CHAPTER IV

CULTURAL VALUE & SEXUALITY

1. INDIA

In the first half of this chapter I will run back over [1] Indian history and prostitution and [2] The condition of women and prostitutes from ancient India till half of the 19th century. And in the later half I will approach the history and condition of Japanese prostitution from ancient times till the Second World War.

[1] Indian Ancient History and Prostitution from Ancient India till the first half of the 20th century

Singh states the following:

"Religion was used as an exploiting tool by both the ruling and feudal upper classes. All these exploiters had envisaged and propagated a number of socio-religious customs to elicit blind and unquestionable supportive response of the masses. Widow burning (Sati Pratha), Prostitution and Devadasi System (Temple girls), deprivation of females of proprietary rights, keeping of female slaves for illegitimate purposes, pre-puberty early marriages, unequal marriages of minor girls by aged males of affluent families, systems of keeping hundreds of wives by kings and feudals, are some of such burning instances, which kept incessant and unabated women's barbarous and inhuman exploitations throughout the period of our ancient and medieval history." 68

I will mainly focus on studying Indian Society and women through prostitution and Devadasi System from Indian ancient to medieval history.

(1) Pre-historic Era

India might have been inhabited since at least the Middle Pleistocene era, between 200,000 to 500,000 years ago. The Mesolithic period in the Indian subcontinent covered a timespan of around 25,000 years, starting around 30,000 years ago. Modern humans seem to have settled the subcontinent towards the end of the last Ice Age, or about 12,000 years ago. Though it is difficult to ascend correctly to the oldest Indian civilization. Late Neolithic cultures sprang up in the Indus Valley region, present-day Baluchistan, between 6,000 and 2,000 B.C. and in southern India between 2,800 and 1,200 B.C.

(2) The Bronze Age

The Bronze Age on the Indian subcontinent began around 3,300 B.C. with the beginning of the Indus Valley Civilization. Inhabitants of the ancient Indus river valley, the Harappas, developed new techniques in metallurgy and produced copper, bronze, lead and tin. But as their main testament was in stone and their writings have never been deciphered, the understanding of their culture is very limited.

(3) The Indus Valley Civilization (Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro Civilization) (2600 B.C. - 1800 B.C.)

The Indus Valley Civilization flourished in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent. In India, the agricultural revolution the first urban revolution were in the Indus (Harappan and Mohenjo-Daro) Civilization. The Indus agriculture rested beyond doubt on plough cultivation and the Indus people (a dark-skinned Dravidian people) raised wheat and barley, both of the standard of modern Indian varieties. In the Indus sites in Gujarat, rice has been found along with the bajra millet.

In the Indus valley civilization women's condition was far more superior and satisfactory and being a matriarchal society, women were having an
upper hand. Women made fine accessories for their neck, arms and legs. Fertility goddesses were worshipped with deep devotion and probably also sexual rites.

(4) **Dancing Girl (2500 B.C.)**

Prostitution was known in the pre-history Indus Valley cities. The most striking of the figures is perhaps the bronze “dancing girl.” Naked but for a necklace and a series of bangles almost covering one arm, her hair dressed in a complicated coiffure, standing in a provocative posture; with one arm on her hip and one lankly leg, half bent, these young women have an air of lively pertness quite unlike anything in the work of other ancient civilizations. Her thin boyish figure, and those of the uninspiring mother goddesses, indicate, incidentally, that the canons of female beauty among the Harappa people were very different from those of later India and it has been suggested that this “dancing girl” is a representative of a class of temple dancers and prostitutes, such as existed in contemporary Middle East Civilization and were an important feature of later Hindu culture.

(5) **The Terracotta Goddess (Supposedly 2000 B.C.–3000 B.C.)**

The site located 20 miles from Peshawar was excavated in 1958 and the figure of terracotta goddess was discovered. Her breasts, belly and hips were big. She wore many accessories.

(6) **Aryans and the Vedic Period (1700 B.C. – 900 B.C.)**

Around from 2000 to 1500 B.C. (the Vedic Period [1700–900 B.C.]) people commonly known as Aryans, warrior newcomers who were probably migrants from the northwest, Central Asia, settled in the Indus region. They probably came to settle with their families. It is thought that they were monogamous and the king was polygamous.

They brought along male gods and a new, more usable language that would later be called Ancient Indians, Old Sanskrit, or Vedic. The older Dravidian culture was abruptly destroyed. The Aryans’ Vedic texts were preserved for posterity when representative of the culture that followed
transcribed their texts a thousand years later.

"The Vedic texts are among mankind's oldest writings, the oldest examples of an Indo-European language. Most texts are in prose, but the hymns display both erotic and religious meaning:

The womb of woman is an altar,
Her nether hair is sacred grass,
Her skin the cup of her body's sacred dram,
The lips of her sex, the fire that consumeth all." 69

"Vedic texts give accounts of a mythic empire builder, Bharata, and prove that the people were acquainted with prostitution through references to "loose" women, female "vagabonds," and sexually active unmarried girls. The Vedic word sadharani refers to a woman who offers sex for payment. The Upanishads describe sons of husbandless women and students who quarreled with such girls about payment, and they state that married women lacked the passion found among prostitutes. In Vedic times, most prostitutes seem to have dressed in red; even their gold jewelry was reddened, as this hue was assumed to scare away demons and give protection to those who chose to live in a moral gray zone. A vedic myth explains that Dirghatamas, a blind holy man, introduced the concept of sex for money to his people, but it leaves us without knowledge of his motives, friends, and enemies. If it is true that this blind man influenced or promoted prostitution, all we can say for sure is that such actions would have occurred during the centuries after 1700 B.C." 70

The Aryans destroyed the Indus civilization or the older Dravidian culture. Vedic texts give no information about the pre–Vedic period; however, archaeology has demonstrated how goddess worship lost status as the Vedic culture took dominance. They described their battles in the mythology and made two kinds of heroes of an enemy and a supporter confront in the

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70 Ibid. pp.69-70.
mythology.

The heroes, who had been original rulers in the land were ridiculed as Asura and heroes of Veda became Deva because they conquered Asura. Described in the Rig Veda, they had a Sanskrit text of that period and had a mixed pastoral and agrarian economy. They were warlike and pantheistic worshiped fire. They distinguished the priests who served fire from ones who administered primitive medicine which used urine of cow and plants. The bearers of the Aryan culture were basically kin-based cattle rearers dominated by horsemen and war charioteers. They practiced cremation and animal sacrifice. They lived in pits covered with various types of wood including the birch. Their society was male-dominated. Veda was consisted of four Samhita: Rig Veda, Sama Veda, Yajur Veda and Atharva Veda. Rig-Veda is the most important and we can ascend in a song of praise in it until the times of the middle of 2000 B.C., when the Aryans invaded in the northwest of India. But the religion connoted in Veda was a hybrid one interfered by something Aryans and non-Aryans. It is characteristic of Indian thought. The patriarchy was already established in those days but kept a relic of matriarchy.

In the Vedic age daksinas, sacrificial fees to officiating priests are mentioned and they included horses, cattle, gold, and also women of various categories unmarried, married without children and married with children. They used to be in hundreds of such women to a priest, some of which he could marry, others he would enjoy and abandon, and still others he would employ as maid-servants, and many of them would later find their ways to brothels or to slave markets.

Another source of supply was the royal houses and palaces themselves. King used to summon pretty maids to their palaces, enjoyed them sexually for some days and then used to send them away from there. Three later Vedas, written between 1000 – 600 B.C. and associated Sanskrit texts, record the extension of their settlements across the Gangetic Valley. This was also the time of the Mahabharata epic (around the 10th century B.C. century), in which the great war between two clans happened around the end of 2000 B.C. (The Ramayana was written around the 3–2 century B.C.). Both the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are full of prostitutes.

By this period, a social structure based on the caste system had
developed. It was earlier occupational, but was now becoming hereditary and increasingly rigid. At the apex were the Brahmins or priests, followed by kshatriyas (rulers and warriors). Below them were vaishyas (farmers and traders), and shudras (servants and labourers). In the Rig Vedic society, sexual norms were flexible and the female sexuality was not frowned upon. The Rig Veda speaks of a girl in love, i.e. the Jarini, going to her rendezvous with as strong a passion as that of a gambler for dice. Just in contrast during the later Vedic period the female sexuality was considered polluting and disruptive. The Rig Veda says in one place that even Indra has observed that woman can not control themselves.

"A later Samhita says, that women can be easily won over by one, who is fair in form and expert in singing and dancing."

"The Mahabharata at one place mentions that, "the sexual enjoyment is the sole aim of woman's existence." 71

"In other place in the Mahabharata a woman herself narrates a story illustrating how her sex is fickle and faithless by its very innate nature." 72

"It is said that sex urge in women is so great that they will eagerly unite with the nearest of men. Nearest consanguinity would be no effective bar. If a woman has remained virtuous, it is simply because she could not get a proper cover, place and opportunity." 73

"All such writing are undoubtedly I presume, written deliberately to blacken the character of women. In order to turn the mind from Artha and Kama to dharma, in the Mahabharata it is said that, "prosperity and women would never be steady and faithful, however assiduously one may work for them." 74

More historical information about cultural phenomena, including

72 Ibid.
73 Ibid., pp. 167-70.
74 Singh, Umesh Kumar. Women Crime & Punishment in Ancient India, p. 17.
prostitution, was made available during the next historical period. Meanwhile, Hindu society, which shared some of the religious and linguistic characteristics of the Vedics but was more stratified, appeared on the Ganges plains. The kings of Maghada, to the north of present-day Bihar, were the most powerful.

The 6th century B.C. saw the rise of several urban centres in the north, accompanied by widespread trade. Urbanization led to change in social stratification, and encouraged the emergence of new religious sects which challenged Brahmin dominance. Chief among these were Buddhism and Jainism, founded respectively by Gautama Siddhartha (566 B.C. - 486 B.C.) who became the Buddha (in 537 B.C. Gautama attained the state of awakenedness - "enlightenment" and became known as the 'Buddha' the awakened one, and Vardhamana Mahavira (540 B.C. - 467 B.C) (in 510 B.C. Mahavira founded Jainism).

Siddhartha was a prince in the princely Sakya state where is now southern Nepal. During his upbringing, Prince Siddhartha had not seen or experienced something ugly and poor or wretched people. He was surrounded by the most beautiful courtesans and courtiers. He belonged to the Kshatrya, the warrior caste. He married his beautiful cousin Yasoda. And they had a son. He was offered the sexual pleasures by the most beautiful ganikas in the country continuously. Secretly he went out of the palace with his stable boy and white horse and saw the old, the sick, and ugly and he started to think deeply. At the age of twenty-nine, he left the palace to seek wisdom and contemplated under a banyan tree. He resisted Mara, the incarnation of evil, and Mara's three daughters, Tanhi, Rathi, and Raga—Property, Lust, and Passion—who lured him back to carnalism. They were depicted as evil prostitutes but he resisted all evil. At the age of thirty-five, he became Buddha. He did at the age of eighty. The Buddha's teachings and Jainism had simple doctrines. These religions gained popularity as they had neither caste nor sacrifice, and were open to everyone, including women. Some of the Buddha's followers were his son, his half brother Ananda and Ananda's mother, Gautama's aunt and foster mother, who became the first Buddhist nun.

"But the most prominent among Gautama's female followers was Ambapali, a wealthy and rich ganika, possibly the richest and most
schooled in the Maghada of her time. The learned ganika invited the young enlightenment-seeking Prince Siddhartha for lunch in the year 530 B.C. and was impressed. She offered large portions of her fortune to support the new Buddhist movement without changing her sources of income. Two other ganikas among his followers, Adahasi and the beautiful Vimala, did change their lifestyle, which contributed to their and Gautama Buddha's fame. Buddhist scholars put sexual abstinence ahead of carnal pleasure, but they did not consider the latter a sin. Buddhist temples were still decorated with asparas, in the best tradition of Hindu architecture, and many gasnikas believed in the Buddha's teaching but didn't change their lives.  

In ancient India wife too was almost regarded as a private property of her husband. Sometimes a woman used to do sleeping and entertaining others by accepting payments from each of the men she obliged, and she then became panyastri, one whose favors could be bought with many.

Around the 8th or 7th century B.C.; there are references to more regularized form of prostitution recognized as a social institution. Even early Buddhist literature, specially the Jatakas furnish evidences to the existence of different categories of prostitutes.

By even Buddha’s (Gautama Siddartja, 566 B.C.–486 B.C.) feudal attitude is demonstrated from an instance when he had given instructions to be the four daughters of a wealthy Sresthi at the time of their marriage. He instructed them.

"...The husbands will always be concerned for your welfare, sympathetic towards you, they will try to make you happy." Buddha then advised, "You should get up first in the morning, serve everybody in the house and take your meal last of all. You should not care for your own happiness and self-interest. Your husband’s happiness is your own happiness." It indicates that even for Buddha woman had no individual independence identify and rather he advocated preaching for her subservience; even

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though Buddha is normal viewed as an advocate of women's equal status when he said, a girl may prove even a better off-spring.\textsuperscript{76}

During the time of Buddha, \textit{Jattis} (castes) emerged. Buddha was of \textit{Sakya Jati}. With the fast proliferation of castes after 600 B.C., the tribe broke up into separate endogamous segments, within a large social system. The animal killing jatis were looked down upon with as much scorn in the Buddhist texts as in the Brahmanical words of the period. From this times was the real beginning of untouchables and the creation of the menial castes, forming an ostracized rural proletariat that was hence forth to remain a specific feature of the Indian Social order.

Early \textit{Pali} texts refer to prostitutes living in towns... Prostitution was held in contempt by the Brahmanical expounders of law... the food offered by a prostitute (\textit{ganika}) is forbidden, and the lawgiver Gautam, asks a brahmana not to take food offered by a prostitute or unchase women. But it was, just in contrast in the Buddha's attitude towards Amrapali, with whom he stayed. Women were admitted to the order, and there was no bar against prostitutes. Hence, prostitution, characteristic of urban society, was tolerated by the Buddhists but not by the Brahmanas.

(7) \textbf{The Maurya Period (320 B.C.-200 B.C.)}

The first empire in India was founded in 321 B.C. when Chandragupta Maurya defeated the ruling Nanda dynasty of Magadha (present-day Bihar) and established an empire extending down to the Narmada river in the Deccan and made himself emperor of all the domains that came to be known as the Mauryan Empire. Most of the subcontinent later called India was united under a single government for the first time under the Maurya rules. In this period, Alexander the Great attacked its borders, but his death prevented the incorporation of India into his empire.

"The principalities established by Alexander’s generals did develop further lines of communication, most notably with the Mauryan

\textsuperscript{76} Singh, Umesh Kumar. \textit{Women Crime & Punishment in Ancient India}. p.13
rulers. Thus, Greek and Hellenic influences on the subcontinent persisted. Nevertheless, at that time Hindu culture was so firmly rooted that all later outside influences seemed superficial and unable to cause fundamental change in Indian society."

"In this last century B.C., the number of Sanskrit/Hindu words for \textit{prostitute} increased in both precision and quantity. There are more than three hundred different words for prostitute in late Sanskrit, something that signifies both a rich language and a comprehensive sex market. A learned luxury prostitute trained in the sixty-four arts alluded to in The Kama Sutra was a ganika, who was attended by ganikadasi; a temple prostitute was a devadasi; a cheap sex worker tempting men with her dress was a \textit{vecya}; one who ran after men was a \textit{pumascali}. There are words for holy prostitutes, for the hostesses of princes, lotus-scented creatures, soldiers' whores, procuresses, hip-wigglers, fish-stinking tarts, and completely base and vile women who offered cheap sex on the street."  

Kautilya (4 B.C.) was a subject of Chandragupta Maurya, the first political philosopher in Indian history, the closest advisor to Chandragupta, who successfully defended his empire against the West. They say that Kautilya is India's Machiavelli, due to his \textit{Arthashastra}, which describes social and economic conditions and, above all, taxation in the Mauryan Empire.

"A whole section is devoted to courtly prostitution and its supervision. In opposition to married women in India, the courtly \textit{ganikas} were adept at reading and writing and of course could sing and dance. The \textit{ganikas} could carry royal parasols and fans, wear gold jewelry and beautiful dresses, but they had to accept any man the king commanded them to join in bed. If they refused, they were whipped or fined. \textit{Ganikas'} services were legally recognized; they could hold money and possess land and slaves." 

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\textsuperscript{78} Ibid., pp. 71-72.
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In Arthashastra Kautilya says that prostitutes were recruited from four five sources, either they were born as prostitute’s or ganika’s daughters, or they were purchased, or captured in war, or they were women who had been punished for adultery.

The Indian caste system in Kautilya’s time, in the fourth century was the following:

"In Kautilya’s time, the Indian caste system consisted of Brahmin priests and nobility, kshatriya, while merchants, farmers, and artisans were put together with ganikas and other well-off prostitutes, musicians, and actors in the middle-class caste — the vaishya. Only people without houses, servants, or property were assigned to the low, purely working-class caste: shudra. Kautilya stated that a middle- or lower-class woman did not lose status by being a prostitute, unless she took clients from castes lower than her own. However, a Brahmin woman who prostituted herself might be killed."

Baidumati, a courtesan of Patliputra lived by the sale of her body. The sculptures that the terracotta of the Mauryan period, however, do not show that the prostitution was so much popular in ancient but it was one of the important source of amusement and pastime. The government provided maintenance to teachers, who gave training in the art of singing, dancing, music, acting and painting to the courtesans and female slaves.

Kautilya has also used the term silpakarika. That is a working woman, a workman’s wife, and a Kausikastri, a woman, good for sexual intercourse in the sense of inferior kinds of prostitutes; they could be used as spies as well. Kausika (Kaisika) means sexual love, sexual intercourse. Again the words duhitra, a daughter and kumari, a young girl, who were also used in Kautilya Arthasastra has also used the word rupadast, a female servant of beauty, that is a person employed in making garlands, scents and the like in the sense of a lower-degree prostitute.

