

A SOCIO-CULTURAL HISTORY OF GOA FROM THE BHOJAS TO THE VIJAYANAGARA

By

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STATEMENT BY THE CANDIDATE

I hereby state that the thesis for the Ph. D. Degree on "SOCIO - CULTURAL HISTORY OF GOA FROM THE BHOJAS TO THE VIJAYANAGARA" is my original work and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any Degree, Diploma, Associateship, Fellowship or any other similar title.

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P R E F A C E

During the sixteen years from 1977, as an Assistant Superintending Archaeologist in the Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, I have travelled throughout Goa. Through my work involved in the Directorate, I realised that there is no work exclusively devoted to Socio-Cultural History of Goa pertaining to Pre-Portuguese period. In Goa sources in epigraphy are available from c. 400 A.D. Hence the Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara was selected. Dr. K. M. Mathew of the History Department of Goa University accepted me as the student. I am beholden for his constant encouragement and valuable guidance in completing this work. Words are inadequate to express the gratitude to my guru.

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V.R. Mitragotri.



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Abbreviations

ABOR	Anannals of Bhandarkar Oriental Institute
BDC	Bulletin of Deccan College
DHI	Development of Hindu Icons
EI	Epigraphic India
EHI GSM	Elements of Hindu Iconography Goa state Museum.
IA	Indian Antiquaries
JBHS.	Journal of Bombay Histor. Society
JBBS	Journal of Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society
JKU	Journal of Karnataka University
JOR	Journal of Oriental Research
MM	Mangesh Mahatmya
SKH	Sahyadri Khand
SKP	Skand Purana
Vts	Vetala Sahastranama
Vs	Verse

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Introduction

Prior to the spread of Aryan Culture to the South territory might have been called as Guva (land of arecanuts) by the early settlers like Gavdas ¹. The Sanskrit word for areca-nuts is guvak and it is obviously a loan-word. Gavdas might have brought areca-nuts to Goa. In the same way Gowhati the capital of Assam has origins in the word guva and a Nellore in Andhra Pradesh has originated from Nellu which means paddy. Usgaon (Ikshugram) is the village where the sugar-cane is grown.² Therefore, it is quite likely that guva is the most ancient name of Goa denoting the land of areca-nuts.

The native Prakrit speakers called this territory as Goy and it seems this word was current from the ancient period. Goya and Gove are synonyms and both were used. The latter word is found in the inscriptions of Kadambas and Vijayanagara.³ In Vishnu-Purāna and in Bhishma Parva of Mahabharat references to the Goparastra are found. Sahyādrikhanda also refers to both Gorastra and Gomant. (Konkanamahātmya) a Marathi work of 17th century which could be called a commentary of SKH has mentioned about Gorastra. A Marathi poet of 17th century of Ankola of Uttar Kannada in his translation on Mahabharat has also used the word Goarāstra.⁴

The capital . . . Gopakapattana,^{is} the modern Goa-Velha. The common denominator in the aforesaid words associated with Goa is go and which means cow in Sanskrit. From this it is evident that after the spread of Aryan Culture to South in around 400 B.C.⁵, it seems guva became Goa and thus came to be associated with cow. However, the antiquity of cow in Goa back to c. 8000 B. P.⁶ and cattle were in existence much earlier to the spread of Aryan culture to Goa.

Goa was also called Gomant during the ancient period and river Mandovi was called Gomati. Just as origin of India or Hindustan is traced to the river Sindhu or Indus, the origin of Gomant might be traced to river Gomati.⁷ A Portuguese writer was of the opinion that Gomant has originated from Goubhat the chief regional deity.⁸ It seems that he was not aware that Goa was one of the Shakti pithās and the presiding deity was Gomati and the purusha was Chandreshwara. 9. Therefore, Gomati was not only the name of the river but presiding deity of Goa as well.

However, the etymology of Gomant has attracted the attention of many scholars. Gomantak consists of two words Gomā (an arrow) anantak (terminus) the point where the arrow fell.¹⁰ The above explanation is associated with the legend of Parsuram and is purely mythological and not based on historical facts. Therefore, it is not convincing. Yet, there is one more view that the word Gomantak had originated from

the word Gomanchal and the latter word is associated with a mountain range. But there is no mountain range called Gomanchal. This consists of two words namely gomā and ānchal which mean the soft skin below the neck of the cow.¹¹ Therefore, the association of Gomantak is far fetched. The word Gomant is much more anterior than Gomantak. There are references to Gomant in Mahabharat but some scholars identify Gomant with Saurashtra. In Harivamṣa also the reference of Gomant occurs and it seems to be related to Goa. The fierce battle between Krishna and the king of Magadha Jarasandha is supposed to have been fought in the regions of Goa.¹²

On account of the location on the west coast of India Goa was known to foreign travelers during the ancient period. The Periplus of the Erythrean sea a work of an unknown sea traveller, ascribed to the period C. 40 A.D. - 71 A.D.¹³ furnishes localities supposed to have been associated with Goa. Major Rennel identifies Goa with Tyndis. On the other hand Dr. Vincent identified Aigidi of the Periplus with Goa. However, Aigidi seems to be Anjadiva Island near Goa. Though Goa was known to Greek travellers the proper identification is difficult and is still an open question. During the Middle Ages Goa, was known as Gouba or Kawe. By and large there is unanimity amongst the scholars that Kouba, Kawe or Kave are associated with Goa. The capital of Goa, Chandrapur was known as Sindabur.¹⁴

Goa was recognised as a part of Aparanta from ancient times. The reference to the terms Aparanta occurs in Bhishmaparva of Mahābharat, Vāyu Purāna, Kautilya's Artha Shāstra and in Raghuvamṣa. Aparanta denotes the territory located on the west coast. It extended from Baroch to Gangavali river in Uttar Kannada. Remaining territory on the west coast was referred to as Dravida.¹⁵ The words Aparanta and Konkan denoted the same region of west coast. But Aparanta has greater antiquity than Konkan and the latter term came in vogue during the c. 500 A.D.-600 A.D. Howsoever in course of time, Aparanta and Konkan became two distinct regions. Aparanta then denoted only north Konkan and the term Konkan denoted the southern Konkan.¹⁶ The Nerur grant of emperor Vijayadittya (705 AD) mentions the Konkan region as Mahāsaptama. It is also referred Sapta Konkanas they are Karātam, Virātam, Marātam, Konkanam, Havygam, Tulavam and Keralam. The fourth region called Konkanam is the region of Goa. The inscriptional evidence furnishes the extent of this territory, Havye 500 (Uttar Kannada), Konkana 900 (Goa Revatidvipa i.e. Iridige Vishaya) Konkan 1400. Thana Raigad and Lata which include Surat and Baroda of Gujrat State.¹⁷

The extent of Goa

The territory of Goa occupies the central position in Konkan and it extends from river Terekhol to Canacona. This

central zone of Konkan is the heart land of the west coast and in this region. Konkani is spoken. Goa is bound by on the western side by Arabian Sea and north by Maharashtra on the east as well as on south by Karnataka. Sahyadri range on the east separates Goa from the Deccan plateau. One third of Goa is covered by laterite, Mandovi (Gomati) and Zuari (Aghanashini) are the main rivers of Goa and are both navigable. Mandovi is 62 kms long Zuari is 63 kms long. The small river Tirakol (Arunda) divides Goa and Sindhudurga smaller rivers like Chapora (Chopde), Kushawati, Paroda and Talopana flowing within the territory of Goa. However during the entire period of this study the extent of Goa was not the same. SKH furnishes geographical data of the only two talukas of Goa namely of Tiswadi and Salcete. But the small area was not constituting the territory of Goa even during the period of when SKH was compiled. Hieun Tsang has mentioned that after covering a distance of 300 miles from south west to north west the territory of Konkan begins. Mallinath has mentioned that Murla (Gangavalli) is the dividing line between Dravida and Aparanta. Frair has mentioned that after crossing Gangawali river one could reach Karnatak. There was a tradition holding tarangas in the temples of Sateri, Ravalnath, Vetala and Mallikarjun during the festive days like Dasara or annual festival. This tradition is found from Kudal to Canacona. The tarang of Mallikarjuna of Canacona was taken in procession upto Gangavalli in Uttar Kannada. Therefore, this clearly

indicates that from Kudal to Gangavali, there is a separate cultural zone of Goa ¹⁹. However, it may be argued that the devotees of Mallikarjuna were residing in the areas of Uttar Kannada, therefore, for their convenience the tarangas of Mallikarjuna were taken up to Gangavali. Very close to the city of Karwar, there was a village called Kadewad. Place name Kadewad is very suggestive and is a compound of two words, Kade means the last or terminus and wad or Wadi locality. ²⁰. The village Kadewad is the terminus of Drawida (Kannada) culture and the beginning Konkani culture.

Jayakesi I extended his territory beyond the present Northern borders of Goa (North Konkan). It included Uttar Kannad and Belgaum. Even in the Vijayanagara period Gorastra extended upto Karwar district. ²¹ However, the socio-cultural history of Goa extending from the river Terekhol to Kali river has been only taken up in this work.

Survey of Inscriptions

For the study of political social and cultural history of Ancient India from c. 300 B.C. till the rise of Vijayanagara period, the epigraphs are valuable source materials. The decipherment of Brahmi and Kharosti scripts in the early 19th century was a land mark in the field of epigraphy. Scholars from Calcutta and Bombay had established the royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and Bombay. These Societies started the

publication of journals devoted to Ancient History of India. The Archaeological Survey of India which was established in 1864 appointed epigraphists like Burgess Buhler and Hultzsch. In South India Mackenzie, Rice and Fleet did pioneering work in the field of epigraphy.²²

The copper plates and stone inscriptions of the seven dynasties which have ruled over the small territory of Goa are good source material and throw light on the political and Socio-Cultural history of Goa. Many inscriptions have been discovered within the territory of Goa. Some inscriptions found outside Goa also refer to the political history of Goa. In Sawantwadi region (Iridige Vishaya) the survey of epigraph began due to the initiative of the British Civil Servants like Jacob and Keilhorn in the third decade of the last century. The copper plate of the Chalukyas of Badami namely six Nerur copper plates and the Southern Silaharas copper plates of Kharepatan were the early records to be discovered and deciphered. Keilhorn published Kharepatan copper plate of Rattaraja, the Southern Silaharas ruler in Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society vol. I Nerur copper plates were published in Indian Antiquary vol. ²³ Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic society published inscriptions relating to the Kadambas of Goa in 1867 - 1870. Subsequently a few more copper plates of Kadambas Kings were published in 1876.²⁴

The Goan physician Jose Gerson da Cunha who was successful in his profession was engaged in the study of the history of the west coast during the later part of the last century. His note on the shrine of Saptakoteshwar (1874) was published in IA vol. III is based on the SKH.²⁵ After considerable efforts he obtained manuscripts of SKH from Maharashtra, Karnataka and Kerala and the critical edition of the SKH (1877) was published. Da Cunha could not overcome his caste complex. Hence he never doubted the legend of Parasurama and the migration of Saraswats during the period of the above sage. He called the grammar of Konkani as grammatica Bracmana. He firmly believed Saraswats brought Konkani to Goa. But Mauryan Prakrit was spoken in the west coast and Goa from c. 400 B.C.²⁶

An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the city of Goa by Jose Nicolau da Fonseca published in 1878 on the model of District Gazetteer. ²⁷ Deals with the ancient history of Goa and is based on the inscriptions which were published in the volumes of JBBRAS. Fonseca deals with the origin of the word Goa and traced the history of the Kadambas, the Yadavas, the Bahamani conquest of Goa and the role of Vijayanagara. This is the earliest available work on the political history of Goa.

John Faithful Fleet's work the Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts (1894) is based on the inscriptions, out of the

dynasties mentioned in the book, the Chalukyas of Badami, the Southern Silahārās and the Kadambas of Goa are pertaining to the region of Goa. ~~A brief account of~~ ^{all the} ~~branches~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} Silāharās was published in Indian Culture.²⁸ Recently two works exclusively dealing with all branches of the Silaharas were attempted by scholars. Inscriptions Indicarum vol. VI deals with all the branches of the Silahārās and is an exhaustive and authoritative work on the subject.²⁹ G. T. Sawant's History of the Silahārās, also deals with all the branches of Silaharas.³⁰ B.R.Gopal's The Minor dynasties of South India gives a critical account of all the branches of Silaharas. ³¹

Till 1928, the history of Goa used to commence with the Chalukyas of Badami. But in that year Varde Valvalikar noticed a one line inscription on the linga of Aravalem and was incorrectly deciphered as Sachipura cha sirasi and it was ascribed to c. 200 A.D.³² Heras in 1929-30 along with his students explored the territory of Goa as well as North Karnataka with a view to collect materials on the history of the Kadambas. During the course of his exploration, Marcella copper plates Savai-Vere copper plates Panaji copper plate, Raya Viragal of Jayakesi were ^{the} main inscriptions discovered in Goa district. ³³ A few more inscriptions were discovered in Dharwad. On the basis of these inscriptions the history of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka titled the Kadamba Kula was

published in 1931 by Moraes. R. N. Gurav collected nearly 123 inscriptions on the Kadambas of Goa and based on these inscriptions attempted the History of Goa Kadambas.³⁴ The aforesaid work of Moraes dealt with all the branches of the Kadambas and is an exhaustive work on the history of Goa Kadambas. However, the author has not dealt with deities sculpture, architecture and iconography from the region of Goa. A stone inscription referring to Rayana Shastadeva Kadamba in nagari script ascribed to c.1000 A.D. was discovered in Curdi is now displayed in the State Museum of Goa. This inscription described Shastadeva Paramabhattachāraka Prachandadanda - mandala.³⁵ Yet another stone inscription in nagari script was discovered in Curdi by the officials, of Archaeological Survey of India in 1985 and it belongs to c. 1100-C. 1200 it is yet to be published.³⁶ Stone inscription of Jayakesi I engraved in Kannada characters belonging to 11th century is one of the few inscriptions of said ruler is published in EI XXXVII.³⁷

Two copper plates are published in News Letter, of Directorate of Archives, Government of Goa. Kudatari, copper plate of Kadamba King Jayakesi I, the first copper plate ^{refers} to the land named Tundakapur situated at Kudatrika agrahāra (Curtorim of Salcete). The second copper plate is from Korgaon belonging to king Bhimabhupal. It is dated 1351 A.D. to belong ^{to} a local dynasty which ruled Goa after the fall of Goa

Kadambas.³⁸

During the fourth decade of this century another copper plate of Chandravarman of Sivapura (Goa) was discovered and was ascribed to Kadambas and palaeographically it was dated c.500 A.D.³⁹ Thus the third and the fourth decade of this century saw the discovery of the two unknown dynasties of Goa. Five more copper plates of the Bhojas were discovered in the neighboring regions of Goa. These are namely of Hiregutti plates of the Bhoja ruler Asantika and the Arga copper plates of Kapalivarman. Both these copper plates were discovered in Kumta and Karwar talukas of Uttar Kannada. Kopoly plate of Asantikavarman belongs to Khanapur taluka of Belgaum.⁴⁰ The fifth and sixth copper plates of the Bhoja ruler Prithvimallavarman were discovered in Goa.

In addition to the aforesaid copper plate of Konkan Maurya, Chandravarman of Shivapura (Goa)) one more copper plate of Bandora (Bandivade) belonging to Anirajitavarman of the same dynasty was published in E I XXXIII.⁴¹ Stray papers of Marathi inscriptions of Yadava and post Yadava period were published in Bharat Itihas Samshodhan Mandal issues.⁴² In Prachin Koriv Marathi Lekh inscriptions upto Vijayanagara period have been published. This is an authoritative work on Marathi inscriptions.⁴³

During the post-liberation period the Nundem inscription

of Simharaja belonging to an unknown dynasty, perhaps a vassal of Konkana Maurya was published and is ascribed to c.500 A.D. on palaeographic grounds.⁴⁴ The reading and the date of the one line inscription of Aravalem was also revised and now the present reading of the inscription is Sambalura vasi Ravi and it is dated C.700 A.D.45. Settar and S. Rajashekhara of Karnataka university, Dharwad discovered the second inscription from Aravalem in 1979. The inscription is in box-headed characters and as carved on a pillar of the ancient temple. While converting pillar into linga sufficient care was taken and hence the inscription is ^{not} damaged. Madhav Katti deciphered the inscription and published in the journal of Epigraphic society no VI.

From the above survey of inscriptions it is evident that the territory of Goa is fairly rich in epigraphical source. Inscriptions throw light on the religion, society and economic conditions.

Survey of sources on Iconography, Architecture and Sculpture

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to see the magnificent caves of Elephanta and Kanheri. In fact the Portuguese soldiers damaged the sculptures of Elephanta caves and the standing images of Buddha in cave No. III of Kanheri.⁴⁶ They did not appreciate the heritage of India as

they saw India through the spectacles of Christianity. Scholars like Lopes Mendes, Braganza Pereira had no grounding in Sanskrit, Indian Philosophy and Iconography. Even in the works of later period the consorts of Brahma are mentioned as Riddhi and Siddhi.⁴⁷ A Scholar who had basic knowledge of Hindu iconography could have easily identified the aforesaid consorts of Brahma.

In the writings of the scholars of this century references to Vetala and Ravalnath are seen. However the scholars like Heras and Priolkar believed that these deities have Jaina origin. The folk deities like Bhauka are mentioned in the writings.⁴⁸ But the ramifications of Bhauka in the neighbouring regions were not taken into considerations. No scholars questioned the historicity of the statement of SKH that the deities like Mangesh, Saptakoteshwar, Nagesh, Mahalsa, Mahalakshmi and Shantadurga were brought from Tirhut.

Heras collected the sculptures of Gajalakshmi (Gajagouri) Nandi, Saptamatrikas from Chandor. Hero stone from Orlim village and Buddha from Colvale. He published a paper on the aforesaid Buddha image in JBHS.⁵⁰ After three and half decades of the publication of the writings of Heras, the Ancient Shrines of Goa was published. This monograph dealt with the main deities like Mahālsa, Shāntadurga, Saptakoteshwar, Vetālas, Vishnu and Brahmā and has 72 plates. Some sculptures like Brahmā from Parse have been incorrectly dated.⁵¹ It was a

Government publication meant for tourist and has the served this purpose.

S. A. Sali from the south western circle of Archaeological Survey of India explored the region of Goa. The survey included prehistoric archaeology as well as historic archacology. Saptakoteshwar shrine of Opa, the rock-cut caves of Narve and Dabosi and Diwadi are mentioned but these caves have not been dated.⁵² Soundara Rajan visited the caves of Aravalem in 1965 and the first to point out the significance of the aniconic lingās present in the caves, the representation of Surya and Kartikeya were for the first time explained. The Kuvaleshwar from Korgaon village of Pedne was identified as Kartikeya sculpture of early Chalukyas period.⁵³

Gritli Mitterwallner Studies iconography of Siva, Skanda and the devi from Goa and the neighbouring regions is a thesis submitted to Munich university in 1971.⁵⁴ She has contributed many papers devoted to iconography, art and architecture of Goa.⁵⁵ In 1979 Settar and Rajashekhara surveyed the rock-cut caves of Goa. However, no paper has been published by them on this survey. Puratatva and Purabhilekh, the journal of the Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum of the Government of Goa has published papers on the iconography on Umasahita Siva and Vishnu.⁵⁶ image from Savaivere village ⁵⁷ displayed in Old Goa Museum and Guleli Mahishāsoramardini ⁵⁸ depicted in boat. The papers presented in the seminars on the

history of Goa conducted annually by Goa University and Directorate of Archives and Archaeology have been published.⁵⁹

Epigraphists as well as scholars of Kannada literature have contributed towards understanding folk-deities and literary references to these deities have been studied in depth.⁶⁰ Marathi writers have also contributed in the study of the above folk deities. These folk deities were called loukika devās and references to these folk deities are found in English writings also.⁶¹

Literary Sources.

Puranas throw light on the political, social and cultural history of the various regions. Sahyādrīkhanda can be utilised for the cultural history of the west coast in general and Goa in particular. The Brahmins of the west coast, particularly the Saraswats consider it as a Purana. According to the traditions, it is part of Skanda Purāna (here after SKP) and hence it is labeled as Skandapurānantargat Sahyārikhand. However, ^{SKP.} ~~the~~ published from Venkateshwar Steam Press Bombay and Vanga edition of SKP have not included Sahyādrīkhanda in their editions. In the text of the aforesaid editions of SKP there is considerable similarity. SKH edited by Gajananshastri Gaitonde is easily available. This edition of SKH is based on Gerson Da Cunha's critical edition. In the foot notes of the Gaitonde's revised edition of SKH readings from various Ms

have been mentioned. Hardly there are differences between Da Cunhas critical edition and Gaitondes edition. Hence through out this study Gaitondes edition of SKH has been consulted. It would be appropriate to discuss the date of SKH. Recently an American scholar has edited eleven chapters of the section called Pātityagrāmanirnaya. This is most exhaustive and critical work available on SKH. The summary has been published in the Purānā journal. ⁶² The references to Kadamba king Mayurvarman show that some parts of SKH was compiled around c. 500 A.D. It has been suggested that SKH was compiled between 500-1500 A.D. ⁶³ This long span ascribed to SKH would indicate that it is extremely difficult to fix the date and of the puranas as most of these are based on Mythology and traditions.

Besides the references to Kadamba ruler Mayurvarman there are other datable references also. The next datable information is Chandrachuda (Chandreshwara Mahātmya). This deity is supposed to have been consecrated and worshipped by Bhoja king Chandravarman. Ambastacharitam the fourth chapter of this Mahātmya mentions that full moon day of Shrāvanyukta (Shrāvanayukta Somavār pournima) is very auspicious on Chandreshwara mountain for taking a holy dip. ⁶⁴ In the copper plate of the Bhoja ruler Prithvimallavarman refers to the donations made on Srāvanayukta pournima. ⁶⁵ This clearly indicates that even before Prithvimallavarman there was a

tradition according to which full moon day of Shravana was considered as an auspicious. From this it is evident that the date of this section may go back to c. 600 A.D.

Varunāpuramahātmya of SKH deals with the goddess Mahālsa. The ancient shrine of this goddess was at Verna of Salcete taluka during the Pre-Portuguese period. According to SKH she was brought from Tirhut (Bihar) by Parasurama and was consecrated in Verna. In Varunapuramahatmaya epithets of Mahālsa are furnished. The epithets Ambiketi Mohini and Kalaratri occur in the inscriptions found in Karnataka and in one Telugu inscription. The list of epithets of Mahālsā, this clearly indicates that Varunāpuramahātmya was written in C 1300-1400 A.D.⁶⁶.

From the above discussion it is evident that SKH provides an exhaustive source material for the social and cultural history of Goa.

Vetāla is worshipped in iconic form in many temples of Goa. Vetāla Sahastranāma throws light on the iconography and his association with various deities., his vehicle and his worship etc. Vetāla has been discussed in the chapter VI with the help of this Mss, In this Ms there are references to alchemy Hingalajamāta and Gorakhinipati are also mentioned. A preliminary study of Vetāla Sahastranāma reveals that it was compiled during c. 1400 A.D. after the arrival of Nāth-Panth

in Goa. This was the period when the folk deities were Brahmanised. ⁶⁷. Vetāla Sāhastranāma mentions that Vetāla holds cane (vetra) in his hand and hence he is called Vetrapani (Vs. 19). Elsewhere Narsimha is elder brother (jesta sakha) of Vetāla. In view of this Ms has been utilised for the study of Vetala in this work.

This territory on the Western sea board is part and parcel of India. Geographically, historically and culturally it is closely knit with rest of India. Economically also it dependent upon the neighbouring regions. From remote past it imported rice from Uttar Kannada and Dakshina Kannada and vegetable from Belgaum. Goa shares common history with the neighbouring regions. The common history could be traced from the period of Satavahanas, the Bhojas, Konkana Mauryas, Badami Chalukyas, the Southern Silahārās, the Kadambas of Goa the Yadavas and the Vijayanagara. These aforesaid dynasties have ruled and the neighbouring regions as well as Goa. Therefore, Goa shares common history with adjoining regions. But like other regions of India it has maintained its own individually. However, a scholars goes to the extent of saying that Goa had no sizable population and resources of its own an independent culture of its own. ⁶⁸ It seems to be a sweeping generalisation not based on historical facts and Goa has an individual personality of its own.

It has been felt necessary to make clear about the approach at the beginning. There was a strong belief among some Goans that the culture of Goa is quite different from the main land. This belief grew on account of the isolation of the Goan elite in the society in the neighbouring regions..The seeds of isolation were sown in medieval period itself because of the treatment given to all the Saraswat Brahmins by the Brahmins of the Deccan. Deshastha Brahmins never considered S̄araswats as Brahmins and did not dine together. They were not recognised for Shatkarma. This made them to confine themselves only to SKH and the particular Veda to which they were attached. Therefore, Saraswats to did not go beyond SKH. Hardly any scholars from Goa made efforts to other Purānas like Saura Purāna, Brahmānda, Purāna or Kalikā Purāna.⁶⁹ for the study of Saptakoteshwar, Kāmākshi and Vetālā.

Goa being a part of India sharing a common history with neighbouring regions during ancient and medieval period had been influenced by these regions. Such influence can be traced in the field of religion, sculpture, architecture and music. Therefore, an attempt is made to trace the similarity in the aforesaid fields. This perspective would facilitate and show that Goa has been and is culturally an inseparable part of India.

As mentioned earlier Goa is sandwiched between Karnataka and Maharashtra, and it has received both cultural influences. The sources are available in Kannada as well as in Marathi for the cultural history of Goa. Therefore, the knowledge of Kannada Marathi, Konkani, Sanskrit and the Portuguese are essential for the study of the socio-cultural history of Goa. The literature available in the aforesaid languages has been consulted for this study.

In the section the survey of inscriptions the references has been made to the works related to this regional study such as Kadamba Kula, the History of Goa Kadambas, the History of Silahārās, the Pre-Portuguese History of Goa ⁷⁰. The first work is general history of all the branches of Kadambas and therefore, is not exclusively written on Goa. Stray references to cultural history of Goa are available but the treatment is not exhaustive as it is dealing with all the regions where the branches of Kadambas have ruled. The other work mentioned above are of the particular period and are not covering the entire period of history from C 400 A.D. to 1500 A.D. In the chapter devoted to society and culture in the history of Kadambas references to Goa are meager. The last work furnishes only the political history of Goa to Vijayanagara . The iconography Siva-Kartikeya and Devi from Goa and the neighbouring regions is purely a study of iconography. Therefore, the socio-cultural history of Goa is a desideratum .

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references to Kushasthali (Cortalim). Mathagram (Madgaon), Karadalipur (Quevlism) are found in these verses and all these villages are in Salcete taluka. Gomānchal Kshetramāhatmya vs. 23-24 Chudamani Kshetra

(Chorao or Chodan) and Dipavati island (Diwadi) both are in Tiswadi taluka. Brāhmanotpatti vs. 7-8 p 132 refer to Veranyapur, Mathagram and Loutalya all these three villages are in salcete taluka. Once again there is reference Chudamani and Diwadi. The chapter on Prithvidānam vs. 53 p 144 mention that the linga of Saptakoteshwar is located in Narve and is ten yojanas at the north of Gokarna,

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CHAPTER I

POLITICAL HISTORY

Before taking up the study of the cultural history of the region it is essential to survey briefly the political history as well. Political history has been called the backbone of history.¹ It is stated that if Political history is the skeleton, Cultural history is the flesh and blood which cover the skeleton. Cultural history gives beauty and complexion. Hence an attempt is made to survey briefly the Political history of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara.

The Bhojas

During the pre-Bhoja period Goa was ^{part} of Satavahana empire. It was on the peripheral region of Kuntala province.² It seems that up to the beginning of the Bhoja period, the coast of Goa was known for piracy.³ But so far no epigraphs belonging to the Satavahana period have been discovered from Goa. Till 1938, it was assumed that the history of Goa region commenced with the Southern Silaharas and with the Goa Kadambas. The discovery of the Siroda copper plate took back the history of Goa to c. 400 A.D. Then it was believed that the Devaraja of Siroda plate belonged ^{to} Gomin dynasty.⁴ However in 1942 it was clarified that Devaraja was of Bhoja dynasty.⁵

The references to Bhojas are found in the edicts of Asoka.⁶ Bhojas were ruling in Vidarbha region. But the

relation of the Konkan and Vidarbha Bhojas is not known. The Bhojas are mentioned in Bhavishyapurāna. It seems Bhojas as well as Maghas came from Sakadvipa (Iran) to India. Both were the worshippers of Surya. Maghas were instrumental in spreading sun worship in ancient India. Maghas did not assimilate themselves in Indian society. However, the Bhojas were absorbed in Indian society and in some regions of India they became rulers.⁷ In Bhoja copper plates, three epithets of Surya are found namely Prabhākar.⁸ Ādityashresthi and Divākar.⁹ This clearly indicates the popularity of the sun worship. The inscriptional evidence of the Sun worship in Aravalem is an aniconic representation of Sun himself.¹⁰

Out of six copper plates of the Bhojas, three are found in Goa. The aforesaid copper plate of Devarāja from Siroda and the two copper plates of Prithvimallavarman.¹¹ Two copper plates of Bhojas are from Uttar Kānnada namely Arga copper plate of Kapālivarman¹² and Hiregutti (Kumta taluka) copper plate of Asamkita.¹³ Only one copper plate was found in Kopoli village of Khanapur taluka of Belgaum district.¹⁴ From the find spots of the copper plates and the localities mentioned in the inscriptions it is evident that the Bhojas were ruling in parts of Goa, Uttar Kānnada, Belgaum and Dharwad districts. But no genealogy is furnished in any of the six copper plates.

All the six copper plates are silent about the genealogy and hence it is not possible to state whether the kings

belonged to one and the same family. Devaraja of Siroda copper plates and Asamkita of Hiregutti copper plates probably belong to different families. Kapalivarman of Arga copper plate was Dharmamaharaja. Prithvimalavarman and Kapalivarman probably belonged to the same line and it is evident from common name ending. However, no title of Dharmamaharaja has been used for Prithvimalavarman.¹⁵

As far the Bhojas of Goa are concerned their capital was Chandrapur. Sivapura was the capital of the Bhojas who ruled in Uttar Kannada region and it is 20 kms. away on the north east of Sunkeri.¹⁶ It seems that Devaraja of Siroda copper plate was contemporary of Banavasi Kadamba ruler Mayuravarman. However, no epigraphs mentioning their relations have been found. The Banavasi Kadamba king Ravivarman could establish influence in the region of Halsi which was under Bhojas of Uttar Kannada after two centuries.¹⁷ This might have caused conflict between the Banavasi Kadamba and the Bhojas. The Bhoja ruler Kapalivarman gave a measure of land to the chief named Svāmikarāja. He may be Svāmikarāja mentioned in the Badami Chalukya plates. He was made chief of Iridige Vishaya by Kirtivarman. But he was killed by Mangalesa in a war. From this it is evident that Kapalivarman, and Svāmikarāja were contemporary or Mangalesa.¹⁸

During the reign of Asamkitavarman the territory of the Bhojas extended upto Dharwad district. Kaikeyas who were

ruling in Hanagal region of Dharwad district were the vassals or Kapalivarman. Kaikeyas had matrimonial relations with the Bhojas. The elephant is depicted on the seal of the copper plate of Kapalivarman. The coins discovered in Gujigatti of Kalaghatagi taluka of Dharwad district bear elephant symbol. Buddhist consider elephant as an auspicious symbol.¹⁹ The epigraphs of the early Chalukyas do not mention about the defeat of the Bhojas. Hence some scholars believe that they became the feudatories of the former. However, it is mentioned that the Bhojas were defeated by in Konkan Mauryas.²⁰ As the evidences for this suggestion are lacking, it is still an open question.

Many gaps have to be filled in the history of the Bhojas. But certainly the Bhojas period marks beginning of the public administration as far as Goa is concerned. The references to the officials like Private Secretary (Rahasyādhikrita), Superintendent of all the departments (Sarvatantradhikrita). Bhogikās, Ayuktās and Sthāyins are mentioned in the epigraphs of the Bhojas.²¹ These clearly indicate that during the rule of the Bhojas the foundation of an unified administrative system was laid in the region of Goa. What Satavahanas did for the Deccan Plateau was done by the Bhojas for the region of Goa.²² The establishment of the administrative system and the control of piracy ushered in the growth of trade and commerce.

Konkan Mauryas

The branches of Maurya dynasties have ruled Rajputana and Konkan. These Mauryas claimed descent from the Kumar viceroys of Ujjain and Suvarnagiri. On the West coast, three epigraphs of Konkan Mauryas have been discovered so far. The first copper of Konkan Mauryas is that of Chandravarman and it was incorrectly ascribed to Kadambas earlier.²³ This record on palaeographic grounds can be dated to c. 5th century A.D. and it registers the donation to Buddhist Mahavihara of Siroda. The second copper plate of the Konkan Mauryas is Bandora plates of Anirājitavarman. This refers to the Khajan land. (rice field made by erecting embankment preventing sea-water entering the field). On palaeographic ground the copper plate belongs to 5th or 6th century A.D.²⁴ In addition to the two aforesaid copper plates from Goa, a stone inscription was found at Vada to the north of Thana near Bombay and it is in the custody of Prince of Wales Museum Bombay. This stone inscription refers to Suketavarman of the Maurya dynasty.²⁵ Suketavarman might have been a contemporary Chandravarman. Konkan Mauryas were defeated by Chalukyas of Badami.²⁶

Chalukyas of Badami

After the rule of the minor dynasties namely of the Bhojas and the Konkan Mauryas, the first major dynasty to establish themselves on the coast was the Chalukyas of Badami.

All the dynasties of the Deccan Plateau were eager to control the sea-coast. Chalukyas were not an exception to this.²⁷ The Chalukyas of Badami established their regional head quarter in Iridige Vishaya (Redi) of Sawantwadi taluka Sindudurga district) which is on the northern borders of Goa. Redi might have been an entreport of Chalukyas of Badami.

There are seven copper plates of Badami Chalukyas found in the region of Sawantwadi.²⁸ One copper plate of Satyāsraya Dhruvaraya Indravarman of the govern of Badami Chalukya is also found in Goa.²⁹ Invocatory verses of the copper plates mention that Chalukyas belonged to Manavya Gotra and they were Haritiputrās. They were nursed by Saptamātrikas and were protected by the god Kartikeya. Nārāyana and Varāha also find mention in the invocatory verses. Varāha was the insignia (lanchana) of the Chalukyas of Badami. The Chalukyas for ruled about two hundred years from 578 A.D. to 700 A.D. Some of the copper plates are dated in Saka era. Hence the chronology of Chalukyas is well established. Kirtivarman succeeded Pulakesi I. His reign marked the beginning Badami Chalukya involvement in the history of Konkan. He defeated the Banavasi Kadambas and Konkana Mauryas. The Konkan Maurya ruler Anirājitavarman was contemporary of Kirtivarman . Thus Anirājitavarman might have been defeated by the aforesaid Chalukyas ruler. The local chiefdoms in wars. Kirtivarman as a reward assigned Goa and the neighbouring region to Svāmikarāja and his head quarter

was Iridige Vishaya (Redi).³⁰

Recent findings have shows that Mangalesa ascended the throne in 592.³¹ The above mentioned feudatory ruler Svamikaraja aided by Kalachuri King Buddharāja revolted against Chalukyas. Hence Mangalesa abandoned his plan of the conquest of North India. He fought against Svāmikarāja and killed him in the battle. Mangalesa placed Satyāsraya Dhruvaraya Indravarman of Batapura family as the Governor of four Vishaya of Konkan.³² Mangalesa was killed in a civil war by his nephew Pulakesi II.³³

It is discernible from the copper plates that after Satyasraya Dhru^U_Avaraya, Indravarman, Vijayaditya and Chandraditya ruled Iridige vishaya as the representative of Badami Chalukyas. The copper plates refer to Vijayamahadevi or Vijayabhatarika who was the queen of Chandraditya. After the death of her husband, Vijayamahadevi was controlling the affairs of the region during the childhood of her son.³⁴ She was the first known woman ruler in this region

No epigraphs are available from 700 A.D. till 750 A.D. till the downfall of Badami Chalukyas. During Bhojas and Chalukya period grouping of the divisions on the basis of numeral such as Tiswādi, Sasashti, Sattari and Bardsez might have begun. The role of the Chalukyas in the cultural history of Goa is of considerable importance.³⁵ The worship of

Saptamātrikās, Kārtikeya Ganapati and Narāyana was introduced this period.

Southern Silahārās

After the disappearance of the Chalukyas of Badami on the southern Konkan, no records are available till the establishment of the Southern Silahārās. Most probably this region was under Sendrakas.³⁶ The Garuda (the eagle) was the lānchana (insignia) of the Silahārās. The history of the southern Silaharas is recorded only in three copper plates and these are namely Pattanakudi dated Saka 910 corresponding to 18th October, 988 A.D., Kharepatan copper plate of Rattaraja dated Saka 930 22nd May, 1008 A.D. and the copper plate of Balipattana Saka 933 dated 24th December, 1010 A.D.³⁷ Southern Silahārās were the feudatories of Rastrakutas.

Kharepatan and Balipattana copper plates furnish the genealogy of Rastrakutas at the beginning and later furnish the genealogy of Southern Silahārās as well. From this it is evident that they were the feudatories of the Rastrakutas and later they had to accept the suzerainty of later Chalukyas.³⁸ Modern Goa-Velha or Gopakapattana of Goa dvipa (Island of Goa) might have been the capital under Silahārā King Sanafulla. Later with the conquest of the territories lying to the north of Goa, the capital of Goa was shifted to Kharepatan (Valipattana). There is no unanimity amongst the scholars in

the identification of Valipattana.³⁹ This has been identified with the Sawantwadi region. Some scholars place it in Kepem taluka of Goa and Veli in Salcete.⁴⁰

As pointed above Kharepatan copper plate was issued 20 years earlier than Pattanakudi copper plate. Therefore, the former copper plate might be more factual and authentic than the latter. In the course of subsequent period of twenty years many additions might have been made to the events which had actually taken place.⁴¹ Therefore, the credibility of the Pattanakudi copper plate ^{has} been rightly questioned. According to this copper plate Silahara King Aiyapa marched against the Kadamba ruler of Chandrapur which was their erstwhile capital.

Pattanakudi copper plate further states that Aiyapa extended assistance to Katakāchārya the Kadamba ruler of Chandrapur. Katakāchārya is not the founder ^{of} Goa Kadamba branch but Chattayya is the founder of Goa branch of Kadambas. Since Aiyapa had attacked Chattayya, and he was the enemy of Southern Silahārā ruler, the reference to the assistance provided to Chattayya seems to be not true. Therefore, the events mentioned in the copper plates of Pattanakudi are not trust worthy.⁴²

The rule of the Rastrakutas had ended before the region of Avesvara I. Even then in the grant issued in 988, the genealogy is included perhaps as a token of gratitude.⁴³ The

Kadambas of Goa were becoming powerful at the end of Southern Silahārā rule and they established themselves in this region. Southern Silahārās ruled for nearly 245 years from c. 760 A.D. to 1010 A.D. The genealogy the southern Silahārā is furnished in the appendix No.1.⁴⁴

The Kadambas of Goa.

The Kadambas of Goa ruled from the mid-10th century to the latter part of 13th century A.D. The origin of the Kadambas is still shrouded in mystery. The legends associated with the origin of Kadamba are mention^{ed} in the copper plates of the Kadambas from 4th century A.D. till 11th century A.D. It can be seen that Kadamba tree (Athocephalas Cadamba) is associated with all the branches of the Kadamba dynasties. The aforesaid tree is native of Java and Malaya and reached India during the early Christian era. The references to the Kadamba tree are also found in Sangama literature. Amongst Tamils, there is a tradition that Muruga (Kārtikeya) wears to garland of Kadamba flowers. In fact it is believed that Muruga is hidden in the Kadamba tree.⁴⁵

By^{and} large scholars agree that the Kadambas of Banavasi were Brahmins. However, even at present there are scholars who ascribe Kadamba to tribal origin.⁴⁶ Even if the evidences on which the alleged matrimonial relations between the Kadambas of Goa and the Kadambas of Hanagal are reliable, then the

question would arise how the two royal families belonging to the same gotra (Mānavya) could have matrimonial relations?⁴⁷ It seems the Kadambas were a pastoral tribe (Kurubās)⁴⁸. The acceptance of Saptakoteshwar as the family deity of the Goa Kadambas seems to indicate the pastoral origin of the Goa Kadambas.⁴⁹ Their territory extended upto Dharwad. Therefore, they were not unaware of the criticism on the worship of Saptakoteshwar by Virasaiva Saints and Jaina writers of Karnataka⁵⁰ The Kadamba Kings of Goa ignoring this criticism accepted Saptakoteshwar as the family deity and issued coins bearing the legends of Saptakoteshwar and constructed the temple of the deity on the island of Diwadi. Therefore, they were perhaps non-Brahmans. The legends mentioned in the copper plates of the Kadambas reveal that the high sounding words were required to give them the necessary social status.⁵¹ Hence, the origin of the Goa Kadambas is still an open question.

In many epigraphs of the Goa Kadambas, Kaliyuga is mentioned instead of Saka era. However, their contemporaries in the neighbouring regions were using Saka era. But some times both eras have also been used. Lion was their insignia (lanchna) and Hanuman the emblem on their banner.⁵²

The founder of the Goa Kadambas was Chattayya (shasta I) and he established rule in the area of Salcete and in the adjacent region of Konkan. He might have conquered these

territories from the Southern Silahārās. However, the Southern Silahārās remained in Gopakapattana till the region of Jayakesi I. By the early 11th century the southern Silaharas became very weak. Hence Shasta I defeated Silahārās and took Gopakapattana.⁵³

After Shasta, Jayakesi I, come to the throne and he had one more name Viravarma. The name Viravarma is mentioned in the copper plate of Kudatari Saka 971.⁵⁴ as well as stone inscription of Jayakesi I of Saka 976.⁵⁵ He became the ruler of Konkanarāstra, including Kapardidvipa. During his reign Gopakapattana became a great commercial centre.

The territory Jayakesi of the Goa Kadambas extended upto Dharwad and Belgaum districts. The Goa Kadambas were controlling the important trade route from Goa to Dharwad and Belgaum. This provided good hinterland. Hence Jayakesi I might have felt the necessity of establishing a regional capital at Anilapur (Alnavar) in Dharwad district.⁵⁶ Jayakesi I was successful in domestic policies as well in external relations. He gave his daughter to Vikramaditya VI, the later Chalukya ruler. His second daughter Mayanalladevi was married to Karna, the Chalukya king of Gujrat. Jayakesi I established cordial relationship between later Chalukyas and the Cholas.⁵⁷

During the reign of Jayakesi II, Kadambas territories extended from Thana in the north to the Uttar Kannada in the

south with eastern, most of the present districts of Belgaum and Dharwad.⁵⁸ However, the Kadambas had become weak in the middle of the 13th century. They could not face Yadavas of Devagiri and lost Halasige to them.

Malik Kafur the general of Allauddin Khilji plundered and destroyed the capital of the Goa Kadambas during the second decade of the 14th century.⁵⁹ Subsequently the Kadambas shifted the capital to Chandrapur. In 1327 Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq ravaged Chandrapur. Once again the capital was shifted to Gopakapattana. By then on account of royal family feuds the Goa Kadambas declined and the Nawab Jamal-ud-din of Honavar attacked Gopakapattana.⁶⁰

But it should be noted that it seems the entire Goa was not under Delhi Sultans or Bahamanis. This is indicated in the Koragaon Copper plate of Saka 1273 (1351 A.D.) and this record mentions name of the King Bhimabhupāl. He was the king of Konkan 900 ruling from Gopakapuri. The territory of Tiswadi, Bardez and under his control. He was a local feudatory of the Kadambās.⁶¹

The last dynasty which ruled Goa was the Vijayanagara founded at Hampi in Bellary district of Karnataka in 1326 A.D. There was a rivalry between the Vijayanagara and the Bahamanis. These both powers of the Deccan were eager to control the West coast belt. Goa was the port from where the

Arabian horses were imported and these were in great demand. The Vijayanagara took Goa in 1390 A.D. and it was with them till 1472 A.D. and subsequently Adilshahis of Bijapur captured Goa and Goa remained with them till 1510 A.D.

From the above brief survey of the ancient and medieval history of Goa, it is evident that only at the beginning the two minor dynasties namely the Bhojas and the Konkana Mauryas have ruled Goa. These two dynasties had to make way for the Chalukyas of Badami and this commenced the beginning of the control of Goa by major powers of the Deccan. After the Chalukyas, the Rastrakutas controlled Goa and the Southern Silahārās were feudatories of the latter. After the downfall of the Rastrakutas the later Chalukyas established their influence. The Kadambas were the most powerful rulers of Goa. Thus the history of this region reveals that the powers of the Deccan were eager to establish control over Goa. The above dynasties had influenced the cultural history of Goa. This is being dealt in the following chapters.

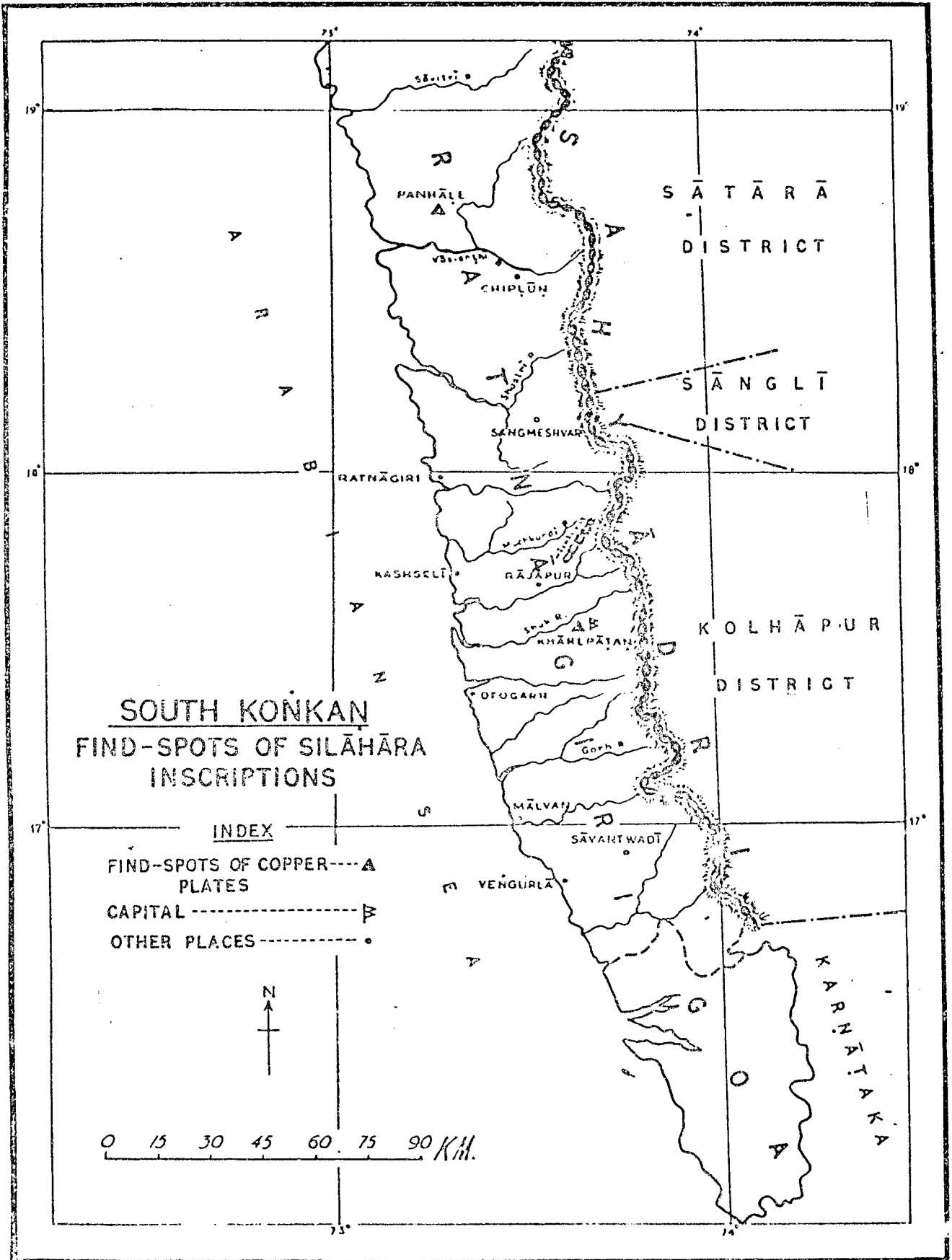
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Map II: Showing find-spots of Silāhāra Inscriptions in South Konkan

CHAPTER II

S O C I E T Y

The role played by the society in shaping the civilisation and Culture of every region is of considerable importance. The contribution of the society towards the development of art, architecture, sculpture, religion, philosophy, literature and music cannot be underestimated. Therefore, a brief survey of the society of the region of Goa is necessary.

The society is divided into four varnās were mainly the Brahmins, the elite class, engaged in priestly duties. In social hierarchy Kshatriyas occupied the next position and this class was the mainly of the rulers and the warriors. The third varnā was of Vaishyas (mercantile community). The fourth and the lowest varna was of Shudras. This constituted mainly of servants.

The works of Indian History published during the early decades of this century suffered on account of two assumptions. Most of the writers assumed that the society in early India remained more or less static and occified. Secondly, it was believed that Varnā system was rigid and it registered only marginal change. However, recent studies have shown that there were social and economic conflicts between the Varnās.¹ On the basis of the available data an attempt is

made here to study the ancient and medieval society of Goa.

Brahmins of Goa.

The earliest reference to the Brahmins in Goa occurs in Siroda copper plate of Bhoja ruler Devaraja which is palaeographically dated to c. 400 A.D. This copper plate refers to Indraswami, Govindaswami of Bharadvaja gotra receiving donations from the King Devaraja.² In the copper plates of the 5th and 7th century A.D. a few more names of Brahmins are mentioned. But the copper plates are silent about region from which they are migrated. Another copper plate mentions that a Brahmin was well versed in Sāmaveda.³ The evidences to the presence of the Brahmins in the ancient society of Goa is about two centuries earlier to that of Dakshina Kannada.⁴

Sahyādrīkhanda. (here after referred to as SKH) refers to the Banavāsī Kadamba ruler Mayuravarma bringing Brahmins from Ahichchatra and settling them in his kingdom.⁵ The historicity of this event has been doubted earlier. However, some scholars considered it as a historical event.⁶ Devaraja the Bhoja ruler was contemporary of Mayuravarma. Therefore, during this period Brahmins had already migrated to this coastal track. Some scholars argue that Indraswami and Govindaswami might have been Jains, as they wanted to retain their social status they did not leave the gotra tag of Brahmins.⁷ But Jains clinging

to Brahmins gotra is only a later development of 10th century. Moreover, there are no evidences of Jainism in Goa belonging to the Bhoja and Konkan Maurya period.⁸ Therefore, Indraswami and Govindaswami were Brahmins and not Jains. Even in later period the migration of the Brahmins continued.⁹ The Brahmins of Goa are subdivided into Sāraswats, Karhādes, Pādhye Brahmins, Bhatt Prabhus and Kramavant Joshis. Though there is a separate chapter devoted to Chitapāvans in SKH, their settlements are found only in Sattari Taluka and they had hardly played any role in the social and cultural history of Goa.¹⁰ Karhades, Padhyes and Chitapāvans are called by the people of Goa as Bhatt and Sāraswats as Bāmans. Whenever, a local Goan uses the word Bhatt, it should be presumed that he is referring to the aforesaid Brāhmins and not Sāraswats

a) Sāraswats Brahmin.

It would be appropriate to discuss Sāraswats and other three subsections of Brahmins namely Karhādes, Pādhyes and Bhatt Prabhus. The population of Sāraswats is more than other Brahmins communities. According to SKH and SKP, Saraswats are designated as Panchagaudas. The former Purāna further adds that the sage Parashurāma brought Saraswats to Goa.¹¹ Even if Parashurāma is considered as a historical figure, the regionalisation of Brahmins had not taken place during his age and he had brought only Brahmins and not specifically Sāraswats Brahmin.¹²

Now it would be pertinent to discuss the original home of Sāraswats, the probable route of migration and the period, of arrival and their settlements in Goa. According to SKH the original home of Sāraswats is Tirhut and this region comprised the district of Champāran, Darbhanga, Muruttapur and Sarāri in North Bihar.¹³ The section in which the Tirhut is mentioned has been tentatively dated to c. 1400 A.D.¹⁴ Even after settling down in Goa, they had retained in their memory that they had migrated from elsewhere.

A writer on the basis of the genealogy and chronology of Purānic sages has mentioned that Aryans reached Goa during 2500 B.C.¹⁵ This is based on preconceived notion. that Aryans and Sāraswats were identical. Elsewhere in the same work the author has argued that Parashurāma had brought only Brahmins and not Sāraswats. Therefore, equating Aryans and Sāraswats seems to be far-fetched. Aryans were not called Sāraswats then. The early reference to Panchagauda do not go beyond C. 700 A.D.¹⁶ Therefore, the date of the migration of Saraswats to Goa suggested by the above scholar is not based on historical facts. However, it is more reasonable to suppose that the Saraswats of Goa migrated from North Western U. P. Punjab, Sindh, Kutch and Saurāstra they were recognised as local Brahmins from the remote past in the aforesaid region.¹⁷ There is no agreement among scholars about the original home of Sāraswats.

The name by which these Brahmins have been designated clearly indicates that the river Saraswati had played an important role in the life of these Brahmins. Even after the disappearance of the river, the Brahmins who had once inhabited the banks of river Saraswati retained the name of the region. There are evidences in history about the migration of the population from one region to another regions account of foreign invasions and sudden climatic changes. The recent researches in Archaeology have shown that the river saraswati dried in about c 1000 B.C.¹⁸

For the study of the migration of the Saraswats north India to the Deccan, the linguistics provides a corroborative evidence. The Indo-Aryan speech was spreading towards the south along the west through Rajasthan Malwa and Gujrat. The main line of Indo-Aryan linguistic expansion began from north to south from c. 500 B.C.¹⁹ The Sāraswats settled themselves in Rajasthan, Sindh and Gujrat. In ancient Gujrat there was a separate division called Sāraswat Mandal.²⁰ Moreover, there are many Konkani words which are found only in Gujrati. From this it is evident that Sāraswats had settled in Gujrat migrated to Goa.²¹ Among the various Sāraswats communities only in Kutch the honorific 'Shenvi' is the title of respect. This also indicates that the Sāraswats from the Kutch regions might have migrated to Goa on account of Arab invasion in 8th century A.D.²²

The earliest epigraph which refers to the colony of Panchagāudas is from Chinchani of Thane district and belongs to Rāstrakutā a period (C.900 A.D.)²³ Reference to Sāraswat name are found in Silahārāṣ as well as Kadamba inscriptions.²⁴ According to SKH account Sāraswats constituting sixty-six families were settled in eight villages ;of Goa, ten each of Kushasthali (Cortalim), Kalosi belonging to Kaushika-Vatsa, Kaundinya gotrās, six families at Mathagram (Madagaon) Veranya (Verne), Lotali and Kudatari (Curtorim), ten families at Chudāmani (Chorao) and twelve families at Dipavati (Diwadi). The two talukas namely Salcete (Sasassti) and Tiswadi were the group of sixty six and thirty villages respectively. In total, these two talukas formed 96 villages. Hence it is suggested that the honorific term 'Shenvi" has evolved out of 96 villages.²⁵

The above account furnishes the first migration of Sāraswats which had taken place in c. 800 A.D. Mangesh Mahatmya furnishes the second migration of Saraswats. This might have taken place during Muslim conquest of Kanoj and Bihar. In this period, for the purpose of settling Saraswats Brahmins, the village of Lotali was bifurcated and new settlement was established at Kalosi. Parts of Nāgoa and Sancole were merged together and Kushasthali was founded. The Sāraswats who had migrated during c 800 A.D. (first migration) were members of village comunidade.²⁶ There were regional

variations among the S̄araswats, like that of Bardez, Pedne, Kudal and Salcete (Sasesti). Konkanamahatmya of work of 17th century A.D. deals with the internal rivalry of the Saraswats and strained relations of S̄araswats (such as between B̄ardeshkars, Pednekars and S̄astikars) S̄araswats were not recognised by the local Brahmins as well as other non-Brahmins for Shatkarma and they were called trikarmi Brahmins. Hence besides their sacrodataal duties, they took up administrative vocations under the ruling dynasties. Therefore, they gradually established as the landowning class and also as traders.²⁷

After settling down in Konkan and Goa in c. 800 A.D. S̄araswats may have taken about a century to establish being patronised by the Silahārās and the Kadambas of Goa.²⁸ By 10th century they were competing with Karhāde Brahmins in Goa. S̄araswats started worshipping the folk deities like, Mangesh, Saptakoteshwar, Ravalnath and Mahālsa. S̄araswats were not the Mahājans in all the temples. Due to the political influence at the end of Kadamba period, they might have captured the mahājanship of Mangesh temple. Alongwith Saraswats they were Karhāde Mahājans in Mahālsa temple.

Besides the rivalry between S̄araswats and Karhādes, there was similar rivalry between S̄araswats and Guravās. The S̄araswats got abolished the tradition of Gurav priest in Mahālsa temple in 1959.²⁹

Many Saraswats left Goa after the invasion of Malik Kafur to the neighboring regions and during the period of religious persecution of the Portuguese also Sāraswats migrated to Uttar Kannada, Dakshina Kannada and North Konkan.

Karhāde Brahmins:

In SKH the Karhade Brahmins are referred to as Brahmins of Karhātak. The region of Karhātak (Karad) is on the confluence of the river Krishna and Koyna in Satara district. The Silahārās of Kolhapur as well as the Southern Silahārās of and the Kadambas of Goa patronised Karhāde Brahmins. They are the natives of the above regions and hence they are called Karhādes. However, it has been suggested that as the family deities of Karhādes are in Goa, they are natives of Goa and not of Karad.³⁰ It may be mentioned that the mother tongue of Karhādes is not Konkani but Marathi. Many communities who migrated to different regions ^{and} retain ^{ed} the languages of the place of origin as their mother tongue.³¹ Moreover, the family deities of Karhades not necessarily make them the natives of Goa. The famous Venkateshwara of Tirupati or Tulajabhavāni of Osmanabad district in Maharashtra are the family deities of Kannadigās as well as Mahārastrians. But the devotees do not purely belong to Andhra or Maharashtra. Some belong to Karnataka or Maharashtra. Therefore, the family deity in any case is not the deciding factor to identify the region from which Karhādes had actually migrated to Goa. In

many village Comunidades Karhādes are the members. Therefore, this clearly indicates that they had migrated during the Southern Silahārās period and during rule of the Goa Kadambas. SKH as well as Brahmānda Purana are very harsh towards Karhāde Brahmins.³² SKH mentions that they descended from the bone of camel and hence they were designated as Karhādes.³³

The relations of Karhādes with Sāraswats were not cordial. The references to conflicts have been already referred to while dealing with the Sāraswats.

Pādhye Brahmins

The reference to Padhye Brahmins is found in the section of Karahastrabrahmanotpatti in SKH.³⁴ It is commonly believed that Padhye Brahmins are not different from Karhāde Brahmins and are a section of Karhāde Brahmins.³⁵ However, even now Padhye Brahmins have retained their identity. The main concentration of Padhye Brahmins is in the taluka of Ponda (Antruj). They looked after betel-nut and coconut plantations. They are similar to Havik Brahmins of Karnataka.³⁶ There is an opinion that the Padhye Brahmins have come from Sumer.³⁷ The basis of this theory and the sources are not known. Like Karhādes, Padhye Brahmins like speak Marathi at home. This indicates that they are not the natives of Goa but have come from Marathi speaking area. They are members of the village comunidade and hence it proves that they reached Goa perhaps

during the pre-southern Silahārā period.

There are no evidences of any royal patronage to Padhye. The southern Silahārā patronage to Karhades gave them much needed social status and to some extent it might have improved their economic conditions but history is silent about Padhye Brahmins. But it seems that ^{they} were recognised ^{as} Brahmins during Vijayanagara period by Shringeri Shankaracharya Swami who occupied the seat then.³⁸ The royal patronage as well as recognition of Padhye Brahmins as Brahmins by the Swami came during the later period. Hence, Pādhye Brahmins retained their individuality.

Bhattaprabhu Brahmins

This is a lesser known Brahmin community of Goa and is not found in the neighboring states. Bhattaprabhu community is smaller than even Padhye Brahmin community and originally belonged to Bori and Siroda of Ponda taluka.³⁹ There is considerable similarity in the social conditions Bhattaprabhu Brahmins and Padhye Brahmins. The only difference is the language spoken by these two communities. Bhattaprabhu speak Konkani.⁴⁰ The Bhattaprabhus do not eat fish and are strict vegetarians. On the basis of the available data it would be appropriate to call them sthānik Brahmins.⁴¹

Kramavant Joshi

The SKH states that Saraswats of Chodan Tiswadi and

Banawali (Salcete) entered into matrimonial relations with non-Saraswat Brahmins and hence they were called Kramavant Joshi. They were the priests of the natives.⁴² According to the Brahmins from Desh, the above marriage would be anuloma.

The etymology of Kramavant is explained in two ways, Brahmins engaged in killing insects on the leaves found in the plantation. The second explanation is that these Brahmins performed mostly rituals after the death and hence they were called Kriyavant.⁴³ As regards the first explanation it would be appropriate to point out that in the district of Bijapur, there is a similar tradition of identifying a community as "insect-picker" Brahmin community. Other Brahmins used to look down them and thus they were considered as degraded Brahmins. Even the Brahmins who are performing only rites after death are not invited for auspicious occasions such as thread ceremony or wedding ceremony and other sacrifices. Even if the second explanation is correct, this may have been the cause of their degradation. The copper plate of Mādhavamantri mentions Kramavitaputra which perhaps means Kramavant Joshi. From this it is evident that by the Vijayanagara period they had settled down in Goa.⁴⁴

Guravas

Like the above microscopic Brahmin communities of the Padhye Brahmins, the Bhattaprabhu and the Kramavant Joshis,

the Guravās is also a small community. There were Guravās in Pedne, Salcete, Bardez, Tiswadi, Ponda, Sanguem and Canacona⁴⁵. The Guravās occupy the next position to the Brahmins. Among Guravas also the thread ceremony was performed. They used to learn some religious Sanskrit texts. In this respect, they resembled Jiyārs of Tamilnadu.⁴⁶ The Gurava family of Mardol had matrimonial relations with Jira family of Uttar Kannada and enjoyed equal social status.⁴⁷

It seems that Guravās have origins in Kālamukhas and the latter were worshippers of Siva.⁴⁸ Therefore, the Guravās also took up the worship in Saiva temples. The references to Guravās are found in the inscriptions from the beginning of the 9th century in Kannada speaking regions.⁴⁹ In Goa there were Gurav priests in the temples of Chandreshwar - Bhutnath, Mahālsa and Saptakoteshwar. Commonly Guravās were the priests, in the shrines, the grāma-devatās scattered all over of Goa.

It seems that during the initial stage the term Guravā was applied to Saiva Brahmins of priestly order. The Guravā priests were supposed to maintain strict celibacy. In the course of about four centuries, the distinction between the Guravās and the Brahmins priests became marked and this can be seen in the inscriptions.⁵⁰ From this it is evident that even non-Brahmins were the priests of Saiva shrines. After the advent of Virasaivism, the worship of sthavar-linga was forbidden and it seems that many Guravā priests abandoned Siva

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temples. These temples were taken over by the people from the lower castes.⁵¹

In addition to the above groups of Guravās, there were different types of Guravās called Hugars (florists mostly found in Karnataka) Konkani Guravās and Jaina Guravās. The latter two types of Guravās were found in Goa.⁵² As regards the Jaina Guravās found in Goa and in north Konkani, that they were earlier Jainas. After the decline of Jainism during the 10th and 11th century, they embraced Hinduism and once again started the worship of Hindu deities. In many temples of Goa there are subsidiary deity (parivār devata) called Jaina purusha.⁵³ After the decline of Jainism it seems Jaina tirthankarās were worshipped by Hindus. In Kothambi of Bicholim the tirthankara image is worshipped as Brahman purusha.⁵⁴

As stated earlier even in the temple of Mahālsa, Gurav was assisting other priests in the worship of the goddess Mahālsa. Gurav was supposed to remove the flowers offered to the deity on the previous day and this was called nirmalya visarjan. After the deity was given ceremonial ablutions, (abhishekha) he dressed the goddess with sāri and put on the ornaments. He brought the offerings (naivedya) of the temple establishment from the funds provided by devasthān mahājans and the devotees of the deity. He performed ārati (offering of lamps). He prayed the deity on behalf of the devotees

(uttering garāne) for the mistakes committed ^{un} knowingly in the course of performing rituals. He prayed the goddess to bless the devotees with favours in their pursuits in day to day life. He kept all the ingredients required for the worship, such as flowers, sandal paste, etc. ready and assisted the priest. He offered the naivedya to the deity according to the instructions of the mahājans. He kept the ornaments required for the deity on festive occasions and the daily ornaments in the safe custody. He was available in the temple through out the day. Even at night he was supposed to sleep in the premises of the temple. He gave prasād and tirtha to the devotees who visited the temple. In the month of Mārgashirshya (November-December) Poushya (December-January) he prepared gudyās and flags. He lit oil lamp of the sanctum and put oil as and when required.⁵⁵

Guravas did not dine with Sāraswats. They considered themselves as superior to the latter. However they did not mind in inter-dining with Karhādes and Padhyes. Infact a Padhye family has adopted a boy who is originally a Gurav.⁵⁶ Guravas are have still remained as priests in many Ravalnāth and Vctāla temples of Goa

Pānchāla Brahmins

The artisans such as gold-smiths, black-smiths carpenters, sculptors working on stone (shilpis and Sthapatis)

and copper-smiths were called Pāñchāla Brahmins. It is believed that alongwith Saraswats these Pāñchālas were brought by the sage Parashurāma in c 2500 B.C. to assist the priests in performing sacrifices.⁵⁷

a) Gold-smiths (Daivadnyas)

It has been pointed out earlier that the date of the migration of Sāraswats was much later in 8000 A.D.⁵⁸ The Sāraswats as well as other artisans may have come to Konkan in 800 A.D. There are references to the sacrifices performed from Satvāhana period. Gold has been found in many neolithic as well as chalcolithic sites of the Deccan indicating the presence of gold-smith.⁵⁹ The wheel-turned pottery has been in use from neolithic period. Therefore, the artisans like gold-smiths, carpenters and black-smiths were already there in south India, before the arrival of Sāraswats to Konkan. The above artisans of the south were practicing their trade in this region. Some artisans might have come alongwith Sāraswats to Konkan. But the settlement of the artisans may perhaps go back to the early centuries of Christian era. The Bhojas were well known sculptors and they migrated to the various region of India. Therefore, the sthapatis who themselves claim to be Brahmins may have been descendants of the Bhojas. The gold-smiths claimed themselves as Daivadnya Brahmins. The descendency of Daivadnya Brahmins from Magha and Bhoja Brahmins is also suggested on the basis of the interest shown

by the former in performing arts such as dance and drama. Maghas and the Bhojas were experts in the performing arts. Hence it is argued that Daivadnyas had inherited these arts from the Bhojas.⁶⁰

Some gold-smiths and sculptors may have been well versed in Vastu-silpa texts. Infact in some regions of South India of gold-smith and carpenters are called Chāri and the gold-smiths are called āchari (the term is used either for teacher or the priest). In Uttar Kannada district even carpenters are called āchari. The claim of the above artisans to the status of Brahmins is evident from this usage.⁶¹ It is discernible from the Brāhminical texts that they occupied lower rank in the society.⁶² These texts maintain that they were of mixed origin. Their claim of Brahmins status may have been advanced after sthapathis and gold-smiths got royal patronage. They were not primarily engaged in preparing gold ornaments. The skill of the gold-smiths was diversified and they were making silver images and masks of the deities. They could assist the government minting gold or silver coins. The above factors may have improved the economic condition of Sthapathis and gold smiths who were well versed in Shilpa texts and had knowledge of Sanskrit. Hence the artisans may have felt the necessity of claiming higher status in the early medieval period.

Reference has been already made to the conflict between the Sāraswats visa-vis the Karhādes. It would be pertinent to

refer to the conflict between the gold-smiths and the Vānis (Vaishyās) of Khandepar in Ponda taluka. This conflict between the above communities is mentioned in the copper plate of Khandepar 1348 A.D. But it makes no references to the antecedents of the fight. This copper plate clearly mentions that Vānis and gold-smiths actually came to blows. The Vānis of Savai-Vere came to the rescue of their fellow Vānis of Khandepar. The gold-smiths and the Vānis met in Gananāth temple of Khandepar and reached an amicable settlement. The gold-smiths of Khandepar acknowledged the assistance rendered by the Vanis of Savai-Vere and promised to honour them during the various sacraments such as marriage and naming ceremony of the new born child.⁶³ Many gold-smith daivadnya Brahmins were members of the comunidade (village communities). This clearly indicates that they had settled in Goa from the ancient period.⁶⁴

Carpenters and Black-smiths and Gudikaras.

In some regions of India the above occupations are not combined. Carpenters and black-smiths practice their trade independently. In ancient Goa perhaps both the communities might have been independent. But during recent times carpentry and smithy were combined. The profession being hereditary, usually one member of the family is engaged in carpentry and the other looks after smithy. The carpenters in Goa were called thavaya or thovi and it has origins in

Sanskrit word sthapati (architect).⁶⁵ Goa being thickly forested region, there was no dearth of wood. The carpenters of Goa were experts in wood carving. They carved wooden pillars of the temple and decorative wood-ceiling of temples. Therefore, taking into consideration of the role played by carpenters in temple building activity in this region, he was appropriately called thovi (sthapati). However, the word which is current is chari and it is the surname of many carpenter families in Goa.⁶⁶ The different words used for the carpenters and black smith indicate their claim of Panchāla Brahmin status. Carpenters have gotras such as Kāshyyapa, Bharadvāj and Jamadagni. Marriages within the same gotra (sagotra) are prohibited according to the tradition followed by these communities. Tounser of the widows was also prevalent and there was no remarriage of the widows among the carpenter.⁶⁷

There was a concentration of carpenters at Mayde in Bardez, Cuncolim of Quepem and Paigunim of Canacona taluka. The carpenters do not have family deity, as such and they worshipped the deity of the village. The carpenters of Mayde and Pilgaon worship Ramachandra. The Matha of the carpenters is located in Majali village of Uttar Kannada district.⁶⁸ During the Inquisition the carpenters from the old conquest (Tiswadi, Bardez, and Salcete) left Goa settled in Sirsi Honnavar and Bhatkal of Karwar district.⁶⁹ They have

continued their trade and their craftsmanship is well known. This was a permanent loss to Goa and a gain to Karnataka. In the Karnataka region this community is known as Gudikāras (temple builders).

c) Kāsār and Bangle makers.

The Konkani word for copper-smith is kāsār and it has originated from Sanskrit word Kāsyakār. The copper-smiths made utensils, copper lamps ^{of} brass as well as bronze. It seems that they were also making bangles of copper. During the Bahamani period, when glass bangles became common ^{and} they may have switched over to the manufacture of glassbangles. Kāsārs of Keri village in Ponda taluka were experts in making glass bangles and these bangles were famous throughout Goa ⁷⁰.

