V and the references quoted therein.

*EROTIC ELEMENTS IN INDIAN ART :
A FEW REMARKS*

I shall conclude the introductory part of this work with a few remarks on the erotic elements in Indian art. The purpose of this chapter is not to present before the readers a systematic and chronological description of the erotic sculptures and paintings, which can be found in any text book of Indian art. This chapter is for substantiating what I have suggested in the preceding ones, so that a better understanding of the contents of Indian erotic literature becomes possible.

The evolution of art in India and elsewhere, from the primitive stage to its more advanced forms, depends on a parallel evolution of man's emotional attitude towards the universe. But the evolution of this attitude differs very naturally from one section of people to another. The outlook of the dominant class and that of the simpler peoples cannot be same in this respect in all cases.

We have seen that two sets of beliefs and ideals simultaneously worked in the field of Indian history, one represented by the simpler peoples and another by the dominant class. Sometimes some of the beliefs and rituals of the former were adopted by the latter, but with a totally different purpose. Among the simpler peoples art is not a product of leisure. It is a guide to action, an illusory technique complementary to the deficiencies of the real techniques. By the symbolical representation of an event, primitive man thinks he can secure the actual occurrence of that event.

There are two distinct methods of securing this desired result, the organic and the geometrical. These two types persist all through the history of art. Ritual drawings, very often with pronounced erotic motifs, are quite common in different parts of India. The purpose of this ritual art is entirely different from that of the so called civilised art, although the subject matter may be same in both the cases. As for example, a few terracotta specimens from Lower

Bengal, emphasising exclusively on the copulative aspect of the male-female union, exhibit identity in form and content with some Khajuraho reliefs.¹ But the source of inspiration in both the cases is quite different. While the former can be explained in terms of magical fertility rites and connected with the existing Tantric cults, the latter admits of a quite different explanation.

Erotic reliefs in stones on the temples of Khajuraho (850-1050 AD) and Konārak (13th century AD) are well known. They occur on some of the Brāhmaṇical rock-cut temples at Ellora in Maharashtra (8th century AD) and on the Hoyasaleśvara temple at Halebid in Mysore (12th century AD). Of late, Dr. D. Desai has discovered a number of temples in Central and Western India which contain erotic reliefs. Their very occurrence on the temples, the supposed holy places, has evoked explanations from many quarters. Spiritual and other traditional forms of explanations are practically of no worth because they are solely guided by the contemporary values of our society.

On the other hand, it is tempting to connect these sexual depictions with primitive sex rites and Tantricism, but before that we must be sure about the real extent of the influence which has been supposed to be exerted by the latter on the former. There was obviously a link between the two, since some popular sexual themes actually switched over from terracotta to stone under certain historical conditions. Secondly, if we are to take the geographical distribution of such temples as characterised by sexual depictions into consideration, our emphasis will naturally be laid upon Orissa which was always a very strong seat of Tantric cults and rituals. Puri which is the celebrated seat of Lord Jagannātha is also mentioned in the Tantras as a place where Jagannātha is the subordinate male consort (*bhairava*) of the goddess Vimalā. This consort of the goddess was regarded as the king of the land (the actual rulers considered themselves as vassals of Jagannātha) just as Virbius, the consort of the goddess Diana, impersonated by the priest, was the king of Nemi. The influence of the Tantric rites is clearly visible in the mode of daily worship of Jagannātha. "It is equally interesting to notice the *pañca-tattva* of Tantricism in the ritualistic worship of the deity wherein fish is substituted by green

¹D. K. Chakrabarti and K. Glantz in *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. V, pp. 149-54.

vegetables mixed with *hiṅgu*, meat by *ādāpaci* (ginger), wine by green cocoanut water offered in bellmetal pots, grain by *Kānti* (a preparation of flour and sugar) and *mithuna* by the dance of Devadāsis and the offering of *aparājitā* flowers.”¹ It is also interesting to note that during the feast of Jagannātha, a young woman was carried in triumph to the temple and she was solemnly married to him which was consummated during the night, and this function was supposed to ensure abundant harvest.²

Thus there was obviously a link between the primitive fertility rites and sexual drawings and depictions, but when these came to reflect the art of the dominant class, they served a totally different purpose. From this point of view the extravagance of Khajuraho and Koṇārak was *mainly* the reflection of the abnormal sexual desires of the dominant class of the men whose munificence was responsible for the construction of the temples. *Mithuna* subjects are not rare in Indian art. Sañchi, Amarāvati, Mathurā and Ellorā bear testimony of this. But the Khajuraho figures are consciously and purposely sexual. So it is at Puri and Koṇārak where in the depiction of sexual acts one finds the widest possible varieties of copulative poses and techniques.

Interestingly enough these copulative poses and techniques depicted on the temple walls are described only in the Kāmaśāstras meant for the Nāgarakas or wealthy city dwellers. Most of the copulative poses described in the Kāmaśāstras are absurd and it is impossible to follow them in practice. Their sole purpose was to excite perverse imagination relating to sexual acts. Impossible, crude and fantastic sexual imaginations very often give more sexual pleasure than what is derived from actual sexual union. In fact, what the licentious class wanted to have in their fantastic imagination was supplied on the one hand by the writers of the Kāmaśāstras and on the other hand by the designers of temple-reliefs.

A few examples from Khajuraho will make our point clear. A man is standing on his head with folded legs and a woman is sitting in the fold on his virile organ holding by her hands the necks of two standing nude females on her both sides, while the man in that position is titillating the sex organs of the standing nudes by his hands. A standing woman is copulated by a man in the front face

¹K.S. Behera in *Sakti Cult and Tārā*, Calcutta University publication, 1967, pp. 84-85.

²Delafosse quoted by Briffault in *The Mothers*, II, p. 210.

to face and at the same time she has anal intercourse with another man from behind. A woman is uplifted with bent knees and in that position locked in copulation. A woman's thighs are spread over the shoulder of a standing man who with bent head licks her cunnus, and she with her bent hanging head holds his erect penis with her one hand and licks it with her mouth. These are clear reflections of the perversion of the aristocratic class and have no bearing on the primitive sex rites of fertility, so far as the purpose is concerned.

But why temples were selected for this? It appears that the ancient idea of the holiness of temples differed significantly from the modern. It is impossible to determine what exactly the temples meant to the worshippers at different ages. The Cola kings destroyed many temples in the land of their enemies and also built magnificent temples in their own land which shows that the idea of 'sacredness' was not inherent in the temple themselves. Secondly, there are some reasons to believe that the vivid portrayal of sexual intercourse could be made only on the temples' walls, and this was somehow related to the very structure of the temple itself. In other words, structurally the temples bore a special tradition with which the portrayal of sexual intercourse was not inconsistent, and that is why temples were specially selected for this purpose. This tradition must be very ancient and can be connected with the primitive fertility conceptions with which it started but in course of time lost its original significance.

A sexual conception of the temples is met with in the canons of Orissan temple architecture. There are two major types of temple building in Orissa, the Rekha and the Bhadra, joined to each other in a very intimate manner, and their junction is expressed by a term which literally means a ceremonial knot tied between the garments of the bride and the bridegroom. The Rekha is male and Bhadra female, attached to one another in a state of sexual intercourse.¹ The architecture of the temples differs from region to region but the temples themselves do not differ basically. As a general rule, they are similar in construction, and the various parts are given the same name all over. The most important part of the temple is called the *garbha* (womb). Its name describes it perfectly. The god, in the form of the chief idol, is placed in the womb. Leading up to the *garbha* is a kind of corridor which is preceded by a porch, through

¹N.K. Bose, *Canons of Orissan Architecture*, Calcutta, 1932, pp. 92, 154.

which one enters. We might dismiss this basic structure as irrelevant, were it not for the fact that the same design appeared outside of India also. Throughout Western Asia temples were divided into three parts—porch representing the lower end of the vagina up to the hymen, the hall or the vagina itself and the inner sanctum or the uterus.

Functionally also the temples have something to suggest. An inscription of the Gupta age records the construction of a temple of Divine Mothers which is described as a terrible abode full of Dākinīs (nymphs) and the goddesses themselves are represented as uttering loud and tremendous shouts of joy and stirring up the very oceans with the winds rising from the *tantra* or magical rites.¹ Actual sexual acts were not rare in the temples. The custom of prostitution, prevalent in many Indian temples, has recently been abolished by the Government of India. The women attached to the temples were called Devadāsīs, servant to the gods. In the great temple of Tanjore once 400 Devadāsīs were employed. The girls were formally married to the idol and regarded as wives of the god. The god, impersonated by the priests, would have intercourse with them. Their children by the priests often constituted a special caste.

Thus things sexual were not really inconsistent with the supposed holiness of the temples, and this alone explains why the sexual depictions on the temple walls revealing the lusty desires of the aristocratic class were tolerated and given some sort of social sanction by the simpler peoples. This they did partly because they found in those depictions the *illusion* of a lost reality, the reality of their traditional beliefs and rituals, and partly because they were compelled to do so under the pressure of the dominant class. Artists and craftsmen had no freedom of their own. In India, Phoedius or Praxitiles had no social status. They always came from the lower castes, and for their livelihood they had to meet up the demands of their employers and customers, which had nothing to do with art or artistic inspiration. This held good also in the case of terracotta productions. Although a few of them, evidently the earlier ones, were meant to serve ritualistic purposes, most of them, however, especially those with very pronounced sexual characteristics, were evidently intended for wealthy customers. Such things are produced and sold even today.

¹J.F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, p. 47.

AGE OF VEDIC LITERATURE: THE CHANGING PATTERNS OF SEX LIFE

In the first part of the present work I have dealt with the basic features of ancient Indian sex life and insisted on the working of two main streams, one represented by the simpler peoples and another by the dominant class. To the former, things sexual had a social significance, quite in accordance with their beliefs, ideals and requirements, and these were reflected in the ancient texts of religious and semi-religious character. But in the case of the latter, *i.e.* in that of the dominant class, sex was for the sake of sex only, a source of physical pleasure, and this had given rise to a social system marked by polygamy, concubinage and harlotry. The ideals of this section of peoples were reflected in secular literature, in the sophisticated dramatic and poetical works, and contributed to the growth of a specialised type of erotic literature.

Love and sex are not rare in the Vedic literature, but as we have pointed out above, these themes in most of the cases have a religious, ritualistic and sociological background. In this connection we may refer to the romantic dialogue of Urvaśī and Purūravas (*Rgveda*, X. 95) *apparently* revealing a story of the love of a mortal for a nymph which has been retold by Kālidāsa in one of his finest dramas. But a careful analysis of the said dialogue shows that Purūravas was killed at a sacrifice after having begotten a son and successor upon Urvaśī and that he pleaded in vain against her determination.¹ Urvaśī is addressed by Purūravas as *ghore*, which means the grim or dreaded one, hardly a lover's term. Urvaśī apparently tells her lover to get back to his home, *punar astam parehi*. The term *punar astam ehi* is really connected with death, as we find it in the funerary hymn (*RV*, X. 14. 19) where the dead man is sent back to the ancestors and Yama with these words. Purūravas himself says that he has to die, in *RV*. X. 95. 14, where

¹D. D. Kosambi, *Myth and Reality*, Bombay, 1962, pp. 42 ff.

going to a far distance, lying down on the lap of Niṛṭti and so on are familiar idiomatic circumlocutions for death. Urvaśī seems to console him in the next verse by assuring him that he is not to die. The assurance 'thou dost not die' is given in almost identical terms to the horse going to be sacrificed in *RV.* I. 162. 21 : *na vai tu etan mriyase*. Purūravas is, however, assured that he is not to die a common profane death, not to be eaten by wolves like any untended corpse; he is to be sacrificed to or by the gods; that is his destiny; so he is called *mṛtyubandhya* (X. 95. 18), not an ordinary mortal, but one literally bound to death at the sacrifice. This explains why Urvaśī has the heart of hyena (X. 95. 15), why Purūravas' son can never know his father, but must console himself with thinking of his mother's sacred office (X. 95. 12-13). In the concluding verse of the dialogue Urvaśī says: "Thus speak these gods to thee, son of Ilā: inasmuch as thou art now doomed to death, thy offspring will offer sacrifice to the gods, but thou thyself rejoice in heaven."

It is not a love story, but relic of a very ancient ritual in which Purūravas was clearly killed. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* account (XI. 5.1ff) which is a commentary of the said Rgvedic dialogue, though not explaining the most obscure feature of the latter, states that Purūravas became a *gandharva* after making himself the upper and lower *arani*-s of Aśvattha wood from which fire results. Elsewhere in the same text (III. 4.1.22), the working of two portions of fire-drill or fire-plough is conceived in terms of human procreation symbolised by Urvaśī and Purūravas. The association of the working of fire drill with sexual intercourse is met with in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (VI. 4. 22) and in other places.

In the pages of the Brāhmaṇa literature we come across passages which indicate that Prajāpāti was killed at a sacrifice after a ceremonial sexual union. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (I.7.4.1-8; cf. II. 1.2.9-M; I.I.2.5-6; II.7.2.1-8-K) it is stated that Prajāpāti conceived a passion for his own daughter and united with her. This was a sin in the eyes of the gods for which he was pierced by Rudra with a sharp arrow.¹ According to the version of the legends as given in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (III.33-34), Prajāpāti transformed himself into a roe-buck (*rṣya*) and approached his own daughter who assumed the shape of a doe (*rohita*). Out of their most fearful forms the gods then fashioned a divine being called Bhūtavat (*i.e.*

¹For details see *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XII, pp. 208-10.

Rudra) in order to punish Prajāpati for his incestuous deed. The legend is found also in the *Pañcavimśa Brāhmaṇa* (VIII.2.10).

From the two versions of the same legend, we find that the woman with whom Prajāpati had sexual union was his own daughter, and the whole thing was regarded as an affair of incest and the killing of Prajāpati was interpreted as an act of punishment. Up to this the traditional interpretation may be regarded as consistent, and there is no doubt that this interpretation gave rise to the Purāṇic legend of Brahmā and Śatarūpā. But the subsequent stages of the legend show that the traditional interpretation is over-simplified. It is stated that, disgusted at the vile act of Prajāpati, Rudra discharged an arrow at him, whereupon Prajāpati was pierced and his semen (*retas*) fell upon the ground. Why is there reference to the semen of Prajāpati? Then it is stated that the semen was seen by Bhaga who at once became blind and was tasted by Puṣan who lost his teeth. Why did such things happen? Had it been a simple case of incest the matter could be ended with the punishment of Prajāpati. Why then Bhaga and Puṣan had to suffer? According to the *Aitareya* version of the story, the daughter, before her union with Prajāpati, assumed the shape of a *rohita* (*rohitam bhūtam*). The word *rohita* has been translated as doe, but according to Sāyana it means *menstruous* : *rohitam lohitah bhūtvā prāptā rtumatī jātetyārthah*. This reminds us of the menstrual rites, associated with vegetation and fertility, current in different parts of the world.¹ So it appears that the legend with which we are dealing refers to a very old ritual, the significance of which could not be understood even in the age of the Brāhmaṇa literature.

The same legend is found in the *Rgveda* (X.61.5-7) in which Rudra is described as playing the part of Prajāpati. There it is stated that Rudra had sexual union with his daughter Uṣā, but this was not regarded as incestuous. "The semen, capable of producing heroic children, increased and was about to overflow. He, then, for the welfare of beings, discharged that. He infused that semen into the body of his own beautiful daughter. When the father conceived such passion for his own youthful daughter, he united with her and she extracted much semen from the copulation. That semen was infused into a lofty frame, the container of good deeds. When the father made sexual intercourse with his own daughter, *he did that*

¹See my *Indian Puberty Rites*, Calcutta, 1968, pp. 5 ff.

with the earth and infused semen therein. The intelligent gods made the Brahman out of it and created Vāstoṣpati, *the protector of the rites.*”

So we find that the attitude of the *Rgveda* towards the father's union with his daughter is basically different from that of the Brāhmaṇa literature. From this point of view the incestuous dialogue of Yama and his sister Yamī, as found in *Rgveda*, X.10, should be taken into consideration. In ardent words the sister endeavoured to win the brother's love, persuading him that the gods themselves desired that he should unite himself with her, but Yama repulsed her advances as a sin which the ever-watchful gods would condemn.¹ The theme must be very ancient and ritualistic, the significance of which was evidently forgotten in the age when the later portions of the *Rgveda* were composed. Hence the poet, with a more sophisticated and patriarchal exogamous sentiment, was apparently uneasy regarding this primitive union and tried to clear Yama of the so-called 'guilt.' As a commentary of the Rgvedic dialogue of Yama and Yamī, the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* (I.5.12) offers the following artificial explanation. After the death of Yama, the gods tried to persuade Yamī to forget him saying that 'only today he has died'. But Yamī was not consoled and hence the gods created night and the repeated occurrence of day and night caused her to forget him." But sexual life with sister, which was a very ancient custom, was not quite unknown. In the second chapter we have made a few references to it. In *Rgveda* X. 162.5, conception by brother is mentioned. In *Atharvaveda* VIII. 6.7, sexual relation between father and daughter and that between brother and sister is indicated. Nahuṣa married his *Pitr-Kanyā* (father's daughter) Virajā with whom he had six sons. So did Śukra, Śuka, Satrājīt and others. We shall have the occasion to refer to these later while dealing with Purāṇic subjects relating to sex.

However, the antiquity of the original contents of these dialogue hymns and their ritualistic significance can only be understood and appreciated if we remember that these were the earliest form of drama and that the dialogues were designed to imitate certain original performances. They were clearly meant to be acted. Besides the dialogue of Urvaśī and Purūravas (X.95) or that of Yama and

¹For a nice translation of the dialogue see M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, New Delhi, 1973, I, pp. 92-93.

Yamī (X.10), the *Rgveda* contains dialogue of Agastya, Indra and the Māruts (I.165), of Agastya and Lopāmudrā (I.179), of Viśvāmitra and the rivers (III.33), of Indra, Aditi and Vāmadeva (IV.19), etc. It is also interesting to note that sex has something to do with all these dialogues. Most of the Rgvedic hymns were meant to be chanted by one or more priests, but these dialogue hymns are of more importance since they were meant to be performed or mimed before a group of persons assembled for a certain ritualistic purpose. We have evidence to show that the original ritual of the Aśvamedha in which the queen had to make sexual intercourse with the priest was actually mimed before a group of persons which has been clearly demonstrated in the *Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā* (XXII-XXIII).¹

There is no indication in the *Rgveda* that sexology had yet become the subject of special study. Erotic imagery is however freely used in the *Rgveda*. The act of consummation is openly described in X.85 in which the husband says to his wife to spread out her thighs where within he can eagerly thrust his organ. In *Rgveda* X.129.4-5, Kāma or sexual urge is considered as the primordial being, the first seed of mind, the first impulse for creation. The Rgvedic gods were not sexually moral (in modern sense of the term). The story of the rape of Uṣas in *Rgveda* (II.15.6 : IV.30, 8-11, X.73.6 ; X.138.5)² bears testimony of this. Purely erotic expressions are employed in describing the dawn-goddess Uṣas who in one passage (I.124.7) is said to display her figure like a woman to her lover, and in another (I.92.4) like a dancing girl keeping the bosom bare to attract the eyes of all. Women's active role during sexual intercourse is demonstrated in *Rgveda* X.86. Erotic language is also used in verses dealing with recovery of lost virility (VII.1.34), with the descriptions of female generative organ (I.26.7) and with other things related to sex.

It took many centuries to get the whole of *Rgveda* being composed, and this period evidently witnessed a historic transformation from pre-class to class society. Many features, common to the latter, in relation to sex, are therefore found in the *Rgveda*. In X.34.4, a reference is made to the gambler's wife being the object of

¹N.N. Bhattacharyya in *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXI, pp. 1-21.

²For interpretation see D.D. Kosambi in *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 19ff.

other men's embrace. The words *jāra* and *jāriṇī* occur in I.66.4, I.69.1, I.134.3, VI.55.4-5, VII.10.1, IX.38.4 etc. in the sense of paramours or secret lovers, while the word *sādhārāṇī* (I.167.4) clearly refers to prostitution. Reference is made in X.168.2 to a class of women hurrying up with amorous inclination to social gatherings. In the *Atharvaveda* we come across numerous interesting spells in the nature of wild exorcisms and curses which refer to love-intrigues and disturbances of married life (III.25; IV.5; IV.130-31). The later *Kauśika Sūtra* mentions various types of love magic and its rites known as *Strī-karmāṇi* or women's rituals.

The Brāhmaṇa literature on the other hand is more concerned with the ritualistic aspects of sexual acts. It is commonplace in the Brāhmaṇas to liken the fire-altar to the *Yoni* and the production of fire to the act of generation. In *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (I.2.5.15-16) the fire-altar has been conceived as a woman (*Yogā*). In the second chapter and also in this chapter we have given examples of a number of rituals, connected with sexual acts, as found in the Brāhmaṇa literature. Non-ritualistic passages indicating features of contemporary society, however, are not rare in the later *Śamhitās* and in the Brāhmaṇa literature. In the age reflected by this class of literature, the position of women declined considerably owing to the increasing influence of patriarchal values. Although the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (X.5.2.8) says that 'in the union with the beloved mate one becomes whole and complete', in reality women were treated as inferior beings. The *Maitrāyaṇī Śamhitā* (I.10.11; III.6.3) describes woman as untruth and classifies her with dice and drink as one of three chief evils. The *Taittirīya Śamhitā* (VI.5.8.2.) ranks a good woman even below a bad man.

In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* we come across interest in sex problems, especially in the genetics, and also rules for approaching a woman. But these were rather a continuation of the ritualistic tradition of the Brāhmaṇa literature. In the second chapter we have quoted relevant passages from the said Upaniṣad which identify the act of sexual intercourse with that of performing a sacrifice. The extra-ritual things related to the knowledge of sexology as found in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* are as follows : He who desires that the woman concerned should show ardour in the coitus should intimately contact and touch by mouth the vulvar cleft and the pubes and then insert his membrum virile (VI.4.9). He who desires that pregnancy should not take place through the coital performance shall

withold his breath so that the semen may not be discharged (VI.4.10). He who desires that the coitus should lead to conception must discharge his semen with simultaneous orgasm of the other into her receptacle (VI.4.11).

The Sūtra literature are directly connected with the Brāhmaṇa literature on the grounds of their contents. There are intentional writings, marked by a distinct social outlook of their writers, and are of the nature of law books. The sexual rituals of the Brāhmaṇa literature have been mentioned in the Sūtras, but interpreted from a very different viewpoint. This may be exemplified with reference to the sexual elements of the Aśvamedha and other ancient sacrifices, the purposcs of which were changed significantly in the age represented by the Sūtras. In the case of domestic rites, as enumerated in the Sūtra literature, especially in that of initiation and marriage, despite a conscious attempt to exclude the primitive elements, we often come across relics of significant sexual rites. The Sūtra literature frankly lays emphasis on the domestic aspects of sex life and imposes severe prohibitions on sexual relation outside of marriage. Of course this restriction is only for women. Sexual life has been treated as a part of religious life, the sole purpose of which is to raise offspring. The *mantras* to be used in connection with sexual act are also laid down. The woman is a *kṣetra* (cultivable land) under the sole possession of the farmer. The attitude towards women, as is revealed in the Sūtra texts, presupposes that which we find in the law book of Manu and other later Dharmasāstras.

*SEXUAL LIFE IN POST-VEDIC LITERATURE :
THE GRADUAL TRIUMPH OF PATRIARCHY*

The misogynistic ideas found in the later *Samhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* contributed to the growth of polygamy, especially in the upper strata of society. As we shall see later, the domestic problems caused by it became the subject matter of Sanskrit court dramas whose sole purpose was to justify the institution of polygamy. The demand of absolute chastity and seclusion of women, raised by the *Dharma Sūtras*, was confirmed by the *Smṛtis* which held that women must remain under control—in girlhood under the guardianship of the father, in youth under the domination of the husband and in the old age in the charge of the sons (cf. *Manu*. IX. 3)—because they were fickle, quarrelsome, untruthful, ‘a veritable pot of poison’.¹ In the *Mahābhārata* it is stated that among a thousand women, or even among hundreds of thousands, sometimes only one may be found who is devoted to her husband and that women, under the influence of desire, care not for family or father or mother or brother or husband (XIII. 19. 92-94) their sex organs become slippery with fluid as soon as they come across any man (XIII. 39.26).² That is why Bṛhaspati asked people to keep a strict watch on women.³ That this was actually done in society is proved by a statement of Megasthenes who says that ‘the wives prostitute themselves unless they are compelled to be chaste’.⁴

Historically speaking these misogynistic ideas were designed to serve as the theoretical basis for the establishment of patriarchy. The special vigour to introduce these ideas evidently implies that previously women had sexual liberty, and this liberty had to be

¹*Viṣṇu*, XXV. 13, *Yājñavalkya*, I. 85; etc.

²cf. *Hitopadeśu* (Jivananda’s ed.) pp. 60-61.

³*Sacred Books of the East*, XXXIII, p. 367.

