A

CULTURAL HISTORY

OF THE

CANACONA TALUKA

OF

GOA

Pandurang R. Phaldesai

A CULTURAL HISTORY

OF THE CANACONA *TALUKA* OF GOA

THESIS

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by

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under the guidance of

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(PRATIMA KAMAT)

14/4/2003

DECLARATION
[under 0.19.8(ii)]

  This thesis is based entirely on the original work carried out by me under

the guidance of Dr. Pratima Kamat. To the best of my knowledge, the present

study is the first comprehensive work of its kind from the area mentioned. The

literature related to the problem investigated has been surveyed and list of

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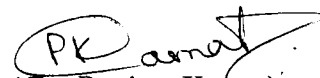has not been previously submitted by me for a degree of any university.

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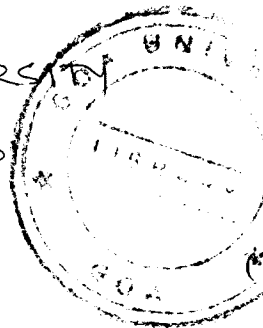
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This is to certify that the thesis entitled "A Cultural History of the Canacona Taluka of Goa." submitted by Pandurang R. Phaldesai for the award of the degree of Ph.D. in History, is a record of the original research work done by the candidate under my supervision and to the best of my knowledge, the thesis or any part thereof, has not been previously submitted for any other degree or diploma in any university or institution. I hereby certify that Pandurang R. Phaldesai has satisfactorily pursued his course of research under the conditions prescribed by Goa University.

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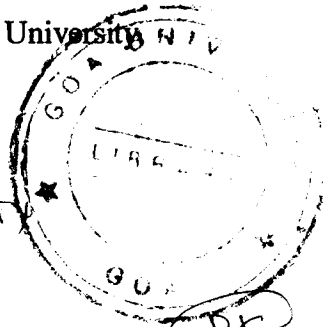
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This Thesis is dedicated to my beloved

PARENTS
Late Shri. **RAMCHANDRA**, Smt. **SITA**
and
my dear wife
AMITA
without whom this work would not have

materialised.

इतिहासप्रदीपेण मोहावरणघातिनाम ।
लोकगर्भगृहत्कृस्नम यथावत्संप्रकाशितम ॥

(*महाभारत, शांतीपर्व, ४*)

Just as the light of the lamp drives away the darkness in a room,
The study of history illuminates the mind and clears it from all the
temptations.

(*Mahabharata*, Shantiparv, IV.)

CONTENTS

List of maps, photographs and illustrations

Glossary

abhinaya- action and postures expressive of sentiment especially in dramatic
representation.

abhisheka- dropping holy water, milk, honey etc. over an idol, a king, an officiating priest
etc. by way of ceremonial ablution, royal inunction or inauguration or solemn
purification.

Adimaya- Nature; a goddess united to the primeval male and genitress of the material
world.

Adipurush- the primeval male.

agama- scripture-a sacred work dealing with the worship of Shiva or *Shakti* (goddess).

Agni- fire, the divinity presiding over fire. The regent of the Southeast quarter.

agrahar- villages or land assigned to *Brahmans* for their maintenance.

agrashala- a multipurpose building in the premises of the temple.

akhanda saubhagya- uninterrupted good fortune in perpetuity from widowhood.

akhanda saubhagyavati- a woman blessed with the unbroken joy of wedlock.

akhyan- a tale, story or fable.

allayo- lullabies.

alvantin- the sprit of a woman who dies in pregnancy or after childbirth while she is still
impure.

Amaravati- Indra's capital in *swarga*

Amavasya- new-moon day.

ambil- a sort of flummery; a dilute preparation of *Nachni* flour soured with buttermilk etc.

amritfal- nectar fruit; a fable fruit of which he that eats becomes immortal; coconut.

Anant chaturdashi- a vow to propitiate Lord Vishnu.

Anant- endless or boundless whether in time or in space; a name of Vishnu; the chief of
Naga or serpent.

angan- courtyard of a house.

angavan- a vow to an idol or a god.

angul- a finger, the measure of finger's breadth.

anna-santarpan- distributing provision or food to *Brahmans.*

anushthan- performance of certain ceremonies and works in propitiation of a god.

anvali-bhojan- dining upon a day of the month of *Kartik* under an *anvali (Phyllanthus
embilica)* tree.

arati- the ceremony of waving (around an idol or *Guru* etc.), a platter containing a
burning lamp.

arghya- an oblation, to gods or venerable men, of water, *durva* grass and flowers.

ashrafi- a silver coin worth of half a rupee.

ashram- a religious order. There are four kinds, referable to the four ages of life;
Brahmacharya, Grihasthya, Vanaprasthya and *Sanyasa.*

ashtadikpala- the guardian deities or regents of the eight regions of the heaven; viz. Indra
of East, Vanhi of S.E., Yama of South, Nairhita of S. W., Varun of West,
Marut of N. W., Kuber of North and Ishan N. E.

ashwamedha- horse sacrifice linked
to territorial conquest. This sacrifice is of the highest order performed by an emperor, a decorated horse was first sent out with escorts to neighbouring areas and even distant countries to proclaim the Emperor's suzerainty, before the sacrifice was performed.

Asura- an evil sprit or demon.

avatar- reincarnation of god; presentation of trance-dance representing the village deity.

balant-kud- a room fitted unto serve as a lying-chamber; also a room in which a puerperal woman is lying; a chamber in which a woman has been delivered.

bali- a religious sacrifice or offering in general, an oblation; an offering or presenting of a sacrifice.

banvad- musical performance to invite spirits of ancestors.

Basova/Nandi bail- a bull taught to obey commands and led about from door to door.

basti- a Jain temple or monastery.

Betal- male deity of Little tradition.

Bhagat- a worshiper or follower; a dealer with gods and devils; an exorcised.

Bhagvat- that walks according to *Bhagavat Purana* and pays equal honour to Vishnu and Shiva. It is also the name of one of the eighteen *Puranas.*

bhajan- singing of devotional hymns; singing the name and praise of God in unison.

bhakari- thick rice bread.

bhakti- a worship or adoration; engagedness of heart and affection in; devotedness to the ways of religion.

Bhandari- a *Shudra* class or an individual of it. They extract spirituous liquor from the coconut tree.

bhar- an afflatus of a god or devil; a trance performance.

bhasma- ashes.

bhoi- an individual of a class of people who are palanquin bearers or carriers.

bhonvdi- ritual hunting which forms the part of some temple festivities.

bhonvri- the whirling and turning circularly of dancers, musicians oracles etc.

bhurjapatra- scriptures written on very thin inner bark of the tree.

bhut- a goblin or fiend; a malignant spirit haunting cemeteries, lurking in trees, animating caresses, and devouring human beings; a demigod of a particular class. Sometimes *bhut* is applied to a god or to the inhering spirit of an idol; a spirit or a shade of a deceased person, a ghost, and an apparition.

Bhat- Hindu priest.

bibhut- ashes (of cow-dung, wood etc.) with which Lord Shiva has said to have smeared his body and now used by devotees in

birud- a thread etc. worn around the arm as a badge or token of one's forte or some excellence or superiority.

Brahmapuri- a town of which the inhabitants are mostly *Brahmans,* learned persons etc.; also a town appointed for the residence and

brahmasthana- It is of five lesser divinities, namely Brahma, Kshetrapal, Rakteshwari, Nandigana and Naga.

Brahmin/Brahman- an upper cast of priest and scholar traditionally associated with learning.

cantaram- Christian folk songs.

casados- Portuguese settlers who were married to local women.

chaddi- an underwear.

chakra- disc.

chamara- a whisk, a fan made of yak tail used in temple service.

chambhar- a caste or an individual of it. They are workers in leather.

chanchi- a bag with divisions or pockets hung at the waist, used to carry *pan, bidi* etc.

Chanda-Munda- proper names of two powerful *daityas.*

Chandika- fierce Durga; violent, merciless woman.

chapati- a wheat cake flatten on roller.

chappal- a sandal.

charvona shijovap- to cook rice for religious offering.

chata- an image of *darbha* grass at *shraddha* when a required *Brahman* is not present.

chaudi- a village tribunal in the market; a place of business in the village.

chavari- a chowrie; a fly whisker made of the tail of *Bos grunniens*; ornamental tassels.

chavli- a bean.

chawrang- musical folk narrative cum dance.

chhatra- a ceremonial umbrella used during religious processions; also a place where food
        is distributed free; a rest house.

chitari- a drawer of figures, a limner or painter.

choru- boiled rice.

Chousopi-ghar/chowpeti-ghar- a house composed of four slips connected at right angles.

chowghuli/chogulo- an officer of village temple.

chowk- a quadrangular superficies generally the square or oblong space forming the
        central portion of a temple or house.

comfr- village treasury.

conto- revenue tax; account.

dahinkalo- a mixture of curds and flattened rice that suspended on particular festivals in
        an earthen vessel and then breaking of the vessels, scattered over
        the multitude assembled.

daitya- the titan or giant of Hindu mythology.

damaru- drum shaped like an hour-glass believed to be associated with Lord Shiva.

dana- gift or offering.

danda- a staff, a stick; a long measure-pole; punishment.

dandanayaka- commander in chief.

darshan- oracular consultation chiefly in *Shakti* temples. This takes two forms, domestic
        and public consultations.

davarnem- a raised mass by the roadside to keep the head loads of travelers.

desh-bhasha- country language; regional language.

devali- a small dome made for an idol; a serving community attached to temple.

devasthan- temple complex.

devchar- a class of demons or an individual of it; spirit.

devdasi- a female temple servant; a female dancer or courtesan attached to a temple.

Devnagari- the Sanskrit character or alphabet.

dhalo- all female folk dance festival held during winter.

dhana- an enrichment; wealth.

dhangar- shepherds and herdsmen and weaver in wool.

dharma- religious practice; a sacred obligation or duty; a precept enjoined in the *Vedas.*

dhero- a large kind of earthen water vessel.

dhillo- a female folk dance of Hindu *kunbi* community.

dhol- a large drum; a folk musical instrument.

dhoti- a single white cloth lower garment worn by men, wrapped around their waist. It is also called *dhotar.*

dhvaja- a flag, an ensign.

dhvajasthambha- a flag post, particularly in front of a temple.

digvijay- a triumphal march of conquest undertaken by any king or pontiff.

diksha- an engagement or entrance upon a great undertaking; initiation in the mysteries of any art or sect.

dindi- a comprehensive procession of devotional singers with musical instruments around an idol.

diparadhana- a festivity with illuminations.

dipasthambha/dipmal- a pole or pillar in front of a temple to support lamps on festive occasion; a frame to place row of lamps and ceremonially carry it.

divaj- the ceremony of devotees, especially by girls before attaining puberty or after marriage holding the traditional clay lamp- cluster on the particular festive day of the temple as special offering. The devotees perform fast and other rites till the offering of lamp is made. The offering is *pradakshana* (circumambulation) to the shrine while holding the lamp either in hand or on

divjam- traditional terracotta lamp-cluster; traditional lamp procession held on the occasion of temple feast.

divli- an upright traditional brass lamp.

divlyam nach- folk dance associated with the traditional brass lamps.

divti- a torch composed of a stick with rolls of oiled cloth around it used in the temples.

dodol- a sweet dish like pudding.

doli- a carriage of woman or bride.

don- a vessel formed out of a piece of a tree or a root to store salt, pickles etc.

done- the scuttle used in casting out water from a tank upon fields.

dongor- a hill, mountain.

dono- a small vessel made of leaves tacked together to hold *prasad* and other liquid substances.

dudu- a coin; money.

dupatta- a sheet or cloth of two breadths to cast around the shoulders.

durva- a kind of grass, (*Agrostis linearis*) sacred to Ganesh.

dvaita- the doctrine of the duality or distinct subsistence of the deity and the universe.

dvipa- island.

ekadashi- the eleventh day in the lunar month dedicated to fasting and prayer among *Vaishnava* sect.

erape/elafe- sweet cakes of rice with the mixture of coconut scraping and nuts.

feni- an intoxicating drink prepared out of cashew fruit juice or milk of coconut palm.

feta- turban.

fidalgos- the Portuguese nobility.

foro- quit-rent.

fov- flattened rice (by having had hot water poured over it, having been dried over the fire and having been pressed in a mortar).

fugdi- folk dance presented by women.

gad- a small fort, especially a hill-fort.

gada- club.

gaddo- a sweet mass or lump; marble; vegetable.

gadi- a man, play-fellow or a mate, as associate or companion.

gado- a man designated with religious activity.

gadyana- a gold coin in ancient days (about 90 grains in weight); the highest denomination of coinage valuing four rupees.

gana- a common term for certain troops of inferior deities, considered as Shiva's attendants, and under the especial superintendence of Ganesh.

Ganapati- Lord Ganesh.

gaonkar- the descendent of the original inhabitant of the village.

gaonpon- deliberation in the traditional village council.

garanem- supplication (as to an idol or deity).

garbhagriha- the inner shrine of a temple.

garo- a big size iron-hook on which devotees suspend themselves by the back; the hangman's hook.

Garuda- the divine eagle, the vehicle of Lord Vishnu.

gaulan- milkmaid; cowherdress.

gaulankalo- folk play depicting child pranks of Lord Krishna.

Gauri/Gavar- Parvati; a girl prior to menstruation; a heap of leaves to be worshiped in honour of Parvati.

ghadi- sorcerer; shaman.

ghagro- a female garment, a sort of petticoat.

ghano- an oil-mill, a sugarcane-press.

ghant- a bell.

ghanya-khal- the place together with sugarcane-press with the work of preparation of molasses.

gharvai- family clan.

ghat- a mountain range that separates God from the rest of the sub-continent in the east.

ghudi- a cloth or paper flag mounted on *ratha.*

ghudmbo- a kind of covering or rain-hood used in rainy weather (a frame of bamboo-slips or laths with Teak or other leaves intersewn, curved hood-form to shelter the head and descending behind down to thighs).

ghumat- a folk musical instrument made of earthen vessel, pitcher form, covered over at the larger mouth with hide of iguana.

ghungru- a little bell or jingling ball worn on the toes by dancing person.

gofin- a sling.

Gokul- the village at which Lord Krishna was brought up.

gondol- a special annual worship of goddess Durga in fulfillment of traditional vow performed by decorating Her image inside sanctum and by dancing in the

outer court with *tarangam* and music at night. It is a kind of a tumultuous festivity in propitiation of the Goddess corresponding to wake through music and dance.

gop- an ornament made of silver for neck or waist.

goph- a folk dance forming braid of strings and unweaving it.

gopi- cowherdresses.

gopichandan- a peculiar type of pipe clay used by the *Vaishnava Brahmans* to apply marks on their body after ablution.

goshala- a cow house or cow pen.

gothan- a shady spot near a village wither the pasturing herds resort at noon and rest.

gotra- the family origin, usually traced back to a *rishi* (sage).

grama- village.

gramdev- village deity.

gram-panchayat- traditional institution of local self-government at the village level.

gudam- puzzles; puzzle songs or mystic songs sung during marriage ceremony and also while performing *Kalo.*

gunj/gunji- a small red and black berry, which forms the smallest of the jeweler's weight traditionally.

Guru- a religious teacher, a spiritual parent, one who instructs in the *shastras.*

Guru parampara- the lineal succession of teachers.

Guru peetha the throne of philosophical teacher (pontiff).

halad kukum- the names of two articles turmeric and red lead in constant use at the female toilette. The ceremony of presenting to husband-having ladies, on the occasion of *Makar sankrant* along with other presents.

hit/vhit- thick small cakes of rice.

hivar/hanna/hovari- a subterraneous cavity, especially in hilly region, a cavernous hollow, a cavern; a cellar, a vault, a hypogeum, a room.

hona- a gold coin, a pagoda.

hoviyo- musical couplets (folk songs) sung by women and also by *Sutradhar* or *Haridas.*

humane- riddle.

Idd- any Mohammadan festival; a common term for the great festival.

Indra- the name of the deity presiding over *swarga.*

Intruz- a folk performing variation of the Carnaval of the local Christians.

ishtadevta- a tutelary deity.

Ishwar- the Supreme Being, God. A name particularly of Shiva.

iti/viti- the stick which is struck in the game of *gonjo-viti.*

jaghant- a plate of bell metal struck as a bell in temples and other religious performances.

jagor- - a nightlong performance of folk dance drama presented with masks during festivities; constant presence and wakefulness.

Jain basti- a temple of Jain sect.

jati- caste.

jayo- flowers of *Jasminum auriculatam.*

jiresal- a kind of rice.

jotem- a pair of sandals.

junv- a yoke.

Jyotirlinga- a *Linga* of Shiva. There are twelve *Lingas* of Shiva. These are Somnath, Mahakal, Kedar,Vishweshwar, Onkareshwar, Tyambakeshwar, Dhrushmeshwar, Naganath, Vaidyanath, Bhimashankar, Mallikarjun and Rameshwar.

Kadamb- a tree (*Nauclea cadamba*), a dynasty.

kadi- curry. A liquid made of mixture of *cocum, otamb* and coconut.

kajal- lamp black, a collyrium applied medicinally and ornamentally.

kakado- a kindled cloth-wick.

kakam- juice of the sugarcane boiled to some consistence, molasses.

kalanjem- a vessel containing lighted cloth wick.

kalantar/vyaz- interest on money.

kalash- finial; rounded ornamental pinnacle on the top of the temple tower or on the top of *tarang*, shaped like a water pot.

kalmal- an unlucky day, a day following annual religious ceremonies in the village temple.

kalo- annual performance of folk play held during the temple feast.

kalpanchi/kalpanti- traditional oil lamp made of an alloy along with a container of oil.

kambal- a coarse black woolen blanket.

Kanfatya- descriptive term for an order of *gosavis*.

kang- a kind of panic seed (*Panicum italicum*); a game.

kangu- a grain.

kani- a feigned story, a tale or fable.

kansalem- large cymbals made of bell metal.

kapad- a coloured cloth of nine yard length bordered with design and worn as garment by women.

Kapalika- a *Shaiva* sect given to sever austerities.

kapam- sort of comfit or puffed coconut kernel scraping, mixed with sugar, sesame, cardamoms, etc.

karit- a fruit of extremely bitter taste. Its shell is used as a vessel for oil and a wick after the pulp is scooped out of it.

karo- a metal pot containing water and having a coconut and a spring of mango leaves inserted in its mouth.

karyat- extra division of land during Bijapur rule.

kas- tucking in of the tuck of the sari or the *dhotar/dhoti*.

kashti- loin cloth, a piece of cloth worn around the loins covering the privities.

katar- large scissors.

katkar- temple orderly.

kati- the cleaver or bill of a toddy-taper.

katto- a raised place of stones along the side of the road.

kaul- divine consent, taking the omen of the deity; the response of an oracle or an idol to an inquiry.

kazi- a Mohammadan administrator of law or judge.

khadga- a sword; scimitar.

khajan- the reclaimed low-lying land of coastal region used for the cultivation of rice.

khand- a contribution or a portion levied on the cultivator.

khatkhatem- a cooked preparation of mixed vegetables.

khel- play, pastime, a folk drama.

kheema/khima- a spicy meat gruel.

khetri/khetro/raudro- the spirit of a young man who met with an accidental death.

khichadi- a sweet mixture boiled of rice and split pulse.

khir- a soup composed of rice, coconut, milk, sugar and spices.

kirtan- narration of story through verse composition in praise of God on the
accompaniment of music.

kirtimukha- an ornamental head of a *Rakshasa* or demon carved over the doors of the
temples or nimbus of the idol.

koglem/koblem- a pole with a hook and netting attached used to pluck fruits like mangoes.

kond- a pool or basin of water.

kondo- a bamboo; a land measure.

Konkani- the language of Goans.

kothi- a storehouse, wear-house, treasury, granary etc.

kshetrapal- the local and guardian deity of; the tutelary divinity of a place.

kud- the body used for animating principle; a room or chamber.

kudov- a corn measure.

kukum- powder of vermilion colour used to apply on forehead of unwidowed Hindu
women.

kul- a family, a race, a tribe; a lessee or tenant.

kulavi- traditional devotees.

kuldeva/kuldevata- family deity; clan deity.

kumbhar/kumar- potter.

kumeri- shift cultivation, strip cultivation.

kungi- a corn bin.

kurmasan- a tortoise shape wooden seat used in temples.

kuvadem- a spell or charm for the removal of a disease or obtainment of an object; a
riddle, enigma or puzzle.

ladu- a sweetmeat ball.

lagan gitam- marriage songs.

lagori- a common term for seven circular flat wooden pieces of which a pile is made to be
thrown at by play ball; a game.

lalakhi- a small wooden car used as carriage of the deity.

lamandivo- an iron or brass lamp having a chain for hanging and a wick saucer.

lanchhana- emblem, coat of arms.

linga- phallus stone, mark symbolizing Shiva used as an object of worship.

lohar- blacksmith or workers in iron.

lolati- the practice of rolling on the *ucchhistha* (un-cleaned place where the people are
feasted) of the day of *jevni* (feeding)in the temple premises.

lonchem- piclels.

lugat- a coloured cloth of nine yard worn as a garment by women.

madval- washerman.

Mahabharata- an ancient Indian epic.

mahajan- member of temple association.

mahal/mhal an administrative division corresponding to *taluka*; main person or portion.

Mahamandaleshwara- provincial governor.

Mahanavami- a festival observed on the ninth day of the seventh lunar month for the worship of arms and goddess *Shakti* which falls in *Navaratri* festival.

Makar sankrant- the passage of the sun from Sagittarius into Capricorns; s feast celebrated by Hindu women.

malani- the operation of threshing or treading out the corn.

mamlatdar- the government officer appointed with judicial power to collect the revenue of a sub-district or *taluka.*

managanem- a sweet dish composed of rice, ground pulse (*dal*), coconut milk, jaggery and spices.

mand- a sacred courtyard where all village performing arts are initiated.

mandil- a small sort of turban embroidered with gold.

mandir- a temple.

mantap- a pavilion, pendol used as a stage for a dramatic show.

mantra- an incantation or a mystical verse; a charm or spell.

mantra- incantation; sacred letter, utterance of which believed to have mystic power.

Marathi- language of Maharashtrians.

masmari- bucher associated with village temple.

mastikal- a stone erected in honour of a woman who has performed sati; also known as *mahasatikal.*

math- a religious center where various deities have been worshipped. In historical times, these centers were places of worship, education, public enlightenment and nuclei of spiritual experience. Usually the *math* is run under the guidance of *swami* or pontiff. It is also regarded as monastery.

Matsyavatara- the first of the ten incarnations of Vishnu, that of the fish.

Mauling- common citron tree (*Citrus medica*) and the fruit of it.

mel- a band of musicians and dancers.

mel- a band of village musicians and dancers.

mesta- carpenter.

mhall/mahalay- a term for the *shraddha* performed in the latter fortnight of *Bhadrapada,* to the manes of all one's male ancestors.

mhalo- barber.

Mharangan/Mharad/Mharvad- the ward or the place occupied by *Mahar* caste. It is usually outside the village.

morchelam- a brush or fan of peacock's feathers that is waved over idols.

mudi- it is a measurement of capacity used in grains.

mudra dana/tapta mudra- a seal containing emblem of Vishnu heated and applied to the body of a *Vaishnava* as a mark of initiation in the faith.

mukto- a silken article of dress, worn by men and women wile performing highly religious rites.

mulasthana- original inhabitation.

mundashem- a turban of a small kind.

munz- waist cord or girdle.

naach- dance.

nabat- instrumental rendition associated with the commencement of the temple rituals.

nadu- a province or region.

nag- a serpent, a demigod.

nag pancham- a feast held in propitiation of the serpent on the fifth day of *Shravan.*

nagar- a city or town.

nagarkhana- the place in which are kept the temple drums and other instruments of the band.

naivedya- an offering of eatables to an idol.

naivedya- food offering to the deity, later partaken by the devotees.

naman- rendering obeisance or the lines in praise of the deity at the commencement of any religious performance.

Nandadeep- offering of oil lamp in front of the deity in the temple; perpetual lamp placed in front of the deity.

Narak- hell or filth.

Narasinha- the lion-headed man; fourth incarnation of Lord Vishnu.

natak- a play or drama.

natak- drama.

Nath-panth- a sect; a certain order of the *gosavis.*

nauras- the horoscope-name given to a child at birth.

navagraha- the nine planets; viz. the Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Rahu and Ketu.

Navaratri- the festival dedicated to *devi,* the divine Mother, and is celebrated in the month of *Ashwin.*

Navim/Navyam parab- the feast of anmats (new corn or grain), which comes in *Ashwin.* A wreath of new rice-stalks with mango leaves, flowers etc. hung over the threshold, important tools weapons, utensils etc.

nevari- a puff or cake.

pad- a measure of grains.

paduka- sandals usually made of wood and used by spiritual leaders.

pagadi/pagotem- a turban.

Pagi/Pagui- fishermen.

pagoda- a gold coin of medieval time (also called *varaha).*

pairan- a short shirt.

paithani- a women garment made of silk, striped, broad-bordered and embroidered. Generally it is manufactured at Paithan near Aurangabad in Maharashtra.

pakhawaj/mridanga- a cylindrical shape musical instrument used in temples.

palakhi- palanquin.

palov/padar- an ornamental border of sari or cloth.

pamri- silk cloth used as over-cloth by women.

pan- a roll of betel-leaf with betel nut, cardamoms, lime, catechu etc.

panak- an acidulated drink made of mixing tamarind water, black pepper, jaggery, etc.

panas- a gold coin of Kadamba dynasty.

panchakhadya/panchakatay- an aggregate of five ingredients, coconut, jaggery, sesame seeds, dal and cardamoms as offering to the deity.

panchang- a Hindu calendar or almanac (*tithi, var, nakshatra, yoga* and *karan*).

panchavadya- the sound of five musical instruments in honour of a deity or dignitary;

horn, drum conch, *bheri* (big drum) and gong.

panpole- rice bread mixed in coconut milk and jaggery.

papad- a thin crisp cake made of flour or the black grams, with spices, a sort of wafer cake.

par- corrupt of *prahar;* a period of about three hours manifested by performers.

paragana- main divisions.

pardah- a curtain, a system of using a veil to cover face among Muslim ladies.

parakalo- a kind of cloth; a shred or strip of cloth.

parashu- axe.

patravali- a trencher or plate formed of dry leaves tacked together.

patri- an assemblage of the leaves of several trees as an offering of Gauri, Ganapati or Mahadev.

patolyo- a dish composed of rice flour, coconut scrapings sugar etc. wrapped in turmeric leaves and cooked in oven.

pattabhisheka- formal installation; coronation or anointing of a religious *guru* or king or queen.

patti- general collection or tax.

payali- a measure of grains.

payas- a sweet dish made of rice, milk, coconut milk etc.

payjama- trousers or long drawers.

Perni- performer of religious mask dance drama in acrobatic style.

pez- rice gruel.

pikdani- a spit box.

pillakucho- a broom of spike form of peacock feathers.

pind/pindadan- an oblation to deceased ancestors, a ball or lump of rice mixed with milk, curds etc.

Pir- a Mohammadan saint at whose shrine vows are made and offerings presented.

pitambar- a silk cloth of yellow or saffron colour having a border.

polko- blouse.

polo- rice bread, cake.

prakar- surrounding space, premises; an enclosure.

prasad- divine verdict; divine intercession.

prasthan- proceeding on a journey; expedition.

prayashchitta- expiation-a ceremony or other act performed to wash off one's sins.

puja- worship; votive celebration.

punyatithi- death anniversary of holy men and ascetics.

Purana- a sacred and poetical work. There are eighteen. They comprise the whole body of Hindu theology. Each should treat of five topics especially; the creation, the destruction, and the renovation of worlds, the genealogy of gods and heroes, the reigns of the *Manus*, and the transactions of their descendants. They are called, *Brahma, Padma, Vishnu, Shiva, Linga, Garud, Narad, Bhagavat, Agni, Skanda, Bhavishya, Brahmavaivarta, Markandeya, Vaman, Varaha, Matsya, Kurma.*

puranik- a Brahman well-read in the *Puranas*; a public expounder of them.

purush- a male; a man's height or stature as measure, a god worshipped by people, a man.

Putana- the giantess or demoness was sent by Kauns - the uncle of Lord Krishna, to

destroy him by pretending to be his mother's sister. She approached
Krishna with poisoned breasts to nurse him, but was killed by child Krishna
sucking her blood through breasts.

Raja- a king, prince, sovereign, It is applied freely to top-arches and chieftains.

rajangan- the quadrangular are enclosed by a building consisting of four portions meeting
at right angles.

Ramayan- an Indian epic poem by Valmiki recording the exploits and adventures of Rama.

rambha- nymphs; courtesan of *Swarga* or Indra's paradise.

rangoli- drawing of lines and figures before an idol, or on the floor where an
entertainment is to be given.

raat- wooden pulley.

rassa- a spicy gravy of non-vegetarian preparation.

rath- wooden car or chariot.

Raya- King; a title of majesty or grandeur assumed by different dynasties of south India.

rishi- a sage, saint of sanctified personage.

ront- a puffed large rice or *ragi* cake or mass of dough.

ros- a dish - gram-flakes boiled with tamarind, pepper, chillies etc.

rumal- a handkerchief or any square piece of cloth used for wrapping round the head.

runda- the head as separated from the body.

rundmala- a necklace or garland of human skulls.

sabhamandap- a portico or an erection in front of a temple-*garbhagriha*; an audience-hall,
an assembly room where general performances are held on festive
occasion.

Sahyadri khand- that part of *Skanda Puran* which deals with the Western *Ghats* and
Konkan.

sakarbhat- a sweet dish; rice boiled with sugar, saffron, raisins etc.

samadhi- a tomb, usually of a religious teacher; also called *vrindavana;* the final stage of
yoga characterized by absorption with the absolute.

sampradaya- traditional and authorative system of religious doctrines, a persuasion.

samskara- observances intended to purify a person or inherent tendencies.

samsthan- a town or place favoured by the occasional manifestations of any god, by the
residence there of saints and sages, of made over the maintenance of a god,
saint etc. a place inhabited by learned and ascetic *Brahmans.*

sangod- a rafter or float composed of two canoes or boats bound together on which deity
is transported.

sanjo- particles in wheatened meal, girt also the coarse part of such meal (girt and flour
mingled).

Sankasur- a demon born of conch-shell.

sanna- thick rice bread.

sant/sante- a weekly fair in the village to serve a group of villagers.

santarpan- gratifying, satisfying, supplying the desires or wants of.

sanvatsar- a year. A common term for the sixty years composing the Indian cycle each
bearing a peculiar name.

sanyasa- renunciation, the fourth stage of a person's life when he renounces worldly life
and devotes himself to God-realisation.

saptamatrikas- the seven divine mothers said to attend on Shiva but usually on Skanda; they are Bhairavi, Maheshwari, Kaumari, Mahendri, Varahi and Chamunda.

sar- a dilute mixture of pulse decoction , fruits and tamarinds, mango steins with salt, spices etc.

Saraswati pujan- the worships Saraswati on the day after the invocation of her sprit or influence upon books and writings observed in the month of *Ashwin.*

sard- the autumnal harvest.

sati- a chaste and virtuous wife, applied especially to the wife, who on being widowed, burns herself with the corpse of her deceased husband.

satikal- a *sati* stone.

satti/shastipujan- worship performed by a woman on the sixth day of her delivery to goddess *Satti.*

Shakta- a worshipper of a divine energy under its feminine personification; relating to the *Shakti* as worship or rite.

Shaiva- a devotee or follower of Shiva.

shaktipitha- a land where the worship of the female deity is predominant.

shalu- a cloth of fine texture. It is used by Hindu ladies as garment on special occasion.

shamipatra- an old scripture read out before the gathering on the day of *Vijayadashami.*

shanai- a pipe, a clarion or hautboy.

sharddha- a funeral ceremony observed at various fixed periods, consisting of offerings with water and fire to the gods and manes, and of gifts and food to the relatives present and assisting *Brahmans.* It is especially performed for recently deceased, or three paternal ancestors or all collectively. It is supposed to be necessary to secure the ascent and residence of the souls of the deceased in the world appropriated to the manes. There are many varieties of performing this ceremony; and many purposes and or objects are specified.

shens- a blessing ritual performance held in temples.

shigmo- all men folk dance festival celebrated during the spring.

shing- a horn or a wind instrument.

shira- a sweetmeat made of wheat granules.

shirkurma- a wheatened sweet dish.

shloka- a verse, a stanza, a quantity of two lines.

Shrimat- it is the neuter termination of *Shriman* and the form, which is used as a prefix of reverence to the names of spiritual teachers.

shukla/shuddha paksha- the light or bright half of the lunar month ; the period of waxing moon.

shurparaka- winnowing fan shaped land.

siddha- an adept, a magician of *gosavi* caste, who by the performance of mystical and magical rites has acquired superhuman powers.

siddhi- high spiritual attainment; the possession of supernatural powers.

sopo/baino- a branch of a verandah; a wooden or cement bench.

stambha- a post, pillar or column.

sur- the unfermented exudation from the palm tree.

suray- uncoarsed or natural husked rice.

Sutradhar/Haridas- the principal actor and chief interlocutor in the prologue and prelude to a drama performance.

suyo- small iron hooks, niddles.

tabkadi- a small metallic plate or tray.

talgadi- folk dance presented during *shigmo* festival.

tali- a tank or a pavement of stone-slabs at all side of a tank or well; coconut, betel leaves, arecanut, vermilion powder, flowers, rice etc. placed in a tray and waved before an idol or person.

taluka- an administrative unit which constitute apart of a district.

Tantra- body of sacred texts relating to the worship of the Goddess as the Mother of the Universe.

Tantric- belonging to the *Tantras-* a charm, rite, precept; that has but a superficial knowledge or scanty ability (in his art or

taplem- culinary utensil of a particular shape.

tarafo- a small division of country composed of a varying number of villages.

tarang- a painted pole having at the top a representation of the village deity, carried about in procession.

taso/tasha- a folk musical instrument- a kind of drum played with two cane sticks.

tavasali- a sweet dish composed of scrapings of field-cucumber and rice flour etc.

thal- the main place of resort of gathering together upon special occasions of the evil spirits of a region; the Pandemonium or devil-headquarters.

thali- a cooking plate.

tiatr- folk drama staged by local Christians in the style of Italian opera.

tirtha- a holy stream or tank; water that has been poured over an idol, holy water.

tithi- a lunar day.

tonayam mel- stick dance.

toni- wooden painted stick.

toran- a festoon; an ornamental frieze over a doorway or carried during procession village deity on festive occasions.

toya- a spicy dish in liquid form for mixing with dry cooked rice.

trishul- the trident of Shiva.

tulabhar- the rite or religious act of weighing against one's person, gold, silver, sugar, fruits or such other things to be given away to *Brahmins.*

Tulshi-lagn- the marriage between the plant Tulsi and a symbol of Vishnu celebrated annually on the twelfth day of the bright half of *Kartik.*

Tulsi- a medicinal plant that is venerated by Hindus; sweet basil (*Ocymum sanctum*).

ukdo tandul- rice husked and boiled and dried.

uparanem- a small single cloth worn loosely over the shoulders.

urus- offering at the shrine of a Mohammadan saint.

utanem- a composition of fragrant ingredients to rub on the body.

utsav murti- a substitute idol specially prepared for its transportation during festivities.

uttariya- a cloth to be cast over the shoulders.

Vadam punav- the day full moon of *Jyeshtha*, on which the Banyan tree(*Ficus indica*) is worshipped by women.

vadi- a dish or dressed food placed as an offering to the sprit.

vadi/kumari puja- worship of young girls in propitiation of *Devi*. It is mainly held during *Navaratri* period.

vadiyo- small balls of particular seasoning or savory composition, viz. of as gourd scraped up together, well-blended with spiceries and piquant ingredients and dried.

vado- a rice cake or pat; small fattish lump of rice bread.

vadya (paksha)- the dark fortnight of the lunar month; the fortnight the moon is waning.

vaigan- the vernal crop.

Vaishnava- a devotee or follower of Vishnu.

Vaishya- trader; the third among for Hindu castes whose occupation was agriculture, cattle breeding and trade.

vajantri- musicians.

valo- loin cloth; an article of dress worn like dhoti around the middle of the body.

van- a wood, forest, grove; a stone mortar.

vanadevata- forest deity, sylvan deity.

vanbhojan- dining or feasting in a wood, grove or garden.

vangod- the original clan settlement of villages.

vanv- a measure- the space along the arms extended in a straight line.

varaha- a gold coin of Vijayanagara rulers, boar- the incarnation of Vishnu.

varna- a caste, class, order.

varan- a tasteful dish of pulse.

Varun- the deity of the waters and also the regent of the west.

vayan puja- worship of coconuts, fruits, sweetmeats and light dishes, also articles of female dress and decoration, presented on occasions by persons under some religious observance to *Brahmans* or to married women.

veergal- a hero-stone commemorating the death of a hero belonging to a village, usually containing sculptures depicting the fight and the hero going to Heaven in panels.

Velip- a priest of *Kunbi* community.

Venkatesh- a God worshipped in south India. He is an incarnation of Lord Krishna. At his shrine weddings and thread-ceremonies are celebrated during the twelve months of the year.

vestido- European frock.

vet- a twist of band of cloth or straw, grass etc.

vet (vitasti)- a long span, - the measure of two thumbs and a little finger extended.

vidi/bidi- tobacco rolled up in a leaf, or a roll of the tobacco-leaf, to be smoked as a cigar.

vihar- retreat or place if residence if Buddhist monks.

villayat- sub-division.

viman- tower over the central shrine; aerial car.

vir- a warrior, a hero.

viramel- a ritualistic trance dance; a martial art display.

virasan- a posture or attitude- that of the body erect upon the knees and toes or upon one knee and one foot (as indicative of an animation or alertness); the posture of the warrior (in archery on the battle field, or in the formal assembly).

vishaya- a sub-division of a province.

vrata- any self-imposed religious observance or obligation to hold it; a course imposed of works or sufferings; or a vow made to do or bear.

vrindavan- the little tower-form erection of earth and stones in which the *Tulsi* is planted. It is also erected over the burial place of a *Sanyasi.*

yadnya- an oblation, observance or an act in general for the propitiation of a deity.

yadnyakunda- a pit for sacrifice.

Yama- the deity of death; the deity that judges the dead, and sends them, according to their deeds, to *Swarga, Narak,* Elysium or *Tartarus.* He corresponds with Pluto or *Minos.* In common use Yama is understood simply as the punisher of the wicked.

zablo- a net gathered up at the corners or a sack to carry off a wounded animal.

zado- traditional ritual of exorcising the spirit; waving if a fly-whisk made of peacock's feathers round the body of patient.

zanj- cymbals.

zanvem- the characteristic thread worn over the left shoulder and under the right generally used by the *Brahmans.*

zatra- periodical festival in honour of a village deity; temple feast.

zemado- women dance usually follows *fugdi.*

zirait - a land appropriated to for agriculture; garden land or plantations.

zogon/zogvan- to feed persons on the farm as a ritual.

zoli- the four-mouthed bag or wallet of beggars.

PREFACE

For a sub-continental country like India there is no dearth of research topics in history. However, there are certain regions like the westcoast, Konkan, Goa and areas such as cultural history, which are relatively neglected. There is an abundance of material on the colonial period of smaller states like Goa but much remains to be investigated about the pre-colonial history.

The present topic was therefore selected to study the cultural history of Canacona, which has been a border region between Goa and Karnataka during various periods of Goa's history.

Considerable work has been done for the reconstruction of the political history of Goa by Naik Danait (1873), Fonseca (1878), Danvers (1894), Saldanha (1898), Bragança Pereira (1923), Sanvardekar (1930), Pereira (1973), Moraes (1990), Mirashi (1974), Mhamai (1984), Sardesai (1986), Ghatkar (1993) and Kamat (1999) but not its cultural history, except a few works like that of Varde Valaulikar (1928, 1962), Priolkar (1961), Nayak (1968), Pereira (1978, 1981), Bhembre (1979), Satoskar (1979, 1982), D'Souza (1985, 1989, 1990, 1994). Dhume (1986), Shastri (1987), Gomes (1987), Shirodkar (1988, 1992, 1998), Naik, (1993) and Mitragotri (1999).

It is a fact that micro-level historical studies have been relatively neglected in Goa. Such studies on diverse aspects of Goan society are essential for presenting a critical analysis of its origin, growth and development through historical and cultural perspectives.

In order to present a composite picture of the Goan society, which has passed through many epochal upheavals, it is difficult to depend solely on published archival material, since these are influenced by contemporary political

systems and thoughts while the historical and cultural reality might have been different. Scientific documentation of oral history, especially traditions of folklore subjected to critical analysis, open novel vistas to synthesize a truly composite picture of regional history.

This thesis argues that if *talukas* are considered as potentially viable units for conducting micro-level studies from historico-cultural contexts, then there is a vast scope for such projects in Goa. The *taluka* of Canacona, in particular, offers a rich and largely unexplored potential for such studies and hence it is this *taluka* that has been selected for a critical examination from the historico-cultural perspective in this thesis. The documentation of oral history and various forms of folklore available here offer important clues for a chronological and synthetic presentation of historical events from a cultural context.

This thesis is divided into ~~seven~~ eight chapters as follows:

Chapter I	Introduction
Chapter II	The Setting
Chapter III	Historical Background
Chapter IV	Religious Precepts and Practices - I
Chapter V	Religious Precepts and Practices - II
Chapter VI	Cultural Impact of the Portuguese Rule
Chapter VII	Loliem – A Case Study of a Culturally Resourceful Village
Chapter VIII	Conclusion
	Epilogue

The above scheme is selected for the purpose of presenting an ordered chronological analysis of the various facets of the cultural history of Canacona from the pre-historic period to the present time.

An exhaustive bibliography, appendices of important documents, tables of cultural resources of this *taluka*, photographs, illustrations, maps, plans, translation of some of the folk narratives and songs as well as a glossary of non-English words are other components of this thesis.

Sources of data collection

In the course of my investigations, I have consulted documents and published works housed in repositories such as: the Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, Government of Goa; the Library of the Xavier Centre of Historical Research, Porvorim; Kala Academy, Goa, Library, Panaji; the Goa University Library; Rare Books section of Central Library, Panaji; Gomant Vidya Niketan Library, Margao; Shree Saraswati Mandir, Panaji; *Gokarn Partagali Jeevottam Math* Library, Partagal, Canacona; *Goa Konkani Akademi; Gomantak Marathi Akademi* Library, Panaji, as well as other private libraries and collections within the state.

In addition to this, I have visited and consulted records and documents belonging to many folklorists both within the state and from the adjoining areas of Karnataka, mainly from the North and South Kanara districts of Karnataka. I have also consulted folk artistes.

The thesis has made use of fieldwork carried out in Canacona at sites of archaeological significance and sources of oral traditions. About fifty visits were made to all seven villages during the period from 1996 to 2001, more than hundred monuments were photo-documented and about four hundred people were interviewed on different aspects of local history, language, customs, manners, rituals, food, dress and costumes, arts, crafts, architecture, music, folk dances, folk songs, folk plays and many other forms of oral history and collection of indigenous knowledge of cultural traditions. This information on various cultural genres has been analysed and presented in the form of various lists, tables and photographs in the present work and it forms the core of the pre-

Portuguese historical period discussed in the thesis. Such fieldwork has been attempted for the first time in the Canacona *taluka*. Oral history has also been recorded and analysed for the Portuguese period (1763-1961) with a view to assess the impact of the colonial rule on Canacona.

I am deeply indebted to my guide, Dr. Pratima Kamat, Head, Department of History of Goa University for her sincere support, genuine interest and intellectual encouragement extended to me. I am specially grateful to her for the invaluable and constant guidance and careful perusal of my thesis.

I am also indebted to Dr. Nandkumar Kamat, Project Scientist, Goa University, for encouragement and co-operation. It is a fact that without his encouragement and sustained support this work would not have been completed.

I wish to express my sincere thanks to the staff of the Library of Goa University who always co-operated with me. My grateful thanks to Dr. S. K. Mhamai, Director, Mr. Aravind Yalagi, Mr. R. C. Sambrekar and the staff of the Directorate of Archives and Archaeology and also to the staff of the Goa State Museum who had helped me in collecting reference material. My special thanks to Mrs. Lilia Maria D'Souza of the Xavier Centre of Historical Research, Porvorim and the staff of the Centre for permitting me to avail of their Library facilities and prompt support. My sincere thanks also go to Mrs. Pia Rodrigues and Mrs. Lourdes da Costa of the Central Library, Panaji, Goa, who were always helpful to me during my research.

I wish to express my warm thanks to Mr. Pratapsingh Rane, Chairman, Kala Academy, Goa and Vice Chairman, Mr. Vishnu Wagh, for granting me study leave so that I could complete my study within the stipulated time. My sincere thanks are due to the Member- Secretary, Mr. S. V. Rane and other colleagues in the Kala Academy who always encouraged me in my endeavours.

xxx

This Thesis is dedicated to my beloved

PARENTS
Late Shri. **RAMCHANDRA**, Smt. **SITA**
and
my dear wife
AMITA
without whom, probably, this work would not have

materialised.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

"Culture is the prime phenomenon of all past and future world history"[1]

Oswald Spengler

The present work has been undertaken to fill the gap in our knowledge about the cultural history of the Canacona *taluka* in the state of Goa on India's west coast. There are various approaches to study the history of any region. However, the cultural angle has been preferred for the present study on the basis of the importance of studying history from that angle. Considerable knowledge exists about the concept of culture and its relation to history. This chapter attempts to survey the current knowledge on the concept of culture, the interface between culture and history and reviews our present understanding of the cultural history of India with special emphasis on its southern peninsular region. The approach adopted for the present work is then discussed with the objectives set for studying the cultural history of the Canacona *taluka*.

History, Culture and Civilisation

History, culture and civilization are the three words which occur repeatedly in all social sciences and humanities but the true import of these words is seldom understood by the people. Many of us consider these as synonyms which they are not. In fact, history includes culture and civilization. History without any reference to these two aspects is bound to be incomplete. While the Greek term for history is *historia* which means inquiry, interview, interrogation of eye-witnesses and also reports on the results of such actions, the Indian counterpart, *Itihasa* is explained as '*Iti ha Aasa*' meaning 'so it verily happened.' It makes two things clear; first, that it deals with past events, second, that it is careful about its scrutiny. It refers to "past events accompanied by or arranged in the form of stories *(kathayuktam)* and conveying instructions in *dharma* (morals), *artha* (wealth), *kama* (desire) and *moksha* (salvation) that is, the four ultimate ends of a human being."[2]

History, therefore must take into account the details of reformative movements, discoveries of sciences, economic advancements, religious reforms, political landmarks and attainments in the field of arts and crafts. Culture is not merely a study of class struggles and dissensions and should not be looked upon as the vestige of the ruling classes and a superstructure built on the toiling of the subjected people.[3] It is much more than that as Ivar Lissener says: "All that is enduring and artistic has been engendered by the strongest of man's impulses, not by his far more imperious urges for the things of the spirit and thus for the eternal life".[4]

A historian is motivated to write history with an urge to lay bare the hidden, strange and baffling features of the past. In this urge he comes across different phases of culture, civilisation and cultural groups. This alone has probably led scholars to find some sort of distinction between the words 'culture' and 'civilisation' as has Amury de Riencourt, who states that:

> "Culture is the pulsating organism endowed with immense flexibility and vitality in a state of constant irrepressible growth. Civilisation on the other hand is the rigid crystallization of a peculiar society; it is the unavoidable horizontal traced on history's stairway, the inevitable pause of society whose creativity has been exhausted by its cultural growth and which seeks to digest, duplicate, spread and distribute mechanically the output of its present culture. Culture lays emphasis on the original and the unique, civilisation on the common and general."[5]

Historians have variously defined the word culture; some have identified it with customs, tradition and conventions, while others have defined it as a code of conduct of social behaviour. Etymologically, the word culture has been derived from the Latin word 'agriculture' which means 'to till or cultivate.' Chaney (1994), uses the term culture, to refer predominantly to an idea of production or growing as in agriculture. While this sense survives, as when a virologist talks about a culture, the predominant sense has shifted to a reference of making meaningful - it is through culture that everyday life is given meaning and significance.[6] Its German equivalent is 'kulture' which is more

comprehensive in scope and meaning. Otto Zerek has compared culture with the Herders plant which flourishes best when left to itself. The Sanskrit equivalent for culture is *sanskriti* which means 'purified or refined.' The word culture has been thus defined by Arnold Keyserling: "The transformation of the uncultivated into the cultivated humanity... the concretisation of the possible system of human aspirations."[7] In his famous book 'Discovery of India' Jawaharlal Nehru has defined culture as that which "develops into a rich civilisation flowing out in philosophy, drama, literature, art, science and mathematics. Truly culture is the sum total of the people's endeavours in different fields of life."[8] It is as propounded by T.S. Elliot as "the way of life of a particular people living together in one place, ... visible in their arts, in their social systems, in their habits and customs, and in their religion ...."[9] In brief culture can be summed up as that which is formed, shaped and moulded according to the inherent tendencies and mental outlooks, subject to time, place and circumstances; which forms the basis of entire political, social, religious and economic activities and is expressed in its arts, science, literature, industry and crafts, which in turn reflect the rise and fall of that nation as and when it advances and derogates from the path of progress.

Culture as a unit of study of any society

Therefore as Hammond (1964) has argued, culture is human behaviour which enables men to make the most of their physical capabilities and adapt to different environments without highly specialized biological equipment.[10]

Vivelo (1978) categorised the definitions of culture into the totalist view and the mentalist view.[11] In the totalist view, culture is used to refer to the totality of a people's "way of life." According to the classic definition of this type, culture is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."[12] A recent formulation along these lines defines culture as "the generic term for all human non-genetic or meta-biological phenomena."[13]

According to Cohen "Culture is composed of the energy systems of a population and its methods of exploiting them, of the organization of social, political, and economic relations, of language, customs, beliefs, rules, and arts - of everything that is learned from other people or their works."[14]

James Feibleman (1968) has discussed the four types of early culture: (1) the infra-primitive, (2) the primitive, (3) the martial, and (4) the religious.[15] The hierarchy of infra-primitive culture is denoted by domination of superior individual or other members. Primitive culture is the stage marked by imitative language, animism, exogamy and myth. The martial cultures worship heroism and self-sacrifice while religious cultures engage in the single pursuit of prayer. These depend on regimentation and high organization with the development of an outstanding individual who leads the most sacred life.[16]

Culture is not 'an instantaneous process' but evolves over generations influenced by the experiences that a given society has undergone in the past. These experiences of community are the products of an environment which serves as a contributory factor to the shaping of the culture.

Cultures arise; they grow; they exist for a time during which they enjoy and suffer certain experiences; and finally they perish. Cultures as they evolve may face confrontations or conditions in terms of which they must change in order to survive and continue. They are brought forward, developed and advanced by means of the efforts of individuals within the social groups of the cultures.[17] The occasion for the decline of a culture may be any obstacle without or within the culture; the cause is the contradiction which the culture is unable to overcome. Decay and decline of a culture can be brought about by physical factors, including geological phenomena and climatic changes or through a deprivation of supply of food to the community and also through political events.

Oral Tradition

If culture is indeed "the prime phenomenon of all past and future world history" then oral tradition, both as a repository of the past and also as a vehicle of social awareness, deserves special academic attention. This oral method of exploring the past was of prime importance in many countries till early modern times. Thereafter, it continued even in the most advanced and literate countries as 'oral history'. Since oral traditions are sources of unwritten nature they depend on the power of collective memory.[18] In recent times, oral reminiscences are increasingly being used as a source material by historians. Further, some important events are carried by generations as 'tales of forefathers' and handed down from generation to generation through oral tradition.

According to Louis Starr, one of the pioneering figures of Oral History, "It is a primary source material obtained by recording the spoken words – generally by means of planned – tape recorded interviews of persons deemed to harbour hitherto unavailable information worth preserving."[19]

Although several projects generated oral history in the 1930s it became an organised activity from 1948 when Professor Allan Nevins launched 'The Oral History Project' at Columbia University.[20] As recorded by David Dunaway, three generations were linked to the establishment of oral history centre in the United States at Columbia University in 1948.[21] The first generation consisted of pioneering personalities such as Allan Nevins and Louis Starr. They conceived of oral history as a means of collecting unwritten biographies. The second generation in the 1960s viewed it as an approach to get the account of important people so that they would 'empower the non-literate and the historically disenfranchised.'[22] The third generation of students and scholars emerged in the 1980s and as critics they challenged the earlier notion of oral history. The *History Workshop* movement of socialist historians began in Britain in 1960s. It has contributed to this field as has the British Oral History Archive of Political and Administrative History set up at the London School of Economics in 1980.

In the meantime the Oral History Association (OHA) was formed in September 1966 and since then published a quarterly newsletter, *A Bibliography on Oral History.* The OHA published an annual *Oral History Review* and undertakes continued activities like workshops, interviews, lively debates and so on. In the 1970s, *The National Union Catalogue of Manuscript Collections* and a directory of all known projects were published through the OHA. Then in 1975 they brought the *Directory of Oral History Collections.* There are other national Associations of oral history like the Canadian Oral History Association. Further it may be noted that in recent years the Cambridge University Press has initiated the Cambridge Studies in Oral Literate Culture edited by Peter Burke and Ruth Finnegan. In the 1980s a new trend came into existence to add recorded voices in support of research to further developed practical applications in administration and policy.

All this literary material was widely circulated in most of the countries and won universal acceptance to oral history as a form of primary source material and valid documentation.[23] In fact, oral history can be a means for transforming both the content and purpose of history. This has been the outcome of rich debate among practitioners of oral history. Oral history has to be examined in the context of other historical evidence.[24] Before it is accepted as evidence an oral source must undergo the stages of identification, collection, sorting, shifting and then finally interpretation. Similarly it has to be critically examined by the historian in conjunction with other sources with which it interacts.

During recent times oral history is characterised by rising interest in interdisciplinarity. In most of the fields like folklore, ethnomusicology, sociology, anthropology, oral history recording has been popular. Due to these interdisciplinary applications, oral history has emerged as a prime process for advanced studies at the university level. By its very nature, oral history bridges the gap between the curriculum and student community. It has proved to be a rich cultural resource which one rarely comes across in text books and classrooms.[25] In substance "it bids fair to reflect the myriad interests of a pluralistic society – its ethnic groups, its cultural pursuits, its

political leadership, its institutions and occupational groups – so far a limited resources but apparently limitless enthusiasm permits."[26]

In the recording of oral history one encounters different types of oral authors such as the narrator, memoirist, respondent or interviewee. The researchers mainly employ two styles for recording oral history – tape recording and preparing transcripts. There are different opinions and justification for employing a specific style of their own. However at the end of the continued debate a consensus emerged that tapes may be more suitable for certain purposes; similarly transcripts also suit different purposes. Hence both are to be preserved.

On the other hand, folklorists have made significant contribution to the methodology of oral history. Since folkloristics is recognized as an authoritative branch of learning, folklorists could endeavour their contribution to oral history. Due to such contribution by the folklorist and continued effort of scholars and practitioners of oral history, it is presently regarded as an advanced discipline which has acquired significant progress with special reference to the teaching and reconstruction of history.

The collective oral record and the personal oral testimony provided by a narrator helps to construct an objective past. It also provides valuable insights into the way in which community members perceive the past. Thus it becomes a significant contribution to the understanding of the local past, historically, sociologically, even psychologically.[27] There are several varieties of oral documents, like the personal reminiscence which is a recollection of a single individual participant or an observer. The document derives from the eye-witness.[28] Oral history being a technique may be used for collecting different types of oral material about the past. The date to be used in the reconstruction of historic occurrences can also be used in the analysis of popular conceptions of past events and behaviour. Oral history has been shown to be an invaluable means by which the historian can recover the past of the inarticulate – women, the working class, ethnic and racial minorities and people in non-literate societies.[29] Although oral history is a tool for recovering the history of the people, particularly the marginalized and the dispossessed, it

does not ignore the importance of elitelore and the history of the ruling class. It forges a link between the society of the learned and the illiterate through ethnographic field techniques and participant observation. It has potential for raising social consciousness and can provide strategies for social change.[30] For example, women's oral history is a feminist encounter. It is the creation of a new type of material about women. It is a kind of validation of women's experience. It is a communication among women of different generations. Oral history is a discovery of roots and also development of continuity in traditional historical accounts. Oral history proposes that we rewrite our history to capture the human spirit of the people. Simultaneously it also tells us how ethnic minorities solved or failed to solve particular problems, how they advanced or resisted change and how they made or failed to make better lives for themselves and their children.

As David Dunaway has rightly pointed out, oral history and its techniques offer an entire world of opportunity. Today the world is challenged in several ways by incorporating emergent technologies – such as the Internet plus computer-aided storage, processing and retrieval. Oral historians have found ways of applying technology to create an international exchange of methods, approaches and theory.[31]

Today, the writing of history in India has progressed in nature and scope with the help of archaeology, anthropology and sociology. It has been understood by the writers of history, that the history of the people lies in the social, economic, religious, spiritual and intellectual evolution through the ages. The material for it lies not so much in the discoveries of archaeologists and epigraphists as in literary and cultural expressions like poetry, drama, novel and music, dance, art, craft, etc. Because, these are continually produced in successive periods and reflect the mind of the period, generally more than the records of kings and emperors, the literary and cultural evidence is far more dependable as a reflection and embodiment of the character of an age.

Selection of *taluka* as a viable unit for micro level historico cultural studies

Micro-level historical studies have been relatively neglected in Goa. Such studies on diverse aspects of Goan society are essential for a critical analysis of the origin, evolution, growth and development of Goan society through historical and cultural perspectives. In order to provide a composite picture of Goan society which has passed through many epochal upheavals, it is difficult to depend solely on published material or routine archival material. Since these are influenced by contemporary political systems and thoughts while historical and cultural reality might be different. Faithful scientific documentation of oral history, especially traditions of folklore subjected to subsequent critical analysis, will open novel vistas to provide new dimensions to or synthesizing a truely composite picture of regional history.

Importance of Folk Traditions in Historical Analysis for Goa

Any researcher in Goan history is hampered by the relative lack of primary resources relating to the prolonged pre-Portuguese era. Published studies have largely ignored the wealth of historico-cultural information available in various forms of Goan folklore – such as folk songs, folk dances, folk tales and rituals etc. Modern ethnomethodological approaches have so far not been adopted in Goa for utilising this relatively unpolluted store-house of traditional oral folk archives to build in comparison and in contrast with other authentic sources, a cohesive and integrated historico-cultural sequence of the origins and evolution of the Goan society.

Scope for *Taluka* Level Historico-Cultural Studies in Goa

The entire state of Goa is politico-administratively divided into two districts, North and South, and eleven *talukas* namely, Pernem, Bardez, Tiswadi, Mormugaon, Salcete, Ponda, Bicholim, Sattari, Sanguem, Quepem and Canacona. Ecologically, these *talukas* can be divided into coastal (Pernem, Bardez, Tiswadi, Mormugaon and Salcete); midland (Ponda, Bicholim and Quepem) and Western *Ghat talukas* (Sattari, Sanguem

and Canacona). Historically, the midland and Western *Ghat talukas* as also the coastal Pernem *taluka* have been considered as the 'New Conquests' of the Portuguese *Estado da India* in Goa. Each of these *talukas* has an interesting geographic, environmental, demographical and social setting. Such a setting offers interesting and challenging clues to researchers in micro-history. For example, the schedule caste *Mahar* community dominates the Pernem *taluka* whereas in the Tiswadi *taluka* the *Bhandari* is a dominant community while the *Kunbis* (*Gaonkar* and *Velip*) dominate the Canacona *taluka* although these *talukas* are within a range of fifty kms. of each other. Accordingly, there are notable variations in social and cultural practices and forms of folklore in these *talukas* as also in others.

Therefore, if *talukas* are considered as potentially viable units for conducting micro-level studies from historico-cultural contexts, then there is a vast scope for such projects in Goa, especially with regard to culturally rich *talukas* such as Canacona, Sattari, Ponda, etc.

The Unexplored Potential of Canacona *Taluka*

Of all these eleven *talukas* Canacona offers a rich and largely unexplored potential for historico-cultural studies. So far archaeological studies have not been carried out to explore the pre-and proto-historic period in Canacona *taluka*. However, on the basis of *Kunbi* settlements and their practices such as *kumeri* cultivation it can be shown that the *taluka* was settled by the hunter-food-gatherers during the pre-historic period. Certain place-names such as Ave, Yeda, Nadkem, Yendrem, Kolomb, Tak, Kond and so on, point towards ancient settlements influenced subsequently by Dravidian/South Indian culture.

The recorded history of Canacona *taluka* begins from Satavahana period that is 200 B.C. to 100 A.D. Evidence has been found in Karwar area of presence of the minor dynasties of Chutus who were feudatories of Satavahanas. Thereafter the area was ruled by Bhojas of Chandor (Chandrapur) till 500 A.D. Chalukya emperor Mangalesh brought this area under control in 527 A.D. It remained in the hands of Badami Chalukyas

through their regional governors till the 7th century A.D. Between 7th to 10th century A.D. the area came under the influence of various dynasties of North Karnataka, such as Kadambas of Banavasi, Hangal and Chandavar. The South Konkan Shilaharas occupied this area during the 10th century before the Kadambas annexed it. Kadambas of Banavasi after establishing their foothold in Goa in 1000 A.D., brought this *taluka* under their reign which continued till 1300 A.D. Meanwhile many wars were fought between the Kadambas and other Kannada kingdoms such as Sindas, Rattas of Saundatti, Gangas of Talkad and Hoysalas of Dwarsamudra to gain control of the *taluka*.

After the end of the Kadamba rule in Goa, there was a period of instability. Small chieftains like the King of Gersoppa and the Nawab of Honavar controlled this area. Thereafter, Malik Kafur established his control for a short while in 1312-13 A.D. before the Bahamanis captured this area. In 1380 A.D. Harihara I, the emperor of Vijayanagara, captured Goa and Konkan defeating the Bahamanis. Then till 1472 A.D. this area remained under the Vijayanagara empire.

This *taluka* saw a brief Adilshahi rule before local chieftains like the king of Gersoppa, owing allegiance to the Vijayanagara emperor, established their foothold. In 1510 A.D. Afonso de Albuqueque captured the Tiswadi island. During this time there seems to be Adilshahi rule in this area. The kings of Sonda continued to control this *taluka* till they surrendered it to the Portuguese in 1763 A.D. From 1763 to 1961 Canacona *taluka* was under the Portuguese rule as one of the 'New Conquest' *talukas*. From 1946 to 1961 this *taluka* witnessed a struggle for freedom in which both violent and non-violent means were adopted.

The purpose of the present study

This *taluka* offers rich potential for historical and cultural research. The documentation of oral history and various forms of folklore offer important clues for a chronological and systematic presentation of historical events from a cultural context and hence aims at studying the cultural history of Canacona through an analysis of institutions and problems dealing with people and society, customs, manners, habits,

food, dress, amusements, family life, group life, folklore, festivals, ceremonies, and such other activities, which are an essential part of human life.[32] This includes the following:-

I – A chronological study of the origin and evolution of various settlements and institutions, such as *gaonkaris, barazan* and *gharvai puris* of the *Kunbis*.

II – The evolution of various forms of worship, rituals and folklore such as *zado, shilop, vol, tonaya mel, talgadi, viramel, chowrang, talo, gudulya gani, dhinlo or dhillo, hoviyo, fugdi, dhalo, perni jagor*, etc.

III – The evolution of class and communities, structure and their cultural interactions with each other.

IV – A detailed survey, stylistic mapping and classification and historico-cultural and socio-cultural interaction of various forms of folklore in the *taluka*.

V – Intensive historico-cultural analysis of selected folk forms as case studies.

VI – The study of pressure of modernisation threatening folklorical forms of the *taluka*.

VII – Etymological, sociolinguistic, cultural/antropological and ecological analysis of folklorical texts for constructing an authentic folk history of the *taluka*.

For the purpose of textual and contextual analysis of the material ethnomethodological approaches are available.

Ethnomethodology helps us in analysing the development of concepts and principles which can explain how people's sense of reality is constructed, maintained and transformed. The key elements of the ethnomethodological perspective- reflective action and interaction, pretend that much interaction operates to sustain a particular vision of reality.

Methodology

Literature Survey

The published sources have been examined in detail to review the past work in this area and to gain insight into the interpretative and analytical potential of this study.

Fieldwork

I-   Preliminary survey of various regions of the *taluka* for gaining first-hand information of the various natural, archaeological, human, cultural and folklorical resources.

II-   Identification of authentic and representative sources of oral history and folk texts.

III- Documentation of oral history and folk texts using a standard questionnaire.

IV-   (a) Photo documentation of performing folk forms, their original sites, folk instruments, costumes and rituals.

      (b) Intensive study of selected folk forms.

V-   Reference to archeological and archival data and temple records in various languages.

VI-   Compilation, classification, categorization and analysis of data collected from I to V above.

Generally the above methodology has been adopted to fulfill the aims of the work. The historical geography or the setting of Canacona *taluka* as presented in the next chapter forms the basis of chronological approach to the study of the cultural history of the *taluka* from the origin of settlements till the liberation of Goa from Portuguese colonial rule and a review of some events thereafter. A specific aspect of the present work is the detailed study of the culturally resourceful Loliem village.

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CHAPTER II

The Setting

Historians explore all possible means to solve the mysteries of human history. For this purpose assistance from archives and archaeology is taken. But it has its limitations. Hence it becomes absolutely necessary to resort to other sources such as the folk archives. An important aspect of toponymy is etymology of place names through the rich insights of folklore knowledge. The study of village and place-names comes under such folk-knowledge. Many a time we cannot arrive at a conclusion. But we can certainly decide by going through the details of village and place-names that reveal the historical transformation processes that they experienced. Though scholars so far have made sporadic attempts in this regard, some researchers have done the study of place-names (Bhatt, 1975; Kemtur, 1989; Mahajan, 1989; Shirodkar, 1993) which gives a clear idea as to how place-names can be of immense help for reconstructing history. The relevance of place names is that they tend to function as identificatory labels. They may be irrelevant from current linguistic standards, yet they retain their historic and cultural relevance with least deformation. Thus, place-names supplement our knowledge of history and also testify, enrich and authenticate that knowledge. Hence, place-names are considered as fossilised agents of our past culture and a diligent study of them would certainly pave the way for the reconstruction of our history. Since place-names form an important source of information for the cultural history of any region, the etymology of some place-names has been discussed in the following pages, beginning with a discussion on the place-name Canacona itself.

Etymology of the name of the *taluka*- Canacona

The original name of the Canacona region seems to have been *Advat*, which in Prakrit- means "*a* (region connected by) *remote route*" (*ad* or *aad=* remote or secluded; *vat*=road or route"). This etymological root can be easily explained by its relative isolation from centres of early population. *Advat* was later changed to *Kadkona* due to the influence of the Kannada language. According to the *Gazetteer of the Kanara District* (1991)[1] *Kada-kona* refers to the wild Indian bison or *gaur (Bos gaurus)*. This is very significant because the whole area had an abundant forest populated by large herds of wild bisons. Another version refers to the Kannada word *kan* or *kanu*, which means a jungle and *kon*, which means a lake. Therefore, a jungle with a lake in it is *Kankon*.[2]

According to the *Marathi Bhasha Udgam Va Vikas* (Marathi Language - Its Origin and Development), the word *Kankon* is the transformation of the word *Kanvapuram*. A local historian, S. S. Desai (1992),[3] supports this derivation pointing out the existence of a site, namely, *Kanvashram* in the forest close to the present location of the Mallikarjun temple at Shristhal in Canacaona. The views regarding Kanvapuram and Tarpanachi *nadi* (river of gratification) as expressed by S. S. Desai in his book, *Shree Mallikarjun Devasthancha Itihas* (History of the Shree Malliarjun Temple, 1992), appear to be rooted in Puranic mythology.

Further, S. S. Desai states that the Canacona *taluka* came into vogue about 100-150 years ago.[4] However, during the Vijyanagara and Sonda kingdoms this *taluka* was known as Siveshwar or Shiveshwar *mahal*.[5] According to S. S. Desai, the Shiveshwar *mahal*[6] and Kankon, encompassing the area upto the Kali river in the south, were two separate regions that were combined together and the name *Kankon* prevailed.[7] From the observations made by S. S. Desai it appears that the northern part of the present *taluka* was known as Advat or Kankon whereas the southern area was called Shiveshwar. The title of Mallikarjun deity has been recorded in the documents as *Advat-Simhasanadhishwar Mahapati Kankon* (The Great Lord of Advat-Kankon). Later, with the onset of Sanskritisation the name Kankon, came to be accepted. In Sanskrit *kanan* means a jungle and *kunda* means lake. The Kankon region is abundant in both jungles

and lakes. With the influence of the Portuguese language, Kankon came to be spelt as CANACONA, which continues till date.

From the above interpretations it is clear that the name of the region is of Dravidian origin with topographical connotations and has no relevance to Puranic mythology as is popularly believed.

Other Place-names in the *taluka*

Our records provide us with place-names of both small and large habitations with suffixes and prefixes denoting the nature of these settlements and also the influence of various dynasties that ruled over the region. All over the world the ancient place-names are descriptive. They speak about the land and people, their aspirations, movements, cultural stage as well as cultural tendencies. The place-names enlighten us by providing information regarding geography, geology, migration, flora and fauna and the cultural standard of our ancestors. They also denote topography like mountains, hills, streams, valleys, rivers, farms, plateaus, sacred places, flora and fauna, cultivatable and wastelands, beaches etc. With the growth of human intellect and languages, place-names came to be distinguished on the basis of the shape, distance, situation, atmosphere, surroundings and the like. The existence of all these places, side by side, indicates that much progress had been made towards human settlement by the time of our study.

There are some names in Canacona with the suffix *gal* and *mal*, which mean plain grassland. Gal, Partagal, Khargal, Sondgal, Kukumgal, Dhanagal, Ashtagal, Dhullagal, Shirgal, Kumegal, Galiem are place-names that belong to this category. Besides, the suffix, *gal*, indicates a memorial. For example, *virgal* (hero-stone) implies that the place has the significance of being a memorial for a hero.

Generally, the word *bag* means a plantation or orchard. Place-names with the suffix, *bag*, in different contexts are prominent in Canacona such as Rajbag, Kindalebag, Devabag, Galgibag, Katebag and Dindebag.

Any extended tract of land is known as *mol* or *mal*. More precisely it refers to an open country, barren or uncultivated plain which is of inferior quality or that which is situated on the sides of hills or on ridges, which although may be ploughed, cannot be irrigated and produces only autumnal crops. Some of these tracts of lands are known for abundance of certain fruit-bearing trees, while others are associated with flowers. Jamalimal, Fulamal, Parayemal, Tamanamal, Satemal, Daptamal, Dumanyamal, Pansulemal, Bomdamal, Ghodakamalem, Kamarmalem are examples in this category.

Similarly, there exist several mango groves in the wards namely Ame in Cola and Amone in Poinguinim. In Jambolem, as the name indicates, there is an abundance of *jambul* trees. Popayedando, referring to the *papaya* tree, can be traced to Cola. The same is the case with cashew trees popularised by the Portuguese during their regime which were concentrated in certain places like Cazumal. *Ambada* fruit trees figure in places like Amdem in Cola and Amadya-fond in Poinguinim, whereas jackfruit trees are abundant in Ponsulemal and Barkaye-fond as well as in Pansulem in Cotigão, Poinguinim and the Canacona municipal area, respectively.

The name Mastimol in the Canacona municipal area is Maha-Sati Mal, which is distorted to Masti. Similarly, the place-name Malorem in Cola indicates the mud and garbage or alluvial deposits brought by the rains or the river. Gardens and plantations are cultivated in such lands.

The place-names with the suffix *pal*, which refers to a hamlet or a village, are found in Canacona. Satpal, Bhutpal, Bhatpal, Hattipal are some of the names of this type. Some place-names which are connected with *Shri*, means deity and imply places of wealth. For example, the place-name Shristhal that is found in Canacona as well as Gaondongri and also the place-name Shiroti at Cola speak amply of this significance.

As in the rest of South Goa, in Canacona as well, there are several names with the suffix *guin* or *guine*, which means a very low-lying area. Poinguinim and Natanguinim fall in this category. *Poi* means a strip of low-lying land running along the river or sea, which can also be saline water, narrow creek or inlet which gets flooded during the high

tide. *Panchaygram* is another etymological root that has been suggested for Poinguinim, in keeping with the 'trend' in favour of Sanskritisation of place-names. This however lacks accuracy, as there is an absence of five villages in Poinguinim as implied by the above Sanskrit root-word. Further, a tableland upon the summit or the sides of a hill particularly a sheet of a rock on a hill or hillock is known as *sado* or *sada*, such as Kulati-sado and Loliem-sado. The name, Talpon, constists of *talap* and *ran* or *van* (rock plus forest), referring to a jungle in a rocky area.

The different wards in the vicinity of villages are marked for different classes and the indigenous names are connected with the suffix, *wado* or *wada*. Bhat-wado indicates the population of a priestly class, mostly of *Brahmans*, who perform religious functions and ceremonies in the village temples. Similarly, the Bhagatwado is marked for the *bhagat* or *ghadi* (shamans) who play a leading role in magico-religious practices. The name Sawatawado indicates the settlement of the Sawant community, which depended upon the river or sea in their vicinity for their livelihood. The Desais who are *Kshatriya Marathas* and also *Saraswats* have their own wards, namely, Desayamwado in Agonda and Poinguinim, which are inhabited by the *Kshatriya Marathas* and *Saraswats*, respectively.

It appears that some of the place names have religious relevance. For example, Devavel, Devabag, Shristhal, Deulwado, Devadando, Devavol, which imply that in times of yore these lands constituted a part of the temple property. Another example in this category is *Namas* or *Nomoxim*, the distorted form of the former. The lands allotted to the temples were known as *namas*. They were specially assigned by the *comunidades* to the temple personnel for production of grains and other crops that were to be offered to the temples.

The place-name, Maina, is derived from the Sanskrit word *mahi* meaning land or ground. The word Maina is used to describe marshy lands. Manne in the Poinguinim village belongs to this category. There are place-names like Marad or Maddi, which are distorted forms of *mardi*, that is, hill or hilly terrain in Kannada. In Cotigão area there is a *maddi* atop the steep hills. There are other types of place-names with the suffix, *marad*,

which means land with wild grass and even poor quality crop. A mention may be made of Kateamarad as a place-name that belongs to this category.

Khola, an administrative division of Canacona under the Shilaharas and Yadavas, serves as the root-word for Cola, which is located in the vicinity of Cabo-de-Rama. Even the fort of Cabo-de-Rama was known during last few centuries as Kholgad. Chaudi used to be a place of public business or a village hall. Each *comunidade* had its hall called *chavdi* or *chaudi* where important resolutions by the village elders used to be passed. In Canacona, Chaudi has maintained its prominence as the principal town of the *taluka.*

The place-name, Cotigão (or Khotigaon) is derived from *khoti,* which is a contractual income that is derived from forest products and cultivation. In the Maratha kingdom, Khot, was an officer who exercised the hereditary office of revenue collection from such lands, hence the name of the village is Khotigaon.

The importance of a place in the past is known by place-names like Nagorcem (main town), Mahalebag (Loliem) and Mahalwada (Poinguinim). Here *mahal* or *mhal* means "the main". *Dongor* refers to a hilly area; hence, Gaondongri implies a similar toponymy. In Kannada the word *ker* means a very narrow street. It was in vogue in Goa from the 11th century. Keri in Cotigão and Kajalker in Loliem are examples of this class. There are many shady spots near the village mostly in the vicinity of a water body known as *gotan,* which are mainly used by the cattle. In Canacona, there are many spots namely, *Gotan,* in addition to Kare-gotan in Sadolxem area. *Vazro* means a stream or flow; Vazrem in Poinguinim denotes the existence of a medium-sized stream or waterfall. Similarly, *Varkhand* (Loliem) means part or a portion of a riverbank. In the same village some place-names like Pedem, Taipad, etc., speak of their old connection with market places. Similarly, there are other places like Khandalem, Agas and Mobor, which reveal the existence of a port or harbour. There are certain place-names, such as Kindalkato (Gaondongri) and Pariekato, Dhupekatem (Cola) that refer to a bank or embankment, a shore or a dam, for in Telugu, *katta* means a bank, a shore, a dam or a customhouse station.

The land lying along the shore or in inlets exposed to floods is known as *khajan* in the Konkan region. Such land is reclaimed from the sea by an embankment. The *khajan* lands are cultivated in many villages. Some *khajan* lands are very popular in Canacona like Kharekhajan, that is salty *khajan* land, Dhaval khajan or white *khajan* land. Similarly, the place signifying a *bund* or embankment is known as *karai* as exists in Loliem village. The place-name, Tamane, in the same village seems to be derived from the word *tamb*, which is an insect that attacks paddy fields. Places denoting numerals, as found in the rest of Goa, existed here, namely, Ardfond, Char Rasto, Satoli, Satkelem, Satemal, and Ashtagal. *Nivar* is a Sanskrit word meaning a place where rice grows wild. Navar in Cola comes under this category. Similarly, there is a place-name in the same village connected with the tiger, namely, Vagona. Another place-name, Maxem, is probably derived from Mashi, a shrub, the leaves of which blister the skin and its flowers are small like flies.

The *Nath* cult had been widespread in Goa from the 12th century A.D. In this cult only the *Siddhas* pursuing the Adinath tradition are called *Nathas* and rest are simply known as *Siddhas*. We also find places named after *Nathas* and *Siddhas* in Canacona like Joganath-math or Jogiya-math (Cola) and Pishemath (Cotigão), referring to the *math* that some of these *Siddhas* had established in this region.

The historical and cultural relevance of different place names in Canacona *taluka* is recorded in Table 2.1 which gives a clear idea about the influence of various languages on the place-names of the *taluka*. With this preliminary discussion on the place-names of the Canacona *taluka*, it would now be pertinent to define the region in the geographical terms.

The Geographical Limits of the Canacona *Taluka*

It appears from the available but limited evidence that the geographical limits of this *taluka* remained largely unchanged till the end of the Sonda kingdom. An important geopolitical division took place in 1763-4 when the Shiveshwar *mahal* was partitioned

into Portuguese-ruled Canacona upto Polem. Hyder Ali ruled the rest of the territory between Polem and Sadashivgad.[8]

At present, the *taluka* is located on the western seaboard of India (figure 2.1 a) as the southernmost *taluka* of Goa (fig.2.1, b, c) with an area of 351.1 sq.kms., which is 9.48% of the total area of the state of Goa. The region is isolated by geographical features, namely, the Sahyadri mountains and the Arabian Sea. The north and northeast is bounded by the Sahyadri ranges separating Quepem and Sanguem *talukas* from Canacona. To the east, southeast and south lies the North Kanara district of the Karnataka state, whereas the west and southwest is bounded by the Arabian Sea. Figure 2.2 shows the various eco-regions of the Cannacona *taluka*. Originally the Advat, Shiveshwar or Kankon region had extended upto the northern bank of the *Kali* river encompassing the entire area between Ghotanibaga to Sadashivgad which was under the control of the English East India Company and got separated from Portuguese Goa.[9] Today it forms part of the Karwar *taluka* of the North Kanara district whereas the remaining part belongs to Canacona in the South Goa district.

Chaudi is the administrative headquarters of the *taluka* classified as a municipal town having a total population of 11,900 as per the 2001 census. The *taluka* consists of eight scattered census villages, some of which are connected by the National Highway - 17, passing from the north to the south leading to the Karwar town which is situated at a distance of 40 kms. Margão, the district headquarters, is connected by National Highway-17 and the Konkan railway as well. A network of asphalted roads connects the internal villages.

The following paragraphs will present the physiographical profile of the Canacona *taluka* and comment on its natural resource base.

INDIA
POSITION OF GOA IN
INDIA 1991

KILOMETERS
0 200 500

Panaji
GOA

GOA
ADMINISTRATIVE
DIVISIONS 1991

MAHARASHTRA

KARNATAKA

CANACONA

0 10 20 KMS

a

b

REVENUE VILLAGES OF
CANACONA TALUKA

1 0 1 3 5 KMS

QUEPEM TALUKA

COLA

AGONDA

CANACONA

GADDONGREM

SANGUEM TALUKA

CHAUDI

POINGUINIM

COTIGAON

LOLIEM

KARNATAKA STATE

TO KARWAR

ANJEDIV ISLAND

c
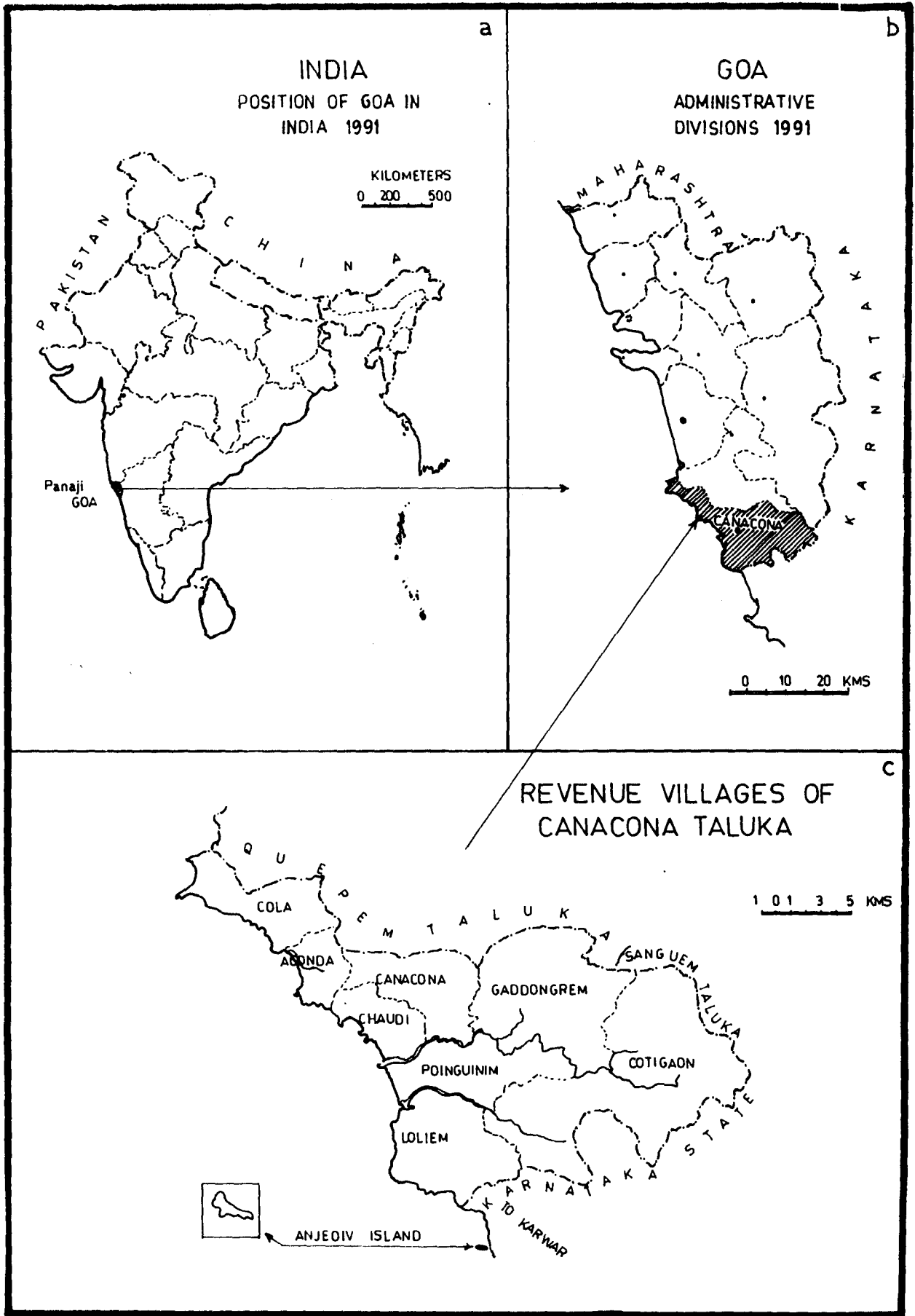
SOURCE : DISTRICT CENSUS HANDBOOK 1991 CENSUS OF INDIA.   FIG. 2·1

Climate

The climate of the *taluka* changed during the Pleistocene epoch from very humid to less humid with relatively less rainfall. The Western Ghat forests are now confined tothe interior areas of the *taluka*. Today the climate is equable and moist throughout the year though it is of the tropical maritime and monsoon type. The *taluka* enjoys regular but relatively insufficient rainfall during the southwest monsoons, mainly from June to September. The average rainfall recorded in 1999 was 2879 mm.[10] and the temperature ranged from 22 ^{0}c to 33 ^{0}c throughout the year. Due to its proximity to the Arabian Sea, the atmosphere is generally humid, with a further rise in it during the monsoon season. Even during the summer, the relative humidity is generally above 60%. The average rainfall for the last 30 years recorded in the *taluka* is given in Table 2.2

Physiography

Canacona, being located on the west coast of India, has many physical features, which compare well with the neighbouring region. The *taluka* consists of three main physiographic divisions (fig.2.2): the hilly sub-Ghat region of the Sahyadris in the east and the north that serves for the major part as a watershed; the middle valley division which comprises of tablelands, their detached elements abutting in several places into the Arabian Sea and the low-lying river basins; and the coastal strip to the west following the Arabian Sea in an almost crescent-shaped form (fig. 2.1, c).

Natural Resources

Minerals

The *taluka* is famous for its granite known as Canacona granite (fig.2.3). It has sufficient deposits of bauxite, clay and basalt. The schistose meta-basalt is extensively present between Polem and Talpona. Similarly the massive variety of meta-basalt occurs on the conspicuous high ridges of Gaondongri - Kuskem in the *taluka*.[11]

CANACONA TALUKA

MAIN PHYSIOGRAPHIC AREAS

HILLY

VALLEY

LOW - LYING
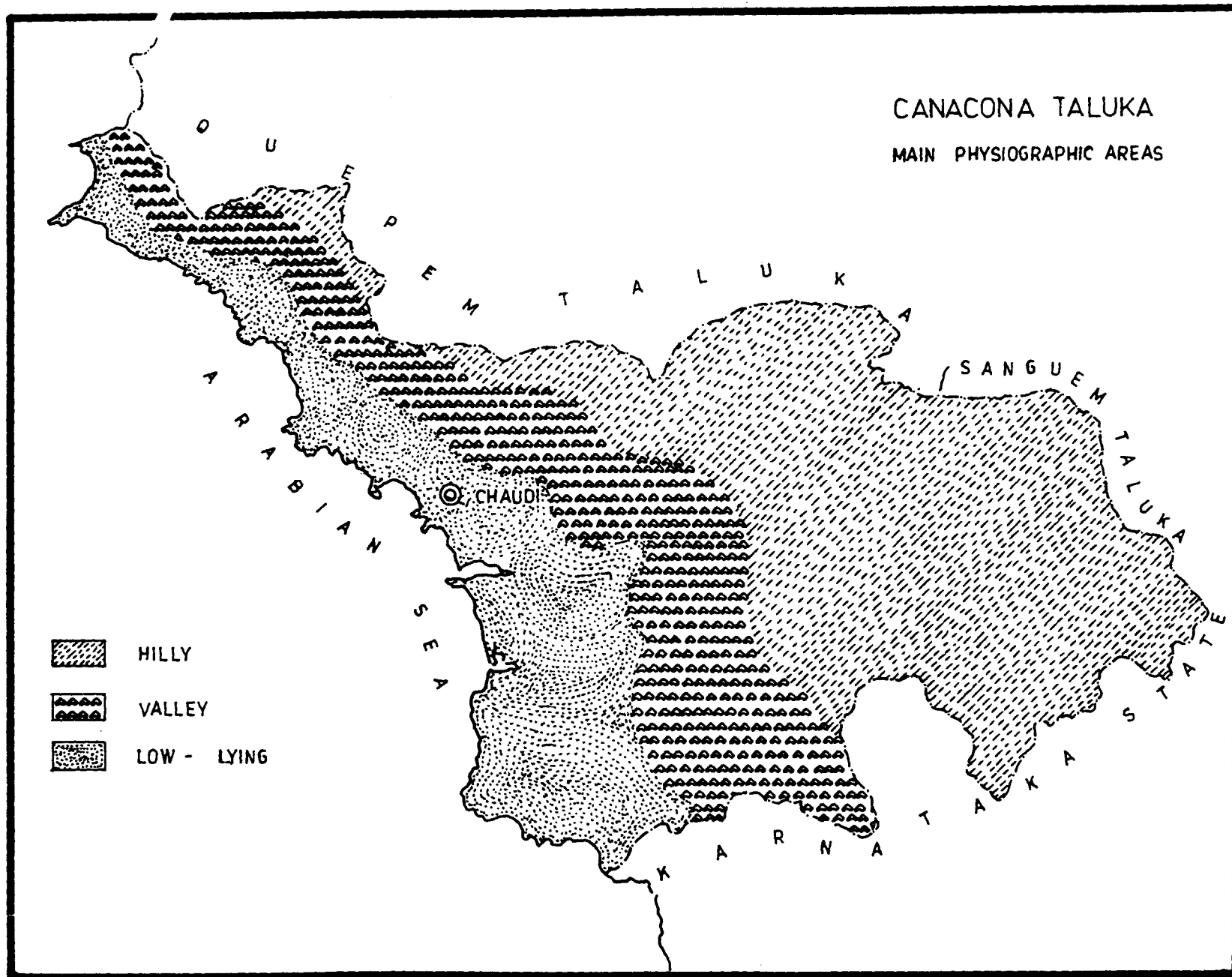
FIG. - 2·2

The Agonda area is made of quartz-chlorite biotite schist. The pink ferruginous phyllite horizon extends from one end in the northwest to Salginim in the southeast over a length of about 95 kms. The entire length of the phyllite constitutes the western limits of the synclinal fold between Butpal and the seacoast. In the west, a linear granite body occurs in a general east-west direction. The rocks exhibit a porphyritic texture and are generally pink and at places gray in colour. The rock shows intrusive relationship with the surrounding schistose rocks and it is also likely to be younger than the Quepem gneissic granite. A mantle of laterite, varying in thickness upto 15 mtrs., occurs extensively over almost all the rock types. Pink phyllite grayacke and quartz-chlorite schist are generally less and lateritised. The metabasalt rocks show partial lateritisation. The quartzite, quartz-sericiteschist, tilloid and gneissic granites do not show any lateritisation. There are also isolated small deposits along the seacoast near Galgibag. The Geological Survey of India has located few prospects of bauxite distributed over the strip of Polem-Loliem-Galgibag while workable quantities of bauxite have been recently reported near Betul.[12]

Hydrological resources

The Canacona *taluka* is rich in water resources and is drained by two major rivers namely, Talpona and Galgibag and minor ones like the Saleri river, Canacona river and Loliem river all of which empty themselves into the Arabain Sea. In addition to this, there are springs and fountains, many of which flow seasonally, prominent among these are Anvali Vazro and Kuskem Vazro.[13]

Talpona and Galgibag are important rivers of the *taluka* because of the extent of their drainage areas. In addition to this, there is Saleri creek, which rises in the undulating terrain of Quepem *taluka* and meets the Arabian Sea near the Saleri village in the Canacona *taluka*. These rivers as well as minor streams drain the watersheds. Valleys support cultivation in rural settlement. The tiny hamlets are actively engaged in agriculture and fishing as a rural activity in the coastal settlements.

The Talpona river rises at an elevation of 700 mtrs. in the hills of the Western Ghats in Ambeghat near the eastern boundary of the south Goa district and its middle course shows bar deposit and the lower reaches consist of swamp formation. The river branches out into the Gaondongri river and Kuskem river, which meet again at Partagal from where it is called Talpona. It has a drainage area of about 240 sq. kms. and meets the Arabian Sea near the Talpona village. The length of the river is 32 kms. with an average width of around 100 mtrs. Both mechanised as well as non-mechanised boats operate in the river during high tide from September to May. Over 40 local boats in addition to others from the neighbouring area operate in this river. The Galgibag river also rises in the Western *Ghats* near the southern boundary of the *taluka* and meets the Arabian Sea near the Galgibag village. The river is perennial with very low discharge in summer. It has a total catchment area of 90 sq. kms. and a length of 16 kms. A few non-mechanised fishing boats operate in this river during the high tide. Similarly non-mechanised fishing boats operate from the creek of Saleri and Canacona during high tide except during the rainy season.[14]

Forest Resources

Forests constitute a major part of the land-use in the *taluka* and play a significant role from both the economic as well as ecological points of view. The age-old tradition of protection and conservation of forest was distinct in the *taluka*. Though there existed *Kumeri* cultivation on an extensive scale, due care was always taken to conserve the sub-tropical hill forest.[15] Another tradition of this region unlike the neighbouring *talukas* is to denote permanent grazing lands, sacred groves and sacred trees. This practice is still in vogue in the *taluka*. Besides people worship trees and plants on various religious occasions. Since the *taluka* comes under the Western Ghats region, maximum efforts are being put forth to regain 60% area under forest, which is at present 51%.[16] Besides, the Cotigão Wildlife Sanctuary covers around 7% reserve forest, which contains the original virgin forests (fig.2.5). Produce like timber, firewood, poles and minor produce such as canes, pods, *shikakai*, graces, honey, wax helped to improve the economy of this region.[17]

The scientific development of forest in this region was initiated only after 1963 and since then a number of steps have been initiated to improve and protect the forest areas by the government. Both west coast tropical, evergreen and semi-evergreen forests are located in Canacona as residual patches on the high altitudes of the *ghats* and along water bodies where the soil is deep. The tree growth is mostly stunted having low timber value. These types of forests are distributed over an area of 12218 hectares which is 34.8% of the total area, according to the 1991 census. Out of the total forest area, 7% has been classified as being reserved forest. There are moist deciduous forests around some areas, namely, Tudal, Ordofond and Butpal. The trees of common occurrence in this region are quinzol (*Terminalia paniculata*) matta (*Terminalia crenelata*), jambo (*Xylia xylocarpa*) nano (*Lagerstroemia lanceolata*), ghoting (*Terminalia bellerica*), sisso (*Dalbergia latifolia*), edu (*Adina cordifolia*), karmal, (*dillenia, pentagyna*), assan (*Pterocarpus marsupium*), shivan (*Gmelina arborea*) and khair (*Acacia catechu*) which provide timber and meet the fuel requirements of the *taluka* and the district.[18]

Wildlife:

The Cotigão wildlife sanctuary situated in the Canacona *taluka* covering 105 sq. kms. is the second largest amongst the three sanctuaries constituted by the state government. The main entry to this sanctuary is through Shisheval village, which is at a distance of 3 kms. from the National Highway-17 passing through the *taluka* and is 17 kms. from Chaudi town which is the main centre in the vicinity of the sanctuary. The Cotigão wildlife sanctuary, notified in 1968, comprises of the area of Cotigão and partly of Poinguinim (fig.2.5). The area is mostly undulating bounded in the east by the Western *Ghats*, which form the boundary between Goa and Karnataka. The western part is mostly plain which is crisscrossed by several habitations and *nalas*.[19]

The wildlife found in this region is mainly bison (*gaur*), leopard, hare, jungle cat, etc. *Sambars* are found in dense cover but *cheetal* (spotted deer) and *bhenkaro* (the barking deer) come out in the open. Mouse deer is also found along *nalas*. Wild boars are ubiquitous. Troops of *langurs* and bonnet monkeys are a common sight, particularly during the fruiting season of the cashew trees. Among reptiles, mountain lizards and

various types of snakes like pythons and cobras are found. The porcupine is also found in plenty. The bird life is plentiful in this region, which consists of egrets, eagles, vultures, pheasant, jungle fowl, parrot, parakeet, owl, kingfisher, *bulbul*, etc. This sanctuary, besides securing wildlife, also provides sporadic facilities of recreation to tourists. The forest department has taken up a programme for improvement and development of the sanctuary.[20] Recently the forest department has set a Nature Interpretation Centre at Hattipal in Poinguinim village near the main gate of the wildlife sanctuary.

Fisheries

The Canacona *taluka* has a coastline of about 40 kms. in length, 24 kms. long inland waterways and a number of small tanks. The coast is full of creeks and estuaries formed by the Talpona and Galgibag rivers that provide good shelter for fishing crafts. The coastal and inshore waters are known to be very rich in fish resources especially because of huge shoals of mackerals and sardines which regularly visit the shore during the fishing season and yield an abundant catch. Eighty percent of the total fish catch is of pelagic fish composed of mackerels, oil sardines etc. Prawns constitute an important economic demersal resource of this *taluka*.

Though the resources are still exploited by traditional methods and the craft (fig.2.6) and gear used limit the fishing zone as well as the period of operation, there is an increase in the number of mechanised vessels and use of sufficient modern gear like purse-seines, pelagic trawl etc. Nagorcem-Palolem, Agonda, Tolpona, (Poinguinim) Patnem-Colomb, Polem, Saleri (Cola), Nuvem, Cabo-de-Rama, and Kindalebag are important fish landing centres of Canacona. Out of these the first four centres are very important and accounted for more than 95% of the fish catch in the *taluka* during 1998. All these fish landing centres are situated at points on the coast that are free from rocks and have a sandy sea bottom. These facilitate the beach - seine type of fishing which is the main local activity.

There were 26 mechanised fishing boats and 153 canoes with OBM and IBM engaged in fishing in the *taluka* in 1998. Out of these, 95% were engaged in marine

fishing in the inshore water, while the remaining 5% undertake fishing operations in the riverine creeks. In Canacona *taluka* inland fishing is also an important activity, and is resorted to by fishing communities residing in the interior. It is pursued throughout the year in the river creeks where a variety of choice fish are located. Non-mechanised boats mainly carry out the inland fishing activities by adopting traditional techniques namely fishing by cast, nets, gill nets and stake nets.[21] Fish finds a very important place in the diet of the local population and as such nearly 90% of the population of this region relish fish. Fishermen of all age groups remain completely busy with fishing operations whereas the female population is engaged in marketing activity, at retail as well as wholesale stage, and forms a significant part of the earners of the family income. Marine fishing is practically closed during the initial two months (June-July) of the monsoon when the sea is very rough. During this period the population of the *taluka* depends for their fish supply mainly from inland catches.

Along the coastline of Canacona varieties of fish are found. The commonly available fish are *bangdo* (scomber), *tarle* (clupea logiceps), *pedve* (clupea fimbratus) *mori* (carcharias), *gobro* (serranus), *tamso* (lutianus), *palu* (chrysophrys), *karli* (chirocentrus), *shenvto* (magil), *isvan* (king fish), *dodyaro* (sciaenoids), *verlyo* (coala) and *khampi* (silvery balley).

Livestock and Animal Husbandry

Since ancient times, its animal wealth had played an important role in the economy of this region. Due to adequate rainfall and availability of an evergreen forest cover, pasturelands were abundant. As a result, livestock development got an impetus from an early period and it was available abundantly. The livestock population comprised of cows, bulls, buffaloes, goats, sheep, horses and poultry farming. Piggery development seems to have been introduced in the last quarter of the 18th century after the spread of Christianity in the *taluka*. Cattle were used mostly for agricultural operations, while female cattle were raised for milk, breeding and work. Buffaloes were used both as draught force and milch stock. The rearing of sheep was at a low pace because of heavy rainfall and soil erosion caused by this activity.[22]

It is interesting to note that poultry operation was looked down upon in terms of social status. The high-class people as well as the *Kunbi* community, which was the major section of the population, never touched fowls till as late as the last quarter of the twentieth century due to their religious practices. Only Christians in the *taluka* practiced piggery.

Another important aspect of animal husbandry is that thousands of cattle from the neighbouring region of North Kanara used to be brought in Canacona *taluka* for grazing during the rainy season. The cattle used to graze in the *taluka* for the whole season and soon after the rainy season, the cattle were taken back to the respective homeland. The reason behind this kind of operation, was inadequate grazing land as well as pastures in the neighbouring area of North Kanara, especially north of Kali river. This practice was uninterruptedly continued for centuries together without any exchange of cash or kind and till date the same practice is followed.

Animal husbandry was a neglected sector till the Liberation of Goa in 1961. It received attention only from the period of the Third Five Year Plan. Today, the livestock consists of bovines, goats, pigs and fowls. A majority of the cattle is of poor quality and indigenous type (fig. 2.7). The draught force is used mainly for agricultural operations like ploughing, harrowing, threshing and transportation of agriculture produce and other commodities. Sheep population seems to be negligible (4.80% goats to total livestock) in this region, probably because of the fact that heavy rainfall in this region is not suitable for rearing of sheep. Goat is one of the important animals for supplying meat. Though households use poultry products, poultry production is almost negligible in this *taluka*.[23] The major constraints on livestock development are lack of feed and fodder resources. The rearing and maintenance of livestock is relatively costly because most of the feed-ingredients have to be imported from the neighbouring states at higher costs. The marketing facilities for livestock products, particularly for piggery are not sufficiently developed.

Agriculture and Horticulture

Agriculture and horticulture are the two most important occupations of the Canacona *taluka* which support most of the population. Although agricultural development has picked up during the last three decades, there is still a vast scope to harness the agricultural potential fully. The relatively lower proportion of arable land that is available in the *taluka* is attributed to the prominence of forests, hilly and undulating terrain and relatively poor attention paid by the erstwhile Portuguese regime to agricultural development in this region. The per capita cultivated land worked out to about 0.30 hectare in Canacona *taluka.*

Paddy and cashew are the principal crops in this region (fig.2.8). Different varieties of wet crops of rice were grown of which *giresal* or the sweet smelling rice was more common. Other varieties included *shitto, muthalgo, khochro, paniyo, bel-paniyo, bhanga kaddi, asgo, alsuko, patni, sat-patni, korgut;* both superior and inferior qualities were cultivated. Here rice is grown in two annual seasons, namely, *vaingan* (winter) and *sarda* (summer) crop. At times, surplus rice was supplied to the rest of Goa. Garden crops raised included fruit trees like plantain, mango, jackfruit, lemon, pineapple, *jamb*, guava, etc.

Abolim, shevtim, mogri, jayo, juyo, chafo, marigold etc. were the main varieties of flowers that were grown in this region. Plantation crops consisted of coconut, areca nut, betel leaves, black pepper, chilies, turmeric, sugarcane, sweet potato, etc. Dry crops included *ragi (Eleisine corocana),* chavali *(cowpea -Vigna catjang), pakol, vari (Panicum miliaceum), udid (*black gram *-Phaseolus minimoo), halsande, tur (*pigeon pea-*Cajanus cajan), kulith (*horse gram *- Dilichos biflorus),* etc.

Other important crops include pulses, *ragi,* coconut, areca nut, sugarcane, vegetables and fruits like banana, mango, jackfruit and spices such as chilly, black pepper, turmeric, ginger, which yield a high income. The plantation crops occupy 51% of the cropped area in the *taluka.* However, food crops cover a relatively higher area of 37%. Ranking of crops on the basis of acreage in which they are grown indicates that

cashew is the first crop in Canacona *taluka* while paddy is the second important crop and coconut comes in the third place. Thus the present cropping pattern indicates that cashew will remain the principal cash crop and paddy an important food crop in Canacona.[24]

The provision of irrigation facilities became a matter of paramount importance. Creating irrigation facilities by constructing and maintaining tanks was a major task of the local community. Local administrative bodies such as the *comunidades* and *devasthanas* (temples) were involved with the construction and maintenance of such tanks and water resources. The *comunidades* also provided lands with irrigation facilities, at a reasonable rate of assessment, to poor peasants. These village institutions also constructed embankments to protect agricultural lands from being inundated by seawater, to prevent erosion of soil and also for irrigation purposes. Today, on completion of some important irrigation schemes and projects, namely, those of Talpona and Chapoli, irrigation facilities (fig.2.4) have been provided for an area of 8053 hectares at the cost of Rs.10 crores by the year 1999.[25] In addition to this there are minor irrigation schemes that include *bandharas* (*bunds*), wells, lift irrigation, tanks and ponds.

Pre-historic Cultural Ecology

Strip cultivation, known as *kumeri* cultivation, is popular among *kunbis* of Canacona and is locally known as *koliyo*. Hence one can observe the roots of primitive agriculture. The land cleared of its vegetation is again cleared by burning the dry slash and thereafter seeds are dibbed in the soil with the help of a pointed bamboo stick and in recent times with an iron implement called *kudvan*. The plough is conspicuous by its absence. It resembles the agricultural system of the Austric race. They dib the seeds in the soil with a pointed stick and they cultivate rice-fields on the slopes of mountains and also in low-lying areas since their staple food is rice and curry. Besides rice, they also produce *ragi, nachani, vari, pakol, tor, kangu* etc. and in the low-lying areas they cultivate bananas, brinjals, gourds, pumpkins, lemon, turmeric, areca nut, coconut, pomogranate, *jamb,* papaya, pinapple, etc. (fig2.9). Some of these local names have their origin in the Austric language.[26] Another notable point regarding the settlements of

kunbis is that they were not rearing cattle like the Austric people. Moreover, the milk of a cow is taboo for most of the *kunbis* in Canacona. However during present time the *kunbis* also rear cattle for sole use in the agricultural sector.

Thus, the use of resources by the people of Canacona, as reflected in folklore and customs, throw light on pre-historic cultural and ecological concepts. Their folklore speaks volumes not only of their ritualistic performances, their beliefs, traditions and practices, but also about the flora and fauna of the *taluka*. The mention of various plants like ficus, fig, *khair, kosamb*, sandalwood, *jambo, kinal, shivam, galo, kevan, sanvar*, is a common feature of their folksongs.

One can note the variety of flowers in their folklore that are easily available in the area like *ghoting, chafo, vonvol, surang, kandal, kavaso, kesar, jai, shenvantim, abolim, pitkuli, salik, mogrim*. Similarly, we find the mention of various fruits in the folklore, specially those fruits and vegetables which are produced or preferred, by them like coconut, areca nut, jackfruit, mango, bananas, *bhiran, otamb*, lemon, *mauling*, pumpkin, *jamb*, gourd, ash gourd, snake gourd and the like. Animals and birds too are topics and characters in folktales and stories. These include the bison, wild boar, tiger, *cheetal, sambar*, rabbit, crow, parrot, peacock, wild fowl, snakes, different fish and reptiles like the tortoise, snail, crab, etc.

The entire use of the bio-diversity in day-to-day life by the inhabitants of Canacona gives a clear idea about the pre-historic cultural ecology of this region. The folk economics, especially agro-horticulture and animal husbandry, folk-technology, folk-culinary art, folk medicine, sacred groves, holy trees and nature worship and folk architecture are some of the important aspects from which pre-historic cultural ecology is depicted. There exist sacred groves and holy trees where no member of the local community is permitted to cut any plant or branches of the holy trees. These groves and demarcated areas are identified with different local terms such as *devaran, devadongor, devavel, devimol, devadando* and so on. In the event of any illness, first priority is always given to traditional and folk medicines. All agricultural operations are still undertaken

with the help of folk technology. Housing and architecture is based on traditional folk knowledge and almost all rituals depict the cultural ecology.

In the *kumeri* farming system, a piece of land is cleared of its vegetative cover in the month of April-May. Thereafter the slash is allowed to dry on the spot. Later on the dried slash is set on fire. The ash thus collected is automatically spread on the entire patch before the onset of monsoon and it works like manure in the *kumeri* field.

Afterwards the seeds are dibbled in the soil with the help of pointed primitive implements locally known as *kudavan*. Sometimes a requisite patch is dug with iron tools such as *kudal* and *pan kudal* and thereafter the seeds are sprinkled into the soil. The crops include paddy (*oryza sativa*), *nachani* (*eleusine coracona*), *vari* (*panicum miliaccum*), *packol, tor* (*cajanus cajan*) and others. The crops are protected against the ravages of wild birds and animals. On one patch, crops are raised for one to three years and when the soil is unable to support any crop further, the field is abandoned to allow it to recoup its lost fertility naturally. The *kumeri* farming is then shifted to another plot and the farmer sometimes returns to the original plot after the completion of a cycle during which all favourable plots are cultivated from one to three years. In this manner, the *kumeri* farming moves in a circle, around the settlement, which is always treated as a permanent nucleus. The plot under cultivation is locally known as *koliyo*.

Kumeri farming is the earliest type of shifting cultivation similar to such cultivation in other parts of India. In North-eastern India it is popularly termed as *Jhuming* and the cultivation is known as *Jhumia*. It provides sustenance to the people of that region. As described by Conklin "any continuing agricultural system in which impermanent clearings are cropped for shorter periods in years than they are allowed to remain fallow" is termed as shifting cultivation.[27]

The history of shifting cultivation is as old as that of agriculture itself. On the basis of archaeological data and radio carbon dating, the origin of shifting cultivation could be traced back to about 7000 B.C. in the neolithic period, which witnessed the remarkable and revolutionary change in man from food-gatherer to food-producer. The

pre-historic shifting cultivation used fire, stone, axes and hoes while the present-day shifting cultivation works with stone tools, iron digging sticks, knives and hoes.[28]

This system of agriculture is the primitive form of soil utilisation and is known by different nomenclatures in different parts of the country, such as *Bewar* or *Dahuja* in Madhya Pradesh, *Podu* or *Penda* in Andhra Pradesh, *Pama Dabi*, *Koman* or *Bringa* in Orrisa, *Guida, Dungar chas* or *Podu* in Southern Orissa. *Penda Bewara* or *Deppa* or *Dahia* in Bastar, *Kumeri* in the Western Ghats, *Valra* or *Waltra* in south-eastern Rajasthan, *Khil* in Himalayan belt and *Kuruwa* in Bihar. In countries like Mexico and Central America this slash and burn or bush-fallow type of agriculture is named as *Milpa* and *Conuco* in Venezuela, *Roca* in Brazil, *Masole* in Central Africa, *Ladang* in Indonesia and *Ray* in Vietnam.[29] It is a cultivation system based on low technology and under-utilization of human resources which is followed all over the tropical rain, forests and bush areas of Central America, Central Africa and South East Asia as well.

In the farming system the soils cleared of trees and bushes and mixed with the ashes obtained by the burning of slash that are rich in organic matter. Thus, it can support some crops for a short period of one to three years without being regularly manured. Therefore, many lands in Canacona *taluka* inhabited by the *kunbi* community that lack innovative devices and have an orthodox outlook towards life still possess this type of agricultural system. In the past, the ignorant *kunbis* would abandon the field on the pretext that it had come to be affected by ghosts and evil spirits. Being ignorant these people who face acute poverty and socio-economic backwardness are obviously reluctant to shun traditions in favour of better methods of cultivation. The *kunbi* community of the *taluka* has socio-cultural ties with land and because of socio-religious bonds do not desire to disturb or break the prevalent *kumeri* system.

Traditional Arts and Crafts of Canacona

Traditional village arts and crafts offer a glimpse of peoples' economic activity, cultural diversity, innovativeness and creative spirit, and help to build a cohesive picture of the local cultural scenario.

The old records of temples, *comunidades* and *math* throw light on traditional industries in the *taluka*. These industries were diverse enough and efficiently managed by different villages of the Canacona *taluka*. The foremost village industry was the oil mill known as *ghano*. It was generally a stone oil mill drawn by bullock or buffalo and in exceptional cases hand-pressing was also done.

Another popular industry was the manufacture of jaggery. Lumps of jaggery were made out of sugar-cane juice. The sugar cane was pressed in the mill and jaggery was manufactured in almost all villages. The manufacturing place was known as *ghanya-khal* (mill-court). The jaggery fluid was generally stored in a special earthen pot with a small opening, known as *goda faad.*

Household carpentry and making of implements was also a flourishing industry. Bamboo products such as baskets, winnowing fans, mats, etc., were commonly known. Pottery was a very common industry as also metal manufacturing and making of vessels, lamps, bells and agricultural implements. The jewellery industry remained popular at all times. It was a kind of specialized art pursued by different groups of people that included goldsmiths, artisans, manufacturers and merchants. Blacksmithy was one of the most important industries, which provided infrastructural facilities to the peasant community to meet with their requirements of various implements.

Manufacture of salt, preservation and sale of areca nuts, constituted other industries. Leather industry related to making of variety footwear and other leather items like belts, shields, bags, etc. Manufacture of bangles, dyeing, making of toys-and mirrors also formed a part of village industry in the Canacona region.

In the past, there was a flourishing family-based textile industry, which later virtually disappeared on account of competition from North Kanara.

The field survey reveals a large number of arts and crafts in the Canacona that have been classified in Appendix 1 according to materials. Striking features of the arts and crafts can be summarised as follows:

Though different communities use a variety of cloth, the handloom culture of the *taluka* has vanished without any trace. The required cloth material was procured from the neighbouring trade centres of Chittakula and Karwar, in North Kanara, and in recent times, the same is brought in from Margão, Belgaum, Mumbai and Surat etc. A practice of selling ready-made garments was in vogue since three to four centuries in which a few Muslim families were engaged.

During the early period, many families of utensil makers, locally known as *kansâr*, and makers of stone utensils were permanently settled in the *taluka*. However, during present times such families keep on moving from village to village. The vessel makers used to prepare a lot of utensils which were sold at the *zatra* (annual festival). While men moved around the villages, the women used to weave coloured strings and garlands of beads as well as prepare small toys for selling them at the village *zatra*. The temple graphics were regarded as the most important art-work and the artists were well respected by the society. The internal walls of the temples were decorated with drawings based on mythological stories. However, during the process of rapid modernisation, the treasure of wall paintings is fast disappearing.

The temple architecture is elaborately decorated with woodcarvings. The pillars, slabs, panels, doors, frames, etc., are full of carvings and designs. Similarly, most of the temples have their own *rath* (chariot or car) with carved wooden body. These chariots have decorative panels painted in varied colours. Though sizes of chariots vary from temple to temple, probably representing their financial status, all are rich in carvings. However, it is doubtful as to whether local artisans undertook these carvings or they were brought from the Kanara coast.

Likewise, the musical instruments required for temple rituals, as well as local festivals used to be prepared in the village itself. But during present times most of the instruments and other objects like *tonayo* (sticks), *ture* (paper flowers) and *malo* (garlands) are usually procured from the neighbouring village of Demani in Quepem *taluka*.

Canacona *taluka* is still famous for its carpentry work. The government had set up a Public Carpentry and Common Facility Centre in Tamne ward of Loliem village which caters to the needs of furniture from the rest of the urban areas of Goa in addition to meeting the local requirements.

A- Utensils

i) Pottery -	Pots and utensils of different shapes and sizes for daily use like storing of water, food grains, cooking purpose, etc. Besides special pot called *Ghumat* is crafted for preparation of folk musical instruments.
ii) Clay work-	Preparation of idols of different deities like Ganesh, Saraswati, Krishna and Lakshmi, on festive occasions like Ganesh festival *(Chavat), Sharadotsava (Navaratri)* and *Krishna-puja* and *Lakshmipujan* respectively. Besides figures of different animals mainly horse are prepared. All these idols and figures are sun baked and the idols are painted with natural and synthetic colours.
iii) Terracota-	Traditional lamps locally known as *pantyo* and *divjam* are prepared to use the same for religious purpose. *Divaj* is a bunch of five lamps made of terracota which is lighted in the annual festival of the village deity. Besides the oil lamps *pantyo,* also are used during the feast of Diwali, Dindi-Diparadana and such other occasion.

Some more details of the crafts work/public utensils are included in the Appendix 2 and Appendix 3.

B – Implements

i) Wood –	Wooden implements are made for agricultural purposes like *nagor* (plough), *ris, nirmane, junv, danto, alay, nivlo, diflo, kudvan, mudkud, ankadi, kallem, kolmbi, done.*
ii) Wood & Iron	*kudal, pikas, pankudal, khorem, kurad, koyti, vilo, pal, shinne, benullem, sul, rapo, tasni, kholasani.*

Appendix 2 provides some more details of these types of implements.

iii) Weapons   *tarsad, patto, nincho, khanjir* and *banduk.*

C – Cane, Bamboo and Straw weaving

Kondo or *ghudmbo, vallo, dali, petaro, pantali, khotlo, chobo, pidli, valli, sup, satali, ayano, sankshi, villem, khanvem, hatari, kadattar* or *kado, shenri, manjari, sann, pisondi.*

Trade and Commerce

Although agriculture was the main occupation of the people of Canacona, there existed a wealthy mercantile community which had established commercial contacts beyond the seas. The coastline with its harbuors especially Talpona, Anjidiv, Galgibag and Cabo-de-Rama, and the enterprising merchant community, contributed to these trans-oceanic contacts which went on for centuries. The early inscriptions have always made a mention of a flourishing mercantile community that dealt in gold, silver, cotton, paddy, pepper, oil, spices, betel leaves, fruits, victuals and such other articles. The trade in horses was one of the main activities of maritime trade.[30] Since the Canacona region was treated as a trading post for onward trade of horses in the Deccan and the rest of the hinderland, horse trade from Arabia, Persia and Afghanistan was in full swing for quite a long period.