In the copper plate of Nagadeva dated 1352 A.D. (Saka 1294), references to Kāsārs (copper-smith) is made. The copper-smiths were mahajans of Kalika temple of Kasarpal village of Bicholim taluka.⁷¹ The village itself has been named after them. The copper ore might have come from the mines of Narasingpur, Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Dharwad.⁷² It seems after the division of Bahamani empire, the supply of copper might have been erratic, this might have forced them to switch over to the manufacturing the glass bangles. These factors might have adversely affected the economic conditions the Kāsārs. The economically weak Kāsārs lost control of

Kāsarpāl temple during the 15th or 16th century. The powerful gold-smiths usurped the mahajanship of Kalikā temple.

d) Sculptors (sthapatis)

Some sculptors were well versed in Sanskrit texts like samarangana sutra dhara and hence they were called Sthapatis (architects) Sculpture and architecture went in hand in hand as most of the sculpture is integrated with architecture. Only three structural ancient temples have survived after the destruction of the temples in 16th century. These temples have no inscriptions mentioning name of the sculptors. After the establishment of the Portuguese power in Goa these three talukas the sculptors had migrated to Uttar Kannada and other regions of South India.⁷³.

Kshatriyas

There are evidences migration of Kshatriya families from North Western India to the Deccan in the early Christian era. The families like Kaikeyas who were inhabitants of the land between Sutlaj and Bias, migrated to Dharwad district of Karnataka. They had matrimonial relations with Isvakus,⁷⁴ another Kshatriya tribe. Therefore, migration of some Kshatriyas to the Deccan South India can not be ruled out completely. But it is extremely difficult to categorically state that all the kings who have ruled Goa and the neighboring regions were Kshatriya.⁷⁵ During the medieval period, certain dynasties

glorified genealogy in their copper plates in order to gain Kshatriya status.⁷⁶ The armies of the ancient rulers were also not primarily of Kshatriyas. In these armies there were soldiers from the lower strata of the society and tribes like Bedars⁷⁷ and Paiks.

Attempts have been made by scholars to identify Marathas with Kshatriyas and these Marathas may have reached Goa during the period of Badami Chalukyas. It is mentioned that Rāstrakutās and Silāhārās were Marathas. Therefore, Marathas were Kshatriyas. The surname Kadamb and Silaharē have evolved from the names of ancient dynasties namely Kadambas and Silahārās.⁷⁸ Some scholars consider Chardos of Goa as Kshatriyas. It is not known why instead of accepting the usual spelling for Kshatriyas as Xatriyas in Portuguese the word Chardo was accepted.⁷⁹ In view of the above, it is extremely difficult to say whether all the kings were Kshatriyas and their army was also ^{of} primarily of Kshatriya soldiers.
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Vaishyas (Vānis)

References to the vānis has already been made while dealing with the Daivadnya Brahmins (gold-smiths). The Bhojas were the first rulers to establish an administrative machinery. They also controlled the piracy in the region of Goa. This might have given an impetus to increased commercial

activity. There is a reference to Aditya Shresti in Siroda copper plate of Devaraja.⁸⁰

From this is evident that merchants were engaged in trade and commerce in Goa from c. 400 A.D. There may have been settlements of merchants in Goa on the banks of the rivers and trade routes.

Vanis were called Shrestis. In Goa there are families bearing surname Shirsāt and this word may have originated from Shresti. During the Goa Kadamba period there were Banajigās (merchants) engaged in trade. The reference to these Banajigās from Savai Vere, Narve, Khandepar, Kapilagram, Bandivade and Taligram are mentioned in Khandepar copper plate of 1358 A.D.⁸¹ The mention to the social-conflict between the Vānis and the Goldsmiths has been already made earlier.

Vaishya come next to Kshatriyas in four-fold division of the society (Chāturvarna) and thus they are considered as twice-born (dvija). The thread ceremony is performed among Vaishyas. They are mostly Saivites and their chief pontif is Shankaracharya of Shringeri. They have their own gotraa. There is no remarriage of widowas among the Vaishayas.⁸²

Kunbis

Kunbi is considered as sub-caste of Marathas, they are primarily engaged in farming. The word Kunbi has originated

from Sanskrit word Kutumbin that is one who is possessing a family or house.⁸³ The Kunbis being a small community it is integrated with Marathas. Kunbis are found in Sattari and Sanguem talukas. In the talukas of Tiswadi, Salcete, Bardez and Murgaon there is meager population of Kunbis. Among the Kunbis of Goa, the individual families have totems like fig (audumbar) and Kadamba. The marriage among Kunbi families having the same totems are forbidden. They do not have family deities but they worship the goddess Sattari, Mahāmāya and Ravalnath.⁸⁴

The geographical factors and the occupation.

The above discussion is based on the four fold division of Hindu society, and these are found all over India. However, the geographical factors had also played an important role in shaping the society from the ancient times period. On the coastal belts there are certain common castes like toddy tappers and the community engaged in salt manufacturing. Toddy tappers in Goa were called Naik Bhandāri the word Bhandāri, it may be stated that it has originated from Sanskrit word Mandhārak which means one who draws toddy.⁸⁵ Nayak Bhandāris constituted one integrated community. Besides drawing toddy, the Nayak Bhandaris were expert navigators and some were engaged in farming. Therefore, there were toddy tappers, navigators and the farmers from this community. It seems a section on this community which was primarily engaged

only in navigation took up farming later.

The main difference between the Nayaks and the Bhandāris is that the latter do not have totem. Among the Nayaks chenduful (Parkia Biglandalosa) are the totem and the women from the Nayak community do not put on chenduful on the hair. Khapar Ravalanath of Narve in Bicholim taluka is the family deity of Nayaks. Their totem is chenduful. Layrayi of Shirgaon is also the family deity of Nayakas as well as Bhandaris. Marriage does not take place between the families having the same totem. The Nayakas as well as Bhandaris are the Saivites.⁸⁶

Fisherman in Goa are called gabit and the boatman are called Khārvi. Fisherman in upper Konkan are called the Kolis but in South Konkan (Goa and Karwar region) they are called Gābits. The fisherman and boat-man follow different profession but in social status they are clubbed together and belong to the same caste.⁸⁷

Mithagavdas

In north Konkan the community which was engaged in salt manufacturing on the coast was called Agris. The salt-pans are called Mithāgar. Hence they may have been designated as Agris. In Goa Gavdas are working on the salt-pans and hence, they are called Mitha-gavdas.⁸⁸

Caste based on professions

In the ancient and medieval society of Goa, there were other professional castes like barbers, washerman (madival), oilman, tailors, potters and cobblers. Madival is a Kannada word for washerman and the same word is used in Goa. In most regions India, there was a barter system till the early decades of this century. The aforesaid professionals were paid the fixed amount of paddy during the harvest season from comunidade land.⁸⁹

The early settlers

The variety of food available to man during the neolithic period was not sufficient to make the coastal belt of Goa a permanent settlement.⁹⁰ Therefore, during the middle half of the first millennium B.C., the early settlers may have settled in Goa.

The Gavidas

The Gavidas, the early settlers were inhabitants Ponda (Antruz) and Tiswadi. The Gavidas may have migrated from north eastern India about 400 B.C. The Gavidas belong to the proto-Austroloid stock. As regards the etymology of the word Gavda, it is not associated in any form with the Sanskrit word go which means cow. They were not a pastoral community but were farmers. They are credited with founding of the settlements or

the villages in Goa. The Gavdas brought with them their traditions from eastern India. One of such important legacies which they brought from their place of origin was village organisation. Panchāyat of the village allotted land to each family depending upon the number of male members in a particular family for cultivation. The agricultural production of the village belonged to the entire community. Only homogeneous ethnic group constituted the village community. The members who were allotted land for cultivation paid tribute to the chief of the Panchāyat.⁹¹

The Gavdas were the worshippers of the linga of Mangesh, the mother goddess Sāteri and the goddess Bhavuka. During the important occasions, the story of Bali is narrated for the whole week. The dramas based on the story of Bali were staged by them on festive occasions. The songs are accompanied by a percussion musical instrument is prepared on pot called ghumat. The skin of the reptile is fixed to the pot and the other end is open. They are expert in playing this instrument. The Gavdas women perform dance called dhālo during the month of Poushya (Jan. - Feb) ⁹²

Velips

The Velip community is found in only in the talukas of Canacona and Quepem. In complexion they are fair and they are handsome in comparison with Gavdas, The Velips are credited

with the discovering the linga of Mallikarjuna. Hence the Velip acts as a priest of the Mallikarjuna for three months in every year during the remaining nine months Brahman acts as the priest.⁹³ Both the Gavdas and the Velips have been completely assimilated into Hindu Society.

Kumār Paiks

Kumār Paiks are also called as Kumār Panths. Paik means a messenger.⁹⁴ They were hunters and soldiers from ancient period. Many were recruited as soldiers in the army of Vijayanagara.⁹⁵ According to the traditions among them, they originally belonged to Gulburga region of Karnataka. They were Lingāyats, however, later they renounced Virasaivism and became Hindus. Virasaivas are also Hindus hence the account furnished about the faith of Kumar Paiks by Enthoven is confusing.⁹⁶

Kumar Paiks used sword and Shield for hunting. Kumar Paiks believe that elephant, lion and tigers have divinity in them Once in a year they worship tiger. On Mahānavami of Āshwina (September-October), they worship weapons (āyudha puḷā) and offered cock to the weapons.⁹⁷ Kumār Paiks are found in Canacona and Uttar Kannada district.

The communities like cobblers (chamārs) and Mahārs constituted part of ancient and medieval society of Goa. Their position was similar to that other of regions of India and

they were treated as untouchables.⁹⁸.

Arabs and Muslims

From the beginning of 8th century, Arabs (Muslims) began to establish their settlements on the West Coast. During the reign of Chalukya ruler Vikramaditya II the Tajaks or Arabs invaded Lata (Gujarat) province of Chalukyan empire. The copper plates of Navsari (739 A.D.) refers to Avinisharya. Pulakesin of the Gujarat branch and he faced the formidable Arabs and repulsed their attacks. The copper plates of Chinchani mentions the settlements of Arabs in Sajan villages.⁹⁹

The copper plate of Jayakesi I refers to the Muslim Minister named Chadma. While Kadamba ruler Gullhadeva I was sailing towards Somanath, his ship got involved in a naval accident and the mast of his ship broke. His grandson Jayakesi I gave Chadma, the privilege of levying the taxes on small and big boats. The amount collected by way of Taxes was utilised for the maintenance of the mosques built in Goa. This copper plate goes to the extent of saying that Jayakesi I made him the Chief Minister.¹⁰⁰

After Malik Kafur invasion and subsequently during the rule of Sultanate, there were Muslim Officers in Goa like Malik Bahadur. After the downfall of the Goa Kadamba, some Muslims might have migrated to Bhatkal and Honavar. The Navayats of Bhatkal are the descendent of Muslim community and

once lived in Goa. 101

The coastal society of Goa was more elastic and less rigid than the Deccan. The Brahmins of the Deccan plateau looked down on the people of the coastal areas. The Deshasthas of the Deccan were reluctant to migrate to the coast. Only the Habbus who were the Deshasthas, migrated to Uttara Kannada district and Canacona taluka of Goa. 102

The rivalry between the Saraswats and Guravas the gold smiths and Kasar clearly indicates that the society was not devoid of conflicts. Infact conflicts between the gold-smiths and the Vanis went to the extent of exchanging blows between the members of the above community. However, by and large, the above communities retained the customs and traditions of Hindu society.

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C H A P T E R I I I

POSITION OF WOMEN

Man was engaged from the beginning of the civilisation in procuring food and shelter for his family. Women had to shoulder the responsibility of rearing children and maintenance of the house hold. In Sanskrit housewife is called grahini. It is said that the prosperity and reputation of the family entirely depend upon the grahini.¹ The position of women enjoyed in any society is the index of the civilisation and culture of the society. If woman enjoyed good position and had status in the society, it ushered in the development of the family at the lowest level, and finally the development of the society and the civilisation itself.

From the Vedic period onwards the birth of female child was not the occasion of rejoicing. But girls were also taught Vedas during the Vedic period. The thread ceremony was also performed to female children. There were women scholars like Gargi Lopamudra, Visvara, Sikata Nivari and Ghosha.² On the auspicious occasions both husband and wife had to perform in rites (punya-Vachan) and even now this tradition is current. However, by the early centuries of Christian era a general decline of the woman has set in.

Position of royal woman:

The earliest reference to the women from royal families

of Goa is from Prithvimallavarman's copper plate which mentions that Chetasadevi, the daughter of Nellika on triyodasi (13th day) of Shukla paksha of Jyestha donated field.³ From this is evident that the queen could exercise influence over the king in making grants to Brahmins. The mention to the women of early Chalukya ruler Vijayabhatarika who ruled in Iridige Vishaya is found in the copper plate.⁴ These copper plates also bear testimony to the status and position enjoyed by the women from the royal families. For exercising influence over the king in issuing grants or shouldering administrative responsibility some training and education were essential. The women from the royal families and the elite were taught writing and reading. The women from the ruling dynasties of the region took keen interest in patronising, learning and art. The chief queen Kamaladevi of Peramadi, Kadamba ruler of Goa was a great patron of learning. Kamaladevi with the assistance of Peramadi founded a number of agrahāras. In these agraharās, Veda, Vedāngas, Nyāya, Mimansa, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Vedānta, Smṛiti, Itihās and purānās were taught. The queen Kamaladevi built Nārāyan temple and Mahālakṣmi temple.⁵

As regards the marriage among the royal families as well as other sections of the Hindu society, It was considered as one of the important sacraments (samskāra) The objectives of Hindu marriage were duty (dharma), progeny (praja) and

pleasure (Kāma).⁶ There were no pre-puberty marriages in Vedic period. However, by e. 200 A.D. the smriti writers started advocating pre-puberty marriages and these became popular only among Brahmins. Among Kshatriyas there were no child marriages even up to the Vijayanagara period.⁷ The Kshatriya women particularly from the royal families had considerable freedom in choosing their life partners. The references to such svayamvaras are available.

The matrimonial alliances among the royal families of the Deccan were common. There were matrimonial alliances between Ishvakus and Kaikeyas.⁸ Kadambas of Banavasi and the Vakatakas and the Kadambas and Guptas.⁹ The Narendra inscription records that when the Kadamba king, Chattaya went towards ~~the~~ the country of Mammuni of Thane, the latter welcomed him and gave his daughter to him. He presented five lakh gold coins to his son-in-law.¹⁰ Similarly Jayakesi I the son of Sastadeva gave his daughter to Chalukyas emperor Vikramaditya. Hemachandra refers the royal marriage of the Kadambas of Goa and Chalukyas of Gujrat in Devashraya. Mayanalladevi the daughter of Jayakesi I fell in love with king Karna of Gujrat and subsequently they were married.¹¹

The kings married many wives and the favourite among them was the chief queen. Due to polygamy practised by many rulers, their harems were full of rivalry and jealousy. A queen had the title "Whip to the backs of rival wives of high repute."

The queen was supposed to treat her subjects both rich and poor without discrimination. Queen used to participate in the public functions.¹²

Purda System:

It seems, that by 300 A.D. some royal families thought that the women from their families should be seen by the selected few while moving in public. However, from the evidences it is clear that purda system was confined to northern India. The paintings of Ajanta and the data from Dharmashāstras and classical literature clearly reveals that there was no purda system in South India and particularly in Goa.¹³

Marriage and dowry system among Brahmins and the masses:

It has been mentioned earlier that by c. 200 A.D. child marriage became common among Brahmins and the masses. The intercaste marriages became rare after c. 800 A.D.¹⁴ As in other regions of the country in Goa a special social function was held when a married girl commenced her first menstrual period. From this it is evident that there were pre-puberty marriages in Goa also.¹⁵ Due to the rigidity of caste rules, finding a suitable match for the girls seems to have become a problem for the parents.¹⁶

Dowry system is associated with consummation of marriages

as dakshina. Hence this is called Varadakshina (the gift offered to the bride grooms). This gift consisted of cash or gold.¹⁷ Among the masses the amount of the dowry was not sizable. The father of the bride offered dowry according to his capacity. The Konkani proverb cautions the bride-groom not to be fascinated by the amount of dowry offered by the father-in-law. If the bride-groom accepts huge amount of dowry, he would be a slave of his wife (at least a hen-packed husband)¹⁸. Another Konkani proverb says that the culture which the mother of the bride has transmitted to the daughter remains but not the dowry given by the father.¹⁹ Dowry is not permanent asset and this might vanish if it is not in the safe custody of the newly married boy. Therefore, the society which coined these proverbs was against the dowry system and attached considerable importance to the cultural background of the bride. Yet another proverb of Konkani adumbrates the similar sentiments. Observe the mother and then marry the girl, as you taste the quality of the milk while purchasing the buffalo.²⁰ From the above proverbs it is evident that mother had an important role to play in educating the girl in shouldering the responsibility of the joint family. A girl who had not yet reached teen-age has to go to the house of in-laws and the husband of the girl was one of the member of the joint family. The family consisted of father-in-laws, brother and their wives, the brothers and sisters of husband etc. Therefore, the mother had to train her daughter to serve the

husband as well as elders like father-in-law and mother-in-law etc.

The parent of girl always considered the female children as the asset of other families. Immediately after the marriage, the girl lost all her rights in the family of her parents. The house of her husband was her house. This is evident in Konkani proverb which says that the married woman has right to grind the pepper on the baldhead of her husband but she has no right to grind pepper on the stone of her brother.²¹ The status which housewife enjoyed entirely depended upon the status which her husband had in his family. If the husband was enterprising resourceful and hardworking, he was in a commanding position. The position of the wife such husband was equally high. The Konkani proverb expresses the same thought according to which hen rises through the might of the cock and the woman through the might of her husband.²²

The married daughter used to come to their parents occasionally during the festivals or for delivery. Such visits were for a short period. If the daughter had lost her mother and if the only father was alive, the house of the parents was no more heaven ^{and it} had already vanished.²³ There she could lead a life of dignity and comfort.

A married woman who died before the death of her husband was considered as the most fortunate.²⁴ Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna

mentions the anniversary celebrated in honour of the married woman who predeceased her husband. This was a special death anniversary (shrāddha) performed during Bhādrapad (August-Sept) on the 9th day of the dark half. This was called avidhavā navami (9th day of unwidowed lady). On this day priest was invited for food as well as for performing rituals. Besides him a married woman who had her husband alive (sumangali) was invited for food. She was offered dakshina, blouse piece, bangles, garland and girdle. From this it is evident that sumangali was considered as auspicious.²⁵ Married woman whose husband was alive supposed to have five auspicious ornaments namely nose-stud, toe rings, neck lace black beads (mangalāsutra) and glass bangles and red mark on the forehead. In Konkani such a woman was called savāsan (sumangali). A woman who lost her husband became inauspicious as she lost privilege of using the above five auspicious ornaments.

Position of widows

From the vedic period till about 500 A.D. there were widow remarriages. The Vedic society accepted Niyoga or levirate by which the childless widow could have an issue.²⁶

But the sword of widowhood hung on the head of married woman. The widowhood was considered as a great calamity. The Konkani proverb says that today's married woman is the widow of tomorrow.²⁷ Therefore, the parents were always worried about the daughter is she would be jumping into funeral pyre or she

would tounser her hair.

The smritis prescribe austure life to the widow. She was to sleep on the bare ground and not comfortably on the cot. She was not to wear blouse but cover her upper part by means of the pallu of sari. She could not wear the saris of various colour but only colour ^{was} white. She was prohibited from using any cosmetics or turmeric powder for face. She could not use any scents. She took only one meal a day. She made oblations every day in memory of her husband. She listened to recitation of the Puranas.²⁸ Brahmins widows were normally following the above restrictions and lead an austure life.

SATI

There are evidences to Sati from 316 B.C onwards. But it was not widespread through out India. Only after 10th century A.D. it spread to many regions.²⁹ During the Silahārā-Kadamba period sati system might have spread to Goa. Between 1000-1400 A.D. epigraphs record only 11 satis. However, from 1400-1600 the number of satis rose to 41. there were two Jaina widows who became sati and the remaining were Gaudas and Nayakas. The latter two communities predominantly formed the army.³⁰ The above data clearly shows that during the Vijayanagara period sati system became extremely popular. It continued even after the downfall of Vijayanagara. The region of Goa of Bijapur and the Vijayanagara fighting against each other. The widow of the

soldiers who died in the conflict and the widows of the Generals jumped into the funeral pyre. The number of sati stones scattered all over Goa clearly indicated that many women who lost their husband became sati. The sati stones (Satikal) were erected in memory of the sati who jumped into the pyre. These depicted hand in the pose (mudra) of assurance (abhaya). Some times two hands are also found on the sati stones. It was believed that sati who jumped into the funeral pyre would live in heaven with her husband for three crore years.³¹ The right hand of sati was considered as auspicious and was symbolising her chastity.³² Some times two hands are shown in the above position. This hand symbolically represents the two widows (the departed husband had two wives) who both jumped into the pyre. In State Museum of Goa and Old Goa Museum have sati stones each depicting the funeral pyre and widow is shown getting ready to jump into the pyre. Some sati shrines were built in Goa as in some these are all having the status of affiliating deities (parivār devtā) and there is only one independent shrine of sati in Pedne.³³ Sati continued in Old conquest (Tiswadi, Bardes, and Salcete) till 1560 and the Portuguese were the first to abolish it in India.³⁴

b) Tonsure of Widows

In Goa the practice of tonsuring hair among the widows of Saraswats, Karhadas, Padhyes and Kramavant Joshis was

prevalent. Even among the Panchala Brahmin widows tonsuring of hair was current.³⁵ The tonsuring of widows was abolished in Goa by the Portuguese like the sati system.³⁶

Devadāsi System

Some scholars have dealt devadāsi system in the chapter on society.³⁷ However, as the devadāsis are women it would be appropriate to discuss the devadāsis in the chapter on the position of women. Devadāsi literally means the servant of God or the slave of the God. The word devadasi became current only after late 1930's of this century.³⁸ In Goa the devdāsis were called Kalāvants and some used to call them Naikins. This word has originated from Sanskrit Kalā which means art. They claimed their origin from celestial nymphs (apsarās and gandharvās).³⁹ In addition to the Kalāvants there were temple servants called Bhāvins. The earliest epigraphic references to this word occurs in Marathi inscription of 1402 A.D. from Velus village in Sattari Taluka. This inscription records the grant of three and half tanka to Bhāvin per annum⁴⁰

The Hindu devotees considered god as a living entity and offered him all the comforts which rich men enjoyed. Inscriptions from Karnataka refer to angabhoga and rangabhoga. Giving bath to the deity (offering abhishekha applying sandal paste (gandha) offering flowers, essence, scent etc. is angabhoga. These were all applied to the body of the god

(anga) hence these were forming part of angabhoga. Dance and music concerts held in the temple are rangabhoga.⁴¹

There are evidences to indicate that by Gupta period devadāsi system was taking roots in India.⁴² There are references to devadāsi in Puranas as well as āgamas also,⁴³ The antiquity of Devadāsi system in the neighboring region of Goa, Karnataka goes back to 8th century A.D. An inscription from Virupaksha temple of Pattadakal refers to the donation made by a devadāsi.⁴⁴ In an inscription of Rattaraja the Southern Silahara king who was closely associated with Goa, the devadāsis are called dārikās.⁴⁵ Indirect references to devadāsis are found in Jogeswari inscription near Bombay. There are references to the courtesans in the inscription of Goa Kadambas. Tambur inscription records there were streets meant for courtesans and these have been called suligere (sule means a prostitute in Kannada). The Yavani epigraph furnishes the description of the eye brows of prostitutes. In Dharwad inscriptions prostitutes are called ganikās. No stigma was attached to the prostitutes. The courtesans were not treated as degraded section of the society but they were treated with respect. The kings and the nobles took pride in associating themselves with the courtesans ⁴⁶

These above epigraphs of the Kadambas of the Goa and the solitary inscription of the Southern Silahara indicate that the devadāsis were not treated as menial servants but they

were treated with respect as talented artists with freedom of sex. The society had a broad outlook towards devadāsis or courtesans.⁴⁷

It is mentioned that the Silahara king Arikesari and the Goa Kadamba king Sasta II visited Somanātha and there they saw the devadasis in the temple of Somanātha. Hence these rulers might have been responsible in introducing system in their regions.⁴⁸ However, the inscription from the temple of Virupaksha and other inscriptions from Karnataka clearly indicate that the devadāsi system was already in existence in the Deccan before the visit of the kings referred to above. Therefore this theory is not convincing. These ^{inscriptions} are all from outside Goa and no inscription from Goa refer to devadāsi. There are no inscriptions referring to either grants given by the kings to the devadāsis of a particular temple or donations made by the devadāsis the temple. However, the absence of the inscriptions does not mean that there were no devadāsis in the temples of Goa till 1402 A.D. As the inscriptions of Goa Kadambas from Dharwad district refer to devadāsis, it seems that the devadāsis were in existence in the temples of Goa during the Siḥlahāra-Kadamba period.

There were Kalāvants in the well known temples of Goa like Saptakoteshwar, Mahālsa, Mangesh and Shāntādurgā. The village organisation which was established by the Gavdas (which has been already referred to in the previous chapter)

called Comunidade looked after the maintenance of the temple as well as devadāsis.⁴⁹

It has been mentioned earlier that there were two types of dancing girls associated with temples. The first type were called Kalāvants and they are well versed in vocal music and the second type of temple servants were called Bhāvins. They were to sweep the premises of the temple. They were to carry essence burner and put essences in the burner whenever required.

(1) In the Shāntādurgā temple when the utsavamurti was taken out in palanquin for procession the Bhāvin was to hold the mirror in order to reflect sun rays on the deity.⁵⁰

(2) Initiation ceremony called Shesh was held for the teen-aged girls of Kalāvants who were trained vocal music. In this initiation ceremony, marriage of the homogenous sex was held and it could be appropriately called a mock marriage. In a mock marriage the girls was married to another girls who was dressed like a groom with co-conut and areca-nut in her hands,. The girls then garlanded the co-conut. This ceremony was very popular among the Bhāvins. After the shesh ceremony the girls were permitted to be a mistress of only one and generally she was attached to the rich landlord or temple priest. A girl whose shesh ceremony was performed was not supposed to marry throughout life.⁵¹ Devadāsis not allowed to

marry in order to remain the devoted servants of God. It was believed that since the devadāsi had no family their maintenance was looked after by the village. This facilitated them to concentrate fully on music.⁵²

In addition to singing in the palanquin procession, the Kalāvants, were required to sing when ārati was performed at the time of the distribution of prasād at chouk (temple square hall). She was to sing during the month of Harijāgar (when the devotees were awake and conducting music concert in honour of the deity) for one month.⁵³

Kalāvants made gestures while singing and even now they make gestures while singing. However, the earlier writers have misinterpreted the gestures made by Kalāvants as dancing. There was no tradition of classical dance in Goa⁵⁴. The Kalāvants of Goa came under the influence of Hindustani music during the period of Adilshahis of Bijapur.

The devadāsis who were supposed to be the servants of god generally became the servants of the priests and the mahājans. The priests of the temples were the agents of God and hence they received the offering made to the god. Therefore a devadāsi offering her body to the priest ultimately was received by God.⁵⁵

During the Silahārā-Kadamba period Kalāvants, might have enjoyed high status in the society. However, after the

downfall of the Kadambas and subsequently during the rule of Vijayanagara it seems that the Saraswats became mahājans of important temples of God. From then onwards, the period of degradation of Kalāvants and exploitation begun and this continued till the establishment of the Portuguese rule in Goa.

The well known musicians like Babali Salgaonkar, Saraswatibai Jambawalikar, Mogubai Kurdikar, Anjanibai Malpekar, Hirabai Badodekar and Jyotsna Bhole were from Kalāvants community.⁵⁶

From the discussion in this chapter, it is evident that the position of the woman in Goa was not different from the rest of India. Due to the lack of educational facilities they were ignorant and they were not in a position to be economically independent. They were subservient in a male dominated society.

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C H A P T E R IV

Dress, Ornaments, Food, Drinks and Amusements

Dress and Ornaments worn by the people indicates their aesthetic sense. The geographical factors also play an important role in shaping the human civilisation. In respect of dress also the geographical factors cannot be ignored. Goa being a coastal area, has humid climate. Therefore, cotton clothes were sufficient.

Dress of Royalty

Kings and the noblemen were dhoti to cover the lower part of the body. The word dhoti or Dhotar has its origin in Sanskrit. The word dhaute meant washed and the noun component vastra meaning clothes. Thus the word dhotra or dhotar has origin in dhauta.¹ The dhoti was either of silk or cotton. But soldiers from Goa and Karnataka had their thick loin cloth upto the kneejoints to serve like shorts.² The soldiers depicted on hero-stone tally with the above description of the soldiers furnished in Yasatilaka.³

The kings of the dynasties who ruled Goa were generally fond of hunting. Particularly, the references to the Kadamba King killing tiger are available. Marcella copper plate as well as Degave inscription mentions king killing the tiger.⁴

During the hunting expedition, the Kings wore jacket, a longcoat which must have fitted the chest closely which was loose over the lower part of the body. Black wrapper (upadhara) and the green trouser (dvipadi) formed the hunter's dress which act as a camouflage in the forest. During the summer soft attractive and light clothes were used.⁵

Dress of the Royal Women

The Narendra inscription belonging to the reign of Jayakesi mention the provision for the Governor of the women's quarters, Master of the robes, High Chamberlain of Mailal Mahadevi.⁶ It is evident from the above inscription that the ladies of the royalty paid considerable importance to the dress and ornaments.

The women from the royal families were Sāris and this word has origins in Tamil word Siri, Silai and Silai which means woven stuff.⁷ The Sāri worn by the women of the Deccan from about c. 1000 A.D. is generally nine yards in length and about fifty two inches in width.⁸ In Marathi Sāri is called as also lugadi and this word occurs in the copper plate of Khandepar.⁹ This clearly indicates that the word lugade was also current in Goa.

There were regional varieties in sporting Sāri in ancient medieval India, till about five decades earlier, the Sakachcha style of Sari was common among the women of the higher

classes. The hind pleats of dhoti as well as sāri are called kach(nire). This word is derived from Sanskrit kaksha. The word nire (pleats) has origins in the Kannada word nirige. The Sakachchha sāri is so draped in such a way that is caught between the legs in a broad hanging fold tuck closely at the back. This was style of sāri worn in Sakachchha style.¹⁰ However, Sakachchha sāri is depicted on the female sculptures belonging to the post 10th century A.D. The Deccan seem to have borrowed this fashion from central India.¹¹

Besides the two types of sāri described above, the women of post Muslim ^{period} were the garment called langha. In women of parkar langha is called langha. In Goa and Maharashtra it is also called Parkār. Langha is a waist cloth joined at both ends with a band sewn at the top through which cord passes for fastening langhā. The langhā and Parkār belong to the same type of lower garment of the women.¹² The ghagrā having multiple vertical ^a plates are depicted on the herostones and an unidentified stone sculpture from Margaon displayed in the State Museum of Goa. For covering the upper part of the body, women used (Kanchuki) or (Kurpasaka) This had no button or hook but it was knotted below the breasts.¹³

Dress of the Brahmins and other communities

The Brahmin women in Goa used Vikachcha type of sāri and perhaps Kanchuki. Men were dhoti. After c. 1000 A.D.

Sakachchha s̄aris were worn the Saraswat by women. Kanchukis were used for covering the upper part of the body. Different types of textiles were imported from different places to Goa. Goa had maritime contacts with the well known textile manufacturing centres of South India such as Poddalapur. chitrapalli, Nagapattana, Chola country. Tondaimandala, SriLanka, Analilwana in, Gujrat, Kalinga and Vanga from the period of the Bhojas. However, the inscriptions of the Goa Kadambas bear testimony to the commercial contacts with the above countries.¹⁴ The fine textile might have constituted the imports.

The Saraswat Brahmin during the Southern Silahara and the Kadamba period were well established. However, it seems that they were not spending sizable amount on their dress. A Konkani saying mention that "Brahmin cap does not fit you. Konkani women, you do not know how to dress. You can hide your thigh with small robe and you have your limbs bare even when your robe is full-sized."¹⁵ It seems that the non Saraswats had coined the aforesaid Konkani saying about the dress of the Saraswats.

For covering the upper part of the body, men were bārābandi or bārākasi. This was provided with six pairs of strings or tapes to fasten it in place.¹⁶ The description of the Jesuit who was in Goa furnishes the description of the money lenders with bārābandi squatting on the roads of Goa.¹⁷

Dress of the common man

The dress of the Gavdas, the Velips and the Kunbis was quite simple. The women of the above communities wore sari which reached upto the knees. It was a sakachcha mini-sari. This mini-sari was quite different from the sari which was worn by Koli women (fisher women). The pallu of the sari worn by the Gavda women used to cover only the breast. This type of sari was called denthali.¹⁸ They did not wear blouse. Both the arms remained uncovered. The women from the above communities had to work in the field. Hence, this regional type of sari might have developed, as a professional necessity. Men from these communities cover the lower part of the body with a strip of loin cloth called langoti or Kasti. This langoti was fastened to the waist cord. They did not wear any shirt and thus they were moving barechested. In rainy season and during winter, men put a rough blanket on the head and this covered the upper part of the body.

The parasols umbrellas were also in used in Goa. On the stone sculpture of Madhavamantri, an attendant holding a parasol is depicted. The ordinary umbrellas used by the commoners were usually prepared out of the leaves and these were called santali. (Plate 50)

Hair styles and decorations

The girls had pigtaails. On the festival occasion, these

were interwoven with flowers. Various devices were in use for keeping the hair in the particular shape.¹⁹ The pleat of the pigtail are depicted on the stone sculpture of the Kadamba period and the stone sculpture of Uma belonging c 800 A.D. both displayed in the State Museum of Goa having a beautiful bun depicting the hair styles among the women of Goa. The stone sculpture of women depicted at the bottom of the doorjamb of sanctum of Curdi temple have large buns on their head. Abnormally large buns suggest the use of artificial devices.

Ornaments

On the basis of the Ādipurānā and Yasatilaka, it can be said that the practice of applying tilak among married was common before 11th century A.D. The earliest epigraphic references to the tilak mark is found in the inscription from Rewa.²⁰ The references to Sindhur also occurs in the Panaji copper plates of Jayakesi I. This copper plate mentions that Jayakesi was enemy of Sindhur marks of the numerous queens as their husband were engaged in was with Jayakesi I. This copper plate belonged to 1047 A.D.²¹ Tilak or Sindhur on the forehead of the married women whose husband was alive was considered as the sign of marital bliss or Saubhagya lakshana.

The women were fond of gold from time immemorial. It would be appropriate to say that vanity thy name is woman. Men

also wearing ornaments of gold it was meager in comparison with women that of and it was not considered that ornaments were indispensable for them. Men wore earrings (Karna kundālas) bracelets (Kankanās) necklace (hārā). The goldsmiths of Goa procured gold from the mines of Karnataka.²² They were master craftsman in preparing gold ornaments. The gold coins of the Goa Kadambas bear testimony to the skill of the gold smiths of Goa.

The gold ornaments given to daughter at the time of marriage was considered to be property or Stridhan. Therefore, the tradition of giving gold ornaments at the time of marriage become quite common. Gold was given in the form of ornaments. These ornaments were mainly ear ornaments, necklaces (hārās) of various types called sarpali (sāṅkhali) mohanmāl hara of red coral (pravalā, gahumālā (beads of gold in the shape of wheat grains) bormāl (gold beads having the shape of Zizubi) and chinch pāte (having the shape of tamrind seeds).²³

For the arms keyuras or bhujabhushanās of intricate carvings were prepared. Only the rich could afford these ornaments and these were considered as status symbol. The women used to wear bracelets of gold. These were of various types and each type had specific name for e.g. ekeri, pātali and todi pātali.²⁴ The Gavda women were wearing copper bracelet. In addition to gold and copper bracelets glass bangles were also used by the girls as well as married women.

Literary references to the glass bangles are available by c. 1000 A.D. The glass bangles were considered as marital bliss (Saubhagya lakshana).²⁵ The rings of different shapes were worn in the fingers. Toe-rings used by married women were of silver and these were also considered as symbol of marital bliss.²⁶

There are no references to nose-ornaments in early Sanskrit literature. The nose-ornaments called nath and Chamki (nosestud) were introduced due to Islamic influence. These nose-ornaments came into use during 1200 to 1300 A.D. The stone sculptures of the goddess belonging to the earlier period are not shown with nose-stud.²⁷

Food

The geographical factors had considerable influence on the food, dress and shelter of the people. During the ancient and medieval period human life was much more controlled by ecological factors as men were not powerful enough to control them and alter them. Rice one of the early cereals to be cultivated by Austric tribes. The Gavdas might have started the paddy cultivation in Goa.²⁸ In course of time rice became the staple food of the people as it is in other coastal regions of India. There are two villages bearing the names of the two varieties of rice namely Sal and Kolam.²⁹ The villages of Saligaon in Bardez, Kolam in Sanguem have been respectively

named after the two varieties of rice. These bear testimony to the cultivation of rice from mid-first millennium B.C.

The Gavdas, the Velips, the Kunbis and the artisans usually used boiled and this is called Ukadā tādul in Konkani. Non-boiled polished rice is called Suray tādul. The former variety of rice is hard to digest. Therefore, the people who has to do physical labour preferred boiled rice. The breakfast of the above communities consisted of the gruel of the boiled rice. In order to make the break-fast more palatable, the rice gruel was taken alongwith mango pickles or dry fish. On this liquid diet, they could work upto afternoon. Nāchni gruel called ambli was also taken for breakfast. Nāchni cake called rotis also formed the menu of the breakfast of the people who were manual labourers. The lunch mainly consisted boiled rice. While cooking the boiled rice water from the rice was strained out and collected. This gruel is called nival and was drunk during the lunch. For making fish currey pungent pepper was used. Rice was eaten by mixing fish ^Currey or coconut currey. Fresh fish roasted or fried and pickles were used to make the lunch tasty. The Gavdas did not eat chicken or eggs and as it was forbidden. Hence they had no poultry in their settlement.³⁰

The staple food of the Saraswat Brahmins was also rice. There was no tradition of breakfast among the Saraswat Brahmins. However, children were given rice gruel and mango

pickles. The rice and fish currey called ^Uman formed the main menu of the lunch. Red leafy vegetable was used. But other leafy vegetables which were not grown locally were not in use. The pulses like Chavli (alsāne in konkani), and mung were used. A kind of currey was prepared by adding coconut on the days when the vegetarian diet was prescribed. The Saraswats ate only fish but no chicken eggs and flesh of other animals. Saraswats as well as other non-Brahmin communities like Gavdas and Velips, Vanis and Panchala Brahmins etc. did not eat non-vegetarian food on certain days like Monday, Thursday or Saturday. These vegetarian days depended upon the faith to which the families belonged. The vegetarian food was called Shivrāk. This word has originated from Shrāvak which meant Jain monk. Jain monks were strict vegetarians. Hence Konkani speaking people named the vegetarian food as Shivrāk.³¹ For the fish or vegetable preparations, Coconut was invariably used in Goa.

Besides fish eating communities like Saraswats and the aforesaid Brahmins communities, there were other Brahmins like Karhādes, Pādhyes, Bhatta Prabhus and Kramavant Joshis who were pure vegetarians. On auspicious days or festivals like Ganesh Chaturthi, Diwali, Rāmnāvami or Akshatritiya, all the communities abstained from non-vegetarian diet. On festival occasion, or on death anniversary (shradha) turdal (cajuns indicun) currey mixed with coconut was prepared. A similar

preparation of turdāl is called toy and it seems this word has originated from Kannada word Tovve. Drum., sticks (Guilin dina moringa) were used for making preparation of turdāl tastier. The vegetables like radish were added to turdal.³²

The social customs and traditions prevailing in the Hindu society have formulated the order of the dishes prepared on festival occasions. Shravana month (July-Aug) in this month the order of the dishes is fixed. On the last ^{Sunday} of Shravana at least thick dosas called Pole were prepared out of rice and Udid dal (phraselous Radiatus).

For Makara-Sankrant (Jan-14-15) every year the yelape were prepared. For Karka-Sankranti (July-Aug) a sweet preparation called sadhane was prepared. The former preparation yelape oil is used but the latter preparation is cooked in steam. On Nāgapanchami and Ganesh Chaturthi days a sweet preparation out of jaggery and coconut called pātolio were made. Minced coconut and jaggery is put in a large puri and was covered in a turmeric leave. This was cooked in steam.³³ There was a tradition current in the society of the Deccan that on Nāgapanchami and Ganesh Chaturthi no food preparations should be fried. Hence, it seems their prevailed the similar social custom in Goa also since ancient period.

Vadās (Vataka) were prepared on most of the festivals. The reference to Vadās is mentioned in the Nageshi inscription

of Bandivade belonging to Vijayanagara period. These Vadās were to be offered to Nagesh every day as naivedya.³⁴ These Vadās (Vatakā) were prepared out of rice flour and these were fried in coconut oil. There is a reference to one more delicacy called ghārika in the above inscription. Wheat flour and jaggery were mixed and fried. Goa being a coastal area coconut trees were in abundance. Hence coconut oil was commonly used for cooking ^{and} ~~Even~~ for lighting the lamps in the temple.

On Holi Pourmima (full moon day) Purna poli (vestika) were prepared. This sweet delicacy was prepared out of Wheat flour in which gram pulse was mixed with jaggery stuffed inside. Purna poli is prepared in Goa Maharashtra as well as in Karnataka on Holi Pourmima. In addition to the sweets mentioned above, various types of porridges were also prepared. Sanskrit the word for porridge is pāyas. It was mainly of gram pulse, jaggery and sweet potatoes In the gram porridge minced coconut was added and it was called managane. There was yet another porridge prepared out of vermicille (sevaka^{ya}) sugar and milk. This was called Khīr in Sanskrit and Khīr in Konkani. These sevikas were prepared out of refined wheat flour. The most popular sweet delicacy was sweet-rice (sākhārbhāt).³⁵

References to mushrooms are available in Mahābhārata and Apastamba dharmasutra. In these works mushrooms have been

mentioned as sarpachatras. According to the above mentioned works, Brahmins were forbidden to eat mushrooms.³⁶ Karhades and Chitpavan Brahmins did not eat mushrooms. Gavdas were expert in collecting non-poisonous mushrooms. Mushrooms grew on the ant hills in forest in July-August every year. The early inhabitants of Goa Gavdas may have used mushrooms from pre-Christian era. The region of Goa has thick forest. In ancient period, the area of the forest might have been larger. Bamboos were grown in these forests. The tender bamboos were used vegetable. In Sanskrit these tender bamboos are called Venuyava and in Konkani this vegetable is called cill.³⁷ The vegetable of tender bamboo was considered as nutritious.

On certain days like Ashadha and Kartika ekadashi (11th day which usually in June, July and October-November for the latter Ekadasi) people were supposed to fast. On such days people who were on fast were not to eat rice. However, pulses like mung, sweets potatoes, wheat preparation like chapatis and sweet potatoes could be eaten.³⁸

References to fruits are available in the epigraphs. One of the early stone inscription dated c. 500 A.D. from Nundem refers to jack-fruits (artocarpus heterophylus)³⁹ Mangoes were the most popular fruits in Goa as well as in the Deccan. In a recently discovered stone inscription of Jayakesi III from Navalur near Dharwad, reference to mango occurs.⁴⁰ In Goa there were man-grove and the village having such mango-grooves

were named as Amravan and these villages were colloquially called Amone. A village in Ponda taluka was named after pora fruits (zizphus jujuba) as Bori. Jamba (Eugenia Jambulana), water melons (Kajinda) laveli (cicca disticha) Myroboan (Avlā) and pomegranates (dādima) banana (Kadali or Keli) were the common fruits grown in Goa.

Among the common grown vegetables, brinjal (Vāngi) ladies finger (bhendi) cucumber (tavase), bittergourd (kārli), pumpkin (Kushmānd), snake-gourd (Padaval), drum-sticks (shengā), Yam (Surana), sweet potatoes (Kanna or ratala). Many of the above fruits and vegetables were used by the early Gavda settlers.

Betal leaves and arecanuts

There are no references to betal leaves chewing in Sutrā literature or in the epics Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata. For the first time betel chewing is mentioned in Jataka literature.⁴¹ Kings and nobles were also found of betelleaves. In the inscription of Rattaraja, the Southern Silahara King there is a reference to the officials called Hadap who was looking after the requirement of the betel leaves for the king.⁴² The reference to the offerings of betelleaves are found in the copper plate of Khandepar dated 1348.⁴³ The Velus stone inscription of 1402 A.D.⁴⁴ and the stone inscription of Nāgeshi dated 1414 A.D.⁴⁵ In the copper plates of Khandepar,

betel leaves and areca-nuts were offered as a symbol of hospitality and respect. However, in Velus stone inscription of Nāgeshi the betel-leaves were forming part of the offerings (naivedya to the deity). After lunch some people chew betel leaves alongwith areca-nuts. Lime was applied to betel-leaves and other ingredients like Katecha minced dry copra, betel nuts and cardamom were added to it. There was a general belief in the society that chewing betel leaves after the lunch or dinner helped digestion. In most of the rituals, betel leaves and areca nuts aniconically represented, Ganesh the remover of obstacles.

Amusements and Entertainments

Amusements and entertainments provide recreation to the society. Games, dramas, dances and music provided such entertainment. Religious plays were staged in temples during the fairs (Jāatras). These were based on folk-traditions and were called jāgars. The word is derived from Jāgran which means to keep awake through out night in honour of a particular god or goddess. In order to keep the devotees awake through out the night, dramas based on mythology were staged these were designed ^{ted} as jāgars. There was a community called Pern in Ponda taluka specialised in performing these Jāgars. The community of Pern in clubbed with Devadāsis and Bhāvins in the Portuguese writings. It seems that Pern was a sub-caste of the above two castes. These jāgars were of the two types. The

dramas staged during the Jātra of the temple and these performances were staged in the vicinity of the temple by the members of the Pern community.⁴⁶ The second type of Jāgars were not associated with the annual fair of the temple and were purely meant for the society. The Gavdas were experts in the second type of Jāgars. These were also based on the story of Bali.⁴⁷ The songs were accompanied by a percussion instrument prepared on a called ghumat. Hence, this musical instrument itself is called ghumat. The skin of the reptile is fixed to the pot and the other is open. The community of the Pern who were performing the Jāgars in the vicinity of the temple were professionals. This community was in close contact with Devadāsis and Bhāvins and hence from the former it might have been influenced as far as music is concerned.

In South Goa in Canacona taluka and Majali area of Uttara Kannada district folk-dramas locally called Khel were performed. The theme of the Khels was also Hindu mythology and the dialogues were both in prose and verses. In war scenes soldiers danced with martial mood. The Sutradhāra was the first to enter the stage and he was called Bhāgavat. The next actor who came on the stage was called Kodangi.⁴⁸ This seems to be a Kannada word used for monkey. The person who used to perform gesture like monkey on the stage was therefore, called Kodangi. In Karnataka the above performance of khel was called at or doddāt or bailāt. In Dakshina Kannada district these

performances are called yaksagāna and these is a considerable similarity between khel and yaksagāna. It is suggested the people of Goa who migrated in 13th and 16th centuries to Dakshina Kannada might have influenced the art of yaksagāna. The style of verse used in yaksagāna is couplet (a stanza consisting of two lines) is called ovi in Konkani and Marathi. The similar couplets are used in yaksagāna.⁴⁹ Therefore, the art of khel might have been popular in Southern Goa from ancient medieval times.

Virabhadra

It seems to be again a dramatic performance based on folk-traditions performed annually in Ponda, some parts of Sanguem and Sanquelim. These description mentioned in the writings create an impression that Virabhadra is similar to khel. Karnataka influence is seem on this stage performance. Virabhadra dances with two swords in his hands. Musical instruments like dholak and tāshā percussion instruments accompany, the play. The costumes are of Karnataka origin, even slogans raised Kailasa valage virabhadra annā haudu (Shankara's son\ elder brother Virabhadra).⁵⁰

The tradition of conducting Kirtanās may have come into vogue during the post Kadamba period. The abhangās and Jnaneshwari may have been utilised in the kirtans. In these kirtans mythological stories and anecdotes were narrated.

Kirtans provided entertainment as well as facilitated revitalising moral and ethical values in the society.

Goa being thickly forest ^{ed} area during ancient times had rich wild life. Therefore, hunting was an ideal past time. During the winter, Kings and nobles used to go for hunting. There are epigraphic reference to Kadamba,⁵¹ King killing the tiger and hence he was called Vyghramari. The Marathas from Goa were also +fond of hunting. Animal like tiger, leopard, deer and bear were hunted.⁵² Cock fights were also common in Goa. Knives were tied to the legs of cocks before they were sent into the field for fighting. The powerful cock which could fight aggressively wounded the other cock. In fact some cocks bled. These cock fights could be used as kind of gambling. The owner of the cock whose cock was defeated had to pay the amount which was fixed before the combat. In an area called "Tereios dos Galos" in Old Goa such cock fights were held. These cock fights were abolished by the Portuguese in the 17th century.⁵³

Keeping pets like dogs, parrots and cats also provided some kind kind of entertainment. According to a Jaina work, Jayakesi I ended his life on account of the death of his parrot.⁵⁴ The source may be lacking credibility but it certainly indicates the love and affection which ^{king had} chess for his parrot

There were indoor games like chess for the children and the elders. In Goa and North Konkan there was a game similar to chess called tābul phale. 14 sockets were carved in two rows on a wooden plank. On both sides was a larger socket to keep pawns. These pawns were of yellow, red, blue and green. There was another game called Saripat played during the festival of Diwali but only by the elite.

The children had different games. The girls played hotch-potch and it was called langadi in Konkani. There was yet another indoor game for the girls called ātya-pātya in Marathi. In Konkani this game was called Ekuteni, Dukuteni Thapa and Jirki. This game was played with pebbles by sitting and these pebbles had to be thrown into the air and to be caught. In Ekuteni only one pebble was to be caught then subsequently two, three, four and finally all. If one was missed, the player lost the game. There were other games like hide and ^{seek} it was popular amongst children. From the above discussion it can be inferred that the dress and food during the ancient and medieval period had evolved as per the geographical conditions.

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CHAPTER V

RELIGION

Historically and culturally Goa was an inseparable part of India upto 1510. Goa withstanding the smallness, as a part of India had undergone religious movement which are similar to other parts of India. Hinduism in Goa saw the development of the the two main sects Vaisnavism and Saivism. Shakti worship was also prevalent in Goa and the main Shakti's worshipped were Sāteri, Bhāuka, Kelbai, Gajalakshmi, Mahālakshmi and Māhalsa. Nath-panth also had influenced the cultural history of Goa. Buddhism received the royal patronage to a small extent under the Konkan Maurya and the Bhojas. Buddhism might have survived, right upto the end of the Kadambas. There were Jaina bastis (temple) in Kudne Kothambi and Jainkot. All these villages are in Bicholim taluka. There was one more Jaina Bastis in Bandivade of Ponda taluka.

The kings of all dynasties who had ruled Goa were tolerant towards other religion. No evidences of religious persecution are found till the end of Vijayanagara period. An attempt is made to survey briefly the history of the above religious sects in this chapter.

Vaisnavism

Recent researchers have revealed that by the first

century B. C. the Vaisnavism was taking the root in the Deccan.¹ This is reflected in the inscriptions of Satavahanas. Goa was the part of the Satavahana empire during the reign of Kuntala Satkarni and may have remained for quite some time.² During the rule of Satavahana itself, Vaisnavites traditions might have spread in Goa. The earliest evidence of Vaisnavism as far as Goa is concerned comes from Vadgaon Madhavapur in Belgaum district.³ In the number of Satavahana inscriptions there are references to the various epithets of Krishna indicating the spread of Vishnu cult in the neighboring regions of Goa.⁴

To the south Goa in Banavasi (Uttar Kannada) district of Karnataka there is an inscription which mentions Visnurudrasivālananda, Satakarni and records the temple of Astabhujaswāmi (eightarmed lord).⁵

The earliest references to the personal names associated with Krishna from the region of Goa are found in Bhoja copper plates of Devaraja which are palaeographically dated to c. 400 A.D.⁶ In this copper plates of Devaraja the epithet Govinda which is the fourth epithet of the twenty four (chaturvimashati) epithet of Vishnu is mentioned.⁷ The next in the chronological order is the copper plate of the Bhoja ruler Prithvimallavarman. Palaeographically this copper plate can be dated to c. 550 A. D., and mentions the donee Brahmin named Mādhavārya of Agnivasayagotra. Ārya is an honorific term

and Mādhav is the third epithet of Visnu.⁸ Finally Arga plates of Kapilavarman and Kapoli plates of Asantikavarman are palaeographically contemporary ^{and} can be assigned to c. 600 A. D. - c. 700 A.D.⁹ The former copper plate mentions the name of the scribe as Krishna which is 24th epithet and in the latter inscription the name of the scribe Mādhava and he is the son of Govinda, Both father and son have the epithet of Visnu as their personal names.

During the Bhoja period itself the Chalukyas of Badami established their control over Revatidvipa (Redi) of Sawantawadi which is near northern borders of Goa.¹⁰ Invocatory verses of their inscriptions commence with Nārāyana. For the first time the epithet Nārāyana occurs in this region. Mangalesa, the Chalukyan ruler is described as a staunch worshipper of Bhagvat Visnu (param-bhāgvat). this record registers the grant Kundivatak and this has been identified as Kudne of Bicholim taluka.¹¹ The grant was made on the Mahākartika dvādashi (12th day). On this day Chaturmas ends and Krishna wakes up from Yoganidrā. However, on this day the wedding of Tulsi with Dāmodar is celebrated by Hindus. Dāmodar is an epithet of Visnu. Accordingly, the king being a parambhāgvat did observe fast and after worshipping Visnu he made grant.¹²

According to Rigveda the abode of Nārāyana is primeval waters. The waters contained that earliest embryos in which

all the Goads were collected. The waters are called Nara because they were the sons of Nara and since they were the first resting place of Prajāpati.¹³ The vast expanse of the blue waters of Gomati (Mandovi) Aganasini (Zuari) may have been considered as an ideal abode of Nārāyana. Insignia (lānchana) of Badami Chalukyas was Varahā (bear) an incarnation of Visnu. They were the worshipper of Nārāyana. This may have given an impetus for the rise of Nārāyana worship in Goa. In North Goa, there are number of Nārāyana temples. However in the other talukas of Central and Southern Goa also there are Nārāyana temples. Even in the name of the villages the influence of Vaisnavism can be seen. The village Narve is the corruption of Nārāyana. Nārāyana is abbreviated as Nāru and from it has become Nārve.¹⁴ In Naroa, Navelim and Bicholim, there are Lakshmi-Nārāyana temples and in Mopa, Sarmal and Virnoda of Pedne taluka Lakshmi-Nārāyana temples are located.¹⁵ In Tiswadi taluka there were five Nārāyana shrines four in Bardez and thirteen in Salcete.¹⁶ All these twenty two Nārāyana shrines were destroyed by the Portuguese in the 16th century. In the Cola village of Canacona taluka there is temple of Nārāyana. It is difficult to say whether all these were consecrated in early Chalukyas period. Perhaps some may have been consecrated in Kadamba period c. 1000 - 1200 A. D. (Plate No. 1).

North Goa was under the influence of Southern Silahārās

(765 A.D.) Their insignia (lānchana) was the eagle (garuda) the vehicle of Visnu.¹⁷ However, this had no effect on their faith. Like other branches of Silahārās, they were staunch Saivites and this is indicated by their epigraphs.¹⁸ No construction of Vaisnavite shrine is referred to in these inscriptions. However, they were tolerant towards other sects also.

The Kadambas of Goa ruled from the early 10th century and their royal insignia was the lion.¹⁹ Though the deity on their banner is Vaisnavite, but it had no effect on their faith in Saivism and they were the worshippers of Saptakoteshwar. However, their tolerance towards Vaisnavism is indicated not only by the presence of Hanuman on their banner but also by the invocatory verses in praise of Varaha (bear) incarnations mentioned in Panaji copper plates of Jayakeshi I.²⁰ Like the Silahārās, the Kadambas were also tolerant towards Vaisnavism and this is indicated by the consecration of Vaisnavite shrines by the members of the ruling family. Tambur inscription of Guhaladeva III records the construction of the temple of Visnu at Tambur.²¹ Another inscription from the same place mentions the construction of Nārāyandeva temple.²²

Out of 24 epithets (Chaturvimashati) of Visnu, the second epithet is Nārāyana and the reference to the worship of the above deity and his shrines from Goa has been already made.

Therefore, now it would be appropriate to deal about the shrines of the remaining epithets of Visnu from Goa.

Kesava

It is the first epithet of Visnu. There are two shrines of Kesava and these are namely in Priol (Ponda) and Loliem (Canacona).²³ In Cortalim (Kuttali) Sanskritised as (Kushastali) also there was a temple of Kesava and it was destroyed during the 16th century.²⁴

Mādhava

Prayag Mādhava is one of the subsidiary deities (parivār devatā) in Kāmaleshwar temple of Korgaon in Pedne taluka. According to a tradition, a pilgrim from Goa had been to Prayag (Allahabad) and he brought the image of Mādhava from Prayag and consecrated in Korgaon. Hence Madhava was named as Prāyag Madhava.²⁵ He is the family deity of the Pādhye Bhrahmin and Karhade Brahmins, The image seems to be of southern Silahara period.

Vāmana and Trivikrama

Vāmana is the fifth incarnation of Visnu but Trivikrama and Vāmana are respectively seventh and eighth epithets Chaturvimashati (24 epithets). Vāmana assumed the form of Trivikrama to put down Bali the mighty emperor of demon.

Salcete taluka had the shrine of Vāmana.²⁶ and Trivikrama²⁷ respectively in the village of Lotulim and Raciam. The distance between the two villages is hardly 7 kms. Most probably during the period of Badami Chalukyas these shrines were constructed. Both these shrines were destroyed during the 16th century. The village Kavale of Ponda taluka is the abode of Saivite Shakti Shāntādurgā, Vamana was reconsecrated in the village Kavale as a Parivār devata of Shāntādurgā. Under Saivite influence, Vāmana has been redesignated as Vāmaneshwar. Besides, Trivikram there were Nārāyana and Ishwara In Raciam. The latter deity was reconsecrated in Agapur as Mahadeva and is constituting the trikutāchala shrine of Mahādeva, Govinda and Rāmeshwara.²⁸ From this it is evident that even trikutāchala complex of Raciam consisted of Trivikram Nārāyana and Ishwara. But the devotees of the deities changed the names of deities while reconsecrating them in Agapur.

Padmanābha

The image of Padmanābha (plate No 2) is worshipped in Cuncolim of Ponda taluka. Locally the deity is called Nārāyandeva, and he is one of the parivār devās of the Shāntadurga shrine. The ancient stone sculpture of Padmanābha has all the attributes of the deity mentioned in the text and he is not Narayandeva. A new image of Padmanābha was consecrated in 1980, and the ancient stone sculpture has been

handed over to Goa State Museum. This belongs to later Chalukyan style.²⁹ One more stone sculpture of Padmanābha has been discovered in the debris clearance of the ancient temples of Vichundre in Sanguem taluka. Stylistically the stone sculpture is similar to Cuncolim stone sculpture but the face of Vichundre is not impressive like the face of Cuncoliem Padmanābha.

Dāmodar

The ancient temple of Dāmodar was in Mathagram (Madgaon) and was destroyed by the Portuguese in the 16th century. The Linga of Dāmodar was reconsecrated in Jambavalim. Dāmodar is an epithet of Krishna and particularly associated with his childhood. Yashoda the foster mother of Krishna tied the lower abdomen of the child Krishna to a heavy mortar. Hence the abdomen of Krishna was pressed. Thus Krishna got the epithet Dāmodar.

Evidences indicate that the temple of Dāmodar was a memorial erected in honour of Malkāji Dāmodar who was murdered by people immediately after his marriage.³⁰ Mālkaji bears Gujarati influence. Even if Malkāji was a native of Goa, the parents of Dāmodar might have named their child Malkāji due to Gujrat influence. During Kadamba period Goa had close contacts with Gujarat.³¹ Hence most probably the temple of Dāmodar was constructed during the Kadamba period.

Shankarshana

Shankarshana is the 13th epithet of Visnu . Like Narayana he is not a popular aspect of Visnu. In Loliem village of Canacona taluka he is a parivar devatā in the main temple of Nirakar.³²

Narasimha

In Goa proper there were two shrines of Narasimha. One shrine was in Shankhawali (Sancole) in Salcete taluka and the second shrine was Daugim in Tiswadi taluka. It is difficult to ascertain whether these two shrines were of Lakshmi-Narasimha., as no records are available. Both these temples were destroyed by Portuguese in the 16th century.³³ The devotees of Narasimha once again got prepared the image of Lakshmi Narasimha at the end of 16th century and consecrated in Veling of Ponda. According to the traditions, the deity in worship belongs to Sancole. There are no records or traditions associated with the reconsecration of Narasimha of Daugim in any part of Goa.

No inscription from Goa proper refer to the above shrine of Narasimha. However, the inscription of Goa Kadamba ruler Sivachitta (1169 A.D.) mentions the deity called Vira-Vikram Narasimha consecrated by Matayogi.³⁴ According to a tradition current in Goa, a Brahmin from Karnataka brought Narasimha and started the worship of Narasimha.³⁵ The early shrines of

Narasimha from Halsi (Belgaum district), Bangone and Banavasi (both in Uttar-Kannada district) have been reported. The worship of Narasimha might have reached Goa from these shrines during Kadamba period. Moreover, the recent researches have shown that the early stone sculpture of Narasimha are from Malnād and coastal Karnataka.³⁶ Goa being a coastal track and closely connected with the cultural and political history of Karnataka, the worship of Narasimha may have spread to Goa from this region. In Sancoale there was a temple of Permadi, the Kadamba ruler. Therefore, it may be construed that Narasimha shrine of Sancoale belonged to Kadamba period.

Most of the stone sculptures of Visnu are standing (sthānaka) images (murtis) of stone in (samabhanga) position. The only reclining (shayan) image of Visnu known as Ananta is from Priol.³⁷ The region of Ponda was called Antruz and the etymology of which is explained as Ananta urjadesh, the land of infinite energy and may be also explained as Ananta uragapura. The latter word uraga means a serpent. Visnu is supposed to be reclining on serpent. The Ponda taluka has four shrines of Visnu and these were worshipped in respective villages from Kadamba period. These four shrines are in Keri, Cuncolicm, Savai-Vere and Priol. These are dedicated to Nārāyana in the first two villages. Though the people of Cuncolicm call it Nārāyana as already pointed above, the stone sculpture is actually of Padmanābha and other two temples are

of in Savai-Vere Ananta and Kesava in Priol. Therefore, there is no exaggeration in naming the region of Ponda as Antruz. Hence, this was the centre of Vaisnavism.

On a stone plaque of schist Ananta has been chiseled out and the same has been affixed in the wall of sanctum . Visnu in reclining position is called Sheshashayana or Anantashayana (Plate 20D)

Visnu is reclining on Ananta Nāga. Hence he is called Anantashayana. He is depiction of the god cosmic Narayana.³⁸ The lotus is issued out of the naval on which Brahma is sitting. The present plaque of Ananta seems to be have been reconsecrated during Vijayanagara period.

Parasurāma

Parasurāma is the sixth incarnation (avatāra) of the ten incarnations of Visnu, According to Puranic tradition Konkan is the creation (sristi) of Parasurama.³⁹ In North Konkan in Chiplun as well as Dakshina Kannada the shrines of Parasurama have been reported.⁴⁰ In Paingunim village of Canacona taluka there is aniconic representation of Parasurāma.

On the stone sculpture of the various aspects of Visnu, the ten incarnations are depicted. Parasurāma with axe in his hand is also depicted among these incarnations. Such depiction

of incarnations on the stone sculptures become quite common after 900 A.D. in south India. In Goa also, there are stone sculptures of Visnu with the panels of incarnations including Parasurāma. But the depiction of Parasurāma is not the independent worship of Parasurāma in a temple. By and large scholars agree that the worship of Parasurāma began during 1200-1300 A.D. The rise of Nath-cult coincided with two more cults namely of Dattātraya and Parasurāma. Guru Dattātraya initiated Parasurāma in Srividya. It is mentioned here that Parasurāma beheading his mother under the orders of his father was harmoniously accommodated in Natha religious movement.⁴¹ Both Chiplun and Paingunim under the influence of Nātha and Dattātraya cult may have set up these independent shrines during the 1300-1400 A.D.

Rāma

Rāma is one of the ten incarnations of Visnu but in comparison with Visnu, the cult of Rāma did not establish itself as independent cult. Madhavachārya who propagated his philosophy in the early part of the 13th century is credited with bringing the image of Digvijaya Rama from Badarikasharam and he sent Naraharitirtha to Jagannāth in 1266 A.D. to bring the original idol of Rāma and Sita. In Vratakhanda of Hemadri(1300 A.D.) there is reference to Ramnavami, the birthday of Rama which is celebrated on 9th day of the bright part of the month Chaitra Navami of Chaitra Sukla-Paksha

(March-April). These facts clearly reveal that the cult of Rāma gradually became popular by the 11th century A.D.⁴²

There were two shrines of Rāma in Goa there was a temple dedicated to Rāma in Pilagaon and this was destroyed by the Mughal army in the 17th century.⁴³ In Cuncali village of Salcete taluka, there were shrines of Rāma and Krishna and these were destroyed in the 16th century by the Portuguese.⁴⁴ Whether Rāma and Krishna images were in the same temple or there were two different shrines for those two deities it cannot be said with certainty. Salcete is a stronghold of Madhava Saraswats and they are staunch devotees of Visnu. Probably the shrines of Rāma and Krishna were consecrated after the conversion of Saraswats to Dvaita sect during the last decade of 15th century.⁴⁵ In two villages of Ponda taluka namely in Madakai and Volvoi Rāmapurusha shrines have been reported. Those shrines have been wrongly associated with Rāma.⁴⁶

Vitthala

During the latter part of the Goa Kadamba period, the worship of Vitthala might have begun in Goa. The stone inscriptions of 1284 A.D. from Vitthala temple of Pandharpur records the donation received from Lad families of Goa.⁴⁷ In the copper plate of Khandepar (Ponda taluka) dated 1348 A.D. the personal name Vitthal is mentioned.⁴⁸ The references to

Lad found in the former inscription were Saraswat Brahmins but the personal name Vitthal set seems to be that of a goldsmith (daivadnya). This clearly indicates that Vitthal had following amongst the various sections of the society. It seems that the traditions of warkari which was popular in Maharashtra was practiced in Goa also. The devotees of Vitthal were going to Pandharpur two times every year namely in Asadha (June-July) and Kartika (October-November). Konkani being an Indo-Aryan language, the people of Goa could understand the devotional songs (Abhangās and Jnāneshwari) of the saints of Maharashtra. This may have also increased the popularity of Vitthal among the masses of Goa.

Ranes of Sattari were the devotees of Vitthala. Vatava Dubba was a worshipper of Vitthala and he was a warkari. Every year he used to visit Pandharpur two times. During the last visit to Pandharpur having experienced fatigue, he realised that it would not be possible to visit in future in his advancing age. According to the tradition, the god Vitthala heeded to his request. In sake 1314 (1392 A.D.) the shrines of Vitthala at Sankhali was constructed.⁴⁹ The present temple was constructed in the early part of this century by the Sindias of Gwalior.⁵⁰

Hanumān

Hanumān is an obedient servant of Rāma. He is one of the

zoomorphic deities like Narasimha ^{and} ~~of~~ Ganapati. Hence he is similar to Yaksas. He is symbol of strength, adventure, vitality and obedience. His body was hard as diamond (Vajrāṅg). Hindi term describing Hanumān as Bajarang is derived from Vajrāṅg. In the field of Hindu iconography Hanumān is one of the late entrants in Vaisnavite pantheon.⁵¹ The followers of Madhava consider Madhāvachārya as incarnation of Hanumān. Madhāvachārya and Vyasaraya were instrumental in spreading the worship of Hanuman.⁵² The devotion towards Hanumān can be traced the beginning of the 12th century A. D. On the banner of Goa Kadambas and Bankapur Kadambas, Hanumān was depicted. The inscription of Hanagal from Halkote area belonging to Tailapadeva II (1120A.D.) records the grant given to the temple of Hanumān.⁵³

On a large irregular stone plaque a crude relief of Hanumān with no ornamentation was found in Talaulim and belongs to c. 1400 A. D. It is displayed in Old Goa Museum. Hanumān is not enjoying the status of grāmadevatā in Goa.

Devaki- Krishna

The ancient temple of Devaki-Krishna was located on Chodan island in Tiswadi taluka. In this shrines Krishna as well as his mother were venerated. It was the only temple in India where both Krishna and his mother Devaki were worshipped together.⁵⁴

Consort of Visnu

The goddess Lakshmi is the consort of Nārāyana as well Narasimha. In North Goa many Lakshmi-Narayana temples have been reported. There are two shrines of Narasimha one was in Sankhavali (Sancole in Salcete taluka) and the second shrine was in Daugim in Tiswadi taluka. These are not specifically referred to as Lakshmi-Narasimha temples. However, the image of Narasimha which has been once again consecrated in Veling has consort Lakshmi. Hence, the Veling temple is called Lakshmi-Narasimha temple.

There is an independent temple of Mahālakshmi in Bandivade (Ponda taluka). The inscription of Nāgeshi temple, mentions the donations made to the above shrine of Mahālakshmi during the Vijayanagara period.⁵⁵ There was a Mahālakshmi temple in Colva (Salcete) and was destroyed by the Portuguese in the 16th century.⁵⁶

It is evident from the above discussion that the traces of Vaisnavism were present in Goa from c. 400 A. D. and remained as one of the major sects. Philosophical background for the worship of Krishna was provided by Madhvāchārya as a great philosopher from Dakshina Kannada district.⁵⁷ He was instrumental in spreading this worship of Krishna. During the 13th century, Some Saraswats and Daivadnyas (goldsmith) embraced this sect of the above philosopher. However,

Vaisnavites (Madhvās) only by tradition they became Bhāgwats and continued the worship of the Saivite deities like Nāgēshi and Ramnāthi. Prior to the 15th century there was no conflict between the followers of Vaisnavism and Saivism in Goa. However after the spread of Dvaita philosophy in Goa the Saraswats community was divided into Vaisnavites (Madhvās) and Smartas (Saivites). The Konkanamahātmya a Marathi work of 17th century, furnishes an exhaustive account of the conflict between the above mentioned the followers of the Vaisnavism and Saivism.⁵⁸

Saivism

By and large scholars agree the Non-Vedic origin of Siva. In Yajurveda and Atharvaveda Siva is a non Brahminic deity.⁵⁹ on account of the non-vedic origin of Siva the priests in Saivite temples of Goa and in the Deccan ~~area~~ usually have ~~not~~ Brahmin priests called Guravas.⁶⁰ The well known ancient Saivite centres like Gudimallam (Andhra Pradesh Trimbakeshwar and Walkeshwar) respectively located in the district of Nasik and Bombay, in Maharashtra were in the tribal belt.⁶¹ Mangesh and Nāgēsh, the important aspects of Siva have origins in Goa. Gavdas were closely associated with the worship of the above deities of Goa. ⁶² Even in case of Mallikārjuna of Canacona Velip are closely associated. According to a tradition Velip is credited with discovering the linga of Mallikārjuna.⁶³

The above data of Saivism furnished to early historical period. As regards the epigraphical data pertaining to Saivism in Goa, the inscriptions of Bhojas mention personal names such as Amaresvara.⁶⁴ One of the Bhoja king was Kapālivarman.⁶⁵ Kapāli is an epithet of Siva, (one is holding the skull (Kapāli) in his hand. Another plate of Bhoja ruler Asankitavarman (c. 700 A. D.) mention that he was devotee of Maheshvara.⁶⁶ These personal names occurring in the inscriptions clearly indicate that Saivism had taken root in Goa. by c. 400 A. D. There are place names which are associated with Siva for e.g. Harmal (Pedne taluka) Harvale (Bicholim taluka) Sivoli (Bardez taluka) Sivapur (Ponda taluka). It has been suggested that the last place name Sivapur is Siroda. However, it seems that Sivapur was a small hamlet in the village of Siroda.⁶⁷

The Bhoja ruler Devaraja (c. 400 A. D.) made gifts to Brahmins named (Govindswami and Indraswami of Bhardvaja gotra on the 12th day (dvādashi) of Magha (February-March) dark fortnight (Krishna Paksha) and this dvādashi is called Tiladvadashi. The above copper plate of Devaraja mention Thanniyak (Thane) Kotturika (Kuttali) villages.⁶⁸ Not far away from these villages in rock-cut cave linga which could be dated c. 400 A. D. was found. It seems the Brahmins mentioned above were supposed to worship the Siva Shrine of Consua then it might not have been a separate village.

