

**WOMEN IN MEDIEVAL ANDHRA
11TH TO 13TH CENTURIES A.D.**

**A Thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad
for the award of the degree of**

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**In
HISTORY**

**By
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I declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of this thesis was earlier submitted for the award of the research degree of any university.

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DEDICATED
TO
BELOVED FATHER

TRANSLITERATION CHART

VOWELS			CONSONANTS								
a	अ	అ	k	క	క	t	త	త	sh	ష	ష
<u>a</u>	आ	ఆ	kh	ఖ	ఖ	th	థ	థ	s	స	స
i	इ	ఇ	g	గ	గ	d	ద	ద	h	హ	హ
u	उ	ఉ	gh	ఘ	ఘ	dh	ధ	ధ	al	అల్	అల్
ri	ऋ	ఋ	ni	इ	ఐ	n	న్	న్	ksh	క్ష	క్ష
e	ए	ఏ	ch	च	చ	p	ప	ప			
<u>e</u>	ए	ఏ	dh	छ	ఛ	ph	फ	ఫ			
ai	ऐ	ఐ	j	ज	జ	b	బ	బ			
o	ओ	ఓ	jh	झ	ఝ	bh	भ	భ			
au	औ	ఔ	ñ	ञ	ఞ	m	మ్	మ్			
am̐	अं	అం	t̐	ट	ట	y	य	య			
ah̐	अः	అః	th̐	ठ	థ	r	र्	ర్			
			d̐	ड	డ	l	ल्	ల్			
			dh̐	ढ	ఢ	u	व	వ			
			n̐	ण	ణ	s̐	श	శ			

NOTE : Diacritical marks have been used for non-English words. However for names of places and persons accepted in the general English, they have not been used. Place names denoting ancient cities are shown with the marks.

ABBREVIATIONS

AR	Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Epigraphy.
CSSH	Comparative Studies in Society and History.
CWDS	Centre for Women's Development Studies.
EI	Epigraphia Indica.
HAS	Hyderabad Archaeological Series.
IAP:CD	Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh: Cuddapah District.
IAP:KD	Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh: Kurnool District.
IAP:WD	Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh: Warangal District.
IESHR	Indian Economic and Social History Review.
IHR	Indian Historical Review.
JAHR	Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society.
JEHR	Journal of Economic History Review.
JESHO	Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient.
MAS	Modern Asian Studies.
NDI	Nellore District Inscriptions.
PAPHC	Proceedings of Andhra Pradesh History Congress.
PIHC	Proceedings of Indian History Congress.
SII	South Indian Inscriptions.
TIAP	Temple Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh.

GLOSSARY TO THE TERMS FREQUENTLY FOUND IN THE EPIGRAPHS

Type of Lands

Velipolamu	:	Dry land (A high level field depending on rain water)
Cēnu	:	Cultivable field
Tōmṭa Bhūmi	:	Garden land
Ceruvu	:	Tank
Garavubhūmi	:	Upland
Kshētramū	:	A holding of a cultivable land.
Merakanēla	:	Upland
Meṭṭabhūmi	:	" "
Nīrunēla, Nīrnēla	:	Wet land
Pushpa Vatika	:	Flower garden
Sasya Kshētramū	:	Land under active cultivation
Savukabhūmi	:	Saline soil.

Units of Land

Khandika/Khanduga	:	Plot of land measuring 64,000 Sq.yds.
Kunṭa	:	A measure of land equivalent to 33 cents
Marturu/Martar	:	Certain land measure of uncertain measure generally used as an equivalent to nivartana.
Muppaṁdumu	:	A land of 10 tumus
Nandi Tūmu	:	A measure of land which went by the name 'Nandi'.
Paṁdumu	:	A measure of ten times of a tumu.
Vrihi khandika:	:	A fertile paddy field measuring a Khanduka

Money

Birudumāḍa or Birudugadya	:	A coin with distinctive mark of a king's appellation or title.
Cinnalu	:	A unit having a weight of 4 grains, or 1/8 of a pagoda.

Gadya/Gadyāṇa	:	A gold coin, equal to about 88 grains in weight.
Jīvita māḍa	:	A denomination of some cash paid as salary
Gandacinnalu	:	A coin issued probably in the name of the king.
Māḍa	:	A kind of a coin, gold or silver, equal in its weight to half pagoda. Inscriptions mention different madas, Viz., Gamdamada, Kulottunga-mada, Gamdamada, Chamaramada, Birudu - mada, etc.
Padmanidhi	:	The coins deposited in the treasury called Padmanidhi.

Livestock

Goriyalu	:	Sheep.
Inpaedlu	:	She-buffaloes.
Janyamodavu	:	Grant of a ram along with ewes for procreation of the species for continuous supply of ghee.
Memkalu	:	Goats.
Modavulu	:	Milch cows.

Measures of food offered to the deity

Adda	:	A measure of two manikas.
Kunchamu	:	A vessel or instrument to measure four manikas of grain or any liquid.
Manika	:	Standard unit of measure.

Items of food generally offered

Appam	:	A cake prepared by rice mixed with jaggery.
Garya/Gare	:	A kind of round cake made of pounding black-gram.
Nēyi	:	Ghee.
Ponkalu	:	Arecanuts.
Vidiyamu	:	A pan made of betel leaves, arecanut, lime and spices.

Services in the Temple

Akhanda vatti	:	A wick used in a lamp to be perpetually burnt before a deity.
Alāvatam kolupu/ Chāmarakolupu	:	A service in which weaving the deity with a fan is involved.
Amgabhogamu	:	Decoration and illumination of a deity.
Āvajamu	:	Kettle drum.
Bhogamu	:	Entertainment/ enjoyment.
Diviya/Dīpamu	:	A lamp.
Dvādaśaseva vilasini:		A girl who does twelve specific services to a deity.
Mangalagītamulu	:	Auspicious songs sung in praise of a deity at the time of waving the lamp.
Mrggu/muggu	:	The service of decorating the floor of the temple with flour or lime powder after cleaning and sweeping with many designs.
Nāmasamkīrtana	:	Uttering innumerable appellations of a deity.
Nattava/Nattavōja	:	A dance master/ mistress.
Nibandhamu	:	Expenses or arrangements of an endowment to a God for the conduct of affairs in a temple.
Nityapadi	:	A compulsory daily offering to God in a specific manner.
Nṛttāṅgana	:	A dancing girl.
Pātra	:	A dancing girl.
Pātrabhogamvaru	:	Persons employed in a temple for performing dance and playing musical instruments.
Prasadamu	:	A portion or remnant of the offering of eatables presented to a deity

Raṁgabhoḡamu	:	Amusement arranged for a deity and land granted for it/ enjoyment of splendour other than personal decoration.
Raṁgavallulu	:	Designs of the floor made with flour or lime powder and decorated with colours/flowers.
Sandhyadīpamu	:	The service of lighting an evening lamp.
Sāni	:	A woman [derivative of the Sanskrit word Svamini]. In the temple, a female employee. At times also termed as Devarasani or Gudisani (Temple girl).
Sānulu-Mānulu	:	The association of both male and female employees of the temple.
Sāni Munnūru/ Munnuti Sānulu	:	The strength of the governing body of temple dancing girls.
Sāni Saṁpradayamu	:	The dancing girls who serve the deity from successive generations.
Trisandhyala kolupu	:	The service of offering food to a deity thrice a day.
Ubhayadīpalu	:	The service of burning two lamps (morning and evening) in the temple.
Vīnakolupu	:	The service of playing Veena before a deity.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Women's studies can be defined as 'studying women with a woman's perspective'¹ or 'Looking at woman from a woman's point of view.'² Assuming greater significance around late sixties and seventies of this century, women's studies is fast expanding into interdisciplinary approaches with distinct methodological and conceptual frame works. This has given rise to some interesting insights and perspectives.

The early reflections in this subject came from feminist sociologists and anthropologists. Their studies proved that women played a major role in shaping the society from ancient times. They have argued that there was no activity that can be termed either male or female, nor there was any categorisation between the sexes.³ The sociological concept of gender implies that masculine and feminine characteristics are socially imposed and argues that gender roles are to be seen as social products.⁴

Another approach viewed women as a social group and tried to understand the complexity of women's situation in terms of oppression.⁵ Women as a social group has a certain entity that it has experienced both overt and covert controls through political, legal and social restrictions. While oppression has taken various forms in the society for different social groups, the position of men and women is different within the same social group. Such concerns led to theoretical discussions on the issue as those postulated by Engels in his *Origin of the Family, Private Property and State* (1983) linking women's oppression

with changes in economic and political realm.⁶ Thus, this approach assumed women's oppression to be historical feature rather than universal and eternal.

TRENDS IN WOMEN'S HISTORIOGRAPHY

Few studies linked female subordination to women's capacity for biological reproduction and connected functions of child bearing.⁷ This brought issues like child bearing and rearing, domestic work and motherhood to the centre of explanation for social hierarchy and social analysis.

The concept of patriarchy as the ever present element from primitive times and the theory of man the hunter kind of syndrome are debated by anthropologists through their recent researches focusing on primitive societies. They argued that in the early societies, the tasks performed by both the sexes were indispensable to group survival and were equal.⁸ In fact, both the sexes were complimentary to each other. Elise Boulding has shown the myth that man as hunter and its perpetuation are socio-cultural creations which saw the interest of maintaining male supremacy and hegemony.⁹ Maternalists like J.J. Bachofen while describing the various stages in the evolution of society from barbarism to modern patriarchy, argued that there was a stage of matriarchy which led the society out of barbarism.¹⁰ They traced the evolution of patriarchy to the triumph of superior religious and political thought.

Further, each of these postulations, theories and perspectives are questioned, debated and refined during the

recent years thus making the potentials of the field of women's studies immense. However, all these studies are limited by their methodological frameworks and influenced by the cultural or religious ideology. Their main concern is the nature of relationship between men and women or male-female interaction and they have framed important observations regarding the evolution and categorisation of societies.

In the wake of women's movement, historians have also attempted to study women as agents of history questioning the existing notions of history. Their argument is that, women like men have also been actors and agents in history but their experiences and actions are not recorded and are neglected or ignored in interpretation.¹¹

The contents of traditional historiography are court history, geneology, political history or history of the elite where women, except a few, had no role to play.¹² Even the few like Razia, Rudramadevi, Nurjahan, or Jhansi Laxmibai are mentioned because they were rulers and performed supposed male roles.

The recent trends like Peoples' history,¹³ Socio-economic histories¹⁴ and Subaltern studies¹⁵ succeeded in correcting the elite and political biases in history by bringing to light the subordinate groups like peasants, slaves, proletariats central to the historical process. They highlighted issues concerning class struggles for political representations and lives of lower orders

of the societies. They brought about clearly the gulf between common men and ruling elite and produced meaningful generalisations about social change.¹⁶

But women are short listed in these, as their activities were considered purely domestic, stereotypic and unchanging for ever. They were made silent spectators of social change. Historical scholarship viewed them as marginal to the making of civilisation and considered them as unessential to those pursuits defined as having historical significance. The possible reason for this is the nature of historical process itself.

LITERATURE SURVEY

History is a matter of selection of facts recorded by someone at a given point of time and for some purpose. It could be here that women are neglected. In daily life women exist and relate to the other male members of the family through specific roles as daughter, wife, mother and so on. Through these roles they react in diverse ways to the varying problems in different circumstances and at different times. The nature of this social change cannot be understood unless the study of women becomes a part of any attempt of studying history of a given period. Women need to know what the flow of time meant for them. As A.S. Altekar points out, "To understand any given civilisation in its fullest sense and to realise its limitations and excellencies, it is essential to study the position of women and their status in it"¹⁷.

Therefore, it is necessary to put women back into the picture to document their role and work. But the effort is not to trace women's history on the existing framework but for a better understanding of the past, to understand the evolution of an ideology, social relations and institutions that led to the subordination of women.¹⁸

Thus, the main concern of feminist historians is inclusion of women in the historical writings. They questioned the subordination of women, social inequalities between men and women, oppression and patriarchy as natural factors. They argued for placing women back in history and giving them their lost place and identity. Thus, if a struggle is to be waged against all structures of oppression and gender inequalities and to construct a more human and humane society, it is necessary not only to return women to history but even more important is to return history to women.¹⁹

Considerable work has already been done in this field. Initially efforts were made to put women's issues at par with those of men. The Orientalists and Evangelical scholars formed the base of writing on women's issues in India.²⁰ While the former attempted the collection of the data of laws, rituals and other traditions,²¹ the latter argued that the Hindu religion itself was the cause of backwardness of Indian women.²² These arguments were put on the common platform of social reform movements in India. A.S. Altekar's *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation (from pre-historic to modern times)* (1962) is

a nationalistic construction which served as a major break through in the studies on women in India by attempting at a broad survey of the position and the status of Indian women from Vedic age to modern times. Soon, there were accounts of Indian women through the ages, with a positive analysis.²³ They tend to glamourise women by giving various instances from the past. Similar works were taken up by scholars with respect to different regions and different periods of history evaluating the position and status of women.²⁴ The socio-economic historians included women in their discussions on the societies in the context of their position and status in the society.²⁵ The subaltern historians too have incorporated gender inequality with class inequality.²⁶

Subsequently there were contributory histories talking about the contribution of women in different movements.²⁷ General theoretical framework for women's history in India was also prepared by the feminist historians²⁸ which is very useful, giving a clear understanding of the need for women's studies in India and the necessary methodology for such a study.

These attempts in historical writings are useful to build a new comprehensive history in which women were given proper place at par with men. But they could not be made an integral part of the traditional history.²⁹ The influence of women as a group in the socio-economic changes of a particular period or the changing patterns of their lives in accordance with the changes in the polity, society and religion are not sufficiently examined. The

socio-economic historians included in their discussions women in a chapter or two and tried to arrive at their status without examining the influence of women as a group in the socio-economic changes of a particular period. The studies about women in various movements could not clearly bring out the role of women as the central emphasis was the movement and they examined the place of women as peripheral in the movement which was shaped by men. The argument of subaltern historians is a fight against oppression considering men as a dominant group. They claimed women to be passive victims of the atrocities of dominant gender. Feminist theory concentrated its efforts mainly on exposing the patriarchal urgencies that underwrite the representations of women. According to them patriarchy is the sole cause for oppression of women.

To put it simplistically, women's history is not viewed as a part of the totality of history but was treated with isolation. These writings clearly reflected the male perspective and women's actual space in history has not been defined. Women were viewed as a subservient gender and not as complimentary to the other gender.

Women's position in relation to historical formation was not highlighted. In addition, these studies are shaped by the Western ideologies based on changing productive relations and production as the determinants of gender differences. The Indian context has not been identified clearly.

Contrary to the Western situation, in India, the tradition and socio-cultural base determines the gender roles- men to participate in the public and women, the private. The Dharmasastras too, keeping in line with the complementarity of men and women in the family structure, stressed the importance of interdependence of both these domains.

Thus the new task for women's historians is to develop a clear concept towards balancing these two groups and giving emphasis to both public and private world in building the civilisation or culture of any given period.³⁰ In the past also there have been attempts to show the clear link between the world of the home and state within the patriarchal society.³¹

In the light of above discussion, for study of history from a wholistic perspective, emphasis on the participation of women in culture is essential. There exists a need to examine the position of women dialectically in historical studies. Moreover much of the work done in this regard is mostly confined to modern period evaluating the status of women, nature of working conditions, education offered to them, various movements in which they participated and the struggles undertaken by them or even led by them for emancipation of their class, etc.³² This was possible because of the availability of source material which includes biographies, letters, diaries, personal interviews, oral traditions, etc. In addition to these, the survey and statistical reports are also of much help. Medieval period remained unexplored owing to the difficulty of sources wherein

one has to rely on chronicles, literature or archival material which mainly highlighted political or religious aspects.

Among the attempts to project women of medieval India, Rekha Misra's *Women in Moghul India* (1967) becomes the first of its kind. Published in the late sixties of this century, the book covers a complete study of women during the Moghul rule. It highlights the political participation of women. In addition, it also depicts the position of women chiefly of the class of aristocracy, where women lived in isolation. The social, religious and cultural aspects of their lives are also dealt with in detail.

Saroj Gulati, in her *Women and society in Northern India* (1985) presents a detailed analysis of the position and status of women during eleventh and twelfth centuries with reference to various rituals including marriage and their legal status as per Dharmasastras.

A similar attempt is also made by Kamala Gupta in *Social status of Hindu women in Northern India (A.D. 1206-1707)* (1987). She observes that during the rule of Delhi Sultanate and the Mughals, the Hindu women of North India could not remain aloof from the impact of social customs of the Muslim women.

These and such other works³³ prove to be of great help in evaluating the position of women in medieval north and to reconstruct the history of women. However, their scope is limited to northern region alone. No serious attempt has so far

been made to perceive the issues concerning women of south. The paucity is much more with reference to women of Andhra.

Alladi Vaidehi's published work in Telugu, *Āndhradeśamu-Streelu* (Women in Andhra) (1975) discusses about the position and status of women classified into distinct groups from Satavahana period to modern times. This is the earliest among the efforts to bring to light the women of Andhra. The social and economic historians of medieval Andhra, however, discussed women's issues as a separate chapter in their works relating them to discussions on social classes, economic conditions and religious life with emphasis on religious observances and temple rituals.

Suravaram Pratapa Reddy's *Āndhrula Saṁghika Charitra* (A Social History of The People of Andhra) (Reprint, 1982) is a comprehensive account of the society of Andhra. This book is divided into various chapters based on the political history of Andhra and gives a detailed account of the social life of each period. Interesting details about women like the dress and ornamentation patterns, recreations of girls and women, marriage celebrations, religious observances, social customs are discussed in this work. He mentions a specific practice of divorce among the class of soldiers in medieval Andhra taking evidence from the contemporary literary sources.³⁴

Nanduri Venkata Satya Rama Rao presents a socio-cultural history of Andhra through his *Āndhrula Sahityamu Saṁghika Jīvana*

Pratiphalanam (Literature of Andhras, Reflections of Social Life)(1979). Taking evidences from the contemporary literary sources, he talks about such issues of women as her role in the family, the various social institutions, in addition to a detailed account on types of food and dress as mentioned in literary works of the period.

Vaidehi Krishnamoorthy in her *Socio-economic Conditions in Eastern Deccan (A.D. 1000-1250)* (1978) analyses the position of women in Andhra in detail. In the chapter on women, she classifies them into three different categories namely *Kulastreelu* (family women) *Bhōgastreelu* (pleasure women), and *Vēśyalu* (prostitutes).³⁵ She discusses the position and status of each class of women. In addition, she also describes the duties and functions of temple girls and important professions of women. A description of tribal women is also given in the same chapter.

Ootukuri Laxmikanthamma through her *Āndhradēśamu Kavayītrulu* (The Poetesses of Āndhradēśa) (1980) gives a narrative account of the poetesses of Andhra like Prolama, Chanama, Tallapaka Timmakka, Molla, Gangadevi, etc.

K.Laxmikiranjanam and K. Balendusekharam in their work, *Āndhrula Charitra-Samskr̥iti* (History and Culture of Andhras) (1985) highlight the political participation of women in addition to the general discussion on women.

K.Satyanarayana talks about the institution of temple girls and the changing economic status of women corresponding to the religious liberalism through his *A Study of the History and Culture of Andhras* (1975, 1983) published in two volumes. Quoting extensively from the medieval legal text, *Vijnānesūvaramu* of Ketana, he argues that women's right to property was recognised for the first time after Manu.³⁶ He also points out the evils of prostitution a practice prevalent in the society of medieval Andhra.

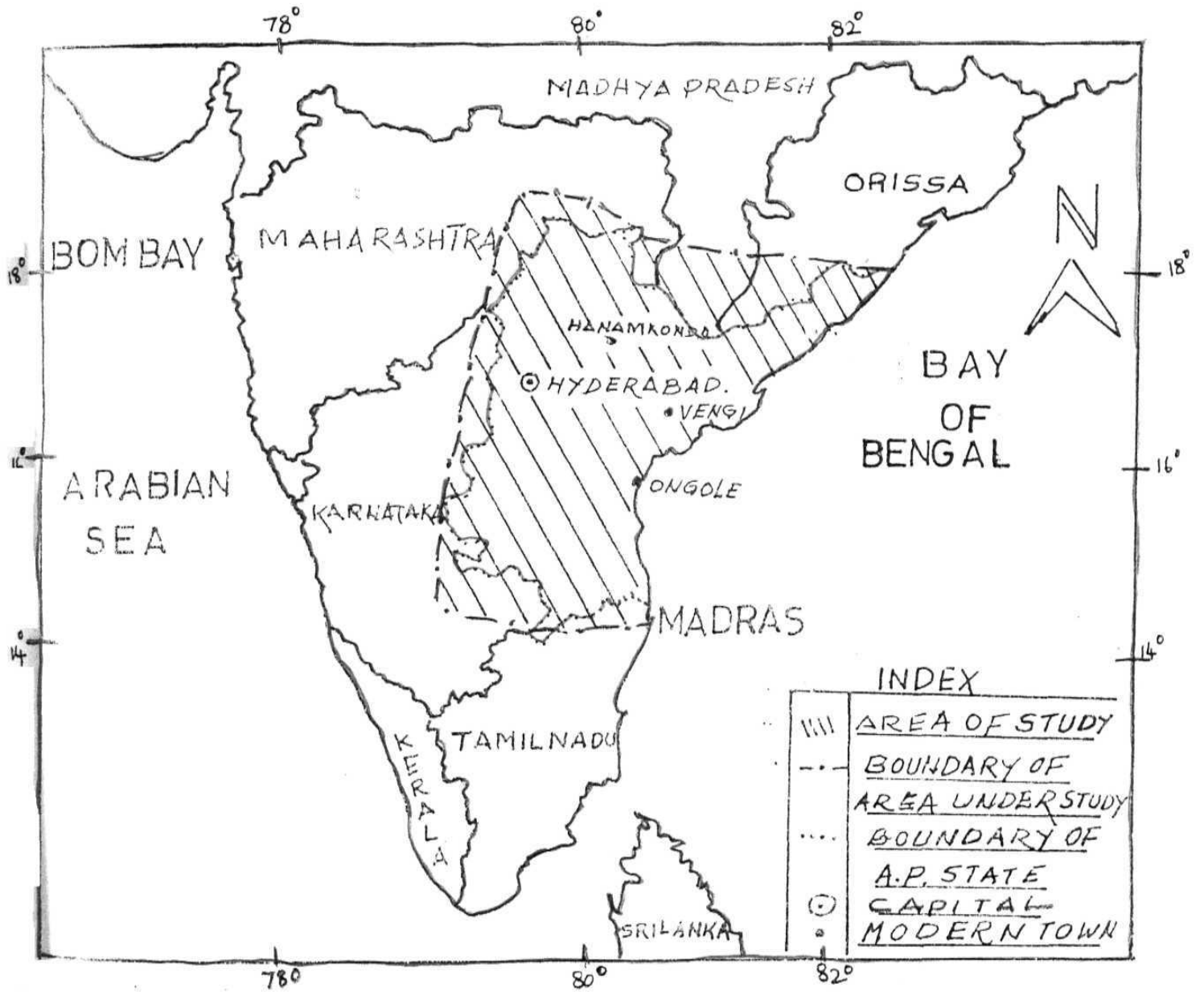
Though women do find mention in all these works, due emphasis is not given to the issues concerning women making them as the central point of discussion. Their observations only marginalised the role of Andhra women. Moreover, much attention was paid to women who were directly involved in politics for example, Rudramadevi, the Kakatiya queen, Nāyakuralu Nagama, the woman behind the war of Paland or Ganapamba, the Kota queen. The religious involvement of women was explained in terms of their giving grants to various temples. Among the professions, that of temple service, concubinage and prostitution were highlighted uniformly.

Even the classification of women into *Kulastree*, *Bhōgastree*, and *Vēśya* is debatable as it does not include in itself women in temple service, women dedicated to temple, common women and forest dwelling women. Moreover, issues like women involvement in state formation, their role in agriculture and other professions like dairy farming, weaving, are not touched upon.

Taking these aspects into consideration, an attempt is being made in this thesis to study about women vis-a-vis the society in Āndhra during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, A.D.

The region of the present study is confined to Āndhradēśa as defined by K.Sundaram in his *Studies in the Social and Economic Conditions of Medieval Āndhradēśa (A.D.1000-1500)* (1968). According to him, the area extending from Mahendragiri in the north to Kalahasti in the south and from Bay of Bengal in the east to Srisaillam in the west constituted Āndhradēśa. Kakatiyas, the major ruling power during the period however extended their frontiers to neighbouring areas up to Bidar, Kolar in the west and Kanchi in the south. Hanumakonda and Ōṛugallu were their capitals and Āndhra became the core region for their political activity (Map I).

MAP I



AREA OF STUDY: ĀNDHRADEŚA

METHODOLOGY AND THE SOURCES FOR THE STUDY

The period from 11th to 13th centuries in the history of Āndhra is important because it is a transition stage between the early medieval and late medieval periods. Feudal elements were becoming strong in the state formation and their influence pervaded all spheres of society and economy. The rise of Kakatiyas to power with their base in Telāṅgāna is another important development of the period. They brought political unification of Āndhra and made Āndhra region central to the state formation. Further, they achieved perfect synthesis between the native and classical traditions by introducing several cultural variations.

Therefore, through the present study, *Women in Medieval Andhra (Eleventh to thirteenth centuries A.D.)* a modest attempt is made to study how various changes of the period in Āndhra were experienced by women and in turn affected the main stream of historical process.

The analysis is being done by classifying women into two broad categories the 'elite' and the 'folk' and effort is made to study the different tensions that were developed within these two groups. As the aim of Kakatiyas was *Mārga, Dēśi* synthesis,³⁷ it is inevitable to study the socio-cultural and religious processes which served as a bridge linking the two groups in the society.

The basic criteria adopted for this division of women into elite and folk is the economic factor. The ruling landed

aristocracy, different grades of feudal chiefs, wealthy merchants, etc., comprise the class of elite enjoying a higher socio-economic status in the society.³⁸ The word folk is used to denote a particular group of women who were different from the upper sections of the society and those who have a common element to share with, for example their weak economic status. Women belonging to the groups of petty peasants, artisan communities and other lower orders of the society including the forest dwelling women can be placed under this category.³⁹ The meaning of the word is not restricted only to a section of rural women and women from tribal society. In other words, elite women are those who were represented in the 'Sanskritic tradition'⁴⁰ and the folk women are those represented in the 'Common tradition'.⁴¹

The methodology necessitates intensive research into different historical source material, literatures, oral or written, folklore and other fields.⁴² The process of action and interaction in the interplay of various forces should be patiently noticed and their effect on society should be traced.⁴³ With these aspects in view, a contextual reading of the source material is done reorienting the theories to suit the present study. For this purpose the literature of fourteenth and fifteenth centuries such as *Kriṣṇābhīrāmamu*, *Palanaṭi Vīracharitra*, *Pratāparudracharitra* is referred to arrive at a complete picture of women's experiences and a study of institutions like marriage and family. At the same time this is taken up with the idea that the society doesn't change radically and its institutions take a long time frame to shape up. The

archival sources are used through the concept of 'Post-modernism'.⁴⁴ An extensive bibliography of the sources has been prepared. The sources utilised for the study are divided into Inscriptions, Archival Material, Literary works and Published works.

Inscriptions

They are available in the form of published volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions* (Volumes-IV,V,VI and X). All Telugu and a few Sanskrit inscriptions which belonged to the period of study are selected. In addition, the district wise collection of inscriptions (for example, Cuddapah, Karimnagar, Kurnool, Nellore, etc.), Volumes of *Hyderabad Archaeological Series* (numbers XIII and XIX), *Epigraphia Andhrīca* (Volumes - I to V), *Inscriptions of Andhradesa* (Volumes- I and II) are also checked to ensure correctness of interpretations. *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* are also consulted to clear the ambiguities.

Archival Material

A few Kaifiyats, that of *Hanumakonda*, *Velugōṭivāri Vamsāvali*, etc., are referred to get recorded versions of oral traditions of Kakatiya history.

Literary Works

Several literary works of the period are available to us in the printed form. Important of those include,

ANDHRA MAHABHARATAMU: Telugu rendering of the Sanskrit epic Mahabharata undertaken by Nannaya and Tikkana is an important source for the present study. The work besides giving a picture of socio-political life specially of elite women, also indicates attempts of the rulers to bring religious integration.

KUMARASAMBHAVAMU: A translatory work by Nannechoda a Telugu Choda chief of Konidena region. But for the theme, the picturisation and depiction of life are reflective of the social life of Āndhradēśa during the period of composition of the work. The life of prostitutes is described in detail. The poet provides information also about the pattern of education rendered to the girls and their pastime activities.

KEYŪRABĀHUCHARITRAMU : Written by Manchana, based on the story of *Vidhasalabhanjika* of Rajasekhara. It provides the insights of the life of women and prostitution as a profession.

MĀNASOLLASA (ABHILASHITĀRDHACHINTĀMAṆI): Somēśvaradēva, the Western Chalukyan emperor is the composer of this great piece of literature. Written in Sanskrit, it contains plethora of information about the life of ruling elite, their dress and adornment patterns, food, attendants, recreations and such other matters.

SIVATATVASĀRAMU : Written by Mallikarjuna Paṇḍitārādhyā, the book contains the philosophy of Virasaivism and the liberties sanctioned by the religion to women.

SRI PAṆḌITĀRĀDHYACHARITRA: Written by Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha, a poet of later half of thirteenth century, the work is about the life of Mallikarjuna Paṇḍitarādhya, the propounder of Āradhya sect in Āndhra. Further, the poet gives information about the religious rivalry of the period, life and conditions of prostitutes, women going for pilgrimages along with their husbands and also about the social life and folk medicine.

BASAVAPURĀṆAMU: A hagiography of the Virasaiva saint Basavēśvara composed by Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha. Besides giving the details of the philosophy of Virasaivism, this book is a reflection of the contemporary social life. It gives an idea of the religious participation of common women through religious assemblies.

VIJNĀNEŚVARAMU: Written by Ketana, a thirteenth century poet and a disciple of Tikkana. This is a Telugu translation of *Mitākshara* of Vijnāneśvara, court poet of Western Chalukyan emperor Vikramaditya. This book serves the purpose of a comprehensive legal digest of medieval period. A good source to learn about the property rights of women and protection given by the state to the institutions of concubinage and prostitution.

DASAKUMARACHARITRAMU: Also by the same author, this book, is a translation of the work of Dandi. Syllabi of education for the children of royal families, details of the institution of prostitution, the feelings of *Vēśyamātha* (mothers of the *Vēśyas*) are described in this work.

RANGANĀTHA RĀMĀYAṆAMU: Gona Buddhareddy and his sons Kacha and Vittala are the authors of this book. It contains certain oral traditions which were in practice in Āndhra during that period. The practice of Sati, celebration of marriage and such other details can be known through this book.

PRATĀPARUDRA YASŌBHŪSHANAMU: Vidyānātha, a court poet of Prataparudra-II composed this *Alaṅkāra* work in Saṅkṛit. It gives us an idea about the general attitude towards women in a feudal political setup. Its Telugu translation by Chelamacharla Rangacharyulu is taken as the source.

KRIDĀBHIRĀMAMU: A street play the author ship of which is attributed to Vinukonda Vallabharāya as well as Srinatha. It is a valuable piece of information about urban life in the city of Warangal during the Kakatiya period. Information about different professions of women, the religious observances practised by them and about the legal sanctions for prostitution can be gathered from this work.

PALANAṬI VĪRACHARITRA: Written by Srinatha, a fifteenth century poet. The story is a recorded version of the war of Palanāḍu, held during the last quarter of twelfth century. We also learn about the nature of feudal polity and other political traditions wherein women were involved to a great extent.

SIMHĀSANADVĀTRĪŚĪKA: Koravi Goparāju composed this work. It provides information about the various aspects of political life of the period and women's role in political matters.

PRATĀPARUDRA CHARITRA: Written by Ekāmrānātha, a chronicler of Kakatiyas, who belonged to the fourteenth century. A good source of information about Kakatiya polity. It gives us details of Rudramadevi's administrative policies and about the syllabi of education for children of the royal families besides throwing light on the general conditions of the Kakatiya rule.

ŚRI SIDDHĒŚVARA CHARITRAMU: Composed by Kase Sarvappa, also a chronicler of Kakatiyas. It is a valuable source for Kakatiya history. Much information regarding the administrative policies of Kakatiya rulers can be gathered from this book.

SAKALANĪTISAMHATAMU : A compilation of verses of moral instinct by Madiki Singana. Though he belonged to the later period he collected verses which were popular in Āndhra by his time and included them in his work. They concern political diplomacy, importance of education among royal class and the qualities to be developed by king.

Published Works

In addition most of the published works on the history of Kakatiyas are analysed to ensure totality of the picture. The collection of P.V. Kane's *History of Dharmasastras* (Volumes I to V), Buhlar's *Collected works on Manu from the Sacred books of the East* series edited by F. Maxmuller are also consulted to get a clear picture of the legal status of women in India.

Field Work

Field work is also undertaken to supplement the observations. Important Kakatiya temples (like Ramappa temple, Thousand pillar temple) are visited to document women depicted in various sculptures. Field work is also taken up at Warangal to get information about the historicity of *Sammakka-Sārāmma jātara* which was said to have been instituted by Prataparudra-II. In addition copies of photographs of women in temple sculptures have been collected from the albums available in the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of A.P., Hyderabad, to know more about the dress, ornamentation styles, activities in which women were involved and such other information.

CHAPTERISATION

All the available data is analysed and observations are divided into different chapters based on the subject matter of discussion.

The first chapter, *Introduction* includes discussions on the need and significance of women's history, historiographical sketch of women's studies in general and history in particular. Further the aim, methodology, sources and gist of the contents of the remaining chapters are outlined.

The second chapter titled, *Geo-political Milieu* is an attempt to understand the geo-ecological features of Āndhra region, resulting in the formation of different cultural zones

and their influence on the socio-political formation of the contemporary times. This study is essential to have a clear view of women's involvement in political formations. In addition, the different schools of state formation and the varying kingship relations are also discussed here.

The third chapter, *Women and Polity* discusses the legal rights of women for political succession and the need for women's participation in matters of state. The involvement of women both elite and folk communities in political affairs of Āndhradēśa is discussed under active or direct and passive or indirect role. Further, the views of the contemporary society towards women's place in polity, nature of political marriages, expressing feudal loyalties in terms of family relations are also described.

The fourth chapter, *Professions and Property Rights* gives details of the occupational activities of women. While elite women were known for their political participation, women generally of the weak economic groups of the society took to various professions. These ranged from direct occupations like royal service, temple service, concubinage to prostitution. They were also taking up petty business activities like running inns, or street vending. While this was the direct role, the indirect contribution of women belonging to artisan class in their respective craft occupations was however almost continuous though not a paid job. Our study of the professions of prostitution and concubinage are aimed at understanding the limitations of these women and the control of the state. At the

end the chapter also attempts to link the economic independence of women achieved through their economic activities with the property rights allowed to them by the tradition.

The fifth chapter, *Women and Education* deals with the two modes of learning, the formal and informal with respect to women. It also describes the influence of political conditions and professional requirements on the syllabi of education for various classes of women. The role of bhakti movement and the liberal religious outlook of the period in bringing religious education closer to women specially of lower strata of the society is also outlined.

The contents of the sixth chapter, *Religious and Social Observances* include, the various rituals and observances both sacred and secular practised by women and the impact of radical religious sects like Virasaivism in liberalising the rules.

The seventh chapter, *Dress and Ornaments* discusses the reflections of environmental influences, occasion and professional demands and the socio-economic status on the dress and ornamentation patterns adopted by women. The typography of various ornaments is given. The preference given to use of cosmetics by elite women, mode of preparation of cosmetics using domestic products are also described.

The eighth chapter, *Performing Arts and Recreations* discusses the attempts of the rulers (Kakatiyas) to bring cultural integration through performing arts and recreations.

The aim of Kakatiyas, as cited earlier was *Māṅga-Dēśi* syncretism and therefore there appears to be a great assimilation of elite as well as folk traditions in every aspect of Kakatiya history, polity and religion. The same trend was also witnessed in the pastime activities and performing arts that were developed during the period. The native dance styles and tunes of music were incorporated into the classical tradition by the temple girls. Similarly, most of the recreations of the children of the street made their way into royal palaces and houses of the elite. These issues are discussed in the chapter in relation to women.

In the last chapter, broad *Conclusions* are drawn from the study. The observations of the study are supported through charts, plates and sketches wherever necessary.

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say the world of the man is the state, the world of the man is his commitment, his struggle on behalf of the community, we could then perhaps say that the world of the woman is a smaller world. For her world is her husband, her family, her children and her home. But where would the big world be if no-one wanted to look after the small world? How could the big world continue to exist, if there was no-one to make the task of caring for the small world at the centre of their lives? No, the big world rests upon the small world! The big world cannot survive if the small world is not secure".

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35. Vaidehi Krishnamoorthy, *Socio-Economic Conditions in Eastern Deccan, (A.D.1000-1250)*, (Hyderabad, 1970).
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37. P.S. Kanakadurga, *Kākatīyulanāṭi Samājika Jīvanamu*, (Vijayawada, 1992), p.1. *Marga* can be defined as the tradition recorded in the Sanskrit texts. *Desi* is the tradition which belonged to the native people of Andhra region.
38. The concept of elite is used to describe certain fundamental features of organised social life. All societies whether single or complex, agricultural or industrial need authorities within. Elites are those minorities which are set apart from the rest of the society by their pre-eminence in one or more of these various distributions, such as the ruling caste, aristocracy, strategic white or the ruling class, etc. R. David Sills, *International Encyclopaedia of Social*

- Sciences, Vol. V, (New York, 1972), pp.26-29. Also B.N.S Yadava, 'Problem of the Interaction between Socio-economic classes in the Early medieval context', in D.N. Jha, (ed.), *Feudal Social Formation in Early India*, (Delhi, 1987) pp.198-219.
39. Folk society is a homogeneous society with a strong sense of group solidarity. The ways of living are conventionalised into that coherent system which is called a culture. Behaviour is traditional, spontaneous, uncritical, personal with no legislature or habit of experiment. Familial group is the unit of action. The sacred prevails over the secular. Certain common features can be found among folk peoples such as their lower economic status. David R. Sills, *Op.cit.*, Vol.III, p.177. Also, B.N.S Yadava, *Op.cit.*, pp.198-219.
40. 'Sanskritic tradition' is the recorded version which is preserved in the literature of any period. This can be utilised as a source for the study of the practices, beliefs of upper classes of the society.
41. 'Native Tradition' is not recorded in the form of texts, but is preserved through 'Oral tradition' (songs, ballads, folklore, etc.) Sometimes it comes through the practices referred to by the poets in their works, which are included under Sanskritic tradition. In other words, Marga is the Sanskritic tradition and Desi the Native tradition and that which was generally practised by the people of common strata of the society. Further it is a localised tradition.
42. M.A. Ansari, 'Problems of Writing Medieval Social History' in *Problems of Historical Writing in India*, Proceedings of Seminar, India International Centre, (Delhi, 21st to 25th January 1963), pp.30-34.
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44. 'Post- modernism' is a powerful configuration of new sentiments and thoughts. Connected with post-structuralism, Post-industrialism, it had advocated new parameters on social, cultural, political, and intellectual criticism. Originated around early 1970's, this new thinking had entered into several debates. David Harvey in his, *The Condition of*

Postmodernity, (U.K., 1990), presents the features of modernism and post-modernism as contrasting each other. Not going into those debates, in its supposed opposition to all forms of metanarratives including Marxism, freudianism and others and its close attention to other worlds and 'Other voices' that have for too long been silenced (such as those of women, blacks, colonised peoples with their own histories), the idea of post-modernism is linked with women's studies or feminist arguments for a women's history. The post-modernists' style is simply to view any work as a 'text' with its own particular rhetoric and idiolect but which can in principle be compared with any other text of no matter what sort. It is in this connection, inscriptions and archival material is analysed taking into consideration their subjectivity.

CHAPTER II

GEO - POLITICAL MILIEU

The period from eleventh to thirteenth centuries in Āndhradēśa, is characterised by several political developments. The most prominent of which was the shift in political activity from coastal region to interior Āndhra. Earlier, Āndhra region, specially the deltaic strip formed the peripheral part of the empires either in Karnataka, as in the case of Western Chalukyas or Tamilnadu as in the case of Chalukya - Cholas. The upland region was seldom incorporated as it was sparsely settled. The rise of Kakatiyas to power with their base at Telāṅgāṇa region brought prominent political changes. With the imperial control now at the heart of Āndhra country, a significant change was witnessed in the status of Āndhra. Moreover, the period marks a transition stage between the early medieval and the late medieval periods in the political picture of Āndhra. Feudal elements were becoming strongly based in the state formation and their influence can be noticed in all spheres of society and economy.

To understand these changes in detail and to examine the part played by women at various levels in the polity, it becomes necessary to look at the geography of Āndhradēśa and the nature of the state that existed during early medieval period in this region. There must be a tendency to explain cultural development in terms of environment or of resources, because, the history of a given region is very much determined by the geo-ecological and environmental factors of that region.¹ Similarly, physical features like location, climate, hilly areas, rivers, forests,

all these shape the cultural, socio-economic and political history.² Recent studies made on medieval south India by scholars like, Brain J. Murton, David Washbrook, C.J.Becker and Burton Stein stressed the importance of the study of geo-ecological factors to understand the nature of historical formations.³ In the light of the above discussion, an attempt is made to understand the geography of Āndhra region to begin with and study the political development in relation to it. The region of present study corresponds to Āndhra region as cited earlier, extended from Bay of Bengal in the east to Srisaillam in the west, Mahendragiri and Kalahasti comprising the north and south boundaries.⁴ Kakatiyas (A.D. 1150-1323) extended the empire to the whole of Āndhradēśa from the south of Godavari to the north of Kaveri.⁵ Further, their authority was spread to Bay of Bengal in the east, Bidar in the north-west, Raichur in the west and Kolar in the south-west.⁶ Geographically, it is a peneplained country forming a part of the Deccan peninsula and chiefly composed of a basement of the pre-Cambrian gneisses.⁷ Forming the lower basin of Krishna and Godavari rivers,⁸ the country stretched far back to the Deccan plateau, thus causing to it a great physical dichotomy, which was reflected in its political history.⁹

Within Āndhradēśa, three distinct ecological zones can be identified, the Godavari-Krishna deltaic region which was a bone of contention between various political powers, the Telāṅgāṇa and the region comprising modern Rāyalaseema which were a long belt

of peneplains and undulated plain surfaces intersected by almost completely graded river valleys.¹⁰ The semi-arid region stretching across the Telangāṇa and Rāyalaseema was inhabited by pastoral communities and supported dry farming.¹¹

Hills

Stretching along the eastern line of Āndhradēśa, there lie a series of broken chains of elongated hills forming a large crescent belt coinciding with the outcrops of Cuddapah and lower Vindhyan systems.¹² This hill range is widely referred to as Eastern ghats.¹³ To the south of river Krishna these hills are grouped as Nallamalai, Velikonda, Erṇamalai, Śēshāchalam and Pālakonda ranges. They bear a thin forest cover owing to scanty rainfall and porous nature of rocks. These hills were generally inhabited by the tribal settlements like kōya, śabara, chenchu, etc.

Rivers and Rainfall

The whole of Āndhra region is drained by three principal river systems. They are the Godavari, the Krishna and the Pennar. Godavari takes its birth in the Vindhya ranges and enters Telangāṇa. After collecting waters from its tributaries the river takes a south-eastern direction and enters the Bay of Bengal. Originating from the Western ghats and flowing through the north-eastern direction, river Krishna enters into the Eastern sea. Along the valleys formed by the flow of these two rivers, through the eastern hill ranges, lay fertile regions suitable for rich rice cultivation.¹⁴ River Pennar along with its

tributaries flows in the northern direction but takes a right angular bend in the Nandyal basin. There it takes an eastern course again. The streams of this river carved a number of wide valleys in the southern Āndhra region.¹⁵

The amount of total annual rainfall gradually decreases from north-east to south-west monsoon.¹⁶ Coastal region received the highest range of rainfall. Telāṅgāna remained dry almost throughout the year with deficit rainfall. This is due to its location at a high altitude and due to long range of hills throughout the region. Rāyalaseema too is a rain shadowed area for both the monsoons because of its location between the two uplands, the Karnataka plateau in the west and the Āndhra ghats in the East.¹⁷ As such the region remained semi-arid to some extent.

Forests

Āndhradēśa particularly Telāṅgāna region was inhabited by a dense forest, during the medieval period, as suggested by inscriptional and literary evidences. The region surrounding Hanumakonda and Warangal was covered by dense forests with many trees.¹⁸ Similarly, the Papikonda region was also thickly forested and was referred to as Malaya region.¹⁹ The areas along the foot hills of Eastern ghats too were enveloped by woodland forests and thickets. However, much of the forest region was cut down by the Kakatiya monarchs as well as their feudatories in the process of extending habitable and cultivable areas.

Inscriptional evidences abound, of several villages established by the ruling chiefs after clearing waste lands and forests.²⁰ At the same time, recourse had been taken to maintain the ecological balance through raising groves and gardens.²¹

Soils & Vegetation

There is a regional variation in the soil pattern of Āndhradēśa. We find four different types of soils as the red soil, black cotton soil, laterite and the alluvial soil. The red soil is spread along the eastern Āndhra, Rāyalaseema and parts of Nellore and Guntur districts.²² It is fairly cultivated. In major parts of Telāṅgāṇa the red sandy loam prevails which is subject to heavy erosion and has poor monsoon retention capacity.²³ Therefore, new improved techniques of farming were introduced by rulers to make the region productive. Black cotton soils are found as narrow strips or at few places as wider patches mostly in north Telāṅgāṇa and in Kurnool, Cuddapah and Mahaboobnagar areas.²⁴ In these soils, the fertility content though good is very much influenced by the local topographical features. The laterite soil is found in the Hyderabad region and is very poor in its fertility.²⁵ One sees the alluvial soils only along the course of Godavari and Krishna rivers.²⁶ These are the most fertile lands.

The differences in the amount of rainfall, forest coverage and other geographical factors determine the population density, size and spacing of settlements in addition to influencing the

cropping patterns. The agricultural lands of Āndhra region can thus be divided into three categories: The wetlands spread along the Krishna-Godavari deltaic region of coastal Āndhra where the settlements were small with linear arrangement (linear clusters),²⁷ The dry lands of Telāṅgāṇa where irrigational facilities were provided through rain fed tanks or reservoirs. Groups of 6 to 7 villages developed surrounding these water resources, each dependent on the other for their social and economic necessities. These settlements are referred to as nucleated settlements.²⁸ To the third category belonged the semi-arid lands of Telāṅgāṇa - Rāyalaseema transition zone which bore a thick forest coverage. The settlements here were in an isolated pattern and mostly inhabited by pastoral and tribal communities.²⁹

Contemporary epigraphs refer to the wet and dry lands as the principal agricultural lands. Wet lands are further mentioned as *Varipolamu*,³⁰ *Māgāṇi Kshētram*,³¹ *Nīru Nēla*³² or *Jalakshētram*.³³ Similarly, the dry lands were otherwise referred to as *Velipolamu*,³⁴ *Mettapolamu*,³⁵ *Garavu Bhūmi*,³⁶ etc. In addition to these, we also find other types of lands as *Kuṇṭa*, (a square measure of land where cattle graze),³⁷ *Tomṭa Bhūmulu* or *Pushpavatika* (the garden lands where flower and fruit trees are grown).³⁸ Few records refer to *Chilka Bhūmi* which could probably be a shallow land newly brought under cultivation.³⁹

Corresponding to the geo-ecological features, distinct cultural zones can be identified.⁴⁰ Generally in the wet lands, agricultural practices were almost regular. Being areas of advanced rice agriculture under prestigious cultivating brahman groups, they gave rise to peasant culture. The land holdings were usually small and agriculture was practiced on labour intensive method in these lands. As such, there was scope for labour and boundary disputes. Inscriptions of the period refer to several such disputes in the coastal region.⁴¹ The produce on land being high, several varieties of land taxes were collected. The population density too was high making it difficult for the kings to exercise complete coercive control in these regions. For this reason, imperial rulers depended on feudatories who were assigned with rulership rights over these political fragments.⁴²

On the other hand nucleated settlements of dry zone necessitated rise of peasant-warrior culture with more or less shallow caste hierarchies. The land holdings were big because of non-availability of water, less fertile soil and other climatic fluctuations. Under these circumstances, it becomes difficult for the peasants to pay the taxes, as also for the government to collect. Therefore, revenue powers were delegated by the kings to local potentates who later emerged as peasant warrior groups. Their important function apart from cultivation was to protect the lands from the incursions of the tribal and pastoral people from outside. In the long run, these peasant-warrior groups gained prominence in their locality and kings began giving them

more rights and powers which enabled them to rise to the supra-local level. At this level, they acted as buffer groups between the king and the local peasant-warrior groups and enhanced their status to that of *māṇḍalika* (a local chieftain with administration/revenue rights, power to assume titles, owing nominal allegiance to the king).⁴³ The stability of the kingdom depended upon the relationship between these *māṇḍalikas* with the central power. Based on the controlling power of the central authority, they change their allegiances. If the central power was feeble, they immediately emerged as independent chiefs.⁴⁴

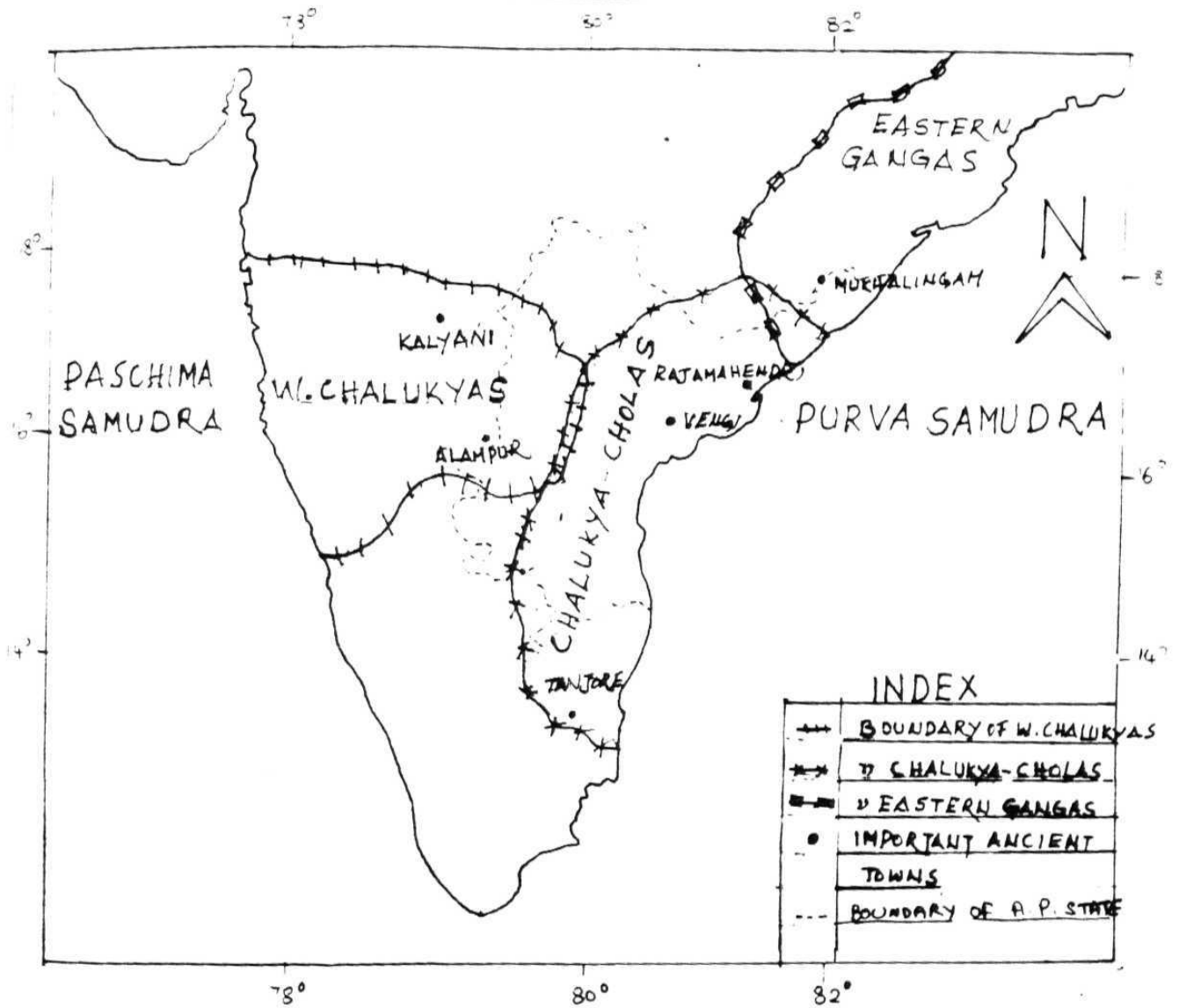
The isolated settlements comprised tribal areas of dry agriculture and herding in which social distinctions paved way to small scattered politics under petty chiefs. One such instance can be that of the Kōya chiefs of Polavasa region forming independent political unit.⁴⁵ Thus, while the wet zone economy was responsible for the rise of a feudal political structure, the dry zone economy led to the rise of rural landed aristocracy.⁴⁶ Effective control on the forest zones was, however, manipulated inducting dharmic ideologies and 'Brahmanisation' processes involving the brahman priests, sectarian leaders and temples to integrate the tribal and pastoral communities.⁴⁷

From the above discussion it appears that variations in geo-ecological factors relate to the various developments of state formation. Different structural models are proposed by different historians during their study of medieval political

structure and state formation, which ranged from unitary, feudal or segmentary and pyramidal power structures.⁴⁸ In relation to these different models of state varies the nature of kingship too that prevailed in India till late medieval times. They are heroic, dharmic and ritual kingships, based on the pyramidal power structure survived on brahman-kshatriya alliances.⁴⁹

By ninth century gift giving had replaced Vedic sacrifices and was considered as the most valued means to obtain religious merit, thus becoming the constitutive ritual of royal authority itself.⁵⁰ By gifts to temples, brahmins, men of authority (ruling chiefs) established their virtue and ensured prosperity of their kingdom, creating at the same time, a moral basis of authority. This system of gift exchange kept goods and people in circulation in a particular pattern and also acted as a means of maintaining political relationships.⁵¹ The ritualised tribute payments made local leaders as members of royal alliance net work. Further, they received the titles from the royal authority and gained superiority over local rivals. These two authorities, the kings and the local leaders depended upon one another for their positions. The kings were in need of ambitious and resourceful chiefs to stabilise their royal powers and to carry out gifts on their part. The chiefs in their turn needed kings to legitimise their shares in tributes received from the subjects. In other words, the power structure in such a state operates through a dual sovereignty, the coercive and the ritual.⁵² This phenomenon is specifically observed in Āndhradēśa during eleventh to thirteenth centuries.

MAP II



POLITICAL BOUNDARIES OF THE PRE-KAKATIYA DYNASTIES

Earlier to Kakatiyas, Āndhradēśa for most of the time was not under one unified political authority, though the region was supposedly extended from Bay of Bengal in the east to Srisaillam in the west and in the north upto Mahendragiri, south upto Kalahasti.⁵³ Āndhra formed peripheral part of the empires of Chalukya-Cholas, Western Chalukyas and Eastern Gangas of Kalinga who ruled their respective portions in Āndhra through their feudatory chiefs (Map II).

During the later years of Eastern Chalukya rule, there were political upheavals due to frequent Western Chalukya intrusions into Vēṅgi. This resulted in their establishment of marriage alliances with the imperial Cholas (Tanjore) and the foundation of a new Chalukya-Chola line of kings beginning with Kulottunga Chola. The empire of Kulottunga Chola extended from Kanchi in the south to Godavari valley in the north along the coastal tract of Andhradesa.⁵⁴ Their seat of power was Kanchi and they ruled their portions of Āndhra through viceroys settled in Āndhra. These royal representatives sought political allegiances from the local feudatories such as the Chodas of Velanadu, the Kolanu chiefs, Kondapadumatis, the Kota chiefs and the Chagis. Western Chalukyas who replaced Rashtrakutas by A.D. 973 emerged into a great imperial power with the extension of their borders from Karnataka into Telāṅgāṇa. Their seat of power was Kalyani and they too followed the policy of ruling parts of Āndhra region conquered by them through local power groups giving them feudatory status. Important among them were, the Chalukya chiefs

of Mudigonda, the Paramaras, the Bottu chiefs of Koravi, the Natavadis and the Kakatiyas.

The political history of Āndhra during this period is thus characterised by internecine wars among the feudatories of these two major political powers for supremacy over one another and their frequent shifting of political boundaries as well as their feudal allegiances. This internecine war-fare is most marked in the war of Palanadu (A.D. 1176-1182) fought between the brothers of Haihaya dynasty but in which almost all the *māṇḍalika* chiefs participated on one side or the other.⁵⁵ The resultant effect was the end of *māṇḍalika* era and the rise of Kakatiyas as an imperial power.

Kakatiyas were earlier feudatories under Rashtrakutas and later to the Western Chalukyas. They declared themselves as sovereigns of Āndhra during the period of Rudradeva - I by (A.D. 1158-1163-1195) and began extending their control into the Eastern ghats and deltaic coastal Āndhra.⁵⁶ By the time of Ganapatideva (A.D. 1199-1261), Kakatiyas emerged as the dominant power over whole of Andhradesa. In the process of expansion of territories (frontiers), they had to struggle hard with the rival contenders for power namely the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga in the north coast, the Pandyas of Madurai in the south coast as also the Yadavas of the west. The control of Kakatiyas at its peak extended to entire Āndhra with their seat of power at Ōṛugallu (Warangal). It also included parts of northern Kaveri region and parts of Raichur and Kolar districts (Map III).