Certain factors contributed to the growth of commerce in the Canacona region. As it was the case elsewhere,[31] in Canacona also, religious centres held out many opportunities to merchants to sell their goods, because many people visited those places regularly, especially during the religious ceremonies and annual *zatra* (festivals), *kale*

and *khell* (annual festivals). This provided wide scope for mercantile activities. Religious establishments like *devasthans* (temples) and *math* (monasteries), proved to be great patrons of the mercantile community.

Fairs

Markets and shops served as the marketing centres in the region. There were regular streets of these shops known as *mand, angadi, pasare, sat,* etc., where articles and commodities were sold and exchanged. The area of Santemal near Partagal points to the existence of a weekly market. The annual fairs of temples served as a unique opportunity for marketing and exchange. Fairs are institutions established to centralise supply and demand of merchandise at a particular place and specific time. They served as important events in the life of the region where they took place, for people assembled there from remote places to buy and sell their products, displayed a sizeable number of shops of utensils, agricultural implements, groceries, grains, textiles, ornaments, animals, toys, perfumes, yields from various plantations, etc. The Nagarcem ward still exists in the municipal area of Canacona, which was probably the *nagar* (town) during the early period. It seems that this town served as metropolis of imports and exports due to its proximity to the Talpona port and is a residence of various communities and castes. It may have controlled and supervised the trade and commerce in this region. It is seen from the Goa plate of Jayakeshi I (1053 A.D.) that Gopakapattana, the Kadamba capital, was one of the most important emporia on the West Coast.[32] It was the resort of many traders hailing from distant countries such as Pandial, Kerala, Sumatra, Bangla, Gurjer, Latta, Pusta, Saurashtra, Sangameshwar, Chippalona, Shivpur, Pindianna, Vallipattanam, Simhalla, Cadah and Zanzibar.[33]

The Anjidiv island, one of the revenue villages of Canacona region, situated near Karwar, was one of the most safe and useful ports for commercial vessels. Similarly Chittakula in the Shiveshwar *mahal,* and Talpona and Cabo-de-Rama in Canacona, were important ports. Talpona was a major port in the region under study where even big ships used to anchor. Internal waterways were also used as a means of transport of goods, which always supplemented maritime trade in the region.

However, perishable goods like oil, dairy products, betel leaves, vegetables, flowers and fruits were carried as head loads. Pots and bags were suspended on a horizontal pole carried on the shoulder. Earthen utensils and fruits like bananas were carried in special wickerwork baskets, whereas vegetables and flowers were packed in special bundles. A similar tradition is still in practice in the *taluka*.

Transport System

Palanquin was the popular carriage for the people. It was called *machil*. Four persons generally carried it on their shoulders and one person that would direct the other bearers by giving code instructions.[34] The *machil* had a chair or two with arrangements for reclining. For this purpose there was an overhead cover made of woven palm leaves and a long bamboo pole which was handled by four bearers (*bhoi*). Ladies would use a *doli* and their husbands would use *meno*, which was almost similar to that of *machil*. The *doli* was distinct, due to the curtain, which covered the seat from all sides, whereas the *meno* was covered from the top only to protect from hot sun or rain. Another carriage namely *khatli* was in use for sick person. There was adequate arrangement and space for relaxing the patient in the *khatli*. Sometimes *jablo* was used to carry a sick or injured animal. The *jablo* was woven out of ropes that was locally made and tied to a horizontal long pole. The animal was placed in the net and carried by bearers on their shoulders.

Pack animals such as bullocks, he-buffaloes, horses and mules were used to carry goods strapped on to the back of animal.[35] Since the late 19th century, till the end of the first quarter of this century, bullock driven coaches and horse carriages were important means of transport. The region saw the motor transport only after 1923.[36]

Traditional boats of different size were used for navigation in the region. The size of he boat was always in accordance with the purpose for which it was to be used. Small boats known as *ponel* were used for fishing as well as transportation within short distances. *Hodem* was a bigger boat used mainly for transportation of people across the

river. However, for transportation of goods of larger quantity, twin-boats were used, called *sangod*. Besides, bigger boats, namely *machvo, patmari* and so on were used for maritime trade, which required navigation of longer distance and period.

System of Banking

Traditional banking practices prevailent in Canacona *taluka* included *vyaza lavap, vyaza divap* or *kallantara divap*. There were private agencies that accepted deposits. They used to utilize the interest on those deposits for stipulated purposes and also advanced loans. Sometimes heavy interest on such loans was charged by private agencies on account of which the debtors suffered to a great extent. However, there was also a practice among high class Hindus to make deposits with religious organizations. Gokarn Partagal Jeevottam *Math* accepted such deposits. This practice is seen from the 16th century A.D. The *swamiji* (pontiff) and some of the senior members associated with the *math*, priests and *mahajans* acted as trustees, for the deposits and they were vested with the responsibility to carry out the acts as desired by the depositors. The interest calculated on monetary basis was paid in cash and kind. However, it was the routine practice that the interest *(kallantar* or *vyaz)* occurring on such deposits was usually spent on religious rites, such as worship *(rangapuja)*, feasts *(anna-santarpana)* festivals *(utsavas)* etc. These include special offerings to god, feeding of ascetics as well as repairing and constructing public works.

Many a time loans were advanced by private agencies for agricultural purposes. The routine practice followed by the peasant community was to repay the loans with interest in kind. The agricultural produce was sold to the loaning agency towards the repayment of the loans. It was a kind of unwritten bond, between the private agency or landlords and the illiterate and helpless peasant community, which was not always devoid of an element of exploitation of the latter by the former.

Sources of income and expenditure

Taxes were levied on agriculture and livestock industries, commerce, professions, etc., and revenue was the major source of income to the region and the various land taxes included *zan, desmo, conto, forro,* etc. Of the other taxes under this category, mention may be made of *khand* and *yenavol.*

Taxes were also collected from various village industries like, tax on oil-mill (*ghano*), handloom (*mag*), shops of jewellery, etc. Commercial taxes were levied on all goods entering into the region and also taken out of the region. A distinction was made between goods passing on state highways, waterways and routes of lesser importance. Tolls were also levied on almost all articles of trade. The major commercial taxes include the toll to be paid at the port of Talpona, Galgibag and river crossings at various points like Betul, Poinguinim, Salolxem, Maxem, Loliem, Mokhard, Galgibag and Talpona. Petty tolls called *kirkol, gutti, pattti* or *pati, shidav,* were also levied on a number of articles.[37]

Professional taxes were levied on people following different professions, such as goldsmiths, blacksmiths, barbers, washermen, cobblers, fishermen, potters and the like. Besides these, people made contributions, individually or as a group, towards public works like temples, tanks, *bunds,* bridges and roads.[38]

The revenue from the payment of penalty for breach of law or violation of inhibitions, was known as *dand* which was also utilised for a socio-religious cause.[39]

A sizeable amount of income from these taxes was spent on public works social security measures and various grants were made to individuals, temples and other religious organisations.[40]

Weights and Measures

There were separate units of weights and measures for commodities besides land that was measured in linear measures. From the ancient period the smallest linear

measure used was *angul*. It is the middle joint of the middle finger of an adult of about two metres in height, which is about 190 millimetres. The *vitasti* or *vidatthi*, known to brahmincal and buddhist literature,[41] was equivalent to twelve *anguls*. These measures are still in use in canacona, locally known as *angul* and *vet*. *Vet* is the long span between the thumb and the little finger, which is equal to twelve *anguls* or 22.8 cms. Another measure, which maintained its popularity from the ancient period is *hasta* or *hat*.[42] it is the distance between the tip of the elbow to the tip of the middle finger which comes to twenty-four *anguls*. It was mainly used for measuring arable lands and irrigation works. The measure bigger than *hat* was the *vanv*, equivalent to four *hats*, that was used for measuring dry, wet and garden lands. Generally, the measure used for the measurement of vast lands was *kondo* or *dando* (wooden rod or a bamboo). In the *arthashatra* and Buddhist sources it is referred to as staff or stick or pole of seven *hastas* in length.[43] However, the length of the *kondo* or *dando* varied according to the nature of the land to be measured.

Some units of measurement also indicated measurements of land and also productive capacity of the field. These included *kungi*, *atvem*, *dhakandi*, *kumba*, etc. For measuring food grains, spices, dairy products, jaggery and other articles, various measuring units were in use. The units for measuring paddy include *kumb*, *khandi*, *payali*, *kudov*, *pad*, *atvo*, *annato*, *ginnato*, etc.[44] Oil, dairy products, spices and jaggery were measured in units of *sher* and *mana* besides smaller units of *navtang*, *pavsher*, *arda sher*. Other units that were vogue included *vons*, *rat* and *mana* for measuring grocery items and spices.[45] Information about the weights and measures which were in vogue in Canacona are included at table 2.3.

Currency and Coinage

A uniform currency, standard weights and measures and a sound system of taxation contributed to the growth of the economy of the region under study. Various metallic coins made of gold, silver, copper and base metal, were issued by different dynasties during their reign in the region.[46] Gold coins such as *asrafi*, *pagodas*, *hona*, *pardao*, etc. and silver coins, like *larins* and rupees of various denominations, were in circulation.[47]

Tara and *Gadyana* made of silver, were probably in use in the region during the Vijayanagar rule. Copper and lead coinage right from punch-marked coins, were also in use. This comprised of *tangas, rub, pana, rais, ana, paisa, duddu, domdi* etc.[48] The bare metal coinage issued by the earlier rulers became obsolete with the advent of the Portuguese, who issued extensive coinage in Goa till 1961. Earlier, right from Chutus to Kadambas of Banavasi, Chalukyas of Badami, Kadambas of Goa, Vijayanagar and Adilshai rulers issued their coinage which included punch marked coins to minted coins. But during the Sonda rule no independent coinage is evidenced. Gold *fanams* of Viraraya type of Vijayanagar continued to circulate in the region.

The currency which was in use as late as the 19th century comprised of *asrafi, tang, rub, reis, rupee, duddu, domdi, ana, paise, escodo, centão,* etc.[49]

Demographic profile

The census figures for the *taluka* are available reliably from 1950.Total population of the Canacona *taluka*, according to the 2001 census was 43,912 including 22,226 males and 21,686 females. The density of population of the *taluka* was 116 per sq. km. whereas the sex ratio was 976 females for every 1000 males. The urban population was 27.1 percent, much less than for the south Goa district (56.02%) and the state (49.77%) indicating less developmental pressures which boost urbanization. The child population in the age group 0 to 6 was 4586 with 2367 males and 2219 females. The number of literates stood at 22623 (80.52%) out of which 16037 (86.42%) were males and 10586 (74.06%) were females. Canacona is the only census town in the *taluka* with 11900 with 6196 males and 5704 females. Since the 2001 villagewise cenus data is yet to be published the village-wise population in the *taluka* as recorded in the 1991 census is given in Table 2.4. The *taluka* is more densely populated with 116 persons per sq. km. as compared to the inland *ghat talukas* of Sanguem (68) and Sattari (100).[50]

People of Canacona

The migration and settlement of communities in Canacona started from the prehistoric period and continued as late as in the eighteenth century. Like villages

elsewhere, most of the villages in the Canacona *taluka* have settlements with separate wards for members of each occupation group of carpenters, blacksmiths, *mahars*, *chambhars*, potters, washermen, workers, goldsmith, priests, fisherfolk, etc. It has been reported that many families migrated from various places and settled in this *taluka*.

The Appendix 4 gives the list of Hindu surnames and Appendix 5 gives the list of non-Hindu surnames. Many families with different surnames such as Pai, Pai Khot, Pai Bhatikar, Pai Kir, Bale, Nayak and Kamat hailing from Salcete *taluka* settled in Canacona. All these families belong to *Vaishnava* sect of *Gaud Saraswat Brahmanas* and are associated with *Gokarn Partagali Jeevottam Math* under the title *Sasashtikars* (residents of Sasashti or Salcete). Certain annual feasts and festivities have been earmarked as celebrations of the *Sasashtikars* in the *math* (monastery) of Partagali.

It is also reported that the *Gaud Saraswat Brahman* families like Prabhudesai, Prabhugaonkar, Phaldesai and Phalgaonkar originally hailed from Pernem *mahal* and they migrated from there to settle in Canacona, in the villages of Poinguinim and Loliem. These families carried the hero-stone called Mulvir while migrating from Pernem, which is presently installed in the premises of the Keshava temple in the Loliem village. Similarly Purushottam Prabhu from Malpem-Pernem had carried the deity of Parashuram to Poinguinim and consecrated it there. The temple of Purushottam is in front of the Parashuram temple in Poinguinim.[51] However, no records were available to confirm this event. It seems that these families later adopted the *Vaishnava* philosophy and got associated with the *Gokarn Partagali Jeevottam Math*. The reason for their migration is also not known. It is also pertinent to note that they consecrated the deities of Pernem such as Bhagavati, Ravalnath and Mulvir in the Loliem village.

Likewise the folklore prevailing among the *Kunbis* of Yeda ward of Cotigão village indicate that they also hail from Pernem and that they had came down to Yeda and settled there permanently.

In the Amone ward of Poinguinim village the *Kunbis* have two surnames. Some of the families claim that they are Tawadkars and remaining families are Daikars. The

Tawadkars are regarded as *gaonkars* whereas the Daikars are not given that status. The Tawadkars hail from Tawad in Quepem whereas the Daikars are from Balli proper. The Daikars followed the Tawadkars. Both these sections have their clan deity and family deity in Tawad and Balli respectively, in addition to their village deities at Amone in Canacona *taluka*.

The Prabhudesais of the first seven *vangods* of the Cola *comunidade* hail from the Carambolim village of the Tiswadi *taluka* and the Prabhugaonkar Konkar of the eighth *vangod* hail from Lotulim village of the Salcete *taluka*. Their original deity appears to be Ramnath. But recently they adopted the worship of Betal as their village deity from Soliem. The Kulkarnis of the ninth *vangod* hail from Sanvordem in Sanguem *taluka* and adopted the worship of Kapileshwar in the Cola village.

Some Catholics with surnames such as Fernandes and Pereira who are mostly toddy-tappers by profession have migrated from different villages of Quepem *taluka* such as Molcornem, Assoldem, Xeldem, and Ambolem. However, their settlement in Canacona *taluka* seems to be about fifty years old.

Similarly, the *Gabits* who are settled in the Talpona and Galgibag wards of the Poinguinim village as well as in other coastal wards probably hail from villages of the Konkan region, such as Kharepatan and Ratnagiri. They might have migrated from Konkan when the activities of pirates were in full swing and the local rulers of Sonda allowed them to settle in the Canacona region.

The *Dhangars* (shepherds) also fall in the same category since they also migrated from the same region of Konkan and settled permanently in the Canacona *taluka*. On the other hand, a number of families originally from the Canacona *taluka* migrated to cities such as Mumbai, Pune, Sangli, Karwar, Mangalore and also to Gulf countries for getting jobs and settled there. This migration probably commenced with the beginning of the 20th century.

Though Goa remained a Portuguese colony for 451 years (1510-1961 A.D.) the Canacona region came under the Portuguese in 1763 A.D. and hence the spread of

Christianity took place in this region as late as in the last forty years of the eighteenth century. Hence, the Hindus are dominant in this region and they are a part of the territorial kinship system of western India and the south, which is dominated by the concept of consanguinity. While giving details of the various communities, the people of Canacona have been classified into three major religious categories, the Hindus, Catholics and Muslims in Table 2.5.

As regards Hindus, most of the communities generally follow the norm of clan exogamy. Similarly most of the communities allow for the mother's brother's daughter (MBD) type of cross-cousin marriage and a few of them allow father's sister's daughter (FSD) type of marriage alliance. Adult marriage is always preferred, even among the *kunbis*. Almost all communities follow the norm of monogamy and patrilocal residence after marriage. The *mangalsutra* or *mani* is the major symbol of marriage. Generally, divorce is permitted subject to certain conditions but mostly certified by the judicial court as all marriages are registered under the civil code. Though some communities like *kunbis* and the fisherfolk prefer joint families, the nuclear family is more common. Women perform household chores and also participate in agricultural occupations and thereby support the family. Majority of the communities have pre-delivery rituals and post-delivery pollution is also observed by almost all. The same is the case with puberty rites for boys and girls. Ear-piercing, tonsure (*mundan*), thread ceremony (*munz*), etc. are different types of puberty rites. The people prefer to have marriage ceremonies performed at a public place (hall) and nuptial ceremonies at the bridegroom's residence. All communities except Catholics, Muslims and *kunbis* and *Mahar*, cremate the dead and the latter bury the dead in their burial ground.

Hindus generally follow the *gotra* system for matrimonial alliances as well as the *varna* system. The Hindu communities in Canacona claim to be *Brahman*, *Kshatriya* or *Shudra*. The *Vani* or *Vaishya* community is absent. All these communities depend on resources such as land, water, fishery, forest and labour. Limited local needs and

economic self-sufficiency may account for the absence of the *Vani* community in this region.

As far as the diet of the people is concerned, it is chiefly non-vegetarian, with the exception of the *Karhade* and *Chitpavan Brahmans*. The people in Canacona restrict their non-vegetarian diet mainly to fish, chicken, eggs, mutton, wild meat and generally do not eat pork and beef or the meat of buffalo. Catholics take all these varieties of meat but Muslims abstain from eating pork or the meat of buffalo.

While collecting and compiling data on different communities, it was observed that Catholics in Canacona consist of carpenters (*mesta*), washermen (*madvol*), fisher-folk (*kharvi*), *Mahar*, etc. But they exist in very small numbers, which have been merged with the broader Catholics or *kiristão* stratum. As such all these small communities have been included in one broad Catholic community.

Muslims are concentrated in the ward of Tembevado in Nagarcem-Palolem area, their relations with other castes in their village are very cordial. Interestingly, their ceremonies and other rituals of passage of life have been greatly influenced by local traditions. A total of twenty diverse communities occupy the cultural space of the *taluka*. Distinctly eighteen kinship groups could be identified. Among these *Kunbis, Marathas, Pagi/Gabits, Bhandaris, Saraswat Brahmans* are the major groups. Bioanthropological characters available for eleven communities of Canacona based on the research of Anthropological Survey of India are compiled in Appendix 6. The interesting socio-cultural aspects, nature of residence/migration, common surnames, life cycle rituals, occupations, dress, food habits, festivals, arts and crafts of people of the twenty communities in Canacona have been compiled and recorded in Appendix 7.

Early Humans and their Original Settlements

The study of rivers becomes very important in the special context of the pre-history of humans because rivers have been the lifeblood of people at all times as they have supplied human beings with water, food and transport facilities. The pebbles in the rivers were used by early humans as raw materials for manufacturing implements.

Remains of such implements, tools and weapons of the primitive humans have been found in the river valleys.

The settlement in Canacona *taluka* during the pre-historic period must have arisen from migration of humans across the Western *Ghats*. Table 2.6 attempts to chronicle the probable events in the history of human settlements in Canacona region. In the Zuari and Mandovi river valleys, and also in sea creeks, light stone implements of the Early Stone Age are found.[52] During this period man was essentially a hunter. Arrowheads, awls, scrappers and other tools found in the excavations of the Archaeological Survey of India throw light on the settlement of Middle Stone Age humans. Further, tools and weapons of the hunter-food-gatherer stage like blades, scrappers are also found in the river belts and also polished stone axes, which were used by the first settlers of the land during the

Neolithic period. All such tools, including the finely finished and polished hand axes, were used for splitting by the Stone Age humans. Early human activity was located in the Malaprabha valley of Karnataka which was the most important retreat of the Stone Age man.[53] Similarly, in the centre of Ghataprabha river in Karnataka are found many implements made of sandstone which are also found in the Mandovi and Zuari river beds.[54]

Figure 2.10 depicts the probable routes of *Homo sapiens* migration. It can be seen that Ghatprabha, Malaprabha, Kali and Zuari river basins formed a single ecological-cultural zone, a natural resource rich continum during the prehistoric period. From this we know that the primitive humans in Canacona could have migrated from the Zuari river basin down south to the Kali river basin (Karnataka) in the west. Between Zuari and Kali river basins are located the smaller basins of the Talpona and Galjibaga rivers. After the hoardes of humans reached the Zuari or Kali valleys they could have fanned out towards the coast along the Talpona and Galjibaga rivers from 1,00,000 B.C. to 12,000 B.C. There is scarcity of detailed arachaeological investigations in the Zuari-Kali region. But the field work by Archaeological Survey of India in 1964-5 and by Karnataka University researchers have reported the findings of acheulian stone axes along the trails of migration leading from the Dudhsagar waterfall region to Shigão in Sanguem *taluka*.

Other remains, like pieces of reddish-yellow polished pottery with painted designs, were also found at the bottom of rock-cut dwellings in the Zuari river belt.[55] Such pottery has been found in the excavation in Karnataka in the valleys of both rivers.[56] This gives a clear idea about the settlements of Neolithic humans in the region.

It is also pertinent to note that the scrapper of quartz arrowheads, small hand axes found in the Fatorpa village situated in Quepem *taluka* and on the border of the Canacona region clearly indicate the migration of early humans in the region.[57]

According to D. D. Kosambi,[58] the great difficulty in tracing prehistoric man in India is the problem of dating. Prehistoric tool-making man in India as in the Soan Valley (West Pakistan) generally used the Levallois technique in flaking his stone tools that was a prehistoric method of tool manufacturing. The rough dating is estimated at 50,000 to 1,00,000 B.C. Hand axes of this type can be traced in different parts of the Eurasian continent. Many of the rock piles in the Western Deccan might be primarily due to nature; but prehistoric man left his mark upon them in the form of deep engravings. These would generally be the localities where prehistoric man would find no exposed stone for tools or sites favourable for camping. The western Deccan developed agriculture very rapidly in the sixth century B.C. with the local Iron Age. There was no Copper Age worth the mention in the Deccan. An occasional site with a bronze tool is found at Maheshwar (early in the second millennium B.C.). There had been several waves of the megalithic people, perhaps moving slowly over a long period up and down the river valleys of Bhima, Krishna, Tungabhadra, Godavari, apart from their short-term seasonal movements in search of better grazing and water.

During the Neolithic Age when the monsoon set in, the early humans would move down the river, towards the drier east. After the monsoon, it was easier to move back where the grass and forest had been renewed. The westward movement also brought the early humans nearer to the coast. This is indicated in a few prehistoric sites where excavations have revealed the presence of salt camps. The high Deccan scrap that rises to 500 mtrs. or more and lies only 50 kms. or less from the coast is broken by a few passes. These passes were to tie down the later trade routes. On the coast, as on the plateau, an

occasional stone-ring is found which was used to weigh down digging sticks. This implies the existence of primitive agriculture that was not so productive as cultivation with a plough. Thus we have cattle, salt, access to coast, stone tools, control of fire with a maximum variety of natural products on the mountain range near the coast as pointed out by D.D. Kosambi.[59]

The various cultural epochs which delineate the history of Canancona are tentatively listed in Table 2.7. The subsequent chapters are based on the events and their cultural/socio-religious fallout during these epochs. Chapter III provides the historical background from pre-Mauryan period upto the advent of the Portuguese colonial rule.
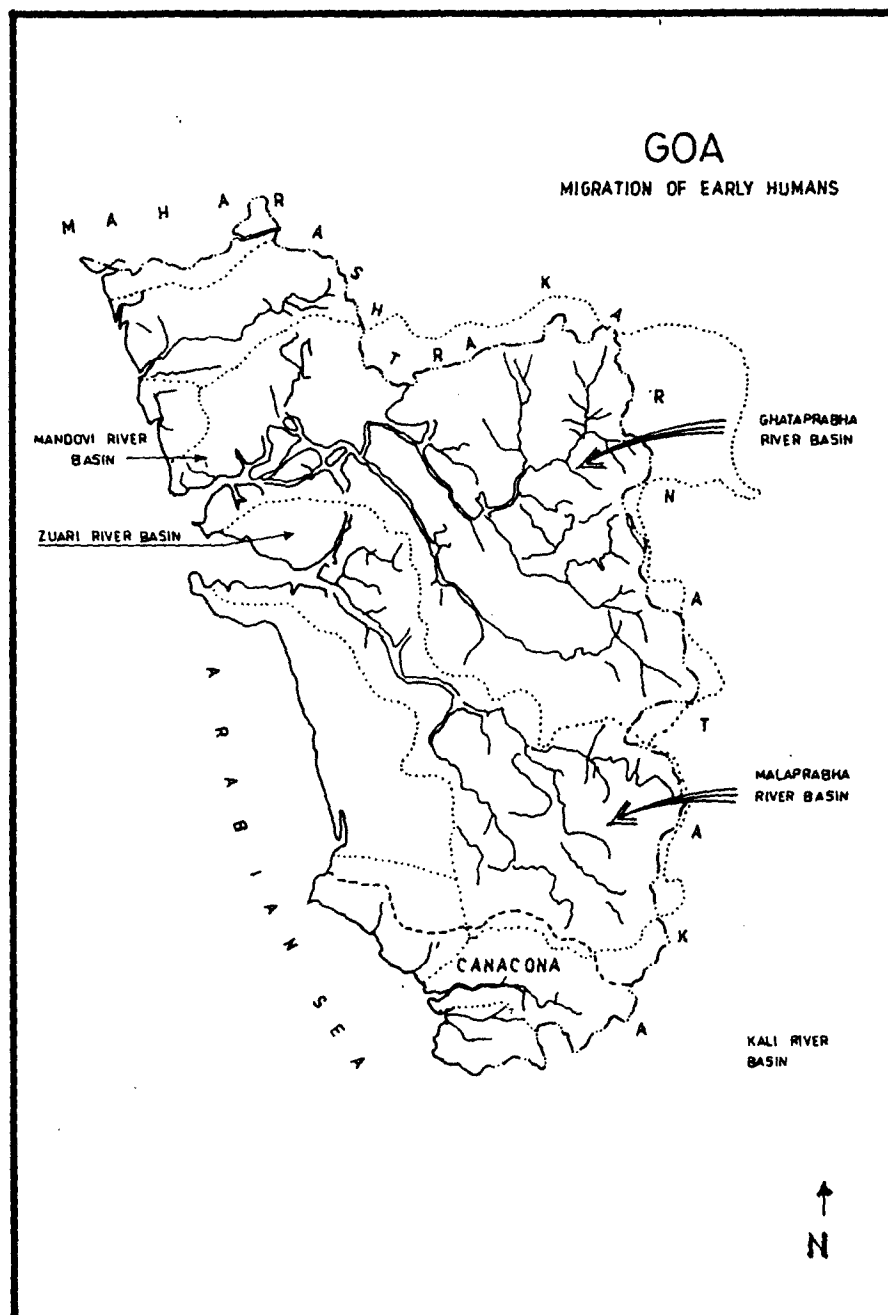
FIG. 2·10

Table 2.1

1 - Classification of place-names by Cultural Importance

Category	Place-names
A. Place-names indicating geographical features/landscapes	Ambeghat, Ardafond, Cola, Dando, Daravatem, Davalkhajan, Dharvel, Dongor, Durg, Gaondongrem, Kamarmalem, Karmalgha, Kholgod, Kuddi, Malorem, Namas, Ramadongor, Tadvem,
B. Place-names with the suffix, 'gal'	Apangal, Ashtagal, Badegal, Dhanagal, Dhullgal, Gal, Karegal, Karmgal, Khargal, Kudegal, Kukumgal, Kumegal, Mharvagal, Partgal, Shishegal, Sondgal, Talyagal, Veergal,
C. Place-names with the suffix, ' mal, molo or malem'	Amdukemal, Betodemal, Bhatnimal, Bhim-molo, Bhinn-malem, Borimal, Brahmya-mal, Dabemal, Daptam-mal, Dumanyamal, Fulamal, Ghodakamalem, Jamblimal, Kajumal, Kamarmalem, Kanasulemal, Khursamal, Madyamal, Mastimal, Morfondamal, Pansulemal, Parayemal, Sanvrimal, Satemal, Satnamal, Tamanamal, Tamanamal, Vanemolo, Veergalimal, Zatremal
D. Place-names-General	Advat, Agas, Agshi, Amadyafond, Ardfond, Asali, Avem, Babrem, Badsarem, Barkayefond, Bhandd, Bharvalo, Bhatem, Bhatpal, Bholo, Bholya-panto, Bomod, Borus, Bupar, Chaktebhars, Challvado, Chapoli, Chiplem, Dabel, Damana Dongor, Delem, Dhingar, Dindibag, Dukreval, Dutadem, Dutordem, Fonlem, Fonvem, Gadaye-panto, Gadgadevali, Galgibag, Gimane, Gotan, Gulem, Gurije-panto, Hondo, Iddar, Jaifod, Kajalker, Kalashi, Karay, Karkal, Karvem, Katebag, Kela-panto, Khalvadem, Khandlem, Khavat, Kolkonn, Kolsar, Kuddi, Kudvan, Kulati, Loliem, Madditalap, Magdal, Maik, Mane, Mangrel, Manne, Marli, Maynn, Mobor, Mokhard, Moshifond, Mullsam, Muthal, Natanguini, Nisnya-panto, Opem, Palolem, Panayefond, Pandd, Pann, Pasal, Patem, Poinguinim, Polem, Polem, Potkem, Sadolxem, Sarvalem, Satoli, Sheler, Sheli, Shesheval, Shisale-panto, Sukamgudi, Talasarem, Talashir, Talchi Pann, Talem, Talpon, Tanas, Tari-panto, Thalnni, Tirval, Tirvan, Tudal, Udkafond, Utvam, Vajarem, Vani, Varkan, Varkhan, Vasrat, Vaturem,

contd····

--- contd.

	Vavull, Welvado, Zal.
E. Place-names denoting flora and fauna	Agond, Amadyafond, Ambeghat, Ame, Amone, Anvli, Barkayefond, Bhars, Canacona, Chandanafond, Chaptatali, Dukreval, Ghodakamalem, Golimal, Hattipavl, Jamblimal, Jamole Kajumal, Karegal, Karegotan, Karmalghat, Kindalem, Kindalkato, Kolyam-moddi, Kudai, Kudevado, Kumegal, Kup, Madayem, Makadyem, Morfond, Moshifond, Nane, Panaskane/Khane, Pangryashet, Pansarem, Pansulem, Pansulemal, Parvem, Popayedando, Saleri, Sanvrimal, Satnamal, Shendrem, Shidehann, Shishegal, Shisheval, Tamne, Udarimvado, Ushiband, Vagahann, Vagali, Vagonn.
F. Place-names indicating religious influence	Bhagatamvado, Bhagtipurva, Bhatvado, Bhutpal, Devabag, Devadando, Devalyamvad, Devamath, Devavel, Dindebag, Gadelem, Jogya-math, Kukumgal, Mharad, Namos, Palkefond, Peshemath, Santemal, Satkelem, Shreesthal, Sudrampasal, Takyapannd, Valpam-vado.
G. Place-names indicating personalities and political influence	Avem, Bhairelem, Bhataband, Bhatnimal, Bhatvado, Bhidya-pannd, Bhutebhat, Chaudi, Gadelem, Goendal, Mastimal, Mhalbaddem, Mhalebag, Mhalvado, Nagarshem, Patnem, Potkem, Sondgal, Veergal, Velpam-vado, Ziltavadi
H. Place-names indicating trade, commerce, economic activities	Agas, Agrelem, Bellam, Bhagtam vado, Chaudi, Cotigaon, Darvatem, Desayamvado, Dhupekate Durg, Ghane, Ghanyaband, Karay, Kholgad, Mangrel, Mharad, Nagarshem, Paryekate, Patnem, Pedem, Sanvatavado, Taipad, Tari-panto, Ushiband, Vaizamvado.

II - Classification of place-names of Canacona *taluka* showing influence of different languages

a- Place-names showing Kannada influence

Sr. No.	Place-name	Meaning
1.	Agond	(Aga+Van) - Area where the thick forest is populated
2.	Avem	Mud/Mother/paddy field
3.	Baddem	Bharad land or barren land
4.	Baravalo	A barren strip of land

--- contd.

5.	Belam	Bel tree / Bellyo - strips of jaggory
6.	Bholo	An elavated area without cultivation
7.	Bhutpal	Area not in use. Bhuta means ghost; Area haunted by Bhut
8.	Chiplem	A Sandwitched land between two hills
9.	Dabel	Depressed land
10.	Dando	Running strip of land along the bank of river or beach
11.	Kolomb	Low lying within the vicinity of water source/A kind of rice/A big hollow pot
12.	Kond	A tank full of water
13.	Matvem	Matov - Temporary pendal
14.	Mudchele	A land strip of population situated outskirts / cluster of houses
15.	Mudkud	A room kept aside/A stick used on threshing ground/An elevated corner
16.	Nadkem	Cultivated field
17.	Palolem/Palvalem	Land always washed by waves (of sea at the western edge)
18.	Parvem	Place where doves are abundant
19.	Tadvem	Land near the bank of rivulet
20.	(Vaga) Hann	An underground hollow (where tiger dwells)
21.	Vasarat	A wet land or water-existing area
22.	Yeda	Area situated at a corner
23.	Yendrem	Uncultured

Sourc: 1. Raghupathi Kemtur, *A Glossary of Place-name elements in Tulu and Kannada*, Gundmi (Karnataka): Janavadi, Prakashan, 1989
2. K. P. Kulkarni, *Marathi Vyutpattikosh*, Pune: Shubhada Saraswat, 1993.
3. Personal discussion with *Kannada* speaking people from North and South Kanara districts of Karnataka State.

b. Place-names showing influence of Tulu language

Sr. No.	Place-name	Meaning
1.	Adival	Strip of land forming the boundry mostly low lying area
2.	Bhutpal	Area haunted by devil spirit
3.	Karay	Land prohibited from inflow of water by embankment or bund
4.	Ker	Fertile land
5.	Khandalem	A row of land pieces

contd---

6.	Khargal	Hot or harsh land
7.	Kolakan	Waste land
8.	Kolamb	Low lying area within the vicinity of water.A kind of rice/A big hollow pot
9.	Kolsar	Waste land or land in which only a kind of rice is cultivable
10.	Loliem	Uneven surface of land
11.	Manne/Maina	Marshy and sticky land, swallow earth
12.	Mudchele	Cluster of houses
13.	Mudkud	A room kept aside / An elavated corner/ A stick used on the threshing ground
14.	Panaskhane	An orchard of jackfruit tree
15.	Tak	Area situated at the end or border

Source: 1. Gururaj Bhatt, *Studies in Tuluva History and Culture,* Kallinpur: Published by the author, 1975.
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4. Personal discussion with Tulu speaking people from South Kanara district of Karnataka.

c. Place-names showing influence of Tamil language

Sr. No.	Place Name	Meaning
1.	Avem	Mud, Paddy field, mother
2.	Babarem	Place named after spirit Babar or the forcement area
3.	Eda / yeda	A land
4.	Khavat	Area existing in the slit of two hills full of jungle
5.	Maik	Barren land
6.	Mokhard	Land near the gateway or barren area
7.	Mudachele	Cluster of homes situated at a corner of the mainland
8.	Mudkud	An elacvated corner
9.	Polem	A piece or strip of land
10.	Taipad	A place where maintime trade was taken place
11.	Vani	A place near water

Source: Ramabai Joshi and P. D. Joshi, *Tamil - Marathi Shabdakosh,* Mumbai: Maharashtra Rajya Sahitya Sanskriti Mandal, 1976.

d. Place names showing the influence of Mundari language

Sr. No.	Place-name	Meaning
1.	Bag (sufix)	Garden or grove of coconut, arecanut or a place. Places with suffix bag are many - like - Galjibag, Katebag, Dindibag, Devabag
2.	Band (sufix)	A bund or embankment to stop the flow of water. To store the water e.g. Bhataband, Ushiband, Ghanyaband
3.	Ghat (sufix)	A mountain pass, A step gradient / Climb (suffix) e.g. Karmalghat, Ambeghat
4.	Guini (sufix)	A low lying land running along the bank of river, e.g. Poinguinim, Natanguini
5.	Pal (suffix)	Settlement of the population. Many place names with suffix pal are in the region like Bhatpal, Bhutpal, Satpal.
6.	Panto (sufix)	A bank of river rivulet, stream generally layered with Pakka terracing

Source: John Hoffman and Arthur Van Emelen, *Encyclopedia Mundarica*, New Delhi
: Gian Publishing House, 1990.

e. Place-names showing Sanskrit influence

Sr. No.	Place-name	Meaning
1.	Avem	Mud, field, mother
2.	Main	Marshy land
3.	Shreesthal	Place of God

Table 2.2

Average Rainfall in Canacona during last 30 years

Month	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov	Dec.	Total
Rainfall in mm.	Nil	Nil	Nil	10	71	913	938	546	288	180	44	6	2934

Source: Goa Observatory, Altinho, Panaji.

Table 2.3

Weights and measures used in Canacona

Use/Category	Measures
Food-grains	*Ginnato* [=1/32 *Kudov*], *Annato* [= 1/16 *Kudov*], *Atvo*[= 1/8 *Kudov*], *Pad* [= 2 *Atve*], *Payali* [= about 3 kilograms], *Kudov* [= 4 *padi* = 6 kilograms], *Mudi* [= 12 *Kudovs*], *Khandi* [=20 *Kudovs*], *Kumb* [=20 *Khandis*].
Oil and dairy products	Navtang, Pavsher, Ardasher, Sher and Mana.
Grocery, Spices etc.	*Vons, Sher, Rat* [=16 *Vons*] and *Mana* [=30 *Rats*].
Liquor and related products	*Pav, Batali/Shiso, Kolso, Karbo, Bhati, Bhan* and *Balla.*
Length and depth	*Angul, Bichi, Vet* [=12 *Anguls*], *Mundo Hat* [=30 centimetres], *Hat* [= 45 centimetres], *Vanv* [= 1.80 metres], *Puris* [=about 2 metres], *Kondo/Dando* [about 3.15 metres], Inch, Foot, Centimetre, Metre and Hectare.

Table No. 2.4

Demographic profile of villages of Canacona according to 1991 Census

Sr.no	Village	Persons	Male	Female
1.	Anjidiva	Uninhabited	-	-
2.	Agonda	3318	1572	1746
3.	Canacona	3693	1912	1781
4.	Cola	4594	2371	2223
5.	Cotigão	2018	1021	997
6.	Gaondongri	5084	2604	2480
7.	Loliem	5543	2758	2785
8.	Poinguinim	6019	3003	3016

Source: Census of India, 1991.

Table- 2.5

RELIGION-WISE POPULATION OF CANACONA

		Persons	Male	Female
Total Population		40,716	20,622	20,094
Rural		30,269	15,241	15,028
Urban (Municipal)		10,447	5,381	5,066
Hindus	T	31,994	16,473	15,521
	R	23,931	12,290	11,641
	U	8,063	4,183	3,880
Christians	T	8,233	3,872	4,361
	R	6,176	2,857	3,319
	U	2,057	1,015	1,042
Muslims	T	479	269	210
	R	161	93	68
	U	318	176	142
Sikhs	T	4	4	-
	R	1	1	-
	U	3	3	-
Jains	T	1	1	-
	R	-	-	-
	U	1	1	-
Buddhist	T	1	-	1
	R	-	-	-
	U	1	-	1
Religion not stated	T	4	3	1
	R	-	-	-
	U	4	3	1

Source: Census of India, 1991.

Table 2. 6

A tentative Chronology of Settlements in Canacona Region
from 1,00,000 B.C. to 1000 A.D.

UNDIVIDED *ADVAT* REGION

(from Karmalghat to Sadashivgad)

-Pleistocene epoch- upper Paleolithic period (100,000 B.C.- 40,000 B.C.)

-Migration of the nomadic *Homo sapiens* across the Malaprabha river basin towards the coast

-Mesolithic to lower Paleolithic: the hunting, food gathering and shamanistic phase

-Transition from nomadism to the beginning of settlements

-The Neolithic phase (c. 7500-2000 B.C.)

- Folklore – Mother goddess worship

- Primitive pastoralism

- Origin of cattle worship

- Primitive agriculture: from the *kumeri* (burn and shift practice to river basins and flood plains) c. 1200-500 B.C.

- The historical phase: Chutus, Maharathis, Satavahanas, Bhojas, early Kadambas of Halsi, Chalukyas of Badami

- Early urban influence from Chandrapur (Chandor) by 4-5 th century.

Advat becomes Canacona About 1000 A.D. Under the Kannada influence the territory known as 'Shiveshwar *Mahal*' is then ruled by South Konkan Shilaharas, the Kadambas of Goa, the Bahamanis, the governors of Vijayanagara, the Adilshah of Bijapur and the kings of Sonda till 1763-64. Thereafter the Portuguese annexed the region between Polem and Karmalghat and the partitioned portion finally got the present identity as Canacona *taluka*. After the Liberation of Goa from the Portuguese occupation in 1961, the *taluka* became part of the South Goa district.

Table 2.7

Cultural Epochs in Canacona's History

Epoch	Period	Main Features
Pre-historic/Shamanistic	1,00,000 B.C. to 5,000 B.C.	- Human migrations - Settlements - Nature worship - Mother Goddess worship
Proto-Historic - Neolithic - Chalcolithic - Megalithic	Appx. 5.000 yrs. B.C. to 500 B.C.	- Use of improved tools - Villages - Primitive agriculture - Memorials to the dead - Period of Dravidian influence Harappan influence
Buddhist influence	500 B.C. to 200 A.D.	- Navigation, fisheries - First temples? - Greek, Arab Roman contacts?
Vedic/Puranic/Bhagavata influence	200 A.D. to 1000 A.D.	Karnataka influence, Kadambas. Adilshah, Vijayanagar
Kannada & Islamic influence and the import of Madhvacharya Vaishnavism	1000 A.D. to 1500 A.D.	Karnataka influence Casabas, Adilshah Vijayanagar
Christianity, Latin & Western colonial influence	1498 A.D. to 1961 A.D.	1498-Portuguese (At Anjidiv) 1662-British -Dutch
After liberation-Panchayati Raj, cultural and economic growth	1961 to date	

Fig. 2.3 Thumb shaped rock at Canacona- a geological wonder.
Fig. 2.4 Chapoli dam and reservoir- the largest irrigation project in Canacona *taluka*.
Fig. 2.6 Traditional fishing boats.

GOA

Cotigao Wildlife Sanctuary

SANGUEM TALUKA OF SOUTH GOA

Ravana dongor
HIGHEST POINT
(843 MSL)

GAODONGREM VILLAGE OF SOUTH GOA

Cusquem

Bordem

Poda

(3 km)

ROAD TO PANJIM

MARGAO

COTIGAO
W.L. SANCTURY
RANGE OFFICE

NH17 (36 km)

(500 m)

(3.8 km)

Ponsulimol

RECEPTION &
ECOTOURISM
COMPLEX

(2 km)

(700 m)

Nadquem

ROAD TO
AGONDA

(1 km)

GHAUDI CANCONA
TOWN

TAKE
TURN

Shishewal   (2 km)

Aslmagal

(1.5 km)

NH17 (7.5 km)

(1.5 km)

(1 km)

(1 km)

(2.8 km)

(3.7 km)

CANCONA
RAILWAY
STATION

BOUNDARY OF
SANCTUARY

(2 km)

(1.4 km)

(3 km)

Caregal

Tirwal

(4 km)

Endrem

(1 km)

Chipali

FOREST
REST HOUSE
POINGUINIM

NH17 (2 km)

Bela

TO KARWAR
27 km

PART OF COTIGAO VILLAGE

KARNATAKA STATE

Zambolem

KARNATAKA STATE BOUNDARY

LEGEND

SANCTUARY BOUNDARY	★ VILLAGE	RIVAR/ STREAM/ NALHA
-+-+-+ STATE BOUNDARY	PUCCA ROAD	● WATER HOLE
AREA EXCLUDED FROM THE SANCTUARY IN THE YEAR 1993	KUCHA ROAD	ARTIFICIAL LAKE
	··· BRIDLE PATH	◆◆ BANDHARA

MANNED / UNMANNED CHECH POSTS
P.S. PATROLLING STATION
BUILDING / RESIDENTIAL QUARTERS
WATCH TOWERS

2·5

SOURCE: FOREST DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF GOA, PANAJI.
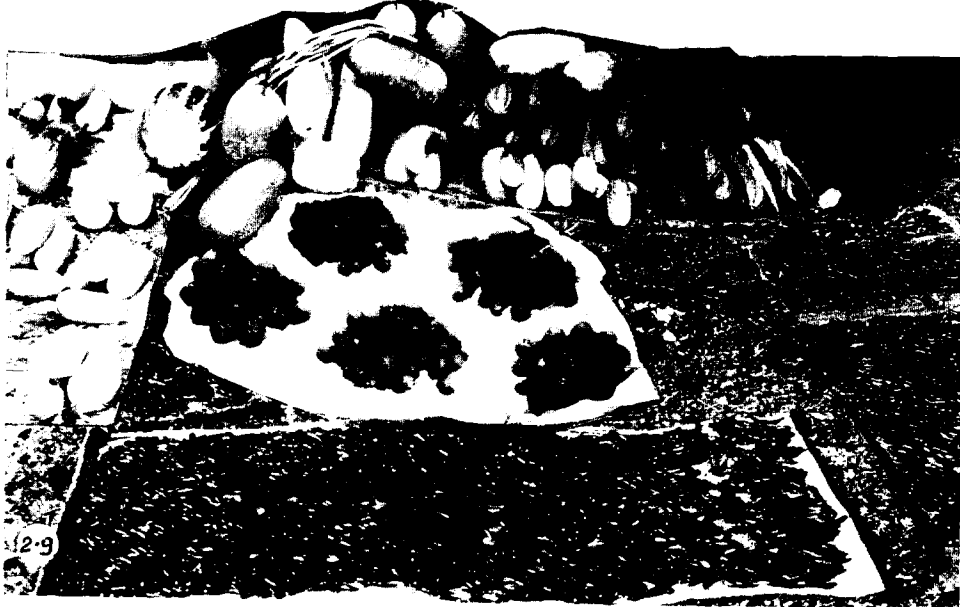
Fig. 2.7 Traditional cattle protection sheds. Fig. 2.8 Paddy fields.
Fig. 2.9 Seasonal vegetables and spices.

67

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36. Teotonio R. de Souza, (ed.), *op. cit.,* p. 229.

37. These terms are evident in old accounts books of various temples.

38. This kind of records can easily be traced from the records of village institutions namely *comunidades.*

39. The old records of *Gokan Partagali Jeevottam Math* clearly indicate such type of system during their period.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*

44. José Nicolau da Fonseca, *op. cit.,* pp. 34, 35.

45. *Ibid.*

46. Michael Mitchiner, *The Coinage and History of Southern India – Part I Karnataka Andhra,* London: Hawkins Publications, 1998, pp. 70-83.

47. *Ibid.*

48. José Nicolau da Fonseca, *op. cit.,* pp. 34, 35.

49. José Nicolau da Fonseca, *op. cit.,* pp. 30, 31.

50. *Statistical Pocketbook of Goa 2000,* Panaji: Publication Division, Directorate of Planning, Statistics and Evaluation, Government of Goa, 2000, p. 4.

51. N. B. Nayak, *Gomantakiya Devalaye,* Margao: Mitra Chhapkhana, 1959, pp.74-75.

52. *GOG,* p.15.

53. *HOK,* p. 20.

54. *GOG,* pp. 57, 58.

55. *Ibid.*

56. *HOK,* p. 20.

57. B. D. Satoskar, *Gomantak: Prakriti Ani Sanskriti,* vol. 1, Pune: Subhada Saraswat, 1979, pp. 8, 9.

58. D. D. Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline,* New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1982, pp. 35, 40.

59. *Ibid.,* p. 39.

CHAPTER III

Historical Background

This chapter aims to reconstruct the history of Canacona *taluka* under the different dynasties from the Pre-Mauryan period to the advent of the Portuguese rule (Table 3.1). It sets the necessary background for understanding the cultural impact of different south Indian dynasties on Canacona.

From the historical events recorded by Valaulikar (1928), Kosambi (1962), Nayak (1968), Desai (1970), Pereira (1973), Bhat (1975), Sastri (1976), Murthy (1978), Gune (1979), Mirashi (1981), Gomes Pereira (1981), Satoskar (1982), Basavaraja (1984), Dhume (1985), Gopal (1985), DeSouza (1990) and Moraes (1990), it is possible to reconstruct the period of dynastic rule in this region in a chronological order beginning from the post-imperial Maurya period, that is after 300 B.C.

The finding of stone-tools from Maxem and Gaondongri[1] establishes the antiquity of human migration in the Canacona *taluka*. On an anthropological basis, the people belonging to the proto-Austroloid race might have been the first settlers in this region[2]. A comparison with the anthropomatrical indices of the *Kunbis-Velips* and *Gaonkars* of today[3] prove that they may be descendents of the proto-Austroloid settlers. For a long period of pre- and proto-history these original settlers must have survived on rich natural resources of this region. Subsequently, they evolved their own cult of rituals, nature worship, customs, taboos, and sowed the seeds of a settled society. Till this region came under the rule of the Satavahanas or their regional feudatories, the aboriginal practices seem to have continued.

The growth of primitive settlements

The early inhabitants consisted primarily of the pre-Dravidian tribes of *Gaudas* and *Kunbis*. These semi-nomadic tribes usually stayed in scattered habitats. They resorted to agriculture as a means of food and survival. The primitive practices of agriculture and food production were transformed by the revolutionary changes in social agriculture and early settlement that came into force due to the use of the iron-plough in about 1000 B.C.[4] The process of assimilation between the pre-Dravidians, the Dravidian tribes, and the later Sanskrit-literate people gave rise to a new organisation of the society in which the Sanskritised population and the non-Sanskritised one freely mixed and exchanged ideas. They settled in cleared forests and plains and started the cultivation of crops instead of depending fully on food gathering and cattle breeding. The language, customs, rituals and worship of the original inhabitants slowly got assimilated with those of the latter settlers who came from the North. Due to the basic change in agricultural operations, the idea of social agriculture could flourish and gave rise to village organisations called *gaonkaris*.

The *gaonkaris* arose out of the associative impulse that early human beings felt for an organisation of mutual assistance and collective defence. These early settlers must have reclaimed the marshes by banking waterways and converting them into fertile lands. The *gaonkaris* had been established under the regime of collective ownership and enjoyed virtual autonomy in matters related to the village. The settlements were called *gaon* (village) and the settlers, *gaonkars*[5] who were descendants of the original settlers of the village. They were essentially agriculturists who had come together for the sole purpose of promoting the interests of the agricultural economy of which they were constituents.

The village communities (*gaonkaris*) of Goa were made up of a limited number of *vangods* or clans. Their administration was entrusted to an assembly of elders who

represented all the clans. The hereditary officers of the village and the guilds serving the village community were assigned lands in lieu of their services. Proprietary rights were vested with the village community as a whole. The holder of hereditary rights in the yield of the land was called *zonkar*. The profits, if any, of the village community were shared by the *gaonkars* as *zonkars*. All associates were given a share, but they had no direct say in the administration of the village. Under the Portuguese regime the administration of these *gaonkaris,* rechristened as *comunidades* (communities), underwent change as a result of which they became stagnant.

At present there are six village communities *(comunidades)* in the Canacona *taluka.* They are Canacona, Cola, Gaondongri, Nagorcem-Palolem, Poinguinim and Loliem – Polem. Earlier in 1882 Loliem and Polem were separate *comunidades.*[6] The Canacona *comunidade* has three *vangods* whereas the *comunidade* of Cola consists of fortyone *vangods* of five families. Loliem-Polem is a *comunidade* consisting of seven *vangods* of four families and Poinguinim *comunidade* consists of four *vangods.* Gaondongri and Nagarcem – Palolem *comunidade* has the *zonkar* system without any break up into *vangod.*

The term *vangod* is used for a group of families represented in meetings of the community by its head and the descendents are from a common lineage. The Hindu *Kunbi* community of Canacona followed a similar system even during recent years while maintaining the joint family set-up. The concept of *budvant* (wise man) is still followed in many villages. While in some he is regarded as the head of the village, in others he is considered to be the representative of a single ward of the village. All major decisions pertaining to family and community life were taken with the permission and consent of the *budvant.* The institution of the *budvant* and its functioning on a communitarian basis can be considered to be a sort of a democratic system.

The *gaonkars* sought the blessings of their village deities, the *gramadeva,* for the protection and maintenance of their lands. Furthermore they installed other spirits like *bhutas* and *mharus* at the boundaries of the village for its defense.[7]

The *gaonkaris* possessed vast lands along the banks of the rivers and creeks that largely consisted of the *khajan* or *ker* (salty land) type. Sizable *bunds* (levees) were constructed using undressed stone. This prevented the erosion of the hillside lands and protected the rice lands. Similarly, they protected the rice fields from the saline waters of the seas. They were silted lands brought under cultivation. These *bunds* opened up to the inner rivulets by means of sluice-gates (*manas*) that allowed salt water to enter and also drained the rainwater besides fishing with funnel-shaped nets. The smallest floor-gates of rural technology design are of automatic nature. But their construction, care, operation, the upkeep of tracks, roads, embankments, are communal charges.[8]

The sandy and other lands were utilized for the plantation of coconut palms, the coconut being an important ingredient in the diet of the local people.

The lands irrigated by natural spring waters were used as areca nut and coconut groves called *kulagar*. These *kulagars* consisted of mainly three zones. The first zone, that is, low land contained areca nut and coconut trees along with subsidiary cultivation like banana trees and spice plants. The second zone had fruitbearing trees like mango, jackfruit, *otamb, bhiran ambado* and such other trees. Pineapples and bamboos were also cultivated there. The hilly portion was reserved for wild trees and cashew trees. The wild trees yielded wooden props for the village houses, and foliage that was used as manure for the areca nut and coconut trees.

Some *kulagars* had natural source of spring for irrigation. However, others received water from the reservoirs specially constructed and maintained by the community for the use of *gaonkars* and others. The quantity of water supplied to each *kulagar* was calculated on the parameters namely time consumed and the distance from the reservoir.

The non-irrigated lands were also simultaneously meant for dwelling zones. The population of the village community was divided into different wards, with the main ward being that of the *gaonkars*, known as *gaonkarwado*. The serving people of the village lived in their separate and independent wards. Thus they formed a separate nucleus and did not mix in their private relations.

The houses were generally made of mud-walls and thatched with dry leaves of coconut trees or of dry grass and the flooring was of cow dung. The houses were small having only one door and a window or two. Very near to the house was the cattle-shed and, in the front, a threshing ground used during harvesting season. There were common wells in the wards besides places of common use, especially for ritualistic and religious purposes, called *mand,* which is still used during festive occasions like *shigmo* and *dhalo,* by men and women respectively. As per the availability of excessive land the *mand* was also designated for men and women separately.

The temple of the main deity of the village was constructed in a prominent place in the main ward. Besides the main deity numerous subsidiary deities were established around the temple dedicating small shrines to them according to the status of the deities. Generally some sacred trees were identified as the dwellings of the spirits and deities and they were protected by designating a special status to them like *chavato, purvam, zan.*

The communities reserving zones on the hills for this purpose also ensured that the rees were available for grazing cattle. The low level land spread out at the foothills is used for cultivation of paddy and the land located at a little higher level is used for cultivation of leguminous plants and others like tubers, bulbous and esculent roots, during rainy season. The forest has grown in the non-utilized portion which supports the community members with building material, medicinal herbs, fruits, roots as well as fire-wood.

It is generally assumed that the *gaonkaris* were established much prior to the entry of the Aryans and of the Marathas in Goa. The *Kunbis* also known as *Gaudis* or *Zalmis* or *Velips* who are regarded as the first settlers founded them. Some communities founded by them still exist. However, later, several communities were constituted by both the *Brahmans* and Marathas jointly.[9] It is also worthy to note that even at present *kumeri* cultivation (shifting cultivation) in Canacona is practised by the *kunbi* community which maintains the age-old tradition, customs and rituals. From this and also from the entire set-up of the *gaonkaris* it is inferred that these village associations must have emerged almost at the end of neolithic period for settled agriculture existed for quite a long period.

However their complete autonomy came to an end with the advent of post-Mauryan dynasties like the Chutus.

The Monarchical Rule of Chutus

Inscriptions at Myakadonis, Malavalli and Banavasai point to the rule of Satavahanas and their feudatories, the Chutus, as successors to the Mauryas in Karnataka. Reference of Satavahanihara and Satahanirattha in the Myakadoni inscription of Pulumavi and the Hirehadagali plates of Pallava Shivaskandavarma, respectively, corroborate this fact. This is also supported by the Talagunda incription.[10] Some historians consider the Chutus to be a branch of the Satavahanas. However, others postulate a Naga origin for them. Similarly the Chutu Satakarni who claimed to belong to Manavya *gotra* is believed to be a son of Hariti.[11] The inscriptions of the Chutu dynasty are, next to the edicts of Ashoka, the oldest epigraphical evidence found in Karnataka.[12]

The Chutus extended their rule over Shivamogga (Shimoga), Karwar and Dharwar districts. They also bore the surname Satakarni. This indicates that they might have been not only the feudatories of Satavahanas but also connected with their family. Some of the lead coins with the horse motif and the legend Chutukulananda with the name Hariti, have been found in the districts of Karwar, Anantpur and Cudappah. According to K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, the Chutus are a dynasty of North Indian origin which moved to the South and there adopted local traditions to their own rule. Thus, Satakarni of the Chutu dynasty, the ruler of Banavasi, worshipped at the endowed shrine of the God of Malavalli.[13]

Recent researches on coinage (Mitchiner, 1995) prove that the demise of the Maurya-Sunga empire was followed by the use of local coinage.[14] Archaeological evidence to the further south shows that Chitradurga-Chandravalli was the seat of the Sadakana Maharathis and Banavasi was the seat of the Chutus. By the end of 78 A.D. the whole region became the domain of a resurgent Chutu kingdom.[15] Thereafter, the frontier between the Chutus and the Satavahanas seems to have been situated along the river Krishna. Chutu coins were mainly circulated in the upper Tungabhadra basin – from

Banavasi in the west to Chitradurg in the east; from Davangere and Shimoga in the south to the Hampi-Belgaum region in the north. Chutu coins are well known in Karwar and the neighbouring west coast. Stray finds were also located at distant places like Udupi, Deccan, Kolhapur and also Kondapur in the northeast. Besides, it is gathered from the residents of Talpona and Panasulem area of Canacona that a hoard of coins was found buried in the area of Devabag, which contained coins of the Chutus. These coins are reportedly in the possession of some coin-collectors from the Anmod region of Karnataka.[16] However, except this, there seems to be no evidence to link such coins to Canacona.

The date when Chutu coinage commenced is placed at 30 B.C.[17] This can be inferred from the Naneghat inscription of Satakarni and Naganika. Naganika always called herself the daughter of Maharathi Sadakana Kalalaya who was a neighbour of the Chutus to the east. He ruled the generation before Satakarni in about 30 B.C.[18] Sadakana coinage commenced with his issues and probably his neighbour, the Chutus, began issuing coins at the same time (Fig.3.1 a, b, c, d).

Prior to the rule of Gautamiputra, from about 70 A.D., the upper Tungabhadra basin was shared between the Chutus of Banavasi in the west and the Sadakana Maharathis of Chandravalli in the east. The Kuras, whose domain was the eastern foothills of the *ghat* area that is Kolhapur to Belgaum, developed their economy as trading intermediaries. The Kura kingdom has been referred to by Ptolemy.[19] Their location made them rule within an area between Badami and the lower Tungabhadra to the east and the ports of Ratnagiri and Goa regions to the west. When the Kuras were at the zenith of their power during the 1st century A.D. they probably occupied some territory as far south as the Shimoga district mainly at the expense of the Chutus. In 65 A.D. the Saka Kshatrapa Nahapana conquered the Junnar region from the Satavahanas. His title was elevated to *Mahakshatrapa* and he struck coinage bearing that title.[20] The northern half of the Kura kingdom came to an end due to Nahapana's invasion in 65 A.D. This situation ended when Gautamiputra conquered the region in 70 A.D. The Kuras were expelled, the Sadakana Maharathis were extinguished and the Chutus were

temporarily subjugated. Gautamiputra issued an edict, a copy of which is engraved in one of the Nasik caves.[21]

However, the Satavahana occupation lasted till 76 A.D.[22] and after that the Chutus regained their independence. They expanded their kingdom into the region earlier conquered by Gautamiputra. Further, the Chutus extended their area through the *ghats* to the Karwar-Bhatkal region on the west coast and thus gained a maritime commercial outlet. Much of the circulating coins of the old Chutukulananda were found during the early Mulanand period. It was a mixture of Chutukulanand and Mulanand[23] coins that have been found at Karwar.

The Chutus were the major power in the southwest after the demise of the Satavahanas. Their neighbours were Ikshwakus to the northwest and Abhiras to the north. During this period, the king of Banavasi married the daughter of Virapurishadatta Ikshwaku which has been reflected in one of Virapurishadatta's inscriptions.[24]

Out of the two inscriptions, the Malavalli inscription is actually dated to the first year of the rule of Vinhukuda Chutukulananda Satakarni who is described as the king of Vaijayanti (Banavasi). Palaeographically, this record is said to be slightly later than the one at Banavasi. The later inscription, dated in the 12th year of Vinhukuda Chutukulananda Satakarni, states that his daughter, Shivaskandanagashri, made a gift of a *naga* sculpture, a tank and a *vihara*. It has been shown that this donatrix was the mother of Vinhukuda Chutukulananda Satakarni II of the Malavalli epigraph. On the basis of the aforesaid discussion, the genealogy of the Chutus has been indicated thus:

<div align="center">

Vinhukuda Chutukulanada Satakarni I

Shivaskandanagashri

Vinhukuda Chutukulananda Satakarni II

</div>

It is to be noted that Rapson has differently interpreted the Malavalli inscriptions. According to him, Vinhukuda Chutukulananda Satakarni described as the king of

Vaijayantipura and Shivaskandavarma, the *Dharma-maharaja* of Vaijayanti, are grandfather and grandson respectively, the latter being the son of Shivaskandanagarshri.[25] However, D.C. Sircar, does not concur with this as no inference can be drawn on account of only the resemblance of the name (Apart from this we have to consider the question of the possible occupation of a region or a part of Karnataka by the Pallavas during the period, 2nd to 4th centuries A.D.). The founder of the Kadamba kingdom conquered the area pushing out the Chutus and established an independent Kadamba kingdom.

The Satavahanas

The Satavahana rule came to Goa by the end of 2nd century B.C. Krishna Satakarni, who was also known as Mallakarna, seems to have annexed the entire territory of Konkan, including Goa, to his empire.[26] The Chandrapur region was under the rule of the Satavahanas. The peninsula of Chandramandal in Goa was referred to by Ptolemy in the 1st century A.D. Many antiquities of the Satavahana period have been found in excavations at Chandor. The objects found include old bricks, pottery and small pieces of iron. Small gold pieces are also visible during the rainy season. These archaeological finds give us an idea of the ancient commercial glory of the city of the Bhojas, the feudatories of Satavahanas. It has also been observed by historians that the lucrative sea borne trade seems to have declined with the fall of the Satavahanas in the 4th century A.D.[27]

The inland as well as foreign trade was flourishing in those days. *Periplus* states that foreign ships used to ply upto the ports on the west coast from where the merchandise was carried to market towns *via* land. The ports were well connected by land routes. Such cities and market towns included Nasik, Govardhana, Karahata, Tagar, Vaijayanti (Banavasi), Pratishthan and others. The exports included sugar, animal skin, cotton fabrics, silk, muslin, pepper, cardamom, cinnamon, sesame, oil, jewel, ornaments etc. and the imports included Roman wine, copper, tin, lead, glass etc. Various kinds of coins, made of potin, lead, copper, silver and gold, were in circulation (fig 3.1 e, f).

The Satavahana dynasty is famous for the large kingdom and also for its achievements in literature, art and architecture. Western Kshatrapas were their contemporaries and ruled over a large part of Western and Central India. From the edicts we know that they governed the country through their feudatories, the Rathikas, Bhojas and Petenikas. The rule of the Satavahanas extended not only over a major part of the peninsula, it also spread to some parts of Central India for some time. The Satavahana family continued to rule for more than four and a half centuries. It is considered as a much larger period than that of any other ancient Indian dynasty. Through patronage of religion, art and architecture and promotion of trade and commerce they made their subjects happy and prosperous.

The early inscriptions and coins of the Satavahana family have been found not only in Andhra but also in Western Maharashtra including Konkan. More than seventy five per cent of the inscriptions of this dynasty have been found in Western Maharashtra including Konkan.[28] Their early coins also have been found mostly in that region. Thus Western Maharashtra was the original home of the Satavahanas. But so far no epigraphs of the Satavahana period have been found in Goa, though during the pre-Bhoja period, Goa was a part of the Satavahana empire.

Though the *Puranas* state that Simuka was the founder of the Andhra (Satavahana) family, he was only a descendant of the Satavahanas. Satavahana was the real progenitor of the dynasty. His kingdom must have been small at first. But when it was expanded, his descendents took pride in saying that they were born in his family. As Satavahana was the progenitor of this family, it became known as Satavahana-*kula* (Satavahana family). But after Satakarni, the family came to be designated by his name. So we have Gautamiputra Satakarni, Vasishtiputra Satakarni, Yadnya Satakarni, Kumbha Satakarni and so on. Thereafter, the family became famous as Satakarni-*kula* and the previous designation of Satavahana-*kula* was thus superceded.[29]

Gautamiputra Satakarni resolved to embark on a *digvijaya* and soon conquered several places not only in South but also in North India. The Nasik cave inscription of his

son, Pulumavi, identifies these territories as Aparant, Sahyadri, etc. We must bear in mind that Goa, being a part of Aparant or Konkan, and Canacona, being part of Goa, the reference occurring in the epigraphs of Satavahanas and Chutus regarding Aparant, Konkan and Goa is also inclusive of Goa and Canacona considering the geo-political events of the post-Mauryan period. It points out that the kingdom of Gautamiputra was extended from the southern part of Rajputana, Kathiawad and Malawa in the north to the Krishna in the south, and from the Arabian Sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east. The Kuntala country was probably not included in it.[30] His kingdom included western Maharashtra, Konkan, Karnataka, Ashmaka, Mulaka, Kosala and Andhra. The country under the rule of the Satavahanas was known as Dakshinapatha. It comprised of Maharashtra, Konkan, Kuntala, Kanchi, Kerala, Chola, Pandya, Pallava, Mahishaka, Vidarbha etc.[31] Thus Gautamiputra Satakarni was rightly called *Dakshinapatheshwara*. But after the death of Pulumavi, the successor of Gautamiputra, the kingdom seems to have been partitioned. Thereafter, the region of western Maharashtra, Konkan, Karnataka and Vidharbha fell to the share of Skanda Satakarni and by then the Konkan region seems to have occupied by Chutukula Satakarni of Banavasi in 230 A.D. Later the Kadambas assumed political power. The Malavalli inscriptions in Shimoga district has separate inscription of the Kadamba king inscribed on it.[32]

Cultural influence of the Satavahanas

Satavahanas gave liberal patronage to religion and literature, encouraged art, architecture and sculpture, promoted trade and commerce. The Satavahanas were devotees of Vishnu. In the Nasik cave inscriptions of Pulumavi his father Gautamiputra Satakarni is said to have resembled Rama, Keshava (Krishna), Arjuna and Sagara, Yayati, Parashurama and Ambarisha in spirited nature. Besides the Vedic religion, Puranic Hinduism was flourishing in that age. Puranic Hinduism preaches not only *vratas* but also fasts, pilgrimages, gifts and charitable works as a means of acquiring religious merits. All these were in vogue in the Satavahana age.[33] They also patronised Buddhism and Jainism. They regarded cows and *Brahmanas* as venerable. The *varna* and *ashrama* systems were followed during the Satavahana age. During the reign of Kuntala Satakarni Goa was a part of Satavahana empire. It was during this period that the Vaishnavite

tradition took deep roots in Goa. In a number of Satavahana inscriptions we find references to various epithets of Krishna, which directly indicate the spread of Vishnu cult in the region under their rule. In the Banavasi inscription of North Kanara there is a mention of Vishnurudra Simhalananda Satakarni. Besides it records the temple of Ashtabhujaswami - eight armed lord, which indicates a reference to Vishnu. There are also early references to the personal names associated with Krishna from the Goa region. These references found in Bhoja copper plates of Devaraja are palaeographically dated to 400 A.D. Such mention of various epithets of Vishnu, like Krishna, Govinda, Madhava are seen in these grants during the period 400-700 A.D.[34]

The worship of Naga images and the mother goddess became popular during the Satavahana period. The anthill, representing the Mother goddess, was locally known as Santeri and Bhumika. Besides the worship of Yaksha and Yakshini was also represented in sculpture.

The Satavahana period opened new floodgates of opportunities for the import of technologies. Agricultural activities might have prospered from a simple shifting cultivation (*kumeri*) type to hilly area cultivation of a low land, rain-fed and irrigated type. The use of iron plough might have been popularised during this period (200 B.C. to 200 A.D.).

Rule of the Konkan Mauryas

The Mauryas from North Konkan who were the feudatories of the Kalachuri rulers of Mahishmati seem to have extended their rule over South Konkan. Thereafter, the Konkan Mauryas probably ruled this region in the 6th century A.D. Two copper plates of the Konkan Mauryas have been found in Goa. On palaeographical grounds, they are dated to the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. Though there is no mention of Saka, it has been indicated that the grants were made in a certain year of the reign of a particular king. The first epigraph was issued by Chandravarma, which is known as Shivapur copper plate. The king had granted some land to a Buddhist *mahavihara* at Shivapur (modern Shiroda

situated to the north of Chandrapur, the capital of the Bhojas). The Bandora plate of the Maurya king, Anirjitavarma, was issued from Kumaradvipa or modern Kumbharjuve island in the Tiswadi *taluka* of Goa. The plate recorded the grant of a piece of land from Dwadasadesha (modern Bardez *taluka* of Goa) to a Samavedi *Brahman* for the maintenance of his family. From this it can be inferred that the Konkan Mauryas ruled this region during the period of around forty years (525-566 A.D.). During this period the Bhojas might have been subjected to their feudal lords, the Mauryas of Konkan.[35] We know from the Aihole inscription of Pulakeshin II, dated 634 A.D., that the king's father Kirtivarman had expelled the Mauryas who were ruling the Southern Konkan.

Bhojas of Chandrapur

According to Puranic tradition, the Bhojas belonged to the subdivision of Yadavas of the Aryan race of Kartikeya. They seemed to have settled down in Konkan and Aparant during the reign of the Mauryan emperor Ashoka in the 3rd century B.C.[36] It is also known from the 13th edict of Ashoka that the Bhojas and Petenikas had already settled down in semi-independent kingdoms on the southern border of the empire and were following his instructions of morality.[37] In the post-*Vedic* Sanskrit literature and the epics the Bhojas figure as a clan of rulers.

Krishna Satakarni, the brother of the founder of Satavahana dynasty, seems to have annexed the Konkan including the territory of Bhojas of Chandrapur by the end of 2nd century B.C.[38] and thereafter, the Bhojas seemed to have ruled the kingdom as feudatories of the Satavahanas.

After being a part of the Batpura kingdom, by the 4th century A.D., the Bhojas ruled Goa from Chandrapur till the 7th century AD. They were rulers who originated in Goa[39] and were considered as one of the tribes located in Western India according to the Ashoka rock edicts.[40]

Epigraphists have dated the charters of Bhojas of Chandrapura as follows:

Charter of Devaraja:	Somewhere in the 4th century A.D.
Charter of Asankita:	by the end of the 5th or at the beginning of the 6th century A.D.
Charter of Asankitavarman:	about 6th or 7th Century A.D.
Charter of Kapalivarman:	about 6th century A.D.
Charters (2) of Prithvimallavarman:	the later half of the 6th or the first half of the 7th century A.D.

However, A.R.S. Dhume (1985) differs with the conclusions of the epigraphists.[41]

The Bhojas ruled the Canacona region during the period from the 4th century A.D. till the beginning of the 7th century A.D. It is evident from history that the Bhoja rulers of Chandramandal or Chandrapur had held sway on the west coast area comprising of the present Goa territory and adjacent parts of North Kanara and Belgaum district towards the east of Goa.[42] The copper plate inscriptions of the Bhoja dynasty discovered at Arge village near Karwar on the southern border of Canacona region supports the fact. It is issued by the king Kapalivarman from his camp at Pansa-Kheteka and records his grant of land, Pukkoli-Khajjan, belonging to Aditya-sreshti from the village Shivapuraka to Swamikaraja for religious purpose on his request to the king. Swamikaraja, in his turn, handed over the same land to Bhavraya, a *Brahman* belonging to the Kaundinya *gotra*. The executor of charter was Nadaka-Talavara and it was written by Krishna Bhoyaka. In this inscription the king Kapalivarman is described as *Dharmamaharaja* and appears to have been a ruler of dignified status.[43]

Another copper plate inscription of the Bhoja dynasty was found at the village Hire Gutti in Kumta *taluka* of North Kanara district adjoining Canacona region next to Karwar. It is regarding the grant made by King Asankitraja of the Bhoja lineage. The land was granted to a Buddhist *vihar* in the village Sundarika in the Dipaka *vishaya*. The gift was entrusted to the *Arya Sangha*. It bears a seal depicting the figure of an elephant, the emblem of the royal family. The alphabet of the plate betrays archaic traits and on

paleographical grounds it may be ascribed to the end of the 5th century or beginning of the 6th century A.D.[44]

According to V. T. Gune, the place-name, Dipaka *vishaya*, seems to have been derived from *dvipa* or an island and may be thus identified with Anjidiv island near Karwar which is an unhabited village of Canacona *taluka*.[45] However, based on topographical similarities, A. R. S. Dhume, identifies the Dipaka *vishaya* with Bicholim.[46]

We also know from recorded history that the Satvahanas gathered the scattered remnants of the Mauryan empire in the south and they brought the whole of the country under their rule.[47] The Bhojas ruled over a part of the Satavahana empire as feudatories, they had full command on the region of Canacona and the adjacent Karnataka region. The next powerful kingdom that arose in South, in the Kuntala territory was the Chutu dynasty. They initially ruled from Vaijayanti, which was also known as Banavasi, a great ancient centre of Buddhism. The Chutu dynasty had a strong hold on the west coast region in which Canacona and the Shiveshwar *mahal* were prominently included.

Both the powerful dynasties, the Satavahanas and Bhojas, were great naval forces. However, they did not use their naval force for any severe battle on the sea. But all care was taken to maintain the harbours within their territory to control maritime trade. During this period the Canacona region had gained strategic importance on account of its maritime trade and Chittakula, Kadwad, Kadra and Talpona, Galgibag, Agonda and Betul were harbours in the south which were considered to be important trade stations[48] especially catering to external commerce. The Bhojas of Chadrapur promoted maritime trade from the port-towns. They were known for overseas trading.[49] It also appears from *Yukti-Kalpataru* that the overseas trade of the Bhojas of Chandramahal (South Goa) flourished during that period.[50]

The Bhoja rulers of Banavasi checked piracy on the coast of Goa. This probably had ushered in commercial activity. During this period some Buddhists might have

settled along the trade routes and along navigable rivers. The port-towns were also well connected with land routes for commercial activities. The imports were transported to the hinterland by head-loads. Back-oxen, buffaloes, donkeys and mules were also used.[51] The trade routes passed through Digui *ghat*, Kel *ghat*, Tinai *ghat*, etc. The old trade routes of Canacona, Balli, Salcete, Sanguem, Cuncolim, Chittakula and Shiveshwar passed through Digui *ghat* leading to the Deccan plateau. Similarly Ponda, Usgão and Khandepar routes passed through Tinai *ghat* whereas Sanquelim, Sattari, Bicholim, Bardez routes passed through Kel *ghat*.[52]

Stone sculptures of Mahishasurmardini date back to the beginning of the Bhoja period.[53] In course of time Mahishasurmardini became popular in this region forming the epitome of all forms of Shakti and she was subsequently considered to be Sateri, Mona, Mahamaya, Bhagavati, Navadurga, Aryadurga, Kamakshi, Mahalasa Narayani, Ela (Parvati) etc. *Shakti* is the fundamental principle of creation. It is closely related to Shiva perhaps on account of *tantrik* practices. The assimilation of *Shakti* into Shaivism as well as Vaishnavism is seen in these forms of Mahishasurmardini. In Canacona region we find Navadurga, Bhagavati, Sateri, Bhumika, Mona and Aryadurga and in the neighbouring region of Sanguem and Sadashivgad there were shrines dedicated to Mahamaya (Mahalakshmi).

There are many names mentioned in the epigraphs of the Bhojas pertaining to Shaivism. These references include Amareshwar (Shiroda plate of Devaraja), Kapalivarman and Asankitavarman (Arga plates). Amareshwara is an epithet of Shiva as is Kapali which means one who holds the human skull in his hand. Asankitvarman's plate mentions that he was a devotee of Maheshwara. There were four shaivite shrines in Goa by 5th century A.D., located at Aravalem in Bicholim, two in Nundem in Sanguem *taluka* and one at Consua. The Nundem stone inscription of Simharaja refers to the shrine of Shiva and Parvati whereas the Consua rock cut shrine is of Shiva. The Aravalem rock cut caves are a landmark in the development of Shaivite iconography. These caves serve as the first syncretic shrine consisting of Shiva, Kartikeya and Surya.[54] This aniconic representation is the forerunner of Shiva worship, that is, of the Martand Bhairav cult.

Likewise three epithets of Surya are found in the Bhoja copper grant. They are Prabhakar, Adityashreshthi and Divakar. This also indicates the popularity of sun worship.

Similarly, the great impact of the Bhoja dynasty is revealed from the different folklore traditions in the region of Canacona. The various cults like Puranic, Bhagavat, etc., are prominently seen in folk life. The folk theatre performance of *Perni Jagor* is the most ancient form of performing art in which one can see the later introduction of Krishna and Putana. The Perni community performs the theatre performance on annual festive occasions at designated shrines. The use of costumes, musical instruments, songs and the dancing pattern of the performance indicate its link with the early period. In this folk theatre form the special scene of display of child Krishna and Putana shows the influence of the Vaishnavite tradition. This might have transmitted in another folk play of a later period, namely, *Dashawatari-Kalo* or *Sankasur Kalo*. In this theatre form, Krishna and Vishnu are represented; Krishna kills the demoness, Putana and the *matsyavatara* (fish incarnation) of Vishnu kills the demon Sankasur or Shankhasura. The costumes, the typical style of turban, make of musical instruments, wooden masks and also the jewellery and patterns of flower decoration also depict the influence of the Satavahana and Bhoja dynasties.

During the Satavahana rule the tradition of *Vedic* god worship must have spread in Goa, which continued further during the Bhoja regime. Banavasi became a great centre of Buddhism in the Bhoja regime. Though the Canacona region was situated at a distance of about seventy-five kms. from Banavasi it is rather surprising to note the non-availability of any rock-cut cave or stone idol of Buddha or *Bodhi* tree or *Padukas* in the region. However, in the vicinity of Canacona-Chandrawadi *mahal*, Rivona, was the Buddhist site in Sanguem *taluka*. The natural cave of Rivona can accommodate about 100 monks. The Buddha stone sculpture along with pedestals, recovered from Rivona, belong to the early period, though there are different opinions among scholars for dating the sculpture.

The period of political fluidity (Banavasi Kadambas and Badami Chalukyas)

Due to political turmoil, it is possible that the Canacona region came under the early Kadamba rulers during the reign of King Ravivarma who is described as the 'mighty king' or 'Lord Ravi'. King Ravivarma came to the throne at a very early age. At that time the Pallavas and Gangas were encroaching on the Kadamba territory. But Ravivarma defeated them. Due to his bravery, epigraphical records describe him as 'the sun of the sky of the mighty family of Kadambas'. All the inspirations of Kadamba kings have presented Ravivarma as a truly great monarch who possessed a blameless and mighty regal power.[55] This Kadamba king probably extended his rule to Goa. The earliest family assuming the name of Kadambas ruled over Banavasi and Halsi during the 6th century A.D.[56] Their territory was annexed to his dominion by the great Chalukya emperor, Pulakeshi II.[57] There seemed to be great political competition between the Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas of Deccan. As a result, power of the early Kadambas was comparatively less. Therefore the Banavasi Kadambas had made an attempt to overthrow the Rashtrakuta supremacy. The Chalukyas recognised the existence of the Kadambas and made common cause with them in their conflict with the Rashtrakutas.[58]

According to the epigraphical evidence, Ravivarma supported holy people and scholars. The Nilambur and Sisri inscriptions mention the grant of villages to holy people who had mastered the sacred literature. Ravivarma ascended to the throne when he was quite young and passed away after a long reign of about forty years (497-537 A.D.) and was succeeded by his son Harivarma who ruled the Banavasi kingdom for ten years (537-547 A.D.). Though not a great monarch in the military sense he had the welfare of his subjects at heart. His Sangoli grant mentions that he had been initiated into a vow of protecting his subjects. Krishnavarma II, his successor, was a remarkably successful monarch. Another ruler, Ajavarma, might have been subjugated by the Chalukya king, Kirtivarma, the father of Pulakeshi II, in 566 A.D.

The Badami Chalukya Rule

Eight copper plate grants, covering a period of about 200 years (578 A.D. to 750 A.D.), testify to the rule of the Chalukyas of Badami or the Western Chalukyas. Out of

these eight grants, the one reported to have been found in Goa, is dated to 610 A.D. Other records are found at Nerur in Sindhudurg district of Maharashtra. The earliest grant issued by Prince Mangalesha is dated 578 A.D.[59] It refers to the grant of the village Kundiwataka from the Konkan *vishaya,* which is identified with the village Kudne from the Bicholim *taluka* of Goa which has evidence of cultural remains of the Chalukyan period. It is learnt from the Goa plate that the Chalukyan viceroy, Satyashraya Dhruvaraja Indravarman, was ruling over four *vishayas* and some *mandalas* from his headquarters at Revatidvipa. From the copper plates that refer to Goa, it seems that the present territory of Goa comprised of the province of Iridige or Revatidvipa or Konkan *vishaya* of the Chalukyas of Badami.[60]

The Chalukyas were said to be princes and *Haritiputras* or descendants of Harita, nourished by the *Saptramatrikas* (seven mothers). They acquired prosperity through the protection of God Kartikeya, obtained through the favour of God Narayana. Though they were the followers of Vishnu, they gave patronage to Jainism and Shaivism.[61] King Kirtivarma ruled for about 31 years (566 A.D. to 597 A.D.) during which he defeated Nala, Maurya and Kadambas and extended his kingdom. He attacked Banavasi, the capital city of Kadambas, and captured South Konkan including Goa.[62]

The great Chalukya emperor Pulakeshi II attacked the capital Puri of the Konkan Mauryas and after defeating them annexed north Konkan to his empire. Subsequently the authority of Pulakeshi was extended upto the river Mahi. Pulakeshi also defeated the great emperor of *Uttarapath* (Northern India) Harshavardhan (613 A.D.) and acquired the title of *Parameshwara* (Lord Paramount). According to the Aihole inscription, Pulakeshi became the supreme Lord of three countries namely Maharashtra, Konkan and Karnataka[63] which contained 99,000 villages.[64]

Cultural influence of Chalukyas of Badami

Chalukya emperors extended their rule for more than 200 years in this region, which brought some transformation in the lifestyle of the people. The spread of

Vaishnavism as well as Shaivism, *tantrik* cults and those of the *Saptamatrika*, Kartikeya etc. were seen during their regime. This impact could be inferred from various sources.

The invocatory verses of the inscriptions of Chalukyas of Badami commence with Narayana where the epithet Narayana occurs for the first time in this region. The emperor Mangalesh has been described as a staunch worshipper of Bhagawat Vishnu (*Param-Bhagavata*). This epigraphical record also registers the grant of Kundivatak (Cudnem). It is also interesting to note that the *lanchhan* (insignia) of the Chalukyas of Badami was a boar (*varaha*), an incarnation of Vishnu. Thus, it can be inferred that they were worshippers of Narayana. This may have given an impetus for the rise of Narayana worship in Goa. There are a number of Narayana temples in both north as well as south Goa. In Canacona region there are two Narayana temples, one situated at Cola village and the other at Poinguinim. Similarly, Keshav and Damodar temples are in Loliem village. In Tiswadi *taluka* there were five Narayana temples, four in Bardez, and fourteen in Salcete.[65] It is difficult to state as to whether all these shrines were consecrated in the Chalukyan period. Some might have been consecrated during the Kadamba period.[66]

The Aravalem caves consisting of Shiva, Kartikeya and Surya indicate Shiva as well as Kartikeya worship. It is also said that it is Martand Bhairav cult. These rock cut caves were excavated after 150 years of the conquest of Revatidvipa (Redi) by the Chalukyas of Badami.[67] As such by then the worship of Kartikeya had spread to Goa. Thus both aniconic as well as iconic representations of Kartikeya are found in Goa. Along with Kartikeya, the worship of Ganapati also reached Goa. The colossal Ganapati chiseled out in the cave of Redi belongs to the early Chakulya period.

The shrines of Vamana and Trivikrama, the seventh and eighth epithet of Vishnu, were constructed in the villages of Loutulim and Racaim respectively, situated both in Salcete *taluka*. These must have been consecrated during the period of the Chalukyas of Badami.[68] These shrines were destroyed by the Portuguese during the sixteenth century. The old stone sculpture of Padmanabha, locally consecrated as Narayandeva at Cuncoliem village of Ponda *taluka*, is presently in the Goa State Museum. The villagers consecrated the new idol of Padmanabha in 1980. The old image belongs to later

Chalukyan style. Similarly, the Padmanabha image found at Vichundrem village of Sanguem *taluka*, is also from the same line.

The imperial Rashtrakutas and their Shilahara feudatories

The Rashtrakutas of Malkhed in 753 A.D succeeded the Chalukyas of Badami whose empire, at its zenith, extended from the eastern and western sea and from Malawa in the north to Kanchi in the south. This dominion was at the end of the 9th century A.D. and their sovereignty over the Deccan lasted till 973 A.D.[69] Malkhed situated near Hyderabad was the capital of Rashtrakutas. It was the main market of precious stones, betel nuts, rice, cloth etc. which might have been exported to foreign countries through Goa ports.[70]

The Shilaharas as the feudatories of Rashtrakutas shouldered the responsibility of the defence of the western coast. They maintained trade contacts with different countries in West Asia and East Africa. The Rashtrakutas seem to have accepted the Arab seafarers as middlemen for carrying on their overseas trade.[71]

All the three houses of Shilaharas: North Konkan, South Konkan and Kolhapur were ruling the respective territories as feudatories of Rashtrakutas. The South Konkan branch of Shilaharas ruled over Goa as feudatories of Rashtrakutas from about 765 - 1015 A.D.[72]

The rule of South Konkan Shilaharas and their impact

So far three copper plate grants of Goa Shilaharas have been discovered. These are Chikodi or Pattanakudi grant of Avasara II dated 988 A.D., the Kharepatana grant of Rattaraja dated 1008 A.D. and thirdly, the Valipattana record of the same ruler dated 1010 A.D.[73] We have ten known rulers of this dynasty which lasted from about 765 A.D. to about 1015 A.D.[74] Sanaphulla, the founder, may have ruled the Goa region between the Sahyadri and the sea from 765 to 795 A.D. Sanaphulla was succeeded by his son Dhammiyar (795 to 820 A.D.) who built a fort at Valipattana harbour on the west coast.

His successor Aiyaparaja (820 to 845 A.D.) defeated the ruler of Chandrapur. Thereafter his son Avasara I came to power. He was regarded as an expert in *Dharmashastras*.

According to Kharepatan plate, Adityavarman (870 to 895 A.D.), son of Aiyaparaja helped the king of Chandrapur and Chemulya. Adityavarman was succeeded by his son Avasara II (870 to 920 A.D.) who continued to extend military support to the king of Chandrapur and Chemulya. After him, his son Indraraja ruled about twenty-five years (920 to 945 A.D.) followed by his son Bhima (945 to 970 A.D.) who is said to have annexed Chandramandala. By this time Kantakacharya or Shastha I of Goa Kadamba was struggling to become *Mahamandeleshwar* or feudatory at Chandrapur. Avasara III succeeded Bhima. His son Rattaraja succeeded Avasara III. There are two grants in his name - Kharepatana plate of 1008 A.D. and Valipattana plate of 1010 A.D.[75] Rattaraja ruled over Goa from about 995 - 1020 A.D. It appears that the rule of South Konkan or Goa Shilaharas came to an end around 1010 A.D. Hence we can infer that Goa Shilahara dynasty ruled Canacona region over 250 years which was the earliest of the three Shilahara dynasties.[76]

This earliest Shilahara dynasty of South Konkan had contacts with the kings of Simhala and has been described as "the best of the Simhala kings". Simhala might have been the reference to island of Goa, which then enjoyed a high status being a port. Their capital was located at Gopakapattana (Voddlem Goem).[77] They might have shifted their capital at Valipattan which was an important port. It was also known as Balipattana. Vaman Shenoi Varde Valaulikar believed that the Valipattan or Valipvan or Baliyapur is the modern Balli village situated at the border area of Canacona. Valaulikar had identified many similarities in the place names recorded in the copper-plate grant of Rattaraja and the existing villages in the area encompassing Bardez in Goa to Mudgeri in Karwar *taluka*. The name Valipattan, according to his derivation is the distorted form of *Valip-van* which is based on the dominating *Velip* community - one of the earliest settlers of Canocona, Quepem and Sanguem region.[78] Shenoi Goembab has also mentioned many clues supplementing his view about Valipattana.

However the observations made by B.D. Satoskar (1982), after visiting the Balli and Velli villages situated in Quepem *taluka,* seem to be more realistic as far as Valiputana is concerned. Satoskar had recorded his views on the basis of remnants of the old port-city of Valipattana. The present Velli village is supported with two natural harbours Betul and Baradi situated at a distance of around 5-6 kms. According to Satoskar the present Kotbandh was known as ancient harbour of Valinagar. King Dhammiyar extended the Valipattana area upto Kotbandh which was situated at the mouth of river Sal. It has also been recorded in the copper plate that king Dhammiyar built a fort (*durga*). Satoskar attributed this historic fact to the remnants of old fort namely Kotbandh at the bank of river Sal. During his visit to Velli, Satoskar found also the remnants of an old temple and a broken stone carved Nandi near the school run by the local church. This area, according to Satoskar is known as Deulgaon (temple-ward) and Thal (temple area) even at present. The local informants also stated that the church was constructed after demolishing the old temple. However Satoskar drew attention to the fact that there is no mention of demolition of any temple by the Portuguese in the Velli village according to *Foral de Salcete.*[79] The map of Velli village and the adjoining area of Canacona is given in figure 3.2

Cultural impact of the South Konkan Shilaharas

The royal emblem of the Shilaharas was Garuda (eagle). It is evident from some of the gold coins of Shilaharas.[80] The eagle is the vehicle of Vishnu. Like other two branches of Shilaharas, the South Konkan Shilaharas were also staunch Shaivites. But they patronized other sects too. As a result, though there existed Vaishnavite sect, no shrines pertaining to Vaishnavism are seen constructed as per their inscriptions. However from their epigraphs it can be inferred that the *Pashupat* cult existed during their regime. The *Kapal* (scull) and *Asthipanjar* (skeleton) are referred in the Shilahara inscriptions, which point towards the *Pashupat* cult. This cult did not evolve independently as the South Konkan Shilaharas disappeared from the political scene. According to Mitragotri (1999), the development of the Vetal images and worship might have begun during the Shilahara regime.[81] However the form of worship, designated priests and their duties,

sacrifices made to the deity and also other rituals of the Betal cult reveal that the Betal cult must have been evolved from an earlier period.

The Shilaharas of South Konkan were the devotees of Mahalakshmi of Kolhapur. Their period saw the development of *tantric* Buddhism. Kalnath of Vajrayan has been reported from Panchawadi. Vajrayan might have come to Goa from Karnataka and finally reached north Konkan - Panhale-Kaji.[82] Evidence of Jainism is not available only during the South Konkan Shailaharas and the Kadamba period. The first stone sculpture of Tirthankara discovered by Heras in Chandor probably belongs to the early South Konkan Shilahara period. The Jain stone sculptures discovered from Kudnem and Kothambi village of Bicholim *taluka* belong to South Konkan Shailahara period. The Jain temple was consecrated in the 10th century and it was rebuilt during Vijayanagara regime.[83]

Canacona under the rule of Kadambas of Goa

The earliest family assuming the name of Kadambas ruled over Banavasi and Halsi during the sixth century A.D. Their territory was annexed by the Chalukya emperor Pulakeshi II in 607 A.D.[84] The Kadambas of Goa were the most successful rulers of all the branches of the Kadamba family with an unbroken line of kings for nearly three centuries. The Kadambas had the hereditary title of *Banavasipuravaradhishwara* (Lords of Banavasi). They were heralded by the musical instrument *Permatti*.[85] Their *lanchchana* (coat of arms) was the lion and they carried *Vanara Mahadhavaja* (the great banner of monkey).[86] Their coins and the crest bear the legends *Sri Malege Bhairava*[87] and *Malavare Marin*[88](the slayer of *Malvas*). They worshipped Shiva as Saptakoteshwara, as also Vishnu in different forms of *Narasimha* (man-lion) and *Varaha* (boar). Gokarneshwar (lord of Gokarna) and Ajjadevi also figure as family gods of some of the kings of the family.[89]

The Kadamba family claims its descent from the mythical three-eyed and four-armed Jayanta who was also known as Trilochana Kadamba. The legend says that he sprung from a drop of sweat that fell to the ground below a Kadamba tree from the forehead of lord Shiva after his conquest of the demon Tripura.[90] Anilapur is probably Alnavar in the Dharwar district of Karnataka[91] and Chandrapur is Chandor in Salcete

taluka of Goa which were capitals of this dynasty. Occasionally, Kundura and Sampagadi also served as their temporary capitals. Kundura is identified with Narendra in Dharwar *taluka* and Sampagadi could be Bidi in the Khanapur *taluka,* both in Karnataka.[92]

The provinces of Konkana 900 and Palasige 12000 were the traditional dominion of the Kadambas of Goa. These comprised partly of some area which was earlier under Bhoja rule during the period from 5th to 7th century A.D. Later on South Konkan Shilaharas annexed it. The Kadambas of Goa also captured Kavadidvipa, Panungal 500, Kotakuli 30, Pavye 500 and Venugrama 70.[93]

Shashthadeva, also known as Kantakacharya is considered to be the founder of the Goa branch. From the Marcela plates and the Ganadevi inscriptions, his power and fame is known. Kantakacharya had aided many distressed kings to regain their lands and was well known for his wealth and heroism.[94] He was well versed in the *dharma.* These inscriptions shed light on his son and successor, Nagavarma, who was learned in the *vedas* and political science.[95] He was a performer of meritorious deeds, a man of valour and discrimination and a great artist.[96]

Guhalladeva I, son of Nagavarma, seems to be more powerful than his predecessors.[97] He had a good navy. A legend calls him *Vyaghramarin* – slayer of the tiger.[98] The son of Guhalladeva I, Shashthadeva II (whom Moraes identifies with Chaturbhuja of the later inscriptions),[99] established himself as *Mahamandaleshwara* declaring the Kadambas' political autonomy for the first time. The original kingdom of the Kadambas of Goa seems to have been to the South of Goa island including a part of Salcete and extending towards the Western *Ghats.*[100] The Canacona region comes under the strip land encompassing the western coast and the *Ghats.* The capital of this family was Chandrapur, modern Chandor. According to Moraes (1931), Chandor was one of the most ancient towns in the Konkan, probably founded by Chandraditya, a son of the Chalukya king, Pulakeshi II.[101]

From the Sanskrit work composed by Jain monk Hemachandra in the 12th century A.D., the *Dwyashrayakavya,* it is found that Jayakeshi I was probably ruling at Chandrapur. The memory of Guhalladeva I seems to have been retained in Chandor by

naming one of the gates of the ancient fort.[102] These facts also indicate Chandrapur as the capital of the Kadambas of Goa.

Guhalladeva II, who succeeded Jayakeshi I, overcame neighbouring rulers and extended the boundaries of his kingdom. The Marcela inscription says that 'he spread his splendour by bringing the whole earth under one royal canopy.'[103] His inscriptions also mention his voyage from the capital Chandrapur for a pilgrimage to the Somanatha temple in Saurashtra. From the incident of breaking his ship-mast in Zuari river, it could be seen that probably north Goa region was not then part of the Kadamba dominion and also that Arab traders were already settled at island of Goa and were carrying on trade with the western world.[104] Guhalladeva II has been called a *dharmavatara* (highly religious man) and is said to have become an ascetic.[105]

Shashthadeva II was the son and successor of Guhalladeva II, who is known in the inscription by various names such as Shashtha, Chatta, Chattala and Chattya. His conquest to the north launched from Chandrapur subdued even Kavadidvipa. The Goa charter of his son Jayakeshi I, states that 'he was successful in war like a lion among elephants and that he was a veritable column of the World.'[106] Narendra inscription of Jayakeshi II refers to him as '*Paschimambodhipati* – the master of the western oceans,' and further it says that 'he raised a bridge of vessels upto Lanka (island of Goa) and that he had a great naval army. Shashthadeva II ruled for about 45 years (1005-1050 A.D.).[107] From the inscription-records his veneration to Mahalakshmi of Kolhapur, Mahabaleshwar at Gokarna (Karnataka) and Prabhas-Pattana (Somanatha) in Saurashtra is evident. He made donations and gifts to worthy persons.[108]

Jayakeshi I was real successor to Shasthadeva II. However, Jayakeshi I seems to have taken up the reigns of administration from his elder brother Guhalladeva.[109] He proved to a worthy son of a great father. The Raia (Goa) *viragal* inscription states that he destroyed the Chandas and Cholas. He seemed to have mobilised a large naval armada for the defence of his new capital city of Gopaka (modern Goa Velha), which was an important centre of Arab trade under the South Konkan Shilaharas.[110] The Panjanakhani stone inscription dated 1054 A.D., describes him as 'Pandavalendra.' The military

exploits of Jayakeshi I, mentioned in Panaji plates say that 'he defeated the Pandya and the Paramara, the Lattas, the Chola, the Pallava and Gurjaras who were then the most important powers on the west and east coast of India.'[111] It also mentions that 'his navy was active on high seas and that he had an array of battleships.' Another epigraph of Halsi mentions that 'he recoronated the Chalukya in their lost kingdom and defeated the Alupas and simultaneously united the feuding Kadambas.'[112] According to the Narendra inscription 'Kirtiraja of Banavasi was made to confine himself to his territory and Jayakeshi I speedily checked the march of the Cholas.'

Goa became prosperous under his rule because he boosted trade-relations with many countries namely 'Srityam (Sumatra), Bengala, Pulikat, Chanda (Chola), Kedah, Pandya, Kerala, Lat, Gujar, Zangavara etc.'[113] It indicates the commercial glory of Goa which was widely known over the continent. The name of his queen was Bopadevi who is believed to be ruling with her husband according to the Nulvi inscription dated 1072 A.D.[114] Jayakeshi I was a man of a religious and charitable disposition like his father. He performed several religious sacrifices, and was a great patron of learning.

Guhalladeva III ascended the throne as the son and successor of Jayakeshi I. His Kadaroli inscription (1098-99 A.D.) describes him 'as the great lord of the best of cities by the name of Gopakapura.' It is possible that he died heirless because he was succeeded by his brother Vijayaditya at the beginning of the 12th century A.D.[115]

Vijayaditya seems to have been a more successful ruler than his brother. Guhalladeva has been described in the epigraphs as a 'wise administrator.'[116] According to Gurav, Vijayaditya did not rule at all.[117] The Degave inscription of Permadideva refers to the naval expeditions of Vijayaditya to 'several *dvipas* (islands) with a number of vessels and states that he was a great warrior.' He had four issues, out of which the second was Jayakeshi II, his successor, who ascended the throne some time in 1104 A.D. The inscriptions record that the power of the Kadambas of Goa reached its zenith during the reign of this king.[118] Jayakeshi II was a feudatory of Vikramaditya IV, Someshwara III and Jagadekamalla II, as per available records.[119]

A number of inscriptions of Jayakeshi II issued during the period 1125 A.D. to 1144 A.D have been deciphered. As per the Narendra inscription, the extent of his dominion would correspond to the 'malenadu (hill) tract of Dharwar and the Belgaum districts, the whole of Karwar, Ratnagiri, Colaba and Thana districts together with entire Goa territory and the erstwhile Sawantwadi state, the largest ever claimed by the Kadambas of Goa.'[120] Kundura was the capital of Jayakeshi II till 1125 A.D. and thereafter Goa was his capital until the close of his reign. (1147-1148 A.D.).[121]

Kadamba rulers respected their queens and offered freedom to them to reign their dominion. Mailaladevi, the queen of Jayakeshi II was the most celebrated lady of outstanding qualities. She married Jayakeshi II at the age of 17 in 1103 A.D, when the Palasige country was gifted to Jayakeshi II as a wedding gift. The royal couple was ruling the country from Kundura during the last days of Guhalladeva III. Mailaladevi reigned from Kundura even after her husband assumed power at Goa and ruled the tracts of Dharwar, Kalaghatagi and Hubli, which were assigned to her by her husband. Mailaladevi got a temple of Keshavadeva constructed at Gungikatti in Dharwar *taluka* in 1124 A.D. She continued to live long after her husband, and was treated with great devotion and affection by her sons, Permadideva and Vijayaditya, who always consulted her while issuing grants. The Mailaleshwara temple was constructed in her name in the Dummagalli village in Kalaghatagi *taluka*.[122]

Permadideva succeeded Jayakeshi II to the throne in the year, 1147-48 A.D.[123] and he had three regions under his dominion; Palasige 12000, Konkan 900 and Kavadidvipa. But by about 1154 A.D. he lost Kavadidvipa. Though he recovered it in 1166 A.D. he lost it forever from 1174 A.D.[124] Throughout his rule Chandrapur and Gove (Goa Velha) remained the capitals. However, the third place by name Sampagadi (Dibi in Khanapur *taluka*) is also mentioned as the capital of the king in the Siddhapur inscription dated 1158 A.D.[125]

Permadideva was a great devotee of God Shiva and assumed the title Shivachitta. His brother Vijayaditya II, on the other hand was a votary of God Vishnu. Accordingly he bore the epithet Vishnuchitta.[126] Permadideva was learned, kind, of lofty character,

generous and brave. Owing to his erudition in various branches of learning he has been called 'Sarvadnyavatara (master of learned).' Another title of Paschimasamudradhishwara (lord of Western ocean) given to him in various inscriptions would indicate his supreme power over the western coast.[127]

Permadideva's Queen Kamaladevi has been immortalised by the elaborately carved temple of Shree Kamala-Narayana constructed by her at Degave village in Sampagao *taluka* of Belgaum district. The queen founded a number of *agraharas* or seats of learning, in many parts of the Kadamba kingdom.[128] Permadideva died heirless, leaving his kingdom to his brother Vijayaditya II alias Vishnuchitta.[129] Inspite of the fluid condition in the Kuntala country, the provinces under Permadideva enjoyed peace and there was considerable literacy and cultural activities. This is known from more than twenty epigraphical records[130] belonging to the period of Permadideva and Vijayaditya II. The Hasarambi inscription dated 1171 A.D. contains an interesting reference to a female revenue officer,[131] indicating that it was an usual practice to appoint women to various government offices in Kadamba dominion.

The name of Vijayaditya II has been quoted along with Permadideva throughout his reign with equal honour and distinction except for the regional titles. Because of the understanding among these brothers, the Kadambas of Goa continued to rule independently against all odds and held the supreme position till the date of usurpation by Bijjala. Vijayaditya II has been referred to as Yuvaraja or Kumara. He had acquired mastery over various arts of warfare, music, musical instruments, poetics, *Smritis* and *Puranas*, and bore the title of *bahuvidyadhara* (versatile).[132] He took interest in literary activities. Though Vijayaditya II was so far successful in his autonomy, he completely failed to counter the attack by Hoysala King Vira Ballaal II. Thereafter the Kadambas of Goa became feudatories of the Hoysalas and later had to acknowledge the supremacy of Hangal branch.[133]

Son of Vijayaditya II, Jayakeshi III, ascended the throne in 1187-88 A.D. under the nominal overlordship of Hangal Kadamba king Kamadeva. Jayakeshi declared him independent king seizing the opportunity.[134] He came to possess Halage 12000 and

Konkan 900 till the end of his reign and his capital continued to be at Goa. He was a devotee of their family deity Saptakotishwara. However, according to Gurav (1968)[135] his 'Catholic outlook is seen for he established idol of God Varahadeva (boar) in front of God Narasimha at Halsi.' Besides he made elaborate arrangements for the temple establishment and the celebration of festivals. His son Shivachitta Vira Vajradeva succeeded him during his lifetime, and seems to have died young without issue leaving his kingdom to his brother Tribhuvanamalla.[136]

The original name of Tribhuvanamalla seems to be Sovadeva and as a title of dignity he was called 'Tribhuvanamalla.'[137] He maintained the independence of the kingdom and promoted its glory during his reign. His kingdom grew prosperous under his rule, according to the Yadava inscription at Hasalapalli. However, during his reign the Yadava monarch Singhna made incursions into the boundaries of his territory. But Tribhuvanamalla proved to be a competent and powerful ruler. However according to Moraes (1931),[138] Tribhuvanamalla faced a disastrous defeat by Vichana and the Kadamba prince Shashthadeva III was in wilderness for about ten years.

Shashthadeva III was also known by name Shivachitta-Chattayadeva. He seems to have been assisted substantially by his brother-in-law Kamadeva in re-establishing his kingdom. This is clear from the fact that the latter has been called as 'the establisher of Shasthadeva.'[139] Though his tutelary deity was Saptakotishwara, he was a great devotee of God Shankara and was valiant, and well versed in literature. His Budarsingi charter records quotations of saint Siddharamanathadeva who was a contemporary of Basava.[140] Shashthadeva III seems to be a patron of Siddhramanathadeva, the saint of the 12th century.

After the demise of Shasthadeva III without an heir, the kingdom passed to his brother-in-law Kamadeva. During the reign of Kamadeva the Yadavas would seem to have relinquished their hold over the Konkan in 1310 A.D.[141] The general of Delhi Sultan, Malik Kafur attacked Yadavas and by conquering them marched to South and over-ran the entire territory of Goa. According to Ferishta, 'he penetrated as far as Rameshwara' – probably modern 'Cabo-de-Rama' in Canacona region. There he ordered

the construction of mosque for prayer to be read out to the Islamic faith.[142] The Kadambas had shifted their capital by this time from Gove to Chandrapur or Chandor in South Goa in the interior which was strategically well situated from the point of its defence and safety. Possibly Malik Kafur did not touch Chandrapur during his first invasion. But during the second expedition, being the capital of Kadambas of Goa, it seems to have perished during Muhammad Tughlak's invasion. The Kadamba king would appear to have resisted the attack and was probably killed. Thus Kamadeva probably died at the age of 88 in the year 1310-11 A.D.[143] The Hoysala emperor and the successor of Kadambas of Goa proclaimed their independence as soon as the Delhi Sultan had left the territory. The heir that came forward to restore the kingdom was probably the grandson of Kamadeva according to Moraes.[144]

The glory of Kadambas of Goa was thus finally ended after their sway on Konkan 900 for a period about three centuries.

Cultural Impact of the Kadambas of Goa

The Kadambas of Goa propagated education, fostered literature and commerce and created a new style of architecture which became a model for other dynasties like the Hoysalas. They ruled Konkan 900 from the early 10th century. They worshipped Saptakotishwara, the epithet of Shiva, Mahalakshmi and Chamunda. They tolerated Vaishnavism, Buddhism and Jainism. They also built temples of Narasimha in which the Varahadeva shrine was also consecrated along with elaborate arrangements of its administration and festivals. They carried *Vanara Mahadhvaja* that is, the great banner of the monkeys. Even the queens of Kadambas of Goa encouraged *agraharas*, the seats of learning as well as the construction of temples. They patronised literary activities and works by saints. Their respect towards *Vaishnavism* is also indicated by the invocatory verse in praise of *varaha* (boar) recorded in the Panaji copper plates of Jayakeshi I.[145] A member of the royal family of the Kadambas consecrated *vaishnavite* shrines like Kamalanarayana. The Mahalakshmi temple was constructed under the order of Kamaladevi, the queen of Permadideva. They also built the temple of Vishnu and Narayana at Tambur which finds mention in the inscriptions of Guhalladeva III.[146] Their

rule witnessed Goa's close contacts with Gujarat. Hence it seems that the temples of Damodar were constructed during the Kadamba period.[147] No inscriptions of Goa Kadambas refer to any Narasimha temple. However, Shivachitta's grants mention the deity Vira-Vikrama-Narasimha consecrated by *Matayogi*.[148] The present tradition of Narasimha in Goa indicates that a Brahmin from Karnataka introduced Narasimha worship.[149]

The early shrines of Narasimha from Halsi, Bangalore and Banavasi might have influenced the worship of Narasimha in Goa during the Kadamba period. A small shrine of Narashimha exists in Mahalawada ward of Poinguinim village wherein the deity is represented in the form of a wooden pillar. However, all know the famous shrine of Narasimha at Veling village in Ponda *taluka*. The recent researches[150] have shown that the early stone sculptures of Narasimha originated from Malnad and coastal Karnataka. Goa being a coastal region and closely connected with the cultural and political history of Karnataka, the worship of Narasimha might have defused in Goa. The Goa Kadambas were the devotees of Mahalakshmi of Kolhapur, and organised pilgrimages to Kolhapur.[151] The Ponda *taluka* has four shrines of Vishnu which were worshipped in the respective villages from the Kadamba period.[152] A number of religious functions were performed in all temples with grants from the kings to meet the expenses of these ceremonies. *Shaivism* had acquired great importance when Mayursharma had founded the early Kadamba dynasty. It flourished in their kingdom for a long period.[153]

The coinage of Goa Kadambas shows that *Shaivism* flourished during their reign. Elliot ascribed two coins found at Sonda to the Goa Kadambas. On the obverse of these coins, 'there is a central punch of a lotus and round this is seen punches containing retrospectant lotus. The reverse has a scroll ornament and two indented marks.' Elliot has also assigned coin which contains the legend, *bhujam* and *ankusha*, to the early Kadambas. However according to Mishra (1979), the representation of *ankusha* is generally seen in the coins of Goa Kadambas. Hence this can belong to them.[154] According to Mishra (1979), recently two new coins of Goa Kadambas were added to the cabinet of the Indian Historical Research Institute. These tiny gold coins seem to be half

panas bearing the usual lion to the left on the obverse and Shiva's *trishula* (trident) on the reverse. In front of the lion there is another small *trishula*.[1655]

The most important feature of the Goa Kadamba dynasty is the establishment of *agraharas* which were educational institutions that consisted of a community of learned *Brahmans* whose profound scholarship attracted students from distant places. Buddhism and Jainism flourished during the time of early Kadambas of Banavasi from the 3rd century B.C. Thereafter these religions spread to South Konkan. The Buddhist remains and Jain *basti* found in Goa show prevalence of these religions in Goa. Sometime both these religions grew unchecked during the supremacy of early Kadambas. Small stone sculptures of Jainas at Narvem belong to the reign of the Goa Kadambas.[156]

Vijayanagara and Bahamani Rule

Harihara founded the kingdom of Vijayanagara in 1336. During Bukka's rule, his brother Marappa had an able minister namely Mallappa Vodiyar popularly known as Madhav Mantri. Madhava made Kanara as his base for further operations in Goa and Konkan. He crossed the Kali river, captured Goa in 1366 and further conquered the Konkan region which remained under Vijayanagara ruler for about a century. Thus Malerajya and Palasige, which formerly belonged to the Kadambas of Goa, were included in the empire of Vijayanagara.[157] Bukka as Yuvaraj administered the central region of Konkan including Goa from his headquarters at Chandragutti also known as "Gomant Shaila."[158] Later he created four states, namely, Konkan which included Goa, Haivye, Barkur and Mangalore with independent governors.[159] Thus the entire region from Konkan to Mangalore came under the command of Vijayanagara. From 1379 governors for the Goa region were appointed regularly by the Vijayanagara emperors.[160] The list of Governors of Vijayanagara appointed for Goa is given in Table 3.2.

After the annexation of the territory of the Vijayanagara empire, Madhava Mantri seems to have made Goapuri his capital. He is referred to as *Goapuradhisha* (Lord of Goa) in an inscription dated 1389. As a scholar, statesman and general, he dominated Vijayanagara history and the history of Goa for about half a century. Establishment of

brahmapuris at Kochare village in Sindhudurga *taluka* in Maharashtra and at Moula in Tiswadi *taluka* of Goa are the memorials of his rule in this region.[161] Madhava was succeeded by the minister Narahari in Goa in April 1391.[162] The successor of Narahari was probably his brother namely Baichanna who further extended his boundaries upto south of Kolhapur in 1395.[163] He annexed the region between Konkan and Toragala to the Vijayanagara empire extending the boundaries of Goa-Chandragutti province. Thus the jurisdiction of Vijayanagara continued in Konkan upto Sangameshwar in 1472 [164] Thereafter number of local governors of Vijayanagara ruled the Goa–Gutti kingdom. Savanna is referred to in a record of 1412-13.[165] His successor Nanjanna Gosawi is referred in Nageshi inscription dated 1413.[166] Mai Senavai, the representative of Vijayanagara ruler at Cuncolim in Salcette *taluka* conferred a grant in 1413.[167] Another officer Trimbakadeva appears to have been appointed as Administrator of Goa in the year 1415. He was given a title–Immadi Deva Raya.[168] Virupadandanayaka was another governor of Goa region in 1417.[169]

The stone inscription dated 1425 of Devaraya II shows that the Vijayanagara rulers promoted the social and religious development of their subjects, as seen from grant of two villages, Vaghurme and Agshi, to the Jain *basti* of Neminath at Bandiwade in Ponda. According to Gune (1979), Baichanna Vadeyar, son of Tryambaka seems to be the last Viceroy of Goa-Konkan region under Vijayanagara before 1454 since no documents giving any more names for the period beyond 1450 are noticed.[170] However, N. B. Nayak (1957) has indicated the period of Tryambakadeva as 1424-1430 and has given a list of seven other governors.[171] On the other hand, Satoskar (1982) mentions four governors of Goa region.[172] Hence it is possible that by this period Goa was brought under jurisdiction of Bankapur. Thereafter Mahammad Gawan took it in 1472.

The Vijayanagara rulers had specific administrative divisions in which 4-5 wards formed a *grama*; 20-30 *gramas* or villages were held at *sthala*; certain number of *sthalas*

composed a *nadu* and some *nadus* formed a *rajya* or state. The officers appointed to look after the administration of each *grama* and *sthala* were known as *karnam* and *sthala karnam* respectively, *nadukarnam* or *nadugunda* for the *nadu* and *prantadhipa* for the *rajya*. The *pratihasta* was the *prantadhipa* empowered with special powers. During the Harihara reign all these officers were nominated from the royal family. However Bukka changed this system and began to appoint local officers to these administrative posts depending upon their competence.[173]

The Bahamani kingdom was a contemporary of the Vijayanagara regime. Hasan Gangu, also known as Zafar Khan, had become the Sultan of the Deccan with the title of Alaud-din-Hasan Bahaman Shah in August 1347.[174] When Muhammad Tughlak died in 1351, Hassan Gangu conquered Konkan and Goa and annexed these territories to the Sultanate.[175] His governor, Mohammed Gawan, after a series of hard fought battles between 1470 and 1473 wrested the whole coastal belt upto Goa sometime in 1473. The Bahamani kingdom encompassed the region from sea to sea, touching Khandesh in the north, the Tungabhadra in the south, Goa in the southwest and Orissa in the northwest.[176]

The Bahamanis and the Vijayanagara kings were engaged in constant rivalry over the possession of Goa. In 1470 Gawan marched against the port and island of Goa, sending 120 vessels to attack it by sea while he himself marched on land with his army. Virupaksha, the Vijayanagara administrator of Goa, could hardly face this well-planned quick campaign.[177] Under the reorganisation of provinces, Goa and Belgaum were placed under the governorship of Fakr-ul-Mulk. In 1481 the new Vijayanagara king Narasimha attempted to recover Goa but did not succeed.