Besides the above copper plates of the Bhojas, there are

two stones inscriptions of unknown dynasty. These are namely Aravalem.⁶⁹ and Nundem⁷⁰ inscriptions of Simharaja (Sanguem). Aravalem inscription which is in box-headed characters was found on the linga of the right hand cell. This inscription is incomplete as it is fashioned out of pillar from the temple of Siva which was close to Aravalem caves. On the basis of paleography, inscription is dated to c. 500 A. D. The above inscription engraved on the linga indicates that the temple of Siva was built in c. 500 A. D.⁷¹ During the period c. (700 A. D.) when Aravalem caves were being excavated, the temple referred to above was in dilapidated condition. Hence pillar on which the inscription was engraved was consecrated in Aravalem caves. On the basis of the description mentioned in the inscription it can be said that Rudreshwar temple near the water falls was an ancient temple. During the later period it was renovated. This inscription also furnishes the rituals followed by the devotees in Rudreshwar shrine such as Japa and Virāsana.

The second stone inscription of Nundem of Simharaja is displayed in the state museum of Goa. In this inscription interesting and unfamiliar epithets of Siva as well as Pārvati occur and these are namely Elā and Elāsvamin⁷² is the purush of Elā. The epithet Pārvatisvāmin is used as synonym of Elāsvāmin. Therefore, Elā is an epithet of Pārvati.⁷³ From the above discussion about inception of Aravalem and Nundem it is

evident that by 5th century A. D. there were four Saivite shrines in Goa. There are namely Aravalem (Bicholim) two in Sanguem taluka Pār̄vati and Siva in Nundem and Consua rock cut shrine of Siva in Mormugao taluka.

The rock-cut caves are of considerable importance in the study of Saivism in Goa. The survey rock-cut caves in Goa have revealed that Architectural activity started with in Consua (c. 400 A.D.) There were lingas in also other rock-cut caves. Pissurlem was a natural cave and later it was converted into shrine of Siva.⁷⁴ Aravalem Caves are a land mark in the development Saivite iconography. This cave is housing the first syncretic shrine consisting of Siva, Kartikeya and Surya. This aniconic representation is the forerunner of Siva, Mārtanda Bhairava cult. Aravalem rock cut caves were excavated at least after one and half century of the conquest of Revatidvipa (Redi) by the Chalukyas of Badami. Therefore, by then the worship of Kārtikeya had spread to Goa.⁷⁵ Hence both aniconic as well as iconic representation of Kārtikeya are found in Goa. Kārtikeya stone sculpture from Korgaon of Pedne belongs to early Chalukya period. Along with Kārtikeya the worship of Ganapati also reached Goa. The colossal Ganapati chiseled out in the cave of Redi belongs to early Chalukya period.

After the rule of early Chalukyas Goa came under the control of Southern Silaharas (1010-1024). On the basis of the

invocatory verses from the Southern Silahārās inscriptions which refer to Tāndava dance, skull (kapāl) and skeleton (astipanjar) it may be inferred that minister were inclined towards Pāsupata cult. This cult did not evolve fully as the Southern Silaharas disappeared from the political scene in 1024.⁷⁶ The development of Vetāla images and his worship might have begun during Southern Silahārā period.

During the fag end of Silahārās rule, the Kadambas rule began in Goa. The Kadambas territory was a stronghold of Saivism. The kadambas of Goa were the worshippers of Saptakoteshwar and he was family deity. On the coins of Jayakeshi I (1050-78) Jayakeshi II (1126-47). Sivachitta Permadi (1147-87) and Soyideva (1226-27 to 1245-1246) the legend Shri Saptakoteshwar varavira Jayakesideva is found. On the obverse the third type of coin of Jayakeshi the lion (insignia of Kadamba) is shown in front on the left hand side of the temple. This temple is perhaps of the family deity of the Kadambas,⁷⁷ Occurrence of the epithet of Siva Shri Malige Bhairava on the coins as well as on the copper plates of Kadambas also indicates that Kadamba were the devotees of Siva.⁷⁸

In the Marcella copper plates of Sasta II, there are references to the visit of Sastadeva II to Gokarna, the well known pilgrim centre of Uttar Kannada and his visit to Somnāth_Patan of Sourashtra.⁷⁹ In Ganadevi grant of Sastadeva I

of Kali year 4347, there is a reference to the gift to Mahābaleswara of Gokarna by him.⁸⁰ The visit of Sastadeva may have resulted in establishing three Somnāth shrines in Bardez taluka during the Kadamba period. These three shrines were destroyed by the Portuguese in the 16th century.⁸¹

Only three temples of Kadamba period have survived. These are namely Saptakoteshwar of Opa (Ponda taluka) Curdi Mahadeva temple which is being transplanted on the site of Salauli dam project by Archaeological survey of India and Tambdi Surla Mahādeva temple. Kadambas built Saptakoteshwar temple of Diwadi but it seems that during the Muslim invasion the linga was hidden in a well and temple was damaged. Madhavamantri, the Governor of Vijayanagara in Goa rebuilt Saptakoteshwar temple and once again got linga of Saptakoteshwar reconsecrated.⁸²

In the Vijayanagara period the first references to Ravalnāth is found two stone inscriptions of Marathi from Veluz (Sattari) displayed in Old Goa Museum. The first inscription belongs to Srāvana Shukla Pratipada Saka 1324, corresponding to 1st July 1402. The people of Masarvade village of Athavle regions contributed jointly one gadyan. Out of total income of 30 tankās for night offerings (naivedya) to Ravalnath, 4 tankās, for perpetual lamps, 6 tankās betel leaves, one tankā for payment of priest, 6 tankās for washerman, 6 tankās for Bhāvin (Devadāsi) for her services, 3

tankās to other servants of Gods. This inscription furnishes information about the servant of temple and the rituals performed in the temple.⁸³ The second inscription from Veluz (1408 A.D.) refers 1/36 part of the produce made as a donation to the above shrine . Both inscriptions belong to Harihar I.⁸⁴

Another stone inscription of Vijayanagara period is from Bandivade (Ponda taluka) and this is in Nāgeshi temple. The above inscription mentions the donations made to shrine of Bandivade namely to Nāgeshi and Mahālakshmi. Mai, Senvi made provision for lighting lamps on the night of full moon day Kārtika (Pournima of October-November). The earthen lamps were lit on dipamālā and there was an arrangement to keep four hundred earthen lamps on dipamālā. Therefore, Mai Senvi agreed to supply four hundred earthen lamps and the same amount of wicks. For Mahābhishek of full moon night he supplied sweets called Ghāre or Vade prepared out of rice and jaggery fried in oil as offerings to the deity.⁸⁵ He also supplied vegetables and betel leaves (tambul).

The worship of Siva was widespread and Saivites were in majority in Goa.⁸⁶ Even in Salcete which is supposed to be stronghold of Sāraswats, the temples of Siva are more than that of Vishnu. However, Salcete has more Vaisnavite shrine than the other two talukas. This is perhaps Partagāli the Vaisnavite Math of Madhvāchārya spread Vaisnavism in this region. Even the Vaisnavite Saraswats of Goa still continue to

worship Saivite deities like Nāgeshi and Rāmanāthi.

(C) Veerasaivism

Veerasaivism became a vigorous religious movement during the later part of 12th century under the leadership of Basaveshwara. The reigns of Jayakeshi II (1126-1147) and the early years of Permadideva (1147 A. D. onwards) coincide with the above period. The later ruler might have come in contact with Veerasaivism during his visit to Kalyan (Bidar district of Karnataka) which was the capital of later Chalukyas.⁸⁷ The third pontiff (guru) of Sunya Simhāsana Siddhanāth as well as fourth pontiff Sri Anādi Gananath might have visited Goa. The most revered deity of Allamaprabhu Goheshvara is supposed to be from Goa.⁸⁸

(d) Shakti Worship

The worshippers of the shakti (the female deity) are called Shaktas. She is supposed to be the embodiment of infinite energy. The antiquity of the shakti worship goes back to early historical period. The early settlers like the Gavdas and the velips were the worshippers of Sāteri, Bhumika, Bhāuka and Kelbai. These tribes visualised their Shakti in Sāteri and Kelbai. However, the inscriptional references to the Shakti worship in Goa are available only from Bhoja period onwards. The antiquity of Shakti worship in Goa is about two centuries earlier to that of Dakshina Kannada.⁸⁹

In Nundem inscriptions of Simharaja belonging to unknown dynasty unfamiliar epithet of Elā occurs.⁹⁰ This seems to be a folk deity. Once popular in many regions of India. She was worshipped in Goa, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Orissa.⁹¹ Aravalem inscription is almost contemporary of Nundem inscription. In this inscription, Siva is referred to as Bhavānish i.e. the lord of the goddess Bhavāni. This is for the first time in Goa, the reference to the goddess Bhavāni is found in the inscription.⁹²

The inscriptions of Badami Chalukyas mention that they were nursed by Saptamātrikas.⁹³ The Silahārās and the Kadambas of Goa were the devotees of Mahālakshmi of Kolhapur.⁹⁴ There are references to royal pilgrimages to Kolhapur undertaken by Kadambas.⁹⁵ In some inscriptions of Goa Kadambas, the invocatory verses refer to Mahālakshmi.⁹⁶ In Goa there are Mahālakshmi temples and these are located in Netravali (Sanguem), Bandivade(Ponda) and Colva(Salcete) respectively.⁹⁷

The long tradition of the worship of shakti may have made Goa as the centre of Shakti worship. Gomti became the shakti and Chandreshwar was Purusha.⁹⁸

There are stone sculptures of Mahishāsūramardini in Goa from the beginning of the Bhoja period. In course of time she became the most popular goddess. Mahishāsūramardini became the epitome of all the forms of shakti and she is considered as

Sāteri, Shāntādurgā, Mahāmaya, Elā, (Parvati) Kāmākshi, Āryadurgā and Navadurgā. Shakti is the fundamental principles of creation. There is no distinction between Vaisnavism and Saivism in shakti cult. Shakti is closely related to Siva perhaps on account of the ferocious aspects (Ugra) and the tantrik practices associated with the worship of Siva as well as shakti. But shakti is supreme. However, in Goa there are no shaktās as in North Eastern India. It has been pointed out elsewhere that folk deity Mahālsā became Mahālsā Nārāyani. As regards Navadurgā of Madkai and Kundai from Ponda taluka, it may be stated that these goddesses are the deities of Vaisnavites and they are the Mahājans of these temples. But only Shāntādurgā has remained purely the goddess of Saiva Saraswats. But as regards the deities mentioned above it shows the assimilation of these shaktis into Saivism as well as Vaisnavism.

(c) Nāth-Panth

The factors responsible for the emergence of Nāth-cult were t̄antrik Buddhism and t̄antrik practices followed by Kāpālikas and Shāktās. Nāth-cult was a reaction against t̄antrik practices. The founder of Nāth-cult (Sampradāya) was Matsyendranāth and his historicity is shrouded in mystery. His well known pupil was Gorakhnath and he belonged to the early 11th century A. D. According to Nāth-Siddhās all human beings are equal irrespective of their varna or jāti. Some of the

Nāth-Siddhās belonged to the lower strata of Society. The Nāthās kept aloof from the all types of intoxicants and did not practice five makārās. These (pancha makaras) are namely flesh (mansa) fish (Matsya) practicing body postures (mudras), drinking wine (madira) and indulging in sexual practices (maithuna). Thus they preached saner and simple way of life.⁹⁹ Like Buddhism and Jainism Nāth-cult was not a revolt against vedic religion. Nāth-cult was not an independent movement and it was part and parcel of Hinduism.

Recently Archaeological approach has been fruitfully utilised for the study of Nāth-cult.¹⁰⁰ It seems from the evidences available in North Konkan (Panhale-Kaji) caves . Central Konkan (Goa) Chandrapur from Uttar Kannada¹⁰¹ district Nāth-Panth had spread by c. 1200 A.D. In 1947 the evidences of Nāth-cult from Goa were reported. Siddhanāth , Nāganāth and Chandranāth are associated with Nāth-Panth. But as regards the antiquity of Chandranāth, Nāganāth (Nāgeshi) it may be mentioned that these were worshipped in Goa prior to the arrival of Nāth-Panth in this regions.¹⁰² On the contrary Nāth-Panthis accepted Nāgesh Chandranāth and Nāgeshi and Saptanāthas^{as} their deities. Saptakoteshwar who is associated with folk-deity Elukotimāhadev has origins in Karnataka and references to the deity are found prior to the spread of Nāth-Panth in Karnataka.¹⁰³ Nāth-Panthis were the worshippers of the various forms of Siva therefore, incorporating

Chandranāth and Nāgeshī Saptakoteshwar in their fold is not perplexing. Hence it would be erroneous to conclude that the deities having nāth endings are Nāth-Panthi deities. Similarly Ravalnath¹⁰⁴ and Rāmanāth on the basis of aforesaid assumption have been ascribed to Nāth-Panth, but these are Saivite deities and later incorporated into Nāth-Panthis fold.

Nāth-Panth was widespread in entire Goa from North to South. The shrines of Ādināth which are associated with Nāth-Panth have been reported from Goa. The northern most shrine is in Pedne, Kindolim of Canacona is the Southern most shrines and Usgaon in Ponda taluka Central Goa is the third.¹⁰⁵ Chaurangināth who is seventh siddha out of the nine siddhās (nava nāthās) was the disciple of Matsyendranāth and his shrine located at Arpora (Bardez) was destroyed during the 16th century by the Portuguese.¹⁰⁶ There was Nāth-Panth shrine of Mallināth. On the island of Chudāmani (Charao Tiswadi). This shrine reconsecrated at Marcel in Ponda taluka after the destruction of the above ancient temple by the Portuguese in the 16th century.¹⁰⁷ It seems Macchendranāth and Matsyendranāth are identical and refer to one and the other Macchendranāth is not one of the twenty four Nāth-Siddhas. However, he is one of the nine siddhās of Maharashtra. Mallināth shrine was earlier Macchendranāth. But, doubts have been expressed whether Mallināth and Macchendranāth are the same and whether the latter is closely associated with

Mallikārjuna.¹⁰⁸ The identification of Mallināth with Macchendranāth (Matsyendranāth) seems to be correct and is testified by the tradition of reciting Nāth-Panthi work Navanātha Bhāktisāra (Marathi work written in 1819 A.D.) in the temple of Mallināth at Marcel.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, Mallināth and Mallikārjuna are different and the latter is located at Srisail of Andhra Pradesh and is associated with Nātha-Siddhās.¹¹⁰

In central Goa on Siddhanāth hill (Ponda taluka) there is Nāth-Panthi shrine. This is associated with Nāth Siddha Mādhavanāth. He is not one of the 24 Natha Siddhās ^{but he is} of one of the 9 Nātha Siddhas.¹¹¹ Therefore, he may be a local Nāth-Siddhās from Goa and his shrine is located on Siddhanāth hill. In this shrine there are sandals (Padukā) and Trident (Trisul). Navanāth-Navakām (nine stanzas is praise of the Nāthās) mentions that a Nāthayogi besides various equipments should have sandal (Padukās and Trident (Trisul)). Therefore these auspicious objects of Nātha-Siddhas perhaps of Madhavanāth are taken out in palanquin in a procession during the annual fair (Jatrā).¹¹²

In South Goa Ravanphond now a suburb of Madagaon there are shrines of Matsyendranāth and Gorakhnath.¹¹³ The abode of Nāth-Yogis was called a (mātha) (Monastery). Madagaon was not called Mathagrām on account of Vaisnavite Math belonging to Dvaita sect (Madhāvāchārya) which was founded in the latter

15th century and shifted to Partagali after the establishment of the Portuguese power.¹¹⁴ Mathagrām probably got its name on account of Nāth-Mathās which were there before Vaisnavite Mathā. Nāth-Yogis (Jogis) who were practicing the various forms of Yoga found the caves as the most ideal abode. Nātha yogis are associated with caves in Goa as well as in Maharashtra.¹¹⁵ Rock cut cave of Diwadi island and Pilar rock cut cave both in Tiswadi taluka are nāth-Panthi caves.¹¹⁶ A few more rock cut caves have been recently identified as Nāth-Panthi caves and these are at Khandepar, Ishwarbhat, Kodar (all in Ponda taluka), Sanguem Salauli canal caves Dharbandoda (all in Sanguem taluka) and Aquem and Malangini (both in Salcete taluka).¹¹⁷ These rock-cut caves have been separately dealt in the chapter on Architecture.

Nāth-Panthis practiced and preached their creed for about 400 years in Goa from c. 1200 till the establishment of the Portuguese rule. However, the worship of Nāth-Siddhis still continues. For the Nāth-Panthis Siva is supreme and he is Ādināth.

f) Buddhism

Buddhism appeared to the west coast by 200 B.C. The eighth edict of Asoka discovered in Sopara indicates that during the reign of Asoka, Buddhist missionaries were active on the west coast. Stupas and other remains discovered in Sopara testify

that Buddhism spread to upper Konkan by B.C. 200.¹¹⁸ Moreover, Sopara was the birth place of Buddhist monk Punna. According to a tradition, he visited Goa during the life time of Buddha himself. But this tradition is mentioned in a Buddhist work of later period; and the authenticity and credibility of the visit of Punna has been doubted by the scholars.¹¹⁹ The evidence of Buddhism is found in the neighbouring district of Uttar kannada in Vaijayanti (Banavasi) of Sirasi taluka. This is about 150 kms from Panaji. The donation made by the merchant Bhutapala of Vaijayanti has been recorded in the epigraph from Karle. On the basis of the architecture, sculpture and paleography the chaitya of Karle has been dated to 50-70 A.D.¹²⁰ Literary sources also mention that the visit of Buddhist monk to Banavasi.¹²¹ The above sites of Sopara from North Konkan and Banavasi from South Konkan show that Buddhism had reached these places to Pre-Christian era. However, so far no epigraphs or archaeological remains indicating the presence of Buddhism in Goa from Pre-Christian era, or early christian era have been discovered. Even in the regions associated with Buddhism the references to Goa not found .

The Bhojas checked piracy on the coast of Goa this might have ushered in commercial activity. During this period some Buddhist merchants might have settled on trade routes and on the navigable rivers. However, there are no inscriptions

mentioning the donations offered by the merchants of Goa to either Buddhist sangha or for the excavation of Buddhist cave.

In the chronological order it would be appropriate to put the bronze head of Buddha found in the house of Mhamai Kamat of Panaji in the Bhoja period. (Plate No.3) It is a tiny head measuring about 3 X 2 cms. It is ascribed to c. 400 A. D. Some Buddhist merchant monk might have brought it to Goa during the Bhoja period.¹²²

The first epigraph from Goa registering the grant of the land to Buddhist Mahāvihāra of Sivapura is mentioned in the copper plate of the Konkan Maurya ruler Chandravarman (c. 500 A. D.).¹²³ There is a controversy regarding the identification of Sivapura. Recently Aravalem (Harvalem) has been identified as Sivapura and the rock-cut caves of Aravalem as Buddhist Mahāvihāra. Further it has been argued that Aravalem rock-cut caves were later converted into Brahminical.¹²⁴ As there is no scope for such conversion the above caves. Therefore, this argument not convincing. Most probably a locality in Siroda was called Sivapura.¹²⁵

The Bhoja ruler Asankita of Hiregutti copper plate dated to c. 475 to 525 A. D. also patronised Buddhism. He adapted elephant as the royal emblem on the seal of the copper plate. Elephant is the auspicious symbol in Buddhism.¹²⁶ The elephant on the copper plate seal and the coins clearly indicate the

Buddhist influence on the Bhojas. The Bhoja ruler Prithvimallavarman (c. 550 - c. 650 A. D.) employed a Buddhist. Buddhādāsa of Kamboj gotra in his court. He might have been a native of North West frontier area near Afganistan, which was known as Kamboja in ancient times. In fact he was the scribe of this copper plate.¹²⁷

The copper plate of the Bhoja ruler Asankita found in Hiregutti, Kumta taluka of Uttar Kannada district refers to the grant of village Sundarika of Dipaka Vishaya. Earlier it was suggested that Dipaka Vishaya might be Dipaka vishaya of Diwadi island or Anjediva island near Karwar. However, it has been recently identified that Sundarika is a part of Bicholim town and Dipaka Vishaya is Divachali and even now it is called by some people as Dicholi.¹²⁸ The rock-cut cave of Lamgaon are hardly two kms from Bicholim and the cave II is Buddhist Vishaya. Incidentally Lamgaon means the village of Lamās i.e. Buddhist monks. The copper plate of Bandoda of the Bhoja ruler Prithvimallavarman mentions the Buddhist monk from Kamboja (Kabul-Afganistan). The geographical description furnished in the inscription tallies with the topography of Sundarika.

Rivona is another Buddhist site in Sanguem taluka. During Valavalikar's visit to Rivona, he knew the terracotta seals found in the caves located in the above village. Valavlikar in the above Punna tradition therefore he compared the terracotta seals of Kanheri caves. Hence he presumed that Rivona natural

cave was used by Buddhist. The cave of Rivona could accommodate a congregation of 250 Buddhist monks.¹²⁹ But this seems to be exaggerated figure. However in this cave about 100 could easily assemble.

Charcoal found during the debris clearance in Rivona Buddhist monastery indicates that the monastery had most probably wooden rafters and pillars. Buddhist might have survived till end of Kadamba period as it survived in Dambal, Indi, Kanheri and Miraj etc.¹³⁰ c.14 date supplied by PRL Ahmedabad indicate that monastery was destroyed perhaps by fire in between 1650-1765 A/ D.¹³¹

Buddha stone sculpture in Bhumisparsha mudrā with two pedestals were discovered in Rivona and these were acquired by the state Museum of Goa. Buddha stone sculpture and the pedestal belong to c. 700 A. D.¹³² (Plate No. 4)

The first stone sculpture of Buddha was discovered by Henry Heras at Mushirvado in Colvale in Bardez in 1930 (Plate No.5). The bronze head of Buddha and the stone sculpture from Rivona are of earlier date and hence have been discussed earlier.¹³³ Heras dated Buddha from Colvale to c. 200 A. D. However, in Treasures of Heras Institute, this stone sculpture has been dated to c. 400 A. D. as the scholars finds the similarity between the Buddha stone sculpture of Colvale and Amaravati Buddha.¹³⁴ But others have dated Buddha sculpture

from Colvale to c. 1100 A. D. It is not as late as c. 1100 A. D. Colvale Buddha image belongs to c. 950 A. D.

During the Gupta period which coincided with Banavasi Kadambas and the Bhojas on this coastal belt the worship of the Buddha image with number of ceremonies might have developed. The earthen[^] spouted vessels discovered during the debris clearance indicate that this was most probably used for the worship of Buddha, The foundation of structural Buddhist monastery in addition to natural cave of Rivona indicate that Buddha was worshipped till the end of the Kadamba period. The Buddh^{ist} monk built a rectangular platform in the natural cave of Rivona. Series of steps were excavated on the right hand side of the cave and these steps lead to the top of a small hillock. Charcoal found during the debris clearance in Rivona Buddhist Monastery indicate that the monastery survived till the 17th century.¹³⁵ But there are no evidences to show that Buddhist monks lived practiced preached Buddhism till the 17th century.¹³⁵ Therefore, it is likely that Buddhism might have survived till the end of the Kadamba period as it survived in Dombal, Indi, Kanheri and Miraj.¹³⁶ Buddhist monks were not purely engaged in religious activity. Besides practicing and preaching Mahāyāna Buddhism, they were engaged in iron smelting. The earthen pipes with encrustation of iron discovered during the debris clearance clearly shows that monks were manufacturing iron. Most probably the local mines

of Rivona was the source of iron found in the above monastery.¹³⁷ In cave No. 23 of Kanheri, similar evidence of iron smelting by Buddhist monks has been reported.¹³⁸ The Buddhist monastery of Rivona was situated on the bank of Kushawati river thus monastery had perennial source of water.

The southern Silahārā period saw the development of tantrik Buddhism. Though the evidences are not many, yet Kālanāth of Vajrāyana has been reported from Panchavadi,¹³⁹ This village is very close to Sivapura a locally mentioned in the copper plate of Konkan Maurya ruler Chandravarman. (c. 500).¹⁴⁰ This Panchavadi seems to be a Mahāyanā Buddhist centre and later developed into Vajrāyana centre. Srīsthāna according to Buddhist sources was Vajraparvata. Further it is stated that Shriparvata and Vajra-parvata are one and the same.¹⁴¹ In support of tāntrik Buddhism, the pedestal of tāntrik Chāmundeswari of Goa-Velha and now displayed in Museum of Pillar Seminary may be cited.¹⁴² (Plate No. 7) The pedestal of Chamundeswari has Vajra incised on it and this indicates that it belongs to Vajrāyana. On either side of Vajra, There was an inscription and it is obliterated and hence it is difficult to decipher. The stone sculpture of Chāmundeswari belongs to 11th century.

During the Kadamba period the centers of Vajrāyana have been reported from Velugrām (Belgaum), Dombal (Dharwad) district and Panhale-Kaji (Ratnagiri district). Vajrāyana

might have come to Goa from Karnataka and finally reached Panhale-Kaji.¹⁴³

The monastery of Colvale, Lamgaon and Rivona might have survived without any royal patronage. After the doubtful patronage of Chikkodi plate of Southern Silahārā king, no inscriptions mentioning donations to the Buddhist centre are available. This might have weakened Buddhism in Goa. As in other centers of Vajrāyana, the practice of five makaras might have led to the laxity of morals amongst the monks. This led to the loss of respect towards monks in the society. Finally Nāth-Panth appropriated many Vajrāyana deities and established themselves in some Buddhist centres like Panhale-Kaji in Ratnagiri and Panchavadi in Goa.

g) Jainism

Like Buddhism, Jainism had origins in North India and then spread to South India by 400 B. C. Jainism reached Ceylon. Therefore, Jainism might have reached South India during the same period.¹⁴⁴ However, Jainism could have reached Ceylon via sea-route thus avoiding land-route. During Chandragupta Maurya was said to have gone to Sravanabelagola with the Jaina monk Bhadrabahu. According to Tamil literature, the route of Chandragupta Maurya was via Konkan.¹⁴⁵ Even if the route of Chandragupta Maurya was via Konkan, there are no evidences to show that Jainism had reached Konkan and Goa

during Maurya period.

During the 4th century A.D., However, the evidence of Jainism are available from the neighbouring district of Uttar Kannada. The early Kadamba ruler of Banavasi patronaged Saivism as well as Jainism. Out of 51 inscriptions of the Kadambas of Banavasi, almost one fourth of the records show that ruler of the above dynasty were patrons of Jainism.¹⁴⁶ The rule of Banavasi Kadamba coincided with the rule of the Bhojas and Konkan Mauryas in Goa. The rulers of both the dynasties from Goa patrons of Buddhism and it is discernible from their epigraphs.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, no epigraphs of these dynasties specifically refer to royal patronage of Jainism. Evidence of Jainism are available only during Southern Silāhārās and Kadamba period.

The first Jaina stone sculptor was that of tirthankara discovered by Henry Heras in Chandor (Salcete taluka) and the hand of this sculptures are lost. Presently it is at Heras Institute Museum, Bombay. Probably it belongs to early Southern Silahara period.¹⁴⁸

Kothambi village from Bicholim taluka had three Jain stones sculptures in the temple of Chandreshwar and these are namely of tirthankara, Kubera and Yaksi. The stone sculptures Kubera and Yaksi have been acquired by the state Museum of Goa and these belong to Southern Silāhārā Period.¹⁴⁹ (plate Nos.

6.70 110 2)

The Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum of Goa conducted excavation in Gujir locality of Kudnem of Bicholim taluka in 1986. A torso with Srivatsa symbol on the chest was found indicating that it is of a Jain tirthankara. Later, broken head of tirthankara with beautiful curls was found about 4 mts away from the sanctum. Adjacent to the temple, there is a well. The water from that well was used when there was worship in the temple. This well was desilted in the course of excavation at a depth of 5 mts, the right leg of tirthankar was discovered. The stone sculpture of Kudne is similar to the stone sculpture of Kothambi and belongs to Southern Silāhārā period. The image of the tirthankar was consecrated probably in c. 950 A.D. and was in worship till 17th century. The Jaina temple constructed in the 10th century and it was ruins in 15th century during the Vijayanagara period and hence it was rebuilt. The pieces of stone sculpture of tirthankara which were scattered in different place clearly indicate that it was deliberate destruction by an icnoclast. In January 1684, the army of Mughal ruler Aurangazeb burnt Bicholim town and destroyed the temple of Rāma at Pilagaon. During the same year the Jaina temple of Kudne which is very close to Pilagaon might have been destroyed.¹⁵⁰

The third Jain centre from Bicholim taluka is from Jaina kot locality at Narve. This locality is hardly 200 mts. away

from the temple of Saptakoteshwar. In 1981, the small stone sculpture of headless Supārsvanāth was discovered. The pedestal of this stone sculpture has one line Nāgari inscription mentioning the date which corresponds to 1150 A.D. Therefore, this stone ^{sculpture} belongs to the reign of Goa Kadamba ruler. Permadideva or Sivachitta (1147-1192 A.D.) This image of Supārsvanāth is displayed in the State Museum of Goa. (Plate NO. 9A, B) There is a tradition current in Kundai village of Ponda taluka there was a short period of the rule of Rattas of Saundatti (Belgaum district) over Goa and the Kadambas of Goa became their feudatories. During this period some Kadamba king embraced Jainism and a few subjects also followed him.¹⁵¹ However, this tradition has no historical basis. The first Kadamba king who came in contact with Ratta king Kiratavirya IV was Jayakeshi III and the latter was never completely routed. The result of this short-lived conflict was the permanent loss of Velugram of seventy and it became a part of Ratta kingdom. The second time reference to Rattas is available during the reign of Shasta-deva III. The Ratta king Kamadeva the son of Lakshmiddeva assisted Shasta-deva III in obtaining the throne. This timely assistance perhaps was responsible for matrimonial alliance between Kamadeva and Sastadeva III. Sastadeva offered his sister to Kamadeva in marriage.¹⁵²

The Rattas were the followers of Jainism and they

patronised Jainism. If Kadambas who were related to Rattas had embraced Jainism, this would have been definitely mentioned in their records. Moreover, by 13th century A.D. Jainism was on decline. And by then Kadambas had become staunch Saivites.

On the contrary, it seems that Goa had close contacts with Jains of Gujarat. In Bicholim taluka there were Gujarati localities. In Kudnem, where the excavation was conducted is called Gujir. Bicholim is on the main trade route connecting upper Konkan. This might have attracted mainly Jaina merchants to settle in these localities. The Gujarat contact is also mentioned in Kannada inscription of Bandivade, Jaina Basti(Ponda taluka). This inscription mentions that king Sripala established village Bandivade and constructed Nemināth Jaina Basti. This king Sripala is supposed to be the king from Gujarat. On a single stone three Kannada inscriptions bearing sake 1345 (1423 A. D.) sake 1347(1425 A./D.) and sake 1355(1433 A.D.) are engraved. During this period Devaraja II was ruling Goa. This inscription is displayed in Old Goa Museum. These three inscriptions deal with construction and restoration of Jaina Basti. Three generations of Jaina Munis is mentioned in this inscriptions. Jaina Muni Vijayanandiswāmi performed the ritual of self immolation prescribed according to Jaina religion in sake 1354(1432 A.D.) The nisadi slab was set up by Simhanandi. This is only inscriptional reference to nisadi from the territory of Goa. This inscription moreover,

records gifts of the village Vagurme made in 1425 A.D. and 1433 A.D. to Jaina Basti of Bandivade. The gifts were entrusted to the lay disciple Muniyappa, the pupil of Simhanandacharya and were to be administered by his sons and grandsons.¹⁵³ This inscription mention that Goa was governed by Trimbaka the son of Lakappa. Nemināth basti of Bandivade is in ruins.

The Jaina sculptures and Jaina temple of Kudne, the Jaina shrine of Jainkot of Narve and Nemināth Jaina basti of Bandivade bear testimony to the existence of Jainism in Goa. However, in comparison with Hindu population the Jains were meager and were mostly of mercantile community and their settlement were more in Bicholim taluka. During the early decades of the Portuguese rule, Jaina might have left Goa and settled down elsewhere.

Jaina maintained their strict vegetarianism even on this coastal belt.. The konkani word for vegetarian food is shivrāk and this is derived from Srāvāk (Jain monks). Hence the food consumed by the Srāvakas was called sivarāk. This itself is a testimony of the contribution of Jainism to the cultural history of Goa.¹⁵⁴

R E F E R E N C E S

1. Padigar Srinivas V : The Cult of Vishnu in Karnataka unpublished Ph. D. thesis pp 60-73.
2. Dahejia Vidya : Early Buddhist Rock-temples p. 22 Refer to also Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu pp 22. 59 , 60.
3. Padigar Srinivas V. : Op. Cit pp 60-73.
4. Padigar Srinivas V. : Op. cit pp 60-73.
5. Padigar Srinivas V. : Op. cit pp 60 73.
6. Shirodkar P.P. "Vaisnavism in Goa" paper presented in the fifth seminar on the History of Goa held in Goa university Februry, 1991. According to Shirodkar there are no traces of Vaisnavism till c. 800 A.D. in Goa. It is sweeping statement. The evidences of Vaisnavism are found from c. 400 A.D.

See also Krishnamacharlu C. R. : "Siroda plates of Devaraja " In EI Vol. XXIV 1937- 1938 pp 143-145. See also Lakshminarayan Rao N "A note on plates of (Bhoja) Devaraja " E I vol. XXVI pp 1941-1942 pp. 337-340.
7. Krishnamacharlu C. R. : Op. cit 144.
8. Gai G. S. "Two grants of Bhoja Prithvimallvarman" E I Vol. XXIII pp 61-64.
9. Annigeri A. M. "Two grants of Bhoja kings " I. Arga Plates of Kapalivarman I. Kapoli plates of Asantikavarman year 5. E I vol. XXXI pp 232- 236.
10. Gazetteer of Goa ,Daman and Diu p73.
11. Padigar Srinivas V : POp cit p 134 see also Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu. Refer to also Sounda Rajan K.V. Indian temples and styles p. 38
12. Padigar Srinivas V : Op. cit p 134.
13. Padigar Srinivas V : Op. cit 23-24 See also Shirodkar P.P. Op. cit.
14. Rajawade Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade nām Samshodhan paddhati(Marathi) p. 305.
15. Pereira Gomes Rui : Op. Cit pp 132, 135, 173, Gujarati

merchant Sagarji Shete was instrumental in building this temple at Narve in 1650 A. D. But the stone sculpture in worship belongs to c. 1100 A. D. See also Shirodkar P. P. Op cit.

16. Pereira Gomes Rui : Op. cit This statistics is available in this well documented work.
17. Gazetteer of Goa Daman and Diu p. 83 see also Mirashi Vasudev Vishnu Silahara Inscriptionum Indicarum vol. VI (Inscriptions of the Silaharas) see plate L XXXII.
18. Mirashi V. V. : Ibid Kharepatan Copper plates of Rattararaja refer to Saivite sect Mattamayura from Madhyadesha. The localities mentioned in the inscription are not with in the territory of Goa. pp 180, 198, 242, XLVII, LI
19. Moraes George M. : Op. cit p. 229 See also Gopal B. R. Minor dynasties of South India Karnataka p. 48.
20. Dikshit Moreshwar G. : "Panjim plates of Jayakeshi(I) ". In Indica Silver jub Vol. 1953 pp. 89-94 see also Moraes George M. Op. cit pp 394-400.
21. Padigar Srinivas V. : Op. cit p 315
22. Gurav R. N. : Kadambas of Goa and their inscriptions p 368
23. Pereira Gomes Rui : Op. cit p. 194. There is no independent shrine of Kesava but he is one of the parivar devata of Betal (Vetal) p. 194. However, there is an independent shrine of Kesava in Loliem p. 150.24.
24. Pereira Gomes Rui : Op. cit p 93 . The Portuguese records Kesava as Quensoobo. Most probably it means there was a shrine of Kesava in Cortalim.
25. Pereira Gomes Rui : Op. cit p 162. Shri L. K. Pitre Keeper of Museum of Goa State Museum furnished this information.
26. Pereira Gomes Rui : Op cit pp 101. 104.
27. Pereira Gomes Rui : Op cit p 105
28. Mitragotri V. R. " Trikutachal temple of Agapur " In Essays in Goan History ed. de Souza T. p 17-22
29. Naik D. B. : "Vishnu Sculpture in Goa Museum " . In

Rangavalli S. R. Rao , festschrift, pp 272-273.

30. Pereira Gomes Rui ; Op. cit p. 83 See also Fonseca Nicole da Op. cit p. 104.
31. Moraes George N. : Op. cit p. 184 see also Pissurlekar Pandurang S. " Inscricoes pre-Portuguesa de Goa " IN O Oriente Portuguesa p 395 . Refer to also Kamac Nandakumar " Cultural Relations with Gujarat " In Essays in Goan History pp 10-11.
32. Percira Gomes Rui : Op.cit p 150
33. Pereira Gomes Rui : Op. cit pp 46, 107.
34. Padigar Srinivas V. : Op. cit pp 114
35. Shenvi Dhume Vinayak Narayan : Devabhumi Gomantak (Marathi) p. 137
36. Padigar Srinivas V. : Op. cit P 117.
37. Pereira Gomes Rui : Op. cit p 117.
38. Mitragotri V. R. : Op. cit p 19.
39. Joshi Mahadev Shastri : Bhāratāchi murtikalā (Marathi) p. 71. See also Bhatt Gururaj Studies in Tulava History and Culture pp 334-335.
40. Deshpande M. N. : The caves of Panhale-kaji p 163 Refer to also Sundara A "Yellamma (Renukadevi). A Study" In Archaeological Studies Vol. V pp 43-44. See also Sumadhavijaya translation by Vyasanakere Prabhanjanacharya. Madhavacharya during his journey visited Goa and worshipped the Lord of Ishpur village , Parashuram. This village has been called as Kshetra (pilgrim centre in SKH). Ishupat Kshetra has been identified as Banavali village of Salcete. But there is no shrine of Parashurama in Banavali. Sumadhavijaya was composed by Narayana pandita in the 14th century. Narayan pandita had lived during the life time of Madhavacharya. From this it is evident that the legend of Parashurama was popular during the c. 1300A. D. Preface of the Sumadhavijaya p VII and p. 220.
41. Sundara A. : Op, cit p 44
42. Bhandarkar R. G. : Vaisnavism, Saivism and other minor sects pp 66-67.
43. Pissurlekar P. S. : Portuguese ani Marathe Sambandh

- (Marathi) p. 118.
44. Pereira Gomes Rui ;Op. cit p . 95
45. Kudva V. N. :Dakshinatya Saraswats. p 153
46. Shirodkar P.P. :Op cit
See also Shastri T. V. G. " Proto- Historic investigation In Itihas (The Journal of Andhra Pradesh Archives) vol. V No. 2, 1977 p. 7 Refer to also Dhume Ananta Ramkrishna The Cultural History of Goa from B. C. 10, 000 to 1352 A. D. p 86
47. Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu pp. 115-116.
See also Gode P. K. "The antiquity of the caste - name Senvi. "In Studies Cultural History Vol. III pt. II pp. 54-55.
48. Tulpule S. G. :Prāchin Marathi Koriv Lekh (Marathi) Sr. 53, p 75.
49. Pitre L. K. :Sankhalichā Shri Vitthala (Marathi) p. 7
50. Gune V. T. : Op. cit p 11.
51. Joshi Mahadevshastri :Op. cit pp 70-71.
52. Belur Keshavadas : Shri Karnataka Bhakti Vijaya(Kannada) p.80. See also sundara A "Hanumantan tavaru Kishkindhe" In Samyukta Karnataka Sunday edition (Kannada) dated 10-12-1989. Refer to also Rao Gopinath T. A. EHI vol. II pt. II p 532
53. Moraes George N. Op. cit pp 130 229
54. Pandit R. S. All India Saraswat Vol. IV No. 4 November 1922 p 64 SKH p 180 Vs. 23.
55. Tulpule S. G. Op. cit p 130
56. Pereira Gomes RUi Op.cit p 92.
57. Kudva K. V. History of Dakshinatya Saraswats pp 153, 154
58. Konkanamahātmya p 11 vs. 37-40.
59. Iyengar Srinivas P. Life in Ancient India in the Age of Mantras p 125 See also Chakravarty Mahadev The Concept of Rudra-Siva through the Ages p 28.
60. Chakravarty Mahadev Op. cit p 104.

61. Chakravarty Mahadev op. cit p 12 See also Sontheimer Gunther D. "Rudra and Khandoba " Continuity in folk religion " In Religion and Society in Maharashtra p 5.
62. Mitragotri V. R. and Mathew K. M. "The deities mentioned in SKH and the historically of the data ." paper presented in seminar on History of Goa held in Goa University 1991. (Under print)
63. Satoskar B.D. Op. cit p 128.
64. Krishnamacarlu C. R. " Siroda plates of Devaraja op. cit pp 144-145 line 15.
65. Annigeri A. M. "Arga plates of Kapalivarman " In E I XXXI pp 232-234.
66. Annigeri A. M. Op. cit line 5 p 236.
67. Naik N. B. Gomantakiya devalaya op. cit p 60
68. Krishnamacharlu C. R. Op. cit p 144.
69. Katti Madhav "Aravalem cave inscription" pp 138-139. In the Journal of Epigraphic Society Vol. VII pp 168-170.
70. Ramesh K.V. "Four stone inscriptions" In EI XXXVII p 282 II Nundem inscription of Simharaja. See also Desai P.B. "Goa inscription of Simharaja " In JKU (social science) vol. III, 196 pp 94-97.
71. Katti Madhav Op. cit p 138.
72. Desai P. B. Op. cit p95.
See also Ramesh K. V. Op. cit p 282.
73. Ramesh K. V. Op. cit p 284.
74. Mitterwallner Gritli " Two natural and 11 man made caves excavation of Goa in South Asian Archaeology 1979 p 474-475.
75. Soundara Rajan K.V. The cave temple of the Deccan pp 45-46.
76. Mirashi V.V. Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. VI (Inscriptions of the Silaharas) p 187.
77. Moraes George Op, cit pp 383- 385. See also Murthi Narasimha A. V. The coins of Karnataka. pp 117-130
78. Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu. p 99

79. Moraes George Op. cit pp 176-390
80. Gopal B. R. Minor dynasties of south India : Karnataka p 52
81. Mitragotri V. R. "Saivism in Goa " Paper presented in December , 1985 in the centenary celebration of the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums of Karnataka held at Mysore.
82. Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu p 792
83. Tulpule S. G. Prachin Marathi Korivlekh Sr. No. 58 pp 302. 305.
84. Tulpule S.G. Ibid Sr. No 69 359-362.
85. Tulpule S. G. Ibid Sr. No. 59 pp 306-314.
86. Taluka Siva Vetala Ravalnath Kshetrapala Bhairava Visnu
- | | | | | | | |
|---------|----|----|----|---|---|----|
| Tiswadi | 24 | 7 | 27 | 8 | 4 | 6 |
| Bardez | 25 | 19 | 19 | 6 | 4 | 5 |
| Salcete | 41 | 7 | 5 | 8 | 3 | 18 |

This table is based on the data available in Pereira Gomes Rui Hindu Temples and deities. From this it is evident that Goa was a strong hold of Saivism.

87. Gurav R. N. The Kadambas of Goa and their inscriptions p 391
88. Chidanandamurthy M. " Gogeshwar (Gogeshwar) Allamana Ankita" In Samshodhana Tarang (Kannada) Vol. II pp 150-157.
89. Bhatt Gururaj P. op. cit p 300.
90. Desai P. B. "Goa inscriptions of Simharaja" in JKU (Social science) vol. III p 96. See also Ramesh K. V. "Four stone inscriptions from Goa" In EI XXXVII pp 284-285.
91. Morawanchikar R. S. The city of the saints Paithan through the Ages p 58. Elā is a tributary of Godavari. The name given by the ancient people of the region to the tributary clearly indicates that Elā was a goddess. Rivers were considered as female deity in many regions of India. See also Talmaki S. S. Saraswat families pt. II p 33. Talmaki has reported the worship of the goddess Elā (Elagouri) during Bhādrapad Shukla (bright part) 8th day. See also Kulke Hermann "Kshatryaisation and social change

- in post-medieval Orissa" In German Scholars on India Vol. II p 152.
92. Katti Madhav op. cit pp 138-139.
93. Nerur inscription in Sawantawadi taluka of Sindhudurg district is in Iridige vishaya IA vol. pp 161-163, Kochre copper plate Vengurla Taluka from the same district IA vol. VIII p 146. Refer to the saptamātrikas.
94. Moraes George op. cit pp 176,393,401.
95. Moraes George op. cit p 393.
96. Moraes George op. cit p 196.
97. Pereira Gomes Rui op. cit pp 92,174 see also Gazetteer of Goa, Damn and Diu. p 91
98. Sircar D. C. Shakta Pithas pp 27,65,85.
99. Deshpande M. N. The caves of Panhale-Kaji pp 159-160.
- 100 Mitterwallner Gritli " Two natural caves and 11 man-made caves excavations of Goa India" In South Asian Archaeology 1979(ed) Hartal Herbert refers to two Nath-Panthi caves of Goa. These are namely Diwadi cave and Pilar caves. See also Deshpande M. N.'s the above cited work.
101. Bhatt Gururaj p. op. cit p 293. See also Sundara A "Uttar Kannada Jilleya Apoorva Shilapagalu" (Kannada) In Manavika Bharati Vol. No. 2 p 4.
102. Kosambi D. D. Myth and Reality p 168.
103. Saptakoteshwar is discussed separately in chapter VII on Male deities.
104. Mitragotri V. R. "Ravalnath a Saivite deity of Goa and Konkan" In special issue of Puratan p 12. See also Satoskar B. D. Yethe Devānchi Vasati (Marathi) p 153.
105. Naik Na. Bha. op. cit pp 93-94. See also Shirodkar P. P. " Influence of Nath-Cult in Goa" In Goa Cultural trends 12.
106. Shirodkar P. P. op. cit p 12. See also Pereira Gomes Rui op. cit p 66.
107. Pereira Gomes Rui op. cit 44.

108. Shirodkar P. P. op. cit p 14.
109. Satoskar B. D. op. cit p 151
110. Deshpande M. N. op. cit p 162.
111. Shirodkar P. P. Op. cit p 13.
112. Naik Na Bha op. cit pp 93-94 See also Deshpande M. N. op. cit p 160.
113. Satoskar B D. op. cit p 152.
114. Kudva V. N. op. cit p 153.
115. Deshpande M. N. op. cit p 161.
116. Mitterwallner Gritli Op. cit pp 503-511.
117. Mitragotri V. R. "Curdi Mahadeva temple and Nāth-Panthi Rock-cut caves" Paper presented in U. G. C. seminar on Discourses in Art held in Karnataka University, Dharwad March, 1991.
118. Mitragotri V. R. op. cit
119. Pitre L. K. "Buddhism in the History of Goa" In Goan Society through the Ages p 16.
120. Dahejia Vidya Early Buddhist Rock temples p 178.
121. Moraes George op. cit p 255.
122. Pitre L. K. op. cit pp 17-18 In
123. Dikshit Moreshwar G. "Sivapura (Goa) plates of Chandravarman" In NIA Vol. IV pp 181-184.
124. Pitre L. K. op. cit p 21
125. Naik Na Bha op. cit p 67.
126. Desai P. B. "Hiregutti plates of Bhoja Asantika" In EI XXVIII pp 70-77.
127. Pitre L. K. op. cit p 20.
128. Desai P. B. op. cit p 74 see also Pitre L. K. op. cit p 19.
129. Pitre L. K. op. cit p 19.

130. Chidanandamurthy M. op. cit p 120
131. C-14 dates published in Man and Environment Vol. XII Rivona PRL c-14 sample 545,546,547 290+130 BP, 1600 +134, 180+130 BP.
132. Pitre L. K. op. cit p 18.
133. Pitre L. K. op. cit p pp 17-18.
134. Desai Kalpana The treasures of Heras Institute p 28 plate 70. See also Kosambi D. D. Myth and Reality p 167. Refer to Mitterwallner Gritli op. cit p 500. Personal communication with Sundara, regarding the date of Buddha stone sculpture from Colvale.
135. C-14 dates mentioned above.
136. Chidanandamurthy M. op. cit p 120.
137. Pitre L. K. op. cit p 19.
138. Rao S. R. "Excavation at Kanheri" In Studies in Indian History and culture Prof. P. B. Desai festschrift Ritti Srinivas and Gopal B. R. (edts) pp 113-116.
139. Shirodkar P. P. op. cit 17. Shirodkar has mentioned only the Vajrayana. He has not traced the evolution of Vajrāyana from Mahāyāna or Vajrāyana to Nāth-Panth.
140. Dikshit Moreshwar G. op. cit p 184.
141. Deshpande M. N. op. cit p 162.
142. Mitterwallner Gritli op. cit p 502. See also figure 38 a and b.
143. Deshpande M. N. op. cit p 153. see also Chidanandamurthy M. op. cit pp 118-120.
144. Mookerji Radhakumad "Chandragupta and the Mauryan Empire" In the age of Imperial Unity vol. II Majumdar R. C. (General Ed) p 61.
145. Mookerji Radhakumad ibid. p 61.
146. Gopal B. R. "Kadamba patronage to Jainism and Saivism in Goa" In Goa cultural trends Shirodkar P. P. (ed) p 3.
147. Krishnamacharlu C. R. "Siroda copper plates of Devaraja" and five more copper plates of the Bhojas which have been

frequently referred to and the two copper plates of the Konkani Mauryas namely of Sivapura (Goa) copper plate of Chandravarman and Bandoda plates of Anirajitavarman clearly show that they either patronised Hinduism or Buddhism but not Jainism.

148. Heras Henry op. cit p 17. See also Mitterwallner Gritli op. cit p 496.
149. Mitterwallner Gritli op. cit p 496
150. Pissurlekar P. S. op. cit p 118.
151. Dhume Shenvi Vinayak Narayan op. cit p 25.
152. Moraes George M. op. cit pp 204,208,209.
153. Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu. pp 769-770.
154. Priolkar A. K. "Saraswat Brahman ani Tyanche Saraswat" In Shāntādurgā Chatushatābdi Mahotsava grantha (ed) Pissurlekar P. S. p19.

CHAPTER VI

FEMALE DEITIES

The important female deities of Goa like, Sāteri, Shāntadurga, Bhāuka, Kelbai, Gajalakshmi, Mahālsā, and Kāmākshi are discussed in this chapter. Man started worshipping female deities from the upper palaeolithic period.¹ Many female deities have folk origins and they have regional variations. Different legends and traditions are associated with them. Some folk deities are absorbed in Purānās but the assimilation of the folk deities into purānās was gradual process. Purānās are not restricted to the traditions of the Aryans only. Purānās absorbed Dravidian Austric as well as Mongoloid deities.² Thus the folk deities like Sāteri, Bhāuka and Mahālsā were sanskritised. The very large part of modern folk religion goes to the beginning of neolithic period. That was the beginning of cultivation and pastoralism.

The concept of folk deities has been discussed by the eminent scholars and they have referred to them as loukika deva.³ A new branch of Archaeology called Ethno-Archaeology specialises the field of folk deities. But in 1960's itself this approach was developed and the interpretations are published in Myth and Reality.⁴ The folk-deities like Sāteri and Bhāukā are grāmadevatās and they are found in the most of the villages of Goa. The priests in the temples of folk-

deities like Bhāukā, Sāteri and Vetāla were Gavidas. No Sanskrit Mantrās and complicated rituals are associated with the worship of these folk-deities.⁵

Sāteri (Bhumikā and Elā)

The early farming communities all over India started showing increased interest in fertility and magical means of promoting it. These are found at folk level rites and festivals which are intimately associated with the changing seasons, the sowing and harvesting of crops and breeding cattle and other live-stock. The early cultivators realised that the earth is generous in giving bountiful crops for their subsistence.⁶ This might have been responsible for the origin of Mother Goddess worship. If she is not worshipped she might get angry and take ferocious form namely that of goddess Kāli and act as an instrument of destruction.⁷ The Goddess of earth is not having the same name all over India. There are many regional variations and also numerous Grāma-devatās representing mother earth and these are obviously meant for the particular village and act as the benefactor of the village. Therefore, the grāma-devatās is the personification of female energy as represented by Mother Earth.⁸

The ant-hills symbolically represent mother earth and are made up of earth itself. In many regions such as Goa, Konkan Andhra and Karnataka, ant-hills are worshipped and these ant-

hills have various names of goddesses either Renukā, Mātangi, Yellamā and Jogutāmbā. In Tamilnadu the goddess connected with ant-hills is called Putturu. In Tamil Putturu means an ant-hill. In Addivarya Mahākāli temple, a large ant-hill is called Bhomadā and is worshipped.⁹ This word is derived from Bhoum which means made of earth. Incidentally on the way to Ponda, beyond Bhanastari, there is a village named Bhom. This village has been named by the early settlers so as to had a huge ant-hill and the ant-hill is being worshipped as Sāteri and she is also called Bhumikā in Goa. The complete synthesis of Bhumikā is also indicated by the shrine of this goddess at Poriem in Sattari taluka which is called Sānterichi Bhumikā.¹⁰

The name of sage Jamadagni's wife is Renukā and she is also called Yellammā. Some scholars are of the opinion that the reference to the folk-deity Elā in the inscription of Nundem in Sanguem taluka of Goa is the earliest references to Yellammā.¹¹ The worship of Elā Gouri is still current among Sāraswats of Dakshina annada.¹² Renu means any particles and the ant-hills are made of particles of clay. Therefore, the goddess whose abode has been named Renukā.¹³ The worship of the ant-hill is the worship of Renukā or Yellammā. Yellammā consists of two Dravidian words namely ellā means all and ammā means mother. Hence she is mother of all.¹⁴ Here again a personification is seen of female energy as represented by mother earth. As per the tradition Renukā has been

metamorphosed into one hundred and one shaktis which have become the village goddesses.¹⁵

In south Konkan from Kudal to Sirasi in Uttar Kannada i.e. in the west coast belt the worship of ant-hills is prevalent.¹⁶ In the above region the goddess who is worshipped in the form of ant-hill is called Sāteri. According to Behre, Sāteri is a Kannada word which is derived from sapta teri, Sapta-seven Teri-layer or wave in Kannada. It is believed that ant-hills are made of seven layers.¹⁷ The people of West-Coast speaking Konkani an Indo-Aryan language borrowed Kannada word and coined the word Sāteri which is a local deity of Konkan. However, Dhare explains the etymology of Kannada word Satta, Sapta seven but satt word has different usage in Kannada which means "dying in shame". Therefore, the original word sat is associated with shame and nakedness. Ant-hill is considered as female reproductive organ.¹⁸

In the list of Grāmadevatās furnished by Bopadevā, Vālmikini is mentioned. Vālmik means an ant-hill.¹⁹ Hence the deity whose abode is an ant-hill is named as Vālmikini. For the religious rites in scriptures five sacred type of soils are mentioned and one of them is the soil from the ant-hill.²⁰

Shāntādurgā

The second chapter of Nāgavya-Mahātmya in SKH is Shāntādurgā pradurbhāvah. Only the title of the chapter

mentions the goddess Shāntādurgā and no where else this epithet of the goddess is mentioned.²¹ This section refers to a sage called Shāntamuni and he was a resident of Nāgavypurā (Nāgoa). The goddess appeared before Shāntamuni and hence she may have been called Shāntādurgā. No other justification has been furnished in this chapter. It may be recalled that the inseparable character of Durgā is her ferocious (Ugra) nature and she is never peaceful. Therefore the adjective Shānta is contradictory to the nature of Durgā. Only in vs. No.16, 19 34 of SKH the goddess is called Shāntādevi and not as Shāntādurgā.²²

The vs. No. 18 of this section mentions about the disappearance of the goddess into ant-hill. These ant-hills symbolically represent goddess Shāntādurgā as well as goddess Sāteri. The worship of ant-hills may have originated among Gavdas and they may have associated ant-hills with goddess Sāteri.²³ Therefore the verses mentioned above furnish the evidence of Brāhminisation of the folk deity. The association of the goddess with ant-hill is found in other regions of South India and the reference to these are available in Dravidian gods in Modern Hinduism. Mātangi which is an epithet of Pārvati appeared to a king as a beautiful maiden and when he tried to capture her, she disappeared into an ant-hill. In another legend, the king Giri Rāzu had only a male issue and had no daughter. Pārvati was pleased after his penance and

told him that she would be born to him and she disappeared into an golden ant-hill. The next day morning the king asked his servants to dig the ant-hill and they found Shakti-Renukā. Elsewhere in the same work there is a reference to Peddammā the goddess who had seven arms and after various forms of contest she created ant-hill in which she disappeared.²⁴

With the advent of tantrism in South India many folk-deities were absorbed into Brāhminical fold. In due course these Shaktis were associated with Siva.²⁵ Hence, Sāteri is associated with Ravalnāth, a Saivite deity of Goa and South Konkan.²⁶ The early settlers from the various regions of India worshipped the mother earth by various names. Withstanding the regional variations, there is an underlying unity of their belief of the mother-goddess.

C) Bhaukā and Kelbai

The goddess Bhaukā is spelt in most of the almanacs from North Karnataka, Goa and Maharashtra as Bhāuka²⁷ However, Bhāratīya Samskriti kosh has spelt Bhāukas as Bhāvakai.²⁸ The shrine of Bhāuka used to be in the vicinity of the cemetery of shudras. Purāna Samuchchay mentions that the shrines of Grāmadevatās are in the colonies of the lower strata of the society in the hut of Aires or the colony of the untouchables, in the village of Nishida, in the workshop of blacksmith or carpenter or in the house of weaver.²⁹ Therefore, the goddess

Bhāukā was in the neighbourhood of the colony of Gavdas (tribals) A semicircular stone, aniconic representation of Bhāukā was worshipped by the devotees. The priest of Bhāukā is a Gavda. He offered cocks and sheep to the goddess. On the pratipada (first day) of the Shukla paksha (bright fortnight) of Srāvana (July-Aug) and Mārgashirsh (November-December) Mahānaivedya (great offering) were offered by the devotees in their homes and the priests of Bhāukā used to receive it. During the month of Srāvana nāchani (Elusive coracana) is sown by the farmers and the new crops of nāchani are ready during Mārgashirsh. Before sowing the seeds of nāchani and after getting the new crops, naivedya was offered to the goddess Bhāukā.³⁰ We may recall here the association of goddess Lakshmi with corn. Lakshmi protects the field. She is the goddess of vegetation who makes the farm fertile.³¹ Some devotees used to offer liquor to the goddess Bhāukā. The worshippers of Bhāukā had to maintain a common state of purity by taking bath.

Bhāvai is the name of the tree (cassia fistula) which blossoms in hot summer. Roots, flowers and nuts of the tree act as a mild purgative. The verb used in Marathi for loose motion is vāhane (flow). The early settlers might have pronounced the verb as bāhane or bhavai. Change from va to ba is quite common.³² Hence from bhava the goddess Bhāukā might have evolved. There are no references to Bhāukā in early or

medieval Sanskrit literature. The reference to Bhāukā is found in Dharmasindhu which is compiled in the early part of the 17th century.³³ According to this work , Vaishāk (May-June)) Amāvāsya (new moon day) is called Bhāukā amāvāsya- The next day of the said amāvāsya is kari-dinam. The almanacs from the above region mention this amāvāsya as well as kari-dinam (inauspicious day).³⁴ From these facts it is discernible that the goddess Bhāukā was known in the region of Goa, North Karnataka and Maharashtra.

The proverbs based on Bhāukā are current in Marathi. This also indicates that goddess Bhāukā was also known to the people of Deccan plateau from ancient times. According to the proverb which is current in Konkani as well as in Marathi Bhāukā or Kelbai has no husband and Vetāla has no wife. (Bhāvākāḡ gho nā Vetālāk bāil nā)³⁵ This proverb proves the nature of Vetāl and Bhāukā . It also proves the antiquity of the mother goddess. Bhāukā is unmarried and no father seemed to be necessary to the society in which she originated.³⁶ Bhāukā or Kelbāi represent immaculate conception.

In most of the villages of Goa Gramādeva is Vetāla and adjacent to the shrine at a distance of two to three meters on the tree-railing the images of Bhāukā are found. As Bhāukā and Vetāl are ferocious deities associated with cemetery, we find shrine of Bhāukā in close association with Vetāla.

The images of Gajalakshmi in the district of Sholapur and Kolhapur from Maharashtra are worshipped by the people as Bhāveshvari or Bhāukā.³⁷ Though the images of Gajalakshmi are worshipped ^{by} the people of Goa ^{and they} never call them as Gajalakshmi but always designate them as Kelbāi or Bhāukā. Most of these Bhāukā plaque are chiseled cut in schist and these are in semicircular shape. The semicircular stones which were aniconic representation might have been instrumental in determining the shape of semicircular Bhāukā images. On this schist semicircular plaques, two elephants holding pitchers at the tip of their trunks and pouring water are depicted. Below these elephants, the goddess Gajalakshmi is seated. The lowest part has musicians playing various musical instruments and there are devotees wearing gowns.

The Bhāukā tree (cassia fistula) is called Karnikār in Sanskrit. The flowers of Bhāukā are golden colour and resemble suspended ear-ornament,. The tip of the trunk of elephant is called Karnikā.³⁸ We may also recall here this goddess Lakshmi is also associated with yellow garments. Therefore the devotees associated Gajalakshmi with Bhāukā. Lakshmi has ferocious aspects like Alakshmi Jyeshthā and Kālarātri etc. It may be argued therefore that the synthesis of Bhāukā and Gajalakshmi may have taken place.³⁹ It would be relevant here to mention the significance festival connected with the above amāvāsya. It has been already stated that Bhāukā has ferocious

nature. Hence she was associated with Bhutamātā.

In Saurashtra a festival meant for Bhutamātā was celebrated from Vaishak(May-June) Krishna paksha (dark fortnight) from the first day (pratipadā) to the fourteenth day (chaturdasi). On the next day is Bhāukā amāvāsya. Lakshmidhara mentions the peculiar dances were performed in honour of Bhutamātā during the fortnight.⁴⁰ A Kannada literary work Vaddārādhane mentions that people used peculiar dresses and dance, sing and enjoy on this particular day.⁴¹

The above literary reference from Sanskrit and Kannada can be corroborated with sculptural representation available . On the large Gajalakshmi panels of the 17th and 18th century below the row of goddess with the row of musicians with the various instruments are shown and there are also figure shown with gowns reaching the ankles. These gowns are similar to the nightdress used by urban ladies in the modern society. The devotees with these type dresses were performing peculiar dances as mentioned above in the literary referenc.⁴² The above gowns were called in Kannada as Yellamma Zaga (the frocks of Yellammā) as these are worn by the devotees of Yellammā.(Plate No. 13)

The tradition of singing obscene songs is prevalent in some parts of India even now. Such songs are sung by the devotees of the goddess Bhagavati of Kodungallur in Kerala in

order to please the goddess.⁴³ During the Holi festival in March obscene songs are sung by the revellers in many parts of India.⁴⁴ Such obscene songs were sung during Bhāukā amāvāsya in Goa. Holi pournima (fullmoon day) has karidinam which is similar to Karidinam of Bhāukā amāvāsya. The description of Bhāukā furnished above clearly reveals that she has many aspects of goddess Lakshmi. Hence she became an inseparable part of Lakshmi and is being represented popularly as Gajalakshmi in Goa and in some parts of Maharashtra.

d) Gajalakshmi

The stone panels of Gajalakshmi are found in many villages of Goa. The earliest known representation of Gajalakshmi is from Manamodi caves from Junnar, Pune district.⁴⁵ Pre-Kadamba Gajalakshmi panels from Goa have not been reported so far. Three Gajalakshmi panels from Goa have been found. Two are from Chandor and Chinchinim village in Salcete taluka. (Plates no: 11-12) The third panel is from Siroda village of Ponda taluka. On all the three panels lion (the mount of Durgā) is depicted. Therefore, this may be indicating the synthesis of Gajalakshmi and Durgā. In ancient shrines of Goa three plates (plate 1-3) of Gajalakshmi are furnished.⁴⁶ On plate 1-2 musicians are depicted. Earlier it has been pointed out that Bhāukā and Gajalakshmi were fused into one. On large semicircle plaques the musicians and dancers are depicted below the goddess. On some plaques these

musicians are depicted on the top of Gajalakshmi.

The above Gajalakshmi panels of Kadamba period do not depict musicians and dancers. these are purely Gajalakshmi panels. Therefore, it seems the synthesis of Gajalakshmi and Bhāukā might have taken place in post Kadamba period.

e) Mahālakshmi

The locations of the various shrines of Goa are mentioned in SKH. But SKH is silent about the location of the shrine of Mahālakshmi. As mentioned in the preceding chapter, there were three shrines of Mahālakshmi in Goa and other were namely at Colva (Salcete), Netravali(sanguem) and at Bandivade(Ponda) The reference to the last shrine occurs in the epigraph of Vijayanagara period. On Pausha Pournima (21st January 1414 A.D.). Mai Shenoī the son of Purusha Shenoī, the resident of Kunkoli in the presence of the leaders of the village, Ram Naik, Narayan Prabhu Naik, Mange Prabhu jointly offered donations to the Mahālakshmi of Bandivade.⁴⁷

The Southern Silāhārās and the Kadamba of Goa were the worshippers of Mahālakshmi. The Kadambas inscription refers to specifically Mahālakshmi of Kolhapur.⁴⁸ Savai-Vere (Marcela) copper plate of 1038 A.D. mentions the visit of Jayakeshi I to Kolhapur.⁴⁹ This clearly indicates that the shakti Pithā of Kolhapur was well known in the Deccan. Therefore Mahālakshmi was not brought from Tirhut as mentioned in SKH but she has

origin in Goa itself.

f) Mahālsā

Mahālsā is one of the important Shakti worshipped in Goa. Mahālsā is a folk deity having her origin in Karnataka region and references are found in Kannada and Marathi literature. In inscriptions of Kannada and in a solitary Telugu and Sanskrit inscription on North Western Andhra Pradesh, references to Mahālsā are found.

The etymology of the word Mahālsā attracted the attention of modern Kannada scholars for more than a decade from 1959 to 1971 and their views have been published in the journals.⁵⁰ Māḷaja and Malāchi are Prakrit words and therefore, she is a local folk-deity.⁵¹ If suffixes chi sā and tā are added to the prefixes Māl Mahāl and Māl these would become Mālāchi, Mahālsa and Mālata respectively. Therefore, these are the epithets of one and the same goddess but there is only difference in spelling and pronunciation. Mahālsa is known by different name in the various regions of the country but the prefix Ma is common in all regions. In areas of Sanskrit influence, she became Mālāti in Maharashtra and Goa she became Mahālsā and in Karnataka she is Mālāchi and Mālavvā. The word Mal is derived from Malai which means hill or a mountains region. Therefore, Mālavve means the goddess of mountains i.e. Pārvati.⁵²

From the above discussion it is evident that Mahālsā has origin in Karnataka. Scholars have also made attempts to study the etymology of Mahālsā.⁵³ The word Mahālay is not found in Sanskrit religious literature, and might have come into usage after the arrival of Brahmins to the Deccan. A goddess called Hyālasā was popular in this region and she is referred to as Mahālay. In Marathi work Jnaneshwari the above reference to this goddess is found Hyāl are the offerings made not primarily to father, grand father and great grand father but to all the ancestors. The goddess Mahālay is associated with Hyāla and the offerings which were kept in the name of ancestors namely liquor and flesh were called Hyāla.⁵⁴ The references from Kannada literature clearly reveal that Mahālsa was a local folk-deity at the beginning and she was associated with cemetery. Therefore, there might have tradition of offering Hyāl in the memory of ancestors.

It is evident from the above discussion that from 900 A.D. - 1200 A. D. Shakti-cult spread throughout the country. There were four Shakti-pithas at the beginning and gradually they became numerous.⁵⁵ In Mahālsā temple of Mardol, one of the parivāra devatā (subsidiary deity) is Chousasta-yogini. Though this shrine was transferred from Verna after the destruction of the temple by the Portuguese, the chousasta-yogini might not have been added during this period. The devotees who had full knowledge of parivār devatās and may

have installed all the shrines of parivar devatās which existed in ancient Mahālsā temple of Verna.

The above literary references to Mahālsā in Kannada and Marathi throw light on the growth of her cult in respective areas. From the architectural pieces of ancient Mahālsā temple lying at Verna it is evident that the worship of the goddess goes back to Kadamba period c. 1100 A.D. But strangely, in no Kadamba inscriptions discovered in Goa references to Mahālsā have been found. For such study of Mahālsā from Goa SKH the only sources which furnishes the details. Varunāpur Mahātmya in SKH deals with the goddess Mahālsā. The first seventeen verses mentions about the construction of the abode of Parshurām by Varunā. In the 18th verses there is a reference to a powerful demon who disturbed the peace in Varunāpur and caused hardships to the residents. The people of Varunāpur surrendered to Parushurām and he informed them that he had consecrated the goddess Mahālsā and she would annihilates the demon.⁵⁶ There is similarity between Mahālsa and Chāmunda. Chamundā killed Chandā and Mundā demons. But Mahālsā killed only Chandāsura. Chamundā is sitting on a dead body and Mahālsā is standing on a dead body and has head of Chandāsura in her left hand. Hence Mahālsa was considered as Kshudra devatā.

The description of the goddess is furnished in the twelve verses in SKH (i.e. from 29-40). The goddess has all the attributes of devi (sarva lakshana sampannā). She is a shakti

possessing the power to change her personality according to her own desire. She has anklets of semiprecious stones. She looks like a child (bālā) Kanyākumari. She is youthful and pleasing (yuvati manamohini) and she is also pure (shuddha). She looks differently at the dawn, forenoon, afternoon, night and late night.⁵⁷ She has nine facets of personality.⁵⁸ SKH furnishes 26 epithets of Mahālsā ^{and she} is the consort of Khandobā. Khandobā is known in some parts of Karnataka as Mallannā. The first wife Mallannā is Mahālsā and the second is Ketammā from pastoral golla tribe. Suffix ammā which has been added to keti. Ammā means mother. Therefore Kannyāketi and Ketammā seems to be identical.⁵⁹

As regards epithet Nārāyani suffixed to Mahālsā it may be stated that it 16th epithet of Mahālsā. It is one of the epithet of devi mentioned in Devibhāgavat which forms section of Markandeyapurānā. This work is of c. 1000 A.D. Therefore, this syncretic trend can be noticed in the epithet of Mahālsā Nārāyani⁶⁰

Though in shakti-cult Siva enjoys the next position to Shakti the goddess has been called Mahālsā Nārāyani. However, Dharm has mentioned a legend from Nevasa about Mahālsā. She was a daughter of the Lingāyat merchant and was annoyed with Khandobā as he married the daughter of Dhangar and her name was Bānai. Khandobā had more close relations with her. According to another tradition Bānai was concubine. Then

Mahālsā stayed independently in Nevasa and later she was influenced by Vaisnavites. Hence she became Mahālsā Nārāyani.⁶¹ This concept of Nārāyani is more ancient than the above tradition. Therefore, the above tradition has no historical basis. During the Kadambā period the worship of the goddess began but she was worshipped as Mahālsā. The concept of Mahālsā Nārāyani probably came from Maharashtra during cc. 1300-1400 A.D.

