THE POSITION OF WOMEN DURING VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD
(1336 - 1646)

Dr. N. SARASWATHI NANAIAH
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Dr N. Saraswathi Nanaiah
PREFACE

The History of Vijayanagara is one of the most fascinating periods in the South Indian History. The empire was founded by the famous Sangama brothers, Harihara and Bukka, on the banks of the river Tungabhadra in 1336 A.D. and was ruled by the four different dynasties The Sangamas, The Saluvas, The Tuluvas and the Aravidus.

Vijayanagara period occupies an unique place in the social and cultural history of South India. From the point of view of social history it offers a varied picture of social life. The contribution of women to social-cultural development of the period were outstanding. They figured prominently in different walks of life.

The aim of this study is to trace the position of women during Vijayanagara period. The position of women in Vijayanagara as compared to other provinces in India was unique indeed. It examines the role of women as administrators, poets, literary geniuses, beauty queens, wrestlers, warriors, religionists, and patrons of art, architecture, learning, music and dance.

In preparing this book, I have consulted Inscriptions, various books, reports, journals, foreign accounts, published and unpublished materials. I shall be grateful to the critics who may suggest corrections to be made in this book.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1 Nature and Scope of the Study

Vijayanagara is a resounding name both of a kingdom and of its capital. Being the cradle of Empires, through Vijayanagara, South India has not only glorified its history but also enriched the annals of India. The traditional argument that the Vijayanagara empire was built as a challenge of 'Hindu India' against the Islamic invaders, has been questioned seriously by several scholars. The Vijayanagara State is no more looked upon as a Hindu theocratic state, rather as a secular state emerged out of the specific material conditions that existed in the peninsular India.

The History of Vijayanagara is one of the most fascinating periods in the South Indian History. The Empire was founded by the famous Sangama brothers, Harihara and Bukka, on the banks of river Tungabhadra in 1336 A.D. and was ruled by the four different dynasties—The Sangamas, the Saluvas, the Tuluvas, and the Aravidus. Vijayanagara period occupies an unique place in the social and cultural history of South India. It was during this period that a political entity comprising the entire peninsular region to the South of the river Krishna was created. A strong economic base was established and an efficient system of law and order was provided by the Vijayanagara rulers. From the point of view of social history, it offers a varied picture of social life. The empire was founded with the ideal of protecting, propagating and promoting Hindu Dharma in all its aspects. The revival of Hindu Dharma had its effects
on social groups in South India. We notice both orthodox and heterodox movement in society. The coming of Islam to South India as a cultural force was another important development. With the advent of Portuguese in 1498, the Christianity as a cultural force was visible in different parts of South India. All these developments influenced the social formation in South India. Women did not escape from their influence. The contribution of women to socio-cultural development of the period were outstanding. They figured prominently in different walks of life. The position of women in a society is usually regarded as a fair index of the excellence of its culture and character of its civilization. Indian tradition has generally respected womanhood. "Women", wrote Professor Margaret Macnicol, in that time of peace and enjoyment 'can be divided into four classes. There is she who is a pure-lotus, and she who is fair as a picture, she whom they call witch'. According to Kautiliya, 'Gods roam in the country where women are honoured'. Kautilya too, has made the honour of women one of the chief cares of state law. According to Manu "where women are treated with respect, gods are pleased". That the family perished sooner where the women live in grief. Honouring them brings joy and prosperity to the family. Manu says that none on this earth is able to guard women. Hence, an exclusive study of the position of women in Vijayanagara period is not only interesting but also instructive. There is another reason why this topic has to be studied in depth. Though Vijayanagara historians like Saltore, B.A., Mahalingam, T.V. and Venkataramanayya have attempted to write about the role of women in Vijayanagara period. Their descriptions of women during Vijayanagara period are sketchy and descriptive. Hence, there is need for an indepth study of the role of women in Vijayanagara period based on foreign accounts, contemporary literature and inscriptions. The present study is an attempt in this direction.
Further, the role of women in the conservation of cultural tradition and in the establishment of social stability is unquestionable. They were the foundation of family life, since family was the basic unit of society. All the subtle, noble and refined thoughts in fine arts like music, dance, literature, folk-art originated with women. Hence there is a need for a detailed study.

The aim of this study is to trace the position of women during Vijayanagara period. The position of women in Vijayanagara as compared to other provinces in India was unique indeed. It examines the role of women as administrators, poetsess, literary geniuses, wrestlers, warriors, religionists and patrons of art, architecture, learning music and dance.

Chapter Divisions

The present study has been divided into six chapters. The first chapter is divided into four sections. Section one describes the nature and scope of the study, section two discusses the chapter divisions of the study, section three deals with the survey of sources on which the study is mainly based and brings out the relative importance of different categories of the source material in understanding the position of women in the period under review. Section four discusses the position of women in the pre-Vijayanagara period, which gives us the background of the progress made during the Vijayanagara period.

The second chapter deals with the political, the administrative and the economic life. The available sources like published inscriptions, monuments, literary works and accounts by foreigners, provide a lot of information to support the fact that women during the period under review did not lag behind in the political, administrative and economic life.
The third chapter deals with women as donors to temples, choultries, Brahmins, Jangamas, educational institutions, and other works of public utility. Third chapter is divided into five sections: section one deals with Royal Women as liberal donors. Section two deals with ordinary women as donors. Section three deals with Mahamandaleswara women as donors. Section four deals with donors for family welfare and section five deals with donors donating for the merit of their daughters and sisters. Donors made grants with different religious motives.

The fourth chapter refers to the social and cultural life. This chapter is divided into seventeen sections. Section one deals with education, section two deals with literature in which women have made an outstanding contribution in Sanskrit and Telugu. Section three deals with religion. Section four deals with the relationship between temple and women. The temples had employed a number of women who served in various capacities as dancers, singers, musicians and menial servants. Section five deals with Devadasi system. Devadasi system gained considerable popularity during the period under review. The status of women as Devadasis was also respectable. Section six discusses festivals like Mahanavami, Navarathri, Holi, Car festival and hook-swinging. Section seven deals with marriage. The institution of Hindu marriage occupies a prominent place in the social institutions of the civilized world. Section eight deals with the existence of dowry in the period under review. Section nine deals with sati system. Contemporary literary and epigraphical records testify to the prevalence of the custom of sati. Section ten refers to the institution of prostitution. Prostitutes were highly respected in the society. Any man could enter their houses without hesitation. Section eleven deals with Harem. Section twelve deals with the courtesans. Section thirteen refers to the existence of slavery. Section fourteen deals with dance. Section fifteen
deals with music. Dance and music are twin arts, one lending supports the other which assumed great popularity in the period under review. Section sixteen deals with the existence of theatre. Section seventeen deals with games and amusements. It is interesting to note that people took great interest in them and quite a number of indoor and outdoor games were popular.

Fifth chapter is divided into three sections. The first section discusses about ornaments. It is quite evident from a study of sculptures, paintings and literary sources, ornaments varied from class to class and depended on the economic conditions of different categories of women to which they belonged. Section two deals with costumes, which again varied from class to class. Section three deals with cosmetics. Contemporary literary works, paintings, sculptures refers to the use of cosmetics of different varieties used by women, as part of their make up for enhancing personal charm. The concluding chapter deals with the results which emerge from our study about the position of women in the Vijayanagara period. Thus, this study has brought together for the first time a good deal of information from epigraphical and literary sources on the position of women during Vijayanagara period, which is one of the most important periods in the history of South India.

3 Survey of the Sources

An indepth study of the history of Vijayanagara requires familiarity with the diverse sources of information and proper evaluation of the same. Historical details are to be intelligently and patiently collected from the rich variety of sources scattered in different parts of Karnataka and also in the neighbouring regions like Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh etc. History is a record of man’s thoughts, deeds and events of the past. History is based upon sources and
without sources we cannot reconstruct the history of the past.

a) Archaeological Sources

India is very rich in epigraphical wealth and the vast inscriptive material has been the surest ground on which her ancient past could be reconstructed. Epigraphy is the study of inscriptions. Inscriptions form the most important part of the source material. It must, however, be admitted in the beginning that the original purpose in issuing these inscriptions was not to provide us with historical information. These inscriptions relate to gift deeds, registering grant of land or money to temples or of agraharas to brahmans, made either by kings, their ministers, generals, courtiers, or by private individuals. Some of these records the construction of the temples or repairs effected to temples, the setting up of idols and daily worship in the temples. These inscriptions generally mention the name of the king or the governor, holding power over the locality at the time of gift besides giving full particulars of the date on which the gift was made. The introductory portion to these gifts and grants known as 'prashasti', generally contains the ancestry of the grantors, if the grantors were kings, ministers or generals. These inscriptions enable us to know about the genealogy and chronology of the kings.

The inscriptions on Vijayanagara history are generally found engraved on stone and copper-plates and are composed in different languages—Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and Kannada. Incidentally, inscriptions give an account of the political social, economic and religious conditions of that period. The inscriptions of the respective ruling dynasties constitute the most important source. Inscriptions

shed light on social conditions - the division of society into castes and sub-castes, the occupation of the people, the system of education, the position of woman, the popular festivals, religious practices and ceremonies and several other matters connected with social life.

Inscriptions written on copper-plates generally register the grant of agraharas or lands to Brahmans who were well versed in Vedic lore and shastras. These copper plate records are found in the language, like Kannada, Telugu, Tamil and Sanskrit. Each set of copper-plate inscriptions may contain three,² four or even five plates³ according to the requirements of the occasion. Stone inscriptions record the gifts made in kind or cash to temples, either by kings or their officers or private individuals.

The chief credit of laying the foundations of intensive and extensive study of inscriptions must necessarily go to the untiring efforts of the two eminent epigraphists, Dr. Fleet J. F. and Rice B.L. The twelve volumes of Epigraphia Carnatica published by Rice B.L. is of great significance. In addition to these, the texts of many inscriptions have been published, with helpful notes and in many cases, English translations, in the pages of Mysore Archaeological Reports (1906-1956), Epigraphia Indica (1887 onwards) the South Indian Inscriptions series. The Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar, has published five volumes entitled ‘Karnataka Inscriptions’ which contain a good number of inscriptions belonging to the old Bombay-Karnataka regions. The government of Andhra Pradesh, Madras and Travancore in their epigraphical series, have published a large number of inscriptions. Apart from these numerous inscriptions, with texts and useful notes, have appeared in the pages of learned

journals and periodicals, notably the journals of some of the branches of the Royal Asiatic Society, Indian Antiquary, etc.

An inscription from Badami shows that in A.D. 1340 Harsha I was wielding power in Badami area north of the Tungabhadra and he is described as "the Lords of the Eastern and Western Seas".

The Sringeri Inscription of A.D. 1348, which describes the visit of the five Sangama brothers to this religious centre to celebrate their historical achievement of subjugating the enemies, is of great value as it proves beyond doubt that these chiefs by this time had completed the work of founding the new kingdom. The Sravanabelagola inscription of Bukka I, dated 1368, makes known the religious catholicity promoted by the rulers and the protection given to the minorities in the empire. Nellore District Inscriptions by Butterworth Report on the inscriptions of Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam by Subramanya Sastri, Madras Gazetteer, Mysore Gazetteer, Hyderabad Gazetteer, from these Epigraphical sources one can cull out information pertaining to the political, social, economic and religious history of this period.

b) Numismatics

Numismatics or the evidence of the coins affords valuable service in supplementing our knowledge. Large number of Vijayanagara coins of gold, silver and copper testify to the vast resources, wealth and prosperity of the empire. Gadyana, Varaka, Hana, Pana, were gold coins issued by the kings of Vijayanagara. The obverse of these coins bears the emblems of bull, elephant, lion, bear and the dieties like Hanuman, Garuda, Umapaheswara, Laxmi-narayana, Krsna, and Lord Venkatesa. The reverse contains the names of the ruling kings in Kannada, Telugu or Nagari characters. These coins gives us information pertaining to
the political, social, economic and religious history of this period.

c) Monuments

The art of the country is generally regarded to be the fair index of its culture. It throws light on some higher aspects of civilization. The monuments are situated mostly between the Kamalapuram and Hampi villages, and along the banks of the Tungabhadra. The remains of palace-buildings and a number of temples are inside the citadel. Hampi is a small village on the southern bank of the river Tungabhadra in the Hospet Taluk of the Bellary District of Karnataka. Hampi as a nucleus of all archaeological activities reveals most of the first-hand information on Vijayanagara history. We find a number of monuments which have been excavated in this region. The monuments, which are popularly known as the Hampi ruins, are mainly situated between the villages of Kamalapuram in the South and Hampi in the North. Kamalapuram is 13 K.m. from Hospet. Along the road from Kamalapuram to Hampi are a number of monuments and images such as the underground Siva temple, Krishna temple, the monolithic images of Lakshminarasimha and Ganesha. The village Hampi contains the ancient temples of Virupaksha, Achyuta Raya temple and Vijaya Vithala temple, Queens Bath, Mahanavami Dibba, King's Audience Hall, Hazara Rama temple, Women-Guards quarters, Lotus-Mahal helps us to reconstruct the history of Vijayanagara. Thus the archaeological sources helps us to reconstruct the history of Vijayanagara period.

d) Sculpture

According to Goetz, "The Indigenous sculpture of Vijayanagara developed from the style of the funeral stelae (Virakkal and Satikal) and snake stones of Western Chalukyan times under Krishnadevaraya it became an integral part
of official art. Sacred images are noticed most commonly on columns within the temple halls. They are also found on the outer walls of garbha grihas, around entrance; doer ways or 'Mahadvaragopura' and gateways'.

Vijayanagara sculptor was an excellent miniaturist in stone. The stone material used in the sculptural art is mostly granite. Ascetics, warriors, hunters, dancing girls and erotic couples as well as mythical beasts, geese, elephants and horses, lotus-medallions svastika motifs and other auspicious symbols occur in the sculptural art. The Mahasweta stones are noteworthy here.

In Kalyana Mantapa of Vithalaswami temple, Krishnadevaraya is shown witnessing a dance. Behind him his two queens are sitting. The citizens of Vijayanagara are represented in their sculptures in a variety of ways. They are seen riding, shooting, dancing, fighting, wrestling, leading camels and horses, enjoying rest in an extremely realistic manner.

The women in Vijayanagara, apart from being good looking and even beautiful, could ride horses, as Nicolo-de-Conti has stated and which has been corroborated by the evidence on the panels. At Vijayanagar and Srisailam, sculptures shown women riding horses. Women in other poses can also be seen on Vijayanagara friezes. Motherstands holding her child on her hips, depicting a very natural and human feature of domestic life. (Ref. PL No. 7)

Woman, who perished on the funeral pyres of their husbands; invariably of their own accord, were often commemorated by memorial stones depicting such deaths, with their pictorial representations. There were various types of

1 Salestere, R. N. *Vijayanagara Art*, p. 186.
such stones, some being known as Mahasati-Kallu or the
great Sati stones.

Thus the sculpture during Vijayanagara period depicts
the costumes, cosmetics, ornaments, weapons, dancing,
musical instruments, huntress, animals etc.

e) Paintings

Literary evidence, indigenous and foreign accounts,
shows that painting flourished along with other arts. Paint-
ings were made on the ceilings and walls of the temples and
civil buildings and the stucco figures and figurines on towers
and sikharas as also sculptures of high relief in them.
Painting in the sphere of Vijayanagara art played an impor-
tant role and its influence cannot be under-estimated when
compared with those of the theatre, music and dance.

Painting reached its zenith during the reign of
Krishnadevaraya. In the dancing chamber of the royal
household, says Pasa, "Between the images and pillars runs
a design of foliage like plates all the gilt with reverses of
the leaves in red and blue, the images that are on the pillars
are animals, they are painted in colour with pink on their
faces".

Fragments of paintings may be seen at Hampi,
Anegundi, Lepakshi, Tadpetri, Kanchipuram, Kumbakonam,
Srirangam, Tirupati and other places. But the classic exam-
pies of the Vijayanagara school of painting may be noticed
at Hampi, Lepakshi and Kanchi. Literary sources both indi-
genous like Ratnakaravarni's Bharatesha Vaibhava and Nandi
Timmana's Partijatapaharanam and foreign accounts like that
of Abdur Razzaq, Pasa, Nuniz, confirm that painting flouri-
shed along with every other, art.

Of all the known Vijayanagara temples the most
interesting one and rich in paintings is found at Lepakshi in
Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh, built by two brothers Virupanna and Veeranna Nayaka, important chieftains. The temple was constructed during the reign of Achyuta Raya (1530-1542 A.D.) The Lepakshi temple is most remarkable for its fine wall painting of the Vijayanagara Era which is fortunately remain in a reasonable state of preservation. The large and impressive temple complex contains an extensive series of paintings surrounding the garbhagriha as part of the Mantapa and the ceiling of nearby Ranganatha shrine. The entire natyamantapa was once painted in bright colours. These paintings portray the large sized scenes from the Ramayana, Mahabharata and the Puranas. The sketches of Parvatikalyana, Dakshinamurthi Kiratajunyiyam, are painted with great skill. Rows of princely figures, drummers, musicians have also been painted with great skill.

The painted images of the royal personages like Krishnadevaraya, dancing girls, animals, birds stucco Images mentioned by foreign travellers are all note-worthy.

f) Dairy of Srikrishnadevaraya

This is a palm leaf manuscript containing the dairy or daily routine of king Krishnadevaraya (1569-1529 A.D.) of Vijayanagara. It is said to have been recorded by Mukka Thimmayya and Madayyanavata Mallayya (i.e., Mallayya, son of Madayya) on the orders of the king. It is written on 63 palm leaves on both sides except the last one, and each leaf is numbered. It is in Kannada language and script is most probably of the 16th century A.D.

g) Kaifiyats

Col. Mackenzie recognised the importance of the old administrative records as source material for the history of the medieval period. His clerks went round the districts and
collected Kavites or Danda which were in possession of Kamama (Village accounts).

h) Literary Sources

Archaeological evidence can at best furnish only the dry bones of history. It is literature that supplies the blood and flesh, which is so necessary to reconstruct the picture of society in all its essentials. The literary evidence supplements our knowledge gained through the inscriptive evidence. It enables to reveal many social and religious activities in which the historical characters moved. Literature affords valuable glimpses of the social and economic life of the people, though often in a more idealistic than realistic manner. Literary sources fall into two categories. The first category includes in it Sanskrit, Kannada and Telugu works. Besides the number of chronicles written by the Persian scholars, other Muslim travellers and also the accounts of European travellers form the second category.

The Indian literary evidence for the history of Vijayanagara is accessible in two collections of select sources brought out by the University of Madras. Since the monarchs of Vijayanagara are referred to in their inscriptions as the followers of the ancient constitutional usage (Purvada Maryade), the literary works of pre-Vijayanagara period also are of great value. Of them, mention may be made of Vignaveswara's Mitakshara, Kautilya's Arthashastra, Manu's Dharmashastra and Shukraniti, which besides dealing with

5 Sastry, K.A.N. Sources of Indian History p. 64.
the varied aspects of the people, refers to details concerning
the economic activities of the people, and the royal patronage
in promoting these activities.

A large number of works in Sanskrit, Kannada and
Telugu can be studied for a better understanding of life in
Vijayanagara.

Sanskrit Works: Madhuravijayam or Kamparayacharitam, an outstanding work composed by Gangadevi, wife of
Kampana, the son of Bukka-I. It is a great Kavya in the
Sanskrit literature of the period. She narrates in a simple
and charming style the successful expeditions of her
husband Kamparaya. This work is based on the manuscripts
which are available. Madhuravijayam gives us two important
events, like the destruction of Sambuvaraja's rule in the
Tondeimandalam and the other is the destruction of the
Madhura Sultanate. This work throws enough light on social
life of the people such as caste system, habits, occupation
of women and games. Gangadevi was poetess of a very
high order.

The other writer was Tirumalamba. She wrote
Campukavya called Varadambikaparinayam, in which she
describes the marriage of Achyutaraya with his queen Varadamba. Tirumalamba was a Sanskrit authoress whose work
is available completely. She belonged to the royal family of
Vijayanagara. She was the wife of king Achyuta Raya who
ruled in the first half of the sixteenth century. Tirumalamba
was a poetess whose literary achievements were admired by
one and all in the court of Achyuta Raya. This work throws
a good deal of light on the social life of the people.

Abirama Kamakashi, whose brother Swayambhu was
the son-in-law of Arunagirinatha I, composed in charming
verses the Abhinava Ramabhyudaya. It narrates the story of
Ramayana.
Tukka, the Oriyan Princess was the wife of Krishna- 
devaraya. To her Tukka-Panchakam is attributed. Krishna-
devaraya's daughter, whose name has been conjectured as 
Mohanangi and the surname Tirumalamba, wife of Ramaraya, 
also wrote a love called Marichipartinayam.

Achyutarayabhuyodaya is an historical poem, describing 
the early life, career and achievements of the Emperor 
Achyuta Raya of Vijayanagar. It is a kavya in twelve Cantos. 
Its value as an historical document is unique. It is written 
by Rajanatha Dindima.

Achyutarayabhuyudya begins with the pious desire that Lord Venkateswara of Tirupati be pleased to protect Achyuta Raya. Achyuta Raya married a Pandyan princess. Some interesting practices and facts are recorded in the course of the description of the capital Vidyanagara decorated for the coronation of Achyuta (Canto II 28-32), one should seek the best music on the Vina among the women of the Aratta country. The ladies of the Konkanadesa were expert players on the Mridanga, and the sound of their Kankanas blended most harmoniously with the Mridanga-
vadya. The Kalinga country produced the best mixture of 
Kasturi and the women of the Latadesa in the preparation of 
sandal paste mixed with Karpura. The best designs of 
tambula-Karandaka or betel box were prepared by the women 
from the Virata and Saurastra desas. The most beautiful and 
colourful display of Mangalaharathis or rows of lights in 
aratrikas emanated from the fair sex of the Trigartas. The 
art of knitting garlands found its best exponents among the 
ladies of countries of Avanti, Kunti and Andhra. In half 
dressing the Vidarbhas excelled. These women were invited 
by Achyuta Raya on various occasions.

Telugu Works: Amuktamalyada, which has been regarded as one of the masterpiece in the literary sources of
Vijayanagara history deals with the principles of administration. It is a work on political theory by Krishnadevaraya. This work is useful for the reconstruction of Vijayanagara history.

_Sringara Sakuntalam_ is written by Pillalamarri Pina Virabhadra, who is attributed as 'Vani Na Rani'. He adorned the court of Saluva Narasimha and dedicated this work to Cilleravenna Mantri. This work throws a flood of light on social conditions like caste system, occupation of women and habits of the people during this period.

_Kridabhiramam_ is a translation work in Telugu by Vinukonda Vellabhanatya, a governor of Vinukonda, Devaraya II. It reflects contemporary society. This work is a street drama (Vidhi Natak). The drama was enacted by the actors of Dorasamudra. Snake-charmers, dancing girls, Cock-fights, Ram-fights, all these are vividly described in this book.

_Simhasandvratrimaika_ is a remarkable kavya. Koravi Goparaju is the author of this kavya. He was the native of Telangana. He flourished in the latter half of the 15th century A.D. It is a contemporary Telugu work.

_Srinatha_, the versatile and prolific writer of the 15th century was the author of _Palanativira Caritra_, _Harivilasam_, _Bhimeswara Puranam_, _Kasikandamu_ and _Sivaratri-Mahatyam_. He travelled far and wide in the country and was honoured for his erudition. It throws direct light on the customs, habits, ornaments, pastimes, religious beliefs in Andhra-desa.

_Kannada Works_: _Basava Purana_, translated by Bhima Kavi, is a very popular work of this period. Laksmana Dandenatha's _Siva Tattvacintamani_, is a highly philosophical work. Camarasa wrote _Prabhulingalila_. Kallarasa was the
author of *Janavasya*, otherwise known as *Mallikarjunavijaya*. The poet says that the work amplified the teaching of Mallikarjuna to his queen as to the way by which women could subdue men (in love affairs). Timmana Kavi, wrote *Bharata*, Ratnakara Varni wrote *Bharatesa Vaibhava*. It is considered to be one of the best works in Kannada literature useful for the study of contemporary political and social conditions. Kanakadasa wrote *Mohana-Tarangini*, Snipadara, Vyasara, purandadaradasa, are some of the impoiment writers of this period. All their works throw light on social aspects prevailing vices, customs and manners of the people of Vijayanagara.

*Yakshagana Literature*: yakshagana literature had an importance of its own in this period. It captured the imagination of the common folk. proluganti Cenna-Mantu was the yakshagana writer who is said to have been honoured by Vira Narasimha. Saubhāri charitramu is a yakshagana. It narrates the story of the marriage of Lord Vishnu with cenculaxmi (sabari kanya). The ryots of the place in order to bring it to the notice of the king, sent a troupe to enact a yakshagana play before the king.

i) **Foreign Account**:

From time immemorial India has attracted foreigners. Many foreign travellers, traders and envoys have visited India and have recorded their experiences.

Abdur Razzak, who visited Vijayanagara in 1443 A.D., as an ambassador of the persian king, gives meticulous description of the city of Vijayanagara, its grandeur and the prosperity of the people. Abdur Razzak, sent on an important mission to the Zamorin by shah Rueeh in 1413 A.D.H.K. sailed to Calicut from Ormuz in 1442 A.D. His stay there was a cut short by a message from the king of Vijayanagara
asking that he should be sent on to the capital without delay. Abdur Razzak went to Vijayanagara by way of Mangalore and was received. He witnessed the Mahanavami festival. He has written a book called *Malta us salatin* The great value of this work has been generally recognised. From his accounts we can get a glimpse of the history of Vijayanagara.

The next foreigner to travel in South India was not a missionary but a trading prospector, a Venetian of noble family, *Nicolo de-Conti*. The first Indian city which Conti visited was Cambay in 1420 A.D. where he notices the number of precious stones called sardonixes and also the prevalence of Sati. Conti gives a glowing description of the Vijayanagara Court, festivals, currency and other aspects.

Athanas Nikitin, a Russian trader (1468 A.D.) travelled in India and left behind a vivid record of Vijayanagara. Varthema, a Portuguese traveller, who had travelled in India during 1503-8 has left a fine record of his experience. His description of the city of Vijayanagara, is interesting and valuable.

Durante Barbosa served the Portuguese government in India from 1500 to 1516 A.D. During his stay he learnt the Malayalam language very well. He gives a vivid picture of Vijayanagara.

Sewell Robert's unique work 'A Forgotten Empire' (1900) which includes translations of the chronicles of Domingos Paes is highly valuable not only for the light it throws on the personality of Krishnadevaraya, but also on the festivals, customs, and manners of the people of Vijayanagara. The chronicle of Nuniz, composed in 1537 A.D. incorporates the information gathered by him about the rulers of Vijayanagara. He visited Vijayanagara more than once between 1520 A.D. and 1540 A.D.
Ceasar Frederic, who visited Vijayanagar a couple of years after the battle of Talikota (1565 A.D.) comments on the greatness of the imperial city of Vijayanagara.

Another thing which attracted the travellers was the Harem, maintained by the Vijayanagara sovereigns Piero Delle-Valle, an Italian traveller toured the kingdom of Keladi and visited ikkeri and other places in the coastal region. He has left behind an illuminating description of the Society, customs and manners of the people.

j) Modern Works:

Apart from Archaeological, literary and foreign accounts, there are other supplementary works like books, research papers, articles published in various journals like the Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, Indian Historical Quarterly, Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, Journal of Indian History, Half-Yearly Journal of Mysore University, Journal of Bombay Branch of Historical Research Society which supply veritable information on Vijayanagara period.

4. Position of Women in pre-Vijayanagara Period:

Women played a dominant role during the pre-Vijayanagara period. Woman had remarkable role in all the social activities. There are large number of inscriptions as well as monuments which help us to study their position.

From time immemorial women occupied a respectable position in Indian society. Though the Indian society was Patrilineal in nature, in family both husband and wife were like two wheels of a cart. There could be peace and happiness in a family if there was good understanding between them. It was her duty to look after the household affairs vigilantly. In a family she occupied an important place. She received the fullest respect as the mistress of the house.
In ancient times and in all the partilineal societies, it may be recalled, the birth of a girl was generally an unwelcome event, almost everywhere, a son was valued more than a daughter.¹ The reason for this is simple and easy to understand. The son was permanent economic asset of the family, who did not migrate, like the daughter to another family after the marriage and he perpetuated the name of his father's family.²

The birth of a daughter was looked with disdain during that time. But later on she was given equal rights with men. The inclination of women was more towards the art, music, and dance. Only the higher class women got education and lower class women remained uneducated. The marriage of a daughter certainly took place at a very early age. Brahmin was never permitted to marry a girl above 12 years.

Intercaste marriage was never entertained. But in the royal families the Vaishnavas, the jainas, and the saivas had matrimonial contacts with each other. A very good example can be cited for this is the caste of Shantala Devi, the chief queen of Vishnuvardhana. Her father was a saivite, her mother was a jain and her husband was a Vaishnava.

Polygamy was the fashion of the day. A Brahmin could marry women belonging to all the four castes, the kshatriya could marry from the other three castes, the Vaishnavas could marry from the two castes. The Sudra could marry only a person belonging to his own caste. The Kings were the exceptional for this who invariably possessing a number of wives.

Women was considered an ideal companion for the man. It was her duty to devote herself for the good of her

¹ Altekar, A. S. The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation, p. 3.
husband. The husband in turn was also expected to be very prompt to his wife. Woman was desired to guard the respect of both her parents house and her husband. Sati or Sahagamana was prevalent among a higher class of women, who either took the vow or deemed it in a great honour to die, on the funeral pyres of their husbands. Mahasati, stones (masti-kallu) were erected in memory of the brave women who committed Sati. Such Masti-kallus were being periodically worshipped.

Contemporary evidence clearly show that women were highly respected in all matters particularly religion. Jainism was one religion which whole heartedly invited women as its well men as its supporters. The Vira-Saivas again came forward to give women an equal status with the men.

A large number of women built temples and made gifts to them. It is seen that Shantala Devi, the chief queen of Vishnuvardhana was a great Jain, she was responsible for the construction of several temples of the Sravanabelagola hill and made grants to several Jaina temples and to Jaina gurus or acharyas.

Akke Mahadevi, it may be recalled having served the worldly bondage, led the life of an ascetic and composed quite a number of Vachanas.

Akkadevi, the celebrated western Chalukya princess is often described as patronising all religions equally. She caused the construction of the temple of Traipurusa in 1022 A.D., at the agrahara at Perur (Bijapur District). Again, Shantala, the queen of Hoysala Vishnuvardhana, as described in the records as the cause of the elevation of the four Samayes (Catussamya Samuddharakarana kata

ne) i.e., she patronised equally all the four religions, viz. Saivism, Vaishnavism; Jainism and Buddhism.\(^4\)

Ketaladevi was the organiser of an agrahara in 1054 A.D. and stipulated one Chankiraja to build shrines of Shantinatha, Parshva and Suparshva for a Chaityalaya.\(^5\)

During the days of the Hoysalas, woman had equal right with men regarding ancestral property. Inscriptions state that the head of a family could not make grants without the consent of his sons and daughters.\(^6\)

From a number of inscriptions it is seen that prostitution was quite in practice. Some of the prostitutes were devoted to the temples and were commonly called Devadasis. The Devadasis and prostitutes were highly respected in the society. The prostitutes had to take the permission of the government for carrying out their business. Inscriptions often refer to a tax called 'Suledere'. There were separate areas where prostitutes lived. The area was called as Sulegere.

An inscription of the Ganga period records that Saviyabbee was the sister of Maduvara and Doyilamma. She has been praised as an abode of wisdom and collection of Dharma.\(^7\)

Woman as a mother was deemed to be the object of devotion, maintenance and good treatment by her children. Inscriptions refer to the construction of bassdis or temples in honour of their mothers. The general Gangappaya, a

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4 B.C., Vol. V. Bl. 17.
5 I.A., XIX, p. 279.
6 Krishna Rao, M. V. *Karnataka Itihasa Darshana*, p. 973-75.
7 B.C., II, Sb. 139.
lay disciple of Shubachandra Siddhanta Deva of the Deshi-
kangana of Malasangha constructed a basadi in the
memory of his mother Pochavve 8 An inscription of 994
A D , from Coorg records that, when Buchanga died by
cutting off head, his mother set up a memorial stone in
the memory of her son 9.

From a number of inscriptions it is evident that the
queens participated even in affairs of administration piriyak-
tetaladevi, a queen of Chalukya Vikramaditya VI, ruled three
villages 10 Jogabbarasi, another queen, was administering
the village of Ajjadi in 1019 A D 11 Lakshmadevi, a senior
queen of the same king ruled Dronapura 12

Mailadevi, a senior queen of Someshvara 1, ruled the
important province of Banavasi, comprising twelve thousand
villages 13 Akkadevi, sister of the Chalukya king Jayasimha’
ruled kirkukadu seventy for more than 44 years (1024-1068
A D .) 14

One of the queens of Shripurusha, queen Vive (yava)
tnamaditi was governing Malavellur Another inscription
of the same ruler records that Agali in Mulbagal taluk was
ruled by his another queen kauchiaabbe 15

Dr Derret 16 has pointed out that the Hoysala queens
not only exercised administrative authority each with her

9 E. C , Vol. I, Cg 28
10 ARSIE, 1920-24, p 102
11 Ibid., 1932-33, p. 103.
12 S. I. I., XI, 125 Doni.
13 ARSIE, 1933-34, p. 132.
14 S. I. I., XI. 55.
16 The Hoysalas, p. 187.
own ministers and stewards under her, but also conducted on occasions the military campaigns "of not too exacting nature." The Hoysala rule witnessed the involvement of the queen along with the kings in the administration. Umadevi, one of the queens of Vira Ballala III was an able administrator and stood hand in hand with her husband in administration. She participated in many battles and it is known that she was ruling over the empire from the Hoysala headquarters of Dorasamudra during the absence of her husband. An inscription from the Arasikere taluk states that she was ruling Magure 300 and was helped by Mahapradhana kumarapandita Dannayaka.17

Epigraphs refer to not only ladies of the royal family but also wives of feudatories and even ordinary women as taking part in political affairs. We have for instance of one Ballamahadevi a Tuluve queen who had all the sovereign titles used by the Alupa kings-Maharajadhiraja, parameshvara, parabalasadhaka and so forth and ruled from her principal palace at Baraha-kanyakapura (Modern Barakur), (South kanara) with her own ministers and many officials under her 18.

Women were highly accomplished during this period under review. The education mainly consisted of the fine-arts as music and dance in addition to general education. Some of them were exponents in the field of their learning. The poetess Kanti, a contemporary of the poet Abhinavapampa, who was a court poet of the Hoysala king Ballala I, is known for her witty compositions and poetic repartees with the poet. She is the first poetess to write in Kannada19. Lakmadevi, queen of Vikramaditya VI, was proficient in

17 E.C., V, AK 40.
18 Ramesh K. V. A History of South Kanara, pp. 125-127.
19 E.C., II, Sb 132.
poetry, vocal and instrumental music and dance. Shantala-Devi, the Hoysala queen is immortalised in song, story and sculpture as a paragon of accomplishments. She was an expert in singing, dancing and instrumental music. She was called Brihaspati, in discrimination and vachaspati in ready wit. Vijayabhattacharika, daughter-in-law of Pulakeshi II, was a well known poetess. Chandaladevi, senior queen of Vikramaditya VI, known as Abhinava Saraswathi, was a patron of education. Sovaladevi, sister of Hoysala king Narasimha II, built the town of Somanthapura in 1237 A.D. and made it a centre of education.

Dowry system was also prevalent. Wealthy people gave various kinds of precious metals, jewels, clothes and other things. Sometimes landed property was also given as dowry to the bridegroom. Amoghavarsha offered his daughter Revakanimmadi in marriage to Buttunga, the ganga prince, with the territories of the Biligere 300, the kesuvadi 70 and the Bagenad 70 as dowry.

Generally the ladies wore sarees. The dancing girls, courtesans and Women belonging to nobility wore breeches and very costly dress. They wore ear-rings, bangles, armlets' bracelets, necklace, rings, girdles, finger rings, waistbelts, anklets, nose-screw and head ornaments. These ornaments were made of gold, silver, ivory and brass. Women belonging to the upper class wore ornaments made of gold and lower class wore ornaments made of silver etc.

22 I.A., VII., pp. 163-164.
23 S.I.I., XI, 142, Katageri
24 E.C., V, AK, 123.
Women belonging to rich community confined to the household activities only, but women of the poor class worked even outside the house. They were busy in basket-making, mat-making, weaving, garland making and in agricultural activities and so on.

From the above accounts it may be derived that women took part in almost all walks of life. They acted as administrators of various provinces and carried on the administration successfully. A few women were highly educated and well versed in many branches of learning. Many ladies had mastery over singing, dancing and in other fine-arts. Many wealthy ladies profusely donated money for various humanitarian purposes. In religious life the part played by women was also of great importance. Epigraphical evidence reveals that women had enjoyed a remarkable role in social, political, and religious fields and contributed for the social solidarity. Thus, the position of women in pre-Vijayanagara period was highly satisfactory.
CHAPTER-2

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN POLITICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE AND ECONOMIC LIFE DURING VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD
CHAPTER - 2

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN POLITICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE AND ECONOMIC LIFE DURING VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD

The available sources like inscriptions, monuments, literary works and foreign travellers accounts, enable to reconstruct the part played by the women in administrative political as well as in economic life. However, there are limited sources and hence, in some fields like administration, political and economic life much information is not forthcoming. The above works throw light on a number of women belonging not only to the royal families, but also to the common folk of society who actively participated in political, administrative and economic life of the period under review.

a) The Queen:

It was a general practice in Karnataka from the ancient period that the queens often participated with their husbands. There are such numerous instances of the Ganga, Rashtrakuta, Chalukya and Hoysala periods. Specially the office of the queen came to be institutionalised on a firm ground from Hoysala period.

During the Vijayanagara period we come across few instances of the queens participating in the administration. So far we have not come across instances of the queens Sangama and the Saluva houses participating actively in administration. From the Tuluva period, there are instances of queens participating in administration.
Jaganmohini, queen of Krishnadevaraya was administering kambam near Kadapa Jilla in Andhra pradesh, a tank (kere) and served the common people in different ways.  

The annals of Hande Anantapuram, this chronicle says that after the death of Krishnadevaraya his queens Chinna Devi and Tirumala Devi wanted that RamaRaya who had married the daughter of Tirumala Devi should rule as the Aliya (son-in-law) helped by his brother Tirumala Raya who had married the daughter of Chinna Devi. Salakam Timmaya taking advantage imprisoned both Rama Raya and Tirumala Raya. Salakam Timmaya, who was the treasurer in the court, took help from the Muhammadan forces. Rama Raya and Tirumala Raya summoned Hande Hanumappa Nayudu of Sonnalapuram, who was a great hero. The queens of Krishna deva Raya on hearing this, ordered the ministers to hand over the city to Rama Raya and Tirumala Raya, and the order was accordingly carried out. By this we can say that queens were powerful enough to issue orders.

b) Women as Fighters:

we have got a number of instances in the inscriptions about the braveness and active participation of queens as well as women of the common folk in military expeditions with their husbands. For example, Gangadevi, wife of kampana, accompanied him in the war. Krishnadevaraya was accompanied by his two queens Chinna Deviamma and Tirumala Deviamma in 1515 A. D., when he conducted seige on Kondaveedu. Achyutaraya’s wife Oduva Tirumalamba also accompanied him in the expedition of Madura.