⁴J.W.McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, Calcutta, 1877, p. 71.

crushed by force in order to establish male-superiority. This is supported by the internal evidence of the *Mahābhārata* itself. While dealing with the inhabitants of the Madra country it says that amongst them 'the sire, the son, the mother, the mother-in-law, the brother, the grandson, and other kinsmen, companions, strangers arrived at their homes, slaves, male and female, mingle together.... They sing incoherent song and mingle lustfully with one another, indulging the while in the freest speeches.... Those women that intoxicated by spirits, cast off their robes and dance.... those women are not attached (to particular individuals) in the matter of intercourse and do as they please without owing any restrictions.... The Madraka maidens, we hear, are generally very shameless and hairy and gluttonous and impure!'¹

The legend of Dīrghatamas clearly points out the previous existence of promiscuity and other forms of sexual freedom. The sage Bṛhaspati had sexual intercourse with his brother's wife Mamatā who was then pregnant. As a result of that the child who was in the womb was born blind and hence he came to be known as Dīrghātamas. As he grew up he became well-versed in the Vedas and able to secure a young and handsome Brāhmaṇa maiden named Pradveśi as wife on whom he begot a number of children. Well-versed in the Vedas as he was, he fearlessly took up ancient practices related to sex as his profession. But this was disapproved by other sages who thought that Dīrghātamas had transgressed the limits of propriety, and hence they drove him out. His wife was also angry with him, and after a hot quarrel she and her sons threw him into the waters of the Ganges. Dīrghātamas drifted along the stream on a raft. He was, however, rescued by a king named Vali who brought him to his palace and chose him for raising up offspring upon his queen, Sudeṣṇā. The latter seeing him old sent her maid-servant and upon this Śūdra woman the sage begot eleven children. When the king was informed of this, he was angry with his queen and sent her again to the sage. This time the sage begot five children on her and they were named Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Pūṇḍra and Sumbha.²

The Pāṇḍu-Kuntī dialogue also suggests that sexual freedom of women was not looked down upon as a sign of moral depravity in the ancient times. Pāṇḍu said to Kuntī: "Women formerly were not

¹VII. 40 (P.C. Ray's tr.).

²*Mbh.*, I. 104.

immured within the house and dependent on husband and other relatives. They used to go about freely, enjoying as best liked them. ...They did not adhere to their husbands faithfully and yet they were not regarded sinful, for that was the sanctioned usage of the times....The practice is yet regarded with respect amongst the Northern Kurus....The present practice, however, of women being confined to one husband for life, hath been established but lately....The present virtuous practice hath been established by Śvetaketu from anger....Beholding his mother taken away by another person for sexual purpose Śvetaketu became angry but his father consoled him saying that this is the practice sanctioned by antiquity; the women of all orders in this world are free. Śvetaketu, however, dissatisfied with the usage, established in the world the present system....It hath also been heard by us that Madayantī, the wife of Sudāsa, commanded by her husband to raise offspring went unto the sage Vaśiṣṭha....Thou knowest, O timid girl, how we ourselves for the perpetuation of the Kuru race were begotten by Kṛṣṇa Dvai-pāyana....It hath also been said by those acquainted with the rules of morality that a wife when her season cometh must ever seek her husband, though at other times she deserveth liberty."¹

In the above passage the course of evolution towards patrilocal marriage is nicely indicated. Similar legends are also found in other countries. In Greece, for example, patrilocal marriage is said to have been introduced by Kekrops, the mythical king who preceded Deukalion. According to the Chinese mythical traditions, the present form of marriage was instituted by Fu-hi on the advice of his sister and wife Niu-kua. In the Udyogaparvan of the great epic we come across an interesting legend which is really very significant for the purpose of our study. Gālava, a disciple of the sage Viśvāmitra promised that he would offer eight hundred steeds, each of which should be as white as the rays of the moon and should have one ear black, to his teacher. He went to king Yayāti and begged of him eight hundred steeds of the said type. But the king, unable to comply with his request, gave him his daughter Mādhavī and advised him to use her as a means to obtain his desired steeds, Gālava took Mādhavī to king Haryaśva of Ayodhyā who begot a son upon her and in lieu of that gave Gālava two hundred steeds. In this way Gālava lent Mādhavī to two other kings and having

¹I. 122; P. C. Ray's tr. partly followed.

thus secured six hundred steeds gave them to Viśvāmitra. Mādhavī was also handed over to the sage by him, who also raised offspring on her. This shows that life long submission to one man only became the social law after the complete establishment of patriarchy. But before that no one bothered about female chastity.

The *Mahābhārata* (II.32.40; XII.102.26) informs us that in the land of Uttarakurus and in the city of Māhiṣmatī the institution of marriage did not exist. It also refers to the seven *gaṇas* of Utsava Saṅketa, conquered by the Pāṇḍavas (II.26.6). Among them marriage did not exist, mutual love being sufficient for sexual engagement.¹ The very mention of the seven *gaṇas* of the Utsava Saṅketa proves that they were purely tribal peoples who had not yet developed the concept of female chastity probably owing to the absence of private property among them. The growth of state power on the ruins of tribal equality, caused either by the internal disintegration of the tribes themselves owing to the production of surplus and growth of private property, or by invasions from outside made on behalf of ambitious state power, has always characterised the fabric of Indian political history. Kauṭilya, one of the strongest advocates of private property and state power, in his zeal to break up the group-bonds of the surviving *gaṇas* and *saṅghas* (*i.e.* tribes) of his times, wrote pages after pages about the technique of sowing seeds of dissension among the tribal peoples in order to crush them completely and bring them under the sway of the expanding state power.²

The *Mahābhārata* refers to a number of tribes like the Āraṭṭas, Bāhikas, Prasthalas, Gandhāras, Khasas, Vasatis, Sindhus and Sauvīras as well as to the Kāraskaras, Māhiṣakas, Kaliṅgas, Keralas, Karkotakas and Vīrakas. These peoples were associated with the Madrakas and were considered to be unclean and without any sense of marriage morals. The attitude expressed in the *Mahābhārata* to the Bāhikas, an old tribe mentioned even by Pāṇini (V. 3.114), may be taken as typical. One of the significant features of their tribal life was sexual freedom. In the *Mahābhārata* (VIII.40) Karṇa says : "In intercourse they are absolutely without any restraint, and in all other matters they act as they like. Maddened with drink, they call upon one another using many endearing epithets. Addressing

¹Utsavasaṅketānāṁ stri-puruṣayoh̄ paraspara prītireva ratyarthāṁ saṅketah, na tu dāmpatyavyavasthā (Nilakanṭha).

²XI.1; see Shamasastry's tr. of the *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 455-59.

many drunken exclamations to their husbands and lords, the fallen women among the Bāhikas, without observing restrictions even on sacred days, give themselves up to dancing.”¹

Some of the tribal peoples like the Madrakas eventually developed the characteristics of state power in which the role of private property became a determining factor. Even then, for the previous existence of the sexual freedom of their women, they could not develop a purely patriarchal form of society. Their system of inheritance was thus matrilineal and the form of marriage was partly matrilocal. The marriage between Pāṇḍu and Mādrī was regarded as Asura form of marriage in which the kinsmen of the bridegroom had to pay a certain amount of wealth to the kinsmen of the bride. The Asura form of marriage, which has been regarded as one of the traditional eight forms, was evidently the form of marriage current among the Asura peoples. In spite of the possibility of their foreign racial affinity the Asuras formed an essential part of the population of India during the Vedic age. Likewise the Gandharva, Rākṣasa and Paiśāca forms of marriage were originally those connected with the Gandharvas, Rākṣasas, and Piśācas. There is no reason to believe that they were mythical beings. The Rākṣasas were well known anti-Vedic tribes, and in the *Rāmāyaṇa* we come across their material achievements. The exact location of the land of the Piśācas is not known, but the existence of the Paiśāci-Prākrit language in which Guṇādhya’s *Bṛhat-kathā* was composed, is well known which proves that the Piśācas were not horrible beings and that they had their own society and language in which even literary works were composed. The Gandharvas were probably a more ancient people, but the Sanskrit writers made them so mythical that it is impossible to make any clear idea of their material culture and social organisation.

Ancient writers like Manu lacked even the minimum historical, geographical and sociological sense. Probably they heard of the traditional eight forms of marriage and to explain them resorted to pure imagination. Thus the Paiśāca form has been described by Manu as a form of marriage in which a man by stealth seduces a girl who is sleeping, intoxicated or disordered in intellect. How this can be a form of marriage? Marriage obviously implies a social sanction of sex life. Hindu society was never so liberal as to

¹P.C. Ray’s tr.

admit such unfortunate girls into its fold and give them a place of honour. Manu himself in his codes has made no provision for these raped girls.

However, the traditional forms of marriage in themselves suggest something. We do not know exactly what was the system of marriage among the Piśācas. The form of the marriage current among the Gandharvas was probably the most primitive form of marriage which was the voluntary union of a maiden and her lover, a form which is still in vogue among many tribes of India. The Rākṣasa form of marriage functionally differed in primitive and class societies. It is said to be the forcible abduction of a maiden from her home. Among the Santals there is the custom that the would-be bridegroom will give a dot of red ochre on the forehead of the bride and run away. Thereafter he will be chased by the kinsmen of the bride, and if he can save the situation with the help of this own kinsmen he will be regarded as fit to marry. In my boyhood days I have seen in different parts of Bengal mock fight with rods between the kinsmen of the bride and those of the bridegroom, in which the bridegroom was supposed to win the bride by feats of his valour. Sometimes the mock fight turned into real fight, especially in the cases of powerful landlords. This form is exemplified in the marriage of Arjuna and Subhadrā, and that of Vicitravīrya, on whose behalf Bhīṣma abducted Ambālikā and Ambikā, daughters of the king of Kāśi. The Asura form of marriage, as we have already seen, was partly matrilocal, partly because it marked a state of transition from mother-right to father-right. Other forms of marriage were purely patrilocal, of which the Ārṣa, in which the father gives his daughter after receiving from the bridegroom a cow and a bull, is the oldest, reflecting the aspects of simple pastoral life. Subsequently came three other forms, more or less similar—Brāhma, Daiva and Prājāpatya—in which the father gives the daughter to a man after performing some rites. Here the daughter, in conformity with the patriarchal social ideal, is treated simply as a commodity to be bestowed upon some one as a gift. The self-choice or Svayamvara type of marriage was confined only among the royal class, wherein the princess selected her husband from among the assembled suitors. Sometimes the winner of a contest or tournament was automatically selected.

The gradual triumph of patriarchy demanded total eradication of women's independent entity as a result of which a tendency

developed to lower the age of marriage of girls. Although the *Mahābhārata* describes marriage of well-developed and grown-up girls, those who wanted to see in the Great Epic the task of popularising the Smṛtis incorporated verses within its body demanding that the proper age of the bridegroom and the bride should respectively be 30 and 10 or 21 and 7 (XIII. 44. 14). Manu prescribes that a man of thirty should marry a maiden of twelve or a man of twentyfour, a girl of eight (X. 94). This has also been echoed in other Smṛtis. Of course this was beginning of a process and the experiment began with the Brāhmaṇas.¹ What was worse, Manu laid down that the husband had absolute rights over the wife to the extent of even inflicting corporal punishment (VIII. 299). A wife was to worship her husband as a god even though he might be destitute of virtue (V. 154) and was to remain chaste and faithful to him despite his bad qualities (V. 168).

There is indeed no room for love in the Dharmaśāstras. Women are here treated as instruments of gross sexual pleasure, and can be discarded at any moment by the husbands. Barrenness and other physical defects of women can be cured by treatment, but the Hindu laws do not entrust even with this minimum responsibility to the husband. Instead, he is given the right to marry once again, to find another suitable field to cultivate. One half is not equal to another half! A queer mathematics indeed! As regards the attitude towards women, Kauṭilya, the celebrated author of the *Arthaśāstra*, whose work became the model of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, followed the same line of the Smṛtis. The Pali Buddhist texts and also the Jain canons do not depict women much differently. The Jain *Syugada* (I.4.1.24) says that since women are full of deceit, they cannot be trusted at all. The *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* (VIII. 18) identifies women with female demons and describes them as having two lumps of flesh on their breasts. In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (V.23) Buddha is supposed to advise his disciples not to look at a woman or even talk with her.² This attitude is not basically different from that of Manu who objects to sitting in a secluded place close to even one's own mother, sister or daughter (II. 215). Pali Buddhist texts were intended for monks and monastic life, and hence human feelings regarding sex life are practically absent in them. Still there

¹P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Poona, 1930-46, II, p. 446.

²*Sacred Books of the East*, XI, p. 91.

are some Buddhist legends which show that the monasteries were not completely free from sexual affairs. Here we may refer to the legend of Uppalavannā, a very beautiful daughter of a Śrēṣṭhī, who was sent to the Buddhist nunnery where she became pregnant by her maternal cousin Ānanda. When she was questioned by the Buddhist council she said that despite her objections Ānanda had sexual connection with her, but the council held that a woman cannot be raped without her yielding submission. Her very pregnancy proved that the conception was facilitated by orgasm which could not take place without physical thrills.

The term *Kāmachanda* indicative of sexual desires is explained in numerous Buddhist texts and regarded as a hindrance to higher life. The Buddhist *Kāmāsutta* (Suttanipāta; Mahāniddesa 1-22) presupposes treatises on erotic. The following fragment of Buddha seems to presuppose the theme of the *auपानिषदिका* section of the later *Kāma* texts : "Some recluses and Brāhmaṇas make use of charms to make people lucky or unlucky, to procure abortion, to bring on dumbness...cause virility, deprive a man of potency..."¹

The Epics and Purāṇas mainly deal with men belonging to the upper levels of society. The heroes are generally gods, kings and priests. These works contain numerous legends and most of them are either connected with the polygamic desires of the kings and the nobles or with events of rape and forcible abduction. The story of the insult of Draupadī, the heroine of the *Māhābhārata*, at the Kuru court is a clear reflection of the social attitude of Indian patriarchy towards women. Even the gods did not hesitate to commit rape, and we may refer in this connection to the Indra-Ahalyā and the Viṣṇu-Tulasi episodes. The Brāhmaṇa women were also not spared by those powerful princes and nobles. The accumulation of wealth and concentration of power in the hands of a few people, and also the helplessness of women in the patriarchal society which counted them as commodities, were solely responsible for all these. This tradition which denies the independent entity of women as individuals and compels them to become sexual food of the rich and the powerful, still survives in India, and women of lower castes are generally the victims in most of the cases. They do not even get the protection of law and are always at the mercy of the village aristocracies which are the strongholds of economic and political

¹T.W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, pp. 23-25.

power on which the government rests. Thus the rape stories of the Epics and the Purāṇas are indeed significant, for they demonstrate frankly what type of split-society did ancient India actually produce. This also explains why in the Dharmaśāstras looking lustfully at others' wives or to establish illicit connections with them has been regarded as a great sin for which a man is destined to go to hell after his death, because such offences went practically unpunished in real life, since the supposed protectors of law, the rulers and the nobles, were themselves victims of such offences. No wonder therefore that for this class Yājñavalkya (II. 291) did not hesitate to allow elopement with women *of the lower castes* (*Sakāmāsvanulomāsu na doṣah*) and that the writers of the Kāmaśāstras devised endless ways and means for seducing them.

EROTIC IN SOPHISTICATED LITERATURE : ROLE OF URBANISM

It will not be an exaggeration if we say that Sanskrit literature is on the whole marked by artificiality and imagination and has nothing to do with the realities of human life, the genuine human feelings and emotions. Of course we are speaking of what is called pure literature and excluding from the domain of our comment the epics, the religious and philosophical and also legal and technical writings. This characterisation of Sanskrit literature in terms of artificiality may evoke sharp criticism from different corners, especially from those who have exaggerated notions of India's glorious past. But the first thing which we must have to remember in this connection is that the Sanskrit language which is the vehicle of Sanskrit literature is in itself artificial. It was never a spoken language of the people. It was used only by a small group specially trained in that language. This group consisted mainly of the urbanised and sophisticated persons of high society. How can such a language be expressive of the real experiences and genuine sentiments, the hopes and aspirations, the fears and frustrations of the people and bring before them new meanings of life, new values and ideals, which is the real purpose of literature? That is why Sanskrit literature could not produce even a single great *tragedy*.¹

Sanskrit dramas are mostly court-plays dealing with domestic problems of the princes and the nobles caused by polygamy. The hero is generally the king, in a good number of cases king Udayana, who is an ideal *dakṣiṇa-nāyaka* always falling in love with the heroines. The heroines on the other hand are very beautiful and always falling in love with the king at the first sight. The king's marriage or courtship with such 'lowly' maidens brings trouble in the royal household, mainly because of the objection of the chief queen who

¹Any serious student of literature must admit that Bhāsa's *Urubhāṅga* which ends with the death of the hero is not a tragedy in the real sense of the term.

is not ready to tolerate the secret love affairs of her husband. But ultimately it comes to light that the heroine is also a princess and that she is a near or distant cousin of the chief queen, who then withdraws her objection and accepts the bride as her sister. This or similar subject matter holds good in the case of numerous Sanskrit dramas.

In the *Svapnavāsavadattā*, attributed to Bhāsa (3rd century AD) the king's polygamy is supported on political grounds. Here, however, the hero is a serious lover and both the heroines are endowed with some sort of personality. By contrast the hero of Harṣa's (7th century AD) *Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśikā* is a gay and courtly lover and other characters are marked by artificiality and absurdity. They are similar to one another being for most part composed in imitation of Kālidāsa's (4th century AD) *Mālavikāgnimitra* wherein king Agnimitra falls in love with a maid in the service of one of his queens and, despite repeated obstacles offered by the queen, at last succeeds in his project with the help of his friend. In the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* Kālidāsa justifies the hypocrisy of a king who, taking advantage of the simplicity of a poor girl and giving her false assurance, enjoys her and after his lust satisfied, refuses even to recognise her. The drama, however, ends with the reunion of the hero and the heroine, according to the existing convention of Sanskrit dramas, but this portion is an artificial addition because such things do not happen in actual life. The intensity of undisciplined passion has been revealed in Purūravas' mad quest for Urvaśi in the fourth act of Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśiya* and also in Bhavabhūti's *Mālatimādhava*, often described as the 'Romeo and Juliet' of India with a happy ending, but much of the talk of love and grief in these works is unconvincing and superficial, for these dramas were intended for a selected audience, and their authors did not care to plunge into the depth of human mind. Rather the *Uttararāmacarita* of Bhavabhūti makes a better and realistic treatment of love, in which sentiments are homely, real and human. There are grounds to prove that the *Uttararāmacarita* was meant not for the court, but for the common people. Here Bhavabhūti has idealised conjugal love from the viewpoint of his social responsibility, and for this he deserves unreserved praise. In the days of Bhavabhūti, the aristocratic class was following the ideals set forth by Vātsyāyana, according to which an aristocrat would pass his days and nights with girl-friends, actresses and harlots while his

wife should remain as his devoted wholetime maid servant. In view of this, Bhavabhūti's insistence on conjugal love must be taken as a sharp protest against the ugliest of the existing society, against the inhuman condition under which the wife had to live. Śūdraka the celebrated author of the *Mṛcchakatīka*, also has kept Cārudatta's wife in the background. She appears on rare occasions as an embodiment of sadness. However, it is in the *Mṛcchakatīka* that we find for the first time a drama of actual life in which characters are living men and women, drawn from different grades of society. Cārudatta, the hero, is a noble hearted Nāgaraka who has been reduced into extreme poverty, and Vasantasenā, the heroine is a hetaera with all accomplishments. She has grace, dignity and beauty, and a longing for genuine love, which is too difficult to get in her social position, and also a great hunger for motherhood, which is revealed in her dealing with Cārudatta's son. Cārudatta loved her and she loved him and realised the emptiness of riches. Even on the verge of imminent death, the name of Cārudatta was on her lips. Such realistic love-themes are rare in Sanskrit dramas.

Erotic elements are found also in prose romances and classical poetry, but these are marked by the same spirit of artificiality. Tales of unfaithful wives and cunning courtesans are abundantly found in works like the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, *Śukasaptati*, *Vetālapañcavimśati*, *Dvātrīṁsat-puttalikā* and others. Interesting narratives though they are, they lack literary merit, and erotic as a theme hardly finds any justification in these works. In Daṇḍin's *Daśakumārācarita*, although love is hardly treated for its own sake, the erotic imageries drawn by the author like the sleeping Ambalikā, the maiden of the underground, the damsel playing with the *Kanduka*, the deception of the ascetic by the hetaera and many other erotic situations, deserve all praise. Works like Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* or Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* have erotic elements artistically displayed by their authors, but since in both the cases the subject matter is very poor and the authors resort only to sentimental imagination, the realities of Heroes are seldom reflected in them. Such works were also intended for a selected group of readers of the aristocratic class whose point of appreciation was glamour and not literary merit. And this glamour could only be displayed by fantastic description, unrestricted imagination and senseless use of rhetoric. Long involved constructions, unusual words, use of epithets after epithets with the verb held back for pages together, unusually long compounds, and fondness of

details and descriptions even to the neglect of the main narrative and action, are the defects with which Bāṇa is charged. These authors tried to retain their hold on the imagination of their patrons, and this was their only purpose. So far as the common men were concerned, most of them were illiterate and they had to satisfy their literary tastes only by hearing the epics and Purāṇas which taught them in a surreptitious way the rules laid down by the Smṛtis—the permanence of the caste-society (*varṇāśramadharma*) and the supremacy of the higher castes, the doctrine of *Karma* and transmigration of soul, their standard of living as prescribed by the law books, and many such things. The doctrine of *Karma* thus imparted to them throughout the ages through the recitals of the epics and Purāṇas has made India a nation of unenthusiastic millions who still believe that their miseries and sufferings are due to the sins they committed in their past lives.

In classical Sanskrit poetry erotic elements are more prominent. Some of the verses of the poems attributed to Pāṇini (*Pātālavijaya* and *Jāmbavatīvijaya*) are distinctly erotic in theme. In Aśvaghoṣa's *Saundarānanda* erotic imageries are used in the fourth canto in his description of the love of the young couple Nanda and Sundarī, but the religious preacher in Aśvaghoṣa gets the upper hand of the poet and hence he says: Women with passion cause intoxication and those without passion cause fear. There is honey in the words of women, but deadly poison in their heart. Retorting this statement in a later age Bhartṛhari wittily suggests that it is wise to drink honey from her lips and then to strike at that heart with a fist. However, early Sanskrit love-poetry seldom stands by itself. It is mixed up with narrative or descriptive matters, as in the Mahākāvyas or in the Kāvyas. The demand for independent erotic poetry was first raised by the urban Nāgarakas from about the beginning of the first century. As a matter of fact this poetry reflecting the graces as well as the artificialities of courtly life, was fostered by the aristocrats. In later times the science of poetics attempted and considerably succeeded in stereotyping the surviving tastes into fixed conventions. Side by side the newly evolved science of erotics exerted a profound influence on the theory and practice of poetry.

Sexual acts and love plays form an integral part of Sanskrit poetry. The sounds made by the females (*sūtkāra*) when they are physically pressed for union are beautifully described by Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha, Śrīharṣa and others. The pulling of hairs of females

as a means of increasing their sexual excitements has been referred to by many of the Sanskrit poets. While describing the rape of Rambhā by Rāvaṇa, Kālidāsa refers to the act of pulling the hair which has been considered by Bāṇa (*Kād.*, Pūrva, 2) and Māgha (*Śisupālavadha*, X.72) as an essential means for sexually exciting the females. Kālidāsa describes the pulling of the locks of hair of Śiva by Pārvatī (*Kumāra*, VIII.83). Such things are also mentioned by the author of the *Āryāsaptaśati* (326) and Amaru (98), and later canonised by the writers on *Kāma* like Kokkoka, Jyotirīśvara, Kalyāṇamalla and others. The act of massaging the *kuca* (breast) and other parts of the female body has also been noticed and referred to by the Sanskrit poets. Kālidāsa's reference to the massage of the left thigh recalls the *urumūla-saṁvāhana* of Vātsyāyana (III. 2.33-35) while Bhāravi describes massaging as a means to relieve the female of the pain caused by union (*Kirāta*, XI.6). The love-combats and the nail and teeth-marks caused by them and also the act of sexual union have been described in detail by the Sanskrit poets. Māgha (*Śiśu*, X.85, 90) says that nail marks add more to female beauty than any ornament. Further, he describes how pleasingly do the ladies experience scratching and biting on different parts of their body (VI.58-59). Bhāravi (*Kirāta*, IX.49, 59, 62) also says the same thing. Kālidāsa describes how Pārvatī enjoyed the charming sensation of Śiva's bite on her lips (*Kumāra*, VIII.18) and how pleased she was seeing the marks of Śiva's love-combat on her body in a mirror (IX.29). Scratching and biting give extreme pleasure to the females, says Mallinātha in his commentary on the *Meghadūta*, 101. Jayadeva in his *Gītagovinda*, II.6.6; XII.23.2 describes the wounds on Rādhā's bosom made by Kṛṣṇa and marks of biting on Kṛṣṇa's lips caused by Rādhā. Kumāradāsa in his *Jānakīharāṇa*, VIII. 9ff. describes how Sītā's lips quivered at the thought of Rāma's love-bite. Actual sexual union and the associated feelings, characterised as *rati* or *srṅgāra*, have minutely been dealt with in the writings of the poets mentioned above with special emphasis on the *bhāva-s* (feelings) *anubhāva-s* (allied feelings), *smaradaśā-s* (passion-stricken conditions) and *sambhogāvasthā-s* (conditions during enjoyment). Writers like Bharata, Amaru, Rudraṭa, Dāmodara and others have described the physical union, and they refer to the ideal conditions under which this should be performed.