SKH mentions annual utsava of Mahālsā on Krishna paksha shasti in Māgh month (February-March).⁶² However, the annual utsava begins on Māgh Vadya Chaturthi (fourth day) and continues upto Vadya dashami of Māgh. Members of Bhāvin community (Devadāsi community) sacrifice one goat in front of the sabhāmandapa and the other at the rear side. The blood of the goat and cooked rice are sprinkled on all sides of the temple.

Mahālsā is the family deity of Sāraswats and Karhādes. Many Sāraswat families left Goa during the Portuguese persecution in order to save their faith. They migrated to Dakshina Kannada, Uttar Kannada and Rajapur in Ratnagiri district of upper Konkan (Maharashtra). Sāraswats of Uttar Kannada have constructed temple of Mahālsā in their region. The goddess Mahālsā is venerated by all the Hindus of Goa. Even oath was taken in her name. Considerable sanctity and spiritual attachment is found among Sāraswats and Karhādes for

the goddess Mahālsā. Instead of visiting the new temple of Mahālsā in Karwar district, Sāraswats from Uttar Kannada and Dakshina Kannada district of Karnataka visit the temple of Mahālsā at Mardol.

g)) Kāmākshi

Kāmākshi of Kanchipuram and Kāmākshi of Assam (Kamarupa) are well known in India. In North Western India on the bank of Rabi river in Punjab there was yet another shrine of Kāmākshi.⁶³ In Goa the ancient temple of Kāmākshi was at Raya in Salcete taluka. In the 16th century the devotees of Kāmākshi decided to reconsecrate the new image at Siroda now in Ponda taluka.⁶⁴ The goddess Kāmākshi from Goa is however, not known all over India and is primarily shrine of regional importance. She is the family deity of the Sāraswat Brāhmins and Daivadnya Brāhmins.

The Purānic literature furnishes the description of the goddess Kāmākshi of Kanchipuram, Kamarupa and also of Goa. Bramhānda Purāna⁶⁵ deals with Kāmākshi from Kanchi. Kamarupa Kāmākshi is described in kālikā Purāna⁶⁶ and SKH deals with Kāmākshi from Goa.⁶⁷ In Puranic literature Kāmākshi is the goddess supreme and other male deities like Brahma, Visnu and Siva are relegated to background.

According to Kāmākshi Mahātmya the demon Mahishāsura swallowed the Brahmin boy Gunakar, the son of Agnimukha while

he had been sent to forest to collect grass required for the ritual (darbha). Though Agnimukha approached Hara and Hari, they directed Agnimukha to approach Kāmākshi. This shows helpless position of Hara and Hari.⁶⁸ But image actually which is in worship at Siroda is of Mahishāsūramardini. Hence Mahishāsūramardini is worshipped as Kāmākshi. Mahishāsūramardini was called Kāmākshi because of her ^{amorous} eyes.

Kāmākshi enjoyed a very high position in various part of India. It would be pertinent to study the antiquity of Kāmākshi in Goa. Scholars under the influence of SKH trace the origin of Kāmākshi to Kamarupa. In the list of the deities supposed to have been brought by the sage Parsurama, the goddess Kāmākshi is not mentioned. Chapter II (adhaya) of Kāmākshi Māhātmya verses 21 mention that the goddess Kāmākshi came to Raya from Kavur. In addition to the above reference from SKH, a Marathi work of 17th century mentions that Kāmākshi from Goa came from Koranganādu.⁶⁹ Kavur is in Koranganādu (Coimbatore district of Tamailnādu). However, Koranganādu is not the abode of goddess Kāmākshi. Kanchipur is the centre of Kāmākshi. Hence it is most likely that the worship of Kāmākshi has come from Kanchipuram.

During the reign of Goa Kadamba Jayakeshi I, who was vassal of the Chalukya ruler Somesvara II, came in contact with Cholas. Jayakeshi was responsible for establishing

cordial relations between Chalukyas and the Cholas.⁷⁰ Thus Jayakeshi came in close contact with Tamil country, this political contact might have also resulted in the beginning of the worship of Kāmākshi.

The deities discussed in this chapter are the regional deities. However, Mahālsā is known in Karnataka, Maharashtra and Andhra. Sāteri and Shāntādurgā are hardly known beyond Konkan. But Bhāukā is known throughout the Deccan and she has different names. The goddesses like Mahishāsoramardini found in other regions of India and these deities shall be dealt in chapter of Iconography.

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7. Joshi Mahadevshastri Gājāti Daivate (Marathi) p 105.
8. Oppert Gustav The Original Inhabitants of Bhāratvarsha or India pp 456-501.
9. Dhere R. C. Lajjā Gouri, (Marathi) p 65,
10. Tamil Marathi Dictionary Joshi Ramabai and Joshi (edts) P.D. p 465. See also Shennoy Goyabab (Varde Valavlikar) Aina Velar (Konkani) p 239.
11. Mitragotri V. R. "Mahishasuramardini in boat a rare Guleli motif " In purabhilekh Puratatva Vol No. VI 2 July - Dec. 1988 p 69.
12. Talmaki S. S. Saraswat families pt. 2 p 33.
13. Dhere R. C. Op. Cit p 65
14. Oppert Gustav op cit 464.
15. Elmore W. T. Dravidian Gods in the Modern Hinduism p 83
16. Mitragotri V. R. op. cit p 69
17. Behre P. R. Shri Ravalnāth āni Konkanātil devaski (Marathi) p 18.
18. Dhere R. C . op. cit. p 65

19. Oppert Gustav op. cit. p 456.
20. Joshi Mahadevshastri op. cit. p 106.
21. SKH chapter 2 Shāntādurgā-prādurbhav pp 254-257.
22. Ibid chapter II p 254 Vs. 16.
23. Satoskar Prakr.ti Samaskriti p 19.
24. Elmore W. T. op. cit. p 133.
25. Desai P. B. " Tantric cult in epigraphs " In the Journal of Oriental Research . Vol. xix part iv pp 285-288.
26. Mitragotri V. R. "Ravalnāth a Saivite deity of Goa and Konkan " In Puratan special issue on Saivite tradition in Art pp 49-52.
27. Almanacs (panchāngas) in Uttar Karnataka Maharashtra and Goa mention Bhauka amavasya. These are namely Dāte Panchanga Solapur, Uttarādīmāth panchanga Pune. Rāghavendraswāmi math panchanga Mantralaya (Andhra Pradesh) and Kalanirnaya Calendar Bombay.
28. Bhāratīyā samskriti kosh (Marathi) pt. VI p 505
29. Oppert Gustav op. cit p 449.
30. Bhāratīyā Samskriti kosh pt. vi p 505
31. Dhal U. N. Goddess Lakshmi origin and development. pp 44,45
32. Molsworth Marathi English Dictionary p 611 and Personal communication with Vishwanath Khaire.
33. Dhare R. C. Khandoba p 8.
34. All the panchāngas mentioned above mention Karīdinam (inauspicious) day See also Desai P. B. " Davanad Hunnime " In Prabhudda Karnataka Issue No. 126 pp 73-77. In one of the inscriptions from Lakkundi alongwith Dipavali amāvāsya Bādami amāvāsya is mentioned . Badubbe seems to be a folk-deity. Gajalakshmi is depicted on the stone inscription of Lakkundi, The people of North Karnataka call Bhāuka amavasya as Badami amavasya. See also Chidanandamurthy M. Kannada Shāsangala samskritika adhayana 450 A. D.-1150 A.D. (Kannada) p 195.

35. Molsworth Marathi English Dictionary p 611 Marathi version of Konkani Proverb is Bhāuka devis nāhinavarā Vetālās nāhi navari See also Maharashtra Sahitya patrika issue No. 3 October, 1930 mentions proverb based on Bhāuka current in Western Maharashtra. Whenever a female child cries for scolding the child people use bhokdā pasarāyala kāy zalaga Bhāvakai. If a woman or girl was frequently harassed deliberately by calling her and entrusting her some work Alā bhalā Bhāvakaila tola was used. .
36. Personal communication with Khaire Vishwanath.
37. Dhere R. C. Lajja Gouri pp 66, 67.
38. Personal communication with Khaire Vishwanath.
39. Dhal U. N. op cit. pp 44-45. 51-52.
40. Dhere R. C. Loka samskritiche Kshitije (marathi) pp 22-26 see also Bhattacharya, Ashok " Medieval background of Indian Art "In Aspects of Indian Art and Culture. S. Saraswati commemorative vol. p 173.
41. Chidanandamurthy M. op. cit p195
42. Sonthemcir Gunther " Rudra and Khandoba " In Religion and society in Maharashtra p 9
43. The Times Of India 27th March 1989 and 2nd May 1989.
44. Kosambi D. D. Myth and Reality. pp 115, 116.
45. Padigar Srinivas op. cit pp 77-78.
46. Gune V. T. Ancient Shrines of Goa plate 1-3 see also Heras Henry " Pre- Portuguese remains in Portuguese India " In JBH vol. iv plate
47. Tulpule S. G. op. cit pp 306-314. This inscription mentions the arrangements made for offering sandal, rice (naivedya) ghee, vade, vegetable, betel leaves(tāmbul). Arrangement was also made for chanting Vedic hymns in the shrine. Earthen lamps were supplied to the temple . For incurring the above expenditure Mai Shenoi donated yield from two farms. Arrangement was also made for the morning offering (naivedya) to the goddess Mahalakshmi by granting plantation of Nagazari. The first shrine from Salcete was destroyed by the Portuguese in the 16th century.

48. Moraes George The Kadamba Kula pp 343, 401 see also Mirashi V. V. op. cit p xlix
49. Moraes George op. cit p 403.
50. Desai P. B. "Mailār linga " In JKU (Kannada) vol. III No. 2
1959 pp 115-127. See also Kulkarni B. S. "Mailāra nāmarahasya kuritu Mailachi inda doreva belaku " In ibid vol.X (Kannada) 1966 pp 109-126. Refer to also Chidanandamurthy M. " Kannada Shasangalalli Mailar Mattu Malachi " In Prabhudda Karnataka(Kannada) 48.3 This paper is reprinted in Samshodhana tarang Vol II (kannada) pp 203-231. See also Ramesh K. V. " Manevaggada Chattappa " In Prabhudda Karnataka (Kannada) 48.4 Refer to also Jahagirdar Sitaram " Malachiya bagge vandu vichar " In ibid vol 49 No. 173. See also by the same author " Pampabharatad Vandu padya " In Karnataka Bharati vol No. 1 All the above writings are in Kannada and the only research paper published in English by Sonthemir Gunther D. and Murti M. L. K. " Pre- historical background to pastoralism in Southern Deccan in light of oral tradition in cults of some pastoral communities " In Anthropos. vol 75 1980 pp 165-184
51. Desai P. D. op. cit p 115.
52. Kulkarni B. S. op. cit p 109.
53. Khare G. H. " Maharāshṭāchi char Daivate. See also Khaire Vishwanath " Bharatiya Mithyānchi Māgoṽa " In Marathi samshodhan patrikā Jan-March 1978. Refer to Dher R. C. Khandoba.
54. Khaire Vishwanath op. cit
55. Desai P. B. " t4.Tantric cults in the epigraphs " In JOR Madras vol xix part iv pp 285-288.
56. SKH p 261 VI - 6
57. Ibid p 261 vs. 29-40
58. Ibid p 261 vs. 31.
59. SKH p 260 vs. 31-34 furnish 26 epithets of Mahālsa. These are 1)Adishakti 2)Māhamāya 3)Mulprakriti 4)Ishvari 5)Shridevi 6)Durgā 7)Bhadrakāli 8)Vijayā 9)Vaishnavi 10)Kumudā 11)Dandikā 12)Kṛishnā 13)Mādhavi 14)Kanyākṛeti 15)Māyā 16)Nārayani 17)Shāntā 18)Shārdā

- 19) Ambiketi 20) Kātyāni 21) Bāladurga 22) Mahāyogini
 23) Ādhishvari 24) Yoginidra 25) Mahālakshmi and
 26) Kālarātri See also Murti M. K4.L. K. and Sonthemeir
 Gunther op. cit p 165
60. Coburn Thomas B. (ed) Devi Mahātmyā pp 106-108,
 289.30961. Dhare R. C. Maharashtrachye Devhare
 (Marathi) pp 28-29.
62. SKH p 262 vs. 12
63. Chavan V. P. Konkan and Konkani language p 13.
64. Pereira Gomes Rui op . cit p 106.
65. Bramhānda Purāna (ed) Tagare Ganesh Vasudev pp 1301.
 1305.
66. Kālika Purana (ed) Shastri Vishvanarayan. 54, 62, 63
 refers to goddess Kāmākshi.
67. SKH Kāmākshi Mahatmya pp 252 - 276.
68. Ibid p 268 vs. 8-11.
69. Ibid p 268 vs. 21.
 See also Konkanamahātmya 2nd adhaya vs. 58..
70. Moraes George op. cit. pp 181 - 182.

CHAPTER VII

MALE DEITIES

In the preceding chapter female deities have been dealt. The male Saivite deities discussed in this chapter. It has been already mentioned that Siva is a non-Aryan deity and has origins in the tribal society. This can be seen even in the region of Goa. Mangesh is a regional deity of Goa and is an aspect of Siva and Gavdas were associated with the origin of Mangesh. The other deities like Nāgesh, Chandreshwar, Bhutanāth, Saptakoteshwar, Rāmanāth, Ravalnāth, Vetāl, Paik deva Dadd and ancestor worship are discussed in this chapter.

a) MANGESH

In Goa Mangesh is one of the epithets of Siva and is a well known deity of Goa. The shrine of Mangesh was originally in Kushasthali which was known as Kutthali in Konkani and it became Cortalim after the Portuguese conquest. After the destruction of Mangesh shrine of Kushasthali the linga of Mangesh was reconstructed in Priol village in Ponda taluka.

In the list of the temple destroyed by the Portuguese the name of this deity is not mentioned as Mangesh but Manganāth and therefore is a deity of the Nāth-Panthis.¹ The traces of Nāth-Panthis found in Goa are earlier to the period in which Mangesh Mahātmya (now onwards abbreviated as M.M.) was

compiled.² If the deity was known as Manganāth would have definitely mentioned it . It seems that before the spread of the Nāth-Panthi, the worship of Mangesh was prevalent in Goa. The Portuguese who were not familiar with the religious traditions in Goa and might have mentioned the deity incorrectly Manganāth.

In a section titled Shankarasya Vyghrarupa dhāranam which forms part of MM we get the reference to the origin of Mangesh. Siva and Pārvati were playing dice.³ Pārvati won the game and revoked Siva harshly. He was annoyed and left Himalayas. Pārvati went in search of him and in course of search she came to Kushasthali(Cortalim). She was excessively charming with Vcena in her hand and she sang in praise of Siva. She was on her way to Aghanāsini (Zuari) for taking bath. A ferocious mighty roaring tiger with wide opened mouth stood in front of her. She was frightened of the tiger and uttered trāhi mā hi Girish (please protect me from tiger). Pārvati surrendered to Siva. The kind hearted Siva now appeared from the body of the tiger. Therefore it is believed that Mangesh has its origin in Ma hi Girish.⁴

In Gomanchal Kshetra Mahātma^{ya} of SKH there are references to the consecration of Mangesh linga by Brahma. It is further mentioned that Parasurāma brought it to Shupārak and finally installed it in Kushasthali.⁵ This Puranic account had influenced earlier writers like Saldana⁶ and Kosambi.⁷ Hence

these scholars trace the origin of the worship of Mangesh to Mongher in Bihar. Both of them believed that Goud Sāraswats brought the worship of Mangesh to Goa.

Māngirish Puja Mahātmya is a section of MM and this furnishes the tradition of Kanoji Brahmin and his association with Mangesh. Devasharma, on his return journey from Rameshwar stayed at Kushasthali. He used to take bath in Aghanasini river and go to the other side. On the three consecutive days he saw a cow entering into the river and again returning. He inquired the people what was in the river ? People agreed to join him in finding the cause of the disappearance of the cow in the river. By holding the tail of the cow he went into the river and saw the cow pouring milk over the lustrous linga and Pārvati saha Parameshwara. As per the desire of Siva, the linga was brought out of the river Aghanasini and consecrated in Kushasthali.⁸

Finally Kapilā mahātmya which is also section of M M a different legend regarding linga is mentioned. A cow was stranded in a marshy place . A Brahmin named Devadatta rescued the cow with the assistance of a shudra boy from the marshy place. This cow was pouring milk over the linga. From the legends furnished in M M as well as Kapilāmahātmya it is evident that there is no unanimity in the legends.⁹ The verses 22 should have been last verse of Kapilā mahātmya. The next five verses are redundant and seems to be later a

interpolation. In the earlier section, the consecration of Mangesh linga at Shupārak is ascribed to Parasurāma and later he brought it to Kushasthali. Therefore, there is no unanimity about the consecration of the linga of Mangesh.

The early ^{settlers} Gavdas of Goa were the worshippers of Mangesh. Incidentally the earliest linga from Consua cave is ascribed to c. 400 A.D. and the cave of Consua is hardly 4 kms from the ancient site of Mangesh temple.¹⁰ No Puranic sanctity was attached to the linga of Mangesh till about c. 1400 A. D.¹¹ Therefore, attaching Puranic sanctity, the assistance of Shudra boy and his salvation are referred to in the Kapilamahātmya. Even at present the Gavdas have certain privilege in Mangesh temple. It seems that during the c. 1400 A. D. Mangesh Mahātmya was added to SKH. This is an appendix of SKH.¹² From the above discussion it is evident that Mangesh is an epithet of Siva and had origins in Goa and was not brought from Tirhut or Shuparaka as mentioned in SKH.

b) NĀGESH

The temple of Nāgesh is at Bandivade in Ponda taluka. This is an epithet of Siva. The word Nāgā is Prefixed to Ishā (Siva). It is one of the twelve jyotirlingās and is located near Ahmednagar in Maharashtra. Tree and serpent worship are closely related with phallus worship in many areas of the world. In Yajur and Atharva vedās specially in the latter Vedā

serpents are mentioned as a class of semi-divine beings along with Gandharvās and other celestial beings. Prayers (sutrās) prescribe offering to them. Zoomorphic divinities are known to the Vedic Aryans only to a limited extent. The worship of serpent deities in India would appear to have come from Austric world.¹³ This independent of cult of Nāgās was incorporated into Hinduism between c. 600 B.C. to 400B.C.¹⁴

The influence of the Nāgā cult in Goa and the adjoining regions could be traced from the copper plate of Siroda belonging to the Bhoja ruler. One of the ministers mentioned in this copper plate had the name PrabhucNāga Bhogikāmātya. This clearly indicates that the Hindu society by c. 400 A.D. in this region had worshipped Nāgās.¹⁵ The stone sculpture of Nāgā (c. 400-500 A.D.) which has been reported from Peddem (Canacona) also bears testimony to the worship of Nāgās.¹⁶ (Plate No. 18 B and 19) There are place names in KONKAN and on the Deccan plateau indicating the spread of Nāgā cult for e.g. Nāgasthān in Sindhudurga district. In Goa there are two villages bearing the name Nagoa, one in Bardez taluka and the second one is in Salcete. Before the spread of Vedic culture in Goa region the linga of Nāgesh may have been consecrated by the Gavdas and worshipped in Nāgeshi shrine of Ponda taluka.¹⁷

In addition to the above mentioned facts in SKH there is a section called Nāgavya mahātmya and in this section Siva is closely associated with Nāgās. vs. No.5 mentions that Siva was

Sarpanāgasamanvita. The above section mentions that Parasurāma gave land to the Nāgās to settle but they were scared on account of Garudas (eagles). At the request of Parasurāma, Siva and Pārvati came to Nagoa and stayed there and gave much needed protection to the Nāgās. Siva ordered Garuda to leave the region of Nagoa which was the abode, of Nāgās. This section further mentions that Nāgās actually surrendered to Siva and decorated his body.¹⁸ Nagoa (Nāgavyapur) would have been the most ideal location for the shrine of Nāgeshi. However, there are two well known shrines of Nāgeshi in Ponda taluka namely in Priol¹⁹ and Bandivade.²⁰ Inscriptions refer to Nāgeshi shrine of Priol as well as Bandivade Nāgeshi Shrines and latter perhaps also throws light on the folk origin of Nāgeshi.

Therefore, the SKH tradition ascribing origin of Nāgesh to Tirhut has no historical basis and Nāgesh has origin in Goa itself.

c) CHANDRESHWAR - BHUTANĀTH

This twin shrines of Chandreshwar and Bhutanāth are located on a hillock near Quepem. This hillock is popularly known as Parvat. The earliest reference to Parvat occurs in the copper plate of the Bhoja ruler Prithvimallavarman and this copper plate is palaeographically ascribed to the latter half of the sixth century or first half of the seventh century

A.D. 21

According to the tradition, the Bhoja ruler Chandravarman supposed to have established his capital at Chandrapur (Chandor) in Salcete. He was a devotee of Chandreshwar.²² So far his copper plates of the Bhojas have been found and genealogy is not furnished in any of the copper plates. Therefore, among known Bhoja kings there is no Chandravarman. However, there was Konkan Maurya ruler Chandravarman and he issued copper plates of Sivapura and these copper plates refer to the donations made to Mahavihara of Sivapura.²³ Therefore, he seems to be a patron of Buddhism and not a devotee of Chandreshwar.

Six copper plates reveal that there were four Bhoja kings and out of them only one was Buddhist. Other three were worshippers of Siva. Agra copper plate of Kapalivarman infact mentions of Siva in invocatory verses. The name of the king itself is an epithet of Siva.²⁴ Therefore, the tradition of associating Bhoja with the shrine of Chandreshwar has historical basis.

The above copper plate of Prithvimallavarman was issued during his 25th regnal year do not refer specifically to Chandreshwar shrine though it was issued from Parvat.²⁵ In spite of this silence maintained in the copper plate factors associated with copper plate provide circumstantial evidence.

Prithvimallavarman chose the locality as it had the shrine of Siva. Even in the case of the selection of the month, it seems that he was very particular. Srāvana is an auspicious month for the worship of Siva. Ambastacharitam which forms the section of Chandreshvara Mahātmya in SKH mention that it is auspicious to take bath on Somavaryukta Pournimā.²⁶ The full moon day of Srāvana during the 25th year of reign Prithvimallavarman whether occurred on Monday is not specifically mentioned the copper plate. The tradition of attaching importance on the above mentioned day might have been current before Prithvimallavarman. From the above discussion it is evident that the antiquity of the shrine of Chandreshvara goes back to c. 600 A.D. and the shrine of Chandreshvara was located at Parvat. It is pertinent to recall here that even in other parts of India mountains are considered as the symbolic representation of strength, vigour and vitality. These hills were considered as immortal. These peaks of mountains resembling human phallus were venerated as self-wrought (svayambhu linga).²⁷ In the same way the Bhoja ruler might have worshipped peak as Chandreshvara. The antiquity and the popularity of Chandreshvara is also indicated by the tradition that he is the presiding deity of 22 villages. The residents of the village while performing any important religious ceremony at home, send a coconut to Chandreshvara and reach it to the shrine of Chandreshvara.²⁸

It seems the earlier temple was constructed during the Bhoja period and was in dilapidated conditions by c. 1100 A.D. Hence the Goa Kadamba once again constructed the temple. The architectural parts such as ceiling, lintel and the pillars of granite clearly indicate that the temple was built during Kadamba period.²⁹ The present structure of Chandreshvara was constructed in 1877 and the temple of Bhutanāth in 1917 A.D.³⁰

d) Bhutanāth

Bhutanāth is one of the 64 Bhairavas. SKH furnishes the justification for the presence of Bhutanāth on Parvat. Bhutanāth experienced the pangs of separation of Siva as he changed his abode and permanently stayed on Parvat. Hence Bhutanāth approached Siva and inquired why he had changed the abode and left the enchanting Kailāsā. Further, Bhutanāth informed Siva that it would be difficult to live on Kailāsā without him. On the contrary Siva asked Bhutanāth to stay with him permanently on the Parvat, 31

The small shrine of Bhutanāth is located on the left hand side adjacent to Chandreshvara. The entrance of the shrine of Bhutanāth is towards the west. There is no image of Bhutanāth but a huge irregular shaped stone which resembles menhir and this is worshipped as Bhutanāth.

In many parts of India, sepulchral or upright stones are mementos of the deads and supposed to be the abode of the evil

spirits. Among Austriacs and Dravidians there was a tradition of erecting a upright stone to commemorate ancestors.³² It seems that such a menhir on Parvat was venerated as Bhutanāth. In his honour cocks are offered to him by the devotees. The rice which is offered (naivedya) is sprinkled with blood of cocks and can be seen in front Bhutanāth. In the month of Paushya (Jan-Feb) new moonday at the fixed location which is supposed to be the abode of godlings forty to fifty cocks are offered.³³

Chandreshvara being the shrine of Siva. Guravas were the priests of the temple. But now Brahmins and Chitpāvan Brahmins have been appointed by the Mahājans to officials as priests in the twin shrines of Chandreshwar and Bhutanāth. In this shrine of Siva, Rāmanavmi (the birth day of Rama) is celebrated, though it is not associated with Siva. The annual feast of the shrine commences in the eleventh day of the bright Chaitra Shukla Paksha (March-April) and ends on the first day of the dark half of Chaitra.³⁴

The temple of Chandreshwar and Bhutanāth is one of the ancient shrines which has played an important role in the cultural history of Goa for more than one thousand five hundred years.

e) SAPTAKOTESHWAR

This is one of the greatest saivite shrines of Goa which

has a history of more than one thousand years as testified by the coins and inscriptions of the Kadambas of Goa. Saptakoteshwar has origin in Karnataka as a folk-deity and he was absorbed into Brahmanism, during c. 1300- 1400 A.D.

Saptakoteshwar is the literal translation of Elukoti Mahādev and he is known in Karnataka as Elukotimahādev. A Marathi writer had tried to trace the origin of Elakoti in the pastoral communities of pre-historic period. Elu means to lift and Kottai means temple. Therefore, Elakot means lift the temple.³⁵ The earliest reference to Elakoti Mahādeva found in the inscription is from Kudatani village, of Bellary district. This inscription clearly mention Saiva gana was symbolically present with the Elukoti.³⁶ The devotees of Khandoba also raise the cry of kāthi uchala but also Elakoti Mailār. This tradition testifies that both these deities are closely related in Karnataka, Andhra and Maharashtra. The references to Saptakoteshwar are found in SKH and Saura Purāna. There is no unanimity in the account of the former Purāna about the consecration of the linga of Saptakoteshwar. Gomānchal Kshetramahātmya³⁷ and Teerth Mahimāvarnanam³⁸ section state that seven sages consecrated the said linga whereas Chitpāvanbrahmanotpatti³⁹ mentioned that the sage Parasurāma consecrated linga of Saptakoteshwar. Gomānchal Kshetramahātmya⁴⁰ adds that the linga was made of metal.⁴¹ The legend about Saptakoteshwar is also mentioned in this section.

According to this legend the sages performed penance for seven crore of years. Due to this severe penance Siva was pleased and appeared before them and asked the sages the purpose of penance and the boon which they would like to have. The sages requested Siva to remain on the island of Dipavati (Diwadi) permanently.

It is not clear whether Saura Purāna is referring to Saptakoteshwar of Goa. However, the shrine is not simply mentioned as Kotisvara but it is clearly stated as the shrine of Saptakoteshwar on the seashore. Therefore, two shrines of Saptakoteshwar from Goa namely the ancient shrine of the said deity at Narve, there is one more shrine on the bank of Khandepar river at Opa. Two more shrines of Kotishwara have been reported. The northernmost shrine is near Bhuj in Gujarat and the other is near Udupi in Dakshina Kannada.⁴² But these two other shrines are not popularly known as Saptakoteshwar but are simply designated as Kotishwara shrines. Therefore, the Saura Purāna account is related to Saptakoteshwar of Goa and not to other two shrines.

The degree of glorification of Saptakoteshwar is much more in Saura Purāna in comparison to SKH. The latter Purana states that by uttering (japa) the name of Saptakoteshwar one gets fruits of godana. The former Purāna informs that one gets fruits of thousand godāna. Further this adds that by chanting the name of this deity, the devotees get the fruits of one

thousand Rajasuya sacrifice. This Purāna also recommends sea-bath and performance of Pitru-tarpana and charity.⁴³

The rituals performed on the birth day of Krishna in the vicinity of Saptakoteshwar shrine appear enigmatic. However, the explanation is furnished in MM of SKH itself in support of the above tradition.⁴⁴ The linga of the said deity is not only the abode of Siva but it is also of Vishnu, Brahma and Bhairava. Both Hari and Hara are present in the linga. Krishna and his bother Balarām had stayed in Gomant as it provided security from the attack of Jarāsandha who was chasing them. Siva made his abode in the place where Krishna had stayed.⁴⁵ In addition to the reference of Saptakoteshwar found in SKH and Saura Purana and inscriptions. There is considerable Kannada literature of Jainas as well as Virasaivas which refer to Mailār.⁴⁶

The dominion of the Kadambas extended upto Dharwad district at the beginning of the 11th century itself. Therefore, they were not ignorant of the attack on Mailār. Even then how is that Kadamba s accepted Saptakoteshwar as a family deity/ Perhaps their origin was responsible for accepting this Kshudra devatā as a family deity.⁴⁷

On the Kadamba coins of Goa from Jayakeshi I till Jayakeshi II the legend of Saptakoteshwar and the shikhara of the temple are found.⁴⁸ Their inscriptions also refer to their

family deity. The Kadamba of Goa constructed the temple of Saptakoteshwar on the island of Diwadi.⁴⁹ Mādhavamantri the administrator of Vijayanagara in Konkani region including Goa (Gorashtra) reconstructed it as it was damaged during Bahāmani period. The Shikhara was replaced by a simple dome. The description available in the records reveal that the temple was constructed in Schist stone and had beautiful sculptures and exquisite carvings.⁵⁰

The devotees of Saptakoteshwar reconsecrated the linga of the deity at Nārve on the other side of the river Mandovi in Bicholim taluka. Shivāji the founder of Maratha power gave funds for the reconstruction of the temple. Sanskrit Nāgari inscription at the top of the main entrance mentions the date.⁵¹ 13th November, 1668. Besides, the Saptakoteshwar temple of Narve, there is one more small temple of Saptakoteshwar in Opa. The door jamb of the garbhagriha clearly indicates that the shrine (only garbhagriha) belongs to c. 1300 A.D. i.e. Kadamba period. In front of the temple, Khandepar river (a tributary of Mandovi) flows and has steps leading to the river which resemble ghāts of pilgrim centres like Nasik and Varanasi. This temple is located on the ancient trade route connecting Belgaum and Dharwad and the ancient jetty was located near this Saptakoteshwar temple.

Though Saptakoteshwar is a Saivite shrine, the birth day of Krishna (Srāvana, Shukla Paksha Astami July-August) i.e.

Janmāstami or Gokulāstami is celebrated in this shrine. The devotees consider taking bath on the occasion in the river near the ancient of Saptakoteshwar temple as meritorious. The devotees believe that the river becomes Pancha Gangā on the Gokulāstami day. Even in the 16th century more than thirty thousand devotees from the island assembled in the temple of Saptakoteshwar. They bathed in the sacred waters and the priests and yogis chanted mantrās.⁵²

The legends associated with Saptakoteshwar in Goa are different from that of Maharashtra and Karnataka. Here sages performed penances for seven crores of years and made Siva to stay permanently on Dipavati island. He is not the destroyer of seven crore demons. Here devotees do not indulge in sprinkling turmeric powder (bhandār). Saptakoteshwar temple being Saiva temple during Kadamba period even during Vijayanagara period, there might have been Guravās associated with Saptakoteshwar temple. But presently there are no Guravās. The priests of this temple are Sāraswats and Karhādes. Saptakoteshwar is the family deity of Sāraswats Brahmins and Karhādes.

f) Rāmanāth

The Saivite deity of Rāmanāth is not mentioned in the list of the deities which the sage Parasurāma is supposed to have brought from Tirhut and in the entire SKH there is no

reference to this deity. The ancient shrine of Rāmanāth was earlier at Lotulim in Salcete taluka. During the period of the religious persecution in the 16th century, the linga of Rāmanāth was consecrated by the devotees at Bandivade in Ponda taluka.⁵³

No architectural remains of the ancient temple of Rāmanāth are found on the site at Lotulim. According to the tradition current in Goa, the linga of Rāmanāth was brought from Rāmeshwara.⁵⁴ The rise of the cult of Rāma and the spread of mythology of Rāma might have been responsible for the consecration of Rāmanāth at Lotulim during c. 1200 A.D. Rāmanāth is the family deity of Sāraswat Brahmins.

g) MALLIKĀRJUNA

The shrine of Mallikārjuna at Shristhal near Canacona in south Goa is well known. This deity finds no mention in SKH. As the jyotirlinga of Mallikārjuna of ~~Shristhal~~ Shristhal is associated with the Chenchus, the shrine of Mallikārjuna of Canacona is also associated with a backward community called Velips. According to a tradition, a Velip while cutting the tree discovered the linga of Mallikārjuna.⁵⁵ One of the Velip acts as a priest for four months in a year and during the remaining period Chitpāvan Brahmin officiates as the priest. This tradition itself bears testimony to the association of velips with Mallikārjuna. The explanation of the epithet

Mallikārjuna is furnished in a legend which states that Siva in the form of a hunter saved Arjuna by killing a demon Malla. Thus he got the above epithet.⁵⁶

Probably during Kadamba period or slightly earlier Velips might have consecrated the linga of Mallikārjuna. The Desastha Brahmin family Habbu was also associated with the shrine of Mallikārjuna. Habbu families were the only Desastha Brahmin families who migrated to Uttar Kannada and Canacona during the end of Kadamba period.⁵⁷ Enthoven has mentioned that in the early festival of Mallikārjuna Habbus were offered the first coconut as token of respect.⁵⁸ It seems that he was not aware of the sentiments of the people against the Habbus of Canacona as well as Karwar. Even in Karwar town and the neighboring areas the local people look Habbu families with contempt.⁵⁹ Habbus were the Saivites Desastha and therefore, their association with Mallikārjuna is the most likely to be true.

The present temple was reconstructed in 1778 A.D. and it consists of Sanctum and mukhamandapa (hall). The wooden pillars of mukhamandapa have intricate carvings.

There are about 68 affiliating (parivar devatās) out of these Bāgil paik is one of them. These are monolithic sculptures of horse riders and these are kept in the prakara of the temple. Bāgil is a Kannada word which means the door.

These Bāgil Paiks are like dvara pals or watchman of Mallikārjuna.

Every alternate year Hiramal (Veramal) and Shirodhan are arranged in the annual feast. If one year former is held the next year it would be the latter. As regards Hiramal the three devotees get exorcised and they are offered betel leaves (bida). The offering of the betel leaves to the three devotees marks the commencement of marathon race of 7 kms. These three devotees have to run for 7 kms. to the fixed destination and return to the shrine within 40 minutes. This feat is called Viramal. Perhaps it means the team of the brave. As regards shirodhan (shisharānni) when the tarangas are held in the hand by the devotees. The three devotees tie wet dhotis to their heads sleep on the ground forming a triangle like hearth (chula) The fire is lit to the woods and placed between the heads. Pot containing rice and water is kept on the heads and is cooked. Blood of the goat which is mixed with rice and sprinkled on all four sides. On the full moon day of Ashādh (May-June) goat is sacrificed to Mallikārjuna and cooked boiled rice is offered. This can be classified as rākshasi bhakti.⁶⁰

Mallikārjuna is the family deity of Sāraswat Brahmins, Konkan Maratha and Velips. Sāraswats became Mahājans of the temple under the Portuguese Government. Gazette. Therefore, during the earlier period there were no Sāraswat Mahājans.

However, they do not take active part in Vēramal or sishiranna and goat sacrifice. In these rituals only non- Brahmins participate.

h) RAVALNĀTH

The shrines of Ravalnāth are mainly in Goa, Sindhudurg district of Maharashtra and in the border areas of Belgaum and Uttar Kannada districts. As far as rest of India is concerned he is unknown. The region in which his shrines are found extends right upto Kudal in Sindhudurg district in the North and Kāli river in the South. However, beyond western ghats on the Deccan plateau, his shrine are found in Nandgad and Chandagad.⁶¹ Ravalnāth images are standing sthānak his left leg is shown slightly bent. He has four hands and holds in the front right hand sword and in the left hand bowl of ambrosia (amrit) in the right hand trident (trishul) and in left hand kettle drum (damaru). He is adorned with a crown and rundamālā. He is shown wearing a dhoti. He has a moustache. One lady attendant is shown on each side of his image with a flywhisk but occasionally two attendants on each side of Ravalnāth with flywhisk are seen. (Plate No. 14) Ravalnāth is also worshipped in the form of linga.

According to Varde Valauliker (Shenoy Goyabab), Ravalnāth is a vedic deity. He is believed to be Raval-Rāhul. According to him that the words Raval and Rāhul are identical.

Shenoy Goyabab further elaborates the origin of Ravalnāth and relates it with Buddhist period.⁶² The Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna was Rāhulbhadra and he was a Brahmin but he later embraced Buddhism. The personal name Rāhul is from pre-Buddhist period and this name was the name of the son of Buddha. During the Buddhist period some Buddhist might have come to Goa and the worship of Ravālnāth was mainly due to this Buddhist tradition.

According to Mahadevshastri Joshi, Ruru is one of the asta Śhairavās Ruru, Rāval, Ravalnāth.⁶³ Chaphekar considers Ravalnāth as the third aspect of Parameshwara.⁶⁴ However, according to Khare Raval is derived from lavali (cicca) ^{disticha} fruits. These are white in colour and grown on creepers.⁶⁵ The earliest inscriptional reference to Ravalnāth is from Hoysala period and the deity is mentioned as Ravaluba.⁶⁶ In another inscription from Goa Ravalnāth is referred to as Ravlobā as well as Ravaleshwar.⁶⁷ Therefore, there is a considerable unanimity in the above various names of Ravalnāth and the names of Ravalnāth occurring in the epigraphs.

The above origin of Ravalnāth as suggested by Varde Valauliker is highly speculative and is not convincing P. R. Bhere without furnishing the reasons put forth his theory of the Dravidian origin of Ravalnāth in his monograph on the deity.⁶⁸ On the contrary, recently a well known writer has tried to show that Tamil had a tremendous impact on all the

languages of south India upto the river Narmadā in proto historic period. He has suggested that the word Ravalnāth is derived from Tamil word Iravalnāth and in Tamil Iraval means begging for alms . The beggars stick is called tarangam in Tamil and the same word is used in Konkani and Marathi and only the letter 'M' is dropped (tarang).⁶⁹ It may be noted that Siva is himself a Dravidian deity, absorbed in Vedic pantheon. Therefore, the above etymology of the word is convincing. Siva in the form of Bhikshātanamurti is not a strange occurrence to the scholars of Hindu iconography and association of Ravalnāth with Bhikshātanamurti would not be irrational.

Ravalnāth stotra is available in Karaveer Mahātmya and it is considered as a part of Padma Purāna. In the critical editions of Padma Purāna, the above Mahātmya has not been included. Scholars believe that the Mahātmya are of later date and belong to post 24th century.⁷⁰

Karaveer Khanda furnishes the story of the incarnation of Ravalnāth . He was born at Badrikedar in Chaitra māsa (March-April) shukla paksha on Sunday Shashtiyukta panchami (5th and 6th tithi combined) to the sage Pogund and Vimalambuja. Mahālakshmi explained Ravalnāth the purpose of his incarnation. She told him that the demon Kolhasura had become powerful in the western Ghats and he had the support of Ratnasura and Raktabhoja. She asked Ravalnāth to kill them.

His army included eight Bhairavās (asta Bhairavās) and 16 Siddhas and number of female deities. At the suggestion of Mahālakshmi Ravalnāth made Mārtanda Bhairava as Commander in chief (senāpati). Finally in the fierce war Kōlhasura was killed and his army was routed. The initiative to kill the demons was that of Mahālakshmi and the incarnation of Ravalnāth was caused by her but she did not kill the demon.⁷¹

On some stone sculptures Ravalnāth from Goa, his mount (vāhana) Nandi is not found. According to ethnoarcheologist, the god who has horse as his mount and has dog with him and is the god of pastoral communities. For Kuravas (dhangars) horse is the mount (vāhana) of their god Mallikārjuna. For the farmers the mount of Mallikārjuna is a bull (Nandi)⁷² The recent studies have revealed that the resources available to the early settlers particularly during late stone age in Goa, were not sufficient to make it a permanent settlement.⁷³ Hence this coastal region acted as a temporary settlement. Goa being a hilly terrain, bullocks rarely acted as the beast of burden. In hilly regions, bullocks could not carry heavy loads as they get exhausted within a short period.⁷⁴ Goa is not known for the cattle. Therefore, Goa was not for the cattle. Therefore, Goa was not an ideal habitat for dhangars. Dhangars found in the talukas of Sanguem, Sattari and Bicholim have settled in late medieval period.⁷⁵ At least in the army of the ancient rulers of Goa, horses were used. Hence the devotees of Ravalnāth might have chosen horse in lieu of the

bull.

The traditions and legends in the region of Kolhapur about Ravalnāth and the references about him found in Karveer Mahātmya and from the above discussion on the habitat reveals that worship of Ravalnāth has spread from the North west (Kolhapur region) to Ponda Ghat to south Konkan and Goa. There are only eight independent shrines of Ravalnāth where the presiding deity is Ravalnath and there are 42 shrines where Ravalnāth is present as subsidiary (parivar devatā). This is evident from the records number of Ravalnāth shrines in Goa.⁷⁶

People from the Deccan plateau migrated to the coastal areas. They were farmers as well as cattle breeders. These people from Deccan settled permanently on the coast. Therefore, cultural synthesis became a necessary. The integration of the two cultures is represented^{ed} by the marriage of the mother Goddess (Sāteri) to the father Goa of pastoral immigrants. The marriage of Ravalnāth and the mother Goddess Sāteri is such a marriage of cultural synthesis.⁷⁷

Southern Silahāras who ruled North Goa and the present Sindhudurg and part of Ratnagiri district and Kadambas of Goa were devotees of Siva. However, references to Ravalnāth are not found either in Silahāras or Kadamba inscriptions. There are a two inscriptions in Nāgari script and in Marathi from Veluz village of Sattari taluka referring to Ravalnāth shrine

from the above village. During the rule of Vijayanagara over Goa, the incharge of Sattari division was one Purush (Purushottama) Scvavaya. He was the son of Mai Senavaya (Mai Shenoy). The donations from the property located at Manasaparvadem were made to the above shrine of Ravalnāth.⁷⁸

There are no references to Ravalnāth in SKH. This fact clearly reveals that Ravalnāth was not accepted by Sāraswats earlier. Therefore, it can be certainly stated that this Saivite deity was of the masses and not of the Brahmins and the royalty. But references to Ravalnāth are found in Kokan Mahātmya, a Marathi work compiled in 1667 A.D.⁷⁹ Sāraswat families like Asagaonkaras, Prabhudalal Shenoy and Bhonsales accepted Ravalnāth as the family deity only after Ravalnāth was well established as the deity of the masses. The family deity of the Bhonsales of Sawantawadi (Sindhudurg district) was Ravalnāth of Otavane village.⁸⁰ Ravalnāth is one of the deities in Panchāyatana in many temples of Goa. The three talukas of Goa, namely Tiswadi, Bardez and Salcete had respectively 23, 11 and 5 shrines of Ravalnāth. During the days of religious persecution by the Portuguese Ravalnāth were destroyed in the above three talukas. Salcete being a strong hold of Sāraswats, the worship of Ravalnāth was not popular there. It had only five shrines during pre-Portuguese period.⁸¹

There were in the beginning only few independent shrines

of Ravalnāth. But as the parivār devatā he was popular. However, in Alorna, Ravalnāth was a private devatā in Śāteri temple and later as independent shrine of Ravalnāth was consecrated.⁸² There are no shrines of Ravalnāth in Quepem and Canacona taluka of Goa.

Most of the Ravalnāth temples are facing to the south. Even during the modern period, the temples dedicated to Ravalnāth are quite simple with garbhagriha, an antarāla and mukhamandapa. Being a coastal track, the temples have tiled roof. in front of the temple there is a dipamālā.

Besides Ravalnāth there are shrines of Piso-Ravalnāth (piso Roulu and shāno Ravalnāth (shāno Roulu) these two shrines on the island of Chorao (Chudamani). These were shifted to Mayem in Bicholim taluka and subsequently transferred to Marcela in Ponda taluka. In Konkani Piso means mad and Shāno means opposite of Piso and means intelligent.⁸³ No explanation is found why Ravalnāth is either called Piso or Shāno in tradition or in any local literature. Ravalnāth is an aspect of Siva and Siva himself is called Bholā Shankar or Bholānāth and Bholā means an innocent.⁸⁴ Siva could be easily pleased by his devotees as he is supposed to be simple minded and generous. Hence he has epithet the Ashutosh⁸⁵ used to grant boons without realising consequences. In support of this story of Bhasmāsūr demon is mentioned in Marathi Shivalilāmrut. However, in Sanskrit works, the name of the

demon is Katapurush.⁸⁶ A Sanskrit encyclopedia compiled in nineteenth century, mentions Siva as Bholānāth, a store house of compassion accompanied by him attending spirits (ganas). Stella Kramarisch has referred sculptural representation of Siva Bholānāth of about 1400 A.D. from Himachal Pradesh. However, epithet of Siva is not in the lotaries of a thousand names in the Mahābhārat and Purāna and only one passage in the Siva Purāna mentions that Bholānāth is a store of compassion.⁸⁷

Ravalnāth is the God of the masses and it seems that he was accepted by the Brahmins only during the 14th and 15th century. commonly Gurav priests are found in most of the Ravalnāth temples. Ravalnāth still continues to be one of the popular grāmadevtā in the villages of Goa.

i) Vetāla

The tall stark naked stone images with emaciated belly are worshipped in the shrines of Sindhudurg district of Maharashtra or in Goa and in villages of Karwar. Though Vetāla images are naked, in some temples priest dresses him with dhoti. Vetāla is a folk deity and he enjoys the position of grāmadeva in the coastal region.

The Austric tribes like Gavdās, Mundās and Sabrās^a were the worshippers of Vetāla, Nāgā and Pishāchas. The origin of Paishāchi dialect itself is attributed to tribals. The

demigods mentioned above haunted the battlefield charnel grounds and places of violent death.⁸⁸ Similarly the lower strata of the society in Goa and Konkan worshipped the evil spirits which are supposed to live in the tamarind, banyan, pipal and wild trees. These are namely Mhāru, Joting, and Devchār. Vetāla is considered as the chief of the all spirits.⁸⁹ The word Vetāla is of Austric origin and therefore, is a loan word in Sanskrit. Hence, Sanskrit dictionary clearly mentions that Vetāla is a non-Sanskrit word.⁹⁰ This Austric word consists of two words namely Bet and La and the former means a bent stick and the later means to dig. The famous wild-park of Betla in Palamū of Bihar means to dig with bent stick.⁹¹ Austroloides used the word Betāla in Sanskrit ^{and} it has become Vetāla. In Goa both the above words are current. However, some go to the extent of saying that both are different and cite the tradition of Hadkon village of Ponda taluka. There the taller image of Vetāla is called Betāl and the shorter is called Vetāla.⁹² But it may be noted that both images have similar features and these differ only in height. Therefore, this tradition seems has no historical basis as interchange of Ba to Va is quite common in Indian languages. In this section word Vetāla has been used throughout the discussion. In Vedic period alongwith non-Aryan deities many non-Sanskrit words were absorbed in Vedic Sanskrit.

The Rigvedic word for plough langula has Austric origin. Plough (langula) has originated from digging stick (bent stick) i.e. Betla. Even the word linga has origins in langula. Digging stick or bent stick, plough and the Linga are all associated with fertility.⁹³ It may be noted that in Vetāla sculptures phallus is shown in prominence indicating the fertility.⁹⁴ The pre-literate Austric tribes were the worshippers of Vetāla even when they were still in the stage of building temporary shelters. Hence the shrines of Vetāla was not provided with any roof. The tribes believed that roofing over Vetāla would bring grave misfortune to the misguided devotees.⁹⁵ This was the period when they had learnt cultivation and started slash-burn method of farming. They were burning jungles and cultivating land at the foot of the hills. Hence, a Marathi writer has suggested that Vetāla consists of two words Ve means burn and tāl means table land below the hills. Further while explaining the etymology of Agyā-Vetāla, furnishes a different explanation to the injunction about the roof of Vetāla shrines. The word Agyā indicates that Vetāla was forbidden to have roof over his head.⁹⁶ As the early worshippers of Vetāla had temporary shelters, they were not in position to provide roof to their deity. Hence, the above injunction may have been prevalent in the tribal society. The basis of this tradition are socio-economic conditions present in the tribal society but the later interpretation has a linguistic basis and the former

provides a more satisfactory justification of the injunction.

Enthoven in his Tribes and casts of Bombay has mentioned that Vetāla is supposed to be the chief Bhutās. The insignia of Vetāla is a cane (Vetrā) and hence he is called Vetāla in Marathi. This derivation is based on tradition current in the society of upper Konkan. No sculpture of Vetāla with cane (Vetrā) in hand has been reported from the Konkan. Therefore, the etymology furnished above does not fully explain the significance of word Vetāla.⁹⁷ Vetāla sahastranāma (now onwards abbreviated as Vts) in fact mentions that Vetāla holds cane in his hand and hence is called Vetrapāni.⁹⁸ Besides the above two suggestions the origin of Vetāla, there is an attempt to associate the origin of the word Betāla to the Portuguese Navigator Bartholomov and this navigator has become Betāla.⁹⁹ Both these words begin with letter "b" and that is the only similarity found in them. From the above discussion it is seen that the antiquity of Vetāla goes to the Austroloid tribes. The literary references start from Mahābhārat and these become numerous from Gupta period onwards. Even the sculptures of Vetāla start appearing from c. 700 A.D. (Silahārā-Kadamba period). It is further mentioned that the phallus of Bali was incorporated into the cult of Betāla.¹⁰⁰ This entire thesis is confusing and based on fanciful imagination and not on historical facts and is therefore, not convincing.

There is a view of Sumerian origin of the word Vetāla. According to this view the Betāla consists of Bel and tāl which means a warrior in Sumerian language.¹⁰¹ In the absence of authentic source it is difficult to test its credibility and hence etymology of the word Betāla is not convincing.

Vetāla like Yaksās represented in aniconic forms as stone-table or alter placed beneath the tree. Such aniconic representations of Vetāla were found in many parts of the Deccan. Stones of three to four feet height surrounded at a distance of a few yards by a circle of a smaller stones and were worshipped as Vetāla. The abode of Vetāla and his guards is generally outside the village.¹⁰² In some temples utsava murtis (the deities taken in procession) and the Vāhanās are prepared of wood. The Arjuna tree has been prescribed for the preparation of images for Shudras.¹⁰³ Vts mentions that the abode Vetāla is Arjuna tree.¹⁰⁴ Besides the wood of Arjuna tree, bakul and chafa wood were also used for preparation of Vetāla images.

Yaksās, Vetāla and Pishāchās can be classified as Vyāntara devatās (aerial deities). The worship of Yaksās was wide spread in India and continued even upto later period.¹⁰⁵ Only after the increased influence of vedic and Puranic religion the worship of Yaksās receded into background, but the worship of Vetāla continued and Vetāla was absorbed into puranic literature and he was made a Siva-gana. Both Yaksās

and Vetāla have good as well as evil qualities and therefore , they can be both benevolent as malevolent. Yaksās as well as Vetālas were not engaged in continuous conflict against gods.¹⁰⁶ On the contrary they were in the army of Pāṇḍavās on battlefield of Kurukshetra. Vetālas were also in the army of Chāmundā when she went to annihilate Chanda and Mundā.¹⁰⁷ The food of Vetālas and Yaksās is mostly meat and liquor. The aforesaid comparison between Vetālas and Yaksās clearly indicate that there is considerable similarity between the two. It is necessary to deal with literary references of Vetāla in order to understand the development of iconography of Vetāla, his assimilation in Puranic literature and his cult. There are no references to Vetāla in Vedic literature and in Rāmāyana. However, reference to Vetāla are found in Vanaparva and Shalyaparva of Mahābharat.¹⁰⁸ By and large Purānās agree that Vetālas are associated with Rākshasas (demon) Pishachi (ghost) Shakini (a kind of spirit) Yaksas Dakini (a kind of ghost) Bhuta (ghost). Bramharākshasa (a kind of demon) Gandharvas (celestial musicians) and Kinnaras.¹⁰⁹ Out of all the Purānas, Kalikā Purāna (upa purāna) and Kāsikhand of SKP are of considerable importance as these throw light on the character of Vetāla. Kalikā Purāna furnishes the information of the birth of Vetāla and according to latter Purāna , he is fire-tongued (agni-jivhā). In Goa he is called Agio Vetāla. If Vetāla is worshipped on Tuesday, he bestows desired fruits, also mentions that there are 64 Vetālas . In

his hands he has dagger and potsherd. He wears a garland of human heads (rundamālā). Mouth of Vetāla is smeared with blood and has terrible jaws. He has robust arm and is naked. His hairs is dishevelled. Vetāla is intoxicated with blood and wine.¹¹⁰

The dog is the mount (vāhana) of Bhairava. Kāshikhanda also mentions dog as the mount of Vetāla.¹¹¹ On some Sculptures of Bhairava, dog is depicted. On some sculptures of Vetāla, from Goa scorpion is shown either on his chest or abdomen. Hence, it has been suggested that scorpion is the vehicle of Vetāla.¹¹² But the suggestion is based on which authority one does not know. It is interesting to note a Bhairava sculpture of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society has a scorpion on the front face of pedestal and this has been identified as insignia (lānchana).¹¹³ Bhairavā and Vetāla are both Saivite deities and the dog is the mount. Therefore, their lānchana may also be common. Though Kāshikhanda has prescribed dog as mount, according to the folk tradition of Chamars, Vetāla rides on a green horse.¹¹⁴ VTS mentions that he is fond of horses. Vetāla being the guardian of the village,¹¹⁵ he is supposed to roam in the villages throughout night to protect the property of the devotees. In this respect Vetāla resembled Aiyana who is also grāma deva. in Tamilnadu and his mount is also horse.¹¹⁶ But Silparatna mentions that Vetāla himself is the mount of Virabhadra.¹¹⁷

Elsewhere, Vetāla becomes the Vāhana of the goddess Kāli in war between gods and demons.¹¹⁸

The references to the description and the details of his worship mentioned in Kāshikhand of SKP clearly reveal that by c. 700 A.D. the worship of Vetāla was becoming popular.¹¹⁹ This is indicated in the numerous references to Vetāla found in Gupta and post -Gupta Sanskrit works. The stories of Vetāla Panchasti, Banabhattās Harsha Charitra, Bhavabhuti's Malati-Mādhava, Rāmkrishnakavi's Devichandragupta, Somādevās Kathāsaritsāgar, Krishnamisra's allegorical play Prabhendachandrodaya, Ksemivara's Chandakausika and Ramachandra's Kaumidimitrananda mention Kāpālikās and Vetāla.¹²⁰ In the above mentioned Sanskrit works the references to Kāpālikās performing various rituals to please Vetālas in order to obtain the desired objects and the description of the cemetery dead body etc. are furnished. Those works also clearly reveal that Vetāla was associated with witchcraft and magic.

In addition to the reference to Vetāla found in Sanskrit works, in Marathi works of Mahānubhāva poets of c. 1300 A.D. the references to Vetāla are found. In Vipra Nārāyanā's Asvamedha Vetālas are found in the association of Yaksini, Dākini and Pishāchās.¹²¹ The association of Vetāla with other spirits of Vipra Nārāyanās is not different from that of Purānas, In the list of folk - deities the saint Jnaneswar

has mentioned Durgā, Ganesh, Bhairava, Bhutās, Pishāchās, Vetālas and Yaksās.¹²² The Mahānubhava literature also reveals an interesting tradition of the association of Narasimha and Vetāla.¹²³ Narasanārāyana has mentioned in Shalyaparva of Marathi Mahābharat that in order to destroy Pāndavās, Shakuni performed Narasimhasādhanā by sitting stark naked in the cemetery and it was crowded with Dākinis, Yaksinis, Bhairavās, Ksetrapālās and Vetālas. Shakuni provided the aforesaid demigods feast of blood and liquor.¹²⁴ Another Marathi saint Ekanath mentions that stupid people apply red oxide (sindhur) to the stones and worship them as Veer Joting. Narasinga and Vetāla and kill before them sheep. The saints of Maharashtra from medieval period have mentioned that Narasimha lives in the cemetery and he is associated with Vetāla.¹²⁵ A similar tradition of the association of Narasimha and Vetāla is found in Orissa. In front Narasimha is standing and behind him there are eight Vetālas.¹²⁶ In VTS, Narasimha has been called the elder brother of Vetāla (jesta-sākhā) and the abode of Narasimha is cemetery.¹²⁷

References to Vetāla and Vetāl cult are not found in any inscription except one from Haysala period.¹²⁸ The absence of Vetāla in inscriptions may be due to the fact that Vetāla is being the deity of the masses and not of the elite, the dynasties which ruled Konkan may have not paid any attention towards the worship of Vetāla. The aforesaid injunction that

Vetālas should not have roof his head may also have been a factor responsible for the absence of any temple of Vetāla with classical architectural traditions. But the stone sculpture of Vetāla from Goa clearly indicate that though Vetāla was the god of the masses the images of Vetālās were chiseled out artistically and worshipped in small shrines which were of, thatched roof.

The stone sculpture of Vetāl as well as Bhairavā are naked . But Bhairavā is normally shown with four hands and his mount dog is shown beside him. Though Vts has prescribed four hands for Vetāla, he is supposed to hold in two right hands trident (trishula) and sword (khadga) and in other two left hands he is holding kettle drum (damru) bowl(pātra) which full of wine.¹²⁹ Vetāla sculptures with only two hands have been reported so far. In most of he sculptures of Vetāla in one hand sword is found and in another hand bowl is shown . But Vetāla sculpture of Loliem from Canacona taluka of Goa has in one hand space for keeping the sword and in another hand head of goat is shown. Vetāla ~~sculptures~~ images have emaciated belly with a bony body. Āgamas prescribe that the images of Vetāla should be 72 angulās.¹³⁰ Vetāl images are taller than any of life size. The membrane virile of Bhairavā as well as Vetāla are shown in normal fashion (adho-retas). But membrane virile of Vetāla is shown in prominence, Vetāla has been called Batukā Bhairavā, as he is always shown as youth.¹³¹ The

headless Vetāla from Betalbatim village of Salcete taluka was lying near a well and was used for drawing water (now exhibited in Archaeological Survey of India Museum at Old Goa) has been in fact identified as Bhairavās. This clearly shows how the earlier scholars did not make distinction between Bhairavā and Vetāla.¹³²

The nudity of Vetāla made the scholars of the early part of this century to believe that Vetāla images have evolved out of Jaina tirthankaras. The first scholar who proposed this theory went to the extent of saying that Vetāla and Ravalnāth were introduced on account of Buddhist and Jain influence.¹³³

The above nude deities from the Hindu iconography clearly indicate that Hinduism could conceive of the naked image of Vetāla independently and did not imitate Jaina tirthankaras images. The nude images of Jaina tirthankaras whether in sitting posture or standing have serene appearance and even in the face of colossus Gomateshvara is not exception to this characteristic. But Vetāla images are ferocious. Therefore, Vetāla images in conception in spirit and in iconography stand apart from the images of tirthankars. In view of this above theory is not convincing and is not based on historical facts.

The rise of Kāpālikās and Pasupatās provided the necessary conditions for the evolution of iconology of Vetāla.

In Igatpuri copper plates issued by Nagavardhana son of Pulakesi and the nephew of Pulakesi II of early Chalukyas clearly reveals Kāpālikā presence on the Deccan plateau.¹³⁴ Besides Kāpālikā influence, Pasupatās influence can be traced in Southern Silahārā period and also among Kolhapur branch of Silahārā. Inscription of the Southern Silahārās period mentions Shri Vamana's devotion towards Pāsūpatās cult and there are references to the skull (kapāl) skeleton and to the dance of Siva (tāndava) etc. Southern Silahārā ruler Aparajit I assumed the biruda Shanivārviḷaya and the Ganāditya of Kolhapur assumed the title of Shanivārsiddhi signifying mystic power.¹³⁵ Those aforesaid terms used in Silahāra inscriptions indicate the presence of tantrik element found in the society of the Konkan and the Deccan plateau. Those tantrik practices were purely meant for the mundane world. The main goal of tantrik was acquisition in this world and the acquisition of Siddhis.¹³⁶

The presence of Pāsūpata influence has been reported from Southern Silahāra territory and Northern Goa was included in it.¹³⁷ Therefore, Pāsūpatās may have been the worshippers of Vetāla. The twin saivite sects of Kāpālikās and Pāsūpatās were not solely instrumental in the development of the cult of Vetāla in Konkan and Goa, but Nāth-Panth had also influenced the cult of Vetāla. The Nāth-Panthis were the worshippers of the greater and lesser gods of Hindu pantheon.¹³⁸

Nāth-Panthis may have appropriated Vetāla in their pantheon and worshipped him. The references to Hingalaj and Gorakhinipati found in Vts indicates the influence of Nāth-Panth.¹³⁹ The references to Hingalaj may be related Hingalajamātā on the coast of Makran in Pakistan which was important pilgrim centre of Nāth-Panthis.¹⁴⁰ Gorakhinipati the epithet of Vetāla mentioned in VTS may have been derived from Gorakhnāth. In some temples of Vetāla from Sattari and Sanguem taluka, Pissurlem of Sattari taluka twin images of Vetāla are worshipped. Though both images have similar features, one is called Agio (Agni jivhā) Vetāla and other Vetāla is called Gorakha Vetāla. This also bears the testimony to Nāth influence. The above rise and spread of twin sects may have been responsible for the appearances of the sculptures of Vetāla and Vaitāli (female counterpart of Vetāla) on the door Jamb of Mahākuteshwar temple (c. 600 A.D.) of Badāmi.¹⁴¹ The naked figures are also found on Vetāla temple Bhubaneshwar in Orissa.

Vetal Sculptures Of Goa

Goa being the centre of Vetāla cult, there are number of Vetāla sculptures. Many have similar characteristics. Therefore, early sculptures of Vetāla which are important from point of iconography and art which have special characteristics are dealt. Two stone sculptures of Vetāla from Salcote taluka (Betalbatim and Sarzora) have been displayed in

the Archaeological Survey of India Museum at Old Goa (plate no 15-16). The head and hands of Vetāla from Betalbatim have been broken. Ribs have been shown projecting and has emaciated belly. He wears a necklace of Nāgā(Cobra) and the head of Nāgā is shown as pendent. The long necklace of skulls (rundamālā) reaches below the knees, The scorpion is shown horizontally on the abdomen. The waist-band (katibandha) is shown excessively broad and looks like a belt. On each side below this waist-band bell is suspended to the chain. The long membrane virile is shown in the normal fashion (adhoretas). The legs of Vetāla are cylindrical, thigh bones and knee-caps are not visible.

The legs of Vetāla sculpture from Sarzora have been completely broken and hands up to the elbow. The head-gear is knit by serpents and has been divided into tiers. The upper tier has series of hoods and is the lower tier at the centre a large hood has been chiseled. Vetāla has a broad face with wide open eyes and the eye-balls are bulging out. His mouth is partly open and fangs are clearly seen. The ears are long and shown with a necklace (rundamālā). Ear lobes look as if they are torn on account of the heavy weight of year ornaments. He is shown with armlets (keyura and angada) made up of nāgās. The head-gear and armlets are of nagas and this has been prescribed in Vts. This association of Nāgā with Vetāla may be due to the fact that he has been described as pātālvāsini (the world below the earth) and that is the abode of nāgās also.¹⁴²

Scorpion is below the center of the ribs on the abdomen and is shown in perpendicular fashion and is not depicted in horizontal manner as seen on the Betalbatim sculpture. Though both sculptures of Vetāla from Salcete are shown with projecting ribs, the ribs of Betalbatim looks more realistic and natural where as the ribs of Vetāla from the later village appear to be conventionalised.

In Vetāla sculpture from Navelim the head and front right arm and the chest have been broken. ~~(fig no. 29)~~ Therefore, only left arm and the rear part of the right arm and the legs are present. In the lists of temples destroyed by the Portuguese the temple of Vetāla from Navelim has been mentioned. In November 1988 while digging for the foundation, this sculpture of Vetāla was discovered. Sculptor has carved strong arms but bones are visible. Legs are not bony but these are shown in octagonal fashion and look like pillars. This is the only Vetāla sculpture from Goa, which has polygonal legs. He is shown matted (jata) which has reached below waste in a serpentine fashion.¹⁴³ This matted hair has not been noticed on the other sculptures of Vetāla from Goa. The waist band (katibandha) of legs series of bells seen on his waist. The necklace of heads (rundamālā) is also found on his body. On the left hand side dagger is seen. One does not know whether Vetāla is holding it or not. Vetāla has armlets (angada) of serpents (nāgā) and bracelets (kankanās) and those kankanās

are not of nāgā but resemble silver worm by children and women of Karnataka and Maharashtra about three decades ago.

Vetāla sculpture from Loliem is tallest image of Vetāla found. ~~(2.2.2)~~ The roofless shrine is located in Loliem village of Canacona taluka. Vetāla is standing on high platform in the midst of four pillars. The height of this stone sculpture is more than 2 mts. This is the only Vetāla sculpture shown in tribhanga posture and all other sculptures of Vetāla from Goa are in samabhanga. This Vetāla has the nimbus (prabhāvali) which is not found in other sculptures of Vetāla from Goa. Moreover, Loliem Vetāla has space to insert sword in the right hand and the left hand he is holding the head of a goat. Perhaps it is the goat which has been sacrificed to please him. His hand is resting on the post. He is wearing ear ornaments (Kundalās) armlets (angadas) and bracelets (kankanās). He is wearing necklace of skulls (rung mālā). In his left thumb he has a ring. A ball which has been tied to the chain can be seen on the right leg below the knees. He has a long penis. The aforesaid description clearly illustrates that Vetāla sculpture of Loliem is unique in Goa.

The cult of Vetāla

It would be now appropriate to deal with the cult of Vetāla. Independent shrine of Vetāla with Vetāla images have not been reported from any part of India. Only in Goa and in

South Sindhudurg district there are simple structure shrines Vetāla images and these are in worship. Vetāla and Vaitāli from Badami and Doddagaddavalli Vetāla are not independent shrines and those ^{are} Vetālas not in worship. Bhubaneshwar has Vaitāl (Vetāla) temple but the presiding deity is Chamunda. The iconological factors such as the rise of Kāpālikā Pasupatās and Nāth-Panthis is shaping the image of Vetāla have been already dealt with. However, the popularity of Vetāla in Goa is perplexing. This may be explained on the basis of the tradition found in VTS. Vetāla is the destroyer of storms and is the promoter of trade and commerce.¹⁴⁴ During Silahāra Kadamba period, maritime activity increased considerably. This is indicated by the representation of naval battle found on the hero stones of Silahāras and Kadambas.¹⁴⁵ During Kadamba period Goa had international trade with many countries. Therefore, merchants may also have patronised worship of Vetāla. The factors mentioned above may have been responsible for the spread of Vetāla worship in Goa.

Though Vetāla became a part of Brahminical temple (as parivar deva or Panchyatana), his popularity as a village deity did not decrease but he retained the same position.¹⁴⁶ These later images of Vetāla have beared, mustache and crown (mukuta). Though number of hands have not changed in one hand sword in another hand instead of bowl (pātra) shield is provided. In earlier Vetāla images swords is and inseparable

part of the sculpture as it was of stone. But in sculptures of Vetāla of later period, the provision was made to insert the sword of steel in the fist of Vetāla. However, bowl (pātra) continued to be of stone. The scorpion shown on the abdomen of early images of Vetāla is not found on later images. In some villages Vetāla was provided with mask of brass.

Vetāla is considered as the chief ghost and evil spirits. In Dakshina Kannada the worship of ghosts is called Bhutārādhanā.¹⁴⁷ There were no māntrikas performing witchcraft associated with Vetāla in Goa.

The tradition of non-Brahmin priests for deities was found in Goa.¹⁴⁸ In the case of Vetāla the priests were Guravs, Ghadi, Jalmi or Ravals and were those were non Brahmin priests. Occasionally devotees of Vetāla offer cocks, goats and buffaloes to him. In Pernem, Sanguem and Sattari talukas hunted animal was offered to Vetāla and was shared amongst the devotees.¹⁴⁹ No elaborate mantrās were necessary for the worship of Vetāla. Therefore, Brahmin priest well versed scriptures was not necessary on the contrary even where Chitpāvan Brahmin is acting as a priest of Vetāla shrine, the Ghadi or the Jalmi has remained indispensable for animal sacrifice as he has to supervise it. The priests of Vetāla temple perform regular worship every day. However, according to SKP Vetāla should be worshipped on

every Tuesday. In addition to tuesday VIS prescribe 15th of every dark fortnight (Krishna paksha) for the worship of Vetāla.¹⁵⁰

Vetāla being the grāma deva is the guardian of the village. According to the tradition he moves through out the village at night and keeps vigil on the property of the devotees. Hence his saddles get worn out. The devotees take vow and offer the saddles to Vetāla. Such saddles can be noticed in the temple of Vetāla from the village of Siroda and Asagaon of Sawantawadi.¹⁵¹ In Vetāla temple of Poiguinim village in Canacona taluka such saddles offered by the devotees to Vetāl are kept in a row. Every year in many temples of Vetāla fairs(jātrās) are celebrated and these commence from Asvina (September - October) and continue upto Phalgunā(March-April. In Adkon village of Ponda taluka the fair of Vetāla which is held on Kartika full moon day (pournimā October-November), a buffalo is offered. Mahārs used to kill the buffalo in order to satisfy Vetāla in early hours of morning.¹⁵² In Kakoda temple of Vetāla also goats and buffaloes were offered.¹⁵³

One of the rituals performed during the fair (jātrā) was self-torture voluntarily accepted by the devotees of the god or goddess. These self-tortures consisted of either fire-walk or hook swinging. There is wide spread belief that this kind of self-torture volunteered by devotees immensely pleases

the deity and the deity there by protects the devotees from any kind of calamity such as epidemics or famine.

