

**SOCIETY IN VIJAYANAGARA (14TH CEN - 16TH CEN):  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WOMEN**

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This is to certify that I, Sri Lakshmi Katragadda, have carried out the research work embodied in the present thesis under the guidance of Dr. Rekha Pande, for the full period prescribed under the Ph.D Ordinances of the University.

I declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of this thesis was earlier submitted for the award of Research Degree of any University.

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(K.SRI LAKSHMI)

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APHC	Andhra Pradesh History Congress Proceedings
AR	Archaeological Reports
ARSE	Annual Report of (South Indian) Epigraphy
CSSH	Comparative Studies in Society and History
EC	Epigraphia Carnatica
FPW	Economic and Political Weekly
JAHR	Journal of Andhra Historical Society
WAR	Mysore Archaeological Reports
MAS	Modern Asian Studies
MER	Mysore Epigraphical Reports
PIHC	Proceedings of Indian History Congress
QJMS	Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society
SJI	South Indian Inscriptions
STDV	Studies in the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara
TTP	Tirumala Tirupathi Devasthanam Inscriptions
VT	Vijayanagar Inscriptions
VSCV	Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume

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# **INTRODUCTION**

Medieval South India especially under the Vijayanagara empire was at the zenith of economic prosperity and cultural **effloroscence**. Naturally the people of the region were also responsible for the prosperity to some extent. This leads a researcher to make an attempt to probe into society and make an assessment of the role and status of women. The study of women in a prosperous period attains importance as women constitute the said society in considerable numbers and there could not have been any progress isolating them from major priorities. It is in this context that an attempt has been made to study the position of women and their contributions under the Vijayanagara empire from 14th to 16th century A.D.

The study of society in Vijayanagara (14th century - 16th century) : With special reference to women is basically a **socio-historical** study. It covers the areas of Kannada, Tamil and Telugu regions that formed part of Vijayanagara empire. Social history is acquiring importance in recent times as it presents various angles of people's lives. Only when all aspects of life is brought under a single framework, one can relate these different levels together thus presenting a total picture.

The study of **women** in Vijayanagara as a prime focus attains importance in the light of the fact that there were no systematic works done on the subject. The traditional historiography has always tended to focus upon areas of human activity in which males were dominant **i.e.**, wars, diplomacy, politics, and commerce

as worth studying. Female activities like domestic **work**, women's participation in agriculture, animal **husbandry**, magic, folk art have been generally regarded as unimportant and unworthy of study and hence considered to be outside the realm of the study of history.<sup>1</sup> This is however, not correct.

On the other hand, domestic work is worth studying since a large number of women have proved their efficiency and spent major portion of their lives. Any history dealing with domestic affairs can not be considered to be dull. **If** it is considered so, the very obvious link between the private world of the home and the public world of affairs will be relegated to the background.<sup>3</sup>

An important point to be noted here is that Women's history should strive to dismantle patriarchy which shaped the inherent notions of the relations of dominance and subordination in women's lives. Then it is necessary to understand how patriarchal structures operate and reproduce themselves. Presenting women with their history will give them a sense of their worth which could help in dismantling patriarchy.

The **aim** of this study is to add women's history to the existing men's history. Once, this female dimension is added, our perception of the past **is** sensibly altered<sup>4</sup> and thus our **view** of history transforms by itself. Rather than merely filling gaps in the picture, women's history faces **the** challenge of showing that it can transform and enrich the historical tradition. Sheila

**Rowbotham** says that simply studying women in the present does not necessarily question the whole scope of history. It would **mean** we study only exceptional women or that we study only the political aspects of women's movements. There should be an inclusive history which is truly total in scope.

Thus, it is not only necessary to put women **back**, but it is a question of reevaluating a whole world of experience, women's experience, and using it with empathy, to describe more accurately the worlds that men and women shared in the past.<sup>6</sup> It is to get this '**total** view' that women's history is needed. Once this dimension is added to history our perceptions of the past would be altered, so as to have a deeper understanding of historical problems.<sup>7</sup>

#### Methodology

The study on the status of women in the so called prosperous empire of Vijayanagara needs to be critically **examined**. The main idea behind this work is to analyse the society of which women constituted in large numbers and study their problems as part and parcel of society and not in isolation. If this has to be done, the whole mechanisms on which the society is based on has to be understood properly. Then the link between the society and women has to be established. The existing sources does not record about the involvement of women when it is referring about the society on the **whole**. Their reactions to certain issues and their participation in various activities were not taken care of.

Proper light has to be shed on these aspects which were generally considered to be unimportant and unworthy of study by the patriarchal society. The study becomes more challenging as the conventional sources can not stimulate a historian. One should look for new sources and fresh investigation needs to be carried out. Reading in between the lines and with a constant search for the answer to the question - 'What it tells about women' as per the methodology suggested by the historians of women's studies, give an interesting data about various angles of women's lives. There is a clear need for carrying out many specific local investigations to establish the reality of women's lives both at home and outside.

#### Objective of study

Some of the questions that can be raised are : Who constituted Vijayanagar society; What was the position assigned to women?; The contribution of women towards the overall prosperity?; Their role in various activities like **crafts**, Itinerary merchandise, cultural and religious pursuits?; Their participation outside their homes and if they did so, what were they?; Their economical position etc.,

#### Review of literature

Many works have been written on the various aspects of Vijayanagar **history**. But these works either covered only a part of the society not given a proper **focus** on women or covered **only** a part of the existing region not presenting a total picture.

Robert Sewell in his *A Forgotten Empire* presents the versions of Fernao Nuniz and Domingos Paes, the two Portuguese travellers who visited the Vijayanagara empire during the rule of Krishna Deva Raya. Though it is considered to be the first modern work which unearthed some of the aspects of contemporary **life**, their view point can not be accepted in toto as they viewed Vijayanagara with their own cultural point of view. Moreover, the conditions prevailing in India and Portugal were quite contrasting.

B.A.Saletore made an attempt to discuss some of the aspects related to the society in the book *Social and Political life in the Vijayanagar Empire* Vol.11,<sup>10</sup> He has discussed only some of the aspects related to women. Even the sources he used were mostly epigraphical thus presenting only a partial picture.

Nelaturi Vekata Ramanayya dealt with only the Third dynasty of Vijayanagara. In the book *Studies in the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*,<sup>11</sup> he discusses about the social conditions as well as the position of women very briefly during the Tuluva dynasty but the work has relied more on the contemporary literary sources thus giving only the version of a single source material and a single dynasty.

**T.V.Mahalingam** in his book *Administration and Social life under Vijayanagar*, Vol.11<sup>12</sup> discussed about some of the aspects relating to the society and women. But the work relied heavily on

the accounts of the foreign travellers and does not give a total picture. The travellers gave an exaggerating account on the institutions of prostitution and courtesans as they were unaware of similar institutions in their countries.

Burton Stein's *Peasant state and society in Medieval South India* <sup>13</sup> discusses about the formation and development of the medieval agrarian order. He also discusses about the Vijayanagara state and society but he never assessed the conditions faced by women.

In an other work entitled *The New Cambridge History of India, Vijayanagara*, <sup>14</sup> he discussed about the political economy and society in the 16th century. There is no mention about women in this work.

Nobour<sup>OU</sup> Karashima in the work *Towards A New Formation - South Indian Society under Vijayanagar Rule* <sup>15</sup> discusses about the emergence of a new political structure, the socio-economic developments, and the revenue policy and society in parts of the Tamil region under the Vijayanagar rule. He did not mention about the position assigned to women.

The Period covering 14th to 16th centuries witnessed many important changes. In the first instance, the empire of Vijayanagara came into existence after resisting to Muslim expansionist policy. Later on, it has to consolidate from the

clutches of many feudatories who were ruling at various places. Even then it has to face occasional invasions from the **Bahmani** rulers that caused instability.

On the economic front, a new system called **Nayakara** system based on land tenures was introduced. Many land tenures came into existence like **amaram, bhandaravada, manya** etc., Adding to it, there was oppressive taxation system that was affecting mostly the commoners often leading to migrations.

Socially, people who lived in the empire belonged to diverse backgrounds. There were Hindus, Christians, Muslims, Jews, Buddhists and Jains etc., from others. Moreover, the emergence of Islam as a powerful element and the spread of its institutions as a result of Bahmani invasions had tremendous impact. In some parts of the region, the right and left hand castes fought bitterly for a higher social status. Temple influenced the social life than ever before. The prominence attached to courtesans and devadasis has to be seen in a new social framework. The influence of foreigners on indogenous people is never to be under estimated especially in the outlying areas. If the whole society is to be **understood**, it can be studied only against this background.

In an attempt to answer the above questions, one need to consult several sources. Epigraphical sources, **contemporarv** literary accounts and foreign travellers accounts shed some light

on this aspect. In this **endeavour**, one has to look for new methods of investigation to interpret the existing sources as the references concerned is indirect and rare.

The sources utilised in this study can be broadly divided into:

I) Archaeological sources

II) Literary sources

### I. Archaeological sources

a. Inscriptions: One of the most exact information for reconstructing the history is - the study of inscriptions. Inscriptions throw light on the life of **sovereigns**, the people over whom they ruled, the culture of the period, the ideals and aspirations after which everyone strove for. The records were engraved in different scripts and languages mainly in Kannada, Telugu, Tamil and Sanskrit. I have mainly referred to the English translations of these inscriptions which were both religious and secular in content.

There were number of inscriptions that shed light on the period but most of them recorded donations to temples at one time or the other. The *T.T.D Inscriptions* and other temple epigraphs like **Srisailem**, **Simhachalam**, **Srikurmam** and **Ahobilam** belong to this category. Other inscriptions namely *South Indian Inscriptions*, **Vijayanagara Inscriptions**, *Mysore*

*Epigraphical Reports, Mysore Archaeological Reports, Epigraphia Carnatica, Epigraphia Andhrica, Karnatak Inscriptions* etc., record **some** of the aspects relating to society like castes and communities but their references towards women is rare.

A few inscriptions throw light on the position of women. For example, it is evident that in A.D. 1542 Chemnadeviamma, daughter in law of Devarasa Vodeya was governing Haduvali, Batakala and other kingdoms under the orders of the king.<sup>16</sup> It is known from this inscription that there were women administrators too ruling the people. **Moreover**, the king himself directing women to rule the kingdom signifies that he had tremendous confidence in their abilities and women also quite successfully fulfilled their obligations in a responsible manner.

An other epigraph dated A.D. 1547 during the reign of Sadasiva Raya states that **Chinnamman**, daughter of Pratapa **Ellamarasar** donated a village called Vankayalapattu to Lord Venkatesa of **Tirumala**.<sup>17</sup> Women of this period also enjoyed considerable economic freedom is understood from this instance. Women also donated **money** towards excavations of irrigation channels. Kuppayani donated **1,000** nar **panam** towards excavation of irrigation channels in devadana villages in Tirumala.<sup>18</sup> Since a woman **has** made this particular donation, it can be understood that they were aware of the

needs of the society and **women** were conducive to the problems of the people and reacted to them whenever the need arose.

b. Sculptures: Much information on costumes and ornaments can be accrued from the existing sculptures. In this study, the sculptures at **Hampi** and Lepakshi has been surveyed in detail. Sculptures can be better understood through the passages of literature that throw light on these aspects.

c. Paintings: Paintings are the most pleasing of historical **sources**, combining in themselves as they do bright colour and form, in addition to aesthetic quality along with import, in a manner that attract attention to themselves more than any other art expression.

To this category belong the paintings at Lepakshi. Though they are based on puranic themes, these paintings were thoroughly studied to give a complete picture on the contemporary customs and manners. They depict the pattern of costumes, ornaments and the way of dressing.

d. Manuscripts or Kaifiyats: The discovery of rare manuscripts has revolutionised thought and opened a new vista of information to reconstruct the p.'st. Besides giving a narrative of the political history, they give information on

the social, religious and economic conditions of the period. During the period, they are popularly known as Mackenzie manuscripts after the **name** of Col. Mackenzie who recognised the importance of these records and sent representatives to copy them. Some of the published records of Telugu and English versions were referred to.

## II. Literary sources:

- a. Contemporary literary works
- b. Contemporary foreign travellers accounts

a. Contemporary literary works: Literature is defined or explained as a reflection or reinterpretation of life through the medium of language. The system of values which a society upholds and cherishes during a particular phase of history is more clearly represented in the literature of that period than any other historical document. One could hear the inner voices or the heart beats of the society only in literature. The period was marked by the growth of **many** literary works in Sanskrit, Telugu, Tamil and Kannada. Especially the Telugu language and literature is fortunate enough to have won the hearts of the Vijayanagar **monarchs**. Infact Telugu was the language of the masses and hence **prime** importance was given for the enrichment of the **language**. The bias for the **Rayas** towards the language is probably due to their **connection** with Orugallu and Nellore.<sup>19</sup> There is no doubt in saying that royal patronage is needed for any language or

literature to thrive and grow.

Krishna Deva Raya himself was an author of many works and also patronised '**Asthadiggajas**' who produced voluminous literature. In *Amuktamalyada*, Godadevi, the heroine of the kavya painted the figure of god Hari in accordance with the classical pattern.<sup>20</sup> So, it can be said that cultured ladies were proficient in the art of painting. The details about the ornaments and costumes are discussed meticulously. In *Sukasaptati* authored by Kadiripati there is a description of a mendicant woman who belonged to the cobbler community. In *Ka lapurnodayam*, Pingali Surana gives a long list of ornaments worn by a bride.<sup>21</sup> Even social gatherings and festivals were described. Women were active participants in these gatherings and thus profound importance was attached to them. Though contemporary literary works seem to disclose most of the information relating to the period, most of the works were produced to impress upon the king with advanced literary values rather than reacting to the contemporary social conditions. The works were created for the enjoyment of the nobility and almost all of them were based on the themes of the Kavyas and the Puranic literature. The edited volumes of the literary works have been mainly referred to.

b. Contemporary foreign travellers accounts: Many foreign travellers visited the empire and gave their assessment on variety of subjects. The works of Niccolo

Conti, Abdur **Razak**, Duarte Barbosa, Ludavico di Varthema, Cartas, Correa, Purchas, **Domingos** Paes, Castanhada, Fernao Nuniz, Caesar **Frederick**, Linschotten testify to this. But their **assessment** can not be taken in toto because they viewed Vijayanagara with their own cultural background which is entirely different from that of contemporary scenario that was in vogue. Their accounts can be best supplemented to the existing sources.

The work of Duarte Barbosa has been rendered into two volumes by Longworth Dames under the title *The **work** of Duarte Barbosa* published by the Hakluyt **society**. The value of **Barbosa's** work at the present day is principally geographical and ethnographical. Some of his historical references are of considerable importance. As he has stated his object was not to write a history, but to describe the people and the century and its products. In many respects his accounts are accurate and show great powers of observation. His long stay in the South of India and knowledge of one of the languages (**malayalam**) gave **him** an understanding of the people <sup>23</sup>

Especially the work of Barbosa, Vol. I, discusses **24** exclusively about the kingdom of Narsyngua, which is known to the Portuguese from the name of the ruling Raja at the time of Vasco da **Gama's** first arrival in India and the great **city** of Bisnagua<sup>25</sup> generally used by the Portuguese for the city of Vijayanagar.

Varthema in his work *The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema* provides a detailed account of Goa and Calicut and other ports on the West coast. Though he discusses about the empire of Vijayanagar there is no mention of social conditions. Cartas, another traveller who visited Vijayanagara during A.D. 1514 records information on the <sup>26</sup> **commercial** aspects only.

The accounts of Varthema, Cartas and other Portuguese travellers were taken from the Portuguese profile of the Hindu **empire** of Vijayanagar from Donald F. **Lach's** *Asia in the making of Europe* published by the Chicago Press. The accounts of Abdur Razak, Niccolo Conti, Athanasius Nikitin, Santo Stephano who visited Vijayanagar in the 15th Century were taken from the edited version of R.H. Major's *India in the Fifteenth century* printed for the Hakluyt society.

The versions of Domingos Paes and Fernao Nuniz find mention in Robert Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire*. Besides it records the letter written by Manual Barrados (12th December, 1616) giving an account of the origin and course of the civil war then in progress in the kingdom of Vijayanagara. K.A. Nilakantha Sastri says that the chronicle of Nuniz incorporates the information he gathered about the rulers of **Vijayangara** from the foundation of the city and has described it as the most significant period of Vijayanagara **histor** with flesh and blood.<sup>27</sup>

## CHAPTERISATION

The present work is divided into Nine chapters including Introduction and Conclusion.

The First chapter Introduction acquaints with the need for studying social history and **women's** history in the regional context, Objective of study, Methodology used, Review of the secondary sources to place this study in its historiographical background. Sources for the study and gist of contents of the **chapters.**

The Second **chapter, State** and conditions in Vijayanagara discusses the nature of Vijayanagara state, women's participation in the state stabilisation process, and an insight into the nature of the state policies that made an impact on the lives of the people in general and women in particular in order to have a holistic picture. Thus it serves mainly as a background chapter.

The Third chapter, Nature of society helps us to estimate the over all social scenario. Only the social issues that affected womenfolk were dealt with as it is difficult to touch upon all the aspects that come under the purview of society, The social composition of the empire and the variations in the structure of society in different regions, the reasons for the conflicts and outcome, the legislations carried out were **appropriately** discussed. Besides the trauma of **migrations** and subsequent rehabilitation process is carefully monitored. The

study of society at a **macro** level is **important** initially to understand the **mechanisms** in operation. Later a detailed study at a micro level can be conducted in order to have a clear picture on the position of women.

The Fourth chapter assesses the position of women. Women have been divided into class and professions on the basis of their social and economic status. This **classification** is followed so that all the sections of women can be covered and their status can be truly ascertained. The discussion on property rights and education, the two strategic aspects would reveal a true picture on women's position in a patriarchal society. Besides the donations given by contemporary women would be critically examined.

The Fifth chapter is devoted to the preveleges enjoyed by courtesans and devadasis whose presence in large numbers is greatly acknowledged. The dubious distinction attached to these institutions which served the cause of patriarchy would be appropriately discussed.

The Sixth chapter, social beliefs, customs and festivals touch upon various aspects of the existing beliefs, customs and festivals. Their positive and negative aspects and the impact of these traditions on the over all society in general and women in particular is of considerable importance in assessing the position of women as bearers of tradition.

The Seventh chapter, **Women** as reflected in sculptures and paintings analyses the need for each professional class to have its own type of attire and ornaments to carry on their business. In turn it helps in distinguishing women on the basis of their economic status after examining their attire and ornaments.

The Eight chapter, Arts and Recreation discusses how women of this age developed the artistic skills which inturn led to the physical, social and psychological development and how recreations served the purpose of revitalising energies.

The Ninth chapter is the summary of the various conclusions drawn. The chapters have been supplemented by several Photographs, figures and tables based on sculptures and inscriptions.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

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<sup>22</sup> Pingali Surana, **Kalapurnodayam**, 7-66.

<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>

Synonymous with the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar.

Synonymous with **Bijanagar**, the capital city.

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**CHAPTER TWO**

STATE AND CONDITIONS  
IN  
VIJAYANAGARA

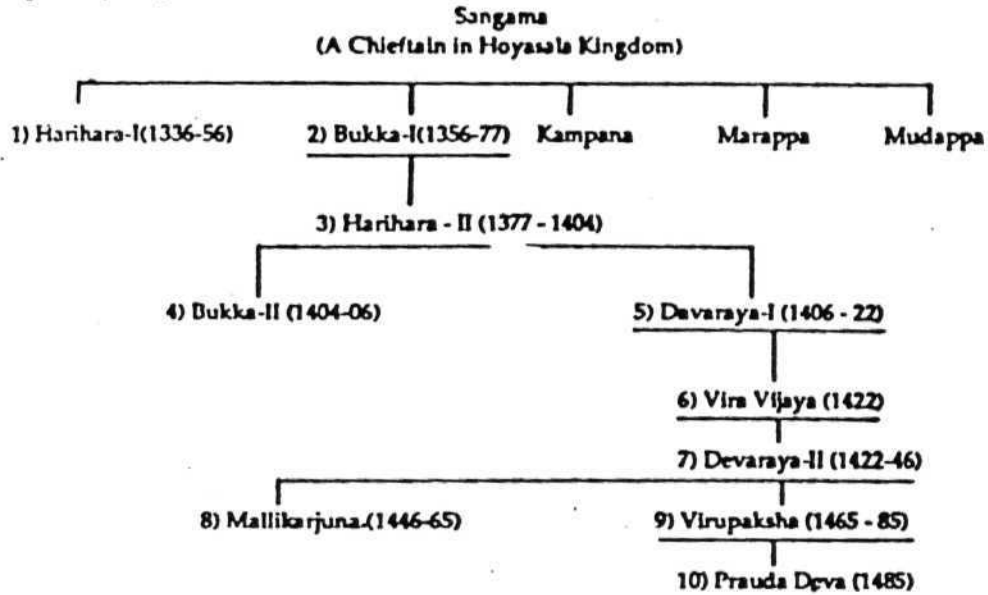
VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE



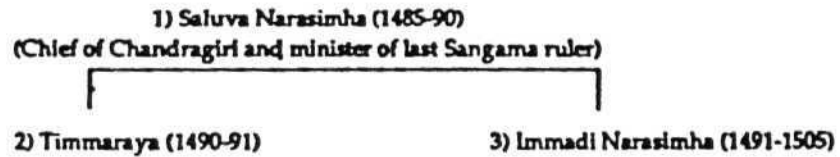
MAP - I: VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

## Geneology of Vijayanagara Empire

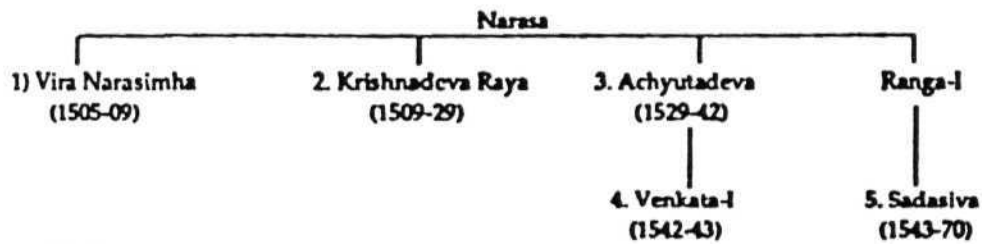
### A) Sangama Dynasty(1336-1485)



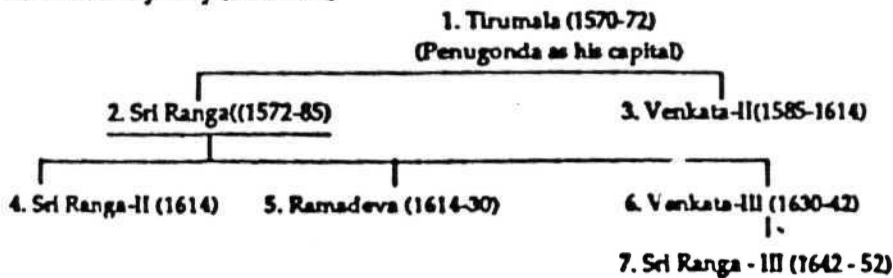
### B) Saluva dynasty (1485-1505):



### C) Tuluva Dynasty (1505 - 1570) :



### D) Aravidu Dynasty (1570-1632)



The illustrious empire of Vijayanagara was founded by the sons of **Sangama** in the south of Tungabhadra in A.D 1336. From then onwards the kingdom was ruled by the kings of four dynasties for a period of more than three hundred years which is an epoch **making** event in the annals of medieval South India.

The dynasties that ruled here include sangama dynasty (A.D 1336-1485), Saluva dynasty(A.D. 1485-1505), Tuluva dynasty (A.D 1505-1570), and the Aravidu dynasty (A.D.1570-1652).

#### NATURE OF STATE

It is appropriate here to discuss the nature of Vijayanagara state to know about the conditions of people. Diverse opinions have been expressed by different scholars over the nature of state. Various theories have been applied such as feudal structure, segmentary state, military **fiscalism** etc., Robert Sewell interpreted the system as changelessness of structure as part of the Vijayanagar polity. His notion is that the kingdom became the '**saviour**' of the south for 250 years and the rise of Vijayanagar kingdom was '**no miracle**' but '**the natural result of the persistent efforts made by muslims to conquer all India**'.<sup>1</sup> But in reality, Vijayanagar was involved in war not solely with Islamic powers but also with many Hindu states. Nelaturi Venkata Rama **ayya** looked at the system as one of **military** tenure under a central government. D.C Sircar and Nilakantha Sastri also talks about the state being based on military tenure.<sup>3</sup> This is because

of the prevalence of Nayankara system and the prevalence of nayaks as warrior chieftains. It is appropriate to note here that nayaks were asked to assist the Vijayanagara rulers at the time of war as loyal subordinates., but military duty played only a **minor** role in the selection of a nayak by the rulers. Therefore the view that the state is based on military tenure may not hold true. Burton Stein discussed the Vijayanagar state as an imperial structure wherein the balance of power between the central and state and all other loci of power as tilted overwhelmingly **in** favour of the former.<sup>4</sup> But when he talks about pyramidal segmentation he did not analyse the centre and locality relationship.

The entire political system was interpreted by T.V Mahalingam as a bureaucratic set up with divisions like central, provincial (rajyas) and local government.<sup>5</sup> Most of the historians interpret the political structure as a centralised bureaucratic system. Burton Stein reacts and says that this interpretation depended on the ancient and often didactic Sastras on government and also on the literary accounts of Nuniz and Paes who have used bureaucratic terms like governor in their description of the political system.<sup>6</sup> The system of sub **infeudation** was applied to Vijayanagara state by **Karashima**.<sup>7</sup> He observes a difference of grade among nayaks in relation to the central power which **may** suggest the existence of infeudation.

**The** argument, whether the Vijayanagara state is a feudal one

or not assumes importance because of the existence of military tenures and the economic obligations involved but certainly Indian feudalism is different to that which existed in Europe at that time. Coming to the **point**, though the king is at the apex of the **administration**, the presence of nayakara system and the ayagar system at the provincial level weakened the authority of the king. Though, the feudatories seem to obey the king's orders at the initial stages, their hold over military troops and lands sustained their position. It ultimately loosened king's grip over administration and led to oppression at the lower levels of society.

**Women's** participation in the state stabilisation process is worth mentioning. During this time, the festival of **Mahanavami** is considered to be a great ritual event which projected the king as a glorious and conquering warrior, possessor of vast riches that is displayed by him and his women (queens and maids of honour).

Paes says that during the time of the festivals the maids come in a regular order one before the other, in all perhaps sixty women fair and strong, from sixteen to twenty years of age. It is difficult to estimate the costliness and weight of the bracelets and jewels. Moreover the weight of the ornaments is so great that they take the help of others. In this way they proceed three times around the **(king's ) horses**, and at the end retired **into** the palace.<sup>9</sup>

The king observed many singing and dancing processions of womenfolk, fire work displays and games apart from receiving homage<sup>10</sup> and returning gifts, exchanging of honours, the sacrificial reconsecration of the **king's** arms<sup>11</sup> which strengthened the mighty power of the king and the Vijayanagara state. It is appropriate here to discuss some of the policies like commercial policy, trade policy, taxation policy, and Irrigation policy which had an **strong impact** on the lives of people. In the local level, the temple played an important role as an socio-economic entity apart from its religious functions. Its role in the said society has also been highlighted in due course.

#### I. AGRICULTURAL POLICY

The Vijayanagar empire was a land of peace and prosperity. The empire enjoyed self sufficiency in all matters of food articles. **It** was possible only due to the liberal irrigation policy pursued by the rulers. The prime base of the economy depended on agriculture, the state realised the importance of the canal system and provided irrigation facilities for agricultural improvement. Krishna Deva Raya in his famous work **Amuktamalyada** says that '**the** extent of a state is the root cause of its prosperity and that if it is small its prosperity would increase only when tanks and irrigation canals are constructed and favour is shown to the poor cultivators in the **ma'ter** of taxation and services'.<sup>12</sup> One method the state followed to improve the produce is by deforestation and forming new villages and the other by

affording greater **facilities** for increasing production in existing villages.

Irrigation **may** be done by storage works or tank irrigation, river or canal and dam works and well and lift works. The Vijayanagar rulers attended to all these works. **Instead**, they encouraged private individuals to undertake such works by giving concessions and remissions in the matter of taxation on the lands so irrigated.

According to an epigraph of A.D **1368**, Bhaskara Bavadura constructed a huge tank with many sluices in the modern Cuddapah **district**.<sup>13</sup> In 1388 A.D., under the orders of Bukka II, the hydraulic engineer (jalasutra) Singa Bhatta led the river Henne through a channel to the Siruvara tank apparently for affording irrigation facilities.<sup>14</sup> The Vijayanagar rulers converted valleys into tanks for irrigation purposes. During the time of Narasingaraya **maharaya**, a valley in the Anantapur district was converted into a tank and named Narasambudhi.<sup>15</sup> Similarly in A.D 1533, a big tank was formed from the river Arkkavati.<sup>16</sup>

The state undertook the construction of canal works with two fold objects. One was to increase the revenue of the state by levying taxes on such works and the other was to encourage the farmers to grow commercial crops such as sugarcane, cotton, arecanut, betel leaves, **Pepper**, cardamom and other spices which fetched more income not only to the government but also to the

agriculturists. The growth of cash crops increased foreign trade.

The state encouraged private individuals in the irrigation works. Dasavanda grants were given to them which **means** the grant of one fourth of and out of the total irrigated area under a tank which was repaired after a breach or extended or maintained or constructed to an individual who undertook this work. Kattu-kodige was also a land grant in the irrigated area. When Harinideva vodayar constructed a tank in Mysore district, he was given a grant by Deva Raya II and when the tank was extended by **him** another grant was given to **him**.<sup>17</sup> In A.D 1513, one Sovarya received a dasavanda grant in consideration of his having constructed a tank.<sup>18</sup> The small common channels in the villages were dug by the local people themselves. IN A.D 1486-87, the residents in and around Tiruvamattur (North Arcot) sold portions of their lands to the local temple treasury for the purpose of digging a channel from the river leading to the irrigation tank **of** the village.<sup>19</sup>

It was necessary not only to build new tanks but also to repair them. Many provisions were made to supervise them. In A.D 1513, two tanks in the Chennapatna taluq of Bangalore district went into repair. For that purpose, a village was granted for the **maintenance** of these tanks and it was ordered that six carts were to be kept for their maintenance, four for one and two for the other that earth should be put on **the** bunds every year and the tanks kept **in** good condition.<sup>20</sup>

The state helped the people in **maintaining** such irrigation works in proper condition, remitting certain taxes such as vibhute-kanikai, jodi and **sula-vari**. Concessions were made during the times of drought and flood. In A.D 1402-03, when some villages near Valuvur were lying fallow since the time of the river Cauveri washed away the demarcation bounds, silted up the irrigation channels and in consequence the tenants had abandoned the fields, the state restored the channels, repaired the boundary banks and rehabilitated the villages with tenants on certain favourable conditions and fixed graded rates of assessment.<sup>21</sup>

At times the income from the tanks was utilised for their maintenance. In certain cases, the village assemblies consented to maintain a cart driver who was to look after the upkeep of a tank. They acted as the trustees of the endowments made for the maintenance of the tank and met the expenses of the same perhaps from the interest on the capital. It is interesting to note that the properties of those who died without heirs were also used for the repairs of the tanks.<sup>22</sup>

**If a group of people had spent some money on the repair of tanks and wells, water was to be distributed among them in proportion of the expenditure incurred by them. When a dam was damaged, the temple authorities made a grant of land to some brahmins for restoring the dam. For instance, the Davangere**

inscription of A.D **1410**, says that the expenses incurred in connection with the annual repairs of the wells and tanks were borne in proportion of two-thirds by the temple and one-third by the brahmins and therefore the water of the channel was also to be distributed **in** the same proportion. <sup>23</sup>

(a) LAND AND REVENUE POLICY

Regarding the land revenue assessments, Nuniz says that the peasants were allowed to retain only a tenth part of their produce, the remaining was squeezed either by the government or the feudatories as their share.<sup>24</sup> Land revenue was mostly **paid** in kind.

According to tradition, land revenue was paid in kind in the proportion of half the produce, and this half was converted into money at a price most unfavourable to the cultivator. Taxes on certain types of niraramba or wet fields were assessed and collected in cash, because of the perishable nature of their yield, while on kadaramba or dry plots, taxes were collected in kind.<sup>25</sup>

Land possession rights were enjoyed by women too as observed from the contemporary epigraphs. An epigraph dated A.D. 1401 from Basrur mentions that one Tuluva Heggaditi, the daughter of Kotesarah belonging to Jadar Bali was enjoying landed property yielding 106 **mudis** of rice.<sup>26</sup>

An inscription from **Kaikim** in **Bhatkal** Taluq dated A.D. 1542 says that one **Gummati** Nayakiti, the daughter of **Koteyakka** belonging to Honnabali was owning landed property worth 3 **mud** is of **rice in** a place called **Salugeri**.<sup>27</sup>

Other inscription dated A.D 1546 refers to **Baliyakka** , the daughter of Banasi was in possession of landed property worth 9 **mudis** in the place called **Mavali**.<sup>28</sup>

**Lakkama Nayakiti**, **Isaramma Nayakiti**, **Gummata Nayakiti**, **Yenku Nayakiti** and **Sante Heggade** were land owners in **Bhatkal**, **Kaikiu** and **Mavalli regions**.<sup>29</sup>

**Some** women became owners of landed property after their marriage. An inscription of A.D 1433 from Basrur states that **Narayana Shetti** donated a house site along with garden to **Devakka** on occasion of her marriage.<sup>30</sup> **Honamma shetti** received a gift of land as **kanyadana** after purchase from her grand father **Hireya-Honneya Kambali Odeya** alias **Bankiarasa** in A.D. 1482.<sup>31</sup>

Royal sanction is given to some women when they received gifts in form of land. An epigraph dated A.D. 1547 from Mavalli says that one **Bairamma Nayakiti's** gift of land which she got on the occasion of her marriage with **Malu Naika** received royal sanction.<sup>32</sup> **women** also enjoyed the property rights of land along with **the** male relatives. In A.D. 1433, **Koteyakka** managed her landed property **in** **Basruru** along with her children.<sup>33</sup> They were also engaged in landed transactions such as purchase, grant and

**mortagage.** In A.D. **1531**, **Sankamma** from Kanyaka in Kundapur taluq sold a land yielding forty one **mudi** to one **Timmi Setti**.<sup>34</sup> Possibly this could be the reason for many women figuring as donors as discussed in the later part of the thesis.

## II. INDUSTRIAL POLICY

The empire was quite self sufficient and did not depend much on **imports**. The exports included cloth, rice, iron, saltpetre, sugar and spices. The imports include certain luxurious items like horses, elephants, pearls, copper, coral, mercury, vermilion, china silks and velvet.<sup>35</sup>

Industries related to agriculture, mining, weapons of war, perfumes, handicrafts, textiles, fisheries were some of the important ones. As machines were unknown, the skill of the individuals mattered much. Small number of craftsmen or artisans were employed and production was on a small scale. Generally, the raw materials were available in the locality itself. The traditional castes who were attached to their professions were seen in most of the occupations related to Industry. Next to agriculture, Industries fetched most of the revenue for the state exchequer.

### III. COMMERCIAL POLICY

Vijayanagara rulers followed an effective **commercial** policy. Trade and Commerce stood as an important economic activity after agriculture and industries. The people who were engaged in **commerce** created markets for both luxuries and necessities. As the movement of goods from place to place required lot of protection and every step was taken to see that there was no disruption in the flow of goods. The well known maxim laid down in the Amuktamalyada testifies that-A king should improve the harbours of his country, and encourage its commerce. Horses, elephants, precious gems, sandal wood, pearls and other articles should be freely imported into his country. He should also arrange that the foreign sailors who land in his country on account of storms, illness or exhaustion are looked after in a manner suitable to their nationalities.<sup>36</sup> The king should also provide the merchants of foreign countries with daily audience, presents and allowing decent profits. Then those articles will never go to the enemies.<sup>37</sup>

Both foreign and indigenious communities handled the trade. The **muslim** merchants were the earliest commercial community, then replaced by the Portuguese in lucrative types of commerce. In The Portuguese trade received a great blow at the battle of Tallikota in A.D 1565 and since then the centre of gravity shifted to the east coast which is dominated by the Dutch, the Danes and the English. Tn spite of the fact that foreign trade was largely i the hands of foreign merchants, the native merchants as the **settis** or cettis of Karnataka, Tamil and Andhra regions took a

large share and generally traded in pepper, precious stones and costly wares. They followed the practice of buying in advance and acted through the **middlemen** or dubasis. Prices were determined according to the traditional practices. This is testified by **Varthema's** account<sup>38</sup> which gives a detailed description of the procedure followed in the determination of prices.

#### IV. TRADE POLICY

##### (a) Domestic **trade**

Many communities operated in domestic trade. They were Banajiga, Salumule Banajiya, Settis, **Settiguttis**, Mummaridandas etc., Commercial agreements were negotiated and the rates of custom duties were fixed. The government policy was to provide all facilities for commerce on the highways. Maintenance of law and order was ensured. The construction of aravattige or water sheds and rest houses were provided not only by the government but also by the private individuals. Santhes or weekly fairs flourished at local levels and promoted local trade. The policy of decentralisation simplified the administration of towns and the collection of commercial taxes. The presence of a higher official namely **muddiah** dandanayaka<sup>39</sup> supervised the **customs**. The introduction of variety of coins like gadyana, hana, pana, honnu, kasu apart **from** gold, silver and copper coins facilitated internal trade. The decentralisation in the administration of trading towns was an indication of the liberal outlook of the **rulers**. The rulers believed that the prosperity of the empire depended upon the expansion of trade.

The imports included gold and silver for minting, horses and elephants for fighting, and for royal paraphernalia, spices, brass ware and textiles of attractive varieties for the common people. The articles of luxury catering to the members of the royal family and nobility included precious stones and pearls of special varieties.

The exports included rice, sugar in powdered variety, wheat, **millet**, cocoa nuts, dye stuffs, pepper, cloves, ginger, cinnamon, iron, precious stones, cotton manufactures, porcelain ware, special varieties of calico etc., From the quantitative side, exports exceeded imports and the balance of payments position was in favour of the state. The custom duties were levied on goods actually sold and not on all articles taken for sale. The taxes and duties were not collected directly by the state but auctioned to the highest bidders. This system seemed to be oppressive as the merchants and the government exploited to their own advantage.

Merchant guilds as tax farmers were empowered to levy taxes on goods manufactured, sold or transported. A record from Tripurantakam<sup>40</sup> mentions about the **gift** of two taxes by the **Virabalanja** guild . When the king or his subordinates desired to gift the taxes to a temple, he had to obtain the permission of the guild or its president. An inscription of Siddhapuram taluq in Cuddapah district<sup>41</sup> records the **gift** of a tax payable by all the 24 castes to one Lingayya '**with** the permission of the Ayyavolu **samasta** pekkandru'. Each guild was empowered to collect

taxes also. Such was the political and **economic** power wielded by the **merchant** guilds.

Women also carried on commercial activities like business. Aramavalatta Nachiyar the elder sister of a kaikkolar approached the king Deva **Raya** II in A.D. 1433 with a grievance related to business and secured from him a copper-plate embodying a **sarvamanya** gift of a village and it was exempted from taxes.<sup>42</sup>

Women were involved in basket-making, tailoring, pottery,  
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**mat-making** and garland-making. Women were associated with textile production. They were known as bandhanaris.<sup>44</sup> Women took active part in the manufacture of arrows and bows, weaving cloth. Srinatha mentions in one of his famous **catus** that he saw a Baliija  
45 : 46  
**woman** (a woman of trading community.) Sale woman (a woman of weavers community), machikant (a woman of **fisherman** community) and Vaddekula vadhuti. (a woman of stone **chisler's** community) who were going freely in the street.

(b) External trade

The rulers maintained cordial trade contacts with many countries Bukka I maintained trade contacts with China and sent an embassy. Deva Raya II invited Abdur Razzaq, an ambassador from Persia in order to strengthen their mutual trade contacts. Krishna Deva Raya sent an embassy to the Portuguese at Goa in A D 1511. He also expressed his desire to get horses from Arabia and

**Ormuz.** The Portuguese readily agreed to supply horses to Vijayanagara rather than to the sultan of Bijapur. This indicates how the rulers were determined to maintain good trade contacts.

(V) Taxation Policy

Vijayanagara rulers followed an oppressive taxation policy. The prosperity of the **empire** can be explained through their taxation principles in the following lines. They collected variety of taxes ranging on the nature of lands. The villages were classified into eight types for tax purpose. They were 1) The brahmadeya villages 2) The devadana villages 3) The **mathapura** villages 4) The sarvamanya villages<sup>48</sup> 5) The **kodagi** lands 6) **Rakta-kodagal** lands 7) Guttagi lands 8) The rest of the villages or lands. The first four types prevailed prior to the Vijayanagar times.

Almost all the Vijayanagar inscriptions refer to some income from land, assignment of land, remission of revenue, levy of fresh taxes or the renewal of obsolete ones.

Some taxes were also collected from the people who were newly settled in villages. They were: 1. Karanika 2. Talarika. There was a tax called pullari or grazing tax on the cultivators and pastoral communities who grazed their cattle and herds on pastures and woods. There was a tax on wood cutters for cutting

wood in the forest and selling it in villages or towns.<sup>49</sup> A tax called dannayi-vartana<sup>50</sup> was collected from all the inhabitants of the village to maintain the commander of the fort for the protection he was supposed to give to the people. The talavarika or **kavalikatnam**<sup>51</sup> was levied on all the villagers for the maintenance of the talari or the village guard. Besides **these**, there were karanika vartane and rasaya vartane<sup>52</sup>. They were collected for the maintenance of the karanam and the **rasayam**. **Kappam**<sup>53</sup> was a tax collected from the barbers, washermen, goldsmiths and others.

The Rayarakha of Alavakona village in Cuddapah district gives details of shops and looms paying taxes to the state.<sup>54</sup> Salt industry continued to be a state monopoly, yielded good revenue.<sup>55</sup> Merchant guilds were empowered to levy taxes on goods **manufactured**, sold or transported. A record form Tripurantakam mentions about the gift of two taxes by the Virabalanja guild. Each guild was held responsible for the collection of taxes. Occasional disputes arose about their payment. Weavers were to pay a tax called **maggari**.<sup>56</sup> The tax was paid by the oil pressers was called the **ganugari**.<sup>57</sup> The sunka or toll was an excise duty payable on all goods passing from one place to the other.

A number of tolls like sthala sunka, **malige** sunka, addagada sunka, **karta** sunka, margadaya, **viralam** etc., are **mentioned** in the inscriptions. A tax known as vetti or **vetti-vemula** was collected for the maintenance and support of the village vetti, one who

offered for free labour. Another **impost**, **khaddayam** meant compulsory purchase of goods at exorbitant rates.<sup>58</sup> Addagada **sunkam** was a tax paid by the sellers of sheep.<sup>59</sup> Washermen had to pay a tax for the use of tanks or canals belonged to the state. Goldsmiths were taxed for testing the coins collected as revenue.<sup>60</sup> Toddy tappers paid a tax known as eediga gutta.<sup>61</sup> The **boy** is or members of the hunting community, dwelling in forests belonging to the state paid the **boyi-sunkam**.<sup>62</sup> Each owner of a house paid the house tax called illari.<sup>63</sup> Grama **katnam** was a levy collected from all the members of the lower castes.<sup>64</sup>

There were some illegal taxes also whose nature and meaning is not ascertained. They were **nagaribirade**, **asivechalu** and **biradulu**, **kapurapupannu**, **tirukatnal**, **tyagam**, **biradde bideke**, **tere terege**, **ampanam** etc.,<sup>65</sup>

Social institutions like marriage also were not exempt from excessive taxation. It affected all the castes. A tax of two panas has to be paid on every marriage. The parents of both the parties were taxed for erecting a pandal, for taking out the bride and the bridegroom in a procession etc.,<sup>66</sup> This tax must have affected the poor who remained unmarried for a long time.

A **tax** known as **samaya-sunke** or **kula-siddhaya** was **levied**. the state used to appoint influential persons as heads of castes especially lower castes. They were to enforce caste rules, try cases of violation and impose fines on offenders. On occasions,

they received presents. Athavana tantra says that 'In virtue of the monopoly granted to him by the state, he derives much income from the community. He is required to pay a portion of this income to the **government** as a tax which is called **samaya-sunka**.<sup>67</sup>

The Vijayanagara kings even cashed the **superstitions**. there was a superstition that famines and epidemics were caused by village goddesses and the king should protect the people. Accordingly, dues were collected from the villages which were known as **maharaja guttalu** or **maharaja tevalu**.<sup>68</sup>

**Dommaras**, a tribe of professional acrobats were collected **dommari pannu**.<sup>69</sup> Vipravinodins, the brahmin entertainers were paid **vipravinodi pannu**.<sup>70</sup> The barbers and other lower castes paid **pannu**, **kanike khaddayam**, **nagaribirade**, **anuvecham**, **siddhayam**, **dommari pannu** etc., Taxes were collected **from devadasis** and courtesans known as **lanja sunkam**.<sup>71</sup> It was collected in cash.

It is said that When the hand of the oppressor became very heavy and ruinous, the ryots, no longer able to put up with tyranny either formed voluntary associations to resist his exactions, or more frequently deserted their homes and **migrated** to a neighbouring province, where conditions governing life were less intolerable. The government made constant attempts to induce such ryots to return to their farms by offering them liberal concessions. The ryots **were** not also inclined to return as they had completely lost their faith in the promises made by the

representatives of the government. .It was evident from this that what was a normal evil became great exaggerated during the administration of weak monarchs such as Achyuta, owing to the rapacity of amaranayaks and tax-gatherers, whose nefarious activities the imperial government was not able to check. <sup>72</sup> The exploitation continued during the reign of Sadasiva Raya also. <sup>73</sup>

There were number of instances of remission or abolition of taxes due to the migration of people. Saluva Narasimha sent a expedition to suppress the tyranny of a local chief, **Sambeta** Guravaraju, who inflicted inhuman punishments to those who did not pay taxes. <sup>74</sup> During the reign of Achyuta **Raya**, the people of Kavutala **sima** (Adoni taluq) abandoned the village and migrated to Bijapur. They were recalled again and an inscription dated A.D 1533 testifies to this. <sup>75</sup> During the reign of Sadasiva Raya, the people of Chyabala in Anantapur district deserted the village as

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a result of oppressive taxation. It seems that people used the weapon of migration as a most effective weapon to redress their grievances.

The taxation policy of the Vijayanagara rulers reveal that wide disparities were prevalent between higher and lower sections of population. Infact at one level, we find the nobles and other higher secions of society amassing lot of wealth at cost of the poor.

Therefore all these policies and the taxation brought in a lot of prosperity to the Vijayanagara state.

## TEMPLE AS A SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENTITY

Another **important** factor for the prosperity of the kingdom was the temple. During Vijayanagar times, temple was a powerful socio-economic entity that influenced people's lives in a big way. It was infact the citadel of economic power enjoying a status co-equal to that of the state.<sup>77</sup> It was the one institution that received a generous patronage of both the ruler and the ruled. In turn, temple mobilised developmental funds within a region. In some places, endowments of money were loaned by the temple to commercial firms for a perpetual interest of around 20 per cent.<sup>78</sup> In some other places, the funds were invested in their own temple villages. The earnings on such invested funds would come in form of a greater income from the major share of income.

Apart from the gift of villages and lands, temple received part of villages, gardens, house sites, tanks, canals, gold, ornaments, clothes, utensils, taxes, lamp stands and lamps either to be burnt daily or on particular occasions. The purpose of gift making is that of religious merit. Generally, the donors aspired for merit for themselves or **their** ancestors or for their masters and overlords in making these gifts. **Other** offerings were made during special occasions like **sivaratri**, vaikunta **ekadasi**, rama **navami etc.**,

Here, it is significant to note that the Vijayanagar kingdom

has a politico-economic system based chiefly on land tenure and there was a tendency to grant land in lieu of cash salaries even to temple employees.<sup>79</sup> These grants of land to temple employees, transferred the responsibility of cultivating the lands to employees who in turn gave the lands for lease to local cultivators enforcing the strict usage of fixed units of **measurement** to measure the grain etc.,<sup>80</sup>

Temple played an important role through excavation and maintenance of irrigation works by giving loans and reclamation of lands etc., It also mobilised its resources of land and money for relief work during famines.