1 Desai P. B. Minchida Mahileyaru, p. 52.
2 Ayyangar, S. K. Sources of Vijayanagara History, p. 178.
3 ARSIE of 1908-9, p. 178.
An epigraph belonging to the fourteenth century found adorning a Virakal, in the enclosure at Haraguru explains that women were warriors too. They were not only strong and sturdy soldiers but also the fierce and firm fighters. By about 1398 A. D., when the first dynasty of Vijayanagara namely the sangama dynasty was dominating the south Indian stage and when Hariharanatha was at the helm of the affairs, a war ensued between Dannala Devi and Ramanna Hemmadi.  

There are inscriptional evidences in order to substantiate the fact that women were really good fighters, who carried out their fights in battlefields even though their husbands lost their lives in battlefield. There are such instances for example, in 1386 A. D., Bomambe, wife of Mahavira Madorakala continued the fight, even though her husband died in the battle. The keen observation of the sculptures of the Vijayanagara monuments reveal that women not only knew horse riding but also the elephant riding and camel riding who actively participated in the battlefield. A sculpture depicts women sitting on a horse and the other women are holding long spear (Ref. Pl. No. 1). Another sculpture depicts women on an elephant. On each elephant a male and a female are sitting. Woman is sitting at the backside of the male. So, we can say that women were good riders on horse, camel and elephants (Ref. Pl. No. 2) Another sculpture depicts women going for a war field (Ref. Pl. No. 3). Another sculpture depicts a lady warrior bending a bow. During this period the emperor’s zenana was guarded by lady warriors. In this sculpture the artist achieved the grace of a dance stance more than the force and strength of a warrior. It is an admirably executed piece (Ref. Pl. No. 4).

5 M. A. R., 1923, pp. 96-91.
c) Women and Business:

women were too carrying out business like men, who approached the king with their grievances or demands. Aramavalatta Nachiyar, the elder sister of kaikolar, interviewed Devaraya II in 1433 A.D., and secured from him a copper-plate grant embodying a Sarvamanya gift of a village and, it was exempted from taxes.  

b) Women and wrestling:

An inscription on 1446 A.D., confirms the evidence of Nuniz who observed that women knew wrestling. It relates thus: "at the time when Madigauda, son of Nagagauda, fighting with wrestlers went to Svarga, laying in ambush for those who fought with her father, Hariyakka....went to the world of Gods." This incomplete Viragal, which her Junior uncle Chenna set up, evidently wants to commemorate the measures which Hariyakka took to revenge the death of her father by fighting with wrestlers. A Vikagal depicts Hariyakka taking revenge against her fathers's death. This Viragal is found at Shekaripur, Shomoga District (Ref. pL. No. 5) Hariyakka was a famous wrestler in the period under review.

e) Women as Mahamandaleswara:

The Institution of the Mahamandaleswaras was of great significance in the medieval days when there was no national instinct in the modern sense, people bore allegiance to the immediate ruler regardless of nationality. These feudatory families preserved the culture of the locality and, in a way, assisted the stability of the political power of the imperial rulers. They fostered the art and literature of the country.

6 M.E.R. of 1919, p. 103.
The Mahamandal eswara of a rajya was the representative of the king in that area and ruled over it on his behalf. He was the viceroy of the emperor and Leadership in all walks of life, education, religion, ethics, business, and trade, administration, military science, fine arts, including music and dance etc. was being developed in so many provincial capitals and towns under the feudatories.

Mahamandal eswaras had full powers, like a king, suppose if the king was not in station, or if the kings wanted to wage war, he would 'neither go nor send Mahamandal eshwar. Mahamandal eswara had full freedom, they were not paying any tribute. They were relatives of the king, or once upon a time they enjoyed political independence and had lost it and had come under the suzerainty of the king.

From the time of Devaraya II we can note a change of policy in the appointment of Mahamandal swara in the Tamil country. It was not only members of the royal family but also members belonging to the subordinate rulers and the nobility who were chosen as governors. With the expansion of the empire the number of provinces also increased and so, more Mahamandal eswaras had to be appointed. Members of the Saluva family were closely related to Devaraya II. Harima, the sister of Devaraya II was given in marriage to Tippa, who was a Mahamandal eswara.

Women too played an important role as Mahamandal eswara in the Vijayanagara period. Bhenna Bhairadevi-amma, succeeded Mahamandaleswara Gururaya Odeya in 1542 A.D. as the ruler of Bhatkal. She was the cousin of Gururaya Odeya and wife of Devarasa-Odeya. Her parents were Bhairadevi-Amma and Mahaprabhu Virappa Odeya.8
In 1542 A. D., Governor Martin Affonso de Souza attacked Bhatkal on the pretext that Chenna Bhairadevi-Amma had withheld tribute which was due to the king of Portugal and was harbouring pirates in her port and destroyed the place with fire and sword. Her city was burnt, her subjects were slain in large numbers and the queen was reduced to submission. We have ample evidence of this incident both in inscriptions and in the Portuguese chronicles. A hero-stone standing near the Parsvanatha Basti in Bhatkal dated Saka 1465, Shubhakritu, Kartika, Su. 15 equivalent to 1542 A. D. Oct 23, Monday, refers to Achyutaraya as the reigning king at Vijayanagara and to his feudatory Mahamandaleswara Chenna Bhairadevi-Ammavaru, niece of Devarasa-Odeya as ruling over Haduvalli, Bhatkal and other Rajyas from her capital Sangitapura. The record states that Parangades kapita Mere (i. e., capitão Mor or the captain general of the Portuguese) laid siege to Bhatkal and having burnt the city, marched on the palace when Enkappa-Nayaka brother of Naranadeva Nayaka and nephew of Linga-Nayaka tried to stop the Portuguese at the gate of the palace and bravely attacking the enemy fell in the fight. The inscription further states that Mahamandaleswara Chennadevi Ammanavaru granted to Naranadeva, nephew of her officer Linga Nayak, a piece of land having the sowing capacity of ten and half Mudis of paddy, belonging to the palace, after having detainted it from the previous tenant. This grant to Naranadeva Nayaka was made in memory of the death of his brother Enkappa who stood near the gate of the palace to rebel the attack of the Portuguese and fell fighting against the enemy. The land thus granted was to pass to the female descendants as gift or to the male descendants by right of succession.

Bhatkal was destroyed by the Portuguese, Chenna-Bhairadevi-Amma was now faced with the task of rebuilding it. She appealed to Sadasiva Raya, the king of Vijayanagar, for help which was readily extended. The rich merchants of Bhatkal rose to the occasion and helped their queen in the work of reconstruction.

Chenna-Bhairadevi's power and influence rose high, when sometime after 1547 A.D., she took over the Nagire-rajya and became the queens of two kingdoms. Chennadevi and Chenna Bhairadevi of Gersoppa, the latter being called the 'queen of pepper' by the portuguese.10

In 1606 A.D., Venkatappa Nayaka, Ikkeri ruler invaded Gersoppa, the second capital of Chenna Bhairadevi. She was captured and imprisoned in Ikkeri, where she was treated well as her position deserved, but later she died in prison soon after. Later, the ports of Honavar, Basaruru and Bhatkal came under the control of Venkatappa Nayaka.

Chenna Bhairadevi was a great woman and a queen of high order. In religious matters she was a right devotee of Jainism. In 1545 A.D., she raised a magnificent Jaina temple in Bhatkal.11 In 1550 A.D., she made a grant of tax free land to the Chovisa-Tirthankara Basti at Muda Bhatkal for conducting daily worship and offerings. This basti had been built by Viradevi, the queen of Mahamandaleswara Gururaya Odeya.12

An inscription in 1552 A. D. records several grants made for aharadana and other religious purposes. Chenna Bhairadevi herself made a grant, with the consent of the local body

10 Karnataka State Gazetteer, p. 454.

Mudis is a measure.
12 Ibid., No. 15, ARIE 1965-66, No. 366, Dharwada.
of traders to the effect that they would undertake to safeguard. some of the lands granted were purchased or held on rental basis vara or anavara and some females donors like Nagarasiadhikarti, Bommarasaadhikari and daughter of Bommana setti, sankama Nayakiti, the daughter-in-law of Nagappa setti also figure here in making grants of land or money.¹³

As an efficient administrator, Chenna Bhairadevi Amma was fortunate in having around her able officers who helped her in governing her kingdom. she was the rallying point of all communities on whom they could bank in any crisis. This is the main reason why she was able to withstand herself against the portuguese, though they were strong on the coast. she boldly challenged them and refused resolutely to bow to them at any cost. In 1569 A.D., Bhatkal was finally annexed into the Keladi kingdom by Venkatappa-Nayaka.¹⁴

f) Women as Governor:

women as governor played an important role in the period under review. For example we have got an inscription in kannada language from Bagunji region which states that some portion of the Bagunji region was given in 1516 A.D. to kalala Devi, who was the daughter of Bommala Devi and sister of Immadi Bhairaras Odeyer, the ruler of kalasa karkala kingdom. kalala Devi governed the Bagunji region. ¹⁵

g) Women as queen regent:

Queens were also playing an important role as queen regents. For example we have, Varadambika, the Pattama

¹³ K. I., III, No. 14, Bhatkal. N. K.
¹⁴ The Navaka of Ikkeri, p. 55.
hish of Achyutaraya, was the queen-regent, and was a
close associate to the emperor Achyutaraya in his religious
and other activities. She was a constant companion of her
husband, whether he was on a pilgrimage or on a military
expedition which indicates her keen interest in political
field, administration and also shows her complete devotion
and loyalty that she had for the emperor Achyutaraya.

Queen Varadambika survived Emperor Achyutaraya, as
testified to by the Portuguese historian Correa. He mentions
that the queen-Dowager, mother of Venkatadri appealed to
the hereditary enemy the Bijapur Sultan, in a frantic state
come to her aid and secure the Vijayanagara throne for her
son and promised immense riches in return for such a favour
done, as she sensed the evil intentions of her brother Salaka
Chinna Tirumaladeva, in whose charge king Achyutaraya
had left his son Venkatadri before he died in 1542 A.D.
But unfortunately for her the following events culminated
in her brother assassinating her dear son, Venkatadri. It is
said that Salaka Chinna Tirumaladeva who was the Regent
of Venkatadri, aspiring for the throne put to death the mem-
bers of the royal family whose rivalry he feared. As the
queen-mother Varadambika is not mentioned in particular,
it may well be surmised that she was also a victim of the
evil conspiracy of her brother, who had earlier issued a
religious grant for the spiritual merit of his sister, queen
Varadambika.

Thus, queen Varadambika attempted to her best for her
son, Venkatadri in accordance with the wishes of her late
husband, Emperor Achyutaraya. But in vain however, she

16 Sources, p. 158.
17 Sewell, Forgotten Empire, p 176.
18 N.V.R. STDV, p. 79.
appears to have led a life that well-suited to Achyutaraya for she maintained her position at the court as the Pattama-
khishi or the Queen-Regent till the end of the reign of Achyutaraya

b) Women as Officers:

Women occupied a very important post as officers during the period. For instance we have, Adaippam Parmadama-
mam and Rukmini-Amman were officers in the reign of Achyutaraya. Their services are registered in numbers 540
and 540 (T.T) dated 26-12-1535 A.D. on the above date these two ladies accompanied Achyutaraya, Varadaji-Amman
and kumara Venkatadri, during their visit to Srivenkates
wara temple. Two other ladies Mallamman and Aravittu
Lakshmiamman, were two important officers to Achyuta
devaraya are mentioned in numbers 325 and 328 (T.T)
Timmakka is stated to have served both krishnarayana and
and Achyutaraya as their right hand.20

i) Women as Administrators:

An inscription in the reign of krishnadeva Raya in 1516
A.D., states that Parvati-amma, who was the mother of
Immadi Basavappa Odeya, an officer of the king, ordered
Aruha Timmana Nayaka, who was the Pradhana, of katturu
to give a gift of the village of Dannayakapura for the
charity of water lift at Soge and for the merit of Immadi
Basavappa Odeya. she also gave instructions, after meeting
the expenses of the water lift was to be utilised for the
service of the god Kalinathadeve at Soge. we can say that
women were powerful to issue orders and instructions in
he matters relatet to some of the aspects in admini-
stration.21

20 T.T.D. Inscriptions, No. 60, p, 246.
21 S.I.I., Ix, Pt II. No., 503.
In an inscription found at Basrur village in Coondapur Taluk of South Canara district there is a reference to a heggaditi. She was Tuluvaka who held the office of heggada during the reign of Harihara Maharaya of Vijaya nagara. The record mentions that a grant of land made by the heggaditi. It states that when Basavanna Odeya was governing Barakur rayya, under the order of Harihara Maharaya, Tuluvaka heggaditi gave a gift of land for the service of the God Tuluvesvara and for feeding nine Brahmans in cattras of the temple.22

Another inscription found at Aminabada of Sattenpalli Taluk in Guntur district (1415 A.D.) records the orders were issued by the King Rachavema Reddi's mother to excavate a tank at Santanavardhi. The ruler had a channel called Jaganobhagaudekatva dug out as a supply channel to the tank constructed under the orders of the queen mother Suramba. Srinatha has written this inscription.23

j) Women as Bodyguards:

In this connection we are reminded of the amazonian bodyguard of armed women employed in his palace by the Emperor, Chandragupta Maurya, as described by Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador to his court. Similarly, Kautilya in his Arthashastra, which is also taken to be a document of Mauryan history, refers to women soldiers armed with bows and arrows (striganeiah dhanvibhih).24

paes speaks of women guards, eunuchs and attendants on queens, and court ladies. He opines, 'Each one of these wives has her house to herself, with her maidsens and women

22 Ibid., No 424.
23 Ibid., X, No. 582, p. 322.
of the chamber, and women guards and all other women servants necessary, all these are women, and no man enters where they are, send only eunuchs who guard them.... within, with these maidens, they say that there are 12,000 women, for you must know that there are women who handle sword and shield, and other wrestle, and other who blow trumpets, and other pipes and other instruments which are different from ours, and in the same way they have women as bearers (boois) and washing folk, and for other officers inside their gates, just as the king has the officers of his household.25

The guards had a duty to make themselves acquainted with every event which occurred within the fortress. They should control, restrict or check the movement of the people entering or leaving the respective gateways. They should also report the stolen articles by the thieves. There was also separate women guards quarters in the empire. A sculpture taken at Mahanavami Dibba depicts women bodyguards. The sculptures shows that king is sitting. Backside the king women bodyguards are standing holding a sword on their left hand. These bodyguards use to accompany the king wherever he went. They paid good salaries. These body guards are dressed neatly. They are wearing hand rings, anklets, head ornament, bangles, waist ornaments, ear-rings armlets, necklaces (Ref. plate No.6).

k) Family Life:

In the literary works and inscriptions of the period we come across categories of women in the family life, the kula stree, the Courtesan (the Bhoga stree) and the prostitute (the vesya). Most women belonged to the first category and the other two classes formed only a small minority.

The first category kula stree was the legally married or the legitimate wife of man. Devotion to her husband was the one duty that was considered to be the highest womanly virtue. Besides devotion to her husband, she had her duties to her children as their mother. It was also her responsibility to look after and manage the household. She was the mistress of the house (Griha patni). This meant a busy life for her from morning until she went to bed. She had her usual routine of keeping the house clean, decorating it with beautiful drawings in lime powder, washing the vessels, cooking food etc. Women of the higher castes were confined to the household and rarely came out. The women were regarded as an object of enjoyment. Man was the head of the family. We get less accounts about them because as Paes says, "The wives (of Brahmans) are very retiring and very seldom leave the house. They are of light colours. They, the Brahmans are all married and have got beautiful wives. He also says that she was taught to believe that she was created only to cater to man's needs and keep him in good humor." 25

A sculpture depicts mother and child. Mother standing holding her child on her hips depicting a very natural and human feature of domestic life (Ref. Plate No. 7). Another sculpture depicts a pregnant lady (Ref. Plate No. 8).

1) Women and Agriculture:

The importance of agriculture need not be emphasised in a country like India, which is a land of Villages. Agriculture is one of the major occupations of the people of this region. The important manufacturers of the country and also Indian trade and commerce, depended largely on agricultural production. In short, the soundness of Indian finance depended largely upon agricultural prosperity.

25 Sewell. Forgotten Empire, p. 246.
Among the common folk, women in general were well accomplished and their place was mostly the hearth, though they assisted the men in domestic activities, trade and agriculture. Caste being the dominant feature of the society, woman played her part in the profession of the caste to which her husband belonged. Thus, a potter woman would help her husband in pot making, while the wife of the ryot helped her husband in agricultural activities.

No clear information is available about the total area of land under cultivation in the Vijayanagara. It appears, however, that there were extensive forests and uncultivated waste lands which were brought under cultivation. It is noteworthy in this connection to mention that the society of the time strongly believed that by gifting \(^{26}\) away one's own property movable or immovable to gods and learned Brahmans, one could attain heaven by virtue of the religious merit accruing out of such gift. Though such formation of villages in uninhabited places was largely promoted by religious motives for many villages were formed and gifted away to Brahmans as Sarvamanya and to temples as Devadanas for the attainment of merit, it contributed much to the economic welfare of the people. Land played an important role in the economic life of the people.

Foreign travellers visiting Vijayanagara have not left any account in regard to women in general and their household activities, for it was the courtiers, the dancing women and women in service at the royal palace were attracted.

1) Women and Landed property: Various historical sources found in the coastal Karnataka mention that the women in that region were acquainted with the agricultural activities. It is said that the woman in the Coastal Karn-

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26 Kane, P. V. History of Dharmasastra ii. 83.
taka, "is born on land lives on it". They managed landed property as efficiently as men. Landed property in the coastal Karnataka was owned by the royalty as well as private citizens.

One of the epigraphs of 1401 A.D. from Basrur mentions that one Tuluva Heggaditi, the grand daughter of Kotesarah, belonging to Jadar Bali, was enjoying landed property yielding 106 Mudis of rice.\textsuperscript{27}

An epigraph from kaikim in Bhatkal taluk (1542 A. D) states that one Gummate Nayakiti, the daughter of Koteya kka, belonging to Honnabali was owning landed property worth 3 mudis of rice in a place called Salugeri.\textsuperscript{28}

Similarly, another inscription in 1546 A.D refers to Baliyakka, the daughter of Banasi, was in possession of landed property worth 9 mudis, in the place called Mavali.\textsuperscript{29}

ii) Women and Land Owners: It has been noted that the economy of Karnataka depended mainly on land, which was the primary source of wealth. The system of ownership normally had much to do with the development and progress of agriculture, for the fully utilization of the first agent of production. It is curious to note that many epigraphs often refer to women land owners. Lakkamma Nayakiti, Isaramma Nayakiti, Gummata Nayakiti Yenku Nayakiti and Sante Heggade were land owners in Bhatkal, kaikiu, and Mavalli regions.\textsuperscript{30}

It is interesting to note that some women became owners of landed property on account of gifts, probably received

\textsuperscript{27} S.I.I. IX Pt. II, No. 424.
\textsuperscript{28} K.I. III Pt. I, No. 11.
\textsuperscript{29} Idid., No. 16.
\textsuperscript{30} S.I.I, VII, No. 311.
on the occasions of their marriages. An inscription of 1433 A.D. from Basrur, informs us that one Narayana Shetti donated a house site along with garden to Devakka on the occasion of her marriage. 31 Honamma Shetti received in 1482 A.D. a gift of land as Kanyadana, after purchase from her grandfather Hireya-Honneya Kambali Odeya alias Bankiarasa. 32

On some occasions, royal sanction was given to women in the form of land gifts. To support this an inscription from Mavalli in 1547 A.D., refers that one Baitamma Nayakiti’s gift of land on the occasion of her marriage with Malu Naika received royal sanction. 33

iii) Women enjoyed landed property along with their male relatives:

The epigraphical study indicates that on a few instances women enjoyed landed property along with their male relatives. In 1433 A.D. one Koteyakka managed her landed property in Basrur along with her children. 34 An inscription from Karnataka in 1475 A.D. indicates that one Bali Setti owned landed property along with her uncle Bhima Shetty. 35

iv) Women and Land Transactions such as sale, purchase, grants and mortgage:

For instance in 1226 A.D. the queen Padumaladevi of Gerasoppe, with her head quarters at Honnavar, sold a piece of land in the Medji village of Saigali Magane to one

31 ARSIE, 1920-30, No. 563.
32 S.I.I IX Pt. II, No. 444.
33 K.I. III, No. 16.
34 S.I., II, Pt II, No. 44.
35 Ibid., No. 511.
Mahalappa. In 1531 A. D., one Sankamma from Kanyana in Kundapur taluk, sold a land yielding bailu Mudi 41 to one Timmi Setti.

Lands were also purchased because of their devotion to religion. In 1401 A.D., Virupayi, daughter of Madanna, purchased lands at Babbaravadi from Mahabala Bhatta and donated its revenue income to God Mahabaleswara for feeding the Brahmans in the cattra attached to the temple. The above gift after purchase was done on the condition that Damodra Bhatta, the priest and the receiver of the gift, had to feed the Brahmans daily in the cattra. Viradevi, the wife of Guraraja Odeyar of Sangitapura purchased land known as Nichalammakki in Bhatkal in the year 1533 A.D. from Jagappa Joisa and the revenue income of the above land was donated for the performance of rituals in basadi at Mudu Bhatkal.

An inscription in 1427 A.D. registers a sale of land in Aramvali in santalige nadu of Araga-Venthe for 85 varahas by the members of the nadu, to Hariyaka Nayakiti of Hebburadi when sirigirinatha odeya was governing Araga rajya. Thereupon, on the same day she gifted that land to Amareshvara tirtha sripada of the (Muni) mutha for feeding an ascetic and 4 itinerant Brahmnananas daily and employing 2 cooks.

v) Women and Land Formation: women played indispensable role in the land formation. Their functions in the land formation are intensive cultivation, effective supervision of their landed property and perserverence of land in the agricultural works. Different activities of women in the

36 K.I. VI, No. 69.
37 S.I.I. IX, No. 54.
38 K.I. VI, No. 62.
39 K.I. III, No. 15, pp. 54-55.
40 E. C., VI, Kp. 27.
land formations are gleamed from the Talangeri inscription. The inscription states that Mochchobarasi, the receiver of the barren land from the chief of kumbale, converted it into fertile field, constructed a house and laid out garden. It is said that queen Abbakka II (A.D.1599-1629 A.D) of Ullala effectively supervised her landed property.

vi) Ordinary Women in agricultural operation: The employment of women labour in agricultural activities is mentioned in the inscriptions. These women workers are known as hennalus. In 1623, Pietra Della-Valle, an Italian traveller noticed the employment of large number of women in the agricultural operations such as planting, seedling and reaping in the ghat region of south kanara. Women were also employed in sowing, repainting, manuring the plants and harvesting.

Women in the period under review were interested in basket-making, tailoring, pottery, mat-making and garland-making. In the field of textiles, women's contribution has been most outstanding. The women craft workers are known as a bandhanaris. Women were taking an active part in the industrial life. They were manufacturing arrows and bows, basket making, weaving cloth. Srinatha mentions in one of his famous catus that he saw a Bajiya woman (a woman of trading community) sale woman. (a woman of weavers community), Machekant (a woman of fisherman community), and Vaddekula Vadhuti, (a woman

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41 E. I., XXIX, pp. 208-9.
42 Travels PV, p. 337.
44 The Travels II, P. 296.
45 Kd. Rm. p. 81.
46 Ct. Mn, p. 130.
47 Ibid., p. 133.
48 Ibid., p. 134.
49 Kd., Rm. p 74.
of stone chisler’s community) who were going freely in the streets.

In conclusion we can say that, women in the coastal Karnataka emerged as land owners because of the prevalence of the female lines of succession, land gifts received on the occasion of their marriages and their participation in the land transactions. On the same occasions, the women in the region under study shared with their male relatives both the management of landed property and in the land transactions. By effective supervision of cultivation in the field and by labour in the agricultural operations the women played effective roles in the land formation. Some of the religious monuments and survived in coastal Karnataka on account of the surplus landed income spent by the women land owners. It seems that on certain occasions, these women acted as motivators to their male relative to donate lands to the religious institutions. In the period under review, women demonstrated their social status and economic power through the construction of temples and endowing grants to them.

vii) Construction of Irrigational Works like Tanks and Channels, for the religious merit of the Donors:

Irrigation:

The paramount importance of irrigation in a country like India, throughout the greater part of which rainfall is uncertain, insufficient or unevenly distributed is very great. Without proper irrigation, large areas of land in south India would lie permanently waste or could be cultivated only in years of exceptionally favourable rainfall. Irrigation is a key factor in promoting all economic activities leading to the all round development of the country. In India provision for the supply of water is considered an act of charity, and it is said that, as the water of a tank serves to nature both movable and immovable creation on earth, even Brahma is
not able to recount the merit accruing from it. There are a number of inscriptions referring to the construction of irrigational works for the religious merit of the donors or their relatives. The kings and queens, Mahamandaleswar took keen interest in constructing tanks and irrigational channels for the religious merit of their parents, queens, mothers, sisters, daughters, wives etc. The state encouraged private initiative by making grants to the people or institutions that undertook the work. Tanks, canals, dams were constructed to store water.

In 1371 A.D. Hiriachilinayaka and ChiKa Chilinayaka constructed Periyasamudra in the name of their mother Periyayarakit.  

In the reign of Devaraya II, in 1428 A.D. Jakkadeva, native of the royal city of Kareyapattana, built a tank called Meddarihali to the south of Hiriyur for the religious merit of his mother Kamayi.

Under Saluva Narasimha II, a tank was constructed by Narasanayaka, after the name of his mother Kaveramma.

Krishnadevaraya, constructed a big tank to provide irrigation to the fields and supply water to the new city of Nagalapura, near his capital. In 1514 A.D. Ranganatha Dikshita, the Purohita of the king, obtained the village called Nagaladevipura from the king, built temples there and also constructed a tank called Nagalambika Samudra for the merit of king’s mother Nagaladevi.

In the reign of Achytaraya, Ramamatya, governor of Kondavidu, constructed a tank called Lakkasamudra, for the

50 E.I., XV, p. 94.
51 E.C., X, Chikkaballapur, No. 63.
52 E. C., XI, Hiriyur 52
53 Inscriptions of A. P. No. 54, p. 63.
54 M.A.R., 1922, No. 686
merit of his mother Hiriya Lakkarasamma at Chikka Keriya-ginahalli in Bellary district in 1539 A.D. 55.

In the reign of Krishnadevaraya, in 1520-21, Maharaja Kondamarasayya, Karyakarta of the Raya, constructed a tank Anantasagaram for the religious merit of his mother Sanikayamma and his father Thiminarasayyanagaru 56.

When Sadasiva Raya was ruling the kingdom, in 1559 A.D. Mahamandaleswara Narayana Raja, in order that merit might be to his father and mother, for the offerings to the God Mallikarjuna, made a grant of Vithasamudra with the tank and pond. 57.

In 1467 A. D. Srirangambadeviamma, queen of saluva Narasimha had a irrigation channel excavated in the temple village. 58 In the same year, Saluva Narasimha excavated an irrigational channel in a temple village to provide for the offerings of Venkatesa for the merit of his queen. 59

In the reign of Achyuta Raya. Chinnamba, sister of Ramayamantri and wife of pratapa yella constructed a tank called Gopinathasamudra near Vankalapadu 60 in 1635 A. D.

When Devaraya was ruling in 1416 A. D., keta Gouda gave to one Muddaya's daughter land as a Kattukodige for the construction of a tank 61. she was given a reward for constructing a tank.

55 S I.I. IX, Pt. II, No. 593
58 T. T. D. I, No. 25.
59 Ibid., II, No. 341, p. 41.
60 ARSIE, 1915, No. 422, p. 40.
61 E.C., XI, Channapatna 169.
In the reign of sadasiva Raya in 1554 A. D. Bayakara Ramappayya, governor of Konadu, built a tank called Kamasamudra at Magima-Vinahalli in Bellary district for the religious merit of his daughter Kamamma 62 and he also constructed a tank called Achyutamma Samudra in the village Achyutammapura Agrahara, after his another daughter Achyutamma 63.

Thus, women in the Vijayanagar period, as queens, daughters, sisters, wives, mothers, took keen interest in the irrigational works kings' feudatories, queens, took very much of interest in construction of tanks in the merit of their mothers and wives.

Conclusion

From the above instances it is clear that the women during the period were very active and most influencing personalities in almost all walks of life. Their valuable services in various aspects was remarkable. So far in dealing the role of women in political, administrative and economic life, it is interesting to note that women who belonged to the higher strata of the society played an active role in politics and administration, whereas the women belonging to the lower strata of the society played an active role in the economic life. The depth survey of available sources fails to provide a complete evidences about the role of Women in industries and commerce. Rigidity was one of the important causes which was responsible for the less participation in political, administrative and economic life. However, it may not be out of place to mention that though the many studies have been done on the Vijayanagara period and though number of sources are available no study directly reveals about the actual role of women during the period under study.

62 ARSIE, 1914, p. 111.
63 Ibid., 1914, p. 111.
CHAPTER-3

WOMEN AS DONORS
CHAPTER 3

WOMEN AS DONORS

1 Royal Women:

Women with material wealth and social position often appear as generous donors in the inscriptions of the period under study. As the temple stood as the cynosure of socioeconomic life, most of these donations either in the form of land or cash, went normally to the temples. The income derived from these donations was meant specifically towards the performance of religious services as well as to maintain the temple servants. In return for their grant the donors were conferred with 'temple honour' such as the offering of the share in the prasadam, etc. This may be illustrated from the inscriptions of this period in Tirumalai-Tirupati temples. The Tirumalai Tirupati temples, the premier temple of the Vijayanagara period received the largest of the royal benefactions and public donations.

Gifts to temples were in the form of lands, villages, income from villages, proceeds from the remission of taxes, ornaments, cloth, articles, etc. These were made over to the deities in the temples by the kings, officials, chiefs, Mahamandaleswara queens, common women or ordinary women with different religious motives. The benefactions made and endowments created were generally entrusted to the trustees of the temples (sthanikas) for arranging regular worship of the deity, for burning perpetual lamp, for conducting temple festivals and for remunerating temple servants for their services in the temple. They made grants with religious motives. Women made liberal grants to temples to
commemorate their visits to temples, to secure a strong empire, to acquire religious merit, to celebrate their birthday, and for realizing the four objects of human desire namely, Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha.

In the earlier chapter we have discussed at length on the unique position the royal women enjoyed in their private as well as public life. We have found them as participants in important political decision-makings, while some of them provided heroic leadership to their subjects, others led the warriors to the battlefield. Apart from these multifarious roles, some of them excelled also as donors, trustees, and protectors of temples and other religious institutions. Contemporary epigraphs and literary works provide ample illustrations to this effect.

a) Tirumaladevi Amman: It seems that the family of the chieftain of Srirangapatanam entered into matrimonial alliance with the imperial family as Tirumalamba, the chief queen of KrishnandavaRaya. Tirumaladevi was the daughter of Kumara-Vira-Syamaraya, chief of Srirangapatam (that is he was the governor of Srirangapatam) who took part in the battle of Raichur.

Tirumaladevi was the first and foremost queen, the queen consort, along with whom Krishnaraya ascended the Vijayanagara throne in 1509 A.D. and she lived on apparently for the entire period of his reign and accompanied him constantly. Two queens of Krishnaraya namely, Tirumaladevi and chinnadevi. are generally mentioned in the inscriptions. Of these two, Tirumaladevi was his senior queen, having been wedded prior to his accession to the throne, as it is known from No. 87 of 1912 from Cholasamudram.

1 *Q.J.M.S.*, XII, pp. 624-25.
which states that the emperor Krishnaraya ascended the Karnataka throne, with his queen Tirumalambika.

The two queens are also noted in the Telugu Kavyas of the time, both of them are accorded the honour of wedded queens (deverulu) and these queens are represented in the two statues placed beside Krishnadeva Raya in a group in temple of Sri Venkatesha at Tirumala and as Tirumalamba is on the right side of the king, it has been supposed that she was the chief queen, who played a dominant role during this period, she used to accompany the king during campaigns she also accepted Achyutaraya as the successor of Krishnadeva Raya she was very much interested in poetry she had her own treasury, her own female servants and she had complete independence, she was a great devotee and a great donor. As she was Krishnadeva Raya’s favourite she enjoyed all the power and privileges in the court Krishnadeva Raya, in the memory of her, gave liberal grants to temples and cities which were named after Tirumaladevi The following inscriptions records Tirumaladevi senior queen of Krishnadeva Raya as a great donor to the temples.

The marriage of Tirumaladevi, daughter of the chief of Siraugapatam, took place in 1510 A. D Tirumaladevi-pattana now it is called as Hospet.

In 1513 A. D., Tirumaladevi-amman, presented a gold cup to Sri Venkatesha for offering milk during night worship.

In 1513 A. D., a gold vessel weighing 3742 was given as special offering and service and a gold plate weighing 102 for flowers was offered to God Tiruvengalanatha by Tirumaladevi.

3 M.E.R., 1912, para 55.
In 1514 A D, Tirumaladevi, senior queen of Krishnaraaya, presented a costly Chakrapadakam to Sri Venkatesha and granted Piratti Kulattur village for five Tirupponakam offerings to be made daily.

In 1515 A D, the gift of a Chakrapadakam and the village of Piratti-Kulattur in the Tondamandalam was given to Tiruvankata Mudaiyan by queen Tirumaladevi. The pendant contained 132 diamonds, 85 rubies, 83 emeralds, and 66 pearls, altogether weighing 255 units.

In 1515 A D, a gold cup weighing 374 units for offering milk, and a gold plate weighing 10 units, for keeping perfumes to Tiruvengalanatha was given by queen Tirumaladevi.

Tirumaladevi visited the temple of Sri Venkatesha at Tirumalai with the king and she made Mahadanas to the temple of Sri Venkatesha at Tirumalai in 1515 A D.

In Holenarasipur Taluk, inscription No. 8, is a copper inscription, it registers a grant made by Krishnadeva Raya in 1515 A D on July 25th, Village Kittave, in Hasana some of the Hoysala kingdom renamed as Tirumalapura after his queen Tirumalamba by Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagara.

An inscription of 1515 A.D., records Krishnadeva Raya after capturing the forts, visited Amaresvara at Dharanikota and performed the Tulapurusha ceremony in the temple of the God on the banks of the river Krishnaveni he had the Ratnadhenu and Sapta-Sagar Mahadanasa performed by his queens Chinnadevi and Tirumaladevi respectively.

7 Inscriptions of A.P., p. 53.
8 Ibid., p 55
10 S.I.I., XVI, p. 62.
In 1517 A.D., at Simhadri-Potnuru he performed Maha danas by his queens Chinnadevi and Tirumaladevi, and visited with his queens, God Varadaraju at Vishnu Kanchi and paid one thousand Varahas as Kanike.\textsuperscript{11}

An epigraph refers in 1518 A.D., Tirumaladevi granted the land called Kumbhararakunte in Vijayanagarapattana, for the service of god Kariya Tiruvengalantha at Anjanagiri of Chikkarayakere in Vijayanagarapattana. The gift was made in the presence of god Vithalesvara on the bank of Tungabhadra for the merit of Tirumalaraya\textsuperscript{12}.

In 1521 A.D., Krishnadeva Raya presented a Pitambaram set with the nine kinds of gems, a cup and a Navaratnapadkam through his queen Tirumaladevi to Tiruvengalanatha at Tirumalai.

Thus, the above inscriptions throw light on Tirumaladevi, Sr. queen of Krishnadeva Raya as a great donor to the temples and she also made grant for the merit of her son Tirumalaraya. She made Rathnadhenu, Saptasagara Maha-danas and she donated gold ornaments, rubies, diamonds and precious stones, gold and silver cups and plates and also granted villages to the temples. So, we can say that Tirumaladevi, Sr. queen of Krishnadeva Raya occupied a respectable position in this period.

\textit{b) Chinnadevi Amman:} At present we are not in a position to determine accurately how many women Krishnadeva Raya actually married. Nuniz, tells us, that he married four women and ‘Chinnadevi’ was the most beloved of these\textsuperscript{13}. According to Pass, Krishnadeva Raya had twelve

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., p. 67.
\textsuperscript{12} S.I.-I., IX, Pt. II, No. 510.
\textsuperscript{13} Nuniz, p. 63.
lawful wives, of whom four were principal ones namely Chinnadevi, Tirumaladevi, Jaganmohini and Annapurnadevi. Chinnadevi was a devadasi in the temple of Virupaksha at Hampi. Chinnadevi was famous for her dance and beauty, for which Krishnadeva Raya fell for her. Two queens of Krishnadeva Raya namely, Tirumaladevi and Chinnadevi are generally mentioned in the inscriptions. Krishnadeva Raya married Chinnajidevi after he ascended the throne and consequently she must have been only the junior queen, who was unsuccessful in acquiring the dignity and prestige of the chief consort. The two queens are also noted in the Telugu Kavyas of the time as deverulu. And these queens are also represented in the two statue placed beside Krishnadeva Raya in a group in the temple of Sri Venkatesvara at Tirumalai, Chinnadeviyaru on the left, Krishnamaharaya in the middle and Tirumaladeviyaru on the right with their names incised on their shoulders. But, Krishnadeva Raya in his "Amuktamalyada" (Canto I Verse 33), while apparently quoting the eulogistic verses from the poet laureate Allasani Peddana's "Manucharitram", which is dedicated to him, slightly modifies the name of his queen, substituting 'Annapurnadevi' for Chinnadevi and giving precedence to Tirumaladevi. Chinnadevi deceased sometime after the religious tour in 1517 A.D., and that her place was subsequently occupied by Annapurnadevi.

Chinnadevi has been considered by some scholars as the daughter of pratapaurda Gajapati and by others as a damsel not regularly espoused to Krishnadeva Raya. whereas the court poets recognised her as one of the wedded wives of the king, which gives sufficient evidence about her lawful marriage with Krishnadeva Raya, which is further strengthened by the testimony of lithic records, of the time

found throughout the country as well as by her statue being placed at Tirumalai. It is therefore erroneous to treat her as a favourite damsel of low birth and dubious parentage in the face of this available evidence from native sources and give credence to the statements of foreigners like Nuniz and Paes. It may, however, be concluded that she was the favourite queen of Krishnadeva Raya, being apparently given precedence in the records in the matter of mentioning her name before the senior queen in registering their charities at some of the religious centres. But however, we can say that Chinnadevi was not the daughter of pratapudra, because Chinnadevi got married to Krishnadeva Raya earlier to Gajapati princess. Chinnadevi was his junior queen, married after his accession and enjoyed the royal favour for five or six years, until her demise in 1517 A. D., parentage of Chinnadevi remains unknown.

The Dodda Jataka plates of Nagamangala, dated 1512 A.D. records a gift by the king Krishnadeva Raya to a learned Brahmana in the person of Gangadhara at Sivaganga of a village called Hirijattiga, and four hamlets adjoining, renaming the village Chinnadevpetra, in honour of Chinnadevi, one of his favourite queens.¹⁵

According to Nuniz, "This king built a city in honour of this woman, for the love he bore her, and called it Nagalapur and surrounded it is one of the best works that, he has in his kingdom, and he made it a street and very long and very large with houses all of masonry. He further ordered, all chiefs of his kingdom to build themselves palaces therein, and so they did. It was partly intended for purposes of irrigating lands below it and partly for supplying water to the new city of Nagalapura. The revenue yielded by the

lands irrigated by it, in Nuniz's time i.e., within fifteen years or so was 20,000 pagodas. But we cannot accept this because Nagaladevi was Krishnadeva Raya's mother and not Chinnadevi.

Chinnadevi used to accompany the King to temples and to war fields Chinnadevi had her own treasury and female servants. This queen enjoyed liberty. She donated money and Jewelleries liberally to temples. She was loved by the people of Vijayanagara.

The following inscriptions, records Chinnadevi, Junior queen of Krishnadeva Raya as a great donor to the temples.