MAP III



POLITICAL BOUNDARIES OF THE KAKATIYAS

Like their predecessors Kakatiyas controlled their frontiers through feudatories and dominant peasant-warrior groups. Their attempts to bring in political integration are most prominent from the period of Ganapatideva, who created a post of *Bāhattara Niyōgādhipati* (head of 72 units) as part of his policy of stabilising the empire.⁵⁷ The subjugated nobles were given feudatory status and their relations with the centre were further strengthened through the policy of marriage alliances. During the later part of Kakatiya rule, Rudramadevi (A.D. 1262-1289) continuing her father's policies, instituted the *Nāyaṅkara* system of revenue authority based on military fiscal control. Through this system an attempt was made to incorporate people of peasant-warrior class into the political net work and to check the defection of subordinate nobles from becoming independent.⁵⁸ This system was further developed by her successor and the last ruler Pratapa Rudra II (A.D. 1290-1323).⁵⁹

Due to the effective political control brought about by Kakatiyas, the structure of political economy by and large remained unaltered. Trade was extensively developed with royal patronage and rise of temple as an important economic institution. Both foreign and inland trade prospered greatly through mercantile guilds and associations which became very powerful and wielded unlimited powers. They enjoyed full autonomy in the internal management of their affairs. There was a clear appropriation of surplus produce from agriculture and forest products through instituting boarding houses attached to

temples and monasteries. With the rise of Kakatiya state, there was a shift in the nuclear areas from plain fertile regions to high and thickly forested regions.⁶⁰ Various factors are responsible for this, such as, the development of technology, growth of population resulting in colonisation in the high lands, growing importance to trade and industrial development, developing agrarian potentials by various methods like deforestation and afforestation, provision of irrigation methods through tanks and wells, etc. Moreover, Telangāna offered a safe location for the Kakatiyas being located at a distance, from the powerful empires of the Eastern Gangas, Hoyasalas, Pandyas and Yadavas who were known for their almost continuous intrusions into Āndhra.⁶¹ They continued their conquest of east and extension of empire in the north eastern region which was more fertile to ensure a sufficient resource base for the Kakatiya state to become a welfare state.⁶²

Kakatiya kings organised administrative divisions of their kingdom in such a way as to maintain stable and well balanced relationships with the local chieftains and feudatories through extension of coercive, ritual and dharmic control. Middle Telangāna region formed the core zone from where they controlled their dominions in entire Āndhra with their seat of power initially at Hanumakonda and later at Warangal. Within this core region, the king ruled directly through his ministers, maintained many of his political supporters and royal relatives through land grants and recruited bulk of officials from the local peasant-warrior groups.⁶³

Next to the core region lay the zone of provinces, the authority of which was placed under revenue administrative and chiefs with titles like *Mahāsāmantha*, *Mahāmandalēśvara*.⁶⁴ Farther from the zone of provinces was the zone of tributaries in the eastern and southern Āndhra where the royal authority faded away into a mere ritual hegemony.⁶⁵⁾

Thus the king's control at the centre was coercive but on the peripheral zones was ritual, where he depended on feudatories for the settlement of the frontiers of the state. Further control on eastern Āndhra was brought through establishing marriage alliances with powerful ruling chiefs of the region as the Kotas and Chalukyas of Nidadavolu. Effective check on peripheral forest zones was brought about by Kakatiyas through the process of land reclamation and dharmic ideology. It was in these attempts by the royal authorities of maintaining a ritual relationship between the various power loci of the state such as the peasant-warrior groups, the non-brahmanical sectarian leaders, heads of mercantile guilds and indigenous forest peoples that women played a greater role. Significantly women from royal families actively engaged in welfare activities like construction of tanks, making endowments to temples or religious institutions and sectarian leaders thus enforcing ritual authority on the regions of their domain. Moreover, as the kings were, for most of the time away from the kingdom participating in the ensuing wars of feudal obligations, their women had to exercise authority over the administrative functions. At times,

they were directly handling the issues of political concern in the capacity of co-regents or as guardians for minor chiefs. Instances are also many where they were made instrumental in linking various ruling powers through political marriages.

From the above discussion it can be surmised that the nature of state and polity in Āndhradēśa necessitated involvement of women both of the elite and common categories to a greater extent in the political affairs of the state, the nature of which is discussed in the succeeding chapter.

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3. For details, David Ludden, *Peasant History in South India*, (Delhi, 1989), Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval India* (Delhi, 1980), etc.
4. K. Sundaram, *Studies in the Social and Economic Conditions of Medieval Andhradesa (A.D.1000-1500)*, (Machilipatnam, 1965), p.1.
5. M.L.K. Murthy, Presidential Address, 'Environment, Royal Policy and Social Formation in the Eastern Ghats, South India (A.D. 1000-1500)', In *IHC*, 53rd Session, (Warangal 13-15th February, 1993), pp. 614-631.
6. P.S. Kanakadurga, *Kākatīyulanāṭi Sāmājika Jīvanamu*, (Vijayawada, 1992), p.5.
7. M.L.K. Muthry, *Op.cit.*, p.616.
8. B. Subba Rao, *Personality of India*, (Baroda, 1958), p.16.
9. O.H.K. Spate, A.T.A. Learmonth and B.H. Farmer, *India Pakistan and Ceylon; The Regions*, (Bombay, 1972), p.683 and p.715.
10. R.L. Singh, *Op.cit.*, 1989, p.825.
11. M.L.K. Murthy, *Op.cit.*, p.616.
12. R.L. Singh, *Op.cit.*, 1989, p.824.
13. O.H.K. Spate, *Op.cit.*, 1972, p.24.
14. The contemporary Inscriptional and literary sources, talk about the rich fertility content of the lands on either side of the river Godavari and the Godavari-Krishna deltaic region. Rice of *Kappurapu Bhōgi* variety, Sugarcane, Cereal crops, fruit and coconut trees were chiefly grown in these lands.
15. R.L. Singh, *Op.cit.*, 1989, p.825.
16. *Ibid.*, p.827.
17. *Ibid.*

18. Hanumakonda Kaifiat, *Meckenzie Manuscripts*, Vol. XXVI, p.117.
19. M. Venkata Rangayya, (ed.), *Telugu Vijnāna Sarvasvamu, Telugu Saṁskṛiti*, Vol. III, (Hyderabad, 1962), p.213.
20. For ex. IAP:WD. Inscription Nos. 48, 50 & 64, *Epigraphia Andhrīca*, Vol. I, No.7, S.I.I. Vol. X, Nos. 340, 448, 521, etc. and local records refer to the details of such villages founded by Kakatiyas and their sub-ordinates by clearing the forests. Generally these villages are linked to cult centers and efforts were made by them to bring the forest peoples under the control of central power.
21. This idea is linked to the *Saptasantāna* concept of Dharmic ideology wherein raising a grove, excavation of tank, etc. is considered highly meritorious. Most of the kings and queens of medieval Āndhra claimed to have performed the *Saptasantāna* deeds as stated in their records. *SII*, Vol. IV, No.1180, *HAS*, Vol. XIX, No. Wg 5, Inugurti, pp. 131-134.
22. R.L. Singh, *Op.cit.*, 1989, p.827.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.* These lands are the principal rice fields of Āndhradēśa.
27. Santibhushan Nandi and D.S. Tyagi, 'Forms of Villages' in A.R. Desai, (ed.), *Rural Sociology in India*, (Bombay, 1984), pp. 206-217.
28. P.S. Kanakadurga, *Op.cit.*, 1992, p.13.
29. *Ibid.* This theory of land settlements is discussed in detail by Tukhani Manmatha Reddy, *Sāmānta System in Medieval Polity, A Case Study of Kanduru Cholas (A.D. 1040-1250)*, Unpub. M.Phil thesis, Telugu University, (Srisaillam, 1991).
30. *SII*, Vol. VI, No.123.
31. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 904, Vol. IV, Nos.705, 773. Also *EI*, XXI, 41-A.
32. *AR*, 116 of 1893.
33. *AR*, 273-C of 1899, *SII*, Vol VI, Nos.730, 772, 943.
34. *AR*, No. 213 of 1892.
35. *NDI*, Part. I, Atmakur (25). Also *HAS*, Vol. XIX, Pammi, Km 16.
36. *SII*, Vol. V, No.80.

37. HAS. Vol XIX, Pammi, Km 16 and Ramakrishnapuram, Km 17.
38. SII. Vol. VI, Nos. 938, 943, 989.
39. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No.80.
40. Burton Stein, 'Idiom & Ideology in Early Nineteenth Century South India', in Robb Peter, (ed.), *Rural India: Land, Power and Society Under British Rule*, (London, 1983), pp. 23-58.
41. N Ramesan, 'Mallavaram Plates of Parantaka Chola', in N. Ramesan, (ed.), *Studies in Medieval Deccan History*, (Hyderabad, 1972), pp. 79-121.
42. P.S. Kanakadurga, *Op.cit.*, 1992, p.12.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-15.
44. Thus we find constant shifting of alliances of local powers together with internal and external boundaries fluctuating constantly.
45. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, *The Kakatiyas of Warangal*, (Hyderabad, 1978), pp. 58-64.
46. According to Burton Stein, the agricultural strategies differ according to the ecological factors and these variations tend to effect the social, economic as well as political formations of the region. Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society*, pp. 27-28.
47. The kings and feudatories found it politically expedient to promote these groups (Brahmans, monastic organisations, temples) to bring in religious subordination of masses through the processes of Dharmic ideologies and Brahmanisation. This helped the rulers in perpetuating their political authority over these regions.
48. The idea of state in medieval India has been considered in different circles from different angles over years. Three models are proposed in this connection, which are the Unitary State (centralised bureaucracy), Feudal state (division of power) and Segmentary state (separation of power at various levels). Each theory has numerous proponents. For details on this concept, Herman Kulke, 'Fragmentation and Segmentation versus Integration? Reflections on the concept of Indian Feudalism and Segmentary state in the Indian History', *Studies in History*, Vol.IV, No.2, (1982), pp. 237-254. Arjun

- Appadurai, however, proposes that the medieval south Indian state can be described more or less as a multifaceted, pyramidal power structure with power operating at different levels in relation to each other. Arjun Appadurai, 'Kings, Sects and Temples in south India (1357-1700 A.D.)', in *IESHR*, Vol. XIV, No.1, (1982), pp. 49-73.
49. For details, Burton Stein, 'Perspectives on Kingship in Medieval South India' in Burton Stein, (ed.), *All the Kings Mana: Papers on Medieval South Indian History*, (Madras, 1984), pp. 1-67. Heroic kings are depicted as sacred extensions of tribal societies, ruled by virtue of their military prowess. Moral kingship is related to kingly authority expressed in moral or ethical terms while ritual kingship has a shared sovereignty among the powerful locally based persons through ritual exchange of honors, gifts, etc.
 50. David Ludden, *Peasant History in South India*, (Delhi, 1989), p.27.
 51. *Ibid.*
 52. *Ibid.*
 53. K. Sundaram, *Op.cit.*, 1965, p.1.
 54. For details on Kulottunga Chola's rule and administrative policies kindly see, K.A. Nilakantha Sastry, *The Cholas*, (Madras, 1975) and *Telugu Vijnāna Sarvasvamu, Telugu Sanskriti*, Vol. III, pp.191-202.
 55. B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao, *Āndhrula Charitra*, (Guntur, 1983), pp. 223-224.
 56. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, *Op.cit.*, 1978, pp.97-98.
 57. *Ibid.* p.117 and 192.
 58. *Nāyaṅkara* can be defined as a land grant given by the emperor to the local chief with all administrative and judiciary rights based on the agreement that he should provide military assistance to the emperor in times of need. Chiefs from various castes were recruited into the post by the queen.
 59. Prataparuda made an elaborate arrangement for political control to ensure that disputes may not arise. He appointed

Padmanayaka chiefs to the post. Ekamranatha, *Pratāparudra charitra*, (ed.), C.V. Ramachandra Rao, (Hyderabad, 1984), p.39-40.

60. B. Thomas Reddy, *The Nature of Kakatiya State C.A.D. 1158-1326*, unpublished M.Phil. thesis, Hyderabad Central University, (Hyderabad, 1992), p.3. Also for more details on the nature of the state and the policies of control adopted by Kakatiyas, kindly see Cynthia Talbot, 'Political Intermediaries in Kakatiya Andhra, 1175-1325', *IESHR*, Vol. XXXI, No.3, (Delhi, March 1994), pp. 262-289.
61. P.S. Kanakadurga, *Op.cit.*, 1992, p.6.
62. M.L.K. Murthy, *Op.cit.*, p.617.
63. For more details on the administrative divisions and zonal distribution of political power during Kakatiya rule, see P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, *Op.cit.*, 1978, pp. 172-196.
64. *Ibid.* Also K. Satyanarayana, *A Study of History and Culture of Andhras*, Vol.II, (Delhi, 1982), p.12.
65. It is essentially to exercise effective control in these regions, the Kakatiyas adopted policies of establishing marriage alliances and other aspects of feudal relations.

CHAPTER III

WOMEN AND POLITY

In India, for many centuries, women did not assume the role of sovereigns, though there has been no written law which made them ineligible for political succession. This might be due to the general dependant position of women. Moreover, warfares and internal security were considered as male oriented activities and women were not fit to assume these roles.

The issue of political rights of a woman is not uniformly agreed upon by the legal text writers. Sāntiparva of *Mahābhārata* mentions that it is the duty of the conqueror to place on the throne of the conquered country, the brother, son or grandson of the vanquished ruler and if no prince is available, even the daughter of the deceased.¹ Thus *Mahābhārata* accepts women as political heirs only in the absence of male heirs. Kautilya too, in his *Arthasāstra* declares that in the event of a king dying without leaving behind a male issue, the minister should invest with authority, to ordain a princess or widow of the late ruler, to ensure continuity of rule in the same dynasty.² However, he made it clear that the princess was evidently not to succeed in her own right just as the widow was to wield the authority, till a son was begotten and was duly crowned.

On the contrary, Manu did not invest women with political rights. According to him, succession in monarchy is determined by the law of primogeniture and women do not come under this law.³ A similar argument is put forward by another text *Nītivākyaṃitṛa*. according to which order of succession to the throne is the king, his son, full brother, half brother, uncle, male of the same family,

daughter's son, or even a stranger who is elected by the people or one who takes up the charge of the kingdom.⁴ No reference is made either to the widow of the deceased or the daughter.

Despite the fact that law giving authorities are not unanimous about women's political participation, substantial references can be found in the records pertaining to ancient and medieval period regarding women governors.⁵ Such instances are more common in early medieval south India during the period of Rashtrakutas and Western Chalukyas.⁶ Even in Āndhradeśa, early epigraphs indicate participation of women in politics ever since the period of Satavahanas.⁷ This became a regular feature by the time of Kakatiyas. This development can be explained in terms of the political changes of medieval period due to the prevalence of feudal elements in the polity. Several petty clans were ruling over portions of Āndhradeśa almost independently owing nominal allegiance to the emperors. The continuity of existence of each state depended upon the power of control exercised by the ruler. Thus there were continuous wars between the feudatory chiefs. Further their feudal allegiances are not permanent and were frequently shifting from one imperial power to the other, according to the changing situation of political supremacy. Under these circumstances, the feudatory chiefs were, for most of the time away from their kingdoms either by participating in the wars for extension of their area of control or helping their emperors in the campaigns. For administration of their domain, they depended mostly on their ministers and officials. Under such circumstances, perhaps, their wives began interfering in the administrative affairs of their kingdoms. Sometimes, they had to

assume the role of sovereigns in the absence of a male successor or as a guardian of the minor son in the event of sudden death of the king and to ensure continuity of political control. In addition, constant wars might have damaged the peaceful life of the country, plundering the cities or razing the forests. This was alleviated greatly by the acts of rebuilding taken up by the queens along with the kings, ministers and other officials of the kingdom.

Thus, it appears that women's involvement in the affairs of the state was almost continuous which was not highlighted so far. This could be due to the fact that the traditional society was not readily accepting this. According to *Keyūrabāhucharītram*, the king of Lāṭa country had no male issue. Fearing insult from the fellow kings, he decided to bring his daughter up in the attire of a boy and named her *Mṛgāṅkavarma* as against her true name *Mṛgāṅkāvalī*.⁸ Similar is the case with the Kakatiya empress Rudramadevi who had to appear in the court in a male attire and had to take the name *Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Rudradeva mahārājugaru*.⁹ The various invasions of neighbouring rulers into Kakatiya kingdom soon after her accession too speak a lot about the view of the contemporary society towards the issue of a woman's political participation.

Nevertheless, these ridicules of the society and that of the great tradition did not hamper the process of women's involvement in the state craft particularly of Āndhra region. This can be discussed under two heads, Active participation and Passive participation. Active participation can be defined as direct involvement in political affairs of a state like possessing the right to issue

orders, to make grants in the royal capacity, to take policy decisions with regard to administration and state craft, to participate in the wars and to involve in all matters of the polity of a state wherein physical presence of the ruler is required. On the other hand, passive role can be seen as involvement in the polity of a state from behind the curtain or making indirect contribution. In other words, acting as king-makers, counsellors or advisers to the king and serving as a source of inspiration to him.

ACTIVE PARTICIPATION

The contemporary literature and epigraphs reflect the direct contribution of women in the state craft. Interestingly the very base of Kakatiya state was formed by the diplomacy of a woman, Kāmasāni.¹⁰ Guṇḍarāju of Kakatiya clan was ruling Koṇavi as a feudatory of Rashtrakutas at the time when Western Chalukyas rose to power at Kaḷyāṇi under Tailapa, replacing the Rashtrakuta rule. Tailapa in his attempts to stabilise his kingdom began appointing generals loyal to him as feudatory chiefs in place of those submissive to Rashtrakutas. Thus Boṭṭu Beta of Mudigoṇḍa family was appointed to rule Koṇavi in place of Guṇḍyana with the help of Viṇiyāla Errabhūpati, another loyal general. However, Viṇiyala Kāmasāni, wife of Errabhūpati who happened to be the paternal aunt of Gaṇuḍa Beta, son of slain Kaḷaṇṭya Guṇḍyana, provided shelter to him. Further, she persuaded her husband and was successful in begetting Hanumakonda viśhaya for the minor king from the Chalukyan emperor.¹¹ Thus she saved the Kakatiya power in its infant stages by her act of shrewdness and diplomacy. The Gudur inscription, praises her as a lady having established the Kakatiya power, the merit of which act of

hers is worth crores of wealth.¹² Further Kakatiya empire is unique in having two women rulers, Rudramba and Ganapamba. As daughters of the emperor, Ganapatideva, both received sufficient military and administrative training from their childhood. While Ganapamba was married to Kōṭa Beta, son of Kōṭa Rudra, Rudramba was married to Virabhadra, a prince of the family of Chalukyas of Nidadavolu.¹³

Kōṭas were a powerful feudatory family ruling parts of Guntur region with capitals at Dharaṇikōṭa, Enamadala, and Tādikonḍa. The kings were prominent for their war strategies as well as their matrimonial relations with other powerful ruling chiefs of Āndhradeśa. A practice of joint rulership is also noticed in this family.¹⁴ Generally it is seen that father and son or brothers becoming joint rulers. However Kōṭa Beta and Ganapamba ruled their kingdom jointly as they had no children. Their joint rule continued for the period from A.D. 1241 to 1250. Owing nominal allegiance to the Kakatiya emperor Ganapatideva, they ruled almost independently. Records issued after A.D. 1251 mention Ganapamadevi, as *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* indicating her individual reign. Probably her husband might have died in the same year while fighting in the southern campaign of Ganapatideva at Kancheepuram.¹⁵ The Īpūru record dated to A.D. 1257 mentions her as *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Gaṇapamadēva ammaṅgāru*.¹⁶ She assumed entire Kōṭa *prāsasti* and imperialistic titles and ruled for a period of thirteen years, upto A.D. 1264.¹⁷ The Enamadala inscription refers Ganapamba as devoted to pious works after the death of her husband.¹⁸ As Ganapamba assumed charge of the government at Enamadala much earlier than her sister, she showed loyalty to her father, the Kakatiya emperor. Besides the imperial

power, she also maintained good relations with the other Kota chiefs at Dharanikota (Ganapati and Bhima), and with the neighbouring ruling powers throughout her regime.

Durgi record of Kāyastha chief Namaya Karaṇamu dated to A.D. 1269 refers Rudramadevi as the *Paṭṭōddhati* (queen designator)¹⁹ and *Putrika*²⁰ which indicates that being the daughter of Ganapatiadeva she was made the legal successor of her father. Nevertheless, the prejudice against the rule of a woman was so strong in the contemporary political circles that she had to adopt a male name and attire herself in male garments whilst holding the court. She underwent a thorough training in techniques of warfare like sword-handling, archery, horse riding, military science in addition to her father's able guidance in administration and state craft. As a co-regent during her father's rule (A.D. 1260-69) she gained practical knowledge in administering the empire.

As soon as she was coronated in the year A.D. 1269, she had to overcome many problems important of which include the Yadava, Pandya invasions accompanied by internal revolts in southern Andhra under the leadership of Kāyastha chief Ambadeva. Kakatiyas had lost their authority in regions south of the river Krishna. According to traditional sources, there was a revolt of Hariharadeva and Murārīdeva, two sons of Ganapatiadeva by another wife whom she subdued very cleverly and diplomatically.²¹

Deluded into the belief that a woman's rule would be weak, the Yadava king Mahadeva led an expedition into the Kakatiya territories

of the north-west and laid siege to the capital.²² Due to a cleverly organised fight back of Rudrama, he had to retreat without capturing the fort. Rudrama personally led the battle and the Kakatiya army pursued Yadava forces accompanied by their king up to the banks of the river Godavari, which was looked upon to be the border of Āndhra country. Bidar was occupied and a heavy tribute of about one crore *Nishkas* was collected from the Yadava king which was distributed as war booty to the soldiers.²³ Further, she constructed a Śivakeśava temple on the banks of river Chikili at Adilabad in memory of her victory over Yadavas.²⁴ The Bidar record of Sindhanvaya Bhairava indicates that after this victory, the queen assumed the title *Dāyagaja Kesari*.²⁵ Hemadri, unwilling to accept the truth of his master's defeat in the hands of a woman records that the Yadava king left Rudrama free because of his reluctance to kill a woman.²⁶

Not only the Yadava king, but the other frontier kings too tried to take advantage of the supposed weakness of a woman's rule. Prominent among them include Vira Rājendrachoḍa a feudatory of Pandyas in Nellore, Vaidumbas of Cuddapah in the south and Kalinga and Oddadi chiefs in the east.²⁷ Rudrama, ably supported by her loyal military commanders, Jannigadeva, Tripurārideva and Gona Ganna Reddy thwarted their attempts and thus brought back stability to the Kakatiya empire.²⁸ In order to prevent further damages to Orugallu fort, Rudrama strengthened the same by having dug a deep moat around the fort and posting sentries at the watch towers.²⁹

Rudrama devi was also famous for her administrative strategies and policies of state craft. Marcopolo praises her as a wise ruler.³⁰

She reviewed the feudal set up of the empire and reconstituted various administrative structures. She instituted *Nayankara* system based on military and fiscal control.³¹ Additional powers were bestowed on the local chiefs and many posts of *Bahattara Niyogadhipathi* (head of 72 *Niyogas* or administrative units) were created.³² In continuation of her father's policy of achieving political stability through marriage alliances, the queen gave her second daughter, Ruyyama in marriage to Annayamantri of Induluri brahman family. Her third daughter Rudrama was married to one Yadava prince Ellanadeva.³³ The son of her eldest daughter, Prataparudra was adopted by her and was nominated as her successor.

Much details are not known about the personal life of Rudramadevi. She was married to prince Virabhadra, belonging to the ruling feudatory family of Chalukyas at Nidadavolu.³⁴ However, he appeared to have died much before her accession, as two records register grants for his *punyaaloka* by his mother Pina Odaya Mahadevi at Palakolanu.³⁵ The name of the queen is not figuring in both these records for reasons unknown. The reasons for his death are also not known.

Besides her military achievements, Rudrama was also a great administrator. She was a staunch follower of Saivism, but encouraged all other religious movements of the period. It appears that Harihara cult and Vaishnavism began to gain momentum in Andhradesa during her tenure and as temples were built for Gods Gopinatha and Sivakesava.³⁶ The cause of education was also greatly promoted by her as is clear from her grants to scholars and sectarian leaders

(Saivite teachers).³⁷ All measures were taken by her to promote the resource base of the empire by following dharmic ideological concepts. To bring in cultural integration among her subjects, she instituted festivals and *Tirunālḷu* (fairs) in the temples of newly constructed villages.³⁸ She also caused for clearance for forests surrounding Hanamkonda and Warangal regions and constructed two villages Rudrēśvaram and Gaṇapēśvaram.³⁹ Irrigation facilities were provided to these villages through tanks which were built for the purpose.

A sculpture from Warangal fort, showing a woman with a sword, a shield in her hands and mounted on a lion is believed to be of Rudramadevi.⁴⁰ Though she could emerge victorious out of the attempts by the various political circles which vehemently opposed her rule, she ultimately fell prey to the same. Ambadeva, a Kāyastha chief of Tripurantakam, revolted against her. She died in the battle along with her personal attendant, Mallikārjuna Nāyaka probably in the year, A.D. 1289 according to the Chandupaṭṭa epigraph.⁴¹ Her death is an indication of the strong feeling of the great tradition that a woman was not eligible for political succession. It is an example of the oppression faced by a woman, even though she belonged to a prestigious ruling family.

Among the other women governors of the period, mention may be made of Paṁdāmbika, belonging to Kōṭa family at Tāḍikoṇḍa. She ascended the throne after the death of her husband Maṇmapōta. She might have been contemporary to Ganapatideva and was known for generous behaviour and pious nature. Her Tāḍikoṇḍa inscription furnishes us with the details of her benevolent activities.⁴²

Mailama wife of Malyala chief, Chaunḍa Sēnāni also controlled the affairs of the state after her husband's death.⁴³ The Pammi inscription, refers Viriyāla Nāgasānamma as *Mahāsāmanītha* indicating that she inherited feudatoryship after her husband. She visited the temple of Prasanna Vallabha at Pammi along with Malrāju and Mummaḍirāju of the same family and gave directions to the priests and the village assembly regarding arrangements for various endowments to the temple.⁴⁴

Kuppāmbika, in her Buthpur inscription was praised greatly as a woman who performed many religious observances and took up acts of charity for the welfare of the kingdom. After the death of her husband, Malyala Guṇḍa she might have ruled Varḍhamānapura region on behalf of her sons.⁴⁵ Muppaladevi of Chāgi ruling family too might have controlled the affairs of the state for some time as indicated by her title *Srīmaṇmahāmāṇḍalīśvara*⁵¹

Nāyakurālu Nāganna, the woman minister of the Haihaya kingdom of Palnadu is another example of women's participation in administration. She is known for her diplomatic policies which were supposed to be the chief cause for the war of Palnad fought in the last quarter of twelfth century.⁴⁶ The historical significance of the war cannot be ignored as it involved all the *māṇḍalika* chiefs of Āndhradeśa. The war saw the rise of Kakatiyas under Rudradeva-I putting an end to the *māṇḍalika* era in Āndhradesa.⁴⁷ Hailing from a peasant family of Palnadu region, she was the daughter of Virajaggāreḍḍy and was married into another Reddy family belonging to

Gurajāla.⁴⁸ But for these no other details are available from the text, *Palnāṭivīracharitra* of Srinatha regarding her personal life.⁴⁹

Nagamma met the Haihaya king Anuguraju who was on his hunting expedition and obtained favours from him by providing comforts for him and his party at the village Gāmālapāḍu. Anuguraju permitted her to become the minister of Haihayas for a period of 7 *Gaḍiyas*.⁵⁰ From then she regularly visited the court of Anuguraju and after his death, his son Nalagama Raju's court. Her influence in the state affairs of Palnadu was not liked by the minister Brahmanayudu and there developed an enmity between the two as soon as she assumed the role of the minister of Nalagamaraju. Ultimately this led to a war of succession among the sons of Anuguraju. Nagamma supported Nalagamaraju till the end and her acts of counselling are remarkable during the cock-fight,⁵¹ peace agreement⁵² and finally in the war fought at Kareṃpuḍi.⁵³ Questioning Brahmanayudu's reluctance to a woman's participation in war, she fought in the warfield. Though she was defeated, Nalagama was declared victorious in the war.⁵⁴ The reasons for her enmity with Brahmanayudu are interpreted as religious rivalry.⁵⁵ However, according to local traditions, Brahmanayudu and his father were known to have ill treated the people of Gurajāla. Therefore, Nagamma decided to oppose them. Moreover she also opposed the desire of Brahmanayudu to divide the kingdom of Mācherla (Palnadu) between the brothers. She stood for the unity of Mācherla and received bitter experiences from Brahmanayudu and his associates.⁵⁶ The episode of Nagamma is again another indication of the attitude of men towards a woman's political involvement.

In addition, there were many women who were actively involved in carrying out administrative, religious and welfare activities of the state. Dual sovereignty was exercised for the stability of the medieval state. Here the political sovereignty was in the hands of the king and ritual with the queens and the officers of the state (like the minister, commanders, generals, etc.) at the instance of the king. They extended their patronage to the temples, brah mans and to scholars and poets thus promoting literary activities. They tried to increase the resource base of the state by causing for extension of cultivable fields through deforestation, founding new villages and providing for irrigation systems. They tried to regulate the local governing systems by regular checks through visits to the villages and summoning the village assemblies. They also tried to regulate the tax structure and allocation of revenue to various power circles. All this goes on to prove the queen's role as a political integrator or in maintaining ritual control on the state. However, this remained as hidden, uninterpreted talent so far.

Mailama and Kundama, sisters of Kakatiya Ganapatideva, were married to Natavādi Rudra. Both of them appear to be influential in the politics of their kingdom. Mailama had a title *Dharmakīrti* for her meritorious services which include construction of a great tank at Bayyāram (Khammam district), one of the biggest tanks of the Telangana region. Its engineering skill lies in the selection of the place where one or two streams pass between hillocks and giving irrigation benefits to as many as seven villages nearby.⁵⁷ She built three new villages near the tank in the name of her father (Mahadevapuram), mother (Bayyāram) and herself (Dharmapuram after her

title). She performed many good deeds of Dharma to make the kingdom a glorious one. She also performed many *vratas* for the welfare of the kingdom and constructed many temples for Siva.⁵⁸ Her Tripurāntakam inscription registers the grant of a village Dittālu to the temple at Tripurāntakam after consecrating the idol Mailāmbikeśvara is also remarkable and suggestive of her authority and influence on the political affairs of the state.⁵⁹ Her sister Kundamamba constructed a village, a tank and a temple at Kundavaram in Jangaon Taluq and also a similar grant at Chennūru in Adilabad district.⁶⁰ Her inscriptions, praise her as the one whose acts of counselling were remarkable and to whose feet bow almost everyday the wives of the other *māṇḍalika* chiefs.⁶¹

Sometimes, the grants by 'the queens at places of religious importance suggest the extension of king's authority over the area. Towards the last quarter of 11th century, eastern Āndhra region was governed by various feudatory dynasties and a part of it was also under the control of Western Chalukyan king, Vikramaditya VI. The grant by Mailambika, wife of Kandūri (Eruva) Toṇḍayachola dated to A.D. 1084-86 at Drākshārāma for the welfare of the kingdom of Western Chalukyan king Vikramaditya VI suggests the conquest of eastern Āndhra region by the king with the help of local chiefs of Telaṅgāṇa who were loyal to him.⁶² By A.D. 1128, Drākshārāma region might have passed into the ^{hands} of the Eastern Gangas as suggested by a series of inscriptions registering grants of perpetual lamps by the wives of Anantavarma Chodagāṅga, namely, Sriyādevi, Laxmidevi, Kalinga mahādevi, etc.⁶³ The land grant by the daughter of Lokāmbika namely Somāmbika to Madhukeśvara at Mukhalingam for the victory of the arms

of Chodagangadeva is also of the same nature.⁶⁴ Rudradeva's wife Dannamadevi's grant for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Drākshārāma suggests Rudradeva's attempts to conquer eastern Āndhra.⁶⁵

The series of inscriptions at Alāmpuram in Mahaboobnagar district registering grants by Mannādevi wife of Chalukya Vikramaditya VI, also referred to as *Abhinava Saraswati* too indicate the political authority of Western Chalukas over parts of north western Telāṅgāṇa.⁶⁶ She was the chief queen of Chalukya Vikramaditya VI who was famous for his conquests in Āndhradeśa. He ruled the conquered places of Āndhradeśa through his feudatories. Her title *Abhinava Saraswati* is suggestive of the scholarly nature of the queen and her patronage to the scholars and poets. She gave several villages (almost every year on the occasion of *Vishṇu Saṁkrānti*) as grants to the temple at Alāmpuram. She also caused to have made the local chiefs to register grants to the temple priests at her instance.⁶⁷

Recherla family was one of the important feudatories of Kakatiyas. Recherla Betireddi's wife Erakasāni was known for her righteousness, good virtues and pious behavior. She constructed several temples at Pillalamarri and gave away lands for their maintenance. Further, she constructed canals, ^{choultries} for travellers, made arrangements for food to students in the hostels attached to the monasteries, established chalivēndras and performed many such meritorious deeds.⁶⁸ Women belonging to this family other than Erakasāni like Kāchāmbika, wife of Kātachamūpati⁶⁹ and Itama,⁷⁰ wife of Nāmireddy⁷⁶ are described as generous and helping the poor and

needy. All of them patronised Saivite teachers and promoted education in their areas of control.

Women rulers exercised their control on the collection, donation of revenues in their respective dominions. Dhennamahādevi, the chief queen of Kandūri Nalla Bhimadeva Choḍa granted *siddāyamu* (a tax) to the temple of Rameśvaradeva at Gaṭṭutummena (Mahaboobnagar dist) along with other monetary arrangements made annually.⁷¹ It is also mentioned that the gift was made out of her free will indicating the right of the queens to spend royal income received through taxes.

Among the other prominent women Guṇḍamadevi, wife of Velanāṭi Goṅka is praised as the one who treated her subjects as her children,⁷² Pina Oḍayamahādevi, wife of Chalukya Indusekhara, is also known for her religious promotion.⁷³ Singulādevi, niece of Pratapa^udura is known for her acts of reclamation of land by ~~establishing~~ clearing forests and ~~establishing~~ new villages.⁷⁴

PASSIVE PARTICIPATION

As cited elsewhere, in addition to the above category of women who actively participated in the state affairs, there are another category of elite women who indirectly or passively assisted their husbands in administration in many ways. Inscriptions and the contemporary literature provide ample data in this regard. The work of Srinatha, *Palanāṭi Vīracharitra* which is an account of the war of Palanadu has many references to the acts of counselling by women.

Silama, mother of Brahmanayudu, had adequate knowledge in war-fare techniques and the rules of war. She is described as giving ample guidance to her son regarding these issues. She directs him to declare the war before proceeding against enemies and advised him not to kill brahmans, women or cows, as it is against the code of war.⁷⁵ She also asks him to protect the artisans and the poor.⁷⁶ Her expertise in the science of war-fare is suggested in her recognition of the spies who were in disguise.⁷⁷ She gives instructions to her son to cut the heads of soldiers like plants. She advises him to kill the horses and elephants of the enemy's side to drive them away.⁷⁸

Itama, mother of Balachandra is also known for her act of counselling.⁷⁹ Manchala, the bride of Balachandra is depicted by the poet as a memorable character. Though assigned by her mother-in-law to prevent Balachandra from going to the battle-field, she prefers to his participation in the war.⁸⁰ Further, she gives him weapons and advises to prevent his brahman friend Anapōtu to accompany him, as it would be a great sin if a brahman is killed in the battle-ground.⁸¹

Kāṭamarāju Kathalu is a traditional account of the fightings due to cattle raids during the reign of the Telugu Choḍa chief Nallasiddhi. His commander Khaḍgatickana participated in the war but fled from the battle field on being defeated. Enraged with this, his wife and mother tried to raise his valour. He returned to the warfield with a new inspiration and brought victory to the king. But he met with death in the course of the war.⁸² This episode suggests the attitude of women belonging to royal families and wives of military commanders who preferred heroic death of their husbands in

the war front rather than defeat. *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇamu* of Gona Buddha Reddy is another literary source which speaks a lot about the attitude of royal women. Through the characters of Mandodari,⁸³ Sulochana,⁸⁴ the author suggests that they prefer death to submission before the enemies.

Talking in terms of their wealthy position and higher status in the society, the participation of women belonging to elite group in the polity of the state can be easily explained. But at the same time, it appears based on the evidences that even common women were involved in administrative matters. They were aware of the various changes in the political conditions of the period and were reacting to those changes. Two records at Mukhalingam temple register grants by Viñjama, daughter of Gōkanāyaka and another woman, the daughter of Rājamānikaseṭṭi for the victory of the Eastern Gaṅga king in his battles.⁸⁵ Various references in the contemporary literature too support the involvement of common women in the political matters of the state.⁸⁶

Even women belonging to forest dwelling communities like *Eṛuka*, *Cherichu* families are employed in various political strategies of the kings and ministers, to learn details of the enemy's position and other secrets of their war strategies *Cherichu* women were described as holding bows and arrows⁸⁷ (Plate IVa). Brahmanayudu is said to have understood the war strategy of Nagamma through an *Eṛukala-Sāni*.⁸⁸ Though sufficient evidences are not available to prove the influence of these women within their communities, it can be presumed that they preferred their husbands to be brave and fight back.

According to a tradition, Sammakka and Sārāmma are two tribal women belonging to the Kōya tribe. They participated in the war of Kōyas with Kakatiyas (during the rule of Pratapa Rudra) and sacrificed their lives.⁸⁹ They both are deified and a *Jāṭara* (fair) in their name is instituted which is being celebrated now in Telāṅgāṇa region once in two years. It is considered to be the biggest gathering. However, there is no historical evidence for the conflict of Kōyas with Kakatiyas.

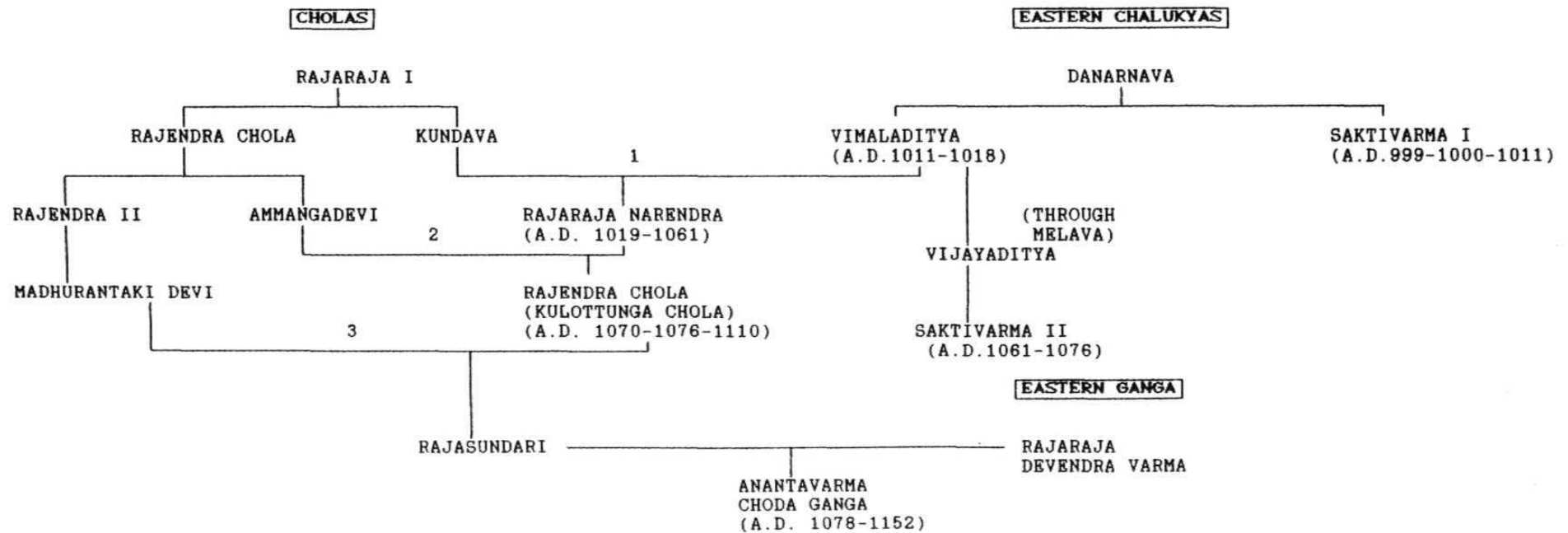
Besides women personally involving in the polity of the state either directly or indirectly, one can notice that they are also made to fulfill feudal obligations by way of marriage alliances between different ruling families.

Marriage, being an important and sacred ritual of the sixteen *samskaras*, is aimed at providing the four *purushārthās* (*Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Mōksha*) to the individual.⁹⁰ Dharmasastras mention eight different types of marriages, which are listedⁱⁿ the contemporary legal text *Vijñānesūvaramu* of Ketana.⁹¹ While giving the necessary caste rules and procedural aspects of these eight marriages, the author also discusses about *Anulōma* and *Pratilōma* marriages with a view of their prevalence specially among the royal circles.⁹²

A woman, through marriage acts as a binding medium in uniting two different families in the society. On the same ground, a royal princess was often offered as a medium of peace between two warring kings.⁹³ According to a verse in *Sakalanītisammataṃ*, entering into marriage relations by a king with another powerful political rival is an important aspect of diplomatic *Rājanīti* (moral of polity).⁹⁴ There was no bar of caste or creed in such marriages. What mattered was only a political contract for which a girl was used as a medium of contract. In the middle ages, particularly in Āndhra with various empires in the battle fray for supremacy, this became a regular feature.

The matrimonial alliances for about 3 continuous generations between Eastern Chalukyas of Veṅgi and the Imperial Cholas of Tanjore form a better example of political conciliation through marriages (CHART -I). They yielded far reaching results of establishing a new line of kings, the Chalukya-Cholas and the shift of political activity from Veṅgi to Tanjore. These relations between Eastern Chalukyas and Cholas were initially planned by the Chola emperor Rajaraja in order to have a control on Vengi which would become a fertile base for the extension of their authority in the north and to check the rising power of Western Chalukyas and their intrusions into Āndhra.⁹⁵

CHART I
MARRIAGE ALLIANCES BETWEEN CHOLAS AND EASTERN CHALUKYAS



In the later period, Kakatiyas seemed to have achieved the best out of this policy of political marriages [CHART II]. With the aim of establishing their control almost all over Āndhradeśa, the rulers of this dynasty established diplomatic marriage relations with the other powerful ruling chiefs.

Not only Kakatiyas or Cholas, but every ruling family of Āndhradeśa is connected with one or the other neighbouring ruling family through marriages [CHART III]. Similar is the case with the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga who ruled northern parts of Āndhradeśa. Sometimes, the victorious kings regarded it as prestigious to demand the daughter of the vanquished, or ladies of his harem. The defeated king had no other alternative but to accept, failing which he would not be pardoned. The various epigraphical and literary references support this theory. Rudradeva demanded the daughter of Meḍarāja of Polavāsadeśa.⁹⁶ His refusal of the demand resulted in plunder and destruction of the kingdom of Meḍarāja. Similar is the case with Kandūri Bhimachōḍa who had to give his sister Padmavati in marriage to Rudradeva in order to save his kingdom.⁹⁷ The Jalālpuram inscription mentions that Rudradeva defeated one Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa and Udayana and then made friendship with Udayana by marrying his daughter.⁹⁸

CHART II
MARRIAGE RELATIONS OF KAKATIYAS WITH CONTEMPORARY RULING CHIEFS

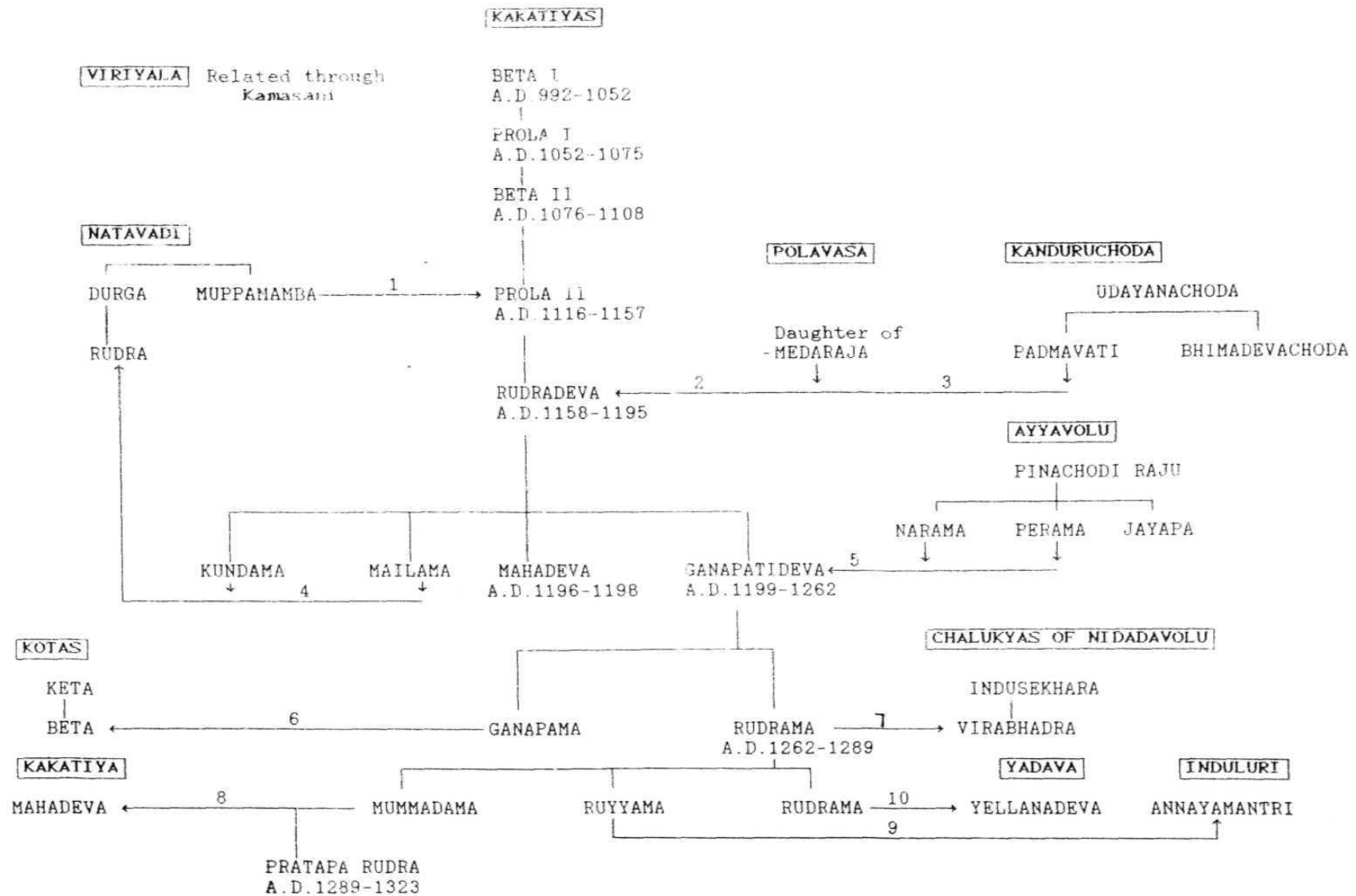
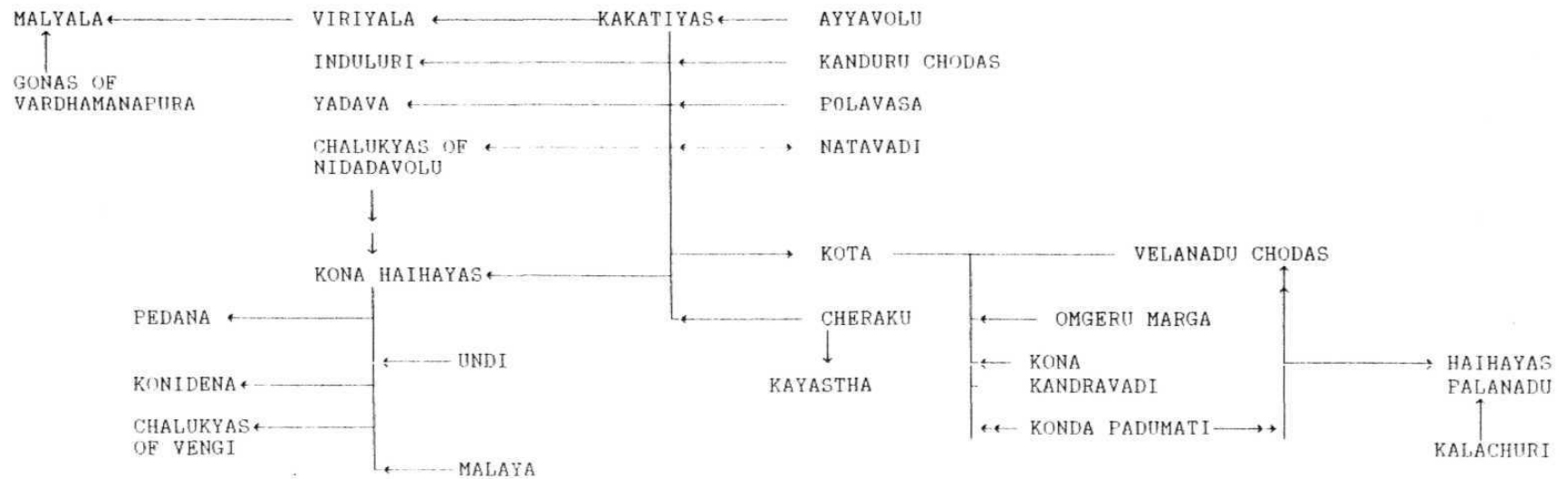


CHART III
MARRIAGE ALLIANCES BETWEEN VARIOUS POLITICAL POWERS OF ĀNDHRA DEŚA



Note: The head of the arrow indicates the political power into which the girl is entering in lieu of marriage.

Just as the continuity and stability of married life is necessary to bind a man and a woman, so is the relation between the king and various power structures important in the feudal political set up. A similar relation is applied even to the God and devotee. Thus for all purposes the king was considered as an earthly image of plurality of Gods and the kingdom was equated to the Goddess of victory.⁹⁹ This could possibly be the reason behind the kings taking such titles as *Vijayalaxmīsamālīṅgiṭha* (having embraced the Goddess of victory)¹⁰⁰ or *Vijayalaxmīkaḷatṛa* (making the Goddess of victory as life-partner)¹⁰¹ or, at times assuming such titles as *Vijayakanyakayā Vibhāthi* (obtaining the hand of the Goddess of prosperity in marriage),¹⁰² or having an enthusiasm to marry the Goddess of victory. The association of king with the Goddess Lakshmi was considered as a real symbol for royal majesty.¹⁰³

Similarly, the ritual sanctity of married life and that of the Lord-servant relationship are equated in the medieval political structure. An idea of such a phenomenon can be framed through the oaths recorded in various inscriptions. The servants of king Parantakadeva had taken oaths of loyalty to the extent that in the event of they disobeying him, it is equal to the crime of giving their wives to the opponents.¹⁰⁴ Epigraphical references from Nellore region too record oaths of such extreme phrases as breaking the loyalty equal to giving away their wives to the out castes,¹⁰⁵ or having an intercourse with one's own sister.¹⁰⁶ This is suggestive of the ritual domain of a woman in Hindu tradition. Though at every stage of her life she is dependent on man, her behaviour and

character indicate the social status of the man. The insult faced by her is an insult to him. Applying this to the relationship between the king and the kingdom, the prestige of the king or the kingdom is viewed in terms of the status of the wives of the king or women of the kingdom. If any insult is caused to women, it indicates that the king's status received a great set back. Perhaps with this view, the victorious kings assumed such titles as *Virōdhirājavānitālanikāra bhaṅgāvaham* (one who disturbed the ornaments of women of rival chiefs),¹⁰⁷ *Virōdhimāṇḍalikavadhū maṅgaḷasūtrādātṛa*, one who takes away the marriage-token of the wife of the vanquished),¹⁰⁸ *Paravadhū vaidhavya dikshāgurōh* (one who had taken an oath to make the wife of the enemy as widow),¹⁰⁹ *Pratyārdhikantā gaḷa sūtra dātṛa* (one who destroys the ornaments of the women of his enemy),¹¹⁰ *Pratinṛupa Vanitā Śṛutipadha Śrōtṛābharaṇa Gaurava Vaiphalya* (one who had destroyed the ornaments and honour of women of the rival king),¹¹¹ *Paravadhū maṅgaḷasūtra haraṇa* (one who abducts the marriage token of the wives of the opponents),¹¹² *Virārātī vadhūjanāla kalatāchhēda chhidoh* (one who creates anxiety in the minds of the women of rivals),¹¹³ or *Ripuśtrīṇāṃ santāpāsṛūḍgamaisamam* (one who fills sorrow and tears in the minds of woman of rival side).¹¹⁴ One of the Kakatiya inscriptions besides discussing the achievements of Jayapa, the Gajasāhini of Kakati Ganapatideva mentions that the defeated kings accompanied by their wives left their palaces and took to mountainous paths. During their journey, women were asked by their husbands to cover their faces with veils.¹¹⁵ Similar references are found in *Pratāparudra Yaśōbhushaṇamu* of Vidyanatha.¹¹⁶ The forcible abduction of women belonging to the vanquished kingdom also reflects this

idea.¹¹⁷ These evidences link the marriage and polity in an unseparable way.

It can thus be surmised that a woman's right to political succession is recognised by law atleast on certain occasions. In line with this a great involvement of women in the political affairs of the medieval Āndhradeśa, despite the contemptuous attitude of the great tradition can be noticed. The state of affairs demanded their active or passive participation. In addition, one can also find that the institution of marriage, the relationship of husband and wife and the ritual domain of wife with in the family are all related to historical relationship in the broad frame work of feudal polity. Inscriptional evidences show clear similarities between the lord-servant, deity-devotee and husband and wife relationships. The idea of submissiveness and loyalty are clearly enforced in all these and an attempt was made to raise the ritual position of the king, which was very much essential for the stability of the kingdom when viewed with reference to the multifaceted power structure of the state.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1.

तेषां पुराणि शस्त्राणि गत्वा राजन् मुहूर्दकृतः।
शत्रून् पुत्रांश्च पौत्रांश्च स्वे स्वे राज्येभिषेचयः।
कुमारी नास्ति येषां च कन्यास्तत्राभिषूचयः।

Mahābhārata, Sāntiparva, 33-43-46) referred to by P.V. Kane, in his *History of Dharmasāstras*, Vol. III, (Pune, 1974), p.40.
2. R.P. Kangle, *The Kautilya's Arthasāstra, A study*, Part III, (Delhi, 1986), p.116.
3. G. Buhler, *The laws of Manu*, F Max Muller, (ed.), *Sacred Books of the East* (Translation by Oriental scholars), Vol. XXV, (Delhi, 1975), IX, 134.
4. P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, 1974, p.43.
5. *Ibid.*, p.40. The author gives examples from *Rājatarāṅginī* of Kalhana and *Raghuvamśa* of Kalidasa.
6. To quote a few-
 1. Revakammāḍī, daughter of Amoghavarsha (Rashtrakuta) was the governor of Eḍatōre region during the first half of 9th century A.D.
 2. Mailala devi, wife of Chalukya Somesvara held the charge of Banavāsi region in A.D. 1053.
 3. Kēṭala devi, another wife of Chālukya Someśvara was incharge of Ponnaṇḍa agrahara.
 4. Akkadevi, sister of Western Chalukyan monarch Jayasimhavallabha is described as a great warrior and governor of Koṅkaṇ region during her brother's reign.
 5. Dandimahādevi, queen of Gaṅjām region had typical Chalukyan titles, *Paramabhaṭṭārīka*, *Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara* indicating her political status.
 6. A record from Savikeri mentions Srimadevi, wife of Rājāditya of Banavāsi as the governor of Samkarige-12.
 7. There are evidences to prove that Nāganika, wife of Satavahana king Satakarni I assumed power for a short period. Wives of the nobles took titles as *Mahārathnī*, *Mahābhōjīnī* indicating their participation in the polity. Mahadevi, queen of Vishṇukunḍin Govindavarma was also a remarkable personality known for her interest in administration and promotion of state religion. For details, B.N.Sastry, *Āndhradeśa Charitra*, *Saṁskṛti*, Vol.I,

(Hyderabad, 1992).

8. The contemporary literary and epigraphical references reflect the same. Gumda, a Malyala chief is praised in his Vardhamānapura and Buthpur records as capable of equating his enemies as women. (HAS, Vol.XIII, Nos.51,52). The weak and incapable kings are equated to women in *Palnāṭi Vīracharitra* (p.27, lines 670-685). A similar meaning is conveyed by moral science writers according to whom, the company of women is one of the seven afflictions that a good king has to get rid off (*Sakalanītisammataṃ*, verse 658).

9.

గడ్డయకెవ్వరు ఐశ్వర్య పోదని
చుట్టగా నూతురని తలచి ---

Manchana, *Kēyūrabāhucharitam*, (ed.), Vedam Venkatarayasastri and Brothers, (Madras, 1970), p. 14, verse 74.