In front of Paingini Vetāla temple, two wooden posts have been permanently erected for holding hook swinging regularly once in three years. But instead of a pole provision to fix a iron wheel with four devotees is made. The devotees who undergo this torture are called Gāde. He fasts on this day of the hook-swinging ceremony. ~~(Plate No. 24-25)~~ Those four Gādās are given ceremonial bath. A document written on cloth in 1823 A.D. is read out and iron hooks which are called locally Gāde are pierced at the back. Out of these four Gādes the chief gādā is called Mālgāde and him one additional hook is pierced. They have garlands in their necks and to their forehead red colour (kumkum) is applied. They reach the wheel by means of a ladder and they are tied to the wheel. This wheel is rotated. After some time Mālgāde inquires the people of the village who have assembled to witness the ceremony whether they are satisfied. Accordingly the individually reply in positive and they are helped to come down from the wheel. Wife of gades remove the nose ornaments (nāth) which they keep in Tulsi Vrindāvan and pray for their safe return.¹⁵⁴

Vetāla as a folk deity has chequered career and he was absorbed in Brahminical pantheon after 1200 A. D. Even after his absorption it has not altered his popular position as

grāma deva. Due to the spread of education the awareness is being created against the cruelty towards animals. There is a growing resentment against buffalo sacrifice. Vetāla is a unique grama deva of Goa.

j) PAIK

In some villages of Sanguem and Canacona talukas the monolithic sculpture of Paik are worshipped (Plate NO. 17) Paik is shown as a horse rider and is a parivār deva in the shrines of the above talukas. There are various types of Paiks such as Bagil Paik (Bagil in kannada means door, the Paik at the door) . Gode Paik (horse rider Paik) razon Paik and Kanna Paik etc. As mentioned earlier the word Paik has origin in Kannada which means messenger , guard or soldier.¹⁵⁵ Kumar Paiks were hunters and soldiers from ancient period. Some Kumar Paiks who sacrificed life for the village or the community was defied and worshipped. The references to paik and Bāgil Paik has been made in the chapter II society. Monolithic sculptures of horse riders have been reported from Assolda (Sanguem) in JBHS Vol. IV¹⁵⁶ and the monolithic horse riders of Netravali (Sanguem) have been published in Ancient shrines of Goa.¹⁵⁷ In the above publications these horse riders have not been identified as Paik. Hindu temples and deities plate 34.1 furnishes the photograph horse rider.¹⁵⁸ In Sanguem earlier Paik was a parivār deva in the shrine of Rāmanāth. However, recently in an independent shrine of Paik

has been constructed and yearly fair is being held in the month of Phalguna (Feb-March) for three days dramas are staged.¹⁵⁹

k) DADDĀ

Daddā is similar to Vetāla but his status is inferior to that of the latter. There are no independent shrines of Dadda and he is only a parivār devā. The demons, ghosts and evil spirits supposed to have tremendous strength and these are known for using this strength both in malevolent and benevolent way. Hence the people believed that these evil spirits had to be kept always happy. Daddā is probably a Kannada word which means a dullard.¹⁶⁰ The dullard has no discretion. In order to make him benevolent people of Goa worshipped him. The status of parivār deva was given to him in many shrines of Goa. There were four shrines of Dadda in Bardez and two in salcete. These were destroyed in the 16th century. In four temples from Pedne and three temples of Ponda taluka, Daddā enjoys the position of parivār deva.¹⁶¹

l) Mhāru

In Chandel and Varkhand of Pedne taluka there are Maringan. In Talaulim and Usgaon of Ponda taluka also there are Mhārās. According to Buddhist legend Indra sent Mhāru to disturb Buddha and subsequently Buddha called earth as the witness. Therefore, Mhāru worshipped in Goa is similar to the

Mhāru sent by Indra.¹⁶²

Mhāru is located at the out skirts of the villages. He is the guardian of the village. He roams at night throughout the village. There is a tradition of offering terracotta horses to Mhāru in some villages of Goa. It is similar to the terracotta horses offered to Aiyandar in Tamilnadu.¹⁶³ The devotees whose wishes are fulfilled offer votive terracotta horses to Mhāru.

m) Ancestor Worship

In many communities ancestor worship was prevalent. Yadus, Satvats, Haiyas, Kurus, Bhojakas, Andhakas, Chedis and Vishnis were worshipped as ancestors. The head of the families were called kulupā. These heads (kulupās) were supposed to have divine powers. Hence he was idealised as Kulapurush.¹⁶³ The worship of Grāmapurush, Adipurush, Pardipurush, Kanadipurush, Gavdovamsh and Sutarpurush is common in Goa. The above mentioned ancestors occupy the position of parivār deva in the temples of Goa. These ancestors are chiseled in stone plaque and worshipped.

From the above discussion on the various deities of Goa it is evident that Mangesh, Ravalnāth, Vetāla, Paik, Dadda and Mhāru are the regional deities of Goa. However, the deities like Saptakoteswar, Nāgesh and Mallikārjuna are known in Karnataka, Andhra and Maharashtra. The worship of the various aspects of Siva and the deities closely associated with Siva

in this chapter clearly indicates that Goa was a strong hold of Saivism. This has been already pointed out in the Saivism in chapter V.

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2. Mitterwallner Gritli Two natural caves and 11 man-made cave excavations of Goa in South Asian Archaeology 1979 See also Mitragotri V. R. Nath-Panthei caves and Curdi Mahadeva temple of Goa U. G. C. seminar on Art History held in Karnataka University March, 1991.
3. SKH M.M. Shankarapārvatyo dyutam pp 278-280. Refer to also Dhal U. N. Goddess Lakshmi even Padma Purana, similar story of Parvati and Siva playing the game of dice and Siva's defeat by Parvati is mentioned p 179.
4. Ibid Shankarasya Vyāghrarupa dhāranam pp 292-295.
5. SKH Gomānchal Kshetramahātmya vs. 13-17 p 128.
6. Saldanha Jerome A. Origin and growth of Konkani or Goan communities pp 47-48.
7. Kosambi D. D. Myth and reality p 167.
8. SKH Mangesh puja Mahātmya vs. 11-30 p 296 Refer to Whitehead Henry Village Gods and South India in connection with Badiga linga p 126. Similar story now cow pouring milk is mentioned. See also Spratt P. hindu culture and Personality p 265 similar tradition of cow pouring milk over linga is referred. Refer to Chidanandamurti M. Keladi Nripati Vijaya In Samshodhan Tarang vol. II (Kannada) p 147. This Kannada literary work of 18th century also refers to similar legend of cow pouring milk over linga. The references to the same found in the above work indicate that the story is not restricted primarily to the region of Goa but was known throughout south India.
9. SKH Kapila mahātmya vs. 5-27 p 130.
10. The linga of Consua and Consua cave are referred to in chapter on Iconography VIII and Architecture IX.
11. Sontheimer Gunther D. "Rudra and Khandoba continuity in folk religion " In Religion and Society in Maharashtra p 14.
12. Chakravarty Mahadev "The concept of Rudra Siva through the ages pp 114-115.

13. Danielou Alian Shiva and Dionysus p 119.
14. Danielou Alian Ibid p 119.
15. Krishnamacharalu C. R. op. cit p 144.
16. Mitter Wallner Gritli "The Hindus Past" In Marg vol. on Goa cultural patterns plate No. 4 pp 23-24.
17. Nayak Na. Bha. Gomāntakiya Devālaye (Marathi) p 13.
18. SKH Nagavya Mahātmya pp 250-252. See also Sawant G. T. The History of Silaharas unpublished Ph. D. thesis p 251
19. Pissurlencar Pandurang " Inscrupouces Pre-Portuguesa In O Orient Portuguesa No 22 pp 400-403.
20. Heras Henry " Pre-Portuguese remains in Portuguese India" In JBHS vol. IV No. 2
21. Gai G. S. " Two grants of Bhoja Prithvimallavarman " In E I vol. XXXIII 1959-1960 pp 63-64.
22. Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu p 825.
23. Dikshit M. G. " Sivapura (Goa) plates of Chandravarman In New Indian Antiquary vol. IV 1941-1942 pp 181-184. See also Sircar D. C. " A note on the copper plate inscription of King Chandravarman in ABORI vol. XXXIII pp 510-514.
24. Annigeri A. M. " Two Grants of Bhoja Kings " In E I vol. XXXI pp 231-234.
25. Gai G. S. E I vol. XXXIII pp 63-64. See also Heras Henry the above referred paper. According to him Chandraditya the son of Pulakesi established Chandrapur and the shrine of Chandreshwar might have been founded by him. But is more likely the Bhoja king might have consecrated the linga of Chandreshwar.
26. skh Ambasta Charitram vs. 14 p 242.
27. Chakravarty Mahadev op. cit p. || 7
28. Souvenir of Chandreshwar temple (Gourava grantha) (Marathi) p5 Chandreshwar is the presiding deity of the following villages.
1. Ponda 2. Kusman 3. Avede 4. Shelvan 5. Amone 6. Kepe 7. Malkarne 8. Asolde 9. Shiravai 10. Hoar 11. Kudachade 12. Shelde 13. Talvade 14. Cheekshelvan 15. Mule

16. Zanode 17. Nagave 18. Kothambi 19. Chaiphi
20. Ambavali 21. Bhinne 22. Undarn

29. Heras Henry op cit p 13.
30. Souvenir of Chandreshwar temple (Gourava grantha p 36.
31. SKH Tirthaprashamsa pp 238-240.
32. Chakravarty Mahadev op. cit pp 117-118.
33. Souvenir of Chandreshwar temple (Gourava grantha) p7.
34. Ibid p 5.
35. Khaire Vishwanath. Adgulum Madgulum(Marathi) pp 64-71.
36. Chidanandamurti M. Samshodhan tarang vol. II p 222.
37. SKH Gomanchalkshetra Mahatmya vs. 23-28 p 230.
38. Ibid Tirthamahimavarnanam. vs. 12 p 216.
39. Ibid Chitapavanabrahmanotpatti vs. 53 p124.
40. Ibid Gomanchal kshetramahatmya vs. 25 p 230.
41. Ibid Shri Saptakoteshwar devaha vs. 17-20 p 284.
42. Sircar D. C. Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India p 101. See also Bhatt Gururaj op cit. pp 287-288.
43. Surya Puran (ed) Goutam Chamanalal pp 471-472. See also SKH Saptakoteshwar Devaha vs. 2-7 p 284.
44. Ibid vs. 2-7 p 284.
45. Ibid vs. 2-7 p 284.
46. Chidanandamurti M. op. cit pp 207-22. See also Sontheimer Gunther D. op. cit pp 12-15.
47. Satoskar B. D. Gomantak prakriti ani Samskriti p 42.
48. Moracs George op. cit pp 383-384 see also Narasimha Murty A. V. The coins of Karnataka. pp 117-130.
49. Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu pp 793-795.
50. Priolkar A. K. Goa Inquisition. p 65.

51. Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu P79A
52. Coselloe Joseph Francis Xavier his life times vol. II pp 230-231.
53. Pereira Gomes Rui op. cit p 101.
54. Nayak Na. Bha. op. cit p9.
55. Sontheimer Gunther D. op. cit p 5. see also Satoskar B. D. op. cit p 281.
56. Sontheimer Gunther D. op. cit p 16.
57. Mitragotri V. R. "Habhu families of Karwar and Goa" Paper presented in the seminar at Karwar held under the auspicious of Sagardeep Research Foundation Jan 1990 See also Enthoven Castes of Bombay Presidency vol. I Refer to also Saldanha Jerome op. cit p 51.
58. Enthoven op. cit p 22.
59. Mitragotri V. R. see also above mentioned paper .
60. Sontheimer Gunther op. cit p 20
61. Behere P. R. Ravalnath ani Konkanatali devaski (Marathi) p 18.
62. Behere P. R. op. cit. p 18.
63. Joshi Mahadevashastri Gajati Daivate (Marathi) p 120
64. Dhare R.C. Khandoba quoted from Chaphekars Chitpavan pp 32-33.
65. Khare G.H. Maharashtrachi char Daivate (Marathi) pp 149-50
- The reference to laval fruits is found in Vikramorvasiya Uttara Ramcharit and Kiratarjuniya
66. Jahagirdar Sitaram furnished this information . The inscription referring to Ravaluba is included in Epigraphia Carnatica vol. IX under print.
67. Tulpule S. G. pp 302-305 and pp 359-362.
68. Behere P. R. op. cit p 18.
69. Khaire Viswanath Adagulam Madagulam (Marathi) p 19.

Besides the above work there are two more works dealing on similar theme Bharatiya mithyanchi magova (Marathi) "Dravida Maharashtra " In sanshodhana Patrika)4(Marathi) January-March 1978

70. Khare G.H. Murti Vijnāyan (Marathi) p 150. Refer to also Desai P.B. " Mailar linga " In JKU vol III NO> 2 (Kannada) 1959 pp 115-127 hold similar view about the date Mahatmya
71. Ravalnath stotra Published by Kelker R. N.
72. Murti. M. L. K and Sonthemir "Gunther . op. cit p 177
73. Kale, Vishwas S. Neogene and Quaternary Geomorphology of Zuari and Mandovi Basins of Goa unpublished thesis Poona University 1983 p 127.
74. Mitragotri V. R. " Trikutachala temple of Agapur" In Essays in Goan History (ed), D'Souza T p 19.
75. Satoskar B. D. Gomantak Prakriti ani Samskriti (Marathi) pp 312-315.

Sr.No.	Taluka	Ravalnāth as independent shrine	Ravalnāth as parivār devatā
1	Pedne	Three	Eleven
2	Bicholi	Two	Seventeen
3	Ponda	Two	Eleven
4	Sattari	One	Two
5	Sanguem	---	One

The above table is prepared on the basis of the information available in Hindu temples and Deities.

77. Kosambi D.D. Myth and Reality p 86
78. Tulpule S. G. op. cit pp 302- 305 and 359-362.
79. Konkanamahatmya 3rd Chapter Vs 38, p17, Vs 45, 46 p19, 5th Chapter Vs 38, p26, Vs 53, p27, Vs 53, p27.
80. Kelkar R.N. Shri Ravalnath p7
81. Pereira Gomes Rui op. cit pp 92 , 98, 101.

82. Pereira Gomes Rui op cit p 157.
83. Desai Sripad Ranganath, Konkani Dictionary pt II p 428
84. Fallow S.W. A new Hindustani English Dictionary p 306.
85. Apte Vaman Shivram Students English Sanskrit Dictionary 89.
86. Chitrao Bhārtiya Prāchin Charitrakosh (Marathi) p 554.
see also Oppert Gustav The Original inhabitants of Bharatvarsa or India furnishes the story of demon Bhasmasura on p 508.
87. Kramarisch Stella "Siva Bholanath" In Dimensions of Indian Art (Pupul Jaykar Festschrift)pp244-245.
88. Basham A. L. The wonder that was India p304.
89. Pereira Gomes RUI Hindu temples and Deities p 203
90. Monier William Sanskrit English Dictionary p 104. Refer to also Kulkarni K.P. Marathi Vyutpatti kosh (Marathi) p 725.
91. Singh K.P.S. Place names and personal names an anthropo historical perspective p 19 see also Bongard-Levin G.M. "Hindustan in the third to first Millinia B.C. "Some problems of Ethnic History (Archaeology) and linguistics) In Aspects of Indian Art and Culture S.K.Saraswati Commemorative vol etds Chakravarty Jayanth Bhattacharya D.C. pp 81-91. This paper furnishes vedic contact with proto-Austric people like Mundas and also assimilation Austric culture into Vedic Culture.
92. Dhume Shenvi Vinayak Narayan Devabhumi Gomantak (Marathi) p 252.
93. Chakravarty Mahadev op. cit pp. 109, 134 see also Bongard Levin paper referred to above.
94. Mendes Lopes "A Indian Potuguesa (Portuguese) see also vs. 53-53 of Vetala sahastranama onwards abbreviated as VTS) which also refer to the destruction of effeminate character.
95. Kosambi D.D. op. cit p 33.
96. Khaire Viswanath Itihāspurv Marathi Mouli " In Marathi Samshodhan Patrika (Marathi) silver jubilee vol Jan-Feb

- 1978 p 60. See also Kashikhand of SKP vs. 73 the epithet Agni Vetāl occurs. Agya Vetāl is the corruption of Agni
97. Enthoven R.E. Tribes and castes of Bombay vol II p 305.
98. Vts vs. 19
99. Silva Karwar through the Ages p 17.
100. Silva ibid p 17.
101. Dhume Shenvi Anant Cultural History of Goa from 10000 B. C. to 1365 A.D. p 101.
102. Enthoven R.E. op. cit. see also Coomarswamy Ananda K. Yaksas p 17. Refer to also Agarwala V.S, Ancient Indian Folk Cults p 182.
103. Banerjee J,N. D H I p 205
104. Vts vs. 75.
105. Banerjee J.N. op. cit. p 338
106. Banerjee J.N. op. cit. p 344.
107. Coomarswamy Anand Yaksas pp 7, 25
108. Dhere R. C. Loka Samskritichi Kshitije pp 51-52
109. Agni Purāna 31 Adhyāya p 83 vs. 29, 51 Adhyāya pp 136, 137 vs. 7.240 Adhyāya p 647 vs. 64 see also Brahmānda Purāna 2nd khand 4 Adhyāya p 170 vs. 29, 3rd Khand 14 Adhyāya p 68 vs. 10 Refer to Brahmavaivarta Purāna Ganapati khand 13 Adhyāya p 349 vs. 74, Prakrāti khand 17 Adhyāya p 143 vs. 46 and 47 and Krishna Janmakhand 38 Adhyāya p 623 vs. 59 and 115 Adhyāya p 558 v 2, See also Linga purana Khand 1 Adhyāya 62 p 269 vs. 23 Khand 2, p 773 Refer to also Matsya Purana 8th Adhyāya p 4 vs. 274 Adhyāya p 559 vs. 45 see also Padma Purana Bhukhand 19 Adhyāya p 155 vs. 8, 26th Adhyāya p 169 vs. 10 Pātāla Khand 24 Adhyāya p 44 Adhyāya p 552 vs. 37 58 Adhyāya p 540 vs. 29 Srishti Khand 26th Adhyāya p 968 vs. 118, refer to also Siva Purāna pp 245 vs. 20 280 vs. 11, p 581 vs. 7 see also Saura Purāna p 195.
110. 25 Kālikā Purāna (ed) Shastri Vishvanarayan. In chapter 46 vs. 29-40 describes the birth of Bhairavā and Vetāla the sons of Siva. In chapter 47-50 of Kalikāpurana deal with the incarnation of Siva and Parvatī as Chandrashekhara and Taramati and their abode was

Karavirpur. According to folk tradition Vetāla has no wife (Vetāla bail na) Thus he is bachelor like Hanuman. But according to Kālikāpurāna the wife of Vetāla is Kāmadhenu (wishful filling cow) and their son by this union is Nandi the mount of Shiva. Kashikhand of SKP vs 96-100 p 298 furnishes the characteristics of Vetāla. See also Dange S. A. Encyclopedia of Puranic beliefs and practices vol II p 630. This information is furnished in this work is based on Kashikhand of SKP

Gune V. T. Ancient shrines of Goa p 17.

111. Dange S. A. op. cit p 6330.
112. Gune V. T. op. cit p 17
113. Rao Gopinath T. Elements of Hindu Iconography vol II p i p 179 fig 3 pl XL II
114. Briggs G. W. The religious life of the Indian Chamars. p 129.
115. Vt. s vs 54.
116. Rao Gopinath T. Element of Hindu Iconography vol II pt II pp 485-492
117. Shastri Krishna H. South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses. p 155.
118. Induchandan V. T. The secret chambers pp 12-13.
119. Awasthi A. B. L. Studies of the Skanda Purana in two vol. The earliest MS of SKP is in Gupta characters of 7th century A. D. The above study has shown that SKP is not later than 1100 A.D. Some of the Khandas of the present SKP show that these contain smṛiti chapters which are fairly old. Kashikhand is one of the early Khandas may be dated to c. 700 A. D. See also Sharma R. S. "Material Milue of Tantricism" In Feudal Social formation in early India. p 383
120. Yasatilaka of Somadeva ed Handiqui refers to the most of the works which have been mentioned here. pp 356-359. In Krishnamisra's allegorical play Prabhodchandrodaya Act III there is a reference to the incident of Kapalika performing human sacrifice etc. During the worship of Mahabhairava and his consort Mahābhairava, Vetālas were invited to beat the drums p 356 (II) In Ksemisveras drama Chandakausika, there is a reference to Kapalika controlling Vetāla in IV Act p 357 (III) in Ramchandra's Kaumidimitrananda VIII Act Kāpālikā offers obligations of human intestines in the fire and attempts

to revive the corpse which rises and strikes Kapalika p 358. See also Lorenzen David N. The Kapalika and Kalamukhas two lost Saivite Sects pp 17, 56, 59, also refers to some of the works which have been mentioned above. Refer to also Mirashi V.V. "Andura Plates of Govinda ". IV. In E I vol XXXVI p 264. Mirashi refers to Ramakrishnakavi's Devichandragupta. The Gupta ruler Chandragupta went to the Saka ruler in the guise of a woman and killing him when he was unguarded. Chandragupta made up his mind to win over Vetāla. We are not concerned about the authenticity of the incident. But here we are concerned about the traditions pertaining to Vetala, current in Gupta and post Gupta period. See also Saletore R.N. Indian Witchcraft a study of Indian occultism p 30. refers to Khathasaritsagar and mention that Kāpālikā worship of Vetāla in achieving this goal.

121. Dhere R. C. Lokasamskritiche Kshitije Marathi p 30 .
122. Dhere R. C. Maharastrache Devhare (Marathi) p 19.
123. Dhere R. C. Lokasamskritiche Kshitije (Marathi) pp 51-52.
124. Dhere. R. C. op ibid pp 54-55
125. Dhere. R. C. ibid p 54.
126. Jaykar Pupul op. cit p16.
127. Vt s Vs 2
128. E c vol V p 193.
129. Vts 1 and 2.
130. Banerjea J.N. op. cit p 325.
131. Gune V.T. op. cit p 17 and Vt. s Vs 6 and 9 describe him as youth.
132. Heras Henry " Pre- portuguese Remains in Portuguese India "in the Journal of Bombay Historical Society vol IV pp 11-12.
133. Chavan V.P> The konkan and the Konkani language pp 19 - 20 see also Talmaki S. S. Saraswat families part I of p 10 and Priolkar A. K. Autobiographical sketch in A. K. Priolkar Commemorative Vol ed Subhash Bhende (Marathi) p 4.

134. Lorenzen David op.. cit pp 214- 223.
135. Sawant G> T. History of Silaharas (unpublished) Ph. D thesis Bombay University p 221.
136. Dehijiya Vidya Kalachuri Monarch and his circular shrine of the yoginis tenth century . Bhairaghat "In the Royal patrons and the great Temple Art Marg vol p 78.
137. Sawant G. T. op cit. p 221.
138. Deshpande M.N. The Caves of Panhale-Kaji See also Kosambi D.D. Myth and Reality p 16. Refer to also Mitterwallner Gritli Two national and 11 man made caves of Goa India in South Asian Archaeology ed Herbert pp 503- 310. See also Bhatt Gururaj studies in Tuluva History and Culture pp 292 - 299. p160
139. Vt. s Vs 83 and 133.
140. Brigga G. N. Gorakhnath and the Kanaphātā Yogis. See also Deshpande M. S. the caves of Panhale - Kaji mentions the shrine of Hingalajamata of Chaul-Raigad dist. p 171. This shrine also indicates Nāth_Panthis influence in the upper Konkan.
141. Annigeri A. M. "Religion under the Chalukyas of Badami" in In the Chalukyas of Badami p 236 and see also Chidanandmurthy. M. Kannada Shāsagala adhyan (Kannada. pp p141 Panigrahi Krishna Chandra Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneshwar pp 61 and 234.
142. Vts Vs 57.
143. Vts Vs 102
144. Ibid Vs 36, See also Buchman Francis Vol III. Mentions that fisherman and the traders worship Jeting (Joting) He is supposed to protect the boats and merchandise. If he is not worshipped he destroys them p 156. Jeting is one of the evil spirits and Vetāla is supposed to be the chief of evil spirits . See also Dhume Shenvi Vinayak Nārāyan Devabhumi (m4Marathi) op. cit pp 256- 257.
145. Mores George The Kadamba Kula see plate 25.
146. In Rāmnāthi temple the presiding deity is Rāmnāthi and Vetāla is a parivār devatā and in Nāgeshi temple also Vetāla is a parivār devatā.
147. Bhatt Gururaj P. op. cit pp 359-364

148. Kosambi D.D. op. cit p 168 see also Saldanha Jerome op. cit p 51.
149. Pereira Rui Gomes op. Cit pp 217- 218.
150. Dange S.A. op. cit p 630 See also Vts vs 69.
151. Dulery G. A. The Cult of Vithobā p 183.
152. Tendulkar S. D. Hadakon yethil redyyachi raktalanchit jātrā (Marathi) In Gomantak (Sunday supplementary) 13th December 1987 Panaji.
153. Pereira Rui Gomes Hindu temples and Deities pp 210- 211.
154. Dhume Shenvi Vinayak Devbhumi Gomantak op. cit p 224
155. Saletore B.A. Karnataka and trans-oceanic contacts p 66 see also Pereira Gomes Rui Hindu temples and deities. pp 147, 149.
156. Heras Henry "Pre-Portuguese antiquities in Portuguese India " In JBHS IV.
157. Gune V.T. Ancient shrines of Goa. plate 60. 3000-
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158. Pereira Gomes Rui see plate 34.1
159. Kosambe. Satyavan, Shri Paikdev devasthan (Sange) chā Kalosthav published in Rashtramat dated 17th March 1988.
160. Kittel's Dictionary of dadda is a blockheaded stupid dottish ignorant man, p 768.
161. Pereira Gomes Rui op. cit pp 63, 68, 69, 71, 72, 87, 104.
162. Percira Gomes RUI op cit.p 202.
see also Dhume Shenvi Anant Ramkrishna op.cit.
163. Mitragotri V.R. "memorial monuments of Silahara and Kadamba period " In Goa cultural Pàttern p 63 see also Dhume Shenvi Anant Ramkrishna. op. cit p 80.

CHAPTER VIII

ICONOGRAPHY

In the Chapter V the important sects of Hinduism such as Vaisnavism, Saivism and Shakti cult have been discussed. In the subsequent chapter VI and VII the important female deities and male deities have been dealt with. Hence it would be appropriate to deal in this chapter the iconography of important deities like Visnu, Siva, Ganesh, Kārtikeya, Brahma, Mahishāsūramardini and Mahishāsūramardini depicted in boat and Saptamātrikās. In Chapter V references to the various aspects of Visnu and his ten incarnations has been made. Therefore, only reference to the newly discovered image of Krishna holding churning-rod is made in this chapter. As regards the iconography of Ravalnāth and Vetāla it may be mentioned that the majority of the images are similar and these features have been dealt with in chapter VII. Therefore, in Saiva iconography only important aspects such as different types of lingās from Goa, Umāsaḥitsiva and Sadāsiva have been discussed.

Iconography of Navanita-Krishna (Plate No. 20)

In April, 1992 in Vichundrem village of Sanguem taluka Navanita-Krishna depicted with two hands, was discovered. In his right hand he is holding butter and in his left hand he is holding a churning-rod and this is not intact. This type of

Krishna images holding churning rod have been classified as Kadagolu - Krishna images.¹ The Kannada word for churning-rod is Kadagolu. Hence this type of Krishna has been named as above. Navanita - Krishna and Kadagolu-Krishna images are of infant Krishna and these are associated with his childhood. However, Kadagolu-Krishna from Vichundrem is depicted as an adult. He is wearing a crown (Kiritamukuta), bracelets and anklets. He has been adorned with vaijayanti necklace (māla) which has reached below the knees. From the above description it is evident that the stone sculpture of Krishna is not primarily of Navanita-Krishna nor primarily of Kadagolu-Krishna but both themes are combined in one.

Madras Museum has in its collection bronzes of Navanita-Krishna. Krishna is shown in these bronzes standing on left leg which is bent slightly at the knee-joint. The right leg is lifted inwards and is shown in dancing pose. The right hand is shown in assurance giving (abhaya) pose or shown holding butter (Navanita). The left arm is stretched extended outwards.² From Dakshina Kannada both Navanita-Krishna and Kadagolu-Krishna images have been reported. Among Navanita Krishna bronzes the earliest belongs to the c. 1500 A. D. However, Kadagolu-Krishna bronzes are of c. 1600 A. D.³ Taking the above factors into consideration, the stone sculpture of Kadagolu-Krishna from Vichundrem may be the fore-runner of these types of icons on the west coast.

b) Iconography of Siva

In many regions of India Siva was first worshipped aniconically in the form of linga. The antiquity of linga worship goes back to Indus Valley Civilisation. The linga was depicted on the coins from c. 300 B.C. and the tradition continued upto 400-500 A. D.⁴ On the basis of Sanskrit texts exhaustive classification of the various types of lingas is furnished in EHI vol. IIpt. I. The lingas are divided into two main types - immovable lingas (Achala lingas) and movable lingas (chala lingas). Besides these two main types, the references to other types such as metal lingas (lohaja lingas) lingas set up by men (manusha linga) are the main types of lingas mentioned.⁵

The linga is divided into three parts. The lowest part is Brahmabhaga, the middle portion is Visnubhāga and the topmost portion is pujya-bhāga or rudrabhaga which is meant for worship. The other two parts are inserted into yonipitha. On the pujya-bhāga the lines called Brahma-Sutrās are found.⁶ As regards the application of the above classification to the lingas found in Goa it may be stated that the best example of svayambhu linga (self wrought) could be Chandreshwar which is the part of hillock itself. The reference to the metal linga (lohaja linga) is found in SKH and according to this Purana Saptakoteshwar was a linga of five metals (panchaloha). Thus it was a lohaja linga.⁷ In

addition to the above lingas, there are lingas from the rock-cut caves of Aravalem, Surla and Lamgaon (all in Bicholim). In rock-cut caves of Mangeshi in Ponda only yoni-pitha is remaining . In Consua village of Mormugao taluka the linga from the rock-cut cave was detached from yoni-pitha and was lying in a pond in the vicinity of the cave. Subsequently the linga from the cave was acquired by the State Museum of Goa in 1985 ~~(State Museum, Old Goa)~~. The lingas belonging to Kadambas period are displayed at Old Goa Museum. Therefore, the study of these lingas facilitate understanding the evolution and the date of the lingas from Goa.

Post-6th century A. D. lingas were divided into only two parts (dvibhāga) namely lower longer square part and the shorter upper part was cylindrical which was meant for worship (pujyabhaga). The lingas of Aravalem Pissurlem and Consua are dvibhaga type. The first three lingas are marked on vertical side lines (parsva-sutrās) but these vertical lines are called brahma-sutras according to Matsya Purana. These Brahma Sutras are not found on the lingas of Aravalem, Pissurlem and Consua. The post 6th century lingas are divided into three parts (tridha). References to such tridha linga is found in Brihatsamhita. These three parts are namely circular top most portion, the middle octagonal portion and the bottom square portion. Mitterwallner has taken the above iconographic texts into consideration and dated the lingas of Aravalem to

the first quarter of the 5th century A.D.⁸

From the writings of the Mitterwallner it is discernible that she is not aware of the existence of the rock-cut caves of Consua which is in Mormugao taluka. This cave has a square yonipitha. This could be also classified as dvibhāga type and has no parsva-sutrās on the puja-bhaga. Moreover, the lower part of the linga is not given the perfect square shape and it had remained cylindrical and unfinished. The description of the linga furnished above clearly indicates that it is one of the earliest lingas from Goa. Incidentally, the linga of Consua and the rock-cut cave in which it was worshipped are very close to the ancient site of the Mangesh temple of Kushasthali. Perhaps gifts made to two Brahmins Govindaswami and Indraswami mentioned in the copper plate of Devaraja of Siroda copper plate were for worshipping the linga of Consua.⁹

Square - yonipithas are found in the rock-cut caves of Aravalem, Consua and Mangeshi. The antiquity of such square yonipitha goes back to early Kushana period.¹⁰ As far as Goa and Deccan are concerned, such types of yonipithas became common from c. 400 A. D. These square yonipitha was salient feature of the linga of the linga of early Chālukyan period.¹¹ Therefore, the lingas with square yonipithas could be dated from c. 400-700 A. D.

In addition to the above important characteristic of early Chalukyan linga, Aravalem cave has two lingas with inscriptions. On the linga which is aniconically representing Sun (Surya) has one line inscription Sāmbalur vāsi Ravih (Ravi the resident of Sāmbalur). This inscription is palaeographically dated c. 600 A. D. However, recent studies have revealed that the date of the above inscriptions may be one century later i.e. c. 700 A.D.¹² On the linga which is representing Siva himself has yet another inscription in box-headed Brahmi characters. On the paleographic grounds, this inscription is dated to c. 500 A.D.¹³ It seems this linga having the inscription of c. 500 A.D. has been fashioned out of a pillar from the temple which is not far away from the caves of Aravalem. During the period of the excavation of Aravalem caves (c. 700 A.D.) , the temple of Siva from which the pillar was converted into linga was in dilapidated condition. No proper care was taken by the sculptor while converting pillar into linga and hence the part of the inscriptions has been damaged and lost. Therefore, this inscription also provides the clue that all the lingas of Aravalem are post ^{6th} century A.D.

The next stage of the development of the linga can be noticed in Lamgaon (Bicholim)----- The linga which has been inserted in yonipitha does not belong to this yonipitha. This pitha has hour-glass decoration and could be

compared to yonipitha or Virupāksha temple of Pattadakal which was constructed during the early Chalukyan ruler Vikramaditya VI 733-4 to 744-5 A.D. However, the style of yonipitha does not provide clue for dating as this might have been installed during later period.¹⁴

Linga from Ela and Chandor are displayed at Old Goa Museum (Plate No. 23). As regards these two lingas the top most portion (rudra bhāga or pujya bhāga) is cylindrical middle portion (Visnubhāga) is polygonal or the lowest portion (brahma bhāga) is square. On the linga of Chandor sutra juncture have turned angular. In the last stage of the evolution of meeting point (junction) of Brahma sutra have become angular. The place of inclination is not closer but it has become wider.¹⁵ Three important temples dedicated to Siva were destroyed by the Portuguese in the 16th century A.D. These are namely Saptakoteshwar, Rāmnathi and Mangesh. The lingas from those temples would have provided additional evidence in the study of the development of the linga in the region of Goa.

Lingas were in worship in Goa from fourth century A.D. There are evidences of the worship of iconic representation of Siva from the latter part of the 6th century A.D. In Aravalem caves the aniconic representation of Siva, Surya and Kārtikeya were cosecrated. Stone Sculpture of Siva, Ganapati and Kārtikeya began to appear in the region of Goa during the

same period.

Sadāsiva

The stone sculpture of Sadāsiva is displayed in the Museum of Old Goa and had been incorrectly identified as Kārtikeya. Recently Archaeological Survey has made correction on the label as five-headed God (Plate No.24). This sculpture is broken at the main waist level and is in tribhaga posture. Sadāsiva wears a jatāmukuta and round flat ear-ring (Kundalas) are found in the ears of the lateral left face as well as right face also adorned with earrings. Sadasiva has necklace (hāra) and sacred thread (yajanopavita) on the chest.

From the position of the heads it is evident that the sixth face was not present either on the right side or on the left side. On the right hand side bud motif has been chiseled and this clearly shows that the sixth face was not present. If the sixth face would have been chiseled it would have been at the lower level than the fifth face and that is improbable. Moreover, no Kārtikeya sculpture, have been reported with jatāmukuta. Similar incorrect identification of Sadasiva stone sculpture have been reported and these are either worshipped as Brahma or Kartikeya.¹⁶ Therefore, the sculpture which is being dealt presently is not of Kartikeya but it is of Sadāsiva.

Sadāsiva sculpture which have been studied are different

from Sadāsiva sculptures of Old Goa Museum. Stone sculpture of Sadāsiva appear from the beginning of c. 900 A. D. and these are commonly depicted with three heads in front. Only after 17th century change in the arrangement of head can be noticed in Sadāsiva bronzes and paintings.¹⁷ Even in the Sadāsiva stone sculpture from Margao displayed in the State Museum of Goa, fifth head is placed over the central head.

The five faces of Siva according to Rupamandana an iconographic text of 15th century are Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpurush and Isāna. Sadyojāta, faces the west Vāmadeva faces the North, Aghora faces South, Tatpurush faces the East and Isāna faces upwards. The central face is considered as Isāna.¹⁸

The above stone sculpture of Sadāsiva from Old Goa Museum belongs to the period of transition from Chalukya to Rastrkuta which corresponds to Southern Silāhāra period in Goa.

A Sadāsiva stone sculpture was discovered in 1964 in the precincts of Holy Spirit Church Madgaon while digging for the foundation and is displayed in the State Museum of Goa. (Plate No. 25-26) The faces of Sadāsiva have been mentioned above. Tatpurush and Sadyojāta broader and lateral faces Aghora and Vāmadeva are smaller as these were positioned on the shoulder. But the lower part of the sculpture below the neck is broken

and missing. Isāna is at the top and smaller than the other four faces of Sadāsiva. All the faces of Sadāsiva are not of the same size and the top head of Isāna is smaller. Hence this stone sculpture has been incorrectly identified as Chaturmukhi Siva. Isāna has been taken as Gangā who is supposed to be on the head of Siva. However, the top head is not of Ganga but it is of Isāna. The Jata which is on Isāna is worn out. However, Jatā pattern has remained at the rear which clearly indicates that the top head is that of Isāna.

As mentioned in the Uttara-Kamikagama all the five heads of Sadāsiva have jatāmukuta.¹⁹ At the commencement of jatāmukuta skulls are depicted in low relief and forms of skulls on all sides. It looks like a neck-lace of skulls tied around Sadāsiva.²⁰ On Madgaon stone sculpture of Sadāsiva there are ear-rings (kundalās) and the four faces of Siva have third eye on the fore-head. This Sadāsiva stone sculpture of Madgaon belongs to c. 1000A. D.

Umāsaahasiva

This theme seems to be popular in Goa from the beginning to c. 700 A. D. till c. 1300 A. D. Six Umāsaahasiva have been documented from Goa. The important temples dedicated to Siva were destroyed and hence many important sculptures may have also been destroyed. Old Goa Museum has in its collection three stone sculptures of Umāsaahasiva. One stone sculpture of

Umāsaḥitsiva is displayed in the State Museum of Goa. There is yet another Umāsaḥitsiva from Nāgeshi temple of Bandivade. One more Umāsaḥitsiva is depicted on Tambdi Surla temple.

In the stone sculpture from Kudne Bicholim Siva and Pārvati (Umā) both are standing in tribhanga and both are armed (plate No. 17) This stone sculpture is not intact Torana is broken and the figure of Pārvati is broken at the level of waist. Siva is wearing a jatāmukuta has ear-rings (kundalas) necklaces (hāra) and has sacred thread (yajanopavita). Parvati has crown (mukuta) on her head ear-rings (Kundalās) can be seen in her ears. She is adorned with necklaces (hāras). Both Siva -Pārvati have bracelets (kankanās). The right hand of Siva is in the pose of assurance (abhaya) and the left hand is embracing Pārvati through her right shoulder encircling her rear side of the neck and it has reached below her left arm. Pārvati's right arm is positioned in the similar fashion described above and has reached the right arm of Siva. Pārvati is holding cornucopia in her left hand.

There is yet another stone sculpture of Umāsaḥitsiva from Curdi Sanguem displayed in Old Goa Museum. ~~→~~ The head of Siva was broken and it has been restored. Siva is sitting on his mount (Vāhana) Nandi. In his upper right hand there was trident (Trisul). the front right hand is broken. On the left lap of Siva, Pārvati is sitting. In the upper left arm Siva is holding snake (Sarpa). The lower left arm is

embracing Parvati. The right arm of Parvati is embracing Siva. The left arm of Parvati is broken Siva is portrayed with necklaces (hāras) sacred thread (yajanopavita) and bracelets (Kankanās). Parvati is also shown with necklaces (hāras) and ear-rings (kundalās). Pārvati's hair is tied in the shape of a beautiful bun. On the pedestal Kārtikeya can be noticed on the right. Ganapati is seen in the left and at the center an attendant holding a club like object is depicted.

There is yet another Umā-Sahitsiva from Éla in Ṛiswadi Taluka. This is the largest and most exquisitely chiseled Umā-Sahitsiva from Goa. Both heads of both Siva and Umā are broken. In St. Cajetan church promises a door jamb of Hindu temple is preserved. The above stone sculptures may have been one of the sculptures from the wall (bhitti) of this temple. Siva and Umā are both adorned with bracelets (Kankanās) armlets (angadas) anklets. On the left side Umā godha (alligator) is depicted. one of the earliest of depictions of godha is shown in association of twelve armed goddess of Mahāshāsūrmardini from Udayagiri caves and can be dated to 500 A. D. The depiction of godha on Pārvati icons medieval period became popular in M. P. and godha is found in association with Umā even in South India.²¹

The state Museum of Goa has only stone sculpture of Umā and portion on which Siva was depicted has been lost. Umā and Siva were standing in tribhanga. But now only Umā is

standing in tribhanga is present as portion on which Siva is depicted is completely broken. The face of Umā is completely worn out. Umā has bracelets (Kankanās). On the left side of Uma the left hand of Siva embracing Parvati can be seen. This stone sculpture belongs to Southern Silahara period (c. 900 A. D.) In the niche of mukha- mandapa of Mahadeva temple of Tambdi Surla Umāsahitsiva has been chiseled out. Siva is wearing crown (mukuta) in his upper right hand he is holding kettle drum (damaru) and lower right hand is assurance giving postures (abhaya) Umā is sitting on the left lap of Siva. In Siva's upper left hand trident (Trisul) is seen. His mount (Vrishabha) is below. Umāsahitsiva from Tambdi Surla temple can be dated to c. 1300. A. D.

Ganesa

Ganesa or Ganapati is the remover of obstacles (Vighneshwara). He is worshipped before the commencement of important rituals and ceremonies by Hindus. The early images of Ganesa Goa may have been carved during the rule of Badami Chalukyas. Such early images of Ganesa were either standing or seated and has only two hands.²² Four stone sculptures of sitting Ganesa with only two arms have been found during the course of survey

Reddi was the regional capital of Badami Chalukyas on the west Coast and Goa was the part of Iridige Vishaya. The huge

sculpture of Ganesa is chiseled in a laterite cave of Reddi. It is an integral part of the cave. The trunk is turned towards the left and the tusk is broken. The right hand is in the assurance giving pose (abhaya mudra) and the left hand Ganesa is holding sweets (modaka). The sacred thread (yajno pavita) can be seen on the body. the cave was filled with debris and after the debris clearance the sculpture of Ganesa was discovered. The devotees have plastered the stone sculpture of Ganesa and hence it has lost the original features. Ganesa from laterite cave from Reddi belongs to c. 600 - 700 A. D.

Ganesa from Curdi is carved in schist and is displayed at Old Goa Museum. Objects held in his hands are not distinct. The trunk and ^{large} ~~not~~ belly are depicted. The two handed Ganesa also belongs to early Chalukyan period (c.600 - 700 A. D.)

Ganesa stone sculpture of schist is in the collection of Pilar Seminary Museum. ~~.....~~ > The trunk ears and the feet are broken and only torso has remained. Ganesa had two arms. He has sacred thread (yajanopavita) and udarbandha below the chest and necklace (hāra). Among two armed Ganesa sculptures of Reddi and Curdi this is the only Ganesa sculpture with bejewelled head-dress.

Ganesa stone sculpture from Kudne (Bicholim) is carved in schist (plate No.28.). The position of the left hand

indicates that Ganesa had sweets (modaka) and the trunk is touching modaka. The object held in right hand is worn out and thus it is not distinct. The head-dress of Ganesa had some decorations but these are not distinct. The image of Ganesa from Kudne belongs to c. 600 - 700 A.D. The above mentioned three stone sculptures of Ganesa show that these do not have crown (Kirita mukuta) and his mount mouse is not shown. From this also it is evident that these are the early Ganesa sculptures from Goa.²³

Next stage in the development of iconography of Ganesa can be noticed in the four armed stone sculptures of Ganesa from Korgaon (Pedne) (plate No. 29) Vichundrem (Sanguem) (plate No. 30) Chandreshwar (Quepem) (~~-----~~) and Siroda (Ponda). The earliest four armed Ganesa stone sculpture from Goa region is from Korgaon. This Ganesa has four arms but the objects held by Ganesa in upper right hand and upper left hand are not distinct. Ganesa is holding in lower right hand radish (mulak) and he is holding in lower left hand sweets (modaka). This Ganesa from Korgaon belongs to c. 700 A.D.

Ganesa stone sculpture from Vichundrem (Sanguem) belongs to the similar of four armed type images. Ganesa is shown with crown (Kirit mukuta). The long trunk has turned towards left and is touching the sweets (modaka) held in the lower left hand. In the upper right hand battle axe (Parashu) and in the lower right hand Ganesa is holding radish (mulak) Ganesa is

adorned with anklets. Yajanopavita can be seen on his chest. Mouse, the mount of Ganesa is not depicted on the pedestal. Ganesa from Vichundrem belongs to c. 900 - 1000 A.D.

In the four handed images the objects held in hand are battle axe (Parashu) , radish (mulak) lotus (Padma) and bowl containing sweet (modaka). These above three stone sculptures of Ganesa bear distinct Hoyasala influence and belong to Kadamba period c. 1100-1200 A.D. Plates 37, 38 and 39.²⁴

The reference to worship of Kārtikeya are found in the copper plate of Badami Chalukyas discovered on the borders of North Goa.²⁵ Like aniconic representation of Surya and ~~aniconic representation of~~ found in Aravalem, aniconic representation of Kārtikeya is also found in the same rock-cut cave of Aravalem cell No. 4. Kārtikeya is aniconically represented in the form of spear (Shakti) which is sunk into the pitha. The iconic representations are found in Korgaon of Pedne taluka of Goa. (plate no. 33) The beautiful stone sculpture of Kārtikeya of Badami Chalukyas of c. 700 A.D. has been acquired by the State Museum of Goa. This Kārtikeya has two hands but both are broken. However, on the basis of the position of hands, it can be presumed that in the right hand Kārtikeya had a heavy spear (Shakti) cock (Kukkuta) tucked at his left hip by his left hand.²⁶ It seems after this image was worn out a new image of Kārtikeya was consecrated during Southern Silāhāra period and this image is still in worship. The new image of Kārtikeya is

also two armed and in the right hand he is holding a heavy spear (Shakti) and in the left he is holding cock(Kukkuta) Carpenters of Korgaon who worship Kārtikeya do not worship him as Kārtikeya but as Kuvaleshwara.²⁷

Brahma

There is no independent cult of Brahma as he was cursed by Siva not to receive any worship.²⁸ A few well known shrines of Brahma have been mentioned by the authorities and these are Dudahi and Khajurao (Madhya Pradesh, Vasantgadh (Rajasthan) Khed Brahma.²⁹ Besides these shrines reference may be made to the shrine of Brahma from Colomb (Sanguem taluka). There he is the affiliating deity (Parivār devatā) of Shāntādurgā.³⁰ In addition to this parivar devatā of Sanguem taluka of Goa, mention may be made to the two parivar devatā shrines of Brahma from Pedne taluka of Parse and Virnoda.³¹

Reference to the worship of Brahma occur in the copper plates of Nerur belonging to Badami Chalukya ruler Mangalesa. In another copper plate of Badami Chalukyas reference to the village of Parse (Parshvasu) which is in the Pedne taluka occurs.³² Pedne taluka which is very close to Revatidvipa Iridige vishaya (Reddi) the regional capital of Badami Chalukyas was under the direct influence of Badami Chalukyas. In view of this, Brahma worship spread in this region during the period of early Chalukyas.

Now image of Brahma was consecrated at Colomb in 1987, and the earlier image has been acquired by the State Museum of Goa. The stone sculpture of Brahma is worn out and features have been obliterated. Brahma in standing (Sthānaka) in samabhanga position with a crown (Kiritamukuta). He has beard on only central face that has a sacred thread (yajanopavita). In the rear right hand he has ladle like objects called sruka which is used in performing rituals. In the front right hand he is holding rosary (akshamalā) and this hand is in blessing posture (abhaya mudra). In the rear left hand he is holding staff (dandi) which is used in Hindu rituals.³³ In the front left hand he is holding vessel called Kamandalu. The three objects held by Brahma namely, sruva has ritualistic significance dandi, akshamalā in the right hand, noose (pāsa) and Kamandalu in the left hands. His four heads symbolise four vedas and he officiated as the priest in the wedding of Siva-Parvati. Swan (hansa) the mount (vahana) of Brahma is shown at the bottom of Torana on the right. On the left an attendant holding flywhisk (chowri bearer) is shown.

(Plate 34)

There is yet another Brahma stone sculpture from Carmoli (Sattari taluka). (Plate No. 35) This village has received a separate identity on account of the independent shrine of Brahma and has been designated as Brahma-Carmoli. The stone sculpture of Brahma from here is one of the best specimens of Kadamba art. Like Brahma from Sopara, the stone sculpture, of

the Carmoli Brāhma has beard for the central face. The sages were supposed to have beard. In this respect Brahma is similar to them. Brahma in his front right hand is holding rosary (akshamala) and the hand is in the blessing pose (varada) and in the rear right-hand he is holding sacrificial ladle (Sruka). In the front left hand he is holding ghee pot (ajya-sthali). In the rear left-hand he is holding book (Pustaka). The consorts of Brahma Savitri and Saraswati are shown standing on either side of Brahma

Three small niches found in the intricate torana are housing tiny images of the deities . The central niche has Ganapati, Vrishabhavāhanasiva is in the right hand side niche and Visnu is found in left hand side niche. In stone sculpture of Nārāyana from Mulgaon (Bicholim) taluka, such niches are found and in these niches the deities have been carved out. The central niche has Brahma. In the right hand side niche Ganapati is housed and in the left hand side niche Siva is found. This practice of carving the other deities along with the main deity indicates the syncretic trend and spirit of tolerance.

In Parse Shāntādurgā temple Brahma is a Parivār devatā. The stone image of Brahma is four armed and has the objects in the hands which are found in earlier images. This stone sculpture of Brahma has been incorrectly ascribed to Chalukyas, period c. 700 A.D.³⁴ However, the inferior modeling

lack of plasticity, ugly chin, cylindrical hands and stiff body clearly indicate that it is not of early Chalukya period but belongs to c. 1800 A.D.³⁵

Brahma who occupies the position of parivār devatā in Virnoda and has not been chiseled out completely like other stone sculptures of Brahma from Goa. But his four heads have been carved out and placed on a square vertical block of stone of about one meter height. The earlier head of Brahma was worn out and hence the present image was consecrated. The ancient head of Brahma from here is displayed in Old Goa Museum. This head of Brahma belongs to c. 900 A.D. Silāhārā period. In the earlier sculptures and in the present sculpture of Brahma which is in worship, the eyes are shown closed as if Brahma is in deep meditation. This is characteristic of the image (pratimā lakshana) prescribed according to Visnu Purana.³⁶

Only Brahma Carmoli image is the ancient image and is still in worship. In Parse, Virnoda and Colomb image of Brahma have been reconsecrated during recent period. Though Brahma cult is not popular, still Brahma is being worshipped even at present by the people of Goa.

Sun (Surya)

It seems that sun worship was introduced by Magha and Bhojas who came from Sakadvipa. Reference to the later has been made in chapter I. Goa has one of the earlier epigraphic

evidences of Sun worship in Western India. In Aravalem, a single line inscription on a circular disc symbolically representing Sun reads Sāmbalur vāsi Ravih. This means Ravi the resident of Sambalur. This inscription is palaeographically ascribed to c. 7th century A. D. Reference to the various epithets such as Prabhakar, Diwakar and Adityashreshti found in the copper plate of Bhojas clearly show that people were and naming of their children after Surya. The evidence of Sun worship from Aravalem is aniconic representation.³⁷ There are six sun images from Goa. Two are displayed in Old Goa. (One from Kudne and other from Diwadi) Four Sun images are with State Museum of Goa.

Both stone sculptures of Sun from Kudne and Madagaon have the characteristics of North Indian Sun images. On Kudne image the Northern influence is more striking as it is the earliest image of Sun round in Goa. The coat of arms (Kundala Kavach) worn by Sun, boots reaching the knees and the attendants Dandi and Pingala depicted on the Sun images of Kudne testify North Indian influence . (Plate No. 35). Sun from Kudne is holding full blown lotuses. Madagaon stone sculpture of Sun displayed in the State Museum of Goa, is shown with boots in his feet (Plate No. 37) (North Indian influence) but the upper part is broken and lost. In addition this North Indian influence, the influence from Karnataka (Southern) can be also seen in two goddesses Ushā and Pratyusha shown shooting the arrows

depicted on the stone sculpture of Madagaon and Diwadi. The carving out Ushā and Pratyusha might have been introduced in Goa during Kadamba period.

A small stone sculpture of Sun was discovered from Sanguem caves located on Netravali river in 1980 and has been acquired by the State Museum of Goa. This belongs to Vijayanagara period.

Only pedestal image was lying in the vicinity of Maruti temple of Altinho, Panaji, depicting seven horses. From this it is evident that it is the pedestal of Sun image but the Sun image is lost. This pedestal has been acquired by the State Museum of Goa in 1977. Sun image found at Altinho was perhaps was one of the Parivar devatas of the temple of Taleigaon.

Syncretic icon of Sun, Martanda - Bhairava (Plate No. 38)

It is evident from the the reference made to the anionic syncretic trend of Mārtanda-Bhairava, that this cult was current in Goa from c. 700 A. D. Icon of Mārtanda-Bhairava from North India have been reported.³⁸ State Museum of Goa has stone sculpture of Mārtanda - Bhairava from Par_Usgaon (Ponda). Commonly in all images of Surya, he is shown lotus flowers in both hands. But in this syncretic icon, in the left hand Sun, is holding lotus bud and in the right hand he is holding the sword (Khadga). No Sun images holding sword in hands have been reported. Virabhadra an aspect of Siva is

depicted with sword in his hand. Moreover, on the forehead of the deity linga is symbolically depicted.³⁹ Mārtanda-Bhairava is shown with beard and mustache. He is wearing sandals and on the pedestals seven horses are shown. These characteristics clearly indicates Mārtanda (Sun) aspect. On the right side of Mārtanda-Bhairava the Sun of Surya Revanta is standing with his vehicle horse and Dandi is depicted with a stile.

An attempt was made to identify the above sculpture as Revanta by over looking the linga depicted on the forehead of Martanda-Bhairava and the sword held in the right.⁴⁰ Combination of these two aspects namely of Surya and Bhāirava clearly indicate that this is syncretic icon or Mārtanda-Bhairava.

Mahishāsūramardini

It has been already pointed out in chapter V on religion that the female deities like Elā, Parvati and Mahishāsūramardini were worshipped in Goa by 5th century A. D. Mahishāsūramardini was the popular goddess. She was the epitome of all the goddesses such as Elā, Parvati, Sāteri, Shāntādurgā, Mahāmaya and Kāmakshi. There are deities designated as Navadurgā Vijayadurgā. However, Mahishāsūramardini image is only worshipped as Navadurgā and Vijayadurgā.

From 6th century onwards four armed Mahishāsūramardini

stone sculpture became common. These four armed stone sculpture continue upto Vijayanagara period. But eight armed Mahishāsūramardini stone sculptures are not common and only two such sculptures have been noticed. These are namely from Netravali and Kerim.⁴¹ On the way to rock-cut caves to Lamgaon (Bicholim), the stone sculpture of Mahishāsūramardini is lying in open air (Plate No. 39). It is fortunately better preserved. The goddess has four hands but one left hand is broken. The photograph was taken by keeping the hand in the proper position. The goddess is shown with no crown (kiritmukuta). She is wearing ear-rings (Kundala), necklace(hāra), and bracelets (Kankanās). Goddess shown with heavy breasts. In upper right hand she is holding trident (Trisul) and piercing it on the ear of buffalo (mahisha) and the right foot is pressed on the mount of buffalo. The lower right hand is resting on the knee of right leg and she is holding sword, ^{in this hand} Trishul on the snout of buffalo. The left hand is on the back of buffalo. In the other left hand which is broken, the goddess is holding the bell(ghantā). Lamgaon Mahishāsūramardini has early Chalukyan characteristics and belongs to c. 600 A. D.

The stone sculpture of Mahishāsūramardini Korgaon belongs to the period of transition from later Badami Chalukyas to Rastrakutas (Early Southern Silahara) in Goa. (Plate No. 40A). The stone sculpture was entangled in the roots of fig tree and

it was taken out by Gritli Mitterwallner. Both Mahishasuramardini stone sculpture are wearing crown (Kiritmukuta). However, the weapons held in the hands are different. There is a similarity in the weapons held on this sculpture and Lamgaon Mahishāsūramardini. But in Lamgaon sculpture, the position of buffalo is depicted differently. The head of buffalo is below the right foot and hind part is raised and the left hand is resting on the hind part. In Korgaon Mahishāsūramardini the hind part of the buffalo is below the right foot. Goddess is pressing the back of buffalo by means of trident (Trisul) held in right hand. In other right hand which is resting on knee of the right leg goddess is holding sword. In the upper left hand goddess is holding bell and through her left hand, she is pulling the tongue of buffalo, the features of the stone sculpture are worn out.

The second stone sculpture of Mahishāsūramardini from Korgaon is different from the above image (Plate No.40-B). The body of the buffalo is twisted completely. The goddess is lifting the hind leg of buffalo by means of lower left hand and the leg of the buffalo has reached the waist of the goddess. In the upper right hand, goddess is holding trident (Trisul) and piercing it on the mount. In lower right hand there is a small dagger. In the lower left hand goddess is holding the bell (ghantā). The features are better preserved. The goddess is shown with various ornaments such as ear-

ornaments, necklace (hāra) armlets and bracelets etc. Another stone sculptures of the goddess was lying in the ruins of temple at Vichundrem (Sanguem). In April, 1992 (Plate No. 41). This sculpture of the goddess has been acquired by the Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum. The sculpture is broken at the centre at the waist and one left hand is also broken. The goddess is wearing crown (Kiritmukuta), ear-rings (Kundalās), Goddess is also shown with anklets. She is pressing the right foot at the back of buffalo. By front hand she is piercing trident(trisul). In the rear right hand she is holding sword (Khadga). The demon Mahishāsura is depicted in theriomorphic as well as anthropomorphic form. Actually demon is shown appearing from the neck of the buffalo and the demon looks helpless and is being pulled by the goddess through her front left hand. In another left hand the goddess is holding shield (Khetak). The mount of the goddess the lion is depicted on the right hand is shown attacking the buffalo but the head of the lion is broken. This Mahishāsuramardini sculpture from Vichundrem belongs to c. 900- 1000 A. D.

There are two eight armed Mahishāsuramardini stone sculpture in Goa. One of them was worshipped as Vijayadurga in Keri (Ponda), the second image is from Netravali (Sanguem). The position of the buffalo in both stone sculptures has been differently portrayed. In Keri image the hind part of the buffalo is being lifted upwards towards right hand side.

Buffalo demon is depicted in theriomorphic as well as anthropomorphic form. From the neck of the buffalo demon has appeared and his hair is being pulled by the main left hand and in the topmost left hand goddess is holding the bell. In other two hands objects are not distinct. Objects held in four right hands are also indistinct. Goddess is shown with crown (Kiritmukuta). She adorned with ear-ornaments (Kundalas) and necklace (hara). This eight armed stone sculpture of Mahishāsūramardini belongs to c. 1000 A. D. Through right foot the goddess is pressing the right hand of the demon.

In Netravali (Sanguem) stone sculpture of Mahishasuramardini, the demon is not depicted in anthropomorphic form but only in theriomorphic form. Goddess is holding the snout of buffalo through her main left hand objects held in her other three hands are not clearly seen. In upper right hand goddess is holding trident (Trisul) and is pressing it on the back of the buffalo. Objects held in other three hands are not distinct. The stone sculpture is worn out. However, there is movement in the sculpture and the goddess is depicted in aggressive pose.

There are two four armed Mahishāsūramardini sculptures with Hoyasala influence from Surla (Bicholim) and Quepem Devulwada. (Plate No. 42) Though both are four armed, there is difference in the objects and the position of the buffalo. In Surla Mahishāsūramardini goddess holds in her

upper right hand trident (Trisul) and the lower right hand is broken. In the upper left hand there is conch (Shankha), and through her lower left arm the goddess is pulling the tongue of the buffalo. Goddess is trampling buffalo demon through her left foot.

There is one more Mahishāsūramardini stone sculpture, from Quepem and this has been acquired by that State Museum of Goa. Mahishāsūramardini in her upper right hand holds sword (Khadga). Through lower right arm, she is holding dagger and is to attack the demon. the demon is shown in theriomorphic as well as anthromorphic form but he is not appearing from the neck. Demon is shown lying on the back of Buffalo. Goddess is holding shield through her lower left hand . She is exerting pressure on the face of the demon. The pressure exerted by the goddess on the face of the demon has been skillfully depicted by the sculptor. Considerable pressure, tension and movement can be noticed on the hand through which the goddess is pressing the the face. The right hand side mount (vāhana) of the goddess (lion) is shown standing.

Ornaments can be seen on both the sculptures. The necklaces, horns and ear-rings are deeply carved on Quepem Mahishāsūramardini and bear distinct Hoyasala influence.

Mahishāsūramardini stone sculptures from Vijayanagara period are also depicted with four arms. Mainly holding sword,

shield, trident and through lower left hand the goddess is pulling the tongue of buffalo. Mahishāsūramardini is one of the popular goddesses of Goa.⁴²

Mahishāsūramardini depicted in boat

There are three stone sculptures of Mahishāsūramardini depicted in boat. All three sculptures are of schist. Two sculptures are from Guleli is not a large boat from Guleli is not a large boat but a country craft or canoe. (Plate 43) But the image including boat are broken. Two large flakes of boat have come out and are lying on the ground. On each side a male figure clad in dhoti which is above the knees is shown. The position of these figures clearly indicate that they are boat men. However, only one boatman is seen as the other part is broken. In boat series of five human heads are depicted. The goddess is sitting on a seat (āsana). The head and the left part of the body is broken. By fixing the broken parts an attempt was made to study the image. The paw of the lion can be also seen in the boat. Therefore, it seems a lion was depicted on the boat. Whether the lion was attacking buffalo demon cannot be ascertained as the sculpture is not intact. In the left hand, the goddess holds kettle drum (damaru) shield, dagger and bowl (pātra). This sculpture belongs to Kadamba period. As the other four right hands are broken, which were the objects held in these four hands is not known.

The intact image of Mahishāsūramardini depicted in boat is also with eight hands. In the right four hands she has a sword (Khadga), bell (ghantā), head (nararunda), trident (Trisul). In the left hand she has bowl (pātra), bow(dhanushya) shield(Khetak) kettle drum (Damaru). This stone sculpture belongs c. 1700 - 1800 A. D.

The image of Mahishāsūramardini of Sawarda is also depicted on canoe and five heads are shown on boat. (Plate No. 44) A seat (āsana) has been provided to the goddess. On each side male figure is shown standing as it seems to be a boatman. The boatman on the right hand side is standing gracefully cross-legged. Below the boat, a band of floral motif has been chiseled. The goddess is adorned with Kiritmukuta, ear-rings (Kundalās), necklace(hāra) bracelets(Kankanās, and anklets and girdle (Udarabhandā). The upper garment is visible on the left hand shoulder. The goddess is depicted with eight hands. In the right hand she has sword(Khadga), Head (Nararunda), trident (trisul) and thunderbolt (Vajra). In the left hand she has bowl (pātra) and the noose (pāsa). On each side of the goddess dog with wide open mouth are shown. This stone sculpture of Sawarda belongs to Vijayanagara period.

No images Mahishāsūramardini depicted in boat, either in terracotta, or in painting or in bronze or in stone from other regions of India have been published. Therefore, it would be

pertinent to examine whether there are any iconological references in literature which explain the significance of the motif under study. References to the worship of the goddess of the Dawn (Ushā) the goddess of the Dusk (Sandhyā) and the goddess of the night (Rātri) in Rigvedic hymns.⁴³ In one of the Rigvedic hymns prayer is offered to rātri requesting her to make us cross safely (sutāra). Incidentally the word for boat in Konkani is tar. In Mahābhārat the goddess has been called tārini (6.23.50. In Devi Mahātmya (4.11) the goddess is compared to a boat. You are Durga boat take us across the difficult ocean of existence (durgāsi-durgābahva sāgara nauh)⁴⁴

The above iconological references from Rigveda, Taitareya Aranyaka, Mahābhārat and Devi Mahātmya, clearly reveal how the above theme caught the imagination of the devotee of the goddess (devi) who was well versed in the scriptures mentioned above and he might have instructed the sculptor to chisel out the unique plaques of Mahishāsūramardini depicted in boats. As this rare motif, it is not an exaggeration to call these images as the unique images of Mahishāsūramardini in the annals of Indian art.⁴⁵

Saptamātrikās

The Chalukyas of Badami as well as the Kadambas of Banavasi were the worshipers of Saptamātrikās. Inscriptions of

the Chalukyas found on the northern borders of Goa clearly mention that they were nursed by Saptamātrikās.⁴⁶ Both aniconic representation and the iconic representations of saptamatrikas are found in Goa. Aniconic representation is from the cell No. 6 of Aravalem rock-cut caves. The laterite rock measuring 2.82 mts in length and 2.5 mts in height. has been scooped. This looks like a cupboard. Here eight depressions are dug in a row. Now these depressions are not having aniconic representations of Saptamātrikās. But in these eight sockets there might have been aniconic representation, during the period when the deities were in worship.⁴⁷

Iconic representation of Saptamatrikas are also found in Goa. One such Saptamātrikās panel is displayed in the Museum of Heras Institute, Bombay. (Plate No.459) . On the right hand side Virabhadra is portrayed on the left Ganesa. Starting from the right with Virabhadra, Brāhmi, Maheshavari, Kaumāri, Vaisnavi, Varāhi, Indrāni, Yogeshwari, Chāmunda and Ganesa. Though the panel of Saptamātrikās is deliberately chipped of the mounts (vāhanas) of the respective mātrikas can be easily seen.⁴⁸

only one Saptamātrikā namely Vaisnavi from Chandor which was also from the panel of Saptamatrikas is in the collection of the Heras Institute Museum Bombay. All other mātrikas have been lost. However, on the left hand side of Vaisnavi, the mount swan (hansa) is seen. Therefore, Brāhmi preceded

Vaisnavi.⁴⁹ Both saptamātrika panels belong to c. 900 A.D. The third panel of Saptamātrikās is in the ardhamandapa of Vimaleshvara Temple of Rivona. Unlike Chandor saptamātrikā panel here all the mātrikās are standing and below them are the mounts (vāhanas). The sculpture is worn out and belongs to Kadamba period c. 1000 A.D. (Plate No: 46)

Besides the above two panels of Saptamātrikās there are loose sculptures of Mātrikās displayed in the state Museum of Goa. The stone sculpture of Brāhmi has the mount (vāhana) Swan (hansa) on the pedestal. The upper part of the sculpture is broken. Next to the stone sculpture of Brāhmi, the mātrikā (Chāmundā) is displayed. The goddess is sitting on the dead body. The lion is depicted on the pedestal. A human head (nararunda) is also shown on the pedestal. It is interesting to note two camels on this pedestal. In the list of the Yoginis the goddess (Yogini) who has camel as insignia (lānchana) has been identified as Thākūṣṇī.⁵⁰ The association of Chamunda with Thākūṣṇī it seems has come to Goa from Rajasthan via Gujrat during Kadamba period. Even in Tulunadu (Dakshina Kannada) the goddess is depicted with camels.⁵¹ The upper part of Chāmundā is broken. Brāhmi and Chāmundā belong to Kadamba period c. 1100 A.D. In the Museum of Old Goa the mātrikā Indrāni has been displayed. On the pedestal two elephants have been depicted. Indrāni is holding in her right hand thunderbolt (vajra) in the left hand she is holding

kettle drum(damaru). She is adorned with earrings (pushpa-kundalas) necklaces (hāras). The stone sculpture of Indrāni belongs to c. 1200 A.D.

From the stone sculptures of the deities it is evident that the development of Hindu iconography was similar to the mainland. However, Kadagolu Krishna and Mahishāsoramardini depicted in boat are unique from the region of Goa. Kadagolu Krishna from Goa became the fore-runner of such images of Dakshina Kannada.

R E F E R E N C E S

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 3. Bhatt Gururaj P. see plates 235 and 236D.
 4. Banerjea J. N. DHI pp 113-114, 168-170.
 5. Rao Gopinath T. Op. cit vol. II pt. I pp 75-102.
 6. Mitterwallner Gritli V. "The rock-cut Cave temples of Aravalem" In Madhu shri M.N. Deshpande Festschrift p 172.
 7. SKH vs. 52 p 124.
 8. Mitterwallner Gritli V. "Evolution of the Linga " In Discourse on Siva pp 22-23.
 9. Krishamacaralu G. R. "Siroda plates of Devaraja in EI vol. XXXVI 1941-1942 pp 337-340. see also Gaitonde Gajanan Shastri and Dhume Shenvi Vinayak Narayan Goudapadacharya Samsthan Kaivalyapur Mahamath Samagra itihas (Marathi) p 71
 10. Mitterwallner Gritli V. "Evolution of the linga " In ibid vol. op. cit p 26.
 11. Sundara Rajan K. V. Cave temples of the Deccan p 20,66
 12. Ramesh K.V. "four stone inscriptions" In the EI XXXVII p 292
- Personnel communication with Dr. C. Venkatesh Deputy Superintending Archaeologist ASI Bangalore Sundara Rajan K. V. has also dated Aravalem to c. 700 A.D.
13. Katti Madhav "Aravalem cave inscription " In Epigraphic Society Journal vol. VI pp 138- 139.
 14. Mitterwallner Gritli V. on "Two natural caves and 11 man made caves excavation of Goa " In South Asian Archaeology 1979 p 481.
 15. Mitterwallner Gritli V. "Evolution of the Linga In ibid vol. see illustration on the evolution of linga p 19 particularly Chandor linga on p 24.

16. Sharma B. N. Iconography of Sadasiva p 6.
17. Sharma B. N. op. cit. p 4.
18. Sharma B. N. see plate XX, XXII and XXV.
19. Rao Gopinath E. H I Vol. II p 371
20. Sharma B. N. Op. cit p 4
21. Banerjea M.N. DHI pp 172. 498. See also Trivedi R. D. Iconography of Parvati plates XIX< XX< XXI< XXV and XXXVIII. Except the image published on the plate all other sculptures are from Hinglagarh M.P. The tradition of depicting godha seems to be very popular in this area. Refer to Rajeshwari fig. Umā from State Archaeological Museum of Andhra Pradesh and godha is depicted on the pedestal.
22. Banerjea J. N. op. cit p 35
23. Bhatt Gururaj P. op. cit p 27.
24. Ganesa from Verna (Salcete) is displayed in the State Museum of Goa. II. Ganesa image is in the circumbulatory (pradakshināpath) of Chandreshwar temple of Parvat (quepem).III. Ganesa stone sculpture of Siroda (Ponda).
25. I.A. vol. VII p 43 ibid vol. VIII pp 45, 46 Vol. IX pp 130-132.
26. Sundara Rajan K.V. Indian temples styles p 39
See also Mitterwallner Gritli op cit. p 170
27. Gune V. T. Ancient shrines of Goa plate No. 49-50.
28. Rao Gopinath T.A. EHI vol. II pt. II p 502.
29. Banerjea J. N. DHI p 510.
30. Pereira Braganza De A. B. Ethnographia da India Portuguesa (Portuguese) vol. ii pp 214-215.
31. Pereira Gomes Rui op. cit p 217.
32. Gazetteer of Goa Daman and Diu p 79.
33. Rao Gopinath T.A. EHI vol. I pt. II p508.
34. Gunc V.T. op. cit plate 5 and 5a. Refer to also Dhume Ananta Krishna op. cit p 340 fig No. 23.

35. Mitragotri V. R. "Cultural contacts of Goa with North and South India " In Goa's external relation ed Shirodkar P.P. p 14.
- See also Ramesh K.V. "Four stone inscriptions" In EI vol. XXXVII p 282.
36. Rao Gopinath op. cit vol. 505.
37. Ramesh K > V > op cit. p 282
38. Banerjea J.N. op. cit pp 548- 549.
39. Shastri Krishna H. South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses pp 155 - 156.
40. Mitragotri V.R. "Vijayanagara and post- Vijayanagara Art and Architecture of Goa. " In Goan Society through the Ages ed Shastri B.S. op. cit pp 274-275.
41. Pereira Gomes Rui plate No. 28 and 34 See also Gune V.T. Ancient shrines plate: 45
42. Mitragotri V. R. op. cit p 280.
43. The Vedic Age ed Majumdar R. C. pp 367-372.
44. Divakaran Odlie "Durga the great goddess meaning and forms in the early period " In Discourses on Siva ch 20 pp 272-273.
45. Mitragotri V.R. "Mahishāsūramardini depicted in boat a rare Guleli motif " In Purābhilekh- Purātatva vol. VI No. 2 July-Dec 1988 p 77.
46. I A Vol. p 43 ibid Vol. VIII pp 45, 46 and Vol.XI pp 130-132.
- Soundara Rajan K.V. op. cit. p 39.
47. Madhav Katti op cit pp 138-139.
48. Heras Henry "Pre-Portuguese remains in Portuguese India" In JBHS vol. IV plate after p 16.
49. Gune V. T. Ancient shrines of Goa plate No. 49 and 50.
50. Srivastava Balaram Iconography of Shakti p 52.
51. Bhatt Gururaj P. plate No. 151. On the pedestal of Kalikamba stone sculpture camels have been depicted.