An inscription of 1513 A.D., refers to a gift of a gold vessel weighing 374 units made by queen Chinnajiamma-varu, to God Tiruvengalanatha for special offerings and service.16

An inscription of 1513 A.D., records a gift of a gold vessel weighing 374 units made to Tiruvengalanathadeva for offering milk after night worship by Chinnajiamma.17

An epigraph of 1514 A.D., records that Krishnadeva Raya, after defeating Gajapati ruler, visited Tirupati, with his queen Chinnadevi. Chinnadevi presented a padakam and a kanthamala and gave Mudiyar village in Tonda-Mandalam to serve for the daily offerings instituted by her.

An epigraph of 1514 A.D. states that Krishnadeva Raya and his two queens erected the gopuram and presented one gold plate worth 991 pagodas besides 25 silver lamps, 200 cows and 4 villages to Vithaladeva for worship.18

16 Insps. of A.P. p. 53.
17 Ibid., p. 52.
An inscription of 1514 A.D., refers to Chinnamajidevi, junior queen of Krishnadeva Raya, presented a costly necklace to Sri Venkatesha and granted Mudiyar village for five Tirupponakam offerings to be made daily.\textsuperscript{19}

An inscription of 1515 A.D., refers to Chinnadevi visited Amaresvara at Dharanikota with the king and performed the Tulapurusha ceremony in the presence of the God, on the banks of the river. Krishnaveni. He had the Rathnadhenu and Saptasagara Mahadanahs performed by his queen Chinnadevi.

An epigraph of 1515 A.D., states that Krishnadeva Raya along with his queen Chinnadevi made Mahadanahs to the Tirumalai. In 1517, Chinnadevi made Mahadanahs at Tirupati.

An inscription of 1515 A.D. registers the gift of ornaments and of the village in the Tondaimandalam for offer, ings to the Srivenkatesha by Chinnajidevi-amman, the queen of Krishnadeva Raya, when he paid a visit to the Tirumala temple, on the return Journey to the capital after the capture of Udayagiri. The ornaments were Kanthamalai, with a pendant set with 111 pearls, central ruby. 2 emeralds and 4 diamonds, altogether weighing 200 units.\textsuperscript{20}

An inscription of 1517 A.D., refers that at Simhadri Portunru he performed Mahadanahs by his queen Chinnadevi and visited with his queen to God Varadaraju at Vishnu Kanchi and paid one thousand varahas as kanike.

Thus, the above inscriptions throw light on Chinna-
devi, Junior queen of Krishnadeva Raya as a great donor to the temples. She made Rathnadhenu, Saptasagara Mahadanahs and she donated gold ornaments, rubies, diamonds

\textsuperscript{19} T.D. Insps. III, pp. 164-167.
\textsuperscript{20} Insps. of A.P. p. 53.
and precious stones, gold and silver cups and plates and also gave villages to the temples. So, we can say that Chinnadevi queen of Krishnadeva Raya was rich enough on her own in order to be in a position to donate lavishly to the temples.

c] Varadaji-Devi-Amman: Varadambika or Varadadevi Amman, daughter of Salakaraju was the first known wedded queen of Achyutaraya. To princess Varadambika's marriage with Achyutaraya, is devoted the Sanskrit work, entitled "Varadambika-Parinayam" composed by Tirumalamba, a poetess of considerable talent.

Inscriptions help us in clarifying the relationship of the queen Varadambika with the member of the Salaka family. (1) A lithic record dated Saka 1463, plava (=21-12-1541 A.D.) states that Salakaraja Siru Tirumala, the mother of Varadajiamman purchased a plot of ground in the west street in Tirumalai for 120 pon and laid an angana-tiruvvidhi (i.e., a row of houses around an open space in the middle) for the merit of Varadaji-amman, the Pattamahadeviyar of Achyuta Raya Maharaya 21.

Varadambika, as the queen, was a close associate of the emperor Achyuta Raya in his religious and other activities. Achyutaraya appears to have gone in the company of his queen Varadamba and son Venkatadri, to worship the deities at Tirupathi, Kalahasti, Kanchi, Tiruvannamalai and Srirangam before launching upon the Southern campaign 22. This campaign ended with great victory. To commemorate his victory of the Southern campaign, king Achyutaraya paid a visit to Tirupati temple accompanied by his queen

21 Subramanya Sastri, TDER, p. 226.
22 Heras A.D.V. p. 115.
Varadaji-amman and his son Kumara Venkatadri, as stated in an inscription dated 31st Jan. 1533 A.D.\textsuperscript{23}.

Epigraph and literary works shed considerable light on those aspects of the life of the queen. A couple of inscriptions from Aurlala Perumal temple at conjeevaram dated Jan 20, 1533 A.D., & Aug 17,1533 A D register the Mukta Tulapurushadana ceremony performed by king Achyutaraya along with his queen Varadambikadevi and his son Kumara Venkatadri Udayar against pearls and also an assignment of the income of 17 villages to the Arulala perumal temple for providing special offerings and also gifted away 1,000 cows.\textsuperscript{14}

An epigraph dated April 5, 1534 A. D, states that Varadajidevi-amman granted 6 villages yielding an annual income of 920 rakshapoon for the benefit of the Sri Bhandaram [Tirumalai Temple Treasury] for the purpose of propitiating Sri Venkatesha with 20 Tirupponakam [Van-Pongal-Taligai] daily as her Ubhayam known as Varadajidevi-amman Avasaram [offering] to be performed after conducting the Achyutaraya's avasaram and Krishnadeva Raya's avasaram at Tirumalai \textsuperscript{25}. Among the 6 villages two villages were in the Grandikotta Sirmai, 3 villages were from the Kondavidu Srimai and one from Narayanapuram \textsuperscript{26}.

Thus the queen appears to have issued grants of her own and shared the religious duties of her husband, emperor Achyutaraya. It is stated in the contemporary Sanskrit work Vardambikaparinayam that the birth of a son to Achyutaraya and Varadambika was due to a favour of God of Tirupati

\textsuperscript{23} Subramanya Sastri, \textit{TDER}, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{24} \textit{ARIE}, 1920, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{25} T.T.D. Insp. IV, p. 59.
\textsuperscript{26} T.T.D. Insp. IV, p. 59.
and hence the child was named Venkatadri after the deity of Tirumala. This apparently refers to the immense faith, the royal couple entertained in their hearts for the God Vishnu.

There are several inscriptions issued for the spiritual merit of king Achyutaraya, his queen Varadambika and their son Venkatadri by the king’s officials in their purely private capacity. One such was issued by a military officer Srranga Nayakkā son of Tuluva Vengalu-Nayakkar of Padvidu, who arranged for offerings through a deposit of 650 narpanam in saka 1458, Durmukhi, corresponding to December 14 1536 A.D., for the merit of Swami Achyutaraya Maharaya, Varadaji-amman avargal and Chikka Venkatadri Udayiar.

So far we have noticed instances which reveal the close association and active participation with the ruler as their right companion in various fields. In turn as regards to their wives, the rulers also took initiative in erecting temples, monuments, buildings, cities etc. For example, in the record No. 544 are mentioned seven mantapams, two of which were named after king Achyutarayur-Swami, two after his queen Varadaji-amman. Cities were named after Varadaji-amman as Varadajiavara Pattana Varadajiavara Pattana in Kamalapura, was constructed by Achyutaraya in honour of his queen.

2 Ordinary Women as Donors.

In relation to economic activities of the state we can see two categories of women namely, the royal women and the ordinary women. There are so many instances to

27 Sources, p. 172.
28 Subramanya Sastri, TDER, p. 226.
29 T.D. Insps. p. 222.
30 S.S.I., IX, No. 595.
show that in addition to the royal women even ordinary women played an important role as donors to temples. Temples received money, gifts and some received large amounts. Donors of money were often designated as recipients of a share of the food offerings made to the God (Prasadam) as a part of the bhakti temple ritual of the age. Ordinary women had independence to donate money to the temples. The following are some of the inscriptions, which records ordinary or common women as donors.

In 1390 A.D. Padumaladevi, daughter of the Mukanna Kadambavana, made a gift of land to the temple of Amritanathadeva at Omanjaru for the worship and offerings of the God and for the maintenance of feeding Choultry.31

To quote an example, an inscription records that on Jan 19, Thursday A.D., 1458, in the reign of pradhana Devaraya Maharaya, the lady reader of the palace named Honnaammavva purchased a plot of land and made a gift of it for offerings to God Mallikarjuna and for feeding five jangamas in the temple32.

An inscription of 1417 A. D., states that a grant was made by Nacharamma, wife of Timmanna Dannayaka to the fifty two Sri Vaishnavas of Melkote33.

It has been recorded that on Jan 10, A. D. 1510, in the name of Bhujabala Narasinga Maharaya ruling from Vijayanagara, Sankamma Modaliti daughter of Bemanna Bhandari, made a gift of 60 varahas and an yearly grant of fixed quantity of rice for the service of the God Mahadeva.34

31 ARSJE., p. 69.
32 E.C., XIV, p. 7.
34 S.I.I., IX, Part II, p. 494.
In 1510 A.D., Nalla-Gangamman, daughter of Ekkadi Timmamman, deposited a cash of 1,500 nar Panam for the daily offering of Tiruponakam to Srivenkatesha at Tirumala for the merit of Krishnadeva Raya.

An inscription in 1513 A.D., registers the gift of golden vessel, pearls and precious stones and also 1000 panam by Virupajayamman, wife of Timmaraya, for offering at the early morning service to Nayanat Tirukkalatti Udaiva-Nayanar for the merit of her parents and herself.  

An inscription refers to an indistinct, seems to refer to the construction of a well by a lady (name lost) for the merit of Krishnaraya in 1513 A.D., Figures of Sankha and Chakra are engraved closeby.

Two maids in the palace of Venkatapatiraya, Krishnaveni and Vengayamman, granted 40 varahas for providing offering on the anniversary day, on the natal day every month to Tirumangai Alvar in 1518 A.D.,

In 1518 A.D., Tirumakka-setti, wife of Narana setti of paduvakeri constructed a Matha, and made endowment of land for its maintenance.

Tirumakka-Ravaliti, though who was child less, was a generous lady. she made good use of the gold through enabling her grand father sankar setti to build a matha and endow it with some Plots of land and also made a gift for the service of God Nakarasvara on Sunday, April 11, 1520 A.D. in Basruru in south Kanara district.

35 ARSIE, 1939, p. 69.
36 Ibid., 1938-39, No. 444, Hampi.
37 Ibid., 1939, p. 72.
38 Ibid., p. 40.
In 1524 A.D., Vengalamman, daughter of Pagera-Ammaman, contributed 1,500 panam, to be made towards the one Tiruppouakam to daily service to Srivenkatesha in her name.  

Sankama-Nayakiti second wife of SanKara Setti, along with her step son Mallappa Setti and her younger sister Deku 4deviti granted some plots of land on Wednesday, Oct 14 1528 A.D., for the purpose of the maintenance of the Mathas built by her husband.  

In 1529 A.D. Lakshmiamma wife of Subbaraya, erected the dhvajastambha in the temple of Chennakesavamin and celebrated the garudotsava of the God.  

In 1531 A.D., in praise of the Jina sasana, Jinasenadeva's disciple Manikya Lajnathar granted land. Also Danimalya's wife Payama gave 20 gatti gadyanas for food offerings to the deity and feeding of quests to Mallikirti.  

In 1532 A.D. Vallabhamman, the wife of Salakka-Raja, made a gift of land in Valagan Sedangudi for the offerings and worship to the image of Sri Rammantha on the occasion of an annual festival of the God in the month of Tai.  

One Betel-bearer also donated to the temple. During Achyutaraya's regime Adaiparam Rukminiamman, was a betel-bearer. The trustees of Tirumalai temple have undertaken to perform certain charities in the name of the donor as described by the Emperor Achyuta Raya, on 26th December 1535 A.D.
On 8th January 1536 A.D., Ellamman, daughter of Kottiya Mallayyan, paid 1,600 nar panam for propitiating Sri Venkatesha everyday with one Tirupponakam-taligai 46.

On 25th December 1538 A.D., Ellamman, daughter of Kovai, made a contribution of 440 nar panam for 30 Tirupponakam to Sri Venkatesha as Dhanurmasa puja offerings 47.

Krishnamangai, daughter of Govindi, of Odukarai village deposited sum of 110 panam to Sri Raghunadhan on the day of hunting festival celebrated in Tirupati, as her ubhaiyam in 1545 A.D. 48.

In 1545 A.D., Lakshmiyamman one of the ladies (in waiting) in the Royal harem, made a gift of 25 rekhai-pon for the construction of a mantapam 49.

Tirumalamman, wife of senpaka kamayygar, was residing in Vanamahadevi village. She constructed a mantapam in front of the temple of Sri Govindaraja Tirupati and paid 400 panam for 50 dosaipadi to be made to Govindarajan, on the day of the star Visakham, being her annual birth star in 1545 A.D. 50.

Govindi, daughter of Konda Dasari-Timmayyan, belonging to shepherd caste was residing in Tirupati. A cash deposit of 2180 panam was made in 1545 A.D., for the purpose of propitiating Sri Venkatesha and other deities with certain offerings on all the seven days of 10 Brahmoth savam 51.

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46 Ibid., p. 128, No. 65.
47 Ibid., p. 216, Sl. No. 117.
48 Ibid., p. 95.
49 Insps. of A.P. p. 45.
50 T.D. Insps. p. 81.
51 Ibid., p. 0.
Tirumala-Amman, daughter of Kamasayyanagar of Bhardvaja gotra, paid 300 nar panam for 60 tirupponakatigal to Sri Venkatesha as Dhanurmasa puja offerings in her name in 1547 A.D. 52

Chinnamman, daughter of Pratapa Ellamarasar, granted in 1547 A.D., Ramachadrapuram yielding an annual income of 300 rekhai for offering to Sri Govindaperumal and Sri Vithalesa Perumal in Tirupati. 53

Lingamma, wife of Lakki setti, made a gift of paddy and gold for the service of the God Kalideva with the prayer that her son Lingayya might prosper and handed over the gift of Devarasijiya, to the head of the temple on Tuesday, December 23, 1550 A.D. 54

The inscription of 1550 A.D., records the gift of land by a Brahmana lady to the shrine of Annamalainatha, built by her in the temple of Svayambhunathesvara for the merit of herself and her husband Kumara Dindimar Annamalainatha 55

Lingamma, wife of Veligotikomara Timme Nayaka, granted 14 putti and 10 tumu of land, a village by name Lingapuram to the Gods Ishta-Kamesvara and vivesvara of Macheria in Nagarjuvukonda Sima in 1554 A.D. 56

Elli-Tirumagal, daughter of Elli authorised the trustees of Tiumalai temples, to deliver some prasadam to the devotees, temple-councillors and the donor out of the preparations offered in the name of Elli-Tirumagénila 1561 A.D. 57

52 Ibid., p 282.
54 S I.I., No. 640. p 638 Bagali, Bellary district
55 A.R.E., 1911, No p. 397.
56 S.I.I., XVI, p. 198.
Bokkasam yallamma erected the temple of Mallikarjuna in 1561 A.D., and purchased a garden for 40 pagodas and granted it to Mallikarjuna.  

An inscription in 1569 A.D., registers a gift of the village Danayakanahalli in Jevanige-nade of Vastare-sime, renamed Papatimmapuram, for services in the Keshava temple at Beluru by Venkatamma, daughter of papatimma Nayaka.

3 Mahamandalesvara women as Donors:

The women as Mahamandalesvara played a dominant role in the life of the kingdom. They gave liberal grants to temples. The following are some of the inscriptions, which records Mahamandaleswara women as great donors to temples, mathas and bastis.

An inscription of 1467 A.D., refers srirangam-badevi-amman, queen of Sriman Mahamandalesvara. As king saluva Narasimha excavated an irrigation Channel in a temple Village, the document was executed for the supply of articles for 4 tirupponakam to be offered daily to Sri Venkatesha for her merit.

An inscription of 1470 A.D., records Mahasamanta ayaka's mother Kallarasiyamma renovated the whole temple of siddha Mallikarjuna at sampige, Gubbi taluk. An epigraph 1479 A.D., states that Ramadevi, mother of a Certain Mandalika samantha made a gift of land for offerings to the temple of Suryanarayanadeva at Niravi.

58 Insps. of Madras Presidency, II, p. 309.
59 E.C., IX, BL 157 Beluru-
60 T.D. Insps. II, p. 18.
61 E.C., XII. No. 9.
Sayamma, mother of Mahamandalesvara Vira Somana Nayaka, made a permanent exemption of 15 varahis to be paid to the royal treasury towards tax etc. on land belonging to God Janaradana of snirangapura for the worship of God and conducting festivals in 1482 A.D. states an inscription.

Lakshmi-amman, the sister of Kommaraja Tinimaraja Udaiyar made provision for daily offering to Venkatesha in 1493 A.D., by a cash investment of 1000 pannam, for improving the temple village Tirumalani.

Periya-Narasamman (wife) of Kommaraja Periya She made provisions for certain offerings required to be offered daily and on festival days at the Anantam pillar Mantapam which she reconstructed at her own cost in 1463 A.D. at Tirumalai records an inscription.

An epigraph of 1493 A.D. states that Maladakali Umbali Ganapati s wife granted some lands for the service for offerings food to the Kalasanatha.

An inscription registers a gift of 7 hons and hanas, for daily offerings to god kalasanatha, by Balamadevi younger sister of Bhairarasa Vodeya who was governing Kalasarajya in 1501 A.D.

An inscription of 1525 A.D., refers Sankhanadevi, sister of Devannarasa, made a gift of the produce of some of her lands to the basti at Kiyaravuru for offerings and worship.

Narasamman, wife of Mahamandalesvara Goburaivobaya constructed a Vasanthaa Mandapa to the north of the Diguva.

63 T D Insps 11, p 18
64 T. D. Insps. II, p 30
65 E.C., XII, No. 9
66 Ibid., VI, Mg 48
Tirupati, endowed 120 Varahas to the temple for conducting out of the interest there on the festivals in honour of the God Ahobalesvara in that Manda in 1548 A.D.\textsuperscript{68} records an inscription.

An inscription in 1562 A.D., registers a gift of land by Samkamma daughter of samkubale and grand daughter of kumchada sarasu, for feeding of Brahmans in the temple of somanatha. The gift lands were purchased from the temple itself.\textsuperscript{69}

Arasadevi made a gift of land to the temple of Nara sihnadeva at Banavase at the instance of Ramagapparanjayya in 1571 A.D.\textsuperscript{70} records an inscription.

An inscription in 1597 A.D., registers a gift of the village Manuvuru for the worship of and offerings to various gods like Virabhadra Chenna Mallikarjuna, Kedaradeva etc., by Devarasi, queen of Virana-Odeya.\textsuperscript{71}

An inscription in 1599 A.D., registers the grant of an agrahara to the west of Kunigal by Venkata Krishnajamma Gaudarajya, the Yelahankanad Prabhu, for the merit of her father in law and mother-in-law.\textsuperscript{72}

An inscription of 1606 A.D., says that Hiriyamma, consort of the Mahauadu Prabhu Mummadi Chikkappa gauda of Bijevare, caused to be erected as a Shiva Dharma a Virakta Matha. It is probable that this Matha is identical with the one which is now known as Gaurammana Matha.\textsuperscript{73}

\textsuperscript{68} S.I.I., II, p. 176.
\textsuperscript{69} \textit{Ibid.}, VII, No. 366, Barakuru.
\textsuperscript{70} \textit{Ibid.}, II, p. 292.
\textsuperscript{71} ASIDGA’s Report for 1981-82, Mannuru, Bellary district.
\textsuperscript{72} \textit{E.C.}, XII, Kunigal 12.
\textsuperscript{73} \textit{Ibid.}, XVI, p. 49.
Thus the above inscriptions throw light on Mahamandaleswara women as donors to temples, bastis, and mathas. Women were given good respect in this period.

4 Donors for Family Welfare

Kings, Mahamandalesvaras, temple accountants, servants, Nayakas, Dhandanayakas and the common people donated money, lands, gold, villages and constructed temples in the honour of their parents and mothers. There are number of inscriptions which can substantiate these aspects.

An inscription of 1351 A.D., states that Savemna Odaya, granted the village Naguru, to God Bhairava for the merit of his father KampaRaju and mother Mengadevi.

An inscription from Enamadalu of Narasaropet taluk of Guntur district dated 1388 A.D., mentions one Tummalacheruvu Rami Setti of Sale (weaver) caste as the devotee of Mallikarjunadeva and who gave central pillar to the Mandapa of the temple together with cows for perpetual lamp for the merit of his parents.

An inscription of 1397 A.D., records that a gift of land was made by Mahamandalesvara Apratimali GangaYa Devachoda Maharaja to the stone cutter Chamyabattudu, who constructed the temple of God Bhairavadeva of Goturu for the merit of his parents, Maldevaraja and Maldevamma.

An inscription of 1401 A.D., refers to a gift, made by a Nayaka of some vritis to the village Sivapuram to Mallubhatta for worship and offerings of God Mallinatha for the merit of his parents.

75 E.C., V, No. 211.
76 ARSIE, 1939, No. 384.
77 S.S.I., XVI, p. 9.
An inscription of 1404 A.D., refers that Harihara II, had renamed Jambur in the Hoysana country into Honnalapura after his mother and gifted it to the Brahmanas.  

An epigraph of 1411 A.D., records a gift of land to the God Bhairavadeva of Goturu by Mahamandalesvara Obaleyya Devachoda Maharaja, for the merit of his father and mother Avubhalamma.

An epigraph of 1413 A.D., states that the village Bekkanahalli was renamed Gaurapura by Madanna in the memory of his mother Gauradevi, and was gifted to a Vira-saiva Guru Manjinathadeva of Rayasamudra for the maintenance of his mutt.

Devaraya changed the name of Manangi to Lakshmi Narayanapura and gave it to his Acharya. His mother's name was Narayanaambika and probably he changed it in honour of his mother in 1444 A.D.

An epigraph of 1444 A.D., registers that a gift of land was made to the God Ramayyadeva of Velupura by Kesalhulu of the village, for the merit of his parents.

An inscription of 1460 A.D., states that a Dennayaka (name is lost) granted a village as an agrahara named after his mother Sitayayemma.

Krishnadeva Raya in 1513 A.D., registers the royal gift of a golden prabhavali set with precious stones and granted some villages for daily worship and offerings to the

78 E.C., VI, No. 25.
79 ARISE 1929, No, 385.
81 Mysore and Coorg Inscriptions, p 284.
82 ARISE., 1930-31, p. 32.
83 E.C., VI, p. 241.
God Kala hastis-vara-Mahadeva for the merit of his parents, Narasanayaka Odeya and Nagaji-amma.84

An inscription of 1514 A.D., registers the gift of goid, copper, and money to the temple for gilding the Punyakoti Vimana of the temple of perarulala Perumal by the king Krishnadeva Raya for the merit of his parents Narasanayaka Odeya and Nagajamma and himself.85

An epigraph of 1517 A.D., refers to Lakshmikantarsu, who constructed a temple of Prasanna Kesava Perunal for the merit of his parents Tipparasayya and Ramayamma 86

An inscription in 1521 A.D., states that Timmaraja granted a share of the income from the land conducting festivals in the temple of Hajara Ramasvami, for the merit of his parents Chika Timmaraja Odeya and Konaji-amma.87

An epigraph of 1524 A.D., confirms that Benkachchya Gauda, gave a pura to Virana Odeya for the worship of Siva temple, so that its merit might be to his father and mother.88

An inscription of 1527 A.D., registers a gift of 200 pan- am by Chandirasekharayyan, a kannadiga Brahman of Devi. kapuram, for the merit of his father and mother Sankaram- man, and this money was arranged to be spent on bringing lands under cultivation and digging pits in the tank of Chil- tattur, a devadana village and from the yield of this land a lamp to be burnt on the Kailaimbalai.89

84 S.I.I., XVI, p. 54.
85 Ibid., p. 59.
86 Ibid., p. 70.
87 Ibid., IV, No. 250.
88 E.C., IX, p. 94.
89 ARSIE., 1939, p. 45.
An inscription in 1528 A.D., records that Mallappanna, in Malapura gave some land at Moraba to the god Suryanarayanadeva for the merit of his mother Viramma.\textsuperscript{90}

An inscription states that in 1529 A.D., Siddhavatam Yallamarunsayya granted a village Nuvusulapadu in Sakali Sima to God Chennakesava of Kattrakandla for the merit of his mother Achchama.\textsuperscript{91}

Ellapa Nayaka, servant of Achyutaraya, for the service to the God Mallikarjuna made a grant of land of Pushpagiri in order to increase the merit of his parents in 1533 A.D.\textsuperscript{92}

In 1535 A.D., Salakaraja China, gave for offerings to the God Narasimhadeva the village of Mallinayaniapalle which he had founded, for the merit of his father Salakaraja and his mother Tippajamma.\textsuperscript{93}

An inscription of 1535 A.D., states that Achyutaraya constructed seven mantapas and one of the seven mantapas was named after his mother obchchi-amman.\textsuperscript{94}

An epigraph of 1544 A.D., states that Matta-Varadaraja constructed a mantapa in the name of his mother Chenaman at Tirumalai.\textsuperscript{95}

An inscription in 1545 A.D., refers that Mahamandalesvara Timmaraju had the rangamandapam to god Madhava built to the west of the big bazar street for the merit of his parents Vallabhanju and Vengalamma.\textsuperscript{96}

\textsuperscript{90} S.I.I., IX, Part II, No 523 Bellary.
\textsuperscript{91} Ibid, XVI, p. 100.
\textsuperscript{92} M.A.R., 1943, p 86, No 21 Hassan.
\textsuperscript{93} ARSIE., 1929-30, p. 34.
\textsuperscript{94} TDER pp 221-22.
\textsuperscript{95} T.D. Insps. V, p. 31
\textsuperscript{96} S.I.I., IV, No 248.
Tiruvanantatvan Kuppayan, one of the temple accounts for the merit of his mother Periyaperumal, he deposited 2210 panam for the daily offerings in Tirupati in 1545 A.D.\textsuperscript{97}

Tallabhakkam Tiruvanakatandha, granted 2 villages, Sendaluru yielding an annual income of 500 rekhai and Mallavaram, yielding an annual income of 120 rekhai pon for the offerings of Sri Alamelumanai-Nachchiviar on the day's of annual ceremony of his father and mother in 1546 A.D.\textsuperscript{98}

Vallabhayyadeva-Maharjau, in the name of his mother Krishnamma, maintained the garden and supplied garlands to God Varadaraju in 1549 A.D.\textsuperscript{99}

In 1555 A.D., Eramanayaka, made a gift on the occasion of Uttanadvadasi, for the merit of his mother Desammal and offerings to the Goddesses Sudikkodutta Nachchiviar in Pengalanadu village.\textsuperscript{100}

An epigraph of 1558 A.D., states that Vithalarajayyadeva Maharajau, made a gift of half the village of Murtirayaruparam to God Vithaladeva, for the merit of his parents Mutiraju and Tirumalamma.\textsuperscript{101}

An inscription in 1559 A.D., refers to Timmaya-gauda, the chief of Suguturu, granted Simasandra in Nanjiguli, for the service of Amrita Mallikarjuna in order that merit may accrue to his parents and guru.\textsuperscript{102}

\textsuperscript{97} T. D. Insps., V, p. 146.
\textsuperscript{98} T. D. Insps. p. 179.
\textsuperscript{99} \textit{ARSISE}, No. 352, of 1919.
\textsuperscript{100} \textit{Ibid.}, 1930-31, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{101} \textit{S.I.I.}, XVI, p. 238.
\textsuperscript{102} \textit{E.C.}, IX, Ht 1.
An epigraph of 1561 A.D., states that Krishnappa Nayaka, in order that merit might accrue to both his father Baippa-Nayaka and his mother Kondamma, made a grant of the Kadaji village in Billichodu-sime for Ghi for the Chatra and necessary offerings to God Harihara.\textsuperscript{103}

An inscription of 1572 A.D., states that Srirangaraya registers the grant of the village of Vadigepalli as an agra-hara to Tirumala Komara Tetacarya of Penugonda for the merit of the king's mother Vengalaj Ammavaru.\textsuperscript{104}

An inscription of 1579 A.D., refers to Lakhenayaka, who made a gift of village Hanumasamudra, for the worship and offerings to the God Hanumanta of Satenahalli for the merit of his parents.\textsuperscript{105}

An inscription of 1579 A.D., registers the grant by Sriranga, he renamed after his mother Vengalamba, for the benefit of Ramanujakuta at Sriperumbudur and a flower garden there. This gift was made at the request of one Tirumalakanambi Srirangamma connected with the Tatacharya family, who was famous for her piety.\textsuperscript{106}

An inscription in 1626 A.D., refers Murtliyappa-nayaka and Puttanna nayaka, had Kaisala (Verandah) of 26 squares constructed in the temple of Chennarayavsvami of Velapur for merit of his parents.\textsuperscript{107}

\textsuperscript{103} \textit{Ibid.}, XI, p. 29, Dg. 18.
\textsuperscript{104} \textit{Insps. of A.P.}, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{105} \textit{ARSIE} 1957-58, p. 47
\textsuperscript{106} \textit{M.G.}, p. 2165.
\textsuperscript{107} \textit{E.C.}, V, Bl. 22.
An inscription of 1641 A.D. states that Lingarajayya, granted two villages Mavinahalli and Karisiddanapura, for the merit of his parents. 108

5. Donors donated for the merit of Daughters and sisters:

An inscription of 1524 A.D., states that one Pedilikoduku Chenaiyan, for the merit of Tirumalamman, daughter of Saluva Govindaraja, granted the village Hanumanigunta for the purpose of propitiating Srivenkatesha. 109

An epigraph refers to Singaraja, third brother of Varadajamman, made certain offerings for Sri Venkatesha in 1537 A.D., for the merit of his sister. 110

An epigraph of 1555 A D., refers Vengalaraju registers the gift of village Konasamudram in Siddhapurmsima, for the merit of his daughter Konama, for the worship of God Tiruvengalanatha of Konasamudram 111

An inscription in 1556 A D., records the establishment of the village Achyutamapura by Bayskara Ramappayya for the merit of his daughter. 112

An inscription of 1372 A.D., states that Bukka, made a grant of Honnapura—Halandulige in Manjaradad taluk The village evidently came to be known after his daughter 113

The above inscriptions throw ample of light on the practice of donations to temples, mutts and other religious institutions by the women of the period. We have an exhaustive

108 Ibid., IV, No. 170.
110 T.D. Insps. No. 455.
111 ASIE, p. 55.
113 E.C., V, No. 31.
list of these donations in the inscriptions. Names of not only royal women, noble women but also women of trading communities and of ordinary families. The evidence shows that the women of this period enjoyed a level of economic independence, means of livelihood and property rights, which helped them to make generous donations to religious institutions.
CHAPTER-4

WOMEN IN SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE
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In the field of social and cultural life, women during the said period have made an outstanding contribution. This chapter is divided into seventeen sections. Section one deals with education.

1. Education:

Savidya Vimuktaya—‘that alone is real knowledge which leads one to emancipation’. This was the motto of our ancient thinkers. According to them the ultimate aim of education and learning was to reach the highest goal of life, viz., Salvation or mukti. The education one received and the knowledge one acquired helped him/her on the one hand, to achieve this highest goal and on the other, to be useful to the society in which he/she lived. The system that was evolved, the methods that were followed and the subjects that were taught, all went a long way in helping one to realise this lofty ideal.

Information concerning the nature of education and educational institutions, during the period under review, is scanty and inconclusive. There was no regular school system, private or public in the modern sense.

Actual participation in the Imparting of the education or association with such programmes in some way or the other, was considered as an act of religious merit and people therefore volunteered to help in this cause. Thus education was not the responsibility of the state alone. The ruling kings and queens and various others came forth in their
Individual capacity with handsome donation for the spreading of education and learning. However, in spite of these ideals, in reality, the education generally remained as a privilege of the few 1.

Women of the upper classes, ruling classes and of the families of officials received education. Their education mainly consisted of fine arts such as music and dancing, in addition to general education. Any system of education will not be complete in itself, if it does not include women's education. Though there are no direct and specific references to women's education and institutions specially meant for the purpose, we cannot presume that women remained uneducated and neglected. It can be very well said that the women of this period were not lacking in finer accomplishments. Women of the royal families, of generals and ministers and other high officials as well as of the upper and middle classes could read and write. Women however, seem to have paid greater attention to specialisation in such fine arts as music and dance. Education was more intensive than extensive. The temples, basadis, mathas, brahmapuris and agraharas, subsisting on royal patronage or private munificence were the important centres of learning. The practice of reading of the puranas or kavyas in the temples, mathas and the agraharas educated even the illiterate.

B.A. Saletore says "they were directly or indirectly the pioneers and founders of artistic cultural or national traditions and system of own thought and way of life" 2.

Among the women, the Devadasis specialised in singing and dancing. They sang delighting songs with clear modulations of seven notes. 3 Dancing was not restricted to the

1 E.I. Vol. XIII, p. 301.
class of courtesans but was regarded as one of the fine arts and accomplishments in which all classes of people participated.

The general revival of Hindu life which the period witnessed also led to a considerable improvement in the status of women. Education was fairly widespread, as the number of poetess both in the regional languages and in Sanskrit clearly proves. Gangadevi, Tirumalamba were famous poetesses. It is obvious that works in classical sanskrit could only be the result of a systematic and sustained study of the classics.

There was encouragement of women in music Natyasala was constructed to teach dance. During Navaratri festival all the Nurtakis were invited from all places.

Pandits use to go to the houses and teach women. We have got evidences to show that women belonging to lower strata also received education. For example, if we take the Mudgal episode, Nehal was a farmer’s daughter. She was given good education by a Brahmin, who was in the court of Deveraya II. Each caste or community had its own educational system, which was determined by the nature of its occupation. Kavya, sabhya, Sangita, Vedas, were taught to them. Apart from these, the women also learnt Mantrasastra (Astronomy), Mathematics, Medicine and Astrology. Sanskrit was the language used by them. They had independence at home. Many women were servants at palace. During Krishnadevaraya’s period, 4,000 women servants were vidyavathi warriors, dancers. In Niahpura all the works were done by them. During Achyutaraya’s reign there were women Accountants too. Tirumalamma was a reader in (Puranas) and she was

4 Forgotten Empire, p. 55.
called as Oduva Tirumalamma. She has composed two Sanskrit slokas i.e., on the occasion of one Achyuteraya’s dana and other verse commemorating the king’s gift of Svarnameru to Brahmans at Hampi in 1533 A.D.,

The education of the princess differed very much from that given to the general public. It was more varied and many sided. Rajaniti or the science of polity, which every prince was expected to know, included a knowledge of poisons or visaparikas. It is interesting to note in this connection that some of the temples of this period also employed poison doctors or visha vaidyas, besides general medical practitioners.

Girls born in all families were strictly under the control of their parents. They were given education by their parents from childhood. Music and dance played a very important role in their educational curriculum. The girls of the courtesan classes were well educated. All of them were taught to read and write, several women acquired a very sound knowledge of the Sanskrit and the vernacular literature.

The Saiva, Vaishnava, and Jaina teachers considered it as one of their primary duties to disseminate knowledge among eligible young men and women.

2. Literature:

In the field of literature and poetry during Vijayanagara period women have made an outstanding contribution. Women of this period made valuable contribution to Sanskrit and Telugu literature. Some of the famous scholars and writers of this group are Gangadevi, Honnayi, Jaganmohini or Tukka, Abirama Kamakshi or Molla, Mohanangi and Tirumalamba.

5 Rk. Cr III, VV 18.
a) Gangadevi 1360 A.D., : Gangadevi Queen of Kampana II was a very famous poetess of that period. She is a poet of a very high order. She is a student of the classics, she is well versed in Vedic lore. She was a highly gifted poet and had studied assiduously the works of almost all the classical Sanskrit scholars. Though nothing is known about her line age she must have come from a noble family as the suffix Devi would imply. She is very highly accomplished and is endowed with all charms and grace. She is the daughter-in-law of Bukka I. Kampana II, the second son of Bukka I lavished all his love and attention on her though he had other wives, Ramayya pantulu J. describes her as a keep of Kampana. But Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, S. delineates her as a queen of Kamparaya.

Gangadevi wrote Madhuravijayam or Vira-Kamparaya Charitam in the Sanskrit language. It describes the conquest of Madura region by her husband Kumara Kampana. She narrated in a simple and charming style the successful expeditions of her husband Kamparaya. Kamparaya conquered Shambuvarya in A.D., 1361 and the Sultan of Madura in A.D., 1371 and thereby brought the whole of the Tamil country as far as Setubandha Rameshwaram under the Vijayanagar Empire.

Madhura-Vijayam is based on the manuscripts available. It gives us two important events, the destruction of the Sambuvaraja’s rule in Tondaimandalam and the other is the destruction of the Madhurai Sultanate. The general theme of the work is undoubtedly historical, it deals with the roots of verbs in Sanskrit grammar and is dedicated to Sangama dynasty.

7 Sources of Vijayanagar History, p. 23.
Madhuravijayam tells the story of the extension of the Vijayanagara rule into the Tamil country and the circumstances leading to it. This book is famous in Sanskrit literature. The book which is in nine cantos devotes a major part of the narration to the main factors culminating in the conquest of Madurai by Kumara Kampana. The following is a summary of its contents, Canto by Canto.

Canto-1 : This Canto contains the following pieces of information.

1. Gives the names of contemporary luminaries.

2. Gives information on the parentage of Kumara Kampana - mentions Bukka and Harihara and describes the qualities of the head and heart of Bukka, and also mentions the name of Bukka’s queen as Deviyyi. It may be noted that this is the only source giving information about the queen of Bukka.

3. Describes the city of Vijayanagar.

Canto 2 : The birth of Kampana and also of the other two sons of Bukka, Kampana and Sangama.

Canto-3 :

1. Gives an account of the early training of Kampana.

2. Mentions his marriage with Gangadevi.

3. Contains very interesting and valuable historical information which can be analysed as follows :-

   a) Bukka’s analysis of the political situation of the Tamil country.
b) His exhortation to Kampana to destroy the chieftains in the Tamil country and to establish himself at Kanchi as its ruler.

c) After winning over the people of Tondaimandalam Kampana was to march on his conquest of Madurai.

Canto-4:

1. Preparations for the march on the Sambuvaraya territory.
2. The size of the Vijayanagara army.
3. The allies of Vijayanagar - the Cholas, the Keralas and the Pandyas.
4. The orderly march of the army.
5. Camping at Mulbagal, then move to Virincipuram.
6. The size of Padaividu and the fight with the Sambuvarayas.
7. The defeat of the Sambuvarayas and the death of the Sambuvaraya king at the hands of Kampana.

Canto-5: Kampana establishes a just and prosperous rule in Kanchipuram.

Canto-6 & 7: Contain no historical information.

Canto-8: The condition of the Tamil country after the Muslim occupation.

Canto-9: This is the concluding Canto. It gives us the information of the final battle against the Muslims. The conquest of Madurai by Kampana
after the defeat and death of the Sultan In the battle.

Gangadevi chose Kalidasa, Bhatta Bana, Bharavi, Dandin and Bhavabuti along with Valmiki and Vyasa out of her discerning ability. In a single verse devoted to each, she brings out the special merit of the poet.

Kalidasa, according to her, must prove a model for all writers of good poetry 8.

Bhatta Bana’s facility of expression and eloquence appealed to her very much 9.

The Depth of meaning in the writings of Bharavi and the literary flourishes of Acharaya Dandm captivated our poet greatly 10.

According to her Bhavabuti, the immortal author of Uttararamacaritam, produced in the ears of the learned a pleasure akin to the tasting of amrita 11.