The crops grown on temple lands provided the ingredients for food offerings referred to as prasadam made to the god daily as a part of the temple ritual and also on innumerable festive occasions. The temple was the largest consumer of goods like rice, pulse, pepper, ghee, oils, salt, cardamom, fenugreek, turmeric, khuskhus, sandal paste, camphor, saffron, musk, betel Leaves and arecanuts. The food offerings were then distributed among the temple functionaries as maintenance allowance. The consecrated food was considered sacred and its consumption brought religious merit to the devotees. There was a regular trade in consecrated food as the temple leased the right to sell **prasadam** to private individuals or empowered the donors to see their share of the consecrated food.<sup>81</sup>

The temples enjoyed an enormous income in form of taxes, house rents, rents from shops **etc.**, The taxes were either collected by the temple authorities directly in certain villages or levied under instructions from the government. Inscriptions provide a large number of taxes that flowed into the temple

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treasury. As temples became larger, more elaborate and more costly, public subscriptions or additional taxes were sometimes levied to provide additional revenue to the temple.

The temple as an economic institution helped the economy of the state in various ways. It attracted a large number of pilgrims and **the 'pilgrims clientele'** stimulated trade. This created the environment of **'pilgrim-associated trade'** during special festivals. In addition to the regular fairs or **'santhes'**

held in the vicinity of the temple, the periodic fairs acted as links between local trade and itinerant trade organisations and added to economic prosperity<sup>83</sup>. R.s Sharma points out that with the practice of collecting tolls levied on sale of commodities or on shops by the temples, the **'temples'** came to wield some control over the economic activities of the artisans and merchants which they could regulate in their narrow interests.<sup>84</sup>

More and more people began to associate with the temple as the big temples and celebrated shrines in the **macro** region **maintained** large establishments consisting of administrative officials.<sup>85</sup> Though it is difficult to ascertain the exact number

of temple servants but it is known that even smaller temples maintained as many as ninety servants is known from epigraphical evidences.<sup>86</sup>

The temple acted as a mediator in local disputes and brought about social solidarity and cohesion among sectarian and caste groups and families. For example, in A.D **1381-82**, two parties of Araiyaars who fought with each other resulting loss of trustees of the temple of Kelandi Nayakkar agreeing to maintain friendly relations.<sup>87</sup>

The temple was the citadel of village life. However it was **mainly** patronised by royal and merchant classes. Owing to the continuous internecine warfare during the period, the Hindu rulers felt that liberal grants of land to temples was the best means of safeguarding property. Income from land ensured consistency and as temple lands were leased out to tenants irrigation became a local responsibility. Thus, temples played a purposeful role.

#### Religious progress

The Rayas were generally Vaisnavas (particularly after the first dynasty) but tolerant in their outlook. They attempted to reconcile sectarian conflicts and ensure harmony. Even Kasivilasa **Kriyasakti**, a **pasupata** saint who rivals Vidyaranya in the support **ne** gave to Vijayanagara and the cause of the Hindu revival and

who is acknowledged as their guru by several princes of the first Vijayanagara dynasty was very tolerant in his general outlook and not only approved of his disciples supporting Advaita and Vaisnava institutions but himself **made endowments** and grants to temples of Visnu. All types of religions found encouragement.

Sometimes public debates were held like that in which **Vallabhacharya**, the founder of a vaisnava sect is said to have vanquished **smarta** scholars in the reign of the celebrated Krishna Deva Raya. Royal patronage was extended even to Islam. Deva Raya II ( A.D 1442-1446) built a mosque in his capital for the use of **muslim** soldiers.

Krishna Deva Raya being the devotee of vaisnava repaired and rebuilt the temple of Virupaksha (Siva) at **Hampi** after his accession. He made gifts to the saiva as well as to vaisnava temples. The temples of Kanchi, Tirupathi, Simhachalam and **Ahobalam** (all vaisnava) as well as those of Tiruvannamalai, Cidambaram, Kalahasti, Srisailam, and Amaravati (all saiva) received liberal grants of land from him. Even Jains were found in his service.

Barbosa records that the king allows freedom to every man **whomay** come and go and live according to his own creed without suffering and annoyance and without inquiry, whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Heathen. Great equity and justice is observed by all.<sup>88</sup> The same policy was continued by Achyuta Raya

also. The Vijayanagar sovereigns and the **nayaks** of the empire often **made** substantial endowments to the Dargas of **muslim** saints where miracles were believed to be performed and horoscopy was studied.

Some records mention about a Christian diwan of Deva **Raya** II as early as A.D 1445. After the coming of the Portuguese, the Jesuits made converts from the people especially from among the paravas of the pearl fishery coast who were eager to escape the oppression of the muslim monopolists of the industry by transferring their allegiance to Christianity and seeking the protection of Portugal.

Vaisnavism received special patronage and Tirupathi became the most important centre of vaisnavism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Telugu vaisnava tradition mention Tatacharya who was the guru of Krishna Deva Raya. The jiyars of Ahobalam **matha** played an important part in spreading srivaisnavism and Van Sathakopa Jiyar, the founder of the matha was in close touch with the court. Several vaisnava families like the Kandadai and Paravastu took to regular missionary work in the cause of **visnavism** and secured a large number of disciples and made vaisnavism, the most influential faith in the country. The other branch of vaisnavas, the **madhvas** had **influence** as they produced great teachers like **Aksobhya** muni, Brahmanyatirtha, Vyasa raya) tirtha and others. The great saint Purandaradasa was a convert of

Vyasaraya enriched the faith by hundreds of devotional songs. He was said to be the greatest expounder of the faith. Though **Madhvaism** failed to attract **many** adherents in spite of the great teachers it produced, it made a notable contribution to popular religion by attaching importance to the worship of Hanuman. **Madvaism** lost its importance after Krishna Deva **Raya**.

Many of the temples maintained a number of Lingayat mathas, the most important of them being located at Srisailam, Sangameswaram and Ummattur. The monks propagated Lingayat faith and studied the **agamas** and allied literature that had grown since the days of Basava in the twelfth century. They used the local language in order to attract the masses. Jainism continued to be **important** in some centres particularly in the Tuluva **rajya**, where Sravana Belgola is situated. There was an important Jain **matha** and another at Kancipuram in the Padaividu rajya. **The** head of the **matha** had absolute authority in all matters including the selection of the successor. The inmates of the mathas had no voice in their management and were under the complete control of the respective heads. As a **rule**, the mathas were centres of learning and took a prominent part in promoting education both religious and secular and morality among the people.

There was an increased stress on theism due to the spread of **vaisnavism** and **lingayatism** gave an impetus to temple building and organisation. The temple entered the daily life of the people than ever before. Vijayanagara kings, true to their ideal of tolerance, have been anxious to protect their subjects, irrespective of their castes and creeds.<sup>on</sup>

## Cultural Progress

The Vijayanagar rulers patronised Telugu, Sanskrit, **Tamil** and Kannada poets. Many fine works were produced during the period. The reign of Krishna Deva Raya was of special **importance** in this branch of activity. It marked the dawn of a new era in the literary history of South India. He himself is a scholar, musician and a poet. He wrote Amuktamalyada in Telugu in the introduction of which he refers to five Sanskrit works written by him. His court was adorned with eight poets known popularly as '**Ashtadiggajas**'.

## Telugu

Vidyaranya and his brother Sayana wrote more than a hundred works relating to Srauta, **Smarta**, Vedanta, Dharma **sastra**, Mimamsa, Astrology, Medicine, Grammar and History. They also wrote a commentary on the Vedas which is called Sayana Bhasya.

Somanatha is the author of Uttara **Harivamsa** which he dedicated to god Hariharanatha. He also wrote Vasanta **vilasa** and Haravilasa. He possessed many titles viz., Sakala **Bhasabhusana**, Sahitya Rasopasana, Samvidhana Chakravarti, Navinaguna Sanadha and **Sarvajna**.<sup>90</sup>

The **Asthadiggajas** were-

Allasani Peddana

Manucharitra

<b>Mukku Timmana</b>	<b>Parijatapaharanam</b>
<b>Dhurjati</b>	<b>Kalahastimahatmyam</b>
<b>Ramaraja Bhushana</b>	<b>Vasucharitra</b>
Tenali <b>Rama Krishna</b>	Panduranga <b>Mahatmyamu</b> and
	<b>Ghatikachalamahatmyamu</b>
Pingali Surana	Raghava <b>Pandaviyamu</b> and
	<b>Kalpurnodayamu</b>
	91
Ayyalaraju <b>Ramabhadra</b>	<b>Ramabhyudayamu</b>

## SANSKRIT

Many Sanskrit works were produced during this period. The works attributed to Vidyaranya are Vyavahara Madhaviya, Vivarana **Prameya** Samgraha, Brahma Vidasirvada Paddhati, Kovanmikti Viveka, Manu **Smriti** Vyakhya, Panchadasi, **Kalamadhaviya**, Ayurvedanindana, **Samkara Vijaya**, Kalanirvanaya **etc.**,

The works of Sayana are Dhatu-vriti, **Subhashita**, Sudhanidhi, Purusharta Sudhanidhi, Ayurveda Sudhanidhi, commentary on the vedas, commentaries on the Satapatha and Taitteraya, Alamkara Sudhanidhi, Prayaschi Sudhanidhi, Yagna Tantra Sudhanidhi. The son of Sayana, Madhava is the author of Sarvadarsana Sangraha composed in the time of Jayatirta.

Krishna Deva Raya was a great poet in Sanskrit and wrote many poems viz., Madalasa caritra, Satyavadhu **parinayam**, Jnanacintamani, **Rasamanjari**, Sakalakatha sara samgraha, Suktinaipuni Jnanachintamani and a drama by name **Jambavati** Parinaya.

The Dvaita tradition was represented by Akshobhyatirtha and Jaya tirha. Akshobhya is said to have written Madhava Tattvasara **Samgraha** and defeated Vidyananya in dispute when Vedanta Desika was the arbitrator.

Ganga Devi, the wife of **Kampa** was the authoress of **Kamparaja Vijayam**. Narahari, a disciple of Vidyananya **commented** upon the **Kavya-prakasa** and wrote the **Naishadha-dipika**. Under the patronage of Bukka II, **Lakshmana** pandita wrote a **medical** work, Vaidyaraja vallabha.

Kannada

The development of Kannada literature was mainly confined to the Tuluva country and primarily enriched by the Jain writers. Gobbi Mallanarya and Sarvagna **murthi** were the two well known kannada poets of the age. Kallarasa wrote Janavasya or Mallikarjuna **vijaya** or Mallikarjuna.

To conclude, the state received a lot of wealth through its exports and taxes and thus attained a lot of prosperity, the temple also added to this prosperity. This prosperity was channelised in attaining cultural **effloroscence**.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup>Robert Sewell, op.cit., PP. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup>N. Venkata Ramanayya, op.cit., P.171.

<sup>3</sup>D.C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 1966, P. 214; K.A. Nilakantha Sastri, *A History of South India from Pre-Historic times to the fall of Vijayanagar*, Madras, 1976, P. 257.

<sup>4</sup>Burton Stein, op.cit., P.409.

<sup>5</sup>T.V. Mahalingam, op.cit., P.9.

<sup>6</sup>Burton Stein, op.cit., P.380.

<sup>7</sup>Noboru Karashima, *South Indian History and Society, Studies Inscriptions, A.D. 850- 1800*, Delhi, 1984, P.161.

<sup>8</sup>See Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, London, 1961, P.446; Harbans Mukhia<sup>1</sup> there Feudalism in Indian history', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, No.3, 1981; R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism (c.1300-1200)*, Calcutta, 1965,

<sup>9</sup>Robert Sewell, op.cit., P.263.

<sup>10</sup>the rents of the nayaks are paid at this time (Burton Stein, op.cit., P.389.)

<sup>11</sup>Burton Stein, op.cit., P. 389.

<sup>12</sup>*Amuktamalyada*, Canto IV, V, 236.

<sup>13</sup>T.V. Mahalingam (ed.), *Readings in South Indian History*, New Delhi 1977, P.149.

<sup>14</sup>*Epigraphia Carnatica*, X, GD.6.

<sup>15</sup>*Archaeological Reports on South Indian Epigraphy*, 710 of 1917.

<sup>16</sup>*Epigraphia Carnatica*, IX, NL. 31.

<sup>17</sup>*Epigraphia Carnatica*, III, MY. 77.

- <sup>18</sup>*Archaeological Reports on South Indian Epigraphy*, 398 of 1896.
- <sup>19</sup>*Archaeological Reports on South Indian Epigraphy*, 7 of 1922.
- <sup>20</sup>*Epigraphia Carnatica*, IX, CP.156; *Mysore Archaeological Reports*, 1915, P. 93.
- <sup>21</sup>*Epigraphia Carnatica*, X, BG.71.
- <sup>22</sup>*Epigraphia Carnatica*, XI, DV.70.
- <sup>23</sup>*Epigraphia Carnatica*, XI, DG.23.
- <sup>24</sup>K. Satyanarayana, *JAHRS*, op.cit., P.169.
- <sup>25</sup>K.Satyanarayana, *JAHRS*, P.169.
- <sup>26</sup>*South Indian Inscriptions*, IX, Part II, No.424.
- <sup>27</sup>*Karnatak Inscriptions*, III, Part I, No. 11.
- <sup>28</sup>*Karnatak Inscriptions*, III, Part I, No. 16.
- <sup>29</sup>*South Indian Inscriptions*, VII, No.31.
- <sup>30</sup>*Archaeological Reports on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1920-30, No.563.
- <sup>31</sup>*South Indian Inscriptions*, IX, Part II, No.444.
- <sup>32</sup>*Karnatak Inscriptions*, III, No.16.
- <sup>33</sup>*South Indian Inscriptions*, II, Part II, No.44.
- <sup>34</sup>*South Indian Inscriptions*, IX, No.54.
- <sup>35</sup>Longworth Dames, *Barbosa I*, New Delhi, 1989, PP.189-198.
- <sup>36</sup>*Amuktamalyada*, Canto IV, V, 245.
- <sup>37</sup>*Amuktamalyada*, Canto IV, V, 258.
- <sup>38</sup>Varthema; *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*, Vol. 69, No. 1-2, p. 111.
- K.S. Nanjundappa, *Studies in Karnataka History & Culture*, *Karnataka History Congress Proceedings*, 1987, P. 81.
- <sup>40</sup>*Topographical list of Inscriptions of the Madras presidency*, Vol. 1/ No. 1375.
- <sup>41</sup>*Cuddapah district Inscriptions*, Madras, 1972, P. 189.
- <sup>42</sup>*Mysore Epigraphical Reports*, of 1919, P. 103.

- <sup>4</sup> Srinadha *Kridabhiramam*, P.74.
- <sup>44</sup> *Chatus* of Srinadha, P.130.
- <sup>45</sup> *Catus* of Srinatha, P.133.
- <sup>46</sup> *Catus* of Srinatha, P.134.
- <sup>47</sup>  
Srinadha, *Kridabhiramam*, P.81.
- <sup>48</sup> 1. **Brahmadana** villages - villages given to individual **brahmans**.  
2. Devadana villages - villages given to temples.  
3. Mathapura villages - villages given to **mathas**.  
4. **Sarvamanya** villages - villages given to one or other groups.
- <sup>49</sup> K. Satyanarayana, Taxation under the Rayas of Vijayanagar, *Indian History Congress Proceedings*, Bombay, 1980, P. 265.
- <sup>50</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XVI, Nos. 115, 123 and 139.
- <sup>51</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, No. 663; Vol. XVI, Nos. 34 & 63.
- <sup>52</sup>  
*South Indian Inscriptions*, IX, Nos. 663 and 681.
- <sup>53</sup>  
*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, No. 625.
- <sup>54</sup>
- <sup>55</sup> K. Satyanarayana, *op.cit.*, P. 265.  
K. Satyanarayana, Taxation under the Rayas of Vijayanagar, *Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya Commemoration Volume, Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. 38, Part II, P. 171.
- <sup>56</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, XVI, Nos. 79, 103, and 113.
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- <sup>58</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, XVI, Nos. 103 and 113; *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. II, **Kanigiri** (20).
- <sup>59</sup> *Topographical list of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, vol. II, No. 354 of Guntur district; *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Ongole (29) and (31).
- <sup>60</sup> *Topographical list of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, vol. II, No. 620 of Guntur district.
- <sup>61</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, XVI, No. 304.
- <sup>62</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, XVI, No. 140.
- <sup>63</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, XVI, Nos. 103, 113 and 201; *Andhra Pradesh Government Report on Epigraphy for 1965*, No. 237.
- <sup>64</sup> K. Satyanarayana, *JAHRS*, *op.cit.*, *op. cit.*, 173.
- <sup>65</sup> K. Satyanarayana, *JAHRS*, *op.cit.*, P. 9.
- <sup>66</sup> K. Satyanarayana, *JAHRS*, *op.cit.*, P. 173.

<sup>67</sup>N. Venkata Ramanayya, op. cit., P. 224.

<sup>68</sup>**South Indian Inscriptions, XVI, NOS. 236 and 237; Archaeological Reports on Indian Epigraphy, 1162-63, Nos. 9 and 11; Topographical list of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, No. 141 of Anantapur district.**

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<sup>70</sup>K. Satyanarayana, *PIHC*, op.cit., P. 267.

K. Satyanarayana, *PIHC*, op.cit., P. 267.

<sup>71</sup>**South Indian Inscriptions, XVI, NO. 201.**

<sup>72</sup>N. Venkata Ramanayya, op.cit., P.245.

<sup>73</sup>N. Venkata Ramanayya, op.cit., P.245.

<sup>74</sup>K.A.N. Sastri and N. Venkata Ramanayya, *Further sources of Vijayanagar History*, Madras, 1946, Vo. **III**, PP. 85-86.

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**South Indian Inscriptions, IX, No. 554.**

<sup>76</sup>K. Satyanarayana, *PIHC*, op. cit., P. 267.

<sup>77</sup>K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, II, Part II, Madras, 1937, P.504

<sup>78</sup>

Burton Stein (ed.), *All the King's Mana*, Madras, 1989, P.163.

<sup>79</sup>

*Mysore Epigraphical Reports*, 1920, Para 42; *Epigraphia Indica*, 1913, No.226, Para 54.

<sup>80</sup>

T.K.T. Vira Raghavacharya, *History of Tirupathi*, Tirupathi, 1953,

<sup>81</sup>

*Tirumala Tirupathi Devasthanam Inscriptions, Vol.V, No.88; Vol.IV, Nos.72,74,93.*

<sup>82</sup>The taxes include dhanyavargam, kodai, ponvari, vasalvari, tarikkadamai, partkadamai, sandaimakamai, kuttakai, nityamule visannadu, talarikkam, madarikkam, peryam, narasaranyasavargam, teppattu-sarakku, melakai agamai, kadai (summer taxes), ayam, aruppu, ullayam, peraym magamai, mulaiviam and targu. Refer *T.D.I.*, Vol.11, No.4,53,54,65,133,80,159; Vol.V., No.154.

<sup>83</sup>Tapan Ray Chaudhuri, Irfan Habib, *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, New Delhi, 1993, P.39.

R.S. Sharma, op. cit., PP.126-127.

<sup>85</sup>They include service staff, priests, dancers, singers and instrumentalists, pauranikas, vedic scholars, conch blowers, sacred parasol bearers, lamp lighters, potter, washermen, astrologers etc., Other temple servants like senapati durandhara, parupatyagar, vinnapam and the vettirapanis, artisans, devadasis, vasal kollar for performing various duties.

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<sup>87</sup>K. Sarojini Devi, *The Temple in Vijayanagara - A socio-economic study*, *Itihas*, No.2, Vol.XII, 1984, P.149.

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## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **NATURE OF SOCIETY**

The Vijayanagara rulers who ruled South India for nearly three decades considered it their duty to protect and promote the traditional social order based on varnashrama system. The occurrence of two phrases *varnashrama darmaganu palisutta*<sup>1</sup> and *sakala - varnasrama - dharmaganu palisutta*<sup>2</sup> in the inscriptions indicate that the Vijayanagara monarchs were fully aware of the great social problems which confronted them as custodians of hindu dharma. In the regions comprising telugu, kannada and tamil lands the rulers considered it their duty to protect varnasrama dharma in its proper sphere.

#### Social divisions

The composition of various communities and the demographic structure being hindu makes the Vijayanagara society a unique one. The commercial centres were thronged by Christians, Muslims, Jews and others as the Vijayanagara state became the foremost commercial centre in between 14th and 16th centuries in South India. Though the Vijayanagara state differs from the Chola state particularly in its 'feudal elements', but the society is the continuation of pre-medieval social order highlighting the caste hierarchy of brahmins, kshatriyas, vaishyas and sudras. Though the Vijayanagara society can also be divided on the basis of four main castes for convenience,<sup>3</sup> the occupations attached to these castes were not strictly adhered to.<sup>4</sup> There was mobility among various castes not only at group level but also at the individual level.<sup>5</sup>

Brahmins enjoyed a predominant position in the caste hierarchy as they were given more freedom, privileges and were not liable for the punishment of death. They were the respected lot and were given high **ranks**, alms and estates. **Domingos** Paes says that brahmins were considered as holy ones like Friars. They were the ones who were considered to be the best of all.<sup>6</sup>

The presence of brahmins was felt almost in all the activities of the state. As minister of the king, he was responsible to some extent for the success or failure of the state policy; as governor over a large province, he exercised the functions of an administrator; as mediator in love matters, he caused commotion between rival royal families; as master of **riches, he** added to the increased wealth of the kingdom; and as the champion of the castes below him, he sometimes advocated the cause of social reform.<sup>7</sup> This shows that they excelled themselves in various fields apart **from** the original priestlihood.

Krishnadeva Raya, in his *Amuktamalyada* signified the need to recognise and entrust brahmins with the responsibilities of a warrior. He says that a brahmin would stand to his post even in times of danger and would continue in service though reduced to becoming a subordinate to a kshatriya or a sudra. It is always advisable for a king to make brahmins as his officers.<sup>8</sup> He further states that the fortresses can be assigned to brahmins (generals) if strong forces were given to them, as there **could** be

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no danger from the **enemies**. This signifies the tremendous confidence of the rulers in the abilities of a brahmin.

During the **times**, brahmins were employed in business besides those who obliged to go into the field.<sup>10</sup> So it can be said that they took up jobs not according to the Sastras but according to the exigencies of the day.<sup>11</sup> The educated ones entered into the public service and the public secretariat was entirely managed by this class. Especially in Telugu speaking areas they formed into a sub-caste known as niyogis. They became the ministers, **commanders** of armies and governors of provinces. Prominent of them include Saluva **Timma**, Kondamarasa, Ayyaparasa, Saluva Narasingaraya Nayaka, Chandragiri **Somarasa** and Demavasa belonged to **this** caste.<sup>12</sup> They possessed enormous wealth as the **king** always gave large sums in charity in the palace and it is said that always two or three thousand brahmins were his priests.<sup>13</sup>

A new class of professional entertainers called '**vipravinodis**, came up during the **times**, were said to be part of the brahmin class. The term '**vipravinodi**, might be interpreted in two ways. '**vipras**' or brahmins who provided '**vinoda**' or entertainment or those who provided entertainment to the '**vipras**'. In some records, it is stated that they were brahmins.<sup>14</sup> In the Ganjam and Vizagapatnam districts the vipravinodes were no longer brahmins but sudras and it is evident that the profession followed by the vipravinodins must have lowered them in rank during the later times.<sup>15</sup>

The term kshatriya lost its importance because the vitality of the Hindu empire was due to **the** activities of commercial and agricultural class. The remarkable influence exercised by the

iettis was another reason for the obscurity of the name **kshatriya**. The rulers though belonged to the sudra **community** enjoyed the status of ksatriyas by **means** of legal sanctions from brahmins. Only efficiency in military leadership was regarded as a feature of a **kshatriya**, where the affiliation of that community played a little role. From the very beginning of Vijayanagar history, the tendency was to ignore the kshatriya claims of generals and to describe them with the usual titles of mahamandalesvara for their brave deeds.<sup>16</sup>

The **vaisya community** more or less confined to trade. The literary sources refer to them as mere tradesmen. They benefitted from increasing levels of trade - external and internal. They formed into guilds and commanded great respect in the society. References show that the assembly called **Nakaramu** acted as a corporate body on behalf of the merchant community of each locality.<sup>17</sup> It is doubted that there was no vaishya community properly so called in south India because the komatis of the Telugu and the Canarese countries claimed to be vaishyas. The beris of Tamil land also claimed themselves to be vaishyas but was turned down by the komatis. There were bitter quarrels among themselves.

The **settis** who were **traders**, initially foreigners dwelled **mostly** in Malabar and were called chatis. They dealt mostly with precious stones, seed pearls, corals and other valuable goods such as silver, either mined or to be mined. They were the merchants who were the natives of the **Coramandel**.<sup>18</sup> The balijas were also **said** to be the trading community.<sup>19</sup>

The **sudra community** was considered to be the last in the caste hierarchy was regarded to be a heterogenous community as it contained both higher and lower sub castes. Agriculture being their **main** occupation, they **formed** the backbone of the nation and the prosperity of the state depended upon them to a very great extent.<sup>20</sup> They include the **kaikkolars** or keyikolars, a prominent weaving **community**, the reddis who were responsible for the material prosperity of land, the tottiyans or **kambalattar** who found employment under the nayakas of Madura and the various Palegars as peons and armed retainers. The vakkaligars and the vellalas usually tilled the soil. Some of the sudra communities should be termed as military as the kmmas and the Velamas of telugu speaking areas were regarded as military communities. They also cultivated soil and owned extensive estates but their main occupation was fighting.

Lot of proliferation is seen during the period due to various reasons.<sup>21</sup> Those who belong to the sudra caste include barbers, **dombaras** (acrobats who tamed snakes and elephants for money) , the **kurubas**, the **gollas**, the idaiyans who were shepherds **by profession, the** washermen, the courtesans and the **dommaras.** The chandalas were recognised as the fifth caste and they may be divided into two **groups**. (a) the mala, the holeya or the pariah,

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and (b) the **madiga** or the cekkili.

In **tamil** speaking areas, the sudras were divided into two factions, the right **hand** and the left hand castes. The quarrels between these two factions were so bitter that the state had to intervene from time to time to restore peace and order.

Generally, **the** castes based on agricultural occupations were grouped under Valangai and the non-agricultural castes such as artisans and traders were grouped under Idangai.<sup>24</sup>

The most imaginative **classification** of right and left hand castes has been given below.<sup>25</sup>

occupation	Right hand	Left hand
Traders	Baliya <b>Banajiga</b> Komati Vellan Chetti	Beri Chetti Vaniyans (who yoke two bullocks)
Weavers	Jandra Saliyan Seniyan	Devanga and Kaikolan
Artisans	Nil	<b>Kammalan</b> Kamsali
Leather workers	Madiga or Chakkiliyan  (females)	Panchalas Madiga (males)
Field labourers and Soldiers	Malaiman <b>Nattaman</b> <b>Palli(females)</b> Vedan or Vettuvan <b>Paraiyan,</b> Mala and Holey	Bedar <b>Palli(males)</b> Pallan

The Valangai or Right hand faction comprised of the most respectable castes together with the Adi Dravidas (Pariah caste) **who** were called Valangai-matter or **friends.**The Idangai or left hand faction comprised the Panchala or five sorts of smiths, the Chakkilians or leather workers, the Palians and certain others of the lowest castes. The brahmins, the Vallalars and a few other respectable castes are **neutral.**<sup>26</sup>

It can be said that the two divisions comprised of cultivators, artisans, merchants etc. and it has been clarified that the castes in these groups usually belonged to the lower section of the caste hierarchy. Brahmans remained aloof from these divisions though the position of the Vellalas is yet to be verified. Epigraphical evidences confirm to this. The oppression of the people of the two groups by brahmana and Vellala Kaniyalars testify to this. There is a possibility of the lower section of the Vellala community being included among them.<sup>27</sup>

The names of the castes or professional groups included in the Valangai and Idangai groups can be known from the inscriptions from the Korukkai and Tiruvaigavur.<sup>28</sup>

Other castes can be broadly classified into two groups. 1. **Kudigal** or cultivators and 2. **Parradi** or **Pattadai** meaning industrialists or craftsmen. The castes mentioned in the first group are not specified. In the second group, various categories of weavers, merchants and craftsmen were included. Among the merchants **sekku-vaniyar** or oil merchants seem to have been more prosperous. Thus it can be said that the people belonging to the Valangai and Idangai groups were mostly people belonging to the lower section of the caste hierarchy except **Sekku-Vaniyar**.

The community of artisans played a very important role as they not only satisfied the materialistic needs but also the aesthetic needs of the people and by supplying ornaments to the kings and chiefs of the time.<sup>29</sup> They were present **in** every part of

the empire and held the view that they were the descendants of the **five** sons of **Viswakarma**.<sup>30</sup> References show that the artisans were given hereditary rights over a **small** piece of land which was fully or partially exempted **from** tax.<sup>31</sup> The **potter**, the tanner and to some extent the black smith remained largely a part of the agrarian subsistence economy. The weavers, metal workers, oilmen, masons, and carpenters participated in the process of urbanisation.

The economic mobility of the artisan castes led to the spurt in caste mobility. Some castes climbed up the social ladder while others did not. The bifurcation of the fourth varna into sudra and sat-sudra, the later being the superior order of the sudras was an example to this. While the social status of the castes such as the potter and the cobbler did not show much mobility, the position of the kaikkolars, builders etc., underwent considerable **change**. The reason being—the growing importance of temple and spurt in temple building activity

Some of the factors that contributed for social mobility include the coming up of temple towns. The concentration of artisans in these areas as a result of the patronage given by the rulers was a crucial factor. The leading examples being Tirupathi, **Srirangam**, **Chidambaram** and Kanchipuram.<sup>32</sup> So the artisans who settled in temple towns not only catered to the needs of the temple or the court but also to a wider market.<sup>33</sup>

The spurt in the textile industry was the result of demand from the newly **emerging** officials like nayaks, poligars and others. The demand is to some extent, the result of the **muslim** influence.<sup>34</sup> The metal objects, jewellery and other ornaments were in great demand where temples were located. Thus the growing economic prosperity of the weavers and a section of the smiths as a result of the expanding market for their goods is shown by the fact that they made donations to the temple in cash or kind and in the form of services.<sup>35</sup>

It became a regular practice for artisans to pay their taxes in cash during the Vijayanagara period.<sup>36</sup> The size and nature of the donations made to the temples constituted an important index of the social status and economic prosperity of the various craft associations.<sup>37</sup>

Another important factor for bringing about social change is that of religion. The process of incorporation of tribal and folk religions into Hinduism<sup>38</sup> brought integration between higher and lower religions. To some extent the temple system put an end to class distinctions and privileges and tried to create a society of equals for the lay followers.<sup>39</sup>

Especially sudras had enjoyed much social power and rank because of this factor.<sup>40</sup> Village was considered to be the basic unit and each community lived in a specified area as far as possible. The non caste people were said to have lived in areas away from the main habitat of the village.

## An Insight into various disputes

Evidences show that there was **much** social unrest in spite of the measure taken by the state. One of the reasons may be the constant thriving of different castes to climb up the social ladder.

The rulers appointed *samayacharyas* or censors of morals who kept watch over various activities of people.<sup>41</sup> In spite of it, various disputes cropped up involving the whole village, community or particular groups of individuals. Some of the following issues include **a)religious** feuds **b)customary** practices and privileges **c)boundaries** **d)ownership** of lands **e)administrative** lapses and **f)legal** transactions and crimes.

### Religious disputes

A dispute arose involving two major communities of Jainas and Srivaishnavas during the reign of **Bukka** II. An epigraph dated **A.D. 1368** at Sravanbelagola gives details about the dispute and the settlement made in the presence of the emperor. The Jainas of all the nadus made a complaint to the emperor that the Srivaishnavas were doing great injustice to their religion. The king solved it by placing each others hands in one another declaring that there would be no difference thereafter.

The resolutions made were - **i)The** Jain Darsana is as before entitled to certain privileges as 5 great musical instruments and the **kalasa** or vase; **ii)If** loss of advancement should be caused to

the Jain Darsana through the **Bhaktas**, the Vaisnavas will kindly deem it as loss or advancement caused to their own Darsana. The Vaisnavas will to this effect set up a *Sasana* in all the *bastis* of the kingdom. For as long as the sun and moon **endure**, the Vaishnavas creed will continue to protect the Jain Darsana.

iii)The Vaishnava chief Tatayya of **Tirumale** out of the money levied at the rate of 1 hana a year from every house from the Jainas is required to raise a body-guard of 20 men to be appointed by the Vaishnavas at the holy place Belugola, evidently to protect the shrine and with the remainder of the **money**, the dilapidated *Jinalayas* are to be white washed. He who transgresses the rule shall be a traitor to the **king**, *Sankhya* and **samudaya**.<sup>42</sup>

#### Community disputes

During the reign of Sadasiva **Raya**, all the cultivators and artisans in **Belur** appealed to the king regarding a boundary dispute. **In** accordance with the decision given by **Ramaraja**, the southern street of Belur was clearly marked by the fixing of boundaries where the artisans might carry on their trade of jewels, build houses or carry on their caste observances and enjoy in the temple of Chennigaraya the same privileges and position granted elsewhere at the car festival.<sup>43</sup>

During the reign of Deva Raya II, members of few communities in parts of modern **North** Arcot district then forming Padaividu rajya decided to overcome the economic difficulties created by the compulsory character of the dowry system **and** made an

**agreement** which bears the stamp of a piece of social legislation. It was recorded that **'the** great men of all branches of studies of the kingdom of Padaividu drew up in the presence of the God Gopinatha of Arka Pushkarini a document which contains an agreement fixing the sacred law. According to this document if the Brahmans of Padaividu i.e., Kannadigas, Tamils, Telugus, and Latas (Gujaratis) of all gotras, sutras and sakhas conclude a marriage they shall from this day do it by **Kanyadana**. Those who do not adopt this kind of marriage, i.e., both those who give a girl after receiving gold or those who conclude a marriage after having given gold shall be is liable for punishment by the king and to excommunication'. Thus it was a voluntary agreement which the brahmans of the locality arrived at after due deliberation and which the government sanctioned and enforced.<sup>44</sup>

In Mysore, the **settis** made some regulations with regard to women who lapsed from marriage. But the epigraph which records this is fragmentary and not much information can be accrued from it. The regulations among people themselves facilitated smooth  
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working of the state functionary.

An epigraph of **A.D.1379** indicates that whenever the social questions came up, the rulers or the nayakas and gaudas would **summon** the parties and give them **advice**.**The** parties must act according to the given advice. Generally, the proceedings would be free of co'-t. At times, the elders of different communities also decieed the disputes.<sup>46</sup>

In the middle of the 16th century, certain regulations were made by a local chief in the modern Udayagiri taluq in the Nellore district. Accordingly, when the car of the local temple was passing along the streets with the **nattuv**as and servants inside it, a member of the artisan community, wearing a cloth round the head and another loosely round the waist and having only a sandal mark between the eye-brows and not chewing betel, should go round the car with a chisel, a mallet, a nail, and a sickle in his hands.<sup>47</sup>

There were communal differences between the Vellalas and Vellai-nadars who were Tamils and Telugus respectively. The relations between them were strained and at the beginning of the 15th century, on the charge that a few Vellai-nadars had committed some unspecified offenses in their capacity as accountants, agents etc., of the Vellalas, the leading members of the latter community resolved after due deliberations not to employ the **Vellai-nadar** even for menial service and to kill three specified offenders. After some time, the regulations against them were made still more stringent. They were not to take Tamil girls in **marriage;neither** could they take up service in the Tamil country, not even enter Tamil districts. Some twenty-three specified offenders of the community were to be killed when detected. It is evident that the state sanctioned such persecutions possibly owing to the serious nature of the offences.

## Social Conflicts

There were many conflicts between various castes of which **the** disputes between the Valangai and Idangai<sup>48</sup> castes occupy some prominence. Valangai means *right hand* and Idangai means *left hand*. The dual division of society into Valangai and Idangai were noticed from about A.D 1100 onwards in inscriptions of the **Chola** and Vijayanagar periods. The earliest reference about these

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castes is mentioned in an epigraph belonging to Rajendra Chola I where there is a mention of Valangai castes. Generally it is said that the terms Valangai and Idangai came to be applied to these groups when they laid their differences before the king who decided the case with the one party on his right and the other on his left.<sup>50</sup> A mythical account of the origin of the Idangai is **mentioned in** an epigraph.<sup>51</sup>

King Vijaya Bhupatiraya Udaiyar, son of Deva **Raya** I ordered that both the Valangai and Idangai classes of **Tiruvannamalai** should enjoy the **same** privileges.<sup>52</sup>

A stone epigraph of Vijayanagar times dated A.D **1429** recorded an agreement by the Valangai and Idangai castes of Vriddhachalam (South Arcot District) that they would inflict corporal punishment on those who helped the tax-collectors of the king and the brahman land-holders in the collection of taxes by coercive measures **and** who consented to write the **accounts**,<sup>53</sup>

An epigraph dated **A.D.1532**<sup>54</sup> refers to the 98 castes included in the Idangai and Valangai. Another epigraph<sup>55</sup> belonging to the Trichinopoly district registers an agreement relating to social conduct among the Valangai and Idangai sects. The violence that **marked** the quarrels between the two factions is attested by a stone record which mentions on both sides.

A record dated **A.D.1446** of the Mayavaram taluq of Tanjore district during the time of Deva Raya I refers to a settlement between the Valangai 98 and Idangai 98 castes regarding the heavy and illegal rates of taxes payable by them.<sup>56</sup>

There is an evidence which says that Jains were generally classed as left hand but in Mysore country they were classed as right hand castes. The reason is that the Jains and brahmins were fighting for the use of the five big drums and the kalasa, a privilege usually exercised by the right hand castes and Vira Bukka Raya effected a between them and since then they were **admitted** as belonging to the right hand.<sup>57</sup>

#### SOCIAL LEGISLATION

The rulers followed various **varnasrama dharmas** - *sakala varnasrama dharmaganu pratipalishwadu* i.e the peaceful observation of the rules of conduct as enjoined by the castes. The state intervened when it found it was necessary to intervene. Sometimes state enforcement of certain local legislation is also sought.

Regarding the courts of appeal the king was the chief judge and final appellate authority. He was the highest court of appeal.<sup>58</sup> In the provinces the governors have held highest judicial positions while local officers tried civil cases **mostly** through arbitration. The judicial system in the provinces must have been efficient as the king who could severely punish the governors and provincial officers for not remitting government dues.<sup>59</sup>

The nadu assembly was bigger than the village and **mahajana** (agrahara) assemblies. It consisted of several guilds in the nadu or district, representatives of towns, local representatives of the place where the assembly was held and also government officers. This assembly settled disputes about boundaries of land<sup>60</sup> and disputes over ownership of land and took into consideration **purva-maryade** or traditional practice and extracting a promise from both the parties that they should not raise a controversy after the decision of the assembly.<sup>61</sup>

In the village, the **mahajanas**, the members of the agrahara formed into an assembly which was called **mahasabha** or sabha. It served as the local court of justice. It has the right to confiscate lands belonging to the guilty persons.<sup>63</sup>

An epigraph dated A.D. 1443 show that *dharma* or the sense of justice was very deep in the minds of the people. The disobedience of the orders of the king were considered as a crime comparable with treason against king, killing of a brahman,

killing one's own mother or a saint and slaying the sacred cow on the banks of the Ganges.<sup>64</sup>

All men are not equal before the law during this time. **Sometimes** it allowed different treatment among the citizens on the basis of caste criterion. Even people of high status were also punished. For **instance**, for the suspected murder of **Krishnadevaraya's son**, Saluva **Timma**, the trusted minister and his sons were blinded and imprisoned.<sup>65</sup>

An epigraph dated A.D. 1444-45 records the fact that two men of the setti community belonging to Dharmapatna accepted the crime by making a gift of money at one honnu (gold coin) in every ten realised by them. This way they did *Prayaschitta* or self-imposed punishment at the suggestion of several **settikaras** of Padukaveri when Timmanna Odeya was the governor of the Barakuru **rajya**.<sup>66</sup>

During the times a simple offence was also treated with extreme severity. A simple offence such as assisting a fleecing tax-collector would subject a person to loss of life by way of

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being stabbed. Abdur Razaq says that criminals were some times crushed down under the feet of an <sup>68</sup>elephant so that they may be

killed by its knees, trunks and tusks. Nuniz also says that even if a person commits theft his foot and a hand and if the theft is a greater one he would be hanged with a hook under his chin. If a man outrages a respectable woman or a virgin he has the s **me** punishment and if he does any other violence his punishment is of a like kind.<sup>69</sup>

The villagers of Tiruvaigavur in Tanjore district got into negotiations about the final fixation regarding the payment of taxes during the reign of Deva **Raya** II.<sup>70</sup> During the time of Krishna deva Raya and Achyuta Deva Raya, the revenues of the **empire** were first reduced to a regular form checked by ordinances and a system of accounts and management **introduced**, calculated to improve the revenue gradually without distressing the inhabitants.<sup>71</sup>

Collection of taxes was also settled by the assembly body (**mandala**) of people and the schedule of the prescribed taxes should not be altered.<sup>72</sup> In 1429 A.D. the Valangai and idangai castes came to an agreement that they should not leave the man who assisted a tax collector with his accounts. Further shelter should not be given to the collector and if any of the members broke **this** agreement **in** any way he should be stabbed and killed.<sup>73</sup>

Generally, people were law abiding and highly religious. The imprecatory passages in the telugu inscriptions from 14th to 17th cen. A.D suggest that the violations of grants would result in social **sins**.<sup>74</sup> The records mention that whoever misappropriated the grant would accrue the sin of eating the flesh of dog, yard of the donkey mixed with the drink (sura) in the man's skull.<sup>75</sup> Social ostracism also acted as a weapon on the orthodox minds of people. The fear of excommunication from the caste had powerful influence over the minds of the people.<sup>76</sup> A record from Kandukur mentions that those persons who obstructed the charity and violate conditions of the record granted by the assembly, or if

they obstruct the other twenty four classes of **dommaras** in any way, will be excommunicated.<sup>77</sup> Humiliation was another punishment which must have obstructed people from committing sins. Two records from Kavali state that the offender of the grant will be put on a **donkey**, with a toddy pot tied round the neck and despatched to the town of Yama.<sup>78</sup>

The above instances testify that many coercive measures were employed during the times to stop people from committing sins but the severe punishments which existed during the period must have reduced crimes.

#### Social Migration **and** Rehabilitation

The major income to the treasury included the revenue from land which is paid either in cash or in kind. During the period under study it is known that heavy and oppressive taxation is in vogue. To collect the taxes on lands, villages, merchandise on different professions of the people, the officials namely **sunkaris**, **sunkaravaru**,<sup>79</sup> or **sunkadavaru**, **manigandlu**,<sup>80</sup> **manihagandlu**,<sup>81</sup> and **hasanidyagandlu** were appointed. Their duty was to collect the taxes from the people **and** to credit them to the royal treasury. Sometimes, they cheated the people by collecting more taxes than the required ones.

During the time of Krishnadeva Raya, the **sunkaravaru** exacted the taxes like **katnam** and **sunka sthavaras** from the villages of **Koppulu** and **Tippaluru** without the knowledge of the government

inspite of the fact that they have been exempted from the payment of taxes by the king.<sup>82</sup>

Many people left their villages and migrated in many instances. When the rulers came to know about this, they gave considerable allowances and again rehabilitated them.

The **Kavutalam** inscription of Achyutadevaraya dated A.D 1533 records that the people of entire **Kavutalasima** deserted the division and migrated to **Manaviya-sime** which belonged to **Adil Shah** as they could no longer bear the injustice done to them.<sup>83</sup> It is also stated that Mahamandaleswara Salakayadeva-Chikka **Tirumalaraja**, minister and brother-in-law of the king Achyutadeva Raya personally visited Adavani and announced a number of concessions. They are the cultivators were allowed to retain 1 share of agricultural produce of millet, seasmum, **bengalgram**, cotton etc., Taxes like *birada* and *Sarada* were exempted and exemptions were allowed in fixed revenue (*siddhaya*) as well as tolls (*sunka*). The castes of fishermen, oil-mongers, shopkeepers, shepherds, potters, washermen, barbers, watchmen and weavers were exempted from the tax **kaddays** which was to be paid in the form of millet (**jola**). Carpenters and blacksmiths were allowed to have some concessions. The shepherds were exempted from supplying butter milk and they were required to give only one one sheep and one lamb per flock and the cultivators who have bullocks were exempted from the grazing tax.

The Kanganapalli inscription dated A.D 1533 during the **time** of Achyutadeva **Raya** says that the Panchanamuvaru (artisan **community**) of 32 villages were exempted from certain taxes and free service (vetti).<sup>84</sup> It is said that during the **time** of **Timmanayaka**, many taxes were collected from this community and consequently the Panchanamuvaru of all 32 villages migrated to Kundripisima and **Pakala-sima**. When **Isvarayya**, the **karyakarta** of Timmappanayakacame to know about this he ordered the artisans should be exempted from the taxes and the Reddis and Karanams of all the 32 villages personally went to Kunduripi and Pakala-sima and informed about the decision.

It is to be noted that the ruler has grasped the intensity of the situation as all the artisans of 32 villages deserted in this case.

However the feature of tax exemption is not a permanent feature. The people were burdened with taxes after the stipulated period is over. Then the taxes were raised progressively every year. An epigraph during the reign of Sadasiva Raya records that the people residing at the village Chyabala deserted because of the enhancement of taxes and migrated consequently.<sup>85</sup> Applanayaka, the parupatyagar of **Kondayadevamaha-arasu** persuaded them to resettle in the village giving them some concessions.

Some of the **concessions** granted **were-The** agriculturists were to retain one share of the produce of the lands already under cultivation for themselves and to pay one share to the royal

place; if the land is newly brought under cultivation the agriculturists were permitted to retain two shares of the **produce** for **themselves** and to pay only one share to the royal treasury. The people were also exempted for the first two years from the taxes such as **senabova-vartane**, **rayasadavara-vartane**, **Uligadavara-vartane**, **kanike**, **kaddaya**, taxes on upanayana and marriage, free service to the local lord. After the completion of three years, the taxes were to be levied at the rates currently prevailing in the neighbouring regions. The rate of rent payable to the state was to be according to the quality of the soil.

So persuasions were made by the rulers to resettle when the people migrated. An epigraph dated A.D. 1428 during the reign of Deva Raya II stated that a serious wrong has been committed in South Arcot in the collection of taxes and land revenue. It **seemed** that the king's officials had been extracting much money in form of taxes as enforced by the temple officials. The people of this area has deserted the area and the worship in the temple was stopped. After an appeal to the king, an enquiry was

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ordered and the people were **restored**. The conduct of the temple authorities was condemned and the same was engraved on the temple wall.

When Deva Raya II died in A.D. 1446 the king's officers forcing the people to give them presents as it was customary to give gifts at the beginning to each reign. The ryots were harassed and went **away** to other places abandoning their homes. King Mallikarjuna who succeeded Deva Raya II put a stop to these extortions.<sup>87</sup>

Many such references **come** forth during the period under study. Infact it appears that the process of migration and rehabilitation was quite common. It ultimately shows the inability of the rulers to control vast regions and excessive dependence on the feudal elements that caused much suffering.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup>In Sanskrit it means protector of castes.

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<sup>2</sup>In Sanskrit **it** means protector of all castes

<sup>3</sup>This classification has been applied keeping the larger area under review. Other **classifications** on the basis of occupations (See S. Jayasheela Stephen, *The Coramandel coast and its Hinterland, Economy, Society and Political System* CA.D. 1500-1600), New Delhi, 1997) and on the basis of factors of **production** can also be applied.

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Also see K. Jayasree, *Agrarian Economy in Andhra under Vijayanagar*, Delhi, 1991, P. 30.

<sup>5</sup>B. stein, '**Social** mobility and medieval south Indian Hindu sects, *All the king's mana*, New Delhi, 1976, P. 297.

<sup>6</sup>Robert Sewell, op.cit., P.245.

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**Saletore, B.A., *Social and Political life in Vijayanagara Empire*, Madras, 1934, P.129.**

<sup>8</sup>Saletore, op.cit., P. 129.

<sup>9</sup>Saletore, B.A., op.cit., P.129.

<sup>10</sup>paes in Robert Sewell, op.cit., P.280.

<sup>11</sup>K. Satyanarayana, *A study of the History and culture of the Andhras*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1983, P.395.

<sup>12</sup>N.Venkata Ramanayya, *STDV*, op.cit., P.356.

<sup>13</sup>Nuniz in Robert Sewell, P.379-80.