10. Md.Abdul Waheed Khan, *A Monograph on Yēleśvaram Excavations*, (Hyderabad, 1963), Nos. 14, 30.
11. HAS, Vol. XIII, Gudur inscription of Viriyala Kamasani, No.23, pp.78-79.
12. *Ibid.* According to a tradition, Kuntalidevi, the paternal aunt of Erukadevarāju ruled Hanumakonda Vishaya on behalf of the minor boy for a period of 9 (19) years. She was said to have collected heavy tributes from neighbouring Gujarat and Yadava Kingdoms. Though the historicity of Kuntalidevi with Kamasani could not be established, we can presume so, as Erukadevarāju was identified with Beta I. The traditional account is recorded in Ekamranatha's, *Pratāparudra Charitra*, Kase Sarvappa's, *Siddheśvaracharitra* and also in *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, Vol. XXVI, (Hanumakonda kaifiyat).

13.

అణుచునునట్టి ఎల్ల సృష్టనంగన

కాకతినె నల్పపుట కీటకేయదే.

(HAS, Vol.XIII, Buthpur Inscription).

14. These marriages are part of the political diplomacy of Ganapatideva to conciliate his authority in eastern Andhra region, as discussed in the preceding chapter.
15. Y. Yasodadevi, 'A History of Andhra country, Subsidiary Dynasties' in *JAHRS*, Vol.XIX, (Rajahmundry, July 1948-April 1949), pp.1-84. (KOTAS, pp.60-81).
16. M. Venkata Rangayya, *Samgrahāndhra Vijñana Kōsamu*, Vol. III, (Hyderabad, 1962), pp.95-96.
17. *ARE* No. 535 of 1913.
18. N. Ramesan, 'Mogalutla grant of Kota Ganapamba' in *Epigraphia Andhrica*, Vol.IV, (Hyderabad, 1975), pp.93-102.
19. *EI*, Vol.III, p.94.
20. B.N Sastri, *Kāyastha Rājulu*, (Hyderabad, 1991) Ins. No.13.
21. Arudra, 'Putrika Elaṅṭi Kūtuṣu', in Arudra, (ed.), *Vyasapitham*, (Vijayawada, 1985), pp.54-59. *Putrika* is an appointed daughter and becomes the natural successor to the father who has no male issue (Manu, IX, 137). It appears that Ganapatideva's decision to nominate Rudramadevi as his political heir falls under this perception.
22. *Hanumakonda Kaifiyat*, p.58. Also, K. Balendusekharam, *Andhras Through Ages* (Hyderabad, 1973), pp.20-24.
23. G.Yazdani, *The Early History of Deccan*, Vol.II, parts VII-XI (Delhi, 1982), P 626, Also, K.Balendusekharam, *Op.cit.*, 1973, p.24.
24. B.N. Sastri, *Op.cit.*, 1992, p.724.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. Hemadri, 'Vrata Khāṇḍa', *Rāya Prasasti*, I, *Bombay Gazeteer*, Vol.II, (i) p.273, quoted from G.Yazdani, (ed.), *Op.cit.*, 1982, p.625. *Kākatīya Samchika*, Appendix. 'Rāja Prasasti', Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, (Hyderabad, Reprint, 1991), p. 341.
28. K. Satyanarayana, *A History and Culture of Andhras*, Vol.II, (Delhi, 1982) p.3.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Kase Sarvappa, *Sri Siddhesūracharitra.*, (ed.), K. Laxmiranjanam, (Hyderabad, 1960), pp.129-130. Also, *Hanumakonda Kaifiyat*, p.57.
31. K.A. Nilakantha Sastry, (ed.), *Foreign Notices on South India*

- from *Megasthenes to Mahavira*, (University of Madras, 1938), p.174. The quotation runs thus, "She was a lover of justice, of equality, and of peace, she was more beloved by those of her kingdom than ever was a lady or lord of theirs before".
32. *Epigraphia Andhrica*, Vol.IV, (Hyderabad, 1975), p.128.
 33. *Ibid.*, These steps were taken by her probably in the light of changing political situation in Āndhra which necessitated more of warrior control than of feudal loyalties.
 34. P.V. Parabrahmasastry, *The Kākatīyas of Warangal*, Hyderabad, 1978, p.121. Also, *A.P Government report on Epigraphy*, (Hyderabad, 1968), No.14.
 35. *SII*, Vol.X, No.360.
 36. *SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 121 and 122.
 37. B.N Sastry, *Op.cit.*, 1992, p.747.
 38. *SII*, Vol.X, No 395, pp.205-209, and Abdul Waheed Khan, *Op.cit.*, No.30, pp.62-63.
 39. Kallakuri Narayana Rao, *Pratāpa Rudramadevi*, (Vijayawada, 1961), p.33.
 40. *Ibid.*, Also, *Siddhesvara Charitra*, p.134.
 41. P.V. Parabrahmasastry, *Op.cit.*, 1978, p.122. Another sculpture available at Ramappa temple depicting a woman with a sword and shield, riding on an elephant and accompanied by woman guards is also believed to be of the same queen.
 42. B.N. Sastry, *Cheraku Vamsacharitra: Sāsanaṃulu*, (Hyderabad, 1989), (*Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, I, No.9), registering grants by her general Puvvala Mummadi for the religious merit of the queen and her attendant supports this.
 43. *Epigraphia Andhrica*, Vol. V, 'Tādikōṇḍa Inscription of Pāṃdāmbika' pp.89-94.
 44. B.N. Sastry, *Mahabubnagara Jilla Sarvasvamu*, (Hyderabad, 1993), p. 256.
 45. *HAS*, Vol. XIX, Pammi Record (Km. 16), pp.31-35.
 46. *Ibid*, Vol. XIII, Buthpur Inscription, pp.140-142. Also, B.N. Sastry, *Op.cit.*, 1993, p.242.
 47. *SII*, Vol. X, No. 305.
 48. Vinukonda Vallabharaya, *Kriḍābhiraṃamu*, (ed.), Veturi Prabhakara Sastry, (Hyderabad, 1960), verse 119.

49. B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao, *Andhrula Charitra*, (Guntur, 1983), p.224.
50. Srinatha, *Palnāṭi Vīracharitra*, (ed.), Pingali Laxmikantham, (Vijayawada, 1961), p.34.
51. She is described in *Kriḍābhīrāmamu*, as 'Araveli Nagama'. She was supposedly involved in the profession of money- lending (Sewell, R., *Antiquities* I App. A.p.5 quoted from V. Yasodadevi, 'A History of Andhra Country' in *JAHRS*, Vol. XXIII, Rajahmundry, p 23).
52. *Palanāṭi Vīracharitra*, p.35. A *Gaḍiya* was a Hindu hour which consists of 24 minutes. Thus, 7 'gaḍiyalu' refer to 168 minutes.
53. *Ibid.*, pp.108-129.
54. *Ibid.*, pp.228-233
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 281, 286-290, 361-62, 422-425, 435-36.
56. *Ibid.*, pp.449-450.
57. K. Balendusekharam, *Op.cit.*, 1973, p 22.
58. B.S. L.Hanumantha Rao, *Op.cit.*, 1983, pp.223-224.
59. *Epigraphia Andhrica*, Vol.I, 'Bayyaram tank Inscription of Kakati Mailama', pp.71-94.
60. *HAS*, Vol. XIX, No.59, Inugurti, pp. 179-182.
61. *SII*, Vol.X, No. 254.
62. P.V. Parabrahmasastry, *Kākatīya Sāsana Sāhityamu*, (Hyderabad, 1974), p.45.
63. *IAP:WD.*, (Hyderabad, 1974), No.57, (Nidigonda) and 58 (Kundavaram).
64. *Drākshārāma Sāsanaḍalu*, (Hyderabad, 1982), No.10, pp.10-11.
65. *Ibid.*, Nos.136, 137, 138 -----
66. B.N. Sastry, *Mukhalīṅga Devālaya Charitra*, *Sāsanaṁulu*, (Hyderabad, 1985), No.31. Initially the eastern Andhra region was under the administrative jurisdiction of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi and then passed into the hands of Chalukya Cholas, Velanadu Chodas and various other feudatory dynasties before being brought under the control of the Kakatiyas.
67. *SII*, Vol.IV, No. 1095 [A.R.244 of 1983].
68. *Telaṅgāṇa Sāsanaṁulu*, Vol. II, Laxmanaraya Parisodhaka Mandali, (Hyderabad, 1935), Nos.19 and 20.
69. B.N. Sastry, *Op.cit.*, Alampuram inscriptions of Bikkarasu, No.47, pp.965-966.
70. B.N. Sastry, *Recheṛla Redḍi Vamsa Charitra*, *Sāsanaṁulu*,

- (Hyderabad, 1989), Nos. 5 and 6.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
72. *Ibid.*, p.22.
73. *HAS*, Vol.XIX, Mahabubnagar, No.10. *IAP:KD*, (Hyderabad, 1974), No.37 records gift of taxes by the queen of Rudra to the temple of Ramanathadeva. *SII*, Vol. X, No. 381, *A.R on South Indian Epigraphy*, No.303, (1932-33) too are of the same nature.
74. *SII*, Vol.IV No 1137. In the text of the inscription, it is stated, *यत्कारुण्यमशेषं भूजनरतेऽस्मिन्महामानन्दम् ।*
75. Her various grants registered at the temple of Ksheerārāmesvara at Palakolanu and Narasaraopet indicate her greatness. *SII*, Vol. V, Nos.121to 127.
76. K. Satyanarayana, *Op.cit.*, 1982, Vol.II, p.24.
77. *Palanāṭi Vīracharitra*, p.191.
78. *Ibid.*, pp.191-193.
79. *Ibid.*, pp.174-175.
80. *Ibid.*, p.31
81. *Ibid.*, pp.329-330.
82. *Ibid.*, p.357.
83. *Ibid.*, pp. 356-357.
84. Ootukuri Laxmikanthamma, *Andhra Kavayitṛulu*, (Bapatla, 1980), pp.4,5,6. Chanama, wife of military general Khadga Tikkana, arranged for the bath of her husband in the manner of a lady taking bath. When questioned, she replied, "If you come showing your back to the enemies, don't brave men laugh at you ? Now we are three in the family. So don't feel bad for this type of arrangement".
- Similarly his mother Prolama serving him with split curds, replied thus "Just as you returned from the battle field defeated, the cattle too came home back running in a timid fashion only to give split milk".
85. Gona Buddhareddy, Kacha and Vittala, *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇamu*, (ed.), Pingali Laxmikantham, (Hyderabad, 1989), pp.333-334.
86. *Ibid*, pp.411-415.

87. *TIAP*, Vol.. I, Srikakulam District, (Hyderabad, 1980), Nos. 173 and 166.
88. For instance, *Palanāṭi Vīracharitra*, p.315. While Balachandra was playing in the streets, the ball hit a woman walking in the street, Hurt by the same, she criticised the playful mind of Balachandra while men of the whole community were engaged in the war.
89. The sculptures available from temples belonging to the period bear ample testimony to this.
90. Ambati Subbarayachetti, 'Kākatīyulanāṭi Saṁghika Jīvanamu' in Maremanda Rama Rao, (ed.), *Kākatīya Saṁchika*, pp.141-149.
91. Local records at Endowments department, Warangal available in the form of *Sthalapurāṇamu* of Medāram region refer to the story of these two women. An attempt to link the story with Kakatiyas and to prove its historicity was made by Sri Dendukuri Somesvara Rao, through his article, 'Samakka-Saralakka Jātaṛa' published in *Ōṛugallu* (Hanamkonda, 7th March, 1986). However he tries to prove that the incident relates to Rudradeva I and he asserts that the deification of the two women and institution of fair in their name was done by Prataparudra.
92. P.S. Kanakadurga, *Kakatiyulanāṭi Sāmājika Jivanamu*, (Vijayawada, 1992), p.195
93. Ketana, *Vijñaneśvaramu*, (ed.), C.V. Ramachandra Rao, (Nellore, 1977), *Acharakāṇḍamu*, verses 95-101.
94. *Ibid*, *Acharakāṇḍamu*, verses 134-141.
95. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, 'Contribution of Women to the growth of Ancient Indian Culture', in L.K. Tripathi, (ed.), *Position and Status of Women in Ancient India*, (Varanasi, 1988), pp.119 - 129.
96. Madiki Singana, *Sakalanītisammataṁ*, verse 646.
97. P.V. Parabrahmasastry, *Op.cit.*, 1988, p.123.
98. *IAP:WD*, p.122.
99. B.N. Sastry, *Kandūrichoḍula Sāsanaṁulu Charitra*, (Hyderabad, 1991), p.23 Also *HAS*, Vol.XIII, No.3 pp.8-21.
100. B.N. Sastry, *Cheraku Vāṁsa Charitra, Sāsanaṁulu*, Jalalpuram inscription, pp.41-49. The grant reasserts the information contained in the above cited inscription, Bhimadeva (Kanduri Bhimachoda, whose sister is married to Rudradeva) being the

eldest son of Udayana.

101. We find this concept in the epithets assumed by the kings, for example: *Epigraphia Andhrica*, Vol. IV, 'Ollala Inscription of Kanduri Mallikarjuna Choda', No. 8, pp. 55-65.
102. B.N. Sastry, *Op. cit.*, 1993, pp. 928-929.
103. *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 928, 663.
104. *Ibid.*, Vol. X No. 97, 177, Vol. IV, No. 1041.
105. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 269.
106. J.G. De Casparis, 'Inscriptions and South Asian Dynastic Traditions' in R.J. Moore, (ed.), *Tradition and Politics in South Asia*, (New Delhi, 1979), pp. 103-127.
107. *SII*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1274, 1275- A, 1270, 1271, 1272, 1273.
108. *NDI*, (New Delhi, 1990), part. II, Ongole, Kandukur, Nellore records., Part. III, Raipur.
109. *Ibid.*, No. Ongole, 7.
110. *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 124.
111. *AR*, 721 of 1920.
112. *SII*, Vol. V, No. 105.
113. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 74.
114. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 594.
115. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 249.
116. *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 662
117. *Epigraphia Andhrica*, Vol. IV, pp. 55-65.
118. P.V. Parabrahmasastry, *Op. cit.*, 1974, pp. 27-28.
119. Vidyanatha, *Pratāparudra Yasōbhūṣaṇamu*, Telugu Translation by Dr. Chelamacherla Rangacharyulu, (Hyderabad, 1972), *Dōshapṛakaraṇamu* is full of the problems faced by wives of defeated kings in the forests.
120. B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao, *Op. cit.*, 1983, (Hoṭṭur inscription mentions that in order to divert the Western Chalukyan king Satyasraya who was campaigning Veṅgi, the Chōla emperor Rajendra I sent his son to occupy Rattavāḍi region, which was probably destroyed and many women of the city were abducted by him).

CHAPTER IV

PROFESSIONS AND PROPERTY RIGHTS

Indian tradition determines the space of men and women in public and private domains respectively. However interchangeability of gender roles is observed at times. Even in the classical tradition though a man is deemed to succeed to the throne, in the absence of a male heir/co regent, his wife becomes the ruler to ensure continuity of rule. Women belonging to the weak sections of the society take up economic activities along with men to supplement the family income. Thus it appears that there is no clearcut demarcation between the gender roles and they are very much influenced by the demands of the situation.

The law givers too provided ample space for women making them political heirs under certain circumstances. They enabled women to enter into valid contracts or pledge their husband's property for the purpose. Not only these, they have also allotted certain rights on property to women whether inherited or acquired by them. This largely explains the economic participation of women in the medieval times. This can be discussed under two heads. Section A deals with Professions and Section B deals with Property rights.

PROFESSIONS

In the primitive societies, no division of labour is found between the two sexes. Anthropological studies project women of ancient societies as food gatherers and food processors.¹ In due course, agriculture and crafts which necessitated a heavy

muscular power and labour were taken by men and the works which involve patience, skill and forbearance were practiced by women.

Certain leisure time activities of women, like spinning, weaving, cutting clothes, etc. contributed for the family economy. In due course, the dharmic literature also provided space for different occupations to be held by different categories of women. For example, entertainment maids in the royal courts.² The duty of attending to the personal works of a king and his family members was also assigned to women. Similarly, the profession of dance in the courts became exclusive of women, with the result that a new class of courtesans came into existence. Some of the wealthy and learned courtesans were patronised by kings as their concubines. Concubinage became an established and respectable profession in the medieval times. By about the same time, the temple too emerged as an important feudal institution creating provisions for temple dancing girls and women attendants for carrying out various ritual services to the temple deities, thereby widening the scope for their participation in almost all spheres of socio-economic, politico-cultural lives.

The occupations held by different categories of women can broadly be discussed under 3 heads; Occupations of *Kulastree* (family women), Women as *Bhōgastree* (entertainment maids) and the temple girls. Under each category folk-elite variation and integration are discussed.

Occupations of Kulastreeelu (family women)

Occupations taken up by women belonging to both elite and common sections of the society whose marital status (maiden, married or widow) is specific are included in this category.

Generally women of elite group did not take up any profession. The exception being women of ruling elite who entered into administrative jobs. This can be viewed more as hereditary right to that of profession, as discussed in the earlier chapter. However, women of the common sections of the society had to take up various economic activities to supplement the income of their husbands and to help them in the smooth running of the family. These include : Service in Royal Palace

A king's household is a big affair. Royal palace served as the biggest employer with several attendants for each type of work. Women are employed in the inner circles of the palace. *Manu* holds that well trained women and whose toilet (attire/garments) and ornaments examined should be appointed as entertainment maids by a king.³ They should attend to him with such works as serving with fans, water, and perfumes. *Mānasōllāsa*, recommends employing women in the royal households for cleaning rice and serving food, washing feet, massaging, dressing hair, applying unguents and for providing entertainment with programmes of music, dance, instrument playing.⁴ The medieval dance treatise *Nṛīttaratnākaramu* of Jāyapasēnani suggests that the king should be attended upon by maids alone while he watched programmes of music and dance and there should

be a woman who is perfectly talented in these arts in order to explain the significance of the programme to the king.⁵ Contemporary epigraphical and literary evidences throw much light on the different duties of women in the royal households.

The wetnurse is entrusted with the duty of bringing up the infant prince/princess to the early years of its childhood. Preferably old and experienced women are appointed for the purpose. *Dādi* is the term associated with these women. Epigraphical references provide more details of the post and the importance attached to it.⁶ Women attendants of the palace performed tasks like giving oil or scented bath to the king, massaging the hair or other parts of the body, cleaning grains or such other works in the royal kitchen.⁷ A record mentions the donor as the son of *Aḍupulotteḍi Aṅgāṇḍi* (one who massages the feet) of king, Kulottuḡachōḍa Deva.⁸ Women are appointed sometimes to look into the catering services of the royal kitchen. An undated epigraph from Amarāvati refers to the wife of Prolaya as *Vaṇṭala Kāmasāni*, probably incharge of royal kitchen.⁹ Serving meals for the members of the royal family, specially the king is also one of the duties of women attendants of the palace. Such women who arrange the meal plates for the king are referred to as *Taḷṭiya*.¹⁰ It appears that the court of Prataparudra II, the Kakatiya emperor had 3,200 women attendants.¹¹

Women alone are appointed as guards for the inner apartments of the palace and as personal body guards for royal women.¹²

Mānasōllāsa, prescribes elderly and experienced women to supervise the work of the maids of the palace.¹³

Āndhra Mahābhārata mentions a post, *Sairādhri*, (a woman engaged to decorate the queen) According to Tikkana, often women who are deserted take up this job. They stay for a specific period in the harem. Their duty is to decorate the queen and the job requires perfect talent in arts like hair dressing, beautification processes and making different kinds of garlands.¹⁴ This post probably had its origin in Vedic period. No specific payment is prescribed but she was maintained within the palace and was given a respectable treatment. Women belonging to *Bōya*, *Eruka*, *Chen̄chu* communities too are appointed for various services in the royal palaces. *Bōya* women wrap clothes to the palanquins, while their husbands are the palanquin bearers.¹⁵ The services of *Eruka* women are utilised to learn the plans of rival political powers in the war fields.¹⁶

Details regarding the mode of payment, amount of salary paid to each of these women employees are however not available. It appears that they are maintained out of royal income and residential accommodation is also provided to them within the palace compound. Moreover, it was a general practice to assign the children or husband of these women employees administrative posts like *Talāri*, *Dañḍanāyaka*. An inscription dated A.D. 1235 records grants made by a royal servant and son of the wetnurse of king Kōṭa Maṇmaketa.¹⁷ Another similar reference indicates that the husband of one Itasāni, a servant of Ganapatideva was the horse-man of the king.¹⁸

Other General Occupations

During medieval times, professions are mostly caste oriented. The contemporary sources provide us evidences of women's direct involvement in most of them. The village fairs and *tirunāḷḷu* held near the temples and pilgrim centres provided sufficient market ground for carrying out their economic activities. In addition, some of them are involved in selling their goods in the streets of the cities and towns. The contemporary literature provides abundant examples of women vendors. *Krīdābhīrāmamu* refers to women of *Teliki* community whose traditional occupation is extraction of oil, selling hair oil made of *Samperiga* flowers (*Michelia Champaka*).¹⁹ From the same work it can be gathered that few women sold herbal medicines and cosmetics for beautification processes in the *Mailla-saṅta* (market for the out castes).²⁰ Women selling flowers are termed as *Pushpalāṇḍikalū*.²¹ Generally they sold flowers in the streets of the city during evening or twilight hours. At times they also ran shops to sell flowers.

In *Keyūrabāhucharitramu*, a *vaisya* girl is described as selling oil in exchange to rice in the shop.²² Srinatha's *Ṭātu* verses refer to women running shops in the village fair to sell fruits like mangoes,²³ betel leaves,²⁴ bangles,²⁵ etc. Poor widows of brahman community stitched meal-plates with broad leaves and earn money by giving them in the houses of brahmans.²⁶ In addition inns and rest houses are run by poor and destitute women mostly of brahman community. *Krīdābhīrāmamu* refers to *Pōṭakūḷḷa* *ḷḷu* (inn) maintained by brahman widows where delicious food was

offered at cheaper rates.²⁷ The work further refers to a rest house called *Tammadi sāni Maṇḍiramu*.²⁸

Women belonging to *Mēdara*, *Eruka*, *Chen̄chu*, *Sabara* communities too probably made monetary use of their craft skills. *Mēdara* women were experts in basket weaving.²⁹ *Eruka* women are proficient in future telling.³⁰ *Sabara* and *Chen̄chu* women probably earned their livelihood through selling tanned animal skins, combs, false hairs and other forest products.³¹ Women of *Dom̄mari* and *Gor̄aga* classes are expert jugglers. *Kr̄idābhiraṃamu* depicts them as performing gymnastic feats in the streets of *Ōṟugallu*.³² They are very clever tumblers and tight rope dancers exhibiting their skills as they travel about. Some of them sell date mats, cane baskets and combs of horn' and wood.³³ *Basavapurāṇamu* refers to a *golletha* (*Bōya* woman) selling milk, curd and butter in the streets.³⁴

Literary and epigraphical sources refer to maids employed for domestic works like bringing water,³⁵ cooking,³⁶ etc. The elite class, concubines and wealthy courtesans are the employers for those maids. The maids of concubines and courtesans are supposed to acquire sufficient knowledge in fine arts and instrument playing.³⁷ *Basavapurāṇamu* mentions women in bonded labour.³⁸ Their occupation seems to be permanent for the family of the maid based on the term *Ilupuṭṭubānisa* found in *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra*.³⁹ Large monastic establishments running residential schools, choultries attached to the temples too employed women for petty works like cleaning grains and vessels. An epigraph from

Drākshārāmam registers a grant of 3 *kunichamulu* of rice, 1 *jīvita māda* and 3 *chinnālu* as salary for the two women employed for pounding rice grains, cleaning vessels and to bring water in the *Kuloṭṭuṅga Chola satramu* attached to the temple.⁴⁰ Another epigraph, also from the same place records grants of lands in lieu of salary to two women for pounding rice in the temple choultry.⁴¹

While these occupations are characterised by the direct involvement of women in earning money for the family, certain others like domestic service, rearing cattle, bringing up children, assisting their husbands in craft occupations and agricultural processes remained as supplementary roles as they are not recognised as works or paid jobs. Palkuriki Somanatha, in his *Basavapurāṇamu* gives a detailed description of how medieval women brought up their children, their care for the infants and concern about the general ailments of small children.⁴² A mother's voice is considered important in deciding issues like marriages of children.⁴³

Within the artisan tradition too women played a passive role in assisting their husbands in the preparatory processes. Their work is not a full time wage employment as production was not commercial. She worked in a joint endeavour with her husband. For example, if a potter turns the wheel and moulds the clay into shapes, his wife paints them and dries them.⁴⁴ Similarly in other fields like weaving,⁴⁵ dairy farming (Plate II a),⁴⁶ oil industry,⁴⁷ fishing (Plate I b), nut processing,⁴⁸ and such other

domestic craft occupations, a women's subsidiary role went un-noticed and remained hidden. Thus, her contribution to the income of the family did not come to light.

Similar is the case of agricultural processes wherein a woman's contribution is inevitable at every stage of crop production. Planting of seeds, weeding of plants, husking and winnowing of paddy and such other sundry jobs were done entirely by women.⁴⁹ *Kumārasambhavam* contains a description of young and unmarried girls keeping a watch over the paddy fields to drive off the birds and other stray animals.⁵⁰ Literary works refer to women singing songs while engaged in agricultural activities such as pounding the grain.⁵¹

The occupations of family women are thus direct as well as indirect economic activities. In addition, midwifery and nursing, are the other professions taken up by women who are elderly and experienced. The Gōlakimaṭha established by Viśveśvara Siva Dēśika at Malkāpuram had one *Prasūtiśāla* (maternity home attached to it). Though no other details are available in the grant, it can be assumed that women were probably working in the said maternity home as mid-wives and carrying out the duty of attending to child-birth.⁵²

Women as Bhōgastrēlu (Entertainment Maids)

All ancient works including Dharmasastras, mention a separate class of women working as entertainment maids. It was a part of the traditional culture of having women with a separate

social status for the purpose of providing enjoyment to men. To this category are included the courtesans, concubines and the prostitutes. Their professions are recognised by law and are brought under its protection by framing rules of succession, maintenance and such other property rights, distinct from those of family women. Laws are also made for protecting them from the dangers of their profession.

In the medieval period, the increasing feudal character of the state necessitated the king to be more authoritative on local chiefs. The existence and stability of the kingdom depended on the king's exercise (exhibition) of right and might. He had to undertake wars for the purpose, assume titles, extend patronage to religious institutions, scholars and poets. Along with these, it became a regular practice to maintain a number of beautiful and talented women as courtesans in the courts or as concubines in the harems. The prowess of the king is reflected in the number of women in his harem, thus creating a great political significance to the institutions of courtesans and concubinage. Gradually the men of elite as well as common sections of the society too maintained women besides lawfully wedded wives. While courtesans and concubines of the king enjoyed higher social status and privileges, prostitutes could not claim so. Even the classical tradition depicts them as money minded. Thus it appears that there are three categories of entertainment maids, courtesans, concubines and prostitutes.

Courtesans

The appointment of a group of dancers in the king's court was a customary practice of the ancient and medieval times. Āndhradeśa too is no exception to this. They are referred to as *Vārāṅganalu*,⁵³ *Vāravilāsinulu*,⁵⁴ *Gaṇikalū*,⁵⁵ Vatsayana defines *Gaṇika* as a woman expertised in all 64 arts.⁵⁶ *Mānasollāsa* ordains that the *Gaṇikas* along with women of royal family, dancers, priests and feudatories are to attend the king's assembly on special occasions.⁵⁷ The very presence of the courtesans brought gracefulness to the court. Ekamranatha mentions that there are as many as 8000 *Bīrudu Pātralū* (courtesans whose profession is to sing/dance in courts to the tunes in praise of the king) and 500 entertainment maids in the court of Prataparudra.⁵⁸

The contemporary literary sources indicate that every royal court had a contingent of courtesans whose *Nṛītyagāna Vinōdamulū* is a daily routine in the court.⁵⁹ Girls proficient in fine arts were appointed for the purpose. Courtesans were one among the tributes paid by the feudatories to their overlord. Instances from *Siṃhāsanaadvāṭīśimsika* refer to the vassals sending girls as part of their tributary payments offered to their lords.⁶⁰

The courtesans lived in separate streets in the capital cities. Their houses were well furnished and beautifully decorated giving great appearance to the city itself. Literary and epigraphical references show that capital cities like *Vikramasimhapura*,⁶¹ *Tsandavole*,⁶² *Amarapuramu*,⁶³ were appearing

graceful because of the beautiful houses of the courtesans. This is suggestive of the higher socio-economic status of these women. They were a class by themselves due to the nature of their profession. They received specialised training through teachers appointed for the purpose.⁶⁴ Their higher social status and greater economic independence is reflected in their patronising scholars, poets and involvement in religious services through gift making.

Concubinage

On the origin of this institution, N. Venkataramanayya says, "The existence of courtesans in large numbers in the courts of kings and nobles and those attached to temples must have fostered its growth and encouraged people to form irregular unions with members of this community without any social opprobrium".⁶⁵

The kings maintained rich, learned women and those skilled in fine arts as their concubines in the harem. They are variously referred to as *Bhōgastrēlu*,⁶⁶ *Bhōgamahishi*,⁶⁷ *Lañjapeṇḍlamu*,⁶⁸ *Lañjiya*,⁶⁹ *Vārakanta*,⁷⁰ etc. No social stigma is attached to this practice. Even the kings and nobles patronising concubines took pride in assuming such titles as *Vāranāri manōrañjana*,⁷¹ *Rāya vesyābhujāṅga*,⁷² *Vāranāriyauvana Vasanthudu*,⁷³ *Kāminījana Manōvallabha*,⁷⁴ etc. as indicated in the contemporary epigraphs. A Telugu Chōḍa chief from Cuddapah region claimed that he was *Vilāsavibhavabhōgapuraṇḍara*, and *Chāturvidha Kāminī - janaratiśvara*.⁷⁵ Another record from

Drākshārāmam gives the epithet of the king as *Vāravanitājana Chitta Bhavudu*.⁷⁶ This gives support to the argument that patronising concubines is considered as a status symbol of royalty during the period. This practice of the kings is followed even by petty ruling chiefs and nobles.

The harlots lived in separate localities called *Āryavāṭikas*. Their houses were beautifully decorated with paintings, ornate furniture, soft beds, decorated foams, comfortable chairs, large mirrors and painting halls. They dressed themselves in the most elegant manner.⁷⁷ Patronising scholars, poets, painters, musicians, holding literary assemblies, contributing to the state's development through their munificent grants to religious and charitable institutions were part of their regular activities.⁷⁸ Prataparudra's concubine Māchaladevi was a famous woman. She commanded a great respect in the society and was described as *Pratāparudra dharaṇīśopatta Gōshtipratishṭha Pārīṇa*.⁷⁹ Kota Keta's concubines gave grants to Buddhadeva at Amarāvati.⁸⁰ The concubines of the kings took no hesitation to call themselves the *Bhōgastṛeelu* of the ruling chiefs. Even their children who were generally appointed in the royal service claimed identity through them. The donees of Gaṇjam plates of Gōkaṇṇa and Mātura grant of Nārāyaṇa claimed themselves as *Vesya Vamsodhbhava*.⁸¹ The concubines demanded money in the form of *Unkuva*, while their men participated in the wars. It is quoted in *Paṇḍiti Vīracharitra* that Syāmāṅgi, the concubine of Bālachandra (son of Brahmanayudu) demanded a silk saree and Rs.12,000 as *unkuva* at the time of his leaving for the war

field.⁸² She claimed that the amount was charged as she had to accompany him to the heaven as *velayalu*.⁸³ *Unkuva* forms a part of *stridhana*, a women's property.⁸⁴ Despite their economic stability and social security in royal courts as courtesans and concubines, there was a need for their legal security and protection. Dharmasastras provide maintenance allowance for the concubines of the deceased besides recognising their sons as illegitimate heirs to the parental property.⁸⁵ They also made strict regulations to check the irregularities of the practice. Yajnavalkya prescribes a fine of 50 *panas* against a person cohabiting with the concubine of another.⁸⁶ Generally patronised by the men of elite section as part of their privileges, these concubines enjoyed a higher socio-economic status whereas prostitution differs from this in its operational manner.

Prostitution

Commonly referred to as *Veśya*, *Vārāṅgana*, *Velayālu*, *Laṅgiya*, these women constitute a professional group by themselves. At times there is no clear distinction between a concubine and a girl who practices prostitution as a profession. They trace their origin from the heavenly nymphs called *Apsaras*.⁸⁷ Not a single procession whether of political, social, religious or of festive significance advanced further without the programmes by the girls of this group.⁸⁸ *Rāṅganātha Rāmāyaṇamu* refers to a *Gaṇikāṇikāyaṁu* (an association of *Gaṇikas*) on the occasion of the marriage of Rāma with Sītā.⁸⁹

Women following the profession lived in separate localities of the cities called *veśyavāṭikas*. The Thousand pillar temple inscription of Hanumakonda describes one such *vesyavatika* of Orugallu.⁹⁰ A similar account is given in the literary work, *Kṛīdābhīrāmamu*.⁹¹ *Pratāparudracharitra*, quotes that there were about 1,27,000 houses of *veśyas* in Ōrugallu.⁹² Contemporary poets described prostitutes of the temple city of Drākshārāmam in their works.⁹³

The material prosperity achieved through stabilised feudal political relations during Kakatiya rule in Āndhradeśa could have given rise to the amorous nature of the class of elite. The rulers and their officers needed the company of women even during times of war to provide them with relief through their programmes of music/dance and to give them strength and relaxation of the mind. Common men too followed suit. The Saivite movement recognising the *Pañchamakāras* as forms of devotion to God, accorded a sort of religious legitimation to this practice.⁹⁴ Saivite scriptures identified one's sexual pleasure as that belonging to the Lord, it being one form of devotion of God.⁹⁵ *Basavapurāṇamu* reflects that Basaveśvara, used to send presents, delicious food preparations to the Saivite priests who spend their whole day in the company of prostitutes.⁹⁶ From the various sources we gather that there were about 12,000 such priests who were referred to as *Mīṇḍa Jaṅgamas*.⁹⁷ The large number only indicates the wide religious sanction by the sect to prostitution.

From the very young age a harlot is trained properly, the syllabi of which is designed in such a way as to make her occupation profitable.⁹⁸ In addition they are supposed to eat little, observe vows for prosperity, learn tricks to deceive men and earn more money.⁹⁹ The most important guide and mentor for harlot is her mother. The *veśyamātha* teaches her daughter that money, costly garments and precious ornaments are compulsory for women following this profession.¹⁰⁰ She trains her daughter to be specific regarding matters of money and makes efforts to prevent her from being carried away by the promises of *Magalañjiyalu* (men who try to save money through deceiving the innocent prostitutes), or by religious sentiments.¹⁰¹ She keeps guard over her daughter and protects her from unpecunious customers.

However, the practices of the mothers of the girls are not held in esteem by many of the contemporary poets. They highlighted the greediness of the *Veśyamātha* with great contempt. This shows their male bias as they have not reflected the fear and foresight of the mother for the security of her daughter based on the agebound and temporary nature of their profession. They do not have any other occupation except utilising their youthfulness for earning their livelihood. Once they cross their youth, their plight becomes miserable. Moreover, in the continuous expansion of the institution they have to face competition in their profession from the youngsters. A girl has to accumulate profits to the maximum extent possible during this period of her life. Having realised this need, the *veśyamātha* guides her daughter to be particular in demanding money from the

customers. This is evident from the story of *Chaturika*, in *Kēyūrabāhucharitramu*, who very cleverly organised her profession and earned money.¹⁰² *Daśakumāra charitra* mentions *Kuṇṭineelu* probably women brokers.¹⁰³ The fee collected from the customer is referred to as *Rōyi*. It can either be in cash or kind. As long as the contract for which *Rōyi* was paid holds good, the girl can not entertain any other person.¹⁰⁴ Generally the amount of *Rōyi* depends on the demands of the girl. *Krīdābhirāmamu* quotes one *Kaṇṇāṭi veśya* demanding *satīhātakanishkamu* (one sari and some amount of gold) and another *veśya* asking for two *sonnāṭankamulu* (two gold coins).¹⁰⁵ Sometimes their demands are so high that a person had to mortgage landed property.¹⁰⁶ *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra* contains another practice called *Vāḍapottu* wherein men of a particular street enter into a specific contract with a harlot as regards the person who should visit her. The girl was thus maintained by the men of that street.¹⁰⁷

The dangers of the profession and its temporariness lead to the prostitutes going for unfair means of earning money. *Krīdābhirāmamu* refers to a *veśyamātha* sending her daughter to another person after collecting fee from a person. The maid of the girl was asked to entertain the latter. For controlling such practices the state appointed officers and a separate court was established for the purpose, which is referred to as *Jāradharmāsanamu*.¹⁰⁸ The Koṇavi inscription and *Vijñaneśvaramu* of Ketana mention laws made by the state to punish greedy mothers of the harlots and to control their unfair practices of earning

money.¹⁰⁹ Generally a specific amount of fine is levied on the accused together with such punishments as cutting the nose, ears or shaving the head.¹¹⁰ At the same time laws are also made to protect women from the evil attempts of men. It is declared that for women of this class having sex with men is not a sin.¹¹¹ A customer who promises to pay the amount to a *veśya* but fails to comply with is penalised with double the amount to be paid to her and an equal amount as penalty to the king.¹¹² Similarly, for impersonification, one gold *masaka* is to be paid.¹¹³ Fines are also imposed for causing physical injury to the girls.¹¹⁴ Thus the protection offered is dual, protection of prostitutes against exploitation by customers and society and protection of the public from the treacherous or dubious nature of the prostitutes.

The contemporary literature provides instances of certain *veśyas* religiously inclined towards Saivism. They took *Dīkṣa* from *Jaṅgama* priests and dedicated the whole of their life in their service, not entertaining any other customer. Such girls were respected and accorded motherly treatment from the disciples of the priests, who gave them initiation.¹¹⁵ Through references in the literary works of the period it appears that courtesans and concubines of elite men enjoyed recognition in the society whereas prostitutes had to struggle hard to earn money. Moreover the state collected a tax on the mirrors used by the girls of this community.¹¹⁶

Women in Temple Service

By medieval times, the temple achieved a great institutional status linking itself closely with the rise of devotional sects. It became a principal site for sect activity. The temples are provided with support and protection by the ruling warrior groups.¹¹⁷ This involved a diverse body of functionaries with substantial pilgrim participation. In turn the temple culture firmly established the agrarian feudal order. The rise of devotional bhakti literature of the times too is suggestive of the new feudal class relationships and the corresponding ideology. The deity in the temple is equated with the king and a parallel world of authority is reconstructed on the spiritual plane. Ritual worship in the temple is conceived on the same lines of ritual services offered to the king. Thus attempts are made to authenticate and legitimise the new feudal polity of the period through a parallelism between the deity and the king.¹¹⁸

Since the temple and God are homologised with royal court and king respectively, the *dēvasthāna* maintained the same bureaucracy as that of the *Rājasthāna*. (The *Bāhattara niyōga*, 72 attendants). This aspect gains further support from the inscriptional references indicating interchangeability of women in temple service with those of the king's court. An inscription from Srikalahasthi temple registers orders of a king transferring a dancing girl and her descendants from his service to the temple. Another record from Mukhalingam temple mentions that Vāsama, the *Guḍisāni* of Madhukisvara temple was also the *Lañjiya* of Doddapanāyaka, an officer of the Velanāduchoḍa king Rajendra

Choḍa.¹¹⁹ This interchangeability can be understood in terms of the ritual exchange of honours between the king, his officers and the temple in the feudal political background.

The God and the king had to follow elaborate rituals before they start their routine. The temple rituals are of two types - *Aṅgabhōga* (the general worship services) and *Raṅgabhōga* (the ritual services specially in the *Raṅgamaṇṭapa* built for the purpose daily or on festive occasions). Women are employed in both categories, however, in large numbers in the latter.

Big temples of the period in Āndhradeśa like Pālakolanu, Chēbroḷu, Drākshārāmaṁ, Simhāchalam maintained as many as 300 to 500 temple girls. They are generally donated by the kings, vassals or their generals. 30 daughters from the *Nāyaka* families of Kalinga maṇḍala were donated to the temple at Mukhalingam by an officer of Eastern Gaṅgas to execute various deeds specified in the record.¹²⁰ General Jāyapa donated 300 girls of the age of 8 years to the temple at Chēbroḷu.¹²¹ Another record indicates the donation of a girl called Bhaṇḍāramu Akkama as *sāni* to the temple at Velpūru by Ganapatidevaraja, son of Kōṭa Bayyaladevi. Lands and gardens were also donated by him as *vr̥tti* to her.¹²²

Sometimes girls are brought from different places of the country and are given employment in the temple as in the case of the Viśveśvara temple at Malkāpuram where the singers were brought from Kashmir.¹²³ Apart from these, it is also observed that many women enter into temple service for employment probably for

the sake of the shares in temple property and a portion of *prasādamu* of the deity offered to them in lieu of their services in the temple. A merchant at Elēśvaram donated his two daughters to the temple.¹²⁴

The temple girls are commonly termed as *Sānulu*, *Sāni Saṁpradāyamuvāru*, *Guḍisānulu* or sometimes indicating the numerical status as *Munnūṭi Sānulu*, *Pedamunnūṭi Sānulu Sāni Munnūru*, etc.¹²⁵ The term does not indicate any caste status, though an inscription from Simhachalam relates them to the sudra caste.¹²⁶ *Pātra* is another term used generally to denote the dancing girls of the temple.¹²⁷ *Dvādasa Sēva Vilāsini* includes 12 prescribed duties to be performed by women.¹²⁸ The various services into which temple girls are recruited and details of their payment are shown in the Chart IV.

RECRUITMENT OF TEMPLE GIRLS - SERVICES - PAYMENT - DETAILS

Sl. No	Reference	Date	Temple	Employer	Name/Names of the Temple Girl/Girls	Nature of work	Details of vritti allotted
	S I I Vol. IV						
1.	No. 661	A.D. 1297	Pattabhirāma temple, Narasampet	Manmagandagopala	1. Kōṭi Kēśavadāsini 2. Kōṭṭāri Kēśavadāsini	For performing the yearly Gaṇḍagopala Tirunālḷu in the Chāitramāsa at Kōṭyadana.	20 puttis of dry land in Paḍumuvāra Gaṇḍa Siddhapuram and 20 khandikas of land
2.	No. 676	A.D. 1151	" "	Kommanamatyā	1. ...mmaka, D/o Kota Betana 2. Peraka, D/o Prolana	For supplying ghee of one mānika daily	3 kh of land to each of the girls
3.	No. 1015	A.D. 1084	Yāminisvara temple	Jāyama, d/o Pedamunnūṭi, Samara Modali Bētināyaka	2 lady employees of the choultry attached to the temple	For grinding rice, dals, to clean mealplates and to bring water	3 kunchas of rice, 1 jivitamāḍa and 3 chinna for each of them

4.	" " No.663	--	Mulasthanēśvar a temple, Nadiṇḍla	Chōḍeraju	A list of temple girls is given in the record	Singing and other Raṅgabhōga services	Lands were given to individual employees as specified below: 1). 4 singers to each of them 4 puṭṭis of land, together 16 kh of land. 2). Godavukāme-2 kh 3). Bōya Vidda vallabhi 3 kh 4). (lost) 3 kh 5). Dāḍepōju Mācha 2 kh 6). (lost) 4 kh 7). Koṭe Nāga - 3kh 8). Surama - 9). Vennaka 3 kh 10). Sabbedāra 3 kh 11). Palledama 3 kh 12). Gokana Sūra 2 kh 13). Gaḍiyanabūma 3 kh 14). Vemaka Eṛiya 3 kh 15). Komma Eṛiya 3 kh 16). Podarabolla 3 kh 17). Tantrapāla Vardanamka 3 kh 18). Kāmakuppa 3 kh 19). Gasada Komma 3 kh 20). Poyigāramu Kend amara Kanne 2 kh
5.	" " No.677	--	" "	Manma maṇḍa	A list of temple girls is given in the record	Raṅgabhōga functions, singing, dancing, instrument playing, Chāmara kolupu, etc.	Individual land grants were given to the girls based on the nature of services.
6.	" " No.1288	--	Bhimesvara temple, Draksharamam	Kuḍiyāṇḍu Kāpi Raṭṭaḍi	4 lady employees of the choultry attached to the temple (names not given)	For grinding rice	For one lady 1 māḍa and some salary. (details lost) For three other ladies land (particulars lost)

	No. 996	A. D. 1155	Narendrasvara temple, Krānza	Dārapanāyaka and Jāmenapegga	2 sāni kām̐ women	For supply of ghee of 1 mānika daily to burn the perpetual lamp @ 1 mānika by each woman	5 Kulottunga gadyas for both of them
	S I I Vol. V						
8.	No. 1214	A.D.1309	Srikurman	Viśvanātha dēva	Sānulu of the Temple	--	3 Gāryalu
9.	" No.613	A.D.1151	Bhimeśvara temple, Koṭyadona	Kulottunga Choḍa Goṇka	Chandika, Nāga, Rāmaka, Ammaka, Gaṅga, Dāmaka, Umayaka, Nakka	Worship services to the deity	3 kh of land to each of the employee
10.	" No.62	--	Rājanārāyaṇa temple, Bhimavaram	Not clear	Brammaka, daughter of Eriyaka	Saṇivṛitti	Certain amount of temple land in Puligunta village, Prolinadu.
11.	" No.82	--	Bhimeśvara temple, Chālukya Bhimapuram	Vishṇubhaṭṭāraka	1). Sāni Nāyaghava Eriyaka, Dārakava Prola, Eriyaka kosani, Prolava Gonnaka 2). Chimmaka Amkava, Sankava Vāsiki, Ayanava Kommaka, Rājamava Valleka, Eriyaka Bhadiri, Eriyakava Keṭi, Kuchamava, Eriyaka, Eriyaka Pella, Mauryaka Dāmava, Mēḍava Komarava, Pampava cheedi, Rākapa Eriyava, Eriyaka Sankava, Ayanapa koṇḍaka.	Chāmara kolupu Dancing and other Raṅgabhōga services	4 kh of Cheluka land, 4 kh of Garuvu land to each of the employees in the Pulingunta village, Prolināḍu.
12.	" No.105	--	Koppeśvara temple, Palivela, Razole	A minister of Velanāṭi Choḍa	3 Dancing girls	Dancing	Land of 30 kh, 10 kh for each of the dancing girl

13.	"" No.1225	A.D.1349	Srikurmam	Queen Gangādevi and Sita devi	1. Natṭava Talāsāni 2. Surasāni, D/o Kusanayana 3. Bāsāsāni D/o Singārini (Probably from the families of temple dancing girls only)	Dancing, Alāvaṭam kolupu, and Chāmara kolupu on both times - morning and evening	Daily prasāda of 1 Kuḍuṭamu, 1 Appa and 1 Viḍiya, salary of 1 Gaṇḍamāḍa to each of the employees.
14.	"" No.80	--	Rājanārāyaṇa temple, Bhimavaram	Kommarāju Raṭṭaḍikam (8 of such Nāyakas)	Nitya Peṇṇayaka, Melunāyaka Muchhiyaka, Ganoju Neṇṇiyama, Peṇṇiya, and other male members	Dancing and other Raṅga bhōga services	4 kh Chelika land and 4 kh Garavu land to each of them.
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15.	No.740	A.D.1369	Simhachalam temple	Narasimhanātha	Akkasāni, Anyasāni and Bunnasāni	Chāmara kolupu and Dancing	2 kunchas of prasādamu and 10 Padmanidhi gaṇḍamāḍas deposited in the treasury.
16.	"" No.751	A.D.1113	" "	Military General from Kālīṅga	Sampradāyamu Tantrasāni	Chāmarakolupu	Prasādamu of Appas and Viḍiyas and 2 puṭṭis of land near lake in Lakumavūru in Oḍḍadi country.
17.	"" No.756	A.D.1113	" "	Siriya Mudasiri	Polama, d/o Gangabhōgena Tarasani	" "	1 kuncha of prasādamu containing Appas and Viḍiyas and 3 Padmanidhi mallamāḍas.
18.	"" No. 772	A.D.1371	" "	Chilama Sahasamalla	Mudunaṇṇakha D/o Chittasāni	Not clear	2 kunchas of prasādamu daily and 4 puṭṭis wet land behind Mrempeḍa lake.
19.	"" No.797	A.D.1375	" "	Varadana Peggāḍa of Oddāḍi	Anyasāni, Kūnasāni, Prātasāni, Varadasāni	Chāmarakolupu and keeping Raṅgoli twice in the day	10 Gaṇḍamāḍas, one kuncha of prasādamu for each of the girls.

20.	"" No. 904	A.D.1291	" "	Nārāyaṇa Senapati	2 singers and 4 laṅḡalu (prostitutes) of Sāni Saṁpradāyamu	To sing Maṅgaḷagitamulu	5 Nibandhas (Not specified)
21.	"" No.1099	--	" "	Kaliṅga Pariksha Sankarajiya na and his wife	Narūva Nachnapa	For applying sandal wood, holding mirror and to keep raṅgoli etc.	5 Padmanidhi gaṇḍamāḍas and 1 kuncha of prasādamu daily
22.	"" No.1134	A.D.1374	" "	Kaliṅga Pariksha Dharma dāsajiyar	Daughters of the dancing girls together called sānulu with individual vṛittis	For Nāmasaṅkirtana throughout the day at every service in the temple. This includes instrument playing such as viṇakolupu, taḷadāri, gāṇi kolupu	A vṛitti of 4 Nibandhas and 20 Padmanidhi gaṇḍamāḍas deposited in the temple treasury for all of them. In addition, the following individual vṛittis (share in the daily prasādamu) 1.Kunamu Naṭṭava savarārāṇi (viṇa) 1 kuncha 2.Eṇasani (tāḷa) adḍa 3.Eṇasani (Gāṇi kolupu) 1 adḍa and kunchas 4.Pinasirigāsāni - (viṇa & tāḷa) 2 kunchas 5.Sirigasāni D/o Naṭṭapa (gāṇikolupu) 2 kunchas (4 Nibandhas could be 4 kunchas of Appas, Viḍiyas, and salary of 13 (18) Gaṇḍachinnas for one year).
23.	"" No.207	A.D.1209	Bhimeśvara temple, Cherakūru	Kota Keta	1) Mogali Surama, Patra Kāmaka Avajamudāse 2)Prolama, Pota, Anyama, Pina anyama	Kāmbhōgamu (dancing, music, etc) " "	1 kh of land for each of them 10 Na. of land for each of them

24.	"" No.890	A.D.1359	Simhachalam temple	Narasimhabh ārati	1)Savarasāni, Ekkasāni, Potasāni, Nachhasāni, Akkasāni, all daughters of dancemasters (ladies) Koḍyasāni, Pinakoḍyasāni, chingasāni, chiṭṭasāni (other dancing girls, probably of the above families only) 2)Bhumipiraṭi, Nachisāni D/o Narasimha, other names are not clear	Nāmasaṁkirtana at both times of the day For various attending services (Attendants)	5 kunchas of prasādamu. In addition, an amount of 10 Gaṇḍamāḍas was kept in the temple treasury 8 kuḍumus of prasādamu.
25.	"" No.901	S.1297	" "	Bayyamadevi	Tallasāni, Tiruva sāni Aṇṇasāni	Chāmara kolupu	2 kunchas of prasādamu and 10 Gaṇḍamāḍas
26.	"" No.939	A.D.1375	" "	Kaliṅga Pariksha Yogikshara Jiyana	1.Naṭṭuva Kelasāni, Saṁpradāyamu Chiṭṭasāni 2.Kasyakāra chiṅgi	To sing Maṅgalagitāmulu daily " "	2 māḍas, 5 chinna " "
27.	"" No. 941	A.D.1337	" "	Varadagiri Sripāda	1 mukhari and 2 laṅjalu	" " on both times of the day	6 Nibandhas (details not given)
28.	"" No. 980	--	""	--	Varadāchi	To bring one pot full of water for Tirumajakāla service	10 māḍas and 1 kuncha of prasādamu
29.	"" No. 1000	A.D.1307	""	Danḍa Sivadasa pasāyita	Sānulu of the temple (no. not specified)	Viñjāmara on both the times and for other Raṅgabhōga services	1 kunchamu of prasādamu daily

30.	"" No. 1052	A.D. 1350	""	Gaṅgadevi	1). Arjunasundara Jamunasundara, Kaṇchisundara, Gaurasundara, Lakuma, Arjuna sundara, Rājasundara, Satusundara, 2). Māṇikasundara , Mugdhasundara, 3). Tārasundara, sa namāṇikasundara 4). Kaṇchisundara 5). Yamusundara 6). Jānakasundara, 7). Umasundara 8). Tulasamadu 9). Pirāṭṭidevi 10). Maṅka, subhadra, Eḍḍa, Pātra, Māṇikalu	Bhōga Services 1). Pātralu - dancing 2). Mādati Katyalu (inst. playing) 3). Singing 4). Inst. playing (kaṇsya laṭamu) 5). "" (saṅkhu) 6). "" (Āvajamu, Bhēri) 7). "" (mihuri) 8). "" (Brahmamuhuri, Sumanta Kāhali) 9). Inst. playing - Chāmarakolupu 10). Inst. playing Kāhali	Houses and garden lands for all these employees.
31.	"" No. 1137	--	""	Dāsapaṇḍita	10 beautiful, virtuous girls, - Tallama, Damiradḍipirāṭi, Kālipirāṭi, Mruggupirāṭi, Pātiborgekunama, Chinḡe, Chudama, Pinna tiruvama, Kunama, Chingama (along with 2 instrument players -men)	For Gita gosṭi (Singing)	Certain amount of grain as salary and garden lands.
32.	"" No. 1197	--	""	--	100 dancing girls names of all were given in the record	Singing and dancing	... details lost.
33.	"" No. 588	A.D. 1264	Mahamalleśvara temple, Vipparla	Allaḍa Femmayadeva Mahārāju	Sānulu (names not given)	Raṅgabhōga	10 Kh of land in the west of Jālamuri Teḡuvu
34.	"" No. 602	A.D. 1250	Someśvara temple Inumella, Vinukonda	Kālapanāyak a	""	""	10 kh of land

35.	"" No.603	--	""	""	""	""	""
36.	"" No.608	A.D.1147	Sankarasvāmi temple, Koṇidena	Tribhuvana malladeva choḍa	Naṭṭavula Seṅke & others (Details lost)	"" (Probably dancing)	1kh of land
37.	"" No.982	A.D.1296	Simhachalam temple	Nārāyaṇa Pradhāni	Ubhayasaṃpradāya mulavaru (names not given)	Singing Maṅgaḷagitālu from morning to night	4 Nibandhas (details not given)
38.	"" No.1028	A.D.1358	""	Vidyādharaḍu	Jiyaneḍi Kommaya, Chittayaneḍi Gaṅgu, Saṃpradāyamu Chuḍi pirāṭi, Koṭinachyāri keta	Chāmarakolupu, 2 chāmaras on both occasions morning & night.	At the rate of 16 Gaṇḍamādas -total 16 māḍas in the treasury and 2 kunchas prasādamu daily
39.	"" No.1128	A.D.1374	""	Dharmadāsa Jiyana	Kuṭarigopali	Holding mirror and keeping raṅgoli	2 kunchas of prasādamu, 6 Appas and 8 chinna as salary
40.	"" No.1130	A.D.1374	""	Paṇḍaleṅka, Viśvaṇṭha Jiyana sons of Dharmadāsa Jiyana (royal officers)	Balasaraswathi Tripurasāni, Kuppasāni (Grand daughters of temple dancing girls)	Chāmarakolupu for both times of the day	2 Nibandhas after depositing 10 Padmanidhigaṇḍa māḍas. Salary for them is Appas, Viḍiyas every month, 8 chinna as salary per year and 8 paṇḍakalu.
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41.	No.159.	A.D.1166	Rāmasvāmi temple, Ikṅkurru, Nārasaraopet	Mallināyaka	A girl who plays instrument Maddela	Instrument playing	2 kh land.
42.	"" No.164	A.D.1168	Guntūra temple	Mandāḍi Nāmināyaka and his relatives	Different girls with individual grants	Instrument playing, keeping Raṅgoli etc.	1 kh of land to Saṅku Malle 10 na of land to Muggu mṛeka and Polama
43.	"" No.189	A.D.1173	Rajeśvarasvāmi temple, Peda Koṇḍūru, Tenāli	Rāma	Melināyani Komarama and Guḍisāni Ketama	For maintaining the lamp	Some amount of land

44.	" " No. 238	--	Venugopālasvām i temple Pedapalakalūru Guntur	King	Temple girls with individual grants	for providing entertainment to the God (Bhōgamu)	5 kh to Natṭavula Sure 2 kh to Nallamgete 2 kh to .. name lost 2 kh to Kunṭamu Kāsaka There may be other beneficiries too whose names are not complete, mutilated grant
45.	" " No. 344	A.D.1254	Velpūru temple	Gaṇapatidev arāja son of Koṭa Bayyamadevi (king)	Bhaṇḍaramu Akkama (Dedicated to the temple by the donor)	Dancing	A vṛitti of 2kh dry field, 1 mar. of wet land, a house site and a garden
46.	" " No. 74	A.D.1115	Kodaṇḍarāmasvā mi temple, Kopparam	Kannarachoḍ adeva and his brother (minister)	1). Nartakitilaka Padmavati 2). Bogakhya Pātra 3). Gāyaki Gaura 4). Pamarika Eṇiyaka 5). Chāmara holders and Dvādaśaseva Vilasinis	Dancing Singing Chāmarakolupu and 12 other specified functions	12 kh and 6 vṛihi kh 4 kh and 2 vṛihi kh 6 kh and 4 "" 5 kh and 4 "" 48kh and 24 "" (for all of them together) the land is in two villages, Kopparam and Biḍepalli of Kammavishaya
47.	" " No. 89	A.D.1132	Maheśvara temple, Dumbaṇṭa, Narsarao pet	Kapeyanāyak a (general of Maṇḍerāju)	Natṭavula Kete Potasāni Proli, Kāpasāni Ravva, Manneva Vennaka, Vese silataka (and other male employees)	Dancing Music, intrument playing	6 kh and 1 maṭṭuṇṇu land 3 kh land for each of them. This is out of 100 puttis of land given to the temple by the donor

48.	" " No.107	A.D.1139	Karṇamoti temple, Nadiṇḍla	Manmamanday a raja (a subordinate of Kulottuṅga Choḍa)	Dancing girls and instrument players the names of all are given in the record. Based on the names profession can be understood, for ex. singer Jakke, Naṭṭavulu Dādepoju Malle, Sankhuhāra Kanne, Maddaliya Kāme etc. Sometimes their caste status can also be understood as Bōya Buddana Suraka, Mādirāju Māraka Basiviseṭṭi Pochaka, Sāni Muppasāni Pochaka, etc.	Bhōgamu of the Lord which includes dancing, singing and instrument playing	For Naṭṭavulu Malle, 6 kh of land Maddaliya Kāme and 2 singers 4 kh and for others 3 kh of land in Nadiṇḍla
49.	" " No.148	A.D.1161	Anantesvara temple, Chirumāmilla, Guntur	Kulottuṅga Choḍa Goṅkarāju	Names of about 13 girls is given. Few of them are dancers, others musicians and singers. One is a dancer Naṭṭava Bāre. Maddaliya Dāve, Maddaliya Kāve are instrument players.	For services of dancing singing, and instrument playing	Naṭṭava Bare, 6 kh of dry land Maddaliya Dāve, Kāve 4 kh of dry land, Singer Loke 4 kh of dry land for others 3 kh of dry land. Goḍavu Neṇṇiyama and Toṇṭa Dāme were given 1 kh land each.

