

Devadāsi Tradition of South India

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The term devadāsi means 'Maid servant of god'. In Tamil they are called devaratiyal, which means the same.

In modern Tamil the term has come to mean prostitutes, which is a telling evidence of social degeneration of the one time "servants of god". The devadāsis were dedicated to the services of the temple as dancers, singers, musicians as well as manual workers. A devadāsi has also been high priestess or a consort of the temple's presiding deity, a female oracle or medium of god's communication, participants in magico religious rituals and performance of theatrical arts among many other things. At some point of time, devadāsi slipped into the role of 'ladies of easy virtue' and the term increasingly came to mean a prostitute as well. The early temples had dancing halls where the devadāsi danced before the presiding deity in order to please both God and his male devotees. The provisions of mahāmandapa in the Dravidian temples as well as the Nāta Mandira of the Orissan temple amply justify this.

When and how the tradition of devadāsi began is a subject of great interest. Whatever its origin, it can be safely said that the tradition has deep root in the cultural history of India. As M.L.Vardapandey says "In her ritualistic functions the devadāsi tradition is connected with ancient cult of Mother goddess.¹ In one of the Indus seals a tree is shown sprouting from woman. As the symbol of premordial creative energy she has been associated with religion and ritual

though the nature of her participation and contribution differ from time to time.

From the 'Chāndogya² and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka'³ Upaniṣhads, it appears that the idea of performing ritual copulation for increasing the fertility of the earth and the belief in magical pro-creative power of woman have influenced many aspect of fire ritual also. Fire is considered as a male principle while the alter containing it is regarded the female principle.

In the Sāṅkhya system of philosophy the duality of Puruṣa and Prakṛti represented the male and female principle in the sublime form. A devadāsi acts like and represents the Prakṛti, while the temple itself remains in the passive form of part of the theme of their origin.

It was roughly in the 2nd half of 1st millennium B.C., the root of the tradition can be seen. A closer look at the socio-religious system indicates that the devadāsi tradition had originated from the then existing custom of the Gaṇikas or the courtesan.

The Gaṇikas were charming ladies well versed in performing art and to an extent well educated also. They entertained the people of high society and also provided both intellectual and physical companionship. Consequently the Gaṇikas were generally powerful both socially and economically and they enjoyed an influential status in the society.

The famous Sanskrit plays Chaturvani⁴ gives a vivid account of the types and character of the Gaṇikās. With the fall of patrons or the absence of such class they stood nowhere. The orthodox society always regarded them as public woman, so there was no question of

them going back to the traditional society. The only alternative to them therefore was to find new patrons. The growth of the temple institution in early medieval period offered them an opportunity, where not only they found the means to preserve their arts but also lead a kind of respectable life in the society.

The Mahābhārata in its 'Sabha Parva' while describing the different deities mentions about alluring Celestial dancers – Apsaras⁵, attached to the royal courts. In the 'Brahmajāla Sūtra'⁶ some scholars find a veiled reference to the devadāsi system. It is evident from the ancient Mariner's Manual on the coast of India entitled 'The Periplus of Erythean Sea'⁷ that along with wine beautiful Yavana dancing girls were dedicated to temple as devadāsi.

In the Arthaśāstra written about 4th century B.C. Kautilya refers to devadāsi. He also mentions temple festival 'Daivatta Samojtsva' full of theatrical entertainment⁸. However he does not define the role of devadāsi in it.

The Purānas throw significant light on the evolution and development of devadāsi system in India. They show that the custom of dedicating maidens to the temple was prevalent from the very early days. The Śaiva sect of Hinduism seems to have special preference for the devadāsi tradition more than others. 'Śiva Purāna' clearly lays down that when Śiva temple are built and endowments made for the conduct of the daily rituals, provisions should also be made for the gifts of damsel, well versed in dance and songs to the temples. What is more it hints that in this kind of oblation along with the building of Śiva temples dedication of devadāsi was made. However this was not only confined within the Śaiva sect but equally developed in other sects of the Brāhmanical religion also.

In the Padma Purāṇa (Śṛīṣṭi Khanda) the devotees are enjoined to dedicate beautiful girls to Munī and to the temple. There are many references to the devadāsi system in the Skanda Purāṇa. King Vajrangdeva, it says, dedicated dancing girl to serve god Somnath⁹. The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa states that if the dancing girls were dedicated to the Sun god, after death the donor will attain Surya loka or the abode of the Sun god¹⁰.