In Sanskrit poetry erotic is presented as a definite feeling or sensation with a direct appeal to female body. This special emphasis on

body explains, to a certain extent, that aspect of Sanskrit love-poetry which has often been condemned as too sensual or gross. Even Kālidāsa was criticised by the earlier authorities for the breach of propriety in depicting the love-adventures of Śiva and Pārvatī in his *Kumārasambhava*. But their objection was not for depicting the scene of love-adventures but for attributing such things to the divine pair. But it is interesting to note that in the epico-purāṇic literature of India we have elaborate description of the union of gods and goddesses, especially that of Śiva and Pārvatī, who are described as immeasurably lengthening the duration of sexual union. In later poetry the elaborate description of love-sports, in many cases in a gross and crude way, we come across in the writings of Bhāravi, Māgha and their successors. In every place, however, we have highly flavoured descriptions of feminine beauty. This tendency of a highly erotic description of feminine charms, no doubt follow an established literary convention. Interestingly enough, the physical charms of men are seldom described, but those of women are emphatically described with minutest details. In describing feminine charms, only such details are selected as have a frank sexual appeal. Reference may be made in this connection to the physical charms of Damayantī as described in Śrīharṣa's *Naiṣadha-carita*.

In the *Kumārasambhava* love poetry has taken the form of an elegant and finished miniature and has been grafted within the main body of the narrative. Kālidāsa has displayed considerable skill in delineating the main characters and the poem contains several passages of enchanting beauty, such as the laments of Rati, the description of Pārvatī's body, the sudden advent of spring, etc. In describing the feminine beauty Kālidāsa and other Sanskrit poets probably followed some fixed norms. In the *Kumārasambhava* Kālidāsa imagines that Pārvatī was created by an assemblage of all the beautiful objects, set assiduously in their proper places, as if the creator was desirous of seeing beauty concentrated in one place (cf. *Śakuntalā*, II.43). The same sentiment is repeated by the love-sick Mādhava in describing Mālatī's beauty. (*Mālatīmādhava*, I.24). The Sanskrit poets prefer gracefully slim but developed figure. The complexion of pure gold is generally appreciated, although śyāmā is specially preferred by Kālidāsa.¹

¹For various interpretations of the complexion and other qualities revealed by the term śyāmā see Bandana Chatterjee in *Bhāratīyā Vidyā*, XXVIII, 1968.

Masses of jet black hair, often set with flowers are admired, but some would prefer curls (*Kuntalaka*) playing over the forehead. Kālidāsa gives a fine expression to the sexual appeal of the women's hair, unbraided, perfumed and still wet after a bath, and decorated with the evening jasmine. (*Raghuvamśa*, XVI.50). The eyes as well as the glances are compared to those of the deer and the brows are conceived like the bow. In the *Śringāratilaka*, a maiden is conceived as a huntress whose brows are like the bow and whose glances are like the shafts. Lips are usually imagined as red, nose, ears and cheeks are seldom directly described, but rows of well formed teeth, jasmine-white and like the seeds of the pomegranate, are praised. Full-orbed bosoms inadequately borne by slender limbs are very much appreciated and they are frequently compared to a pair of golden pitchers, peaked hills, pomegranates, etc. Heavy and prominent hips and buttocks are always taken as a mark of beauty. The abdomen and the navel region are also elaborately described and so also the legs and thighs which are compared to different natural objects.

While describing the bodily features of women, the poets had an eye to the taste of their patrons. Frankly speaking, the prominent hips and buttocks need not always be a mark of beauty and yet the poets are not tired in describing them. So far as the sex organ was concerned, earlier poets thought it redundant to describe it. But later writers, especially those who wrote on *kāma*, mention four types of female organs. Jayadeva, the writer of the *Rati-mañjarī*, and Jyotirīśvara give minute description of the female organ. While describing the act of *nāḍikśobhana* or that of titillating the female organ, Kokkoka and subsequent writers on Kāma even give a description of the interior of the female organ. So far as the earlier works are concerned, in the *Mahābhārata* (IV.14) we find Kīcaka describing the *jaghana* of Draupadī. In the same epic (III.46) the private parts of Urvaśi are described. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (VII.26) Rāvaṇa describes such physical charms of Sītā. There is no description of the beauty of the lady's ankle, but this is important from the artistic point of view. Later erotic writers, however, mention the ankle as a *Kāmāsthāna*, a part of body which evokes sexual passion. The mention of the quantities of jewellery worn by the ladies is disgusting. Rather we get some relief when we come across ladies wearing ornaments of flowers like *āśoka*, *karpikāra*, *sindhuvāra*, etc. We come across many passages where the ladies wore *kuruvaka* in their braids, used the dust of white *lodhra* flowers on their faces,

śirīṣa-pendants in their ears and the grey *nīpa* on the parting lines on their hair. The drawing of *tilaka* on the forehead and the putting of collyrium on eye lashes are also mentioned in many places.

With the exception perhaps of the *Meghadūta*, and the *Gitagovinda* with their numerous imitations, Sanskrit love-poetry usually takes the form, not of a systematic well-knit poem, but of single stanzas in which a single emotion or a single erotic situation is depicted. It is probable that these stanzas were originally composed, not in a particular context, but independently, and were collected together to frame anthologies, called *Śatakas*, each consisting of one hundred such stanzas. Erotic is not, however, the sole subject-matter of all the *Śatakas*. The *Śringāra*, *Nīti* and *Vairāgya* *Śatakas* of Bhartṛhari, the *Amaru-śataka* of Amaru, the *Mayūra-śatakā* or *Sūryā-śatakā* of Mayūra, the *Devī-śataka* of Bāṇa, etc. show the variety of subject-matter contained in such collection. For our purpose, however, the *Amaru-śataka* is most important which is found in four different versions having only 51 stanzas in common. In these stanzas Amaru or Amaruka has dealt with various aspects of love particularly depicting the relation of lovers. In illustrating the theme of erotic as a sentiment in poetry, all technical writers on poetics have freely used Amaru as one of the original and best sources. *Amāru-śatāka* is rich not only in metrical variety, as is correctly held by Ānandavardhana, but also in that of love themes and the types of heroines. The most graceful and true are the pictures which Amaru has drawn of the adolescent maiden, the *mugdhā*. Equally charming are the pictures of the newly wedded wife in which the poet has often given a touch of quiet humour : The house-parrot overheard at night the words that were murmured by the young pair and in the morning it began to repeat them loudly before their elders. The same theme is found in Hāla's *Gāthā-saptāśatī*, as we shall see later. Sometimes lightly drawn pictures of lovers' quarrel and reconciliation are enlivened by a touch of quiet humour : Lying together on the same bed and inwardly grieved, the young couple averted their faces from each other. Eager for reconciliation but outwardly keeping up their pride, they did not speak. But they threw side-long glances at each other, and as soon as their looks met, the barrier of pride broke down, and with a sudden laughter they threw their arms at each other's neck. In some stanzas the hard-hearted maiden is warned lest she alienate her lover's affection by a show of too much anger. Almost every poem in Amaru's collection has a charm

of its own.

But one point which we must not overlook is that Amaru, like other Sanskrit poets, depicted only the playful moods of love. This is also due to the urban orientation of Sanskrit literature. The Nāgarakas, for whom these poems were intended, were reluctant to touch the deeper chord, the note of sorrow and tragedy, and for satisfying this demand of their patrons the Sanskrit writers, including Amaru, even made sorrow a luxury and rendered it pleasing. However, of other Śataka writers on erotic Bhartṛhari stands next to Amaru. In intensity, range and delicacy of expression, the poems of Bhartṛhari are perhaps inferior to those of Amaru but there is a great deal of genuine emotion which lend to them a peculiar charm. To quote some of his stanzas : When we see not our beloved, our one longing is for sight; when seen, our one desire is the joy of embrace; embraced, our one prayer is that our two bodies may be made one...Either the beautiful woman, or the cave of the mountains! Either youth, or the forest! An abode either on the sacred banks of the Ganges, or in the delightful embrace of a young woman!I am telling the truth without any bias that in the seven worlds this is a fact that there is nothing more delightful than a young woman and nothing which is a greater source of sorrow to man...Smiles, sentiment, bashfulness, timidity, half-averted and half-turned glances, side-long looks, loving words, jealousy, quarrel and playfulness: all these are the ways by which women bind us.

Some poems are devoted entirely to the description of feminine charms in particularly erotic situations. Of such a type are the erotic Bhāṇas or monologue-plays,¹ as well as poems like *Cauri-surata-pañcāśikā* or *Caura-pañcāśikā* of unknown authorship, which is usually attributed to Bihlaṇa. The latter consists of fifty lyrical stanzas on secret love. In the versified erotic tales like the *Bihlaṇa-carita* or its replica the Sanskrit *Vidyāsundara*, are imbedded partially the fifty stanzas of the *Caura-pañcāśikā*. Closely connected with these poems are those which are based directly on the study of the science of Erotics. Works like the *Kuṭṭanīmata* of Dāmodaragupta, the *Samayamātrikā* of Kṣemendra or monologue-plays like the *Dhūrta-viṭa-samivāda* of Iśvaradatta belong to this category. In a subsequent chapter we shall have the occasion to deal with these works in details. We come across also a number of female poets in

¹S.K. Dey in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1926, pp. 63ff.

whose writings erotic sentiments are nicely expressed. Here is one verse attributed to Vikaṭanitambā : When the beloved came to the couch, the knot of my garment dissolved of its own accord, and, checked for a while by my loosened girdle, it slipped on to my buttocks. All this I remember clearly; but at his intimate touch, dear friend, I swear if I have the faintest recollection of myself, or of him, or of what he did to me.

The *Nalodaya* and other *Śrīgāra*-poems, attributed to Kālidāsa, belong to a later age and in these works the sentiment and expression are no longer fresh and varied but degenerate into rigid inartistic conventions. In later Sanskrit literature, it is only in Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* that we have a freshness in outlook in which erotic and fervent religious longings are successfully blended. It is based upon the love-story of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in their completely humanised forms, and their love-sports are described in the most intimate language of erotic, but these are blended harmoniously with the surrounding beauty of nature and with the devotional and religious mood of the poet. The commentaries on the *Gītagovinda*, Kumbha's *Rasikapriya* and Śāṅkaramiśra's *Rasamañjarī*, are more important for sexual knowledge, since both of these writers, while commenting upon Jayadeva have depended on the Kāmaśāstra tradition. We have numerous imitations of the *Gītagovinda* dealing with the love of Hara and Gaurī, Rāma and Sītā, Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, and so on. But they lack the balance of Jayadeva and also the touch of talent. Works like Līlāśuka's *Śrīkṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* or Viṭṭhaleśvara's *Śrīgārarasa-maṇḍana* are feeble attempts in a worn-out style. Following the *Kumārasambhava* tradition, many later poets have not hesitated to depict with lavish details the amours of their favourite gods and goddesses. Detailed descriptions of the physical beauty of the goddesses are found in such works as the *Mūka-pañcaśatī* or the *Caṇḍī-kuca-pañcāśikā*. In the former Mūkakavi describes in five hundred stanzas the physical charms and attributes of his goddess while in the latter the beauty of Caṇḍī's breasts is described in fifty stanzas.

In Sanskrit poetry, to which the dramas and prose romances are also included, according to the traditional theory, different types of lovers, males and females, are classified according to their rank, character, temperament and different shades of their feeling and gestures. Love is also defined and classified in most of its moods and situations. The hero is classified, for instance, into the faithful

(*anukūla*), the gallant (*dakṣiṇa*), the sly (*śatḥa*) and the saucy (*dhūrta*). In the same way, the heroine, in relation to the hero may be his wife (*svīyā*) or belong to another (*parakīyā*) or be common to all (*sāmānyā*). The *svīyā* is subdivided again into *mugdhā* (adolescent and inexperienced), *madhyā* (youthful and partly experienced) and *pragalbhā* (mature and fully experienced). The *parakīyā* or another man's wife, the highest type of heroine according to the later traditions, may also be maiden and as such we have two subdivisions of this type. The *sāmānyā* heroine is only of one kind, the *reṣyā* or the courtesan. These types are further arranged, according to the eightfold diversity of her condition or situation in relation to her lover, into eight more different types : viz., *svādhīna-patikā* (the heroine who has her lover under absolute control), *utkā* (the heroine disappointed in her assignation through involuntary absence of her lover), *vāsaka-sajjā* (the heroine in full dress expectant of her lover), *vipralabdha* (the heroine deceived), *kalahāntaritā* (the heroine separated by a quarrel), *khanḍitā* (the heroine outraged by signs of unfaithfulness in her lover), *abhisārikā* (the heroine who ventures out to meet her lover) and the *prosita-patikā* (the heroine pining away for the absence of the lover who has gone abroad). Moreover, these heroines are endowed with a set of special excellences. We have first of all a mention of the physical characteristics connected with the emotion of love, viz, *bhāva* or the first indication of the emotion, *hāva* or gestures indicating the awakening of the emotion and *helā* or the decided manifestation of the feeling. Then we have the inherent qualities, different expressions of emotion and the modes of such expressions classified. These attempts indicate considerable power of analysis and subtle insight, but generally speaking the analysis is more of the form than of the spirit, marked by the artificiality of scholastic formalism and hedged by fixed rules and rigid conventions.¹

¹This chapter is partly based upon S.K. Dey's excellent monograph, *Treatment of Love in Sanskrit Literature*, which was published in 1929. A general and incidental treatment of the subject will be found in the standard histories of Sanskrit literature, specially in Winternitz's third volume which contains further references and bibliography of editions and translations of the Sanskrit texts.

KAUTILYA'S ARTHĀŚĀSTRA

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya was the model of the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana. Indeed, the close similarity of the language and treatment of both the works led the ancient writers like Hemacandra to establish identity of the two writers. The *Arthaśāstra* was composed, as its subject-matter itself shows, not earlier than the beginning of the Christian era, the period of the beginning of unrealistic canonisation in different branches of knowledge. Undoubtedly Kauṭilya was an innocent theoretician having no direct experience of statecraft.¹ His *Arthaśāstra*, like the *Dharmaśāstras* of Manu, etc. and the *Kāmaśāstras* of Vātsyāyana, etc., is one of the best specimens of imaginary canonisation, revealing a wide and unbridgeable gulf between things customary and things codified.

Like the traditional Indian thinkers, Kauṭilya believed in the well known *trivarga* or threefold objectives of life, namely, *dharma* (spiritual), *artha* (economic) and *kāma* (sensual). His definition of *Kāma* (I.7) in terms of the pleasure felt during sexual union has been accepted and elaborated by Vātsyāyana.² Guided by regulation of the pleasure of senses, without conflict with moral principles and economic consideration, a man should, according to Kauṭilya, establish sexual relation with his wife, so that her period does not go in vain. Taking what the *Dharmaśāstras* say as absolutely granted, Kauṭilya says that the father commits great crime if he allows the monthly period of his daughter to go in vain, without however, caring to know, whether pregnancy is really caused by copulation done immediately after sexual union (IV.12). He goes on so far as to state that if the father fails to get his daughter married after puberty, she is free to have sexual connection with an equal or, after three years, with any man. No scientific spirit is found in Kauṭilya, and he bluntly follows what is handed over to

¹B.K. Ghosh, *Hindu Ideal of Life*, pp. 70-71.

²I.2.11-12.

him by tradition, even the ancient belief in the identical relation between earth and woman (III.7).¹

As a moralist Kauṭilya warns that no one should have sexual connection with a woman against her inclination (IV.12) and advises that the act of union must be preceded by special efforts on the part of the man to raise sexual urge in his partner (III.3). A husband who refuses to get united with his wife without a proper cause must be punished.² If he has many wives, and if all of them are at the same time in menses, he shall lie first with the eldest wife. If she has a son or is inclined towards religion, or brings forth only dead children, or is beyond the age of menstruation or is sexually cold, she should not be used against her will (III.2). Kauṭilya is against adultery and therefore seeks to protect a good wife from contact with the go-betweens, like the female ascetics, mendicant women and nuns who often carry love-letters and costly presents, communicate messages of love and stimulate the desire for the lover (XI.1).³ If a wife, whose husband is absent, violates her chastity, her husband's relatives must control her. If the husband condones the offence, both the wife and her paramour may be released, but if he is revengeful, the wife's ears and nose should be cut off and the paramour should be killed (IV.12).

As regards marriage, Kauṭilya follows the Dharmasāstras closely and frankly condemns the Gāndharva, Āsura, Rākṣasa and Paiśāca forms of marriage, the original significances of which were unknown to him. The first four forms of marriage (Brāhma, Prājāpatya, Ārṣa and Daiva) are regarded by him as valid (*dharmaśiṣṭha*). According to him, it should be the householder's duty to marry a girl who is of same caste but born in a different clan (I.3). The usual age for marriage is sixteen for boys and twelve for girls (III.3). The girl should be virgin and free from secret blemishes (III.15). Kauṭilya allows *anuloma* marriage (upper caste man and lower caste woman) but not the *pratiloma*, the reverse (III.7). A man is allowed to marry any number of women (III.2). In some cases a wife is allowed to take a second husband, even though the first is alive. This usually happens when the husband stays away from his wife or if he is discovered to be impotent (III.2; III.4). "A woman, hating

¹cf. Manu, XI.25 ff.

²cf. *Mbh.*, II.5.112; Manu, III.45; P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstras*, II, p. 571.

³cf. *Kāmasūtra*, V.4.44-65 ; Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, XXIV, 198-200.

her husband, cannot dissolve her marriage with him against his will. Nor can a man dissolve his marriage with his wife against her will. But from mutual enmity, divorce may be obtained. If a man apprehending danger from his wife, desires divorce, he shall return to her whatever she was given on the occasion of her marriage. If a woman, under the apprehension of danger from her husband, desires divorce, she shall forfeit her claim to his property; marriages contracted in accordance with the customs of the first four kinds of marriages cannot be dissolved.”¹

Kauṭilya frequently refers to sexual intrigues for political purpose and mentions spics rousing the jealousy of rival lovers instigating one to kill another. He also says about magic and witchcraft with reference to erotic matters (IV.4 ff.). He is keen to punish rape and abduction (IV.12). According to him one may have sexual relations with a betrothed girl who has not been given in marriage for a period of her seven menstrual cycles, but apart from this all other forms of pre-nuptial intercourse are to be punished (IV.12). Kauṭilya recommends severe punishment for those who violate an immature maiden.² For an incestuous connection with the mother’s sister or the father’s sister or the maternal uncle’s wife or one’s own daughter, daughter-in-law or sister, the offender is to suffer emasculation and capital punishment (IV.13).³ For violating an independent Brāhmaṇa woman, a Kṣatriya is punishable in the highest amercement, a Vaiśya forfeits all his belongings and a Śūdra is liable to be burnt alive (IV.8). As regards the Śūdras and slave-women, although their chastity was not considered as precious, Kauṭilya has granted them some protection against outrage by their masters and other persons (IV.13). On the contrary, if the mistress makes sexual intercourse with a slave, servant or a pledged man, both of them are to suffer capital punishment (IV.13).

Kauṭilya considers prostitution as an art to be taught by experts (II.27). He mentions prostitutes attached to the army and a royal officer *Ganikādhyakṣa* who looks after prostitution organised and controlled by the state. In the chapter under the title ‘Superintendent of Prostitutes’ the requisite qualification for becoming a courtesan, her salary, mode of life, duties, etc. are described (II.27). He also refers to a miscellaneous class of body-sellers comprising

¹Shamasastry’s tr.

²cf. Manu, VIII. 364 ff.

³cf. Yājñavalkya, III. 232.

the wives of the actors, dancers, singers, musicians, buffoons, mimic-players, rope-dancers, jugglers, wandering bards and persons using their wives for a living as well as harlots carrying their trade in secret. Besides Kauṭilya mentions unregistered prostitutes like the barmaids, housewives secretly engaged in prostitution, women passing off as pious ladies, the temple maidservants, mendicant women, etc. (II.23; II.25; IV.6; IV.8; V.2; XI.1; XII.2. etc). More about Kauṭilya's views on prostitution will be quoted in chapter 13 of this work.

Kauṭilya did not favour asceticism since the ascetics belonged to an unproductive class. But this class could not be abolished ; nor there was any serious attempt to do the same. The psychological factor behind the adoption of the life of ascetic was the longing for freedom. In this longing for freedom sex was also an important factor. It is only by adopting a life of asceticism that one can disregard all the social taboos. Although Kauṭilya makes it penal to initiate women to asceticism, he refers to a large variety of female ascetics. They seem to have access to the harems of the king and ministers. They used to carry love messages, and play the role of a go-between. Most of them were of easy virtue and their chastity was looked upon as little more valuable than that of the prostitutes. It is proved by the fact that Kauṭilya prescribes a fine only of 24 paṇas for forcibly enjoying a female ascetic and 12 paṇas for doing the same with a prostitute (IV.12).

In the *Arthaśāstra* we find a few references to sexual abnormalities. Castration is ordinarily forbidden, but it is prescribed by way of punishment for incest (III.20). Kauṭilya knows of masochism and considers it as a punishable offence (II.27). Exhibitionism is also discouraged and nudity, even under the influence of drinks, is deprecated (VIII.3). Homosexuality has been considered by Kauṭilya as a social crime. A man having sexual intercourse with another man is to pay a fine ranging between 48 and 96 paṇas. A woman having sexual connection with another woman has also to pay a fine of 24 paṇas (III.17; IV.13). A man having sexual intercourse with an immature maiden will have his hand chopped off or to pay a fine of 400 paṇas. If the maiden dies, he will suffer capital punishment (IV.12). A person who copulates with animals will be fined 12 paṇas (IV.13).

Kauṭilya's approach towards things sexual is purely theoretical. Although his work gives us some idea of the sexual norms and

behaviour current in those days, it does not reflect the whole thing. Since in India, as has been pointed out above, there has always been a wide and unbridgeable gulf between codified and customary matters, the scope of the former, to which the *Arthaśāstra*, as well as the *Dharma* and *Kāmasāstras* belong, being very limited so far as the social realities are concerned. The purpose of Kauṭilya was to create an ideal state following the absurd, meaningless and self-contradicting Brahmanical tradition set forth in the earlier works. Nevertheless, for our purpose Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* is important because, as we have stated above, this work was the source of Vātsyāyana's inspiration, and the latter, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, elaborated many points which was originally raised by the writer of the *Arthaśāstra*.¹

¹For details see P.C. Chunder, *Kauṭilya on Love and Morals*, Calcutta, 1970.

HĀLA'S GĀTHĀ-SAPTAŚATĪ

The *Gāthā-saptaśatī*, an anthology (*kośa*) of verses, reflecting, surprisingly enough, the social realities in regard to sexual and erotic matters, is the earliest and most interesting collection of seven hundred stanzas in Mahārāṣṭrī Prākrit which passes under the name of Hāla Sātavāhana and comprises verses of Prākrit poets who were earlier than Kālidāsa. Hāla flourished in the first or second century of the Christian era in the Kuntala branch of the Sātavāhana family. Gaṅgādhara, the celebrated commentator on the *Gāthā-saptaśatī*, shows that only 44, out of the total 700 verses were composed by Hāla himself. Others were collected by him from different sources and we have at least names of 398 poets whose verses were included within this collection. The verses are all composed in *Āryā* metre.

These stanzas have a striking naturalness which must have been a reflection of the robust and keen perceptions of the unsophisticated people at large. Here we have also, for the first time, an effective expression of the sentiment of love in its varying moods and phases. That is why Bāṇa compares this work with the treasury of a king containing pure and precious gems. Hāla's *Gāthā-saptaśatī* was once so popular that it became the source of inspiration to many a later poet. Its influence on the *Amaruśataka* can easily be discerned. It was imitated by Govardhanācārya in his Sanskrit *Āryā-saptaśatī* and, many centuries later, by a poet of eastern India in his *Bihārī-saptaśatī*, a work composed in Vraja language.

Besides its erotic contents, the *Gāthā-saptaśatī* gives interesting information about the village life of ancient India, particularly of the Deccan region. The characters, so nicely depicted, all come from village—the farmer and his wife, the village headman and his daughter, the householder, his wife and children, and so on. There is practically no reference to the fourfold caste system or the towns or seas. Kings are rarely mentioned. The villages, their areas, the cultivable lands, ways, trees, the shrines and deities installed therein, the religious sentiments of the villagers, the householders and the

variety of their kinsmen and relatives, the unchaste women, hilly tracts wild tribes and a host of other things come within our view through this nice collection. And at the same time the feeling by which all the verses are saturated is frankly erotic, reflecting all the emotions related to love and sex. Here we come across mature and fully experienced heroines, those who have their lovers under absolute control, and also other types of heroines—disappointed, sex-charged, passionate, expectant, deceived, separated, outraged, sportive or pining—all coming from common people, some of them being unchaste wives or daughters engaged in love-sport even with husband's brother or with tabooed persons.

