

History of Devadasi in Odisha: Special Reference to Sacred Prostitution

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Abstract: The devadasi system is one of the most interesting history of India. They are taking special positions in the history of India as well as Odisha. Devadasi is unique and unusual among Indian women, who were actually known as the temple women. It has very fascinating and as well very controversy. The history of devadasi was very much early probably since the development of civilization in the world. The devadasis are generally associated with socio-cultural and socio-religious aspects of men. The literary means of 'Devadasi' is female slave of the deity. They are associated various works of the temples as well as the works of palaces of the country. Although they are recruited for the temple service, they are also assigns various duties in the social, cultural and religious activities of country. Besides the temple service they are also engaged as sex worker some time, in the temple known as sacred prostitution, in the palaces as courtesan. In this paper we will tried to highlight the historical development of Devadasi system in Odisha and focusing on the sacred prostitution. The sacred prostitution was highly contributed the Indian history in different period of time. The prostitution which is at present called an unethical, it is very common since the very beginning of civilization. This devadasi system was also prevalent in Odisha, it also reflects with various evidences through which we can easily know the condition in ancient and medieval Odisha.

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INTRODUCTION

Devadasi system had very important place in the history of mankind, it was one of the popular institution in India as well as Odisha. It is very difficult to find the origin of the system; it is probably evolved in the socio-religious purpose. The female servants 'Devadasis' were attached to the temples for the specific purpose i.e., to perform dance and music before and on behalf of the donor. Whence the a girl is entered into temple they will spend whole life in the temple, believe that they are married to deity of the temple, they have not married to mortal men. The religious institutions have make the laws on the various rights and duties of Devadasis which sanction them a special positions in the society. The devadasi system is widely prevalent almost every part of India. There are many historical sources which gives ample evidence of rise and development of system in India. The cult of dedicating girls to temples prevailed all over India in different forms and names such as *Maharis* in Kerala, *Natis*

in Assam, *Murali* in Maharashtra, *Patras* and *Maharis* in Odisha, *Basavi* and *Devalis* in Andhra Pradesh and *Basavis* or *Jogatis* in Karnataka¹. There are many scholars who are through light on the issues and history of devadasi system in India as well as Odisha.

According to various references, the devadasis are classified into seven classes² such as *Datta*- one who gives herself as a gift to the temple; *Vikrita*- one who sells herself for the same purpose; *Bhritya*- one who offers herself as a temple servant for the prosperity of the family; *Bhakta*- one who joins the temple out of devotion; *Hrita*- one who is enticed away and presented to the temple; *Alankara*- who is well trained in her profession and is profusely decked and as such is presented to the temple by kings and noblemen; and *Rudra ganika* or *Gopika*-who receive regular wages from the temple and are employed to sing and dance.

The term sex has been one of the most crucial issues during the preoccupied religious thought in the world. From which the rites and rituals are come out, the most important thing to discuss is “the Sacred Prostitution”. Before the formation of institutions we should know the logical believe regarding the system. The sexuality and prostitutions has never been considered as evil or bad in the human mind. The believes come that the sex and sexuality is very good for the world which is represent as growth, and production rather than evil or sensuality which today we thought. The custom of sacred prostitution can be traced back to the notion of divine represent of productivity, which is one of the integral parts of early agricultural societies. The conformity regarding this aspect is in the subjects of inquiry³. The scholars are presumed that the non-Hindu/non-Aryan religious ideas provides base for the origin of institutions. These institutions gradually grafted in the Hinduism at the loss of their archetypal identity and led to creation of beliefs original in nature but secondary in function. There are many scholars who were studied in this aspects, they have touch various angle of the institutions. The scholars like, M.S. Aiyanger⁴, K.K. Pillai⁵, A.S. Altekar⁶, Moti Chnadra⁷, K.Sadasivan⁸ and many more Indian scholars who are through light on the subject. Like many other part of India Odisha had also prevalent the devadasi system. From the recent studies related to system is attached with the Indus civilization. This dancing image is probably represents of temple dancers and prostitutes existed in the middle Eastern civilization and were an important feature of later Hindu culture, but it is still not been proved⁹. Through various clay figurine of dancing girl from Mahenjodaro and Harappa signified that the religious edifice of that period. But it is quite insufficient that to connect with Indian civilization which has been historically noticeable since 6th century A.D.