Some of them influenced her and inspired her greatly. Of these Kriya-sakti Pandita gets the pride of place in the poem. Gangadevi greets Gangadhara, who was a dramatist and wrote three plays, the Mahabharata, the Chandravilasa and the Raghavabudhyam. Agastya, was a poet at the court of Prataparudradeva of Warrangal. Agastya influenced Gangadevi. She acknowledges Visvanatha explicitly as her Guru, describing him as Kavisvara, she prays for his longevity. She says, “it is by his grace, even in individuals like myself has dawned, a sense of Omniscience” 12.

8 M.V. Canto 1 Sloka 7.
9 Ibid., Canto 1 Sloka 8.
10 M.V. Canto, Slokas 13 to 16.
11 Ibid., Canto 1 Sloka 11.
12 Ibid., Sloka 16.
The appraisement of her work by the editors may be quoted here. "The work is in the form of a classical Kavya, conforming to the rules laid down in the treatises on poetics and containing the usual lengthy description of the seasons, the twilight, the rising of the moon, and other necessary topics. The authoress writes in the Vaidarbhi style, and her thoughts which flow with Kalidasa, but they are transformed at the mint of her imagination and invested with new significance" 15.

Thus Gangadevi as poetess, takes a high rank, she is perhaps the greatest of women writers of South India who chose Sanskrit as the vehicle of poetic expression. Her nature poetry is very beautiful, "with eyes like full-blown lotuses, eager to behold her own countenance, verily did autumn draw out of her bodice of clouds the mirror of the Sun" 14.

b) Honnayi: She was a famous scholar of that period. She was the queen of Bukka Raya. An inscription of A.D., 1378 extols Honnayi, the queen of Bukka Raya as a scholar 15.

Bukka Raya had many wives, but the chief among them was Honnayi, in accomplishments like the science of love, in wisdom like the Vedas. She is spoken of as the fullfiller of his desires. Apparently she died in about A.D., 1372. Bukka made a grant of Honnapura Ha'andulige in Manjarabad Taluk. The village evidently came to be known after 16.

c) Jaganmohini or Tukka: She is one of the famous poetess of this period. The Gajapathi princess Jaganmohini is called by different names. She was one of the chief

13 Great Hindu Women in South India, p. 333.
14 Women of India, p. 111.
15 E.C., V, Cn 256.
16 E.C., V, No. 31.
queen of Krishnadevaraya Krishnaraya Vijayam of Kumara Dhurjati calls her Tukka, while Rayavachakam calls her Jaganmohini. In the introductory verses to the commentary on Prabodhachan-Chodaya by Nadindla Gopa Mantri, a nephew of the minister Timmaraalu, she is called Bhadra. According to Mr. K.V. Lakshman Rao she has been identified as the daughter of Orissa king with Annapurna.

Tukka Panchakam is written by her in Sanskrit. It consists of five slokas. She is said to have been neglected by her husband and to have led a life of seclusion at Kambam in the Cuddapah district. The big irrigation tank at Kambam is said to have been constructed at her instance. In the verses she bemoans her husband's neglect of her.

Tukka Panchakam:

tukka nama gañapatiputri
Krṣṇadevarayapatni
Caraṅ Vanaṁe naṁ-Manjarisu na
Satapado ganda-phālim ajighrat,
sa kim na ramya sa ca kim
na ranta baliyasi kevalam isvarajna. 1

Ma Kimisuka prakatayatma - nimesa Matram
Manmastake Vihaṛatiti Madhumato 'yam,
Kim Malati-Virahavedanaya tv adiyam
dṛṣṭva prasunam acirad a nalabhromena 2

bhramara bhramata digantaraṁ
ekvaṁd asvaditam iksitem va,
Vada satyam apasya paksapatam
Yadi jat ikusumanukari puspam. 3

Kusumani likhantu nama citre
Katicit - Karuvaisesa - rudha -, sikṣah,
surabhitvam amuni kim labhante
kimu caitesu rasam pibanti bhrngah. 4
Kim Malati Mlayasi iman vihaya
Cucumba tumbi - kusuman sadangrhrih,
loke caturbhis' caranaih pas'ussyat
sa saddhir atyarkha - pas'tur na
kim sya.17

'Oh' Kimsuka (flower) are you opening up yourself so that the bee which is tormented by the pangs of separation from Malathi (flower) will lover over you mistaking you for a ball of fire (with a view to commit suicide). Dear bee, while roaming in various lands have you anywhere seen or heard or tasted a flower which is very similar to the jathir flower. Please tell me the truth without any hesitation.

A master painter may paint flower on canvas but will they be endowed with fragrance or will any bee enjoy their honey-

Oh Malathi way are you disolate. It is because the six footed one [bee] kissed the tumbi flower disregarding you? A being four feet in the world is called a beast Should we not name that with six far, the beast of the beasts?

Thus, in the above five verses Jaganmohini describes negligence of her husband. She is the only famous poetess known to us during Krishnadevaraya's time.

Apart from Jaganmohini, the other queens of Krishnadevaraya Chinnadevi and Tirumaladevi were also interested in poetry. Timmaya in his Perijathapaharanam depicts the emperor with his queens Chinnadevi and Tirumaladevi hearing the works composed by the poets assembled at his

17 Ayanger S K. Sources of Vijayanagara History, p. 31.
court during the spring festival [Vasantotsava]. By this reference, we can say that Krishnadevaraya's queens were also interested in poetry and literature.

d) **Abhirama Kamakshi or Atukuri Molla**: She is one of the famous poetesses of that period. Abhirama Kamakshi's brother Swayambhu was the son-in-law of Arunagirinatha I, who composed in charming verses, the Abhinava-Ramabhyudaya. There are twenty four Cantos in it and the it narrates the Ramayana story. To distinguish it from another work called Remabhyudaya written in the same period. It has been called Abinava-Ramabhyudaya Molla was not a lady of royal rank. She was of humble origin, being the daughter of Keshava Shetti, a potter of Gopavaram [Modern Padugupadu], a few miles to the north of Nellore on the left bank of the Pennar river. Molla is the earliest and also perhaps the greatest of Telugu poetesses. Though her date is not definitely known, it is not at all unlikely that she flourished in the palmy days of emperor Krishnadevaraya or a little earlier. In the eulogy on poets of her Ramayanam she refers to the famous poet Shrinatha, who lived in the closing years of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century. Nothing is known of the personal history of Molla except that she wrote her famous poem, the Ramayananam. Molla's Ramayananam, though small in size, is a poem of considerable poetic excellence and literary merit. Molla is a vigorous writer. Molla's Ramayana has a place of honour.

e) **Mohanangi**: She was the daughter of Krishnadeva Raya. Her surname was Tirumalamba, the wife of Ramaraya. She was a famous poetess of that period. She has written a poem called Mariciparinayam. It is a love poem
and it is one of the famous poems of the period 19.

f) **Tirumalamba** (1530 A.D.,) : Varadambikaparinayam, a Sanskrit work, composed by Tirumalamba is devoted to princess Varadambika's marriage with Achyuta Raya. Tirumalamba was a poetess of considerable talent. This work is important for its value as a source book of social and political history, more so, as the authoress appear to narrate the events, of which she herself was an eye witness.

A few scholars are of the opinion that this kavya was composed during the reign of Krishnadevaraya. Further they say that the portions relating to the birth of a son to Achyuta Raya by name Venkatadri and the latter's anointment as Yuvaraja at the same time of his father's coronation might have been later additions by the same authoress 20. But in the case of a kavya this surmise appears strange, although it may hold good with regard to a chronicle kept in a court, for no kavya writer would keep his poem unfinished, wait for some more events to follow and then add an account of the same in the kavya later. Further, as the kavya ends with the installation of prince Venkatadri as yuvaraja which took place at the time of Achyuta Raya's coronation in 1529 A.D., after the death of Krishnadeva Raya, it is most probable that the poem was composed after Achyuta Raya's coronation.

This is a well conceived poem written in a simple and chaste style. The authoress is evidently an accomplished lady of refined literary tastes. She has been identified with Oduva Tirumalamba who said to have composed the Sanskrit verse in the inscription at the Vithala Temple at Hampi, commemorating the gift of Suvarnameru, performed by

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19 *Sources*, p. 170.
20 Aiyangar, S.K. *Sources*, p. 170.
Achyuta Raya in 1533 A.D., a duplicate of which has been traced in another part of the same temple. This work commences with the description of the hero, Achyuta Raya's predecessors. It then recalls his exploits and his marriage with Varadamba and ends with his coronation and installation of their son, Cinna Venkatadri as Yuvaraja. The last verse in the kavya is a prayer for the weal of the poetess patron Achyuta Raya, his queen and their son.

Krishna Aiyangar, A N. in his introduction to *Achyuta-rayabhuvavavam* mentions the authoress of Varadambika Parinayam Tirumalamba as a queen of Achyuta Raya.

A Sanskrit campykaavya called the *Varadambikaparina-yam* composed by Oduva Tirumalamba recalls in the long colophon at the end of the work, all the achievements and talents of this poetess. There it is said that she was the beloved of the king Achyuta Raya and that she learned the truths of the *Puranas, Ithihasas* and *Agamas* and the beauties of new *Kavyas* and *Natukas* by listening to their exposition once only and that she had attained proficiency in many languages.

As regards the two verses quoted in the Srirangam inscription under review, which are concluded in the *Sardulavikridita* Metre, it may be mentioned here that more than a dozen copies of them exist in different scripts of the kingdom, viz., Tamil, Telugu, kannada, Grantha, and Nagari and in several places so far apart as Annigere and Srirangam, but in none other than the Srirangam Inscription infor-

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22 *Q. J. M. S.* XXV, p. 66.
23 *Achyutarayabhuyayam*, p. 8.
24 *Q. J. M. S.* XXV, p. 66.
mation regarding the relationship between Tirumalamba and Achyuta Raya is given.

While the Sanskrit verses glorify only the gift of anandanidhi made by the king in 1539 A.D., the Tamil portion refers to the performance of tulabhara on the same day.

This was performed probably in the Vitthalesvara temple on the banks of the Tungabhadra at Bhaskar - Kshetra, (i.e. Hampi) - The venue of the anandanidhana is also mentioned in the Kannada preamble of the Gadag version. From this, it is clear that anandanidhi was a particular kind of dana to propitiate the God Madhva and these laudatory verses were also engraved in the temple of Triyambakadevi at Gadag. Anandanidhi dana consists of presenting to the learned Brahmans pots made of the Udambara wood filled with precious stones and coins of gold, silver or copper after performing certain ceremonies and the merit accruing from this ceremony. This was to attain longevity, perfect health and imperial sovereignty. It is no wonder, therefore, that king Achyuta-Raya selected this anandanidhidana for the celebration to ensure succession to his son, Venkatadri, though unfortunately the events that followed completely falsified his great expectations.

An inscription in 1533 A.D., in the reign of Achyutaraya, records the sanskrit verse sung by Oduva Tirumalamba about the gift of Suvarna-Meru made by the king in the presence of god Vitthalesvare.

Bana - prana - payodhi - Sitakara - Samkyata -
- Saka - Vatsare.
Vikhyate - Vijaye cha Masi Shasi - Svachchhe -
- cha pakshe Guroh !

Vare Vishnu - dine Subha parisare Sri
Vithaladhisituh

dhirah Kamehanameru - danam - akarod -
- Virocyuta Kshmapatih

Thus, Tirumalamba whose identity hitherto was uncertain is now undoubtedly known from the Srirangam record. She is the second known lady of the Vijayanagara period, gifted with poetic talents, the first being Gangadevi, the wife of Kampana II.

Queen Tirumalamba appears to have issued grants on her own, as testified to by an inscription though it cannot be ascertained definitely whether it was done in the capacity of a queen. However, she appears to have been a pious lady. The inscription from the Ranganathaswami temple at Srirangam dated Saka 1454, Nandana (Kanni) Sn. 13, Thursday, Sadaiyam, corresponding to Thursday, September 12, 1532 A.D., during the reign of king Achyuta Raya, registers a grant of land in the village Avilai by Tirumalaiamman for the recital of Bhaktasanjivi composed by herself (Bhaktasanjivi Sonna Tirumalaiamman Ukhaiyamaga) for maintaining the Srivaishnavas who recited the Bhakta-sanjivi before the God.

Tirumalamba appears to have been devoted and loyal to her patron Achyuta Raya, who raised her from the position of a mere court-poetess to that of Rajamahishi - a highly coveted position indeed. In the ancient times, it is said that there were ladies in the palace, who kept accounts and who maintained records of events, along with a few who read holy works. The last have been Oduva - ladies who were women readers of holy works. Tirumalamba who

25a SII IX Pt. II No. 557.
was called Oduva Tirumalamba might have been one such, who caught the attention of Achyuta Raya by her literary ability and ultimately married the him. Tirumalamba showed her deep regard and respect to Pattamahishi Varadambika by recording her sincere prayers for the welfare and preservation of the queen - Regent and her son, the crown-prince Venkatadri.27

Thus, Tirumalamba appears to have earned the approbation of the emperor as Rajamahishi through her poetic talents, literary accomplishment, and the cordial attitude towards the royal couple, whom she held in great veneration. This definitely fetched her a deserving place in the royal palace at Vijayanagara. Tirumalamba who was, strangely enough, a reader of poetry to the ladies of the royal family. She was also an excellent musician, grammarian and rhetorician.

Thus, the Vijayanagara period witnessed the glorious contribution made by famous women scholars like Gangadevi, Tirumalamba, Jaganmohini or Tukka, Mohanangi and Honnayi in the field of literature. Thus, women seem to have occupied a prominent place in the literary circles of the Vijayanagara times.

3. Temple and Women:

Coming to the sources apart from inscriptions and monuments we find the accounts of foreign travellers like Barbosa, Paes, AbdurRazzak, Nuniz, Nicolo-Conti etc. In no other country religion is so closely inter-woven with the life of the people as in India. All their habits, usages or laws connected with their daily life, their food, dress, houses, social or political life are greatly influenced by religion. The rise of the Vijayanagara kingdom in the thir.

teenth century was mainly due to the universal desire of all over South India among all, 'Dharma' against the inroads of enemies. Vijayanagara preserved, fostered and promoted the noble ideals, traditions and practices of Hindu Religion and Philosophy. But for Vijayanagara, Hinduism would have been reduced to a mere shadow and mockery.

The temple is the symbol of righteousness or Dharma. There was close relationship between temple and women in this period. The temples employed a number of women who served in various capacities as dancers, singers, musicians and menial servants. Various terms such as Rangabhogamvaru, Bhogamavru, Devadasi, Patri and Sani were used to denote the women employed in the service of God. The women employed in Saiva temples, appear to have been Known as Devara Basavi or Basavulu. They are referred to in an inscription of 1518 A.D. 28

The basic services for which the women were employed by the temples were dancing, singing, and music which were an essential part of the temple worship. The employment of women for these purposes was a common feature of the temple life of this period. An epigraph of 1515 A.D., from Amaravati refers to the Sanis serving in the temple of Madhurapuri Madhavidevi of that place. 29

Temple rituals which were done mainly to propitiate and please the deity, included the offering of flowers, fruits, incense, lights... in short, anything which was pleasing to the gods. Singing, dancing and the playing of musical instruments also formed a part of the ritualistic offering and they were performed to evoke the grace of the deity in worship. The motive which predominated here was the

28 S.R.I., IV, No. 702,
idea of gaining the blessings of the god by presenting before him the best and the most sublime of human endeavours music and dance. This was also considered as an entertainment for the deity and simultaneously it provided entertainment and education for the devotees as well. Due to this practice of performing in the temple, these temples became the store house for the arts as also the centre for its development and promotion. The temple dancers in course of time became the custodians of this art, The offerings of music and dancing was an integral part. An entire staff of musicians and dancers was maintained by the temple authorities for this purpose, their sole duty being to present their art in front of the deity.

Dancing girls were in the service of the temple right from their childhood. The dancers of the temples seem to have been proficient in these traditional arts, and were trained specially for that purpose. In some of the temples, dance masters were appointed to train in these arts. Dance masters are referred to in an inscription of 1496 A.D., from Tirupati. 30

Almost every temple in South India appears to have a dance hall known as Natyamantapa attached to it in front of the Sanctorum (garbhagriha), where the temple dancers entertained the deity as well as the devotees with singing and dancing. The inscription of 1351 A.D. from Draksharamam (Godavari district) refers to the construction of a ‘Natyamantapa’ attached to the Bhimesvara temple in that place. 31

Some of the temple women appear to have been well versed in both vocal and instrumental music. An inscription of 1359 A.D., from Simhachalam refers to the sanis who

31 Ibid., IV, No. 1379.
were employed to sing the *Nama-Sankirtana* (recited of the sacred name of God) at the time of offering the sacred light (*Dhupa*) to the God Narasimha of that place. Two women were employed to play the Veena and other instruments in the presence of God Narasimha according to an inscription of 1349 A.D., from Simhachalam. Several other functions performed by the women employees of temples are referred to in the epigraphs of the period. An inscription of 1382 A.D., from Simhachalam refers to the service of *Chamara-Seva*, [Ref. P. No. 9] that is the service of fanning the deity with whisk, by two sanis. Another epigraph from the same place refers to the services of Addamupattanu, that is holding the mirror to the deity and Muggu Pettanu, that is decorating the temple floor with rice powder, performed by a woman in the local temple.

Some times, women who were well-versed in dancing and singing were deputed to serve the temples, by royal donors. An inscription of 1531 A.D., from Tirupati states that Muddu Kuppayi, who was originally attached to the palace of Achyutadeva Raya was ordered by the king to proceed to Tirupati and render service in the temple of God Venkatesa.

Some of the temple dancers were very much honoured and were conferred with certain privileges by the temple authorities for their devotion to duty. Tiruvenkata Manikam, the dancer in the temple of Srivenkateswara of Tirupati, was permitted by the temple authorities to use a Palanquin for her conveyance. This is a rare privilege conferred on a temple dancer.

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33 *S.I.I.*, VI, No. 955.
34 *Ibid*, No. 818.
36 *S.I.I.*, VI, No. 1099.
The inscriptions of the period do not give us any idea of the private life, the caste and social status of the female employees of the temple. Some of the inscriptions of the period give us a glimpse to the effect that some of the temple women led a married life and had children. An inscription of 1391 A.D., from Bezawada states that Bhogam Namburi Annasani, the dancér of Bezawada Mallikarjuna temple, had a daughter-in-law, 38 indicating married life in her family. This is also confirmed by a number of epigraphs from Simhachalam and Srikarnam. They refer to two types of women employees - Sampradayamuvaru and Sanru - as serving the temples of those places. The women belonging to the first category remained unmarried and were attached to the temples, and those of the second category were married and led independent lives but were employed by the temples on a part-time basis 39.

Entertainments, programmes like drama, dance, music and singing, which formed a part of the temple life and which usually depicted the religious themes played an important part in the cultural life of the people. Thus there was close-relationship between temple and women in this period. Women were honoured by the temple authorities for their devotion to duty.

4. Religion:

Vijayanagara broadly sympathised with all religious faiths, doctrines and dogmas. The cult of devotion or Bhakti assumed universal proportion and played a predominant role in religious practices and spiritual aspirations. Vijayanagara Empire consisted of all types of people of various

38 S.I. I., V 1.
religious faiths. While the capital had become a cosmopolitan city. The policy of religious tolerance was followed by the kings of Vijayanagara.

The early Vijayanagara kings were Saivas but later Kings became staunch Vaisnavas with a predilection for god Venkatesha of Tirupati.

The various sculptures and paintings in the temples and the performance of dance and drama, which were generally based on religious themes from the Puranas, epics, etc., greatly helped the dissemination of knowledge both religious and secular, among the devotees and especially the illiterate pilgrims frequenting the shrines. In view of the teaching arrangements made in some of the Hindu temples of this period, it is quite reasonable to infer that they also maintained their libraries. The Sankirtana Bhandaram attached to the temple of Sri Venkatesvara of Tirupati, where the copper plates of thousands of Sankirtanas (devotional songs) composed by the Musician poets of the famous Tallapaka family were preserved, can be regarded in a way as a library.

Pilgrimages formed an important factor in the socio-religious life of all classes of people during this period. Vratas too have always occupied an important place in the religious practices of the people. Contemporary literary records and epigraphs contain references to many Vratas performed by the people of this period. Most of these Vratas have survived even to this day. Some of the Vratas were Seiva and some Vaisnava while a few were common to people of all sects. Again some were of a general character, while others were performed for the attainment of a particular end.

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The making of gifts or danas was an important element in Hindu religious practice. Literary and epigraphic record of the period under review contain numerous references to various kinds of gifts made by king, nobles, courtiers, Devadasis, and commanders, wealthy citizens and pious pilgrims and learned brahmans, common women on different occasions to the temples.

An inscription in 1372 A.D., registers a gift of land for feeding 12 Brahmanas and 1 cook in the matha within his garden at Kellamgire of Choliyakeri by Maji, mother of Ayyappa, after purchase from Koteyappa, daughter of Chavakka and others.41

The queens and the Royal women gave grants to temples during this period. Queen Bukkavve gave grants to Basadi. Bhimadevi, queen of Devaraya I established the image of Shanthinatha in the Magayi basadi at Shravana-belgola.42

Kamaladevi, wife of Devaraya II made a gift of land to temple of Kalinatha of Bidire in Tumkur district.43

An inscription of A.D., states that Bommarasa was ruling the Barekura rajya. It states that the Mahapradhana Mudde-Dannayaka purchased three plots of land and made a gift of them and some gold for the offerings and other services to God Kotisvara, for feeding 13 Brahmans everyday in the temple and for the wages of two women who waved chauris before the God.44

An inscription in 1378 A.D., records gifts of money for rudrapuje, feeding 3 Brahmans, burning lamps of ghee,

41 S.I.I., VII, No. 387, Barakuru
42 E.C., II, No. 237
43 Ibid., XII, Gb 56
44 S.I.I., IX, Part II, p. 421.
offering panchamrita, supply of garlands of tulasi etc., in the temple of Somaideva of Manigarekeri by Nagave, wife of Ramanna Setti.  

An inscription in 1397 records the consecration of a lamp-pillar in the temple of Jadeyasankaradeva by the queen Bukkayavve for the merit of her preceptor Bhaskara-devaya.  

An inscription in 1430 A.D., records Devaraya II the king is described as turuka-Maha-Raya prabalarainya-vidari, he is said to have inaugurated the Tribhuvana-Chudamani-Chaityalaya at Bidire in Nagire rajya. His wife Nagaladevi had a Mana-stambha erected and daughters Lakshmi and Panditadevi arranged for feeding.  

Naranadevi, mother of Devaraya II was a devotee of Vishnu, she made the gift of villages Kelagundani and Kaigai, to provide offerings to God Ramachandra and to feed the Brahmanas, in 1432 A.D., 

The common women or the ordinary women gave liberal grant to temples during this period. In the reign of Pradhana Devaraya Maharaya, the lady reader of the palace named Hcnammavva purchased a plot of land and made a gift of it on Jan 19, 1458 A.D., for offerings, to the God Mallikarjuna and for feeding five Jangamas in the temple.  

Thimmanna Dannayaka's wife Nacharamma made a grant in 1471 A.D., to the fifty two Sri Vashnavas of Melkote.  

45 S.I.I., VII, No. 352, Barakuru  
46 A.R.S.I.E., 1907' No. 501, Hampi.  
47 S.I.I., VII, 202, Mudabidre.  
48 M.A.R. 1933, pp. 162-172, No. 27, Sringeri Chickamagalore  
50 E.C., XIV, p. 7.
Valandi, daughter of Anaimadi and one of the temple damsels gifted money for providing an offering to Srivenkatesa as Dhanurmasapuja during Margali month in 1486 A.D.,51

An inscription in 1493 A.D., refers a gift of 20 panas by Sovanna, son of Somachara Hsriyanna for feeding a Brahmana on the occasion of Rudrapuja in the temple of Kalasanatha. It registers a gift of land by the wife (Maduvevige) of Graunpati for feeding married women (Muttuvide) and for offerings.52

An inscription in 1510 A.D., registers the gift of some land by purchase in the village of Muddannayahalli to Sai-bhatta, son of Tirumalahbhatta of Hampe, for the purpose of daily offerings to god Virupaksha, Bukkajamma, mother of Narasa-Nayaka.53

Tirumaladevi queen of Krishnadeva Raya, presented a gold cup to Srivenkatesa for offering milk in the worship of God in the night in 1513 A.D.54 to Tirumala temple.

In 1514 A.D., Chinnadevi Junior queen of Krishnadeva Raya, presented a costly necklace to Srivenkatesa and granted Mudiyar village for five tiruppenakami offering to be made daily.55 Varadajidevi-amman, the queen of Achyuta raya, arranged for an avasaram for Tirusvenkata Mudiyar in 1534 A.D.56

An inscription in 1520 A.D., records a gift of money by Madarai, wife of Rama Senabova of Karkala and Bomma-

51 T.D. Inscriptions II, p. 27.
52 E.C., IV, Mg 50.
55 Ibid., pp. 168-171.
rasi, wife of Sangarasa Senabova, for special offerings etc., to god Kalasanatha.  

An inscription of 1550 A.D., records the gift of land by a Brahmana lady to the shrine of Annamalainatha built by her, in the same temple of Svayambhunathasvvara for the merit of herself and her husband Kumara Dindimar Annamalainatha.  

An inscription of 1590 A.D., states that, when twin daughters Padmaasi and Devarasi were born to Devarasi, wife of Ambuuuna Sreshthi he fixed a bell metal on a pillar in front of the Nemisvara Chaityalaya, with a golden Kalasa on it.  

A popular phase of the religion prevalent in the Vijayanagara days as it was the worship of the Nagas (snakes). Virupaksha himself was considered to be the Lord of the Nagas. The Vijayanagara, sovereigns worshipped the Nagas and considered Siva as Naganatha, the lord of the Nagas, their queens set up nagakkals in the temples, which they attended, and also special female Naga deities.  

It is curious to note that some of the members of the royal family of the Kalasa Karkala chiefs also patronised Jainism by endowing grants to the Jaina institutions. In support of these the following examples may be cited.  

Viramba, the queen of Gururaja Odeya (1523-27 A.D.,) took up the cause of Jainism at Bhatkal. In 1490 A.D., she is said to have erected a grand mansion with halls, Pattasala and rooms for the residence of the ascetics in front of the Chaityalaya built by Chennaayla atAmbalakatti (near Bhatkal). In 1511, the same queen showed her  

57 E.C., IV, Mg 59.  
58 A.R.E., 397 of 1911.  
60 See Mad Ar. Sm 1914-15, p. 38  
61 K.J., III, Pt 1, Nl. 15.
zeal for Jainism by donating land to Jaina basadi at Mudu Bhatkal for the performance of milk bath to the Tirthankaras of the Basadi. In 1531 A.D., Kaladevi, the younger sister of Bhairavaraya, endowed grants to Parsva Tirthankara in the kallu basadi in Bhggunje sime. The above donation was made to the basadi for the merit of her deceased daughter.

A stone inscription dated 1530 A.D., from Ambala Katte (near Bhatkal) informs us that Viramba got erected bronze images of twenty four Tirthankars in the same basadi mentioned above.

It is interesting to note that in some cases women took interest in the erection of the Mathas and for that the Nayaka also made liberal grants. For example, in 1641 A.D., a Matha was built under the authority of Mahamattu in the name of siddamma at Somesvara (S.K.).

Gokarna was a great centre of Saiva learning. An inscription from Midjan, dated 1528 A.D., states that one Mahalappa Senabova purchased a piece of land from the queen of Gerasoppe (1523-29) and donated as gift for the study of sastras and the performance of rituals in the Mahabalesvara and other temples at Gokarna.

Chennadeviyamma, the queen of Sangitapura (1541-1551 A.D.,) donated 3 gadyanas to god Mahabaleshvara. Further the queen instructed that the amount should be utilised for the maintenance of Dharma in the temple.

62 K.I., III, Pt. 1, No. 15.
63 ARSIE., Kp. No. 47.
64 Ibid., 1965, No. 366.
65 E.C., VII, Ti 63.
67 Rama Rao, M. Vadiraja Svamigala Kirthana, pp. 3-8.
Queen Chennabhairadevi, the next queen of Sangitapura renewed the above grant.  

Robert Sewell also pays tribute to the policy of religious toleration pursued by Krishnadeva Raya, Sadashiva Raya and Ramaraya allowed the Muslims to construct mosques and follow the principles and practices of their religion. Ramaraya also kept a Quran in front of his throne. Many rulers of the empire gave grants to the Dargas of the Muslims.  

The rulers of Aravidu dynasty were also known for religious toleration. The Christian priests who visited the court of Venkata II were so much impressed by the respect shown by the king that they presumed that he would become a convert to Christianity. In this way the Vijayanagar monarch’s treated all religions with due respect and patronised various religious and philosophies in their empire. Devaraya II not only employed Muslims in his army, he even kept a Quran before his throne so that Muslims could bow to him and to the Quran at the same time. He even caused a Mosque to be built for his Muslim subjects at the capital.  

Krishnadeva Raya though a Vaishnava, repaired Virupaksha temple at Hampi and got the gopuram constructed. He also gave liberal grants to many Shaiva temples. Everyone could live following his religion. There was no compulsion in this matter. There was no distinction of Christian Jew and a Hindu. Saivism, Veerasaivism, Vishistadwaita philosophy, Dwaita philosophy flourished during this period.  

Thus, we come across women of different ranks making endowments either to temples, choultries or other works of

68 *J.A.*, XXIII, p. 184.
public utility and to Brahmans. From the above instances it can be said that women of all ranks contributed freely and liberally in their individual capacity to pious works. Women were highly religious in the period under review. Women played a dominant role in the field of religion during this period under review. The Royal women, queens, ordinary women or the common people, temple dancers and women musicians served the temples. Religion effected women in every aspect of life.

5. Devadasi System:

Devadasi system is an early medieval institution. In South India Devadasis were a common feature in almost all the major brahmanical temples, particularly the Saiva ones. Devadasi system gained considerable popularity during the the Vijayanagara period. A devadasi is an unmarried Hindu female who has undergone a ceremony of false marriage with an idol either in a Hindu temple or to any idol outside, the ceremony going by the name of dedication to god. Dedicating girls to temples was an ancient practice and by the tenth century, it had become established itself. According to Professor Kundangar, the devadasi (servant of god) system originated because the learned and the noble who were concerned with the duties of the temple could not attend to menial work like sweeping and washing which was assigned to temple girls.

It was a matter of great prestige for the temples to employ devadasis in good number. Devadasis were appointed on permanent and hereditary basis, once appointed they could not be disturbed or interfered by the temple authorities, and land in lieu of their services was permanently made over to them. It was both her responsibility and prerogative. In the event of death or retirement of a devadasi from active service, her daughter or any close female relative was entitled to do that particular work and receive the allow-
ance set apart for the purpose. A secondary development which encouraged devadasi system is Known as the basavi system. For example in the family some women temporarily reverted to the system of decent through daughters. The daughter was dedicated to the temple as a basavi, among whom was always in the female line. After dedication she became the heir of her parent's property, and could perform their funeral rites, as if she were a son. She could select a man of her own choice, of any equal or higher caste. If she had only a daughter, the daughter would become a basavi.

The history of devadasi system goes back to the close of eighth century. In the year 800 A.D., one Aridari Paleyamma of the village Mayile dedicated to a virgin to a local temple, along with 8 mattars of land, 1,000 cows and a swing for the use of the deity. Devadasi system became popular during the period under review. Devadasis are the origin and nature to the dedication of girls to the temple.

Temple-girls are known to modern scholars and in Indian literature as devadasis. The generally accepted meaning of the term today is (a) a female in the services of gods or a temple, and [b] 'courtesan' [employed as a dancer in a temple]. Devadasi is Sanskrit compound word from deva meaning 'god', 'deity' and dasi meaning 'female slave'. 72 etymologically, deva is derived from the origināli etymon de [to protect] which then leads to the form dev [to sport, to play, to shine, etc.]. Dasi comes from the root da [to give, to grant] which is the seminal form for innumerable other words as well. 73

89 The basavis are non-brahmin women dedicated to the gods. The word basavi is the feminine of basava, the bull of Siva.
70 J.H. Hutton. Caste in In India, p. 762.
71 E. C., VIII, Sl. 9.
The Bhavisya Purana notes that the Individual who dedicated girls to sun-temple would gain a place in Suryaloka 74. In Matsya Purana, on the other hand, the dedicated girls (Vesya) could themselves obtain a place in Visnuloka, by serving in the temple 75.

The status of women as Devadasis was also respectable. Devadasi means the slaves or servants of god, i.e., meant for the service of the Almighty. They were earning a living by serving god through means of music and dance. Devadasi system, is a socio-religious institution "wherein religion conspires with sex immorality to give divine sanction" 76. This institution was also called the temple-prostitution. It originated in the custom of dedicating female children to temples. Such girls were entrusted with certain duties, such as, cleaning the temples, lighting the lamps, decorating the temples, and also singing and dancing on festival days and ceremonial occasions.

The Devadasis do not live in the precincts of the temples and they only visit the temples morning and evening to perform the service of singing and dancing and to follow the procession of the idols. At other times they live in their own houses, which are at a distance from the temples. Only a small percentage of the total number of the devadasis serve in the temples, for which they receive payment either in cash or by the settlement of cultivable lands in their names.

All the devadasis are unmarried, literate and accomplished in music and dance, and majority amongst them earn

their livelihood through prostitution, which being sanctified and tolerated by the Hindu society, they consider to be a lawful and honourable profession. No doubt a small percentage among the Devadasis contract permanent alliances with caste Hindus, and remain true and faithful to them till the end of their lives. The Devadasis being accomplished, do not like to associate with the depressed and the low caste Hindus, and hence invariably choose their lovers from the Brahmins and other high caste Hindus.

As these women are only forced by wicked custom to lead a promiscuous life, and do not take to that life of their own choice or inclination. For example, if a devadasi happens to have four daughters she may dedicate one girl to the temple, and marry the other three girls to men of the same caste, or occasionally to men of other castes, when the married girls do not show any abnormal tendency, and are wonderful, clean, chaste and virtuous, while the one girl who has been dedicated may be leading the life of a prostitute in the same house, because the girl who is to become a devadasi through the ceremony of dedication is brought up under the unhealthy notion that once she has undergone the ceremony of dedication, she becomes the god's damsel. As such she cannot marry, but she can lead a free and promiscuous life for which she will not be punished, either in this world or in the next world, as she has come into this world to work out her past evil karma, through a life of prostitution. On the other hand the girls who are to be married are taught that they will reach only if they are true and faithful to their wedded husbands.

The duties of temple girls (a) rituals were performed by the temple girls along with the priests and other religious functionaries, (b) bathing of deity with scented water, fanning the deity with chowries, carrying the silver staves during the rathayatras and performance of other
types of religious duties, standing at various columns and niches of the temple, playing attendant upon the deity, and singing and dancing to the Svasti hymn during the early morning rituals.

Temple girls became an inspiration for the sculptural representation of the dancing figures on the walls of the temples. The multiplication and performance of ritual services in the temple was followed by a simultaneous expansion of the temple structure. For example, the addition of the dancing hall (natyamantapa) the musical hall (Sabella mantapa) were made particularly to accommodate the elaborate rituals that went with dance and music.

The Devadasis danced and sang before the deities daily at specified hours. Their service was considered to please god and hence they are known as Devaradiyals. Such service was hereditary. The Devadasis received remuneration from temple funds. For example, according to a record at TeKal, some lands were granted to two dancing girls for reciting the Tirupallandu by the authorities of the temple of Tekal and one Sokka Perumaldasar. The temple authorities and the Dasar also pledged them away owing to their accomplishments in dancing and music.

Among the dancing girls, property descends in the female line first, and then in the male as in other castes. On the failure of issue, the property of a dancing girls goes to the temple to which she belonged. Dancing girls are respected by the Hindu castes and are allowed to sit in the assembly of the most respectable men.

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79 M A R., 1913-14, para III.
The only real data we have are on the amount of endowments made to the different categories of temple girls. These mainly reflect the socio-economic structure of the temple set up and give no direct information on the position of these girls either in the temple or outside it. We have been able to observe that whenever a grant was made for the maintenance of dancing and singing girls, they were often clubbed the nattuvan. This was probably because they formed an integral part of the whole music dancing party that was particularly associated with the temple rituals.

Devadasis received liberal grants from the Vijayanagara rulers and from the Brahmanas. The Brahmanas of the immemorial agrahara Madhusudhanapura which is Talirur with an unanimous agreement gave grant in Immavagaundiyahalli for the support of the dancing girls of the god Madhusudana and also built the village for that purpose in 1369 A.D., 80.

Two Tamil Epigraphs found on the huli-bande on the south side of the Varadarajeswami temple at Tekal in Tekal hobli state describe respectively that among the dancing girls of the temple, one devadasi was given certain privileges and a daily allowances of cooked rice by Sokkapperumaltnadar, the owner of the temple at Tekal in 1336 A.D., 81.

Out of the dancing girls, one Malaiyattai Sri Ranganayakiyar Manikkam, the daughter of Sendikkadivai got the privilege of the first turn in the temple of Arulalanadan and certain land in 1356 A.D., while the first turn in the temple of the consort of Arulalanadan god and certain lands were granted to her sister Varadhi 82, who also enjoyed the privilege of a daily allowance of cooked rice.

81 *E.C.*, X, Mr. 24, p. 162.
82 *Ibid.*, Mr. 21, p. 161.
During the reign of Harihara, Vambiyakka, an admirer of Harihara's poetry, on her own free will became a devadasi at the temple of Pampapati, which acceptable for some enlightened women as well.

During the reign of Devaraya II, he made a grant of land for dancing girls employed in the temple of Varadaraja.

All the Brahmanas of the agrahara Prasanna-Vijayapura, made a grant in 1372 A.D., of which 30 gadyanas were to be given daily for the dancing girls of the god Ramanatha.

Vira-Bukkanna Vodeyar's son Chikka Kampanna Vodeyar, that all the Virapanchala of Terakanambi and other places together with the smiths gave a grant to provide for the dancing girls to the god Ramanatha of Vijayapura in 1372 A.D.

Nagavva's son Ramanna, presented Ketavve as a dancing girl and gave gift for her support in 1372 A.D. to the god Ramanatha of Vijayapura.

Achyutaraya made provision for the maintenance of two dancing girls for the service of the temple by sending them to Sri Rangaraya, who had the title "Vidvatsabha Raya Ranjakam" which would mean that this person was a master of music and dancing, whose proficiency was appreciated by the assembly of the learned as well as the King, thereby indicating that perhaps the women was an expert in the art, and was sent over as such. The name of the dancing girl was Kuppayi, she was the grand dau-

83 E.C., X; M.A.R., 1914, p. 47.
84 Ibid., IV, Gu 32, p. 41
85 Ibid., Gu 34, p. 42.
86 Ibid.
ghter of Sri Rangaraya and Hanumasani, the term San means dancing girl, she was the daughter of Uttida Timmaiyan.

Ranjakkam Kuppayi was a famous dancer during the reign of Krishnadeva Raya. She was a court dancer. An inscription of 1512 A.D., states that Ranjakkam Kuppayi, daughter of Ranjakam Srirangaraja deposited an amount of 1,000 nar panam for providing offering to Sri Venkatesa at Tirukalai. In the reign of Achyutaraya, Kuppayi's services were recognised and she was sent to the Tirumalai to render services to God Venkateswera. An inscription of 1517 A.D., states that Tirumalai Amman, daughter of Ranjakkam Kuppayi, made a donation of 3,000 panam, for the daily offering of one dosaipadi to Srivenkatesa at Tirumalai.