In the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana and in the Meghdoot of Kālidāsa there is reference of it. In another text, there is the mention of Gaṇikā Madanasena being invited to the temple of lord Nārāyaṇa to present a Sangeetak – a musical opera named Madanārādhana¹¹.

Hiuen Tsang who visited India in the 7th century A.D. speaks of dancing girls who were attached to the Sun temple of Multan. The eleventh century work Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara mentions a beautiful and young dancer of Mathura named Rupanika.

The most interesting inscription indicating the magnitude of Devadāsi system belong to the time of Rājarāja Chōḷa, the builder of Brihadésvara temple at Thanjavur. The inscription of Rājarāja¹² reveals that in A.D. 1001 the great temple had attached to it four hundreds dancing girls of Talic Cheri Pendungal. It is said that the temple dancers used to enact Rājarāja Nātakam depicting the history of the construction of the temple and of its builders, the Chōḷa kings.

In Maharastra at Vagali near Chalisgoan dated 1069 A.D. is found a record of the gift of four acres of land to temple for the maintenance of devadāsi cult¹³. In Karnataka, the Pillamari inscription of Receruvulla Nami Reddi records the gift of about 19 houses to temple dancers¹⁴.

The temple of Vijayanagar empire was surrounded by many houses which were allotted to devadāsis¹⁵. Enchanted by superb skill of the dancers Abdur Razak says the girl began to move their feet with such grace that wisdom lost its head and soul was intoxicated with delight¹⁶.

Reference to the institution of devadāsi in Kerala is found in the Manipravāla composition of the twelfth century. In the ancient poetic composition of Kerala like Śūka, Sandeṣani and Candrotravari there are reference to devadāsi. It is a well known fact that Kulaśekhara Perumal the ruler of Kerala of the ninth century A.D. dedicated his own daughter to the Srirangam temple.

The devadāsi tradition gained importance when the temple building activities got impetus in the early medieval period. From the time of the Gupta onwards numerous gigantic temples were constructed in north India. However the tradition reached its high watermark during the eleventh and twelfth century A.D. particularly in southern and eastern India.

This indicates the existence or continuation of the old culture of devadāsi under official guidance which one may consider as the historical modification of devadāsi tradition.

As being highly accomplished in performing arts, the devadāsi also provided a spectacular show to those who admire her arts, her charm as well as beauty. In turn, her admirer tried to depict her in different forms either in literature or in art. The Indian sculptors seem to have been fascinated by the dynamic energy of these dancing girls of temple.

The first ever mention of devadāsi in an inscription is found in Jogimaya cave of Madhya Pradesh. Here a beautiful depiction of

devadāsi has been found along with the inscriptions which reads as follows :-

Sutanaka Nāma devadāsi kyī
Sutanaka Nāma devadāsi kyī
Tam Kamajitha bal(M) naseyi
Devadina Nāme (Lupadakhe)
Sutanaka by name a devadāsi
Sutanaka by name a devadāsi
Excellent among men love her
Devadin by name skilled in sculpture¹⁷

This jogimaya cave is considered as a cave theatre of 2nd century B.C. The inscription in this cave suggests that poetry was recited there; love songs were sung and theatrical performances were done particularly at the swing festival of Vesual full noon, when frolics and music about¹⁸.

A steatite plaque with three panel found at Rajgir belonging to the 2nd century B.C. reflects the devadāsi more clearly. In one panel a devadāsi is posing as a deity with a priest offering her a cup of probably wine and in the third panel a devadāsi is shown dancing while the priest is playing the elongated drum-Mridanga.

The panels sculpted on the railings and gateways of the stupas at Bhārut, Sānchi and Amaravati show worship being offered to the relics of Buddha or Bodhi tree. The devadāsis began to capture the attention of the artist in a more significant way after the Gupta period when temple building activities got its importance; the devadāsis became part of the temple institution. They provided a theme to the painters and sculptors who decorated the temple walls, plinth, and railing with the most beautiful, sensual and dynamic figures of these

dancing girls. On the profusely carved plinth of Kandarīya Mahādeva temple at Khajurāho there is an interesting sculpture showing a pot bellied priest sitting comfortably and a devadāsi dancing before him.