In Odishan perspective the devadasi system is noticeable from the Hatigumpha inscriptions of Kharavela where the king was clearly depicted the activity of dancing and singing. With the inscriptions, the sculptural programs clearly indicate the prevalent of singing and dancing, which implies the great development of art in this period¹⁰. The Devadasi is closely associated with dance and music, that culture was influenced by the successor of the later age in Odisha who shows the progress in patronization of the culture by the various dynasty belonged to Odishan origin such as Bhaumakaras, Somavamsis, Imperial Gangas and Gajapatis who were great exponent of cultural development in odisha¹¹. Since the very beginning singing and dancing before the gods is necessary which is reflected from the inscriptional and sculptural evidences are available. With this the daily rituals of temples has been significantly transcribed on the temples with the Devadasi fid a specific place in all important medieval temples of Odisha. Besides the singing and dancing various duties has been also performed during festivals and ritual times.

HISTORY OF DEVADASI SYSTEM IN ODISHA

To evaluate the origin of devadasi system in Odisha, we have to know the various sources through which we can construct the evolution of devadasi system in Odisha. We can find various literary

records which are reflect on the singing and dancing system in Odisha secondly the socio-religious evolution of Odisha has also informed us some ideas and the archaeological sources. The first ever inscription where mentioned about the dance and singing is the Hatigumpha inscription¹² of Kharavela. In the 4-5 line of the inscription he clearly mentions the music and dance, merrymaking, Gandharva kala was taking place in the palaces. After the 1st century B.C. we did not have evidences regarding the continuity of the tradition due to scanty of records. The earliest inscription is found in Brahmesvara temple at Bhubaneswar on Mahari tradition of Udyotakesari. He was the last king in Kesari dynasty. In the inscription recoded that in 10th century A.D. Udyotakesari's mother Kalavati devi was depicted as beautiful dancing girl¹³. During the Somavamsi period, the system had become so common that even the queens had started dedicating dancing girls to the temples. Karnadeva (1100-1110A.D) the last Somavamsi ruler, for the increase of his religious merits and the fame of his own self and his parents is known to have granted a rent free village to a dancing girls, Karpurasri by name¹⁴. Another inscription is found in the Meghesvara temple of Bhubanesvar. It is issued by Rajarajadeva II of Ganga dynasty in the later part of 12th century A.D. Now the inscription has been found in the compound of Anantavasudeva temple where referred the dancing girls sacrifice to lord Siva¹⁵. The consecration of dancing girl is also found in a temple Sobhanesvara temple inscription of king Vaidyanayth the feudatory of the Gangas at Niali near Phulnakhara¹⁶. Anagabhimadeva who had built many temples during his time his daughter Chandrika is an expert in music and dance. The temple of Mukhalingam presently in Andhra Pradesh was provided with some services of dancing, singing and drumming by the Devaganika or the devadasis during this period by the Imperial Ganga rulers. The temple inscription explains the appointment of beautiful dancers in the service of lord Vishnu. Prataparudra deva was issued an inscription on July 1499 A.D. in devotion to lord Jagannath¹⁷. Besides these epigraphical records there are many literary evidences which deals with the matters like Jatakas, Madalapanji, the Geeta Govinda which are a great source of practicing of devadasi system in Odisha.

The religion and culture is taking very important role in the development of such art. Odisha has passed with various cultural changes in such long period of time from 1st century B.C. to 17th century A.D. During these periods Odisha had experienced with many socio-religious changes are takes place, which is very evident from the sources that we got. Earlier before Asoka, Kalinga what was the religion prevalent in Odisha it is not clearly known but from the description of Jataka, it is evident that Odisha royal courts and chambers are sounding with music and dance. These probably indicate the primitive tribalism which is much related with the Indus age. Another aspects comes to mind that after Asoka Odisha was revived it religion that is Jainism, Kharavela had brought back the Jina image from Magadha it indicated the prevalent of Jainism in Odisha. The decline of Chedi dynasty from 1st century A.D-6th century A.D. Odisha do not have any strong records which we cannot reach in the conclusion what was the socio-cultural condition of Odisha. According to reference of various Jaina texts Odisha was popular of Jainism in 5th to 4th century B.C., it was reached its peak in 1st century A.D¹⁸. There is not any concrete evidence about the evidence from 1st century A.D. to 7th century A.D. The Jainism was decline in 3rd-4th century A.D. when the Nagas and Guptas constituted its ruling dynasties, the Asanpat inscription reveals that the region has probably have embraced the Brahminism. The Buddhism was commence to the land probably after Asokan rule in 3rd century B.C but it cannot be said the Buddhism was accepted by people of Odisha.