A brief description of the village life as found in the *Gāthā-saptaśatī* will not be irrelevant. The villagers were mostly agriculturists, divided into two classes *Pāmaras* and *Hālikas*, and they produced rice, especially of the *Śāli* brand, and also oil-seeds, cotton and hemp (I.8-9; II.34,71; VI.49, 67-68, VII.89-92 etc). Their houses were surrounded by walls and they were made of straws (III. 20,21, 57; IV.15). The villages contained banian trees and tanks (I.94; II.10; III.94-95; VII.26) in which water-lilies used to grow up. The natural view of the villages was beautiful, for they were all marked by the existence of a variety of flowery trees and plants (*passim*). Of the domestic birds we have references to *Kīra* or *Śuka* (I.75; VII.66), peacock (IV.94; VII.36), parrot (I.64), swan (VII.76), duck (II.10), hen (VII.98), crow (II.2; III.5,48)etc. Shells and crabs are also mentioned (I.4,18), and also spiders (I.63) and bees (I.37, 78, 92 ; II.28,39) as well as different types of deer (I.25; III.87; VII. 29), cows and buffaloes (I.65, III.38,71,75), elephants (II.73, III.58, VII.30), monkeys (II.71), cats (III.83), dogs (VII.62, 88) and lions (II.75). There were wide and narrow routes (II.19,40,90; III.41; IV.92; V.19; VII.82) which became muddy and slippery during the monsoons (IV.92), wells for drinking water (III.94) and small factories for producing sweet things (VI.54).

The village administration rested on the *Grāmanī* (VII.28, 32) while the bigger administrative divisions were in charge of the *Ganādhipatis* or *Maṇḍalādhipatis* (V.3). The function of maintaining law and order in the villages rested on the *Grāmabhojakas* and *Tittillās* (V.3; VI.56). Among the higher classes the sense of aristocracy was keen (I.24, 38).

There were village doctors (IV.63; VI.100) who used to cure various types of diseases (I.50-51; IV.17,37; V.58; VII.95-96).

The game of dice was known (II.28). Begging was an established profession (II. 62), and the system of slavery was not unknown (I.91). Wealth and riches were sometimes stored under the ground for safety (II.25. IV.18, 73; V.23; VI.76). Theft and robbery were also prevalent (I.54. 57; VI.27,63; VII.85). Seditious talks were discouraged (IV.96). Wooden utensils were used (II.53). Of the musical instruments we have references to drums and lyres and also to flutes made of bamboo (III.53; VI.26,57.60). The art of painting with various colours was known (III.17; V.85; VII.12). The *Gāthā-saptaśatī* mentions the existence of shrines dedicated to different gods (I.64; II. 90; IV.32) like Sūrya (IV. 32; VII. 53), Madana (IV.25-27), Agni. Varuṇa (III. 11) and others. It is interesting to note that this early collection refers to the love-legends of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā (I.89: II.12,18; V.47; VII. 55, 69 etc.). Buddhism was known (IV. 8). The Kāpālikas are also mentioned (V. 8). Astrology had an important place in social life (III.61; IV.19; V. 35).

Polygamy was prevalent among men of the higher classes (I.79; II.6; VI.28, etc.). We have references to mutual conflicts and jealousy among the co-wives (IV.62,82). Young wives used to state their problems relating to love and sex before the elderly ones like aunts, etc. (I. 93,97; II. 10,24; III. 4,46,64,94; VII. 48). Ordinary housewives had to spend most of their times in the kitchen (I. 13-14). Poverty often disturbed their peace of mind (I.18). In some cases they had to support their poor relatives which was a thing of burden to them (V. 72 ; VII.6). Wives did not talk with their husbands in the presence of the elders and they had no right to move about freely outside the house (VI. 25). For garments they used two pieces of cloth, one for covering up the breast and the other for the lower portion. Often they covered their faces also (IV.95; VI.20; VII.20,72). The dress for festival was known as *Navaraṅga* (III. 41 ; V. 61). Married women used to wear bangles (II. 33; III. 83 ; V.53, 93) and other ornaments made of gold (II. 91 ; VII. 27) pearls and gems (I.4,75; II.73; IV.94). Songs were sung during the marriage festivals (IV.42; VII.43). From the fourth day after marriage the wife had to live separately for a few days (VII. 44-47). Pre-nuptial love was not unknown (III. 98). The custom of *Sati* was also prevalent (V. 7,49; VII.33).

When the husband was away from home for a long time for business and other economic purposes, the wife had to pine for his

absence. She used to send him letters through reliable persons requesting him to come back as soon as possible (III.44; VI.61). Often she had to find out ways and means to kill time (I.47). On hearing the news that her husband would go abroad the wife began to become physically thin (VII.11). At the time of monsoon she wept remembering the days of the happy union with her husband (VII.21). She forgot even to clean her body (I.33). She used to count days with pieces of things and kept them in a jar (II.70). She used to hear of her husband from others and often asked them to repeat what they said (II. 98). But all the wives, whose husbands had gone abroad, were not equally faithful. Some of them engaged themselves in secret love with others. In many cases they selected their consorts from the brothers of their husbands (I.28; II. 59; IV.13; VII.88). Sometimes they used to satisfy their sex desires by healthy peoples even belonging to the lower ranks of society (IV.60). It was forbidden to cohabit during the time of menstruation (VI.29), but this taboo was sometimes broken (I.22; VI.28). During the menstrual period women used to smear their bodies with yellow powder (I.22; III.89; VI.19,28).

We come across references to the loose character of the son of the village headman and also the unchastity of his wife and daughter (I.30-31; V.69). The wives of the Bhojakas, the guardian of the law and order in the village, known as *Bhoginīs* were sometimes beautiful, and they often used to dally with ordinary people (VII.3). In some cases the beauty of the daughter of the village headman was the subject of discussion among the villagers, and she too was connected with secret love affairs (V.10; VI.70, 92). The daughters of the agriculturists were also very expert in love-making (I.84 ff.). Sometimes one maiden had more than one lover (V.57 ff.) Unchaste wives used to make their commerce with youthful persons in selected solitary places (IV.50, 65). In the *Gāthā-saptasati* unchaste women are mentioned in different connections (II.4, 65-66; III.28, 94-95 etc.). Often did they try to bring chaste wives in their line (I.36). They were assisted in secret works by friends (II.97) who always supported their cause (II.97). They had trained dogs from whose barks they could understand the arrival of their husbands or paramours (VII.62). The unchaste wife ventured out to meet her lover at night through fields of oil-seeds (VII.93). In one verse (V.17) we come across an unchaste housewife making love with a barber. There were many methods through which the

unchaste wives kept the news of their paramours concealed to their husbands (IV.1). We have an instance in which the unchaste wife, saying that she was bitten by a scorpion, went with the help of her husband to the chamber of a physician, who was her paramour (III.37). In another instance we find that the wife saved the situation by introducing her lover to her husband saying that he was a distressed guest (III.97). The activities of the prostitutes are also described (V.74).

Women used to take active part in the popular festivals. For the domestic festivals they used to cook varieties of food and distributed them among their neighbours (VII.3, 24). During public festivals the women used to clean their bodies and applied fragrant ointment made of fine sandal-wood paste or of preparations of a variety of sweet-smelling substances, to their bodies (I.39). We come across description of public festivals under open moonlit night (V.66). We have references to *Madhūtsava* or the spring festival during which people rushed through the streets towards the festival spot. This festival was marked by musical performances and beatings of drums (VI.35). Young women of the villages, dressed in *Kañcukikā*, flocked there (VI.45). They also used to drink wine, the smell of which would come out from their mouth (VI.44). In the *Phalgūtsava* men and women would engage in erotic sports (IV.69). There were public bars (III.27) and old wine was appreciated (II.97). Often the heroes induced their lovers to drink wine (II.70).

We shall conclude this chapter by quoting a few verses from the *Gāthā-saptaśatī* to give to the readers some idea, within the limited space at our disposal, of the infinite variety and beauty of the verses collected therein. "Happy are those ladies who have a sight of their beloved even in dreams; but how can she have dreams unless she sleeps and how can she sleep without her lover? (IV.97)...Can destiny take away from me his beauty which is still in my eyes, the touch which is still on my body, the words which are still in my ear, the heart which is still fixed on my heart? (II.32) ..While searching the knot of my loose girdle, he became ashamed and at once I embraced him deeply with a smile (IV.5)...During an interval of love-play, the ashamed wife when finds that the cloth is not near her hand, she conceals the private parts of her body by embracing the lover (V.59)...No one has seen the beauty of her whole body, because on whichever part of her body one's eyes fall, they remain fixed there (III.34).....As she rises from her bath, her

flowing hairs, having once received the touch of her hips, drip water as if they weep for fear of being tied up (VI.55).....Who can teach the ladies the varieties of sexual art? It is only love that teaches untaught things (V.77)...Do not leave her because she has covered her body with blue garment. Even pure dress made of jute (*paṭṭāṁśuka*, used for the purpose of worship) does not stay in the body during copulation (VI.20)...O brother in-law! Why are you looking in vain for the half-moon in the sky? Rather look at the series of half-moons (caused by striking of nails) in the body of your darling (VI.70).....Cover up the teeth-marks on your thighs with the garment raised by the blow of wind.....O daughter, do not make your lusty husband an object of other's laughter (VII.5)."

Thus we have numerous verses relating to the description of the lover's pangs of separation, of the fulfilment of love, of the charm of association, of sexual commerce, of pathetic feelings and even of elaborate conceits. No less refreshing are the touches of humour. The repentant husband falls at the feet of his angry and offended wife, but their little boy spoils the effect by seizing the opportunity of riding on his father's back. A maiden pours out water for the thirsty traveller who looks only at her body letting the water escape through his fingers. An enraged damsels engaged in cooking hides her anger by the pretence of blowing at the fire. Her lover tries to appease her by saying the fire is drinking the fragrant breath of her mouth. Still it will smoke and not blaze, since it knows fully well that if it blazes it will at once be deprived of the fragrant breath of her mouth. A traveller seeking rest and lodging is thus addressed: At midday the shadow does not move out, even a little way from my body, for the fear of heat; so traveller, why not rest on me?

Although the *Gāthā-saptaśatī* thus consists of isolated stanzas of the types mentioned above without any inner connection, each of the verses by itself has a finished form and a charm of its own, like miniature paintings involving a perfect expression of a pregnant idea or an intense emotion within restricted limits by just a few precise and elegant touches of the brush.¹

¹Kāvyamālā ed. XXI, 1889, contains the text and the commentary of Gaṅgādhara; pub. with Haritāmrītāmbara's com. by J.L. Shastri, Lahore, 1942; ed. Kedarnath and Vasudeb Sharma, 1911; Mathuranath Sastri, 1933; German tr. A. Weber, 1870, 1881; Eng. tr. *idem*, 1956.

THE KĀMASUTRA AND ITS SOURCES

The *Kāmasūtra* of Mallanāga Vātsyāyana, which was composed about the end of the third century AD¹, is the first complete work dealing with the science of erotics, and as such it has some historical importance. Its celebrated writer had a profound knowledge of the society of his patrons, the Nāgarakas or city dwellers who lived a life of luxury and pleasure and had their source of wealth in the surplus provided by the villages where they had property and also in the favourable trade balance which India enjoyed in the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods. The *Kāmasūtra* therefore reflects some features which are very useful for the purpose of Indian social history. Vātsyāyana had some ethical bias. He was anxious to reconcile Dharma, Artha and Kāma, the three recognised ends of life, by emphasising their equal importance and harmonious blending, and hence it was not possible for him to reduce his work in a gross sexual level as did his successors or imitators in the subsequent erotic writings. Vātsyāyana was a law giver like Manu or Kauṭilya having no practical knowledge of sexology, the subject on which he ventured to write. The *Kāmasūtra* is therefore a very nice work on different subjects, but so far as the purely sexual matters are concerned, it is frankly worthless, the reason of which will be stated below.

Vātsyāyana was a very learned man, but he could not view the gulf existing between the codified and customary things. He had gone through the Vedic texts, the epics and the earlier law-books and also the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya which had become the model of his work. He had embodied in his book a considerable number of passages from the *Arthaśāstra* and followed the method of Kauṭilya throughout his work.² There were also a number of

¹For the date of the *Kāmasūtra* see H.C. Chakladar, *Social Life in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1954, pp. 11-35.

²This led to the absurd identification of Kauṭilya with Vātsyāyana by the lexicographers. See Shamasastri's 'A Note on the supposed identity of Vātsyāyana

ancient sex manuals which Vātsyāyana had consulted, and from these books what he got were the absurd canonisations of sexual behaviour and practices which had no tinge of reality. Referring to his sources Vātsyāyana says the following: At first Prajāpāti, 'the Lord of Beings', composed a huge encyclopaedia in a hundred thousand chapters dealing with Dharma, Artha and Kāma, the first two of which were taken up by Manu and Bṛhaspati respectively, while the third, the section on *Kāma*, was given the shape of a Śāstra in a thousand chapters by Nandi, the attendant of Mahādeva. These are mythical traditions which Vātsyāyana narrates in a conventional way. Then we are told that Auddālaki Śvetaketu first gave an exposition in five hundred chapters which Pañcāla Bābhravya condensed in a hundred and fifty chapters under seven definite sections (*Adhikaraṇas*) namely, General Principles (*Sādhārana*), Sexual Union (*Sāmprayogika*), Courtship and Marriage (*Kanyā-sāmprayuktaka*), wife (*Bhāryādhikārīka*), Wives of other people (*Pāradārīka*), Prostitutes (*Vaiśīka*) and Secret Lore of Extraneous Stimulation (*Aupanīṣadīka*). Of these topics Dattaka, at the request of the courtesans of Pāṭaliputra, chose the sixth (*Vaiśīka*) as his special subject, and his example was followed by Cārāyaṇa, Suvarṇanābha, Ghoṭakamukha, Gonardiya, Gonikāputra and Kucumāra, each of whom wrote a monograph on one of the remaining subjects in the order given above.

In view of the fractional and specialised nature of separate treatises and the difficulty of mastering Bābhravya's extensive work as a whole, Vātsyāyana's professed object was the writing of a comprehensive compendium within a reasonable dimension. He did not care to understand or evaluate the truth of the contents of the said works in the light of reason and objectivity. Therefore he should be regarded as an imitator and compiler like Manu or Kauṭilya who also canonised the contents of the earlier works on their subjects without bothering about their applicability in practical life in the changing patterns of society. This was due to the fact that all their political or economic or social, even sexual, understanding rested upon some pre-conceived idealism and not upon clear observation of actual life. This also holds good in the case of their modern counterparts in India.

and Kauṭilya' in *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 210-16. In the introduction to his Eng. tr. of the *Arthaśāstra* Shamasastri has also brought together a number of parallel passages occurring in both the texts.

Since we are considering Vātsyāyana as a good imitator and compiler of the earlier canonisations on erotics and sexology, it is necessary to deal with the views of these earlier authorities as found in the *Kāmasūtra*. Of them, Auddālaki Śvetaketu is also known from other sources. In the Brāhmaṇa literature and also in the Upaniṣads we meet with a Śvetaketu who may be connected with the tradition of the authorship of a work relating to the Kāma Sāstra.¹ The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (VI.2) gives a brief exposition of the mystery of sex-relationship by Pravāhaṇa Jaibala of the Pañcāla country who is sought for instruction by Uddālaka Āruṇi at the instance of his inquisitive son Śvetaketu. Characteristically enough, this discourse represents sexual act for which woman is said to have been created by Prajāpati symbolically as a sacrificial ritual—the woman being the fire in which seed is offered and out of the offering man being born—the significance of which in the light of primitive beliefs we have discussed elsewhere in this work. Rules are also given for approaching a woman, for dealing with the lover of one's own wife and for obtaining desirable progeny. It is interesting to note that the passage (VI.4.4) distinctly refers to Uddālaka Āruṇi as one of the former teachers of the esoteric art and that its knowledge is associated with the Pañcāla country. Śvetaketu is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (I.122 Cal. I.128 Kum.) as having established a fixity in sexual relations which before him were entirely free and promiscuous. Many years later, the *Kāmasūtra* confirms the tradition by naming Auddālaki Śvetaketu as the first human founder for study in sexology. Auddālaki's opinions are cited thrice in different sections by Vātsyāyana. Referring to the union between man and woman Auddālaki says: "The woman does not discharge in the same way as the man. While a man, by merely uniting with a woman, is able to fulfil his passion, the woman takes pleasure in the consciousness of desire and this gives her the kind of pleasure that is totally different from the man's....To the question as to how this is concluded, Auddālaki replies: After the culmination of the union, the man ceases automatically, while woman does not..... Women realise great enjoyment during their union with men; their real pleasure, however, springs from the consciousness of it being

¹*Satapatha Br.*, X.3.4.1; X.6.1.1; XI.4.1.1; XI.6.2.1; XII.2.3.9; *Taittirīya Sam.*, VI.1.9.2; VI.4.5.1; *Chāndogya Up.*, V.3-10; VI.8; *Bṛhādaranyaka Up.* VI.2; VI.4.

realised.”¹ Again, referring to the role of the female messenger for seducing wives of other men Auddālaki says: “When a man and a woman have not been acquainted before and the woman has not shown her inclination through signs and gestures, the woman messenger is useless.”² On courtesans Auddālaki says: “It is a case of monetary loss on both sides when a courtesan, at her own expense, courts a new lover but is doubtful whether he will pay or not, and at the same time, wonders whether her erstwhile lover would be enraged or not, whether he would be opposed to her going to a new lover, whether from anger he would harm her or from jealousy he would take back the moncy he has given her.”³

Now about Bābhravya Pāñcāla who is said to have condensed the Kāma Śāstra in a hundred and fifty chapters under seven definite sections. That the text written by Bābhravya was well known even up to the times of Jyotirīśa and Yaśodhara, and perhaps Kāñcīnātha is evident from quotations made by the last two in the commentaries *Jayamāngalā* on the *Kāmasūtra* (2.1.67) and the *Dīpikā* on the *Ratirahasya* (13-91). The frequent citations of the views not only of Bābhravya, but also of Bābhravīyas, make it reasonably certain that Bābhravya the Pāñcāla was the principal authority and that he left a school. We are specifically informed that the Pāñcālas were proficient in the sixtyfour arts (I.3.17) and sixtyfour kinds of artful coitus (II.2.4-5; II.6.21). From his concluding remarks it also appears that Vātsyāyana based his own work chiefly on that of Bābhravya from whom he specially derived his own extensive section on sexual union. According to the followers of Bābhravya, a woman who has intimate relations with five men, becomes fit to resort to (I.5.33). They hold that woman's fluid continues to fall from the very beginning of protracted union, while the man's pleasure comes at the very end, and that conception can never form if women have not the flow of this fluid. During copulation women's pleasure continues throughout and they also enjoy the maximum pleasure of ejaculation, after which they desire discontinuation (II.1.32ff). Regarding conception, the view of the Bābhravya school is absurd, but they are correct so far as the question of the pleasure of the females is concerned. This part of

¹II.1.19-32; S.C. Upadhyaya's translation, pp. 96-97.

²V.4.31; *ib.*, p. 191.

³VI.6.34; *ib.*, p. 229.

their argument has wrongly been contradicted by Vātsyāyana. The Bābhravya school enumerates eight stages during the union: embracing, kissing, marking with nails, marking with teeth, uniting in congress, shrieking and crying, women assuming the role of men and oral congress. Each of these is supposed to have eight subdivisions, making a total of sixtyfour (II.2.5ff). Bābhravya refers to seven postures of sexual union (II.6.21ff). On creating confidence in the bride he insists that the bridegroom should make his amorous advances in a delicate manner (III.2.3). Regarding the relations with wives of other men Bābhravya insists on the role to be played by female messengers (V.4.32) and says that the lovers' meeting can be arranged on the way to the temple or in the gatherings of garden parties, religious festivals, swimming contests, theatrical performances, etc. (V.4.41). A man should allow his wife to associate with a young woman who would inform him about the secrets of other peoples, and in this way, test his wife's chastity (V.6.47). According to Bābhravya, artificial phallus made of zinc and lead are soft, cool to the touch and permit several rubbings (VII.2.6).

The monographs written by the successors of Bābhravya, Dattaka and others, are quoted by Vātsyāyana in the respective chapters of his book. He says that Dattaka, at the request of the courtesans of Pātaliputra wrote a treatise on the prostitutes (I.1.11). He also informs us that Dattaka supplied the basis of his own treatment of the prostitutes (VI.2.55; VI.3.44). Vātsyāyana has also quoted the view of Dattaka in regard to the art of sexual congress (II.10.45). While the commentator directly quotes a sūtra from Dattaka where Vātsyāyana merely gives the drift (VI.3.19-20), two sūtras from Dattaka are actually given respectively in two early erotic Bhāṇas, the *Dhūrta-viṭa-saṃvāda* of Iśvaradatta and the *Pādatāḍitaka* of Śyāmilaka. Dattaka's book on the courtesans appears to have been in use in the ninth century AD when Dāmodaragupta wrote his *Kuṭṭāṇīmata* (LXXVII, 122). A metrical resumē of the sūtras of Dattaka has recently been found to exist in a fragmentary condition.¹

The next authority is Cārāyaṇa who appears to have written a book on various arts, the Nāgarakas and different types of their consorts. His views are quoted twice in the *Kāmasūtra*, in connection with the daily meals of the Nāgaraka (I.4.20) and in that with

¹See Raghavan's introduction to the *Śringāramāṇjari*, p. 34n.

the heroines (I.5.22) where he says that even the widows can be classed as Nāyikās. One Cārāyaṇa is mentioned by Kauṭilya (V.5.93), whom Jacobi has identified with Ghoṭakamukha.¹

Nothing is more known about the next writer Suvarṇanābha than the references made to him by Vātsyāyana. Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*,² however, refers to one Suvarṇanābha as the author of a treatise on *Ratīnirṇaya* which he considers to be a branch of poetics. In *Kāmasūtra*, I.5.23 Suvarṇanābha is mentioned as the enumerator of a sixth class of Nāyikās, viz. the widows. On the question of the likes and dislikes of women and their provenance, Suvarṇanābha says that in matters of love natural inclination should take precedence over provincial customs (II.5.34). On postures for sexual union, besides the seven methods prescribed by Bābhravya, Suvarṇanābha adds a few more (II.6.21-32). According to him, the secret of satisfying a woman's desire successfully lies in the man's perceiving where the woman turns her glance after congress and pressing those parts with increasing movement and pressures (II.8.7).

Ghoṭakamukha, who has also been referred to by Kauṭilya along with Cārāyaṇa, is described in the *Kāmasūtra* as an authority on Kanyāsamprayuktaka, i.e. marriage and courtship. His first mention in the *Kāmasūtra*, we come across in connection with the Nāyikās. He finds a seventh class of them composed of unmarried and unattached daughters of courtesans and unmarried maid-servants (I.5.24). On the selection and acceptance of the bride, Ghoṭakamukha warns that the decision about the marriage must not exclusively be that of the man and the maiden (III.1.3.10). He says that all maidens hear the man's words, without sometimes uttering a word themselves, and hence it is necessary to create confidence in them (III.2.17).

Goṇikāputra is mentioned by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* (I.4.51) as a former grammarian. Jacobi is inclined to identify him with the Goṇikāputra of Vātsyāyana although this identification does not seem to be correct. His text also appears to have been well known even up to the time Kāñcīnātha, since he has quoted from it (on *Ratirahasya* 13-91). His work has also been used by Jyotiriśvara, the author of the *Pañcasāyaka*. Vātsyāyana mentions Goṇikāputra

¹Chakladar, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

²Ed. Dalal and Shastri, *GOS*, p. 33.

as the best authority on the extra-marital relations with wives of other men. Of the views of Goṇikāputra the following occurs in the *Kāmasūtra*. According to him there is a fourth type of Nāyikā, called Pakṣiki, *i.e.* one who is already married to another (I.5.5). He is opposed to the view of Bābhravya that a woman who has had intimate relations with five men becomes fit to resort to. He says that such a woman is not fit if she happens to be the wife of a relative or friend or a learned Brāhmaṇa or a king (I.5.34). He argues that a woman may feel attracted to every handsome man, and a man to every handsome woman, but this does not imply that they strive for physical union in all the cases (V.1.8). When a man wishes to approach a woman, who is not so much experienced, he should seek the help of a female messenger (V.4.9). The places convenient for meeting are the house of a woman-friend, and the resorts of a beggar woman, a recluse or a woman practising penance (V.4.42). Wife should be guarded and guards should be reliable persons (V.6.45).