<sup>14</sup>Narasimha Rao, '**Vipravinodins** : A new class of professional entertainers in Vijayanagara empire', *PIHC*, Varanasi, 1969, P. 219.

<sup>15</sup>Edgar Thurston, *Castes and tribes of Southern India*, Vol.VIII, Delhi, 1975, P.406.

<sup>16</sup>Saletore, B.A., op.cit., P.33.

<sup>17</sup>They enjoyed enormous influence in the state and society. They had revenue and judicial powers, even the chiefs had to seek their permission for grant of dues to temples and charitable institutions. Refer **K.Satyanarayana**, op.cit., **P.399**.

<sup>18</sup>**H. M. Nagara ju**, *Devaraya II and his times*, Mysore, 1991, P. 119-20.

<sup>19</sup>**N.Venkata Ramanayya**, op.cit., **P.360**.

<sup>20</sup>**N.Venkat Ramanayya**, op.cit., **P.360**.

<sup>21</sup>It might be due to inter caste marriages whose offsprings are treated a fourth caste.

<sup>22</sup>**N.Venkata Ramanayya**, op.cit., **P.360**.

<sup>23</sup>N.Venkata Ramanayya, op.cit., P. 361; certain other communities who held the lowest status among sudras include **Upparas**, Boyas, Vadde **varu**, Gulapu varu etc., See M. Krishna Kumari, '**Social ostracism and social sins as mentioned in the Inscriptions of Vijayanagara period**', *Studies in Medieval Andhra History*, New Delhi, 1994, P. 56.

<sup>24</sup>**Noboru Karashima** and Y. Subbarayalu, '**Valangai Idangai, Kaniyalar and Irajagarattar: Social conflict in Tamil Nadu in the 15th century**', *Feudal Social Formation in Early India* (ed) D.N Jha, Delhi, 1987, P.303(f.n.)

<sup>25</sup>M.Srinivasa **Aiyangar**, *Tamil Studies*, Madras, 1914, **P.95**.

<sup>26</sup>C.S. Srinivasachari, '**The origin of the Right and Left hand caste divisions**, *JAHRS*, **Vol.IV**, Part **1&2**, 1929, **P.77**.

<sup>27</sup>**Noboru Karashima** and **Y.Subbarayalu**, '**Valangai Idangai, Kaniyalar and Irajagarattar: Social conflict in Tamil Nadu in the 15th century**', *Feudal Social Formation in Early India* (ed) **D.N.Jha**, Chalukya Publications, Delhi, 1987, **P.290**.

<sup>28</sup>**Noboru Karashima** and **Y.Subbarayalu**, op.cit., **P.290-1**.

<sup>29</sup> K. Sundaram, *Studies in economic and social conditions of medieval India (1000 A.D-1600 A.D)*, Madras, 1968, P.25.

<sup>30</sup> The name **Pachanamuvuru** applied to the artisan community of Andhra like the name Panchala applied to the artisans of Karnataka is said to be the corrupted version of the word **panchanana** (meaning five faces) ascribed by the tradition to the legendary **Viswakarma** out of them were born five sons named Manu, Maya, Silpi, Thwastra and Visvagna and Daivagna. The five sons are considered to be the originators of the five crafts black **smithry**, carpentry, metal work and jewellery. Refer K.Sundaram, op.cit., P.25.

<sup>31</sup> They were given land as means of grant which makes them to stick to the place.

<sup>32</sup> Vijayaramaswamy, 'Artisans in Vijayanagar society', *I.E. S.H. R*, 1985, P.422.

<sup>33</sup> Vijayaramaswamy, op.cit., P.423.

<sup>34</sup> Vijayaramaswamy, op.cit., P.424.

<sup>35</sup> Vijayaramaswamy, op.cit., P.426.

<sup>36</sup> Vijayaramaswamy, op.cit., P.426.

<sup>37</sup> Vijayaramaswamy, op.cit., P.433.

<sup>38</sup> The process is known as Aryanisation or Sanskritisation.

<sup>39</sup> See M.Krishna Kumari, 'Social change in relation to the Hinduization of village deities under Vijayanagar', *Studies in medieval Andhra history*, New Delhi, 1994, PP.110-9.

<sup>40</sup> Burton Stein, 'Social mobility and medieval south Indian sects', *All the kings mana*, Delhi, 1976, P.286.

<sup>41</sup>T.V.Mahalingam, '**Social** legislation in Medieval South India', *Readings in south Indian history*, New Delhi, 1977, P.134.

<sup>42</sup>*Epigraphia Carnatica*, SB.344 (A.D 1369)

<sup>43</sup>*Epigraphia Carnatica*, V, BI, No.5, P.45; *South Indian Inscriptions*, IX, No.45.

<sup>44</sup>T.V. Mahalingam, *op.cit.*, P.135-6.

<sup>45</sup>T.V.Mahalingam, *op.cit.*, P.136.

<sup>46</sup>T.V.Mahalingam, *op.cit.*, P.137.

<sup>47</sup>T.V.Mahalingam, *op.cit.*, P.138.

<sup>48</sup>They are Tamil terms refer to the left and right hands or arms or the human body. But the terms are best understood to refer to the right and left sides of the body. For details see Arjun Appadorai '**Right** and left hand castes in South India', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol.XI, No.2-3, June-Sep 1974, P.219-222.

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50 No.341 of 1907.

C.S.Srinivasachari, '**The** Origin of the Right and Left Hand Castes Divisions, *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*, July&Oct, 1929, Part 1&2, P.80

<sup>51</sup>*South Indian Epigraphy*, No.489 of 1912.

<sup>52</sup>*Annual Report for South Indian Epigraphy for 1920-21*; PP.103-4.

<sup>53</sup>No.92 of 1916.

<sup>54</sup>No. 103 of stone inscription of 1906.

<sup>55</sup>No.253 of stone inscription of 1926.

<sup>56</sup>No.476 of 1926.

<sup>57</sup>*Mysore epigraph dated A. D. 1368.*

<sup>58</sup>Venkata Ratnam, A.V., *Local self government in Vijaynagara empire*, Mysore, 1972, P.15.

<sup>59</sup>Naga Raju, H.M., *DevaRaya II and his times*, Prasaranga, Mysore, 1991. P.79.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **WOMEN - CLASS AND PROFESSIONS**

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Vijayanagara society is a highly stratified one and there were variations between various class and professions regarding the standard and patterns of living. In order to have a better understanding about women during the period, they may be broadly classified on the basis of various class and professions. According to status, they can be divided into women belonging to **nobility**, middle class women and the lower class women. On the basis of professions, they can be divided into women living within the precincts of royal harem, the courtesans, the temple **women** and women who were proficient in various other fields.

Women have been classified on the basis of **kulastree**, bhogastree and vesya<sup>1</sup> in the previous works negating other sections of women. Even classifying women on the basis of professions<sup>2</sup> does not include all as their professional status is doubtful. So, the above **classification** based on class and professions has been applied to conduct an extensive study.

Before going into detail, some of the important changes evidenced during the period needs to be examined. Politically, the prevailing feudal elements loosened the grip of the ruler in administrative matters. The occasional raids of the **Bahmani** rulers also cause instability. Economically, the complexity of land tenures like **amaram**, bhandaravada, **manya** etc., deterred economic progress and the oppressive taxation caused much suffering to the commoners often leading to **migrations**. Socially, the caste conflicts in certain regions were on an increase ever than before. The apparatus of the state in dealing with the

problems and the dynamics of the society has been already discussed. The present study is conducted against this background.

The information about the noble women comes forth from different sources. They were taught to read and write not only in the local languages but also Sanskrit. One of the necessary tasks they ought to fulfill was skill in music and dancing. Most of the women belonging to aristocratic families were confined to the zenana.<sup>3</sup> The queens were permitted to enjoy the same privileges as enjoyed by the king in the audience hall. The same importance given to queens along with the king. Krishnadeva Raya was represented by Nandi **Timmayya** in the verse at the end of the first canto of **Parijatapaharanam** as hearing along with his queens, the works composed by the poets assembled at the court during the spring festival.<sup>4</sup> It can be accrued that the queens had taste in literary pursuits. There were many evidences of queens accompanying the king during campaigns. The queen's advice might have been sought by the emperor during the time. The queens made several donations to the betterment of the kingdom that shows their interest in the social matters.

There were many evidences of queens accompanying the king during wars. Gangadevi, wife of Kampana accompanied him in the war. Krishnadeva Raya was accompanied by his two queens **Chinnadeviamma** and **Tirumaladeviamma** when he conducted a siege on Kondaveedu in **A.D. 1515.** **Achyutaraya's** wife Oduva **Tirumalmba** also accompanied him in his expedition to Madura. Another wife

Varadambika showed **complete** devotion towards the betterment of courtly affair and advised her husband in crucial **matters**.<sup>6</sup> She also acted as a regent to prince china Venkatadri when he was still a minor. She appealed to the Bijapur sultan to come to her aid and secure the throne for her son as threats came from her brother Tirumala to usurp the throne after the death of Achyuta.<sup>7</sup> Their benevolent activities and participation in the courtly proceedings had earned them good reputation and some of the settlements were named after the mother or wife of the king <sup>8</sup> which denotes their reverence and benevolence towards women.

About the women belonging to the middle class, it is said that they got their daughters married at an early age to suitable persons. Among the brahmin community, the girl's marriage was celebrated usually before she attained maturity.<sup>9</sup> Among other communities, it was celebrated after maturity. It was doubtful whether the girl was allowed to select her own husband. Marriages were usually celebrated with great pomp and show in the house of bride's parents. In the case of brahmins, bride's parents demanded and obtained arana or the nuptial present.<sup>10</sup> In case of others, the bride's parents had to give several gifts to the bridegroom.

Generally the family women were under the control of their husbands. They performed most of the domestic work and all the women were not submissive to their husbands.<sup>11</sup> It is said that most widowed women preferred to death than leading a dishonorable life. Sometimes physical force was employed by the kindred of the widowed women who showed their excessive zeal for sati by casting

herself into the funeral pyre<sup>12</sup>

The **term** *family women* which is applied to the housewives by the **contemporary** literary writers and foreign travellers seem ridiculous. Apart from public women, each and every woman is a family woman. This distinction was made to separate family women from public women who were large in number. Most of them were devoted to the household activities and did not participate in the outside activities.

The lower class women and tribal women attended not only domestic work but also helped their male counterparts in the fields. It is significant to note here that women of lower social **orders**, who contributed equally to the family earnings enjoyed greater freedom than their counterparts in the upper strata.<sup>13</sup> Contemporary sculptures depict tribal women participating in hunting activities. (plate **IX,X,XXXII**). Towards the tribals, kings followed an appeasing **policy**. At one point King Krishnadeva Raya says that if the king grew angry with the tribals, he could not wholly destroy them, instead if he wins their affection by kindness and charity they would serve him by invading the enemy's territory and plundering his forts.<sup>14</sup>

On the basis of professions, women can be divided into 1) women living within the precincts of the royal harem 2) **the** courtesans 3) the temple women and 4) **women** who were proficient in various other fields.

Women **living** within the royal precincts include women

attendants who looked after the palace. For this purpose, the fairest and the most healthy **women** were sought throughout the kingdom so that they might do service with cleanliness and neatness. They afforded great pleasure to the king by singing and playing.<sup>15</sup> They had their houses within the precincts **in** good lodgings.<sup>16</sup> Inside the palace, there were houses of the wives of the king and other women who served them.<sup>17</sup> It is **said** that there were twelve thousand women in Krishnadeva Raya' harem.<sup>18</sup> They were numbered over four thousand during the days of Achyuta Raya.<sup>19</sup> No male child was allowed to remain with them after attaining the age of ten.

The services rendered by them were varied. They did all the work inside the gates and held all the duties of the household.<sup>20</sup> The imperial household was modelled in such a way that it consisted of women from six to twelve thousand in number. They were either in the service of the emperor himself or his wives. To be specific, some were dancing girls and others were bearers who carried the king's wives on their shoulders and also the king in the interior of the palace. A few women were wrestlers, astrologers and soothsayers. Women also wrote accounts of the expenses that were incurred inside the palace. There were women musicians who sang and played on the instruments.<sup>21</sup> Other women include cooks for king's personal service and others were kept for times when he gave banquets. Women and eunuchs served him at the table.<sup>22</sup> Many women handled sword and shield and others who wrestled, blew trumpets and pipes. Women also acted as bearers and washing folk.<sup>23</sup>

When the king was in his **apartments, women** waited outside to perform some special duties. Each of them held a casket of musk, the white cowry, the spittoon, the sword, the perfume casket, the **mirror**, the fan, the golden pitcher, the betel pouch and the **camphor** box.<sup>24</sup> The court etiquette demanded that he should keep them as they were insignia of royalty.<sup>25</sup> The palace women were patient and obedient with the sole duty of standing with a particular article or vessel in their hand for a long time. When the king went to war or toured, he had the company of many women.

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Thousands of women accompanied him when he went to war. This is confirmed by foreign travellers whose references on numerous unmarried women was quite revealing. They were reserved for the **king** and travelled **in** great state **with** great riches.<sup>27</sup>

During the time of festivals especially at the time of Mahanavami, all the female servants came along with king's wives. They were fair and young aged between sixteen and twenty and were maids of honour the queens.<sup>28</sup> Many of them were proficient in dancing and singing. Some of the foreign travellers Paes and Nuniz were struck by the beauty of the dancing girls and the dexterity of their movements.<sup>29</sup> Every Saturday, the dancing girls were obliged to go to the palace to dance and posture before the king's idol that is in the interior of the palace.<sup>30</sup>

There was a dancing hall for the ladies of the royal household. The panels within it and the designs of panels show the pattern of dances in such a way that on each panel, there

was a dancer in proper position. This arrangement was to teach **women** so that if they forgot the specific position in which they had to remain when the dance was done, they might look at one of the panels and keep **in mind** they have to do.<sup>31</sup>

On the whole, women in large numbers were employed in the palace and proved themselves to be devoted, reliable and trustworthy. They moved freely and extended their service to the king and the queens. But their rights were almost confined to the palace. Some of the foreign travellers mention about the female door keepers. Immediately after the Dasara festivities were over twenty to thirty female door keepers came from inside the palace with canes in their hands and whips on their shoulders.<sup>32</sup> There were women porters also.<sup>33</sup>

An epigraph of 14th cen.A.D. states that women were warriors too. When Harihara Raya was ruling, there was a fierce fight between Dannala Devi and **Ramanna Hemmadi**.<sup>34</sup> In **A.D.1386 Bommambe**, wife of **Mahavira** Madorakala continued the fight even though her husband died **in the battle**.<sup>35</sup>

There were women who practiced business. An epigraph dated **A.D. 1433** states that Aramavalatta Nachiyar, the elder sister of a kaikkolar approached Deva Raya with a grievance related to business and secured a copper plate grant **embodying** a sarvamanya gift of a village and it was exempted from taxes.<sup>36</sup>

Epigraphical evidences **testify** the presence of women wrestlers during the period. An epigraph dated **A.D. 1446** says that **Hariakka** took revenge by fighting **with** wrestlers.<sup>37</sup>

There were number of women who held coveted positions as **mahamandalesvaras**, governors, officers, administrators etc., In **A.D. 1516**, **Parvatiamma**, an officer of the king gave instructions regarding the services to be utilised for god Kalinathadeva at Soge.<sup>38</sup> Another record during the time of Harihara **Ray** mentions that Tuluvakka holding the office of **heggade** gave a gift of land for the service of the god Tuluvesvara and for feeding nine brahmins **in** the temple.<sup>39</sup> An epigraph states that mahamandalesvara **Chamnadevamma** of the Saluva family donated a tax free at Muda Bhatakala.<sup>40</sup> Another ruler Sankaradevamma was the ruler of Kadari.<sup>41</sup> During **Sadasiva Raya's time**, **Chenmamba** same as **Chennabhairavadevi** was governing **Sangitapura, Vrittapura** etc.,<sup>42</sup>

The temple employed a large number of women in various capacities as dancers, singers, musicians and menial servants. Various terms such as Ranga bhogamuvaru, Bhogamuvaru, Devadasi, Patri and Sani were used to denote those women employed in the service of god.<sup>43</sup> (chart V) The women employed **in saiva** temples especially of veerasaivas were known as Deepa basavi or Basavulu. An epigraph dated **A.D. 1518** testifies to **this**.<sup>44</sup>

Women were **active** participants in agricultural operations. During the time, there were extensive forests and uncultivable waste lands which were brought under cultivation. Women held

landed property. An epigraph dated **A.D.1401** from **Basrur** states that **Tuluva** Heggaditi the grand daughter of Kotesarah belonging to Jadar Bali was enjoying landed property yielding 106 **mudis** of rice.<sup>45</sup> An epigraph dated **A.D.1542** from Bhatkal states that **Gummate** nayakiti, daughter of Koteyakka belonging to Honnabali was owning landed property worth 3 **mud** is of rice in a place called Salugeri.<sup>46</sup> An other epigraph dated A.D. 1546 refers to **Baliyakka**, the daughter of Banasi, was possessing landed property worth 9 **mudis** in the place called **Mavali**.<sup>47</sup> There is no doubt in saying that land ownership has much to do with the improvement of agriculture.(see Chart IV for detail of women in property transactions)

Aparting from agriculture, women were involved in basket making, tailoring, pottery, mat making, garland making **etc.**,<sup>48</sup> Srinatha mentions about Baliya women (women involved in trading activities), sale women (women involved in weaving), machekante (women involved in **fishing**), vaddekula vadhuti (women involved stone **chisling**) etc.,<sup>49</sup>

During the time, many women were proficient in classical literature and other literary pursuits. Some of them include Ganga Devi, Honnayi, **Mohanangi**, Tukkadevi, **Molla**, **Tirumalamba** etc.,(see Chart III for their literary **achievements**)

Gangadevi (1360 A.D) queen of **kamparaya** II was a renowned poetess. She wrote **Madhuravijayam** or *Vira Kamparaya Charitam* in Sanskrit which describes the conquest of Madura by **kumara**

Kampana, her husband and son of Bukka **I**, one of the founders of Vijayanagara empire. **Kampana** defeated **Champaraya** of Tundiramandala or Tondaimandala about A.D. 1361 and the available work which runs to eight cantos stops with his conquest with the sultan of Madura in **A.D. 1371** and brought the whole of Tamil country under Vijayanagara empire.<sup>50</sup>

Cantos I of the work after the usual invocations describes the city of Vijayanagar and the reign of Bukka. Cantos II and III describe the birth of Kampana, his growth to manhood and the exhortation of Bukka to proceed against Champaraya of Conjeevaram. Canto IV deals with the expedition, the defeat and death of Champaraya. Canto V describes Prince **Kampana's** camp at Marakatanagara and Cantos VI and VII his life and enjoyments in the camp. Particularly the latter canto describes his conversation with the authoress Gangadevi and her description of the spring season. In Canto **VIII**, a goddess appears before Kampana and exhorts him to proceed against Madura and uproot the Mussulman power in the South. Kampana accordingly proceeds against the sultan of Madura and kills him.

Apart from being a great **kavya**, the work supplies with some historical material referring to Bukka I and Kampana. The work also deals with the roots of verbs in Sanskrit grammar.

Honnayi, queen of Bukka Raya is another scholar who is proficient in Vedas. An inscription dated **A.D. 1378** describes **Honnayi**, the queen of Bukka Raya as a scholar.<sup>51</sup>

**Tukka** Devi or Jaganmohini is one of the chief queens of **Krishnadeva** Raya wrote *Tukka Panchakam* in Sanskrit in which she describes how Krishnadeva Raya defeated the Cuttack king, **Gajapathi** and married his daughter Tukkamba. Some opine that she is Chinna **devi**.<sup>52</sup>

**Mohanangi** was another poetess/ was the daughter of Krishnadeva Raya and wife of **Aliya** Rama Raya. She wrote a love poem called *Marichiparinayam* in which the details of Mohanangi and Krishnadeva Raya were known.

In his biographical sketches of Deccan poets which was published in **A. D.** 1829 Kavali Venkata Ramaswamy writes about Mohanangi, the authoress of *Marichiparinayam*. He says that she received an excellent education in her infancy and was well versed in rhetoric and poetry, while in the bloom of youth she married Rama Rayalu after which she still continued her studies and employed much of her time in reading those works in Telugu composed by the poets at her father's court, by constant complication. She attained considerable proficiency in the art of **versification** and wrote a poem entitled *marichiparinayam*, the subject of which is taken from Mahabharata. In this poem, very elegant description is given of the Marichi damsels. The work consists of five books. The princess had no issues and became unfortunately, a widow, in the prime **of life** (according to tradition). She was immolated on **the** funeral pyre **of** her husband.

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**Tirumalamba** (A.D. 1530) is the authoress of *Varadambikaparinayam*. The work is a **Champu (prose-verse)** kavya, composed in Sanskrit relating to the youth of **Achyutadevaraya** and his marriage with Varadambika and the birth of China Venakatadri. The book ends with the installation of China Venkatadri as heir-apparent. The work *Achyutarayabhyudaya* or **Rajanatha Dindima** begins with the coronation of Achyuta Raya and the installation of China Venkatadri as heir apparent and as such is complimentary to the subject **matter** of *Varadambikaparinayam*. So the latter work can be ascribed to a period about **A.D. 1530**, the year of **Achyutaraya's** accession.

She is identified with Oduva **Tirmalamba** who said to have composed the Sanskrit verse in the inscription at the Vittala temple at **Hampi**, commemorating the gift of **suvarnameru** performed by Achyuta Raya in **A.D. 1533**.<sup>54</sup> It starts with the description of the hero and his predecessors. Then it recalls his exploits and his marriage with Varadamba and ends with his coronation and installation of their **son**, china Venkatadri as yuvaraja. The last verse in the kavya is a prayer for the patron Achyuta Raya, his queen and their son.<sup>55</sup>

Oduva Tirumalamba (Tirumalamba the reader) was described as a genius, since she was an excellent **musician** and a grammarian, possessing in addition a good command of rhetoric and diction. She was a scholar of the Indian epics, poetry, drama and philosophy. Besides these **accomplishments**, she had **many** other

qualities as **well**, like being a linguist having a good knowledge of many languages and having the ability to write in many scripts. In addition to all these excellent qualities she must have possessed great beauty as well, as **emperor** Achyutadeva Raya was enamoured and elevated her to the position of one of his queens.<sup>56</sup>

From epigraphical evidence it is known that **Tirumalamba** composed two Sanskrit slokas on the occasion of one of **Achyutaraya's** ceremonies called **Anandanidhi** and had these slokas engraved in many places. She composed another verse **commemorating** the king's gift of **Suvarnameru** to **brahmans** at **Hampi** in **A.D.1533**. She also composed three verses recording the king's **tulabhara** of pearls at Kanchipuram in the same year.

This work is an important as a source material for knowing about the social and political history of the period.

#### Women - Education

The importance of education lies in the fact that in order to have an organised living every body should have either formal or informal education. The ancient texts reveal several aspects about this. Generally, informal education is imparted to the child through oral media like riddles, songs, tales or suggestions regarding good conduct and well behaviour. Age is not a determined factor in this. Both men and women were supposed to develop an awareness in these matters. However, a woman has more

scope towards informal education irrespective of the class to which she belongs to as in Indian society, a woman is considered as a tradition bearer, primarily responsible for protection and integration of the family system. She further acts as a carrier of tradition from one generation to the other in her role as a mother. Dharmasastras hold that certain *acaras* (traditions) are to be learnt only by women.

The general notion is that education is recognised for men rather than women. This is because more submissive part in the family is played by womenfolk. So, there is no necessity in giving them formal education. In the words of Abbe J. Dubois, hindu women should only need to know how to grind and boil rice and look after the household affairs. The business of courtesans is to dance at public ceremonies and prostitutes were the only women who are allowed to learn.<sup>57</sup>

This aspect can be explained in relation to the family structure in an Indian society. A man is to maintain the legality and prestige of the family and a woman has to carry the same to the future generations, thereby their roles becoming public and private respectively. While this created a need for formal education for men, informal education is considered to be an important prerogative for women in carrying out their duties of maintaining a structural continuum of tradition.

Formal education can be **defined** as a mode of learning through close personal contact of the pupil with the teacher

through his stay with the teacher as a **member** of his family, stern discipline and control of emotions.<sup>58</sup> Dewey refers to formal or institutional education which is a regular programme of training for a specific period.<sup>59</sup> A specific syllabi is outlined for this system. On the other hand, informal education begins with parents as instructors regarding code of **conduct**, behavioural patterns, knowledge about tradition, religion, customs of the specific caste etc., No specific syllabi is framed and no pattern of instruction is found in this.

The general branches of learning prescribed for the children of royal families include - science of polity, statecraft and different warfare skills like horse riding, elephant riding, science of archery etc. The age wise curriculum is also mentioned in the contemporary literary literary works. Generally informal education is imparted to the child through oral media like riddles, songs, tales or suggestions regarding good conduct and well behaviour.

The need for educating girls on formal lines was well recognised in political circles and in the class of elite. Due to the feudal character of the medieval state, most of the kingdoms were short lived and depended for their continuous existence on the power of control exercised by the kings. It was here that a woman's involvement was made essential in her role as a queen, as a co regent or as guardian to the minor king. For **example**, **Varadambika** queen of **Achyuta Raya** associated with her husband in social, religious and military activities.<sup>60</sup> She also appealed to

the Bijapur sultan that he should come to her aid sensing the evil intentions of her brother Salakaraju **Tirumala** in whose charge King Achyuta Raya left his son China Venkatadri, a minor before he died in A.D. 1542.<sup>61</sup> She acted as queen regent till the end of the reign of Achyuta Raya.

The elite women evinced interest in listening to discourses on religion, purana literature and participating in the literary programmes held by poets and scholars. From the examples it is known that not only women of political circles but those of the elite sections and women of courtesan class too were receiving benefits regarding formal education.

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*Raghunathabhyudayam* of Ramabhadramba gives some information about the education of the women in the court. They were proficient in composing four kinds of poetry **Chitrabandha**, *Garbha*, *Asu* and in explaining the words written in various languages. They were skillful in the art of *Satalekhini* and filling up literary verse puzzles (**padya-puranam**); they were able to compose verses at the rate of one hundred in an hour (*Ghatikasate*), to compose poetry in eight *bhasas* (Sanskrit, telugu, and the six *prakrts*). They knew how to interpret and explain the poems and dramas composed by the famous poets and to explain the secrets of music of two sorts (*karnata* and *desa*). They were able to sing very sweetly and to play on the *vina* and other musical instruments like the *Ravanahasta*. They also knew the art of dancing in its various phases.

Regarding the **mode** of learning, the popular educational centres **namely** *agrahara*,<sup>64</sup> *ghatika*,<sup>65</sup> *temple*,<sup>66</sup> *viharas*<sup>67</sup> and **monastery**<sup>68</sup> were catering to the needs of the students. But it is certain that girls were pursuing education at these institutions. In some of the temples dance masters were appointed to train the female dancers.<sup>69</sup>

The courtesans and concubines were supposed to gain proficiency in the arts of music and dance pertaining to both **marga** (Sanskritic) and **desi(native)** traditions. Their proficiency in fine arts make them survive firmly in the competition. Besides their involvement in courtly programmes, they were used as instruments of political strategy. This necessitates their knowledge in matters of state-craft at least theoretically.

The girls involved in prostitution were also taught on the same pattern as in the case of courtesans and concubines. They followed the teachings of *Natyasastra of Bharata*, ***Kamasutra*** of *Vatsayana*. The *Kamasutra of Vatsayana* prescribes that a woman should study sixty four **kalas** (arts) before she attains youth. In addition to singing, dancing and painting many more arts have been included.<sup>70</sup> Many contemporary literary works give us an idea of how girls of this class employed clever behaviour.

The girls of royal household were trained in respective fields at home alone by teachers specially for this purpose.

Informal education in various professional skills were

imparted to girls belonging to the class of concubines and prostitutes by their mothers. They trained their daughters in the arts painting, drawing, decorating the compounds of their houses etc besides teaching various beautification processes. Preparation and use of cosmetics, medicines, skill in dressing and ornamentation, developing clever behavioural patterns in order to earn more money and other aspects concerning their profession. The elderly women trained the girls in seeking various techniques in the profession.

The aspects of informal education which revolve round the preservation of family system within the domestic background are however, applicable mostly to women of middle class in comparison to others. Their learning requirements confine mostly to perfection in domestic affairs like cooking, preparing leaf-plates, garland making, decoration of floors etc.,

The occupations like weaving, spinning, extraction of oils selling etc., are caste oriented and mostly hereditary. Therefore there were no specific separate vocational educational institutions for the members of artisan class in these occupations.

Thus it can be said that the type of education given to girls and the curriculum of the studies varied with respect of the status, profession or need of the girls. The classification of education into formal, informal has been done for the sake of

convenience and to understand the **motive** behind such a system.

Generally, the system of learning is modelled to preserve the family system and kinship relations wherein, men and women exist **complimentary** to each other but not contradictory. It was necessary for every girl irrespective of the class to which she belonged to, to receive informal education to keep her role continuous in bearing the tradition of the family and further to act as a carrier of the same to future generations.

However in case of royal women, formal education becomes necessary as they had to maintain structural continuum in the political relations. **Similarly,** the need for earning a comfortable livelihood in the absence of a family system made the concubines and prostitutes to attain skill in fine arts. The educational training of a temple girl enabled her to achieve perfect skills in both **marga** and desi traditions thereby served as a medium of syntheses between the two. The women belonging to weaker sections of society had to acquaint themselves with occupational skills to supplement their family income.

#### Women - Property rights

Women of this age enjoyed limited property rights. Generally the theories approved by the ancient dharmasastra writers were considered to be valid in the exist int Hindu society. When we look into it, initially there was no question of women holding property as she herself was an item **ofmoveable** property of the

husband or the patriarch.<sup>71</sup> In the first and second centuries A.D., the writers declared that women and children can not become objects of gift or sale under any circumstances.<sup>72</sup> The theory approved by the hindu culture as early as the vedic age was that the husband and the wife should be the joint owners of the household and the property. The husband was required to take a solemn vow at the marriage that he would never transgress the rights and interests of his wife in economic matters.<sup>73</sup> But in **practice**, the joint ownership theory reveal that **the** wife is entitled to incur normal expenditure on the household during her husband's absence.<sup>74</sup> She was given a third share of the husband's property in case she was superseded unjustly.<sup>75</sup>

Regarding the question of movable and immovable property, the writers of dharmasastras were unwilling to invest the wife with full or exclusive ownership over immovable property for a long time.<sup>76</sup> As far as the moveable property like ornaments, jewelry, costly apparel etc., was concerned women's right to own it was recognised at a very early date and this went under the category of *stridhana* or women's special property.

The term *stridhana* is used to denote property over which **women** are allowed to have their own or less absolute sway in normal times. Stridhana is related to the custom of bride price (**sulka**). According to it, parents gave their daughter the whole or part of the bride price out of affection that can be enjoyed by her in her lifetime. If the daughter left no issue behind, her father or brothers would claim the property back from the

son-in-law<sup>77</sup> who was expected to contract a fresh marriage in due course. So the husband had to recognise his bride's ownership in it. The bride generally used to spend this gift usually in the purchase of ornaments and utensils and furniture for her new household. When there was no bride **price**,<sup>78</sup> the wedding gifts **parinahya** would go to the wife and she becomes its owner.

Manu, the earliest writer gave a description of stridhana. According to him, it consists of six **varieties**. gifts given by the father, the mother and the brother at any time; gifts of affection given by the husband subsequent to the marriage; and presents given by anybody either at the time of marriage or at the time when the bride is taken to her new home.<sup>79</sup> Vishnu adds three more categories to stridhana. gifts given by the son; or any other relation; and the compensation given to the wife at the time of her supersession on the occasion of her husband's second marriage. So the gifts given by non relatives subsequent to marriage and the wages earned by the wife for her work would not become part of stridhana category.

In seventh and eighth centuries A.D., the question of whether women possess full powers of ownership on **immovable** property got attention. Though **Katyayana** in **Dayabhaga** says that women possess the power of sale and mortgagage even over the immovable property which included in the stridhana<sup>80</sup> others are divided.

Here, the prevalence of private property in medieval south India would be discussed. Citing medieval **Chola** kingdom, Dharm Kumar comes out with certain arguments regarding private property rights.

- (a) The possessor of land could be evicted for prolonged arrears.
- (b) The frequent references to title deeds and registers and to formal judicial procedures for conveying rights are irrelevant because these rights would not be enforced.
- (c) The terms like '**land controller**' were ambiguous.
- (d) The distribution of land had little to do with the law. For instance, rich men taking over the lands of the weak, regardless of the legal title or taking more rent than the contract were rampant.
- (e) Lastly, the freedom to act against within the group was constrained.

Thus it can be ascertained that individuals had limited control over properties. Because they were not covered under law in proper sphere. Even the degree of control over inherited property of women, the right of custody or possession is only conceded to the **possessor. Even** earnings through the pursuit of mechanical arts or obtained as gift from her agnate and cognate relations did not mean alienation.

However the alienation of landed property was formally sanctioned in case of both men and women for religious

**purposes.** It is also evident from the sources that women transacted with both land and money during Vijayanagara which testifies to the economic freedom they enjoyed apart from religious donations. (Chart IV)

Some regions had matriarchal family systems and a record from Bhatkal says that at the time of Chennadeviamma as the governor of Haduval, the gift of lands were passed on to the female descendants as gift and male descendants by right of succession. Another epigraph dated **A.D.1526** records that **Bommidevarasa** purchased a piece of land from **Padumaladeviamma** in Dharwar Taluq. It is evident from a charter dated 1354 A.D in **Kamagere** of Heggadadevanakote Taluq states that daughters had a share in the property.

Thus it can be said that the prevalent conditions operating property rights in medieval south India certainly restricted the transactions.

#### Women as donors

Many inscriptions mention about the grants or gifts made by women. Women as donors for the religious establishments were known from the first and second centuries A.D., onwards. For example, the **maha** Buddhist cave inscription of the second century A.D., says that certain fields were donated by a woman named Vedaśri.<sup>81</sup> A large number of women giving donations is evident from contemporary Pali texts and epigraphic records.

The donations include grants in form of land, gold and other

gifts for the over all well being of the empire. However, most of the grants were made by women of the royalty, rich and affluent ones, women in coveted positions, women attached to the temple etc., besides ordinary women.(see Chart I & **VII** for Women donors - particulars and Devadasi donations - particulars)

The queens of Krishnadeva Raya, **Tirumala** Devi and Chinna Devi gifted away villages and ornaments to Lord Venkatesa at Tirumala.<sup>82</sup> They also performed Ratnadhenu and Saptasagara **mahadanas** when they visited the temple.<sup>83</sup> The senior queen Tirumala Devi granted a land called **Kumbharakunte** i Vi j ayanagarapattana for the service of god Kariya Tiruvengalanatha.<sup>84</sup> Whenever the king went on campaigns the queens also accompanied them. On their way, they visited the holy places and made certain gifts. When Krishnadeva Raya went on campaign to Kalinga, he visited Ahobilam and made gifts to god Ahobala. His queen also made a gift of a pendant.<sup>85</sup> **Varadamba**, queen of Achyutaraya is said to have patronised priests, scholars and poets and made liberal gifts to temples and other religious institutions. These examples convey that queens enjoyed considerable freedom in making religious donations and also prayed gods to help their counterparts to win over their rivals. King Achyuta **Raya's** queen Varadajidevi **amman** donated six villages

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to the Venkateswara temple. Donating for the temples serves two purposes. One is that the donees accrue punya and for the temple it means to serve the public.

The donations made by the wives of the chiefs,

**mahamandalesvaras**, **women** rulers, rich temple damsels, ordinary women is significant to note. A detailed chart is given at the end of the chapter to testify this. To cite a **examples**, Some of the donations by women rulers include land yielding one varaha by **Sankaradevamma**, governor of **Bidiruru**, Shivamoga district to **Narasa matha** in the same **district**. Another ruler **Sankaradevamma**, the ruler of Kadari caused the installation of Sankaradeva and made a grant of 210 **mudis** and 18 varahas towards the expenses of **amritapada**, nana-dipti (perpetual lamps) and other services in the temple.<sup>87</sup> Another source says that during Sadasiva Raya's reign says that **Chenmamba** same as Chennabhairavadevi governing Sangitapura, Vrittapura etc. made a grant with the consent of local body of traders to the effect that they would safeguard the lands granted.<sup>88</sup> The chief concern of the donations seem to be directed at the over all welfare of the masses and were voluntary. The confidence they have put in the institutions that the funds would be used properly and efficiently also made women of the highest order to make the donations generously.

Women belonging to the temple made donations either in cash or in kind or in both. An epigraph dated 1543 A.D. records that **Selli** employed in the temple donated 1,200 nar **panam** towards offerings to god **Tiruvali-alvan**.<sup>89</sup> A temple damsel namely **Bejje**, daughter of **Mallakka** Venkatatturaivar donated 200 nar **panam** towards the improvement of tanks and channels at **Tirumalai** in A.D. 1538.<sup>90</sup> (see Chart VI for Devadasi donations)

The custom of making gifts for the merit of the women members of the family is also seen. An epigraph dated **A.D.** 1537 states that **Singaraja** made certain offerings for Sri Venkateswara

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for the merit of his sister. One Timmaraju built a rangamandapa to god Madhava for the merit of his parents Vallabharaju and **Vengalamma**. This shows that a lot of reverence was shown to the lady **members** of the family and these donations enabled the donor to remember them again.

It is significant to note that ordinary women also gave donations. **Bukkajamma**, mother of Narasa nayaka donated land at **Hampi** in favour of god Virupaksha in **A.D.** 1510.<sup>92</sup> An epigraph dated **A. D.** 1397 records that **Jomma** Devi, daughter of Virupadevi

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constructed a channel at **Tirumani** in **Kolar** district.

The above donations signify that women enjoyed certain degree of freedom to make gifts. Though most of the donations were towards religious purposes for which the alienation is sanctioned by law. The possession of wealth by courtesans is already testified by the foreign traveller accounts. **It** is significant to note that women who could not donate, rendered service by drawing **kolams** or designs (with rice powder) cleaning the cooked vessels, husking the paddy, cutting the vegetables and other sundry works. Even today such services are rendered by women, as voluntary and some for an **honorarium**.<sup>94</sup>

Thus it can be said that the role of queens as queen **mothers** and regents is crucial in **effecting** smooth political

transactions. Though, their participation in the political process is indirect, the repercussions of not being involved would lead to serious consequences keeping in sight the prevalent feudal polity and invasions from outside. Her role in the **upkeeping** of royal **majesty** through their appearances in **important** socio-religious functions along with the king is noteworthy. Queen's advice must have been sought by the king in **important matters** as she also accompanied him during wars. Besides the queens evinced much interest in literary pursuits rather than confining themselves to zenana. Queens like Tirumalamba and Ganga devi were proficient in various classical languages apart from producing works of great literary merit.

The women of lower social orders contributed equally to family earnings, enjoyed greater freedom than their counterparts in the upper strata. The presence of professional class of women and rise in social status has direct link with economic production. The proficiency of women in various fine arts enriched their perceptions and gave them economic viability. The details of certain professional class would be dealt with in the next chapter.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

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- <sup>2</sup>see Padma, A., *Women in medieval Andhra (11th to 13th centuries A.D)*, An unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, 1996.
- <sup>3</sup>N. Venkata Ramanayya, *STDV*, op.cit., PP. 394-5.
- <sup>4</sup>Nandi Timmayya, *Parijatapaharanam, The sources*, PP. 138-90.
- <sup>5</sup>ARSIE of 1908-9, P.178.
- <sup>6</sup>S.K.Aiyangar, *Sources*, op.cit., P.158.
- <sup>7</sup>Robert Sewell, op.cit., P.176.
- <sup>8</sup>Sri Lakshmi Katragadda, 'A study of some place names of Vijayanagara period', *Studies in Indian Place names*, Vol.XVII, Mysore, 1997.
- <sup>9</sup>Kandukuri Rudrakavi, *Nirankusopakhyanam*, 2:58; Quoted from N.Venkata Ramanayya, *STDV*, Op.cit., P.396.
- <sup>10</sup>Ibid, 2:56; Ibid, P.396.
- <sup>11</sup>Bhartruhari, *Nitisataka*, 32.
- <sup>12</sup>Barbosa, op.cit., P.215.
- <sup>13</sup>Jaimal Rai, 'A Factorial study of the status determinants of women in Ancient India', *PIHC*, Annamalainagar, 1989-90, P.139.
- <sup>14</sup>*Amuktamalyada*, Chapter IV, V, 257.
- <sup>15</sup>Barbosa, op.cit., P.208.
- <sup>16</sup>Barbosa in Robert Sewell, op.cit., P.129.
- <sup>17</sup>Paes, op.cit., P.264-5.
- <sup>18</sup>Paes, op.cit., P.282.
- <sup>19</sup>Nuniz, op.cit., P.382.

<sup>20</sup>Barbosa, op.cit., P.208.

<sup>21</sup>Nuniz, op.cit., P.208.

<sup>22</sup>Nuniz, P.382-3.

<sup>23</sup>Nuniz, op.cit, P.383.

<sup>24</sup>Rangapa Raju, *Sambopakhyanam*, PP.179-88; Quoted from N.Venkata Ramanayya, op.cit., P.383.

<sup>25</sup>Allasani Peddana, *Manucharita*, 1:183.

<sup>26</sup>Robert Sewell, op.cit., P.382-3.

<sup>27</sup>Barbosa I, op.cit., P.208.

<sup>28</sup>Robert Sewell, op.cit., P.328.

<sup>29</sup>Robert Sewell, op.cit, P.241-2.

<sup>30</sup>Robert Sewell, op.cit., P.379.

<sup>31</sup>Paes, *ibid*, P.288-9.

<sup>32</sup>Paes in Robert Sewell, op.cit., P.262.

Paes in Robert Sewell, op.cit, P.262.

<sup>34</sup>E.C. , Cn.196, P.208.

<sup>35</sup>MAR, 1923, PP.90-91.

<sup>36</sup>MER of 1919, P.103.

<sup>37</sup>E.C., Vol.VII, Sk 2, P.39.

<sup>38</sup>S.I.I., No.IV, Part.II, No.503.

<sup>39</sup>S.I.I. , Vol.IX, Part II, No.424.

<sup>40</sup>V.I., Vol.2, KN666, P.110.

<sup>41</sup>V.I., KN 965, P.246.

<sup>42</sup>V.I., Vol.1, KN873, P.200.

<sup>43</sup>Soma Reddy, R., op.cit., P.257.

<sup>44</sup>S.I.I., Vol.IV, No.702.

<sup>45</sup>S.I.I., Vol.IX, Part II, No.424.

<sup>46</sup>K.I., II, Part I, No.11.

<sup>47</sup>K.I., III, Part I, NO.16.

<sup>48</sup>*Catus of Srinatha*, P.130.

<sup>49</sup>*Ct.Mn.*, P.133.

<sup>50</sup>K.Raghavacharyulu, 'Some South Indian Poetesses', *QJMS*, Vol.26, No.1-2, P.40.

<sup>51</sup>*E.C.*, V, Cn 256.

<sup>52</sup>Vara Lakshmi.J., *Yugayugallo Bharathiya Mahila* (Telugu), Hyderabad, 1977, P.377.

<sup>53</sup>G.Sambasiva Rao, *Pracheenandhra kavayitrula stree svabhava chitranam* (Telugu), Vijayawada, 1981, P.56.

<sup>54</sup>Mysore Archaeological Report 1920, P.38. The temple inscription at Vithala temple by Tirumalamba is a clue to the political and religious influence queens may have had in this period.

<sup>55</sup>*Q.J.M.S.*, XXV, P.66.

<sup>56</sup>Refer to article entitled 'Eminent women of Karnataka', in *QJMS*.

<sup>57</sup>

Abbe J.Dubois, *Hindu manners, customs and ceremonies*, Delhi, 1985, P.337.

<sup>58</sup>P.V.Kane, *History of Dharmasastras*, Vol.11, Part 1, P.369.

<sup>59</sup>Dewey, 'Democracy and education', P.7-11, quoted from P.H.Prabhu, *Hindu social organisation*, Bombay, 1990, P.102.

<sup>60</sup>K.S. Aiyangar, *Sources*, op.cit., P.158.

<sup>61</sup>Robert Sewell, op.cit., P.176.

--She lived during the time of **Naiks** of Madura in 17th century A.D., the later Vijayanagara rulers.

<sup>63</sup>Refer B.A.Saletore, op.cit., Vol.11, P.164.

<sup>64</sup>agrahara served the purpose of a small university generally located in whole villages and managed by the community of brahmins.

<sup>65</sup>The word **Ghatika** is variously interpreted either as a public assembly for brahmins, a religious centre or an educational colony. Refer A.P.Karmarkar, 'Society and education in medieval Karnataka', *QJMS*, Vol.33, No.I, P.49-50.

<sup>66</sup>an other centre for pursuing primary education for Hindus.

<sup>67</sup>Buddhist centre of education.

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<sup>69</sup>Jain centre of education.

<sup>70</sup>Soma Reddy, R., op.cit., P.258.

<sup>71</sup>P.V.Kane, *History of Dharmasastras*, Vol.1, Part I, P.367.

It is on this undisputed assumption that Harischandra proceeds to sell his wife to the **domb** at the Banaras ghat and **Dharmaraja** proceeds to stake Draupadi in the gambling hall.

<sup>72</sup>*Yaj.*, II, 175; See A.S. Altekar, op.cit., P.214.

<sup>73</sup>A.S.Altekar, op.cit., P.214.

<sup>74</sup>A.S.Altekar, op.cit., P.215.

<sup>75</sup>Yaj. II, 76; See A.S. Altekar, op.cit., P.215.

<sup>76</sup>A.S.Altekar, op.cit., P.217.

<sup>7</sup>Yaj., II, 145; Refer A.S.Altekar, op.cit., P.220.

<sup>78</sup>There was no bride price in the Vedic age.

<sup>79</sup>Manu, IX, 194; See A.S.Altekar, op.cit., P.220.

<sup>80</sup>Katyayana in *Dayabhaga*; Refer A.S.Altekar, op.cit., P.224.

<sup>81</sup>Kher, N.N., *Agrarian and Fiscal Economy*, 324 B.C - 320 A.D., Delhi, 1973, P.70.

<sup>77</sup>T.T.D., Vol.3, No.50,70.

<sup>78</sup>S.I.I., Vol.XVI, NO.52, P.62.

<sup>84</sup>V.I, Vol.1, KN377, P.180.

<sup>85</sup>S.I.I, Vol.XVI, No.53, P.63.

<sup>86</sup>  
T.T.D, Vol.4, No.29.

<sup>87</sup>  
V.I, KN965, P.246.

<sup>88</sup>  
V.I, KN873, P.200.

<sup>89</sup>  
T.T.D. , Vol.5, No.9, P.27.

<sup>90</sup>  
T.T.D. , Vol.5, No.116, P.215.

T.T.D., Vol.III, P.337.

<sup>92</sup>  
V.I., Vol.1, KN321, P.155.

<sup>93</sup>  
V.I., Vol.III, KN 1244, P.8.

<sup>94</sup>Raman, K.V., *Sri Varadarajaswami Temple - Kanchi*, New Delhi, 1975,  
p.135.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### DEVADASIS AND COURTESANS



among the saivaites and particularly among the worshippers of basava.<sup>17</sup>

The practice of appointing dancers in the temples **dates back** to the 8th century A.D., and it is known from an unpublished copper plate grant of Vishnuvardhana III.<sup>18</sup> According to Edwards (1924) the rise of sacred prostitution in South India seems to have taken place in the 9th or 10th century A.D. and it was associated with the great spirit in building of temples.<sup>19</sup> Another possible reason for the development of devadasi custom is that the Hindu epic, Bhavishya Purana held it highly rewarding for a person seeking heaven to dedicate girls to temples and it was stressed that those who did not have girls in the family for this purpose were required to purchase them from those who had already dedicated themselves.<sup>20</sup> Various local names such as 'devaradiar' or 'dasi' in Tamil Nadu,<sup>21</sup> 'kudikkars' in Travancore,<sup>22</sup> 'bogams' and 'sanis' in Andhra.<sup>23</sup> They were also known by the names **manikkattar** and kanikaiyar.<sup>24</sup> In an inscription from Marambaivaaiyar, they were known as 'adigalmar'.<sup>25</sup> The women who attended at Saiva temples were known as Rudra-ganikas.<sup>27</sup> Since then, they were the custodians of the arts of dance and **music**. They can be divided broadly into (i) those who were attached to the temples and remained unmarried (ii) those that lived independently and married but were employed by the temple on a part time basis.