The 1st century A.D. is marks an important phase for the Buddhism after the decline of the home rule dynasty (Chedi). The gradual development of Buddhism was taking place in Odisha witnessed with the Mahayana form. From 2nd century- 7th century Buddhism was rise it prominence in Odisha. The Mahayana Buddhism was started it doctrine of philosophy. In course of time Mahayana form of

Buddhism gave rise to an idealist school of Philosophy called Yogachara or Vijnanavada¹⁹. Odisha has developed its various popular centres of Buddhism from 2-7th c.A.D. the great Buddhist teachers like Aryadeva, Nagarjuna and Dignaga to expound the principle of Mahayana. In the meanwhile the Hinayana Buddhism was prevailed after post-Gupta period. In the 7th to 8th century Buddhism was lost its vigour, due to lack of patronize by the ruling class who are strongly pro-Brahminic. However the Bhaumakara ruler, come to the power in 8th century and their patronization to Buddhism has again rise its vigour and reached its peak. In this period various Buddhist centres are developed throughout Odisha²⁰. The religious sixth century onwards political stability brings the cultural revival may be through different religions with different approach. The Brahmanic religion was also developed side by side particularly after the Gupta empire in India.

Besides the Buddhism was evolved in Odisha, at the same time the Brahmanic cult was also rises side by side. The Brahmanic cult such as Saivism, Saktism and Vaisnavism was developed in chronologically. The Saivism in odisha seems to be emerged from the Vindhyan range and Mahendragiri by the Pulindas and Savaras which is referred in medieval inscription of Odisha. Saivism was rise in Odisha can be historically gleaned from the Mauryan period from the epigraphic and literary evidences²¹. In the fourth century A.D. the Brahminical religion evolved in Odishan history, in the Allabad Pillar inscription of Daman of Erandapalla described himself as the lord of Girikalinga or hilly tract of Kalinga. In the fourth and fifth century the Mathara rulers were patron of Vaisnavism. The rise of Saivism is one tools in the early medieval particularly, the rise of Lakulisha Pasupata school. In 6th century A.D the sculptural and epigraphic evidences indicates that the Buddhist and Tantric cults was taking their shape in Odisha. Although there are rarely observed dancing and singing scene in the Buddhistic and Tantric shrines the scholars are believed that the dance received religious sanction in Buddhistic and Tantric shrines where the devotees were enjoined themselves to sing and dance. Otherwise the deities have been not sculpted in dancing attitude²².

There is no doubt that the devadasi system in Odisha was probably started with the growth of Saivism in Odisha but the earliest temple did not represents the female dancer on the temple arts. Besides the siva dancing images the Gannesa image is frequently sculpted in dance mood and the male dancer surround them. It is interesting to note that the Khandagiri and Udayagiri had exclusively depicted the female images in dancing and singing, may the women were predominated at that time. It is very difficult to come to conclusion that when was started the system of devadasis in Odisha? if we perceived that devadasi system was started after the growth of Saivism, there is no sculpture were depicted. On the other hand six hundred earlier the female dancer were predominated which is evidentially sculpted in the Khandagiri and Udayagiri. On the basis of the references, from the bronze dancing girl of Harappa is considered to be prevalent of sacred dancing/ prostitution as per the concrete evidences shown the very early of Christian era the practices was prevalent in India which is shown in the sculptured of Khandagiri and Udayagiri, Odisha. The sangam literatures have mentioned that the devadasi system was practice in the early Christian era in Brahmanic temple²³. The temple culture was most probably started since 7th century AD in Odisha with Saiva temples from South Odisha i.e, Mukhalingam where it has some spaces for the rituals of dancing in the temple. May the devadasi system was prevalent since the early days but it was grows when the temple culture was spread, accordingly we get various evidences in the temple surrounding. The Devadasi system was full flow during the 8th century to 16th century till the invasion of the Muslim to Odisha. The Devadasi system was one of the significant class that is beyond the four class of Hindu society. They are considered as Apsaras or the godly women who were not married in their life time. So in such situation they are also engaged themselves with various affairs, they are made relation with the priests, royal people

some time. Like other part of world in India there was also practiced the sexual life beyond the temple service. The Devadasi system in Odisha had also practiced so the sexual activities of devadasi had found little. The sexual activities of Devadasis are called as Sacred Prostitution by various scholars. Although there is not much evidences in Odisha that Devadasis of Odisha were engaged in the sex work, there are some belief by the scholars work on the sacred prostitution.