Gonardiya has been quoted by Mallinātha in his gloss on the *Kumārasambhava* VII.95 and on the *Raghuvarṇa* XIX. 29.30. He is also referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya*. According to Vātsyāyana, Gonardiya's treatise dealt with the position and conduct of one's wife. In the *Kāmasūtra*, Gonardiya's views are mainly dealt with in connection with the conduct of the devoted wife and her behaviour during the absence of her husband. He mentions the domestic arts by which a woman should win the heart of her husband (V.1.4-21) and the variety of behaviour by which she can obtain a honourable place among the co-wives (IV.2.36 ff.).

The last is Kucumāra or Kucimāra. Besides references to him made by Vātsyāyana, we know of a work *Kucimāratantra*¹ dealing with special appliances and methods, the use of aphrodisiacs and *mantras*, etc. Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṁśā* speaks of one Kucumāra as having dealt with the Aupaniṣadika section, who is evidently the same as Vātsyāyana's Kucumāra. The seventh section of the *Kāmasūtra*, dealing with the ways of making oneself attractive to others, of using herbal recipes, of regaining lost virility, and other miscellaneous experiments, was probably based upon the work of Kucumāra.

¹Edited by M.P. Dikshit, Lahore, 1922.

SOCIAL LIFE AS REFLECTED IN THE KĀMASŪTRA

From Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra we get a highly interesting account of the Nāgaraka, the wealthy man of the town. There is a graphic description of his gilded life, his house luxuriously furnished, his friends and assistants in *affaire d'amour*, his taste and accomplishment in poetry, music and various arts, his elaborate toilet and personal adornment, his round of pleasures, his interest in various sports and amusements, etc. The fourth chapter of the first part is entirely devoted to the daily life of a Nāgaraka.

The house of a Nāgaraka was divided into two blocks, the inner belonging to the ladies. There were a number of rooms, each set apart for its special purpose (I.4.4), and attached to the house was a garden with flowering plants and fruit trees.¹ These large and magnificent houses were called Harmyas or Prasādas. The roof of the house stood on *stambhas* or pillars and the walls were beautifully polished.² The floor was sometimes decorated with mosaic works. In the palace-gardens there were *samudra-grhaṣ* or summer-houses surrounded by water.³

In the Nāgaraka's bedroom, there were usually two beds, soft and comfortable with two pillows on either side. At the head of his bed there was a niche and also an elevated shelf whereon were placed articles necessary for his morning toilet. On the floor stood a spittoon, and on the wall, on brackets were ranged his *Vīṇā*, a casket containing materials of painting and sketching, a book and garlands. On the floor was spread a carpet with cushions for the head, and besides, there were boards for playing at chess and dice. Outside the room was his aviary where were hung cages of birds for game and sport (I.4.5-13).⁴

The Nāgaraka used to get up early in the morning, and after

¹IV.1.6ff.

²II.3.10; cf. *Buddhacarita*, XIV.12. *Saundarānanda*, I.19; XIV.15.

³V.5.17; cf. *Raghuvamṣa* XIX. 9.

⁴cf. *Buddhacarita*, III. 15.

attending to his morning duties he proceeded to his toilet. The first article in this toilet was the *anulepana*, *i.e.* application of a fragrant ointment made of sandalwood paste or sweet-smelling substances.¹ Decorating himself with flowers and garlands, applying wax and red Alaktaka (a red dye made from lac), admiring his own person in a looking glass and chewing spiced betel-leaves he attended to his daily work (1.4.16)².

After attending to his business, he took his bath. Limbs were to be massaged on alternate days; on every third day *phenaka* (soap) was to be applied to the thighs; on every fourth day the face was to be shaved while on every fifth or every tenth day, other parts of the body must be shaved. He always carried a handkerchief with himself for removing perspiration. He took two meals everyday, in the forenoon and the afternoon (I.4.17-20). Vātsyāyana mentions three kinds of hard or soft food and drinks—bhakṣa, bhojya and peya.³ Of stronger drinks the Nāgaraka used various wines like Surā, Madhu, Maireya and Āsava which he drank from *caṣaka*, a vessel of wood or metal, often accompanied by various kinds of sweets.⁴

After the forenoon meal, the Nāgaraka should indulge in teaching and listening to domesticated birds, watch fights between quails, cocks and rams, and divert himself by pleasant talk with his friends—the Piṭhamarda, the Viṭa and the Vidūṣaka. He should entertain himself with repartees and witticisms, and finally enjoy a siesta (I.4.21). He kept for his own amusement a number of cuckoos for their sweet melody, and also peacocks and monkeys. At the king's palace, besides these animals of sport, lions and tigers were also kept.⁵ Those who earned their living by placing themselves at the services of the clubs and pleasure houses were called Viṭas, those by their skill in arts they displayed as itinerant professors at the clubs and the abodes of the *gaṇikās* were called Piṭhamardas and those by professional jesting were called Vidūṣakas.⁶

In the afternoon, after he had dressed himself, the Nāgaraka went out to attend a *gosthī* or social gathering where he engaged himself

¹II. 10.14.

²cf. *Lalitavistāra*, VII.80; VII.96; XIV.269; XV.218; XVIII.282; XXI. 342.

³cf. *Mahāvagga*, VI. 28.10; VI. 35.2.

⁴I. 4.38 ; II. 10.15.17.

⁵IV. 1.33 ; V.5.17 ; VI.1.25

⁶I.4.44-46.

in pleasant diversions with his friends and in tests of skill in various arts (I. 4.22). Social parties were organised in the house of every Nāgaraka by turn. At these parties, *ganikās* or courtesans would ply the Nāgarakas with the fare provided, and they should themselves share the various delicacies of salts, fruits, green vegetables, pungent, bitter and acid flavoured dishes (I.4.37-38). Sometimes the parties were held at the house of the *ganikās*, or they assembled in the *sabhā*, or in the *gāṇa* or group to which they belonged. At the *goṣṭhis* were also discussed 64 *Kāmākalās*, and a person possessing the knowledge of these sixtyfour erotic arts would naturally become the principal speaker. Literary competitions were also held. A Nāgaraka was expected to be liberal in spending on *goṣṭhis* and his success in courtship and love depended in no small measure on his person to shine in the sports and festivities held there.¹ Besides the *goṣṭhī*, at the temple of Sarasvatī, on a fixed day every fortnight or every month, a *samāja* or assemblage of the Nāgarakas were held regularly, where performances by musicians, dancers and other artistes became essential features (I.4.21-33). On some of these occasions there were joint processions of males and females (*yātrā*) which afforded opportunities for meeting one's lady love.² The Nāgarakas also met at each other's house (*Āpanaka*) to hold drinking parties.³ Udyāna-*yātrā* or picnics in garden were also held on different occasions. They would go out of the town, followed by their lady companions and attendants, and having enjoyed there immensely, they would return, preserving some momentos of their pleasant excursions. Similar parties were held in connection with sports in water which took place in artificial lakes or tanks (I.4.39-41).

There were also occasional social diversions like spending the night playing with dice, celebrating the full-moon night of Āśvina, and spring festivities. Vātsyāyana has given a few names of such festivals. Some of them are well known up to the present day in different parts of India, such as the Kaumudī-*jāgara*, Holiaka or Holi, Alolacaturthī or Hindolotsava, Hallisaka, Suvasantaka, Aṣṭamī-candraka, etc. (I.4.42).

At nightfall, the Nāgaraka enjoyed music, vocal and instru-

¹I. 4. 34-36 ; I. 4.50-52 ; II. 10.50-51 ; VI. 1.12

²V. 4.41.

³II. 10.15-17 ; VI. 1.12.

mental, occasionally attended with dances. Afterwards he and his friends would await the arrival of the ladies. The bed-room in his house was decorated and filled with the fragrance of burning incense. After their arrival in the house, he and his friends would welcome them with agreeable anecdotes (I.4.23.25). The post-reception part of his activities at night has been dealt with by Vātsyāyana in the second part of his work in which he has described in 10 Adhyayas and 17 Prakaraṇas all the acts of love and sexual union.

The bedfellows of these wealthy Nāgarakas were either the courtesans (VI.1-6) or other people's wives cleverly seduced (V.1-6). Three classes of courtesans (*vesyā*) are broadly distinguished, *viz.* she who lives as one man's concubine (*Eka-parigrahā*), she who resorts to more than one man (*Aneka-parigrahā*), and she who carries on miscellaneous trade and attaches herself to none (*Aparigrahā*). Among other classes of prostitutes were included the bawd (*Kumbhādāsi*), the female attendant (*Paricārikā*), the secretly and the openly unchaste women (*Kulatā* and *Svairinī*), the female artisan (*Śilpakārikā*), the woman who has openly left her family (*Vināstā*) and the regular courtesan (*Ganikā*).

Housewives were also specially collected for this purpose by the wealthy Nāgarakas. To such reprehensible but incorrigible people the luxury of polygamy and society of courtesans did not suffice. Vātsyāyana has suggested various ways and means by which wives of other peoples were seduced. He also refers to certain infamous local customs, which gave licence in various ways to kings to enjoy wives of their subjects. The conduct of women in the royal harem has also been treated, since the existence of polygamy and rigid seclusion exposed these unsatisfied women to the temptation of secret lovers and the use of artificial male-organ and other abnormal contrivances (*Apadravya*).

The society of the urbanised wealthy people, an idea of which we derive from Vātsyāyana's description of the Nāgarakas, reveals the ugliest type of patriarchy which Manu and other law-makers tried to introduce. The wife of a Nāgaraka was practically a slave in her husband's household. Regarding the wife, her duties and behaviour, Vātsyāyana says, quite in accordance with Manu, that she should at the same time be the maid-servant of the household, cook of the family, nurse of her husband's children, private secretary of her husband and his bedfellow at night. For all these services she will

not get a single penny, and she may be driven away from the house by the husband if he simply thinks that she is not chaste, or if she has the misfortune to become childless or if she produces female children only. This is the ideal of Hindu womanhood so much praised by the ancients and also by modern Indians who want to bring *equality* without sacrificing an inch of their patriarchal privileges.

According to Vātsyāyana, the wife should adore the husband as a divine being and behave in accordance with his likes and dislikes (IV.1.1). She should take upon herself the task of maintaining her husband's family and that of keeping the home clean. She will have to minister to the personal needs of her husband, look after his food and drink, welcome his friends and bear all sorts of domestic responsibilities. Even when offended she must not speak bitterly. She will have to avoid the company of women of questionable character. She may attend a festive assembly only with the permission of her husband. In her talk she must be moderate and never speak or laugh aloud. Her dress will be moderate. She will have to look after the performance of the daily worship of gods and to perform all the necessary rites. She will have to take upon herself the observance of vows and fasts that fall to the share of her husband.¹ She will have to prepare a budget for the whole year and regulate the expenditure in proportion with the annual income.² She has to calculate and pay the wages of the servants, look after agriculture and cattle and take care of the garden, animals and birds kept for sport by her husband. She will have to attend the kitchen and employ her leisure in spinning cotton and also in doing some weaving. When the husband is away from home she will have to look after his affairs. She should then give up the use of ornaments and wear only the auspicious ornaments like conch-shell bangles. She should observe religious fasts and keep herself occupied with housework. When the husband is away she should sleep near her mother-in-law. She should not visit her parents except when there is either a festival or a death.³

The Nāgarakas of the time of Vātsyāyana were mostly polygamous, and hence he has given a long list of the duties of wives in such a

¹cf. *Lalitavisātra*, XII, 138 ff,

²cf. *Manu*, X. 10.

³*Kāmasūtra*, IV. 1.

household in the second chapter of the fourth part of his work. The senior wife should behave with the junior ones as their elder sister. If the new wife bears a son, the first wife should show much love towards him. When the seniormost wife finds that the husband favours the new wife too much, she should instigate other wives against the newcomer and pick up a quarrel. She must, however, never complain to her husband about the ill-treatment meted out to her by the other co-wives. The youngest wife should think of the seniormost co-wife as her mother.¹ Vātsyāyana separately mentions the duties of the unfortunate wives and the neglected wives. He also refers to the *Anumaraṇa*, that is, burning herself on the same funeral pyre, of a woman on the death of her husband (VI.2.33).

According to Vātsyāyana the widow who seeks to enjoy married life once again, because of uncontrolled passion, is named *Punarbhū*. The position of the *Punarbhū* is distinct from that of the wedded wife. Her position approaches nearer to that of a mistress, a midway between the wedded wife and the courtesan. She shows greater knowledge of the arts than the wedded wives and seeks to please the lover with the sixtyfour Kāmakalās. She takes part in the sports and festivities, drinking parties, garden-picnics, and other games and amusements.² In the king's Harem the *Punarbhūs* occupied a position midway between the Devis (queens) who lived in the innermost apartments and the *Gāṇikās* (courtesans) in the outermost, and this exactly, indicates the position. Vātsyāyana also places them between virgins and courtesans and says that the establishment of sexual relations with them was neither supported nor condemned (I.5.3).

References to female ascetics and nuns of various orders, generally known as *Pravrajītās* or *Bhikṣukīs* are found in the *Kāmasūtra*. They did not enjoy a high reputation of morality. Their help was often sought by the Nāgarakas in affairs of love. Their house often formed the rendezvous for lovers. They were often employed to carry messages of love and were regarded as a go-between who could easily create confidence and succeed in her mission.³ Besides, Vātsyāyana mentions women belonging to different professions and also the courtesans mentioned above.

As we have stated above, the theoretical commitment of Vātsyāyana was to Manu and the writers of the Dharmaśāstras. Vātsyāyana

¹IV.2.1-38.

²IV.2.39-59.

³I. 4.48; V. 4.42; VII. 1.15; etc.

was a supporter of caste-system. He himself declares that the very existence of the social structure is effected by the observance of the rules obligatory for the maintenance of the institutions of *varṇa* and *āśrama* (I.2.16). He believes in the social supremacy of the Brāhmaṇas and holds that all their privileges should be maintained and encouraged (VII.2.51, etc.). The Kṣatriyas too, are accorded a very privileged position by Vātsyāyana. Of other higher professions he refers to the astrologer (VI.1.9) and the physicians (VI.1.10). The Vaiśyas and Sūdras are given respectively the third and fourth rank in the society. Some of the lower occupations are mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra*. People following these occupations were Mālākāra (maker of garlands), Gandhika (perfumer), Rajaka (washerman), Nilikusumbharañjaka (dyer), Nāpita (barber), Śauṇḍika (vendor of spirituous liquor), Tāmbūlika (seller of betel leaves), Suvarṇika (goldsmith), Maṇikāra (jeweller), Vaikaṭīka (diamond cutter), Kuśilava (actor), Gāyana (singer) and so on. (VI.1.9).

Like Manu and other law-givers, Vātsyāyana had a purely patriarchal outlook. Hence he says that the object of marriage can best be secured by a man by his acquisition according to the laws sanctioned by *Śāstra* of a virgin not given to any one before and coming from the same caste as himself (III.1.1.). He gives a long list of requirements of a bride and also a list of her defects and disqualifications. With regard to the comparative age of the couple Vātsyāyana prescribes that the bride should be younger by three years or more (III.1.2). Though he prohibits the marriage of a girl who has reached the age of puberty,¹ yet many other passages in his book seem to show that he has spoken of virgins who have passed that age (III.2.10, etc.). Marriage of girl before puberty appears to have been more prevalent as is evidenced by Vātsyāyana's section on the courtship of a girl of tender years. Of the traditional eight forms of marriages, Vātsyāyana encourages the first four, but he has not delineated their distinctive characteristics. The Rākṣasa, Āsura and Pajāca forms of marriage are condemned.

The social contents of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* may therefore be divided into two categories, the normative aspects and the observed

¹cf. Manu, IX. 94; *Mahābhārata*, XIII. 44.14; *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, III. 10.16.

²For details of everything contained in this chapter see Chakladar, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-130; S.C. Upadhyaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 81ff. Also see P. Paterson in *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, 1892, pp. 459-66, and A. Venkatasubbiah and E. Muller in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1914, pp. 355-67.

facts. As regards the former, Vātsyāyana has bluntly followed the codifications made by the earlier Dharmasāstras. These are mere restatements of what Manu and others said. Though Vātsyāyana showed some interest in the realities of life, it was impossible for him to frame realistic social laws. He would then be persecuted by his own community, that of the powerful Brāhmaṇas. So far as the observed facts are concerned, like the daily life of the Nāgaraka etc., we find a faithful description, and for this he deserves unreserved praise. Vātsyāyana appears to have some knowledge of geography and of peoples living in different parts of India which the writers of the Dharmasāstras and Purāṇas miserably lacked.

SEXUAL KNOWLEDGE IN THE KĀMASŪTRA

The second section (*Sāmprayogika*) of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* deals with the art and practice of sexual union treated from the viewpoints of age, inclination, dimension of the organs, various modes of caress and postures of coitus, with a concluding topic on lover's quarrel. Reference is made to characteristic forms of satisfaction for women of different countries and to certain abnormal and sadistic practices. The seventh and last section (*Aupaniṣadika*) deals with artificial means of increasing youth and beauty, recipes for fascinating and making the desired man or woman submissive, as well as for increasing sexual vigour, ways of artfully exciting passion and use of artificial means of various kinds. These are the two sections in which sexology is directly discussed.

The first chapter of the second section deals with the size and dimension of the male and female organs and the question of orgasm. From the viewpoint of size, the male organs have been divided into three types—rabbit (small), bull (medium) and horse (large), and the female organs into deer (small), mare, (medium) and elephant (large). Thus there are three equal unions between men and women of corresponding sizes, and six unequal unions in which the dimensions of the organs do not correspond. Regarding the orgasm of the females, a number of views have been quoted by Vātsyāyana. We have already referred to these views in the tenth chapter. Vātsyāyana lays emphasis on the intensity of pleasure and duration and holds that since man's passion at the outset is short-timed but intense and the woman's long-timed and gradual, the man is required to arouse the woman's passion earlier, before the final union is attained.

The second chapter of the section deals with the art of embracing. For a man and a woman who have not met before, four types of embrace are possible: *Sprṣṭaka* caused by seemingly accidental touch; *Viddhaka* caused by seemingly accidental dash against each other; *Udgṛṣṭaka* caused by mutual rubbing in a crowd; and *Pīḍitaka*,

a continuation of the preceding one, in which the woman is heavily pressed against a wall or a pillar. The first and second may be accidental but the third and fourth are deliberate. Between the willing parties there are four varieties of embrace: *Latāveṣṭitaka* in which the woman entwines herself round the man as a creeper; *Vṛkṣādhiruḍhaka* in which the woman, as if climbing on a tree, tries to kiss the man; *Tilatāṇḍulaka* in which both parties press their thighs and arms against one another's; and *Kṣīrāṇīra* in which the bodies merge into each other just as water is merged into milk. There are four other types of embrace to be done before making sexual intercourse: *Ūrupagūhana*, i.e. pressing the thighs against each other mutually; *Jaghanopagūhana*, i.e. pressing the *jaghana* or the part of the body from the navel downwards to the thighs; *Stanāliṅgana*, i.e. pressing the bosom; and *Lalāṭika*, i.e. pressing each other's mouths, eyes, and forehead intensely.

The third chapter of the second section is devoted to kissing. According to Vātsyāyana the proper places for kissing are the forehead, hair, the eyes, the man's chest, the woman's bosom, the upper lip and the inside of the mouth, while the people of the Lāṭa country indulge also in kissing the joints of the thighs, the arm-pits, and the navel region. Kiss which is given on the joints of the thighs, the sides and the chest is called *Sama*; on the bosom, the cheeks and the navel, *Pīḍita*; on the sides of the bosom, *Añcita*; and on the forehead and the eyes, *Mrdu*. These four terms again denote balanced, forced, lightly touched and affectionate kisses respectively. Kissing on the upper lip is styled *Uttaracumbana* and when that is done with both the lips with intense passion, it is called *Sampuṭaka*. When the woman kisses her sleeping man to accelerate his passion it is called *Rāgadīpana* and when a man does the same it is *Pratibodhaka*. The kiss for diverting attention is known as *Calitaka*. Kissing on a reflection is *Chāyācumbana* and that on an image *Saṅkrānta*. For the inexperienced there are three types of kisses, *Nimitaka* or nominal, *Sphuritaka* or throbbing and *Gatītaka* or touching.

The fourth chapter of the second section deals with nail-marks which, according to Vātsyāyana, are very much effective for arousing passion in a man or a woman. He describes the types of nails found among the Gaudas, Mahārāṣṭrians and South Indians. They are crescent-shaped, circular, lineal, like tiger's claw, peacock's foot, leaping-hare and petals of a lotus. The proper places for nail-marks

are the arm-pit, bosom, neck, waist, hip and thighs.

The fifth chapter deals with teeth-marks and the likes and dislikes of women of different provinces. The pain caused by nail or teeth-marks has a powerful stimulating effect. The places proper for biting are the same as those fit for kissing except the upper lip, the tongue and the eyes. There are eight kinds of teeth-marks : *Guḍhaka* which leaves no mark or sign; *Ucchunaka* which transgresses the limit of the former and leaves red marks; *Bindu* (point) which is caused by the use of two teeth on a small area of skin; *Bindumālā* which is an extention of the former making a line of points made by all the teeth; *Pravālamani* looking like a curved row of corals on the sheeks which is done with the help of the upper teeth and the lower sheeks which is a multiplication of the previous one; *Khaṇḍumālā* and *Karṇācarṇākā* which are done on the breast during the intensity of passion. This chapter also describes the likes and dislikes of the women of Madhyadeśa, Bāhlika, Avanti, Mālava, Ābhīradeśa, Pañcanada, Aparānta, Lāṭa, Strīrājya, Kosala, Andhra Mahārāṣṭra, Pāṭaliputra, Dravida, Vanavāsa and Gauḍa so far as the various modes of getting sexually excited are concerned.

The sixth chapter is devoted to the postures of sexual union. As we have stated above, according to Vātsyāyana, there are three equal unions between man and woman of corresponding sizes and six unequal unions. When both lovers are equal, they do not require any artificial aid for union. They would engage in *Samarata* in which it is not necessary for the woman to contract or widen her thighs. In case the man has a larger organ, resulting to unequal union, she has to lie down on her back stretching her legs wide apart, and if her organ is larger than that of her male partner she will have to keep her thighs contracted. Vātsyāyana prescribes three postures for women of Deer-type (having small organ): *Utpullaka* in which hips are raised making the organ widely open, *Vijimbhitaka* in which the thighs are raised up and *Indrāṇi* in which she holds her bent knees and thighs together and sets them well apart. Vātsyāyana holds that women of the Mare and Elephant types (having medium and large organs respectively) can also be profited by these postures in cases of unequal union.

Of other suitable postures Vātsyāyana mentions *Sampūṭaka*, *Pīḍitaka*, *Vesṭitaka* and *Vāḍavaka*. *Sampūṭaka* is the simple clasping position, the man lying on the woman keeping their legs straight. It can be of two varieties, *pārśva* (sidewards) and *uttāna* (supine).

Likewise the *Pīditaka* position according to which the woman brings her thighs as close as possible and presses them against each other, can also be either sideways or supine. The *Veṣitaka* is a development of the previous process in which the woman turns her left thigh to the right and the right one to the left. By the *Pīditaka* and *Veṣitaka* postures she is able to hold the phallus of her partner tightly within her organ. *Vāḍavaka* is the mare's position which requires much practice.

There are few other postures: *Bhugnaka* in which the woman should hold up both her thighs and the man is to insert his phallus within her organ in a sitting posture; *Jimbhitaka*, which is same as *Vijrmbhitaka* mentioned above; *Utpīḍika* in which the woman's legs are pressed down by the man's breast; *Ardhapīḍika*, in which only one of her legs is kept in that position; *Venudaritaka*, in which one of her legs is stretched and the other kept on the man's shoulder like the splitting of the bamboo; *Śūlacitaka* in which one of her legs is held above her head and the other is stretched out; *Karkaṭa* in which her legs are bent at the knees in the position of a crab; *Padmāsana* which is same as the *Veṣitaka* mentioned above; and *Parāvṛttaka* in which the man inserts his phallus in a turned position.

When the partners uniting in standing posture support themselves against a wall or a pillar, it is called *Sthitarata*. When a woman uniting with a standing man supports herself by clasping his neck with her hands and his thighs with hers, placing her weight on both his hands, it is called *Avalambitaka*. When a man inserts his phallus into the woman's organ from behind like a bull, it is called *Dhenuka*. When one woman unites with two men, one inserting his phallus into her organ from the front side and another doing the same into her rectum (*Adhorata*), it is called *Saṅghāṭaka*, and when she unites with many men at a time—one holding her, another uniting with her, a third enjoying her hip, a fourth engaged in kiss and a fifth holding her waist—it is called *Goyuḍhika*.