CHAPTER IX

SCULPTURE

In the preceding chapter on iconography reference to the schools of sculptures of various images which have been dealt with and the probable dates have been suggested. However, there was no scope for elaborate discussion on the stylistic aspects of the schools. Here an attempt is made to study sculpture from the region of Goa. The author of the Kadamba kula in the chapter on sculpture could hardly do justice to the subject.¹ No exhaustive survey of sculptures from Goa as well as the region of Karnataka associated with various branches of the Kadambas was undertaken. In the last six decades, many new sculptures have been discovered. The material in hand facilitates for the study of the evolution of sculpture from Bhoja-Chalukya to Southern Silahārā and to the Kadambas and finally to Vijayanagara period.

Two thirds of Goa area is covered by primary laterite. The people of this costal track used laterite for building houses temples and forts. However, it is not suitable material for carving images. Hence predominantly schist has been used for carving images. Schist quarry from Akeri in Sawantwadi provided raw material for north Goa sculptures from the period of Badami Chalukyas.² Such schist quarries in south Goa supplied material for carving sculptures from South Goa.

However, a few granite sculptures have also been noticed. Only one lime-stone sculpture has been discovered in Goa and has been acquired by the State Museum of Goa.³ Through laterite is not suitable for carving the images, two laterite sculptures from Goa show that the people of Goa tried their best to use the locally available material. Mother goddess of Curdi (c. 300 B.C.) is the earliest laterite sculpture and indicates that the people who were inhabiting this costal track had begun to show their artistic talents.⁴ However, laterite was rarely used for sculpturing the icons of the gods and goddesses. One such specimen is the Ganesh from Redi, the laterite sculpture of Ganesh from Redi belongs to c.600 A.D. After c. 300 B.C. till about c. 600 A.D. sculpture has been found in Goa. No Satavahana sculptures or terracottas have been discovered in Goa. After a lapse about seven hundred years sculptures belonging to Bhoja-Chalukyas period are noticed.

The study of the sculptures has revealed that Bhoja-Chalukyas sculptures are only a few and these are namely the Ganesa laterite sculpture of Redi in Sawantwadi, Kārtikeya of Korgaon (plate No. 33) Mahishāsurmardini Lamagaon (Plate No. 35) Ganesa of Kudne (Plate No. 24), Ganesa of Pilar (Plate No. 34), Ganesa of Curdi (Plate No. 31), Mahishāsurmardini of Nundem (Plate No. 32), Mahishāsurmardini of Quepem and of Nāgā of Peddem (Plate No. 18 and 19). Therefore, the study of Bhoja-

Chalukya sculptures is primarily based on the study of loose sculptures from Goa region. Majority of the temples in this coastal region were of laterite and hence the walls of the temple had hardly any sculptures. This has led to the total absence of the sculptures depicting mythological themes on the walls of the temples. These thematic sculptures are dynamic and are full of movement. The shrines of Vāmana and Trivikrama were located in Salcete and most probably belonged to the period of Badami-Chalukyas.⁵ These above deities of Badami caves are good illustration to show that sculptor had considerable scope in showing movement in the sculptures. Both these shrines were destroyed in the 16th century. The above list of Bhoja-Chalukya sculptures are static and hardly show any movement. Therefore, the dates suggested are based on ornaments and facial expression etc.

The stone sculptures of Kārtikeya and Nāgā have characteristics of post-Gupta sculpture. These have thick lips and flat ear-rings.⁶ The faces show inwardly trace and serene appearance. These qualities give these sculptures divine appearance. Mahishāsurmardini from Lamagaon has also such flat ear-rings and bracelets and thick lower lip.⁷ The faces of all these sculptures are round.

After the Bhoja-Chalukya epoch, the southern-Silahārās established their power and the region of Goa was included in it. The Southern-Silahārās were the feudatories of

Rastrakutas. Naturally, southern-Silahārās sculptures was influenced by Rastrakutas sculptures. In the early southern-Silahārās sculptures belonging to the period of transition still Chalukya influence can be seen. To the school of southern-Silahārās and Rastrakutas belong Sadāsiva (Plate 24) Surya (Plate 36) and unique icon of Visnu (Plate 22)).⁸ All displayed in Old Goa Museum Kubera (Plate 7) Yaksi (Plate 8) Umā (Plate 9) and Mahishāsurmardini (Plate)-41 from Netravali also belong to Rashtrakuta (Silahārās) School. These are all in the collection of State Museum of Goa. There are two more sculptures of Southern-Silahārās period. These are namely unidentified sculpture of two warriors from Kundai locally called Kāntadev erected in front of Navadurgā temple, Kundai and the Surya (?) stone sculpture kept in the circumbulatory (pradakshināpath) of Chandreshwar temple.⁹ A student of art can distinguish the subtle characteristics of early Southern-Silahārās (Rastrakuta) sculptures. The faces found in the sculptures of early Chalukyan period are normally broader and round. From the beginning of Southern-Silahārās period faces become longer, ear-rings becomes thinner and lips also gradually become thinner. On the neck of the sculptures belonging to this period lines are noticed. These lines it seems have appeared on account of excessive fat on the body. Moreover bud motif found on Sadāsiva (Plate 24) is a peculiar motif which appears in early Rastrakuta period.¹⁰ The stone sculpture of Visnu (Plate 22) is proportionately carved and

is one of the masterpieces of Silahārā art from Goa.¹¹ As regards Mahishāsurmardini (Plate 41) from Netravali, it is the best representation of the goddess. This goddess is four-armed. The faces of the goddess is chiseled in a profile. The sharply chiseled nose has added beauty to the face of the deity. The proportionate and sharply carved face, sharp nose and the eye make the face of the goddess serene and divine. The above factors contribute in making the stone sculpture one of the master pieces of female deities of Silahārā period.

There was a considerable difficulty in tracing the sculptures of the Bhoja-Chalukya period and Silahārā-Rastrakuta period. Only a few specimens of the above school could be noticed. However, from the Kadamba period many examples are available. The Kadambas of Goa were the contemporaries of later Chalukyas and in fact they were the feudatories of Chalukyas. Therefore, on Kadamba sculptures the influence of later Chalukyas as well as Hoysalas is found. The Goa Kadambas had close contact with Chalukyas of Gujrat (Solankis). This close contact with Gujrat has brought influence of Gujrat sculpture on the sculpture of Goa.

On Kadamba sculptures toranās with intricate carvings can be noticed and such two delicately carved toranās may be cited as e.g. These are namely the sculpture of Nārāyana from Korgaon-Pedne (Plate No: 18) and Mahishāsurmardini sculpture from Vargaon, Bicholim. Nārāyana is embellished with intricate

toranā. This toranā looks like silver filigree work. This consists of series of half oval-curves but the top of toranā is broken. In these half oval part of toranā in loops carved in stone conch (Shankha), disc (Chakra) both attributes of Nārāyana have been carved. In the loops on the left also there are such attributes but these are not clearly seen. Ornaments Nārāyana are beautifully carved. Garuda depicted on the right hand appears to be getting ready to fly. His wings are stretched out and his right leg is bent and is beautifully lifted. In the left hand he is holding serpent (Nāgā) his sworn enemy. The tiny sculpture of Garuda shows the skill of the sculptor in depicting the movement. On the club (gadā) held in the lower left-hand of Nārāyana āyudha puruṣa is depicted. From the above description it is evident that it is one of the best specimen of Kadamba sculptures from Goa.

The toranā found on the sculpture of Mahishāsurmardini of Vargao is also minutely carved. The fierce conflict the demons and the goddess is depicted with great intensity and movement. Perhaps this is the only such sculpture of the goddess showing the conflict between the goddess and the demons with such intensity. (Plate No. 52).

Some hero-stones (virakals) of Kadamba period also depict the skill of the sculptures from Kadamba period. Here-stones are normally divided in three or four panels. The one or two panels from bottom usually depict war scene. In the second or

third panel king is shown sitting on the throne. In the top panel the devotees worshipping the linga depicted. However on hero-stone depicting naval battle and Orlim her stone are exception to the above mentioned here stones. Her stone from Orlim Salcete is in the collection of Heras Institute, Bombay. (Plate No: 49) It is one of the largest hero-stones in the country. It has only two panels. The top panel constitutes the palace scene depicting kings, queen and attendants. In the lower larger panel sculptor has chiseled our 14 warriors including the central figure of Jayakesi II. The hero stone is more than 2.30 meters in height and the width is 1.50 meters.

All the thirteen warriors are depicted in different positions. Jayakesi II is shown with sword in his right hand and shield in left-hand and he is vigorously fighting. In front of the left foot of Jayakesi two soldiers are shown bowing down (perhaps as a mark of respect). Some soldiers are shown with swords and shields and some are with bows and arrows. In this sculpture actual action from the battle front has been depicted.

A student of art history would wonder whether sculptor who has carved this hero-stone (virkal) was also an expert painter.¹² It seems the artist had a painting background as well. This might have been responsible for producing painting like sculpture on stone. Infact stone has been converted by this unknown versatile sculptor into canvas. The unknown

sculptor was either Michaelangelo or Leonardo da vinci of Goa !.

Reference to Gujrat influence on the sculpture of Goa has been pointed earlier. This influence seem to have origin in Central India (Madhya Pradesh). From Gujrat sculpture subsequently influenced the sculptor of Goa during Kadamba period.¹³ This influence could be illustrated with two specimen and these are namely stone sculpture of Brahma from Carambolim (Plate No: 35) and Mulagaon stone sculpture of Nārāyana (Plate No: 21B). The central face of Brahma has beard. The lateral faces are shown with chubby cheeks. These cheeks look fleshy and resemble the cheeks of Kārtikeya of Chiplun.¹⁴ The modeling of the sculpture is excellent. The sculptor handled chisel with confidence and carved intricate ornaments. The consorts of Brahma, namely Saraswati and Gayitri are shown in tribhanga. The central niche has Ganesa, on the right hand side niche Vrisabhavāhanasiva and in the left hand side niche Visnu are depicted. The stone sculpture of Nārāyana has also three niches; Central niche at the top has Brahma, Ganesa is on the right hand side and on the left hand side there is Vrisabhavāhanasiva . The tradition of depicting different deities in small niches alongwith the main deity was popular in Madhya Pradesh. This tradition had influenced Gujrat sculptors from there it is subsequently reached in Goa. Through above cited two sculptures are

excellently modeled and are proportional they look stiff as if they are standing in attention pose. There is no easy movement and life in the sculptures.

It has been already pointed out that Hoysala sculpture had influence on the sculpture of Goa during the period of Goa Kadambas. This Hoysala influence can be seen on Vetāla sculpture of Loliem (Plate 541). Ganesa sculptures of Verna, Siroda and Chandreshwar and Mahishāsurmardini from Quepem and Surla (Plates Nos.: 31, 32, 33). (Plate 542) and Modeling of the sculpture and ornaments found on the body of the deities also reveal Hoysala influence. Particularly on Quepem Mahishāsurmardini, in the influence of Hoysala is more striking. The horns of buffalo, legs and the face, the necklaces and the ear-rings worn by the goddess are deeply carved. Horns have been separated from the main body of the sculpture. Even ornaments are deeply carved and shown detached from the breast of the goddess. The sculptor it seems wanted to show holes in the ear-rings (Kundalās). After making deep perforation into ear-rings, he kept the holes incomplete. Toranās chiseled on these sculptures also reveal Hoysala influence.

It has been suggested that an independent school of sculptures developed in South Konkan under Goa Kadambas.¹⁵ It is evident from the above discussion that sculptures of Goa has been influenced by Gujrat as well as later Chalukyas and

Hoysala sculpture. However, Sculptors from Goa did not lack imagination skill and innovation. This is evident from Visnu icon of Savai-vere, Mahishāsurmardini depicted in boat and Orlim hero-stone. But so called south Konkan school of sculpture has no independent style of its own. Therefore, it would be an exaggeration to call Kadamba sculpture as an independent school of South Konkan.

After the Kadambas of Goa the last phase of sculpture belongs to Vijayanagara period. There was no change in the use of raw material for sculpturing the image. Schist continued as the raw material. Vijayanagara rulers revived once again the tradition of carving portraits of the members of the royal family. There is portrait of Mādhavamantri displayed in the state Museum of Goa (Plate No. 50). Mādhavmantri who was the Governor of Goa during Vijayanagara period and dominated the political scene for about half century. In the sculpture he is depicted with bow in a right hand and scepter in the left. A quiver full of arrows is hung on the left hand shoulder. He is depicted with mustache. He wears necklace, armllets and anklets. An attendant holding the parasol in show. Reference to Mārtand Bhairavā.¹⁷ the syncretic icon of surya and siva has been made in the previous chapter. The portrait of Mādhavamantri and Mārtand Bhairavā belong to Vijayanagara period. It seems the same sculptor or the sculptor belonging to the same guild had carved the above two stone sculptures

belong to the same tradition.

Small Surya stone sculpture of Sanguem, Mahishāsurmardini stone sculpture from Torshem (Pedne), Par-Usgaon Ponda taluka are also of Vijayanagara period. On both stone sculptures of Mahishāsurmardini identical smiling expression is found these lack movement and life.

The sculptors and masons of Goa were master craftman. They were known for their intricate carving. After the establishment of the Portuguese rule in three talukas of Old conquest (Tiswadi, Bardez and Salcete), the temple buildings activity came to an end. No new images could be consecrated. Therefore, many sculptors and masons left Goa and settled in the neighboring region.¹⁸ Sculptor of Goa could carve out Mahishāsurmardini depicted in boat. Kadagolu-Krishna and Visnu image of Savai-vere, Padmanābha from Cuncolim and Mahishāsurmardini from Nertavali, ^{these} are masterpieces in sculpture of South Konkan.

E F E R E N C E S

1. Moraes George M. The Kadamba Kula op. cit pp 315-317
2. Gurav R. P. furnished this information.
3. Rasabhanath (Jain tirthankara) sculpture found at Sancole is the only lime stone sculpture from Goa. Plate No: 10
4. Mitragotri V. R. " Mother goddess of Curdi and some parallels" for festschrift of Prof. B. B. Lal under print.
5. Saraswati S. K. A Survey of Indian Sculpture p 150 Vamana and Trivikrama were popular with Badami Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas and Pallavas.
6. Mitterwallner Gritli "The Hindu Past " In Marg Goa cultural patterns. Plate No. 3 p 23.

See also Gune V. T. Ancient Shrines of Goa Plate 59

Refer to also Soundara Rajan K.V. Indian temples styles p 39. According to Soundara Rajan Kartikeya is not later than 650 A.D.

7. Settar S. Press conference report The Navhind Times dated 22nd July 1979.
8. Prasad P.R.K. "A rare sculptures of visnu in Old Goa Museum" In Purabhilekha-Puratatva vol IV No. one Jan-June 1986, pp 97 - 104
9. The lower part of this sculpture is broken. The image is two armed in both hands full blossomed lotuses are seen. But the image is being worshiped as Chandra.
10. Personal communication with Padigar Srinivas of Karnataka University, Dharwad.
11. Moraes George op. cit pp 316-317 and p 467. Orlim here stone belonging to Jayakesi II was erected in memory of one Hatihal and has Kannada inscription of three lines.
12. Moraes George op. cit p 184 Moraes has quoted literary reference from Hemachandra's work about the portraits of the daughter of Jaykesi I prepared by Buddhist Jatis. From this it is evident that some artists were Buddhists. The painting art flourished in Ajanta, Bagh, Ellora and Kanheri was responsible for the survival of this

tradition in Goa. But this literary evidence seems to have some credibility.

13. Trivedi R.D. Inconography of Parvati furnishes many plates of Parvati sculptures having such niches depicting various dcities XIX, XX, XXI, XXXIII, XXIV, XXV.
14. Mirashi V.V. Inscription Indicarum vol VI plate V fig 28
15. Moraes George op. cit p 136.
16. Mitragoti V. R. " Vijayanagara and Post Vijayanagara Art and Architecture of Goa "In Goan society through the Ages" ed Shastri B. S. pp 273 - 274.
17. Mitragotri V. R. Ibid close scrutiny of the sculpture has revealed that the stone sculpture is not of Revant but of Martand Bhairava p 274.
18. Mitragotri V. R. Ibid p 277.

C H A P T E R X

ARCHITECTURE

References to Brahminical shrines which included Saivite as well as Vaisnavite have been already made. These Shrines are mostly Saivite caves. In Goa during c. 600 - 700 A.D. Buddhist also started utilising rock cut caves for their religious activity.¹ The rock cut architectural activity continued even during c. 1100 - 1200 A.D. and these rock cut caves were excavated by Nāth-panthis.² It is proposed to discuss the architecture which include rock-cut caves, temples, memorial monuments and (load-rests) utilitarian monuments .

Recently geomorphic investigations carried out with the help of the photo-geomorphic studies have revealed that laterite covered about one third of Zuari and Mandovi basin areas and unevenly distributed with respect to altitude and space.³ As regard the entire area of Goa it may be stated that 2/3 is covered with laterite. Therefore, locally available laterite hillocks were used scooping the caves. The earliest references to rock-cut caves of Goa are available in the writings of Lopes Mendes published during the latter part of the last century. He has mentioned the caves of Aravalem and Aquem at Lamgaon with the line drawings of the above rock-cut caves. The tradition of associating rock-cut caves with Pandavas was also prevalent in Goa else where. This Portuguese

surveyor has mentioned that people called Aravalem caves as the caves of Pandavas (Pandavache Houri). He accurately measure rock-cut caves referred to above and has furnished the details of the measurements but he did not study the caves on stylistic basis.⁴ He was not aware of the work being done by English scholars James Fergusson and Burgess in India during the same period.⁵

Varde Valavlikar mentions Rivona, Lamgaon and Aravalem caves. He was the first to mention one line inscription found on the linga having solar disc aniconically representing Surya (Sun). In addition to the above caves he mentioned the caves of Reddi which are very close to northern border of Goa.⁶ References to the caves are found in the writings of Heras,⁷ In later works like South Indian temples,⁸ Personality of temples and Rock-cut caves of Deccan.⁹ However, the credit of making systematic survey goes to Sail who explored Goa region in 1964 and discovered five more rock cut caves namely Narve, Surla tar, Katanzalem, Pissurlem and Sonal.¹⁰ One more rock-cut cave of Dabosi was added by Settar and Rajashekhar of Karnataka University in 1978.¹¹ Mitterwallner has mentioned four rock-cut caves which were not known to earlier scholars and these are namely Kundai, Adkon, Divar and Pilar.¹² The rock cut caves of Surla tar is mentioned in the Cultural History of Goa from 10000 B. C. to 1352 A. D.¹³

Single-Celled caves.

In Consua (Mormugao) (Plan No. 1), Dabosi (Plan No. 3), Sonal (Plan No. 2) and Karanzol (all three villages in Sateri), the single cell caves have been found. In the section on the evolution of the linga in chapter VIII, it has been already mentioned that linga of Consua is one of the earliest lingas.¹⁴ From this it is evident that rock-cut shrine of Consua was excavated in c.4000 A.D. It is probably the earliest series of single celled caves in Goa.

At sonal village in the property of Shri Jaysingrao Rane, a single-cave without pillars and verandha is located. This single cell measures 78.5 meters in width and .41 meters in depth. The height of the cave is 1.41 meters. This cubicle is not provided with steps for entering the cave. Dabosi is about 5 kms away from Valpoi on the way to Sonal. A kachha road in the right hand side connects Dabosi. At a short distance from the village the single rock-cut cave is located. There is yet another rock-cut cave at Karanzol on the bank of Mahadai river. The rock-cut cave of Karanzol is decorated with shikhara motif. These small rock-cut caves were not meant for meditation or habitation. These were way side shrines.¹⁵ Icons were housed in these above niche like caves. The devotees offered worship by standing outside such small shrines excavated on the single boulders and these have been reported from Kerala also. Therefore the above mentioned small rock-cut

cubicles (cells) were way-side shrines of Goa.¹⁶ Though the caves of Mangeshi is of a single cell, it had on each side similar cubicles. These adjacent cubicles were demolished while widening the road.¹⁷ Moreover, it has square yonī pitha and the linga is missing.

It has been suggested that architecture activity of Brahminical caves (these caves have been called (Sivālayas) began in Goa and these simple caves provided the first models between 400-500 A.D. Goa- caves establish a link between Buddhist caves in north and the Chalukyan caves in south east Deccan. The rock-cut caves of Goa are located in midway in space and time. These rock-cut caves of Goa reveal the developments that took place between the fall of Satvahanas and the rise of Kadambas, Chalukyas and also mark the transition from Buddhist to Hinduism.¹⁸ Only on the basis of the above referred rock-cut caves the single-cubicles and Aravalem caves the above dates were suggested. The plan of the simple rock-cut caves of Goa reveal that these are not providing any evolutionary evidence in the rock-cut architecture from north Konkan caves to Chalukyas of Badami. Therefore, the above statement seems to be too sweeping. However, these are the earliest Brahminical caves. Hence the statement of Coomarswamy that Brahmans did not begin to excavate shrines whether underground or monolithic much before sixth century has lost its validity.¹⁹

Inscriptions found in Aravalem caves or copper plates do not refer to the dynasties which were responsible for the excavation of the caves. Konkani Mauryas or the Bhojas had ruled Goa during the period and by them some of the caves might have been excavated. Konkani Mauryas ruled Goa during c. 500 - 700 A.D. The first ruler of Mauryas known in this region is Chandravarman of Sivapura (Goa) copper plate.²⁰ This copper plate refers to donation made to Buddhist Vihara and is dated on palaeographic grounds c. 500 A.D. However, Bandora plates of Anirajitavarman (6th or 7th century) refers to the gifts made to Brahmins.²¹ Therefore, those copper plates indicate that Konkani Mauryas did not patronise only Buddhism but they were tolerant towards Hinduism also. It may be argued that like Konkani Mauryas of Gharapuri the Konkani Maurya rulers of Goa might have excavated some Saivite caves of Goa.²²

Like Konkani Mauryas the Bhojas were patrons of Buddhism as well as Hinduism. It has been already mentioned that the cave of Consua is ascribed to c. 400 A.D. Siroda copper plate of Devaraja mentions gifts made to Indraswami and Govindaswami. The copper plate is palaeographically dated to c. 400 A.D.²³ These two Brahmins got the gift perhaps for the worship of the shrine of Consua of the rock-cut cave. Recently on the basis of the identification of the place names mentioned in Hiregutti copper plate of Asantikavarman dated c. 500 A.D., it has been suggested that the above king made

donation to Lamgaon caves.²⁴ Bhojas who ruled Goa were probably the Sun worshippers. During their rule Aravalem caves were excavated.

Aravalem Caves (Plate No. 53).

The village Aravalem is located in Bicholim taluka. This village is known in Konkani as Haravali. Hara means Siva and ohol means rivulet.²⁵ Infront of the rock-cut caves a small rivulet flows. It seems the Bhojas rulers selected intentionally the village which is associated with Siva for excavation rock-cut caves. The ancient shrine of Rudreshwara of Haravali was built before the excavation of the rock-cut caves.²⁶ Aravalem excavated in a laterite hillock, have pillard facade. (Plan No. 4). These caves also have clearly portrayed cornice (kapota) and properly scooped out entablature (prastāra). Aravalem cells can be approached through outer-terrace and outer-antechamber (ardhamandapa). There are six cell resembling cubicles. Five of these six cells No. 2, 3, 4, 5 are facing the south. Cell No. 1 at the entrance north western end of the cubicle however faces the south-east. The cell No. 1 is on the left of the cubicle No. 2 and forms a right angle. The above mentioned cells have square platform (pitha) of laterite and thus it is an integral part of the cave itself (monolithic). It has been already pointed out that these square pithas are characteristic of Chalukyan

lingas. However, the lingās are of schist and these are detachable. Since laterite is softer it has been compared to female (stri silā) and the schist has been compared to male (pum silā).²⁷

In cell No. 1 there is a linga with inscription in box-headed Brahmi characters discovered in 1979. In cell No. 2 linga capped with disc symbolically representing Surya (Sun) and it has one line inscription Sāmbalurvāsi Ravih (Ravi the resident of Sambalur) in Brahmi characters. This one line inscription is palaeographically dated to c. 700 A.D. In cell No. 3 there is a plain linga without any inscription but has bramhasutras. In Cell No. 4 linga is pointed like an arrow symbolically representing Kārtikeya. Cell No. 5 has smallest linga among lingās of Aravalem. The last rectangular cell No. 6 has high bench like rectangular platform (pitha) and has eight sockets. This cell has been identified as dormitory.²⁸ However, these eight sockets have been looked over. These eight sockets indicate that it had aniconic representation of Saptamātrikās.²⁹ Eight sockets was perhaps meant for aniconic representation of Ganesa. Hence this cell was not used as dormitory but for the worship of aniconic representation of Saptamātrikās. Aravalem caves have unique representation of Surya, Kārtikeya and Siva. This is the first such syncretic aniconic representation of Mārtanda Bhairava in the whole country.³⁰

It is mentioned that Aravalem caves were originally excavated by Buddhists and were later converted into Brahmanical caves. Recently after the discovery of the inscription on the linga of the cubicle No. 1 in box headed characters fashioned out of a pillar from the temple. Converting pillar of the temple into linga and consecrating it in Aravalem made the above argument more forceful.³¹ There are evidence to show that some Buddhist caves were later converted into Brahmanical. One such nearest example is Panhale-kaji caves of North Konkan.³² Buddhist caves of Panhale-kaji permitted such alteration on account of different ground plan. The cells of Panhale-kaji could be converted into Nāth Panthi caves. But the ground plan of Aravalem is quite different . The cells of Aravalem are very small and did not permit such alterations. The Square yonī-pithas are monolithic and form an integral part of the cave. The cave of Aravalem is similar to Badami Cave III. Therefore, Aravalem was not a Buddhist rock-cut cave. It was conceived as a syncretic Brahmanical cave and was never altered and has remain as a Brahmanical cave.

One line inscription on the linga having disc was wrongly read as Sachipura cha sirasi (on the top of Sachipura).³³ It was dated to first centuries of Christian Era. In 1960's the inscription was read as Sāmbalur vāsi Ravih (Ravi the resident of Sambalur). On palaeographic grounds it has been dated to c. 500 A.D.³⁴ On the basis of the latter reading Mitterwallner

has dated the caves to first half of the fifth century A.D.³⁵ However, scholars from Epigraphic Survey of India do not accept the date suggested by Ramesh and ascribed this inscription to c. 700 A.D.³⁶

The dates suggested on the basis of one-line inscriptions are divergent. The discovery of second inscription in box-headed Brahmi characters dated to c. 500 A.D., on the linga of chamber No. 1 added to the controversy in dating the caves. Settar on the basis of the second inscription dated the caves of Aravalem to c. 400-500 A.D. The linga which has this inscription is fashioned out of the pillar of Siva temple.³⁸ Therefore, the temple was constructed earlier (c. 500 A.D.) to the excavation of the caves of Aravalem. Hence the date of the inscription in the box-headed characters is not the period in which the caves of Aravalem caves were excavated. The date of the one-line inscription is of considerable importance in dating the caves of Aravalem. The patrons, most probably the Bhojas having conceived the plan of syncretic aniconic representation got inscribed the one-line inscription at the time of the consecration of the lingas. Therefore the most reasonable date of Aravalem caves would be c. 700 A.D. Architecturally the caves of Aravalem resemble Badami caves No. 3 of Mangalesa³⁹ and this has been dated to 578 A.D. Therefore, it would be reasonable to date the cave of Aravalem to c. 700 A.D.

There are rock-cut caves influenced by the architecture of Aravalem. But these caves are not large scale excavations but simple caves consisting of shrine and have antechamber (ardhamandapa) in front with plain cubical pillars. In this category the cave of Mangeshi (Plan No. 5), Narve cave II (Plan No. 7) Surla (Plan No. 8), Lamgaon (Plan No. 9) may be included. The cave of Mangeshi has been dated to c. 800 A.D.⁴⁰ The cave No. I of Narve is also of considerable importance (Plan No. 6). On square pedestal (pitha 7) in cave of Narve II a sejant lion of 15 inches is installed. Sejant lion is on a pedestal and has a Brahmi inscription referring to the pious women who has made the donation. The mane below the chin of the lion and bell-hand around the neck and unusually thick mustache are striking features of the lion. On the basis of the interpretation of Aravalem lingas, this lion has been called the linga aniconically representing Durgā.⁴¹ Such Durgā linga has been reported from Dakshina Kannada and it has been suggested that such linga might have worshipped on account of ultra Saivism.⁴² The pious women who has made donation may be perhaps Vijayabhatarika the early Chalukyan women ruler from the Iridige Vishaya and she might have made the donation for the excavation of this small shrine. Inscription is worn out and is not clear. Early chalukyas were the worshippers of Nārāyana their emblem insignia was Varaha. The linga may be representing Narasimha.⁴³ Therefore, this may be taken as representation of Narasimha.

The cave of Lamgaon has well cut entabulator (prastāra). The facade has two pillars. Behind the facade there is antechamber (ardhamandapa). The sanctum (garbhagriha) has also two cubical pillars. On the plan the cave of Lamgaon resembles the caves of Aravalem.

The yonipitha of Lamgaon is similar to the yonipitha of Pattadakal. The linga of the Virupākshā temple of Pattadakal has been dated to c. 800 A.D. Therefore, the cave Lamgaon may be dated to c. 800 A.D. However, Mitterwallner is doubtful about the date as the linga is not an integral part of the cave (it is not monolithic). Hence it may have been consecrated later.⁴⁴ But linga on the yonipitha of Lamgaon is not proportionate on the ancient yonipitha. Therefore, only a new linga could have been replaced on the earlier yonipitha. Therefore, the date c. 800 A.D. suggested for Lamgaon cave seems to be correct.

Buddhist Caves

There are also Buddhist caves in Goa and these are namely the Buddhist cave of Lamgaon and the natural cave of Rivona used by Buddhists.

These caves are located in Lamgaon (Bicholim) and consist of two caves. The first cave is Brahmanical and that has been already dealt above. The second cave is Buddhist. Reference has been already made to the Bhojas patronage of Lamgaon

caves. Hiregutti copper plates of Asankitavarman registers the gift of Sundarika village in Deepak vishaya to a Buddhist Vihara. Deepak has been taken as an island and has been identified as Anjediva island near Karwar or Divar. However, Deep is not an island but it means a lamp. Even now many Goans call Bicholim as Divachali or Dicholi. Sundarpet is a locality of Bicholim town and this may be identified with Sundarika mentioned in the inscription. Lamgaon caves are located hardly at a distance of 2 Kms from Sundarpet. On palaeographic grounds Hiregutti copper plates are dated to the middle of the 6th century A.D.⁴⁵

It would be relevant to examine whether the above copper plate of Hiregutti tallies with the style of architecture which is found in Lamgaon cave No. 2. The ground plan of Aravalem is square and it had four pillars. Only one pillar from the south east corner is intact and only top portion of other three pillars has remained Length of the corner pillar is 2.36 meter.

Mitterwallner has rightly pointed out that it is difficult to state whether there were rooms on the north and south as the caves have been damaged on account of waterfall which is active during the rainy season. The waterfall has destroyed the lower portions of the hall and the rooms. Ceiling on the south of the cave indicates that the architects (sthapatis) made efforts to continue the excavation but on

account of the interior quality of the laterite architects might have taught to abandon the project. ⁴⁶ The reasons for abandoning the project which had received gift from the Bhoja ruler can be explained in technical term. The caves of Lamgaon 1 and 2 are surface cuttings in laterised banded hemite quartzites (BHQ) which have regional Dharwarian trend NW-SE and dip due NE 45. The cave No. 2 is rectangular with flat roof with four supporting pillars of insitu laterite itself. Such a cutting considerable across the dip rock may stay supported for a certain length of time. This bridging or "stand up" capacity of the rock primarily depends on the magnitude of shearing and tensile stresses within the unsupport mass. In this case the rock being laterised BHQ which have prominent inherent bedding joints the bridging capacity to low and hence it has resulted in roof collapse.⁴⁷

It seems from the above reasons there the cave No. 2 of Lamgaon was never completed. However, the decoration found on the moulded plinth indicates that it was a Buddhist cave. On this plinth chaitya windows have been chiseled out. This also gives the clue for dating of the cave and these may be ascribed to c. 600 A.D. There is yet another pattern called freize design found on entabulator (prastāra). This freize pattern is found on Badami cave III which is dated 578 A.D. From this it is evidence the Lamgaon cave No. 2 was excavated in c. 600 A.D. ⁴⁸

The above discussion also indicates that the Buddhist cave was excavated earlier in c. 600 A.D. After two centuries cave No. 1 of Lamgaon which is a Brahmanical cave was excavated.

2. Rivona natural cave. (Plane No. 9)

Reference to the natural cave of Rivona has been already made in chapter V. Buddhist monks of Mahāyana used this cave for residential purpose before the construction Buddhist shrine which was hardly at a distance of 300 mts away from this natural cave. An irregular niche of 2.28 mts., has a bench in the south western corner. There are 14 steps scooped into the northern wall of the court which leads to the cave. The sitting-stone sculpture of Buddha in bhumisparsha mudrā was found in the site reference to above. This stone sculpture is dated to c. 700 A.D. Therefore, it is evident that Buddhist monks had lived in the natural cave of Rivona during this period and continued to practice their faith till the end of Kadamba period.

Nāth-Panthi Caves.

The Nāth-yogis of Goa were the last to use the rock-cut caves as the place of worship as well as for residential purpose. Archaeological approach has been fruitfully utilised for the study of rock-cut caves of Goa and the similar approach has been used for the study of Panhale -Kaji caves.⁴⁹

The Nāth-Panthi caves were located near the important shrines associated with Siva. The following table furnishes the locality of the Shrine and the cave -site and the taluka in Goa.

<u>Sr. No.</u>	<u>Nāth-Panthi Shrine</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Cave Site</u>
1	Saptakoteshwar (Saptanath)	Diwadi (Tiswadi)	Diwadi Malar locality
2	Govanāth (Goveshwar)	Pilar (Gopakapattan)	Pilar below Seminary
3	Ādināth	Usgaon (Ponda)	Dharbandoda Khandepar, Kodar, Ishwarbhat
4	Matsyendranāth and Gorakhanath	Mathagram (Madagaon Salcete)	Aquem
5	Siddhanāth	Cuncolim	Malanguinim
6	Siddha of Chandreshwar	Bhatti (Sanguem)	Curdi cave
7	Madhavanth ^a	Curpe Vichundrem Neturli,	i) Sanguem Caves ii) Caves located on Salauli Canal

The first two caves were identified by Mitterwallner alongwith the shrines.⁵⁰ The survey conducted during the last five years has revealed that remaining caves could be identified as Nāth-Panthi caves and could be associated with the above mentioned shrines.

Diwadi cave (Plan No. 11)

The rock-cut cave of Diwadi consist of two cells. In the front there is a rectangular cell and the shape of the cell at the rear is square. It seems the sculptors wanted to cut the pillars at the facade of the cave. But the effort were abandoned and this attempt has left a groove on the right-hand side of the door. There is a flexed cornice (kapota). This Kapota is simple and undecorated and throws off rain water from the exterior of the cave. The door has sockets meant for installing the door. The inner cell has peg-holes and small niche. The front cell has a ventilator. Internally the ventilator is circular but on the roof one can notice that circular gavāksha is excavated in a square. The residents of Diwadi call this cave as yogiche ghar (the abode of ascetic).

Pilar Cave (Plan No. 12)

The cave of Pilar was excavated on a small laterite out-crop at the foot of the hill on the south west. This cave was sealed by the Portuguese in the 16th century. In 1958, whom the debris were removed the cave was discovered. After four years of the discovery, on the order of the Archbishop of Goa, the cave was demolished. The cave was rectangular in shape and had four deep niches on either side. Rock-cut cave had an irregular door and had no decorations on it. On the right hand side of the door relief of Ganesa was craved. There was a

relief on the left hand side also but could not be identified. On the narrow wall of the cave towards the north a human figure or a deity was chiseled. At the centre on the same wall a snake in the upright position with expanded-hood was craved. In the long eastern wall contained a laterite bed niche. On this laterite bed nath-yogi could have slept easily. This was opposite to the relief of nāgā. This cave might have served as a cult-cum residential purpose for nāth yogis.

In this Pilar cave, winnowing - basket, sandals on platform (Pādukas on pitha) and sword discovered. All these three objects are made from brass and have ritualistic significance. A heart shaped yonī carved in laterite was also found. Its upper portion is provided with a 4 cms., broad-raised rim which was meant to hold liquid. As it had no separately carved yonī to insert linga, Mitterwallner has identified this as an independent cult objective association with Shākta rites. However, the above laterite object resembles brass lamp and there was an arrangement to store the oil. Therefore, wick could have been easily put. Hence it could have been used as a lamp. In addition to the above objects, broken sculptures of Bhairava and Kāli were discovered near the cave of Pilar. Nāth - yogis were the worshippers of these deities.⁵¹

Rock-cut caves of Khandepar. (Plan No. 13)

In the list of the rock-cut caves associated with Nāth-Panthe shrines, Khandepar rock-cut caves have been associated with the shrine of Ādināth located in Usgaon (Ponda). At the time of the publication of the paper on Rock-cut caves of Khandepar, the data in hand was not sufficient to associate them with Nāth-Panthis.⁵² As the evidence are now available, these caves have been associated with Nāth-Panth.

Khandepar rock-cut cave group consist of three twin caves facing the east, Opposite to the cave No. 1 there is an independent single cave facing west. Khandepar caves are located on the bank of the river khandepar which is a tributary of Mandovi. These four caves have been excavated out of laterite hillock of 5 mts in height and 12.4 mts in breath and 35 mts in length.

Cave No. 1 and 2 which are to the right are chiseled jointly in a single block. The third cave is just adjacent to the second (as shown in the figure No.) at a distance of one meter. Caves have been provided with sloopy roof which is best suited in a costal area where the rainfall is high. These caves of Khandepar are monolithic only upto cornice (Kapota). The Shikhara is structural and it is constructed out of the laterite blocks. The Shikhara is arranged in five tiers without any ornamental details and amalaka.

First and second caves have one socket each on both sides of the door jamb which were meant for fixing the wooden doors. Such sockets are also present in Kanheri caves near Borivali Bombay. The above mentioned caves here an inner door leading to rear cell and it has a schist frame. But the schist door frames have disappeared now. Only schist thresh holds have remained. The very slight deference between length and breadth of the cells. Sometimes the deference is 30 cms to 50 cms. Actually the cells are rectangular and any one without measuring them would declare them as square. The cave No. 1 is the largest and best-equipped cave with the highest number of peg-holds and niches in the Khandepar group. These were meant for hanging the robes of the intimates. Large small niches were chiseled out for keeping lamps and belonging. The cells situated in the front get sufficient light and air if the doors were kept open. The inner cell needed ventilation and hence exhaust was provided. Sculptors have embellished ceiling of outer cell wit lantern pattern (Kadalikākaran). (Plan No. 14) This motif is superfluous in Khandepar monolithic cave temple because it is not serving any purpose. Architects (Sthapatis) were not faced with the problem of procuring large slabs so as to cover the roof. They were copying a pattern which was already found in a structural temples. This well-equipped cave No. 1 might have been for the head of the monastery of the Khandepar.

From the location of the independent cell facing the west it was evidence that it was a shrine. However, a considerable amount of silt from the river had accumulated after the caves were abandoned as the intimates had left in the course of five or six hundred years. During the course of the removal of the silt and debris in 1981 a platform on which the deity was worshipped in the shrine was discovered. Fragments of schist-stone sculpture such as delicately carved hands with bracelets (Kankanās) were found. An ear-ring of brass was also discovered. It seems that it belonged to a bronze deity. However, no bronze could be traced. Rock-cut caves of Khandepar are located on trade route connect Belgaum (Velugram) and hence these were vulnerable. Small pieces of stone sculpture clearly indicate that the image were deliberately destroyed. The invading army of Malik Kafur might have destroyed these images.⁵³ Infront of the twin-caves a raised court yard with post-holes was found. These post-holes were meant for erecting shamiyana or wooden mantapa on festive occasions. Such arrangement of erecting shamiyana has been reported from Panhale Kaji cave No. 28.⁵⁴

Though the river is hardly 20 mts away from the caves, two water cisterns have been excavated in front of the group of twin caves. The stored water in these cisterns was perhaps meant for rituals.

The architects (sthapātis) of Khandepar had a good

understanding of topography. This is evident from the arrangement they had made to drain out the rain water accumulated on the site. A drain from hillock discharging the water into the river was excavated. After these caves were abandoned from 1300 A.D. onwards, silt had accumulated in these caves.

In plan and environment the caves of Khandepar are similar to Panhale Kaji caves. It is very close to Ādināth shrine of Usgaon. Moreover, temple of Saptakoteshwar (Saptanāth) venerated by Nāth-Panthis is Opa. This shrine is hardly at a distance of 3 Kms from Khandepar. Therefore, Khandepar rock-cut caves of Kadamba period (c. 1200 - 1300 A.D.) belong to Nāth-Panthis.

Ishwarbhat Cave. (Plan No. 15)

At a short distance from Khandepar rock-cut cave, there is another single rock-cut cave. Like Khandepar cave it is monolithic only upto cornice (Kapota) and the Shikhara is structural. There is linga inside the shrine and outside Nandi is kept. This is also belongs to Kadamba period.

Kodar Caves. (Plan No. 16)

Three rock-cut caves are situated by the road side in Kodar village near Khandepar. These caves facing the west. The first chamber from the left has an access from the rear

chamber and this chamber acted as a passage. These cells are provided with niches. The largest cave on the right hand side was perhaps used as kitchen cum dining hall. In this cell number of pot-sherds were found. The cells are having peg holes and niches.

The height of the hillock in which Kodar caves are excavated is not sufficient to make it monolithic. Hence only upto cornice (Kapota) these caves were excavated in laterite hillock. On the top of the walls, space has been excavated to keep the rafters and cover the rock by means of tiles or coconut leaves. So far, no references to thatched roof caves have been found from any part of India. Therefore, Kodar caves seem to unique thatched roof caves of Nāth-Panthis.

Dharbandoda Cave

It is situated in Dharbandoda Co-operative Sugar factory campus which is about 5 Kms from Khandepar. This cave resembles the natural cave of Rivona used by Buddhist. This cave was also most probably used by Nāth-Panthis during Kadamba period. (c. 1200 - 1300 A.D.)

Adkon Cave

There are no cult-images or no evidence to indicate to which cult this cave of Adkon belonged. Hence Mitterwallner has put it in category of the caves of unknown consecration.⁵⁵

Vetāla temple is located in the Vicinity of this rock-cut cave. Reference to Vetāla temple and the annual fair (Jatrā) of Adakon has been already made in Chapter IV. As Vetala was worshipped by Nāth-Panthis, this rock-cut cave may have been a Nāth-Panthis cave.

Caves excavated in laterite have been found in Sanguem taluka, in Sanguem proper on the banks Kushavati river in Curdi village near the ancient site of Mahādeva temple and on the right bank of Salauli canal (Plan No. 17).

In Aquem, suburb of Madagaon behind St. Sebastian Chapel (Plan No. 18) there are caves excavated in laterite. In Malunguni of Salcete taluka there are two caves (Plan No. 19). Out of these caves mentioned from Sanguem and Salcete Aquem caves are large scale excavations and are architectural important. The main door facing the east has sockets on the top indicating that door was installed. The door was bolted inside through the commonly used wooden cross-rod (argalā) which was fixed in the sockets.⁵⁶ This large rock-cut cave is rectangular but it is divided into chambers like a railway coach. The door on the north had a door jamb of schist. Near this on the right hand side there is a window. The inner chamber has peg-holes and niches. In the outer cell sculptor wanted to carve Kadalikākaran at the centre of the ceiling but this was abandoned on account of the inferior quality of the laterite. Even top of the cave is neatly cut. It seems that

there was a plan to construct a Shikhara on the ton similar to Khandepar waves.

The laterite caves excavated during Kadamba period had schist door frames. Architects (sthapatis) know that schist has more tensile strength and could bear the horizontal load. In the caves of Aquem, Malanguinim, Curdi, Salauli, Dharbandoda and Sanguem , we do not have evidence of Buddhist or Jainism. So far no Jain caves have been discovered in Goa. From the list of the caves and the shrines of Nāth-Panthi it is evident that these above caves may have been used by Nāth-yogis for the residential cum cult purpose. These Nāth Panthi caves are larger than early Brahmanical caves and these are purely utilitarian. There are no decorative motifs on the facade. Two or three Nāth yogis could comfortably live in these rock-cut cells and practice various forms of yoga.

Architects (sthapatis) of Goa had to work hard in an inferior quality primary laterite. In this medium they started working and had shown considerable amount of skill in excavating caves like Khandepar. If the hillock had no sufficient height they converted it into thatched roof caves and continued upto the end of Kadamba period.

Temple Architecture

Excavation of Brahmanical rock-cut caves and the construction of the structural temples during the ancient

period seems to have been simultaneous development in Goa. One of the earliest temples constructed in bricks was discovered at Chandor (Chandrapur) in excavation conducted by South Western Circle of Archaeological Survey of India in 1974. This temple had sanctum (garbhagriha) circumbulatory (pradakshināpath), assembly hall (sabha mandap) and medium size porch (mukha mandap). The temple was facing towards east, 12 lime stones bay placed in 2 rows of 6 each found in excavation suggest that the roof of the hall (assembly) was supported by wooden pillars.⁵⁷ This temple was probably built by Bhojas during c. 400 A.D. To which deity this temple was dedicated is not known.

In chapter V ancient temples either belonging to Siva or Visnu have been mentioned. From the epigraphic data available it is evident that there were temples of Siva and Pārvati at Nundem (Sanguem). At Haravale (Aravalem) also there was a temple of Siva. Nundem as well as Aravalem inscriptions are palaeographically dated to c. 500 A.D.⁵⁸ For the construction of the above mentioned three temples probably laterite as well as schist may have been used. The linga of Aravalem which has seven lime inscription in box-headed characters was in fact fashioned out of a pillar of schist from the temples of Siva (Rudreshvar). This fact clearly reveals that schist was also used alongwith laterite for building temples and the use of schist continued upto Vijayanagara period.⁵⁹

Reference to the temples of the Bhoja period has been made above. However, there are no evidence of Southern Silahārā temples. Only from Kadamba period onwards the history of temple architecture is fairly well documented. There are numerous documents in Portuguese furnishing the destruction of the temples from the Old conquest comprising Tiswadi, Bardez and Salcete. Hence there is a tendency of ascribe the destruction of the temples to the Portuguese. Many temples were destroyed by Muslim invaders from the North. Ala-ud-din of Delhi might have destroyed some temples. In another invasion of 1327 A.D. a few more temples might have been destroyed.⁶⁰ In total about 566 places of Hindu worship were destroyed during the 16th century.⁶¹ But all these 566 shrines were not constructed out of schist or basalt. Many shrines may have been simple titled roof structures. Old conquest was rich in resources than the New conquest as the agricultural yield was more than the New conquest. Hence the society could sustain the number of well known temples. Salcete had much seven well known temples and Tiswadi had one.⁶²

From the ruins of the temples lying on the ancient of Mahālsā at Verna and at Chandreshwar temple on Parvat it is evident that these two temples were built during the Kadamba period. These temples had gabled roof (sloppy roof). Goa being a costal area, the rainfall is heavy and hence gabled roofs

were an environmental necessity. Many architectural pieces and sculptures from various temples of Goa are in the collection of Old Goa Museum. These architectural pieces mostly constituted miniature shikharās. These are either Kadamba miniature Shikharās or Kadamba as well as Rekhā-Nāgara shikharās. Goa like Pattadakal has both Dravida as well as Rekhā-Nagarā temples during the Kadamba period. A huge door jamb of schist is displayed in the precincts of St. Cajetan church at Old Goa. The size of the door clearly indicated that it belongs to a large structural temple of Kadamba period. At the bottom of the door jamb on either side three miniature Kadamba shikharas have been carved. The architrave in the form of a wavy band was added by the Portuguese.⁶³ The door resembles door jamb of a Hoyasala temple. Many ancient temples of Goa had tanks in the vicinity. The ancient temples of Mahālsā, Saptakoteshwar temple of Diwadi, Nāgeshi temple of Bandivade have tanks. Even now in the first two sites of the ancient temples large tanks can be seen. These tanks are either excavated in laterite (monolithic) like Diwadi or structural like Nāgeshi of Bandivade or Mahālsā tank at Verna. The latter two tanks are built of laterite. These tanks are called locally tirthās. The devotees considered these tanks essential for the worship of the deities. The water required for the worship was used from these tanks. In this respect the temples of Goa resemble South Indian temples. However, in North India most of the temples do not have tanks.⁶⁴

Only three nirandhara Kadamba temples in Goa provided glimpses of Kadamba architecture in Goa and these are namely Curdi Mahādeva temple (now being transplanted by Archaeological Survey of India at Salauli dam project site) Mahādeva temple of Tambdi Surla and Saptakoteshwar temple of Opa.

Curdi Mahadeva temple (Plan No. 20, 21 and 22)

Curdi Mahādeva temple is located on the left bank of Netravali river flowing in the Northern direction. Netravali River takes a sudden turn towards the east at Curdi. Hence this particular spot may have been considered holy for the construction of the temple. In the vicinity of Mahādeva there was one more temple on the right hand side. Till recently the plinth of this temple could be seen at number of pieces of country tiles were also found. This clearly indicates that the temple had tiled roof. Mahādeva temple is built of laterite on a hard laterite ground and had no foundation.⁶⁵ The wall (bhitti) of the temple and the shikharā are constructed out of laterite but schist is used for the ceiling, door jamb and the pillars. The laterite is brittle and has less tensile strength than the schist. As the schist could withstand the thrust upon it, the architects (sthapatis) of Goa used schist in temple as well as caves of Goa. However, use of more than one kind of stone for building was known in the other regions of India as well. Such tradition has been

reported from Kerala as well as Tamilnadu. In Kerala for temple plinth (adhithān) granite is used. however, the walls are built of laterite. In Kanchipuram though the temples are of sand stones granite has been used for preventing the corrosiveness.⁶⁶

Curdi temple consists of two parts : the sanctum (garbhagriha) and mukha mandapa. Externally the temple is 7 mts long and 5 1/2 mts wide. The garbhagriha is square of 2.10 mts X 2.10 mts. The mukhamandapa is 2.10 mts in length and 1.80 mts in width. The sanctum is larger than mukhamandapa there is moon-stone (chandrashilā). However, Mitterwallner has identified mukhamandapa as porch and according to her mukhamandapa is missing.⁶⁷ The evidences show that the temple is complete and the porch itself is mukhamandapa.

The Shikharā can be designated as Vesara shikharā. It is the synthesis Rekhā-nāgara and Kadamba Nāgara styles. This kind of Shikharā can be seen in later Chalukyas temples which represents an integration of North Indian and South Indian styles and this new style is technically known as vesara or historically as Chalukyan.⁶⁸ The Vesara Shikharā rises from the entire area of sanctum. Like other temples from the coastal area in general and Kadamba monuments in particular, the temple could not be provided with gabled roof on account of meager dimension.

The schist door jamb is embellished with diamond pattern. At the bottom women with heavy broad buns perhaps carrying water for ablution (abhisheka) on pots (kalash) for worship have been chiseled. At the centre of lintel (lalātabimba) of garbhagriha Ganesa has been carved. The walls are adorned with pilasters and some conical designs. The two schist pillars at the mukhamandapa have circular moulded pitha and kanda is square. The upper part has circular moulding. Pillars are plain and have no decorative carvings.

The Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu furnishes rather confusing account of Mahādeva temple of Curdi. According to the Gazetteer the Shikharā of Curdi temple in plan and outlay seems to be of c. 800 A. D. and may have been constructed during the Silahārā period. However, in the same work elsewhere the temple has been ascribed to c. 1000 A. D. on the basis of Nāgari inscription which is displayed in Goa State Museum. This inscription refers to Rayana Sastadeva with high sounding titles like Parameshwara, Paramabhatarika, Parachandadanda. It seems that the Kadamba ruler had already established himself as an independent monarch of Chandramandal which seems to have included Sanguem and Ponda taluka.⁶⁹ The above referred Nāgari inscription was not inlaid in Mahādeva temple as stated in the Gazetteer. However, it was inlaid in one of the ancient temples located near Mahādeva temple.⁷⁰ Moreover, this inscription is not referring to the temple of

Mahādeva directly and hence this inscription is not helpful in fixing the date of Mahādeva temple.

The officials of Archaeological Survey of India engaged in transplantation of the Curdi temple to Salauli dam site found one more Nāgari stone inscription inserted between the two stones of Mahādeva temple in 1984. The preliminary reading of the inscription revealed that the later inscription belongs to c. 110 A. D.⁷¹ If this inscription was meant for displaying at the temple of Mahādeva, it would have been visible. However, stone inscription was found in between the two stones. Therefore, the second inscription is also not helpful in dating the temple. The above two Nāgari stone inscriptions only reveal political and cultural activity in the region of Chandramandal. Hence, the pillar types, the sculptures found in the vicinity such as Umāsahit Mahesh provide corroborative evidence that it is Kadamba temple of c. 1200 A. D. Therefore, it would be incorrect to ascribe Mahādeva temple of Curdi to Southern Silahārās. Hence it is a temple built during the Kadamba period.

Tāmbdi Surla Mahādeva temple: (Plan No. 23)

It has been mentioned earlier that schist has been used for door-frame for the laterite caves and for the ceiling in Curdi Mahādeva temple. Tāmbdi Surla Mahādeva temple is the only schist monument of Kadamba period which has survived.⁷²

Mahādeva temple stands on a plain upapitha which is divided into three bands. the ground plan of this temple consists of a pillard hall (mukhamandapa) and sanctum (garbhagriha) each following one after the other and on the same axis.

Temple faces to the East. mukhamandapa has three entrances. The main entrance facing the east and the two side entrances are facing north and south. There is a (plain seat-back)kakshāsana around this mandapa. Externally Kakshāsana is decorated with rosettes. The upapitha is extended and projected on either side of the entrance porches. The plinth (adhithān) rests on upapitha and is plain excepting the position at the rear side of Kakshāsana on which bold reliefs of rosettes are carved. There are 10 pillars in the mukhamandapa resting on Kakshāsana These pillars are plain except for the circular and horizontal floral bands on the central part of the shaft and bear the weight of the gable-shaped roof of mukhamandapa. These slopped roofs were environmental necessity in coastal belt.⁷³ If the structures had flat roof, the heavy rainfall during the monsoon would have adversely affected the monument. There are four central pillars on the raised Circular Platform of mukhamandapa. Pillars have square base and are divided by two bands (pattikās) on which stands shaft is also square and plain. However, at the centre there are hexagonal, circular and square bands. The top of the shaft is again divided into a

number of circular bands which are carved nicely with lotus festoons and circular chain. The capital is four faced and is carved with makara torana, vyālas and kirtimukha. On the under surface of architrave lotus floral motif has been carved out. Other side architrave is plain and these pillars shoulder the architrave. Finally architrave bears the load of the flat roof of mukhamandapa.

The centre of the roof of mukhamandapa is embellished with a decorative ceiling. Excellently cut and dressed slabs of schist constitute ceiling of mukhamandapa. The ceiling is arranged so as to display geometrical and floral designs accentuating beauty. The popular pattern of the ceiling was achieved by narrowing the open space of each bay with slabs arranged in trabeates in one plain. These look like a star with an ornate lotus in the centre. Generally the decoration ceiling is found in mukhamandapa, ardhamandapa and garbhagriha had such decorative ceiling. However, in Mahadeva temple of Tambdi Surla even in ardhamandapa such three decorative ceilings are found.

There are four niches (devakosthās) on the rear wall of the mukhamandapa and are facing the east, south and north. Both sides of the devakosthās have miniature pillars which resemble the pillars of the mukhamandapa. The top of devakosthās are embellished with miniature Kadamba shikharās. In one of the devakosthās on the left there is a standing icon

of Visnu. The hands of Visnu are broken but discus (chakra) and conch (shankha) in the upper hand can still be identified. Visnu is shown with the crown (Kiritamukuta) on his head, necklaces (hārās) armlets (keyurās), bangles (kankanās) girdle (udarbhandaha) a long necklace of Vaijayanti is seen on his chest. On his right mount (vāhanā) Garuda is depicted in kneeling posture. Attendants are also depicted on both sides of Visnu but these are damaged. In second devakostā there is a coiled Nāgā.

In another devakostā on the right of mukhamandapa Ganesa is housed. The left leg of Ganesa is crossed and folded and the right leg is extended down and is resting on pedestal. Thus Ganesa is shown in parālabhapadāsana. Ganesa has four hands two of which are broken at the elbow and in other two he holds Parasu in his right hand sweet (modaka) in his lower left hand. The belly of Ganesa is damaged. The serpent encircles his belly and interior walls are plain. Siva linga of schist is housed on a high stone pedestal. The exterior walls of the garbhagriha are also plain and are relieved by kudya sthambās.

The shikharā which rises from the top of garbhagriha is in Dravidian style and is in receding tiers. The antifixae (sukhanāsi) which faces the east is badly damaged. Sukhanāsa are not common in the temples south of Andhra pradesh. However, these are characteristic feature of Chalukyan

temples.⁷⁵ Antifixae (sukhanāsi) are found in Narasimha temple of Halsi and Kamala Nārāyan temple of Degamve.⁷⁶ From this it is evident that sthapatis (architects) from the Kadamba territory might have been influenced by the architects of Chalukyan temples.

The cornice slabs of the ceiling from Kapota. The neck (grivā) and the kalash of the shikharā are missing. The central storey (talā) of the shikharā is filled with bas-reliefs of the deities. On the south Brahma and Bhairava on the west Nataraja and Umāsaḥisiva on the North, Visnu and Siva-Pārvati in standing posture are depicted.

The temple of Tambdi Surla is of moderate dimensions. This temple has been ascribed to Kadambas. It seems the temple of Tambdi Surla was not constructed during the zenith of Kadamba power. The Kadamba temple has been designated as Kadamba-Yadava.⁷⁷ Yadava temple (Hemādipanti) are of heavy and plain exterior walls without any sculptures.⁷⁸ However, even the exterior walls of the Kadamba temples are also devoid of sculptures.⁷⁹ Therefore, the above characteristics need not be primarily associated with the Yadava temples. Hence, Hemadipanti or Bhumija influence is hardly found on Tambdi Surla Mahādeva temple. Therefore, it is a flickering lamp of Kadamba architecture.

C. Saptakoteshwara temple of Opa: (Plan No. 24)

Saptakoteshwara temple of Opa like Mahādeva temple of Curdi is built with laterite as well schist. Both temples consist of only two parts i.e. garbhagriha and sabhāmandapa. Saptakoteshwara temple of Opa has a vaulted roof but it is not monolithic monument. Being a structural temple of vaulted roof, some binding material was essential and hence lime mortar was used for the construction of the temple. It seems garbhagriha was constructed earlier in c. 1300 A.D. and was added later during the Vijayanagara period in c. 1400 A. D.⁸⁰ Sabhāmandapa has no pillars. This temple has a circumulatory (pradakshināpath), Tambdi Surla and Curdi temples had no pradakshināpath and thus these two temples are nirandhār temples. Saptakoteshwar temple of Opa is the only surviving sāndhāra ancient temple of Goa. In front of the temple, the Khandepar river flows. Series of steps reaching the river have been constructed resembling ghats of Benaras or Nasik.

D) Jaina temples

In chapter V reference to Jaina Basti of Bandivade and Kudne have been made. Some Jaina stone sculptures of tirthankaras have been dated to Silahārā Kadamba period. But no Jaina temple of Silahārā Kadamba period have been reported from Goa. Only two Jaina temples of Vijayanagara period throw light on Vijayanagara architecture. These two Jaina temples

are namely from Bandivade and Kudne. Jaina temple of Bandivade is in ruins. The ground plan of the temple is in square shape. It has been constructed out of laterite and the lime mortar has been used as the binding material. The Jaina temple of Bandivade has dome, arches and the grilled windows. Kannada inscription of Bandivade referred to in chapter V mentions the donation made to the temple. The inscription provides a corroborative evidence to show that the Jaina temple of Bandivade was built during Vijayanagara period.

The Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum of the Government of Goa conducted excavation at kudne Bicholim in 1986 and brought to light sabhāmandapa and garbhagriha. Temple is constructed out of laterite and lime mortar was used as the binding material. (Plan No. 25). The door leading to the garbhagriha has an arch. From the laterite blocks discovered in the excavation, it is evident that even in sabhāmandapa there were arches. These arches were embellished with floral pendants carved in laterite. Such floral pendent has been discovered in the excavation. The floral pendent is a mute witness to the skill of the sculptor. He was an expert in handling even inferior material like laterite to produce the beautiful floral pendent. On the basis of these arches it can be presumed that sabhāmandapa had a dome over it. Sabhāmandapa was of 8 mts X 8.30 mts. These are four pillars in the centre and four pilasters on each side-wall.

Sabhāmandapa had a gabled roof with tiles. The Jaina temple of Kudne was similar to Saptakoteshwar temple of Narve and Chandranāth temple of Paroda. This is the fore-runner of these temples. Garbhagriha has three niches. One on each side. All these three niches had images of Jaina deities. But now no images are found in these niches.

Large number of pieces of stone sculpture mostly of chlorite schist bearing the marks of the weapons of destruction indicate that the temple and the images were deliberately destroyed by the invaders in 17th A. D.⁸¹ (Plan 25)

Silahārā-Kadamba memorial monuments .. (Plate: 53)

About 4 kms from the northern borders of Goa in Satar da and in Mandrem, (Pedne), Kudne(Bicholim) and in Utorda(Salcete) laterite structures called thadagem have been found. However, only Kudne thadagem have been reported.⁸² These thadagems are memorial monuments. There is a tradition of erecting memorials in different shapes in various religions of India. Sati memorials of three to four feet in height with a basin at the top of Tulsi plant have been reported from Theur and Raigad. In Goa also similar Tulsi vrindāvan type memorials are found.⁸³ Some memorials with functional domes are also noticed in GOa. Yet another type of memorials are monolithic squarish pillars. On these pillars at the centre on the top a tiny dome is chiseled out.

The gabled roof is found on the memorial monuments of Satarda, Mandrem, Kudne and Utorda. As has been already pointed out that structural temples had influenced the memorial monuments and these are similar to the structural temples. Therefore, the memorial monuments mentioned in the above four villages belonged to Kadamba-Silahārā period.

Kudne village has planned a group of thadagems and these are located on the plateau of a hillock to the north-east of Deulwada. This site is named as "Dhupache teme". On a large thadagem on a rectangular ground plan resembling Kadamba-Silahārā temple with tiered shikharā, occupies the centre. As shown in the plan on each side three thadagems have been built at the rear there is only one thadagem. In front there is no thadagem this has facilitated unobstructed entrance.⁸⁴

Each wall of the memorial consists of one single laterite slab without windows. The single laterite slab joins the other laterite at right-angle but does not extend beyond as in the cist type of megaliths. However, some walls are partitioned at the rear and not in the front. The shikharā consists of two-tiered coping stone with Kalash as a finale.⁸⁵

In Satarda only one such memorial monument is found on the way to Sakaleshwar temple. In Mandrem(pedne) two memorials have been found in the vicinity of the temple. In Utorda (Salcete) also there is a solitary thadagem in the open field.

Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, Government of Goa conducted vegetation clearance and restoration of thadagem at Kudne. This provided an opportunity of probing the interior of the plinth area where no skeletal remains or funerary objects were found. From these facts it is evident that the thadagems are unique memorial monuments of Silahārā-Kadamba period.

Load-Rest

In many parts of Goa load-rests(davarne) were erected on the ancient routes. Two or three laterite blocks of about 1 1/2 mt were erected on the ground perpendicularly and on these blocks another laterite block was placed horizontally. These load-rests are called davarne, in Konkani, which means to keep.⁸⁶ Such load-rests are also found in Uttar Kannada. Southern most of load-rest is Tamilnadu.⁸⁷

These load-rests in appearance resemble stone-henges (megaliths) of Europe. Due to extrinsic similarity attempts were made to identify the load rests as megaliths.⁸⁸ The reference to the load-rests are found in the writing ⁸⁹. Hence, these load-rests were surveyed and it had been found that these are not megaliths but load rests.⁹⁰

Such load-rests were of considerable utility as Goa is a mountainous region. There were no broad roads connecting villages in which bullock carts could move conveniently.

Moreover, bullocks get exhausted in the hilly terrain. Common man had to carry heavy load. This might have caused great hardship and fatigue. Hence these load-rests were erected on the ancient tracks. The tradition of erecting load-rests might have come into vogue during the Kadamba period. This can be noticed in the concern shown by the Kadamba rulers of Goa in the welfare activities. This is evident from the copper plate dated 1053 A.D. This copper plate refers to the establishment of free boarding and lodging for the poor helpless and the pilgrims.

From the fore-going discussion it can be seen that though Goa is not gifted with good quality stone the architects (sthapatis) could excavate caves like Aravalem and Khandepar. They could build Mahādeva temple at Tambdi Surla, Curdi and Saptakoteshwara of Opa. The door jamb of schist preserved in St. Cajetan church precincts and the floral pendent discovered in Kudne excavation demonstrate the skill of the architects of Goa. Some masons from Tiswadi, Bardez, Salcete migrated to other regions.

R E F E R E N C E S

1. Valavlikar Varde (Shenoy Goyabab) Goyakarāchi Goyabhāyali Vasanuk (Konkani pp 14-17). was the first point out that Rivona natural cave was utilised by Buddhists. The discovery of Buddha stone sculpture in 1976 proved beyond doubts that Rivona cave is Buddhist. See also Mitterwallner Gritli". Two natural caves and 11 man-made cave excavations of Goa India." In South Asian Archaeology 1979 pp 471-474 and pp 489-503.
2. Mitterwallner Gritli Ibid pp 503-511.
3. Kale V.S. Neogene and Quaternary geomorphology of Zuari and Mandovi Basins Goa unpublished PHD p 66.
4. Mendes Lopes A India Portuguesa (portuguese) vol. I pp 18, 176-262. Nasik caves are called Pandu lena caves.
5. Fergusson James History of Rock-cut caves.
6. Valavlikar Varde (Shenoy Goyabab) op. cit pp 14-17
7. Heras Henry "Pre-Portuguese remains in Portuguese India " In JBHS vol. IV pp 3-4.
8. Srinivasan K.R. Temples of South India pp 77-78.
9. Soundarajan K. Personality of Temples see also by the same author Rock-cut caves of the Deccan pp 7, 10, 44, 46,47.
10. Ancient India 1964-65 ed Ghosh A. pp 9, 10.
11. Report of press conference of settar published in The Navhind Times dated 22nd July, 1979 and the issue of Marg in Praise of Aihole and Pattadakal foot note 112.
12. Mitterwallner Gritli Ibid.
13. Dhume Ananta Ramakrishana Cultural History of Goa from 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.
14. The linga of Consua is only dvibhāga. The upper part (pujyabhāga) is cylindrical and is finished. The lower part is unfinished. Pujyabhāga has no pārsva-sutrās or Brahma-sutrās.
15. Mitragotri V. R. "The rock-cut caves of Goa." In Giridharasri Pro G. S. Dikshit festschrift. p 29

16. Mitterwallner Gritli op. cit. p 489.
17. Mitterwallner Gritli op. cit p 402.
18. Setta's press conference published in The Navhind Times dated 22nd July 1979.
19. Coomarswamy Anand K. History of Indian and Indonesian Art p 97.
20. Dikshit M. G. " Sivapura (Goa) plates of Chandravarman" In NIA vol. IV 181-184.

See also Sircar D. C. "A note on the Goan Copper plate inscription of King Chandravarman " In ABORI pp 510-514.
21. Gai G. S. "Bandora plates of Maurya Anirajitavarman year 29 " In EI XXXIII 1959-1960 pp 293-296.
22. Khandalavala Karl " Rock-cut Temples " In Marg Vol. XXXVII No. 1 Maharashtra Religious and Secular Architecture p 12. See also Spink Walter Marg Vol. XX on Ajanta and Ellora pp 9-10. Spinks theory of the association of Kalachuris with Elephanta caves has been refuted by Khandalwala in the above Marg Vol. He has shown that during the rule of Konkan Mauryas of Gharapuri Elephanta caves were excavated, and sculptures were chiseled out.
23. Krishnamacharalu C. R. "Siroda plates of Devaraja " In EI Vol. XXIV pp 143-145.

See also Rao Lakshminarayan " A note on Siroda plates of Bhoja Devaraja " In EI Vol. XXIV pp 337-340.
24. Pitre L. K. " Buddhism in the History of Goa " In Goan Society through the ages pp 19-20 Ed Shastri B. S.
25. Pitre L. K. op. cit p 21.
26. Katti Madhav op. cit pp 138-139. This inscription was discovered in 1979 is fashioned out of pillar from the ancient temple. On palaeographic basis it is dated to c. 500 A. D. Therefore, the temple of Rudreshwar was built in c. 500 A. D. and it anti dates the rock-cut caves of Aravalem.
27. Sundara Rajan K. V. Indian Temple Styles p 39.
28. Sundara Rajan K. V. op. cit p 39

29. Katti Madhav op. cit pp 138-139.
- See also Mitterwallner Gritli's above referred paper p 167 she has identified these sockets(depressions) as the containers of various liquids for of the deities in this cave temple. Hence Katti's interpretation seems to be correct.
30. IAR 1965-1966 quoted by Mitterwallner Gritli p 170. IAR 1965-1966 p 106 quoted by Mitterwallner p 107 Mitterwallner has stated that she has not come across any sculptures of Martanda Bhairava in Goa. But one such sculpture from Par-Usgaon has been mentioned in Chapter VIII.
31. Orient Portuguese 1907 Vol. IV p 231 quoted by Pereira Gomes Rui "Hindu Temples and Deities" pp 118-119. See also Pitre L.K. "Buddhism in History of Goa " In Goan Society through the Ages " p 21.
32. Deshpande M.N. op. cit pp 121-126.
33. Heras Henry "Pre-Portuguese Remains in Portuguese India In JBHS Vol. IV p 4.
34. Ramesh K.V. "Four stone inscriptions from Goa " In EI Vol. XXXVII p 282.
35. Mitterwallner Gritli op. cit p 173.
36. Personal Communication with Dr. Venkatesh, Deputy Superintending Archaeologist of Bangalore. The Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu also mentions the date of Aravalem as c. 700 A.D. p 769. Sundara Rajan K.V. ascribes to one line inscription to the end of 6th century A.D. p39.
37. The Navhind Times dated 22nd July, 1979.
38. Katti Madhav op. cit p 139.
39. Sundara Rajan K.V. op. cit p 39.
40. Mitterwallner Gritli op. cit pp 481-482.
41. The Navhind Times dated 22nd July, 1979
42. Bhatt Gururaj P. op. cit p 313.
43. Personal communication with Dr. A. Sundara.
44. Mitterwallner Gritli op. cit pp 479-480.