During the reign of Krishnadeva Raya, Chinnadevi was a famous dancer in the temple of Virupaksha at Hampi. She was a Devadasi; she was famous in music, singing and dancing and she was very beautiful. Krishnadeva Raya was attracted by the beauty of Chinnadevi and he got married to her and Chinnadevi was probably his special favourite queen.

During Krishnadeva Raya's reign, a record of 1514 A.D., adorning a pillar in the Kesvasvami temple at Chruva Belagallu of Kurnool taluk in the Kurnool district registers a gift of a plot of land of in Keriya Belugallu in the division of Adavanidurga made to the actor Nagayya and the actress Patri, the daughter of the Nattuva Timmayya of Polavara in the presence of God Jalasingadeva by Karanam Basavara rasa, the son of Somarasa of Tirapatur.

89 S.I.I., IX Part II, No. 495, pp. 511-12.
At times deputation to the king were led by the devadasis on behalf of the temples they were serving in. According to an inscription of 1433–34 A.D., one Aramvalatta Nacciyan, the elder sister of a Kaikkola attached to the temple of Agnesvara at Madam, sought an interview with the king Devaraya II, on behalf of a temple and secured from him a copper plate grant embodying a Sarvamanyas gift of a village. In return for her services the Rudramahasvaras of the temple granted her one Padakku of grain every day and two panams of money per month.

Devadasis were quite rich. They played a dominant role as donors to temple. They made liberal grants for temples in order to become immortal. During the reign of Saluva Narasimha, Venkata Valliyar, who was the daughter of Savaripperumal and one of the damsels attached to the temple of Sri Narasimhasvami in Tirupati. The trustees of Tirumali temple arranged for daily offerings to Sri Venkatesa as she paid a sum of 1000 panam as into the temple treasury on 7th November 1457 A.D.80

In the same reign, Valandi, daughter of Anaimadi and one of the temple damsels made a gift in the form of money for providing an offering to Sri Venkatesa as Dhanurmasa Puja during Margali month in 1486 A.D.81

During Sadasiva Raya’s reign Selli, the daughter of one of the temple damsels, residing in Tirupati, she deposited a sum of 1120 panam for the celebration of new harvest festival at Tirumalai for Sri Venkatesa as her Ubhaiyam in 1543 A.D.82

81 Ibid., p. 18.
82 Ibid., V, p. 25.
In the same reign Lingasani and Tirusenkatadasi belonging to the temple damsel class residing in Tirupati, gave 1600 panam to the temple treasury as the Ubbaiyam of these two sisters\(^{93}\) in 1543 A.D.,

During the same period, Sendaka Venu, daughter of immi, who was the daughter of Tunga Selvi, one of the temple damsels residing in Tirupati. A contribution of 600 anam was deposited by her for the purpose of propitiating Sri Venkatesa, on all the 9th festival days during 10 Brahmutsavam as her Ubbaiyam in 1545 A.D.\(^{94}\)

Nagasani, daughter of Obulayam, one of the temple damsels, she constructed a mantapam at Tirumalai in 1545 A.D.\(^{95}\)

Tirusenkatadasi-Manikkam, daughter of Tippasani, who was one of the famous damsels was residing in Tirupati, Pollapadi Timmaraja and the trustees of Tirumalai temple granted for her use a dandikai (Palanquin) as a token of honour for the services rendered by her for her use towards the temples in Tirupati and at Tirumalai in 1546A.D.\(^{96}\)

Lingasani, daughter of Tirusenkatadasi, one of the temple-damsels was residing in Tirupati. She arranged for 10 Manoharapadl to be made to Sri Utsava Murti on all the 7th festival days during Brahmutsavam at Tirumalai as her Ubbaiyam in 1548 A.D.\(^{97}\)

Seuvusani, daughter of Angali, one of the Tirupati temple damsels paid a sum of 200 panam as capital for

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\(^{93}\) T.D. Insps., II, p. 83
\(^{94}\) Ibid., p. 90.
\(^{95}\) Ibid., p. 192.
\(^{96}\) Ibid.,
the daily offerings to Sri Vighnesvara installed by her in the
temple of Sri Kapilesvarasvami at Kapilatirtham in Tirupati
in 1563 A.D.88

An inscription of 1535 A.D., states that Peruchchi, one
of the temple damsels, residing in Tirupati, deposited a
sum of 230 panam for one Tiruvolakkam offering on the
day of Makara-Sankraman festival celebrated in Tirupati
temple.89

Another inscription of 1535 A.D., states that Chikkayas-
vani and her younger sister Govindasani, daughters of
Polunayakka, and two of the temple damsels, residing
in Tirupati, inaugurated a festival called Chittirai-Vishnu
(Tamil New year’s day) in Tirupati temple which was
arranged to be conducted by depositing 1750 panam into
the temple treasury.100

The government used to derive some income from
prostitutes during temple festivals. An inscription of 1555
A. D., refers to lanja Sunkam, i.e., a levy on prostitution,
being collected by the government during temple festivals
at Markapuram in kurnool district.101

All the devadasis were prostitutes, but not all prosti-
tutes were devadasis. The word ‘Sule’ used in the grants
made to the abodes of god meant the devadasi. It seems
that they had to obtain the permission or the sanction of
the government to carry on their trade or profession. The
government was levying taxes on them which were called
‘Sulederes’102. It appears that they had to pay taxes even
for keeping mirrors.103

88 Ibid., p. 458.
89 T.T. Insps. No. 44.
100 T.T. Insps. No. 39.
101 S.I.I., XVI, No. 201.
102 E.C., XI, Dg 133.
103 Ibid., VII, SK 295.
An inscription of Harihara of 1380 A.D., refers to the exhibiton of such a mirror in connection with dancing girls. In Vijayanagara such looking glasses were taxed. A record from Shikaripur states that taxes due for providing marriage pendals and mirrors for dancing girls were remitted.

The dancing girls, were fabulously rich. They wore ornaments made of gold, emaralads, diamonds, rubies and pearls from top to toe. Abdur Razzak says that “Each of these women was bedecked with pearls and gems of great value and was dressed in costly raiment, they were very beautiful”.

The European traveller Paes who visited the kingdom wrote about the temple dancers of Vijayanagara. “They (the Hindus) feed the Idol every day, for they say that he eats and when he eats women dance before him who belong to that Pagoda. All girls born of these women belong to the temple. These women are of loose character and they live in the best streets, it is the same in all their cities, their streets have the best rows of houses. They are very much esteemed and are classed among those honoured ones who are the mistresses of captains, any respectable man may go to their houses without any blame attaching thereto. These women are allowed even to enter the presence of the wives of the king, and they stay with them and eat betel with them a thing which no other person may do, no matter what their ranks may be.”

Barbosa tells us that in Vijayanagara girls were dedicated to temples at the tender age of ten and he adds that “These are also persons who offer the virginity of their daughters to an Idol and, as soon as they are of ten years of age, they take her to a monastery and the house of prayer of that Idol. with great honour, and accompanied by her relations entertaining her like one that is going to
be married’. This reveals how the Vijayanagara people had become the followers of this custom in the sacred name of God. Devadasis or dancing girls are respected by the Hindu castes and are allowed to sit in the assembly of the most respectable men.

Thus, the devadasis were encouraged by the kings, Brahmanas, provincial, military and town officials, merchants and traders. They were held in high esteem by the royalty. Abdur Razzak observed that the girls were of low moral character but were, all the same, held in high esteem even by the royalty. Though most scholars begin with the presumption that at a certain point in time the dancing and singing girls performed a purely ‘spiritual’ function and therefore had been held in high esteem.

A sculpture depicts a court dancer, dancing in front of the king. King is accompanied by two female maids. They are standing behind him. The king is sitting on a couch. The dancer is neatly dressed with ornaments and coiffure. The dancer is accompanied by a male dancer and a male drummer (Ref. Pl. No. 10)

Another sculpture depicts a female dancing troupe. Probably they might be devadasis. She is dancing in front of the king and queens. To the left side there are three females, one is playing a mridanga, the other is holding a mridanga, the third one is holding a danda with a cloth in her right hand, yet another is a male putting a tala, the fourth one is dancing and at the right side are two females dancing (Ref. Pl. No. 11)

6. Festivals:

Inscriptions and the accounts of travellers provide ample evidences in regard to the religious festivals observed by the royalty and the people of Vijayanagara. The temples

in villages continued as a centre of social activities. Pilgrims to holy places, performed either on foot or bullock carts were common and they were undertaken as much to fulfil their vows to family Gods as to relieve the monotony of daily life. Seasonal festivals, like Sankranti, Yugadi, Dasara, Holi and Dipavali were occasions of community rejoicing in which all joined. Festivals, which are essentially based on religion, have continued to exist as popular occasions of universal social intercourse and rejoicings.

_Mahanavami_ festival was the national fair and festival of Vijayanagara, which was observed in the first fortnight of the month of Asvina. It was celebrated on large scale with great ceremonies, pomp, splendour, enthusiasm. There used to be lot of entertainment also. It attracted spectators from far and near and foreign visitors who were overpowered by its brilliance and magnificence.

Since Vijayanagara times, the nine day festival is followed by a tenth and final day - dasara. The same festival is also called Navaratri. Mahanavami was dedicated to protection and regeneration of the capital city of Vijayanagara.

The most elaborate description of the festivals was that of Paes, from whose account the following features may be noticed. During these nine days, festivities were centred in the 'citadel' area of Vijayanagara, before the palace and on two large permanent structures, one of which is called 'The house of victory' by Paes ('Throne Platform' by Longhurst, the archaeologist of Vijayanagara and the Mahanavami dibba according to the modern residents of Hampi) and the other 'The king's Audience Hall'. These were constructed by Krishnadeva Raya around 1513 A.D., following his Orissa campaign and victory over the Gajapatis. Around and within these buildings were enacted the events of the festival.105

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105 Hampi Ruins, pp. 57-70.
"Though religious in atmosphere, it is essentially political in its significance" notes Saleatore. Though Paes, Nuniz and other visitors have given vivid description about the spectacular celebration of this feast, the account of Abdur Razzak deserves our special attention. He considers the Mahanavami celebration as stately and magnificent. All the nobles of the empire assembled for this feast with their elephants and horses. Pavilions containing two to five staggs were constructed. The festival of Mahanavami took place for nine days with all pomp and glory. The king fasted all these nine days, and (each day) they ate nothing until all was finished and their hour of food was midnight.

During the nine feative day games and amusement went on. Paes description of the Mahanavami festival brings to our mind, the world of upper class luxury. Paes in his Chronicle notes that after the Mahanavami festival, the New Year's day was celebrated.

The festival of Navarathri was the cultural novelty of Vijayanagara. It was the annual gala event of the capital. Seeing this grand one gorgeous procession of the king, the pomp and pagentry of the nobility dazzling jewellery that was embellished by the royalty, jubilant crowds of people connected on house — tops and hills and slopes in infinite numbers, the dumb founded Paes said solemnly that it seemed as if the whole world were collected there and the very city seemed to be overturned and hills and valleys and all the ground seemed to tremble with the cries and shouts of the people, the neighing of horses, the screaming of elephants, the beating of shields and shelterina of arrows and rows. To see the bombs and fire missilies over the field was

107 Sewell, Forgotten Empire, p. 264.
108 Ibid., p. 92.
109 Ibid., p. 85.
indeed wonderful\textsuperscript{110a} The festival is held in the month of Kartika. During the festival, according to Nicolo Conti, "They fix up within their temples and on the outside of the roofs, an innumerable number of oil and Susimanni, which are kept burning day and night".\textsuperscript{110}

People of religious disposition gave contributions to the temples for the celebration of festivals.

Nicolo Conti speaking about the \textit{Holi feast} in the spring season, states that during the festival "they sprinkle all the passers by even the king and the queen themselves, with saffron water, placed for that purpose by the way side. This is received by all with much laughter".\textsuperscript{111}

During certain temple functions car festivals were common. Temple elephants, musicians, trumpeteers and dancers went along the procession of the car in which the idol was placed. Nicolo Conti states that in Vijayanagara, "at a certain time of the year, their idol is carried through the city, placed between two chariots, in which sit young women richly adorned, who sing hymns to the God, and accompanied by a great concourse of people. Many carried away by the fervour of their faith, cast themselves on the ground before the wheels, in order that they may be crushed to death, a mode of death which they say is very acceptable to their God.\textsuperscript{112} Car festivals were sometimes instituted by people in the temples of their locality.

The festival of \textit{hook-swinging} or Siddi which was commonly in practice in South India have attracted the foreigners. The Siddi performance has been narrated by travel-

\textsuperscript{110(a)} Dr. T L. Lingaiah Vijayanagara — The Glorious capital, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{111} Sewell. \textit{Forgotten Empire}, p. 86.
\textsuperscript{112} Major, \textit{India}, pp. 28-29.
\textsuperscript{112} Sewel. \textit{Forgotten Empire}, p. 82.
lers like Nicolo Conti, Barbosa. Those who took an Oath before their Gods to swing themselves by hook, perform this dangerous feast. "The festival receives the name from the iron hook or Sidi from which a man was suspended and swung round, the hook being passed through the sinews of the back." Barbosa describing this performance states that even women perform this dangerous (feast) of devotion to God. About a woman who swung herself in hook-swing, he narrates thus, "she goes forth on the appointed day in the company of her relatives and friends, men and women, with much music played and sung; and also dancers. She is naked from the waist up, and wears cotton garments below, when she arrives at the gate where the cart stands ready, they let down (the long arm of) they lift and push the hooks) 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 outcry and shouting of the people. She remains hanging from the lift with blood running down her legs, but shows no sign of pain. nay, she waves her dagger most joyfully."

Women's role in the above mentioned festivals was really great. They dressed up very grandly during these festivals. They danced before the god and they accompanied in the procession. People of religious disposition gave contributions to the temples for the celebration of festivals. Women's participation was important in these festivals. Nicolo Conti saw the common folk of the city spending "three entire days in singing, dancing and feasting", during a festival - probably the New Year's festival which was celebrated for three days. There were crude methods of executing religious vows such as the hook-swinging

113 E.C., VIII Sk 246, p. 141.
114 Barbosa, pp. 220-22.
115 Sewel, Forgotten Empire, pp. 82-83.
ceremony or throwing one's self under the car of the god while in procession. [Ref Fig. No 1.]

7. Marriage:

The institution of Hindu marriage occupies a prominent place in the social institutions of civilized world. Hindu marriage can be defined as a religious sacrament in which a man and woman are bound in permanent relationship for physical, social and spiritual purpose of Dharma, procreation and sexual pleasure. It results in a more or less permanent relationship between a man and Woman. Its aim is not merely physical pleasure but spiritual advancement. The main aims of Hindu marriage can be summarised as follows:

1. Fulfilment of Dharma or religious duties
2. Procreation - In Hindu family the child is given a very important place.
3. Sexual pleasure - The Hindu scriptures have compared the sexual pleasure with the realization of divine bliss.

In almost all the societies one or the other form of marriage exists. In all ages the people get married because of the feeling that being in a family is the most proper way of living. Marriage is generally considered as obligatory for every person among the Hindus. It is a 'Samskara' or purificatory ceremony obligatory for every Hindu. In short, marriage helps men to discharge the three rinas or obligations to Gods, to teachers and to ancestors. Moreover, the Panchamahayagnas are to be performed jointly by man and his wife. All these various functions implies that the husband and wife should love each other and should live in perfect harmony.

The Hindu scriptures admit the following eight forms of marriage.
1. **Brahma marriage**: In this form of marriage the girl, decorated with clothes and ornaments, is given in marriage to a learned and gentle bridegroom.

2. **Prajapatya**: In this form of marriage the daughter is offered to the bridegroom by blessing them with the enjoyment of marital bliss and the fulfilment of Dharma.

3. **Arsha Marriage**: In this form of marriage a rishi used to accept a girl in marriage after giving a cow or bull and some clothes to the parents of the girl.

4. **Daiva marriage**: In this form of marriage the girl, decorated with the ornaments and clothes, was offered to the person who conducted the function of a Purohit in Yajna.

5. **Asuro marriage**: In this form of marriage the bridegroom got the bride in exchange of some money or articals given to the family members of the bride.

6. **Gandharva marriage**: This form of marriage is the mutual affection and love of the bride and bridegroom.

7. **Rakshas Marriage**: This type of marriage was prevalent in the age when women were considered to be the prize of war.

8. **Paishach marriage**: This type of marriage has been called to be most degenerate. In this type a man enters into sexual relationship with a sleeping, drunken or unconscious women.

Early marriages were prevalent among the Hindus. Barbosa found this custom among the Brahmanas. According to Manusmriti is also known as Manu Samhita. It is the well-known law-book, the Code of Manu or Institutes of Manu.

116 Manusmriti is also known as Manu Samhita. It is the well-known law-book, the Code of Manu or Institutes of Manu.
ding to the injunctions of ancient Hindu scriptures the Brahmanas in the Vijayanagara empire married their girls at a comparatively early age. Linschoten who observed this custom during the time of his visit says, "when the woman in seven years old and men nine years they do marry, but they come not together before to bear children". This practice of the Brahmanas was in a large measure followed by a few other classes. Thus, according to Ferishta, Nehal, a farmer's girl had been betrothed to a youth of her own caste in childhood agreeably to the custom of Hindooistan.

Brahmanas preferred to remain Monogamous. This was partly due to their economic condition.

Barbosa says about the people of Vijayanagara. "The King and the country people marry almost in our way, and have a marriage law, yet they marry several wives especially the rich who are able to maintain them."

Describing the customs and practice of the Lingayats in the same city, he says, "They marry only one wife and when one of them died the wife buries herself alive."

There is an inscription which refers to a present made by Mahamandaleswara Ramaraju Ramarajayyadeva Maharanasa, for having married the daughter of Viraraju of Nanjarayapattana, Basavapattana and Konana-ura-sthala, two villages as Pallakyaumbali in 1579 A.D.

There is an inscription which refers to one lady Ummakkar, wife of Kalasappa of Yedadahalu, took money in the

118 Purchas, X, p. 256.
120 Barbosa, I, p. 116.
121 Ibid., p. 219.
122 E.C., V, Ag 44.
presence of Surappa Senabova for the marriage of her grandson and in lieu there of gave certain lands in 1524 A.D.,\textsuperscript{123}.  

In the reign of Devaraya, Kanyadana type of marriage prevailed\textsuperscript{124}. Kanyadana means giving in marriage a virgin to a man. Kanyadana was also considered as an act of *punya* or merit.

There are number of inscriptions which refer to the remission of marriage tax. For example, an inscription in 1510 A.D., records the abolition of the cess on marriages in yalape-sime, by a certain Vodeya\textsuperscript{126}.

Another inscription refers in 1527 A.D., a grant of exemption from the marriage tax to the Sudras of Yagati 1000 province (Sudra Maduveoa Sunka) by Bayipanayaka\textsuperscript{126}.

In 1537 A.D., an inscription records the remission of marriage tax in Soluru sime by Timmappa Nayaka\textsuperscript{127}.

In 1562 A.D. records Maha Ramaratyyadeva Maharasu and the prabhus of Kaleyasthala in Satinadu remitted the tax on marriage\textsuperscript{128}.

An inscription in 1534 A.D., records the exemption on marriage tax\textsuperscript{129}.

An inscription in 1540 A.D., records the exemption from marriage tax of all classes of people of Jajuru-Sime\textsuperscript{130}.

\textsuperscript{123} *Ibid.*, VI, Mg 62.
\textsuperscript{124} *S.I.I.*, IX, II, 666.
\textsuperscript{125} *Ibid.*, No. 460, Virapuram, Bellary district.
\textsuperscript{126} *M.A.R.*, 1943, No. 22, Chikkaballakere.
\textsuperscript{127} *E.C.*, IX, Ma 62.
\textsuperscript{128} *Ibid.*, Ma 17.
\textsuperscript{129} *E.C.*, XI, Hk. 17.
\textsuperscript{130} *Ibid.*, Hk 62.
An inscription in 1540 A.D., records the remission of marriage tax levied on the people of Baguru Sime valita

8. Dowry:

In the Vijayanagara period the problem of Vadhu sulka or bride's price was serious and important one which called for solution. The dowry system was prevalent in the Vijayanagara days and the system being compulsory in character was a great burden on many families.

People followed traditional marriage customs. Royal marriages were on grand scale and very expensive. The concern of parents in regard to the marriages of their growing daughters was serious. Marriage customs were eating the very life of the people. Child marriages were common. Devaraya II granted the remission of taxes on marriages of all classes in Ballalapura in 1432 A.D., perhaps just to discourage the dowry system.

Dowry system is connected with the conception of marriage as a dana or gift. Manu has the following to say regarding dowry: "No father who knows (the law) must take even the smallest gratuity for his daughter, for a man who, through avarice takes a gratuity, is a seller of his offspring. Some call the cow and the bull (given) at an Arsha wedding gratuity, (but) this is wrong, since (the acceptance of a fee, be it not a sale (in that case) 'the (gift) is only a token of respect and kindness towards the maidens'. Then again "even a Sudra ought not to take a nuptial fee,

131 Ibid., Hk 111.
132 E. C., X, Gd. 17, p. 264.
133 E. C., X, Gd. 17, p. 264.
134 Purchas. His Pilgrims, X, p. 256.
135 Manu III 51-53, p. 84.
when he gives away his daughter, for he who takes a fee sells his daughter neither ancients nor moderns who were goodmen have done such (a dead) that, after promising (a daughter to one man, they gave her to another). Hence according to Manu, the acceptance of a fee be it small or great, is a sale of the daughter, and hence is to be condemned.

The ratio system was one of the important causes for the existence of dowry system during Vijayanagara period. The ratio of male was lower than that of female. So there was a great competition and demand for male population. villages were presented as dowry.\(^ {136}\)

The Brahmanas in the Vijayanagara period condemned the taking of dowry. They must have realised that the dowry was becoming more and more unbearable, and it was telling sadly on the material prosperity of the Hindu households. Although information is not forthcoming as regards the nature and amount of dowry that was demanded amongst the common people, yet we know that among families well stationed in life, it was almost a custom to grant whole villages as dowry. It was most probably because of the exorbitant nature of dowry and the consequent heavy expenses of marriage that people were compelled to sell their estates. Probably this is suggested in an inscription dated 1404 A. D. which relates that Achapa's son Vithapa sold to Belur Varasiva Deva's son Suganna the Kandvalli village, also called Virupambikapura, in Beluve of the Araga-vente together with other land on account of marriage\(^ {137}\) (nan namma prasthanimitthavagi hilmage krayavagi kotta).

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\(^ {136}\) *E.C.*, IX, Ht 108 and 109.

\(^ {137}\) *E.C.*, VIII TL 134, p. 190.
According to another inscription assigned to about the year 1424 A.D., the Alvaprabhu Bommiyakka Heggaditi's son, whose name is missing in this defaced epigraph, sold land to the sthánika temple priest Devapnayya's son Bovannayya 138 also on account of marriage.

It was about this time that the Brahmanas, came to an agreement which arrived at as regards this question of Dharma relating to marriage, was as follows: That henceforth marriages among them were to be concluded only by Kanyadan that is father had to give his daughter to the bridegroom gratuitously, and that both the father who accepted money, and the bridegroom who paid money were to be subjected to punishment by the king and to be excommunicated from their caste. This is referred to in an inscription of 1424 A.D., belonging to the Padaividurajya on the date specified the illustrious Virapratapa Devareya Maharaya was pleased to rule the earth - the greatmen of all branches of sacred studies of the kingdom (rajam) of Padividu drew up in the presence of (the God) gopinatha (of) Arkapushkarani a document (which contains) if the Brahmanas of the kingdom (rajya) of Padividu, viz., Kannadiyas, Tamiras, Telungas etc., of all gotras sutras & sakhas conclude a marriage they after having given gold shall be liable to punishment by the king and shall be excluded from the community of Brahmanas 139.

For example, we have a Tamil inscription of 1379 A.D. states in the reign of Immadi Bukka Raya, by order of Pelteyarsar, Rachchurasar, Minister of the Kantikkararayargauda Nagannudaiyar I the Malaimandalap perumal, Mahaprabhu of Puliyinnadu, Nambi gravi Settiyar granted as dowry, the village of Pasigaipalli in my share of one third of Puliyiar

139 *S.I.I.*, No. 52, pp. 82-84.
nadu to my daughter’s son Iraviyammam, Kosava Settiyar and others 140.

It is recorded in an inscription that an agreement was reached among the villagers of Mangadu prohibiting the sale of lands to outsiders or even the gift of them as a dowry 141.

Devaraya I gave his daughter to Firoz Shah and gave Bankapura as dowry.

The Telugu poem Vijayavilasamu by Chemakuer Venkatakavi states that a certain Sevappa married the sister of the queen of the Vijayanagara king, Achyutaraya had got the Tanjore principality, perhaps as dowry 142.

When Krishnadeva Raya won against Gajapathi, he gave a lot of dowry to Krishnadeva Raya and gave his daughter Jagannmohini in marriage to Krishnadeva Raya.

Thus, during the said period marriage was compulsory and dowry was in existence. Child marriage was common. Kanyadana type of marriage was popular. A number of inscriptions testify to the existence of the dowry system. The Brahmanas made an agreement to discourage the taking of dowry during the said period. A number of inscriptions testify to the remission of marriage tax by the Vijayanagara sovereign.

9. Sati System:

Sati or Sahagamana was social institution which permitted the burning of Hindu widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands. The woman who burnt herself was called a Sati. The woman was bound to her husband by ties of the

140 E.C., XI, Ht 108.
141 M.A.R., No. 354 of 1908.
142 E.I., XIX, p. 215.
deeper love and affection. The custom was confined to the upper classes of the Hindu society. The women of the lower classes did not generally follow this practice. The obligation of self-immolation was not reciprocal in as much as it did not apply to the husband when his wife died before him.

Contemporary literary and epigraphic records testify to the prevalence of the custom of Sati or Sahagamana, i.e., the wife following her husband to the other world, by immolating herself on his funeral pyre. Almost every foreign traveller who visited India noticed the prevalence of the practice of Sati, and has left an account of it. Nicolo Conti, Barbosa, Nuiniz Caesar Frederick, Linschoten & other travellers give us a vivid & real picture of how Sati was performed. But they differ in certain details with regard to the manner in which it was committed for which three explanations are possible. Firstly, the method followed by one class of People must have differed from that pursued by another owing to their customary differences for every community in South India could have had a particular custom in all such matters. Secondly, some change might have crept into the customs with the passage of time. Lastly, the customs might have differed from place to place.

Nicolo Conti, speaking about the customs of Cambay, said that one Hindu had several wives who were burnt along with their husbands. In this place he described Sati in a more accurate and exact manner. He wrote in Cambay, there was a custom, ground, and when her husband dies, where there is a great pit in which a pile of wood burns, when husband's body is laid there in and begins to burn she throws herself of her own free will into the midst of the fire, where both their bodies are reduced to ashes. But, a woman of high rank did not burn herself immediately but performed certain ceremonies before she fell into the flames. She spent some time in festive, music, singing, dancing
and in holding banquets after which she dressed herself very richly with all the jewels she possessed and distributed the remaining property to her sons, relatives and friends. After this, she mounted on a high grey or white horse and went through the streets till she reached the burning ghat, where a fire was lit for her. There she removed all her clothes except a small piece which covered her waist, made a short speech telling the people gathered together there that she was immolating herself for the love she bore for her husband, though she was not bound to do so. Then she poured on her head oil, after which she fell into the flames and perished.\textsuperscript{143}

That religion did indeed sanction self-immolation is borne out by the belief that such acts always forced open the gates of heaven to receive the performers.

That the wife should burn herself alive together with her husband as soon as he died. One or more wives, according to the dignity of the deceased, cast themselves into fire. The wife who was the most dear and the mother of the child favourite of the deceased placed her arm around his neck and burnt herself with him. The other wives cast themselves afterwards into the flame.\textsuperscript{144}

Nuniz gives more details about this burning custom. He states that after the corpse of the husband had been set to fire, a Brahman performed over her certain ceremonies according to their custom, after which she distributed all her jewels among her relatives and wore a yellow robe. Then she went singing and running to the fire pit, which she came round thrice mounted a few steps which were made high up by the pit, and stood on the top of them

\textsuperscript{143} Dames—Barbosa I, pp. 213-16.
\textsuperscript{144} Major. \textit{India in the Fifteen Century}, p. 23.
holding a mat in her hand which prevented her from seeing the fire. The people assembled threw into the fire a cloth containing rice and another in which they had carried betel leaves, and her comb and mirror with which she adorned herself, saying that all these were indeed to adorn herself by her husband's side. Finally, she took leave of all and putting a pot of oil on her head fell head long into the flames.\textsuperscript{145}

Caesar Frederick says that the wives committed immolation two or three months after the death of their husbands. On the particular day on which she was to burn herself, she dressed herself like a bride and was carried round the city either on horseback or on elephant or else was borne by right men on a small stage to the place where the dead body was burnt. She held feasts after which she bathed in the river to wash away her sins, later she wore a yellow robe and got upon a pinnacle erected for the purpose. She then poured oil over her head and threw herself into the flames that had been lit.\textsuperscript{146}

Those who did not perform Sahagamana were held in great dishonour, and their kindred shaved their heads and turned them away as disgraced and a shame to the families.\textsuperscript{147} The shaving of the head was meant as a punishment for those who violated the customary practice of committing Sati. It was regarded as derogatory for a woman to be a widow, for her sins somehow seemed to have caused her husband's death, or so the popular belief held. She could reach heaven by burying herself with her husband was now an added attraction, especially as it freed her from a miserable unwanted life on earth. The worst tragedy was that there were so many infant widows, who if they

\textsuperscript{145} Sewell. \textit{Forgotten Empire}, pp. 372-73.
\textsuperscript{146} Purchas X, pp. 94-96.
\textsuperscript{147} Barbosa I, p. 216.
were not committed to the flames in any case were forced to remain as virgin widows all their lives. Men perished willing in the battle field, and women on the funeral pyre. Loyalty also claimed many voluntary deaths.

Pietro della Valle gives a faithful description of Sati. Though women of a few classes of people performed Sati by burning themselves either along with their husband or in fire lit, a few days later for the purpose, some others specially the Lingayats performed it by being buried alive with their dead husbands. Nuniz describing this method says, "These go with much pleasure with two seats of earth, one for him and one for her, and they place each one on his own seat and cover them in little by little till they are covered up and so the wife dies with the husband".

A very fundamental question regarding the practice of Sati in Vijayanagara period is whether it was voluntary or obligatory, whether the wives willingly sacrificed their lives or were forced to do it. The contradictory evidence furnished by foreign travellers make it a bit difficult for us to come to a conclusion. Sometimes we find contradictory statements even in the account of the same traveller. On the whole we can agree with Abdul Fazal who divides Satis into different categories. Those who out of sheer love for husbands consign themselves into flames, those who from fear of reproach surrendered to be burnt, others who were swayed by family considerations and customs, who were actually forced to burn themselves alive with their deceased husbands. A Hindu woman who obviously knew the ascetic rigorous of a widow’s life, would hardly dare poison her husband and thus welcome the miserable lot of a widow. Most important factor which urged a woman to embrace the funeral flames, ungrudgingly on most occasions was the extreme misery of the widow in the society.

Widow-remarriage was not permitted by the rigorous society, and if one married she had to for sake her religion and accept Christianity or Islam. It was probable that anticipating the miserable prospect of a widow's life, the woman could not think at the moment of her deepest sorrow that she would be able to live without her husband and so had recourse to self-immolation. Whenever the travellers asked the Indians the reasons of Sati, they alleged none but ancient custom. The belief was sought to be incalculable in every girl from her childhood that it was virtuous and laudable in a wife to mingle her ashes with those of her husband's and no woman of honour would 'refuse compliance with the established custom' and finally, the question of family prestige and personal glory also weighed heavily in the mind of a widow and induced her to perish in the funeral flames of her husband.

Barbosa says that on the death of the king, "not only four or five hundred women, but many men who were his intimates are also burnt with him." Inglorious part was played by the Brahmans in the execution of the Sati. As the custodian of society, the priestly class accompanied the widow exhorting her to give public testimonials and her constancy and courage, and as some travellers pointed out, even gave her a certain beverage to stupefy and disorder her senses. The Brahmans had also material interests in encouraging and executing the custom, in as much as the ornaments of the widow (she would wear all her ornaments at the time), would become the invariable "free booty" of the Brahmans, who had the monopoly right to search for them in ashes. Of course it must be noted that some travellers, example Ibn Batuta held that the widows would distribute ornaments as alms and gifts 'to whom they will' before casting themselves into the funeral flames. But this does

149 Satyanathiar. History of India, p. 354.
not hardly minimise the inglorious role of the Brahmanas. Their active role in the social custom incensed Tavernier so much as to say, "It is for the Brahmin's interest that the poor miserable creatures continue in their resolutions'. Tavernier became so much irritated that he referred to the priestly class as merciless Brahmins'' and wrote those demons excite or astound the affrighted victims.

Generally the Mastikals contain the figure of a lady with a raised arm and with the fiery flames behind her head. Some stones portray only a raised arm. Before mounting the funerals pyre, the Satis used to dip their fingers in vermilion and leave their finger prints on the doors. Perhaps the sculptors carved the figures on them and add an arm to them. It is quite probable that the fingers now found on the Mastikals are the exact copy of the finger prints of the Mahasatis. On some Mastikals figures of the husband and wife or only of wife appear. In the hand of the Mahasati a lime between the thumb and forefinger is noticeable. The people used to worship them. Thus women showed themselves to be nobly brave sublimely strong souls. Almost all the women cheerfully offered their bodies to the blazing fire with the dead bodies of their husbands.

From the point of art and sculpture, the memorial stones occupy a remarkable place. They also indicate the social and economic conditions of those days. Viragals erected in memory of heroes who died in defence of cattle is self-explanatory. Viragals, Inscriptions often make references and describe scences of battles, images of heroes, description of the battle field and weapons used. They also give a clue to the art of warfare, prevailing in those days. A Viragal for instance has generally three panels sculptured in relief. At the bottom, the hero fighting is killed. In the middle, he is taken by Apsaras to heaven. The idea behind such a description is filled with such senti-
ment of heroism and ambition, every young man with his blood boiling was anxious and eager to avail himself of an opportunity to fight. Secondly, the ambition of his fame being remembered as long as the sun and the moon endure would also set an example to posterity.

The stones erected in memory of virtuous women who steadfastly, firmly and finally entered the fearful fire of their husbands are called Mastikals. Mastikals or Satikals give up an insight to the social customs of those times. They are carved in relief showing the left arm of the dead lady with her stretched out palm. Sati stones are examples of what an Indian woman can do for her husband in his lifetime she tends to his comfort and happiness and at the end follows him to the other world. That is the greatness of Satis, some of whom are also worshipped even today, more particularly on occasions of auspicious ceremonies at home.

Thus, the Sati stones reflect the culture of the common people who formed the backbone of the country and protector of cultural traditions as well.

There are few inscriptions which give us information about the cattle raids. While fighting the idea behind the practice of voluntary death was for the safety of villages, sympathy for neighbours, protection of cattle, children, women and the aged. The person fighting against odds never cared for his life and in almost all cases falls in battle. The hero's name was held high and commemorated by inscriptions and viragals.

The practice of religious death (Sallekhana) was considered as a meritorious act. They were highly respected in society. The stones and monuments erected in the memory of and in honour of those who died by Sallekhana were called 'Nishigals', Nishidi.
An inscription states in the reign of Mahamandalaswara Hariyappa Vodeyar, Chennakka performed Sahagamana when her husband Malegauda welcomed death in 1354 A.D. 150 in Soraba.

An epigraph of 1362 A.D., records that Devappa and his wife Bayichakka committed Sati 151.

An inscription of 1369 A.D., states that a Virgal was set up in the memory of Nagarasa, son of Kirtiyarasa, chief of Aruhanahalli. His three wives Bayichakka, Bayidevi and Madaragavudi 152 appears to have died with him.

Demayi, wife of Nauka Gavuda, who became a Mahasati by performing Sahagamana on the death of her husband Nauka Gavuda in 1383 A.D., 153 in Devangere.

An inscription of 1384 A.D., states that the wife of Mallappa committed Sati 154.

During the reign of Harihara, in 1386 A.D., an inscription refers to the fact that Bommakka became a Mahasati on the death of her husband Jadavaracheli Bayachisetti of the village Maleyandur 155.

An inscription of 1388 A.D., narrates that on the death of the watch lockman (Kovikara) Devayya Nayaka, son of Chikkagauda of Muttugappe, by snake bite, his wife Muddanaketi performed Sahagamana 156 in Soraba.

When Baichi-Nayaka's son died, his wife burnt herself

150 E.C., VIII Sb. 104, p. 15.
152 Ibid., p. 86.
153 E.C., XI, Dg 117, p. 73.
154 Ibid., VIII Sb 134, p. 165.
156 E.C., VIII Sb. 433, p. 81.
with his dead body in the blazing fire in 1393 A.D., informs an inscription.

In 1397 A.D., an epigraph refers Hariya gauda, in the presence of the God Kesava, at the southern door of the Harihara temple, at logha after sunset went to Sverga. His wife Lakshmanayi entered fire and went to the world of Gods. On the eleventh day after Osana Hariya gauda’s younger brother and son set up a stone.

Konguva Chilader Bommya fought (in a Cow raid) in the village Kalayuru and died, his wife Chiyakka went with him in 1399 A.D., states an inscription.

An inscription of 1401 A.D., refers to the fact that Jakka-gauda’s son Nagappa went to Sverga. His wife Tangigaudi performed Sahagamana.

An epigraph of 1403 A.D., states that Mande-gamunda died, Soya’s son called Vira-Nara, Urivana, Bomma Nayaka’s daughter Kaladevi performed Sahagamana.

An epigraph of 1403 A.D., refers to the fact that Kuranivaka’s son Sakanna and his wife Devanakitti went to Sverga.

Mechigaudi, became a Mahasati, with her husband Hariyagauda of Keladi in Kundanad district in Guttí in 1404 A.D.,

An epigraph states that in 1405 A.D., one Gangasani, daughter of Bayiri setti a Pamidi and wife of Ramadeva.

158 E.C., II, p. 73.
159 M.A R., 1923, p 85.
161 Ibid., p. 95.
162 Ibid., p. 95.
163 M.A.R., 1933, pp. 211-212.
Nayaka, the son of Kheyideva Nayaka of Kadiri, entered into fire at Penugonda where her husband died.\(^{164}\)

An epigraph states that in 1408 A.D., Nishidi was set up by Mahamandalesvara Sangiraya on of Haivabhupa and Bhairadevi of Hadavalli to commemorate the death of Bhairadevi.\(^{165}\)

An inscription in 1403 A.D. records the death of Nagayi and Remayi as Mahasatis with their husband Davenayaka, son of kikari Sayi Nayaka.\(^{166}\)

A Masti figure set up in front of the Marigudi in the village Jambavi, Shimoga district, contains the full image of the woman who immolated herself in 1410 A.D. This records as Sati of Sayakka, wife of Baviyaya of chilika Bogur in Bayikunda.\(^{167}\)

One Amigaudi, who died as a Sati along with her husband Manavane Vitharaka in 1411 A.D.\(^{168}\) in Soraba.