The Cidambaram temple and the Brhadīśvara temple, the Masterpieces of the Chola temple art, are the richest source for sculptural representation of dancing girls. The devadāsi tradition in Orissa gained importance the 12th century onwards. The best examples are furnished by the temple wall, plinth of the sun temple of Konark as well as the Jagannāth temple at Puri.

The devadāsi seems to have been a favourite figure throughout India either in the form of a character in literature or an object of art. These sculptures, images and panels thus admit the popularity of the devadāsi tradition that it enjoyed in art.

In order to draw a clear cut picture of the devadāsi as a semiotic unit the significance being her own person and the signified being the Hindu tradition in which she functions it is necessary to discuss briefly the sociological aspect of the devadāsi against the background of temple. Because the entire life of the devadāsi revolve around the temple and the very existence of the devadāsi tradition is based on it. How does an ordinary girl transform into a devadāsi proper and what are the rites of passage that mark her initiation into the performing arts.

Concerning the rites of passage in the life of devadāsi, the best and the easiest way to obtain a proper picture is to turn to the temples of Tamil nadu, where the tradition is found even today.

Of course, the Agamic temples and the Royal temples played the most important role in the devadāsi tradition. The devadāsi of

these temples are of different categories.

The contention that devadāsis were all meant to perform dances is not correct. Though the main function of devadāsi was to sing and dance in praise of the god, the term devadāsi has wider connotation and covers all types of services which the young maids were assigned by the temple authorities.

Dr. Awadh Kishore Prasad¹⁹ makes six categories of the devadāsis –

1. Devadāsi as dancer – As dance services in the south Indian temple used to be fairly elaborate and varied, it is likely that the particular maid or group of maids were occupied for performing particular type of dances. We have several inscriptions mentioning dance performance by devadāsis in the temple. The Viaghrapurisvara temple inscription at Tiruvenganasal dated in the 14th year of Vikram Chola mention performance of San ikuttu on special occasion²⁰. In the eighteenth regnal year of Rāstrakūta Kannardava, the village assembly of srininqur made a gift of land to dancing women for dancing before god during procession²¹. The Kaluttur inscription in the thirteenth year of Kulottunga III fixes the timing for the performance of each of the dancing girl in the temple of Sundara Colisvara udayar²².
2. Devadāsi as Cāmara (fly whisk) holder – Holding Cāmara in honour of god was another important function of devadāsi. An epigraphic engraved on the chintamaninathar temple at Vasudavanallur registers gift of land to devadāsi for performing dance and waving fly whisks²³.

3. The third category of the devadāsis was those who look after the lamps.
4. A bilingual inscription from Andhra Pradesh speaks of the allotment of a share of paddy to devadāsi for preparing ga lands for the gods²⁴. Devadāsis tending flowers connected with the life of Vipranarayana the famous alvār saint and Devadevi his wife.
5. References of devadāsi performing the duties such as pounding rice and turmeric, preparing scented powders and burning incense to the deity have also been found²⁵.
6. Besides, the tradition at Śucīndram speak that the devadāsis of the temple also participate in the reception to the ruling sovereign or the members of the royal families²⁶.

There is also the mention of the term Rājadāsi who performed dance in king's court and svadāsi who gave performance in festivals, both associated with the temple.

This entire division is made according to the functions of the devadāsis. These functions were not however hereditary.

The ritual performances in the temple can be categorized into two broad groups – (a) Daily worship (Nitya-Karma). (b) Festival worship (Naimittika Karma).

The ritual worship of the temple differed from place to place as well as from temple to temple. In the daily worship the Pūja at dusk was generally considered very auspicious and drew the largest number of devotees during an ordinary day. The devadāsi's part was to fan the deity by fly whisk. During the offering of light (dipārādhana)

one devadāsi had to offer the pot lamps (Khumbha dīpa). This ritual was considered the most essential and characteristic task of the devadāsis. The Pūja was concluded by reciting puspāñjali stokes (hymns), dancing puspāñjali and singing Mangala by the devadāsis.

The Pūja at dusk was usually followed by small scale procession (Nityatosva) on the corridor of the temple during which the devadāsi sang devotional song. And at the palliyarai seva (service in bedroom) the deities were comfortably seated on a swing like coach and after offering Naivedya²⁷ the divine pairs were gently rocked to sleep to the singing of lullabies²⁸ by the devadāsis. This would conclude the daily routine.