The growth of temple

In **medieval** South India the temple not only acted as a potent religious institution but it was also a centre of **multifarious**, all pervasive, socio-economic institution. As Prof. Nilakata Sastri has commented on the variegated economic functions of the temple, as the citadel of economic power

**enjoying** a status co-equal to that of the state.<sup>28</sup> The reason for its growth may be - since the resurgence of trade and commerce during the ninth and the tenth centuries, the temples received a patronage. Both the rulers and the ruled donated in form of gifts of **villages**, portions of villages or plots of cultivated land, taxes, cattle, cash, jewels etc., The land granted to the temple served the purpose of providing a perpetual source of income for maintaining a specified ritual service in the name of the donor of the land. The religious merit of the devotees also greatly contributed to the growth of temple.

Hinduism prescribes four principal objectives or **purusharthas** for an individual viz., dharma or righteousness, artha or accumulation of material goods, **kama** or satisfaction of physical desires and **moksa** or salvation. According to this theory of purusharthas, the pursuit of two central objectives of artha and kama should be regulated by dharma and so fashioned as to lead to moksa or salvation. Moksa is defined as the realisation of **one's** self, or merger in the supreme spirit or escape from the cycle of births and deaths. Two principal means of obtaining moksa are mentioned as jnana or right knowledge attained through contemplation and bhakti or devotion. The devotee will have a personal god, loves him, worships him and surrenders to him. The form of this manifest personal god is called arca-avatara or **worshipable** form. This worship may be either private or public. Public worship is localised in the temples. This **arca** type of worship requires an **image** which has many forms such as siva, visnu or devi **each in different varieties**.<sup>29</sup> All these factors lead to elaborate worship in temples.

The worship in temples consists of sodasopacara<sup>30</sup> consists of

sixteen items - dhyana or contemplation, avahana or localisation, asana or offering a seat, padya or washing the feet, arghya or washing the hands, **acamaniya** oil taking in a small quantity of water, snana or bath, vastra or clothing, yajnopavita or placing the sacred thread, gandha or smearing sandal paste, **malya** or decoration with garlands and flowers, dhupa or waving incense, dipa or showing a lamp, naivedya or offering food, niranjana or waving a lamp and **mantrapuspa** or offering of tribute. Of these, snana or snapana, gandha, decoration with garlands, flowers and jewels, dhupa and naivedya are done on an elaborate scale in  
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temples. All **this** work needed regular employees to perform **with** much devotion and devadasis provided an answer for this.

When the temple **as** an institution expanded considerably not only in size but also in the complexity of rituals performed, specific duties were assigned to the temple women and their services were **regularised**. (see chart VI in Appendix)

The growth of devadasi custom

The devadasi custom has religious and ritual connections in Hinduism. In all the societies, pleasing the super natural powers to get the favours is widely prevalent. To fulfill their desires, the devotees take vows to offer sacrifices which include food, service, pleasure, wealth, animals and so on. However, it is not known how the practice of dedicating human beings started. It may be due to the good will or to ward off evil effects that existed in all societies at all times irrespective of the nature and composition of the society.

The temples received a large **number** of endowments and acquired the capability of maintaining more women in temple service. In order to popularise several puranic sects of Hinduism, **Vaishnavism** and saktism among the common people, the

recitation of temple myths and legends was a major means of **communication**. Moreover, visual **performance** of dance and music by the devadasis was thought of as the most effective means of **impressing** the minds of the devotees. The much popular **bhakti movement** that acquired prominence during the times that had the religious ideology of bhakti entailed a blind faith and a complete surrender to god. In the process, the popularity of sectarian cults through the bhakti movement and the expansion of temple building and the dedication of women in temple service increased enormously. The ideology was more acceptable to a wide section of the society particularly the lower castes as it was easy and simple to follow and could easily be understood.

The temple during the Vijayanagara period acted as a multi-purpose institution. It had to attend to various kinds of works like the conduct of worship, preparation of offerings, preparation of sandal, perfumes, decoration, lighting, entertainment, recitation of sacred texts, running choultries and **mathas**, maintaining schools and hostels, providing accommodation and comforts to the staff and the visiting pilgrims, repair and renovation, safe keeping of jewels, distribution of **prasadams**, management of properties, proper maintenance of accounts, arranging of processions, keeping watch and ward etc., besides supervising of various festivals.<sup>32</sup> All these complex works needed dedicated temple servants who have to work full time without any obligations. As devadasis have no responsibilities except that of temple work, they provided the best alternative. Keeping their dedicated work in view, many donations were bestowed on them. An inscription of Panchdharla dated A.D 1437 refers to the gift of 4 kha of land made to the sanis for their services to the temple.<sup>33</sup> Apart from the donations from the kings and nobles, private individuals also paid them. They had certain

share in the food offerings made to the deity. (For payment details, see chart VI in appendix)

The other worships like anga ranga bhoga worship<sup>34</sup> that is to be done daily, the repati or worship offered in the morning, **mapati** or night worship and occasional worships like the **jamu** and **ardhajamu** worship and the additional duties during the time of festivals necessitated the temple authorities to patronise the institution in order to perform various duties smoothly.

### III. The **Qualifications**

The rules of entry were rigid. The devadasis should be dedicated with a vow and with the approval of the deity, the priests and the community. At the time of the initiation ceremony, she should not have attained puberty. At the time of the retirement, they and their caste should designate their successors<sup>35</sup> **in one's** own family. This act was rarely refused by the family members since it had financial and socio-religious  
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advantages to the family. Some of them were often children born of illegal alliances to mothers of the same profession.

The girl who is designated to be a devadasi can not freely mix with the youth of the caste or community though she is free to **move** around and earn for the family. It is the duty of the senior devadasi and the caste or clan elders to see that she remains a virgin during her office as the rule may be. A typical devadasi was a young, charming, beautiful and accomplished woman in singing, dancing and public **relations.**<sup>37</sup>

### IV. The procedure of initiation

An elaborate ceremony has to be performed for the initiation.

Many rules and regulations were assigned to enter into this profession. Firstly, the girls should not have attained puberty. So, the dedication took place soon after her sixth or ninth year of age. The procedure began with the senior devadasi of the first kudi<sup>38</sup> presenting the girl applicant to the yogakkar. The application took the form of a request for being enrolled as one of the devadasis and granted a kudi and padi, i.e., a house and the allowance for the temple service. On receiving the application, the yogakkar took into consideration the number of girls who could be admitted during the particular year, as also the status of the applicant's family and approved or rejected the application on the basis of the findings. If the girl is closely related to the applicant, no enquiries regarding her status and **claim** need to be made. In all cases, formal investigations are instituted. The yogakkar approved or rejected the application on the basis of the findings. If the yogakkar approved of an application, a document was executed with them by the mother or the nearest kins-woman of the girl, and this was considered as the '**jataka**' ceremony.<sup>39</sup>

Then there was a celebration of '**talikettu**' or marriage of the girl on the appointed day with the deity. At an auspicious time fixed by the Vattappalli **Sthanikkar**, the yogakkar assembled in the temple. In the meantime, the relatives of the girl took new clothes, betel, **arecanut**, turmeric, **kumkum** and a tali (marriage symbol) made of gold was carried by a woman member of the party with pipers and drummers marching on.

The nambudri officiated as priest of the '**marriage**' of the girl with the deity. The girl took bath and went to the temple on the morning of the selected day with two new clothes, betel

.eaves and nuts.. The priest placed the clothes and the tali at the feet of the image and sets apart one for the divine use. The girl was asked to take her seat in the inner sanctuary facing the deity and all the ceremonies of an orthodox Hindu marriage were gone through. Finally, the priest officiating on behalf of the deity, tied the tali consisting of a triangular bottu bearing the image of the Ganesa with a gold bead on either side around the girl's neck. Then the priest kindled the fire and performed all the marriage ceremonies following the custom of the tirukalyanam festival, where Siva is represented as marrying Parvati. Then he teaches the panchakshara hymn if the temple is saivite and Ashtakshara if it is Vaishnavite to the bride. The girl prostrated first before the deity and then before the priest. After the girl came out of the inner sanctuary, a formal initiation into the art of dancing was carried out by the chief Nattuvan, the instructor. For two or three days, the social celebrations of marriage like feasting and merriment took place in the house of the bride. The yogakkar offered presents and money, suited to the **bride'family.**In the **brahmanical** marriages, the rolling of a cocoa nut to and fro is present, then the priest or an elderly dasi dressed in male attire, acting the part of the bridegroom. Then the girl was taken in procession through the streets.<sup>40</sup>

In the sect of weavers called Kakatis near Conjeevaram, the eldest daughter was usually dedicated to the temple. Thurston explains about the dedication ceremony. It was a **common** ceremony which was applied to all devadasis.

The girl was taken to a temple, with rice, coconuts, sugar. A plantain leaf was placed on the ground and on that a brass vessel

containing **water;mango** leaves and darbha grass were put, a coconut and some flowers were placed on the top of it and water was purified by **mantrams** and the leaves, grass and water lightly thrown over the girl. A thread was then tied to her left wrist, and she swallowed a pill of the five products of the cow for **purification** (panchagaury) . She was then branded with a **chakra** on the left, and her forehead was marked with the god's **iramim**. The priest prayed for her and she distributed alms and presents. A **mangalasutra** which was put at god's feet, was then placed on her neck by a senior dancing girl, to whom she makes obeisance. At night she again came to the temple and danced before the idol with bells on her feet.

#### Their duties

The devadasis had various duties to perform besides dancing and singing. They acted as priestesses for a few castes especially the lower ones, who were not permitted by tradition to have priests of their own.<sup>41</sup> They rendered some services like vinjamara seva (fan service) and such sevas were to be performed by the sanis alone. In A.D **1376**, a gift was made to a woman for waving the **camar** at the time of Candanalagi in Simhachalam temple.<sup>42</sup> An endowment for **chamaraseva** made in A.D. 1381 by Sri **Rama** of the sanis and Kodepa of the **Sampradaya**.<sup>43</sup> A record from Srikurmam dated A.D 1417 testifies to a gift of **camara** with a gold handle and a woman was appointed for holding **it**.<sup>44</sup> They had to accompany the deity (utsava vighrahas) whenever it was taken around **the** village in a procession on festive occasions. They were assigned the duties of decorating the floor with various designs with colored powders, the custom of holy antiquity in the **temples**. A provision was made by the wife of **Suresvarajiyana** in A.D 1381 for the maintenance of a woman who decorated the floor

with designs before the god of the temple at **Simhachalam**.<sup>45</sup> Another record speaks of a gift by **Janamma** in A.D 1387 for decorating the floor before the same god. A person was appointed in A.D 1376 to decorate the floor before the same god with **kolamu** or colored designs once in a week.<sup>46</sup> Duties like cleaning the **premises**, cleaning of cooked vessels, husking the paddy, cutting the vegetables and other sundry works were also done by them.<sup>47</sup>

The recitation of religious and sacred texts like the vedas, puranas, visnustrotas, purusasukta, **gajendra-moksam** slokas, venkatalamahatmyam, srinivasakalyanam etc were to be done. There was a custom of singing the god's hymns or sankirtanas. Many artistes were appointed for this purpose. One Narasimhabharati made provision in A.D 1359 for keeping two flutists and 8 women singers to form two batches which did the **sankirtanam** at the time of the dhupa in the Simhachalam temple.<sup>48</sup>

Devadasis also acted as good instrumental players like vina, **avajam** and other instruments. In A.D 1356, a provision was made to maintain two women to play on the **vina**.<sup>49</sup> There were even women engaged in supplying flowers and garlands.<sup>50</sup> Inscriptions does not clearly mention whether they were devadasi women or other women. It is significant to note here that the devadasis of Suchindram did not accept engagements for singing and dancing in private **houses**.<sup>51</sup>

In the 14th century inscriptions, there were references to dancers (nattuvass) as well as teachers (**natyacharyas**) maintained by the temple.<sup>52</sup> An inscription of A.D 1350 acquaints with a troop of sanis. The troop consisted of female singers, drummers (**meddati** kanyalu), **cymbal** players (**kamsyatalam**), players of a big

drum (**avarjamu**), a kettle drum (bheri) and pipers (khalivayinchetivaru). They were to entertain the lord during the offering of a special '**bhoga**' instituted by Ganga **Devi**, queen  
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of Narasimha III.

In most cases, the services performed by the devadasis were specified as the particular donations were directed towards their **maintenance**. (see chart VI in Appendix) As the **different** items of service to be **discharged** were known,<sup>54</sup> it was easy to distribute these services accordingly.

Sometimes women who were well versed in dancing and singing were deputed to serve the temples by royal donors. An epigraph dated A.D 1531 from **Tirumala** states that **Muddu** Kuppayi who was originally attached to the palace of Achyuta **Raya** was ordered to proceed to a temple.<sup>55</sup>

Their status

The devadasis had a high social status and sometimes they were placed at the helm of the temple administration. An inscription says that three hundred sanis along with the sthanapati were made as '**nibandhakaras**' and were authorised to see that the gifts were properly administered.<sup>56</sup> They played an important role in keeping the smooth functioning of the temple administration. Some of them were daughters of **nobles** and generals. The thirty '**sampradaya sanulu**' of Srikurman temple were the daughters of certain **mandal nayakas**.<sup>57</sup>

Abdur Razaq an ambassador from Persia visited the

Vijayanagara kingdom and remarks that the prostitution of dancing girls was a great source of revenue to the kingdom and out of the income of dancing girls, the entire upkeep of the police force was paid.<sup>58</sup> This institution was legalised but it is not clear whether these dancing girls were attached to the temple or the court. As the institution of devadasi is a sacred one, it is not proper to look at the profession in a derogatory sense. Most of them were attached to the temple, worked full time in the service of god. (see Table II shows why the linking is either doubtful or false)

Some of the temple dancers were honoured and conferred with certain preveleges for their service. Tiru Venkata **Manikkam**, a dance in the temple of Sri Venkateswara of **Tirumala** was permitted to use a palanquin for her conveyance by the temple authorities during Achyuta **Raya'a** time.<sup>59</sup> In Kannada region, ther was an instance of a dancing girl namely Mangayi of Belagula was invested with the title of '**Raya** patra chudamani' meaning 'a crest of jewel of royal dancing girl'. She was a lay disciple of Charukirti Pandita Acharya.<sup>60</sup> Kuppasani, mother of Muddukuppayi was honoured with the title of '**Vidvatsabharaya ranjakam**' in the court of scholars.<sup>61</sup>

The temple dancers also paid taxes to the state. An epigraph dated A.D 1547 records the remission of taxes paid by dancing women of the villages of Kommuru, Voruganti, Ravipadu,

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**Gomgulamudi** belongs to the god **Agastyeswara** fo Kommuru. They were entitled to receive monetary benefits, lands, share of prasadams towards their remuneration.(see chart VI in Appendix)

The popularity of the custom attracted many foreign

travellers including Paes. He observes that Women fed the idol and ate whatever was left over from this food. She and all the girls born of her were to serve the temple.<sup>63</sup>

#### Devadasis as donors

Many devadasis gave away donations for the well being of the temple. Though most of the donations were sacred in character, their sincere effort to secure additional grants and **improve** the finances of the temple is commendable. Sometimes, they even carried out repairs of the wall of the temples when they were in a dilapidated condition. The devadasis of **Suchindram** temple constructed a Vasanta **mandapa** and the **natakasala** of the saiva temple at Suchindram.<sup>64</sup> These evidences testify that they served the temple in the real sense of the **term**. (see chart VII in Appendix for devadasi donations)

There is no doubt that devadasis with their great skill in arts enchanted the minds of the devotees who gathered in the temple and their accompaniment added glamour and colour to the religious processions. They also inspired the minds of the sculptor and the sculptures which stood as testimony to the unforgettable service they rendered to the Vijayanagara society. It is not an exaggeration to say that the temples in Vijayanagara were considered to be incomplete without a devadasi and the wealth and prestige of a temple was judged from the number of devadasis it maintained.

## WOMEN IN TEMPLE SERVICE

(DEVADASIS)

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### FULL TIME STATUS

1. Most of them were married to god during the time of initiation before they attained puberty.
2. Once **married(not** to god) but attached themselves to temple as full time **servants.**
3. They represent a hereditary class namely sampradayamuvaru or kanya sampradayamuvaru.
4. They also came from respectable families.
5. Service to god was their prime motive.

**Conclusion:Prostitution** in this class in either doubtful or false

### PART TIME STATUS

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- 1.Courtesans:Participated** in god's service on behalf of the court on special **occasions.** Their service to temple is obligatory.
- 2.Concubines,** vesyas and dancing girls: restricted service because of other engagements.
- 3.Other** women: did part time service and expected returns for their service.
- 4.It** is secondary.

**Conclusion:Prostitution** in some sections of women is compulsory.

## Courtesans - An Introduction

When the context of Vijayanagar empire comes to mind, one remembers the role played **by** the courtesans who were large numbers. Unlike others, they possessed enormous wealth and enjoyed a high social status. They lived in the capital and any respectable man could court with them without any blame attached thereto. There is an opinion among **some** scholars that both the devadasis and courtesans practised prostitution but there is no sufficient evidence to prove this. (see table II) Another reason to believe that they were one and the same is that they were mostly proficient in music, dance and other arts. But it is not true. The devadasis were mainly attached to the temple and depended on its earnings for their livelihood whereas the courtesans lived independently at the capital and their efforts were directed towards the customers who came **to them** for pleasure.

### The **qualifications**

Generally, they came from different castes and even children of good families took up this profession. There were cases of poor parents who sold or gave their children to the rich courtesans unable to maintain **them. They** were trained in such a way that the education which was imparted to them developed sexual instinct at a very early age. They were taught to read and write and acquired good knowledge in Sanskrit and vernacular **literature.** parrots, doves, **minas**, swans etc., were reared in cages of **courtesans'** houses in order to teach young girls to modulate their voices in imitation of the sweet notes uttered by these birds.<sup>65</sup> If they were to succeed in their profession for a

long **time**, looking beautiful was not enough. They were to **moor** the customers in different ways. If the customer was a scholar, she discoursed with him upon the beauty of the classics, if he had no taste for learning, she sang melodiously. Sometimes, when song did not please him, she entertained by playing upon the vina and when that did not arouse his interest, she played dice with him. **When** dice did not attract him, she engaged witty conversation with him.<sup>66</sup> Thus she proved to be proficient in many arts.

There was no hard and fast rule that the courtesans should not marry in order to continue in the profession. According the Srigarabhushana of **Vamanbhatta** there were temporary marriage alliances with courtesan women. The terms of contract used to be embodied in a document called Kalatrapatra which was allowed to remain in the possession of the courtesan. The breach of the terms of this contract constituted an offence cognizable by law, and the parties might resort to a court of law (sabha) to seek redressal.<sup>67</sup>

The courtesans were mainly taught to sing to the accompaniment of vina, paravadani, kalanada etc., and to dance according to the rules of natya as laid down by Dattila, Bharata, Matanga, Anjaneya, Kahala and others. In the art of love making, they were made to learn **kalas, pramanas**, looks, jatis, bandhas, embraces and avasthas so that they might give satisfaction to cultured customers. The most important lesson which the courtesans had to learn was to evoke love in th<ir customers

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without loving any of them in return. They were explained to follow **Kucimara, Manoja** and Ghonikaputra on the Kama **sastra** Vatsyayana's **Kamasutra** assigned many important instructions on what to do and what not to do in the art of love making which

was widely acknowledged even among the courtesans during Vijayanagar times.<sup>69</sup>

Those who wanted their daughters to enter into the profession took early steps to open their career by introducing them into the court and obtained familiarity with the royalty as this class were in great demand to discharge several duties. There was every chance to be elevated to the status of a queen for the fortunate girls.<sup>70</sup>

The initiation

The ceremony of initiation called *kannerika*<sup>71</sup> was done after the girl attains maturity. This was considered to be a great event in her life. The *kannerika* was a ceremony analogous to marriage of the girls of respectable families. The girl should undergo the ceremony with a man seated together like the couple in a wedding. The occasion was celebrated with much expenditure. Everything has to be financed by the man himself. So the parents of the girl took the advantage of the situation and incurred heavy expenditure. Unless the *kannerika* was **performed**, no courtesan could have sexual intercourse with any person. During the times, any respectable man might keep a mistress and it was not difficult for a courtesan to secure a suitable man for the purpose. She needed not necessarily remain with him, but she would need to give preference to that man over the other customers.

Their duties

The courtesans living in the capital had to visit the palace

every Saturday to dance before the deity whom the king worshipped; and also during the celebration of the **Mahanavami festival**, they had to go to the palace and actively participated in various functions.<sup>72</sup> These duties were considered as obligatory.

As **most** of the courtesan were attached to the court, it was their duty to please the king. Barbosa says that many women sang, danced and played and **offered** many pleasures to the **king**. (the women) sing and play and offer a thousand other pleasures as well to the king. **Barbosa's** description may be synchronised with **Madhuravi j** ayam of Gangadevi who describes how **Kampana**, her husband sported **with** the courtesans.<sup>73</sup>

It was the duty of the courtesans to satisfy any respectable man who called on them. Any man could enter their locality and select any **girl** that pleased him and enjoyed with **her**.<sup>74</sup>

Courtesans took active part in the festivals especially during the Mahanavami. On the seventh day of the festival, many young girls<sup>75</sup> **with** cheeks as full as the moon and faces more lovely than the spring clothed in magnificent dresses and showing features like the fresh rose charmed every heart and were placed behind a curtain opposite the king. Suddenly the curtain was raised and fell again and the damsels arranged themselves for the dance with a grace calculated to seduce every sense and captivated every mind. Paes says that when the king withdraws to the interior of the palace, the stands between the two buildings that were in the arena (terreyro): the courtesans and bayaderes (i.e., the dancing girls of the temple and palace) remain dancing in front of the temple and idol for a long **time**.<sup>77</sup>

Everything was not sunny about their lives. The courtesans

observed not only certain principles in their dealings but were also god fearing in their personal lives.

Their social and economic position

They were regarded as a respectable community even though they practised prostitution. They were allowed to enter in the presence of the wives of the king and they stayed with them and even chewed betel with **them** a thing no other person might do, no matter what his rank might be. Sometimes they were allowed to use betel even in the presence of the king.<sup>78</sup> That shows that they were given a high status.

The profession of courtesans was extremely lucrative. Many of them were rich and lived in the best houses of the most fashionable streets in the city. Paes observes the same opinion.<sup>79</sup> He says that they were given land, litters and many maid servants.<sup>80</sup> The fortunes the courtesans amounted to **32,000** in A.D 1919 according to **M.L. Dames**.<sup>81</sup> The street where the courtesans resided in the capital city i.e., **Hampi** was identified. The noble man's palaces area in fact is the street of ..

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the courtesans.

Abdur **Razak** says that behind the darab-khaneh (the mint) was a sort bazaar which was **more** than three hundred ghez in length, and more than twenty in breadth. On the two sided are ranged chambers and estrades and in front of these were erected in the form of thrones, several platforms **constructed** in beautiful stones. On the two sided of the avenue **formed** by the chambers were represented the figures of lions, panthers, tigers and other animals. All were well drawn and seem to be alive.<sup>83</sup> Their houses

were decorated and the walls of the rooms where they played and moved about were aesthetically painted with pictures representing live stories from puranas.<sup>84</sup>

In matters of money they were better off than even some of the governors. Abdur Razaq says that immediately after mid-day prayer they placed before the doors of the chambers, which were decorated with extreme magnificence, thrones and chairs on which the courtesans seated themselves. Each of these women was bedecked with both pearls and gems of great value and was dressed in costly raiment.<sup>85</sup> It seems that they were better off than some of the governors in financial matters,

Barbosa gives an example to the riches courtesans possessed. He says that some of them were so rich that a short time ago one of them, dying without son or daughter made the king heir to all her property, who when he sent to collect what she had left, found that a sum of seventy thousand pardows remained as well as another twelve thousand, which during her life she had set apart and left to one of her handmaids whom she had brought up from

<sup>86</sup> childhood. And the amount of day to day money transacted was enormous. Razaq says that from the amount collected from this area as tax, the king used to engage 12,000 guards on payment at one fanom each per day.<sup>87</sup> But he could not clarify whether both the devadasis and courtesans who practised prostitution paid taxes.<sup>88</sup> So, they were the wealthy people and were considered respectable in the eyes of the state.

When dealing about devadasis and courtesans one counters with problems of their identification. Various foreign travellers and contemporary literary writers speak a lot about the dancing

girls, the courtesans, and the using of these terms interchangeably. So they have been classified here as courtesans only when they were attached to court; devadasis when one is attached to temple and separated references about dancing girls is ignored here.

These two **professional** classes enjoyed **much** social as well as economic recognition during the times. They were proficient and in multifarious arts and influenced the top rung of the society. They contributed for the prosperity of the empire by involving themselves in economic production. The donations towards the general welfare of the masses convey their selflessness and devotion towards god. However, the exploitative nature of the state in promoting devadasis and courtesans has to be seen within the broader framework of the **feudal** polity.

The socio-economic position can be understood not only on the basis of professions they held, but also determined as preservers of tradition which is discussed in the next chapter.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup>K.C.Tarachand, *Devadasi custom*, Reliance Publishing House, New Delhi, 1991, P. ; B.B.Sahoo, Devadasi system in India, *Employment News*, 18th -4th May, 1996, **P.1**; In old Hindu works, seven classes of **dasis** are **mentioned**, viz., (1) Datta or one who gives herself as a gift to a temple; (2) Vikrita or one who sells herself for the same purpose; (3) Bhritya or one who offers herself as a temple servant for the prosperity of her family; (4) Bhakta or one who joins a temple out of devotion; (5) Hrita or one who is enticed away and presented to the temple; (6) Alankara or being well trained in her profession and **profusely** decked is presented to a temple by kings and noblemen; (7) Rudraganika or Gopika who receive regular wages from a temple and or employed to sing and dance. *Madras Census Report*, 1901.

<sup>2</sup>*Vijayanagara Inscriptions, Vol.III*, KN 2164, **P.411**.

<sup>3</sup>It means leader, keeper or **incharge** person.

<sup>4</sup>T.T.D, Vol.11, **No.86, P.168**.

<sup>5</sup>V.I, **Vol.III**, KN2164, **P.411**.

<sup>6</sup>'Sule' means prostitute in Kannada language. Rev.F.Kittel, *A Kannada - English Dictionary*, 1894, **P.1586**.

<sup>7</sup>S.I.I, Vol.5, **No.1102**.

<sup>8</sup>she is also known as ura-basavi and is considered to be the principal wife of the village deity(ura devaru or grama devaru). Refer **K.C.Tarachand, op.cit., P.15**.

<sup>9</sup>she is dedicated by a caste (**jati**) to the caste deity. Refer K.C.Tarachand, op.cit., **P.15**.

<sup>10</sup>She is born to a couple who has no male children and uses one of their daughters to propagate for progeny. Refer K.C.Tarachand, op.cit., **P.15**.

<sup>11</sup>She is also identified as gude-basavi.

<sup>12</sup>She is dedicated to the flag post of nandi, the sacred vehicle of lord Siva. Refer K.C.Tarachand, op.cit., **P.16**.

- <sup>13</sup> she dedicated to lords shiva Refer **K. C. Tarachand, op.cit., P. 15-16.**
- <sup>14</sup> she belonged to the traditional **washarman** caste-Agasa. She had previlige to carry the sacred lamp (divitige) as she is appointed as a devadasi by the caste. Refer **K. C. Tarachand, op.cit., P. 16**
- <sup>15</sup> yade locally means ritual offering to the deity and her job is to bring the **offering** of food etc., to the deity **from** individual devotee families; Refer **K.C.Tarachand, op.cit., P.16..**
- <sup>16</sup> she is one who worships the flag post erected for eagle (garuda), the sacred vehicle of Vishnu and received **benefits from** that office. Refer **K. C. Tarachand, op.cit., P. 16**
- <sup>17</sup> **K.C. Tarachand, op.cit., P.14.**
- <sup>18</sup> **K.K. Pillay, op.cit., P.279.**
- <sup>19</sup> **K.C. Tarachand, op.cit., P.12.**
- <sup>20</sup> **Patil, B.R., The Devadasis, The Indian Journal of Social Work, 1975, Vol. XXXV, No.4, Jan 1975, P.378.**
- <sup>21</sup> **K.K.Pillay, op.cit., P.277.**
- <sup>22</sup> **K.K.Pillay, op.cit., P.277-78.**
- <sup>23</sup> **Thurston and Rangachari, op.cit., Vol.II, P.128.**
- <sup>24</sup> **Archaeological Reports on Epigraphy, 278 of 1902.**
- <sup>25</sup> **Archaeological Reports on Epigraphy, 302 of 1902.**
- <sup>26</sup> **Archaeological Reports on Epigraphy, 303 of 1901.**
- <sup>27</sup> **K.K. Pillay, op.cit., P.278.**
- <sup>28</sup> **K.A.Nilakata Sastri, The Cholas, II, University of Madras, Madras, 1937, P.504.**
- <sup>29</sup> **A. Surya Kumari, The Temple in Andhradesa, Gian Publishing House, Delhi, 1988, P. 148.**
- <sup>30</sup> **South Indian Inscriptions, IV, NO.219.**
- <sup>31</sup> **A. Surya Kumari, op.cit., P.148.**
- <sup>32</sup> **A. Surya Kumari, op.cit., P.104.**
- <sup>33</sup> **South Indian Inscriptions, VI, 668, Panchadharla.**

<sup>34</sup>Anga means the body **and** bhoga **means** enjoyment. Angabhoga therefore means every service rendered to the body of the deity like bath, perfuming and decoration. Ranga means outside or external and therefore rangabhoga means every other service i.e., dhupa, dipa, naivedya and arcana. Refer Sri **Lakshmi.K.**, 'Temple as a patron of Industries and Handicrafts in Andhradesa during the 17th & 18th centuries', *Proceedings of DRS seminar, Hyderabad, 1995, P.183.*

<sup>35</sup>It may be tenable in some castes.

<sup>36</sup>K.C. Tarachand, op.cit., **P.17.**

<sup>37</sup>B.B. Sahoo, Devadasi system in India, op.cit., **P.1.**

<sup>38</sup>house

<sup>39</sup>K.K. Pillay, op.cit., P. 281; The details of the procedure are learnt from a palm leaf record at the hands of the Vattappalli matha.

<sup>40</sup>Edgar Thurston and K. **Rangachari**, *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Vol. II, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1987, P. 143-4.

<sup>41</sup>K.C. Tarachand, op.cit., P. 23.

<sup>42</sup>S.I.I, VI, 751, Simhachalam.

<sup>43</sup>S.I.I, No. 764.

<sup>44</sup>S.I.I, V, 1167, **Srikurmam.**

<sup>45</sup>S.I.I, VI, 738, Simhachalam.

<sup>46</sup>S.I.I, VI, 1128, Simhachalam.

<sup>47</sup>K.V. Raman, *The Varadarajasvami Temple-Kanchi*, New Delhi, 1975, p. 135.

<sup>48</sup>S.I.I, VI, 890, Simhachalam.

<sup>49</sup>S.I.I, VI, 955, Simhachalam.

<sup>50</sup>S.I.I., VI, 801, Simhachalam.

<sup>51</sup>K.K. Pillay, op.cit., **P.279.**

<sup>52</sup>*South Indian Inscriptions*, No. 1091.

<sup>53</sup>*South Indian Inscriptions, Vol.VI*, No. 1052.

<sup>54</sup>An epigraph specifies the 14 main duties to be **done** in the **suchindram** temple. K.K.Pillay, op.cit., **P.284-5.**

<sup>55</sup>R.Soma Reddy, op.cit., **P.260.**

<sup>56</sup>*South Indian Inscriptions, Vol.X, No.110.*

<sup>57</sup>S.I.I, Vol. V, No. 1188.

<sup>58</sup>R.H. Major (ed)., *India in the Fifteenth century*, Deep Publications, New Delhi, 1974, P. 29 ; Elliot, H.M., *History of India*, Vol. IV, Trubner and co., London, 1867, P, 112.

<sup>59</sup>*T.T.T.D.E*, P. 259.

<sup>60</sup>B.A.Saletore, op.cit., P.409.

<sup>61</sup>*T. T. D.* ,

<sup>62</sup>*S.I.I.*, Vol.XVI, No. 160.

<sup>63</sup>Paes, op.cit., P.246.

<sup>64</sup>*M.E.R.*, 1914, No.354.

<sup>65</sup>Dhurjati, *Kalahastimahatmyam*,

<sup>66</sup>Kandukuri Rudra Kavi, *Nirankusopakhyanam*; Venkata Ramanayya, op.cit., P.401-2.

<sup>67</sup>N. Venkata Ramanayya, op.cit., P.127.

<sup>68</sup>

<sup>69</sup>N. Venkata Ramanayya, op.cit., PP.401-2.

N. Venkata Ramanayya, op.cit., P. 402. (for the **do's** and don'ts mentioned in **Vatsayana's Kamasutra**, see **Moti Chandra**, *The World of Courtesans*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1973, PP. 57-93.

<sup>70</sup>Robert Sewell, op.cit., PP.247-8; Paes says that a wife of Krishnadeva Raya was a courtesan who was his mistress in his youth and promised to make her his wife after he became a king.

<sup>71</sup>Dhurjati, op.cit., 4:49.

<sup>72</sup>Robert Sewell, op.cit., P.262 and 379.

<sup>73</sup>Gangadevi, *Madhuravijayam*, Canto 3.

<sup>74</sup>R.H. Major, op.cit., P.29.

<sup>75</sup>including courtesans.see M.L. Dames, *Barbosa*, 1918, P.226.

<sup>76</sup>R.H. Major, op.cit., P. 36-37.

<sup>77</sup>Robert Sewell, op.cit., P.267.

<sup>78</sup>Robert Sewell, op.cit., **P.269.** (When the king summons them during the festivals along with the captains and great lords - a rare privelege) see P. 262 of the same book.

<sup>79</sup>Robert Sewell, op.cit., P. 242.

<sup>80</sup>Robert Sewell, op.cit., P. 270.

<sup>81</sup>M.L. Dames, op.cit., **P.226.**

<sup>82</sup>B. Narasimhaiah, *Metropolis Vijayanagara*, Book India Publishing Company, Delhi, 1992, P. 57.

<sup>83</sup>Major, R.H., op.cit., **P.29.**

<sup>84</sup>N. Venkata Ramanayya, op.cit., **P.402.**

<sup>85</sup>R.H. Major, op.cit., **P.29.**

<sup>86</sup>Barbosa, *Barbosa I*, P. 226.

<sup>87</sup>R.H. Major, op.cit., **P.29.**

<sup>88</sup>The 12,000 **fanoms** money was paid to the twelve thousand soldiers on guard who were stationed in the **governor's** house opposite the darab-khaneh , the mint.

**CHAPTER SIX**

**SOCIAL BELIEFS, CUSTOMS  
AND  
FESTIVALS**

Social beliefs, customs and festivals are part of the age old tradition passed on to the people since generations for which Vijayanagara is of no exception. The rulers were regarded as upholders of Hindu **dharma** and felt the importance of preserving the culture that is inherited from the past. Here an in depth study has been made into these aspects keeping in view the impact it had on the over all society in general and women in particular.

People were superstitious and some of the beliefs do reflect to be scientifically genuine, hygienic, keep up with the social decorum, following certain procedures etc.,

#### BELIEFS

##### Taking Oaths

There is a belief of making oaths on the family professions.<sup>1</sup> If one wants to take an oath before the king, one should tie a wet cloth and hold their wet hair in the hand and then make it.<sup>2</sup> In villages, one **can make** oath on village goddesses and on Ravi tree which will be at the centre of the village.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sarangu Tammayya, *Vyjyanthi vilasam*, 2-30.

<sup>2</sup> Allasani Peddana, *Manucharitra*, 5-68.

<sup>3</sup> Kadiripati, *Sukasaptati*, 2-7 A.

Good and bad omens

It is considered as a good omen if an owl shouts and to see foxes.<sup>4</sup> When one is encountered with a snake on journey and stands without getting frightened, it is considered to be a good omen.<sup>5</sup> It is considered to be a good sign if the right side of a woman's body trembles.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand the sight of a meteor is considered to be a bad omen. During war times, if one's elephants and horses do not obey their masters, it is considered to be a bad omen.<sup>7</sup>

Methods to ward off evil sight

There were many beliefs to ward off evil sight during the Vijayanagara Period. In order to ward off an evil sight to a new born child, mother takes lot of care. After the bath is taken, the mother of a child applies the dust of her leg as 'Tilakam' and keep the child in the cradle. She also hangs toys, rattling pods and ties 'guriginjas', tulasi and wild beans to a thread and ties to the child's leg. The mother also sprinkles salt on fire and applies 'neem' smoke to the child. She also dips a cloth in the castor oil, wets the burnt cake of the dried cow dung to keep away the evil sight from the child. It is believed that diseases

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<sup>4</sup> Srinatha, *Kridabhiramamu*, Also refer K.Ramanjaneyulu, *Blind beliefs in Telugu literature*, Shanti Publications, Mangalagiri, 1990, P.100.

<sup>5</sup> Srinatha, *Kridabhiramamu*, 1-51;52.

<sup>6</sup> Nandi Timmana, *Parijatapaharanam*, 1-73.

<sup>7</sup> Nandi Timmana, *Parijatapaharanam*, 4-68, 69, 72.

<sup>8</sup> Dhurjati, *Srikalahastimahatmyam*, 4-11.

were caused as a result of the curse **from** the goddess.<sup>9</sup>

It is a common practice to tie a thread of wild seeds and talismans to the child's waist to ward off an evil eye sight. To ward off an evil sight to **crops**, the Chenchus used to hang elephant heads and horns.<sup>10</sup>

#### Naivedyas and sacrifices

There was a festival called '**sidi mahotsavam**' which is held in the month of '**chaitra**'.<sup>11</sup> At the time, a goat is hung to a hook and taken in a procession and then was cooked and consumed as food by the **villagers**.<sup>12</sup>

There was a belief that one should perform a sacrifice when one finds utensils filled with gold.<sup>13</sup>

#### On making danas

One should give a dana of gift in form of cows, gold and land to brahmins or '**bhusuras**'.<sup>14</sup> When a person takes birth in a bad star it would turn to be good if one does '**jata karma**'. During the time of births, gifts would be made so that the new

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<sup>9</sup> Pillamarri Pinavirabhadra, *Jaimini Bharat am*, P.303.

<sup>10</sup> Dhurjati, *Srikalahastimahatmyam*, 4-11.

<sup>11</sup> First Telugu month.

<sup>12</sup> Dhurjati, *Srikalahastimahatmyam*, 3-76.

<sup>13</sup> Allasani Peddana, *Manacharitra*, 3-21.

<sup>14</sup> Ramaraju Rangappa, *Sambhopakhyanam*, 4-83.

born would be happy and prosperous throughout their lives.<sup>15</sup> The practice of giving gifts to those who danced violently was also in practice.<sup>16</sup>

#### Related to pregnancy

During the time of **pregnancy**, **neem leaves**, **lamps** and oils has been kept **ready**.<sup>17</sup> When pains start '**mantrasani**' is **immediately** called for and medicines were prepared with '**sonthi**', '**pippallu**', '**vaamu**'. The cutting of umbilical cord of the new born baby and how a child is made to sleep is mentioned.<sup>18</sup> Hot water was prepared for bath. The new born baby was given bath in a small tank and the child's mother was made to walk for a while.<sup>19</sup>

Apart from the above mentioned practices, others such as '**akshara sweekaram**' i.e., the attempt of a girl or boy to write the maiden letters has been **mentioned**.<sup>20</sup> There is a belief that when a princess **matures** for the first time in a bad star, it is considered to be very bad for the **kingdom**.<sup>21</sup> The belief of erecting a victory pole after gaining victory over the rival was

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<sup>15</sup> Ramaraju Rangappa, *Sambhopakyanam*, 4-83.

<sup>16</sup> Kadiripati, *Sukasaptati*, 2-450.

<sup>17</sup> Sarangu Tammayya, *Vyjayathivilasam*, 2-121.

<sup>18</sup> Dhurjati, *Srikalahastimahatmyam*, 3-27.

<sup>19</sup> Dhurjati, *Srikalahastimahatmyam*, 3-26, Also see Kumara Dhurjati, *Indumathi Parinayamm*, 2-5.

<sup>20</sup> Tenali Ramakrishna, *Pandurangamahatmyam*, 3-178.

<sup>21</sup> Kadiripati, *Sukasaptati*, 1-457; 459.

prevalent.<sup>22</sup> Krishnadeva **Raya** erected a victory pole when he won over the king of **Kalinga**.<sup>23</sup>

It was believed that one should not take alms when the donor does not have a **son**.<sup>24</sup> During the times, guests were honoured by the hosts in different ways. They were given water for **cleaning**, made to sit on a **mat**, offered a sumptuous meal containing rice, ghee, milk, curds on a 'banana' leaf. They were politely asked about the whereabouts and when leaving, they were given a warm send off by accompanying the guest to a certain distance.

It is believed that one should not go with empty hands when going to visit elderly **people**.<sup>25</sup> For flowering of plants, 'dhupa' has been made **available**.<sup>26</sup> The procedure of curd making and preserving it on the top of the ceiling, <sup>27</sup> doing service to the in-laws and taking betel nuts after the meal were some of the beliefs.<sup>28</sup>

About the women belonging to the kapu caste, it is said that they used to take betel leaves and betel nuts. For this purpose

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<sup>22</sup>Allasani Peddana, *Manucharitra*, 1-39.

<sup>23</sup>Allasani Peddana, *Manucharitra*, 1-30.

<sup>24</sup>Sarangu Tammaya, *Vyjayanthi Vilasam*, 1-61.

<sup>25</sup>Tallapaka Tiruvengalanatha, *Paramayogi Vilasam*, 2-69.

<sup>26</sup>Ramaraja Bhushana, *Vasucharitra*, 3-23.

<sup>27</sup>ropes would be tied for this purpose to the ceiling which would **hang** the pots of curd would be kept in **it**. In Telugu, the ropes are called 'utlu'.

<sup>28</sup>Kadiripati, *Sukasaptati*, 1-149.

they used to engage **some** people to get it from the market. They got their studs and other ornaments polished by the goldsmith often. If they could not **make** arrack in the **house, they** purchased it from the **shop.** ३१

Regarding the beliefs of the brahmins, it is said that they grew gardens and betel nut **trees**, take fields for lease, breed cows and sheep, wear ornaments made of copper and women used to wear 'papati bottu' ३२ and grew 'tulasi' tree. ३१

During the **times**, prayers can be made on behalf of another person. Usually brothers used to take flowers, fruits, turmeric powder, **kumkum** and sarees to their **sister's** house.

#### Celebration of marriages

A popular social practice of the times is celebration of marriages. Marriage is considered to be an obligation ३२ for every person among **Hindus. It** is considered to be one of the **samskaras**.

The ancient Hindu scriptures described eight kinds of marriages i.e., **brahma**, daiva, prajapatya, arsa, **gandharva**, asura, paisacha, and rakshasa. Out of them '**kanyadana**' type **became** popular during the Vijayanagara times. According to it, **bride's** father was supposed to give his daughter as a gift to the groom and should not expect anything in return.

३१ Kadiripati, **Sukasaptati**, 2-435.

३० it is to be worn on the head.

३१ considered to be very auspicious plant.

३२ the three obligations being towards gods, to teachers and to **ancestors**.

### Marriage customs

There were various customs to be followed prior to the fixation of the **marriage**, during the solemnisation/ at the time of marriage and after solemnising the marriage. They have been followed from times immemorial as marriage is regarded as sacred and necessary for human **beings**. The main aims being fulfillment of Dharma or religious duties ; procreation as in Hindu dharma the birth of a child is given an important place ; of course sexual pleasure as the Hindu scriptures have compared the sexual pleasure with the realisation of divine bliss. Generally, parents wanted to give the girl to the person who has **caste**, beauty, and property. <sup>33</sup>

In the Hindu marriages, lot of prominence has been attached to '**nagavalli**', the prayers offered to lord Nagendra, the god of snakes. The prayers have been done on the fourth day after the **marriage** has been solemnised. On this day, the mating of the bride and the groom has been done for the first time. <sup>34</sup> '**Nagapuja**' was done after 4 days of the marriage. After it is over, elderly ladies with their husbands were made to sit and were given betel leaves and nuts by the new couple. <sup>35</sup>

There is a **custom** that before the bride leaves for her in **law's** place for the first **time**, she should prostrate to her

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<sup>33</sup> Ponnaganti Telaganna, *Yayati Charitra*, 4-126.

<sup>34</sup> Tallapaka Timmakka, *Subhadra Kalyanam*, p. 18.

<sup>35</sup> *Yayati Charitra*, 4-119. Even **Rajasekhar** a *Charitra* mentions, 3-177.

parents and brother and sister in law. The blessings have been received as a great moral support for her married life. It is significant to note here that cross cousin marriages have been encouraged and the grown up girls have been left the choice of selecting their spouses from the cross cousins without expecting any gifts. <sup>36</sup>

At the time of the marriage, there were several customs to be followed. In **Sukasaptati**, Kadiripati describes many marriage customs. Brahmins used to see the matching birth stars of both bride and the groom, birth signs, '**Ganam**' <sup>37</sup> before fixing the marriage. If the signs did not match, they cancelled the alliance. <sup>38</sup> Fixing the time of the muhurtam and sending the wedding cards was part of the marriage ceremony. Peddana describes wedding cards as '**cards** of knowledge'. Guests were personally invited or else messengers were sent to convey the message. <sup>39</sup> After the fixing the date, invitations would be sent to the relatives and the city is to be decorated in case of royal families. Common people used to personally invite the relatives.

Before the commencement of the marriage, the bride and groom took the holy bath applying turmeric bath under the guidance of elderly women and songs usually accompanied the occasion. During

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<sup>36</sup>Subhadra Kalyanam, P. 45.

<sup>37</sup> mathematics related to horoscopes.

<sup>38</sup>Sukasaptati, 2-160.

<sup>39</sup>Manucharitra, 5-55.

the time of seating, the bride should face the east. Always two elderly women <sup>4.0</sup> would be present to decorate her and to supervise her. It is a **custom** that when the auspicious occasion of 'muhurat' <sup>41</sup> is **approaching**, the elders goes to the place where **bridegroom** boards and accompany **him** to the marriage pandal with much fanfare.

The would be father in law has to offer '**madhuparkam**' <sup>A2</sup> to his would be son in law. It is a custom that the bride and the bride groom should not see each other in the first encounter. So, there would be a cloth put in between each other. After putting the holy jaggery mixed with jeera <sup>43</sup> **on each other's** head, the cloth would be taken out. It would be of great fun and exciting to see

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<sup>40</sup> they are also called **Perantandru**, the married women generally **play** active role during the **time** of marriage and other festive **occasions**. would call on each and every house holder to attend the **occasion**. **carry** plates in their hands. It generally contained turmeric rice, leaves, betels, **kumkum**, oil and fruits. They were accompanied **by** blowers. Apart from playing jokes on each other, they used to throw **yellow** rice also. (*Kalapurnodayam*, 759; *Yayaticharitra*, 4-84)

<sup>41</sup> *Mallana, Chandrabhanu Charitra*, (it is the exact time of putting and jaggery mix on each other's head signifying that they want **to be** together for a life time. Generally it is fixed after seeing the horo of both bride and groom. )

<sup>42</sup> It is **made** of curd, ghee, water, honey and sugar. It is given for **first** time when he comes to the **bride's** place.

<sup>43</sup> the gesture is considered to be an oath signifying that both would **like to** stay together throughout their life time.

each other for the first time if both the bride and bride groom knows each other before but did not see face to face.

Customs like tying the sacred mangalasutra <sup>44</sup> pouring the yellow rice <sup>45</sup> over each other's head, allotting married women for specific purpose, bride and the groom together touching the sandal stone, <sup>46</sup> panigrahana <sup>47</sup> prayers to the Arundhati star <sup>48</sup> making gifts <sup>49</sup> etc., has been mentioned in the literary works. The pouring of yellow rice is mentioned. The bride used to keep her head down with shy but she only poured the yellow rice first on bride groom's head. <sup>50</sup> Apart from these exchanging bracelets,

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<sup>44</sup> it is also known as 'tallibottu' in which a thread is made several threads together and turmeric paste is applied on it and a turmeric piece is tied to it that is to be tied by the bride groom around the neck of the bride.

<sup>45</sup> the rice is mixed with turmeric thus becomes yellow in color.

<sup>46</sup> the stone on which sandal wood is rubbed and sandal paste is taken out. It is a kind of stone.