Chapter seven of second section is devoted to striking and its reactions. According to Vātsāyana, the union of sexes is, by nature, a combat between the two, and hence *Prahaṇama* or striking is an essential feature of the union. Though apparently painful, it is really pleasant at the end. The natural result of this *Prahaṇama* is the condition in which the partner makes various exclamatory and shrieking sounds (*Sitkṛta*). Striking is of four kinds: *Apahastika*, which is done with the palm on the breast when the woman is lying

during the union; *Prasṛtaka*, which is done on the head of the female, *Muṣṭi* and *Samatalaka* which are different types of fists and blows. Of other sadistic acts, *Vātsyāyana* refers to *Kīla*, *Kartari*, *Viddha* and *Samdaṁśika*. *Kīla* is probably the same as *Muṣṭi* when the fingers are folded in the fist. *Vātsyāyana* says that a king of the Cola country killed a courtesan named *Citrasenā* by striking her in the *Kīla* way. *Kartari* is striking on the head by which Sātakarṇi, the Sātavāhana king of the Kuntala country, killed queen Malavatī. *Viddha* is the act of piercing by which a king named Naradeva blinded a dancing girl. *Samdaṁśika* is probably biting. Despite some extreme cases, the act of striking is a thing of pleasure to the women and they make various exclamatory and inarticulate sounds, which result from intense passion and not from pain. Also they utter words like 'O Mother,' 'please do not,' 'I can't endure any more' and so on.

The eighth chapter deals with opposite union, in which the woman assumes the role of man and his natural position from the start. This also deals with the art of sexual union. If the woman is experienced, the man should at first untie the knot of her lower garment and then rub her parts with his hands, widen her closed thighs and kiss on her lips. If she is inexperienced the man should win her confidence by various modes of kiss and caress before opening the knot of her garment. When the stroke is given mildly it is known as *Upasṛtaka*, Other types of strokes are variously known as *Manthana* (churning), *Hula* (piercing), *Avamardana* (rubbing), *Pīḍitaka* (Pressing), *Nirghāta* (thrusting), *Varāhaghāta* (like the blow of a boar), *Vṛṣāghāta* (like the bull thrusting its horns), *Caṭakavilasita* (resembling the sexual act of the *caṭaka* or sparrow) etc. When the woman assumes the role of man there are three varieties of strokes: Assuming the *Vaḍavā* pose she can keep the phallus inside her organ for a long time and in that condition by pressing it up and down she may receive the usual strokes one after another. This is known as *Samdaṁśa*. Secondly, by taking his phallus into her organ she may revolve round in a circle, like the spinning of a top. This is known as the *Bhramaraka* posture in which, the man should lift up his thighs to help the woman in her circular movements. Thirdly a woman may swing her hips and abdomen on all the sides.

The ninth chapter deals with *Aupariṣṭaka* or the oral union with the eunuchs, both manly and womanly. The latter imitates the courtesans in dress, appearance and behaviour. The eunuch by

massaging the man's body should help him to get sexually excited, and then taking his phallus into mouth bite and suck it. There are various kinds of this oral congress which are known by such names as *Nimita*, *Pārśvatodaṣṭa*, *Bahilī-saṁdāniśa*, *Antaḥ-saṁdāniśa*, *Cumbitaka* *Parimṛṣṭaka*, *Āmracuṣitaka*, *Samgara*, etc. Vātsyāyana says that although this type of union is condemned in the Śāstras it is widely prevalent among different peoples. Not only with the eunuchs, but with women as well this oral function was in vogue. The Nāgarakas got it done by unchaste and immoral women and also by female attendants and massagists. Oral union between a man and a woman lying inversely alongside and sucking each other's organ is known as *Kākila*.

The tenth or last chapter of the second section deals with a variety of subjects. Before the commencement of the sexual union, the man should receive the woman, offer her drinks, and engage himself with her in pleasant conversation. He should embrace her, caress her hair and hands and excite her passions. Seeing her passions fully aroused, he would gently untie the knot of her under-garment. Having completed the union they should go to different bathrooms. The Nāgaraka would offer her some drinks, when she returns from the bath room, and then they would have a supper consisting of mutton soup, fried meat, mixed vegetables, fruit, sweet-meats, etc. Then they would go the terrace to enjoy moonlight and learn about stars and planets.

Then Vātsyāyana goes on to describe the seven kinds of *Citrarata*, the circumstances under which sexual union takes place. Of these the *Rāgavat*, *Āhārya* and *Ayantrita* are such unions in which the man and the woman entertain mutual love and confidence and unite with each other spontaneously. The *Kṛtrima* and *Vyavahita* are sexual unions without mutual love. The *Poṭā-rata* is union with women of lower castes and status, maid-servants, etc. while the term *Khala-rata* denotes the Nāgaraka's secret union out of sheer passion with village women or uncultured women. If a courtesan, failing to attract a Nāgaraka or for satisfying her sex desire, unites with an uncultured or uneducated villager, it is also *Khala-rata*. Lastly, Vātsyāyana describes how love-quarrels take place and what are the means of satisfying the angry and offended woman.

The seventh or last section of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, which is divided into two chapters, is really an appendix in which the artificial means of increasing youth and vigour, use of tonic, medici-

nes and other artificial means of various kinds, etc. are described. For increasing physical beauty, paste made of the leaves of *Tagara*, *Kuṣṭha* and *Tālīsa*, oil made from the leaves of *Punarṇavā*, *Sahadevī*, *Sārivā*, *Kuranṭaka* and *Utpala*, collyrium with the oil of *Akṣa*, powder made of different flowers, etc. are required. For increasing sexual power a man should rub his phallus with the powders of *Dhattūraka*, *Marica* and *Pippalī* mixed with honey. He may also use the powders of *Vajrasnuhī*, *Manahśilā*, *Gandha* and *Pāsāṇa*. These should also be mixed with honey and rubbed on the phallus. The roots of *Uccatā*, *Carvā* and *Yaṣṭimadhuka*, the juice obtained by boiling the testicles of a sheep and a goat, boiled milk with the roots of *Vidārī* or the seeds of *Kṣīrikā* and those of *Priyāla* and *Moratā*, the mixture of *Śrīgātaka*, *Kaseruka*, *Madhūlīka*, etc. make a man as virile as a bull. Magical charms like powdered bones of a she-vulture, monkey's excreta, ointment made from a camel-bone, etc. are also prescribed for winning the heart of a woman. The use of artificial phallus made of different metals is also prescribed. A woman may also use phallus-shaped vegetables and fruits. *Vātsyāyana* refers to the custom of circumcision or perforating the phallus prevalent among southern peoples. He describes how this should be done. For enlarging the phallus he prescribes its rubbing on all sides with bristles of *Kandalika*, the juice of *Aśvagandhā* and other creepers and roots. Likewise a woman may use on her vagina a paste made from the juice of *Vyādhīghātaka* leaves and *Jambu* fruits, the juice of the *Kokilākṣa* fruits for contraction of her organ and paste made from *Padma*, *Utpala*, *Sarjaka* and *Sugandha* for expansion. For making the hair white, the mixture of the milk of *Snuhī*, *Soma*, *Arka* with the powders of *Āmalaka* and the *Avalguja* fruit may be used, while for restoring its original colour, extracts of the roots of *Madayantikā*, *Kākuṭajā*, *Añjanikā*, *Girikarṇikā* and *Śalkṣmaparṇī* are required. Lips can become red with the ingredients of *Madayantika* and red lips can become white if *Alaktaka*, mixed with the sweat from the testicle of a white horse, is applied to them.

In brief, it is all about the sexual knowledge found in the *Kāmasūtra*. *Vātsyāyana*'s attempt to write a scientific treatise is indeed praiseworthy, but the difficulty was that, as we have stated above, he had no practical knowledge of the subject. We must say that it is a pedantic and superficial production of scholasticism. The division of men and women, according to the size of their sexual

organs, is meaningless. So far as the postures for sexual congress are concerned, he and his predecessors, and also his later imitators, could only devise acrobatic techniques, most of which are impossible to follow in the practical field. The drugs he prescribes are mostly imaginative and superstitious, and they do not correspond to those found in the standard Āyurvedic texts. While dealing with the method of circumcision he says that this is to be done from one end to another with a sharp instrument and the person concerned should stand in water as the blood continues to flow. Then at night the man should freely cohabit several times so that the perforation made during the day may not contract again and get sealed up. A man with some commonsense must admit that by keeping the perforated organ under water the wound can only be made poisonous in which pus will be formed and that it is impossible to make sexual intercourse in such a condition on the very day when the perforation is made. There is no reason to believe that the ancient peoples did not know such simple things.¹

¹Ed. with the *Jayamaigalā* commentary of Yaśodhara, by Durga Prasad, Bombay, 1891; also ed. by Sahityācārya D.L. Goswami, Banares, 1912, 1929; English tr. Anonymous, Banares, 1883; K.R. Iyenger, Lahore, 1921; B.N. Bose (Rev. by R.L. Ghosh with a foreword by P.C. Bagchi), fifth ed. Calcutta, 1944; S.C. Upadhyaya (followed here), Bombay, 1961, reprint 1963; German tr. R. Schmidt, W. Friedrich, Leipzig, 1897; 2nd ed. L. Verlag, Berlin 1900; French tr. F. Lemairesse, G. Carré, Paris, 1891; etc. Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* has also been translated into many Indian languages.

THE TEXTS ON PROSTITUTION

The rise of prostitution all over the world is due to the structural contradictions inherent in patriarchal societies in which absolute sexual liberty is granted to men. But this freedom is denied to women, the female members of the family, who are compelled to live within the four walls of the house, and it is absolute chastity, complete sexual faithfulness to the husband, that is socially demanded of them. This alone explains the growth of professional prostitution.

But as we have seen above, the concept of female chastity and allied notions prevailing in patriarchal societies did not come into existence before the growth of private property and property-relations with which female chastity and other questions are closely connected. And since it took many years to get the patriarchal notions aggressively imposed upon the existing societies, there was an obvious ambivalence relating to the question of female chastity, and that is why a woman's union with many men, which is the essence of prostitution, could not be completely looked down upon. In ancient India, like many countries of the world, it was not regarded as a corrupt profession, until the complete victory of patriarchy was achieved and the *smṛti* laws were rigorously enforced with the help of the ruling class.

Prostitution without its professionalism was an essential feature in ancient religious rituals, and its origin may be traced to primitive promiscuity. In Greece the ritual of Demeter and Persephone, known as *Thesmophori*, was marked by indiscriminate sexual intercourse.¹ At Babylon every woman was bound at least once in her life to dedicate her body to a stranger in the temple of the goddess Mylitta. Girls of Cyprus prostituted themselves² before marriage and spent a portion of their income as offering to Venus.³ Religious

¹Herodotus, II.71.

²*ibid.*, I. 199; Strabo, XVI.1.10.

³Justin, *Historiae Philippicae* XVIII. 5.

prostitution was current among the women of Heliopolis and also in the temple of Aphrodite at Corinth and in many parts of Western Asia.¹ Among the Armenians the goddess Anaitis was worshipped with sacred prostitution² which survived also in Lydia, for in a second century inscription found at Trallies we find a lady called Aurelia Aemilia declaring with pride of her prostitution in the temple service following the footsteps of her mother and grandmother.³ In the epic of *Gilgamesh* Ishtar is represented as gathering round her unchaste girls and harlots, and as a goddess of prostitution the epithet 'consecrated' is applied to her.⁴ Lactantius says that Aphrodite instituted the art of courtesanship and taught women in Cyprus to seek gain by prostitution.⁵

Relics of sacred prostitution may be traced in a *Jātaka* story,⁶ while in Southern India religious prostitution in the temples was legally abolished only a few years ago. Even today the 'sacred earth' of a prostitute's house is required in the Durgā worship, which must be a relic of a very ancient belief and ritual in which prostitution was associated with the goddess-cult. At Chinsurah, in the Hooghly District, West Bengal, where I live, the god Kārttikeya is worshipped especially by the prostitutes. The ritual use of the 'Garden of Adonis' in his cult suggests that he was primarily a god of vegetation. (In different parts of East Bengal we have Kārttikeya-rituals performed by married women for the purpose of offspring and vegetation, and in these rituals 'Gardens of Adonis' are cultivated.⁷ His association with pregnancy and childbirth is indicated by the fact that tradition makes him the husband of Śaṣṭhī, the protectress of children). The consort of Kārttikeya of Chinsurah is Sarasvatī who is also worshipped especially by the prostitutes, not because she is the goddess of learning but because, in popular belief, though not in actual condition, she is unmarried and of doubtful moral character. (It is interesting to note that in some South Indian sculp-

¹L.R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, II, Edinburgh, 1909, p. 746.

²Strabo, XI.14.16

³W.M. Ramsey, *Cities and Bishoprics in Phrygia*, I, Oxford, 1895, p. 95.

⁴N.K. Sandars, *Epic of Gilgamesh*, Pelican, pp. 83 ff.

⁵*Divinae institutiones*, I.7.

⁶E B. Cowell, *Jātakas*, V. 141.

⁷Garden in a pot or trench in which corns, herbs and flowers are usually sown and planted as charms to promote the growth of vegetation. See my *Indian Mother Goddess*, pp. 28-30.

tures this goddess is represented as seated on a peacock which is the emblem of Kārttikeya). The worship of Kārttikeya by the prostitutes of Chinsurah is now a dying cult. In my early years I saw as many as twenty images worshipped by different groups, and now there is only one. The only surviving ritual of the cult is the 'Garden of Adonis' while others have sunk into oblivion.

Various theories have been set forth to explain the religious prostitution, but there is no need of going through the theories. This much we can say that this custom was associated with the primitive concepts of vegetation and fertility and was quite in harmony with the primitive mode of group life. Subsequently the original purpose and the original background were forgotten, but relics of that custom survived here and there. Its connection with primitive collective life is also revealed in some passages of the *Rgveda*. "In *RV*. I.126.5, the *Viśyā iva vrā anasvantaḥ* seems best translated by Geldner's 'die auf Karren wie die clandirnen fahrend...' for *Viśyāḥ* is feminine plural. Dirne, prostitute, is rather a strong word to use, and, I should prefer to see here the nomadic common clan-wives by group-marriage.....The later word *Veśyā* for prostitute from the same root as *viśyā*, presumably denotes the woman who dwelt in a house common to all men; the *gaṇikā* clearly derives from group-wives. In most developed societies whose primitive stages can still be traced, it is generally to be seen that prostitution arises as a consequence of the abolition of group-marriage. Both are concomitants of a new form of property, patriarchal private property which replaces communal possession of the means of production. *Atharvaveda* XV shows the harlot prominent in *Vrātya* fertility rites that were not generally fashionable."¹

Roughly from the beginning of the Christian era, prostitution came to be looked down upon but it took many centuries to dislodge them from their higher social position. In early Buddhism prostitution was accorded a high place and the social utility of the prostitutes, especially their service to the trading class, travelling from one city to another, was recognised with respect. Since Buddhism patronised the interest of the trading class, the moral support of the Buddhists to prostitution was very natural. Moreover, early Buddhism had a tribal basis, and since in the Buddhist Saṅgha the concept of private property was discouraged, patriarchal sentiments did not

¹D.D. Kosambi, *Myth and Reality*, Bombay, 1962, p. 67.

get upper hand very easily. This alone explains why the Buddha treated Ambapāli with great honour. The career of Ambapāli, as may be gleaned from the Buddhist texts, clearly reflects the primitive conditions of collective life, the very rational attitude that a woman of her beauty, calibre and qualities should not belong to any individual. Even in the *Mahābhārata*, we come across passages in which the prostitutes were treated with respect. In one such passage we find that before entering the city Yudhiṣṭhīra sent messages of love and good wishes to the prostitutes.

From the ancient erotic texts we come to know that Dattaka wrote a special treatise on *Vaiśika* at the request of the courtesans of Pāṭaliputra.¹ The text is now lost, but Vātsyāyana claims to have condensed it in his treatise. Kauṭilya says that among the sources of royal income *Veśyā* (prostitute), *Dyuta* (gambling) and *Surā* (wine) should be counted. In Kauṭilya's time an ambivalent attitude towards prostitution must have developed, but that was not sufficient to overthrow them from their privileged position. From the evidence of the *Arthaśāstra* itself it appears that the oppressive and ruthless class society had by that time produced a professional group of body-sellers. As we have seen above,² in the Kauṭilyan *ideal society* the actors, musicians, artists, craftsmen and other persons belonging to the lower occupational groups had to survive by allowing their wives to sell their bodies to rich persons. The business of these body-sellers, which was invariable in class societies, undoubtedly told upon the honour of the accomplished ones. Apart from the *Ganikās* or courtesans, Kauṭilya mentions other categories of public women like *Rūpājīvā*, a woman who does not have artistic accomplishment but possesses beauty as her only stock-in-trade (I.20; II.4; III.20; IV.13; V.2; VII. 17),³ *Rūpadāsī*, a beautiful maid-servant of the *Ganikā*'s, household doing independent business (II.27), *Ganikādāsī*, female-slave of the courtesan (II.27)⁴, *Mātṛka*, the retired courtesan generally engaged in training and looking after the younger *Ganikās*, *Kumārī* and *Duhitṛka*, immature girls and daughters of *Ganikā* (II.27) and a host of miscellaneous class mentioned above.

As we have stated in chapter eight, Kauṭilya considers prostitution

¹cf. *Kāmasūtra*, I.1.11.

²ch. VIII.

³cf. *Kāmasūtra*, VI.6.54.

⁴cf. *Jātaka*, II.380; III.59-63. 69-72; III.475-78.

as an art to be taught by experts. Beauty, youth and artistic ability were the requisite qualifications for getting the status of a courtesan who was paid a sum of 1000 *paññas* as salary. Also there was a *prati-ganika* presumably a deputy, enjoying half of her salary. The *Ganikā* had her own family, her sister or daughter having a right of succession to her establishment. Her daughter enjoyed special protection against assault, but her son was bound to be slave engaged in holding musical performances. She had choice in the selection of her callers, but if the king sent someone she had to oblige him. A person forcibly dealing with her was to be punished. Accepting her fees she must have to satisfy her customer, but he could be rejected on the ground of disease and sexual defect. She was entitled to own private property, and on her death her establishment descended to her sister or daughter or deputy. If she lost her attractiveness, she was made a matron, possibly to guide the younger ones.¹

According to Vātsyāyana, a courtesan is expected to know the traditional 64 arts and 64 special arts of which 24 are technically called *Kāmarahasya*, 20 are based on wagering, 16 are bedroom arts and 4 are known as *Uttarakalās* to be done last (I.3). Besides there are 64 *pañcālika* arts which he quotes from the lost work of Babhravya. In the sixth section of the *Kāmasūtra*, the courtesans and their way of life is described. According to Vātsyāyana they should attract people with their physical appearance and personality and also through agents of tricky professions. She should attract wealthy, decent, intelligent and generous persons and court with them for material gain, escape from danger and love. When a courtesan is finally united with her lover she should conduct herself like the one and only wife. She should pretend to suffer in his absence. If she has to go to another lover she must pretend illness before her previous lover. She should never directly express herself but signify her love through signs and gestures. She should understand the moods and feelings of her lover. If he is afflicted in a calamity she should help him, sympathise with him in his misfortune, and always express how fortunate she has been in obtaining his love. Her secret helpers should convey to her lover that for any of her fault she is not really responsible. She should be critical of her own profession. The lover on the other hand must try to make himself agreeable to her in every respect.

¹In this connection see Sternbach in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. LXXI, pp. 26 ff.

According to Vātsyāyana, there are two ways open to a courtesan to extract money from her lover. The first is the natural way through which she is expected to earn. The second is the deliberate way which is by praising his riches, or by performing some religious rites or by complaining that she has been robbed of her ornaments, or by bringing to his notice the debts incurred by her, or by describing in his presence the liberality of his rivals. She must not, however, be too much greedy. She should always maintain friendly relation with him if he becomes poor. If her profession demands a change of lovers, she must be very careful in this respect. If she is faced with a choice between a rejected lover and one who is a stranger, the former should be preferred since his behaviour is known to her. She should have a good understanding of human nature. Regarding the fixation of rates she should be careful. The lover who gives her gold is to be preferred. It is possible for an intelligent courtesan to make her lover generous. She must be ruthless in extracting wealth from her lover if she desires to leave him or if he desires to leave her. According to Vātsyāyana, a courtesan should avoid temporary or permanent relationship with persons who have acquired wealth with difficulty and who are associated with the king or the administration. For financial gain she must not be indiscriminate.

Vātsyāyana is mainly concerned with the financial question of the courtesans. Prostitutes of lower rank like the *Rūpājīvā*, *Kumbhadāsī*, etc. are also mentioned by him and the mode of their earning is similar to that of the *Gāṇikās* or courtesans. A *Rūpājīvā* should earn as much as to maintain a house, ornaments and utensils and a number of servants. The *Kumbhadāsīs* should earn as much as to have sufficient food to overcome hunger, to maintain the cost of their make-up and perfumes, to have a few golden ornaments, and so on. Sometimes a courtesan may be maintained by a group and in that case she should create rivalry among the lovers and thus extract money from each of them. Of other women selling their bodies, Vātsyāyana refers to the *Paricārikā*, the maid-servant who is often handled by her master, the *Kulaṭā*, and *Svairiṇī*, who court with other persons, avoiding their husbands, either for money or for physical pleasure, the *Naṭī* or dancing girl or actress, the *Śilpakārīkā* or the wife of an artisan, and the *Vinaṣṭā* who during her husband's life or after his death is kept as concubine by another person. The success of a prostitute, according to Vātsyāyana, depends upon choosing the right person, keeping contact with her

agents, practising the arts of pleasing the lover, formulating ways and means for acquiring money, finding ways of discarding the lover, seeking ways of reconciliation, considering particular gains and incidental ones and adopting clear thinking regarding gains and losses.

Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata*¹ is an instructive poem in Kāvya style in which a prostitute named Mālatī is instructed by a procuress as to how she should feign true love for a rich young man and employ all the arts of erotic without giving him the least hint that all these are done only for extracting wealth from him. The various cunning arts for ruining feeble-minded and innocent youngmen are described in a realistic way and the social sense of the poet indeed deserves unreserved praise. The story of Samarabhaṭa and Mañjari contains descriptions of love-sports by which the dancing girl ruins him. The *Kuṭṭanīmata* may therefore be described as a sort of manual for the guidance of the *hetareae*. The demand for accomplished courtesans was in vogue even as late as the ninth century AD as is revealed by the testimony of Dāmodara. In a passage (1061) the female messenger sent by Mālatī to her lover describes not only her physical beauty in full detail, but also mentions her thorough knowledge of the works on erotics of authors like Vātsyāyana, Dattaka, Viṭaputra and Rājaputra, as well as her exceptional skill in the dramatic manuals of Bharata, Viśākhila and Dantila, in the science of medicine and trees, in the art of painting, sewing, drawing, modelling, cooking, playing musical instruments, dancing and singing. In the *Kuṭṭanīmata* we also read details about an ideal lover who should be sweet in speech, amusing by his tales and anecdotes, endowed with sufficient means and having a beautiful complexion, etc. Further in the same text an elaborate list of physical characteristics and psychological traits of an ideal lover is given (396, 966, 974, 1016). From the *Kuṭṭanīmata* it also appears that the connection of a Brāhmaṇa with a *Ganikā* came to be regarded at that time as a disgraceful act, but it was not so in the times of Bhāsa and Śūdraka. We miss in this work any special reference to the type of the city-bred man of fashion (*nāgaraka*) so well described by Vātsyāyana. On the contrary we have a remarkably full and vivid picture of a country-squire, who is the object of a courtesan's

¹Kāvya-mālā ed., Part III, Bombay, 1887, pp. 32 ff. Ed. with commentary by T.M. Tripathi, Bombay, 1924; Ed. by Madhusudan Kaul, Calcutta, 1944; German tr. by J.J. Meyer, Leipzig, 1903; Bengali tr., Tridibnooth Ray, Hindi tr., J. Pathak.

attention, doubtlessly drawn from real life. The hero has not the refinement and artistic taste of Vātsyāyana's *nāgaraka*. His dress and manners are showy and he likes to be surrounded by flatterers and to enjoy extravagant praises showered on him by them for his demonstration of poor knowledge in everything. He wears colourful dresses and sits and gossips with his flatterers in a huge dancing hall crowded with guild-masters, merchants, parasites and gamblers.

Dāmodaragupta was a Kashmirian poet who was also the chief minister of the king Jayāpiṭa (779-813 AD). In his work he exhibits, besides his social consciousness and profound knowledge in Sanskrit, a good understanding of the contents of the *Kāma* literature. He seems to have been acquainted with the major Sanskrit works composed before his time. Thus in verses 778 ff. it has been described how the courtesan shows her skill in staging the drama *Rātnāvalī* which was composed by the great emperor Harṣa of the seventh century. Kalhaṇa in his *Rājatarangiṇī* (IV. 496) refers to Dāmodara as a poet. Verses from the *Kuṭṭanīmata* are quoted by Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka in their works on poetics. The nineteenth century scholars considered this work as an early specimen of Indian pornography,¹ but frankly speaking the *Kuṭṭanīmata* is rich in information regarding the life, social customs, the state of society, religion, literature, etc. of Kashmir of Dāmodara's times. The poet has made commendable attempt to expose the evils of the society, the methods adopted by the deceitful procuresses, by revealing the various cunning arts for decoying innocent persons (88-174). In the *Kuṭṭanīmata* we have references to the authors of the *Kāma* texts like Vātsyāyana, Rājaputra, Madanodaya, Dattaka and Viṭaputra (77, 123). Of these writers Dattaka is well known name mentioned by Vātsyāyana and Yaśodhara as an authority on the prostitutes. Dāmodara also has taken immense help from the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana. As regards Madanodaya, it may be said that Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on the *Śakuntalā* (I. 26) has quoted from a work of this author. T.M. Tripathi in his commentary on the *Kuṭṭanīmata* has identified Rājaputra with one of the same name found in the *Hastyāyurveda* (III. 8.99). Nothing is known to us about Viṭaputra.