Muhammad Gawan's death saw an attempt by the Vijayanagara rulers to recover Goa in 1481. This expedition appears to have been successful in the beginning. It seems that Goa was again lost by Vijayanagara owing to the treachery of the Hindus who held it.[178]

During the Vijayanagara period the people of Canacona region enjoyed their full rights and religious freedom along with the people of other parts of Goa. Goans were also

offered higher posts in the state administration according to their eligibility. Many local persons were appointed as *nayakas, dandanayakas,* viceroys and even governors. Some were promoted even to the post of Prime Minister. Besides administration upto the level of state was looked after only by local officers.

About 1490 Bahadur Gilani, the Bahamani governor of Konkan, broke into revolt. He seized Belgaum and Goa and established his headquarters at Sankeshwar near Belgaum and simultaneously acquired possession of Miraj and Jamkhandi. In 1489 Yusuf Adil Khan asserted his independence from the Bahaman Shah and started ruling from Bijapur. By 1502 the entire region of Goa comprised of Bijapur jurisdiction was reorganised dividing into various divisions like *paraganas* (main divisions), *karyats* (extra divisions), *villayat* (sub-divisions), *tarafs* of *mahals* (petty divisions) etc. Ports were separately administered.[179] The boundaries of Goa region were extended upto the island of Cintacora (modern Chitakula or Sadashivgad).

It was during the reign of Yusuf Adil Khan that the Portuguese arrived in India. Goa was coveted by the Portuguese for its commercial and strategic importance and the islands of Goa were captured by the Portuguese governor, Afonso de Albuquerque, in February 1510. However, the Portuguese admiral, Vasco da Gama, had captured the Anjidiv island off Karwar which is one of the revenue villages of Canacona.[180]

Cultural Impact

The century-old Vijayanagara rule left its cultural impact on Goa. The rulers as well as the ruled were aware of the intimate relationship between *dharma* and the society. The rulers endeavoured to protect the *varna* and *ashram* system of the Hindu tradition. The rulers tried their utmost to maintain social solidarity. The families depended upon due observance of the traditional rules while conducting household duties. The *Brahmans* were the most respected members of the society. A large number of grants were made to

them.[181] The rise of social consciousness among the different communities reached a high level due to the polices of religious tolerance pursued by the rulers.

Monogamy was the general practice except for the kings and the nobility. Widows committed *sati* to escape dishonour. The numerous *satikals* and *mastikals* in the *taluka* testify this tradition. Agriculture was the main occupation of the people. The kings encouraged irrigational facilities by constructing dams, bunds, tanks etc. Since the state had the tradition of great religious tolerance, bigotry was completely unknown and religious persecution was not tolerated.[182]

The rulers who practised *Vaishnavism* acknowledged Buddhism and Jainism. *Dvaita* philosophy of *vaishnavism* was preached by the disciples of Madhavacharya such as Narahari Tirtha and Akshobhya. During the time of Krishna Deva Raya, Vyasaraya was a prominent figure who composed many works on Madhva's logic. His disciples, Kanakadasa and Purandaradasa, produced many songs namely *kirtanas* preaching *bhakti*. That cult widely spread in the region under study and produced musical forms like *bhajan, kirtan, dindi,* folk plays etc. The *dvaita* philosophy of Madhva was continuously propagated in Goa in general and in Canacona region in particular. The existence of a 525 year old tradition of *dvaita* philosophy in the form of *vaishnavism* is very well seen in the *Gokarna Partagali Jeevottama Math* in Partagali ward of Poinguinim village.[183]

Vijayanagara encouraged not only Sanskrit but also the South Indian languages. Vidyaranya, the *guru* of founder kings, had said that Sanskrit works like *Vedas* and *Puranas* which were unintelligible must be taught in *desh-bhasha* (regional language).[184] Thus Kannada, Telugu and Tamil languages and literature were patronised by the emperors of the Vijayanagara kingdom. It is evident from the number of epigraphs and correspondence in Kannada script and language available in Canacona and Goa as well.[185]

Impetus was given to art and architecture during the Vijayanagara rule. The rulers of the dynasty were great builders and were the force behind the artistic activities of the

period. The earliest monuments at Hampi and Sringeri that follow the Hoysala style are examples of the finest and magnificent architecture.

The Mahanavami festival which falls in the month of *Ashwin* (September-October) was performed by the rulers of Vijayanagara with great pomp and splendour which can be known from the glowing account of the brilliancy of this great festival given by many spectators like Abdul Razaak, Nicolo Conti, and others. It is quite possible that the *Mahanavami* celebration of Vijayanagara might have influenced the *Navaratri* and *Vijayadashami (Dasaro)* celebration in Canacona region. Daily worship of the village deity and royal procession as well as the reading of *Shamipatra* (Appendix II and III) in a few temples such as Mallikarjun (Canacona and Avem) and Gramapurush Lakshminarayan (Cola) points at the impact of Vijayanagara dynasty. However no profound architectural impact has been seen in Canacona *taluka* except some influence in temple woodcraft.

Rule of Sondekar Raja in Canacona (1674 – 1763)

After the fall of Vijayanagara kingdom in 1565, three petty *Nayakas* gained importance, the Suddha Nayaka of Sonda, the Jain chief of Bhatakal and the Lingayat chief of Ikkeri.[186] The Suddha Naiyaka paid tributes to Bijapur king from 1570 onwards. After the fall of the Bijapur kingdom Suddha Nayaka assumed full power over his territory assuming the title of *Rajas*. During the rule of the first Sonda chief, Asarappa Nayaka, the Bijapur rulers annexed the region from Adoni, near Bellari, to the west coast along Goa, to Barkalur in South Kanara, including the provinces of Savanur, Sonda and North Kanara. Subsequently, the Sonda chiefs probably continued to pay tributes to the Bijapur king.[187] Thus his kingdom, at its zenith, extended upto Goa in the north and Cannanore in the South and included the present districts of Shimoga and portions of Hassan.[188] As such it is evident that Canacona was ruled by the Sonda kings from 1674.

The hometown of the king was at Sonda, fourteen kms. from Sirsi. It had around 10,000 houses encircled by three walls of fortification around the town.[189] The town was

very famous for pepper trade and hence was known as pepper country by the traders. The Sonda chief had 3000 horses and 12,000 foot-soldiers.[190]

Suddha Nayaka of Sonda was later called Sonda Nayaka and thereafter was also known as Sonda Raja. In Goa, and particularly in Canacona, the Sonda kings were known as the Sondekar.[191] The Nayakas of Sonda ruled the region as feudatories of the Bijapur kingdom from 1479.[192] After the conquest of the Bijapuri territories by the Mughals the young Sonda chief, Sadashiv Nayaka, became autonomous and assumed the title *Raja* (king) as Sadashiv Linga Raja. He was a versatile person. He was not only a statesman warrior, but a man of letters, a poet and author, who wrote a political treatise called *Sadashiv-Niti*.[193] The famous Sadashivgad fort was constructed by him which is situated at the north bank of Kali river near Karwar.[194] Sadashiv Linga Raja thus was instrumental in raising the prestige of the Sonda principality in the south during the last two decades of the 17th century. He maintained good relations with the Maratha kingdom because of the fact that Marathas were keen in strengthening interstate friendship that would serve as a bulwark against the Mughals.[195] The Shivrai coins (fig.3.1 g, h) found in the region testify the influence of the Marathas in Sonda kingdom.

Sadashiv Linga Nayaka, after ascending the throne of the Sonda kingdom, shifted his capital to Sambrani near Haliyal which is at the distance of around sixty kms. north of Sonda, keeping in view the strategic importance of that place. He died in 1697 and his son Basava Linga Raja succeeded him. He was an able administrator and had good political vision. Hence he first built up good relations with his neighbour, the Portuguese, through the treaty of 17th August 1697. It allowed Portuguese to cut timber in his kingdom in the Shiveshwar region and also to build a church in that area. The Portuguese built the church near Shiveshwar fort in 1735. The church is still maintained in good condition and is attended by local Christians.[196] The fort of Shiveshwar, which is about seven kms. north of Sadashivgad fort, was originally built by the Bijapur General, Sherif-ul-mulk, locally known as Sarpanmalik,[197] and was taken over by Sadashiv Raja in 1674.

From 1685 the Sonda king, Sadashiv Linga Raja, was a Mughal feudatory.[198] Aurangzeb had granted him the territories from Canacona to Ankola. On the initiative and negotiation of the Portuguese, Aurangzeb also agreed to give Ponda *mahal* to the Sonda king for an annual tribute of Rs. 80,000/- from 1706. The Portuguese regarded the Sondekar a safe neighbour and always extended help to them to control Ponda *mahal*. Early in 1697 the Marathas seized the upland Sonda territory as far as Yellapur. However, the Sonda king paid a ransom to buy back his territory.[199] On the other hand, in January 1739, the Marathas marched to Sanguem, Ponda and the remaining territory upto Supem which belonged to the Sonda king.[200] Peace was brought between the two with the mediation of the Portuguese. In about 1740 the Maratha general in the Konkan annexed Ponda from Kalappayya, a general of the king of Sonda. The latter arrived at Sanguem on 9th June 1742 with 1000 men. The Portuguese dispatched him to attack Ponda. However, they themselves proceeded to involve Ponda and after recovering Ponda, Panchamahal and Sanguem were surrendered to Kalappayya on 12th June 1742.[201] The king of Sonda helped the Portuguese against the Bhonsle of Sawantwadi.

Sonda king Basava died in 1745 and was succeeded by his son Immadi Sadashiv who seems to have been an incapable administrator. Taking advantage of his incapability the Portuguese were interested to get possession of Sadashivgad fort in 1747.[202] In 1750 he was attacked by the Marathas and forced to pay tribute. Five districts below the western *ghats* were given on pledge to one Gopal Ram who restored them when the tribute was paid.[203] The Portuguese, who were longing for an excuse to declare a war on Sondekar Raja, took advantage of an incident that a Jesuit procession had not been allowed to pass a Hindu temple.[204] After a limited battle, by quick action, the Portuguese captured the Sadashivgad fort which was known as Pir Hill. Soon they took over the island of Kurumgad (Ximpin) to strengthen their garrison. After prolonged negotiations the Portuguese restored the Sadashivgad fort to Sondekar in November 1755[205] on the condition that the Portuguese were granted four villages and allowed to build a fort to the south of river Kali at Beitkol. However, the Portuguese feared a Maratha attack on Goa. The Sonda territory as on 24th October 1760 extended to the Asolna stream, about seven

kms. north of Cabo-de-Rama that is the Canacona region. Besides in 1762 Portuguese agreed to restore the islands of Ximpin and the fort to the Sondekar.[206]

In order to escape from the attack of Hyder Ali's general, Haibat Jang, later known as Mir Fazal Ullhali Khan, who captured Sadashivgad and later Shiveshwar; the last ruling Sonda King Immadi Sadashiv Linga Raja (1745-1763) sought refuge with the Portuguese[207] and settled at Bandora in Goa. Mir Fazal Ulhali Khan had laid siege to Sadashivgad fort and Immadi Sadashiv Raja, after a feeble resistance, fled from Sadashivgad to Shiveshwar fort, seven kms. south of the Canacona border. Khan chased him there and besieged Shiveshwar fort. Grasping the situation, Immadi Sadashiv withdrew his family from Shiveshwar fort into Goa on 11th January 1764 and sought asylum at Bandora in Ponda *mahal* under Portuguese protection. The Sonda king carried along with him 400 bags of silver and several gold ornaments.[238] Mir Fazal Ulhali Khan wanted to chase him further into the Portuguese Goa but the French section of his army refused to march further into the Portuguese territory. The Portuguese viceroy of Goa allowed the Sonda family to live at Bandora until 10th April 1768.[208] According to a secret agreement dated 17th September 1762 the Portuguese had promised to help the Sondekar in case of any attack by the enemy.[209] They also granted a pension of £225 = 12,000 *xerafins* to the Sonda king.[210] Sonda king settled down at Bandora till 10th April 1768. However the Portuguese were annoyed when the king was caught intriguing with Hydar Ali to attack the Portuguese. He was then sent from Bandora to Santa Rosalia at Moula village close to Old Goa.[211] Similarly his pension was reduced from £ 225 to £ 150 (8,000 *xerafins*) per year. But he was acknowledged with the honour as king.

The genealogy of Sonda rulers, as prepared by Dr. Francis Buchanan, the English traveller,[212] is appended at the end of the chapter. Buchanan secured it from the family priest of Sonda rulers from their native village in North Kanara district.

Thus, after the fall of Vijayanagara, the Canacona region came under the direct rule of Sonda kings. They ruled the territory either independently or as the feudatories of the Mughals and the Portuguese. However in 1790 when Tipu Sultan was engaged in a fierce war with the Marathas, the king of Sonda, who was a refugee in Goa, was desirous

of sending an emissary to the Marathas with a view to regain the possession of his kingdom. The Portuguese greatly discouraged this and initiated restrictions on the movement of the Sonda king. In fact the Canacona region upto Cabo-de-Rama was handed over to the Portuguese by the king of Sonda in view of Hyder Ali's attack on the Sonda kingdom in 1763-64. The treaty signed between the Portuguese and the Sondekar provided that the Portuguese should return the Sonda lands to the king of Sonda if the latter succeeded in recovering his lands from Hyder Ali.[213] However the king of Sonda could not recover any land from Hyder Ali and therefore whatever was with the Portuguese remained with them until 1961. The only benefit received by the king of Sonda was that he and his successors received shelter and some maintenance subsidy from the Portuguese.[214] The estate of Sondekar Raja still survives in Canacona and is looked after by tenants and officials appointed by the Sonda family.[215] With surrender of Sonda territory Canacona became a 'new conquest' *concelho* (*taluka*) of the Portuguese in Goa.

The above account of the history of the Canacona *taluka* covering more than 2000 years shows that this region was under a cultural flux, the impact of which has been researched and described in subsequent chapters.

Table 3.1

Rulers of Canacona *Taluka* Through The Ages

Period	Rulers/dynasties of Advat Canacona/Shiveshwar Mahal	ADMINISTRATION	
		Direct Rule	Indirect Rule
Upto 200 B.C.	Imperial Mauryas as part of Kuntala (north Karnataka) or Banavasi (Vaijayanti) kingdom	Imperial Mauryas of Magadha	Not known (Minor dynasties probably small feudatories of minor dynasties
200 B.C. to 200 A.D.	Satavahana Empire in the Deccan	Maharathis of Banavasi (200 B.C. to 50 A.D.) Chutus (50 –75 A.D.) of Chitakula (Karwar)	
200 A.D. to 578 A.D.	Western Kshatrapas, Abhors and early Casabas of Hails	Boas of Candor (Chandrapur)	Kadambas of Halsi (Part)
578 to 727 A.D.	Badami Chalukyas	Badami Chalukya Governors (Batpuras)	Badami Chalukyas
727 to 954 A.D.	Imperial Rashtrakutas of Malkhed/Latur	Shilaharas of South Konkan dynasty	Kadambas of Banvasi
954 to 1326 A.D.	Kalyani Chalukyas Devagiri Yadavas	Goa Kadambas	

Year	EVENT	Rulers
1326-1358	Period of political instability and confusion in South India on West Coast. Canacona *taluka* region almost independent	Yadavas, Bahamanis, Vijayanagara.
1358	Bahamani capture of Goa.	Allauddin-Hassan Bahaman Shah
Upto 1380	Canacona under the rule of Bahamanis.	Bahamanis
1380	Goa captured by Madhav Mantri of Vijayanagara empire. Canacona comes under the rule of Governor of Vijayanagara ruling from Hiave governing district	Vijayanagara

--- contd.

	comprising Goa and Konkan.	
1473	Mahamud Gawan captures Konkan and Goa.	Bahamanis
1490	Yusuf Adil Khan declares independence from Bahamanis, breaks away from Bidar and forms his dynasty known as Adilshahi. Canacona under Adilshahi.	Adilshahi
1493	Revolt by Kotwal of Goa-Bahadur Gilani.	Adilshah
1490 – 1686	Canacona *taluka* under Adilshah's rule with attacks from Mughals and Marathas from time to time (1580-1686)	Adilshah
*1636	Shahaji is given Jahagirs of Poona and Supa revenue regions by Adilshah.	
*1513 – 1613	Possible Influence of Keladi/Ikkeri Nayaks on Canacona *taluka*	Sadashiv Nayak (1531-36) and Venkatappa Nayak (1613)
*1652	Shivappa Nayak of Keladi dynasty, defeats Portuguese and drives them away from Mangalore, Kundapur, Gangoli and Honavar.	
1685	King of Sonda becomes feudatory of Mughals – Aurangazeb gives them the territories from Canacona to Ankola.	Mughals
1685 – 1764	Canacona *taluka* under the control of the king of Sonda.	Mughals And Marathas
1752	Portuguese attacked Canacona with two thousand soldiers and captured Sadashivgad and Kurmagad.	
1755	Portuguese return captured territory and fort to the Sonda king.	
1761	Portuguese at war with the king of Sonda, because The Saundekar permits the English to establish a factory at Karwar.	
1763	Haider Ali of Mysore attacks Sonda and captures almost all the lands of the king of Sonda. The Sonda king takes shelter in Goa with his family and treasure in January 1764.	
1763 – 64	The partition of Shiveshwar Mahal into Portuguese rule Canacona and territories between Polem to Sadashivgad under Hyder Ali.	
1764 – 1799	Karnataka part of Canacona *taluka* or the Shiveshwar *mahal* under the rule of Tipu Sultan. The Portuguese retain portion upto Polem.	
1799 – 1961	Portuguese Rule	Portuguese

contd...

Table 3.2

List of Governors of Vijayanagara who ruled Goa

Sr.No.	Name of the Governor	Tenure
1	Vasant Madhav	1379 – 1387
2	Mallappa Vadiyar	1387 – 1391
3	Narahari	1391 - 1396
4	Bachappa Vadiyar	1396 – 1399
5	Bachanna	1399 –1403
6	Mai Shanai Wagle	1403 – 1407
7	Vithanna Vadiyar	1407 - 1412
8	Savanna	1412 – 1413
9	Nanjanna Gosavi	1413 - 1417
10	Viruppa Dandanayak	1417 – 1419
11	Mallappa Vadiyar	1419 – 1424
12	Trimbakdev	1424 – 1430
13	Hediyaraya	1430 – 1435
14	Mallaraj Vadiyar	1435 – 1443
15	Irugappa Vadiyar	1443 – 1450
16	Anantraya	1450 – 1455
17	Govind Dev	1455 – 1460
18	Vallabharaya	1460 – 1465
19	Amaraji	1465 - 1470

Source: N. B. Nayak, *Gomantak Itihas Digdarshan*, Margao: Published by Author, 1957, pp. 14-15.

Lead Coins of Satavahanas and their feudatories found in Goa-Karwar region.
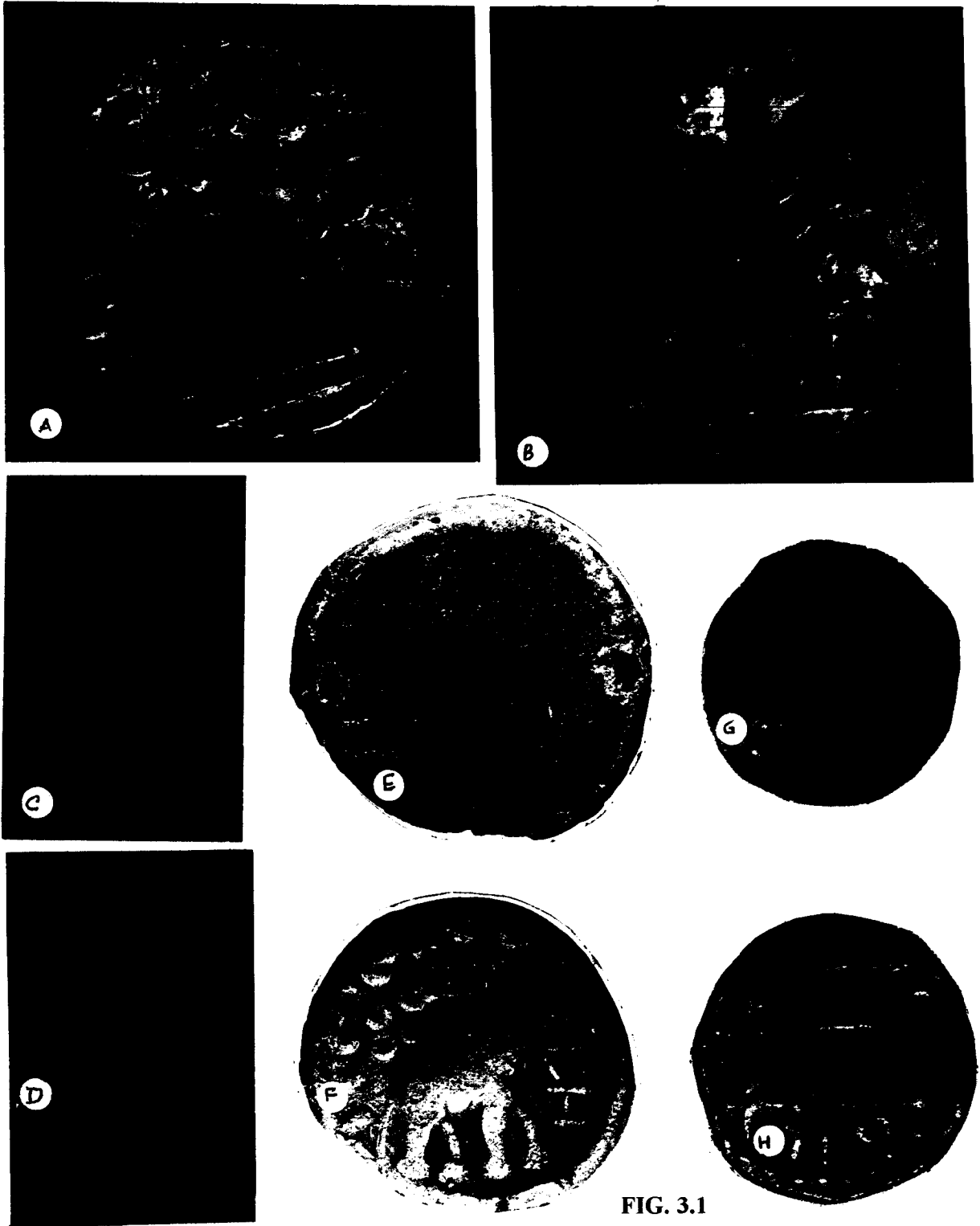
FIG. 3.1

Fig. 3.1-A & B Coins of Chutukulananda.   Fig. 3.1-C & D Coins of Satavahanas.
Fig. 3.1-E & F Punch-mark coins of Satavahanas. Fig. 3.1-G & H Shivrais – Coins of Shivaji.

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54. *Ibid.*, p.110

55. *KK*, pp. 47-49.

56. *COTET*, p. 127.

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71. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

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103. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

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108. *KOG*, p. 297.

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The Geneology of the Satavahanas

Satavahana

```
              ┌──────────────────────────────────────────────┐
           Simuka                                          Krishna
              │
          Satakarni
              └──────────────────────┐
           Vedishri               Shaktishri
              │
         Purnotsanga
              │
        Skandastambhi
              │
         Satakarni II
              │
          Lambodara
              │
           Apilaka
              │
         Meghasvati
              │
            Svati
              │
         Skandavasti
              │
          Mrigendra
              │
           Kuntala
              │
         Svativarna
              │
          Pulomavi I
              │
        Arishtakarna
              │
            Hala
              │
          Mantalaka
              │
        Purindrasena
              │
       Sundara Satakarni
              │
          Chakora
              │
         Shivasvati

       Gautamiputra Satakarni
```

```
┌─────────────┬──────────────────┬──────────────────┬──────────────┐
Pulumavi II   Skanda Satakarni   Vijaya Satakarni              Satakarni
                   │
         Gautamiputra yadnya satakarni
                   │
          Mathariputra Shakasena
                   │
         Gautamiputra Vijaya Satakarni
                   │
          Vasishthiputra Chandasvati
                   │
             Pulumavi III
```

Source: V. V. Mirashi, *The History and inscriptions of the Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, Bombay: Maharashtra State Board for Literature and Culture, 1981, pp. 57-58.

● No direct inscriptions have found.

Geneology of the early Kadambas of Banavasi

Mayursharmma (345 - 370 A.D.)
|
Kangavarmma (370 - 395 A.D.)
|
Bhagiratha (395 - 420 A.D.)

Raghu (420 - 430 A.D.)   Kukusthavarmma (430 - 450 A.D.)

Kumarvarmma (475 A.D.)   Shantivarmma (450 - 475 A.D.)   Krishnavarmma I (475 - 480 A.D.)

Mandhatrivarmma (490 - 479 A.D.)   Mrigeshvarmma (475 - 537 A.D.)
|
Ravivarmma (537-547 A.D.)
|
Harivarmma (537 - 547 A.D.)

Vishnuvarmma (485 - 497 A.D.)   Devavarmma
|
Simhavarmma (497 - 540 A.D.)
|
Krishnavarmma II (540 - 547 A.D.)
|
Krishnavarmma II (547 - 565 A.D.)
|
Ajavarmma (565 - 606 A.D.)
|
Bhogivarmma

125

Source: George Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, New Delhi: Asia Educational Services, 1990. p.14.

Geneology of Chakulyas of Badami

Jayasimha I
|
Ranaraga
|
Pulakeshin II (543-4 - 565 A.D.)

Kirtivarman I
(566-67 - 597-98 A.D.)

Mangalesa
(597-98 - 609-10 A.D.)

Pulakesin II
(609-10 - 642 A.D.)

Vishnuvardhana

Jayasimha

Chandraditya   Adityavarman   Jayasimha   Ambera

Vikramaditya
(654-55 - 681 A.D.)
|
Vinayaditya (681 - 696 A.D.)
|
Vijayaditya (696-733-34 A.D.)
|
Vikramaditya-II (733-34 - 744-45 A.D.)
|
Kirtivarman II (744-45 - 755 A.D.)
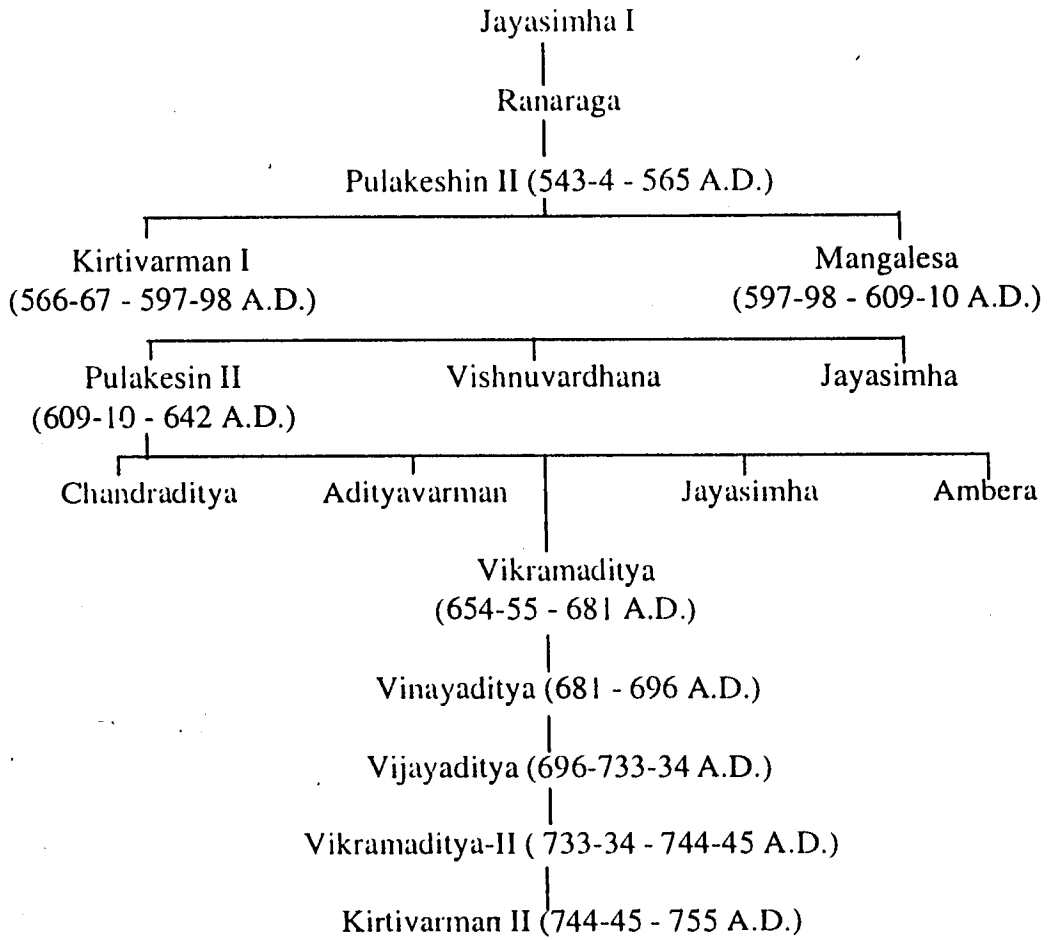
Source: Gerald Pereira, *An Outline of Pre-Portuguese History of Goa*, Vasco da Gama: Published by Author, 1973, p. 69.

Geneology of Rashtrakutas

Dantidurga (745 - 768 A.D.)
|
Krishna (768 - 772 A.D.)
|
Govinda II (772 -A.D.)
|
Dhruva (772 - 793 A.D.)
|
Govinda III (793 - 814 A.D.)
|
Amoghavarsha I (814 - 880 A.D.)
|
Krishna II (880 - 915 A.D.)
|
Indra (915 - 917 A.D.)
|
Amoghavarsha II (917 A.D.)
|
Govinda IV (917 - 935 A.D.)
|
Amoghavarsha III (935 - 939 A.D.)
|
Krishna III (939 - 967 A.D.)
|
Khotiga (967 -972 A.D.)
|
Amoghavarsha IV (972 - 973 A.D.)
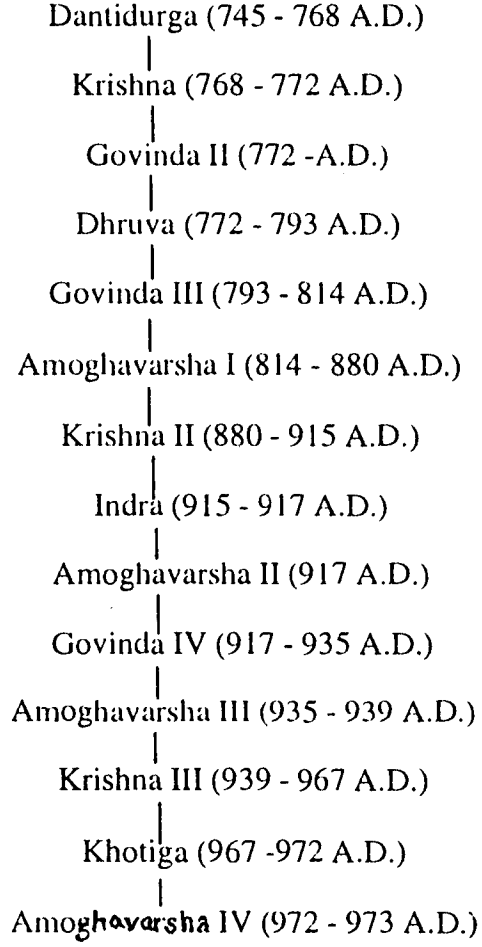
Source: B. D. Satoskar, *Gomantak: Prakriti Ani Sanskriti,* vol. II, Pune: Shubhada Saraswat Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1982, p. 162.

GENEAOLOGY OF SONDA KINGS

During the reign of Vijayanagara king Krishna Rayar (1508-1542) local chieftain of Kadamba family was looking after the upland Kanara. He was Jain by religion. Their chieftain Krishna had no issue. Hence his sister's son Arsappa Nayak was appointed ruler of Sonda. He ruled there from 1555 to 1578 continuing allegiance to the vanquished kings of Vijayanagara dynasty.

Thereafter Immadi (second) Arsappa Nayak was ruler from 1578 to 1592. His son Arsapa Nayak was his successor.

> Arsappa Nayak

The first independent Sonda chief who ruled his kingdom from 1592 to 1598.

> Ramchandra Nayak
> (1598 to 1618)

> Ragonath Nayak
> (1618 to 1638)

> Madhav Ling Nayak
> (1638 to 1674)

who became *Lingayat* and the sect was followed by all descendents.

> Sadashiv Ling Raja
> (1674 to 1697)

After decay of Bijapur power he changed his title of Nayak as *Raja* and all his heirs followed it.

> Basava Ling Raja
> (1697 to 1745)

> Immadi (second) Sadashiv Ling Raja

(1745 to 1763)Last ruling Sonda Raja who fled from Sadashivgad and took shelter of the Portuguese in Bandoda (Goa).

Immadi Basava Ling Raja (son of refugee Immadi Sadashiv Ling Raja who lived in Goa under the Portuguese protection.)

Source: 1- *GOB* – pp. 349, 350.

2 – Desai, Madhav Anant. *Chittakula-Karwar: A History*, Bombay: Madhav A. Desai, 1969, pp.17, 18.

CHAPTER IV

Religious Precepts and Practices -I

As discussed in the previous chapter, the rule of various dynasties over Canacona *taluka* culminated into the import of various ideas and institutions which came to be rooted in the culture of the *taluka* and are still discernible in the worship of a pantheon of deities, in the complex rituals and ceremonies and also in the festivals. The present chapter attempts to present Canacona as a rich kaleidoscope of cultural forms that are related to the local worship systems. This discussion on the local religious practices has been based on field explorations. Table 4.1 gives a list of deities in Canacona, their location and order of cultural-religious importance. Table 4.2 gives the list of objects related to various temple rituals.

Worship of The Earth Mother:

According to Indian culture Mother has always been held as an object of adoration and motherhood is held in high esteem. As such the Indian culture preserves a tradition of Mother worship. It is also a common feature of the Goan society, like rest of India, to place the mother on the highest pedestal of reverence, in keeping with its tradition of mother-worship that dates back to pre-historic times.[1]

According to the archaeological evidence feminine divinities were worshipped in one or the other form all over the ancient world. This has been regarded as the earliest form of human religion. As she is mother, there is nothing separate from her; all things come from her and return to her; everything is of her, because she produces everything from herself. This worship of the Mother Goddess is regarded "as a symbolic return to a state of prenatal security and bliss subconsciously remembered."[2] The Mother Goddess cults of modern India are the survivals of very ancient religious life. They can be linked to the Neolithic times.[3] According to scholars, a number of female figures discovered

from the Indus valley site are connected with the Mother Goddess cult. Her various forms were worshipped by primitive agriculturists."[4]

She is called Annapurna because she is bounteous and rich in food. Her fiercer and crueler nature is represented in Bhairavi. In the form of Kali she is the dark spirit of time, destroying all things. Her nature of old age and death is seen in Chamunda. The spirit of divine justice is represented in Durga, a beautiful girl riding a lion to destroy evil and darkness. She is the ideal of womanhood, the loving mother as well as the devoted wife, in the form of Parvati. We have such numerous forms of the Mother; even more reflections of the Earth Mother occur in those agricultural traditions in which she is the Earth and its fertility.[5]

It is a known fact that the idea of the Earth as a personified goddess and that of the cosmos as a living being is the central theme in Hindu mythology. Prithvi is mentioned in it as Bhudevi, which means the goddess who is the earth. It also becomes an important aspect of the *Vaishnavite* mythology and iconography.[6] The capacity of the Mother to create the basic bio-psychological aspects of human existence seems to have served as the elementary and probably the earliest link of belief in primitive theology.[7] In ancient India, the miraculous potency of child-producing females was the recognition of motherhood. This myth of motherhood led to the evolution of the concept both at human as well as cosmic levels and primitive humans arrived at the abstraction of several goddess-mother types such as the Earth Mother.[8]

The Earth Mother in the Konkan and Goa region is known as Sateri or Bhumika or Santer and Bhumka.[9] The iconic features of Earth Mother as found in the *taluka* are depicted in figures 4.1 to 4.8. The Earth Mother is worshipped in the form of an anthill and hence most often no special shrines have been assigned to this deity. A few shrines exist at Sadolxem (fig.4.1), Galiem (fig.4.2), Kolsar and Cola (fig.4.3) in Canacona.[10] Most of the anthills exist in open space, mostly in the vicinity of fields and forests. People worship Sateri as the village goddess. It is also believed that a serpent (*nag*) always resides in the anthill.[11] Dhere describes the anthill as the symbol of the genetic organ of the Earth and the serpent habitated there is the symbol of the male principle.[12] In

several shrines of Sateri in Goa region a figure of serpent is always displayed along with the anthill (Sateri). Vows are offered for progeny as well as for an abundant crop. Since the ant-hill is considered as the habitat of snakes, it is worshipped on the fifth day of *Shravan* (July-August), which is known as *Nagpanchami*; that too by women, thus guarding the secrets of fertility rites.

There is a saying in the Poinguinim village that the Betal has three hundred sixty sisters; most of them are Sateri. When the *tako* procession of Betal moves around the Poinguinim and Loliem villages holy water is offered to different deities in both the villages to mark the invitation for the ensuing *gadyam zatra*; most of the local deities comprise of the goddess Sateri. Besides there is also a tradition of a sister of Betal, that is Sateri, who returns from half way after refusing to enter in Loliem village. Thus Sateri, who travels all the way along with Betal in the procession, comes back from the ferry point of Galgibag river at *Chandana-ped.* The legend behind this act is that the people of Loliem village once forgot to carry Sateri to their village at the time of the procession. Since then, Sateri does not enter that locality.[13]

The word Sateri is derived from the Kannada word, *Sapta-teri. Sapta* means seven and *teri* means layers or waves. It is believed that anthills are made of seven layers.[14] The tradition of anthill worship is also practiced in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh[15] where they are venerated as Renuka, Matangi, Ellamma, etc. Renu means particles. The anthills are made of numerous particles of clay. Thus the name of the goddess whose abode is an ant-hill is Renuka.[16] Ellamma, similarly, is formed of two words, Ella and Amma, which means 'all' and 'mother' respectively. Thus Ellamma is the mother of all.[17] The Ellamma deity is also taken round the localities by its devotees locally known as *Ellammakar* or *Markammkar* (fig.4.4), hailing from Karnataka.[18] They collect offerings in cash and kind. According to Dhere (1988), Renuka and Matangi are represented in the form of an anthill. In fact Renuka and Sateri were established by Parashuram.[19] It is interesting to note that the Parashuram temple is the main temple in Poinguinim village under which all secondary deities such as Navadurga (fig.4.5), Betal etc. are worshipped.

There is an interesting story prevailing in South India where anthill worship existed from the pre-historic period.[20] It is believed that there lived a king who had sons but no daughter. He performed long and strict penance to Shiva. At last Parvati had compassion on him. She decided to be born as his daughter. Parvati took human form and hid herself in a golden anthill near the palace. The king had a dream that his daughter had been born in the anthill. When the anthill adjacent to the palace was dug by the servants, they found a maiden (Parvati) in the form of Shakti with the name Renuka. She is said to have changed into one hundred and one *Shakti Pithas*, which have become village goddesses,[21] with names such as Dhrti, Smrti, Bhuti, Pushti, Lajja (Gauri), Mati (Matangi), Shanti (Sateri), Siddhi, Aditi, Anumati, Kriya, Buddhi, Hri, Shri, Kirti, etc.[22] A very ancient image of a female deity, probably a form of Renuka, locally known as Devi (fig.4.7), was found at Baddem hill top in the village of Cotigão.

In Canacona, as compared to the male deities and their respective shrines, a fewer number of enshrined female deities exist. These include Navadurga (fig.4.5), Sateri, Mahamaya, Mahalakshmi, Bhagavati, Durgadevi (fig.4.6), Aryadurga, Dakkhan-devta, Monadevi (fig.4.1), Shantadurga Chamundeshwari (fig.4.2), Devi, Khuti, etc. Out of the aforesaid deities, Durga and Bhagavati are more popular. Durga as an independent deity is worshipped at the Mahalwada ward of Poinguinim village and also referred to as Navadurga. Besides, there exists another independent shrine of Durgadevi at Badegal near Khargal in the same village. Bhagvati is enshrined on the plateau of Putant at Loliem as well as in the Khawat ward of Poinguinim village. The Aryadurga temple of the Dingar ward of Loliem and the *Dakkhan devtas* at Pedem are enshrined in the same village. The shrine of Monadevi is at Sadolxem in which Monadevi is represented by a circular black stone on which a metallic mask is fixed.[23] As such one may infer that the shrine probably was made to venerate the anthill. Though the deity is presently called Mohinidevi, the Sanskritised form of Monadevi, the latter version is recorded in the temple documents.[24] Besides the *Velip* (*Kunbi* priest) is entrusted with the responsibility of occasional worship. Another interesting point is that a *gondhal* of Ambabai is held annually in *Falgun* (February-March).[25] Mahamaya is worshipped at Gaondongri as a subsidiary deity of Mallikarjun. Similarly the Devi enshrined at Shristhal Canacona is

regarded as the incarnation of Parvati.[26] Likewise, Devi (fig.4.8) is also enshrined in Yeda ward of Cotigão village in which a stone idol is fixed on a heap of mud. It is inferred that this shrine was also dedicated to the anthill in which the stone idol was consecrated and later the idol was covered with a full mask of the goddess made of an alloy. In addition to all the aforesaid deities there are other folk deities, namely, *Sati* and *Khuti* that are worshipped by the peasants without any idol or mask. Thus *Khuti* seems to be a substitute for Sateri or Bhumika. Likewise *Sati* seems to be another epithet of Sateri. *Sati* is worshipped at Maxem in the premises of the Nirakar temple.[27]

From the above discussion it is evident that the cult of Mother Goddess and Earth Mother is very popular in the Canacona region. The various forms of Mother are represented through different epithets of the Goddess. For example, Sateri consecrated in Cola village is in the form of Mahishasurmardini, Navadurga and Durga at Mahalwada and Badegal. Similarly, Bhagavati as well as Chamunda are worshipped as *Dakkhan devta*, in Loliem and Shantadurga-Chamundeshwari at Galiem in Poinguinim.[28]

Some areas of Canacona are known as Mastimol. *Masti* is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit, *Mahasati,* or the widow who enters the funeral pyre of her husband.[29] In Konkani, Mastimol (*maha+sati+mal*) means the field of the great *Sati*. This is very evident in the Cotigão village where three *satikals* (*sati* stones) are found in Yeda (fig.4.9), Nadkem (fig.4.10) and Avem wards. Both the *sati* stones at Yeda and Nadkem are full of beautiful carvings. In the *satikal* at Yeda altogether four human figures have been engraved out of which a couple is prominently seen with *mudra* or palm at the right side of the couple. Besides two small figures are also carved at the foot of the *sati*. The male figure is shown holding weapons in both the hands whereas the *sati* has her arms uplifted. This *satikal* lies along with three other megaliths at the foot of a tree in an open field where sugarcane production is under progress.

The next *satikal* is also located in an open field in the Nadkem ward, surrounded by wild grass. On the basalt stone there are beautiful engravings of a couple, a palm of a right hand, the sun and the moon. It signifies the identity of time and memories associated with the act of *sati*.[30]

The third *satikal* is found in the Avem ward of the same village. However, it is buried at the foot of a *Jamblum* tree (*Eugenia jambolana*) in an open filed. Only the top portion is visible. Another broken stone is found in a culvert in the vicinity of the Mallikarjun temple at Avem. Since the top portion is missing, it is not possible to infer as to what exactly is depicted on the stone. In the ward of Mastimol and Canacona municipal area no *satikals* have been found, instead two laterite columns lying in that area are arranged as *masti*. The presence of the stone and the source of the place-name, Mastimol, probably signify a very important person from that locality. Both the aforesaid *sati* stones are a symbolic representation of the *sati*, depicting the place where the woman was burnt on the pyre of her husband to live eternally in the heavenly abode with her husband (*akhanda saubhagyavati*) as long as the sun and the moon exist.[31]

Along with such a widespread worship of the female deity, Sateri, Canacona also possesses a long tradition of venerating the male deity, Betal, that is discussed below.

Dhillo

There are several festivals in India which coincide with paddy-harvesting season – for example *Dussera/Vijayadashmi*. The *dhillo* festival of Canacona *taluka* (fig.4.11-a) and 4.11-b) seems to be associated with the recognition of earth's creative, fertility powers - in the form of worship of a 'womblike' heap of sacred soil.

The celebrants are the *kunbi* women who celebrate *dhillo* or *dhinlo* (fig.4.11-a) festival in Canacona region during the month of *Ashwin* (September-October) coinciding with the *Navratri* celebration. In the evening of the ninth day of the bright half of Ashwin a few women from different wards of the village gather in the courtyard of the headman of the ward who is known as the *gaonkar*. The courtyard is known as *mand* or *dhillya-angan*. The group of women led by a teenaged girl from the *gaonkar's* family proceeds to an anthill carrying a hoe or a pickaxe and dig the anthill and collect the mud in a leaf of *arum* (*Colocasia esculenta*). The mud is then brought to the *mand* and the leader forms a heap of mud and places it on the wooden stool in the leaf of *arum* in front of the *tulasi*

vrindavan. The formation of the heap is completed with the sunset. The heap is decorated with big marigold flowers (*tagetes erecta*) and other wild flowers locally called as *chiddo* (*I. balsamina*) collected from the jungle-garden (*kamat*). The heap is now called *dhillo*.

The women assemble at the *mand* after their dinner at around 8 p.m. The head-woman of the ward known as *gaonkann* distributes small quantity of rice to each participant, with the exception of the widow. An oil lamp is lighted near the *dhillo* and *betel* leaves and areca nut (*pana-vido*) are placed in front of it. An empty copper vessel is kept nearby after blowing air into it. The invocation song is sung by the *gaonkann* and the other participants in unison repeat the same.

On completion of the invocation, all the participants sprinkle rice on the *dhillo*. Thereafter, the participants form two rows facing each other, holding their arms around each other's waists and dance to the accompaniment of rhythmic folk songs. They sway, bend, and jump while moving forward and backward. All the performances take place in front of the *dhillo*. The contents of folk songs depict praise for the *dhillo*. At the concluding half, the empty copper vessel is kept in the centre after blowing air into it and the participants dance in a circular movement while singing different songs (fig.4.11-b). The performance continues for around two-three hours every night. The rituals, such as invocation which include lighting of an oil lamp, keeping betel leaves and areca nut, sprinkling rice on the *dhillo* after invocation, are repeated every night followed by the dance performance as described above. Meanwhile usually after every three to five days the unmarried girls add mud on the heap and decorate it again with the help of flowers and leaves. The ritual of adding mud to the original heap is repeated at least five times during the festival period of around three weeks. The festival is concluded with the immersion of the *dhillo* in the river, rivulet, stream or pond on the second day of bright half of *Kartik* month.

On the concluding day, all the participants gather at the *mand* in the morning. They repeat all the invocations followed by dances during the daytime. By noon, all participants ceremoniously worship the *dhillo*. They break a minimum of five coconuts in front of the *dhillo* and it is carried on head by five participants upto the immersion point,

that is, a nearby water body usually accessible for cattle and known as *gotan*. The *dhillo* is again placed on the bank of the river or stream and worshipped. The special rice that is cooked, as an offering to the *dhillo,* is known as *choru.* The participants sing and dance at this spot and ceremoniously immerse the *dhillo.* There are separate songs for each ritual of immersion. Thereafter, all participants feast with the special food cooked by them.

The ages of participants range from 12 to 60 years. Widows do not participate in sprinkling the rice at the invocation rituals. Similarly, a menstruating woman is not permitted to participate in the celebration. No man is allowed to participate in the festival.

The word *dhillo* must have originated from the Mundari language. According to *Encyclopeadia Mundarica, dilli-dipi* means the heavy dancing of elderly women[32] and the word *dhaloe-dhaloe* means to wave plume-like up and down in the wind.[33] In Mundari *dhalo* means to sway while walking forward and backward.[34] It is definitely related to the earth. In Rig Vedic tradition the earth was known by a compound word *Dyava-Prithvi. Dhillo* could be a corruption of these words probably adopted through North Indian *Vedic* contacts, which is directly related to the earth mother worship.

The origin of the *dhillo* festival is indeed rooted in the Mother goddess worship. According to Dhere,[35] *kumbha* or the pot is the symbol of motherhood, the womb-form of Earth Mother. Hence, the pot or jar is used to symbolise the mother goddess in almost all ritualistic dances. The water-jar plays an important part in modern Hindu cremation rites, symbolising the whole course of the dead person's life.[36] It can be stated that the origin of the *dhillo* festival is definitely pre-historic since anthill soil is used to form the heap as *dhillo.* The festival seems to hail the earth's creativity for through this festival women acknowledge the earth's favours and pray for a bumper harvest.

Dhalo

Dhalo (a swinging dance formation) is the name associated with an exclusively feminine festival of Goa that worships the earth-goddess, Sateri. As in other parts of Goa, *dhalo* of Canacona shows the involvement of women as repositories of natural and cultural knowledge through the ages.

Women belonging to all working classes, except *Brahmans*, celebrate *dhalo* festival during the month of *Pausha* and *Magha* (January-February) of Hindu calendar. *Dhalo* (fig.4.12) performances take place at the *mand*. The *mand*, an open demarcated courtyard is always considered to be auspicious and sacred for the villagers. All the seven villages in Canacona *taluka* have their *mand* for the annual *dhalo* performance, which is a ritualistic performance of music and dance.

On a designated day, women of the respective wards gather at the *mand* and clean the sacred place with the paste of cow dung. On the moonlit night all women assemble at the *mand* and light an oil lamp near the *tulasi vrindavan*. A copper or brass vessel full of water is also placed near the *tulasi vrindavan* and is worshipped. The chief lady known as *mandkann* or *gaonkann* performs the worship rites and offers salutations to the divinity - the Earth Mother and seeks blessings for the entire village and also for the timely completion of the festival rituals without any hurdles.

After the prayer the women split into two rows facing each other. They form a closely-knit unit by holding themselves with arms around each other's waists. They sway, bend, move forward and backward and jump, singing in unison. The series of songs begins with the invocation of the Mother Earth, *dhartari-mai* or *dhartari-mata* and then they invoke the blessings of all village goddesses and gods, the sylvan deity and the family deities.

The daily performance culminates into a circular dance pattern without disturbing the original formation. Thereafter, different dances in circular formation are performed. It also includes another type of folk dance by women, the *fugdi*. The invocation songs are dedicated to the village deities. Thereafter, other songs that focus on family life and the contemporary society are presented along with the dance. After the routine invocation part is over, different caricatures of man, animals and birds are presented by the participants with the help of fancy dress, dry grass, tree branches, flowers, and the like. The village folk enjoy the display of various caricatures presented by women. In some exceptional venues at Poinguinim and Loliem villages, men are allowed to present the role of tiger (*vagh*) by covering their entire body with dry grass and straw. After their

appearance a tiger also catches hold of a girl and takes her away. Then comes the most mysterious part of performance, of *Rambha* (nymphs). In this performance some ladies, including teenager girls, go into a trance and by making prolonged rhythmic utterances they crave for meeting their only beloved elder brother *bandhav* or Pundalik. They continually call out to their brother in a rhythmic manner. All the participants who go into trance are known as *Rambhas*. It is believed that there are twenty-one *Rambhas*, who are sisters with names like Chakravant, Tulasayevant, Onvalayevant, Surangayevant, Shekarayevant, Kukumayevant, etc. that depict the spirit of water, vegetation and ultimately mother nature. The age group of *Rambhas* varies from 14 to 65 years. Finally they succeed in meeting their brother and slowly come out of trance. A male adult from the family of the *mandkann* or *gaonkann* represents the brother.

The festival continues for at least five nights, though at times it stretches to seven, nine or eleven nights depending upon the zeal of the participants. The concluding night of the festival also falls on a Saturday or Tuesday since specific rituals are to be performed as a part of the earth-mother worship on Sunday or Wednesday. These rituals consist of mock hunting of wild boar, sharing its flesh, making the floor wet and cleaning it again with the paste of cow dung, sprinkling pounded rice (*fov*) on the floor and embracing each other. The entire performance of *dhalo* reveals its direct linkage with earth mother worship cult and fertility rituals. The association of various rituals connected to the earth, plants, water bodies, and flowers and also cosmic elements, in the *dhalo* festival celebrated in Canacona *taluka,* clearly indicate the prehistoric cultural artefacts.

From the entire celebration of *dhalo* festival certain elements are a matter of interest. The opening of the festival begins with the invocation to the Earth Mother and also with the salutation to the spirit of the area. Most of the performers offer prayers to the *manda-nas* (the spirits of the area) with the offering of a coconut. Certain taboos are strictly observed like that of wearing of slippers on the *mand* and the participation of menstruating women in the festivities.

Breaking the coconut, animal sacrifice, consumption of alcoholic drinks and also the presence of non-Hindus are prohibited within the sacred space of the *mand*. During

the dancing, dramatisation of animal and bird behaviour takes place. Besides songs have numerous references to cosmic elements, the earth mother, stars, living beings, plants, animals, birds, fish, water bodies, sea, ocean and also mythological stories from the *Puranas*. Some characters depicting socio-religious life, as well as some foreign characters, are also presented.

The word *dhalo* seems to have originated from *dhartari* or the earth. Another meaning of *dhaloe-dhaloe* in the Mundari language is to wave plume-like in the breeze which is descriptive of the movement that characterises this dance.[37] Similarly *dha* means 'to be saturated' according to *Apabhransha-Hindi Kosh*[38] which is also applicable to the earth.

The *dhalo* festival has promoted sisterhood among women through entertainment and skill upgradation. The absence of age-barriers as well as male participants, except the *bandhav* or Pundalik, had led to stress relief and mass creativity of women. Besides the platform is used for communication and exchange of knowledge in an informal manner.. There are certain rituals prescribed for barren woman that establish a direct link with the fertility cult.

The *dhalo* festival may, thus, be seen as an important cultural heritage maintaining family and community ties and a feeling of sisterhood among women in the villages of Canacona.

Perni Jagor

The *Perni Jagor*, (fig. 4.13-a & b) which is traditionally performed by the *Perni* family in Canacona *taluka*, is unique among such dance dramas. It uses masks and is rooted in fertility rites related to Neolithic shamanism. The term *perni* symbolises the sowing of the seeds and *jagor* means a full wakeful night during that period that was essential for ensuring protection to life and crop.

Different communities such as *Perni*, Hindu *Gaudas* and Christian *Gaudas* stage their traditional dance dramas that are called *jagar* (plural of *jagor*). In order to identify a

specific performance the people prefix the name of their community to the performance. This practice is in vogue because all *jagar* differ in contents and themes. For the sake of identification of the performance of *Perni* community, the term *Perni Jagor* is used. However the local people call it *jagor*. The *Perni* community is a sub-section of the *Gomantak Maratha Samaj*. The main occupation of *Pernis* was acrobatics and playing music. They used to perform *jagor* as the main source of their livelihood.

The *Perni jagor* has evolved by absorbing *Vedic* and *Puranic* mythological themes as is evidenced by its structure, dance pattern, its music, use of wooden mask to depict the Hindu mythology and the grandeur of *hastamudra* (handiwork), *abhinaya* (body movements) and *padanyas* (footwork).

Perni Jagor that is performed in neighbouring *talukas* of Quepem and Sanguem as well as in Ponda *taluka* by other *Perni* families is similar to the *jagor* of Canacona. It gives an insight into the sequence of Canacona's evolution from the Neolithic period of south Indian history till the Portuguese colonial rule.

Let us inquire into the etymology of the word, perni. *Perna* in Kannada means a mask dance. There is a reference to the existence of a *Perna* community in Punjab in which the females present acrobatics while the males provide musical accompaniment. In Konkani language the word *pern* means acrobatics and *perni* means sowing of seeds. Thus the acrobatics performed during daytime is known as *disperna* and the performance during the night as *jagor*. Similarly some *Perni* families were also performing *jagor* in north Goa, although there is no concrete evidence in this regard. But the temple records in Pernem and Bicholim *taluka* do indicate their existence in the north Goa region.

Perni Jagor seems to be a folk play based on magico-religious fertility practice which existed in the fertile valley of the Zuari-Talpona river basins. It is a mask-play representing different characteristics of nature, animals, birds etc. performed on festive occasions as a ritualistic activity associated with village deities. It shows Neolithic

cultural influence through the use of the aforesaid well-crafted and painted wooden masks and narratives.

Use of such masks begins with the late Paleolithic human societies. According to Joseph Campbell (1991) in tropical gardening cultures, it was the women, not the men, who enjoyed the magico-religious and social advantage. During this type of human development women won economic and social power and prestige and thus the complex of matriarchy took form. Campbell's observation is important because the pre-historic cultures in the foothills and river valleys in the Western *Ghats* clearly indicate the presence of the Mother Goddess worshipping culture. This culture gave rise to Neolithic cultural practices and magico-religious forms like that of *Perni jagor*. Neolithism in this region also has followed the same cultural sequence as in South India. The Neolithic economy in this region included hunting, fishing, primitive agriculture and pastoralism.

According to Campbell (1991) all the primitive dances have shamanistic elements and especially in the tropical gardening primitive agricultural societies the women are dominant and the males use masks and totems in dance as a part of their sacred rituals. *Perni Jagor* of Canacona is probably symbolic of such a society. It is clear that the *Perni* dance-drama form developed as shamanistic mask-dance during the prehistoric period in its original form and then assimilated other elements during the subsequent period.

In Canacona a *Perni* family from Poinguinim village performs *Perni Jagor* at about eleven venues ranging from 20 to 25 performances every year. Presently the *Perni jagor* is performed under the leadership of the male *Perni* who is called *Jagor Perni*. He arrives at the venue on intimation of the temple authorities. Soon after reaching the venue before noon, the *Jagor Perni* plays the drum to convey his arrival to the surrounding area. The actual performance commences at about 9.00 p.m. after according the consent of the designated authority or the temple priest. The performance is usually initiated at the place called *pernuti* or *pernoti* where the sacrifice of fowls is offered by the *Jagor Perni*. The *Jagor Perni*, the narrator, performs the invocation to the accompaniment of the *dhol* (drum) and *kansalem* (big cymbals). He wears a garland of *ixora* (wild red flowers)

locally known as *pitkulechim fullam*. The garland is then offered to the *devli* (traditional oil lamp made of brass) that is kept lit at the *pernuri*. The display of mask dance follows as per the traditional sequence. Each entry and exit accompanies the song and music. Male dancers present all characters, except Sharada (goddess of knowledge) and *balkachem* (Krishna). Female dancers perform the roles of the Sharada and *balkachem*. At present Sharada is not performed. Other characters include Ganesh, Mahadev, *Matari* (old woman), Tiger Horse, Putana and Jaliman. Besides these masks, other characters such as Chandika, *bhalya sawang* and so on are performed as a part of the various rituals associated with the *jagor*. In addition to the *jagor*, the *Perni* community performs different rituals as associated rights namely *dispern*, *shens*, *malaye jagor*, *daityam jagor* and *bhalya savang*.

From the style of performance and the skeleton thereof staged in all the aforesaid areas, it can be inferred that during the agro-pastoral stage of cultural evolution, the character of the narrator was born and he was probably the male shaman who controlled every performance and since he could not get into trance very often the use of mask was conceived at a later period. The idea further evolved as more masks were crafted to accommodate more and more characters without compromising the impact of the narrative. The character of the Earth Mother was brought in as *Adimaya* in the form of *Matari* as a tribute to women who contributed to agriculture and possessed knowledge of earth's fertility much better than the males. *Matari* is an old woman who enters holding a walking stick. She probably represents the age-old fertility principle of the mother earth, because when there was no discovery of the plough, pointed sticks were used to dib the seeds in the soil. The form of *Matari* in the *jagor* represents this practice. Hence the term *perni* used for sowing of seeds is very relevant.

The next element is that of a wild animal. The use of tiger mask, *Vagro*, in the *jagor* symbolises the importance of this predator who was hunted by men and it also seeks to appease the spirit of the tiger. Thus the performance connects itself to the hunter's stage of human life. The original form of *Perni Jagor* might have come into existence as a mask dance based on simple ritualistic narrative derived from the earth and

nature. Subsequently it absorbed cultural influences like *Vedic, Puranic, Shaivite, Tantric, Bhagavatas* that influenced the cultural history of the region under study from Mauryan period to the period of the Vijayanagara empire. The characters such as Ganesh, Mahadev, Krishna, Putana clearly show the popularity of these mythological themes which were assimilated by the folk performers.

The next festival to be discussed is *Gorvam Padvo* where the cattle constitute the principal object of worship of a community with strong pastoral links.

Gorvam Padvo – Festival of Cattle Worship

The cultural and ritualistic traditions of pastoral tribes in Southern India have been well documented.[39] Similarly, Frazer[40] had also documented different tribes all over the world who deal with pastoral activities. Saletore[41] has given a brief account of cow-worship. Goa is consistent with these traditions of pastoral culture as is evident in the foothills and lush-green valleys of Canacona *taluka*, represented in festivals like the cattle feast *Gorvam Padvo*. There are similar ancient festivals in India.[42]

Gorvam Padvo, celebrated in Canacona, is a festival of cattle worship in which all Hindu communities participate. It is held on the first day of the bright half of *Chaitra* (March-April). The cows are administered a ritual bath in the early hours of the morning, decorated with colours, decked with flowers and are then worshipped. They are fed with sweet-cakes (*polle*) and are then let loose for grazing ceremoniously. However the worship of cattle along with the newly procured *davem* (tether) is significant of primitive pastoralism.

The details of the celebration of this annual festival throw light on primitive pastoralism. At daybreak the head of the family performs ablution and enters in the cowshed. After cleaning the shed the cattle are bathed with warm water. A new tether is placed on a wooden stool near the *dhanna* (main pillar) of the shed. Then the cattle are decorated with the help of *kolashya pito* (coal-paste) and *shed* (coloured clay) or *pita-udak* (paste of rice-flour). The *atvo* (wooden-measure) is dipped into the paste and

impressions are made all the body of the cattle. Subsequently garlands of *gond* (marigold flowers) are put around the neck and heads and horns are painted with *kukum* (vermilon powder). The head of the family performs the *puja*. The oldest cow and ox are worshipped and half coconut is tied to their neck along with betel leaves, arecanut, coins and also *polle* (rice-cake). The cattle are fed with rice cakes and *fov* (rice-flakes) mixed with jaggery and coconut powder. The *kunbis* also tie some seasonal fruits and tubers around the neck of the cow and ox. The *gavli* (cowherd) possesses the right of unting these articles. Soon after feeding rice-cakes and sweets to the cattle, they are freed for grazing and reared by the cowherds. On this festive day the cowherd is also honoured suitably by presenting him with the articles tied around the necks of the animals. After grazing, when the cattle take rest, the cowherds share the food and the articles tied around the necks of the animals.

The new tether is tied around the necks of the animals in the evening after they are reared to the cow shed by taking away the old ropes which are kept near the totemistic carved wooden pillar, the *gharvai puris* (the family ancestor) and worshipped the next day by the *kunbi* community. Other communities discard the old ropes. The *kunbis* clean the cow shed on the festive day and the serving lady prepares two balls of cow dung and places them on either side of the entrance to the cowshed. Two carved pieces of *Cucumis trigonus* are placed on the cow dung balls by filling it with oil and wicks. In the evening before returning the cattle the wicks are lighted and a pestle is placed horizontal between the two balls of cow dung. The timorous cattle cross the pestle while entering the shed. They are tied with new tether and before returning home the lady performs *fugdi* at the entrance of the cowshed as a ritual to drive away the evil-eye.[43]

The children of *kunbis* erect a replica of a cowherd in the courtyard of the house near the cowshed. The structure consists of a vertical stick of around two mtrs. and a horizontal stick of around one mtr. tied like a cross representing the hands of the cowherd. A *kambli kholl* (hooded cloak or blanket) is placed on the vertical stick and *bhuti* (victuals) packed in a wild leaf are tied to the left shoulder. Near this make-believe cowherd another replica of a cowshed (*gotho* or *gokul*) is prepared with the help of cowdung by the children (fig.4.14). The walls and pillars of the shed are represented by

blocks of cowdung whereas the cattle are represented by 'karit' (*Cucumis trigonis*). Soon after the cowshed and the replica of cowherd are ready, the children share the victuals and eat the food at a meeting point of three pathways (*titho*). The replica cowherd remains there for at least five days.[44]

In the entire celebration, the symbolism of bathing and decoration of the cattle as well as wearing the new tether and discarding the old one is noteworthy. Similarly erection of the replicas of cowherd and cowshed and the performance of a specific ritual at the gateway of the cowshed in the evening of the festival also assumes importance. The use of colour and clay and especially the coal-paste seems to be unique in Canacona. The placing of old tether at the *gharavai puris* also indicates ritualistic symbolism. It is a common practice among the pastoral folk to regard the tether as a sacred object. While transferring the ownership of a cow or a bull the tether is handed over to the new owner by the old master. The term used for this transfer of ownership is *pago divap* (to hand over the tether).[45] Hence the worship of new tether is a symbol of the cow or bull itself. Besides keeping the old tether at the family deity seems to be a thanks-giving ritual for the protection of the cattle over the bygone year. The creation of dummy cowherd and cowshed shows the pastoral roots of the festival.

Going through various aspects of the festival of cattle worship in Canacona region, we can ascribe the period of the origin of the festival to the Neolithic Age. The festival seems to bear the worship of resources and also indicates the communion of different communities through cattle worship. It also depicts earth worship and ancestor worship. The range of religious and emotional references to the cow throughout Indian literature and life are enormous. The goddess Aditi, mother of the gods, was a cow.[46] In the rites the cow was ceremoniously addressed in her name. She was a supporter of creatures.[47] She is regarded as the mother of the sun god Mitra and the lord of truth, Varuna.[48] It could also be considered as a part of the ritual target practice and fertility rites as recorded by Kosambi.[49]

In the following paragraphs an attempt has been made to discuss festivals related to the spring like *chowrang, dhangaram mel, talgadi, tonayam mel* and *goph*.

Chowrang

Chowrang is the most popular dance of the Hindu *Kunbi* community of Canacona. The costumes, music and dance associated with a *chowrang* performance establish a close association with the primitive culture and early settlements.

This dance depicts a very strong relation between the Earth, nature and the humans. Actually this dance could be a harvest festival with the peasant expressing their thanks to nature and god for giving a bumper harvest which can be found out from the fact that this peculiar dance form of *kunbis* begins with a very slow motion showing their peaceful life and then afterwards it ascends to a climax also is slow motion. It has its own finesse like a quiet peaceful nature, which the community is blessed with. They did not ever experience a violent change of life, but always clung to nature and earth for their livelihood. The *chowrang* dance of the *kunbis* must be as old as *Ramayana* and *Mahabharatha* as songs of both the epics feature in it as also allusion to folk style and in their systems of local legends based on the epics.

The *kunbi* dancers, both *Velip* and *Gaonkar*, clad in white *dhoti* and coat use colourful headgears locally known as *ture* which are prepared by traditional craftsmen in the neighbouring village of Demani near Cuncolim. The headgears are decorated with flowers carved out of corkwood (*Annona palustris*) and coloured with natural paints. Besides garlands of *crossandra undulifolia* and tinsel plates are also interwoven onto the headgears to make them more attractive. The dancers put flower-garlands around their necks and wrists. Besides they occasionally use garlands of colour beads and also *ghunghroos* on their ankles. The music is provided with the help of big *cymbals* known as *kansalem* which are used to maintain the dancing rhythm.

The first part of the performance is slow-paced, based on the narration of a story from the *Ramayana* or *Mahabharata*. Soon after the story is over the dance gears up into a fast rhythm forming an intricate dance. During the performance the dancers hold a pair of small wooden painted sticks called *toniyo* which create a distinct sound when they hit

each other. Both footsteps as well as sticks in hands maintain the dance rhythm. The slow paced dance is termed as *chowrang* whereas the later faster dance is known as *talo*. *Chowrang* is exclusively performed by men in all localities dominated by the *kunbi* community, which include Cotigão, Gaondongri, Shristhal, Agonda and Cola and also in Loliem and Poinguinim. The group of performers is known as *mel* and it is customary in Canacona to call the *chowrang* group *kulmya mel* (the *mel* of *kunbis*).

Jot, val or *arat* follows the *chowrang* performance which is the singing of folk songs or a Hindu mythological story while holding the *arati* (traditional lamp placed in a metallic plate along with flowers, vermilion, betel-leaves, areca nut, coconut and rice). Soon after the song is over the participant utters words to bestow blessings on the family and sprinkles rice on the thatched roof of the house. (The transliteration of the original Konkani songs of *chowrang, talo, val* and *gudam* are included in Appendix 8).

There exist some other performing arts of male *kunbis*, which also display the primitive elements. This includes folk songs known as *shilok* or *shilop* or *zado* (*shloka* or a sacred verse) and *kani* (story). The *shilok* is mainly sung during the annual *shigmo* celebration and also on certain other occasions as ritualistic rites. The verses uttered as rites for occasion other than *shigmo* are known as *zado*. It is an act of exorcising the spirit. The *shilok* comprises of a complex story associated with mystery. One such story (*shilok*) sung during the *shigmo* festival narrates how the *shigmo* celebration could take place with divine support and blessings. (Transliteration of narratives of *shilok* and *zado* are included in Appendix 8).

Dhangaran Mel

Dhangaran mel is another folk form of people who were supposed to be migrants from Gujarat and region to the foot of Vindhya and Aravali hills. When they dance in a circular way they use practically the same type of cymbals and percussion instruments. Their songs speak about the mountain and about their occupations, particularly the rearing of goats and production of milk items. Lord Krishna is never forgotten in the

entire dance performance. In Goa these people who are known as *Dhangars*, live in the mountains and lead an isolated life.

They annually perform their ritualistic dance called *mel* (fig.4.15) on the occasion of *shigmo* (spring festival). They wear their traditional costumes such as *cholo* (a long manifold gown), *pagotem* (turban) and *shela* (sash). They also wear ornaments like *kanto* (garlands of beads), *bali* (earrings) and *vakayo* (anklets). To the accompaniment of musical instruments such as *ghumant, dhol* (drum), *taso* (drum), *panvo* (flute) and *zanj* (small cymbals), they stage a graceful dance. The songs include salutations to their family and village deities and also to Mother Nature. Songs with a social content are rarely found among *Dhangars*. This dance is significant because it depicts the Kathiawar influence as far as the costumes, songs and musical instruments are concerned.

Talgadi and Tonayam Mel

Talgadi and *Tonayam mel* (fig.4.16) are the most popular folk dances in Canacona *taluka* exclusively performed by the males of all communities except those from the upper classes while these dances are quite similar, in *Tonayam mel* the dancers hold colourful sticks known as *toniyo* and in *Talgadi* they use kerchief to substitute the *toniyo*. The term *mel* denotes a group of performers.

During the annual *shigmo* (spring festival) groups of folk performers assemble at the sacred courtyard of the village which is known as *mand*. The seasonal flowers of spring which are typically Goan including *abolim, shevatim, shabdulim* and other colourful flowers lend a pleasant and colourful fragrance to both these dances. They are not only known for their exquisite dance performances but the contents of their songs and the grace with which they sing recall their old tribal past and their belief in Hindu gods and mythology. Sometimes, at different stages, it is amazing to discover not only their belief but also their whole lives as they lived in the forest areas. Although there are no notified scheduled tribes in Goa, these performers live deep in the forest and such performances provide us with information about their lifestyle and also the wild life with which they co-exist.

Usually they wear *dhoti, pairam* (coat) and *mundashem* (turban) but during present times they prefer to use trousers, shirt and a traditional cap. The musical instruments like *ghumat* (earthern pot covered with the hide of wild lizard); *shamel* (medium size drum) and *kansalem* (big cymbals) provide the musical support to the dancers. The dancers stage short performance in every courtyard of the village and then gather at the *mand* after covering the entire village within a prescribed limit of time. The gifts offered to the group by the villagers are utilised by them during the performance period and the balance articles are auctioned and the receipts are deposited in the village *comfr* (treasury).

Goph

Goph, which means weaving, is a unique folk dance performed by men that resembles the *rass* of Gujarat. In this dance, a number of cords are hung to the beam of the *pandal* in the courtyard and as the dance progresses, these cords are woven into an intricate braid to the accompaniment of music similar to *Tonayam mel* and *Talgadi*. At a musical signal, the performers untie the braid while performing the dance. There is a distinct Kathiawar touch to the entire performance and costumes of *Goph*.

Goph, (fig.4.17) like other folk forms in Goa, narrates to the audience in different ways the life of their ancestors including their religious beliefs and cultural norms. The dance, being essentially of the cowherd community, centres on the worship of Lord Krishna who features prominently in the songs.

Folk dance forms like *Talgadi, Tonayam mel, Romat* and *Goph* seem to have evolved during the Kadamba period. The dances like *Tonayam mel* and *Goph* resemble the folk dances of Gujarat and Saurashtra regions like *Dandiya Raas* and *Raas*. *Talgadi* might have taken shape through the aforesaid two dances whereas *Romat* and another musical form, *Sunvari*, seem to be the local forms. Though the musical pattern is of Goan origin, the dance must have been influenced by the dance traditions of Saurashtra and Gujarat when maritime trade was in full swing between Goa and Saurashtra. Besides

it is known from the inscriptions that the different Kadambas rulers of Goa organised yearly pilgrimages to Somnath in Saurashtra.

Snake worship

Ceremonies closely analogous to the snake worship have survived all over the world. The best-known example is the 'myth of wren', which has survived in European countries like Greece, Rome, Italy, Spain, France, Germany, England and Sweden.[50] Similarly, snake-worship was one of the major rituals of the Indian folk of the earliest times.

While disclosing the story of Subrahmanya from South India, Dhere had given a brief account of snake worship in peninsular India in his monumental work, *Lajjagauri.*[51] Enthoven[52] has given a sketch of the snake beliefs that prevailed in the Bombay Presidency. The age-old tradition of Naga cult and worship has also been well recorded in the *Bharatiya Samskriti Kosh.*[53] Similarly, Saletore in the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Culture*[54] has given a detailed account of the Naga cult in India.

The snake is considered as a holy object and is worshipped by most Hindus. We find many images of snakes painted on walls, engraved on images of deities and placed at different spots in many places in Canacona. From this, it is evident that the snake is respected as one of the village deities in Canacona. This theme is also seen reflected in many folk tales prevailing in the region. Deities with names like that of Nagizan (Mahalwada) and men called Nagu, Nagesh, Nagnath, are common in Canacona. The idol of Vishnu found in Loliem village with the five-headed hood of *shesha* spread over its head dates back to 4th century,[55] indicating the influence of snake worship in this region from an early period. The snake is also found around the idol of Betal in places like Soliem (Cola), Mahalwada (Poinguinim), Dingar (Loliem) and around the idol of Dadd at Polem (Loliem). Since the snake is deadly poisonous, people fear it and hence worship it with a view to appease it.

The *vrata* (vow) of *Nag-Panchami* is observed in Canacona on the fifth day of bright half of *Shravan* (July-August) by the peasant community and also the upper class.

Among the peasants an offering of milk and blown rice, called *lahyo,* and sweets is made near the anthill, which is considered to be the habitat of the snake. They worship the anthill and after the *puja* (worship), the family-members take their meal. Usually only one meal is taken by men and women on *Nag-Panchami* day. The *kunbis* break the top of the anthill and place a *dono* (leaf-vessel) of jackfruit tree in the hole of the anthill and pour milk in it as an offering to the snake-god.

Among the *Karhade Brahmans,* the figure of *Nag* (snake) is drawn on the wall with the help of coloured clay or paste of rice-flour and is worshipped. The offerings consist of milk, *lahyo* and *dudali* (sweet cakes). Besides they offer a holy thread, *zanve,* to the *Nag* as they consider him to be a *Brahman.* Thereafter, they take the meal. Some lady members of the families also make offerings to the *Nag* and partake of a single meal on that day.

Digging the ground, cutting of trees, plucking of new fruits, pounding, grinding, sifting the corn and cooking of non-vegetarian food is prohibited on *Nag-Panchami* day.

The Nag-idols worshipped at home are immersed in the stream or pond after performing *puja.* Some worshippers keep the idols in the turmeric plantation.

Another kind of snake-worship that prevails in Canacona among the *Karhade Brahman* families involves a special *puja* that is offered for Subrahmanya on the sixth day of *Margashirsha* (January-February) as Subramanya is considered as the serpent.[56] According to R.C. Dhere,[57] in South India Subramanya is worshipped in the form of either an anthill, the abode of the snake, or the snake itself. The *vrata* is called as *shadanan puja.* During this *puja* the bronze-idols of the serpent are taken out of the shrine and worshipped after cleaning them. On this day six unmarried *Brahmans* are invited and feasted on sweet dishes.

Besides another representative *vrata,* namely, *Anant-Chaturdashi* or *Anant-vrata* is celebrated in Canacona by many *vaishnavites* on the fourteenth day of the bright halt of *Bhadrapada* (September-October). A five-headed snake is prepared of *darbha* grass (*eragrostis cynosuroides*) and kept upon a copper vessel full of water and it is

worshipped ceremoniously. The worshipper observes this *vrata* for fourteen consecutive years and thereafter other interested devotee maintains it. This practice of *Anant-vrata* is also practised in a few temples in the *taluka*. According to the *Bharatiya Sanskriti Kosh*,[58] the *Anant-vrata* is the transformation of the snake worship rituals of the original inhabitants. Besides some stones with engravings of serpent called *nagkal* are also seen in the premises of temples dedicated to Parashuram at Poinguinim and Mallikarjun at Avem in Cotigão village.

During the celebration of snake worship the *shadanan-puja* performed by a *Karhade Brahman* seems to be of *Dravidian* origin. Similarly the *nag* or serpent is considered as the symbol of progeny. Besides it is also treated as Kshetrapal or the guardian of the area. This tradition of treating *Nag* as the Kshetrapati or Kshetrapal as well as the symbol of fertility is common to entire South India. Women who aspire for motherhood offer the *nagkal* or the stone engraved with single or twin serpent figures to the temple premises.[59]

Briffault has shown the inter-connection between the belief of menstruation and the serpent in his work, *The Mothers* (1959), as "This notion has been thought to derive from the phallic shape of the animal, and that idea is undoubtedly present in those world wide beliefs. It was thought by the ancients, and is still believed by the European peasantry, that during sexual conjunction the male serpent introduces its head into the mouth of the female and that the latter grows and bites it off, thus becoming fecundated" Sometimes the appearance of a serpent is even today considered by the common folk as betokening the presence of ancestors guarding the area.

References to snakes and snake-gods have found a place in the Hindu pantheon from ancient times. According to Hindu mythology, Vishnu sleeps on the *shesha nag* in the milky ocean. The *shesha nag* is supposed to hold the earth on its hood. Shiva is supposed to wear a snake round his neck.[60] According to Indian tradition *nag* or serpent is Kshetrapati or Kshetrapal. Women have traditionally worshipped it as the bestower of progeny. In South India the most popular Kshetrapal is Murugan who is worshipped in the form of serpent. Subramanya is also worshipped in the form of a serpent with an

anthill nearby.[61] In this context a mention may be made of the age-old tradition of burning or burying the dead cobra that prevails in Canacona.

From the entire tradition of snake and earth-mother worship it is evident that the ritual signifies the fertility cult. Similarly, the influence of *Dravidian* culture can be clearly seen from the Shadanan or Subramanya worship that is performed by the *Karhade Brahmans* in the region.

The Worship of Betal

The worship of Betal is very popular in Canacona. There are two independent shrines of Betal situated at Mahalwada in Poinguinim village and Soliem in Cola village. In addition to this, there is a Betal sculpture in the Dinagar ward of Loliem village and another image of Betal in the Chapoli ward in Shristhal village (fig.4.18-a, b, c and d). The former has a recently constructed roof whereas the latter is a roofless shrine. In all four places life size images of Betal are venerated by the people. Betal shrines in Poinguinim and Cola are regarded as the subsidiary village deity affiliated to the main deity, that is, Parashuram in Poinguinim and Lakshminarayan in Cola.

Regular worship is performed only in the temples at Poinguinim (fig.4.18-a) and Cola (4.18-b); while the images of Betal at Loliem (fig.4.18-c) and Chapoli (fig.4.18-d) are the objects of occasional votive offerings. The traditional priests of both the temples belong to the Velip community. However, on certain occasions the services of a *Brahman* priest are also availed of. Since the Betal images are naked, the Velip (priest) dresses them with white *dhoti*.

The origin of the term Betal can be traced to the Proto-Australoid race. According to scholars, it is an Austric term that consists of two words namely Bet and La. The former means a bent stick and the latter refers to the verb, 'to dig'. The conjunction denotes digging with a bent stick. This Austric term became a loan word in Sanskrit at a later stage as Betal with the passage of time was transformed into Vetal.[62]

It is a well-accepted fact that the Betal is a folk deity and he enjoys the position of an important affiliated deity (*Panchayatan*), as well as village deity (*gramdevata*) in the coastal region.[63] The early Austric tribes during the stage of settled agriculture were worshipers of Betal. In that stage they erected temporary shelters and probably because of this the shrines of Betal were left without roof. According to D. D. Kosambi it was believed that the permanent roof over the image of Betal would bring misfortune to the entire community.[64]

The literary references of Betal do not predate the *Mahabharata*. The sculptures of Betal appeared from 700 A.D. onwards[65] that is in the Shilahara - Kadamba period. The contents of *Shree Vetal Sahastranama* (Thousand Names of God Vetal) identify the Arjuna tree as the abode of Betal and hence Betal images are carved out of the wood of the tree (verse 75). Kosambi (1982) described Betal as a Cacodemon, prince of goblins, but also a god.[66] We also find the references of Betal in the *Dnyaneshwari*, the monumental work of Saint Dnyaneshwar in Marathi.[67]

Similarly, the *Mahanubhava* literature also reveals stories associated with Betal.[68] Another saint-poet from Maharashtra, Eknath has referred to the Betal in his poetry.[69] It is interesting to note that epigraphical references to Betal cult are rarely found.[70] This may be because Betal was not prominently associated with the elite and remained the deity of the masses through the ages.

The stone sculptures of Betal from Goa region are artistically carved out and consecrated in small shrines with thatched roof and regularly worshipped by the people. However as mentioned by Kosambi[71] though the deities are represented by sculptured images, they never completely shed their primitive features such as fags, long penis and so on. Such primitive features are prominently visible in all four images of Betal found in Canacona.

According to Mitragotri (1999), the rise of *Kapalikas* and *Pashupatas* provided favorable conditions for the evolution of the iconology of Betal.[72] The Chalukyan

inscriptions point to the presence of *Kapalikas* in the Deccan plateau. The South Konkan Shilahara inscriptions also indicate the presence of *Pashupatas*. Both these sects believed in *Tantrik* practices, which were meant for the acquisition of *Siddhis* by which one would possess the power to get whatever one desired. So it can be inferred that such practices were in vogue at the Betal shrines from about 6th century A.D.

Enthoven (1990) consider Betal as the king of spirits, a village deity and not an evil spirit. It enters into the body of an oracle and helps him to drive away evil spirits. Similarly Betal always leads a procession of other ghosts and spirits.[73] According to Hindu mythology, Betals were in the army of goddess Chamunda when she annihilated Chanda and Munda demons. *Puranas* consider that Betals are associated with *asuras* (demons) and *bhutas* (ghosts). Hence the food of Betal is mostly meat and liquor.

It is believed in the Canacona region that if Betal is worshipped on Sunday or Wednesday he bestows blessings in the form of fulfillment of desires of the devotee. However, Betal is not worshipped by women. His devotees and priests try to avoid the sight of woman or even the sound of a woman's bangles on the morning when they do homage to Betal. In this context it is interesting to note that according to *Kalika Purana*, the Betal, born of Shiva and Parvati in the form of Hanuman, is also not to be worshipped by women.[74]

Betal usually wears a garland of human heads known as *rundamala* since he is considered as the chief of the ghosts and spirits. He holds *khadga* (dagger) in one hand and a bowl in the other. His face is terrible with a partly opened jaw. He has robust arms and is naked. He rides on horse and as such, during festive occasions, the image is decorated to look like a horse-riding Betal. In order to propitiate the deity, fowls, goats and on specific occasion buffaloes are offered in addition to liquor. Since Betal is the guardian deity of the village it is believed that an every Sunday and Wednesday the Betal goes for a round in the surrounding village throughout the night on foot. Hence people offer pairs of sandals to the deity. It is believed that after some days the footwear get worn out. Similarly metallic swords are also offered to the deity. It is said that some

devotees mostly from among the communities of peasants and fishermen have dreams in which Betal or some folk deities or a dead relative appears. Subsequently a sacrifice is made at the shrine and rituals are performed to escape from any misfortune that might befall on them. It is believed that such dreams suggest future calamities. Hence, Betal is propitiated by offering weapons and animal sacrifice, like fowls and goats, by the devotees.

Betal is considered as the most important affiliated deity of Parashuram, the principal deity of Poinguinim village. The stone sculpture is life size with a broad face with wide-open eyes (fig.4.18-a). The headgear resembles a coiled serpent. The eyeballs seem to be bulging out. The fangs are clearly seen from the partially opened mouth. The Betal wears a garland of human heads (*rundamala*) in the style of wearing the holy thread (*zanave*). The ears are long and earlobes are pierced with small earrings. The ribs on the chest are prominently visible, while his waist and thighs are decorated with bells. He has a long penis. He holds a dagger in his right hand and a bowl in the left.

The swords offered by the devotees are kept in a row in the Betal temple in the Mahalwada ward of Poinguinim village (fig.4.18-e). Besides a heap of sandals offered to the deity can be seen at the left of the deity. Arrangements made for sacrificing the animals are also seen in the temple. A butcher locally known as *masmari* makes sacrifices on Sunday or Wednesday. The *Velip* attends to the daily rituals of the temple.

Another shrine exists at Soliem ward of Cola village (fig.4.18-b). The construction of the temple as also the image of Betal that it houses seems to be of recent origin. Though it is not ferocious, the mouth is smeared with vermilion, as a substitute for blood. The forehead, nose, ears and moustache are made of metal, which are prominently visible. The headgear is usually covered with red cloth and the entire image is also covered with white *dhoti*. Betal holds a sword in the right hand and a bowl in the left. The religious rituals are performed by the *Velip.*

During my visit, I discovered some remnants of a former image of Betal, which was worshipped in the temple. However it is not known, on account of dearth of evidence, as to whether the former image was discarded voluntarily by the villagers or it was destroyed by Muslims invaders more specifically during the invasion of Malik Kafur who took over the fort of Cabo-de-Rama situated at a distance of seven kms. There is also a possibility that the image suffered natural damage and the devotees replaced it with the present Betal. The legs of the old image were lying in a compound wall of the temple premises, whereas the chest and a portion of the arms were recovered from an orchard in the vicinity of the present shrine. The head is worshipped by the fishing community placing it in a small dome in Matave-mal area close to the seashore at a distance of about four kms. from the temple site. It must be huge, with strong arms, bones attached to the chest, strong legs looking like pillars. But as compared to the torso the head seems to be small. The image wears a garland of human heads and holds a dagger and a bowl in either hand, with bracelets, a crowned head and snakes coiled around the waist. The idol was carved out of stone with a strong and broad pedestal.

The sculpture of Betal that belongs to the ward of Loliem village is the tallest image of Betal found so far in Goa and Konkan (fig.4.18-c).[75] The image is chiseled out of basalt stone having a total height of 196 cms. and a maximum width of 75 cms. The image is in a unique posture of *tribhanga*.[76] According to Mitragotri (1999) all other Betal images are in *samabhanga* posture, hence this image is unique in the entire Konkan region. Besides it has rare features of the nimbus (*prabhaval*) that are not found in other Betal sculptures. The Betal image holds a sword in the right hand. The sword seems to be broken and hence the fist looks empty. The Betal holds a bowl as well as the head of a goat in his left hand. It indicates animal sacrifice and offering of liquor that is traditionally associated with Betal worship. His left hand rests on the post. The headgear is made of a serpent with a prominent hood over the head well-designed on the background of a beautiful nimbus. His open eyes with eyeballs bulging out are very prominent. His partly open mouth and fangs can be easily seen. The huge earrings and garlands along with the garland of skulls are quite decorative and visible. Ornaments like bracelets, girdle, rings, anklets as well as the well-decorated nimbus are worth

mentioning. It has distinct chest ribs, bony legs and a long penis. The villagers occasionally offer an oil lamp, liquor and the sacrifice of animals in exchange for fulfillment of their vows.

The Betal image from Chapoli is also similar to that of Poinguinim carved out of basalt stone (fig.4.18-d). It is about 180 cms. high with a crown of coiled snakes. It has a *khadga* (dagger) in right hand and a bowl in the left. The garland of serpents and a long garland of skulls are prominent. The ribs of its chest are clearly visible. The arms and waist are coiled with snakes. A number of decorative bells are shown around the waist and also on either side of the legs. The ears are loaded with big earrings. The bulging eyeballs and fangs are prominently visible. The girdle, bracelet, anklets etc. are intricately decorated. The long penis, tongue and moustache are also worth mentioning. The standing posture slightly inclined at the back that too without any support, suggests the ancient technique of balancing heavy images. The image is covered with a small roof probably constructed during recent years. The local *kunbis* occasionally offer sacrifices to the image with the help of *Velip* who functions as a priest. However, no regular worship is offered.

Out of four images of Betal in Canacona, two images from Poinguinim and Soliem, are offered daily worship and are venerated by all the communities of the respective villages including the *Brahmans*. Though the images are naked they are dressed with white *dhoti* and a scarf as a part of the daily worship. This was probably introduced at a later stage when the high-class devotees also got associated with the worship of Betal and they regarded the deity as the *gramadeva* (village deity).

The *khadga* (dagger) in the right hand and bowl in the left symbolise the association of the deity with ferocious deeds like slaying of demons and evil spirits. Hence, Betal is usually offered blood sacrifice such as fowls, goats, buffaloes etc. and the blood of the animals is poured into the bowl. However, this case seems to be rare; except the routine of offering liquor in the bowl as it is favorite drink of Betal. In this regard it is interesting to note that the rice mixed with the blood of buffaloes is tied to the mouth of

Betal on certain festive days such as *Gadyam Zatra* at Poinguinim. The shrines at Loliem and Chapoli are not offered daily worship but they are offered blood sacrifice and alcohol by the devotees occasionally.

Besides the aforesaid four images of Betal, there exists a Dadd shrine in the Polem ward of Loliem village. According to Mitragotri (1999), Dadd originated from the Kannada word which means a dullard.[77] Since the dullard has no desecration, it acts according to its propitiation. The status of Dadd is inferior to that of Betal. Dadd may be one of his *Ganas* (spirit companions of Betal) or Bhairava whose mount is the dog. They possess tremendous power, which is used for both benevolent and malevolent deeds. As such devotees propitiate Dadd to receive benevolent results. It is a subsidiary deity mainly worshipped by the fishermen. Though it is the only shrine in Canacona, other small shrines of different spirits like that of Paradesi associated with water-principle also exist in the coastal region. The features of Dadd are similar to that of Betal. His headgear is a coiled serpent. He also holds a sword and bowl in his hands and his legend (*vahana*) is the dog. Long moustache, fangs, angry eyes, and series of bells hanging on the body, suggest a resemblance to Betal. Though Dadd is not included as a deity from any *panchayatan* (family deities) of village in Canacona, such status is given to Dadd in Bardez, Pernem and Ponda *talukas*.[78]

Canacona is noteworthy for its worship of Mallikarjun, a local deity that has attracted the devotion of practically all the communities in this *taluka*.

Related to the worship of Betal are the festivals of *Viramel* and *Tako* that have been discussed below.

Viramel

Viramel is a very powerful ritualistic dance performance played during the spring festival by the community in Poinguinim, Loliem and other villages. It is a unique martial art folk performance. This ritual is played for the atonement of sins. However this

Viramel differs from the others one as it leaves for Goans a unique form of martial art. The *Viramel* traditionally visits every house and collects gifts from the households and performs the martial art at some of these houses. It symbolises the endurance of the performers who have to bear with patience the strong pains and tortures to their bodies till the ritual of *katar mandap* is over.

The *Bhagat* and *Velip* communities annually perform *Viramel* during the *shigmo* festival which is celebrated in Canacona from the ninth day of the first half of *Falgun* (February-March) and concludes on the fifteenth day that is full-moon day.

The male performers of the *Bhagat* community wear short white *dhotis* and a turban (*mundashem*) and carry naked swords. The procession of a small group comprising of members of the *Velip* community, carrying the *pillakucho* (a broom of peacock feathers fastened with a metal belt) decorated with flowers and musicians, mainly drummers (*dhol* and *taso*), *jaghant* (metallic disc) player and also a horn player (*shing*), starts from the designated shrine and moves from house to house giving their ritualistic performance.

Soon after the performers reach the courtyard of the house the slow pace music gradually turns into a vigorous mode. On the rhythm of the music, dancers, ranging from one to three, move in a circle holding the long sword in their hands. On a particular musical signal the sword-holders sway wildly and slash the swords in the air while hitting at their own shoulders. The movements are so fast that the entire performance creates awe and terror among spectators. In some representative households in Loliem village a special ritual performance of *katar mandap* is held. In this performance the main performer is made to sleep on the blades of two swords arranged like scissors and another performer slashes the swords in the air while standing on his body.

After performing certain rounds the music catches its routine pace and the dancers conclude their performance. Sometimes the dancers and the *pillakucho*-holder go into trance from which they come out as soon as the performance is over. The family

members from that house and other devotees offer their prayers to the *pilakucho*, and receive flowers from the *Velip* as *prasad*. The owner offers coconuts, rice, flowers and money to the group.

After careful observation of the performance, it can be said that the *Viramel* dance has its origin in primitive culture. It also symbolises the roots of human sacrifice. Many a time the dancer suffers from wounds that, according to their belief, are automatically healed within a few days. On rare occasions an ash gourd is cut into pieces with the sword, prior to the commencement of the *Viramel* and red lead is sprinkled on it. This kind of practice symbolises human sacrifice in the folk tradition.

It is also interesting to note that the epithet *vir* is used to symbolise the deity of Betal which is also associated with numerous blood sacrifices of fowls, goats, buffaloes and other animals. In *Viramel* the *pillakucho* represents Betal and thus the ceremonial procession covers the entire village bestowing his blessings upon the villagers.

The individual members of the *Viramel,* according to traditional norms, share the coconuts, rice and money. The *Viramel* performance is restricted to the *Velip* and *Bhagat* communities that seem to be the earliest inhabitants of Canacona.

Tako or *Taka.*

Tako,[67] as popularly called but recorded in old writings as *Taka,* is a ceremonial procession of the Betal deity that is taken out to invite all the village deities and their representatives for the *Gadyam Zatra* scheduled in the next year at the Betal temple situated at Mahalwada. The invitation is extended to *trigram* (three villages), namely, Loliem, Poinguinim and Khargal. *Tako* is probably the system of traditional communication.

According to V. B. Prabhudessai, the term *taka* is used to indicate a cloth banner (fig. 4.19-b).[68] In the *tako* procession (fig.4.19-a) a banner, made of black cloth decorated with silk embroidery (fig.4.19-b), depicts the central figure of Betal and also some more

figures in various postures. At the top are three lines of scriptures in Devnagari, probably describing the Betal deity. This is carried throughout the procession by *Velips*. The thick banner with dimensions of 167 cms. x 140 cms. is rolled onto a bamboo and covered. Besides, another old *tako* is also carried during the procession but not opened anywhere. The old *tako* is with embroidery on black cotton cloth having drawn a centre figure of Betal in multi colour whereas in the border frame altogether thirteen figures of Betal in various postures are displayed. There is no scripture on it. In addition to these two *take* (plural of *tako*) other designated persons participate.

The procession (fig.4.19-a) is led by an oracle (*Velip*) representing the deity Betal. His dress consists of full-sleeved black coat with red patchwork and white *dhoti* besides a white turban, and white cloth is closely tied to the mouth. He holds the sword decorated with flowers and leaves and leads the procession. He is followed by a man holding a copper vessel full of water known as *karo* from which little water is offered to each deity of every village as a mark of ritualistic invitation. It is locally known as *karyaudak divap*. The procession includes two *tarangam* (plural of *tarang*) and two *satreo* (plural of *satri* – *tarang* with umbrella-like structure) representing the main village deities, followed by other members of *Velip* community which is the priestly community of Betal, the village priest, *mahajans*, *chowgule* and *vajantri* (musicians) playing instruments like *dhol*, *taso*, *shana*, *surta*, *shing*, *jaghant* etc. The *divtiwala* (torch holder) holds *divti* (traditional torch) and the entire procession is looked after by the temple orderly, *katkar*. All these musical instruments provide martial music while the procession is in progress.

Tako commences with the ceremonial feast called *jevnni*. Prior to the feast, the old bamboo to which the *tako* is kept rolled is substituted by a new one. The feast of *jevnni* goes on for three consecutive evenings at the Navdurga temple in Mahalwada. The first day of the feast is restricted to *Karhade Brahmins* only, which is followed by *Bamnna jevnni* (feast offered by *Gaud Saraswat Brahmans* that is, the *mahajans*). This feast is offered to all the family members of *mahajans*. The third *jevnni* is made for all the devotees coming from all three villages.

Except first day's *jevnni*, major portion of the cooked food is gifted to various communities by making heap of the food displayed on banana leaves called *mannlim* (the word probably derived from the Sanskrit word, *mandal*, meaning a circle or round). These *mannlim* are made for all the village communities, which are associated with the event of *tako* and *gadyam zatra*. The distribution of *mannlim* is as follows: four to the four *gade*, one each to *katkar, Perni, masmari, mahar* and *madval* and two for *Velip* families. Thereafter, the people of surrounding villages are feasted till late hours and a special performance namely *lollti* takes place in the form of fulfillment of vow. In this performance the person who makes the vow completes *pradakshina* (circumambulation) around the temple by rolling over and over soon after the people are feasted.

The procession of *Tako* starts from the Betal temple and following the traditional route it completes the visit to all three villages and returns back to the temple within the prescribed limit of seven days. Their night-halts in different wards are fixed. According to the tradition, first night-halt is at Navdurga temple at Mahalwada, the second at Bhagavati temple in Khawat, the third at Tadvem field at Welwada, the fourth in Sateri temple at Kolsar, the fifth at Betal temple at Mahalwada, the sixth at Loliem in Keshav temple, the seventh at Badegal in Durga temple and by the eight evening the procession returns to the Betal temple.[69] During this ceremonial tour, all arrangements of staying and boarding of all the members of the procession are looked after by the families of *mahajans* in the respective localities. The villagers also erect *torans* (traditional arches) to welcome the procession and offer various fruits and eatables for the members of the procession.

During the procession, a senior *mahajan* or a family member reads the scripture on *tako* ceremonially. The *tako* is exposed to the gathering and read as a proclaimation.[70] Thereafter, the water from the *karo* is offered before the deity and they proceed further. The transcribed inscription embroidered in the Devanagari calligraphy is presented in Appendix 9.

As recorded in the scriptures of the *Tako*, it was prepared in *Saka* 1745 (1823 A.D.) under the supervision of Shrimat Anand Teerth Swami of Partagali *Math*.[71] There is no such record except drawings on the old *tako*. After the celebration is over the banner is dismantled and preserved in a wooden box kept in a special ancestral house known as *takya-ghar* (house of *tako*) till the next event of such procession or ceremonial reading.[72]

In this context a legend is popular in the village. According to it, Betal arrived in the region after conquering twelve territories and was about to conquer the thirteenth territory, that is the *trigrama*, by killing all the inhabitants who would confront him. But a shrewd community chieftain, namely Nagizan, requested Betal to reside permanently as the guardian of the village. In turn he agreed to fulfill all his conditions. It is said that Betal demanded a human, a quadruped, an animal having ten legs and a foetus. As Nagizan offered him a fowl, buffalo, crab and foetus of arecanut tree covered with the membrane. Betal meant a man, a bull, a foetus and a rare animal having ten legs. It was impossible for Nagizan to fulfil his promise. But on account of this smartness Nagizan succeeded to pacify Betal and restrain him permanently.[73] Bearing this legend in mind one can link the contents of *tako* with the popular legend. The *gadyam zatra* is also a part of the religious agreement that Nagizan had with Betal. As such in the next year of *tako*, *gadyam zatra* takes place and the third year becomes the resting period.

Another *tako*, dated 5th July 1930 (*Saka* 1852), that is available in this *taluka* is that of the Mallikarjun shrine of Gaondongri. From the tradition of *tako* in this village, it is evident that the same was prepared since the earlier *tako* was worn out. The scriptures are copied from the old *tako*. However as per the present scripture the *tako* was prepared by Nilkant N. S. Kurdekar from Chittakula which is the neighbouring village situated in North Kanara district in the Pramod *sanvatsar* on *Falgun shuddha chaturdashi*, Monday *Saka* 1852, that is in the year 1930. The cloth of 95 x 100 cms. has scriptures on both sides. The lettering and figures are shown through embroidery work. Though the drawings are in only one direction the lettering is written horizontally and vertically. The size of each letter is about four cms. The drawings comprise of *Shivling* (Shiva) *tulashi-vrindavan* and attendants. The transcribed graphics and text as prepared by Prabhudessai

and published in *Vidarbha Samshodhan Mandal Annual* 1971 (fig. 4.20-a & b) gives the idea of the *tako* from Gaondongri.

From both the aforesaid *take* it is inferred that the contents represent praise of the deity or historical personality as hero and also indicate the events related to such a personality. The contents are read before a gathering summoned on special occasions.[74] Further, it is to be noted that such writings provide important information about the past. According to Prabhudessai (1971) only the aforesaid two *take* and a *Pasodi* of Dasopant are so far available in Goa and Maharashtra region.[75] Incidentally, Prabhudessai had found a manuscript of *Shrikrishana Charitra Katha* written by poet Krishnadas Shyama in 1526 A.D. (*Saka* 1448) in Canacona *taluka*.[76]

Gadyam Zatra

Gadyam zatra is a unique spectacular event of hook swinging held in Canacona (fig.4.21). It is usually held in the month of May since it becomes the most convenient period for all concerned. In fact all the village communities namely *bhat* (priest), *velip* (*kunbi*), *devli* (temple servant), *mesta* (carpenter), *lohar* (blacksmith), *pagi* (fisherman), *madval* (washerman), *mhalo* (barber), *chambar* (cobbler), *mhar* (mahar), *masmari* (butcher), *perni* (performer) and others are associated with this event and in turn they are granted cultivable land and cash.

The *zatra* commences with the ritual of *kondo fodap* (to break the bamboo) for preparing wickerworks for the *jagor* performances to be staged by the *Perni* community of the village. Once the bamboo is broken no weddings and thread ceremonies take place in the *trigram* (three adjacent villages) of Loliem, Poinguinim and Kharagal. The *jagor* performances depicting various mythological themes like *jagor, daityam jagor, choram jagor, malaye jagor, bhalya sawang* etc. are performed by the *Perni* families in the premises of the Betal temple on designated days. Another ritual of *divjam* is also performed in which the traditional cluster of five terracotta lamps (*divaj*) are carried around the temple by married women and also pre-puberty girls. This performance is also

One side of *Tako* from Mallikarjun temple at Gaondongri.

First line   पोव्हार तोडर दहु. धराति   Figure of Shivling   नाथा ॥ निल

Second line   कंठ संभवित कोदंडराय. च   क्र्वर्ति ॥ धर्मराय वों

Third line   शक स्वचेक्र   वर्ति सु.

Figure of a servent   Figure of a servant

Figure of a servant

Figure
of a
Tulsi
Vrindavan

Figure of a servant

First line — मना वोडसिंहदेवाना ॥ मनाविस रायांच्या कुमरांचा आमला घालना ॥ पोव्हार जगमद्देव यां

Second line — चा आमला चड आहे ॥ त्या कुमरांचा आमला प्रक्रितली घालना ॥ आपण पोव्हार मना

Third line — देव आमला सूर्यांचा रखवालि आमला चालविला कुमर मनाविस निलके राय आ

Fourth line — बोडिल्या ॥ आपण जगदेव ॥

Figure 4.20-a

Tako from Mallikarjun Tmple, Gaondongari
Fig. 4.20

Reverse side o

First line   श्रीकैलासनाथय थांयासह ॥ क्रौंचित क्षेत्र याष

Second line   जटामुकुटमाकाशा ॥ श्रीमल्लिकार्जुन देव प्रसन्न.

Figure of Lord Shankar

Figure of a servant   Figure of a servant

First line — क्रोधिन संवत्सर द्विती आषाढ शु. १० मी भौमवारी =

Second line — उद्यु जन्म यारा पंढे या विराजित मल्लिकार्जुन देव =

श्रीशके १८५२ प्रमोद संवत्सर   नीलकंठ ना. से. कुर्डेकर
फाल्गुन शुद्ध. १४ सोमवार   चिताकुला

Fig. 4.20-b

called *divjam jagor* in which the *mahar* of the village enjoys the privilege of leading the processions while playing the drum as well as displaying the first *divaj* by his wife which is the concluding *jagor* of the *zatra*.

During the *jagor* performances the Perni wears painted wooden masks depicting various Hindu mythological characters like Ganapati, Krishna, Mahadev, Putna, Matari (old woman), Jaliman and also masks depicting animals like tiger, horse etc. and dances to the accompaniment of the drum and *kansalem*. The performance of *daityam jagor* depict the killing of *daitya* (demons), namely Madu (Madhu) and Kitu (Kaitabh). On this occasion huge figures of both demons are erected on mobile wooden platforms with the help of wicker works like winnowing fans and mats. The symbolic killing of the demons takes place in which the *Perni,* in the attire of Chandika, goes into a trance and performs the symbolic killing.

During *choram jagor,* a group of villagers led by *Perni,* along with *kalpanchi* or *kalpanti* (traditional oil lamp made of alloy) from the Betal temple, goes on collecting fruits from all three villages of Loliem, Poinguinim and Khargal. The group goes around the village during the night and collects as much fruits as they can and return to the Betal temple before the break of dawn. At the beginning of this *jogor,* the *Perni* enters the *garbhagriha* of the Betal temple and steals the *kalpanchi* and *ghant* (bell). On questioning by the *mahajans* this is denied. However, since the theft is disclosed, one of the *Pernis* is impaled with the help of a stake and the other is buried. Both these punishments are carried out symbolically and later a fowl is buried, which indicates the system of sacrificial offerings during ancient days.

On the next day of *divjam jagor*, four persons from *gade* families are given half a litre of coconut oil each. It is said that since these four *gade* would be pierced with hooks and tied to the rotating wheel during *gadyam zatra*, the temple servants would massage their bodies. But in absence of such servants, today the coconut oil is handed over to all *gade*.

Saturday is the designated day for *gadyam zatra*. All four *gade*, out of which main *gado* is known as *mhalgado* and the remaining as *gade*, assemble in the afternoon at the Mulveer shrine situated at Sololem about six kms. away from the Betal temple. Other members of the ceremonial procession like *chowgule, mahajans, bhat* (priest), *katkar* (orderly), *vazantri* (musicians) join them at Sololem and after performing the invocation the procession proceeds to the Betal temple following the traditional route. On their way the *gade* offer salute to the village deities and reach the Betal temple at around 3.00 p.m. where a large gathering waits for their arrival. They go into trance while approaching the venue of the *zatra*. The procession of *gade* reaches the well near the temple and takes ablution, change their dress and reappear in colourful attire. They wear a short, white dhoti, colourful *feta* (turban), and flower garlands around the neck, sword in one hand and kerchief in the other. They then proceed to the open courtyard of the Betal temple. During the ablution of the *gade*, the reading of *tako* takes place near the well.

After arriving at the temple courtyard they dance holding the *tarangam*. When they are free of holding it, the fellow dancers, called as *shelgade* (*gade* of lower status coming from fishermen community), hold the *taranga* and dance to the drumbeats. Besides they hold the skin of the waist along the spinal cord of all *gade* and keep on dancing vigorously.

The *mhalgado* followed by other *gade* are made to stand in front of the main gate of the temple and are pierced on the skin with *gare* (iron hooks) in the lower back on either side of the spine (fig.4.22). Before the hooks are pierced, dry areca nut is placed between the teeth, which is normally broken due to the piercing pain. Four hooks are pierced in *mhalagado* and two each in other three *gade*. The piercing job is done by the *metri* who has been allotted a plot of land for these services. Similarly *suyo* (small size hooks and needles) are pierced into the skin of the abdomen of each *shelgado*. The *masmari* offers sacrifice of four roosters at four corners of the platform then the *mhalgado* followed by *gade*, climb upon a wooden platform erected at about fifteen mtrs. height. This is supported by two wooden poles and four ladders made out of arecanut

trees in traditional manner and placed at four corners of the platform. Above the platform, a wooden pulley called *raatt* is placed.

The *mhalgado* and *gade* are tied to the horizontal wooden bars of the *raatt* with the help of *vale* (loincloth) and while in suspending position the *raat* is rotated (fig.4.21). The *mhalgado,* holding two swords in his hands, and the others with one sword each, go on rotating with smiling faces, aspiring for the approval of the gathering of *mahajans* and devotees below. The crowd screams its approval in unison. Again the *raatt* is churned up and down in the air and the *gade* are untied one by one in previous order and helped to descend the ladder. The wives of all *gade* remove their auspicious ornaments and place them in front of the *tulashi vrindavan* at the shrine of Mulveer at Sololem and go on praying for the life of their husbands. They sit there until their husbands return home safe from the *zatra*. All the *gade* are given paddy, which is to be boiled and used for fomentation of their body to ensure a quick healing of injuries.

At midnight one buffalo is scarified by the *masmari* (butcher) near the temple and rice soaked in its blood is tied to the mouth of Betal by the *katkar*. The rice remains there for a period of one week during which the temple remains closed for worship and other rites. When it is opened, religious rites are performed for cleansing the temple. During the same night, in the early hours of next morning, one more buffalo is killed by the *mahar* at the shrine of Babro in Welwada ward around four kms. away from the Betal temple. The *mahar* leads the sacrificial procession and after the animal sacrifice, he worships the head of the buffalo.

The remaining rice, soaked in the blood of the buffalo, is collected in a vessel and a *kakado* (coarse wick of cloth) is placed in it. This vessel is called *kallanjem*. The oracle of Betal carries the *kallanjam* on his head. While the *katkar* carries the rooster from the temple premises a group of men control the *kallanjem* holder who is generally in a trance. The procession also includes musicians, priest and a few *mahajans* who proceed to the spot called Natangini_situated on the bank of Talpona river at distance of around five kms.. After arrival at the spot, the *kallanjem* holder goes into trance. The *kallanjem* and

the rooster are drowned in the deep waters of Talpona river and then they return to the temple before day-break. In the mean while the *raatt* is thrown down.

The temple remains closed during the following week. During this period, nine members, consisting of four *chowgule*, two *Velips*, a *masmari*, the *Perni* and the *mahar*, are confined in a special room behind the Betal temple, as symbolic atonement. The *katkar* looks after them during the period of confinement. All the arrangements and the expenditure on the *zatra* is done by the Parashuram Panchaygram Devasthan Committee.[77]

The next folk form that is discussed below is *gudulya parab* which is a synthesis of elements of Brahmanical Hindu mythology with the older local beliefs and ritualistic celebration.

Gudulya Parab

Canacona *taluka* offers an unique folk form called *gudulya parab* which speaks of the ethnic unification from the southern tip of the peninsula to the west coast where Canacona is located. *Gudulya parab* speaks of the Baliraja (king Bali) who figured in mythology in the Vaman *avtar* (incarnation) which means that this folk form is also related to the Brahmanical Hindu mythology. The following paragraphs indicate the total atmosphere, the place and the style in which the *gudulya parab* is celebrated on the top of the mountain. The very fact suggests that these people seem to have pushed from the plains of Canacona to the hilltops for their livelihood. They lived on hunting of animals and raising *ragi* (*Eleusine corogana*) and also some pulses. In respect of mythology, this writer discovered lot of confusion. When the feast starts they claim their lineage to Baliraja and during the rest of the performance they talk only about Bhima, the second Pandava. Their songs speak volume of their knowledge of the Epics.

The feast is celebrated between the night of 11th and 12th day of *Bhadrapada* (August-September). After the onset of the monsoons the *kunbi* men gather in their ancestral house where the chieftain of the village (*budvant*) leads the community. All the

family deities, namely, *gharavai-puris, antaral puris* are worshipped. The *gharavai puis* is represented by an octagonal or wooden pillar with a height of around one mtr. An oil lamp is lit and the *Velip* (priest) offers invocation.

The villagers then gather around a bonfire (*polli*) with a separate group of five to six singers who face the crowd (fig.4.23). The *Velip* keeps an oil lamp on a wooden stool before the singers. The main singer narrates the story of Bali-Bhinv (Balabhima). The text relates the story of the second Pandava, Bhima, from the epic *Mahabharata*, which is continuously sung through the night. The main singer is supported with co-singers. The unique and noteworthy rhythm of the song reveals a close link with primitive music. The story ends with certain rites performed by the *Velip,* such as offering *ragi* bread (*bhakri*) and big *bidi* (*nat*) to Bhinv. It is followed by a special feast in the next morning in which children collect rice-bread (*ambolyo*) from all houses in the locality and distribute them among all participants. They also sing couplets relating themselves with Bhima.

The term *guydulo* is a complex word. In Konkani *gud* or *kuvadem* means a puzzle. Likewise in Kannada *gudha* means mystery and *gud* means a nest or a resting-place. But the Kannada, *guduli,* is an iron stick pointed at one end and rounded at the other. The *Kunbi* community during the *kumeri* cultivation used this type of stick. Presently the *Kunbis* use another similar tool called *kudavann* in *kumeri* farming. Thus the celebration of the feast seems to be closely associated with the *kumeri* cultivation. It may be noted that a similar celebration, in the praise of the Asura king, Bali, is celebrated in Kerala which establishes a link with *gudulya parab.*

Rituals associated with ancestor worship

Yet another worship system that displays both folk as well as Brahmanical traits is the one that is centred on the veneration of ancestors.

All ancient cultures have some form of ancestral worship which has been widely documented. Frazer has described the ancestor worship tradition among various cultures

like New Caledonia, Delagoa Bay, Orinoco, China, Central and South-eastern Borrio, Alasca, Celebes, Keri island Australia, Philippine, Korea, South Africa and North America.[78] Similarly, Campbell had documented the most primitive planting villages and tribe hunters. Shamanistic principle prevailed, with a greater emphasis on ancestor worship, in North America and Central Australia as well as Japan and Malekula.[79] The *Vedic* culture in India[80] and the characteristic combination of Neolithic fertility elements and reverence for ancestors in India[81] are of great importance. In the *Bharatiya Sanskriti Kosh*[82] various kinds of ancestor worship are described under the title of *Pitrpuja* and *Mahalaya*.

In Canacona, one finds interesting traditions of ancestor worship. In the whole Canacona region the spirits of all deceased male and female relatives, mainly father and grand-father and of mother and grand-mother, are offered systematic worship from the day of the funeral, either on the death anniversary day of the deceased person or on the day of special performance of *Narayan Bali* held at any holy place. The spirit of the deceased receives worship upto the twelfth day after the death and usually on the anniversary day in the form of *shraddha*. All classes, except the *kunbis*, mostly offer this worship. They perform the offering of *vadi* (cooked food) on certain designated days.

There is another tradition of making offerings to the ancestors during the dark half of *Ashwin* (September-October), which is called *mhall*. On this occasion, the deceased ancestors are represented by twisted braids or pieces of *darbha* grass (*Eragrostis cynosuroides*) and an offering of *pinda* (rice-balls) is made. Similarly, *Brahmans* are feasted on the anniversary day. Besides, ancestors are also worshipped on auspicious occasions, such as marriages in the family. Thus it is believed that if feasts are given to the *Brahmans* and the relatives of the deceased, the spirits of the ancestors are satisfied. During the *shraddha* a special rite is performed, namely *tarpan*, that is the offering of oblation of holy water and *sesamum indicum* with the chanting of prayers.[83]

It is also customary in Canacona to offer worship to the main pillar of the house by smearing sandalwood paste, vermilion powder, lighting an oil lamp, breaking a coconut, offering flowers and cooked food mainly on the fourteenth or fifteenth day of

the dark half of every month. Some joint families whose ancestors had met with heroic deaths follow such practice.