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80 Ibid., p. 72.
The time of Asoka (around 3 B.C.)

Ashoka (269 B.C.–232 B.C.), Chandragupta’s grandson became one of India’s greatest rulers, extending the Mauryan Empire to reach from Afghanistan to Karnataka. But after his bloody conquest of Kalinga, Ashoka renounced bloodshed and gave up violence and became a great patron of Buddhism. He was a tolerant toward both Buddhism and Jainism. He pursued a policy of non-violence of ahimsa after converting to Buddhism. He pursued a policy of non-violence of ahimsa after converting to Buddhism. He recorded his ethical code on rocks and pillars all over his vast empire, enjoining his subjects to respect others’ religions, give liberally to charity and avoid the killing of animals. The Edicts of Ashoka are the oldest preserved historical documents of India. The Mauryan dynasty under Asoka was responsible for the proliferation of Buddhist ideals across the whole of East Asia and South-East Asia, fundamentally altering the history and development of Asia as a whole. Asoka’s grandson Samprati adopted Jainism and helped spread Jainism.

The earliest inscriptional record of religious prostitution comes from a cave at Ramgarh, (Kaimur district in Bihar) in the Vindhya hills, some 160 miles south of Banaras. It contains two significant Prakrit inscriptions in a script which shows that they were written not long after the days of Asoka. The first of these is in Verse.

It is presumed that Devadasis had played a significant role in revival and growth of Hinduism vis-à-vis Jainism or Buddhism. In the south as soon as bhakti movement had spread in the early medieval period through the media of songs, dance, and beauty, the devadasis played a significant role in the popular appeal of the temple.

In the Ramayana written around the 3-2 century B.C., Sita states a number of times that as a child she was taught to consider her husband as god. She refuses to stay back in Ayodhya when it is time for Rama to go to the forest. Her decision is in accordance with the teacher she has received that she should be the shadow of her husband. Excepting Rama and his brothers all males are married to a number of wives. Rama’s father Dasaratha is reported to have married not less than three hundred and fifty wives. Women do not seem to have any choice in their marriages. They are asked to marry anybody whom the father chooses and that may be an old king like Dashrath.
for a young spirited woman like Kaikeyi. At the cost of both their mental and physical well-being women keep up their marital status. Their hope was in their son's future dealings with them. On the death of the husband, a woman was expected to cohabit with his brother. A number of male characters seem to have married a number of wives. Of these a woman or more than one are given higher status than the others. The woman who enjoy such status sometimes advise their husbands. But their advice is not adhered to. Ravana does not listened to Mandodari. She asks him repeatedly not to fight Rama. Rama does not listen to Sita.

Women were not allowed extra-marital sex. Ravana abducted Sita and Sita was accused of having lived with Ravana by Rama primarily and later by the people of Ayodhya. She was not raped but she was initially condemned to fire by Rama and later banished.

Rape was considered the offence of the woman and not the man who committed it. The victim was punished. After the banishment when Sita's sons meet their father Rama, Rama again insisted on Sita proving her purity to the people of Ayodhya.

A woman is dependent on her husband throughout his life. After the death of the husband she has to depend on the sons.

(9) The Gupta Period (320 A.D.–500 A.D.)

The Gupta Dynasty unified northern India. During this period, known as India's Golden Age, Hindu culture, science and political administration reached new heights in northern India. However, much of the Deccan and southern India were largely unaffected.

After Asoka, the Mauryan Empire declined. Local kingdoms arose across North India, while from the northwest a series of invaders, all from Central Asia, established successive dynasties. The territory of Kanishka, the greatest Kushana king (50 A.D.–300 A.D.), covered the northwest, Kashmir, and most of the Gangest Valley. He too was a patron of Buddhism. As the Kushana declined, the Gupta dynasty emerged in northern India, to establish another great empire (320 A.D.–500 A.D.), the Gupta period saw a great cultural flowering, with fine sculptures, classical Sanskrit poetry and drama, and learned treatises on mathematics and astronomy produced at this time. In religion, the two Hindu sects of Vaishnavism and Shaivism (followers of Vishnu
and Shiva) became prominent, and the Buddhist university of Nalanda was established.

In Gupta period, prostitution was well established and organized. It is believed that for the first time a colony of such women in Patliputra was subjected to tax utilized for their welfare and rehabilitation. They were required to submit a list of their paramours and the probable income.

Acharya Vishnugupta Chanakya in his famous book Kautilya Arthshastra has amply supported measures adopted by kings and rulers towards their registration, welfare, rates... etc. Taking care of them and their progeny was State's responsibility. However, teachery on the part of a courtesan was dealt with deterrently mutilation of hands, feet and nose and her abandonment near the burning grounds.

Prostitution today is believed to be a deterioration of the ancient great art of royal singers and dancers, patronized by kings and rulers to preserve the talent and the talented. Such artists, symbol of art and culture—endowed with excellent wisdom, culture and manners were spotless and unsullied with bountiful wealth and power respect and authority under royal assent and patronage. They were provided with estates, attendants, and other royalties in lieu of the great sacrifice. They could not by convention, be influenced or prevailed upon even by their patrons, the other instrument players. Master of their arts, seldom they allowed themselves the status of prostitution.

"R.S. Sharma has very wittingly explained differences and variances in the society by citing examples of deities of different sizes. Sharp differences in the sizes of the divinities appear in the Gupta and post Gupta times. It can be seen in the light of the structure of patriarchal family in which the authority always rests with the heads of the family and it is unquestionable which sons and the daughters have to obey their parents (especially their fathers.), wives, their husbands and the younger brothers, their elder brothers..... Important deities such as Shiva, Vishnu and Durga were having their own pantheons in which the gods and attendants were in as many as five to six sizes in Hindu tantric
pantheons. \textsuperscript{81}

In the later stages after the Guptas, the frequency in land grants increased to high officials, bureaucrats, priests and temples with the conferring of administrative rights by the kings which further led to economic exploitation of the masses. Control over the local machinery for coercion would enable the grantees to exercise their fiscal rights effectively and to maintain the self–sufficient rural economy by means of force. The gradual undermining of customary communal rights in land was encroached upon. The donors transferred trees, jungles, rivers etc. to the grantees. Earlier they had free access to all these local resources, but once these were specifically made over to the donnees, the latter would not allow their use by the villagers without charges. Such a practice survived till the nineteenth century A.D. in U.P., where we find local chiefs laying an axe–tax for felling trees.

The peasants were deprived of their natural rights, suffering miseries at the hands of the feudal lords, bound to lead unequal distribution of lands in the villages, the lion’s share going to the donnees and their descendents. The net result of land grants was to create feudal conditions in which superior landlords were imposed upon the ordinary cultivators.

Such existing socio–economic condition led to underlying tensions in the society and occurrence of incidents of crimes. Similar influencing factor was the varied mode of inflicting punishments to different castes of culpits for the same offense. It aroused great social dissensions and contemptuous feelings in the lower class people and their hatred towards the upper class counter parts. Subsequently, it led to many skirmishes and cast riots in future. However pious the intentions of the then lawgivers might be, in framing the laws; the net result of their overall bases was rooted in discrimination, largely based on caste–biases and prejudices.

The poor sections were mostly neglected; worst treated and led a life full of miseries and suffocating environment all around. They led a bondage life, worst than a slave, and so were the suffering of their women members, girls and male youngsters, depending completely on the mercy and will of their masters. Feudals freely exploited the sexes as of young females of such

\textsuperscript{81} Singh, Umesh Kumar. \textit{Women Crime & Punishment in Ancient India}. p.336.
bonded labourers.

Women of all castes and specially of the Sudras were, all through the ages, victimized, tortured and exploited by the ruling and upper three castes in furtherance and fulfillment of their luxurious needs and sexual desires.

The unequal justice indicates flagrant violations of modern concepts of international human rights in ancient times. In those days also like modern-times, the privileged few flourished, enjoying all the luxuries of life, with many concessions and immunities granted from both the feudal society and state. The class of Brahmans used to steer the entire administrative machinery and were always instrumental in introducing new customs which used to suit their comforts. Devadasi system, Sati customs, degradation of women and Sudras were some of such examples.

Provisions of giving girls in charity (dan) to Brahmins by Yajmans is also one such glaring example of Bramin’s cunningness and a testimony of their dictatorship in the society. When girls used to accumulate in large numbers in Brahmin’s family, they used to marry some of them, who were of exquisite beauty, some were employed in domestic works and each of them might be sexually exploited by some one of their near relations which cannot be doubted. Hence, they were in sharp look out of marketing these surplus girls. Consequently, introduction of temple girls was discovered, which led to a competition among the temple priests to collect girls in larger number in their temples. People were told to donate girls to temple on fulfillment of their desires or their future prosperity by generously giving their first daughter to be married to the deity of the temple for the rest of her entire life, known as devadasi girl. Temple priests used to purchase girls from the surplus stock of Brahmins also acquired through charity. This is one such examples of Brahma’s inherent dictatorial hegemony in the society, which had established a reign of terror. Even the kings were to obey their dictates or else they should be ready to face the adverse and evil consequences, leading some time to their dethronement, or even their killings by instigating the people against them. Everybody was to be afraid of making any protest of a Bramhana’s voice on the name of religion.
The 5th century A.D

It was one of the most formative periods of Indian social history and by this point of time the basic contours of the caste system were moulded, the peasantry was divided into endless numerous endogamous communities and rigorously separated from the artisans as well as menial labours. It reduced the social relevance of Buddhism to a very narrow sphere. It ultimately led to stiffen inter-caste hostility, the peasants' hatred of the hunting tribes of the forest and others. The Asokan edicts contain express injunctions against hunting and fishing. The changed social scenario affected the religious world also and a number of violent ethnic clashes are seen occurring in the society. The period from the rise of Buddhism (500 B.C. to the Gupta age (fourth and fifth centuries A.D.) are supposed to be the period of the formation of the Indian caste system and its supporting ideology.

The caste system remained an important tool in the hands of privileged few for the class exploitation in early medieval and late ancient periods, in which chief beneficiaries were the ruling classes, the nobility, the rural superior class and the Zamindars, women, being the worst exploited and victimized.

The 5th –6th centuries A.D. onwards sectarian harmony and tolerance appeared dwindled. There developed a competition and rivalry for a wide social base between not only the Saivas and Vaisnavas, but also between the rival creeds of Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism.

During the two phases 200 A.D. to 600 A.D. and further from 600 A.D. to 1200 A.D. the number of untouchables went on increasing by the addiction of new castes to the category. Excluded from the villages and prevented from holding lands, the untouchables could never become peasants. They were forced to follow the prescribed menial occupations, which kept them alive in the slack seasons so as to be available when needed for works in the fields. The peasant and other elite sections sorely exploited them and practiced the severest repression of the menial labourer.

In the Deccan and South India too several dynasties existed between 600 and 1200. In the late 9th century, the Cholas, who had gone into decline in the 4th century, reasserted their power. They defeated the Pallavas, the
Western Ganga dynasty which ruled near Mysore, and the Pandyas of Madurai, and established their supremacy in the south.

(11) The Chola Dynasty (848-1070)

The Gupta period was known as "Golden Age of India." During the same time, and for several centuries afterwards, India, under the rule of the Chalukyas, Cholas, Pallavas and Pandyas, experienced its own golden age, during which Hinduism and Buddhism spread to much of south-east Asia.

Between the 9th and 11th centuries, South India was dominated by the Chola dynasty (emerged in northern Tamil Nadu), whose extensive empire covered much of peninsular India. Their two greatest kings were Rajaraja (985-1014) and Rajendra I (1014-1044), under whom literature, architecture and sculpture reached new heights. They built magnificent temples, endowed with land and enormous wealth, and these became the focal point of their economy, as well as their social and cultural life. In 1216, the Cholas were defeated by the Pandyas, who then became the dominant power in South India.

Chan Ju Kwa, a Chinese traveler in his work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the 12th and 13th centuries, observed that the king was escorted by a myriad of dancing girls, thousand of whom were in attendance daily in rotation in the Chola kingdom.

In those days it was noticed that a great number of beautiful women (prostitutes) who sang and played instruments when the king took meals.

In the Deccan and South India too several dynasties existed between 600 and 1200. In the late 9th century, the Cholas, who had gone into decline in the 4th century, reasserted their power. They defeated the Pallavas, the Western Ganga dynasty which ruled near Mysore, and the Pandyas of Madurai, and established their supremacy in the south.

Prostitutes were parts of royal harem and palace and many of them were rich, beautiful, highly sophisticated and well mannered. But socio-economic condition of every prostitute was not always happy enviable and respectable. They were mostly poor, petty, quarrelsome and wretched in their living.
Islamic Sultanates (1206–1596)

Islam arrived on the subcontinent early in the 8th century A.D. with the conquest of Baluchistan and Sind by Muhammad bin Qasim. Islamic invasions from Central Asia between the 10th and 15th centuries A.D. brought most of northern India under the rule at first of the Delhi Sultanate and later of the Mughals. Mughal rule covered most of the northern parts of the subcontinent.

In the 12th and 13th centuries, Arabs, Turks and Afghans invaded parts of northern India and established the Delhi Sultanate at the beginning of the 13th century, from former Rajput holdings. The resulting “Indo-Muslim” fusion left lasting monuments in architecture, music, literature, and religion. It is surmised that the language of Urdu (literally meaning “horde” or “camp” in various Turkic dialects) was born during the Delhi Sultanate period as a result of the mingling of Sanskrit and Persian, Turkish and Arabic favored by the Muslim rulers. The Delhi Sultanate is the only Sultanate to stake a claim to possessing one of the few female rulers in India, Razia Sultan (1236–1240).

Mughal Era (1526–1707) and Post Mughal Regional Kingdoms

In 1526, Babur, a Timurid (Turco-Persian) descendant of Timur, swept across the Khyber Pass and established the Mughal Empire, lasted for over 200 years. The Mughal Dynasty ruled most of the Indian subcontinent by 1600; it went into a slow decline after 1707 and was finally defeated during the 1857 war of independence called the Indian rebellion of 1857. The Mughals had a policy of integrate with Indian culture. Akbar the Great (1556–1605) was particularly famed for this. Akbar declared non-killing of animals in the holy days of Jainism. The Mughal Emperors married local royalty, allied themselves with local Maharajas, and attempted to fuse their Turko-Persian culture with ancient Indian styles, creating unique Indo-Saracenic architecture. It is said that it was the erosion of this tradition coupled with increased brutality and centralisation that played a large part in their downfall after Aurangzeb, who unlike previous emperors, imposed relatively non-plurastic policies on the general population, that often inflamed the majority Hindu population.
However, several independent kingdoms, such as the Hoysala Empire (1040–1346), Kakatiya Empire (1083–1323), Vijayanagar Empire (1336–1565), Maratha Empire (1674–1818), flourished contemporaneously, in Western and Southern India respectively.

The Maratha Empire was founded and consolidated by Shivaji. The Punjabi kingdom, or Sikh Empire (1801–1849) ruled by members of the Sikh religion, was a political entity that governed the region of modern day Punjab.

Prostitution received a big fillip during Rajput and Mugal periods. Akbar had ‘Shaitanpura’ — a colony of prostitutes in Agra which the British maintained and sustained.

In Muslim countries prostitution flourished unrestricted under the patronage of kings and Nawabs. A mention of prostitutes also exists in Christian scriptures. The Christ like the Buddha extended full respect, affection and permitted preaching to prostitutes.

(14) Colonial era (1757–1947)

Vasco da Gama’s discovery of a new sea route to India in 1498 paved the way for European commerce with India. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the British and the French set up the trading-posts in India and eventually lost all their Indian dominions to the British.

Beginning in the mid-18th century and over the 19th century, India was gradually annexed by the British East India Company. The East India Company monopolized the trade of Bengal. They introduced a land taxation system called the Permanent Settlement which introduced a feudal like structure in Bengal. Dissatisfaction with Company rule led to the Indian Rebellion of 1857, after which India was directly administered by the British Crown. It was a period of both rapid development of infrastructure and economic decline.

(15) Modern India (1947–)

During the first half of the 20th century, a nationwide struggle for independence was launched by the Indian National Congress, and later joined by the Muslim League. India became independent from the British
in 1947, after being partitioned into the dominions of India and Pakistan. Pakistan’s eastern wing became the nation of Bangladesh in 1971.

Wars and partitions, of course, swelled the number of prostitutes all over the world. No law has been found sufficient to curb it. In India after partition prostitution assumed a task to be reckoned with. Nari Raksha Sammiti established in 1949. The struggle has been continuous and persistent.

[2] The condition of women and prostitutes from ancient India till half of the 19th century

In all the periods and almost everywhere a son was valued more than a daughter and a son was considered a permanent blessing and an asset for their parents, because he lived with the parents in old age and for the whole life, where as the girls after marriage are given to their bridegrooms’ family and they leave their parents’ house.

Though in ancient times, social rituals normally did not permit for the association of more than one wife and in the Vedic age normally polygamy was not favoured, yet the rich probably regarded plurality of wives as a proof of their wealth, reputation, might and social position. Some girls led unmarried life and spent all the rest of their life in studies in the Rigvedic period. Co-education of women and men is known in such remote past during the early Vedic period with full freedom to girls and women in educational spheres.

Ceremony of Upanayan Sanskar of girls, like boys was in prevalence in the Rigvedic period before they start schooling and students in the Vedic period were of two types known as Sadyovadhu and Brahmavadini, the former studied the Vedic literature for sometime before marriage and the latter ones led a life of “Brahmachrya.”

(1) During the Early Vedic period

The condition of women is said to be satisfactory. The girls were at par
with the boys and they used to enjoy equal status in the matter of education and other social activities.

(2) In later Vedic period

Women's position started decaying and deteriorated in the later Vedic period. The Vedic Aryans destroyed the Mohenjodaro civilization. Though those people were culturally superior to the Aryans with having an urban civilization, they could not sustain the Aryans' onslaught.

The resourcefulness, power and sexual freedom of woman were gradually undermined and restricted in later Vedic times.