50.	"" No.171	A.D.1170	Choḍeśvara temple, Moparṛu	Paḍavālu Goṅka, a general and his wife Gokāmbika	8 dancing girls called sānulu Modalisāni Prolama Potana, Ketama, Mārama, Prolama, Nandama, Bhimama, Choḍama. Their fathers' names are given. Few of them are from the same family.	Trisaṇḍhyala Kolupu	1 kh and 10 na of land to each of them.
51.	"" No.334	A.D.1251	Venkaṭeśvara temple, Durgi	Nāmadevapaṇḍita feudatory of Kakatiya Ganapatideva	Maddelavāru, Pātralu, Simhaṇyethalu, Mokhari (Raṅgabhōgamu Unit)	Raṅgabhōgamu Services	Land grants to each of them from the total lands granted to the temple by the donor
52.	"" No. 396	--	Viśveśvara temple, Malkāpuram	Rudramadevi Kakatiya queen (gift executed by Kasiśvara Siva Ayyaṅḡaru on the orders of the royal priest	Temple sānulu with names and individual grants. Names with their fathers' names are given such as Prolaṇḍi Seṭṭi's daughter Samnala Akkāsāni, Nalamarasāni d/o Nalladeviseti, Viśveśvara Māṇikya d/o Samayamantu, Goḷagiri Māṇikya d/o Anḍāri and 12 other dancing girls whose names are given.	Probably for Raṅgabhōgamu. The term Sānivṛitti is given as the indication. Individual duties are not specified.	1 kh and 10 tūmus of land to each of the lady employees.

53.	"" No. 422	A.D.1269	Gopinātha temple, Dugya	Jannigarāja Subordinate of Rudramadevi	Dancing girls, singers and instrument players, called pātralu, paḍeḍi siyāṇethalu, etc.	Aṅgaraṅgabhōga services	1). 5 pātras to get 2 kh of land. 2). 10 singers to get 2 kh 10 na of land. 3). Aṅgārakā - 5 Na. 4). Suvāsi - 5 Na. and also grants of land to Virapatiṇḍla vāru, Dhavaḷasaṅkula vāru, Jegaṇṭala vāru, Ekasaṅkula vāru etc. (probably the instrument players, both male and female).
54.	"" No.707	A.D.1153	Cholagāṅga Mādhavadeva temple, Vizianagaram	A relative of the king Anantavarma devara	Beḍisānulu and instrument players	Probably for Raṅgabhōgamu	Lands with all emoluments in the village of Tātāram in Talāṇḍa -12
55.	"" No.102	--	Śaktiśvara temple, Nūtakki, Guntur	Kaṇḍravāṭi Bhimarāju	1. Aya 2. Bole 3. Bolaka d/o Ketana 4. Aḍumaka d/o Eḷiyana 5. Vaṭiyaka 6. Kona 7. Ketaka d/Apana	Dancer singer	3 kh --- lost 2 kh " " " " " " 1 kh
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56.	No. 59	A.D.1221	Gopālakrishna temple, Inuguṭti	Queen Kāketa Mailalamahā devi	singers	Not specified in the grant	Houses for the singing girls and certain Nibandhas specified.
57.	"" No.74	--	Prasanna Viśveśvara temple, Elkurki	Malla, great grand son of Bhāskaramantri	Bhōgamvāru (18 of them) who include singers, dancers, flutists, drummers, Jalajakaṇḍa vāru (appear to be both male and female)	Entertainment to God	8 marṭuṇṇu of land.
N D I PART II							

58.	Darsi (57)	A.D.1219-20	Tripurāntaka Mahādeva temple, Pottapāḍu	Tripurāntaka, feudatory of Rudradeva	Guḍisānulu	Damaged	Damaged
59.	" Darsi (72)	A.D. 1272-73	Gopiśvaradeva temple, Tammalūru	Mallaṇadevi Ammaṅḡaru, a relative of Mādhavadeva rāju governor of Adāṅki sthala.	"	Aṅgaraṅgabhōgamu	A portion from the dryland, a paṭṭi field, two maṅṭuṅus paddy field and a flower garden
60.	" Ongole (24)	--	Chennakeśava temple, Chandalururu	-lost-	Tirupaṇidāsi, Dantamma, Melunaṅkoni, Naṅaventuchu, Pātra Bayyaka	Not specified probably dancing	600 kuṇṭas for Tirupaṇidāsi and for others, 200 kuṇṭas
61.	" Ongole (142)	A.D.1148-49	Veṇugopālaśvami temple, Velaparla (Konṭridona)	Mahāmaṇḍale śvara Tribhuvanam alladeva Choḍa	dancing girls	probably dancing	A portion of the lands of village Volupāra.
62.	B.N.Sastri, Mukhalingadevālaya Charitra-Sāsanamulu No.19	A.D.1085	Aniyaṅka Bhimeśvara temple	Dirghāsivāsi	Davalapa, d/o Dirghāsivāsi	Protection of lamp	It appears that the lady was dedicated by her parents to the temple as Sanī. Vṛitti is not specified
63.	B.N. Sastri, Recherla Redḍi Vamsacharitra-Sāsanamulu, No.5	--	Nāmeśvara temple, Pillalamarri	Nāmiṛeḍḍy the Recherla chief	--	Raṅgabhōgam vāru (both male and female) of whom the ladies include-dancers Pātra Sitama, Pārvati, Muttama, Singers Tripuranama, Jakka, Brammaka, Māraka Raṅgabhōgamu to the Gods	A house site for each of these ladies in the fort of Pillalamarri, permanent for them
64.	I A P Vol.II, Part.I No.118	--	Attili, Tanuku Tq.	Chālukya Bhīma	Cākava D/o Mallapa	Dancing girl in the temple	1000 acres arecanut garden 105 kh wet land and a house site
65.	" No.699	--	Kālahasti	Kulottuṅga Choḷa	a dancing girl and her descendents	Not specified, probably dancing recreation to God.	She was transferred from the king's service to the temple.

66.	"" No.138	--	Vāsukiṣāvi Someśvara temple Juttiga	--	Prola and other sānulu (300 of them)	dancing and providing recreation to the deity	Appointed for services as hereditary
67.	A Monograph on Yeleśvaram Excavations No.25.	A.D.1271	Yeleśvara svāmy temple	Devasaranu Maṅkiṣeṭṭi	Virapa and Nāgapa, the grand daughters of the donor	""	The girls were dedicated to the God and the gift was handed over to the priest.
68.	B.N. Sastri, Sāsana Saṃpuṭi: Bollep alli Sāsanaṃ	A.D.1146	Mailāradeva temple	Meḍeyabhaṭṭu	Singers and other lady employees	Singing, keeping Raṅgoli, etc.	Singers - 5 Gadyas Raṅgavallivāru-1 māḍa Rākātavāru-3 Gadyas
69.	Epigraphi a Andhrīca: Vol. V, No.13	A.D.1266	Mulasthaneśvar a temple, Tādikonda	Paṃdāmbika	Bhōgaṃvaru	Aṅgarāṅgabhōga services	2 kh of dry land, and wet land
70.	Hyd. Arch. Series: No.19, Pammi	A.D.1236	Prasanna Vallabha temple	Rearrangeme nt of the grant made by Viriyala Nagasānamma & others	""	""	1000 paṭlu of rice
71.	"" No.13 Pānugal No.36	A.D.1124	Pachala Someśvara temple	Mailamāmba	""	God's personal enjoyment, singing, vocal and instrumental music, dancing	Gālpuṭlu and 1 k mar. of land.
72.	T I A P Vol. I, No. 319.	A.D.1379	Srikurmam	--	Kattula Bhūmasāni	Chāmara kolupu	Salary of 1 māḍa, prasāda of one tūmu, Appas(25) and Vidiyas (30)
73.	"" No. 303	A.D.1341	""	Gaṅgamadevi	Sitavallabhi	For Nāmasaṃkirthana morning and evening	Salary of 2 māḍas, prasāda of 1 māḍa Appas, 1 m. and Vidiyas
74.	"" No.127	A.D.1155	Aniyaṅka Bhimeśvara temple	King	Gaṅgamanāyakuṣāl u	Raṅgavṛitti	30 puṭṭis of land.

From the above chart, it appears that women temple employees performed a variety of functions in the temple both of *Anṅabhōga* and *Raṅgabhōga* services. They are paid generally in kind, with a share in the temple property, a part of the *prasāda* offered to the deity. Occasionally they are paid in cash. Sometimes the donors specify the manner of enjoying share in the temple lands by the temple girls and deposit certain money in the temple treasury for their maintenance. Further it is seen that most of the lady temple professionals of the temple appear to be married. But certain services of *Raṅgabhōga* needed elaborate and intensive training from childhood, through a dance master, for which purpose, they are generally dedicated to the temple service unmarried and young.¹²⁹

After passing through a prescribed test conducted on completion of training, they are inducted into actual service which involved singing and dancing on particular occasions of worship both in the morning and night and performing special programmes on festival days.¹³⁰ The professional and marital status of the temple girls is generally reflected in the grants given by their relatives, father, husband or sons claiming matronymic identity.¹³¹

Due to their continuous service requirements at the temple for most part of the day, these temple women are provided with quarters in the vicinity of the temple. The locality is termed *Saṁvāda*.¹³² Epigraphical references indicate that temples like *Srīkūrmam*, *Kollūru*, *Nādiṇḍla*, *Juttiga*, *Ghaṇṭasāla*, *Chebrōlu* had

separate quarters built for the temple dancing girls.¹³³ Chēbrōlu inscription of general Jāyapa records construction of two rows of double storied buildings for 16 lady temple attendants.¹³⁴ Pillamarri inscription of Rēcheṛla chief Nāmireddi records construction of houses to temple girls in the fort of Pillalamarri where the temple of Erakeśvara is constructed by him.¹³⁵

Based on the information listed in the above chart, it is observed that the services of these temple girls are hereditary.¹³⁶ They enjoyed a higher socio-economic status as revealed through their grants, which included not only cash or kind but immovable property too. Their sons are generally appointed in the royal service. The two sons of Sokkama, the *nartaki* of Paṇḍīśvara temple were in the service of the king Goṅka II and her daughter Kāmidevi was one of the queens of the king.¹³⁷ Similarly, the son of sāni Bayyāmbika, of the same temple was in the service of the king Goṅka II.¹³⁸

The expansion of temple building activity, the presence of temple girls in large numbers in most of the temples together with their higher socio-ritual status necessitated an organisational operation for them. They formed into a professional guild called *Sānula Samayamu* or *Sāni Munnūru* which was found in every big temple of Āndhradeśa. The different activities of the guild are shown through Chart V.

ACTIVITIES OF THE GUILD OF TEMPLE GIRLS

S.No	Source	Date	Temple	Employer	Name of The Guild	Activities	Vritti Allotted/Payment particulars
1.	I A P : CD No. 164	A.D. 1303	Pushpagiri	Certain Jiyyars names not clear	Sānulu	Protection of the sale deed executed by the Jiyyars.	Damaged record, Particulars not available.
2.	" " No. 136.	A.D. 1260	Pushpagiri		A lady named as Puṛasāni was mentioned as a partner of the sthanapatis Aiśvajiya Būye and Beide	The grant registers sale of the shares of the members of the association in the temple wells, paddy fields, and the villages by one of them duly obtaining the permission of the other three including Sāni to the other Jiyyars. They obtained 100 Valūri Gadyānas through this sale.	
3.	N D I, Part I, Atmakur (25)	A.D. 1285	Chirumāna Mallikārjuna temple	Kāmanāyaka and Devināyaka, sons of Golapuṇḍi Kesima Nāyaka.	Temple Sānulu (Bhōgaṃvaru)	<p>For performing dancing</p> <p>For worship services They were given permission to lease the lands to kāpus, in which case, the kāpus treat it as sarvamānyamu and should not make the fields going waste without cultivation. Details regarding distribution of shares among temple employees is also given. The dancing girls are probably the executors of this deed. The lands of the temple are given to them for executing the gift particulars given in the record.</p>	<p>4 paṭṭas of paddy field, a field called Kaluvachenu, highlevel fields in wet lands, 1000 kuṇṭas in Kaṇchenaṅga, 4 paṭṭas dry land in Penūmani field measuring about 4000 kuṇṭas.</p> <p>Paddy field of 750 kuṇṭas, in Anāgidachenu and dry land of 400 kuṇṭas in Iraddakuṇṭa Revaya.</p>

4.	Kandukur (22)	A.D. 1237-38	Nilakanṭh eśvara Swāmitēp Gudlūr	Choḍadevach oḍa Mahārāja, Mallidevarā ja and Chikkirāja.	Moṅkaṭisānulu	For performing worship services. They should lease out the low land in the lands attached to the temple treasury for a half share of the produce to their friends.	4 pattas of dry land and low land in the paddy field at Nilamkatta Devar a bandararuvu (paddy field belonging to the temple).
5.	Ongole (24)	-	Chennakes ava temple, Chāndalūru	--	Sāni mānyam (sānulu)	For Raṅgabhōga probably. Shares to each of them was given. The rest for lights and other services, details of which were lost.	2000 kuṇṭas of land.
6.	Inscriptions of Andhradeśa Vol. II, Part. I, No. 123	15th Year of Chalu kya Vishn uvar hana	Vāsukirāvi Someśvara temple, Juttiga		Sāni Munnuṇu	Protection of a lamp	
7.	" " No. 124.	17th Year of "	" "		" "	" "	
8.	" " No. 125	17th. year of "	" "		" "	" "	
9.	" " No. 128	A.D. 1141	" "	A dancing girl	" "	" "	
10.	" " No. 132	A.D. 1125	" "	Kolani Okkettugaṇḍa	" "	" "	Gift of taxes Manniyatīṇu, Payidi. etc.
11.	" " No. 136	A.D. 1277	" "	---	Sānulu & 72 Niyōgas of the temple together with the priests, Srikaraṇam, Tambaiis.	Allotment ^{of} vṛitti to one Annapasāni. Their consent was important for obtaining vṛitti in the temple property.	--
12.	H A S, Vol. XIII. No. 16.	A.D. 1313	Sahasra līṅga Gaṇapati temple	Royalprecep tor of Prataparudra	Non brahmin priests and one Govindadāsi	Preparation of sale deeds	
13.	T I A P, Vol. I, No. 10		Makhaling am temple	King Anaṅtavarma	Devagaṇikas along with male members of the association	Headship over the singers and dancers of the temple	--

14	No. 264	A.D. 1250	Viranarasiha	Sāntesvara, officers of king Viranarasiha	Sānulu (30 of them from Kalingamaṇḍala, all from Nāyaka families	Executes the various arrangements made by the donors regarding allotment of shares to temple servants from the land grant made by them. (30 puttis of areca garden and 103 māḍas)	Grain at the specified rate per year and share in the daily offerings made to the deity is the salary for these girls.
15.	S I I, Vol. IV No. 707	A.D. 1269	Agasteśvara temple, Kāza, Guntur	Bollināyaka	Sānulu Mānulu		10 kh of land
16.	" " No. 705	A.D. 1269	Kalyāṇa keśava temple, Krānza	Bollināyaka	" "	Angaraṅgabhōga	10 kh of land.
17.	" " No. 918	--	--	Sāmbhudeva	Sānulu and Mahājanulu	Protection of lamps given by donor	--
18.	S I I, Vol. V No. 194	A.D. 1233	Mulasthān eśvara temple, Dendulūr	Malyapṛaggaḍa	Sānulu Mānulu	For looking after various duties of the temple	30 units of low land
19.	" " NO. 162	--	Ksheerārā meśvara temple	Suryārkuḍu, a royal officer	Sāni Munnūru	Naṭṭava, Nāvajava vṛitti has to be maintained	7 Nishkas
20.	" " NO. 161	-	" "	Gumḍāmbika	" "	Protection of the lamp and running of the same	--
21.	" " NO. 160	--	" "	Goṅka	" "	" "	
22.	S I I, Vol. VI No. 605	A.D. 1150	Konidena	Reḍḍi, Nūṅkiṣeṭṭi	Sānulu Mānulu	Performing regular worship services	--
23.	" " NO. 610	A.D. 1148	Bhimeśvara temple, Koṭyadona	Kulōttuṅga Choḍa Goṅka	" "	" "	Jonna pṛalūru village in Kammanāḍu
24.	" " NO. 613	A.D. 1151	" "	" "	" "	" "	Individual vṛittis given (lands).
25.	" " No. 200	--	Bhāvanārā yaḍa temple, Prempalli	King	Sānivaṁśānva yamulu (Sāni Sāmpradāyam 30 members)	Maintenance of a grant of feeding 5 brahmins and offering prasāda to them	Individual grants were given.
26.	" " No. 84	A.D. 1292	Nāgeśvara temple, Pedakalḷa palli	--	Sāni Munnūru	Protection of lamp grant	--
27.	" " No. 86	A.D. 1236	" "	Jñānōttama Śivadeva	" "	" "	--
28.	" " No. 67	A.D. 1154	" "	Wife of Baṭṭanarendra	" "	" "	
29.	" " No. 88	A.D. 1154	" "	Sōmaladevi	" "	" "	

30.	" " No. 101	A.P. 1153	Nāgeśvara temple, Chebrōlu	Jakkanaarāju	" "	" "	
31.	" " No. 85	A.D. 1281	Nāgeśvara temple, Peddakallā palli	Chinnamakkā che	" "	" "	
32.	" " No. 116	--	" " Chebrōlu	W/o Paṇḍadanḍādhipa	" "	" "	
33.	" " No. 117	A.D. 1118	" "	Maṇḍabhūpāla	" "	" "	
34.	" " No. 624	--	Śankaradeva temple, Koyadona	Tribhuvanaḷ malla Pottapichōḍa	Sānulu Mānulu	Raṅgabhōga Services	Ballikūḡuvu land in Kammanāḍu
35.	S I I , Vol X, No. 83.	A.D. 1125	Someśvara temple, Juttiga	Kolaniya kettu gaṇḍaḍu	Sāni Munnūru	To maintain the perpetual lamp	Vṛitti of a local tax called Manniyatiru
36.	" " No. 115.	A.D. 1144	Jaladhiśvara temple, Ghaṇṭasāla	Koṭa Kommiśeṭṭi	" "	" " and for supply of Ghee	10 Rājarāja, mādas were kept under them.
37.	" " No. 130	A.D. 1154	Rāmaliṅga śvami temple, Chilumūru	Redḍi Muppa nāyaka	Sānulu Mānulu	--	Individual land grants, Nāvunūru
38.	" " No. 192	A.D. 1174	Keśavadeva temple, Bejavāda	Rājendra Choḍaya Rāju	Sānulu-Mānulu	For performing worship services and to maintain lamps	land grant
39.	" " No. 292.	A.D. 1241	Agasteśvara temple, Kolakalūr	Amaṛināyaka	" "	" "	A field of 2 kh
40.	" " No. 539	--	Malleśvaraśvami temple, Lāmu, Guntur	A servant of Rudradeva	" "	--	Gift of land
41.	" " No. 97	A.D. 1135	Rāmeśvara temple, Chāmchalūru	Kulottuṅga Choḍa Goṅka	" "	Bhōgamu of God	Individual land grants in Chāmchalūru
42.	" " No. 144.	A.D. 1158	Agasteśvara temple, Guntur	Paṇḍayarāju	" "	Haviṛbaliarḥanalu (Worship services)	Land in Gaḍḍipunḍi village
43.	" " No. 173	A.D. 1170	Rāmasvami temple, Sri Rāmapuram	Pṛoliya Peggaḍa	Sāni Munnūru	Nityanaivedya Services (worship services)	Lands, garden, without taxes

44.	" " No. 177	A.D. 1171	Rāmalinge śvara temple, Siripuram	--	Sānulu Mānulu	Performing various worship services like lamp, entertainment, offerings and other services	Individual lands at Daṇḍakattā of Sripuram village, a lake and palm garden, 100m. of land without taxes.
45.	" " No. 451	A.D. 1280	Chimmiśvara temple, Mallavṛola	Chānaya nāyaka	Sāni Nibaṇḍhas	--	Several lands as individual grants
46.	" " No. 70	A.D. 1112	Rāmalinga svami temple, Vēlpūru	Sons of the Mānulu	Sāni Munnūru	Maintenance of lamp	
47.	" " No. 71	" "	" "	Son of Bhimanāyaka	" "	" "	
48.	" " No. 80	A.D. 1191	Chennakeśava Svami temple, Kommūru, Bāpaṭṭa	Nemmatūri Suraya	" "	" "	
49.	" " No. 110	A.D. 1141	Someśvara temple, Juttiga	Prōlipāva, a dancing girl	" "	" "	
50.	" " No. 145	A.D. 1159	Jaladhiśvara temple, Ghaṇṭasāla	Somarasa	" "	" "	
51.	" " No. 208	A.D. 1200	Rāmalinge śvara temple, Vēlpūru	3 Mānis of the temple	" "	" "	
52.	" " No. 216	--	Ananta Bhōgesvara temple, Koilūru	Bōyi Jivarū	Sānulu Mānulu	Maintenance of a lamp	-
53.	" " No. 229		Rāmalinge śvara temple, Masulipatnam	Pōlisettī	Sāni Mannūru	" "	
54.	" " No. 348	A.D. 1255	Rāmalinge śvara temple, Vēlpūru	--	" "	Const. of a pillar in the temple	
55.	" " No. 268	A.D. 1221	Vāsukīgavi i Someśvara temple, Juttiga	Bradevaya	" "	Maintenance of a lamp	

56.	No. 366	--	Dharaṇiko ṭa, Guntur	--	Refers to an arrangement made between the priests and temple sānis regarding shares in the temple lands which was written in the presence of the king Maṇmakōṭa Gaṇapatideva and the Kaṇālu of the village		
57.	S.I.I., Vol. VI No. 1202	--	Simhachal am	Refers to the agreement / order passed by the Sānisampradāyam of the temple which is binding on every member of the guild failing which punishment would be expulsion from the guild. (The guild was supposed to be of Sudra caste)			

The chart gives details of the services offered by the guild of temple girls in each temple. These include, maintaining temple properties, supervising the grants or other endowments of the temple, mobilising temple resources (through leasing out the lands, animals, etc.) in addition to determining the rules and procedural aspects of the services of the temple girls who were members of the guild.¹³⁹ Gradually, their association became a part of the temple administrative functionaries of the higher-rank referred to as *Mānulu* and figured in most of the matters relating to the appropriation of temple property.¹⁴⁰

It can be surmised from the above discussion that the involvement of women in economic activities was more prominent in medieval Āndhra. Ketana's *Vijñāneśvaramu*, the legal digest of the period giving permission for women to enter into contracts with the prior consent from their husbands is worth mentioning in this connection.¹⁴¹ Moreover, contemporary epigraphs contain ample references to the involvement of women in gift making as part of their attempt to gain religious merit. (This aspect is being discussed in the sixth chapter in detail supported by Chart VII).

Can this be taken to mean the economic independence of women? It is doubtful, as Dharmasastras, quote that the wages earned by a woman on her own exertion are not included in her property but they become part of the joint property of the family. However, they have provided for certain rights to women on property both inherited and acquired in the form of gifts

given to them on specific occasions such as marriage. Therefore to understand the extent of economic independence enjoyed by women more clearly, it becomes necessary first to study the rights on property allowed to them by tradition and to understand a woman's domain on the same.

PROPERTY RIGHTS

The evolution of women's property rights has witnessed several stages. Initially, a woman is regarded as an item in the movable property of her husband and is along with sons, slaves considered as money less.¹⁴² They were given away as gifts to the priests in lieu of their services or sold as slaves to clear the debts made by their husbands.¹⁴³ By the first century of Christian era, the Dharmasastra writers made it very clear that wife and children are not to be tendered as objects of gifts or sale under any circumstances.¹⁴⁴ Apasthambha's theory of wife and husband as the joint owners of the family property secured minor rights for a wife but they are conditional as she had no right to spend money or incur normal expenditure even on household without the consent of her husband¹⁴⁵. Among the other Smṛti writers, Yajñavalkya came forward with more liberalised principles regarding property rights of women. *Mitākshara*, a medieval digest on the same further enlarged the scope of women's right over property.

There are two sources of property for women, inheritance and acquired (*strīdhana*). Inheritance can be the property that is inherited by a woman as an heir to the parental property. Different views are expressed by the legal text writers on this issue. From Manu, it is known that a daughter cannot become an heir to the paternal property under normal circumstances.¹⁴⁶ She can become so only when she is duly appointed by her father in the absence of male issue with a view to beget a son through her, who shall take on to the estate of his grand father besides offering funeral cake to him. Such an appointed daughter is called *Putrika*.¹⁴⁷

Mitākshara, on the contrary, gives a different picture on this issue. It says that the 'property shall pass on to the successors depending on their relationship with the owner of the property. They are of two categories - those who get share through *Apratibandha dāya* (sons, grand sons, great grandsons who are presumed as coparcenors to one's property by birth) and those who get their share through *Sapratibandha dāya* (wife, daughter and such others who become owners of the property only after the death of the owner).¹⁴⁸ Thus, in the absence of male heirs, the wife (widow) becomes the first heir. Next to her in order of succession are, daughter, mother, father, brothers, their sons or persons of the same *gōtṛa*, disciples, co-students in the respective order.¹⁴⁹ It is here that a great change is brought by *Vijñāneśvara* by making widow as the first heir of her sonless deceased husband's property, provided she be pious, chaste and religious minded.¹⁵⁰ It appears that the laws of

Mitākshara are closely followed in Āndhradeśa, as the same is translated into Telugu by Ketana as *Vijñāneśvaramu* which formed the basic source of law during Kakatiya period.

Both Manu and Vijñāneśvara converge on the issue of daughter's nomination as natural heir, providing maintenance allowance to the widow of the deceased to the extent that her share in the property shall be equal to that of the sons and setting apart 1/4th of each son's share towards marriage expenses of unmarried daughters.¹⁵¹

One of the Mukhalingam temple inscriptions refers to the distribution of property of a deceased *desi* trader among his heirs. The widow was provided maintenance allowance and some amount was set apart for the marriage expenses of unmarried daughters.¹⁵²

In this context *Mitākshara* discusses that the ownership of a woman on such property is complete in all respects whether the heir belonged to *Apratibandha* or *Sapratibandha* category. In other words, the holder of the property had the rights of *Dāna* (giving in charity), *Damana* (overpowering-destruction), *Bhōga* (enjoying), *Vinimaya* (consuming), and *Vikraya* (selling).¹⁵³ Questioning Manu's theory of dependence of a woman on man at every stage of her life, Vijñāneśvara states that she may be dependent on her male counterpart due to her weak physical nature, but that should not fall in the way of her economic independence or her claims to parental property of what so ever kind.¹⁵⁴ In the case of the

community of temple dancing girls and those women whose profession is prostitution, daughters become the *Apratibandha dāya* holders (natural heirs) and succession is in the female line. Sons become *Sapratibandha dāya* holders.¹⁵⁵ Concubinage too is brought under the cover of law as discussed earlier.

Besides property obtained through inheritance, women also acquire property through various means. The origin to the acquisition of property by women can be traced to Vēdic times. The wedding hymns of *Ṛigvēda* indicate that gifts are to be sent to the bridegroom's house with the bride and over such articles the wife is the mistress.¹⁵⁶ Ornaments, costly dresses and household articles constitute those and they are generally kept under the control of women. Gradually, such kinds of property went on increasing in extent and value necessitating the early jurors to be specific on the claims on such property, which is otherwise called as *Strīdhana*.

Manu defines *strīdhana* as the six folded property of a woman obtained through gifts before the nuptial fire on the bridal procession, what was given in token of love, and what was received from her brother, mother or father.¹⁵⁷ This concept is elaborated greatly by the jurors Yajñavalkya and Kātyāyana,¹⁵⁸ *Miṭākshara*, accepting these earlier definitions of *strīdhana* included property received through inheritance, gifts given by husband out of love, the amount due to her at the time of his second marriage superseding her and the property acquired through general methods of earning such as *Ṛikhta* (inheritance), *Kṛaya*

(purchase), *Samvibhāga* (partition), *parigraha* (chance) and *Adhigama* (adverse possession). The bride price (*ōli* or *sulka*), *uñkuva* and *Aṇṇamu* too are included under woman's property.¹⁵⁹ The evidences from Dharmasastras are supported by a plenty of contemporary literary and epigraphical sources.

An epigraph dated A.D. 1255 records the gift of a land containing *Pōka* trees as *strīdhana* by Acharṇa Sūraparāju to his daughter. This *strīdhana* is referred to in the grant as *Aṇṇamu*.¹⁶⁰ The Bayyāram, Niḍigoṇḍa and Kuṇḍavaram inscriptions refer to the villages Bayyāram, Niḍigoṇḍa and Kuṇḍavaram as *aṇṇamu* lands given to the donors Mailama and Kuṇḍama at the time of their marriage with Natavāḍi chief Rudra.¹⁶¹ *Palnāṭi Vīracharitra*, refers to *aṇṇamu* on many occasions. At the time of the marriage of Mahadevarāju, a Haihaya chief of Palnad, the bride's father gave several cows and many *bōya* servants as *aṇṇamu* to the bride.¹⁶² On the occasion of Mailama's marriage with Anugurāju, her father, the Velanāḍu chief Goṅka gave *Palanāṭisīma* as *aṇṇamu*.¹⁶³ Similarly, Anugurāju's son Mallarāju was married to Kālāchūri princess Sirādevi who brought 1000 cows, 1000 sheeps and the necessary *bōya* attendants as *aṇṇamu* along with her.¹⁶⁴ Nannechoḍa, in his *Kumāra Saṁbhavam*, mentions that Parvati's father gave several valuable presents to her in lieu of her marriage with Lord Siva.¹⁶⁵ *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇamu* also has a reference to *aṇṇamu* paid to Sita by her father in lieu of her marriage with Lord Rama.¹⁶⁶

Ḍli, *Uḷkuva* are the other terms found in the contemporary literary sources as well as in the epigraphs. These correspond to the *Sulka* or the bride-price which is included under *strīdhana* by the legal writers. However, it appears that the demand seemed to be very high from the parents of the girls. Because of this, the caste associations decided the amount of *Ḍli* to be paid to the bride's father. An epigraph from Malleśvara temple, Vijayawada records one such arrangement made by the *Telikivēvuru* of the regions of Koṇḍaviḍu, Koṇḍapalli and Rājamahaēndravaramu. It is decided that for the first marriage, the *Ḍli* should be 21 *chinnamāḍalu* (gold coins) and certain amount of silver.¹⁶⁷ *Palnāṭi Vīracharitra* also has a reference to this practice. At the time of Balachandra's marriage with Manchala, the bride's mother demanded huge sums of money towards *Ḍli*.¹⁶⁸ *Uḷkuva* too finds frequent mention in the contemporary literary works.¹⁶⁹ Generally it is the amount paid by the groom to the bride or her parents at the time of marriage.¹⁷⁰ However, the use of the term is often associated with the business of prostitution in terms of the money paid to the mother of the girl.¹⁷¹

The treatises on Dharmasastras and moral literature not only dealt with the property rights and possessions of women but laid some restraints and limitations on their appropriation. For the sake of deciding the dominions of a woman on her *strīdhana*, the property received by her is divided into two categories based on its source (a) *Saudāyika* that which is received by a woman whether as a maiden or as a married woman, from her parents or

husband and over which she had complete control and (b) The property received by all other means comes under *Non-saudāyika* category. On this she has only the right to enjoy.¹⁷² A maiden is free even to dispose of *non-saudāyika* property at her pleasure.¹⁷³ A widow can dispose of every kind of *strīdhana* including movable property but not immovable.¹⁷⁴ However, she can alienate a portion of immovable property towards religious purposes or for *śraddha* rituals for her husband.¹⁷⁵ A married woman, if her husband is alive can dispose of at her pleasure only *Saudāyika* property.¹⁷⁶ The husband's rights on *strīdhana* also are determined by this division. The *non-saudāyika* property is subject to husband's dominion during his life and may be taken by him even when there is no distress.¹⁷⁷ If, however, the property is of *saudāyika* category, he has no domain except under certain circumstances of distress, disease, famine or religious purposes.¹⁷⁸ For all other purposes he is liable to return the same. No other person has any right to use it even under distress or otherwise.¹⁷⁹ If he takes away the ornaments by force, he is liable to be punished in the courts.¹⁸⁰

The succession to *strīdhana* again varies according to the marital status of a woman and the form of marriage. Generally, *strīdhana* devolves in the line of females only.¹⁸¹ The order of succession to *strīdhana* except for *Sulka* and maiden's property is

- 1) unmarried daughter
- 2) married daughter who is indigent
- 3) married daughter who is well provided for

- 4) grand daughters through daughter
- 5) daughter's son
- 6) sons
- 6) son's sons
- 7) husband (in approved form of marriage)
- 8) *sapinda*s of husband.¹⁸²

The paternal gifts given to the deceased women are claimed by the husband in the event of failure of daughters provided the marriage is one of the approved forms.¹⁸³ Nādiñdla inscription records an interesting issue of parent's claims on a married women's property after her death and reasserts the husband's right on the same.¹⁸⁴ Guilds like *Telikī Samayamu* as in the above instance decide such issues. However, if the marriage is not approved by the legal traditions, the property claims can be made by the parents.¹⁸⁵ The *Sulka* and maiden's property has a separate course. Maiden's property generally devolves on brothers and parents. *Sulka* (bride-price, *oli*) too can be claimed by the brothers or parents and the husband has no dominion on the same.¹⁸⁶

Thus a considerable regard is shown to the economic needs of women. Though Vijñāneśvara did not intend to give women, the full rights of disposal over the immovable property, both inherited and acquired, they are to a limited extent economically independent as revealed from the extensive inscriptional evidences registering grants by women of all classes of the society. We even have few instances of the purchase of lands by women paying suitable price and donating the same to the deities.

A record from Nilakaṇṭeśvara temple, Nārāyaṇapuram registers grant of a piece of wet land to the temple by Nāgava, a *Sānikāpu* woman.¹⁸⁷ It is mentioned in the record that she bought the same by paying a suitable price. Another record refers to the purchase of land by one Komarasāni, though details are not given. An epigraph mentions that a couple obtained sale deed of a piece of land on which both their names are written as partners of the property.¹⁸⁸

As the purpose is religious for which both husband and wife enjoy equal status, it is very difficult to arrive at the economic independence of women. The case of temple girls too can not be viewed in isolation to the temple and their economic independence is always related to their status in the temple and their conditions of service. In this connection, the observation of Dhramakumar is worth mentioning, "In the medieval period there existed no legitimate private property rights worth the name as the king reserved the right of eviction of land for certain reason". Thus even the male coparceners had no unrestricted right over their self acquired property.

To sum up the arguments of this chapter, it is evident that women in medieval Āndhra society maintained their space in practicing professions and acquired legal protection against exploitation at different levels in the society. In a Dharmic society like India, where a happy culmination of public and private domains of men and women respectively is aimed at for a happy family life, though the roles are gender specific

interchangeability of roles in terms of professions is not an unseen process atleast in the case of women belonging to weak sections of the society.

This provision of women's space in professions and property rights is further strengthened by the changes and social perceptions of men and women which demanded a change in the syllabi of education to suit the contemporary socio-political needs, the details of which are discussed in the next chapter.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Monika Vonder Meden & Kathee Myers, 'The Hidden Talent, Women Creators and Inventors' in *Women's World*, No.10, (US June, 1986), pp.5-8.
2. Buhler, *Laws of Manu*, VII, verse 219.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Sōmesvaradeva, *Mānasōllāsa*, (Trans) S. Visvanathasarma, (Hyderabad, 1961), 3rd canto, Chapters, 1,4, 13, verses 956, 958, 993, 1529, 1530 & 1531.
5. Jāyapa Sēnani, *Nṛīttaratnākaramu*, translation by Rallapalli Ananta Krishna Sarma, (Hyderabad. 1969), Chapter VIII.
6. We find references to wet nurses in the literary works of the period like *Kēyūrabāhucharītram*, *Simhāsanaadvāṭṭīmsika*, *Kumāra sambhavam*, etc. They are supposed to maintain the secrecy of the personal matters of king. Generally they were treated with much respect and their children were appointed in important posts of administration. They figured as donors of lands. Devakabbe, the wet nurse of Iṛivebeḍeṅga granted 70 ḍṛammas and land at Choppadaṇḍu, wherein a tank was constructed. (IAP: KD, No.8).
7. *Mānasōllāsa*, Chapters, 1,4,13.
8. *SII*, Vol.IV, No.1249
9. *Ibid.*, Vol.VI. No.240
10. *Ibid.*, No.178
11. *Pratāparudracharītra*, p.46
12. A.S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, (Delhi, 1962), p.180.
13. Jyotsna K Kamath, *Social life in Medieval Karnataka*, (Delhi, 1980), p.119
14. Tikkana, *Āndhra Mahābhāratamu*, (Virata, Udyoga Parvamulu), (ed.). K. Laxmi Ranjanam & Divakarla Venkatavadhani, (Hyderabad, 1970), 1st canto, verses 289-335 give a detailed description of the responsibilities of the post of Sairāṇḍhri.
15. K Chengalraya Chetti, *Āndhradeśa Sāṃghika Ārādhika Charītra*, (A.D. 1300-1600), (Tirupati, 1991), p.198
16. Ambati Subbaraya Chetti, 'Kākatīyulanāti Sāṃghika Charītra' in *Kakatiya Samchika*, (Hyderabad, Reprint, 1992), pp.141-149

17. A.R 484 of 1913.
18. A.R 558 of 1925.
19. *Kṛīḍābhirāmaṃ*, verse 102.
20. *Ibid.*, verse 77.
21. *Ibid.*, verse 173, also Nannechoda, *Kumārasāmbhavam*, (ed.), Korada Mahadeva Sastri, (Hyderabad, 1987), 8th canto, verse 122.
22. *Kēyūrabāhuchariṭram*, 2nd canto, verses 11-15.
23. Veturi Prabhakara Sastri, (ed.), *Āṭu Padya Maṇimaṇjari*, (Hyderabad, 1988), verse 314, p.134.
24. *Ibid.*, verse 313, p.134.
25. *Ibid.*, verse 353, p.144.
26. *Ibid.*, verse 325 p.136.
27. *Kṛīḍābhirāmaṃ*, verses 161-166. The details of the food preparations are given in verse 166.
28. *Ibid.*, verse 273.
29. *Ibid.*, verses 68-69.
30. K.Chengalraya Chetti, *Op.cit.*, 1991 p.65.
31. Palkuriki Somanatha, *Sri Paṇḍitārādhyachariṭra*, (ed.), Chilukuri Narayana Rao, (Madras, 1939), *Parvata Prakaramamu*, Jōgula Naḍakulu, pp.235-236.
32. *Kṛīḍābhirāmaṃ*, verses 143-144. The woman belonging to Goṛaga caste was able to take out the nose-ring put in a tub of water with her nose and with her back facing the tub. Similarly, she was able to string the black beads into a chain within no time.
33. Edgar Thurston and K. Rangachari, (ed.), *Castes & Tribes of Southern India*, Vol.II, (Madras, 1987), pp.185-190.
34. Palkuriki S^amantha, *Basavapurāṇamu*, (ed.), Nidadavolu Venkat Rao, (Madras, 1952), 2nd canto, pp.41-42.
35. *Ibid.*, 4th canto, Nimmavva Katha, pp.103-105.
36. *Ibid.*, Śriyāluni Katha, pp.100-102.
37. *Ibid.*, 3rd canto, Mugdhya Sangayya Katha, pp.50-53. The harlot asks her maids to bring various musical instruments and to play different tunes together with singing and dancing to entertain the devotee of Śiva, who came to her house.
38. *Ibid.*, 4th canto, Piṭṭavva Katha, p.115. Also 3rd canto, Nāṭyanamittanḍi Katha, p.66
39. *Paṇḍitārādhyachariṭra*, *Purātana Prakaraṇamu*, *Gurubhaktāṇḍāri*

- Katha, pp.78-83 .
40. *SII*. Vol. IV, No.1015 .
 41. *Ibid.* , No.1288 .
 42. *Basavapurāṇamu*, 3rd canto, Bejjamahādevi Katha, pp.58.61.
There is a detailed description of the way in which small children were given bath, the procedure for feeding them and steps to be taken to prevent the general ailments like indigestion, cold.
 43. *Ibid.* , Also see Nannaya, *Āndhra Mahābhāratamu*, *Ādiparvamu*, 8th canto, verse 254. At the time of the marriage of Draupadi, importance was given to the mother's voice which was equated by the poet to that of *Vidhātā* (creator) . A similar opinion was conveyed through *Kumāra Saṁbhavam* also at the time of the marriage of Parvati.
 44. Papul Jayakar, 'Handi Crafts' in Tara Ali Baig, *Women of India*, (Delhi, 1958), pp.212-220
 45. *Āṭu Padya Maṇimaṇjari*, verse 31 pp.139-140.
 46. K Radhakrishna Murthy, *The Economic Conditions of Medieval Āndhradeśa*, (Tirupati, 1987), pp.131-132. The idea is also based on few sculptures depicting women feeding animals, milching cows and churning curds, available from the temples of Srisailam & Tirupati.
 47. *Krīdābhīrāmamu*, verses 102-103 contain the description of a Teliki woman moving along the mortar probably while pressing the oil.
 48. Though there are no exact references for the involvement of women either directly or indirectly in this industry, we can presume that women played their part in cleaning the nuts and processing them. Because, we find plenty of references in the inscriptions of the period to the gardens of *Poka* trees (areca nut) and thus it could be one of the popular crafts of the period.
 49. Generally, these works are associated with the beliefs in the fertility cult prevalent among the village people and was reflected in the songs sung by them. And therefore, they are performed only by women (An interview with Dr. Nayani Krishnakumari).

50. *Kumārasāmbhavam*, 7th canto, verse 92.
51. These songs are commonly called as *Taruvōja*, Arudra, *Samagra Āndhra Sāhityam*, Vol.I, (Madras, 1977) p.77.
52. *SII*, Vol. X, No.395. It is quite possible that Saivism, during its process of propagation into the common sections of the society, opened up maternity homes for their help and could have recruited women as midwives for providing assistance during the course of delivery. However, this assumption can not be proved as there are no evidences for the same in the contemporary inscriptions or literary sources.
53. *Pratāparudracharitra*, p.47
54. Maineni Krishnakumari, 'Rājarāja Deveṇdravarmuni Yudhapura Tāmrāsāsanamu', *Bharati* (Jan, 1986), pp.30-33.
55. *Kēyūrabāhucharitram*, 1st canto, verse 57.
56. Vatsyana, *Kāmasutra*, I.3.20, quoted in P.V. Kane, *History of Dharamasastra*, vol. III, 1974, p.639.
57. Someśvaradeva, *Mānasōllāsa*, I p.155, verses 3-5, quoted from Jyostna K kamat, *Op.cit.*, 1980. pp.115-116.
58. *Pratāparudracharitra*, p.45.
59. *Ibid.*, p.47.
60. Koravi Goparaju, *Siṃhāsanaadvatṛmsika*, (ed.), Gadiyaram Ramakrishna Sarma, (Hyderabad, 1982), 2nd canto, verse 131 and 11th canto, verse 172.
61. Ketana, *Dasakumāracharitra*, (ed.), Kandukuri Viresalingam, (Madras, 1975) 1st canto, verse 11.
62. *Keyūrabāhucharitram*, 1st canto, verse 18.
63. Maineni Krishna Kumari, *Op.cit.*, pp.30-33.
64. The syllabi and mode of learning prescribed for the girls of this class is being discussed in the succeeding chapter "Women - Education".
65. Nelaturi Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi*, (Madras, 1950), p.287.
66. *SII*, Vol. V, No.290-252.
67. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No.55.
68. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Nos. 249.
69. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos.1083, 1090.
70. *Ibid.*, No. 210.

71. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No.258.
72. *Ibid.*
73. *HAS.*, Vol. XIII, Vardhamānapura Inscription of Malyala Guṇḍadaṇḍādhisa.
74. *SII*, Vol.X, No.258.
75. *IAP:CD*, (Hyderabad, 1977), No.159, pp.241-248.
76. *SII*, Vol. IV No. 1039.
77. *Kṛīḍābhīrāmamu* depicts the description of the house of Machaladevi, the concubine of Prataparudra II in verses 183, 187, 191, 192, 193 (pp.50-55).
78. *SII*, Vol. VI No.669 refers to Virāmba, *Prēyasi* of king Nṛsiṃha donating a kitchen to the temple at Pañchadhārāla.
79. *Kṛīḍābhīrāmamu*, verse 180.
80. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol.VI, No.15A.
81. *AR*, 1952-53 (1958), No.7.
82. *Palnāṭi Vīracharitra*, pp. 341-344.
83. *Ibid.*, p.341.
84. *Uḷḷuva* is another term for *Sulkamu* or the bride-price. Also referred to as *Oḷi* in certain circumstances. It is the money given by the bride-groom to the parents of the bride. It is a part of *Strīdhana* in the sense of *Sulkamu*. (*Samgrahāṇḍhra Viṇṇāna Kosamu*, pp.174-179). We find references to this term in the other literary texts of the period like *Kumārasāmbhavam*, 7th canto, verse 136, *Daśakumāracharitramu*, 6th canto, verse 51, *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇamu*, *Bālakaṇḍamu*, p.55, etc.
85. Nārada, Kātyāyana, Yāgñavalkya are the earlier *Smṛiti* writers who argued on this point. *Mitākshara* provides further details of the maintenance to be provided to the concubines of the deceased. For more details, P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, Vol.III, 1974, pp. 808-812.
86. *Ibid.*, p.812.
87. *Ibid.*, p.638.
88. B.S.L. Hanumatha Rao, *Āndhrulacharitra*, (Guntur, 1983), p.282.
89. *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇamu*, *Bālakaṇḍamu*, line 75.
90. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, *Kakatiya Sasana Sahityamu* (Hyderabad,1981), Thousand pillar temple inscription, pp.7-16.
91. Such streets where prostitutes live are also referred to as

- Bhōgamu Vīdhi. Krīḍābhīrāmamu*, verses 114-117.
92. *Pratāparudracharitra*, p.43.
 93. *Paṇḍitārādhya-charitra*, Purātana Prakaraṇamu, Gurubhaktāṇḍāri Katha, p.80. Also, *Catu Padya Manimanjari*, pp.121-126.
 94. According to R.S.Sharma, *Pañchamakāras*, the five orgiastic rites of Tantric religion are introduced into Saivism due to socio-political changes of the medieval period. For details R.S.Sharma, 'Material Milieu of Tantricism' in R.S.Sharma, (ed.), *Indian Society, Historical Probings, Essays in memory of D.D. Kosambi*, (New Delhi, 1984), pp.175-189.
 95. K. Satyanarayana, *A Study of History and Culture of Andhras*, Vol.II, (Delhi, 1983), p.76.
 96. *Basavapurāṇamu*, 3rd canto, Mugdhasaṅgayya Katha, pp.50-53. Also, 3rd canto, pp.48-49. Basaveśvara, without any hesitation, concedes to the demand of one such Jaṅgama priest, and gives with pleasure, the silk sari of his wife.
 97. According to R.N. Nandi, "Large number of priests who were thrown out of employment following rejection of temple system by Virasaivism were to be accommodated to avoid undermining of the movement. Therefore, Basava and his followers had to maintain these 12,000 Jaṅgama priests and had to succumb to their demands of providing even sexual entertainment". R.N. Nandi, 'Origin of Virasaiva Movement' in *IHR*, Vol.II, No.2, (Delhi, 1976), pp.32-46.
 98. Details of education for girls of this class is discussed in the next chapter.
 99. *Daśakumāracharītram*, 5th canto, verse 1028. Hemadri, in his *vṛata khāṇḍa* of *Chāturvarga Chīṭāmaṇi*, mentioned one *Vāravṛata* to be observed by the girls for prosperity in their profession. H.V.II. 541-548, quoted from P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, Vol.V, Part. I, 1975, p.417.
 100. *Daśakumāracharītram*, 6th canto, verse 114.
 101. *Kumārasambhavam*, 8th canto, verses 136-144.
 102. *Keyūrabāhucharītam*, 2nd canto, Chaturika Katha, verses 42-74.
ధశమన శివశర్మ గారి, చతుర్విధ యమలు.
 103. *Daśakumāracharītram*, 5th canto, verse 49.
 104. *Paṇḍitārādhya-charitra*, Purātana Prakaraṇamu, Malhaṇa Katha, pp.84-86. Also Gurubhaktāṇḍāri Katha, pp.78-83.
 105. *Krīḍābhīrāmamu*, verses 91, 286, 290.

106. *Ibid.*, verse 245.
107. *Paṇḍitarādhya-charitra*, Purātana Prakaraṇamu, Gurubhaktāṇḍāri Katha, pp.78-83.
108. *Kṛīdābhīrāmamu*, verses 265,272.
109. *Vijñāneśvaramu*, Prāyaschitta Kāṇḍamu, verse 110, Also, *HAS*, Vol.XIX, Wg 3, Koṇavi, pp.135-138.
110. *Ibid.*, Also, *Kṛīdābhīrāmamu*, verse 270.
111. P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, Vol.III, 1974, p.638.
112. *Matsyapurāṇa*, 227-144-146 quoted from P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, Vol.III, 1974, p.481.
113. *Ibid.*
114. *Vijñāneśvaramu*, Prāyaschitta Kāṇḍamu, verse 113.
115. *Basavapurāṇamu*, 3rd canto, Mugdha Sangayya Katha, pp.50-53.
116. Gade Narsing Rao, 'Chālūkyula Kalamnati Rajyanga Paristhithulu' in *Rajaraja Pattabhisheka Samchika*, (Rajahmundry, 1922) p.132. *Andhra Mahabharatamu*, Santiparva, 6-88 also refers to tax on prostitutes.
117. Burton Stein, 'Social Mobility and Medieval South Indian Hindu Sects' in Burton Stein, (ed.), *All the King's Mana : Papers on Medieval South Indian History*, (Madras, 1984), pp.282-301.
118. M.G.S Narayanan & Veluthat Keshavan, 'The Bhakti Movement in Medieval South India' in D.N. Jha, (ed.), *Feudal Social Formation in Early India*, (Delhi, 1987), pp.348-373.
119. *Inscriptions of Āndhradeśa*, Vol.II, Part.I, (Tirupati, 1968), No.669.
120. *SII*, Vol.V, No.1083.
121. *TIAP*, Vol.I (Srikakulam Dist), No.264.
122. V. Yasodadevi, 'A History of Andhra Country', *JAHRS*, Vol. XXV, p.147.
123. *SII*, Vol.X, No.344.
124. *Ibid.*, No.395.
125. Abdul Waheed Khan, *A Monograph on Yāteśvaram Excavation*, (Hyderabad, 1963), No.25, p.62.
126. The term 'Sāni' is very frequently mentioned and with various meanings in the contemporary inscriptions. It was used as a suffix to the married women in the sense of *Svāminī* (wife) or to

denote the courtesans or the temple girls. The term *Munnūru* refers to 300 probably indicating the numerical status of the group. As their post in the temple appeared to be hereditary, we find another usage - *Sampradāyam Sānulu* indicating their services made hereditary.

127. *SII*, Vol.VI, No.1202

128. Girls whose function is exclusively dancing and those who expertised themselves in the art of dancing are called *Pāṭṭa*. We find several references to this term in the contemporary epigraphs in connection with providing *ṛittis* to them. For instance *SII*, Vol.X, No.74.

129. *Ibid.*, Vol.X, No.74. For more details regarding the 12 services which are supposed to be performed by the girls, see Alladi Vaidehi, *Āndhrula Saṃghika Āardhika Charitra*, (Madhya Yugam) (A.D.1000-A.D.1250), (Hyderabad, 1978), pp.61-62.

130. *Samgrāhaṇḍhra Viṇṇāna Kōsamu*, Devālaya Nrityamulu, pp.708-717

131. *Ibid*, The Syllabi of education for a temple girl is discussed in the next chapter.

132. The donor of a record from Tsandavole was the son of the *Gudi Sāni Bānāmbika* and he was also employed with the king *Kulōttuṅga Chola Goṅka*. *SII.*, Vol.IV, No.1130, Similarly other references like *SII.*, Vol.V, No.1027, Vol. X, No.5, 189, Vol. VI, No.169 and many more are of the same nature, given by the children of the temple girls. A record from Mukhalingam temple registers a grant by the father of *Gudi Sāni*, (*TIAP*, Vol.I, (Srikakulam Dist), No.165), and another from the same region records a grant by the husband of *Sāni Mādali Rēkama*, (*SII.*, Vol.V, No.117).

133. *AR*, No. 164 & 1893. (*SII*, Vol.IV, No.989).

134. *SII*, Vol.IV, 989, Also, Vol. X, Nos. 5, 107, 110, 115, 116, etc. p.147

135. Y. Yasoda Devi, 'A History of Andhra Country', *JAHRS*, Vol.XXV, p.147.

136. B.N. Sastri, *Rēcherla Reddy Vamsa Charitra*, *Sāsanamulu*, (Hyderabad, 1989), Pillar^Ymar^Yi inscription, No.5

137. M. Ramarao, *Inscriptions of Āndhradeśa*, Vol.II, (Tirupati, 1968), No.135.

138. V. Yasoda Devi, 'A History of Andhra Country', *JAHRS*, Vol.XXV,

- p.146.
139. *Ibid.*
140. A record from Simhāchalam, mentions the various regulations of the guild. It is stated that if these instructions are not obeyed properly the girls would be expelled from the guild. (*SI*, Vol.VI, No.1202).
141. The term *Māni* refers to a person having a vow of calibacy. The temple administrative functionary containing male members, together with the female functionaries form the unit *Sānulu Mānulu*, which takes care of the temple properties. Kindly refer to Chart V for more details of their functions.
142. *Vijñānēśvaramu*, *Vyavahāra Kāṇḍamu*, verse 61.
143. A. S Altekar, *Op.cit.*, 1962, p.213.
144. *Ibid.*
145. *Ibid.*, p.214.
146. S. Bhattacharji, 'Economic Rights of Ancient Indian Women', in *EPW*, March, 2-9, 1991, pp.507-512.
147. Buhler, *Laws of Manu*, IX, verse 134.
148. *Ibid.*, IX, 127. Also, for a detailed description on the issue, Arudra, 'Putrika Elānti Kūṭuru' *Vyāsapiṭham*, (Vijayawada, 1985), pp.54-59.
149. *Samgrahāṇḍhra Vijñānakōsamu*, pp.174-179
150. *Ibid.*
151. The chastity of a widow's life is given great emphasis. It is stated that she should observe fast, make gifts in the name of her husband and perform such other good deeds and lead a virtuous life. Then only she would become the heir of her sonless deceased husband's property. P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, Vol.III, 1974, pp.735-738
152. Buhler, *Laws of Manu*, IX, 118.
153. *TIAP*, Vol.I, (Srikakulam Dist), No.35.
154. *Samgrahāṇḍhra Vijñāna Kosamu*, pp.174-179.
155. *Ibid.*
156. *Ibid.*, Also, G.R. Kuppaswamy, *Economic Conditions in Karnataka*

- (A.D. 973-A.D.1336), (Dharwar, 1975), FN 126, 'A note on Mitākshara' p.40.
- 157.A.S. Altekar, *Op.cit.*, 1962, p.218.
- 158.Buhler, *Laws of Manu*, IX, 194
- 159.Yajñavalkya is the foremost among the promoters to the cause of women's property rights. Kātyāyana defines *Strīdhana* as the property acquired through— *Adhyagni* (nuptial fire), *Adhyāvāhanika* (bridal procession), *Pādavañdanika* (doing obeisance at the feet of elders), *Prītidatta* (out of love), *Sulka* (bride price) and *Anyādhēyaka* (received after marriage). *Mitākshara* includes a wider range of definition, making *strīdhana* as applicable to all kinds of money that belonged to a woman.
- 160.*Samgrahāṇḍhra Vijñāna Kosamu*, pp.174-179
- 161.*SII*, Vol. X, No.349
- 162.*IAP:WD*, No.57,58 and *Epigraphia Andhrica*, Vol.I, 'Bayyaram Tank Inscription of Kakati Mailama', pp.71-94.
- 163.*Palnāṭi Vīracharitra*, p.139.
- 164.*Ibid.*, p.24.
- 165.*Ibid.*, p.56.
- 166.*Kumārasambhavam*, 7th canto, verses 139,140.
- 167.*Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇamu*, *Bālakāṇḍamu*, p.67.
- 168.*SII*, Vol. VI, No.797.
- 169.*Palnāṭi Vīracharitra*, pp.341-343.
- 170.*Kumārasambhavam*, 7th canto, verse 136.
- 171.*Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇamu*, *Bāla Kāṇḍamu*, p.55.
- 172.*Daśakumāracharitra*, 6th canto, verse 51. Also, *Palnāṭi Vīracharita*, pp.341-344.
- 173.N. Aruna Kumari, 'Concept of Stridhana in Mitakshara' in *PAPHC*, 8th session, (Kakinada, 1984), pp.42-44.
- 174.P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, Vol.III, 1974, p.784.
- 175.*Ibid.*
- 176.Generally permission from the king or the members of village assembly or elders is necessary for such an act. *Andhra Pradesh Government Report on Epigraphy*, 1965, No.4 records the confirmation of the grant of land by one Srimahādevi by the king,

- while her husband Vijayaditya predeceased her.
177. P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, Vol.III, 1974, p.784.
178. *Ibid.*, p.785.
179. *Ibid.*
180. *Ibid.*, p.787.
181. *Vijñāneśvaramu*, Vyavaharakāṇḍamu, verses 53, 54.
182. *Ibid.*, verse 138.
183. *Mitākshara* on Yaj. II, 145, quoted from P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, Vol.III, 1974, p.794.
184. Buhler, *Laws of Manu*, IX, 196. *Mitākshara* also agrees with Manu on this issue.
185. *SII*, Vol.X, No.221.
186. Buhler, *Laws of Manu*, IX, 197, *Mitākshara* too opines the same
187. P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, Vol.III, 1974, p.793.
188. *SII*, Vol.X, No.654. Also, *Ibid.*, Vol.VI, Nos.967 & 979 are of the same nature.
189. *HAS*, Vol.XIX, Km.17, Rāmakrishnapuram.
190. *SII*, Vol.V, No.1014.
191. Dharma Kumar, 'Private Property in Asia? The case of Medieval South India', in *CSSH* Vol.XXVII, No.2, (April, 1985), pp.340-366.