Similarly, for the propitiation of a male spirit, *Brahmans* are feasted and for the propitiation of the spirits of unmarried women, *vadi* or *kumarika* (unmarried girls) are worshipped by feasting them during the bright half of *Ashwin* (September-October). The practice of giving the names of ancestors to children is common to all communities in the *taluka*.

Sudden itching, sneezing, sickness, weariness, mopping, raves of body and mind and other conditions bring unexpected results- which was attributed to the outside power of the spirits of the dead. Hence, early humans adopted the art of pacifying the spirits of the dead. Thus, ancestor and spirit worship originated from the early pre-historic period.[84]

It is believed that ancestor worship is the rudimentary form of religion. Campbell also supported the fact that among high class Hindus, ancestor worship is one of the most universal faiths and among the lower classes, the family dead hold the place of house god or village god. This can be verified from the wooden pole, of around one to one and half mtr. high which is called *purush* or *puris* that is erected in all ancestral houses. It is regarded as the ancestor-deity of the family. *Saraswats* call it *kulpurush* whereas *kunbis* and other communities identify it as *gharvai puris* (fig.4.24). In some cases the said *puris* is kept hanging in the form of a coconut, which is known as *antaralpuris* mainly found in *kunbi* community. The head of the family, after morning ablution, gives water to the *tulasi* plant (sweet basil), which is usually planted in the centre of the *angan* (courtyard). At sunset, he lights an oil lamp near the wooden pillar of *gharvai puris* or at the *antaral puris*. On every designated day the *puris* is offered cooked rice called *choru* and *varn* or gruel of *dal*. This offering is known as *vadi*. On certain festive occasions it is also accompanied with a sweet dish called *khir* and small fried rice cakes-*vade*. The designated occasions for offering of *vadi* to the *gharvai puris* [85] are chronicled in the almanac in Table 4.3.

Besides the above-mentioned designated days, special *vadi* is offered on the occasion of a wedding in the family. However, the *vadi* is not offered on the designated day during the polution period, that is, in the event of death of a family member or during childbirth in the family. Special offerings are made in the form of *vadi* for all the souls and spirits of the dead on the occasion of *mhala-nam,* that is the 9th day of *Navaratri* (bright half of *Ashwin*, October-November) or on *Samsar-Padvo* (15th day of *Chaitra*, March-April).

A similar pattern of offering cooked food to the ancestors is followed in all Hindu communities. Besides offering cooked food, a *Brahman* or a couple is summoned for feasting on the 15th day of the bright or the dark half of every month. Also special offerings are made to the crow (*kakul*) and cow (*gogras*) as a part of the rites of ancestor and spirit worship.

Another ritual, namely, *tod marap* is performed among the *kunbis* to bring the soul of the dead to his ancestral house. After a death of a family member, the head of the family approaches the temple of his *kulpurush* (clan deity) or *grampurush* (village deity) for seeking *prasad* or *kaul*. The temple priest confirms that the spirit of the dead is haunted. The family head then summons the *ghadi* (shaman) to perform the *tod marap* ritual which takes place on a Sunday or Wednesday. Various wild fruits locally known as *galya falam, kashta falam* as well as coconut, areca nut, betel leaves, *durva, amritval* or *antaralwal* and lemon are kept ready to proceed with the ritual. The *ghadi* utters a hissing sound and invites the spirit of the dead to join the ancestral group of spirits of the family. He also gives advice regarding the offering of articles to different village deities and cuts all the fruits and grass into two pieces and orders a close relative of the dead to call him. Simultaneously, the *ghadi* breaks the coconut. The arrival of the spirit is confirmed according to the position of the pieces of coconut and other wild fruits and lemon. Once the arrival of the spirit is confirmed, the *ghadi* enters in the outer portion of the main door and repeats the ritual to reconfirm the arrival of the spirit upto that spot. On confirmation he enters the house and instructs the family head to stand by the *gharvai puris* and calls the spirit after breaking the coconut again. Thus the arrival of the spirit to join the ancestral house at the family residence is finally confirmed.[86]

On the first day of the bright half of *Chaitra* (March-April) a person resembling the dead is invited for lunch and feasted. Similarly, he or she is honoured with gifts of clothes and other articles. The selection of the person is done keeping in view the age, sex and family status of the dead.[87]

Apart from this, a special ritual of *shraddha* is performed in which cooked food or food-grains, spices, fruits and also cash amount is offered to the priest or *Brahman*. There are different types of *shraddha,* namely, *Amashraddha* (offering of uncooked food grains and spices), *Hiranyashraddha* (cash payment to the priest), *Brahmarpanshraddha* (offer of water and cash to *Brahman*) and *Chatashraddha* (*pinda-dan*, offer of balls of cooked food or *poa cynosuroides retz*).[88]

TABLE 4.1

The list of deities of Canacona *taluka*, their location and order of cultural-religious importance

Deities	Location	Status	*Mahajan*
Mallikarjun	Shristhal Canacona	*	Naik Desai, Naik Gaonkar, Deshmukh [all from *Kshatriya Maratha* community], Shenvi, Shenvi Nagarcekar and Shenvi Rajadhyaksha [all from *Gaud* Saraswat community]
Kulakeshwar		x	
Nirakar		x	
Kashi Purush		x	
Bhumi Purush		x	
Rachandra Purush		x	
Garathar Purush		x	
Purtham Purush		x	
Parashuram		++	
Pancha Purush		x	
Prabhaval Purush		+	
Vagro		++	
Sassono		++	
Devi[Parvati]	Foothill Shristhal	^	
Nirakar	Khalwdem	x	
Somanath		++	
Nirakar	Kindalem	++	
Adinath		++	

Agondo	Agonda	++	
Bhumipurush		x	
Nirakar		x	
Jalmi		x	
Ganapati		++	
Nandikeshwar		++	
Bagil Paik		++	
Balasono		++	
Ramnah		++	
Mhal-Purvashasni		x	
Jathi		++	
Takya Paik		++	
Sat Purvam		++	
Karepaik	Asali	++	
Shivarso	Palolem	++	
Nas	Ardhfond	++	
Balijan		++	
Janadev		++	
Kun Purush		x	
Mharangan		++	
Lakaneshwar	Mudkud [Agonda]	*	Velip [Kunbis] and Foll Desai and Naik Desai [Kshatriya Maratha]
Rajanpaik		x	
Mudal Purush		x	
Bhumi Purush		x	
Jalmi		x	
Nirakar		x	
Ganapati		++	
Nandikeshwar		++	

Mahalkshmi		^	
Gramadeva	Shiroti Cola	+	
Lakshminarayan		*	Prabhu Desai, Gaonkar Konkar and Kulkarni, all from *Gaud Saraswat Brahman* community
Betal	Soliem	++	
Purvashasani		x	
Kull Purush		x	
Ishwar Maheshwar		++	
Kapileshwar	Vagona	++	
Adinath	Matvem	++	
Lakansiddha	Jogiya Math	++	
Kalbhairav		++	
Sidda Purush	Malorem	x	
Mhalesh	Malorem	x	
Ganapati ·	Shiroti	++	
Sateri	Shiroti	^	
Uttam Purush		x	
Publeshwar		++	
Nirakar	Undshi	x	
Mallikarjun	Shristhal Gaondongri	*	Desai and Monekar of *Kshatriya Maratha* community and Velip and Gaonkar of *Kunbi* community
Shiam Purush	Bhars	x	
Bamaso	Pann	++	
Dugaso	Dutordem	++	
Saptakoteshwar	Kudewado	++	
Vajreshwar	Manem	++	

Pakaso	Thaini	++	
Kulgati Purush	Bupar	x	
Kul Purush	Chall	x	
Bhumi Purush	Shristhal	x	
Dindishwar		++	
Ganapati		++	
Nandikeshwar		++	
Mahamaya		∧	
Stambhadev		++	
Bagilpaik		++	
Mallikarjun	Kuskem	*	
Mahadev	Kuskem	++	
Mallikarjun	Avem	*	Desai and Naik of *Kshatriya Maratha* community.
Bagilpaik		++	
Basavo		++	
Bhareshwar		++	
Bhumipurush		x	
Nirakar			
Jalmi		x	
Pancha Purush		x	
Devi		∧	
Torna paik		++	
Vagro		++	
Bhagati Purush		x	
Sam Purush		x	
Nirakar	Maxem	*	Prabhu, Prabhu Gaonkar Prabhu Shastri, Prabhu Moni, Prabhu Malayar, Prabhu Agrasani, Varik, Bhat, Bhat Gaonakar, Bhat

Fugro, Bhat Beke, Shenvi Belayo,all from *Gaud Saraswat Brahman* community

Shankarsha	Kajalker	x	
Damodar	Loliem	+	Prabhu Dessai, Prabhu Shelkar, all from *Gaud Saraswat Brahman* community
Keshav	Loliem	*	Prabhu Desai and Prabhu Gaonkar, all from *Gaud Saraswat Brahman* community
Mahadev		++	
Brahma		++	
Maruti		++	
Mulvir [Muliyo]		++	
Vishnu	Pedem	++	
Ganapati	Pedem	++	
Gajantlakshmi	Pedem	^	
Betal	Dingar	++	
Arya Durga	Dingar	^	
Dakkhan Devta	Pedem	^	
Rawalnath	Kajalkar	x	
Bhagavati	Putam(hilltop)	^	
Dadd	Polem	++	
Bhumika	Polem	^	
Parashuram	Welwado Poinguinim	*	Phal Desai, Phal Gaonkar, Prabhu Desai, Prabhu Gaonkar, all from *Gaud Saraswat Brahman*

community

Purshottam	Welvado	x
Kshetrapal	Welvado	++
Durgadevi	Mahalwado	^
Adipurush	Mahalwado	++
Betal	Mahalwado	++
Narayan	Welwado	+
Bhagavati	Khavat	^
Siddheshwar	Welwado	++
Dundeshwar	Galiem	++
Monadevi	Sadolxem	^
Babro	Welwado	++
Khol Purush -Mahalwdo	Arav	x
Dugeshwar	Talpona	++
Nirakar	Mahalwado	++
Dadd		++
Pardesi	Talpona	++
Ram-Laxman-Sita	Partagal	*
Maruti	Partagal	++
Vir Vithal	Partagal	0
Narayan Bhut	Partagal	++
Durgadevi	Khargali	x ^
Sateri	Galiem	x ^
Betal	Chapoli	
Ganapati	Agonda	
Dattatraya	Nagorcem	
Devi	Yeda	^
Venkatesh		x
Bhagtipurav	Amone	++
Kalgadevta		^

Khamin	^
Ghodyam paik	++
Nagijan	x
Zan	x
Lakhe Purush	x
Bhom Purush	x
Antaral Purush	x
Gharvai Purush	x
Kesnath	++
Biro	x
Purus	x
Goudo	++
Bhumka	^
Brahmo	**
Bhut	**
Mharu	**
Raudro	**
Nas	**
Vargatin	**
Alvartin	**
Khuti	**
Khetri	**

*	Main deity
+	Village Deity [Gramdeva]
x	Family Deity [Kulpurush]
++	Secondary Deity [Anulagit Devta]
^	Female Deity

** Spirit

0 Personal deity [*Ishtadevta*]

Source:

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Table 4.2

Objects related to Temples in Canacona

Object	Common English terms/use
Palakhi	Palanquin in which idol of deity is carried on festive occasions.
Lalakhi	Small chariot carried on shoulders, arms or drawn by placing the idol of deity on the occasion of the annual festival, accompanied with music and dance.
Ratha	Chariot or car drawn after decorating it with coloured flags, flowers and leaves and placing the idol into it.
Silver *Sinha*	Lion used as *vahana* or legend of deity on certain occasions.
Silver *Hatti*	Elephant used as *vahana* or legend of the deity on festive occasions.
Ghodo	Wooden horse used as *vahana* of the deity on certain occasions.
Satari/Chhatra	Decorated ceremonial umbrella which is used for the village deity on religious occasions.
Chamara	Wisk or fan made of yak or horsetail that forms an important part of the temple service.
Rumal	Royal cloth
Hude	Ceremonial cloth
Morchelam	Royal emblems
Habtagir	Fanlike emblems to be carried in the procession of the deity
Toran/Tonn	Fastoon or an ornamental frieze over a door way or carried during the procession of the deity.
Ghudi	Flag representing the deity
Chowri	Whisk which is an emblem of royalty
Suryapan	Royal emblem with image depicting the sun
Dand/Kathi	Royal staff

Divti	Torch
Hilar	Rolls of cloth soaked in oil along with the container of oil used for illuminating the area.
Damru [Tabak]	Drug shaped like an hourglass
Shanai	Musical instrument-pipe
Surta	Musical instrument which provides drone
Arab	Big drum
Dhol	Drum
Jaghant	Plate like instrument made of bell metal
Mridang	Percussion instrument used in temples at the time of *Bhajan, Kirtan*
Tabla	A pair of percussion instruments to be used for musical accompaniment
Sarangi	String instrument used for musical performances in temples.
Karn	Horn
Banko	A kind of band-horn
Shankha	Conch shell used for creation of sacred music in temples and during the procession of the deity and holy men.
Shing	Horn used during ceremonial processions
Tarang	Umbrella-type structure made by decorating wooden staff with handloom *saris* to represent the deity.
Alankar	Adorning the idol of the deity with ornaments
Arati	Metallic plates through which lamps are waved to the deity.
Divaj	Offering of sacred lamps to the village deity by girls and women through traditional earthern cluster of lamps on the occasion of the annual festival.
Deepmal	Offering of sacred lamp to the village deity by men usually after marriage. The lamp is decorated with elaborate framework.
Pillakucho	Bunch of peacock feathers decorated with flowers and leaves which represents the deity.
Karo	A vessel containing holy water

Khadga	A sword or scimitar representing the weapon of the deity carried in procession for sacrificial purpose.
Betkathi	A cane stick indicating the special status of the holder of it
Tako	A cloth banner depicting religious figures and scriptures which is fixed to bamboo for holding and carrying.
Samipatra	Scriptures on palm leaves
Kurmasana	A tortoise shaped wooden seat used to pace the holy books while narrating *pharmans* in temples.
Dolasana	A framework kept swinging to place the idol of the god or goddess in it on festive occasions
Ashtadikpalas	The divinities in charge of eight directions.
Dwarapalas	Doorkeepers, wooden figures
Padukas	Sandals made of wood
Gopichandan	White pipe clay pieces
Machil	A palanquin-like carriage with one or two seats to be carried by four, six or eight persons [*bhois*]
Meno	A palanquin used to carry the bride or ladies
Palnem	A cradle-like structure used for the transportation of a sick person
Doli	A palanquin shaped carrier used for the transportation of women

Table 4. 3

The almanac of the rituals ancester worship practiced by *Kunbis* of Canacona

Sr. No.	Occasion/Festival Local Name	Day	Special Feature if any
1.	*Shigmya Punav*	15th day of the bright half of *Falgun* (February-March)	A couple from the same community is feasted
2.	*Falgun Umas*	15th day of dark half of *Falgun*	
3.	*Samsar Padvo*	1st of bright half of *Chaitra* (March-April)	Old coconuts offered to *Puris* are replaced by new coconuts
4.	*Asadi Punav*	15th day of bright half of *Ashadh* (June-July)	A couple from same community is feasted
5.	*Nag-pancham*	5th day of bright half of *Shravan* (August-September)	Snake-worship is done by offering milk to the snake-God.
6.	*Sutam Punav*	15th day of bright half of *Shravan* (August-September)	New thread is worn around the neck
7.	*Navyam Parab*	5th day of bright half of *Bhadrapad* (September-October)	A feast of new food grains is observed. Sweet food is cooked with new stock of rice, fruits, vegetables and tasted
8.	*Mhalam-Umas*	15th day of dark half of *Ashwin* (October-November)	A couple from the same community is feasted.
9.	*Gorvam Padvo*	1st day of bright half of *Chaitra* (March-April)	
10.	*Tulashi Lagn*	12th day of bright half of *Kartik* (November-December)	In addition to the *vadi* a special *vadi* of new rice flakes (*fov*) is offered at night
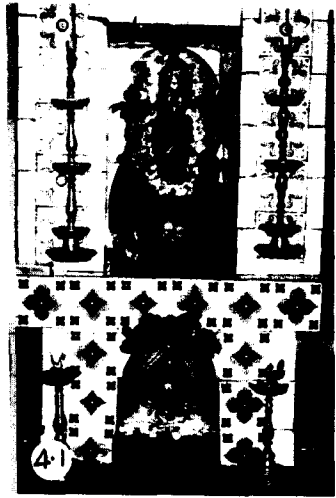
Fig. 4.1 Monadevi from Sadolxem.4.2 A decorated image of Shantadurga Chamundeshwari from Galiem.4.3 Sateri- a newly installed idol from Cola. 4.4 A mask of Ellamma taken around Canacona by devotees from Karnataka. 4.5 A medieval Navdurga idol from Mahalwada.4.6 An ancient idol of Durgadevi from Badegal. 4.7Ancient stone image of Devi from Baddem-dando (hill-top) c. 5th to 7th century. 4.8 A metallic image decorating an anthill at Yeda Cotigão.

Fig. 4.9 Sati stone from Yeda Cotigão.Fig. 4.10 Sati stone from Nadkem Cotigão.
Fig. 4.11-a Ritual of Earth Mother worship- *Dhillo*.Fig. 4.11-b *Dhillo* dance performed by *Kunbi* women.
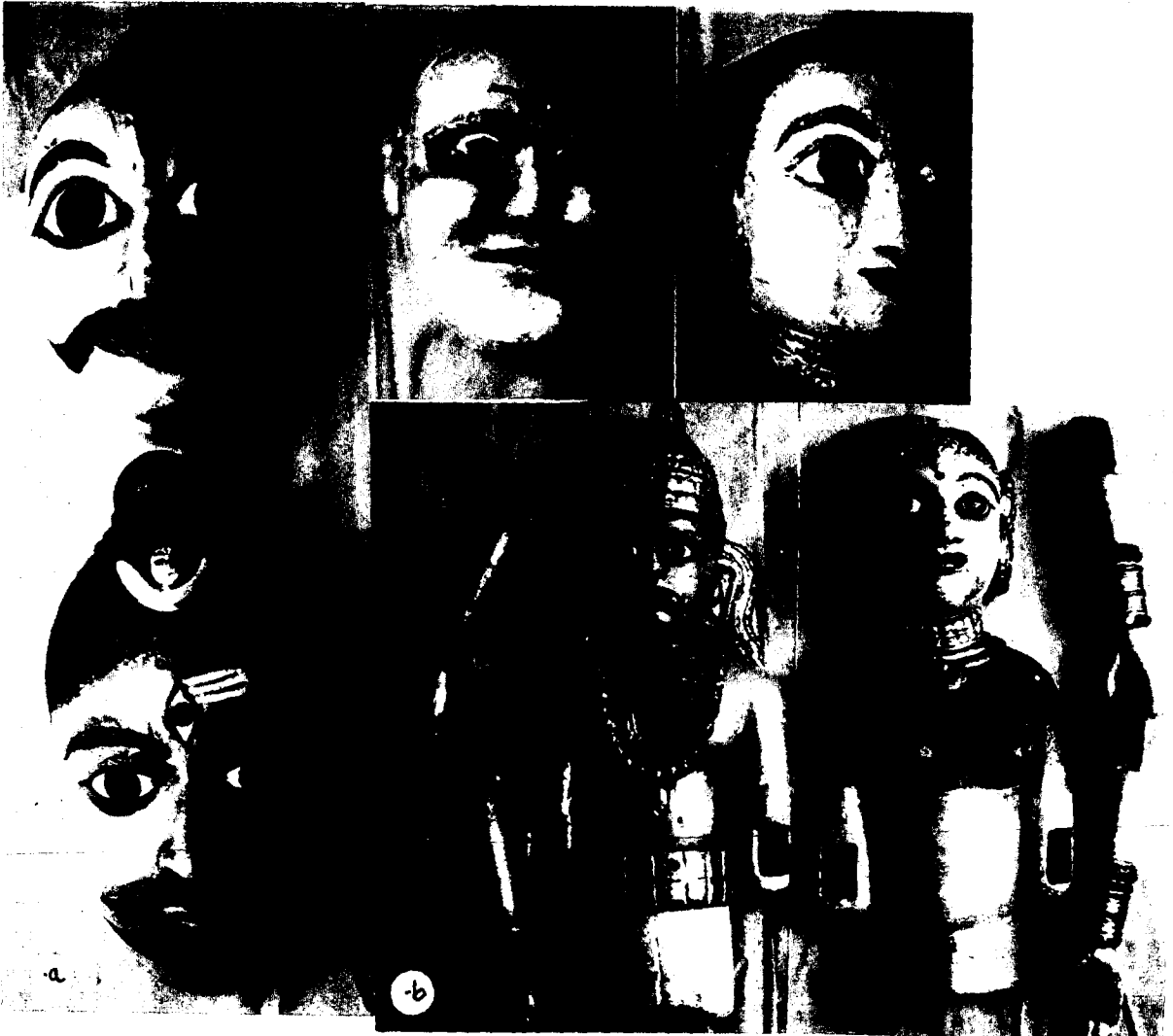
Fig. 4.12 A *Dhalo* performance.Fig. 4.13-a & b Wooden painted masks used in *Kalo*.

Fig. 4.14 Ritualistic symbol of cowherd and cow-shed. Fig. 4.15 *Dhangaram mel* - A group of pastoral artistes.Fig. 4.16 *Talgadi* – a dance of peasant community.Fig. 4.17 *Goph-* a colourful group dance of the farming community.

Representative Betal Images of Canacona

FIG. 4.18

a- Mahalwada Poinguinim.b- Soliem Cola.
c- Torso Dingar Loliem. d- Chapoli.   Fig. 4.18 e- Swords offered to Betal.

Fig. 4.19 a- Procession of *Tako* and other insignia of the deities.
Fig. 4.19 b- *Tako* – Inscribed banner. Fig. 4.21 Gadyam *Zatra*- the symbolic hook swinging ceremony.
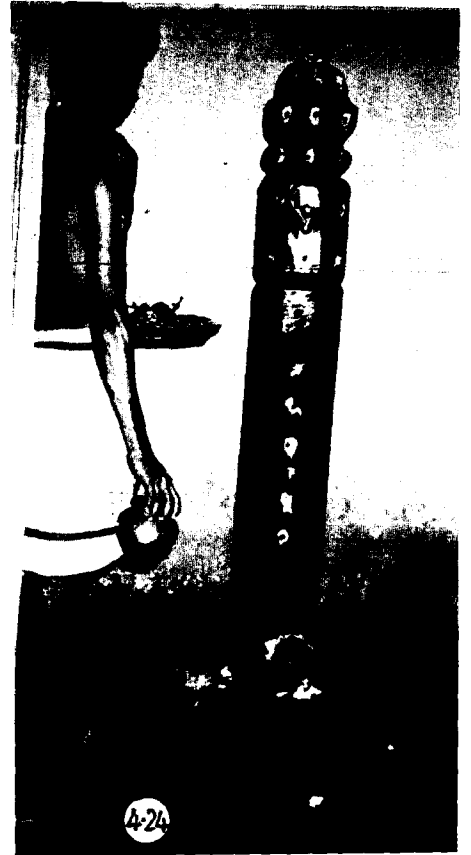
Fig. 4.22 Hooks pierced in the back muscles of the *gado*.

Fig. 4.23 *Gudulya gitam*- singing of folk narrative/musical story-telling.

Fig. 4.24 Phallic wooden pillar worshipped by communities in Canacona.

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CHAPTER V

Religious Precepts and Practices - II

Having discussed the worship systems related to the earth goddess as well as the principal male deity, Betal, in the previous chapter, it would be pertinent now to comment on the other two popular cults of Canacona, namely, the cults of Mallikarjun and Parashuram.

Cult of Mallikarjun

The Mallikarjun deity is very popular among the *Kunbis* and *Kshatriya Marathas* of Canacona *taluka*.[1] There are altogether four shrines of Mallikarjun situated in different localities of Canacona, the most important of which is from Shristhal in Canacona village. The striking similarity in these shrines is that all idols are in phallic shape covered with metallic mask and the locality where the shrine is situated is known as Shristhal or Thal (abode of God).[2] The other places of Mallikarjun shrines are Gaondaongri, Avem and Kuskem. The last two places are situated in Cotigão village. The daily worship is performed by *Brahman* priest for certain designated period and during the remaining period, coinciding with annual fair and festivities, the daily worship is performed by the *Kunbi* priest, namely, *Velip*. Thus, these shrines are invariably associated with the *Kunbi* community who seem to be the earliest inhabitants of this region.

As regards the rites of *Mahajans* in these temples, *Gauda Saraswat Brahmans* with surnames of Shenvi, Shenvi Nagarcenkar and Shenvi Rajadhyaksha are enrolled as *Mahajans* in the only temple at Shristhal of Canacona. This status of *Mahajans* was probably enjoyed by the *Brahman* community at a later stage and the original *Mahajans* seem to be from the ten *vangods* of the *Maratha* class as it is still in practice. The *Mahajans* of Mallikarjun temple at Gaondongri are the members of the village

comunidade and are divided into six *vangods*. The first three are of *Maratha* class with the surname Desai and remaining three are of *Kunbi* community with the surname Velip. However, Gaonkar Satolkar and those of *Maratha* class with surname Monekar are also *mahajans* of this temple. It is interesting to note that the latter two classes are not members of the village *comunidade*. For all purposes, they are considered a part of the second *vangod* and enjoy rights on par with its members. In Avem, the *mahajans* of Mallikarjun temple are divided into two groups of *Maratha* class, namely Desai and Naik. The Mallikarjun shrine at Kuskem is an affiliate Mallikarjun temple of Gaondongri.[3] The rights of *mahajans* and *Velip* priests are enjoyed in accordance with the rights and privileges enjoyed at Gaondongri temple. The annual festivals of Mallikarjun at Canacona are *Shisharanni* (fig.5.1-a) and *Viramel*. However, in the temple at Gaondongri a *tako* (banner decorated with embroidery work with letterings and drawings) is ceremoniously read by an elderly person on the occasion of the annual *zatra* near the adjacent shrine of Nagesh on the third day of the month of *Chaitra* (March-April). Besides *Shisharanni* festival is also celebrated every third year.[4]

The festivals held at Gaondongri temple are *Shisharanni* , annual *zatra* and *bhonvaddi*. Every third year is considered as the resting year locally known as *shele*. During the festival of *Shisharanni* at Gaondongri and Avem all the performance and rituals including ritual bathing of the *gade*, dress, smearing of sandal paste or the paste of *gopichandan* (pipe clay) on the entire body, covering of heads with wet cloth and layers of plantain trunk, piercing needles in the abdomen as well as left arm, formation of hearth of three heads of *gade*, cooking on the head-hearth, hitting the sword on the shaved forehead of the *Bhagat* and mixing the blood that gushes out of the cut on the forehead and sprinkling it upon the gathering by another *Bhagat* is similar to that of *Shisharanni* of Shristhal village.[5] An interesting and unique collection of three replicas in stone of decapitated human heads is found in the premises of Mallikarjun temple at Gaondongri (fig.5.2).

In Shristhal Canacona another ritual, the reading of *shamipatra,* is performed on *Vijayadashmi*, the tenth day of *Ashwin* (September-October) in the *math* of Kashipurush

situated in the premises of the Mallikarjun temple.[6] The contents of the *shamipatra* are written in *Nagari* script and old Marathi language, which probably depict the ceremonious movement of the ancestors who were by profession warriors engaged in the army of early rulers of northern India. There is a mention of valour of the warriors and their victory gained at Daulatabad, Ahmadnagar, Narmada region, Delhi and so on.[7] This points towards the old tradition of undertaking new campaigns to conquer neighbouring lands that generally commenced every year on *Vijayadashami*. This tradition is fully represented in the *shamipatra* available in the temple records.[8] The contents of the *shamipatra* are annexed at Appendix 10.

A similar ritual reading takes place annually at the Avem temple. However, there exists no *shamipatra*. Only a paper pasted on cloth is displayed before the gathering and the *Brahman* priest of the temple reads it during the annual festival.[9]

The ritual hunting takes place as a compulsory ritual triennially at Gaondongri, Avem and Kuskem. The group of traditional hunters gather at the shrine and the community priest (*Velip*) performs the invocation for gaining success in the hunting ritual. Then the group proceeds to the jungle along with their guns and accompanied by some persons who are employed to drive away the beasts. The group moves around the neighbouring forest and the animals killed are carried to the shrine. The hunted animals specifically include antelopes, deer, wild boars and wild goats. The head of the animal is cut and worshiped at the shrine and all members share the flesh. As a part of the worship the priest whispers in the right ear of the hunted animal. On this occasion some bits are taken from the flesh and are put on spits and braised on fire and then offered to the patron deities of the village as well as shared by the members of the hunting group. This ritual hunting continues for about one and half month and concludes on the day of the annual festival. If no animal is killed then the *ghadi* (shaman) is summoned and certain rites are performed to propitiate the village deities.[10]

The legend is the *swayambhu ling,* common to all four shrines. The crude uncut conical gneiss form of stone is usually believed to be a self-born (*swayambhu) ling.*

These are believed to have originated with the planets or ancient sages (*rishis*) of a bygone millennium.[11] The place where the existing shrines are situated were covered with thick jungles and also formed a pasture for cattle. It is believed that the *linga* was uncovered by a member of the Velip community who cleared the forests. As the Velip struck the *ling* accidently with his scythe, milk began to pour out of it. He immediately repented for the sin of having hit an idol of God and begged for pardon. He offered his victuals to God and the flow of milk stopped. Since then the *Velip* community worships the idol which was subsequently called Mallikarjun.[12] The temple was built there. Thus, the Velip continued to offer food to Mallikarjun on the leaf of a wild tree called *Karmal* (*C. ambonicus lour*).[13] The *Kunbis* also celebrate the anniversary of Mallikarjun on *Ashadh Paurnima*. On this occasion they prepare a special sweet dish called *patolyancho pais*. It is said that the mark of scythe still exists on the *linga*. The *Velip* acts as the temple priest in all four shrines for a period varying from two months to five months every year.[14]

The present temple of Mallikarjun of Canacona was reconstructed in 1778 A.D. The shrine at Gaondongri was consecrated on 5th July 1625 A.D.[15] There is no record available regarding the construction or consecration of shrines at Avem and Kuskem.

It is interesting to note that the cult of Mallikarjun is comparatively popular among the *Kunbi* community as well as the Maratha class. In the entire Goa region we find from records explored by Pereira (1978), there existed two ancient temples of Mallikarjun in Bardez *taluka* at Assagão and Pomburpa. Besides there are two shrines each in Ponda (Kundaim and Marcaim) and Bicholim (Pale and Surla) *talukas*. In Quepem *taluka* we find such shrines of Mallikarjun in three villages, namely, Molcornem, Kavrem and Balli and in Sanguem *taluka* there exist two shrines at Bhati and Kumarem. All the five shrines of Quepem and Sanguem are in the neighbouring area of Canacona. Thus out of a total of thirteen shrines in Goa[16] four are located in Canacona.

The explanation of the epithet Mallikarjun is furnished in a legend, which mentions that the demon Malla was fighting with Arjuna. Shiva assumed the form of a

hunter and killed the demon and saved Arjuna.[17] Desai (1992) refers the Mallikarjun shrine of Canacona to that of the shrine of *Jyotirlinga* at Shrishail in Andhra Pradesh.[18] Further, he has pointed out that there is also a resemblance between the *Chenchu* and *Velip* communities of Andhra Pradesh and Canacona respectively. It is also to be mentioned that in *Sahyadri Khand* the deity of Mallikarjun from Canacona finds no mention. As such the link of Mallikarjun shrine of Canacona region with the twelve or eight *jyotirlingas* of Shiva is not established. One thing is clear that the *Kunbis* who were the earliest settlers of this region worshipped Mallikarjun as their deity at a later stage. Earlier they probably identified with deities of clans and families like *gharavai puris*.

According to Mitragotri (1999),[19] probably during the Kadamba period or slightly earlier, Velips might have consecrated the *linga* of Mallikarjun. The *Habbus Brahman* later associated themselves with the shrine. They migrated from North Kanara district of Karnataka and settled in Canacona region. There is a mention by Enthoven that the *Habbus*, after settling down in this region offered worship at the shrine of Malilkarjun and later they also shared the priesthood of this shrine.[20]

According to *Kanara Gazetteer* (1883) the *Habbus* are *Havigs* of north Kanara district of Karnataka. According to Mitragotri (1990) the *Habbus* were the only *Shaivite Deshstha Brahmins* families who migrated to North Kanara and Goa during the end of the Kadamba period. They were experts in agriculture and as such they brought maximum land under cultivation.[21] As a result the original inhabitants, namely Velip (*kunbi* community), were pushed in the interior hilly region. One *Kshatriya Maratha*, namely Mhali, had close association with the *Habbus*. Knowing this, another intelligent person namely Kashi Purush, took lead to plan to exterminate the *Habbus* from that region. Kashi Purush took active part in the campaign to form a group of twelve warriors under the leadership of Mhali. When the assembly of *Habbus* met at the *sabhepann* (place of assembly) they ambushed them and killed all the members of *Habbu* community. The place of this genocide is still known as *martryapann*. Thereafter the *Velips* occupied the locality. Presently Kashi Purush is worshipped in the *math* (monastery) situated next to the Mallikarjun temple. Similarly, all twelve accomplices of

Mhali are also worshipped in this locality. In recognition of the help rendered by Mhali, all the villagers pay tribute comprising of rice, salt and chillies to his descendants at the place of the genocide, that is *martyapann*. Besides a paddy field is designated for them by the temple authorities.[22] Today, no *Habbu* family worships the Mallikarjun shrine in Canacona. However recently a few *Havig* priests from North Kanara district are engaged by the temple authorities to carry out daily worship and rites during the designated period.[23]

Mallikarjun Temple, Shristhal, Canacona

The temple dedicated to Mallikarjun is located at a short distance of around four kms. from the *taluka* headquarters Chaudi on the National Highway, leading to Karwar. The area where the temple stands at present as also the village in which it is located, is known as Shristhal or the abode of God.[24]

As per the local tradition, the temple is said to have been constructed by the *Habbu Brahmans*. Earlier, the temple was a small structure which got dilapidated in the course of time.[25] The present temple was built subsequently and the consecration of the deity took place in 1781 A.D. (*Saka* 1703). According to an inscription visible at the temple, it is clear that the temple was renovated in the year 1778 A.D.[26] The present edifice is a spacious one and is well ventilated. It lies below the surface level of the village and can be reached after crossing a gateway, that is *Mahadwara*.

The temple consists of three parts; i.e. a *garbhagriha* crowned with a dome and a *shikhar*; *chowk* or *antaralaya* in between the *garbhagriha*; and *sabhamandap* and an outer *sabhamandap* in the front courtyard. The *chowk* has massive wooden pillars with exquisite carvings on the interiors. A gallery of oil painted wooden puranic images (fig. 5.3), intricately carved *kirtimukha* on capital (fig.5.4) and a composite zoo-anthropomorphic wooden motif of *Rajnag* and tortoise (*kurma*) (fig.5.5) decorates it. The image of Nandi made of black polished stone is seen in the middle of the *chowk*. The frame of the door leading to the *garbhagriha* is silver plated with intricate designs as also

figures of Saraswati on both sides and a figure of Ganapati on the lintel. The *garbhagriha* contains a *Shivlinga* dedicated to Mallikarjun erected on a stone base *pindika* that is about thirty-five cms. high. The phallus symbol is considered as Mahadev. The *Shivlinga* is placed under a beautiful silver plated canopy with exquisite creeper designs over it.

The temple is surrounded on three sides by an *agrashala* which can accommodate visiting pilgrims and tourists. To the left is a water tank used for ceremonial ablution.

According to Rui Gomes Pereira (1978),[27] the Mallikarjun temple was founded by the ancestors of the present *Mahajans* and is subsidised by the village *comunidades* of Canacona, Nagarcem and Palolem.

There are altogether 68 affiliate deities of Mallikarjun like Kulkeshwar, Nirakar, Kashi-Purush, Bhumi-Purush, Ramchandra-Purush, Garatar, Purtoma-Purush, Parshuram, Pancha-Purush, Prabhaval-Purush, Vagro, Sasono, of which sixty are situated in the Shristhal ward.[28] Other affiliates, namely Nirakar and Somnatha, are situated in Khalvadem ward whereas Nirakar and Adinatha are situated in Kindalem ward. Similarly Agondo, Bhumi-Purush, Nirakar and Zolmi are situated in the Agonda ward.[29]

The deities, placed in the precincts of the main temple of Mallikarjun, include Ganapati and Nandikeshwar. There is an interesting image of the protector deity Bagilpaik (fig.5.6). There are also more insignias of the deities known by different names like Balesono, Ramnath, Mhali-Purva, Sassonim, Zoti, Tankipaik and those known as Satt-Purvam.[30]

Mahajans are divided into ten *vangods* namely: the first of Mhal, the second of Utytarnaik, the third of Albanaik, the fourth of Modonia, the fifth of Mulnaik, the sixth of Nuinaik, the seventh of Myukunaik, the eight of Telkonaik, the ninth of Keshiya and the tenth of Nago Follo. All these *mahajans* belong to the *Maratha* class and have the surnames of Naik.[31] The statutes of this temple were approved *vide Portaria* no. 116 dated 19th February, 1920, *Boletim Official* no. 75 of 18th September 1920 altered by

Portaria no. 1075 of 9th December 1921, *Boletim Official* no.100 of 16th December 1921. As per the said order, Nadkarni and Nagarcenkar of *Gaud Saraswat Brahman* class with the surnames of Shenvi, Shenvi Nagarcenkar and Shenvi Rajadhyaksha, should be enrolled as *Mahajans*.[32]

Two major festivals, namely, *Viramel* and *Shishanranni* take place in the village every alternate year. Besides a noteworthy ritual namely *avtar* is also held in the village. *Tarangas* are ritualistic, umbrella shaped, decorated and ornamented processional insignia. The temple has altogether six such *tarangas* and three *pillakuche* which are used for this ritual.[33] Coloured cotton sari is tied in a pleated fashion to the top of a painted wooden pole of around 150 cms. height and a metallic image of the deity in the form of a horse-rider known as *avtar purush*, (fig. 5.7) as a crowning insignia, are fixed at the top. Similarly, a broom of peacock feathers tightened and decorated with a silver belt and flowers is called *pillakucho*. There exist three main families (*gharvai*) of *avtar purush* situated in three different wards, namely Asali, Khalwadem and Bhatpal. Each family forms its own group of *avtar* consisting of one *tarang* of *avtar purush* with its image at the top, another *tarang* with dome and a *pillkucho*, which is always accompanied by a *Bhagat* who holds a sword and dances to the musical accompaniment of the *dhol* (drum) and *jaghant* (bronze plate). The group consisting of all these members is traditionally known as *mel*. Three *mel* of the three respective families ceremonially meet at Mallikarjun temple at Shristhal on the fifteenth night of the bright half of *Pausha* (December-January). Thus all six *tarangas*, three *pillakuche* and *Bhagats* as well as *vajantri* (musicians) stage a common performance and offer *kaul* to all the devotees and make a halt at the temple premises. Next morning after ceremonial ablution, they enter in the temple, apply sandalwood paste to their bodies and perform an invocation for the completion of their outstation ceremonial trip without any disturbance from the haunting spirits of *Habbus* who were killed at the *martypann*.[34]

After a few days, all three *mel* proceed on tour to Shiveshwar and other parts. They complete their tour during a period of around two and half month and assemble

again at Mallikarjun temple on the fourth day of the dark half of *Falgun* (February-March). While entering from the boundary of their village fowls are sacrificed at the boundary line. Thereafter altogether seven *avtars* are performed from the seventh day of the dark half of the month. During the ceremonial tour of the *mel*, altogether five *avtar* are performed at Ikkeri (2), Chenaye, Kinnar and Kharge (one each). Thus total twelve *avtar* are held by the *mel*.[35]

During the *avtar* performance musical instruments play a peculiar rhythm and the *tarang* and *pillakucho* holders go into trance. The accompanying *Bhagat* brandishes and sways a sword around his body and throws the consecrated rice on the *tarang* and *pilakucho* holders. After some time they come out of trance and the *tarang* holder with an image at the top, offers *prasad* to the devotees gathered at the spot. The traditional devotees are called *kulavi*. *Kllavis* of Mallikarjun still exist in Ankola, Gokarn and Supa area in Karnataka state.[36]

The outstation tour of *avtar* points to the political situation that prevailed in Goa. During the Portuguese colonial rule a number of families of the devotees migrated from Canacona in Karnataka to avoid conversion and persecution. They settled in the neighbouring area where they could ensure their safety. Subsequently the *avtar* tour might have been arranged annually to enable all the migrated devotees to take *darshan* and *prasad* of their deity. Since then all the local arrangements for the *mel* are made by the families of devotees in the different localities in Karnataka state.

There are many rituals associated with the temple. Two of these namely *Viramel* and *Shishanranni* are discussed here in some detail considering their religious and cultural importance.

Viranmel

The Canacona *taluka* is well known for different types of ritualistic dance performances, the reasons for which could be found also in the history and type of life,

culture and art they lived in ancient times. *Viramel* (warrior group) is one of the ritualistic performances played during the *Shigmo* festival. Each performance is based on local legends or *sthala-puranas*. *Viramel* also conveys to us a similar type of story. *Kunbis* and also *Havig Brahmans* mostly from places in Karnataka like Sirsi, Siddhapur and Ellapur, of North Kanara district migrated to Canacona during the Kadamba period[37] and lived around the Mallikarjun temple. These *Havig Brahmans* looked after their temple along with other communities. However, a new migration of *kshatriyas* that came from across the Sahyadri ranges massacred the local priestly class and captured the temple. *Havig Brahmins* being peasant class migrated back to North Kanara. But people who killed them were probably not happy at all and the genesis of this ritualistic dance performance lies in their desire to seek atonement for this sin.

Viramel performances are in two styles – one with a normal style visiting house to house by a few traditional community representatives. These *Viramel* are performed in a normal fashion with a few violent or wild gestures. But the second *Viramel* is a form of martial art, which takes place in the temple festivals of Mallikarjun, and is noted for people's belief in exorcism and pacification of evil spirit by offering the sacrifice of a human life. However, today instead of human sacrifice, they now cut an ash-gourd symbolically, in two parts and offer it to the deity.

Viramel is an important festival celebrated on the twelfth night of the bright half of *Falgun* (February-March) commencing from Shirevada in Nagorcem ward. Three persons of the *Bhagat* community called *vir* undergo fast during the whole day. At night they hold swords and while being in trance, run towards the village wards creating hissing sound with musical accompaniment and approach all the designated houses. Three *Bhagats*, holding copper vessels full of water covered with mango leaves called *kare* and three *petarewale*, three drummers and three *jaghant* players, accompany them. The entire group of 18 persons is called *gade*. All the households offer a *vido* (betel leaves and arecanut) immediately after the *vir* report. While collecting the *vide* (plural of *vido*), the *vir* and *gade* cover the entire village within a period of around 45-50 minutes and return to Shirewada from where they commenced the procession. The preliminary

ritual is also held either at Shirewada-Bhagtamal or Devabag. Before they commence this procession, an ash gourd is cut in two pieces with a sword and joined again at an ancestral place called *hali* near the stream. This ritual is performed to ensure the success of the procession.[38] In case the offering of *vido* is delayed at any household, it is said that the *vir* lose their control on the swords and immediately fall on ground which is considered a sign of misfortune for the concerned family.[39]

Shishanranni

.. Shishanranni (cooking on the hearth made of human heads) is considered as one of the most important festivals of Mallikarjun that is very popular today. Thousands of spectators flock to the temple every alternate year to witness the event.

The event of *Shisharanni* (fig. 5.1) takes place in the premises of the temple in the afternoon of the sixth day of dark half of *Falgun* (February-March) in the presence of all ten *vangadi* and *mahajans* of the temple.[40] All six *tarangas* are brought to the main courtyard of Mallikarjun temple. Some members of designated families called *gade* gather on the *chowk* (centre place of the temple). Their bodies are smeared with sandalwood paste. They wear white *dhoti*. In the presence of the representatives of all ten *vangodis* and *mahajans* a special invocation takes place to ensure the success of the event. Thereafter *gare* (iron hooks) are pierced in the left arm of three main *gade* and they are brought to the main courtyard where the event takes place. They are made to sleep on the ground in three different directions keeping their heads together forming a hearth shape.[41] Their heads are covered with wet *dhoti*. It is reported that during earlier days their heads were covered with the layers of plantain trunk. Their pierced arms are kept at lower side and then fire is lit with the help of flakes of *sisam* wood (*Dalbergia latfolia*) inside the hearth and an earthen pan is placed on the head hearth (fig.5.1).[42] Another clean shaven *gado* in same attire sits in a *virasan* posture nearby 'head-hearth.' Then the *Bhagat* stands before him and sways the sword around him (fig.5.8) and later keeps the sword on the head of the sitting *gado* and suddenly hits the wooden log on the sword (fig.5.9). The blood gushes out and it is mixed with the rice cooked on the hearth

of human heads. The rice is sprinkled on the gathering. It is believed that the rice has the power of curing mad persons.[43]

Six *tarangas* remain erect without any support throughout this ritual. The entire event is accompanied by martial music of drums, traditional idiophones and aerophones. The event concludes with *kaul* in which all the devotees take *darshan* and collect *prasad* from the *gade*.

Spread of the Nath *Panth*

The Nath *panth* (cult of Nath) had been widespread in Goa from about 12th century A.D. Nathism is known to have developed itself out of the *Vajrayan* system of the *Mahayan* form of Buddhism. Thus it was in its origins a form of *Tantric* Buddhism before it transformed itself into *Tantric Shaivism*.[44] It seems to have originated first in Bengal around the 9th or 10th century A.D. and subsequently it had spread in different parts of India. There is no unanimity of opinion amongst scholars regarding the spiritual leaders of this faith nor of their dates. Adinath, Matsyendranath, Gorkhnath and Chauranginath (or Chaturanginath or Shringinath) are the first names in the pontificate of Nath *panth*. There is no doubt that Matsyendranath and Gorakhnath were the most celebrated spiritual leaders amongst all.[45] Both these leaders seemed to have been responsible for the widespread popularity of *Nathism* in India. Their dates are highly controversial. However, Bhatt (1975) estimates their date to the first half of the 10th century, as the said period was known for their vigorous activities.[46] It is also evident that the Nath cult must have spread and was well received in the South Kanara district especially in Kadre by the middle of the 10th century A.D. However, it spread in Goa by about the 12th century A.D.[47] This is clear from archeological evidence.[48]

In the Nath *panth* the Siddhas perusing the Adinath tradition are called Nathas and the rest are simply known as Siddhas. But is also evident that like Buddhism and Jainism, the Nath cult was not a revolt against *vedic* religion nor was it an independent movement but was a part of Hinduism. As a way of their life the Nathas refrained from all kinds of intoxicants. They strictly followed the practice and kept themselves aloof

from the five *makaras*. These five *makaras* are known as *panch makaras* namely *mansa* (flesh), *matsya* (fish), *mudras* (body postures), *madira* (alcohol) and *maithuna* (sexual practice). Thus they preached a saner and simpler way of life.[49]

From the archeological evidence it is very clear that Nath *panth* was widespread in Goa, for example, the rock cut caves of Divar island and Pilar, both in Tiswadi *taluka*.[50] A few more similar caves have been identified from various localities such as Khandepar, Ishwarbhat, Kodar (all in Ponda *taluka*), Salauli and Dharbandoda (in Sanguem *taluka*) and Aquem and Molanguini (in Salcete *taluka*). Another important feature of the Nath cult are the shrines of Nathas consecrated in various places with different epithets such as Saptanath, Siddhanath, Naganath, Mallinath, Chouranginath, Gorakhnath, Keshnath, Chinchinath, Loknath, Vaghnath, Adinath, Kalnath, Hennath, Shitalnath, Bhrahmanath and so on. Out of these shrines, the distinct Nath shrines are Chauranginath at Arpora in Bardez *taluka* which was destroyed by the Portuguese during the 16th century A.D.[51] The Mallinath shrine from Chorão island was reconsecrated at Marcel in Ponda *taluka* since the original shrine was destroyed by the Portuguese.[52] There is Adinath shrine in Pernem as well as Usgão in Ponda *taluka*.[53] Another shrine of Nath exists at Siddhanath hill in Ponda *taluka*.[54] Near the district headquarters of South Goa district at Ravanfond there is a monastery of Nath *panth* were shrines of Matsyendranath and Gorakhnath are worshipped.[55]

Along with these shrines there are Nath shrines in Canacona region which are quite distinct. There is Adinath shrine at Kindalem ward as well as another shrine devoted to Adinath at Matavem in Cola village.[56] Besides there is another shrine in Cola devoted to Lakansiddha and also known as *jogiam math*. In the neighbouring ward of Maiorem there is one more shrine of Siddhpurush in Cola village.[57] Similarly another Jogiam *math* is also situated in Cotigão village near Pishemath. A mountain peak, located between Canacona and Quepem *taluka* near Barcem is known as Siddha-*dongor* (Siddha's mountain) where Siddha's-*math* (monastery) is situated. At the foothill, the *gosavi* community at Barcem worships a shrine of Siddha. [58] The *linga* (phallus) and *trishul* (trident) are commonly seen in all Nath *panthi* shrines. Sometimes images and

padukas (sandals) are placed in the *math* as symbols of worship. From all these shrines of Nath *pantha* it is clear that the Nathism was manifested in Canacona region in the different shrines dedicated to it. The Nath *panthi* in Canacona still consider that worship of the shrines in the respective localities is necessary for all those who wish to perfect themselves and become adept in *shiddhayoga*. However, it is interesting to note that the *Gorakhnathis* not only recognized and worshipped the greater and lesser gods of the Hindu pantheon, but they also followed the popular forms of Hindu belief, having concern for saint and spirit powers especially those that are evil, practicing magic, exorcism, and some primitive medicine, giving attention to lucky and unlucky days and following the superstitions of the place and populace.[59]

The Siddheshwar temple which resembles the Nath tradition, situated adjacent to the Parashuram temple in Poinguinim is not at all concerned with Nath-*panthis* but worshipped by Karhade *Bramans*.[60] This is a remarkable transition. Adinath which was very popular among Nath cult in the 12th century A.D. in Goa and in the region under study was known to South Kanara district at least by about the 9th – 10th century A.D.[61] This cult of mysticism started getting disseminated in the district of South Kanara with Kadre as the biggest centre of the cult in the whole of south India.[62] On the slab set up near the *math* of the *jogis* is an inscription which records a gift made to Mangalanath, the then head of that monastery.[63] It is also quite possible that Nathism flourished there could influence the area under study by which it acquired popularity and different shrines of Jogis and Siddha as well as Adinath and other Nathas were consecrated in this region.

The creation myth linked to the origins of the state of Goa is associated with Parashuram, the sixth *avtar* of Lord Vishnu, whose temple is located in Canacona. In the following paragraphs an attempt has been made to analyse the cult of Parashuram as it is practiced in this region.

Cult of Parashuram

The legend of Parashuram is very popular in Canacona as in rest of Goa and elsewhere the popularity of the Parashuram legend in India is attested to by the number of

places scattered all over India especially along the west coast, which are associated with his name and held sacred to his memory.

In Punjab there is a very ancient temple dedicated to Parashuram.[64] The copper inscription issuing a grant of village for the temple is available in the temple.[65] There exists a sacred pool in Udaipur called Markunda. It is believed that Parashuram (popularly called Rama) bathed in the pool and atoned for the sins of killing his mother. Similar legend also exists in Cape Camorin where it is associated with another sacred tank.[66] In the Bijapur district of Karnataka, an axe-shaped rock situated on a riverbank is regarded as Parashurama's rock. However the local people refer to it as Rama's rock. The legend tells us that Rama (Parashuram) washed his famous axe (*parashu*) at this spot. The foot-prints available on the stone boulder situated in the river are venerated as Parashuram's foot-prints.[67] It is also reported that in Mysore area there is a temple dedicated to the axe of Parashuram.[68] Another legend speaks of the creation of the sacred pool by the son of Jamadagni at Gokarn (North Kanara) dedicated to Mahadeva. In the distant district of Lackimpur in northeastern India, there is a sacred pool where, according to local belief, Parashuram had surrendered his dreaded axe. Hence the pool is considered as a pilgrim centre where devotees flock from every part of India.[69]

According to the *Sahyadri Khand* of the *Skanada Purana* (Part II, Chapter 1) Parashuram shot seven arrows in the sea from the Sahyadri mountains and reclaimed the *Sapta-Konkana* (seven Konkanas) from the sea and *Saraswat Brahmins* settled in this newly created land which was extended from Bharoch-Shurparaka upto Kerala.[70] The land consisted of the divisions of Bhrugukachcha, Shurparaka, Chiphun, Gomantak, Vanavasi, Tulava and Kerala.[71] Scholars, citing ancient works, differently mention the names of *Sapta-Konkana*. According to one version it included the territories of Kerala, Tulu, Govarashtra, Konkana proper, Karanataka, Baralatta and Barbara on the Malbar coast.[72] The text *Prapancharhidayam* mentions the names of Kupaka, Kerala, Musika Aluva, Pashu, Konkana and Parakonkana.[73] Another version indicates the divisions of Viratam, Karatam, Barbara, Konkanam, Govarashtra (Goa), Tulangum and Keratam.[74] In North Kanara the legend states that Parashuram stood at Gokarn and shot his arrow

southwards. In the Tirthahalli (Shimoga district) region the local legend mentions that Parashuram stood on the Sahyadri mountaintops in Tirthahalli and threw the axe.[75]There is a rock in this village believed to have been broken by Parashuram with his axe. It is also said that he enshrined a *linga* at this place.[76]

In the Konkan region it is said that Parashuram shot his arrow southwards from the Parashuram hill in Pedhe village near Chiplun and reclaimed the land.[77]

Another legend states that Parashuram shot an arrow from *Gomant Parvat* situated at Dudhasagar in the Western Ghats which fell at Banavali village in the Salcete *taluka* of Goa.[78] It is also mentioned that Parashuram performed an *ashwamedha yadnya* at Arambol in the Pernem *taluka* of Goa and the clarified butter required for the horse sacrifice was supplied by the Anjidiv island.[79]

It is interesting to note that in all records that I referred to except that of Satoskar, none has mentioned the shrine of Parashuram located in the village of Poinguinim in the Canacona *taluka* of Goa. Rui Gomes Pereira has mentioned the ancient temple at Poinguinim. In the village of Poinguinium, there exist two shrines one in the Welwada ward, just by the side of Canacona – Karwar National Highway. This shrine has a typical Puranic image of Lord Parashuram (fig.5.10). The other temple is located inconspicuously in the Mahalwada ward. All the villagers venerate the former whereas the worship of the latter is restricted to some families from that ward and it does not have approved statutes. The detailed information about the shrines is given in the following pages. It is also worth mentioning that Parashuram is one of the subsidiary deities of Mallikarjun in Shristhal ward of Canacona village.[80]

It is noteworthy that Paruashuram is accepted as the presiding deity in all ceremonies. It may be taken as the living proof of the popularity of the Parashuram cult and that his worship became more marked and established after the visit of Madhvacharya in this region. The present shrine of Parashuram in the Welwada ward was constructed on the initiative of Shrimat Anand Teertha Swamiji, the seventeenth pontiff

of Gokarn Partagali Jeevottam *Math,* who is a follower of the *dvaita* philosophy of Madhvacharya. The original construction of the shrine might have been done in around 1820 A.D.[81]

The village of Poinguinim is well-known for the ancient temple of Parashuram which is situated at Welwada in the company of other shrines devoted to Navdurga, Betal and Adipurush in the Mahalwada ward, Bhagavati in Khawat ward, Monadevi in Sadolxem and Narayan and Siddheshwar in Welwada. Another important deity, Purushottam, is situated just in front of Parashuram in the main temple. The Samsthan Gokarn, Partagali Jeevottam *Math* is situated at a distance of around five kms. north of this temple.

The temple of Parashuram is constructed in a simple style having not much architectural work of note. Previously there was no image or idol of the deity. Instead the *garbhagriha* contained a round black stone (*chakra*) which was venerated as a symbol of Parashuram. However, later an idol in the form of mask made of an alloy was placed thereon. In 1993, this has been substituted by a standing black stone idol of the deity (fig. 5.10).[82] The temple walls are decorated with beautiful graffiti designs painted in simple monochromatic shades (fig.5.11-a and b) and the inner hall has wooden pillars with exquisite carvings depicting Hindu mythological (fig.5.12) and also anthropomorphic figures (fig.5.13). Carved pillars are a common feature in many other temples in the *taluka,* such as the Betal temple at Mhalwada (5.14) which also has plastered stone pillars with ornamental graffiti (fig.5.15). Among the ritualistic objects, at Parashurama temple mentioned previously, the wooden *dharmagrantha/pothi* platform carved in the shape of a tortoise or *kurma* is worth mentioning (fig.5.16). Such amphibian/reptilian forms seem to have a stylistic genre of their own as could be depicted in the carrier handle of the processional palanquin (fig.5.17).

Monday is considered as the special day of the deity when devotees flock from surrounding areas. Besides the rituals of Monday, a special *zatra* is celebrated on the second day of the bright half of the *Chaitra* month of the Hindu calendar, which is known

as *Biye zatra. Vasant Puja, Sansar Padvo, Navratra, Shravan Somar, Samaradana* etc. are other festive occasions celebrated in this temple. Similarly, the performance of *Perni Jagor* and Marathi dramas also take place annually.

The *zatra* commences in the evening and a special *puja* (worship) is offered in the presence of all *mahajans* and devotee. Special performance of *divjam* and *dipmal* as well as *bhonvri* takes place in the early hours in which newly wedded couples participate in a procession of well-decorated traditional oil lamps. In *bhonvri* some *Velips* associated with Betal temple go into trance and after *garane* (invocation), they come out of it. Special rituals of fulfillment of vows of *tulabhar* (weighing fruits, coconuts or provision equivalent to the weight of concerned person) are performed in the next morning. The afternoon session is marked with *prasad* which is the concluding session of the *zatra*. On this occasion, matters pertaining to *trigram* (three villages- Loliem, Poinguinim and Khargali) are discussed and a coconut bowl and a banana are offered to all members of the assembly. Number of vendors of toys, sweets, pottery and other utensils display their wares.

The ancestors of the present *mahajans,* who are *Gaud Saraswat Brhamans* of the Vasishta *gotra,* founded the temple. They are members of the village *comunidade* and have surnames such as Foll or Phal or Prabhu, one group being of Desai and other of Gaonkar. The statutes of this temple were approved on 7th May 1930 through *Portaria* no. 1016 and *Boletim Oficial* no. 90, dated 11th November 1930.[83]

The affiliated deities of Parashuram are many namely Purushottam, (Welwada) Navdurga, Adi-Purush, Betal, Kal-Purush, Nirakar (all in Mahalwada), Narayan, Siddheshwar, Babro Kshetrapal (in Welwada), Bhagavati (Khawat), Dundeshwar (Galiem), Monadevi (Sadolexem), Sateri (Kolsar) and Dugeshwar (Talpona).[84] The main festivals of these affiliates are *Tako* and *Gadyam zatra.*[85]

However, the celebration of *tako* and *gadyam zatra* is a clear example of the traditional *gaonkaris* of the ancient period in which all the communities are assigned their

jobs pertaining to service of the village. Similarly, it seems that the various acts of sacrifice are for the atonement of sins.

Partagali *Math* – the centre of *Vaishnava* worship

Shree Samsthan Gokarna Partagali Jeevottam *Math* is situated at Partagali about seven kms. from Chaudi, the *taluka* headquarters (fig.5.18). The *Math* is the religious headquarters of the *Gauda Sawaswat Brahmans* belonging to the *Vaishnava* sect. The place is located in the midst of beautiful natural surroundings. *Partagali* was known as *Parvat – Kanan* in ancient days.[86] However, it seems that the name Partagal is derived from *Parvatga-gal*, with the suffix, *gal*, denoting a field situated in isolation, and the word *Partvat-gal* suggests an isolated place in the vicinity of a mountain.

While going through the history of the *math* it is evident that this monastery was originally founded at Gokarn in North Kanara district in Karnataka and in course of time the pontiff of the monastery moved to Partagali and majority of monastic belongings were transferred to the new site. Therefore it is identified with the joint name of *Gokarn Partagali Math*. The name *Jeevottam* was added to the *math* because of the third pontiff in the line of succession and *Vader* was the title conferred upon by the ruler of Karnataka. Thus *Swamiji* (pontiff) is known as *Gokarn Partagali Jeevottam Mathadhish*.

The *Gauda Saraswat Brahmans* were originally *Shaivities*[87] Shree Madvacharya visited Goa in the early 13th century A.D. and propagated his *dvaita* philosophy among the *Saraswat Brahmans*. It is recorded in the *Madhva-Vijay* that Madhvacharya produced miracles in Goa during his visit and impressed the *Gauda Saraswat Brahman* community[88] to the extent that they accepted him as their religious *guru* and affiliated themselves to the sect of *Vaishnava* which was propagated by Madhvacharya.

In order to fulfill their aspirations for a special religious headquarters the first *Swamiji*, Shreemat Narayan Teertha established the first *math* in Mathagram (modern Margão)[89] at the beginning of the 15th century A.D.

However during the period between 1560 and 1568 A.D. Portuguese persecution took a severe turn. The area of Salcete and Bardez that propagated the *dvaita* philosophy was badly affected.[90] Because of mass conversion undertaken by the Portuguese, the *math* at Mathagram was abandoned and later the Portuguese destroyed it. Shreemat Narayan Teertha Swami left Goa and settled in North Kanara[91] where he founded another *math* at Bhatkal. *Swamiji* was followed by majority of Hindu families who had accepted *Vashnavism* and they also settled in Karnataka.[92] Appendix 11 lists out the important branches of this *Math*. The information regarding *swamijis*, their tenure and major contributions has been provided in Appendix 12.

The *math* has recently undergone renovation and gives the appearance of a huge splendid structure built in South Indian style of architecture (fig.5.18). One can reach Partagali from Canacona – Karwar National Highway – 17 by a special approach road from the Partagali bus stop leading to the *math*. One has to descend numerous steps to reach the *math*. There are two shrines, one dedicated to Ramdeva (Lord Rama), which is small but elegant. It contains the idols of Rama, Laxman and Sita. All three idols are carved out of black stone with Rama handling the bow being placed in the middle of the idols of Laxmana and Sita that are placed to his right and left. The front door of the Rama temple is decorated with wooden panels depicting the *dashavtaras* (ten incarnations of Lord Vishnu) and two *dwarpalas* (door-keepers) in the traditional *tribhanga* posture.

By the right side of the shrine of Ramadeva there is another shrine of Virvitthal. The idol of Virvitthal is made of *panchadhatu* or *panchalava* (an alloy of five metals). Virvitthal holds a conch shell and a disc in his hands. It is reported that during the first quarter of the 16th century A.D., the third *Swamiji* of Gokarna *Matha*, Shree Jeevottam Teertha, while undergoing a pilgrimage in north India, discovered three images of Vitthal by the river Sheela. Out of these three idols, the Virvitthal idol was retained by the *Swami* as *Aradya–Devata* for his personal worship and rest of the two were consecrated at Gokarna and Basarur. Since Virvitthal is regarded as the *Aradya-devata* of the *Swamiji*, it is carried along with him wherever he goes.

The shrine of Maruti or Mukhyapran is in the proximity of the *Math* is an excellent masterpiece of Indian baroque architecture (fig.5.19). It is a tall dome in which the stone idol of Maruti also known as Mukhya-prana and Hanuman is consecrated (fig. 5.20). Besides at the foot of the shrine there is a small dome at the right side of Maruti known as Narayan-Bhuta (fig.5.21). In addition to these deities there are also a few others within the premises in addition to *Samadhis (Vrindavanas)* of departed *Swamijis* of the *Math* that are objects of worship.

Brahmasthan

A huge banyan tree (*Ficus bengalensis*) is seen in the proximity of the *math*. This place is known as *Brahmasthan* and a *linga* (phallus) is placed beneath the tree. According to Hindu tradition the banyan tree is a sacred tree. It is a symbol of uninterrupted life. Banyan tree, as Hindus believe, knows no decay or death. Because its roots develop themselves into new trunks thus, projecting new life. It is reported that this specimen is perhaps, surpassed only by the one at Adyar (Chennai) and the other in the Botanical Gardens of Calcutta. Under the master plan of the Partagali *math* the *Brahmasthan* is being developed as a centre for pilgrimage and tourist attraction. Every year on the day of *Shravan Amavasya* (last day of *Shravan*) offerings are made to the *ling* on behalf of the *math* to propitiate the deity.

Shree Samsthan Gokarna Partagali Jeevottam *Math* is the permanent station of the *Swami*. As such a number of devotees flock there throughout the year. The *math* has several rooms, halls, banquet halls, kitchen, storeroom as well as the *yadnyakunda* (place designated for fire sacrifice) library and *vrindavana* etc. The library owned by the *math* is full of religious books, reference publications and other socio-economic records pertaining to the *math* and the *Gauda Saraswat Brahman* community. The *math* has maintained even 500 years old records in its library that comprise Marathi, Kannada and Persian records in thousands. There are stone inscriptions even of an earlier period and copper plates written in Kannada script. In addition to the records there are about 200

files pertaining to accounts and more than 500 manuscripts. The Marathi language used in the records depicts the language used in entire Goa as well as upto Mangalore in South Kanara district greatly influenced by the Kannada language and also to some extent Konkani and Portuguese.[93]

Car Festival (*Rathostsava*): The *math* has a 250 year old wooden chariot, which is used in the annual *rathotsava* (car festival) on the occasion of Ramnavami. It is about 15 metres high when fully decorated (fig.5.22). However, the carved body is about 5 mtrs. high. The body is decorated with beautiful carvings and geometrical designs which depict flowers, leaves, horses, hunting, battle scenes, physical prowess, etc. The *ratha* is an outstanding example of age-old temple art. When the chariot is decorated, it can be distinctly seen in five principal parts like wheels, the body, the shrine, the dome and the spine. It is built on four main wheels having a diameter of about two mtrs. and twenty cms. thickness. Solid blocks of wood are fastened by cross bars of iron and nails. The wheels are attached to the wooden axles formed of projecting ends of the front and back beams of the frame on which the base is fixed. The base of the *ratha* rests on the frame.

In the front and back beams of the *ratha* massive iron rings are fixed for fastening the coir ropes for dragging the *rath*. Since the base is octagonal, the *ratha* is surmounted by an eight-cornered structure made of eight wooden frames. These frames are fixed on angles and held together by eight tie beams joined to the pole about 10 to 15 mtrs. high. It rises from the centre of the body of the *ratha* to the peak of its spire. The frames of the octagonal room are alternate spaces like doors. The alternate planking is covered with paintings depicting mythological figures. There is a permanent base-like altar on which the image of god is placed during the chariot procession.

For the purpose of decoration the domed roof is made of pieces of betel, palm wood or bamboo tied and decked with coloured flags. The dome is called *ghood*. It is crowned with a spire and a temple flag known as *ghoodi* or *gudi* is tied to it.

The *rathotsava* starts with the purification of the *ratha* by kindling the *hom* (sacred fire) and sprinkling holy water on the chariot. The image of Rama studded with precious ornaments of gold and gems is brought from the temple in a palanquin upto the chariot. The *Swamiji* places the idol in the *ratha* and performs religious rites like *arati* amid the cries of people. He breaks the coconut and the procession starts. About 400 to 500 men drag the *ratha* by holding the coir rope amid loud chanting and traditional music. As the *ratha* moves, devotees shower large quantities of flowers and plantains on the *ratha*. *Swamiji* throws some fruits, sweets and also precious coins to the devotees' crowd by the side of the *ratha* to acknowledge them. It was a tradition to perform *Pene-a* group singing and dancing by *Devdasis* in front of car during the festival (5.23). On completion of one *pradakshina* (circumambulation) the *ratha* is dragged to the original spot from where it started and after offering the sacred lamp to the deity the idol is taken down and placed in a palanquin to carry it to the temple.

Soon after the annual car festival is over the *ratha* is dismantled and the body of the chariot is cleansed with sesamum oil which acts as pesticide and preserves the chariot in the shed specially erected known as *ratha-ghar*.

Lannoy pointed out that the association of the temple and the chariot is an interesting example of interaction of classical and rural India.[94] The chariot-riding gods were the common feature of *Vedic* mythology. Furthermore, the hymns from *Vedas* ascribed symbolic significance to the various parts of the chariot. For example, they treated the wheel as the symbol of time. According to Lannoy the custom of carrying images of village deities in bullock carts on the occasion of religious procession is probably of Neolithic origin. Later it was substituted by well-decorated carts and with the passage of time elaborately carved wooden chariots which are still in existence replaced the tradition. It is also common to construct lightweight chariots for use of ordinary seasonal festivals. In Partagali *math* there are small chariots which are used on different occasions. These are known as *rath* or *lalakhi*. Such small chariots were in use in medieval and Renaissance Europe as mobile platforms (fig.5.24).[95] People used to stand on it in the attire of sacred figures. The stone *ratha* of Mahabalipuram may also be

included in this constellation of chariot iconography. The temples often appear to be enormous chariots, either in a metamorphorical sense or to represent them to proclaim the message of popular salvation. The cases of Konark and Hampi can be cited as good examples in this context.

A number of festivals are celebrated in the *math* throughout the year. *Ramnavami* is the principal festival of the *math*. It commences from *Chaitra Shuddha Panchami* (fifth day of first half of *Chaitra*–March-April) and lasts till *Dashami* (tenth day). The commencement of the festival is marked by hoisting *Garud-pat* (a flag with the picture of bird-man) on the *Garuda-sthambha* (*Garuda*-pole) permanently erected in the courtyard of the *math*. On the day of *Ramnavami* a number of religious performances are held and at midnight hour the *rathotsava* (car festival) is held. On this occasion a big fair takes place in which villagers make purchases of utensils, animals, clothes and sweets.

Since the *math* is a religious organisation there is a dearth of political information. However we do find some information about the economic and social aspects along with the socio-cultural and religious aspects of the people. The main sources of income of the *math* are the gifts made to the monastery. Similarly many articles like cloth, coconut, other kind of fruits etc. form a part of the income of the *math*. Besides, some devotees have donated money and chariots to undertake the celebration of certain festivals in the *math*. In addition to this, devotees for specific performances deposit gold and silver ornaments and money with the *math*.

From old records it is evident that *Swamijis* were not generally dealing in money lending. However on the bais of the merit of the case they used to help the needy persons. The records available in the archives of the monastery say that a pontiff should not become a money–lender. He should help needy persons with a low rate of interest, which is certainly justifiable, on the ground of collecting money for the maintenance of other activities of the *math*[96]

When the conflicts, crimes took place in society, the *Swamiji* always acted as a religious magistrate. From the old records of the *math* it is clear that severe crimes like thefts, quarrels, resulting deaths as well as murders were brought before the authorities of the *math*. Other social crimes such as celebration of false marriages, marrying a girl twice, illegal sexual intercourses, committing of rapes, abortions and birth of illegal progeny from such intercourses and the problem of maintenance of raped women and their progeny were recorded in the old documents.[97] The *Swamiji* used to summon the offenders. It is interesting to note that the offenders generally obeyed the summons and used to confess their crimes and beg for pardon. On such occasions, the *Swamiji* fined the offenders or as a matter of solution used to prescribe some rites to be performed for the atonement of the sins.

Rui Gomes Pereira has recorded in *Goa Hindu Temples and Deities* an incident whereby the then government was forced to revoke its orders. In 1845 A.D. the Portuguese government received a complaint against the *mudra–daan* practice that was in vogue in the Partagali *math*. Some followers of the *math* from Ponda *taluka* who refused to undergo the *mudra-daan* were excommunicated by the *Swamiji* for their refusal and also punished with fines. In view of the existing law, the government forbade such an act of the *Swamiji*. Further government stated that it was the duty of the government to put stop to such practices.[98]

By another law dated 1853 A.D. it was necessary to justify the cause of excommunication in the court by framing necessary charges before one was excommunicated. This provision was made under the influence of the local government.[99] This fact was brought forward by a special commission of learned people and further remarked that such law would amount to the interference of the government in the religious powers of the *Swamiji*. As a result the *Codigo de Usos e Costumes* (Code of Usages and Customs) section 119 of the year 1853 revoked that provision and re-established the liberty enjoyed by the *Swamiji* in imposing ex-communication.[100] The aforesaid *mudra-daan* is one of the rites prescribed by the *Swamiji* for the offenders who committed grave crimes.

The overseas voyages were considered as a breach of Hinduism and hence the offenders were liable to ex-communication. When this matter was brought to the notice of the 20th Pontiff of the *math*, Indirakant Teertha, he took an initiative to review the traditional bindings and accordingly provision of symbolic *prayashcitta* was approved for the members of *Saraswat Vaishnavas* who undertook journeys across the seas. This decision was taken in a joint meeting of all three pontiffs of Partagali, Kavalem and Kashi monasteries.[101] Thus whenever problems related to the entire *Saraswat samaj* arose, the *Swamiji* always took lead to get rid of such difficulties and to show the right path to the *samaj*. Shreemat Vidyadhiraja Teertha Swamiji assumed *peetha* started honouring outstanding *Vaishnava* followers of the *math* who have excelled in different fields of life from the year 1977. Every year an awardee is selected by the committee specially constituted for the purposefor the award of the *Vidyadhiraja Puraskar*. Appendix 11 gives a list of various branches of Partagali *math* and Appendix 12 provides the list of the *Swamijis* and their major contribution.

The artistic creativity of the culture of Canacona is thus visible in a diversity of performing arts that have been discussed in this chapter and the previous one. The information, based on exclusive compilation of the rich folklore of the *taluka*, is summurised in tables 5.1 and 5.2.

Feasts and Festivals

The Canacona *taluka*, having remained far away from the sophisticated urban life in the southernmost tip of Goa, is rich in feasts and festivals as has been noted in the foregoing paragraphs. Canacona *taluka* celebrates these rituals throughout the year. Their rituals start from the *Chaitra mas*, the first month and last till *Falgun*, the last month of the Hindu calendar.

According to Hindu mythology, Lord Vishnu, preserver of the universe falls asleep on the tenth day of *Ashadha* and wakes up on the eleventh day of *Kartik*. During

this period of four months the humans are expected to keep constant vigil on demons that await to find an opportunity to destroy the good work of gods.[102] This period of four months is known as *chaturmas* which is remarkably observed by way of fasting, prayer, *puja*, incantations, narration of mythological stories, devotional music, dance and other similar religious rituals. As such, according to this tradition, most of the *vratas* (vows) are probably observed during this period of four months. Table 5.3 provides particulars of important annual *vratas* (vows), *parabo* (feasts) and *utsavs* (festivals) celebrated by different Hindu communities in Canacona.

Kalo or *Sankasur Kalo*

Another important source material to trace the history of Canacona is the folk play called *Kalo* or *Sankasura Kalo*. *Kalo* in the local language means combination or mixture. It is a kind of anarchic and piecemeal connection to the main subject of the Hindu mythology. It seems that three-four themes are probably taken out from the Hindu mythology which are actually disjointed and converted into a big festival for the twin purpose of social education and the community entertainment.

The folk play, which is performed at late night, is known as *Kalo* or *Sankasur Kalo*. The theme of the performance is initially based on the first incarnation of Lord Vishnu and also the eighth incarnation, that is, Lord Krishna. This incarnation of fish (*matsya*) is depicted in the first half of the folk play. The Sankasur (demon born from a conch-shell) steals the four *Vedas* from Brahmadeva and hides beyond the seven seas. Knowing this, Lord Vishnu appears in the incarnation of fish and finds Sankasur. After severe fighting the demon is killed and the *Vedas* are recovered. This theme is dramatised in the *Sankasur Kalo*. The second half is based on the story of Lord Krishna.

It is interesting to note that besides the main characters of Sankasur and *matsyavatara* (incarnation of Lord Vishnu as a fish) there exist many characters in the *Kalo* (fig.5.25). Like other folk plays, the *Kalo* commences with an invocation to Lord Ganesh. Ganesh appears on the scene to the accompaniment of a *mridanga* or *pakhawaja*

(percussion) and *zanj* (small cymbal). The main narrator, called *Haridas,* performs the invocation. After the exit of Ganesh two characters known as *Kuddamati* perform a mime followed by Sharada. After the exit of Sharada the Sankasur appears at the *sabhamadap* (performance arena) and presents a mime followed by dialogues to establish his identity. Finally a *Matsyavatara,* Lord Vishnu kills him. Thereafter *Matari* (old woman) appears on the scene holding a walking stick in her hand followed by the character of the husband of Putana (the demoness). The old woman enters with an ash gourd. Thereafter Putana enters followed by the presentation of a small wooden idol of Balkrishna (child Krishna) at the scene. Krishna kills the demoness. The child Krishna is then carried around the temple or shrine, singing songs in praise of the Lord, probably depicting his association with the pastoral communities.

In other places the character of *Malane Sankasur* is also performed. *Malani* means the threshing of paddy. The Sankasur associated with the job of threshing the paddy is represented in certain *kalo* performances. Similarly after the killing of Putana another performance takes place in some temples at Poinguinim, Khargali and so on, which is known as *dahinkalo* (with a reference to curds) or *gaulankalo* (with a reference to milkmaids and cowherdresses). The name of this *kalo* indicates the influence of Bhagwat *dharma* as in the whole show Lord Krishna is the main charater and the story depicted is his childhood pranks with *gopis* or *gaulans.* It also speaks of abundance of milch animals and prosperity of the people. It believes that Lord Krishna holds the community together and keeps it under his divine benevolence. In some areas the *Sankasur kalo* is called *raatkalo* and the *gaulankalo* is held during the next afternoon as in the Grampurush Lakshminarayan temple at Cola. Usually the *dahikalo* is held at the break of dawn in all temples. In this performance an earthen pot filled with curds is hung from the ceiling of the temple in the *sabhamandap.* It is broken ceremonially and the curds, collected and mixed with flattened rice *(fov),* is distributed to the gathering. This is also termed as *fovam-kalo.*

The influence of the *Vaishnava* sect is distinctly seen. Thus it can be easily inferred that the evolution of *kalo* has taken place at a later period. The character of

Matari (old woman) was probably derived from the *Perni jagor*. Another notable point is the use of cloth mask for Sankasur (fig.5.26). All other characters are represented in wooden painted masks. Another folk play *Khel* staged in Canacona shows distinct influence of Yakshagana of Karnataka (fig.5.27).

Samsar Padvo: Since *Samsar padvo* is the New Year day of all Hindus, the residents of Canacona no matter which class or gender they belong, go to the temple or traditional place to listen to the reading of the whole year's forecast. It is locally knows as *panchang-vachan* which is followed by the tradition of eating a small quantity of paste made out of *neem* (*Melia azadirachta*) leaves and *jira* (*Cuminum cyminum*) before taking breakfast, as this is believed to prevent diseases for the whole year.[103] There is no tradition of raising of *gudi* (banner) on a long pole before the house, which is a common feature in north Goa.

Akshay tritiya: This feast, which comes in *Vaishakha mas* (month) is considered as the most auspicious occasion or *muhurta* for launching projects, particularly purchase of new articles, for admission into new house, etc. This occasion is very religiously celebrated with rituals such as *hom, havan* in conformity to Hindu tradition. Besides all village temples organise special *puja* and also stage drama performances.

Vada punav:*Vadapunav* means the *Vatapaurnima* which is the worship of tree and tree chosen for this, is banyan tree (*Ficus bengalensis*). The feast has mythological legend, which is also practiced in every household. The legend related to the story of Savitri and Satyavan in which Savitri regained the life of her husband from Yama- the God of death, on account of her chastity, serious meditation and penance.[104] In fact the women of Canacona,on that day draw a picture on the wall with lime depicting the story and they go to the banyan tree and tie up threads praying for a long life for their husbands. Thereafter most of the families relish sweet dishes and special food.

Ekadas: *Ekadashi* (eleventh day of the month), both in *Ashadha* and *Kartik* are celebrated as days of fasting and singing of *bhajans* or the devotional songs depicting the *bhakti* cult and *Vaishnava* tradition in the region.

Nagpancham: According to the Hindus, snakes are powerful gods. The fifth day of *Shravan* is dedicated to them and they are worshipped by the people of Canacona. People perform the *puja* (worship) of anthill and offer milk to the snake symbolising a practice of snake-worship. The working class is forbidden to undertake any agricultural operation. on the day of *Nagpanchami* on account of the belief that it might hurt the snake. (This festival is treated in more detail in chapter IV under snake-worship).

Mangalagaur: It is the deity Gauri whose *puja* is performed mostly by married girls of the *Karhade* and *Chitpavan Brahmins* for minimum five successive years on every Tuesdays during the month of *Shravan* (July-August) This priestly class was believed to have been bought by the *Sarawat Brahmans* to serve as priests while *Saraswat Brahmans* managed the temple administration. On Mangalagaur women observe fast and after performing *puja* in the evening they take food. They sing and dance as an offering to the deity. This *vrata* is observed for the longevity of the husband.

Aitar pujap: Sunday or *Ravi-var* is sacred to the sun. Women worship the Sun God on every Sunday during *Shravan* by making offerings of leaves, flowers and also special sweet dishes. The colour sacred to the sun is green, hence probably the green leaves are mainly offered to the Sun-god in this ritual.[105] The offerings used for *puja* are left outside the house at sunset. On each Sunday different traditional sweet dishes such as *patolyo, muthalyo, pais, khichadi, pan-polle* are prepared and served to all members of the family as *prasad.* On the day of the *puja* women take only a vegetarian afternoon meal.

Sutam punav: *Sutam punav* (fullmoon day thread ceremony) has far more importance than many other Hindu festivals. This festival directly links the *Chaturvarnas* (four castes). According to the community structure of the Hindus, the use of the holy thread *(zanvem),* worn over the shoulder to the recitation of *mantras* (incantations), indicates

that the person belongs to an upper caste as the thread and the ceremony by which it is put on is denied to the lower castes. But on *Sutam punav* everybody is conferred with this right of wearing the thread. The occasion removes, for sometime, the discrimination in Hinduism and brings all the castes and communities together.

Sutam punav has other important aspects, perhaps more than the festival. The fishermen launch their boats ceremonially for the New Year at a time when the sea that had been rough and wild during the monsoon becomes peaceful and and enables the boats to take to the seas in search of a bumper crop of fish catch.

It is pertinent to note that during the ancient period the sea was the most important trade group. Traders and ultimately the entire society were fully dependent on the sea. However, due to the onset of monsoon maritime trade was not possible. To mark the end of the monsoon season, the traders and also the kings used to offer coconuts to the Sea-God and launch their vessels in the sea. Hence it is called *Narali paurnima*. It is the propitiation of the deity Varuna and Indra.[106] However during recent past it is also celebrated as *Rakhi paurnima* in a few households, probably due to the influence of North India.

Gokulashtami (birth anniversary of Lord Krishna): Hindu mythology depicts various facets of Lord Krishna as a divine child, as a cowherd, as a king, as a war-hero and finally as a great philosopher. According to most Hindus, Lord Krishna was a loving friend, beloved lover, respectable husband, brave and generous brother. All these roles of Lord Krishna have always inspired the communities to worship him as a deity of all. Accordingly it seems that his memories have been still preserved through the *vrata* (vow) like *Gokulashtami* or *Janmashtami* Gokul being the birth-place of Krishna.

All *Vaishnavas* and also most of the lower class Hindus observe a daylong fast followed by special *puja* (worship) on the eighth day of the dark half of *Shravan*. People offer *tulasi* (Ocimum sanctum), *durva* (Cynodon dectylon) and *patri* (leaves of wild plants that are considered as holy shrubs in all Hindu households in Canacona). While

chanting *Vishnu-sahastranam* (thousand names of Lord Vishnu) the *tulasi, durva, patri* and flowers are offered to the deity for one thousand one hundred and eight times in the presence of the village priest. In addition to this, milk and milk products are also offered. The sweet dishes essentially comprise of variety of rice-flakes (*fov*).

Gavar pujap or Haratalka: The worship of Gauri, the mother of Lord Ganesh, in the form of leaves and flowers from the holy jungle trees and shrubs is a noteworthy feature of Canacona in general, Loliem included.

The *Haratalka* is held on the preceding day of Ganesh–*churturthi* that is also known as *vaina-pujap*. The Gauri image is represented in the form of a bunch of wild leaves well wrapped in a big leaf of *colocasia*. It is worshipped and offered different cooked vegetables of the season. Gauri is worshipped along with her consort Mahadev in the form of a coconut. Thus the tradition of Gauri *puja* on the occasion of the Ganesh festival solely symbolises the ancient agricultural tradition. It is also pertinent to note that according to folk belief Gauri is the *vanadevta* (forest deity), which is the basic characteristic of the peasant culture. Gauri and Mahadev are deserted on the second night in the campus, which coincides with the immersion of the Ganesh idol.

Chavath (Ganesh festival): The Ganesh festival, popularly known, as *Chavath* is the biggest Hindu festival celebrated in Goa. It is influenced by the ruling dynasties of the South. Canacona, they leave behind being southern most part of Goa having been ruled mostly by the southern rulers this heritage. This festival is marked by the opportunities provided to the masses for manifesting their songs, dances and art through the decoration of fruits and vegetables painting, modeling of paper mache and also enjoying fireworks and the preparation of sweetmeats.

Ganesh being a folk deity[107] is worshipped with big fanfair with the unique features of worshipping the clay image of Ganesh by individual householders in every Hindu house, singing devotional songs (*aratis*) to the accompaniment of folk percussion instruments such as *ghumat, shamel* and many other musical instruments. Another feature

is the performance of *fugdi* danceby the women and yet another is the special decoration made with the help of wild vegetables and fruits called *matoli* (decorative canopy).

Ganesh idols made of mud by the local artisans are worshipped for one and half day. However in a few *Brahmins* families in Poinguinim a heap of wild flowers and leaves is regarded as Ganesh and worshipped. It is called *patrecho Ganapati*. *Patri* means holy wild leaves.[108] (A legend behind the tradition of *patrecho Ganapati* is that a group of villagers collected *patri* from thick forest for *Ganesh puja*. However on their return they found one of their colleagues missing who they believed had been attacked by a tiger). Since then they worship the heap of *patri* instead of the Ganesh idol. A traditional drawing of Lord Ganesh is also placed behind the heap of *patri*.

Some families, as vows, worship Ganesh for five, seven, nine, eleven and fourteen days and thereafter the idol is immersed in a tank or river. The diet during the festival remains strictly vegetarians. A variety of sweetmeats comprising of *nevaryo, ladu, modak, kapam, shankarpale, patolyo* are prepared on this occasion.

Vinayaki-Sankashti: The fourth day of bright half of every month is called *vinayaki,* while that of the dark half is called *sankashti.* Both these days are observed by a few *Brahmin* families as special *vrata* of Ganesh. On the day of *vinayaki* special *puja* is offered to Ganesh in the forenoon and thereafter they take vegetarian meal whereas on *sankashti* day the *puja* is offered after moonrise. Hence they fast during the daytime and dine after the *puja* is offered. When *sankashti* falls on a Tuesday it is considered as the best among all these *vinayaki-sankashti vratas* and is called *angarika*.[109]

Navyam parab (feast of new crop): The festival of new crop probably is not celebrated so much with importance in other places as in Canacona. It is celebrated as one of the major feats with rituals and *puja* (worship) from the *Brahmans.* It is also known as *chorvon shijovap.* On the second day of the Ganesh festival, all the male members of the *Kshatriya Maratha* families go to their own farm and cook their own food (rice) in newly procured earthen pots added with new food grains. After offering *puja* by the village

priest, they take meal. Before they return home the village servant *(deuli)* sacrifice fowls at the spot as the concluding ritual. All the members return home carrying the remaining food, and observe with the tradition that they must not look behind till they reach home for it is believed that the corn spirit follows them upto their house.

At other places, people either choose the ear-heads from their own rice field or they collect them from the village temple on the day of the feast. After bringing them home they perform *puja* and tie the ear-heads to their threshold, pillars of the house, weapons, tools, etc. The family enjoys the feast with traditional sweet dishes.

There is also a tradition of offering coconut, betel-leaves, areaca nut, vermilion, turmeric powder, oil lamp and red flowers at the time of sowing the farm. These offerings are made for securing good harvest and protection for the crop from wild beasts and disease. The owner of the field is usually summoned on this occasion for sowing a handful of grains. This ritual is known as *muthay*. Similarly another ritual called *jogan* or *charvan* is performed on the farm when the crop is ready. In this the *Brahmans* are given feast.

Anant-vrata (Anant *puja*): *Anant vrata* is a typical *Vaishnava* feast held on the fourteenth day of *Bhadrapada*. People prepare a snake of *darbha* grass (*Eragrostis synosurorides*) sybolising Lord Vishnu and offer *puja*.

According to Hindu mythology Lord Vishnu relaxed on the coiled Shesha Nag in the milky ocean. The Shesha Nag is supposed to hold the earth on the thousand-headed hydra which forms a couch for Vishnu.[110] Anant is the epithet of Lord Vishnu, which represents the universe. Besides, the king of serpent gods is also Anant.[111]

A few *Vaishnav Brahmin* families in Canacona celebrate this *puja*. A few events of *Anantvrata* also take place in *Vaishnavite* temples and monasteries such as Narayana at Poinguinim, Nirakar at Maxem, Partagali *math* and so on. The feast is marked with

community lunch, *bhajan, kirtan, arati* and firework. Since Vishnu is the Lord of the universe, a few non-*Vaishnavite* families also celebrate it.

Navaratri and Dasaro: Special *Durgapuja* is celebrated in the *Navaratri* festival for nine consecutive nights. The festival is held as the major period of worship of the Mother Goddess. During *Navaratri* the idol of the goddess in various temples is decorated in different postures depicting her nine warlike manifestations and mythological stories are narrated in a special session (*puran*) describing her different manifestations and she is offered grand worship.

A special festival is held in the Durga temple at Mahalwada in the Poinguinim village in which special dance performance called *gondol* is held during all nine nights. The *gade* (dancers) hold *tarangam* as well as *pillakucho* and perform trance-dance to the accompaniment of traditional music. On the day of *Dasaro* the same performance is held during daytime followed by ceremonial distribution of *apta* (*Bauhinia racemasa*) locally known as *sone lutap*. Prior to the distribution of the leaves, the tree is worshipped ceremonially and then the leaves are plucked and distributed as 'gold' to the entire gathering that are preserved for the next year.

The distribution of *apta* leaves is associated with a legend of the *Ramayana*. According to it, during the reign of king Rahgu, the ancestor of Rama, Indra, the king of gods, turned the leaves of all *apta* trees in Ayodhya into gold. Once king Raghu promised to give a costly gift to a sage but found himself short of wealth. So he decided to raid Amaravati, the wealthy city of Indra. In order to avoid a battle with the powerful king, Indra showered gold on all *apta* trees.[112] It is reported that, since then the tradition of plucking and distribution of *apta* leaves has continued.

Besides this ceremony, people do worship their traditional weapons in their houses on the day of *Vijayadashami* (*Dasaro*). Another legend of Pandavas is linked to this tradition. On the last day of their exile they took back all their weapons kept on the

shami tree (*Prosopis spicigera*) *apta* tree and came out in open as the heirs to the throne of Hastinapur.[113]

During *Navaratri* celebration flower garlands are offered to the goddess is ascending order that is one garland on the first day and nine garlands on the ninth day. Special community lunch called *devkarem* is hosted in at this time. Virgins are regarded as a symbol of the mother and are offered a feast and special gifts. Such a worship of the virgins is performed in many households by offering community lunch in their honour. The virgin is called *vadi* (plural *vadiyo*) and is selected mostly from the same caste and clan to represent the goddess.[114]

Saraswati pujan: *Saraswatipujan*, also known as *Sharadotsava* (festival of goddess Sharada), is traditionally celebrated in almost all schools and a few temples in Canacona during *Navaratri*. It is a notable point that there exists an independent Saraswati *mandir* at Char-Rasta, which has no approved statutes. However it definitely points towards the age-old tradition of Saraswati worship in Canacona.

Saraswatipujan is dedicated to Saraswati, the goddess of learning and of the intellectuals and the refined. On that day, collectively, all people in the town and the village bring the clay idol of goddess Sarawati and for three days it is kept in a decked canopy. Musical programmes are held on all three nights. On the last day of *Navaratri* the idol is immersed ceremonially.

A unique tradition continues with this celebration: on the day of *Dasaro* the students of the local primary schools draw a sketch of goddess Saraswati on their slates and display it in their schools. This immortalises the value of education amongst the children.

Mhal: Between the festival of Ganesh Chaturthi and the *Navaratri* there is an occasion which is called *Mhal* representing a community lunch dedicated to the memory of the dead ancestors. It is also a symbolic ritual of bringing to life the dead souls of the

ancestors. During this community lunch, a full course meal is offered to the souls of dead. All members of the family are forbidden to take meal until and unless a crow picks up the food. The crow is regarded as the symbol of the departed soul. In case the crow fails to pick up the food, the ritual is slightly modified according to which a symbolic crow made of *darbha* grass (*Eragrostis cynosurorides*) is taken for granted as far as relishing of food is concerned and subsequently all the members of the family partake of the meal.

Diwali and Lakshmi pujan: While all people celebrate Diwali, *Lakshmi-pujan*, the *puja* of Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, is restricted to the traders who change their commercial ledger books and open up new books for the New Year.

Diwali is celebrated with great importance traditionally in Canacona. Before Liberation, Diwali would be a simple affair as people would get up very early in the morning and take a hot bath with sandalwood paste (*utanem*) mixed with oil. It represents the victory of Lord Krishna over the *Asura* king Narakasur. The legend runs that Lord Krishna rescued sixteen thousand women from the atrocities and incarceration of the demon Narakasur whom he killed. People also take this occasion as triumph of good over evil. It used to be very simple and confined to show of *aratis* by women to the male members of the family, who crushed the bitter gourd, *karita (Cucumis trigonus)*, regarding it as a demon.[116] Thereafter the male members would go to the temple, offer prayers and then visit neighbours and relatives. Diwali after Liberation has made the killing of Narakasura as one of the major items. Accordingly in every village effigies of this demon are erected and burnt at dawn.

That Goa is a connoisseur of varieties of dishes of the flattened rice (*fov*) can be learnt from the agriculture oriented Canacona *taluka*. The importance of flattened rice lies in two aspects. One is the traditional poverty of landless labourers and second is the egoism of the affluent class that the dish is prepared out of their own products. Canacona people on Diwali day have been traditionally feasting on great varieties of flattened rice.

The celebration of Krishna's slaying of Narakasur is followed by *Goravam padvo* on the next day *(Govardhan-puja)* details of which are described in the previous chapter.

Krishna puja: Probably nowhere in Goa a unique festival of Krishna *puja* is celebrated during the post-Diwali days. It is but natural and obvious that this festive celebration is confined to cowherds. The relation between Lord Krishna and the cowherds is inseparable for Lord Krishna, during his childhood and adult life always liked the company of cowherds and also liked to play with them. The festival also reminds us of Lord Krishna's pranks with *gopis* (milk maids) and cowherds.

The Krishna *puja* reminds us of those pranks of Lord Krishna as on that day the descendents of Gokul (cowherds) not only perform *puja* but also play the sports and games which recall and symbolise the traditions prevailing during the times of Lord Krishna. On that day and throughout the year cowherds prepare out of their own hands terracotta icons and place them either at the foot of the banyan tree or in the open space to perform *puja* and even today they pray for protection and shelter. However during present times their age-old venues have been shifted to independent shades named as Krishna–*math*, Krishna-*mandir* etc. or any other nearby temple of a local deity.

Tulashi lagn: *Tulsi (Ocimum sanctum)* is the most sacred plant to all Hindus. *Vaishnavas* believe that it is an incarnation of the wife of Vishnu and they take care to plant and water a *tulsi* plant in their compound. The daily circumambulation of the plant is an act of worship. It's leaves are believed to be capable of purifying the soul and the body.[117] The plant, being an incarnation of Lakshmi, its marriage is performed every year with a symbol of Vishnu.

The feast of *Tulashi-lagna* comes on the twelfth day of Diwali and is described as greater Diwali (*vodli* Diwali) probably because Lord Vishnu figures directly as the main God of Hindu pantheon whereas the Diwali represents Lord Krishna who is only an incarnation of Lord Vishnu.

In this ceremonial ritual, the stick locally called *jino* or *dimdo* or *dindo (Leea macrophylla)* that is fixed in the *vrindavan* is regarded as the symbol of Lord Vishnu. The area around the *tulasi vrindavan* is decorated with mango leaves and plantains and illuminated with oil lamps. The symbolic marriage takes place amidst family gathering.

The feast represents the marriage ceremony of Vishnu and Lakshmi and it is performed in conformity to the traditional ceremony of a Hindu marriage. All the religious rites performed during the Hindu marriage are also done in the feast. Then a mix of sugarcane pieces, flattened rice *(fov)*, tamarind, *anvalo (emblica myrobalan)* and *panchakhadya* (mix of five articles- coconut, jaggery, *dal, til* and cardamons) is distributed to the people who attend the marriage. Its main importance is that it comes when the monsoon recedes and it opens up a season of Hindu weddings for the New Year. Again all that is distributed to the people are agricultural products, because the community in the region thrives on agriculture.

Kartik Paurnima: Canacona *taluka* celebrates *Kartik Paurnima* (full moon day of *Kartik* month) which perhaps may be rarely found in the region. All people bring out the village deity on full moon night in procession, organise *sangod* (rafter) in which the deity is kept bedecked and taken round in the lake or river in the vicinity of the temple. This is preceded by a community lunch in an open plain *(vanabhojan)* which symbolises the unity of the people and collective wisdom. The festival lasts for about two to five days during which the entire *taluka* remains busy with celebration. People are blessed by their deities, placed in *palakhi,* (palanquin), *lalakhi* (small car), *rath* (chariot, car) and *sangod* (rafter). Allied to this occasion comes the annual fair with *diparadana* (illumination) and performance of *dindi, bhajan, kirtan* and annual *Sankasur Kalo.*

Sankrant: *Makar sankrant* is the winter solstice when the sun slides down the sign *Makara* or Capricorn. This operation is celebrated in the *taluka* as generally elsewhere as *makarsankrant* in the month of *Paushya* (December-January). It is observed with mutual exchange of goodwill by exchanging small sweetmeats that made of sesame and jaggery *(tilgul).* From that day a new festival of *haladikukum* starts lasting for a period of about fifteen days. But in this feast only women participate. In Loliem as well as other villages

and towns women invite other women of the neighbourhood and distribute some objects or articles like terracotta, statues of gods and household articles.

Shigmo: Canacona *taluka* observes seven-day spring or *shigmo* festival. It starts on the ninth day (*Navami*) with special invocation ritual called *naman*, or salutation, to all folk and village deities. The festival continues till the full moon night. During this period different village groups (*mel*) perform folk music and dances every day. The villagers go to their village headman or the landlords and perform folk dances called *tonayam mel*, *talgadi*, *goph*, *chowrang*, *talo*, *vol*, *arati* and so on. The performances are invariably initiated from a sacred courtyard, *mand*, owned by the entire village community. The performances also culminate at the *mand* on the full moon day of *Falgun* (February-March). Various religious rituals take place at the *mand* to mark the culmination of the event that is attended by a large gathering of the entire village community. Since the performances in *shigmo* festival are regarded and maintained as an inseparable part and religious ritual of the entire village community of Hindus, various folk performing art forms are preserved in their authentic style. However the unleashing of market forces, consumerism, changing lifestyle, introduction of television and mass media, commercialization of mass-performances, have caused an erosion of the traditional *shigmo* customs.

Mand: In Canacona *taluka* as elsewhere, the village community (*comunidade*) or the *gram-samstha* or a landowner generally gifts a large open space called *mand*, which has shaped the destinies of the people of this *taluka*. The *mand* is also the protagonist and originator of the most creative and discursive sensibilities of the people. It is on this *mand* that all performing arts, whether it is a folk play, or folk song or a folk dance are performed but it is the *mand*, which has brought out new creative expressions and articulation. It is the *mand*, which has solved the most ticklish problems of the community, and it is a *mand*, which has symbolised the unity and integrity of the people towards progress and growth of human life.

Mand has carved a niche for itself in the cultural identity of the region. The concept of *mand* has probably originated from the pre-*vedic* period.[118] Though the *mand*

has many connotations, it must have been derived from the *vedic* Sanskrit word *mandal.*[119] According to Mollsworth (1975) *mandal* is "a sort of mystical diagram described in summoning a divinity upon occasion."[120] A similar functioning is associated with the *mand* in folk life. Different festivals have their own *mand* that are named after the prefix of the name of the respective festival such as *Shgmya-mand* (*mand* of *Shigmo*), *dhalam-mand* (*mand* of *dhalo*). Both these village festivals commence and also conclude at the respective *mand*. An invocation is always offered to the deity of the *mand* called *mandaguru* followed by the Earth Mother (Bhumika) and *vanadevta* (sylvan deity). Fighting, betting, abusing, blood sacrifice, consumption of liquor and used of leather footwear are the major taboos on the *mand*. The expenses on various rituals and activities are met with public contribution and through the village treasury called *comfr*. Such a system of *mand* is still prevailing in all villages in Canacona despite disintegration of communities. Thus *mand* has maintained its sanctity in the village life.

The previous chapter and the foregoing pages of the current chapter have dealt with the rich cultural heritage of Canacona as it has been shaped by cults and festivals that form an integral part of the life of the local people. In the following paragraphs, an attempt has been made to study the religious architecture of this *taluka*.

Religious Architecture

In Canacona region most of the structures of architectural merit are temples and *math* (monastery) Besides the temples of principal deities and secondary deities, there exist a number of shrines within and outside the premises of the main temples. Similarly except Gokarn Partagali Jeevottam *Math*, the small *math* of different communities such as *Gosavis* or *Jogis, Pagi, Bhagat* etc. have no distinct architecture. These small *math* are rather small sanctuaries with a roof of tiles or thatch. However, various temples having structural variations and style can be generally classified under three categories on the basis of the nature of ground plan and form and type of elevations, namely,

a. The *Samachaturasra* (square) type

b. The *Dirghachaturasra* (rectangular) type and

c. Square and rectangular type.

Temples with square plan are commonly found in Canacona. They are devoid of a spacious *mukhamandap*, which is locally known as *sabhamatap;* but they do have a circumambulatory passage called *pradakshina*. Similarly such temples have *tirtha matap*, which is encircled by *pradakshina* and also a *chowk* and *saravoli* in front of the *garbhagriha*. In addition to this a raised sitting arrangement on either side of the *chowk* is provided which is called *sopo* or *balcão*. This is generally a four-pillared sturucture. Most of the temples fall in this catagory. In some temples of secondary deities we find only *garbhagriha, pradakshina* and *tirthamantap.*

Rectangular type of temples has generally cells with extended *sukhanasi* (front elevation). The Gramadeva Lakshminarayan temple in Cola village is the best example of this type. In addition to the main deity of Lakshminarayan, Ganapati and Sateri are installed on either side, in different cells. However the *chowk, sarvali* and *sabhamadap* are common. Usually such temples of major deities have several minor gods in *prakar,* that is, the premises of the temple.

The third category of square and rectangular type of temples also exist in few numbers in the region under study. The reason behind this might be that the shrine was originally installed in a four-pillared structure covered with a roof. With the passage of time an additional structure was annexed in the traditional manner. Thus most of the *garbhagrihas* of the temples that exist in the region are of square type with gabled roofs and a circumambulatory passage *(pradakshina),* which encircle the *tirtha mantap*. With the advancement of time different structural additions such as *chowk, sarvoli, sopo, sabha mantap, tank, agrashala, deepasthambha, ratha-ghar, kothi* etc. were completed. As a result, the ground plan of temple took shape of a combination of square and rectangular types.

There are no cave temples and shore temples in Canacona. However, a few shrines were constructed in the past in the vicinity of the coast, which are mainly

worshipped by the fisherfolk. There are no hill temples either. However the *Kunbi* community had their original settlement on hilltops, which were facilitated by natural sources of drinking water. Though they have presently shifted their settlement to the foot of the hills and they maintained their deities at their *mulasthan* (original habitation) locally called as *dando*. These temples are very few in number mainly found in the Cotigão village and can be classified under category of the square type of temples.

Besides the temples there are a few monasteries *(math)* in the *taluka* out of which Gokarn Partagali Jeevottam *Math* is the most important. The *math* is a spacious structure recently renovated on a massive scale. In the *math* there is a temple of Rama, Laxman and Sita with an independent shrine of Maruti or Mukhaypran located within the premises of the *math*. All the original wooden pillars and structures with their sculptures and carvings were recently replaced by concrete structure. However the traditional concept of temple and *math* has been maintained. The temple has *prakar, pradakshina,* and *kalas* as the exterior parts whereas inside the temple the inner circumambulatory passage, *chowk, sarvoli,* etc. are maintained according to the prevailing tradition but with certain restrictions. Another *math* is located in the Panaskanem ward of Loliem village. In fact it is a temple of Venkatesh with all traditional features. However, the front portion of the temple premises is maintained in the form of a spacious *sabhamandap* in the form of a cross. Other *math* are considerably small in size which host the annual gathering of the community concerned to offer worship and other rituals.

All the temples in Canacona have a periphery known as *prakar* that demarcates the precincts of the temple. A few temples such as Mallikarjun of Shristhal, which has a sound financial background, have built a compound wall around the *parkar* out of laterite bricks and have also constructed independent monuments for several minor gods in the precincts of the temple of the main deity. Wide space is made available within the *prakar* for free movement which is considered as the outer *pradakshina–path* (outer circumambulatory passage). In the front of the *prakar* there is a structure of normal size arch called *toran*, which forms the main entrance to the temple. In almost all temples of main deities of the respective villages, the *garbhagriha* is built in double wall system.

The inner walls are usually plain but the outer walls contain artistic and architectural designs including various motifs. In all temples of such type, the inner circumambulatory passage is marked through the double walls system. But this passage is usually narrow and dark, though provided with small traditional ventilators. Figure 5.28 gives provides the ground plan showing major temple compexes in Canacona. Similarly, a plan of circular type temples existing in the *taluka* is shown in figure 5.29.

It is a common tradition in Canacona to have a central shrine that consists of a *garbhagriha*, a *tirtha matap*, a *chowk* surrounded by *sarvoli*, and an inner as well as outer *pradakshina*. The dome of the *garbhagriha* is mostly octagonal. Previously a few were in circular shape. The *adhishthan* (plinth) has projections of mouldings called cornices, usually intervened by designs and *pattikas* (strips). On top of the *adhishthan* at four corners there is a special projection known as *makar* in temples such as Mallikarjun temple at Canacona and Gaondongri and Parashuram temple at Poinguinim. Sometimes such *makars* are symbolically represented.

The artistic designs of *adhishthan* also deserve a special mention. The walls are raised on the *adhishthan*. The *bahya-bhittis* (outer walls) represent pilasters and grafities at certain intervals, niches and doorlets with *makar* or floral designs above the doorlets. The traditional grafities, depicting leaves, flowers, creepers, lamps etc., are common in temple-wall designs. The outer walls of temples are rarely plain. The entire structure is raised on pillars which are also merged in the walls. The number of pillars varies according to the size of the temple. The pillars usually have four or six *pattikas* (strips) and taper a little at the top surmounted by a plain capital. The wooden pillars still exist in most of the temples, more specifically Mallikarjun in Canacona and Gaondongri, Parashuram and Betal in Poinguinim which have intricate carvings that depict various motifs and also mythological characters like *avataras* (incarnations), *rashi, nakshatras*

PLAN SHOWING HINDU TEMPLE IN CANACONA TALUKA

1	DEITY
2	GARBHAGRIHA
3	INNER PRADAKSHINA
4	OUTER PRADAKSHINA
5	TIRTHA MANTAP
6	CHOWK
7	SARVOLI
8	NANDI
9	SOPO / BAINO
10	SABHAMANTAP
11	TULASHIVRINDAVAN
12	DIPASTHAMBHA
13	TALI
14	AGARSAL
15	KOTHI
16	SHED FOR RATH
17	PRAKAR
18	MINOR SHRINES
●	PRASAD KHAMBO
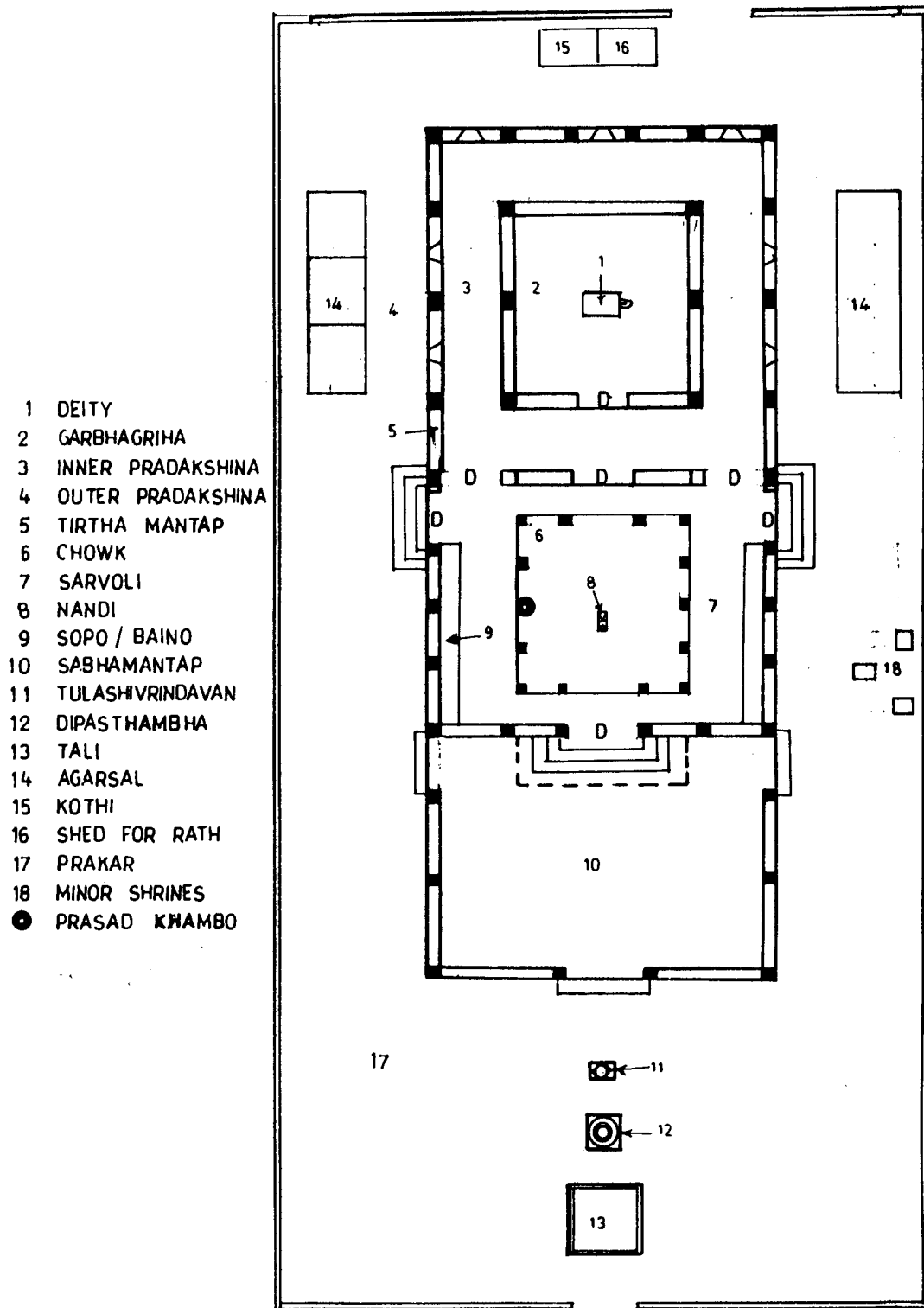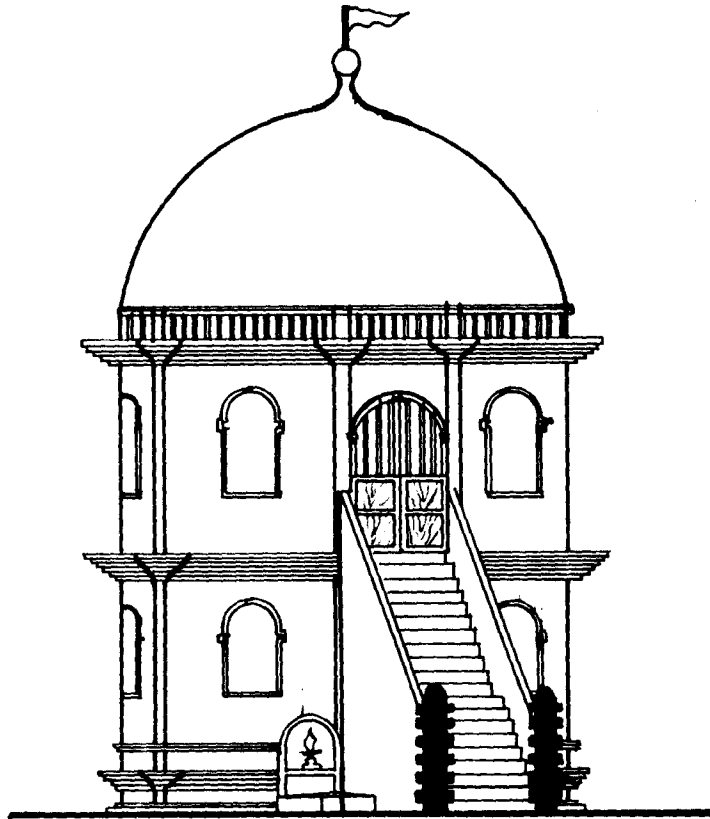
Fig. 5.28

ELEVATION

1... DEITY
2... GARBHAGRIHA
3... PRADAKSHINA
4... ENTRANCE (MAIN DOOR)
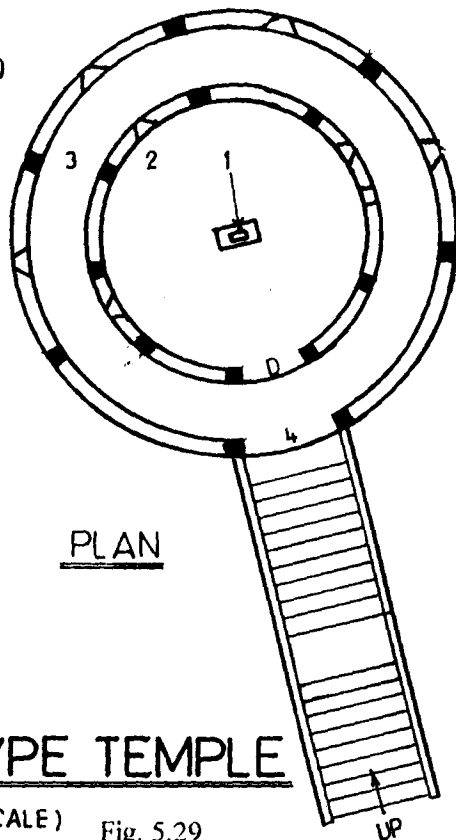
PLAN

CIRCULAR TYPE TEMPLE

(NOT TO SCALE)   Fig. 5.29

as well as characters from epic stories of *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. The relief figuresalso comprise of animals, birds and gods. The lower portion of the designated wooden pillars, usually from the right side of the deity, is reserved for performing the ritual of *prasad*. Similarly, on either side of the sideways of the *saravoli* there is an arrangement for sitting on a raised platform called *sopo* or *balcão*.