SACRED PROSTITUTION AMONG THE DEVADASIS IN ODISHA

Sex and sexuality is natural phenomena of the life cycle. So Devadasis of Odisha who were not married in their life time how they manage their sexuality is one of the critical part to know. They have some sexual life without marriage. They have some right to have sex with the higher category of the society such as from royal classes and priest classes. In the early medieval period, India was emerged as the owner of vast property and the employer of a large number of religious and non-religious functionaries. The emergence of temple culture grows the various religious functionaries such as the priests, dancing girls, dancing masters, singers and others. These functionaries were completely dedicated to the temple culture, beside the priests the female functionaries were known as god servent who were not married. They were the main functionary of the temple, the socio-cultural and economic prosperity of the temple and region was also because of devadasis. Through the practices of devadasi in the temple the economy of the state invite/ attracted towards the temple which help to get money from the people as well as the guest of honor²⁴.

The prostitution word to Devadasi is not suitable, there is no such evidences that the devadasis were engaged on sex trade publicly, so in my view, the sacred prostitution to devadasi in Odisha is not justified. Because, prostitution means a women who are engaged in sexual activity for all mass, who were got their income for sexual activity. As per archaeological evidence the scholars believe that the statue of bronze dancing girl of Mahenjodaro is the considered as sacred prostitution who might be perform dance in the precincts of the temple of mother goddess. Sex is one of the most crucial issues preoccupying religious thought throughout the world from the ancient times. Various texts has been referred the practice of prostitution and also women engaged in the temple services from the beginning of the civilization. India and Odisha had also extensively practice this system but it was vary from place to place. Women in Indian tradition are believed as sacred, it is compared with the nature who protect us from danger and give us food to live. Like the nature, women is considered as growth and prosperity on that basis probably women were associated with the religion. Where it come from? It is not any evidences but it was practiced worldwide in various manners. It has different as per the environment it sounding to the particular culture. The devadasi system in India was much practiced in Southern part of India than the northern India. As per the concrete evidences the devadasi was left in art and sculptural form on the temple shows the early Christian centuries. it was practiced and spread in the medieval period.

Various scholar believed that the custom of sacred prostitution can be traced back to the religious practices of the non-Aryan communities where the women were endowed with sacred power²⁵. The influx of increasing number of Aryan communities from north to south great influenced on Dravidian religion. In 5th and 6th centuries the great changes taking place in cultural tradition. The gradual assimilation and incorporation of certain beliefs from the primitive cultures that later came to the castigated as low cast of outcaste people. The merger of the indigenous religious system with the sanskritic culture led to the Hinduisation of south India and emergence of new force in the cultural and economic sphere. The assimilation of culture led to the feminine elements in Hinduism. As per the Historian, Romila Thaper the development of a “new and curious cult” associated with the fertility cult during this period