The festival ritual is characterized by a grand procession of the god and goddess outside the temple. The ritual participation of the devadāsis were centered mostly for the preparation of the god to be taken outside the temple; and purification of the evil influences that have attached themselves to the god during the procession. In all ritual performance as laid according to the vedic, the Āgamic-tāntric, the devotional, the purāṇic and the oral traditions, the role of devadāsi stand out clearly and uniformly.

Initiation ceremony – The initiation ceremony that makes the devadāsi different from an ordinary girl also differed from temple to temple. There was no uniformity regarding the rules and regulations. In many temples the offering or the dedication of a devadāsi was made before puberty at the age of 5 yrs.²⁹. And from this period onward her training in performing arts begins. But Saskia C. Kersenboon Story offer meeting with devadāsis of these temples has suggested that when a girl reached the age of sixteen she was allowed to become a devadāsi³⁰. Before the ceremony, for almost a period of six months,

the girl was strictly guarded. She would not be allowed to leave the house so that no man could cast an eye on her. Her training in dance, song and language would continue indoors. One month before the function, the house would have to be kept in absolutely ritually clean state. If the girl has her periods within those months she would have to stay in the house of a relative under constant supervision. Only after bath (marking the end of unclean periods) she was allowed to return house.

Five days before the ceremony a function would be held – worship of ankle bells that would conclude the girls training in dance. For the first time she would dance publicly. Professionally speaking the girls was now qualified to be accepted in the service of temple. On the final day of ceremony she would have to observe a fast. She should wear her hair in a knot above the collar bone, and her waist should be adorned by a saffron cloth that is arranged in the ritually pure way. The ācharya would perform Pūja for Śadāsana. It followed by the two fold Pūja and archana by invocation of the presiding deity. The priest then offer dhūpa dīpa to the deity and performed a pradakṣiṇa around the village accompanied by all instruments. He then asks the would be devadāsi to set facing north and tie the golden thread containing the lingane (in case of the Śaiva temple) around her neck and thus concludes the marriage ceremony. This thread in Tamil is called tāli (Mangal Sūtra).

In one of the temples of Andhra Pradesh a devadāsi was expected to sleep three nights in the inner shrine of the temple at the commencement of her career so as to consummate the marriage. With the divine status conferred on her, a devadāsi's union with a human partner later could also be regarded as a communion with the

divine reflecting the bliss of men's ultimate union with god.

In the case of the Bāsavi³¹ the girl is not wedded to an idol, but on an auspicious day she is tied by means of a garland of flowers to the garuda Kambhan (lamp) of a Baliza Dasari. She is released either by man who is the receiver of her first favour or by her maternal uncle. A simple feast is held and she becomes a Bāsavi.

Before entering into the life of god's maid servant a devadāsi has to go through a rigorous period of training. Instruction should be given of the Mons Veneries and of bringing out charm. It is necessary that they posses all lakṣaṇa of exemplary bearing a body with proper limb exercise, beauty that shines like lightening, breath with good fragrance, speech like peacock, capacity for śikṣha(lesson in music and dance) with emotional involvement and Bhakti in the shrine of god.

In the course of their education of an aspirant devadāsi, other arts are taught in addition to dance such as Vocal music, literature like Mahābhārata and Bhāgavatapurāṇa and languages like Tamil, Telegu and little Sanskrit³². The training in art was concluded by Gajjai-Pūja³³. This ceremony marks the graduation of the student in the arts of music and dance and usually coincided with the formal dedication to a temple. At the end of the long training came the arrangement of her first public performance which may again be coincided with the marriage of a devadāsi.

In ancient days devadāsis who became expert in singing and dancing received titles from king³⁴. When a devadāsi became old or affected with disease and thus unable to perform her usual temple duties, she applied to the temple authority for permission her retirement. A simple ceremony was held and she became a grand

mother of the younger devadāsis. From that day onward a slight deduction was made in her daily wages.

Devadāsis were generally paid in the form of land grants. Very often villages or lands were granted to the temple for meeting the cost of specified services including music and dancing. The lands were distributed among the dāsis and the other categories of temple personnel. The Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana made grants of villages to the Chennakeśvara temple of Belūr for ceremonies offering and for livelihood of dancing girls, brāhmaṇas and others in the temple³⁵.