The entire roofing of the temple rested on these pillars. The upper framework is of peculiar type. The top of the pillars is fixed with blocks of wood carved with certain motifs like serpents, *gajavyala* and other anthropomorphic motifs. In the *gajavyala* motif the elephant trunk emerges from the mouth of an animal that resembles a lion. The motifs are usually a combination of two different animals. The corners of the wooden framework specially made for supporting the entire structure, are decorated with anthropomorphic figures carved out of wood. The long trunk that descends to the lower level of the corners and is displayed in an upward coil sometimes holds a lotus. Sometimes the lotus, creeper motifs and *gajavyal* are carved in the joints of the wooden framework in their natural and beautiful form. Such carvings used to be displayed in the framework all along the *chowk* and *sabhamatap*. The panels displayed in the Mallikarjun temple at Canacona are the only example available to cite. All other panels that existed in various temples were damaged due to lack of maintenance and most of them fell prey to white ants. These panels depicted various mythological themes and motifs. Besides the ceilings of some ancient temples are found decorated with wood carving such as lotus, *swastik* etc.

Another distinct feature of the temple architecture of Canacona is the variety of ornamental balustrades all along the walls or steps and entrances. They are made of wood with simple designs but placed in an attractive manner. These balustrades always served the purpose of cross ventilation and safety as well. However in the absence of balustrades the walls are provided with adequate number of side windows.

Nandi (bull): In the temples of different epithets of Shiva such as Mallikarjun (Canacona, Gaondongri and Avem) Mahadev (Loliem), Siddheshwar (Poinguinim), Kapileshwar (Vagona, Cola) are images of a seated *Nandi* (bull) which are installed at the

centre of the chowk or *mantap* since it is the *vahana* (legend) of Shiva. An interesting iconographic and stylistic feature to note that all images of *Nandi* are without horns, are examples, at Siddheshwar (fig.5.30) and Avem (fig.5.31). However the *Nandi* installed in the Mallikarjun temple of Gaondongri has a pair of polished and pointed horns that are about 20-25 cms. long (fig.5.32).

Earlier structures used to have thatched gabled roofs. The roofing of the *garbhagriha* is usually in two tiers. The inner wall and the outer wall of the sanctum is the first stage and the top of the *garbhagriha* forms the second stage. In the *nirandhar* type shrine (with only an outer circumambulatory passage) the roof remains single and is simple in design covering the entire structure. Though all the temples and shrines presently have roofs of tiles it appears that in the ancient times the roofing used to be thatched. It seems that as time rolled on stone slabs came to be freely used for safety and durability. The ancient stone slabs with carvings can be seen in the temples of Vishnu and Aryadurga in Pedem and Dingar wards of Loliem village. But extensive use of stone slabs became difficult and subsequently roofing with tiles and copper sheets came into practice at a later stage. The copper sheets were accepted as the best medium due to its aesthetic appeal. In such cases, the copper plates were fixed on the wooden framework. Sometimes roofing of temples took a mixed form with the lower portion consisting of either stone or tiles and the upper stage of either stones or copper plates. The entire roofing of the dome of the *garbhagriha* of most of the temples, such as Parashuram, Mallikarjun, Nirakar, Betal, Keshav, Rama-Laxman-Sita, is plated with copper on the outside.

Kalas (Finial): The surmounting of *kalas* (finial) on the top of the roof of the *garbha-griha* is a common tradition in Canacona like elsewhere. The number of *kalas* depends upon the number of principal deities installed within the *garbhagriha*. Generally it is one in the case of a temple of square type. In this respect it is worth mentioning that in Poinguinim the temples of Parashuram and Purushottam are joined together, forming a single temple. Both the deities face each other. But only one *kalas* is installed on the dome of the *garbhagriha* of Parashuram.

Tulashi Vrindavan: The construction of a small *tulashi vrindavan* in the *prakar* of the temple is common in Canacona. A small rectangular structure of laterite stone bricks of around 1.00 x 1.00 x 1.50 mtr. is constructed usually in front of the main deity of the temple at the main entrance of the temple near the *dipasthambha.* A *tulasi* (sweet basil) plant is grown in the structure. Offering of betel leaves and arecanut and oil lamps are made occasionally to the *tulashi vrindavan.*

Dvarapalas: The major temples of Canacona such as Mallikarjun, Parashuram, Nirakar, Keshav, Venkatesh, Lakshminarayan etc. have wooden *dvarapalas* (guards at the gate) placed on either side of the entrance into the *garbhagriha* or the *tirthamantap* as the case may be. The life-size wooden images have been carved since the region is rich in wood. The *dvarapalas* in Canacona range between 150 and 100 cms. in height. The images have four hands holding a *gada* (club), *padma* (medal) *shankha* (conch) and *chakra* (disc) in each hand. The *dvarapalas* wear a crown on their head, garlands around their necks and their dress consists of a *dhoti* and scarf as depicted in figure 5.33.

Dipasthambha: All the temples in Canacona have in front of them a *dipasthambha* (lamp pillar). The height of the pillar varies from 4 to 10 mtr. The wooden *dipasthambhas* are visible in most of the temples. However a few reputed temples have lamp pillars constructed out of stone and cement concrete such as Mallikarjun at Canacona, Gaondongri and Avem and Nirakar in Maxem. These pillars are illuminated on festive occasions. In case of wooden pillars the oil lamps are displayed. However during recent years some temples make use of electric illumination. Interestingly, Parashuram temple has a wooden pillar behind the *garbhagriha.*

Tali (tank): The striking feature of temple architecture in Canacona is the construction of a tank known as *tali* and sometimes as *tirtha.* Most of the temples have tanks either in front of them or at the rear or along the side. All tanks are built with laterite bricks. The provision of tanks is made to facilitate the devout to wash and bathe. Besides the water is also supplied for gardening and other purposes. Nirakar temple in Maxem is in fact constructed on an island. Hence no tank is constructed since the temple is surrounded by

water. Similarly, the Gokarn Partagali Jeevottan *Math*, with its Rama temple, is situated on the bank of the Talpona river and hence no special tank is constructed. In addition to the special tank there is a provision for wells in the temple complex. The water of these wells is used for the ablution of the deity and such other uses.

Agrashala: Agrashala is another distinct feature of temple architecture in the region. There exists a tradition of *pancharatra* (five nights) in Canacona in which the whole family of the devotee stays in the premises of the temple for five consecutive nights as a part of a vow. On the fifth day special worship is offered to the main deity. They stay in the dormitory within the vicinity of the temple which is known as *agrashala*. Besides the fulfilment of rows, the devotees use the rooms for casual stay during their pilgrimage. Some rooms of the *agrashala* are also reserved for the temple priest whose presence is required in the temple premises.

Kothi: It is a storeroom where all types of jewelry, utensils, masks, palanquin, dress material, etc. is kept. It is customary in this region to maintain a storehouse within the *prakar* of the temple. Generally a separate cell from the *agrashala* is spared for this purpose which is called as *kothi*.

Utsav Murti: It is customary in all temples to take a ceremonial procession of the deity around the temple or even around the villages. Different carriages are used for this purpose. A special bronze image of the deity is prepared to serve the purpose of procession. Such an image is called *utsav murti* (festival idol). Almost all temples have bronze images as counter parts of the original deity consecrated in the *garbhagriha*. The *utsav murti* are decorated with ornaments, silk clothing and carried round the temple several times in different carriages such as palanquins and *raths*. A few deities have no *utsav murtis*, such as Parashuram, since no occasion is designated for his ceremonial procession.

Palakhi, Lalakhi, Rath: People in Canacona use different carriages for the transport of the deity. The most common among them is *palakhi* (palanquin), which is adequately

decorated with silk tassels and clothings. *Lalakhi* is a kind of small chariot, which can be easily drawn by a small group of devotees. Almost all temples of the principal deities have their own chariot made of wood with exquisite carvings depicting various figures of animals, divinities and other varied representations. The chariot or car, generally known as *rath,* is drawn on annual celebrations. The chariot is decorated with coloured flags. There is also a tradition of dancing while holding the small *rath* on the shoulder, particularly in Cola village. But usually the big *rath* is drawn at all places such as Partagali, Maxem, Shristhal, Loliem, Poinguinim and Panaskane. When it is not in use, the *rath* is placed in a special cell in the *prakar* called the *ratha-ghar.*

Musical Instruments: All the temples from Canacona maintain the traditional orchestra called the *vajantri* (musicians). They are entrusted with the playing of music during daily worship in the temples. The instruments mainly comprise of *dhol* (drum), *taso* (percussion), *shanai* (pipe) and *surta* (drone). Besides *kasalem* (cymbal) is also used in some temples in addition to bells of various size fixed inside the temple and also the *jaghant* and *shankh* (conch shell). The presentation of music by the orchestra is known as *panchavadya.* The music produced by them is known by different terms such as *nabat, isharat, avatar,* etc. Though special sitting arrangement for musicians is not made, the use of the outer *sabhamantap* or *agrashala* is traditionally used while playing music.

Rupadim (masks): Every temple of the principal village deity celebrates an annual festival known as *kalo, khel, shigmo* out of which at least one occasion is earmarked for the presentation of the mask dance. The *kalo* performance is based on the theme of the reincarnations of Vishnu. The first incarnation of fish (*matsyavtara*) as well as the eighth incarnation of Krishna are depicted through mythological narration. In the *kalo,* different masks (*rupadim*) represent various characters. Thus all these masks form an important and inseparable part of the temple art in this region.

Mosque

The only mosque of the Sunni Muslims in Canacona is situated in Piramol in Colomb ward of Canacona municipal area (fig.5.34). It is a typical small size mosque having four *minars* at four corners, a common hall at the main entrance and a wall having three entrances to the interior prayer hall. In the rear wall there is a *mehrab*, a small raised structure known as *member* on which the Holy *Quran* is placed. The sidewalls have windows to facilitate acoustics. At the right of the mosque there is a residence of the priest which is known as *huzra*. In the courtyard, a number of taps are provided at the right side of the entrance gate, which is regarded as the most essential part of the mosque and is called *vazukhana* (provision of water to clean hands and feet before entering the mosque). The campus of the mosque is protected with a compound wall in which there is also a small structure which is known as *ashurkhana* wherein the sacred materials are preserved.

The routine prayers (*namaz*) are offered in the mosque and also special prayers and celebration of *Idd* and *Bakri-Idd.* In the past a special celebration of *Moharam* was held with processions and fire walking. The Muslim cemetery is situated at a small distance in the same ward. From the architectural point of view this is a typical Sunni mosque without any major distinctive architectural features.

Table 5. 1

Classification of performing arts

Sr No	Type	Season	Probable period of origin	Popularity
1.	Perni Jagor	November-May	Neolithic	5 villages
2.	Sankasur Kalo/Raatkalo	November-March	Puranic	7 villages
3.	Chowrang	February-March	Neolithic	7 villages
4.	Gudulya Parab	August-September	Puranic	4 villages
5.	Viramel	February-March	Neolithic	5 villages
6.	Tonyam mel-Talgadi	February-March	Shilahara-Kadamba	7 villages
7.	Goph	February-March	Shilahara-Kadamba	3 villages
8.	Dhanagaran mel	February-March	Shilahara-Kadamba	2 villages

Table 5.2

The diversity of folk performing arts of Canacona

1. *Sunvari-Chandraval* – Ethnomusical forms of local traditional compositions of instrumental music accompanied by vocal music.

2. *Romat* –Ceremonial procession music and dance.

3. *Nabat-Isharat* – Instrumental rendition associated with the commencement of temple rituals.

4. *Ghumat-Arati* – Hindu religious musical prayer accompanied with instrumental music.

5. *Zado* – Hindu style of exorcising the spirit.

6. *Shilok/Shilop* – Holy chant

7. *Bhajan* – Hindu devotional choir music.

8. *Banvad* – Ancestral spirit worship ritual.

9. *Hovio* – Musical couplets sung by the women.

10. *Lagan Gitam-Gudam/Yers* – Marriage songs also encoding puzzles.

11. *Allayo* – Lullabies

12. *Vavra Gitam* – Folk songs, which are sung for relieving stress of work.

13. *Gaun Kani* – Naration of traditional story songs.

14. *Tonyam Mel* – Folk dance with colourful wooden sticks.

15. *Chowrang-Talo* – Musical folk narrative.

16. *Talgadi* – Folk dance holding kerchiefs in hand.

17. *Shigmya Vol* – A lengthy folk narrative presented during Hindu spring festival *shigmo*.

18. *Arati* – Prayer songs accompanied with dance.

19. *Viramel* – A martial art display with musical accompaniment.

20. *Goph* – Dance similar to Maypole dance.

21. *Divalym Nach* – Acrobatic dance with traditional brass lamps lighted with wicks.

22. *Tarangam* – Procession of sacred umbrellas of village deities.

23. *Perni Jagor* – Hindu religious play based on mask dance in acrobatic style.

24. *Dispern* – Hindu religious performance in acrobatic style performing during the day hours.

25. *Shens* – A blessing ritual performed by Perni community.

26. *Sankasur Kalo/Raat Kalo* – A mythological folk play with the main character of demon Sankasur.

27. *Dahin Kao/Gaulan Kalo* – A folk play based on adventures of Lord Krishna.

28. *Khel* – Folk play based on various reincarnation of Lord Vishnu.

29. *Natak* – Drama in Marathi and Konkani languages as well as the Marathi musical plays.

30. *Rath Nachovap* – Dancing as a part of chariot procession in the temple premises.

31. *Rath Odap* – Drawing the wooden car.

32. *Kirtan* – Musical Hindu sermon.

33. *Tiatr* – Traditional Christian folk drama in improvised style of Italian opera.

34. *Urus* – Muslim religious festival.

35. *Cantaram* – Local Christian folk songs.

36. *Intruz* – A folk variation of the Carnaval of local Christians.

---- contd.

37. *Dhalo* – Goa's unique traditional all female folk dance performed during winter.

38. *Dhillo* – Folk dance performed by Hindu *Kunbi* women during winter.

39. *Fugdi/Zemado* – Women folk dance performed during Ganesh festival.

40. *Divjam* – Traditional lamp procession by Hindu ladies accompanied with temple music.

41. *Palakhi* – An ornamental wooden carrier for Hindu idols used during special religious procession.

Table 5.3

Month	Particulars of *vratas, parabo* and *utsavas*
Chaitra (March-April)	- *Samsar padvo (Gudhi padva)* - *Ramnam (Ram navami)* - *Chaitra punav (Chaitra Paurnima)*
Vaishakha (April-May)	- *Aktay (Akshay tritiya)*
Jyeshtha (May-June)	- *Vada punav (Vata paurnima)*
Ashadha (June-July)	- *Ekadas (Ekadashi)*
Shravana (July-August)	- *Mangalagaur* - *Aitar pujap* (Sunday) - *Nag-pancham (Nag panchami)* - *Gokulashtami* - *Sutam punav (Narali paurnima)* - *Bhajan saptah/par*
Bhadrapada (August- September)	- *Gavar pujap/Vainam pujap (Haratalika)* - *Chavath(Ganesh chaturthi)* - *Navyam parab/Navim* - *Anantvrata (Anant chaturdashi)*
Ashwin (September-October)	- *Navaratri* - *Saraswati pujan* - *Devkarem* - *Dasaro* - *Mhall* - *Diwali* - *Lakshmi pujan* - *Dhillo*
Kartik (October-November)	- *Gorvam padvo (Govardhana puja)*

256

	-	*Krishna puja*
	-	*Ekadas (Ekadashi)*
	-	*Tulashi lagn*
	-	*Vanabhojan Anvalibhojan/Sangod/Dindi/Kalo*
Margashirsha (November-December)	-	*Datta jayanti*
Paushya (December-January)	-	*Dhalo*
	-	*Sankrant*
	-	*Halad kukum*
Magha (January-February)	-	*Ratha saptami*
	-	*Mahashivaratri*
Falgun (February-March)	-	*Shigmo*
	-	*Holi*
	-	*Biye zatra*

Source: 1. Concerned temple management.

2. Personal communication.
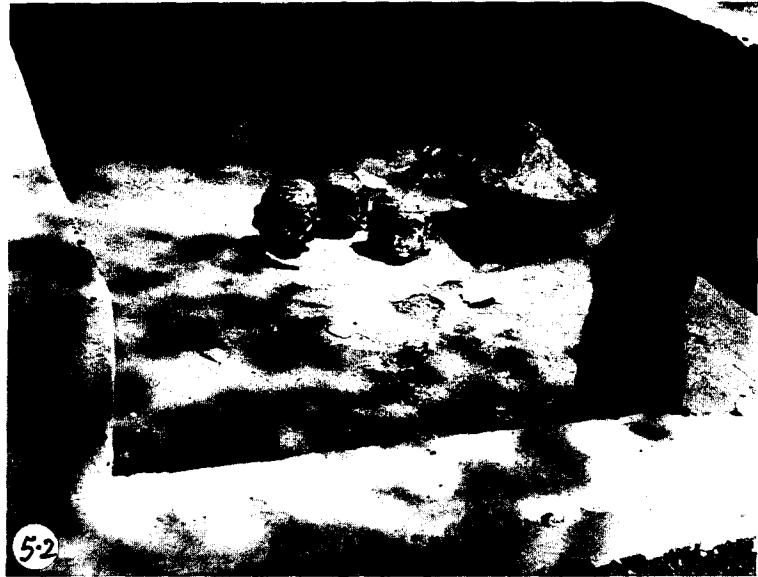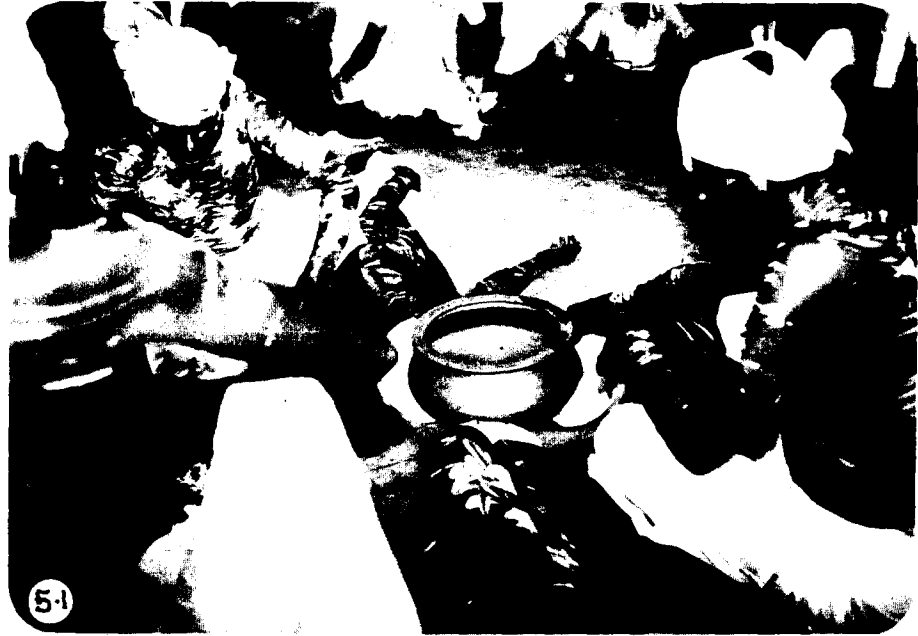
Fig 5.1 Symbolic cooking of rice on a hearth made of human heads.
Fig 5.2 Three granite human heads symbolizing the ancient ritual of *Shisharanni* at Gaondongri.
Fig. 5.8 *Bhagats* with swords in *Shisharanni* ritual.
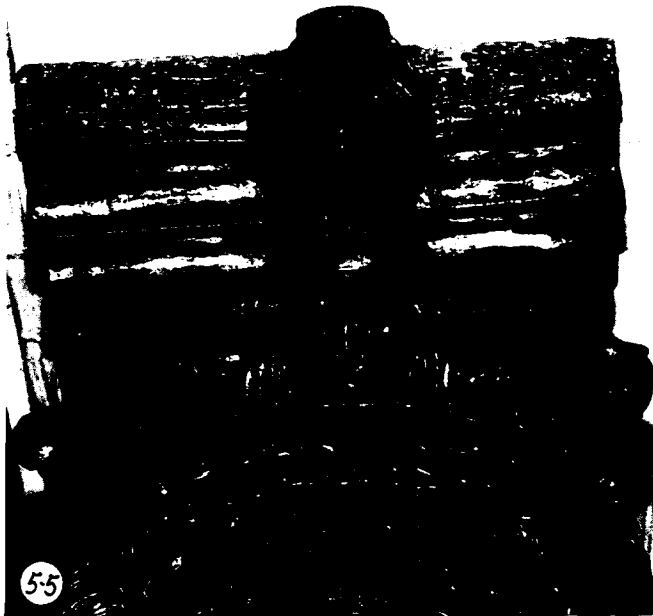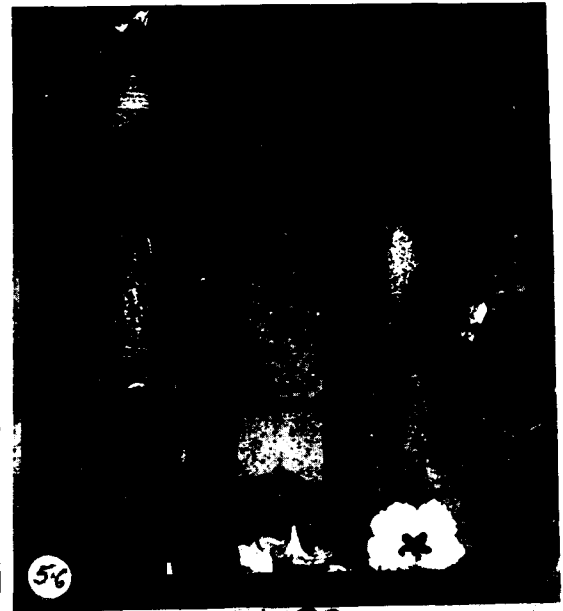
Fig 5.3 Wooden panels of wood-carved images depicting Hindu my|thology.

Fig 5.4 Intricately carved *kirtimukha* on capital in Mallikarjun temple, Shristhal.

Fig. 5.5 A composite zoo-anthropomorphic wooden motif of *Rajnag* and tortoise (*kurma*). Fig. 5.6 Stone image of Bagilpaik- the guarding deity. Fig. 5.7 A metallic image of *avtar purush,* as a crowning insignia.
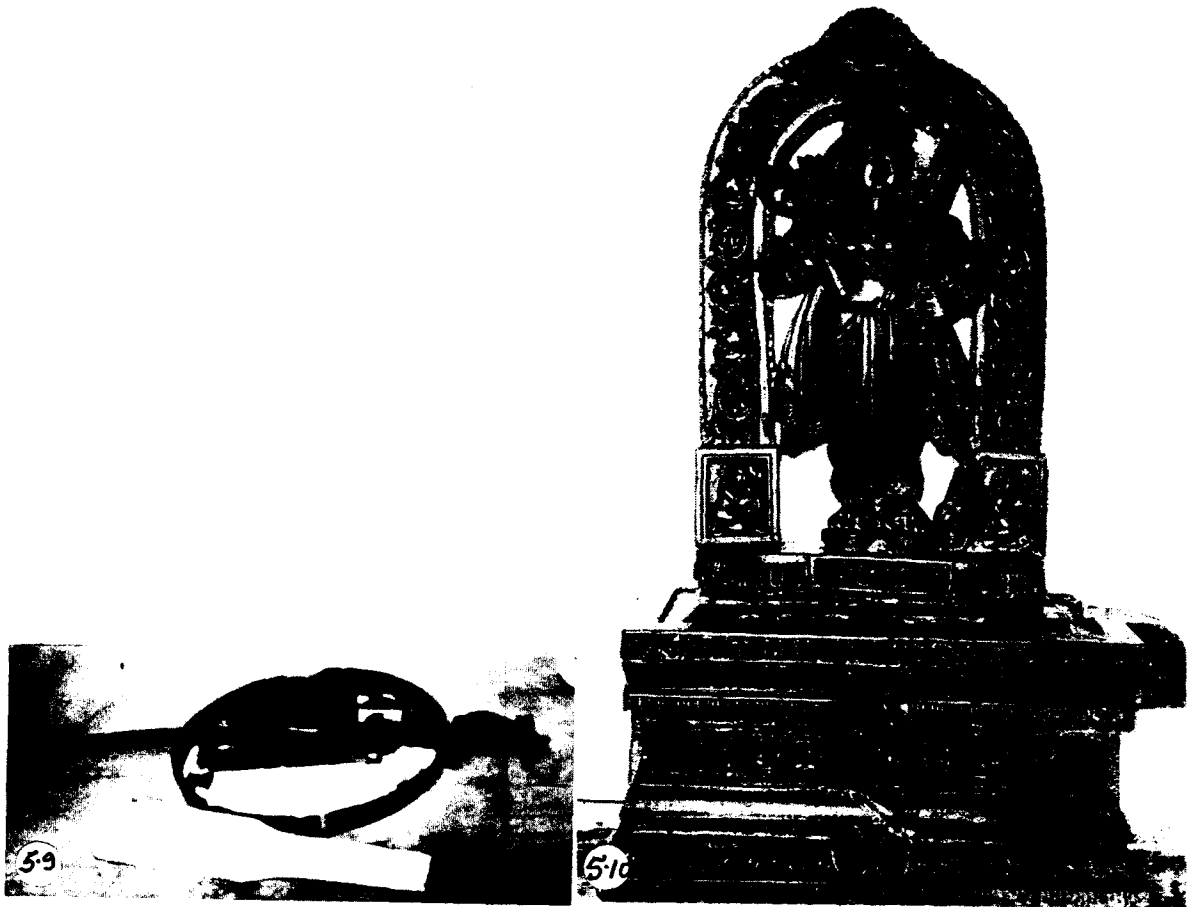
Fig. 5.9 Sword and wooden hammer used in Shisharanni ritual.

Fig. 5.10 Newly installed image of Parashuram at Welwada Poinguinim.

Fig. 5.11-a   Graffiti designs painted in simple monochromatic shades on temple walls.
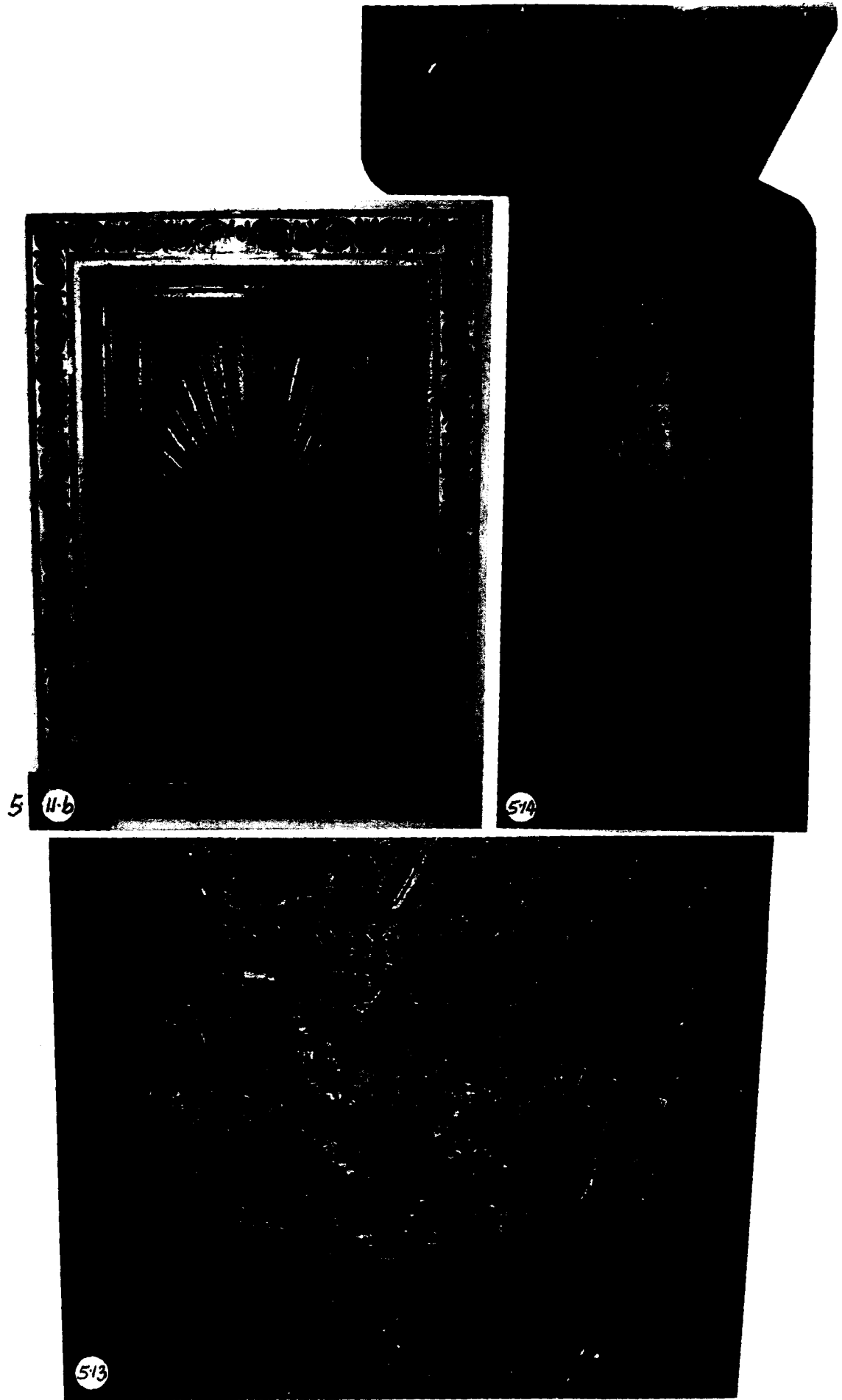
Fig. 5.11-b Graffiti designs painted in simple monochromatic shades on temple walls.
Fig. 5.13 Carved pillars - a common feature in many temples in Canacona.
Fig. 5.14 Carved pillar from Betal temple (Mahalwada).
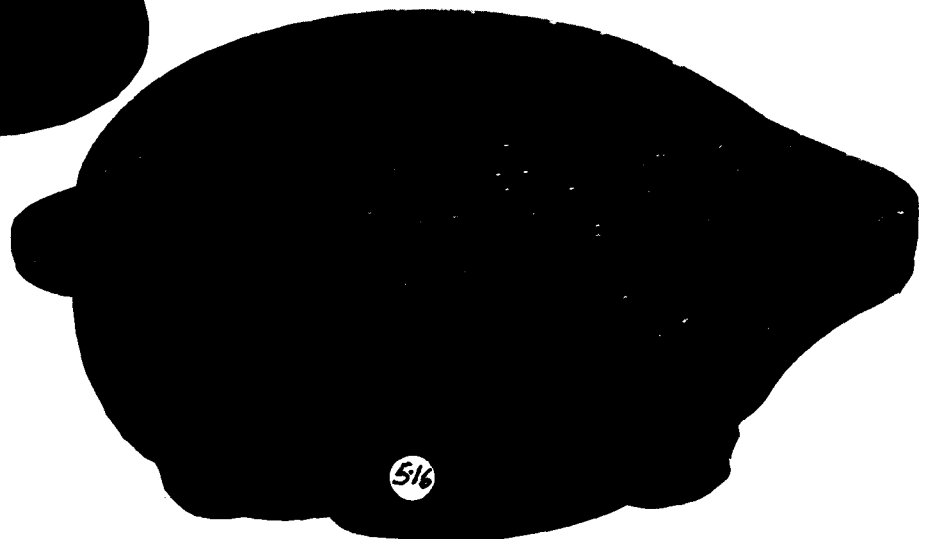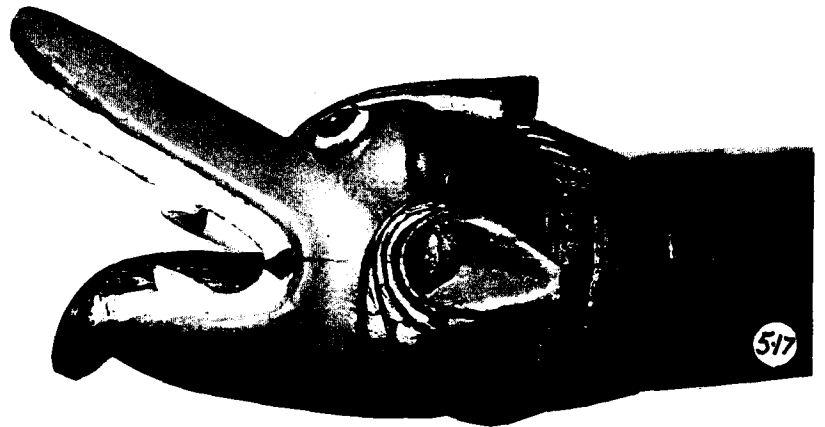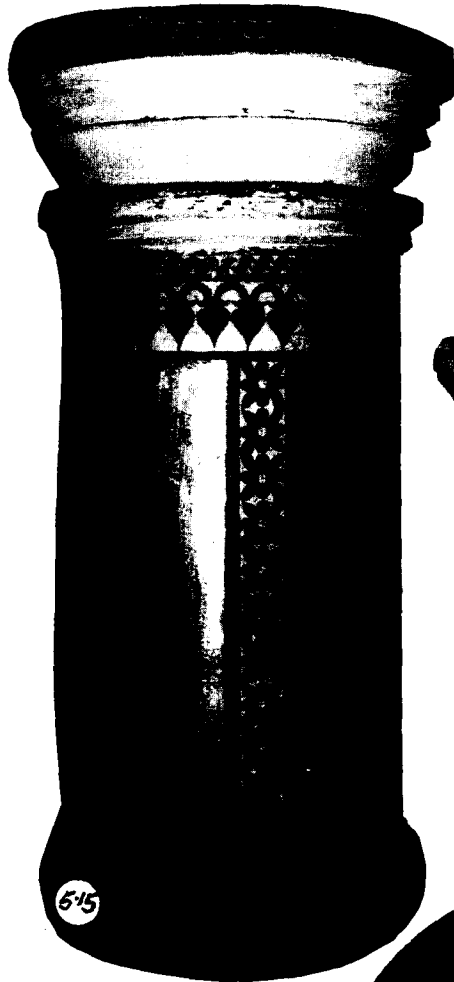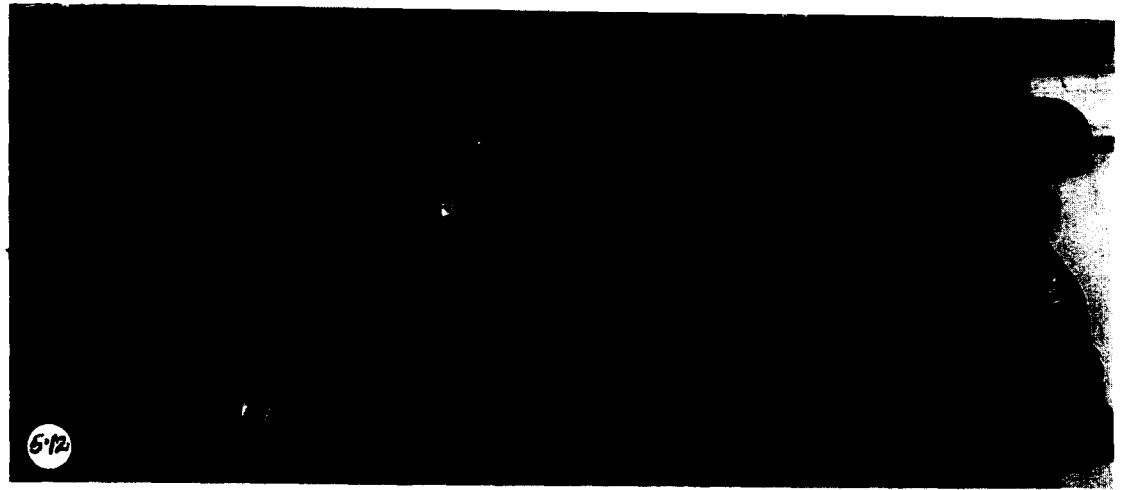
Fig. 5.12 Anthropomorphic figures on capital in Parashuram temple. Fig. 5.15 Plastered stone pillar with ornamental graffiti. Fig. 5.16 *Kurmasana-* a ritualistic object. Fig. 5.17. Stylistic amphibian/reptilian form of wood carving depicted in palanquin handle.
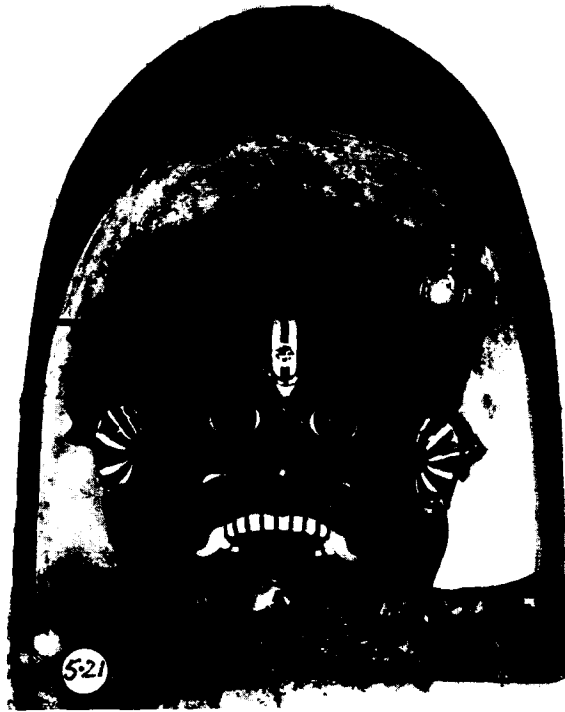
Fig. 5.21 Painted votive mask of Narayan Bhuta worshipped at the feet of Mukhyapran at Partagali. Fig. 5.22 Ornamented processional chariot (*rath*). Fig. 5.23 Group singing-cum-dancing *Pene* performed by *Devdasis* during *palakhi/rath* procession.
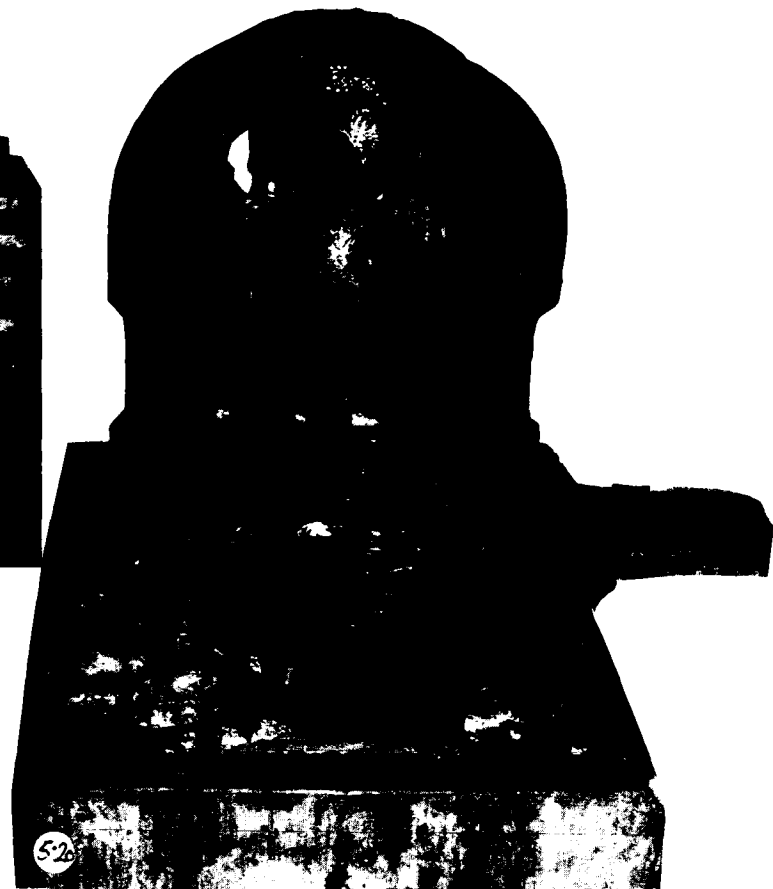
Fig. 5.18 Renovated complex of a Vaishnavite monastery (*math*).
Fig. 5.19 Circular temple of Mukhyapran (Maruti) at Partagali.
Fig. 5.20 Stone idol of Mukhyapran from the circular temple at Partagali.
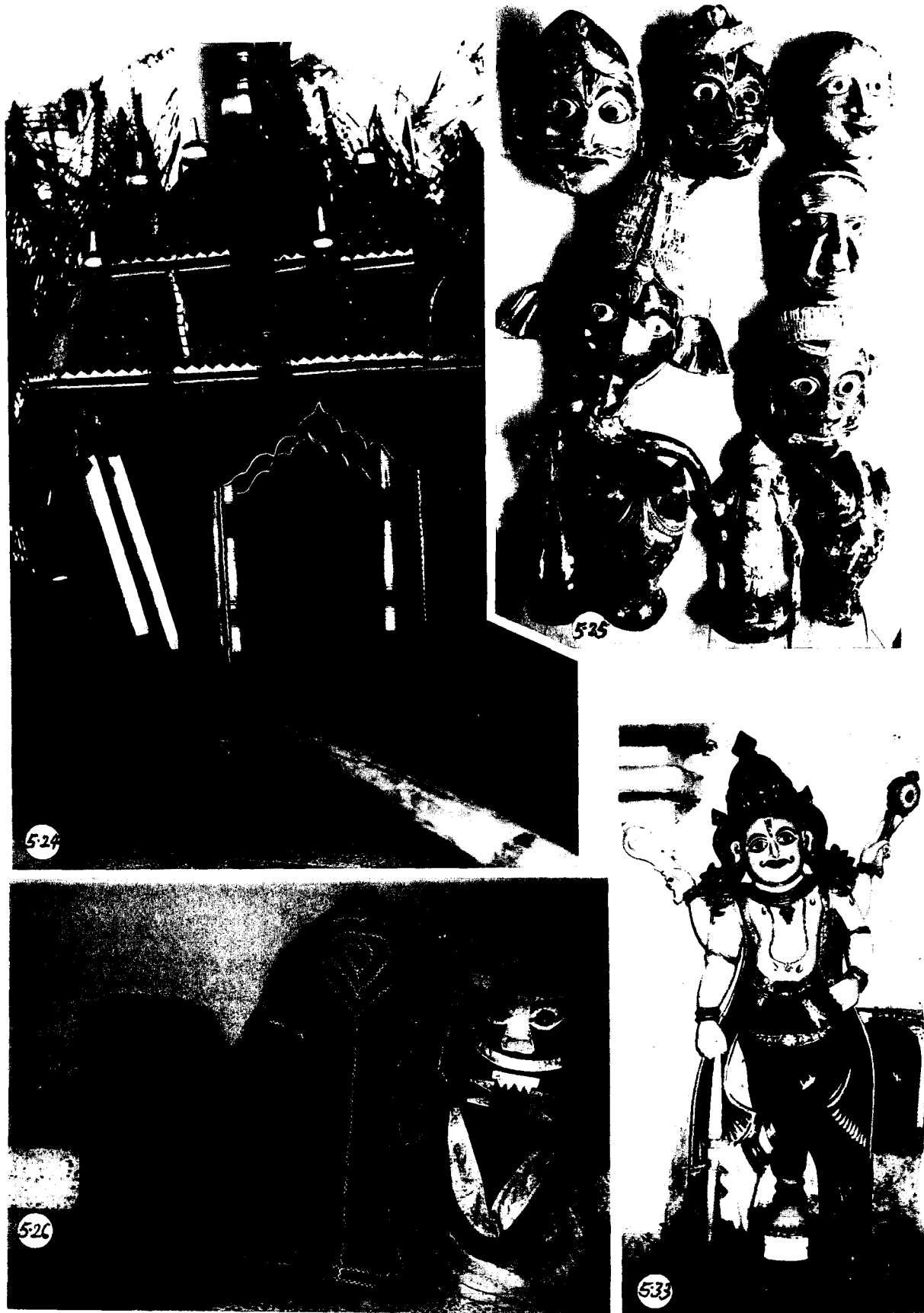
Fig. 5.24 A chariot shaped palanquin used for carrying the deity on the shoulders of the devotees. Fig. 5.25 Wooden painted masks used in *Kalo*. Fig. 5.26 Cloth costumes and mask of the Puranic demon, Sankasur. Fig. 5.33 Wooden image of *Dwarapala* (place-guard).
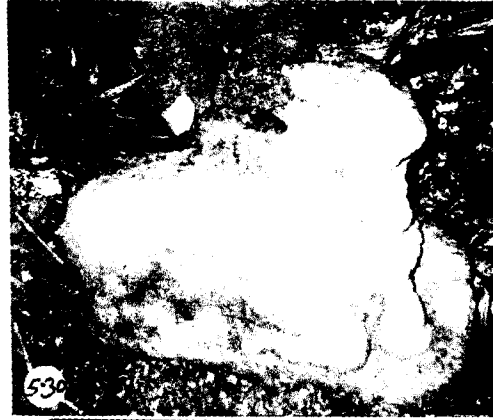
Fig. 5.30 Ancient image of Nandi from Siddheshwar temple (Poinguinim)c. 6th to 8th century A.D.
Nandi image of Vijayanagara priod (Mallikarjun temple Avem).Fig. 5.32 Nandi with polished pc
horns at Gaondongri of late medieval (Sonda) peiod c. 17th –18th century. Fig. 5.27 Costumes use
mythological characters in the folk play Khel.Fig. 5.34 Mosque situated in Municipal area of Ca

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23. Vinod Tengse, *per. com.*, 1999. Vinod Tengse is the village priest of Gaondongri associated with the Mallikarjun temple of that village for the last fifteen years.

24. Manju Pandu Desai, *per. com.* He is a former president of the Mallikarjun temple committee.

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27. *GHTD*, p. 145.

28. *SMDI*, p. 28.

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48. Grittli V. Mitterwallner, "Two Natural Caves and Eleven Man-made Caves Excavations of Goa India," *South Asian Archaeology,* Hartel Herbet, (ed.), 1979. It refers to *Nath-panthi* caves at Diwar island and Pilar in Goa.

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The Nath Panthi rock cut caves located near the important shrines in Goa have been described by V. R. Mitragotri as under:

Sr. No.	*Nath-panti* shrine	Location	Cave site.
1.	Saptakoteshwar (Saptanath)	Divar (Tiswadi)	Divar
2.	Govanath (Goveshwar)	Pilar (Gopakapattan) (Tiswadi)	Pilar Seminary
3.	Adinath	Usgão (Ponda)	Dharbandora Khandepar Kodar Ishwarbhat
4.	Matsyendranath and Gorakhnath	Mathagram (Margão)	Aquem
5.	Siddhanath	Cuncolim (Quepem)	Molanguinim
6.	Siddha of Chandreshwar	Bhati (Sanguem)	Curdi
7.	Madhavanath	Curpem Vichundrem Neturlim	i.- Sanguem ii- Site of Salaulim Canal.

50. Grittli V. Mitterwallner, *op. cit.*

51. *SCHG,* pp. 115, 116.

52. *GHTD,* p. 44.

53. *Ibid.,* pp. 204, 205.

54. *SCHG,* p. 116.

55. B. D. Satoskar, *Gomantak Prakriti ani Sanskriti,* vol. I, Pune: Shubhada Saraswat,

1979, p. 287.

56. *GHTD*, pp. 145, 147, 148.

57. P. P. Shirodkar, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

58. Ram Gosavi, *per. com.*, 1999. Ram Gosavi is a follower of Nath *panth* and priest of Siddha *math* and associated with the shrine at the foothill of *Siddha-dongor* at Barcem. On the hilltop there exists a cave at *Siddha Maddi* where a *linga* is worshipped and a special festival is held on the day of *Dasaro* (Vijayadashami). Similarly a special ritual, *Bhogoti,* is annually held in the month of May in which sacrifice of fowls is offered.

59. *STHC*, p. 295.

60. Vinayak Keshav Tengse, *per. com.*, 1997. He is a local priest associated with the shrines of Parashuram, Purushottam and Siddheshwar in Poinguinim.

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62. *Ibid.*

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73. Nambirajan, *Archaeology of Goa*, Unpublished Doctoral thesis, 1999, p. n.d.

74. *Ibid.*

75. Mahadevshastri Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 431.

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78. *STHC*, p. 335.

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82. *Shree Parashuram Devalaya Nutan Shilavigraha Pratishthapana Smaranika* (Souvenir) dated 8ᵗʰ April 1993, p. n.d.

83. *GHTD*, p. 153.

84. *Ibid.*

85. *Ibid.*; *Shree Parashuram Devalaya Nutan Shilavigraha Pratishthapana Smaranika* (Souvenir) dated 8ᵗʰ April 1993, p. n.d.

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96. G. H. Khare, *op. cit*, p. 448.

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101. *Shree Samsthan Partgali Jeevottam Math Pancha-Shatabdi Mahotsav* Souvenir Partagali, Canacona: 8ᵗʰ-10ᵗʰ April 1977, p. not given.

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103. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

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105. *HRCM.* pp. 124, 125.

106. R. N. Salatore, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Culture*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1984, (*=EIC*), p. 1057.

107. *Ibid.*, pp. 437-443.

108. F. Y. Prabhugaonkar, *per. com.*, 1997. He is the retired headmaster of the local High School. Such tradition of *Patrecho Ganapati* is still maintained in his family.

109. Vinod Tengse, *per. com.*, 1999. Vinod Tengse is a priest of local temple and associated with priestly work in the surrounding villages.

110. *HRCM*, p. 31; *EIC*, p. 1332.

111. *Ibid.*

112. *EIC*, p. 351; *HRCM*, p. 129.

113. Mahadevshastri Joshi (ed), *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 319-322; *HRCM*, p. 129.

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CHAPTER VI

Loliem: A Case-Study Of A Culturally Resourceful Village

This chapter highlights the findings of archaeological and socio-cultural investigations conducted in the Loliem village, which represents the essence of Canacona's cultural ethos.

Selection of Loliem as a culturally resourceful village

The selection of Loliem was done on the basis of a preliminary survey that had been conducted in the *taluka* to record its important monuments. As compared to other villages, Loliem was found to have a definite and interesting cultural continuity. It ranks third in the *taluka* in terms of area and stands second as per the population and literacy statistics of the *taluka*. This village has about 20 temples, 8 *math* (monasteries) and 6 community centers, *mandirs* or *samaj mandirs* belonging to different castes and community groups. Similarly, it has sixty-two shrines scattered all over that depict interesting cultural resources of the Hindu community that resides here. Table 6.1 provides information regarding the status of shrine, associated communities and important festivals in Loliem village. Similarly details about the antiquity and iconographic styles of the deities are given in Table 6.2. In addition to Hindu shrines, there is a parish church and three chapels in the village. Figure 6.1 is a unique map that has been drawn to schematatically presents the main cultural locations of the village with its boundaries.

Etymology of the village name, Loliem

1. From geo-ecological clues

Taking into account all the geographical features of the village, it is clear that the land is an undulating mix of plains, hills, tableland and also valley. While the term, *lola,* denotes an unequal state[1] or something that is unstable or full of motion, *aye* means land. Thus, *Lolaem* denotes an undulating landscape consisting of mountains, plateaus and low-lying land. Yet another etymological root that can be suggested to explain this place-name is *lava* which refers to a kind of grass (of the variety *aristida setacea* that is used to make brooms), indicating a place where such grass grows as is the case with this village where such grass is found in abundance in the hills and plateaux.

2. From Sanskritic origins

Different Sanskrit terms such as *loyali, loili* or *loli* suggest a kind of ship or boat. *Loili*, in particular, denotes a peculiar type of an anchor of a boat and *lola* means variable or unstable[2]. In this context, it is interesting to note that the entire valley from Sheli to Maxem was a river in the past which was known as Loliem river. The sediments brought by the tributary streams had been deposited in the river here to create a silted terrain. Prior to that, large boats were plying in the Loliem river upto Peddem. A mast of a sunken ship was recently located at Peddem, in a pond where people used to swim. The villagers have also reported that some remains of ships are found in the area. Thus, it is evident that the place-name Loliem was probably derived from a type of ship or anchor. Interestingly, it is noted that the various places in the silted area are known as ponds with different prefixes such as Nargefond, Chafyafond, Gavasafond, Katodefond, Tarvafond, the last-named referring to the plying of boats in this area in the past.

3. From economic activities

Loha is a common term used for iron and *alaya* means dwelling. This suggests the existence of iron metallurgy as an important economic activity in this region. It is reported that the local blacksmiths were casting iron out of stones with rich content of iron with the help of indigenous technology. Hence, the name Loliem, to indicate a place where the casting of iron was common.[3]

Geographical and Ecological setting of Loliem

The Loliem village has an area of 4130.81 hectares and a population of 5,543 as per the 1991 census. Its geographical position is marked by $14^{\circ}56'00"$ North latitude and $74^{\circ}4'30"$ East longitude. The boundaries of the village partly confirm to geographical village starting from the Tamne ward in the north to the Polem ward in the South. Similarly, the Konkan Railway crosses the village between Maxem and Polem. One has to travel by road or board the Konkan railway that plies between Margão and Karwar to reach Loliem.

The village possesses a diverse ecosystem. The village has mountains in the east, and the western hillocks at Tanashi and Maxem accord an undulating form to the village landscape. The hilly part mainly occurs at Gal, Supangudi, Hondo, Bhand, Kundrem, Vittem, Vazrem, Satkelem, Peddem, Tanshi, etc. The hilly area is full of dense forest of bamboo, cashew plantations and mixed jungle. The village mainly comprises of three physiographic areas, the mountainous area in the east, low-lying river basins in the west, which is more fertile, and the coastal strip along the west coast.

A stream which converts into the Loliem river flows from Shelli to Maxem and is the main source of water, especially for irrigation. The river expands at its mouth at Maxem which meets the Arabian Sea, forming a small navigable portion. The entire area

of its mouth is covered by mangrove growth on either side. However, in its upper reaches, the stream is bordered along its banks with laterite stones, leaving outlets for irrigation.

The water of the river is stored by constructing temporary *bunds* at Ushiband, Ghandeband and at the mouth of the river at Maxem. It is used for irrigating the *rabi* crop as well as for other agricultural and horticultural purposes. The Maxem *bunds* protect the entire valley from saline water.

Horticulture, which includes the cultivation of crops like coconut, areca nut, bananas, betel leaves, black pepper and pineapples that are grown on both sides of the river, is an important occupation of the local people, next only to the cultivation of paddy. The Galgibag river flows from the northern part of the village which has a long navigable area right from Maxem to Poinguinim. Due to the poor condition of embankment along the banks of the river, the area of saline land is increasing day by day. In the past the *khajan* (saline) lands were cultivated by using the embankment and sluice-gates (*manashi*). However, today such agricultural activities are not carried out. Mangroves have been cultivated on both sides of the river to avoid soil erosion and to fortify the embankment. In order to avoid continued damage caused by saline water, some agriculturists from this village have reclaimed this land on a permanent basis.

Loliem has different types of land such as paddy fields, horticultural land (*kulagar*), *khajan* lands and estuaries, grasslands, hills and tableland as well as a coastal strip. The coastal strip all along the village is not easy to approach and also not suitable for fishing due to the sharply edged submerged granite rocks. The vast area of tableland at the west is made of laterite gravel mixed with laterite soil located on surfaces of sheet rock. The granite of this area is very famous. It has deposits of bauxite, clay and basalt. The schistone and metabalast is extensively present in the village at its western fringe. The Geological Survey of India has confirmed few prospects of bauxite in this region from Polem to Maxem and further upto Galgibag in the Poinguinim village.

Administrative Divisions

The village has seven wards namely, Iddar, Karay, Kajalker, Shelli, Polem, Peddem and Maxem. For administrative purpose, the wards of Sheli and Peddem are further divided into two parts each, forming a total of nine wards.

Demographic profile

According to the 1991 census, the total population of Loliem village was 5,543 consisting of 2,758 males and 2,785 female, that is, 18.3% of the total population of Canacona *taluka*. Out of the total population, 2,008 males and 1,691 females are literate, that is, 66.8% of the total population. Occupation-wise, the people of Loliem are cultivators, agricultural labourers and traders from different communities such as *Gomantak Maratha Samaj, Gaud Saraswat Brahman, Kshatriya Bhandari, Pagui*, carpenters, *Chamar, Mahar, Gosavi, Karhade Brahman, Kunbi, Kshatriya Maratha, Mhale* and Catholics consisting of *Chaddo (Kshatriya)* and *Sudir (Shudra)*.

Hindus form the major constituent of the population of Loliem, followed by the Catholics. There were two *comunidades*, namely, Loliem and Polem since 1882.[4] However, both the *comunidades* have merged into one, that of Loliem. The 'components' (in local usage these families who constitute themselves as members of the *comunidades* are referred to as 'components') of the *comunidades* are Prabhu Desai and Prabhu Gaonkar, totaling about ninty-five.[5]

Socio-Religious Profile

While the village has about twenty Hindu temples, the local people worship sixty-two Hindu shrines. A church dedicated to St. Sebastian was founded originally as a chapel in 1904 which was affiliated to the Galgibag church (St. Anthony of Lisbon) in the Poinguinim village. It became an independent parish on 26th November 1932. Besides this church, there are three chapels that of Our Lady of Fatima, located at Shelli, and those of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour and Holy Cross at Daptamol, situated at Maxem. A detailed list of Hindu deities, shrines, their locations, important festivals, associated

VILLAGE MAP
OF
LOLIEM
TALUKA - CANACONA

N

(NOT TO SCALE)

TAMNE
(Math)

MAXEM
(Nirakar & Maruti)

PUTANT Hilltop
(Bhagawati)

PANASKANEM
(Venkatesh)

DAPTAMOL

(Ravalnath)

KOLKAN
(Shankarshem
& Math)

LOLIEM
(St. Sebastian church)

LOLIEM
(Keshava & Damodar)

DINGAR
(Betal & Aryadurga)

KUNDREM
(Devli)

MADDI TALOP

PEDEM
(Dakkhan Devta)

PEDEM
(Vishnu & Phanindra)

PEDEM
(Hero stone)

GAL
(Makaddev)

SUPANGUDI

SHELI
(Chapel)

POLEM
(Bhumika & Dadd)

POLEM
(Check Post)

Fig 6.1

communities, etc. has been given in Table I. In this context it is interesting to note that most old village temples are managed by the *Gaud Saraswat Brahmans*. It is also reported that during the post-Liberation period, Krishna-*mandirs*, *samaj mandirs* and *maths* were founded by non-Brahman communities in different wards and their status is more of community centres. They organise occasional *bhajan* programmes, an annual *puja* (worship) and Marathi dramas. Some of these community centres also maintain a private banking system called *comfro* which charges heavy interest on the loans that are disbursed.

This village has cultural resources that trace their genesis to the pre- and proto-historic periods. Microlithic tools have been found on the plateau of the village and its surrounding areas where Sali had reported the discovery of Mesolithic tools.[6] Similarly, megaliths have also been found in the Peddem ward which indicate the presence of megalithic culture in the village. Besides there exists several relics such as Pundarika or Phanidra and several Ganapati images which testify to the powerful influence of the Gupta period as well as that of the Chalukyas of Badami.

Ganapati/Ganesha cult

It is evident from the various temples in Loliem that the cult of Ganapati or Ganesha was greatly popular. Almost all important temples like Keshava, Vishnu, Bhagavati, Bhumika (Location plan fig.6.1) and a few others do have idols of Ganapati installed mainly at the right side of the main deity. The iconographic antiquity of the sculptures can be traced back to the 5th century A.D.

Ganapati or Ganesha is the god whose name has particularly been associated with the people of the country. Ganapati means the chief of the *gana*. The word *gana*, according to Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, meant a tribal collective. It is *gana* and *pati*, that is, the chief or protector of the people. He was also called Ganesha or Gananayaka and Varahamihira in the 6th century A.D. meaning the head of an assemblage.[7] Monier

Williams said Ganapati, in the old texts, only meant the leader of a class or a troop or assemblage. The *tantric* literature gave the final verdict on the point, by using *gana* as one of the fifty appellations of Ganapati or Ganesha.[8]

According to the later Hindu concept, the deity was declared as the god of wisdom, learning and bestower of success. But it is obvious that a later idea is being superimposed on an older view of Ganapati – the catastrophe incarnate traceable from the 5th century B.C.[9] However, later Ganapati emerged as the deity of the depressed classes. The stories connecting Ganapati with elephant-headed demons and demoness such as Gajasur and Malini, respectively, indicate that Ganapati originally belonged to the aboriginal stock. Coomarswamy has pointed out that Ganesha does not appear in iconography before the Gupta period. The peculiar features of Ganapati and his worship had become fixed before the 5th and 6th century A.D.[10]

Chattopadhyaya (1959) and other scholars suggest that the elephant head of Ganapati is the mark of his totemic origin. Foucher has rightly observed, "When dealing with a therianthropomorphic figure of Ganesha's type, we can easily trace it back to the animal prototype from which it came; and hence we plunge into the oldest layer of superstition which our developed mind can grasp; totem worship and agrarian rites." Thus, if the elephant head of Ganapati is the mark of his totemic origin, then his history goes back to the primitive community life.[11] In the primitive society the totem is attended with prayer and propitiation, assumes human shape, and becomes a god. We know that like the elephants of ancient times, rats also had evidently a totemic past.

When we think of tribal people who lived in different economic stages ranging from food gathering and hunting through shifting cultivation to settled plough cultivation and simultaneously when we analyse the concept of the Ganapati cult, it is evident that Ganapati is truly the lord of the bio-sphere and tropical vegetation which gives its rightful place to the worship of earth's creative, fertile, ecologically magical powers through *Gauripujan* – the ritual which is associated with Ganapati[12] or Ganesha, though in crude form was worshipped by the primitive community since Ganesha was more proximate to

the agrarian populace. His wisdom, his compassion and his pot belly for them was significant of the bounty of nature.[13] Adishankar was not an idolater but he included Ganapati among the five major deities, namely, Surya, Shiva, Vishnu, Ganesha and Amba. The ecotheological dimension of Ganapati also appealed to the agricultural communities of the Goa region from the remote past. According to Kamat (1999) Ganapati symbolises the evolution of community knowledge about the integrity of the ecosystem and food chain. He is the story of the evolution of the Indian civilisation weaving a tapestry of Vedic and Dravidian tribal and non-tribal pastoral and agrarian threads. The *trantric* beliefs and practices of the later stage retained their grip on the lives of the Indian masses. Ganapati figures very prominently in the *Puranas.* Since he controls and overcomes *vighna* (impediments) his shrines and images are generally found in association with those of other deities and are usually to be seen in the approaches or vestibules of a temple. Almost every major temple in Canacona, in general, and in Loliem, in particular, contains a shrine dedicated to Ganapati. As rightly observed by Alice Gretty (1936) Ganesha was given a form in sculpture only after the Gupta period.

Although Ganapati, who was a pre-Vedic deity, was admitted into the post-Vedic Hindu pantheon, it would seem that there was no organised cult of Ganapati worship before the Gupta period. Buddhists associated Ganesha with the Boddhisatva and an intercult rivalry among the *Vajrayana tantrics* and the Buddhists cropped up. As a result, sectarian intolerance was shown by them. Similarly, at a later date, such sectarian intolerance was shown by Christian missionaries.[14]

The cult of Ganapati must have come into vogue from the 5th century A.D.[15] In the early Gupta temple of Shiva, at Bhumara, several images and medallions of Shiva and Ganapati have been discovered. This shrine may be assigned to the 4th century A.D. Hence, it can be inferred that this cult must have prevailed from earlier times.[16] With the passage of time, the tradition of Ganesha worship was transformed in such a manner that, in the worship of deities other than Ganapati, obeisance was offered first to Ganapati as he is supposed to ward off all dangers and smoothen the way to the achievement of our objectives.[17]

Both, from the standpoint of iconography and of chronology, we have a few images of Ganapati found in Loliem village which are really interesting. The Ganesh idol from the Vishnu temple as well as that installed in the compound wall at Peddem and other idols like those of Bhumika and Bhagavati may be included in this category. The popularity of Ganesh idols in almost all important temples denotes the prosperous agricultural society in the village.

The local fertility cult is depicted through the worship of Chamunda (*Dakkhan devtas*), Bhumika and also through folk performing arts, such as *dhalo*, and rituals and vows like that of *Nagapanchami*.

A study of the deities of Loliem clearly shows the emergence of a cultural sequence that can be depicted chronologically. It is well known that ritual worship generally begins with local folk deities and later other deities were incorporated in the pantheon in south India. During the rule of different dynasties, many cults were popularised. For example the Shiva-Ganesha-Kartikeya cult, the tantric worship of Chamunda-Bhairavi-Betal, the Vaishnavite worship of Narayana-Keshava-Damodar and later on, during the Maratha period, neo-Vedic deities such as Hanuman or Maruti. Although it is difficult to accurately pinpoint the exact period of the establishment of these deities in Loliem, the present study has found clear imprints of all the above cults in the village. Table 6.2 gives more information on these deities including the stylistics of their images and their tentative period of origin.

Vishnu Temple at Peddem

The Vishnu temple situated at Peddem seems to be the oldest site, though the idol of Vishnu consecrated there belongs to the 13th to 15th century A.D. (fig.6.2). Similarly, the roof slab carvings on it and the technique of placement of slabs, indicates the Kadamba architectural influence. The early Kadambas patronised the *Vaishnava* cult. The most popular Vaishnava divinities of the Goa region were Lakshminarayan, Krishna and Vishnu.[18] However, the bust of Phanindra, an epithet of Vishnu, has been located here which belongs to the end of the 4th or beginning of the 5th century A.D.[19] The style of

the five-headed *Naga* (snake), especially the hood and the heavy lower lip, are features that are characteristic of the Gupta period. Besides the flat bold rings and representation of jewels on the hood of *Naga* also support this dating.[20] (fig.6.3). Hence it suggests that the Phanindra idol was consecrated at the site long before the installation of the existing idol of Vishnu. This image was probably installed as a replacement of the old image. The Phanindra is locally called Pundarika as it is considered to be a luminous lotus.[21]

Vishnu is the second deity in the Puranic *trimurti* of the Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesha. The Vaishnavite sect is very ancient. It is also called *Bhagavata* or *Pancharatra*.[22] According to the original ideology of the cult, one god, Vasudev-Vishnu-Narayan, could be conceived in its five-fold form.[23] It seems that the worship of Narayana was very popular in Goa. As mentioned elsewhere, a number of Narayana temples existed in Goa since ancient times. Recent research has revealed that by the first century B.C., Vaishnavism was taking roots in the Deccan. Vaishnavite traditions might have spread in Goa during the rule of the Satavahanas. The earlier evidence of Vaishnavism, as far as Goa is concerned, comes from Vadgaon Madhavpur in Belgaum district. In the Banavasi inscription, there is a mention of the temple of Ashtabhujaswami.[24] The Chalukyas of Badami ruled Goa from Revatidvipa (Redi) from 580 to 750 A.D. They revived the Vedic sacrifices and worship of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesha because they always styled themselves as *Paramabhagavatas* or great devotees of god Vishnu. Another important idol of Ganesh probably belonging to the same period of Phanidra (4th or 5th century A.D.) is installed at the right side of the entrance to the *garbhagriha* (fig.6.4). Yet, one more Ganesha image probably belonging to the 4th to 5th century A.D., is framed in a compound wall of the plot of land owned by Rosy Fernandes at Peddem, by the side of the public road (fig.6.5).

Keshav temple

The Keshava temple, a simple structure, is centrally situated in Loliem. The Keshava idol seems to be of Hoysala style (fig.6.6). The standing stone image of the four-armed Keshava, the first epithet of Vishnu, with a *shankha* (conch shell), *chakra* (disc), *gada* (club) and *padma* (lotus) in each hand, had an ornamented nimbus with carvings of

the *dashavataras* (ten incarnations of Vishnu). The idol shows a *vaijayantimala* (garland) and a beautiful crown. Garuda is seen sitting in *baddhanjali* (hand-folded) posture at the foot along with another female figure. Similarly, at the left side, a couple in a dancing position is depicted. It is not known whether these two female figures at either side represent the consorts of Narayana, Shri and Saraswati (symbols of matter and action), to his right and left respectively. The club is slightly damaged. According to a local legend, the idol of Keshava was found floating in a boat full of sandalwood in the Loliem river near the present site of the temple.[25] It was an old idol from the Hoysala kingdom which was damaged and supposed to be immersed in deep water since the Hoysala kings of the Karnataka region had consecrated a new idol in their kingdom. Local lore has it that an elderly man from the Acharya family dreamt that the idol floating in the boat had to be consecrated there, and thus it was installed.

As far as the antiquity of the sculpture is concerned, it is pertinent to mention that a similar image of Narayana was found at Sarmal. This image, accompanied by Garuda, has a frame that consists of beautiful carved images of Vishnu's ten incarnations. This image belongs to the early medieval period.[26] As such the Keshava image of Loliem village probably belongs to the same period.

Brahma and Mahadeva

There are two small temples of Brahma and Mahadeva at the left and right side of Keshava. Brahma is represented in the form of a stone-carved *peetha* or pedestal showing the influence of Kadamba architecture (fig.6.7). The roof slabs of both these small temples also depict the Kadamba style. Mahadeva is also in the form of a *linga* (phallus) installed on a *peetha* (fig.6.8) with a *nandi* (bull) seated before the *peetha* (fig.6.9) which also depicts the Kadamba style of sculpture. It is a known fact that the Chalukyas of Badami while ruling Goa patronized the worship of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesha. Hence, probably two shrines, along with the main temple of Keshava, might have been erected in this village with another Durga temple in its vicinity.

Aryadurga

The fierce form of *Devi* (goddess) is Durga. In Loliem, the goddess is consecreted as Aryadurga and regarded as the *kuladevata* (clan deity) of the Prabhu Desai and Prabhu Gaonkar families. The original temple of this deity is situated at Ankola in North Kanara. However, the present temple, situated in the Dingar ward, was constructed by the local people to avoid the long journey to worship the deity at Ankola. It is also reported that prior to the construction of this temple the devotees used to worship Aryadurga at Anjidiv island before that temple suffered destruction. The Aryadurga idol is that of a two-armed Mahishasurmardini which shows the influence of Vijayanagara (fig.6.10). The roof-slab depicts the late Kadamba architectural style (fig.6.11).

Damodar

Damodar is also an epithet of Vishnu. According to Hindu mythology, on the day of Kartik (October - November) *dvadashi* (twelth day) the *chaturmas* ends and lord Krishna wakes up from *Yoganidra*. As such Hindus celebrate the '*tulsi* marriage' with Damodar. Moreover, Damodar is associated with the childhood of Krishna. His foster mother, Yashoda, tied the lower abdomen of child Krishna to a heavy mortar. Thus the abdomen of Krishna was pressed. Hence Krishna got the epithet Damodar or one whose stomach was bound with a rope.[27]

The Damodar temple is a simple structure of typical Goan lay-out. It is situated near the Keshava temple where a *linga* is installed. However, for the purpose of the annual festive procession, the *Utsavmurti* (the idol that is used on festive occasions) of Krishna is taken. It is reported that originally the front side of the old temple was facing eastwards. It was changed to the west later. It is said that originally the family deity (*purusha*) of Prabhu Desais was consecrated at Babrem in the vicinity of another major deity, Nirakar (Maxem). It was ridiculed by some devotees of Nirakar. The furious Prabhu Desais shifted the Nirakar idol in vengeance and took it to Loliem where presently the Damodar temple is situated. Again, they installed the idol of their family deity in Loliem that too keeping the Nirakar temple of Maxem at its rear side as a token of vengeance. However, with the passage of time, the Prabhu Desais realised that Keshava, the *gramadeva* (village-deity) of Loliem, also remained at the rear of Damodar

temple which was unfair and finally they rectified their act by installing the idol in front of the Keshava temple.[28]

Nirakar

The word, Nirakar, denotes shapeless nature, as also something that has emerged out of water. In Sanskrit, *nira* means water and *akar* means shape. Considering the fact that the shrine is situated on an island, the latter version seems to be applicable. The present site of the Nirakar temple at Maxem was an island where, according to a legend, people who engaged in navigation and trade saw a *linga* emerge from the water and since then people started worshipping it and constructed a temple at the site.

Presently a wooden pole is consecrated as the symbol of Nirakar and another shrine of Hanuman is erected in front of Nirakar (fig.6.12) which seems to be of 17th - 18th century. This shrine is also called Mukhyapran that seems to be an imitation of a similar tradition followed at the Gokarn Partagali Jeevottam *math*. Since Maruti is believed to have had control on evil spirits, like that of Narayan-*bhut* in Partagali which intended to interrupt the annual Ramnavami festival and *rathosava* (car festival), it is regarded as *mukhyapran* (main spirit) of the area.

Shankarshem

Another small shrine of Shankarshem is an associate deity of Nirakar which is consecreted in the Kajalker ward. Two small bronze horse-riding idols representing Shankar, and a *peetha* representing *Sati,* a wooden pillar of Nirakar, another small *peetha* representing Purusha and an idol of Bandi-purusha are worshipped there. Shankar, the chieftain of Varik families, gave up his life for the village followed by the suicide of his wife (who was regarded as *sati*) in a nearby well. Though the name of the shrine resembles Shankarshan, which is also an epithet of Vishnu, it is clear that it does not relate to the Shankarshem temple. In the vicinity of the Nirakar temple there exists an open shrine called *kalinas* which is regarded as a symbol of the twelve villagers who gave up their lives for the village. Special offerings of *bal* (cooked rice) and fowls are made to this spirit on the occasion of *tisala parab.*

Bhagavati

The temple of Bhagavati is situated on Maxem plateau in the east. The *ashtabhuja* (eight-armed) Bhagavati is the *mahishasur-mardini* who had cut the head of the buffalo demon and held it in her left hand while her right hand held its tail tightly. All other six hands hold different weapons. The idol is supported with a nimbus and *kirtimukha*. The appearence of the goddess is fierce. The iconographic style seems to be of the 10th to 11th century. (fig.6.13) Outside the *garbhagriha* at the right side, there is a Ganesha idol which is a common feature of all the old temples of the village. A broken roof-slab with a beautifully carved lotus is seen lying in the premises of the temple which has been recently renovated (fig.6.14).

Ravalnath

The worship of Martand Bhairav in the form of Ravalnath seems to be quite popular in Goa from ancient times as these images are worshipped in most of the villages in Goa as an associate deity. It is possible that the Kadambas of Goa might have patronised his worship in the form of Saptakotishwara. It is evident that the Kadamba king, Shivachitta (1155 A.D.), adopted Saptakotishwara as the deity of the royal family.[29] The Kajalker ward of the village contains some ruins of an old Ravalnath temple (fig.6.15). Two broken images are seen lying there which are beyond identification. However local people[30] reported that they are images of Ravalnath. The standing images had four arms and an engraved nimbus. These ruins are still offered occasional worship by the local *ghadi* (shaman). Thus it is considered as one of the subordinate deities (*parivar devata*) of Loliem.

Betal

A huge Betal image carved out of local basalt stone is found in the Dingar ward which is a roofless shrine. It is unique in many aspects such as it might be the highest image of Betal to be found in Goa. Similarly, it is the only image in *tribhanga* posture found in Goa and the whole Konkan area[31] (fig.6.16). The sculpture has been discussed in

chapter IV under 'Betal Cult'. However, from the iconography of the sculpture it is quite evident that the same emerged out of the Tantric cult. Though no regular worship is offered to it, the local devotees through the *gurav* make occasional sacrifice. Interestingly, the *gurav* belongs to the *Gomantak Maratha Samaj* and hails from the neighbouring Poinguinim village. The sacrifice is in the form of *Soro-Ront* (alcohol and bread). It is interesting to note that the Betal is not offered any animal as sacrifice. Another important feature is that all the *Gaud Saraswat Brahmans* of Loliem village do not take *prasad* of Betal or Dadd. If occasionally carried upto their homes it is kept in the cowshed or handed over to the lower caste people. This might be due to the fact that the Betal and Dadd are deities to whom animal and alcohol sacrifice is made which was considered untouchable for the *Gaud Saraswat* and *Karhade Brahmans*.

Dadd

A small shrine of Dadd is situated at Dadda-Aranv in the Polem ward of Loliem which is in the vicinity of the sea. It is evident that the roof which has been erected on the site, must be of recent origin. However, the image of Dadd depicts folk iconography that belongs to an earlier period (fig.6.17). Though it is not included in the associate deities of the Keshava temple, some property has been granted by the main temple of Keshava for this folk deity. There is a huge anthill just behind the image of Dadd and also half portion (waist to foot) of an old stone image at the rear of Dadd. There is another small shrine of Giranyanath adjacent to the right side at the back of Dadd. It is a small phallus-shaped stone. By the side of the temple there are two life-size stone images in a ruined state and a *peetha* (pedestal) which might have been destroyed by the Muslim invaders. The sculpture of Dadd has been discussed in Chapter IV. The Dadd is offered animal sacrifice such as fowls and goats by the devotees. The sacrifice is performed just in front of the shrine by the *gosain* (*gosavi*) from the same ward.

Dakkhan Devtas

It is a well-known fact that the ancient forms of worship of the female principle (*Devi*) and the cult of Mother Goddess were utilised by *Shaktas* (devotees of *Shakti*) in

different aniconic forms. The fierce forms of *devi* (goddess) worshipped in the village of Loliem are Mahishasurmardini and Chamunda. In addition to this is Gajalakshmi in the form of a memorial stone which comes under divine mother and deity of vegetation. The images of Mahishasurmardini and Chamunda date back to the early medieval period. Two stone images in sitting postures with four arms have been installed in a small temple in Peddem ward (fig.6.18). Both these deities are known as *Dakkhan Devtas*. The term *Dakkan* referring to the Deccan region, seems to denote the relation of these deities with the Deccan plateau. The image to the right is that of Chamunda, with a *khadga* (sword) in the right hand, a bowl in the left, and weapons in the other two hands. She is an emanation of the deity Durga and one of the *saptamatrikas* (seven mothers). Durga had issued from her forehead as Ambika with a scimitar and a noose to fight the two demons, Chanda and Munda. She slew both in a single combat. Since then she is known as Chamunda. There has been a belief that if her image is placed in the centre of a village, it helps in increasing the population of the locality.[32] The other idol installed to the right of Chamunda appears to be that of Bhairavi which is another fierce form of Durga. Outside the shrine there is an interesting pillar-like structure sculptured in Hoysala style that is used as a lamp post by the devotees. These idols do not have regular days of worship or even feasts marked in the Hindu calendar in their honour; instead, they attract the devotion of the faithful on occasions of village festivities. It was also reported[33] that one more broken image which was lying on the ground along with these two images was immersed when the temple was constructed in 1992.

Venkatesh temple and *Math*

The Venkatesh temple in Panaskane ward of Loliem is one of the two temples of the deity Venkatesh in Goa. Venkatesh is an epithet of Krishna who is again the epithet of Vishnu. According to the informants[34] this Vaishanvite shrine was constructed about five centuries ago and a beautiful idol of Sheshashyai Narayana (seated Narayana on his serpent couch) was installed which was subsequently replaced as the old idol was removed by the religious *Guru* and the Bhu-Venkatesh idol was installed by the Dhople and Bhat families of this area (fig.6.19). Initially it was a *math* where people used to gather for religious learning. The temple of Venkatesha was constructed later and the

existing image was installed in *saka* 1706 (about 217 years ago). The existing stone image is installed on a pedestal with the carving of Hanuman in *baddhanjali* posture. The four-armed image is supported with a nimbus carved with *Kirtimukha* and *dashavataras*. The front right hand is *varadahasta* whereas the left hand is kept in a position so as to hold the *gada* (club); the rear arms hold the *shankha* (conch shell) and *chakra* (disk). In addition to this there is another *utsavamurti* maintained in the temple. The temple was renovated about 150 years back under the guidance of the *Swamiji* of the Partagali *math*. An *agrashala* and rooms were later constructed around the temple that were occupied by four Bhat families and the Dhopale family. Presently the maintenance of the temple is looked after by the Bhat families since the Dhople family is no more in existence there. The *math* has two halls in front of the temple where religious ceremonies and weddings take place.

Maruti temples

In central Loliem, a small temple of Maruti is constructed by the side of the tank (*tali*) of the Keshava temple. According to the iconographic folk style, the antiquity of the image could be estimated to the 17th to 18th century A.D. (fig.6.20). Maruti as the son of the God of wind, is considered to be the embodiment of strength, heroism and the destroyer of the evil eye. Hence, he is offered oil and lamp. There are two temples of Maruti at Loliem and Maxem, with an additional small shrine being recently constructed at Madditalop. Regular worship is offered to both the old temples along with the principal deity of Keshava and Nirakar respectively. In Loliem people offer the *rui* flower (*calotropis gigantea*) along with an oil lamp to Maruti. The *rui* flowers blow easily with the wind and thereby depict the existence of wind, the father of Maruti.

Other Shrines

In addition to the aforesaid temples, a number of minor shrines and a small *math* are located in Loliem. These minor shrines include Devali at Peddem in the form of a small temple where stone engravings of four *padukas* (sandals) are placed (fig.6.21). This could be a *sati* stone. This shrine is closely associated with the Keshava temple and hence the priest offers weekly worship. Probably an ancestor of the Prabhu Desai family from

Kundrem in Loliem village might have given his life for the people of the locality followed by the *sati* of his wife. Hence, symbols of *padukas* (two pairs of sandals) are worshipped by the villagers led by Prabhu Desai.

Small shrines of Bhumika and Ishwar are situated at Polem. It is a twin temple constructed close to the National Highway. Two domes represent two deities. In the dome of Ishwar, a small *linga* is installed whereas in the dome of Bhumika an idol of Mahishasurmardini is consecrated (fig.6.22). The image is four-armed holding a *trishul* (trident) in the right hand and the slain head of the buffalo demon in the left. The rear left arm holds the *pasha* (whip) while the *khadga* (sword) is held in the right hand. The nimbus has a beautiful *kirtimukha*. According to the iconographic style it probably belongs to the 10th-11th century A.D. There existed two independent temples in the past. However, while constructing the National Highway these two temples were brought together at the existing site and the idol and *linga* was consecrated in the year 1992 (11th March 1992).

Mulvir, near the Keshava temple, and Gajalakshmi at Peddem are discussed in this chapter under stone memorials. Other open shrines of Khuti and Nas are situated in Tanshi ward which are worshipped mainly by local *kunbi* (*gaonkar*). Besides these two main spirits, six other open shrines namely Brahmo, Nirakar, Purush, Zalmi, Vagro and Vargatin are worshipped in the same ward. The clan deity of all *gaonkars* is Nirakar.[35] A shrine of Purush-*math*, which is regarded as their family deity by the *kunbis*, is also in the same ward. The old *math* of the *nath* cult is situated in Polem with which all *Gosavis* of this area are associated. Such small monasteries of different communities like the *kunbis*, fishermen, *shudras* and others are located in the wards of Polem, Tamne, Namashim and Kolkon. Besides this, there are some community centres known as *samaj mandir* in which a principal deity is worshipped only on the annual festival of *Krishna-puja*, *Saraswati-puja*, *Vithoba-puja* and so on. Another private *math* is situated in the residential premises of the Acharya family in Sheli ward. A small temple of Saibaba and Datta is also constructed at Madditalop. Likewise, a small open shrine of Makaddev (monkey-god) is situated in Peddem. Another small temple of Bavanna Purush (clan

deity of fifty-two families) is situated at Maxem. Table 6.1 gives the details of the location, status of temple, festivals and communities associated with the deities.

Influence of Kadamba Architecture

Although no structural temple dating to the Kadamba period exists in the village, the use of stone roof-slabs with a central pendant lotus medallian carved in a monolithic form is found at the Vishnu temple in Peddem. Some other temples in the village that have similarly carved roof slabs and other architectural techniques of the Kadambas are those of Aryadurga, Hanuman, Mahadeva and Brahma (*peetha*) and the broken slab of the Bhagavati temple (fig.6.7). It is possible that due to poor resources, the architects engaged by the local people could not go beyond the *sanctum sanctorum* in following the prototype of typical Kadamba temple architecture. Roof slabs contain the symbol of the lotus that was very popular with the carvers who were influenced by the Kadamba school between 11th and 14th century.

Stone memorials

1. Menhirs

Menhirs, as depicted in the photographs, are found (fig.6.23) in the property of a local landlady in Peddem. These could be stone memorials erected during ancient times. However, this cannot be conclusively proven because the place cannot be excavated being a private property.

2. *Virgals* or hero stones

A hero-stone is located at Peddem (fig.6.24) in a private property. This was mentioned as *virgal* of Peddem by the German indologist, Gritli V. Mitterwallner, (1983) and dated to the 11th -12th century. or early Kadamba period. It is made up of locally available basalt stone. According to Mitterwallner, though the basalt stone is scarcely available in the coastal tracts of Goa, as it lends itself better for detailed sculpture, it is preferred to the red triable laterite that is more commonly found. The measurements of the hero-stone are as follows:

Height: 1.35 mtrs., breadth: 0.49 mtrs. and thickness: 0.09 mtrs., bottom panel: 0.04 X 0.13 mtrs., bottom-1 panel: 0.40 X 0.14 mtrs., middle and upper panel: 0.41 X 0.16 mtrs. each, top panel of semicircular shape: 0.49 X 0.43 mtrs..

Description of hero-stone

It has four panels with the top crest having a miniature carving of Gajalakshmi below the *kirtimukha*. Stylistically, the hero-stone is a fine example of Kadamba iconography. Each panel is separated by an ornamental band with a width of 0.07 mtrs. from the bottom to the top panel indicating the sequence of events showing the cause of death of the hero in a hand-to-hand battle, followed by his ascent to heaven in the company of heavenly nymphs, and his establishment on the heavenly throne and joyous celebration in the company of heavenly damsels as shown in the uppermost panel. The entire sculpture is very dynamic with profuse details of warrior dresses, weaponry, costumes and dancers, musical instruments etc. It also offers unique glimpses into the warfare during the Kadamba period with the use of spears, bows, arrows, swords, daggers, shields etc.

Herostones have been studied by Settar, Sontheimer (1982), Mitterwallner (1983) and a few other scholars. But scanty attention has been paid to this marvellous masterpiece which is a tribute to the highly developed carving style in memorial architecture. The Gajalakshami engravings at the top show the faith of the hero in whose memory the stone was carved. Gajalakshmi has been identified as the goddess of monsoon rain and vegetation by researchers such as R.C. Dhere.[36]

Mulvir (Molliyo) Hero-stone

This is a stone tablet presently located in the open area near the temple of Keshav at Loliem at the right hand side of the Mahadev temple (fig.6.25). It measures 1.17 mtrs. in height and 0.215 mtrs. in breadth. This stone depicts an image of a foot warrior with raised sword and shield at the bottom along with the sun and the moon on either side. Besides miniature engravings are also made dividing the stone into three vertical square

panels and is topped by a knob. It is probably erected as a guard-post to mark the entrance of the village.

Other unidentified and interesting archaeological objects

1. There are some scattered images at Dadda-Arav in Polem, Kajalker and Peddem. These images, particularly those from Polem and Kajalker, had suffered destruction. Many of these are covered with shrubs and would have to be properly restored with scientific treatment for preservation. These antique images show the importance of this place as a culturally rich area.

2. *Shankarshem* - a sacrificial place of legendary background: At Kajalker there is a temple of Shankar-Sati, locally known as Shankarshem where two small images of bronze and *peethas* and a *stambha* (pillar) of Nirakar are worshipped on festive occasions. Besides two small domes are constructed in the vicinity representing the *samadhis* of Shankar and Sati. According to legend, the villagers were constructing a *bund* to protect the agricultural tracts from saline water. The work was initiated under the chieftain Shankar Varik. However, repeated attempts of construction of the *bund* failed due to a fierce high tide. Shankar had a dream of human sacrifice. Next day he gave up his life at the site of the *bund* followed by twelve other villagers of Kolkon. Shankar's wife committed suicide in the nearby well and was regarded as *Sati*. In the memory of Shankar and *Sati* a temple was constructed in Kolkon ward and a memorial place, namely *Kal*, was dedicated to the twelve villagers. Besides a special *tarang* was instituted in the memory of Shankar which is displayed at the time of the *Dasaro* festival along with another *tarang* of Lord Nirakar. On the occasion of *Dasaro*, the family members of Varik, Bhat Gaonkar, Prabhu Shastri and Prabhu Malayar and villagers of Kolkon go to Ghandeband at the site of the *bund* and perform a ritual of symbolic human sacrifice. They take a sapling of mango and after performing its *puja* and thread ceremony, the sapling is cut into three pieces and offered to the *bund*. On return, another ceremony takes place. In this ritual the *Bhagat* hits a wooden stool on a sword, which is kept on the shaved forehead of another *Bhagat*. The blood that gushes out is mixed with rice and sprinkled on the gathering followed by a dance with *tarangas*. Earlier during *Navaratri*,

gondol is performed jointly by the *Gaud Saraswat Brahmans* and the *Shudra* community every night by dancing with the *tarangas*.

Before we conclude this chapter it would be pertinent to include a brief description of certain aspects of the social life of the people that include dress, food habits, games and amusements and also domestic architecture.

Dress

Most of the people from Canacona region are peasants. The males of this class usually wear *kashti*, a loincloth with the help of waist cord or girdle called *munz* or *gof* (fig.6.26). The loincloth is commonly known as *valo*. It is first passed in the front from the *munz* and the remaining portion is drawn tightly between the divide of the buttocks and tucked behind. The remaining front portion is allowed to dangle loose. Sometimes it is passed behind the legs and the buttocks are covered out of the remaining portion. They also occasionally use a kind of traditional vest to cover the upper part of the body and a turban to cover the head from the hot sun (fig.6.27). It is called as *pagadi* or *mundashem*. On some occasions they also use *rumal*, a kind of scarf. They throw a *kambal* (a coarse blanket) over their shoulders.

Ladies of the working class, especially from the *Kunbi* community, use a eight-yard *sari*, which is known as *lugat* or *nugat* whereas other communities call it as *kapad* (fig.6.27). The mode of wearing the *lugat* in *Kunbis* is to cover the *sari* in pleats at the waist without tucking it at the back (*kas*) as practiced by other communities. The ornamental end of the *sari* called as *palov* or *padar*, is passed from the back of the waist under the right arm drawing it across the chest and over the left shoulder tied in a knot known as *dethali*. From this the wearing style is also called *dethali*. The *Kunbi* women traditionally did not use a blouse. However, the Portuguese administration prohibited these ladies to appear in public without using a blouse by a special decree of 1940.

The ordinary dress of upper class Hindu *Brahman* males consisted of a *pagotem* (a head gear), *dhotar* (waist cloth) with silk border, *pairan* (a short or long shirt) and

uparane (a shoulder cloth). Their footwear was called *jotem*. The men belonging to other castes usually wore *mandil* (a sort of head scarf) and loose trousers or slacks. The poorer sections of the society put on *kashti* (a privity strip), a shirt, a headgear and a *kambal* (blanket).

On ceremonial occasions caps trimmed with brocade were used. Hungarian oval shaped cap was also used as a fashion. A few selected persons from distinct class of professionals used red caps. Long coat, short coat and bush coat were also used.

The chief items of a woman's dress included a *sari*, nine yards in length, and the short-sleeved *polako* (blouse). The mode of wearing the *sari* was with hind pleats tucked into the waist at the back centre *(kas)* and the ornamental end *(padar)* passed from the back of the waist under the right arm, drawn across the breast and over the left shoulder. The nine-yard *sari* slowly gave way to *saris* that were five to six yards in length. Those who wore *saris* of five to six yards necessarily wore a foundation garment, *ghagro*. It was customary for the girls to use frocks up to ten years of age, then petticoats and bodices up to the age of thirteen to fourteen, which was a marriageable age then, and then the eight-yard *sari* after marriage. Now Punjabi *salwar-kamij* is in vogue. Women were not accustomed to the use of chappals and sandals and moved bare-footed. It is only since Liberation that ladies have started using *chappals*, sandals and all sorts of modern footwear. During festive occasions women belonging to the higher strata of society usually wore *shalu, pitambar, paithani*, etc. and used to cover their shoulders with *shawl* or *pamari*. Widows usually wore a five-yard long poplin piece, called *parkalo* and, on religious occasions they used *mukto*, a red or saffron coloured handloom *sari*.

The Christian woman of labour class don a kind of *sari* called *kapad*. In the old days rich people used a dress *pano-baju/tolop* and *vol* (for religious use). But all the Christians in this region seem to be in favour of traditional Indian *sari* or European frock known as *vestido*. Christian males wear pants and bush shirts. It is customary to use complete suits consisting of pant, shirt, tie and coat during wedding receptions, funerals and feast days.

Amongst the Muslims, men wear *paijama* and *kurta* and a round cap on the head. The women rarely follow their traditional *pardah* when they are in a public gathering and they use *sari* and blouse. The teenager girls used *salwar-kamij* and scarf as their traditional dress.

Food and drinks

Rice and fish curry is the staple food of almost all classes of society except a few, such as *Chitpavan* and *Karhade Brahman* as well as the priestly class of Hindus, since they take vegetarian food. Rice is boiled and water is extracted. Then it is mixed with the fish curry. The curry is made of coconut kernel and chillies along with other spices such as turmeric, coriander, and black pepper by fine grinding and boiling it with different kinds of fish. In the off-season dry fish is boiled to make fish curry which is popular among the labour class. The upper and middle class Hindus, Catholics and Muslims use good quality rice (*suray*) whereas others prefer coarse rice locally known as *ukdo* (parboiled) which suits the fish curry. Besides those who work as labourers in fields take the gruel of coarse rice which is known as *pez*. All communities take two meals a day, one in the noon, between twelve and two (lunch), and the second, between eight and ten (dinner). The workers take an extra meal of boiled rice, which they carry with them. These workers do not take breakfast, instead they take only a cup of black tea in the morning. Drinking of tea with milk is popular among all communities. However the labour class families rarely use milk. Similarly chewing of betel nuts and betel leaves is also popular among this class. All the classes eat on leaves though metal plates and crockery are used in present times. Similarly, the poor cooked the food in earthenware pots.

Though fish curry and rice is the staple food, it is supplemented, amongst the upper and middle classes, by various dishes of vegetable and pulses, seasoned with spices. In the olden days green vegetables were extensively used during rainy season and during the rest of the year, tubers, roots, gourds etc., were used in the preparation of vegetable dishes. Some Hindus eat the meat of goat, fowl and wild animals such as wild

boar, hare, porcupine, iguana, deer, antelope, but not beef and pork. Meat was cooked only on certain occasions and mainly on Sundays. However, Hindus abstain from meat and fish on holy days such as *puja* (worship), *shraddha* (ancestors' death anniversary), etc. On such occasions, the menu remains strictly vegetarian. It comprises of rice, vegetables, pulses mixed with coconut and a variety of curries, namely, *ros, varan, toy, sar, kadi,* and also curds and buttermilk. In addition to this, different sweets are also prepared. The common sweet-dishes, served on festive occasions as well as during parties of wedding and thread ceremonies, are *khir, payas, managane* and *sakharbhat.* Besides the menu on such occasion comprises of other items such as *vade* (rice-breads), *bhaji, papad, vadiyo,* pickles, *udid-methi.* The mix-vegetable known as *khatakhatem* is very popular among all. The menu for wedding ceremonies among lower classes also remains more or less same with limited varieties of pulses and sweets. Besides it does not comprise of varieties such as *papad, vadiyo,* pickles, *bhaji, udid-methi,* etc. All preparations on such festive occasions are cooked without onion and garlic.

During the monsoon season breakfast comprises of eatables made out of rice and wheat, such as *sanjo, fov, bhakari, polle,* etc. Besides bread and vegetables are also used occasionally. Tea is invariably drunk at the time of breakfast and in the afternoon. The consumption of alcohol was not common among the middle and upper classes. However, now it has become a common feature among all classes.

On occasions of religious feasts of the Hindus, certain sweet dishes are prepared traditionally. For example, during the Ganesh festival *(chavath)* all Hindus prepare *nevaryo, ladu* and *kapam.* It is also a tradition to send a special parcel by the parents of the bride to the groom's place as a token of love and respect. Similarly, certain sweets are prepared on specific feasts, such as *sanna* and *heet* are prepared on the occasion of *sutam punav, patolyo* on *nagpanchami, elafe* on *sankranti,* on *panchami* of Ganesh festival *sukrunde* or *punnapoliyo,* on every Sunday of *Shravan* (July-August) different variety of sweets such as *sanna, polle, panpolle, patolyo* as well as *shevyo, shevayam-khir,* etc. are prepared.

The Catholic population relish rice and fish curry as their favourite diet. The use of vegetables and pulses among this community is very meagre. At present they make frequent use of potato, tomato, along with onion, garlic and ginger. Various dishes of meat and fish supplement the main diet of rice and fish curry among the upper class Catholics. Though they are fond of fish and meat the varieties of preparation are limited. They cook beef and pork on Sundays and special occasions like wedding parties, church feasts, etc. However, the meat of goat, chicken, wild animals also forms a part of their diet. The special dish of spicy-rice known as *arroz* also *para* and *balchão* are prepared on festive occasions. Similarly, different sweets are prepared which comprise of *nevaryo*, *vade*, *doce*, cakes, *ladu, and bebinca* during festivities of Christmas and church feasts. The festive lunch and dinner is always accompanied with different kinds of alcohol and local liquor, *feni*, made of toddy of coconut or cashew.

The main articles of diet among the Muslims of Canacona region are rice, fish, coconut and spices. They also make frequent use of wheat, though their staple food is rice and fish curry. They take tea with milk and breakfast comprising of rice-bread, *chapatti* and vegetables. They consume rice, fish curry, vegetables (*tarakari*) and gruel of *dal* for lunch and dinner. They prepare spicy items such as *pulav, biryani, rassa, khima*, etc., on festive occasions. Their sweet dishes comprise of *soji, khir, shirkurma, shira, laddu* in which wheat is used as the main ingredient. They cook all types of meat, except pork and consume alcohol on certain occasions. Women abstain from liquor consumption.

Games and Amusements

Traditional games include both indoor as well as outdoor games. Women play different indoor games such as *gad-fadyani, zirkyani, tabulfalem, kangfalem, vagfalem, umani* (puzzles) and *bhendi. Gad-fadyani* is played with seeds or wild nuts or pebbles. The seeds are kept in a tight fist and the other participant has to identify whether the total number of seeds in the fist are of odd or even number. *Gadem* means odd and *fadem* means even number. The correct answer is rewarded with all the seeds in the fist. The game of *zirkyani* was played either with pebbles or seeds or nuts by sitting in a group. The pebbles had to be thrown in the air and to be caught in a designated sequence such

as, at first instance, one pebble at each time, followed by two pebbles, three and four. While catching the pebbles the sides of the palm are to change as a rule. The entire sequence of throwing and catching pebbles is to be completed by every participant. The member who completes the sequence without any break is declared the winner. This game is popular among girls and ladies.

The ladies play an indoor game of puzzles (*Humani*) during leisure time. The puzzles are both in songs as well as verse. Sometimes groups of participants are formed on festive occasions and the game is played. Similarly, another game of *bhendi* is played in which two groups of participants go on singing songs starting with the last alphabet of the preceding song.

Another interesting game is *tabul-falem* which is popular among women as well as men. *Tabul* (plural, *tablam*) is a flat, thin piece of bamboo painted in yellow colour. Altogether four *tablam* are thrown in the air and let fall on the playing floor. The score depends on the positions, observe or reverse. The *tabul-falem* is a quadrangular painted board divided into four rows of twelve or fourteen squares each. The squares in the lateral rows are filled respectively with pawns painted generally in yellow and red colour for two players at a time. However in order to accommodate four participants at a time in this game, pawns of blue and green colour are also provided. The winners are decided according to the number of points indicated by the fall and position of *tablam*. This game is popular among both women and men. The same quadrangular board has another plank attached with different designs for playing games such as *kangani* and *vagani*. The plank, which is used for games of *kango*, is known as *kangfalem* and the other is called *vagfalem*. According to the fall and position of *tablam* the pawns are placed and points are counted.

In addition to playing *tabulfalem, kangfalem, vagfalem,* cards (which is of recent origin), men prefer outdoor games such as *gaddyani* or *milani, lagoryo, hututu, sodini, faliyo,* etc. The term *gaddo* is used for playing with marbles. The players make a small hole in the clean ground and drive the marble in a hole, which is called *mil.* The success of the game depends upon the skill of directing the marble into the hole. Sometimes the

number of holes become three and accordingly the pattern of counting the points differs. Every successful attempt of driving the marble into the hole is followed by striking of marble against the marbles of other participants. Accordingly the points are counted.

Gonzo-viti is another popular game among men. *Gonzo* is a kind of a *lathi* about 50 to 55 cms. long and *viti* is about 15 cms. long and proportionately small in diameter. The players gather in an open field and the sequence of the players is decided. The player comes to the main ground and throws the *viti,* which is kept on a small slit made on the ground with the help of another stick. Thereafter, the player with the help of *gonzo* again throws the *viti* without touching any part of his body. The distance between the *viti* and the main ground is counted with the help of the *gonzo.* The counting is done in terms of *panv, chetmet, barmut, ghoda, bucchi, dola, zil,* instead of counting one to seven. The next step of throwing the *viti* with the help of *gonzo* depends upon the count where it had previously stopped. The style of throwing the *viti* again is designated according to the count. The style varies, for example, for *panv,* the *viti* is to be kept on the right leg and thrown in the air and struck with the *gonzo* to drive it as far as possible. While driving the *viti* if it is caught in the air by any participant, then he loses the game from that point onwards.

Lagoryo is another game which involves the striking of a ball to a stack of pebbles or coconut shells. Two teams are involved in this game. One team strikes the ball as per the turn of the player from a certain distance and thereby scatters the pebbles or shells *(lagoryo).* Immediately, the same team resets them before the rival team catches the ball and touches it to the body of a participant of the striking team. The success of the game depends on the resetting of the pebbles without touching the ball.

In the game of *sodini* two teams of equal number of participants stand face to face in an open courtyard with the area demarcated with last border. Out of the two teams, the first team crosses the central line whereas the second team prevents them from doing that. If the second team touches the player of the first team then the player exits from the game. Thus all the players cross the central line and once again enter into their court avoiding all attempts of the rival team to prevent them from doing so. Sometimes the

participants are caught and taken away by either team to enable the remaining players to fulfil their role. Men play this game in the open fields after harvest or during the rearing of cattle. Men play a similar game called *faliyo* with slight modifications of the above. In this game, instead of a central line, compartments are marked and the players of one team have to cross the compartments one by one whereas the rival team attempts to prevent them. *Hututu,* which resembles *kabaddi,* is a game that is very popular among men in the region. Instead of reciting the word, *kabaddi-kabaddi,* while playing, the participants repeat the word, *hutu-tu-tu-tu.* The rest of the game is similar to *kabaddi* except that in *hututu* the number in each team varies from five to ten.

· · The game of cards, locally known as *ispique,* is popular among men during present times. There are many games to be played with the help of cards such as *rami, flush, mendi, coat,* etc; cards are also used for gambling.

During the festivals in temples, churches and other public places, gambling of various types, such as *gadgado, pat, firki,* etc. is in vogue. In *gadgado,* a dice is used to announce the points and according to it the winner or loser is decided. In *firki,* a pointer rotating in a clockwise direction, mounted on a chart in which numerous compartments are marked, is used and people interested in gambling bet on their favourite compartment. The winning compartment is indicated by the point which rotates speedily and stops after sometime. It is interesting to note that only men indulge in gambling whereas women keep themselves aloof from it.

Children of all ages play a variety of games which require no special material like that of *tabulfalem.* Some games which are played by both boys and girls include *kyanv-myanv, kankuturyo, at-fat, khambyanim, lipchanyo, vetani, kho-kho,* In *kyanv-myanv,* children sit in a circle and place their palms at the centre one by one. One participant claps with his palm on the palm of another participant uttering the song – *appad-pappad / chandu ladu / durgabai / khand dhar //* and the palm of the participant is kept on the shoulder of the neighbouring participant. The rhyming is repeated and all hands are kept on the shoulders one by one. Thereafter, all participants sing in unison *kynv-myanv / ghare khan / Patolechim / pana lhenv //* They go on repeating this and at last they tickle

each other. In *kankuturyo* children sit in the same fashion of *kyanv-myanv* and the main participant keeps a small pebble in the fist of any participant. Another participant sits at a distance with his/her eyes tightly shut. After receiving a signal from the main participant, the child with closed eyes is allowed to open his/her eyes and approaches the group. The success of the game depends on guessing the participant's fist in which the pebble is kept. If the guess is incorrect the holder of the pebble says '*kan-kuturyo / sonya muturyo*' and thus the secret is disclosed. The turn is changed with correct guessing.

At fat is the game in which one participant is entrusted to chase at least one of the participants to replace him as the chaser. At the very beginning of the game, it is said – *at fat-dhar mhaji fat.*

Khambo in Konkani means pillar or pole. The game of *khambyanim* is usually played in a courtyard with many pillars. Similarly, the old multipillar houses are regarded as the best venue for this game. Children assemble in the courtyard or *rajangan* and designate a participant to touch any one of the participants when they attempt to change their placement that is the pillar each member holds. If the chasing member succeeds in touching any of the participants or occupying any placement, he is substituted.

Lipchanyi is a game like that of hide and seek. All the children except one who is the chaser hide themselves and the chaser has to locate at least one of them. In the game of *vetani* children sit in a big circle and one of them holds *vet* in his hand but usually it is not visible.

Vet means a braid of kerchief or cotton cloth. The holder of *vet* moves around from outside the circle that is from the backside of the participants. The *vet* is kept behind any of the children. Soon after he completes one round, he picks up the braid and beats to the concerned child. In case the child comes to know, on account of his/her alertness, before completing the round by the chaser, the child can beat the chaser with the braid till he takes the place of the child. Thus the game progresses according to the enthusiasm of the participants. *Kho-kho* is another game that is popular among the children.

Other games that are exclusively played by girls include *mitani* and *langadi.* In *mitani,* three rows of circles are drawn on the playground. Usually the circles are drawn with the help of a sole in the soil. In the middle row three circles are drawn with two circles each on either side. The game is played either by two or more players. The players put a pebble in the first circle and leap over the same in hopping style. Thus the pebble is placed in all circles one by one and collected on returning from the last circle. The players have to complete their turn without a break and also without throwing the pebble outside the designated circles. *Langadi* is a similar type of game in which one girl has to chase the remaining players while hopping around. The winner is declared when all the players are chased by the participant who initiated the chasing.

Games such as *sodini, gonzo-viti, lagoryo, gaddyani* or *milani, zircutyo* and *biyani* are played exclusively by boys. All the aforesaid games, except *zircutyo* and *biyani,* are described above. *Zircutyo* is a game in which one boy stands with a piece of stick on the ground at the foot of a tree whose boughs are not very high. Other boys climb up the tree and perch themselves on its branches. The latter endeavour to descend and touch the stick while the boy guarding it tries not only to prevent them from doing so, but also to climb the tree in order to touch his comrades. If the boy below succeeds in his efforts he is relieved from the task of guarding the stick, while the boy who is touched is compelled to take his place at the foot of the tree. Cowherds usually play this game while the cattle rest. The game *biyani* is derived from the word *biyo* or cashew nuts. The game is played during the cashew season. The cashew nuts are arranged in a row starting from the biggest nut. Two or more players try to break the row by striking another nut standing at a distance. If the row is broken the winner collects the nuts.

Architecture

Houses

Houses of the poor were generally constructed of mud and undressed stone used for plinth. The walls were made of mud whereas the ceiling was made of wooden girders prepared from the trees of coconut, mango or such other jungle wood and covered with

local tiles (fig.6.28). Extensive use of bamboo and arecanut trees was also made in the preparation of the ceiling. The roof was sometimes covered with palm leaves and also dry grass (fig.6.29). However, in recent times, palm leaves, dry grass and local tiles have given way to Mangalore tiles. The house had an open varanda, a middle hall, and a side room to be used as bedroom and the back portion serves as the kitchen-cum-storeroom. Besides all houses usually had a small courtyard with small *tulashi–vrindavan* either constructed in mud or dressed laterite stones. In the case of lower classes, the courtyard was without *tulashi-vrindavan*. However the courtyard was also covered with a pandal of palm leaves.

The houses of middle class families had a bigger plinth with added rooms. At the entrance there is a cement bench called *sopo* from which one could enter the common hall called *sala*. There were usually two side rooms, a kitchen and the service area. There was also a sacred area marked for the gods of the family where occasional worship was held besides the daily offering of oil lamps. The roof was later covered with Mangalore tiles. Joint families used to reside in such houses. However, during recent times, nuclear families are increasing and thus the size of the houses of the middle class families is being reduced to match with the maintenance capacity. The spacious courtyard with *tulashi-vrindavan* is a common feature.

Rich joint families of landlords, businessman, etc. lived in big traditional houses known as *chowpeti-ghar, rajangana-ghar* or *wado* (fig.6.30-a & b). The spacious houses of this category were built in four quadrangles preferably in locally available laterite stones. The walls were constructed considerably wide for the purpose of safety. Except the large main entrance, other doors were of medium size whereas all the windows were considerably small. In some houses in the *taluka* there was an arrangement for placing guns inside the walls in order to resist dacoits and burglars. These houses had a spacious entrance where balconies and cement benches were provided to serve the purpose of reception. The reception area usually led to the common hall after crossing a passage. The common hall was generally used on festive occasions such as Ganesh Chaturthi festival, *Navaratri, samaradana,* etc. The common hall had an adjacent room for sacred

rituals, another room for family deities, a kitchen, a storeroom (*kothi*), a well, a special room for conducting deliveries (*balant-kud*), etc. Rooms were also provided at all three sides for different units of the joint family. The common courtyard was known as *rajangan*, which was the central place of the big house. A *tulashi-vrindavan* was prominently constructed at the centre of the *rajangan*. Another common feature of such houses is an upper storey that provided a common hall and a number of rooms. This type of house existed in Canacona since it was the tradition of joint families in this region. The walls and floor was coated with lime or cement (in more recent times) with traditional designs. There still exist some houses of this category where wall paintings were drawn. To cite an example the house of Boruskar family in Loliem village had a number of rare wall paintings. This site has been enlisted as the protected site/remains notified under the Goa, Daman and Diu Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1978.[37] Figure 6.31 gives an idea of Hindu temple in Canacona region.

In conclusion, the village could be said to be an important strategic centre for religion, trade, commerce and navigation from the Chalukyan period to Vijaynagara period. A large number of images identified with the powerful *tantric* cult of *Shakta/Kapalika* also show that sacrificial rituals were performed in the village in the past. The unique standing image of Betal in Loliem proves that this cult flourished among the *tantrics* whose identity is hidden in the mist of history. The village is unique in offering a correct and complete understanding of the cultural evolution of the *taluka*. Today it is difficult to distinguish imprints of different cults and dynasties that had influenced the village; however, an understanding of the cultural history of Loliem is equivalent to getting a good insight into the rich cultural history of the Canacona *taluka*.

A final component that has been appended to this chapter is a brief historical account of the island of Anjidiv that has been a part of the *taluka* of Canacona and is situated in the Arabian Sea beyond the coastal limits of the village of Loliem.

History of Anjidiv Island through the Ages

The island of Anjidiv located at 14°06'45" North latitude and 76°06'45" East longitude lies about 25 kms. to the south-east of Chaudi (Canacona) and at a distance about 8 kms. from Karwar Town (fig.6.33). The island has been under the traditional administrative jurisdiction of Canacona. It remained a revenue village of mainland Canacona for a period of about six centuries (1000 to 1682-83) till its capture by the Portuguese. Since the pendulum of sovereignty over the mainland oscillated irregularly from one dynasty to an other till the last quarter of the 18th century, that is till the transfer of Canacona *taluka* to the Portuguese by the ruler of Sonda, the island remained under the control of the Portuguese from 1682-83 till 1961.