<sup>47</sup> the bride and the groom will put both their hands together and walk seven steps.

<sup>48</sup> Arundhati is the wife of Vasishta, who is revered as a perfect wife became a model since then for the newly married couple. The star Vasishta is also seen beside the Arundhati star.

<sup>49</sup> making gifts include gifts made by bride's father and brothers to their sisters in the name of pusupu-kumkum.

<sup>50</sup> Yayati Charitra, 4-114.

litting the fire, 'saptapadi' tying the 'basinga', praying to gods etc., In Amuktaraalyada, there was a mention of 'basingas'.<sup>54</sup> People in villages believe that is basingas have not been tied, it is not considered to be marriage. As part of the marriage, her parents would give auspicious rice.<sup>55</sup> It consisted of tablets made of hot sugar cane juice and plantains. In Telangana areas, in place of plantains, pomogranates and guavas were used. It is a custom that ladies wore toe rings after getting married.<sup>56</sup> An experienced women supervised all the activities related to the marriage.<sup>57</sup>

There was a mention of 'Adakathera'. During the times, this was made in the shape of a parrot. Generally, it is used for cutting nuts (nut powder) and was in the hand of the bride groom till the marriage gets over.<sup>58</sup> Even after the marriage was over,

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<sup>51</sup> a fire is lit there itself (called homam in Telugu literary works) signifying that they became wife and husband to the witness of Agni, the vedic god.

<sup>52</sup> it is a custom of making seven steps together around the fire with hand. It is considered to be very auspicious.

<sup>53</sup> a turmeric thread tied with a triangular or square or rectangular shape usually made of metal tied on the forehead of both bride and the groom during the time of marriage.

<sup>54</sup> Amuktamalyada, 1-53; Vasucharitra, 5-117; Chandrabhanu charitra, 5-178.

<sup>55</sup> As per Telugu custom, it is mentioned as 'odi biyyam'. Refer to Tallapaka Tiruvengalanatha's Dvipada Paramayogivilasam, 5-431.

<sup>56</sup> Prabhavati Pradyumnam, 4-138.

<sup>57</sup> Vasucharitra, 7-63; Rajasekharacharitra, 3-179.

<sup>58</sup> Sankusala Nrisimha Kavi, Kavikarna Rasayana, 3-194.

relatives used to stay back for some **time**. They used to feel as if the occasion is celebrated in their respective houses. Their participation is seen in each and every task. If one is engaged in applying oil, the other is involved in applying turmeric to the body. If one helps in taking bath, the other wipes the body with a new cloth. If one helps in tying the saree, other will plait the hair and decorate with jasmines. -7

After the **marriage** is solemnised, the bride was generally sent to her in **law's** place before the afternoon hours. Usually, the **marriage** was **performed during** the night time, so it was possible. When sending the bride, **bride's** parents and relatives used to accompany till the outskirts of the village. Generally she was sent either in a palanquin or in a vehicle. When all of them gave a send off, she conveys to them that she **can't** leave them but she will not tell them. <sup>61</sup> The sight is filled with lot of emotion and sorrow.

People faced some difficulties regarding this marriage during the times of Vijayanagara rulers. Apart from the dowry system <sup>69</sup> which is widely **prevalent**, both the bride and bride groom parties have to pay taxes in order to get married. <sup>63</sup> The

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<sup>27</sup> **Yayati Charitra, 4-49.**

<sup>At</sup>  
<sup>00</sup> **Yayati Charitra, 4-127.**

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<sup>of</sup> **Yayati Charitra, 4-143.** The **bride's** parents has to give money to the **groom's** parents. Later on it became exorbitant in nature and became a burden to the poor parents.

<sup>63</sup> *Archaeological Reports of Epigraphy, No. 516 of 1906; No. 214 of*

excessive nature of these taxes crippled this institution to the extent that **many** remained unmarried. <sup>64</sup>

During the times, the parents of the bride has to select a suitable partner for their daughter and celebrate the occasion at their house. The suitable age for getting married for both bride and the groom is that the bride should be of 1/3 age in that of a bride groom.

Child marriages were widely prevalent. <sup>65</sup> Linschoten who observed the custom says that the girl of seven years old and a boy of nine years old get married but do not come together to bear children. In brahman families, many remained **monogamous** because of their poor economic condition. The Lingayats married only one wife and when one of them died the wife buries herself alive. Others followed polygamy. **Barbosa** says that the king and the people married many tiroes and the rich especially has several wives as they can maintain many wives. <sup>66</sup>

During the reign of Deva **Raya I** '**kanyadana**' type of marriage prevailed. It means giving in marriage a kanya to a man. This is considered to be an act of great merit. '**kanyasulka**' marriage was also prevailed. According to it, **bride's** father gives his

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<sup>64</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, XI, Hk. 17.

<sup>65</sup> Vennelakanti Surana, *Vishnupuranam*, 4-182.

<sup>66</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, X, Gd. 17, P. 264; *Barbosa I*, P. 116.

<sup>67</sup> *Purchas, Pilgrims X*, P. 256.

<sup>68</sup> *Barbosa in Barbosa I*, P.219.

<sup>69</sup> *Barbosa I*, P. 116.

daughter in **marriage** to a roan after receiving **something** in cash or kind. This custom was existent in the '**Asura**' system of **marriage** in the olden days. In spite of its denial by the Dharmasashtras, the custom is widely prevalent spread during the time and many poor people suffered because this type of **marriage** is widely prevalent in the poorer classes. When the problem became unbearable, they went to the extent of seeking the help of the state in eradicating the evil by making some regulations among themselves by consensus. An agreement of the same kind is found in an inscription belonging to the Pandaividu **rajyamu** of the Vijayanagara empire. The inscription dated A.D. 1424 **says** that the brahmins of the **kingdm** of Padaividu viz., Kannada, **Tamiras**, Telukus, Ilalalas etc of all gotras, sutras and sakhas conclude a marriage from this day by both those who give a girl away after having given gold, is given to punishment by the king and shall be excluded from the community of brahmins. The document was signed by the **greatmen** of all branches of the **brahmana** community. " Two inscriptions of the time of Sadasivaraya contain the resolutions of this kind taken by the caste . . . 7/ communities. "

The custom of '**oli**' similar to '**kanyadana**' was prevalent among the lower classes who were socially and economically backward. According to the custom, the bride **groom's** parents had

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<sup>7</sup> *Archaeological Reports on Epigraphy*, No. 47 of 1887; *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, No. 56, pp. 82-84.

<sup>71</sup> *Archaeological Reports on Epigraphy*, No. 13 of 1943-44; No. 4 of 1943-44.

to give something either in cash or kind to the **bride's** parents at the **time** of marriage. In order to escape from this evil practice the people from **Kandapalli** and **Rajamahendrapuram** made an agreement among themselves deciding that the **oli maryada** in the first marriage should be 21 **chinnam** of **gold**, that the bride groom's party should give 12 1/2 ? of silver and the **bride's** party 20 1/2? of gold. They tried to escape from giving '**arana**' to **bride's** father by making this regulation. An inscription dated A.D 1553 testifies to this. <sup>72</sup> In the communities where either **kanyasulka** or oli is prevalent, the parents of young children gave their daughters to the person who offered more money even if he was an old man.

The system of dowry or varakatna crept into the society in the later period. It was given in accordance with the social status of the individual. Among the upper classes, the custom means granting the provinces, villages, lands, scholars, horses, elephants, maidens and other luxurious goods as dowry. <sup>74</sup> No doubt, the custom of varakatna became a great trouble to the middle class **people.Hence** they made a regulation against selling out lands to outsiders for dowry. But it did not succeed. An inscription dated A.D. 1404 says that Vittappa sold the village

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<sup>72</sup> *Archaeological Reports of Epigraphy*, No. 337 of 1892.

<sup>73</sup> **Hymavathi**, Marriage problems under **Vijayanagara**, *Andhra Pradesh History Congress Proceedings*, 1983, P. 59.

<sup>74</sup> **Timmana**, the author of **Parijatapaharanam** was given the '**arana** dowry on behalf of Krishnadeva **Raya's** father in law at the **wedding**. the said king at the time of his **marriage** with **Thirumaladevi. (Manucharitra, 5-96 to 102)**

of **Kandavalli** together with other lands for her **daughter's** marriage.

Besides the above mentioned problems, the imposition of marriage taxes by the state further deteriorated the **condition**. The tax was imposed on both the parties at the time of the marriage. <sup>76</sup> But the actual amount collected was not known but it is not in favour of the parties who paid it. Many evidences show that people complained about the problem to the king and their problems were genuinely looked into and either the tax was abolished completely or accordingly regulated. For instance, the inscription dated A.D. 1510 records the abolition of the cess on marriages in **Yalape-sime** by a certain Vodeya. <sup>77</sup> Such references were found in great number during the times and a table is made for this purpose.

The practice of prostitution in the Vijayanagara state is considered to be a great evil attached to the institution of **marriage** though indirectly. Almost all the contemporary writers , mention about the presence of vesyavatikas.

Because of the problems related to **marriage**, many men have remained unmarried due to the existence of kanyasulka or **oli** and marriage taxes. <sup>78</sup> Kanyasulka or oli encouraged child marriages

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<sup>75</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VIII, **TI**, 134, p. 190.

<sup>76</sup> *Archaeological Reports on Epigraphy*, No. 214 of 1936.

<sup>77</sup> *Mysore Archaeological Reports*, 1943, No. 22, **Chikkaballakere**.

<sup>78</sup>

N. Venkata Ramanayya, *Studies Xn the Third Dynasty of*

for girls and late marriages for men among brahmins and the lower castes. Among the other castes, the custom of varakatna affected the marriage of a girl. Parents who were poor either sold or handed over to the rich courtesans. The legalisation of prostitution demoralised the people to some extent.

The sort of social conditions mentioned above, encouraged immorality in both men and women. Contemporary literary sources refers to the immoral character of the widow.<sup>81</sup> and both the kulasthris<sup>82</sup> and kulakanyas.<sup>83</sup>

The state's attitude towards the problems

The state did not interfere much with the customs and traditions. When the people found any problem, they used to assemble and make voluntary agreement either to abolish or regulate it. Regarding the imposition of taxes on marriage, people requested the state through representations. During the time of Tuluva Narasimha, the marriage tax was abolished in certain areas for the first time owing to the efforts made by Saluva Timmarusu.<sup>84</sup> It was during the time of Krishna Deva Raya

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Vijyanagara, Gian Publishing House, New Delhi, 1986, P. 222, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, XI, HK. 17.

<sup>79</sup>Barbosa, I, P. 226.

<sup>80</sup>Elliot, *History of India*, IV, PP. 111-2.

<sup>81</sup>N. Venkata Ramanayya, *op.cit.*, P. 234. *Kridabhiramam*

<sup>82</sup>family women.

<sup>83</sup>unmarried family girls,

<sup>84</sup>*South Indian Inscriptions*, IV, 803.

that all types of marriage taxes were abolished in Vijayanagara. <sup>85</sup>

It can be said that social regulations was effectively done through the punishment of excommunication. It was more effective **rather than the royal punishment.** <sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup>*Epigraphia Carnatica*, XII, MI 64.

<sup>86</sup>*Hymavathi*, op.cit., P. 63.

## Social customs

### SATI

The word 'suttee' comes through the anglicisation of the Sanskrit word 'sati'.<sup>87</sup> This practice was widely prevalent in medieval Vijayanagara state and the foreign travellers who witnessed provide a lot of information besides the indigenous accounts.

The prevalence of sati memorials in almost all the parts of the Vijayanagara empire testifies that this custom of sati or widow burning with the dead body of her husband is a widely recognised custom. To be specific, they were numerous in the areas surrounding the Kannada and Tamil regions. Many sculptural representations of widow or widows who committed sati carved on stone memorials along with the dead husband can be seen. They were known as **maha-sati-kal** or great sati stone and were generally sculptured with a pointed pillar or post from which projects a woman's right arm, bent upwards at the elbow. The hand is raised, with fingers erect and a lime-fruit is usually shown placed between the thumb and forefinger. Some of them were accompanied with elaborate inscriptions.

There were two panels upper and lower. In the lower panels, a crude sculptural representation of the departed hero, with hand

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<sup>87</sup>Sally, J. Sutherland, Suttee, Sati and Sahagamana, An Epic misunderstanding, *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 25, 1994.

<sup>88</sup>A.H. Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, New Delhi, 1917, P.36.

raised in **prayer**, accompanied by the wife or wives who **committed** sati on his death was shown. . The **female** figures were depicted with the right arm and hand raised. (Plates XI, XII)

In the upper panels, a **linga** on its pedestal and a figure of the bull Nandi denoted that the departed hero was a worshipper of siva. The sati **memorial** situated in front of Jaina temple on the bank of the river between **Hampi** and the Vithala temple represented the hero and his two wives who committed sati on his death. To the left was the hero's elephant in charge of an attendant. There were many sati memorials that were situated on the western side of the main road to Hampi and outside the small temple of Uddana Virabhadra temple close to **Krishnapuram**. <sup>89</sup>

#### Origin of sati

At first, it originated among in the caste of the nobles. Later on it must have been spread to other castes. <sup>90</sup> In South India, it existed prior to the sons of **Sangama**. In earliest reference goes to the fourth century B.C. when the Hindu general Keteus was killed in the fight with **Antigonos**, his senior as well as junior wife wanted to join their husband on the **pyre**. But only the wish of the younger one was fulfilled since the **mother** of young children were not permitted to perform the rite. <sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> A.H. Longhurst, op.cit., P.36.

<sup>90</sup> Abbe Dubois (ed.), *Hindu manners and customs*, II, 1897, p.367.

<sup>91</sup> A.S. Altekar, *The position of women in Hindu civilisation*, op.cit., p.122.

In the starting years of medieval period the custom arose out of social necessity in the case of Rajput women who used to perform sati to escape dishonour at the hands of the Muhammadans. Whereas the period under study Vijayanagara period was marked by political glory especially during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya and it was not necessary for the women to continue this practice. <sup>92</sup> The sentimental attachment to their husbands might have compelled them to do so.

### Sati as prevalent during Vijayanagara

The earliest instance of sati comes during the reign of Hariyappa Odeyar. In 1354 AD Chennakka performed **sahagamana** on <sup>93</sup> the death of her husband, Mala Gauda. <sup>94</sup> Regarding the question of whether sati was practised by only the upper strata of society or by all, one should examine it thoroughly. Barbosa at one stage says that it was the custom of all. But he also says that the custom did not prevail among the ~~brahmins~~ brahmins and the **jangamas** or lingayats, nor among the chettis. <sup>95</sup> Though it is not the custom of among certain lower orders but this custom <sup>96</sup> is more prevalent among the lower orders than the higher orders. <sup>97</sup> This opinion is expressed by Pietro **della valle** who says that this was not

<sup>92</sup> because in most cases, the rivals lost.

<sup>93</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VIII, Sb.104, P.15.

<sup>94</sup> Barbosa, *Barbosa II*, P. 73.

<sup>95</sup> Sushil Chaudhary, 'A note on sati in medieval India, *PIHC*, **Rand**, 1964, P.77.

usually prevalent among great persons, who prize reputation at a higher rate than others did. <sup>90</sup> A chart about the detail of satis which were inscribed on the sati stones were gives. ( chart VIII)

An elaborate list has been given about the women who committed sati in order to testify towards the popularity of this practice.

#### Reasons for committing sati

One reason is that women were married under the obligation that they should add to the splendour of the funeral ceremony of their husbands by casting themselves into the flames. The Vijayanagar kings had two or three thousand selected wives who were prepared to burn themselves with him when he died. According to Niccolo Conti, the inhabitants marry as many wives as they please, who were burnt with their dead husbands. The king was more powerful and he takes to himself 12,000 wives of whom 4,000 follow him on foot wherever he might go and were employed solely in the service of kitchen. A like number, more handsomely ~~equipped~~ ride on horse back. The remainder were carried by men in litters of whom 2,000 or 3,000 were selected as his wives on condition that at his death they should voluntarily burn themselves with him which is considered as a great honour for

<sup>CM</sup> them. <sup>91</sup> Barradas who was present in the city of Vijayanagara when **Venkatipata** Raya I died writes that, When the body of Venkatapati

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<sup>90</sup> Sushil chaudhury, op.cit., P.77.

<sup>91</sup> R.H. Major, op.cit.

Raya I died his body was burnt in his own garden with sweet scented woods, sandals and such like and immediately afterwards three queen burnt themselves.<sup>98</sup> Sometimes women slaves also threw themselves into the flames after they heard of their **master's** death. Even betrothed girls and wives who had no attachment with husbands sacrificed their lives without any legal or social obligation.<sup>99</sup>

Other popular reason is that one attains **moksa**, svarga and vaikuntha if one **performs** sati. Great merit was accrued to the departed souls if a woman sacrifices her life and became sati or **maha sati**.<sup>100</sup> The ideology of patriarchal society has strengthened this idea.

As widow-marriage was not permitted by the **society**, the **extreme** misery of the widowhood played a tremendous effect on the psyche of the young widows and ignited them to immolate on her **husband's** death. The question of family prestige and personal glory weighed heavily in the mind of a widow and that her death would be notified in the record books for the noble and laudable

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<sup>98</sup> Robert Sewell, op.cit., P.224.

<sup>99</sup> Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, New Delhi, P.82.

<sup>100</sup> K. Sarojini Devi, *Religion in Vijayanagr Empire*, New Delhi, 1990, P.263-4  
Sankha and Angiras, the classical cannonists say these words to the softs. 'she who follows her husband in death dwells in heaven for as many **years** there are hairs on the human body, viz 3 1/2 crores of years. In heaven being solely devoted to her husband and praised by heavenly damsels, **spovt** with her husband for as long as fourteen Indras rule'. (*History of Dharmasastra, Vol.II, Part I, P.631*)

acts that added prestige and honour to her **family** and kindred was another **reason**. The refusal of a widow to burn on the funeral **pyre** was an index of want of fidelity and truthfulness on her part and a great disgrace on the part of her kindred. <sup>101</sup> The mental trauma which she would bear later if she refuses also must have acted on her.

#### Methods of committing sati

Various methods were followed by the contemporary women in performing this practice. It differed from class to class. In the lower classes, the wife went to the burning ground also with the **husband's** corpse. When the corpse was laid down in the pit and began to burn, she threw herself into the midst of the fire and the bodies were reduced to ashes. Whereas a rich woman was taken into the burning ground along with the **husband's** corpse and the corpse was burnt with much sandalwood when she wept greatly. <sup>102</sup>

The striking difference between the rich widow and poor widow going to the cremation ground is that the former rode on a good horse whereas the latter was content with a worthless horse. This may be possible because in **Barbosa's** account the widow is **mounted** in a horse, light grey or quite white if possible. Whereas Nuniz places her on the back of a worthless horse. Both of them speak of the pot of oil which the widow caste into the

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<sup>101</sup> Sushil Chaudary, **op.cit.**, P.80.

<sup>102</sup> Longworth Dames, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, 1918, PP. 212-6. **Barbo-**  
-sa

differentiates it as sahaamana is case of rich women and **anumarana** in of a poor woman.

fire before throwing herself. Afterwards her kindred and relatives were to be called for a ceremony where she spent her time joyfully. She dressed herself with jewels and disposed all the property to the relatives. <sup>103</sup> Then she was taken in a decorated horse to the exact spot where she had to commit sati with much fanfare. **There**, the fire was lit with oil and butter. The ashes were thrown into the running streams afterwards. <sup>104</sup>

In case of royal **women**, the pit was made very big so that four or five hundred women burn themselves at a **time**, when the king died. Barbosa explains how they were burnt. He says that they made a pit and fire of a big size in which a number of women threw themselves and they stored sanders wood, eagle-wood, brazil-wood, gingelly oil and butter to make the fire burn better. Some of them threw themselves suddenly while the king was burning, others with the ceremonies. <sup>105</sup>

Among the Lingayats or the Vira saivas who did not burn their dead but buried them as per their customs. There is an epigraph dated A.D 1509 which says that when Harur **Gauda's** son **Bomma** Gauda went to svarga his wife **Bommi** Gauda sitting in the tomb went to svarga. <sup>106</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Barbosa, **Barbosa, op.cit.**, PP. 212-6.

<sup>104</sup> Barbosa, op.cit., PP.212-216.

<sup>105</sup> Barbosa, op.cit., PP.212-216.

<sup>106</sup> **Epigraphia Carnatica**, VIII, Sb.165.

There was a respite given between the death of the husband and the performance of **sati**. Samuel Purchas, Pietro Delia Valle and Caesar Frederick give a respite of two to three months. Nuniz, Barradas<sup>107</sup> and Linschoten<sup>108</sup> say that soon after the death of the husband, the wife committed sati.

According to Nuniz, the procedure followed by women who committed sati is like this. They carried a **mirror** in one hand and in the other a branch of flowers.<sup>109</sup> Caesar Frederick mentions that the woman who was about to commit sati walks into the **pyre** of her husband to immolate herself holding a looking glass in the left hand and an arrow in the right hand.<sup>110</sup> Perhaps the article in the second hand varied from region to region. These two things were considered to be auspicious or sowbhagya to a **woman**.<sup>111</sup> Caesar Frederick's '**arrow**' most probably signified the memento of the departed lord. Women used to burn themselves with some token of their husbands like shoes in case his death and cremation occurred in a distant land. Many early Sastras say that a wife should lie down to the north on her husband's dead body on the funeral pyre and then be helped by a relative.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Robert Sewell, *op.cit.*, P.224.

<sup>108</sup> Talbhoys Wheeler. J. (ed.) *Early Travels in India (16th and 17th centuries)* Deep Publishing House, New Delhi, 1976, P.197-8.

<sup>109</sup> Robert Sewell, *op.cit.*, P.372-3.

<sup>110</sup> Purchas, *His Pilgrims X*, PP.94-6.

<sup>111</sup> K.Sarojini Devi, Sati in Vijayanagara, *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol.XXVII, P.188.

<sup>112</sup> P.V.Kane (ed.,) *History of Dharmasastra : Ancient and Medieval religious, civil law*, Vol.IV, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1973

Whether forced or obligatory

There is a long debate over scholars whether sati is forced on the **women** or they have done out of their own will. Barbosa says that the widow threw herself of her own free will into the midst of the said fire and she has done it so firmly and with a cheerful countenance that she seemed not about to **die.** <sup>113</sup> Caesar Frederick is of the opinion that the widow prepared herself for the sacrifice as happily as brides in Venice prepared for their nuptials. But afterwards there was much lamentation and sorrow among the people that all their mirth is turned into howling and weeping in such wise that a man should scarce bear the hearing of it. <sup>114</sup>

Nuniz says that the woman who has to commit sati has done it with her own will. Women who is to commit sati go with much pleasure towards the pit and inside it, they were two seats of **earth**, one of him and one for her, and they place each one on his own seat and cover them little by little till they were covered up and so the wife died with the **husband.** <sup>115</sup>

There are evidences of those women who refused to commit sati. Linschoten says that every widowed woman might not have commit sati because there were instances of shaving off the hair from the head of the **woman** <sup>116</sup> and she is never allowed to wear

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P.207.

<sup>113</sup>Barbosa, op.cit., PP.212-216.

<sup>114</sup>Purchas, *His Pilgrims X*, PP.94-96.

<sup>115</sup>Robert Sewell, op.cit., P.373.

<sup>116</sup>B.A.Saletore, op.cit., P.75.

jewels and she is despised and accounted as a dishonest woman. '••'  
Probably this social censure and disapprobation **might** have  
resulted in **culminating many forced deaths.** A widow should become  
**dry** by fasting so that she would practice **self-restraint.**

Although many foreign travellers testified that this custom  
was practised with a will, there is every chance that the widows  
were given doses of opium and narcotics in order to dull their  
senses. The brahmins and the relative provided them with  
beverages bhang (hemp), datura and such like which **stupefied**  
them. 118

Sometimes women were buried only up to the throat and then  
the brahmins wringed her neck and strangled her to death and then  
covered the body with **earth.** 119

There is no doubt in saying that sati is a inhuman and a  
painful practice widely followed during the Vijayanagara  
**times.** Even in earlier periods, though the classical cannonists  
made a provision for a pure and simple life of a widow but they  
never insisted on the compulsory **sahagamana.** 120

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117 Talbhoys Wheeler, op.cit., PP.197-198.

118 sushil chadhury, op.cit. ,P.77.

119 sushil Chaudary, op.cit., P.77.

120 Manu V, 151, Quoted from B.A.Saletore, op.cit., PP.195-197.

Self torture or Hook swinging

This practice was followed by the people to satisfy **god**. They injured the body and believed that if they did **so**, their vows would be fulfilled and they would get heavenly pleasure and salvation. **Accordingly**, they cut off some parts of their **body**, pierce the body with needles and swords. <sup>121</sup> After the spread of Saivism, this practice had been popularised. Virasaivism propagated it to a great extent and the stories related to it give many **examples** of self torture.

In almost all the jataras <sup>122</sup> this practice is followed. Niccolo Conti says that men and women puncture their flesh with pins of iron and rub into these punctures, pigments which can not be obliterated and so they **remain painted forever**.<sup>123</sup> He also says that they inserted the rope the rope and hung half dead which is considered to be the the best and most acceptable of **all**.<sup>124</sup>

People believed that they can get many powers if they get Goddess **Durga's** anugraha. It is said that in the temples of Goddess Durga, several **instruments** were used to take off nails, like arrows, knives, wild scissors which shows that in order to get her anugraha people accustomed to self torture. In order to **get** the power of '**Dooradarshini**',<sup>125</sup> they used to pierce their eyes

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<sup>121</sup>K.Veeranjaneyulu, *Blind beliefs in Telugu literature* (Telugu), Mangalagiri, 1989, P. 120.

<sup>122</sup>religious festivals.

<sup>123</sup>R.H. Major, *India in the Fifteenth century*, P. 13.

<sup>124</sup>R.H. Major, op.cit., p. 28.

<sup>125</sup>the power to predict the future.

and used to pierce their ears and to acquire Knowledge, they used to cut off their tongues and if they desire to kill their foes, they used to cut off their heads. <sup>126</sup> One will get long sight if they pierce their eyes and if they pierce their eyes and if they pierce their ears, they would get the power to listen 'future forecast'.<sup>127</sup>

Women anointed their heads in lukewarm oil and bathed in water mixed with the yellow turmeric powder. Then they put on new clothes, applied kajal to their eyes and decorated the plait with flowers and wore beads of neem leaves in their neck and visited the temple built generally in the paddy fields outside the village.<sup>128</sup> People from the neighbouring villages also assembled with their spouses at the site. Even pregnant women participated. <sup>129</sup> when several women swing from beams by hooks which tore into their flesh in the loins. Blood dips down their legs and others plunged in a 'fire-river',<sup>130</sup> and other group entered a 'pandiri-gunda',<sup>131</sup> and the remaining offered to the the dietary pieces of flesh cut off from their shoulders. <sup>132</sup> The site was filled with the liquor in large quantities, goats were slaughtered and the uproar of the people.

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<sup>126</sup> K. Veeranjanyulu, op.cit., P. 290.

<sup>127</sup> In Telugu literature, it is mentioned as 'doora sravanam'.

<sup>128</sup> Panduranga Mahatmyam, 3-75.

<sup>129</sup> Subhadra Kalyanam, P. 14.

<sup>130</sup> a long narrow pit filled with blazing charcoal.

<sup>131</sup> a circular pit of fire with a temporary shed over it.

<sup>132</sup> K.A. Nilakantha Sastri, *Development of Religion in South India*, Orient Longmans, Madras, 1963, P. 131-2.

During the time of **Rathotsavas**, jataras and festivals, devotees used to practice hook-swinging and fire walking. Hook-swinging is **performed** through a machine called '**sidi**'. <sup>133</sup> Barbosa who witnessed the reign of Tuluva Narasimha mentions how this custom is followed. He says that the women of the land were very bold in their idolatry, and did such marvels for the love of their gods that if any young maiden would marry a youth on whom she had set her fancy, she made a vow to her god that if he would arrange for her marriage, she would do him a great service before giving herself to her husband. If her wish was fulfilled and she obtained him as her husband, she told him that before giving herself to him she must offer sacrifice to such and such a god, to whom she had promised to make an offering of her blood.

Then, a certain day was fixed for the ceremony, and they took a great **ox-cart** and set up therein a great water-lift like those used in Castille for drawing water from wells at the end of which hung two very sharp iron hooks. She went on the appointed day in the company of her relations and friends, men and women, with much music played and sung, with dancers and tumblers. She was naked from the waist up and wore cotton garments below. When she arrived at the gate they pushed the hook into her loins, through skin and flesh. Then, they put a '**small dagger**' into her left hand, and from the other end cause (the arm of) the lift to rise with much out cry and shouting from the people. She remained hanging from the lift, with the blood running down her legs, but

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<sup>133</sup>It is a machine on which men were formerly suspended in the air hook passed through the sinews of the back and swung around honour of the village goddess.

showed no signs of pain, nay, she waved her dagger most joyfully, threw lemons at her husband. In this manner they conducted the sacrifice.

Thus it is said that **women** exercised it with great confidence and showed strong commitment with a will to exercise whatever she decided to do, she exercised with daringness.

### Finger offering

This practice was widely followed by the cultivating classes. The practice of cutting the last joint of the forefinger as an offering to Lord Siva was prevalent among the people. An epigraph of 14th century A. D. found in the Kalabhairava temple at Siti refers to this **practice.**<sup>134</sup> As it is difficult to discharge the agricultural duties with the amputation of the forefinger, subsequently an arrangement was **made** to give two fingers, the little finger and the ring finger of the females in place of one finger of males.

The cultivators who follow this custom are known as the finger-giving classes. The inscription informs that provision was **made** for a regular staff in the local temple to cut off the finger, dress the wound without much loss of blood. The devotees

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<sup>134</sup> For the story related to it see **K. Sarojini Devi, Religion in Vijayanagara Empire, Sterling Publishing Private Limited, New Delhi, 1990, P. 267-8.**

<sup>135</sup> **K. Sarojini Devi, op.cit., P. 268.**

are expected not only to bring a certain amount of food per head, but also to pay a fixed **amount** of **money** for using the service of the staff. The given money was divided **among** the priest and other servants of the **temple**.<sup>136</sup>

#### Hero Worship

The prevalence of Hero stone of **Virakals** testify that people followed Hero Worship. The heroic deeds of the martyrs compelled the near relations or their masters or the public to set up these stones to remember their deeds for a long time. The virakals were set up with great enthusiasm by the people with much **fanfare**. In A.D 1337 a virakal was set up in memory of Varadan who died fighting against a cattle **lifter** by name **Gramarasar**.<sup>137</sup> In the year A.D 1344 a virakal was installed in honour of certain Gaudas of **Capparahalli** who fell fighting in the service of Hariyappa Vodeyar.<sup>138</sup> In A.D. 1365 a certain Nayaka, fell after fighting **in** **Birammale** and **Cikka** Nayaka set up a virakal in his memory. According to an epigraph dated A.D. 1428. a certain Devappa, son of **Mancegauda** died in a fight and the residents of the Kukku village installed a Virakal with **songs, drums** accompanying it.<sup>140</sup>

These memory stones were set up generally for those who died on the battle field or in fighting the **cattle-thieves**, and for the people who immolated themselves for the protection of

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<sup>136</sup> *Mysore Archaeological Reports*, 1910, P. 5.

<sup>137</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IX, HT, 98,99.

<sup>138</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Hs.114.

<sup>139</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IV, Ng. 61.

<sup>140</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, IX. Cp. 162.

property and rights of a **temple**, people who killed themselves or offered some limb of their body in fulfillment of a vow.

#### Customs in the court -----

There was a custom of making a '**salaam**' by the feudatories and captains to the ruling sovereign. Paes says that the captains waited at the stage made '**salaam**' to the king daily which consisted of the bowing of their heads and the joining of their hands over their heads. Nuniz also observed this **custom**. <sup>141</sup>

Abdur Razak says that the **Danaik** on his return from Ceylon was admitted to kiss the royal feet. <sup>142</sup> Nuniz says that the king confers very high honour by allowing a certain person to kiss the feet, **and** he never gives his hand to be kissed by anyone. <sup>143</sup> The king was given many presents when the subordinates visit him. <sup>144</sup>

#### Festivals

Festivals were celebrated by members of all religions with much **fervor**, devotion, and gaiety. It is well known that Hindus have more festivals than any other community. Many beliefs were transformed into festivals as days passed by. **Some** festivals were directed towards promoting social welfare and some were related to the Nature and some to mark agricultural promotion. At first, the most important aim of celebrating festivals is to promote

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<sup>141</sup> Robert Sewell, op. cit., P. 372.

<sup>142</sup> Elliot, *History of India*, IV, P. 117.

<sup>143</sup> Robert Sewell, op. cit., P. 376.

<sup>144</sup> T.V. Mahalingam, *Administration and Social life in Vijayanagara*, Madras, op.cit., P. 273.

religious ideology but afterwards they transformed into enhancing people's pleasure. They help people come closer and enhanced the cultural spirit.

Festivals can be broadly divided into - the birthdays of saints and **prophets**, seasonal festivals, vratas related to **saivism** and vaisnavism and women related vratas.

Festivals related to Village gods and deities

The village deities were considered to be the guarding dieties who protected the people of the villages from the evil spirits and were propitiated by the villagers. According to **Whitehead** 'the sole object of the worship of these village deities is to propitiate them and avert their wrath. There is no idea of praise and thanksgiving, no expression of gratitude or love, no desire for any spiritual or moral blessings. The one object is to get rid of cholera, small pox... The worship therefore, in **most** of the villages takes place occasionally.' <sup>145</sup>Jataras

They were celebrations in commemoration of village goddesses. Usually, the procession is carried out and it was celebrated by all the villagers. There is a belief that the goddess would protect them and their crops from natural calamities and for that they have to make sacrifices etc. Songs and dances continue in the celebrations and the whole scene is **lominated** by the women folk.

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<sup>145</sup>Whitehead, *Village gods of South India*, P. 46.

Renuka ekaviradevi, Ekaviradevi, Musanamma, Ellamma, Chamundeswari, Ganganamma, Poleramma, Virabhadra, Kumaraswami, Pandavulu, Swayambhudeva etc were the village gods and goddesses who were worshipped. When they celebrated jataras, villagers came to know about it by the **drummer** who shouted and declare the message on the orders of the village head. <sup>146</sup> That is the only way to convey the **message** during those days. During the **time**, Vanamahotsavas <sup>147</sup> became part of the jataras. Even pregnant women seems to have participated. <sup>148</sup>

The decoration made by women who attended the jataras is like this. They applied hot oil to the hair, took head bath and wore clothes containing of black squares. They put **kajal** to their eyes and decorated their plait with flowers and wore beads of tender **neem** leaves in their neck. <sup>149</sup> Then they proceeded to the place assigned through the fields.

The whole scene was dominated by sacrifices. Village heads called on the owners of the ill animals to make them ready for sacrifice. Hook swinging, fire walking, jumping in the fire, dancing on banana leaves were some of the feats made by **women**. <sup>150</sup> People resorted to acts like cutting the flesh, cutting the throats with wild scissors <sup>151</sup> etc. Women consumed liquor.

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<sup>146</sup> *Subhadra Kalyanam*, P. 13.

<sup>147</sup> 'usually held in summer and a place of thick trees 'vanas' were selected for gatherings.

<sup>148</sup> *Subhadra Kalyanam*, P. 14.

<sup>149</sup> *Panduranga Mahatmyam*, 3-75.

<sup>150</sup> *Panduranga Mahatmyam*, 3-77.

<sup>151</sup> *Kalapurnodayam*, 6-43.

The **jatara** of **Ganganamma** is mentioned in *Sukasaptati*. Generally, people celebrated **them** near the **temples**. The ladies belonging to the **kapu** caste used to put **pongali**<sup>152</sup> to the goddess. The surroundings of the temple is filled with the blood of the sacrificed sheep. The sweet smell of dhupa of the incense sticks filled the air. Food is cooked instantly at the site. Dancing in a violent way is **seen**.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> made of new rice, milk and sugar. It is a kind of sweet.  
<sup>153</sup> *Sukasaptati*, 2-7 A.

**Mahanavami**

It has a great political significance attached to it. It is a nine day festival and also popularly known as Navaratri. In all the nine days, king used to pray the Goddess Durga early in the morning. This festival gained great popularity in the Vijayanagara empire as the king and his courtiers celebrated with much **pomp** and pageantry.

Paes gives an elaborate account of the spectacular **manner** in which the festival was celebrated. Nuniz says that in 9 days **time** 13797 **buffaloes**, goats and sheep **would** loose their **lives.**<sup>154</sup> Paes amounts their death toll to **6316.**<sup>155</sup> This was an exaggeration but certainly large number of goats and sheep were sacrificed.

The most fascinating part of the celebrations was the display of their skill by professional dancer and musicians, wrestlers and acrobats, poets and learned scholars. The dancing damsels, dressed in fine silks, richly embroidered, and decked with ornaments made of gold inlaid with precious stones, impressed the **on-lookers** as the mobile and reflective symbols of the immense wealth of the empire. The other performers like the wrestlers and the acrobats were all experts in their respective arts and presented a breath taking display of their skills. All

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<sup>154</sup> Robert Sewell, op. cit.

<sup>155</sup> Robert Sewell, op. cit.

these splendid **performances** constituted **the** afternoon **programme** of the day. <sup>156</sup>

During the night time, great number of torches were illuminated and the scene was once more lively with the introduction of many interesting amusements. There was a parade before the king in the fashion of a march-fast. After that, **amusements** followed in which the triumphal cars belonging to the captains, covered with fine silks exquisitely embroidered in intricate patterns were displayed. Then there was a display of horses covered with cloth of very fine stuff of the **king's** colours with floral decorations on their heads and led by the state **horse.**The state horse was decorated more elegantly than the others and carried two state umbrellas. After parading them round the arena twice, the horses were arranged in five or six lines with the state horse in the leading position and all facing the king. Then the high priest of the king offered them worship with a bowl of coconut, rice and flowers. The Brahmins followed him carrying a pot of water in their hands. <sup>157</sup>

Then the scene is occupied by sixty women who were fair and young, dressed in fine silks and wearing priceless jewels, moved forward in their hands vessels of gold containing lighted lamps. After the women retired, the king offered his final prayers to the idol followed by the sacrifice of the large number of

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<sup>156</sup> K. Sarojini Devi, op. cit., P. 273.

<sup>157</sup> K. Sarojini Devi, op. cit., P. 274.

buffaloes and sheep. Then the king would have his supper for he fasted on all the nine days and ate only at **midnight.**<sup>158</sup> The above mentioned procedure is followed on all the nine days.

#### Vasantotsava

This is the spring carnival and one of the major festivals in Vijayanagara. Every year Krishna Deva Raya is said to have supervised the arrangements of this festival **personally.**<sup>159</sup> It is celebrated at the approach of the Vernal Equinox, the festival celebrated in the name of Kama or **Madana**, the God of love and his associate Vasanta.

The festival is an opportunity for poets, dancers, musicians and acrobats to display their talents. It was an opportunity for many talented persons to receive royal patronage and show talents before the public. It was a proper occasion for the feudatories to please the king with gifts. Then the king enquired about the happenings in the kingdom. There was a big procession and the king was seated on the back of a horse followed by the army, poets, musicians, dancers, jesters, knights and other retinue inarched out with much fanfare. The **king's** procession crossed the city and landed in a garden where many women indulged in sporting with water, singing songs of joy, prepared flower garlands and danced to the entertainment of the king and his subjects. It is said that colored water was sprinkled through wooden pipes.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> K. Sarojini Devi, op.cit., P. 274.

<sup>159</sup> See *Parijatapaharanam*, 1-134..

<sup>160</sup> Ramaraja Bhushana, *Vasucharitra*, 3-155, 158.

Festival of Goddess Lakshmi

This festival is celebrated in the **month** of during the **sharad** season. The fragrances of saffron and camphor was spread around everywhere. Food was prepared with oil and ghee. Common people cooked the **meat** of goat and sheep. During the day, Goddess **Parvathi** was also worshipped as Goddess **Lachamma** in the villages. In the village **tales**, there is a story of Goddess **Lachamma**. Her daughter is Goddess Parvathi. But Lachamma dies after the clash related to Parvathi and becomes a stone. She is venerated in 101 temples. <sup>161</sup>

During the festival, **prostitutes** were sent a lot of gifts by their counterparts even by taking credit or by robbery. <sup>162</sup> The above description may be coincided with Deepavali or festival of lights.

Sankranthi

The importance of the festival lies in the fact that it is not only the festival of the Goddess Durga but signifies the arrival of final crop. Farmers celebrate the festival with much gaiety and fervour. The festival is celebrated for three days. First is called **Bhogi**, second day is observed as *Sankranthi* and the third day is called **Kanuma**. As the animals which helped in the crop were decorated at this time, the festival is also called as *Pasula Pongali*. On the day of Sankranthi, particularly on

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<sup>161</sup> Ravi Premalatha, *Telugu Janapada sahityam - Puranagadhalu*, (Telugu) P.240.

<sup>162</sup> Vyjayanthi Vilasam, 3-82.

**Makara Sankranthi** day. a bath in a river was considered to be of great merit. Fasting was recommended for three days or at least one day on the occasion of Makara Sankranthi.

On this day, shops were flooded with **many commodities** and they were in great demand. It is said that people bought the commodities like pots, turmeric, 'kudumulu', <sup>163</sup>sheep without caring for the price. <sup>164</sup> Especially turmeric powder was bought extensively to decorate the deity and sheep to make sacrifices. To make pongali <sup>165</sup> rice is sold and the price used to be cheap. <sup>166</sup> On **Kanuma** day, apart from decorating animals, plough is <sup>167</sup>worshipped. ◊

Tree and Serpent worship

The worship of trees and snakes was popular during the times. In the old Buddhist legends, the Nagas were fabled to reside under the Trikuta rocks supporting Mount **Meru** and also in the waters of springs, lakes and rivers, watching over great treasures, causing rain, certain **maladies** and having the power of bestowing offspring on women desiring children. The power of bestowing offspring must have been more popular even in the Vijayanagara times. <sup>168</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> **eatables** made of rice flour and coconut cooked on pressure.

<sup>164</sup> **Sukasaptati**, 2-564.

<sup>165</sup> a kind of sweet made of new rice.

<sup>166</sup> **Sukasaptati**, 2-565.

<sup>167</sup> Radha Madhava Kavi, **Radhamadhavam**, 3-88.

<sup>168</sup> **A.H. Longhurst**, op.cit., P. 27.

On the fourth day of the bright fortnight in the **month** of Sravana (July-August) , Naga or hooded cobra was worshipped and **women** took fast and poured **milk** over the nagakals (snake stones) or over ant-hills in which cobras were believed to **reside. Women** were mainly Naga **worshippers. They** not only set up nagakals in the temples which they attended, but they had a regular type of Naga goddess which they worshipped. **In** the north east corner of the underground temple, there were nagakals set up by women. <sup>169</sup> In the original form, Virupaksha was regarded as the lord of the Nagas (serpents) , the red king who ruled over the western quarter of Vijayanagara. <sup>170</sup>

Tree and serpent worship is responsible for many decorative emblems in Indian art, such as five and seven-headed serpents, designs representing interlaced serpents resembling wicker-work, and representations of sacred trees and **flowers.**<sup>171</sup>

### **Ekadasi**

In **Amuktamalyada**, Ekadasi vrata has been mentioned. It is of lot of significance to the women folk as well as men folk. Ekadasi which comes in Shukla Paksha (fortnight) of Ashadha month has significance attached to it because it is the first Ekadasi which is followed by the other three Ekadasis till the arrival of Karthika month. All the four Ekadasis were considered to be **sacred.**

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<sup>169</sup> A.H. Longhurst, op.cit., P.28.

<sup>170</sup> A.H. Longhurst, op.cit., P.27.

<sup>171</sup> A.H. Longhurst, op.cit., P.29.

There are three significant days to perform vrata in each **Ekadasi**. On each days, the surroundings of the house would be decorated with **kolams** and men and women fast once in a **Dasami** day and fast the whole day on Ekadasi day and on Dvadasi day they spend time with Vishnu stotras. All the three days, they perform the vrata with much devotion. As part of the fast, they should avoid meat, pulses, honey, gram, vegetables, oil, **seasame** cakes, betel leaves, nuts etc., and should not indulge in sensual pursuits. At night, one should sleep on a bed spread on the ground. Those who can not observe a total fast **may** subsist on water, or **milk** or on fruits accordingly. According to the Narada Purana 'On the 10th, 11th and 12th tithis, the **performer** of the vrata should give an Abhisheka with '**pancamrita**' to a Vishnu **image** and worship him with sandal paste, flowers etc., and listen to the stories of Vishnu contained in the Puranas. On the 12th tithi he should feed **brahmans** and give them gifts according to his ability'. <sup>172</sup>

Punyaka Vrata

**This** vrata has been performed by the married ladies. <sup>173</sup> Those who performed this vrata went to the nearby lake, took bath and wore new clothes. They decorated themselves with ornaments and flowers and took the blessings of their husband. As part of the vrata, they should honour the guests who were generally married women. This practice should continue for a month. The aim of performing this vrata is to fulfill the vows.

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<sup>172</sup> **Amuktamalyada**, Chap IV, V. 50.

<sup>173</sup> **Parijatapaharanam**, 5-56.

## Sivaratri

It is the **most** popular festival of the saivaites. This comes in the month of **Magha**. on the day of **Sivaratri**, people from all parts of the empire went in large numbers to **pilgrimages** to saiva temples like Srisailam, Sri Kalahasti and Cidambaram. They spent the night in listening to the stories of Siva, reciting **Pancaksari**, and **Panca Brahma** mantras, doing **Pranayama**, going round the temple or performing **Pradaksina**, preparing **vibhuti**,<sup>174</sup> **conducting** literary contests or **Astavadhanam**, playing musical instruments, singing and dancing, witnessing cock fights and ram fights etc.<sup>175</sup> It was customary for kings and people to bestow gifts on the occasion.<sup>176</sup>

## Holi

It is a festival of colors which comes in the month of March. The festival started in January and ended with Holi in March. Niccolo Conti says that people celebrate with sprinkling colored water. This is received with much gaiety.

People of this age believed in various superstitions. Though some of them had social relevance and scientific inclination, most of them were blindly followed. Customs like hook swinging,

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<sup>174</sup> it is the ash burnt in the '**homam**' or fire lit within the temple **premises** as part of worship.

<sup>175</sup> K.Sarojini Devi, op.cit., **P.272.**

<sup>176</sup> **South Indian Inscriptions**, Vol. IX, Part II, No. 407, 521; **Mysore Epigraphical Reports**, 1937-38, No. 197; **Ibid.**, 1915, No. 40.

<sup>177</sup> **Robert Sewell**, op.cit., P.83.

**self-torture**, committing sati were hazardous but they were followed with a **commitment**. Use of force to be present in case of sati.

The festivals were celebrated with much gaiety and fervour by all sections of society. Festivals like **Mahanavami** and Vasantotsava had political significance attached to it. Many other festivals start with the commencement of agricultural season signifying prosperity.

Women performed various vratas for the prosperity of the family and acquiring religious merit. They gave away gifts to brahmins as part of the ritual according to their socio-economic status. As bearers of tradition to future **generations**, women had played a key role. Their status is *also* determined by the adornment patterns which will be discussed in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

# **WOMEN AS REFLECTED IN SCULPTURES AND PAINTINGS**

The inborn desire of womenfolk to look beautiful is a **common** phenomenon. Generally, they take the help of costumes, **ornaments** and cosmetics to enhance their beauty irrespective of their status. The only question is that of quality and degree. Generally, women belonging to higher class wore costly and aesthetically designed costumes and chiselled ornaments whereas the women of lower class wore cottons and ornaments made of bone beads **etc.**, depending on their economic position. To understand the socio-economic distinctions among women, it is necessary to make an in depth study into the attire and ornamentation aspects. For this purpose, the sculptures and paintings at **Hampi-Vijayanagar**, the capital and Lepakshi has been surveyed to have a general idea on the subject.

Adornment patterns differ from region to region depending on the factors of ethnicity, climatic and geographical variations. However, women of this age adorned themselves keeping in view their social status and the nature of professions they held. For instance, the women of the royalty had to adopt to exhaustive ornamentation as it was the **symbol** of royal majesty. On the other hand, courtesans and veyyas should look beautiful in order to succeed in their profession.

The beliefs and customs that were prevalent also necessitated women to adopt to specific adornment. A married woman is supposed to **maintain** certain decorum in order to cause longevity of **married** life. Flowers, tali ( a chain symbolising **marriage** ) , **mattelu** (toe rings) and bangles are some of them. Contemporary sources provide

much evidence regarding this aspect. Here the patterns of costumes, ornaments, cosmetics would be appropriately dealt with.

