"As we come to identify the factors in state formation as they affect women, we must be careful to think in probabilistic rather than deterministic terms. We need to contextualize the relative power of kinship and class, the interplay of domestic and extra-domestic economy, the flexibility within cosmological systems, and the relative autonomy or subordination of women, in the light of possibilities open to each society. We should expect to find variations within state-making (and un-making) societies over time, and between such societies, rather than one simple pattern". [Rayna Rapp Reiter, "The Search for Origins", p.13]
Chapter 3: TEMPLE WOMEN AND THE MEDIEVAL SOUTH INDIAN STATE

Introduction

The first epigraphic records pertaining to temple women are dated in the Pallava period. This period beginning in the 6th century AD also provides the watermark for other changes—in modes of socio-economic and political organisation—that occurred in the plains of south India, especially Tamilakam of the Sangam poets. This chapter will look at the agrarian structure that emerged at this time and the process of evolution of this structure, till the 16th century Vijayanagar period which is the millennium covered by our epigraphic sources on temple women. The focus throughout the chapter will however be to study the ways in which the state and agrarian structure engender the institutionalisation of temple service and to problematise women's engagement with the local agrarian economy on the one hand and the state on the other. We must, however, assert at the very outset that the relationship of the state to these women is not constant throughout this period. Our effort will therefore also be to map the historical specificities of women's relation to the state and the changes in this relation that are contingent on changes in state formation. Before
going into a consideration of the situation of temple women in specific state structures, however, it might be useful to dwell a bit on the relation of women to the ancient states in India and the manner in which this compares with their relation to ancient states in other parts of the world.

While there is a huge corpus of literature, both scriptural and historical, that speaks of the rights, duties and position of upper caste women in patrilineal Hindu society, there is a stark paucity of material that speaks of the situation of women who fall outside the defining frameworks of the Hindu family. Uma Chakravarti in an attempt to balance this picture out describes the situation and the conditions of existence of women slaves in ancient India. The term *dasa*, according to her, unlike the Greek or Roman slave, "encompasses all categories of people over whose labour the master has some control. It includes all forms of servitude ranging from absolute control over a person on the one hand to limited, conditional and temporary bondage on the other."[1] Early references to *dasis* [and *dasas*] refer to the capture of women slaves by Aryans from a subjugated people. Of significance here is the fact that women slaves were listed along with gold, cattle and other assets, suggesting that they too
'constituted an important form of wealth. Early Vedic sources refer to cattle and women slaves as the only kinds of movable property that was also transferable.

There were two reasons why women were captured as slaves. First, they performed agricultural and domestic labour and there is considerable evidence to prove that not only were they grossly overworked, they were also targets of the use of physical force by the families they served. Second, they were indispensable to the replenishment of the rapidly decreasing numbers of Aryans. Apart from physical labour therefore, they were also required to reproduce the Aryan stock. For this purpose, they were gifted by kings to Brahmins in large numbers suggesting the possibility that reproduction also necessitated their acculturation.[2] It is a matter of further significance for us that this link between kings and brahmins mediated by dasis is one that sustains throughout the period under study. Even at this early stage there were different kinds of dasis. Chakravarti cites instances of Kumbha dasis [those who carried water], dhati dasis [wet nurses], and nataka itthis [women in the harems of princes and monarchs].[3] The Kautilya Arthasastra decrees that there is also another category of women, the courtesans whose profession was regulated on behalf
of the state, by a special officer called the ganikadhyaksa. It was the duty of a ganikadhyaksa to keep an account of the payment by visitors, gifts, income, expenditure and gains of a courtesan, and was responsible for ensuring the prohibition of acts of excessive expenditure. Ganikas were primarily appointed for attendance on the king, for holding an umbrella over his head, for carrying water for him fanning him and accompanying him on processions.

While a ganika did enjoy certain privileges, like a suitable establishment by the state, she was expected to entertain visitors according as the king may direct her. A refusal to obey the king meant a heavy punishment of one thousand strokes with a whip or a fine of five thousand panas. Her relations with visitors, however, was governed by very strict codes.

A ganika could free herself from these conditions if she could pay a ransom amount of 24,000 panas. Her son, who in the normal course would be a state servant in charge of supervising the work of the artists can free himself by paying half the amount. A courtesan who was no longer actively engaged in the profession, was to serve either in the royal kitchen or in the magazine. These women were also chosen from among captives. Lerner argues that the question of the wife's cooperation in this matter was
taken for granted, as captive women not only served to gratify the king's sexual desire, but were also an important index of status and wealth. [5] There were also women who belonged to this profession who were not maintained by the state. These women, the rupajivas or those who earned a living by means of their beauty. Residential accommodation for these women according to the Arthasastra was reserved in the southern part of the city. The same source also mentions that in military camps or cantonment areas, rupajivas were provided accommodation along the main highways. Some of these women were also not completely free in the sense that they were in the exclusive keeping of a person. The text also mentions bandhakiposakas, which it seems would refer to brothel keepers. The income earned through these establishments were to be used to replenish the treasury. The inmates, according to the Kautilya Arthasastra, could also be used to serve political ends by creating quarrels over themselves among the chiefs of the samghas, thus bringing about the latter's ruin. [6]

We will now move to another form of servility: the unquestioning cooperation expected of women from their husbands in ancient society -- their absolute subordination within the family. Speaking of ancient
India, Chakravarti says that although dasi bhoga [work done by slaves] was distinguished from sunisaa bhoga [work done by a daughter-in-law], the distinction was one of authority rather than nature of work. The daughter-in-law in the house was only a step above the dasi, and wives often asked for dasis, so they could transfer their own burden of housework onto the dasi. In the absence of dasis, therefore, wives/daughters-in-law were required to shoulder the entire burden of arduous domestic chores.[7] This could be explained if we argue, after Lerner that "the sexual enslavement of captive women was, in reality, a step in the development and elaboration of patriarchal institutions, such as patriarchal marriage, and its sustaining ideology of placing female 'honor' in chastity."[8] She goes on to argue that the distinction between a free married woman and a slave could only be expressed in degrees of unfreedom, the primary difference being one of class, where the wife could own property and slaves while the slave woman could not.[9]

By the sixth and seventh centuries AD, one sees a sharp decline in evidence of the institution of slavery generally and in the incidence of dasis in particular.[10] This absence in evidence, however, cannot be treated as a disappearance of the
institution of slavery. It would be more plausible that since this period ushered in more stable state structures and a stable economy, the deployment of force and forms of bondage would of necessity change. As a result, servility ceases to be expressed in terms or situations that correspond totally to earlier periods.