Since, later Vedic times, when woman was included in the list of daksina along with other items like cattles, chariots etc, she became a charitable commodity. Such gifts were given to the Brahmanas and consequently, they were enjoyed and then sold as slaves or prostitutes. Women also came with victories as booty and after serving the victorious generals and eminent military personages, they would find their ways to brothels.

Up to 400 B.C. the brother-less daughter was entitled for inheritance. By 200 B.C. girls position deteriorated. They ceased to be educated, were married at an early age. Her right of inheritance was also opposed, even if they had no brothers.

In ancient India, women were very badly treated. Killing a woman was also a sin or crime but punishment was generally low. Gautam views that the killer of a woman in her menses, or a pregnant woman, must practice the kind of expiatory penance prescribed for a Brahmanicide. The first epigraphic evidence of Sati comes from the Gupta age. It is known from Eran Inscription that Goparaja, a chieftain of Bhanugupta, 6th century A.D., was killed in a battle and his devoted, attached, beloved and beautiful wife clinging to him entered in to her husband’s funeral pyre.

Husband’s right to punish the wife, even capitaly, was universally recognized in the uncivilized society, and the life of a woman is viewed cheaper than that of a man.

In ancient India, also murder of a woman, unless she was with a child,
was in the eye of the law at par with the murder of a Sudra. There were certain conditions in which woman's killing was declared serious. Gautam views that the killer of a woman in her menses, or a pregnant woman, in which signs of pregnancy have not been fully potent, must practice the kind of expiatory penances prescribed for a Brahmanicide.

But at the same time one should not feel that positions of woman was low. Manu personified woman with God and he says, "Where woman is worshipped, God dwells." But Manu prescribes lesser punishment for the killing of a faithless wife. In later times the life of a woman came to be valued less and less. Low punishment for killing a woman compared to males suggests great discrimination.

Women were not called for a witnesses. Manu says, "one man who is free from covetousness may be accepted as witness but not even many pure women because their understanding is apt to waver.

"It is well known that at one time girls were allowed to undergo 'Upanayana,' which was a 'right' to take education, but their position declined later. It started Manu and went on deteriorating further. Altekar identified the period of 500 A.D. to 1500 A.D. was one of further deterioration. During this period the 'Upanayana' rite for girls was banned, marriage remaining the only alternative. The age of marriages of girls was lowered and childmarriage became the rule. Widow remarriage was prohibited. 'Purdah' was observed, leading women to a scheduled life. Hindu sastras considered women as Shudras, and they were debarred from reading or reciting the Vedas and performing any Vedic sacrificial rituals. Women were indoctrinated through the Puranic stories which inculcated blind faith rather than rational thinking. It was impressed on their minds that they must visit temples, perform vows and observe fasts with more regularity than men to accumulate 'punya', i.e. virtue. In this context Altekar explains the paradox with these apt remarks, "Thus the very woman, whom religion had once considered as outcastes, were also the most faithful custodians of its spirit and traditions."  

In ancient India a daughter was not greeted at birth with joy but she could not be killed or exposed in general. Infanticide was legally prohibited. Slayers of infants and others were to be put to death by the king. The custom of infanticide of girls and their exposure became known widely and practiced in medieval India.

Murder of Kanya (Unmarried girl) has been defined as the most heinous killing, equal to kill a cow or a Brahman. But infanticide continued till very recent and with prominence till 1000 A.D., specially in the Rajput clans. Such obnoxious practices were prevalent mostly in Rajputs, Jats, the Kshatris, the Bedis and others.

In ancient times, it was a usual practice to kill the female infant, if it was a bastard, or its mother died, or it was deformed, or diseased or if it was anything unusual. But Manu condemns it, and says that those, "who kill their daughters, married or unmarried, shall be sent to hell by the lowest-region, filled up with blood and pus, and, will perpetrate the murder of a Brahman, which will tantamount to inflicting an injury on God."

But in spite of ban on this ugly practice of infanticide, it continued at later stages also, and the Rajputs, before 1,000 A.D. and after, were frequently killing their girls-child just after birth.

There were different devices and methodology to kill infants in ancient India. Methods, employed in infanticide, were suffocation administration of opium, exposure and neglect of the babies, by disposing of the female infants. Want of adequate female education, was the main cause of this great evil. Sometime female infants were administered a few drops of a plant resembling milk, which produces poisonous effects and results in immediate death, without any chances of detection. There was a time, when female infants, (95 out of 100 cases), were murdered immediately after birth. But this practice was not only confined in all the districts of the Punjab, but was also prevalent among the Jats, the Rajputs, the Kshatris, the Bedias and others.

With the evil practice of infanticide, feticide also flourished, as an evil in ancient India, and, gradually, it increased with the advancement of civilization. The ancient knew less about it, where as the today's man, is using it at a high level. In older days also, unwed girls used to adopt this course secretly, in order to, hide illicit sexual intercourse, escape punishment,
shame and in-fame to the family, and it prevailed among the ancient Hindus, Muslims, Greeks and Romans.

Practice of feticide was highly looked down upon with great disfavour and criticism, right from the age of Manu down to the middle ages and was considered to be a very serious crime.

In the Arthasastra, marriage is conceived as a contractual transaction, where bride’s parents receive from the suitor, the bride price (shulka), termed dowry in modern context, while the stridhana (wife’s wealth) is for the bride. Women as chattel or commodity for man’s enjoyment was prevalent in ancient India as pretty and young woman in large numbers were given in gifts in return to a favor or as a mark of respect and were thought a part of daksina, fees to a sacrificial priest.

Prostitutes in high position in India followed the army and that crowds of women surrounded the king rode in chariots or horses, and some even on elephants.

Ashoka’s (265-238 or 273 B.C.-232 B.C.) second wife (Queen) is a testimony of polygamy. It is obvious that woman’s health must have greatly suffered as a result of early consummation of wife at the age of twelve. The Rigveda says in one place that even Indra has observed that woman can not control themselves.

A later Samhita says, that women can be easily won over by one, who is fair in form and expert in singing and dancing. The Mahabharata at one place mentions that, “the sexual enjoyment is the sole aim of woman’s existence.

In other place in the Mahabharata a woman herself narrates a story illustrating how her sex is fickle and faithless by its very innate nature.

(3) Manu’s Code of Law

Hindus have old customs about dowry or bride price, whose culture is “Manu’s Code of Law” in origin. Hindu culture has oppressed love since 200 B.C. or 200 A.D. Manu mentions eight types of marriage.

They are the brahma, the Divine, the Seer, the Praapatya, the Demonic, the Gandharva, the Fiendich, and the Ghoulish, which is the eighth and the worst. (Chapter 3, 20-22).
When a man dresses a girl up, honors her, invites on his own a man of learning and virtue, and gives her to him, it is said to be the "Brahma" Law. When a man, while a sacrifice is being carried out properly, adorns his daughter and gives her to the officiating priest as he is performing the rite, it is called the "Divine" Law. When a man accepts a bull and a cow, or two pairs of them, from the bridegroom in accordance with the Law and gives a girl to him according to rule, it is called the "Seer's" Law. (Chapter 3, 27-29)

When the girl and the groom have sex with each other voluntarily, that is the "Gandharva" marriage based on sexual union and originating from love. (Chapter 3, 32)

Manu did not encourage women's independence.

"Even in their own homes, a female—whether she is a child, a young woman, or an old woman—should never carry out any task independently". (Chapter 5, 147)

"The man to whom her father or, with her father's consent, her brother gives her away—she should obey him when he is alive and not be unfaithful to him when he is dead." (Chapter 5, 151)

In India the Hindu are the majority of people, and the value of the Hindu has had an influence on even the Muslim or other sects.

Decline of trade also adversely affected the conditions of women. From the sixth century A.D. onwards long distance trade began to decline. Trade with the western part of the Roman empire ended in the third century and silk trade with Iran and the Byzantium stopped in the middle of the sixth century. India continued some commerce with China and South-east Asia, but it benefits were reaped by the Arab middlemen. In the period before 11th century, the Arabs practically monopolized the exports trade of India... A few cities continued to thrive in Gupta times. But the post Gupta period witnessed the downfall of many old commercial cities in north-India. All such economic decline also adversely affected the position of women and girl child and we
find sudden growth in the number temple girls (devadasi system) on a large scale and also an increase in widow burning cases throughout the country. Land grants were made literally, which led to the spread of brahmanas to countryside pockets and they are now known as Bhumihars, a new feudal caste of Brahmins, engage in cultivation. All these further increase the feudal traits in the rural sides, exploitation of labour classes, heavy increase in different kinds of taxation. Proliferation of different new castes on functional and ritualistic grounds, led to large scale sexual exploitation of young girls and women of the poor class.

Marriage rules and family customs indicate that members of the lower castes (Varnas) such as the Vaishyas and Sudras were comparatively free to take and discard wives, freedom of marriage was also enjoyed by their women to some extent. Higher Varnas just reversely practiced social distancing by placing various kinds of strict restrictions on their marriage practices, which made them privileged group in contrast to the Vaishyas and Sudras, who respectively formed the peasantry and labouring masses. The practice of polygamy increased tremendously in the higher castes and upper classes. In order to preserve their inherent superiority, purity and high social status, they encouraged Sati, child marriage, strictly discouraged and restricted widow re-marriage and levirate or niyoga.

Dowry system became more prominent, a dowry which included numerous villages, along with men, women and artisans, which were given to the bridegroom.

Women might have been drawn in to prostitution in a variety of compelling situations, owning to marital problems, especially in a polygamous situation, or as victims of sexual exploitation at an early age and due to a long drawn family tradition or economic necessity or due to slavery.

(4) Kama Sutra

It is also worth mention that Vatsyayana, a Brahmin, was a celibate, who lived in Patliputra (capital of Bihar) in the 4th century A.D. in the Gupta period. He compiled the Kama Sutra from the works of different sages during his stay in Benaras (Kasi), where he had gone for religious studies. Kama
Sutra is known primarily for different difficult sex positions, but it is also very much about the life of the man, about the town, about grooming, social etiquette and aesthetics—basically the perfect setting for love to blossom. It also displays a rare sensitivity towards women and it tells men that to get pleasure they too have to give pleasures and that the first step is to put the woman at ease. It suggests Vatsyayana’s sympathy for women by keeping in mind women’s prevailing deplorable lot. Vatsyayana also talks unabashedly, non-judge—mentally and almost clinically about homosexuality, lesbianism, orgies, extra-marital affairs, even sex for revenge or mony. This also suggests prevalence of such sexual vices in the ancient times, which exists even now in various derogatory forms in some parts of the world. Kama Sutra also depicts different kinds of sexual exploitations of women.

It mentions the amorous ways of their life, rules of conduct, dress and other techniques of soliciting customers. In keeping with the needs of her profession, prostitutes dressed well and adorned herself with a lot of ornaments. She sat at the window of her house looking at the people passing on the highway and yet she remained partially hidden from view. She briefed the pimps to bring young men to her. The procurer was adept in this task and could protect her from harm and assisted her in her mission. In case of any trouble with customers he was able to rescue her from their clutches. The prostitutes usually had dealings with police officers, judges, desperados, instructors in arts, florists, perfumers, wine-sellers, etc.

Kama Sutra contains the political economy of prostitution:

"If a vecya by her own reckoning is good to a man who is stingy, so friendly toward a man who considers himself irresistible and is so accustomed to winning hearts that he lowers her standard price, this must be considered a pure economic loss....If a ganika can manage to obtain money from both a man with whom she has sexual relations and a man who is only in love with her, she must view this as a win-win situation. Men want pleasure, above all. Women want money." 83

Kings in ancient India lived a lustful life, always seeking to seduce the chaste woman of their subjects, ministers and their serving personnel. Prostitutes and courtesans freely carried on their flesh trade and concubinage flourished unrestricted. Polygamy and large overcrowded royal harems contributed moral lapse heavily. Prostitutes sometimes rose to the status of the chief queen. Courtesan Lalla became the foremost among the women of the harem of king Yasaskara and held him under her complete control. She was later on reduced to a lower status, when she had chosen a Chandala watchman for her lover. Another such courtesan namely Hamsi fascinated the king Chakravarman so much that he brought her to his harem and made her his chief queen.

“Concubines too occasionally became consorts of kings and ruled their harems. There were paramours, and procurers, who helped the ladies of the court to assure the thirst of their passions. Many kings showered gold on their procurers. There are ample instances of rewarding valiant soldiers with love of aspas or celestial women to satisfy their passions as a token of reward.”

Hence, it appears that society had created situation in which many women were deprived of their fundamental rights to remain respectful and were not allowed to live honourably. Many of them were pushed into this infamous profession deliberately for their luxuries. Most of such females always feared molestation, mutilation, torture and even death, having very scantily insufficient provisions, for their old age and infirmity, though their youthful bodies, accomplishments, gifts and charity were largely and mostly enjoyed by the privileged sections of the society, who always treated them as subservients, untouchables and cursed them.

*Jataka* contains stories from the life of the Buddha and legends and parables about prostitutes. It mentions existence of different categories of courtesans. Every city had a chief courtesan, who was the ornaments of the

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Chief courtesans of the prosperous cities maintained their own trained singers and dancing girls and herself led a life of princess.

"Capitals likes vaisali and Rajgriha, then metro-politan cities, had chief courtesans of their own, who were formally installed by the state with a great pomp and show. Ambapali, is an example, whose life style was in no way inferior to a princess. Even Buddha himself preferred to stay with his few thousand followers with her, though he was simultaneously invited by the king of the republic. He was welcomed with great zeal and enthusiasm. Similarly, Salvari was the chief courtesan of Rajgriha with equal status and enjoyed high esteem and status in the society. They were of high character and courtesy."

\[\text{(6) Ganika (Courtesans)}\]

Courtesans occasionally performed several other functions also in the royal courts. In the Mahabharata, they are mentioned in participating in the victory processions. (Mahabharata IV. 34.17.18) They acted as spies to fetch information and seduced important men, who were potential source of vital political information, to collect information and supply them to the relevant officers through the superintendents of prostitution.

Later religious and law books have contemptuous feelings for courtesans. They go even to the length of saying that the murder of a prostitute is no crime.

Manu believes that all prostitutes were thieves and swindlers. (Manu, ix. 259–60)

They were also considered as thorns in the side of the people. (Manu, 9.259–60)

Some of the Smritis also stated that a man, who had sexual intercourse with a prostitute, had to perform a \textit{prajapaty\textsuperscript{a} penance}, or subsist for three

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\(^{85}\) Ibid., p.243.
nights on raw grains etc.

In the Ramayana, princes are found to be in delight in horses, elephants and harlots. as the young king, the priest Vashishtha directed the people to give the city a festal garb and on that occasion a band of well-adorned ganika (ganikh svalangtah) are seen to be collected in a room of the palace. (The Ramayana, Ayodhyakanda, 3.17-18)

When Rama is to be consecrated as the "young king," the priest Vasishtha directs the city to be given a festal garb and the things set up in it that bring good torture, the temple of the gods and holy places to be put in order, and all other preparations to be made and among these is a band of fair-light daughters of pleasure, drawn up within the second wall of the royal palace. (The Ramayana, ii; 3.17.18)

From such instances, it can be seen that during the epic period harlots constituted an inseparable ornamental part of the old cities, royal houses and memorial houses. During those days also, they were having the worst sexually explained lot of the society to be enjoyed by the luxuriously privileged few males.

Recruitment of ganika: Kautilya says any woman, who was beautiful, young and who was endowed with arts, i.e. the sixty-four arts, could become a ganika.

In Kautilya's time, or in the fourth century B.C., the ganika had their own hierarchy.

"The ganikas had their own hierarchy as well. The top stratum was directly linked to the king. Others were admitted to the court of the queen and princesses, while the lowest ranks were available to servants and lowest guests. One of the royal ganika would ceremonially be installed as the arthasdastra—stately courtesan—and could assign status to women of lower rank and mediate disputes among the prostitutes. The privilege was often passed down to an arthasdastra's chosen successor, since the position was also accompanied by a good income and less physical work. A good arthasdastra would take care of any sister, daughter, or
cousin in the business, and her professional responsibility was to seek out the girls best qualified to carry the royal umbrella, prepare the food, or nurse the royal family. They all had to be obedient, beautiful, artistic, and able entertainers for the men of the royal household. 

Some foreign travelers described about daughters of prostitutes becoming prostitutes; primarily temple-prostitutes (devasasi). Only the young girls mostly prostitutes daughters given by parents to the ganikadhyaksa, were recruited as prostitutes. Ganikas were described as the heroin of the plays and the Hreatise of Indian dramaturgy furnishes clear picture of the high position of prostitution in Indian life. Prostitutes depended largely on certain category of middlemen and procurers. Normally in the brothels mother of the chief prostitute was the person-in-charge who watched over her daughters and the girls interests. In the period from 300 A.D. to 400 A.D. the Kama Sutra was made. It mentions these procuresses together with beggar women, cultivated women, female mendicants with shaven-heads, candela women and old prostitutes. She, otherwise, was the prostitute’s only guarantee of safety and fair payment and without her indirect deals, prostitute would have been cheated, robbed, insulted, maimed, and even killed with impurity. That’s why Kautilya fixed the fine of defamation of a courtesan of 24 panas, for assault 48 panas and for lopping off her ears 51–3/4 panas and forced confinement. For disfiguring, causing hurt to her beauty, the fine was 100 panas.

“...defaming her paramour a ganika would be compelled to pay 24 panas and in case of assault to paramour, a fine of 48 panas was improvised. If she cuts off the paramour’s ears, she would have to pay 50 1/4 panas in addition to 1 1/2 panas, she would be paying to the superintendent. Penalties for keeping under confinement, abducting, or disfiguring a ganika amounted to 1000 panas, according to Kautilya.... Two separate rules have been formulated by Kautilya, killing of a ganika by her paramours and the killing of a paramour by a ganika. Kautilya says that for killing a ganika who was going to the favorite place, the fine amounts to three times to the ransom sum......It means any one, killing a

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ganika, had to pay the penalty of 72,000 panas to the king for depriving him of his government servant, through which the king used to get money. That was the reason of such a high penalty..." 87

Ganikas were under obligation to inform the ganikadhyaksa about each payment for enjoyment and each additional gift which they received; or even about the man or pursha who was spending time with her, once or more frequently so that watch could be also kept on the visitors.