A survey of sculptures

NO.1 PLATE XXIII: A LADY HOLDING A **TAMBURA**

A lady standing in tribhanga is holding an tambura in her right hand while the left is dropped down. Her face is round, hair combed and arranged into a big bun tied with a band. She wears Karna pushpas, Vrittakundalas. Beaded chains are decorated around her neck, shoulders, hands and waist portions. A lengthy saree is worn whose tassel is fashioned with a bunch of foldings on the front side.

No. 2 PLATE XXV: A LADY **CHAURIBEARER**

A youthful lady (proudhanga) standing in tribhanga is holding a lengthy handled fly whisk. Her hair is plaited on the top of the head. The combed hair is plaited on the top of the head. The combed hair is decorated with a **Chudamani**. The ornaments on the body include ear tops, Griveyaka, Keyura, bangles and a waist band. She wears a lengthy bordered saree whose end covers her breast.

No.3 PLATE XIX: A LADY DANCER

A lady is shown engaged in dance. She keeps her left leg on a **makara** whereas the right leg is raised in according to the dance sequence. Her left hand is kept on the thigh, the right one raised up and holding a bunch of flowers. She wears Kuntalabharana, Chudamani on her hand and the hair is arranged in a typical fashion **tied** with a flower garland. Profuse ornamentation on her body reveal her interest in decoration.

No.4 PLATE VII: A COURT LADY

A court lady probably a private girl of the king or an official of high rank is seen standing. She is **mostly** in nude with her saree dropping from the waist portion. Her hair is plaited into a very big bun. The body is decorated with regular ornaments of the Vijayanagara period. The saree seems to be silk woven as it has many even folds including the tussel.

No.5 PLATE VII:

A beautiful lady probably a courtesan is shown in a standing posture. Behind her oval face is a circular bun of hair. A circular shaped **Chudamani** adorns her forehead. She keeps her left hand as **Katihasta**. The raised right hand holds a garland. Probably she might be offering a garland to the god in a **temple**. Basing on her **profuse**, rich ornaments e.g **Vyjayantimala** and costly **drapery**, she belongs to a royal family.

No.6 PLATE XXVII: A Bharavahika

Certain spaces in architecture has been utilised to depict sculptures by the sculptors to fill the plain space with aesthetic designs or figures. Here the Bharavahika is standing on a **Makara** as if she is holding the architectural member with her right hand. Her plaited hair is arranged in oval shape. She wears a Vyjayantimala, Griveyaka, Kanthahara, Waist band, Bahuvalayas, Bangles and Marigolds over the legs. She wears a lengthy garment like a dancer. An over garment is also seen.

VIJAYANAGARA SCULPTURES

NO.1 PLATE XXVIII A **Pregnant** woman

The Vijayanagara sculptors were adept in carrying realistic sculptures on the temples, **mandapas** and gopuras. Very

interestingly, the sculptor's chisel delineates a pregnant woman on the shaft of a pillar of Vithala temple. She is seated on a pedestal in Utkutikasana keeping her right leg straightly bent and the left one is kept horizontally. This posture being easy for a pregnant woman was so aptly opted. The bulged stomach denotes that she is carrying a baby. Her right hand is rested in the right leg whereas the left hand is kept on the pedestal. She seems to be hearing or viewing something. Her head dress is simple but the knot behind the shoulder is prominent.

**No.2 PLATE XXIX: A Lady with her baby**

In another sculpture, a lady is shown holding her baby on her waist. She is slightly bent towards the right. Her round face expresses delight for having a handsome baby. Her hair is well combed and arranged into a bun shape. She wears Vrittakundalas, Kantahara, Kuchabandha, armlets, wristlets and rings to fingers. A long saree is seen worn up to the feet. The baby is also decorated with some ornaments. Its hair is plaited into a round shape on the top of the head. It denotes that women have shown equal interest in decorating their babies. Besides attending the household, it was also prime duty for women to toilet themselves and also care for their babies.

**NO.2 PLATE XVII: A Lady with a Parrot.**

Women used to enjoy their leisure besides permissible games and hunt, they seem to rear some pet birds among which parrots occupy an important place. A lady seated is talking to her pet bird. Her hair is combed neatly and dropped like a bunch. Vrittakundalas being the ear ornaments are studded with jewels. A

also seen on the chest, a lengthy **Vyjayanthimala** and sarees are decorated.

**No.6** PLATE XXXIII: A Lady attending domestic work.

The sculpture depicts the ladies attending to their **domestic** duties. Early in the morning, women used to churn butter out of the milk. The churning rod is seen kept in the milk pot which is tied to a post planted in the ground. She is churning with the help of a rope whose ends are frequented for rotating the churning rod. After **sometime**, the butter floats on the top of the butter milk which is being tasted by her baby. **It** is a routine thing in each and every household of the pastoral communities.

**No.7** PLATE XIX: A Lady dancer

It is a typical dance posture exhibiting a Dakshi natya, She is in the climax of the dance. Her slightly bent right leg is on the ground whereas the left leg is raised up, up to the urdhvatandava aspect. Her two hands are engaged in abhinaya according to the dance. She is beautifully decorated. Her plaited hair in bun shape is arranged on the top of the head. Karnapushpas, Vrittakundalas, Kathabharana, Chandrahara with a locket, bangles or manjiras include the ornaments decorated on her body. She wears thin pants up to the januportion. The dancing attire specially embroidered denotes the specific dress is worn by women for different purposes. This sculpture also denotes that ladies were also interested in professional or vocational education which exhibits their skills.

**No.8** PLATE **XX**: A dance party

This panel depicts women dancers and musicians. The central lady is dancing whereas the accompanying ladies are playing

thin chain around the neck, plain armlets and wristlet are among the other ornaments. The parrot is standing on the palm of her right hand. She rests her left hand on her waist. Rearing, imparting training in talking and leaving messages with the birds by young ladies are also described in the contemporary prabhandas. This sculpture portrays the contemporary life of women during **the medieval** period.

No. 3 PLATE XVIII:

A Lady with a pet **bird**. (similar to the above)

No.4 PLATE XXX:

In an other pillar, the shaft is carved with an young lady engaged herself in toileting by decorating **tilakam** on her forehead with the aid of a mirror. Her hair is too long which was tied at the end into a round bun. Profuse ornamentation, costly drapery on her body denotes that she belongs to the royal harem. The bangles, anklets and bracelets are decorated with pearls and jewels. Her round face, broad eyes, long neck, beautifully carved legs denote her elegant body. Ladies toilet after they take bath, then dress with suitably and costly attires, decorate their body with golden ornaments and then smear some cosmetics. As a final thing of their toilet, they decorate their foreheads with **Kumkum** or Tilak, a red or brown paste specially **made** for the purpose.

No.5 PLATE **XX**:A dance party or A dancer accompanied by musicians

The sculpture depicts the ladies attending to their ladies. A panel depicts three women engaged in dance and music. The centrally depicted lady is **dancing** and the ladies on either of her side are also dancing besides playing on **mridangas** to her dance. All the three wear big circular ear ornaments. Prominent haras are

**mridangas** and also dancing. Typical dress and **ornamentation** for dancers and **musicians** are noteworthy.

**No.9** PLATE XVIII A Lady with a pet bird Probably a tantric lady.

She is depicted nude with her twisted long tailed hair is the only thing on the body. The tail end of her hair is dropped towards the left side. A duck is enthusiastically observing her.

**No. 10** PLATE XXXI: A Lady holding a whip

A female holding a whip in her two hands like a garland is noteworthy. The lady with whips can be ascribed to **acrobatics**, **sometimes** beating themselves on their bodies. She is very neatly dressed, her hair plaited, the fore head is combed in a typical fashion. A short or a mini skirt is the only garment on her body though profusely decorated ornaments are **seen.**The sculptor wanted to depict the '**marginal**' people that too women engaged in acrobatic etc., meant for entertainment of others. **Dommaras** were known for such acrobatics mentioned in the contemporary literature and epigraphs.

**No. 11** PLATE VIII: A Lady snake charmer

A nude lady holding a snake like garland in her two hands. She may be engaged in acrobatics or nagini of Kalamukha sect. Another snake small in size is also seen on her body. Her face is beautiful and hair is in **dhamilla** type. **Minimum** ornamentation on her body, nudity and snakes on her body together represent some religious **significance.**

**No.12** PLATE IX & X: A Lady huntress.

A **femal** huntress belonging to tribal community is represented with leafs on her forehead and hair which was left uncombed. She also wears lengthy leaves on her waist as drapery

over which a beaded belt is tied. She is holding a bow in her left hand whereas her right hand is rested on an attendant's head. The attendant is removing a thorn from her left leg. This sculpture of female represents a lady who is engaged in hunting.

No. 13 PLATE IX & X: A Lady huntress.

Another lady actually hit the deer with an arrow. The arrow pierced slantly into the body of the deer. The lady huntress is again taking an arrow to hit the prey. She is in Alidhasana. Her hair is left unplaited. She must be a folk woman.

No. 14 PLATE XXXIV: A Lady with a Quiver and a sword.

A female of the elite class dressed in costly **attires**, decorated with many ornaments such as ear ornaments, kanthabharana, waist band, bangles etc. Significant feature of this sculpture is that she is holding bow and arrows besides a sword on her back. Probably she might be a lady warrior or a body guard of royal ladies present in the harem.

No. 15 PLATE XXI: A Scene depicting Kolata.

Two ladies were actively engaged in playing dance accompanied by a folk song which is known as **kolatam**. The right and left hands are holding sticks for producing some sounds. The left and right legs of the ladies are raised whereas the other legs are rested on the ground. The sculpture denotes the games for entertainment.

No. 16 PLATE XX: A Dance party

This panel depicts a dancing scene. Three prominent dancers in different dance poses. Their dress ended with fan shaped folds. In between **the** dancers are singers. Their dress is different from the dancers.

## DRESS PATTERNS

The queens wore a separate upper **garment** is known from the **bronze** sculptures of Chinnadevi and Tirumaladevi at **Tirumala**. Both the queens covered their shoulders with a piece of cloth either **sewn** or unsewn. (see Plate I)

The upper class women wore white garments of very thin cotton or silk of bright colours, five yards **long**, one part of which was girt around the waist and the other part was thrown over the shoulder and across their breasts in such a way that one arm and shoulder remained **uncovered**.<sup>1</sup> (see Plate XXXV)

The dress of women at court consisted of a pavada (a sort of petticoat), paita (mantle), and a ravika (bodice). The petticoat of saffron color and thin muslin paita were very popular among aristocratic **ladies**.<sup>2</sup> (see Plate VII)

The queens and the numerous women of the zenana as well as the courtesans dressed themselves more or less in the same fashion. (see Figures VII & VIII)

A brahmin lady is described as arranging the pleats of her sari with fan shaped **ends**.<sup>3</sup> (see Figures VII & VIII)

The common women wore a long sari and a bodice. The sarees of women of cultivating class had square and other designs printed in bright **colors**.<sup>4</sup> (see Figure VII & VIII)

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<sup>1</sup>Dames, *Barbosa I*, PP.205-6.

<sup>2</sup>N. Venkata Ramanayya, op.cit., P.372.

<sup>3</sup>Kadiripati, *Sukasaptati*, 3-351.

<sup>4</sup>Tenali Ramakrishna, *Pandurangamahatya*, 3-74.

Abdur **Razaak** says that the court singers were adorned with beautiful garments and displaying figures which ravished the heart like fresh roses.<sup>5</sup> (see Figures VII & VIII)

The Boya **women** dressed themselves in simple garments but it was of white color and fine texture. They wore half of it around their loins, the other half passing over their breasts and shoulders.<sup>6</sup> Paes remarks that women of this period wore very rich and fine clothes.<sup>7</sup>

On the whole the rich loved to dress themselves in silk fabrics with borders of gold lace whereas the common folk had to be satisfied with cottons.

#### ORNAMENTS

The fondness for jewellery is understandable as it constitutes to be an important **component** of one's dressing. This aspect more importantly applies to women as they feel it incomplete without wearing jewellery.

A bride is described as wearing a kundala. Kundalas were<sup>8</sup> incised with cut and beaded designs and star shaped designs. A bride is described as wearing three varieties of ear ornaments. They are kotapu kammajodu, chevula poovulu and bavirelu. Barbosa  
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<sup>5</sup>Elliot, *History of India*, Vol.IV, P.118.

<sup>6</sup>Radha Madhava Kavi, *Tarakabrahmarajiyam*, Canto ii; N.Venkata Ramanayya, op.cit., P.373.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Sewell, op.cit.

<sup>8</sup>Peddana, *Manacharithra*

says that the **women** of this period wore leather shoes well embroidered in silk, their heads were uncovered and the hair was tightly gathered into a **becoming** knot on the top of the head and in their hair was adorned with scented flowers. About the the nose, ear and other jewels he says that women made a small hole in one of the nostrils through which they put a fine gold wire with a pearl, saphire or ruby pendant. In the ears, they wore ear rings set with many jewels and on their necks they wore necklaces of gold and jewels and very fine coral beads and bracelets of god and precious stones and may good coral beads adorned their arms.<sup>10</sup>

Paes says that women wore caps on their head which they call collaes and on these caps they wore flowers made of large pearls, collars on the neck with jewels of gold very richly set with many emeralds and diamonds and rubies and pearls and beside this many strings of pearls, and others for shoulder belts; on the lower part of the arms many **bracelets**. with half of the upper **arm** all bare, having armllets in the same way all of precious stones; on the waist **many** girdles of gold and of precious stones which girdles hang in order one below the other almost as far down as half the thigh besides these belts they had other jewels and many strings of pearls round the ankle for they wore rich anklets of greater value than the rest.<sup>11</sup>

When referring to the description of the apparels the foreign

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9 Barbosa in Barbosa I.

<sup>10</sup>Dames, *Barbosa I*, PP.207-8.

<sup>11</sup> Paes in *Forgotten Empire*.

travellers were **mostly** referring to the affluent class rather than the poorer sections of the society.

About the queens it is said that they **maintained** a treasury consisting of personal ornament **armlets, bracelets,** seed pearls and diamonds in large quantity and each queen had sixty maidens who was adorned as richly as could possibly be with many jewels, rubies, diamonds, pearls and seed pearls.<sup>12</sup>

Head ornaments (Figures I & II)(Plate II)

Head ornaments were generally worn on the head, at the parting of the hair, on either side of it and at the end of the hair. To quote few in alphabetical order:

Bangarupuceru: Strings of golden flowers to be decorated in hair.

Bharamarakamu: A bee-shaped ornament worn on the plaited portion..

Bimbamu: A circular golden **ornament** set with gems worn at the back of the head.

Cherucukka or Papati bottu: A Golden ornament worn in the centre of the fore head.

Chudamani: A small circular ornament connected to a chain to be worn at the centre of the fore head.

Jada kucculu: Gold threads to tie the ends of plaited hair.

**Koppela mutyala** kucculu: Pearls with golden knobs worn above the ears on the head on either sides.

Koppu poovulu: Flowers made of pearls to be decorated in **hair.**

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Robert Sewell, op.cit., P.248'

**Lalatikamu:** A gold ornament studded with semi precious stones to be worn on the fore head.

Mutyalajalli: A hair net made of pearls.

Nagaramu: An ornament of god worn at the centre of the hair.

Paccadapu ganda: A circular shaped golden ornament to be worn on the plaited portions.

**Ravi:**A gold ornament studded with semi precious stones resembling sun.

Sasi: A gold ornament studded with semi precious stones resembling the crescent moon.

Sekharamu:A circular shaped ornament worn in the koppu.

Ear ornaments (Figures III & VI)

Bavirelu: An ornament made of gold.

**Kammalu:** Ornaments made of gold, pearls, diamonds.

Kammapuvulu: Ear rings resembling flowers.

Kuntelu or Kuntena kucculu: Rings made of gold, silver, cotton, silk threads, pearls, gold chains hung down from the tip of the ear.

Nilapuralu: Ear rings of blue colored stones.

**Tatankamulu:** Ear rings made of palm leaf.

Vrittakundalas: Large circular shaped ear rings made of gold.

Nose ornaments

**Mukkera** is a nose ring generally worn studded with **emeralds**, corals, diamonds or pearls.

Rendugundla **mungara:** A nose ring having two pieces.

Neck **ornaments** (Figures IV & III)

Katabharanalu is the word generally applied to the ornaments worn in the neck. The different types of neck ornaments include

**Bandi guriginja tavadamu:** necklaces of gurivida seeds.

**Bannasaramu:** A necklace.

**Chandraharamu:** A chain of gold in two or many rows

Chennuerugutakulu: A kind of shining necklace of leaf pattern.

Gontapusalu: Small nuts **made** into beads and arranged in the chain.

Gundla **peru:** A chain of gold beads.

Gurija perulu: Necklace of gurivinda seeds generally worn by women of forest dwelling communities

**Mangalyamu** or Pasuputallu: The marriage token. The application of **haldi** makes it auspicious.

Medanulu: A gold chain made of small thin bands.

**Minukulu:** Twinkling chains of gold.

**Mutyala patteda:** A neck band of pearls.

**Mutyalasaralu:** Small chain of pearls.

Nallapusalu: A chain of black beads symbolising marriage.

Nandi danda: A chain used by the devotees of Siva.

Nanu-chuttu: A gold necklace of beads linked together,

Pachhapusalu: A necklace of golden beads.

Penusanna **golusulu:** Small thin chains of gold.

Pikilipuladandalu: A chain made with the wings of small birds called Pikelipillalu.

**Rudraksha** pusalu: A chain of Rudraksha seeds or Rudraksha **saramulu.**

Saripenalu: Gold or silver chains.

Tali bottu: The marriage token.

**Tomala** danda: A garland of Tulasi leaves.

**Vepaku** chigulla dandalu: A chain made of **neem** leaves.

Veduru **mutyamulu**: A chain made of **bamboo** pearls.

**Trisaramu**: A gold chain of three lines.

#### **houlder/Hand/Wrist ornaments** (Figures IV & V)

The upper part of the elbow as well as its lower half up to the wrist is adorned with different types of ornaments. Precious metals like gold and silver together with pearls or costly stones are moulded into different shapes skillfully by the artisans. **Kankanamu** or **Kadiyalu** is the popular name for the bracelets. Contemporary literary works and sculptures mention about these ornaments.

Shoulder ornaments (Figure IV & V)

**Chamala** kadiyalu: Golden bracelets

**Harkankanamulu**: Golden bracelets

**Ittadi** vankilu: Twisted cane rings

**Lakka** tayettulu: Amulets of false corals

**Moravanka** kadiyamu: A shining curved golden bracelet

**Nagabettamu**: A snake shaped bracelet

**Nagavattulu**: A snake shaped bracelet

**Ottula** kadiyalu: Golden bracelets

**Pasidi rava** kadiyalu: Bracelets of gold studded with emeralds

**Sari-danda** tayattulu: Talismans for the upper arm

**Vankilu**: Curved ornaments worn round the upper arm

Hand and Wrist ornaments (Figure V)

**Chekattu** palelu: Bracelets of gold or coral Leads alternatively arranged.

**Pagadala** chekattu: Bracelet of corals

**Manjira kankanalu:** A bracelet having bells

**Manipuramu:** A wrist ornament

**Murugulu:** Golden wire twisted in the form of a bangle.

Mutyala chekattu: Bracelet of pearls

**Nalla muduka** gajulu: Ordinary glass bangles black in color

Ratna kankanamulu: Bracelets of diamonds

### **Waist ornaments (Figure IX)**

Ornaments worn surrounding the waist were generally called **Oddanams**. They were generally made of gold, silver and other metals.

Gajjela **oddanamu:** Silver or gold waist ornament having bells

Kiljada: A twisted ornament tied around the waist.

**Molanulu:** **Silver** or gold waist **ornament**, occasionally has bells

Oddanamu: A belt **made** of **gold**, or silver worn on the dress

**Ratnamekhala:** Waist ornaments made of precious gems.

### **Anklets**

The foot ornaments are commonly referred to as **Andiyalu**. They are mostly made of silver and occasionally made of gold.

**Gajjelu/Andiyalu/Muvvalu:** Anklets having bells made of silver.

Kancheenupura kankanamulu: Anklets having bells

### **Finger ornaments**

Angulikamu or **ungaramu** is the term used for finger ornaments. Though the **ring** finger is used for the purpose of ornamentation, sometimes other fingers too are decorated with a variety of ornaments. Gold and precious stones are used to make the

ornaments.

Toe ornaments

Generally married women wear **Mattiyalu** as the symbol of marriage.

Bobbilikayalu: **Toe-ornaments** for the great toe.

Gilkumattelu: Toe-rings made of tin.

Kanchu **mattiyalu**: Bell metal toe-rings for the fourth toe.

Lingapukaya mattelu: Toe-rings of the shape of the sivalinga

Mattiyalu: Toe-rings made of silver.

Pillandlu: Silver toe-rings for the fourth toe.

Viramaddiyalu: Silver toe-rings for the large **toe**, worn on the occasion of war.

Cosmetics

In order to protect the tenderness of the skin and to give it a glow, cosmetics are used. Adornment is no complete without applying different cosmetics suited to the occasion. Depending on the socio-economic status cosmetics were used. For instancerich women took bath in perfumed water mixed with panniru, **sampangi** oilwhereas poor women used **oil**.<sup>13</sup> Generally women applied certain anointments like **haldi** for **skin**, **collyrium** for eyes and saffron **mark** on the forehead as a symbol of their marriage. Widowed women were not supposed to use cosmetic products. The professional demands of the working class necessitated to apply cosmetics to

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<sup>13</sup>Peddana, *Manucharitra*; **B.Subramanyam** and E.Nagi Reddy, '**Fashions** - Flashback', *Sogasu - Andhra Prabha special yearly edition*, (Telugu), 1997.

suit the occasion. Though the physical **beautification** process for women is a regular component, the extent of its application varied according to the socio-economic position. While elite **women used** costlier **anointments** like **kasturi**, **kasmiramu**, **karpuramu** **punugu etc.**, , common women prepared cosmetics from kitchen products like **haldi**, **kunkuma**, **paccigandhamu** etc., Generally during the festive occasions, particularly during the spring festival,

Women anointed their body with **sandalwood**, aloes, camphor and **musk** after their bath.<sup>14</sup> A **mark** on the forehead symbolised the customary practice of the Hindu tradition. **Kunkuma (saffron)**, **Sindhooram** (vermilion), **Kasturi** (musk), **Olagandhamu** (turmeric **paste**), **Pateerapamsuvu** ( sandalwood dust), **Sankumudamu** (civet) etc., were generally used for keeping the mark.<sup>15</sup> Collyrium was applied to the eye edges to make them look elongated and black. **Vannu** (lipstick) is applied to lips to appear reddish and beautiful. Besides **haldi**, **sandalwood powder**, **saffron**, **musk** etc., are used as anointments. The preparatory processes can be found in the contemporary literary works.

**Tambul made** of betel leaves, camphor, aromatic spices and quick lime is used after food in order to look the lips red. They used to wash away the redness of the teeth cautiously with and made the teeth to look sparkle.<sup>16</sup> Even hair removers were

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Dames, **op.cit.**, Vol.1, P.205.

<sup>15</sup>Veturu Prabhakara Sastry, **Telugumerugulu (Telugu)**, Madras, 1948, P.148.

<sup>16</sup>**Amuktamalyada**, Refer B.Subramanyam & R.Siva Nagi **Reddy,op.cit.**,

present during the times.<sup>17</sup> After taking head bath, they used to dry the hair with Kasturi, Karpur, Javvaji, Kumkumpuvu, panneer etc.,

To **sum** up, it can be said that the adornment patterns would be clearly indicate the socio-economic distinctions of various classes. Infact, by mere sight the distinctions were recognised by way of dressing and ornaments. During special occasions, women used to adorn themselves to suit the occasion. These differences in adornment patterns would be accrued from Contemporary sculptures and paintings. The same sources would also throw light on the rise of performing arts and the necessity of recreation and the existing socio-economic distinctions which would be analysed in the next chapter.

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**P.113.**

<sup>17</sup>Kridabhiramam, B.Subrahmanyam, op.cit., **P.115.**

<sup>18</sup>**Manucharitra**, B.Subramanyam, op.cit. **P.115.**

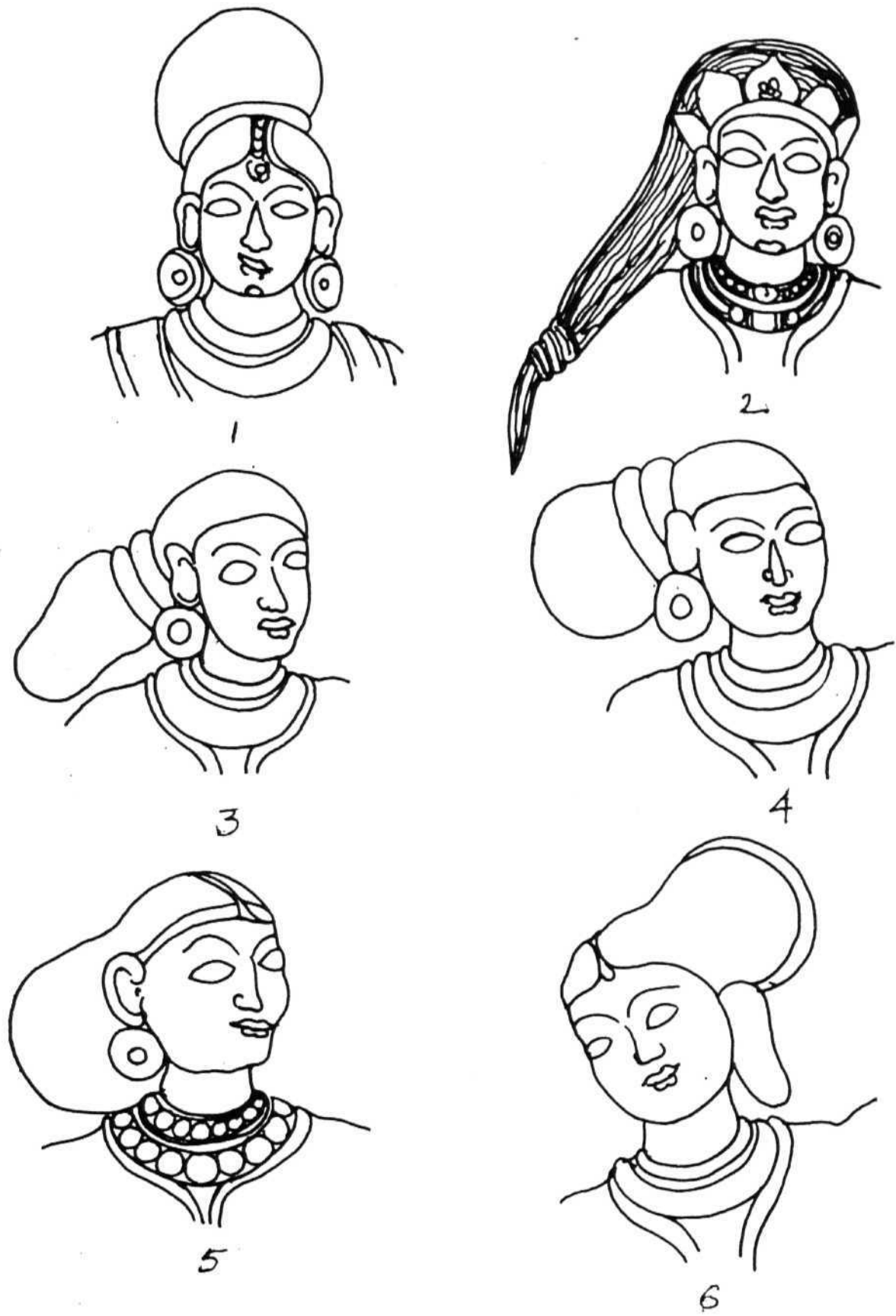


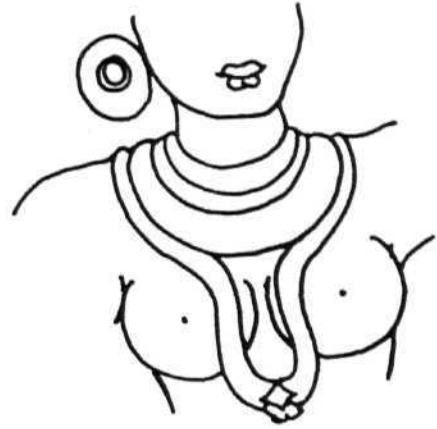
FIGURE - I: HAIR DRESS



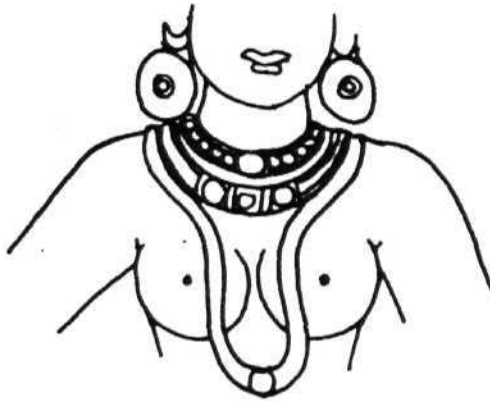
FIGURE - II: HAIR DRESS & NECK ORNAMENTS



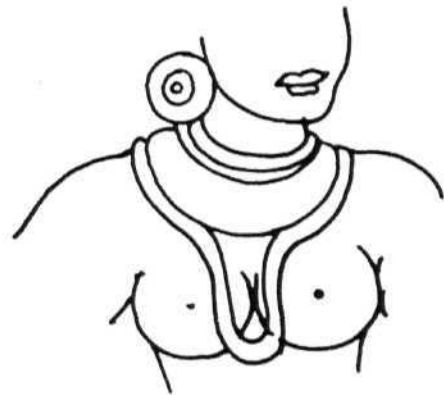
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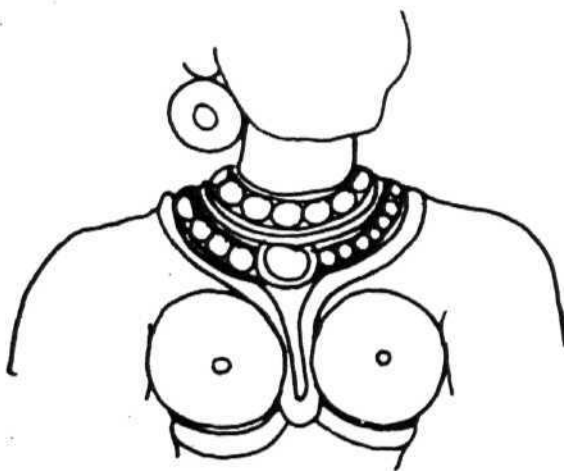
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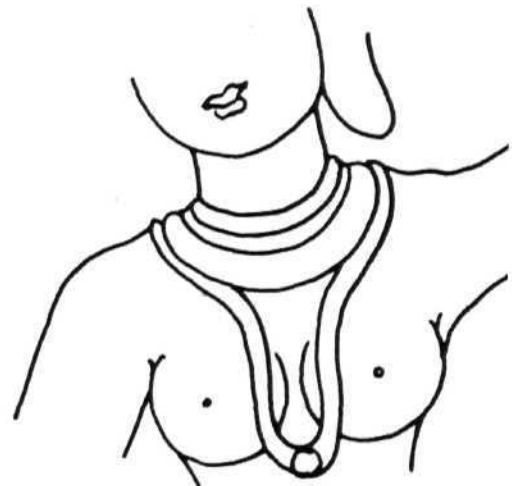
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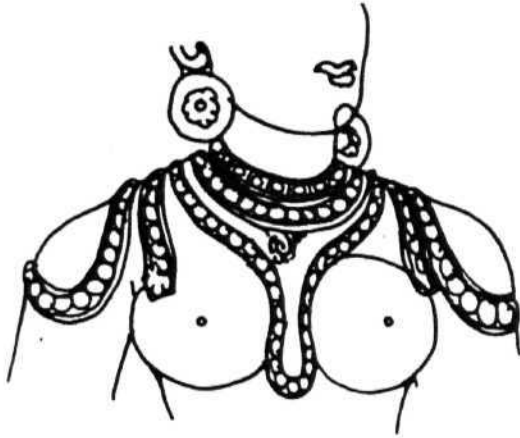


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FIGURE - III: ORNAMENTS OF THE NECK & EAR



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FIGURE - IV: ORNAMENTS OF THE NECK & SHOULDER

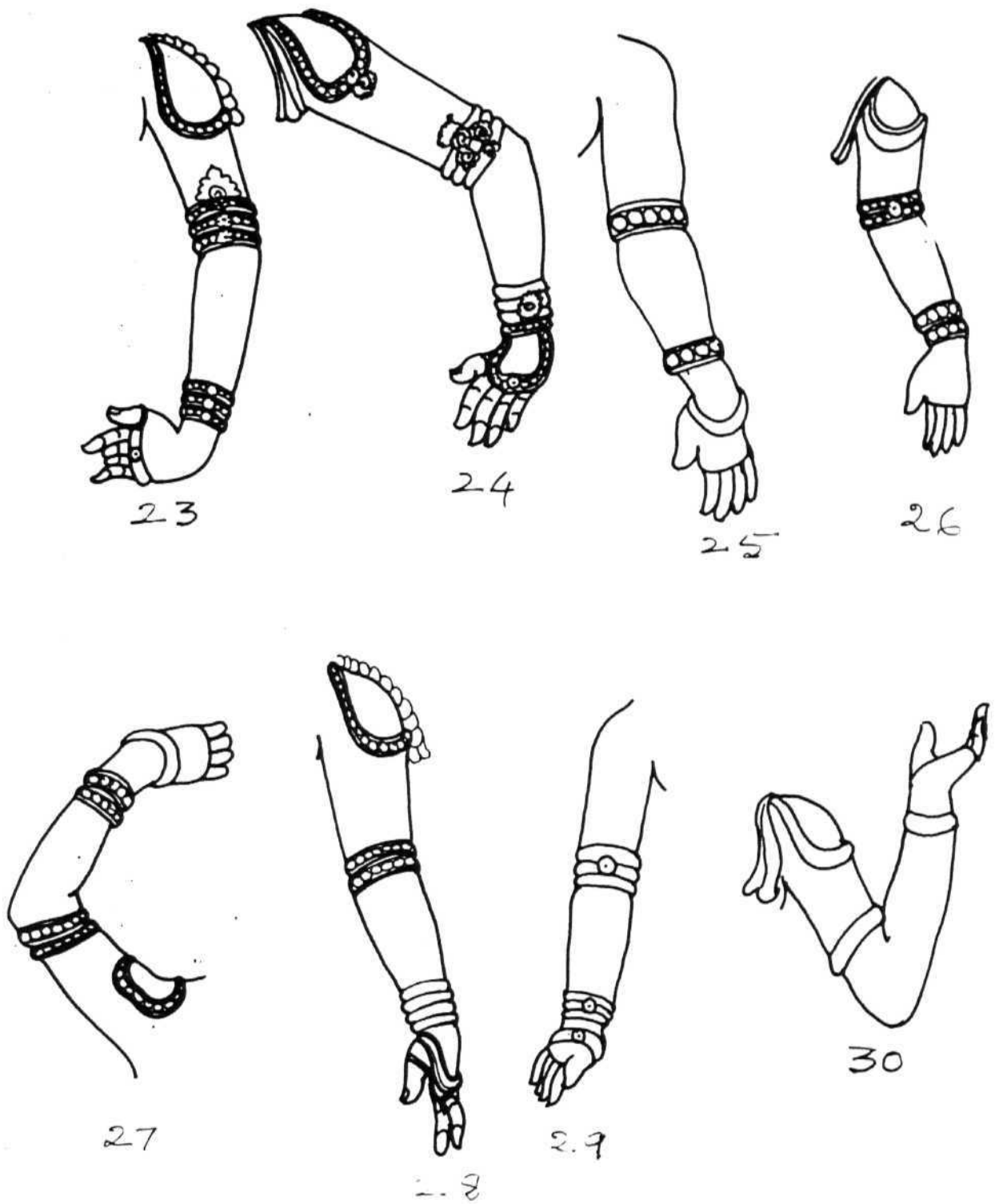


FIGURE - V: ORNAMENTS OF THE HAND & SHOULDER



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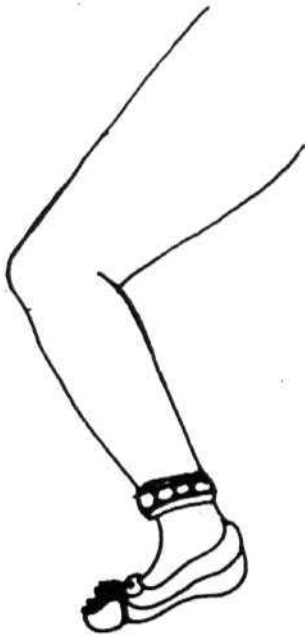
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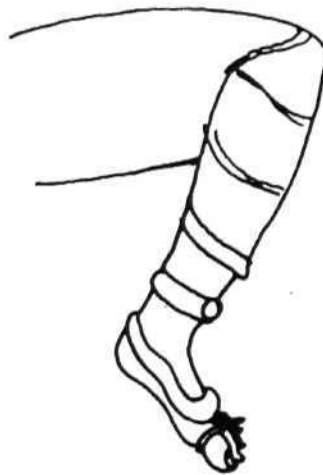
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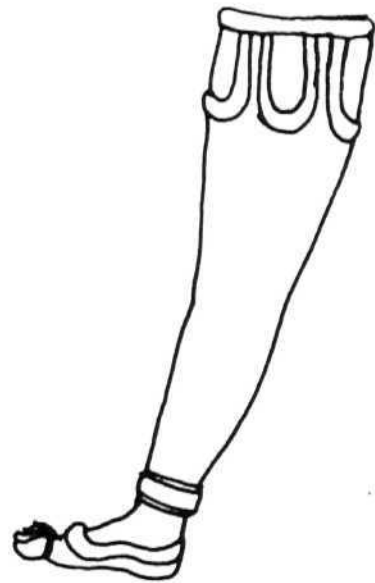
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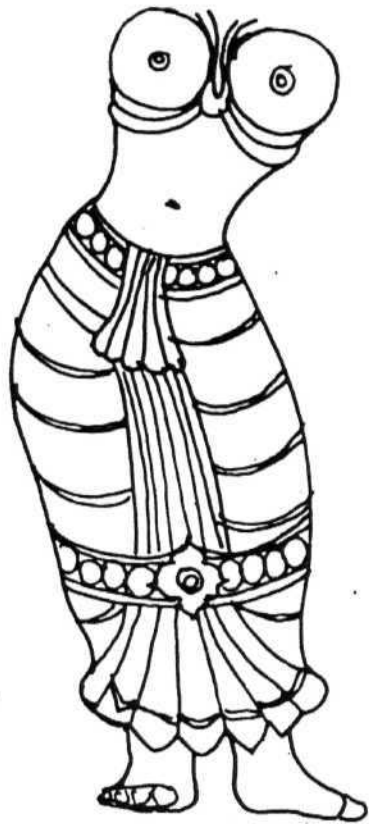


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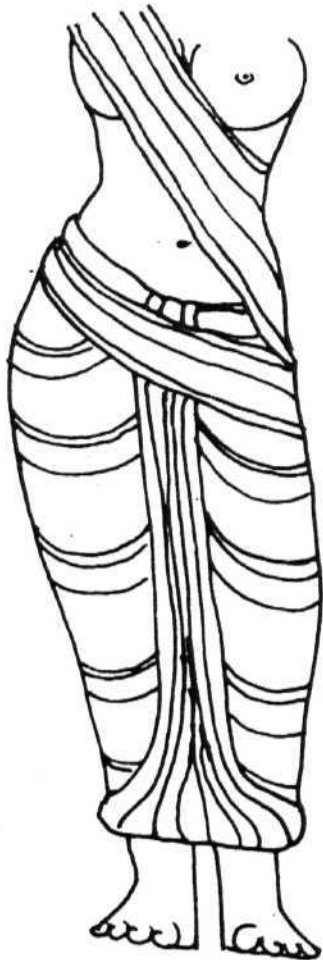
FIGURE - VI: ORNAMENTS OF THE EAR & LEG



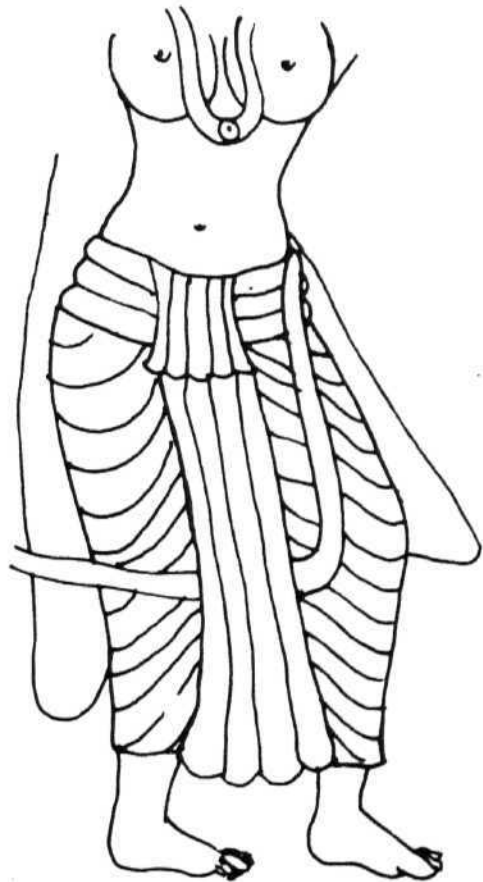
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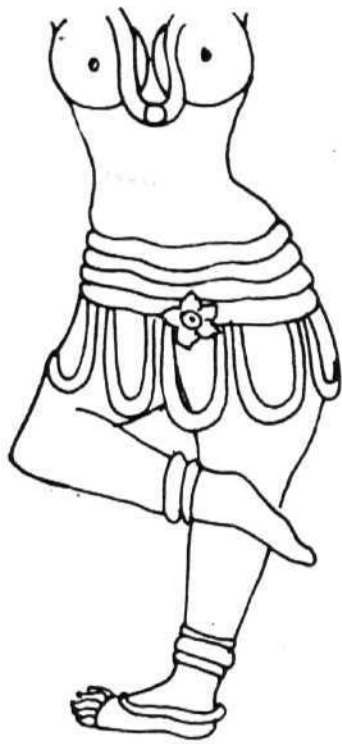


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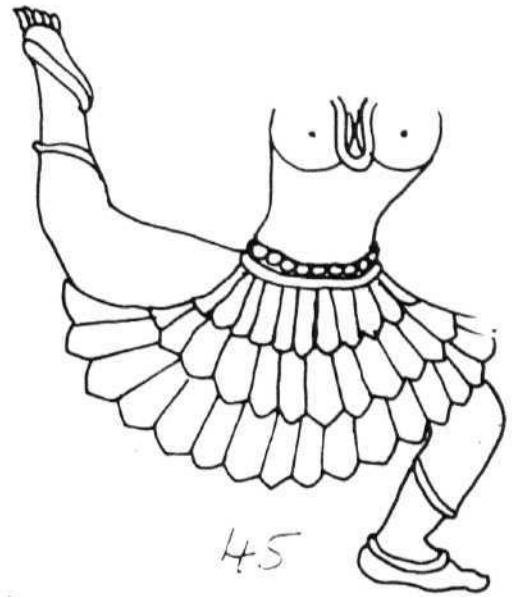


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FIGURE - VII: COSTUMES



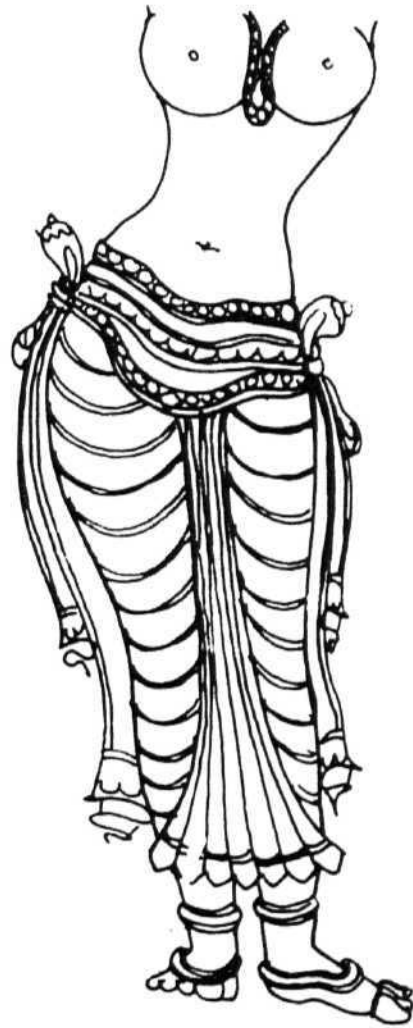
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FIGURE - VIII: COSTUMES

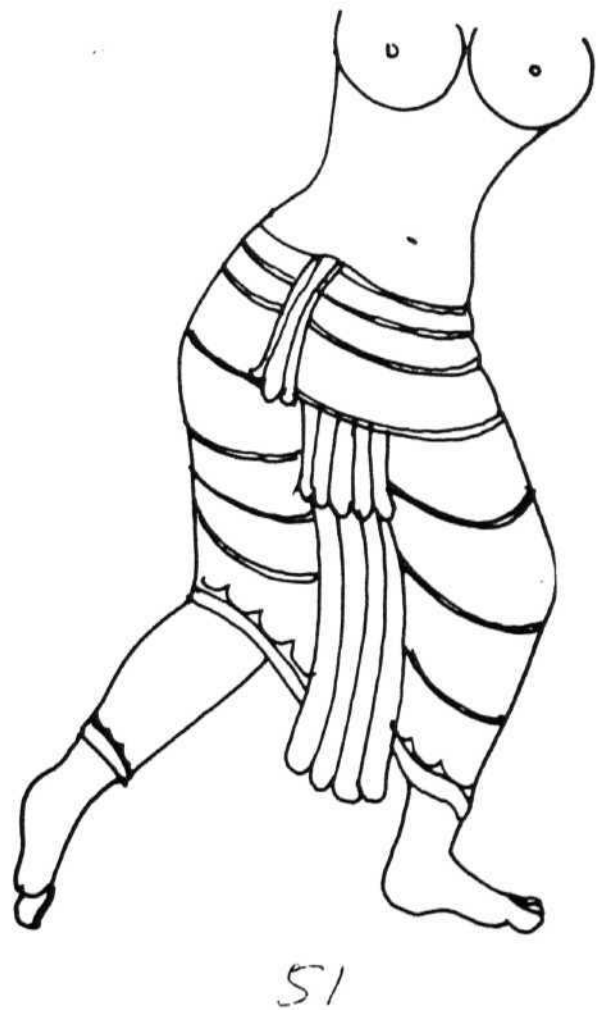
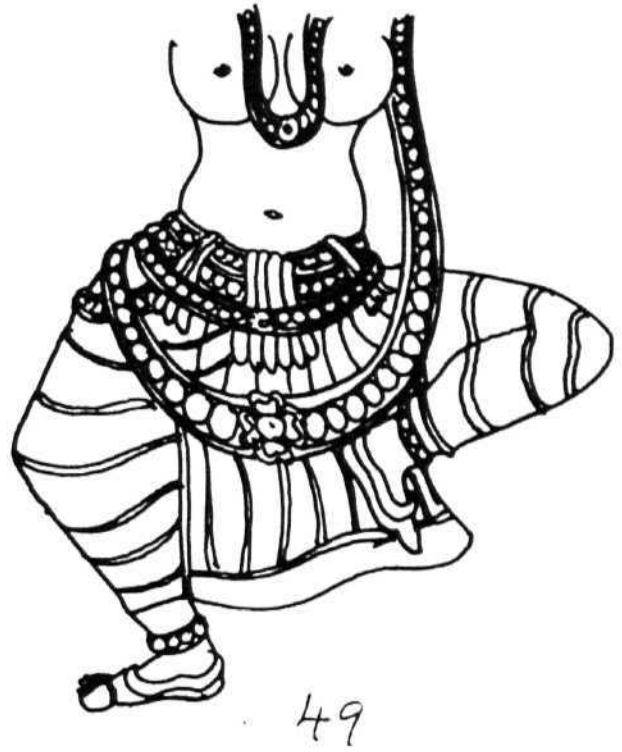


FIGURE - IX: WAIST ORNAMENTS

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

# **ARTS AND RECREATION**

Vijayanagara **empire** is considered to be a prosperous empire and the economic prosperity might have lead to amorousness of the elite class. The leisure time was spent on patronising scholars, poets and engaging themselves in various pastimes and recreational activities. Thus it turned out to be a period where cultural heights were attained in literary activities and fine arts, the point which has been reflected in most of the literary works of the period. The pastime activities are basically meant to spend the leisure hours. At the same time, they also relieve **one's** mind from the physical and psychological stress and strain caused due to the nature of work, professional engagements or domestic responsibilities.