CHAPTER V

WOMEN AND EDUCATION

Dharmasastras gave ample space for educational rights of women despite their treatment as a dependent gender and secondary to men. In the early times a learned daughter was preferred to an unworthy son. Upanishads contain rites to be observed by a householder who desires to have a learned daughter.¹ *Kāmasutra* of Vātsāyana prescribes that a woman should study *Chatuṣṣhaṣṭi Kalās* (the sixty four arts) before she attains youth. Among these are included riddles of words, chanting from books, in addition to singing, dancing and painting.² All these tend to indicate the literary progress achieved by women of ancient period. But the same cannot be said to be true of the Sutra period where attempts were made to curtail freedom of women and her educational rights. A learned daughter meant her proficiency in domestic work.³ Manu's theory of dependence of women and his declaration that women and sudras are not permitted to read Vedic scriptures⁴ could have further negated the chances of her education.

Several works of medieval period too express similar feelings. Sōmadevasūri in his *Yasastilaka*, opines that it would be risky to educate women.⁵ Mañchana, in his *Keyūrabāhucharitramu* declares that under no circumstances, a woman should be given permission to move out of the house frequently or to develop contacts with the neighbouring women.⁶ He fears that such a woman spoils her money, caste and life. *Mitākshara*, well known for its liberal economic rights of women, contains no clear reference to female education.

On the other hand the importance of educating sons was well recognised specially among the brahman families. Koṛavi Goparāju in his *Simhasanadvātrīṃsika* indicates that in the brahman families, an illiterate son was a murrain on the caste.⁷ He further describes the concern of parents for the education of their sons which would give them an understanding power and provide them sufficient knowledge for the well-being of an individual.⁸

It appears, thus, that importance of education was recognised for men rather than women. More emphasis is laid on a woman's submissiveness in the family. It was felt that there was no necessity for a woman to be educated formally. She was required to be skilled in the matters of devotion towards her husband. In the opinion of Manu, marriage is her initiation ceremony and service to her husband is equivalent to the service to the preceptor.⁹ As observed by Abbe J Dubois, "All that a Hindu woman need know is how to grind and boil rice and look after her household affairs. Courtesans, whose business in life is to dance in temples and at public ceremonies and prostitutes were the only women who are allowed to learn".¹⁰

This can probably be explained in relation to the Indian kinship relations and family structure. The traditional Indian society being patrilineal, duties of men and women are demarcated almost clearly. There exists a clear division of labour between the two sexes. A man has to maintain the legality and prestige of the family and a woman has to carry the same to the future

generations, thereby their roles becoming public and private respectively. While this created a need for formal education for men, informal education on various household traditions was considered important and helpful for women in carrying out their duty of maintaining a structural continuum of tradition.

A formal education can be defined as the mode of learning through close personal contact of the pupil with the teacher, through his stay with the teacher as a member of his family, stern discipline and control of emotions.¹¹ Dewey refers to education as a formal or institutional education which is a regular programme of training for a specific period.¹² A specific syllabi is out lined for this system. On the contrary, informal education begins right at the home level with parents as instructors regarding code of conduct, behavioural patterns, knowledge about tradition, religion, customs of the specific caste, etc. No specific syllabi is framed and no pattern of instruction. Generally informal education is imparted to the child through oral media like riddles, songs, tales or suggestions regarding good conduct and well behaviour. Age is not a determined factor in this. Both men and women are supposed to develop an awareness in these matters. However, a woman has more scope towards informal education irrespective of the class to which she belongs, as, in the Indian society a woman is considered as a tradition bearer, primarily responsible for protection and integration of the family system. She further acts as a carrier of tradition from one generation to the other in her role as a mother. Dharmasastras hold that certain *Acāras*

(traditions) are to be learnt only by and from women. Someśvaradeva's *Abhilashitārtha Chintāmaṇi* states, "A teacher is greater than the initiator, the father is greater than the teacher, but the mother is much greater than the father".¹³

The above discussion asserts the space given to women in traditional society as bearer of tradition. At the same time depending on the contextual needs, formal education was also provided to her as in the case of women of elite group and those who took to various professions. The syllabi, however varied according to the nature of profession and the tradition they inherited. The issue of educational rights of women can thus be discussed under two broad heads: Formal education and Informal education. Under each category, provisions of educational space to both elite and folk categories of women is discussed.

FORMAL EDUCATION

During the period under study as cited elsewhere in this thesis, the socio-economic and political conditions of the contemporary times necessitated women's involvement either directly or indirectly in the state affairs. Owing to the prevalence of feudal elements in contemporary state and polity, there was a need for formal education with specialised training in state and warcraft alongwith arts and letters for women of royal families.

The need for educating girls on formal lines was well recognised in political circles and of the class of elite. The

manner in which children, both boys and girls were brought up was distinctly varying when compared to the corresponding picture in middle class families. Due to the feudal character of medieval state, most of the kingdoms were short lived and depended for their continuous existence on the power of control exercised by the kings. It was here that a woman's involvement was made essential in her role as a queen, as a co-regent or as a guardian to the minor-king.

The general branches of learning prescribed for the children of royal families include: science of polity, state-craft and different war-fare skills like horse-riding, elephant-riding, and science of archery.¹⁴ According to *Daśakumāracharītram*, kings are supposed to acquire knowledge in medicine, astrology, expertise knowledge in Dharmasastras, Purāṇās, Āgama texts of various sectarian movements, interest in science of music and other fine arts, philosophy and prodigy.¹⁵ In addition, they should also know the art of reading and writing, understand the idea and concept of God and are supposed to develop a virtuous character.¹⁶ *Pratāparudracharītra* outlines the syllabi comprising different branches of learning prescribed for royal family member in the form of an age-wise curriculum.¹⁷ Kakatiya queen Rudramadevi had learnt various arts of state craft and archery.¹⁸ Her knowledge in military science is well exemplified in her great military victory over Yadava forces. The following chart gives us an idea about the literary talents and interests of women in Āndhradeśa.

CHART - VI
LITERARY ACHIEVEMENTS OF WOMEN

SL. NO.	REFERENCE	NAME OF THE WOMAN	DESCRIPTION AS GIVEN IN THE INSCRIPTION
1.	SII , Vol.IV, No.1156	Rājādevi, W/o. Kona Mummaḍirāju	Best among the women of royal families
2.	" " No.1313	Gauramadevi	Famous scholar in music
3.	" " Vol.V, No.1179	Piṛatyāmbika, W/o.Nṛisimha Bhaṭṭōpādhyāya	Having an increased knowledge in Bhakti ^g nāna (Devotion)
4.	" " Vol.VI, No.189	Wife of Velanāṭi Goṅka	Best known for her various virtues and was considered as a teacher to the young
5.	" " No.740	Wife of Kaliṅgadaṇḍa Somanātha mahāpisāti	Listens to Vedās, Śāstrās and Puṛānās everyday
6.	" " No.1180	Sivarāṇi W/o. Minister of Gaṅga lineage	Described as Kaliyuga Saraśwathi (Goddess of learning)
7.	" " Vol.V, No.1177,1179	Piṛāṭṭi Sōmidevamma	Described as the one who is interested in Vedās, Śāstrās and Puṛānās.
8.	" " Vol.X, No.1047	Ghaṇṭasāla Kāmaka D/o.Prolināyaka	Described as a jewel among women of the city, Ghaṇṭasāla
9.	EI, XIII, pp.150 ff text. verse 19 quoted from C.V. Ramachandra Rao, Administ- ration and Society under Eastern Gangas and Suryavamsa Gajapathis.	Chāṇḍrikadevi, D/o. Aniyaṅka Bhima III	Described as learned in music and also as a seat of sport in skillful practice of the arts of musical measure, beating of time and the dance having a soul inspired in devotion, from her childhood.
10.	HAS, Vol.XIX, No.4 (Kmm)	Aytama W/o. Viṛiyāla Annaya	Obtained proficiency in learning, moral science and was soft spoken.

11. Epigraphia Andhrica, Vol.V, Tādikoṇḍa inscription	Paṁdāmbika, the queen	Described as Goddess Saraśwathi holding vina
12. B.N. Sastry, Kanduri Chodulu:Sasanamulu, Charitra, Pānugallu Inscription pp.135-139.	Mailāmbika W/o. Kandūri Tonḍarasa Choḷa	Described as Aparā Saraśwathi, Goddess of learning.
13. Idem. Mahabubnagar Jilla Sarvasvamu, Inscription Nos.35,42. pp.942-43, 954-56	Mannādevi W/o. Chālukya Vikramāditya VI	Had a title Abhinava Saraśwathi. She is stated to have possessed the art of writing lucid verses.
14. " " No.63 pp.990-91	Mallahaṇi Devi D/o. Padmaladevi	Described as Vidyadhari, learned woman.
15. " " p.183.	Laxmidevi W/o. Chālukya Vikramāditya	Scholar in all branches of learning and state-craft.
16. SII , Vol.IV, No.1032	A woman	Described as one who is soft-spoken, pious in all her acts and activities.
17. " " No.676	W/o.Kommāmātya	She is like the mythological cow. Kāmadhenu to poets and learned men. Also she herself is a learned woman who follows a true traditional path.
18. " " No.1040	A certain woman (name not clear)	Described as Vanitā lalāma, greatest among women.
19. " " No.1043	Suramadevi, W/o.Oddāḍi Arjunadeva	Described as Vanitōttama, greatest among women.
20. " " No.1218	Valyama, W/o. Veṅgi Goṅka	Described as a jewel among women.
21. " " Vol.V, No.106	W/o. a minister	Described as virtuous and beautiful.

22.	" "	No.161	Gumḍāmbika	Patronised learned men.
23.	" "	No.647	Kāmidevi	A jewel among women of the family. Praised as a virtuous lady.
24.	" "	No.175	Rājāmbika	One who increases the honour of the family. A follower of good traditions and pious woman.
25.	ARE, 1965,	No.169.	Somaladevi	Described as Sahaja Vedāṅgi, one who is interested in learning Vedās.

From the above chart, it is observed that learned women are often equated to the Goddess of learning, Saraswathi. They are described as having great interest in listening to discourses on religion, Purāṇa literature and participating in the literary programmes held by poets and scholars patronised by them.¹⁹ From these evidences, it appears that not only women of political circles but those of the elite sections of the society and women of the class of courtesans too were receiving the benefits of formal education.

No information, however, is available as regards the mode of learning. The popular educational centres of the period namely *Agrahāra*,²⁰ *Ghaṭika*,²¹ temples and monasteries²² were catering to the needs of the students who are often mentioned in the inscriptions as *Vidyārthulu* (students) without gender specification. Moreover, they impart residential mode of instruction. Therefore, it is not certain that girls are studying at these institutions. Probably, they are taught through special teachers appointed for the purpose. A brahman, Ānaveḷabharu Bhadrāmaya was appointed as the preceptor for imparting religious instructions to Bayyama Devi daughter of Pātra Potarāja Jiyana.²³ Similarly a record from eastern Āndhra region belonging to the Eastern Gaṅga kings mentions another brahman teacher of the queen-mother by name Valalēru Timmaya.²⁴ Brahmins of Valalēru family were probably appointed by the elite classes for imparting formal education to their girls.²⁵

The women who prevailed in the society as courtesans, concubines, prostitutes and temple girls also appear to have had their formal education to increase their professional perfection.

Courtesans were dancers in the royal courts and concubines were patronised mostly by kings and nobles. They were supposed to gain proficiency in the arts of music and dance pertaining to both *Mārga* (sanskritic) and *Dēśī* (native) styles. Besides their profession of court dance programmes, they were also used as instruments in the political strategy. This necessitates their knowledge in matters of state-craft atleast theoretically, though the same might not be put by them into actual practice. Thus, few variations can be found in the syllabi of education given to girls of these classes when compared with that of princely families.

Literary and epigraphical evidences reflect the skill in education attained by the courtesans and concubines of kings and their officers. The concubine of Rajendra Choda (Velanadu chief) is described as virtuous and learned. She is praised by the scribe as *Kāmadhenu* (the mythological cow) to the poets and learned men.²⁶ The *Bhoga Stree* (concubine) of Eastern Chalukyan king, Chalukya Bhima, Chakava is described as adept in music and one who hailed from a family of musicians.²⁷ Her father Mallapa had a title *Tumbura*. An earlier inscription of the same dynasty registers grant of a village, Kaluchumbapur in *Attilinaḍu Viśhaya* to one Arhanaṇḍin, a Jain preceptor of Chāmekaṁba the concubine of the king.²⁸ The courtesan of Rāyapanāyaka called Trōlama is

referred to as an ornament to the class of courtesans. She had a title, *Gaṇikā Vibhūṣaṇī*.²⁹ Mācaladevi, the concubine of Pratapa Rudra II is another well noted personality of her period. Her house supposed to be one of the beautifully decorated houses in the capital city, Ōṛugallu with huge painting halls. She was always busy in participating in the intellectual debates and learned assemblies which were held within the compound of her house.³⁰ The description of court dances in different literary works is a further indication of the perfectness achieved by the courtesans in the fields of dance and music.

The education of girls following the profession of prostitution is also more or less designed in the same pattern as in the case of courtesans and concubines. They come into contact with men of different cultures and of varied interests. In the absence of a constant (permanent) family system, they had to accumulate money sufficient for their livelihood through maintaining continuous associations with men. For this, they had to excell themselves in all branches of learning which would be of interest to the males with whom they come in touch. Their proficiency in fine arts makes them survive firmly in the competition among the followers of this institution. Therefore, their syllabi of learning was co-related with the interests of men of all classes and is designed in such a way as to keep them distinctly away from the family ladies. They are supposed to learn *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, *Kāmasūtra* of Vatsāyana, instrumental music, singing, clay-modelling, painting, etc. The contemporary literary evidences give us an idea of the importance

of clever behaviour in case of these girls, to entertain men.³¹ As in the case of girls of royal elite, even these were trained in the respective fields at home alone by teachers appointed specially for this purpose.³²

The specific training given to the temple dancing girl starts at an early age of 5 years.³³ This training is in line with the formal education imparted to her by a dance master called *Nāṭyāchārya* appointed either by the temple or by the donors. The Chēbrōlu inscription refers to the appointment of a dance master by the donor general Jāyapa to train girls who were dedicated to the temple at the age of 8 years.³⁴ An epigraph from Simhachalam temple refers to the appointment of Raṅganātha Vāggēyakara who had titles like *Abhinava Bharatāchārya* and *Tōḍaramalla* indicating his proficiency in the branches of dance and music, to impart instructions in both the fields to the temple dancing girls.³⁵ Initially she is given training in physical exercises and massaging the body with specific oils. This course is referred to as *Mallamu*. The duration of this is about 6 months. Later on, various traditional dance styles and the local patterns (*Mārga* and *Dēśī*) are taught to her. Simultaneously she is given thorough instructions in music, script both of Sanskrit and Telugu languages and an idea about the different worship and ritual services offered to the temple deity. Based on the nature of the temple to which she is attached, she is required to learn either Saivite or Vaishnavite Agama texts.³⁶ By the time she attains the age of 14 years, the girl completes her course and acquires an idea of the nature of

duties to be performed by her in the temple. She would be declared eligible for the temple service only when she clears the test conducted by her master. Failing which, she has to lead the life of a common harlot.³⁷ Possibly for the sake of this long and elaborate training and instruction they were dedicated to the temple service at an early age and were provided with residential accommodation in the vicinity of the temple.

INFORMAL EDUCATION

Sufficient evidences are not available to arrive at an understanding regarding the provision of space for common women towards formal education. However, all of them enjoyed benefits of informal education which again is varied in accordance with the needs of the section to which they belonged.

Apart from formal education, women of elite groups are also receiving sufficient training from their elders in various matters concerning state-craft, political diplomacy, code of conduct, or any other relevant matter concerning a successful living.

Rudramadevi learnt political diplomacy from her father.³⁸ The greatest Saivite preceptor Viśveśvara Śiva Dēśika was her teacher. *Nāyakurālu* Nagamma was a great diplomat. *Sīlāma* had vast knowledge in the science of war-fare and Dharmasastras. The details of the educational skills of women of ruling elite are clearly exhibited through their acts of counselling as discussed under various heads in the third chapter.

Informal education in various professional skills was imparted to girls belonging to the class of concubines and prostitutes by their mothers. They train their daughters in matters of painting, drawing, decorating the compounds of their houses, etc.³⁹ In addition, they also taught them various beautification processes, preparation and use of cosmetics, medicines, skill in dressing and ornamentation, developing clever behavioural patterns in order to earn more money and such other aspects concerning their profession.⁴⁰ The literary works of the period are abound with references to the mothers of *Vēśyas* making suggestions to their daughters regarding these issues. The elderly women of these classes also help the *Vēśyamāthas* while training the young girls.⁴¹

The aspects of informal education which revolve round the preservation of family system within the domestic background are, however, applicable mostly to women of middle classes in comparison to the others. For them the need for formal education was not felt. Their learning requirements are only perfection in domestic affairs. As A.S. Altekar observes, "The ladies of cultured families were expected to cultivate the love of sport, arts of music and dance, painting, gardening, garland-making, toy making, house decoration, etc".⁴² In her day to day life, the girl becomes perfect in all these matters through her personal experiences and observations. In addition, the girls were taught at home the traditional mode of worship, performance of religious observances, and rituals their importance specially to married women, the behaviour towards elders and husband.⁴³ *Simhāsana*

Dvātrimsika mentions that Malayavati wife of Jīmūtavāhana had learnt the arts of music and instrument playing to enliven her husband's mind and traditional worship practices to pray for her husband's long life and for a happy and fruitful married life.⁴⁴

Nannechōḍa, in his *Kumārasambhavam* gives an idea about the different aspects of informal education for girls such as garland making, stringing of rosaries, necklaces, making wreaths of flowers and leaves, dance and music, making dolls and toys of mud, ivory and glass, cooking variety of dishes and the preparation of drinks.⁴⁵ Further, every girl was taught in the traditional arts of painting and decorating floors with beautiful floral and geometrical designs of various patterns. The contemporary literature is abound with several such references to women decorating the compounds of their houses with exquisite floral patterns using a preparation of rice flour. This art is referred to as *Raṅgavallī* (Rangoli).⁴⁶ On festive occasions and on functions like royal marriage, every street was decorated with colourful *Raṅgavallī* designs.⁴⁷ Most of the women had medicinal knowledge in the common ailments of children and seasonal health disturbances.⁴⁸ Cosmetics and beauty aids were also prepared at home with herbs in kitchen garden and grains and cereals used in kitchen.⁴⁹ Such traditions are carried through generations by women only. Since, house is the basic unit of society for learning in which mother is an informal teacher and mentor for children. The contemporary literature contains copious references to mothers giving instructions to brides regarding their behaviour in the in-law's house. Menaka, the mother of

Parvati instructs her daughter how to behave in the in-law's (husband's) house after marriage.⁵⁰ King Janaka directs his daughter Sita regarding the code of conduct and behaviour to be followed by her in-law's house.⁵¹

The occupations like weaving, spinning, extraction of oils, selling, etc. are caste oriented and mostly hereditary. Therefore, there were no separate vocational educational institutions for the members of artisan class in these occupations. Though, few Saivite monasteries had provided facilities for vocational education,⁵² children learnt these skills through their elders. Every one found a teacher in their father or the elder member of their community or sometimes even the guild. This was also true with the womenfolk of these classes. Though direct references are not available as regards the standard of education of artisan women, it can be presumed that they obtained professional skills in their respective crafts, as suggested by the story of a *vaiśya* girl in *Kēyūrabāhucharītram*.⁵³ The *vaiśya* wanted an intelligent and clever bride for his son and the men sent by him in search of one, found her selling oil in exchange of rice in the shop. Description of various artisan and peasant women in *Kṛīdābhirāmamu* suggests the nature of occupational skills learnt by them traditionally.

Women belonging to *Mēdara* (basket weavers) class were skilful in the art of basket making.⁵⁴ *Karṇāṭi* women knew the method of preparing medicine useful in the art of making love.⁵⁵

Women of *Teliki* (oil monger) community learnt extraction of oil from *Sampenga* flower (Gold flower) and preparation of hair oil with it.⁵⁶ Girls belonging to *Goraga*, *Dommari* (wandering communities) and such other classes were expert jugglers.⁵⁷ They learnt various gymnastic feats through their elders.⁵⁸ Women belonging to forest dwelling groups like *Sabara*, *Chenchu* had knowledge in tanning the animal skins and making toys and dolls with them.⁵⁹

However, these domestic and occupational skills learnt at home by women proved to be of great help to them, since they utilised their proficiency in their respective fields to earn and to supplement the income of their husbands. Widows of poor brahman families, who were experts in cooking and preparing leaf-plates made use of their skills to earn money.⁶⁰ Similarly, women who gained proficiency in garland making and decoration of floors through *Rangavallulu*, took employment in the temples.⁶¹ Women of herdsmen class made money from their domestic skills such as preparing butter-milk, extraction of ghee, butter, etc. Despite these variations in the aspects of learning based on socio-economic differences, women of all classes appeared to have received benefits of religious education and knowledge of Dharma. The bhakti movement in Saivite and Vaishnavite traditions which pervaded all sections of the society provided ample space to the women's participation in religious rituals and observances in public domain like *Bhakta Kūṭavulu* (religious gatherings), pilgrimages along with their menfolk. They tried to extend their religious sanction for their denial of their husbands if they do

not belong to their religion.⁶² They further rejected the concept of purity and pollution of women on certain occasions for they considered that practice as a way of keeping them at a distance from important events in the society.

The Saivite literature too, with its thrust to reorganise the society, tried to give more religious freedom for women and attempted to bring these changes at the family level. By giving importance to the use of common dialect (*Dēśi*) in literature, the Saivite poets, made possible for women to understand religious principles clearly. The temples and other religious institutions like monasteries arranged for discourses in Vedas, Epics, Puranas and Agama literature daily or occasionally in the evenings wherein women's participation was not opposed.⁶³ They also held assemblies of devotees for which women were allowed entry.⁶⁴ Thus elaborate religious education was also open to women which helped bringing to light their involvement in religion.

References to women devotees and their accounts in *Basava purāṇamu*, *Paṇḍitārādhya-charitra* bear ample testimony to this. The poet mentions that women participated in the literary assemblies arranged by devotees on festive occasions.⁶⁵ He also quotes certain devotional songs sung by women during their daily activities.⁶⁶ He describes women visiting sacred Saivite shrines like Srisailam along with their husbands as pilgrimage. During their journey, they sang songs in musical tunes. Some of the songs include - *Tummeda Padamulu*, *Gobbi Padamulu*, *Prabhāta Padamulu*, *Valēśu Padamulu*, *Vennela Padamulu* and so on.⁶⁷

Nannechoda, in his *Kumārasāmbhavam* describes the interest of forest dwelling women to know the doctrines of Saivism. He describes them as singing *Gauḍa Gītamulu* and *Aṅkamālikalu* while they were pounding *Veḍuṟu biyyamu* (bamboo-rice).⁶⁸ In *Kṛīḍābhīrāmamu*, there is a mention of a widow reciting six cantos of Ramayana in the night in a sweet melodious voice.⁶⁹

Palkuriki Somanatha in his *Paṇḍitārādhya-charitra* gives an episode of a brahman widow, Porāṇḍla Sūrasānamma, a devotee of Lord Siva. She invites devotees of Lord Siva to her house and was involved in discussions with them on various issues regarding Saivite religion.⁷⁰ She visits the house of Mallikarjuna Paṇḍitārādhya, a famous preceptor of Ārādhya Śaivism and gives him the *Dīksha* (initiation) of Saivism.⁷¹ When brahmans of the *Agrahāra* objected to this behaviour of hers which according to them is not traditional, she convinces them with her knowledge in Saivite philosophy.

According to an account in *Basavapurāṇamu*, Suggulādevi, queen of Desiṅga Ballaha is involved in the discussions about the greatness of Saivism and its doctrines along with her preceptor. She was responsible for conversion of her husband and other Jain devotees to Saivism.⁷² Similar is the story of Vaijakavva, wherein she opposed her husband's belief in Jainism.⁷³ The bhakti tradition offered opportunity to women to understand the essence of Vedas and Vedic literature through different doctrines of Saivism and Vaishnavism. The contemporary socio-political conditions necessitated such awareness among the common folk among which women were considered as pivots in the family.

It can thus be surmised that the type of education provided to the girls and the curriculum of the studies varied with respect to the status, profession or need of the girls. The case is same even with men, as in general, the educational system of medieval period is caste oriented and profession oriented. Emphasis is laid more on religious education by all people. The categorisation of educational system of medieval Andhra into formal, informal types is done for the sake of convenience and to understand the motive behind such a system. The system of learning was modelled to preserve the family system and kinship relations wherein, men and women exist complimentary to each other but not contradictory. It was necessary for every girl irrespective of the class to which she belong, to receive informal education to keep her role continuous in bearing the tradition of the family and further to act as a carrier of the same to future generations in her role of a mother. However, in the case of royal women, formal education becomes necessary as they had to maintain a structural continuum in the political relations along with men. Similarly, the need for earning a comfortable livelihood in the absence of a family system made the concubines and prostitutes to attain skill in fine arts. The educational training of a temple girl enabled her to achieve perfect skills in both Sanskrit and local traditions and thereby serve as a medium of synthesis between the two. Artisan women and women of weak sections of the society had to acquaint themselves with occupational skills to supplement their family income.

The bhakti cults, more prominently Saivism made an attempt to bring religion closer to the common masses. In its attempt, it provided religious education to all members of the society irrespective of class or gender differences and is thus helpful in bringing female voice in religion.. While it is further to be ascertained here, whether this is a new change brought about by the sect or bringing to light the earlier provisions of religion, it is almost certain that there was a great religious literature as a consequence to this development. Works like Hemadri's *Chaturvarga Chintāmani* laid more emphasis on performing religious observances, vows, making gifts to achieve materialistic benefits. Most of them were aimed at sanctioning longevity of married life and welfare of the family members. As such women's participation became conspicuous, the details of which are discussed in the succeeding chapter.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* prescribes a rite for a householder desirous of having a learned daughter.

अथ य इच्छेदुहिता से पठिता जायेत।

(Br.VI.4-17), quoted from P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmasastras*. Vol.II, Part.I, 1974, p.366.

2. *Ibid.*, p.367.

3. It appears that from the time of Śaṅkarāchārya, women were prevented from learning the Vedas and hence, the change in understanding the meaning to the term.

दुहितुः पाण्डित्यं गृहतीत्र विषयमेव वेदेनधिकारात्

(Sankarabhashya), quoted from P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, 1974, p.366.

4. Buhler, *Laws of Manu*, IX, 3.
5. K. Suryanarayana, *History of Minor Chalukya Families in Medieval Andhra Desa*, (Delhi, 1986), p. 270.
6. *Kēyūrabādhucharitramu*, 3rd canto, verses 225, 226.
7. *Siṃhāsanadvāitmsika*, 4th canto, verse 166.

చదువు గట్టుగ నలుగని పుట్టుట పట్టుట
కొడునుకు దెవులు పట్టుట --

8. *Ibid.*, 8th canto, verse 138.

కొడుకుగ పట్టినందుకు గట్టు యెరుకపట్టు తోకపోవుట

9. Buhler, *Laws of Manu*, II, 67.
10. Abbe J Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, (Delhi, 1985), p.337.
11. P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, 1974, p.369.
12. Dewey, 'Democracy and Education', pp. 7-11 quoted from Pandharinath H. Prabhu, *Hindu Social Organisation*, (Bombay, 1990), p.102.
13. Śomeśvaradeva, *Abhilashitārtha Chintāmaṇi*, part.I, line 115 quoted from Vaidehi Krishnamoorthy, *Socio-Economic Conditions in Eastern Deccan, (A.D.1000-A.D.1250)*, (Hyderabad, 1970), p.69.

14. Ancient scriptures including the Epics directed a king to obtain proficiency in three Vedas, metaphysics, state-craft, economics, military science, alphabets and arithmetic. besides gaining great experience in elephant riding, horse riding, fighting techniques, etc.
15. *Daśakumāracharitraṃ*, 2nd canto verses 115, 116. Also, *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇam*, *Bālakāṇḍam*, p.19.
16. *Daśakumāracharitraṃ*, 3rd canto, verse 20.
17. *Pratāparudracharitra*, p.37. The age-wise curriculum is as follows-
 - a) 8th & 9th years First principles of language and study of Vedas.
 - b) 10th year Construction of sentences.
 - c) 11th year Science of archery and painting and other different techniques.
 - d) 12th year Knowledge in *Kāvya*, *Nāṭaka*, *Alaṅkāra* and *Sabdasāstrās*.
 - e) 13th year Horse riding and elephant riding.
 - f) 14th year The signs of various native languages.
 - g) 15th year Science of state-craft and knowledge of Dharmasastras.
18. *Siddheśvara Charitra*, p.126.
19. *Agrahārās* are famous centres for Vedic education during medieval times. An *Agrahāra* is a grant of land given by a king to brahmans in lieu of their scholarship. The epigraphical references suggest that brahmans from various countries like *Draviḍa*, *Karnata*, *Ahichhaṭra*, *Lāṭa*, *Gauḍa*, *Kāshmira*, etc. are invited to settle in *Āndhradeśa* and were given munificent grants in the form of *Agrahārās* by the ruling chiefs. Their duty is to impart Vedic education. *Vīrachoda Chaturvēdi Maṅgaḷam* was the most famous among the

Agrahārās of Āndhradeśa. The Hanamkonda Inscription of Rudradeva mentions that in the houses of the brahmins of *Agrahārās*, even the parrots joined students in reciting Vedas, Vedaṅgas and all appropriate subjects. It is also stated that beautiful histories were sung in *Pāda* order. Vedas, Vedaṅta philosophy, *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar), Astrology, Theology, Puranas, Medicine, etc. are the other subjects taught here.

20. *Ghaṭika* is also another educational centre of medieval Āndhradeśa imparting Vedic learning. *Ghaṭika Samānvaya* was the chief co-ordinator of this institution. In every *Ghaṭika*, provision is made for residential accommodation for the students and teachers. In addition, there is a library called *Saraswathi Bhāṇḍāgāraṃ* helping the students to obtain detailed knowledge in various branches of learning. In Āndhra, *Ghaṭikas* existed at Asanapura, Hemavati, Simhachalam, Nāgāyi, etc. One of the Simhachalam records mentions grants to two *Ghaṭasāsi* brahmins who were experts in *Khāṇḍava* and *Taittirīya* branches of philosophy. *Khāṇḍavalli* & *Buthpur* Inscriptions too record grants to the teachers of *Ghaṭika*. In addition to Vedas, logic, philosophy, Dharmasastras, sciences like *Āyurveda*, *Dhanurveda*, *Gandharvavidya*, *Arthaśāstra*, etc. are taught here.
21. Temples and monasteries are popular educational centres of the period. Abundant references to these can be found in the epigraphs available from various parts of Āndhradeśa. Grants are made by one and all to the teachers and students residing in the residential schools attached to the temples as well as monasteries. Daily recitals of Vedic passages, *Purāṇic* stories of devotees, religious discourses were held in both poetic and verse forms and were explained in the local language for educating the common masses. The contemporary socio-political conditions too are discussed in the temples and monasteries which resulted in the creation of political awareness among people. In addition, the temples appointed dance masters to teach dance and music in both *Marga* & *Desi* forms to the dancing girls of the temple. *Āgama* philosophy

was taught in the monasteries. Few Saivite monasteries had provision for *Aṣṭādaśa Vidyālu* corresponding to the various branches of learning concerning to the eighteen classes of people. Mandāḍa, Malkāpur, Tripurāntakam, Elēśvaram, Srisailam were some of the famous Saivite monasteries. Alāmpuram, Ahobilam, Simhachalam, Prēmpalli, Bāpaṭṭa, etc. were few of the Vaishnavite monasteries which were prominent during the period in Andhradesa.

22. *SII*, Vol.VI, No.900.

23. *Ibid.*, No.1118.

24. C.V. Ramachandra Rao, *Administration and Society in Medieval Andhra under the Eastern Gangas and Suryavamsi Gajapathis*, (A.D.1038-1538), (Nellore, 1976), p.296.

25. *SII*, Vol. VI, No.210.

वार्कान्ताभिरामकीर्ति
विद्योतयन्ती विशिविदुशमर्थिनी कामधेनुः

26. M. Rama Rao, *Inscriptions of Andhradesa*, Part.II, (Tirupati, 1968), No.118.

27. *Ibid.*, No.140.

28. *SII*, Vol.V, No.164.

29. *Kṛīḍābhīrāmamu*, verses 180-192. She had a title,

(వంశవంశ) దళితవంశ వంశ నీతి వంశ వంశ

30. *Daśakumāracharitramu*, 5th canto, verses 12-19. Generally the mothers take initiative to educate their daughters in the arts of clever conversation, art of making love, doing services like massaging the body, etc. giving them the idea of *Puṣhārthas*, etc. They also make their daughters observe certain vows for prosperity. For more details see *Kumārasāmbhavam*, 8th canto, verses 137-144.

31. Generally the mothers or the elderly women teach them in various matters of importance to their profession. Instruction in music and dance was given through a teacher appointed for the purpose at the place of residence itself.

32. *Saṅgrahāṇḍhra Viṅṅānakosamu*, Dēvālaya Nṛityamulu, p.709.

33. V. Yasodadevi, 'A History of Andhra Country', *JAHRS*, Vol.XXV, Rajahmundry, pp.52-152. Such dance master is referred to as *Nattuva*. Inscriptional evidences refer to appointment and

- provision of *vr̥ittis* to these men. See, *SII*, Vol.X, Nos.144, 148, *TIAP*, Vol.I, (Srikakulam Dist), No.264, etc.
34. *SII*, Vol.VI, No.1091.
 35. *Samgrahāndhra Viṣṇānakosamu*, pp.708, 709.
 36. *Ibid.*, p.717.
 37. Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma, *Āndhradeśa Charitra. Samgrahamu*, (Vijayawada, 1991), p.43.
 38. Jyotsna K. Kamath, *Social life in Medieval Karnataka*, (Delhi, 1980), p.116.
 39. *Daśakumāracharitramu*, 5th canto, verse 12-19.
 40. For more details, see *Daśakumāracharitramu*, 5,6 cantos., *Kumāra Sambhavam*, 8th canto, *Kṛīdābhirāmanu*, pp.54-55 and *Keyūrabāhucharitramu*, 2nd canto. Also, P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, Vol.IV, 1974, p.481.
 41. A.S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, (Delhi, 1962), p.21.
 42. J. Kanakadurga, *Koṇavi Goparaju, Siṃhāsanadvāṛṃsika - Mahilā Jana Jīvanamu*, (Kothagudem, 1992), p.35.
 43. *Ibid.*
 44. *Kumārasambhavam*, 6th canto, verses 36-38.
 45. *Raṅgavallulu* are the floral patterns or patterns of different designs made with *Kaṣṭūrī* (musk), or *Mukṣāphālamu* (white lime) in front of the compounds of the houses. As Dr. Ravi Premalatha states in her *Telugu Streela - Chitralipi*, (Hyderabad, 1991) they have a great significance and vary according to the region, environment and other factors like occasion, seasons, etc.
 46. *Basavapurāṇamu*, p.19 on the occasion of the marriage of Basavana, the streets were decorated with *Kaṣṭūrī*, *Mukṣāphālamu* patterns of *Raṅgavallulu*. Also *Kumārasambhavam*, 8th canto, verse 41.
 47. *Ibid.*, Bejjamahādevi Katha, pp.58-61.
 48. *Kumārasambhavam*, 8th canto, verse 13, gives the preparation of *Lattuka* (a kind of lipstick).
 49. *Ibid.*, 9th canto, verses 143-144.
 50. *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇamu*, *Bāla Kāṇḍamu*, p.65.

51. P.S. Kanakadurga, *Kakatiyulanati Samajika Jivanamu*, (Vijayawada, 1992), p.161, 168.
52. *Kēyūrabāhucharitramu*, 2nd canto, verses 8-16.
53. *Kṛīḍābhirāmamu*, verses 68,69.
54. *Ibid.*, verses 77 to 81 give us the uses of the medicine prepared by the woman.
55. *Ibid.*, verse 101. Verses 102-105 give us the description of *Ganulakanne* (Teliki woman).
56. Veturi Prabhakara Sastry, *Ātu Padya Manimanjari*, verse 325. Also *Kṛīḍābhirāmamu*, verses 160,161.
57. *Kṛīḍābhirāmamu*, verses 143, 144.
58. *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra*, Parvata prakaraṇamu, p.235.
59. For more details, chapter on "Professions and Property rights".
60. *SHI*, Vol X, No.74.
61. Mallikarjuna Panditaradhya, *Sivatatvasāramu*, (ed.) Nidadavolu Venkata Rao, (Hyderabad, 1968), verses 231,232,233.
62. *Ibid.*, verse 129.
63. P.S. Kanakadurga, *Op.cit.*, 1992, p.167.
64. Such assemblies are called *Bhakta Kūṭavulu*, *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra*, Vāda Prakaraṇamu, p.117, 118. Also *Basavapurāṇamu*, p.124.
65. *Basavapurāṇamu*, p.119.
66. *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra*, 'Vāda Prakaraṇamu', p.118.
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Kumārasambhavam*, 6th canto, verses 45,47, 48.
69. *Kṛīḍābhirāmamu*, verse 185.
70. *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra*, 'Dīksha Prakaraṇamu', *Sūrasāni Katha*, pp.29-33.
71. *Sivatatvasāramu*, p.20.
72. *Basavapurāṇamu*, *Tēdaradāsayya Katha*, pp.157-162.
73. *Ibid.*, 6th canto, *Vaijakavva Katha*, pp.163-167.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL OBSERVANCES

Dharmasastras prescribe certain rites and ritual practices to be followed in general and specific contexts by men and women for family welfare and continuity of tradition. People believe that one can achieve *Puruṣārthas* viz. *Dharma* (Piety), *Artha* (wealth), *Kāma* (sensual gratification) and *Mōksha* (liberation) by observing the prescriptions of Dharmasastras.

Ritualistic religion of the Vedic times did not provide space for women who are equated to sudras. The latter by virtue of their birth and the former by their being pure and polluted on certain occasions,¹ they were restricted from practicing some religious observances and practices. However, women's space is clearly defined and her participation was made inevitable in performing all household religious rituals and observances. Manu holds that in religious matters, a husband is one with the wife.² He cannot even reap the fruits of a pilgrimage without his wife accompanying him.³ The Purāṇic religion provided ample space to women and sudras to perform religious observances and celebrations of festivals. They are classified as *Iṣṭadharmā* (what is sacrificed) in which are included the Vedic rituals and sacrifices having no space for women and sudras and *Puṣṭadharmā* (Whatever is filled) in which are included religious observances, like *vṛata*, *dāna*, pilgrimage, observing fast and performing meritorious and charitable acts or *Saptasāṁvāna* deeds.⁴ Rituals under *Puṣṭadharmā* are allowed to be practiced by people of all sections of the society irrespective of caste or gender.

Vrata is a mental resolve to do something or refrain from doing something both enjoined as duties.⁵ *Vratas* are of three types. They are *Nitya* (whatever is given every day), *Naimittika* (given at certain specified time or on account of doing certain acts) and *Kāmya* (given through the desire of securing progeny, victory, prosperity, heaven or wife).⁶ *Agnipurāṇa* holds that the objects of this penance are: Dharma, progeny, wealth, beauty, good fortune, virtues, fame, long life, purity, enjoyment of pleasures, heaven and renunciation.⁷ *Dāna* or gift giving is a sacred observance promising merit in the other world. *Agnipurāṇa* refers to ten *Mahādānas*, gift of gold, horses, chariots, land, house, sesame, maids, a bride, a dark brown cow, etc.⁸ Based on the nature of *dānas* they can be classified as: *Uttama* (of high order), *Madhyama* (of middle order), and *Adhama* (of lowest order).⁹ *Purāṇas* and *Smṛtis* regulate procedures to be followed in space and time. However, *Dharmasastras* and *Purāṇas* prescribed the above keeping in view the contemporary socio-political conditions of the land.

In the earlier times the kingship was heroic and was legitimised by conducting Vedic sacrifices and rituals. Literary and epigraphical references from eastern *Āndhra* region give ample evidences to the kings performing sacrifices after their ascent and on completion of their conquests thereby extending ritual control over the areas conquered by them.¹⁰ In other words, the kings legitimised their Kshatriyahood in the above manner. The gradual changes of the early medieval period like clearance of

forest and extension of cultivable fields, system of land grants to brahmins and monastic establishments, recruitment of sudras as artisans and agricultural labour and contacts with different forests dwelling communities¹¹ reflected a change in the form of kingship in accordance with the changes in state formation. The kingship was ritual with dual sovereignty, the political and the ritual. As cited earlier, the kings stabilised their political power by coercion and ritual power by conciliation. The synthesis of both gave strength to the kingship. The kings legitimised their ritual power by gift giving. In other words, by medieval times, gift giving replaced sacrifices as the legitimising factor of kingship. This gift giving included land grants to temples, brahmins, monastic establishments, construction activities and the *Saptasāntāna* deeds. Along with the kings, their wives and those of maṇḍalika chiefs are also involved in the process of gift giving further widening their domain in the religious observances.

Further, contacts with the tribal people led to their beliefs and worship practices making their way into Purāṇic religion through brahmanisation and Sanskritisation processes as discussed in the earlier part of this work. Kāpālika sect of Saivism included in it the *Pañchamakāras* (five orgiastic rites namely fish, meat, sex, drink and physical gestures) of the tantric religion. Sakti cult became prominent.¹² Shrines for mother-Goddess with various names were built at various places. In Āndhradeśa, temples were built for Goddesses Kākatamma,

Mahūramma, Mūsanamma, Pōlēramma, Ēkavira at various places.¹³

Festivals and fairs are introduced to propitiate these dieties. However, the description of women in tantric religion appears to be different from that of women in bhakti cults. Tantric practices are aimed at personal liberation by equating family relations and religious practices, where as the bhakti sects, Saivism and Vaishnavism made an attempt to bring religion closer to women by giving them equal domain and arguing for religious freedom for women. Virasaivism rejected the concept of purity and pollution isolating women on certain occasions from religious practices and rituals.

Along with these developments, the Purāṇic religion too underwent certain modifications to suit the needs of contemporary times. Though the main aim of all these observances and rituals appear to be sacred i.e. securing religious merit of the highest order in the other world, secular and materialistic purposes dominated over the religious observances. The bulk of the *vratas* practiced were of *Naimittika* and *Kāmya* nature, i.e. for the purpose of securing some object in this very life.¹⁴ Even in the context of making gifts, the things mentioned in the various orders of merit varied based on the changes in economy, availability of goods and attitudes of people.¹⁵ Thus, the items mentioned in *Adhama* order earlier were considered important in the medieval times. Great amount of religious merit was attached to visiting sacred places through pilgrimage by self or proxy, involving in philanthropic activities which had socio-political

significance and celebration form of *Tirunāḷḷu* (fairs) near temples. *Chāturvarṅga Chintāmaṇi* of Hemadri, a contemporary work gives a list of about thousand *vratas* and procedures of their observance. He discusses the merits and importance of making gifts, significance of time and place of performance and fruits of such gifts. The popularity of this work in Āndhradeśa is suggested by the extensive epigraphical evidences quoting rulers performing meritorious activities as given in Hemadri's work.¹⁶

When the contemporary literature and inscriptions are analysed in the light of the above discussion, new light will be thrown on the significance of women's participation in religious observances in space and time. Their objectives are both sacred (aimed at securing religious merit of the highest order such as attaining *puṇyalōka* after death) and secular (aimed at obtaining merits in this life, such as material prosperity, perpetuity of the family, longevity of married life, birth of sons, welfare of the family, etc). These practices were commonly observed by women of both elite and common groups though they differ in the manner of observance and in the nature of objects gifted to temples in lieu of their performance. For convenience sake, we can group them under two - Religious Observances and Social observances.

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES

The different religious practices observed by women, such as *vrata*, *dāna*, *sapta saṁtāna* as under taking pilgrimages to holy shrines are discussed under this head. The purpose of these

practices being both sacred as well as secular they are observed by both elite and common groups of the society.

VRATAS

The objects of most of the *Vratas* mentioned in Hemadri's text are concerned with the perpetuality of family life. They are generally undertaken by married women either individually or along with their husbands. Few penances are prescribed for young women and widows too. It is believed that a woman becomes a widow due to her past sins and is eventually responsible for the death of her husband.¹⁷ To avoid recurrence she had to observe certain penances which promise her a longevity of married life in the next birth. Specific vows are also prescribed for the *Ves̥yas* for a prosperous profession.

References from contemporary epigraphs and literary sources reveal the popularity of *vr̥atas* in *Āndhradeśa*. Certain practices are oriented towards achieving victory in the war field and bring political stability of the kingdom. Vidyanatha in his *Pratāparudra Yaśōbhūṣaṇamu* quotes that Kakatiya queen Rudramadevi observed *Tṛirātriṣṛatamu* before proceeding against Yadavas in the battle field and thus emerging successful in driving away Yadava forces to the banks of river Godavari in the north - west.¹⁸ Kuppāmbika wife of Malyala chief Guṇḍa performed many vows to achieve long span of married life, family welfare and for the good of her husband. They include *Jalasayana vr̥ata*, *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa vr̥ata*, *Ekādasi vr̥ata*, *Asūnyasayana vr̥ata*, etc.¹⁹ Her Buthpur inscription praises her as a true devotee of Lord

Vishnu. It is further stated that she adhered to the procedures mentioned in the Kalpa texts while performing these penances.²⁰

Within the patriarchal society the birth of a son is considered as the most important aspect of married life. It is believed that a marriage becomes fruitful only with the birth of a son who would relieve the householder from the debts of his forefathers.²¹ Prominent among several such penances are, *Dāsariēḍla nōmu* (worship of oxen), *Naṇḍikēśa Nōmu* (worship of bull), *Gaḷaniṃma nōmu* (giving lemon fruits as gifts), etc.

Mummadamma, the eldest daughter of queen Rudramadevi, performed *Dāsariēḍla nōmu* as per an account in *Siddhēśvaracharitra*.²²

Basavapurāṇamu gives an account of the importance of *Naṇḍikēśa Nōmu* in yielding merit of sons. Madāmba wife of Maṇḍega Mādirāju complied with several *vratas* with an object of begetting a son. Ultimately following the advice of brahmins and elders she undertook the vow of worshipping *Naṇḍi* (bull) and fulfilled her desire.²³

References to the religious practices promising birth of sons can also be gathered from *Palnāṭi Vīracharitra*. Itama, wife of Brahmanayudu, performed several penances for the birth of a son which include, *Vīdhivelugunōmu*, *Garīma nōmu*, *Sanjavattinōmu*, *Jagajjoti nōmu*, *Ēkavillu nōmu*, *Pachhavillu*, *Naṇḍinōmu*, *Chikatīṇṭi*

nōmu, *Kēdāreśu nōmu* and several others. The observance of vow referred to as *Gajanimma nōmu* performed at the instance of elders and brahmans accomplished her longing desire.²⁴

All these above practices appear to be native of Āndhra region as they donot find mention in Hemadri's work. Therefore, it becomes difficult to understand the practices each one of them. However, they are related to the concept of lighting a lamp, an idea linked to the belief that a family without progeny is one without light.

The importance of observing vows is also recognised in the case of prostitutes. The observance of these *vratas* ensured material prosperity. Sacred texts quote that these women are supposed to follow the profession in palaces and temples. They should make gifts of cows, fields and gold to brahmans, perform such other penances which are mentioned in the Kalpa texts.²⁵ Hemadri mentions, *Vesya vrata* to be followed by the prostitutes.²⁶ Literary texts like *Kumārasambhavam*, *Daśakumāracharitra*, contain ample references to the mothers of *vesyas* suggesting their daughters to observe penances for prosperity.²⁷

Epigraphical references reflect the nature of penances practiced by women from middle class which differ from that of the elite women in the mode of observance and the nature of gifts given. An inscription from Drākshārāma temple describes Parākamma, wife of Drōṇabhaṭṭa as *Māsōpavāsi*.²⁸ This observance

of keeping fast on specific days of each month is considered to yeild highest merit according to *Anusāsanaparva*.²⁹ Another record from the same place quotes Surāmbika, wife of Sridharanāyaka as *Suvrata* (one who is observing *vratas*).³⁰ *Kṛtadābhirāmamu* has a reference to *Kāmesvari* *nomu* performed by a couple for the welfare of the family and for material prosperity.³¹

Gifts are given to temples, brahmans or to married and unwidowed women in lieu of the performance of the *vratas*. Palkuriki Somana in his *Basavapurāṇamu* mentions such women receiving gifts as *Peṇṇiṇḍru*.³² However, the nature of gifts varied in accordance with the elite/folk differentiation (Socio-economic status of the women). Kuppāmbika performed the *vrata* of giving away land every day during *Chāturmāsya*,³³ Sūramadevi, wife of Oḍḍādi chief, Arjunadeva gave a village Saṅkubhīmāpuram to God Bhimesvara at Drākshārāma on account of *Gaurivratamu*.³⁴ The gifts by common women given in lieu of their vows are comparatively simpler and include gifts of lamp, money, etc.

Thus it is seen that *Vrata*, *dāna* and *dakṣiṇa* are interlinked. *Vrata* cannot yeild fruits unless gift making accompanied by donation is given.

DĀNAS

There are two intentions of making gifts. One is the removal from past sins and the other is to achieve religious

merit in the future life. In this sense, *dāna* can be termed as a sacred observance. However, gift giving to temples or monasteries serves a secular purpose. Specially when made by members of the royal family. The aspect of gift giving by women of ruling elite has been discussed in the earlier chapter. Making *dānas* also has the effect of acting as a medium of exchanging and redistributing economic wealth.³⁵ The system of exchange of gifts kept goods and people in circulation in a specific pattern and also acted as means of maintaining political relationship and ranking.³⁶

The popularity of the idea of making *dānas* among women in Āndhradeśa can be understood from the number of epigraphical references registering grants to temples, charitable and religious institutions, priests, sectarian leaders, etc. The details are shown in the following charts categorised depending on the nature of gifts into four different units. CHART VII A includes land grants, VII B, the particulars of live stock donated to the temples, VII C contain's details of monetary endowments and grants of jewellery and VII D includes all other general grants made by women.

GRANTS BY WOMEN - LAND

Sl. NO.	Insc.No.	Date	Donor	Status	Donee Temple	Particulars of land grant	Service Instituted
1.	S I I , Vol.IV. 1022	31st year of K. choja	Gaṅgamba	Queen	Drākshārāmam temple	Some measure of land	
2.	1043	A.D.1252	Suramadevi	Queen	" "	Village Sankubhimāpuram free of taxes	Gaurivṛatamu
3.	1245	A.D.1263	Aitasāni	D/o of Temple sāni and W/o Upendradeva of Rāparṭi	" "	Village Viśwanāthapaṭnam	For Aṅgaraṅgabhōgas and offerings to the deity.
4.	684		Guṇḍamadevi	Queen	Mulasthāneśv ara temple, Nadiṇḍla	Guṇḍasamudramu (a lake)	For offerings to the deity.
5.	1015	A.D.1084	Jāyama	Servant of K. Choḍadeva	Drākshārāmam temple	30 puttis of field in Suṅkaṭūru of Prolināḍu, free of all its taxes	For the choultry instituted by her in Drākshārāmam. She also provided arrangements of rice, cereals, and money for salary to the employees of the choultry. For the daily offerings to the deity, she provided arrangement of 80 leaves and 40 nuts. (betel and areca). In addition, she kept 300 bullocks with the temple bōyas for supply of ghee.
6.	704	A.D.1164	Pinnamajiy yar	Queen	Kodaṇḍa Rāma temple, Kāza	Lands for various services in the temple: 1) 3 kh of land. 2) Wet land of 4 maṭṭurus behind Eṇṇamcheṇṇuvu and 2 kh land and 12 kh land	Daily offerings For Aṅgaraṅgabhōga

7.	939	--	Ganapamaevi	Queen	Gopinātha temple	Garden land in Nijagaragapāḍu village and an oil pressing unit in the same village.	For a lamp
8.	1286	--	Queen's name not very clear (Padmavati)	Queen	Drākshārāmam	Khunḍenapalli village	For daily worship services
9.	1368	A.D.1287	Akkamadevi	Wife of a chief and D/o a Seṭṭi	" "	Village Maṟuvāṇḍi in Drākshārāmamu	For performing Ḍōlōtsava (swinging) on Davanapunnami festival at the temple
10.	700	A.D.1264	Maṇikama	Templesāni	Gopāla temple, Pedakākāni	Several lands in Koṭikaṇḍi (Pedakākāni).	She installed the idol, constructed the maṇṭapa and provided arrangements for worship service.
	S I I , Vol. V						
11.	1014	--	Vallema, W/o Paḍalu Chuṇḍa Bhima	--	Mukhalingam temple	8 Puṭṭis of garden land in Choḍanāḍu	For burning two lamps in the temple, grant was made by both husband and wife
12.	1025	A.D.1111	Ballama	Templesāni	" "	Lost ...	
13.	1347	A.D.1093	Lakshmidēvi	Queen	Siddheśvara temple, Roṇaṅki	2 puṭṭis of land	For offerings to the deity
14.	1348	--	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "

15.	124	A.D. 1306	Pina Oḍaya Mahādevi	Queen	Ksheerārāmeśvara temple, Pālakolanu	A total of 3 kh of land at different places in Viparuta village.	Given to the bōyas of the temple for supplying ghee to burn the lamp
16.	125	A.D. 1306	" "	" "	" "	10 puttis of land 5 puttis of land The land is situated to the north of Uppucheruvu and all its boundaries are specified.	To the brahmans (1000) For offerings containing rice, ghee, curries of 3 varieties, curd, betel leaves, nuts of specific quantities. The grant also states that Divali and Sivarātri festivals are to be celebrated by lighting 1000 lamps in the temple by the brahmans
	S I I , Vol. VI						
17.	1203	A.D. 1226	Gaṅgādevi	Wife of a chief	Simhachalam	4 Puttis of land in Kāvoramu of Prakkināḍu with its boundaries marked with religious symbols.	For offerings of betel leaves, nuts, sugarcane, spices etc. to the deity, on the occasion of Sukla Ekāḍasi
18.	979	A.D. 1348	Bhimadevi	" "	" "	Garden land bought by her for the purpose	For 5 garlands of flowers to the deity. She also put 18 māḍas in the temple treasury for 2 kuñchas of prasādamu as vritti to the person who works in the garden.
19.	634	A.D. 1153	Sriyādevi	Queen	Keśavadeva temple, Koṇidena	Land in Soṅgharevula (details lost)	For various worship services to the God.
20.	692	A.D. 1216	Laxmidevi W/o Rāṣṭri Maṅgiraḍu	--	Simhachalam	Village Manapamu in Ahaṇu Pākanāḍu	For offerings to the deity.