With whom enemies of the king might hide. Hence, for that reasons or specially for police reasons, ganikas had to inform the ganikadhyaksa about men, who were spending time with them.

Kautilya had stated that poor prostitutes also had a claim to legal protection as early as the 4th century B.C.

(7) Status of Prostitutes

Hinduism gave high status to consensual sexual intercourse. But rape greatly dishonored both the perpetrator and the victim. Sex to earn money lay in the middle. Hindu myths associate women with death and the underworld, fire and snake.

"Ramayana repeatedly expresses its contradictory views of women. In one passage, it states that once upon a time all creatures were of the same sex, spoke the same language, and were equally attractive. When the Creator decided to differentiate, he took out the best from all and created woman. In the next passage, we learn that woman is the root of all evil when the wise hermit Narada explains that the female sex lacks the male's moral strength. In the Mahabharata, young ganika are praised for their beauty in one passage, while prostitutes are cursed in the next:

As bad as ten slaughterhouses is one roadside inn,
As bad as ten roadside inns is one harlot
As bad as ten harlots is an evil king." 88

The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabarata* are full of prostitutes.

"Rama's father furnished his son's army with women who lived by their beauty, rich in the ability to find the right words...as entertainment for my son and his lost helpers." Rama remains virtuous and faithful, his men get all the sexual attention they need. In the almost never-ending wars of the *Mahabharata*, one side seems to be victorious. Then the call is put out "Send messengers into the city to tell about our victory, such that the young women might dress themselves in our honor, and play for us, with, in their lead, the sporting ladies of greatest beauty."\(^{89}\)

"Prostitutes, particularly Ganika was a highly respected person and in many women, if only their social status allowed them to do so, chose to become prostitutes."\(^{90}\)

"King Virata, after victory, sent messengers to the city and asked that young girls and ganikas to meet him when he returned. Similarly, in the *Ramayana*, when Rama was to be consecrated, Vaisistha ordered that the prostitutes attend the ceremony and when he returned from the exile ganikas had to honour him."\(^{91}\)

"Also when king Kusika returned to his home, he was received by courtesans."\(^{92}\)

"When gandhari, the wife of Dhrtatastra, was pregnant, a prostitute (vesya) waited upon Dhrtarastra."\(^{93}\)

"In the *jataks* as also the prostitutes were called ornaments used to follow the army of the king, and in the army of Dandavas was also

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\(^{89}\) Ibid., pp. 75-76.

\(^{90}\) *Mahabharata* 4.34.17-8; *Mahabhrata* 4.68.217; *Mahabharata* 5.85.15.

\(^{91}\) *Ramyana* 6.127.1.ff.,

\(^{92}\) *Mahabharata* 13.53.64-5.

\(^{93}\) Ibid. 1.115.39.
accompanied by courtesans." 94

"Dashratha had also ordered that the army of Rama be accompanied by prostitutes."95

(8) Status of Personal Liberty of Ganikas

"A girl recruited as ganika used to lose her personal liberty and freedom. Though she was provisioned for a pension scheme after her retirement in old age, yet her personal freedom and her financial activities were always in strict surveillance. The state or the king was absolutely in her total control and was authorized to order her to do what the king found suited for her or to order her to visit a person he wished. Kautilya had also made such provisions. If a ganika does not cohabit with a man despite the orders of the king, she shall receive a thousand lashes with a whip, or pay a fine of 5000 panas." It can be seen how stiff the penal provisions were recommended. Hence, they could not disobey kings or state's verdict as they were public servants or servant of the state.96

Kautilya had mentioned certain concessions which they could get by paying to the king who was their master, a price for redemption (nikraya) and their sons too could regain, a price for redemption (niskraya) and their sons too could regain such freedom. Kautilya says, "the price for redemption of a ganika account to 24,000 panas." In comparison with the ganika's yearly salary, such price appears exorbitantly high, if paid by ganikas. It can be presumed that it might have been paid by the paramours.

In the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, ganika and vesya were used for the designation of prostitution. Ganika, in the epic period, were in high esteem. The ganikas or women of pleasure had their recognized places and wore ornaments not only for the festive parties, or occasions, but also for the civil life. They were occasionally sent as valuable presents by one king to the other for pleasing and delighting purposes.

94 Ibid.5.195.18-19.
95 Ramyana 2.36.3.
Children of Ganikas

Though the most children of the prostitutes were born out of the wedlock, prostitutes were mostly not prohibited from marrying. And hence, they could have legitimate children also. But due to lack of sufficient freedom to ganikas freedom to ganikas, their children, too, irrespective of sons or daughters were not absolutely free.

Daughters of ganikas were mostly bound to be ganikas in case of sudden deaths of ganikas or if they had gone abroad. But at the same time the daughters of ganikas could not succeed their mothers and beauty, youth and arts of the girls also mattered much. Arts were taught to them either by their mothers or by others. If the girl was young, beautiful and with artistic knowledge at the time of her 'mothers' death or her going abroad, she was easily employed as ganika. And if she was not beautiful, it was not possible to be recruited but what happened to such girl was not mentioned by Kautilya or any other contemporary writers. But Kautilya hints at such incapable girls to be assigned to a work in the state store-room, storehouse or kitchen of the king.

When the ganika had grown old, lost their beauty or became crippled or incapable of gaining any money, like king's servants, she had a right to a pension.

Kautilya introduced, probably for the first time in ancient India, a government relief and assistance scheme for the persons, who were not able to maintain themselves, and widows and orphans' scheme in case of the death of governments servants. It is to be assumed that these women were employed by the state and had earlier paid taxes to the state, which the state regarded partially as provident fund contribution against old age, disability, retirement and penury and it might have served some measures of security to elderly women who would otherwise be wholly destitute.

If ganika has lost her beauty, she should be appointed as procuress. If a ganika or dasi (lower kind of ganika) has become incapable of enduring service in the form of employment, she shall perform the work in the storehouse of kitchen of the king. In many cases they were given another lower office where their income was lower, mostly to work as procureses in the service of the king and if they had become very old, were completely
incapable of rendering any service to the king either as ganika—or matrikas (lower kind of ganika), they had to work in the storehouse or kitchen of the king where they received some kinds of remuneration. A courtesan or a prostitute can achieve highest degree of success, if she is well versed in 64 Arts. Some of 64 Arts are as follows.

"(1) singing, (2) playing of musical instruments, (3) different kinds of dance, ⋯ (7) art of preparing the bed of flowers ⋯ (10) preparation of decorated bed ⋯ , (13) knowledge of tantra, Mantra and medicine, ⋯ (14) decoration of body with ornaments, knowing the art of cooking different kinds of vegetables and other dishes, ⋯ (24) knowing preparation of different drinking items, ⋯ (27) knowing of playing of veena and other musical instruments, ⋯ (28) knowing different pahelis and stories ⋯ (30) knowing diplomatic arguing and answering, ⋯ (32) knowledge of dramas and stories ⋯ (36) knowledge of building construction ⋯ (41) knowledge of medicines of plants and their deceases, ⋯ (44) knowing the art of pressing the body and massaging of head, ⋯ (47) knowing language of different countries, ⋯ (48) making carts of flowers, ⋯ (49) knowing palmistry and astrology ⋯ (59) composition of songs or poetry, ⋯ (63) knowledge of warfare, politics or economics, (64) knowledge of gymnastics, "

A girl, duly trained in the above sixty four arts, never fail to achieve success, her fortune is enhanced and achieves all round success by using in practice the above rare meritorious arts.

In some parts of ancient history, it was accepted by the national government and the prostitutes were recruited as government servants with a social status, but even then the over all position of prostitutes was very deplorable and they were nothing more than the luxurious commodity of the feudal people, the kings, high officials and the princes. Their condition was more worsened in the Gupta period onwards.

(10) The Conditions of a Hindu Wife

The Hindu kings and princes had harems. A peasant would take a second

wife if he could not have a son with his first wife. Excluding ganikas, Hindu women did not receive any education. They did not know reading, music and dance. In Hinduism male children are of great consequences. It was considered punishment for sins in a previous incarnation to be born as a woman bride moved into the house of her husband's family. It was shameful to be unmarried and to have adult unmarried daughters and sisters in the house. Around Bengal and Rajasthan, it was most honorable for a widow to throw herself on the funeral pyre with her husband.

A Hindu wife's task was to look after her husband. However she was treated by him, she must treat him as a god. Women had to choose the alternative of a wife to care for or a ganika to satisfy men, either the gods of heaven or those on earth.

(11) Devadasi (Temple Dancing Girls) in Ancient India

One other important source of prostituting women was due to under some blind faith for procuring women for temples prostitution, by abhorrent manner of buying women and girls and donating them to the temples on the service of gods and goddesses, better known as devadasis. General belief in donors was that they would grow rich in this life and would live in heaven for a long time. It was believed that he who gave a host of prostitutes to the god would go to the region of the sun after death. But the temple dancers did not appear before the last few centuries B.C. and are mentioned in the early centuries A.D. in some regions of ancient India, probably long after the invasion (327 B.C.-325 B.C.) of Alexander and the Devadasi in temples did materialize only after the distinct footing of Greek influence.

Even Kautilya does not mention professional dancers with the temple prostitution. Such institutions arose largely shortly before or after the early centuries of A.D.

Devadasi system was an integral part of Indian society since the Gupta period (320 A.D.-500 A.D.) in ancient times till the advtishers in India. It was a system, which was created by the religious representatives and the rich people to fulfill their "sexual desires" with legal sanction.
The word “Devadasi” actually means servants (slaves) of god and originally devoted a class of women, who gave themselves to a lifetime religious service and austerity.

In this Mauryan period cave inscription from Jogimara Cave (Ramgarh hills), a man from Balanashi (Varanasi) declared his love for a Devadasi and one thus strongly suspects that these female temple slaves were then, as in later times, used as courtesans.

The Arthasastra too has a reference to Devadasis, too old to serve in their profession and so compelled to spin yarn for livelihood.

In the beginning Devadasi system was not started with evil intentions, a purely religious act but it exposes demeaning, human values and helplessness of the women against the donors, worst than the pet animals.

Temple prostitution was most common in the south, where it existed until recent times. The wild fertility cults of the early Tamils involved orgiastic dancing, and their earliest literature shows that prostitution was common among them and religious prostitution came naturally to the Dravidians.

The Ramayana and the Mahabharata only put into writing around the 4th century A.D., though known in their oral form since at least 500 B.C.. They have had an abiding impact on Indian culture and philosophy. Over the centuries, their stories have inspired a great deal of art, music, dance, theater and, more recently popular TV serials. Containing a fund of wisdom about human behaviour, emotions and moral dilemmas, the epics continue to guide the daily lives of millions of Indians.

In the contemporary exploitation gang-up of both the state and religion, represent respectively by the feudal lord and the priest or temple, were equal partners. Like administrative centers of important ruling dynasties of the period, important religious centers too emerged, continued to therein as urban centers, epitomizing in the latter case the religions based unproductive and exploitative consumption. Temples in the early medieval period had
become center of economic and commercial activities also. The temples were economically viable and the entire economy of the settlement centered around these temples. It is said that the temple controlled a substantial portion of the market area. This suggests an insight into nature of control exercised by the temples over the local economy.

All such evidences sufficiently reveal accumulation of great wealth proportions of temples and with the connivance of royal houses, high officials and the priests in temple, the temple girls were used for fulfilling their sexual lusts on the name of religion. Sex exploitation of the unprivileged continued on larger scale through temples.

(12) The origin of Devadasi System

The word “Devadasi” actually means servants (slaves) of god and originally devoted a class of women, who gave themselves to a lifetime religious service and austerity.

Sir James George Frazer, an anthropologist has traced the origin of sacred prostitution to the ancient custom of worshipping earth or Mother Goddess.

"... a great Mother goddess, the personification of all the reproductive energies of nature, was worshipped under different names, but with her was lover rather a series of lovers, divine, yet mortal, with whom she mated year after year, their commerce being deemed essential to propagation of animals and plants, ... that the union of the divine pair was imitated and multiplied on the earth by the real, though temporary, union of the human sexes at the sanctuality of the goddess for the sake of thereby, ensuring the fruitfulness, of the ground and the increase of man and beast."

"The fertility of the soil also depended upon the periodical marriage of the mother goddess with a male consort, the cult of this divine pair is

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found in varying forms all over India and supplies the basis of sanctified harlotry in vogue at some of the largest shrines. The sacred prostitutes attached to the temples were perhaps regarded as the wives of the god and in their licentious intercourse. They imitated the licentious conduct of the Mother goddesses, for the express purpose of ensuring the fruitfulness of fields and trees and of man and beast." 99

It reveals that the feudals in those days used temples as tools to fulfill their sexual pleasure on the name of religion and idea behind must have been in mind that people at no stage can raise voice against such vices on the name and superstitious beliefs of religion. It is correctly explained by A.K. Prasad, who writes,

"the deity of an early temples can be compared to a feudal lord, who was provided with all the amenities and pleasures of life that were needed by a feudal lord. The amenities included a big and comfortable house, a host of servants, best of food, choicest jewellery, attractive garments and wives and concubines. The Devadasis had, therefore, to be employed to give company to the god as wives and concubines." 100

1. Pregnant women, out of perplexities in delivery and other unforeseen calamity, used to offer during pregnancy stage itself to hand over the would-be girl-child to temple deities, if safe delivery was done.
2. Similarly, when their children did not survive some bereaved parents avowed to dedicate the next child, if it survived, to a god in whom they had faith. 3. It was also widely believed that it was not possible to the common people to keep a direct touch with god and the best alternative was to purify oneself by keeping physical relations with the person, mostly in communication with god, i.e. the priest. 4. One of the other causes for dedications was, a married girl was considered a member of her husband's family and parents have no hold on her. So some parents with no sons,

dedicate one of their daughters as a Devadasi so that she will stay with them and look after them in their old age.

Socio-religious customs were so deep rooted that ignorant masses with blind faiths in them used to wed their infant girls with the deities of different temples, where they had to spend their whole life, or the temple girls, or the sacred prostitutes.

Besides serving in the temples, these women have certain privileges or powers attributed to them. They were looked upon as bearers of good luck, particularly at marriage feasts, where their presence conferred special bearing on the bride. They could never, like other prostitutes, become widows and their “Tali” (neck ornament) was specially regarded as the most potent talisman and many Hindus sent the “Tali” required for the forthcoming bride to one of these second prostitutes, who used to prepare the string for it and used to thread with the beads of their own necklace.

The Brahmanas so cleverly spread the opium of the religion to the common masses as a religious custom that intoxicated them to willfully donate one girl child and marry her to the temple deity for the whole of her life. Such girls in disguise were sexually exploited by the priests first and then their bodies were sold to the purchasers to gain money on the name of temples. Such beautiful girls were sent to the royal houses also to please the kings and their princes.

In India the dancing girls dedicated to the service of the Tamil temples take the name of Devadasi, “Servants of the Gods,” but in common parlance, they are spoken of simply as harlots.

The girl, to be married, to deity, is generally from six to eight years in age. The bridegroom is the presiding deity in the local temple. Therefore, she becomes the wife of the deity in the sense that she formally and solemnly dedicates the rest of her life to his service with some constancy and devotion that a faithful wife united in holy matrimony shows to her wedded lord.

Though Devadasis were dedicated to gods and were only gods’ women, they could be enjoyed by priests and kings and they were normally not available to every one.

Earlier in the beginning was purely a religious act, though demeaning the human values. It indicates helplessness of the girls and women and their
bodily exploitation in the garb of religion.

The position of a courtesan or dancer was synonymous with that of a concubine or a prostitute. The typical prostitute of literature was beautiful, accomplished and wealthy, enjoying of fame and honour. Though there were certainly many cheap and poor prostitutes, when the temples for Hindu gods came to be built and endowed on a large scale, some people began to feel, in course of time, that there should be singing girls attached to worships of the day. Above instances confirm that Devadasi system was largely meant for recreation and sexual pleasures of the priests and royal family members and for those, who were able to make payment for sexual recreation to the temples. All these were conspired definitely by the Brahmans and the feudal minded people on the pretext of religious blind faiths of the general masses. Temple had become an indirect place of disguised flesh trading centers in early medieval times. Even temple priests started purchasing beautiful minor girls for temples and collection of more and more girls in temples on competitive basis had become the order of the day. That also suggests the sexual lust and sensuousness of the priests.

The Devadasi system existed in early stages as purely a religious practice but at large this turned in to prostitution for fulfillment of sexual urge of the most of the high and wealthy priests, high officials and members of the royal families and on the name of religious performance such a socially cursing female exploiting practice flourished for a very long period.

Devadasi system did not prosper in Northern India due to frequent Muslim invasion and their destruction of temple and other sacred complexes. Aurangzeb treated this cult or such Hindu custom with contempt.

In Eastern part of India also, Jagannath temple of Puri followed the custom of dedication of girls in large number to the lord and even in modern times some devadasis can be seen there. Devadasis are called ganikas or vesyas and some of them call themselves as earthly apsaras, being the lovely women and singers who adorn the court of the king of gods in India.

Devadasi, in South India, was the most common feature in almost all the major Brahmanical temple, particularly the Saivite temples.
Basavi of Karnataka was the opposite of male gender Basava, (bulls) and literally “she–bull” and carried with it the import of procurator. Basavis were in Karnataka the women forced by their parents or even sometime the community to be inducted to the temple service.

Right from the day of induction of the girl as Devadasi in the temple, she was imparted with the training in music and dancing at the hands of a very experienced and technically efficient traditional teachers. Their official main duties were to perform dancing and singing twice a daily before the deities mostly in the morning and in the evening, also occasionally on public occasions and festivals. Besides, on the occasions of some important and distinguishable persons’ visits in temple premises, such girls used to welcome them or to accompany them on their tours in the campus out of ordinarily required politeness and courtesy in addition to their presence on marriages and other family gatherings and occasions. In return for their services, they received Inam lands and cash allowances out of the rich endowment of the temple.