Dāmodara's sexology is mainly concerned with the *Sāmprayoga* i.e. the union between man and woman. According to him the

¹cf. Bühler in *Indian Antiquary*, XIV. 1885, p. 354.

total number of the components of Sāmprayoga is eleven. They are *parirambhana* (embrace), *jihvāyuddha* (kiss), *nakhavilekhana* (nail-scratches), *damśa* (bite), *sarīveśana* (union), *sūtkāra* (cries of joy, pain, etc. made in love play), *vīparita* (woman assuming man's role), *tāḍana* (beating), *mardana* (rubbing with force), *keśagrahāṇa* (pulling the hair) and *nipīḍana* (pressing). It is interesting to note that the embraces mentioned by Dāmodara (581) do not correspond with the traditional *sprṣṭaka*, *viddhaka*, etc. He refers to *cakra*, *haṁsa*, *nakula* and *pārāvata* types. The art of embracing is beautifully described in 843. In the case of kissing he also gives some new names. *Keśagrahāṇa* and *mardana* are not specifically mentioned by the earlier authorities. According to Dāmodara (377), females consider themselves grateful if the male pull their hairs while indulging in amorous dalliance. By *mardana* or getting different parts of the body forcibly rubbed, women also derive immense pleasure. Dāmodara mentions different kinds of *Surata* or sexual intercourse with special emphasis on the eightfold *bāhyarata* or external union (375-78, 402-03, 572-74, 581, etc.) He describes the physical union, pointing out the one under ideal conditions. We may refer in this connection to the sexual act of Sundarasena and Hāralatā (373ff.) which has been very beautifully described.¹

Like the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, the *Kuṭṭāṇīmata* of Dāmodara also became a standard work on prostitution. It was imitated by a number of later writers. Of such imitative words, Kṣemendra's *Samayamātrikā*, composed about AD 1050, is really significant.² *Samayamātrikā* simply means 'the procuress' or literally 'teaching mother', that is to say 'she, who is mother of a prostitute through her teachings', not necessarily a physical mother. It relates the story of a would-be prostitute who is introduced by a barber to Kalāvati, an expert in her arts. This young maiden, by the instruction and advice of Kalāvati, cheats a young man. As a young girl she happened to be a thief and a harlot, married several persons one after another, occasionally lived as a rich widow and then fortune had dragged her to the careers of thief, nun, procuress, swindler, public housekeeper, food vendor, beggar, flower-dealer, sorceress, landlady, Brāhmaṇa lady, and lastly again a procuress. Interesting anecdotes are also inserted in this work. The *Samayamātrikā* is a very important work for the study of the social history of India and

¹cf. *Kīrātārjunīya*, IX. 49.

²Kāvyamālā, ed. X, 1888 German tr. by J.J. Meyer, 1903.

from the literary point of view it surpasses even the brilliant work of Dāmodaragupta.

The *Kalāvilāsa* of Kṣemendra¹ has even a greater value than the previous one from the viewpoint of social history. In this work various follies of men are described, and the author, from his social consciousness, dilates upon cheats who practise hypocrisy and greediness. The work is divided into ten sections. A salesman Hiranyakupta brings his son Candragupta to Mūladeva, an expert in all wicked arts, trickeries and cunning, who initiates Candragupta in this line. The teachings of Mūladeva, consisting of all sorts of cheating, forms the subject matter of this book. The religious hypocrites have been particularly subjected to description and the modes of their cheating are exposed. Men of various professions like the officials, ascetics, astrologers, physicians, servants, traders, goldsmiths, actors, soldiers, singers, bards, wizards, etc. have been taken into account and their misdeeds vindicated. Illustrative anecdotes like the love story of Vasumatī and Samudradatta are also inserted. The tricks of the prostitutes, their life and various cunning arts are also described with extraordinary faithfulness. Although the *Kalāvilāsa* is not a direct treatise on prostitution, it helps us immensely to know how the prostitutes, physicians, goldsmiths, Kāyasthas, satisfied their wicked ambition, and the state of society under which they worked.

The works of Dāmodara and Kṣemendra certainly indicate that from the eighth century onwards there was a steady decline of classical courtesanship. The overall decline and degradation which marked the social, economic and political life of that period was certainly responsible for reducing the abodes of accomplished courtesans into the dens of swindlers and cheats. While such types of women came to predominate over the entire society of prostitutes, prostitution lost all its decency, having fallen into the grip of the anti-socials. This does not mean that the prostitutes of the earlier age belonged to a different type, but their society was guided by a set of values to which a good number of them were committed, despite their greed for wealth and luxury. The reversal of the traditional set of values made prostitution a degraded profession, and that is why probably later writers on *Kāma*, like Kokkoka, Jyotirīṣvara, Padmaśrī, Devarāja, Kalyāṇamalla and others did not include prostitution within the subject matter of their works.

¹*Kāvyamālā* ed. Part I, 34 ff. German tr. by R. Schmidt, 1914.

LATER EROTIC TEXTS

1. INTRODUCTION

The *Kamasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, despite its numerous shortcomings, became a standard treatise, and it not only eclipsed all previous works but also diminished the value of all later imitative attempts. The later works on *Kāma* show no feature of essential interest, and they simply echo what has been said by Vātsyāyana and a few earlier authorities. These works are rather metrical amplifications of the sex topics, and curiously enough they omit with rare exception the section on prostitutes.

While dealing with the subject matter of the later *Kāma* texts, we shall once again have to confront with the basic questions we have previously raised. One such question is whether these works can justify their claim of being regarded as scientific treatises. Any commitment to science must presuppose a scientific outlook and a particular objective method which is to be followed in the field of enquiry. We are therefore to see whether these conditions have actually prevailed and left any impact upon the works on erotics.

The subject matter of the *Kāma* texts can broadly be divided into three categories—social and ethical views of their writers, the science and art of sexual union and the prescriptions for aphrodisiacs and artificial devices. Regarding the first category there is indeed nothing to say except the fact that all the writers on *Kāma* have bluntly followed the tradition upheld by the Smṛtis or Dharmasāstras in formulating their social and ethical doctrines. All of them were supporters of caste society, the superiority of the Brahmanical and upper classes, and hence they lent their full support to all the criminal acts committed by the privileged class and justified seduce, forcible abduction and rape of women belonging to the lower ranks of society. Manu, the greatest supporter of all the misdeeds of the higher castes, had become not only the sole authority of the philosopher Saṅkara who believed in the unreality of the world but in the reality of the caste system, but also of those who wrote

pseudo-scientific treatises on *Kāma* and other subjects. The writers of the *Kāma* literature mostly came from the aristocratic families. Many of them were even kings or feudal lords, accustomed to live a life of gross pleasure with countless women. Brahmanical ethics allows a man to become absolutely corrupt. There is no sin in marrying numerous girls, in maintaining a harem of countless women, in keeping a large number of concubines, in seducing, abducting and raping women of the lower castes. According to the Hindu ethics, as found in the legal texts, these are not immoral acts. These acts do not tell upon virtue, and by doing all these a man may easily go to heaven or attain *mokṣa* or salvation. If a Brāhmaṇa establishes sexual relation with a Śūdra woman, it will be beneficial to the latter, causing to an upliftment of her soul. But if a Śūdra does the same with a Brāhmaṇa woman, he commits the greatest sin for which, even not waiting for divine punishment, he should immediately be wrapped in mat and burnt alive. This is what is called Brahmanical or Hindu ethics which survives even today as a powerful force in Indian social system.

Before dealing with the scientific contents of the *Kāma* texts, it should be pointed out that in ancient and medieval India, there was no scope of logic and free-thinking without which science cannot grow. Logical argument and free-thinking are regarded as criminal acts in the Dharmasāstras. True, there was a subject called logic on which we have plenty of canonised works, but the law-makers have categorically limited the scope of their subject matter. According to them, the function of logic is only to support and substantiate the social and spiritual values upheld by the law-books and the acknowledged scriptures. Any one transgressing this limit was destined to embrace the fate of Socrates. Actually this was observed by Alberuni who found men of scientific spirit producing pseudo-scientific works, saturated with all sorts of superstitious but 'sacred' beliefs, only for the fear of persecution. In such a regemented atmosphere where reasoning and free thinking are to substantiate superstitions, real scientific works cannot be produced. So what we find is morbid thinking, pathological tendency of imaginative interpretations, meaningless invention of worthless terminology. All the branches of learning had to undergo the same fate, and the *kāma* texts also were not exceptions.

The *Kamasūtra* of Vātsyāyana was composed about the third century AD. Since then up to the seventeenth century so many

treatises on *Kāma* had been composed, but there was no increase or addition to the knowledge of sex during this long period of nearly 1500 years ! All the subsequent writers on *Kāma* were blind imitators. The lack of the spirit of scientific investigation in all spheres of life and in all branches of learning, the complete regementation of thought, forced these writers to resort to fantastic imaginations, to coin and multiply meaningless terms, instead of forming creative hypotheses based on observation and experiment.

For instance, the conception of *Kāmsthānas* and the theory of *Kāmodāya*, *i.e.* the centres of passion in woman's body, their excitement in particular days and the gradual shifting of this excitement from one centre to another in accordance with the stages of the waxing and waning of the moon, have been described in details by most of the writers on *Kāma*. But none of these writers even cared to know by a simple enquiry whether these were real. In the earlier ages, in the days before *Vātsyāyana*, however, when the *Smārta-purānic* tradition of the Brahmanical social system demanding absolute surrender of all sorts of freedom of thought did not raise its ugly head, we come across a kind of spirit, a proto-scientific approach. We find that the predecessors of *Vātsyāyana* debated on many issues, like the question of orgasm in the females and so on. But with the development of a more strict and rigid social system, this spirit met its doom.

For the classification of the males and females in terms of the size and depth of their respective organs we cannot, however, blame the *Kāma* writers. Though such classifications are worthless from the viewpoint of modern science, still, if judged in the ancient and medieval context, these ideas do not seem to be without any empirical basis. The ideas of equal and unequal unionis, wrong though they are, were not very inconsistent with their mode of reasoning. But they did not know where to stop and even transgressing the limits of their experience they resorted to pure imagination and as such conceived of as many as 729 varieties of sexual union. This absurdity is also found in the endless process of multiplication and coinage of terms regarding embrace, kissing, scratches made on body during union by nails and teeth, titillation of the organs, etc. While referring to these the writers on *Kāma* lost their commonsense and insisted on pathological tendencies, evidently to suit the taste of their rich patrons, to whom fantastic and juicy descriptions were real than the reality itself.

And this also explains why the *Kāma* writers have filled the pages of their works with imaginary descriptions of coital postures. The general division of the coital postures is not without foundation, but the varieties made out of each of them are simply coinage of new names only, having no significance at all. Thus we come across as many as 50 varieties of union in the supine posture, 12 in sidal, 13 in sitting, 17 in standing, 21 in bent and 12 in opposite. Despite these being the products of pure imagination, what is most deplorable is that the *Kāma* writers, one and all, have failed to describe them, to make these coital postures even understandable to their readers.

The prescriptions for aphrodisiacs and artificial devices are equally fantastic. These writers do not hesitate to declare that by using an eye of a peacock in an amulet a man or a woman can become beautiful. Such ideas can somehow be tolerated if we consider that these are relics of very primitive beliefs. But when the excreta of different birds and animals is thought of as possessing the quality of increasing the strength and virility of a person, it indeed becomes too much for us. The writers of the *Kāma* texts had practically no idea of medical science. They did not even care to go through the existing treatises of medicine of their times.

2. THE RATIRAHASYA OF KOKKOKA

The *Ratirahasya* of Kokkoka¹ is perhaps the earliest work of imitative type which was composed about the twelfth century AD.² It professes to follow Vātsyāyana closely, but also claims to have used Nandikeśvara and Gonikāputra in connection with the theories of Kāmasthāna and Anaṅgasthiti (II.1-17). Gonikāputra has been mentioned by Vātsyāyana as one of his principal authorities whose work was well known even in the time of Kāñcinātha, the commentator on the *Ratirahasya*. Of other authorities of Kokkoka, Mūladeva, who has also been referred to by Maithila Jyotirīśvara,

¹Ed. with Kāñcinātha's commentary by D. Parajuli, Lahore (no date); Eng. tr. with intro. by A. Comfort, London, 1964; by S.C. Upadhyaya, Bombay, 1965.

²A.B. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1928, p. 641. Upadhyaya informs us that Kokkoka has been referred to by Somadeva, the author of *Nitivākyāmṛta* who flourished between the tenth and eleventh centuries. Kokkoka is mentioned in Kumbha's and Saṅkaramiśra's commentaries on the *Gītagovinda* and quoted by Mallinātha in his commentaries on the *Kumārasambhava*, *Meghadūta* and *Raghuvarīśa* and also by Yaśodhara in his *Jayamāigalā* commentary on the *Kāmasūtra*, II.1.26.

the author of the *Pañcasāyaka*, and known also from such works like the *Kalāvilāsa* (I.9) and *Bṛhaikathā* (IX.X) as an expert in the arts, was probably identical with Karṇisūta, also mentioned by Kokkoka as one of his authorities (IV.21; V.22). Besides, Kokkoka counts among his authorities Muni and Munindra. According to Kāñcinātha (Com. on VI. 8, 11; VIII.4; X.13,26,29) these names stand respectively for Vātsyāyana and Gonardiya.

The *Ratirahasya* is divided into fifteen chapters each of which dealing respectively with the fourfold classification of women, the period of their Kāma and the way they should be approached; the Kāmasthānas and Ratitithis, *i.e.* centres of sexual passions and days suitable for intercourse; classification of men and women according to the size and depth of their sexual organs and the types of Rata or union from the viewpoint of the kinds of figure and from that of duration; characteristics of women according to their age, nature and temperament; women of different provinces and their sexual characteristics; varieties of embrace, kiss, nailmark, striking and thrashing, and different postures of sexual union and the processes involved therein; selection and acceptance of the bride and ways of creating confidence in her, of courting and winning her heart; the position and behaviour of the wife; the stages of love and extramarital relations; methods of getting acquainted with women and practical and magical efforts to win them over; and the use of aphrodisiacs for increasing sexual power, regaining lost vitality and other miscellaneous purposes.

Kokkoka has mainly followed Vātsyāyana while describing the act of sexual union and arts preceding to that act, like embrace, kiss, nailmarks, etc. What has been said by Vātsyāyana in relation to all these has been echoed by the later writers who introduced some additional postures and used a few new terms. The only exception was Dāmodara who probably depended on a different tradition. Regarding the women of different provinces and their sexual characteristics, later elaborated by Yaśodhara, the selection of the bride and the ways of creating confidence in her, the methods of seducing women, the use of aphrodisiacs, etc. Kokkoka and later writers have followed Vātsyāyana closely, differing from him only on minor points. But there are some special features in the *Ratirahasya* and subsequent *Kāma* texts which have nothing to do with Vātsyāyana. In such cases Kokkoka has definitely followed a different tradition of which we are to take note.

Kokkoka and later writers have emphasised on the concept of Kāmāsthānas or the centres of sexual excitement in the bodies of women of all the four types. These centres are toe, leg, knee, thigh, hip, navel, bosom, cheek, lips, etc. and in these centres, one after another there is always a shifting tension of sexual passion (anaṅgasthiti) in accordance with the changes in the phases of the moon. Kokkoka says that, according to the school of Nandikeśvara, this shifting tension of sexual passion begins from the first full-moon day in the right side of women's body, from the right toe upwards to the head, and then it takes a downward motion from the head to the left toe which begins from the first new-moon day. This is why sexual union has been conceived in terms of the waxing and waning of the moon. The relation supposed to exist between the changing moon and woman's sexual cycle is, however, a very old belief and associated with fertility conception.¹ According to the school of Gonikāputra, there are sixteen centres of sexual excitement and also fifteen rati-tithis or days in each of which the male should engage himself in love-play in response to the different types of sex-demand of the female body known from the laws of the shifting tension of sexual passion. Gonikāputra, as we have seen above, was also an authority of Vātsyāyana, but no such theory is met with in the *Kāmasūtra*.

Kokkoka and other later writers have followed Vātsyāyana in determining the classes of men and women according to the size and depth of their sexual organs and as such they have classified the males into Śaśa, Vṛṣa and Aśva types and the females into Mṛgi, Vaḍavā and Hastini types. But side by side there evolved another type of classification, not only from the viewpoints of size and depth of the organs, but also from those of figure, duration, characteristics, nature and temperament of women into Padminī, Śaṅkhinī, Citrinī and Hastinī types. This classification owes its origin probably to the *Nātyaśāstra* (XXII) of Bharata and is followed by Kokkoka, Jyotiriśvara and Kalyāṇamalla, but not by Vātsyāyana. In the case of the males, some writers, like Mādhava in his *Āyurvedaprakāśa*, had added a fourth, i.e. Rāsabha type. Regarding sexual union Vātsyāyana's classification into Sama (equal), Ucca (high) and Niṣa (low) has been maintained by Kokkoka and other later writers. Sama-rata means union between men and women having their organs of corresponding size. Ucca-rata is unequal union in which

¹See my *Indian Mother Goddess*, pp. 124-27.

the males possess larger organs while Nica-rata commences between man with smaller phallus and woman with larger organ. When this union is extremely unequal, we have the Ati-ucca and Ati-nīca forms, like the union between Aśva (man having large phallus like horse) and Mṛgī (woman having small organ like deer) and that between Śāśa (man having small phallus like hare) and Hastinī (woman having large organ like elephant). Kokkoka and others also follow Vātsyāyana in classifying men and women according to the duration of their individual passion into Śīghra or Laghu, *i.e.* short-timed, Madhya or medium-timed and Cira or long-timed (III. 11; Cf. *Kāmasūtra* II.1.17). A third type of classification has also been made by Kokkoka according to the Vega or Bhāva, *i.e.* force of passion, into Manda or slow, Madhya or medium and Caṇḍa or intense (III.12). This classification was also made by Vātsyāyana (II.1.14).

For women to be employed in sexual purposes, Kokkoka makes a distinction between the inexperienced (abhukta) and experienced (bhukta) ones, and prescribes different forms of love plays for these two groups (VI. 1-12). The postures of embrace and their names are mostly adopted by Kokkoka from Vātsyāyana. The same also holds good in the case of kiss, although Kokkoka pretends to differ from Vātsyāyana (VII. 1-9) by raising some minor points of differences. As for example, the *Kāmasūtra* II. 3.23 describes Jihvāyuddha as stretching one's tongue into the palate of another, but Kokkoka and his commentator Kāñcinātha understand it as rubbing one's tongue against another's. Kokkoka has also taken into account the Nimitaka (nominal), Sphūritaka (throbbing) and Ghāttitaka (touching) varieties of kisses, which have been laid down by Vātsyāyana. To cause wounds in different parts of the body by nails, which is an essential weapon in the battle of love according to Vātsyāyana, has also been prescribed by Kokkoka (VIII. 1-6) who agrees with the former on the points that the nailmarks should be made only by those who belong to the *candavega* (individuals with intense passion) category and that there are eight kinds of nailmarks. Those who do not belong to the aforesaid category are also entitled to give nailmarks only during the first union, or after menstruation or at the time of meeting after a long separation or before the commencement of separation or in an intoxicating state. Likewise causing wound by biting during union has been prescribed by Kokkoka (IX. 1-4) who mentions characteristics of good teeth and gives a list of different parts of the body fit for teethmarks.

Nāḍikṣobhana or the act of titillating the clitoris has been mentioned by Kokkoka (X. 5-9), but not by Vātsyāyana. Various centres of the inner chamber of the female organ are described as madanagamana, madanasadana, madanachatra, etc., and for exciting the females these centres are to be rubbed with the tarjanī (fore) and madhyamā (middle) fingers. The use of hands and fingers, later came to be known as Karikarakṛidā, Hastakṣobhaliṇī, Manmathā-gāramudrābhaṅgakṛidā, Karaśākhāyoga, etc. was, however, known to Vātsyāyana (II. 7.10) who said that these acts should be performed before Yantrayoga or actual sexual union. Kokkoka simply refers to four types of hand practices—Karikara, Phaṇibhoga, Ardhendu and Kāmāñkuśa. In the subsequent sections these practices are to be illustrated. According to Kāñcinātha (Com. on X. 8), Bāhyarata or external union belongs to two categories—Antarabāhya and Bahirbāhya—the former consisting of aṅgulirata or titillating and the latter of āliṅgana, etc. *Prahanāya* or striking and thrashing and *Sitkāra* or the natural reaction of the former on women have been important subject-matters of all later writers. Prahanāya is called by Kokkoka as Tāḍana to be given on the back, the sides, the hip and the space between the breasts and the head (X. 51-62). Sitkāra has been called Hirṇkāra by Kokkoka who describes vividly how women react when they are subject to strokes and thrashes (X. 54-63).

Regarding the coital postures Kokkoka strictly follows Vātsyāyana. The actual sexual union is designated as abhyantararata or internal coitus which is of two kinds, the one dominated by the females (nāyikāprayukta) and the other by the males (nāyakaprayukta). The former style is called Viparita or Puruṣāyita, that is, opposite union in which the woman takes a prone position with the man lying on his back, face upwards, in a supine position. The latter style, in which the males dominate, consists of five postures : Uttāna i.e. supine posture with the woman lying on the back, face upwards, and the man in prone position, bending forward and lying with face downwards; Pārśva, i.e. sidal posture, with both the persons in lateral position; Upaviṣṭa or Āśina, i.e. sitting posture; Urdhvā or Utthita, i.e. standing posture; and Vyānata or Ānata or Paśubandha, i.e. bent posture, with the woman bending and the man standing on her back, similar to the method found among the quadrupeds (X. 14-51).

The *Ratirahasya* of Kokkoka, although mainly based upon the

Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana, shows therefore some features of extra interest like the classification of women into four types according to their nature and temperament, their days and time congenial for sexual excitement, the centres of passion in their body and so on. It is interesting to note that, as we shall see below, except Virabhadra, all later writers on *Kāma* like Padmaśrī, Jyotiriśvara, Devarāja, Jayadeva, Kalyāṇamalla and others followed Kokkoka in the scheme and subject matter of their works. Like Kokkoka, they also excluded prostitution and oral congress from the scope of their discussion. Their knowledge of the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana also appears to have derived from the work of Kokkoka and not from a direct study of Vātsyāyana.

3. THE NĀGARASARVASVA OF PADMAŚRI

The *Nāgarasarvasva* of Padmaśri¹ was written at some unknown date between the tenth and fourteenth century. The author was a Buddhist and a worshipper of Mañjuśrī and Tārā. In the concluding chapter he states that he was advised by a Brāhmaṇa called Vāsudeva to write a sex manual, and among his principal authorities he refers to Maheśvara and Munīndra, besides Vātsyāyana. Munīndra, as we have previously noted, was not a personal name, and nothing is known about Maheśvara. Padmaśri was certainly acquainted with Dāmodara's *Kuṭṭanīmata*. The *Nāgarasarvasva* is divided into 38 chapters which are more or less amplifications of what is found in the works of Vātsyāyana and Kokkoka. But there are a few chapters in which the author has introduced some new topics which are not found in other works. In the third chapter, for example, he has described the merits and faults of jewels and in the last he describes how to have children. These were hitherto unknown subjects for the writers on *Kāma*. Besides, Padmaśri has given in the fourth chapter of his work elaborate recipes for cosmetics, a subject on which the earlier authorities did not pay sufficient attention.

Following Kokkoka or his earlier authorities, Padmaśri also has adopted the concept of the centres of sexual excitement in the bodies of women of all the four types and the theory of the shifting tension of sexual passion in accordance with the changes in the phases of the moon. He gives a list of the centres of Kāmodaya whence the

¹With Jagajjyotirmalla's commentary, ed. Tansukhram Shrama, M.I. Desai Pub., Bombay, 1921.

rise of passion takes place and in his list emphasis is especially laid upon such centres as thigh, sex organ, breast and lips (XVII. 4-6). Like Kokkoka he believes that the centre of passion in the female body begins to move from the first full moon day and has its upward march from the right toe until it reaches the head on the new moon day. Then it begins to descend following the left side of the body and finally comes down to the left toe on the full moon day. Regarding Sāmprayogika or union between man and woman, Padmaśri like his predecessors insists on embrace, kissing, nailmarks, teethmarks and other essential features. He gives a list of ten kinds of embraces (XXIV. 1-9) and they do not differ very much from those given by the previous writers. He classifies the act of kissing into saśabda (with sound) and nihśabda (without sound) and divides the latter into seven kinds. He mentions eight kinds of nailmarks without, however, referring to the parts of the body where they should be given (XXII. 1-5) and also eight kinds of teethmarks (XXIII. 4).