21.	989	A.D.1346	Sriyādevi	Wife of a chief	Simhachalam	Garden land	For Tirumāla (garland) It appears that she bought the land and appointed, one Simhanāyaka to supply Tirumāla from the land. His salary is a share in the daily offerings made to the deity.
	S I I , Vol.X						
22.	188	A.D.1173	Valyapa	Brahman	Vallabheśvara temple, Jonnalagaḍḍa	6 kh of land and 10 Na of land in Jonnalagaḍḍa	To the priests of the temple of Vallabheśvara constructed by her and for offerings to the deity.
23.	260	A.D.1213	Ārama, Ketama	Concubines of Koṭa Keta	Sitārāmasvami temple, Eṇṇabalem	Certain measure of land in the north of Kāmalakoṭi	For offerings to the deity. They also caused for installation of Utsava idols (Alongwith their father)
24.	364	A.D.1259	Kommāsāni	Nāyaka	Someśvara temple, Juttiga	Certain measure of land kept under Sānimunnūru	Also a lamp. The grant was made along with her sons for the merit of her husband.
25.	654	A.D.1102	Nāgava	Sānikāpu woman	Nilakanṭheśvara temple, Nārāyaṇapuram	A piece of wet land near Peddacheruvu	
26.	29	--	Queen of Vallabharāja	Queen	Gopālakrishna a Svami temple, Mālepāḍu	A piece of land yeilding certain quantity of rice	To the 108 servants of the temple.
27.	172	A.D.1170	Gōkasāni	W/o a general	Choḍeśvara temple	2 different lands one of 7 kh and the other 1 kh Na 10.	For offerings to the deity and to a priest
28.	334	A.D. 1251	Janḍubai	Relative of a chief	Venkateśvara temple, Durgi	Dry land 1 m behind lake, dryland of 1 kh, another piece of land of 1 m and 1 kh near Tāḍlapalli	For offerings to the deity and for Āṅgaraṅgabhōga services

29.	395	A.D.1261	Rudramadevi	Queen	Viśveśvara Śiva, the preceptor of Kakatiyas and head of Goḷaki Śaiva maṭha	Mandara village in Velanādu and Velanāpundi village	For establishing a maṭha (monastery), educational institutions, hospitals and other institutions on behalf of Goḷakimaṭha. Also for a maternity hospital
	Tripurāṇtakam Temple Inscription						
30.	87		Nāgaladevi		Tripurāṇtakam temple	Some unit of land	To God Tripurāṇtakesvara
	T I A P						
31.	37	--	Eṇakamma	Princess	Mukhalingam temple	Gift of wet land measuring 20 janakolas yeilding 3 puṭṭis in Dantavuramu	
	A.P. Govt. Report on Epigraphy : 1965						
32.	169	A.D.1105	Sahaja Vedāṅgi Somaladevi	Queen of Western Chalukya Jayasimha	Pulipoḍāru Jain Monastery	Gift of balckland of 50 maṭṭurus and some amount for a lamp and flower garden	To Jaina basadi at the request of Jain teachers and grant was made with the consent of the ministers.
	A.P. Govt. Report on Epigraphy : 1966						
33.	135	A.D.1030	Wives of Kolavadiya Bāḍiyōja and Wives of Kirthivarma		Mosāṅgi (maski)	Grant of land 13 maṭṭars and 70 maṭṭars in Pegiya Mosāṅgi village	To a brahmin, Keśava Pandita with the consent of the king.

34.	" " 138	A.D.1116	Somaladevi along with Muttayya		Gaṅgeśvara temple installed by Bhimarasa and Gaṅgādevi at Koḍūru	Certain amount of land	To God with the permission of the king who was camping at Kollipāka region.
	A Monograph on Yeleśwar am Excavations						
35.	14	A.D.1246	Rudramadevi (Rudradeva Maharaja)	Queen	A priest, Yelesvaradeva	Grant of a village Ambalipally	--
36.	" " No.30	--	" "	" "	" "	Grant of villages Kroṭṭalūru, Gummalam, Ipūru	
	B.N. Sastri: Kayastha Rajulu:						
37.	No.6	A.D.1257	Kamalabai	W/o Gaṅgaya Sāhipi, a Kāyastha chief	Isānya Gurudevara, a preist of Pushpagiri temple	Grant of village Gaṅgāpuram in Mulikinādu	For worship services in the temple.
	Inscriptions of A.P. Warangal Dt.						
38.	No.126	--	Prolama		Lokeśvaradeva	20 Maṭṭars of land	" "
	B.N. Sastri: Recherla Reddi Vamsacharitra, Sasanamu lu:						

39.	No: 3	A.D.1202	1.Valyasāni 2.Itasāni 3.Itasāni	Sister of Recherla Cheif, Nāmireddi w/o Nāmireddi w/o Nāmireddi	Pillalamaṣṣi temple " " " "	2 martars of land to the east of Rāvipāḍu 2 martars of land at Irugārubaṇḍa 3 Martars of land in the same village	For offerings to the deity "" Viśvanāthadeva "" Aiteśvaradeva
40.	No.6	A.D.1208	Erakasāni	W/o Recherla Chief Betireddy	" "	1)4 martars of land near lake Erakasamudramu, 46 m of field at Upparipāḍu, 12 m of land near lake Laxmisamudramu. All these are in the village Erakapuram founded by her. She also constructed a tank, Eraka Samudramu and a temple Erakeśvara 2)2 m dry land in Erakapuram and 2 m wet land and 1 m land 3)10 m dry land, 1 m wet land in the same village and 1 m wet land near Laxmisamudramu, 1 m near canal and also 10 m dry land. 4)1 m wetland, 5 m dryland in Mōtukūru	For daily worship services, to the preists, for maintenance of the temple and to different temple servants. For the Goddess Trī purāridevi installed by her and for her offerings. For the worship services in two temples constructed her father and mother. For worship services to the temple constructed in the name of her brother at Mōtukūru.

41.	No. 6	A.D. 1215	" "	" "	" "	<p>1) Remaining dry land of Ekakapuramu, two gardens free of all taxes</p> <p>2) 2 m wet land and 1/2 m land near the same tank</p> <p>3) 2 m land and 1 m near canal</p> <p>4) 1 m near another tank and 2 m near the same tank.</p>	<p>To the temple priests and for the worship services to the temple Ekakesvara (in her name)</p> <p>For other temples of Siva constructed by her.</p> <p>To the temple constructed by a Saivite priest and pointiff. For another temple of Siva</p>
42.	No. 7	--	" "	" "	" "	<p>5 1/2 m of land near tank Ekakasamudramu.</p>	<p>To a choultry constructed by her and for a chalivenhra 4 m for meals to students 1 m to cooks 1/2m for water men of chalivenhra</p>
	Inscriptions of Andhra desa Vol. 11, Pt. I						
43.	No. 299	A.D. 1168	Sitadevi	W/o a chief	Nonambesvara temple, Anantapur	Grant of land	For feeding 90 individuals in the choultry attached to the temple
44.	No. 310	--	Mayindamma		Jain temple Anantapur	" "	To a jain monastery for feeding the monks
45.	No. 113	A.D. 1186	Jayambika	M/o Velanadu king (Queen mother)	Kuntimadhava temple, Pithapuram	Grant of village Navakhandavada in Prolunadu	She also built the Prākārās, Gopurās and installed deities. The grant is for the worship services in the temple.

46.	No. 128	--	Queen mother (name not clear)		To one Aggisaṃma of Chāmalūru	50 m of land	
47.	No. 183	--	W/o a king	--	Kosinepalle temple	30 m of land	As Pannasa (hereditary land grant)
48.	No. 269	--	Cholamahādevi	Queen	Chilamakūru temple	Grant of land	
49.	No. 375	--	Cholamadevi also called Vasantipori	Queen	Vasāntiśvara temple	300 units of land and 2 gardens	For worship services and as hereditary grant, made with the consent of local chiefs
50.	Epigraphia Andhrīca, Vol. IV, No. 11	A.D. 1219	Ganapamba D/o Ganapatideva	Kota Queen	A brahman, Rudra Peḍḍimāru in the presence of Kakatiya emperor, Ganapatideva	Village Mogalutla, with all its revenue as a full grant	Grant is for the expenses connected with the performance of Srāddha ceremonies at Gaya for her deceased husband Beṭarāja.
51.	" " No. 13	A.D. 1266	Pāṇḍambika	Queen	Temple at Tāḍikoṇḍa. Constructed by her in the name of her husband	1) 1 kh dry land, 1 m wet land 2) 1 kh dry land, 1 m wet land. 3) 30 m wet land 4) 2 kh dryland 30 m wetland 5) 1 kh dry land.	For offerings to Kāmiśvara For betel leaves and nuts For Bhōgamuvāru (dancing girls) For Bhōgamuvāru also for a lamp For a bōya who keeps 25 sheep (For the merit of her husband who predeceased her.)
52.	H A S Vol. XIX Km-17	--	Mailaladevi	Queen	Ānjaneya temple, Rāmakrishna puram	1 m land to the north of lake in Rekāmpalle	For worship services

53.	" " Mn. 10		Dhennamahā devi	Queen (Kanduri Choḍas)	Rāmeśvara temple, Tummēti	Land grant and monetary grants as specified in the record. Also certain amounts received towards tax.	To the lamps, worship services and offerings. It was said that she made the grant on her own will.
54.	" " Mn. 41	A.D.1280	Mallasāni and Gaṅgasāni	Wives of the Treasurer of Queen Rudramadevi	To 5 temples constructed by them.	Various lands with boundaries specified were given. A monastery was also built.	For different worship services like lamps, offerings, betel- leaves, preists and monastery maintenance.
55.	" " Ng. 7	--	Mailāmbika	Queen	Bhimanārāyaṇa temple, Pānugallu.	Grant of village, Piṭṭampalli.	One half of the village should be to the brahmans and the other half of to the temple services.
56.	" " Vol.XIII No.36	A.D.1124	Mailāmba	Queen	Pachhala Somēśvara temple, Pānugal to 108 brahmans of the temple (priests)	1) Grants of an agrahāra 2) 10 units of land 3) 1 unit 4) Remaining land	108 brahmans God's personal enjoyment. Preist of the temple Vocal music, instrumental music, dancing, incense, garlands, etc.
57.	Telangana Inscript ions: Vol.II	A.D.1091	Chākama	D/o. Talāri, a royal servant	Mādhavadeva temple, Alampuram	Land grants	Renovation.
58.	B.N.Sast ri: Mahabubn agara Jilla Sarvasva mu: No.35	A.D.1101- 02	Mannādevi	Queen	Brahmeśvara temple, Alampuram	Grant of a village	For renovation of the temple and for daily worship services
59.	" " No.36	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "

60.	" " No. 42	A.D. 1107-08	" "	" "	" "	1) Land in Aiyaja 300 vishaya 2) Houses	Worship services in the temple For priests and brahmans
61.	" " No. 43	--	" "	" "	To a brahman Vemāchārya	Bellera village	As agrahāra
62.	" " No. 45	A.D. 1108-09	" "	" "	Alāmpuram Sthanapati (Temple head preist)	Grant of village Dāmagatla in Kannenādu	For his services in the temple.
64.	" " No. 63	--	Mallahaṇi devi	" "	Gift particulars not given	--	Probably the village Gaṅgāpuram is the gift to the temple.
65.	" " No. 126	--	Mailala Mahādevi	" "	Kūḍali Saṅgameśvara temple	Gift of land and some money	To fishermen for making the devotees cross the river.
66.	" "	--	Dhennamahā devi	Queen	Nṛsiṃhadeva temple, Māmiḷḷapalli	Land below the lake of Tummēṭi and wet land near a well.	To the temple for offerings to the deity
67.	Drākshār āma Inscript ions: No. 25	A.D. 1137	Suramatide vi		Drākshārāmam	15 tūmus of land near Palevaram	For daily offerings and burning a lamp. Given to the temple bōyas.
68.	" " No. 193	A.D. 1292	Pedapōtama sāni w/o Vallūri Potanā Chārya		Drākshārāmam	1 kh of land.	For maintenance of lamp
69.	I A P :KD No. 11	A.D. 1008	Dēvakabbe	wet nurse	To a temple of Siva set up by her in her name	Lands in Choppadanḍi village. Also some monetary gift.	For the worship services to the deity.

GRANTS BY WOMEN - LIVE STOCK

Sl. No	Reference	Date	Donor	Status	Donee Temple	Details of Live stock given to Bōyas for supply of ghee to burn the lamp					Remarks
						Cows	Goat	Sheep	Bullocks	She-buffalos	
	S I I Vol. IV										
1.	1006	A.D.1081	Padmāvati	Wife of a minister	Drākshīrāmam temple				50		Also one gold coin for Nitya Padi (offerings)
2.	1009	A.D.1092	Solava		" "				50		
3.	1010	A.D.1055	Kupama	D/o a minister	" "				50		
4.	1011	A.D.1073	Rekama	W/o a royal officer	" "				50		
5.	1052	A.D.1166	Choḍamahādevi	Queen	" "				50		
6.	1062	--	Rājasāni	D/o Satyāsāni	" "	50					
7.	1089	--	Guṇḍama	W/o minister	" "				50		Also gave some land.
8.	1092	A.D.1197	Gaurasāni	Reddi	" "				50		For the merit of her husband
9.	1095	--	Dannamadevi	Queen	" "				50		
10.	1251	A.D.1121	Komaṇi	D/o temple sani	" "				50		
11.	1300	A.D.1249	Guḍisāni	Temple girl	" "				50		
12.	1313	A.D.1186	Gauramadevi	W/o a chief	" "					50	
13.	1319	46th yr of K. Chola deva	Yalayamahādevi	Queen	" "					50	
14.	1326	48th "	Bijjavaśankari	Temple sani	" "					50	
15.	1327	--	Sejjama	W/o a chief	" "	50					
16.	1335	A.D.1180	Kāmasāni	W/o a palace servant	" "					50	For the merit for her parents
17.	687		Kommāsāni	D/o a bōya	" "			55			

18.	1113	A.D.1163	Paṇḍamadevi	Queen	" "				55	For maintaining this service, Imāna to Tribhuvana Nāyaka
19.	1184		Lavaṇyavati devi	Queen	" "				50	
20.	804	A.D.1133	Sabbama	" "	Govardhanaś vami temple, Nādiṇḍla			55		
21.	806	A.D.1150	Vennama	D/o Paḍālu Kāṭaya	" "			55		
22.	807	A.D.1148	Aṇṭyama	D/o Surapareḍḍi	" "			55		
23.	945	A.D.1125	Nuṁkama	Sāni of the temple	Choḍanārāya ṇa temple, Tsandavole			55		
24.	946	A.D.1147	Choḍāmba	D/o Gaṅgamārāya	" "			55		
25.	976	--	Pochaladevi	Queen	Srikākuḷam temple	25				
26.	1261	A.D.1079	Surasāni	D/o Temple sāni	Drakshārāma				5(0)	
27.	1357	A.D.1123	Rājaka	" "	" "				50	
28.	1365	A.D.1180	Gokamahadevi	Queen	" "				50	
29.	674	A.D.1150	Kommapa	D/o a royal servant	Mulasthanad eva temple, Nādiṇḍla			55		
30.	1041	--	Paṇḍamāmba	Queen	Draksharama				25	
31.	666	A.D.1169	Vennama		Nādiṇḍla temple			55		
32.	672		Gadiyamadevi	Queen	" "			55		
	S I I Vol. V									

33.	167	A.D.1200	Tenṭasāni	Sister of the king	Someśvara temple, Kolanu					55	Also made a land grant of certain measure in Vāsandūru to the boyas who were incharge of the she-buffaloes and who supply ghee.
34.	172	A.D.1194	Erakamahādevi	Queen	" "					50	Also made certain measure of land north of lake to the bōyas for their maintenance.
35.	1115	A.D.1078	Kaṭṭama		Madhukīśvara temple, Mukhalingam			50			For the merit of her mother Pāmpakamma
36.	23	--	Nallavaṁgrā nḍḍlu	Queen	Bhavanarayana temple Sarpavaram					100	
37.	67	A.D.1183	Kommaṣāni	Nāyaka	Nārāyaṇaśvami temple, Bhimavaram					25	
38.	77	--	Kusamana	Seṭṭi	" "				50		
39.	121	A.D.1266	Pina Oḍayamahādevi	Queen	Ksheerārāmeśvara temple, Pālakolanu	50					
40.	122	--	Pinaoḍaya mahādevi	Queen	" "	50					For the merit of her son. Indicates the death of her son, husband of Rudramadevi.
41.	140	--	Nāgama		" "					50	To the bōya who is incharge of these livestock, a land grant is given as vṛitti. A land of 30 puṭṭis at Palakumbāḍi to the north of Oḍḍiparṭhi is allotted for him. He has to supply ghee to burn the lamp.

42.	123	--	Pina Oḍaya Mahādevi	Queen	" "	50					3 kh. of land is given to the bōyas as vṛitti. For the merit of her husband
43.	15	--	Choḍava Mahādevi	" "	" "				50		Wife of Virapermāḍidevara
43a	12		Mānavamma Mahādevi	" "	Bhāvanārāyaṇa temple, Sarpavaram				50		Wife of Virapermāḍi devara
44.	15		Anḍār	" "	" "				50		" "
45.	18		Viṇṇa Mahādevi	" "	" "				50		" "
46.	72		W/o Proluja Raṭṭaḍi	Raṭṭaḍi (Redḍi)	Rājanārāyaṇa temple, Bhimavaram		50				
47.	89		Kāpāsāni	Nāyaka	" "				50		
48.	127		Pina Oḍaya Mahādevi	Queen	Ksheerā rāmaśvara temple, Pālakolanu	50					She also made a grant of 3kh. of land in two units (each of 1kh. 10 Na.) to the bōyas for supply of ghee.
49.	153	A.D.1294	Suramareḍḍi	Reddy	" "	50					The grant is made for the merit of her husband, in-laws and parents
50.	85	A.D.1210	Names lost 2 donors	D/o Temple sāni	Rājanārāyaṇa temple			50			
		S I I Vol. VI									
51.	83	A.D.1241	Lokateproli Erri		Malleśvara temple	25					
52.	609	A.D.1263	Sriyādevi	Queen	Śankaraśvami temple, Koṭṭyadona	1	50				For the lamp 3 kh of land in Rāyūru
53.	983	A.D.1342	Anantālakṣmi Komidevi	Queen	Simhachalam	50					For the merit of her daughter

54.	228	A.D.1197	five wives, four concubines, one daughter of Koṭa Keta , along with two other women, a total of 12 ladies names of all are given in the grant		Amareśvara temple, Amarāvathi					715	Each of them gave about 55 she- buffaloes to the God for burning a lamp. However, the daughter gave 110 for two lamps to different bōya persons for supply of ghee.
55.	240	--	Vaṇṭala Kommāsāni	Palace attendant	" "				55		Husband is also a servant of the king.
56.	714	A.D.1319	Laxmidevi	W/o a chief		51					Also a lamp stand
57.	715	A.D.1335	Sumitrādevi	M/o a chief		50					For the merit of her son. She also made a land grant of one puṭṭi and some ney for the service of burning a lamp.
58.	942	A.D.1342	Chimmādevi	W/o of a chief of Oḍḍādi	Simhachalam temple	50					
59.	938	A.D.1314	Umadevināya kāṇi	W/o a military general	" "	25					Her husband made a land grant on this occasion.
60.	935	A.D.1297	Pārvatināya kāṇi	" "	" "	25					Also a lampstand, her husband too made a lamp grant of same nature. Total 5 cows were given
61.	934	A.D.1283	Choḍamadevi	W/o a chief	" "	50					Her son too made a grant of same nature. Total 100 cows are given.
62.	135	A.D.1144	Somāṇḍiyamma	Queen	Bhāvanara- yana temple, Bāpaṭla	25					For a lamp

63.	647	A.D.1148	Kāmidevi	" "	Keśavadeva temple, Kopidena			55		" "
64.	692	A.D.1266	Laxmidevi W/o Rāpaṭi Maṅgirāju		Simhahalam	50				For two lamps for the merit of her son. Also a lamp stand
65.	928	A.D.1291	Maṅkama Nāyakuṛālu & her husband	W/o an officer of Gaṅgas	" "		100			For two lamps
66.	967	A.D.1304	Uyyanna Paṇḍyaṇi W/o Srirāma Paṇḍita	Brahman	" "	25				Also a lampstand. It appears that she bought them by paying suitable price.
67.	992	A.D.1308	Srirāṅgalax mi	M/o a chief	" "	52				Also a lamp stand and a garden for flowers (details lost)
	S I I Vol. X									
68.	8	A.D.1061	Goṇḍava, D/o Janniya Bhaṭṭa		Svayambhūde va temple, Valiveru		50			
69.	13	--	Mudigoṇḍama devi	D/o a vṛitti sāni	Vāsukirāvi Someśvara temple, Juttiga				50	
70.	110	A.D.1141	Prolipāva	a dancing girl	" "				50	
71.	112	A.D.1143	Aitama, W/o a royal servant	Reḍḍi	Gokaṇṇeśvar a temple, Dāvulūru		55			
72.	124	A.D.1150	Kuṇḍa..	W/o a chief	Mulastheś vara temple, Nā qinḍla		--			Unspecified no. of sheep for a lamp.
73.	133	A.D.1153	Kaṇṭama	Mother-in-law of royal officer	Malleśvara temple, Bezawaḍa				55	
74.	163	A.D.115	Prolama	Bōya	Rāmalingeś vara temple. Sātulūru		55			

75.	169	A.D.1169	Prolima	Sāni	Trikōṭeśvar a temple, Sattenapally			55			
76.	195	A.D.1176	Prolisāni D/o Mallenāyaka		Rāmalingeśv ara temple, Velpūru			55			
77.	249	A.D.1209	Sūramadevi	Concubine	" "					55	
78.	290	A.D.1239	Aitasāni	D/o Concubine and servant of Ganapatideva	" "	25					Along with her husband, for the merit of the king
79.	296	A.D.1242	Muppaladevi	Queen	Tripurāntak am temple	25					
80.	311	A.D.1246	Prolasāni	Bōya	" "	50					In the name of her husband
81.	327	A.D.1249	Jāyāsāni	Bōya	" "			50			" "
82.	331	A.D.1250	Lakumābai		" "	10					Another 10 cows by her husband
83.	347	A.D.1155	Nāgu		" "	30					
84.	368	A.D.1267	Ḙrikāsāni	Reḍḍi	" "	25					Along with her husband Sura Reḍḍi
85.	353	A.D.1256	Māṛama Ḑreka	Brahman	Prasanna Keśava temple, Kolavennu	12					
86.	84	A.D.1125	Ghaṇṭasāla Kāmaka	Veśya	Agastyeśvar a temple, Imani			50			Also certain land of 4 Na. to the bōyas for runing the lamp. For the merit of her mother.
87.	172	A.D.1170	Gokasāni	W/o a general	Chodesvara temple, Moparṛu			55			
88.	178	A.D.1172	Prolama		Rāmeśvara temple, Velupūru			55			
89.	252	A.D.1209	Guṇḍadevi	Concubine of Koṭa Keta	" "					55	For her mother's merit
		T I A P Vol. I									

90.	7	--	Guṇḍamanāya ki	W/o a military general	Mukhalingam			50			For a lamp
91.	66	A.D.1246	Muppalamahā devi	W/o a chief	Mallisvara temple, Bezawada						"", no. of cows not specified.
92.	659	31 st yr of K.chola	Puḍōlimādv iyar	Tamil brahman	Kālahasti	32					
93.	662	14 th Yr	Ponnavasāni	W/o Tāṇṭrapāla	" "		96 & 1 ram				
94.	665	15th Yr	Puḍōlasāni		" "			72			
95.	667	" "	Gaṅgādeviyār		" "		1 ram	96			
96.	671	19th Yr	Nuṅgamadevi	W/o a chief	" "		96				
97.	672	20th yr	a woman		" "				50		
98.	674	31st Yr	" "		" "				--		Also a lamp stand no. of animals not specified
99.	691	33rd Yr	Gandaraditta W/o Aṅgarāja		" "				96		" "
100	728	10th Yr	Caḷukkikula Meḍaviyan	W/o a chief	" "		19 s.g, 2 rams				
101	746	10th yr of Rajendra chola	Solavūṇiyār D/o Narasīṅgade var		Ṭeki temple				96		
	Epigrap hia Andhrīca Vol. IV										
102	8	A.D.1097	Abbama	W/o brahman Minister	Keśavadeva temple, Ollāla			50			For a lamp
103	12	--	Nāgaladevi		Tripurāntak am temple			25			
104	94	A.D.1225	Mābāvi	Merchant class	" "	15					For the merit of her son.

105	1000	A.D. 1166	Bhimāsāni		Drākshārāman	25					Also some land grant
106	1275	--	Bhadraladevi		" "				400		For 18 lamps
107	27	A.D. 1157	Laxmidevi	W/o a chief	" "				50		Also a lamp stand
108	32	A.D. 1135	Gaṅgādevi	" "	" "				50		Also a lamp stand
109	50		Lingādevi	Bōya	" "		30 rams				
110	70	A.D. 1128	Anantavarma Devi	Queen	" "				50		
111	135	" "	Mārāyadevi	" "	" "				50		
112	138	" "	Lōlayadevi	" "	" "				50		
113	142	A.D. 1096	Mallamāmba W/o Goṅka	-	" "				50		
114	78	A.D. 1153	Komāsāni a relative of Goṅka		" "				50		
115	62	--	Maulamadevi D/o Villayarranā yaka		" "				50		Also about 17 Kulōttunga māḍas
116	218	A.D. 1163	Yādavadevi	Queen					50		
117	13	A.D. 1081	Vallema		Mukhalingam temple		100				For 2 lamps

GRANTS BY WOMEN - MONEY AND ORNAMENTS

Sl. No	Reference	Date	Donor	Status	Donee	Nature of Grant Monetary	Article/ Ornament	Service Instituted
	SII, Vol. IV:							
1.	1007		Somaladevi	Princess	Drākshārāmam temple		Diamond Studded Bracelet	
2.	1145		Bimmaladevi	Queen	" "		A mirror	
3.	1224	A.D. 1221	Sabbama	w/o a chief	" "	93 Neragadyānas	Golden Bracelet and a lamp stand	Burning a lamp. Also appointed 4 bōyas with a salary of 1m. each for supply of ghee
4.	1249		Periyañdi	A palace attendant	" "		One metal lamp stand	For burning a lamp
5.	1253	A.D. 1132	Komaṛi	D/o Temple sāni	" "	30 Neragadyānas		For chowrie bearing
6.	722	A.D. 1140	Muppama	M/o A chief of Kōnakandravā di	Bezawada	10 māḍas		For burning a lamp
7.	943	A.D. 1154	Kommama D/o Muttināyaka	D/o Servant of the king belonging to Sudra class	Choḍanārāyaṇadeva temple Tsandavole	16 birudugadyas		For a lamp
8.	944	A.D. 1138	Kommama	D/o Gaṅgamārāya	" "	" "		For a lamp
9.	1372	A.D. 1229	Śaṅkarama	D/o Temple sāni	Drākshārāmam	25 Nera gadyānas	Golden chowrie	For a lamp
	SII, Vol. V:							
10.	1039		Pemmāñdi D/o Choṭṭāñdi	Probably of Tamil origin	Mukhalingam	5 māḍas		For a lamp
11.	1044	A.D. 1098	Betama Nāyakurālu	Nāyaka	" "	" "		For a lamp
12.	1091	A.D. 1123	Gaurama W/o Guṭaṇḍi Nāyaka	Nāyaka	" "	10 " "		For a lamp. Mentions the grand mother and mother's names.
13.	1105	A.D. 1121	Vennama	Nāyaka	" "	5 " "		For a lamp
14.	1179	A.D. 1283	Piṛaṭṭyāmbika	Brahmin	Srikurmam	5 " "		For a lamp

15.	1331	A.D.1170	Aḍunāchi	Tamil	" "	5 " "		For a lamp
16.	1339	A.D.1137	Sobiṛamma	Nāyaka	" "	5 " "		For a lamp
17.	1281	A.D.1142	Patimanāyakur ālu	Nāyaka	" "	5 " "		For a lamp
18.	1278	A.D.1142	W/o Numkināyaka	Nāyaka	" "	5 " "		For a lamp
	SII, Vol. VI.							
19.	983	A.D.1342	Anaṇṭalaxmi Komidevi	Queen	Simhachalam		1 golden flower garland, 1 Trisaramu, a chain of pearls, 1 lampstand, 1 golden chain, (Bilasaramu)	For the merit of her daughter Sitadevi
20.	172	--	Surāmba D/o Eriya	Jaṅgama and a palace attendant	Bhāvanārāyaṇ a temple, Bāpaṭṭa	12 Biṛudu māḍas		For a lamp.
21.	137		Nāgāmbika	Queen	" "	12 " "		For a lamp.
22.	170	A.D.1135	Ponnamadevi	Queen	" "	6 Chāmaramādas		For a lamp
23.	171	--	Bṛammāsāni	Nāyaka Probably W/o a chief	" "	12 Biṛudugadyas		For a lamp
24.	178	A.D.1151	Pṛolama	D/o a female palace attendant Surama	" "	- Biṛudu māḍas		For a lamp
25.	885	A.D.1288	Kolamma	W/o Tāmbināyaka	Simhachalam	12 Gaṇḍamādas & 5 chinna		For a lamp and for her son's merit.
26.	886	A.D.1289	Gaṅgādevi W/o Raṅganātha Bhaṭṭopādhyāy a	Brahman	" "	12 gaṇḍamādas and 5 chinna		For a lamp and for her husband's merit
27.	900	A.D.1344	1) Lakumadevi W/o Pātra Pōtarājajiyya na 2) Bayyamadevi sister of Pātra Pōtarāja	" "	" "	20 Gaṇḍamādas		For her teacher's merit
28.	1207	--	Gaṅgādevi	Queen	" "	4 Mallamādas		Lamp grant

29.	1099		Akkamma	Nāyaka, W/o Kaṭiṅga Pariksha, an officer of Gaṅgas	" "	5 Padmanidhi gaṇḍamāḍas		Given to one Nāyaka Nachapa donated by the king to the temple as salary. She has to perform the services of holding mirror, keeping Raṅgōli (floral designs on floor)
30.	87	A.D.1154	Queen of Ballanarēndra	Queen	Nagēśvara temple, Pedda Kaḷlepalli	5 Kulottuṅga māḍas		Given to bōyas for a lamp
31.	88	A.D.1154	Somaladevi W/o Ballādhinātha	" "	" "	" "		For a lamp
32.	129	A.D.1145	Mēḍasāni W/o Bhimināyaka		Bhāvanārāyaṇa a temple, Bapatla	17 Bīṛudu māḍas		For a lamp
33.	150	A.D.1155	Kāmasani	Brahman (W/o minister)	" "	12 "		" "
34.	176	A.D.1151	Eṇṇakāmba	Seṭṭi	" "	12 "		" "
35.	193	A.D.1130	Surāmba	W/o A chief Choḍaya	" "	6 Chāmara māḍas		" "
36.	917	A.D.1340	Tāḷḷa Vuyyama	Nāyaka	Simhachalam	12 Gaṇḍamāḍas		" " For the merit of her father
			SII, Vol.X					
37.	88	A.D.1129	Rākamadevi	A female attendant (Paramaur?)	Channakeśava temple, Kammūru	6 Uttamagaṇḍa māḍas		For a lamp
38.	699	A.D.1145	Queen (Name missing)	--	Nilakanṭheśva ra temple, Nārāyaṇapuram	8 madas		Also she constructed a temple
39.	689	A.D.1137	Name lost		" "	5 "		For a lamp.
40.	668	A.D.1127	Suraparāja		" "	5 "		" "
41.	128	A.D.1153	Surama D/o Damama		Nā diṇḍla Mulasthāneśv ara temple	12 Bīṛudu gadyas		" "
42.	101	A.D.1137	--	Temple dancing girl	Anantabhōgeś vara temple, Kolluru	5 Rājanārāyaṇa gadyas		" "
43.	100	A.D.1137	Damamba	--	" "	" "		" "

44.	108	A.D.1140	Pedudama D/o Keśanasāni	" "	" "	" "	" "
	TIAP, Vol. I.						
45.	421	A.D.1131	Gōpama		Vāsudevapaṭṇam	80 māḍas	" "
46.	422	---	Kāmakōṭi		" "	10 " "	" "
47.	150	A.D.1117	Aytama W/o Permaḍi	Tamil probably	Nileśwara temple, Nidunjeruvu	5 " "	" "
48.	166	A.D.1124	Aḍapa D/o Rājamānika setti	Merchant class	" "	" "	" " For the success of arms of Chōḍa gaṅga, the king
49.	167	A.D.1127	Aytamasāni	Bōya	" "	" "	" "
50.	173	A.D.1131	Viṁ jama	D/o Leṅka Gōkanāyaka an officer of Gaṅgās	" "	" "	" " For the success of arms of Chōḍa gaṅga. The grant was made along with her father
51.	177		Ḙrakama and her husband	D/o Temple sāni	" "	" "	" "
52.	263		Māmiḍamma D/o Prolamāmba		" "	" "	For celebration of Amavāsya Utsava
53.	188		Surama		" "	" "	For a lamp
54.	25		Bhumaṇḍi & her father Tyāgi	Dancer	Mukhalingam temple	10 " "	For a lamp
55.	30		Somalamahadevi	Queen	" "	5 " "	For a lamp
56.	48	A.D.1123	Kupama	Concubine of general Potaya	" "	" "	" "
57.	49	A.D.1124	Komarama D/o Mallema Nāyakurālu	Temple sāni	" "	" "	" "
58.	50	" "	Chennama Nāyakurālu	Sister of Head sāni of Nakarapuvāḍa	" "	" "	" "
59.	57		Nāṅgama W/o Paṣayita kommi	Temple sāni	" "	" "	" "
60.	58		Ḙrakamma	D/o " "	" "	" "	" "
61.	63	A.D.1129	Guṇḍama D/o Meḍana	Temple sāni	" "	" "	" "

62.	64		Mrigavati D/o an officer Lemka					
63.	97	A.D.1138	Kanduma	W/o an officer				
64.	110	A.D.1142	Padlama					
65.	116	A.D.1143	Numkama	W/o Minister				
66.	122	A.D.1148	Somama	W/o a chief				
67.	123	A.D.1148	Betama	W/o an officer				
68.	125		Mosamadevi	Queen				
69.	126	A.D.1148	Surama	Brahman				" " for her sister's merit
70.	129	A.D.1156	Mankama	Mudiseli (merchant)		30 " "		Gift of 6 lamps
71.	133	A.D.1179	Eṛakama	Brahman		5 " "		Gift of lamp. For running this, a land of one putti was granted to a priest
72.	134	A.D.1185	Duggama	Merchant		5 Surabhi māḍas		Gift of a lamp for the merit of her husband and son. Kept in the custody of two Nāyakas.
73.	209	A.D.1142	Paḍruma nāyakurālu		Srikurmam			Gift of a lamp
74.	210		Suṭṭamdi	Temple sāni				" " For the merit of her mother
75.	220	A.D.1152	Eṛakama nāyakurālu					
76.	221		Kāpama nāyakurālu					
77.	222		Prōlama nāyakurālu	Temple sāni				
78.	223	A.D.1157	Bejjama nāyakurālu					
79.	224		Bonnama nāyakurālu	Temple sāni				
80.	230	A.D.1174	Prithvi mahādevi	Queen		10 " "		
81.	231	A.D.1182	Mankamanāyaku rālu			5 Māḍas		

82.	242	A.D. 1217	Bhimāvatī		" "	" "		" "
83.	263	A.D. 1246	Māmidamma D/o Prōlama		" "	" "		For Amava sya Utsava every month
84.	270	A.D. 1257	Jayammadevi		" "	5 Mallamāḍas and 4 māḍas		For a lamp. In addition 4 māḍas for flower garden for the merit of grand daughter
85.	287	A.D. 1283	Prāṭṭi Somidevamma	Brahman	" "	5 Gaṇḍamāḍas and 15 chinnas		For a lamp
86.	369		Tāllamāmba	Brahman	" "		Two gold necklaces and silver vessel	To the deity
			Durga Malleśvara Temple Inscripti ons					
87.	15	A.D. 1140	Muppama	M/o a chief	Malliśvara temple	10 Māḍas		for a lamp
			Inscripti ons of Āndhradesa					
88.	122	A.D. 1255	Anyama		Pōlavaram temple	5 Gold māḍas		" "
89.	142	A.D. 1211	Valyasāni		Someśvara temple, Rājahmundry	not specified		2 lamps
90.	726	10th year of Rājārājac hola	Pudolikilāvi	Tamil brahmin	Kālahasti	5 Gold Kāsus		Evening lamp
91.	638	11th yr. of Rājārājac hola	Maduvaṭṭi	" "	" "	1 1/2 Māḍa of gold		" "
			Drākshārā ma inscripti ons					
92.	85	A.D. 1129	Saṅkaramma	D/o a sāni of the temple	Drākshārāmam temple	25 Gadyas	1 gold chowrie	Chāmara kolupu
			IAP:KD					

93.	37	A.D. 1301	Lakumādevi	queen of Prataparudra	Rāmanātha temple, Yelgēdu	Grant of local taxes like pannu, Kaṇṇika, Pullaṇṇi (grazing) etc.		For the merit of her father. For various worship services to the deity
	Mukhaling am Temple Inscripti ons							
94.	47	A.D. 1123	Machapa Nāyakurālu	W/o an officer of Gangas	Mukhalingam temple	5 Māḍas		For a lamp
95.	72	A.D. 1131	Nāraṇadevi & her daughter		.. ..	.. ..		.. ..
96.	85	A.D. 1134	Maṅkamahādevi	Queen	.. ..	.. ..		.. ..
97.	99	A.D. 1138	Kommanāyakurā lu	Kayastha	.. ..	.. ..		.. ..
98.	105	A.D. 1140	Maṅkama		.. ..	.. ..		.. ..
99.	106	A.D. 1140	Kosamamahādevi	Queen	.. ..	.. ..		.. ..

GRANTS BY WOMEN - OTHERS

Sl. No.	Reference	Date	Donor	Status	Donee Temple	Nature of Grant	Remarks
	S I I Vol. IV						
1.	1034	A.D. 1253	Jakkamāmba	W/o royal servant	Drākshāramam temple	Gift of a lamp	
2.	1060	--	Lakkumadevi	--	" "	" "	For the merit of her parents
3.	1096		Parākamma	W/o an officer	" "	" "	
4.	1156	A.D. 1135	Rājadevi	Queen	" "	" "	
5.	1157	--	Meḍāmbika	--	" "	" "	
6.	1158	--	Meḍasāni	Sister of Kolani Chief	" "	" "	For her parents
7.	1159	--	Viṃjāmbika	W/o an officer	" "	" "	
8.	1161	--	Laxmidevi	D/o Kona chief	" "	" "	
9.	1191	A.D. 1128	Rājaladevi	Queen of Anantavarma	" "	" "	For protection of the throne
10.	1192	" "	Padmaladevi	" "	" "	" "	" "
11.	1194	" "	Choḍitidevi	" "	" "	" "	" "
12.	1195	" "	Sriyadevi	" "	" "	" "	" "
13.	1196	" "	Lilavatidevi	" "	" "	" "	" "
14.	1197	" "	Laxmidevi	M/o Lilavatidevi	" "	" "	" "
15.	1198	" "	Kalyāṇadevi	Queen of Anantavarma	" "	" "	" "
16.	1211	--	Mahādevi	W/o Dandānāyaka	" "	" "	" "
17.	1216	A.D. 1121	--	W/o Eruva Tonḍayarāja	" "	" "	
18.	1218	--	Valyama	Queen of Veṅgi Gonka	" "	" "	

19.	1219	--	Muttanamma	W/o of brahmin	" "	" "	
20.	1220	A.D.1132	Kommidevi	W/o a chief	" "	" "	
21.	1234	A.D.1194	Kājadāsi Māyaṇḍamma		" "	Gift not specified	For the merit of her husband Kadidasi Bhimandara
22.	1247		Komarāsāni	D/o a temple sani	" "	Gift of a lamp	For her parents
23.	1120	A.D.1151	Prolama	D/o Surama, a servant of Kulottunga Choḍa Goṅka	" "	Gift of 5 lamps	
24.	1121	--	Surāmbika	D/o. Chelviṣeṭṭi, a Jaṅgama by caste	" "	Gift of lamp	
25.	1137	--	Guṇḍamadevi	Queen	" "	Gift of 4 lamps	
26.	974	A.D.1132	Guṇḍamāmbik	Queen	" "	Gift of 2 lamps	
27.	1305	--	Kallavaśāṅkari	D/o Temple sani	Drākshārāmam	Gift of a lamp	
28.	1356	--	Nagaśāṅkari	Temple sani	" "	" "	
29.	1365	A.D.1180	Gokamahadevi	Queen	" "	" "	
30.	680	A.D.1171	Guṇḍāmbika	Queen	Mulasthāna temple, Nādingla		
31.	S.I.I., Vol.V 169	--	Nachamāmba	Wife of a minister	Kolanu Someśvara temple	Gift of evening lamp	
32.	183	--	Vāsama	Seṭṭi	Somanātha temple	Gift of a lamp	
33.	185	--	Vāsama	" "	" "	" "	
34.	95	--	Laxmi	" "	Bhimeśvara temple, Bhimavaram	Construction of a Nāṇḍipillar and installation of Nāṇḍi idol on it. The stone for making the idol was brought from Koṭilingāla, Rajahmundry.	She caused for the installation of the idol on an auspicious day and probably committed self immolation. The idol was stated to have been destroyed earlier by thieves.

35.	192	--	Aitamāmba		Gokarṇa temple, Guḍipūḍi	Construction of a maṇṭapa and gift of a lamp to be burnt in the twilight	
36.	193	--	" "		" "	Gift of an evening lamp	
37.	161	--	Guṇḍāmbika	Queen	Ksheerārāmeśvara temple, Pālakolanu	Gift of a lamp	Contains prasasti of the queen
38.	164	--	Trolama	Veśya	Ksheerārāmeśvara temple, Palakolanu	Gift of a lamp	To protect her Sānivṛitti. She is the concubine of Rāyapanāyaka
39.	452	--	Tāllamāmba W/o Rāmapātra	Brahman	--	Gift of a lamp	
40.	S I I , Vol. VI. 142	--	Guṇḍāmbika	Queen	Bhāvanārāyaṇa temple, Bāpaṭla	" "	
41.	901	A.D. 1375	Bayyamadevi sister of Pātra Potarājajiyana	Brahman	Simhachalam	Gift of a Chāmara (chowrie)	She appointed a lady on salary of 10 Gaṇḍamāḍas for this service of holding chowrie. Also for a garland, she made arrangement of a flower garden through Valaleṣu brahman of the temple.
42.	586	A.D. 1073	Mumṛanamma	merchant class	Malleśvara temple, Vipparla	Contruction of the temple, lake at Vipparṭi, and also a choultry to feed 1000 members.	
43.	826	--	Garigama	W/o Tantrapala a royal servant	Simhachalam	Instituted Alāvaṭam (fan) kolupu in the temple	For this one Śiṅgana was appointed on a salary of 5 ṭankas.
44.	S I I , Vol. X 56	--	Lokama, grand daughter of Govinda poṭeṭi		Bhairava temple, Udaigiri	Erected a pillar	--
45.	138	A.D. 1156	Kommama	W/o a chief	Malleśvara temple, Peṇavali	Built a temple of Mādhavadeva at Peṇavali	Her son made grants of land to the same.

46.	207	A.D. 1198	Kāpasāni		Narendreśvara temple, Vipparru	Got the mantapa of the temple plastered	For the merit of her parents
47.	512	A.D. 1315	Namundūri Kundāni	Reddy	Bhimeśvara temple Mogallu	Erected a pillar	For the merit of her in-laws, husband and son.
48.	515	A.D. 1315	" "	" "	" "	Stone pillar in the Naṇḍimandapa	For the merit of her parents, grand parents
49.	171	A.D. 1170	Gokāmbika	W/o a chief	Choḍeśvara temple, Moparru	gift of 2 lamps	
50.	254	A.D. 1209	Melāmbika	Queen	Tripurāntakam temple	Consecration of Maillāmbikeśvara in the temple, and grant of Dittālu village	For Aṅgarāṅga services to the deity.
51.	550	A.D. 1342	Potāmba	W/o a chief	Tripurāntakam temple	Golden dhvaja in the temple was installed by her.	
52.	Temple Inscriptions of A.P. Vol. I, 1	A.D. 1058	Rekama W/o Kālapanḍyaka		Mukhalingam temple	5 puttis of land	for a lamp
53.	9	A.D. 1074	Pālapa	W/o a soldier	Madhukeśvara temple, Mukhalingam	Gift of a lamp	For the merit of her husband when he was staying in army camp.
54.	50	A.D. 1124	Chennamanāy akurālu	Sister of head sāni of the temple	" "	" "	
55.	29	A.D. 1105	Lokāmbika D/o Somāmbika		" "	" "	For the boyas, a land measuring 3 puttis was donated in Dantavūru. The land was given to Teliki Kāpus for cultivation. The grant is for the victory to Choḍagaṅga, the king.
56.	36	A.D. 1110	Lakshmi	Queen of Choḍagaṅga	" "	" "	
57.	149		Surapa		Nileśvara temple, Nidunḍeru	" "	
58.	174	A.D. 1131	Vimjama	D/o an officer	" "	" "	For the success of the king

59.	21		Tiruvam̃di	Tamil	Mukhalingam temple	" "	
60.	31		Vāsama	Concubine of an officer of Rājendrachoḍa also Guḍisani	" "	" "	
61.	38	A.D.1191	Prithvimahā devi	Queen	" "	" "	
62.	274	A.D.1266	Tallapaṇi	W/o a chief	Srikurman	Chāmara service	
63.	A R 1947 -48, 146	A.D.1133	A lady (name lost)		Purushottama puram	Gift of a lamp	
64.	A R 1953 -54	A.D.1131	Jallamahādevi	Queen	Tekkali	Construction of the temple, consecration of a deity and gift of a lamp	
65.	A R 1967	A.D.1070	Revādevi	Sāni		Construction of a temple	
66.	198		Mailāmbika	Princess/Queen	Nāmālapādu, Khamman	Construction of a Siva temple in the name of her brother and another temple for Rāmanātha. Gift of a town and tank.	
67.	B.N.Sastri: Kayastha Rajulu, 16	A.D.1283	Gauresvara bai	W/o a chief	Akkalareḍḍipalli, Mallikārjuna temple	Construction of a Siva temple.	For the merit of Tripurārideva, the chief.
68.	P.6	A.D.1255	Paḍumābai	D/o a chief	Paluvāyi village, Keleśvara temple	Renovation of the temple and grants of lands	For worship services. For the merit of father and husband.
69.	4	A.D.1254	Hachalāmba	D/o Allugi, a chief	Pushpagiri temple	Construction of a temple and installation of idols in their names	Also grants were made for worship services

70.	Inscriptions of A.P. Karimnagar Dt: 8	A.D. 992	Devakabbe	Wet Nurse		Construction of a tank called Achhabbe Samudra and grants of money 70 grammas and lands (wet lands)	The tank is named after Achhabbe, her master's daughter.
71.	Inscriptions of A.P. Warangal Dt. 59	A.D. 1221	Mailama	Natavādi Queen, Sister of Ganapatideva	Inugurti temples of Siva and Gopāla Krishna.	Construction of the temples and grants of clothes, jewels, cows, land and flower gardens.	She had a title Dharmakirthi for her meritorious services.
72.	17	A.D. 1104	Muppamambika	W/o Natavādi Chief, Dugga	Nidigonda temple	Construction of a temple in her name and grant of low lands along with her husband.	For the daily worship services to the God.
73.	22	A.D. 1117	Mailama	W/o Beta, A minister of Prola, Kakatiya king	Hanankonda Jain temple	Installation of the image of God Jalandharaśvara in a cave.	
74.	60	--	Mailamadevi	Kakatiya family	Rhairava temple, Inugurti	Installation of the image of God Jalandharaśvara in a cave	
75.	57	A.D. 1219	Fundamamba	Natavādi Queen, sister of Ganapatideva	Siva temple, Nidigonda	Construction of temple, consecration of images in her husband's name, father's name, brother's name and gave a part of the village Fundavaram to the temples. The remaining part to the brahmins as an Agrahāra.	The grant says that the donor constructed temples at Kalesvaram, Srisailem and Mantrakūṭa. She also gave Agrahāras to brahmins at various places.

76.	58	A.D.1219	Kundamaṃba	" "	" "	Continuation of the above record. The village Kundavaram was earlier called Vemulatoṇṭa. She also constructed another village called Kundavaram in Chennur Taluq. Adilabad on the banks of river Godavari.	The grant too is a list of meritorious activities of the donor
77.	Nellore District Inscriptions: 72	A.D.1272-1273	Mallanadavi	Relative of the governor of Addanki	Temple of Gopīśvaradeva Tammaluru	Construction of temple, erection of pinnacles, grant of one paṭṭi dry field, two paddy fields and a flower garden.	Daily worship, all recreations to the deity and to the dancing girls of the temple.
78.	Andhradeśa: Inscriptions: Vol. II, pt. I 663	14th Year of K. Choḷa	Vimai Anḍāl	Resident of Nellore region	Kālahasti temple	Gift of evening lamp	
79.	132	--	Elanacōḷa Mahadevi	Queen of Telugu Choḷa Renḍu	Chilamakūru temple	Gift of a lamp	
80.	105	A.D.1240	Lokama	W/o Malaya Chief	Ishta Kamesvara of Velpur	" "	
81.	128	A.D.1141	Dancing girl (name not specified)	Someśvara temple. Juttiga, temple girl	Someśvara temple, Juttiga	Gift of lamp	
82.	Epigraphia Andhrica, Vol. I	--	Mailama sister of Ganapatideva	Natavādī queen	--	Construction of three villages Bayyaram, Dharmapuram, and Mahadevapuram, construction of a huge tank at Bayyaram	She had a title Dharmakirti for her meritorious activities. She is said to have constructed several temples for Siva.
83.	Hyd. Arch. Series XIX: Em. 4	A.D.1205	Mailama of Viriyāla	Queen	--	Construction of 3 temples and a tank at Kāṭikūru	In the name of herself and her parents.

84.	B.N.Sas tri:Mah abubnag ar Jila Sarvasv amu	A.D.1276	Kuppāmbika	Queen	--	Construction of a temple in the name of her husband. Gave away several wet lands as vrittis (A total of 21 m. of land was given to this temple).	The record also has a long list of meritorious activities of the donor including providing grants to brahmans and sending them to pilgrimages, making gifts of clothes, money, gems, construction of tanks, temples, etc.
85.	Temple Inscrip tions of A.P., Vol.I, 269	A.D.1258	Rāgaladevi	Singer from Simhādeśa	--	Gift of a lamp	
86.	B.N.Sas tri:Muk halinga m:No.4	A.D.1069	Adityāmba	D/o Gundarāju	Mukhalīngam temple	Gift of a lamp	She gave 50 she- buffaloes for the purpose to boyas.

It is observed from the above details that women belonging to different sections of the society figured as donors. The items of gifts however varied according to the socio-economic status of the donors. The grants ranged from villages, gardens, lands to livestock, cash, lamps, food and such other objects. Sometimes consecration of Gods, institution of certain ritual services in the temple and providing *vr̥tti* to the temple employees was also taken up by them as seen from the above charts. Moreover the nature of gifts indicate the feudal and agrarian economy.

Further, it is observed that gifts are generally made on a certain auspicious occasion, eclipses to get more benefits as stated in the scriptures.³⁷

SAPTA SANTĀNAS

It literally means the seven meritorious deeds assuring highest order of religious merit. They include construction of a tank, a temple, dedication of a work, laying a garden, performing marriage, keeping a treasury and patronage of poets.³⁸ Doing good on one's own regardless of social claims was considered the chief way for salvation.³⁹ Apparently the acts performed under this head cater to the necessity of proving political sovereignty through ritual means. The persons involved in these activities are mostly women of the ruling elite and their ritual exchanges are embedded in the larger continuum of social and economic relations. It became a means of controlling different power

structures of the state by winning followers and by placing the donees under the obligation of submissiveness to the donor political power.⁴⁰

The construction of tanks and canals or laying gardens had great economical value as discussed in the third chapter and it brought religious merit to those responsible for their creation. Construction of a temple or performing marriages too had a marked social significance.

Literary and epigraphical referenes suggest the active involvement of elite women in performing *Saptasantana* deeds. *Pratāparudra Charitra*, refers to the dharmic activities of Kakatiya empress, Rudramadevi. She constructed temples to Lord Siva, gave grants to religious and monastic institutions, ordered for planting trees on outskirts of the capital city, performed marriages of about five thousand brahmans and caused for the construction of several inns and tanks.⁴¹ Itama, mother of Balachandra too involved herself in such activities as noted from *Palnāṭi Vīracharitra*.⁴²

The Dharmasāgar inscription of Kākati Mailama⁴³, Kuṇḍavaram⁴⁴ and Niḍigoṇḍa⁴⁵ inscriptions of Kuṇḍamāmba, both the wives of Naṭavāḍi chief Rudra are also of the same nature. Pillalamarri inscription of Eṛakasāni wife of a Rēcherla chief Betireḍḍi, gives details of the meritorious activities of the donor.⁴⁶ Buth pur record of Malyala Kuppambika too illustrates the dharmic activities taken up by the donor.⁴⁷

It was a common practice among women chiefly of royal class and those of nobility to install a deity in their name, in their husband's, father's or son's name and donate lands or make gifts in perpetuation of their memory.⁴⁸ It appears that this was an attempt at co-ordinating religion with the Hero-cult as well as the desire for political flattery. Kakatiya period in Āndhradeśa had several such instances.⁴⁹ [CHART VII D].

Women belonging to the common sections of the society too at times involve in constructional activities. These include construction of a *maṇṭapa*⁵⁰ a pillar⁵¹ or causing for the plastering of the temple walls.⁵² [CHART VII D].

PILGRIMAGES

Pilgrimages to places of religious importance formed another important feature in the religious life of the people of Andhradesa. Puranas have extolled the merits of pilgrimages.⁵³ A woman is not allowed to undertake pilgrimage on her own but she can do so with the consent of her husband.⁵⁴ A widowed woman is required to undertake pilgrimages and spend time in taking dips in the holy rivers in order to avoid widowhood in the next birth.⁵⁵ She can perform the *Sraddha* rituals of her deceased husband at pilgrim centers like Kāśī or Gaya by sending brahmans duly worshipping them and providing them money. For the purpose she can even demarcate a portion of her property.⁵⁶ Mogaluṭṭa grant of Kōṭa Gaṇapamadevi is of the same nature.⁵⁷ Women are permitted to perform pilgrimages by proxy as indicated in the

grant of Kuppāmbika wherein she had sent brahmins to Kāsi, Gaya and other sacred places duly rewarding them.⁵⁸ While elite women are involved in performing *saptasāntāna* deeds and donating lands or making grants to brahmins who visit pilgrim places on their behalf, common women are described in the literary works of the period as personally visiting the sacred places along with their men folk. Alāmpur, Srisailam, Drākshārāmam, Simhachalam, Srikurmam, Srikakulam are some of the holy shrines within Āndhradeśa to which pilgrimages are undertaken. Taking a dip in the holy waters of these shrines, circumambulating the mountain or temple are considered as forms of religious expression during pilgrimages.

The literary works of the period contain abundant references with regard to this, i.e. women visiting holy shrines within Āndhradeśa. Palkuriki Somanatha in his *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra* gives a description of women visiting Srisailam along with their husbands.⁵⁹ Vallabharāya's *Kṛtābhīrāmamu* contains a description of women visiting Srikakulam on pilgrimage and participating in the *Tirunāḷḷu* held near the temple.⁶⁰ He describes the child widows of Palnāḍu. This could be an indication of the popular belief that undertaking pilgrimage by a widow promises her longevity of married life in the next birth.⁶¹

SOCIAL OBSERVANCES:

Certain social customs and practices such as marriage, celebration of festivals, the practice of sati, crowning ceremony

are also of great politico - cultural significance as discussed below. While the first two involved women of both the higher and lower sections of the society, the latter are restricted to royal women mostly. Again all these appear to be secular but have sacred elements in each category. Thus we see a thin line of separation between elite and folk or sacred and secular and at the same time an integration of both which is a specific feature of Kakatiya period.

MARRIAGE

Marriage is one of the sixteen *samskāras* of life stated in the scriptures. It is a sacred as well as secular observance. Marriage enables a man to perform religious rites and continuation of the family through progeny.⁶² It is a necessary ritual in one's life and gives a certain status to woman.⁶³ Marriage may also be of political nature the significance of which is discussed in the earlier chapter. Child marriages are probably the order of the day in brahman families. According to Haradatta, a twelfth century commentator, the marriageable age is fourteen.⁶⁴ The eight different forms of marriage and the necessary aspects concerning marriage are discussed at length by Ketana in his *Vijñāneśvaramu*.⁶⁵ On the occasion of marriage, *Araṇamu* (bride prices) is given to the bride. It ranges, as cited elsewhere, from land, gold to livestock and attendants depending on the economic status of the family. *Araṇamu* forms a part of *Strīdhana* or the separate property of the woman. Besides *Araṇamu*, *Ṣṭi* (*sulka*) or bride price is to be paid to the bride's parents. Due to the constant demands for higher bride-price by

the parents of the girls, the caste guilds had to frame strict regulations.⁶⁶ Certain inscriptions refer to specific tax on *Vivāhapa Paṇḍilḷu* (the marriage halls).⁶⁷

SATI AND SELF IMMOLATION

The performance of *sati* by woman has a great political significance. During the period in Āndhradeśa, *sati* is found to be mostly related to royal families. The possible reasons for this could be the miserable plight of the wives of defeated kings. They were either taken as captives by the victorious kings or they were subjected to molestation.⁶⁸ Probably, on such occasions to safeguard themselves they preferred *sati*. Performance of *sati* accords a great ritual status for the woman. References to *sati* are found in the inscriptions and literary sources of the period.