The island probably was initially populated by people from the mainland. The remnants of the ancient temple of Aja are seen at the island. The deity is presently known as Arya-Durga,[38] which was shifted from there when Arab traders conquered the island. This fact points towards the early population in the island of Arab traders before the turn of the 15th century.[39] Then the idol of the deity was shifted to Ankola and venerated there as Arya-Durga in 1312.[40] However, at a later stage when the Portuguese had full control over the island, it was populated by the people of the mainland, who were employed as corps and civilians, in addition to the fleets that arrived there from Portugal. However, as late as 1971, it had a population of only eleven[41] and it is listed as an uninhabited village in the 1991 census.[42]

The name Anjidiv is of doubtful origin. According to one account, it is Adyadvipa or the early island. According to a second version, it is Ajyadvipa or the island of clarified butter; according to a third, it is Anjidvipa or a group of five islands and

RAZANGANAGHAR

ROOM	ROOM	ROOM	COTHI

VASARI

ROOM

TULASI

RAZANGAN

ROOM

VASARI

ROOM

KITCHEN

WELL

SECRED AREA

COMMON HALL / SALA

DEVARA

ENTRANCE
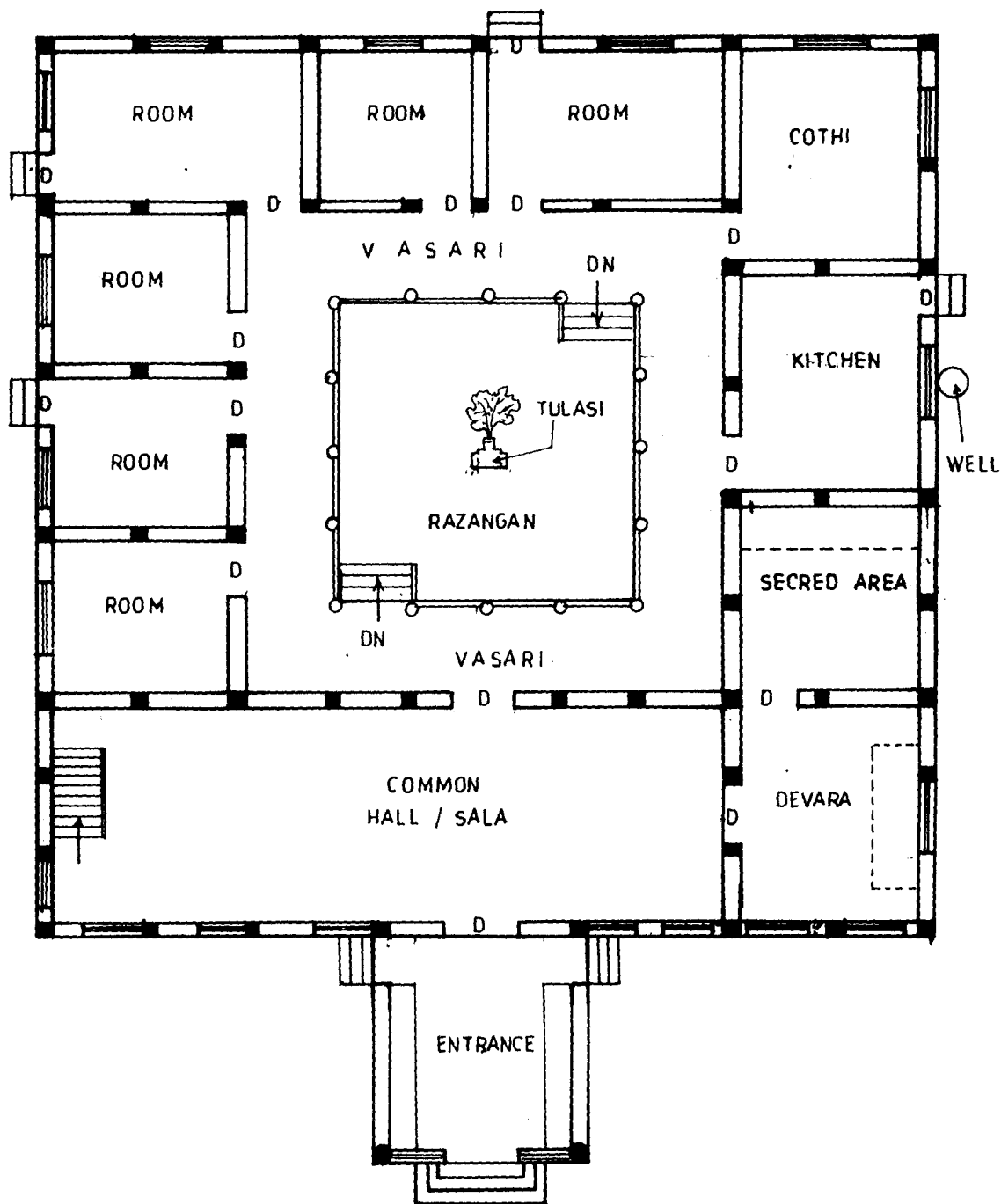
PLAN

Fig 6.30-a   (NOT TO SCALE)

RAZANGANA GHAR
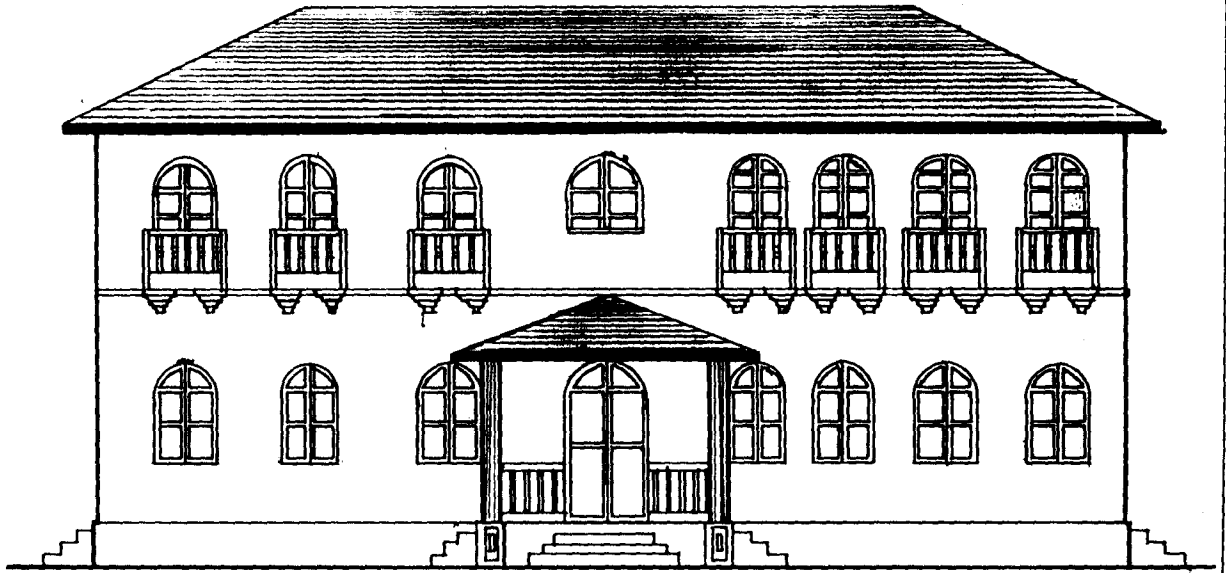
ELEVATION

Fig 6.30-b

MAP OF ANJIDIV ISLAND

N

(NOT TO SCALE)

ROUNDED ROCKS

FORT (IN RUINS)

ANJIDIV ISLAND

POLICE OUTPOST

KANKON

FORT (IN RUINS)

SOK

KANKON GUDDA

SHEET ROCK

FORT (IN RUINS

SHEET ROOK

SUBMERGED ROCK
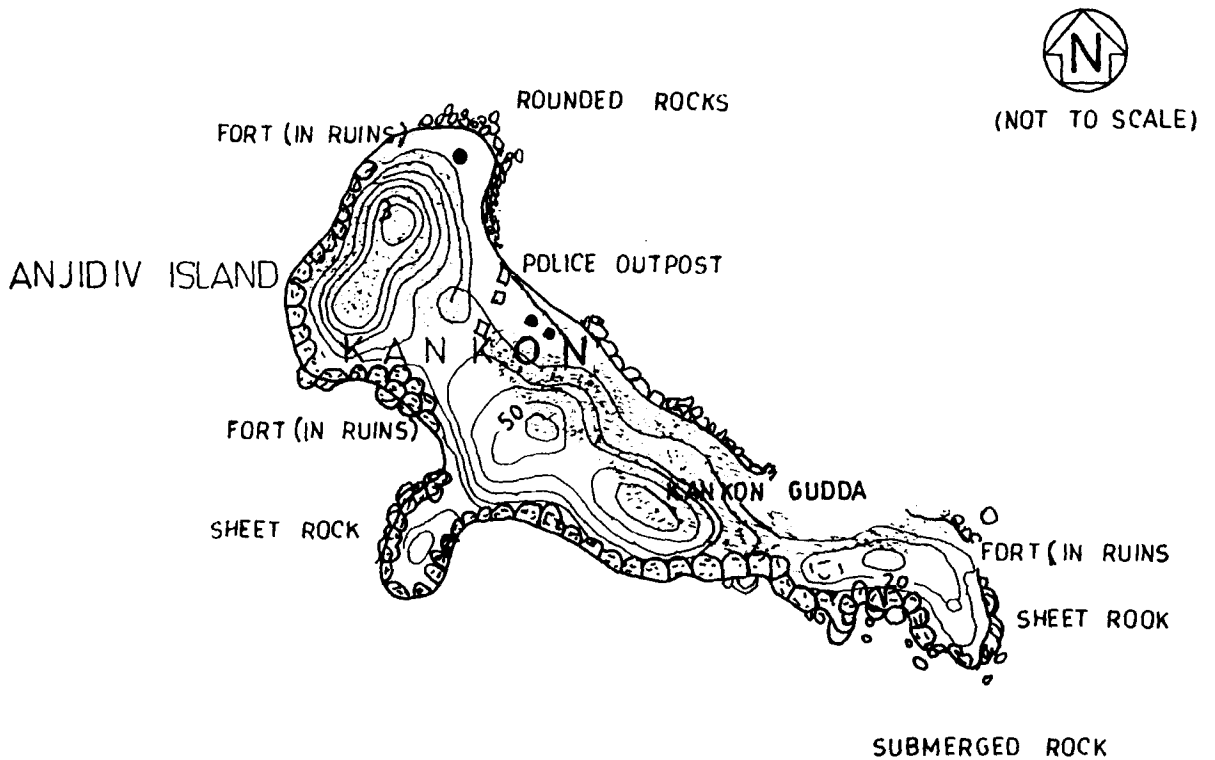
Fig 6.33

according to a fourth, it is Ajadvipa or the island of the goddess Aja. It is said to have been called the 'Early Island' because it was in existence before Parashuram reclaimed the Konkan from the sea and the 'clarified butter island' because it supplied Parashuram with clarified butter for a horse sacrifice. The word Anje in Tulu language means five and hence Anjediv means five islands. In addition to Anjidiv island, other four islands are grouped there in the vicinity. They are Devgad, Kurumgad, Dukrio and Chipigad which find place in the old writings of many visitors, mainly of the 16th century.[43] There are various opinions about the original name of this island but from the latest research of Archaeological Survey of India, it is established as Ambudvipa.[44]

Traders, travellers as well as a few literatuers have made a mention of Anjidiv island from ancient times. The early Greek traders called it Leuka.[45] Ptolemy has identified the island as Insula Aegidiorum in 150 A.D. The Greek author of the *Periplus* also mentioned this island in 254 A.D. Well known traveller, Ibn Butata, traveled to Goa in 1342-1350 and in his accounts of that journey he has mentioned about the island and a temple as well as a tank of water near the temple and an old Mohammedan residing in it. Varthema had also written about the island in his travelogue dated 1503-1508 A.D. Similarly the Portuguese poet, Luis de Camões, in his *Lusiadas* has also written about the island describing its scenic beauty.[46] Camões called Anjidiv as Ilha dos Amores (Island of Love).[47] Further, a number of navigators have mentioned the island in their correspondence and travel accounts which include Phoenician and Finnish travellers. The Arab traders called it Azadevi.[48]

The island is irregular in shape and stretches for more than a km. from north to south and around 250 mtrs. from east to west. The south-west and western parts of the island are steep and rugged and dangerous to all kinds of vessels. A small cove in the middle of the east or landward face, in about seven mtrs. of water, gives anchorage to vessels with a tonnage of as much as 1000. It also serves as a shelter for country crafts during heavy and stormy weather. The strait or channel between Anjidiv and the main land is safe for ships, being six to seven fathoms deep and without shoals or rocks.

Around the island, the depth of water is ten to twelve fathoms. The rocks of the island are granite and laterite mixed with fine red earth. Its western side is barren and rocky, but the eastern side is rich in plantations like coconut, mango, jackfruit, custard apple, orange and lemon trees.

The island was inhabited on the eastern shore. The people made their living by growing coconuts and by fishing. A large quantity of fish was caught and dried and sent for sale to the mainland. The island has no rice fields; the little rice that was needed for local consumption was brought from the mainland.

The island is supplied with water from two ponds. The one near the middle of the island which is about three square mtrs. is not used for potable consumption. There is also a natural spring which flows throughout the year into a granite cistern about one mtr. in diameter. It is on the slope about 200 mtrs. to the west.

Since the island was endowed with good water springs and much wood, ships used to take shelter there during the southwest monsoon and stormy weather, since the 9th century A.D.[49] Muslim traders often rested their ships at Anjidiv island. Vasco da Gama took a sojourn on this island from 24th November 1498 to 10th December 1498 with his fleet of 170 men to repair his ships.[50] The only person on this island was a Muslim beggar who lived on rice and herbs that he received from passing ships during their sojourn.

The news of Portuguese ships anchored at Anjidiv spread along the nearby coast rapidly. Timayya, also known as Timoja, along with his companions approached the island from the south. They were repulsed and scattered at the first instance due to da Gama's superior artillery as he had twenty guns on his ship. Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur who was then ruling Goa, ordered an inquiry into the presence of foreigners on the island. However these efforts of Adil Shah failed as his commander was arrested by da Gama who carried him to Portugal where he was baptised as Gasper da Gama.[51]

Due to the successful return of Vasco da Gama, the king of Portugal was greatly encouraged to send more Portuguese fleets to India. On 9th March 1500 Padro Alvares Cabral, with thirteen vessels and 1200 men, was sent from Lisbon to Calicut. He halted at Anjidiv island between 21st August 1502 to 11th September 1502.[52] The fleet was accompanied by a group of 8 secular priests and 8 Franciscan missionaries who said their first mass over there, converting nearly 23 islanders, thus initiating Christian missionary work in India.[53] The members of the group of Franciscan priests were Fr. Henrique Soares de Coimbra (leader), Fr. Francisco da Cruz, Fr. Simão de Guimaraes, Fr. Luis de Salvador, Fr. Masseu, Fr. Gaspar Pedro Netto besides a clerk and Brother João de Vitoria. They had been selected by the Provincial and were sent under the orders of King D. Manoel. After the initiation of Christianity on the island they proceeded further to Calicut accompanying Pedro Alvares Cabral on the fleet.[54]

Vasco da Gama again came to India in 1503 on his second voyage. On his arriving close to Anjidiv island an encounter had taken place between him and Timayya who was the commander of the Vijayanagara fleet on the west coast of India.[55] Gama's fleet chased them into the river of Honavar and they were vanquished and their property and town both were burnt.[56] However Timayya became a great friend of the Portuguese.

The first Portuguese Viceroy, Dom Francisco de Almeida, left for India with 22 vessels and 1500 soldiers with special instructions from the king of Portugal to build a fort at Anjidiv.[57] The expedition commenced from Portugal on 25th March 1505 with an intention to firmly establish Portuguese power in India. After coming to Anjidiv Almeida laid down the foundation of a fort on 13th September 1505 and completed its construction within six months. He posted a captain, 80 men, a galleon and 2 brigantines to cruise the neighbourhood. Besides as a symbol of Christianity Almeida founded the Church of Nossa Senhora das Brotas (Our Lady of Springs).[58] When the work of the fort was in progress ambassadors of Honavar, Moors of Chittakula, etc. came to see Almeida with presents. Thereafter, Almeida left for Cannanore. Availing of the absence of Almeida, a renegade attacked the fort with 60 vessels and damaged it. The Portuguese decided to abandon it and dismantled it fully in 1507.[59] The name of the Portuguese *renegade*

appears to be Antonio Fernandes under whose command the fort was attacked by Muslims and Hindus who were in the service of Yusuf Adil Shah, the ruler of Goa.[60]

Thereafter, Anjidiv was used by pirates and other ships for shelter, repair and watering purposes. Similarly different amenities of life to the strangled crew and passengers of stranded ships were provided in the neighbouring area of Chittakula and Karwar. This was continued for the period from 1507 to 1661 because, after the capture of Goa by the Portuguese in 1510, Anjidiv ceased to have any importance to them. However, prior to that they used Anjidiv as a base station and great store of armamants.[61]

At the time of the transfer of Bombay as a dowry to the British Crown, a British royal decree was passed on 9th April 1662 to take the delivery of Anjidiv. A fleet of five ships with 500 soldiers rushed to India commanded by the Earl of Marlborough. Sir Abraham Shipman was incharge of the troops and was named the General of Bombay. He was denied permission to land at Bombay nor at Surat; and finally he and his soldiers had to take shelter on the island of Anjidiv. They lived in the island for about two years in thatched huts. They had to face an adverse climate, vagaries of weather and starvation. While facing all these odds about 300 of them died there. Marlborough made a retreat to England in 1664, but Sir Abraham Shipman passed away on the island on 5th April 1664. A new treaty was signed on 10th January 1665 by which Bombay was formally ceded to the British on 17th February 1665. All the dead personnel were interred on the island and tombs were erected thereon. The remains of the tombs are still visible on the island even today.[62]

In the 1680s, the Portuguese decided to reoccupy the island and also fortify it. Early in 1682 Sambhaji had sent a *Subhedar* to Anjidiv island with the intention to fortify it as a naval base to counteract the Siddis at Janjira.[63] But the necessary men were not sent. The opportunity was lost and on 17th April 1682, 200 Portuguese men landed there and started fortifying the island under their banner. Captain Amaro Simão Pereira laid down the foundation stone of the fort on 2nd July 1682 and completed the construction within six months. A stone carving to this effect is available on the island.[64] Besides 700 soldiers, 1000 others, including labourers, masons, carpenters etc., landed there with lime

and other material for fortification. From this time Anjidiv was contemplated as a base against possible Moghul and Bijapur forces against the Portuguese or against Sambhaji.

The fort of Anjidiv, named Forte de Nossa Senhora das Brotas, was spacious with quadrilateral bastions and a mortar and stone wall having embrasures, battlements, arrangements of a magazine for ammunitions and victuals and gun powder storage. It also included a Governor's palace, a royal cuirass, a mayor's residence, a watch tower, stores of effects and supplies, gates to the sea and of the outer end, house of the major of the market place, redout, different bulwarks of San Francis, of Saint Anthony of Conceição of Diamond, of Lumbeira, batteries of the inner and outer ends of the Cannon and of fountains, half orange, sine, tank of Conde de Alvor etc. The detailed layout chart has been drawn by Lopes Mendes in 1863. About 200 families from Bardez which were refugees from Shivaji's country were settled there and a fine market was established there. A Hindu temple that existed there was replaced by a Catholic church. The tank (*tali*) which was believed to be the tank of the ancient temple was named after Conde de Alvor who constructed the fort.[65]

Arabs attempted to conquer the island in 1701. In the next year, the Captain detained a Maratha ship off the Anjidiv beach which was released after a great deal of negotiations. At the end of 1717 Angria attacked some Portuguese vessels off Anjidiv and a severe battle took place. Finally, Angria succeeded to escape after suffering from heavy losses from the Portuguese. Taking into consideration the strategic importance of Anjidiv and their past experiences here, the Portuguese took every care of the fortification. In 1731 repairs were carried out by placing 77 canons and a company of 100 soldiers. Within the next thirty-five years, the Portuguese took maximum care. By the end of 1768, 350 soldiers started camping there and canons were placed all around the island. However, at the beginning of the 19th century, the Portuguese realised that there was no possibility of further attacks by Marathas or Moghuls and so the Viceroy, Conde de Rio Pardo, reduced the corps in 1817 to 122 soldiers.[66]

The Church of Our Lady of Springs which was founded in 1506 A.D. by Viceroy Dom Francisco de Almeida, was rebuilt after two hundred years, out of contributions

from the public, corps and revenue office under the royal orders dated 23rd October 1728 and again repaired in 1958. It had three simple altars, the principal among them was dedicated to Our Lady of Brotas and those on either side, dedicated to Saint Francisco d'Assisi and Saint Anthony. It is affiliated to the Goa Archdiocese. The annual feast of the Church is celebrated on 2nd February. Besides the Church, there exists a small chapel of Our Lady of Dolours. Since the island has been taken over by the Indian Navy, it is completely depopulated and the church is bereft of worshippers.

In 1812 the total population of the island was 782, which was further reduced to 527 in 1875, which dwelled in altogether 147 houses. According to the 1881 census 93 inhabitants of 34 families had been recorded.[67] There had been a seminary, a college of the Jesuits and a Portuguese primary school. Subsequent to its abandonment most of the residents had migrated to Panaji and settled in Boca da Vaca area in Mala ward which was known as Bairo de Angedivanos.

The Portuguese further reduced the garrison in 1840 and abandoned the island in 1843. The Portuguese also used the island as a storehouse. They used to collect rice in the form of revenue and store it on the island. In the year 1731 the Mangalore trader who owned four big ships was permitted by the Portuguese to construct a big shed on the island to store his duty free commercial goods. The local islanders used to cultivate paddy and orchards of pineapple, coconut and other fruits. Handmade cotton stockings and dry fish were some of the important items of trade from the island. In 1758 the French scholar, Anquetil du Perron, hailed Anjidiv as the place that produced the best cotton stockings on the west coast. Similarly, the inland of Anjidiv was chiefly used as a penal settlement for Goa and Diu. The convicts were taught to spin thread and yarn and to weave stockings which were the best in India and very cheap.[68]

Anjidiv witnessed the last fight between the Indian Navy and the Portuguese navy in November 1961 on the eve of Goa's liberation. Presently the island is under the Indian Navy.

TABLE 6. 1

Different deities of Loliem village of Canacona *taluka* and the status of the shrine, associated communities and important festivals celebrated in the temples and their specialities.

Sr. No	Deity	Location	Status of the Shrine	Associated communities/ *Mahajan*/Management	Days of worship/fairs/festivals	Remark
1	Keshava	Loliem	Temple	*Gaud Saraswat Brahmans* - Prabhu Desai Prabhu Gaonkar	Daily worship, *Akshay-tritiya zatra* and dramas, *Kartik vadya divitiya-vanabhojan, palakhi, diparadana, kalo* and *dahinkalo. palakhi* on every *dashami*	Almost all main temples have *bhajan saptah, kalo, rangapuja, jatipushpa (jayanchi) puja divjan palakhi* and *lalakhi.*
2	Brahmadeva	-do	-do-	-do-	Daily worship	
3	Mahadev	-do-	-do-	-do-	Daily worship and *shivratri*	
4	Maruti	-do-	-do-	-do-	Daily worship. Offering of oil lamp and flowers of *rui* (*calotropis gigantea*) on every Saturday.	
5	Aryadurga	Dingar	-do-	-do	Daily worship, *navaratri* celebration.	
6	Betal	Dingar	Open Shrine	All village communities	No special day of festivities. Occasional sacrifice of alcohol is made on Sunday or Wednesday locally known as *soro-ront* (alcohol and bread)by the *gurav.*	
7	Ravalnath	Kajalker	Ruins of temple	-do-	*ghadi* (shaman) offers sacrifice occasionally	
8	Damodar	Loliem	Temple	Prabhu Desai	*samsar padvo* - drama, *lalakhi, vaikunth chaturdashi, chaitra paurnima - rathotsav* and *divjam-dipamala*	*divjam* and *dipamala* are performed only by Prabhu Desai

contd---

316

----contd.

					families.
9	Nirakar and	Maxem	Temple	*Gaud Saraswat Brahmans* - Prabhu, Prabhu Gaonkar, Bhat, Bhat Gaonkar, Varik, Shastri, Agrasani, Fugre, Malayar, Moni, Bide, Shenvi, Belayo, Beke.	*zatra* on *chaitra paurnima- swari*, *rathotsava*, drama, *Kartik Paurnima - diparadana, rathotsav, lalakhi, vanabhojan, sangod, kalo. dasaro - tarangas, Anant Chaturdashi, Shivarati-samudra-snan.*	*divjam* and *dipmal* is performed by all communities.
10	Maruti (Mukhyapr ana)					
11	Shankarshe m	Kajalker	Temple	*Gaud Saraswat Brahmans* - Varik, Prabhu Shastri, Prabhu Malyar, Bhat Gaonkar, Prabhu Moni	*zatra* and *kalo* in *Kartik* and *dasaro* in *Ashvin*	*Bhagat* represents the twelve villagers who sacrificed their lives for the construction of bund along with the chieftain of the Varik family.
12	Venkatesh	Panaskane	Temple and Monastery	*Gaud Saraswat Brahmans* - four Bhat families	*zatra* on *Margashirsha shuddha panchami*, *vanabhojan, kalo*, drama. *Anant Chaturdashi, palakhi* on each *dashami*	
13	Bhagavati	Maxem	Temple	Managing Committee consisting of *Gaud Saraswat Brahmans*	*Paushya Paurnima - samaradana*, special *puja* on each *Shravana* Sunday and *bhajan*.	
14	Vishnu, Phanindra or Pundarika and Ganapati	Peddem	Temple	*Gaud Saraswat Brahmans*	*Margashirsha Paurnima - samaradana*. In *Paushya* month - *fovam kalo* and *rangapuja*	
15	Mulvir or Molliyo	Loliem	Open shrine	-do-	No special festival. The *divativalo* (torch holder) puts oil on the stone memorial.	Hero-stone (*virgal*)
16	Gajalaksh mi	Peddem	Open Shrine	-do-	No special festival, however, villagers offer an oil lamp occasionally	Hero-stone (*virgal*)
17	Ganesha	Peddem	Open Shrine fixed in a compound wall owned	No specific community associated.	No festival	The image seems to be very old probably of the 4th to 5th

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				by Rosy Fernandes by the side of road.			century A.D.
18	Dakkhan Devta	Peddem	Temple		*Gaud Saraswat Brahman* Prabhu Desai, Prabhu Gaonkar	Worship is offered on every Monday by the priest.	Two idols of Chamunda and Bharavi are installed in the temple
19	Devali	Kundrem	Stone carved four *padukas* (sandals) in small temple		No specific community associated. However the shrine is looked after by Prabhu Desai family from Kundrem	Sacrifice (*naivedya*) is offered by the priest on every Monday in the month of *Shravan* (Aug-Sept)	This is probably *sati* memorial.
20	Makaddeva	Gal	Open Shrine		*Gaud Saraswat Brahman* and Satarkar	Annual *zogon* by *Brahman* and sacrifice of a cock by *Satarkar* followed by *fovam*-kalo	The term Makaddeva denotes the monkey god.
21	Dadd and Girannath	Dadda-Aranv Polem	Temple		All communities of lower class *Gosavi* performs the worship.	*Bhogati utsav* in *Paushya* month. Sacrifice of goats and fowls as well as alcohol (*soro*) and bread (*ront*) offered by *Gosavi* on Sundays or Wednesdays for *Dadd* and oil lamp for *Girannath*.	
22	Bhumika	Polem	Temple		All communities	*Saraswati-pujan* and worship on certain days by the designated priest. *Navim* (new crop) is cultivated and cut here and then transported to Keshava temple for distribution to the entire village.	The *Mahishasurm ardini* image installed in this temple seems to be of the 10th-11th century A.D.
23	Ishwar	Polem	Temple		All communities	No specific festival	It is a twin-temple of Bhumika and Ishwar
24	Gosayam *Math*	Polem	Math		*Gosavis*	Annual celebration is marked with feast	A huge ant-hill is also seen in the monastery
25	Khuti and Nas	Tanashi	Open Shrine		*Kunbi - Gaonkars*	Annual *zogon* and *mhargat* (*Tod marap*)	*Zan* performs the *Tod marap* ritual.
26	Purush *Math*	Tanshi	Shrine with roof		"	Annual *mhatan* and *zatra* is performed	Family deity of *Gaonkars*

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27	Math	Sheli	Part of residence of Acharya family	*Gaud Saraswat Brahmans*	*Anant Chaturdashi* and Ganesha festival	Celebration within the Acharya families.
28	*Math* (two monasteries)	Kolkon	Monastery	Community with the surname of Sudir	Annual celebration called *Samaradana* and celebration of *Ashwin Shuddha Navami.*	It is the family deity of *Sudhir*
29	Math	Tamne	Monastery	Fishermen community (*Pagui*)	Celebration of *Shigmo* and *Chaitra Vadya Dvidiya*	Family deity of *Pagui*
30	Math	Namashi	Monastery	Fishermen community (*Pagui*)	*Shigmo* and annual celebration	Family deity of *Pagui* who also ha·e surname *Namashikar*
31	Saraswati *Mandir*	Sheli	Temple	*Karhade Brahmans* and all *shudra* communities	*Saraswati-pujan* after *dasaro* by *Karhade Brahmans* and drama on *Chaitra Vadya Navami* by *Bahujan Samaj.*	Initially it was a community centre of *Karhade Brahmans*
32	Bavanna Purush	Maxem	Temple	*Gaud Saraswat Brahmans*	Daily worship in the month of *Kartik*, *jayanchi puja* in *Shravan* month, *annasantarpana* on two *chaturdashis* and two *amavasyas.*	Family deity of all Prabhu Gaonkar families of Maxem-Loliem.
33	Maruti	Madditolap	Temple	All communities	*Chaitra Paurnima, Panakpuja* in *Vaishakha* and *Kirtans* on *Hanuman Jayanti*	Recently constructed.
34	Datta	Maddi Talap	Temple	Kolkonkar	Birth anniversary of Sai baba	Recent shrine
35	Muddev	Kolkon	Tulasi Vrindavan	Kolkonkar	*Dasaro* festival	Previously it was open shrine in the forest.
36	Krishna *Mandir*	Agas	Community Centre	All non-*Brahman* communities	*Krishna puja* and *bhajan* on certain occasions	
37	Krishna *Mandir*	Polem	-do-	-do-	-do-	
38	Polekar *Samaj*	Polem	-do-	-do-	Occasional *bhajan* performance and annual drama presentation	
39	*Samaj Mandir*	Tamne	-do-	-do-	Annual *Krishna-puja, bhajan* and annual drama presentation	

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40	Vithoba Mandir	Peddem	-do-	-do-	Weekly *bhajan* performance and *puja* on anniversary day	
41	Laxmi Mandir	Kolkon	-do-	-do-	Anniversary celebration with staging of drama.	
42	Mula/*Mulp uris*	Gaonkarw ada Polem	Math	*Gaonkar (Kunbi)* families from the ward Gaonkarwada	*Samsar Padvo, Ashadh* and *Phalgun paurnima, Navratra, Dasro.*	
43	Zalmi	Gaonkarw ada Polem	*Math*	*Gaonkar (Kunbi)* families from the ward of Gaonkarwada	*Samsar Padvo, Ashadh* and *Phalgun paurnima, Navratra, Dasro*	
44	Puris	Kolkon	-do-	*Sudir* community of one clan	*Samaradana* feasting of *Savashna-Brahman* and *Puja*	
45	Mharangan a Nas	Sheli	Open shrine with laterite dome	All community of the village	*Dasro* and all days of major festivals.	Worship is offered by the *Mahar* of the village
46	Bara-Kali-Nas	Kolkon	Open Shrine	*Sudir* from Kolkon ward	Annual *zogon*-twelve *Charvana*	
47	Brahmo	-do-	-do-	-do-	Annual *zogon* by *Karhade Brahman*	
48	Brahmo	Tanshi talyakade	|-do-	*Gaonkar (Kunbis)* of Tanshi	Annual *Upar/Vadi* by chieftain of *Gaonkars*	
49	Bhomcho Puris	Tanshi	In the form of *Tulashi Vrindavan*	-do-	-do-	
50	Nirakar	-do-	Open Shrine	-do-	-do-	They regard it as clan deity
51	Purush	-do	-do-	-do-	-do-	
52	Zalmi	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	
53	Vagro	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	
54	Vargatin	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	
55	Nas	-do-	-do	-do-	-do-	
56	Kalbhairav	Gosanyam *Vado* Polem	-do-	Gosavis	Annual offering on the festive day of the *math*	
57	Muddev	Vadlem talop Sheli	-do-	*Gaonkars* of Tanshi	Occasional offering	It is a deity of groves
58	Bavli	Peddem	Private residential house	Friday, Laxminpujan, *Ganesh Chaturthi* and annual *puja* in Keshava temple known as *Bavale-puja*	A wooden idol is worshipped called *Bavli*. The ancestor Babaya Prabhu Desai had no issue. Since then (four generations ago) the tradition of *puja* started.	

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59	Parashuram a Dhadem	In front of Keshava temple	Tulashi vrindavan	All communities	Annual festivals of Keshava temple	Immediate offering to Parashuram are made here
60	Vagro (two numbers)	Kolkon	Open shrines	*Sudir, Satarkar* and *Gaud Saraswat Brahmans*	Annual *zogon* and offering of fowls	
61	Vagro	Makadgal	-do-	*Sudir* from Kolkon	-do-	Special feast, *Tisala Parab* is held for this deity
62	Vagro	Varkan Jungle	-do-	*Sudir* and *Gaud Saraswat Brahmans*	Offerings on *Dasaro* festival	
63	Vagro	Kolkon near Shankaras hem temple	-do-	-do-	-do-	

Table 6.2

Images Of Different Deities Antiquity And Iconographic Style From Loliem Village Of Canacona *Taluka*

Sr No	Deity	Location	Approximate antiquity of the deity	Iconographic style of antique image	Remarks
1	Phanindra or Pundarika	Peddem	4th-5th Century A.D.	Gupta, Badami Chalukya	
2	Ganesh	Peddem	5th-6th Century A.D.	Gupta, Badami Chalukya	Image installed in a frame of compound wall
3	Bhagavati	Maxem	10th-11th Century A.D.	Shilahara	
4	Nandi	Loliem	10th-11th Century A.D.	Kadamba	

5	Dakkhan Devta	Peddem	10th-11th Century A.D.	Shilahara	
6	Betal	Dingar	10th-11th Century A.D.	Kadamba	
7	Keshav	Loliem	12th-13th Century A.D.	Hoysala	
8	Ravalnath	Kajalker	12th-13th Century A.D.	Kadamba-Folk style	
9	Mulvir	Loliem	12th-13th Century A.D.	Kadamba	
10	Gajalakshmi	Peddem	12th-13th Century A.D.	Kadamba	
11	Vishnu	Peddem	13th-15th Century A.D.	Hoysala-Vijaynagar	
12	Aryadurga	Dingar	15th-16th Century A.D.	Vijayanagara	
13	Maruti	Loliem	17th-18th Century A.D.	Folk style	
14	Venkatesha	Panaskane	17th-18th Century A.D.	Hoysala	
15	Damodar	Loliem	17th-18th Century A.D.	Vijayanagara	
16	Dadd	Polem	Pre-historic	Folk style	
17	Bhumika	Polem	10th-11th Century A.D.	Shilahara	
18	Devali	Kundrem	10th-11th Century A.D.	Kadamba	Four *padukas* engraved on stone pedestal
19	Khuti	Tanshi	Pre-historic	Proto-historic origin	
20	Nas	Tanshi	-do-	Proto-historic style	
21	Makaddeva	Gal	-do-	Folk style of Neolithic origin	
22	Vagro	Kolkon, Gal	Pre-historic	-do-	
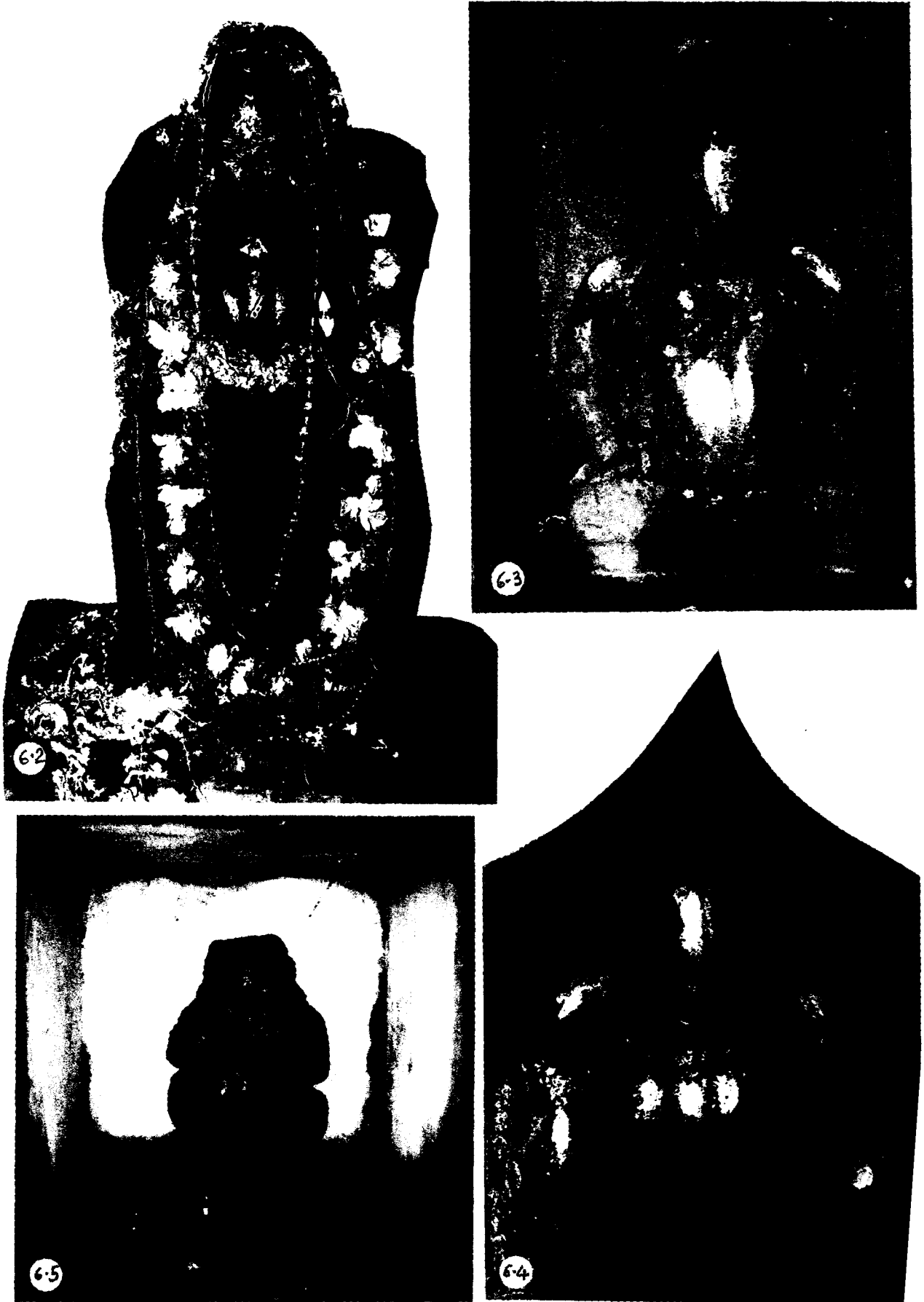
Fig. 6.2 Hoysala style Vishnu idol of 13th-15th century A.D. Fig. 6.3 Five-hooded anthropomorphic Phanindra of Gupta period. Fig. 6.4 Ganesh found in Vishnu temple (4th – 5th century A.D.).

Fig. 6.5 Ganesh image of 5th-7th century A.D. installed in a niche within a compound wall at Pedem.
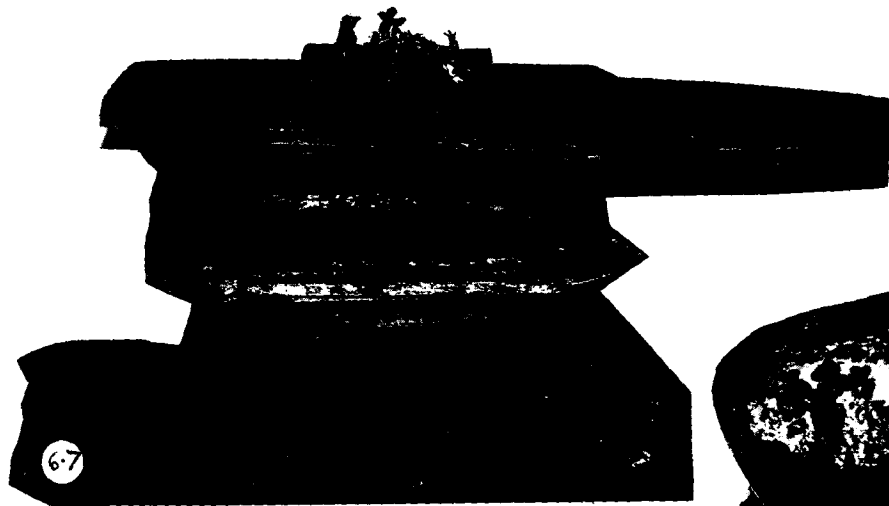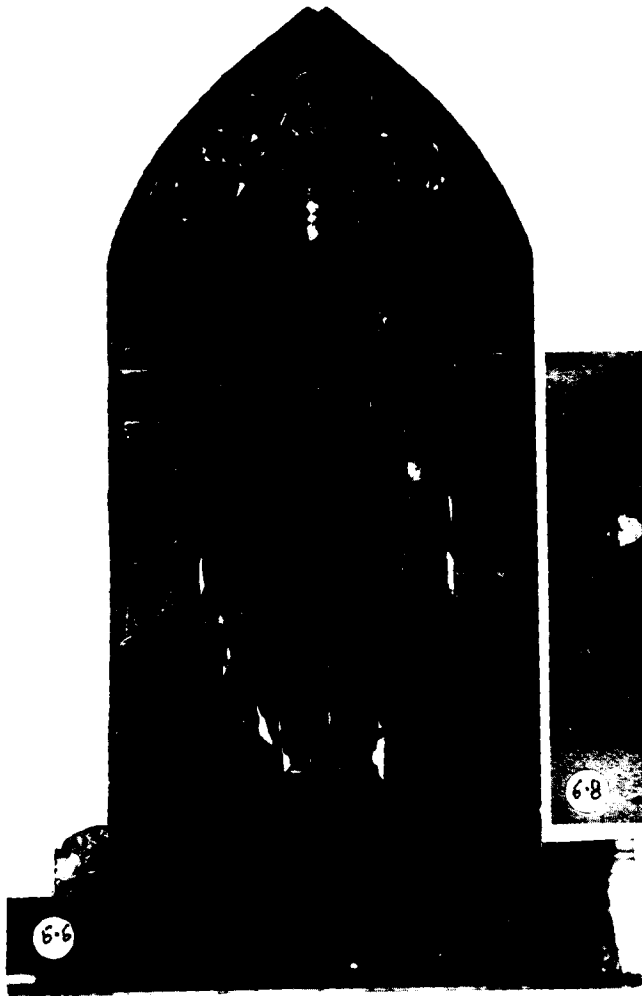
Fig. 6.6 Finely-crafted Keshava idol
showing Hoysala influence.
Fig. 6.7 Early medieval *peetha* of *ling*.
Fig. 6.8 Ancient *peetha* and ling symbolizing
Mahadev. Fig. 6.9 Nandi of Kadamba period.
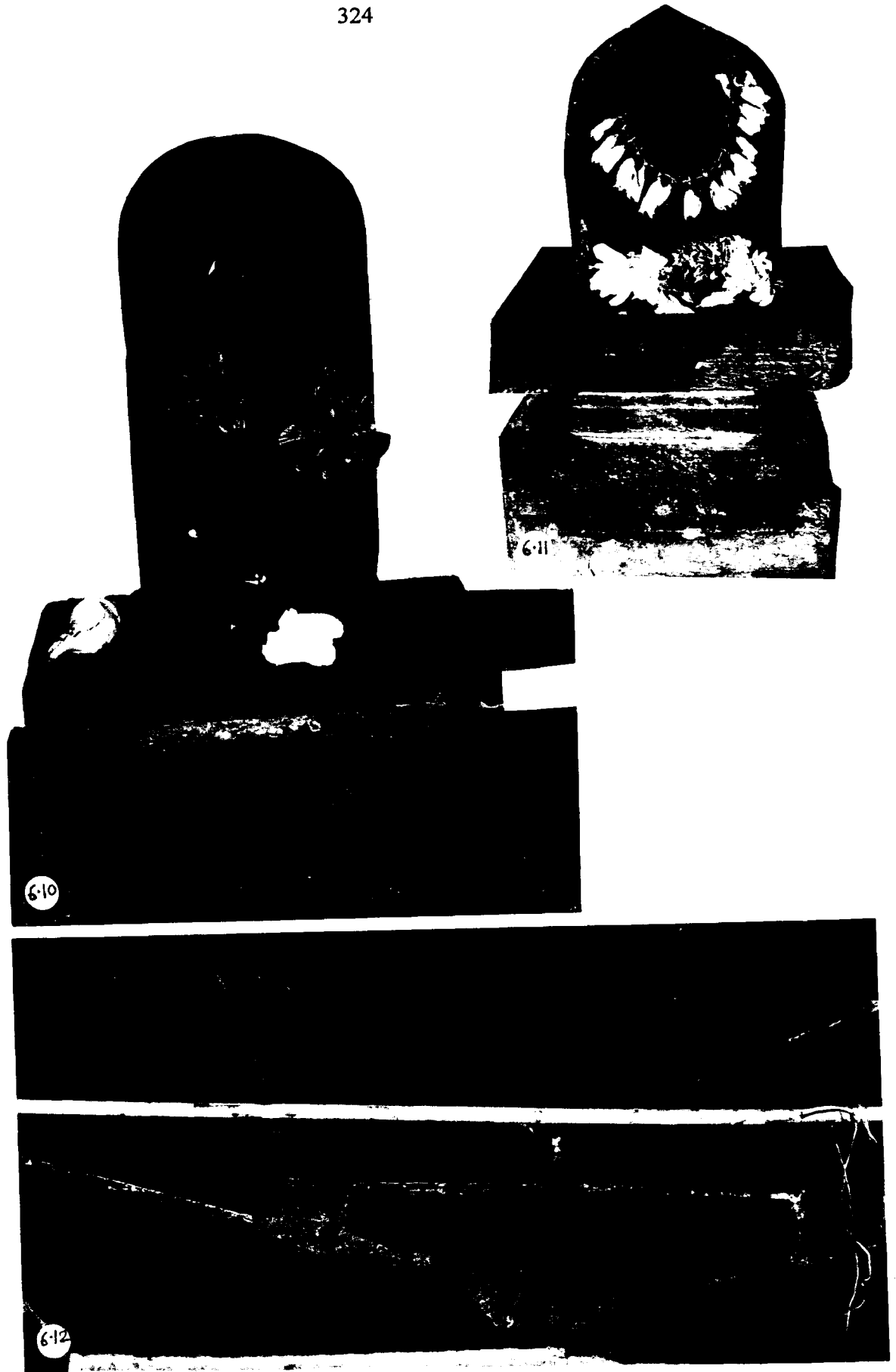
Fig. 6.10 Stone carved idol of Aryadurga depicting Vijayanagara influence.
Fig. 6.11 Maruti or Hanuman of 10th-11th century A.D.
Fig. 6.12 Roof slab of Aryadurga temple with typical lotus medallions in Kadamba style.
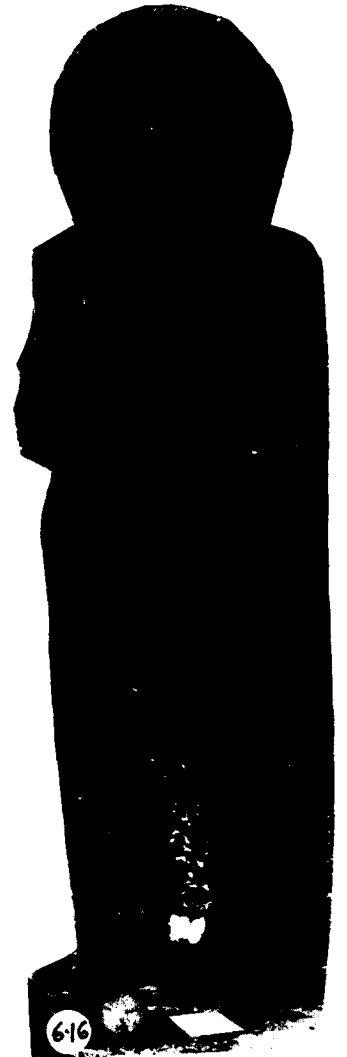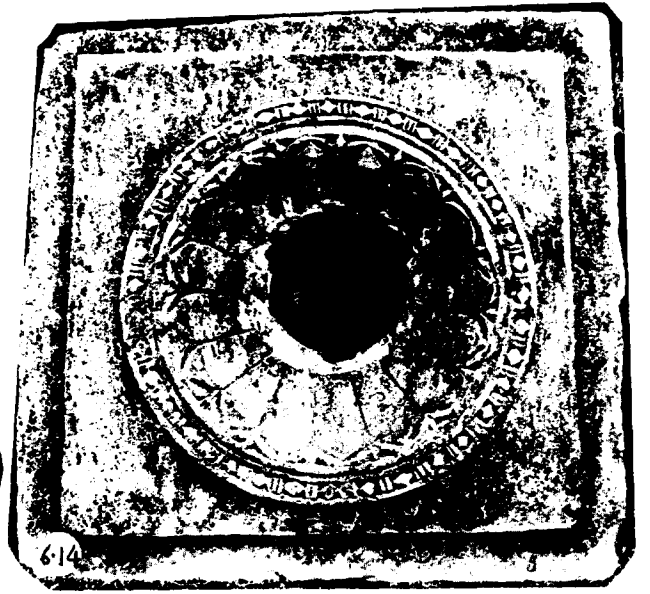
Fig. 6.13 Bhagavati idol showing South Konkan Shilahara influence.
Fig. 6.14 Roof slab with typical lotus medallion (Kadamba period).
Fig. 6.15 Mutitaled idol of Ravalnath (Kadamba period).
Fig. 6.16 A majestic idol of Betal in *tribhanga* posture.

326
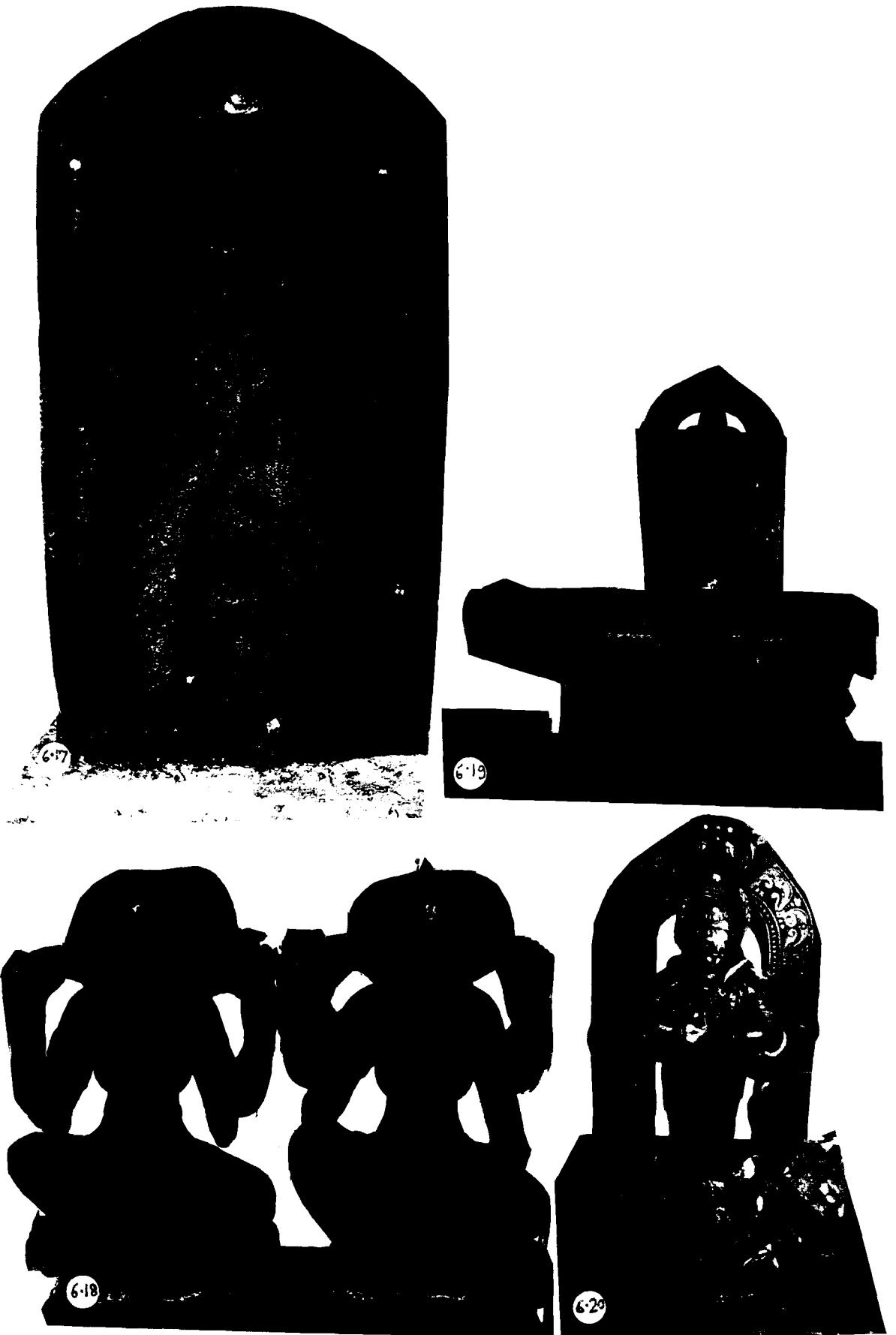
Fig. 6.17 Dadd depicting folk iconography. Fig. 6.18 Dakkhan devta of early medieval period. Fig. 6.19 Bhu-Venkatesh idol installed in 1784 A.D. at Panaskane. Fig. 6.20 A late medieval idol of Maruti or Mukhyapran indicating Vaishnavite influence.
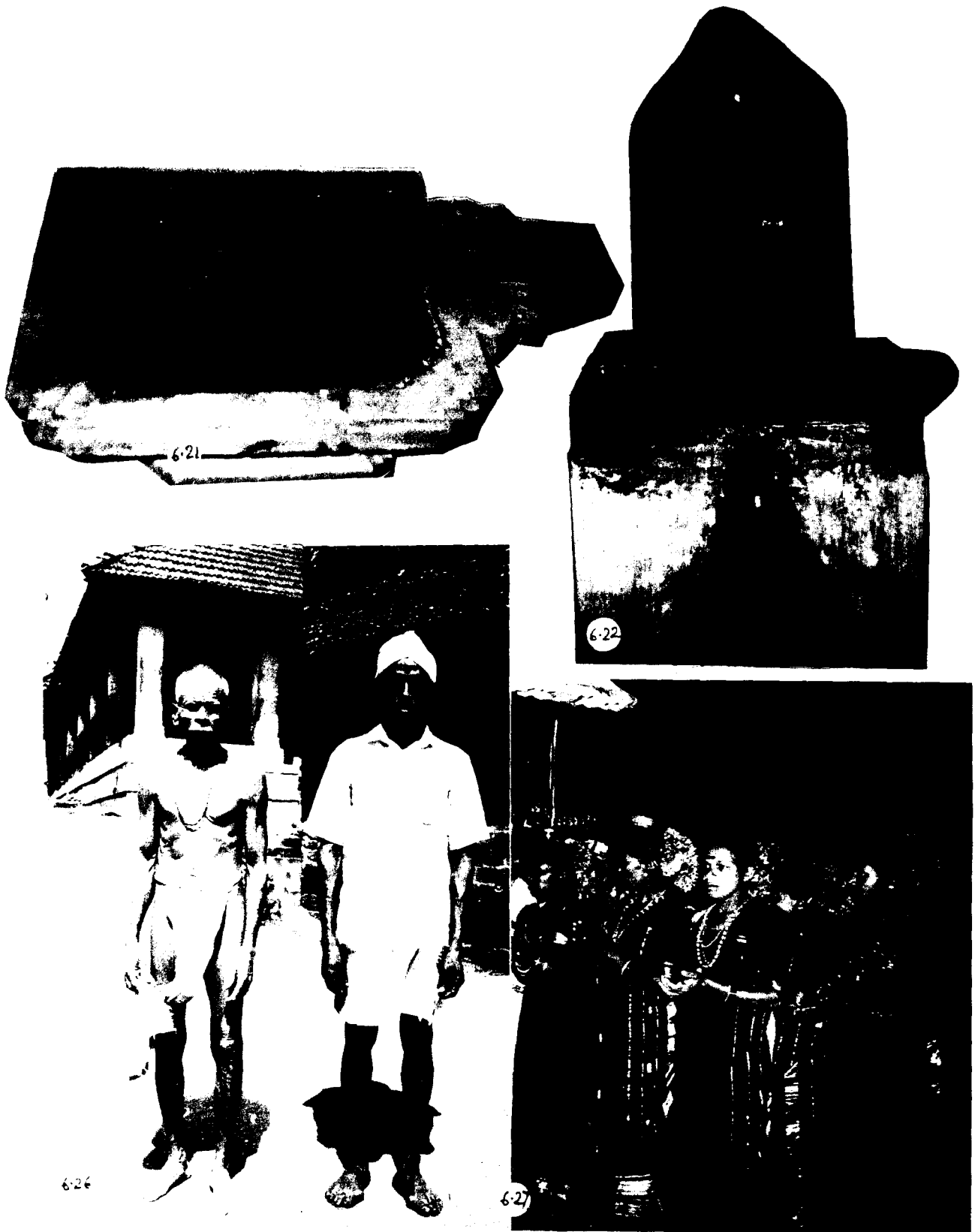
Fig. 6.21 *Padukas* (feet impressions carved in stone) at Devli in Kundrem.
Fig. 6.22 Bhumika idol at Polem (A form of Mahishasurmardini).
Fig. 6.26 Velip- a priest of *Kunbi* community.
Fig. 6.27 Traditional costumes of *Kunbis*.

Fig. 6.23 Menhirs, possibly of megalithic age, found at Pedem.
Fig. 6.24 A finely-crafted *virgal* of Kadamba period.
Fig. 6.25 Mulvir- a guardian village post (Kadamba-Shilahara period).

Fig. 6.28 Traditional rustic house of working class showing plastered mud walls and baked tiles.
Fig. 6.29 Dwellings of *Dhangars* and their sheds for newly-born goats.
Fig. 6.31 A typical Hindu temple (Damodar-Loliem) showing two-tiered *shikhars*.

Fig. 6.32 Church of St. Anne at Agonda.
Fig. 6.34 Typical defence architecture (a sentry post and canon mount at Cabo-de-Rama.

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"Cortando vão as naus a larga via

Do mar ingente pera a Pátria amada,

Desejando prover-se da água fria

Pera a grande viagem prolongada,

Quando, juntas, com súbita alegria,

Houveram vista da ilha namorada,

Rompendo pelo céu a mãe fermosa

De memnónio, suave e deleitosa

De longe a ilha viram, fresca e bela,

Que Vénus pelas ondas lha levava"

Willam C. Atkinson, (tran.), *The Lusiads*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1980, pp.208-209.

"The fleet continued to forge its way across the mighty deep, the beloved homeland ever its goal. It was on the look-out now for a spot where it could take its fresh water for the long voyage still ahead, when with sudden joy, just as dawn was breaking gently overhead, the ships all spotted together the Isle of Love."

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Chapter VII

Cultural Impact of the Portuguese Colonial Rule

The Portuguese Arrival in Goa

With the downfall of the Bahamani ruler, Goa was subjected to the political hegemony of the Adil Shah of Bijapur. Some people of Goa were unhappy under the Adil Shah. Timoja, the commander of the Vijaynagar fleet on the west coast of India,[1] who was of Goan origin,[2] contacted Afonso de Albuquerque at the port of Mirjan in North Kanara and convinced the latter that the Portuguese fleet could attack and capture the islands of Goa.[3] Timoja also informed Albuquerque about the state of affairs in Goa. In fact, Timoja had expected Goa for himself against an annual tribute to the Portuguese[4] and accordingly he initiated the action which resulted in the attack by Albuquerque on Goa and its capture in February-March 1510. During the fight Timoja also successfully attacked the northern bank of river Mandovi.[5] In order to compensate Timoja, Albuquerque made him the chief magistrate of Goa and granted him the revenue of all the lands of Goa, except the main island, for 1,00,000 *cruzados*. Timoja, however, was disappointed and accepted the offer as a part of recompense for the services that he had rendered to the Portuguese.

The Bijapuri Sultan marched against the Portuguese with considerable force and re-captured Goa on 23rd May 1510. However, about this time, a fresh fleet arrived from Portugal on the West Coast of India and Albuquerque conquered the islands of Goa for the second time on 25th November 1510, with extensive bloodshed. Since then Goa began to rise rapidly as the metropolis of the Portuguese empire in the East. In 1543, the Portuguese annexed the two important adjoining *mahals* (provinces) of Salcete in the south and Bardez in the north, to their dominion.

Prior to the capture of the islands of Goa, the Portuguese had made frequent voyages to the Indian coast. Vasco-da-Gama, on his return journey, sailed along the

coast upto the Anjidiv island, off Karwar, and came into contact with the people of Anjidiv where he exchanged articles with them and collected samples of spices from the island.[6] In 1505, the King of Portugal appointed Francisco d'Almeida as the Viceroy in India. He was instructed to build forts at Anjidiv and Cannanore. He commenced work on the former in September 1505. Anjidiv was used as a base of operations to launch reconnaissance missions along the west coast, especially Adilshahi Goa, and also as retreat and a refuge.

More than two and a half centuries passed by before the Portuguese acquired the mainland Canacona, which had experienced the political rule of the Adil Shah of Bijapur, the Marathas and the king of Sonda during this period.

The Influence of Marathas

In 1675, Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha empire, attacked the fort of Ponda which was the most important defence point of the Bijapur king, as the entire region upto Karwar was controlled by the Adilshahi rulers from Ponda. Shivaji captured the Ponda fort on 16th May 1675, as a result the whole region of Antruj (Ponda), Astagrar, Hemadbarcem, Balli, Chandrawadi, Cacoda and Canacona came under Maratha rule.[7] During the same month Shivaji annexed the southern provinces adjacent to Canacona namely Shiveshwar, Kadvad, Karwar and Ankola. Cosme da Guarda, the Portuguese biographer of Shivaji, writes: "... thus Shivaji captured the Bijapur dominion below the ghat which was extended upto the river of Mirjan in North Kanara."[8] Shivaji ordered the fortification of Ponda fort and fixed the Ganesh-patti on the entrance gate of the fort, which was probably the mark of his possession.[9] He appointed a *subhedar* at Ponda and a *fauzdar* at Balli to look after the administration in the southern provinces inclusive of the area from Canacona to Ankola.[10]

Shivaji also built many forts along the west coast of his aforesaid dominion When he undertook the construction work of the fort of Kholgad situated in Canacona, i around 1679, the Portuguese objected to this but could do nothing to stop the constructi or to demolish it.[11]

The continued hostilities of the Marathas increasingly annoyed the Portuguese after the coronation of Shivaji in 1674. Prior to that actual war broke out between the Marathas and the Portuguese in October 1670 because of a naval engagement that had occurred off Daman in which the Maratha fleet captured a large Portuguese ship. On the other hand the Portuguese captured twelve of Shivaji's vessels and carried them into their territory.[12] Further, Shivaji annexed several territories in north Konkan after his victory over the Mughal army in 1672. Shivaji died on 5th April 1680 and was succeeded by his son Sambhaji and the hostilities between both these powers continued.

Sambhaji's forces attacked Bardez and Salcete on 11th December 1683. The churches of Margão were attacked and looted. Similarly, huge quantities of foodgrains and cattle were carried away from both the provinces during their twenty-six day long stay there. After the attack on the two villages of Cuncolim and Assolna, which were situated at the border of Canacona, the local people agreed to become Maratha subjects and pay the revenue which they used to pay to the Portuguese.[13] Peace negotiations were opened between the Portuguese and Sambhaji. A treaty was concluded by the first week of February 1684 by which Sambhaji agreed not to construct any fort along the Portuguese territories.[14]

Rajaram, the Maratha successor of Sambhaji, did not enjoy peaceful relations with the Portuguese. After a few incidents, peace was restored between the Portuguese and the Marathas until Rajaram's death in 1700. During this period Canacona was a part of his dominion as the Sondekar had agreed to rule this territory as a feudatory of Rajaram and pay him an annual tribute according to a treaty signed between them.[15]

Since 1685, the king of Sonda was a Mughal feudatory and the territories from Canacona to Ankola were given to the Sonda king by Aurangzeb.[16] Since the territory of the Sonda king was adjacent to the Portuguese, they always regarded the Sondekar as a safe neighbour. According to them he was more a merchant than a warrior. The Sondekar took over the Ponda *mahal* from Aurangzeb for an annual tribute of Rs. 80,000

in 1706.[17] Though it was recovered again by the Mughal *fauzdar*, it was handed over to the Sondekar with the intervention of the Portuguese in 1707.[18]

Shahu Chhatrapati established contacts with the Portuguese in 1708. Despite the request of Shahu, the Portuguese refused to return the islands of Corjuvem and Panelim which were captured by them from the Bhonsles of Sawantwadi. However, they reciprocated friendship towards Shahu by promising to supply munitions and provisions to his army in its attempt to recover the territories from the Bhonsles and the Sondekar to confine the Sondekar to the state of Sonda.[19] Considering this situation, the Sondekar transferred his loyalty to Shahu and agreed to pay him a tribute for Ponda and Panchamahal, including Canacona.

Period of Political Fluidity (1707-1763)

Relations between the Portuguese and the Marathas could hardly remain cordial. After 1707, the Maratha forces looted Salcete and carried away a booty worth more than 5,00,000 *ashrafis*. They also looted two villages belonging to the Portuguese at Daman in 1728. The Portuguese administrator of Bassein in turn attacked Kalyan and caused much damage.[20] The renewed hostilities led to the Maratha invasion of the Portuguese territories between Goa and Daman in 1737-1739. The Marathas invaded Goa on 23rd January 1739.[21] The Portuguese could not defend themselves and Margão fell on 26th January. Soon the entire Salcete, except the forts of Rachol and Mormugão, were captured by the Maratha forces.[22] Thereafter, they proceeded to the Sondekar's territory including Sanguem, Ponda and Supem.[23] However, simultaneously the Marathas threatened to take the islands of Tiswadi which was the headquarters of the Portuguese. This was possible for them as the latter opened peace negotiations with them. The Marathas also demanded that the prevailing reign of the Goa Inquisition should end and that the Hindus should be allowed to practice their own religion. A treaty was concluded between the Portuguese and the Marathas on 2nd May 1739. To fulfil the conditions, th Portuguese paid Rs. 2,00,000 to the Marathas but the latter did not withdraw completel They kept two villages, Cuncolim and Assolna, with them which were handed over to 1 Portuguese only after a fresh treaty was signed on 9th September 1740, with the media'

of the English administrator of Bombay.[24] Subsequently, the territories of Ponda, Panchamahal as well as Sanguem were handed over to Kalappayya, the Sonda general, by Annaji Prabhu, the general of Shahu Chhatrapati on 12th June 1742.[25]

Meanwhile, the Portuguese started hostilities with the Sonda king. The main reason for these hostilities was the Sondekar's permission to the English to establish a factory at Karwar as well as his attacks on some Portuguese ships. The Portuguese claimed a monopoly of trade at Karwar as per the trade treaty of 1742.[26] They thought that the English had no right to trade at Karwar. Besides the Portuguese had a strong feeling that the Christians in the Sonda kingdom were not allowed religious freedom. An incident had occurred at Sadashivgad on 3rd November 1750 in which a Jesuit procession had not been allowed to pass a Hindu temple.[27] Similarly, the Sondekar had seized some vessels off Karwar in 1747. However, the vessels were handed over to the Portuguese.[28]

Taking advantage of the disturbed situation the Portuguese picked up a quarrel with the Sonda king. They entered in the Sonda territories of Ponda and Zambaulim, looted and carried away cattle and provisions and also burnt the villages. The Portuguese also intruded into Canacona with 2000 soldiers. The Sonda king promised a peace treaty and there was a temporary cessation of hostilities.[29] Inspite of the ultimatum given by the Portuguese, the Sonda king did not respond. As a result, the Portuguese attacked Sadashivgad and Kurmgad (Ximpin) forts and captured them in November, 1750.[30]

The Portuguese captured the Ponda fort in June 1763. The King of Sonda, however, requested the Portuguese to hand over the fort to him in recognition of his sovereignty over the Ponda province.[31]

Canacona under the Portuguese Colonial Rule

In December 1763, a detachment of a force of Indians and French[32] under the command of Haibat Jung, also known as Fazal Ulla Khan, was sent by Hyder Ali to capture the Sonda territory encompassing the area from Ponda to Ankola. The Sonda king, Immadi Sadashiv, fled from Sonda to Sadashivgad and from there to Shiveshwar

fort situated near the Goa border. Since Hyder Ali's commander continued to chase him, he fled from there and took shelter with his family and treasure in Portuguese Goa in January 1764.[33] The troops of Hyder Ali besieged the fort of Kholgad or Cabo de Rama. It was lifted when the Portuguese sent their force to Canacona in response to the request of the Sonda king.[34] The Sondekar's territories, namely Ponda, Zambaulim and Canacona, were to remain with the Portuguese until such time when he could recover his kingdom from Hyder Ali. Due to the presence of the Portuguese forces in the aforesaid territories they evaded capture of Hyder Ali. It is interesting to note that Hyder Ali wanted to develop friendly relations with the Portuguese. Hence, there was no attempt to conquer the territories of Ponda, Zambaulim and Canacona.[35] The Sonda king could not recover his kingdom from Hyder Ali. As a result, all the territories of Ponda, Zambaulim and Canacona remained in the possession of the Portuguese till the liberation of Goa in 1961.

The Sonda king had a strong desire to regain his kingdom from Hyder Ali. As such, in 1770, he was desirous of sending an emissary to the Marathas. But the Portuguese greatly discouraged the Sonda King. The anxious Sondekar promised that, if he succeeded in regaining his kingdom, he would remain a vassal of the Portuguese and allow them to garrison any fort that might be recaptured. The Portuguese had great apprehensions that the Sondekar would escape and join hands with either the Marathas or the English which would prove more dangerous to the Portuguese.[36] Therefore, the Portuguese took every precaution to prevent the Sondekar from realising his dream of recovering his kingdom. In order to settle the issue, a treaty dated 17th January 1771 was hurriedly signed. According to the treaty, the Sondekar abdicated all his rights in the territory of Ponda, Zambaulim and Panchamahal, the fort of Cabo de Rama and the jurisdiction of Canacona in favour of the Portuguese. The issue was permanently settled with another treaty between the Portuguese and the Sonda king in 1791, in conformity with an earlier treaty.[37]

Meanwhile Madhav Rao Peshva, the Maratha overlord, as well as Hyder Ali claimed the territories of Ponda, Zambaulim and Canacona. The Peshva pleaded that the Sonda king was his feudatory who had no right to transfer the land to the Portuguese;

whereas Hyder Ali claimed the same on the grounds that he had defeated the Sonda king and captured his kingdom. Since the aforesaid territories were a part of his conquered kingdom, the same were to be returned to Hyder Ali. However, both did not press their demand probably due to the fact that both desired to seek the help of the Portuguese in their future endeavours.[38]

With the fall of the Sultanate of Bijapur, the northern territories of Goa, namely Pernem, Bicholim (Bhatagrama) and Sattari, were annexed to the Sawantwadi region by the end of 1685. In the said kingdom, two forts, namely Acaro and Tiracol were of strategic importance since they were situated on the bank of the river and seacoast, respectively. Considering the strategic importance of these forts the Portuguese attacked the forts and seized them alongwith the territory of Sattari in 1746. Similarly the Portuguese annexed the remaining *mahal* of Bhatagram in 1781 and finally secured Pernem from the Sawant in 1788.

Thus, by the end of the year 1788, the Portuguese completed the conquest of the new territories which they termed as 'Novas Conquistas' ('New Conquests'). According to an official notification issued by the Viceroy, the territory of Goa was divided into the *Velhas Conquistas* ('Old Conquests') acquired in the sixteenth century, and *Novas Conquistas* ('New Conquests') that had been conquered in second half of the eighteenth century (Table 7.1).

The Portuguese had adopted a policy of religious and racial discrimination. Initially they had showed a keen interest in empire-building, conversion and colonisation of Goa by encouraging inter-racial marriages among the local women and the Portuguese soldiers. The Muslim population had been massacred during the Portuguese reconquest of Goa. The religious intolerance of the Portuguese rulers and especially the establishment of the Goa Inquisition proved to be a great disaster to the Hindus. Mass conversions had been made by all means. As a part of the socio-religious and political policy of the Portuguese the converts enjoyed the favours of the Church and the State government for few years. However, later they were discriminated against along racial lines. The popular reaction to the Portuguese policy of evangelisation included not only direct resistance in

the form of boycott of taxes and use of violence, but also the resistance of syncretism and collaboration. The resistance of the sixteenth century was mostly directed against the religiously intolerant Portuguese rule. The mass emigration of Hindus was taking place due to the policy of religious persecution. The Hindus had to run away while carrying their deities to avoid their conversion. Those who remained behind offered the economically injurious protest of civil disobedience. They refused to undertake agricultural activities and did not hesitate to destroy their standing crops. There had been direct resistance in some villages where Hindus offered direct confrontation with the fanatical Portuguese administration. The five villages in the South namely Cuncolim, Assolna, Ambelim, Velim and Veroda had been in a state of total unrest during the period from 1575 to 1583.[39]

The villagers of Cola in Salcete registered their protest against the persecutory policy of the Portuguese by way of refusing to pay taxes. This protest demonstration took place in the early 1570s.[40] The Cola village which is one of the revenue villages of the present Canacona *taluka* was part of territories attached to Salcete province.

Establishment of Municipality in Canacona

In Canacona there was *Camara Agraria Concelho do Canacona* before the establishment of the Municipal Committee. Thereafter the Canacona Municipal Committee came into existence on 31st March 1881 which consisted of three members and the annual income of Rs. 4,885 as against the expenditure of Rs. 5,060 was made in the initial year.[41] The legislation called the *Reforma Administrativa Ultramarina*, which was the uniform legislation covering Goa along with all Portuguese colonies regulated the working and functioning of the Canacona Municipal Committee since its inception. With the establishment of the municipal committee, the people of Canacona had a chance of experiencing glimpses of local self-government though the nominations were made by selection.[42] It also stimulated the feelings of the local population in the special context of freedom of speech and other civil liberties including cultural expression which was earlier restricted to a great extent.

The Rane revolts in the year 1852 and 1912 gave a strong jolt to the Portuguese control in Canacona as the people were favouring the Ranes. It is quite evident that between 1852 and 1855 the Portuguese hold on the *taluka* was completely weakened as Dipaji Rane had its full control. Hence, out of all the uprisings of the Ranes, the revolt that broke out in 1852 under the leadership of Dipaji Rane is the most significant as it directly affected the local administration and life of the people in Canacona. In deep disgust the *rayots* of Sattari *mahal* rallied round their leader, Dipaji Rane, with the sole intention to overthrow the colonial rule. In the first attempt only Dipaji succeeded in driving the Portuguese out of Sattari region and thus he could fulfil his desire. Encouraged with the success, the *desais, gaonkars* and landlords of the neighbouring regions joined Dipaji's forces and the augmented army could also free Canacona, Quepem, Hemadbarcem and Bhatagrama from the colonial regime. Due to the stronghold of Dipaji Rane the Portuguese government had to enter into a treaty with the former in the year 1855.[43] The Portuguese agreed, through the various clauses of the treaty, to protect all the rights of the village councils and to withdraw the enforcement of all obnoxious religious injunctions. They also promised to provide agricultural implements and seeds to the farmers.

A group led by Zila Sawant attacked Canacona and Sanguem. However, the Portuguese administration surmounted the raids through the perfidy of a woman.[44] On 2nd July 1912, Zila Sawant was killed by treachery in Kuskem ward of Cotigão village in Canacona alongwith his trusted companion, Vatu Devli, who had taken shelter in a local temple.[45]

On account of the liberal principles of the French Revolution, constitutional monarchy was established in Portugal, which continued till the proclamation of a secular Republic in Portugal in the year 1910. Initially, this period witnessed political instability on account of the frequent political upheavals in Lisbon. It also occasioned by the clash of interests between the *reinois* (Absolutists) and *naturais* (Liberals) within Goa. During this period, for the first time, Goans received the right of limited franchise.[46] In turn, it promoted the constitution of political parties. A number of newspapers carried articles,

reports and letters that discussed contemporary issues and thereby generated political awareness.[47]

In the year 1857 communications were opened throughout the territory of Goa. It was connected to the frontiers of the British dominion by means of roads. In the same year a carriage descended the Ghats by a road leading from British India for the first time[48] and the electric telegraph was also introduced into Goa.[49] The road from Panaji to Canacona upto the frontier of British India, that is Sadashivgad through Santa Cruz, Agassaim, Margão was constructed in about 1860 and communications started subsequently[50] which provided means for cultural exchange.

Impact of post and telegraph

Due to the introduction of post and telegraph facilities in Canacona region, people got an opportunity to come into contact with out-station people and they could establish postal contacts as well as telegraphic communication related to trade and commerce, cultural and literary activities and freedom-struggle. In addition to the newspapers from British India, the local population could avail of the information related to the movement of independence, which had reached an energetic stage. It could also provide details about the social and economic reforms that were taking place all over the world. Thus it could help further the socio-cultural upliftment of the people of Canacona as compared to the earlier state of socio-political isolation.

The treaty signed between the Portuguese and British governments included of reciprocal freedom of commerce, navigation and transit between the Indian dominions of the two governments, mutual agreement for the construction of railways from the town of New Hubli to the port of Mormugão in Goa and its extension from New Hubli to Bellary in Karnataka. The Mormugão harbour and the forty-one mile long railway line were opened to the public on the 17th January 1887 and the remaining *ghat* section of ten miles on the 3rd February 1888.[51] This railway line certainly provided means of conveyance for the people of Canacona to travel to British India and also to import many commoidities in

this region, such as handloom cloth from Shahpur, Belgaum, Hubli etc. The reflection of such imports is visible in local folk songs.

The impact of the Republic

The long monarchical rule came to an end on 5th October 1910 when a Republic was established in Portugal. The Hindus could breathe free air as they regained their religious freedom that had been denied to them by the Portuguese from the beginning. Besides the Church was separated from the state administration. As a result, the Legislative Council (*Conselho Legislativo*) came into existence in 1920. Due to this new arrangement, people of Goa, especially the Hindus, could enjoy their religious rights and freedom to promote their culture. However, the Portuguese Republic was short-lived and soon Salazar's dictatorship came in force.[52]

The Republican rule, though short-lived, witnessed an all-round awakening among the Goans. The social, religious, cultural, historical and geographical affinity with India injected in the Goans a spirit of Indian nationality. The growing struggle of independence in British India inspired the people of Goa to assert their own rights. From time to time, local and Indian newspapers helped Goans to know the latest trend in political thinking in the mainland and also the world's view. Lokmanya Tilak awakened and intensified the feelings of Goans through *Kesari* and *Maratha*. When the Portuguese rule denied civil liberties completely in 1917, Luis de Menezes Bragança wrote the famous article, 'Solemnia Verba' (Solemn Issue), and warned Goans to wake up to fight for autonomy.[53] *Hindu* and *Bharat* were the foremost Marathi weeklies that contributed consistently to the awakening of Hindu masses in liberal thoughts and actions. The editor of *Hindu* was Dattatraya Venkatesh Pai and Govind Pundalik Hegde Desai was the editor of *Bharat*; both were regarded as celebrated editors and great patriots. At the same time, the Portuguese rulers adopted many repressive measures for suppressing the national awakening.

Education in Canacona

The preaching of missionaries served to stimulate a spirit of enquiry in cultural and religious aspects. Sometimes the missionaries challenged openly the validity of the religious philosophy of the Hindus and decried the customs of widowhood, child marriage, *sati*, idolatry and various superstitions then prevailing among the Hindus. Due to this kind of awakening and close contact with the western education system, a movement took place to establish various educational, literary and cultural organisations, though the political situation was not favourable.

This movement provided stimulus to cultural and literary activities in the entire region of Portuguese India. A number of educational institutions were being opened in Canacona under the initiative of local leaders who were of the firm opinion that driving out the colonial rule would be possible only through educational, literary and cultural movements. The first and foremost educational institution namely *Centro Promotor de Instrução* was founded in Canacona by local Hindu social workers on 28th December 1922 which provided education in the Portuguese medium.[54] Thereafter, a Marathi school was started by the same institution in 1931 which was named as *Shree Mallikarjun Vidyalaya* which has maintained its reputation even during present times. Soon after the establishment of the *Centro Promotor de Instrução* four Marathi schools were opened in Loliem, Maxem, Sheli and Panaskane in the year 1924 by the newly established organisation called *Mushtifund Samstha*.[55] These schools were opened with the active support of the *Swamiji* of the *Gokarn Partagali Jeevottam Math*. These schools were opened in the temple premises of the respective areas. By the end of 1936, the school at Sheli was closed. On the other hand, the Maxem school was renamed *Shree Nirakar Vidyalaya* in the year 1939.[56] In 1929, *Katyayani Baneshwar Vidyalaya* was also opened in the Panasulem ward of the Canacona Municipal Block.[57]

Besides the aforesaid schools many other primary level Marathi schools and a few village libraries were also started in different localities which included *Saraswati Sevak Samaj*, Canancona, *Bal-Samaj Vachan Mandir*, Palolem, *Parashuram Vachan Mandir*, Poinguinim, *Damodar Vachan Mandir*, Loliem, *Nirakar Vachan Mandir*, Maxem, *Arunoday Vachan Mandir*, Sadolxem and so on.[58] Another school, the *Shree Shraddhanand Vidyalaya*, in Poinguinim village was opened by local leaders of the

Gomantak Maratha Samaj in 1933.[59] Similarly, *Navin Marathi Shala* (New Marathi School) was also opened in Palolem ward of Canacona in 1934.[60] Basically these schools provided Marathi education. However, a few of them also imparted Portuguese education in accordance with the educational policy of the Portuguese colonial regime.

This gave an impetus to cultural and literary activities such as *bhajan, kirtan,* staging of historical and social as well as *sangeet* dramas in Canacona which was a means of awakening and propagation of the ideology of the freedom-struggle. The presentations of dramas were based on mythological stories and historical events that became a source of inspiration to fight against the colonial rule. Simultaneously socio-cultural activities were also being organised by the leaders of different communities in the *taluka*. The movement of the *Gomantak Maratha Samaj,* which was initiated by Rajaram Rangaji Painginkar in Poinguinim, in a meeting held on 2nd October 1910,[61] spread in the rest of Canacona and Goa to achieve social revolution for the eradication of the *devdasi* system prevailing in Goa. It is a classical chapter of history of social reforms and struggle waged by the socially downtrodden section of the Goan society. Sweeping changes guided by the enlightened leaders of the *devdasi* community empowered the powerless *devdasis,* who excelled in the performing arts, and created a socio-political upheaval not only in Canacona but in the rest of Goa. It was a bloodless *coup d'etat* in Canacona *taluka* brought about by Rajaram Rangaji Painginkar, the architect of social transformation.[62]

Goa's Struggle for Freedom

By the 1940s, the exercise of civil liberties was severely restricted in Goa. Public meetings were banned. Newspapers had to face heavy censorship. Non-compliance of government orders would invite the wrath of the government, which would also lead to the suspension of newspapers besides imposition of heavy fines. Censorship was not only applicable to the newspapers but to all printed matter, rather to any word in print, such as wedding card, invitation card or a general public assembly or even a statement of the annual general body meeting of any organisation. The author and the publisher would obtain pre-acceptance of the government for its title and contents in case of publication of

any book. Furthermore there was strict ban on publishing the Indian national anthem and words like *Jai Hind.*[63] Nationalist literature prepared in Goa and brought from across the mainland was confiscated. Performances of music, dance, drama, were heavily restricted. The national movement in the mainland had reached a critical juncture. Goans were being informed and inspired to intensify the freedom struggle in Goa. Visits of the leaders of the nationalist movement from across the mainland were also providing inspiration and support to the freedom movement. When Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was stopped at Dabolim on 10th February 1937 enroute to Kerala from Bombay, the Portuguese had taken all precautions to prevent Goans gathered at the aerodrome from even greeting Nehru.[64]

The dictatorial rule and fascist regime of Dr. António d'Oliveira Salazar imposed curbs on the civil liberties of the Goan people. The resultant discontentment burst out on 18th June 1946 when a non-violent agitation for the restoration of civil liberties was launched by the socialist leader, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia in Margão. Earlier, the Goa Congress Committee, a nationalist organisation, had been founded in 1928 by Tristão de Bragança Cunha, and recognised by the Indian National Congress.[65] Later, the Goa Congress Committee found it extremely difficult to undertake its activities due to the oppressive Portuguese rule. Hence, a branch of this Committee was set up in Mumbai by the local Goan political workers in 1936. Similarly, many organisations were formed during the 1930s such as the *Gomantakiya Tarun Sangh, Goa Seva Sangh, Vidyarthi Congress, Rashtra Seva Dal*, Goan Youth League and so on.

Impact of the Quit India Movement

The Quit India Movement in the mainland provided tremendous stimulus to the Goan political workers. The Goa Congress Committee in Mumbai asked the Portuguese government to quit Goa *vide* their resolution dated 3rd March 1946.[66] Thus, as a direct impact of the Quit India movement, Goans came forward to demonstrate their demand of 'Quit Goa' to the Portuguese regime. Around this time some thirtyeight prominent Goans in Mumbai, urged the Portuguese government to grant immediately 'civil liberties, freedom of press, speech, assembly and conscience, representative system and a

government responsible to a freely elected body.'[67] In Canacona, the Quit India Movement had roused the passions of local freedom lovers. A few youngsters who availed of education facilities in the *taluka*, as well as the neighbouring border area, were attracted to the freedom movement of Goa and some were absorbed into it. Few others established their contacts with the Indian freedom fighters and started to carry out secret activities associated with the freedom movement.

Canacona's Role in Goa's Freedom Struggle, 1946 – 1961

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, the eminent Indian nationalist, had come down to Goa on a personal visit in 1946. When he came to know about the inhuman repression resorted to by the Portuguese, he openly defied their orders and attempted to address a public meeting in Margão on 18th June 1946 and appealed to the Goans to fight against the colonial rule. It was the first event after the last revolt of Ranes in 1912, which was a novel, non-violent fight of *satyagraha* for the restoration of civil liberties which eventually aimed at driving out the Portuguese from the Goan soil. Dr. Lohia, accompanied by other volunteers, was immediately arrested. However, alongwith thousands of Goans, the people of Canacona also got inspiration to fight against the colonial regime to secure civil liberties and to activate themselves for the freedom-struggle of Goa. They refused to be silent spectators of the oppressive rule and began to think and act for Goa's liberation. Mahatma Gandhi appreciated the achievement of Dr. Lohia and extended all moral support to the *satyagraha* movement. Gandhiji wanted the Goans to initially fight for civil liberties and later with the independence of India, work towards driving out the Portuguese from Goa and merge it with India.[68] According to the Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Goa was a tiny pimple on the face of India that would fade away with the end of the British rule in India.[69]

Alongwith the *satyagraha* action, there were other organisations, including the militant organisation named as the *Azad Gomantak Dal* that was formed in April 1947.[70] The members of this organisation undertook activities aimed at terrorising the Portuguese administration. They were operating from British India from where they would enter Goa and attack the military and fiscal posts of the Portuguese. Since Canacona was a border

taluka, it witnessed numerous activities of the *satyagrahis*, attacks by militants organisations, such as the *Azad Gomantak Dal*, Goa Liberation Army and the killing of freedom-fighters by the Portuguese. A number of people from Canacona courted arrest and suffered floggings.

However in 1954 the freedom movement was rejuvenated by the leaders and the second phase of the *satyagraha* movement was started. Since then a number of group *satyagrahas* were offered by the people of Canacona from time to time. They were arrested, detained, tortured and sentenced to long-term imprisonment and suspension of civil rights.

In February 1954, a renowned surgeon, hailing from Canacona was arrested for having made a protest against the Salazarist contention that Goa was a part of Portugal. After the arrest, he was immediately deported to Portugal.[71] This event created political unrest in Canacona and as a result some local freedom fighters, which included a large number of women, came to the fore to offer *satyagraha*.

The Nehruian policy clearly indicated "*Satyagraha* should be predominantly the business of Goans."[72] Further, Nehru refused to order any police or military action to solve the Goa issue. Some of the Goan freedom fighters were irked and urged the Indian government to take more active steps in the matter. T.B. Cunha, the eminent Goan freedom fighter, bitterly criticised Nehru for adopting such a policy.[73]

In another significant development Nehru welcomed the idea of the Indian participation in the *satyagraha* but not on a mass scale.[74] Govind Vallabh Pant, India's Home Minister, had categorically stated that Goa was a part of India and that its integration with the Indian union was desirable to be achieved with force if necessary. He also warned Lisbon not to ignore the importance of *satyagraha* since it was the final weapon of unquestioned potency to fight against the colonial regime.[75] Besides, the Portuguese enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli were occupied by volunteers of the *Azad Gomantak Dal* and the Goan People's Party in July 1954.

Border Blockade and its Impact

The All Party Goa Liberation Committee was formed in Pune on 4th May 1955. It was named as *Goa Vimochan Sahayyak Samiti* with a view to liberate Goa by participating directly in the movement for Goa's liberation. The *Samiti* held a conference in Pune on July 26-28, 1955 to decide about mass *satyagraha* in Goa, to be offered by all-India volunteers. Accordingly, it was decided to organise the entry in thousands of volunteers at different points in Goa. The working class, such as transport and dock workers of Mumbai, also came forward to extend strong support to the *satyagraha* movement. As a mark of protest, the dock labourers boycotted foreign ships that serviced Goa.[76] The Portuguese authorities decided to face the massive *satyagraha* on the border and declared martial law in Goa.[77] Although the Indian Government had banned the participation of Indian *satyagrahis* into Goa several small groups of a total of 4204 *satyagrahis* marched into Goa.[78] The Portuguese opened fire on the non-violent volunteers at several places without any warning causing death to 22 *satyagrahis* and injuries to 225 volunteers.[79] This brutal act of the Portuguese police evoked strong protest from all over India. The demonstrators attacked the Portuguese Consulate in Mumbai. A one-day strike was observed in New Delhi to condemn the Portuguese administration in Goa. On the other hand, the *Goa Vimochan Samiti* in Pune further pronounced that individual as well as mass *satyagraha* would be intensified for achieving the goal of liberating Goa and uniting it with India. India and Portugal closed down their respective consulates in September 1955 and the Goa borders were sealed off and economic blockade of Portuguese Goa was enforced.

During the aforesaid *en masse* entry of *satyagrahis,* three batches of a total of 120 freedom fighters entered from Canacona. They were detained, tortured and driven back into the Indian territory. Due to the border blockade, the people of Canacona had to face socio-political as well as economic difficulties. The economy of the *taluka* considerably deteriorated; literary and cultural activities were totally stopped; and due to the martial law no newspaper from the mainland could be supplied. The demand for foodgrains and provisions was also not met and the people were subjected to a period of tyranny. It was a kind of cultural stagnation faced by the *taluka* as activities pertaining to religion, art,

culture and literature could not be held. Besides, heavy restrictions on political activities were also enforced by law.

Azad Gomantak Dal had opened its office at Majali in the Indian territory near Canacona's border. As such, a number of volunteers from the taluka used to clandestinely participate in the activities of that organisation as well as that of the Goa Liberation Army to undertake violent methods to free their motherland. Many freedom-loving people of Canacona came forward to offer *satyagraha* in demonstration of their protest against the dictatorial rule of the Portuguese. They were arrested and tortured and finally sentenced to long-term imprisonment. During the year 1955 a series of group *satyagrahas* had been organised in the *taluka*. In addition to this, a few volunteers had offered *satyagrahas* at various places in Goa. The Portuguese soldiers went to the extent of killing two freedom fighters from the *taluka* in September 1956. Due to such tyrannical acts of the Portuguese, some people adopted violent methods to disrupt and paralyse the administration. A list of 152 freedom fighters from Canacona recognised by the state Government is annexed at Appendix 13. Similarly, details of the various batches of *satyagrahis* from the mainland who offered *satyagrahas* in Canacona is annexed at Appendix 14.

Hectic activities leading to both violent and non-violent methods continued for another five years in Goa. On the other hand, the Goa issue continued to be discussed at the national and international levels with a view to expedite Goa's liberation. At times, the scene of the struggle shifted to the United Nations and was discussed in its General Assembly. Goans who revolted against the Portuguese domination sought world support through India by making use of international platforms like the General Assembly of the United Nations. The claim of Portugal that "Goa was politically as well as legally an overseas province and was an integral part of Portugal" was not upheld. Goans also urged freedom-loving nations of the world to exert pressure on Dr. Salazar to stop the inhuman atrocities of the Portuguese and grant them freedom.[80]

In the following years, the National Congress (Goa) adopted a diplomatic policy and declared the end of the "state of satyagrahas" and urged Portugal to start a dialogue with the Government of India for the peaceful resolution of the Goa issue. Efforts were also made by the Government of India to force Portugal to pursue a reasonable attitude with respect to the Goa problem. Subsequently, the Government of India decided to open land routes in addition to only one that existed via Majali-Polem in Canacona.[81] In the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Soviet Union argued the case of granting freedom to colonial enclaves that was upheld in November 1960. Thus the date of liquidation of the Portuguese rule in Goa was fast approaching though Prime Minister Nehru expressed his inability to fix the time limit.

On the other hand, several Goans were detained, arrested, tortured and sentenced for their participation in Goa's freedom struggle. Nehru realised the need for a review of the foreign policy of the Government of India and declared that "I do not know what we may do at any time, but we cannot at present in regard to the development of events everywhere, rule out the question of using armed forces in regard to Goa the time may come when we may decide even to send our army there."[82]

Operation Vijay and the Battle for Anjidiv

On 17th November 1961, the Portuguese soldiers opened fire on the steamer, Sabarmati, owned by the Scindia Steam Navigation Company plying between Mumbai and Cochin. This event took place off the Anjidiv island. A few days later, on 24th of the same month, the Portuguese again opened fire on fishing vessels near the island.[83] Thus the situation was turning explosive, with the Portuguese pursuing provocative acts. As such, the Government of India began to move precautionary troops to end the rising oppression and terrorism in Goa in the swift action known as 'Operation Vijay'. At the midnight of 17th and 18th December 1961, Indian defence forces moved into Goa,

Daman and Diu "to defend the honour and security of the people of India." The Indian army met with very feeble resistance from the Portuguese forces. The Indian naval force attacked Anjidiv island in which seven Indian soldiers and six Portuguese military personnel were killed and nineteen Indian defence personnel as against four Portuguese soldiers were injured. The Indian troops unfurled the Indian tricolour on the island at about 2.25 p.m. in the afternoon on 19th December, 1961.[84] Thus, the Anjidiv island became Goan territory where the Portuguese came first and left last. The people of Canacona like the rest of Goa, Daman and Diu cheered and welcomed the liberation army with great enthusiasm and helped it complete the mission of driving out the alien rule of Portugal.

Impact of Freedom Struggle on Culture and Society

Due to the freedom movement the youth from all classes and castes and religions were greatly influenced by the socialist ideas of prominent leaders such as Peter Alvares, N. G. Gore and others. This helped to propagate secularism and social reforms. The zeal in social reforms manifested in various directions. As a result casteism was sought to be suppressed as also untouchability. Since truth and rationality were central to the movement of *satyagraha*, it paved the path of healthy growth of humanity on the principle of unity of all men and women as equals, abolishing all artificial distinctions among them. All these progressive ideas were imported mainly during the freedom struggle. The great achievement of the movement was the women's participation in the struggle. A number of girls came forward willingly to fight against the Portuguese rule and liberate their motherland. The freedom movement further provided opportunities of unity between landlord Brahmans and landless labourers, the uneducated peasants and the educated youths as well as teachers to fight against the colonial rule. Thus the people were empowered to fight for their legitimate rights fearlessly.

Canacona had faced a cultural exodus due to the Portuguese colonial rule. People faced severe restrictions on cultural expressions and later with the ban on civil liberties there were severe restrictions imposed on cultural activities. The Hindu religious centres

were, in fact, known for performance of music, dance, drama and also craftwork. However, these performances were restricted by the colonial regime. A great tradition of singers, instrumentalists and actors existed in the *taluka*. But due to the unfavourable conditions the *taluka* faced cultural stagnation. Teachers could not impart training in various arts and interested students were deprived of training as well as staging of their performances. As a result, a number of singers, instrumentalists and actors left their native place and settled mainly in Mumbai where they could avail of the facility of receiving training from eminent gurus to achieve excellence. However, many of them were forced by circumstances to remain in the taluka. Some performers left in search of jobs. Pandit Govindrao Agni, an actor and singer hailing from Loliem who imparted knowledge to several desciples, was one such great artistes of the *taluka*.[85] Anjanibai Lolienkar and her brother and guru, Yeshwant Lolienkar, are examples that may be cited. Anjanibai gave regular concerts and performs periodically on All India Radio. Yeshwant Lolienkar was a singer associated with the famous music company His Master's Voice, while Sharnabai Painginkar and Mogabai Painginkar were singers of All India Radio.[86]Ashalata Naik Wabgaonkar, a renowned stage actress hailing from Canacona, is also among such artistes who migrated for better prospects. Fr. Lourdino Barreto, hailing from Poinguinim, learnt western music in a local parish school but left the village to receive further training in music and achieved excellence in the field. On his return from Rome he became the director of the western music faculty at the Kala Academy, Goa.[87]

Same was the case of many literateurs of the *taluka*. Indirakant Tirth Swami who was the pontiff of the Gokarn Partagali Jeevottam Math had many works to his credit. Shrimat Suniti Bhagvat, Marathi Dvaita Bodhini, Shrimat Bhagvadgita are some of his famous works. However, these works were compiled by him outside the *taluka* due to the political situation prevailent then in the *taluka*. Other well-known writers from this *taluka* include S.S. Desai, who has about thirty books on history and culture to his credit; V. B. Prabhudesai, who undertook extensive research in literature and culture; and Venkatesh Vishnu Vaidya, a renowned writer from Poinguinim. All these writers worked and attained fame outside the *taluka*.

Goans were assured by the Government of India that they would share with the rest of the people the political liberty, economic progress and increasing prosperity which would come from common endeavour. Thus, the aspirations of Goans to be free from the Portuguese colonial yoke and to enjoy political liberty and share the economic growth of India was fulfilled with the success of 'Operation Vijay'.

It would now be pertinent to examine the impact of the Portuguese colonial rule on Canacona.

Socio-Cultural Impact of the Portuguese Rule

With the arrival of the Portuguese on the west coast of India, "Christianisation and acculturation (to be understood within an Eurocentric, colonial framework) served as the dominant themes of Portuguese imperialism."[88] The Portuguese rule in Goa in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was marked by a close collaboration between the State and the Church. As they had ventured into the Indian Ocean in search of "Christians and Spices" the Portuguese *Estado da India* (State of India), while promoting commerce, also made determined efforts to ensure that the religion of the king became the religion of their subjects in India. It seems that the priests, those who had come to Goa for this mission, had a totally mistaken belief that Goa was a land peopled by barbarians.

However, at the initial stage, Albuquerque did not interfere in the religious matters of the majority community, the Hindus, except for abolishing the tradition of *sati*.[89] Albuquerque left all the religious customs intact and also invited Hindus to hold important offices in his administration. Thus, out of a need for local support, Albuquerque introduced the policy of association and assimilation.[90] This assimilation was continued by later administrations to include Christianisation and lusitanisation of the local population. The Franciscans were the first missionaries to come to Goa and by the end of 1518 they converted around 800 Goans.[91] The Franciscans were followed by the Jesuits in 1542 and Dominicans in 1548 who were the ardent champions of the

Inquisition.[92] Augustinians and others followed the aforesaid missionaries. Prior to the arrival of the Franciscans, Albuquerque encouraged mixed marriages which led to the conversion of a number of Hindu and Muslim women to Christianity. Later the Franciscans converted people by persuasion and by offering incentives. It is interesting to note that by 1540, the whole village of Dhaujim became Christian.[93] By this year only a decision was accorded to destroy all temples and mosques. As a result the Italian Jesuit, Nicolau Lancillotto, reports in 1545 that there was no temple to be seen in the whole island of Goa.[94] With the introduction of *rigor de misericordia* (rigour of mercy) in 1541, Hindu temples suffered demolition and the income of their property was diverted for the churches.

"Anti-Hindu legislation was introduced with fresh vigour in 1559 and in the following year the Goa Inquisition was established. Consequently a quasi-holy war was launched in Goa to win adherents to the word of Christ. This led to the demolition, burning and rooting out of the Hindu temples and put a lot of brakes on the practise of the religion. The decrees of 1559 sanctioned the demolition of Hindu temples and idols, prohibited the fashioning of such images from any material, banned the celebration of Hindu feasts either publicly or privately, prohibited cremation of the Hindu dead and exiled Hindu priests. Disobedience of these decrees was severely punished. The missionaries did not shy away from snatching and baptising fatherless children, placing the cross at the wells used by the Hindus, compelling the latter to consume beef and using similar pressure-tactics to win converts. At the same time, inducements were offered in a bid to wean the local population away from Hinduism."[95]

The temples from Bardez and Salcete were destroyed in 1567. The devotees fled with the images of the deities to the neighbouring territories such as Ponda, Quepem, Bicholim which were controlled by Muslim and Hindu rulers and consecrated the idols there. Later these lands were also conquered by the Portuguese. However, by

that time their religious policy had changed. "The Terrible Tribunal for the East" as the Goa Inquisition came to be known, brought tremendous religious disabilities to the Hindus. The capitation tax known as *xendi* (tuft) tax, introduced in 1704 exclusively for the Hindus, was an example of the social and religious harassment that they were subjected to by the Portuguese rulers.[96]

-. The practice of *sati* was abolished by the Portuguese during the reign of Afonso de Albuquerque even before they had embarked on a policy of systematic religious persecution.[97] Later the Viceroy promulgated an order forbidding the practice in the annexed area of Bardez and Salcete. Governor Francisco Barreto permitted the practice of *sati* round about 1551 due to the consistant pressure from influential Hindus and new converts. This is evident from the statement made on 28th May 1766 by José Antonió Ribeiro, Promotor to the Inquisition.[98] *Sati* practised in Canacona till the advent of the Portuguese as has been testified by many *satikals* located in the *taluka*.

The national policies of Portugal were being guided by the liberal Prime Minister Marquês de Pombal. He was of the firm opinion that it would be illogical to continue to have a tribunal for the limited area of Goa, inhabited mainly by Hindus outside the pale of the Church.[99] As such he abolished the Goa Inquisition for the first time in 1774, during the reign of D. José I. However, soon after the death of D. José I in 1778, due to the political change in Portugal, the Inquisition was revived in 1778 with clear directives of "seeking the conversion of the Infidels and sinners with more sweetness and suavity than rigour."[100] In a commercial treaty with the British in 1810, the Portuguese government accepted the principle of permitting in Goa and its dependencies free tolerance of any and all religions and ordered the abolition of the Holy Tribunal on 16th June 1812.[101]

About the time of the abolition of the Inquisition, Canacona was annexed by the Portuguese to their dominion. However, it is interesting to note that no mass conversions or whatsoever were carried in Canacona region, despite the later revival of the Holy Tribunal. However, in the beginning, the military personnel deployed in the Cabo de

Rama area of this territory, maintained their families in the locality and the local church looked after their religious and cultural needs. Similarly, the clergymen at Anjidiv island used to pursue their religion among the islanders and military personnel posted there.

It was on the Anjidiv island that the Portuguese spread Christianity well before they invaded Goa. A group of eight Franciscan missionaries and seven secular priests had landed on Anjidiv along with the *armada* of Pedro Alvares Cabral with 13 ships and 1200 men in 1500. The King of Portugal, D. Manoel, specially entrusted them with the duty of spreading Christianity in the Eastern countries. The group of missionaries availed of the earliest opportunity to convert 23 residents of the Anjidiv island and said their first mass over there. Thus they initiated for the first time the work of Christian missionary in Goa in the year 1500 A.D.[102]

The area of Kholgad or Cabo de Rama, which presently belong to Canacona, was under the jurisdiction of Salcete province of the Portuguese dominion. As such, Christianity was spread in that region followed by the founding of the Chapel of Saint Anthony as early as in 1591. Thus, by the end of the sixteenth century, two Christian religious centres came into existence in the *taluka*. Thereafter, it took about eighty years for the foundation of a chaplaincy at Chaudi-Canacona affiliated to the parish of Sivansor (Shiveshwar). It was founded in 1770 and later was affiliated to the Archdiocese of Goa and Daman. In 1824, it was raised to an independent parish. Out of the remaining six churches in the *taluka*, the Galgibag and Agonda churches were initially founded in the nineteenth century (in 1807 and 1859, respectively) whereas Loliem (1904), Sadolxem (1920), Chiplem (1940) and Bhatpal (1968) were founded in the twentieth century. In addition to this, there are six chapels in the *taluka*.[105] Most of the churches that acquired the status of independent parish churches were initially founded as chapels affiliated to a nearby church and subsequently reconstructed and raised to the status of a parish church.

The church of Our Lady of Brotas was founded and built in 1506 by the Portuguese viceroy, Dom Francisco de Almeida, on the island of Anjidiv and rebuilt in 1682 with the present edifice being constructed in 1729 under Royal Orders,[103] and repaired in 1958. The earlier church was of wood without any spectacular shape. At one

time the church had a chapel of Our Lady of Dolours. The church had three altars. The main altar was dedicated to the patron saint, Our Lady of Brotas, and the remaining two were dedicated to St. Francisco d'Assissi and St. Anthony. In its heydays there was a seminary and a college attached to the church.[104] After the liberation of Goa, the catholic population of the island settled in the mainland such as Panaji and also in Binga and Karwar, which is the neighbouring area.[105] The image of the crucified Jesus was shifted to Binga after the depopulation of the island. The Binga parishioners celebrate the feast of this church every year on 2nd February.[106]

The present church of Cabo-de-Rama, dedicated to St. Anthony, was initially a chapel founded in 1591. It was affiliated to the church of the Saviour of Sivansor which is presently in Karwar Diocese in North Kanara district.[107] Later, it was affiliated to the church of Velim till 1889 which was situated at its north. Finally, in the same year of 1889, it was raised to the status of an independent parish church. It has a chapel dedicated to Our Lady of Piety at Nuvem, Cola.[108] The Cananguinim church of St. Sebastian and Betul church were affiliated to this church from 1889 to 1947 till their erection into separate parishes. The annual feast of the patron saint is on 15th February.[109]

St. Theresa of Jesus Church was also originally a chaplaincy at Canacona, founded in 1770 and affiliated to the parish of Sivansor, like that of Cabo-de-Rama which belonged to the Archdiocese of Goa and Daman as late as 1953.[4110] It was erected into an independent parish on 3rd April 1824. Though it has no chapel, this church runs educational institutions such as St. Theresa of Jesus High School and Nirmala Convent Kindergarten school.[111]

The church of St. Anthony of Lisbon was originally a chapel built in 1807 and was affiliated to the Mission of Sivansor in North Kanara district of Karnataka State. It was raised to the rank of a parish on 3rd April 1824. It runs the St Anthony High School.[112] The annual feast of the church is held on a Sunday in the month of January.

The Agonda church of St. Anne was originally founded in the form of a chaplaincy in the 1850s and reconstructed between 1882 and 1888. Initially, it was affiliated to the Canacona church of St. Theresa of Jesus and subsequently erected into an independent parish in 1888. The present church was built in 1951,[113] which is now being renovated.[114] It has a chapel dedicated to Christ the King, Our Lord, in the Saleri ward of the village of Cola. St. Anne's Institute of this church looks after the entire management of the St. Anne's High School at Agonda. The annual feast of St. Anne is held on the first Sunday in the month of May.

St. Sebastian Church at Loliem was originally a chapel built in 1904. Then it was affiliated to the church of St. Anthony of Lisbon of Galgibag. It became an independent parish on the 26th November 1932. Its chapel of Our Lady of Fatima is situated in the Sheli ward of the same village. The church runs the St. Sebastian High School, a clinic and the Fatima Retreat House.[115]

The chapel of Our Lady of Rosary, Sadolxem, was blessed on 4th June 1920 and attached to the parish of St. Anthony of Lisbon from Galgibag. On 24th April 1954 it was erected into an independent parish. This church has a chapel of Our Lady of Fatima at Ardhafond in Poinguinim village.[116] Though 7th October is date of the annual feast, it is held traditionally on the second Sunday of the month of May.[117]

Our Lady Help of the Christians chapel was originally built in the Chiplem ward of the Poinguinim village on the 18th June 1940 and affiliated to the parish of St. Anthony of Lisbon at Galgibag till 1967 when it became an independent parish.[118]

The present church of St. Francis Xavier from Bhatpal was originally the chapel attached to St. Theresa of Jesus Christ of Canacona. Later in 1968 its status was raised to an independent parish.[119] The annual feast is held on the 3rd December. It is recorded that the holy relics of St. Xavier are also kept in this church and hence all local devotees, who are not able to visit Old Goa, venerate it.

The onset of Christianity in Canacona *taluka* took place after the religious fervour of the Inquisition had died down. Historical records do not mention any mass conversion of people from the Hindu community to Christianity. Except for a few pockets of Roman Catholic Christians such as that Agonda, Chaudi, Bhatpal, Sadolxem, Galgibag and Loliem, basically comprising of migrants from neighbouring *talukas*, Christianity has remained at the periphery of the cultural mainstream of this Hindu-dominated *taluka*. There is good integration of the Christian community with the Hindus and in totality this liberal attitude has benefited the society of Canacona in maintaining the secular fabric even after Liberation. This could be considered as a remarkable example of communal harmony in a *taluka* which is governed largely by a dominant Hindu ethos.

Another areas of impact of the Portuguese rule was architecture, both domestic as well as ecclesiastical and to some extent, military architecture related to the fort of Cabo-de-Rama.

As regards the interior as well as exterior decoration, it was mostly done out of laterite brick, plaster, wood, tiles, ceramics and furniture in wood and metal and bears a clear likeness to Islamic art.[120] The decorative elements seem to be made of motifs based on natural forms, tree trunks, flowers, leaves, fruits, shells and corals etc. Some maritime motifs like ropes, knots, anchors, chains, nets etc. were included because of the fact that the Catholic population of Canacona was involved in maritime trade or fishing.

The interior consists of a main entrance which is flanked by smaller ones at both sides that lead to the prayer hall where wooden benches are placed on either side of the aisle. At the end of the hall is a raised altar at the centre which is usually dedicated to the patron saint. In addition to this there are usually two altars at both the sides of the main altar. The idol of the patron saint is fixed to the rear wall at an appropriate height so that every devotee can easily see it. The prayer hall is also provided with an adequate number of side windows and doors as per the requirement. Similarly the raised area of the altar has a side entrance for the use of the clergymen. The residence for the clergymen is provided adjacent to the church. A medium size metal bell is hung either on the central

tower or side tower which is used for religious communication. A huge cross is fixed to the central tower and the additional cross is erected in front of the main entrance of the church. The cemetery is usually constructed at the rear of the church or at any suitable place in its premises. The premises of all the churches in Canacona are well demarcated and protected with a compound wall.

Fort of Cabo -de-Rama: Canacona is famous for the fort of Cabo-de-Rama that has its origin in the pr-Portuguese period. It was subsequently developed by the Portuguese after the latter acquired Canacona from the Sondekar.

It is the only fort in the *taluka* which is a good example of defence architecuture (fig.7.1) of the seventeenth century. There is a legend according to which Rama spent few days here in prayer on his way to Lanka which throws light on the etymology of the place-name, Cabo-de-Rama.

The fort is situated at the north-western end of Canacona in Cola village. In fact it is a high bluff headland known by the name of Kholgad. It seems to have been built by the Sonda King when the region of five provinces namely, Ponda, Cacoda or Quepem, Chandrawadi, Balli and Ashtagrar as well as Canacona and Shiveshwar were under his dominion. However, some believe that Shivaji built it in 1679 with a view to attack Goa from the side of Cola. But due to his untimely death in 1680 Shivaji's plan of attacking Goa remained unfulfilled. Thus the fort remained in the possession of the Prince of Sonda from whom the Portuguese captured it on 1st June 1763. This happened during the adminstiration of the Count of Ega.

There exist a quadrangular tank of water (*tali*) of about 15 x 15 mtrs. which is the source of water within the fort. Besides there is another well which is not in use at present. In addition to these natural sources of water two springs exist outside the fort wall by the side of the sea. According to old records two stone spouts issued water of unequal temperature, the cold being used for drinking purposes and the more tepid for bathing by the people suffering from skin diseases, since it was said to be high in sulphur

MAP OF THE FORT
OF
CABO - DE -RAMA

N

NOT TO SCALE

S E A

S NO. 261

COCONUT
PLANTATION

A R A B I A N

BARRACK

1
2
3
4

S. NO. 260

5
6
7
8
9

KACCHA ROAD

S. NO. 262

S. NO. 259

A R A B I A N S E A

FORT

BARRACK

CHURCH

TANK

WELL

MOAT

BASTIONS ENTRANCE

Fig. 7.1

SOURCE : DIRECTORATE OF ARCHIVES, ARCHAEOLOGY AND MUSEUM, GOVERNMENT OF GOA. PANAJI.
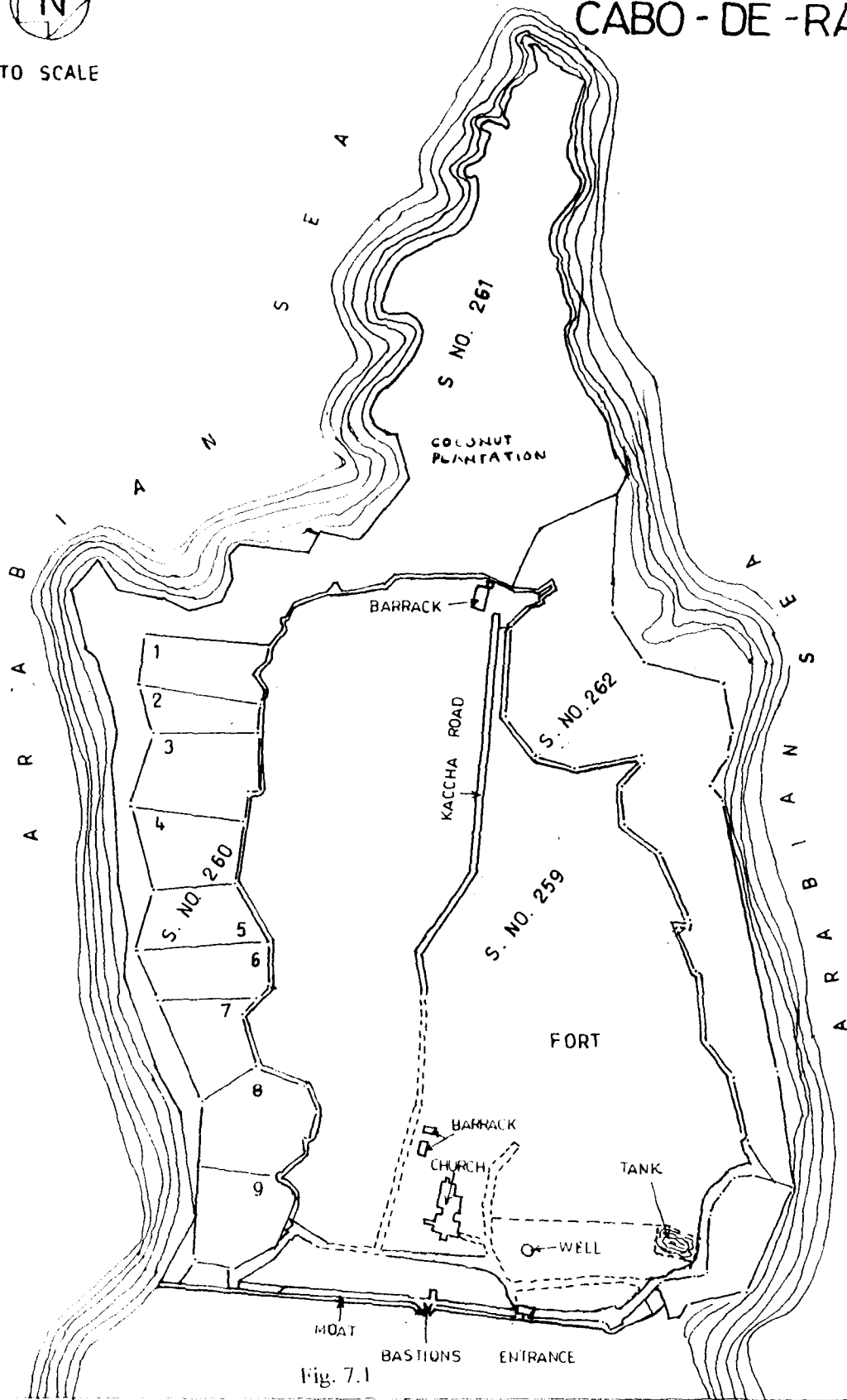
content.[121] The site of Cabo-de-Rama was considered as one of the most important sites with sanitoriums for the speedy recovery of sickness.

The fort of Cabo-de-Rama till recent times was difficult to reach. However, the state government has constructed an asphalted road and now it is easily accessible. The total area of the fort is 1,45,850 square mtrs. The fort was planned in a zig-zag manner the builders had to follow the contour line of the land which penetrated into the deep sea. The very selection of the area for the construction of the fort on a steep tableland indicates the advancement in the field of defence architecture. The walls of the fort are about five mtrs. high and 1.60 to 1.75 mtr. thick with wall-walk all along and are in ashlar masonry. The local laterite stone of big size was used in its construction. The lime mortar used is very tenacious in nature, with semicircular shaped bastions at regular intervals on the front side, which are mounted with mighty guns of wide range. Since all the semicircular bastions are elevated along the exterior side of the wall, the soldiers could gather in groups in required number at certain intervals on the top of the bastions. A pivoted point was fixed at the center of the bastion so that the gun could be moved horizontally in defence against the enemy fleet or foot soldiers. The wall was provided with a parapet. There is no wall on the seaside which is protected by a steep cliff.

The fort is provided with an entrance which is much more massive and intricate, provided with guardrooms. It is also provided with a strong heavy wooden door which was kept closed guarded in times of danger and at night. It is interesting to that note a row of three loop-holes were provided in the parapet wall called kangura.[122] Each loop-hole was constructed in such a way that it should open to the exterior of the wall in three different directions. A rifle could be placed through each loop-hole at different angles for long, medium and short range of shooting. During an attack, the soldiers could hide themselves behind the kanguras. Besides there were loop-holes in the kanguras which were meant for placing the rifles in position to shoot enemies at ground level. Besides these loop holes special outlets and holes for drainage were provided. Thus while constructing the fort conducive topographical features were carefully considered and fully exploited.

The entrance gates to the Portuguese forts are typical with an arch. However all other forts have a flat lintel. In the fort of Cabo-de-Rama the entrance has flat and heavy lintel. It seems that a spiked heavy door shutter was used for covering the span of the door. An important feature of this fort is a provision of two escape gates on the either side of the entrance gate in hidden portions of the fort wall, so that at the time of danger or defeat the inmates could lead to the water passages of the Arabian Sea. The escape gates of this fort were planned in such a way that they would lead to the water passage where the boats could anchor.

The front wall was supported with wall walks and also with strong wide platforms arranged internally to fortify the wall from inside. However the exterior side of the front wall was provided with a deep moat opening both ends into the sea. An earthen ramp was raised between the outer moat and the wall. The entrance gate was provided with a small overbridge. The outer sides were left for the vegetation to grow, especially tall tress such as coconut. This colossal height could command the outer sector of the fort so that the enemies could be located at a long distance and the army could be alerted.

The material, such as laterite stone, sand, lime morter, etc. which was used for the construction of the fort was of local origin. As such it lasted for a long time as it suited the local climate. Conch shells were used for preparing lime of the best quality. Besides locally available sand and lime and mortar was used. The whole area of Kholgad is known for the best quality of laterite stone. This stone was used for the wall. Some portion of the parapet wall was erected without using lime mortar but large quantity of rough stone and clay was used. The portion outside the moat at the entrance had been well designed and fortified with a rough stonewall in order to control the entry of persons from the outside. A small watchtower was still standing in the front wall at the southern end which gave the idea of architectural skill of the builders of yersteryears. However at many points, the wall of the fort is in decayed condition. Though an arrangement was made to prevent the entry of cattle into the fort it did not serve the purpose. The escape gate at the southern side was used as an entry gate for cattle. Though it is recorded by

Fonseca (1878) that twenty-one heavy guns existed in the fort, presently very few are seen (four on the top of the bastions, two at the entrance gate, one inside the gate) no standing structure is seen in good condition expect the church and the guard room at the entrance gate. All the remaining structures are in a dilapidated condition.