For purposes of convenience, we will look at the period beginning with the sixth century using the standard periodisation of the south Indian polity into the Pallava, Chola and Vijayanagara periods in that order. The Pallava period marked the crystallisation of an new socio-economic and political order. The most visible changes were in the areas of architecture, religion, learning, culture and models of kingship.[11]

All these factors, however, are closely linked to the growth of Hindu temples and religious institutions in early medieval Tamilakam. The period in question was one of Hindu revivalism through the Tamil Bhakti tradition that was a reaction against orthodox brahmin hegemony on the one hand and the growing popularity of the heterodox sects of Jainism and Buddhism on the other.[12] This movement also offered space for some women to question their circumscription within the family and to articulate
their differences through song and poetry. [13] It also attracted common people of all castes with its injunctions against caste-based discrimination. The discrimination continued but might have become easier to accept because of the new bhakti ideal of renunciation. The shift in the language of worship from Sanskrit to the vernacular created space for women to give expression to their creativity. Although there were male and female bhaktas, the concept of bhakti meant different things to each of them. For women it meant the exclusion of the possibility of matrimony and procreation. This stepping out of the confines of matrimony/conjugality meant that most of them lived as wandering mendicants. [14] All bhaktins resisted marriage to a mortal man. Some of them, ended up marrying a god of their choice. Very often their roles were not circumscribed by religious ends. Take the case of Avvaiyar, the Tamil bhaktin. While moving out of the confines of a family herself, her attention was focused on the world of householders. Her interest did not stop there. She even directed her gaze at the locus of political power. Chakravarti cites an instance when Avvai intervenes on behalf of a chieftain and is rebuked by the Chola king for meddling in politics. Her reply was that her actions
would ensure justice and righteousness in the land. Withdrawal from domesticity in a sense then, confers on women a legitimate right to intervention in the state. A shift out of domesticity effects a shift in the manner in which gender is defined. Further, "a withdrawal from the state would imply a withdrawal from righteousness," something a bhaktin could ill afford. Avvaiyar thus achieved a moral space in a secular world that was totally inaccessible to a wife. "Through bhakti women also retrieved some of the ground they had lost in the Brahminical ritual order ... and in the Brahminical social order, because of their circumscribed role within the household. In bhakti, they found the space to break through both these barriers; it enabled women to recite the lord's name even during menstruation and it enabled women to deny the bonds of marriage itself. The bhaktin used her devotion as an armour and god as her supporter in her resistance against the priest and the husband. The escape from an earthly marriage... also gave them an escape from the social relations of being female. With no other ties, the bhaktins could be completely immersed in their devotion. Further the bhaktins escaped widowhood with its attendant misery. The desire of a bhaktin for a marriage with god might even be considered a
search for the permanent status of a sumangali, the only woman who was treated as being whole for ritual purposes...Thus the bhaktins circumvented the everyday gender relations with which they must otherwise live...This transformation was possible only in the religious arena."[16] Further the bhakti tradition coexisted with the Vedic-Agamic temple ritual. This created different spheres of activity for the Brahmins and non-Brahmins that really complemented each other.[17]

In Tamilakam the bhakti tradition was represented by the Alvar (Vaisnavite) and Nayanar (Saivite) saints who sang their messages of devotion to specific deities of specific temples.

The bhakti movement probably originated on the east coast around the temples of Tirupati and Kanchi. Early Sangam literature mentions Tirupati as the northernmost point of Tamilakam - a point of contact between Aryan and Tamil ways of life. Tirupati was also the earliest centre of Vaisnava bhakti which was closely identified with the Pallavas. Some scholars feel that the bhakti movement which had spread all over Tamilakam by the end of the ninth century AD was an aryenising, sanskritising force.[18] Lists of saints of both Vaisnava and Saiva traditions were prepared and their works edited for use by temples.
The bhakti saints provided an impetus to temple proliferation from the seventh century AD by legitimising places and deities through pilgrimage and song.

Post bhakti ritual incorporated folk deities into its pantheon - Murugan of the hill regions and Mayon the black god of the pastoralists as Subrahmanya and Krishna for instance. Agamic prescriptions were now altered or created to facilitate the partial incorporation of folk elements - ie. the incorporation of these elements that could be reconciled because they were not absolutely at variance with brahminic ideology.[19]

This mode of worship blurred distinctions between Saiva and Vaisnava religion with its accent on total physical surrender to god.[20] It is significant for us because while temple worship did not originate at this point, the institutionalisation of dedications of women to a life of service to god was a by-product of the movement. The similarities in the lifestyles of female bhaktins and devadasis who sang and danced in temples is striking. Just as the hagiographies and compositions of bhakti saints were incorporated into the ritual of the Sanskritic temple by the seventh century AD, it is possible that the lifestyle of the bhaktins, hitherto outside
traditional parameters of domesticity and conjugality, was also sought to be incorporated into the Brahminic temple thus removing it from a free, uncharted space that knew no limits and placing it again firmly within the confines of the temple and under the control of the same priesthood and royal authority that it had set out to challenge. The temples conferred legitimacy on the state and the local agrarian order. They were sustained by a large volume of grants made by common citizens and the local aristocracy. A preliminary survey of 117 Pallava documents shows that 53 recorded endowments of gold, villages, plots of land and sometimes livestock and paddy. Clearly temples were gradually becoming central to the economic and social order.

The temple in the Pallava period functioned on a limited scale. The largest contingent of temple servants appears to have been in the Muktesvara shrine where it numbered 54. Temple servants were remunerated in kind. An inscription from the time of Nandivarman III (844-866 AD) states that in the Siva temple at Tiruvallam the Siva Brahmanes received 500 kadi of paddy for their services, the Sribali Kottuvar 500 kadi of paddy and singers and those who picked flowers for temple garlands received 900 kadi
of paddy. Another record ascribed to his reign speaks of a payment to be made by the local assembly to the Bilvanathesvara temple of 2000 kadi of paddy of which 600 was to be used for offerings 500 each for Siva Brahmins and drummers and 400 for other functionaries.[24]

The feudalisation of early medieval temples was facilitated by the devadana gifts of land which they received from the Pallava period onwards. The Valurpalaiyam plates of Nandivarman III (844-866 AD) which end with a plea to future rulers to protect the grants of the village Tirukkattupalli to the Siva temple demonstrates that some grants at least were made in perpetuity.[25] However, Pallava charters do not seem to confer on the temples the right to sell mortgage or alienate the landed property endowed to them.[26] Similarly land held by a temple servant reverted to the state and had to be re-endowed to the temple on the death of the servant. Three inscriptions from Tiruvennainallur in South Arcot district for instance tell us the story of Tirumalaiy Alagiyan alias Viragavirap Pallavaraiyan, a son of a devaradiyar. During his lifetime he gifted a bell, incense brazier, chain lamp and plate and five cows that would yield one Arumolideva nali of milk every day to Atkondadeva and Vaikundadeva. On his death,
91/2 ma of dry land owned by him in Emapperur and Tiruvennainallur were given by Perunjinga (lord? local feudatory?) to his mudali who in turn gave it with the consent of his lord to the temple of Tiruvennainallur, a brahmadeya, for burning lamps.[27] Tirumalaiy Alagiyan was a kaikkola mudali by caste, and the son of a devaradiyar. One could probably draw a general conclusion from this inscription, that in this period, temple servants and male offspring of devaradiyar enjoyed land that reverted to the state or feudal authority on the death of the incumbent.

Temples soon became rich landowning institutions, the sheer extent of their property necessitated the practice of leasing out land. Alongside this, temples were empowered in the reign of Pallava Nandivarman II to levy taxes like the nadatchi, uratchi, and nadu kaval (or fee for administration of the district, cess for that of a village, and protection of the village respectively). Temples were also empowered to make endowments. A significant instance from Jambai in South Arcot is the registration of a tax free gift of 150 kuli of land by the tanattar of the temple to Annamalai, younger brother of Atkondan both brothers of Perralvi a devaradiyar in the village. The grant was made because Atkondan cut off his head so that
the nritta mandapa might be completed.[28]

In the agrarian system there was a movement towards the dominance of peasant agriculture over non-peasant and tribal cultivation.[29] Many peasant tracts previously subject to erratic dry land cultivation was now brought under wet-land agriculture through a consolidation of water/irrigation resources that would be supportive of a much denser settled population. The expansion of settled agriculture meant the constant inclusion and assimilation of new non-peasant peoples into the stratified peasant system. Modes of stratification too, by this point, had reached their full development with the bifurcation of middle and lower castes into the Valangai - Idangai castes or the right and left hand castes respectively. Those whose relation to peasant agriculture was most direct (inclusive of cultivators and those artisans and merchants directly involved with the agrarian economy) constituted the right hand division. The left hand division consisted of groups less directly involved with agriculture.[30] The origin of brahmadeyas or Brahman agrarian settlements is also located in this period.