45. Pitre L.K. op. cit p 19.
- See also Desai P.B. "Hiregutti Plates of Bhoja Asankita " In EI Vol XXVIII p 71.
46. Mitterwallner Gritli op. cit pp 439 and 492. See also plate No. 30, 32, 33.
47. Krynine and Judd Principles of Engineering geology and Geotectonics p 364.
48. Mitterwallner Gritli op. cit p 493.
49. Mitterwallner Gritli was first scholar to identify Pilar rock-cut cave and Diwadi cave as Nath-Panthi caves. She has dealt these caves in the above referred paper pp 503, 511 see also Deshpande M.N. The caves of Panhale-Kaji.
50. Mitterwallner Gritli op. cit pp 508, 511.
51. Mitterwallner Gritli op. cit pp 507-511.
52. Mitragotri V.R. "Rock-cut sanctuaries of Khandepar (Goa) " In the Journal Archaeological studies Vol. V 1980 pp 67-71.
53. Mitragotri V.R. "Rock-cut cave of Goa " In Giridharshri Prof. G. S. Dikshit festschrift p
54. Deshpande M.N. op. cit p 98.
55. Mitterwallner Gritli op. cit pp 484-485.
56. Deshpande M.N. op. cit p 64 Cave No. 15 of Panhale-Kaji had such arrangement of cross-bar (argala).
57. Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu pp 58-59.
58. Ramesh K.V. "Four stone inscriptions of Goa " In EI see also Katti Madhav.
59. Priolkar A.K. The Goa Inquisition p 65. Quotes from Braganza A.B. 's work Historia Religiosa de Goa. Andre Corsali has recorded that Saptakoteshwar temple was of black stone built with wonderful skill and beautiful sculptures. The sculpture of sun (surya) displayed in Old Goa Museum is from Saptakoteshwar temple is of schist. It seems schist was used for the construction of this temple during the rule of Madhav Mantri (1377-1404).
60. Mitterwallner Gritli " The Hindu Past " In Marg Vol. on

Goa Cultural Pattern p 26.

61. Mitragotri V. R. " The influence of Western Architecture on the temples of Goa" (18th century to 20th century) In S. R. Rao festschrift p 279.
62. Narasimha - Sankhaveli (Sancole) Mahalsa - Verna.
Shantadurga Kelsi, Mangesh Kushsthal, Ramanath Loutalim, Damodar Mathagram (Madagaon), Kamakshi Raia, Saptakoteswar Deepavati (Diwadi).
63. Mitterwallner Gritli op. cit p 23.
64. Sundara Rajan K. V. Indian Temple styles p 20.
65. S. Rajendrappa " Goeya Curdi Devalayad vandu adhyana " (Kannada) In Manavika Karnataka vol. XV No. 4 1985 p 26. Author has personally examined the site and accepts the findings of the above scholar.
66. Satyamurthy "Matrix of Art forms of Kerala " paper presented in National Seminar on Dimensions of Indian Art Karnataka University Dharwad March, 1991. See also Sharma I. K. "Beginnings of temples Architecture at Kanchipuram Raw material and Religious impact. " In Essays in Memory of Shri A. Ghosh Vol. II Edts Pandu B. N. and Chattopadhaya p 546.
67. Mitterwallner Gritli op. cit p 32.
68. Bhende Usha Temple Architecture of Western Maharashtra unpublished Ph.D. thesis Karnataka University p 86.
69. Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu pp 62, 91, 94.
70. Personal communication with Naik V. M. Technical officer Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum.
71. Bhadri K. M. Deputy Superintending Archaeologist Old Goa Museum helped me in preliminary reading of the inscription.
72. Mitterwallner Gritli has mentioned that the temples is of granite, p 30 Prof. R. P. Gurav from the Department of Geology Dempo College of Arts and Science has examined the stone of the temple and confirmed that Mahadeva Temple of Tambdi Surla is of schist and not of granite.
73. Sundara Rajan K. V. op. cit 14.

74. Moraes George op. cit p 311.
75. Sundara Rajan K. V. op. cit p 94.
76. Moraes George op. cit p 312.
77. Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu
78. Brown Percy Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu period) p 127.
79. Moraes George see plate 32 Halsi, Varaha-Narasimha temple plate 34. Deqamve Sri Kamala-Narayan temple. These are Kadamba temples but there are no sculptures on exterior walls.
80. Mitterwallner Gritli has dated Opa temple to 13th Century A. D. op. cit p 32. See figure 16 on p 32.
81. Pissurlekar P. S. Marathe ani Potuguese Sambandh p
82. Mitterwallner Gritli.
83. Khare G. H. " Memorial stones of Maharashtra " In Memorial Stones ed Setter S. and Sontheimer pp 251-254.
84. Mitragotri V. R. " Memorial monuments of Silahara-Kadamba period from Goa " In Goa cultural Trends p 65.
85. Mitterwallner Gritli " Testimonials of Heroism " In Goa cultural Patterns Marg vol. p 51.
86. Maharashtra Shabdakosh p 1622 mention that davarnes were erected by the side of the track for keeping load.
87. Load rests can be noticed on the road connecting Madras and Kanchipuram. These load rests are of granite. K. R. Srinivasan discussed about the tradition of erecting load rests as a " public utility ". The families which could afford to erect load rests did so during the pregnancy of women in their families. By erecting load rests it was believed that the nature would ease the load of the pregnant women by normal safe delivery.
88. News Letter. Historical Archives, Archaeology and museum, Panaji Goa. Vol. IV 1, p 47 See also Shirodkar P. P. "Megalithic culture of Goa " In Archaeology in Karnataka pp 172-180 see also figure 11.

39 Kosambi D. D. Myth and reality p 162.

See also his another work An introduction to the study of Indian History p 306. Refer to also De Souza. Teotonio R. Medieval Goa p 101.

40 Such load rests are found in Verna, Balli, Dicarpale near Cabo de Rama.

41. Moracs George op. cit p 186.

See also Pissurlekar P. S. New series Orient Portuguese New series No. 6 pp 386.

C H A P T E R X I

EDUCATION, LANGUAGE AND LITERATURES

Education occupies an apex position in civilization and culture in the history of the mankind. Education was considered as invaluable asset in ancient and medieval India. People believed that education surpassed all kinds of riches landed property, gold and cattle. Education was a non perishable permanent asset. Education protects the individual like a mother, it guides him like father, like beloved education removes obstacles, gives happiness and wealth. An illiterate and uneducated is just like a beast.¹ An attempt is made in this chapter to survey briefly the educational institutions ancient and medieval Goa.

The Brahmins were associated with education all the regions of India. The first three Varnās were normally educating their children. Primary education commenced with the sacrament (samskāras) of vidyārambha which has also been called Aksharasvikarna. At the beginning of the fifth year of the child the above sacrament was performed. It seems that till 10th century A. D. there was no special sacrament held for the formal commencement of teaching of alphabets(aksharasvikarna). In ancient period the primary education began after the thread ceremony.²

References to the Brahmins are available in Goa from c. 400 A.D. From this it is evident that Brahmins had settled in Goa from the above period. The Siroda copper plate mentions two Brahmins namely Govindaswami and Indraswami of Bharadwaj gotra. They were Rigvedi Brahmins.³ In another copper plate of Konkan Mauryas there is a reference to Sāmavedi Brahmins.⁴ References made to the Brahmin in the copper plates indicate that Brahmins were settled on the banks of the rivers of Goa. Such Brahmin settlements were at Kushasthali (Cortalim), Veranypur (Verna), Kardalipur(Kavale), Sankhavali (Sancole), Mathagram(Margao) Loutalim and Raia. All these settlements were in Saasasti(Salcete). There were two Brahmin settlements in Tiswadi. These were namely Dipavati (Diwadi) and Chudamani(Chorao). After the first migration of Sāraswat in c. 800 A.D. Some of them might have settled in the above villages and the references to these settlements are found in SKH.⁵ The Kadamba rulers of Goa were patrons of learning. The Degamve grant of Sivachitta describes Gopakapattana as the city filled with the palanguinis carrying pandits.⁶ Even outside Goa in other parts of their kingdom Kadambas established agrahāras. The Kadamba queen Kamaladevi founded an agraharas at Degamve.⁷ Copper plate of Kadamba ruler Gulhadeva mentions Priol Savai-Verem, Nāgeshi and Betaki.⁸

Tribhuvanamalla established Brahmapuri at modern Goa Velha(Tiswadi). 12 Brahmins well versed in Vedas, religion and

philosophy settled in the above Brahmapuri. Gardens of coconut and cultivated lands from the village of Nerul (Bardez), Pale (Tiswadi) Madkai (Ponda) were allotted to the maintenance of the Brahmins.⁹ Marcela (Mahāshālā) in Ponda taluka has the tradition of learning. Hence it was called as Mahāshālā. Many Brahmins well versed in scriptures lived in Mahāshālā. Paithan also a well known centre of learning like Paithan on the banks of Godavari.¹⁰

It seems that a temple of Sarawati the goddess of learning was built in madgaon region. For the maintenance of the temple lands were allotted to Brahmins. Three houses were constructed. One was for the priest who worshipped the goddess Saraswati and delivered discourse on religion and puranas and another was for the supervision of agrahāra and the third for the scribe.¹¹ Jayakeshi I established agrahara in Kudatarika (Curtorim) on fifth dark half of the month of Jeshtha Saka year 971 corresponding to Wednesday 27th May 1949 A.D. The donee learned Brahmin Madhavācharya.¹² Jayakeshi III Princes of Wales Museum inscription mentions about the establishment of a Brahmapuri. A piece of land to the west of Unakal was exempted from all the taxes was granted for the maintenance of the Brahmapuri. A school measuring twenty six hands in length and twenty one hands in width was constructed in the prescints of the temple.¹³

There was an administrative division called Astāgar in

Sanguem taluka. This may be a corruption of Astagrahāra. This division consisted eight agraharas, these are namely Rivona , Jambavali, Colamb, Curdi, Curpe, Netravali, Vichundrem and Talauli.¹⁴ However, no epigraph references are available about this group of eight agraharās. Incidentally in Curdi Netravali and Vichundrem temples belonging. to Kadamba period have been found. The temple of Nundem was one of the earliest temples of Goa and was of c. 500 A.D. From this it is evident Brahmin were in Sanguem taluka from c. 500 A.D. During Kadamba period this group of eight agraharas might have come into existence.

Most of the well known temples were the centres of learning. Epigraphs from south India reveal that many temples acted as the centres of learning.¹⁵ However, there are no inscriptions referring to such temples from Goa.

Karhāde Brahmins were probably teachers in temples of Goa. Other Brahmins did not recognise Sāraswats hence they were engaged in worldly pursuits like agriculture, commerce and administration.¹⁶ However, there were some Sāraswat Brahmins who were well versed in Vedas and Purānās. In the inscription of Mādhavamantri references to Ghaisas and the Chitpāvan Brahmin are found. Like agraharās, ghatikāsthānās were the centres of learning. Those who were educated in Ghatikāsthānās were considered as great scholars. The above Ghaisās in Vijayanagara inscription might have been a product

of ghatikāsthānās. Ghaisas might have been derived from Ghatikāsāhāsi Ghatisas and finally Ghaisās.¹⁷

The traditions of establishing Brahmapuri continued in the Vijayanagara period. Mādhavamantri the Governor of Goa during the Vijayanagara period established Brahmapuri at village Gavala Mauli in Tiswadi.¹⁸ References to agrahārās and Brahmapuris are found in the inscriptions. Though personal name Ghaisas is mentioned in the above inscription, no references to ghatikāsthānās are found in the epigraphs of Goa.

Inscriptions mentioned that king Gulhadeva was well versed in political science, literature, architecture and logic.¹⁹ Though these subjects are mentioned in the inscriptions inscriptions are silent about the subjects taught in the agrahārās and Brahmapuris.

The traces of Buddhism have been found in Goa in Lamgaon and Rivona. These were small Buddhist Monasteries. These may have been small centres of education. Jaina Bastis of Bandivade and Kudne may have also been Jaina centre of learning.

The medium of instructions in agrahārās and Brahmapuri was sanskrit. But the language of the region was Konkani. Konkani has no script of its own. Konkani did not get any royal patronage or encouragement.²⁰ During the Yadava period Marathi developed and the people of Goa found Marathi easier

than sanskrit. Hence the people readily accepted. Marathi devotional songs and the literature of saints. However, the people of Goa did not make any efforts to develop their own language.²¹ Some scholars argue that Konkani had its own literature but the manuscripts of Konkani literature were burnt by the Portuguese.²²

Attempts have been made to trace Konkani inscriptions from the beginning of c. 100 A. D. The Devaraja copper plate of Siroda and one line inscription on solar disc of Aravalem caves and the pearl stone inscription of Northern Silahārās King Aparaditya are considered as Konkani inscriptions.²³ The first two sculptures are in Sanskrit only and third one is in Sanskrit but last two lines of this inscription are in Marathi.²⁴ Marathi and Konkani being Indo-Aryan language are closely related. It is difficult to distinguish between old Marathi and Konkani. Hence it is extremely difficult to categorically state that Pearl inscription is in Konkani.

The influence of the Southern alphabets has been traced on the early inscriptions of Goa. Such as copper plates of the Bhojas, Nundem inscription both inscription of Aravalem the Konkani Mauryas and also an unpublished inscription of Chandor.²⁵ All the Copper plates of Bhojas, Konkani Mauryas, Southern Silahārās and the Kadambas are in Sanskrit. However, the Kadambas used Kannada in Kannada speaking areas such as Dharwad, Belgaum and Karwar districts of the present Karnataka

State. The Southern influence continued on the inscriptions of Goa from c. 400 A. D. to c. 700 A. D. Therefore Kannada script was not introduced by any particular Dynasty in Goa but it was a part of an evolutionary process and thus it took firm roots in Goa. The people of Goa were familiar with Kannada scripts from medieval period (c. 1000 A. D. to c. 1100 A. D. Even than it has been suggested that the Yadavas introduced Kannada script in order to please kannada subjects. However, the language was in Marathi.²⁶ The above facts only indicates that Marathi influence has increased during the Yadava period.

Kannada script was neither introduced by Yadavas nor Vijayanagara but as a part of evolutionary process it came into use during Kadamba period. The use of Kannada script was not wide-spread in Goa but only three Kannada stone inscriptions have been found.²⁷ Alongwith Kannada Sanskrit was also used for copper plates by Kadambas and such six copper plates of kadambas have been published.²⁸ The use of Kannada script continued during the later period right upto the 17th century A. D. in Goa and the Comunidade documents are Kannada script.²⁹

The earliest Marathi inscription from Goa in Khandepar copper plate and this is in Kannada script but the language is Marathi.³⁰ This script is been called Hale Kannada.³¹ Hale Kannada is actually a literary style of writing in Kannada literature from c. 800 A. D. to 1100 A. D. and is not

applicable to script.³²

Goa is surrounded on three side by Karnataka. Therefore, it is the major linguistic zone and hence the the language of the major linguistic zone was used by the people of Goa during ancient and medieval period in Goa. But the people were Konkani speakers. Hence Goa can be labeled as bilingual zone. There many such bilingual zones in South India.³³ Marathi influence spread in Goa during the later period as it developed later than Kannada. There are nine Marathi inscriptions in Goa. Marathi influence did not take firm root in later medieval period. If Marathi was firmly established the documents of Comunidade would have been in Marathi.

Literature.

Incomplete sanskrit seven line inscriptions of Aravalem is in literary style. If the inscriptions was complete it would have been a fine example of Sanskrit poetry in the anustubh meter.³⁴ Panaji plates of Jayakeshi I of saka 981 mentions that it was the poet of Vishvarupa who composed the inscription. The verses found in this inscription are also in anustubh meter.³⁵ These are the only references available about the literature from the region of Goa. The Kadambas of Goa had roots in Karnataka. Hence Konkani did not get the royal patronage. As mentioned earlier Marathi received the royal patronage during the Yadava period. The people accepted

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 - IV See also for reference to 4th inscription in JBHS vol IV pp 19-20. However then it is not known whether it was taken to Heras Institute Bombay.
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॥ श्री वेताळ सहस्रनाम ॥

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श्रीगणेशायनमः॥ अस्य श्रीवेताळसहस्रनामस्तोत्रं
लामंत्रस्य आनंदभैरवरूपिः अनुष्टुप् छंदः श्रीवेताळो दे
वता ॥ ॐ वेताळो भूतनाथश्चेति बीजं ॥ योगिनीपतीसि
हीहीतिराक्षिः ॥ सिंहनाबरूपं जितइतिकीलकं ॥ ममा
भिस्यार्थसिद्धये जपे विनियोगः ॥ करसंपुटो मूलनव
उंगः ॥ ध्यानं मूलवत् ॥ अथ भालामंत्रस्य ॥ ॐ वंदे वेताळ
मानंदभैरवप्रियमसुतं ॥ षोडशोऽंशं रक्तकायं योगिनीसि
द्धसेवितं ॥ १ ॥ खड्गं विश्रलं हस्ताभ्यां दक्षिणाभ्यां घृतमुखा ॥

वासा १५०० मरुपात्रं दिवा प्ररितं धृतं ॥ १५ ॥ अथ वाचकं हतं वैवलं
 करुणा लक्ष्मी ॥ स्मृत्तुणा क्रमदं निरुत्थ क्षणो गण स्ववितं ॥ १६ ॥ इति
 ध्यानं ॥ ॥ ॐ वैना त्वा भक्तनाथ प्रवृत्ता त्वा १६ त पूजितं ॥ यागिनो
 पतिसिद्धि राः सिद्धिदा वर पूजितः ॥ १७ ॥ यथा धिप्रति रानं दभेर वधि
 यश्चरः ॥ अथैवा वज्र कय प्ररा त्तो गोरा किनी पतिः ॥ १८ ॥ स्मर्या
 नवा सी प्रते री या किनी गानिरामयः ॥ निराशा क वती खड्गो मा
 सा री प्रेत वाहनः ॥ १९ ॥ कमनी य व पुः को लो को ल य म सु पू जितं
 ॥ सदा चारः सदा तरो वार णा चू णा लो व नः ॥ २० ॥ दिगंबरः कुमार
 दो बा लो वा ल वि नो द नः ॥ अथ स्व से वि न कान्त प्री जी तो वि धु

वल्लभः ॥ २१ ॥ बाली शो ब ल वा धी रो बाल बो ध करः स्मरः ॥ प्रेत रूपः
 प्रेत वा सी प्रे ता न्न म लिको व री ॥ २२ ॥ अथ न्या लय नि वा सी चर न्य
 वा दी न रां त कृ त् ॥ अथ न्य ल्ठं न्य हा धूर्तो धूर्त दान व वा दितः ॥ २३ ॥
 नाना विद्या धरो वीरो नाना रूपी निरंजनः ॥ नाना योग क ल भि शो
 नाना रूप य रो नरः ॥ २४ ॥ नार सिंह स खो ज्ये ष्ठा ज्ये ष्ठी दे वी सु रां जे
 तः ॥ २५ ॥ इति वा सी च व ट प त्रा रा नो व दुः ॥ २६ ॥ अति ता गः शि
 वा भा री भा गो भा रा व त जियः ॥ ग ष ष्ठी को ग य षो गो डी गा रू डो ग रू ड
 मियः ॥ २७ ॥ अथ सु षः प रू हा पा र्शो म हा पां त व ती ॥ अति रो न व दुः र व
 श्री भा री गा व त्रि यो भ वः ॥ २८ ॥ भा रती को त्त क ज नः पा ल को भ क ल व न

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भः ॥ श्री घण्टा मी स दानं दी कि न्दरी गण पूजितः ॥ २९ ॥ राज्य प्रि
 यो राज्य दा ता य र का य व व वा वि त् ॥ अथ श्च वा द रू ड इ रू ड षो
 ग पा दु कः ॥ ३० ॥ अथ रू षो ह र दू पा भ ता वे री दि गं व रः ॥ म ह
 त्तारो म हा मं श्री ला घ वी ल पु रो ग ह र ॥ ३१ ॥ लि ला व ता रो ल लि तो
 लिं गी ला स्य क रोग दः ॥ ले के री ल लि ता ना थो रा जा रा व ण पू
 जितः ॥ ३२ ॥ रा जी व लो च नो रा मः का म दः क लि का ल ह र ॥ अथ
 प्र दो क्षि प्र गा मी क्षु द्र पा त क ना रा नः ॥ ३३ ॥ अथु द्रो क्षु द्र गः को
 धी को ध मे र व वं दि तः ॥ उ न्म त्तो म द लो व ण या म हा भा ग्य प्र दो भ
 गी ॥ ३४ ॥ भा ग्य वा भा ग वा र्शी भा री म हो न सु सं कृ तः ॥ वि क्री मी क

मगः क्रूरः कार्तवीर्यर्जुनप्रियः ॥१९८॥ वेतालिकस्तुतेवेत्तावेत्तपाणीव
 रप्रदः ॥ विधीयते द्विधा धाता धारा सारस्वतप्रियः ॥१९९॥ शाकिनीवल्ल
 भः शास्ता हाहा हूरदप्रियः ॥ खले प्ररजनादाता दाडिमिकुसुमप्र
 भः ॥२००॥ दरघोदरदर्घघोमहादारिकुनारानः ॥ धनदोधनवान्धीसं
 मानुतकीप्राविलेरायः ॥२०१॥ कुकोलीलाकरः श्रीमाहीकरः प्रमला
 लला ॥ लीला विश्वंभरोदवोदेवेतोपुरवदितः ॥२०२॥ परतदारनादी
 नवारीतोदीनवस्तुलः ॥ देव्यहादारिकानाथः परदाराविनर्शिकः ॥२०३॥
 पुष्पदोमसतेजोदोमसाणागणरजिनः ॥ सभ्योसद्यप्रियोराताड

दा रोमुत्तमप्रियः ॥२०४॥ सिंहीशवल्भोसंसावातप्रोसहृरीप्रियः ॥
 कोटिजोसोटतिमलासाकारोसदीतिप्रियः ॥२०५॥ अमरवाराउवतकी
 सुदिमानादमोदितः ॥ क्षणसुरत्रिकलाचरवातिरनिवाससुता ॥२०६॥
 डाकिनाप्रियकृष्णकृष्णजादिरारदः ॥ कुतुकाकुतुपीकाणाकु
 णपीकुतुकालयः ॥ राजाकुलसंतावकाशचकुलश्रीवरदः सु
 ली ॥ सभावादीसभानाथः सभासाधनलक्षरः ॥२०७॥ सिद्धः
 साध्यः सुसिद्धश्चसिध्यष्टकनिधिवितः ॥ विद्यागीवितसावेद्यो
 विधिद्रास्यविवंचकः ॥२०८॥ जाधवोमधुवादीचमहापारीति

नारावः ॥ गोपालो गोपिका नाथो गोपीजनविवादकृता ॥२०९॥
 पद्मवोबालकीलतायोराचारपराक्रमी ॥ चद्रकांतश्चिताभस्म
 धूसरश्वंवल्लेचतः ॥२१०॥ उमीठीवीरलालेताछनराज्यप्रदायकः ॥
 ज्याज्यदोजलकेलिज्ञो जनपोजनवल्लभः ॥ ग्रामिण्याग्रामकृत्तीच
 ग्रामवासी गिरांपतिः ॥२११॥ मल्लारिर्मल्लहंताचमल्लिकाकुरुमप्रियः ॥
 ॥२१२॥ शोकरतीरिहंतान्यमित्रवर्गमनोहरः ॥ गिरिवासीग्रहरोडाहभोतिनि
 बारणः ॥ वेद्योवेद्यो प्रयोवेदीवेदागमविहारदः ॥२१३॥ दादज्ञोवादकृत
 वादीमहोदरीनिहंतनः ॥ अग्निदोभ्रतिपालकप्रदेवपालः ॥ दोलांतक

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त्वा॥५॥ क्षत्रियः सावर्ण्यः क्षत्री वैश्यवाणिज्यवर्द्धनः॥ वैश्याश्चोर्वशध
 तीवैश्यासुरतकोविदः॥६॥ अद्रुशाकानिरंतवसेवाज्ञानपरायणः॥
 वास्तुपावास्तुपुरुषावार्तज्ञाविगताधिजः॥७॥ कृष्णोऽस्यर्षीस्वटी
 चपैटीनर्मवादनः॥ कपालकपिलानाथोज्ज्वलकाकाजिानाप्रयः॥
 ॥३८॥ जितवादीजयानंदोविजईजयदायकः॥ हसंसेसकरोरारीह
 द्रो गङ्गाहलाधिपः॥३९॥ दीप्तदंष्ट्रामहानेत्रोविशोकोवरवाहनः॥
 वामनोवामफलदोवागोश्वरावराहकोः॥४०॥ शंभोरोद्रोद्राक्षमालीच
 षड्चक्रग्रहयत्रितः॥ नीलकंठानीलवारः सुनीलोनीलवत्समः
 ॥४१॥ आत्मतत्त्वाकामतत्त्वीशिवतत्त्वीश्वरीप्रियः॥ भेरीनादाप्रियो

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जीतिः कुरुकुलीसहस्रजित॥४२॥ मृत्युसुखकालराजगोराजभीति
 विभंजनः॥ द्वास्तादिभीतुसंमोहोआकषोवस्यकादिकः॥४३॥ जे
 भीस्तभीजारणाचरिणगीरणवत्सलः॥ विग्रहीसंहरीमदीकुकं
 चीवज्जनायकः॥४४॥ कपोलीविस्फुलिंगीचउर्मिणीपतिरोनिधिः
 ॥४५॥ कारीचामरोकंदीकंदर्पमदविह्वलः॥४६॥ स्फुरधानिः स्फुरन्ने
 त्रः जिह्वल्लनभीषणः॥ कुलाधीराः कुंडलीनप्रगटोगुप्तएव
 च॥४७॥ निगमोदिरहस्यश्रुपंचराक्तिपरायणः॥ सुधाधाराभि
 संवृत्तः सुधाध्यायविनोयकः॥४८॥ बाग्वादीलाहसिद्धीरोधासु
 वीदीधरामरः॥ पद्मोपमप्रियः प्रह्लादादनीपतिरुत्सवः॥४९॥

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येजीयुंअधरोकोलाविरुद्धबलिस्तद्विनासासर्वकषीरिताकजिंथा
 कथिककथकः॥५०॥ धैर्योकर्षीहृदाकथिनाताकथिसदान्वयः॥
 सर्वाप्रयंकरः सर्वमंगलासकलाचिंतः॥५१॥ शरीराकर्षकेनंग
 मदनानुरवल्लभः॥ सर्वसंज्ञात्रणः स्वामीसर्वसंपत्तिरूपकः॥५२॥ स्त्वा
 सर्वसिद्धिप्रदः साक्षाद्देवसर्वविनोदस्तु॥ सर्वाधारस्वरूपश्च
 सर्वसिद्धिप्रदः॥५३॥ भगभुजागरोमहोदतीदूतीनिष्
 वितः॥५४॥ तीयागपरः शोरीमहामठस्वनाशनः॥५५॥ अश्व
 प्रियाश्वदाताचआश्वास्तुश्वप्रेथकः॥ गजोतश्रीकरागजो
 तैर्जितजैवधारणः॥५६॥ शंखविधिः धूमनिर्धीकृष्णोनिधि

शयकः॥स्वर्णप्रियस्वर्णद्वयस्वर्णकर्षणभैरवः॥५५॥
 सबादीरसावासोराकापतिप्रियोरतः॥कपूरक्षोददिग्धुमः
 कपूरामोदमोदितः॥५६॥भोनीमोनप्रियोमायोसर्वमाया
 विमोहकः॥करुणाधिर्नागबाहोनागवल्लीदलान्वितः॥५७॥
 बकुलान्वितपादकः॥केनरीनादमोदितः॥कारिकामधुरा
 लोपीमरालनिधुनप्रियः॥५८॥पूर्यकासनसंस्तुअका
 लोभोदनिवासदी॥कुंरोहारुचिदः॥योवः॥सुरस्यरेज्वरुच्य
 खः॥५९॥मंत्रमन्त्र्योमंत्रकोरोएकांतस्थः॥सदासुखी॥भद्रा

नंदमहोत्सासीमहाविष्णुनिबन्धः॥६०॥देवैरुपीतिरः॥श्रीरुं
 छसामधुपानहृत्वा॥वज्रासमिदीनाथोदीपराजसाधयः॥६१॥ + शः
 क्षेत्रभृक्षेत्रपालाद्यः॥खडितारियुरप्रियः॥पशुपालपशुघ्न
 श्रपथनीसारानोपशुः॥६२॥पुराणज्ञः॥पूर्णपात्रीपापरापाप
 भक्षणः॥पातालतलयासीवर्धगः॥देववरः॥प्रियः॥६३॥भृ
 तापसारणोभोती॥नभोलीनेनभोतका॥वामरुस्तेनवरदे
 |दक्षिणेनाभयप्रदः॥६४॥वार्ताकोवार्तिकोवार्तिकोदृष्टवार्तानि
 वारणः॥अधोदः॥पानदीकोभीलोभातीलोभदायकः॥६५॥
 अपदुद्धारणो॥धन्योघनयाच्यदिवहनः॥देवलोचारीद्विप्रसि

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दुःसंक्षेपीसंक्षयापरा॥६६॥दुरधः॥पुराणयात्रोभरापुरप्रकथियः
 ॥कामेश्वरः॥कामदोकामनाथः॥कलाकरः॥६७॥वीणावाद्यर
 लोवाणीवेषवादनकाविदः॥सहस्रारीजयास्तोभीवज्रपेज
 दायकः॥६८॥धूमकेतुधूमनेत्राधुमादीनायकः॥ररी॥दृ
 त्यायनीसुतः॥काम्याविताकप्रीविधीश्वरः॥६९॥चंद्रकीचप
 लोवाजीभंडलरुओवराननः॥देवतायुरुभक्तप्रमहानगरवास
 कृतः॥७०॥पुण्यदोमासतिमैत्रीसवाकंधाधरोजदो॥अमृतप्रावरी
 देदीदेउकारणयसकृतः॥७१॥कस्या॥नायोतले॥केनकीकन

लोकावलीये पिपयारकः कोपी कुडिः लोकरु डी लु कः ॥ ७५ ॥
 भावा महेषासी पीन वक्षाः प्रतापवान् ॥ मनसो मो कः वा ना अ
 महाहि ष्टी पिशाचकः ॥ ७६ ॥ वलि दो वलि दान जी वलि भा जी
 वला बलः ॥ अक्षोभ्या वदु ना थ अदु दी पुत्रो प्र रा चितः ॥ ७७ ॥ आ
 ट की द ज पः स्व गो व्या प कः पर मा ध वि तः ॥ महा व लः न म तो महा इ ता
 लि क प्रियः ॥ ७८ ॥ स्व शान का लि का दू तः स्व रा न रा य त्रे सु रः ॥ रो मि
 ना धः रा हि दा ता महा रा क्त ज न प्र दः ॥ ७९ ॥ अ ज न जी ज ना धी रो इ
 ती पी ति नि वार णः ॥ अ ष्ट व्या यो म प्र म त्त श्र मे द दो स्ति वि भू ष णः ॥ ८० ॥
 सि दू र च र्चि तं ग श्र सि दू रा ष ण वि ग्र हः ॥ क क्षा प तिः शु द्र म तिः कृ त्ता

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शी फणि ना द रु तः ॥ ८१ ॥ ई र नि ह र दः कं दु धा र कः कं दु कं ठ नः ॥ त दा मु त्तो
 मु क्त के रो वा लो न म तं पि रा च व तः ॥ ८२ ॥ दि व द नो द त्त ना प्र द त्त ने च
 प्रियेः घृ ह तः ॥ इ द्र गो व नि भ न्ये द्रो महा तुं गी महा वि रा षा ॥ ८३ ॥ विं दु मा
 ली विं दु ना दी र्थ गी र्थ ण न नः ॥ सु रू त्त व ह रू प श्र व त्ते लो य त्ते लान नः ॥
 ॥ ८४ ॥ बु द्ध मा लो ध नो दो धी म रा वं श वि ना रा कः ॥ प्री ति कृ ता प्रा ति ष्ट श्र
 प्रति ष्ठा फ ल दो य कः ॥ ८५ ॥ गो र श्रु ती क्षो गो र द र्ण श्र गो र शो गो भ ति
 प्रियः ॥ म र त्य ना थो म र त्य दो हो ना च र त्य द्रो म र त्य भ क्ष णः ॥ ८६ ॥ आ
 दि ना थः स दा ना थः स दा न दै क वि ग्र हः ॥ पू णा न दो ना ग ना थो ना ग रो
 ना ग र ज नः ॥ ८७ ॥ निः रा को न म रा दू न यान दी न द न दो य कः ॥ अ

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खंडे कर ता नं शे ज य श्री न र द्वा कः ॥ ८८ ॥ अ श्रि यो र्मि न मं श्रु ति
 कार्य वि धा य कः ॥ गी र्थ वा शो स शो द र्शो नि द्रा तु ति धि यं जि तः ॥ ८९ ॥ नि
 शो नि म ल नं दे रा नि रा का रा जि ता ॥ च क न्ना क्षा मा क्षा मा क्ष मा दा ता र्थ
 म ला हि व रा चि तः ॥ ९० ॥ आ भे ष ष् अ ज रा अ धो न र्घ्या न र्घ्य सु प्र जि
 नः ॥ अं तरि र्थ ति र्थ ति र्थे द्य त्त मा त्म हृ ति प्रियः ॥ ९१ ॥ न्यो ति न्मा ति
 प्रियो न्यो त्नी न्या ति यो पा त व ल्त्त लो कु च रो मा र्ज न म श्रु त्त र्थ पा दो
 म हो खं गः ॥ ९२ ॥ आ धा रो आ धि ह त न्धा न गे म्यः पुरा त नः ॥ ९३ ॥ नि
 शी र्वा वा सी ना नं दे रा वि रा र दः ॥ ९४ ॥ अ ने क भा ष णा ने क भा ष णो
 क वि प्र जि तः ॥ आ हि ती यो ह्यो वा दी वि र मि त्रो रि रो प तिः ॥ ९५ ॥
 आ ग नी ति र्मि ती गे ता महा र्ज नि वार णः ॥ रा ज हा शी रा ज वै द्यो रा जा र त्त र म

हरः॥१२॥नासिकेरकरोनाकीनळिनीदललोचनः॥वरीजियत्रियो
 निरुतिरोगोमोगोत्राणिप्रजितः॥१३॥रुक्मोपुष्करपात्रीचसगरी
 सागराचिंतः॥अत्रिर्वरुनात्पीसाध्यद्वेषासुपर्णगः॥१४॥अ
 त्रिप्रियोत्तुपूजाठ्याष्टताचोवरदःसरना॥सुन्दतीवोसुदाधीनो
 जूनदक्षानियासना॥१५॥वल्गहकोभनारथमेपुनादीनघा
 चिंतः॥वृषप्रोवृषभीकोलीस्यद्वीगोस्यजुपोत्रभृत्॥१६॥क
 भीसाकेलीलीलाकोरीपेप्यलभक्षणाः॥बेहुरीभारतील
 सोधुवनाधीश्वरुः॥१७॥रावरीशतयरीसाजः॥बोवराचिंत
 पादुका॥तत्रीतंत्रकलाभित्तोत्रेवरेतत्रकर्मजः॥१८॥ली

अत्रियस्तोत्रवारीसिंधुतीरनिवसितकः॥शारण्यःशारहस्तभ्रश
 रणागतपक्षिलकः॥१९॥शरभःशोकदःशोभुरीतलोवरुणा
 चिंतः॥वायुवारावायुदेहीवायूरूपा मरुत्सुवा॥२०॥ादधिभाजी
 दधिक्रावीदध्यादनरतावरी॥आथुगःपवतादृतीव्यथानारो
 व्यथोव्ययः॥२१॥भ्रामकाभ्रमहाभर्ताभ्रमराभ्रामरीप्रियः॥
 कोकतःकोकितानादीशंमीवादनतत्परः॥२२॥कलमेकीकि
 नफणीसिंहनादीजटाधरः॥प्रजावान्प्रथमःप्रहाःप्रजाहितक
 रोप्रजः॥२३॥पालकःप्रथोमोदुह्याधवनोदहनज्वलुः॥चकेना
 नश्रिरंजीवोचोरपीजानिवारको॥२४॥कपर्दीकरणत्रीणापमस्थी
 ब्रह्मचित्तमः॥अविणीद्रमदाताचरेलनेहाळिकाप्रियः॥२५॥डुवा

स्वतोबीजवर्तवीजपूरुखोवरः॥कंदकीकंदकारिथ्यमराकंड
 कनारानः॥धन्वाचार्थवितःसत्सौसत्यप्रतिष्ठिता॥अजरोम्राह
 नोभोनीप्रधानोरुणप्रजितहा॥२६॥सगरीगरदाघघ्नोमराव्यापी
 तिकृतकः॥सुकुरणामदनोमदमिल्लुमुद्रविशारदः॥२७॥असुरणा
 निर्घुणोहतिर्द्वोवृकसभोदरः॥राशिराष्टप्रदोरोहीग्रहसाप्रिय
 वल्लभः॥२८॥प्रहियोमारेषाहरोमारेषोसुरभेदनः॥अद्रुतेद्रुत
 हाशेचअद्रुतीकोरकारकः॥२९॥अग्रहीग्रहहतीचक्रानदेवो
 गृपूजकः॥सुभोरोरासभाधोशारथस्त्रोरथरुक्तः॥३०॥जला
 धीभेवजीजधीवयुनीवयुनप्रियः॥अनवेक्षुनयोनश्चनवानारोने

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वावरः॥१२॥ घमनोभीषणोभीषेणमहाकंठीकुवेरजिता॥ कार्तिकः
 कार्तिकतीजमहाकांतिविबुधैः॥१३॥ भरतो नदवधयकुंडो
 कुंडालनारानः॥ त्रिपुनपुसकापेजमहापठलेनारानः॥१४॥ ॥
 गुणीगुणप्रियोगुण्यागुणग्राहीगुरुत्तमः॥ स्वातुलाथीखलेहेषीव
 नहीरुविलदेनः॥ दुपाकुतुरलीचमुत्तलीवेदीनकात्रिभूलक्षत्रा
 रवटकोतामरीचापीवाणीवत्तविबुधैः॥१५॥ सुधापानीतदार
 चर्दीचावैकश्र्वर्यप्रियः॥ उक्तकीचवृरारायीमहास्यानगमः
 वर्येण॥१६॥ सोवीरोदनभोक्तानजमादीनमदार्चितः॥ मा
 तंगो राजमातंगो महाविद्यो महाविदः॥१७॥ रंभ्रगो

लंबिकाथोगीहृत्कोलयवारकनाजदोक्तयोमतानादेभासुपीप
 निरीउवरा॥१९॥ कोलकुंडोवधयसुःकुतुमीकतकत्रिदः॥
 ज्वलत्तालाग्निसंकाशोवभुकरकोतिमा॥ १२॥ पंचादीत्यो
 ठनितयःपंचादीद्वर्जमंगः॥ ककलादृशिकःसर्पःसर्पभूत
 नंजयः॥ २॥ कागहृत्अनपुलेजालेभोभरगोधरः॥ निकजावि
 द्ययालपीवर्णश्रमविवर्जितः॥ २॥ अथमश्रमहीनमहाश्वस
 निनश्वरः॥ जायतेस्वजनःसुतःसुपुत्रिः॥ दिव्यविषयक्षोः॥ २॥
 त्रिपुरांतरदीहृत्सत्तालास्तसहस्रता॥ ३॥ सुमप्रियामूठः॥ नगे
 लीमिातवजितः॥ २॥ विंबीपरुतुलोकमजपंचोदचकोमलः

अलुतो निसृत्ततश्चस्वबोधोबोधवर्जितः॥ २॥ चेटकीचेटकधा
 श्रचटिकाप्राणवल्लभः॥ विजैजयदाताचसतधातुमपोषकः॥ २॥
 अतिवीर्योतितीश्र्वरितामणिवनक्षजः॥ श्र्वरानुधश्र्वकभु
 रःपूतनारोपधारकः॥ २॥ कुलकोलविभरीचसुत्तिहःकर्ण
 कुंडलः॥ ३॥ उदयोभेदवादीचरंपठवादीदिनाचकः॥ २॥ यामदक्षि
 णकर्णः॥ कुलकामोकुलेश्वरः॥ दिव्ययोगीयोगकर्तारटयोगी
 रियोगवान्॥ २॥ कंठकठेदनःकीलोग्रामदेवतप्रजितः॥ नर्त
 दीभररीसुशीपरकापट्यगजनः॥ २॥ अमृतानेदनोथश्रसे
 मथानाथपदच॥ सुतगानेदनोथश्रअनेगकुसुमार्चितः॥ ३॥
 हिन्दवोचतस्वाहितोक्तः॥ शिखिवाहज॥ कान्हीश्वरोह्युलगा

मानवो मानवप्रियः ॥ चंडीश्वरस्य दकतीप्रचंडपवनालयः ॥ ३२ ॥
 तीर्थगाभीमहाप्रीतकुलदीपः कुलाग्रजः ॥ पुत्रपौत्रादिवरदोरु
 द्रोवेतालनाथकः ॥ ३३ ॥ १२ तं धर्वे आदित्यो भुजुर्मा रत ए क
 राय ॥ दिहृष्टश्व बहिस्तुश्व सर्वरोगविनाशनः ॥ ३४ ॥ सर्व
 श्वर्नेप्रदः सर्वविबधुः सर्वमंजा ॥ ३५ ॥ सर्वक्षेत्रप्रदो देवो वेताला
 धिपतिः पुमान् ॥ ३६ ॥ नास्मात्सहस्राणि स्यत देतालस्य सदाशे
 वा ॥ कश्चि संतेन बस्तेहस्तेर्व कामकलप्रदा ॥ ३७ ॥ यस्य स्मरण
 माने वास्तानां विलया भवेत् ॥ मर्दं पठते धीना छता हृद्यानमा
 कथिता ॥ ३८ ॥ वेतालस्तस्य तिहिर्याददाति वांछितं फलं ॥ महारा

१२

जभय प्राप्ते त्रिराहृसापठेद्यदि ॥ ३९ ॥ संध्यायां मध्यरात्रौ च भयं
 तस्या न विघ्ने ॥ ग्रातदवतपो ज्ञाया सतवारपठेत् ॥ ४० ॥ न
 भवेत्स्य सा पां ज प्रसन्ना देवता सदा ॥ भो म वां श्वो धि सु ह्रि प
 टे ह्यराष्ट्रकं यदी ॥ ४१ ॥ दक्षिण-यते शीघ्रे सत्यं वचनं प्रियं ॥
 ह्ये ह्य म सी चतुर्दश्या वेतालं परिश्रुयेत् ॥ ४२ ॥ पंचवारं जपि
 स्वा तु म नो भि ह्य म वा ज्ञायात् ॥ ४३ ॥ म नो क न विधि ना वेता लं पूज
 जयद्यदि ॥ ४४ ॥ सतवारं रात्रि काले वेतालस्तस्य सिध्यति ॥ भे
 तं संपुटितं जस्वी अन्वथा वितंतं भवेत् ॥ ४५ ॥ तु रीयं संध्या काले
 तु मठितं व्यकुंजिने ॥ ने ह्य म्य म वा ज्ञो भि शीघ्रे पूर्वता लो जे ॥ ४६
 गतं भूत भयना त पठेद्यदि तं मास्ति ॥ न भवेत्तु तिको पां डी त व्यं ॥

१२

वचनं प्रिये ॥ ४७ ॥ ए र्द र्दिति मार्गेण येतालं साधयेद्यदि ॥ महार
 पंयतं यदि कीर्तिर्द्विजयं योजयेत् ॥ ४८ ॥ तस्या भुगो भ वे
 देवो येताला भूतनाथकः ॥ किंतु स्वसाधने योगीयो गिनी पूजेने
 रधि ॥ ४९ ॥ सु प्रसन्ना स्य वेतालो भक्तानामीक्षितार्थदः ॥ न
 देयं न हृदिया च छलने कुटिलयन् ॥ ५० ॥ गुरुभक्त्या यदा
 व्यताधका धमयस्तेतः ॥ इतीशो सिद्धराय रतं ये देवो वरसं
 या देवेता रं लहना नाम स्ता नं सं सं ता श्रीवेताला जेणे मस्तु ॥
 र्दं तु र्तं यं सु क्ता म नाम क शि व रा म त्स्त्व मि क भ दे न सि सि गं ॥

१२

GENEALOGY OF SOUTHERN ŚĪLĀHĀRAS

SANAPHULLA (C. A. D. 765-785)

DHAMMIYARA (C. A. D. 785-820)

AIYAPARĀJA (C. A. D. 820-845)

AVASARA I (C. A. D. 845-870)

ĀDITYAVARMAN (C. A. D. 870-895)

AVASARA II (C. A. D. 895-920)

INDRARĀJA (C. A. D. 920-945)

BHĪMA (C. A. D. 945-970)

AVASARA III (C. A. D. 970-995)

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Bharatiya Samskritikosh (Marathi) (ed) Joshi Mahadevashastri

Chitrao Bharatiya Prachin Charittrakosh

Monier Williams Sanskrit English Dictionary

Apte's Students Sanskrit English Dictionary.

Molsworth Marathi English Dictionary

Tamil Marathi Dictionary

Desai S. R. Konkani English Dictionary

Fallow S.R. Hindustani English Dictionary

Unpublished thesis

Bhagyalakshmi's Field Work report widowhood among the Hindu
M.A. dissertation submitted to Anthropology department of Mysore
University 1973.

Bhende Usha Temples of Western Maharashtra Ph. D. thesis
Karnatak University Dharwad 1987

Desayar M Temple Administration under Pandyas Ph. D. Thesis (600 A.D. - 1300) Madurai Kamaraj University (1987)

Frenchman Katy Nariman Prehistoric industries along the lost saraswati river of the great Indian Desert Unpublished Ph. D thesis Deccan college Pune 1972

Kale V.S. Neogene and Quaternary geomorphology of Zuvari and Mandovi Basins Goa Unpublished thesis Deccan College Pune 1983

Levitt S.H. The Patityagramanirnaya A Puranic History of degraded Brahman Villages Ph. D thesis Pennsylvania University (1973)

Padigar Srinivas V. The cult of Vishnu in Karnataka Ph. D thesis Karnatak University Dharwad (1983)

Sawant G.T. The History of Silaharas Ph. D thesis University of Bombay (1984)



1. NARAYAN - MULGAO



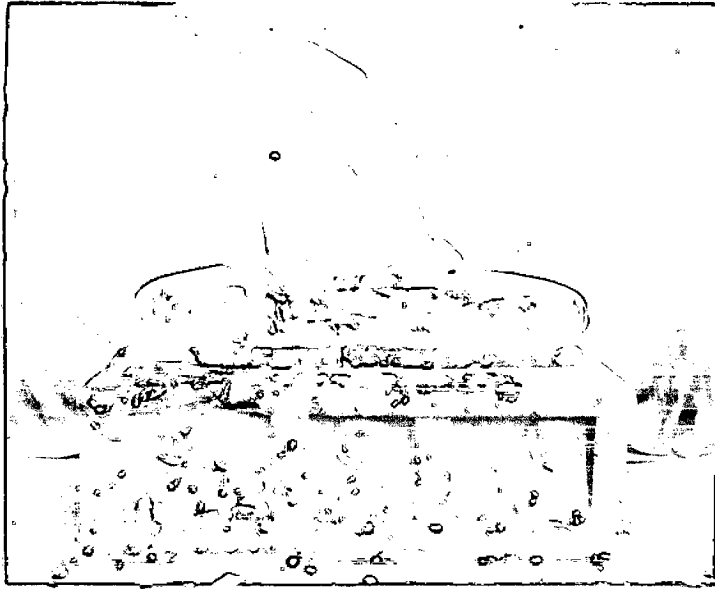
1B. NARAYAN - KORGAO



2. PADMANABHA - KUNKOLIE
G.S.M.



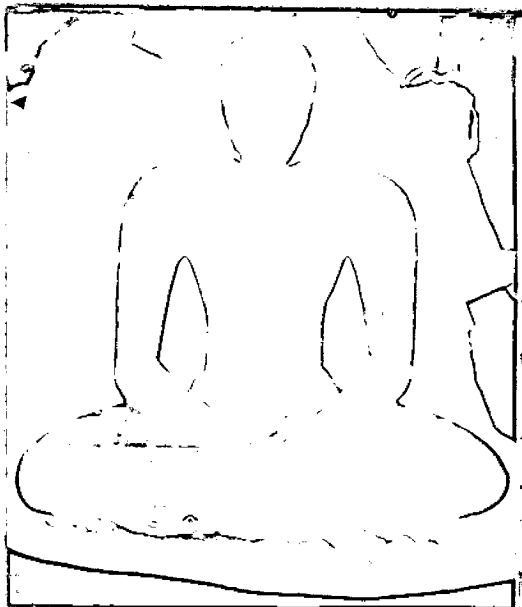
3. HEAD OF BUDDHA. G.S.M.



4. BUDDHA - RIVONA. G.S.M.



5. BUDDHA - COLVALE
HERAS. INSTITUTE - BOMBAY.



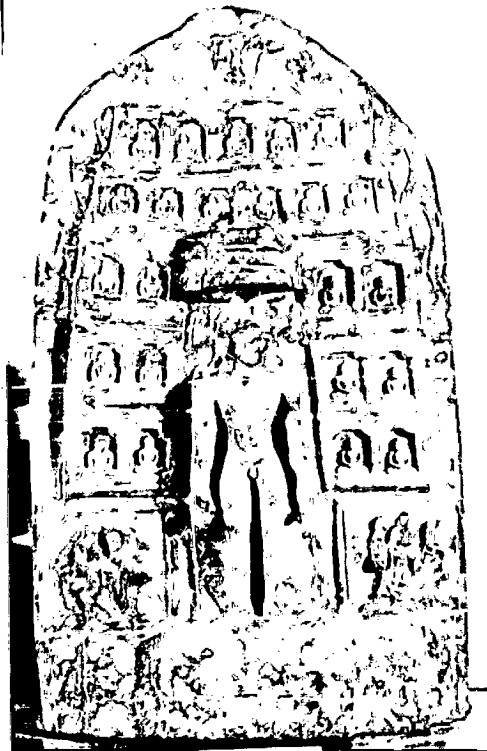
6. TIRTHANKAR - KOTHAMBI



7. KUBER - KOTHAMBI. G.S.M.



8. YAKSHI - KOTHAMBI. GSM.



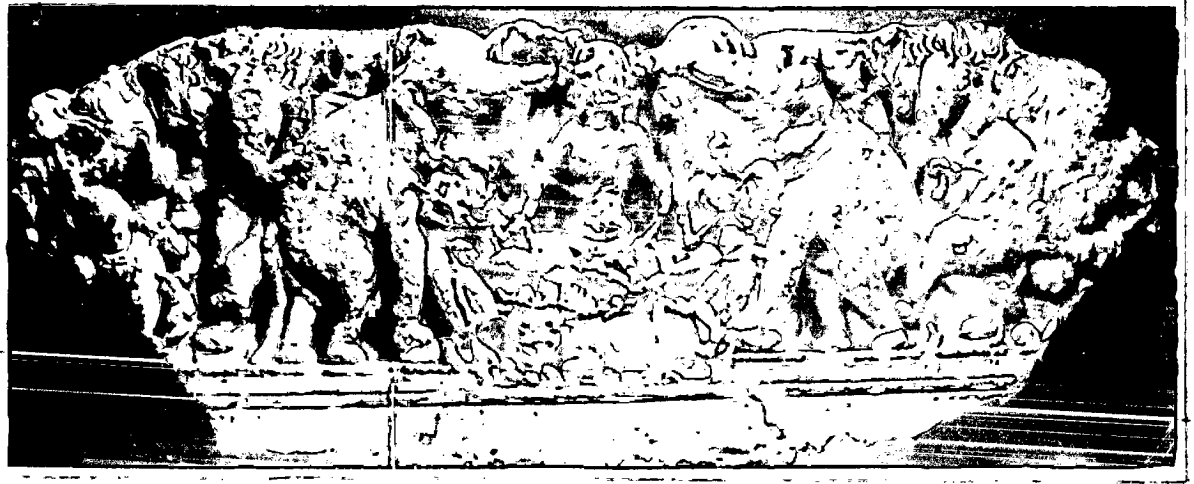
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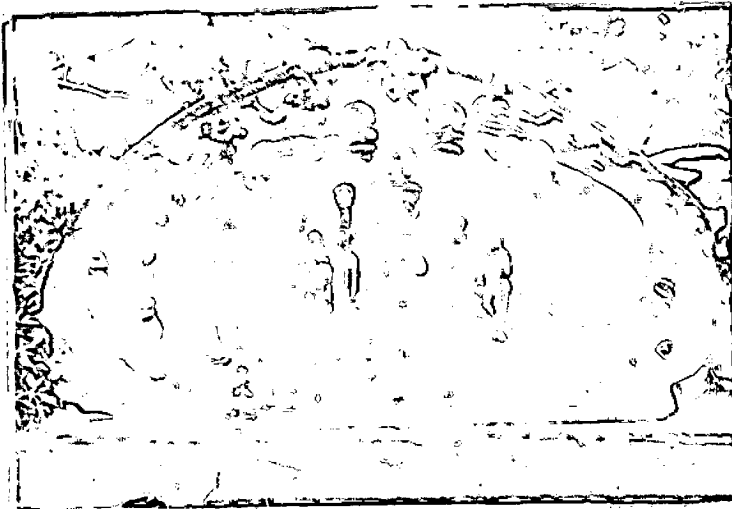
9A. SUPARSVANATH - NARVE. GSM.



9B. REAR SIDE SUPARSVANATH GSM.
NARVE.



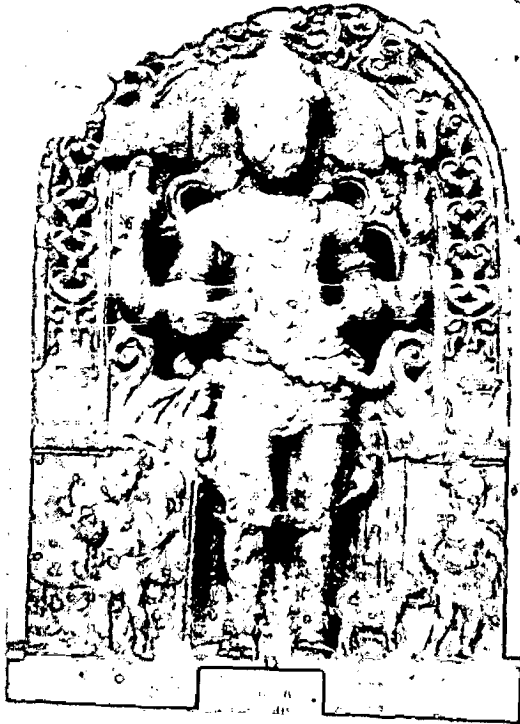
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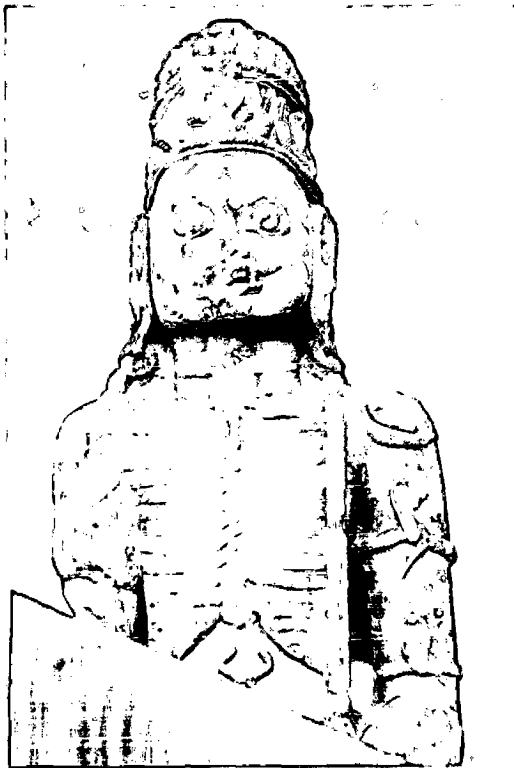
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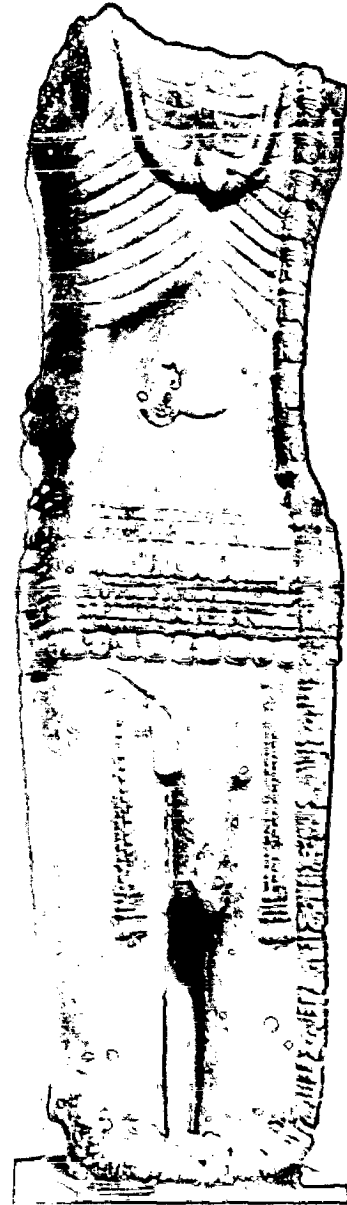
13. GAJALAKSHMI - NERVASE.
G.S.M.



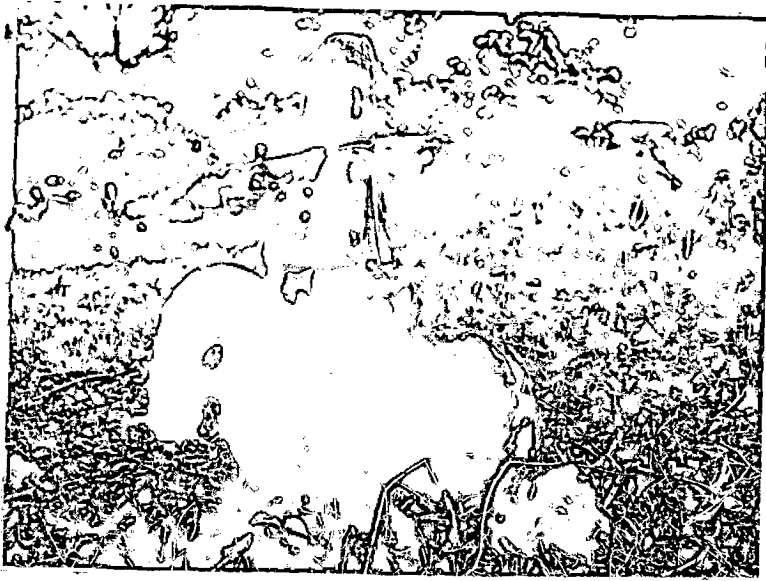
14. RAVALNATH. ASI MUSEUM
OLD - GOA.



16. VETAL - SARZORA.
ASI MUSEUM - OLD-GOA.



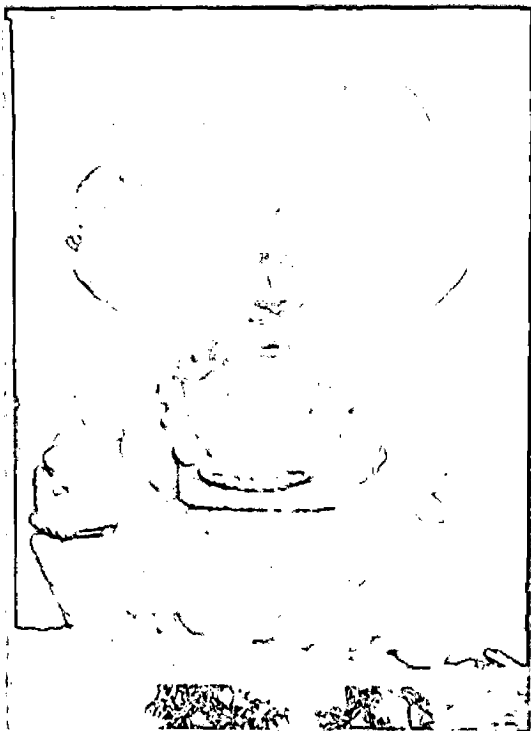
15. VETAL - BETALBHATIM.
ASI MUSEUM - OLD-GOA.



17. PAIKDEV - ASSOLNA.



18. NAGDEV - GSM.



19. NAGDEV - LOLIEM



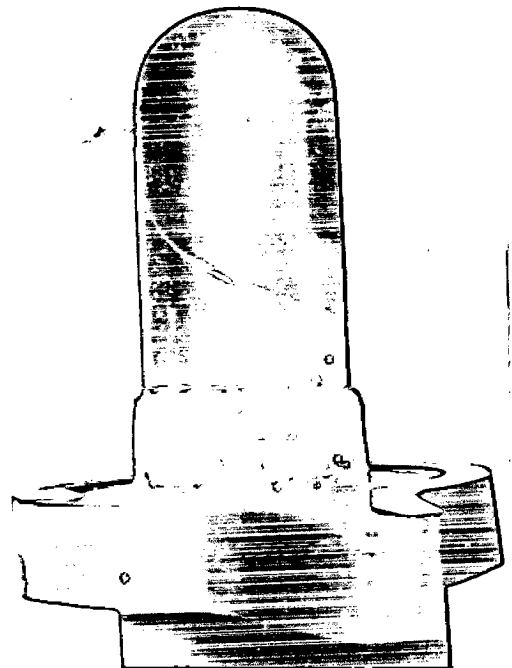
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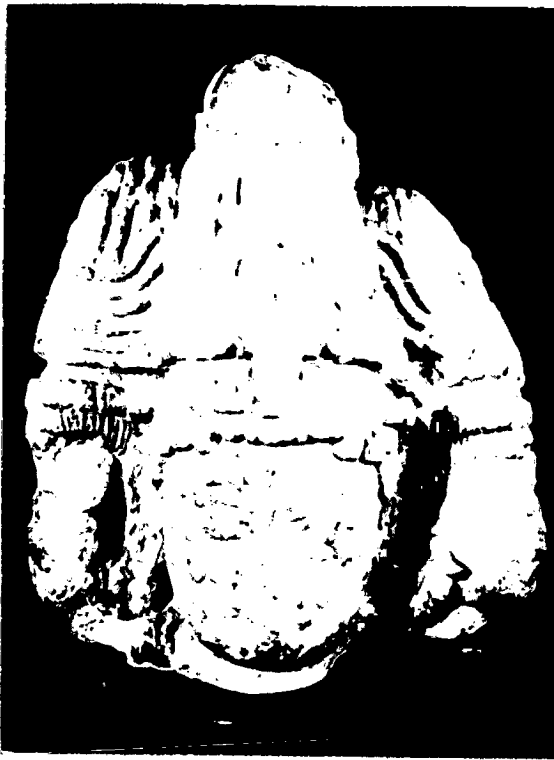
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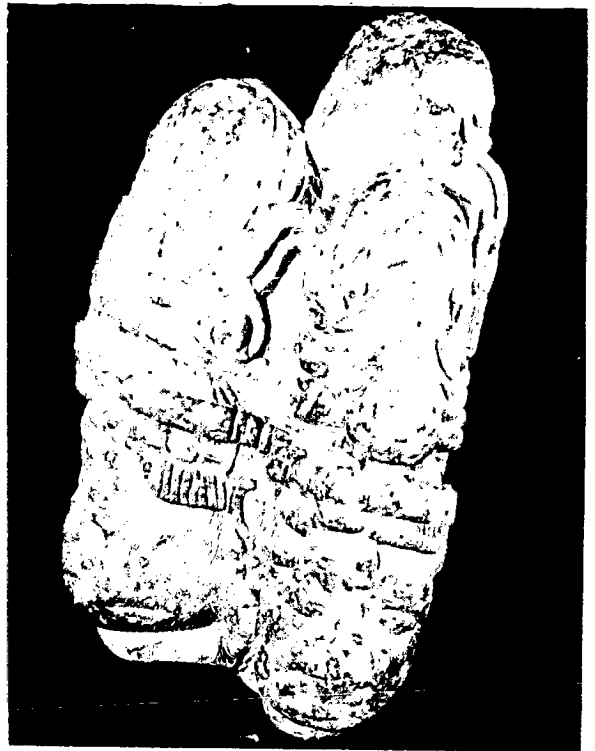
22. VISNU - SAVOI-VEREM
ASI MUSEUM - OLD-GOA.



23. LINGA - ASI-MUSEUM
OLD - GOA.



25. SADASHIVA - MARGAO
G.S.M.



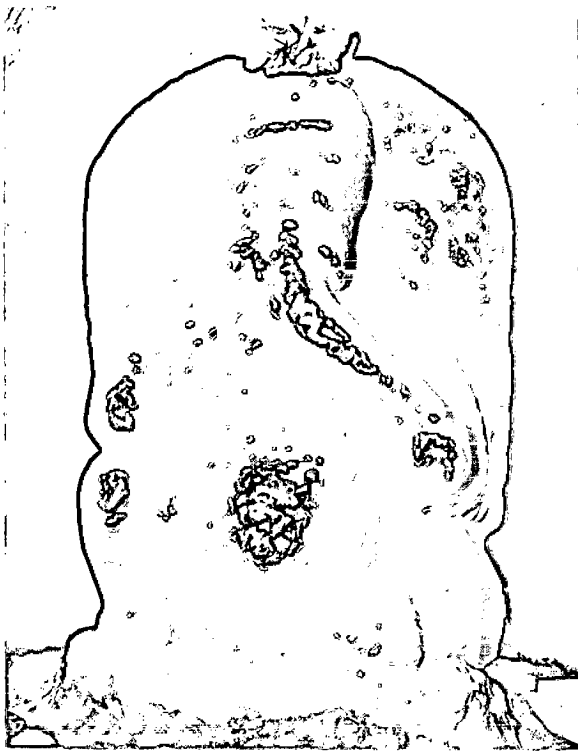
26. SADASHIVA - MARGAO. SIDE-VIEW.
G.S.M.



24. SADASHIVA - ASI-MUSEUM
OLD - GOA.



27. UMASHITAMAHESH - KUDNE
ASI MUSEUM - OLD-GOA.



28. GANESH - KUDNE



29. GANESH - KORGAO.



30. GANESH - VICHUNDRE



31. GANESH - VERNA.
G.S.M.



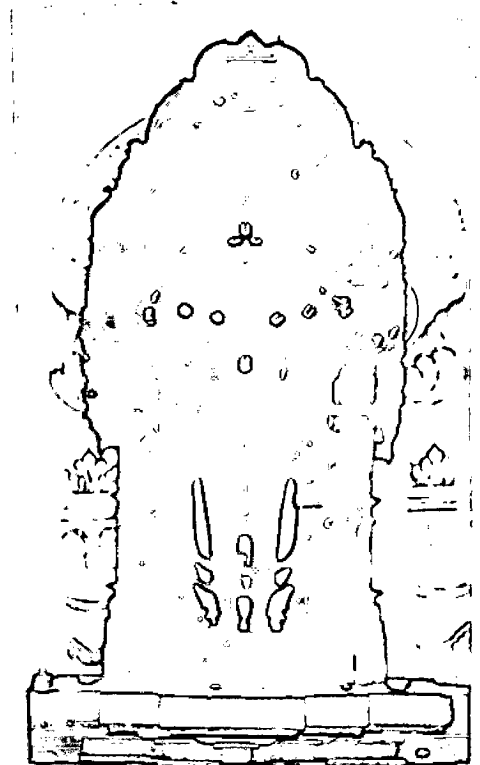
32. GANESH - SHIRODA.



33. KARTIKEY - KORGAO
GSM.



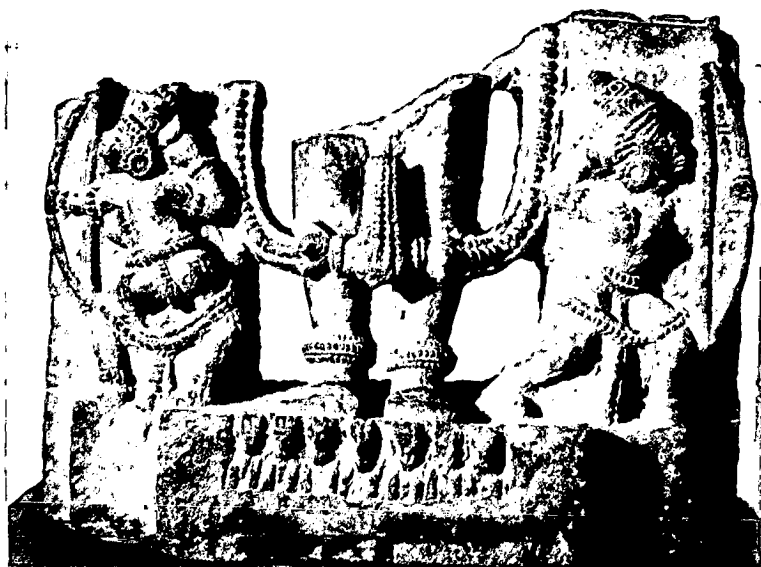
34. BRAHMA - KOLAMB



35. BRAHMA - BRAHMA-
KARMALI



36. SURYA - KUDNE.

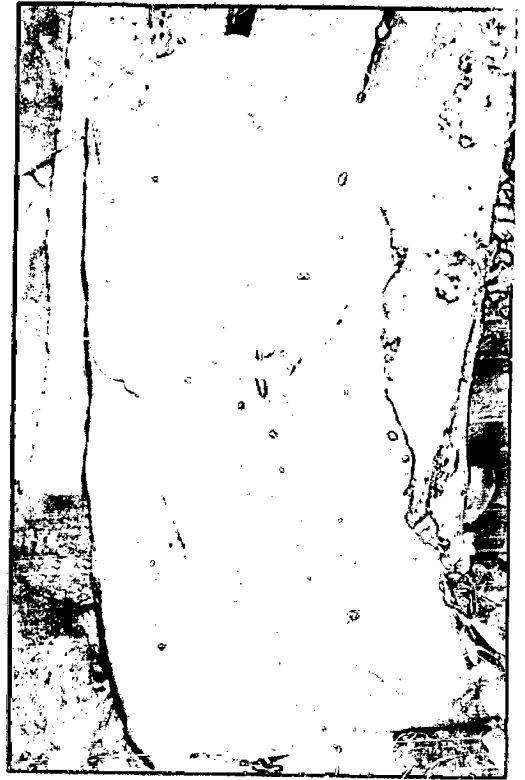


37. SURYA - MARGAO. GSA.

38. MARTANDA - BHAIKAY
PAR-USGAO - GSM39. MAHISHASURAMARDINI
LAMGAO



40A. MAHISHASURAMARDINI
KORGAO.



40B. MAHISHASURAMARDINI
KORGAO.



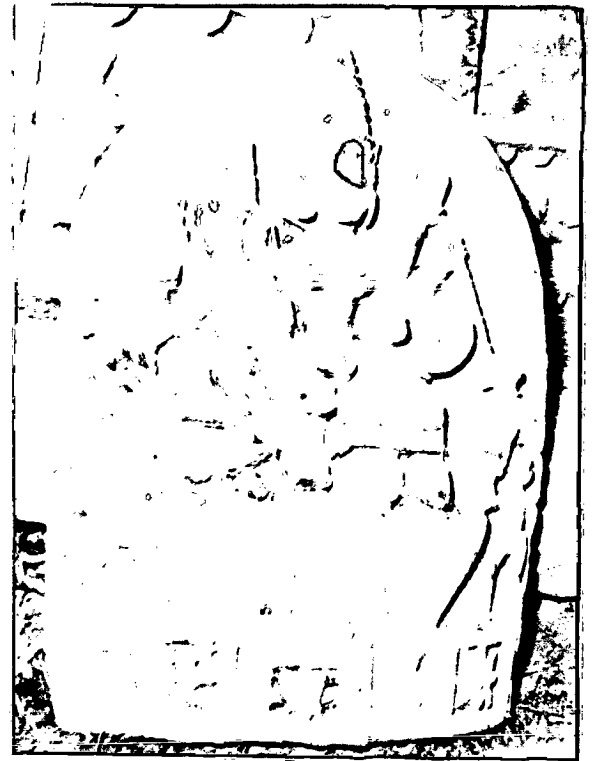
41. MAHISHASURAMARDINI
VICHUNDRE.