Generally, speaking any form of amusement or pastime is a game. As long as there is no competitive interaction, the pastime can be called non-game or for convenience here recreation. A game then may be defined as a form of play which two or more participants vie either as individuals or a groups or teams, under the limitation or rules either tactically or explicitly understood by the contestants for the purpose of determining which is better or best at that particular form of play.<sup>1</sup> However, games differ from other play activities in that they involve competition between two persons.

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<sup>1</sup>*Standard Dictionary of Folklore mythology and legend, Vol.1, p.432.*

**Down** through the ages, recreational activities are noticed in **some** form or the other. As life is a **complicated** phenomenon of different experiences both positive and negative, people tend to relax their minds and relieve themselves of the physical and psychological stress and strain through the means of games, sports or pastime activities. These infuse a fresh interest in the mind and prepare them physically as well as mentally to perform their duties in the society. Beginning from the childhood to old age, variety of pastime activities are noticed. They are determined by various factors, gender differences, regional **socio-political** changes etc., Thus the favourite games and **amusements** indicate fairly the standard of the culture, the tastes and fancies of the people of a particular community.

However, a study of the recreations, amusements or pastime activities of the people of a chosen period in history becomes complicated for want of source material. Taking the Vijayanagara period in instance, one has to look carefully into the literary sources particularly for an in depth analysis of these activities. Though literature does not attach much **significance**, the poets do make references to the recreational activities while they describe the people and their life in the society. Foreign **travellers'** accounts also made specific observations in their writings about the pastime activities. The temple sculptures too can be of much help with regard to this.

**Based** on the nature of pastime activities and individual or group participation they can be discussed under two broad heads : recreations (individual) and amusements (community) .

## Recreations

Several factors like **environment, age, gender** and economic differences determine the nature of games played. While a few games are played by the people of all ages, irrespective of gender and financial position, most others are not. For **instance, hunting** as a pastime was mostly confined to ruling elite but for the people of the lower economic status, it becomes a profession. Similarly, particular games like toy marriages, cooking for the dolls are specific for small girls while outdoor games are preferred by the boys of the same age. Age again determines the nature of games played. Small children would like to play simple games like hide and seek but the complexity increases with the age.

## Games of the elite

Several literary sources both indigenous and foreign speak a lot about the different recreational activities prevalent during the Vijayanagara period.

Hunting was a popular pastime among the royal class.<sup>2</sup> The kings often took the title *Gajamragayavihara* (sortful hunter of the elephant).<sup>3</sup> Deva **RayaII** held the title of **Gajabetakara**

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<sup>2</sup>R.H. Major, *India in the Fifteenth century*, New Delhi, 1974, P.28.

<sup>3</sup>*Epigraphia Carnatica*, IV, Gu.67.

(elephant hunter).<sup>4</sup> He is said to have **attempted** a boat **hunt**.<sup>5</sup> In all these **hunts**, hawks and falcons seem to have been used on a large scale. Krishna Deva Raya **maintained** a large establishment of falcons and hounds.

Usually an empty ground near water falls where wild animals resided has been chosen. Poles were set up and a net was rounded up to the poles and white sarees were hung at certain places. Only one entrance is kept open and trumpets were blown in order to trap the animals to enter the place. Then with the help of arrows and **daggers**, the animals were killed. For hunting purposes, trained dogs were also used.<sup>6</sup> In rainy days deers used to be trapped in the mud. So, hunting dogs were provoked and deers were hunted.<sup>7</sup>

**Varthema** noticed that the capital occupied the **most** beautiful site with certain very beautiful places for hunting and the same <sup>8</sup> for fowling, so that it appeared to him to be a second paradise. Bows, arrows, daggers, short swords and spears were used in hunt

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<sup>4</sup>ARSIE, 1931-32, para 13.

<sup>5</sup>*Epigraphia Carnatica*, X, Cn.195.

<sup>6</sup>The name of the dogs were mentioned in *Sringara Sakuntalam*, 1-*Manucharitra* 4-32.

<sup>7</sup>Sri Krishnadeva Raya, *Amuktamalyada*, 4-20.

<sup>8</sup>B.A.Saletore, op.cit., Vol.11, P.422, fn.2.

of the tiger, the elephant, the bear, the wolf, the hyna, the deer, the bison, the boar etc., **Abdur Razak** gives details on the **method** followed in hunting and catching elephants."

Generally, the kings go for hunting with all their paraphernalia **almost** like an expedition. The local people like the Boys, Kiratakas are supposed to offer help in finding out the wild **animals** and arranging for the hunt.<sup>10</sup>

This suggests that the kings undertook hunting frequently to the distant forest areas of their **empire** and thereby **make** an attempt to exercise political control effectively. Temple sculptures bear ample testimony to the hunting expeditions of the kings. The hunting of various animals like deer, bear, tiger etc., were the focus of different sculptures of the temples like **Lepakshi**, Tadipatri, **Sompalem**, Gorantla, Pushpagiri, **Markapuram**, Kalahasti and **Mangapuram** etc., Literary references and foreign accounts even exploited different techniques of hunting wild animals, suggests that the wide popularity of the pastime and the need to go for frequent hunts as part of their regular visits to different regions of the empire.

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<sup>9</sup>**Elliot**, *History of India* IV, **PP.109-11.**

<sup>10</sup>**N.Venkata** Ramanayya, *op.cit.*, **P.418.**

Horse riding was another popular **pastime** for the ruling elite as revealed **from** the **temple** sculptures. The sculptures representing **men** riding on horses on temples show that horses were used in great numbers.<sup>11</sup> This is again symbolic of the exercise of power.

Foreign travellers were to say a lot about the different sports and games popular during the times. Father Du Jarric had left an interesting description of the gymnasium at Chandragiri where noblemen took exercises almost every day before dinner, in order to be fit and healthy, thus men as old as seventy years look only fifty.<sup>12</sup>

Domestication of pets was particularly noticed among women of higher classes of the society. The Srisailam temple sculpture show a woman sitting on the throne with the parrot perching on her right hand. This pastime suggests the luxurious life of the elite class.

While playing the game of ball is generally meant for the cow herd **boys**, literary references point out to the inclination of young children of the higher class towards this game. The **regionlisation** of culture is reflected here. Ball game is

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<sup>11</sup>*Indian Antiquary*, XXVII, P.299.

<sup>12</sup>Henry Heras, *The Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagara*, Madras, 1927, P.313-4

discussed in **Nanjunda's Kumara Sangatya**, a work of the 16th century A.D. When Kumara Rama tells of his wish to play the game of ball to his mother, she dissuades him saying that the game of ball is for cowherds and not for princes. The games like bagari (top), gudugasa (kabadi), **lagge** (humming the ball) and hadigauade (game of cowries) were meant for princes.<sup>13</sup>

Aquatic sports, **painting, music**, game of chess etc., were the **general** recreational activities of women\girls of higher families. Water sports were however not limited to one section of the society. Telugu literary works contain abundant references to these games. Villages had access to river water and canal water. Therefore village folk knew swimming and played certain games which enhanced intimacy. '**ole**', '**ole**', a term is used in this game.<sup>14</sup>

The game of chess was mostly popular among the class of elite. Krishna Deva Raya used to play chess with his daughter **Mohanangi**.<sup>15</sup> It is said that Bodducherla Timmana was proficient in the game and he used to play with Krishna Deva Raya **and** won many **times**. He also got Koppolu as gift.<sup>16</sup>

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Pingali Surana, **Prabhavati Pradyumanam**, 2-106.

<sup>14</sup>Mallana, **Chandrabhanu Charitra**, 4-35; Ponnaganti Telaganna, **Charitra**, 3-64.

15

S.Subbaramayya, **Some milestones of Telugu literature**.

<sup>16</sup>Suravaram Pratapa Reddy, **Andhrula Sanghika Charitra** (Telugu), P.212

Fencing and dueling were the passions **among** the nobles. There was a great honour attached to those who fought the duel and the dead man was given to the survivor. According to Nuniz, no one could fight a duel without first asking leave of the **minister**, which was however very formal, for it was forthwith granted.<sup>17</sup> Duarte Barbosa says that one and another challenged to duels, and when the challenge was accepted, the king gives his permission, and the day of the duel was fixed by the persons challenged, the weapons to be used must be according to measure; the king appointed a field for the fight. The contenders went naked, covered only with some cloth wrapped round their waist, with very cheerful faces. **In** a few strokes, it was over as they were bare and this was a common practice.<sup>18</sup>

#### Games of the folk

Villagers had very common games played by children, girls and and boys and men and women of all ages. These include small **children's** games where there is no gender difference such as Dagudumoothalu (hide and seek), Arugata (floor game), Uyyala (game of swing) etc., As children grow big their games acquire more competitive spirit. They prefer out door games like sirisinganavatti (catching the thief), guduguduguncham (game of

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212.

<sup>17</sup>**Robert** Sewell, op.cit., **PP.383-4.**

<sup>18</sup>**M.L.Dames**, *Travels of Duarte **Barbosa***, Vol.1, London, 1918, **P.190-1.**

fists), **ratnasikanveshana** (finding out stones hidden in sand), **sthambalata** (game of poles), **pimpillu** (the game of skips and leaps), **billagodu** (a game resembling cricket), **chedugudu** (**kabadi**), **uppanabatte** (game of four stones), kite flying etc.,  
 19  
 were generally played by the cowherd boys. Some of these games were common even among the higher sections of the society reflecting the regionalisation of culture.

Poet Kumara Vyasa gives a list of the games played by boys. They played *alinerike* (riding on one another), **hidigavade** (game of cowries), **guriyalu-chendinahanake** (aiming and hitting at one another), **chinikolate** (the modern **gilli-danda** or stick and wooden ball game), **dandeye** (dand or **samu**), **gudugu** (**kabadi**), **gummana badiva guddu** (knocking from behind and hiding), **gambhada gadanc** (game of pillars resembling modern **musical chairs**), **kannu-muchchata** (hide and **seek**), **halleyata** ('one leg play, modern **kuntu-halipe**).<sup>20</sup> While girls of the same age preferred to play more of the indoor games like **bommarillu** (construction of the doll house), **gujanagoollu** (imaginery of food cooked in small mud pots for the toys), **achchnagandlu** (game of pebbles), **geeranaginjalalu** (game of tamarind seeds), **tannubilla** (game of 4 squares with hopping). The games played by grown up girls reflect

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V. Subramanyam, *Telugu sahitamlo kridavinodalu*, (Telugu), Hyderabad,

20 Kumaravyasa *Bharata*; Mysore, 1912, *Adiparva XVII* and V. P. 252-53

Jyotsna K. Kamat, op.cit., P. 91.

a little complexity. Variety of **games** like **omanaguntalu** (a tablet with fourteen holes for playing a game of seeds) , **kundenagudi** (**game** of hopping), **vennelakuppalu** (searching heaps in the moonlit night), **tannubilla** (a play of tablet in squares) **etc.**, were played by them.

When children play as a group they tend to develop mutual responsibility and abiding by rules and regulations. This also helps in moulding the social behavior, unity and co-operation. Unity in diversity at that stage would come as a natural talent.

There is a distinction to be made between pure play and playing games. When children are simply playing whether on their own or with others, they divert themselves according to the inclination of the moment. But players in a **game** must submit to **pre-determined** rules for a game ordinarily involves some form of contest or skill, strength or chance or a combination of these elements.<sup>21</sup>

Availability of time determines the nature of pastime activities of women and **men.Their** games evolve more of technical skill and strategies. Moreover, they serve as a source of relief for them. They include the game of dice, chess, game of tiger and goat etc., Songs also served as a mode of recreation particularly for women. They give relaxation from their daily chores. Telugu

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<sup>21</sup>**Encyclopaedia Britannica**, Vol.4, **P.242.**

literature contains plenty of references of songs sung on different occasions. Marriage songs were sung during the time of **marriage** in the form of blessings. These songs were generally sung in the name of Gods. Fun songs were sung with different ragas and tunes. They were meant to generate laughter.<sup>22</sup>

23

**Sukasaptati** mentions that non-brahmins sang these songs. Some songs were sung for the sake of small children usually to console them like the '**song of the moon**' etc., Lullaby songs were sung to make the little **one's** sleep. Usually the suffix and prefix started with **lali**. They were much popular during the times. Folk songs were sung by the villagers.<sup>24</sup> Amusement songs were sung with the aid of tumbura.<sup>25</sup>

#### Amusements

Besides individual games, there were certain common community activities which were meant for the entertainment of the masses. This is directly attributed to the general prosperity of the empire where different types of amusements were exhibited. Particularly, they were held on festive occasions near temples and during the weekly fairs. They also include court performances patronised by the rulers such as dance and music.

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Chintalapudi Ellanarya, *Radhamadhavam*, 5-112.

<sup>23</sup> **Kadi** ipati, *Sukasaptati*, 2-172.

<sup>24</sup> **Bhattumurthi**, *Vasucharitra*, 2-28.

<sup>25</sup> Kadiripati, *Sukasaptati*, 3-14.

Literary references and foreign travellers accounts are abound with several descriptions of pastime activities. Popular of them include **kolata** or stick dance, vasantotsava (**holi**), cock fighting, ram fighting, wrestling, fencing, duelling, acrobatics, **magic** shows, puppet shows, yakshagana, street plays, theatre arts etc., They serve not only as expressions of culture but also contribute for the integration of different classical and native traditions.

Kolata or stick play is played not only by the youth but also by the elderly people. Even **women** used to enjoy this game. A series of sculptures on the walls of Vijayanagara temples depict the pictures of this popular game. Pietro Delia **Valle** says that all the people carried in each hand and a little pointed stick about a span long or a little more which they struck together after a musical measure, to the sound of drums and other instrument and one of the company sung one verse of a song at the end of which they replied seven or eight times in the number of

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their metre with the word cole, cole, cole. He also noted that this festival was celebrated for the three days at the end of a certain feast in honour of Gauri, wife of **Mahodaka** and hence it

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<sup>26</sup>**pietro** Delia Valle, *Travels II*, **PP.258-9**; B.A.Saletore, **op.cit.,V**  
**P.411.**

was celebrated by **girls.**<sup>27</sup> performance of this dance is always associated with a religious celebration or occasion. Songs were composed and were sung in musical tune. Young girls or women generally move in a circular fashion with a particular rhythm.

Cock fighting was prevalent. Cocks were brought up in a way that they would remain strong and taught to fight. As per the cannons of this cruel game the helpers should their respective cocks frequently and should not allow them to fight for long periods. They often set right the knives tied to the legs of the animal and would be giving water etc., to them.<sup>28</sup> Ram fighting, eagle fighting and buffallow fighting were also

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mentioned. In the ram fighting known as *tagarina mota*, *kavalanda tutti* (?) lime juice was smeared ~~on~~ the head (netti) of the rams and these **were** then made to fight. There used to be a display of feats of harakaras (runners<sup>29</sup>), sabaligas (spearmen), and surigekaras (men with shield).

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<sup>27</sup>*Epigraphia Carnatica*, P.259.

<sup>28</sup> See V.Subrahmanyam, *op.cit.*, P.270; Paes mentions about it.

<sup>29</sup> Paes mentions about it.

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H.Deveerappa, (ed.) *Ramanatha charita*, Nanjunda, Mysore, 1959, Vol. 78-81; See Jyotsna K.Kamat, *op.cit.*, P.51.

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D.Javare Gouda, *Nanjunda kavi-kavi-kavya-vimarse*, Mysore, 1964, P.13  
Jyotsna K.Kamat, *op.cit.*, P.51.

There used to be judges to judge wrestling and duelling and rewards were to be given to the participants.<sup>32</sup> Castanhada also describes this practice. He **mentioned** that the king gave away a gold chain to the person whom he considered to be a very brave in duelling and he was expected to defend it against anyone who challenged him. He also said that men engaged **themselves** i duels for the love of women, on account of which **sometimes** they lost

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their lives. There were women wrestlers too. Magic also provided a source of enjoyment. With the help of ~~38~~h, grass, peacock, feather, magicians uded to do magic. Acrobats (**dombaras**) moved from place to place and entertained kings and **commoners**. Abdur Razakdescribes the feast of elephants which were **made** to climb ~~thirty~~<sup>36</sup> feet high and beat time with their trunks to the tune of music. There were acrobats who set up the poles for rope-walking and attracted village-folks by beating the drum. There were **jugglers** called vipra-vinodins of these times who figure in inscriptions by giving various grants from the dues

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<sup>32</sup>Robert **Sewell**,*op.cit.*,P.261.

<sup>33</sup>Castanheda, Book II, Chap. 16; P.69; For **Nuniz's** account of **Krishna Deva Raya's** invitation to Virabhadra for a duel with a professional **man**, See Robert **Sewell**,*op.cit.*,PP.319-20.

<sup>34</sup>Robert Sewell, *op.cit.*,P.249.

<sup>35</sup>Krishna Deva Raya, *Amuktamalyada*, 4-112.

<sup>36</sup>**H.M.Elliot and John Dowson**, *The History of India as told by its Historians*, London, 1877, IV, V, P.118-9.

they received from the king and the people.<sup>37</sup> They were considered to be brahmins and it is interesting to find out why they took to this low profession. The vipra-vinodins mostly specialised in jugglery of words as mnemonic feats like jugglers. Snake charming was another favourite pastime for the villagers.

For specific **sports**, separate arena and sports fields were constructed. Abdur Razak noticed nine-storeyed, nicely ornamented edifice and the pavilions. There was an open space beautifully laid out in which singers and story-tellers exercised their respective arts.<sup>38</sup> A specially constructed stadium was installed for the celebration of Mahanavami festival. Kumara Vyasa gives the details of the huge arena being constructed according to rules of  
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architecture and galleries and tents were erected round about.

A survey of causes of death thus erecting of hero stones suggests that some games even took the lives of people. One inscription mentions a hero who killed the tiger with fists.<sup>40</sup>A

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<sup>37</sup>V.Rangacharya, *Topographical list of the Inscriptions of the Presidency* (Cuddaph district), No.130, 144, 182, 326, 327, 434.

<sup>38</sup>Elliot & Dowson, op.cit., P.117-118.

<sup>39</sup>Kumaravyasa *Bharata*, XVIII, 1912, P.297; Jyotsna K.Kamat, op.cit.,

<sup>40</sup>*Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vo.V, Mj.10.

memorial stone was erected of one Gavounda who died while fighting **with** wrestlers.<sup>41</sup> A **fragmentary** inscription tells about an extra-ordinary lady **Hariakka** who also **met** with similar death to avenge the death of her father.<sup>42</sup>

#### Yakshagana

The earliest known yakshagana play belongs to 1564 A.D. It is assumed that the yakshagana plays or prasangas were originated prior to 1500 A.D. The term '**yaksha**' means a heavenly being. Yaksha and similar terms like gandharva, kinnera and **kimpurusha** are often used together in all the **brahmanical**, jain and Buddhist **mythologies**. The term was used for enhancing the prestige of the **musical** art form and intended to suggest its divine **origin**, a practice invariably followed in regard to most of the arts. The term '**gana**' signifies music and as such yakshagana means a particular style of music with characteristics of its **own**, distinct from the other two systems of Indian music, Hindustani and **Karnataki**. In course of time plays written in this style of **music** came to be known as yakshagana prasangas. Prasangas means a theme or a story. During earlier times, not only such plays but also other subjects have been written in yakshagana so as to make it easy to memorise them. Story narratives intended solely for recitation were depicted in this manner. The Telugu term

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<sup>41</sup>*Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol.VII, Sk.1.

<sup>42</sup>*Epigraphia Carnatica*, Sk.2.

**Jakkulu** exactly reflects the meaning of the Sanskrit term yaksha as a celestial being.<sup>43</sup> It is also possible that yaksha got the name from the musical term **yati**(pause) or jati.

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Yakshagana was later developed into vedhi **bhagotam** and vedhi natakam. The desi name of yakshagana is jakkulapata. There are several villages that exist in Andhra area till today of names like jakkulasani kuntla, jakkula cheruvu, jakka **samundram** etc.,<sup>45</sup> The word Jakku is sanskritised as yaksha. The Telugu literature the word jakkula jakkini is very common.<sup>46</sup> The jakkulas were the worshippers of Akka **Mahadevi** or Ekkiladevi or Renukadevi or **Elamma**.<sup>47</sup> The low caste saivites were known as **matangulu** or **madiga** jogulu. In **Sukasaptati**, there is a description of **matangi**, who belled anklets and sang the song of **Parasurama** and was begging Ekkila **jogu**.<sup>48</sup>

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K.Shivarama Karanth, *op.cit.*, P.63.

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with the arrival of **Vaishnavism** the yakshagana was adapted by Vaishn for their propaganda purposes and came to be known as bhagavat bhagotam as the bhagavata stories were enacted as themes of the yaksh

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Refer **R.V.S. Sundaram, Andhrula Janapada Vignanam (Telugu).**

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Refer **Kridabhiramam.**

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Refer Vignana **Sarvaswamu.**

\*Kadiripati, *Sukasaptati.*

Other low caste performers of yakshagana were known as bavanilu. *Sukasaptati* mentions them as ballad singers. A bavaneedu sings the heroic deeds of the ancestors or a rich

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fanner. Kumari **Ramuni** Katha, **Sarvai** Papani Katha, Sadasiva Reddy Katha, Rani **Sankaramma** Katha, Raja **Somanadri** Katha, Bobbili **Yudham** Katha were sung by ballad singers.<sup>50</sup> As the *Sukasaptati*

gives the hint of the heroic ballads were sung by bavaneelu accompanied by their famous instruments of **jamidiki** and **jamalinga**.<sup>51</sup> Other performing artists include Teranatakapu

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jangalu. Pingali Surana give detailed account of the performance of the play of *Gangavataranam*.<sup>53</sup>

The yakshagana play consists of three different mediums of expression, language, music and dance besides costume and make-up. In the sixteenth century, the yakshagana dance drama occupied a prominent place among the folk plays or Karnataka. An epigraph found in the Lakshminararyana temple at **Somasundara** of Bellary district mentions a land grant given to two brahmins for

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<sup>49</sup>Kadiripati, *Sukasapati*, 2-143.

<sup>50</sup>Arudra, *Samagra Andhra Sahityam, op.cit., Vol.VIII, P.10.*

<sup>51</sup>*Vignana sarvasvam.*

<sup>52</sup>**Jangalu** denotes that the jangalu used to perform dramas with **curtain**

<sup>53</sup>**Pingali** Surana, *Prabhavati Pradyumnam*, 4-96; 4-101.

arranging the **performance** of Tala maddale<sup>54</sup> in honour of the deity. This grant is dated the 18th June of 1556 A.D. Andhra region had got Kuchipudi theatre as well as few others. In the Tamil region, there was Teru kutu<sup>55</sup> as well as its own yakshagana of Melattur (in the Tanjore district).

The yakshagana performances staged in open air during the night also go by the name Dasavatara ata or Bhagavatara ata. Ata in kannada means a play. Bhagavata is the popular name for the man who conducts the play and remains its life force. The term Dasavatara refers to the ten incarnations of lord Vishnu. There is a story of Samudranathana or the churning of the ocean, when Vishnu took the form of a tortoise; there is the story of Prahlada wherein Vishnu incarnated as Narasimha or the man-lion. There are a number of stories prevailing with **Vishnu's** ten incarnations as Rama and Krsna.

From times **immemorial**, it had been the custom for the males to play both the male as well as female roles. Before they begin their make-up, the artists who play the male roles put on black **Pyjamas** and those who play the female roles put on the skirts.

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<sup>54</sup>Tala maddale is a popular form of **yakshagana** staged indoors by a sitting around a bhagavata. There are no **costumes** and no dance dialogues are spoken **extempore**.

<sup>55</sup>Teru kutu, which means a street play, is a popular form of folk **theatre** in the **Tamil** region. See **K.Shivarama Karanth, Yakshagana, The institute. kannada studies, Mysore, 1975.**

They tie up their hair and proceed to paint their faces. The **make-up** is usually **simple** in the case of female roles, but intricate in the case of special roles like those of a kirita (hunter) , a Gandharva (celestial being), a Rakshasa (demon) or a **Rakshasi** (demoness) .<sup>56</sup>

One Polluganta Canna Sauri wrote a narrative poem Saubhari **Caritam** in the yakshagana. This poet lived during the times of Vijayanagara king Saluva Narasimha (**A.D.1485-1491**). This poem is no more extant. The sixteenth century kannada poet Ratnakara Varni in his *Bharatesa Vaibhava* refers to music as yekkalagana and musician as yeddadigas. This poet lived in south Kanara in which yakshagana plays and music were extremely popular. But differences of opinion exist on the exact meanings of the terms yekkala, **yekkadiga**, jakka **etc.**, It is derived from the Sanskrit term eka(for one)? Hence its interpretation as '**sole** singer' or a **musician** unaccompanied by instruments. This interpretation makes no sense at least in *Bharatesa Vaibhaa*. The poet Ratnakara describes him to be in the company of **drummers**, cymbalists and **drone-players**.

Yakshagana plays are often linked to **kathakali** plays of Kerala or Kucipudi plays of Andhra. Yakshaganas dance form consists mostly of the nrta aspects of foot work and rhythmical body movements including those of the neck, arms and **palms**. It

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<sup>56</sup>K.Shivaram Karanth, **op.cit.**, P.22.

contains some fine postures, body flexions, **arms** palms. It contains some fine postures, body flexions, as well as a few squatting, jumping and reeling movements. But it lacks a stylised gesture language employing symbolic **mudras** to depict parts of speech. The few gestures and symbols used were the ones that one normally used in the day to day conversation.

As the yakshagana and its dramatic form, there is a mention of **talamaddale**<sup>57</sup> aspect (i.e. its drama form minus costume, dance and stage-craft) in A.D. 1556. This is mentioned as a temple service. An epigraph in the Lakshminarayana temple of Somasundaram, Kurugod tract in Bellary district mentions a grant given to brahmins for having conducted such a service.

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Yakshagana open air play form as well as its **talamaddale** form are but theatrical representations of written texts. All of them are operatic in nature, consisting of songs and verses that could

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<sup>57</sup>Tala **maddale** is the earliest variant of **yakshagana** theatrical form. The two words mean 'cymbal and drum'. They always accompany a **bhagavata** recital of the **yakshagana** play. In **tala-maddale** too, the **bhagavata** is its sole director. What is lacking is the elements of dance and **costume** players. There is no need of an open air stage for this; **any indoor space** with a capacity to seat a hundred or less will do. See **K. Shivaram Karanth, op.cit., P. 134**.

<sup>58</sup>**Archaeological Review, No. 212 of 1913.**

be staged. The earliest of them was the play Virata parva by Vishnu **Varamballi** of Ajapura (**brahmavar**, south Kanara) , and it is dated **A. D.** 1564. He has two **more** plays to his credit namely Banasura Kalaga nd Indra Kilaka.

There is an interesting not on the first yakshagana play in Telugu called **Bhama kalapam**. According to Sri Banda Kanakalingeshwara RAo, it was one Sri Narahari Tirtha (his name prior to taking sanyasa was **Syama** SAstry) who **met** the young lad Siddappa at the **SriKurmam** temple. This **swamiji** was then a regent, managing the affairs of a princely state in Orissa. During a visit to the temple, he saw some Sanskrit, dramas being enacted there and the young Siddappa was deeply interested in them. It was this incident that led the swamiji send Siddappa to Udipi, **wher** he studied or twenty years before he returned home. He seem to have written and enacted the first yakshagana play in Telugu. If this was true, Siddappa would have live in and around Andhra between **A. D.** 1350-1400. According to Sisya **Ramakrsa** Sastry, the first yakshagana play is Sugriva Vijaya by Kandukuri **Rudrayya**.<sup>59</sup> He is **claimed** to be **the** court poet of Krishna Deva Raya. This **is** true since the existence of Kannada yakshaganaas one can infer them **form the** Somasundara inscription of **A. D.** 1556. The tale that Siddhendra got his early education in Udipi and then came to the Andhra country and started Kucipudi tradition may be true.

**Music**

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<sup>59</sup>**Bharathi** (Telugu), March, 1960.

There is a tradition that Indian music is derived from the **Samaveda**. From 100 B.C to 1450 A.D., **Bharata's** system was steadily developing until it reached its zenith in the time of **Immadi Deva Raya** who patronised men like Chatura Kallinatha, the asthana pandita who wrote a **commentary** on the *Sangita Ratnakara* of Sarangadeva. The land mark in the history of music was the development of Ugabhoga style of music. Though the style began to be cultivated as early as the beginning of the 14th century it underwent gradual evolution during the following centuries. In Karnataka, the commentary of Kallinatha became prominent and at the same time number of new compositions were **composed** in kannada known as Ugabhogas. The Karnataka style of music owes its name to the immense popularity of Ugabhoga. Kallinatha was the originator of *melapaddhati* the new mode of classifying ragas. Music during the time served as a happy medium to elevated the social, religious, and physical ideas of the masses.

A new theory and a link to the previous ragas was attempted between A.D 1500 and **A.D. 1550**. Among all, Pundarika Vitthala<sup>60</sup> was the first to construct a **mela** prastara after the **manner** suggested by Kallinatha. He was a native of the Mysore province which was at that **time**<sup>61</sup> a tributary state of Vijayanagara. During A.D.

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<sup>60</sup>His patron was Burhan Khan of **Ahmadnagar** whose date is betw  
**A.D. 1510-1560.**

<sup>61</sup>about **A. D. 1510** he was patronised by the sultan Burhan Khan of the **Tava**

1550, **Ramaraja** encouraged a Telugu chieftain name Ramamatya<sup>62</sup> to write a work on **music**. The work is name **swara-mela-kalanidhi**. The work is dated to **A.D.1550**. He had written other works namely **Sadragachandrodaya, raga-manjari, ragamala** and **nartana-nirnaya**. Gopa Tippa wrote a book on music determining the different ways of keeping ways of keeping time.

Music was patronised by the rulers. Krishna Deva Raya is said to have been unrivalled in music and rhetoric.<sup>63</sup> and epigraphical references mention about the instruments like bheri, dundubhi, mahamuraja<sup>64</sup> and vina.<sup>65</sup> An epigraph dated A.D. 1533 records a grant of land made by Allappa Nayaka to the **Tamburine** players (tammatu kararige) of the **Hanumanta** temple at **Huruvali**.<sup>66</sup>

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family but boldly presents himself to the Muhammadan sultan as a **Karnataka** pandita.

<sup>62</sup>He was the chief of the Kondavidu estate of Andhra area. He **states** in his work that he is the grandson of **Kallinatha**. Ramamatya and **pundarika** were contemporaries.

<sup>63</sup>*Epigraphia Carnatica*, P.401.

<sup>64</sup>*Epigraphia Carnatica*, VIII, Sb.153.

<sup>65</sup>*Epigraphia Carnatica*, II, Sb.258.

<sup>66</sup>*Epigraphia Carnatica*, VIII, Sb.379; Vol.XII, Gb.29.

Women were taught two sorts of music karnata and desa. They were able to sing sweetly and to play on the vina and other musical instruments such as the Ravanahasta. Raghunatha examined the proficiency of all of them and honoured them with Kanakabhisheka. Some of the songs sung before him were designed by himself. The chief ragas that were sung include **Jayamangala**, **Simhalalila**, **Jayanissaru** (?) and **Kacaccaritra**. Some of the **talas** to which they were played were **Ratilila**, **Turangalila**, **Rangabharana**, **Anangaparikramana**, **Abhinandana**, **NBandanandana** and **Abhimala**.<sup>67</sup>

#### Theatre

Theatre was much enjoyed by the people. Epigraphical references testify to the presence of theatres. An epigraph dated A.D. 1514-15 records a gift of land by karnam Basaparasa, son of **Somarasa** of Tiruppatturu to a certain Nattuva Nagayya, whose father Cegayya was connected with the drama **Taikundanataka** and to the daughter of Nattuva Timmaya of Potavari who was a Patri (actress).<sup>68</sup> So, the drama were not only written but also enacted. Poet Gangadhara, a contemporary of **Mallikarjuna** Raya composed a high class drama in Sanskrit called **Gangadasapratapavilas** am at the request of prince **Gangadasa**, the ruler of Pavacala state. For

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<sup>67</sup> **Ramabhadramba**, *Raghunathabhyudayam*, referred in S.Krishna **swami Aiyangar** Sources, P.291.

<sup>68</sup> **S.Krishnaswami** Aiyangar, *Sources*, op.cit., P.63.

this work, he was greatly honoured with kanakabhisheka. But there was no one found in the court to enact the drama. Hence an actor of the court of Mallikarjuna proposed to go to the court of Gangadasa to stage the new drama there.<sup>70</sup>

Krishna Deva **Raya** wrote **Jambavati Kalyanam**, a Sanskrit drama. In the prologue to the work it is said that it was enacted before the people assembled to witness the caitra<sup>71</sup> festival of Virupaksha.

Puppet<sup>72</sup> shows were also prevalent during the times. They were the imitation of the dramas and were very popular. A record of **A.D.1521** records the grant of Uppa Kuntipale belonging to Sadali free of all imposts to the puppet player Puruvati Purnanar **Virappa's** son Krsnappa by one Ganga Raya Deva **maharaja** aya.<sup>73</sup>

Dance

Dance is a popular art form during the times. Many sculptural evidences testify to this. Abdur Razak witnessed it which is exhibited **befor** the idol during the Mahanavami festival. He says

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<sup>69</sup>**bathing** in gold.

<sup>70</sup>**S.Krishnaswami Aiyangar, op.cit., P.66.**

<sup>71</sup>**it** is identified **with** spring.

-it is identified with toy play or **bommalata**.

<sup>73</sup>**Epigraphia Carnatica, X, Sd.100.**

that the girls moved their feet with such a grace that wisdom lost senses and the soul was intoxicated with delight.<sup>74</sup> Many devadasis were also proficient in dancing and when food was offered to god they danced before the idol and they give the deity food and that was necessary.<sup>75</sup>

Fernao Nuniz also speaks of the dancing girls attached to the palace. He says that every Saturday, they were obliged to go the palace to dance and posture before the **king's** idol which was in

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the interior of the palace. Barbosa says that the dancing girls were given training in dancing.

The king witnessed dancing with much interest. In the middle of the hall was a golden image of a girl of twelve years with arms in the position which she occupied at the end of the dance.<sup>77</sup> **Raghunatha** Nayaka of Tanjore was proficient in dancing in the art and theory of dance that he was able to design a new type of dance which came to be called **Raghunathavilasa** after him.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>74</sup>Elliot, *History of India*, IV, P.118.

<sup>75</sup>Robert Sewell, *op.cit.*, P.241-2.

<sup>76</sup>Robert Sewell, *op.cit.*, P.379.

<sup>77</sup>Robert Sewell, *op.cit.*, P.288-9.

<sup>78</sup>S.Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *op.cit.*, P.291

Thus it is observed that the recreations and **amusements** played a notable and distinct role in the society. Besides serving the purpose of relaxation and making the mind free from the refrains of the daily **chores**, they also have a politico-socio-economic and religious role to play. By composing programmes on the **heroes**, they bring to light the greatness of the ruling elite. By serving as entertainment and pastime activities they bring all people together thus causing for a cultural integration. At the same time they provided the means of livelihood for the artists. In terms of moving from one place to the other, they exhibited talents in different art forms directly or indirectly and caused the spread of religious beliefs.

## **CONCLUSION**

The study '**Society** in Vijayanagara (14th **cen.A.D-16th** cen **A.D):With** special reference to Women' aims to bring out **women** to the forefront and present a fair socio-cultural view point. The study of society at a macro level and relating it to its major constituents - women has been an attempt to reconsider the whole problem in a proper perspective. The earlier studies have concentrated wither on the social life in general or studied women only partly thus marginalising their contributions. The role of women in the state stabilisation process, their participation in different professional pursuits have not been given much emphasis. Further, the **classification** of women on the basis of professions or into kulastree, bhogastree and vesya does not include all categories of women.

Keeping these aspects in view, women have been divided on the basis of class and professions thus effecting an extensive study. Both economic and professional status has been taken into **consideration.**

First of all, the Vijayanagara state had to consolidate itself from external aggressions and then the **internal** feuds. Being a vast empire, it also became essential to give powers to nayakas and ayagars in order to streamline the entire administration to meet both the ends i.e administrative and **military.** Later the sovereign had to sustain his position from the existing feudal elements and he did so by making the festival of Mahanavami, a great ritual event **whicl.** projected the king as a glorious and conquering warrior, possessor of great riches. Here,

the king received homage, exchanged gifts and honours that increased rose his prestige and demanded subservience to the ruler.

The process of state stabilisation is a key factor within the feudal polity. The event is accompanied by singing and dancing processions in which the **maids** of honour and queens in large **numbers** occupied the centre stage thus making it a grand event. Their participation was crucial in this event.

The strategy of the rulers to boost up the economic resources is quite revealing. Most of the revenue came in the form of taxes, making it prosperous. This prosperity was in turn channelised into various directions leading to cultural efflorescence. But the excessive burden of taxation had serious repercussions on the lower rungs of the society.

The study of society at a macro level attains importance in the context of studying the whole problem within the prevailing scenario and not to isolate women from the mainstream. They held **commonality** with others is matters of social legislations and facing the adversities related to migration to name a few. The caste factor, a unique feature of Indian society has been applied to study people in the three prominent regions. Keeping in sight the relevance of the caste based professions in the medieval era.

The social milieu constituted predominantly of Hindu. Others included Christians, Muslims, Jews, Jains, and **Buddhists.** Among Hindu sects lot of proliferation is seen among sudras. Contemporary epigraphs cite many references of this kind. Infact the shift in traditional occupations, proliferation of castes and

upward mobility were rampant. The other castes within the fourfold caste **system** of Hindus include **Brahmins**, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas.

The rulers proclaimed themselves to be the protectors of **Varnashrama** dharma and were fully aware of the great social problems which confronted them. In the **tamil region**, there were frequent conflicts between the left and right hand castes. The state had to intervene from time to time to restore peace and order when there were serious clashes between communities. Various legislations have been sought and severe punishments were inflicted to regulate the ruled. Many at **times**, social ostracism, excommunication and humiliation acted vehemently on people's minds and kept away from committing sins. Usually, people were law abiding and highly religious.

The debacle of taxation caused the fleeing of many poor peasants to outer regions. The inability of the rulers to control vast regions and excessive dependence on feudal elements caused much havoc among the lower rungs of the society. When the oppression reached its climax, there were no people to rule and the entire administration was paralysed thus signalling the central power to take rehabilitation measures. These frequent extortions had left a black mark on the credibility of the rule. Women had undergone all these experiences as part of the mainstream.

Women of this age had played a decisive role in effecting prosperity. To have an in depth study of all sections of women, they have been classified on the basis of their economic an

professional status. Their social status has also been taken into consideration in justifying their role. The categorisation into class enable us to distinguish between women whose main motive was to supplement family's income and those whose priority was to gain income, practising various professional. Generally, the elite class, the family women and the poorer sections fit into these economic specifications of the class. The status of courtesans and devadasis can be justified on the basis of their professional skills rather than that of their economic parameters. This framework is used for convenience.

Though we do not see queens succeeding to the throne unlike the previous period (kakatiyas of Andhra), their capacity as a queen, queen mother and regent is vital in executing smooth transfer of power. Though, their participation in the political process is considered to be indirect or passive, the consequences of not being involved would lead to serious consequences keeping in view the existing feudal polity and aggressions from outside. Her role as an insignia of royal majesty through their appearances in socio-religious functions along with the king is decisive.

The advice of queens must have been sought in important matters as some of them accompanied the king during war situations. Besides the Vijayanagara queens evinced much interest in literary pursuits rather than confining to the zenana. Many queens were proficient in various classical languages apart from producing works of great literary merit. Towards social and religious cause, they gave a number of donations which testifies

to their liberal **mindedness**. Thus queens remained not just royal entities but a source of help towards the strengthening of the state.

Though contemporary sources talk about the accomplishments of noble women, most of **them** were confined to the zenana. However, they have acquired proficiency in formal as well as informal education. They were taught to read and write not only in local languages but also in Sanskrit. One of the important tasks, they should fulfil was skill in music and dance. These abilities would well speak about their high social status.

The literary sources of the contemporary period mention about family women who can be identified with women belonging to the middle class. They looked after the domestic chores and diverted their energies to bring up the children in a cordial **atmosphere**. Their earnings from outside the home was limited. If so, their motive was to supplement **thefamily** income. Their role in keeping intact the family tradition is remarkable. It also enabled the state to function effectively as family is considered to be the basic and important unit of the state. Women of lower class contributed equally to the family earnings. Their two fold functioning of attending the domestic duties and engaging in the outside work as well would speak of their well organised abilities. They must have enjoyed greater freedom than their counterparts in the upper strata in several aspects.

The prevalence of professional class would reveal the skill in various tasks. **Art** from adhering to their duties within the palace as palace women, they also held higher administrative

positions as rulers, governors, administrators, mahamandalesvaras, graminis etc., It shows that women could hold responsible positions.

Other important professions include - Professions of courtesan and devadasis. The growth of temple as a centre of multi-farious, all pervasive, socio-economic institution in the medieval period necessitated temple functionaries to appoint efficient ones to carry on the duties smoothly. Devadasis proved to be the best answer for this as they carried on the assigned duties with devotion. The added advantage of being proficient in various performing arts also gave them a much needed opportunity of proving their talents.

The devadasis used all their abilities in keeping the smooth functioning of the temple. Some of them were honoured with title and were given preveleges. All of them were paid by the temple for their services. Other professional class who received much attention during the times were that of courtesans.

The courtesans were said to be residing in large numbers and they took up the task of giving enjoyment to men by excelling in various arts. Though they practised prostitution their innate talents in performing arts and training in classical as well as vernacular languages speak a lot about the necessity in acquiring these skills to succeed in the profession. They should take attention in looking beautiful in order to keep their identity. There was no blame attached to either courtesans or men of high rank who often go to them.

There were some similarities between these two professions

First and foremost thing is both of them had to be proficient in various arts. Secondly, they should abide by certain rules though obligatory in order to succeed in their respective professions. Thirdly, there would be a ceremony of initiation when they took up the profession. Then they would be trained by the elders of the community. **Lastly**, both of them expected to serve with dedication. As far as prostitution is concerned, it is wrong to think that devadasis also practised it. This misconception developed because whoever is serving god was termed as a devadasi, but certain **parameters** have to be applied when justifying it.

Both these class of women enjoyed **much** social and economic recognition but the exploitative nature of patronising these professions as part of the polity that is prevailing has to be examined critically. The existing patriarchal society encouraged these institutions in order to serve their own ends. The state also supported it by legalising it. Keeping **of concubines** in fact was considered to be a status symbol that strengthened **illegitimate** unions. Contemporary sources would also speak of **vesyas** who practised prostitution. Immorality in relationships **must** have reached its culmination.

Regarding the educational abilities, it can be said that **women** acquired informal as well as formal skills. In the class of elite, **the** girls **were** educated on **formal** lines keeping the feudal character of the polity in sight. It was essential for the queen to take care of their minor sons when he became heir apparent. Generally, they acquired knowledge in the **science** of polity, statecraft, different warfare skills like horse riding, elephant

riding, science of archery **etc.**, These were the general branches of learning prescribed for the children of the royalty.

Usually, women had **more** scope towards informal education irrespective of the class she belongs to as she was considered to be the tradition bearer, primarily responsible for protection and integration of family system. A man has to maintain the legality and prestige of the family and a woman has to carry the same to future generations thereby their role becoming public and private respectively. However, many women had been educated on the lines of formal education in agraharas, **ghatikas**, temples, viharas and monasteries which acted as prime learning institutions of the **times**. Dance masters were also appointed to train the female dancers.

The learning patterns of the middle class women were mostly informal. The general occupations like weaving, spinning, extraction of oils, selling etc., which were carried out by them were caste oriented and mostly **hereditary**. There were no specific vocational institutions for the members of the artisan class.

The concubines and other courtly ladies acquired proficiency in various arts to earn a comfortable livelihood. The devadasis were trained both in marga (Sanskritic) and **desi** (native) traditions and thereby served as a medium of syntheses between the two.

Women of this age no doubt contributed for economic production. Their right to alienate their own properties they acquired would probably throw light on **th**; property rights. Generally the dharmasastras give guidelines about such rights

which were followed by the Hindus. Though there is a great debate over women owning private properties, there was no such right in the real sense of the term which applies to men as well. Because they were not covered under law in proper sphere. The degree of control exercised over inherited property is just the right of custody or possession. Even earnings from her agnate and cognate relations did not **mean** alienation. However in case of religious donations, the alienation is formally sanctioned in case of both **men** and women.

The participation of **women** in various customs and traditions as bearers of tradition is noteworthy. Putting into practice certain beliefs might reflect some scientific inclination but **most** of them have no meaning. Customs like self **torture**, hook swinging and sati were hazardous and blind practices. However, **women's** participation in certain festivals is conspicuous as they prayed for acquiring religious merit and prosperity of the family. Vratas were observed for progeny and they were accompanied by the gift giving. Some festivals like **Mahanavami** and Vasantotsava has political significance attached to it but most of them were celebrated during the ongoing agricultural season signifying prosperity. All the sections of the society celebrated them with much fervour in their own traditional ways irrespective of class or creed.

The similarities and differences in dressing and ornamentation help in assessing the status of women in a particular society. Contemporary sculptures and paintings give some idea about the adornment patterns. Women were keeping their

social status and professions in view. However, the ultimate aim of all sections of women was to look beautiful.

Lastly, the prevailing arts and recreation has much to do with the psychological notions. Patronising arts might signify the amorousness of the elite class but the much needed relaxation in order to recoup the energies is vital. Several art forms speak much about the accomplishments of the heroes and the rulers thus glorifying their heroic deeds. The pastime activities brought people together thus causing cultural integration. It is significant to note here is that women dominated these arts which is testified by the contemporary sculptures and paintings.

Thus an attempt is made to reconstruct a fair socio-cultural picture on the status of women during the Vijayanagara period. Taking women as the central argument would help us to understand various socio-political and economic changes in a meaningful way.