and the next two succeeding centuries in the tantric beliefs that had a profound impact of Hinduism and Hindu mode of worship. The hypothesis of the historian, can not be completely true because in every culture the feminism and sexuality is mean for the fertility and sacredness. The idea of vulgarity and sexuality in the life cycle is natural in both gender which led growth and prosperity. Various references of Aryan religious literature has been mentioned the contempt and disregard for the habit and practice of the Non-Aryans which led to development of Indian culture²⁶. The custom dedicated to women to temple s was very popular and widespread throughout the ancient world such as in the Greece, Babylonia, Egypt, Syria and West Africa. etc. That custom was developed into an institution is evident by the hierarchical structure within which these women were lived²⁷. The historians and scholars are believed that the custom was traced to the impact of *tantricism* on the religious practice of the greater tradition. The identification of attribution of Shakti, both qualitatively and quantitatively, by discreet caste communities as well as its implications. The shakti tradition in women is manifested in two levels, one is women outside domestic controls and the other embodied in the women within domestic control, it has differed with the quality in each other. The women in household are invested with a critical role to perform ritual for both gaining and controlling sakti. The male control and her own chastity, the Hindu woman controls her dangerous powers and is able to direct them for the benefit of her family. In the different stages of life various rites were performed such as puberty rites, menstrual taboos and widow restrictions these restrictions controlled and containing the female power. In the household female is considered as source of productive energy on which the kinship system is built, but she is also a kind of watchdog who ensures of its proper functioning²⁸. The women outside domestic control embodied Shakti more vigorously and exercised it for prosperity of society. The rituals they performed are modeled by the Vamachari sect of antiracism. It is pertinent to note here that the Srichakra in the temple embodies the ideals of tantricism and the ascendance of tantric rituals in the worship. In the greater tradition, such sacred women were part of the temple structure. They were identified with the sexual or tantric rituals various names were known such as *Sule*, *Bhogam* and *Sani* that all are implying prostitute. From the evidences the most tantric rituals were associated with the outcaste and lower group of the society. The causes behind the lower class women association with this practice because most of them are practice in traditions among the indigenous, the women of lower groups were more stronger in every sphere who can dedicatedly sacrificed and performs the various rites of the temple which are more critical who were live luxuriously. The lower class women and out caste who were mostly engaged various hard worker, they are worked in household works as well as the outside the house works. So they are physically stronger than then women who were live and work only in household works. The devadasi system was spread in every part of India. The serious practices was prevalent in the medieval India to upto the 16th century where the south India was champion for the evolution and growth for the devadasis custom. Odisha had also practice the custom since the ancient days which is found from the sculptural features of Khandagiri and Udayagiri in and around 1st century B.C. Although there is no such concrete evidences has been connected to this sculptural in the Odishan culture for development of Devadasi custom in the future. Again after the evolution of Saivism and Saktism has grown in Odisha, there is little bit found about the presence of the Devadasi system in Odisha. But after that in Odisha a great change has been taken place in socio-religious aspects such as the evolution of Jagannath cult which superseded the past socio-culture of Odisha. Since the beginning of Vaisnavism/Jagannath cult might be practiced the Devadasi culture in Odisha upto the muslim invasion to Odisha. Although there is much differences than the south India Devadasi system in Odisha, few scholar believe that the devadasi of odisha had also practiced as sacred prostitute.

SACRED PROSTITUTION IN ODISHA

Odisha has also practice the custom of devadasi, which is clearly observed in the socio-cultural activities of the region. In the manuscript it has clearly mentioned about the rules concerning their temple services. As per the scriptures they were directed to not to have sex during the temple services even not to see any face of man, if a man desires the body of dasi at the time of her seba, this man, by order of the king, should heavily fined. There are so many rules which guide to the devadasi particularly refrained from the sexual activity. On the other hand scholars believed that devadasis were sexual relations which is depicted on the wall of the temples, it is quite hard to materialize? Because in the Odisha the Devadasis were considered as sacred women(*mangala nari*), they were also known as *apasaras* who were live in the court of Indra, they are recognized as *martya apasaras*. In the aspect of sacred prostitution to Devadasi is quite difficult to called as such. We will try to make clear in two perspectives. One is related with the tells and stories and legend related to it and the scriptures related to rules and regulation for the devadasi customs. And another is proven through sculptural presentation of wall temples of Odisha.

In Odishan society, Devadasis are auto most important position. Who were highly respected position after the king and Brahmin. They were recognized beyond the man, who were recognized as part of god and king. They were also given right to learn puranas with the Brahmins, such as the Mira, Gargi in the Vedic age. The sexual intercourse in the temple was strictly prohibited which indicate is gives clarity that called sacred prostitution to devadasi is not suit. Sexual relation of devadasis ought to be restricted to the king and the Brahmin priests. However, some time they fall in short of this. It seems that on the whole they do not have sexual relations with non-Puri residents, i.e., with outsider, nor with members of the non-water giving castes. So in effect the number of eligible partners is extended to include higher caste residents of Puri. The sexual relation of Devadasi is completely private affairs between two persons. This expressed by saying relationships are secret which means that they can not take part of the public festivals or life cycle ceremony. The sexual relation is particularly takes place at the house of Devadasi.