During Devaraya’s rule, a woman named Nanakka belonging to Megevalli village committed Sati on 17th August 1416 A.D.\(^{169}\)

An epigraph states that in 1417 A.D., by the order of Deva Raya Odayar the Gavagutta kingdom was under Virupa-dandanayaka, and he was in Chandra-gutta-Rama-gauda having gone to his presence, was there united to the feet of the Gods Irugapa Vodaya having taken note of his condition sent from Gutti to Hanka, on which Rama-Gaudas’ Bomma-Gaudi uniting and Ramaguda and Bommakka took Svaraga by force. On account of which a Shilashasana has been carved.\(^{170}\)

\(^{164}\) Ins of A.p., p. 21
\(^{165}\) M.A R., 1939-40, p. 30
\(^{166}\) S.I., IX, No 276, Kanvi, Dharwar district
\(^{167}\) M.A R., 1933, pp 210-11
\(^{168}\) E.C., VII, Sb. 26, p. 5
\(^{169}\) M.A R., 1934, p 888
\(^{170}\) E.C., VII, Part I, p. 46.
Ramakka became a Mahasati as kaladi kariya Timme Gauda embraced death in 1419 A.D.,\textsuperscript{171} in Sagar.

An epigraph of 1423 A.D., states that when Kumbara Mahaballa's son Bommadira died his wife Chandave became a Sati,\textsuperscript{172} in Sagar.

An epigraph states that in 1426 A.D., when Nachayya died in Kapparahalli battle, his wife Birabbe entered his funerary pyre and the Mahasati stone was set up by Jakkoja.\textsuperscript{173}

An inscription states that in 1427 A.D., when Tirkigauda died in battle, his wife committed Sati with him\textsuperscript{174} in Nagar.

An inscription states that in 1429 A.D., one Manavane Madiga went to swarga and his wife entered his funeral pyre by performing Sati\textsuperscript{175} in Soraba.

An inscription of 1430 A.D., states that when Prabhugowda died, his wife Mallaba became a Sati. Her son Basappa erected a Mahasati stone\textsuperscript{176} in Malavalli.

When Jambe Nayaka, son of Harige Nayaka died in a fight his two wives Kamavva Nayakitti and Lakkavva Nayakitti also died after him in 1430 A.D.,\textsuperscript{177}

In 1432 A.D., Kumbati Ravaya Nayaka died and his wife Chanda Nayaki performed Sahagamana\textsuperscript{178} in Soraba.

\textsuperscript{171} E.C., VIII Sa. 35, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{172} Ibid., Sb No. 461.
\textsuperscript{173} M.A.R. 1927, No. 126, p. 119.
\textsuperscript{174} E.C. Vol. VIII, Nagar 29.
\textsuperscript{175} E.C., VII, Sb 24.
\textsuperscript{176} M.A.R., 1920, Malavalli Taluk
\textsuperscript{177} M.E.R., No. 88 of 1950-51.
\textsuperscript{178} E.C., Vol. VII, Sb. 497.
An epigraph refers to the fact that in 1432 A.D., Hamavalli Vidurikari Bommanayaka died and his wife Kameya Nayakitti became Mahasati in Soraba.

An inscription of 1432 A.D., states that when Kambaleya Ramanna Nayaka died, his wife Chanda Nayaki became Sati in Soraba.

An epigraph of 1447 A.D., records of a Sati in Shikaripur.

Sati stones were erected by their children, father, brother and relatives for the love and faith they bore. When they erected Sati stones or Viragals or Nishidigals, the time, day, week and Nakshatra was considered. For example when Hariyakka died fighting, her uncle Madegowda established a Viragal in 1449 A.D., in Shikaripur.

An inscription of about 1450 A.D., discovered at Nidugallu betta on a stone near the Mala-Mallikarjuna temple refers to the monument of Chandave, wife of the Vaisya Ramisetti’s son Bimisetti who was the lay disciple of Vrishabhasenabhatara of the Mula-Sangha in Soraba.

An epigraph refers in 1451 A.D., in Soraba records a Sati in Chandragutti province.

In the year 1452 A.D., Karinya Nayaka, son of Chauvda Nayaka, came across a band of Cow raiders and beating them off, died and attained to heaven, his wife Tembayama went to Svarga with him.

179 Ibid., Sb. 163.
180 Ibid., VIII Sb. 497.
181 E.C., VII, No. 1
182 Ibid., Sk. 2
183 Ibid., XII, p. 126.
184 Ibid., VIII, No. 16.
185 M.A.R., 1923, p. 86.
After the death or after committing Sati, their family members will donate money or grant land to the temple so that she attains Swarga. For example, when Honnavane Nayakitti died in 1490 A.D., her family donated a land to the temple, an inscription from Chikkamayakananahalli which records this.¹⁸⁶

Honnadevi-Amman of Haduvalli committed Sati in 1547 A.D.¹⁸⁷ On the death of Venkata his queens committed Sati.

We have on record the fact that when king Devaraya II died, the Settis of Chandragutti self-immolated themselves.¹⁸⁸

Thus the above references gives us some details about Sati. It was a evil social institution which existed during the Vijayanagara period. Sometimes Sati was forced and sometimes women did it voluntarily. Sati system became popular in the Vijayanagara period, because of the invasion of Muslims. In most cases the women were rather forced by their relatives to respect the age old traditions. Besides the relatives, the Brahmanas also were responsible for making this practice rigid and compulsory. The influx of foreign invader and the Brahmanic iron laws were the causes for such degradation. To popularise the horrible custom of Sati the pandits misinterpreted the hymn pertaining to it.

The following are the explanations of Sati memorial stones (Photographs).

¹⁸⁶ E.C., XI, CK. 30
¹⁸⁸ E.C., VIII, Part II, Sb. 18
Photograph No. 1

A memorial stone depicting the hero sitting on the right side of the panel and a female on the left side. At the right side of the panel, right hand has been raised. Below the panel a horse and a male figure is there. And above the panel is the representation of sun respectively. This memorial stone is from Hampi, Hospet Taluk, Ballary district.

Photograph No. 2

A Satikal from Hampi, Hospet Taluk, Bellary district. A Satikal depicting the Sati standing, she wears ear ornaments and has the hair on the head done up into an artistic side knot. She is wearing necklace, anklets, waist ornament and bangles.

Photograph No. 3

A memorial stone from Hampi, Hospet, Bellary district. A memorial stone representing the Sati with her raised right hand by the side of her husband. To the right side is a male figure (child). The upper panel shows sun and moon respectively.

Photograph No. 4

A Satikal from Hampi, Hospet Taluk, Bellary district. A memorial slab in two panels. The lower panel depicts the hero standing in anjali Mudra and to his left is Sati standing raising her right hand and in the left hand she is holding an object. The upper panel depicts the hero worshipping a shiva linga. On the left is a Bull. On the right top and left corners of the panel is the representation of the sun and moon respectively.

Photograph No. 5

Women performing Sati on the funeral pyre of her husband.
10 Prostitution

Prostitution is in vogue since a very long time. Society protected the institution of prostitution. Thousands of women have taken up this as profession. During Vijayanagara period the institution of prostitution existed. Prostitution as an institution was essentially an urban phenomenon. Foreign travellers who visited the Vijayanagara have referred to it.

The prostitutes were held in high esteem in society due to their artistic merits in dancing, singing and entertaining men. The presence of women and dancing girls as an essential feature in the court ceremonies. Public women or the prostitutes can be divided into three groups (a) Vesyas or public women who openly entertained the people, (b) Those slave women (dasi) or the fallen (Svarini) who live in the house of a person as concubines (c) Ganikas or the Courtesans.

Prostitutes lived in a separate street called 'Sulegere' (Ref p No 12). They had to pay tax for keeping mirrors. They had to pay tax called 'Suledere'. This levy on the prostitutes shows that the Vijayanagara state recognised prostitution as a profession.¹⁸⁹

Abdul Razzak says that during Achyutaraya's reign, 12,000 soldiers pay could be collected from prostitutes as a separate tax. Vijayanagara derived great revenue from prostitutes. Huge police force of the capital was maintained on the proceeds derived from the brothels.¹⁹⁰ Their riches and beauty is described by Abdur Razzak, while writing on the city of Vijayanagar, he states that "Each of the seven

¹⁹⁰ Elliot, *History of India*, IV, p. VII.
fortresses alike contains a great number of places of prostitution'\textsuperscript{191}.

Prostitution was open for women of all castes. Contemporary sources refer to the Vesyas of all categories, Medarakarana Vesya, Tambulla Vesya and Karnataka Vesya. The houses of the Vesyas were big and beautiful. These houses were full of luxurious furniture, picture galleries, glass rooms and rich carpets.

Among the Vesyas, there was the custom of 'Muduradikhotsavam' (showing the mirror) in those days. This ceremony relates to the initiation of a virgin into prostitution. It was celebrated on the full Moon day in the month of chaitra. On that day all those belonging to their community were invited. The girl was seated on the lap of her father and was shown mirror by him. The mirror was considered as 'Mahalakshmi (wealth) by the prostitutes. The father used to recite some mantra which indicated his blessings. These blessings conferred prosperity and wealth\textsuperscript{192}. This ceremony was performed in the case of every Vesya girl on the attainment of puberty.

The visitors had to pay 'Rovattu'\textsuperscript{193} (money payment) to the Vesyas. So, many were ruined by addiction to this vice. As the main aim of the Vesyas was to earn money, they used to attract and cunningly deceive men\textsuperscript{194}. The prostitutes were not only the pleasure seeking public but also gamblers, drunkards and cheats. Many of them were addicted to drinking.

When a Vesya grew old, she retired from the profession but she never deserted the business, which was highly

\textsuperscript{191} Major, \textit{India in the Fifteenth Century}, p. 30.
\textsuperscript{192} Kd., Rm p. 194.
\textsuperscript{193} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 240.
\textsuperscript{194} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 251.
profitable. She kept guard over her daughters to protect them from impecurious customers. Thus, it is clear that during the period under review prostitution was in a flourishing condition, patronised by kings, generals and rich citizens. Prostitution was regarded as one of the licit professions in the society. No dishonour was shown to them, on the contrary they were very much esteemed.

11. Courtesans:

The Courtesans were well known members of the society. Individual courtesans, depending on their qualifications and talent, received due recognition and respect. The courtesans may be divided into two categories (a) those who were attached to temples and royal courts and (b) those who lived independently. To whichever class the courtesan belonged, she plied the trade of her class quite regularly. The section of courtesans who lived independently were known by various names such as Vesyas, Sannlu and Varakantalu. A small section of these Vesyas were rich and learned. They were patronised by kings, nobles and rich citizens. Some of them were taken as concubines by kings and nobles.\(^\text{195}\)

The courtesans remained dancing in front of the temple and the idol for a long time, on the morning of each of the nine days of the Mahanavami festival. Abdur Razzak was very much struck by the beauty of the heart ravishers, their blandishments and ogles. Every one of them was covered with pearls, precious stones and costly garments, and had each one or two slave girls standing before her who invited and allured to indulgence and pleasure. There were many such brothels within the several fortresses at the capital.\(^\text{196}\).

196 Elliot, pp. 111-112.
Many of the courtesans possessed enormous wealth. Barbosa while estimating the wealth of particular woman says, 'some of them are so rich that a short time ago one of them dying without a son or daughter, made the king help to all her property, who when he sent to collect what she had left found that a sum of seventy thousand parados remained as well as another twelve thousand which, during her life, she had set apart and left to one of hand maid whom she had brought up from childhood, wherein there is no great marvel, for this kind of merchandise is the greatest and richest found in this world'197. Paes too was surprised to see that they had enormous wealth, for according to his account these were women among them who had lands that had been given to them with litters and maid servants. He says that there was a woman at the capital who was said to have hundred thousand parados198.

According to the accounts of Abdur Razzak and Paes they lived the best streets of the city and were of very loose character. Their streets had the best rows of houses. About them the Persian ambassador remarks, "After the time of Mid-day prayers they place at the doors of these houses, which are beautifully decorated, chairs and thrones, on which the courtesans seat themselves. Any man who goes through this place makes choice of whom he will"199. Paes also says, 'They are very much esteemed, and are classed amongst those honoured ones who are the mistresses of the captains, and respectable man can go to their houses without any blame attaching thereto'.200

These women enjoyed certain special privileges. They were allowed to enter even the presence of the wives of the

197 Barbosa I, p. 226.
198 Sewell. Forgotten Empire, p. 270.
199 Elliot, p. 111.
king and they stayed with them and even chewed betel with them\textsuperscript{201}

Barbosa describes how they pleased the king. He says that "they (the women) sing and play and offer a thousand other pleasures as well to the king. They bathe daily in the many tanks kept for that purpose. The king goes to see them bathing, and she who pleases him most is sent for to come to his chamber\textsuperscript{202}. This description of the visit of the king to the tanks when these women were bathing may be compared with that contained in the \textit{Madhuravijayam}, where Gangadevi describes how Kampana, her husband, sported with the courtesans and other women among whom Gangadevi herself was one, during the time of their bath\textsuperscript{203}.

The courtesans could get access the royal harms. They were privileged to converse with the ladies in the harem chewing betel. They were often favoured with admission to the royal presence, where also they could take liberty of chewing betel. They accompanied military campaigns of the king, they moved in the military camps and were even found in the tents of the princess and nobles in the camp. They were even paid by the king in the hope that the soldiers would fight better for the sake of these courtesans\textsuperscript{204}.

\textit{Acharyasuktimuktavali}, written by Namburi Kesavacharya, deals with the history of Srivaishnaviam in Telugu. It recounts the events of the sack of Srirangam and the vicissitudes of the idol of Sriranganatha till it was taken back to the temple Srirangam. It gives in addition a tragic incident of how a dancing girl of the temple of Srirangam pre-

\textsuperscript{201} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{202} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 269.
\textsuperscript{203} Barbosa I, p. 208.
\textsuperscript{204} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 41-45.
vented the utter destruction of the temple by beguiling the Muhammadan chief who was enamoured of her, and treacherously murdering him by throwing him down from one of the gapurams of the temple. She is said to have committed suicide immediately by throwing herself from the same tower. The descendants of this courtesan are entitled to certain privileges in the temple of Srirangam even today in commemoration of this act of their ancestress.

12. Harem:

The king’s establishment and the harem constituted a city by itself and the wealth, mainly derived from foreign commerce, enabled the court to put up a show as splendid as that of the Sultans of Delhi. Women of the common folk do not seem to have considered life in the king’s harem, even as queens, an unmitigated blessing. We are told in this connection a girl who rejected the proposal of marriage by the king himself, when the royal messengers came with the proposal and presents from the king, the spirited young girl told them that she did not wish to be a queen as this meant virtual captivity in the harem, but was content to marry a man of her own status so that she could have freedom to visit her parents and relatives and live the normal life of a woman. The king, who was not used to such refusals, took this as high treason, and marched at the head of an army to capture the girl, but the girl happened to belong to a border village situated in the territory of a neighbour who opposed the Vijayanagara monarch and this led to a war.

The Vijayanagara kings maintained in harem, a large number of women. They were employed as ‘Maids of honour’ to the queens, and the whole management of the royal zenana was entrusted into their hands while selecting

205 Sources, pp. 41-45.
them, great care was taken to choose the fairest and most beautiful in the land. They were wealthy and wore very costly ornaments some of them obtained grants of land and many other valuable presents from the king in return for their faithful services. They were adepts in the musical art and on important occasions, such as Mahanavami festival, they entertained the king. Kampana, Bukka's son was entertained by the ladies of Harem with dancing perfect in every respect, beating time, making gestures and movements.

Queen's Bath (Ref Pl No 13).

A number of monuments exist in and around the citadial area, and of these the first to attract attention after leaving Kamalapuram is the Queen's bath. It is a large square structure with a plain exterior and an ornate interior. It is in good condition. It faces south and has a bath 15 metres square and 1.8 metres deep surrounded by decorated corridors and projecting balconies, with remnants of elaborate stucco work and variegated designs on the ceiling of each bay.

There is a tank in the centre but now it is dry. The queens use to swim in this reservoir. Surrounding the reservoir, are the traces of mantapa which served as jumping ground to dive in the water. There are doors on all the four sides. It is said that king Achyutaraya and Krishnadeva Raya use to stand on the balcony and see the swimmers, whenever he is impressed, he use to take them for one night. Queen's bath is a mixture of Hindu and Muslim architecture. It has got eight balconies, 4 gates, 24 doors with different styles of designs and architecture.

206 Paes, p 270
207 M V Sioka 13, Canto V
Lotus Mahal (Ref. Pl. No. 14).

It is a two storyed open pavillion. It is so called because of its lotus like formation. There is a narrow staircase to the upper storeyed. It is the most beautiful building. Harem used as the council of chamber. Lotus Mahal is also called as Chitragni Mahal. The ground-floor has a ornate stone adhishthana and twenty-four square pillars carrying recessed and foliated arches.

13. Slavery:

Under Vijayanagara the institution of slavery continued. The existence of slavery during the period is testified to by foreign travellers like Abdur Razzak, Nicolo dei Conti and Barbosa. An inscription of 1470 A.D., relating to the agrahara of Kuppattur speaks of basavaga (bond-servant)\(^{208}\). Another inscription dated 1382 A.D., refers to female slaves\(^{209}\).

Women declared inconstant by the Samayacharyas or religious leaders were liable to sold in public. Wilks says that the rules of the system varied with the caste of the accused. "Brahman and Komati females were out-casted and branded on the arm as prostitutes... Females of other Hindu castes were sold without any compunction."\(^{210}\). Slaves received presents in the form of cloth and money on certain occasions such as the celebration of festivals, marriages etc. Slaves were treated well.

14. Dance:

Dance and Music are twin arts, one leading support to the other. Dance is the physical expression of emotions, the human body itself being used as the medium just as

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210 Ibid., Ant XIV, p. 234.
words in poetry owing its inspiration largely to religious feelings and influenced by the environment. Dance and Music assumed great popularity during this period. Dance received great patronage from the rulers and the people of Vijayanagara. It was practised both by princes and the common people as revealed in sculptures, epigraphs and literary works. They indicate not only the general level of prosperity but also artistic attainments. The sculptures at Hampi convince one the popularity of dance among people as suggested in the dance-bhangis of kolata etc., the female dancers accompanied by men on Mridanga, Maddala or other musical instruments. In this connection, the famous Vithalaswami temple is worth mentioning. The emanation of Saptaswaras from the slim stone columns forming part of a massive stone pillar is a source of perpetual fascination. Hazararama Swamy temple walls depict different types of staff dancers. The dancers beat their sticks in Karihasta and Svastikahasta. The top panel shows clearly how all these couples are self-sufficient in themselves and yet form a group composition. A figure of dancing maiden on one of the column panels in the dancing hall of the Virupaksha temple at Hampi suggests the sacred dance of the temple. Vijayanagara paintings also include some of the dance poses. They indicate that dance was held in great esteem in the period under review.

Dance and Music formed necessary items of all public functions, religious rites and rituals, feasts, festivals, courts and assemblies. The temples also played a prominent part in the encouragement of these twin arts. All the temples, big or small, maintained temple dancers, a number of musicians and instrumentalists who lived on vrttis of land granted to them by kings, nobles and wealthy citizens.211

211 S.I I., VI, No. 797.
Bhandam Lakshminarayana the author of Sangitasuryodaya (1520 A.D.,) contributed greatly to the systematization of music and dance. He was the Musician and dance teacher attached to the Saraglio of Krishnadeva Raya. He imparted training to the female members of the royal family.

Dancing girls and the art of dancing were inseparable in the cultural life of Vijayanagara. Durante Barbosa (1504-14) tells us that in Vijayanagara girls were dedicated to temples at the tender age of ten and he adds, "there are also persons who offer the Virginity of their daughters to an idol, and as soon as they are of ten years of age, they take her to a monastery and the house of prayer of that idol, with great honour and accompanied by her relatives entertaining her like one that is going to be married. This reveals how the Vijayanagara people had become the blind followers of ruthless custom which was an atrocity in itself in the name of God. Dance with this divine origin came to the practised in India from antiquity as an accomplishment even of royal women. Dance is indespensible for celebrating the birth of a son, or for the attainment of desired objects, and on all holidays. Dancing is charming, auspicious and it is liked by all people especially by kings, therefore it is praised. There were special schools or halls were dance was taught and practised.

Paes gives a vivid description of the dancing hall. It was long and narrow supported by many half pillars on all sides and was gilted. Between every two pillars there was a panel. There ran a design of foliage like plates all gilt with the reserves of leaves in red and blue. The images were those of dancing women having little drums. The designs of the panels showed the positions at the end of a dance. This was to teach the women, so that if they forgot the position in which they had to remain when dance was performed, they might look at the panels where the position to be taken at the end of the dance was indicated.
By this they were able to keep in mind what they had to do. There were also a painted recess where the women used to "cling on with their bodies and legs". There they were taught to make the whole body supple so that their dance might become more graceful. The king used to watch these dances. In the middle of the wall at the hall was a golden image of twelve years with her arms in the posture to be adopted at the end of a dance.²¹²

Rangamantapa is variously called as Natyasalai, Nrityamandapa. Rangamantapa refers to the stage or the theatre constructed or erected for the purpose of staging music or dance recitals. The Rangamantapa usually formed part of the temple structure itself, sometimes it was erected near the temple. Several inscriptions refer to the construction of Rangamantapa. The presence of these structure evidently infer the existence of dance and music as part of temple rituals in those days.

Gopa Tippa wrote a book on dancing. This art was so perfect under the Vijayanagara, that when for instance, Abdur Razzak saw it, exhibited before the idol during Mahanavami festival, he was so enraptured that he says, "The girls began to move their feet with such grace that wisdom lost its senses and the soul was intoxicated with delight."²¹⁴

The devadasis (servants of god) as the dancing girls were called, were attached to temples, and when food was offered to god they danced before the idol and themselves gave him food and all that was necessary.²¹⁵ According to

²¹³ S. K. Aiyangar, Sources, p. 63.
Nuniz every Saturday, the palace dancers were obliged to dance and posture before the king’s idol which was kept in the interior of the palace.

Krishnadeva Raya celebrated a special feast in honour of the deity at the Hazara Ramasvami temple. A dance performance based on Parijata pharanam, a poem composed by court poet had been arranged. Durgavati was a courtier, she played the role of Satyabhama, Krishnadeva Raya presented to Durgavati a costliest gift a golden waist belt, set with diamonds.

Dancers were also found in large numbers in temples. Lands were granted for dancing girls in temples. Some of them held their position on the basis of hereditary rights known as ‘Sampradaya Vritti’ and some by virtue of their talent or merit.\(^{216}\) In 1366 A.D., Kalappa, the Honganur gauda, when the Mahajanagas met together granted land and taxes to provide for dancing girls in the temple of Ankanatha.\(^{217}\) An inscription in 1545 A.D., records the construction of ranga-mantapa for holding dance and vocal and instrumental music concerts in the temple of Madhavadeva at Vidyanagara by Timmaraju, for the merit of his parents Vallabharaju and Vangalamma\(^{218}\).

An inscription in 1371 A.D., records that Jakkana, younger brother of Halli Hirivuru for god Ramanath, to provide for worship and offerings and maintenance of dancing girls and the Brahmanas of Devivrida. Tippanna Vodeya confirmed the grant to the gaudas and temple priests.\(^{219}\)

\(^{216}\) S. I. I., V, No. 1188
\(^{217}\) E. C., VII, Sr. 20.
\(^{218}\) S. I. I., IV, No. 248, Hampi
\(^{129}\) E. C., VI, Mg 25 Madagere
An inscription in 1527 A.D., refers Immadi Yellapa-Vodeya, the pradhana, made a grant of the village Chikka Madapura to Nilayi tha dancer (patrada).\textsuperscript{220}

In addition to the services rendered by the dancing girls, in the cause of religion, Achyutaraya also sent a number of damsels to Tirupati from his capital city of Vijayanagara, to serve God Venkateswara in their humble way to live on the prasadam granted to them from the temples. An inscription from Sri Govindarajaswamy temple in Tirupati in 1531 A.D., mentions Muddukuppayi, daughter of Vidvatasahharaya Ranjakam Kuppasani. The record states that emperor Achyutaraya ordered Muddukuppayi to serve as a dancer in the temple of Sri Venkatesa at Tirumalai\textsuperscript{21}. She further enjoyed to reside permanently in Tirupati and maintain herself with one plateful of prasadam to be given to her everyday from the temple of Sri Govindaraja. She was also required to see the continuance of this peculiar service through her descendants\textsuperscript{222}. At Kamalapur, there is a large stone built well with a flight of steps leading to the water. It is called the 'Soolai Bhavi' and is said to have been built by a dancing girl for the benefit of travellers passing along this road\textsuperscript{223}.

Generally, women of the courtesan class were from time immemorial the custodians of the twin arts of dance and music. Learning these arts from their childhood from Acharyas, some made a living on them joined the service of temples or courts, while the others enjoyed the patronage of kings, nobles, countiers, generals and other wealthy citizens, and continued to practice these arts.

\textsuperscript{220} S. I. I., XVIII, No. 281, 
\textsuperscript{221} T.D. Inscriptions, IV, p. 23. 
\textsuperscript{222} TDER, p. 225. 
\textsuperscript{223} Hampi Ruins, p. 6.
An inscription in 1431 A.D., refers to Mahapradhana Prataparaya, son of Mangappa dannayaka granted the village Virupakshapura renamed Vijayadevarayapura (whose income including yield and taxes like kanike and a purvaya was 20 varaha gadyanas) a hamlet of Devasamudra in Taraniyappanabagi of Yelahanka-nadu below Sivanasamudra belonging to his nayakatana and also 5 khandugas of sowabland under the old tank of Devasamudra for the service of god Somadeva in Sankanasamudra. The gift was meant for service and offerings and for maintaining 2 patradajana, one nattava (dancer), one drummer (Maddalakara) Sitaravajari (one who plays on the Sitar) one upanga and one kamsale (cymba beater), thus 7 artists for offering service to the deity twice daily. The gift was made on the day of the solar eclipse in the month of Sravana\textsuperscript{224}.

Qualifications of a pupil: Jayapa, Kakatiya commander he defines the qualifications of a pupil for learning dance. He says that she should have body formation befitting the age of maturity, she must be devotee of Vishnu, have a slim and beautiful body having no deformities and presenting a pleasing figure. She should have the seven attainments of socially respected womanhood. When the pupil has attained a considerable standard in Sthanakams, i.e., hand movements, foot work etc., the teacher should combine these piece-meal dance phases into a composite whole with the aid of the time keeping cymbals and songs played instruments as well as vocal\textsuperscript{225}.

Qualifications of a woman dancer: Women is suitable for becoming a Nartaki or dancer when she is bestowed

\textsuperscript{224} E.C, IX, Bn. 127.
\textsuperscript{225} Krishnamurthy Vaidehi, \textit{Social and Economic Conditions in Eastern Deccan}, p. 185.
with a well balanced body, youth, and beauty (Rupa, Yayyara, Lavanya). She must have good social status, be praiseworthy, capable of grasping and retaining whatever she learns. She must be well versed in depicting all aspects of emotions. She must be zealous, fearless and must have through knowledge of treatises on arts, she should have a full control over the body, be strong, have sweet voices, talk always with a smile and must be scholarly, pure and healthy. Further she must have a body of white or dark green hue, should not be overcome by fatigue, be study and confident in the concert hall. She should be skilful in music, vocal as well as instrumental. She must not be very stout or tall or short. She must be polite, generous and modest knowing fully well the applications of various adjuncts of dancing like Anga, Pratyanga, Upanga and dancing systems like Mandala Pata, Angahana, tasyanga, Bhramari and Karana, according to both the systems of Marga and Desi. She must have presence of mind, be resourceful and such a Nartaki, is called by him ‘Pravara’ (select or best one).

The primary classification of dance was into two distinct divisions - the classical school, expounded in famous Natyasatra, like that of Bharata, was patronised by the kings, nobles and the learned and the folk dance was patronised by the masses. Kolata was a very famous folk dance in this period. Some of the temples of this period contain beautiful sculptural representations of Kolata. For example, one of the finest specimens of dance sculptures is on the temple of the Hazara Ramaswamy. On the left side of the temple, there are sixteen figures, 1/4" in size forming a prabha behind the relief of Venugopala. These

226 Krishnamurthy Vaidehi Social and Economic Conditions in Eastern Deccan, p. 184
details justify the compliment ‘never was dancing held in
greater esteem in the history of South India than in the
days of Vijayanagara. The dancers in the Kolatam panels
have long and thick plaited hair with heavy dorakams
(tassels) and wear adthorvkas. Kundals, haras, valayas and
nupuras (Ref. Pl. No. 15). Kolatam was not a costly
dance, it was practised by the ordinary women. Only two
sticks were needed for the Kolatam dance and it is one of
the famous folk dance in the period under review.

In 1502 Kunchupudi was a very famous dance. During
Pratapa Rudra’s period Oddisi dance was famous. Krishna-
deva Raya’s Junior queen Chinnadevi was a famous dancer
in the Virupaksha temple at Hampi. Bharata Natyam was
a famous dance form. The classical dancer wear ‘Dharm-
mmilla ardhoruka with beautifully arranged pleats, jewelled
necklaces, kundalas, haras, valayas and nupuras.

Holi was also one of the famous dance in the period
under review. Holi was played on the festival days. Frag-
mentary frieze depicting two ladies engaged in holi dance.
The bowl between the two ladies contain the colour water
(Ref. Pl. No. 16).

Stone has been considered since time immemorial to be
the silent yet eloquent record of the past. It has been the
medium through which the sculptor expressed himself. The
sculptor was evidently inspired by the existing religious
and cultural environment and hence the art of dance, music
finds prominent representation and depiction in his work.

A sculpture depicts a Koravanji. Koravanji was also a
form of dance. She use to lead her life by travelling from
place to place, and begging money by telling astrology.
Koravanji’s occupation was mat-making, basket-making,
hunting and performing dances in different places. It was an
art for them. Since ancient days it was in existence. A Kor-
avanji is holding a basket in her hand a small stick (Ref.
Pl. No. 17).
Another sculpture depicts that on a pillar in the mantapa of the Vijaya Vithala temple. Dancer’s left leg is lifted and her right leg is half bend and her right arm is stretched, her left arm is lifted towards the forehead. She is in one of the form of Bhangi (Ref. Pl. No. 18.)

Some capitals have figures of women with a fly whisk or tambura and women chauri-bearers. These women have close fitting antariya contanging beautiful folds in kaccha fashion, an upper cloth (ultariya) dhammilla, kundalas, valaya and nupuras.

The dress they are wearing in most of the cases of a dancer are embroidered with varieties of desingns. Their ornaments as seen from sculpture of this period include varieties of fillets (Anabattu) kundalas of various sizes and types, necklaces of beads and pendants, armlets or keyuras, bracelets, anklets, girdles, finger-rings and nose studs etc.

15. Music:

The attainments of South India in the realm of Music and other performing arts during the Vijayanagara period are varied, spectacular and enduring. Mellifluous vocal and instrumental music accompanied by elegant gesticulation and vivid dance was assiduously practised. The art of music later identified with Karnataka’s Karnataka Sangita, evinced vast development in the Vijayanagara period. The theory and practice of music received great attention during this period as testified to by many treatises on music like Tippa’s Taladipika, Chatura Kallinatha’s Shadranga Chandrodaya, Ragamanjari, Ragamala, Natana Nirmaya, Lakshminatayana’s Sangita, Shrvodaya, Ramamatyaa’s Sharamelakalanidhi all composed mostly between 1510-1560.

The popularity of music in this period is also evidenced by contemporary literature. The science of music made
considerable progress owing to the active patronage and interest evinced by the rulers.

As is well known the Empire of Vijayanagara, rendered incalculable service to every aspect of Hindu cultural development. The musicians were expected to possess an expert knowledge of the theory of music as well as the ragas and talas. The love of music permeated the Vijayanagara society. An atmosphere favourable to the growth of the musical talent was thus created. Vijayanagara court gave great impetus to music as it did to other fine arts and performing arts.

Vidyaranya was also famed as a musician who stored up his ideas of music in sangitasara Vidyaranya.

During the reign of Devaraya II "Rayavaggekara" (Rayavayakara nick name) Chatura Kallinatha wrote a commentary on the Sangitaratnakara of Sengadeva. It may almost be styled as the encyclopaedia of music in an abridged form. He was skilled in dancing, singing and composing.

The Grama music was at this time was disappearing and new epoch was at its beginning. Sarvajna Sangama's sangita-sudhakara is noteworthy. During this period the Tallapakkam family of musicians poets famous for their books on music. Music became an integral part of daily life.

The most important work of the period is the svaramala-Kalanidhi of Ramamatya, who had the title of "Abhinava Bharatacharya". He was the grandson of kallinatha Krishna-devaraya's two queens Chinnadevi and Tirumaladevi were famous in singing. They had a rich good voice. In the later Vijayanagara period Aliya Ramaraya took great pleasure in music on the vina and singing. After the battle of

227 B.C., XII, Ck 39.
Tallikota (1565 A.D.,) the most important figure from the point of view of Karnatic music was Govinda Diksita. The celebrated musician Lakshminarayana taught music and dance to the ladies in Krishnadevaraya’s harem.

During the period of Vijayanagara, women were also well versed in both Karnataka Sangita and Deshi Sangita. The common people too were interested in music, which has been a lively feature of Indian social life from antiquity. An inscription of Vijaya Nandi Vikramavarman records that he granted 400 kadil of paddy for singers and other people. Music was essential in temples. The Devadasis use to sing and dance in the temples.

Music played an important role in the cultural life of Vijayanagara. Its presence was pronounced during festivals, amusements, even during the performance of the dreaded Sati, in the course of battle, and the actual performance of musicians in action.

During the Mahanavami festival music was much in evidence. During the Mahanavami festival, musical entertainment formed one of the most important features in the programme of festivities.228

Music was employed even during the performance of animal feats like the open entertainment provided by elephants, anticipating our modern circus feats of today.

Nicolodei Conti (1420-21) records how music was associated with social functions. He says "their weddings are celebrated with singing, feasting and the sound of trumpets and flutes for, with the help of organs, all other instruments in use among them for singing and playing are similar to our own."

228 E and D., IV p. 115
Music was used to amuse the Emperor by the palace women, probably of the antahpurah (Harem-Zenana).

Even during the performance of Sati, music was not forgotten. Barbosa again tells us that a widow about to perform Sati, spent a few days before she perished, gave away all what she had possessed, in feasting, singing, dancing, playing on musical instruments and amusements of jugglers\textsuperscript{229}.

Nuniz, also an eyewitness like Paes, furnishes a hearsay account about music during Sati. He says "It is said", that the woman going to become a Sati, went on the road, accompanied by many kinds of music, with much pleasure. A man goes on playing on a small drums and he sings songs to her, telling her that she is going to join her husband and she answers also in singing that she will do. Later, in 1567 when Caesar Frederick visited Vijayanagara, he witnessed dancing and music during the performance of Sati\textsuperscript{230}.

Music was in evidence even during the execution of the dreadful rite of Sidi, when a person who had undertaken to vow, was raised on sidi (literally a ladder) to which were attached hooks which were struck in the body of the man or woman concerned. Again Barbosa, an eye-witness, saw how the people "raised the crane (Sidi, to which the body was hooked) with great shouting and sound of instruments firing guns and making other festal demonstration\textsuperscript{231}.

Sources of Vijayanagara history refers to many of the musical instruments current among its citizens. Vina was

\textsuperscript{229} Barbosa, Travels, p. 92

\textsuperscript{230} F.E., p. 372.

\textsuperscript{231} Barbosa, Travels, p. 220-22
the most popular musical instruments during this period. The ability to play on the Vina was probably considered as a special mark of culture. The ladies of the court played on the Vina with their fingers, singing songs that told his world known acts of glory sweet notes of gamaka that wafted from the music made it most attractive\textsuperscript{232}. Krishnadeva Raya learnt to play on the Vina from the famous musician Krishna. Chinnadevi and Tirumaladevi were famous in playing Vina. Krishnadeva Raya is specially praised in the Krsnapura inscription as being unrivalled in music\textsuperscript{233}. If the emperors were so much interested in music, their queens did not lag behind their husbands in this respect. The Portuguese traveller Nuniz (1535-37) notes how the wives of the king (Achyuta) were well versed in music\textsuperscript{234}. Nuniz adds that Achyuta Raya had in his court women musicians who were experienced in vocal and instrumental music\textsuperscript{235}. During the reign of Rama Raya, the Vidyadhari women are depicted in 1541 as singing the praise of that regent who defeated and slew Saluva Thimma, to the accomplishment of their lutes which they made resonant by striking with their nails. During the reign of Venkata II there were musicians.

Vina acquired its present shape, making allowance for differences in the modes of tuning and the number of frets in the Vijayanagara Empire. Sarugadeva describes Vinas having one string, two string, three strings as well as seven and nine strings. The Maltakokila Vina with twenty one strings was the most important of all. Rudravina and Kinna-ris Vina were also popular. Sudha-mela, Madhya-mela

\textsuperscript{232} Sloka 12, M.V. Canto V.
\textsuperscript{233} E.I.; XII, p. 334
\textsuperscript{234} F.E., p. 363
\textsuperscript{235} Ibid.
and Achyuta Rajendra Mela were principal varieties of instruments. Vina Ramappa was a court musician.

The Akkalapandi grant of Kanaya Nayaka, a feudatory of the Vijayanagara Emperor (1368 A.D.) was interested in erotic angle. He is claimed to have been always delighted in sporting with the Vina, illustrious for their attractive and charming dances, and "who followed the rules of conduct regulating the noble songsters of culture." From this inscription it may be noted how in this period the dancers of Vijayanagara could not only sing but also play on the Vina efficiently in conformity with the classical rules.

In 1386 A.D., when Kampana Odeya was ruling, the manager of his palace, Dugganna granted land to provide among other things, for dancing, vocal and instrumental music. By about 1400 A.D., three kinds of drums were used, namely Bheri, dundhubi and Mahanuraja.

Tambur, the horn, the drum, the Kolata-sticks and the gong were also used. Another musical instrument which was prevalent in Vijayanagara was horn. It was one of the instrument employed in producing the five great sounds (Pancamahasabha). The drum was another type of the musical instruments. It was very important in conducting a dance. In 1450 A.D., during the reign of Devaraya II of Vijayanagara, cymbals, conches, cakra (a wheel like musical implements) were in use.

Dandige, Svaramandala, Kinnari, Venu, Vallki, Vipachi, Dandika, Sankha, Sringa, Ottu, Karade, Mridanga, Avuja, Dundiuhibi, Panava, Vissala, Damaru, Rvali, Ghante, Kinkinl, hallari and Kamsala instruments were in use. Paes says "There are women who blow trumpets and other pipes, and other instruments".

236 E.I., No. 24, p. 273.
Sculpures of the time show some female instrumenta-
lists. A woman while dancing beats time on a small drum
gracefully. A muscular lady confidently blows a kahale
(A housewife plays on Khanjira). A young lady plays on
some instruments with ridges and furrows with a stick.*
Another plays a string instrument while singing and danc-
ing simultaneously yet another beats on the tubur.

The use of tamburi was also known as evidenced by
an epigraph of 1533. It records a land grant to the tamburi
players of Hanumanta temple at Huruvalli.237 There is a
vast body of lyrical literature popularly known as Dasara-
padegalu. These are kirtanas with definite musical tunes
Purandaradasa, Kanakadasa and others influenced the
‘music culture’ of the period. Tirumalamba, the queen of
Achyutaraya (reader in the court) was blessed with highly
pleasing and fascinating voice indicates that she must have
been a very good musician.

Music is the expression of human emotions and it is
part of human nature. Music was practised by both pro-
fessionals and amateurs. There were separate theatres for
music. Vyasaraya was a good musician. Ratnakaravarni,
the Jain poet was a great scholar in music. His work is
Bharatesa Vaibhava. Music thus served as a happy medium
to elevate the social, religious and philosophical ideas of
the masses. Sripadaraya was a good musician.

Gaurambika excelled the apsaras in song and music.
She was the chief queen of Harihara.238 Playing on the
Veena is referred by Gangadevi in her book Madhuravi-
jayam.