The Chelsrolu inscription of Jaya, the famous general of Kākatīya Gaṇapatideva contains a list of temple servants who were allotted their share of land. Sometimes, at the time of making grants the donors themselves fixed the share for the different categories of temple servants. In some of the temples like Rājarājésvara temple at Thanjavur, the Pedariyar temple of kolas and others, the share was fixed for each person each of the four hundred devadāsis in the Thanjavur temple³⁶. The list mentions that each of the 300 dancing girls who served in the temple from the age of eight years, was given 2 kha of land. In 1173 A.D. each of the dancing girls in the temple of Rameśvara at Suri Puram got 3 kha of land from Rājendra Chola II, son of Kulottunga Chola³⁷.

Provisions of food for the daily maintenance of devadāsis is also recorded. A Tamil record belonging to Travancore's dynasty dated 1168 A.D. relates to the temple of Tirupparkkadi at paddy and carried hand lamps was to receive 2 Nalis³⁸. At Śuchindaram, 12 nali of rice was granted to devadāsi Purapanda perumal and her lineal descendants³⁹.

When a devadāsi dies the god has to observe pollution. No Pūja would be conducted during this period. The funeral pyre must be lit with fire from the temple kitchen. Usually, a funeral procession should not stop anywhere but in the case of a devadāsi the bearers stop for a moment at the gopuram of the temple. A garland is removed from the idol of the deity and put on the corpse as well as a new Sari, Sandal-wood flowers and prasadam. A devadāsi always gets a funeral of a women who still wears her tāli because her husband is still alive.

The funeral honour that were bestowed on a devadāsi are significant for the ambivalent attitude and appreciation that a devadāsi received from society. The highest compliment which was paid to the devadāsi was paradoxically, her funeral. These funeral honours still valid for those aged devadāsis who were officially dedicated to temple.

The devadāsi is considered as 'ever auspicious women' whom Saskia C-Kersenboom story describes as 'Nitya-su-mangali'. As she can never be a widow she is most welcome guest at Hindu wedding. The sight of a devadāsi is always considered as a good women.

The sons of devadāsis were also accepted by the temple authorities as the nāttuvanars and the girls in turns as devadāsi. The property owned by these devadāsis generally were inherited by her offspring. But in the absent of such heir apparent she might be allowed to adopt her niece who is also dedicated to temple as her legal successor of her property⁴⁰.

Though the devadāsi tradition received the countenance of the temple, the devadāsis were always subjected to criticism in the Hindu

society. This may be due to the fact that the tradition as the time passed slipped into its degenerated form. From the status of being the bride of deity the devadāsis gradually became public woman. Though the notion of the devadāsi was very pure and respectful the society never accorded them the status of respected and respectable women.

Though the devadāsis represented a separate institution, unlike the Ganikās they were not independent, and were subservient to the temple authorities. The sole authority of the temple was the priests. When the ruling authority became weak, the grip of the priest on temple became stronger. As the time passed they become victims of these people who compelled them to do any sort of business in the name of the temple and god. Since devadāsi could not marry, having sexual relation with them was not regarded a sin.

Again the rigidity of Society left a little prospect for mobility of the devadāsi. Prospect of promotion from ordinary temple to Royal temple stopped. A kind of frustration arose themselves, who as being find the door of further prospect entirely closed, totally moved towards the prostitution as a kind of revenge against the society with their youth, charm and talent.

Temple Prostitution was not an unknown thing in early history. It was perhaps one of the most important features in most ancient civilizations. In Babylon, in Cyprus among the Phonicians and in many parts of Western Asia it is recorded that the woman prostitute themselves as religious duty at sanctuary of goddess⁴¹.

In Indian context also, we find reference of the girls as being dedicated to the temple who were equally associated with the prostitution also. In the 11th century work 'Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara' there

is the mention of an young prostitute Rupānika who used to visit a local temple at the time of worship to perform her appointed duty. She was a ganikā, performing the duties of devadāsi. Likewise we find reference to the temple prostitution much before. But one thing should be noted that there was a fundamental difference between a devadāsi prostitute and an ordinary prostitute. In the later case the prostitution was entirely a voluntary art and it was the case in individual, while in the case of devadāsi there was a compulsion and it included the entire institution of the devadāsi. When we talk about a devadāsi prostitute, it includes their whole institution and to an institution to do so in compulsion is an exploitation on them. This is what happened in the case of devadāsis.