A. Lopes Mendes has described the condition of the fort of Cabo-de-Rama in 1863. It had a garison consisting of a retired major, a commander, an assistant, a medical practitioner, a chaplain, one retired sergant, three head constables, sixteen constables of the first batalion of hunters and six guards. Besides one head constable, two constables and two guards each were deployed for the purpose of protecting the neighbouring areas of Nuvem and Saleri. Altogether twenty-one guns were placed on the bastions. The residences of the commandant and his assistants, as well as that of the chaplain and surgeon were inside the fort. A police outpost was also located in the vicinity of the fort.

After liberation of Goa, the fort remained in the custody of the revenue department of the Government of Goa. Thereafter, it was transferred to the department of tourism in order to encourage tourism and simultaneous development of the fort area. Subsequenlty, in the year 1984, the fort was declared as a protected monument under the Goa, Daman and Diu Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act 1978 and transferred to the Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum of the Government of Goa. Till then the access to the fort was extremely difficult as no vehicle could reach the fort. Besides the military barracks, it contained a chapel and quarters for the administrative staff. The Chapel of St. Anthony was founded in the fort in 1591 when the Sonda kings had friendly relations with the Portuguese. It was raised to an independent parish in the year 1889 and presently has a chapel at Nuvem which is dedicated to Our Lady of Piety. The barracks and staff quarters are in totally decayed state. The site plan which is appended at (fig.7.2) gives an idea about the fort.

Caste

Goan Catholics are the local converts from various Hindu castes and as they were generally converted en masse, they virtually transported the entire caste structure of the

Hindus into their adopted religion. They preferred to preserve their core-culture and maintained the tradition of the *varna* system. However the different sub-castes got fused into the three main castes of the *Brahman, Charddo* and *Shudra. Kshatriya* and *Vaishya* merged into a single caste of *Charddo* and all the remaining castes into *Shudra.*[123] Since all the Christians from Canacona region are immigrants from neighbouring *talukas* of Salcete, Quepem and Sanguem, they established their settlements according to the availability of their traditional occupations such as toddy-tapping, distillation of liquor, labour work, pottery and so on. Among these settlers were mainly the *Charddo* and *Shudra* communities and hence *Brahman* Catholics are not to be found in Canacona. Due to the arrival of these settlers, far-reaching impact was seen on the life and culture of Canacona. The original Hindu culture was influenced in many ways with the impact of Christian music, food, dress, language, customs and traditions. However, with the passage of time, both Hindus and Christians could maintain their lives following their respective religions smoothly

Music and Dance

The first and foremost visible impact of the Portuguese rule is seen in the form of the Western trend in the devotional music of the converts. Thus, congregational singing and accompanying instrumental music had a great impact on the culture of Canacona.

With the advent of the Portuguese, Christianity and western music became an integral part of the life of the local converts. The missionaries got a free hand in the evangelical, social, educational and other activities. With the founding of religious centres, the Church authority undertook the task of imparting primary education to the local youngsters and further prepared a curriculum of the parochial schools indicating an important place for music in it along with the "three R's." They realised that music was an easy and appealing way of communicating their faith to the devout. Besides this had a practical side to it. In fact, the children who learnt with the help of music always supported congregational singing. In course of time, trained pupils from these parish schools helped in singing hymns and litanies in original Latin as well as their Konkani renderings. Thus, devotional singing could be regularly held during daily church service

and also on festive occasions such as processions, feasts, *novenas, ladainha*. The tradition of mass instruction in music was firmly rooted in the socio-cultural life of Catholics in the rest of Goa since the 16th century. With the advent of the Portuguese in Canacona, this music tradition was also introduced in the *taluka*.

Such a 'music-education' received at an early stage of life benefited many who took up music as their profession and migrated to big cities of India where it turned out to be a lucrative means of earning their livelihood. The Church also sent students who were extraordinarily talented to Rome for higher studies in Western music who, on their return, helped the Church in the propagation of both music and religion. Fr. Lourdino Barreto was one such talented person who could avail of the facility of music education of the highest rank in Rome and on his return could hold the highest post in the field of music education in Goa.[124] A few others from Canacona were in great demand as musicians in music bands, theatres, circuses, clubs, large hotels and as cabin crew. This tradition still continues.

The indigenous tradition of folk songs, which prevailed for centuries together in this region, further had an opportunity to come in contact with the tradition of western music. It was propagated through the devotional medium and had a blend of western musical impulse and native lyricism to create a rich contribution to local folk traditions. The best examples of such a blend could be cited as *cantaram, yers, purção* and *ladainha*.

In addition to this, is *Intruz*, the local variant of Carnaval, the Catholic equivalent of the Hindu spring festival of *Shigmo*. Though the *Intruz* celebration has almost vanished from the cultural scenario of the *taluka*, it had formed a major performing art among the Christians of Canacona. Similarly, the Konkani *tiatr* had also come into existence as a part of the assimilation of the local Christians in the theatrical tradition. As mentioned earlier, musical forms such as *cantar, ladainha*, shaped in the *taluka* amongst the Catholics, out of which the former is a kind of folk song commenting on social and family life of the people and the latter is devotional music occasionally presented as a

prayer in front of a village cross. *Yers*, probably a corruption of verse, means a line of poetry, is another type of marriage song which show transformation of original local Hindu folk songs. Though the traditional singing of *mando* and *dhulpod* was not much in existence, it has taken roots during the post-liberation period. It also developed a kind of secular music such as *cantar*, a folk song. Different church feasts form an important part of the cultural tradition of this region. Though the basic principle of prayer remained the same, rituals like ceremonial processions locally called *pursão* shows the western impact. Simultaneously, various western musical instruments like violin, guitar, drums and the trumpet were introduced to the local music lovers.

Language

Another impact is clearly visible on the spoken language of the Christians, which has absorbed a number of Portuguese words in their daily use. These include *adear* (to adjourn or postpone), *cestão* (conflict or dispute), *casacisão* (embrassment), which are pertaining to legal matter; *empregado* (government employee), *fazenda* (accounts department), *camara* (municipal council), that are pertaining to the government; *educação* (education), *escola* (school), *caderna*, (note book), that are pertaining to education; *capel* (chapel), *cazar* (marriage), *sacramento* (entering into holy agreement or contract of marriage), *cumsar* (to confess), *besão* (blessings), *ladainha* (prayer at the village cross) that are pertaining to religion or Holy Church; *cantar* (song), *canto* (to sing), *tiatr* (drama) that are pertaining to performing arts; *geral* (general), *ingrat* (ungreateful), *tempo* (time), saguada (gift), *balcão* (balcony or varandah) that are pertaining togeneral usage and so on. Such words are also used while composing songs like *cantaram*.

Food

The regular use of wine and liquor, as a part of daily food, changed the traditional lifestyle entirely. Wine became a part of divine offering which was to be consumed by all family members of the Christian faith. It was also an important commodity used on festive occasions along with pork and beef. In fact, both pork and beef now became a part of the diet of the Catholics in Canacona. Another important addition to the local diet was

the bread. Though the exact year of the introduction of a bakery in Canacona is not available, it is estimated that the bakery was started in this region probably in the last decade of the 19th century. A lady married to a Christian from Canacona took the initiative to establish a bakery in the taluka and supplied bread in the 1890s.[125] A large number of rural shops of liquor (*tavernas*) came up with the liquor bar being introduced in around the 1930s.[126]

Use of Tobacco

One of the major impacts on the social habits of the people of Canacona was the use of tobacco. In fact, tobacco gained rapid popularity since its introduction in the Deccan by the Portuguese in 1508.[127] The monopoly of tobacco in India was established by King Philip III of Portugal in 1624. Ships were coming in directly to Goa and then proceeding to different ports of India which was a profitable trade for local contractors. Goa was an important tobacco trading centre in the East; its market was extended from China to St. Lawrence Valley, Bahia etc. till 1750 and the profits derived from it formed a lucrative source of income to the Crown.[128] The imported tobacco was consumed by native Goans for the purpose of smoking, chewing and snuffing since it was much superior to the Indian stuff coming from Malabar, Canara, Balagate etc. Tobacco cultivation was also introduced in Bardez as well as in Salcete which was the neighbouring territory of Canacona.[129] This tobacco, mainly in the form of leaves, was usually imported by Hindu businessmen into the Canacona region. They used to fix the prices and exercise exclusive rights of distribution and sales in the territory. Tobacco became an important item of trade in the *taluka*, which not only served as an economic activity but also opened up Canacona to commercial contacts with the outside world.

On account of the introduction of tobacco in the *taluka* which is known as *tambaku* or *dhungti*, smoking and tobacco-chewing became a social habit of the working class. The leaf-wrapped *bidi*, the locally made cigarette, was enjoyed by men. However, it slowly spread among women of the working class. Besides, chewing tobacco with *pan* became a common habit of this class. The higher class also inhaled pipe from water-cooled *gudgudi* and also took snuff or smoked the local cigarettes. The widespread

addiction to tobacco in Canacona included not only men and women but also children. Tobacco was very popular even among the Christian clerics in Goa. In the year 1638, Indian Jesuits indulged freely on the consumption of tobacco.[130] It is interesting to note that Hindus as well as Christians from Canacona offer a big *bidi* known as *chilim* or *vidi* or *nat* to the spirits called *nas* and *mharu*. Since the tobacco was introduced in Deccan in the first decade of 16th century, it can be inferred that the ritual of offering *vidi* or *nat* to the spirits might have been practiced from the 16th century onwards.

Apart from the use of tobacco for smoking, chewing and snuffing it was also used as medicine for humans and animals because of its narcotic quality. The use of tobacco smoke was propagated as one of the popular remedies to avoid an attack of convulsion in children suffering from intestinal worms. The tobacco leaves were also externally used for the cure of orchites (orchitis). Animals suffering from the disease of their hooves are treated with tobacco powder and water. Such medicinal practices still exist in the *taluka*. Thus, the widespread use of tobacco as a social habit, religious practice and also as medicinal treatment is seen in this region.

Dress

Along with the food habits and lifestyles of the people, the Portuguese also introduced a new style of the western dress. The traditional dress which was used by a majority of the people was very simple and chaste consisting of a simple web of cloth, seven or seven and half yards long, and a bodice. Men used white *dhoti*, a shirt and a cap or turban. However, the lower classes used loincloth and a short sleeveless shirt and turban. With the advent of the Portuguese there was a radical change in the dress. The women of labour class started using a *sari* locally known as *lugat* or *nugat* that was manufactured in looms.[131] It was arranged in such a manner as to cover the whole body. On certain occasions like festivals and marriage the dress was gaudy among the poor class whereas it was very costly among the rich families. The Church attire consisted of the above garments and also a long piece of cloth called *hol*.

Due to the westernised style the Christian males adopted the European costume. They used trousers, shirts, western cap and at times, knickers and shoes. The Anjidiv island was known for weaving of handmade stockings which were the best in India.[132] This art was introduced in Canacona during the Portuguese period. The ornaments used by the both men and women changed. Men used batin and a cross instead of the earlier small quadrangular green stone encased in silver and suspended from a piece of thread or chain around the neck.

Jewellery

The major change in ornaments among the Christian women was the use of cross together with a rosary of coral and at times gold beads. Rich women always used rosary of gold beads and costly chains together with a cross. However, the use of fine earrings and small gold pendants, flower-shaped ornaments known as carab fixed in the ear by means of short screw and sometimes joined by a small chain usually drawn over the ear and fastened to the hair; a necklace called *fugador*, glass bangles etc. remained the same as the traditional ornaments prior to their conversion to Christian faith. At a later stage, however, the *fugador* got designed to suit the Christian faith. The necklace consisted of a gold brooch surmounted by an image of Christ, appended to a species of chain with of minute gold beads skillfully woven on fine threads. However, the original Hindu tradition of not using glass bangles during woman's widowhood remained unchanged.

Furniture and Household Items

Similarly a different kind of furniture was also introduced in the taluka. The art of woodcarving and furniture making was not new to Canacona as vast forest land was available and variety of wood was easily procured. However, the new styles of carving as well as design were absorbed by the local craftsmen and artisans. Besides a variety of furniture like tables, chairs etc. were also introduced to the local people which became popular and also provided great opportunities of employment to the local craftsmen. Same is the case of pottery and ceramics. New patterns and designs of pottery were introduced, for example, decorative pottery items were seldom used prior to the arrival of

the Portuguese. However, frequent use of ceramics and decorative terracotta, other pottery articles, vessels, candle-stands and the like came into practice.

Portuguese Influence on Architecture

House construction and its architecture was another art of the Portuguese which encouraged the construction of tall and multi-stories buildings, especially the architecture and construction of church buildings was totally new for the *taluka*. The architecture was implemented by a few native Christians while constructing their houses.

Portuguese Civil Code

The Portuguese government had promulgated a Civil Code in 1867 with more liberal amendments after the establishment of the Republic in 1910, which had far reaching impact on the lives of the people.[133] Before that specific law was not in force among the people of Canacona who were mostly Hindus. The *Mitakshar* law was generally followed and in absence of any government law no intervention in the civil and family matters from the state administration was possible. However, the Portuguese Civil Code of 1867 prohibited the practice of polygamy irrespective of religion. It made the civil registration of marriage compulsory and a right of ownership and inheritance of property equal to the man was given to the woman.[134] Besides it offered the right of adoption. After a few years the Portuguese administration also made a Code of the Customs and Usages of the Gentiles of Goa by which many supplementary rights were given to Hindu families. After 1910 the right of divorce under certain conditions was given to women. Women, in particular now came to enjoy more rights and a legal position of near total equality with men.[135]

Coinage

Soon after the arrival of Afonso de Albuquerque, he established a mint and issued gold and silver coins followed by copper.[136] The Portuguese coinage such as gold and

silver pardaus, copper *xerafins, bazarucos* of tutenag, silver and pewter as well as silver *rupees*, brass *tangas*, vinten, *rubo, duddu, domdi* came into practice in Canacona superceding the earlier coinage. However, no major impact on weights and measures was seen. Prior to the Portuguese rule, Canacona was devoid of road communication. However, after about eighty years a main road was constructed connecting the *taluka* to the capital town of Panaji in the north.[137]

Impact on Transport and Communication

Palanquins, machils and bullock carts and in rare cases horse carriage (*tanga*) were used as the important means of conveyance on land. A variety of boats were used as conveyance in waterways. The Portuguese introduced the passenger transport service of *caminhao* (mini bus) in the year 1923[138] which helped for the faster movement of people and thereby to the economic development of the region. The postal service, introduced by the Portuguese in 1844,[139] was availed of by the local people for sending and receiving letters to and from various parts in Goa and British India. The postal letters bore postage stamps issued by the Portuguese and English government.[140] Telegraph system was also made available by the Portuguese. Though the Portuguese started overseas banks namely *Banco Nacional Ultramarino*, no impact was seen thereof in Canacona as the old practice of *confra* (banking) was still continued there. As regards games and amusements, the football game was absorbed by the local Catholics during the pre-liberation period in addition to their traditional indigenous games.

Agro/Horticulture

Along with other crops, the Portuguese brought cashew and pineapple into Goa in the 16th century.[1141] As a result new plantations were started in Canacona which provided a stimulus to the economy of the *taluka*. Besides it helped to undertake distillation of liquor out of cashew fruit juice popularly known as *caju fenni*. At the same time the cashew nut was used as an important nut rich in proteins and hence a delicious food item. The trade in both alcoholic items and nuts provided a slow but steady upliftment to the

economy as also cultivation. The oil extracted from the outer cover of the cashew nut was used as pesticide to maintain boats and other agro-horticulture implements.

Further, at a later stage, the Portuguese administration streamlined public services such as education, health, and sanitary system that could help to upgrade the standard of public health.

Although the Portuguese ruled Canacona *taluka* for about two centuries as shown in this chapter they left a powerful impact on its society, economy and culture. This was a period of introduction of western influences, thoughts, administrative system and technology. Chritianity arrived in Canacona *taluka* and changed the entire complexion of the region in terms of music, art, food, costumes, etc. The Republican period in the twentieth century although shortlived positively impacted the people of Canacona and gave them new energy to think about their political future with the rest of Goa. In the financial analysis we can say that it was this political consciousness which saw very active phase of freedom struggle in the *taluka* ending with the liberation of Goa. The doors of freedom were opened to the people of Canacona finally, the end of the two centuries of Portuguese rule.

The events subsequent to the liberation have been discussed in the Epilogue.

Table 7.1

Portuguese Designation of Goan territories

'Velhas Conquistas':

Ten islands of Goa

Province of Bardez and Tiracol districts

Province of Salcete and island of Anjidiv

'Novas Conquistas':

Province of Pernem

Province of Bicholim

Province of Sattari

Province of Ponda

Province of Hemadbarcem

Province of Ashtagrar

Province of Balli

Province of Chandrawadi

Province of Kakoda

Province of Canacona and the jurisdiction of Cabo de Rama.

Source: Frederick Charles Danvers, *The Portuguese in India – Being the History of the Rise and Decline of their Eastern Empire*, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, vol. II, 1988, p. 429.

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18 *Ibid.*

19 *PPMS,* p. 136.

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 146-147.

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 179-180.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 195.

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27. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

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29. *PPMS*, p. 238.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 237. The complete description of the siege of the fortress of Piro and Kurmgad by Viceroy Conde Francisco Assis, Marquis de Tavora and their capture is given in an eight page news extract kept in the Lisbon Library under the heading "Relacão das Proezas e Victorias que na Indian Oriental tem Consguide e Inexplicaral V Valor de Assis de Tavor a Marquês de Tavora, Conde de Alvor Vicerei Capitão-Geral das Estados da Índia). However, soon the Court of Lisbon sent orders to the Viceroy of Goa to restore the forts of Sadashivgad and Kurmgad (Ximpin) to the Sondekar.

31. *GOG*, p. 183.

32. *CKH*, p. 87.

33. *PPMS*, p. 265; *GOG*, p. 183.

34. *DPMS*, p. 192.

35. PPMS, pp. 260, 261, 265, 266.

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67. *GSF,* p.31.

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115. *GOB*, p. 250.

116. *TIFA*, p. 120.

117. Frank Pierce, (ed.), *Os Lusiadas*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981, p. 211. Canto IX. Stanza 51, 52.

"Cortando vão as naus a larga via

Do mar ingente pera a Pátria amada,

Desejando prover-se da água fria

Pera a grande viagem prolongada,

Quando, juntas, com súbita alegria,

Houveram vista da ilha namorada,

Rompendo pelo céu a mãe fermosa

De memnónio, suave e deleitosa

De longe a ilha viram, fresca e bela,

Que Vénus pelas ondas lha levava"

Willam C. Atkinson, (tran.), *The Lusiads*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1980, pp.208-209.

"The fleet continued to forge its way across the mighty deep, the beloved homeland ever its goal. It was on the look-out now for a spot where it could take its fresh water for the long voyage still ahead, when with sudden joy, just as dawn was breaking gently overhead, the ships all spotted together the Isle of Love."

118. Antonio Menezes, *op.cit.*, p. 5.

119. Madhav Anant Desai, *Chittakula-Karwar – A History,* published by the

120. Author, (=*CKH*), p. 5.

121. *Ibid.*

122. Jose Necolas Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of City of Goa,* New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1986, pp. 54-55.

123. S. K. Joshi, *Defence Architecture In Early Karnataka,* Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan, 1985, p.15.

123. K. S. Singh, (ed.), *People of India: Goa,* vol. XXI, Bombay: Anthropological Survey of India, Popular Prakashan Pvt. Ltd., 1993, p. 9.

124. On his return from Rome, Fr. Lourdino Barreto, (1938-1997) who hailed from Galgibag-Poinguinim, was appointed as maestro in the Saligão seminary and thereafter he held the post of Director of Wester Music in the Kala Academy of Goa, till his death.

125. Luis Gracias and Jascinto Carvalho. *per. com.*, 2000. Luis Gracias is the present owner of the then first bakery in Canacona.

126. Inacio Gracias, *per. com.*, 2000. Originally hailing from Canacona Inacio Gracias, is the President of All Goa Toddy Tappers' Association and

presently settled in Panaji.

127. A. L. Basham, *A Cultural History of India*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975, p. 341.

128. Bonifacio Dias, " Impact of Tobacco on Goa (1620-1840)" *Goa: Cultural Trends*, P. P. Shirodkar, (ed.), Panaji: Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, Government of Goa, 1988, pp. 225-228.

129. Sheela Srinivasan, *A Social History of Goa*, Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, 1992, p. 405.

130. Bonifacio Dias, *op. cit.*

131. Jose Nicolau da Fonseca, *A Historical and Archaeological sketch of the city of Goa*, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1986, pp. 13, 14.

132. *GOG*, p. 767.

133. Pratima Kamat, "Some Legal Aspects of the Socio Economic Life of Women in Portuguese Goa," *Goan Society Through The Ages*, B. S. Shastry, (ed.), New Delhi: Asian Publication Services, 1987, p. 96.

134. *Ibid*; J. H. da Cunha Rivara, (ed.), *Archivo Portuguese Oriental*, Part I, Nova Goa: 1865, pp. 171, 175, 458.

135. Pratima Kamat, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

136. Jose Nicolau da Fonseca, *op. cit.* pp. 13, 14.

137. *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 34. According to the data furnished by the Chief Engineer in 1876, ten principal lines of roads with a total length of about 128 miles at the cost of Rs.1,08,800 were constructed. The road line intercepting Canacona was commencing from the capital and after being interrupted in its course by the river Zuari continued in a southward direction passing through Cortalim, Verna, Margao, Navelim, Dramapur, Cuncolim, Bali upto Canacona..

138. Teotonio R. de Souza, (ed.), *Goa Through the Ages*, vol. II, An Economic History, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1990, p. 229.

139. Department of Posts and Telegraphs, Panaji.

140. Jose Nicolau da Fonseca, *op. cit.* p. 36.

141. *Ibid.*, pp. 330-332.

Chapter VIII

Conclusion

The present work comprises of eight chapters. Chapter I discusses various aspects and inter-linkages between culture and history on the basis of review of literature on various studies of culture and cultural definitions particularly of Hammond (1964), Eliot (1972), Lavin (1973), Vivelo (1978) and Chaney (1994). The importance of oral history is examined for studies of cultures referring to the work of Louis Starr (1996), Dunaway (1996) and others. A brief overview of Indian historical traditions is provided and the importance of cultural history is stressed. The continuity of Indian culture is identified as the most important feature studied by scholars like Kossambi (1982) and Mukherjee (1993).

The contribution of the historians to the study of South Indian society and culture is reviewed based on Narayanan's studies (1994), Remy Reddy's work (1989) is cited to provide a necessary historical setting to cultural history of South India. From these studies, gaps in the knowledge of cultural history of Goa are identified and a micro-historical approach has been suggested for the present work. Consistent with this approach the present work makes a strong case for selecting the *taluka* as a viable unit for micro-history. After reviewing the previous work on Goan cultural history it was found that Canacona *taluka* offers rich scope for studying its micro-history.

The present work is based on exhaustive village-wise field studies and covers a geographical area of 351.1 sq. kms. in Canacona *taluka*. The field studies mainly focussed on cultural, archaeological, environmental, anthropological, toponymical angles, as presented in the form of knowledge compiled in the subsequent chapters of this work. These chapters follow a chronological sequence from pre-historical period to the time of compilation of this work.

Chapter II discusses historical geography of Canacona *taluka* along with its' climate, physiography, natural resources, water resources (flora and fauna), population and economic activities, to provide the required setting for cultural history. Etymologically the name of Canacona region has undergone several changes. For the first time, this work presents the evolution of the present name *Canacona* from the Dravidian word *Kadakona*, which fully indicates a region dominated by gaur (*Bos gaurus*). All other explanations have been disproved because these are based on mythological grounds. The original name of Canacona has been shown to be *Advat*, which was later, changed to Kankona. Specific regions of Canacona divided by the Kali river have been identified as *Advat* (North of Kali) and the Shiveshwar *mahal*. For the purpose of present work, both these regions have been considered together. This chapter also discusses in detail, the etymology of toponymical features from the *taluka* for the first time. It has been shown that these place names have been influenced mainly by ecological, geological and cultural factors.

Two major rivers Talpona and Galgibag drain the Canacona *taluka*. The *taluka* has rich forest resources and thin population density with just 116 persons per sq. kms., against a State average of 316 (1991 census). Its main activities are agriculture, horticulture, fisheries and animal husbandry, which show predominance of primary sector in the economy. The origin of the first settlement in Canacona *taluka* has been traced to the early Stone Age. Canacona region is shown to be an important route of human migration between Zuari and Kali river basins. The primitive settlers made transition from hunting to pastoralism and then a primitive form of agriculture, mostly in the hilly areas. The ancient technique of burn and shift cultivation locally known as *kumeri* farming has been described in detail in this work and is compared with similar systems in other parts of India.

This chapter chronologically offers the full spectrum of events from pre-historic period to the early Neolithic period of Canacona's cultural history with rich original material to shed new light on the sequence of cultural evolution of an agrarian society.

The richness and diversity of culture is dependent upon the economic activities and the opportunities. This chapter also focuses on the creative spirit of the

artists and craftsmen in the Canacona *taluka*. Original information has been compiled for the first time about the rich traditions of arts and crafts. These are classified under different categories. Instruments used by different communities of traditional craftsmen, such as gold smiths, carpenters, etc. is provided. The local craftsmen designed, fabricated and supplied many objects that were required by the temples. These objects are listed in a table. Information is given on the traditional means of transportation.

Although the economic backwardness of the *taluka* is well known, the Canacona society has remained relatively peaceful because of sustainable utilisation of its natural resources. This chapter also discusses the traditional agricultural and irrigation practices in the *taluka*, which provided the necessary economic support to the villages. In this case Canacona *taluka* offers an example of subsistenance economy without much tradeable surplus of agricultural crops. The picture however changed with the advent of the Portuguese and better agro-technological practices.

Further an attempt has been made to include information collected through field visits for a scientific understanding of the bio-anthropological and the cultural interactions which have helped to give the present shape to Canacona's society as can be seen from Appendix 6 and 7.

From the pastoral society the settlers made a transition to primitive form of agriculture, mostly in the hilly areas.

Chapter III provides a historical background of the ancient and medieval history of the *taluka*. The original settlers – the *Kunbis, Velips* have been identified as proto-Austroloid people. The origin of the institution of *Gaonkaris* could not be accurately traced but the system of common lineage known as *vangod* shows that the first settlement in the *taluka* might have belonged to the proto-Austroloid *vangods*. Subsequently other communities were also integrated in this system. The system of *kumeri* cultivation in the *taluka* practised by the *Kunbi* community has been discussed in detail.

The *taluka* was ruled for unknown period of time by the feudatories of imperial Mauryas. Subsequently with the demise of the Mauryan empire, the Satavahanas established their powerful presence in southwestern India. The Maurya power in Karnataka passed on to the Satavahanas. It appears that the Chutu dynasty might have ruled Canacona region from Banavasi. They had extended their rule over Shivamogga, Karwar and Dharwar districts. Chutu coins are well known in Karwar and on neighbouring west coast. Archaeological evidence of the rule of Chutus has been found from the residents of Talpona and Panasulem area of Canacona from where a hoard of some Chutu coins was found.

During the first century A.D. the political scenario was confusing as the Kuras of Kolhapur, the Maharathis and the Chutus were struggling to dominate each other. After the demise of Satavahanas, the Chutus gained power in the South-west India. Evidence of Satavahana influence has been found in Goa at Chandor. This chapter provides the Satavahana influence on trade, religion and culture in Goa. The Satavahanas gave liberal patronage to Buddhism. It is possible that the use of iron plough might have been popular during that rule. The worship of Naga images and mother goddess became popular during the Satavahana period. Although historians have mentioned the extension of rule of the Konkan Mauryas over Goa between 525 A.D. and 566 A.D. It is difficult to establish their influence in Canacona *taluka*. However, another dynasty that is Bhojas of Chandrapur has left behind enough archaeological evidence such as royal charters mentioned in this chapter, which shows that they were controlling the large area comprising Goa and Karwar.

Bhojas ruled for nearly three centuries and boosted the commercial activities. The trade routes of Goa with the hinterland might have developed during their rule. The cultural influence of Bhojas of Chandor has been referred with special reference to the worship of Shaivaites and *vedic* gods and goddess. Sun worship was popular during the Bhoja rule. The folk theatre performance of *Perni Jagor* must have got popularity during Bhoja rule; especially, through the use of costumes by the folk.

The Banavasi Kadambas might have had confrontations with the Bhojas of Chandor during the 6th century, as their borders were touching South Goa. Although there is no mention of the rule of Banavasi Kadambas over Canacona *taluka* in the 6th

century, it can be inferred that there were definite commercial and cultural contacts with Banavasi region.

The Chalukyas of Badami dominated Konkan region for two hundred years. This chapter also discusses the cultural influence of Chalukyas of Badami, specially the worship of Narayana, Kartikeya, Vamana, Trivikrama and the *Saptamatrikas*. The worship of Lord Ganesha was extremely popular during their rule. Rashtrakutas of Malkhed succeeded this dynasty in 753 A.D. There were three houses of Shilaharas – North Konkan, South Konkan and Kolhapur. South Konkan branch of Shilaharas ruled over Goa as feudatories of Rashtrakutas from 765 A.D. to 1015 A.D. This chapter discusses the etymology of the capital of this branch Valipattan. The location of Valipattan is not accurately known but it has been suggested that it could be in South Goa. The cultural impact of this branch is seen in the worship of Mahalakshmi and Bhagavati. The South Konkan Shilaharas came to an end with the foundation of the Goa branch of Kadambas of Banavasi.

The history of Goa Kadamba dynasty is presented and also its cultural impact. Kadambas of Goa established *agraharas* and *brahmapuris* in Goa. They brought Narasimha worship to Goa. They left their cultural impact in Canacona *taluka* in the form of the worship of Damodar and Narasimha.

The Kadamba rule was followed by a period of political anarchy. The prime minister of the Hindu empire of Vijaynagar, Madhav Mantri, crossed Kali river and captured Goa in 1366 A.D. A regional headquarters was established at Chandragutti and the entire region from Konkan to Mangalore was brought under the sway of Vijayanagara. Between 1470 and 1473. the Bahamanis fought to capture the west coast from Vijayanagara emperors. Ultimately they succeeded in 1473. In 1481 the Vijayanagara rulers made an attempt to capture Goa which was unsuccessful. The Vijayanagara rulers had taken keen interest in the social and religious interests of their subjects. Many local persons were appointed as *Nayaks* and *Dandanayaks*. In 1489 Yusuf Adil Khan – the commander of Bahamanis, declared independence and established the Adilshahi dynasty at Bijapur. He later extended his rule to Goa along with Chittakula that is Sadashivgad. Canacona remained in a state of political flux from the commencement of Adilshahi rule till the surrender of the *taluka* to the

Portuguese in 1763. These 274 years of political isolation have given a different flavour to the society and culture of Canacona as compared to other *talukas* in Goa. The culturally and socially advantageous aspects of the medieval period have been explained in the subsequent chapters.

The next two chapters discuss the impact of different dynasties on religious precepts and practices in Canacona. The first evidence of proto-religious beliefs in the *taluka* has been traced to the *Kunbi* festival of *dhillo* or *dhinlo*. A detailed description of the performance has been given for the first time to provide a glimpse of the ecological and cultural importance of this festival which might have Mundari influence. Comments have been made about the worship of earth goddess and festivals like *dhalo* devoted to the feminine divine element. The festival of *dhalo* has been identified as an important cultural heritage of the *taluka* which maintains family and community ties and fosters a feeling of sisterhood among women in the villages.

Snake worship and ancestor-worship rituals, that are performed in the *taluka* have been described in detail and have been compared to similar rituals elsewhere in the world. Both these rituals clearly show the nature of original cultural matrix of Canacona *taluka*.

The primitive settlers made transition from hunting to pastoralism. The impact of this transition has been identified with *goravam padvo* − the festival of cattle worship. This festival shows the remarkable continuity of Canacona culture from the pre-historic period.

The female goddess Sateri assumes different forms popularly worshiped in Canacona. These include Navadurga, Mahamaya, Mahalakshmi, Bhagavati, Aryadurga, Dakkhan Devta, etc. It is very clear that the Chalukyas of Badami, popularised Durga and the South Konkan Shilaharas popularised the worship of goddess Bhagavati. Both these forms of Sateri are very popular in the *taluka*. The tradition of *Sati* has been discussed with reference to the *Sati* stones found in the *taluka*.

The male deities include Betal whose theogony and iconography have been discussed. Special reference has been made to four images of Betal at Poinguinim, Loliem, Cola and Chapoli. The Goa Kadamba period coincided with the tremendous popularity of *Nath* cult. Adinath was very popular among *Nath* cult in the 12th century in Goa. There is an Adinath shrine in Kindlem ward and at Matavem in Cola village. The impact of *Nath* cult in the Canacona *taluka* is briefly discussed. It has been pointed out that the *taluka* is very close to Kadre, which is the biggest centre of *Nath* cult in tea whole of South India.

Mallikarjuna is a very popular deity in Canacona *taluka*. The origin of worship of this deity and the legends and rituals associated with this popular form of Shiva have been discussed. Special emphasis has been given to *Viramel* and *Shisharanni* which are unique rituals in Goa. Special mention has been made about the cross-cultural appeal of this cult among the *Kunbi* community as well as the Maratha class.

The cult of Parashuram is associated with the import of Sanskrit influence on West coast. Legend of Parashurama is very popular in Canacona *taluka*. There is a shrine of Parashuram located in Poinguinim. The rituals associated with this temple are discussed. Culturally, another interesting tradition in the *taluka* that is the reading of a historic scroll or *tako* unique in Goa is described. It offers useful insights into various cultural influences behind this ritual. *Gadyam zatra* is another interesting festival which shows traces of primitive tribal initiation ceremonies.

Most of the monuments of architectural merit are temples and *math* (monasteries). The smaller shrines do not posses a distinct architecture. Temples with square plan are commonly found in Canacona. There are no caves or shore temples. The Partagali *math* is a well-known religious monument in the *taluka*. Various features of the local temples such as *Nandi, Kalas, Tulashi Vrindavan, Dwarapal, Dipasthambha, Tali, Agrashala, Kothi* have been discussed. A reference has been made to the mosque in Canacona.

Details of the history, architecture and rituals at Partagali *Math* are provided elsewhere.

These chapters discuss the great diversity of performing arts in the *taluka*. On the basis of intensive field work a classification of performing art forms has been given. A list of 41 well-identified folk performing arts has been provided. A map depicting the popularity of several of these art forms has been included. All this forms original and new knowledge base spotlighting rich cultural heritage of the *taluka*. One of the most ancient performing art form a folk dance drama – *Perni Jagor* has been discussed in detail. Among the other forms, rich information has been provided about *Kalo* or *Sankasur Kalo*, *Chowrang Gudulya Parab*, folk dances such as *Talgadi* and *Tonaya mel* and *Goph*. Feasts and festivals reflect the socialisation instincts of the folk. These are listed and described according to the Hindu calendar. Festivals associated with the major temples in the *taluka* are separately listed in a table according to the Hindu religious calendar.

The Portuguese annexed Canacona to their *Estado da India* in 1763 – 64. Chapter VII discusses the impact of the Portuguese colonial rule on Goa and the *taluka's* participation in Goa's struggle for freedom. It discusses the impact of the Portuguese Republican rule on Goa with reference to promotion of education and social reforms. Rajaram Rangaji Painginkar initiated the movement of Gomantak Maratha Samaj on 2nd October 1910 in order to eradicate the system of *devdasi* or 'temple servants'. The Chapter outlines the participation of freedom fighters of Canacona *taluka* in Indian and Goan freedom struggle. Canacona *taluka* experienced direct impact of the border blockade in 1954. A number of *satyagrahas* were launched on Canacona's border between 1954 and 1956. The last phase of Goa's freedom struggle is culminated into 'Operation Vijay'. The events at Anjidiv island are presented in this chapter.

The most important aspect of the Portuguese annexation of Canacona *taluka* was the impact of Christianity. There was no mass conversion like that of which took place under the force of inquisition in the 'Old Conquest'. Christianity in Canacona *taluka* was mainly due to migration of Christians from other parts of Goa including the island of Anjidiv and *talukas* like Salcete. Chapter VII discusses several aspects associated with the impact of the Portuguese colonial rule on Canacona *taluka*, such as the caste system, musical tradition, food habits, dress, etc. The Portuguese civil

code benefited all the communities in the *taluka*. Portuguese introduced a variety of coinage and improved the roads in the *taluka*. Post and telegraph facilities were extended in 1844. Better shipbuilding techniques, printing technology, import of useful foreign crops such as cashews, pineapple, have been cited as some positive aspects of the Portuguese rule. However, there was a lack of artistic freedom and suppression leading to exodus of large number of artistes from Canacona *taluka* to places like Mumbai where they made their living became famous. Examples of such eminent emigres include personality like Pandit Govindrao Agni and Anjanibai Loliemkar. Without political and social freedom all the perceived benefits of the Portuguese rule were not welcomed by the people of Canacona who desired to be integrated with India. Their aspirations found expression in the long fought freedom struggle.

Since it is not possible to present the cultural heritage of all the seven villages in the *taluka* in an intensive manner a representative village Loliem famous for its historical, archaeological and cultural resources and traditions was selected. This village was extensively studied and the results are presented in the chapter VI. It highlights the findings of archaeological and socio-cultural investigations. This village has about 20 temples, eight *math* and six community centres of different castes and community groups. It has 62 Hindu shrines and an independent church and three chapels.

This chapter for the first time highlights the various origins of the village name Loliem. The topographical and ecological aspects of the village are then presented. The village has seven wards and different types of land, estuaries, hilly area and a coastal strip.

The cultural resources could be traced back to microlithic period. The presence of Ganesha idols in the village shows the antiquity of its cult of worship. Detailed description is provided of the images of Vishnu, Brahma, Mahadeva, Aryadurga, Damodar, Shankarshem, Bhagavati, Betal and Dadd. There is a very interesting group of Dakkhan devtas. These are Shaivite goddesses probably associated with the influence of *tantric* cult in the village. References are made to

Maruti temples and other minor shrines. The roof-slabs of many temples are influenced by the Kadamba school of architecture.

There are megalithic monuments in the village as well as a highly ornamented Kadamba period hero-stone. Both these memorials represent the continuity of ancestor and hero-worship traditions. The Mulvir stone tablet near Keshava temple is remarkable, because it stands as a guard post probably erected to mark the entrance of the village. The sacrificial place of Shankarshem is mentioned along with its legendary background. The data on different deities in the village is tabulated to throw light on the associated communities and festivals. For the first time, the tentative period of different images of the village has been determined from the iconographic style considering the rich cultural resources dating back from pre-historic period. Loliem village fulfils the criteria of a micro-historical cultural resource centre as established in this work.

The Epilogue outlines the more recent historical developments transforming the society and culture of the *taluka*. The political events associated with the Opinion Poll influenced the *taluka*, which opted for Goa's merger with Maharashtra. The elections to village *panchayats* and Goa Legislative Assembly opened new opportunities for the socially backward classes. The agricultural reforms liberated the *mundkars* or tenants from economic insecurity. The *kumeri* farming practice was discouraged by the State Government to save the forestland. A sanctuary was established in the *taluka* to protect the forest and wild life. However, these developments could not solve the problems of alternative employment to *kumeri* farmers and the rehabilitation of people affected by the establishment of Cotigao wild life sanctuary. This was the beginning of social unrest among the forest-dwelling *Velip-Gaonkar* community. It attracted the attention of activists outside the *taluka* and slowly many more agitations took place. These have been described in the chapter.

The spread of mass-education in the Canacona *taluka* was a positive development, which led to great cultural revival. At present educational facilities are available from pre-primary to graduate level. There is a good network of cultural clubs, sports clubs and *mahila mandals*. Special festivals, competitions such as folk dance, folk music, folk drama, *bhajan* and classical Marathi dramas have provided

vast opportunities to the artistes in the *taluka* to show their talent. This is remarkable transformation against the background of centuries of cultural stagnation.

The women in the *taluka* have better access to education and health facilities and many are participating in the local political process. Canacona also had its share of controversies related to the issue of development versus environment. Some of these controversies such as the Xendrem controversy regarding a private health resort and a fight of local toddy tappers against five-star hotel project. The concerns over Kaiga Nuclear Power project, pollution due to a private alcohol production unit have been highlighted to show how political sensitisation in a liberal culture empowers the newly educated people to fight for social and environmental justice. Interestingly, the people of the *taluka* fully supported the Konkan Railway project and opposed the agitation in other parts of Goa regarding realignment of Konkan Railway route.

The chapter gives some idea of ongoing developmental processes in the *taluka*, which is slowly industrialising. The coastal belt has been attracting more tourists, which may show its own impact on the local culture in future. There is positive boost in agriculture, animal husbandry and fisheries, which is likely to raise the income levels of the local people. A new corridor of development has been opened linking Hubli-Karwar region to Canacona *taluka*, mainly because of the developments like opening of the Konkan Railway. The Kaiga Nuclear Power project and the Sea Bird naval base under construction. All these events are likely to launch the culturally resourceful Canacona *taluka* on a new road of development in future. This chapter provides only a glimpse of the forces of transformation, which may decide the way the society and culture of Canacona would be shaped in the twenty first century.

EPILOGUE

Canacona *Taluka* at Crossroads(1961-2001)

After its liberation, the military commander of the expeditionary force, 'Operation Vijay,' was appointed as the Military Governor of the territory of Goa, Daman and Diu. It was only on 8th June 1962 that the first civilian Lieutenant Governor, T. Shivshankar, was sworn in. Subsequently, with the 12th Amendment to the Indian Constitution in 1962, the liberated territories of Goa, Daman and Diu were integrated with the Indian Union and included in the first schedule of the Constitution as a Union Territory. A twenty-nine member informal Consultative Council was also formed on 24th September 1962 in order to run the administration. The first *Gram Panchayat* elections were held in this Union Territory in October 1962, and the first general elections to 30 Legislative Assembly seats (including two seats for Daman and Diu) and two Parliament seats were held in December, 1962. The Canacona *taluka* was divided into eight *Gram Panchayats* consisting of elected members, varying from five to nine depending upon the total population of the *Panchayat* area. Similarly, the *taluka* had one seat in the Legislative Assembly (*vidhansabha*) and was included in the Mormugão (South Goa) constituency for Parliamentary elections. The *Gram Panchayat* was based on a single tier *Panchayat Raj* system being one unit of democratic decentralisation at the village level[1] according to the Goa Daman and Diu Village Panchayat Regulation, 1962. This single tier *Panchayat Raj* system has been recently changed into two-tier system, that is *Gram Panchayat* and *Zilla Parishad*.

About 1962 some pro-Portuguese and anti-democratic elements have caused dynamite explosions in Canacona. Similar explosion were also experienced in the port city of Mormugão.[2]

The Political Scenario

During the post-liberation period two major local political parties, namely, the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party and the United Goans Party, were formed in addition to the National Congress Party. All these three parties remained very active in the first general elections for the Legislative Assembly in Goa. However the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party (MGP) had its staunch hold in Canacona right from the beginning. Altogether four candidates out of three representing the MGP, United Goans (UG) and National Congress and one independent candidate contested the first election in which the people of Canacona overwhelmingly favoured MGP candidate. It was an interesting contest for it was the first democratic process to elect the representative of the *taluka* for participation in the administration. This time out of a total of 12,764 voters, 9,135 cast their vote. The trend in favour of MGP continued in the next four general elections held in the year 1962, 1967, 1972 and 1977. Thereafter the political situation changed and people favoured the same candidate of 1977 in the election of 1984 who contested under Congress Party (Urs) which was subsequently changed to Congress Party (I). Statehood status was given to Goa in 1987 and since 30th January 1989, the *taluka* has been divided into the two constituencies of Canacona and Poinguinim for sending representatives to the legislative assembly of the state of Goa.

Let us now comment on the socio-cultural as well as economic changes that Canacona has experienced since Liberation and review the popular reaction to development issues in the *taluka*.

Spread of Mass Education

In the past, sporadic attempts had been made to run Sanskrit *pathashalas* and a *Brahmapuri* (at Loliem). On the eve of Liberation, there were only a few primary schools in the *taluka* with Marathi medium schools being run by local voluntary organizations.

Radical changes occurred in the *taluka* in the field of education after 1916. This is evident from the literacy rate which was 7.35 in 1910 (13.4 in males and 1.30 in females)[3] and had remained almost the same till Liberation, and radically changed to 57 in 1991.[4] Soon after the liberation of Goa in 1961, the territory was thoroughly reviewed based on the recommendations of the Jha Committee. All possible facilities of primary, middle and secondary education were provided by the government in the *taluka* to meet the demands of the local people. Primary schools were opened almost in every ward of villages. Such schools were managed in private buildings and houses since no government-owned buildings existed at the initial stage. However, later all the schools were provided independent buildings. Similarly the earstwhile primary schools were upgraded in order to provide facilities of middle and secondary level education. During the year 1975, the government opened a higher secondary school in Canacona in addition to some government high schools. Today there are 76 primary schools, 7 middle schools, 5 high schools and one higher secondary school run by the government.[5] Besides non-government orgainsattions run one full-fledged college of arts and commerce established in 1993, one higher secondary school, nine high schools, one middle school and one primary school. In addition to these schools, the government of India has established a Navoday Vidyalay in 1986, in which facilities upto higher secondary education is provided. There is also an Industrial Training Institute run by the state government. According to educational statistics, altogether 8037 students, inclusive of 4210 boys and 3827 girls, were enrolled in primary, middle and secondary schools. They included 1684 students from Other Backward Classes (OBC), 39 students from scheduled castes (SC) and 3 students from scheduled tribes (ST).[6]

Besides the facilities of formal education, a few training classes in Indian classical music are also run. In fact the Kala Academy Goa had opened a regional music centre in the *taluka* in July 1981 to impart training in Indian classical vocal and instrumental music. However after thirteen years the centre was closed down in 1994.[7] A local cultural organization, the Swarabahar Sangeet Kendra, continued the classes at Nagarcem and Poinguinim taking into consideration the need of the local youths.[8]

The Bal Bhavan Board, the national level institution founded to act as an informal medium to discover creative potential of children in the fields of art, science and culture, has also opened a centre in Canacona in Nagarcem in July 1988. It set up a sub-centre at Agonda. Previously similar sub-centre was also extended to Poinguinim for about three years. Children between the ages of 5 and 16 years avail of this opportunity to receive instruction in music, dance, drama, craftwork, etc.[9]

Socio-Cultural Transformation

The working class communities of Canacona came into contact with the modern civilisation only with the Portuguese conquest and their colonial rule for about two centuries. The contact with the Europeans, and especially the Goan converts, resulted in a process of socio-cultural transformation in this region. This change has been further accentuated after the liberation of Goa when massive economic programmes were implemented. This process of socio-cultural transformation is still in progress due to the changing patterns of community life in Canacona.

Cultural Stagnation

Prior to the liberation of Goa, most of the communities in Canacona were mainly outside the ambit of systematic education and urban life. Hence they remained as unlettered or little lettered inhabitants of the villages. However, various traditional arts, more distinctly the folk arts, were maintained in a fluid tradition without the aid of professional teachers or artistes.

The village temple festivities *(zatra)* did include traditional art, for example the *bhajan and kirtan*, which are devotional music forms and the *kalo, khell* and *natak* etc. or the folk performing tradition. Various feasts, which have been described in chapter IV, gave ample scope to these performing art forms of music, dance and drama. *Shigmo, dhalo* and *dhillo* were the major festivals which provided an unique platform for cultural manifestations of both men and women.

However, during the colonial rule, the entire society was forbidden from free and frequent manifestation of these cultural expressions. Most of the performances required prior approval of the local administration followed by a strict vigil on the part of the Portuguese administration. As a result, this situation led to a sort of cultural stagnation.

Cultural revival

With the liberation of Goa and spread of education and material development, people were left with ample opportunities to foster cultural activities. As a result, a number of socio-cultural organisations were set up in the entire *taluka*. During the first decade of the post liberation period the *taluka* witnessed cultural propagation. From then onwards most of the wards in every village held cultural activities including the traditional music like *suvari*, dance such as *fugdi* as well as semi-classical or light classical music like *bhavgeet, abhang, natya-geet*, dramas (*natak*), etc. Local art-lovers came forward and established many socio-cultural organisations through which they fostered cultural activities. While organising independent cultural programmes, they also encouraged people to continue their age-old traditional arts through various activities of a competitive nature. These socio-cultural organisations include cultural clubs, sports clubs and *mahila mandals*. Most of these organisations duly registered or affiliated to government departments also obtained financial grants, which helped in fostering and promoting various art forms and the creativity of the people. Further it helped in creating awareness of various arts, giving them opportunities to view, study, understand and imbibe them by raising the artistic and aesthetic sense of the people.

The whole process led to a cultural transformation by way of exchange at *taluka*, state, national and international levels. Special festivals, competitions of folk dance, folk music, folk drama, *bhajan*, classical Marathi musical dramas, etc., provided new opportunities for the people of Canacona during the post-Liberation period. Occasions like state and regional level folk dance, music competitions of the Kala Academy, the Directorate of Sports and Cultural Affairs, etc., provided the artistes with an unique

opportunity for interaction with artistes of other states and countries and thereby to enrich their artistic sense and also the art forms. *Mahila Mandals* also availed of facilities of participating in numerous cultural events at the *taluka* and state levels. A few of them, Asha Mahila *Mandal*, Indravado, Gaondongri, participated in national events such as *Apna Ustav* (National Cultural Festival), held at New Delhi and Mumbai in the year 1985 and 1989 respectively.

Some groups of male folk dancers such as Amonem Lok Kala *Mandal*, Poinguinim Gopalkrishna *Mandal*, Paingin Multipurpose Association have consistently participated in inter-state cultural events and travelled across the length and breadth of the country. On selection by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) a 17 member folk dance group from Poinguinim, viz., Amonem *Lok Kala Mandal*, participated in the Festival of India in U.S.S.R. in 1987.[10] Organisations like Paingin Multipurpose Association, Mand Sammel, etc., have received financial grants from government agencies like the West Zone Cultural Centre, Udaipur, to launch their project of preservation and promotion of rare folk performing art forms. A few group performances staged by Paingin Multipurpose Association, Komarpant *Sangha*, Gopalkrishna *Mandal* Agas, etc., were awarded cash prizes by the Kala Academy in the 1970s and thus received encouragement through state level events. A group of folk dancers of leading cultural organisations like the Paingin Multipurpose Association was deputed by government to Madras to represent Goa. It won the third prize in the folk dance category at the all India level in the year 1975.[11] The prize-winning groups were selected by the government agencies like the Kala Academy for presentation of their shows in the state.

All such encouragement and patronage provided a great impetus for promotion of various art forms. These art forms were also influenced by cultural influences from other states and could not remain aloof from the influences of modernisation and commercialisation. In face of the onslaught from the tourism industry, the local culture is being affected by the demands of consumerism. Thus, though local artistes like the *Lok Kala Mandal*, Nuvem, Paingin Gopalkrishna *Mandal*, who also stage regular performances in hotels and restaurants have been supported by the tourism industry, it

has been, more often than not, at the cost of authenticity. All India Radio and Doordarshan have also provided opportunities to some folk performing groups to record and broadcast and telecast their performances. It was a totally new field for the local artistes which proved to be the best medium to reach to the masses. This has also benefited the artistes financially, by way of remuneration and honorarium.

Development of a Sports culture

Though the traditional games and amusements were kept alive at the local level, the people of Canacona also availed of the facilities to develop their skills in national sports such as football, *kabaddi, kho-kho*, cricket, volley-ball and so on. During the post-Liberation period a number of sports clubs and organisations were set up to promote the all-round development in the field of sports and games. According to a recent survey, more than twenty-five sports clubs exist in the *taluka*[12]out of which a few are very active as far as regular activities are concerned. However, the fact remains that every village has sports events organized by local clubs. On few occasions these sports clubs also collaborate with other cultural organisations in hosting socio-cultural activities in the localities and thus promote cultural activities in the *taluka*. Some sports organizations, such as, Maxem Cricket Club, Paingin Multipurpose Association used to organize state-level sports events as co-organisers along with government and semi-government agencies and also secured championship titles in games like *kabaddi*.

RDA's role in rural empowerment

The Rural Development Agency (RDA) has so far spread its activities in the *taluka* by providing technical knowledge and skills to various professions such as tailoring, motor-driving, typing, Indian classical vocal music, cooking, etc. The agency has conducted classes for various disciplines in different localities by accommodating a minimum of 20 and a maximum of 50 trainees in each class. According to a survey conducted by the RDA, altogether 68 tailoring classes, 13 motor driving and 11 music classes have been conducted by the year 1998-99.

Under the schemes of the Development of Women and Children in Rural Area (DWCRA) altogether 31 groups (each group of 15 women) availed of the existing loan facilities for the manufacture and sale of food items such as *papad,* pickle, etc. During the period 1991 to 1995-96, over six thousand smokeless *chullas* were supplied in all villages.

Development of Infrastructure

Soon after the liberation of Goa, the Public Works Department witnessed a phenomenal growth of public works not only in providing large-scale employment to the available local as well as outside labour but also in initiating socio-economic changes for a better and mote progressive life in the *taluka.*

During the post-Liberation period various developmental activities were undertaken which included the construction of a bridge on the National Highway that had been blasted by the Portuguese troops in 1961, and also other roads, buildings for departmental divisions such as the office of the *Mamlatdar,* Block Development Office, Village *Panchayats* hospitals, health centres, public schools, police stations, electricity department, public godowns, cold storage, fishing jetties, etc.

The roads in the *taluka* cover a total mileage of 262.60 kms. out of which 160.60 kms. roads are water bound. In addition to this there are unsurfaced roads which constitute 52.50 kms. of motorable roads and 25.50 kms. of unmotorable roads. Most of these roads are constructed by the Directorate of Panchayats. The construction work also includes bridges, culverts, drains, etc. Besides drinking water wells, toilets (*sulabha shauchalayas*), construction of houses for the poor, community halls, etc., are undertaken in the *taluka* under various government schemes such as *Indira Awas Yojana,* Public Health Engineering, Milian Wells Schemes (MWS), Operation Blackboard, Village Housing Project Scheme (VHPS) etc. Thus, various schemes of assistance are being implemented during the post-Liberation period for the upliftment of the poor. So far, t

the end by the year 1998-99, more than 100 houses have been constructed for people living under the poverty line.

Under the integrated rural development programme (IRDP), the government has provided financial assistance for the purchase of work animals, milch animals, purchase of bullock-carts and cross breed female calf rearing. The total number of beneficiaries during the period of 1995 – 1999 is about 220.[13]

Impact of Industrial Development

Goa's pre-Liberation economy was initially based on the export of mineral ore and import of foreign goods. As such there existed no industrial climate or an industrial culture.[114] Canacona region also never sustained big industries but was basically operating village industries dependent on agro-economic products such as coconuts, rice, cashew, sugarcane and also on fish. Threatened with emigration on account of economic stagnation, the diversification of industry slowly started. The manufacturing industries remained less mechanised such as rice and flour milling, coconut oil crushing, cashew and palm juice distillation and also cashew nut industry. The common man's preoccupation is still largely with cultivating the land, fishing and distillation of liquor.

This *taluka* received the benefit of industrialization as late as in 1984 when the Goa Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) set up an industrial estate in the *taluka* in an area covering 1,43,310 sq. mtrs. Industrial development is multidimensional. If the partnership between the entrepreneur and various developmental agencies support each other then the results are always successful.[15] The IDC has carved out sixty plots to accommodate small, medium and large-scale units with various amenities in a well-planned layout and congenial atmosphere out of which altogether 41 plots are allotted to industrial units that are in production. This includes electrical and electronic components, fishnets, distillation of molasses, blending and bottling of country liquor, electrical and diesel generating sets, batteries, electrical transformers, aluminium and copper spares for fishing boats, extraction of cashew nut oil, rubber moulded products, films, freezing of sea-food, acid slurry, industrial wrappers, diamond cutting tools and polishing, provisions

like bread, biscuits, cakes, *papad*, mosaic tiles and so on.[16] The IDC has taken care while selecting the site of the industrial estate, which is very close to the National Highway–17. Similarly the Konkan Railway station is at a distance about 3 kms. Hence this industrial estate is accessible by rail with the rest of India. Besides basic amenities like water supply, power, urban infrastructure, communication facilities are also provided to the production units. The industrial estate is a completely new experience in this region. It has also provided employment opportunities to the local youth. There are plans to hasten the industrialisation of Canacona and accordingly another industrial estate very close to the Konkan railway tract is taking shape at Kulati near Talpona port in Ponguinim village covering an area of about 22 lakh sq. mtrs.[17]

The Department of Industries and Mines also encourages self-employment and environmentally friendly industries that generate employment. Various facilities and incentives have been provided to entrepreneurs. Nylon fishing nets, coir defibreing, ready-made garments and such other industries has been encouraged during the last three decades. Taking into consideration the vast scope for coir industry in the *taluka*, the hereditary coir artisans were motivated as well as other interested candidates were provided training facilities which resulted in the setting up of independent coir units in this region. A common service facility carpentry centre was set up in Loliem village to encourage and facilitate the traditional craftsmen and artisans in this locality.

The growth of small-scale industrial units in Canacona has shown encouraging results. The latest figures include 37 food product manufacturing and processing units, 14 units manufacturing beverages, 15 units of wooden products and furniture, 7 units of leather products, 8 units of non-metallic mineral products and 18 units of metal products and parts. Altogether 122 units, including other type of small industries, exist in the *taluka*.[18]

Agricultural Reforms

In Canacona, there existed a class of people who have traditionally been owners of land. The system of *kull* cultivating the owner's land on his behalf existed in the

taluka. In this system the *kull* was given a proportion of produce in return for looking after the owner's property. This system was even applicable for small landowners.

Soon after Liberation, a movement in favour of land reforms started spreading amongst the cultivating class. The first farmers' conference was held on 18th August 1962 in Goa which was presided over by the renowned socialist leader, Mohan Dharia. At this Conference, issues such as the *Mundkar* Act, *Kull Kaido* and *khand* (proportion of agricultural produce) to be given to the owner were discussed.[19] Subsequently, plans were drawn for the development of the agricultural sector along the lines prescribed by the government of India. As the first and foremost step in this direction, the local government passed the *Kull Kaido* in 1964.[20] The Act was promulgated with two main objectives, firstly, the fulfillment of promises given to the people during the pre-independence period. Accordingly, it was intended to provide assistance to shape the society on a socialistic pattern adopted by the country. Secondly, to encourage the tenant to produce more by adopting all possible modern methods. Whilst the first objective has been achieved, there seems no sufficient awareness among the *kull* to increase agricultural production.[21] Due to the new land reforms under the tenancy legislation enforced by the government many upheavals are seen in the region under study. On account of the *Kull Kaido,* the entire rural life has been affected. In the long run this has hastened the decline of traditional land-owners, on the one hand, and the agricultural produce has also not shown any distinct increase. The Canacona *mamlatdar* had received 1967 applications to register *kull* out of which 1904 applications have been finalized. Since the process of issuing *sanad* is a lengthy one, only 19 *sanads* have been issued as on 30th June 2000.

The major impact of agricultural reforms is seen on *kumeri* farming. The *kunbi* population of Canacona sustained this kind of farming from ancient times. Since the land of *kumeri* farming was owned by the government, about two hundred *kunbi* families from Gaondongri and Cola villages requested the government to award them official *sanads* pertaining to the land that was being traditionally cultivated by them for generations to grow fruits such as coconut, mango, jackfruit, cashew as well as grains and pulses like rice, *ragi, vari*, pigeon pea, sugarcane, yam, sweet potato, black gram, horse gram and seasonal vegetables such as pumpkin, bottle gourd, cucumber and melon. During the

period between 1960 and 1970 all the requests from about two hundred families from this *taluka* were considered favourably and *sanads* were issued. However, on account of an increase in nuclear families, there was a demand for fresh allotment of land to each family. Thus, about four hundred and fifty families applied to the government which unofficially awarded the tenancy of a plot of land of about 2 hectares to each family.[22] However, the central government issued an ordinance of reserved forest in this region and advised the State Government not to allow any activities in the notified forest area. Despite this ordinance, the local *kunbi* cultivators continued their activities. However, the state government neither pursued the matter with the central government nor prohibited the local cultivators. By the end of 1984, number of families demanding *sanads* increased to about one thousand. All these families made illegal encroachments on land owned by the government and continued their demand for the award of *sanad* which is the legalisation of land records. Out of about one thousand and odd applications of the *kumeri* cultivators so far 209 cases from Cola have been processed by the office of the *Mamlatdar* of Canacona to the State Government for favourable consideration. Some thirty families of Badsarem area in Gaondongri village have filed a suit in the Court against the State Government, the decision of which is awaited. Due to the new trend of land reforms, the number of *kumeri* cultivating families is increasing day by day.

According to the Goa, Daman and Diu Agricultural Tenancy Act 1976 (Act No. 17 of 1976), all the rights, titles and interests of the landlords regarding the land held by the tenants are vested in them against the payment of the purchase price as prescribed in the Act fixed on the basis of fair rent being collected by the landlords. This Act also gave protection to tenants of coconut, areca nut and cashew nut gardens.[23] This provides *kull*, *mundkars*, agricultural labourers and village artisans with better protection against eviction from their dwellings and also granted them the right to purchase houses with the adjacent site where such houses have been built.[24] An Act for providing relief from indebtedness to agricultural labourers, small farmers and rural artisans is also in force.

In order to achieve the objective of increase in food production, various measures have been adopted such as minor irrigation, soil conservation and introduction of high-

yielding varieties of seeds, plant protection, extensive use of fertilisers, waste land cultivation, subsidies and loans to farmers, irrigation projects, supply of pump sets, etc. During the post-liberation period, farmers from Canacona lacked adequate irrigation facilities. The traditional systems such as tanks, wells, streams and *bunds* were not sufficient to meet the requirements of the land. Though the *taluka* is gifted with adequate rainfall, the bulk of water is drained into the Arabian Sea. A very small volume of the total surface water is utilisable because of topographical difficulties such as the existence of hill ranges, steep slopes and inundation of a sizeable area by rainwater and also seawater during the monsoon season. Hence, the government took up minor irrigation schemes such as construction of tanks, wells, tube wells, *bundharas* and lift irrigation. The Talpona and Canacona (Chapoli) minor irrigation projects have provided irrigation facilities to the *taluka*. The Talpona project catered to the needs of the cultivators on a smaller scale, while the Chapoli minor irrigation project which was approved by the government in 1986, at an estimated cost of Rs. 3.40 crores, attempts to optimise the use of water resources in the *taluka*. The actual work on the dam started in 1989 and the project was completed in 1999. The main catchment area of the dam is 3.63 sq. kms. with an additional catchment of around 3.20 sq. kms. The live storage capacity of the dam is about 1000 hamts which envisages irrigating 550 hectares of command and 15 MLD for drinking and industrial water supply. Considering the features of this project it is the largest irrigation project in the *taluka*.

Fisheries

On the eve of Liberation, fishing operations were restricted to non-mechanised vessels. However during the post-Liberation period there has been a proliferation of mechanised trawlers. Under various schemes of the government more than fifty fishermen from this region have benefited by becoming owners of trawlers during the last decade. Besides cash subsides are offered to local fishermen for purchasing nylon nets. Other facilities include group insurance schemes construction of shades for knitting nets at Nuvem, Saleri, Agonda, Palolem, Kindalem in addition to the future plans for such building at Galgibag and Talpona.[25]

Forestry

The third important occupation in the region is forestry. Canacona has a geographical area of 34,736 hectares out of which 41.25% is covered by moist mixed deciduous forest, sub-tropical hill forest, semi-evergreen forest and also estuarine vegetation of mangroves along swampy riverbank mainly at Maxem. Moist mixed deciduous is the main type of forest which occurs in the *taluka* around Tudal, Bhutpal and Ardafond and sub-tropical hill forest is formed due to *kumeri* cultivation. Semi evergreen and the moist deciduous forest occur at Nadquem and Bhutpal.

After the liberation of Goa, the government forest department had undertaken activities of conservation of flora and fauna, afforestation of degraded forests through various developmental schemes such as soil and water conservation, protection of forests and meeting the demands of the people. These development schemes provided new employment avenues to the local population. In fact the cash transaction among the *kunbi* community became energetic in this region only after the implementation of various schemes of the forest department. Prior to that barter exchange prevailed. Protection activities were intensified with the enforcement of the provisions of the Indian Forest Act, 1927, and Prevention of Trees Act, 1984. Simultaneously, many welfare schemes were also undertaken by the forest department. These schemes included fuel wood supply, people's nursery, rehabilitation of degraded forests, compensatory afforestation and other schemes of the development of Western *Ghats*.[26]

Forest Development Programme

The afforestation scheme is introduced and implemented by the forest department in partnership with the people since 1997-98. Afforestation is in progress on three hundred hactares of land in the Gaondongri and Poinguinim villages. The choice of trees to be planted was done in consultation with the local people to fulfill their local needs for firewood and small timber. It is a five years' project for planting of 2.5 lakhs saplings by providing employment opportunities for 350 persons.[27] Under the Western *Ghat*

Development Programme soil and water conservation in forest areas and forest plantations is undertaken to avoid heavy erosion, biotic interference, fire hazards, over-grazing and improper land use. Similarly, social and farm forestry, people's nursery and such other schemes have given impetus to the conservation of forests in the *taluka*.

The establishment of wildlife sanctuary

A wild life sanctuary is set up in Cotigão village for the proliferation of animals and plants living therein by ensuring that the habitat is not damaged. Initially it was set up in an area of 105 sq. kilometers however by the end of 1999 the area was restricted to 86 sq. kilometers.[28] Due to consistent efforts of the local inhabitants, some settlements were excluded from the notified area.[29] The people had argued that these lands had been their traditional habitat and that these were still being cultivated by them and hence should be denotified. Under the wild life management and research component, cleaning and improvement of water holes, construction of seasonal ,bunds (*bandharas*), check dams are also done and during the last ten years very encouraging results are shown. Under this programme cane and medicinal plants are also raised. Thus these activities have certainly affected the life of the local people. Accordingly, different developmental schemes have benefited the people, the setting up of a wild life sanctuary has generated a problem of rehabilitation of around 34 families.[30] The eco-tourism wing of the forest department provides rudimentary facilities to eco-tourism in Canacona. This department has its rest house available on rent and also six nurseries at Poinguinim, Ozrem, Condimol, Cotigão, Ponsorem and Pissonem.[31] It is also noteworthy that there has been a considerable increase in the area under cashew cultivation which is one of major cash crops of this region.

Having discussed the socio-cultural and economic development that have taken place in Canacona since 1961, it would be pertinent to now analyse the nature of the local reaction to development issues and local concerns.

Students' Movement

The students' movement had contributed a lot to the changing socio-cultural face of the younger generation of the *taluka*. The students' movement began in 1978 under the aegis of All Goa Students' Union in Margão and spread to Panaji and other towns and villages of Goa. It was a sort of psychological revolt of the younger generation to free themselves from 'political slavery.' Till 1978, Canacona was considered as the fort of the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party – the ruling political party of Goa and hence a majority of the students and their parents were devotedly working for that party. The agitation undertaken by the Students' Union for fifty per cent concession in bus fare for students spread in Canacona within no time as the *taluka* was economically backward. Besides most of the student activists had a family tradition of fighting against the Portuguese colonial rule. The culture of revolt that travelled through generations from the time of Goa's struggle for liberation played an important role. Students from all over Canacona, in general, and from Loliem and Poinguinim in particular, remained in the forefront of the student agitation which had taken place in this *taluka* from 1978 onwards. It might have happened because the schools, especially from Loliem and Poinguinim villages, had not only imparted the syllabus-oriented education to the student community right from the pre-Liberation period but they were inculcated a sense of responsibility, social awareness and civic sense. They had a great concern for the society and a fighting spirit in defence of their rights and to further social justice.

The mass student movement provided new outlets for many students from Canacona to make their impact in the socio-cultural field, either as activists, leaders, writers, performers, journalists or as silent and committed sympathisers of the social cause. In fact, many students turned out to be orators during the students' movement. It was probably the impact of the oratory skills developed by their teachers during their school-education. In fact, students from Canacona excelled not only in elocution competitions, folk dance competitions, story-writing and telling, poetry, one act plays and so on, but became indispensable orators for several meetings held during the student

movement. These students provided much confidence to many more students, doing away with the inferiority complex that they suffered from due to their economic backwardness.

The students' movement had a far-reaching socio-cultural impact due to their agitations related to various aspects of Canacona, like illegal deeds of politicians, such as deforestation, negligence towards educational facilities, setting up of five star hotel of Seema Hotels Private Limited in Agonda causing serious threat to ecological balance and also the traditional occupation of the local population, and other issues.

The street theatre, which emerged nation-wide in the 1980s as the 'third theatre,' also paved its way in Goa. Again the youngsters and students from Canacona remained at the forefront to take this experimental theatre in the streets to the people by establishing an independent statewide unit namely *Sangharsh Natya Manch*. The students' movement gave birth to the first students' monthly called *Udent*[32] which served as forum to several talented young writers from Canacona to give exposure to their reports, features, investigative articles, research-based write-ups and also creative literature such as stories, poems, essays and other forms of literature. It proved a kind of literary and cultural movement amongst the younger generation which promoted socio-cultural consciousness.

Opposition to Alien Influences and Capital

The Xendrem controversy – a case study

A project namely, M/s. Shah Nature and Health Project Private Limited, was proposed by Dr. Manasukhlal Shah and Dr. Helene Shah, of Indian Kenyan and Canadian origins, respectively, at Xendrem beach in Loliem village in the year 1985. Both of them ran the Woodville Clinic of naturopathy, osteopathy and acupuncture at Bexhil in England. Since they were keen to set up their dream project of naturopathy and health resort, they explored many sites in different countries and thought that the Xendrem

beach site would be the most appropriate one.[33] However, while procuring the land, gross manipulation of rules was committed by government officials favouring the Shah couple in granting licenses to their health resort. The Shah couple, taking advantage of favouritism displayed by the district collector, closed the traditional access to the Xendrem beach which was the basic right of the local population and also annexed about 1,60,000 sq. mtrs. of land belonging to the Loliem *comunidade* to the landed property already purchased by them.

The people of Loliem realised the doubtful origin of this health project after a no objection certificate was issued by the Loliem *sarpanch* for the construction of a compound wall that resulted in the closure of the traditional pathway. Subsequently, the no objection certificate was revoked by the Village Panchayat on public demand and the whole controversy started.

While going through the background of the project it was found that the naturopathy clinic at Xendrem had been brought by a Mumbai real estate agent, Navin Patel, for M/s Canacona Beach Resort in 1984. Mansukhlal Shah entered into a partnership with Navin Patel, Shailesh Patel and Bharati Patel of M/s Canacona Beach Resort so that they could buy additional land at Xendrem. The government records state that M/s. Canacona Beach Resort bought altogether 2,10,000 sq. mtrs. of land at the cost of Rs. 2.71 lakhs. It included 74,000 sq. mtrs. under survey no. 344/1, 53125 sq. mtrs. under survey no.332/1 and 82,825 sq. mtrs. in no. 332/2. In the month of May 1984, Helene Shah entered the partnership. Manasuklal Shah was also provided loan and investment facilities under the NRI (non-resident Indians) scheme though he was a British National.[34] Thus they paid for the land at the rate of 73 paise per sq. mtr. Even by Canacona standards the beach property was then priced at the rate of 10 to 15 rupees per sq. mtr.[35] The Shah couple then demanded a resurvey of the entire adjacent area, with the district collector inspite of the fact that the 116 years old survey records existed.

On the last working day of the then district collector of south Goa, he confirmed his order gifting the Shah couple a resurveyed area of 3,69,552 sq. mtrs. - almost 1,60,000 sq. mtrs. more than what they had bought.[36] Similarly, the then Chief Secretary

of Goa recommended Shah's proposal for government subsidy through the Economic Development Corporation stating that the project was located in a backward area which would help to improve the ecology of the area and would generate tourism by bringing in the right type of tourists to Goa and thereby the people of Goa would also benefit from the culture of health care. Based on this the project was granted 25 per cent government subsidy[37] on Rs. 42 lakhs loan and the Shah couple invested only Rs. 15 lakhs in the project which was almost the equivalent to the government subsidy.

In the meanwhile, the local sarpanch and his deputy were suspended by the district collector and subsequently both were reinstated by the governor of Goa. Since the local people doubted the working style of the Shah couple, a Citizens Action Committee was formed in 1985 which decided to fight against the deprivation of traditional access and illegal grabbing of *comunidade* land. This committee continued the agitation for about three years and finally succeeded in clearing the traditional access to the Xendrem beach with the support of the Freedom Fighters' Association of Goa.[38] Due to the continued agitation of the people of Canacona, the Government appointed an one man inquiry commission consisting of the then Chief Secretary, on 14th June, 1988. The report of the enquiry dated 21st December 1988 had highlighted various issues so that the government could consider the matter in its totality and in the correct perspective. The inquiry report confirms that additional land admeasuring 1,59,552 sq. mtrs. belonging to Loliem *comunidade* was grabbed by the Shah couple and hence the Citizens Action Committee demanded that the aforesaid additional land be taken by the government and handed over to the *comunidade*.

In the meanwhile, the Ministry of Defence informed the State Government that the Indian Navy was setting up its third base, namely, Sea Bird, at Karwar. The proposed site of the Naval base was about 17-18 kms. from the proposed site of M/s. Shah Nature and Health Project at Xendrem. The Ministry of Defence was apprehensive that the proposed health resort may in the future pose a security hazard to the naval base at Karwar as it would be quite possible to use the resort as a base for espionage and subversive activities. The Ministry, therefore, was of the view that no private

beach/health resort/hotel should be allowed to come up within 75 kms. of the Sea Bird naval base at Karwar. In this connection, the Ministry had also received several reports and asked the government of Goa to look at the issue from the national security angle.[39]

Similarly, the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of India had also contacted the State Government as regard the matter pertaining to the Shah Nature and Health Resort with the State Government and wanted its specific comments on whether the use of the property would not result in the future use of that property by foreigners for undesirable purposes. Subsequently, the then naval Chief of India, on his visit to Goa, had publicly expressed his unhappiness at the setting up of a health-cum-hotel project at Xendrem since it involved security risk.[40]

The security angle was considered by the government of Goa at the initial stage of the setting up of the project and accordingly the then Lieutenant Governor had directed that "a watch will have to be kept on the activities of the Shahs in the interest of the State's security so long as they hold foreign passport and a regular report will have to be put up in this regard."[41] However, based on the views expressed by the Ministry of Defence and Home Affairs, the Citizens Committee demanded that the Xendrem project be scrapped and gave an ultimatum to the State Government to clear the traditional access to the Xendrem beach latest by 17th June 1989,[42] failing which they would restart the agitation on Goa Revolution Day. Accordingly, the agitation started again on 18th June and the pathway was cleared. However, the matter was referred to the Supreme Court which passed the judgement to refer the matter to the district and civil court and the civil court subsequently dismissed the case. Subsequently, the cost of the project was reviewed to Rs.121 lakhs in 1993 and was submitted to the Economic Development Corporation of Goa for a loan of Rs. 80 lakhs which was considered favourably. However, Dr. Helene Shah expired on 5th October 1988 and thereafter, Dr. Manasukhlal Shah also expired in May 1998. The so-called Nature and Health Resort is still existing in an incomplete state looked after by the legal heir of Dr. Manasukhlal Shah.

The Xendrem resort controversy showed the importance of new issues generated by tourism in the *taluka* and indicated that the local people were not prepared for a foreign culture shock under the influence of money and hence had resisted the project. The Xendrem case offers a benchmark for subsequent agitations in the *taluka* involving issues like culture versus development (tourism) environment versus development (Konkan railway), environment versus industries (M/s Penguin Alcohols case), which show that political and social empowerment of people in free Goa has indeed led to a vocal civil society in the *taluka*.

Toddy-Tappers' Fight against a 5-star Hotel Project

Altogether 52 families of toddy tappers from the Agonda village fought a legal battle against a 5-star hotel project set up by the Mumbai based M/s Seema Hotels and Resorts Limited. In 1981, twelve landowners of Agonda sold their land to M/s Ilbi Duggal Engineering Private Limited, New Delhi. It was on the beach having vast coconut plantation which provided livelihood to 52 families by way of their traditional profession of toddy tapping and distillation of palm-toddy.

All the toddy tapper families were deprived of undertaking their traditional profession since the ownership was transferred to the management of the hotel project. The aggrieved families filed a legal suit against the hotel and demanded that they be allowed them to carry out their profession as in the past. The legal fight continued for a long period and in the meanwhile the construction of the hotel building was completed. Till the judgement was passed by the court, altogether forty families faced serious difficulties and lost their traditional occupation. The High Court ordered a ban on the construction and also reinstated the previous status for the toddy-tappers' families to maintain their occupation. This successful fight of the poor toddy-tappers' families was the result of new land reforms.[43] It also represents the local people's increasing anger against the government's virtual *carte blanche* to big hoteliers to grab Goa's coveted coastline.

Similarly, the people of the Rajbag locality protested against another enterprise, M/s. Diksha Holdings Private Limited, based in New Delhi, that was interested in starting a hotel project at the Rajbag seashore in the *taluka*. The Goa Foundation, a non-government organization, filed a lawsuit against the entrepreneur alleging destruction of natural sand dunes and other natural wealth leading to ecological imbalance. The Goa Foundation brought to the notice of the High Court of Judicature at Bombay, Goa Bench, in 1998 that the Rajbag area of Canacona is designated as Coastal Regulation Zone-I (CRZ-I), which is not a development zone up to 500 mtrs. of high tide line (HTL). However, the hotel has been granted permission to raise its resort in the 200 to 500 mtrs. zone, which is full of natural sand dunes. Thus, it violates the Environment Protection Act 1986 as well as the Coastal Regulation Zone notification dated 19th February 1991 and its subsequent amendment. The Goa Foundation has appealed to the court to halt the ecological degradation of the environment and to formulate and implement programmes for the rehabilitation and development of the Goan environment and to restore ecological balance. Besides the local people have their own grievances. However, the main complaint of the residents is that they are deprived of their legitimate traditional access to the seashore, especially during the annual festivities when the palanquin of God Mallikarjun passes the site for ceremonial ablution at the sea. Since the access has been bracketed by the entrepreneur, the legal fight still continues.

Konkan Railway in Canacona *Taluka*

The new Konkan railway has proved to be a boon to the people of Canacona. The Railway commences at kms. 468.8 (from Roha station in Maharashtra) that is at the beginning of Barcem tunnel and ends at kms. 487.11 at the centre of Mudgeri tunnel at Goa's southern border. The length of the railway in the *taluka* is 18.31 kms. built at the cost of Rupees 90 crores and the estimated cost was Rupees 47 crores.[44] The work on the project was started in Canacona in January, 1992, after the land was made available and the first train ran in this region in June, 1997. Thus it took approximately five and half years for the work to complete.[45] The station in the *taluka* is at Chaudi, 32.8 kms. from the Margão station and the train takes about 35 mintues to reach Canacona from Margão.

The distance between Canacona and Karwar station is 25.75 kms. and the train requires 30 minutes to reach there. Besides the existing station there is also a provision for another station to be set up at Loliem in the future.[46]

The Konkan Railway had high embankments and deep cuttings in this *taluka*. The longest tunnel is 3.34 kms. long, while the other tunnels are at Nagorcem, two tunnels 126 and 280 mtrs. long, and Loliem which is 836 mtrs. long. The Mudgeri tunnel which is 835 mtrs. long falls partially in this *taluka*. There are two important bridges namely, Talpona and Galgibag, on the respective rivers having a length of 146 and 176 mtrs. respectively. Besides other smaller bridges are also built on the railway tract. Roads under bridges have been provided for National Highway – 17 at Canacona. All road crossings have been provided with either a road over or road under bridges in the *taluka* and there exist no level crossings.[47]

People of Canacona were highly supportive of the Konkan Railway and had opposed the anti-Konkan Railway agitation that took place all over Goa during the initial years of railway construction. Some of the landowners had given their consent for carrying out work in the land even before the formal acquisition of land for the railway had taken place. The project was supported wholeheartedly by all sections of society in Canacona.[48] Presently the travelling public can easily realise how fast, cheap and comfortable travel has become on the Konkan Railway.

Till the commencement of the Konkan Railway project in Canacona, it remained a distant dream as the physical features of this coastal strip, criss-crossed by hill ranges and rivers, trenches, faced too many problems of trade, communication and industrialisation. Due to the Konkan Railway project in this region, the dream of fast and comfortable communication, industrialisation and trade is slowly turning into a reality. Although backward, this area has immense potential for speedy development in terms of human and material resources. Due to this project it is reasonable to expect that the material wealth, especially the forest wealth, can be tapped on a much larger scale

besides improving the quantum of industrial production for it provides easy links to other centres of economic activity.

While constructing the railway tract a minimal impact on land use patterns has been made. In order to avoid damage to the ecological balance near the coast, strip plantations all along the embankment has been undertaken. The project line has provided a high-speed railway link between Canacona and the rest of the country and hence provided an impetus to eco-tourism in the *taluka*. Although development, as envisaged in the *taluka*, is slowly resulting in increased economic activities and rise in employment potential, it is certainly enriching the quality of life of the local people. Thus, at the initial stage, the Konkan Railway has proved to be a harbinger of economic growth and social advancement.

On the other hand, some people had to face the damage of their houses which was compensated adequately by the Konkan Railway. During the period over 5-6 years of construction of the railway line, the influx of labour from other parts of India overcrowded this region.

Whereas in the coastal *taluka*s of Goa, agitations were carried out to force realignment of the Konkan Railway route, the people of Canacona *taluka* accorded welcome to the project even at the cost of damage to property.

Kaiga Nuclear Power Plant

Another controversial issue that attracted the attention of Goans in general and the people of Canacona in particular was the Kaiga Nuclear Power Plant situated at about 75 kms. distance from Canacona. It happened due to the movement initiated by eco-friendly activists of Karnataka and Goa against the setting up of the nuclear power project at Kaiga.

The government of India accorded its sanction in June 1987 for the construction of twin units nuclear power station at Kaiga with a capacity of 220 Mwe each at the cost of Rs. 2590 crores.[49] Kaiga is situated 56 kms. east of Karwar and 13 kms. upstream of Kadra dam on the left bank of Kali river in the North Kanara district of Karnataka. In 1986, when the project was taken up, there was a big hue and cry. People of Karnataka and Goa staged agitations in protest against the project. Nature lovers and eco-friendly people, led by the eminent artiste, K. Shivram Karanth of South Kanara district, T. Shivaji Rao from Andhra Pradesh and other local personalities, demonstrated against the proposed plant. They were supported by the people of Canacona. Kaiga, being located in a heavy rainfall area and in a zone prone to earthquakes, triggered the opposition to the project in the initial two to three years.[50]

The nature lovers and agitators of Canacona region opposed the project on two major points - the release of radioactive gaseous and liquid effluents and deforestation of the evergreen forest lands of Kaiga. The government had acquired land of 120 hectares for the construction of the reactor plant building.[51] According to the information available with the Nuclear Power Corporation, the Kaiga project displaces only 85 families to the nearby specially planned village of Mallapur for housing the displaced families. While defending the people's protest the government announced that "the nuclear power is an environmentally benign source as it does not contribute either to global warming or acid rains. However, nuclear power plants do release radioactive gaseous and liquid effluents and dispose solid wastes in small quantities when compared to thermal stations, the quantities of waste are far lower."[52] Hence, a continuous monitoring of the external radiation field around the periphery of the power plant is done to confirm that the radioactive materials emitted from the plant are well within the specialised limits.[53] The government is also undertaking different measures like ecological studies, generating awareness among the general public, sample testing of drinking water, air and food, river weeds and sediments goat's thyroid for detection of iodine and so on.[54]

According to the Nuclear Power Corporation, the Kaiga Nuclear Power Plant has been designed to operate with minimum radiation exposures and maximum capacity

factors. Its indigenously designed and built control room is the first of its kind in the country and an epitome of India's excellence and self-dependence in the area of nuclear power generation.[55]

The first of the twin unit of Kaiga Atomic Power Station attained criticality on 24th September 1999 and it was dedicated to the nation by the Prime Minister of India on 5th March 2000. It is also planned to launch the construction of two more units of 220 Mwe capacity at Kaiga in the near future.[56] The electricity generated in the plant is supplied to the southern grid to meet the demands of power consumption of south and western India.

Though agitations took place in Canacona to create awareness against the atomic power project and several public meeting were held in the *taluka*,[57] with the passage of time the resistance cooled down and the issue was forgotten on account of short public memory.

Kulatim Industrial Estate

During the year 1998-99 another controversy cropped up regarding the selection of new industrial estate in the *taluka*. A site was already selected and demarcated in the locality called Kulatim, Talpona, in Poinguinim village. However, due to some vested political interests, an idea of substituting the proposed site was initiated. The idea was strongly opposed by the people of Talpona, Galgibag, Muthal, Sadolxem and Ponguinim. Considering the public opinion and also the government investment on the proposed site, the idea of changing the site was dropped and ultimately the controversy ended.

Penguin Alcohols

An independent unit, namely, Penguin Alcohols, was set up in the Canacona Industrial Estate by a private enterprise in 1995. It is a production unit of alcohol by distillation of molasses and bottling as Indian Made Foreign Liquor (IMFL). The unit

started its production in 1995. However, the waste was not disposed off by reactor treatment. In the absence of a biological treatment plant, the management of Penguin Alcohols started disposing off the waste by throwing it away at various places. As it was in liquid form, it penetrated nearby wells and rivers. As a result drinking water was adulterated. This health hazard irked the residents who protested against the industrial unit and obstructed their tankers carrying waste material. They also demanded the installation of a biological treatment plant for the scientific disposal of the waste. It was repulsed by the state administration. However, due to consistent protests of the local residents, the Anaerobic Biodigestor was installed by the management of Penguin Alcohols and the controversy was put to rest.

The case studies cited in this chapter indicate the strengthening of the Canacona society in terms of its awareness about political, social, human rights which is remarkable for a backward *taluka* that had been neglected for years.

The post-liberation socio-cultural transformation in the *taluka* has created a politically ambitious class. With the empowerment of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Class (SC/ST/OBC) and women the forces of change have gone beyond class or caste structures which had remained untouched till Liberation. New developments like the Konkan Railway, coastal tourism and new industries and the closely located Karwar port/naval base area are likely to substantially alter the cultural and social equations in the *taluka* in the new century.

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22. Vasu Paik Gaonkar, *per. com.,* 1999. Vasu Gaonkar is a former Member of the Lagislative Assembly of Goa (MLA) from Canacona who also served as Cabinet Minister of Goa state.

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50. Vasudeva Bhat, *Kaiga-2: One more Landmark in India's self Reliance Nuclear Power Generation*, hand out of Press Information Bureau, Government of India, dated 11th October 1999.

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53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*

55. Vasudeva Bhat, *op.cit.*, p. 2.

56. *Nuclear India*, vol. 33/no. 11-12, May-June 2000, p. 1.

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The thesis has made use of fieldwork carried out in Canacona at sites of archaeological significance and sources of oral traditions. About fifty visits were made to all seven villages during the period from 1996 to 2001, more than hundred monuments were photo-documented and about four hundred people were interviewed on different aspects of local history, language, customs, manners, rituals, food, dress and costumes, arts, crafts, architecture, music, folk dances, folk songs, folk plays and many other forms of oral history and collection of indigenous knowledge of cultural traditions. This information on various cultural genres has been analysed and presented in the form of various lists, tables and photographs in the present work and it forms the core of the pre-Portuguese historical period discussed in the thesis. Such fieldwork has been attempted for the first time in the Canacona *taluka*. Oral history has also been recorded and analysed for the Portuguese period (1763-1961) with a view to assess the impact of the colonial rule on Canacona.

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Appendix 1
Classification of arts and crafts according to the material

Sr. No	Material	Type of Art/Craft	Local name of Art/Craft	Local name Artisan/ Craftsma	Main products	Prevalence	Remarks or Status
1.	Clay/Mud	Pottery Model ling	*Kumbar-kam Murti karap Murtikar*	*Kumbar*	Pots Utensils Lamps Votive Figurines Idols of various deities	Common	Restricted
2.	Fibre [tree,straw, cotton,coir]	Weaving	*Shel volop* *Sumba volop* *Dori volop*	*Shelkar* *Sumbakar*	String rope and some products made out of string and ropes like *danvem* (tither) *zablo* [net] *coblem* [net] *gofin* [sling]		Restricted
3.	Wood carvings of all types	Utensils tools furniture carving	*Mestakam*	*Mesta*	Agricultur al tools like plough, pots, household furniture like stands frames chairs tables, platforms cupboards , hangers, shelves,	Common	The art of mask making is in an endanger ed condition

					objects of sports and games and folk dances like masks, sticks, *mantap, rath* (car), *palakhi and* musical instruments		
4.	Bamboo	Wicker work weaving craft work	*Velam vinap*	*Mhar*	Utensils specially made for agricultural work Decorative craft work	Common	
5.	Cane	Wicker work weaving craft work	*Betkam*	*Betam vinpi*	Utensils and decorative craft work	Rare	
6.	Stone	Engraving modelling	*Datim karap Murtikar*	*Datem karap Vanam* karap	Threshing and grinding stones	Rare	At the present, some families undertake the job for a short period and go on moving elsewhere
7.	Beads and bangles	Bead work	*Pidduko ani Kankana karap*	*Piddukakar Kansar* or *Valar*	Garlands or beads of different colors and also glass bangles of	Restriced	Due to rapid modern isation the tradit ional jewellery

					different designs Local seeds namely *Gunji(Abr us pre catorius* are used in the) preparation of garlands		is being substitute d by plastic and imita tion jewellery
8.	Metal	Casting vessels	*Aidana karap Autam karap*	*Kansar or Aidankar*	Utensils, lamps tools, weapons	Restricted	A few settled families are avail able at present
9.	Paper	Drawing painting,	*Chitravap*	*Chitrakar* or *Rekhpi*	Mytholo gical paintings and drawings	Rare	
10	Natural pigments /paints	Graphics	*Rekhap*	*Chitrakar* or *Rekhi*	Temple graphics	Rare	Besides the various traditiona l designs, mytholog ical drawings are made on inner walls of temples and churches
11	Leather	Leather work	*Jotim karap*	*Chamar*	Sandals shoes belts, bags	Restricted	
12	Cotton	Embroi dery	*Bharatkam* or *Nakshikam karap*	*Bharapi*	Scarf, table cloth, sari overcoat	Restricted	

13	Leaves	Wicker work	*Shenryo Manjryo* vinap	*Manjri vinpi*	Mats *ghudmbo*	Restricted	
14	Straw	Wicker work	*Sanni vinap Sanni bandhap pisondi karap*	*Sannikar/ Pissondik ar*	Brooms	Restricted	
15	Flowers	Flower decorat ion	*Fulam gathap*	*Fulkar /fulkann*	Garlands and bouquets	Common	

Common   : Many families in the *taluka*   [75 to 80%]
Restricted   : A few families in the *taluka*   [10 to 20%]
Rare   : A few individuals   [2   to   5%]
Endangered   : 3 to 5 persons in the entire *taluka*

Appendix 2

Crafts work/Utensils used in Canacona *Taluka*

1. Cane, Bamboo, Straw, etc.

Item/Object	Common English term	Purpose/Use
Dali	Basket	Temporary storage of grains
Chepem	Cap	Protection of body from hot sun
Chalan	Extractor	Extraction of grains
Hatari	Medium mattress	Drying of grains
Khanvem	Small mattress	"
Kadattar	Big size mattress	"
Kado	Storing mattress	"
Vallo	Big basket	"
Valli	Small basket	"
Sup	Winnowing fan	Winnowing
Supli	Small size winnowing fan	"
Sankshi	Kind of basket with lid	Storing
Ayano	Fan	Ventilating
Pantali	Big basket	Storing
Pidli	Store basket	"
Chobo	Carry-basket	Carrying things
Buti	Big size basket	"
Khontlo	Medium size basket	"
Vajem	Load carrying basket	"
Kanno	Storing basket	Carrying things and storing
Petaro	Storing basket	"
Virlem	Net type basket	For protection of grains from cattle
Kurpano	Small basket	Storing and carrying
Manjri	Mattress made of leaves of the coconut tree	For sitting and sleeping on the front
Shenri	Mattress made of palm leaves	"
Sann	Broom	Sweeping

Pisondi	Small and delicate broom	"
Lhavyan Khutaro	Rough broom	"
Satli	Umbrella	Umbrella

2. Earthenware

Hando	Big size pot/vessel	Storing water
Bhan	"	"
Madki	Midium size pot	Fetching and storing water
Kulane	Small pot like pan	Cooking
Kail	Frying pan	Frying
Tawali	Pan	A lid on another pot
Maiti	Bowl-pan	Cleaning of fish and grains
Kadem	Cyllindrical pot	Storing
Fad	Pot	"
Kolso	Midium pot	Fetching water
Budkulo	Small pot	Cooking
Damne	Pan type pot	Toddy collection
Lavani	Medium pot	Distillation of alcohol
Bhati	Big pot	"
Mogo	Mug	"
Divaj	Cluster of oil lamps	Lamp on religious occasions
Panti	Small oil lamp	Lamp
Chidki	Small pot	Offering to women on religious occasions
Dhupatne	Censer	Creation of smoke of frankincense
Ghode	Motif figures of horse	Offering it to deity
Ghumat	Pot open with two ends	Musical instruments

3. Wooden utensils

Don	Big cylindrical pot	Storing of salt and other saline articles
Ruko	Medium cylindrical shape pot	Preparation of curds, buttermilk and storing.
Kadem	"	Storing

Kolmi	Flat vessel	Drinking water for cattle
Van/Khod	Pot hole	Pounding
Kolmul	Small pot	Cooking preparation
Ravi/Khavlo	Churner	Churning
Kanan	Pestle	Pounding
Lat	Pounding/watering device	Pounding & watering
Pat/Manay	Flat stool	Sitting
Payali	Measure of grains	Measuring of grains
Kudav	"	"
Pad	"	"
Atvo	"	"
Annato	"	"
Ginnato	"	"

4. Metallic utensils

Loto	Pot	Storing of water
Chambu	"	"
Kansandi	"	"
Tambayo	"	"
Galasare Tambo	"	Storing & carrying of water
Kolsuli	"	Fetching of water
Kolso	"	"
Ghagar/Shidi	Vessel	"
Dod	"	"
Bhan	Big vessel	Storing of water/cooking
Hando	Big vessel with handle	"
Toplem	Medium vessel	"
Thali	Small vessel	"
Thal	Medium vessel	"
Topul	Small flat vessel	"
Top	Flat vessel	"
Ghangal/Pachandi	Conical shaped vessel	"
Tatli	Small plate	Lid
Tat	Plate	Dining
Parat	Big plate	Serving & storing
Thali/Shibi/Mad	Vessel	Storing
Chamcho	Spoon	Serving food

Davl	Medium size spoon	"
Davlo	Big size spoon	"
Huruli	Oval shaped vessel	"
Vanako	Cup with big handle	"
Dai	Flat spoon	"
Hatho	"	"
Sanankando	Oval shaped vessel	Cooking rice/bread
Khalbato	Small mortar & pestle	Pounding spices
Zari	Small sieve with handle	Deep frying
Zaro	Big sieve with handle	"
Kayl	Big frying pan	"
Lokhne	Medium frying pan	"
Elapyam tavo	Frying pan with groove	"
Bidem	Flat frying pan	"

5. Ritualistic utensils

Panchapatra	Small cup	Achman ritual
Padgo	Pan	"
Chipat/Pali	Spoon	"
Tabkadi	Flat pan	Placing of flowers and other Ritualistic articles
Niranjan	Small oil lamp	Offering lamp to deity
Divli	Lamp stand	"
Ekarat	Flat lamp	Waving of lamp to deity
Pancharat	Cluster of five flat lamps	"
Dhuparat	Small pan with handle	Waving of frankincense
Ghant	Bell with handle	Offering puja
Sand	Grinding plate	Making paste of sandal wood
Gandakandi	Piece of sandalwood	"
Gopichandan	White clay piece	Applying on body
Lamandivo	Hanging oil lamp	Offering lamp to deity
Sarmali	Hanging series of lamps	"
Nandadeep	Permanent oil lamp	"
Kalpanchi	Oil lamp along with container of oil & spoon	"
Asan	Stool	Placing deity on it
Mandap	A small wooden frame work	"

6. Stone Utensils

Datem	Hand mill	Grinding grains
Girad	Large hand mill	"
Fatar	Wet grinder	"
Van-Ragdo	Wet grinder	Grinding
Khalbato	Big mortar with pestle	Pounding foodgrains

7. Weapons

Tarasad	Sword	Attacking enemy
Bhalo	Spear	"
Dhanusya-Bana	Bow-arrow	"
Patto	Steel belt	"
Nincho	Dagger	"
Kanjir	Dagger	"
Banduk	Gun	Attacking enemy and killing of animals
Gofin	Sling	Throwing stones to drive away animals and beasts

8. Jewellery (Gold and Silver)

*Sarpali	Chain	Ornament to be worn around the neck
*Shedo	"	"
Mal	"	"
Kanthi	"	"
Mangalsutra/Mani	Chain with black beads and a gold knob	"
Daul	Chair with black beads and a gold knob	"
Har	Chain with miniature decoration	"
Gathalem	Chain with coins and beads	"
(Povnachem)		
Galashiri	Chain	Ornament to be worn around the neck
Mohanmal	Chain with golden beads	"
Bormal	Chain with jubebe like leads	"

Ved	Flower shaped ornament	Ear ornament
Pake/Bugdi	Pin-typed ornament	Ornaments used in the middle and upper part of ear.
Karabam	Flower shaped ornament	Ear-ornament
***Bhikbali**	Ear ring with designs to be used in the upper lobe of ear Ear ring	
***Kana-bali**	Simple ear rings	Ear rings
Pili/Thiki	Pin with knob	Nose ornament
Nath	Pin decorated with flower shaped ornamentation	"
Vali	Pin-shaped ornament	"
Shakle	Pin with long knob	"
Got	Bracelet	Hand ornament
Patali	Flat bracelet	"
Todo	Flat decorative design	"
Kankanan	Bracelet with different designs	"
Bajuband/Vak/Bal	Armlet with ornamentation	Arm ornament
**Mudi*	Ring	Finger ornament
Valo	Anklet	Ankle ornament
Painjan/Ghagari	Anklet	"
Vede/Vedtanam/	Silver rings with simple	Ornaments for toes
Vednam	engravings	
Salam	"	"
Maso	Silver rings fixed with fish like design	"
***Gop**	Waist girdle or cord made of silver	"
**Mascot*	Chain	Waist cord

The above jewellery is used by women.
*   Also used by men
**Used only by men.

Instruments used by the Goldsmith (*Shet*)

Agtem	Fire pan	Heating to melt metal
Mus	Crucible	Melting the metal and shaping it
Airon/Kolkan	Anvil	Hammering the metal to shape
Kolmi	Wooden vessel	Store water for cooling down metals
Chimto	Pincers	Gripping tool
Gavi	Pincers	"
Nivalnem	File	Polishing
Martel	Hammer	Hammering
Rombo	Mould	Moulding gold and silver
Dirbo	Puncture	Puncturing
Tagdi	Balance	Weighing
Katar	Cutter	Cutting the metal
Dotir	Mould with a hole	Moulding of strings of different thickness
Fukani	Blow pipe	Blowing air to fire pan
Tutio	Hammer	Leveling of metal
Gavo	Pincers	Gripping
Zonkam	Measures	Measuring
Kakando	Cone-shaped stand	Shaping
Aita	Mould	Shaping
Sulki	Mould	Increasing or reducing the diametre of rings, bangles, etc.
Dhonakem	Polishing bow	Fine polishing of the product
Kharvot	Small saw	Cutting
Budhar	Moulding clips	Moulding metal

Appendix 3

List if Implements/Instruments used in Canacona

1. Implements of general use

Koyato/Koyati	Sickle	Cutting wood
Vilo	Crooked Sickle	Cutting grass and corns
Suri	Knife	Cutting fruits and vegetables
Adoli	Scythe fixed to wooden stool	Cutting vegetables, fruits and fish
Katnem	Spinner	Spinning of coconut and other fruits and vegetables
Shinne	Small scythe fixed to a stick	Plucking arecanuts and other fruits
Chinnakatne	Small spinner and cutter	"
Kudal	Hoe	Digging
Pankudal	Mattock with only flat blade	"
Pikas	Mattock with blade	"
Khorem	Curved spade	Digging out the clay on the surface
Kurad	Axe	Cutting and chopping wood
Khodni	Flat axe with curve	Making grooves in wood
Tasni	Flat axe	Leveling wooden planks
Pal	Scythe	Cutting wood
Bendullem	Crooked knife with pointed end	Extraction of parasitic plants from fields
Sul	Stake	Extraction of outer cover of coconut
Rapo	Small spear	Extraction of outer cover of arecanut
Paray	Iron bar with point and blade at either end	Pitcher
Lanvank	Long iron bar with pointed end	"
Shene	Small iron bar with pointed end	Breaking stones
Ghan	Big hammer	"
Hatodi	Small hammer	Hammer
Tutoyo	Medium hammer	"

Instruments used by the Carpenter (*Mesta*)

Kharvat	Saw	Cutting wood
Shidhya kharvot	Saw-key hole saw	Cutting wood in specific designs
Tasani	Slicer	Leveling wood
Kholasani	Flat axe with curve	Making groove in wood
Vinne	Firmer chisel	Cutting wood in designed shape
Chinnem	Mortia chisel	Grooving wood
Kisul	Plainer	Making the surface plain
Beto	Smoothing planer	Making the surface plain
Kudchi	Mallet/Wooden hammer	Hammering
Hatodi	Iron hammer	"
Girmbe	Drill	Boring
Girmit	Drill	"
Asani	Circular chisel	Carving
Outa	Zig-zag chisel	"
Garbin	Making gauge	Marking
Matlem	Tri-square	Cutting and fixing
Sulpa Matlem	"	"
Nisnem	Water stone	Sharpening instruments
Bidi	Carpentry clamp	Fixing joints
Pansal	Spirit level bottle	Leveling
Topan	Hand-drill	Puncturing
Gaiba	Gauge chisel	Making grooves
Bagi Baito	Adjustable plainer	Smoothing the surface

3. Instruments used by the Blacksmith (*Mesta*)

Bhato	Bellows	Forcing air into the oven
Airan	Anvil	Hammering metal
Tutio	Small hammer	"
Ghana	Big hammer	"
Katar	Cutter	"
Kharvat	Saw	"
Kanas	File	Polishing the metal
Tirvata	Drill	Drilling
Chimto	Pincers	Gripping the metal

4. Implements used by the Mason (*Gavndo*)

Pikandar	Small mattock	dressing stone
Bachi	Flat mattock	"
Thapi	Flat plate with handle	Plastering walls and

		placing the mortar
Chipni	Wooden plate with handle	Plastering
Olmbo	Plummet	Balancing
Kail	Carry basket	Carrying materials
Khorem	Hoe/Curved spade	Mixing
Patti	Flat staff	Leveling
Pansal	Mason's level	"
Matlem	Trisquare	"
Zali/Challan	Big sieve	Extraction/cleaning of sand

5. Implement used by the Cobbler (*chamar*)

Suri	Knife	Cutting
Ari	Blade with handle	Cutting in designed shape
Rampi	Flat rough blade with handle	Dressing the hide
Tutio	Hammer with vertical handle	Dressing and stitching hide
Oddni	Flat blade with long handle	Dressing the hide
Suel	Needle	Stitching the hide

Instruments/Objects used by the Fisherman (*Pagui-Gabit*)

Garoni	Nylon tag with iron hook and a knob of base mental	Angling fish
Paguir	Rounded net	Fishing
Jal	Net [nylon]	Fishing
Ponel	Small canoe	Fishing in shallow waters
Hodem	Medium size boat	"
Kul	Net or trap made of bamboo strips	"

Instruments used by the Toddy-tapper (*Render*)

Kati	Small and flat scythe	Cutting
Dudkem	Carrying mug	Collection of toddy
Damne	Flat earthern pot	Extraction of toddy
Mog	Mug	Transferring toddy and liquor from one container to another
Kolso	Earthern vessel	Storing
Gadgo	Small pot	"
Bhan	Vessel	"
Lavani	Big vessel	Distillation of alcohol
Bhati	Big vessel with	"

	long outlet	
Karbo	Vessel of glass or China clay	Storing
Shiso	Bottle	"
Pav	Small cup/bottle	Measuring
Arda-Pav	Smaller cup/bottle	"

Instruments used by the coconut and areca nut plucker (*Padeli*)

Akdi	Holder made of wood	Carrying the sickle while climbing up/walking
Koyti	Sickle	Cutting
Khadum	Ring made of coir-strings	Climbing up coconut and arecanut trees
Chapa	Marker	Marking the trees
Shinne	Small sickle tied to stick	Plucking arecanuts
Vilo	Crooked sickle	Cutting the cluster of arecanuts

Appendix 4

Hindu Surnames

Sr. No.	Surname	Etymology/Meaning
1.	*Acharya*	Perceptor or spiritual guide
2.	*Agni*	Probably those performing fire-rituals
3.	*Aiya*	Title given by the medieval rulers of Karnataka
4.	*Amshekar*	Hailing from Amshem village probably from outside the *taluka*
5.	*Arondekar*	Migrants from Aronda
6.	*Bale*	Migrants from Balli and Salcete area
7.	*Bande*	Bounded community
8.	*Bandekar*	Migrants from Banda region
9.	*Bhagat*	Shaman engaged by village communities
10.	*Baireli*	Residents of outskirts
11.	*Bhandari*	Distillers of wine (derived from Sanskrit word *mandharak*)
12.	*Bhat*	Priestly community
13.	*Bhat Fugro*	Pricots of a priestly family (suffix)
14.	*Boruskar*	Inhabitants of Borus ward
15.	*Chari*	Carpenters
16.	*Daikar*	Migrants from Dai ward of Balli area
17.	*Dalal*	Mediators
18.	*Delenkar*	Residents of Delem ward
19.	*Desai*	Administrative/revenue officer
20.	*Deshmugh*	Senior administrative/revenue officer
21.	*Devidas*	Temple servants
22.	*Dhuri*	Fisherman mainly engaged in knitting nets
23.	*Dudhalkar*	Resident of Dudhal ward
24.	*Fal*	Revenue collector
25.	*FalDesai*	Desai who were also entrusted with the collection of taxes
26.	*Fatarpekar*	Migrants from Fatorpa village
27.	*Fondekar*	Migrants from Ponda area
28.	*Gaitonde*	Probably denoting cow worshippers
29.	*Ganachari*	Head of *gana* or clan
30.	*Gano*	Community member
31.	*Gaondongarikar*	Resident of Gaondongari village
32.	*Gaonkar*	Original inhabitant of the village
33.	*Gayak*	Person of singer community associated with village temple
34.	*Ghadi*	Members of shaman community
35.	*Hegde*	Village headman or leader
36.	*Haldipurkar*	Migrants from Haladipur area
37.	*Joshi*	Soothsayers, priests hailing from the community associated with cremation rituals

38. *Kale*	Temple servants who play the musical instrument, *kal*
39. *Kalgutkar*	Migrants from Kalagut region
40. *Kamat*	Persons looking after the maintenance of embankments
41. *Kankonkar*	Residents of Canacona
42. *Kenkre*	Performers of religious rites
43. *Keni*	Village treasuerer; also an epithet of Kadamba period
44. *Khalvadkar*	Residents of Khalwadem
45. *Khandlekar*	Residents of Khandlem ward
46. *Kharalkar*	Inhabitants of Khargal region
47. *Kholkar*	Hailing from Cola village
48. *Kindalekar*	Residents of Kindalem ward
49. *Kinnarkar*	Migrants from Kinnar area
50. *Kolkonkar*	Hailing from Kolkon ward
51. *Kolsarkar*	Habitants of Kolsar ward
52. *Komarpaik*	Probably followers of Komar Sami, the Lingayat teacher, and later associated with local *Kunbi* deity, Paik
53. *Komarpant*	The later version of Komarpaik
54. *Konkar*	A suffix of Saraswat Brahman
55. *Korgaonkar*	Migrants from Korgaon
56. *Kudalkar*	Migrants from Kudal
57. *Kudaskar*	Persons migrated from Kudasem village
58. *Kudtarkar*	Migrants from Kudatari area
59. *Kulkarni*	Village scribe
60. *Loliencar*	Persons hailing from Loliem village
61. *Lotalikar*	Migrants from Lotulim village
62. *Magdalkar*	Residents of Magdal ward
63. *Mahale*	Headman of a ward of barbers
64. *Mesta*	Carpenters or blacksmiths
65. *Mhalashi*	Temple servants
66. *Mhale*	Barbers
67. *Mokhardkar*	Hailing from Mokhard ward – washermen
68. *Nagarsekar*	Inhabitants of Nagorcem area
69. *Naik*	Head of a clan
70. *Naik Desai*	Administrative head
71. *Naik Gaonkar*	Village head
72. *Namashikar*	'Nomoxim' holder
73. *Nayak*	Leader of a (Brahmin) clan
74. *Padval*	denoting a plant totem
75. *Pagi*	Fishermen
76. *Pai*	Derived from Shilahara term 'Aiyapa'
77. *Pai Bhatikar*	Pai families from Bhatem ward
78. *Pai Khot*	Pai who was entrusted with the duty of revenue collection
79. *Painginkar*	Habitants of Painguinim village
80. *Parwar*	A sub group of Mahar especially bamboo craftsmen
81. *Pawar*	A sub group of Mahar engaged in wicker work
82. *Pednekar*	Hailing from Pernem region

83. *Perni*	Temple servants who engaged themselves in performing acrobatics in the temple premises
84. *Phaldesai*	Desais entrusted with the work of revenue collection
85. *Phalgaonkar*	*Gaonkars* who were also associated with tax collection
86. *Pinge*	Derived from a *Brahmarshri* called Ping; a sub group of Karhade Brahman
87. *Prabhu*	Owner of the region or migrants
88. *Prabhudesai*	Term derived from land revenue management
89. *Prabhugaonkar*	Term derived from land revenue management
90. *Puranik*	Narrator of *Puranas* in temples and religious places
91. *Raikar*	Hailing from Raia area
92. *Rajadhyaksha*	Related to royal administrators
93. *Rane*	Probably related to Rana family of Rajasthan
94. *Rivonkar*	Migrants from Rivona village
95. *Salgaonkar*	Migrants from Saligaon area
96. *Satarkar*	Migrants from Sattari region
97. *Sawant*	derived from 'Samant' eans administrator (Chalukyan term)
98. *Shet*	Goldsmith
99. *Shet Desai*	Desais associated with trade
100. *Shet Gaonkar*	*Gaonkars* associated with trade
101. *Shenvi*	Village scribe
102. *Shenvi Gaitonde*	Gaitondes associated as scribe
103. *Shenvi Nagarsekar*	Nagarcekars associted as scribe
104. *Shenvi Rajadhyaksha*	Rajadhyksha associated as scribe
105. *Shirodkar*	Hailing from Shiroda village
106. *Sinai*	Scribes
107. *Sinai Agni*	Agnis probably associated with job as scribe
108. *Sudir*	Scribe
109. *Talpankar*	Hailing from Talpona ward
110. Talwatkar	Migrants from Talwat area
111. *Tari*	Those who engaged in crossing the river by boat or canoe
112. *Tawadkar*	Migrants from Tawad ward
113. *Tengse*	Derived from 'Dengshe'- a priestly class of Karhade Brahman
114. *Tubki*	Those associated as gun-makers
115. *Vaidya*	Village physician
116. *Varik*	Unidentified
117. *Vaze*	A sub group of Chitpavan Brahman
118. *Velip*	Kunbi priest
119. *Vernekar*	Migrants from Vernem area

Appendix 5

Non-Hindu surnames

The galaxy of non-hindu surnames however do not indicate any cultural context because of the peculiarities of their naming practices and the non-recognition of hindu caste system by these religions as apparent in the list of catholic and muslim surnames given in

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Catholic Surnames

1. *Afonso* 2. *Barretto* 3. *Braganza* 4. *Brito* 5. *Caeiro* 6. *Cardozo* 7. *Carneiro* 8. *Colaço* 9. *Corte* 10. *Costa* 11. *D'Sa* 12. *D'Silva* 13. *D'Souza* 14. *Fernandes* 15. *Ferrão* 16. *Figuereido* 17. *Godinho* 18. *Gonsalves* 19. *Gracias* 20. *Martins* 21. *Miranda* 22. *Pereira* 23. *Rebello* 24. *Rodrigues* 25. *Telles* 26. *Vaz* 27. *Viegas*

Muslim Surnames

1. *Khan* 2. *Shaik* 3. *Sayyed*

Appendix 6
Bio-Anthropological Characters Of Communities Of Canacona Region

Sr. No.	Name of the community	General Stature	Mean Stature in cms	Shape of the head	Mean Cephalic index	General face discription	Mean total facial index	Mean upper facial index	Shape of Nose	Mean nasal index
1	Chamar	Above medium to tall	165.10	Predominently dolicocephalic	76.74	Varies from hypereury prosopic to hyper lestoproscopic and fall in the mesoproscopic class	85.08	NA	Mesorrhine type	76.20
2	*Gomantak Maratha*	Below medium to above medium	166.17	Dolicocephalic and mesocephalic	76.68	NA	NA	NA	Long convex nose with shallow depression at nasal bridge.	76.05
3	*Kharvi - Gabit*	Medium	164.66	Mesocephalic	76.81	NA	NA	NA	Mesorrhine type	77.40
4	*Kshatriya Bhandari*	Short to below medium	161.21	Narrow and round head	77.85	Broad and long	85.16	47.97	Either straight or medium type	80.75
5	*Kunbi*	Short to medium	162.63	Long headed	74.80	Long to medium type of face	85.31	NA	Mesorrhine or medium type	80.75
6	*Kshatriya Maratha*	Below medium to medium	165.89	Dolicocephalic	75.05	Moderately broad and long	85.62	48.39	Narrow, convex type	75.57
7	*Mahar*	Short	159.40	Tendency towards dolicocephaly from mesocephaly type	75.70	NA	NA	NA	Mesorrhine type	77.68
8	*Pagui*	Medium	164.66	Mesocephalic type	76.81	NA	NA	NA	Mesorrhine type	77.40
9	*Saraswat*	Well-built body of medium to tall	167.08	Mesocephalic type	78.48	Tendency towards longer side	86.93	50.62	Mescorrhine type tending towards leptorrhine type	73.11
10	Catholics	Varies from below medium to above medium	166.29	Narrow head	78.09	Moderately broad and long	87.19	49.95	Long type	75.81
11	Muslims	Short	159.40	Tendency towards dolicocephaly from mesocephaly type	75.70	NA	NA	NA	Mesorrhine type	77.68

NA= Not available

Ref: 1. K.C. Malhotra, "Microevolutionary Dynamics among the Gaudas of Goa in *Evolutionary Model and Studies in Human Diversity*, R. J. Meier and others (ed.), Hague: Mouten Publishers, 1978. pp. 279-314.

2. K.S. Singh, (ed.), *People of India-Goa*, vol. XXI, Bombay : Anthropological Survey of India, Popular Prakashan Pvt. Ltd., 1993, pp. 243-245.

					Block.		in government organisation					mutton, chicken, eggs and beef but not take pork and flesh of buffalo. They use coconut and groundnut oil as cooking medium. They also cook seasonal vegetables, and pulses They take fruits. Their children take milk of sheep and cow and adults take tea regularly. Men consume alcoholic drinks occasionally.

MBD = Mother's Brother's Daughter

FSD = Father's Sister's Daughter

References: 1. R.E. Enthoven, *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, vol. I, Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1975.

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6. B.D. Satoskar, *Gomantak Prakriti Ani Sanskriti,* vol. I, Pune: Shubhada Saraswat, 1979.   7. K. S. Singh, (ed.), *Peof India: Goa,* vol. XXI, Bombay: Anthropological Survey of India, Popular Prakashan Pvt. Ltd., 1993.