42. MAHISHASURMARDINI
SURLA-TAR.



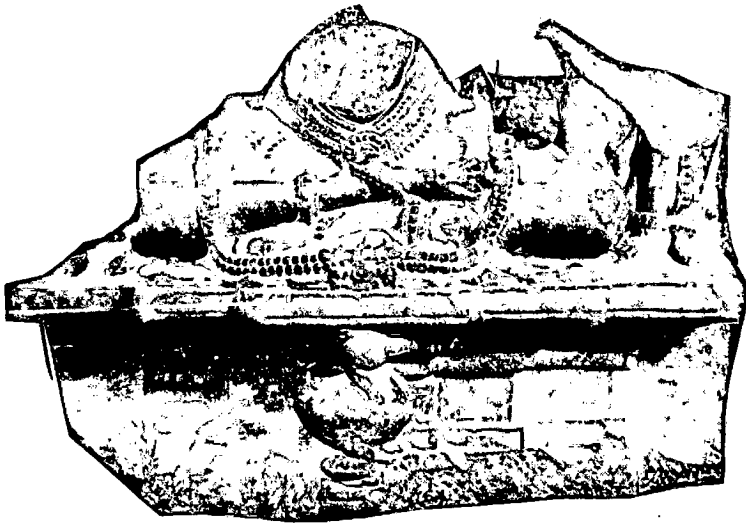
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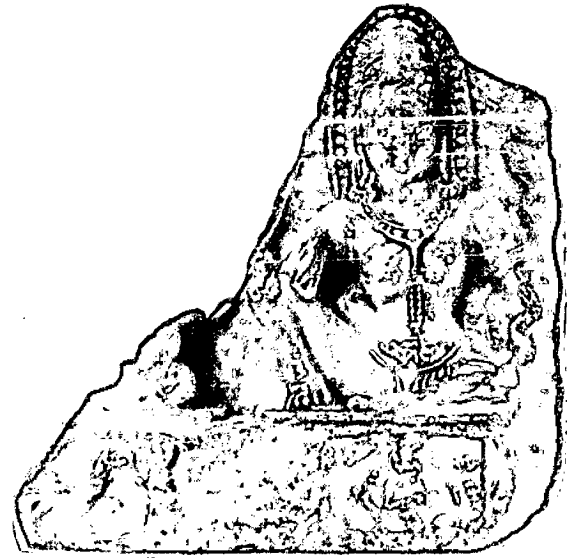
44. MAHISHASURMARDINI - SAVARDE.



45. SAPTAMATRIKAS - CHANDOR. HERAS INSTITUTE - BOMBAY.



47. BRAHMI - GSM



46. VAIṢNAVI - CHANDOR.
HERAS INSTITUTE - BOMBAY



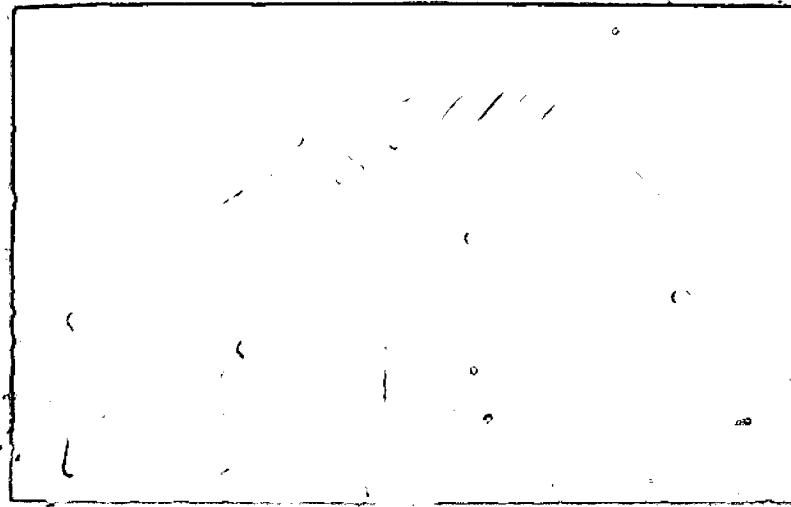
48. CHAMUNDA - GSM



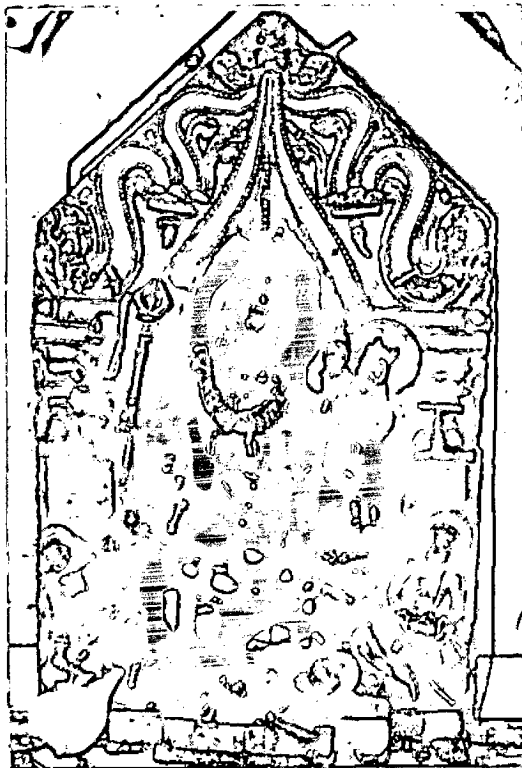
49. HERO STONE - ORLIM.



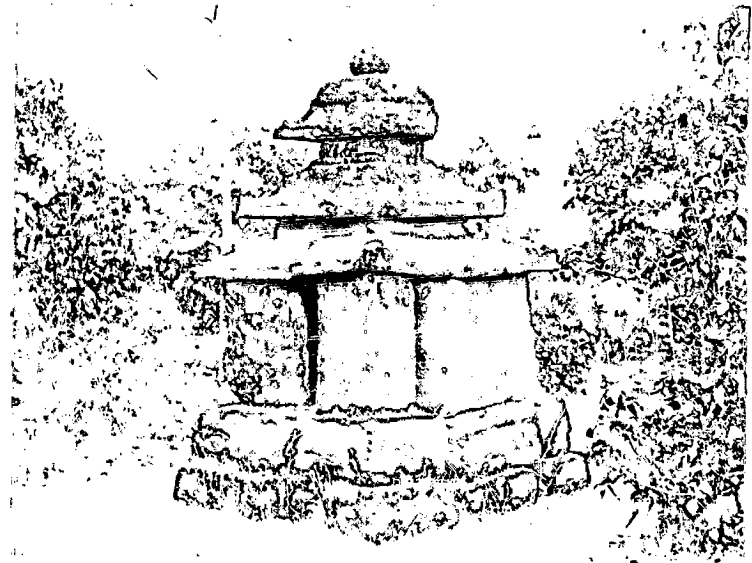
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PAR-USGAO - GSM



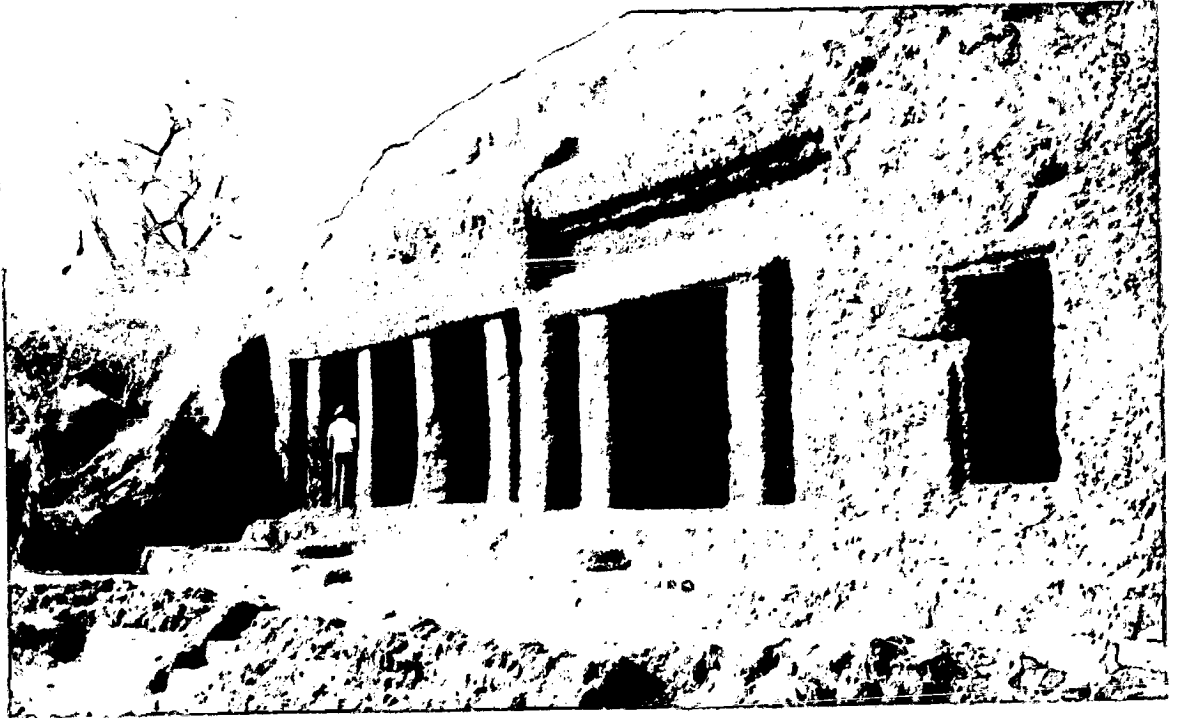
51. NATH PANTHI OBJECTS
PILAR SEMINARY



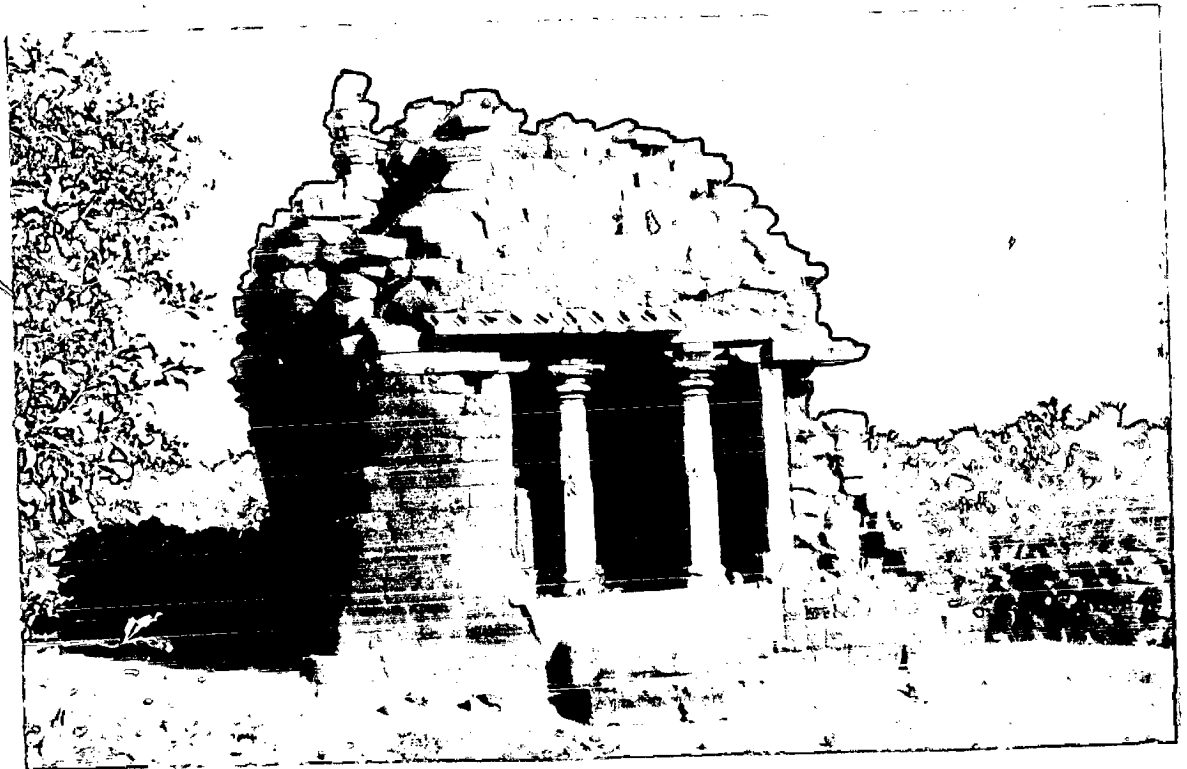
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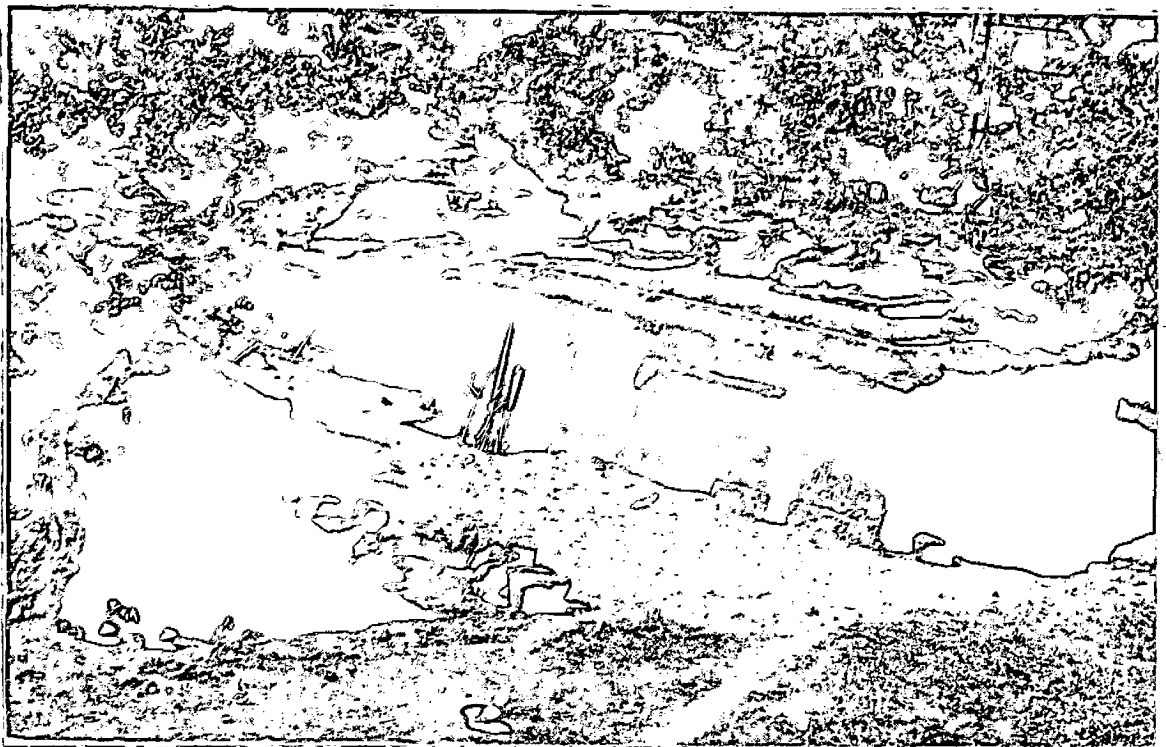
54. THADAGEM - KUDNE.



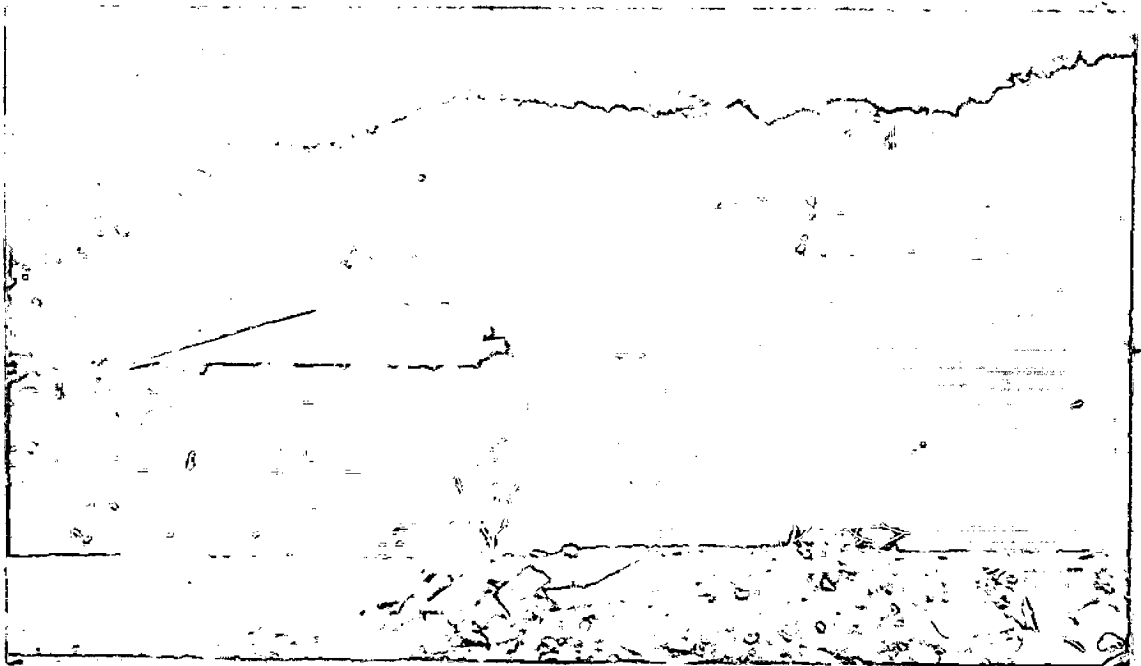
53. ARAVALEM CAVES



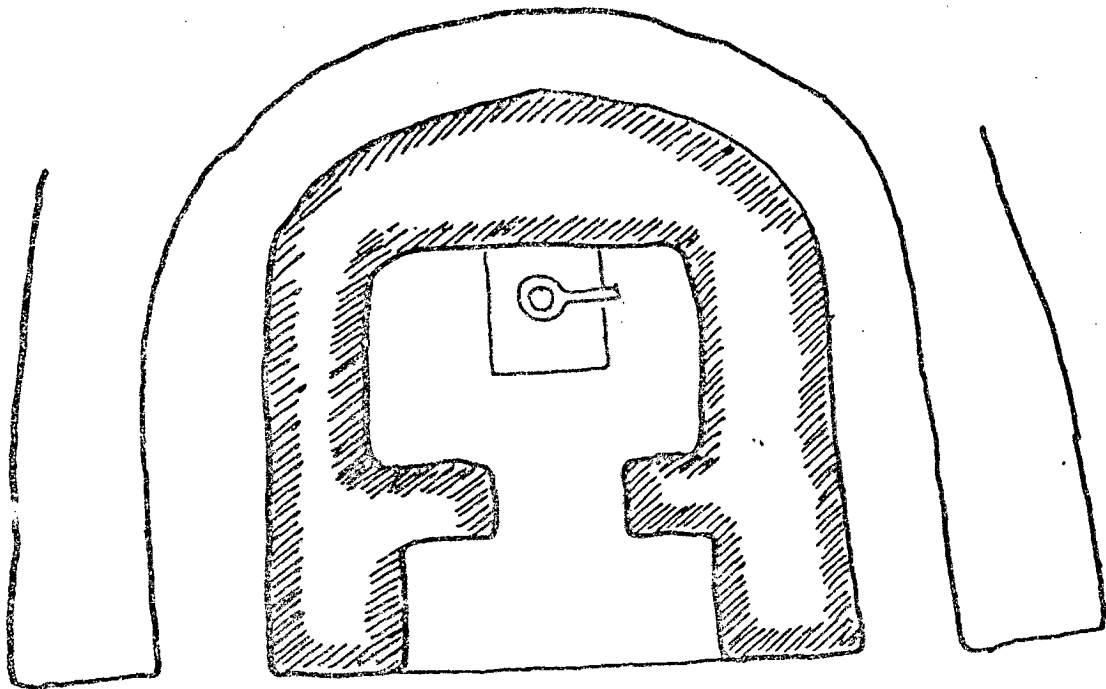
55. MAHADEV TEMPLE - CURDL



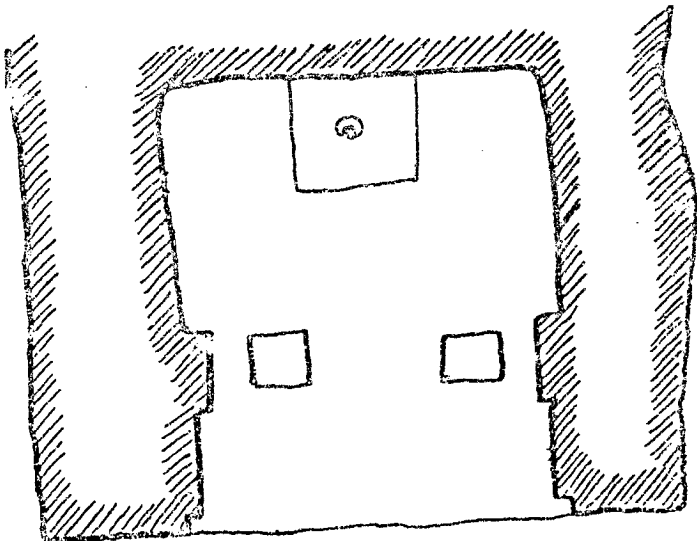
56 ROCK-CUT CAVES KHANDEPAR



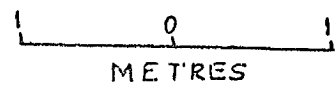
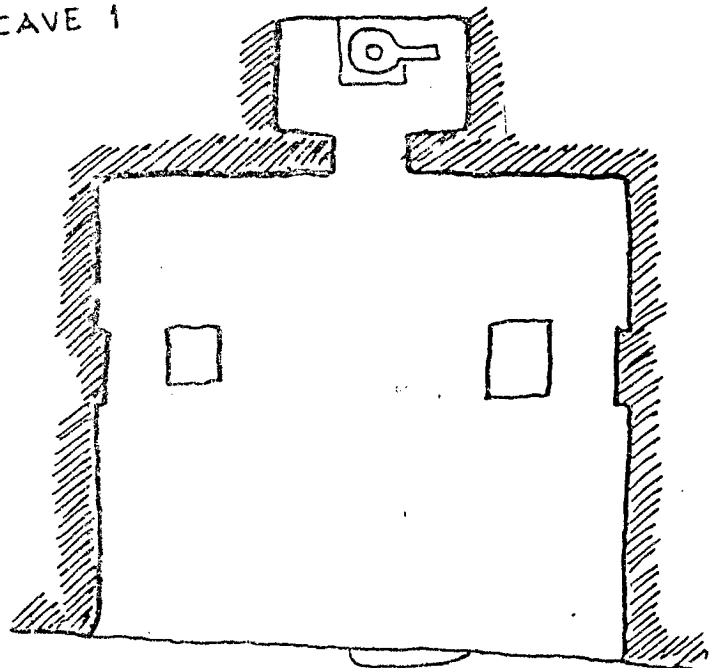
57 MAHADEV TEMPLE TAMBDI SURLA



6. NARVE - CAVE 1

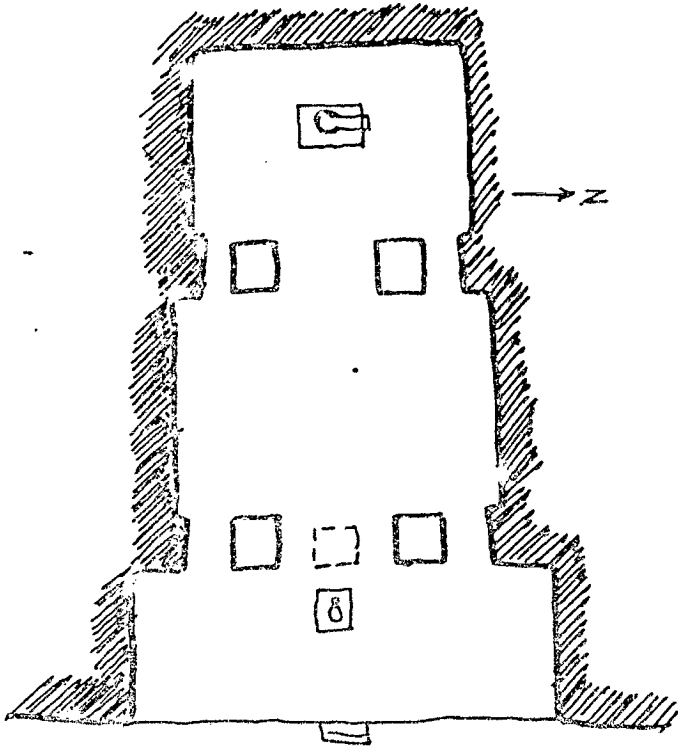


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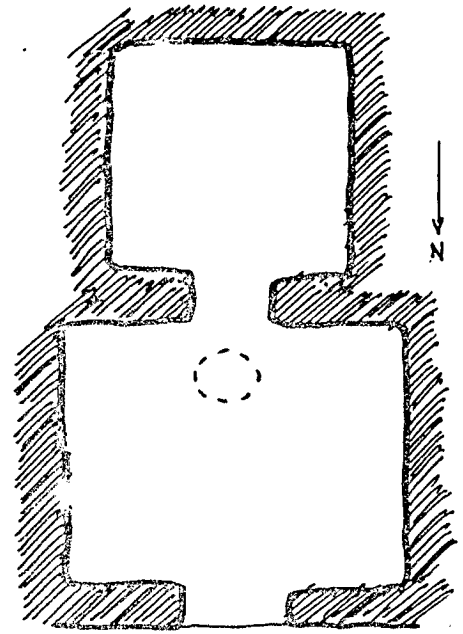
8. SURLA TAR CAVE





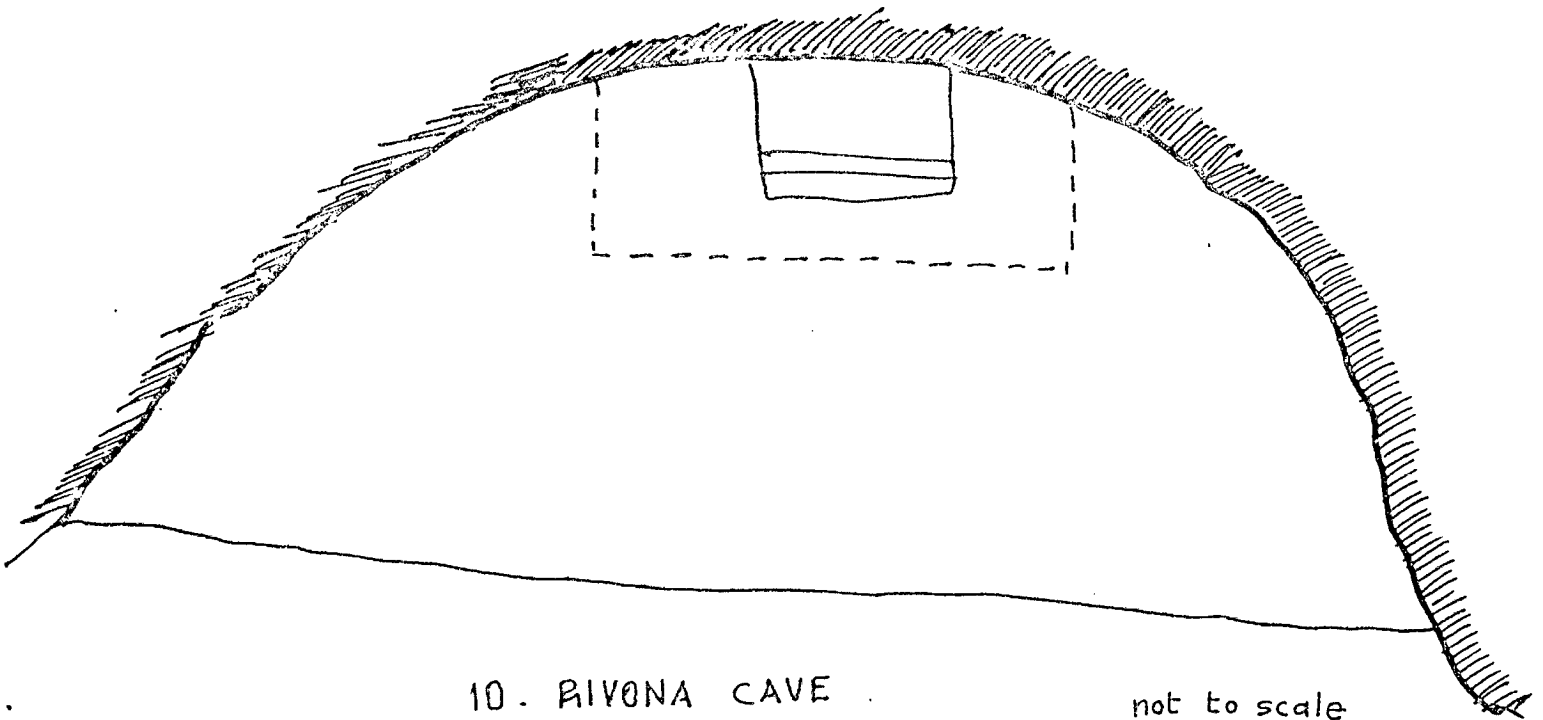
1 0 1 2 3
METRES

9. LAMAGAON CAVE



1 0 1
METRES

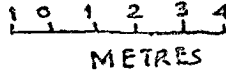
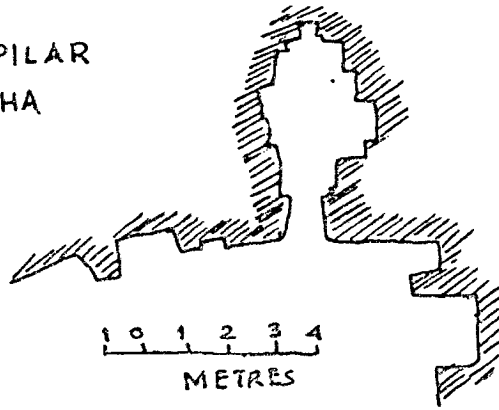
11. DIVADI CAVE



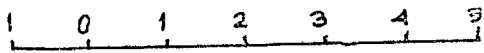
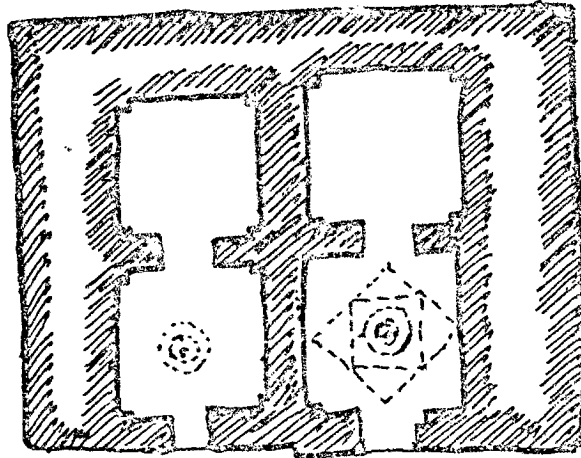
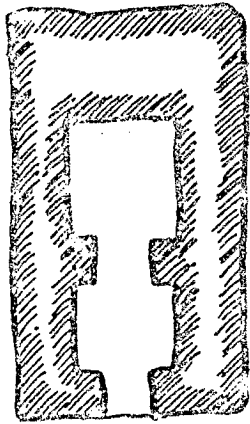
10. RIVONA CAVE

not to scale

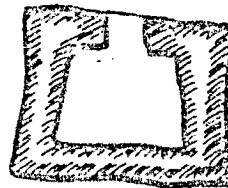
11. CAVE AT PILAR
GOA-VELHA



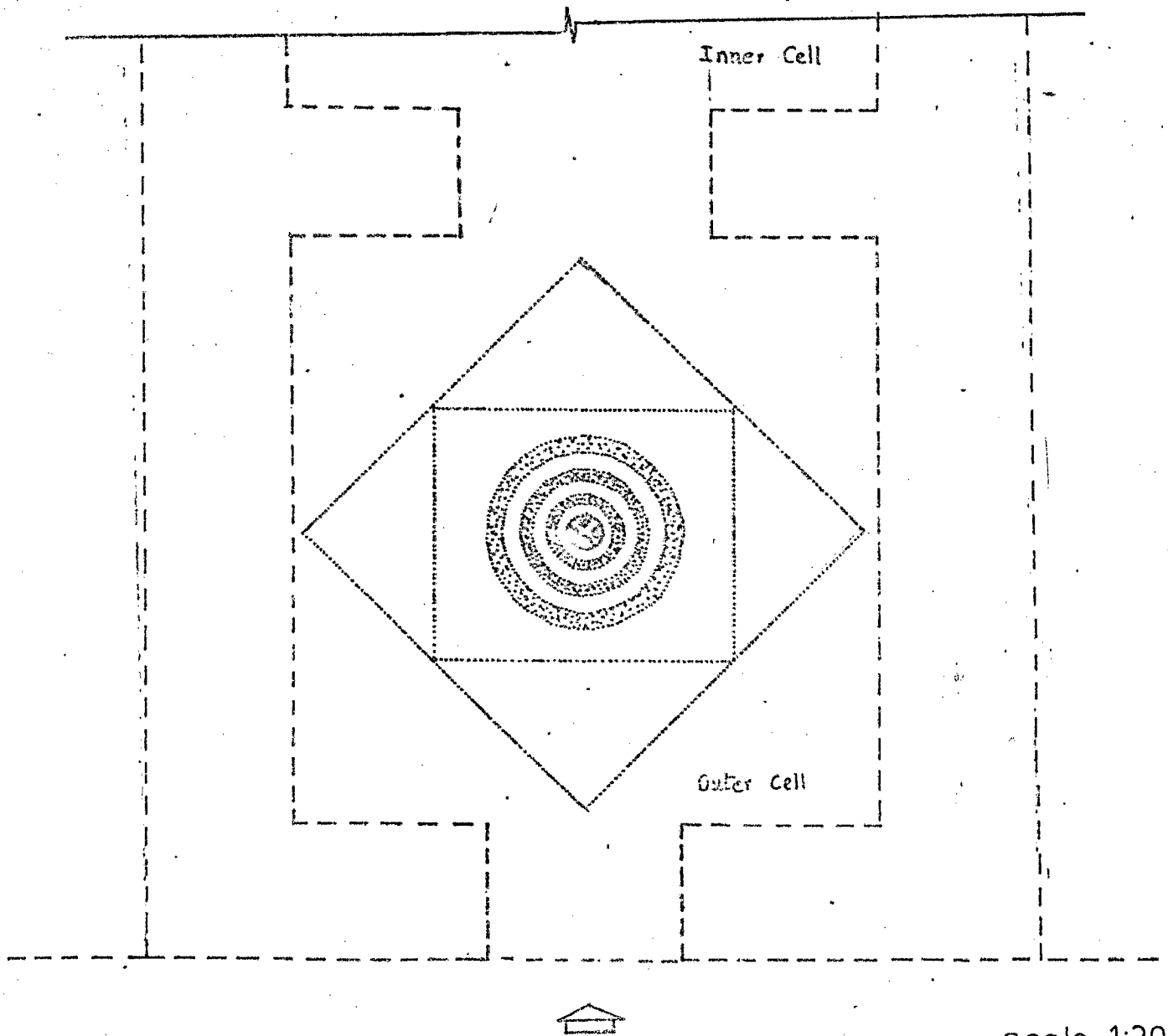
after Dr. Gritli Mitterwallner



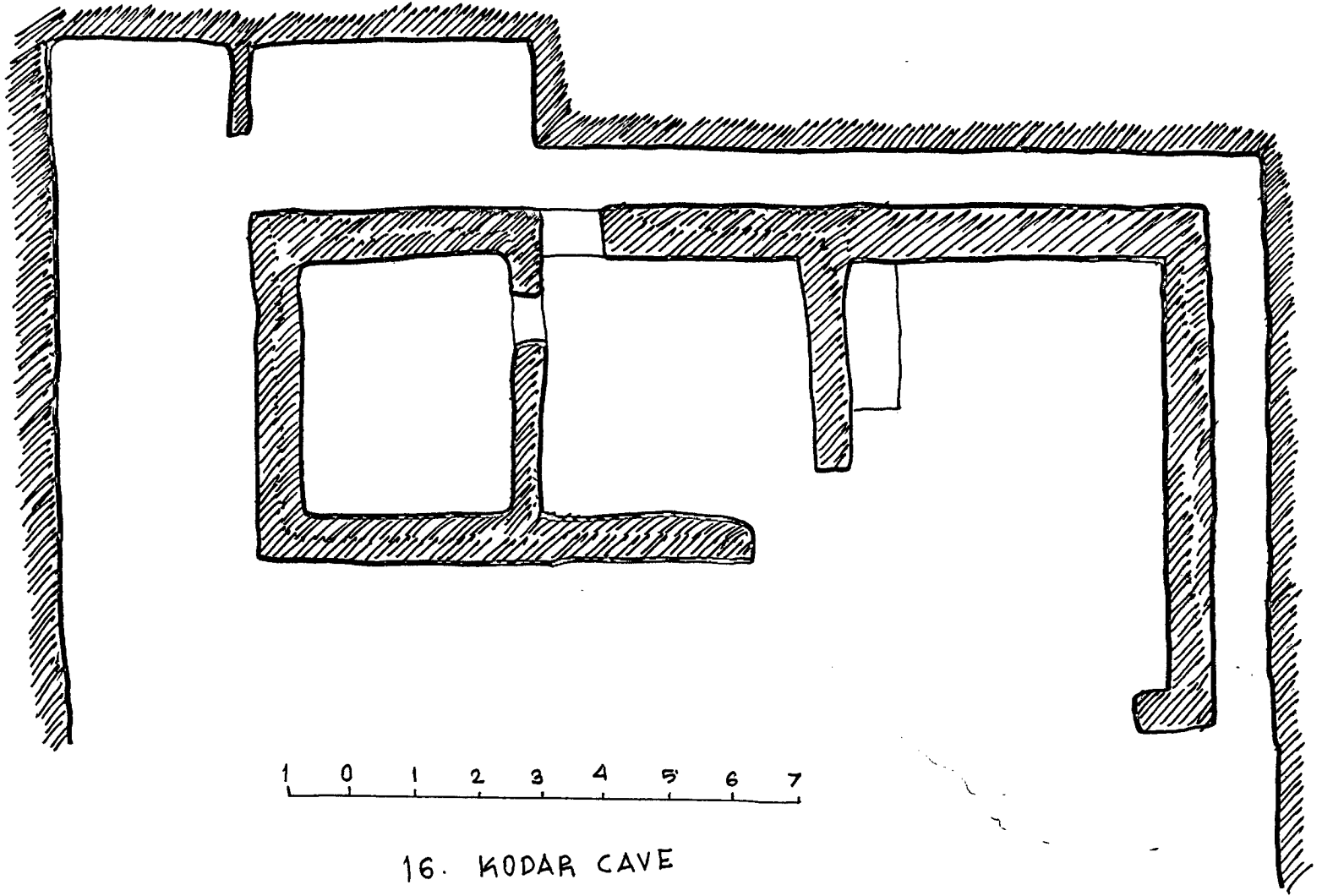
13. KHANDEPAR CAVE



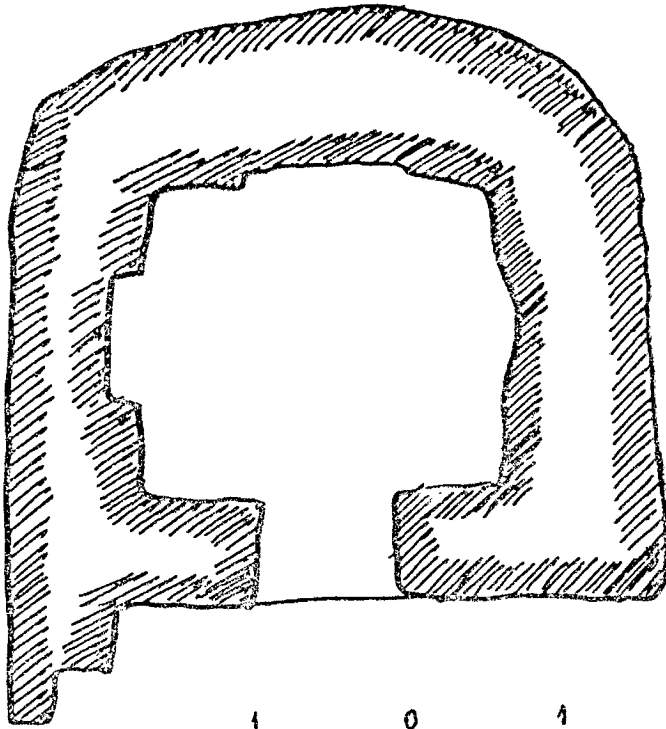
14 - Lantern pattern in Khandepar Caves



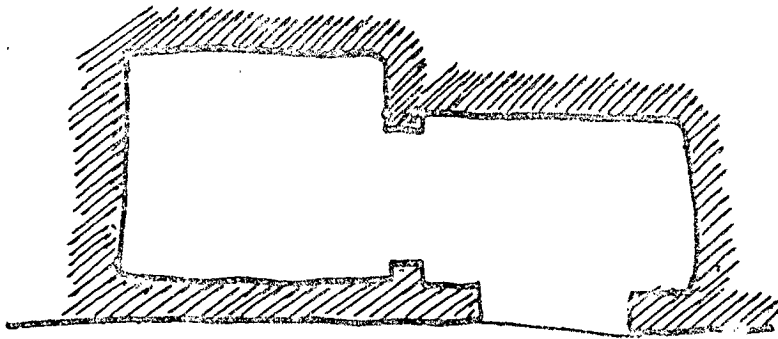
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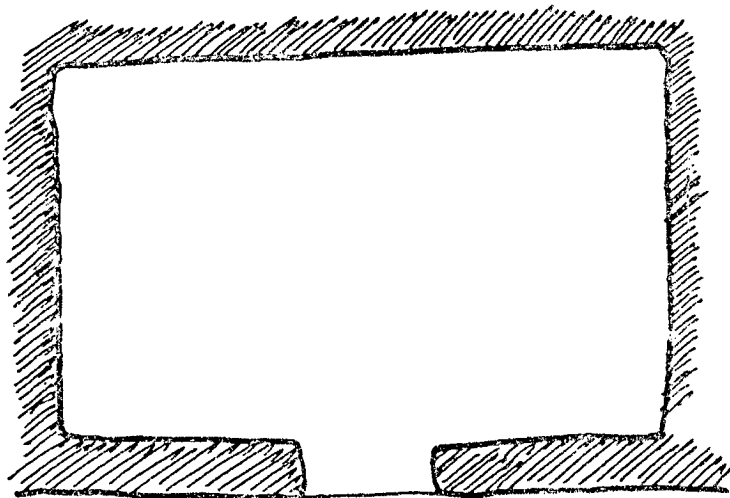
16. KODAR CAVE



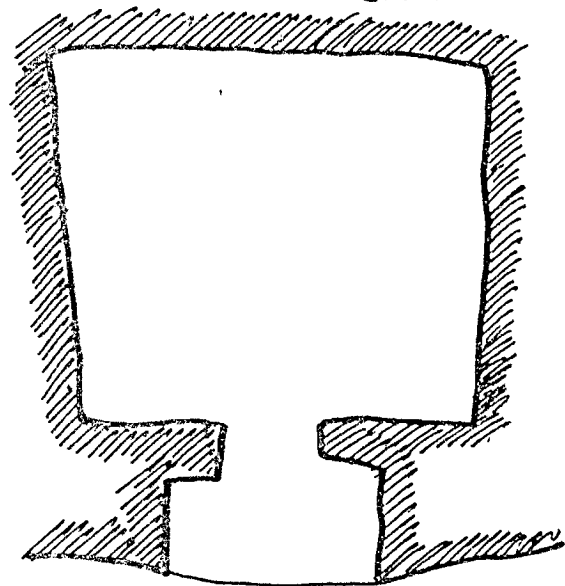
15. Ishwarbhat Cave.

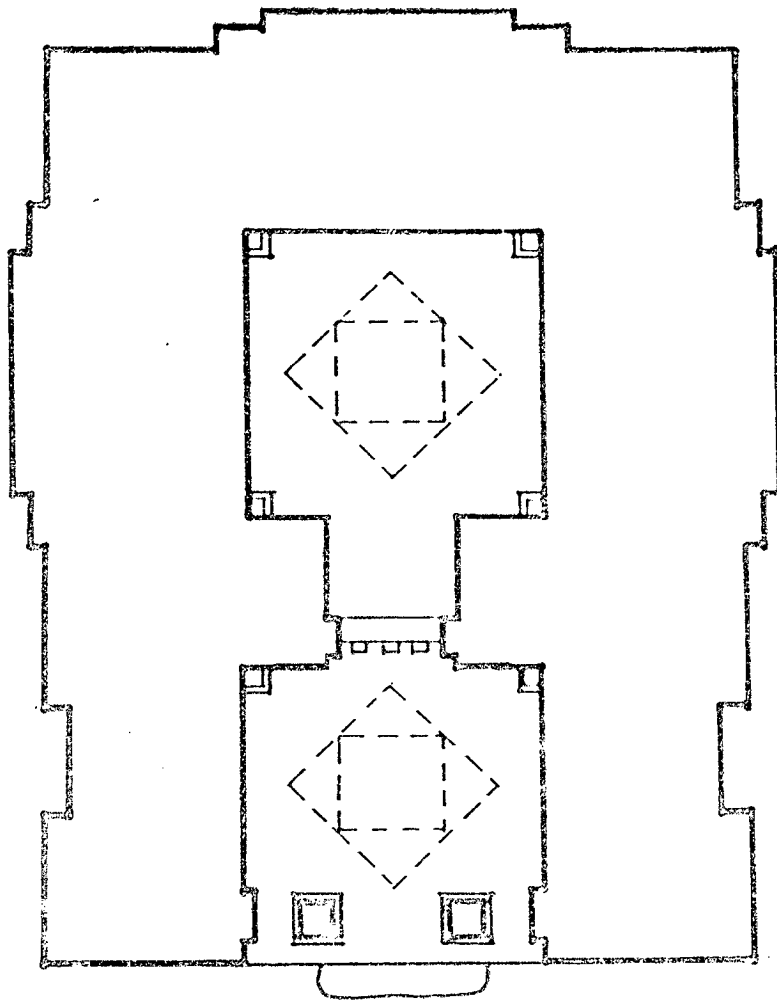


17. CURDI CAVE

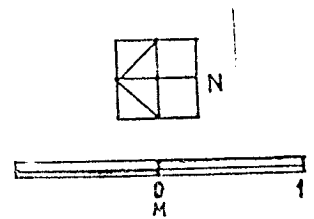


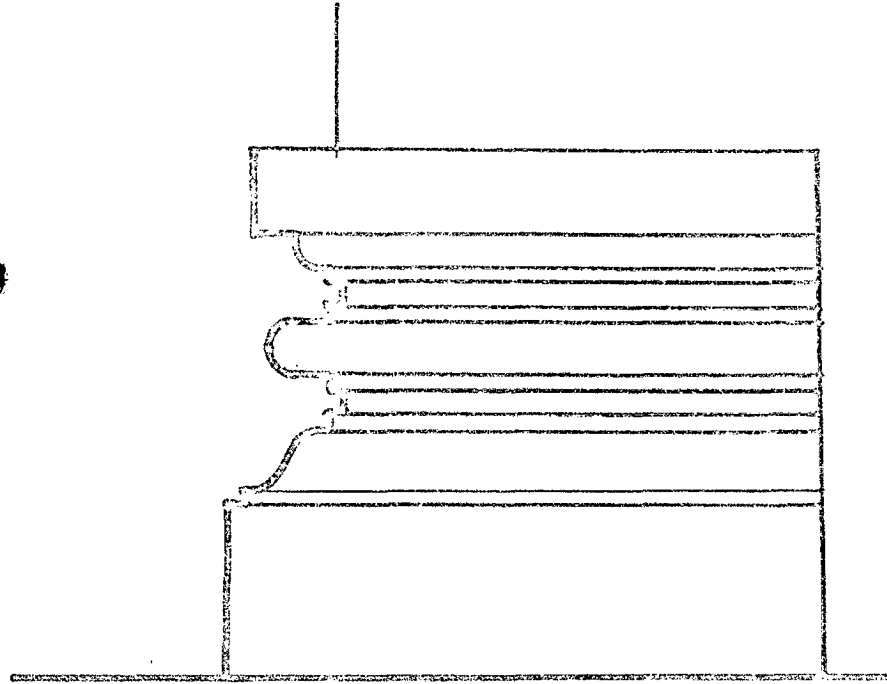
19. B. MALLANGINI CAVE



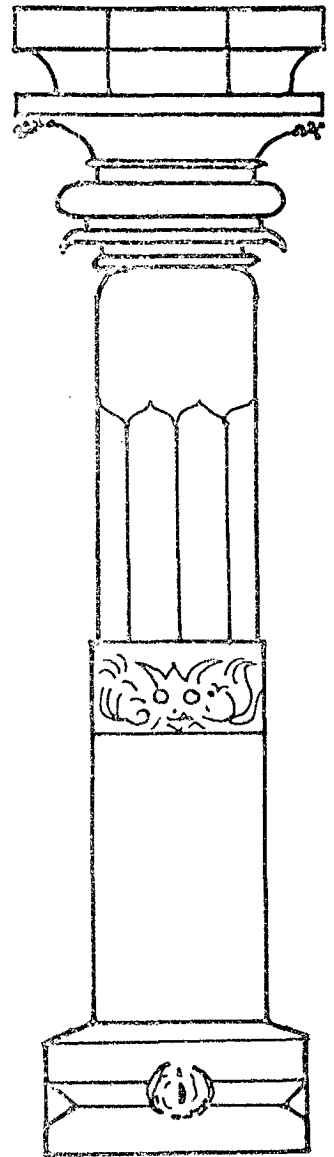


20. Plan of Mahadeva Temple-Curdi

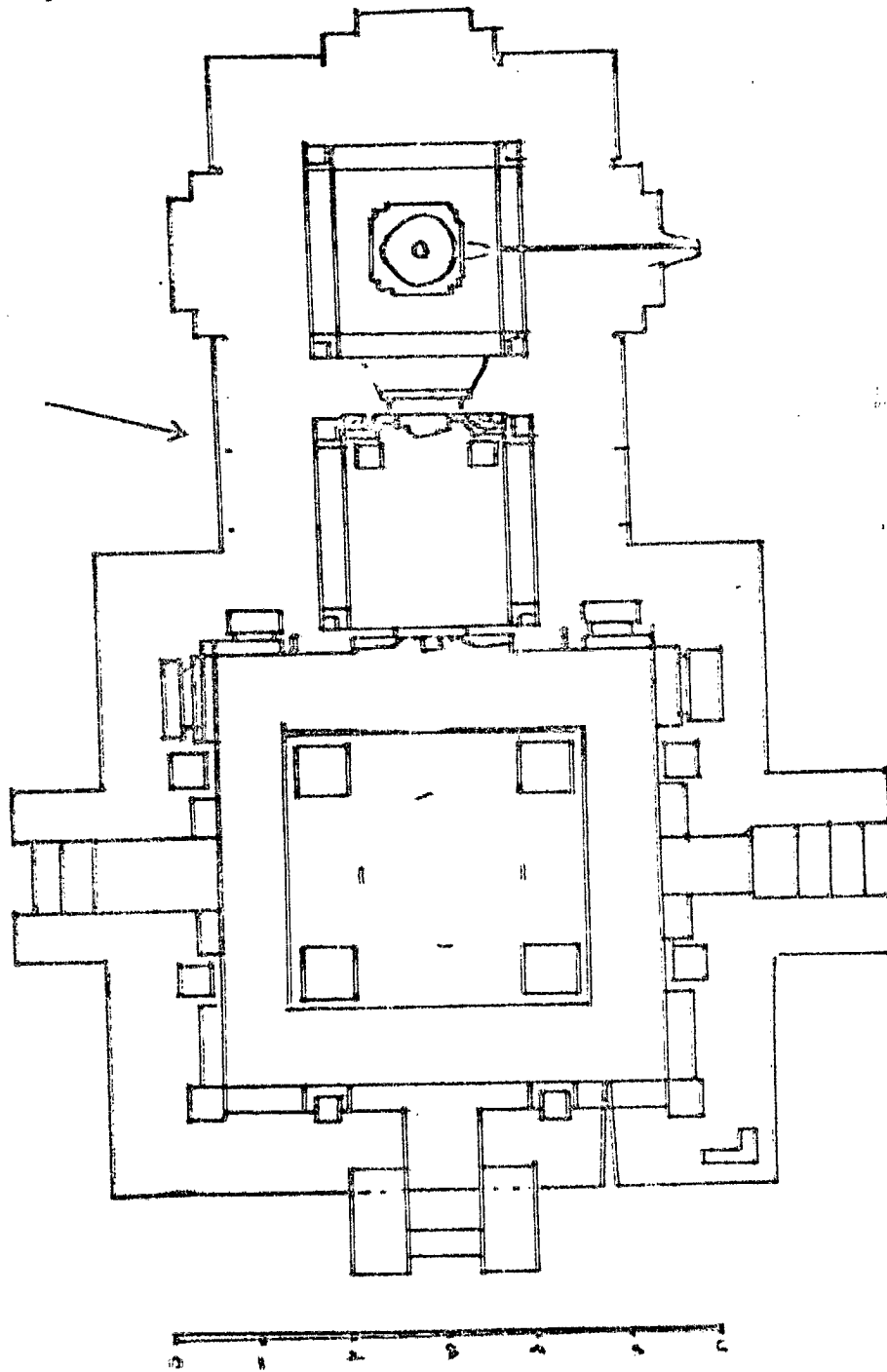




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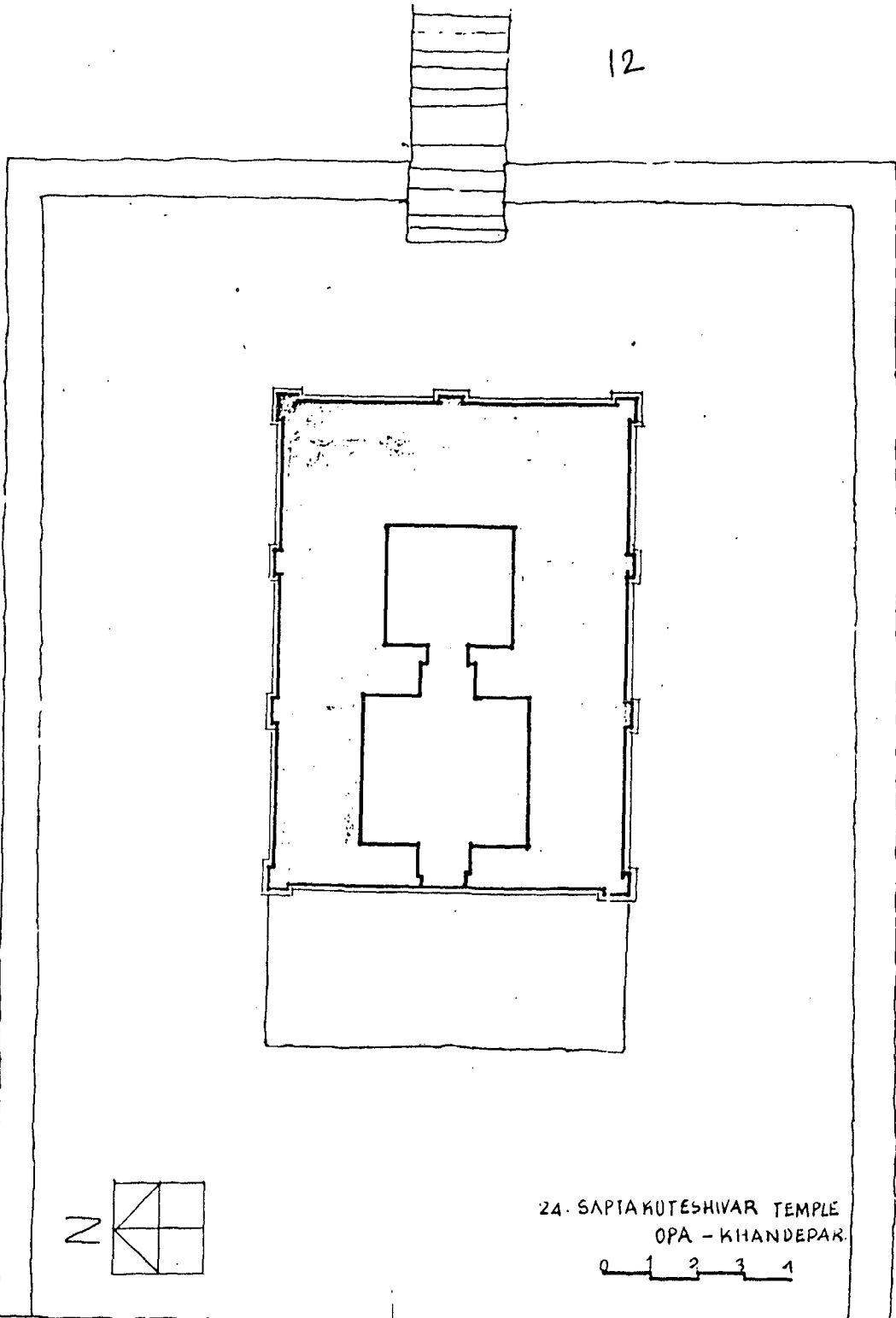


22. PILLAR

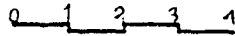


23- PLAN OF MAHADEV TEMPLE -TAMDI SURLA

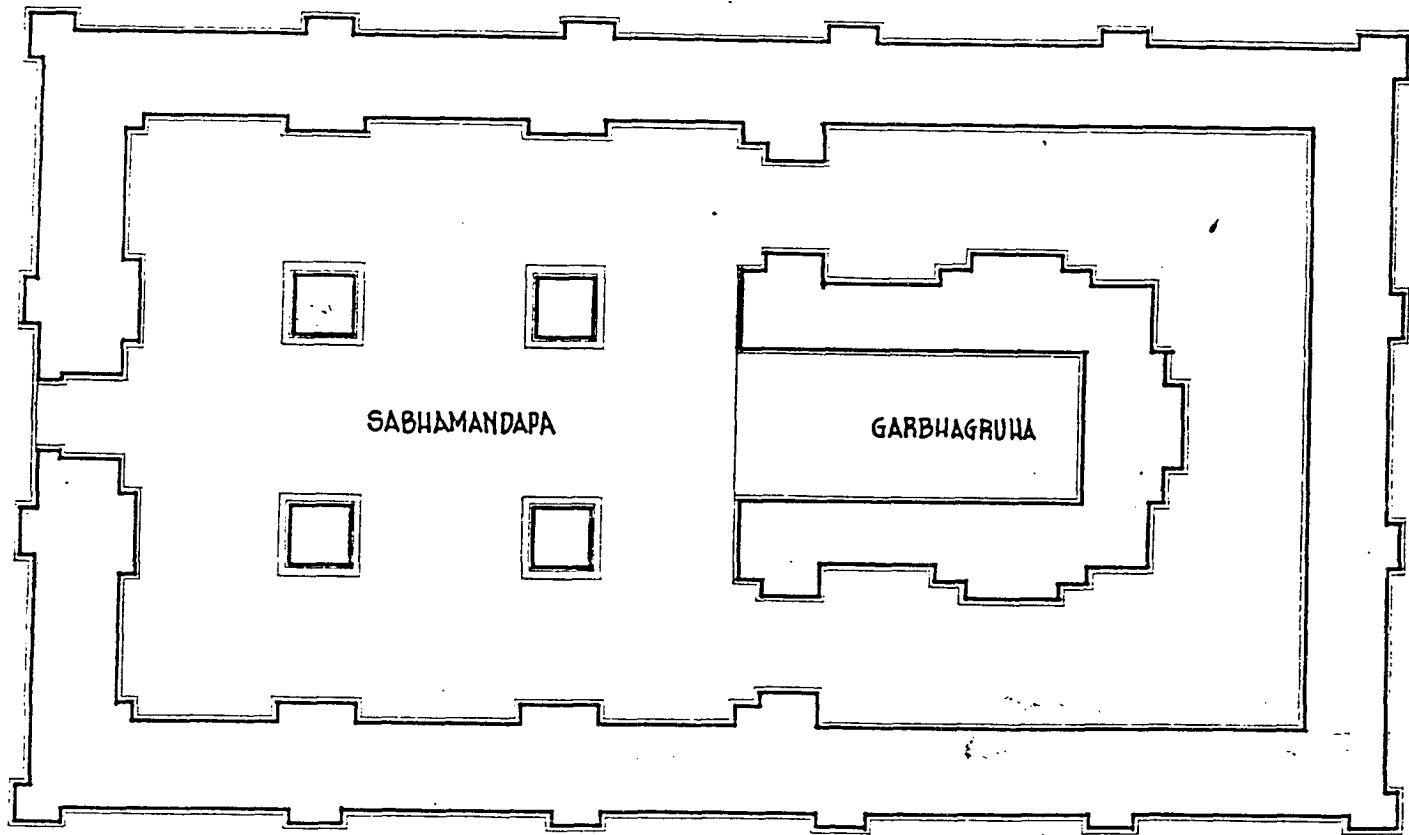
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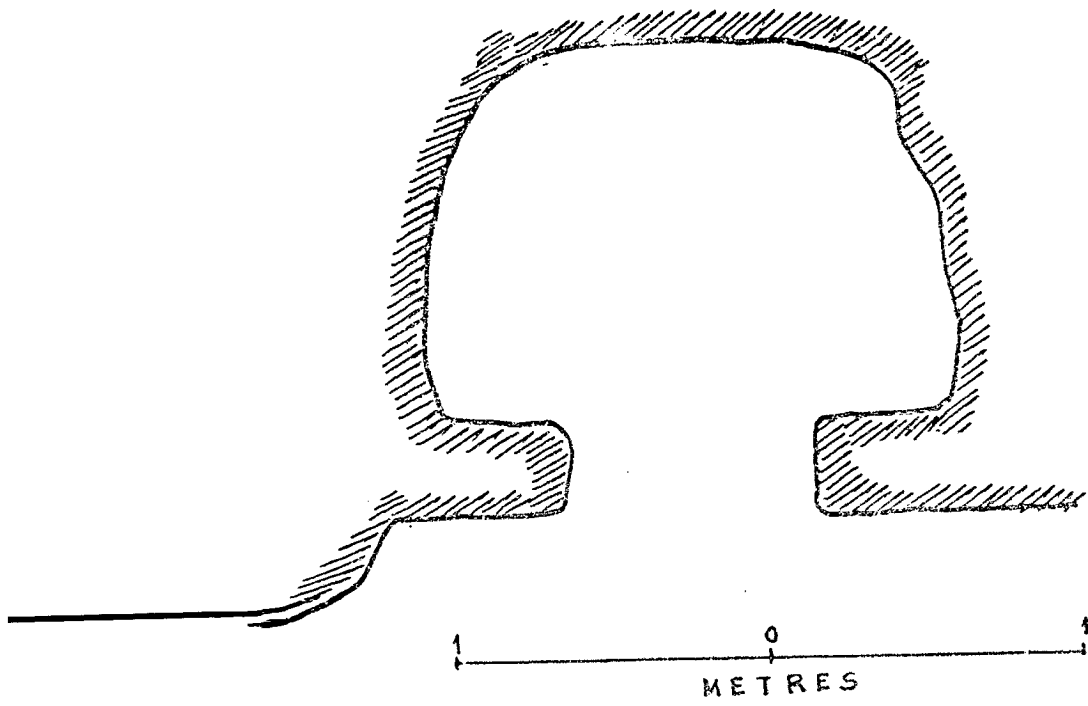
24. SAPTAKUTESHWAR TEMPLE
OPA - KHANDEPAR.



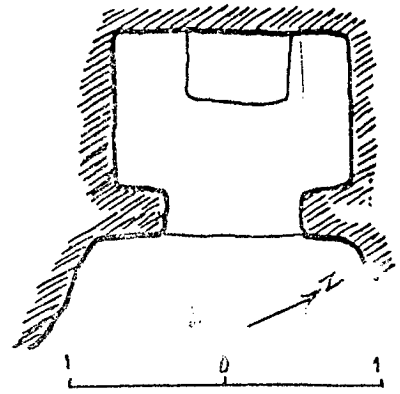
R I V E R K H A N D E P A R



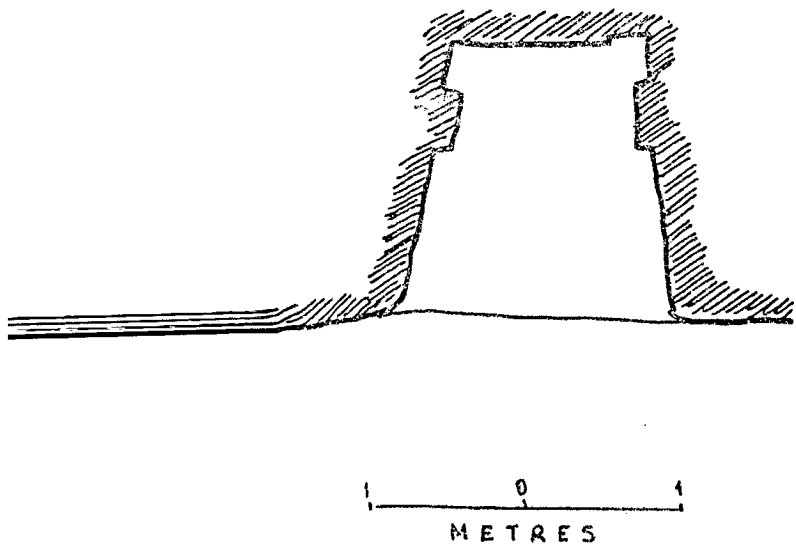
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25. JAINA TEMPLE - KUDNE



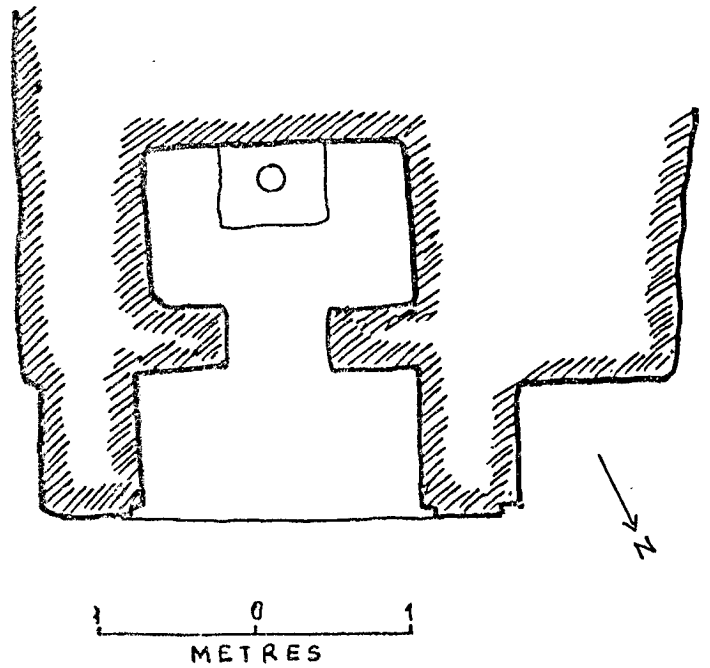
1. CONSUA CAVE



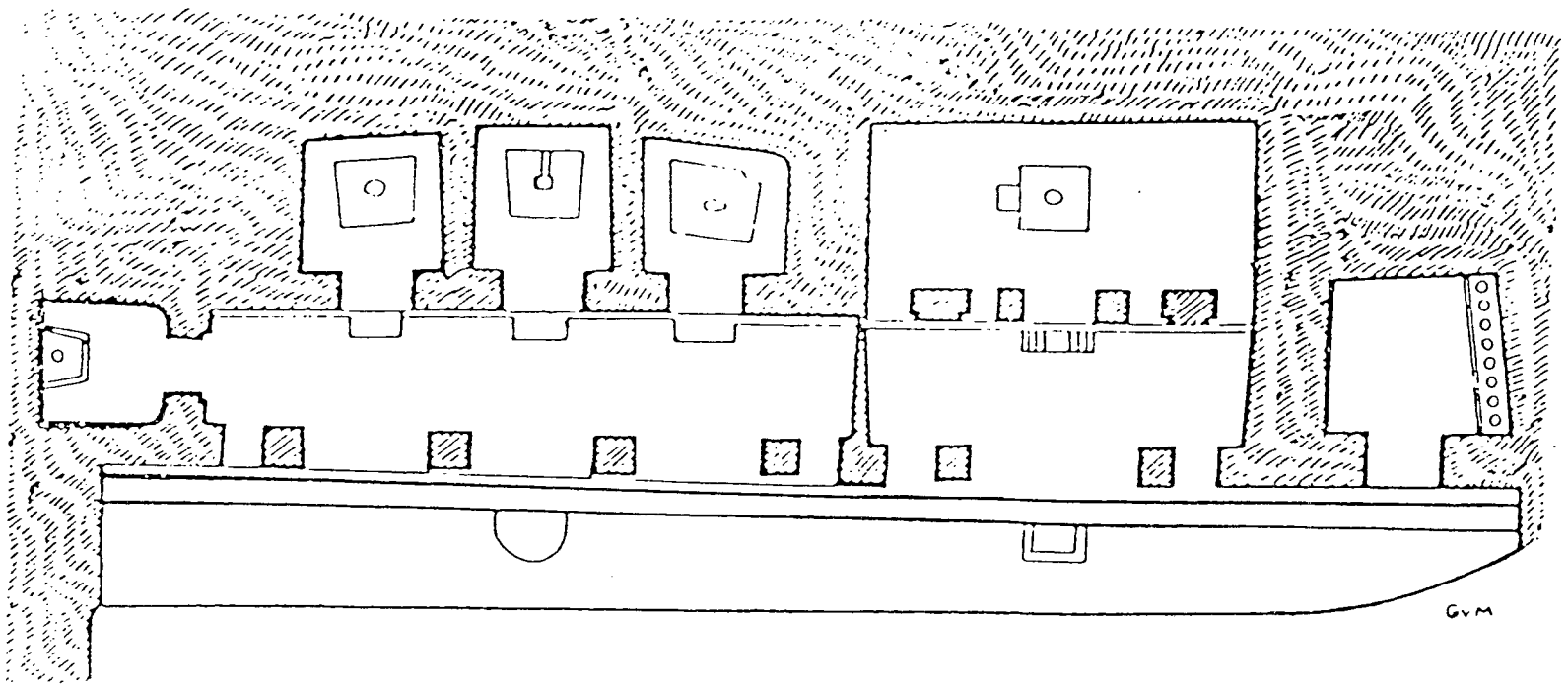
2. DABOSI CAVE



3. SONAL CAVE



5. MANGESHI CAVE



PLAN OF CAVE TEMPLES NEAR ARVALEM, GOA, INDIA.

SCALE OF 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 METRES

4. Plan of Cave Temple near Arvaalem, Goa.