If we were to speculate on the system that the devaradiyar and her family were imbricated in, it
appears that while the centrality of the devaradiyar to the temple institution and by extension to her family are established even in this early stage, this did not necessarily imply (as modern interpretations would tend to argue) that men were peripheral or marginal in this set up. The only shift clearly articulated here is that women, as incumbents of ritual positions, become the defining principle within their social universe. The agrarian economy being an integral part of this universe.[31]

Mention of devaradiyar in Pallava records however are too few to allow for any statement that does not contain an element of speculation. The emergent order in the Pallava period assumes the dimensions of a vast full fledged and organised agrarian economy in the Chola period.

The Chola State

The origin myth of the Chola narrates an episode modelled on the Ramayana in which the Chola warrior hunts down a demon in the guise of a deer. Having fulfilled his mission,

He bathed there...
[tex undecipherable]
For Brahmins;
he whose mind was controlled
saw none
Then from Aryavartta
he brought eminent Brahmins
and settled them there on the banks. [32]

Several aspects of the Chola state are brought into focus by this myth - the idea of sacral kingship, the king-brahmin alliance and the quest for legitimacy through aryatisation. One view of the Chola state sees it as a segmentary one that was organised pyramidically, with "the smallest unit of political organisation ... linked to ever more comprehensive units of political organisation of an ascending order ... for various purposes" and also standing in opposition to other similar units for other purposes. [33] The other view sees it as typically feudal resorting to large scale subinfeudation especially after the eighth century. [34]

While both views are essentially talking of the same structure the crucial difference appears to be in the framing of issues. The view of the Chola state as feudal allows more space for the interplay of power and coercion at various levels in the system. [35] The view of the same state as a segmentary structure, on the other hand, speaks of the king-brahmin alliance in the same terms as it does the brahmin-peasant alliance. This creates an effective disjunction between questions of power and the state - a disjunction expressed through the use
of "alliance" to describe a relationship of super- and subordination.

It is not necessary, however, to dismiss completely the use of Southall's segmentary model, provided the focus is on the nexus of power and the fact of differential access to resources within and between segments.

The basic unit of the Chola segmentary state were the nadu, administered under the leadership of chiefs (known variously as udaiyar, arasar, mummudi or muvendavelar)[36]. The nadu was central to the political geography of the Chola country, and it was the basic unit of agrarian society of the time.[37]

The agrarian function of the nadu is evident in the relationship of size and proximity to reliable water sources, the Kaveri was the riverine core of the most prosperous Chola nadus. Interactions between the dominant peasantry, its dependents and Brahmins defined the boundaries of a nadu. Land was a major determinant of relationships in the agrarian nadu. Bound with the land was the need for labour and animals to work the land. Given the tendency for agrarian expansion at this time,"able leadership and warriors among the peasant folk could facilitate rapid expansion.[38] There is little doubt that these warriors and landed aristocracy constituted the
class of intermediaries who appropriated the labour of a dependent peasantry and the surplus. Nandi's argument that this period was characterised by the rise of "a surplus appropriating class, a growth of private farming, improvements in agricultural technology, increase in crop production and the growth of a servile labour force" and that "The fiefs and freeholders responsible for this transition, now became the focal points in agricultural expansion"[39] appears to be borne out unintentionally by Stein's account.

Each of the nadus replicated the overall pattern of centre-periphery relationships resulting in several centres that served as foci of local power. Their allegiance to the Chola king served to cement the relations between these centres. This allegiance, while it had a material basis, was ritualised through notions of sacral kinship.[40] Having created levels of differential control over resources that functioned more or less independently, the king was now likened to god and served as a distant chastising influence that theoretically retained control over his entire dominion while having no control over it in real terms.[41]

For a system of subinfeudation, or a segmentary state to exist however, some authority - moral, if
not real - is essential. Moral authority is best legitimised through ritualised kingship and through religious practice. Stein's suggestion, therefore, that a segmentary state and sacral kingship in the Chola state sustain each other [42] is valid.

The second characteristic of the nadu, says Stein is its "ethnic coherence." [43] "All persons and groups directly involved in the peasant agrarian system of a locality and jointly dependent upon the successful exploitation of the land tended to constitute a discrete social universe, where land capable of being turned to the plough ceased, where slope, aridity, hazards to human or animal welfare, or the presence of a hostile people - peasant or non-peasant - who could not be displaced occurred, the locality ended. Within that spatial universe, in most parts of the macro region, those with sufficient authority to compel it forced the acceptance of social rules based upon hereditary hierarchy and segmentation. Those whose military power and agricultural skills had originally converted a tract of land to peasant cultivation maintained authority through control over cultivable land and through connections with supra local chieftains." [44]

Going by our earlier argument, Stein's characterisation of a nadu as being an ethnically
composite unit is untenable. Also, the argument in favour of ethnic coherence pushes the view of the nadu as an internally integrated, harmonious system further than was possible in the given circumstances. The brahmadeya was a second crucial factor in the formation of the medieval state. The king’s legitimacy – and this is strongly indicated in the myth cited in the beginning – hinged on his ability to give gifts to Brahmins, who were the repositories of the ultimate values and the ultimate authority. Shulman sees this alliance between the Brahmin and the king as a drama enacted at another level as well.

According to him, although this compulsive nexus is palpable at all levels from local to regional to supra regional, it acquires an added intensity as it transcends regional systems of power, because there is also a transformation in the idiom of exchange between the patron king and the brahmins who support him. There is, according to Shulman, a transformation in perspective and style that attempts to transcend the interlocking mass of normal social interests and struggles. The brahmin is lifted out of his local, village level jajmani context into the rather rarefied context of the renunciative vedic brahmin, while the king himself "now seeks recognition as a
great (even universal) ruler after the model of the classical Ksatriya icons of Sanskrit texts... Yet its effects upon the structure of power seems to reduplicate the patterns of the lowest levels: the conquering king claim more power only by renouncing more power, by investing his "gains", such as they are, in the symbolic legitimation of Veda chanting Brahmins. They for their part, hold even more firmly than their village counterparts to their identification with the ultimate Brahmin values of renunciation and purity - thus denying the political centre the very legitimacy it seeks.”[46]

The constant pressure on scarce resources and threat from hostile peoples resulted in an almost compulsive agrarian expansion. Land that was conquered from rival groups to replenish resources had to be farmed out or endowed, to facilitate administration and management of resources. The role of the king shifted from svami or owner of the land to bhumidah or giver of land.[47] The main beneficiaries were the brahmins. Brahmadeya villages now became the sites for surplus accumulation and cultural hegemony. The purpose of the Brahmadeya, according to Stein, was to provide a reliable source of support to Brahmins for the pursuit of their sacral responsibilities. Further, the gift of arable
land part of the income from which accrued to Brahmins, was one of the major sources of merit according to the Dharmasastras.[48]

The Chola kings provided an impetus to the process of Aryanisation begun by the Pallavas. Apart from this being seen as a legitimising force, it also set them apart and at a higher level in relation to their immediate contenders for political power - the Pandyas and the Cheras. In the area of religious iconography, scholars suggest, Rajaraja I in particular resisted the incorporation and assimilation of Tamil deities - especially goddesses - and even tried to displace these cults.[49] Major male deities of ancient Tamil religion could be easily transformed into appropriate Vedic male deities. Some of the great goddesses on the other hand were difficult to assimilate and were henceforth collectively called the Umaparameswaris or consorts of Siva.[50]

Marriage alliances were the medium through which the king symbolically expressed his identification with the entire social order. There were his human wives, at least two of them, one of whom belonged to his own caste and one to a lower caste. Then he was also "married" to the earth, to prosperity, to victory and to the brahmin. Marriage apart, he had
enduring relationships with his courtesans in much the same manner of God's relationships with his dancing girls. [51] The king's relationship with the God here was not merely a matter of analogy. Epigraphic records of the Chola period point to instances where women were shifted between court and temple and to instances where gods and kings conferred honours on temple dancers on behalf of each other. The fact, that this throws further light on the notion of sacral kingship is peripheral to our argument.