It is a matter of understanding that 95 per cent of Devadasis in early days were also from the unprivileged lower castes and untouchables. Initially the dedicated women were required to clean the sanctum for maintenance of lamps in cleaning, putting oil, lighting the lamp, offering food to the main deity, assisting priests at the time of worship, as they used to do as Buddhist nuns. Education and learning of women had already stopped with the decline of Buddhism, so these nuns had no other work. These girls started to dance and sing in praise of the deity, and look after cleanliness of the temple complex. These women were said to be expert artists in music and dance.

The Buddhist nuns were converted to today’s Devadasis, the cheap prostitution in the name of god, and it was the most dreadful result of the decline and fall of Buddhism in ancient India...

(13) Bharatnatyam

Bharatnatyam, a classical dance form, flourishes today because of devadasis of Tamil Nadu.
At a later stage, devadasis were asked to serve the king as in the case of God, since the king was considered to be God on the earth. In fact Kings sponsored the cult. Temple dancers along with their traditional ritual functions started rendering their services to royal palaces and assisting Kings in the art of politics. They were used in espionage activities against enemy Kings and Court dancers.

(14) Growth of Tantricism and exploitation of women

Tantricism meant orgiastic rites, involving to the five makaras, fish, meat, alcohol, sex and physical gesture) but its overall study indicates its other important elements. It attaches great importance to the cult of the mother goddesses in written texts and in iconography. Though tantrism belongs mainly to the Sakta Sect, yet it is fairly related to Shaiva, Vaishnava, Buddhist and Jain sects. It normally provided for the initiation of women and Sudras and did not discriminate between the varnas. Woman were the most important exponents of tantricism.

Brahmanical rules enabled upanayana (initiation) ceremony, performing sacrifices or reciting the Vedic mantras only for higher caste people. The penetration of brahmans into tribal areas added enormously huge number of Sudras after the Gupta period. As regards the initiation of women, it is obvious that they enjoyed a higher status in the tribal belts, where the cult of the mother goddess was widely prevalent. Since in the Brahmanical system they were bracketed with the Sudras, it was only proper that change in the ritual status of the Sudras be accompanied by a change in the ritual status of women. The aborigines could be assimilated into Hindu society only by the recognition of their non-brahmanical deities and rituals.

The aboriginal mother goddess came to be worshipped in the form of Shakti in Hinduism and Tara in Buddhism. Shaktism emerged as a religiofactor in the sixth century and became a strong force from the ninth century onwards. A late medieval manuscript lists twenty seven Shakti deities headed by Kali.

Aboriginal origins of the cult of the mother goddess is supported by matrilineal people distributed to different corners. The existing temples of the
mother goddess are of earlier than the sixth century A.D. Several temples of the mother goddesses in Andhra were founded in early medieval times.

Even when tribal goddesses were adopted into brahmanical society, they continued to carry the stigma of their origin. In order to worship Kali it was necessary to go to the house of oilmen and potters and then worship the goddess in their company.

The hierarchical pantheon was not confined to male deities such as Vishnu and Shiva, but encompassed goddess such as Durga and Tara.

Sexual intercourse is considered to be one of the worst rituals of tantrism, but anthropological studies of the tribal people in India and outside show that sexual rites formed an important part of their agricultural magic. These rites were believed to promote the fertility of the earth and prosperity of its people. Since agriculture was originally looked after especially at the stage of horticulture, by women, such rites originated and developed exclusively in their hands. Many methods of propitiating gods and driving away evil spirits were certainly derived from the aboriginals. Knowledge of wild medicinal herbs may also have been obtained from them as is the case even now. But the beliefs and rituals were systematized by theologians who were not always learned and who, in many cases, recited only Sanskrit texts, existing in regional dialects. Further, the institutional aspect was provided by the existing social hierarchy which was feudal in character. Hence, Tantricism played great role in the suffering of woman.

What is worse, like all religious movements, tantrism was seized upon by members of the leisured upper classes and was distorted in their hands to provide them sexual and sensual gratification. The erotic sculptures at Khajuraho and Konarak involved not only high but also expensive architectural skills and could be promoted by princes, chiefs and landlords. But the same variety of tantrism is not found in all the areas.

Tantricism arose in response to the social and economic needs of early medieval times. It exercised a wide social appeal. On the one hand it included women, sudras and the incoming aborigines; on the other hand it recognized the existing social and feudal hierarchy. Therefore, it was acceptable to all sections of the people. Tantrism represents a religious
attempt at social reconciliation and integration rather than the accentuation of social conflict. Even the Buddhist Samgha did not admit slaves and debtors, but the tantric circle was open to all sections of people irrespective of varna, sex and other considerations. It was an assertion and acceptance of the culture of the outsider. (Singh 2007; p. 38)

From the 11th century, a volatile political situation in Central Asia, coupled with take-of India’s fabulous wealth fuelled a new wave of invasions by Muslim Turkic rulers from the northwest.

Under the Islamic law apostasy was punishable with death certainly. It produced disastrous consequences on the strength and solidarity of Hindu society and out of thousands of women, that were forcibly carried away in to captivity by Muslim invaders from the 11th century onwards, Almost all would have certainly liked to come back to their old home and society, but their fate was sealed for ever and they had to adjust with their captors in new surroundings. Lapses of women were treated with greater sternness after 11th century.

A single lapse came to be regarded as fatal for the women, while even a moral wreck was to be revered as god by his dutiful wife. It suggests that lapses of men were leniently treated, while women had no chance, if they had committed a single mistake. It was highly inequitable.

During the East India Company’s (foundation 1600) rule, an officer Dr. Hamilton was deputed to study various aspects of Indian society and wrote his book. In it, slaves employed in agriculture and domestic work can be seen, inclusive of exploitation of female slaves. Letters and notes about slavery had been published by the English Parliament. The agitation for abolition of slavery in 1843 in India also suggests sale and purchase of both male and female slaves in this country till half of the 19th century.
2. JAPAN — the History and Condition of Japanese Prostitution from Ancient Japan till World War II

(1) Shinto

Shinto has been a big part of Japanese life ever since the beginning of Japanese history and continues today.

The Shinto faith does not regard sex as a taboo, while the impact of Buddhist teachings regarding sex has been limited.

The primitive Japanese revered fertility not just in agriculture but among humans as well, and phallic symbols were common objects of worship in rural Japan until recent times. This was influenced by Shinto. The word Shinto is comprised of two Chinese characters and is often translated as "the way of the gods." The first character, when used alone, is pronounced "kami," which means "god, deity" or "divine power" and the second character means "way." Japan originally had no such taboo about sex. Traditionally to the Japanese sex always seemed natural phenomenon. To understand Japanese it should be understood that life is 3 things that can all be obtained by money: eating, drinking, having sex.

In India phallic symbols called "linga" and female sexual symbols called "yoni" are still worshipped widely among Hindus. But the worship of "linga" and "yoni" dates back to the Indus Valley civilization between 3000 B.C. and 1500 B.C., when people called Dravidians created a highly sophisticated urban society, before they were overcome by Aryans. These Aryans belonged to pastoral tribes living in villages (grama) under an elected chieftain (raja) who was advised by a council of elders (sabha), and in cases touching the interests of the entire village, by the samiti (meeting of the village). Aryans took over some culture of Dravidians. The Indus civilization was assimilated by Aryans and even in these days the worship of "linga" and "yoni" remains in Hinduism.
(2) **Nara Period (710-794)**

1. **Amaterasu Omikami (the Sun Goddess) and the Decent of the Historical Imperial Line**

   The islands of Japan were thousands of years behind Europe, the Middle East, the Indian subcontinent, and China in the introduction of agriculture and centuries behind in the use of bronze and iron. These metals seem to have begun to enter the islands at the same time as agriculture in the third and second centuries A.D. The first clear view of the Japanese is afforded by Chinese records of the third century A.D. They are described as having sharp class divisions and living by agriculture and fishing. They were divided into a hundred or more tribal units under female or male chieftains of semi-religious status. The "queen’s country" had a certain hegemony over the others. Feminine leadership was common in the 3rd century and there were ruling empresses as late as the eighth. The presence of these women rulers suggests an originally matriarchal system or a definitely matriarchal substratum in society, which fits with the mythological tradition of the descent of the historical imperial line from Amaterasu Omikami or "the sun goddess."

   "Kami" ("god, deity") can be used to describe just one god or as a collective term for the man gods that are a central part of worship in Japan. A part of all aspects of life," kami" appear in many different forms. Nature "kami" live in sacred stones, trees, mountains and other aspects of nature. Clan "kami," which are the guardian deities of specific clans. These are considered to be a deified ancestor of the clan. Another kami is the "ta no kami," which is the god of the rice paddies. This kami is worshipped at rice planting and harvest festivals. The heavenly divinities who live on the Takamagahara (High Celestial Plain) are those kami that are similar to gods in the Western sense.

   These kami are led by Amaterasu Omikami. She is worshipped at the Ise Shrine in Mie Prefecture, which is the central shrine of Shinto.

   The Japanese have the pantheon and are not monotheistic. We don’t have God who remonstrates against adultery. In the oldest Japanese mythology & Japan’s first history Kojiki ("Record of Ancient Matters") written...
in Nara period (710–794), the sun goddess Amaterasu Omikami was angry and hid behind the door of the rock (cave) "Amanoiwayato". The whole world was in a shroud of darkness. All the gods gathered and consulted together. Amanouzumenomikoto, a goddess danced taking off her clothes one by one before all the gods. They laughed and laughed watching her dance. Hearing their laughter, Amaterasu Omikami went out of it.

Afterward, it is said that Amanouzumenomikoto is the origin of Shirabyoushi and the present maiko and geisha are descendants of Shirabyoushi.

② *Man'yoshu*

The *Man'yoshuu* ("The Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves") is the first anthology of Japanese from a 130-year period stretching from the beginning of the 7th century A.D. The first permanent city was Heijokyo (now Nara) in Yamato. As it served as the seat of government from 710 to 784 A.D., the eighth century is commonly known as the Nara Period. Until this time the Japanese did not even have towns.

The Chinese writing system was adopted, but the Japanese language remained intact. Furthermore, by using Chinese characters in a free and imaginative manner, the Japanese added greatly to the richness and subtlety of their language. *Man'yoshu* is an outstanding masterpiece of the period. Japan's first history, the *Kojiki*, was completed in 712.

The collection consists of over 4,500 poems, dating from the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. It is the summation of literary expression of ancient Japan through Nara period. It includes both works informed by a native Shinto sensibility and others which shows profound influence from the Ancient Continent.

"It is possible to roughly distinguish the poems of the *Man'yoshu* into public' and 'private' expressions. The 'public' expressions largely deal with the imperial family, stately poems of praise for living emperors and eulogies composed for imperial funerals. The 'private' poems, by contrast, for the most part belong to the category known as 'personal exchanges.'

Here are to be found some of the most moving, passionate and witty
poems ever exchange between lovers in any language"\textsuperscript{101}

"Men and women in the \textit{Man'yo}shu period did not live together even after marriage. Their relationships took the form of “wife-visitaton marriage,” in which the man would commute to his wife’s abode… Lacking the censures of monogamy, love often found its objects in the wives of other men.” I shall keep company with the wife of another; let others make their proposals to my wife”: thus was the propriety of extra-marital love generously sung, without the slightest hint of guilt. Far from being guilty, the man would become obsessed with a woman because “she was another man’s wife,” and woman, wondering who it was who told her” to undo my waistcloth, ”made no attempt to conceal her own voluptuous emotions: thus were the recitations of love by mature men and women sonorously repeated. Their straightforward, astonishingly carefree confessions contain not the slightest suggestions of obscenity.”\textsuperscript{102}

Whose words are these, spoken to the wife of another? 
Whose words are these, that bade me untie the sash of my robe?

Anonymous

[Volume12, 2866]\textsuperscript{103}

One of the sashes of Korean brocade that, in our vow, we tied together has come undone and fallen to the floor. 
If you promise to visit me when night returns I shall keep it, awaiting you.

From the Kakinomoto Hitomaro

\textsuperscript{101} Levy, Ian Hideo & Keene Donald, \textit{Love Songs from the Man’yo}shu. Kodansha International, 2006. p.6
\textsuperscript{102} Ibid., p.13.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid., p.57.
(3) Heian Period (794–1185)

1. The Tale of Genji & Murasaki Shikibu

The first permanent city in Japan was Heijokyo (now Nara) in Yamato. As it served as the seat of government from 710 to 784 A.D., the eighth century is commonly known as the Nara Period (710–784). A second permanent capital, Heian (now Kyoto) was founded in 794 on a small plain north of Yamato, and the next few centuries are known as the Heian period (794–1185). Heian means "Peace and Tranquility." In Heian court life, love became the main literary theme and dominated much of its literature. Murasaki Shikibu (ca. 973–ca. 1014) is one of the greatest literary artists of Japan and the author of the world's first novel, The Tale of Genji, with strong observations and deep reflections of the court life written around the year 1000, which recounts the romantic adventures of the charismatic Prince Genji (Hikaru Genji), a handsome young prince. Her aim was to write a portrait of human nature. Murasaki Shikibu was a lady-in-waiting to Empress Shoshi, consort of Emperor Ichijo and came to the court following the death of her husband.

"In poetry there came, early in the tenth century, the first of the imperially commissioned anthologies, the Kokinshu, and in fiction the Tales of Ise, followed by the supreme masterpieces of classical Japanese prose, the Tale of Genji of Lady Murasaki and the Pillow Book of Sei Shonagon (ca.966–1017), both of whom lived from the late tenth century into the early eleventh. So was established a tradition which influenced and even controlled Japanese literature for eight hundred years. The Tale of Genji in particular is the highest pinnacle of Japanese literature. Even down to our day there has not been a piece of fiction to compare with it. That

104 Ibid., p.73.
such of modern work should have been written in the eleventh century is a miracle, and as a miracle the work is widely known abroad.́105

It was possible to write in Japanese without reliance on any Chinese characters, but Heian courtiers remained to the written Chinese language, using kana only when composing Japanese poetry. Thus, the use of kana was left largely to court ladies, and these women produced the greatest works in Heian period. Needless to say, Murasaki Shikibu already knew kana characters to write the novel. She used to keep a diary in which she recorded the life at court. She also focused the influence of Confucianism (from China) and Buddhism (from India) in the culture as well as society of Japan.

Yasunari Kawabata mentions about Heian culture in the speech in honor of being awarded a Nobel prize for Literature in 1969.

“A spray of wisteria of such length is indeed so unusual as to make on have doubts about the credibility of the writing; and yet I can feel in this great spray a symbol of Heian culture. The wisteria is a very Japanese flower, and it has a feminine elegance. Wisteria sprays, as they trail in the breeze, suggest softness, gentleness, reticence. Disappearing and then appearing again in the early summer greenery, they have in them that feeling for the poignant beauty of things long characterized by the Japanese as mono no aware. No doubt there was a particular splendor in that spray upwards of three and a half feet long. The splendors of Heian culture a millennium ago and the emergence of a peculiarly Japanese beauty were as wonderous as this “most unusual wisteria”, for the culture of T’ang China had at length been absorbed and Japanized.́106

Their marriage in Heian period is still the form of “wife- visitation marriage,” in which the man would commute to his wife’s house. Promiscuity was the norm.

The most famous beauty was Ono no Komachi. She was also a

lady-in-waiting in the court and so beautiful, proud and passionate that she has never been forgotten in Japan.

"But she was not just a pretty face. She was brilliant, accomplished, powerful, and tough-minded, a woman of burning passions which she wrote about in waka poems read and loved to this day." 107

A waka means a thirty-one-syllable poem. She wrote the fickleness of men’s love and she herself burned with fiery passion. She would only give herself to a man who could prove himself worthy of her.

"Iro miede utsurou mono wa yo no hito no hana ni arikeru"

"A thing which fades
With no outward sign
Is the flower
Of the heart of man
In this world!" 108

"Hito ni awamu tsuki no naki yo wa omoiokite mune hashiri hi ni kokoro yakeori"

"This night of no moon
There is no way to meet him.
I rise in longing—
My breast pounds, a leaping flame,
My heart is consumed in fire." 109

She was driven from court after Empress Shosho was dead and ended up a tattered, crazed beggar woman and lived to be a hundred.

"Murasaki and Sei Shonagon, and such famous poets as Izumi Shikibu (979–?), who probably died early in the eleventh century, and

109 Ibid., p.74.
Akazome Emon (ca.979-1041), who probably died in the mid eleventh century, were all ladies-in-waiting in the imperial court. Japanese culture was court culture, and court culture was feminine. The day of the Genji and the Pillow Book was its finest, when ripeness was moving into decay. One feels the sadness at the end of glory, the high tide of Japanese court culture. The court went into its decline, power moved from the court nobility to the military aristocracy, in which hands it remained through almost seven centuries from the founding of the Kamakura Shogunate in 1192 to the Meiji Restoration in 1867 and 1869.\textsuperscript{110}

(4) \textit{Yobai} (Night Creeping)

Some of this sexual freedom survived into modern times in parts of rural Japan, where premarital sexual relations were condoned and marriages were frequently not registered, and therefore not made permanent. In general, there was little condemnation of sexual acts, was only anxiety over their social consequences. Closely associated with the fertility cult, \textit{Yobai} (night creeping) is a custom which died out very recently. Nicholas Bornoff wrote about \textit{yobai} in his book \textit{Pink Samurai}, which involved young men in a village visiting the houses of young girls and women in order to sleep with them.

The government of the Meiji period (1868–1912) created most of the new social, political and economic institutions modeled after those in Western nations to become a modern nation. Japan adopted a constitution in 1889, opening the way to parliamentary government. And though the Meiji government also tried to control \textit{yobai} as disorderly conduct, the young in villages opposed it to say that they couldn’t find their marriage partners without \textit{yobai}. ‘Arranged marriages were usual in more populous areas, but they were not general in the more remote places in which \textit{yobai} was common. Many peasants as well as the urban poor never bothered with marriage, nor was \textit{yobai} necessarily a determination in the selection of a mate. If the parties concerned didn’t have a feeling of satisfaction, there was

always next time. If they didn’t have a baby, the young girl made herself available for more ‘yobai.’ And it continued to the 1950s.