Nādikśobhana or the act of titillating the interior of the female organ has been elaborately described by Padmaśri in two chapters of his work (XVIII-XIX). He says that within the female organ is a centre called madanachatra which is constituted by 24 nādīs or nerves carrying desires for sexual union. It has six sides, called passion directories, to be excited by fingers. There are also such passion-directories in different parts of the body containing nerves of excitement to be roused by mouth (XVIII.1-8). In the act of titillation the use of fingers is essential. While Kokkoka mentions four types of such finger-practices, Padmaśri adds two more (XXXVI. 1-2). These are Karaṇa (when the fore-finger is inserted into the organ), Kanaka (when the middle finger is inserted), Vikana (when the fore and middle act one after another), Patāka (when both the fingers are inserted simultaneously), Trisūla (when the fore, middle and ring fingers are inserted like a trident) and Sañibhoga (a wrong reading for Phaṇibhoga of Kokkoka, implying the act of three fingers, joined and bent like a serpent-hood).

Regarding Prahaṇana, *i.e.* striking and thrashing, Padmaśri who calls it Tāḍana, prescribes four types of dealings (XXXIII. 1-2), to be done with fingers folded or with palm stretched which is sometimes expected to pierce the body and to cause sound. The response to this striking made by the females is noticed by Padmaśri in six forms (XX. 1-4)—stanita (deep and pressed

sound), kujita (cooing), sutkṛta (hissing sound), dutkṛta (sound causing pain), phuṭkṛta (sound like phoo-phoo) and śvasita (a kind of inarticulate sound). These sounds made by women show their desire for the union (XVI. 12-13). Padmaśrī also mentions seven kinds of kissing with sounds by women as tokens of response to the act of striking and thrashing.

So far as the Bāhyarata of external union is concerned, Padmaśrī refers to grahaṇa or taking the woman in the proper sexual set up. He is probably the only writer who has dealt with this point elaborately. According to him grahaṇa is of four kinds (XXXV. 1-2) : Baddhamuṣṭi (when the body is tightly grasped), Veṣṭitaka (catching the forelocks), Kṛtagranthika (gripping in such a way as to entwine the woman's figure) and Samakṛṣṭi (pinching on the neck and breasts with the thumb and other fingers). In addition to these four Padmaśrī prescribes Keśākarṣaṇa or pulling the hair (XX. 3). As a feature of external union he also mentions mardana or massage of four kinds, to be done by fists, by the rubbing of the palm, by a quivering hand and by force and pressure (XXXIV. 1-2). He also deals with another type of love-play which he calls jihvāpraveṣa (XXVI-1) consisting of the insertion of the contracted and twisted tongue into the mouth of the woman, broadening of the tongue after insertion into the mouth and quivering of the tongue after insertion. Padmaśrī also refers to cuṣaṇa or sucking (XXVII. 1-2) which is of four kinds—sucking the tip of the tongue for a long time, sucking it hurriedly, biting the tip and sucking the lips of each other. Regarding the Abhyantara-rata or actual sexual union, Padmaśrī follows the tradition of Vātsyāyana and Kokkoka in formulating coital postures of the uttāna (XXVII. 1-13), pārśva (XXIX. 1-4), āśīna (XXX. 1-2), utthita (XXXII. 1-4) and ānata (XXI. 1-2).

4. THE JAYAMAṄGALĀ COMMENTARY OF YAŚODHARA

The next important work is Yaśodhara's Jayamaṅgalā commentary on *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana.¹ It was composed about the thirteenth century AD. It contains consistent interpretations of the terms used by Vātsyāyana. The countries and peoples mentioned by Vātsyāyana have also been identified by Yaśodhara, and as such the commentary is indeed valuable for the purpose of geographical researches as well.

¹To be found in all the standard edition of the *Kāmasūtra*.

Since the understanding of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* is completely dependent on this *Jayamāngalā* commentary, the summary of the contents of the latter will be redundant, and hence we shall confine ourselves only to those points on which Yaśodhara's interpretations throw some significant light. As we have seen during the review of the *Kāma* texts, the Sāmprayogika section of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* is the most important of all, since all later writers have chosen this section as the main subject matter of their works. This section dealing with the union between man and woman contains chapters on the classification of males and females, embracing, kissing, nail-mark, teethmark, postures for union, striking and its reaction, woman assuming man's role, oral union, and the entire procedure of sexual act. This part of the *Jayamāngalā* commentary is expected to evoke some interest.

How Yaśodhara has amplified or modified certain views of Vātsyāyana can be illustrated by a few examples. While speaking of the trivarga mode of life, Vātsyāyana (I. 2.1 ff.) thought of the four-fold stages of life as suggested by the Dharmasāstras. But Yaśodhara says that there can only be three stages. Up to the age of sixteen lasts the pre-mature stage, and the period of youth lasts up to the age of seventy, after which a man should think of mokṣa. The sixtyfour arts of *Kāma* have been amplified by Yaśodhara with specifications in many cases. As for example, by the knowledge of prosody, which Vātsyāyana counts as one of the aforesaid arts, Yaśodhara makes this specification that it should be the metrical treatises of Piṅgala, etc. to be read and understood (I. 3.16). The particulars of the daily life of the Nāgaraka (I.4) have also been amplified. According to Vātsyāyana, women belonging to the Punarbhū class (a widow resorting to another man as lover) should be shunned in marriage. Commenting of this, Yaśodhara refers to seven kinds of Punarbhūs, mostly belonging to the imaginary types.

So far as the Sāmprayoga section is concerned, the theory of Kāmodaya or rising passion in different centres of woman's body with the waxing and waning of the moon, so much emphasised by the later writers, had nothing to do with Vātsyāyana, and Yaśodhara also has not mentioned all these. Vātsyāyana indicates a variety of sexual unions from the viewpoints of the size and depth of the organs, intensity of passion, duration, etc. Yaśodhara has, however, made a simple classification into suddha and śāmkirṇa,

the latter being subdivided into sama and viṣama (equal and unequal) as regards various love-plays (VI. 1.65). Equal unions are of 27 types (9×3), each of the three classes having nine types of union. Unequal union are of 729 types ($9 \times 3 \times 3 \times 3 \times 3$) $\times 3$. Regarding the orgasm of the females, Yaśodhara says that they really possess an urge for ultimate satisfaction. Otherwise they would stop at once with man's satisfaction. He also says that without orgasm it is impossible for a woman to conceive. According to Yaśodhara, the Kṣīraṇīra and Tilataṇḍula types of embrace should be given only during the Rāgakāla, *i.e.* when the phallus becomes straight and the female organ quivers. The custom of kissing on the hipjoint, armpit, navel and genital region, as prevalent among the inhabitants of Lāṭa, has been condemned by Yaśodhara. In this context he refers to Adhara-pāna in which the woman makes teethmarks on the man's face by way of kissing. He mentions an additional part of the body, the Kaṭiprṣṭha or the waist region, on which nailmarks can be given. He says nothing about Nāḍikṣobhana or titillating the female organ, a popular theme of his contemporary writers. The four kinds of striking and thrashing, referred to by Vātsyāyana as prevailing especially among the southern peoples, have been explained in details by Yaśodhara. On the question of Sīkāra or reaction of striking, he has emphasised on *Virutas*, explained by him as inarticulate sounds made by women. Regarding the postures of sexual union, Yaśodhara simply explains the methods prescribed by Vātsyāyana, and only on the question of Puruṣayita, or woman assuming man's role, he gives some additional information. He refers to four kinds of space within the female organ and the ways how they are used when the woman is on the move.

Yaśodhara, following Vātsyāyana, says that women of the middle country are fond of embrace, but they do not like the use of nail and teeth marks as essential conditions of love play. Women of Bāhlika and Avanti likewise hate nail and teethmarks, but they are fond of varieties in coital postures. The Mālavas and Ābhīras like all the acts of Sāmprayoga. Women living in the land of five rivers are fond of oral congress, and those of the Aparānta and Lāṭa region, although very passionate, cannot endure striking and thrashing too much. Women of Śtrīrājya or Vajravanta country and of Kosala are fond of striking and thrashing and for their wild passion they often resort to artificial devices. Women of Andhra have no sense of sexual decency, while those belonging to Mahārā-

ṣṭra like all the forms of love play, even the uglier forms, and also obscene language which they are accustomed to use. Women of Pāṭaliputra also like all these, but they pretend as if they are reluctant. Women of the Dravida country are satisfied by a single set of coital dealings while those of the Vanavāśī region like to conceal their own physical defects. They cannot also tolerate men of ugly appearance and rough conduct. Women of the Gauda country have soft body and mild speech. Like the women of the Vanavāśī region they also belong to the middle category capable for entertaining men of all the three types.

5 THE PAṄCASĀYAKA OF JYOTIRĪŚVARA

The *PaṄcasāyaka*¹ was written during the first half of the fourteenth century by Maithila Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekhara to whom another work entitled *Rāgaśekhara* has also been ascribed.² His date has been fixed on the basis of his reference to Kṣemendra, the eleventh century author of the *Kalāvilāsa* as one of his principal authorities and on that of Śaṅkaramiśra's quotation from the *PaṄcasāyaka* in his *Rasamañjarī* commentary on the *Gitagovinda*.³ Of other authorities of Jyotirīśvara—besides Kṣemendra—Vātsyāyana, Gonikāputra, Mūladeva, Bābhravya and Nandikeśvara are well known names of varying importance, while practically nothing is known about Iśvara and Rantideva.

The *PaṄcasāyaka* is divided into five chapters or sāyakas, meaning arrows, the first of which is a general introduction and approach to the subject, the author claiming to have condensed the science of *Kāma* on the basis of the works of his earlier authorities. He appears to have followed Kokkoka while referring to the views of Nandikeśvara concerning to the theories relating to the centres of passion and the fortnightly movements of those centres following the course of the moon. He describes the love-play during the fifteen *tithis* of each *pakṣa* for all the four types of females and also the ways and means for exciting the passion of love, emphasising on the question of duration of sexual union in case of the women of the four types like Padmī, etc. (I. 10-29). The first chapter also contains the characteristics of Nāyakas and Piṭhamardas.

The second chapter is a continuation of the first in which we have

¹Ed. S. Sastri Ghiladia, Lahore, 1921.

²Chakrabarti in *JASB*, 1915, p. 414.

³Ed. N.R. Acharya, NSP, Bombay, 1949.

a detailed list of the centres of Kāma in the female body like the leg, thigh, hip, breast, neck, forehead, armpit, lips, eye and ear (II.11). The chapter however, begins with the classification of the males and females according to the size and depth of their organs, and here Jyotirīśvara has maintained Vātsyāyana's classification of the males into hare, bull and horse (turaga) types and that of the females into deer, mare and she-elephant (Kariṇī) types (II.1). Vātsyāyana's nine varieties of union arising out of the combination of equal, high and low forms have been maintained, but its timewise classification into short, medium and long has been ignored. The classification according to the vega or bhāva, i.e. intensity of passion into mild (manda), average (madhya) and virulent (caṇḍa) has, however, been noted (II.7). In this chapter we have also description of women of different provinces and their sexual features following the example of the previous writers.

The third chapter is an amplification of the Aupaniṣadika section of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, somewhat obscure because of its technical terminology, dealing with the artificial means of increasing youth and beauty and also sexual vigour. As regards cosmetics and aphrodisiacs, Jyotirīśvara does not differ significantly from Vātsyāyana and other writers. But his area is wider. Vātsyāyana's main emphasis was on the recipes for increasing virility and sexual power of the males, but for the females he had very little to say except the external use of cosmetics. Only for the contraction and expansion of the female organ he has a prescription (VII. 2.36-37). Jyotirīśvara on the other hand deals with the treatments connected with the determination of the shape of breast, menstruation, impregnation, sterility and other features common to women. For depilation and growing hair he has also recipes. It is interesting to note that depilation of the females was never considered as an essential measure for the beautification of the female body in Indian conception (although ritual depilation is current in different parts of the country and also among a few sections of the Muslims), but in Greece and Rome this was an important aid to beauty. Jyotirīśvara also refers to spells and hymns and other magical methods for attracting women and winning their heart.

The fourth chapter is an amplification of the Kanyāsamprayuktaka, Bhāryādhikārika and Pāradārika sections of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*. It deals with marriage and courtship, qualifications of a virtuous wife, connections with other peoples' wives with reference

to the fitness, attendant difficulties and dangers, women who can be easily won over, the use of female messengers and also love plays of various kinds like embracing, kissing, scratching, biting, etc. Jyotiriśvara refers to eight types of embrace (IV. 31-40), following Vātsyāyana. These are viddhaka (caused by a sudden dashing) latāveṣṭia (like a creeper entwining round a tree), vṛkṣāruḍa (like climbing on a tree), tilataṇḍula, kṣīranira (merger of each other), lalāṭika (pressing of the mouth and forehead), urupagūḍha and jaghana (pressing of the thighs against each other mutually). Six types of kissing mentioned by him (IV. 41-48)—nimita (nominal), sphūrita (throbbing), ghṛṣṭa (touching), pīḍita (pressing), sampūṭa (sounded) and samauṣṭha (equal pressing of tongues and lips)—are mainly based upon Vātsyāyana. Jyotiriśvara mentions eight types of nailmarks, as enumerated by Vātsyāyana, omitting vyāghranakha (tiger's claw like) and adding darduraka (IV. 49-58). In the case of teethmarks Jyotiriśvara has taken nothing from Vātsyāyana except khaṇḍābhraka (making a circle on the breast by using all the teeth). Two other forms of teethmark—vidruma and kolacarva—have also been mentioned by him (IV. 59-63). As a feature of prahaṇana *i.e.* striking and thrashing, he refers to Keśākarṣaṇa or catching the locks of hair which, according to him, belongs to four kinds—samahasta, taraṅgāraṅga, kāmāvatrīṣa and bhujāṅgavalli (IV. 64-68).

The fifth chapter deals with other rituals of Sāmpryogika, beginning with Nāḍikṣobhana or titillating the interior of the female organ. This act, according to Jyotiriśvara, is of five types (V.1-4). Then he goes on to describe the coital postures. According to him the *Uttāna* posture is of seven types : adarita, catukelika, trivikrama nāgara, pritikara, vyomapāda and samapāda (V.5-13); the *Pārśva* is divided into two types: upavītika and nāga (V.14-16). He also mentions two types of *Āsīna* posture, *viz.* kīrti and padmāsana (V.17-18), three types of *Uttīhita* posture, *viz.* tripāda, vyayataka and sammukta (V.21-22) and three types of *Ānata* postures, *viz.* hariṇa, chāga and turaṅgama (V.30-32). He lays emphasis on Strīkartṛtva or acts done by the females (V.26-28) during the *Vīparita* or opposite union (V.23-25). The acts done by the females are santadita, pātaka and kuṇḍala, *i.e.* striking on different parts the man's body. Different kinds of Sītkāra are also mentioned by Jyotiriśvara (V.29-30).

6. THE RATIMAÑJARĪ OF JAYADEVA

All subsequent *Kāma* texts follow the line indicated above. Of other writers on this subject Jayadeva comes next in the chronological order whose *Ratimañjarī*,¹ a treatise consisting of sixty verses only was composed between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries AD. There is no reason of identifying this Jayadeva with the celebrated author of the *Gītagovinda*. It appears from the first verse of the *Ratimañjarī* that the author was a worshipper of Śiva. Claiming to have condensed the science of *Kāma* in this work the author proceeds to characterise the traditional four different types of women and their corresponding types found among the males, to classify their types according to the size and depth of their sex organs and to suggest ways and means by which the females of different age and temperament can be won over. He then refers to the Kāmsthānas, the centre of passion in the female body and the days on which they are excited along with the waxing and waning of the moon, without much details, however (1-18). The remaining portion is a simple exposition of the Sāmprayogika, the dull enumeration of the various types of embrace, kiss, scratches and so on. According to him kisses should be given on the neck, forehead, heart, thigh, hip, vagina and breast (19-22). He also recommends mardana or massage of the female organ with the hand (23-27). Other verses deal with themes similar to Prahanana and Sitkāra in the forms of squeezing the breast, catching hold of the locks of hair, etc., sexual union with different types of women and coital postures of sixteen kinds. Special emphasis is, however, laid upon the characteristics of male and female organs (28-60). Jayadeva is the only writer who mentions two types of male organs. Regarding female organs, he however, maintains the four types illustrated by previous authorities (32-34).

7. THE RATIRATNAPRADĪPIKĀ OF DEVARĀJA

The *Ratiratnapradīpikā* of Devarāja² is an amplification of the *Ratirahasya* of Kokkoka. According to some scholars, Devarāja, who calls himself Prauḍha Devarāja Mahārāja was no other than Devarāya II of Vijayanagara who flourished between AD 1422 and

¹J. Vidyāsāgara, *Kāvyasamgraha*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1886; P.E. Pavolini in *Giornale della società Asiatica Italiana*, XVII, 1904, pp. 317 ff.

²Ed. with Eng. tr. by K. Rangaswami Iyengar, Mysore, 1923.

1466 while others place him in the seventeenth century. Devarāja mentions Nandiśa (I.4), probably same as Nandi or Nandikeśvara mentioned by earlier authorities, Gaṇiputra (I.4, 40, 68), same as Gonikāputra mentioned by Vātsyāyana and others, Vātsyāyana (II.34, 76; III.26, 44, 69; V.27), Mallanāga (V.16), Muni (IV.24, V.27), Kokkoka (IV.16) and Kovida (V.47; VII.27) as his principal authorities and says that his first chapter is based upon the views of Gaṇiputra while the sixth on those of Nandiśa. Although Devarāja appears to have followed Kokkoka closely, he was also deeply influenced by Vātsyāyana which is marked by his system of chaptering. Like Vātsyāyana he divides some of his chapters into adhikaras, and treats the different feature of the Sāmprayoga in a single chapter under different sections. Of the authorities mentioned by him, Mallanāga and Muni were respectively the title and epithet of Vātsyāyana. His Kovida may be same as Kavīndra referred to as an epithet of Rantideva by Jyotirīśvara in *Pañcasāyaka* III.42. Following Kokkoka and other authorities, Devarāja in his first chapter has dealt with the traditional centres of passion in the body of women with dull details of different parts of body like thumb, toe, leg, knee, sex-organ, navel, breast, armpit, neck, forehead, teeth, eye and head (I.20-35) insisting on the bogus theory of the shifting of passion in accordance with the waxing and waning of the moon rising from the left toe up to the head during the bright half of the lunar month and descending from the head down to the right toe during the dark half (I.26-27). Also he has given in the same chapter the classification of the females into four types (I.4, 40-68) which according to him was derived from Nandiśa and Gaṇiputra. The threefold classification of the males and the females from the viewpoints of size and depth of their organs has been described in the next chapter on the basis of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, but in addition he made another type of classification of the females into loose (slatha), medium (madhya) and tight (ghana) from the viewpoint of body and also into gaja, rākṣasa and dānava from that of their nature, a classification which is not found elsewhere (II.1-32). In the third chapter, the sections begin with embrace, classified into twelve kinds (III.4-27) corresponding to those described by Kokkoka. Then come fourteen kinds of kissing (III.28-48), nine kinds of nailmarks (III.49-52), and eight kinds of teethmarks (III.53-75). The next chapter is devoted to the act of titillating the female organ (IV.35-39) and while dealing with these acts Devarāja

has followed Kokkoka faithfully. Special use of the hand and fingers for exciting females are described and four methods for the purpose, known as Karihasta, Phaṇīndrabhoga, ardhacandraka and samarāṅkuśa, are prescribed (IV.39-40). The first method can be worked out by keeping three fingers joined resembling the proboscis of an elephant, for manipulating in the female organ; the second by using three fingers like a serpent hood; the third by using the thumb and fore fingers in the form of a crescent, and the fourth by pinching with the fingers. In the fourth chapter different types of *rata* or sexual union are described from the viewpoints of duration and intensity of passion (IV.7-15) and also coital postures (IV.15-51). 21 types of supine, 3 of sidal, 2 of seated, 5 of standing, 11 of bent and 2 of opposite postures are described in the fifth chapter (V.1-41). The sixth and seventh chapters deal with other known sexual features with emphasis on striking (VI.55-58, VII.1-18) and its reactions (VII.2-36).

8. THE ANAṄGARAṄGA OF KALYĀṄNAMALLA

Kalyāṅnamalla's *Anaṅgaraṅga*,¹ which was composed in the sixteenth century is the last important work in the line of Kokkoka. Of the ten chapters forming this treatise, the first is devoted to an introductory of the traditional type and then to a vivid description of the centres of passion in the female body, classification of women, their days and time of sexual excitement, and the ways and means to treat them in the proper way (I.7ff). A considerable portion of the second chapter is also devoted to this subject (II.1-8). The description of the centres of passion is a mere restatement of what has been said by the earlier authorities, and here it will be redundant to mention them. In the third chapter, a further classification of the males and females is made according to the size and depth of their respective organs, and then the union is classified into nine varieties according to the combination of its equal, high and low forms. Then we have a description of the ninefold union on the basis of time and duration and nine additional unions on that of the intensity of passion. The fourth chapter is a continuation of the third in which we have the author's view on the titillating of female organ (IV.32-35) and it is interesting to note that Kalyāṅnamalla is

¹Ed. R. Sastri Kusala, Lahore 1890; Eng. tr. R. Burton, Kāmaśāstra Society, London and Benares, 1885.

the only author who insists on Liṅgakṣobhana, *i.e.* titillation by the male organ and not by fingers. He also brings some innovations in describing the female sexual organ by laying emphasis on their variations in different parts of the country, but it is difficult to say whether these accorded with the reality. In describing the ways and means for attaining orgasm he refers to artificial aids and also the use of specialised drugs as well as magical preparations for increasing virility, contraction and expansion of the female organ and other purposes. The constituents of the aphrodisiacs of both the sexes, in the forms of tonic, diet, powder, paste, etc. are vividly described. Then there are recipes for shaping the female breasts, stiffening the loose ones, and also medicinal ingredients for depilation, hair-growing and other needs of beauty. Kalyāṇamalla has dealt elaborately with the ways of making oneself attractive to others and also magical preparations for winning the hearts of woman. He has also some say on the selection for marriage, the behaviour of the bride, extra-marital relations with the wives of others, duties of messengers and also forbidden relations and sexual taboos. In dealing with all these Kalyāṇamalla has followed Vātsyāyana and the writers of Smṛtis. The last two chapters of his work contain, besides the eight types of heroines, subjects like embracing (IX.1-10), kissing (IX.11-20), nailmarks (IX.22-29), teethmarks (IX.30-36), striking (IX.39-41), female reaction of striking (X.45-50) and the traditional varieties of coital postures consisting of ten types of supine (X.4-14), two of sidal (X.15-17), seven of sitting (X.18-24), three of standing (X.25-27), five of bent (X.28-30) and two of opposite (X.31-38). Of the nine kinds of kisses mentioned by him, the one under the name milita evidently stands for the nimitaka of Vātsyāyana, while the samauṣṭha variety recalls the same of Jyotirīśvara. He refers only to four kinds of striking apahastaka, prasṛtaka, muṣṭi and sama-talaka—omitting Vatsyayana's kīla, kartari, etc. Like Jyotirīśvara Kalyāṇamalla also prescribes Keśākarṣaṇa or pulling of the hair and mentions of same four types of this act as recorded by the former (IX.37-41). He holds that sounds of Sītkāra should be made exclusively by the females and gives varieties, significantly differing from his predecessors in interpreting these sounds.

9. CONCLUSION

In the introductory portion of this chapter we have reviewed the nature of the later erotic texts and held that so far as their scientific

contents are concerned they are frankly hopeless and from other viewpoints also they are imitative attempts, revealing no feature of essential interest. The summary of their subject matter, as has been done in the preceding sections strengthens the conclusions previously made. As we have seen above, all the *Kāma* writers, from Padmāśrī to Kalyāṇamalla concerned themselves almost entirely with the subject of sexual union (*sāmprayogika*) or add some recipes for increasing sexual power or attraction (*aupaniṣadika*). The only exception is the more extensive *Kandarpacuḍāmaṇi* of king Vīrabhadra¹ of the Vāghela dynasty composed about 1577 AD, which is an amplified, but faithful, meritical exposition, in seven chapters of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*. Of recent and works of minor importance, reference may be made to the *Ratiśāstra* of Nāgārjuna with *Samaratāttvaprakāśikā* commentary of Rāvaṇārādhya,² the *Śringārāmaṇjari* of All Akbar Shah, an eighteenth century Telugu work which has been Sanskritised, and a few other texts which are still in manuscript forms.

¹Ed. R. Sastri Kusala, Lahore, 1926.

²Schmidt in *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XVIII, 1904, pp. 261-62; XXIII, 1909, pp. 180 ff.

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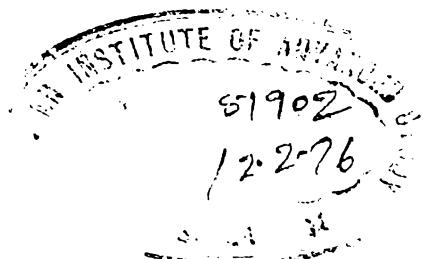
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