Sr. No.	Life-cycle rituals						Festivals	Traditional Dress	Arts & Crafts	Misc
	Birth	Naming	Puberty	Marriage	Pregnancy	Death				
1	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1.	Pollution for twelve days	*Barso* held on the twelfth day	*Angavon* is observed in the case of girls	Prohibited within the subdivision covered by the same surname (*kul*) Monogamy is the rule. MBD allowed. Prevalence of marriage allowance of bride price. Widow remarriage permitted and held at night. Divorce allowed. Nuptial ceremony at grooms residence.	No special rituals are held. But the woman restricts her movements during pregnancy period.	Dead body cremated by the same clan members with rituals in presence of priest. Death pollution twelve days. After one year perform *varshashraddha* a kind of ancestor worship.	Nag-panchami, Ganesh Chaturthi or Chavath, Divali, Shigmo.	No particular dress	Leatherwork is their prominent art. They sing marriage songs and narrate folk tales.	Ladies are beautiful middle sized with black lustrous hair and eyes. Believed that they have the Aryan blood and may be descendents of race from the North West. They do not face the problem of untouchability. They use common wells for drinking water and common halls for ceremonial purpose. Economically and educationally backward and poor.
2.	No special rituals but *Satti* ritual on the sixth day.	The child is placed in the cradle and the elderly women utter name as suggested by the priest in the ears of child.	Thread-wearing ceremony (munz) performed during adolescence of a boy. No specific rituals for girls.	Exogamy strictly maintained. Inter community marriages are discouraged. Cross-cousin marriage is permitted. Widow marriage with widower permitted.	In the fifth or seventh month, ritual known as *fullam mallap* is observed.	Cremation by lighting the funeral pyre by the eldest son. On the third, tenth and twelfth day death rites are performed. Twelve days period pollution observed.	Haldi-Kukum on the day of Vishwakarmapuja, Sansar Padvo, Ramnavami, Chaitra Punav, Chavat, Dasro, Divali and Village Zatra (Ratha)	No specific traditional dress	They are experts in woodwork and carpentry work as well as black smithy. They take great interest in music (singing) and drama (acting) during the village festivals.	They have their *gurupeeth* known as *Lohamuth* on the Southern border of Goa at Majali in North Kanara district of Karnataka
3.	Eleven-day pollution. After delivery an oil lamp kept lit the	Twelfth day naming ceremony is held. Child placed in a	Restricted to girls. At the age of about 8-10 years boys are	Monogamy is the rule. Polygyny and polyandry are strictly	Predelivery rituals observed with funfare. In the seventh or	Dead body of above eight years is cremated. If child below eight	Nagapanchami, Dasara, Divali, Vasant panchami,	No special dress. But at the time of worship they use yellow coloured	Significant role in classical and semi classical music like *bhajan, natya n geet*	

	Life-cycle rituals									
Sr. No.	Birth	Naming	Puberty	Marriage	Pregnancy	Death	Festival	Traditional Dress	Arts & Crafts	Misc
1	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
4.	Pollution for eleven days. On sixth night special worship of *satti* is held and relatives are feasted. An oil lamp kept lit for ten nights.	Invite their own community priest to the ceremony. They put baby in a cradle and ladies sing songs. Paternal aunt whispers the name of child into its ears. After one month ceremony is held.	Thread wearing ceremony for boys is held at the age of about 7-10 years.	*Gotra* regulates their marriages with members of the same community baring outside the state. Monogamy is gene-ral rule. Poly-gyny and Polyandry strictly prohibited. MBD is general practice. Widower allowed remarrying but a widow is not. Divorce is settled by court of law.	Pre-natal delivery ritual, *fulam mallap*, in the fifth, seventh or ninth month. The pregnant woman wears sari and green bangles and old women put her in a hammock and sing songs.	Dead body is cremated. Dead child without teeth is buried. Head shaving of the eldest or youngest son is done and he lights the funeral pyre. Pollution period-eleven days. They observe rituals on seventh, eighth, ninth and twelfth day.	*Samsar-padvo, Nagapanchami Sutam Punav, Chavat, Dasaro, Divali, Laxmipujan* and village *zatra*.	No special dress	They are known for their expertise in gold and silver ornaments and smithy art and craft in temples as well as churches. They are very fond of music like *bhajan* and *natyasangeet*.	
5.	Seven days pollution period. On fifth night *satti* is held and goddess Panchavi is worshipped.	On the seventh day elderly person of the family performs the ritual of naming.	No rituals	Marriage within own surname or that of mother or with the first cousin is prohibited. MBD and FSD are allow-ed. Dowry system exists prominently. Mono-gamy is a common practice. Widow remarriage permit-ted. *Budvant*-the leader performs the role of priest during marriage	No special rituals are performed but the woman restricts her movements during pregnancy.	Dead person is buried in his or her own graveyard. Twelve days' mourning for adult and three days for child is observed. On the twelfth day goat is sacrificed and relatives are feasted with meat and alcoholic drinks.	*Dasaro, Divali, Gorvam Padvo, Shigmo*	Men use loin cloth (*cashti*) and turban (*mundashe*) and earrings, stick in hand and women wear *lugde* with *kasato* and in rare cases *choli*. Women use four-five fold necklaces of coloured beads.	Men and women sing folk songs on different festive occasions like Holi, marriage and present dances like *mell* and *zemado* by men and women respectively. They also sing songs at the time of special ritual, *powa*.	

				in the absence of the village priest.						
6	Eleven-day pollution is observed. On sixth night ritual known as *satti* is held when *fugdi* is perfomed before the *satti* insignia.	On twelfth day ear-piercing and thereafter baby is placed in a cradle and named by the old woman singing folk songs	It was customary to offer virgin girls to the deity by observing *shens* ceremony.	MBD and FSD alli-ance are allowed. Dowry system pre-vails. Widow marri-age permitted. Di-vorce is rare. Tra-ditionally, marriage was denied to the women (as they were expected to remain *kalavants* throughout their lives.	Predelivery ritual, viz. *fulam mallap*, is observed in the seventh or ninth month in which woman's head is decked with flowers.	Dead body is cremated but a child without teeth is buried. Ten days' pollution. Ritual on seventh, tenth and twelfth day are observed.	*Samsar padvo, Shigmo, Nagpanchami, Chavat, Dasro,* village *Zatras, Dhalo*	No particular dress.	They have excellent tradition of music and dance. The community members play musical instruments in the temples for daily as well as occasional rituals like *nabat, arti bhajan, kirtan, dindi* etc. The ladies participate in annual *dhalo* festival, and sing and dance.	
7	*Satti* ritual observed on sixth day and people are feasted with vegetarian food. Eleven-day pollution is observed.	Naming ceremony held on the twelfth day placing the child in cradle and arranging a feast for relatives.	No rituals for girls. Initiation ceremony i.e thread-wearing or *munz* or ear-piercing is held at around the age of five years for boys	MBD alliance marri-ages allowed. Mono-gamy is strictly observed. Widower permitted to remarry. No dowry system prevailed. Divorce totally discouraged	During fifth or seventh month special ritual, *fulam mallap* to convey blessings to the would-be mother is held.	Bury the dead in the sitting position. Keeping the corpse nude. On third day offering cooked food to the soul viz. *Mata*. Eleventh and twelfth day special rituals are offered.	*Shivrati, Chavat, Samsar padvo, Divali, Laxmipujan, Nagpanchami, Sutampunav, Shigmo* and other village *zatra*.	While collecting alms, short white *dhoti*, traditional shirt, *feta* (turban) *zoli* (bag) at the shoulder and carry *shankh* (conch), and sometimes *trishul* (symbol of Shiva-trident)	They perform religious incantations (*shabda* or *mantra*). Earlier they had the tradition of singing songs, composed by great saints (*Gossavi-gayan*). The women participate in *dhalo* festival.	

	Life-cycle rituals									
Sr. No.	Birth	Naming	Puberty	Marriage	Pregnancy	Death	Festival	Traditional Dress	Arts & Crafts	Misc
1	15	16	17	18	19	20	21		23	24
8	An oil lamp kept lit for ten days. Pollution is observed for eleven days.	On twelfth day, baby's paternal aunt whispers name in the ears of the child.	At the age of 8 to 10 years the boy is worn the thread (*munz*) in presence of Chitpavan priest.	Monogamy is the rule. Inter marriages in different groups and sub groups of Karhade Brahman take place which were earlier strictly prohibited. Matching of horoscope of bride and groom is followed. Dowry system prevalent. Divorce permitted. Divorcee can remarry.	Pre-delivery rituals held in seventh or ninth month called *fulam mallap* in which pregnant woman is seated in hammock and folk songs are sung to bestow blessings.	Dead body is cremated. On the third, ninth, eleventh and thirteenth day death rituals are held. Eleven-day pollution is observed.	*Gudi padavo, Ganesh Chaturthi, Nag Panchami, Lalita Panchani, Narali Paurnima, Navratra, Holi.*	At the time of worship they wear yellow dhoti viz. *pitambar* and ladies wear *lugde* with *kas*.	They have distinct tradition of singing and music like classical music, devotional music (*bhajan*) and *natyasangeet* – associated to theatre performances.	
9	Seven-day pollution is observed. After bath to baby and the mother purification ceremony is held by the village priest.	On eleventh day the ceremony takes place. Grandmother and grandfather suggest the name.	For male – head shaving and for girl ear piercing after one year is held.	Cannot marry in same clan. MBD and FSD alliances are allowed. Monogamy is a rule. Widow marriage (pat) is permitted at the boundary of the village or Betal temple. Widower also allowed remarrying.	Ritual namely *fulam mallap* held in the fifth or seventh or ninth month at the fathers place.	Dead bodies cremated. But child without teeth is buried. Persons died of snakebites, cholera, leprosy, small pox are buried. Mourning observed for eleven days. On the eleventh day, rituals are offered for the dead.	*Chavat, Divali, Shigmo (Holi), Mahashivratri, Dhalo*	No particular dress	They are expert in weaving nets. Women sing folk songs at the marriage ceremony and also at the place of dancing *dhalo*. Men take interest for staging drama based on the historical theme.	
10	Mother and child held impure for eleven days. On the twelfth day birth village priest holds rites.	After six months and before one year the priest does the naming after head – shaving of the	Adolescence ceremony held after first menstruation. Girl dressed in new clothes and	Marriages prohibited within same clan. Widower can remarry but widow rarely	No predelivery rituals	They cremate the dead body. Children died before five years of age are buried. Pollution of ten	*Chavat, Divali, Shivratri, Shigmo (Holi), Dhalo.*	No particular dress	Their oral tradition depicted through folk songs sung by men at the time of dancing *shigmo* and women at the time of *dhalo*	

		baby in presence of the paternal uncle of the child.	sacred fire (*hom*) is kindled by the eldest member of the family	allowed to remarry (*kapad-bail*)		days is observed. On the eleventh day the priest performs *shraddha*. On the twelfth day non-vegetarian food is taken together with relatives.			festival which figure the annual festive occasion.	
11	Pollution period eleven days. Village priest observes the purification rites on the eleventh day.	The village priest does naming on the twelfth day. The child is placed in the cradle.	No special rituals are held	Members of the same clan cannot intermarry. Monogamy is practiced. MBD alliance allowed. Divorce allowed. Divorcee and widower can remarry. Dowry system exists.	In the seventh month pre-delivery ritual viz. *fulam mallap* is held.	The dead body is cremated, but child without teeth and person died of small pox is buried. Death pollution observed for twelve days. On the seventh and twelfth day certain rituals are held and invitees are feasted.	*Ramnavmi, Chaitrapunav, Nagpanchami, Gokulashtami, Chavat, Divali, Shigmo, Dhalo*	No particular dress.	They do not have significant art. But during *shigmo* festival men dance and sing. Similarly women present dance and songs in the *dhalo* festival held in the village annually.	

Sr. No.	Life-cycle rituals						Festival	Traditional Dress	Arts & Crafts	Misc
	Birth	Naming	Puberty	Marriage	Pregnancy	Death				
1	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
12	Maintain pollution period for eleven days. On the sixth day *satti* is worshipped	On the twelfth day naming is done taking the first alphabet from the village priest (*nauras*)	No	They do not marry in same clan. Arranged marriages within their community. Polygyny is strictly prohibited.	First delivery takes place at fathers place.	Mourning is observed for eleven days. On the tenth and eleventh day priest officiates some rituals. On the twelfth day brethren are feasted. On the day of *varsh-shraddha* the soul is invoked on a copper coin (*dam*)	*Samsar-padvo, Ramnavmi, Chavat, Divali.*	No particular dress	Tradition of craftwork on clay. Beautiful earthen vessels, artistic show pieces urns lamps (*divjam* and votive figures is their speciality.	
13	Pollution for twenty-one days is observed. On sixth day Sati worship is performed and folk songs are sung. This day the washerman washes the clothes of the woman and the baby.	On the sixth or the twentyfirst day the eldest person in the presence of the village priest does the naming.	Ear piercing ceremony is held after three months both for boys and girls.	Marriage within the clan and outside the community is strictly prohibited. Polygyny and polyandry are strictly pohibited. MBD and FSD alliance is allowed. Headman (Budvant) selltes the matter of divorce. Widower is allowed to remarry but a widow strictly prohibited. Dowry system exists.	No special rituals held.	The dead body is buried in the east west direction. Eleven days of mourning as well as rituals (*shuddhikaran*) and on the twelfth day agnates and affines are feasted with sweet dishes and non-vegetarian food.	*Samsar padvo, Ramnavmi, Shigmo, Dhillo, Sutam Punav, Gudulyam Parab, Gorvam Padvo, Divali*	Men wear loincloth and coarse scarf on shoulder. The women wear colour saries tied around the waist and shoulder (*dethli*). Presently men wear pant and shirt and women use sari and blouse. Women wear necklace of colour glass beads.	Known for colourful folk dances like *chowrang, zot, tonayam-mell* and different folk songs of ritualistic nature. Similarly women dance, sing *dhillo* songs, marriage songs on the respective occasion. They are also expert in weaving mats and baskets out of the wild leaves and cane.	Consumption of alcohol, chicken and eggs was forbidden in the past.
14	Twelve day pollution is	Held in the presence of	No	They do not intermarry with	No rituals held	The dead is buried. Death	*Samsar padvo, Ramnavmi,*	No particular dress	Basketry along with mat weaving is their	

	observed	maternal uncle on the twelfth day		same surnames. Monogamy is the rule. Widow and widower can remarry (*pat*)		pollution is observed for twelve days – during which they take vegetarian food.	*Chavat, Dasro, Shigmo,* village *zatra*		craft. They have folk songs and tales. They play music during festivals at the village temples.	
15	An oil lamp kept lit for ten days. Cold water is sprinkled on the mother and child after the delivery. Pollution observed for eleven days. On the fifth day Panchavi and on the sixth day the *satti* is performed.	On the twelfth day the child is put in a cradle and paternal aunt whispers the name of the child in its ears.	After one or two years the head shaving ceremony is held. In case of boy and ear piercing in the case of girls.	They do not marry within the same clan. Polygyny and polyandry is strictly prohibited. An MBD alliance is allowed but not the FSD. Divorce permitted. Dowry system exists.	Prenatal rituals namely *fulam mallap* is held in the fifth, seventh or ninth month. The would be mother is offered five types of fruits and flowers and folk song are sung.	Dead body is cremated but the child below eight years is buried. Upto eleven days the pollution is observed. On the ninth and thirteenth day rituals are held. Dinner is served to therelatives on the thirteenth days and on the fourteenth day God-tond ceremony is held in which relatives prepare sweets and serve to the chief mourner.	*Sansar padvo, Nag-Panchami, Sutampunav, Chavati, Divali, Gorvam padvo, Dasro, Shigmo, Dhalo.*	No particular dress	Men have no specific art of music but they participate in the musical programme. Women sing songs at the marriage ceremony, birth rituals etc.	

| Sr. No. | Life-cycle rituals | | | | | | Festival | Traditional Dress | Arts & Crafts | Misc |
	Birth	Naming	Puberty	Marriage	Pregnancy	Death				
1	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
16	After birth cold water is sprinkled over the child to awaken it. On the sixth day the *satti* worship is held. Eleven day pollution is observed	Naming is done on the twelfth day or after one month. The old lady whispers the name in the ears of the child. On this day ear piercing is done and sweets are distributed.	No special rituals	They don't marry in the same clan but strictly within the Mhalo community. MBD alliance allowed. Monogamy is the rule. Dowry system exists. Divorce and remarriages are allowed.	*Fulam mallap* ritual is held in the fifth, sixth or seventh month in which the pregnant woman is seated on hammock decorated with flowers and folk songs are sung.	Dead is cremated but man died of small pox and child below eight years is buried. Mourning pollution observed for eleven days. On the twelfth day *shraddha* is offered in the presence of village priest.	*Samsar padvo, Chavat, Navratra, Divali, Holi*, village *zatra*.	No specific dress	They take lot of interest in music and drama. They play music (*Tabla* and *Pakhawaj*) and act in drama. Earlier they were also known for minor surgical operations.	
17	Birth pollution for twelve days is observed.	The Brahman priest suggests the alphabet of the name and the naming ceremony is done in the presence of the priest on the twelfth day.	On any auspicious day between the sixth and seventh month the child is head shaved. On first menstruation of a girl the priest makes offerings to the sacrificial fire and holy water from temple is brought and sprinkled on the girl.	Marriages in same clan are strictly prohibited. Dowry system exists. FSD alliances are not permitted but MBD is allowed. Divorce is rare. Young widow can remarry but widower can certainly remarry.	No particular rituals	Dead body is cremated but the dead children below one year of age are buried. Pollution period lasts for eleven days. On the twelfth day agnates and affines are feasted vegetarian food and on the thirteenth day the cow is worshiped and offered cooked food.	*Chavat, Divali, Dhalo, Shigmo,* Shantadurga fair at Fatorpa and other village fairs.	No particular dress	Women sing songs and dance *fugdi* during *chavat* (Ganesh festival) and also *dhalo*. Men play music, sing and dance in *shigmo* festival. They also take keen interest to stage drama in their wards.	
18	Eleven day birth pollution is observed	On the twelfth day naming ceremony is held. The child is kept in a cradle and old lady whispers the name in the ears of the child	Head shaving ceremony in case of boy is held at the age of one to two years and at the age of eight to ten years thread-wearing	Marriages in same clan are not permitted but with same surnames are allowed Monogamy is the rule. Polygyny	Pre delivery ritual *fulam mallap* is held in the fifth, seventh or ninth month. She is given five types of fruits and while head	Dead body is cremated. Child without teeth is buried. Mourning pollution is observed for eleven days. Rituals take place	*Samsar padvo, Nagpanchami, Suntampurnav, Gokulashtami, Chavat, Navratra, Dasro, Divali, Shigmo,* village *zatra.*	No specific dress	They take lot of interest in traditional art of music, drama and also dance. They also stage *kalo* (folk play), *natak* (drama), *bhajan* etc. in the annual festival of their	

		Folk songs are sung on the occasion	(*munz*) ceremony is held	and Polyandry strictly prohibited. MBD alliance is allowed but FSD alliance not permitted. Dowry system exists. Divorce is allowed but decided by the judicial court.	decorated with flowers, the women sing folk songs for her.	on the seventh, ninth, eleventh and twelfth day. On the twelfth day the agnates and affines are feasted.			temples.	

	Life-cycle rituals									
Sr. No.	Birth	Naming	Puberty	Marriage	Pregnancy	Death	Festival	Traditional Dress	Arts & Crafts	Misc
1	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
19	Forty days birth pollution is observed. The mother is segregated for about a fortnight	The ceremony is held at the church where the purification and baptism is taken place. The baby dressed in a white garment received at the church gate by the priest and baptised and the invitees are feasted. The godfather and godmother of the child represent it during the ceremony.	The children at the age of twelve to fourteen years join the holy Chrism (Holy communion). No other puberty rites for boys or girls.	Marriages done within their groups. They follow the rule of monogamy. The marriage must be solemnized with the permission of the church priest. Cross cousin and parallel cousin marriages are allowed. With the approval of the church and the judicial court, the divorce is permitted. The widow, widower and divorcee can remarry. Dowry system is distinct. Wedding dance is a common feature in which the guest couples and the bridal couple dance to western music (band).	No predelivery rituals are held.	When a person is on his deathbed, the priest is invited at home for performing extreme Unction. The dead body is buried in their cemetery in the vicinity of the village church. The bereaved family arranges special mass (mourning prayer). The prayer is repeated on the seventh day and after one month, and on the day of death anniversary. Mourning observed for one year by wearing black garments.	Christmas, Easter, St. Xavier's Feast, local Church feasts.	Modern dress. No particular dress for men but women use long frocks and skirts and also fast colour sarees. Priests in white robes.	Conversant with western music, singing of folk songs viz. *cantaram, mando, dhulpad* and marriage songs as well as playing music is their hobby. The musical performances of *Intruz* were being presented in the yester years. They also stage *Tiatr* (theatre) on the occasion of village feast.	
20	Forty days birth pollution is observed. On seventh night *chhati* is held in which empty vessels is used as musical instruments and songs are sung	Naming ceremony is held on the sixth or seventh day. The name of ancestors or from holy Quran is selected. On the fortieth day child is placed in a	After attaining puberty girl is secluded for seven days. During this period she eats butter bread and sugar. Non-vegetarian food is not permitted.	Cross cousin and parallel cousin marriages permitted. Monogamy is followed. Divorce called *talaq* is permitted and decided by judicial court.	No special rituals are observed	Dead body is buried in their own graveyard. The body is covered with sixteen-metre cloth (*cafan*). The body is buried with the head towards the	Moharam, Idd	*Paijama* and *kurta* and a round white or black cap on the head. Youngsters use modern dress.	In olden days the men use to sing and dance during the *Moharam* for ten nights followed by fire walking at the ninth night. Women sing songs for different rituals like birth, marriage, etc.	

whole night. Immediately after the birth the child is bathed and placed in the winowing pan. Elderly person or *Kazi* reads *azan* into the ears of the child f its welfare.	cradle and a goat is sacrificed. The head shaving is done on this day and the hairs are covered in a bread and emmerced in a stream or sea.	Girl takes bath with warm water in the evening. Ear piercing ceremony for girl is held. Similarly ritual viz. *aquiqa* is held in case of a boy. Perform the circumcision ceremony for the male child between one to six years.	Divorcee can remarry all rules according to the common civil code are strictly followed.		north. *Kazi* recites *namaz-e-janazah* before the body is interred in the grave. Mourning pollution observed for forty days. Death rituals are held on the third, ninth, twentieth and fortieth day. On fortieth day the agnates and affines are feasted with non-vegetarian food.			

चौरंग १

कवळशी सोबा कोणाची रे गड्यानो
कवळशी सोबा रे देवांची
आकाशी सोबा कोणाची रे देवांनो
आकाशी सोबा सुरब्यांची
पाताळी सोबा कोणाची रे देवांनो
पाताळी सोबा शोकांची
मिरतलोकी सोबा कोणाची रे देवांनो
मिरतलोकी सोबा पंडवांची
गोठयांत सोबा कोणाची रे देवांनो
गोठयांत सोबा वास-यांची
घरांत सोबा कोणाची रे देवांनो
घरांत सोबा बाळकाची
हुंब-यार सोबा कोणाची रे देवांनो
हुंब-यार सोबा लक्षुमीची
सौकार सोबा कोणाची रे देवांनो
सौकार सोबा पुरीसाची
पुरसाक सोबा कोणाची रे देवांनो
पुरसाक सोबा मुंडाश्याची
मुंडाश्याक सोबा कोणाची रे देवांनो
मुंडाश्याक सोबा तुरयाची
माणसाक सोबा कोणाची रे देवांनो
माणसाक सोबा अस्तुरेची
अस्तुरेक सोबा कोणाची रे देवांनो
अस्तुरेक सोबा शिनोराची

चौरंग २

पायांनी पांगळे दोळयांनी हांदळे
कानीव भैरे जाल्या मू पुतरा
काये केल्या रे शिरवणान रे पुतरा
काय केल्या रे शिरवणान

चालोन गेला जैच्यां वाड्या रे
शिरवणा दादा आतांच देकला
    वसके शालमान केला रे शिरवणा

कशा करणे पावला रे शिरवणा
कैतां करणे पावला रे थेवया
बावन्न चंदन मारून थेवया फळी काडा रे
बावन्न चंदन मारून थेवया फळी काडिल्यां रे
उटघडे नाल्ल कतां कावडे घडिल्या रे
काबुड घडी रे सैबार रे थेवयां
काबुड ओपिली शिरवणाक रे थेवया
लागलेलो दुडू पेसो गुणून दिला रे
काबुड घेतिली मस्तंगार रे शिरवणान
पणसुमला घरा शिरवण चालून गेलो रे
माया ना रे बाप तेणे कावडयां भरीला
तिरथाचे थारो ताणे काण्ण घेतिलां
कावाडे घेतिली मस्तंगार रे पुतरा
एकडंबे मारगा शिरवण चालोनी गेला
चंदनाच्या रूका ताणे कावडे ऐकिल्या
रातरी काये रे गवां शेजे तान लागले मोटे रे पुतरा
गांव ना रे गांवठण शार ना पाटण कशे पाणी
तिरथाच्यो धारो ताणे काण्ण घेतिली
तळयाचे पोंवळे शिरवोण चालोनी गेलो रे
तिरथाचे धारो ताणे पाणयां बुडील्या रे
कुमडळे बुडबुडी तशी उतरां सरबळी
कुमडळे नादा दसरंथ जागरूत जाला
काडले कोपरओड बाण संदान केला रे
घात ना रे केलो मामा दसरंथान
हडड्यार कोमळाक शिरवोणाक बाण झुमलां
भियोनाका भाच्या तुको करता जिवदाण
पायां तळा थेवुन करतां जिवदाण
मस्तंगाक मावो थेवुन करतां जिवदाण
मस्तगांर मावो थेयल्यार देव हांसतलो
हडड्याकमळा मावो थेवुन करतां जिवदान
प्राण ना रे सोळ्ळा पुत्रा शिरवोणान

स्ट्राप नागो दिला भैणी कानडायेन

ताळे

देवळांभोवतण तांबुड माती
देवीच्यां देवळां जळटा वाती

अंजनीपुत्रा इडो घे हनमंता
इडो घे पुत्रा लंकेवर
उडाण माल्ली लंकेवर
सोदून शिते ठाया

रामान सोडल्यां घरदार
शितेन मांणल्यां सयंवर

कानीशें पाले दिन रे तारया
न्हंयी बायी भरया उतोरया
उतरोन गेलें म्हण सांगोनाका
कानीचे पालें दिन तुका

नेण्टी व्हंकल पाणयां वैता बोणकीच्या व्हाळा गे
बोणकीच्या व्हाळा व्हनये थिगुर दोळे मोडी मू

जलमाक येवशें पंडरे वयशें
दरशन घेवशें इटबाशें

आरत

असो प्रबता दोंगरा चंदन फुलला
असो चंदन फुलला रे तो कोणे देंकिला
देवां तुमच्या राणयांनी प्रमळ भोगिला
सभोग्याशी राजा आंगणा खेळ मांडला
सभोग्याशी बारजा नार नेण्टे घरा
नावोन मांखोन गो नार अनवाळे जाले

पिंताबर सावल्यासी कास लेसल्या
बावन्न विरोडयांशी चोळी जबना घातिल्या
नाल्ले लां खोबरेलां तेलां माथ्या घातिलां
इरांवंत फणी गो नारीन काण्ण घेतिल्या
माथ्या असो भांग गो नारीन उगयिला
रस्मा गोणा चौवरुले खोपो बांदिला
व्हंवळे केदो ळे नारीन खोप्यां माळिलां
सुंदरे केतक नारीन खोप्यां माळिल्यां
सवरणाशे ताट नारीन काडून घेतिलां
तीळ गो तांदूळ नारीन ताटां ठेयिल्यां
ओमोरेत फळ गो नारीन ताटां ठेयिल्यां
बत्तीस पांनाचो इडो नारीन ताटां ठेयिला
गंद आकशर गो नारीन ताटां ठेयिलां
फूल गो काजळ नारीन ताटां ठेयिलां
मुठभर दान म्हाल तांटा ठेयिला
पांसां गो नाल्लांची नारीन तळय भल्ल्या
पांसां गो वातीची नारीन आर्त पेटयल्या
शेळया गो पाणयांसो नारीन चिंब भरीला
तीळ गो तांदूळ नारीन मुटी घेतिल्या

शिलोक

धरतर गांवतर खिमतर
तीन खंडां राजां देवांनी
समसारकी वांटून दिली
आदिदेव आदिनाथ, फाटी देव जगनाथ
साळके देळेवर, निरंकारां जालांवर
पांच देव येयले उदेसपणां
आदिदेव लागावंत
दायी भुजी इसवर
रास कुमळी म्हादेव बर्मादेव
दळ ना रे थळ, आकास ना रे मंडळ, सूर्यत ना देव
राज्यामदें कळात मादळे सांदून देव
खेळयासी गेला
अनकाशा राजा देव खेळयासी गेला

अनकाशा राजांगणा खेळ माणलो
कसली दिगणी दिव गा स्वामी देवरायांक
दान नाका द्रीन नाका
हत नाका गडो नाका
सान सूर्ये पुत्र दिवची
हनका तिवरे काबुच जालो
त्तीस कोटी देवानी चालून गेले
लाग झरी तळयाकडे
किंमभर पाणी हाडले
अंका जीव रे समानान केलो
सान सूर्ये पुत्र काडले
न्हाणायले माखयले गंदयले धुपयले
सरणाच्या ताटांत बसून आसत नासत
खेळत मोडत घेवन येयले आपले राजांमदें
त्तीस काटी देवानी किरमळी बांदलो रंत
त्या रंतात सूर्य बसून लव खंड दुनियेर
उजवाड घातलो
धळार थळ शेकां मस्तंगेर धर्तेर माता
धरतर गांवतर खिमतर
काळे गायी माल्लो थापो
आरतिलो परतिलो
सूर्यान तराशिलो
अग्नीन जायळो तेजो केलो मुठभर गोबोर
तो माल्लो सप्त्यां सागरांमदें
सप्तीन सागोर देठीन वळख
नमीन पुरव
अस्तुरें आमच्या गुरुभाशी
आपलो रे वशेव गुरुन पातळां धाडलो
पातळां माह्या देवांच्या बशया भेट जाली
कित्या पावलो देवांचो वशेव खैरीच्या बियेचसाठी
पाताळणी माश्यान
एक सागोर धंडायळो
दोन सागर धंडायळे
तीन सागोर धंडायळे

चार सागोर धंडायळे

पांच सागोर धंडायळे

स सागोर धंडायळे

सातश्या आटश्या सांगरांत पावलो

म्हावुन पोवुन हाडली खैरी बी

ती हाण्ण दिली आमच्या बशंयालागीं

धळो मासो धळी गेलो

देवसोबे बशीव देवसोबे येयलो

आरे आरे चल्यांलो पाताळी गेल्लो बशीव येयला

आष्टी घ्या, झष्टी घ्या बशीयालांगी

एक पाय दिलो कुबांवर

एक पांय दिलो मस्तंगावर

चप्पट गुरुच्या चरणा लागलो

काडली खैरी बी

टाकून दिली सर्वय सबे मल्लस मदें

एक म्हण्टा आंब्याशी

एक म्हण्टा जांब्याशी

एक म्हण्टा माळंगाशी

सर्वय देवाच्यानी पर्याजून जाली

बर्‍या देवांनी दानी येवजली

मनी पर्याजली

बी तय बी खैरी बी

इस्परां घेयली खोरें कुदळ

पारवतीन घेयली पाटली

चालून गेल्यां शेळवटे मळयां

माल्ला कुदोळ काळळा देंप्या

धर्तें आळे, कड्डा दापण मेघा शिंपण

किल्लार कुमंडळ, मुडगुस आयलें

एक पान जालें एक खैर जल्मले

दोन पान जाले सान सुर्य जलमले

तीन पान जाले तीन लाग जलमले

चार पान जाले चार चौदा फाफरंव घेवन माघांत चल्ले

पांच पान जाले पांच पंडव जलमले

स पान जाले साटे बेटे कुवंर जलमले

सात पान जाले सात सागर पाणयां जाले

आट पान जाले आटाळो कुयट जलमला

लव पान जाले लव खंडानी उजवाड पडला

धा पान जाले धा शिरांसो एकयीस भुजांचो रावण जलमला

इकरा पान जाले इशामित्र गुरु जलमा आयले

बारा पान जाले बारा खंड दुनियेंत सागोर   जालो

तेरा पान जाले तेरा देवां पांथ जोती जळळे

चौदा पान जाले चौदा इरांचो गणेस जल्मलो

पंदरा पान जाले पनेसपुरा लक्ष बिरा डळडळ

मिर्गां सयी सुकाळ पाणयां जालो

सोळ पान जाले सोळा रंबा जलमल्यो

सतरा पान जाले रामलक्षीमण जलमले

अठरा पान जाले अठरा दांडे पिकावळ मनशा केला जिवदाण

केळ कवाथ नारींग निमिण

समिंदरा माजार शिंतोड दिलो

एकुणीस पान जाले आदासुर दैत्य जलमले

इस पान जाले इस्वामित्र गुरु पाटा बसले

इकीस पान जाले मुळीसो मुळ पुरीस जलमलो

आमचो गुरु कानांनी भैरो दोळयांनी हांदळो

पायांनी पांगळो, खानी कुराड खानी केली

तीळ तांदूळ बांदले गाठी

बत्तीस पानाविडो काडून घेतलो

चालोन गेला रावी जंगलात मदें

एक वन भोंवतां, दोन वन भोंवतां, तीन वन भोंवतां

चारशां पांचश्या वनांत पावलो

तानेन भुकेन बाळ सर्गदान जालो

सकाळी तास येळीं सांच्या पारयेळीं,

खैरी रूक पर्यांजिला

चालोन गेला खैरी बा मुळीकडे

तीळ तांदूळ शेजायले

बत्तीस पानाइडो मुळी सोडलो

सोळा दिशी पांयां पडलो

एक वोड करयतां, दोन वड करयतां तीनशी चारशी

वडीर खैर भोमीर पाडलो

ताळ पडलें सदनदेशी

मूळ पडलें सद्दरमना

खरवोत नावन मक्केबागासो खवोस

आंगीशा बोळान भुज्जीच्या तोलान

तवकोन गेला शिरां ससतंगावर

तो व्हरन घाला थेवयाच्या मुलांचे घरीं

आगागा थेवयाच्या मुलांनो

हेजी करशी तीन फोडां

एक करशी देवळां खांबो

एक करशी मुरदंग कळी

एकाशे करशे बारा तोणयां जोड

थेवयाच्या मुलांनी, न्हिदेशी उटनी

ताशणेन ताशिली

धत्रार धल्ली

सुत्रार कापली

ताची केली तीन फोडां

एक केलो देवळां खांबो

एक केली मुरदंग कळी

एकाचे केल्या बारा तोणयां जोड

ते घेवन गेला चिटा-यांश्यां मुलांघरीं

आगागा चिटा-याशा मुलांनी

बारां तोणयो जोडा रंगोन दिवशी

चिटा-याशी मुलांनी

धत्रार धन्नी

सुत्रार कापनी

रापण्या रापयली

पाताळणीले कुंवर हाडले

चुन्या पाना रंगयले

नारकां पारकां अस्तुरां गुटलावन हाडून दिला गुरुलागी

तिनशी देवांशे वरड जाले

आमच्या गुरुन काय केलें

एक दिस पाडवो, दोन दीस बी, तीन दीस तय, चार दिस चवत

पांचां पंचम, स दिसां सश्ट, सातां सश्टम, अष्टदिसां अष्टम,

नवदिसा नम, धा दिसा दसम, इकरा दिसां एकादिस,
बारा दिसा शिगमो

आमच्या गुरुन काय केलें

बारा गडी साज केले

न्हावले माखले

जेवन खावन सुद जाले

माथ्या मुकुट माथ्या घालो

दाये मुठी तामेठी

उजवे मुळी तोणया जोड

चांगलात मांगलात माणांमदें परयास जाले

आरे आरे गडयानो वर्साचो शिगमो येयला

आयलो गडो नाणेमेटी, पले गडो नाणेमेटी

गडयातोणी इंदुळशें

तोणी पळळी बंबेवर

काड तोणी उतोर सामी

बड्डे गांवशे खेळे रे आमी

दांत पिळी विडश्डया मस्तंगावर

खेमतुरे सायतुरे

घातीलो पाताळा

नुण पडलें धरतेवर

शीर उल्लें आकाशा

पापी बाणा वोधून जाले

रागा गे रावटोळे बाणा डंगर वधून जाले

एक वाण नी एक बरण घेवन गेलां जंगलांमदें

ते बाण नी ते बरण कुणी राकशे

कुळब्यांच्या झीलोनी राकशे

एक वन भोवतां, दोन वन भोवतां, तीन वन भोवतां

चारशां पाचश्यां वनांत पावलो

तानेन भुकेन बाळ सर्गतान जालो

सकांळी तासयेळीं सांच्या तारयेळीं,

सुकेरुप पर्याजिला

सुके रुकार पंच फाकुर बसलां

वरशे पांये खालशी तकली

एक वोड कानभर, दोन वोड धिपुरभर

बाण सोडला फाकरां धंदासूर
फाकरु पडलें धन्नीवर
धावून गेला पारदी
एक चिमटी भरतां दोन चिमटी भरतां
तिनशे, चारशे चिमटे रे साद भला
एक वन भोवतां, दोन वन भोवतां, तीनशें चारशें वनांत पावलो
सकाळच्या तासयेळीं सांच्येच्या पारयेळी सुके रुप पर्यांजिला
सुके रूकार पंचखाजें बसला
पारद्यान केल्लें सद्दरमना
एक वोड कानभर दोन वोड धिपुरभर
बाण सोडला पंचखाज्यार धंदासूर
खाजें पडले धन्नीवर
धावोन गेला पारदी
काडली कडसरी माल्ली पोटार वाग-याक
आंतपिळी काडण पडयासन व्हेलें
ते व्हन घालें चिटारेश्या मुलांघरी
आगागा चिटारेश्या मुलानो
कुंसवशे, नन्दवशें, धुपांवशें

तेजी केली तीन फोडां	एक घालें देवासोबे
एक केली धर्तर माता	एक घालें शिगम्याभेटे
एक केली तुळोसमाता	एक घालें लगनासोबे

एक केली सरस्पोती
आंब्या ताळयारे तीन तोन्ना बांदल्यां
तीन तोन्ना जिकून घेवशी
एक पडलें जातरे भेटे
एक पडलें वाडये सपणा
एक पडलें बसयास्के
पाच तांगा घेतलें खाजे
साठ पुरव साठ घागर
सरवय देवां नमस्कार

शिगम्या वळ

मावळिंगेच्या मुळी गो मावळण चालीत गेल्या

मारीला कुदोळ काडिलो थेपो
तेतूं रोयला बी
बी ती बी मावळिंगे बी
करडा धापण मेघा शिंपण
किल्लार कुमंडळ मुडगुस आयलें

फोपुळां एवढे मुळ रे जाल्यां
वरडा एवढे पान रे जाल्यां
मुगडा एवढो कोळो रे जाला
कारबा एवढे फुल रे जालां
निमया येवढे कागुट जाल्यां
नाल्ला एवढे मावळिंग जाल्यां

मावळिंगेच्या मळया गो मावळण चालोन गेल्या
मावळिंगा खुटुन मावळणी हुट भरिल्या
लंकेच्या मारगाक मावळण चालोन गेल्या
जंवळी देकले मावळण आंगणा उतल्ल्या
हांतरे तोटे घालून मावळणीन बसकार केला
गॉड उदीक दिवन मावळणी थंड केलो
मावळिंगाची भेटगा रावणात
सुरये नारे   मावले माळंगा लगना जाल्या
मावळिंगाची भेट गा रावणान टाकोन दिल्या
मुरजाजरी रे करजोंळयां भेट इसल्ल्या
भेट इसवल्या थिंगा भेट फुटल्या
भेट फुटल्या तशी कन्या जलमल्या
कन्या जलमली सोन्या लंका धोलता
सोन्याची लंका धोलो कोण गा कारण
आपल्या रे दांवण्याका ताणी बोलायलां
धावा रे धांवण्यानो जयश्यांल्या वाडयां
जयश्यांच्या वाडयां रे धांवडे चालोन गेल्या

कोणाचे धावंडे तुमी कित्या पावल्यां
आमी गा धावंडे सायबा रावोणाचे
रावोणाचे धांवडे तुमी कित्या पावल्या
आमच्या गा धनयांनी तुमी बोलायिल्यां
पुस्तकांच्या कारा सयत येवो सांगल्या
लंकेच्या मारगाक जोयशी चालीन गेल्या
सोन्याचे लंका धोलूं कोण का कारण
शेंडीच सोडून जाणान मांडी मोडली
दाया उजयां मांडयावर पुस्तकां सोडिल्यां
गणित करतांना जाणा जयस सापंडलां
सोन्याचे लंका धोलो पुतरा कारण
धावांय रे धांवण्यानो थेवयांल्या वाडयार
थेवयांच्या वाडयांर धावणे चालोन गेल्या
बावन्न चंदन मारुन थेवयानो फळीं रे कांडा
बावन्न चंदन मारुन थेवयानी फळीं कांडील्यां
उठ घडे नाल करतां पेट धडयीला,
पेट नारे घडली थेवया इस्तेवार
पेट नारे ओपली थेवयां धावोण्यांक
लागलेलो दुडु रे पैसो गोणून दिला
लंकेच्या मारगाक धांवडे चालोन येयला
त्या गा पेटां भल्या एक कन्या गो नार
चाये ना कुलपां पेटे अरंदिल्या
चोगजण भोय गा नारीक धाडून दिल्या
समदिरांचे वेळे पेट घेवून गा गेल्या
समदिरांचे पाळांवर पेट सोडिल्या
लंकेच्या मारगाक धांवडे चालोन गेल्या

गुडां

माडाच्या मुळारु दुदनीचें आळें
बेळुच चडोता दुदीच वाडोता
हे गुड सांगा व्होवळयांनो
माटवां येया

भरिल्ल्या सोबे गुडा अर्थ सांगा

खडलेच्या पेगरा मारिलें पेंव
तितूं घातिल्या रसीम दांव
भरतार नाशिल्ले बाळे जाली सशिर लेकरां
हे गुड सांगा व्होवळयानो
माटवां येया
भरिल्ल्या सोबे गुडा अर्थ सांगा

बापायक मारला पुताक रानला
मामाक जेवूं घातला
हे गुड सांगा व्होवळयानो
माटवां येया
भरिल्ल्या सोबे गुडा अर्थ सांगा

साट वर्सां गोटो वर्सां वर्सां कडी
हे गुड सांगा व्होवळयानो
माटवां येया
भरिल्ल्या सोबे गुडा अर्थ सांगा

तोणये शिलोप

अल्लंग बल्लंग आदेसा आदेस
रामाच्या गजारे शिंग वाजे
आमता रे बोमता गडया गडो इंदोळे जिलो
पडलो मांडावर काड झेलो नाय तु-या रामाच्या शिंगसाटी
बड्डें गांवचे खेळे रे आमी
तोणी पडली धन्नेवर
काड तोणी उतोर सामी
बड्डें गांवचे खेळे रे आमी

Appendix 8

Shamipatra to be read out by the *Kulkarni* of Agas-Shiroti at Shree Gramdeva Lakshmi-Narayan Temple, Shiroti Cola on *Vijayadashami* day (*Ashwin Shuddha Dashami*).

|| श्री ग्रमपुरुषदेव लक्ष्मीनारायण देव प्रसन्नोस्तु ॥

|| श्री मन्महा गणाधिपतये नमः॥

अचिंत्याय व्यक्त रुपाय निर्गुणाय गुणात्मने समस्त जगदाधार मूर्तये ब्राह्मणे नमः ॥१॥ शमे शमयते पापं शम शत्रु विनाशन्म अर्जुनस्य धनुर्धारी रामस्य प्रियदर्शनात ॥२॥ आदिराजा महाराजा वनराजा वनस्पती इष्ट दर्शन मिषान्न देहिमे सुख संपदा ॥३॥ शमे कमल पत्राक्ष शमे कंटक रोहिणी आयुरारोग्य महेश्वर्य आयु प्रणतो रक्षका ॥४॥ शांताकारं भुजग शयनं पद्मनाभं सुरेशं॥ विश्वाधारं गगन सदृशं मेघवर्ण शुभांगं॥ लक्ष्मीकांतं कमल नयनं योगाभिध्र्या नगम्यं ॥ वंदे विष्णुं भवभयहरं सर्व लौकेक नाथं ॥५॥ शिर्षे यस्य विराजिते सुरनदि भाळार्ध चंद्रोमहान् ॥ ग्रीवायां मतिधारणं च गरळं पाणे कपाळं शुभं ॥ भस्मो धुलित सर्व गात्रं धवलो कंठेस्ति माला शुभं ॥ खोल ग्रामवासी ग्रामपुरुष कुर्यात सदा मंगलम् ॥६॥

स्वास्ति श्रीमन्नृशप शालिवाहन शके १९१८ धातश्नाम सवंत्सरे आश्विन शुक्ल १० मी इंदूवासरे विजयादशमी दसरेचे सुमुहूर्ति महोत्साहास श्री सरस्वती देवीसह शमी पूजनांचे सुफल जाणून कैलासांचलवासी महारुद्र श्री ग्रमपुरुष अघाद नगरवासी यां सन्निधौ सत्वांशपूर्ण ब्रह्मन सनसतन क्षिराद्वीवासी रमा माधव शङ्गुणैश्वर्यसंपन्न श्रीलक्ष्मीनारायण देव साकारयुक्त भक्तजन मानसरंजक शिबिका आरोहण होऊन वादय गाढ्य नाटय नश्त्य छत्र चामर सुर्यपान अग्रागिरी यासह परमानंदे सिमोलंघनेसी स्वारीस प्रयाण केले बरोबर ग्रामवासी अगर परवासी हरग्रहस्थ प्रतिवर्ष शमीपूजनांचा महोत्साह सफल करणेचे जाणोन साक्षात्कारे अवतार धरोन दीव्य वश्क्षराज असा आपटेचा तरुवर याचे बुडी शास्त्रविधीयुक्त विधानीक यथासांग्य प्रकारे पूजा करून समस्त मंडळीस व भाव पूतभाव देशमुख देशपांडे महाजन वश्क्षराज सांन्निधौ बैठीका घालून समस्तानी बैसून घेऊन कौल करार केला. तद्समंदी श्री महानळप्रभु हरीराया विभांडंक परराया राजे सोंदे संस्थान सोदा हे नितीयुक्त शास्त्राप्रमाणे गोब्राह्मण प्रतिपालन दुष्ट निर्दळण सुजन धर्मस्त याते प्रतिपालन करून चातुर्यतेने राज्यकारभार करीत होते ते इश्वरसंकल्पानुसार भाळी लेखन केलेचे विधीलीखीत चुकत नसून तो समय आल्यावरून बळहत होऊन हिंदूस्थानचा राज्यकारभार मावळावयाचा समय प्राप्त झाला वरून सोंदे संस्थानीकांवर नबाब हैदर अली खान वगैरे यांचे परचक्र पडून संस्थानीकांतून पदच्युत केले समयी हे राज्य सोडून परराज्य गोमंतक संस्थान म्लेंछ प्रभू फिर्गी पूर्व शास्त्र वर्तमाने कलीयुग प्रदेशी पश्थ्वी पतित्व होणेचे वरदोत्किने इश्वर विभूतीस्तं यवन मंडळात म्लेछ द्वीपावतीमध्ये पोर्तुगीज मुलुखातून गोमांचळ पर्वती नदिपतीतून जहाजावरून सागमन होऊन साहसष्ट बारदेश गोमंतक पैकी सही करून घेऊन फिर्गी संस्थान करून नांदत होते तेथे आगमन केले तेव्हां इकडे परचक्र विध्वंसनार्थ मौजे खोल येथील श्री ग्रामदेव आदी देवतांची आराधना करीता सुप्रसन्न होऊन परचक्राते मोठे दुःसह विघ्नकारक महामारी भयंकर पीडण करुन सैनीकाते पळ सुटला आणि लढाइस पाठी देऊन पिपिलीका हरिये प्रमाणे फौज बांदी परत स्वदेशमार्ग लक्षून मुरडले परंतु सोंदे संस्थानातून पदच्युत जाहले निमित्ये फिर्गी संस्थानात आगमन केले ते वेळी एकबळ इजलाल पन्हा गोवेर्णादोर जराल द इंदीया राज्याधिकारी यास येऊन भेटले त्यानी आश्वासन देऊन संस्थानीक मशारनिल्लेस ठेवून घेऊन विचार करितां

संस्थानीकांवर परचक्र आलेचे मौजे खोल येथील श्री ग्रामदेवसह उग्र देवतांचे अनुग्रहे व महत् प्रतापे करुन पराभव झाले. तैसे आताही संस्थान काबीज करुन घेऊन रुजू करुन घेणेस यशकिर्तींचा लाभ ह्यांजकडून येईल तद्विषयी संशय नाही असे जाणून साहेब गोवेर्णादोर याही समस्त देसाई गांवकर कुळकर्णी मौजे खोल ग्राम यास आज्ञा सादर केली की तुम्ही समस्त एकचित्त करुन फौजबांदी तोषखाना वगैरे पाहिजे तो संरजाम घेउन बहुचपळेने सोदे संस्थान करुन घेऊन हस्तगत करुन घेणे ते समयी ग्रामस्त एकत्र होऊन आपणामधील परमचतुर सारासार जाणतें दोघेजण नेमणूक करुन देता त्यांस पाहिजे तो संरजाम देऊन दक्षिणोत्तर देश काबीज करणेस रवाना केले बराबर त्यांस फौजबादी तोषखाना पाहिजे तो संरजाम दिला बी तपशील.

मलरेंकर अर्धाचे देसाई यांस फौज   शीरोटीकर अर्धाचे देसाई यांस फौज

बांदी तोषखाना बी तपशील   बांदी तोषखाना बी तपशील

२४५४५ हत्तीस्वार अलंकारसुद्धा ३०९. ५७ घोडेस्वार अलंकारसुद्धा ३५५४८

रथारुढ ४५९९६ पायदळ ४३४५ हुदेरुमाल २५२५ सुर्यपानआप्तागि-या ३९९० दीवटया ९३५ रणभेरी ५७९५५ कश्ण्याराय होन व कुर्जाद मोहरा मुयेदे व सुर्ती फिर्गी रुपये एकूण समंदी संख्या नाणेने संरजाम. येणेप्रमाणे संरजाम देऊन उभयतांस हस्तमात्रा व कर्णमात्रा व मोत्याचे चौकडे व गळयांत कंठया नवरत्नजडीत मुद्रीका भरणापुरी शेले व कुसुंबी पागोटी धोल चवरे सहवर्तमान पाठविले त्यांबरोबर सरकारातून दप्तरवाले कुळकर्णी दोन्ही अर्धाचे दोघेजण याप्रमाणे देऊन रवाना केले असे ते प्रमाणे धनी कामावर नजर देऊन धनी काम फत्ते केलेवर गाव मोकासा देतील. येणे प्रमाणे केलेला दर्शरेचे सुमुहुर्ती फर्मान सही.

कुळकर्णी
वैकुंठ ल. कुलकर्णी

Source : Vaikunth L. Kulkarni, Gramdev Lakshminarayan Temple, Cola, Canacona, 1999.

* Minor gramatical changes have been made.

Appendix 8

श्री मल्लिकार्जुन देव अडवट सिंहासनाधीश्वर महापती काणकोण

शमेशयते पापं शम शत्रुविनाशनं ॥ अर्जुनस्य धनुर्धारी रामस्य प्रियदर्शनम् ॥१॥

आदिराजामहाराजा वनराजा वनस्पती ॥ इष्टदर्शन मिषान्नं देहिमे सुखसंपदाम् ॥२॥

शीर्षे यस्य विराजिते सुरनदी भालार्ध चंद्रोमहान् ॥ ग्रीवाया मतिदारुणंच गरलंपाणौ कपालंशुभम् ॥ २॥

भस्मोध्दूलित सर्वगात्रधवलं कंठेस्थिमालाशुभा ॥ दिग्वासा मल्लिकार्जुनो विजयते क्रौंचेद क्षेत्रे शुभे ॥३॥

चिंतामणि प्रणमतां निशामणि शियेमणि ॥कपाली लोकपालीवा पातुनित्यं महाबलम् ॥४॥

स्वस्ती श्रीमत्सनीय सुरासुर निकर समर्चित श्रीचरणारविंद सनकादिक मुनिहृदय सरसिरोरुह भ्रमर, सर्वमंगला रमण हरिमारद्यदुरिन, पक्षिनिक्षेप प्रलय काळभैरव प्रबल बलाखंड, दशकंठ रावणोर्दंड दोर्दंड मंडलाखर्व गर्वस्व निर्वापणाक्रांत सप्तपाताळ श्रीचरणयुगुल भवभयांधकार निर्हरण, सरस्त्रकिरण वज्रपंजर शरणांगत वत्सल पुण्यक्षेत्र वाराणसी कण्व पुराधीश्वर अष्टषष्ठि शिवलिंग सार्वभौम श्रीमल्लिकार्जुन देव अडव्ट सिंहासनाधीश्वर महापती काणकोण .

स्वस्ती श्रीमन्नऋप शालिवाहन शके, — नामसंवत्सरे दक्षिणायने शरदऋतौ आश्विन मासे शुक्लपक्षे दशम्यां रविवासरे दसरेचे सुमुहूर्ती श्रीमनलप्रभु मल्लिकार्जुन देव शिबिकायानी आरुढ होऊन सीमोल्लंघनार्थ समागमे वेदोच्चरित कीर्तिघोष तेच प्रकारे भूषणे छत्रचामरें, सूर्यपाने अप्तागिरिया हुदेरूमाल, मोर्च्येला इत्यादिक बिरुदावली मंडन, वाद्यगाद्य भेरी दुंदुभी वाजवीत श्रीदेव काशीपुरुष देवाचे आलयी वौशज काणकोणकर वांगडी देशमुख तथा देशपांडे यांही सर्व शूरपणाचे समुदायानिशी श्रीदेव सीमोल्लंघनार्थ आपटा युक्त शमीवऋक्षाचे तळी बैठिका होऊन षोडडशोपचारे पूजाकरून महोत्साहकरितां श्रीभवानी शंकर भक्ती संतुष्ट होऊन सर्वजनांते सुखपावणे. तशीच अभिवश्छ्रीस्तव स्वर्णपत्रें म्हणजे आपटेचीपर्णे व गंध प्रसाद वोपून देतां स्वसामर्थ्ये व धैर्य पराक्रामें शत्रुपराभवें परमुलुखी ठाणे पिछाणे मरामत करून श्रीमनल प्रभुचा नामांश अत्युत्कऋष्ट होऊन हास्याने तमाम देशप्रदेश राज्यासन्हेत श्रीदेव क्रौंच पुरवासी परतीर उज्जयिनी विद्यानगर पर्यंत मनकर्णिका श्री मल्लिकार्जुन लिंग आहे . तदपावे तंव देशमुख समस्त ग्रामवासी बारा पुरूष वांगडी म्हणजे बंधुवर्ग तथा देशपांडे यांही कुशस्थळीं कपिला तीर्थ श्रीमन शंभो आराधिला सह दौलताबाद अहमदानगर पर्यंत द्वारकाधीश नर्मदापावे तंव दिल्ली याप्रमाणे नामाभिधाने देशकाबीज होतां हरहर शब्दें जयजयकारें भाट गर्जना ज्या ज्यांस बिरूदायेत अंबारी, शिबिका अश्व इत्यादिक दौलत अणभवून सर्फराज्य होऊन सतत या प्रमाणे चालवणेस श्रीमच्चरण कमल चिंतन करून सुख संतोष पावते झाले .

वांगड जवविता		बक्षिस दिलेचा तपशिल
१ म्हाल वांगड	६०० वतन	२००० पेलयी गांवजी.
२ उत्तर नायेक वांगड	९०० ढाल	१३०० मोर्च्येला.
३ आलवा नायेक वांगड	२०० पालख्या	६०० सूर्यपाने.
४ मदनिया वांगड	६०० हुदरूमाल	२००० घोडेस्वार.
५ मुळनायेक वांगड	९०० हत्ती	१६०० अप्तागिरिया
६ नुयनायेक वांगड	१००० पायदळ	येणे प्रमाण बक्षिस विडा देऊन कायदे
७ मुकनायेक वांगड	४०० हयदळ	रवाना केले. असे वौशपरंपरा
८ तेलक नायक वांगड	६०० चुनाथाली	श्रीरंग पटट्ण चालू व्हावे म्हणून
९ केशिया वांगड	४००० घोडे	
१० नागफळ वांगड	७००० साज्जी	
	श्रीमच्चरण कमल प्रसन्नोस्तु	

TRANSLATION OF FOLK NARRATIVE

Chowrang - I

What is the beauty of heaven O Dear?
Gods are the beauty of heaven.
What is the beauty of the sky?
The Sun is the elegance of the sky.
What is the grace of the nether world?
It's the snakes.
What is the beauty of the Earth?
Pandavas are the beauty of the Earth.
What is the beauty of the cowshed?
Calves are beauty of it.
What is the beauty of the threshold?
It is the Lakshmi.
What is the beauty of the lounge of the house?
It is the man.
What is the beauty of the man?
It is the turban.
What is the beauty of the family?
It is the housewife.
What is the beauty of the housewife?
It is the Shendur (Vermilion).

Chowrang - II

Weak and lame and blind, too
So also deaf O my dear
What did Shravan do O my dear
Walked to a nearby area.
Shravan met *Dada* just now
And received hospitable reception.
What is the purpose of your visit O Shravan?
What is the motive of approaching the carpenters?
Cutting fifty two sandalwood trees, arrange the planks O carpenter
Cutting fifty-two sandalwood trees the planks are ready O carpenters
Is *kavad* formed from the planks O carpenters?
Kavad formed from the planks O carpenters.
Kavad was handed over to Shravan.
Shravan carried *kavad* on his shoulders.
Shravan returned to his home.
He placed his parents in the *kavad.*
He also took pitcher.
Then he lifted the *kavad* onto his head O dear
Shravan traded along his destined path.
Shravan reached the sandalwood plantation.
He hanged the *kavad* at a sandalwood tree.
Having eaten *soji,* the parents were thirsty O my son.

No village or town in the vicinity, there is water scarcity.
He lifted the pitcher.
Shravan walked towards a lake in the woods.
He dipped the pitcher in the water.
The gurgling sound of the water emerged
The moment the pitcher was dipped.
Dasharatha was alerted due to the gurgling sound
And he shot the arrow from the bow.
Dasharatha committed a killing O uncle.
The arrow pierced into Shravan's bosom.
Don't worry O nephew, I would give you life.
I appologise by placing my head onto your feet.
Most humbly I appologise and surrender.
Even the God would laugh to such an act.
I surrendered by placing my head onto your chest.
Shravan succumbed to his injuries.
Kanadai cursed (Dasharath) for his inhuman act.

Kavad : bamboo lath for carring pitchers and other goods.
Soji : sweet dish made of wheat flour.

Tale

The red mud surrounding the temple.
Wicks are lit in the temple of the goddess.

Oh Anjani's son - Hanumanta, have a leap
Have a leap on Lanka.

He jumped over Lanka
And spotted Sita.

Rama abandoned his kingdom
Swayamvar is held for Sita.

I assure to give you my earring boatman
The rivers and wells are flooded
Don't divulge the secret that I have crossed the river.
I'll definitely give you the earring.

Young bride goes to the stream to fetch water
Ogling at her a darshan of Vithoba.

If at all opportuned with life.
Do visit Pandharpur
To have a darshan of Vithoba.

Hanumant - Hanuman - the monkey chief and the friend and ally of Rama.
Swayamvar - The choosing, by a female of a man to be her husband
Darshan - Visiting any sacred shrine or an idol.
Pandharpur - The city Pandharpur, sacred from the continual presence in it of Vithoba.
Vithoba - Much worshipped God at Pandharpur. He is stated to be Lord Krishna himself who is believed to have visited the city.

Arati

Who has seen the incredible blossoming
Of the sandalwood tree onto the mountain?
The fragrance is experienced by the queens.
The dance is in progress in the courtyard of the fortunate one.
The youngest daughter-in-law is freshened after bath.
Clad in *pitambar* she has worn effulgent blouse.
The hair is bedaubed with coconut oil
And well set after combing.
Silky tassels are tucked in the hair-bun.
Hair dress is embellished with *kendlem* and screw pine flower
The housewife is holding the golden plate
Rice and sesame grains in it
Nectar-fruit (coconut) placed too,
A bunch of thirty-two betel leaves,
So also sandal paste and holy rice,
Flowers and collyrium are placed.
A handful of grains placed in the plate.
The plate is over brimmed due to five coconuts
She has lit the *arati* of five wicks.
She is holding the pot full of water
Rice and sesame grains now in her fist.

Arati : the ceremony of waving a platter containing burning lamp.
Pitambar - yellow colour silk cloth.

Shilop

The earth, village and the boundary
These three blocks were distributed
Equally among the kings.
The foremost deity Adinath,
The next deity - Jagannath on the stalk of lotus,
The Nirakar on the waters.
Five gods came down for discussion.
The foremost god - the Nagavant
Ishwar at the left
Mahadev in the middle and Brahmadev at the right.
The Sun God is set all out to pay in the infinite expanse
With the instrument *Kalas* and *Mhadalem*
The God of the sky is gone to play
The God of the sky has begun his play in his kingdom.
No wealth, no riches
No elephants, no horses
Give me sons like the Sun and the Moon.
Let me heave a sigh of relief.
Thirty-three crore gods went to Nagzari lake
And quenched their thirst.

Sons like the Sun and the Moon were bathed,
Cleaned, dressed and embellished,
Placing them into the golden plate they were brought to the
Kingdom with pomp and splendour.
Thirty-three crore gods arranged the chariot,
The Sun radiated his light in the entire environs.
The Earth is mounted on the hood of Shesha.
The dung lump of black cow was strewn all over earth,
Village, boundary.
It was made obverse and reverse for drying
Burning it was converted into ashes.
And was strewn into seven oceans.
Guru sent his Basav O *patal*
Basav met gods in *Patal* and was questioned about his visit
Getting catechu seeds was the purpose of his visit.
Gods ordered the fish to locale the seed.
The first ocean was rummaged Second ocean was rummaged
The third one was rummaged.
Fourth one was searched
Fifth one was crossed
Even the sixth one.
Eventually into the seventh ocean.
Swimming deep into the ocean
The fish succeeded in getting catechu seed.
Handed it over to the Basava.
Went away the fish, Basava returned to the god's kingdom.
Has the Basava arrived O folks,
Ask him, interrogate him.
One step on the chest
Another one on the head.
Glued he at Guru's feet.
Hurled catechu seed amidst the gathering.
Someone commented - mango seed,
Another one remarked - zambo seed,
Chipped in another one - water melon seed
Said yet another one - Mauling seed
Tested all the gods.
Realised Brahmadev fully
Definitely is it catechu seed.
Ishwar took hoe and spade
Parvati held basket and walked to the plains.
Dug up with hoe and removed mud-lump
Seed sown in circular trench of mud
Covered with thatch grass,
Sprinkled by clouds
Germinated and sprouted.
Emerged a leaf and then a catechu.
Two leaves emerged with the birth of moon and sun.
Three leaves emerged with the birth of three snakes.

Four leaves emerged and it scattered all over.
With emergence of five leaves Pandavas were born.
With the six leaves six princes were born.
And with seven leaves seven seas formed.
With the eight leaves the eighth incarnation) Krishna was born.
Ten leaves emerged paving the way for the birth of ten-headed
and twenty-one armed Ravana.
Eleven leaves emerged with the birth of Guru Vishwamitra.
With the twelve leaves formed in the twelve continents.
With thirteen leaves thirteen wicks lit at the feet of gods
Emerged fourteen leaves and was born Ganesh of fourteen heads
To shower rains with abundant water all over.
With the emergence of sixteen leaves sixteen nymphs were born
Came seventeen leaves and Ram Lakshman were born.
With the emergence of eighteen leaves abundant crop.
Was grown satisfying everybody.
Orchards and plantations spread till the seashore
Emerged nineteen leaves and was born demon Andasur.
With twenty leaves sage Vishwamitra sat to meditate.
Our Master is deaf, blind and lame, got hood of axe.
Took rice and sesame and commenced his journey
Also took *vido* of thirty-two betel-leaves.
And marched and camped in the forest.
Crossed one forest, and then second and eventually fifth one.
He was distressed with the thirst and hunger from dawn to dusk.
Spotted a catechu tree.
Sprinkled rice and sesame on it.
Offered *vido* at the bottom of catechu tree.
Prostrated in the sixteen directions.
With the incessant blows he cut the tree.
The top of the tree fell to the west and the root at the east.
With the saw a piece of trunk was cut
Lifted the log onto his head with all the force.
Carried it to the carpenter.
Divide it into three pieces, O sons of carpenter.
One for the temple-pole, one for the *mridanga*
and the third for making a dozen sticks.
The sons of carpenter instantly got up.
Measured the log and then cut it into three parts.
Prepared temple-pole, *mridanga*-piece and sticks.
And walked he to the painter and got painted the sticks.
Painters also handed them costumes.
It followed the ovation of God.
Our Guru made preparation for twelve days for *shigmo*.

Redied he twelve play-mates
With ablution and meal freshened themselves.
They wore the crowns.
Held red kerchiefs in the left hand.
Pairs of sticks in the right one.
Entered they ceremonially on the *mand.*
Proclaimed they the arrival of *shigmo* festival.
Commenced their swaying along with the hitting of the sticks.
O playmates of Baddem village, come on let us dance.
A beast crackled teeth was shot.
Torso fell on the ground and the head bounced in the sky.
Thus was it killed and carried to the forest settlement.
The sons of *kunbis* were asked to guard it.
Then set he for the next mission.
Crossed he many forests and was distressed with thirst and hunger.
Spotted he five birds sitting on a dry tree.
Shot at one and killed it.
The hunter marched through the other forest.
Spotted he yet another beast and killed it too.
He cut its stomach with his weapon and extracted the intestine and the hide.
Carried it to the processors.
O sons process it properly.
Separated they into three parts.
One for the Earth, another for.the *Tulsi-mata;*
And another for Saraswati.
One was offered to God,
Another as a *shigmo* gift.
And the third one was used for the marriage ceremony.
Three arches of mango springs were erected.
One was offered in the *zatra,*
Second one on the threshold of the settlement (ward),
And the third one at the seat of Basava.
Khajem was bought for five *tangas.*
Sixty pots were bought for sixty *purav:*
Salutation to all gods.

Guru - a spiritual parent; a religious teacher; one who instructs in *shastras.*
Basava - the image of Nandi or Shiva's bull.
Patal - the region under the earth and the abode of serpents hell.
Zambo - a timber tree.
Mauling : common citron fruit
Vido : betel leaves and arecanut.
Mridang : a percussion instrument.
Shigmo : spring festival
Mand : a sacred countryyard.
Zatra : periodic festival of an idol.
Purav : an ancestor.

Shigmya Val

The aunt walked to the Mauling tree.
With a blow of hoe mud-lump was removed
A Mauling seed was planted it.
Covered with thatch grass Sprinkled water by clouds.
Germinated and sprouted the seed.
The root was fleshy like an arecanut.
The leaf grew to the size of a palm.
Following a bud like as *mudgus.*
The flower like a *karab.* The fruit like a lemon.
An the mauling grew like a coconut.
Aunt walked to the Mauling tree.
She plucked a bagful of Maulings.
Marched she straightway to Lanka.
Approached the majestic yard in Lanka.
She sat on a mat and relaxed in the yard.
She was welcomed with jaggery and water.
Offered she a magnificent gift of Mauling to Ravana.
Started Ravana sharpening the knife.
The knife did not wield the required result.
Ravana hurled the Mauling with rage.
Forgor angry Ravana the worth of gift.
The impact of its hurling caused split of the fruit
Causing the birth of a girl.
Lanka rejoiced in her birth.
What is the cause of this happiness?
Go to the *Joshi* (village priest)
They sprinted to Joshi's ward.
Who are you and what for have you come?
We are the messengers of Ravana came to invite you.
You are requested to come along with religious scriptures.
Joshi walked to Lanka,
O priest, what is the cause of this joy?
Sat he in a posture of prophesy.
The books arranged systematically and solved he the enigma.
Reason for joy is the birth of child.
Run to the carpenters' ward O messengers.
Messengers sprinted to the carpenters' ward.
Cut fifity-two sandalwood trees for planks.
Planks were redied after cutting the trees.
The carpenters were asked to make a box.
They prepared an incredible box.
Carpenters handed over the box to the messengers.
The money was paid, returned messengers to Lanka.
The girl was placed in the box, sealed it with locks.
Four carriers were entrusted to hold it.
Carried the box to the seashore and wafted it over the waves

Mudgus : crounching or contracted form of the body under some covering.
Karab : flower shaped ear-ornament.

Gudam

At the bottom of the coconut tree
There is a circular trench of pumpkin creeper
The creeper is growing so also pumpkin.
Solve this puzzle to the satisfaction of the gathering.

A pit was dug aside the courtyard.
In it were planted the silky roots.
The virgin delivered thousand offsprings.
Solve this puzzle to the satisfaction of the gathering.

The father is killed, the son has cooked
The uncle is invited for the lunch.
Solve this puzzle to the satisfaction of the gathering.

Grains obtained after sixty years,
Curry of the year.
Solve this puzzle to the satisfaction of the gathering.

Tanaye shilop

On there come divine order
The horn is blown by the grace of Rama and Gaja,
The folk dancers were assembling
Pick up the garland from the *mand.*
And tuck it to your Tuft of headgear.
Let us rejoice the stick dance:
Take the holy stick and join the gathering
We are the dancers from Baddem village

Toni : stick used in dances
Tonaye shilop : verse of the stick

Appendix 9

Scriptures of *Tako* from Poinguinim

First line-
श्रीगडिखांचगडिचामेडागडिअंक्टंक्सुंकचवरगादिगादियेवरपडगादिदावुपाव्अचुमलरावुस्थापनाचारिसोन्याचावाटियेवरिरूपेंचागो व्रावावस्रव्रवांचापाटपरिमव्राउन्धरतीपाचसेसतियां
Second line-
चीमहिमा काव्लिगादिपांदरीसाती तिहीभूर्चींउपरिसुवर्णाचाकालशगृतीमसरांटिगजागण्णवेत्रराणावोलावूनिआणिला माणिकसिखां यघातलावारारायायाचाझुजारवारारायखांडिचेखांडेस्थव्लिके
Third line-
लेनेरावेराआचाअंक्रणाघडिएकसिंह्मैरपाव्ठरणागतारक्षपाव्आलेगेंलेयाचाप्रतिपाव्उलंघुनिधांडितावव्लिआश्रमांचाआंवलापोठिचे देंतीपण्णपाठचेरास्वतिशरणागतांवज्रपंजराठरी शके१७८५ सु.

Appendix 10
Important rituals, fairs and festivals held in various important Hindu temples and shrines in Canacona.

Mallikarjun (Shristhal)

Chaitra	*Vasant puja, Puranvachan,* dance by *Kalavatam,* etc.
Vaishakha	*Vasant puja* continues upto *Paurnima.* Thereafter *Jagor* performances, *shens* on *Krishna Chaturdashi*
Ashadha	*Bhajan saptaha* from *Krishna Ashtami* to *Amavasya* comprising altogether seven *par* managed by *Daivadnya Brahman, Komarpant, Gayak-Mhalashi, Bhat-priest* − *Velip, Gaud Saraswat Brahman, Desai Gaonkar* from Kindalem and *Desai Gaonkar* from Nagarcem.
Shravan	*Maharudra anushthan* *Rangapuja* on every Monday *Gokulashtami* celebration *Navyam Parab* on *Krishna Dvadashi*
Bhadrapada	*Navyam Utsav* on *Shuddha Panchami* *Suntam punav* celebration
Ashwin	*Navaratri* celebration and *Makharotsava* *Simollanghana* and *Shamipatra-vachan* and *sone lutane* on *Dasaro* Thereafter daily *Harijagar*
Kartik	Daily *Harijagar* and *Kirtan* daily in the first fortnight *Tulashi lagn* on *Shuddha Dvadashi Kalo, Anvalibhojan, Shebikotsava* etc.
Margashirsha	*Maharudra anusthan, Dattajayanti, Rangapuja Shibikostsava*
Paushya	*Taranga-utsav* and *Prasthan* of *Tarangam mel*
Magha	*Ganvpan, Samaradana, Navagraha-shanti, Laghurudra, Rangapuja, Rathotsava, Shibikotsava, sunvarivadan, Puran, Kirtan, Samudrasnan,* etc.
Falgun	*Ganvpan, Panchangvachan, Bhonvar, Divjam, Shelichi Bhonvor* Annual *zatra* on *shashthi Shisharanni* and *Viramel* on every alternate two years.

Parashuram and Purushottam (Welwado, Poinguinim)

Vaishakha	*Krishna Tritiya* – Anniversary celebration and *Rangapuja*
Shravan	*Rangapuja* throughout the month *Jayanchi puja* *Bhajan Saptaha*
Ashwin	*Krishna Chaturdashi* – *Puranavachan* depicting the story related to slaying of *Narakasur*
Magha	*Samaradana, Rangapuja, Perni Jagor, Dispern*
Falgun	*Shuddha Navami* – *Samaradana, Mahapuja* *Krishna Dvitiya* – *Biye zatra (Puran, Rangapuja, Divajam* and *Dipmal* and *Bhonvari)* *Krishna Tritiya* – *Tulabhar, Prasad, Ganvpan.* Besides occasional *Rangapuja.*

Navadurga (Mahalwado, Poinguinim)

Vaishakha	*Akshaya-Tritiya* – *Rangapuja, Divajamchi zatra* Every three years – *Jevni, Santarpan, Lolti* etc.
Ashwin	*Navaratri* – *Rangapuja, Puran, Gondol, Devkarem* on *Mahanavami* day. *Dasaro*
Kartik	*Rangapuja* on the first Tuesday or Friday.
Magha	*Samaradana.*

Nirakar (Maxem)

Chaitra	*Samsarpadvo* – *Panchangvachan, Haldune, Rathotsava, Mahapuja, Dipmal, Divajam, Andolanotsava* annual *zatra* and staging of dramas.
Shravan	*Bhajan saptaha, Jayanchi puja*
Bhadrapada	*Anantvrata*
Ashwin	*Dasaro* dance in *Shankarshem temple.*
Kartik	*Panchangvachan* on *Padvo, Lalakhi, Makharotsav, Sukhasanosava, Vanabhojan, Sangod*
Magha	*Mahashivratri, Samudrasnana*

Gramdeva Lakshmi Narayan (Cola)

Ashwin	Dasaro celebration, Shamipatra vachan, Anantvrata
Magha	Krishna Pratipada to Panchami – annual zatra, Khell and Kalo.

Betal (Soliem-Cola)

Falgun	Paurnima –annual zatra, taranga (satri) dance and Khnich (sacrifice of fowls and goats)

Keshav (Loliem)

Chaitra	Padvo – Panchangvachan Ceremonial invitiation of Chaitra Punav – zatra of Nirakar deity at Maxem.
Vaishakha	Akshay tritiya zatra (five day drama presentation, Divjam, Kaul-prasad)
Jyeshta	Dvadasha Kalashabhisheka
Shravan	Jayanchi puja
Bhadrapad	Navyam parab
Ashwin	Visit of sunvari of Nirakar deity at the temple on the day of Dasaro
Kartik	Shuddha Chaturdashi to Krishna Dvitiya Harijagar Krishna Dvitiya annual zatra and vanabhojan Krishna Tritiya – zatra Dahinkalo, Kaul-prasad
Falgun	Shuddha Navami – Naman by six mel of different wards such as Polem, Tanshi, Sheli, Pedem, Kolkon and Karay. Krishna Dashami – anniversary celebration

Damodar (Loliem)

Chaitra	Krishna Pratipada – annual zatra, prasad. Paurnima – zatra and Rathotsava
Jyeshtha	Shuddha Dashami – anniversary celebration
Ashwin	Harijagor commence from Krishna Chaturdashi
Kartik	Krishna Ashtami to Paurnima: daily Diparadana. Tulashi – marriage on Krishna Dvadashi.
Falgun	Annual Shigmo utsav from Krishna Dashami to Samasar padvo which includes Haldune and presentation of dramas.

Aryadurga (Loliem)

Shravan	Jayanchi puja
Ashwin	Navratri-utsav, Mahapuja, puranvachan etc.

Vishnu (Pedem)	
Vaishakha	Anniversary celebration on *Shuddha Chaturthi*
Shravan	*Jayanchi puja*
Margashirsha	*Annasantarpan* on *Paurnima*
Paushya	*Fovam-Kalo*
Dadd (Polem)	
Paushya	*Bhogti-utsav* in which sacrifice of fowls and goats is made
Bhagavati (Putant, Loliem)	
Paushya	*Mahapuja* and *Samaradana* on *Paurnima*
Adipurusha (Mahalwado)	
	Naivedya on every Monday
Betal (Mahalwado)	
Shravan	*Rangapuja* on second Monday on behalf of *Sondekar family.*
Magh	*Khinch* – (sacrifice of fowls and goats)
	Gadyam zatra and *tako* in every alternate three years
Lakshmi-Narayan (Welwado)	
Chaitra-Vaishakha	*Panchangvachan* on *Samsarpadvo.*
	Vasantpuja from *Paurnima* to *Vaishakha Amavasya*
Ashadha	*Ekadashi Rangapuja* and *Bhajan Saptaha*
Bhadrapada	*Shuddha Dashami – Jayanchi puja,*
	Anantvrata
Ashwin-Kartik	*Shuddha pratipada* to *Kartik Paurnima* – Daily *puja Harijagar, Vanabhojan* on *Kartika Paurnima, Makarotsava, Rangapuja, Kalo* and *Dahinkalo.*
Siddheshwar (Welwado)	
	Puja on every Monday
	Vanabhojan and *Bhajan* on *Kartik Paurnima*
Bhagavati (Khawat)	
Kartik	*Rangapuja* for a week
	Drishti-udak at early hours on any Sunday or Wednesday.
Monadevi (Sadolxem)	
Falgun	Annual *Shigmotsava* from *Shuddha Ekadashi* to *Paurnima* – *Samaradana, Gondol-udo* of *Ambabai,* presentation of dramas.

Babaro (Welwado)	
	Sacrifice of buffalo on the next day of *Gadyam zatra*. Besides offering of *sur-ront* occasionally.

Dundeshwar (Galiem)	
	Puja on *Parvani* (special occasions)

Dugeshwar (Talpona)	
	Puja on special occasions.

Sateri (Kolsar)	
	Occasional *puja* and offerings

Durgadevi (Khargali)	
Margashirsha	*Shuddha Saptami* – annual *zatra, vanabhojan, Kalo*, etc.

Mallikarjun (Gaondongri)	
Chaitra	*Samsarpadvo (vadi)*
Ashadha	*Pournima* – special *naivedya*
Sharavan	6. *Shuddha Pratipada* to *Chaturthi* – *Maharudra* 7. First Monday – *Abhisheka* and *Samaradana.* 8. *Paurnima* – *Suntam punav* rituals 9. *Krishna Dwadashi* – *Navyam parab* in the temple
Bhadrapad	10. *Shuddha Panchami* – *Navyam-charavona shijovap* for the entire village.
Kartik	11. *Shuddha Trayodashi* – *Anvalibhojan, Hariyo (Romat) Kalo.*
Paushya	12. *Shuddha Dashami* to *Chaturdashi* – annual *Shigmo utsav* and staging of five dramas. 13. *Paurnima* – *Charvona Shijovap* and singing songs, decoration of *tarangam.* 14. *Krishna Pratipada* – *Avtar* and *Kaul* 15. Departure of *tarangam-mel* for expedition.
Falgun	16. *Krishna Dvitiya* – return of *tarangam mel* and annual *Biye zatra.* Reading of *Tako.* 17. *Shisharanni* in every third year. 18. *Bhonvdi* in every third year.

Nagesh (Gaondongri)	
Chaitra	*Shuddha Pratipada* – *Dindyam zatra* at early hours

Mallikarjun (Avem)	

Kartik	*Krishna Trayodashi – Kalo*
Paushya	*Krishna Pratipada – Avtar* and *Kaul* *Krishna Tritiya* and *Chaturthi* – stating of dramas.
Falgun	*Krishna Tritiya* and *Chaturthi – zatra.*

Mallikarjun (Kuskem)

Shravan	*Sutam Punav*
Bhadrapada	*Navyam Parab*
Kartik	*Kalo*
Falgun	*Shigmo-Bhonvor, Bhonvdi* every third year.

Gokarn Partagali, Jeevottam Math (Partagali)

Chaitra	*Suddha Pratipada – Samsarapadvo* *Shuddha Dvitiya – Vidyadhiraja Swami Pattabhisheka* anniversary and *Vidhyadhiraja Puraskar* presentation. *Shuddha Navami – Ramnavami – Brahmarathotsava.* *Paurnima – Hanumanjayanti* celebration.
Vaishakha	*Akshaya Tritiya – Parashuram jayanti* celebration
Ashadha	Commencement of *chaturmas-vrata*
Bhadrapada	*Ganesh-Chaturthi* *Anant chaturdashi (Anant vrata)* *Paurnima* – concluding of *chatrumas vrata*
Ashwin	*Naraka-chaturdashi – Diwali* celebration.
Kartik	*Pratipada-* worship of cow *Vaikunth chaturdashi* celebration *Paurnima – vanabhojan* and *Kalo.*
Margashirsha	*Shuddha Shasti – shashti utsav*
Falgun	*Paurnima - Holi*

Church/Chapel	Day of the Feast
St. Anne Church, Agonda	First Sunday of May.
Our Lady of Brotas, Anjidiv	2nd February.
St. Francis Xavier, Bhatpal	3rd December.
St. Anthony's Church, Cabo-de-Rama	15th February.

St. Theresa of Jesus Church, Canacona	Second Sunday of January.
Our Lady Help of the Christians Church, Chiplem	Third Sunday of May.
St. Anthony of Lisbon Church, Galgibag	Third Sunday of January.
St. Sebastian Church, Loliem	First Sunday of May.
Our Lady of Rosary Church, Sadolxem	Second Sunday of May.
Chapel of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour, Maxem	Last Sunday of April.
Chapel of Holy Cross, Daptamol	1st January. (Feast of Mother of God).
Chapel of Our Lady of Fatima, Sheli	Third Sunday of May.
Chapel of Christ the King, Our Lady Saleri	November.
Chapel of Our Lady of Fatima, Ordafond	May.

Note: The temple managements of all major shrines have made permanent arrangements for daily worship from a priest. Similarly all minor shrines have their annual *zatra* celebrations on a day decided according to the convenience of the village population. This day different offerings are made to the deity and people celebrate the feast by organising *samaradana* (community lunch) and *divjam* procession at late hours.

Source:

1. Desai, S. S. SMDI

2. *Shree Parashuram Nutan Shlavigrah Pratishthapana Smaranika* (souvenir) dated 8th April 1993.

3. *Nirakar, Maxem-Canacona: Shree Samsthan Nirakar Smaranika* (souvenir) dated 13th May 1994.

4. *Shree Damodar Samsthan Panchang*, Loliem: Shree Samsthan Shree Damodar Dev 2000-2001.

Appendix 11
Important Branches of Gokarn Partagali Jeevottam Math

Sr. No.	Year of Foundation	Place	Founder
1.	1475	Bhatkal	Narayan Teertha
2.	1475	Partagali	**Narayan Teertha**
3.	1500 (?)	Basarur	Jeevottam Teertha
4.	1649	Ankola	Digvijaya Ramchandra Teertha
5.	1660	Mangalore	Ramakant Teertha
6	1660 (?)	Honavar	Ramchandra Mallya
7.	1668	Gangoli	Narayan Mallya
8.	1817	Venkatapur	Ramchandra K. Mallya
9.	1893	Bicholim	Anujeevottam Teertha
10.	1901	Manki	Indirakant Teertha
11.	1933	Karwar	Indirakant Teertha
12.	1957	Bangalore	Dwarakanath Teertha
13.	1963(15/5/1963)	Vasco	Dwarakanath Teertha
14.	1965 (7/2/1965)	Vadala (Mumbai)	Dwarakanath Teertha
15.	1983 (8/4/1983)	Yellapur	Vidyadhiraja Teertha
16.	1989 (28/6/1989)	Badrinath	Vidyadhiraja Teertha
17.	1989(19/7/1989)	Hubli	Vidyadhiraja Teertha
18.	1990 (18/5/1990)	Belgaum	Vidyadhiraja Teertha
19.	?	Margao	Vidyadhiraja Teertha

Sources: 1. *Parikrama*, Bicholim, Goa: Chandrakant Shantaram Keni, Chaturmas Samiti, Shri Vyasashram, 1988, pp. 1-17.

2.*Shree Samsthan Gokarn Partagali Jeevottam Math Pancha-Shatabdi Mahotsav*, Partagali, 1977.

Appendix 12

Swamijis (pontiffs) of Shree Samsthan Gokarn Partagali Jevottam *Math*

Sr.No.	Swamiji	Tenure	Major contributions
1.	Shree Narayan Teertha Shripad Vader Swamiji *	1475 - 1517	- Erudite scholar and great ascetic. - Honorific title 'Vader' awarded by Karnataka rulers.
2.	Shree Vasudev Teertha	1517 - 1518	- Pilgrimage throughout India.
3.	Shree Jeevottam Teertha	1518 - 1588	- revival of religious faith among masses in disturbed socio-political situation in south india. - identified three idols of vitthal out of which vir-vitthal was retained by him as *aradhya devata*. - great scholar and author of several learned treatises, of which the poem *teerthaval*, based on his pilgrimage is famous. - the title *jeevottam* was added to the *math* due to his outstanding tenure. - a legend says that he rode to heaven in a divine *vimana*.
4.	Shree Purushottam Teertha	1588 - ?	Wrote Sanskrit treatises, namely, *Karmasiddhant* and *Sanyaspaddhati*.
5.	Shree Anujeevottam Teertha	1588 (?) - 1637	- Constructed a monastery at Bicholim in Goa (Vyasashram *math*). - Spent much time for propagation of *Vaishnavism*.
6.	Shree Ramchandra Teertha	1638 - 1665	- Constructed *math* and temple of Rama, Laxman and Sita at Partagali and another *math* at Rivona (Goa) and consecrated Maruti idol there.
7.	Shree Digvijay Ramchandra Teertha	1665 - 1669	- Started annual *Rathotsav* (car festival) at Partagali.
8.	Shree Raghuchandra Teertha	1669 - 1683	- Undertook three pilgrimages and procured a plot of land at Kashi (Banaras) to construct a *Vaishnava math* there.
9.	Shree Lakshminarayan Teertha	1683 (?) - 1703	- Improved *math* administration and enhanced financial status of the *math*.

				- Renovated the building of the *math*. - Queen Channamma of Karnataka honoured him.
10.	Shree Lakshmikant Teertha	1703 1707	-	- Strengthened *math* on sound financial footing. - Acquired agricultural land for the *math*. - Performed *bhu-pradakshina*
11.	Shree Ramakant Teertha	1707 1750	—	- Concentrated on affairs of *math* and propagation of *Vaishnavism*.
12.	Shree Kamalakant Teertha	1750 1758	—	
13.	Shree Shrikant Tertha	1758 1785	—	- Possessed great *yogic* power.
14.	Shree Bhuvijay Ramchandra Teertha	1785 1803	—	- Performed pilgrimages for propagation of religious faith. - Provided maximum infrastructural facilities in the Partagali *math*.
15.	Shree Ramnath Teertha	1803 1804	—	- Possessed great *yogic* power.
16.	Shree Lakshminath Teertha	1804 1821	—	- Renovated *math* at Gokarn.
17.	Shree Anand Teertha	1821 1828	—	- Purchased cultivable land for *math* and raised its revenue. - Renovated Partagali *math* and constructed temple of Mukhyapran in its vicinity.
18.	Shree Purnapdnya Teertha	1828 1879	—	- Outstanding scholar in religion and philosophy. - Undertook public works like construction of bridges at Poinguinim and Maxem.
19.	Shree Padmanabha Teertha	1879 1892	—	- Undertook frequent pilgrimages for propagation of *Vaishnavism*.
20.	Shree Indirakant Teertha	1892 1942	—	- Mastered the *shastras* and delivered lectures all over the country. - Undertook *sanchar* (expedition) about twenty-five times for propagation of *Vaishnava* philosophy. - Settled disputes amicably amongst *saraswat* followers. - Wrote works such as *Geeta-gaurav*, *Nyaya-mimamsa*, *Dvaita-bodhini* and criticism on *Suniti Bhagavat*.

			- His tenure was considered as golden age of the *math*. - Encouraged people to maintain *goshala* (cowpens) and maintained animal park at Partagali.
21.	Shree Kamalanath Teertha	1942 – 1943	- Founded Muralidhar *math* at Karwar and renovated Venkatapur *math* at Shirali (North Karnataka).
22.	Shree Dwarakanath Teertha	1943 – 1973	- Took keen interest in over all development of the *math*. - Undertook pilgrimages throughout the country for propagation and promotion of religious beliefs and brought glory to the *math*.
23.	Shreemat Vidyadhiraj Teertha	1973 – till date	- Deep study of *Vedas, shastras* and *agamas*. - Running a Sanskrit *pathashala* (school) at Partagali. - Renovation and reconstruction of Partagali *math* and also *math* at Kashi (Banaras). - Constructed new *math* at eight different centers. - Performing pilgrimages in the country for propagation of *Vaishnavism*. - Celebrated 500th anniversary of the *math* in 1977.

* As all *Swamijis* of the *Shree Samsthan Gokarn Partagali Jeevottam Math* carry the title of Shripad Vader Swami after their names. In this chart the title is mentioned only after the name of the first *Swamiji* and its repetition has been avoided in the later cases.

Sources: 1. *Parikrama*, Bicholim, Goa: Chandrakant Shantaram Keni, Chaturmas Samiti, Shree Vyasashram, 1988, Pp. 1-17.

2.*Shree Samsthan Gokarn Partagali Jeevottam Math Pancha-Shatabdi Mahotsav*, Partagali, 1977.

Appendix 13

Freedom Fighters from Canacona *Taluka*

Sr. No.	Name	Address
1.	Acharya Madhav Padmanabh	Sheli, Loliem.
2. *	Acharya Parashuram Shrinivas	Partagal, Poinguinim.
3.	Acharya Ramkrishna Shuka	Sheli, Loliem.
4.	Afonso Alfred	Galgibag, Poinguinim.
5.	Aiya Ghanashyam Ganesh	Maxem, Loliem.
6.	Aiya Trivikram Dattaram	Sheli, Loliem.
7.	Bandekar Raghoba M.	Partagal, Poinguinim.
8.	Barreto Raul Bose	Loliem.
9.	Bhagat Govind Vitthal	Bhagatawado, Nagorcem.
10.	Bhagat Keshav Yeshwant	Kumbegal, Poinguinim.
11.	Bhagat Laxman Jiva	Kumbegal, Poinguinim.
12.	Bhagat Narayan Jiva	Kumbegal, Poinguinim.
13.	Bhat Krishnanath Ramchandra	Partagal, Poinguinim.
14.	Bhat Shantaram Ramchandra	Partagal, Poinguinim.
15.	Bhat Yeshwant Vasudev	Kajalker, Loliem.
16.	Desai Balaji Pandurang	Parn, Gaondongri.
17.	Desai Bhaskar Vishwanath	Panasulem.
18.	Desai Jiva Datta	Delem.
19.	Desai Khushali Purso	Pansulem.
20.	Desai Krishna Devappa	Thalni, Gaondongri.
21.	Desai Manju Datta	Thalni, Gaondongri.
22.	Desai Nagesh Anta	Parna, Gaondongri.
23.	Desai Narasinva Raghunath	Mastimol.
24.	Desai Narayan Govind	Kindalem.
25.	Desai Pavto Babu	Thalni, Gaondongri.
26.	Desai Polputo Shankar	Patnem.
27.	Desai Ramnath Devappa	Thalni, Gaondongri.
28.	Desai Ratnakar Datta	Thalni, Gaondongri.
29.	Desai Rukmini Shabu	Pansulem.
30.	Desai Shiva Balkrishna	Pansulem.

31.	Desai Soyaru Raghunath	Thalni, Gaondongri.
32.	Desai Vaikunth Pandu	Poinguinim.
33.	Desai Vithoba Balkrishna	Nagorcem.
34.	Devidas Bhikaji Sitaram	Shristhal, Gaondongri.
35.	Devidas Bhikan Soyaru	Shristhal, Gaondongri.
36.	Devidas Bhiku Monika	Gaondongri.
37.	Devidas Bhiku Sundarem	Shristhal, Gaondongri.
38.	Devidas Datta Jayu	Sheler.
39.	Devidas Dina Mathurem	Avem, Cotigao.
40.	Devidas Kashinath Hari	Shristhal, Gaondongri.
41.	Devidas Ramnath Yamuna	Shristhal, Gaondongri.
42.	Fernandes Salvador Agustin	Pansulem.
43.	Gaonkar Govind Ganesh	Gaondongri.
44.	Gaonkar Janu Katu	Ziltawadi, Gaondongri.
45.	Gaonkar Janu Paik	Ziltawadi, Gaondongri.
46.	Gaonkar Jiva Deu	Indrawado, Gaondongri.
47.	Gaonkar Jivu Bhagdo	Ziltawadi, Gaondongri.
48.	Gaonkar Lingu Janu	Indrawada, Gaondongri.
49.	Gaonkar Pandurang alias Pandu	Nagorcem.
50.	Kale Balkrishna Gokul	Shristhal, Gaondongri.
51.	Kale Raya Vithoba	Shristhal, Gaondongri.
52.	Kamat Madhusudan Hari	Poinguinim.
53.	Kankonkar Babuso Durganand	Shristhal, Canacona.
54.	Keni Madhu Hari	Kolsar, Poinguinim.
55.	Kudtarkar Kushta Dhaku	Tamne, Loliem.
56.	Lolayenkar Dattaram Govind	Poinguinim.
57.	Lolayenkar Gangadhar Datta	Agas, Maxem.
58.	Lolayenkar Gnat Krishna	Agas, Loliem.
59.	Lolayenkar Jaiwant Ambu	Agas, Maxem.
60.	Lolayenkar Peru Jiva	Agas, Loliem.
61.	Lolayenkar Ramdas Sundarem	Agas, Loliem.
62.	Lolayenkar Shalini Vishwanath	Poem, Loliem.
63.	Lolayenkar Shrirang Vasant	Loliem.
64.	Lolayenkar Vishwambhar Yeshwant	Agas, Loliem.
65.	Lolayenkar Vishwanath Gangaram	Poem, Loliem.
66.	Lolayenkar Vishwanath Purushottam	Agas, Loliem.

67.	Lolayenkar Vitthal Sundarem	Agas, Loliem.
68.	Naik Babay Bhiku	Pedem, Loliem.
69.	Naik Gopal Govind	Agas, Loliem.
70.	Naik Govind Barkelo	Khalvadem.
71.	Naik Mukund Hari	Agas, Maxem.
72.	Naik Pop at Gnash	Poem, Ollie.
73.	Naik Rajendra Babani	Thalni, Gaondongri.
74.	Naik Vithoba Bhiku	Poem, Loliem.
75.	Naik-Desai Datta Shiva	Pansulem.
76.	Naik-Desai Dattaram Jiu	Bhagtawada, Nagorcem.
77.	Naik-Desai Dinanath Ganba	Khalvadem.
78.	Naik-Desai Raghoba Anta	Parna, Gaondongri.
79.	Naik-Desai Shaba Kushta	Gaondongri.
80.	Naik-Desai Shaba Yeso	Parna, Gaondongri.
81.	Naik-Desai Subhash Pandhari	Pansulem.
82.	Naik-Gaonkar Kushta Jiva alias Babi Gaonkar	Tembwada, Nagorcem.
83.	Naik-Gaonkar Laxman Ghanashyam	Kindalem.
84.	Naik-Gaonkar Mukund Bhiku	Nagorcem.
85.	Naik-Gaonkar Nilu Balkrishna	Shirwada, Nagorcem.
86.	Naik-Gaonkar Prabhakar Ganba	Devabag, Nagorcem.
87.	Naik-Gaonkar Purushottam Shiva	Nagorcem.
88.	Naik-Gaonkar Sadanand Ganba	Nagorcem.
89.	Naik-Gaonkar Shanu Shaba	Delem.
90.	Padkar Babu Janu	Indrawada, Gaondongri.
91.	Pagui Vishnu Ghatu	Kajalker, Loliem.
92.	Pai Bhiku Vaman	Sadolxem, Poinguinim.
93.	Pai Devidas Shridhar	Pansulem.
94.	Pai Harishchandra Gopalkrishna	Welwada, Poinguinim.
95.	Pai-Angle Madhav Damodar	Canacona.
96.	Pai-Kole Gopalkrishna Laxman	Welwada, Poinguinim.
97.	Painguinkar Laxmibai Balkrishna	Mahalwada, Poinguinim.
98.	Painguinkar Nagesh Narayan	Mahalwada, Poinguinim.
99.	Painguinkar Pandurang Gunwant	Welwada, Poinguinim.
100.	Painguinkar Shridhar Anant	Mahalwada, Poinguinim.
101.	Pai-Vaidya Dattaram alias Dattatraya Vishnu	Poinguinim.
102.	Parit Shrikant Gopal	Tembwada, Nagorcem.

103.	Partagalkar Shankar Omi	Partagal, Poinguinim.
104.	Phal-Desai Ramchandra Pandurang	Welwada, Poinguinim.
105.	Phal-Desai Suryakanti Anant	Welwada, Poinguinim.
106.	Phal-Desai Vasudev Pandurang	Welwada, Poinguinim.
107.	Phal-Desai Vasudev Venkatesh	Welwada, Poinguinim.
108.	Phal-Desai Venkatesh Anant	Welwada, Poinguinim.
109.	Phal-Gaonkar Govind Gopal	Gaondongri.
110.	Phal-Gaonkar Parashuram Gopal	Gaondongri.
111.	Prabhu Gopal Venkatesh	Maxem.
112.	Prabhu Krishna Putu	Tamne, Loliem.
113.	Prabhu Narayan Anant	Maxem.
114.	Prabhu Vilasini Narasinva	Maxem.
115.	Prabhu-Agrasani Vitthal Raghunath	Tamne, Loliem.
116.	Prabhu-Desai Anant Shridhar	Poem, Loliem.
117.	Prabhu-Desai Damodar Hari	Mhalebag, Loliem.
118.	Prabhu-Desai Devidas Ramkrishna	Pedem, Loliem.
119.	Prabhu-Desai Digambar Damodar	Pedem, Loliem.
120.	Prabhu-Desai Govind Narayan	Pedem, Loliem.
121.	Prabhu-Desai Manohar Damodar	Agas, Maxem.
122.	Prabhu-Desai Shankar Krishna	Borus, Loliem.
123.	Prabhu-Desai Shobha Manohar	Agas, Loliem.
124.	Prabhu-Desai Suresh alias Ramkrishna Devidas	Pansulem.
125.	Prabhu-Gaonkar Fati Yeshwant	Mahalwada, Poinguinim.
126.	Prabhu-Gaonkar Krishna Mortu	Welwada, Poinguinim.
127.	Prabhu-Gaonkar Krishna Raghunath	Mahalwada, Poinguinim.
128.	Prabhu-Gaonkar Vaman Bhiku	Kolsar, Poinguinim.
129.	Prabhu-Gaonkar Venkatesh Putu	Poinguinim.
130.	Prabhu-Gaonkar Vitthal Laxman	Welwada, Poinguinim.
131.	Prabhu-Gaonkar Yeshwant Krishna	Mahalwada, Poinguinim.
132.	Rane Muralidhar Vishwanath	Nagorcem.
133.	Satarkar Babuso Babani	Agas, Loliem.
134.	Shelve Prabhakar Upendra	Poem, Loliem.
135.	Shet-Raikar Vasant Upendra	Pansulem.
136.	Sinai-Sawkar Shripad	Mokhard.
137.	Sudir Khushali Raya	Kajalker, Loliem.
138.	Sudir Narayan Laxman	Kajalker, Loliem.

139.	Sudir Nilu Bhiku	Kolkan, Loliem.
140.	Sudir Ranganath Vaikunth	Loliem.
141.	Tengse Gopalkrishna Durgaram	Welwada, Poinguinim.
142.*	Tengse Keshav Sadashiv	Welwada, Poinguinim.
143.	Velip Babu Ram	Mahalwada, Poinguinim.
144.	Velip Bhiso Budhu	Mahalwada, Poinguinim.
145.	Velip Chandrakant Laxman	Mahalwada, Poinguinim.
146.	Velip Guno Govind	Shisheval, Poinguinim.
147.	Velip Janu Shabu	Kumbegal, Poinguinim.
148.	Velip Kuiro Chiku	Gaondongri.
149.	Velip Kuiro Kushta	Indrawada, Gaondongri.
150.	Velip Ram Janu	Indrawada, Gaondongri.
151.	Velip Tolu Pandu	Shisheval, Poinguinim.
152.	Velip Yeshwant Govind	Mahalwada, Poinguinim,

● Martyrs.

Source: 1. Home Department, Secretariat, Government of Goa, Panaji.

2. Goa Freedom Fighters' Association, Panaji.

Appendix 14

Events of Mass Entry of *Satyagrahis* from Canacona *Taluka*

Canacona being a border *taluka*, was of strategic importance during Goa's struggle for freedom. The people of Canacona had to face torture and flogging by the Portuguese soldiers. However, they did not leave any chance to welcome and greet the volunteers and *satyagrahis* who participated in the demonstration and rallies organised to protest against the Portuguese colonial domination. The border villages were always treated as secret shelters of the *satyagrahis* and militants. Despite the tyranny of the Portuguese, the villagers extended all possible help to the freedom fighters and nationalists. It was a common scene of mass entry of *satyagrahis* in the *taluka* from different localities such as Polem, Supangudi, Bhutpal, Khargal, Tirvan and so on and their subsequent arrest, torture and detention.

The All Party Goa Liberation Committee formed in Pune under the banner of the *Goa Vimochan Sahayyak Samiti* adopted the policy of direct participation in the liberation movement of Goa. Accordingly, the first batch of 68 *satyagrahis* marched into Goa on 18th May 1955. Thereafter, the *Samiti* frequently sent batches of volunteers into Goa to demonstrate their solidarity with the freedom-struggle. They were again split into smaller batches. Out of these, altogether 18 batches marched into Goa from Canacona during the period from 26th January 1955 to 1st September 1955 as detailed below:

Sr No.	Date	Name of the Leader	Total Number of *Satyagrahis*	Other Details
1.	26th January 1955	Amar Singh Jivam Singh	6	Arrested, tried in military Court and sentenced to 8 - 9 Years imprisonment
2.	4th June 1955	Atmaram Patil (Karad)	72	Leader was tried

				and sentenced to 10 years rigorous imprisonment. Rest were driven away to Indian territory after severe flogging
3.	5th June 1955	B.G. Patole	14	They were arrested and led to the Indian border after severe torture
4.	18th June 1955	V .G. Deshpande	47	Tortured and driven away across the border
5.	30th June 1955	Dajiba Bhandari (Chalisgaon)	51	Detained and severely tortured and thrown out of the Goa border.
6.	11th July 1955	Shersingh K. Sharma (Mirat)	11	Tortured and driven away into India.
7.	14th July 1955	K.Damodar Rao (Mangalore)	11	- do -
8.	4th August 1955	Bhai Raval (Pandharpur)	33	- do -
9.	5th August 1955	--	33	- do -
10.	9th August 1955	D. B. Sondur	61	Leader was arrested others led to the Indian territory
11.	10th August 1955	Channappawali	52	Tortured and led to Indian territory. In this batch a lady volunteer participated.
12.	10th August 1955	V. R. Panjar	7	Tortured and thrown out of Goa.
13.	15th August 1955	Upendra Shrinivas Naik	71	All were arrested at Partagali, tortured and led across the border.
14.	16th August 1955	---	16	Entered from Bhutpal tortured and sent back to the Indian territory
15.	16th August 1955	---	13	Entered from Khargal, tortured

				and sent back to the Indian territory
16.	16th August 1955	----	7	Entered from Tirvan tortured and sent back to the Indian territory
17.	31st August 1955	Yende Prasad & Pandit Krishnalal Dubey	25	Entered from Pedem tortured and sent back to the Indian territory.
18.	1st September 1955	Premchand Jain	71	Detained, tortured and led to the Indianterritory. In this batch a lady participant also offered *satyagrahas*

Source: 1. Manohar H. Sardesai, *Goa Daman Diu Swatantryaladhyacha Itihas*,

vol.II, Panaji: Sports and Cultural Affairs, Government of Goa, Daman

and Diu, 1986.

2. Vaman Radhakrishna, *Goa Muktisangram,* Pune: Sadashiv Bagaitkar

Smritimala, 1989.

Appendix 15

Informants interviewed during the work.

Name	Age	Address
Acharya Jagadish R.	48	Partagal.
Afonso Joaquim	53	Khavat, Poinguinim.
Afonso Terezinha	45	Khavat, Poinguinim.
Agni Devendra A.	59	Porvorim.
Aiya (Dr.) Kalidas	48	Poinguinim.
Aravanekar Hema S.	50	Welwado, Poinguinim.
Bandekar Sanjay V.	45	Agonda.
Barreto Liberada	57	Muthal, Poinguinim.
Barreto Pateliao	62	Galgibag.
Bhagat Laxman Jiva	61	Kumbegal, Poinguinim.
Bhat Fugro Krishna K.	54	Porvorim.
Bhat Prakash Keshav	35	Panaskanem, Loliem.
Bhat Raghuchandra P.	53	Sheli, Loliem.
Bhat Rama	61	Mardol.
Bhat S. V. S.	40	Porvorim.
Bhat Vaman	67	Panaskanem, Loliem.
Bhende Ulhas	52	Agas, Maxem.
Cardozo Ida	62	Galgibag, Poinguinim.
Chari Ganapati	42	Iddar, Loliem.
Coutinho Josepin	79	Magdal, Poinguinim.
Coutinho Natalin	82	Muthal, Poinguinim.
D'Mwello (Fr.) Agostinho	48	Agonda.
Desai (Dr.) A. G.	54	Panaji.
Desai Manju Pandu	66	Panaji.
Desai Ratnakar V.	42	Agonda.
Desai Vikas V.	50	Margao.
Dias Motes	35	Poinguinim.
Fernandes Consesao	72	Muthal, Poinguinim.
Fernandes Martin Menino	52	Nagarcem.
Gaonkar Abolem Nango	61	Baddem, Cotigao.
Gaonkar Bhiso Ghurko	66	Anvli, Cotigao.
Gaonkar Bhiso Kushta	65	Baddem, Cotigao.
Gaonkar Draupadi Janu	67	Baddem, Cotigao.
Gaonkar Janu Narayan	70	Tanshi, Loliem.
Gaonkar Janu Puno	70	Morfond, Cotigao.

Gaonkar Janu Puno	50	Anvii, Cotigao.
Gaonkar Jayanti Bamto	30	Yeda, Cotigao.
Gaonkar Kamalavati Mhalgo	42	Baddem, Cotigao.
Gaonkar Lakshman Bhika	74	Nadkaem, Cotigao.
Gaonkar Laxman	90	Tanshi, Loliem.
Gaonkar Laxman Ghurko	49	Yeda, Cotigao.
Gaonkar Modko	69	Yeda, Cotigao.
Gaonkar Molu Kushta	59	Baddem, Cotigao.
Gaonkar Nami Ghurko	55	Chapoli, Canacona.
Gaonkar Narayan Bhikaro	60	Polem.
Gaonkar Narayan Kusad	54	Baddem, Cotigao.
Gaonkar Nirmala Lakshman	31	Yeda, Cotigao.
Gaonkar Rupul Modko	67	Yeda, Cotigao.
Gaonkar Salu Ram	52	Indrawada, Gaondongri.
Gaonkar Shabu Kusdo	43	Yeda, Cotigao.
Gaonkar Shaila Pavto	28	Yeda, Cotigao.
Gaonkar Shantaji	52	Pansulem.
Gaonkar Sita Rama	62	Yeda, Cotigao.
Gaonkar Sitai Tamdo	79	Yeda, Cotigao.
Gaonkar Vasu Paik	55	Gaondongri.
Gaonkar Vikram	35	Khalwadem, Canacona.
Gayak Umesh	54	Shristhal, Canacona.
Gosavi Ram	55	Barcem, Quepem.
Gosavi Umesh	42	Poinguinim.
Gracias Luis	65	Chaudi
Gracias Inacio	58	Panaji
Gracias (Fr.) Nevel	52	Chaudi.
Joshi Madhukar	55	Panaji.
Kakode	42	Bicholim.
Kamat (Dr.) Nandkumar	36	Panaji.
Kamat Anil Pandurang	30	Galiem, Poinguinim.
Kamat Mhamai (Dr.) Shankar	55	Panaji.
Kamat Mohandas B.	50	Patnem.
Karapurkar D. M.	61	Porvorim.
Keni Chandrakant S.	64	Margao.
Komarpant (Dr.) Somnath	52	Panaji.
Komarpant Babay	59	Palolem.

Komarpant Mohan	50	Palolem.
Kudalkar Guno K.	59	Kudal, Poinguinim.
Kulkarni	58	Cola.
Lolienkar Mohandas	44	Agas, Loliem.
Maheshkumar V. C.	52	Porvorim.
Mhalashi Kamalakar D.	52	Shristhal, Canacona.
Mhalashi Shrikant G.	56	Shristhal, Canacona.
Monteiro (Fr.) Naville Luis	55	Sadolxem.
Naik Dattanand	55	Vitthalapur, Sanquelim.
Naik Gaonkar (Dr.) Jiblo	62	Khalwadem, Canacona.
Nayak Kashinath S.	58	Cola.
Nayak Purushottam S.	64	Cola.
Nayak Yeshwant	68	Sadolxem.
Noronha (Fr.) Gregory	46	Loliem.
Pagi Abolem Ghortu	62	Panaskanem, Loliyem.
Pagi Chandrakant V.	48	Panaskanem, Loliem.
Pagi Khushali	59	Saleri, Cola.
Pagi Laxman	70	Tamnem, Loliem.
Pagi Parvati Shankar	58	Panaskanem, Loliem.
Pagi Rukmini	56	Tamnem, Loliem.
Pagi Vasu V.	52	Tamnem, Loliem.
Pagi Vonval Venkatesh	74	Panaskanem, Loliyem.
Pai Anil	52	Margao.
Pai Bhatikar Ulhas V.	50	Sadolxem.
Pai Kir Chandrakant	65	Sadolxem.
Pai Pralhad	58	Sheler, Canacona.
Pai Raghuvir Y.	58	Mumbai.
Painginkar Prabhakar	60	Poinguinim.
Paraj L. K.	60	Porvorim.
Pawar Sandeep	30	Sheli.
Perni Sada Vasant	50	Galiem, Poinguinim.
Phaldesai Amita P.	45	Porvorim.
Phaldesai Gurudas B.	60	Welwado, Poinguinim.
Phaldesai Mahendra R.	46	Poinguinim.
Phaldesai Nirmala M.	41	Welwado, Poinguinim.
Phaldesai Sandhya S.	35	Porvorim.
Phaldesai Sita R.	67	Welwado, Poinguinim.
Phaldesai Vasudev V.	64	Welwado, Poinguinim.
Phaldesai Venkatesh A.	62	Poinguinim.
Prabhu Moni Datta	52	Pedem, Loliem.

Prabhu Shastri Vaman	59	Agas, Maxem.
Prabhu Suresh	50	Mokhard.
Prabhudesai (Dr.) V. B.	65	Margao.
Prabhudesai Anand M.	47	Loliem.
Prabhudesai Gopal R.	87	Loliem.
Prabhudesai Narayan	55	Kundrem, Loliem.
Prabhudesai Ramchandra	55	Borus, Loliem.
Prabhudesai Sandesh M.	35	Panaji.
Prabhudesai Shambhu G.	46	Loliem.
Prabhudesai Shripad M.	60	Margao.
Prabhudesai Sonali G.	20	Galiem, Poinguinim.
Prabhudesai Uday S.	50	Malorem, Cola.
Prabhudesai Umesh M.	52	Borus, Loliem.
Prabhudesai Vasant B.	55	Khargal, Poinguinim.
Prabhudesai Vishwambhar	67	Loliem.
Prabhudesai Yeshwant T.	59	Sheli, Loliem.
Prabhugaonkar Anand M.	65	Loliem.
Prabhugaonkar F. Y.	63	Mahalwado, Poinguinim.
Prabhugaonkar Pramod L.	45	Maxem, Loliem.
Prabhugaonkar Suresh D.	62	Maxem.
Prabhugaonkar Uday V.	45	Mahalwado, Poinguinim.
Prabhugaonkar Vitthal Y.	56	Mahalwado, Poinguinim.
Raikar Naguesh R.	48	Poinguinim.
Raut Desai Akalpita	42	Palolem.
Satarkar Satyavati K.	61	Poinguinim.
Satarkar Tavshem	72	Loliem.
Satarkar Venkatray B.	55	Pedem, Loliem.
Sheik Hassan	42	Piramol, Palolem.
Sheik Kadar	40	Piramol, Palolem.
Shirodkar (Dr.) P. P.	60	Porvorim.
Souza (Fr.) Agnelo	49	Chiplem, Poinguinim.
Souza (Fr.) Mariano	53	Galgibag.
Sudir Rohidas G.	49	Welwado, Poinguinim.
Sudir Subhash Y.	42	Kolkon, Loliem.
Sudir Sugandha S.	39	Kolkon, Loliem.
Sudir Yeshwant	65	Kolkon, Loliem.
Talpankar Chandrahas	45	Panaji.
Tengse ayaram V.	54	Dingar, Loliem.
Tengse Nishikant N.	40	Welwado, Poinguinim.
Tengse Vinod Madhav	38	Gaondongri.

Thali Mukesh	35	Panaji.
Vagonkar Ganesh Paik	58	Chapoli, Canacona.
Vagonkar Ganesh Sukto	52	Chapoli, Canacona.
Varik Soyaru	58	Maxem, Loliem.
Varik Vinod	50	Kolkon, Loliem.
Veagas Liao	64	Katebag, Poinguinim.
Velip Babu	59	Mahalwado, Poinguinim.
Velip Babu	44	Yeda, Cotigao.
Velip Babu Chandru	49	Baddem, Cotigao.
Velip Babu Chandru	51	Baddem, Cotigao.
Velip Bhiso	58	Mahalwado, Poinguinim.
Velip Ganesh Janu	48	Shisheval, Poinguinim.
Velip Janu	68	Anvali, Cotigao.
Velip Paik Narayan	46	Mahalwado, Poinguinim.
Velip Parvati Ganesh	76	Baddem, Cotigao.
Velip Shabu Ganesh	52	Baddem, Cotigao.
Velip Shaila Janu	49	Vaizanwada, Shristhal.
Velip Sulaksha J.	22	Cotigao.
Velip Taramati Rama	37	Yeda, Cotigao.
Yalagi Aravind	48	Panaji.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Personal Details

1. Name:
2. Address:
3. Natal Village and *Taluka*:
4. Gender:
5. Religion: Caste: *Varna*:
6. Any formal education:
7. Occupation: Traditional: Present:
8. Village Deity: Clan Deity:
9. Whether belonging/associated to any *Communidade/Gaonkari/Vangod*:

Life cycle rituals

10. Birth:
11. Naming:
12. Puberty:
13. Marriage:
14. Pregnancy:
15. Death:

Other cultural aspects

16. Food and drink habits:
17. Dress: Usual: On special occasion:
18. Feasts observed:
19. Major family/community rituals observed:
20. Family totems if any:
21. Inheritance of property:
22. Family headship: (Patriarchal/Matriarchal):
23. Beliefs in sorcery, witchcrafts, magic, etc.:
24. Festivals celebrated:
25. Folklore (Oral History) and folk performing art forms presented:
26. Crafts:
27. Whether associated with any religious Organization/*Sampradaya*:
28. Whether associated with any socio-cultural organization:
29. Any other specific information related to cultural aspects:

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