237 E.C., VIII SB 379.
238 Rice, Mysore and Coorg Inscriptions, p. 278.
Contemporary literary works mention many ragas and talas which were in vogue, e.g., Hindolamu, Devakriya, Madhyamavati, etc. Handitaradhyacharitra mentions 108 ragas and talas.

Fragmentary frieze depicts different types of musical instruments. The first lady is blowing a trumpet, the second one is playing a Mridanga, the third one is dancing, the fourth one is playing a Mridanga, the fifth one is blowing a trumpet, the sixth one is putting a tala, the seventh one is dancing (Ref. Pl. No. 19).

Thus, in the period under review Dance and Music was encouraged by the rulers and the common people as revealed in sculptures, epigraphs and literary works. They formed important items of all public and religious functions. Lands were granted for the maintenance of dancing girls and for the musicians for the services they rendered. Dance and music played an important role in the cultural life of the people in the period under review. Music was essential in temples and while performing Sati, Sidi and on the festival days. Both vocal and Instrumental music was in vogue in the period under review.

16. Theatre:

One of the chief means of entertainment in the Vijayanagara period was the theatre. The theatre and drama, when the Vijayanagara period commenced in 1346, had become established institutions and their continuation from the 14th century was natural and caused no surprise. Literature also alludes to players and play acting. The Manucharithra and Vasucharitra refers to the Natakashala or Theatres where probably plays were enacted. Contemporary literature also throws light on the Vijayanagara stage.

239 Kd. Rm p. 37.
The provincial courts too had their own theatres. A theatre adorned with gems of all sorts at Tanjore may be quoted here. The existence of a beautiful theatre at Ikkeri during the period of Sankamanayaka is attested to by Shivatataratnakara. It records that a theatre should have a garden in front, it should be well ventilated and lit up with jewelled lamp (lamps made of gems). It should be beautified with the tusks of intoxicated elephants and should be also made attractive with the installation of golden pillar and sandal wood pillar for providing fragrance. It should be ornamented with corals, have glasses on the walls and beautiful pictures (viz., paintings). Although this was an ideal representation of theatre, these features might have existed in the Vijayanagara theatre too.

An epigraph of 1514 refers to Nattuva Nagayya, son of Chegaya who acquired reputation in enacting a drama called Tayikondanataka. Tayikondanataka was actually staged and with its enactment were connected are Natuva (actor) (SktNata-dance) Nagayya and his daughter who was a patri a temple dancing girl and for their efficiency in acting, they were rewarded with gifts of land. Dancing girls participated in dramas. The drama Uttararamacarita and Malati Madhava were staged to celebrate the festival of Kalapriyanatha (Siva). Similarly to grace the spring festival before the assembled people was enacted the drama Jambavati Kalyanam, written by the great emperor Krishnadeva Raya. Krishnadeva Raya celebrated a special feast in honour of the deity at the Hazara Ramaswamy temple. A dance performance based on Parijata Paharanam, a poem composed by court poet had been arranged. DurgaVatī was a courtesan, she played the role of Satyabhama. Krishnadeva Raya called her the queen of dancers. 

240 *Sivatataratnakara*, p. 168, Texted. by Rama Rao and Sastriar.
241 *Sources*, p. 265.
devaraya presented to Durgavati a constilieest gift a golden waist belt, set with diamond.

The masses were attracted by the Yakshagana in their own mother tongue of the local language. Plays Tayikondanataka and Gangavathara are preserved in inscriptions and literature. Yakshagana is a dramatic composition set to music such as Mridanga and tala. The Yakshaganas were staged by the actors and actresses belonging to the courtesan community. The stage plays were usually connected with some puranic story. They had developed their own technique of dramatising river, forest, mountain scenes on the stage in a realistic ways. The actors put on clothes and ornaments suitable to the role enacted.

The farce called Dhrutasamagama Prahasana by Jyotirshvara Kavishekaracharya in two acts must have been staged during Saluva Narasimha’s period.

The shadow play Bombeyata seems to have been quite popular during this period. The shadow play was staged at night in a temporary shed. The interior was illuminated by lamp. The prasangwas a songster who moved the pictures by means of strings. They also added appropriate conversation and songs. An inscription of 1470 alludes to the existence of puppet shows which were common in the Vijayanagara period.

Wandering bands of professional acrobates (Dombarata) and Vipravinodis roamed from one town to another with their own feats in the open air. They collected Vartana from the people and granted to temples. Occasionally they gave performances in presence of king and his courtiers. The Vipravinodis were professional Jugglers who roamed in villages to exhibit their tricks.

There is a reference to a natakasalai in an inscription from Tirumalai dated 1460 A.D., and one Tippanayaka son
of Timma Nayaka (natakasala) is situated at Chandragiri) was mentioned as one of the actors in it. A reference in Rayavacakamu mentions the presence of play writers in the court of Vira Narasimharaya indicates the sign of encouragement given to them by the king.

"The theatre and the dance noticed in Chola times, as an adjunct to the temples, and provided through benefactions for royal and public entertainments, continued throughout the period of Hindu rule down to the last dayas of Vijayanagara Empire." 244

17. Games and Amusements:

The favourite games and amusements of a community reveal the standard of culture which the members of that community have attained in their tastes and their fancies. The games and amusements contributed to the health and proper development of intelligence and individual skills. In fact these constitute the brighter side of the life of the people, but for which their social activities cannot have much interest and attraction. In the midst of toil, life in the empire allowed plenty of scope for games and other amusements for all classes of people.

Gambling was one of the interesting games of this period. The place of gambling was surrounded by prostitutes and others. In Madhuravijayam, it is said that a gambler, who gambles will loose his rich fields of corn, his valuable ornaments, his wife and children. Finally he himself will become forfeited.

Water-sport was a game for the past time. One of the games in which the people largely participated high and low

243 T.T. Insps. I, p. 10
244 ARSIE, 1924-25, part II, p. 82, para 13.
245 M.V. Canto, III, V. 28.
246 Ibid.
was wrestling. Women knew wrestling in Vijayanagara and participated in wrestling matches before the king during the Mahanavami festival. Wrestling was regularly practised in gymnasiums. Hariakka was a famous wrestler in the period under review. Wrestling is well represented in Vijayanagara sculpture.

Animal Fights, kings, nobles or local leaders organised fights among animals and invited people to witness them. Elephants, buffaloes, cocks were trained for such fights.

Dommaria-ata: The dommarias were a class of professional Acrobats, who always kept themselves moving about providing entertainment to the people, through their breathtaking feats on ropes and poles. The dommari women also performed many physical feats which thrilled the spectators. The Kridabhiramam describes a young woman who arching herself backwards, picked up a nose ornament which was placed at the bottom of a trough of water and adorned her nose with it and threaded quickly small glass beads into a necklace. Sculpture of female acrobats are available. There were teams of female acrobats who exhibited their skill. A sculpture represents an acrobatic team. Two bodies turned into four in the same attitude. Dommaria-ata was famous amusement for the common people (Ref. Pl. No. 20).

Hunting had always been a favourite pastime. This pastime was widely prevalent and equally popular among the royalty, nobility and commoners. During hunting damsel at times got hurt. In such an event she used to get first aid from her hunting partner (Ref. Pl. No. 21). At Vijaya-

247 F.E., p. 268.
248 Kd. Rm V, 144, p. 379.
nagara many of the panels reveals huntress. The Vijayanagara sovereigns took great interest in elephant hunts. A sculpture depicts a male and two female huntresses are with two dogs. They are taking dogs with them for protection. Both are wearing short skirts (Ref Pl. No. 22). Deer hunting was common. Another sculpture depicts huntress, hunting a deer and a boar, she is stretching her archery, she is wearing a skirt, back of her is a female huntress with sword and knife for protection in the forest (Ref. Pl. No. 23). The weapons used by the huntress were arch, swords, battle-axes, musquets, jovelins, spears, fire missiles etc.\textsuperscript{249}

Chess was an indoor game. Krishnadeva Raya’s daughter appears to have been an expert in that game.\textsuperscript{250}

Honnamma was very famous in sports. She lived in the reign of Achyutaraya.

Puppet shows were Bombe-ata, as they were and still are commonly known were another great popular entertainment, referred to in contemporary literary works. These puppet shows were generally given during nights. Bombe-ata constitutes both string and leather puppets.

Snake Charmers:

Even though it comes under the amusements, it was one of the occupations of the people. Kridabhiramam gives a charming description of the snake charmer. When the snake charmer played on his instrument, the snakes opened their hoods and swayed to the melodious music. The charmer had thin ‘kasturi tilakam’, on his forehead. He put one big snake across his body like holy-thread, while his

\textsuperscript{249} F.E., p. 201.
\textsuperscript{250} Some Milestones of Telugu Lit. by S. Subbaramayya Pantulu, \textit{Ind. Ant. XX, VII.} p. 299.
anklets were producing tinkling sounds, the charmer, who was scholar in snake-bites and poison came and started his snake charming. A sculpture depicts a lady snake-charmer. She is nude. She is holding in her hand two snakes and on her body are four snakes like holy-thread (Ref. Pl. No. 24).

Women during the said period were good horse-riders, elephant and camel riders. Sometimes women accompanied with their husbands on horse riding. An interminate granite slab representing a pair of couple riding on a horse. The male figure holds in his right hand and sword and in the left hand the reins of the horse. Female figures holds a lotus-bud in the left hand, which her right hand is held in abayamudra Kubera (Ref. Pl. No. 25).
CHAPTER-5

REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN SCULPTURAL ART AND PAINTINGS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ORNAMENTS, COSTUMES, COSMETICS
CHAPTER—5

REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN SCULPTURAL ART AND PAINTINGS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ORNAMENTS, COSTUMES, COSMETICS

Vijayanagara paintings and sculptures depict costumes, cosmetics and ornaments, used by the royal women and common women in the period under review. Fragments of paintings may be seen at Hampi, Lepakshi, Anegondi, Tadpatri, Kanchi, Srirangam and Tirupati. Of all the known Vijayanagara temples the most interesting one and rich in paintings is found at Lepakshi in Anantapur district, Andhra Pradesh. Vijayanagara decorations and ornaments not only form the artistic embellishments but have historical significance. The sculptures at Hazaraswamy temple, Vijayavithala temple, Achyutaraya temple, Mahanavami Dibba, Throne platform, Virupakshatemple depict the costumes, cosmetics and ornaments used by the women under review. And, also Sati memorial stone sculptures depict the costumes, cosmetics and ornaments worn by women under review.

1. Ornaments:

The love of ornaments was common to all people of both the sexes. Sculptural representations of male and female figures and paintings and contemporary literary works enable one to understand the ornaments of royal women, queens and the common people of this period. No foreign traveller who visited Vijayanagara fail to be struck by the costly jewels worn by the sovereigns and the people alike. Epigraphic records of the period under review contain numerous references to a large variety of ornaments.
of gold, silver, copper, brass, ivory etc., and in some cases inlaid with precious or semi-precious stones.

The nature of the ornaments worn by people naturally depended upon their position, e.g., it was a fashion with ladies of the richer classes to have seven sets of ornaments, ear-marked for wearing on each of the seven days of the week, while the less fortunate could not perhaps afford even one complete set. Again, while members of the royalty and aristocracy wore ornaments made of gold and silver often inlaid with precious stones, the poorer section contended themselves with copper or bronze ornaments and the poorest could go no further than wearing strings of glass-beads for necklace, tinted palm leaves for ear-rings, twisted ear-rings for bangles and the like. Abdur Razzak says "All the inhabitants of this country, both those of the exalted rank and an inferior class, down to the artisans of the bazars, wear pearls or rings adorned with precious stones, in their ears, on their necks, on their arms, on the upper part of the hand, and on the fingers.\(^1\) By way of ornaments, writes Nicolo Conti,\(^2\) '-They wear rings of gold on their arms and on their arms and on their hands also around their necks and legs, of the weight of three pounds studded with gems'.

The ornaments of this period seems to be more refined and attractive than those of the earlier period. The sculptures of this period bear ample proof for their love of jewellry and ornamentation. It gives us an idea of the extent to which the craftsmanship of the goldsmith in making new designs in ornament making advanced during this period. They reflect the social conditions of the times and give us an idea of the manner in which men and women of this period adorned their personages. Inscriptions also give us some

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1 Elliot, History of India, IV, p. 109.
2 Major India in Fifteenth Century, p. 28.
idea of the ornaments used under review. An inscription of A.D., 1446 mentions the following ornaments. Large diadem (patta), neckring (pattakarai), two joined neckrings (irandu pattakarai), nose ornament [Mukkutti], eyes for idols (tirukkanamalai), chest ornaments [padakkam] etc. The people had a great liking for costly ornaments which they generally wore on important occasions.

Each one of the queen, during this period had a very large sum of money, treasury and personal ornaments namely armlets, bracelets, seed pearls, and diamonds in large quantity and they also say that each of them has sixty maidens adorned as richly as could possibly be with many jewels, rubies, diamonds, pearls and seed pearls.

Paes has also given an account of the women in Vijayanagara in glowing terms. He remarks that "They wear very rich and fine cloths, on the head they wear high caps which they call collaves and on these caps they wear flowers made of large pearls collars on the neck, with jewels of gold a very richly set with many emeralds, diamonds, rubies and pearls and besides 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 armlets in the same way all the 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 thing, besides these belts they have other jewels and many strings of pearls around the ankles, for they wear very rich ankles even of greater value than the rest."

4 Forgotten Empire, p. 248.
5 ibid., p. 283.
Speaking of the nose and ear-rings and other jewels, Barbosa states, "In the side of one of the nostrils they make a small hole, through which they put a fine gold wire with a pearl, sapphire or ruby pendant. They have their ears bored as well, and in them they wear necklaces of gold jewels and very fine coral beads, and bracelets of gold and precious stones. Many coral beads are fitted to their arms. Thus, the most part of this people is very wealthy." 6

The image of a dancing girl in Achyuta Raya's temple corroborates the remarks of Paes, in a most amazing manner. Her image is carved in the posture of dancing and is fully adorned. she wears a skirt of a delicate texture, and has anklets, wristlet and armlets all of which have been noted earlier. She also has strings of pearls on her head, neck and between her breasts. She has in her ears the typical kundala bezjevelled with a series of precious stones whose precise nature cannot be determined. (Ref PL No 26)

An inscription of Devaraya II's time describes the plight of women neglectful of their jewellery when the great Jaina general Irugappa Danayaka conquered their country. The inscription is dated A.D., 1422 and states, "By their ears, their ear-rings forgotten, by their forehead with no marks fixed on them, by their breasts untouched by strings of pearls and their bimblalike lips deprived of the redness (caused) by the betel, the wives of the hostile kings very often make his great prowess manifest on all sides". 7

Paes says "These women are so richly bedecked with gold and precious stones that they are hardly able to move". Caesar Frederick too remarked how people in Vijeyanagara

6 Dames, Barbosa I, 207.
7 E.C., II, Sb No. 253, p. 108.
wore in their ears, 'great plenty of gold'. During the reign of Krishnadeva Raya the Vijayanagara jewellery reached its zenith.

Krishnadeva Raya sent sixteen varieties of jewels to Jaganmohini Prataparudra's daughter. They were Benneya Mudde Kanthamale, Navaratna Khachaita Gini Tali, Vajrada Sarapani, Tumbiya Tali, Vaidhurya Tali, Vajrada Udidara, Paccheya Kadaga, Kirumajiya Muttina Paccheya Sara, Indraneelu Mukuta, Kempugala Javadade, Muttina Kalapendeya, Vajragala Bahupuri, Doddamuttugala Addagatti, Navaratnada Hange, Navaratna Simhalata and Muttugala Moguramba.

For the purpose of ornamentation the head, nose, ears, neck, waist, hands, fingers and feet received special attention. Contemporary records contain many references to various kinds of ornaments worn on the head.

a. Head Ornaments:

1. Sakharamu
2. Carucukka
3. Sasi
4. Ravi
5. Bimbamu
6. Bangaru-pucerusulu
7. Mutyala-jalli

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8 Krishnadevarayana Dinachari, p. 6
9 Sm. Dv, p. 74,
10 Pv. Cr. p. 72.
11 Ibid.,
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
8. Lalatikamvalu
9. Paccadapu-ganda\footnote{Ibid.}
10. Jada-kucculu\footnote{Ibid.}
11. Kuppela-Mutyalakucculu\footnote{Pv. Cr. p. 72.}
12. Bharamarakamu\footnote{Sm. Dv. p. 74.}

The ornament called \textit{Sekkaramu} also known as Singadanda or Koppumbilla, was a circular shaped ornament worn by women in their braided hair (koppu). \textit{Cerucukka} or \textit{Papata-bottu}, was golden ornament studded with precious stones and worn in the centre of the fore-head at the parting of the hair. The \textit{Rusi} and \textit{Kavi} (now called Ragidi and Candravanka) were gold ornaments, elaborately set with precious stones, and resembled the crescent Moon and the Sun respectively, and were worn by women on either side of the parting of the hair. The \textit{Bimbamu} was a circular golden ornament set with gems and worn by women at the back of the head. \textit{Baugaru-pucerulu} (strings of golden flowers) was another ornament worn by women in a criss-cross pattern on their braided hair. The ornament called \textit{Mutyala Jalli} was a hair net composed of pearls. \textit{Lalatikamulu} was a forehead ornament of gold set with precious stones. \textit{Paccadapu-ganda} was a circular shaped golden ornament set with precious stones and worn by women on their plaited tresses. \textit{Kuppela Mutyala Kucculu} were tassels of pearls with golden knobs worn by women above the ears on the head on either side. \textit{Bharamarakamu} was a bee-shaped ornament worn by women on their plaited tresses.

Various types of head ornaments noticed as it is evident from the sculptures. Three types of head ornaments may
be classified in general. They are Mukuta, Tiara and Jata Mukuta. Wearing ornaments which were used on the foreheads as well as the parting of the hair. A decorated hamsa tilaka was worn in the parting of hair. Havogattu adorned the forehead and fastened at both ends to the upper portion of both ears. On special occasions, a net of pearls was worn over the head.

b. Ear Ornaments:

Ear-ornaments of different patterns, made of gold, copper, brass and ivory and sometimes set with precious stones and going under different names are referred to in contemporary records.

1. Tatankamulu
2. Kandalamulu
3. Kammalu
4. Ontulu
5. Panju-Kammalu
6. Beviralu
7. Kuntellu or Kuntea-Kucculu
8. Pogulu
9. Duddu-Kammalu, are some of the varieties of ear-ornaments mentioned in contemporary records. In shape they were either circular or square and often resembled petalled flowers.

21 Ks. Kh. p. 2.
23 Kd. Rm. p. 31.
24 Sv. Mh. II, 61.
25 Pvé. Cr. p. 15
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid., p. 72
28 Ibid., p. 31
From the Mention of Ratna-tatankamulu

29 Ratna-Mukuti-hema-vukta-tatankamulu, Mutyala-Kammalu

30 Vajralakamma-gentilu

31 etc., it is evident that many of these ear ornaments were studded with diamonds and other precious stones. The Caukali were ear-ornaments composed of four pearls, Bapralu and Kunellu, large gold rings or without tassels, were twin ornaments and went together. Kutena Kucculu were rings with tassels with either of gold, silver or cotton, or silk thread, or of pearls or gold chains that hung down from the tip of the ears.

32 Ears were decorated with rings, stars, pendants and golden floral designs. Koppu was worn on the upper part of the ear. Kundalas are ornaments worn on the ear-lobe which is bored for that purpose. Ear-rings were very popular during this period. The Bhusana Laksana furnishes twelve kinds of these jewels. The ladies of Vijayanagara generally wore the Vittakundalu, which had the shape either of the plantain tree flower or the lotus. It was a plain undorned gold ornament of the same diameter as the other ornament. The queens, however, wore another type of this jewel called The Ratna-kundala, which was round like the Vrtta Kundala but flanked on either side of its circular shape with precious stones. The common women wore the plain undorned Vittsa worn by women and even by the dancing girls. The simplest type are known as Patra-kundalas which consists of plain bands or rolled sheets of gold. The most elaborate ones are called Makara-kundalas resembling some what a dragon with a long tail. Sarpa-kundalas in the shape of a coiled cobra and Simha kundala resembling a lion's head. Kamala-kundala and Mani-kundala are of different shapes and designs. Warriors wore large ear-rings.

29 Sm. Dv. p. 74.
30 Ibid., p. 15.
31 Kd. Rm. p. 29.
32 Pv. Cr. I. p. 42.
Ear-ornaments are known by the names tatamkas and kundalas in sanskrit and kammalu in Telugu. The 'Modara Karana' prostitute wore white tatamkas. *Kamala-kundala* is a lotus shaped ear ornament, *Patra karuaka* - leaf like ear pendant *Kanchana kundala* - ear-ring of pure gold, *Muni-kundala* ear-ring inset with jewels.

**c. Nose Ornaments** *Mukkera* is the nose ornament. There are Mukkeras with pearls. There are (Mutyala Mukkera) with crystals (Patikapu Mukkera) with glass piece. Mungara and Nattu were the two principal nose ornaments. From references in contemporary records we find reference to Mutyapu-Mungara, Hurumanji-Mutyala-Mungara, Kempula-Mungara, Paccalu-dapina-Mungara, Patikapu-Mukkera, Addapu-Mungara, Anaranggoppa Muttepu-nattu etc. We find that these nose ornaments were often studded with precious and semi-precious stones. The Nattu was a circular shaped ornament worn by women on the left nostril. The Mukkera was a gold nose-ring with pendants of pearls or diamonds.

**d. Necklaces** These are the ornaments worn around the neck. Some of them hung down as far as the chest, and some descended still lower down as far as the navel.

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33 Ibid.
34 Kd. RM. v. 68.
35 Ibid., p 144.
36 Pv. Cr. p. 409.
37 Kd. Rm v 68.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
40 Pv. Cr. p. 409.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid.
and some others were worn round the neck. These ornaments are called perilu in Telugu and Haras in Sanskrit. Women used to wear a chain of pearls of three strings, known as trisaramulu

Necklaces were of two kinds - those that were worn rather tightly round the neck, like a collar band, and those that hung down, sometimes as far as the navel. Graivoyakumu, Pattedu, Kanthika. Kanta-sari, and kante were some of the names by which the former variety were known. Generally made of gold and studded with precious stones, these collars or bands were of many patterns. Sometimes it was a single bar of gold, with intricate designs, and bent round the neck. Sometimes strings of pearls were knit together and worn like a band. The poorer classes, as usual want in for copper necklaces of glass-beads.

The other variety of ornaments were generally known as haras or saralu. In this also there were many varieties. The most commonly used type was hara composed of just one string of pearls and called akavali, of haras composed of two or three strings of pearls were called Jamili-Mutyapu-Cerlu or Trisaramulu. Attaching pendants called Padakamulu to the necklaces was also common. These Padakamulu were often made of gold and studded with precious stones. Another variety of hara was composed of gems strung together by golden threads and called Ratnahaaramu. Rudraksalamika interspersed with pearls was

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44 Kd. Rm. v 86.
45 Sm. Dv. p. 74.
46 Pv. Cr. p. 73.
47 Ibid., p. 6.
48 Kd. Rm. p. 37.
another variety of hara worn by women on particular occasions. Neck ornaments were worn in several levels starting from close to the neck and extending to belly button. Five strings of pearls of gold beads (panchasara) had a prominent pendant (padaka). A necklace of gems (ratnahara) was worn in the middle. Then followed three strings (trisara). A single string of big pearls (ekavali) was flown up to the waist.

The neck ornaments may be classified into three groups namely (1) Kanthamala (2) Mala (3) the long necklaces hanging down to the navel. In ancient times there were three types of neck ornaments, the Upagriva, hara and the hrumala. The upagriva consisted of a rudraksa seed or a bead or a seed of any precious stone or gold, strung in a gold wire or string. These beads were barrel-shaped, sometimes single as in the neck of Krisinadevaraya's image, or these were long fascious worked along its length, of spherical shape collected in the centre to some extent on either side in the centre of which were prominently set two large precious stones as on the neck of the queen Tirumalamba's statute. A smaller necklace, highly ornamented appears on a broken image probably of a queen. The common people wore a series of beads on the neck.

The hara was strung with precious stones. It was to consist of six angulas below the hikkasutra, viz., about the middle of the chest, had to be four angulas wide, three yavas in thickness and set with different types of precious stones.

The hrumala, another jewel worn on the chest according to the Bhusana Laksana, was to hang below as far as the udarabhandha. The fashion of wearing a double set of
necklace close to the neck in three or four beaded strings was very common in sculptures of this period.

(e) Waist Ornament: Generally girdle is called in Telugu ‘Molanulu’ and in Sanskrit ‘Kati-Sutra’. Kridabh-iramam refers to the waist ornament called ‘Kanchidamam’. Another literary work, Haravilasam, mentions ‘Mutylamolanulu’ (made of pearls).

Manirasanagunambulu Kanchipura, Molanulu, Katisutra, Mekhala, Kancidama, Nadikattu were some of the names by which the various waists ornaments were known. All these were ornaments made of gold or silver and copper and depending upon the status of the wearer, studded with precious stones and with intricate designs. Sometimes they were also decorated with pendants and jingling bells made of gold or silver. The waist ornament called oddanamu was an ornament of gold or silver, in the shape of a belt, with or without screw and adorned with pendants or bells of elaborate workmanship.

A beautiful broad belt of gold, studded with gems (Kanchidama) was adorned with silk tassel. The commoners belt was made of silver.

The women first wore a belt which the Manasara called the Mekhala. Especially the queens wore an ornamented type of Mekhala which had in front and in its centre a square piece of gold with precious stone set in it and either side of it star like similar pieces with identically imbedded precious stones. The girdles were somewhat adorned

50 Kd. Rm. V 90.
51 Hr. VI.
52 Sm. Dv. p. 73.
53 Ibid., p. 28.
54 Ks. Kh. p. 169.
like-wise but the final pendant was a veined semi-circular ornament. As the manasara would have it, they were broad rows of large beads having in the centre either square or spherical precious stones. Paes noted these girdles hanging in order almost as far down as half the thigh in the cases of those whom he calls the "Maids of Honour". The queens also wore the Keyura,

The sculptures of this period reveal various types of waist of girdle ornaments. waist-band serving the purposes of a grip in holding the sword Udara-bandha or waist band.

Women wore a tali or a string round the neck with a small fancy knot in front Kati-bandha a belt worn round the hips to support the loin cloth.

f) **Ornaments worn on Hand**: Jewels worn on hands were many and varied. *Kridabhiramam* mentions ‘Moravanka Kadiyamulu’ which were oval shaped and were worn around the upper arm. They had the images ‘Linga’ on three sides. Commoners used to wear simple bangles. (Kachabhusanamulu) ornaments worn on the hands were of three varieties - those worn round the upper part of the arm, those worn round the wrists, and those worn on the fingers. The first variety were variously known as *Angadamu*³⁵, Dandakadiyamulu³⁷, Bhujakirtulu³⁸, or Behupurulu. Keyuramulu etc³⁹. The Western Chalukyan monarch Somesvara, describes in his *Abilasitartha intamani*, the Keyura as an ornament worn on the upper arm and made in the shape of Simhavaktra or lion’s mouth and adorned with

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55 Kd. Rm. v. 101.
56 Sm. Dv. p. 76.
57 Pv. Cr. p. 72.
59 Sr. Cr. p. 6.
different kinds of precious stones, pendants, and fingers\textsuperscript{60}. Angadamulu or Bahupurulu were golden ornaments set with precious stones and generally worn by kings and queens\textsuperscript{61}. Dandakadiyamulu were circular armlets made of silver or copper. Armlets called Dandatreyetulu, containing tiger's claws, supposed to possess supernatural powers, averting calamity and bringing good luck to the wearer, were also common. Kanakamulu\textsuperscript{62}, Katakamulu\textsuperscript{63}, Kadiyamulu\textsuperscript{64}, Cekatlu\textsuperscript{65}, Murugulu\textsuperscript{66}, Golusulu\textsuperscript{67}, were varieties among wrist ornaments. While kings, nobles and rich wore diamonds, emeralds, sapphires\textsuperscript{68}, etc., the poor went in for bracelets made of copper, silver etc., while the poore\textsuperscript{t} contended themselves with bracelets of shell or glassbeads of various colours\textsuperscript{69}, Camala-Kadiyamulu\textsuperscript{70}, and Gujjari-Kadiyamulu\textsuperscript{71}, and Moravanka - Kadiyamulu were some of the varieties of armlets in vogue. Bangles of gajulu of different colours were also common with women. Finger rings called ungaramulu, Mudrikalu, Anguliya-Kamulu, Urmikalau etc., made of gold in different designs set with precious stones, and sometimes inscribed with names of persons were very common with both men and women\textsuperscript{72}.

\textsuperscript{60} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{61} Pv. Cr. p. 72.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., p. 73.
\textsuperscript{63} Ibid., p. 12.
\textsuperscript{64} Sr. Cr. p. 6.
\textsuperscript{65} Pv. Cr. p. 62.
\textsuperscript{66} Ibid., p. 62
\textsuperscript{67} Ibid., p. 17
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid. *
\textsuperscript{69} Ibid., p. 73.
\textsuperscript{70} Pv. Cr. p. 72
\textsuperscript{71} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{72} Sm. Dv. p. 74.
The finger ring was also a symbol of authority and an insignia of office.

Kanaka was another form of bracelet worn on the wrists. Wrists are decked with bangles, arms with armlets and legs with anklets. Armlets (colgada) were one or two rows of pearls, precious stones or just a band of gold. Bangales (Kadagas) were of gold, silver, ivory, shells or glass. They were studded with gems, semi-precious stones and beads rings (ungura) were worn on all the fingers. Some of them had very large pearls or gems and were fastened with chains (elegal). Large size of rings [Mudrike] were also in use. Palms were decorated with chains studded with diamonds [heeraval]. The ornament worn on the upper arm was called the keyura, and it was of great beauty and excellent workmanship. In Vijayanagara times they appear to have been used often. One was the plain Keyura unornamented and probably worn by the common people. Nobles wore much thicker ones, and two on the upper arm.

g) Hand Ornament: The fore-arm was adorned with the Kataka-Valaya near the wrist. It was single especially of the poor, as it can be noted on the wrists of a drummer or of that woman holding a child on her hips [Ref. Pl. No. 7]. Two separate Katakalayas can be seen in the cases of the queens have worn three on each wrist. The Kataka-valaya was popular in Vijayanagara. Krishna-deva Raya presented a bracelet to Durgavati.

h) Anklets: Anklets were of silver and gold. They had unique locking system which was full-proof. For ordinary people there used to be a simple band of metal and for rich they had very elaborate designs, broad and fitted

with screw-(Payavatta or Keelagedaga or Kataka) On special occasions the king used to bestow honour or elite of the court by presenting them with a pair of anklets [Pndeya]. Rings were worn on all toes and specially designed rings [-Man-tige or pille] were confined to first two toes. Various designs of anklets were used by women during this period. The number of anklets worn on each leg ranged from one to many. The wearing of toe-ring is common, in the female sculptures. The ornaments of this period appear to be more refined and attractive.

Anklets, 'Nupurams' were the ornaments worn around the feet. In those days, women wore ‘Kanchipura Nupuras’. In Bhimeswara puranam, Srinatha, describes the clinking sounds of the anklets of the Apsaras. Various kinds of anklets of different patterns we find, mentioned in contemporary records under various names - Manjiramula74, Payavattamulu75, Andelu or Andiyalu76, Kadiyamulu77, Golusulu78, Hamaskmulu79 etc. All these ornaments were generally made of gold or silver and in some cases studded with diamonds and other precious stones80. The poor people as usual, wore anklets made of copper or plaited string belts of small bells made of brass. There were many patterns and designs among these ornaments, eg., the Hamsakamulu were swan-shaped anklets or with swan designs on them. Sometimes small bells producing jingling sounds were tied all around the anklets, in a string. In

74 Pv. Cr. p. 73
75 Sr. Cr. p. 36
76 Sm. Dv. p. 74
77 Pv. Cr. p. 33
78 Ibid., p. 73
79 Sm. Dv. p. 74
80 Pv. Cr. p. 15
some cases strings of pearls arranged like a net and called Mutyala-jallulu were attached to the anklets\textsuperscript{81}. The Golusulu were chains with intricate patterns and designs\textsuperscript{82}. Rings of gold set with gems and jewels and called Mattelu or Mattiyalu or Pada-Mudrikalu were worn by women on their toes\textsuperscript{83}. Mattelu made of bronze were worn by women of the poorer classes\textsuperscript{84}. Viramuddiya was an ornament worn on the big finger of the feet by women\textsuperscript{85}.

Anklets were presented to the people as a token of their appreciation by the king of Vijayanagara. During Krishnadeva Raya's reign the poet Peddana recounts how he presented his daughter to the emperor and put on his leg such a gaudapendard as a token of his submission.

Pietro Della Valle, the traveller saw a troop of dancing girls, "adorned with girdles, rings upon their legs, necklaces and other ornaments of gold with certain pectorals of breastplates, almost round, in fashion of a shield and butting out with a sharp ridge before, embroidered with gold stuck either with jewels or some such things, which reflected the sunbeams with marvellous splendour, as to the rest of their bodies they were uncovered, without any veil or headtire such a costume was a faint, echo of the Vijayanagara courtesan's dress"\textsuperscript{86}.

The Manasara furnishes a catalogue of twenty-nine types of jewels with respective names. Nutanakavi Surana author of \textit{Dhanabhiramam} lived in this period i.e., A.D., 1425 to 1480. His work is of considerable interest for it throws

\textsuperscript{81} P\textit{v. Cr.} p. 133
\textsuperscript{82} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 73
\textsuperscript{83} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{84} Sm. Dv. p. 74
\textsuperscript{85} P\textit{v. Cr. I}, p. 133-32
\textsuperscript{86} P\textit{v. Cr.} p. 6
a flood of light on the ornaments worn by the people to enhance their looks. The people of Vijayanagara were famed for their love of jewellery. Nutanakavi Surana give us a list of jewels worn in these days. Twenty six ornaments are mentioned.

1. Kammalu
2. Paccala-Kadiyala
3. Padakamu
4. Molanulu
5. Bahupurulu
6. Punjala-Dandalu
7. Pudela-Kadiyalu
8. Mungaralu
9. Rakattu-Ungaramulu
10. Mutyla-Perulu
11. Molanullu
12. Dorilu
13. Kuntenalu
14. Nilala-Kantesarulu
15. Mungamurambulu
16. Mogapula-Tigelu
17. Sandula-Dandalu
18. Sarapanulu
19. Pasidi-Ettulu
20. Nevalau
21. Annasarulu
22. Cerubotlu
23. Talilu
24. Cevulu-Puvvulu
25. Kadulu-Mattelu

87 Dhanabhiramam, pp. 275-276.
Thus, the upper class ladies wore the ornaments made of gold often inlaid with precious stones. The common women wore ornaments made of silver, brass, ivory, copper etc. The ornament wore more refined and attractive in the period under review. Gold ornaments were presented by the kings on special occasions. Different varieties of ornaments, head ornaments, ear ornaments, nose ornaments, necklaces, waist ornaments, anklets etc., were in existence in the period under review.

**Figure No. 1**
Various types of head ornaments

**Figure No. 2**
Various types of ear ornaments

**Figure No. 3**
Different types of neck ornaments

**Metal Imagery of Chinnadevi Amman and Tirumaladevi Amman:**

Well known are the metal images of two queens Chinnadevi Amman and Tirumaladevi Amman found at Tirupati. These two queens wear identical ornaments and costumes. Three bangles on each hand, a kadage and a tolambandi on each hand. Both the images depict Yagnopavita, which consists of eight strings. Rings on their fingers, a bodice covering their breasts and a waist-band of five straunds, studded with three precious stones in the centre of each hand. Head ornaments, nose-rings, earrings, anklets are worn by them. Both the queens are wearing Mangalya and foot rings. Both the queens are standing in anjali mudra (Ref. Pl. No. 30).
Metal Imagery of Vardaji Amman – queen of Achyuta Raya

The image of Vardaji Amman depicts the ornaments, she is wearing bangles, rings on her fingers, a bodice covering her breasts, waist band, necklace, head ornament, nose-ring, armlets, ear-rings, anklets and she is standing in anjali mudra (Ref. Pl. No. 31).

Metal Imagery of Tirumalaraya’s Queen Vengalamba

The image of Vengalamba depicts the ornaments. She is wearing bangles, a bodice covering her breasts, waist band, necklace, head ornament, nose-ring, armlets, anklets’ ear-rings and she is standing respectfully in anjali style (Ref. Pl. No. 32).

2. Costumes:

"In the life of a man the first and the foremost are food, shelter and clothing. To man these two are fetters and chains which bind him to the field of rebirth" 88.

The costumes have played a very important part from the very beginning in expressing the advancement of material culture of the human race. Traditional Hindu dress were in use during the medieval age when the Vijayanagara Empire flourished. About the dress of the people of Vijayanagara we get good accounts in the writings of the foreign travellers. Sculptural representations of male and female figures and paintings and contemporary literary works enable us to understand the dress of the people.

There are references in the Manasollasa also which throw light on female costumes. At one place the ladies of

88 Itsing, Tr. Takakasu p. 72.
the harem are said to have worn garments made of brocade (divyavastra-paridhanah) linen and cotton, and tunics reaching the feet (Padakancuka).

Manasollasa gives us interesting information about the important centres of textile manufacture in the country, and the decorative patterns and colours used. It is mentioned that Chirappali (Tiruchirapalli, Madras) Nagapattana (Nagapattana, Andra) Tondivaram, (the region and round KanchiVIP 3:10, Madras) Kalinga (Orissa) were important centres of textiles manufacture.

The women in South India did not over burden their bodice with unnecessary garments. The body above the waist was generally devoid of any clothing. A sari reaching above the ankles is generally worn. Veils covering the hair were not common. Majority of women belonging to the cultivator class, wore short saries. The women are represented wearing two types of lower garment. One is what we may call langoti in which one end of the narrow scarf is attached to the waist girdle and the other tucked behind.

Much information is available about the dress of the people belonging to the upper classes. The foreign travellers have given much importance for the dress of the nobility and the courtiers only. The well-to-do people in the empire wore "certain clothes, as a girdle below would very tightly in many folds and short white skirts of silk or coarse brocade which are gathered between thighs but open in front". According to Caesar Frederick, the dress of the people used at Vijayanagara was of velvet, satin, damask, scarlet or white bumbast cloth according to the status of the person. Ibn Batuta, who was in India from 1333 A.D., to 1342 A.D., mentions about the dress of the women he saw at Honnavaru. "The women of this city (........) never dress in clothes that have been stitched but the contrary.
One of the them, for example, will tie one part of a piece of cloth round her waist, while the remaining part will be placed upon the head and breast.

Almost all, both men and women, wore a linen cloth bound round the body, so as to cover the front of the person and descending as low as the knees, and over this a garment of linen or silk, which with the men descends to just below the knees and with the women to the ankles. They cannot wear more clothing on account of the great heat, and for the same reason they only wear sandals, with purple and golden ties. In some places the women have shoes made of this thin leather ornamented with gold and silk.

Women wore clothes below the waist, later bodice seems to have come into use to cover bosom. Sari was common among women. The poet Nutanakavi Surana author of Dhanabhiramam, also mentions varieties of sarees in use. The sarees mentioned are:

1. Vellalu
2. Nitamcuvelipamulu
3. Karakancu Patlu
4. Jibulu
5. Padakakamulu
6. Manjistukimikamulu
7. Macavalambulu
8. Karpuravannelu
9. Muttesarulu
10. Topulu

90 Major, India pp. 22-23.
91 Sura Dynasty - Sree Ramasharma, p. 276.
11. Biravetulu
12. Gajapopallu
13. Vratalu
14. Patinilu-rayagalulu
15. Jalilu
16. Carabulu
17. Samantavidhulu
18. Kavulu
19. Dasalilu
20. Khandasasarulu
21. Sarva-sringaramulu
22. Cirata-Cankamulu
23. Chinna-Chankamulu
24. Lukacaru-Vanniyalu
25. Manci Bommancu.