Japan achieved industrial progress and built up sufficient military power to defeat China in 1895 and Russia in 1905, and to annex Korea. The Taisho period (1912–1926) was marked by Japan’s acceptance as a major power. The Showa period (1926–1989) descended into military aggression in China and political oppression led to war with the United States and the Allied powers in Asia and the Pacific. After the defeat of Japan in 1945 under atomic clouds, the Japanese economy surged ahead from the mid-1950s through the mid-1970s. It is known that ‘yobai’ was a custom prevalent among many rural areas and especially fishing villages with collective work strong cohesion in Japan just before the 1950s. The Japanese economy surge disintegrated a village community and a custom of ‘yobai.’ Arranged marriage and esteem for virginity is not in the feudal society but in modern one.. They have the history for only half a year after the Meiji period.

Love marriage exceeded arranged marriage in the mid-1960s.

And many Japanese men have visited prostitutes.

(5) Religion

Early Buddhism and early confucianism

Buddhism was introduced from the kingdom of Paekche on the Korean peninsula in the mid-sixth century (Kofun period, 300–710). One date of the acceptance of Buddhism is 552 (another traditional date of introduction is 538). Dated from 593, the year in which Empress Suiko was crowned in Asuka, Yamato Province, the Asuka period (593–710) is considered to coincide with the beginning of the historic age in Japan. The period includes the decade after 645, when Emperor Kotoku shifted Naniwa and issued the edicts of the Taika Reform; and the interval that began in 694 when Empress Jito entered Fujiwarakyo, and ended in 710 when the capital was shifted to Heijokyo. In 593, upon acceding to the throne, Empress Suiko declared her acceptance of Buddhism and encouraged the building temples. In the same
year, Prince Shotoku ordered the construction of Shitennoji (じ, i.e., temple). According to a census in 624, there were 46 temples attended by 816 monks and 569 nuns. The construction of Yakushiji was ordered in 680 by Emperor Temmu when his consort, who later reigned as Empress Jito, fell ill. The culture of the Asuka period was influenced strongly. Korean immigrants also introduced the Confucian classics. Almost all of the works of art in this period are related to Buddhist worship.

In Nara period (710–794) the seat of government was at Heijokyo (Nara) in Yamato. In this period, Buddhism was established as the religion of the court. The Great Hall of the temple Todaiji was built. Emperor Shomu, who was married to Empress Komyo, ordered the construction of temples and nunneries (kokubunji) in every province to end to epidemic disease and social ills in 741. In 743, Great Buddha of Todaiji was constructed. Emperor Shomu abdicated in 749 and was replaced by his daughter Empress Koken. An office was established for the Empress Dowager Komyo and Fujiwara no Nakamaro appeared in the political arena as administrator of her palace affairs. He encouraged the observance of filial piety and remanded official ranks and ministries in the Chinese manner. The government, which had been dominated by Buddhism, now took on a more Confucian aspect.

The sending of official envoys had been halted since the defeat of Japanese forces in the Battle of Hakusonko in 663. In 701 it was decided to send an embassy to China, and the envoys set out for the continent the following year. Between 701 and 777, seven mission were dispatched, each comprising as many as 500 or 600 men. The voyage across the sea was very dangerous. They were eager to learn from China. Many students and scholars accompanied these embassies. Some remained in China for many years. Some of them brought back foreign monks and new forms of Buddhism. Gembo returned with more than 5,000 sutras. Kibi no Makibi had studied Confucianism, military science, and ceremonial rites. He set up an educational program for future government officials.

The Chinese writing system was adopted, but the Japanese language remained intact. Man’yoshu is an outstanding masterpiece of the period. The Kojiki was completed in 712.

In Heian period (794–1185), Buddhism flourished, and in combination with native Shinto beliefs it dominated the religious and philosophical lives of the
n nobility. New forms of Buddhism were brought by two monks who had gone to China. Saicho, who had founded the temple of Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei, established the Tendai sect, dedicating himself to creating a monastic order that would truly serve the nation.

Kukai, known by his posthumous name Kobo Daishi, returned to found his temple on Mt. Koya. He introduced tantric Buddhism into Japan in the form of the Shingon sect. It emphasized rituals, incarnations, and powerful visual representations of Buddhist cosmology in cosmic diagrams called mandala. So Shingon Buddhism proved immensely popular with the Japanese court.

In Heian period (794–1185), Japan was still in the beginning stages of defining and dealing with sexual transgression and female sexuality. During the next 400 years, through the Kamakura period (1185–1333), sexual norms would be much changed.

② Popularization of Buddhism

During the Kamakura period (1185–1333), Buddhism was accepted by the common people. Honen, founder of the Jodo sect, taught that reliance on the grace of Amida was more efficacious than personal effort toward enlightenment. His disciple Shinran, founder of the Jodo Shin sect, held that, not acts, was the one essential qualification for salvation, which could be achieved by a single invocation of Amida's name.

But Nichiren, founder of the Nichiren sect, who criticized the Amida sects and insisted that the essential teachings of Buddhism were contained in the Lotus Sutra.

Another form of Buddhism that flourished in this period was Zen. Its simplicity and emphasis on self-discipline and meditation as the means to enlightenment appealed to the samurai (warrior) class. Both Eisai, who introduced the Rinzai sect, and Dogen, who introduced the Soto sect, considered themselves disciples of Chinese Zen masters from whom they received teachings, ritual, and the names of their sects.

During the Muromachi period, the influence of other sects of Buddhism spread widely. The Nichiren sect attracted many samurai followers in the Kanto region. Adherents of the Jodo Shin sect, organized under the leadership of the temple Honganji by Rennyo in the fifteenth century,
mounted large scale uprisings (Ikko Ikki) against Sengoku daimyo.

③ Introduction of Christianity into Japan

When Francis Xavier (1506-1552) arrived at Japan in 1549, Christianity was also introduced to Japan. He set up the first Christian mission in Japan.

In Azuchi-Momoyama period (1568-1600) the activities of European traders and Catholic missionaries as well as Japanese ventures overseas gave the period a cosmopolitan flavor. Japan was reunified a century of civil war by Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598) and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616).

Japan came directly into contact with European civilization for the first time in this period. This cosmopolitan epoch extends from 1563. In 1563 the Kyushu baron Omura Sumitada seeking to cement his ties with the Portuguese traders, accepted baptism from Jesuit missionaries, whom they supported, thus becoming the first of the Christian daimyo-to 1697, when the Twenty-Six Martyrs of Japan were crucified on Hideyoshi’s orders in the first bloody persecution of Christianity.

In 1582, four Japanese Christian boys were sent to Rome for an audience with Pope Gregory X III on behalf of the Christian daimyos in Kyushu (mission to Europe of 1582). During their absence Hideyoshi issued the anti-Christian edict, and they were not able to publicize their experience when they returned in 1590. Hideyoshi fought in Korea between 1592 and 1598. The invasions ended upon Hideyoshi’s death.

Japanese traders were ranging as far as Indochina, Siam (now Thailand) and Spice Islands in search of profits and many Japanese communities were established there.

In the 1620s and 1630s, the Tokugawa shogunate was to stricter controls both on foreigners residents in Japan and on Japanese voyaging abroad. From 1639, Japan maintained only a highly restricted from of diplomatic and commercial relations with a few foreign nations.
Kamakura Period (1185-1333)

Originally itinerant women were praised as professionals. By 1241 there were already "whore" houses. The "Azuma Kagami" mentioned one, right on the main street of Kamakura (present-day Kamakura in Kanagawa prefecture). Their purpose, in addition to the apparent one, was to construct a lewd figure against which the authenticity of a necessary new figure, the good woman (faithful, much given to self-sacrifice, loyal to a fault) could be measured. Female chastity was necessary to establish patrilineal succession in a male-dominated family. Another example, apparent female pollution and an inherent sinfulness was necessary to bring to Japan the full Buddhist package waiting to be imported from China and Korea. These changes of attitude, "foreshadowed later attempts to regulate and limit the sex trade and contributed to a view of such worn en as prostitutes.

The Shirabyoushi (dancing women)

The Kamakura period corresponds roughly to the span of the Kamakura shogunate (1192-1333) and is named after the city of Kamakura, the seat of government. The period began in 1185, when Minamoto Yoritomo forces (Genji) (its supreme commander was Minamoto Yoshitsune (1159-1189) who Yoritomo's half younger brother) defeated their old rivals, the Taira (Heike) family, in the Battle of Dannoura (now Yamaguchi Prefecture), finally bringing to a close the Taira-Minamoto War.

Yoritomo and Yoshitsune fought to defeat the Taira family. together Yoshitsune achieved many victories and helped his brother control Japan. But after war, Yoshitsune joined the cloistered Emperor Go-Shirakawa against his brother, Go-Shirakawa wanted to exploit the situation for his own advantage by widening the rift between two brothers. Fleeing to the temporary protection of Fujiwara Hidehira, he was betrayed by Hidehira's son and enforced to commit hara-kiri along with his young wife and daughter. His head was transported to Kamakura, where it provoked an emotional response from those who viewed it. Yoritomo was granted the title of Shogun in 1192. But
Yoshitsune was remarkable samurai and a tragic figure. He has long been a popular figure in Japan. He is enshrined in the Shinto shrine Shirahata Jinja in Fujisawa. May 5, also called “Boys’ Festival,” is a day to celebrate the healthy growth of children. Families with boys display a helmet replica or samurai dolls inside the house, and fly koinobori (carp streamers) outside. I remember the figure of Yoshitsune was drawn in koinobori.

Along with the name of Yoshitsune, the Japanese cannot forget the name Shizuka (Shizuka gozen) (1165?–1211?). We remember her name. She was the lover, the concubine of the twelfth-century hero of Yoshitsune and Shirabyoushi (literally means “white rhythm”).

Amamouzumenomikoto is the origin of Shirabyoushi and the present maiko and geisha (geiko) were her descendants. The ballads that Shirabyoushi recited were based on a Buddhist prayers introduced from China. The dances they performed were also performed by high court officials, priests and pages.

Shizuka gozen’s mother was Shirabyoushi. Shirabyoushi is maiko in male attire. Shizuka Gozen was admired number one Shirabyoushi by Go-Shirakawa. She was famous throughout the country because she was extraordinarily beautiful and was good at dance.

Yoritomo Minamoto had a Shirabyoushi lover, Sentegozen.

Yoshitsune Minamoto fell in love with her at first sight. She had escaped with Yoshitsune from Yoritomo. But she could not follow him because he was pregnant with his child. She left him and hovered in the mountain and was cheated by a priest and handed over Hojyo Tokimasa to return Kyoto. Then she and her mother were sent to Kamakura in 1186. On April 8, she was ordered to do the dancing of Shirabyoushi in front of Yoritomo and generals in Tsuruokahachimangu Shrine.

Yoritomo was very angry because she sang a song yearning for his brother Yoshitsune. These songs are well-known. Then she was saved her life by Hojyo Masako, Yoritomo’s wife. She was still only eighteen.

As she was pregnant with Yoshitsune’s child, Yoritomo ordered that if the child was a boy, he should be killed immediately. If the baby was a girl, she should be saved. On July 29, she bore a boy. It is said the baby was dragged off from her and was sunk in the sea or dashed his brains out against a rock. On September 16, she was sent back to Kyoto with her mother. There are many stories about her thereafter. Her tombs were built in
several imaginary places, where people imagined she had died.

The costumes of Shirabyoushi in male attire have a high popularity among young people of today. Shirabyoushi got into the limelight among young warriors (samurais) from the end of Heian period (794–1185). The stories of several Shirabyoushi are well known to the Japanese. One is of Gion and her sister Gijo, both mistresses of Premier Kiyomori Taira (1118–1181). Gion spent her life after losing Kiyomori Taira’s patronage at the Gion temple in Kyoto, where she was buried with her sister and mother.

The origin of Shirabyoushi was miko (a maiden of Shinto shrine).

Shirajyoushi were not always prostitutes and different from prostitutes of red-light district made in later periods. They had a freedom. There were Shirabyoushi who became lovers of famous men and were serious and had aesthetic sentiments like Shizuka. They left their names in the Japanese history. The mother of Minamoto Noriyori, the half brother of Minamoto Yoritomo was a prostitute. But there were many prostitutes assumed Shirabyushi.

② The increase of prostitutes

The number of prostitutes increased, the rich kept a few prostitutes or dozens of prostitutes and gave their good customers entertainment. In commanders eased themselves if in the house of the rich. Prostitutes in Kyoto were waiting for good men and hustled for themselves and the customers could choose a woman whom he liked. This way was thought of the emergence of red-light district and its way in the future.

③ Tragic court ladies ~ jyourou & jyoro

When Taira Family (Heike) was defeated by Minamoto Yoritomo & Yoshitsune forces (Genji) in the Battle of Dannoura (1185), many commanders and court ladies were drowned in the sea.

Kenreimonintairatokuko (1155–1213) also tried to drown with her son, the emperor Antoku (1178–1185). But she was saved by Genji and came back to Kyoto and became a nun. And only court ladies who had followed her could escape safely to Akamanoseki. They roamed around there. And some of them wore white clothes and had to sell their bodies to survive due to
poverty. People called them yourou. Afterwards, yourou were called jyoro.

(7) Miko

Miko, namely medium or a maiden in the service of a Shinto shrine, had a role to call gods and inform people of their message from gods.

The original of miko is seen Amanouzumenomikoto. In the oldest Japanese mythology & Japan’s first history Kojik ("Record of Ancient Matters") written in Nara period (710–794), the sun goddess Amaterasu Omikami was angry and hid behind the door of the rock (cave) "Amanoiwayato". The whole world was in a shroud of darkness. All the gods gathered and consulted together. Amanouzumenomikoto, a goddess danced taking off her clothes one by one before all the gods in front of the cave. They laughed and laughed watching her dance. Hearing their laughter, Amaterasu Omikami went out of it.

Dance began as a way of supplicating the gods in Japan.

The magic of early date was conducted by women. In Heian period, descendands of Amanouzumenomikoto danced Kagura (song & dance in a shrine) to music. Before long they began to go out of a shrine without staying there. They became gradually prostitutes.

In 1873 in Meiji period (1868–1912) prohibition law of Miko was issued. By this law miko who did not stay at a shrine lost their jobs. Some of miko stayed at a shrine and continued their activities.

A shrine started to employ miko as a helper for Shinto priest. Some shrines tried to do their best to appeal to continue the miko dance and resurrect miko and their dance. They tried to cultivate miko dance and appealed it as important art. The former musician of the Imperial Household Agency asserted an importance of Kagura dance based on the oldest Japanese mythology and produced Urayasu no mai (dance). When the celebration of Imperial House 2600 was held on November 10th, 1940, this dance was danced at all shrines in Japan. And it contributed the spread of Kagura dance. Urayasu no mai was continued to dance whenever there was a ceremony. The chances which miko could serve was made officially.

The present miko work at a shrine as a helper of Shinto priest. Many full
time miko are daughters or next of kin. When a shrine is busy like a New Year, the students are employed as part-timers.

Men cannot become miko.

Today it is commonly whispered that miko must be virgin.

But the respect of virginity in Japan came from the conception oriented by samurai class (for legitimate inheritance of patrimony) and the influence of Western sense of value of Christianity.

Virginity is not required and overlooked on Shinto even from the point of view of sexual equality in the modern society which people have moral and scientific education.

(8) Muromachi period [Ashikaga period] (1333-1568)

1. The beginning of legalized prostitution

A period of cultural achievement and social disorder, lasting from 1333, when forces led by Ashikaga Takauji destroyed the Kamakura shogunate, until 1568, when Nobunaga Oda captured the capital of Kyoto. It is also commonly known as the Ashikaga period, after the family which held the position of shogun from 1338 to 1573.

The years from the beginning of Onin War (1467-77) until Nobunaga Oda entered Kyoto in 1568 are referred to as the Sengoku period (Warring States period). The term gekokujyo (the overturning of those on top by those below) characterizes this period.

Samurais became rich and lived in the lap of luxury. They invited keisei (high-class prostitutes) and shirabyoushi drinking party to serve them sake (Japanese alcoholic drink) and play.

Prostitutes used to comfort and lift samurais’ spirits. A samurai put 10 or 20 prostitutes aboard every army ship and brought them to Kyushu to fight in 1359.

When Yoshiharu Ashikaga was the twelfth shogunate (reign 1521-1546), his shogunate faced a financial crisis and tried to take tax wherever they can take. The shogunate charged tax to prostitutes too. This means that the government legalized prostitution. It was the beginning of
legalized prostitution.

② Yuna (women in the bath houses)

Around the latter part of Muromachi period, women were employed to serve customers in the bath houses. They rubbed away furfur of customers in the bath and served sake and sold their bodies. The lower-ranking samurais (warriors) and the common men used these bath houses.

The high-class prostitutes (keisei) served the higher-class men and higher-ranking samurais with dance and music like shirabyoushi and sold their bodies.

The Muromachi period developed in economic activity and the emergence of two powerful social forces, a self-conscious merchantile group and an increasingly restive and market-oriented peasantry. Increase in agricultural output, the growth of crafts, and demands for payment of taxes and levies in cash instead of in rice or cloth contributed to the spread of local markets, to greater specialization among merchants, and to more sophisticated exchange facilities. Increasing quantities of copper cash were imported from China during the period and monetization of the economy expanded. Prostitutes gathered the famous port towns where there were sailors having a heavy purse.

③ Permission to build the legalized red light district (1589)

During Azuchi-monoyama period (1568–1600), Nobunaga Oda and Hideyoshi Toyotomi not only reunified Japan militarily. They devised new measures to regulate society on a national basis. And the greatest symbol of Azuchi-momoyama is the castle. It was a representation of power, built on a grand scale, decorated lavishly, and meant to overawe the viewer. Castles were the residence of lords, as well as centers of political and economic activities.