Above all, the aristocratic class including the kings, the chieftains and other members of the ruling class used them to quench their carnal thirst. So the devadāsi tradition was condemned in the society. It lost entire respect once it used to command in the society. The courtesan or dancing girls attached to each temple thus take their second rank and are called devadāsi but of the public call them by more vulgar name of prostitute⁴². A Persian work sirat-I-firuz-Sahi relates the story of the degraded condition of devadāsi and the text refers them as devil sanyasinis who are called Mansavi⁴³. The famous venation traveler Marco Polo (1256-1323 A.D) who traveled through India and visited Malabar at the end of the 13th century observes that dancing girls associate with the temple acted also as prostitutes in the Malabar coast⁴⁴. It seems that temple prostitute became a regular feature of the devadāsi tradition towards the close of the medieval period.

As the time passed the devadāsi tradition just became burden and deep scar in the cultural heritage of India. Therefore

the government had to enact legislation to ban the system.

Footnotes

- 1) Vardapandey, M.L., *Religion and Theatre*, p.45-46, Delhi, 1983
- 2) *Chāndogya*2- II , XII 1 & 2
- 3) *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* – VI 4,3
- 4) *Chaturvāni* – text written during the Gupta period. It comprises four plays, the heroines of which are mainly the *Ganikās*.
- 5) *Apsaras* – Divine dancers who might have become the mistresses of gods and men, comparable with Greek Nymphs.
- 6) *Brahmajāla Sūtra* – A Buddhist work of 6th century B.C.
- 7) *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* compiled in Greek by an anonymous author towards the end of the 1st century A.D.
- 8) *Śūdrāndhyāka Prakaraṇa* – (5;2)
- 9) *Skanda Purāna* (24;2)
- 10) *Bhaviṣya Purāna* (93;67)
- 11) *Udhayabnisarka (Chaturvāni)* by Vararuchi
- 12) *South Indian Inscriptions*, ed., E. Hultz, Madras, 1890-1903
- 13) *Epigraphic India*, Vol II, p.227
- 14) *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, 1942, No.3, p.109
- 15) Paes and Nuniz., *Vijaynagar Empire*. ed., Filliozal, V., p.24, Delhi, 1977
- 16) H.M. Elliot., *History of India*, p.118, Read Books, 1906
- 17) *Archaeological Survey of India Report-1903-A*, Critique of Indian Theatre, p. 95-107, New Delhi

- 18) Vardapandey, M.L., op. cit., p.50
- 19) Prasad, A.K., Functions and Gradation of Devadāsis-An essay,| Indian History Congress, 45th session, Annamalaingar, p192-194
- 20) Annual Report on South India Epigraphy,1915 No.B 253
- 21) Ibid.,1910 B 370
- 22) Krishnamurthy, S.K., A study of cultural Development in Chola period, p.73, Madras,1966
- 23) Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy, 1050-51, No.363
- 24) South Indian Inscriptions, No.1384
- 25) Travancore Archaeological Series, V, No.24
- 26) Pellai, K.K., The Śúcīndram Temple, p.258, Madras, 1953
- 27) Naivedya- ritual offering of milk, cooked food etc.
- 28) Chatterjee, A., Dances of Golden Hall, p.29-31, Delhi,1979
- 29) Ibid., p.30
- 30) Kersenboom story Sasika C., Nityasumangali, p.188, Delhi,1987
- 31) Bāsavis were the girls dedicate to the temples in Karnataka. It is Customary to dedicate one daughter as a Bāsavi, if there is no male of spring in the family.
- 32) Kersenboom story Sasikac., op. cit., p.191
- 33) Worship of ankle bells which concludes a devadāsis training in dance.
- 34) Thurston, E., Castes and Tribes of Southern India, p.140, Delhi,1975
- 35) Epigraphic Carnatica, V Belur 58.
- 36) South Indian Inscription II plate3 No.66

- 37) SII X No.77
- 38) Ibid., No.75
- 39) Travancore Archaeological Services IV No.21
- 40) Thurston, E., op. cit., p.141
- 41) Britanica Encyclopedia, Vol-XVIII
- 42) Dubois, J.A., Hindu Manners Customs and Ceremonies, p.592
5,oxford, 1978
- 43) JRASBB, Vol-VII, 1942, p.79
- 44) The Book of Marco – Polo, p.345-46, Vol-II, Vule 6, Consider,
1975.