Among the silks are mentioned Khazz, aksun and pariniyam. According to Barbosa "The women wear white garments of very thin cotton or silk of bright colours, five yards long, one part of which is girt round them below and the other part they throw over one shoulder and across their breasts in such a way that one arm shoulder remain uncovered as with a scarf". They wear leather shoes well embroidered in silk, their heads are uncovered and the hair is tightly gathered into a becoming knot on the top of the head.92

The dress of the women of royal court has been described by several writers. It consisted of a Pavada (a sort of petticoat) paita (Manthe) and a ravike (bodice). These three were the principal garments constituting a lady's dress. The petticoat of saffron colour and thin muslin paita were very popular among the ladies of aristocratic families. They liked the bodice to be as close fitting as

92 Barbosa I, pp. 207-208.
possible. The queens and the numerous women of the zenana, as well as courtesans, dressed themselves more or less in same fashion. But the common women wore a long sari and a bodice. The saris of the women of the cultivating class had on them squares and other designs printed in bright colours.

People on the whole had a partiality for coloured garments. The common folk had to be satisfied with cotton cloth only. The rich however, loved to dress themselves in silk fabrics with borders of gold lace. They were very much conscious of their dress and particular attention to the texture of the cloth they wore.

Sculptors also represent the costumes are not over burdened. Dancers wore tight breeches (=kalukuppusa) or pleated breeches (=challana), tight bodice (=molegattu), folded cloth belt (=dukula), shining frilled fan around the waist and tinkling bells adorned their ankles. The dance master was conspicuous with his big head wear (=dodda mundasu), and held a baton (=selegolu). There are ample illustrations of dress of different people such as, a drummer, a hunteress, a servant etc.

Plain and coloured sarees came from Gurjara, Varanasi, Devagiri and other places in Maharashtra. There were innumerable coloured designs and borders of gold embroidery. Sprout-coloured (=talirgavi) emerald (=Mavikavatta), Orange coloured (=Kittalegavi) and sky blue were considered to be modern in those days as (Neelibaraha) billi batte) was their version of Kalamkari sari patte, netra, cheena, and dasari were silk sarees which were in great demand.

Basava-Purana tells about the designed sarees with borders of swans, horses, serpents, elephants, musical instruments and human figures in print. In case of hunting
a hunter tress would wear a mini dress. Rural women did not wear any blouse, whereas urbanites had plain, design-
ed or embroidered blouses. Brasieres (Kuchavastra) and panties could be identified in the sculptures. The sarees were worn artistically hanging the pleats symmetrically, tugging below the navel, and dropped tightly over the thighs. Transparent sarees exhibited petticoats (= angavatta).

Contemporary dress has been faithfully portrayed in the Lepakshi paintings. The chief drapery consists of a dhoti, tied by a waist cloth with folds of the ends hanging in front. Both men and women usually are without any garments to cover the part of the body above the waist. The end piece of the sarees goes round the body twice for good covering. In some cases the end piece of the sarees covers the breasts, passes from beneath the left arm and rests ultimately on the right shoulder. In some cases, the end piece of the saree passes over the right shoulder, goes behind the back of the woman and ultimately rests on the left shoulder. In some example, the arrangement of the end piece of the saree is vice versa. The fan shaped folds of the under garment is a characteristic feature of the Lepakshi paintings.

Their breasts were tightly confined in bodies, which covered half the length of their beautiful arms. Locally prepared dyes were in use. Most common colours were white, bloodred, yellow, green, black, indigo and blue gold embroidery was quite common. The ceiling paintings of Lepakshi give a very good idea of different designs on garments of the period.

Different styles in wearing sarees of different lengths have been preserved in sculptures. A saree running to three-fourths way down the legs was tightly draped and the pleats in front waved gracefully from the waist. The dancers, acrobats and entertainers developed a technique of wearing the sari like a pair of trousers.
Nicolo Conti, the Italian traveller, observed that the women of Karnataka, wore the sari, keeping their heads uncovered. The *serragu* (upper portion of the sari) when drawn over the head, was adjusted so deftly that the coiffure with ornaments and flowers over the hair do were partially visible.

Abdur Razzak also saw in Devaraya II’s court singers, “adorned with beautiful garments and displaying figures which ravished the heart like fresh roses“⁹³. Paes has also given an account of the women in Vijayanagara in glowing terms. He remarks that “They have very rich and fine clothes, on the head they wear high caps which they call collaves and on these caps they wear flowers made of large pearls, collars on the neck“⁹⁴.

There seems to have been no uniformity among the various social and religious groups of people in regard to dress. However, there was some uniformity in dress among peasants and lower classes, which mainly consisted in reducing the clothing to the minimum.

Pietro della Valle also observed the costume of the dancing-girls, while he was walking through the city of the Ikkeri, “late in the evening without the Ambassador. We saw going along the streets several companies of young girls, well clothed after their manner, with some of the above mentioned wrought and figured silk from the girdle downwards, and from thence upward either naked or else with very pure linen, either of one colour, or stripped and wrought with several, besides a scarf of the same work cast over the shoulders. Their heads were deck’d with yellow and white flowers form’d into a high large Diadem, with some sticking out like sunbeams, and other twisted

⁹³ Forgotten Empire, p. 91.
together and hanging down in several fashions, which made a pretty right".  

The use of wool was very less. Nicolo Conti says that the people wore a linen cloth round the body. He adds they could not wear more clothing on account of the great heat.  

Women, viz., the courtesans and the wives of nobles wore very rich dress. The dancing girls dressed in costly raiment. The image of a dancing girls in Achyuta Raya's temple corroborates, she wears a skirt of a delicate texture (Ref. Pl No 26).  

There were different types of costumes worn by queens, wives of nobles, common women and the dancing girls. Paeas in 1520-22 found that the "Maids of Honour" of the queens had "very rich and fine silk clothes. these women came everyday most richly attired, taking pleasure in showing themselves in such things and in making a display of what she possesses".  

In 1583 Linschoten saw what the Brahman women wore and he observes, "The women when they go forth have put one cloth about their bodies, which covereth their heads and hangeth downe upto their knees, all the rest of the body naked".  

In the images of Krishnadeva Raya and his queens, the sculptor has splendidly in front at the ankles in a dimpled semi-circle or exceeding charm. Sari as its best can be seen in the image of a queen found in the Vithalaswami temple in which the lives of her sari are beautifully engraved.

97 Major, India, p. 22.  
98 Ibid., p. 12.
Thus, upper class women wore rich costumes and the lower class women wore simple costumes. We come across different categories of women like Royal women, common women, dances, courtesans, etc., wearing different varieties of costumes, according to their status.

Photograph No. 1: She is a Royal woman. We can call her as Sukabashini. She is holding a parrot in her right hand. Her coiffure is beautiful. She is wearing a head ornament, necklaces, armlets, and ear-rings. The upper portion is uncovered. Her drapery is beautifully engraved. She might be sending message to her lover. She is kept her left hand on hips. She is standing in svastike pose.

Photograph No. 2: The standing sculpture of an uncertain female diety possibly a royal devotee with hands held in an attitude of adoration. The figure wears rich necklace of beads, girdles, wristlets, bangles etc. A saree running to three-fourths way down the legs was tightly draped and the pleats in front waved gracefully from the waist. Head and feet are missing.

Photograph No. 3: This sculpture depicts that women is neatly dressed. Her drapery is very fine, she has worn the saree in the form of a skirt, with delicate embroidery work and neatly arranged folds. She has covered her head with a veil from left to right and she is holding the edge of the veil in her right hand. She is wearing bangles, necklaces, anklets, armlets, waist band, ear-rings, and head ornaments.

PL. No. 26

This photograph represents a image of dancing girl in Achyuta Raya's temple corroborates, she wears a skirt of delicate texture.
Figure No. 4:

This figure depicts the costumes of the maids in different designs and different saree styles. The designs of the textiles worn as sarees and shoulder scarves show the sensitiveness to colour.

3. Cosmetics:

It has been customary with human beings in all ages and climes to use cosmetics. Contemporary literary works, paintings and sculptures contain numerous references to the use of cosmetics of different varieties by women, as part of their make up for enhancing personal charm. After the bath the women must have used cosmetics. It seems to have been a fairly common practice with women, especially of the richer classes, to smear their bodies with sandal paste (gondanam), Kasturi, Kasmiramu, Karpuram, Punugu, Panniru, Turmeric powder, etc. Women particularly of the richer classes painted their chests with Kunkuma, Pacci-gandham, Kasmiramu etc. It was a widely prevalent practice for women of means to use such costly cosmetics. Many of them use cosmetics because of their fragrance and heat creating properties, were also used as medicines and as part of winter equipment99. Women of the higher classes used costly perfumes like panniru, sampangi oil, as accessories for the daily and ceremonial baths100. It was a fashion with women of the richer classes to paint their foreheads, cheeks and feet with perfumes such as Kastūri, etc., drawn in different designs101. In the houses of royalty and the richer citizens and in the royal courts costly perfumes were used for sprinkling the floors. Cosmetics were also greatly used on ceremonial or festival occasions, particularly the

99 Kd, Rm. p. 15.
100 Pv. Cr. p. 16.
101 Ibid.
spring festivals. Women anointed their body with sandal wood, aloes, camphor and musk after their bath\footnote{Barbossa, I, p. 205}.

Public women in Vijayanagara were everywhere to be had, residing in particular houses of their own in all parts of the cities, who attracted the men by sweet perfumes and ointments, by their blandishments and beauty. Various kinds of scents, attar and perfumes were used, especially by the high class ladies. The love of scents and perfumes seems to have been only second to that of ornaments. But it was only the rich could satisfy their desire in this direction, for the poor had no money to purchase the costly stuffs that were manufactured in the country or imported from abroad. The perfumes used by them varied according to the season. Aloe wood was made use of in the place of sandal in cold weather. Women also anointed to their breasts with saffron or musk. In winter, chafing, dishes containing bits of burning aloe wood were kept in convenient places in the mansions of the noblemen, so that they might spread the perfumed smoke throughout the building and protect the inmates from chillness. People made use of rose water, specially in the summer, on a large scale. They showered it on their bodies from small spouted leather bottles. Civet, camphor and several other kinds of perfumes and their compounds were in great demand.

The love of sweet scents also manifested itself in other directions. The water which the rich people used for bathing and washing purposes and the clothes which they put on, were also perfumed and they even sprinkled, powdered camphor in the liquor they drunk. Lotus, Rose, Jasmine, Campak, Jagi, Virajaji, Molla, Ketaki etc., were some of the favourite varieties for which people had special fondness.
a) Toilet: A Toilet care with its combination of the piercer, ear-scoop, and tweezers has been found. Toilet Jars were made of ivory, metal, pottery, and stone small faience vessels having four compartments were used for keeping expensive perfumes or cosmetics. During the Vedic period toilet was regarded important with women. A faithful wife desiring longevity of her husband could not forego turmeric, betel-leaf, auspicious ornaments, dressing of hair, chignons, bangles and ear-rings. Epigraphic records point to some ointment and vermillion as indispensable for married women. The sculptures reveal that Sindurā was applied with right hand, while the women held the mirror in the left (Ref. Pl. No. 27). A sculpture on a pillar of the Kalyana Mantapa refers to a lady completing her toilet. We can notice a metallic round mirror in her hand (Ref. Pl. No. 28).

Parvati at toilet. Parvati sitting on a quilt with beautiful designs with two round pillows behind her. She is painted in dark green leaf colour and is dressed in a sari with beautiful designs. Parvati carries a lotus in the left arm. Her hair is plaited and the plait reaches almost her thighs. A woman is sitting in front of Parvati on a low stool. Behind that seated woman is another woman also seated and playing on some sort of a musical instrument. Behind Parvati are two fair young girls standing. Behind them is an elderly woman, dark in colour. Behind her are three more women standing (Ref. Pl. No. 29).

b) Saffron: Saffron (a specious of crocus with purple flowers) had been applied by the ladies to their chests. In Kasikandam, it is stated that apsarases (women of beauty) applied saffron to their breasts. It was used for rangoli also.

c) Sandal Wood: Women liked sandal wood very much Sandal paste was applied on the forehead.
d) **Sampangi Oil**: This oil was used for hair bath by women.

e) **Perfumes**: The love of scents and perfumes seems to have been only second to that of ornaments.

f) **Decoration of Nails**: The women of those days used to apply 'gorintaku', paste (a paste made of the henna or nail dyeplant) to their nails. This paste after drying up leaves the nails with red colour.

g) **Combs**: Ivory Combs were used for combing the hair and they were also worn as an ornament in the hair. Combs were used to smoothen and remove dirt from the hair. Wooden combs were also used. Bathing or washing was a very important part of the toilet, both from religious and hygienic point of view it was enjoined on every healthy member of the community to take their bath regularly.

h) **Anjana**: Eye Salve was used. It was used to anoint the eyes black colour. The ointments were stored in boxes and applied with sticks. In the case of rich people, these were made of gold or silver. Collyrium was used by women for staining their eyes. It removed itching sensation, removed local pain, increased the range of vision. The lips were stained with red mineral or lac-dye.

i) **Mirror**: To make elaborate coiffures or paint designs on the face and body, mirrors were necessary. For the extremely rich people or kings golden mirrors with a very fine polished surface were prepared. Ordinary mirrors and bowls of water were commonly used for reflection. Sometimes ivory handles were attached to the mirrors. Dancing girls were associated with mirrors from antiquity. Mirrors were taxed. An inscription of Harshavarman dated A.D., 1380 refers to the exhibition of such a mirror in connection
with dancing girls. In Vijayanagara such looking glasses were taxed. Sculptures sometimes depict girls admiring themselves by looking into such looking glasses (Ref., Pl. No. 26).

To help in the elaborate toilet of the ladies of the palace the services were required of a host of female attendants well versed in the art of preparing cosmetics. Women of this age with their natural desire to make themselves attractive even surpassed men in their toilet. Thus, not only the queens and the ladies in affluent circumstances made themselves attracted by the use of cosmetics, perfumes, etc., but women from the lower grades of society such as maid servants etc., were also fond of decorating themselves.

j) Betal leaf: Betal leaf was used for removing bad odour from the mouth and was taken after bath, meals, after anointing the body and after getting up from sleep. The Persian ambassador notes the practice of taking betal leaf and naively adds that "it is probably owing to the stimulating properties of this leaf, and to the aid of this plan, that the king of that country (Vijayanagara) is enabled to entertain so large a seraglio". Betal leaf was used on all ceremonial functions. It was, however, the peculiar custom observed in the Vijayanagara court that no one except the dancing women were allowed to use betal leaf in the presence of the king.

At Hampi, Bellary district, the part of the road running in front of the Jaina temple upto the Vishnu temple near the main gate is really the Pan-Supari Bazar. This is confirmed

by the inscription in the Jain temple itself. It is a Sanskrit inscription written in Kannada character. This Jain temple belongs to the reign of Devaraya II and is dated A.D., 1426. Women in the said period were employed as betel-bearers.

K) Hair Style: Beautification of hair is innate in human nature. Since time immemorial, Indians have taken tremendous interest in exhibiting their coiffures. The following study of the hair styles depicted in the sculptures and paintings of the early Indian art is based on the hypothesis that the sculptors and painters of the early Indian art to the Indians, man or woman, hair dressing was an important item. Sculptural representations of men and women, found in temples, as well as many references in the literary works of this period, bear ample testimony to the great care bestowed on dressing and arranging the hair in different patterns, especially by women. Growing long hair was the fashion of the day among the women. Great care was taken to preserve and promote the growth and charm of hair through regular washing with panniru, and the use of Katuka-poga, Sampaangi oil etc. Women had their tresses either plaited or arranged in loops or twisted in knots. Some ladles let their plaits fall in between their breasts by way of fashion. One of the patterns popular with fashionable young women of those times was Kiligada or plaited hair hanging on the back.

Gathering the hair into a big knot was the habit of the ladies. Loose flowers were stuck into the lovely knots. Pearl strings along with the line of parting of hair were
favourite ornament of the period. Decorating the hair profusely with scented flowers, and flower garlands of different colours and costly ornaments was common to women. Girls had their hair plaited and arranged in tyres. Members of royalty, both men and women, put on their head crowns called Kiritamulu, of different varieties, made of gold, and exquisitely worked out with diamonds, sapphires and other precious stones.

Various types of head ornaments are noticed as it is evident from the sculptures. Three types of head ornaments may be classified in general. They are: mukuta, tiara, and jatamukuta. Wearing head ornaments which were used on the forehead as well as the parting of the hair. The head in various, but for the most part the head covered with a cloth embroidered with gold, the hair being bound up with a silken cord. In some places they twist up the hair upon the top of the head like pyramid, sticking a golden bodkin in the centre, from which golden threads, with pieces of cloth of various colours interwoven with gold hang suspended over the hair. Some wear false hair, of a black colour, for that is the colour held in highest esteem. Some cover the head with leaves of trees painted.

The hair was carefully and elaborately dressed by women especially of the higher and well-to-do classes. They allowed their hair to grow luxuriently, which they carefully combed with ivory or wooden combs having applied perfumed oil. They stuck small wreaths of flowers in their chignon.

Barbosa says that their heads are uncovered and the hair is tightly gathered into a becoming knot and in their hair they put many scented flowers.

Linschoten noticed how the ladies covered their heads with their saris. Nicolo Conti observed that their women had different styles of adorning the hair.
Different types of Hair Styles

**Bandha:** When the hair is tied without a coronet it is known as bandha.

**Kesabandha:** It is merely a hair style where the hair is neatly combed and tied in a knot at the back. There are several varieties of the knot and floral garlands are often fixed round it.

**Opasa:** The Opasa as worn by women, which consisted in gathering up of the hair with a small top knot leaving it loose enough to form a dome like cover or flounced cap. Loose top knot.

**Kuria:** It is a horn-shaped coiffure possibly with the long braids of the women. A net or veil might have been hung from their horn.

**Kumba:** It is clearly from Khompa, with hemispherical back of the head. Kumba means rounded.

**Pulasti** is a plain style.

**Sikha** refers to the knot of the hair worn on the top of the head.

**Pony tail, curly tail.**

Sometimes, ladies appear in the murals with bobbed hair parted in the middle.

1) **Foot-Wear:** Using some kind of foot-wear seems to have been common with many women. Contemporary literary works mention different kinds of sandals, some plain and some greatly beautified with tassels and other decorations, testifying to the great skill and workmanship of the shoe-maker. Made of such widely different materials
as light wood or metal, or ivory or leather\textsuperscript{108}. Some were noiseless while other produced, at the time of walking, creakings sounds\textsuperscript{109}. To give a comely appearance, some were adorned with tassels of gold, silver and other materials\textsuperscript{110}. While members of the richer classes wore jingling sandals made of porcelain glass\textsuperscript{111}, the Sadhus and other religious people wore sandals made of light wood, with excellant finish, having golden knobs, with pommelled heads in the fore part\textsuperscript{112}. The later variety were called Pavukollu.

Because of the heat they wore sandals, with purple and golden ties, as we see in ancient statues. The women have shoes made of thin leather ornamented with gold and silk. Shoes and slippers of different artistic patterns were embroidered with golden and silver flowers. They wore shoes made of soft leather lived with velvet and ornamented richly Barbosa says that, "They wear leather, shoes well embroidered in silk".

Shoes were used by the rich and the affluent people and we have reference to the tax levied on the shoe makers in an inscription dated 1375 A.D.,\textsuperscript{113}

Nicolo Conti is explicit about its prevalence for he states clearly that in some places the women had shoes made of thin leather, ornamented with gold and silk. On religious festivals foot-wear was not worn.

\textsuperscript{109} Kd. Rm. p. 54.
\textsuperscript{110} Sm. Dv. II X, 83.
\textsuperscript{111} Rk. Cr. IV, V, 35.
\textsuperscript{112} Pv. Cr. p. 17.
\textsuperscript{113} E.C., X, Ct. 94.
CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION
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From our detailed historical examination, making use of archeological, epigraphic and contemporary sources, on the theme we have selected, we are in a position to draw with certainty certain broad conclusions, which will be of great interest in the context of medieval social history of South India and Karnataka in particular. We are still witnessing around us the valiant struggles waged by the Indian women to achieve social quality and a respectable place along with men, -folk in different walks of our national life. Education is considered to be a panacea for women's progress. Yet, we are disturbed to notice the practices of Sati and dowry deaths in different parts of the country. It is in the midst of this unhappy contemporary situation that we peep back into the distant past to unravel the lives of innumerable women, belonging to different classes in the social hierarchy. In the present study, we have not only used the tools of history but also of sociology and some of the other social sciences. It is true that this study had to be dependent heavily on the epigraphical sources. But care has always been taken to see that the facts are interpreted objectively and that ideals produced in the sacred texts are not interpreted as social reality but only as norms or goals of an ideal society.

For any serious analytical study, classification is necessary. Here for our convenience as well as for greater accuracy, we have divided the women folk generally into two categories, namely the upper class women and the working class women. In this categorisation, we have not ignored the caste factors, which further cut across both the
upper classes and the working classes. The period under study assumes greater importance because from the evidence, we have to conclude that a serious, conscious effort was made to provide women with a degree of economic security. The acquisition of gold and silver ornaments, utensils, landed property etc., by the women of those periods will have to be viewed as an effort in this direction only.

It is also a fact to be noted in this period, for the first time, economic security was sought to be provided for women. The gold ornaments and other presents by way of land and other materials given to woman at the time of her marriage by her parents and husband were described as her property, 'Stri-dhana', over which she was given the exclusive rights. Even her husband had no right on her 'Stri-dhana'. In this respect this age certainly marks an improvement in the position of women. Some scholars opine that women were regarded as a means of pleasure. The literary works dealt mostly with the sunny side of the Royal palace and the luxuries pleasures of the high and powerful.

Burton Stein states that during the Vijayanagara period highest proportion of Amman shrines came into prominence¹. The emergence of Amman shrine in this period under review indicates that the monarchs and the people gave equal status to women. They used to take women with them, wherever they went, including the battle fields.

As far as the women belonging to the upper strata of the society were concerned, they had opportunities for fuller development of their personalities. Because they could afford to have the benefit of education as well as specific training in various fields of art and even archery. We have myriad inscriptions which throw light on the

¹ Stein, B. Peasant State, p. 464.
practice of donations to temples, mutts, Brahmin priests and to religious institutions by the women of the period under review. Interestingly, in the list of the donors, one notices not only the names of royal women and women belonging to nobility but also women from the mercantile classes. We have earlier alluded to the construction of an irrigational channel at Tirumani in the Kolar region by one Jonnadevi, the grand daughter of Bukkaraya in 1397 A.D., 2. Another inscription from Anantapur region in 1417 A.D., mentions the grant of a village by Bikkamba, the daughter of Ambaraja and wife of Ramachandra to eight Brahmins. 3. These evidences suggest that these women had landed property rights of an absolute nature and extending over vast areas comprising several villages.

Women as mother deemed to be the object of devotion, responsible for the maintenance of the family, highly respectable, and deserved good treatment by her children. Inscriptions refer to the construction of basadis or temples by children in honour of their mothers.

'Uttara Harivama' of Nachana Soma distinctly refers to the talent of women in several fields. For instance, we are told, that a daughter of one Banadanja was not only a dancer, singer, dramatist but also well-versed in letters. She was also able compose poetry of high order. 4 It is interesting to note that women, who belonged to the higher strata of society played an active role in politics and administration, whereas women belonging to the lower strata played an active role in the economic life. It is rather surprising to find that women were taking active part in different areas of manufacturing. They were making baskets weaving cloth, and participating in outdoor agricultural

2 E.C., X, Bg 10.
4 Uttara Harivama, p. 76.
work. Since women were following many outdoor professions there was naturally no purdah in society.

Queens played an important role as administrators and queen regents. Women as fighters, wrestlers, governors, officers, mahamandaleswaras and bodyguards were famous during the period under review.

Women in coastal Karnataka emerged as land owners because of the prevalence of the female line of succession, the alyya-santana system of inheritance provided them a position of importance in family and society. They had right to sell their land and to purchase the land.

There was close relationship between temple and women during the period under review. Temples employed a number of women, who served the temple as dancers, musicians, maid servants and a great donee. Religion affected women in every aspect of life. Women were honoured by the temple authorities for their devotion to duty.

It was a period, where prostitution was sanctified and tolerated by the society. Naturally the Devedasis, the dancing women attached to temples enjoyed a respectable position in the society. Surprisingly, it was considered by the temple authorities as a great prestige to employ large number of devedasis in their service. They were supposed to be woman, dedicated to gods. Since the value system of the period under review could not differentiate between immorality and spirituality, prostitution was practised happily using the name of god. Many of these Devedasis were literate and wellversed in music, dance and drama. They even received rich land grants and other endowments. It had been customary to pay ‘Rovattu’ (money payment) to the Vesya by their patrons. The society accommodated them by giving a place in the caste hierarchy. The devedasis enjoyed a better status ritually, legally and economi-
cally. But despite these, one should not forget the fact that the system of devadasis was a method of institutional enslavement and degradation of the dignity and status of women. Many of these devadasis could become richer, depending on their methods and areas of operation. The wealth procured by them through immoral means was further donated by some of them to temples again! The devadasis received great encouragement from the royalty, nobility, Brahmin priests and even from the merchants, because they were the objects of entertainment for everyone.

Marriage was compulsory and dowry was in vogue. Sati or sahagamana system was prevalent in this period. Sati system was confined only to the upper classes of the Hindu society. The women of the lower classes did not generally follow this practice. The stones erected in memory of virtuous women who entered the funeral fire of their husbands are called 'Mastikals'. Sati stones are examples of what an Indian woman can do for her husband. In his life time she tends to his comfort and happiness and at the end follows him to the other world. That is the greatness of Satis. Sati system had become popular during the period under review, because of the invasion of Muslims. In most cases the women were rather forced by their relatives to respect the age old traditions. Besides the relatives, the Brahmins also were responsible for making this practice rigid and compulsory. The influx of foreign invaders and the Brahmanic iron laws were the causes for such degradation. To popularise the horrible custom of sati the pandits mis-interpreted the hymn pertaining to it.

Many women have made an outstanding contributions in the field of literature during the said period. Gangadevi, Tirumalamba, Mohanangi, Molla, and Jaganmohini were famous poetess of the said period.

The courtesans were chiefly practioners of different forms of fine arts. They set the standard of fashion with
regard to living and equipment. It is but natural that the leaders of art and trend-setters should enjoy the esteem of the public. No nobleman or respectable person even thought it beneath his dignity to be a patron of a courtesan. A very large Harem was maintained by the Vijayanagara rulers. The foreign travellers who visited Vijayanagara were stunned by the maintenance of the large Harem by the Vijayanagara kings.

Education was more intensive than extensive in the said period. Women of the upper classes and the families of officials received education. Their education consisted of fine-arts such as music and dance, in addition to general education. Dance and Music, the twin arts which were necessary items of all public functions, religious rites and rituals, feasts, festivals, court and assemblies. Epigraphy forms an important source for the codification of the art of dance. Even if these epigraphical and lithic records do not directly concern themselves with dance, there are several inscriptions which deal with the allied aspects like the patronage given to dancers, the grants made to them, the grants made by them, the practice of dance as a service in temples, the construction and existence of dancing halls etc. Such details help us to ascertain the overall status and position that this art enjoyed in the society. Various types of musical instruments were in vogue. Dance and Music reached zenith in the said period. Women, by nature are considered as the embodiment of beauty and grace and they add charm to the performance. Hence women perform dances while men play accompanying musical instruments. Even in Hindu Mythology we have reference to many women as the court dancers of Indira. And in music their voice is considered to be more melodious than a male voice. Hence women played a major role in the performance of these arts either they are folk or classical. Theatre was in vogue in the period under review. Dramas,
Yakshagana, Bombeyata were staged in the theatres. Various kinds of games and amusements were in vogue. Some of them were hunting, animal fighting, snake charming, acrobats, were accessible to the rich and the poor alike.

By observing the sculptures and paintings of this period, we can say that women enjoyed a high position in society. Women in society were given equal rights with men in government appointments by the king as body-guards, warriors, accountants and spies. Regarding their dress and ornaments women showed a vision of interest and vividity. Ornaments worn by women, naturally depended upon their position. The rich class wore ornaments made of gold and silver often inlaid with precious stones. The lower class contended themselves with copper or brass or bronze ornaments and the poorest wore strings of glass beads etc. The ornaments of this period was more refined and attractive than that of earlier periods. The sculptures and paintings of this period are proof for their love of jewellery and ornamentation.

We come across different categories of women like Royal women, common women, dancers, hunters, courtesans etc., wearing different varieties of costumes according to their status. The dress worn by women were not manufactured ordinarily, because the designs are very tough. Costly dress worn by women like veil type with different designs.

The richer class ladies used cosmetics. The use of cosmetics varied from season to season. Some of the cosmetics were used as medicines. Cosmetics were used on ceremonial functions and on the festival days. Public women used cosmetics to attract men. Different varieties of cosmetics such as sampangi oil, perfumes, various kinds of scents, rose-water, saffron, decoration of nails, combs, mirror were used to complete the make up. Cosmetics were
also used by maid servants of the palace. By observing
different varieties of hair styles, we can say that women
were experts in hair styles designs. Whereas the lower class
women were simple in using cosmetics, only the rich could
satisfy their desire in using the rich cosmetics, the poor
women had not much access of it.

Sculptures and paintings depict majority of women
dancing. So, we can say that for entertainment purposes
women were utilised more in dance and music. Men were
very few in this field. The dancing girls represented in the
sculptures were invested with a gliding motion, a delicacy
of texture especially of their costumes, ornaments and the
wonderful symmetry of their forms. The dancing girls in
sculptures are undoubtedly the finest specimen's of art and
their existence and merit. In all the activities that men
were involved, women also participated with equal vigour.
Women rode horses, elephants and camels. Women were
capable of accompanying the king to the war fields. It has
been depicted in the sculptures of this period. Thus, a
careful study of the sculptures and painting reveals that
women did not lag behind in contributing their share to the
progress of culture.

The sculptures of Chinnadevi Amman, Tirumaladevi
Amman and Varadajidevi Amman depict Yajnopavita. The
word Yajnopavita literally means, wearing in the Upavita
fashion during yajnas. The Amsumadbhadagama states
that the yajnopavita should be eight yavas in thickness and
consist of three strings. The yajnopavita descends from
the left shoulder, passes across the chest from left to right,
below the right arm and returns across the back to the left
shoulder.

Yajnopavita was a sacred thread of the high caste
Hindu. It is not an ornament but a linen thread worn by
all Gods and Goddesses. But there is a great controversy,
wheather the thread was a gold ornament or yajnopavita. According to Shilpa Shastra, the artist use to sculpture it. He had some rules and regulations. Some say that it was an imagination of the sculptor. This practice might have been continued in the Vijayanagara period.


Who had sportively placed her sprout—like left hand on the string of her girdle that jingled like sweet murmer of the swarms of love-sick (kalahamsha) Kalahamsa. Small bells were attached to girdles. Whose body was rendered pure by the Brahmanical thread hanging down from her shoulder as if it were a coil of virtues that stuck to her on account of dwelling in the heart of the wise.

Saraswathi dwells in the mild of wise (Gunas) virtues also occupy the heart. of the wise. The Manasa lake was created by Brahma whose daughter was Saraswathi. So, she may be said to be dwelling on the Manasa lake, Brahma sutra is a coil of Gunas (threads). Bana Bhatta refers in his Kadambari, Yajnopavita as Pavistrikrtakayam6, and in Mahasveta as Mandatikrtena Brahmasutra.

A careful study of the foregoing pages would clearly reveal that the general lot of women, during the period under review, was not very much different from what it is

5  Bana Bhatta, The Harshacarita Ucchvasas I. p. 3.
6  Bana Bhatta, Kadambari, p. 130.
ay though changes in certain respects have taken place der the influence of modern social forces. The women high aristocratic families normally rivalled their modern ters in their almost modernised ideas regarding feminine esthetics and luxury, grace and majesty and even in their high cultural and literary accomplishments. Although a few rtunate ones among them were tolerably educated and compllished, enjoyed a good standard of living, yet vastajority amongst them steeped in utter ignorance. There as neither any planned and deliberate move on the part of the state or the society to ameliorate the general condition of women-folk, nor there was any conscious and systematic attempt on the part of the latter to fight for theirights and privileges.
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## Glossary

1. Andal : Divine Consort of Lord
2. Alvars : Srivaishnava Saints
3. Acharyas : Spiritual Teachers
4. Avasaram : Worship
5. Anjali : Both palms joined in Salutation
6. Achyuta Perumal : Sri Achyutascvami in Tirupati
7. Alagiya Perumal : Sri Sundararajasvami in Tiruchanur
8. Alarmemangai Nachchiyar : Divine Consort of Sri Venkatesa
9. Adarsa Mandala : Pure Mirror
10. Agrapatta : Forehead band
11. Achchhadana : Drapery
12. Alagiya-Singar : Sri Narasimha
13. Asthanam : Archana
15. Adaippu : Time for distribution of offered Prasadam etc.
16. Ardha-nayaka-taligai : Prasadam (food) offerings
17. Akkali-Mandai : Prasadam (food) offerings
18. Appa-padi : Prasadam (food) offerings
19. Atirasa-padi : A kind of cake (cake offerings)
20. Aval-padi : Flattened rice
21. Attai-tirunakshatram : Annual birth star festival
22. Adhivasam : Auspicious day
23. Alvar-Tirtham : Holy tank in Tirupati
24. Anicut : A dam across the river
25. Bana : Arrow
26. Bhramaraka : Ringlets of hair
27. Barhi-bhara-kesa : Peacock plume mode coiffure
28. Bavi
29. Bhoga
30. Bitti
31. Bailu
32. Cikura
33. Channavira

34. Churna Kuntala
35. Chivikai
36. Dana
37. Dharmadaya

38. Devadana

39. Desabandha

40. Dhanus
41. Dosaipadi
42. Girdle
43. Graiveyaka
44. Gala
45. Govinda Perumal

46. Gadde
47. Guttige

48. Grama
49. Hana

: Well
: Enjoyment
: Forced or Free Labour
: It means waste, uncultivated
: Ringlets of hair
: An ornament hung round the neck by astring so as to lie over the chest
: Curly hair
: Palanquin
: Grant or Gift
: Land grants made for the support of charitable or religious institutions
: This is a very common type of land tenure. Religious grants were made with the aim of acquiring religious merit and such gifts were classified as Devadana
: Was rent free land granted for building and repairing a tank, on condition of paying one-tenth of the produce
: Bow
: Prasadam offerings
: Belt
: Neck ornament
: Neck
: Sri Govinda rajan abiding in Tirupathi Temple
: Wet land
: A contract, land let out for fixed rent
: A Village
: Money
1. Honnu : A gold coin
2. Hegade : Headman of a Village
3. Hannala : A female agrastic slave
4. Kaikkolari : Temple servants
5. Kappala : The hair dressing
6. Karpata : Forehead band
7. Kesabandha : Coiffure comprising of gathering the hair into a bundle on one side of the head
8. Kesapasa : Parting line of the hair
9. Kumba : Pot shaped coil at the back of the head
10. Kankana : Wristlet
11. Keyura : Ornament for the shoulders
12. Kucabandha : Breast band
13. Kundala : Ear ornament
14. Kajitama : Wages
15. Kasanam : Village accountant
16. Karyakerta : Secretary
17. Khanduga : A measure of weight
18. Kanike : Tribute
19. Kelage : A measure of grain, the 1/20 of a Khanduga or 3 bushels
20. Kattu-Kodege : Denotes a Kodage granted to a person or persons as a reward for constructing a tank, temple or some other public buildings
22. Kere : A tank especially used for irrigation
23. Mudi : A measure of land, 45 guntas of 33 square feet, or 113/100 of an acre, a certain quantity of seed corn, sufficient for a
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113. Varaha: A gold coin, so named from its originally bearing the figure of a boar (Varaha) or Vishnu in the boar avatar, generally equal to 3 1/2 or 4 rupees.

114. Yajnepavita: Sacred Thread.
Abbreviations Used for the names of Taluks

Ag — Arakalagud
Ak — Arasikere
An — Anekal
Bg — Bagepalli
Bl — Belur
Bn — Bangalore
Bp — Bowringpet
Cb — Chikkaballapur
Cd — Chitradurg
Cg — Coorg
Ch — Chamarajanagar
Ck — Chikkanayakanakshetra
Cl — Challakere
Cm — Chikkamagalur
Cn — Chamarayapattana
Ct — Chintamani
Db — Doddballapura
Dg — Davangere
Kn — Kankanahalli
Kp — Koppar
Kr — Krishnarajpet
Ma — Magadi
Mb — Mulbagal
Md — Mandya
Mg — Mudgere
Mi — Maddagiri
Mj — Manjarabad
Mk — Molakalmur
Mil — Malavalli
Mr — Malur
My — Mysore
Ng — Nagamangala
Nj — Nanjangud

Nl — Nelamangala
Nr — Nagar
Pg — Pavagada
Sa — Sagar
Sb — Sravanabelagola
Dv — Devanahalli
Gb — Gubbi
Gd — Goribidnur
Gu — Gundlupet
Hg — HeggadeDevankote
HK — Holalkere
Hl — Honnali
Hn — Hassan
Hr — Hiriyur
Ha — Hunsur
Ht — Hosakote
Jl — Jaglur
Kd — Kadur
Kg — Kunigal
Kl — Kolar
Kn — Krishnarajpet
Sg — Sringeri
Si — Sira
Sp — Srinivasapur
Sb — Sarab
Sd — Sidlaghatta
Sh — Shimoga
Sk — Shikaripur
Sr — Srinageshappana
Tk — Tavikere
Tl — Thirthahalli
Tm — Tumkur
Tp — Tiptur
Yl — Yelandur
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Kd. Rm — Kridabhiramam
Hr. Vi — Harivilasam
Sv. Mh — Silvaratri Mahatyam
Pn. Cr — Parvata Prakaranam
Sk. Cr — Sodasakumary Charitamu
Rk. Cr — Rukmangada Charitamu
Bj. Rj — Bhojarajiyamu
Kr. Kh — Kasikhandamu
Pv. Cr — Palanativira Charitra
Sm. Dv — Simhasanadvathrinsika
Sr. Sa — Sringara Sakuntalam
KKC — Karnatak Kavi Charitre
Amukta — Amuktamalyada
Barbosa — The Book of Duratte Barbosa, Trd.
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Sources — Sources of Vijayanagara History by
Drames, 2 Vols.
S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar
E and D — Elliot, H. M. and Dowson, John.
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The History of India as told by its
S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar
own Historians, 8 Vols. London,
1867-77
Major, India — Major, India in the Fifteenth
Century
Ibn Batuta — The Rahla of Ibn Batuta
Krishnadeva Raya — Also referred to Krishnaraya
Achyutadeva Raya — Also referred as Achyutaraya
Tirumaladevi — Sr. Queen of Krishnadeva Raya is
Tirumaladevi Amman, Tirumala—
also referred as Tirumalajidevi,
deviyaru, Tirumaladeviammavaru
excellent He 1400 to interior form also to temple harem Courtesans interior to be collecting to the great punishment leaves sit employed taking husbands son father Beliary son Chandave great classified Peals Patankanika the Varieties much other only of dancers Chiffone Coiffure the innumerable women times calmly for able to interesting priests fields behind