Epigraphic records of temple women in the Chola period point to four kinds of grants that involved them.

a) grants made by devaradiyar for the upkeep of a specified service in a temple.

b) grants made to a devaradiyar
   i) by king, chieftain or god in appreciation of her proficiency in art.
   ii) by individual citizens or village assemblies as support for her performance of service in the temple.

c) grants by a donor (usually male and/or member or representative of the royal family) of the services of a devaradiyar [52] or group of devaradiyar to a particular temple.
d) grants made to a temple for the upkeep of a specified service to be administered by the devaradiyar/sani(s) of that temple. These grants were sometimes made by devaradiyar/sani(s).

Kersenboom - Story also makes mention of a devaradiyar Anukkiyar Paravai Nankaiyar who donated ornaments weighing thousands of kalanjus as well as donations to rebuild the temple construction in stone. She also endowed large quantities of gold for the purpose of plating and gilding the entrance of the temple of Vitividangar. [53]

There is a widely held view that devaradiyar were all artists who were respected and patronised by society [54]. Together with this, there is the popular perception of these women being the only 'free' and educated women in medieval south Indian society.

Epigraphic sources of this period, however, provide information that seriously contradicts both these views. While there is mention of women honoured by the aristocracy, these are too few and far between to justify any kind of generalisation. Generalisations are also not tenable because the occurrence of grants of this type we feel is fairly representative of actual numbers, because, belonging
as they did, to a privileged section of society, their access to records would certainly have been greater than that of the common people. Our epigraphic sources speak of only two instances of women being honoured for their artistic capability.

- Pukkaturai Vallavattalaikkoli was granted the favour of god Vitividangar (king?) after he witnessed a dance by her in 1118 AD in Tiruvarur of Tanjore district.[55]
- Pungoyil Nayakattalaikkoli was given a brahmadeya for composing the Viranukka Vijayam in honour of Virasola Anukkar who was witness to the performance. The grant was made by the deity.[56]

Instances of women receiving material support for the performance of a specified service in the temple are more frequent. In these cases, the record by itself (barring one instance) provides us with only an ambiguous description of work: to serve in the temple. There is no reason, therefore, for us to presume that these women were professional artists and that that was their primary identity. Records relating to the sale and "transfer" of women to temples and their branding by temples balance the picture out for us. Rajaraja Chola in 1004 AD transferred four hundred odd women and number of men to the Brhaddeswara temple. Each of these persons
were allotted shares each of which consisted of the produce of one veli of land i.e. - one hundred kalam of paddy measured by the marakkal that was equal to a Rajakesari. Should a shareholder die or emigrate, the nearest relations of such persons were to receive that allowance and perform the duties. If the nearest relative were not qualified, they were to appoint other qualified persons who would do the work and receive the allowance. In the absence of a near relation, the other incumbents of such appointments were responsible for the selection of a qualified person who would receive the allowance as remuneration for service.[57] That Rajaraja I desired the perpetual presence of temple servants of this kind is evident from the number of alternatives suggested in the event of an absence of a particular incumbent.

This is the earliest extant evidence we have of such large scale employment in temples in South India. Royal patronage was necessary to support a labour force of this dimension. Tanjore records tell us that Rajaraja alone presented articles of gold weighing 41,557 kalanju and jewels worth 10,000 pon, equal to as many kalanju in gold. He is also said to have donated silver utensils weighing 50,650 kalanju in all. In addition to his own grants he also
directed specified villages to pay revenue and gold to the temple treasury.\[58\] Jha cites the instance of a single order in three inscriptions listing 57 villages, some located as far away as Ceylon.\[59\] Given the segmentary nature of the Chola state, the feudatories and local village and town assemblies also made fairly substantial grants to temples.

A second significant feature of this grant is that temple servants were now remunerated with assignments of land. While there is evidence in the earlier period of men of devaradiyar families holding land, clear indications of remunerations in land appear in the Chola period. This could point to the creation of a further level of subinfeudation or another layer in the segmentary structure, where women visibly for the first time are recognised as actors in the social drama. Since these women had specified functions to perform within the temple, it would no doubt be reasonable to presume that the land was cultivated by tenant cultivators.

Finally, and most important, there is a suggestion of the use of force. Given the overall structure and workings of the Chola state, it is difficult to believe that this large contingent of women and men offered voluntarily to migrate from different corners of his kingdom. There are of course
other records that bear out this suggestion.

An inscription from the 29th year of Kulottungachola I (A.D. 1099) for instance records the dedication of the services of Angadi, her daughter Perangadi and her descendants as devaradiyar to god Mahadeva in Tiruvakkara by Amudan Pallikondan, a Vellala resident of Pandimangalattuppaligaiyur in Matturnadu of Jayankondasolamandalam, Amudan Velan, the Rajasikhamanippalavarayan and Amudan Uyyavandan, the Muvendavelan of Karikalasolattenkarainadu and member of a regiment called Mudikondasolaterrinda villigal.[60] At least one of these 'donors' Amudan Uyyavandan was a feudatory as the title Muvendavelan suggests. The common patronymic might mean that they are brothers, but that is not really relevant for us. What is relevant however, is that two of them bear military titles and one belongs to the land owning peasant community.

The segments indeed replicate on a smaller scale and with less ambiguities the play of power (a gendered power) that seemed endemic to this state structure.

Another record dated twenty years later (1118 AD) also in the reign of Kulottunga I is even more explicit.[61]
Achchapidaram Ganapati Nambi alias Alagiya Pandya Pallavaraiyan, a captain in the regiment of Irumudisolaterrinda Villigal who had colonised (?) at Banapuram, a city in Perumbannppadi district of Jayankondasolamandapam presented some women of his family as devaradiyar for service in the temple of Tiruvallam Udaiyar, after branding them with the sula mark in token of their having been set apart for a life of service and devotion to God. An accompanying epigraph [62] gives the additional information that some of the devaradiyar belonging to the temple at Tirukkalatti had been forced into the royal household. On a representation made to the king by an officer about this, the king sent these women back to the temple. These women had been branded with a distinguishing mark as belonging to the king's retinue which had to be erased before the sula mark could be branded on them to signify their restoration to the temple.

These four records give us vital clues to the degree and kind of servility engendered by the Chola state. We suggest that these, unlike earlier cited instances of honour conferred on women artists, are not to be viewed as isolated instances. The documented record, representing as it does, the case of women 'as property' is a minute sample of the
scale in which similar events occurred.

In a period of unprecedented proliferation of temples, of unprecedented rise in temple control over land and of unprecedented rise in employment for temple service, forced labour/service is only one of the tensions that would be precipitated. The forced dedication of women to the temple was symptomatic of a general tendency in favour of the use of force. Two instances that have come to our notice in epigraphic records speak of the dedication of families (from father to son down the male line) in perpetuity to temple service (in one case maintaining lamps) after they had been freed of all assessments, obligations and public duties.[63] One epigraphic record registers the sale of four women to the temple of Tiruvalangadudaiya Nayanar for 700 kasu.[64]

In the final category of grants - those to be administered by sanis, we have three records that bear a striking resemblance. All three grants (one each by a male resident of the village, a sani and a Kota chieftain) were to be administered by the three hundred sanis of Kommuru, Juttiga and Ghantasala respectively.[65]

Irrespective of the purpose of the grant, other information given either as a prelude to the statement of purpose, or to identify the donor or to
identify the beneficiary, gives us valuable information about political systems, kinship networks and marriage patterns and topographical details in cases of land grant. The significance of the prasasti in understanding the workings of the political systems has been dwelt upon in detail by Stein.