An epigraph dated A.D. 1057, from Beteluru records *sati* performed by one Dēkabbe.⁶⁹ Another record from Bāpaṭḷa indicates self immolation of a couple.⁷⁰ According to another inscription, Joḍarāja and his wife entered into fire.⁷¹ *Paṇḍati Vīracharitra* also has references to *sati* performed by women of royal families in order to avoid insult from the rival side.⁷² A sculpture showing a woman cutting her neck in a bid to offer her head probably to God is available among the *Vīragals* preserved in the State Museum, Hyderabad (Plate III a).⁷³ Under the influence of Virasaivism, these religious offerings and attempts of self-immolation became very popular. Memorial stones were

erected for such men or women. Sati stones are found at places like Turumēḷḷa, Saṅgameśvaram and Kolanupāka.⁷⁴

CELEBRATION OF FESTIVALS

There is generally no clear cut demarcation drawn between a *vṛata* or an *utsava* (festival). What are called *utsavas* have an element of religious rites and conversely many *vratas* too have some elements of being a festival.⁷⁵ The idea of making gifts on an *utsava* day too converges with the *vrata* occasionally as noticed from the contemporary epigraphs and literature. Women of all sections of the society made liberal grants to the temples on festive occasions or sometimes instituted certain festivals. *Pratāparudracharitra*, contains a reference to *Tiṛunāḷḷu* (fair) held under the guidance of Rudrama in the temple of Ēkavira at Mogali Charḷa.⁷⁶ She also ordred for the celebration of *Tiṛunāḷḷu* for Goddess Kākati, Goddess Mailaradevi at Ainavolu and for Lord Gaṇēsa and Oḍḍapalli. The author states that these are instituted by the queen with the view to beget a son who could become a political successor for her. Ketana, in his *Daśakumāracharītram*, mentions *Kāṇḍukōtsava* performed by unmarried girls.⁷⁷ Several epigraphs register grants made to temples by women on such recurring festive occasions as *Kāṛṭika punnami*⁷⁸ *Vishṇu saṁkrānti*,⁷⁹ *Tula Dvādasi*, *Sṛavaṇa Punnamī*,⁸⁰ *Deepavali*,⁸¹ *Sivarātri*,⁸² *Davana Punnamī*,⁸³ etc. [CHART VII A TO D].

A record from Drākshārāma temple registers grants made to Lord Bhimeśvara at Drākshārāma on the eve of celebration of *Dōlōtsava* (swinging ceremony) on *Davana Punnamī*.⁸⁴ On the same

occasion. Oddādi chief Arjuna Deva gave land grants to a woman name Akkasāni as *Nōmu* indicating that she was involved in the festival as part of her individual *vrata*.⁸⁵

It would be seen that through these festivals generally celebrated at the places of worship, a cultural integration is possible. It is during these occasions many of the folk patterns of dance and music, were incorporated into the Sanskrit style.⁸⁶ Moreover performance of festivals in a great grandeur at the temple suggest an attempt to equate the institution of God and the kingship.⁸⁷

CROWNING CEREMONY

Among the ceremonies of political importance, crowning ceremony is significant. In a state with more feudal elements it is always necessary for the king or queen to display their power by arranging for the royal functions including the ascent of the throne. This can be considered as an attempt to ritualise the power of the king and serve the purpose of proving the sovereignty. Crowning ceremony is generally associated with assuming epithets, taking the five great musical sounds and claiming descent from one of the Puranic races.⁸⁸ The ceremony was performed generally on a large scale in the presence of all feudatories, intermediary officers of the king, the chief priests, and common people. Declaration is made amidst chanting of verses from sacred texts. An attempt to co-ordinate religion with political power is indicated here. The titles of

Rudramadevi, namely *Paṭṭōddhati*, *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* suggest the crowning ceremony of the princess before assuming charge. In this connection, it is very interesting to note that the illustrious Kakatiya king Ganapatideva happily conducted the birthday celebration of princess Rudramadevi by decorating the capital with proficient courtesans brought from Kashmir as mentioned for the first time in the Malkāpur inscriptions dated 1260-61 A.D.⁸⁹

To sum up the arguments of this chapter, the categorisation of observances into religious and social, sacred and secular is made for convenience of study and as a part of the attempt to understand the actual significance of these with respect to the contemporary politico-social conditions. Women as bearers and carriers of tradition to the future generations are in close contact with the customs and rituals. Though a woman is not allowed to read Vedic scriptures or perform sacrifices, her position in the family as a wife assumes a higher ritual status. Without the association of a wife by the side of him a husband cannot reap the fruits of a pilgrimage, neither he can perform a sacrifice.

By medieval times changes in the concept of kingship and the influence of bhakti cults brought significant changes in the religious practices. Observance of *vratas*, making gifts, involving oneself in philanthropic activities, undertaking pilgrimages or celebration of festivals are understood to have

brought religious merit of the highest order. Thus several penances are practiced by women and gifts are made in lieu of thier observance. In this connection, it is noted that the line of demarcation between religious and social observances is not much rigid. Almost every religious ritual has both the sacred purpose of bringing religious merit as also a secular idea of acting as a medium of exchange and redistribution of economic products. Similarly social observances like crowning ceremony aim at a secular significance but at the same time are performed amidst chanting of Vedic hymns and are thus sanctified. Women of both the elite and common sections of the society are involved in practicing these rituals as observed from the epigraphical references. However, a ray of separation exists between the two in the manner of observance of the ritual or in the object of gift made which is contextual and determined by the socio-economic status. These differences are also noticed in thier dress and ornaments the details of which are discussed in the suceeding chapter.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Women are considered impure during the course of their menstruation and during the period of child birth. During these two phases, they were not allowed to perform any religious function. However, Virasaivism outrightly rejected this concept of pollution by the touch of a woman in her monthly course.
2. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmasastras*, Vol. II, Part I, 1974, p.573.
3. According to Brahmapurāṇa, a householder whose wife is alive and chaste must go on a pilgrimage with her, otherwise he would not reap the fruits of a pilgrimage. Padmapurāṇa also speaks of the same. P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, Vol. IV, 1974, p.568.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol.II, Part II, 1978, p.889.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol.V, Part I, 1975, p.1. Various meanings are given as will, command, law, prescribed order, religious duty, worship, obligation, undertaking, religious or ascetic performance or observance, vow or sacred work.
6. *Ibid.*, p.55.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, Vol.II, Part.II, 1978, p.869 [Agnipurāṇa, 209, 23-24].
9. *Ibid.*, p.847. *Uttama dāna* is of highest order. Food, curd, land, honey, gold, butter, oil, protection of cows, horses, elephants, etc. *Madhyama dāna* is of middle order. Vidyadana, grihadana, utensils, medicines, etc. *Adhama dāna* is of least order. Furniture, vessels, lamps, etc. which are worn out and are not of much use.
10. K.Lakshmi Ranjanam and K. Balendu Sekharam, *Āndhrula-Charitra - Sanskriti*. (Hyderabad, 1985), p.193. The Vishnukūṇḍin emperor Mādhava Varma IV is said to have performed several such sacrifices.
11. R.S. Sharma, 'Material Milieu of Tantricism' in R.S. Sharma, (ed.), *Indian Society, Historical probings, Essays in memory*

- of D.D. Kosambi, (Delhi, 1984), pp.175-179.
12. *Ibid.*
 13. *Kṛīḍābhīrāmamu*, verse 128.
 14. P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, Vol.V, Part.I, 1975, p.55.
 15. Romila Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History, Some Interpretations*, (Hyderabad, 1978), p.105.
 16. *SII*, Vol.IV, No.1382 refers to a king Allaya Vemabhupa as the one who performed *danas* prescribed in the text, *Chaturvargachintamani* of Hemadri. Buthpur inscription of Kuppambika (*HAS*, Vol.XIII, No.50) also quotes that she performed the *dānas* according to the Kalpa texts. Also, *HAS*, Vol. XIII, NO. 24, Gudur.
 17. Vijaya Ganapatrao Babras, *The Position of Women during the Yadava period, (1000 A.D to 1350 A.D)*, Unpub.Ph.D. Thesis, Marathwada University, (Nov.1992).
 18. P.S. Kanakadurga, *Kakatiyulanati Samajika Jivanamu*, (Vijayawada, 1992), p.124.
 19. *HAS*, Vol.XIII, No.50.
 20. *Ibid.*
 21. P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, Vol.II, Part. I, 1974, p.429.
 22. *Sri Siddheśvara Charitra*, p.131.
 23. *Basavapurāṇamu*, 1st Canto, pp 11-12.
 24. *Palnāṭi Vīracharitra*, pp.322-323.
 25. P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, Vol.V, 1975, p.417.
 26. *Ibid.*, the *vṛata* is a worship of Kāmadeva, the Cupid God, for one year. They should make gifts of cows, fields, gold to brahmans and worhsip Kāmadeva, honour brahman well versed in Vedas with the gift of a *prastha* of husked rice grains and render their person to him on Sunday when the star is *Hasta*, *Puṣya* or *Punarvasu*. In the 13th month, they should make a gift of bed stead, gold chain and an image of Kāmadeva. This is *Vāraṇṛata* for *veśyas*. (H.VII, 541-548).
 27. *Daśakumāracharitra*, 5th canto, verses 13-18.
 28. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No.1096.
 29. P.S. Kanakadurga, *Op.cit.*, 1992, p.123.
 30. *SII*, Vol.IV, No.664.
 31. *Kṛīḍābhīrāmamu*, verses 137-140. This is a worship of Goddess

Lakshmi with Her seven consorts. A specific song was composed on these seven Goddesses which was supposed to be sung on the occasion of the observance.

32. *Basavapurāṇamu*, 3rd canto, p.58.
33. *HAS*, Vol.XIII, No.50.
34. *SII*, Vol.IV, No.1043.
35. Romila Thapar, *Op.cit.*, 1978, p.110.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Yajñavalkya smṛti mentioned that if a gift is made on special occasion, the merit of the same will be more than the gifts made daily and also at a sacred place like a temple. The gifts made on *Amāvasya* (New moon day), yield hundred times the reward of making it on any other day, thousand times when made on the suppression of *tithi*, one hundred thousand times when made on the equinoctical day. A gift brings countless rewards on a *Vyātīpata*. Similarly, gifts made on eclipse days, every twelfth day of the month, on the occasion of *saṁ krānti*, etc., become inexhaustible. For this reason, we find that all the grants were generally made on any particular occasion or on festival days. P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, Vol.II, part.II, 1978, p.852.
38. *SII*, Vol. VI, No.100 mentions the *Saptasaṁtāna* deeds.
39. A.M. Hocart, *Kings and Councillors. An Essay in the Comparative Anatomy of Human Society*, (University of Chicago, 1970), p.216.
40. Romila Thapar, *Op.cit.*, 1978, pp.106-107.
41. *Pratāparudracharitraṁ*, p.34.
42. *Palnāṭi Vīracharitra*, P.322.
43. *HAS*, Vol.XIII, No.1, pp.1-4.
44. *Ibid.*, 58.
45. *Ibid.*, No.57.
46. B.N. Sastry, *Rēcheṇṇa Redḍi Vamśa Charitra - Śāsanamulu 'Pillamarṇi Sasanamu'*, No.6, pp.72-77.
47. *HAS*, Vol.XIII, No.50.
48. The Dharmasagar inscription, Kuṇḍavaram and Niḍigoṇḍa inscriptions and the Pillamarṇi inscription are of the same nature. The Gods are given various names such as Rudreśvara,

- Ganapeśvara, Erakeśvara, Betēśvara, etc. after the names of the persons in whose memory the consecration is made.
49. *SII*, Vol. V, No.192.
 50. *Ibid.*, Vol.X, No.56.
 51. *Ibid.*, No.512. For more details kindly see the CHART VII.
 52. P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, Vol.IV,1974, p.567. According to Vanaparva, men or women of all four castes when they have bathed in holy rivers are not born again. Whatever sins may have been committed by them, they vanish the moment they take a dip in the holy river. Matsyapurāṇa further asserts that *Avimukta* is the highest benefit offered by the practice of making pilgrimages.
 53. *Ibid.*, p.568-569.
 54. *Ibid.*, Vol.III, 1974, pp.735-738. All Dharmasastra writers emphasised upon a widow leading a chaste life by observing fasts.
 55. *Ibid.*, p.569.
 56. Dr. N. Ramesan, 'Mogaluṭṭa Grant of Kota Ganapamba' in *Epigraphia Andhrica*, Vol.IV, pp.93-102.
 57. *HAS*, Vol. XIII, No.50.
 58. *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra*, Parvata prakaraṇamu, p. 235.
 59. *Kṛtābhiraṇamu*, verses 204-213.
 60. P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, Vol.III, 1974, pp.735-738.
 61. *Ibid.*, Vol.II, Part.I, p.429.
 62. *Ibid.*
 63. *Ibid.*, p.441.
 64. *Vijñāneśvaramu*, *Ācāra-kāṇḍamu*, verses 95-101.
 65. The *Teliki Samayamu* of Bejawada declared that *Ōli* for the first marriage should be 21 *chinnamāḍalu* (of gold). This had to be accepted by the Teliki community as a whole. *SII*, Vol. IV, No.797.
 66. *SII*, Vol. X, No.314, 406. Also, Gade Narsinga Rao, 'Chāḷukyula Rājyaṅga Paristhithulu' in *R.R.N. Pattābhisheka Saṁchika*, (Vijayawada, 1922), pp.128-135.
 67. P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, Vol.II, Part.I, 1974, p.630.
 68. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol.VI, pp.213-219. Another instance of Sati is found in *Inscriptions of Āndhradeśa*, Vol. II, Part.I,

- No.972.
69. *SII*, Vol.VI, No.144.
 70. An undated record published in *AR*, 1946-47, No.155.
 71. *Palnāṭi Vīracharitra*, verse 760, p.242.
 72. Inscriptional evidence from *SII*, Vol.V, No.95, also suggests an attempt of self immolation.
 73. P.S. Kanakadurga, *Op.cit.*, 1992, p.134.
 74. P.V. Kane, *Op.cit.*, Vol.V, Part .I, 1975, p.57.
 75. *Pratāparudracharitramu*, p.34.
 76. *Daśakumāracharitramu*, 10th canto, verse 14.
 77. *SII*, Vol.VI, No.740.
 78. *Ibid.*, No.647, 992.
 79. *Ibid.*, Vol.V. No.1331.
 80. *Ibid.*, Vol.VI, No.176.
 81. *Ibid.*, No.726.
 82. *Ibid.*, Nos.84,86.
 83. *Ibid.*, Vol.IV, Nos.1368, 1373.
 84. *Ibid.*
 85. *Ibid.*, Vol.IV, No.1373.
 86. P.S. Kanakadurga, *Op.cit.*, 1992, p.182.
 87. This argument is based on the conception of king as the ritual performer and the symbolically integrative character of the temple and the city as given by A.M. Hocart, *Op.cit.*, 1970.
 88. It was a common practice among the medieval dynasties to trace their origin from the Lunar or Solar dynasties of the Puranic period. Crowning ceremony is performed amidst great pomp and show to authenticate the power of the king who was crowned. Various epithets, titles are assumed by the rulers which are generally described in long poetic verses of Sanskrit in the inscriptions. An exaggerated version of the same can also be found in the chroniclers' accounts. Rudrama was supposed to have accepted the divine sword, royal symbols and such others at the time of her taking up the charge of the kingdom. For details, 'Hanumakonda Kaifiyat', *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, Vol. XXVI, pp.56-57.
 89. *SII*, Vol.X, No.395.

CHAPTER VII

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Tradition considers *Alaṅkāraṇa* (adornment) which includes dress, decoration and ornamentation as one of the sixty four arts meant for learning and practicing by both men and women. Adornment is a medium of distinction and identity by which the people and their heirarchies are recognised by mere sight. However, the way of adornment varies contextually. In other words, depending on the occasion (sacred or secular) and space (public and private) people prefer dressing up accordingly. In addition, various other factors like ethnicity, occupation, occasional requirements and socio-economic status determine the pattern of costumes and jewellery that was used by medieval Andhra women.

Ethnic conditions like cultural traits and attributes, climatic and geographical variations influence the food and dress habits of a region. The climate of Andhradeśa being mostly dry and temperate except in the coastal regions, thin soft cotton attire and simple ornamentation is preferred on normal occasions. However, on important occasions silk clothes and precious jewellery are opted for. Contemporary literature too stresses the need for wearing the dress according to seasonal variations.¹

The higher social privileges necessitated women from royal families to adopt exhaustive ornamentation on all occasions. They had to take special care to plan their costumes and jewellery wearing as adornment is a symbol for the expression of royal majesty. Contemporary epigraphs reveal the significance attached to ornamentation for royal women through the titles assumed by

victorious kings such as *Virōdhirājavānithālaṅkāra Bhaṅgāvaham*,² or *Pratinṛupavanitāsṛuti Srōtrābharāṇa Gaurava Vaiphalayam*,³ *Paravadhūmaṅgaḷa Sūtra Harāṇa*⁴, or *Pratyardhi Kānthā Gaḷasūtra Dātra*.⁵

Adornment is also determined by the nature of profession thus becoming functional. It was laid that a harlot cannot gain anything without ornamentation.⁶ Dharmasastras prescribe ornaments as tools of trade for *Veśyas* and in the event of any offence on the part of these women, a king can confiscate their property but not their ornaments.⁷ This could be due to the nature of their profession, wherein they had to associate with men of different classes. To maintain continuity of their earnings, they had to keep a clear distinction between themselves and the other family women by way of rich ornamentation and beautification processes.

Contemporary poets highlight the interest of women towards dressing and adorning specially during marriage, functions, religious observances or going on a pilgrimage. *Daśakumāracharitra* describes women attending a festival, wearing colourful saris and costly ornaments. They decorated their hairs with flowers, applied cosmetics to the skin and their fore-heads were said to contain beautiful and colourful saffron brooch.⁸ Pāṅkuriki Somanā in his *Paṇḍitārādhya-charitra*, describes the adornment of different classes of women on pilgrimage to Srisaillam, a holy shrine for Saivites. He writes that their attire is a reflection of their class.⁹

The socio-economic status is revealed in the quality of the cloth, metal used for preparing ornaments and the number and value of jewellery. Women from common sections of the society, belonging to the families of petty peasants, agricultural labourers, poor artisan class, small vendors were involved in their family occupations helping their husbands in maintaining the family. Therefore they could not give importance to ornamentation or dressing specially when compared to women of elite. Due to their low economic status, they were not able to procure better clothes or precious ornaments made of gold and silver. Even if they secured these by facing hardships, they may not be able to protect them due to frequent thefts as reported in the contemporary literature. They had to be satisfied with a dress of coarse cotton, ornaments of beads, glass, false corals or shells.

Despite these variations traditions, customs and belief systems of the society determine the necessity of ornamentation for women irrespective of the class or status. It is a common belief among women that wearing jewellery and decorating the hair with flowers cause longevity of married life.¹⁰ *Maṅgala Sūtra* (the token of marriage which is a chain made usually of gold with two discs of gold attached to it), *Maṭṭiyalu* (toe-rings made of silver) and *Gājulu* (colourful bangles) are considered to be auspicious. These are supposed to be worn by married and unwidowed women alone. Widowed women are not provided with the opportunity of wearing these.¹¹ In addition, they are not supposed to wear ornaments or adorn themselves as it was

probably felt that physical ornamentation may lead to temptation.¹² It appears that this separation of ornamentation for married unwidowed women and widowed women is specified with a view to maintain a distinction between them.

Thus, dress and ornamentation besides expressing cultural functions, can also become parameters for studying the social and economic distinctions. The contemporary literary, epigraphical and sculptural evidences throw much light on these different aspects viz. dress, ornamentation, decoration, preparation and use of cosmetics in general and specific occasions. For the sake of convenience, these issues are discussed under four heads, Costumes, Ornaments, Cosmetics and beauty aids and Circumstantial attire.

COSTUMES

Usually the dress of a woman consisted of a sari and a boddice. The length of an ordinary or silk sari varies from six to seven yards. In *Basavapurāṇamu*, it is mentioned that the silk sari of the wife of Basaveśvara was of 12 cubits in length and it took twelve complete years for the weaver to complete the same.¹³ It appears that there is a difference in the mode of wearing the sari based on ritual wearing and ordinary wearing. The saris were tied from the right and the hem of border (mantle) was put on the left shoulder by Āndhra women. This practice of wearing the mantle was probably borrowed from Paithan region.¹⁴ The artisan women too tied their saris around the waist in the normal fashion. However, the truss was taken up from between the knees

and tucked at the waist.¹⁵ The folds of the sari were many and long.¹⁶ Contemporary literature gives details of different methods in the mode of sari wearing. Srinatha, in his *Cātu* verses, describes a woman of *Sātāni* community wearing a *Maḍicīra* (pure, unpolluted sari).¹⁷ A brahman lady tied her sari in such a way as the border was turned on the head and was brought on the other shoulder thus looking like a veil.¹⁸

Some of the fine cloth manufacturing centers in *Āndhradeśa* were - Masulipatnam, Gaṇḍipuram (Gandikot), Jammalamadugu, Saḍapa, etc.¹⁹ Further, textiles were specially brought from Poddalapura (Paithan), Chīrappali (Tiruchirapalli), Nāgapaṭṭana, Coḷadeśa (Coramandel coast), Allikākula (Srikakulam), Siṃhaḷadvīpa (Ceylon), etc.²⁰ The textiles from Kakatiya kingdom were world famous. Marcopolo, had all praises for the quality of the cotton textiles of *Āndhradeśa*. The *Ravasellās* (buckrams) of *Āndhradeśa* were in great demand among the princely families all over the world due to their smooth and beautiful finishing.²¹ Their price too was very high. The progressive nature of the industry is further indicated by traders of cloth, silks and muslim forming associations called *Nakaṛas*, *Dēśi*, *Ubhaya Nānādeśi* and quite often donating extensively to the deities.²²

Palkuriki Somanatha in his *Basavapurāṇamu* gives names of fifty six varieties of saris which include those brought from China, Ceylon, Malaya, Kashmir, Varanasi, Gujarat, etc.²³ Forty nine varieties of silk and cotton saris with intricate design patterns and colour combinations find mention in

Siṃhāsana dvātrīṃsika.²⁴ Srinatha describes *Oṇayūru sari*.²⁵ *Oṇayūru* is a place in Andhra region famous for woven cotton saris.

The thirteenth century work *Mānasollāsa* throws a flood of light on the costumes of the Deccan region, the various decorative patterns, colours used for dyeing and procedures of processing. The prototype of figures or designs on the saris were made from *Paṭṭasutṛa* (silk), *Kārpasa*, (Cotton), *Ksauma*, (Linen), *Rōma* (goat wool), etc.²⁶ Varieties of designs were printed on the saris which ranged from sun and moon patterns and circles or square designs to that of animal and bird figures like swans, parrots, stripes of squirrels, dolls and with borders dyed with the juice of Myrobalan.²⁷

Generally the colours preferred by women of the period were the colour of pollen yellow, colour of *ṛuḍrāksha* seed (light brown), pure white, brilliant red and yellow colours with the *anālas* having patterns of contrasting colours.²⁸ Some times the colour of the sari was dark like red, indigo, green or blue with the fields of pallu and *anālas* left white.²⁹ Courtesans preferred saffron, white, and yellow colours.³⁰ The saris presented to the deities of various temples include *Velipaṭṭu Chīralu* (pure white silk saris), *Mañjishta Chīralu*, (bright red), *Vella Chīralu* (white), etc.³¹ In *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇamu*, Sita is described as wearing *Chāṇḍrakāvi Valvalu* (garments of moon white colour).³² Nannaya describes *Ūrvasi* as wearing *Chāṇḍrikādhavaladukulamu* (pure moon white coloured garments).³³

Women of elite group used fine and costlier cotton and silk saris, boddices either plain or printed and with or without stripes [Plate III b].³⁴ Their garments were generally made of brocade, i.e., containing raised patterns of gold and silver threads. Their saris contained exquisite borders and intricate designs of parrots, horses, elephants, swans or peacock tails.³⁵ The dress pattern for the royal women was designed separately. Special care was taken to select perfect clothes for them. *Mānasollāsa* prescribes that the garments of royal women should either be made of silk, cotton, fibre or wool. Prices of the clothes should be very high and care should be taken to see that the colour of the sari and that of the border was perfectly matched and that the colours should not be washed away but should improve their colour after each wash.³⁶ Traders had to provide the best quality of cloth to the king's family. Failing to do so is a crime as stated by Ketana, in his *Vijñāneśvaramu*.³⁷ Thus the clothes worn by women of royal families are very much precious and highly rated both in quality and price. Same is the case with the women of aristocracy and wealthy courtesans. According to *Kāmarāḍakamu*, a moral treatise, the courtesans of king's service should wear fine quality textiles only.³⁸ As cited elsewhere, their professional requirements of maintaining a clear distinction between themselves and family ladies make them selective at choosing colours, designs as well as cost. Further, it was a common practice among them to demand from their customers whatever sari they had seen with the other women.³⁹

Not only the saris but the boddices also were gorgeous and costly with respect to women of elite group. They were stitched with gold and silver threads forming stripes in the silk background. The silk boddices are referred to as *Paṭṭu Kuppasamulu* or *Ṛavikalu* (blouse).⁴⁰ Variety of designs are stitched on those with silver or gold *zari* (lace) or with mirrors looking as eyes.⁴¹ Mañchāla, wife of Bālachandra is described as wearing a silk blouse with golden flowers stitched on it.⁴² His harlot Sabbama had blouses decorated with silver and gold flowers.⁴³ Tailors are appointed to stitch blouses for women of higher classes. They are called *Kuṭṭapu paṇivaru*. They live in a separate locality of the city called *Mōhaṇivāḍa*. *Kṛīḍābhirāmanu* has a description of the practices of these tailors at *Mōhaṇivāḍa*.⁴⁴ They had to choose the best quality among the selected textiles and to stitch blouses for women of the harem.

The garments of women belonging to the lower strata of the society were comparatively of a lesser price and were of a different category. The material was of coarse variety and generally contained simple design, patterns, like long, small or broad stripes at a distance (Plate III a). In *Kṛīḍābhirāmanu*, a peasant woman is described as wearing a thick sari of red colour and having yellow stripes in square design.⁴⁵ The blouse was also of same variety and pattern. A woman of *Teliki* community is quoted as wearing *Tagaṭu* sari (sari containing lace) and blouse made of cloth having floral designs.⁴⁶ *Āṭu* verses of Srinatha give us description of women wearing tight blouses tied into a knot in the front.⁴⁷ Another woman probably of a lower class wore

a blouse which was white in colour and had a reddish tint.⁴⁸

However the poor women of the society were longing to wear costumes, what so variety they may be, to protect from nature. In *Simhasanadvāṛṇṣika*, it is mentioned that a woman feels for her poverty and laments that she herself and her daughters were not having anything to wear.⁴⁹ Widowed women are supposed to keep themselves away from colourful and fine quality saris. They were supposed to wear old garments, made of bark.⁵⁰

Besides literature, temple sculptures too reflect the dress of women dwelling in the forests (those belonging to the *Eṛuka*, *Sabara* and *Chen̄chu* clans). Their garments were made of wool, both sari and blouse. Autumnal leaves also formed their lower garments (*Plate IV a*).⁵¹ The leaves had a red tinge and did not wither soon. The attire of a *Chen̄chu* woman is described by Goparaju in his *Simhasanadvāṛṇṣika*.⁵²

Not only the attire, but temple sculptures and literary references point to the variations in the hair styles adopted by women of Āndhra region. Most commonly, the hair was plaited or braided into twists and the ends were let loose (*Plate VII a*). Sometimes the hair was turned up and arranged in the form of a *Koppu* (knot) (*Plate I b, IV a, b*). This arrangement is of many varieties, either tied in the centre or towards one side of the head or in the form of a very loose knot.

The *Cātu* verses of Srinatha describe different types of hair decorating patterns. One of his verses mentions a woman of

Sātāni community singing in the *Srīkākūḷa tirunallu*, had neatly combed her hair and arranged the same in the form of a knot.⁵³ Another verse quotes a woman whose long black lustrous hair was braided in the form of a *veni* (plait).⁵⁴ The *Vārakāntalu* (vesyas) of Kaḍidipuram are portrayed as wearing a *Jārukoppu* (loose knot).⁵⁵

Decorating flowers in the hair is a common feature observed in relation to women. Flowers are arranged in various styles to look more appealing. Copious references to flowers and women selling flowers find mention in the contemporary literature. *Cārucarya*, a small text by Appanamantri gives details of the popular flowers of Andhra region. The book also discusses the seasonal variations in the availability of flowers and reasons for decorating them in hair.⁵⁶ *Sāmpenga* (maichelia Champaka) is one of the most popular flowers of Andhra. It was customary for women of Andhra to decorate their hair with flowers of different varieties particularly on occasions like marriage, festive celebration, attending for fairs or *tirunāḷḷu* as indicated by literary evidences.⁵⁷

ORNAMENTS

Ornamentation, similar to dressing is another component of adornment. As cited earlier, ornamentation has several variational factors, traditional or occupational (sacred and secular). Besides these, the socio-economic status determines greatly the pattern or number of ornaments and the quality of metal used.

Toḍavulu is a general term used in literature to denote the ornaments.⁵⁸ The *Mangalasutra* (marriage token) bangles and toe-rings are compulsory ornaments for married and unwidowed women of all classes of the society. Women of elite groups had taste for costly and valuable jewellery. Boxes called *Alaṅkārapeti* were used by them to preserve their jewellery.⁵⁹ Ornamentation as stated earlier is a status symbol for royal women. Even small children of royal family are supposed to wear ornaments like a small chain with a pendant called *Puliḡoru*, which was stringed with *Kuruma* thread, corals, or conch shells. For hands, bracelets made of five metals were put as a customary practice.⁶⁰ Professional necessity determines the style of ornamentation as in the case of courtesans and prostitutes. The ornaments of *Sairāṇdhri* a maid of the harem whose duty is to decorate the hair of the queen and make different garlands are described in detail in *Virāṭaparvamu* of *Āndhra Mahābhārataṃ*.⁶¹

Ornamentation is preferred by women of middle and lower classes of the society too. However, the number is less and the metal used in preparation varied from brass, bell metal, (bronze), lead to glass, beads, ivory, conch shells, false corals or bamboo pearls. Moreover, the finishing of ornaments is not fine but coarse. The ornaments of women of forest dwelling communities are made of bamboo pearls, *ruḍrākṣa* seeds, false corals or *gūṇuvīṇḍa* (red coloured seed with black head) seeds.⁶² The maids of courtesans are described in the literary works as wearing bead necklaces, brass bracelets, amulets made of false, corals, toe-rings of bell metal, finger rings of shell or bead and coarse black bangles.⁶³ The nature of ornaments of *chāṇḍāla*

woman called Sāmavedi is described in *Paṇḍitārādhya-charitra*.⁶⁴ Thus it appears that the type of metal used for ornamentation differs according to the socio-economic status. Gold, silver, precious stones and pearls are generally used in the making of ornaments for women of elite group, while those of common women are made of brass, copper or non metals like glass, beads, false corals and shells.

Manufacturing of ornaments is taken up by traders belonging to the guild *Pañchāṇamvāru* (traders in five metals). In addition, *Nakara* traders too had prosperous trade dealings in ornaments. *Maṭṭelawāda* in Ūṇṇagallu is a place famous for silver industry where silver toe-rings were manufactured on a large scale.⁶⁵ Golconda is a place famous for diamond mines as suggested by the accounts of Marcopolo.

The variety of ornaments gifted to temple deities indicate the prosperous trade in metals during the period in Āndhradeśa. A record from southern Āndhra region gives the particulars of ornaments given to the Goddess, which include a *paṭṭam* (golden fillet), crescent, *Tirumanṅali* (probably the marriage token) and a necklace containing pearls, beads, etc.⁶⁶ It is further stated in the inscription that the necklace had 8 superior quality of pearls, 528 second class pearls, 2 gold beads, 13 long corals and 40 round corals. An epigraph from Drākshārmam temple registers the grant of two gold bangles studded with precious gems by king Kulottunga Choladeva.⁶⁷ Another inscription from the same place records gift of *Sitamaṇibāṇḍha*, a bracelet studded with

diamonds.⁶⁸ Tāḷḷamāmba, wife of Rāmapātra presented two gold necklaces to the deity at Srikurmam.⁶⁹ Several other inscriptions from various temples in Āndhradeśa, recorded grants of gold or silver jewellery (as shown in the chart VII C).

For the purpose of ornamentation, the head, hair, nose, ears, neck, hands, fingers, waist, legs, and feet received special attention. Contemporary literature provides as a wide nomenclature of ornaments as discussed in the following lines.

Head Ornaments (Plates IV b, V a, b, VII, a).

Netti Biḷḷaḷu is the term commonly used for head ornaments. The ornaments are worn on the head, at the parting of the hair, on either side of it, on the hair and at the end of the hair. To quote few:

Baṅgārupūceru: Golden flowers to be decorated in the hair.

Chāṇḍravaṅka: Sart or Ravi Gold elaborately set with precious stones and resembled crescent moon or sun. This was adorned on either side at the parting of hair.

Chērcukka or *Pāpaṭa boṭṭu* or *Pāpidicēru*: Gold studded with precious stones. It was generally kept at the centre of the forehead at the parting of hair.

Chūḍamaṇi: A small circular ornament connected with a long chain arranged at the centre of the forehead. (Plate VI b).

Koppu pūvulu: Flowers made of pearls to be decorated in the hair.

Lalaṭikamu: Fore-head ornament of gold set with precious stones or pearls.

Mutyāḷajalli: Hair net of pearls.

Mutyāla kuchhulu: A tassel made of pearls usually tied as a knot at the root of the tress of hair.

Nāgarāmu: An ornament of gold worn at the centre of the hair.

Ear Ornaments (Plates I a, IV a, b, V a,b, VI a).

Kammalu or *Kuṇḍalamulu* is the term used for denoting ear ornaments. Earlier leaves of palm tree were used for the purpose, hence the word *Taṭaṅkamulu*. Based on the variations in their designs they are classified into -

Baviṭe or *Baviṭelu*: An ornament worn from the tip of the ear usually of gold.

Kammapūvulu: Ear-rings made of gold in the form of flowers.

Kuṇṭilu or *Makarakuṇḍalamulu*: Large ear-rings usually made of gold. (Plate V a).

Mutyāla Kammalu: Made of pearls.

Nīlapurālu: Ear-rings of blue coloured stones.

Taṭaṅkamulu: Ear-rings made of palm leaf.

Vṛittakuṇḍalamulu: Large circular shaped ear-rings made of gold. (Plate V b).

Nose Ornaments (Plates IV b, VII a).

Mukkera or *Muṅgara* denotes nose ornaments. *Nattu* was perhaps a mandalika variation of the same. it was a common practice among women of medieval Andhra to adorn the nose with small ornaments usually made of gold studded with stones on either side of the nose as well as below at the centre of the two nostrils. Based on their location and design they are termed variously.

Addabaśa or *Bulāki*: A nose jewel worn at the centre of the

nose (below).

Mukkerā or Muṅgarā: A nose ring generally made of a white stone studded in gold. It is also made with emeralds corals, diamonds or pearls in which case, referred with the respective names of the precious stones.

Reṇḍuḡuṇḍla muṅgarālu: A nose ring having two pieces.

Tagarapu mukkerā: Nose ring made of lead.

Neck Ornaments (Plates I a, IV a, b, V a).

Kaṇṭikahāramulu or *Kaṇṭabharāṇamulu* such as necklaces or chains. *Nāṇuchutṭlu* could probably be another *mandalika* variation for the same. Varieties of necklaces are worn by women of all classes of the society. They ranged from tight neck bands called *Patteda* to long chains sometimes hung down to naval portion. These necklaces are, in addition to the compulsory ornaments and the chain of black beads. Variations are noticed sometimes based on the religious faith such as *Nandidaṇḍa*, *Rudrākṣa pūsalu* or *Tomāla daṇḍa*, etc. The following are the different types of neck ornaments mentioned in the contemporary literary and epigraphical sources.

Bandi gurugiṇja tāvaḍamu: Necklace of *Guruvinda* seeds.

Bannasaramu: A necklace.

Chandrahāramu: A chain of gold in two or many rows
(Plate V a).

Chennumeruḡutākulu: A kind of shining necklace of leaf pattern.

Gontapūsalu: Small nuts made into beads and arranged in the chain.

Guṇḍla pēru: A chain of gold beads.

Gurija pēṛulu: Necklace of Guruvinda seeds generally worn by women of forest dwelling classes. (Plate IV a).

Māṅgalyamu or *Pasupuṭāllu*: The marriage token. The application of haldi is indicative of its auspicious nature and importance of its presence.

Meḍanūlu / *Gaṭṭinūlu*: A gold chain made of small thin bands.

Minukulu: Twinkling chains of gold.

Mutyālahāramu: A chain of pearls.

Mutyāla paṭṭeda : A neck band of pearls.

Mutyālasarulu: Small chains of pearls.

Nallapūsalu: A chain of black beads worn by married women.

Naṇḍi daṇḍa: A chain used by devotees of Siva.

Nānu-chuṭṭlu: A gold necklace of beads linked together.

Pachhapūsalu: A necklace of golden beads.

Penusanna golusulu: Small thin chains of gold.

Pikilipūladāṇḍalu: A chain made with the wings of small birds called *Pikilipittalu*.

Rudrāksha pūsalu: A chain of Rudrāksha seeds or Rudrāksha Saramulu.

Saṛipeṇalu: Gold or silver chains.

Taḷi boṭṭu: The marriage token. However, its name is suggestive of the earlier use of two palm leaves tied together to a thread indicating the union of two persons through marriage.

Tōmāla daṇḍa: A garland of Tulsi leaves.

Vēpāku chiguḷḷa daṇḍalu: A chain made with the tender leaves of Neem tree

Veduru mutyamulu : A chain made of bamboo pearls.

Tṛisaramu: A gold chain of three lines.

Shoulder/Hand/Wrist Ornaments (Bracelets, Bangles)

The upper part of the elbow as well as its lower half upto the wrist is adorned with different types of ornaments. The former are called bracelets and the latter bangles. Precious metals like gold and silver together with pearls or costly stones are moulded into different shapes skillfully by the artisans. Their workmanship is clearly noticed in the bracelets. *Kaṅkaṇamu* or *Kaḍiyamu* is the popular name for the bracelets. The term *Chēkaṭṭu* refers to hand ornament whereas the term *Daṇḍa-Kaḍiyamu* refers to the shoulder ornament. The following is the list of shoulder and hand ornaments mentioned in the contemporary literature and reflected in the sculptures of the period.

Shoulder Ornaments (Plates IV a, b, V, b, VI a, VII a).

Chāmāla kaḍiyālu: Golden bracelets.

Harikaṅkaṇamulu: Golden bracelets.

Ittaḍi kaḍiyālu: Bracelets of brass.

Kaṭṭe vaṁkīlu: Twisted cane rings.

Lakka tāyetulu: Amulets of false coral.

Moṇavaṅka kaḍiyamu: A shining curved golden bracelet.

Nāgabettamu: Bracelet of the shape of a snake.

Nāgavattulu: Bracelet of the shape of a snake.

Ottula kaḍiyālu: Golden bracelets.

Pasiḍi rava kaḍiyālu: Bracelets of gold studded with emeralds.

Sari-daṇḍa tayatulu: Talismans for upper arm.

Vaṁkīlu: Curved ornament worn round the upper arm.

Hand and Wrist Ornaments (Plates I a, III a, IV a, VI a).

Chēkaṭṭu paḷelu: Bracelets of gold or coral beads alternatively arranged.

Pagaḍāḷa chēkaṭṭu: Bracelet of corals.

Manjīra kaṅkaṇālu: A bracelet having bells.

Maṇipuramu: A wrist ornament.

Murugulu: Golden wire twisted in the form of bangle.

Mutyāḷa chēkaṭṭu: Bracelet of pearls.

Nalla muduka gājulu: Ordinary glass bangles black in colour.

Ratna kaṅkaṇamulu: Bracelets of diamonds.

Waist Ornaments (Plates II b, IV a, V a, b, VI a, VII a).

Ornaments worn on the garments surrounding the waist come under this head. Commonly, these are made of gold and silver metals. Often pearls or studded in the middle. *Oḍḍānamu* is the general name for waist ornament.

Gajjela oḍḍānamu: Silver or gold waist ornament, having bells.

Kīljaḍa: A twisted ornament tied around the waist.

Molanūlu: Silver or gold waist ornament. occasionally has bells.

Oḍḍānamu: A cestus or belt of gold or silver waist ornament worn on the dress.

Ratnamēkhala: Waist ornaments made of precious gems (Plate VI a).

Anklets (Plate I b, IV a, b, VI a, b).

The foot ornaments are commonly referred to as *Anḍiyalu*. They are mostly made of silver metal and occasionally made of gold.

Gajjelu/Andiyalu/Muvvalu: Anklets having bells made of silver.

Kānchēenūpuṇa kaṅkaṇamulu : Anklets having bells.

Finger Ornaments (Plate VI a).

Anguḷīyakamu or *Uṅgaramu* is the a term for denoting finger ornaments. Though the ring finger is used for the purpose of ornamentation, sometimes other fingers too are decorated with a variety of ornaments. Gold and precious stones are generally used in the making of finger ornaments.

Toe-Ornaments

Generally by married women. *Maṭṭiyalu* is a common term. Like the finger ornaments, these are also worn at all the toe-fingers. Following is their nomenclature.

Bobbilikāyalu : Toe-ornaments for the great toe.

Gilkumaṭṭelu: Toe-rings made of tin.

Kaṅchu meṭṭiyalu: Bell metal toe-rings for the fourth toe.

Liṅgapukaya maṭṭelu: Toe-rings of the shape of the Sivalinga.

Maṭṭiyalu: Toe-ornaments made of silver.

Pillāṇḍlu: Silver toe-rings for the fourth toe.

Vīramaddiyalu: Silver toe-rings for the large toe, worn on the occasion of war.

COSMETICS

Variety of cosmetics are used generally to beautify the skin and to maintain and protect its tender nature. Thus dressing and ornamentation accompanied by the use of cosmetics completes the process of *Alaṃkāra* (adornment). Similar to the earlier two, even products used under this head are determined by factors like tradition, occasion, profession and socio-economic status. customary beliefs and traditional practices prescribe use of certain anointments as *Haldi* for skin, collyrium for eyes and saffron mark on the forehead compulsory for maiden, married unwidowed women irrespective of the class variations. (elite / folk). Widowed women are not supposed to use cosmetic products. Similarly contextual needs for example: higher privileges for royal women, professional demands for dancers and prostitutes and occasional necessities like bridal make up during marriages influence the use of cosmetics. Thus cosmetics form a regular component of physical beautification of all sections of the society. However, the product and the extent of its application depend upon the socio-economic position. While elite women used costlier anointments, common women prepared cosmetics from the kitchen products and cheap and easily available herbs of kitchen garden. The Moṭupalli inscription of Ganapatideva gives details of cosmetic products which formed important items of trade in Andhradesa. They include sandalwood, camphor, musk, borax, etc.⁷⁰ The *Nakara* and *Ubhaya nāna dēśi* guilds carried on profitable trade in these items.⁷¹

Cosmetics are either applied directly or used as anointments to beautify the skin. Of the former category include the mark on the forehead which symbolises a customary tradition, collyrium for the eyes, *Vannu* (lipstick) for the lips and Henna for hands, and toes. Haldi, sandalwood powder, saffron, musk, etc. are used as anointments. Ample reference about their use as well as preparatory process is available in the contemporary literature.

The mark on the fore-head, generally kept at the centre of the two eyebrows is a common feature among Hindu men and women (Plates II a, III b). Sometimes, it varies according to the sectarian differences. Vaishnavites call the mark as *Tirunāmamu* or *Tiruchūrṇamu* (the red powder used by Vaishnavites as a face mark).⁷² and Saivites make the mark with the powder called *Vibhūdi* (sacred ashes).⁷³ In addition to this sectarian mark, women keep varieties of marks on the forehead according to their taste which include *Kumkuma Chukka* (red powder prepared from turmeric, alum, and lime juice),⁷⁴ *Nelavaṅka Nāmamu* (a face mark of the shape of crescent),⁷⁵ *Nāgarēkha Sindhōoram* (a vermillion face mark of the shape of the snake),⁷⁶ *Chukkaboṭṭu* (a small dot),⁷⁷ *Kastūri Nāgaboṭṭu* (a face mark made of musk and is kept in the form of curved snake's head),⁷⁸ *Ōlagāṇḍhamu* (a mark made with turmeric phaste),⁷⁹ *Hamsatīlakamu* (a mark put in the shape of a swan),⁸⁰ *Gummadiginjā Nāmamu* (a mark resembling the seed of a pumpkin),⁸¹ etc.

Kumkuma (saffron), *Sindhōdramu* (vermillion), *Kastūri* (musk), *Ōlagandhamu* (turmeric paste), *Paṭṭērapāṃsuvu* (sandal wood dust), *San̄kumadamu* (civet), etc. are used for keeping the mark.⁸² Widowed women were not allowed to wear this mark. However, they keep the *vibūdhī bhasmam* on their forehead based on a reference from the story of Poraṇḍla Sūrasāni in *Panḍitārādhyā Charitra* of Palkuriki Soman.⁸³ Srinadha in one of his *Ātu* verses mentions a widow wearing a mark of *vibhūdi* on her forehead.⁸⁴ Special care is given to the eyes. Collyrium was applied to make them look dark black. Sometimes, it was applied in such a way as the eyes look elongated and large. Nannechoḍa in his *Kumārasāmbhavam* gives the procedures for the preparation of collyrium with certain herbs.⁸⁵ *Alāktakamu* (Liquefied lac), *Pūtakāṭuka* (lamp back Collyrium), are other varieties of anointments mentioned in the literary works of the period.⁸⁶

Literary sources point to the specific anointment referred to as *Vannu* (lipstick).⁸⁷ used by women of medieval Āndhra. It is similar to lipstick and when applied to the lips, make them appear reddish and beautiful. It was prepared from home products and certain herbs.⁸⁸ However, its use as also of another anointment used for lips, called *Lattuka* (lac)⁸⁹ is not always regular but only during occasions like festivals, marriage, etc. On such occasions Henna paste is also used to make the hands and toes look bright red.⁹⁰ This was applied in different floral designs and variety of patterns.

Sandalwood powder, musk, saffron are used as face powders.⁹¹ *Makara* (sandalwood paste as a kind of decoration) designs were painted on the cheeks by the courtesans to look more appealing.⁹² Though no sufficient details are available to us about the hair care taken by women of the period, it appears from the references in the literature and inscriptions that oil extracted from the *Sāmpēga* (*Michelia Champaka*) flowers was used as hair oil.⁹³ *Mānasollasa* gives a description of hair oils and shampoos which were supposed to be used by women of royal families and which help their hair look black, long and lustrous. The author says that hair should be washed with paste prepared out of the fruits of Amla tree.⁹⁴

Medieval women knew the method of preparing scented powder with the help of various herbal products mixed and made into a paste according to the prescribed proportions.⁹⁵ This powder was used as bath powder. Massaging oil was also prepared using the flowers of *Gēdaṅgi* (*Pandanus Odoretissimus*), *Chāmpakamu* (gold flower), *Jāji* (*Jasminum Grandiflorum*), *Punnāga* (Alexandrian Laurel), etc.⁹⁶

However, it is beyond doubt that these cosmetics or beauty aids were used by women of elite sections of the society alone. Common women were satisfied with comparatively cheaper and easily available cosmetic products as haldi, sandal powder and such other domestic items.

Tāmbul is another food product which was used by women of all categories of the society. It was prepared generally with camphor, aromatic spices mixed with quick lime and was taken along with the betel leaves.⁹⁷ Women while going to pilgrimages usually carry the box containing these items *Tāmbul* chewing was a daily practice for them. The box is referred to as *Aḍapatittī* (a bag containing necessary items to prepare *tāmbul*).⁹⁸ By chewing this the lips turn red. The *tāmbul* taken by royal women and courtesans was specially prepared with the best variety of spices.⁹⁹ Marcopolo, in his travel accounts enlightens about the regular use of *Tāmbul* by both men and women in Andhradesa.¹⁰⁰

CIRCUMSTANTIAL WEARING

As cited earlier, adornment patterns are both sacred determined by tradition and common to all sections of the society irrespective of class or gender and secular with certain amount of contextuality. Therefore, it is proposed to discuss under this head, the adornment during specific occasions of public domain (royal, professional), private domain (common wearing), and ritual (marriage, sati, war).

The profession of ruling or military requirements like participation in war necessitate functional wearing. It is in this connection, the male attire of Rudramadevi during her rule can be understood. Occupations like dancing in the courts or temples, the profession of prostitution too need exhaustive ornamentation, costlier costumes and specific use of cosmetics as discussed elsewhere in this chapter. The professions of

Sairāndhri and midwifery too need circumstantial wearing as described in the contemporary literature.

Kṛīḍābhīrānamu and Srinatha's *Cātu* verses throw much light on the general adornment patterns of elite as well as common women. Somana's *Basavapurāṇamu* and *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra* too provide ample information on the common wearing. It generally meant cotton sari with simple and linear designs, a very simple cotton boddice and minimum ornamentation i.e. compulsory ornaments alone. Haldi is applied to the skin.

However, rituals and observances demand contextual wearing. Nannechoda describes men and women wearing *Pachhavaluvalu* (yellow colored garments) and *Vīramaḍḍiyalu* (silver toe-rings for the large toe) on the occasion of war.¹⁰¹ Gona Buddha Reddy describes the attire of a woman performing *sati* in his *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇamu*. She was wearing a silk sari with chains and a garland of flowers in her neck. Her hair was made into a knot and she put on a *Sōḍchakamu* (band like sign) of round pure pearls to signify the event. Similarly on her forehead, an application of sandalwood paste was made. Then she took her husband's body with due decoration, put the same in her lap and proceeded for the grave in a palanquin.¹⁰²

Marriage is a proper occasion for dressing oneself gorgeously. The contemporary literature throw a flood of information about the various items used in decoration of the bride. Occassionally about the preparations of certain products

can also be gathered from these accounts. Bridal decoration is a part of the marriage celebrations. For more details on the process of bridal makeup, three texts namely *Kumārasambhavam* of Nannechoda, *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇam* of Gona Buddhareddy and *Paṇḍita Vīracharitra* of Srinatha are selected and the contained in each text is given below:

Kumārasambhavam

The poet, on the occasion of the narration of the marriage between Lord Siva and Goddess Parvati gives a clear picture of the process of bridal decoration which was in practice in Andhra during his life-times.

The bride (Parvathi) was given bath with scented water containing perfumes of good quality. Sandalwood paste was applied to the body. Collyrium was applied to the eyes in a manner which made them look dark and lustrous. *Vannu* was anointed to lips. Her long black hair was combed and decorated with flowers. Finally on the fore-head a brooch of scarlet colour made of *Sindhōoram* was put in the shape of a swan. A beautiful sari was selected for the bride. Similarly best variety of ornaments were chosen for her. The waist ornament was made of precious gems and was called *Ratnamēkhala*. Gold chains were put on the breasts. Diamond studded ear-rings were put on the ears. This way the bride was made to look graceful.

Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇam

Sita, the bride was given an oil bath with *Sampēṅga* oil. Yellow coloured pure quality of sandal wood, musk, Ox-gall, etc.

were mixed to form a paste which was used to clean the body as well as hair. Perfumes were mixed in water to give it a fresh fragrance. Yellow and white coloured skirt and a top containing a variety of designs in beautiful colours were chosen as garments for the bride. The blouse was of silk and having on it flowers stitched with golden threads.

Variety of ornaments like necklaces of precious stones, pearls, rubies, emeralds were selected. They include *Bannasaramu*, *Hāramulu*, *Mukkara*, *Kammalu*, *Baviṇṇelu*, *Kaḍiyamulu*, *Molanūlu* made of red stone called *Padmarāgamu* (ruby of made of red stone of the finest quality), bells of *Gomēdhikamu* (Topaz, agate), etc. Hair was adorned with flowers.

Palnāṭi Vīracharitra

Manchala was the bride whose beauty is sketched by the poet through the bridal decoration. The bride's hair was massaged with oil made of gold flower and was washed with perfumed water. Once the hair was dried properly it was combed into a long 'veni' and towards its end a tassel of pearls was tied. Hair was decorated with flowers made of gold all throughout its length. Other head ornaments include the *Pāpata* made of gold with pearls and diamonds studded in it, *Cercukka*. (Sart and Ravi) on either side of the parting of the hair, and a golden *Nāgarāmu* studded with stones on the head.

The two eyebrows were linked with a saffron mark as brooch. Collyrium was applied to the eyes. Nose ornaments like pearl

mungara were kept. In addition, different types of chains made of precious metals and valuable stones of all varieties were put on her body. Ear-rings were long and were made of gold. Neck band of pearls was kept in addition to the locketed chains. Diamond and precious stone bangles were adorned to the hands. Colourful glass bangles also were put on the hands of the bride. Bracelets were of emeralds. Finger ornaments were kept. The legs had anklets and bells. *Lattuka* was applied to the legs to make them look red and beautiful. The silk sari selected for the bride was looking quite gorgeous with golden *zari* all over. The blouse was also of silk and had flowers stitched on it with golden thread.

To sum up the arguments of this chapter, it is observed that the attire, ornamentation styles as well as use of cosmetics have both sacred and secular features and can be taken as parameters to study the socio-economic distinctions among the women during the period under study. The attire of an elite woman is suggestive of her interest towards selecting suitable jewellery and garments to suit the occasion. While the sketch of a common woman, the dress and ornamentation styles are mostly simple. At the same time, there is a marked influence of the features like ethnicity, seasonal variations, professional and circumstantial necessities on adornment patterns. These variations between elite and common categories are however not carried on to the sacred features where an element of commonality is noticed through compulsory ornamentation irrespective of class variations. The same attempt by the tradition to bridge the gap

between elite and folk sections of the society is reflected in the art forms and amusements the details of which are discussed in the next chapter.

Notes and References

1. Somesvaradeva, *Mānasollāsa*, 3-6, 1082 to 1085. The seasonal pattern of dressing was more particular in case of the royal families. According to the author, royal personages including the king should adopt such wearing as to suit the seasonal spring changes. For example, Season - Cotton or fibre garments generally white in colour, thin in texture.
Summer - Thin, delicate cotton attire.
Rainy - Red, purple or rose coloured beautiful garments.
Autumn - Thick fibered garments.
Winter- Wollen or thick cotton fabrics.
2. *SHI*, Vol. VI, No. 124.
3. *Ibid.*, No.594.
4. *Ibid.*, No.249.
5. *Ibid.*, No.74.
6.

బొడవుల పేరిటయిన బడవు పుట్టుదు వెలయాలికి...
8. *Daśakumāracharitra*, 6th canto, verse 114.
7. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmasastras*, Vol.III, 1974, p.404.
8. *Daśakumāracharitra*, 10th canto, verses 7,8.
9. *Pañḍitārādhyacharitra*, Parvata Prakaranamu, Punyanganala nadakalu, p.235. Jogula nadakalu, pp.235-236.
10. Masana Chennappa, *Prachīna Kavyāḷla Grāmīṇa Jana Jīvana Chitraṇa*, (Hyderabad, 1991), P.240.
11. *Āndhra Mahābhārataṃ*, Ādiparvamu, 4th canto, verse 230.

పరిమీన లయన భాషిను
లలితన వతులయ్యెన్ సులలయ్యెను ననలు
క్షతలయ్యెడి మాంగల్యర
హితలయ్యెడి గృహణ పుత్ర నిదియు మెదలుగాన్.
12. *Siṃhāsanaadvāitśika*, 11th canto, verse 147.
13. *Basavapurāṇamu*, 3rd canto, p.46.
14. Veturi Prabhakara Sastri, *Telugu Meṃṅulu*, (Madras, 1948), p.4.
15. *Cātu Padya Maṇimaṇjari*, (Hyderabad, 1988), p.132.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 133, 144.
17. *Ibid.* p.133.
18. *Ibid.* p.135.




19. S.P. Gupta, *Costumes, Textiles and Cosmetics Coiffure in Ancient and Medieval India*, (Delhi, 1973), pp. 150-151.
20. *Ibid.*
21. K.A. Nilakantha Sastry, *Foreign Notices on South India*, University of Madras, 1939, p.175.
22. K. Satyanarayana, *A History and Culture of Andhras*, (Hyderabad, 1983), Vol.II, p.53.
23. *Basavapurāṇamu*, 3rd canto. P.46.