The period is named after the sites of two castles, Nobunaga built palatial fortress at Azuchi in Kyoto and Hideyoshi’s headquarters at Momoyama in Fushimi, Kyoto.

The Azuchi castle, built by Nobunaga Oda in Kyoto in 1576, was the first of its kind to have a tower, a characteristic of modern castles.
Hideyoshi Toyotomi built Osaka castle in 1584. In order to build Osaka castle, tens of thousands of carpenters and laborer were mobilized. Many high-class and lower-class legalized prostitutes (yujo and shougi) gave comfort to them. And Hideyoshi made the castle town around the Osaka castle. Removed from the countryside to the castle town, samurais were destined to turn into a class of bureaucratic administrators. Officers and travelers also came to Osaka and Kyoto. And the bath houses and the house of prostitutes developed.

Hideyoshi Toyotomi permitted to build the red light district in Kyoto called Shinyashiki in 1589. This was the epoch in the history of prostitution in Japan. This legalized red-light district gradually developed into Yanagimachi (Willow Town) legalized red light districts. The place was not far on foot, horseback, or by palanquin from the emperor’s palace.

Then the famous and the top-class yujo was Yoshino tayuu. They say that she was very beautiful out of ordinary went the round abroad. There were famous yujo or shougi who left their names in the history in many districts. Hideyoshi himself used to sneak in, in disguise, with his retainers. It was too close to the imperial palace and in 1602 was moved to the place further south.

(9) Edo period (1600-1868)

As chief of the militari estate, the Tokugawa shogun exercised broad national authority, regulating affairs among exercised broad national authority, regulating affairs among the daimyo and religious bodies and setting national military and fiscal policy. In foreign affairs, the shogun assumed the rights to negotiate with other states, stamp out Christianity, control trade, and restrict travel by Japanese. The most important of the shogun’s powers was that of ultimate proprietorship of the country’s land. Tokugawa law relied heavily on the social concepts of Confucianism. The basic moral concepts advocated by Confucianism—loyalty (chu) and filial piety (ko)—were conservative and supportive of the existing social and political order.
Confucianism and its drastic influence on the place of women in Japan

Confucianism is more like a set of moral codes rather than religion. It teaches the people to pay an ideal role in an unchanging society. While "Buddhism is a way to achieve personal enlightenment, nirvana, through the awareness of impermanence in all matters." Where the ideals of Confucian were treasured as an orthodox religion of the state" Buddhism on the other hand always struggles to bring together their religious principles with the Confucians. The main area of concern in Confucianism was to develop social harmony and also to explain the basic responsibilities and duties in maintaining all the various relationships existing in the society. These relations are master and servant, parent and child, husband and wife, brother and sisters as well as friend to friend. These relations are known as "dyadic relations." In Japan, the royal and majestic families use to follow this system to institute an erect bureaucracy. Despite the fact that Confucianism brought structural changes in Japan but the ancient Japanese did not show much interest in the philosophy of Confucianism.

In early feudal days Japanese women could inherit property. But in India Hindu women had the equal right to inherit property in 1956.

Confucianism (from China) emphasized the supreme positions of the man, and the hierarchial power structure for society. Confucianism and Buddhism (salvation is not possible for women) combined with the military class of Japan to form the Samurai (warrior) class. The ascension of the Samurai code of life to become the law of the land drastically changed the place of women in Japan. Before the advent of the Samurai in the 15th century A.D., Japanese society had been ordered largely on matrilineal lines. The combined influences of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Samurai culture (a woman should look upon her husband as if he were heaven itself) changed the place of the woman in Japan.

The Japanese derived from the Chinese Confucian heritage, value the group over the individual. The group is greater than the individual, and group needs take precedence over individual needs. (See Chapter III, 2. Japan, [4] (7) Sex tourism).

In Japan there was severe job discrimination against women. The Japanese had the old Confucian proverb that in youth a woman should obey her father, in maturity her husband, and in old age her son. India has the
same proverb in the Law of Manu.

"Ironically the geisha and the whole culture of eroticism arose directly out of the rigid strictures of Confucianism: the walled cities of pleasure which were to become the heart of the counterculture in Japan were erected with whole-hearted government approval.

Confucianism required unquestioning obedience to authority. Within the state, this was the shogun, acting in the name of the emperor. Within the household, it was the father, who was to be accorded as much loyalty and respect as one would give the ruler of the country. The basic unit of society was not the individual but the family, which had to be preserved and protected at all costs. A woman had to obey her father, then, after she was married, her husband, and finally, if her husband predeceased her, her son.

Marriage was a political matter, nothing to do with love. It was an alliance between families which was arranged by the head of the household with the help of a go-between, far too important a matter to be left to the will of the individuals concerned. Rather than marrying the man, a woman married into the household. She became a yome, which means 'daughter-in-law' as well as 'bride,' and moved into her husband's house with her in-laws, where she was more like a glorified domestic servant than our concept of a wife.

As for conjugal sex, the only function was to produce a male heir who would ensure the continuance of the household and carry out the ritual respects due to the ancestors. Apart from that, sexual gratification was not supposed to take place within marriage. In other words, a husband was not supposed to love his wife, enjoy sex with her, or give her sexual pleasure.... Just so long as a man did his duty by his wife, supposed her financially and produced an heir, he was at liberty to assume himself in any way he pleased." 111

2 Izumo no Okuni and the beginning of Kabuki

Kabuki is supposed to have originated around 1603, when a woman named Izumo no Okuni (Okuni of Izumo). Okuni maintained that she was a

Shrine maiden and shamaness from the Grand Shrine at Izumo (now in Shimane Prefecture). She was a dancer and by definition, a prostitute. In those days the two were one and the same.

Around 1603, she set up an open-air stage and began to dance with a troupe of wandering female entertainers. She performed a Buddhist prayer dance (Nembutsu odori) in an unusual costume: priest’s robes, sporting a conical black hat and baggy black trousers and carrying a bell. And she sometimes dressed as a Shinto priest and a Christian priest. People got excited.

"After two centuries of civil war, people were hungry for pleasure, diversion, and beautiful women in silk kimonos. It was from Okuni and her dancing that the geisha, with their irresistible combination of charm entertainment, and eroticism, were to develop... But the most thrilling part of her show was when she played a man... With a painted mustache like a dashing young man about town, she would mime chatting up a teahouse woman, wooing a courtesan, or having an assignation in a bathhouse. Okuni’s dancing was not just brilliant but cheerfully erotic. It was so extraordinary that a new word had to be coined: Kabuki, from kabuku, meaning 'to frolic' or 'to be wild and outrageous.' Okuni’s sexy dancing was the seed of the kabuki theater and also of the floating world of the courtesans and geisha."

"In 1607 she and her all women troupe went on tour to Edo and gave a public performance at the shogun’s castle there. Soon there were imitators - troupes of prostitutes and courtesans performing erotic dances and bedrooms farces throughout the great cities... But, while the court ladies and towns women imitated their stylish ways, men were more interested in their bodies. A contemporary wrote, ‘Men threw away their wealth, some forgot their fathers and mothers, others did not care if the mothers of their children were jealous... the shogunate could not risk anything that threatened public order. When men started fighting over the actresses, it was time to put a stop to it. In 1628, after a major brawl, the authorities..."

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112 Ibid., pp.37-38.
banned women from performing in public. It was a law that was extremely
difficult to enforce. It had to be passed again in 1629, 1630, 1640, 1645,
1646, and 1647... Banned from public performance, some of the women
dancers took up work as prostitutes... Others found positions in samurai
households where they gave private performances or set themselves up as
teachers of music and dance. These were the sort of women who a
century later were to become known as geisha.”¹¹³

By the Genroku period (1688–1704) in Edo Period the current kabuki style
was perfected.

³ The large -scale regalized red-light districts and patterns

The Edo period was also called the Tokugawa period. The capital was
moved to Edo (now Tokyo). It is distinguished by the fact that for more than
two centuries Japan enjoyed freedom from warfare at home and abroad.
The Edo period witnessed the stabilization of the system of local rule by
military lords (daimyo) under strong shogunal authority. The ruling class of
samurai monopolized all functions of government. Under them, the
Tokugawa shogunate defined separate classes of commoners, the farmer
and the townman being the most important. Almost the entire samurai class
left countryside to live in the castle towns of their daimyo lords, stimulating a
rapid and widespread growth of cities.

The most dramatic change to affect Edo society was without question the
spread of city life. Regional castle towns sprang up rapidly throughout Japan.
By the end of the 18 century, Edo, the greatest of the castle towns and the
seat of government, had a population of nearly 1 million, while Osaka and
Kyoto each had some 300,000 inhabitants. Commercial wealth and a growing
chonin (merchant).

There were not so many brothels in Edo at the beginning of Edo period... In
1612 Shoujikanuemon asked the government permission to establish
legalized large red light districts to regulate easier.

¹¹³ Ibid., p.38.
In 1617, Tokugawa government issued an order restricting prostitution and the government specified the site for red light districts. 17 brothels and 24 bath houses were gathered in the site. The site was called Yoshiwara. After the fire broke in Yoshiwara in 1630, 1645, 1654 and 1657. Then the government shifted the site far from the center because it was not good on public morals that there stood the red light districts at the center of the castle town. And the new site was called Shin(new)yoshiwara, where was frequented by men in Edo, Meiji, Taisho and Showa period. And the old site was called Moto (original) yoshiwara.

Illegal streetwalkers for poor samurais and common people appeared here and there in Edo.

By the strong request of legalized keisei ya (high-class prostitutes' owners) in Shin(yoshiwara), the government made efforts to eradicate streetwalkers. Military lords invited tayu (top-class legalized prostitutes) to their houses and played with them.

Prostitutes and courtesans were licensed as yujo (women of pleasure) and ranked. Some prostitutes went out of the gate of legalized districts and brought back customers from the streets.

Prohibition to go out of the red-light districts (1641)

In 1641, the government prohibited legalized prostitutes to go out of the red-light districts to prevent them from running away and escaping. This meant that prostitutes could not sell their bodies in the town, too.

It was sometimes allowed for only high-class yujo to visit a shrine and a temple near the districts.

The districts were walled and guarded to ensure both taxation and access control. The districts were surrounded by the sludge ditch of 9 meters in width to prevent the prostitutes and criminals (rebels) from running away. Ronin (Masterless samurai) were not allowed to enter the districts.

And in Yoshiwara, there was only one large gate to come and go except in case of emergency. Yoshiwara was very strict because most of customers
in Yoshiwara were samurais. But it is said that there existed a loophole and prostitutes could go out to see the sakura (cherry blossoms) in spring once a year.

There were two gates Shimabara in Kyoto. There were many gates in Shinmachi, Osaka. Yujo in Yoshiwara were bound strictly. Yujo in Shimabara and Shinmachi, in contrast, had more freedom. Not only top-class but lower class yujo were allowed to go out.

In Osaka, Kimuramatajiro applied the government to build new red-light districts and got the site and finished building in 1146. This site was called Shinmachi red-light districts, were destroyed by the fire in 1666, 1711, 1724, 1754, 1771, 1809, 1832, namely 7 times for 167 years.

5 Bath houses and illegal brothels

The Tokugawa Shogunate (government) protected the legalized red-light districts and tried to sweep away bath houses, illegal brothels or illegal prostitutes. But the bath houses with illegal prostitutes prospered.

In 1666 Tokugawa government made a descent on bath houses and destroyed 74 bath houses and enforced 512 illegal prostitutes of bath houses to join red-light districts in Yoshiwara, where became popularized. Legalized prostitutes had commonly used names according to their class, Tayu, tenjin, kakoi, hashi... .

The girls who served their apprenticeship as legalized prostitutes were called kamuro (child attendants to a courtesan).

The courtesan taught kamuro how to behave and ensured that they were trained in accomplishments such as calligraphy, tea ceremony, and music. There were many little secrets to be mastered how to charm men and how to play at love but never to allow oneself to feel it.

Though the Tokugawa shogunate oppressed private illegal prostitution and the owners also wanted to do it, there were a large variety of illegal prostitutes from quite good geisha to lower kakushi baisho (illegal prostitutes in Edo period) kakushi yujo (illegal yujo) and places called okabasho (hill places; illegal places except Yoshiwara in Edo), in contrast, the hard place like Yoshiwara Men could play by day, by night or temporarily
using small money in Edo.

There were many kinds of prostitutes, that is, prostitutes called a dancer, watatsumi (cotton picker), shamisen master and meshimori onna (a prostitutes working in Japanese-style hotel) or chaya yujo (a prostitute in teahouse).

Kyoto and Osaka also had many illegal brothel streets and many kinds of illegal prostitutes. But Tokugawa shogunate did not want to increase the number of regalized districts and did not allow to build new districts. Around 1650, the Tokugawa government had the policy not to build another legalized red-light districts in the castle towns.

Some of illegal brothel owners were arrested and punished strictly. They were crucified, cut their heads and exposed, or were burnt at the stake.

The ranking and the number of yujo in Yoshiwara in Edo around 1817

1. The number of tayu, (top-class yujo.) was 13 in 1800 and 3 in 1813. After then, nobody became tayu.

2. The number of koushi (the first-rate yujo under tayu) called. They were called tenjin in Shimabara in Kyoto) was 6 at most.

3. The number of Yobidashi (the sama rank first-rate yujo as koushi) was 45 at the most.

4. Kakoi (the same rank as yobidashi)

5. Sancha · chusan (the rank under koushi. They were former yuna who were illegal prostitutes in bath houses and enforced to come to Yoshiwara. The number of them was 512.

6 Under them there were zashikimochi, heyamochi, umecha (umecha),
shinzou, Their ranking was hierarchical. The price became cheaper gradually. Tsubone joro were the lower classes. And rokusun tsubone, nishu joro, gosuntsubone, sansuntsubone (tsurigoushi joro), teppou joro were the same lower classes. Kendon were very cheap. The names were different from Osaka and Kyoto.

Tayu (top-class legalized prostitute) and Oiran

The tradition of shirabyoushi

Tayu inherited tradition from shirabyoushi. Tayu were good dancers as well. The reason why the top-class yujo were called Tayu was that Tayu meant the head of artists.

Yoshino tayu in Shimabara in Kyoto, Yuugiri tayu in Shinmachi in Osaka and Takao tayu in Yoshiwara in Edo were the most famous in the history and exponents of three red light districts.

Table 4.1

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<td>1745</td>
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<td>1808</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>1813</td>
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Ono, Takeo, Yoshiwara to Shimabara (Yoshiwara and Shimabara). Kodansha,
Yoshino tayu and Miyamoto Musashi

Miyamoto Musashi (1584–1645) is the founder of Niten Ichiryu swaordmanship. During the years spanning the Sengoku Warring Stetes period to the early Edo period, military valor was widely valued, making it a golden age for the martial arts. It is a time that in spawned many famous master of during this period. After martial training in many provinces, he lighterd upon Nitoryu swordmanship and founded Niten Ichiryu. He is famous for his several they say that Musashi split the oar of a boat to make a wooden sword to crack open Kojiro’s head and won the duel. He was the author of Gorin no Sho (The book of five rings).

Yoshino (1606–1643) was sold when she was six and at fourteen she was so beautiful and accomplished that she became tayu. It is said that Miyamoto Musashi was her lover and he learned his secrets from the gentle but penetrative Yoshino.

“Sitting in her chamber he was silent, tense in anticipation of the hopeless battle that lay ahead. Suddenly Yoshino picked up her biwa, a priceless lute, took a knife, and smashed the curved sound box to pieces. From the ruined instrument she picked out the crosspiece, a single piece of wood, and showed it to him. This, she explained, was the heart of the instrument; all the sound came from this. If the crosspiece were as taut and unyielding as he was at that moment, a single stroke of the plectrum would break it. But if he could be as flexible and responsive as it was, no one could defeat him. Inspired by her words, he bounded out into the snow and, with a few nonchalant slashes of his sword, decimated the dozens of men gathered outside. For the rest of his sword-wielding career, he never forgot her or her advice.”

“One day she was called to entertain at a gathering of Kyoto’s most influential literary coterie, presided over by the emperor’s fourth son. There

she met Joeki Haiya, a merchant’s son. Not only was he handsome, refined, and accomplished enough to satisfy the most demanding courtesan, he was an adept of the tea ceremony, which he hosted with wonderful finesse, and also extremely rich. At the time he was twenty-two, she twenty-six. He fell hopelessly in love, so much so that he laid out the enormous fortune necessary to buy out her contract, for—beautiful, accomplished, and celebrated though she was—she was still the property of the bordello keeper. Having bought her freedom, he married her.

Requirements for *tayu*

*Yujo* could not become *Tayu* only by their beauty. They had to know tea ceremony, flower arrangement, calligraphy, Haiku and Tanka poetry. They had to know Japanese music, every art and game.

They had to know the famous stories in Heian period like the *Tale of Genji* and *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter* and other stories in other periods. They had to read Classical Chinese writing. Because they had to serve top-class customers, they needed higher education.

The brothel owners had them learn by many leading experts whom they employed on the investment of a lot of money.

*Tayu* and *Oiran*

The word *tayu* was used in Kyoto and Osaka but *oiran* instead of *Tayu* began to be used in Shinyoshiwara in Edo (now Tokyo) from some day. The slang *oirantoko* of *oiranotokoro no ame joro* (elder *joro* in my place) was contracted to *oiran*. Afterwards, the word *oiran* started to use and did not use the word *tayu* in Edo.

*Oiran dochu* was the procession of top-class yujo to go to *ageya*, a house of assignation (the precursor of the teahouses of the geisha districts) built in the red light districts when she was invited there. *Ageba* were rental Japanese-style rooms in the red light districts. Once customers invited *yujo* to their houses to play. But *yujo* were prohibited to go out of the

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116 Ibid., p. 46.
districts by law. Therefore, ageya were built inside. Oiran dochu was the procession as if they had gone far away. But in fact, inside the district. Oiran dressed in layer upon layer of gorgeous kimonos, tied their obi at the front and put on sandals. They walked in a unique manner called hachimonji, drawing an arc with both feet having progressed at snail’s pace along the boulevard. When they went to ageya, they were accompanied by many followers including six-to-ten-year-old girls called Kamuro as well as by young men.