With regard to kinship networks, marriage (to a human husband) seems to have been fairly common—especially in the Chola period—and sons as often as daughters identified themselves in the records as 'son of a devaradiyar'. There are instances of marriage in the Keralapuram inscriptions and Chola inscriptions of the Tamil and Telugu country. In these cases, there is nothing to suggest that the structure of the marriage was not in conformity with scriptural prescriptions. This becomes plausible the moment we recognise that the devaradiyar was a part and active agent of the sanskritised brahminic temple.

The gift of 95 sheep for a perpetual lamp to the temple of Tiruvorriyur-udaiya-Mahadeva by Chaturan Chaturi wife (agamudaiyal) of Nagan Perungadan and a devaradiyar of the temple,[66] is but one example of grants in which devaradiyar not only identified themselves as wife of X but also recorded their concern for the wellbeing of the husband as in the
case of Prolasani who gave 50 cows for a perpetual lamp in the temple for the merit of her husband, Gadya Surapa Nayaka of Kurnool.[67]

Surapa Naidu of Guntur provides us with an informative genealogy.

[Source: S11, 10 : 321]
We had evidence of a relationship between Kaikkola Mudalis and devaradiyar in the Pallava period. We now have evidence of relations between Nayudus and sanis that was both consanguineous and affinal. What is even more significant about this genealogy is that Lokasani, the only woman with an ambiguous marriage relationship is referred to as suputrakuladeepakurala.[68]

Kommasani married to a Nayaka (used interchangeably with Nayudu) provides us with a genealogy of her husband before recording that she and her sons Virapa Nayaka and Indusekhara Nayaka presented a perpetual lamp to the temple and also gave some land for its upkeep, identified herself as wife of Kontalanayaka, grandson of Kondanayaka.[69]

Jayasani wife of Chodeboya, son of Enjali Chodeboya gave 50 goats for a perpetual lamp for the merit of her husband.[70] By this account, sanis, whether or not they had consanguineal relations with Boyas, definitely entered into marriage relations with them.

We now come across a third caste which entered into affinal relations with sanis. Kurapati Sura Reddy and his wife Erika Sani gave 25 cows for a perpetual lamp in the temple.[71]

Finally with reference to the caste issue, we
come across an unknown male who made an unspecified grant ... for merit of his mother Kamasani and his father Nagineni,[72] who, as his name suggests might have been a Kamma.

This leads us to speculate a bit on the nature of differences between the Tamil and Telugu areas. In the Tamil areas we have one instance of a Kaikkola mudali (a man belonging to the weaving caste) being the son of a devaradiyar and one of an accountant in a temple being married to a devaradiyar in the Telugu areas, all the instances point to women coming from and marrying into peasant/cultivator castes. There is a second suggestion that would apply equally to the Tamil and Telugu areas. All the women who have been identified as married find mention in the records either as donors or kin of donors, never as beneficiaries. The other evidence which appears to be supportive of this is that while men and their descendants were donated to a life of service to the temple, women with daughters were gifted and women of a male donor's 'family' were gifted, we find no mention of devaradiyar, wife of X either being gifted to the temple or being made a beneficiary of a grant. This leads us to suggest that marriage combined with temple service was a privilege that economic well-being (and caste status?) conferred on some women.
Finally, the grant made by Kunasani wife of Betireddi, son of Anasurappareddi for the merit of her father-in-law (mama) and mother-in-law (Aththa),[73] leads us to wonder whether virilocality residence and integration into the affinal household as we understand them today were the norm with people of this period generally and with devaradiyar/sanis in particular.

Clearly, just as the temple economy in the middle period in south India was very complex, the division of functions among functionaries was equally complex, as was their social organisation.

**The Vijayanagara State**

The structural characteristic of the Chola state, especially the segmentary and pyramidal form continued into the Vijayanagara period.[74] There were other basic continuities of Chola society too that were visible in the Vijayanagara period. The 'ritual' or 'moral' supremacy of the Vijayanagara ruler continued although the actual control over the entire domain diminished substantially. Society was organised in this period as in the Chola period around a riverine core region centred around the Tungabhadra river. Religious institutions, especially brahmadeyas, brahminical temples and puranic gods
continued to be focal institutions. Temples were also sites of economic concentration, learning and artistic expression. The continuity in structures stopped here.

The Vijayanagara state exhibited an exceptionally strong martial character that constantly propelled it towards territorial expansion through migration and conquest. This was best achieved through a system of supralocal chieftainship that excelled anything of its kind in earlier periods.

The Nayankara system as it was called was striking in

- the magnitude of local resources it commanded and distributed
- its independence from local social and cultural constraints
- its ability to intrude into local society
- its persistent independence from and occasional opposition to superordinate authority

With the northern boundary fixed by the Bahmani Sultanate, Vijayanagara kings extended their territories laterally eastward till Penukonda and westward till the Tulu country and also south towards Madurai. They brought an effective end to the rule of the Delhi Sultanate in Madurai in 1371 AD and
henceforth assumed the identity of repositories of Hindu culture and defendants of the Hindu faith. This defense of Hinduism gave brahmins a central role in the polity, not merely as ritual legitimisers of kingship, but also as martial defenders of Hindu territory. Fortresses were placed under the control especially of Telugu brahmins.

The nayankara system relied on the technologically advanced military capability of the macro region. Firearms, fortifications and developed cavalry mounts were now available to all nayakas who were part of the segmentary state. This conferred on the nayakas, a level of power not hitherto attained in South India. This naturally increased the potential for and incidence of rebellion and secession attempts. Brahmins played a central role in intelligence on behalf of the state and in defusing potentially explosive situations.

The nayakas, who were independent chieftains within the Vijayanagara kingdom were in turn supported by a group of dependent warriors called palaiyagars.

In sum, the Vijayanagara state was one charged with tension caused on the one hand by the perceived threat of Muslim intrusions and on the other by the real and constant threat of internal warfare.[75]
The centrality of the military, and the transformation in the essential character of the state from the Chola to the Vijayanagara periods had a direct impact on women's relations to the state, as we shall soon see.

The Tirupati temple was the focus of large monetary grants in the Vijayanagara period, especially during and after Achyutaraya's rule. These grants (together with the land grants that continued) were invested for irrigation works in the temple's villages. Donors were entitled to one fourth share of the foodstuffs resulting from a particular investment work in a temple village. The people who commanded temple honours (i.e. the donors) were many. Stein details for us grants of villages and/or money from various classes of donors, between 1509 and 1568 AD.[76]

The overall percentage of endowments from temple functionaries shows a steady decline from 1509 AD - 1568 AD. Especially in the years 1530-1542 AD, the drop in percentage contributions is marked in all categories except musicians poets and dancers, where the increase is steep and significant. A considerable portion of monetary endowments from this category came from temple women (or 'dancers' as Stein's classification specifies). A typical inscription
would read as follows:

Hail, Prosperity! On Sunday [2.8.1534] during Achyutaraya's reign, we, the sthanattar of Tirumalai registered the document on stone in favour of Govinda Sani, daughter of Polu-Nayakkan of Sajjarautu family residing in Tirupati, to wit, nar-panam 1620 is the money which you remitted to the Sri Bhandarani with the stipulation of offering tiruppanakam daily to Sri Govindarajan abiding in Tirupati and 30 tiruppanakam on the 30 days of the month of Margali as your Ubbaiyam at Dhanurmasapuja.
This capital of 1,620 panam shall be utilised for the excavation of irrigation tanks and channels in the temple villages and with the produce raised thereby, the supply of articles shall be made from the temple-store as mentioned below:- for the preparation of 395 tiruppanakam yearly, viz., 365 tiruppanakam at the rate of one tiruppanakam daily and 30 tiruppanakam on 30 days of Tirupalli eluchchi (Margali masam), 19 vatti, and 15 marakkal of rice measured with the Tirupati temple measure, 49 nali, 1 ulakkku and 1 alakkku of green gram, salt, vegetables and curds.
You are entitled to receive the quarter share of the offered prasadam as portion of the donor. The balance of the prasadam we shall set apart for distribution at the early sandhi. In the above manner this charity shall continue to be extant throughout the succession of your descendants as long as the moon and sun endure.[77]

For a period of ten years (1530-1540) three emperumanadiyar from two families made recurring grants to the temple which totalled 5,880 narpanam.[See Appendix for details of grants] Of this Govinda Sani's (and her sister) contribution was 3,670 narpanam while Lingasani and her sister contributed a total of 2,210 nar panam.

These five women however, were not the only ones who served in the Tirupati temple during Achyutaraya's reign. The latter transferred women from his palace to the temple ordering them into a life of service to God. Muddu Kuppayi, the
granddaughter of dance-master Vidvatsabharaya-Ranjakam Srirangaraja was one such woman. The remuneration for her service as directed by Achyutraya was one plateful of prasadam per day.

Hanumasani [see table in the Appendix] was another woman transferred from the court to the temple.[78] It is possible that once a woman retired from active service in the court as part of the king's retinue, she spent her retirement in the austerity of temple service.[79] Women who were unable to engage in productive activity, I suggest, were transferred to temples where they were provided with food and shelter without the expectation of work.[80]

The scale of temple organisation during Achyutaraya's time, it appears matched the dimensions of Rajaraja Chola's reign, the difference being that while in Rajaraja Chola's time, the emphasis was on scale of service to the temple in terms of labour, the emphasis in Achyutaraya's period appears to have been more in terms of productive investment (in money and land) to the temple. The element of force however serves as a continuity. The most significant shift that occurs in the temple women's relationship with the state from the Chola to the Vijayanagara periods is that these women, in the Vijayanagara period, especially in the fifteenth century AD, are
reported to have lived in state controlled institutions, the revenue of which went towards the upkeep of the police and army departments of the state. [81]

**Conclusion**

Temples, especially in the early medieval period were proliferating and fast becoming centres of surplus accumulation and mediated the state’s access to peasant goods. [82] In order to manage their rapidly expanding properties, temples became the largest employers of labour and temple services diversified. Large areas of land were owned by temples in Nellore district [83] and Tirupati [84] in the Vijayanagara period and these lands constituted the main resources of the temple. Temple lands essentially served two functions:— they yielded an income with which specific ritual services were maintained in the name of the donor and they allowed temple funds to be invested productively. [85]

Temples with surplus income maintained community wells, tanks, choultries, and maths in many villages in the district. In Nellore district temples were shown to provide employment to labourers in lean agricultural seasons by undertaking development activities like stone quarrying, sinking of wells,
digging and bunding of tanks, damming streams, excavating canals, and fencing, levelling and bunding agricultural lands.[86] Between the years 1509 and 1568, one hundred and fifteen villages were granted to a temple in perpetuity in order to provide income for specified ritual services.[87] The magnitude of these grants are an eloquent expression of the magnitude of services that donors would demand in return. So on the one hand temples emerge as big land owners requiring a large contingent of agricultural labour and on the other as large centres of worship requiring an equally large contingent of labour specifically for temple service.

It would not be unreasonable to presume that the medieval south Indian temple, much like the ancient Babylonian temple, being the commercial hub of activity, was also a site of commercial prostitution.[88] It is plausible therefore that sexual activity of two kinds, one that was explicitly ritual and another that was purely commercial coexisted in time and space. But to reduce one to another would be to shroud an important difference.

In a situation where the feudal authority (temple and/or king) exercised absolute control over the peasantry - and also an absolute control over women (what better demonstration of this fact do we require
than women being branded as possessions of king/temple) it will not be unreasonable to presume that most of these women came either from villages owned by the temple or from areas within territories of the king/chieftain in question.[89]

Temple women also contributed significantly to the economy, by making grants of land and/or paying for the upkeep of some service in the temple. They invested considerable resources in public works as the Tirupati records show.[90] They are also the only women mentioned in trading accounts of medieval India.[91]

Later, in the eighteenth century, the retinue of Pratapasimha, the Nayaka king of Thanjavur is reputed to have had many women poets, scholars and performing artists. One of them, a courtesan named Muddupalani was the only woman ever to have authored an erotic epic and one which contested "the asymmetric sexual satisfaction commonly contested even today and [asserted] women's claim to pleasure",[92] at that.

Although Indological/Orientalist scholarship of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the discourse of the reform movement upto the mid-twentieth century construct temple women as "a community", medieval epigraphic records tell a different tale. The grant by Sonadriyyan, agent of
Raghunathanayakarayan, of three kani of land in North Arcot district to a devaradiyar, Muthu, daughter of devaradiyar Attagiri who belonged to the Vaduga group [93] and the numerous other instances of sanis from Reddi, Boya and Kamma families spread over the entire period of this study establishes for us that temple women were not a homogenous group—caste wise, till the thirteenth century AD. There were also class distinctions. An inscription in the Travancore Archaeological Series makes mention of the scale of distribution of rice among temple servants. The tevadicci who pounded rice and carried the lamps shared the lowest position on the scale along with the umbrella carriers.[94] Another inscription in the same series records the gift of two pillars of Rama and Lakshmana by one of the eleven dancing girls who belonged to the ornamental adjunct of the temple, also wife of the temple accountant, Ayyappan-Ayyappan.[95]

One of the major services to be performed by temple girls, according to the Matsya Purana was to serve kings, brahmans and sudras equally. "If a child was to be born of this union, both parents were absolved of their sins. In fact, it was prescribed that the regular performance of this vrata was not essentially harmful to the soul's welfare and would
ultimately gain them a place in Visnuloka."

Finally, from the accounts of Alberuni and Abdur Razaak, temple women in the fifteenth century contributed to the maintenance of the military.

Clearly temple women in pre-colonial south India were expected to perform functions that were fairly well defined and allocated in accordance with the requirements of a particular state. While marriage (monogamy?) appears to have been a norm attached to privilege in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, one finds mention of marriage among temple women absent by the end of the Vijayanagar period. Also, accounts that have come to us of this later period, point to multiple sexual relationships with a virtual taboo on marriage. This, however, was not a matter of curiosity in their specific contexts. By the eighteenth century temple women appear to have crystallised into "a community" governed by rules similar to those that characterised caste society.

In the final analysis it might be said that irrespective of scriptural prescriptions/injunctions the practice of temple service especially by women was neither uniform at one point in time nor over a period of time. It changed and shifted constantly between classes, between castes and between state structures. However, I would like to suggest that
gradually, by about the sixteenth century, towards the end of the Vijayanagar period, the devadasi institution seems to have crystallised into two distinct classes -- an upper class that comprised of women from the various 'clean' castes that systematically dedicated girls to temples, and a lower class that comprised of women essentially from the 'unclean castes' who were also dedicated to deities, the difference being that the deities the latter were dedicated to belonged to the non sanskritic tradition. It was in this polarised form that the British found this institution in the nineteenth century.
ENDNOTES


2. Chakravarti, ibid., passim.

3. The retaining of captive women exclusively for sexual services seems to have been a fairly common practice in other parts of the world as well. Writing about archaic Mesopotamian cultures, Gerda Lerner quotes a letter from a Mari king, Zimri-Lim to his wife Queen Shibtu: "There will be more (booty) available for my disposition...I will myself select form this booty which I will get, the girls for the veil and will dispatch them to you." Lerner, The Creation of Patriarchy, p.71.