The relationship is not like the those of common prostitutes not attached to the temples. They were not sell their service to public they are relation secretly with very few people from higher castes. As the Devadasi is supported by the temple and the kings, she does not depend upon their lover for maintenance. She is only receive gifts, some time very substantial ones , but these are not considered as payment s for services rendered. There is no contract for the sexual relations like the prostitutes. It is very simple provision of sexual services by these women is not a commercial exchange²⁹.

The kings were appointed a special officer to supervise who the devadasis had sexual relations with called as *dosandhi pariccha*. If the officer found that the women had sexual relations with a man from a non-water giving caste, the fact was reported to king by which she was punished. Although ideally a devadasi should not have sexual relations with such men, margalin has pointed that brought to bear only in the case of outsiders and men from non-water-giving castes. The devadasi who were restricted thei relationships to Brahmin priests and the king, had a higher prestige. Some of the devadasis compared themselves as to the heavenly courtesans(*swargabesya*, *apasara*). Some priest are believed that devadasis are impure(*apabitra*) at night but pure during the day probably impure because of sexual activities. Some priest are think that devadasis are impure, that's why they do not even take water from their hand. Even some time some they are considered as untouchable probably have due to the masculinity who were not want to give the right to the women in that ground the right of her body is not considered. So the sexual activity of devadasi is not like prostitute, it is their physical need to fulfill their sexual desire with some restricted rule as per the temple trust has been made. The

sexual activity is not sold out like prostitute, they most probably have completely maintain secret like household ladies. It was not also declared publicly to maintain sacredness of the temple as well as customs.

The secondly the sculpture depicted on the wall of the temple which shows sexual activities of devadasis, still it is very difficult to explain the purpose of depiction. The Odishan art which depicted various act of devadasis since 1st century B.C. probably Odishan culture has very much active in customs, which implies the raw traditional custom. As per historians and scholars believe that Odisha was inhabited by the tribals, the practice of free sex probably have found among the tribals and the religious rites and rituals of the region very much influenced with tribalism. So the practice of devadasis and the costume of free sex is reflected through the various sculptural art of Odishan temple in the later. The devadasi sculpture was depicted in the temple throughout the ages like Jaina temples, sakti temples, Buddhist monuments, saiva temples and at last in the Vaisnava temples there are clear evidences of existence of the customs in Odisha. The devadasis, dancing girls attached to Hindu temples were women of easy virtue who contributed to the prostitution of many religious practices, are widely known and universally accepted³⁰. The erotic motifs in Odishan temple is very common, beside the odishan temple we did not find much erotic in any other temple of India except Khajuraho. The erotic sculpture on the temples of Odisha is decorative motifs. In every wall of the temple is depicted with eroticism such as in *pitha*, *bada*, *amalaka*, *khapuri* and *kalasa*. The erotic sculpture on the temple wall is never be considered as obscene³¹. Love play an important part of Hindu life. The erotic activities of queens and princess even been described in the temple inscriptions, it feel natural by the Indian society as well as Odisha. During 10th century *alasa-kanyas* become standard decoration on the *kaniaka* of saiva as well as Sakti temples. The devadasis probably represented the hand-maiden Kama who are introduced on the *gavaksa* balusters in the 11th century and represented as standard motifs in the later temples³². The sculpture of primitiveness was run with the evolution of the temple architecture, which is reached its zenith in architecture as well as in the sculptural presentations. The society, religion, economy growth prosperity of the society is philosophically connected with eroticism in Odisha. The practice of devadasi in religion which grow the cultural development of Odisha in medieval India. They are depicted as all type of art of man, such as knowledge, art of happiness, art of prosperity, art of salvation, art of love, art of *Kama* etc. So the representation of devadasis on the temple was with various activities implies that because of them Odishan culture was prospered since the very early days.

CONCLUSION

Devadasi who were an important section of Odishan society to enrich the Odishan history. They culture which was grow up in the middle ages in Odisha is completely with the feudalist way, which was very prospered with their philosophical thought to civilization. The sacred prostitution which is named off by the various scholar to the devadasi, might not be called. They were live very gentle and principle life which is not to be compared with prostitute. They have the right to live in their own way, which resulted to relation with particular category of the society, mainly with the higher castes, the prostitutions is have sex for the sake of money which is not made by the devadasis. We cannot be called as sacred prostitution to devadasi who were enriches the Odishan culture through the ages and there is no such evidence to call them as prostitute.

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