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APPENDIX

LIST OF PLATES

CHART-I WOMEN DONORS - PARTICULARS

Date/Year	Donor	Status	Grant	Purpose/Recipient	Source
Dec 23 1358 A.D.	Lingamma	W/O Lakki Setti, The Pattanasvami of Balguti	Paddy & one Pana	God Svayambhu Kalidevi at Bagali, Bellary Dist.	V.I, Vol. I KN 296, P. 143.
Dec. 4 1397 A.O	Rukkayave	Queen	A lamp Pillar	Temple of Jadeya Sankaradeva at Hampi Bellary Dist.	V.I, Vol.I KN 318, P. 154.
Oct 17 1510 A.O.	Rukkajamma	Mother of Narasa Nayaka	Land at Hampi Bellary Dist	God Virupaksha at Hampi Bellary Dist.	V.I, Vol. I KN 321, P. 155.
16th Cen.	Lady (name lost)	--	Construction of a well	At Hampi Bellary Dist	V.I, Vol. I KN 329, P. 159.
Nov 8 1543 A.O	Tippanna Bumakkangaru	--	Lands in Krishnapuram agrahara at Hampi	Temple of Tiruvengalanatha	V.I.Vol. I KN 347, P. 166-7.
June 24 1523 A.O	Nagala Devi	--	Gift	Temple of God Rama at Rajapur Bellary Dist	V.I.Vol. I KN 397, P. 198.
Oct 4 1527 A.O	Gopayi	Younger sister of Ramana	Construction of a Temple, Ramagadi.	God Ramanadhadeva	V.I, Vol, I KN 408, P. 196.
1597- 1598 A.O	Devarasi	Queen of Virana Odeya	Gift of village Manuvuru, Bellary Dist	Gods Veerabhadra, Chenna Mallikarjuna, Kedaradeva etc.,	V.I, Vol, I KN 417, P. 200-1.
Nov. 9 1516 A.O	Savitri	--	Tank and Temples	For God Nagesvara and Nagendra Sayana	V.I, Vol, I KN 393, P. 188,
Oct 30 1518 A.O	Tirumala Devi	Senior Queen	Land called Kumbhara- Kunte	Lord Tiruvengalanatha	V.I, Vol, I KN 377, P. 180
Mar 3 1401 A.O	Virupayi	D/O Madanna	lands for feeding	4 Brahmins & 1 Cook in the Gokarna matha	V.I, Vol, II KN 858, P. 193
Oct 23 1542 A.O	Chenna- devamma	Mahamandalesvara	Grant of land of the sowing capacity	Naranadeva	V.I, Vol, II KN 876, P. 202
Oct-Nov 1562 A.O	Sankamma	Grand daughter of Kumbhachada Sarasu	land at Barakuru Kanara South Dist	Feeding brahmins in the temple of Somanatha	V.I, Vol, II KN 1144, P. 321

Date/ Year	Donor	Status	Grant	Purpose/Recipient	Source
June 29 1550 A.D	Chennadevi amma	Manamandaleswara	Gift of land at Muda- bhatakala	Panchamrita to the chuvisa - tirthan	V.I. Vol. II KN. 903, P. 214.
June 29 1550 A.D	Veeradevi	W/O Mahamanda leswara Gururaya Vodeya	Basti at Muda- bhatakala	---	V.I. Vol. II KN. 903, P. 214
June 29 1550 A.O	Veeradevi	Queen of Gururaya vodeya & Others	Gift of land	For celebrating festivals	V.I. Vol. II KN. 903, P. 214
June 29 1550 A.O	Chennadevi amma	Daughter in law or Niece of Devarasa vodeya	Grant of land	To Vidarevi (for charity)	V.I. Vol. II KN. 903, P. 214
16th cen.	Vidarevi	---	Land	To the Basti	V.I. Vol. II KN. 903, P. 214.
May 22 1571 A.O	Arasadevi	---	Gift of land	Temple of Narasimha Deva at Banavasi	V.I. Vol. II KN 923, P. 224
May 22 1401 A. D.	Tuluvakka heggadite	Grand daughter Kotisaradahana of Jaradeva-bali	Land, Money incomes realised by land leases, House and House site	God Tuluvesvara and for feeding 9 Brahmins	V.I. Vol. II KN. 930, P. 229-230
April 24 14590 A.D.	Kotiyaka kitti	belongs to Upinaku- leyara bali of Nanduhali	Land and money 13 Mudis of rice	for feeding Brahmins at the Matha	V.I. Vol. II KN. 946, P. 232-3
Jan 14 1510 A.O.	Sankamma mudaliti	Grand daughter of Annubhandari	Grant of a fixed quantity of rice and curd rice 60 Doddevarahas	God Manadeva at kongu-bali, Basruru	V.I. Vol. II KN. 946, P. 237
Oct 25 1519 A.O.	Tirumaka- setti of setiya-bali	W/O Kochi setti & D/O Joki setti	Construction of Matha in Paduka veri	----	V.I. Vol. II KN. 948, P. 238
April 1 1520 A.D.	Tirumakka raviti	Grand D/O Sankara setti	some plots of land	----	V.I. Vol. II KN. 949, P. 238-9

Date/ Year	Donor	Status	Grant	Purpose/Recipient	Source
April 24 1450 A.D	Kotiyaka kitti	Mother of Meravanna Setti	Grant of land and money	feeding brahmas in the Matha at Padukaveri	V.I, Vol, II KN 936, P. 232-3.
Aug 4 1524 A.D	Ummakka	W/O Kalasappa of Yedadahalu	lands	God Kalasanatha	V.I, Vol, II KN 488, P. 29.
Nov 23 1360 A.D	A lady	Sweeper	Paddy	Matha at Bharakuru	V.I, Vol, II KN 1086, P. 297
Sep 7 1501 A.D	Ralama- devi	Younger Sister of Bhairarasa-vodeya	7 hons & 5 hanas	God Kalasanatha at Kalasa	V.I Vol II KN 4848, P. 27
July 1 1520 A.D	Madarasi & Bommarasi	W/O Rama senabova W/O Sangarasa	Money for special offerings	God Kalasanatha at Kalasa	V.I Vol II KN 487, P. 28.
July 12 1530 A.O	Chenna- devamma	Mahamandaleswara	Tax free land	24 tirthankaras at than- basadi at Muda-bhatakala	V.I Vol II KN 666, P. 110-1
April 3 1541 A.D	Sankara- devamma	Ruler of Kadari Kadari	210 mudis & 18 varahas	lord Sankara deva	V.I. Vol II KN 965, P. 246.
Sept 23 1360 A.O	Virambika	--	2 Villages & some lands	God Janardhana of Settigana-paleya	V.I. Vol. II KN 727, P. 136,
July 24 1569 A.O	Venkatamma	D/O Papatamma - Nayaka	A village Damayakama- halli	for services in Kesava temple at Beluru	V.I. Vol. II KN 769, P. 154-5.
1406-22	Rhinadevi	Queen of Devaraya I	Image of Santinatha Svamy	at Sravanabelagola	V.I. Vol. II KN 819, P. 174-5.
March 3 1401 A.O	Virupayi	D/O Madanna	Gift of lands	feedings 4 brahmas & 1 cook at Gokarna Matha	V.I. Vol. II KN 858, P. 193.
Oct 18 1545 A.O	Chennabhai- ravadevi	Mahamandaleswara of sangitapura, Vrittapura etc.,	A Grant	for religious purpose	V.I. Vol. II KN 873, P. 200.
Oct 18 1545 A.D	Nagarasi- adhikarti & Bommarasi adhikari	---	D/B Rommana setti land or Money	for religious purpose	V.I. Vol. II KN. 873, P. 200.
Sep 4 1542 A.O	Bommatadevi nayakiti & others	D/O Koti & Yisaraka nayakiti	Gifts, silver hons, chi - ga etc	---	V.I. Vol. II KN. 900, P. 212-3.

Date/ Year	Donor	Status	Grant	Purpose/Recipient	Source
Jan 24 1541 A.D	Tippanna	W/O Tamma nayaka	Lands for curd rice	God Hanumantesvara of Vahnipura	V.I, Vol.III KN. 1848, P.267
March 24 1482 A.D	Sayanna	W/O Somanna nayaka	Exemptions on temple land	God Janardhana of Srirangapura	V.I, Vol.III KN 1871, P.277
July 15 1521 A.D &	Chinnadevi & Tirumaladevi	Queens of Krishnadeva	Village Chikalaparavi	God Tiruvengalanatha	V.I, Vol.III KN 1927, P.381-2
	Sadasiva Sankaradevi	Governor of Bidjiruru	Land yielding One varaha	Narasa-matha of of Jalige Katesa	V.I. Vol. III
May 18 1377 A.D &	Padumaladevi & Manjadevi	D/O Vasukara Ramadeva	A Hall	God Virabhadra of Araga	V.I, Vol.III KN 2873, P.368
1416 A.D	Amoladevi	W/O Deva Raya II	A Grant	Hazara Rama temple temple	ARSIE, 1889 No.22
Dec 25	Lakshmi	A devotee	1,288 panam	Excavation of tanks and channels in temple villages	T.T.D, Vol.III No.19, P.87
Feb 18 1513 A.D	Chinnajidevi & Tirumaladevi	Queens of Krishnadevaraya	Sold cup	For offering milk to Tiruvengalanatha	T.T.D, Vol.III No.42, P.131
July 6 1514 A.O	Tirumaladevi	Queen	Chakrapadakam & a village	----	T.T.D, Vol.III No.73, P.169
July 6 1514 A.O	Chinnadevi amma	Queen	Village and ornaments	Lord Venkatesa at Tirumala	T.T.D, Vol.III No.78, P.165
1515 A.D	Tirumaladevi	Queens	Ratnadhenu & Saptasagara mahadanas	-----	S.I.I, Vol.XVI, No.52, P.62
Krishna Devaraya 's reign	-----	One of the queens	Pendant	God Ahobala	S.I.I, Vol.I No.53, P.63
April 5 1535 A.D	Varadajidevi amma	Queen	Six villages	Lord Venkatesa at Tirumala	T.T.D, Vol.IV NO.29, P.68
Jan 8 1536 A.O	Ellamma	D/O Kottiya Mallayyan	1,688 nar panam	Excavation of tanks and channels	T.T.D, Vol.IV No.65, P.129

Date/ Year	Donor	Status	Grant	Purpose/Recipient	Source
Jan 29 1458 A.D.	Nagaladevi	W/O Devaraya II	Mana sthambha Tribhuvana chudamani, chaityalaya	at Mudabidare, Kanara South district	V.I. Vol. II KN. 1815, P. 268
Jan 29 1458 A.D.	Lakshmi & Panditadevi	O/O Nagaladevi & Devaraya I	Arranged for feeding	Tribhuvana chudamani caityalaya	V.I. Vol. II KN. 1815, P. 268.
April 19 1437 A.D.	Vithaladevi	----	Gift of land	Temple of Umamaheswara	V.I. Vol.II KN. 1849, P.282.
July 21 1373 A.D.	Amitakka	D/O Ravasama	Paddy	God Somayyadeva	V.I, Vol.II KN. 1890, P.299.
March 9 1388 A.D.	A lady	W/O Kuppiseti of Manigarakeri	land for feeding 24 brahmanas	Temple of Somayyadeva	V.I, Vol.II KN. 1180, P.303.
Feb 12 1412 A.D.	Ramakka	W/O Jogi setti of Ariknaghatta	land for feeding a brahmana	Temple of Somantha of Murukeri	V.I, Vol. II KN. 1118, P.307.
July 11 1388 A.D.	Sankamma setti	W/O Yisvarnna setti	land for a feeding house	Matha south east of of the Somanatha temple	V.I, Vol.II KN. 1148, P.323.
Sep 15 1566 A.D.	Amadevi amma	-----	paddy and 14 hanas	God Sambhulinga at Udukunda (Shimoga dist.)	V.I, Vol.III KN.1959, P.317-18.
Jan 4 1397 A.D.	Jomadevi	D/O Virupdevi	A channel at Tirumani	---	V.I, Vol.III KN. 1244, P.8
Sargama	Nanjamma	-----	Gift of money	God Svayambhudeva of Madivala	V.I, Vol.III KN. 1260, P.15
Apr 29 1428 A.D.	Danakanidevi	-----	Tank at Achattnahalli	-----	V.I, Vol.III KN. 1338, P.48.
Nov 30 1416 A.D.	Nachidevi	-----	Irrigation dam at Mulabagilu	-----	V.I, Vol.III KN. 1460, P.98-9.
Dec 2 1453 A.D.	Rangambikai	W/O Timmana dannayaka	Ranga matha at Melukote	----- God Narayana	V.I, Vol.III KN. 1589, p. 154-5.
Sep 1469 A.D.	Nachiyaramma	A devotee of God Narayan	House and sites lands at Melukote	To Srivaishnavas	V.I. Vol, III K.N. 1591, P. 155-6.
Dec 2 1458 A.D.	Rangambika	W/O Timmana dandanatha	Two villages	Goddess Lakshmi at Nelamane	V.I, Vol.III KN. 1618, P.167-8.
Sargama	Alamma	-----	A Grant	-----	V.I, Vol.III

Date/ Year	Donor	Status	Grant	Purpose/Recipient	Source
Feb. 17 1536 A.D	Tathukkona man	Queen of Periya Tirumala Raya	150 varahas	Offering to Srivenkatesa	T.T.D, Vol.IV No.66, P.138
1540 A.D	Chinnamamba	WVD Pratapa Yalla	A tank	Located near Ramachandra pura	S.I.I, Vol.XVI No.121, P.133
Feb 15 1545 A.O	Tirumalamma	WVD Sempaka Kamayyar	4,100 nar panam	Construction of Irrigation channels	T.T.D, Vol.V No.31, P.82
Sadasiva 's reign	Tiruvenkata Korri	Lady disciple	40 nar panam	For 1 manohara-padi to Sri Vithleswara Perumal	T.T.D, Vol.V No.49
Aug. 18 1546 A.O	Tirumalamma	Resident of Pakura village	100 gold coins	40 manohara-padi to Sri Venkatesa	T.T.D, Vol.V No.76, P.197
July 8 1547 A.O	Chinnamma	WVD Pratapa Ellammarasar	A village	God Venkatesa at Tirumala	T.T.D, Vol.V, No.118, P.325
1548 A.D	Narasamma	WVD Guburi Vobaya	Vasantha mandapa	North of Diguva Tirupathi	S.I.I, Vol.IVI, No.169, P.176
March 24 1467 A.O	Srirangam badeviamma	Queen of Saluva Narasingaraya	Money, articles	Tiruvencatamudaiyan at Tirumala	T.T.D, Vol.II No.25, P.14
June 15 1473 A.O	Mallayamma	WVD Saluva Narasingaraya	Articles	Tiruvencatamudaiyan at Tirumala	T.T.D, Vol.II No.25, P.14
June 30 1493 A.O	Periya Narasamma	WVD Kommaraja	Money worth 1000 panam	Tiruvencatamudaiyan at Tirumala	T.T.D, Vol.II No.103, P.215
July 9 1481 A.O	Jakkula Kannayi	WVD Tammu Nayakkan	1,400 nar panam for articles	Tiruvencatamudaiyan at Tirumala	T.T.D, Vol.II No.77, P.149
1489 A.D	Kausalya devi	WVD Mangalaraju	made a provision for certain worship	Sinhachalam temple	S.I.I.Vol.VI No.710
1359 A.D	Narasimha Bharati	-----	made a provision for singers	Sinhachalam temple	S.I.I, Vol.VI No.890
1381 A.D	A lady	WVD Suresvarajiyana	Made a provision for a woman	Sinhachalam temple	S.I.I, No.VI No.738
1535 A.D	Two women	-----	1750 nar panam to maintain staff	Sinhachalam temple	S.I.I, Vol.VI

CHART - II : WOMEN IN ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS

Date/Year	Name of the woman	Position held	Place	Source
Talava Sadasiva	Chennamba same as Chennabairavadevi	Mahamandaleshwara	Governing Sangitapura Vrittapura	V.I, Vol. II KN 873 p. 280
April 1541	Honneya-Kambali-Odeya alias Sankaradev-amma	ruler	Kadari	V.I, Vol. II KN 965, P. 246
Feb. 24 1552	Sankaradevi-amma	ruler	Bidiruru in Munginadu, Kabu-nadu and Hosa-nadu	V.I, Vol. III KN 1962, V.I, KN. 1955, P. 316,319
July 29 1566	Annidevi-amma	administrator	Above the ghats of Araga rajya including Mungi-nadu, Bidiruru, Kabbunadu	V.I, Vol. III KN 1956, p. 3 KN 1957, p. 317 KN 1958,
March 23 1558	Sankaradev-amma	governor	Bidirurusime	V.I, Vol. III KN 7009, p. 340 KN 1967, p. 319 KN 1960, p. 318
Talava Sadasiva	Honnadevi-amma	governor	Bidiruru-sime	V.I, Vol. III KN 1961, p. 319
Oct. 30 1516	Paravati-amma	gave orders	-	V.I, Vol. I KN 291, p. 140
Dec. 4 1397	Bukkayavve	Queen	-	V.I, Vol. I KN 318, p. 154
1597-98 AD	Devarasi	Queen	-	V.I, Vol. I KN 417, p. 201
Nov. 30 1416 AD.	Nachidevi	gave orders	-	V.I, Vol. III KN 1460, p. 99

Date/Year	Name of the woman	Position held	Place	Source
March 24 1487	Sayamma	administrator	Hoyasa desa	V.I, Vol. III KN 277, p. 277
1521 July 15	Chinnadevi Tirumaladevi	Queens	-	V.I, Vol. III KN 1927, p.301-2
1558 A.D.	Chennadevi-amma	Mahamandaleswara	-	V.I, Vol. II KN 903, p. 214
16th Cen.	Viradevi-amma	Queen	-	V.I, Vol. II KN 903, p. 214
16th Cen.	Chennadevi-amma	Queen	-	V.I, Vol. II, KN 903, p. 214
16th Cen.	Chennadevi-amma	Chief of Haduvalli	Haduvalli	V.I, Vol. II, p. KN 875, p. 201
1567 A.D. 1576 A.D.	Chennabhairadevi	ruler	Nagire-rajya besides others	V.I, Vol. II p. X
Sept. 7, 1581 AD	Balamadevi	Governor (Doubtful)	Kalasarajya	V.I, Vol. II KN 484, p. 27
June 24 1574 AD	Padumaladevi-amma	Administrator	Nagire, Maive Tulu, Konkana and other rajyas	V.I, Vol. II KN 664, p. 110
July 12 1558 AD	Chennadev-amma	Administrator	Bhatakala from her head quarters Sangitapura	V.I, Vol. II KN 666, p. 110
Nov. 27 1554 AD	Anna-udupa	Gramini	Kandavara	V.I, Vol. II p. 242.

CHART - III : LITERARY ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN

Year	Name	Description	Source	
1360 AD	Gangadevi	Wife of Kampana, Son of Bukka I	Wrote a Sanskrit Kavya 'Madhuravijayam' A poet of a high order and a student of classics	Madhuravijayam Canto I
1378 AD	Nonnayi	Chief wife of Baukka I	Accomplished in the wisdom of vedas	E.C.V.; Mysore. Gazetteer, Vol. II, P. 1485.
16th Cen.	Jagan Mohini or Tukka	One of the wives of Krishnadeva- raya	Author of Tuktapanchakam	
16th Cen.	Mohanangi	Daughter of Krishnadevaraya	Author of Marichi parinayam well versed in rhetoric poetry	
1530 AD	Tirumalamba	Queen of Achyuta	Author of Varadambika Parinayam, Scholars of epics, Poetry, drama, philosophy, music, grammar.	
16th Cen.	Varadamba	Wife of Achyuta- raya	A diplomat and intelligent women	Varadambika Parinayam of Tirumalamba

CHART - IV : WOMEN INVOLVED IN PROPERTY TRANSACTIONS

Date/Year	Property held	Nature of transaction	Source
Oct 23, 1542	Land	Was passed on to the female descendant as gift	V.J. Vol. II, KN 876, p. 202.
Dec. 26, 1424	Land	Obammakka-ujanti sold it for one tara at current value	V.J. Vol. II, KN 1035, p. 281.
Jan 1456	Money and land	Purchased by Queen of Timanna-dannayak	V.J. Vol. II, KN 1047, p. 281.
April, 1372	Land	Land was purchased from Madiyakka, daughter of Charakka	V.J. Vol. II, KN 1089, p. 299.
June, 24, 1526	Land	Land purchased from Padumaladevi-amma by Mahalappa-senabova	V.J. Vol. II, KN 664, p. 110.
	Land	Land was purchased from Bomchamma Heggade by Marasimha-thakkura	V.J. Vol. II, p. ix.
Oct 27, 1554	Land	Acquired on lease from Anna-Udupa, the gramini of Kandavara by Timmayya-setti	V.J. Vol. II, KN 956, p. 242.
Aug 4, 1524	Money	Ummakka took money and in lieu gave certain lands to sankappa senabova of Megunda (Sankappa Senbova purchased land from Ummakka)	V.J. Vol. II, KN 488, p. 29
June 23, 1354	Property	The chapter presented to Rakanna the Pattasvami of Modihali says that the daughters had a share	V.J. Vol. II, KN 1769, p. 233.

Date/Year	Property held	Nature of transaction	Source
April 24, 1476 1'42	land	Grant of land to Muddayi by her father Keta-gaunda	V.I. Vol. 7, KN 97, p. 45.
July 28, 1528	Village Settiahalli in Soluru-sime	Malladayamma was presented the village by the King.	V.I. Vol. I, KN 237, p. 113.

CHART - V : LIST SHOWING DIFFERENT TERMS DENOTING DEVADASIS

1. Basavi - V.I. Vol. III, KN 2164, p. 411
2. Patra, Patri (Patrabhogā) - V.I. Vol. II, KN 470, p. 77  
KN 475, p. 74  
KN 711, p. 128  
KN 1052, p. 283  
KN 1109, p. 307  
KN 1128, p. 315  
Vol. III KN 1710, p. 207  
KN 1639, p. 177  
KN 1645, p. 180
3. Patrada-jana - V.I. Vol. I KN 59, p. 27
4. Sani (Derivative of the Sanskrit word Svamini) - TTD, Vol. 5, No. 33, 69, 142, 32, 172  
SII. Vol. X, Nos. 12, 59, 70, 80
5. Temple Damsel - TTD, Vol. 5, No. 9, 41, 37,
6. Vesyas, Sanikuturus - Bhimeswarapurānam Canto VI, V, 79
7. Courtesans of Gods - Religious tradition
8. Bogama, sanis and Kalavanthulu in Andhra. - Sadasivan, Growth of public opinion in the Madras Presidency, 1858-1909
9. Devadasi - Sanskrit term meaning God's slave or servants of God (KC Tarachand Devadasi Custom, New Delhi, 1991)
10. Tevadiyal - Tamil Lexicon, Vol. IV, p. 2069.
11. Taliccerilppendugal - K.K. Pillay, 'The Suchindram temple', Madras, p. 277.
12. Manikattar - A.R.E. 278 of 1902.
13. Adigalmar - A.R.E., 303, of 1901.
14. Rudraganikas - K.K. Pillay, op.cit. p. 278.
15. Dasis - K.K. Pillay, op.cit. p. 279.

CHART - VI : GRANTS TOWARDS DEVADASTS

Date/Year	Donor	Grant	Purpose	Source
1413 AD Aug 9.	Mahapradhana Prataparaya	A village namely Virupakshapura renamed Vijayadevarayapura & land	For maintenance of 2 patrada-jana, one nattava etc. to serve God Somanatha of Sakana Samudra	V.I.,Vol.I KN 59, p. 27
1372 AD March 7.	Mahajanas of Prasanna Vijayapura	30 gadyanas	Maintaining dancing girls for patrabhoga service for God Ramanadha of Vijayapura	V.I.,Vol.III, KN 1710, p. 207
April 11, 1485	Chandrasekhara- Vodeya and Maha- raja-Vodeya of Kannaravalli	A village namely Hangarapura	Maintainence of dancing girls for patrabhoga towards God Veerabhadra- deva of Arekothara	V.I.,Vol.I KN 59, p. 27
Oct. 9, 1371 AD	Jakanna	Paddy fields of Halli Hirivuru	Maintainence of dancing girls in the temple of God Ramanadha	V.I.,Vol.II, KN 470, p. 22
Oct. 30, 1483	Chiefs namely - Veera-somaya nayaka and six others	Grant of Money	Patrabhoga service in temple of Desinadha	V.I.,Vol.III, KN 1645, p. 180.
Sangama	name is lost	A grant of ga	Maintaining Patrabhoga (service of dancers and others)	V.I.,Vol.II, KN 475, p. 24
1527 AD	Tamadi Yellapa- Vodeya	A village Chikka Madapura	Milaye the dancer was given the village	V.I.,Vol.II, KN 711, p. 128
14- 13, 1485	Ramachandra- danayaka	Grant of land Amulinga	To a lady for arranging regular worship and offerings to the image golabdur	V.I.,Vol.II, KN 1052, p.283

Year	Donor	Grant	Purpose	Source
1077 AD	Rochanna, Mahapradhana of Gove	land	For patrabhoga of God Narayanadeva	V.T., Vol. II, KN 1189, p. 307.
1078 AD	Mahapradhana Singappa-dannayaka	11 ga	For Patrabhoga of God Somanatha	V.T., Vol. II, KN 1128, p. 315
1081 AD	Marasimhabharate Singappa-dannayaka	Made a provision	For women singers to do sankirtanam at Simhachalam temple	S.T.I., Vol. I, 890.
1081 AD	Wife of Suresvara- jiyana	Made a provision	For a woman who decorated a floor with designs in Simhachalam temple	S.T.I. VI, 738.
1087 AD	-	Provision is made for Janamma	For decoration of floor before god Marasimha in Simachalam temple	S.T.I. VI, 1127
1088 AD	-	Provision is made two women	For playing vina before the God at Simhachalam	S.T.I. VI, 955.
1086 AD	-	Gift was made for a woman	For waving the camara at the time of vandanaigi in Simhachalam temple	S.T.I. VI, 751.
1017 AD	-	A provision was made for a woman	To hold the camara at Srikurman temple	S.T.I. V, 1167.
1091 AD	Visvanadha Mahasannapati	Made arrangements for a woman	to supply one douda- vanamala to the God of Simhachalam	S.T.I. VI, 801.
1091 AD	Sankarajiyana	Made provision for a gift of prasadam for a woman who deco- rated the floor.	At Simhachalam	S.T.I. VI, 738.

Date/Year	Donor	Grant	Purpose	Source
1417 AD	-	Gift of prasadam to a woman servant	At Simhachalam	S.I.I., V, 1167
1421 AD	Rangukattyandu	Granted 1 putti of land to Gangamarani for doing Camarakoluva	At the time of dhupa in the temple of Simhachalam	S.I.I., VI, 777.
1427 AD	-	20 silver tankas were presented to Ellamadevi for holding two umbrellas and two alayattams	Simhachalam	S.I.I. VI, 1082.
1531 AD	-	Sribhandaram made provision for temple staff	Tirumalai temple	TID, III, 39.

CHART - VII : DEVADASIS DONATION  
PARTICULARS

Date/ Year	Donor	Status	Grant	Purpose/Recipient	Source
June 27 1512 A.D	Kuppayani	D\O Ranjakkam Srirangaraja	1,000 nar panam	excavation of irrigation channels in temple villages	T.T.D, Vol.III No.24, P.99
July 9 1533 A.D	Lingasani & Tiruvenka ta manikkam	D\O Tippasani	Money	Temples at Tirumalai	T.T.D, Vol.IV, No.21, P.43
Aug 2 1534 A.O	Govindasani	D\O Polu-Nayakkam	Money	Temple of Govindarajan at Tirumalai	T.T.D, Vol.V No.33, P.69
Apr 11 1535 A.D	Chikkaya savayi & Govindasani	D\O Poluna-Nayakkam	1,750 nar panam	Offerings to Sri Govindarajan	T.T.D, Vol.IV No.39, P.88
June 19 1535 A.D	Peruchchi	D\O Malaghana Venkatatturai Sevvi	230 nar panam	Offerings to Sri Govinda Nachchiyar & Senai Mudalaiyar	T. T.D, Vol.V No.44, P.85
Dec 23 1538 A.D	Bejje	D\O Mallakka Venkatatturaivar	200 panam	Improvement of tanks and channels at Tirumalai	T.T.D, Vol.V, No.116, P.215
Jan 30 1540 A.D	Hanumasani	D\O Uddaida Timmayyan	820 nar panam	Offerings to Sri Venkatesa and Tiruval Alvan	T.T.D, Vol.IV No.142, P.263
Nov 21 1543 A.D	Selli	A temple dasset	1,120 nar panam	Offerings to gods at Tirumala	T.T.D, Vol.V No.9, P.27
Feb 26 1545 A.D	Lingasani & Tiruvenkata manikkam	D\O Tiruvenkatadasi	1600 nar panam & Puiliyuttu charity	Improvement of tanks and channels at Tirumalai	T.T.D, Vol.V No.32, P.85
March 6 1545 A.O	Govindi	D\O Timmayyan	2,100 nar panam	Offerings to deities at Tirumala	T.T.D, Vol.V No.38, P.93
March 11 1545 A.O	Senbegavengu	D\O Tungachelvi	600 nar panam	Offerings to Tiruvenkataudaiyan	T.T.D, Vol.V No.41, P.95
Sadasiva 's reign	Krishnamangi	D\O Govindi	110 panam	Temple treasury at Tirumalai	T.T.D, Vol.V No.40, P.95
Jan 30 1563 A.D	Sevvusani	D\O Angali	200 panam	Daily offerings to Sri Vighneswara	T.T.D, Vol.V No.172, P.459
Nov 7 1437 A.D	Venkala valliyyar	D\O Savaripperumal	1000 nar panam	Articles for Tiruvenkataudaiyan	T.T.D, Vol.II No.5, P.9

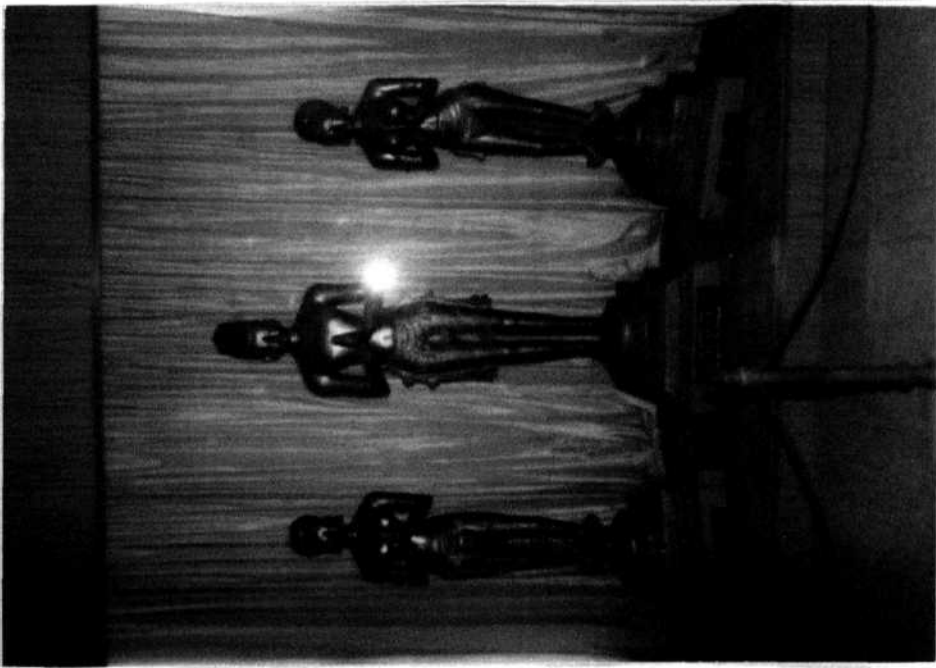
CHART - VIII : DETAILS OF SATIS OR SATI STORIES

Date/Year	Name of the woman	Status	Source
July 24 1409	Nagayi and Devayi committed Sati	Wives of Dave-nayaka	V.J, Vol. II, KM 613 p. 113
1430	Kamave-nayakite and lakave-nayakite died after her husband's death	Wives of Jante-nayaka	V.J, Vol. II, KM 682, p. 116
June 27 1448	A lady died after husband's death	Wives of Bhayire gauda	V.J, Vol. II, KM 683, p. 117
Dec. 23 1395	Four wives died after husband's death	Wives of Mallappa	V.J, Vol. II, KM 687, p. 118
Aug 17 1417	Three wives committed sati	Wives of Basava-bhakta	V.J, Vol. III, KM 1561, p. 143.
Aug 17 1417	Nagakka of Megaravalli became Mahasati		V.J, Vol. II, KM 2128, p. 393
Aug 27 1377	Nagamma committed sati	Wife of Vira Gereappa	V.J, Vol. III, KM 2245, p. 447
Jan 8 1408	Rommanayakka committed sati	Wife of Tirika-gauda	V.J, Vol. III, KM 1951, p. 314
Oct 13 1420	Gaurayi performed sahagamana	Wife of Hadase Bira-gauda	V.J, Vol. III, KM 1970, p. 323
March 10 1410	Sayakka committed sati	Wife of Baichayya of Chiliya Beguru	V.J, Vol. III, KM 1971, p. 323

Date/Year	Name of the woman	Status	Source
Aug 7 1431	Bommi-gaudi committed sahagamana	Wife of Bomma Gauda	V.I, Vol. III, KN 1972, p. 324
Dec 2 1404	Mechi-gaudi	Wife of Hiriya-gauda	V.I, Vol. III, KN 1973, p. 324
Nov 18 1419	Ramakka invited death by sahagamana	Wife of Timme - gavada of Keladi	V.I, Vol. III, KN 1974, p. 325
May 73 1316	Romakka committed sati	Wife of Jadavara Chelli Bayachi-Setti	V.I, Vol. III, KN 1975, p. 325
Feb 11 1410 AD	Masanakka committed sahagamana	Wife of Madappa	V.I, Vol. III, KN 1976, p. 325
Aug 16 1447 AD	Bullarasi and Kannayi committed sati	Wife of Maduvarasa nayaka	V.I, Vol. III, KN 1983, p. 329
Aug 20 1417	Bomma-gaudi committed sati	Wife of Rama gauda	V.I, Vol. III, KN 1990, p. 332
Feb 3 1436	Rhairigaudi committed sahagamana	Wife of Bhairava gauda	V.I, Vol. III, KN 1991, p. 332
Jan 7 1402	A lady committed sati	Wife of Buja-gauda	V.I, Vol. III, KN 1995, p. 334
July 9 1416	Harimayi died with husband	Wife of Bomma gauda	V.I, Vol. III, KN 1997, p. 335
Sept. 8 1423	Chandave attained heaven	Wife of Bomma	V.I, Vol. III, KN 2012, p. 342
1388-89 AD	Mudda-nayakiti became mahasati	Wife of Deveya-nayaka	V.I, Vol. III, KN 2017, p. 344

date/year	Name of the woman	Status	Source
ec 21 1118	Bomnakka became mahasati	Wife of Marappa Mayakka	V.J, Vol. III, KN 2018, p. 345
JULY, 17 1461	Bairava-gaudi	Wife of Anna gauda of Haravaru	V.J, Vol. III, KN 2022 p. 346
Feb 13, 1474	Wife died with husband	Wife of Bairava gauda	V.J, Vol. III, KN 2025, p. 347
Jan 3, 1451	Bomma-gaudi attained devaloka	Wife of Tamma-setti	V.J, Vol. III, KN 2026, p. 348
Jan 12, 1354	Chennakka died by Sahagamana	Wife of Malagauda	V.J, Vol. III, KN 2029, p. 349
Sept. 25, 1376	Youngest wife committed sahagamana	Wife of Bechi-gauda	V.J, Vol. III, KN 2032, p. 350
Jan 29 1393	Wife committed sati	Wife of Raya	V.J, Vol. III, KN 2034, p. 351
March 12, 395	Kamigaundi attained svarga	Wife of Kana Ramana	V.J, Vol. III, KN 2035, p. 352
June 17, 1396	Rami-gaundi died with husband	Wife of Rama gauda	V.J, Vol. III, KN 2036, p. 352
June 26, 1398	Chanda-gaudi died by means of Sanyasana-samadhi	Wife of Chanda gauda	V.J, Vol. III, KN 2037, p. 352
Sept. 7, 1403	Rommi-gauda died by sanyasana	Wife of Becha gauda	V.J, Vol. III, KN 2038, p. 353
July 9, 1432	Wife committed sahagamana	Wife of Ranaya-Mayaka	V.J, Vol. III, KN 2053, p. 359

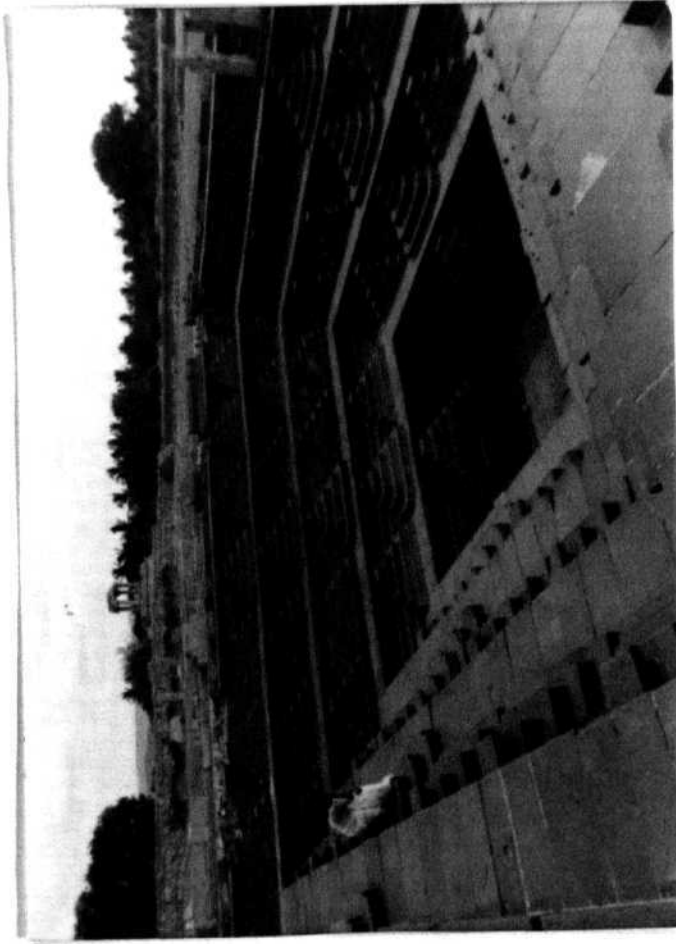
Date/Year	Name of the woman	Status	Source
April 15, 1411	Ami-gaud died with husband	Wife of Vitharaka	V.J, Vol. III, KN 2057, p. 361
Jan 27, 1429	Wife died with husband	Wife of Madiga Siya	V.J, Vol. III, KN 2058, p. 361
May 10, 1417	Wife committed sati	Wife of setti gaunda	V.J, Vol. III, KN 2059, p. 362
Feb. 17, 1372	Bomakka died by means of samadhi	Wife of Brahma	V.J, Vol. III, KN 2062, p. 363
March 31, 1418	Ramaabika died by sanyasana samadhi-vidhi	Wife of Gopa-gaunda	V.J, Vol. III, KN 2040, p. 354
Oct. 17 1421 AD	Kanchigaudi died by the rite of Pancha- namaskara	Wife of Bhairava gauda	V.J, Vol. III, KN 2042, p. 354
Dec 26 1379	Bommaale died after her husband's death	Wife of Bomana	V.J, Vol. III, KN 2064, p. 364.
May 18 1377	Manjadevi is said to have attained svarga	Wife of Virupanna- Vodeya	V.J, Vol. III, KN 2073, p. 368



**PL. I - KRISHNADEVARAYA, CHINNA DEVI,  
TIRUMALA DEVI, KAMALAPUR MUSEUM**



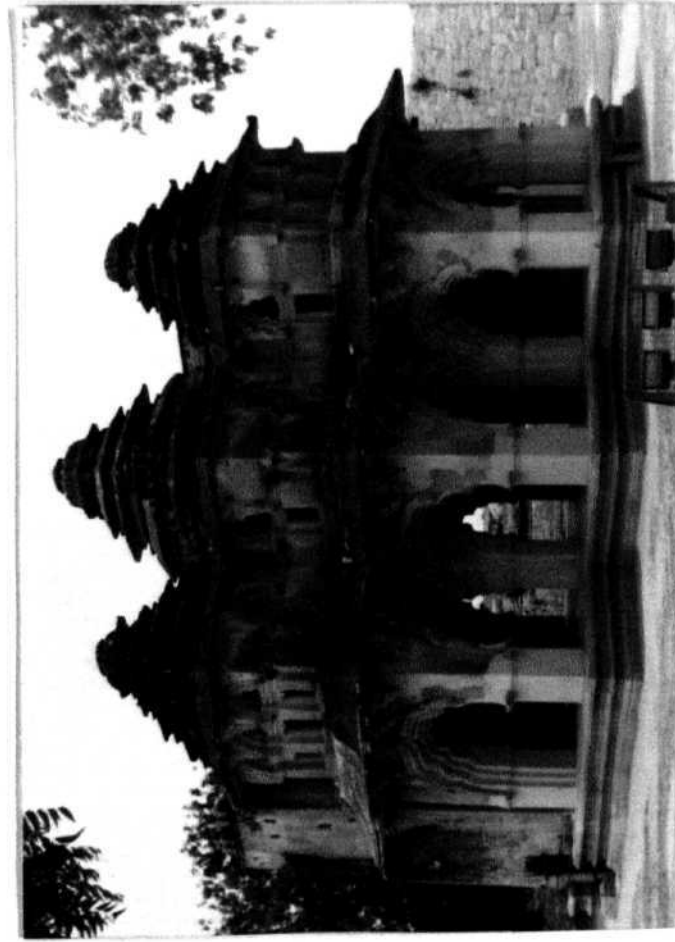
**PL. II - A MARRIAGE PROCESSION, LEPAKSHI**



PL. III - ROYAL BATHING GHAT, HAMPI



PL. IV - QUEENS BATH, HAMPI



PL. V - QUEENS RESIDENCE, LOTUS MAHAL, HAMPI



PL. VI - WOMEN GUARDS QUARTERS, HAMPI



**PL. VIII - A LADY SNAKE CHARMER, HAMPPI**



**PL. VII - A COURT LADY, LEPAKSHI**



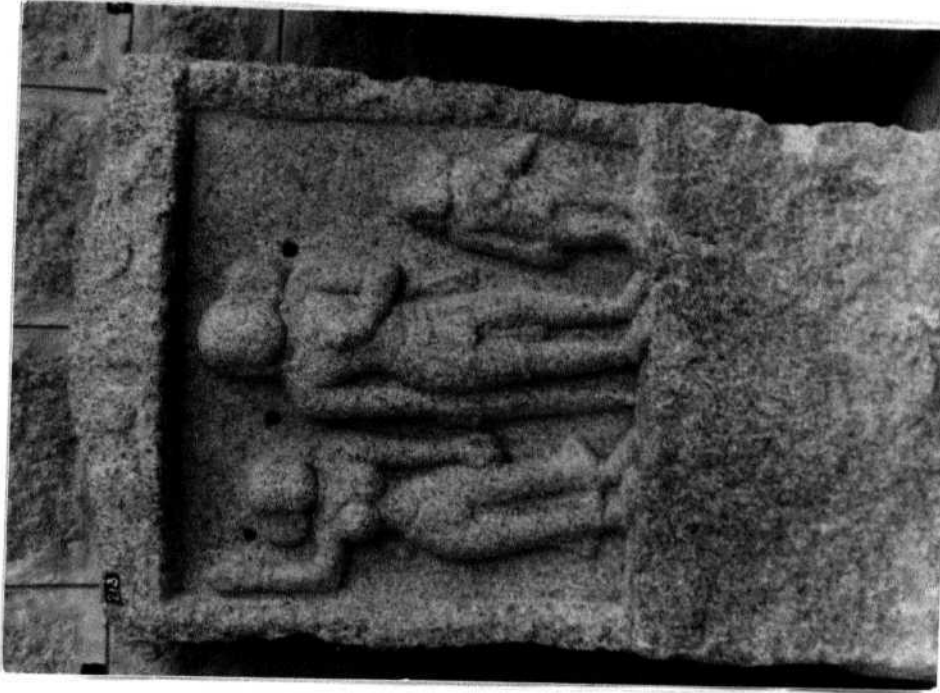
PL. X - A LADY HUNTRESS, HAMPI



PL. IX - A LADY HUNTRESS, HAMPI



**PL. XI - A SATI STONE, KAMALAPUR MUSEUM**



**PL. XII - A SATI STONE, KAMALAPUR MUSEUM**



FL. XIV - A SATI STONE, KAMALAPUR MUSEUM



PL. XIII - A HERO CUM SATI STONE, HAMPI



**PL. XVI - A HERO STONE,  
KAMALAPUR MUSEUM**



**PL. XV - A SELF - IMMOLATION STONE,  
KAMALAPUR MUSEUM**



PL. XVIII - A LADY WITH A PET BIRD, HAMPI



PL. XVII - A LADY WITH A PARROT, HAMPI



PL. XIX - A LADY DANCER, HAMPI



PL. XX - A DANCE PARTY, HAMPI



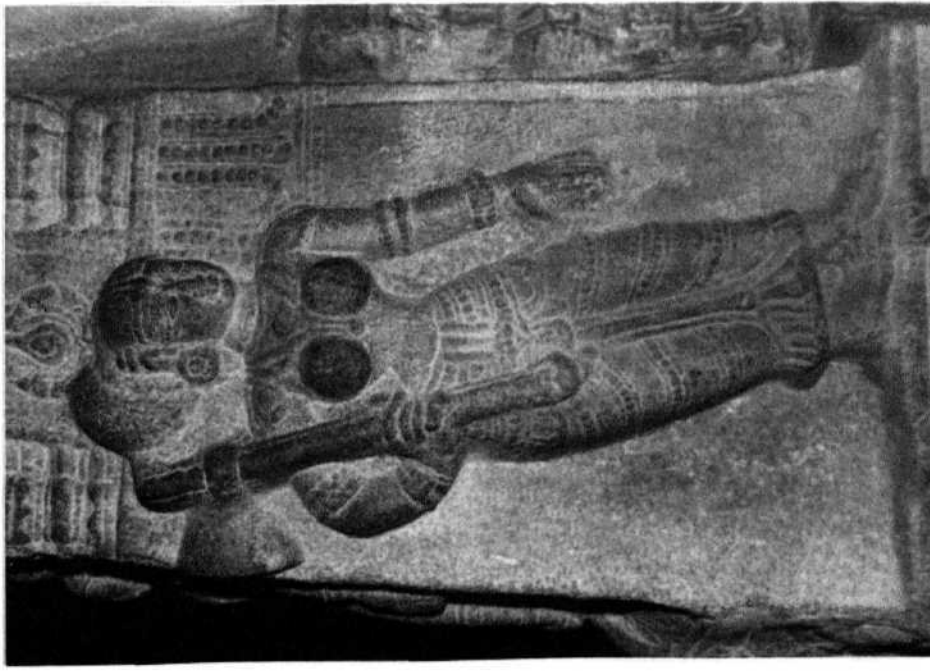
PL. XXI - A SCENE DEPICTING KOLATA, HAMPI



PL. XXII - A DANCER ACCOMPANIED BY MUSICIANS, HAMPI



PL. XXIV - A LATA PATRA SUNDARI, LEPAKSHI



PL. XXIII - A LADY HOLDING A TAMBURA, LEPAKSHI



PL. XXVI - A SURASUNDARI, LEPAKSHI



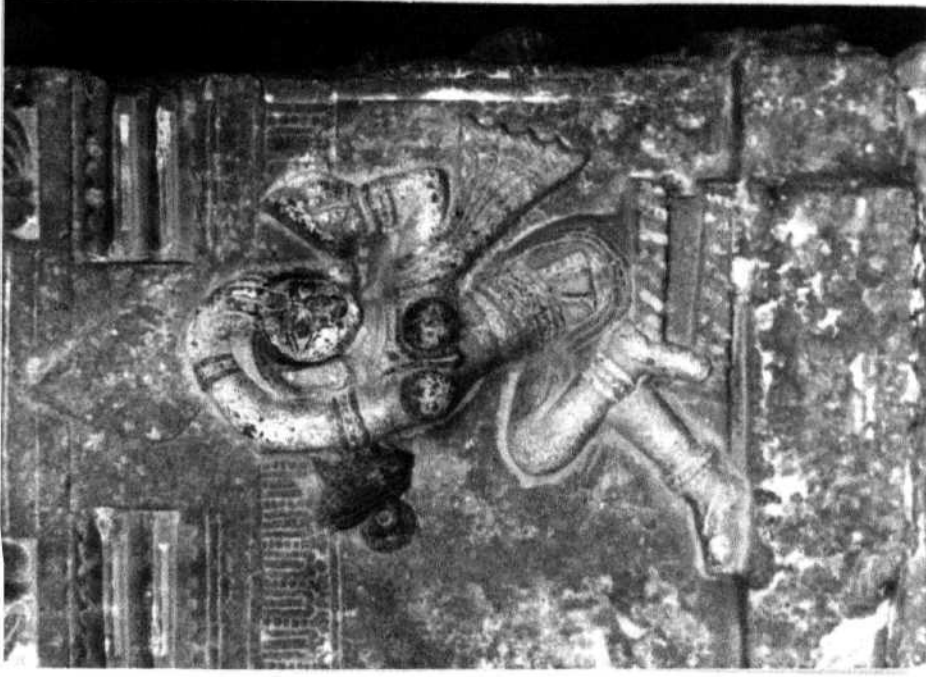
PL. XXV - A LADY CHAURIBEARER, LEPAKSHI



**PL. XXVIII - A PREGNANT WOMAN, HAMPPI**



**PL. XXVII - A BHARAVAIKA, LEPAKSHI**



**PL. XXX - A LADY TOILETING, HAMPI**



**PL. XXIX - A LADY WITH HER BABY, HAMPI**



PL. XXXI - A LADY HOLDING A WHIP, HAMPI



PL. XXXII - A TRIBAL WOMAN, HAMPI



**PL. XXXIII - A LADY ATTENDING  
DOMESTIC WORK, HAMPI**



**PL. XXXIV - A LADY WITH A QUIVER AND A  
SWORD, HAMPI**



PL. XXXVI - LADIES WEARING PEARL NECKLACES  
AND DIAMOND EAR ORNAMENTS, LEPAKSHI



PL. XXXV - COSTUMES OF THE LADIES,  
LEPAKSHI