16. ibid, p.28.

18. ibid. p. 351.


20. An illustrative example is cited by Shulman of a myth in the reign of Virarajendra Chola (A.D. 1063 - A.D. 1069) which is really an episode from the Ramayana except that Rama is replaced by chola as the person who slayed the demon who had taken the guise of a deer. See D.D. Shulman, *The King and the Clown in South Indian Myth and Poetry*.

21. I am referring here to the plausible purpose behind the institutionalisation of female temple service. That it was not homogenous in practice does not alter this argument and is the subject of further elaboration at a later point in this chapter. Female temple servants are variously referred to as devaradiyar, sani, bhogamvaru and dasi in the text depending on the sources being cited.


23. ibid.

24. ibid., p.76.

25. ibid., pp.77-78.

26. ibid., p.80.


29. Burton Stein, *Peasant, State and Society*, p.68. Stein suggests that the peasant economy of this period bore the characteristics of classical peasant economies, especially as described by Eric Wolf.

30. ibid., p.85, passim.

31. Witness the Tirupati record in which temple women assigned land to the husbandmen of the nadu on behalf of the temple authorities and the village council. The text of this record reads as follows: "...We, the emperumanadiyar (have assigned the land) to the husbandmen of the nadu, in accordance with the valuation of the managers of the temple, under the direction of the ur niyogam. *TTDES*, vol. 1, no. 4.


34. R. S. Sharma, "How Feudal was Indian Feudalism", p.172.

35. This would provide more space for a problematisation of women’s relation to the state.

36. Burton Stein, *Peasant, State and Society*, p. 270. The same term is also used to designate an assembly of the territorial nadu. See p. 90.


40. See Burton Stein, *Peasant, State and Society*, where Stein says: "A sacred king... is a god; he is a warrior; he is responsible for order and prosperity throughout his realm of however great an extent that may be; he is the personification of divine energy (sakti) which is without limit". pp.281-282.

41. See D. D. Shulman, *The King and the Clown*, "Royal endowment ... becomes one of the hallmarks of the king’s ritual character... In innumerable cases the king renounces his own ‘share’ of income from lands or other property... Often we may suspect that the idiom of tyaga masks a reality in which the king’s control over his proper share is somewhat theoretical; at times he quite clearly renounces what he in any case lacks the power to appropriate." pp.22-23.


43. ibid., p. 109.

44. ibid.

45. ibid. Stein, while dismissing the self-sufficient village model, is himself arguing in the same direction.


47. R. S. Sharma, "How Feudal was Indian Feudalism?", pp.169-170.

49. Suresh, "Rajarajeeswaram at Tancaavur", cf. Stein, ibid., p.325.
52. In some cases of her descendents in perpetuity.
53. Saskia Kersenboom-Story, Nityasumangali, p. 27.
54. See ibid. for instance.
56. SII, 17:593.
57. SII, 2(3).p.278.
58. D.N. Jha, Studies in Early Indian Economic History, p.75.
59. ibid.
60. SII, 17:204.
61. Annual Reports of South Indian Epigraphy, 1922. 19 (230 of Appendix B), hereafter ARSIE.
62. ARSIE, 1922. 19 (141 of Appendix C).
63. ARSIE, 1910. 53 (312 of 1909).
64. ARSIE, 1913. 37.
66. ARSIE, 1913. 24 (147 of Appendix B).
68. SII, 10:321. A.D. 1249, Ramalingeswara temple, Guntur.
70. SII, 10:327. A.D. 1249? Tripurantakam, Kurnool
71. SII, 10:368. A.D. 1259, Tripurantakeswara temple, Kurnool
72. SII, 10:485. A.D. 1299, Rajeswara temple, Tanuku, W. Godavery

74. This section is based on Stein's work. See the chapter on Vijayanagara state and society in Stein, Peasant, State and Society, pp. 366-488. Footnotes are avoided, therefore except to indicate other sources or differences with Stein's account.

75. This is my inference.


77. Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphic Series, vol. 4, 33, hereafter TTDES.


79. The Arthasastra suggests that old devadasis and old dasis of the king should be employed usefully to cut wool, fibre, cotton and flax. See Chakravarti, "The Myth of the Golden Age of Equality," p.11.

80. I am indebted to Uma Chakravarti for suggesting this possibility to me.


82. ibid., p. 164.


85. ibid., p.165.

86. Atchi Reddi, "Rich lands and Poor Lords".


88. I am here extending Lerner's suggestion about the Babylonian temple to the south Indian temple. See Lerner, The Creation of Patriarchy, p.131.

89. Witness the dedication of 400 girls brought from different places in his territory by Rajaraja Chola in 1004 A.D. to the Brhaddeswara temple at Tanjavur.
90. See TIDES volumes.

91. Lalita Iyer, personal communication. This is supported by a French translation of a Tamil street play where the story establishes the connection between tradeswomen and devadasis in nineteenth century Madras Presidency. Anon. La Devadassi.

92. Susie Tharu and K. Lalita, Women Writing in India, p. 117.

93. SII, 17:762. Vaduga literally means northerner. In this context it is used to refer to Telugu immigrants in Tamil country. Vadugan in modern Tamilnadu has become the caste title of a reserved caste.


95. ibid.