పెంజావళాయ, జయరంజాయ, మంచు పుంజంగు, మణిపట్టు,
 ఘాతలకంగు, శ్రీ వన్నియ, కుహచీని, చీనియను, భావసతీలకంగు,
 పచ్చని పట్టు, రాయశ్శేరమును, రాజవల్లభము, వాయుమేధము,
 గజవాళంగు, గండవడము, గానులు, సరిపట్టు, హంసపడియ, వీణావళి,
 రత్నంగుపట్టు, వారణాసీయ, వెలిపట్టు, తలకంగుసరిపట్టు. etc ----

24. *Simhāsanaadvāitśika*, 3rd canto, verse 188. varieties of saris
 include - చందన గంధులును, కదంబకాపులును, గరకంచులును, బాష్పంచు
 లును, ముడిగు బాష్పంచులును, ముయ్యించులును, చిలక చాళ్ళును,
 పేట చాళ్ళును, నిండు వన్నెలును, నుయ్యతచాలులు, గంటకి వన్నెలు,
 పుష్పాడి వన్నెలు, రుద్రాక్ష వన్నెలు, నాగచంధంగులును, సావళులు, హరిణావళులు,
 గజావళులు, etc .
25. Veturi Prabhakara Sastri, *Op.cit.*, 1968, p.132.
26. *Mānasollāsa*, 3rd canto, 6th chapter, Also S.P. Gupta, *Op.cit.*, 1973, p.150-151.
27. *Telugu Vijñāna Sarvasvamam*, *Telugu Saṁskṛiti*, Vol. III, P.1138.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Mānasollāsa*, 3rd canto, 6th chapter, verse 1076.
30. K. Chengalraya Chetti, *Āndhrula Saṁghika Ārdhika Charitra*, (A.D. 1300-1600), (Tirupati, 1991), p.61.
31. *SII*, Vol. V, No.1172.
32. *Rāṅganātha Rāmāyaṇam*, Balakandamu, p.56.
33. *ĀndhraMahābhārata*, *Aranyaparvam*, 1st canto, verse. 358.
34. Srirama Murthy, *Social and Cultural Life of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi*, (Hyderabad), p.87.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Mānasollāsa*, 3rd canto, 6th chapter, verse 1076.
37. *Vijñāneśvaram*, *Prāyaschitta Kāṇdam*, verse 84.

38. *Sakalanīti Sammatamu*, verse 284.
 లలిత మంజుల విమలంగలతలు వెలుగి, సుచ్చ వస్త్ర భరణి మాల్చి సుభగమూర్తి
 లగుచు వారాంశలు మెప్పుడుస్త్ర లీల, నలసి కోలువంగ వలయు భూపాలకుడను.
39. *Basavapurāṇamu*, 3rd canto, p.49.
40. *Palnāṭi Vīracharitra*, p.337.
41. *Raṅghanaṭha Rāmāyaṇamu*, Bālakāṇḍamu, Line 75.
42. *Palnāṭi Vīracharitra*, p.340.
43. *Ibid.*, p.337.
44. *Krīḍābhīrāmamu*, verse 106.
45. *Ibid.*, verse 134.
46. *Ibid.*, verses 102-104.
47. Veturi Prabhakara Sastry, *Op.cit.*, 1988, p.132.
48. *Ibid.*, pp.145-146.
49. *Simḥasanadvātrīṃsika*, 8th canto, verse 207.
50. *Krīḍābhīrāmamu*, verse 214.
51. N.L.N Acharya, *Bejjanki Dēvalaya Silpavisheshalu*, (Siddipet, 1993).
52. *Simḥasanadvātrīṃsika*, 11th canto, verse 6. Chenchu women are described as wearing *Gurijapēṇṇulu*, *Pāruṭākulu* as garments and decorated wild flowers in their knots.
53. Veturi Prabhakara Sastry, *Op.cit.*, p.133.
54. *Ibid.* p.132.
55. *Ibid.* p.141.
56. Appanamantri, *Cārucārya*, verses 12-20, quoted from Arudra, *Samagrāṇḍhrasāhityam*, Vol.II, Kakatiyayugamu, pp.127,128.
57. *Āndhra Mahābhārata*amu, *Ādiparvamu*, 5th canto, verse 141. Palkuriki Somana, in his *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra*, *Parvata Prakaraṇamu*, (p.238) gives a list of flowers available in Āndhra during his times. We find references to flowers and women selling flowers in most of the literary works of the period like, *Kumārasāmbhavamamu*, *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra*, *Basavapurāṇamu*, *Krīḍābhīrāmamu*, etc.
58. *Daśakumāracharithra*, 6th canto, verse 114.
59. *SI*, Vol. VI, No.705.
60. *Mānasollāsa*, 3rd canto, 12th chapter, verse 1329.
61. *Āndhra Mahābhārata*amu, *Virātaparvamu*, 1st canto, verses 290, 291, 292.
62. *Kumārasāmbhavamamu*, 6th canto, verses, 43, 44 to 48. The Poet

gives the description of the attire, ornaments of Eruka and Sabara women.

63. K. Chengalraya Chetti, *Op.cit.* p.61.
64. Palkuriki Somanatha, *Paṇḍitārādhyā Charitra*, Diksha Parakaraṇamu, Sāṃavēdi Katha, pp. 33-36.
65. K. Balendu Sekharam, *Āndhras Through Ages*, Part. II, P.57.
66. *ARE*, 1911, p.63, p.15.
67. *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1190.
68. *Ibid.*, No. 1007.
69. *TIAP.*, Vol. I, (SKLM dt).
70. C.V. Ramachandra Rao, 'Āndhrula Samudravyāparamu - Valasalu', (B.C. 600 - A.D. 1700) in *Abhinandana*, Spl. issue on 60th birth anniversary of Acharya Tumati Donappa, (Hyderabad 1987), pp. 58-81.
71. K. Satyanarayana, *Op.cit.*, pp.55-56.
72. Veturi Prabhakara Sastry, *Op.cit.*, p.143. It is of the pattern 
73. *Ibid.*, p.141. The pattern is 
74. *Ibid.*, pp.131,133, 144.
75. *Ibid.*, p.133.
76. *Ibid.*, p.134.
77. *Ibid.*, p.141.
78. *Ibid.*, p.145, Also. *Kṛīdābhirāṃamu*, verse 223.
79. *Ibid.* verse 134.
80. *Kumārasāmbhavam*, 9th canto, verse 4-13.
81. Masana Chennappa, *Op.cit.*, p.239.
82. Veturi Prabhakara Sastry, *Op.cit.*, p.148.
83. *Paṇḍitārādhyācharitra*, *Dikshāprakaraṇamu*, Sūrasāni Katha, pp. 29-33.
84. Veturi Prabhakara Sastry, *Op.cit.* p.148.
85. *Kumārasāmbhavam*, 9th canto, verse 9, Also, 8th canto, verses 65-66, .
86. *Daśakumāracharitra*, 3rd canto, verse 78.
87. *Kumārasāmbhavam*, 9th canto, verse 9.
88. *Ibid.*
89. *Ibid.*, 8th canto, verse 65. Also its preparation ^{at}on

mentioned in verse 13.

90. *Telugu Samskriti*, Vol.III, p.1138.
91. *HAS*, Vol.XII, No.9, Kondiparthi Inscription.
92. *Ibid.*, No.3, Hanamkonda Inscription.
93. *Kṛīdābhirāmanu*, verse 102.
94. *Manasollāsa*, 3rd canto, 4th chapter, verse 993.
95. *Ibid.*, 3rd canto, 4th chapter, verse 985.
96. *Ibid.*, 3rd canto, 4th chapter, verse 974, 977. Also 15th chapter, verses 1813, 1815, 1816, 1817.
97. K.A. Nilakantha Sastry, *Op.cit.*, p.180.
98. *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra*, Paravata Prakaraṇa^{namu}, pp.236-237.
99. *Mānasollāsa*, 3rd canto, 4th chapter, verses 1004, 1009, 1012, 1016, 1017, 1024, etc.
100. K.A. Nilakantha Sastry, *Op.cit.*, 1939, p.180. In the words of Marcopolo, "All the people of this city have a custom of perpetually keeping in the mouth a certain leaf called Tembul to gratify a certain habit and desire they have continuously chewing it. They have these leaves prepared with camphor and other, aromatic spices and also mixed with quick lime".
101. *Kumārasambhavam*, 11th canto, Also Chilukuri Virabhadra Rao, *Āndhrula Charitramu*, *Madhyayugam*. (Madras, (1912), p.46.
102. *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇamu*, p.415.

CHAPTER VIII

PERFORMING ARTS AND RECREATIONS

The culture of a given society generally finds its expression in the art forms such as dance (both *mārga* and *dēśī*), musical concerts, street-plays; ballad-singing, puppet shows and amusements both indoor and outdoor. They not only reflect the ventage of the people's feelings but their contribution for the cultural continuum. Besides serving as pastime activities, they also assume a religio-political significance by bringing the religion within the reach of common people and making possible an integration of different cultural forms specially the native and classical.

The processes of Sanskritisation and Brahmanisation enabled medieval rulers to effectively incorporate the pastoral and forest dwelling communities and their deities into the main stream of the society.¹ The medieval *bhakti* sects besides the classical art forms as media for popularising their faith, adopted native or folk art form like *Peṇṇi*, *Kolāṭamu*, etc. In the same way as the literature of the period reflected a culmination of *mārga* - *dēśī* traditions,² the art forms and amusements too had combination of the two. Thus during the period in Āndhra interestingly a synthesis of traditional and indigenous cultures is reflected in the polity, society, religion and also in the cultural expressions. The performance of dance of *mārga* style were proficient even in *dēśī* pattern and are said to have performed different styles in relation to the occasion. The games and sports which are played by the rulers and the ruled

also reflect the same ideology. For example, amusements like hunting besides serving the purpose of protecting the people from cruel animals, acted as a check against the forest dwellers who threatened the border regions, and also as a means of venting their leisure hours. In this chapter, different styles of *mārga* and *deśi* art forms, and other amusements like games and sports that were prevalent during the period of study and the space and contribution of women are highlighted. For convenience the discussion is made under two heads viz., Performing arts and Recreations.

PERFORMING ARTS

Fine arts like music, dance, instrument playing, etc. progressed greatly in Āndhradeśa during the medieval times. As discussed earlier, the political unification of Āndhra under the Kakatiyas, material prosperity of the state, attempts of *bhakti* sects to bring religion closer to common sections of the society, led to a great cultural progress. Taking from the local processions of the village deities to that of court (royal processions), not a single function was held without the programmes of *Nṛtya* (dance), *gāna* (music), *vādyā* (instrument playing) and *vinōdamulu* (recreations).³

The kings, intermediary chiefs and temples are the principal patrons of the performing arts. Every court, be it of a chief of smaller order, had a regular contingent of actors, dancers, musicians, jesters, voice entertainers, debators, orators,

readers of panegyrics, poets and art critics.⁴ Similarly, every temple had provision for musicians, dancers and drummers all of whom constituted the *Raṅgabhogamu* unit in the temple. They were appointed generally on permanent basis and lands were granted for their maintenance. Temples like Pillalamarri, Chēbrōlu, Simhachalam even provided residential accommodation for the dancing girls of the temple.

The importance attached to the programmes of dance and music as daily rituals in the temples is further reflected in the architectural style of the temples of the period. Almost every temple had a *Raṅgamaṇṭapa* (dance hall) attached to the sanctum-sanctorium as seen in the ground plan of the Thousand Pillar Temple, Hanamkonda (Fig. 1). It was built in a circular shape with about 8'-0" circumference. The pavement and pillars are made of dolomite stone and were highly polished.⁵ The pillars are exquisitely sculpted, with various scenes from Purāṇas, and women in dancing posture. The *Raṅgamaṇṭapa* of Ramappa temple is an excellent example of this type a characteristic feature of Kakatiya period.

Literature related to art also developed. Some important literary works of the period on fine art include, Jāyapa's *Nṛttaraṇṭakaramu*, Chālukya Jagadēkamalla's *Saṅgītaśūdhamaṇi* and Maṭaṅga's *Bṛha desi*.⁶ Besides these, the contemporary literary works like Nannechoda's *Kumārasambhavam*, Palkuriki Somana's *Basavapurāṇamu*, Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra, Gona Budhareddy's

Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇamu too contain abundant references to the progress of fine arts in Āndhradeśa. Based on these evidences it can be gathered that there are two patterns of arts, *Mārga* and *Dēśi*.

Mārga can be defined as the classical tradition that was developed by scholars like Bharata, Kōhala, Nārada, Bhaṭṭu Taṇḍa (Tumbura), Kīrtidhara and Abhinavāgupta.⁷ It was mostly meant for the elite sections of the society. Performances in *Mārga* style are held before a selected group of audience, within the court, the king and his ministers or other important officers and in the temple, inside the sanctum-sanctorium in the presence of God and chief priests in lieu of specific worship offered to the deity. The themes relate to the greatness of the supreme deity, the king as a representative of God and the language was Sanskrit.

Dēśi can be described as the native style which was easily understood and followed even by the common sections of the society. Jāyapa in his *Nṛttarātnāvali*, a treatise on dance defines *Dēśi* as the tradition developed as per the changing wishes of the local ruling chiefs and hence specific to that region.⁸ Generally *Dēśi* styles are adopted in the festive processions like *Jātaṛa*, *Tirunālḷu*, etc. and outside the sanctum-sanctorum, while the deity in His *utsava* image is seated along with His Consort in the assembly of devotees in the *Kalyāṇamaṇṭapa*. Inspiring stories of devotees from Purāṇas with emphasis on devotion and submission to God are the subjects

of these programmes. *Nṭṭaraṭṇākaramu* mentions certain native styles of dance which were popular in Āndhradeśa during the period. They are *Chinḍu*, *Hallīsakamu*, *Pēṇaṇi*, *Goṇḍli*, *Prēṇkhaṇamu*, *Kolātamu*, *Bhaṇḍikamu*, *Sivapriyamu*, *Bahurūpa*, *Kēlika*, *Jōka*, *Kaṇḍukamu*, *Chāraṇa*, etc.⁹ These are either natives of Āndhradeśa or indigenous traditions of south India. *Goṇḍli* is an antique style of Gonds who resided in Āndhra in the ancient times.¹⁰ *Chinḍu* is probably brought into Āndhra from Karnātadeśa.¹¹ *Pēṇaṇi* is performed by the Virasaivites during the festive occasions like *Sivarātri*.¹² *Siṃhalatalu* and *Kolakaniki* are probably of Vaishnavite traditions.¹³

As discussed elsewhere in the thesis, music and dance form part of the syllabi of education for the children of royal family, temple girls, courtesans, concubines and those following the profession of prostitution. The latter however required to learn both *Māṅgadharma* and *Lōkadharma* as per the demands of their profession. Besides *Agrahārās* and monasteries, temples too appointed dance masters to impart training to the girls. Inscriptions register grants of land to *Nāṭyāchārya* or *Naṭṭuva* the dance masters of the temples. An epigraph from Simhachalam temple registers some grants in support of a dance master referred to as *AbhinavaBharatāchārya*.¹⁴ The Chēbrōlu record of Jāyapa Senāni mentions the appointment of a dance master to impart training in various forms of dance to the three hundred temple girls donated to the temple at the age of eight years.¹⁵ Sometimes, they were invited from neighbouring countries like

Kashmīradēśa, *Dravidadēśa*, *Karṇāṭa*, *Lāṭa*, *Ahichhatra*, and *Gauḍa*. The Malkāpuram grant of the period of Rudramadevi registers grants to the dance master and singers brought from Kashmīradēśa.¹⁶

The programmes of dance are always accompanied by music and instrument playing to the tunes of which performance of dances are held. Performers of the three, viz. dancers, singers and instrument players together constitute a single troop of the temple or the court. Records from different temples register grants to the dancing troop referred to as *Bhōgamuvāru* (those who provide amusement / enjoyment to God). Though both men and women comprise the unit, most of the times women alone form the entire group of dancers, drummers and singers. The temple sculptures provide ample references to this. A sculpture from Pālāmpet shows a female dancer accompanied by two drummers both being women. (Plate VII b). Two more sculptures from the same place project a female dancer in a specific pose of dance (Plate VI a) and a drummer with the instrument in her hands. (Plate V b).

Similar to the dance forms, vocal music too in its classical and native styles developed in Āndhra during the period. The popularity of the classical style is reflected in the grants to the brahmans employed to recite *Sāmaveda* in the temples. Literary evidences indicate various native styles of music. Somanātha mentions different tunes of music popular in Āndhra during his times in *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra* while describing the

greatness of the Saivite shrine, Srisaillam.¹⁷ He states that the devotees sang the episodes of *Dakṣādhvaramu*, *Rudramahima*, *Sivatatvasāramu* with *Abhinayamu* in native style. Nannechoda describes certain native tunes of music as *Ēla*, *Sāhurī*, *Āndōḷi*, *Bhairavi*.¹⁸

Variety of musical instruments are used during these dance and music performances, the names of which can be gathered from the contemporary literary works and epigraphs. Nannaya quotes women singing and dancing according to the tunes of instruments like *Vēṇu*, *Kāhala*, *Patāha*, etc. on the occasion of *Raivataka* festival.¹⁹ Tikkana gives a description of instruments of war music, *San̄kha*, *Bhēṛi*, *Mṛidaṅga*, *Duṇḍubhi*, *Nisāna*.²⁰ Gona Buddhareddy in his *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇamu*, mentions *Vīṇa*, *Mṛidaṅga* as the instruments played by women and according to the tunes of which few women sang in *Sudha mārga* (classical music) while someothers danced in various local styles as *Kolāta*, *Chīṇḍu*, *Chāṛiṇi*, and other *dēśi* traditions.²¹ Vardhamanapura grant of Malyala Guṇḍa contains names of certain instruments as *Vīṇa*, *Vēṇu*, *Tāla*, *Kāhala*, *Tuṇuva*, *Vanapa*, *Mṛdaṅga*, *Patāha*, etc.²²

While it is clear that these programmes of entertainment served as great relievers from the pressures of life, it is also significant that through these, an attempt is made to bring religion within the reach of common sections of the society. The *bhakti* sects, more prominently Saivism, in its different forms made a sincere effort to spread the idea of devotion to Lord Siva

among the common people through the medium of performing arts. The five acts of Lord Siva are represented in the form of dance to the accompaniment of music, both instrumental and vocal.²³ The doctrines of the sect, path of salvation offered by the sect, the greatness of the Lord, stories of devotees are all propagated through song and dance sequences in the temples, monasteries and on festive occasions in the fairs arranged near the temples. Some of these were performed only by women, while a few like *Pēraṇi* were performed by men exclusively. Besides, Virasaivism advocated for new mode of expression of *bhakti* by jumping into the fire, destroying body parts like limbs, hands, etc. Contemporary poets describe the activities of such devotees who are called *Mailārabhaṭulu*. *Kṛīḍābhirāmanu* contains a description of the activities of *Mailārabhaṭulu* expressing their devotion to Lord Siva in the streets of *Ūrugallu*.²⁴ Somana in his *Paṇḍitārādhya-charitra* too mentions the different devotees offering their body parts to Lord Siva probably in fulfillment of their vows.²⁵

Above these, another significant feature of performing arts is the political character assumed by them particularly the programmes of dance and music held in the courts. *Palnāṭi Vīracharitra*, contains an exhaustive description of the court dance.²⁶ The court of Nalagāma was beautifully decorated with colourful paintings depicting stories from Purāṇas and Epics. It was attended by the king, ministers, feudatory chiefs, scholars, poets, officers of the king besides members of the royal family.

Instrument players were ready with their instruments tuned to play the classical as well as native tunes. Singers and dancers were also settled in their places waiting for the orders of the king.

As the king gave permission to begin the programme, the dancing girl named Kañjalōchana began her performance by bowing to the God, to the master, the king and to the associate deities. She then danced to the tunes of songs sung by songstresses. She expressed greatness of Lord Chennakēśava, the presiding deity of Mācherla in various local as well as classical forms of dance such as *Pēraṇi*, *Dēśini*, *Prēṅkhaṇamu*, *Suddha*, *Daṇḍika*, *Kuṇḍali*, *Bharataśāstra*, etc. enlivening the minds of all those who attended the court. The songs were composed both in Sanskrit and *Āndhrabhāṣa* (Telugu).

Court dances are described in other literary works of the period too, like *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇamu*.²⁷ Courtesans were dressed in golden coloured beautiful sarees and played *Kolāṭamu* and also performed dance in both *mārga* and *dēśi* styles while the ladies played on their accompaniments. Koravi Goparaju in his *Simhāsanadvāitīśika* gives a vivid description of the court dance.²⁸

The themes of court dances generally relate to the greatness of the Lord over his subordinate deities. This can possibly be viewed in terms of ritualising the institution of kingship.

Emphasis was more on the protective power of the God. The king was portrayed as a glorious and conquering warrior. Burton Stein interprets the court dances as an attempt to express the ritual power of the king in terms of his homology with God and emphasising the protective power of both.²⁹ An assimilation of the various local (native) and classical traditions was also made possible as the programmes of dance, music and instrument playing reflect a perfect blending of both the *mārga* and *dēśī* styles, thus symbolising the attempts of the state to bring in incorporation of the elite and folk. Besides this, there was a perfect display of the royal riches through the decoration of the court, selective garments and ornaments of the king, queens and other maids of harem.³⁰

Thus performing arts can probably be understood as contributing to the polity of the state by acting as integrative and incorporative elements. Women as participants had a greater contribution in this development. Besides epigraphs and literary evidences, temple sculptures too depict women in dancing postures and forming troops of instrument players. The pillars of *Raṅgamaṇīṭapa*, inner walls of the Ramappa temple contain numerous sculptures of women in dancing postures accompanied by instrument players.

In addition to these programmes of music or dance, other art forms like *Vīdhināṭakamulu* (street-plays), puppet-shows are arranged in the streets of cities on festive occasions or in the

vicinity of temples during fairs and festivals. The stories of devotees, episodes from the Purāṇas, Epics, constitute the themes for these programmes. They were sung in the native styles and with the corresponding instrument playing were either enacted or shown through puppet-shows. Palkuriki Somana in his *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra* describes these various art forms in great detail.³¹

On the occasion of *Sivarātri* celebrations at Srisailam, variety of programmes were held by the devotees. These include, the street-plays with themes like the story of Siriyāla, a great devotee of Siva, or enactment of *Basavapurāṇamu*, etc. A type of street-play called *Veḍḍaṅgamu* was played. Puppet-shows and collective dance programmes were also arranged enlightening the crowd about miracles performed by the devotees of Siva. In addition, programmes like *Sidi*, *Chindu*, *Pēraṇi*, *Koḍaṅgāta*, *Veḍayāta*, *Gaḍalāta*, *Mṛōkulāta* (performing certain feats on pillar posts and wooden columns), etc. were also held on the occasion. There were singers who sang songs on the stories of devotees, philosophy of Saivism and dancers who danced according to the tunes of music.

Krīḍābhīrāmamu too has a complete depiction of the various recreatory programmes arranged in the streets of the capital city of Ōṛugallu. While *Jaṅgamas* sang songs on Lord Siva, contemporary heroic incidents like the war of Palnad were enacted.³² Men and women of the caste of *Bavanilu* sang songs on

village Goddesses like Ēkavira, Rēnuka, etc.³³ Women of the lower castes too sang songs on Ēkavira.³⁴ Street-plays were also arranged. One such play displayed the greatness of Macaldevi, the concubine of Prataparudra II, the Kakatiya emperor.³⁵

Forest dwelling communities and those belonging to the lower classes of the society like *Jaṅgama*, *Sāṭāni*, *Jakkulu*, *Bavanṭlu*, *Vīramuṣṭi*, *Pichchukunṭlu*, etc. are the main performers in these programmes.³⁶ They move from one place to another exhibiting their arts in the fairs regularly held near village centers or temples or sometimes in the capital cities on festive occasions. Their programmes are always accompanied by song, dance and instrumental music. These have a great significance in the sense that they bring religion to the doors of common sections of the society. They provide them a knowledge of Epics, Purāṇas in an easy understandable manner besides preserving the traditional forms of cultural expression like puppet-shows and street-plays.³⁷ Sometimes their programmes contain episodes from contemporary issues and thus create political awareness among the people. Religious movements of medieval period patronised these art forms greatly in their effort to popularise philosophy of devotion in the society. These arts enjoyed great patronage from the rulers too, by way of instituting fairs, festivals, or giving grants for *Aṅgaraṅgabhōga* services in the temples, as they facilitated the process of cultural integration of the elite and folk traditions. This measure is of great importance in a state with feudal polity, as it enables incorporation of forest

dwelling communities, their deities along with their cultural forms into the traditional styles.

Cock-fights, animal-fights, wrestling, snake-shows are the other popular collective recreations in Āndhradeśa during the period as gleaned from the contemporary literary works.³⁸ While these were community entertainments, certain games and sports are individual in nature and are determined by various factors like age, gender, etc. Yet as noticed in the following pages, they represent regionalisation of culture as well.

RECREATIONS

Basically recreations provide entertainment and are meant for spending the leisure hours.³⁹ According to Srinatha, people of Āndhra are engaged in various pastime activities during their free hours.⁴⁰ However, there are two more aspects which can not be overlooked. The recreational activities relieve one's mind from the physical and psychological stress and strain caused due to the nature of work, professional engagements or domestic responsibilities. While few others have a socio-political significance, such as hunting which can be regarded as a sport for royal members and at the same time acts as an exercise of authority.

Based on the persons' interests or the time during which the games are played, recreational activities can either be out-door or in-door games. Regional factors like environment, nature of

social life, customs, beliefs and personal factors like age and gender differences too, at times influence the type of activities in which people are engaged. The contemporary literary evidences contain abundant references to the recreational activities of the people of Āndhra country. Attempts are made by many scholars towards classification of these according to age and gender differences.⁴¹ While one attempts to classify the pastime activities of women, based on the socio-economic status, it appears that certain recreations are specific for the elite women. These include *Jalakṛīḍalu* (water-games), *Vasāntōtsavam* (Holi), engaging in philosophical discussions, etc.⁴² Hunting is an important sport even for women of royal families as observed from the temple sculptures. A sculpture from Srisaïlam depicts women in hunting process (Plate I a). Tikkana, in *Āndhra Mahābhārataṃ*, mentions that women of ruling class used to drink to relieve their minds of psychological tensions.⁴³ Nannechoda, in his *Kumārasāmbhavam*, quotes that on the occasion of the marriage of Parvati with Lord Siva, there were various programmes of entertainment. Women were in a state of drunkenness and celebrated *Vasāntōtsavam* (sprinkling coloured water on each other).⁴⁴ He also describes the competitive attitude of young women while they played in water. The game was referred to as *Jalakṛīḍa* or *Olālāta*. Competitions and discussions on various subjects were generally taken up in the houses of *Vēśyas*.⁴⁵ During the festival of *Kaumudijāgarāṇa*, *Vēśyas* were engaged in various literary competitions throughout the night.⁴⁶ Their recreational activities are usually related to the interests of

the men with whom they come into contact with reference to their profession.

The games of the children of middle class families are mostly simple and include playing with dolls, hide and seek games and playing toys. Interestingly these games are common even for the children of higher classes. Godagućī a small girl used to play with *Bommapottikalū* (clothes for dolls), *Gurugulū* (a small cup), *Sonnārulū* (small toys), etc. When Lord Siva was not drinking the glass of milk which she gave Him, in order to coax Him to drink milk, she offered all her toys to Him. She further says that she will take Him to the *Jātara* (fair) of Virabhadra held in the town.⁴⁷ Nannechoda, in his *Kumārasambhavamū*, describes the playful activities of Parvati.⁴⁸ Parvati, like Godagućī in her childhood played with dolls and colourful toys. She cooked *Gujjanagūḷḷū* (imaginery of food cooked in small mud-pots) for the toys. She performed marraiges for the toys and constructed *Bommarillū* (a doll house) for keeping her dolls.⁴⁹

Not only these, many other games like swinging, playing *Vāmanagūṇṭalū* (a tablet with fourteen holes for playing a kind of game with tamarind seeds), *Kaṇḍukakṛīḍa* (playing with ball) also appear to be common for girls of both the common and higher classes of the society.⁵⁰

There seem to be no gender preferences among the games played by children. Variety of pastime activities find mention in

the contemporary literary works. They are meant for increasing the observation power of children.⁵¹

As children grew big, there is a tendency to separate boys and girls and this is clearly reflected in the games and choice of plays. While boys prefer to more out-door games as hide and seek games, *Sirisinganāvatti* (a certain game played by boys), etc., girls prefer to play with toys and dolls.⁵² Their activities such as cooking for the toys, serving, worshipping and performing marriages for toys indicate the nature of duties accepted by them as part of the tradition which had come to them through their mothers.

Games of young women are characterised by their complicated nature.⁵³ They tend to increase the intelligence power of the participants. At the same time, their out-door activities were designed to give them physical exercise. Literary references point to such games as *Kaṇḍukakṛīḍa*, *Jalakṛīḍa*, *Ōlālḍā*, etc. played by young women.⁵⁴ Some games contained rewards too.

Availability of time determines the nature of pastime activities for married women. Their leisure hours are generally in the afternoons, when they played more mature games which involve certain strategical thinking.⁵⁵ Further they spend their time in attending to religious discourses held in the temples and *mathas* in the evening hours.⁵⁶ Besides religion, even contemporary socio-political issues constitute part of these discussions, thus

making possible for creation of an awareness in the minds of people assembled specially women.

Further, their relief from domestic chores comes from the songs. The contemporary literature throws a plethora of information on the different native tunes of music popular in Āndhradeśa. *Br̥ha dēśi* of Mātāṅga lists a number of *dēśi* songs. Poets like Nannechoda, Palkuriki Somanatha, Gona Buddha Reddy mention marriage songs, songs meant for singing at the time of religious observances, domestic works like pounding and grinding rice or songs sung *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇamu* has a reference to marriage songs.⁵⁷ Songs in a specific form of literary composition called *Taruṇḍja* were sung at the time of pounding rice during functions like marriage.⁵⁸ *Kṛtādābhiraṇamamu* contains a reference to *Kamēśvaripāṭa*, a song sung on the occasion of the observance of *Kamēśvarinōmu*.⁵⁹ Nannechoda quotes devotional songs like *Gaudagītāmulu* sung by women belonging to forest dwelling groups such as *Sabara*.⁶⁰ He also states that Parvati sang *Aṅkamālīkalu* in praise of Lord Siva.⁶¹ Several songs popular in Āndhradeśa during the life time of Palkuriki Soman found their way into his works.⁶² Of them, *Prabhāta Padamulu* (the songs of the dawn), *Tummedapadamulu* (songs with a specific rhyme), *Saṁsāramāyāstavamulu* (songs with a philosophical mood) bear a religious undertone.⁶³

Thus, modes of recreation and performing arts which involved women in different ways served not only as pastime activities,

but create an awareness in their minds about the contemporary socio-religio -political issues. Regionalisation of culture can be witnessed in the art forms as well as amusements. While women performers contributed to the blending of *mārga*, *deśi* traditions thier games and sports appear to be common for both higher and lower sections of the society. Further, visiting fairs, participating in *Tirunālḷu* or *Jātara* gave them an opportunity to integrate and interact with different people, bringing them closer and bridging the economic differences.

Summing up the arguments of this chapter, it is to be noted that performing arts and recreations became forms of cultural expression and they symbolise the assimilation achieved between the classical and native traditions. These arts also served as a cultural medium to bring people together.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. By clearing the forests and establishing villages, the forest dwelling communities were brought under political control. The villages were generally granted to brahmins, monastic establishments or religious preceptors thus making possible the Sanskritisation process. By Brahmanisation, their deities were incorporated into the Vedic and Puranic pantheon. This is best reflected in the worship of village Goddesses as incarnations of Durga or Sakti.
2. Most of the literary compositions of this period in Āndhra correspond to translatory works of Sanskrit into Telugu like *Mahābhārataṃ*, *Rāmāyaṇaṃ*, *Kumārasambhavaṃ*, *Vidhasālābhāṅjika*, *Vijāneśvaraṃ*, etc. Moreover poets like Nannechoda, Palkuriki Somanatha claimed that *Dēśi* form of writing is more sweeter and simpler to *Mārga* style.
3. The abundant epigraphical and literary evidences regarding court programmes, provision of *ṛittis* to the temple dancing girls speak a lot about the widespread patronage of these arts. The kings are described in the grants often as entertaining themselves with the programmes of music, dance and instrument playing.
4. *HAS*, Vol.XIII, Part I, p.33. Pillalamarri, Dharmasagar and Buthpur inscriptions too speak of this.
5. *Saṅgrahāndhra Vijānakṛtsamū*, Vol.I, p.638.
6. Veturi Prabhakara Sastry, 'Dēśi Sāhiti Sōṃpu' in G. Subrahmanyam, (ed.), *Sārasvatha Vyāsamulu*, Vol.IV, (Hyderabad, 1981), pp. 1-6.
7. P.S. Kanakadurga, *Kākatīyulāṇṭi Sāmājika Jīvanam*, (Vijayawada, 1992), p.183.
8. *Ibid.*, P.No.182.
9. P.S. Kanakadurga, *Op.cit.*, 1992, p.187.
10. Dr. Nataraja Ramakrishna, 'Āndhra Nāṭyam' in *Abhinandana*, (Hyderabad, 1987), pp. 13-21.

11. Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma, *Andhradesa Charitra - Samgrahamu*, (Vijayawada, 1991), p.45.
12. *Basavapurāṇamu*, 1st canto, p.19.
13. Vaidehi Krishnamoorthy, *Socio-Economic Conditions in Eastern Deccan*, (A.D. 1000 - A.D. 1250), (Hyderabad, 1970), p.253.
14. *SII*, Vol. VI, NO. 1091.
15. V. Yasodadevi, 'A History of Andhra Country', in *JAHRS*, Vol. XXV, pp.52-152.
16. *SII*, Vol. X, No.305.
17. *Paṇḍitārādhya-charitra*, Parvata prakaraṇamu, pp. 258-263.
18. P.S. Kanakadurga, *Op.cit.*, 1992, p.186.
19. *Āndhra Mahābhārata*mu, Ādi parvamu, 8th Āsvasamu, verse 174.
20. *Ibid.*, *Nḍyogaparvamu*, 4th Āsvasamu, verses 116, 117
21. *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇamu*, p.29
22. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, *Kakatiya Sasana Sahityamu*, (Hyderabad, 1981), pp. 118-119.
23. K. Satyanarayana, *A Study of the History and Culture of Andhras*, Vol. II, (Delhi 1983), p.88.
24. *Kṛīḍābhīrāmamu*, verses 141 to 147.
25. *Paṇḍitārādhya-charitra*, Parvata prakaraṇamu, pp. 249-250.
26. *Palanāṭi Vīra-charitra*, pp. 269-271.
27. *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇamu*, *Balakandamu*, p.29
28. *Śīṃhāsana-dvātrīṃsika*, 1st canto, verses 128-134.
29. Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, (Delhi, 1980), pp. 386-391.
30. *Palanati Viracharitra*, pp.267-268. The court was decorated with variety of floral designs and there were colourful paintings from the scenes of epics hanging on to the walls. Full size mirrors were kept on all sides of the court. The floor was decorated with a beautiful, thick carpet. The throne meant for the king was adorned with precious jewels and was made of gold.
31. *Paṇḍitārādhya-charitra*, Parvata prakaraṇamu, pp. 255-256.
32. *Kṛīḍābhīrāmamu*, verses 116 to 125.
33. *Ibid.*, verses 127-130.

34. *Ibid.*, verse 131.
35. *Ibid.*, verse 177.
36. Arudra, 'Telugu Prajāla Kaṣārūpālu', in *Praja Sāhiti*, Vol.VIII, No.11, June, 1985, pp. 17-26.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Samgrahāndhra Vijñāna Kōśamu*, Vol. IV, p.196.
39. *Ibid.*, p.194.
40. Srinatha, *Bhēmesvara Purāṇamu* (5-15), quoted in *Samgrahāndhra Vijñāna Kōśamu*, Vol. IV, p.195.
41. For example works like Suravaram Pratapa Reddy's, *Āndhrula Saṅghika Charitra*, Vadla Subrahmanya Sastry, *Telugu Sāhitya mlō Krīdavinodālu*, Masana Chennappa's, *Prāchīna Kāvyaḍu - Grāmiṇa Jīvana Chitraṇa*, etc. contain details of the recreatory activities of Andhra region.
42. *Simhāsanaadvāitīśika*, 3rd canto, verses 178-183 describe the sports of royal women.
43. *Āndhra Mahābhārataṁ*, 2nd canto, verses 88-89.
44. *Kumārasaṁbhavam*, 9th canto, verses 51,52.
45. B.N. Sastri, *Āndhradeśa Charitra - Saṁskṛiti*, Vol.I, (Hyderabad, 1992), pp. 118-119.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Basavapurāṇamu*, 3rd canto, Godaguci Katha, pp. 61-62
48. *Kumārasaṁbhavam*, 3rd Canto, verses 35-38.
49. *Ibid.*
50. Vadla Subrahmanya Sastry, *Op.Cit.*, 1987, p.81.
51. Games such as *Dāguḍumōthalu*, *Allonēraḷḷu*, *Arugāṭalu*, *Vuyyāla*, *Gālipāṭalu*, *Gummaḍikāyālu*, *Kummaṛisārelu*, etc.
52. Such as *Bommaṛillu*, *Bommalaṭṭilḷu*, *Vennelakuppālu*, *Gavvalāṭalu*, *Vuyyāla*, *Aṣṭāchemma*, *Attā Kōḍali yāta*, etc.
53. Such as *Sogaṭālāṭa*, *Vāmanaguṇṭalu*, *Roṇḍli*, *Kōlaṭam*, *Nālugaṣṭāmbālāṭa*, *Kuppālāṭa*, etc.
54. Nannaya and Ketana refer to *Kandukakṛīḍa* (playing with ball). Nannechoda describes *Jalakṛīḍalu* (water sports).
55. Games like *Vikunthapāli*, *Chadarāṅgam*, *Vāmanaguṇṭalu*, *Sidḍisogaṭālu* etc.
56. P.S. Kanakadurga, *Op.cit.*, 1992, pp. 166-167.

57. *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇamu*, p.73.
58. Arudra, *Samagrāṇḍhra Sāhityam*, Vol. I, (Madras, 1977), p.77.
59. *Kṛīdābhirāmanu*, verses 136-138.
60. *Kumārasambhavam*, 6th canto, verse 48.
61. *Ibid.*, 3rd canto, verse 37.
62. *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra*, Vāda prakaraṇamu, p.118.
63. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS

The study, *Women in Medieval Andhra (Eleventh to thirteenth centuries A.D.)*, aims at bringing women to the centre of historical process and attempts at studying the socio-political history of Āndhradeśa with a woman's perspective. The earlier studies on the society of medieval Āndhra concentrated mainly on the various aspects of social life in general and included a description of women among these, thus marginalising their contribution. The role of women in state formation, their participation in different professions have not been given much emphasis. Further, the classification of women into *Kulastrēe*, *Bhōgastrēe* and *Vēśya* does not include all categories of women.

Keeping these aspects in view, the thesis divides women based on economic factor into two broad groups, the elite and the folk and concentrates on the attempts of the rulers to bring out an integration of the two sections on the one hand and maintaining the *Varṇa* order on the other. This study is taken up with contextual reading of the sources and reorientation of the theories to suit the hypotheses worked out.

The region of research confines to Āndhradeśa comprising the area extending from Mahendragiri in the north to Kalahasti in the south with Bay of Bengal and Srisailem forming the east and west boundaries respectively. The period from eleventh to thirteenth centuries marks a transition phase in the history of Āndhradeśa between the early and late medieval periods. Feudal elements were

strengthening their hold on polity. Kakatiyas brought political unification of Āndhra which led to economic prosperity and great cultural progress. Another significant feature of the period includes the *Mārga-Deśi* synthesis achieved by the rulers in every aspect of polity, society and religion.

The geo-ecological features of the region contributed to the formation of three cultural zones, the wet zone of the coastal tract with a feudal polity, the dry zone of Telāṅgāṇa necessitating a peasant-warrior culture and the semi-arid forest zone involving dharmic, ideological control or ritual extension of sovereignty. Prior to Kakatiyas Āndhra region comprised peripheral part of the empires whose bases are outside Āndhradeśa. They exercised control on these areas through feudatory chiefs thus constituting a *Maṇḍalika* era. Internecine wars and frequent shifting of political boundaries are the important features of this period. By A.D. 1158, Kakatiyas rose to imperial status with their centre of political activity in Telāṅgāṇa and annexed the coastal and neighbouring regions. The kingship was more or less ritual, with a dual sovereignty, coercive in the core zone and ritual in the frontier regions. Control on forest zones was manipulated by inducting dharmic ideologies and policies of land reclamation. It was these attempts by the rulers of maintaining ritual relationship between the various power-loci of the state that necessitated women's involvement.

In line with the space provided by Dharmasastras towards the political rights of women in certain circumstances, women

responded to the contextual demands in two ways, active and passive participation.

Rudramadevi, the Kakatiya empress proved herself to be the ablest successor for her father, Ganapatideva as suggested through her title, *Dāya-gaja-kēsari*. She not only exemplified the qualities of a great military general but also idealised herself as an efficient administrator. She instituted *Nāyamkara* system of revenue administration. *Nāyakurālu* Nagama was a minister of expertised knowledge in political diplomacy. Despite the ridicules of the society and contempt of the tradition towards women's political role, they successfully overcame the oppressions. Besides these two, there were other women who became political successors to their husband's areas of control and assumed titles like *Mahāmaṇḍalesvara*. In their capacity as wives of *Maṇḍalika* chiefs, women exercised ritual sovereignty over the areas of their control through gift giving, land reclamation policies, *Saptasakti* deeds, etc. Even women belonging to forest dwelling communities like *Eṛuka*, took up certain jobs in the military administration.

In extension to their personal and direct involvement in the state affairs women like *Prōlama*, *Chānama*, *Sīlama*, *Māñchāla* determined the course of wars through their acts of counselling. Undoubtedly a royal princess acts as a binding medium in bringing together two warring states through marriage. During the period, in *Āndhradeśa*, most of the ruling families imperial and intermediary are connected to each other through marriage

alliances. Moreover, marriage and polity, the relationship between husband-wife, deity-devotee and lord-servant are linked inseparably. The abundant epigraphical references substantiate this argument. Thus women's role in state formation appears to be manifold in this period, a point which needs much focus.

The Indian tradition fixes the gender roles of men and women to be public and private respectively and Dharmasastras emphasised a complementarity between the two. Thus these divisions appear to be less rigid and certain amount of interchangeability is always noticed. Besides providing political rights of succession, law-givers created ample space for women to enter into valid contracts in business and allow them rights on property. This largely explains the economic participation of women in medieval times. Though women of elite did not take up any economic activity, those of weak economic sections of the society undertook variety of professions to supplement the family income. Some of them might not be paid such as those of artisan women but contributed to the economic activity of the family. A great political significance is attached to the institutions of courtesans and concubines. The state framed laws in accordance with the ancient traditions providing maintenance allowance for the concubines. While it protected the prostitutes from the exploitation by customers and the society on the one hand, it also prevented these girls from adopting to treacherous/dubious behavior^u thereby protecting the customers.

The temple is another area where women in great numbers took employment. The various socio-political changes of the period culminated by the rise of devotional sects created a parallel world of authority on the spiritual plane. Attempts were made to authenticate and legitimise the new feudal polity through a homology between the god and the king. It is in this connection both the god and the king had to follow elaborate *Aṅgabhōga* and *Raṅgabhōga* rituals which needed a diverse body of functionaries among whom women play a dominant role. The services of women in the temple of whatsoever capacity were made hereditary and a share in the temple property is allotted to them. The rapid expansion in temple building activity, recruitment of temple girls in large numbers together with their constant increase in the service requirements necessitated an organisational pattern for the temple girls. The guild is named according to the regional variations. Thus temple girls through their professional association, became a part and parcel of the institution of the temple.

The wages, most of the times were in kind and thereby become part of the family property over which both husband and wife become joint owners. Therefore, women's involvement in professions does not speak of their economic independence. However, women enjoyed liberal property rights during the period, thanks to the liberation of rules and extension of the domain of *Strīdhana* by Vijñaneśvara, the author of *Mitākshara* which was closely followed in *Āndhradeśa* during the period. Questioning Manu's theory of dependence of women at every stage of her life, Vijñaneśvara insists that it should not restrict her economic

freedom. The extent of economic independence of women is reflected in their grants to temples and various charitable institutions.

The system of learning in Indian tradition is modeled to preserve the family system and kinship relations. A woman has to carry the legality and prestige of the family created by man to the future generations in her role as a mother. Thus generally formal education was provided for men and informal mostly traditional education for women. However, the contextual demands necessitated women atleast of the families of ruling elite, courtesans and girls in temple service to undergo formal educational training, the syllabi of which varied according to the need. The aspects of informal education which revolve round the preservation of family system were confined to women of middle classes. Despite these variations based on caste, class, religious education is provided to all irrespective of caste or gender difference through the bhakti cults arranging discourses in Vedas, Purāṇas in the temples or monasteries. These discourses held in the form of religious assemblies also paved way for women of middle and low classes of the society to develop an awareness towards contemporary socio-political changes.

As a consequence to this development, the rise of religious literature stressed the need for observing ritual observances for family welfare and continuity of tradition. Various religious and social observances are performed in lieu of this changing trend. As their objectives concern with family welfare and religious

merit, women's participation becomes more conspicuous. *Vratas* were observed for progeny, prosperity and religious merit and these are accompanied by the gift-giving i.e. *dāna* and *dakṣiṇa*. Women of both elite and folk sections of the society contributed to this development more or less in a similar way, the only discriminating factor being the mode of observance and the object of gift which is largely determined by the socio-economic status. Certain amount of political significance is also attached to these religious and social observances when viewed in terms of the ritual sovereignty exercised by the rules of the period. Thus elite, folk, sacred and secular motives run through every observance whether religious or social. However, the line of demarcation is very thin. For example every festival or observance is sacred and common to every member of the society, yet it has a secular purpose and differs in its mode of practicing from elite to folk.

These differences and similarities are carried out also in the dressing and ornamentation patterns of the period. Adornment is a medium of distinction by which people and their hierarchies are recognised by mere sight. Despite variations according to class and socio-economic status, adornment with its three components i.e. dress, ornaments, and cosmetics becomes functional and contextual. This is indicated by the titles assumed by victorious kings claiming to have snatched away the ornaments of women of defeated kings. Similarly harlots cannot gain anything without adornment. Special occasions like celebration of festivals, marriage need contextual wearing for both the

categories of the society. Yet they differ in the nature of cloth, metal used for ornaments and in the product of cosmetics applied to the skin.

However, a perfect culmination of the sacred and secular aspects of social life could be seen in the performing arts and amusements prevalent during the period in Āndhradeśa. The courtesans and the temple girls performed with great amount of excellence both the *mārga* and *dēśī* styles of dance. Literature too gave importance to both classical (Sanskrit) and native (indigenous-Telugu) languages. The songs sung by women during various work processes indicate the different native styles of music developed during the period which paved their way into classical tradition similar to the dance forms. Religious movements took recourse to these art forms and amusements such as dance, music, street-plays, ballads, puppet shows to popularise their faith among common masses. Purāṇic stories of devotees, contemporary socio-political incidents are enacted in different ways enabling common people to understand the concept of dharma in an easy understandable manner and at the sametime develop an awareness in the contemporary political matters. The same trend of integration of Sanskritic and local traditions is also noticed in the recreations of the period such as hunting. While hunting serves the purpose of pastime as well as an act of exercising ritual control for women of royal families, the same is a means of livelihood for women of forest-dwelling communities. The temple sculptures reflect this idea in different ways. In addition, most of the games and sports of small girls, maiden or elderly women of

the lower strata of the society seem to be common even for the women of higher strata of the society. Thus regionalisation of culture is observed in the cultural development of Āndhradeśa. The space of women as performers in this process is clearly visible in literary and epigraphical references.

To conclude, it can be argued that the Indian tradition, family system and kinship relations suggest complementarity between the two genders male and female though a demarcation is drawn between their spaces to be public and private respectively. It is this aspect which is symbolised in the *Mārga-deśi* synthesis of the Kakatiya rule in Āndhradeśa. Unless the study of history is taken up with a wholistic perspective bringing women to the centre of historical process, it becomes very difficult to understand the phenomenon.

Thus an attempt at the reconstruction of socio-cultural picture of medieval Āndhra from a woman's perspective and making woman as the central point of argument, helps us in a better understanding of the different socio-political and economic changes of Andhra region during eleventh to thirteenth centuries, for civilisation has been jointly created by both men and women and traditional historiographies only highlight the contribution of men.

APPENDIX

PLATES AND FIGURES



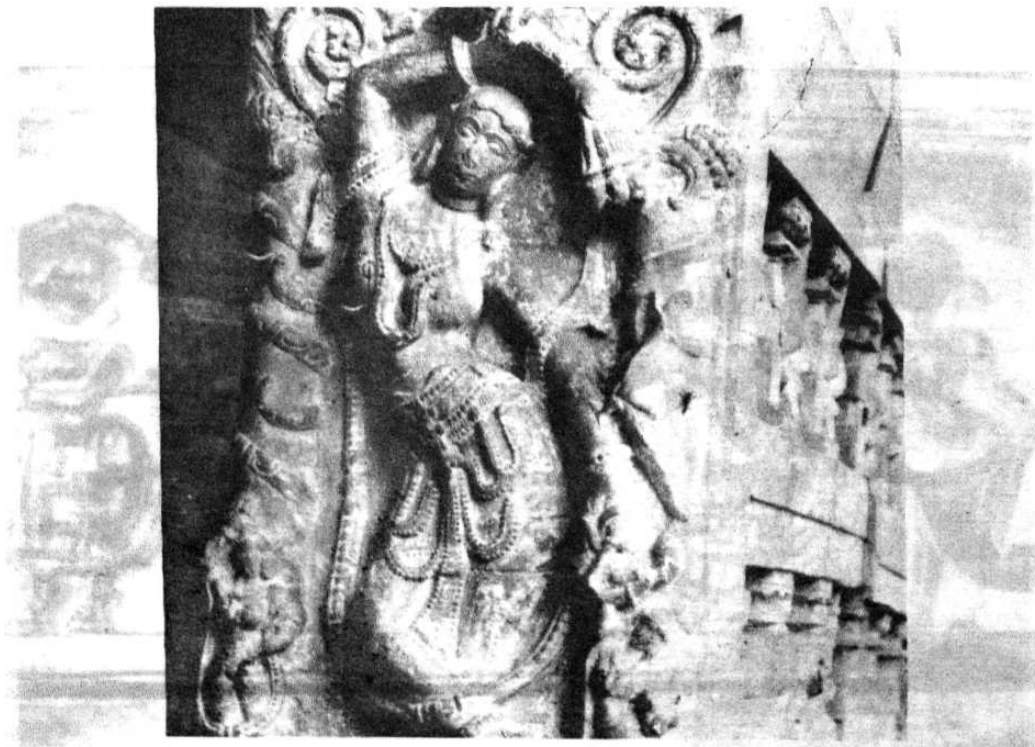
PL.I (a) - Women in HUNTING, Srisailem



PL.I (b) - Women Folk in FISHING ACTIVITY, Palampet



PL.I I (a) - Daily routine of Women, Tirupati



PL.II (b) - Women's decoration with ornaments and drapery, Palampet



PL.III (a) - Head offering by a woman, Hyderabad Museum



PL.III (b) - A Madanika wearing an embroidery cloth, Palampet



PL.IV (a) - Dress of tribal Women, Bejjanki



PL.IV (b) - Ganga, Head dress drapery and ornamentation are peculiar, Mukhalingam



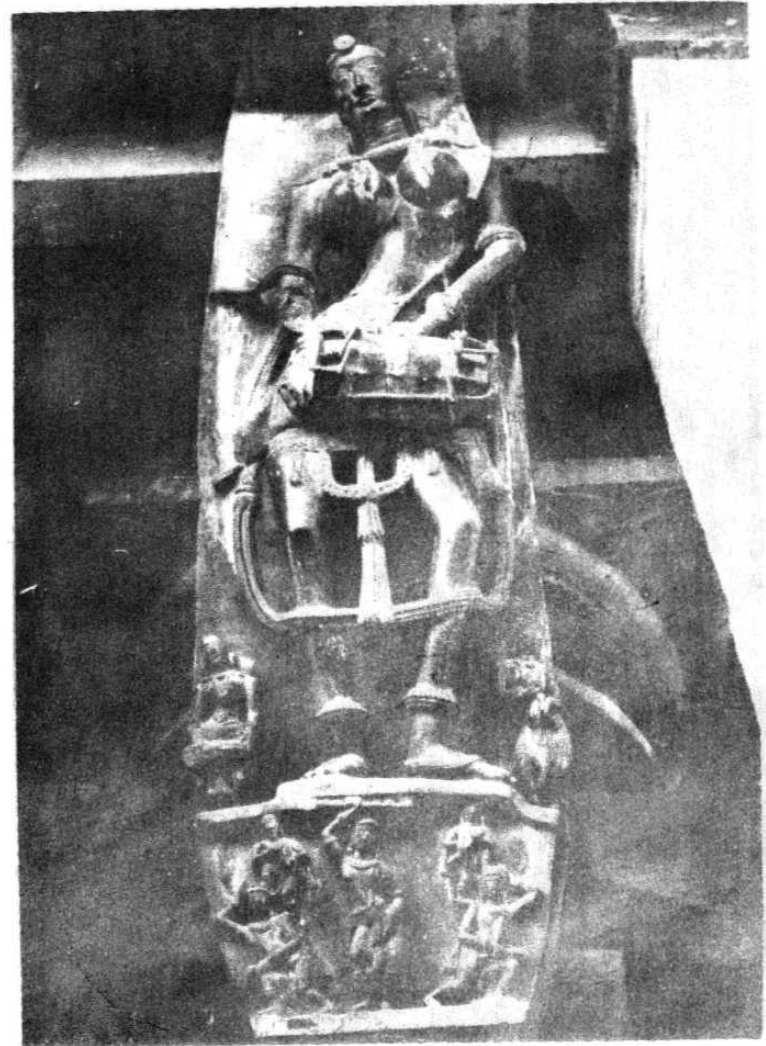
PL.V (a) - A woman with Patrakundalas and Chandrahara, Palampet



PL.V (b) - A courtesan with Vrittakundalas, Palampet



PL.VI (a) - A Female dancer in typical pose, Palampet



PL.VI (b) - A Female drummer wearing a Chudamami, Palampet



PL.VII (a) - A Woman in Toilet Scene, Panugal



PL. VII (b) - A Female dancer accompanied by drummers, Palampet

FIG - 1

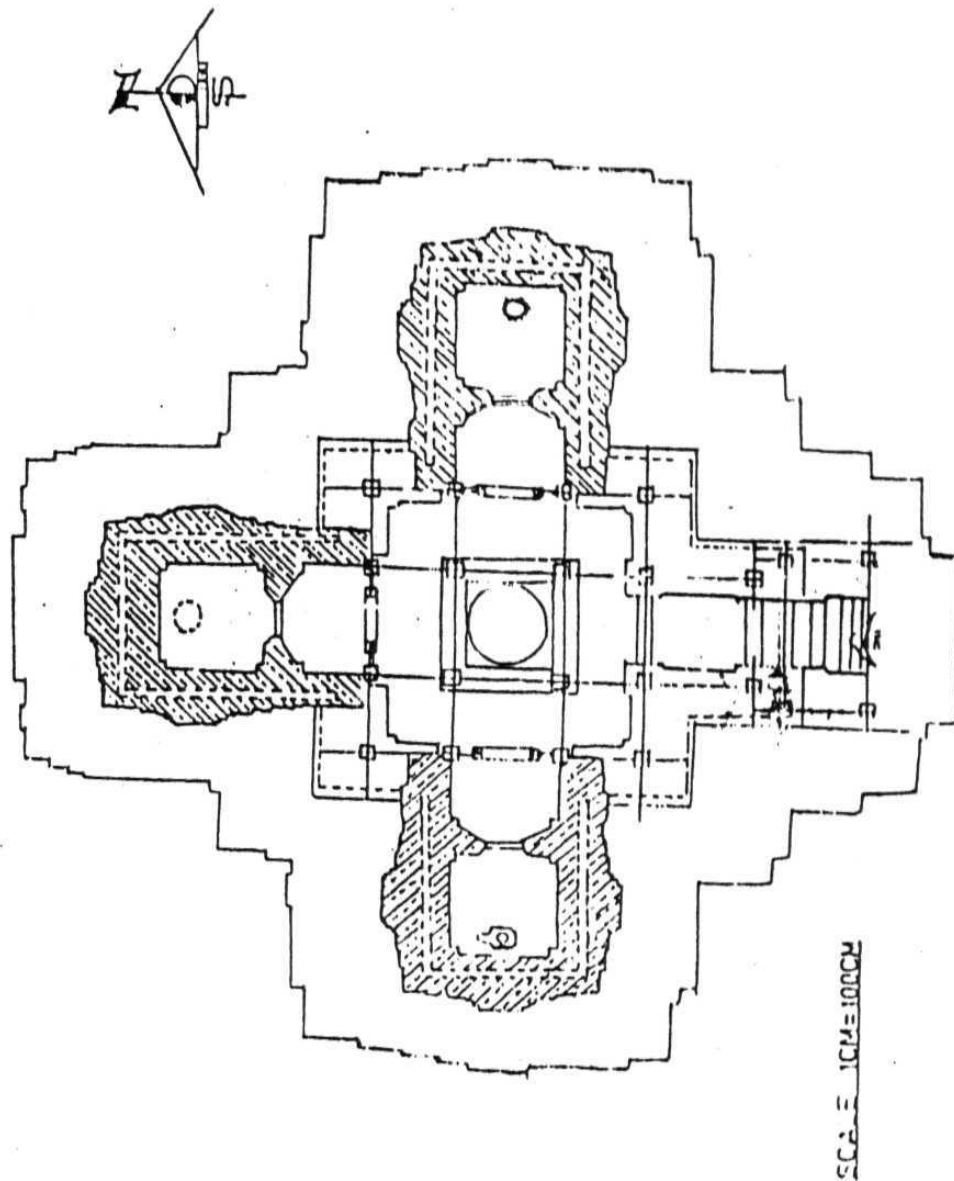


Fig 6 Groundplan Thousand Pillar temple, Hanumakonda.

Reproduced from S. Nagabhushana Rao, Cultural Heritage of the Kakatiyas, Warangal, 1993.

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