But no matter how famous the Oiran became, they were still slaves of debt, constrained to work out their then-year contract. In fact no matter how hard they worked, their debts increased because they had to buy the beautiful kimonos and pay the costs of bedding and clothing and supporting their retinue of retainers and tips for the staff of the houses of ill repute. They had three days off a year. And they could not miss a day’s work for any reason at all. Most continued to work until they were twenty-seven. It was the usual retirement age. After then they would have many supplicants begging to marry them after that. Oiran are often heroines in kabuki plays. Generally speaking, a love story that features an oiran has an unhappy ending.

In 1617, the Tokugawa Shogunate issued an order restricting prostitution to certain areas located on the outskirts of cities. The three most famous were Yoshiwara in Edo (present-day Tokyo), Shinmachi in Osaka, and Shimabara in Kyoto. Prostitutes and courtesans were licensed as yujo (woman of pleasure,) and ranked according to an elaborate hierarchy, with oiran and later tayu at the apex. The districts walled and guarded to ensure both taxation and access control. Ronin, masterless samurai, were not allowed in and neither were the prostitutes let out, except once a year to see the cherry sakura, blossoms and visit dying relatives. They had just three days off a year. Otherwise they had to pay the brothel the sum they would have earned from their own money.

The sanction of the law to bind girls apprentice to legalized prostitutes

The base of the regalized prostitution system was not only taxation but the sanction of the law to bind girls apprentice to prostitutes. The
employer consulted the girls' parents and determined the term without girls' agreement. And the employer paid money to their parents and could make them work during the term. Once they entered into a contract, girls and their parents could not cancel the agreement. It was like flesh trade. In Edo period, the term at a maximum was for ten years. But it was put off due to several reasons. Even in Edo period, it was not welcomed that the employers enforced girls to become legalized prostitutes. But it was officially admitted that real fathers and brothers made daughters and younger sisters bind them apprentice to legalized prostitutes and adoptive parents made adopted daughters bind them apprentice to legalized prostitutes. Anyway, the girls' wish was not considered at all.

"Almost all were from the lower classes, the beautiful children of impoverished rural families or debt-ridden townfolk. There were professional prosecutors or pimps, called \textit{zegen}, who scoured the countryside and poorer sections of the city. When they found a suitable child, they would offer the parents a set sum of money. Buying or selling of persons was illegal so the child would be bound with a contract for a fixed period of time, usually ten years."

The girls playing outside in the evening and in the crowd of the festivals were carried off far away and sold in the brothels. The girls who had made a pilgrimage were often kidnapped in the country. They were trained to become good \textit{joro} soon in the brothels.

Girls had to pay their costumes, food, residence, futon (bedclothes) and miscellaneous expenses by selling their bodies. If they could earn less, they had to borrow money. Their debts were cumulative. They had to serve 5 or 10 men per night. When their earning became less, they were sold the cheaper brothels. They had to work till their death. When they tried to escape from the red-light districts, they were put to torture and could almost not find the way to kill themselves. They were caged birds. They were virtual salaves indentured to the brothel owners.

"For the parents, sending a child off to the pleasure quarters was nothing out of the ordinary; it is still done to this day in Asia. Apart from the much-needed money and the brutal necessity of reducing the number of mouths to be fed, they probably felt they were giving their daughter a chance in life. Going to Kyoto to eat fine food, wear fine clothes, meet fine people, and her educated offered far more hope than staying in the countryside hoeing the soil for the rest of her life. As for the child, according to the Confucian code it was her filial duty to put the well-being of her family ahead of her own. Girls who were sold to the pleasure quarters were considered virtuous and admirable for having sacrificed themselves for their family. Most were recruited when they were six or seven and had only the haziest memories of life outside the walls of pleasure quarters."

The punishment to illegal prostitutes was to work at the regalized red light districts for three years. Few people in Edo period virtually had any doubts about them. Tokugawa shogunate did not think the condition of prostitutes and regarded the prostitution as indispensable evil.

The dream of yujo

Their dream was to be free after having the familiar customer paid huge money for her to buy out her contract and become his wife or mistress of a rich chonin (townsman). He had to submit the deed on which he wrote that he would love her as his wife for a long time and he would not sell her to another brothel. And he also had to write that he would guarantee all her life economically if he divorced her. At the same time he had to finish some procedure. This was called miuke.

Another way was called minuke. The customer passed a ransom for her release to her parents. They paid it for the brothel owner. And he could take her back.

Their dreams sometimes had come true.

\*118 Ibid., p. 42.
The love suicides

Joshi or shinji (the love suicide) means that a prostitute in the brothel and a customer who love each other and want to marry embrace and kill themselves. Even if they wanted to become a husband and a wife, their dreams were not always realized under several environments. Their last step was Joshi.

Though the love suicide occurred around 1336-1392, the cases increased from the middle (Genroku era [1688-1704] in the Edo period. The Genroku was an era of peace and stability after Japan adopted a closed-door policy towards other countries. Towns and cities developed and chonin bunka (townsman's culture) flourished. Not having the power to oppose the feudal rules or to go into politics, townsman simply pursued day-to-day pleasure.

The main elements of the emerging townsman's culture were brought to their first flowering in Kyoto and Osaka during this era. Such were the joruri and kabuki plays of Monzaemon Chikamatsu (1653-1724), Ukiyo-zoshi of Saikaku Ihara, Ukiyo-e of Moronobu Hishikawa and the poetic essays and haiku of Basho Matsuo.

As Monzaemon Chikamatsu, playwriter, wrote Sonezaki Shinju (The Love Suicides at Sonezaki), Shinju Ama no tsunashima (The Love Suicides at Ama no tsunashima), Ikudama Shinu (The Love Suicides at Ikudama) and others to describe the beautiful heart of human beings by the theme about conflict between giri (obligation) and ninja (heart). Chikamatsu and other playwrights wrote some of his plays from the true stories. And the word shinju came into fashion. The cases of shinju increased.

As the Tokugawa government issued the ban of the love suicides whose punishment was strict. and rigid order to refrain from using it in plays and books.

The punishment:

The dead bodies of a man and a woman who committed love suicides should be thrown away. Their funeral should not be done. One of them was still alive, he or she should be treated as a killer. Both of them were alive, they should be exposed for three days and be treated as killers.

The number of the love suicides consequently decreased. But There isn't...
nothing. There are many famous shinju cases which went down in Japanese history though I cannot write all love suicides here. I will quote some examples of them.

1. September 24th, 1702
woman: Kosan (30), yuna in bathhouse, later shoug (legalized prostitute)
man: Kinyakingoro (23, Osaka), Kabuki actor.

2. December 5th, 1710
woman: Umekawa
man: Kameyachube (Osaka)
[Monzaemon Chikamatsu wrote the play Meido no Hichaku from this case.]

3. August 18th, 1711
woman: Osome (17), legalized prostitute in teahouse, Gion
man: Hankuro Kikuchi (21, Kyoto)
They died in Mt. Toribeyama. Chikamatsu wrote Toribesan Shinju.
The Kyogen (comedic drama) Osome Hisamatsu is famous.

4. May 5th, 1715
woman: Osaka (25), yujo (legalized prostitute)
man: Kiheiji (32, Osaka), a son of teacup store
Chikamatsu wrote the play Kudama Shinju.

5. October 14th, 1720
woman: Koharu (22), yujo
man: Chihei (30, Osaka), paper shop
They killed themselves at the temple. They left the written message.
This suicide is famous because Chikamatsu wrote the play "The Love Suicide at Ama no tsunashima.

6. December 13, 1746
woman: Ogami (23) yujo
man: Itaro (27, Edo) masterless samurai
They tried to commit suicide but ended in failure. After they were investigated by the police in Edo (Tokyo), they were treated as killers according to the law. This love suicide is famous because it was sung by Sinnaibushi (Shinnai song).
The Dawn of *Gion* in Kyoto

Gion is *Hanamachi* (literally, the town of flower) in front of Yasaka Shrine and on the periphery of the both sides of Shijo Street in Kyoto. *Hanamachi* means the town full of geisha houses, *yujo ya* (brothels) and restaurants.

Gion has existed since 1243 (the beginning of Kamakura period). The Kamo River was repaired and permitted to build teahouse in 1670 during Edo period. There were 150 teahouses at the end of 1707. To build 60 tea houses was permitted in 1717. But it was strictly prohibited to keep *yujo* in those teahouses on the basic policy of Tokugawa shogunate to keep the redlight districts only in *Shimabara*, Kyoto. It was detected to keep illegal prostitutes in the teahouse in 1685. Nine people were arrested. They were gibbeted for three days. After then three of them were to the scaffold and six were sent into exile. Police conducted a raid on teahouses in 1686.

Shirouto – illegal prostitutes

The periphery of Gion and in front of Kitano Shrine were crowded with a lot of people and there were 54 teahouses and dozens of Japanese-style hotels. And illegal prostitutes earned in the neighborhood. They were called *Shirouto*.

They were daughters of poor parents. When they were about ten years old, the owners took them after paying their parents some money and made them up. When they became fourteen or fifteen years old, they were enforced to sell their bodies as *Shirouto*.

As illegal prostitutes prosper more and more, regalized redlight districts, Shimabara was contracted. It threatened the basic principle in the shogunate. The police of the shogunate were taking action against the illegal prostitution and employed measures for Shimabara and tried to get Shimabara on the hip. In 1750 the police arrested illegal prostitutes in the teahouse in Gion and sent them to Shimabara as *hashitame* (servant). They made all teahouses in Kyoto pay their charge for business to Shimabara and began to take orders from Shimabara.

The police of Tokugawa shogunate raided Gion and other towns where illegal prostitutes worked on June 16th in 1790 and arrested 1,200 illegal prostitutes. They were sent to Shimabara as servants on July 4th and the police
gave money for their food to legalized brothel owners in Shimabara. But the Tokugawa government permitted to reopen the teahouses in December in the same year. It also appointed 80 illegal brothel teahouses in four towns including Gion and allowed them to do their business for five years. The government chose 160 yujo (legalized prostitutes) in Shimabara. They had been originally illegal prostitutes who had worked somewhere Gion way and arrested to send to Shimabara. Each two of them were assigned one teahouse. On and after this December in 1790, those teahouses could practice brothels. The owners of yujo were not owners of teahouses but ones of legalized brothels in Shimabara red light districts. And almost every teahouse finally became brothels.

The Tokugawa shogunate in Edo period took many kinds of measures of legalized or illegal prostitution for two hundred years but could not get better results. It was difficult to take action against illegal prostitution.

In September, 1867, many legalized brothel owners in several places including Shimabara united and appealed the government to abolish time limit to operate yujo teahouses as they would pay the government reward for obtaining permission to practice business. The government agreed to this appeal.

Next year, in October 1868, the Tokugawa regime was ended.

The relationship between samurai in the anti – Tokugawa regime and women in iromachi (the places where geisha houses and brothels gather).

Young activist samurai in an anti-Tokugawa movement gathered in Kyoto. Japanese-style hotels and restaurants became busy. They were very prodigal and went into geisha houses and brothels. They were safe lurking places, too.

1. Takayoshi Kido (Kogorou Katsura) (1833-1877) and geisha Ikumatsu

After he and anti-Tokugawa movement men overthrew the Tokugawa shogunate (1868), he held important positions in the Meiji regime. He married her. For eighteen months from 1871 to 1873, a large part of the Meiji leadership toured America and Europe as part of the Iwakura mission. He was a vice leader.
2. Hirobumi Ito (1841–1909) and Oume
   He also held important position in the Meiji regime as well as prime minister. He promulgated the Meiji Constitution (the 1889 Constitution of the Empire of Japan). It was largely the work for him.

3. Ryoma Sakamoto (1835–1867) and Oryu
   He was one of younger samurai of anti-Tokugawa movement and killed by samurai of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1867.

4. Gensui Kusaka (1840–1864) and Otatsu
5. Shinsaku Takasugi (1839–1867)
   He put together thoughts of anti-Tokugawa movement.
   He prefer yujo so much that people surprised it.

(10) Meiji Period (1868–1912)

The reign of Emperor Meiji and the beginning of Japan's modern period. The Meiji period saw Japan's transformation from a feudal policy into modern industrial state, along with its emergence from isolation into the ranks of major world powers. The central government had to shoulder full responsibility for education and defence. Several thousand foreign teachers and advisers were hired to assist Japan in its quest for modernization in the 1870s and 1880s. In 1872, the government announced a system of military conscription.

Higuchi Ichiyo (1872–1896), Japanese novelists started to draw attention to the confinement and squalid existence of the lower-class prostitutes in the red-light districts.
   (We can find her face on ¥5,000 paper money today. A woman was first chosen as the face of Japanese paper money.)

① Before and after of the Law of Yujo' Liberation (1873)

The Peruvian ship came into Yokohama Port with 230 Chinese coolies in
May, 1873. One of them escaped from the ship and swam to the British warship at night. He appealed the British to help them because they were being treated like slaves by the Peruvian. The Japanese authorities treated this case. The judge Ooe in Kanagawa Prefecture repatriated him to China because slave traffic was a breach of the international law.

The Peruvian protested before long and claimed that it was inexcusable that Japan gave a Chinese coolie freedom without their permission, although Japan authorized to buy and sell legalized prostitutes similar to miserable slaves. The judge was defeated this argument and strongly proposed the Japanese government to give *geigi* (*geisha*), legalized prostitutes and apprentice freedom. At last the Law of *Yujo’* Liberation was issued in October, 1873.

*Geigi* (*Geisha*), *shougi* (legalized prostitutes) could become free from every obligation and their debts were set off. On the contrary, the employers were cried by bad luck, because they would a great loss.

But most of *geigi* and *shougi* made new contracts with employers and continued to be prostitutes. They could not have option to change their occupation.

(11) **Taisho Period (1912-1926)**

1. Towards the abolition of prostitution

In 1899, *yujo* appealed to the Nagoya district court to get liberation with the help of foreign missionary and won the suit. And she was out of business. This much surprised the brothel owner. The leading article of the newspaper “Niroku Shinpo” in Tokyo and the Salvation Arm (organized by Protestants in England and introduced Japan in 1995) did their best to appealed people the abolition of prostitution and the establishment of human rights and bore fruit steadily. The Department of the Interior issued the Reguration Law of *Shougi* in 1900. For example, under the first article of this Law, the girls under 18 years old were not allowed to be *shougi*. Under the second article, women who did not register the list of *shougi* were not allowed to earn as *shougi*. Under the third, women who wanted to be *shougi* had to go
to the police station and apply by themselves. Under the ninth article, all *shougi* were bound to carry out a medical examination enacted by the government.

The number of legalized prostitutes (*shougi*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>around 52,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>around 49,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The result of the survey in 1920 was the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The number of <em>yuukaku</em> (legalized red light districts)</td>
<td>545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The number of <em>girou</em> (brothels)</td>
<td>11,227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The number of <em>shougi</em></td>
<td>51,143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The number of customers who wanted to buy women</td>
<td>27,456,053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The amount of payment</td>
<td>¥118,525,650</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Age of *shougi*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18–20</td>
<td>8,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under 25</td>
<td>28,393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under 30</td>
<td>10,801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under 35</td>
<td>2,297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under 40</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>above 40</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>51,143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(12) **Showa Period (1926–89)**

1. "Karayuki-san" (Ms. Gone-to-China or Korea) and "Japayuki"

Escaping poverty in their own land, many Japanese women, known as "Karayuki-san" (lit. "Ms. Gone-to-China or Korea"), were sold as prostitutes into Southeast Asia (especially Singapore and the Philippines), Siberia, Hawaii, Australia, and even some parts of India and Africa. Many of these women are said to have originated from the Amakusa Islands of Kumamoto Prefecture.
which had a large and long-stigmatized Japanese Christian community.

The recent surge in the number of Asian women who go to Japan to work in the sex industry has resulted in the neologism "Japayuki" being coined on the model of the older "Karayuki", who traveled in the opposite direction.

② World War II & "Comfort women"

During World War II (1939-1945), the Japanese military procured prostitutes for its soldiers in China. More than half were Korean, but the other were gathered from other countries occupied by Japan. The proportion of countries of origin of the women are in dispute. Japanese historian Ikuhiko Hata's study concludes that 40 percent of them were from Japan, 20% from Korea, 10% from China, and others making up the remaining 30%. According to Prof. Hirofumi Hayashi, the majority of the women were from Japan, Korea, and China. They are called "comfort women" or "military comfort women". They were tricked or coerced into service in Japanese military brothels during World War II. Some of them were kept until they contracted diseases and then discarded.

Many survivors are still seeking compensation in Japanese courts. They have become older and some of them were dead.

A movement which regarded the selling and buying of sex as a violation of human rights and tried to abolish the legalized prostitution system was followed persistently by a few Japanese groups since the Meiji period in Japan.

After World War II, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) handed the notation to abolish the legalized prostitution system to the Japanese government in January, 1946. In 1947, Imperial Ordinance No. 9 punished persons for enticing women to act as prostitutes, but prostitution itself remained legal. Only the Anti-Prostitution Law of 1956 (No. 118, passed May 24, 1956) reportedly spurred by alarming rates of venereal disease among troops made organized and legalized prostitution illegal.

In the past only wives were indicted on a charge of illicit intercourse and they were jailed, while husbands were all free in Japan. Chastity was wives' obligation to their husbands. But the crime of illicit intercourse was abolished
for reason of sexual inequality in 1947. (In India, both wives and husbands are indicted on a charge of illicit intercourse even now).

After the prevention law to abolish prostitution was enacted, Japan developed into an economically big country. Men began to tours to Korea, Thailand, the Philippines ... to buy sex.

The Indian guides once told me that, when Buddhist priests come to India, some of them first of all ask them where they could buy Indian prostitutes stealthily.