96. ibid.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>TEMPLE PLACE</th>
<th>NAME OF DONOR</th>
<th>NATURE/AMOUNT ENDOWED</th>
<th>PURPOSE</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>AD 10c.</td>
<td>Tiruvannamalai Temple</td>
<td>Sendan Seyyavayamani</td>
<td>10 kalanju gold</td>
<td>Burning twilight lamp and supply a pot of water to temple from river for deity's sacred bath</td>
<td>SII 6:8</td>
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<tr>
<td>AD 1006</td>
<td>Jalanatheswarar Temple N.Arcot</td>
<td>Virammal</td>
<td>23 kalanju gold tested by standard weight, Danmakatatdalai</td>
<td>For offering lamp to god Takkola Vitankadeva No. 1-2 App B</td>
<td>ARS IE 192 No. 297</td>
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<tr>
<td>AD 1011</td>
<td>Jalanatheswarar Temple N.Arcot</td>
<td>Govindavvai</td>
<td>11 1/2 kalanju of gold</td>
<td>For offerings to god</td>
<td>ARS IE 192 No. 258 App B</td>
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<tr>
<td>AD 1101</td>
<td>Nilakanteswarar Temple Vizag</td>
<td>Sanikapu Bhutana Nagavva</td>
<td>Piece of wet land</td>
<td>Perpetual lamp for merit of her son</td>
<td>SII 10:654</td>
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<tr>
<td>AD 1123-4</td>
<td>Mahalingaswamy Temple Tanjavur</td>
<td>Madavan Tavamseydal alias Fukkaatturai Vallabhamanikkam</td>
<td>Cow of 5 nali yield of milk</td>
<td>Upkeep of perpetual lamp</td>
<td>SII 17:299</td>
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<td>AD 1140</td>
<td>Anantabhojeswarar Temple Guntur</td>
<td>Indulasani Pedudama Rajanarayana Gadyanas</td>
<td>Five</td>
<td>Upkeep of perpetual lamp</td>
<td>SII 10:108</td>
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<td>Upkeep of SII</td>
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<td>Some Swara</td>
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<td>50 inupa yedlu</td>
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<td>1153</td>
<td>Mulasthan-eswara</td>
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<td>12 birudu gadiyas</td>
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<td>Perpetual lamp for merit of parents and self</td>
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<td>Kapasani</td>
<td>Mandapa of temple plastered</td>
<td>10:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Temple</td>
<td></td>
<td>For merit of parents</td>
<td>207</td>
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<td></td>
<td>W.Godavari</td>
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<td>1246</td>
<td>Tripurant-akeswara</td>
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<td>Upkeep of SII lamp for merit of husband</td>
<td>311</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1249</td>
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<td>Jayasani</td>
<td>50 goats</td>
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<td>Upkeep of SII lamp</td>
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<td>1250</td>
<td>Chidam-baram</td>
<td>Pillayar</td>
<td>Gift of a flower</td>
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<td></td>
<td>S.Arcot</td>
<td>Sirridai</td>
<td>garden after purchase and maintenance of two servants</td>
<td>151</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Arivai+</td>
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<td>providing flowers for goddess and for maintenance of garden</td>
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<td>AD</td>
<td>Some Swara</td>
<td>Kornam-sani++</td>
<td>Gift of land</td>
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<td>Upkeep of SII lamp for merit of husband</td>
<td>364</td>
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<td>W.Godavari</td>
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<td>1259</td>
<td>Tripurant-akeswara,</td>
<td>Eriksanai+</td>
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<td>Kurnool</td>
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<td>Upkeep of SII lamp</td>
<td>368</td>
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<td>Offerer</td>
<td>Offer</td>
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<td>1259</td>
<td>Tiruvamattur</td>
<td>Madapillai alias</td>
<td>5 cows</td>
<td>Burning lamp in temple SII 12:196</td>
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<td>S.Arcot</td>
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<td>1260</td>
<td>Kunnathur</td>
<td>Piraiyanivan udatar</td>
<td>3 palan kasu</td>
<td>Twilight lamp before the image SII 12:204</td>
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<td>Chingleput</td>
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<td>Image of Dakshinamurthy</td>
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<td>1262</td>
<td>Kunnathur</td>
<td>Kannudai Nachiyar</td>
<td>3 palan kasu</td>
<td>Twilight lamp SII 12:214</td>
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<td>1315</td>
<td>Bhimeswara Temple</td>
<td>Kunasani</td>
<td>2 stone pillars in Nandi mandapam of temple</td>
<td>For merit of her parents-in-law, husband and son and for the merit of her grandparents and parents</td>
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<td></td>
<td>W.Godavari</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Mahadeva Temple</td>
<td>Chaturan Chaturi</td>
<td>95 sheep</td>
<td>Upkeep of perpetual lamp ARS IE 191 No. 147 App B</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tiruvorriyur</td>
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<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Tiruvarameswaram</td>
<td>Devaradiyar</td>
<td>2 kasu</td>
<td>Burning twilight lamp in the temple SII 19:220</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tanjavur</td>
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<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ananteeswara Temple</td>
<td>Nakkan</td>
<td>gift of gold</td>
<td>Maintenance of perpetual lamp SII 19:283</td>
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<td></td>
<td>S.Arcot</td>
<td>Piratamadevi alias</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mummidisola Talaikkoli</td>
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<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ananteeswara Temple</td>
<td>Koyil Perral alias</td>
<td>gift of gold (tulaippopan)</td>
<td>upkeep of perpetual lamp in the temple and for daily midday offering to god with which 0. Bharta well versed in Vedavas would be fed.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S.Arcot</td>
<td>Gunavan Madeviyar</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>TEMPLE/ PLACE</td>
<td>NAME/ DESIGN. OF DONOR</td>
<td>ENDOWMENT/ NO. OF WOMEN SUPPORTED</td>
<td>PURPOSE</td>
<td>SOURCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
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<td>------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>AD 1153</td>
<td>Ramalinga- Muppa Gift of land, extent unknown</td>
<td>Emoluments to sanulu, manulu, maintenance of perpetual lamp, feeding of ten brahmins/ not specified</td>
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<td>Temple Guntur Naganayaka</td>
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<td>SII 10:130</td>
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<tr>
<td>AD 1170</td>
<td>Chodesvara Padavalu Perpetual lamps and land</td>
<td>Land as emoluments to Sanis/ seven</td>
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<td>Temple Guntur Gonka and Gokambika</td>
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<td></td>
<td>SII 10:171</td>
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<tr>
<td>AD 1171</td>
<td>Ramalinge- - Land to temple, sthanapatis sanis and other servants/ not specified</td>
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<td>Temple Guntur swara</td>
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<td>SII 10:177</td>
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<td>AD 1174</td>
<td>Yenikepadu Mahamandal Land perpetual lamps and for sanulu and manulu of the temple of Kesavadeva in Bejawada</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Krishna eswara District Kulottunga Rajendra Chodaraja</td>
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<td>SII 10:192</td>
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<tr>
<td>AD 1219</td>
<td>Potlapadu Tripuranta Gift Decorations, NI (1) daily puja p.368 sandal, musk camphor saffron milk and curds and to the</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Kurnool Tripuranta Gift Mahadeva</td>
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161
AD 1250
Dalapati- Residents 3 ma of land
Tinnevelly of samudram Perumbalan
ji

For enacting Sakkaikuttu 1929
in temple para 15
 twice a
 year/ 3
devaradiyar

AD 1270-71 Sinna-
mannur Mahasabha Sale of 1
Madurai of ma of land
 Arikessari- to
nallur and Mahadevan
 pammaisy- Periyanayan
 var and
 veliseyvar

To be made SII
over to a 17:428
devaradiyar
as jivita/ 1
devaradiyar

AD 1320-21 Nartta-
malai author- 10 ma of land
Tiruchira-
 palli ities of land
 mathas and
 temple

For serving SII
 in the 17:393
temple twice
 a day/ 10
devaradiyar
### Village Endowments to the Tirupati Temple and Types of Tenure by Donor Groups AD 1509-68

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Donor Group</th>
<th>Type of Tenure</th>
<th>1509-30</th>
<th>1530-42</th>
<th>1542-68</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State Donors</td>
<td>Crown and Service Tenure</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>62.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Temple Functionaries</td>
<td>Eleemosynary Tenure</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>43.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Local Residents and Merchants</td>
<td>Some service, some peasant proprietor tenure</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>9.5</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>115.0</td>
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Monetary Endowments to the Tirupati Temple by Women in the Vijayanagara period. (Achyutaraya's reign)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Names of donors</th>
<th>Amount (Nar Panam)</th>
<th>Source (TTDES Vol)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1530</td>
<td>Govindasani</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>Vol IV: No. 39</td>
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<tr>
<td>1532</td>
<td>Lingasani and sister</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>Vol IV: No. 21</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tiruvenkatamanikkam</td>
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<tr>
<td>1534</td>
<td>Govindasani</td>
<td>1,620</td>
<td>Vol IV: No. 33</td>
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<tr>
<td>1535</td>
<td>Chikkayasavayi and sister Govindasani</td>
<td>1,750</td>
<td>Vol IV: No. 39</td>
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<tr>
<td>1535</td>
<td>Lingi and</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>Vol IV: No. 49</td>
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<td>Tiruvenkatamanikkam</td>
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<tr>
<td>1538</td>
<td>Yallamman</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>Vol IV: No. 117</td>
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<tr>
<td>1540</td>
<td>Lingasani and</td>
<td>1,650</td>
<td>Vol IV: No. 146</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Tiruvenkatamanikkam</td>
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<td>1540</td>
<td>Hanumasani</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>Vol IV: No. 422</td>
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